PANORAMA, POWER, AND HISTORY: VASARI AND STRADANO'S CITY VIEWS IN THE PALAZZO VECCHIO
Pt. I

by
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Abstract

Painted topographical views of cities and their environs appear throughout the mid-sixteenth-century fresco decorations of the Palazzo Vecchio. This project focuses primarily on the most extensive series, those in the Quartiere di Leone X. Giorgio Vasari and his assistant Giovanni Stradano painted the five rooms of this apartment between 1556 and 1561. The city views take one of three forms in each painting: as a setting for a historical scene, as the background of an allegory, or as the subject of the view itself. The Quartiere paintings present a history of the Medici and their rule of Florence as a legitimization of the new ducal rule under Cosimo I. The topographical portraits promote this historical argument in two interdependent ways: they present its geographic extent and they promote its cogency.

To argue this thesis, the dissertation examines the position of the city views in relation to contemporary historiographic and cartographic practices. It begins by placing the Palazzo Vecchio city portraits within a new school of topographical views deriving from Antwerp, explaining how this type differs in their on-site sketching methods from other survey-dependant types. Vasari used that difference to help build *enargeia* for the history he presents in the decorations. The sketching proffered a more verisimilar information that lacked the specifics of measurement while capturing the character of the topography. That character permitted greater engagement through memory, thereby heightening the visualization required by historiography. Following three chapters that ground that argument, two sustained studies explain how the city views specific to a single room work in conjunction with the overall decoration. In the Sala di Clemente VII, the views act as settings that subtly manipulate the viewer's judgment of the presented

history to present the Medici rule of Florence as just. In the Sala di Cosimo I, the city portraits celebrate the duke's fortification program to protect and make cohesive the Tuscan state. In both, and throughout the decorative program, the city paintings work to enhance belief in the dominion of the duke.

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Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Acknowledgements iv

Table of Contents vii

List of Maps ix

List of Figures x

Introduction 1

Truth in the Renaissance and Its Current Use 11

Chapter 1: The City View Genre 20

Current Scholarship's Classification of City Views 21
Vasari's Description of Practice for the *Siege of Florence* 30
City View Divisions I: The Quattrocento Style 37
City View Divisions II: The Barbari Lineage 41
City View Divisions III: The Antwerp School 50
Origins of the Antwerp School 60
Vasari's Recognition of the Antwerp School 64
The Antwerp School Method 67
Antwerp School Practices in the Palazzo Vecchio Views 70
Conclusion 76

Chapter 2: Historiography and Cartography 79

Historiography 82
Cartography in Historiography 101
The Guardaroba Nuova of the Palazzo Vecchio 111
Northern Precedence for the Combination of History and City Views 122
Conclusion 125

Chapter 3: Topographical Character 128

Vasari's Directions for Approaching the Viewing Experience 135
Character of Place 143
Topographical Character in the Palazzo Vecchio City Views 158
Departures from Vasari's "ritratto dal naturale" 165
Conclusion 184

Chapter 4: The Sala di Clemente VII **186**

The Theme of the Sala di Clemente VII 188
The Ceiling Paintings and Their Theme of Imperial-Medici Relations 191
Sources for Vasari's History of the Siege of Florence 201
The *Siege of Florence*: The Painting 209
Strategies in the Other Images of the Siege of Florence 223
Conclusion 244

Chapter 5: The Sala di Cosimo I **247**

Composition of the Decorations 249
The Fortifications Shown in the City Views 261
The Importance of Fortifications in the Sixteenth Century 267
Iconography of Fortifications in the Palazzo Vecchio City Views 278
Inaccuracies in the City Views 285
Fortification Plans as Sources for the City Views and State Secrets 294
Conclusion 306

Conclusion **308**

Appendix 1: Select Inventory of Palazzo Vecchio City Views **313**

Sala di Leone X 313
Sala di Clemente VII 323
Sala di Cosimo I 340

Appendix 2: Anton van den Wyngaerde's City View Production Method **369**

Appendix 3: Select Dates **380**

Appendix 4: List of Archivio di Stato, Florence, Documents from the Medici Archive Project (MAP) **411**

Maps **419**

Figures **429**

Bibliography **609**

Curriculum Vita **647**

List of Maps

1. Plan of the *primo piano* (second floor) of the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.
2. Plan of the Sala di Leone X ceiling.
3. Plan of the Sala di Leone X walls.
4. Plan of the Sala di Clemente VII walls.
5. Plan of the Sala di Clemente VII ceiling.
6. Plan of the Sala di Cosimo I ceiling.
7. Plan of the Sala di Cosimo I walls.
8. Map of Florence.
9. Map of territory concerning Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici's term as Papal Legate in 1532, showing modern political divisions.
10. Map of territory concerning Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici's term as Papal Legate in 1532, showing 1532 political divisions.
11. Partial map of Elba with Portoferraio and Voltteraio.
12. Map of Rome showing Farnesina and the Theatrum Marcellus.
13. Map of area north of Montepulciano.
14. Map of the Medici villas around Florence.
15. Map of Florentine territory in 1527.
16. Map of Granducal Tuscany.

List of Figures

1. Sala di Leone X, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

2. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici Assists at the Battle of Ravenna*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X.

3. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Ravenna, from *Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici Assists at the Battle of Ravenna*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X.

4. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of San Leo*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X.

5. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of San Leo, from *The Capture of San Leo*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X.

6. Giorgio Vasari, *Cardinal Giulio de'Medici is Sent as Ambassador of Leo X to Lombardy*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X.

7. Giorgio Vasari, detail of city (Piacenza/Parma?), from *Cardinal Giulio de'Medici is Sent as Ambassador of Leo X to Lombardy*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X.

8. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of Milan*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X.

9. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Milan, from *The Capture of Milan*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X.

10. Sala di Clemente VII, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

11. Giovanni Stradano, *Encampment near Arezzo*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

12. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Arezzo, from *Encampment near Arezzo*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

13. Giovanni Stradano, *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

14. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Florence, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

15. Diagram of locations in *The Siege of Florence*.

16. Giovanni Stradano, *The Burning of the Castle of Lastra a Signa*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

17. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Lastra a Signa, from *The Burning of the Castle of Lastra a Signa*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

18. Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of the Castle of Empoli*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

19. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Empoli, from *The Capture of the Castle of Empoli*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

20. Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish before the Bastions of S. Giorgio*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

21. Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish in the Plain of S. Donato in Polverosa*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

22. Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish outside of Porta Romana, near Marignolle*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

23. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Marignolle, from *Skirmish outside of Porta Romana, near Marignolle*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

24. Giovanni Stradano, *Encampment of the Army of Philbert d'Orange near Volterra*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

25. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Volterra, from *Encampment of the Army of Philbert d'Orange near Volterra*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

26. Giovanni Stradano, *Passage through Pisa of Francesco Ferrucci's Militia*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

27. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Pisa, from *Passage through Pisa of Francesco Ferrucci's Militia*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

28. Giovanni Stradano, *Encounter between Orange and Ferrucci at Gavinana*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

29. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Gavinana, from *Encounter between Orange and Ferrucci at Gavinana*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

30. Giovanni Stradano, *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Is Sent to Hungary as Papal Legate*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

31. Giovanni Stradano, detail of background with fortified city, from *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Is Sent to Hungary as Papal Legate*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

32. Giovanni Stradano, *Alessandro de'Medici Returning to Florence after His Coronation by the Emperor*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

33. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Florence, from *Alessandro de'Medici Returning to Florence after His Coronation by the Emperor*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

34. North wall, Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

35. East wall, Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

36. South wall, Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

37. West wall, Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

38. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Triumph of Cosimo at Montemurlo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

39. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Montemurlo, from *Triumph of Cosimo at Montemurlo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

40. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo Orders Aid to Serravalle*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

41. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of "Serravalle," from *Cosimo Orders Aid to Serravalle*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

42. Giorgio Vasari, *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Elba*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

43. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Portoferraio, from *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Elba*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

44. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Fivizzano*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

45. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Fivizzano, from *Allegory of Fivizzano*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

46. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Volterra*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

47. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Volterra, from *Allegory of Volterra*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

48. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Cortona*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

49. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Cortona, from *Allegory of Cortona*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

50. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

51. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Sansepolcro, from *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

52. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Arezzo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

53. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Arezzo, from *Allegory of Arezzo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

54. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Pisa*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

55. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Pisa, from *Allegory of Pisa*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

56. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Pistoia*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

57. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Pistoia, from *Allegory of Pistoia*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

58. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Prato*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

59. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Prato, from *Allegory of Prato*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

60. Giovanni Stradano, *Empoli*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

61. Giovanni Stradano, *Lucignano*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

62. Giovanni Stradano, *Montecarlo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

63. Giovanni Stradano, *Scarperia*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

64. Giovanni Stradano, *Florence*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

65. Giovanni Stradano, *Siena*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

66. Giovanni Stradano, *Piombino*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

67. Giovanni Stradano, *Livorno*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

68. Giovanni Stradano, *The Rout of the Turks at Piombino*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

69. Giovanni Stradano, *The Rout of Valdichiana*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

70. Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of Port'Ercole*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

71. Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo Travels to Genoa to Visit the Emperor*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

72. Giovanni Stradano, *Eleanora di Toledo Departs from Naples*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

73. Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo I de'Medici Enters Siena*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

74. Cipriano Picolpasso, plan of Perugia.

75. Cipriano Picolpasso, bird's-eye view of Perugia.

76. Cipriano Picolpasso, perspective view of Perugia.

77. Cipriano Picolpasso, profile view of La Fratta.

78. Cipriano Picolpasso, plan in orthographic projection of La Fratta.

79. Jacopo de'Barbari, *Venice*, 1500.

80. Anonymous, after Francesco Rosselli (c. 1471–82), *View with a Chain*, c. 1510.

81. Perspective diagrams of the *View with a Chain*.

82. Florentine shop of Giovanni Battista Giusti, *Topographical Bussola*, sixteenth century.

83. Cosimo Bartoli, *Bussola*.

84. Stefano Buonsignori, *Florence*, 1584.

85. Three diagrams of *The Siege of Florence* with superimposed monuments.

86. Author, after Giorgio Vasari, sketch for the *Siege of Florence*, c. 1556.

87. Francesco Rosselli, *Tavola Strozzi*, c. 1472–73.

88. Anonymous, after Francesco Rosselli (c. 1482–90), *Rome*, after 1538.

89. Cristoforo de Grassi, after Francesco Rosselli (c. 1481), *Genoa*, 1597.

90. Erhard Reuwich, detail of Jerusalem, from *Civitas Iherusalem*, from Breydenbach.

91. *Genoa*, from Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*.

92. *Rome,* from Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*.

93. *Augsburg*, from Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*.

94. *Florence*, from Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*.

95. After anonymous (1515), *Antwerp*, after 1515.

96. Anton Woensam, detail, from *Cologne*, 1531.

97. Erhard Schön, *The Siege of Münster*, 1535.

98. *Florence*, from Münster, *Cosmographiae*.

99. *Baden*, from Münster, *Cosmographiae*.

100. *Rome*, from Münster, *Cosmographiae*.

101. Leonardo da Vinci, plan and bird's eye view of Milan, c. 1508–10.

102. Leonardo da Vinci, map of Imola, c. 1502.

103. Hans Weiditz, after Jörg Seld, *Augsburg*, 1521.

104. Gerard Horenbout, detail, from *Antwerp*, 1525.

105. Cornelis Anthonisz., *Amsterdam*, 1544, woodcut.

106. Cornelis Anthonisz., *Siege of Algiers*, 1542.

107. After Cornelis Anthonisz. (1544), *Amsterdam,* from Münster, *Cosmographiae*.

108. After Jacopo de'Barbari, *Venice*, from Münster, *Cosmographiae*.

109. *Augsburg*, from Münster, *Cosmographiae*.

110. After Hans Rogel (1563), *Augsburg*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

111. Ugo Pinard, *Rome*, 1555.

112. Giacomo Fontana (1569), *Ancona*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

113. *Brussels*, from Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, 1612.

114. After Cornelis Anthonisz. (1544), *Amsterdam*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

115. G. F. Camocio (1569), *Rome*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

116. Bolognino Zaltieri (1565), *Venice*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

117. Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, Scipione Dattili, and Domenico Tibaldi, *View of Bologna*, 1575.

118. Francesco Vanni, *Siena*, 1595.

119. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Cosimo's map, from *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Elba*.

120. Giovanni Camerini, view of Cosmopoli (Portoferraio), 1553.

121. Giovanni Camerini, plan of Cosmopoli (Portoferraio), 1553.

122. Marten van Heemskerck, *Rome*, c. 1532–36.

123. Joris Hoefnagel, after Jan Cornelis Vermeyen (1535), *Barcelona*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

124. Joris Hoefnagel, after Jan Cornelis Vermeyen (1535), *Tunis*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

125. Cornelis Massys, *Brussels*, c. 1540.

126. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from *Dordrecht*, c. 1544.

127. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *s'Hertogenbosch*, c. 1544.

128. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of London Bridge, from *London*, 1544.

129. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Rome from the Gianicolo Hill*, c. 1552–53.

130. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Genoa*, c. 1552–53. Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket. (Photo: Kagan 1989, 56.)

131. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Naples*, c. 1552–53.

132. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Ancona*, c. 1552–53.

133. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Brussels*, 1558.

134. Hendrick van Cleve, *Rome,* 1550.

135. Hendrick van Cleve, *View of the Villa Belvedere and Rome*, 1589.

136. Anonymous, *Brussels*, c. 1552–61.

137. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, detail of Naples, from *Naval Battle in the Bay of Naples*, c. 1558–62.

138. Joris Hoefnagel, *Acquapendente*, c. 1582.

139. Joachim Patinir, *Landscape with St. Hieronymous*, c. 1515–24.

140. Jan van Scorel, detail of Jerusalem, from *Entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem*, c. 1526.

141. Albrecht Dürer, *Innsbruck*, 1495.

142. Albrecht Dürer, *Siege of a Fortress*, 1527.

143. Master A, pages 126 and 130, from the Errara Sketchbook.

144. Loggia, Villa Belvedere, Vatican.

145. Bernardino Pinturicchio, *Cityscapes*, 1488.

146. Bernardino Pinturicchio, detail of the Villa Belvedere, from left *Cityscape.*

147. Giovanni Stradano, detail of figures, from *Skirmish before the Bastions of S. Giorgio.*

148. Anton van den Wyngaerde, details of figures, from *Mechelen*, 1557–58; *s'Hertogenbosch*, c. 1544; and *Cantecroy*, 1557–58.

149. Hans Bol, detail of Brussels, from *Landscape with Parable of the Rich Man and View of the City of Brussels*, 1585.

150. Giorgio Vasari, study for *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro* in the Sala di Cosimo I, c. 1556.

151. Giorgio Vasari, study for *Allegory of Volterra* in the Sala di Cosimo I, c. 1556.

152. Giorgio Vasari, study for the allegories of San Miniato, Pescia, Pistoia, and Prato, c. 1563.

153. Jacopo Zucchi, study for *Allegory of Pistoia*, c. 1563.

154. Giovanni Stradano, study for *Allegory of Volterra* in the Salone dei Cinquecento, c. 1563.

155. Giovanni Stradano, study for *Triumph after the War of Siena*, c. 1563.

156. Giovanni Stradano, study for *The Capture of Monteriggioni*, c. 1563.

157. Giovanni Stradano, study for *The Capture of Vicopisano*, c. 1563.

158. Giorgio Vasari, study for *The Capture of the Fortress of Stampace at Pisa*, c. 1567.

159. Giovanni Battista Naldini, study for *The Capture of the Fortress of Stampace at Pisa*, c. 1567.

160. Giovanni Battista Naldini, study for *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena*, c. 1567.

161. Giovanni Stradano, study for *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena*, c. 1567.

162. Prato seen from the Salita dei Cappucini.

163. Cortona seen from the northwest.

164. Hill northwest of Piombino, from where Stradano could have sketched the city.

165. Piombino seen from northwest hill (but below the summit).

166. Giovanni Battista Naldini, sketch of Pisa Duomo complex, 1567.

167. Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Battista Naldini, and Jacopo Zucchi, *The Capture of the Fortress of Stampace at Pisa*, 1567–71.

168. Giorgio Vasari, Egnazio Danti, and Stefano Buonsignori, Guardaroba Nuova, 1563–89.

169. Giorgio Vasari, first design for the ceiling of the Salone dei Cinquecento, March 1563.

170. Giovanni Stradano, study for *Cosimo Planning the Siege of Siena*, c. 1563.

171. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo Planning of the Siege of Siena*, 1563–65. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento.

172. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Foundation of Florence*, 1563–65. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento.

173. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Battista Naldini, *Apotheosis of Cosimo I.* Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento.

174. Domenico Ghirlandaio, detail, from *Zaccharia in the Temple,* 1486–90.

175. Giorgio Vasari, *Election of Cosimo de'Medici as Duke of Florence*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

176. Anonymous, *Francesco Guicciardini,* from the collection of Paolo Giovio, before 1521–49.

177. Peter Apian, *Geographia* and *Chorographia.*

178. Fra Mauro, *Mappamundo*, 1459.

179. Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, Survey of Rome, 1542.

180. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, detail of *Plan of Volterra*, 1549–51.

181. Egnazio Danti and assistants, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1579–81.

182. Egnazio Danti and assistants, detail showing Hannibal's Battle at Lake Trasimeno, from *Map of the Territory of Perugia*, 1579–80.

183. Egnazio Danti, *Nuova Spagna* (Mexico), 1564.

184. Alberto Gorla, after Lorenzo della Volpaia, reconstruction of the 1484 *oriolo*, 1994.

185. Abraham Ortelius, after Giacomo Gastaldi, *Map of Asia* (1559–61).

186. Abraham Ortelius, after Gerard Mercator, *Map of Europe* (1554).

187. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Healing of a Madman*, 1494.

188. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Miracle of a Child*, 1482–86.

189. Portoferraio from Castello Volterraio.

190. Anonymous, after Francesco Rosselli (c. 1471–82), detail of artist, from *View with a Chain.*

191. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of artist, from *Jaen*, 1567.

192. After Lucas van Valkenborch, *Linz*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates.*

193. Stefano Buonsignori, detail of surveyor, from *Map of Florence.*

194. Leonardo da Vinci, *Study of a Tuscan Landscape*, 1473.

195. Villa Medici, c. 1455–after 1460. Fiesole.

196. Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, detail of window, from *Annunciation*, 1470.

197. View from the window in Lorenzo's room at the Villa Medici at Fiesole.

198. Villa Belvedere, 1485–87. Vatican.

199. Gaspare van Wittel, *View of Rome from the Belvedere*, c. 1682.

200. Baldassare Peruzzi, Villa Farnesina, 1505. Rome.

201. Baldassare Peruzzi, south wall, Sala delle Prospettive, 1519.

202. Baldassare Peruzzi, detail of the Theatrum Marcellus, from the south wall, Sala delle Prospettive.

203. Baldassare Peruzzi, detail of the Villa Farnesina, from the south wall, Sala delle Prospettive.

204. View from Cortona looking west.

205. View from Volterra looking south.

206. Torre di Federico, S. Miniato al Tedesco.

207. View from the Torre di Federico, S. Miniato al Tedesco, looking southwest.

208. Porta Lucchese, Montecarlo.

209. View west from Porta Lucchese, Montecarlo.

210. Porta Farine, Montepulciano.

211. View west from Porta Farine, Montepulciano.

212. View from Montemurlo looking southeast towards Prato.

213. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Daroca*, 1563.

214. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Louvain*, 1557–58.

215. Giorgio Vasari and assistants, detail of Cortona and Montepulciano, from *Cortona and Montepulciano*. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone di Cinquecento.

216. View of Montepulciano from the north on the road from Torrita di Siena.

217. Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, Villa Carreggi, 1436–40, 1450–59. Florence.

218. Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, Villa del Trebbio, 1427–33. Barberino di Mugello.

219. Giusto Utens, *il Trebbio*, c. 1599.

220. View from Villa Trebbio looking northwest.

221. Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, Villa di Cafaggiolo, after 1451?. Barberino di Mugello.

222. Giusto Utens, *il Cafaggiolo*, c. 1599.

223. Villa Medici, 1574–80. Rome.

224. Anonymous, *View of the Eastern Façade of the Villa Medici*, 1767–70.

225. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Perspective View of the Gardens of the Villa Medici from the North*, 1667.

226. Bernardo Buontalenti, Villa Petraia, 1575–80. Florence.

227. Giusto Utens, *Villa Petraia*, c. 1599.

228. Perspective Rendering of the Villa Petraia and garden.

229. View of Florence from the Villa Petraia.

230. Bernardo Buontalenti, Villa di Artimino, 1594. Artimino.

231. View from the Villa di Artimino.

232. Diagram of the network of the Medici villas around Florence.

233. Sala delle Ville, Villa di Artimino.

234. *Frankfurt am Main*, from Münster, *Cosmographiae.*

235. *Lubeck*, from Münster, *Cosmographiae.*

236. Barbican of Florianska Gate, sixteenth century. Poland, Krakow.

237. Agostino Veneziano, after Master Na Dat (c. 1512), *The Battle of Ravenna*, 1518.

238. Giorgio Vasari, detail of *The Battle of Ravenna,* from the design for the ceiling of the Sala di Leone X, c. 1558.

239. Workshop of Giorgio Vasari, *Vienna*, 1565. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Primo Cortile.

240. *Vienna*, from Münster, *Cosmographei.*

241. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Enlargement of Florence*, 1563–65. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento.

242. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Clement VII Crowns Charles V Holy Roman Emperor*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

243. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Pope Clement VII Nominates His Nephew Ippolito de'Medici a Cardinal*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

244. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Emperor Charles V Crowns Alessandro de'Medici Duke of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

245. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Alessandro de'Medici Marries Margherita d'Austria, Daughter of Emperor Charles V*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

246. Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII Opens the Holy Door for the 1525 Jubilee*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

247. Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII Presides over the Marriage of Catherine de'Medici to Henri, Son of King Francis I*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

248. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Clement VII Returns from France to Rome*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

249. Giovanni Stradano, *impresa* of Clement VII, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

250. Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII and Charles V*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

251. Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII and Francis I*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

252. Giorgio Vasari, Giambattista Naldini, and Giovanni Stradano, *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena*, 1567–71. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento.

253. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Giramonte and San Miniato, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

254. Giovanni Stradano, detail of San Salvi, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

255. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Bandini-Martelli duel, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

256. Giovanni Stradano, detail of S. Donato a Scopeto, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

257. Giovanni Stradano, detail of S. Donato a Polverosa, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

258. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Sta. Margherita a Montici, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

259. View of central Florence from the Torre del Gallo.

260. Giovanni Stradano, detail of via S. Leonardo, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

261. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Peace, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII.

262. The east and west walls of Lastra a Signa.

263. Wall and tower of Florence.

264. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Defeat of Radagasius*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

265. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Vicopisano, from *The Capture of Vicopisano*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

266. Montemurlo.

267. Round wall towers of Vicopisano.

268. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Cascina, from *The Capture of Cascina*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

269. Square wall towers of Cascina.

270. Giorgio Vasari, *Cosimo among the Artists of His Court*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I.

271. Diagram of figures in *Cosimo among the Artists of His Court*.

272. Giorgio Vasari, drawing for *Cosimo among the Artists of His Court*, c. 1556.

273. Detail of Torrechiara, Camera Peregrina Aurea. Torrechiara.

274. Diagram of bastioned fortification.

275. Plan of Poggio Imperiale.

276. Plan of Civita Castellana (after G. Guglielmotti).

277. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Florence*, 1550.

278. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, *mastio* of the Fortezza da Basso, designed 1532, begun 1534. Florence.

279. Simone Martini, *Montemassi*, 1328.

280. Pietro Paolo Galeotti, medal with Cosimo and Portoferraio, 1567–79.

281. Piero della Francesca, *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta before St. Sigismond*, 1451.

282. Plan of Montecarlo.

283. Fortezza, Montecarlo.

284. Gunports. Montecarlo, Fortezza.

285. *View of the Fortress of Montecarlo*, eighteenth century.

286. Ferdinando Morozzi, *Plan of Piombino*, c. 1770–85.

287. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Piombino*, 1545 or 1552.

288. Rivilleno, Piombino.

289. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Siena's Defenses and Waterways*, 1554.

290. Diagram of Belluzzi's plan of Siena.

291. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Livorno*, c. 1544.

292. Francesco di Giorgio, detail of fortress design according to a human figure.

293. Michelangelo Buonarotti, Design for a fortification at Porta al Prato, 1528

294. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Fivizzano*, 1547.

295. *Map of Milan.*

296. After Antonio Lafreri (1560), *Milan*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

297. *Regensburg*, from Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*

298. *Vienna*, from Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*.

299. *Buda*, from Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*.

300. Erhard Schön, *Siege of Buda*, 1541.

301. Enea Vico, *Siege of Buda*, 1542.

302. Bonifaz Wohlmuet, *Plan of Vienna*, 1547.

303. Augustin Hirschvogel, *Circular Plan of Vienna*, 1552.

304. Giangiacomo de Rossi, *Buda*, 1686.

305. Aerial view of Buda.

306. Torre Barbarosa, Serravalle Pistoiese, twelfth century.

307. Rocca nuova, Serravalle Pistoiese, fourteenth century.

308. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Volterra, from *Allegory of Volterra*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

309. Bernardo Buontalenti, *Plan of Sansepolcro Walls*, c. 1559.

310. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Sansepolcro, from *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro and Anghiari*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

311. Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Stradano, and Giambattista Naldini, detail of Arezzo, from *Allegory of Arezzo*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

312. Giorigo Vasari and Jacopo Zucchi(?), detail of Pistoia, from *Allegory of Pistoia*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

313. Giorgio Vasari and Jacopo Zucchi(?), detail of Prato, from *Allegory of Prato*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

314. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Scarperia, from *Allegory of the Mugello*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

315. Francesco Laparelli, *Plan of the Forts at Porta Camollia, Siena*, c. 1554.

316. Giorgio Vasari and Jacopo Zucchi, *The Battle of Marciano in Valdichiana*, 1567–71. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

317. Giorgio Vasari and assistants, *The Capture of Port'Ercole*, 1567–71. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

318. After Giovanni F. Camocio (c. 1560), *Genoa*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

319. Hieronymous Cock, *Siena*, 1555.

320. Anton van den Wyngaerde, drawing of unknown walls with detail showing chalk.

321. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Valencia, 1563.

322. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Valencia, 1563.

323. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of left half, from *Ubeda and Baeza*, 1567.

324. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Lyons*, c. 1561.

325. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Granada*, 1567.

326. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from sketch for *Granada*.

327. Anton van den Wyngaerde, chalked reverse of sketch for *Granada*, with detail of traced forms, 1567.

328. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, *Chateau of Terverun*, 1557–58.

329. Anton van den Wyngaerde, reverse of *Chateau of Terverun*, 1557–58.

330. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Utrecht*, 1554–58.

331. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail showing chalk, from *Utrecht*, 1554–58.

332. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Gibraltar*, 1567.

333. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from sketch for *Granada*.

334. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Palace of Cantecroy*, 1557–58.

335. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Tarragona*, 1563.

336. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from *Malaga*, 1564.

337. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from *Zamora*, 1570.

338. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of removed boat, from *Gibraltar*, 1567.

339. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Sluys*, 1557–58.

340. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of tower, sketch for *Sluys*, 1557–58.

341. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of Sto. Heronimo, from sketch for *Granada*.

342. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of S. Salvador near Sagunto, 1563.

343. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of garden in Valencia, 1563.

344. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Cordoba walls, 1567.

345. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Granada, 1567.

346. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Barcelona, 1563.

347. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Palace at Richmond*, dated 1562.

348. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Richmond*, 1559.

349. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Richmond*, 1559.

350. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Richmond*, 1559.

351. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559.

352. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559.

353. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559.

354. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559.

355. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559.

356. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Hampton Court*, dated 1558.

357. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Greenwich Palace from Greenwich Hill*, 1558.

358. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Bruges*, 1557–58.

359. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Bruges*, 1557–58.

360. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Katelijne Gate, for *Bruges*, 1557–58.

361. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Bruges*, 1557–58.

362. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Bruges*, 1557–58.

363. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of Sto. Josepho, from sketch for *Granada*.

364. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Tower of London, 1544.

365. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of Tower of London, from *London*, 1544.

366. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Murviedro* (Sagunto), 1563.

Introduction

From 1555 to 1562, Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) and his assistants decorated the Quartiere di Leone X in the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence (figures 1, 10, 35–37). The following year, the workshop began the two-year process of decorating the ceiling of the Salone dei Cinquecento, while at the same time it painted the walls of the Primo Cortile. In 1567, the artists returned to the walls of the Salone, which they completed four years later.[1] These decorations include more than fifty views of cities and their environs, most of them painted by Vasari's assistant, Giovanni Stradano (1523–1605). Primarily depicting the principal political, economic, and strategic sites of Tuscany, the paintings also present other places of historical import in Italy. These views take different forms and appear in various guises throughout the palace. They serve as settings for historical events, as illustrations of ducal sovereignty, and as descriptive portraits for allegories of the Tuscan state. They appear as immediate, partial views, as distant hilltop views, and occasionally as bird's-eye views. Yet these images remain connected through their position as both evidence and rhetoric in Vasari's panegyrical history of the Medici and

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[1] For the extended information of this history, see Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: Guida storica* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1980): 4–313. I occasionally bring in these views as occasions for further evidence. The Cortile was decorated specifically for Joanna of Austria for her marriage to Francesco I, which was celebrated in 1565. Only six of the original thirteen views remain, and of those six most are damaged so as to be almost unintelligible. Almost nothing has been written on these views, for the exception, see Lucia Nuti, "La città di Palazzo Vecchio a Firenze," *Città e Storia* 1 (2006): 351–54; Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 277–83. For a discussion related to the decoration of the cortile, but without investigation of the views, see Edmund Pillsbury, "An Unknown Project for the Palazzo Vecchio Courtyard," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1970): 57–66. For a history of the Cortile before its decoration by Vasari's studio, see Marvin Trachtenberg, "Archaeology, Merriment, and Murder: The First Cortile of the Palazzo Vecchio and Its Transformation in the Late Florentine Republic," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 565–609. Views of the *piazze* of Florence as settings for games also appear in the Sala di Gualdrada, painted by Giovanni Stradano in 1561–62. These, however, are unrelated in conception to the views in the mentioned areas, and for this reason I have left them out of consideration in this project. For the Gualdrada paintings, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 208–12.

Florence. He intended that history to legitimize Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's rule of Tuscany and celebrate it.

Most scholarship on the Palazzo Vecchio ignores these city views. Only very recently has another scholar, Lucia Nuti, considered them worthy of sustained attention. Nuti offered a brief overview of the corpus of city views in The Salone dei Cinquecento, the Sale di Clemente VII and Cosimo I, and the Primo Cortile. She gives a summary overview of the issues of dominion and portrayal from life central to the images as an exploration of artistic intent and practice. Her coverage, due to the short length of the article and the great quantity of images, leaves much to be discussed for each image and the overall decorative schema.[2]

Otherwise, while much attention has been given to the Salone, little work has been done on the Quartiere di Leone X at all. Th. Henk van Veen most recently repeated the general scholarly consensus of the decorative projects when describing the Quartiere in five short paragraphs within his book on Duke Cosimo's artistic commissions. He summarily explains the theme as a manifestation of the Medici Golden Age myth familiar from the interpretations of Kurt Forster and Janet Cox-Rearick.[3] That interpretation suggests that all of the ducal commissions praised the power of the Medici dynasty,

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[2] I found Nuti's article only in the final editing stage of this project. I have included her data of which I was unaware: a citation for Alessandro di Vincenzo, another artist paid for city views in the Salone dei Cinquecento, and another source concerning the on-site sketching of the Primo Cortile views. I also note the areas where her reading finds agreement or disagreement. In general, Nuti applies her position, outlined in chapter 1, to the Palazzo Vecchio views (though perhaps moderated slightly). Her position is one with which I cannot agree. Nuti, "città di Palazzo Vecchio" [published online, "CROMA – Centro Studia Rome: Citta & Storia," http://www.storiaurbana.it/cittaestoria/index.asp, 5 May 2007].

[3] Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and His Self-representation in Florentine Art and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 4–5, 19–20; Kurt W. Forster, "Metaphors of Rule: Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici" *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971): 65–104; Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

promoting Cosimo as the new Augustus, Florence as the new Rome, and the duke absolute master of the new "empire" of Tuscany. Van Veen is again illustrative of the need to address these decorations, and particularly the city views, in his devotion of only five sentences to the views in the Sala di Cosimo I. In the same book, however, van Veen slightly revises Forster's interpretation in his discussion of the Salone, arguing that after 1560 Cosimo changed his commission interests to present his rule as a continuation of the Pro-Medicean Republic. At no point does van Veen discuss the city images beyond an occasional mention of their setting.

The remaining scholarship proves this lacuna. Only Elizabeth Cropper has applied the interpretation of Medici power to one of the views. I build on her example to consider an interpretation beyond one of politics.[4] In addition to van Veen, Nicolai Rubinstein has also dealt with Cosimo's dynastic mythology in the Salone images, proving useful at least to a discussion of history and politics in the paintings.[5] Julian Kliemann included a discussion of the decorations in his book on Italian dynastic cycles displayed in palaces. There he offered little new information, following Forster's interpretation, but he did correctly position the work as the foundation from which later dynastic cycles take their

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[4] Elizabeth Cropper, *Pontormo: Portrait of a Halbardier*, Getty Museum Studies on Art (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997): 33–36.

[5] Nicolai Rubinstein, "Vasari's Painting of the Foundation of Florence in the Palazzo Vecchio," in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser et al. (London: Phaidon, 1967); van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*; Henk Th. van Veen, "Cosimo I e il suo messaggio militare nel Salone de' Cinquecento," *Prospettiva* 27 (1981): 86–90; Henk Th. van Veen, "Art and Propoganda in Late Renaissance and Baroque Florence: The Defeat of Radagasius, King of the Goths," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984): 106–18; Henk Th. van Veen, "Republicanism in the Visual Propaganda of Cosimo I de' Medici," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 200–9; Henk Th. van Veen, "Circles of Sovereignty: The Tondi of the Sala Grande in the Palazzo Vecchio and the Medici Crown," in *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 206–19.

cues.[6] Others, such as Simon Pepper and Nicholas Adams, Daniela Lamberini, Amelio Fara, and Richard Goldthwaite, have used the views only for historical evidence, which I demonstrate to be a dangerous practice.[7] Both John Hale and Sharon Gregory have each identified a print as source for a single view, but this has had no resonance in the literature.[8] Finally, only one other publication deals specifically with the portions of the Quartiere di Leone X under discussion here. W. Chandler Kirwin identified the figures in *Cosimo with His Artists* in the Sala di Cosimo I, under a strong influence from his mentor Forster's ideas of power.[9]

The state of research on Vasari's art is represented by the fact that one of the standard sources remains Paola Barocchi's *Vasari Pittore*, which places an analysis of the Palazzo Vecchio images among Vasari's entire *oeuvre*. There she contrasted Vasari's epic style with Stradano's northern verisimilar style.[10] Since this book, many of the publications on the artist, the majority of which are brief articles, have centered on attribution, such as those by Gunther Thiem, Edmund Pillsbury, and Barocchi.[11]

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[6] Julian Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte: La grande decorazione nelle dimore italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento* (Milan: Amilcare Pizzi S.p.A., 1993), 69–78.

[7] Simon Pepper and Nicholas Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications: Military Architecture and Siege Warfare in Sixteenth-Century Siena* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 150–52; Daniela Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino: Giovan Battista Belluzzi: architetto militare e trattatista del Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2007), 1:68, 68 n. 92; Daniela Lamberini, *Il principe difeso: vita e opere di Bernardo Puccini* (Florence: Editrice La Giuntina, 1990), 77–78; Amelio Fara, "Leonardo da Milano a Piombino," in *Leonardo a Piombino e l'idea della città moderna tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, ed. Amelio Fara, Arte e archeologio studi e documenti, 25. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, Editore, 1999), 106; Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Villa Spelman of the Johns Hopkins University: An Early History* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 2000), 48.

[8] Sharon Gregory, "Dürer's *Treatise on Fortifications* in Vasari's Workshop," *Print Quarterly* 12 (1995): 275–79; J. R. Hale, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 143.

[9] W. Chandler Kirwin, "Vasari's Tondo of Cosimo I with His Architects, Engineers, and Sculptors" *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971): 105–22.

[10] Paola Barocchi, *Vasari pittore*, Collana d'arte del Club del Libro, 9 (Milan: Edizioni per il Club del Libro, 1964).

[11] G. Thiem, "Vasaris Entwürfe für die Gemälde in der Sala Grande des Palazzo Vecchio zu Florenz," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 23 (1960): 97–135; G. Thiem, "Neuent deckte Zeichnungen Vasaris und

Alessandro Cecchi and Ettore Allegri summarized these attribution arguments along with all of the other known information in their catalogue of the Palazzo Vecchio under the sixteenth-century Medici. This book continues to serve as the standard reference despite its occasional errors and its dated authority.[12] Alessandra Baroni Vannucci recently published a monograph on Stradano, including his work in the Palazzo Vecchio, though she offered little more than affirmation of the attributions of sketches while confusing the attributions of the city view paintings.[13]

The area of the palace to recently receive the most attention is the Guardaroba Nuova, now known as the Sala delle Carte Geografiche. In her book, Francesca Fiorani interprets the map room as promoting the Cosimean myth through cartography.[14] Mark Rosen's contemporaneous dissertation offers less interpretation but more information regarding the various elements of the map room to which I have referred.[15] This room, considered part of the decorative program of the palace under examination, allows for an illustration of issues of accuracy and cartography present in the Palazzo Vecchio works. I have therefore included a brief discussion of it, in which I differ slightly from Fiorani in her reading of the intentions for the room, while correcting her minor errors.

Naldinis für die Sala Grande des Palazzo Vecchio in Florenz," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 31 (1968): 143–50; Edmund Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," *Master Drawings* 12 (1974): 3–33; Edmund Pillsbury, "The Sala Grande Drawings by Vasari and His Workshop: Some Documents and New Attributions," *Master Drawings* 14 (1976): 127–46; Paola Barocchi, *Mostra di disegni del Vasari e della sua cerchia*, exh. cat. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1964); Paola Barocchi, "Complementi al Vasari pittore," *Atti dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere, La Colombaria* (1964): 253–309.

[12] Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: Guida storica* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1980).

[13] Alessandra Baroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straat detto Giovanni Stradano: Flandrus pictor et inventor* (Milan: Jandi Sapi Editori S.r.L., 1997). Baroni Vannucci incorrectly attributed the city views to Michele Tosini on the basis of the limited archival evidence. I discuss this evidence and Tosini's place in the history of the city views in chapter 1.

[14] Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography, and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

[15] Mark S. Rosen, "The Cosmos in the Palace: The Palazzo Vecchio Guardaroba and the Culture of Cartography in Early Modern Florence, 1563–1589" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2004).

Clearly it is time to revisit Vasari's program of renovation of the Palazzo Vecchio. This dissertation focuses on one aspect of those decorations: the city views in the relatively unstudied Quartiere di Leone X. This Quartiere consists of six main rooms and a chapel: the Sala di Cosimo il Vecchio, Sala di Lorenzo il Magnifico, Sala di Leone X, Sala di Clemente VII, Sala di Giovanni dalle Bande Nere, and Sala di Cosimo I. Cities appear primarily in the latter four, of which I give particular focus to the rooms of Clement VII and Cosimo I. For supplementary material, I occasionally turn to other depictions of cities from the Primo Cortile and the otherwise well-documented Salone. The project examines the Quartiere views as a way to determine Vasari's strategies for legitimization and glorification of Medici rule. I consider the views as visual rhetoric in a dynastic decorative cycle, a position never before discussed in the literature of city views nor recognized in the literature on Vasari and the Palazzo Vecchio. This position requires a thorough analysis of the city portraits, including the practices of their production and their rhetorical positions within the history presented by the paintings. In this they serve not just as Renaissance landscapes, but rather as mediums of power, a term borrowed from W. J. T. Mitchell that signifies their expression of control.[16] As settings and subjects used by Vasari to represent the history and scope of Cosimo I's dominion, the portraits demand a viewer response based in memory and experience that guide the viewer to a seemingly independent evaluation of history and its consequences.

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[16] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Introduction," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994): 1–2; W. J. T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in ibid., especially 5, 17. Also see Martin Warnke, *Political Landscape: The Art History of Nature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Denis Ribouillault, "Le Salone de la villa d'Este à Tivoli: un théâtre des jardins et du territoire" *Studiolo* 3 (2005): 65–94.

Chapter 1 begins the dissertation by focusing on the city views as art objects. In this chapter, I analyze their stylistic divisions and the processes of their production. The discussion provides the reader with both an idea of the genre and what is at stake in Vasari's consideration and use of that genre. I first cover the position of current scholarship and its classification system, explaining the work of Juergen Schulz, Daniela Stroffolino, and Lucia Nuti. These scholars have argued that city view production depended on surveying and plans, and classify them by point-of-view.[17] I propose, somewhat polemically, an alternative, yet complementary, classification system based on technique, including a previously unrecognized school of viewmakers centered in Antwerp. Through an analysis of this school's methods, based on extensive study of its representative Anton van den Wyngaerde's (c. 1525–71) preparatory drawings (included in appendix 2) and the previous work of Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, I show that the Antwerp school makes views by artistic observation from nature.[18] I place Stradano in this school through stylistic comparison to van den Wyngaerde and his colleagues, suggesting that Vasari sought Stradano for his association with this school.

Chapter 2 explains why the city views were important in Vasari's decorative scheme, as they derive from historiography and cartography. It discusses the histories of

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[17] Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500" *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 425–74; Daniela Stroffolino, *La città misurata: techniche e strumenti di rilievamento nei trattati a stampa del cinquecento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1999); Daniela Stroffolino, "Rilevamento topografico e processi costruttivi delle 'vedute a volo d'uccello,'" in *L'Europa moderna: Cartografia urbana e vedutismo*, eds. Cesare de Seta and Daniela Stroffolino (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001): 57–67; Lucia Nuti, "La città 'in una vista,'" in ibid., 68–74; Lucia Nuti, *Ritratti di città: Visione e memoria tra Medioevo e Settecento* (Venice: Marsilio Editori S.P.A., 1996); Nuti, "città di Palazzo Vecchio."

[18] Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Spanish Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde," in *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*, ed. Richard L. Kagan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 54–67. (This article reprints with minor reworking Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Spanish Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde" *Master Drawings* 7 [1969]: 375–99.)

these fields within the Renaissance, to show how Vasari worked at their juncture. From historiography, the artist borrowed its rhetoric and its use of evidence—particularly the principle of *enargeia*, the reader's visualization of the description in his mind, and eyewitnessing. The latter helped to build the former through its detail while adding credibility. In addition, the artist's narrative practice conforms to an *aphegesis*, what we today would call historical fiction, while assuming the appearance of a *historia*, a more proper history. I follow the definition of the scholar T. P. Wiseman in my use of the term *aphegesis*; the definition of *historia* is more commonly understood.[19] I discuss cartography in terms of its position as evidence for history, which relied on the audience's mathematical associations for mapping. The chapter then explores Vasari's use of these qualities elsewhere within the same commission, in the Guardaroba Nuova, to demonstrate his awareness and use of these principles in a more straightforward cartographical situation. It concludes by turning to northern visual mixings of history and cartography, which in their use of city views rather than maps more closely match Vasari's use of the same images.

Chapter 3 then turns to the concept of general truth in the views. It considers more specifically Vasari's use of city views to stimulate *enargeia* and thereby add credibility to

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[19] T. P. Wiseman, "Lying Historians: Seven Types of Mendacity," in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, eds. Christopher Gill and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993): 135–37. G. W. Bowersock discusses the same ideas in relation to Roman Imperial history, G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), especially chapter 1, "Truth in Lying," 1–27. On these forms of classical Greek rhetoric and their reception in the sixteenth century, see Wiseman, "Lying Historians"; J. L. Moles, "Truth and Untruth in Herodotus and Thucydides," in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, eds. Christopher Gill and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993): 88–121; J. A. S. Evans, "Father of History or Father of Lies: The Reputation of Herodotus" *Classical Journal* 64 (1968): 11–17; Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Herodotean and the Thucydidean Tradition," in *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, Sather Classical Lectures, 54 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990): 29–53; Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography," in *Studies in Historiography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966): 127–42.

his narrative. The dissertation here again turns polemical, arguing against the accepted belief of views as pictorializing idealized flight. I show Vasari's views to trigger memories of an experience with which most of his audience, and certainly his patron Cosimo I, would be familiar—overlooking a landscape from a higher altitude. The recognizable aspect of a painting on which that response depends is its topographical character, an understanding I borrow from Edward Casey.[20] Within their historical setting, this recognition deepened the level of *enargeia* and eyewitnessing—in effect, the audience becomes eyewitness to the event themselves. Meanwhile, certain views deviate from Vasari's attestations that they were all made on-site, instead deriving from earlier print sources. The final section in this chapter explores these instances to explain other elements of rhetoric required by *aphegesis* that Vasari used.

The final two chapters present case studies of these themes, each an examination of a single room's decorations. Chapter 4 examines the Sala di Clemente VII, and brings together all of the principles discussed in the preceding three chapters. The room's decorations carry the theme of Medici relations with the Habsburg emperor Charles V, who placed first Alessandro and then Cosimo on the ducal throne. The paintings tell how the Medici made themselves invaluable to Charles, while, in return, he brought the Medici back to power in their native city. The views serve as settings for the telling of the history of the siege of Florence. In their eyewitnessing, they make the story believable, while the *enargeia* they stimulate makes it convincing. The paintings show Medici rule to

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[20] Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993).

be causally determined, while the lessons outlining the good governing of the Medici show that rule to be beneficial, thereby legitimizing it.

Chapter 5 focuses on the Sala di Cosimo I. Having legitimized Medici rule in the Sala di Clemente VII, this room celebrates the rule of the first duke of Tuscany. It documents his good rule through the strengthening of his dominion. The views no longer form settings, but are now the focus themselves, portraits of the architectural histories of their fortifications. Vasari structured the views on the ideas of power and dominion associated with fortification and cartography, illustrating the duchy's independent strength and rule. The views rest on the same principle of recognition of past experience, particularly for Cosimo who frequently traveled among the cities. They also, however, distort the very fortifications they were meant to illustrate, demonstrating Cosimo's concerns with state security. They represent a specialized knowledge of military architecture considered too dangerous to display openly. The distortions indicate Vasari's conception of the power of city views—and painting in general—to contain, and reveal, truths. The anxieties underlying the motives for the manipulations indicate that Vasari directed the program's message not only to foreign audiences, but to Cosimo himself.

Three appendices complete the dissertation. Appendix 1 offers a catalogue of the paintings in the Sala di Leone X, Sala di Clemente VII, and Sala di Cosimo I that contain views of major parts of cities. Each entry details the relative fidelity to the portrait's subject by noting the proposed viewpoint, the various monuments, and their positions. Certain entries include further information regarding the depicted historical event or inconsistencies within the painting if not covered in the chapters. Appendix 2 details the full process of Anton van den Wyngaerde in making his city views summarized in

chapter 1. Appendix 3 itemizes a chronology of the many dates and events relevant to the Palazzo Vecchio paintings and their subjects.

Truth in the Renaissance and Its Current Use

The Palazzo Vecchio decorations evolved in a period particularly interested in the truthfulness of history. The *invenzioni*, the narrative programs, were provided by Cosimo Bartoli for both apartments and by Vincenzo Borghini for the Salone. The duke himself wrote to Borghini expressing his deep desire that the program of the Salone be presented "with the truth of the fact."[21] Unfortunately, no such missives for the Quartiere di Leone X remain. Bartoli's brief descriptions barely explain Vasari's choices.[22] Fortunately Vasari left his own explanation of the decorations in his *Ragionamenti*, a dialogue between himself and Prince Francesco in which they discuss each image. In this book, the author continually expressed his desire to achieve a sense of historical truth. He cited evidence, and in the case of the city views, explained how they were drawn on-site. Subsequent scholarship on this book by Elizabeth McGrath and Paola Tinagli has cast a great deal of doubt on the reliability of the *Ragionamenti*.[23] Its utility, then, must remain secondarily comparative to interpretations derived from the images themselves.

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[21] "... con la verità del fatto." Cosimo I to Vincenzo Borghini, 12 November 1564, published in Karl Frey, ed., *Der Literarische Nachlass der Giorgio Vasari*, 3 vols. (1923, reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1982), II:124–25. Quoted in van Veen, "Defeat of Radagasius," 108.

[22] These remain in the Vasari archives in Arezzo as part of the artist's *Zibaldone*, Ms. 9, c. 20–21; Ms. 14, c. 31–32, c. 49v–50, and were published in Giorgio Vasari, *Lo Zibaldone di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Alessandro del Vita (Rome: R. Istituto d'archeologia e storia dell'arte, 1938), 61–63, 78–83, 113–15. Also see Judith Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503–1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 1983), 57–68.

[23] On the *Ragionamenti*, see Elizabeth McGrath, "'Il senso nostro': The Medici Allegory Applied to Vasari's Mythological Frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio," in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica: Convegno di Studi (Arezzo, 8–10 ottobre 1981)*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1985): 117–34; Paola Tinagli Baxter, "Rileggendo i 'Ragionamenti'," in ibid., 83–93; Paola Tinagli, "Claiming a Place in History: Giorgio Vasari's *Ragionamenti* and the Primacy of the

We are on surer ground for Bartoli's intentions with his contemporary *Discorsi historici universali*, the history of Florence he wrote in 1559 (published 1569). The book demonstrates the author's thinking in constructing a history that legitimized Cosimo's rule. Bartoli based his history in archival and eyewitness evidence that persuades the reader of the accuracy of events and the overall truthfulness of the argument.[24] While Borghini never wrote a full history of Florence, his historical practice was grounded in a search for and use of evidence for persuasion. Borghini's debate with Girolamo Mei in 1566 over the foundations of Florence illustrates this practice, as the former researched his ideas for the Salone ceiling.[25] In their quest for historical truth, Vasari's two historian advisors followed the practices of earlier Florentine historians such as Benedetto Varchi and Francesco Guicciardini in a tradition leading back to Leonardo Bruni. This tradition has been described by scholars such as Eric Cochrane, E. B. Fryde, Felix Gilbert, Nancy Streuver, Donald J. Wilcox, B. L. Ullman, and Ann Moyer.[26] Patricia Rubin clarified Giorgio Vasari's position among that lineage with her work on his *Lives of the Artists*.[27] The practitioners of this Renaissance tradition of historiography followed their classical

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Medici," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001): 63–76; Paola Tinagli, "The Identity of the Prince: Cosimo de' Medici, Giorgio Vasari and the *Ragionamenti*," in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, ed. Mary Rogers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000): 189–96; Jerry Lee Draper, "Vasari's Decoration in the Palazzo Vecchio: The *Ragionamenti* Translated with an Introduction and Notes" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1973).

[24] Cosimo Bartoli, *Discorsi historici universali* (1559); Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 29–30, 65, 71, 281–301.

[25] Ann E. Moyer, "Historians and Antiquarians in Sixteenth-Century Florence" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 177–93; van Veen, "Defeat of Radagasius," 108.

[26] Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: The Hambledon Press); Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Nancy Struever, *The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Conciousness in Florentine Humanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); Donald J. Wilcox, *The Development of Florentine Humanist Historiography in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969); B. L. Ullman, "Leonardo Bruni and Humanistic Historiography," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 4 (1946): 45–61; Moyer, "Historians and Antiquarians."

[27] Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* (1550, 2nd ed., 1568).

predecessors in the ways they presented their evidence and told their histories. The primary rhetorical method used by the ancients, and hence in the Renaissance, was an excessiveness of detail that could create a vivid description to stimulate *enargeia*, a visualized image in the mind of the reader. The *enargeia* engaged the audience and helped to convince them of the truth of the history.

Vasari relied on the genre of city views to add that detail and stimulate *enargeia*, giving his painted panegyric the aspect of history. Since contemporaries considered city views a subset of cartography, Vasari's use of them to add accuracy to his history was not unusual. The city views utilize a system of placement derived from the field of cartography to locate an event in time and place as setting for a historical scene. As early as the fifteenth century, maps had been used to enhance the believability of events they located due to their perceived accuracy and addition of detail, a practice discussed by Juergen Schulz, Francesca Fiorani, Thomas Frangenberg, E. M. Ingram, and C. Delano Smith.[28] In this system of location, accuracy added to validity—the more accurate the map, the more credible was the truth of the history it placed. Technical developments in surveying and in cartography increased the accuracy of maps throughout the sixteenth century and, consequently, the validity of related history.[29]

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[28] Juergen Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance," in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Wood (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987): 97–122; Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 304–450; Francesca Fiorani, "Post-Tridentine 'Geographia Sacra': The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 124–48; Thomas Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Plans and City Views in the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): 41–64; E. M. Ingram, "Maps as Readers Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles," *Imago Mundi* 45 (1993): 29–44; C. Delano Smith, "Maps as Art and Science: Maps in Sixteenth Century Bibles," *Imago Mundi* 42 (1990): 65–83.

[29] On the rise of accuracy in cartography, see, for example, A. Pogo, "Gemma Frisius, His Method of Determining Differences of Longitude by Transporting Timepieces (1530), and His Treatise on Triangulation (1533)" *Isis* 22 (1935): 469–506; John A. Pinto, "Origins and Development of the Ichnographic City Plan" *Journal of Architectural Historians* 35 (1976): 35–50; Edmond R. Kiely, *Surveying Instruments: Their History and Classroom Use* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers

The real consideration of this dissertation, then, is how and why Vasari made his narratives believable. Therefore, words like "truth," "accuracy," "fact," and "evidence" lie at the heart of the project, both in terms of history and of art. Fact was considered a human act but not necessarily independently true. The "truth of the fact," as Cosimo had dictated, had to be discovered. Barbara Shapiro has discussed the nature of fact and truth and a use of evidence in historiography as deriving from the practice of law.[30] Evidence was something given in court to determine the truth of the fact. By contrast, today we generally consider facts objective and true by definition, until placed in an argument as evidence to persuade of the truth of that argument.[31] In Vasari's time, a fact remained unknown until evidence determined its truthfulness. Evidence, much like today, could consist of documents, eyewitnesses, or hearsay, with eyewitness evidence holding the greatest validity for history, and archival documents second.

Truth in its ideality would appear to remain the one constant, as questions and accusations of truth and falsehood remained prevalent in historiography and other fields. Yet Cicero claimed that "history's first law [was] that an author [must] not dare to tell anything but the truth... and its second that he must make bold to tell the whole truth," while occasionally propagating items he knew to be not strictly true in order to make the

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College, Columbia University, 1947); Stroffolino, *Città misurata*; P. D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

[30] As Shapiro explains, the situation in England described in her book derived first from Romano-canon law, England learning its conceptions of fact and evidence first from Italy. Sixteenth-century English historiography hardly needs that historical connection to recognize the close similarities to the field on the continent, however, especially in Italy. Barbara Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550–1720* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000), especially 8–9, 30–88. Lorenzo Valla confirmed Shapiro's thesis in his *History of King Ferdinand of Aragon* (1445–46), where he stated, "that the historian must proceed like a judge." E. B. Fryde, "The Revival of a 'Scientific' and Erudite Historiography in the Earlier Renaissance," in *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983): 15.

[31] In defining fact and evidence in this way, Daston exemplifies this attitude. Lorraine Daston, "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe," in *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Peter G. Platt (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1999), 76–77.

history more engaging and more persuasive.[32] In the sixteenth century, even such truth-championing historians like Paolo Giovio had little trouble following Cicero's example in altering events to conform to their arguments (and occasionally to gain patronage).[33] Borghini explains this conception of truth in stating that,

> If our dispute was—I won't say in mathematics, which holds the first degree in certainty—but even in philosophy, which contents itself when something is lacking, I would be silent. But since we are dealing with history, and with a part of history that makes use of other things than certainties, we will have need of conjectures, of signs, of verisimilitudes, of names, of opinions, of rumors, of similarities, and, in short, of testimony of every sort. We ought not to mix up the order of things, taking history from its own place and treating it like numbers and measures, for this would be to want to change, or rather confound, the world.[34]

Truth, at least in Renaissance historiography, while considered a value in its opposite of falsehood and an ideal for which to strive, was in practice flexible in its verisimilitude.[35]

Accuracy may have been a desired attribute in the recreation of natural situations, but something did not have to exactly reproduce a situation to meet standards of truth as

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[32] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 35; Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 151–52; Wiseman, "Lying Historians," 126–27. The quote is from Cicero, *De Oratore*, II.xv.62; quoted, among many others, in Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 35; also see Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, trans. and intro. James M. May and Jakob Wisse (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 139.

[33] T. C. Price Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), especially 140–42, 242–43, 266–67.

[34] "Et certo se la disputa nostra fusse non dico di matematiche che tengono il primo grado nella certezza, me pur di filosofia che si contenta di qualche cosa manco, io lo tacerei. Ma se noi siamo nella historia e in una parte della historia che si serve oltre alle certezze ne' suoi bisogni delle conjetture, de' segni, de' verisimili, de' nomi, delle opinioni, de' romori, delle similgianze, ed insomma de' testimonii d'ogni sorte, non vogliamo di gratia scambiare l'ordine delle materie: ne cavando la historia della sua propria: trattarla come i numeri, e come le misure, che questo sarebbe un voler mutare, anzi confondere il mondo. Però serviamoci ma attuamente et con buon modo di tutte le arme sopradette, o instrumenti che si habbino a chiamar..." Borghini, letter to Mei, BNC, Filze Rin. 25, 14, 47; translated and quoted in Robert Joseph Williams, "Vincenzo Borghini and Vasari's 'Lives'" (Ph.D., Princeton University, 1988), 88, 277–78; and Moyer, "Historians and Antiquarians," 188, 188 n. 43.

[35] The sixteenth-century naturalist and medical community held a similar understanding of "truth." Paula Findlen has described it as knowledge originating within a community whose legitimacy was approved by its own members, and knowledge outside of that was "charlatan[ism]." Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture, 20 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 272–77, especially 276. The similarity lies in both communities' determination of truth by consensus, permitting individual groups' modification of its definition, even at will.

we would consider today. For instance, the same cartographers who strove for ever greater accuracy based on new techniques in mathematics and surveying, and the rulers who commissioned them, had no compunctions about falsifying the visual information if it suited them.[36] Yet in cartography, accuracy still remained a mathematical exactitude if not a representational one, as Borghini described "its first degree in certainty" in the previous quote. In fact, both Borghini and Mei demonstrate their faith in the accuracy of cartography in their debate. Mei cited Ptolemy's coordinates for Florence and Fiesole as proof that Florence was founded in a different place then its current location, since Ptolemy's figures are too far apart to permit them to refer to the current ones. As Borghini pointed out, Mei had allowed his trust in the accuracy of mathematics and mapping (and the authority of the ancients) to cloud his judgment, a trust Mei shares with the majority of non-practitioners. Borghini instead conferred with Egnazio Danti, Tuscany's state cosmographer and practitioner of the most up-to-date cartographical practices. The historian could then realize the difficulties in capturing accurate measurements between two places, particularly when they are so far apart, and especially in this case, where the author in question never visited the site.[37] Despite their different arguments, both Borghini and Mei ascribe to an accuracy of mathematics that is exact, absolute, and ideal, if not often able to be realized.

The Umbrian engineer Cipriano Piccolpasso (1524–79) concurred—in his treatise documenting the Perugian strongholds of the church for Pope Pius IV (1499–1565), he cited the moments when local topography would not permit a proper measure of the city

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[36] J. B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe" *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 59–61.
[37] Moyer, "Historians and Antiquarians," 185.

in question. The cartographer pointed out the inaccurate moments (which he calls *errori*) of his plans and views, evincing the goal of perfect accuracy. Interestingly, Piccolpasso cited these instances with regards to both measured plans and observed views, in the latter cases listing those images he was not able to sketch onsite.[38] The *errori* of the observed views reveals another consideration—the degree to which city views were sketched onsite determined their degree of accuracy, regardless of the actual representational correspondence of the image to the subject.

Throughout the project, I argue that Vasari recognized these same values, and even relied on his audience's recognition of them. I suggest that he followed Thucydides' conception of a general truth, which manifested in the character of the topography that Stradano captured in the city views. I consider truth here as the recognizable elements of the image—ranging from specific monuments to the experience of viewing a city from a high altitude—to which a viewer's memory could respond, rather than its degree of accordance to its subject (i.e. its literalism). In the last chapter I add to that idea of character, suggesting that it can even mean the specialized knowledge represented by the views and contained within them. Vasari himself, in his *Ragionamenti*, confirmed his belief in the availability of pictorial manipulation to still display truth. Despite describing the view of Florence as "portrayed after nature from the nearby hills and measured in a way that varies little from the truth," he also explains that he had to raise the Oltr'arno

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[38] Cipriano Piccolpasso, *Le piante et i ritratti delle città e terre dell'Umbria sottoposte al governo di Perugia* (Rome: Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 1963), 51–52. For the quote, cf. chapter 1, page 28. Also Giovanni Cecchini, "Introduzione," in *Le piante et i ritratti delle città e terre dell'Umbria sottoposte al governo di Perugia*, by Cipriano Piccolpasso, ed. Giovanni Cecchini (Rome: Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 1963), 18.

area because it was otherwise hidden behind the foreground hills.[39] As Pepper and Adams point out, rather than seeing this as a dichotomy, or even paradoxical, Vasari assumed that the manipulation offered greater truth in that it provided his viewers with a better understanding of the historical facts.[40] I do identify the areas in the paintings where they deviate from precisely reproducing their subjects, information found through extensive fieldwork and site visits that is detailed in entries for each image found in appendix 1. That material, however, serves as the basis for further interpretation regarding the content and the messages of the images.

The danger of assuming the literalness of the city views—in other words, imposing a modern conception of truth or accuracy on them—is illustrated by the case of a view of Ancona by the Flemish artist Anton van den Wygaerde. John Bury has dated the drawing to before 1532, because it does not show the fortress which Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane began building that year.[41] It does, however, show fortifications built along the marina wall in 1536–37, a detail missed by Bury and later scholars. The missing fortress could be due to a number of reasons (we will see later that this could even have been a deliberate omission, if Vasari's city views are any indication).[42] The point of this example is that those scholars assumed a literal correlation between the view

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[39] "... è ritratta Firenze dalla banda de'monti al naturale, e misurata di maniera che poco divaria dal vero." Giorgio Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, 8 vols. (1906. Reprint, Florence: G.C. Sansoni Editore Nuova S.p.A., 1973), 8:173–74. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 333.

[40] Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 151.

[41] John Bury, "Francisco de Holanda: A Little Known Source for the History of Fortification in the Sixteenth Century" *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 14 (1979): 179–80. Monegal follows Bury's dating, Montserrat Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde, pintro de ciudades y de hechos de armas en la Europa del Quinientos: Cartobibliografía razonada de los dibujos y grabados, y ensayo de reconstrucción documental de la obra pictórica*, trans. Paco Sánchez Pina (Madrid: Fundación Carlos Amberes Barcelona; Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya,1998), 141.

[42] For the details of the Ancona view, cf. chapter 1, page 56, note 80. In this case, the drawing would seem to be a preparatory sketch, to be combined with the missing part in a finished drawing, cf. appendix 3.

and its real-life subject. Strictly speaking, the view does not fully recreate the topographical situation. Nevertheless, its truth lies in its recognizability, in the depiction of certain monuments and of other more generic urban fabric all depicted in the right positional relationships, even if not in the same scale.

Ultimately, then, this project explores Renaissance values in historiography and in cartography, and the point at which these values intersect with those of art and of power. It exposes the hierarchies involved in that intersection, which required the manipulation of history and image to sway perception of a ruler's dominion. At the same time, the effectiveness of that persuasion was based on the apparent degree of visual correspondence—the more recognizable a city view, the greater potential it had to affect the credibility of the narrative. A benefit of this study, then, lies in its casting light on our own historiographic practices. The project questions the use of images as historical evidence, as these city views have been used, and illuminates the types of evidence contained within them. It reveals the potential for persuasiveness of general truth, and the sixteenth century's willingness to participate. Through its conclusions, the dissertation highlights our own notions of historical truth, suggesting that perhaps in striving for factual truthfulness we as historians have blinded ourselves to more flexible understandings.

Chapter 1: The City View Genre

In the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari described his process in making the view of the city in the *Siege of Florence* in the Sala di Clemente VII (figures 10, 13, 14).[1] This account has garnered much attention. Scholars, such as Daniela Stroffolino and Lucia Nuti, have assumed that the artist's explanation of his surveying practice correctly describes the techniques he used to create the monumental image, and by extension, the other views in the Palazzo Vecchio.[2] Vasari's written description has dominated these scholars' discussion, while the actual image has received little consideration. This oversight has led to incorrect conclusions and a subsequent categorization of Vasari's *Florence* with other views that share little in common in technique and style. This chapter examines the process of making city views from nature to more properly explain the place of the Palazzo Vecchio views within their genre. Through an analysis of technique and of general style, I offer an alternative conclusion: that Vasari had little to do with the actual work; that the Palazzo Vecchio views have nothing to do with mathematics, surveying, or mapping as postulated by those earlier authors; and that Vasari used Giovanni Stradano expressly because of his affiliation with an informal group of Flemish artists that specialized in observed views.

The chapter begins by examining the current state of scholarship on the categorization of city views. It illustrates the need for a new, complementary classification system, and demonstrates the problems with Vasari's written description of

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[1] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:174–75

[2] Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 151–52; Lucia Nuti, "Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance," in *Mappings*, ed. Dennis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1999), 94; Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 140–41; Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 116–17.

his method. I then propose that new system. For the purposes of the project, I have divided the artworks into three groupings, which I have termed the Quattrocento style, the Barbari lineage, and the Antwerp school. I focus particularly on the Antwerp school, elucidating its techniques through the works of one of its members, Anton van den Wyngaerde. I then demonstrate Stradano's membership in the same school through stylistic comparison. A lack of extant preparatory material for the Palazzo Vecchio images precludes certainty in Stradano's using exactly the same methods. The remaining evidence proves suggestive in determining Stradano's techniques, as well as Vasari's awareness and use of the differences between the city view types.

Current Scholarship's Classification of City Views

Division of Type

In 1565, Cipriano Piccolpasso—engineer, poet, and majolica artist—surveyed the Umbrian cities and fortresses in the province of Perugia for Pope Pius IV. The book he produced that year from his efforts, titled *Le piante et i ritrattie delle città e terre dell'Umbria, sottoposte al governo di Perugia*, combined a brief description (a *discorso*) of each city and its position in relation to other urban centers with its plan (*piante*, occasionally *recinto*) and a view (*ritratto*, *disegno*, *ellavato in propettiva*, or *descrition*).[3] In the case of Perugia itself, Piccolpasso included a plan and two types of views: a bird's-

[3] Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*, 51–52, 139. *Disegno* seems usually to refer to a view, although sometimes it is unclear to which it refers. For an example of the confusion, see page 134: "Facciasi fare un disegno di ciascuna delle città della provincia dell'Umbria..." and "Facciasi disegno similae de tutti i luoghi murati sotto il dominio dell'Umbria...," where he never uses the word *piante*, but later states that he is to mark the *disegni* with the four directions, as he does on some of the plans ("A che parte del cielo sono rivolte con descrivervi oriente, occidente, mezzodi e tramontana."), such as that of Fabbri (Tav. XIX). In at least one case *pianta* refers to a map, of the region around Lake Trasimeno, on page 140: "Di quivi poi passaremo al lago Trasimeno fatta la sua pianta con tutti i suoi luoghi dentro et d'intorno...."

eye view and a perspective view. The plan focuses on the defenses of the city (figure 74). It represents the city walls in three dimensions as seen from above, including the citadel, the gates, and the streets of approach. The bird's-eye view repeats the walls of the plan and fills in the empty space with the city's architectural fabric as seen from a lower viewing position (figure 75). Most of this architecture consists of blocks of generic houses to build the negative space of the streets, which appear carefully considered. The major monuments, especially the churches, are carefully delineated, and offer their facades to the viewer. Piccolpasso set the city within the topography of the region, but created a visual dichotomy between the walls of the city and its surroundings. The diametric perspective shows most noticeably where the fields curve down to flatten at the horizon while the edge of the city appears to rise off the ground at a ninety-degree angle. Finally, the perspective view of Perugia offers a more recognizable portrait of the city, as if seen from a neighboring hillside (figure 76).[4]

These three images of the same city demonstrate the types of city views as they have been differentiated in recent scholarship of the de Seta circle.[5] A fourth, not used by Piccolpasso for Perugia but employed elsewhere in his book, is the profile view, an image of a city as seen from the ground (figure 77).[6] According to this school of thought, the four types divide city portraits by their point of view. The plan shows a city as seen from

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[4] Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*, Tav. I–III.

[5] Stroffolino defines the different classifications that were, according to her, originally proposed by Cesare de Seta. Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 180. Also see de Seta 2001, 28. Nuti uses this classification system as well, most recently in relation to the Palazzo Vecchio views, which she classifies as perspective views. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 349.

[6] For instance, see the views of Picciche (Tav. XVI), Fratta (Tav. XVIII), and Fabbri (Tav. XX), where the castles are presented almost in profile, despite the topography seen as if from a hill. Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*.

a ninety-degree angle, and is usually planimetric.[7] The bird's-eye view shows a city as seen from an angle roughly between sixty and ninety degrees, while the perspective view shows a city as seen from an angle between forty and sixty degrees. Within this classification system, the profile and the perspective views represent attainable viewing positions, and therefore could be realized through visual observation. In contrast, the bird's-eye view represents the unattainable position of flight, while the plan is even more ideal in its abstraction. Both of these types required measurement for their realization.[8]

The de Seta classification system assumes (unstated) that the desired point of view was the prime consideration in both making a view and its reception. For this assumption to be true, both makers of city views and their audience would have to recognize that a specific point of view equals a specific type of information. Evidence suggests, instead, that the general audience for the majority of views did not recognize a difference. For instance, the mixture of different types of views in the city atlases such as Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae universalis* (1550) and Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572–1617) suggest that either the editors, or more likely, their intended audience, saw little difference in the topographical information presented by the different visual media.[9] The bird's-eye, the perspective, and the profile views could all equally describe the city. Plans were the only type of view

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[7] This suits our modern understanding of a plan, but as already stated, Piccolpasso uses the word *pianta* for a variety of types of images—the planimetric *piante* (16 of the 29 plans), the *piante* with walls seen in bird's-eye view (13 of 29), and even the map of Lake Trasimeno—revealing already a problem with the de Seta divisions. Vasari, however, states clearly that "nessuna piante si lieva in prospettiva," suggesting that in his mind, at least, a plan was definitely planimetric. Vasari to Bartolommeo Concini, 8 January 1557, Vasari, *Opere*, 8:220. For further on this letter see below.

[8] Stroffolino summarizes these divisions. Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 113–14, 113 n. 1, 145.

[9] Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae universalis* (Latin ed., 1550); Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographei, oder, Beschreibung aller Laender, Herrschaften, fuernem sten Stetten, Geschichten* (German ed., 1550); Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 6 vols. (1572–1617).

(within the de Seta system) to be recognized as different. Cities portrayed in strict orthographic projection do not appear in the atlases, and in fact they rarely appear outside of architecture and the military arts. The information in plans was too abstracted, too technical, and therefore considered of no use or interest to the casual viewer.[10] Piccolpasso's inclusions of both a plan and a view of each city demonstrates that both he and his patron thought each offered different but complementary information necessary for the pope to understand the extent of his defenses. Sixteen of Piccolpasso's thirty-nine *piante* are presented as orthographic plans, stemming from the military nature of the commission and his engineering knowledge (figure 78). However, the other thirteen *piante* portray defensive elements in bird's-eye view like *Perugia*, perhaps for the benefit of the non-technical pope, while the *ritratti* appear in profile, perspective, and even bird's-eye.[11] Even for this commission, the audience saw little difference in the types of conveyed information, beyond the *pianta-ritratto* distinction.

Vasari's letter of 8 January 1557, a response to a letter written the previous day from Bartolommeo Concini, secretary of Duke Cosimo I, demonstrates that the artist had a very good understanding of the differences of types, while the secretary, at least, had

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[10] On the specialization of plans and the favoring of birds-eye views over them in casual use, see Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 114, 159. On the favoring of models over plans by non-specialized audiences in presenting commission designs, see Simon Pepper, "Artisans, Architects, and Aristocrats: Professionalism and Renaissance Military Engineering," in *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. D. J. B. Trim (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 120, 128.

[11] Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*. See also the manuscript by Egnazio Danti containing the visual results of his survey of Bologna in 1578, undertaken for Pope Gregory XIII: *Disegni di alcuni Castelli del Bolognese*, MS Gozzadini 171, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna. Many pages show cities in perspective in the style of Piccolpasso, such as Budrio (no. 50) and Castel S. Pietro (no. 287), and others show buildings in profile. Both types are frequently included in compositions that mix them with ichnographic plans of streets and related topography in perspective. This manuscript, however, was for Danti's use in preparing the presentation map of the Papal States. Fiorani dates it to c. 1577 (despite stating that it belongs to his survey of Bologna, and the last stages at that). Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 159, 166–69, 305 n. 54. Danti's manuscript is published in Mario Fanti, *Ville, castelli e chiesi bolognesi da un libro di disegni dei Cinquecento*, intro. Stefano Bottari (Bologna: A. Forli, 1967).

little to none. It also shows Vasari's familiarity with the types of city portrayals and his consideration of their method at the start of the Palazzo Vecchio project, but prior to the involvement of Giovanni Stradano.[12] For this reason I will quote the passage in full:

> I have your letter that commissions me by order of His Excellency to raise a plan of Florence in perspective, to be done immediately. I respond that no plan is raised in perspective, that the plan does not show the edifice of anything that the plan contains; please make clear whether I am to raise the plan of Florence, or portray Florence as it is, and if I should show the circle of walls from outside [the city], or if I should show the interior with the streets and the buildings; in either case it will take time to measure and make so that it is good.[13]

The difference in types of city views, including the different consideration held by practitioners and audience, is implicit in this passage. The secretary has no conception of even the difference between plans and perspectives, at least according to Vasari. The duke may at least have recognized the *pianta-ritratto* difference, as the artist's request for clarification requires Cosimo to consider which type would best suit his purposes. Yet

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[12] Cosimo Bartoli sent Vasari the *invenzioni* in spring and summer of 1556. Stradano did not begin until spring, probably April, of 1557. His first recorded payment for the Palazzo Vecchio work was 26 April. He then worked there intermittently, until 18 September when his position became permanent. On 8 November he became Vasari's principal collaborator. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 61, 173; Baroni Vannucci, *Giovanni Stradano*, 446; Ugo Muccini and Alessandro Cecchi, *The Apartments of Cosimo in Palazzo Vecchio*, trans. Terry Dodd (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1991), 100.

[13] "Ebbi la lettera di Vostra Signoria che me commette per ordine di sua Eccellenza io lievi una pianta di Fiorenza in prospettiva, e che subito vi metta mano. Rispondo che nessuna pianta si lieva in prospettiva, se già sopra la pianta non si lieva lo edifizio di tutto quell che contiene la pianta; imperò fatevi dichiarare se s'ha a levar la pianta di Fiorenza, o se ritrar Fiorenza come ella sta, e se bisogna far il cerchio delle mura di fuori, o se e's'ha a far dentro le strade con gli edifizj; che in ogni cosa va tempo a misurarla e farla che stia bene." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:320. The letter is also printed, with the letter from Concini of 7 January 1557, in Frey, *Literarische Nachlass*, I:472–74. The translation is my own. Camerota claimed that Vasari made the requested plan, though it is now lost, and that it subsequently served to help realize the view in the *Siege of Florence*. Filippo Camerota, "Il distanziometro di Baldassare Lanci: Prospettiva e cartografia militare aalla corte dei Medici," in *Musa Musaei: Studies on Scientific Instruments and Collections in Honour of Mara Miniati*, eds. Marco Beretta, Paolo Galluzzi, and Carlo Triarico (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), 84. Bryce considered the letters only as evidence that Vasari's duties as court architect included making plans of Florence. Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 181. I am not convinced that the letters support these assumptions, since the duke may have wanted a portrait of the city. Nor do they make definite Vasari's ability to survey and make plans—he could have had another artist make the plan, such as Michele Tosini, who was paid 21 August 1557 for making plans of other Tuscan cities. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 153. Camerota's suggestion that the same plan was used for the *Siege* is intriguing, though unsupportable, and, as we will see, neither necessary nor likely.

Vasari himself only differentiates between plan and portrait, giving no thought to the point of view. When considered within the context of city view use, then, the usual classification no longer adequately describes the full situation.

Techniques of Production

Another problem with de Seta system is that it sees no distinctions between the ways in which the views were made. This system assumes that all city portraits, regardless of the point of view, were made with the same techniques—based on a survey, and dependent on a plan to ensure an accurate transfer of measurements onto the image. This opinion derives from the method outlined in 1978 by Juergen Schulz, who originally published it in his analysis of Jacopo de'Barbari's *View of Venice* from 1500 (figure 79).[14] According to Schulz, Jacopo built his complex portrait from a number of smaller sketches taken from heights throughout the city, and one overall view made from the belltower of S. Giorgio Maggiore. These sketches were made in the field, and then taken back to the studio where the artist pieced them together. In order to fit the sketches together in the ideal perspective and in the proper locations and scale, Schulz hypothesized Jacopo's use of a *modello*—most likely a plan—that helped Jacopo conceive of the city's form in its entirety. Schulz, however, argued that it would not have been worthwhile for Jacopo to make a surveyed plan himself. The author nevertheless provided a useful discussion of the method involved in producing such a plan. He then postulated that the artist had access to one previously made.[15] Despite Schulz's lacking

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[14] Schulz, "View of Venice."

[15] Ibid., 430–41. Schulz makes a strong distinction between cartographic content, such as cadastral maps, and artistic (or ideal or didactic) content, such as the city views. Interestingly, he includes maps made for illustrating histories and geographies in the former group, ibid., 442. This distinction has more recently

physical evidence, his essential idea—fitting together multiple views with the aid of a plan to ensure representational accuracy—has resonated in the subsequent scholarship, and is now regarded as the general method of making city views.

Stroffolino reveals her dependence on the Schulz proposition in her explanation of Francesco Rosselli's process for his c. 1471–82 view of Florence. The famous version of this view is the *View with a Chain*, or the *Chain Map*, in Berlin from c. 1510 (figure 80).[16] According to her, Rosselli first sketched a view of the city from a point outside of it, on Monte Oliveto. The drawing figure in the lower right corner of the *View with a Chain* illustrates this step. Despite that figure, Rosselli located the apparent viewpoint slightly higher than Monte Oliveto, and depicted landmarks that cannot be seen from that location. He captured these by making a second sketch from a high point inside the city. Rosselli then combined the sketches using a plan made from a survey, fixing the proper distances between landmarks. Stroffolino goes further than Schulz to insist on the need for a measured plan to ensure the accuracy of the image. The union of the plan and the sketches kept the landmarks in their proper distance relationships while reduced in scale and manipulated in perspective. The generic fabric of the city then filled in the blank spaces between the landmarks. The result of this method produced the differences in perspective seen between the southern and northern parts of the city in the image. Stroffolino illustrated these differences with a computer diagram of the view and its two

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begun to be reconsidered, as for instance in J. B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987). Also see Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 8, 279 n. 10; Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 150–51.

[16] A large painted copy from the eighteenth century is in the Museo Storico Topografico "Firenze com'era" museum in Florence.

viewing positions (figure 81).[17] The author then ascribed this technique to later sixteenth-century views, the main focus of her study. She based her conclusions on a study of Italian treatises that describe surveying techniques and mention views, such as Piccolpasso, Cosimo Bartoli's *Del modo di misurare…* from 1564, and of course Vasari's description. She meanwhile pointed to examples almost exclusively of later sixteenth-century Italian origin and of bird's-eye view type.[18]

Stroffolino's description of practice became a model for later scholars.[19] The evidence for city view production, however, does not support the universal application of her explanation. In fact, Piccolpasso cites as errors ("*errori*") those views that he had to raise from a plan:

> In the plan of Assisi the whole line A. B. was formed by eye without a *bussola.*
> The view of San Torachio was made from distant sight and raised from the plan.
> The view of Duesanti was raised from a plan.
> The plan of Terni was invented.
> For Narni, the entire line A. B. was made by sight from the cliffs.
> The plan of Cassia was invented.
> These are all the errors in my work that are known to me…[20]

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[17] Schulz argued for a less measured image, though still dependent on a plan, while Stroffolino argued for a more measured version. She does not look to Schulz as a source in this section, although does later cite his article during her discussion of the Venice view. Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 146–48.

[18] Cosimo Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare le distantie, le superficie, i corpi, le piante, le provincie, le prospettive, & tutte le altre cose terrene, che possono occorrere a gli huomini, secondo le vere regole d'Euclide, & de gli altro piu lodati scrittori* (Venice: Francesco Franceschi, 1564). Stroffolino also examines Niccolò Tartaglia, *Quesiti et inventioni diverse* (Venice, 1546); Abel Fullone, *Descrittione & uso dell'Holometro…* (Venice, 1564); Egnazio Danti, *Trattato del Radio Latino…* (Rome, 1583); and Ottavio Fabbri, *L'uso della Squadra Mobile…* (Venice, 1598). Stroffolino, *Città misurata.*

[19] Iaccarino refers specifically to Stroffolino's methods and conclusions. Maria Iaccarino, "L'immagine della città di Firenze tra il XV e il XVII secolo," in *L'Europa moderna: Cartografia urbana e vedutismo*, eds. Cesare de Seta and Daniela Stroffolino (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001): 271–83. Nuti concurs with Stroffolino, having apparently achieved her conclusions independently, see Nuti, *Ritratti di città.*

[20] "Nel recinto di Assisi tutta la linea A. B. è formata a occhio senza bussolo.
Il ritratto di San Torachio è fatto per veduta lontana et alzato dalla pianta.
Il ritratto di Du Santi si è alzato dalla pianta.
Terni è fatto, dico la sua tavola è fatta per iddea.
Narni, tutta la linea A. B. è formata a vista per le rupi.
Cassia, la sua tavola è fatta per idea.

Here the engineer admits to the measured nature of the plans, which are inaccurate if not properly surveyed with the use of the *bussola*, a sixteenth-century surveying instrument that measured angles of distance and sometimes height (figure 82).[21] More importantly, to Piccolpasso the views proved problematic if made from a plan rather than sketched from nature. As Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann has shown, and on which I elaborate later in the chapter, Anton van den Wyngaerde made his city views also without recourse to surveying or plans.[22] Again the current classification fails to adequately account for the different practices within the city view genre.

What we need then is a complementary classification that can explain these situations of city views—their practices, their uses, and the lack of distinction in their

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Questi sonno tutti gli errori che sonno per la mia opera, dico cogniti a me...." Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*, 51–52.

[21] The *bussola* combined the graduated circle of an astrolabe laid horizontally with a compass and a sighting mechanism and/or a square to measure angles. Cosimo Bartoli's version also included a vertical graduated circle to measure heights. The *bussola* served as an intermediate stage between the plane table and the theodolite. The plane table is a flat table with a sighting instrument-ruler to measure angles of distance. Alberti described it as an *orizzonte*, and Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane used it in his surveying, as evidenced by the pages of measurements of Florence in the Uffizi (U771–4A rectos). The theodolite is the modern surveying instrument still in use today. An early version of it was invented in the Cinquecento, for which the instrument designed by Baldassare Lanci in 1557 in the Museo della storia di scienza in Florence serves as example. On the design and use of the *bussola*, see Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Della fortificatione*, published in *Il Sanmarino: Giovan Battista Belluzzi: architetto militare e trattatista del Cinquecento*. Volume 2, *Gli Scritti*, by Daniela Lamberini (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2007), 188–201; Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare*, 92–108; Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*, 80–82; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:133–46. On the history of these instruments, also see Kiely, *Surveying Instruments*, especially 101–14; Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 51–52, 68–82, 125–28. Camerota mistakenly elides the *bussola* instrument and the compass, confusing the issue. Filippo Camerota, "Introduzione," in *Raccolto fatto dal Cav:re Giorgio Vasari: di varii instrumenti per misurare con la vista*, by Giorgio Vasari il Giovane, ed. Filippo Camerota (Florence: Giunti Gruppo Editoriale, 1996), 99–103. For Alberti, see Leon Battista Alberti, *Descriptio urbis Romae*, eds. Jean-Yves Boriaud and Francesco Furlan, Biblioteca dell'"Archivum Romanicum," 331 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2005); Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 18; Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 243; Joan Gadol, *Leon Battista Alberti: Universal Man of the Early Renaissance* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 167–80; Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 119–23. On Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, see Christoph L. Frommel and Nicholas Adams, eds., *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and His Circle*, 2 vols. (New York: The Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994), 1:128–30. On Lanci, see M. L. Righini Bonelli and T. Settle, *The Antique Instruments at the Museum of History of Science in Florence*, exh. cat. (Florence: Arnaud, 1978), 100–1; Camerota, "Distanziometro di Lanci."

[22] Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views."

general reception. Upon examination of the views across the sixteenth century, it becomes clear that the views can be divided into separate groupings, each type using different methods that led to distinct styles. The separation of types led to different associations of meaning among the practitioners, though not infrequently were different types put to similar uses. Artists usually specialized within a single type, Piccolpasso being an exception, while audiences held only general associations for city views. As will be seen in later chapters, Vasari was able to work within this field of expectations, and use it to his advantage. He relied on the lack of recognition of different types among his audience. Their unawareness permitted Vasari to use city views sketched from nature while remaining confident an audience would still associate the mathematical foundations of cartographic measurement with his images. It helped, of course, that he deliberately ascribed his topographical images to the same production process as that used by Francesco Rosselli and Jacopo de'Barbari.

Vasari's Description of Practice for the *Siege of Florence*

It has always appeared that Vasari left little doubt as to where his city views fit within the accepted categories, since he offered an explanation of the steps he took to create the view of Florence.[23] Scholars have assumed this explanation to stand for his general method in creating such views. They have placed Vasari under the bird's-eye view category, with artists that use the same techniques that Vasari described, despite the fact that within the de Seta classification system, the Palazzo Vecchio images are

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[23] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:174–75

technically perspective views.[24] It will prove useful first, then, to consider Vasari's statement of practice, and whether the views fit the methods he describes and those that earlier scholars have postulated.

According to the artist himself, to make the portrait of Florence in the Sala di Clemente VII (figure 14), Vasari climbed onto a roof of a villa in the hills south of Florence to survey the city, coupled with some artistic manipulation. Vasari writes:

> ... that it was difficult to compose this story in a natural view, in the way one ordinarily draws cities and landscapes. When cities are portrayed by normal observation, whatever is high cuts off the view of whatever is lower. So it happens that even if you are on top of a mountain, you cannot draw all the plains and valleys and foothills, because the angle of descent often hides from view everything at the bottom, even from the greatest heights. This is what happened to me when I tried to portray that very view of Florence in this way. In order to see how the army was encamped at that time in Pian dei Giullari, on and around the hills, and at Giramonte, I began to draw it from the highest point I could reach, even on the roof of a house, to discover not only the nearest spots, but also S. Giorgio, S. Miniato, S. Gaggio, and Monte Oliveto. But Your Excellency knows, even though I was so high, I still could not see all of Florence, because the hills of Gallo and Giramonte obstructed my view of Porta S. Miniato, the Porta di S. Niccolò, and the Ponte Rubaconte, and many other places in the city, since they were below the hills. To make my drawing more accurate and include everything in the area, I let myself be helped by art where nature failed me: I fixed a *bussola* to the roof of the house and took a sighting along a line due north. From there I started drawing the hills, houses, and places nearby. I made the sightline touch the top of each place one after the other for a larger view. It helped me a lot that I had made the plan encompass one mile around Florence. Putting it together with the view of the houses along the line pointing north, I reduced more than twenty miles of country into six braccia of measured area, with the whole army, and each place and house where they were lodged. Having done this, it was easy to portray the distant places beyond the city in the mountains of Fiesole ....[25]

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[24] Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 151–52; Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 140–41; Nuti, "Perspective Plan," 116–17. Despite her greater insistence on observation in her most recent article, Nuti demonstrates that she still subscribes to this thinking, even comparing the method to that used in the *Chain Map*, and ascribing the method to all of the Palazzo Vecchi views. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 349, and passim.

[25] "... ma ha da sapere che male agevolmente so poteva far questa storia per via di veduta naturale, e nel modo che si sogliono ordinariamente disegnare le città ed i paesi, che si ritraggono a occhiate del naturale, attesochè tutte le cose alte tolgono la vista a quelle che sono più basse; quindi avviene che, se voi siete in su

Vasari's description of combining his drawing of the buildings with a plan to make a measured view appears to directly correspond to Schulz's and especially to Stroffolino's proposed method. It would also seem that Vasari does in fact describe an actual situation. The city in the painting is seen from the southern hills in a high level of detail, recommending Vasari's observation and measurement of nature. Vasari's letter of 8 January 1557 cited earlier reveals his knowledge of the required technical operations. It also demonstrates that at that very early stage in the decorations, the artist did in fact consider the described process as the only method for making city views, since he wrote that both the plan and the portrait of Florence would require him to measure the city.

Also supporting Vasari's description, the viewpoint of the painting itself corresponds to an attainable position in the southern hills. I have found that point to be at the peak of the hill along the viuzzo di Monteripaldi, in Arcetri, about 160 meters above

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la sommità d'un monte, non potete disegnare tutti ipiani, le valli e le radici di quello; perchè la scoscesa dello scendere bene spesso toglie la vista di tutte quelle parti che sono in fondo occupate dalle maggiori altezze, come avviene a me ora, che volsi, per far questa appunto, ritrarre Firenze in questa maniera, che per veder l'esercito come s'accampo allora in pian di Giullari, su'monti, ed intorno a'monti, ed a Giramonte, mi posi a disegnarla nel più alto luogo potetti, ed anco in sul tetto di una casa per scoprire, oltra i luoghi vicini, ancora quelli e di S Giorgio, a di S Miniato, e di S Gaggio, e di Monte Oliveto; ma Vostra Eccellenza sappia, ancorchè io fussi sì alto, io non poteva veder tutta Firenze, perchè il monte del Gallo e del Giramonte mi toglievano il veder la porta S. Miniato, e quella di S Niccolò, ed i Ponte Rubaconte, e molti altri luoghi della città, tanto sono sotto i monti; dove, per fare che il mio disegno venisse più appunto, e comprendesse tutto quello che era in quel paese, tenni questi modo per aiutar con l'arte dove ancora mi mancava la natura; presi la bussola e la fermai sul tetto di quella casa, e traguardai con una linea per il dritto a tramontana, che di quivi avevo cominciato a disegnare, i monti, e le case, e i luoghi più vicini, e la facevo battere di mano in mano nella sommità di que'luoghi per la maggior veduta; e mi aiutò assai che avendo levato la pianta d'intorno a Firenze un miglio, accompagnandolo con la veduta delle case per quello linea di tramontana, ho ridotto quel che tiene venti miglia di paese in sei braccia di luogo misurato, con tutto questo esercito, e messo ciascuno ai luoghi e casa dove furono allogiati: fatto questo, mi fu poi facile di la dalla città ritrarre i luoghi lontani de'monti di Fiesole, dell'Uccellatoio, così la spiaggia di Settignano, col piano di S. Salvi, a finalmente tutto il pian di Prato, con la costiera dei monti sino a Pistoia." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:174–75. The translation is derived from the translations of Draper and Nuti and based on my own reading of the passage. I follow Draper in most cases, except for some word usages and in the issue of the plan, which he calls a map had by Vasari. I turn to Nuti for the plan and the statement that Vasari made it, based on my reading of the original. In cases where I stray from both, I have tried to remain as close as possible to the original text, where Draper and Nuti may have strayed for separate purposes—smoother reading in the case of Draper, or to derive a greater meaning than provided in the case of Nuti. Nuti's translation also intersperses ellipses for parts that she deems unnecessary without mention, and translates "bussola" as "compass." Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 334–35; Nuti, "Perspective Plan," 116–17.

the city (map 8). There is now a tower at this location belonging to the Publiacqua of Florence, which would permit as close a view as one can currently get to realizing Vasari's painted view. From a roof at this point Vasari could have at least seen the cupola of the Duomo, if not more, assuming a lack of screening foliage.[26] Other archival documents even attest to the artist's ownership of a villa in the southern hills near this point, in Montici, which abuts Arcetri to the west within a kilometer (map 8).[27] It is unclear precisely where this villa was located or whether Vasari could have used its roof to view Florence, but Vasari need not have used his own house. The artist could likely have had access to any required roof in the vicinity as the duke's functionary.

Despite these circumstantial correspondences, closer analysis suggests that Vasari invented his description of his working process. The inaccuracies of the *Ragionamenti* have been well-demonstrated, and so its statements can hardly be trusted.[28] Yet the method given by Vasari seems to match so well their accepted method of making bird's-eye views that scholars have failed to heed the warnings regarding the artist's writing. The autobiographical authority coupled with the description's close resemblance to their idea of city view production process persuaded these authors of the passage's truth. In fact, further evidence demonstrates its purely rhetorical, rather than technical, quality.

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[26] Despite much effort, I was unable to gain access to this tower. I am indebted to Laura di Pofi at the Villa Spelman in Florence for her assistance in attempting to gain that access. I could see the Publiacqua tower from the top of the Duomo's cupola, and so from the tower one must be able to see the cathedral in return.
[27] A copy of a letter (date 23 March 1560) from Cosimo to Antonio de' Nobili directing that Vasari no longer pay rent on this villa, but receive income at rental value of property, and granting this dispensation with 550 *scudi* as gratitude for work on the Palazzo Vecchio, is found in the Spinelli Archive in the Beinecke Library of Yale University, Filza 34, filzetta 33. Robert G. Babcock and Diane I. Ducharme, "A Preliminary Inventory of the Vasari Papers in the Beinecke Library" *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 302.
[28] McGrath, "Senso nostro"; Tinagli Baxter, "Rileggendo i 'Ragionamenti'"; also Tinagli, "Identity of the Prince"; Tinagli, "Claiming a Place in History"; Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated."

The translation begins to show some of the problems in the description. For instance, the number of sightings Vasari made, how they relate to his drawing of buildings along the north line, or what exactly the drawing of buildings along the north line constituted and how he used it to make a larger view, all remain unclear. Also ambiguous is whether he describes making the plan or already had a plan and describes making a sketch. It is not even certain if, by *bussola*, Vasari means a compass, the instrument described above, or a more complex version such as that described by Cosimo Bartoli in the *Del modo di misurare* (figure 83).[29] Finally, his use of the *bussola* as described offers no actual possibility to see and draw the houses, gates, and bridge that he could not already see from the roof without the instrument. At the very least he would have had to move to another location from which to capture those parts of the city.[30]

Visual evidence in the image itself also argues for the use of multiple viewing positions. First, the different projections of linear perspective found between buildings suggest more than one viewpoint. The Palazzo Vecchio and the Bargello are constructed according to a perspective as seen from an angle of about sixty degrees, using the angle of the line between the supposed viewpoint and the actual Palazzo Vecchio as ninety degrees (map 8). In fact, the artist would not even be able to see the west façade of the Palazzo from the viewpoint. Orsanmichele is instead depicted as seen from about 125 degrees. The Duomo campanile's perspective construction resembles that of Orsanmichele, while the spatial relationship between the two monuments, and that of the

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[29] Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare*, 92–108. Also see Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 74–82.
[30] In fact sighting from multiple locations was the norm in surveying, providing for triangulation. Bartoli described the method in his treatise on surveying. Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare*, 92–108. For a more practical example, see Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane's use of multiple sighting points to make plans and views. Frommel and Adams, *Architectural Drawings*, 1:128–30, 179, 187–90.

Duomo and the Palazzo Vecchio, is constructed according to a viewpoint that is almost that of the first acute perspective (about seventy degrees). Finally, the riverbank area just below this, where the Uffizi now sits, cannot be seen from the Arcetri viewpoint due to the hills of Giramonte and that on which the Forte di Belvedere is built. The Ponte Rubaconte, mentioned by Vasari as one of the architectural elements he could not see, and Santa Croce both appear as if again seen from the sixty-degree viewpoint. The presence of these areas in the image alone demonstrates the need for the artist to have moved north of the hills.[31]

Stroffolino at least recognized this failure of Vasari's description by acknowledging the artist's use of multiple viewing positions. Maria Iaccarino, following Stroffolino's admission, set out to diagrammatically prove Vasari's multiple viewing positions through her mentor's computer methods. Iaccarino traced the artist's supposed lines of sight on a computer schematic of Vasari's Florence set over a map of the city (taken from Stefano Buonsignori's 1584 map, figure 84), which she manipulated to match the view's perspective (figure 85). Based on this evidence, Iaccarino postulated that Vasari, much like Stroffolino's Rosselli, used two viewing positions: one from Palazzo Pitti for the northern half of the city, and one from the Duomo for the Oltr'Arno. Iaccarino's hypothesis does not explain Vasari's projection of the Oltr'Arno from the south, although her positioning of a viewpoint at the Palazzo Pitti does correspond to the visual evidence cited previously. Yet the computer diagram method, rather than prove Iaccarino's, and ultimately Stroffolino's hypothesis, would seem to indicate quite the

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[31] Perspective manipulation was a common practice to synthesize the various sketches into a cohesive view, as found in the Jacopo de'Barbari view. The close correspondence of the perspectives to multiple viewing positions across a number of monuments in the Florence view suggests the actual use of the viewpoints.

opposite: that the artist of the *Siege of Florence* made the view without recourse to a plan. While in Stroffolino's computer analysis the variant perspectives of the *View with a Chain*'s two halves do match Rosselli's two viewpoints, in Iaccarino's little such correspondence exists. The divergences between Iaccarino's perspectively manipulated map and Vasari's view are particularly large at the edges, and get progressively less so towards the center of the images, though they never disappear. No system governs these deviances—the alterations appear random and specific to individual sections and monuments. If Vasari had in fact used a map, there should at least be such a system, if not a more cohesive correspondence, as Stroffolino found for Rosselli. Contrary to her intentions, Iaccarino's analysis supports the hypothesis presented in this chapter: that the de Seta circle's theory of process and classification of city views does not apply to the Palazzo Vecchio images.

Not only was a plan not used in making the *Siege of Florence*, the use of the *bussola* in this situation was also unnecessary. The *bussola* would likely have been used in making a plan of the city, but many artists simply neither needed it nor used it in making views in the sixteenth century. Instead they worked from observation, without the aid of instruments, as described by Piccolpasso in his list of *errori*.[32] Vasari alluded to this in the very beginning of his statement, where he stated that the "way that one ordinarily draws cities and landscapes is to portray them by eye from nature."[33] Vasari's confusion on the use of the *bussola* probably signals his lack of personal familiarity with the production methods of this type of view. Apart from arranging the composition, as

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[32] Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*, 51–52.
[33] "modo che si sogliono ordinariamente disegnare le città ed i paesi, che si ritraggono a occhiate del naturale." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:174.

evidenced by his planning sketch for the painting found in his *Zibaldone* (figure 86), Vasari likely had little to do with the making of the city views at this stage of the decorations.[34] The city views in the Quartiere di Leone X, including that of Florence, have been attributed to Vasari's assistant, the Flemish artist Giovanni Stradano.[35] Acknowledging Stradano's responsibility for the Palazzo Vecchio views permits a new consideration of their place within the genre. To determine that position we must return to the discussion of city view classification.

City View Divisions I: The Quattrocento Style

A classification of sixteenth-century city views must begin with Francesco Rosselli. His own works date from the late fifteenth century. They were then copied repeatedly and inspired many followers. As already indicated, in addition to the view of Florence from c. 1471–82 (figure 80), Rosselli also depicted Naples (c. 1472–73) (figure 87), Rome (c. 1482–90) (figure 88), Pisa (c. 1480s), Constantinople (c. 1480s), and Genoa (c. 1481) (figure 89). Only *Florence*, *Naples*, *Rome*, and *Genoa* survive, and of those, only the view of Naples, known as the *Tavola Strozzi*, is original. The inventory of Rosselli's shop made by his son in 1527 provides the only source for the other two.[36]

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[34] This sketch is found in the *zibaldone* of Vasari, carta 90, MS 36, Archivio Vasariano, Casa Vasari, Arezzo. Published in Vasari, *Zibaldone*, 198–99.

[35] On the attributions, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 114–74.

[36] One of the two views of Genoa identified as copies of Rosselli's has been attributed to Cristoforo de Grassi, painted 1597. The fullest copy of Rosselli's *Rome*, which formed part of Francesco II Gonzaga's Room of Cities in Mantua, is found in the same city and dates to after 1538. Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 75; Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 148–49; Molly Bourne, "Francesco II Gonzaga and Maps as Palace Decoration in Renaissance Mantua," *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999): 54, 58. Also on Rosselli, see Schulz, "View of Venice," 430–31, 468. For the inventory of Rosselli's shop, see A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 2 vols. (London and New York: M. Knoedler and B. Quartich, 1938–48): 1:304ff., specifically, nos. 27, 57, 60, 63.

Rosselli's oft-described style is a mixture of stylization and naturalism.[37] His views offer an urban center made recognizable by the major monuments in positions closely resembling the actual situation. Yet the walls, such as those of Florence or Rome, are regularized into a shape that bears only a general relation to its respective subject. Within the walls, Rosselli fills in the fabric of the city with masses of boxy houses. Their lack of variety creates a dense mass out of which the monuments raise their identifying shapes of domes, towers, and roofs. Within this mass the almost total lack of streets adds to the generic quality. The perspective construction used in the image is cohesive enough so as to unify the scene, yet an exaggerated scale highlights the major monuments. The distant point of view removes the viewer from the city while still offering an attainable position in the surrounding landscape. The stylization of the subject aids in creating the distance between viewer and object. Even transitive aids—such as the sketching artist, or the street that leads into the image and the city, both in the foreground of the Florence view—cannot overcome this psychological divide.

The style of Rosselli's views, which I will call Quattrocento, simultaneously appeared across the Alps. Erhard Reuwich's (c. 1455–c. 1490) view of Jerusalem (figure 90) in his woodcut of the Levant from 1486 appears with the same characteristics as Rosselli's *Florence*. The image was published as a long fold-out illustration to Bernhard von Breydenbach's (1440–97) description of his journey to the Holy Land, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486).[38] Reuwich accompanied Breydenbach on the pilgrimage to

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[37] For instance, see the descriptions of his style in Schulz, "View of Venice," 430; David Friedman, "'Fiorenza': Geography and Representation in a Fifteenth-century View," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64 (2001): 56–78.

[38] Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486), end of book. See Friedman, "'Fiorenza'," 65, who related the view to Rosselli's view of Florence.

record the events, and so could offer a view of the city based on observation. Yet he stylized the city and its environs much as did Rosselli.

The images of cities in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (1493) are depicted in a similar stylization. Only twenty-three of the 116 cities illustrated are recognizable. They are even more stylized than Rosselli's, yet the basic elements of the style remain the same. Again we see the masses of blocky houses arranged without attention to street organization, out of which the main monuments loom, far out of scale with their surroundings. The highly regularized walls approach generality. The uncertain viewpoint adds to the greater degree of stylization, as in Schedel's *Genoa* (figure 91), *Rome* (figure 92), or *Augsburg* (figure 93).[39] A lack of specific positioning often leaves the viewer hovering, despite an apparent grounding. The views resemble either profile or bird's-eye views, yet the lack of naturalization of the viewing position often leaves them unclassifiable. Schedel in fact reproduces Rosselli's *Florence*. The later version bears a remarkable similarity of style to Rosselli's, with a greater stylization that places it squarely within the other images in the *Liber Chronicarum* (figure 94).[40] The borrowing specifically marks the spread of the Quattrocento type throughout Europe.

Other artists carried the Quattrocento style into the sixteenth century. An anonymous view of Antwerp from 1515 shares the same qualities of recognizable stylization (figure 95). Anton Woensam (before 1500–1541) graphically described the city of Cologne in 1531 (figure 96). And in 1535, Erhard Schön (c. 1491–1542) used the

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[39] Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, XCII, LVIII, LIX.
[40] Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, LXXXVII, LXIII.

same style to depict the city in his print of *The Siege of Münster* (figure 97).[41] The Quattrocento style continues to appear sporadically at least until 1550, when it appears as some of the views of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis*, printed that year in Basel. A clue is the view of Florence (figure 98), which is again based on Rosselli's version, though now far removed from its source.[42] It contains little of the cohesion or even the recognizability of the *View with a Chain*. The cities portrayed in the *Cosmographia* lose much of the individualization of the urban character through greater idealization of the monuments (see, for instance, Santa Croce and Palazzo Pitti in both). In addition the majority of the filler houses make up a confused jumble, though in the foreground they appear slightly more individualized. The scholar Richard Skelton described how Münster (1488–1552) gathered his images from correspondents throughout Europe, and then had a group of artists redraw them to be cut for printing. This process explains the variety of styles and the mix of original views and copies in the *Cosmographia*. Other examples of views in Münster's atlas shown in the Quattrocento style are *Baden* and *Rome* (figures 99–100).[43] Münster's *Rome* may also derive from Rosselli's view, which Schedel also used. The post-1538 Mantuan copy of Rosselli shows that all share a similar composition and viewpoint.[44] Rosselli's *Rome* was likely

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[41] The 1515 view of Antwerp is known only in a single impression in the Antwerp Stadsarchief. Schulz, "View of Venice," 468, Burton L. Dunbar, "A 'View of Brussels' by Cornelis Massys," *Master Drawings* 17 (1979): 396. On Woensam's *Cologne*, see Schulz, "View of Venice," 470; Max Geisberg, *The German Single Leaf Woodcut: 1500–1550*, 4 vols (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), IV:1515–25; Dunbar, "'View of Brussels'," 396. On Schön's *Münster*, see Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 13–16; Geisberg, *German Single Leaf Woodcut*, IV:1208–9.

[42] Münster, *Cosmographiae*, 192–93.

[43] Baden and Rome are from the Latin edition, Münster, *Cosmographiae*, 150–51, 390–91. Cologne is from the German edition, Münster, *Cosmographei*, DCXII–III.

[44] The reuse of Rosselli's *Rome* in Schedel, Münster, and the Mantuan image has a long history in scholarship. First noticed by G. B. De Rossi, he suggested that the similar images reproduced the lost copy of Alberti's version of Rome told in his *Descriptio Urbis Romae*. G. B. de Rossi, *Le piante iconografiche e prospettiche di Roma* (Rome, 1879), 104. This is very unlikely since the *Descriptio* only provides locations

circulated as a print, and the individual artists' interpretations likely explain the many differences of monument depiction. Finally, Münster's *Jerusalem* reproduces Schedel's *Jerusalem Destroyed*, again showing the continuity of the Quattrocento style as it passed from Reuwich through Schedel to Münster.[45]

The reuse by Schedel and Münster of earlier images should not be disparaged. Artists of city views routinely copied earlier models in making their images. It was an especially prevalent method in the gathering of city atlases. This practice meant that certain famous views such as Rosselli's *Florence* and Jacopo's *Venice* had long lives. They reappear throughout the sixteenth century and even beyond. Following Münster's atlas, however, the Quattrocento style seems to have lost popularity, if not entirely died out, as artists and audiences alike sought a greater degree of naturalism for city views.[46]

City View Divisions II: The Barbari Lineage

That desire for naturalism already appeared much earlier, in Jacopo de'Barbari's *View of Venice*, made in 1500 (figure 78). With this view, Jacopo began a new type of city views, which I call the Barbari lineage. The apparent literalness, to such a degree that it seems to fit our modern conceptions of maps, marks the view as a violent departure

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for items on a flat plane of coordinates. Jeanne Tombu followed De Rossi's suggestion to a lesser degree. Jeanne Tombu, "Three Views of Rome in the Flemish Exhibition," *Burlington Magazine* 50 (1927): 325. Frutaz then first postulated that they were reproductions of Rosselli's lost *Rome*. Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vols (Rome, 1962), no. 97, 1:151–55. Schulz, Rykwert and Engel, and Bourne have all more recently followed Frutaz's argument. Schulz, "View of Venice," 429–30, 33; Joseph Rykwert and Anne Engel, *Leon Battista Alberti,* exh. cat. (Milan: Olivetti and Electa, 1994), 140, 540–42; Bourne, "Maps as Palace Decoration," 54, 69 n. 19. The same composition also appears in three paintings that reproduce the Mantua view as background for a depiction of the Sack of Rome. These have been associated with Pieter Bruegel by Destombes, though wrongly so according to Schulz. M. Destombes, "A Panorama of the Sack of Rome by Pieter Bruegel the Elder" *Imago Mundi* 14 (1959): 64–73; Schulz, "View of Venice," 430 n. 13.

[45] Münster, *Cosmographiae*, 1016–17.

[46] R. A. Skelton, "Introduction," in *Civitates orbis terrarum, 1572–1618*, vol. 1, by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, 3 vols., Mirror of the World (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1965), xvii.

from its predecessors.[47] Naturalism pervades the image now, through a perspective that more strongly controls the cohesiveness of the image. A viewer can easily overlook the manipulations of scale that still pervade the relationship between the monuments and the general architectural fabric. Jacopo gives to all parts of the image an equally greater attention to detail. Even the filler houses, while still anonymous, are no longer generic. Recognizability is now predicated not on the monuments that stand out from the urban mass, since they are subsumed by the wealth of detail, but instead on the whole image of the city, its distinctive shape formed by the islands and canals. While the point of view is far more removed and ideal in its position from above the city, Jacopo has encouraged incorporation of the viewer through the wealth of detail. It rewards his inspection with recognizable churches, palaces, and even streets. The view engages its audience with its offering of more personal interaction. As described above, this remarkable feat depended in part on a measured plan of the city. The plan allowed the artist to build his view with fidelity to its subject. That fidelity, however, required deliberate and specific techniques, including access to a plan or the ability to make one.[48]

The type's difficulty level and specialized knowledge explains its more rare position among city views in the early sixteenth century. The requirements of measurement in all likelihood postponed the Barbari lineage's popularity until the latter half of the century, when surveying knowledge grew more prevalent. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) provided one of the few early sketches stylistically related to Jacopo's view

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[47] Upon inspection, the image is far from realistic, but on its modern reception as "realism," see Deborah Howard, "Venice as a Dolphin: Further Investigations in Jacopo de'Barbari's View" *Artibus et Historiae* 35 (1997): 101.

[48] On the method and style, see Schulz, "View of Venice," 430–41. Braunfels summarizes the general style too succinctly, Wolfgang Braunfels, *Urban Design in Western Europe: Regime and Architecture, 900–1900*, trans. Kenneth J. Northcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 116–17.

in its technical affiliation. The loose sketch in the Codex Atlanticus, f. 199v, depicts a bird's-eye view of Milan from c. 1508–10 (figure 101). The design shows the relationship between the plan and the location of the monuments within the view according to that plan. The drawing lacks the detail necessary to fully associate it with Jacopo's *Venice*, but the sketch, combined with Leonardo's cartographic ability revealed in his map of Imola from c. 1502 (figure 102), suggests his interest in Jacopo's type of city view.[49]

Other early practitioners of the Barbari lineage can be more closely associated with the transmission of Jacopo's techniques and style. Jörg Seld (c. 1450–1527) executed the first extant view in this style after Jacopo's *Venice*, depicting his home city of Augsburg. It was then cut by Hans Weiditz and printed in 1521 (figure 103).[50] The image shares the measured attention to detail and extensive encompassing of the city spread out far below the viewer's ideal position. Even the individual houses appear to have received singular consideration. Seld practiced architecture himself, executed plans of fortifications and buildings, and traveled extensively through Germany, all of which may explain his awareness of Jacopo de'Barbari's style and techniques.[51] Gerard

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[49] For the Milan image, see Charles Nicholl, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Flights of the Mind* (London and New York: Allen Lane, 2004), 188; Carlo Pedretti, ed., *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, 2 vols., National Gallery of Art: Kress Foundation, Studies in the History of European Art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 2:249, pl. cix; Eugen Oberhummer, "Leonardo da Vinci and the Art of the Renaissance in Its Relations to Geography" *The Geographical Journal* 33 (1909): 547. On the map of Imola, see Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Marvellous Works of Nature and Man* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 228–30; Nicholl, *Leonardo da Vinci*, 350.

[50] Scholars have long recognized the Augsburg view's stylistic association with Jacopo's Venice view, Braunfels, *Urban Design*, 115; Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 158; Schulz, "View of Venice," 431.

[51] On Seld, see Norbert Lieb, *Jörg Seld: Goldschmid und Bürger von Augsburg ein Meisterleben im Abend des Mittelalters* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1947). No specific evidence connects Seld to Jacopo de'Barbari, though Seld likely knew Albrecht Dürer. Dürer had contacts in Augsburg such as Konrad Peutinger and the Fuggers, and was there in 1505 and again in 1518 following his visits to Venice and his

Horenbout (before 1465–c. 1541) in 1526 published a similar view of Antwerp, although it is far more simplified in the details of its architecture (figure 104). The Antwerp view appears to fall midway between the Quattrocento and Barbari types, with its delineated streets and individualized urban environment combined with a stylized topography and general appearance of lacking measurement. Horenbout may even have known Jacopo de'Barbari, as both were connected with Margaret of Austria's court at Mechelen. Following Jacopo's death in 1516, his sketchbook remained in Margaret's household, until at least 1521, after which she apparently gave it to Bernard van Orley. Horenbout therefore had appropriate access to Jacopo's techniques, though the passing familiarity may explain the less accomplished degree of naturalism in Horenbout's view.[52]

The Barbari lineage continued in Cornelis Anthonisz.'s (c. 1505–53) view of Amsterdam, which he painted in 1538 and then published as a woodcut in 1544 (figure 105).[53] Anthonisz. depicted the city from the same steep point of view, and again gave an

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contact with Jacopo, which could provide the transmission of knowledge. Jane Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 50, 82, 84.

[52] Margaret appointed Horenbout court painter in April 1515. The artist kept his workshop in Ghent, but visited the court periodically to deliver works of art between 1515 and c. 1522. Jacopo meanwhile worked at the court from 1510 until his death sometime before July 1516. Obviously, the two artists need not have met for Horenbout to be familiar with Jacopo's view, and for Horenbout to guess at the methods involved in its production, which could also explain its less accomplished style. In fact, Horenbout was also paid for a "description" of the city of Ghent and surrounding towns by the municipality in 1510–11, although this no longer survives, and so it is unclear in what style Horenbout portrayed the city. Jacopo's method was sufficiently complicated, however, that there must have been some opportunity for knowledge transmission. Notoriously, however, Jacopo jealously guarded his intellectual property—he refused to share his system of human proportions with Albrecht Dürer in 1500, as Dürer recorded in an unpublished draft of the introduction to the *Four Books of Human Proportion*. On Horenbout, see L. Campbell and S. Foister, "Gerard, Lucas, and Susanna Horenbout," *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 719–21; Calkins 1998, especially 50–52; Paul Wescher, "Sanders and Simon Bening and Gerard Horenbout," *Art Quarterly* 9 (1946): 197–207. On Jacopo's time at the Mechelen court, see Simone Ferrari, *Jacopo de' Barbari: un protagonista del Rinascimento tra Venezia e Dürer* (Milan: Paravia Bruno Mondadori Editori, 2006), 171; Schulz, "View of Venice," 427. On Jacopo and Dürer, and the former's sketchbook, see Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer*, 72, 168.

[53] While no evidence exists to show Anthonisz.,'s association with Jacopo de'Barbari or his techniques, as Armstrong notes, the similarity of style of the *View of Amsterdam* "seems to indicate familiarity with Jacopo de'Barbari's 1500 woodcut of Venice and [Jörg Seld's and] Hans Weiditz's 1521 woodcut of

equal degree of individual attention to the monuments, the houses, the streets, and the walls. The artist offered the city to the viewer as an urban body rather than the container of important monuments as in the Quattrocento style. Amsterdam's streets, canals, and architecture all appear carefully delineated according to their actual position. This apparent cartographic precision adds to the naturalism. Anthonisz. was also an accomplished cartographer, demonstrating again the connection between cartographic practice and this type of view suggested by Schulz. Anthonisz.'s later woodcut of the *Siege of Algiers*, dated 1542, shows the African city instead in the Quattrocento style (figure 106). Scholars now believe that Anthonisz. based the image on sketches or accounts of the siege, rather than the artist's eyewitnessing of the event as once thought. The stylistic difference between the images shows that the Barbari lineage is not an indication of naturalistic ability but rather technical knowledge and perhaps intention. The artist could account for the cartographic preparations for his view of Amsterdam, while he had no such access to the city of Algiers, nor, perhaps, did he desire it.[54]

Münster's *Cosmographia* included a more schematic version of Anthonisz.'s *Amsterdam*, as well as Jacopo's *Venice* (figures 107–8). [55] Münster's *Venice* is notable considering its relationship to its source. The composition of the city—its general shape, relationship of the elements, and greater angle of perspective—clearly derives from Jacopo's version. Yet the architecture of the city is much more stylized. The lack of

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Augsburg." Christine Megan Armstrong, *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 12.

[54] Cornelis Anthonisz.'s two extant examples of cartography are a *Caerte van oostland* (*Map of Eastern Lands*) from 1543, a woodcut of the northern Netherlands, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, and the *Onderwijsinge van der Zee* (*Nautical Instructions*), a treatise on navigation with diagrams and profiles of coasts. On Cornelis' life and graphic work, see Armstrong, *Moralizing Prints*, especially 12–13.

[55] Münster also reproduced Anthonisz.'s *Siege of Algiers*. I have found no source noting the dependence of Münster on Anthonisz. for the city of Algiers. Münster, *Cosmographiae*, 129, 158–59, 1122.

attention to individualizing detail in this image resembles Rosselli in its regularization and lack of definition. Other views in the *Cosmographia* resembling Jacopo's style include *Paris* and *Augsburg*. The latter depicts only the fortifications and the principal monuments, though in the high degree of naturalism of the Barbari lineage (figure 109).[56]

The greater availability of surveys and plans in the middle of the century led to a burst of activity within the Barbari lineage. Balthasar van den Bosch depicted a view of Lyon in 1550, Hans Grave made one of Frankfurt am Main in 1552, an anonymous artist published one of London c. 1560, Hans Rogel made his view of Augsburg (filling in the Münster version's walls) in 1563 (figure 110), Ugo Pinard did one of Rome in 1555 (figure 111), and Giacomo Fontana executed one of Ancona (where he served as architect of the fortifications) in 1569 (figure 112).[57] Lodovico Guicciardini also illustrated his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (1567) with Barbari-lineage views. In addition to a reproduction of Anthonisz.'s *Amsterdam*, he included views of Bruges, Brussels, and Antwerp, among other cities (figure 113).[58] Shortly thereafter, Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* popularized this type of view. Like Münster, the editors used different artists and foreign correspondents for the accumulation of their images. Most of the Barbari-type views in this atlas, as in the case of Anthonisz.'s *Amsterdam*, derived

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[56] Münster, *Cosmographiae*, 88–89, 610–611.

[57] Ugo Pinard's view of Rome was published by Antonio Lafreri in *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* (1555). On the attributions, but identifying the view of Rome as by Lafreri in 1566, see Skelton, "Introduction," appendix B, xxviii–xliii.

[58] Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567). I consulted a facsimile of the 1612 Dutch edition, Lodovico Guicciardini, *Beschrijvinghe van alle de Neder-landen, anderssins ghenoemt Neder-Duytslandt door Lowijs Guicciardijn.*... (1612. Facsimile, Amsterdam: Facsimile Uitgaven Nederland, 1968), between 52 and 53, between 56 and 57, between 298 and 299. See also Henk Deys et. al., *Guicciardini Illustratus: De kaarten en prenten in Lodovico Guicciardini's Beschrijving van de Nederlanden* ('t Goy-Houten, The Netherlands: Hes & De Graaf Publishers BV, 2001).

from earlier images (figure 114).[59] For instance, they also copied the six views listed above for Lyon, Frankfurt am Main, London, Augsburg, Rome, and Ancona (figures 110, 112, 115), as well as those in Guicciardini's *Descrittione*. The *Civitates* also shows the continuing currency of Jacopo's *Venice* (figure 116).[60] In most cases, however, the editors lost the heightened attention to detail and naturalism of the originals in the translation.

Finally, Stefano Buonsignori's (d. 1589) map of Florence from 1584 demonstrates the continuing popularity and expediency of the Barbari lineage (figure 84). The measured accuracy of this view, which Buonsignori visually pronounces with the figure holding a compass in the foreground, responded to a growing need for geographic visual information more exacting in its precision yet still commonly legible.[61] That preference would continue throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries despite the technical availability of ichnographic plans.[62]

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[59] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*-1617, I:20

[60] *London* (after anonymous), *Lyon* (after Balthasar van en Bosch), *Brussels* (after Guicciardini), *Bruges* (after Guicciardini), *Antwerp* (after Guicciardini), *Frankfurt am Main* (Conrad Faber after Hans Grave), *Würzburg* (after Münster), *Augsburg* (after Hans Rogel), *Ancona* (after Giacomo Fontana), and *Frieberg* (after Münster). The view of Venice, attributed to Bolognino Zaltieri from 1565, is a clear derivative from Jacopo's. The view of Rome is attributed to G. F. Camocio from 1569, but derives from Pinard's 1555 view, updating the fortified walls in the foreground. Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*-1617, I:A, 10, 14, 16, 17, 35, 37, 39, 46, II:39; Skelton, "Introduction," appendix B, xxviii–xliii; "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].

[61] On Buonsignori, see Florio Banfi, "The Cartographer 'Stephanus Florentinus'," *Imago Mundi* 12 (1955): 92–102; but also see Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 105–8. For other examples such as the view of Bologna in the Sala di Bologna in the Vatican, see Stroffolino, *Città misurata*.

[62] The ichnographic city plan, first executed in the Renaissance by Leonardo da Vinci with his plan of Imola, gained popularity in the later half of the sixteenth century with the growth in surveying technical knowledge and the availability of treatises explaining the process. Still, even these plans often contained elements, especially walls, in relief, as we earlier saw with some of Piccolpasso's *piante*. For instance, Augustin Hirschvogel's *Circular Plan of Vienna* from 1552 shows the city's new defenses in relief. The technical ability needed to both execute and decipher the graphic information presented in these plans would seem to have kept the ichnographic plan from achieving popularity, a fact still acknowledged, as Pinto notes, by many modern tourist maps that depict monuments in relief on an ichnographic plan. On the history of ichnographic plans in the Renaissance, see Pinto, "Ichnographic City Plan," on these last points, especially page 50.

While clearly a European-wide interest, the overt technical foundations of Buonsignori's map demonstrate the specific persuasions amongst Italian practitioners within the Barbari lineage. The rise in popularity of the Barbari type of views in the middle of the sixteenth century can be connected to the development of surveying practices. In an appendix to his German edition of Peter Apian's *Cosmographia* (1533), Gemma Frisius (1508–55) first published the method of triangulation with the *bussola*, making it both more accurate and easier to survey cities.[63] By the 1550s, these practices had become widespread enough for Cosimo Bartoli, Vasari's friend who provided the *invenzione* for the Sala di Cosimo I, to write a compendium of the most up-to-date methods of surveying, collecting parts of various other treatises on the subject including Frisius'. The resultant book was Bartoli's *Del modo di misurare*, published in 1564.[64] The Italian specialty in modern fortification infused them with a preference for the type of city views that used the byproducts of their architectural practice, the surveys and plans.[65] The Barbari type of view was championed in Italy during the mid- to late sixteenth century by the many treatises that described the practice, as discussed by Stroffolino. For instance, Niccolò Tartaglia, a famous mathematician and ballistics expert, described the process used in making these types of views in his treatise *Quesiti et inventioni diverse* (1546). Bartoli also discussed the same practices in his *Del modo di*

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[63] Frisius' treatise on triangulation was titled the *Libellus de locorum describendorum ratione*. It first appeared as an appendix to the second edition of Peter Apian's *Cosmographicus Libellus* (1533). Pogo, "Gemma Frisius," especially 471–72. Also see Pinto, "Ichnographic City Plan," 45–46; Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 51–52.

[64] Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare*; Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 179–81; Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 27, 74–82.

[65] Nuti refers to this idea, and Stroffolino borrows it from her. Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 147; Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 161.

misurare, as did Egnazio Danti, Cosimo's state cosmographer and mathematician, in his *Trattato del Radio Latino* (1583).[66]

As mentioned, Cipriano Piccolpasso was unusual in practicing both plans and views—in fact, he was unusual amongst Italians in making profile views at all (figures 74–78). His images reveal with which style he was more familiar. His profile and perspective views lack the high degree of verisimilitude found amongst other practitioners' similar images, found mainly in the north, while his plans and his bird's-eye view of Perugia confidently transcribe the architectural fabrics.[67] Many other Italian examples demonstrate their particular strength in this type in the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1575, Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, Scipione Dattili, and Domenico Tibaldi frescoed the large view of Bologna in the Sala di Bologna in the Vatican (figure 117). At the end of the century, Francesco Vanni in 1595 made a view of Siena as a Barbari-lineage type for Cosimo's son Ferdinando I of Tuscany (figure 118).[68]

Even Vasari himself, according to his 8 January 1557 letter, knew of Jacopo's techniques and recognized the qualities of the type. He also must have known how to survey through his architectural practice. Vasari turned to the Barbari lineage in the Palazzo Vecchio decorations for his painting *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Elba* (figures 42–43, 119). For this painting he relied on Giovanni Camerini's bird's-eye view

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[66] Stroffolino suggests that the methods of making bird's-eye views (my Barbari lineage) found resonance in Italy because of its similarity to perspective in its conception of space as an interconnected system of points that allowed for the measurable translation of those points to paper. Her examples almost exclusively derive from the second half of the sixteenth century in Italy. She includes the relevant excerpts from the mentioned treatises. Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, especially 13, 115–44, 158–83.

[67] Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*. But see also Danti's Bolognese manuscript, which shows many prominent buildings in profile. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 166–69; Fanti, *Ville, castelli e chiesi*.

[68] Stroffolino discusses these images, see Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 166, 172, 179, 189. On the Sala Bologna, see also Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 144–50.

of the city (figure 120).[69] Camerini made his view in 1553 while architect of the fortifications with the aid of a survey and plan he made of the city (figure 121).[70] Vasari's painting reflects its technical origins, presenting the city in a mostly schematic bird's-eye view in an acknowledgement to its primary subject, the fortifications. Vasari draws more attention to the specialized knowledge required of the audience by including the plan of the city held by the figure of Camerini. With his own technical abilities, the multitude of bird's-eye views produced by his countrymen, and its relationship to the Italian export of fortifications, the Barbari lineage must have seemed a native product to Vasari, as it did to his countrymen.

City View Divisions III: The Antwerp School

In contrast, a third type achieved a high degree of naturalism without any recourse to surveying. It is this group to which Stradano's Palazzo Vecchio views belong. I have termed this style the Antwerp school, since most of its protagonists trained and worked in Antwerp.[71] However, the two artists who apparently first produced work in this style,

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[69] Manetti suggests this in a caption, with which I concur, see Renzo Manetti, *Kosmos: L'idea di Cosmopoli fra diplomazia ed esoterismo* (Florence: Aletheia, 2001), fig. 5.

[70] Camerini began work at Portoferraio in 1548. For his involvement in the building of Portoferraio, see Amelio Fara, *Bernardo Buontalenti*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1995), 17; Manetti, *Kosmos*, 22–50; Giuseppe M. Battaglini, *Cosmopolis: Portoferraio medicea: Storia Urbana, 1548–1737* (Rome: Multigrafica, 1978); Amelio Fara, *Portoferraio: Architettura e urbanistica, 1548–1877* (Turin: Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1997).

[71] Nuti proposed a specifically Northern style centered on Flanders, but described it in terms of the de Seta circle, as the profile approach. By her own admission her proposal is not made certain. Her passage is worth quoting in full to indicate the differences in consideration between us, and to underscore the adherence to the de Seta classifications:

> The alternative [to Italy's interest in perspective views] at about the same time, which was peculiar to the North, especially to Flanders, consisted in what is commonly called the profile approach—a very low point taken at a distance, with a wide and open horizon, and with a significant proportion of pictorial space occupied by sky. This choice marks a watershed, or a borderline, between the two visual cultures, because the profile approach is peculiar to the North, especially to Flanders, and is absent from Italian work. The concept of Northern-ness would require a more accurate definition rather than this rather vague

Marten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) and Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (c. 1500–c. 1559), spent no noticeable time in the city.

The style, when first seen in van Heemskerck's panoramic view of Rome with its heightened participatory naturalism, already appears fully formed (figure 122).[72] The artist made the view during his time in Rome between 1532 and 1536. The city, seen from the Monte Caprino (part of the Capitoline hill southwest of the Campidoglio), spreads out below the viewer. The artist captured the ensuing panorama in all its overwhelming detail. The major monuments, such as the Castel Sant'Angelo, the Colosseum, and Sta. Maria Maggiore, jut out of the urban fabric similar to the Quattrocento style, but on a more natural scale. Many are labeled to aid the viewer in identification, since the monuments no longer draw attention to themselves. Architectural filler still occurs, but the houses now have gained individuality, adding naturalism. The city undulates along the topography of its territory, nestled within its hills and valleys, adding another layer of visual information not offered as qualitatively, if at all, in the other two types. Van Heemskerck presented the entire scene in a uniform, naturalistic

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one of ambiguous expression. I use it deliberately as an undifferentiated whole in order to outline a contrast." Nuti, "Mapping Places," 98.

In many ways, Nuti's description sounds more like seventeenth-century Dutch landscapes, with the wide horizon and large proportion of sky, distinctions already made by Alpers. Nuti goes on to attempt further explanation, but gives only two examples, those little known and unillustrated. Ibid., 99; also Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 119–68. The evidence of sixteenth-century Flemish views, such as those of Anton van den Wyngaerde, do not necessarily bear out Nuti's profile argument. My discussion presented here, of an Antwerp school of views, attempts to redefine her "Northern-ness."

[72] On van Heemskerck, see H. Faries, C. Steibuchel, and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, "Maarten van Heemskerck and Jan van Scorel's Haarlem Workshop," in *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice* (Leiden, 1995), 135–39; Ilja M. Veldman, "Maarten van Heemskerck en Italie" *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 44 (1993): 125–42; E. Filippi, *Maarten van Heemskerck: Inventio Urbis* (Milan, 1990); J. C. Harrison, Jr., *The Paintings of Maerten van Heemskerck: A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1987); Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Maarssen, The Netherlands: Gary Schwartz, 1977), 11–18; C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, 2 vols. (Berlin: J. Bard, 1913–16).

perspective and scale corresponding to the viewer's position. The resulting enlivened experience is heightened by the inclusion of figures on the same scale populating the scene. The artist shaded his pen and ink drawing with the use of hatching and the subsequent addition of ink wash, what will be a hallmark of this style of view. In all, the style recommends the artist's sketching of the view on-site. That idea transfers the apparent fidelity of the scene to its subject, suggesting that the image captures the city just as it appeared.

While van Heemskerck was still in Italy, where he also produced a similar view of Florence (though on a smaller scale) in 1536, Vermeyen made views of Barcelona and Tunis in the same manner in 1535 as court artist for Emperor Charles V.[73] Charles had commissioned Vermeyen to accompany the military expedition to Tunis in 1535. The artist made his views on this trip. He later incorporated the city portraits into designs (commissioned 1546) for a series of tapestries woven between 1549 and 1554 that celebrated the victory. Both views, now lost, are known through the tapestries, and through engravings published in volumes I and II of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (figures 123–24).[74] Again the cities are shown from an attainable position on a hill overlooking the city, while the urban environment spreads out below in verisimilar form.

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[73] On van Heemskerck's stopover in Florence during his return to the Netherlands, see Bart Rosier, "The Victories of Charles V: A Series of Prints by Maarten van Heemskerck, 1555–56," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 20 (1990–91): 36.

[74] The Barcelona view was engraved by Frans Hogenberg; the Tunis view was engraved by Cornelis Bos. Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, I:5, II:57. Vermeyen may have trained with Bernard van Orley (1488–1541), who may have had connections with Jacopo de'Barbari through Margaret of Austria's court and who apparently received Jacopo's coveted sketchbooks from her. Vermeyen also worked for Margaret of Austria from 1525–30. Van Orley also designed the famous tapestry series *The Battle of Pavia* for Charles V c. 1526–28, which contains views of cities, though more in the Quattrocento style. In addition, Vermeyen's style may have been influenced by Jan van Scorel, whose influence on the Antwerp school is considered below. Finally, Vermeyen in designing the *Tunis* tapestries apparently collaborated with Pieter Coecke van Aelst in Brussels in the late 1540s. Coecke designed his own city view, the panoramic view of Constantinople in his engraving *The Customs and Fashions of the Turks*, 1553. On Vermeyen and the

Roughly five years later, c. 1540, Cornelis Massys (d. 1556), who was born in Antwerp c. 1510 and entered the Guild of St. Luke there in 1532, produced a similarly styled view of Brussels (figure 125). The drawing shows the city from the west, outside the Hal gate, where the wall travels up the hill to the right, and the city itself slides down a gradual hill to the east away from the viewer. Massys also used pen and ink, hatching for modeling, small figures populating the road along the wall, and labels for the major monuments. He sketched in the surrounding extra-urban environment with the barest details, the vegetation marked by casual graphic loopings. The drawing itself, with its loose and quick handling of lines and forms, must be only a sketch. The scholar Burton Dunbar has suggested that the drawing was perhaps a preparatory sketch for another work, either never completed or lost, or one recording the artist's travels.[75]

Battle of Tunis tapestries, see Hendrick J. Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen: Painter of Charles V and His Conquest of Tunis*, 2 vols. (Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco Publishers, 1989), especially A44, A45; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 385–91, 428–34, also 296–97, 321–28 on van Orley's *Battle of Pavia* tapestries.

[75] On this sketch, see Dunbar, "'View of Brussels'." He dates it to c. 1540 on the basis of stylistic comparison with Massys' other landscape drawings, following Max J. Friedländer's earlier attribution. There are problems with Dunbar's argument of attribution, which in part depends on dating. He does not mention the 1552 renovation of the Large Tower, of which the earlier version appears in the Massys image, and therefore aids Dunbar's conclusion of dating it to the 1540s. The Hal Gate looks nothing like it appears in the other version of the city, and I have been unable to find any indications that it was also renovated in the 1540s–50s. The church of Ss. Michael and Gudule (now a cathedral as of 1952 but then a collegiate church) is shown without the wooden spire that completed the northern tower in 1534, no longer extant but clearly seen in a drawing by Remigio Cantagallina. Victor-Gaston Martiny, *Bruxelles: l'architecture des orignes à 1900* (Brussels: Nouvelles Editions Vokaer, 1980), 156, 173. If we accept this missing internal evidence, then the drawing could date to an earlier period, perhaps between 1532 when Massys joined the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke and 1534 when the spire was added. The stylistic evidence Dunbar cites on page 396 is general enough that it could describe any of a number of views by different artists, nor is it enough to date the drawing specifically to 1540. If the view is by Massys, it must at least date to before 1544, when the artist was exiled. However, Dunbar also cites the lack of the Willebroek canal, built between 1550 and 1561, to date the image and help attribute the view to Massys. Dunbar, "'View of Brussels'," 396. The canal did not enter the city until 1561, however, when the city opened the Rivage gate to permit it. On the Willebroek canal and the Rivage Gate, see Martiny, *Bruxelles*, 26, 218 n. 62. Nor is it clear that the canal should even appear in the image from that point of view. More problematic, Dunbar claims that the canal can be seen in van den Wyngaerde's view of Brussels from 1558, but in fact it cannot. The water feature with boats in this view is the Seine. The Rivage Gate where the canal enters the city walls would be located to the right of the circular bastion along the wall at the right of van den Wyngaerde's image, as noted in the

Not long after Massys made his view of Brussels, Anton van den Wyngaerde produced his first known work, a topographical view of Dordrecht, in c. 1544 (figure 126). While his early years are clouded in mystery, it seems likely that he was born in Antwerp c. 1525. The artist of the same name who joined the Antwerp painter's guild in 1510 was perhaps his father.[76] The view of Dordrecht exemplifies van den Wyngaerde's style, which would change little over the next two and half decades. It also demonstrates his affiliation with the Antwerp school.[77] While the point of view is more elevated and further removed from the city than is perhaps typical, van den Wyngaerde's attention to detail, lively handling of line and modeling, and thorough treatment of not just the city but also its surrounding receding countryside add an incredible degree of verisimilitude and recommend its extreme fidelity. Watercolors in green, blue, red, and brown add further detail. These would subsequently appear in all of van den Wyngaerde's finished drawings. The scene is widely populated with figures and boats that add interest and a sense of scale. Nevertheless, the fidelity remains illusory, as the relative scale between monuments, urban filler, and boats lack cohesiveness. The monuments tower out of their surrounding fabric, while boats appear larger than the fortifications of the city. In addition, the artist depicted the monuments in profile, subtly contrasting them against the

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view of Brussels in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, see Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, 1:14. The same circular bastion can be seen to the left of the Rivage Gate in Remigio Cantagallina's *Fête sur la glace hors de l'ancienne porte du Rivage* from 1612/13. A missing architectural feature, then, can be an indicator, though certainly not a dependable one. For another example, cf. the discussion for the dating of van den Wyngaerde's *Ancona* on page 56, note 80.

[76] This is the accepted argument regarding Anton van den Wyngaerde's life, and is made simply on the notion that if he joined the guild in 1510, he would have been in his seventies when he traveled to and then extensively throughout Spain, also siring a son in those years (1566), and then would have died in his eighties. Scholars find this advanced age unlikely for the degree of his activity. Of course, it is not impossible. For these details of his life, see Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views," 55–56.

[77] It is demonstrative of the state of city view scholarship that Nuti, a proponent of the de Seta school, claims van den Wyngaerde has an entirely personal and idiosyncratic style of city views, placing him outside the general history of these images and even going so far, with no basis in fact, as to state his profession as cartographer, rather than artist. Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 94–97.

angled perspective of the city. The difference in perspective results from the methods of the Antwerp school, which I will discuss shortly. For now, the sense of realism can overcome the problems of perspective and scale, so that the casual viewer would never notice them.

Van den Wyngaerde went on to make a successful career out of drawing topographical views. They are the only work of his left to us, although there are reports of topographical paintings of Flemish, Italian, and Spanish cities by him in the Alcazar and the Prado, since destroyed.[78] At about the same time as the Dordrecht view, the artist produced a view of s'Hertogenbosch, sharing many of the same qualities (figure 127). This view positions the viewer lower, though at the level of a hill that could have existed southwest of the city. In addition, it adds another element to the composition that van den Wyngaerde often reproduced where possible: a road leads from the viewer's position around to the far left of the image and curves back to a gate at the corner of the city walls. Pedestrians, riders on horseback, and a cart travel this road, coming and going from the city. This compositional feature adds to the transitive qualities of the image. It engages the viewer and draws him not just into the image but into the city as an entrant, a participant within the scene. Further travelers pass just under the viewer's nose in the extreme foreground to the right, adding to the feeling of inclusion. It aids the suggestion that the artist recorded a sight directly in front of him. Also in these early years, van den Wyngaerde made a large view of London, dated to 1544, which consists of fourteen sheets, and shows the city from the top of the Southwark Cathedral's belltower (figure

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[78] Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views," 56.

128).[79] Van den Wyngaerde next traveled to Italy between 1552 and 1553, where he did views of Rome, Genoa, Naples, and Ancona (figures 129–32).[80] He then returned to the Netherlands, entered the employ of King Philip II of Spain, and joined the 1557 campaign into northern France, documenting sieges such as that of San Quentin and Ham. During this period he continued to make views of Flemish cities, including Sluys, Dunkirk, Mechelen, Bruges, and Brussels, the last of which is dated 1558 (figure 133). That year, van den Wyngaerde traveled to England, where for the next three years he made views of the Royal Palaces.[81] In 1561, Philip II commissioned the artist to make views of all the principal cities of Spain. Van den Wyngaerde spent the next ten years of

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[79] On this London view, see H. M. Colvin and Susan Foister, *Panorama of London Circa 1544 by Anthonis Van Den Wyngaerde*, London Topographical Society Publications (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1996).

[80] Anton van den Wyngaerde's view of Ancona has been dated to *ante*-1532, since it does not show the citadel that was begun that year by Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. However, the view does show a bastion built along the marina walls in 1536–37 by Francesco Fiorenzuoli to the right of the image, and therefore must date to van den Wyngaerde's time in Italy c. 1552–55. Here the missing citadel may simply be due to the image not being finished, but more likely van den Wyngaerde planned, or executed and subsequently lost, a separate view of the citadel that he later planned to incorporate together with the larger view, as was his *modus operandi*. Bury misdated the Ancona view. Bury, "Francisco de Holanda," 179–80; Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 141; also see John Bury, review of *Ciudades del Siglo de oro: Las vistas españoles de Anton van den Wyngaerde*, ed. Richard L. Kagan, *Burlington Magazine* 663 (1989): 714. On the development of the Ancona fortifications, see Fabio Mariano, *Architettura nelle Marche dall'età classica al liberty* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 1995), 281–84; also Frommel and Adams, *Architectural Drawings*, 1:179; Vasari, *Lives* (C. de Vere ed.), 6:133; Francesco Laparelli, *Visita e progetti di miglior difesa in varie fortezze ed altri luoghi dello stato pontificio: Trascrizione di un manoscritto inedito di Franceso Laparelli architetto cortonese*, ed. and intro. Paolo Marconi, Accademia Etrusca-Cortona note e documenti, 3 (Cortona: Grafiche Calosci, 1970), especially 11. On van den Wyngaerde's process, cf. appendix 2.

[81] The Richmond Palace view is dated 1562, but if the date is correct, this must be a finished view made from sketches done earlier on site. The spire of St. Paul's, seen in the image, was destroyed by fire in 1561, and so it seems likely that van den Wyngaerde was not in the city after this event. Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views," 55. This detail shows the difficulty in not only dating these views from internal evidence, but even from their inscriptions, which do not necessarily signify the artist's presence in that city at that time. The Brussels view is another that may be dated after van den Wyngaerde had already left the city, and may have even been in England. The inscription on Massys' view of Brussels, dated 1522, has been shown to be a later, false addition, see Dunbar, "'View of Brussels'," 394–96.

his life traveling throughout Spain and to the coast of Africa producing these views, until his death in 1571.[82]

Another artist from Antwerp who made similar topographical views was Hendrick van Cleve III (d. between 1590 and 1595). Also born c. 1525, he trained in Frans Floris' (c. 1520–70) workshop, and then at the end of his apprenticeship traveled to Italy in 1550–51. There van Cleve made views of Rome, both panoramas in the style of Marten van Heemskerck's and focused images of sections and monuments of the city.[83] He made a view of Rome as seen from the Gianicolo hill, which he signed, dated 1550 (figure 134), and later used as a source for a painting of the same view.[84] The drawing demonstrates van Cleve's inclusion in the Antwerp school, with its similar point of view and overwhelmingly naturalistic detail. His viewing position is often slightly more elevated than the other Antwerp school artists. The elevated viewing angle effectively removes the ground from beneath the viewer's feet, yet the position still feels attainable, as if by architectural assistance. Figures enliven the view and roads lead from the viewer into the city, enhancing the feeling of inclusion. Van Cleve also made views of Florence, Naples, and Genoa, of which those extant have dates between 1584 and 1589. Scholars have suggested that the artist later reworked these, along with other paintings of areas

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[82] On the Spanish views, see Richard L. Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

[83] Some of van Cleve's drawn views were later etched and published as the series *Regionum, rurium, fundorumque, varii atque amoeni prospectus* by Philip Galle in 1587.

[84] Another panorama of Rome in pen, signed by van Cleve and dated 1550, is located in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome. It shows the city from the Oppio hill. The drawing and the relevant details of van Cleve's life are discussed in Alfonso Bartoli, "Il panorama di Roma delineato da Hendrik van Cleef nel 1550" *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 37 (1909): 3–11; Marjorn van der Meulen, "Cardinal Cesi's Antique Sculpture Garden: Notes on a Painting by Hendrick van Cleef III," *Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974): 17. Also on van Cleve, see Vicomte Terlinden, "Nouvelles *Vues de Rome* par Hendrik van Cleve," *Bulletin - Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique* 10 (1961): 101–4; Vicomte Terlinden, "Une *Vue de Rome* par Hendrik van Cleve," *Bulletin - Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique* 9 (1960): 165–74.

around Rome like the Villa and Cortile Belvedere (figure 135), from earlier views made by him or other artists.[85]

Shortly after van Cleve's Italian trip, another view of Brussels was made (figure 136). Now located in the Ashmolean Museum and unpublished, the view is more finished then Massys' version. It shows the city from a northern hill in front of the Flanders Gate (now a park in Laeken containing the Royal Greenhouses). This hill can be seen in Anton van den Wyngaerde's later view of the city from 1558, to the right of the image. The Ashmolean view looks across the valley made by the moat and the Seine River to the walls and the city beyond. Behind the city walls, the city rises up towards the Coudenbourg Palace at the back, the south end of the city. The view can be dated to after 1552, since the Large Tower (Grosse Tour, also called the Wollendries Toren or Tour du Préaux-Laines) shows only a flat roof. The tower was renovated in 1552, its stepped, peaked roof (seen in Massys' view) removed so that artillery could be placed on its top.[86] The city also built a new canal, the Willebroek, between 1550 and 1561. The canal entered the city at the Rivage Gate, built upon completion of the digging. The gate would be located just to the left of the Flanders Gate in the image. Neither canal nor gate appears in the image, thus suggesting a date between 1552 and 1561.[87] The view shares

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[85] See, for instance, van der Meulen, Cesi's Antique Sculpture Garden." The view of Florence has been dated to c. 1560, but Mori and Boffitto provide this date without explanation, see Giuseppe Boffito and Attilio Mori, *Piante e vedute di Firenze: Studio storico topograficao cartografico* (1926. Reprint, Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1973), 35. Van Cleve moved the Oltr'arno far to the right (to the east) in relation to the northern part of the city. The two parts appear to have been made separately, and later put together without attention to their actual correspondence. This would support the theory that van Cleve made the view from earlier sketches on site. The drawing is now in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe of the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica in Rome, f.n.166. Also see Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 141.

[86] On the Large Tower, see Martiny, *Bruxelles*, 27, 218 n. 77. The peaked roof can also be seen in Hans Bol's *Landscape with Parable of the Rich Man and View of the City of Brussels* painting from 1585 owned by the Galerie de Jonckheere, Paris (figure 149).

[87] The canal linked the city to Antwerp and the North Sea. On the Willebroek canal and the Rivage Gate, see Martiny, *Bruxelles*, 26, 218 n. 62; also Dunbar, "'View of Brussels'," 396. The lack of an architectural

almost all of the characteristics of the Antwerp school, including point of view, enlivening line, and extensive detail, creating an appearance of hyper-fidelity. Yet its lack of populating figures lessens the sense of verisimilitude, and rather than hatching lines for modeling, the artist used a grey wash. The extensive use of wash resembles van den Wyngaerde's views, but the hand is different. In fact, the work cannot be attributed properly to any of the known topographical artists. The closest would be Cornelis Massys, as the construction of the buildings, especially the pointed roofs of the gates, resemble each other closely. But the gestural looping of the trees, while found in parts of Massys' *Brussels*, appears nowhere else in Massys' other drawings, where he usually constructs his vegetation more like Pieter Bruegel the Elder (d. 1569), with quickly dashed, almost horizontal lines. The use of wash and lack of hatching also make it especially unusual in the corpus of city views.

Bruegel, born in Breda c. 1525–30 but trained in Antwerp under Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–50), can also be affiliated with the Antwerp school. Soon after joining the guild c. 1551–52, he traveled to Italy, going at least as far south as Naples. He returned to Rome by 1553, then to Antwerp by 1555. His view of Naples in the painting *Naval Battle in the Bay of Naples* records his presence in that city, as well as his place among the Antwerp school (figure 137). It too shows the requisite engaging verisimilitude. He painted it between 1552 and 1560, reworking sketches made from his time there in 1552.[88]

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feature in city views does not necessarily mean it did not yet exist, and as such cannot provide a certain date, as seen in note 80, page 56.

[88] Maria Forcellino, "Considerazioni sull'immagine di Napoli: da Colantonio a Bruegel," *Napoli nobilissima* 30 (1991): 90; Cesare de Seta, "L'immagine di Napoli dalla Tavola Strozzi a Jan Bruegel," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Raffaello Causa* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1988): 113. Allart questions

A third generation of artists from Antwerp would complete the sixteenth-century rise of the Antwerp school. The principal proponent of this generation is Joris Hoefnagel (d. 1601), born in Antwerp in 1542, and, according to his own admission, self-taught.[89] Hoefnagel traveled across most of Europe, to France 1560–62, Spain 1563–67, and England 1568–69, returning to Antwerp in 1569–70. He then traveled to Italy (with the cartographer Abraham Ortelius in 1577), Germany, Bohemia, and Austria, settling in Vienna in 1594 where he died seven years later. The views he made on these travels, in the Antwerp school style, were subsequently engraved and published in the *Civitates orbis terrarum* (figure 138). Finally, with the turn of the seventeenth century, the Antwerp school would fade, like the Barbari lineage, into a general preference for precision, thereby losing its personality.

Origins of the Antwerp School

Certain circumstances led to the development of the Antwerp school, although it cannot be traced to a definitive origin. We can, however, trace the spread of the style to at least two potential simultaneous beginnings, in the work of Joachim Patinir (c. 1480–1524) and Jan van Scorel (1495–1562). Patinir had been a master in Antwerp from 1515.

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the attribution based on style, comparing it instead to an engraving by Frans Huys, Dominique Allart, "Sur la piste de Bruegel en Italie: les pièces de l'enquête," in *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508–1608: atti del convegno internazionale Bruxelles 24–25 febbraio 1995*, ed. Nicole Dacos (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca della Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1999): 98–99.

[89] Hoefnagel recorded this on a drawing. Karl van Mander reported that he received instruction from Hans Bol. Bol apparently used Cornelis Massys' view of Brussels as background for his *Landscape with ... a View of Brussels*, from 1585, and so was associated with the Antwerp school, if only loosely (figure 149). On Hoefnagel, see M. L. Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the 'Four Elements': A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1984); A. E. Popham, "Georg Hoefnagel and the *Civitates orbis terrarum*," *Maso Finiguerra* 1 (1936): 192–201; John Oliver Hand et al., *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 198–202, where Hoefnagel's practice of making views based on studies made on site is discussed.

His fame rests on his landscape paintings, which combine a more naturalistic topography with a high, ideal point of view. The viewpoint gives an extended depth and overview yet retains an artificiality, as seen in the *Landscape with St. Hieronymous* from c. 1515–24 (figure 139). The Flemish artist collaborated with others, producing the landscapes for their paintings. He worked in this fashion with Quentin Massys (1466–1530), Cornelis' father, and possibly even with the young Cornelis before Patinir died in 1524. It has been suggested that Cornelis retained some of Patinir's influence in his style, but ultimately broke from that influence to forge a more naturalistic topography.[90] Van Scorel was one of the first Netherlandish artists to travel to Italy. He was also responsible for introducing Italian art to the northern Netherlands upon his return to Utrecht in 1524 following an extensive journey throughout Germany and Italy, and even to the Holy Land. Upon returning, he used sketches from his trip, especially from Jerusalem, to make topographically accurate settings for his paintings, one of the first artists to do so. For instance, he used a view of Jerusalem for the background of his *Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem*, painted c. 1526 (figure 140). Van Scorel trained Marten van Heemskerck while in Harlem between 1527 and 1530, instilling in his student the desire for travel to Italy and the passion for sketching on-site.[91] Though seemingly unrelated, these two artists, Patinir and van Scorel, share a common characteristic that may help to understand the development of the style—their association with Albrecht Dürer.

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[90] On Patinir's landscape specialty, see Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 43–45. For Cornelis Massys' stylistic relationship to Patinir, and particularly how Massys elaborated on that style, see Dunbar 1974–80,102–3.
[91] On Jan van Scorel, see Molly Ann Faries, "Jan van Scorel: His Style and Its Historical Context," (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1972); Molly A. Faries and M. Wolff, "Landscape in the Early Paintings of Jan van Scorel," *Burlington Magazine* 88 (1996): 724–33.

Dürer served as a distinctive catalyst for the Antwerp school. He himself produced city views with a remarkable degree of naturalism for the period. As early as 1495 he made watercolor views of Trent and Innsbruck (figure 141). Throughout his career, he painted and drew landscapes, both actual and invented, all with the same verisimilitude. Towards the end of his life he printed the *Siege of a Fortress* in 1527, which, while ideal, still presented the city within its topographical setting as if seen from a hillside, the scene enlivened by the clash of armies on the plain below (figure 142).[92] Dürer brought his naturalistic style to the Netherlands and specifically to Antwerp in 1520–21, where he met many of the artists there. The painters' guild, the Guild of St. Luke, entertained him, and Dürer became good friends with Joachim Patinir. The two frequently socialized and collaborated on work between 2 August and 20 August 1520. Dürer even attended Patinir's wedding, and gave him some of his prints, which the German artist had been selling while in the Netherlands.[93] The two artists shared a similar sensibility in art and towards landscape.[94] It seems likely that any influence Dürer had in Antwerp regarding a greater naturalism in landscape was channeled primarily through Patinir. Meanwhile, van Scorel had also associated closely with Dürer, studying with him in Nuremberg between 1518 and 1519 before turning south to Italy and then to Jerusalem.[95] The visual naturalism that van Scorel passed on to van Heemskerck may have come from this time with the older German artist.

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[92] On the *Siege of a Fortress*, see Walter L. Strauss, ed., *Albrecht Dürer: Woodcuts and Woodblock Prints* (New York: Abaris Books, 1980), 588.
[93] On Dürer's time in Antwerp and his friendship with Patinir, see Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer*, 135–40.
[94] Wood, *Altdorfer and Landscape*, 45.
[95] On van Scorel's brief period of study with Dürer, see Faries, "Jan van Scorel," 16–17.

Scholars have connected Dürer's naturalism to his early association with Jacopo de'Barbari.[96] The two knew each other in Nuremberg in 1500, where Jacopo spent a year as court painter and miniaturist to Emperor Maximilian. Dürer credited the Italian with inspiring him to study human proportion, writing in an unpublished draft of the introduction to his *Four Books on Human Proportion* that Jacopo "showed me the figures of a man and woman, which he had drawn according to a canon of proportion," despite the fact that "[Jacopo] did not want to show his principles to me clearly." Dürer then took to the study of Vitruvius to understand the classical idea of proportion.[97] The event records Dürer's growing awareness of Jacopo's work, not only in proportion but perhaps also the making of bird's-eye views—the Italian artist published his *Venice* that year. Clearly Jacopo had specific "principles," or practices, to his art, which he held secret. Those secrets likely explain the subsequent extended dearth of Barbari lineage views. The interaction between the two artists may have inspired Dürer to study the genre of city views in addition to proportion. His treatises on perspective, measurement, and fortification show that he learned the techniques used in the Barbari school. By combining this knowledge with his own practices, Dürer could then disseminate his personal version of Jacopo's "principles" among the already accomplished Flemish landscape artists.

Unfortunately, there are no more connections among the figures of the Antwerp school besides the circumstantial evidence that all reached artistic maturity in or around

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[96] Katherine Luber recently argued that, although the German artist was interested in Jacopo de'Barbari's work c. 1500, at the time of Dürer's 1506 trip to Venice he was much more influenced by the work of Venetian artists such as Giovanni Bellini, and that his study of their techniques was much more influential in the development of his naturalistic style. Luber is speaking primarily of painting techniques, however. Katherine Crawford Luber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially 64.

[97] Quoted and discussed in Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer*, 72.

Antwerp in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century. The visual evidence, however, is overwhelming. All of the mentioned views share remarkably similar traits. Most of the discussed artists produced not only topographical views but also landscape drawings and paintings. In addition, all display very similar hands, so much so that scholars have often had trouble distinguishing between them. A notorious example of this difficulty is the Errara sketchbook, located in the Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels (figure 143). This book, filled mostly with landscape drawings, originated within the Antwerp school. Now generally accepted to be by three different artists, scholars still cannot agree on their identities, or even on how to distinguish the images. Attributions have included Joachim Patinir, Quentin Massys, Matthys Cock (c. 1510–48), Hans Vereycken (active c. 1530–40), and Cornelis Massys, among others. The last three attributions are the most convincing, but still remain inconclusive.[98] The similarity of hands and styles in this sketchbook shows a strong correlation among a group of artists in Antwerp at this time, and demonstrates the close-knit character of the Antwerp school. The anonymous view of Brussels in the Ashmolean adds to the confirmation of this school. Its style resembles so many of the Antwerp artists, that it also avoids definitive attribution.

Vasari's Recognition of the Antwerp School

The similarity of style making up the Antwerp school was recognized even in Italy, and mentioned by Vasari in his *Lives of the Artists*. He described Bernardino

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[98] Burton L. Dunbar, "Some Observations on the 'Errara Sketchbook' in Brussels," *Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique* 21 (1972): 53–82. Hans Mielke in 1975 argued that the sketchbook is all by one artist, although this argument does not seem to have found support, see Hand et al., *Age of Bruegel*, 57.

Pinturicchio's (c. 1452–1513) c. 1488 decoration of the Villa Belvedere loggia as "painted entirely with landscapes, in which he depicted Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Naples in the Flemish style, something which was rarely employed until that time and which was very pleasing."[99] We cannot know exactly what Vasari meant, since Pinturicchio's views for the most part no longer exist. All that remain are unrecognizable fragments of cities and a view of the Belvedere itself (figures 144–46). These fragments resemble the Antwerp school views in the naturalism and proportion of the buildings and their relationship to the surrounding topography, though the few remains make such comparison difficult. Nevertheless, Vasari clearly associated a certain style of city views with Flemish artists. Scholars have not previously identified the reference of his term "Flemish style."[100] The distinction implies also that Vasari acknowledged other styles of city views, but Pinturicchio's resembled the Flemish style as opposed to those others. In addition, Vasari implied his approval of the use of city views as a decorative cycle as

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[99] "... dipinse una loggia tutta di paesi; e vi ritrasse Roma, Milano, Genova, Fiorenza, Vinezia, e Napoli, alla maniera de'Fiamminghi; che, come cosa insino allora non più usata, piacquero assai...." Vasari, *Opere*, 3:498. Translated in Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 253. On the cycle itself, see David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, 43 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 75–76, 79; Pietro Scarpellini and Maria Rita Silvestrelli, *Pintoricchio* (Milan: Federico Motta Editore, 2003), 100–3; Schulz, "View of Venice," 465; Juergen Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962): 35–44; Sven Sandström, "The Programme for the Decoration of the Belvedere of Innocent VIII," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 29 (1960): 35–60.

[100] T. S. R. Boase says that "for Vasari ... the term *fiamminghi* was one of wide applications including Martin Schongauer and Albrecht Dürer...." He goes on, however, to say that although there were few fifteenth-century Flemish paintings Vasari could have known, he was very familiar with sixteenth-century Flemish artists working in Italy, such as Michael Coxie, Maarten van Heemskerck, Jan Stephan van Calcar, Federico di Lamberto, and especially those in the employ of Duke Cosimo I, Giovanni Stradano and Giambologna. T. S. R. Boase, *Giorgio Vasari: The Man and the Book* (Princeton: Princeton Universtity Press, 1979), 197. For further reading on Vasari's discussion of Flemish artists, see Giorgio Bonsanti, "Gli artisti stranieri nelle Vite del Vasari," in *Il Vasari storiografo e artista: Atti del congresso internazionale nel IV centenario della morte, Arezzo-Firenze, 2–8 settembre 1974* (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul rinascimento, Palazzo Strozzi, 1974): 717–34. Nuti seems to imply a similar reading of this passage by including in her article the separate quotes "maniera" and "fiammingha" in relation to the *Palazzo Vecchio* city views and Giovanni Stradano. She offers no explanation for the supposed style, however, or for the appearance of the quoted words or their source. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 348.

well as their presentation in the "Flemish style." Flemish-style views of cities to him were "very pleasing." On this recognition of a penchant for landscape painting among the Flemish, Vasari stood on precedent. Francesco Lancilotti as early as 1509 wrote in his *Trattato di Pittura* that "a certain talent and discretion is needed for [the depiction of] near and distant landscape which the Flemish seem to have rather than the Italians."[101] Coupled with the Italian concern for the Barbari lineage, Vasari's admission of a "Flemish style" places these types into a diametric relationship on which the artist could draw.

Vasari put his approval of this style into practice through his employment of Giovanni Stradano for the city views of the Palazzo Vecchio, for it is the Antwerp school to which Stradano and his views belong. Stradano was born Jan van der Straet in Bruges in 1523. From 1537–40, he trained in Antwerp under Pieter Aertsen (1507/8–75), and he joined the Guild of St. Luke there in 1545. At that point Stradano left for Italy, where he remained to make his career. Although painted, his city views share the same characteristics as the views of Vermeyen, van den Wyngaerde, van Cleve, and Hoefnagel. Stradano's images usually present the city from an apparently attainable position (an existing one, where possible), they place the cities within the surrounding topography, and they display a high degree of verisimilitude (figures 11–29, 60–73).[102] While much of the filler architecture carries a generic quality, Stradano carefully individualizes much of each city and presents them in a cohesive perspective. The monuments draw attention

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[101] Quoted in W. S. Gibson, *"Mirror of the Earth": The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989): 40. Alpers has described the same divisions of perception and artistry between Dutch and Italian artists in the seventeenth century. Alpers, *Art of Describing*, especially 139–59 for her discussion of landscape and city views.

[102] Cf. appendix 1, especially C-VII. 1–9, C-I.12–19.

to themselves with their enlarged and raised profiles, yet still appear consistent with the rest of the urban fabric. The compositions also often contain a road that leads from the viewer's position to a gate in the city. In many views, the countryside contains a population of figures traveling to and from the city along the road (figures 62, 64–65). Those figures even share their thin, lengthy forms in common with those of van den Wyngaerde (figures 147–48). Stradano's origins in this school must have been a boon to Vasari, who from 8 November 1557 used Stradano exclusively for the landscapes and city views in the Quartiere di Leone X.[103] By next determining the steps of the Antwerp school process, we can then apply that method to Stradano's views and finally understand the techniques involved in their creation.

The Antwerp School Method

The method of the Antwerp school can be explained through a discussion of the work of one of its members, Anton van den Wyngaerde. The Flemish artist left a legacy of hundreds of drawings that thoroughly evince the steps involved in his process. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann first explained van den Wyngaerde's process, which I expand on in appendix 2.[104] In brief, van den Wyngaerde worked towards his final presentation drawings through a series of smaller, detailed on-site sketches. To build up the overall fabric of the city required a basic sequence of about four steps. He began by roughly sketching the composition of the city, schematically laying it out to grasp the overall topography. He then made a detailed sketch of the profile of the city from a point outside

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[103] Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 100. Cf. page 56, note 12.
[104] Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views." Appendix 2 explains in detail the process, including where I added to Haverkamp-Begemann's foundational study.

of it, preferably at a height enabling him to look out over the subject. He then moved to the edge of the city, for instance, at the top of a gate, to sketch the areas hidden from him by the walls and front buildings. Finally, he climbed to a high point in the center of the city, such as a belltower, and sketched the "back" of the city and its surrounding countryside. In addition, van den Wyngaerde made individual detail studies of the major monuments of the city, which themselves required one or two preparatory sketches, sometimes done directly in pen. The majority of sketches were made with black chalk at first, which the artist then went over with pen and ink, making corrections to scale and position as required. He next took all of these sketches back to his studio for chalk transfer to assimilate the various sketches into a single drawing. Again the chalk was traced with ink and corrections were made. Often this drawing served as the final drawing, but sometimes, after making the necessary corrections and adding texture, shading, and other naturalistic details such as figures, the artist copied the view once again. The last step constituted coloring the final drawing with watercolors to increase its presentation quality.

With van den Wyngaerde's process explicated, we can posit the same methods for the whole Antwerp school. The remarkable similarity of style in these views suggests an intimate group of artists using the same techniques. The process, complicated by the amount of visual information that required handling, was deliberate and straightforward. It also must have been institutionalized, judging from the standardization within van den Wyngaerde's views. This means its practitioners could pass it on to their students. The finished product gave little hint as to the methods involved. In this way, the artists of the

Antwerp school kept the secrets of their process to themselves, specializing in a distinct type of view that Vasari could later acknowledge in his biography of Pinturrichio.

Other artist's views show evidence to support this institutionalization of method. The qualities of Massys' *Brussels* recommend its position as a preparatory sketch from nature for a later final view (figure 125). Indications include small and fast strokes of the pen that build up forms without regard for precision; the greater detail given to the urban fabric in the center of the composition, especially to the monuments, while the surrounding countryside is only lightly sketched with a few quick strokes and loops; the inscriptions labeling the monuments; and its small size (about 4 ½ x 11 inches). The improper positioning of some of the monuments noticed by Dunbar further identifies it as a quick sketch meant for working out the composition, a status reinforced by the apparent lack of chalk under-drawing and its cut-down edges.[105] The reappearance of Massys' composition in Hans Bol's 1585 painting of *Landscape ... with a View of Brussels* (figure 149), including the pre-1552 peaked roof of the Large Tower, suggests that Massys made a more finished, now unknown, view of the city to which Bol had access. Among the other artists, van Heemskerck and Bruegel both used chalk underdrawings overlaid with pen in their landscape sketches, the former in his *vedute* of Roman ruins and monuments, the latter in his views from his travels through the Alps.[106] Bruegel's extant drawings made from these travels confirm the steps outlined by van den Wyngaerde's drawings.

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[105] Dunbar, "'View of Brussels'," 392–94. Even the faintest definite lines are by pen, even in the countryside. I have been unable to see the drawing in person, but the lack of chalk was confirmed by Andreas Heese of the curatorial staff at the Kupferstichkabinet Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, to whom I owe my appreciation.

[106] On van Heemskerck, see Hülsen and Egger, *römischen Skizzenbücher von Heemskerck*. The use of black chalk was a common element in van Heemskerck's process; for examples, see Hand et al., *Age of Bruegel*, 193, 194. On Bruegel, see Hand et al., *Age of Bruegel*, 91–92. I have been unable so far to determine the presence or lack of chalk underdrawing in Hendrick van Cleve's views.

Some were apparently done from nature, while the next larger drawings combine these sketches and work them up into more detailed views, probably in the studio. From these latter pieces the artist then made the presentation drawings now called the Alpine landscapes.[107] Of the later generation, Hoefnagel commonly used graphite, then pen, then watercolor as he worked up a view.[108] Such institutionalization of material and method suggests that Stradano used the same practice in his views.

Antwerp School Practices in the Palazzo Vecchio Views

Clearly, Vasari's statement in the *Ragionamenti* that he surveyed Florence and used a plan in making the *Siege* view does not describe the actual productive process. Measuring was simply not necessary. As the differing perspectives of Stradano's *Siege of Florence* indicate, he, like van den Wyngaerde, sketched the city from three or four locations (figure 14). He then combined those views, perhaps with more detailed sketches of specific monuments such as the Duomo and the Palazzo Vecchio. Interestingly, Stradano either had better access to high vantage points, or took better care to make the perspective more cohesive than did van den Wyngaerde—almost nowhere in Stradano's views does the artist present monuments in profile that would be at odds with the high viewing position. The one monument that does seem to appear in profile when it should not is the Duomo, though even this perspective is difficult to distinguish. Based on the

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[107] Hand et al., *Age of Bruegel*, 91–98, especially 92. Bruegel also occasionally used chalk in the artificially constructed landscapes, or *Mischlandschaft*, such as the Alpine landscapes. Christopher White, "Pieter Bruegel the Elder: A New Landscape Drawing," *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963): especially 560; Konrad Oberhuber, "Bruegel's Early Landscape Drawings," *Master Drawings* 19 (1981): especially 146.
[108] On Hoefnagel, see Hand et al., *Age of Bruegel*, 201–2. Paul Bril and Jacques Savery both also used the chalk-and-pen techniques in their views from nature. Hand et al., *Age of Bruegel*, 83–84, 251–55.

evidence available in the image, then, Stradano did indeed use the Antwerp school methods in making his views.

Further visual evidence is almost nonexistent. Unfortunately, almost no sketches for the city views exist. There are none for the Sala di Clemente VII. In the Sala di Cosimo I only drawings for the allegories of *Volterra* and *Borgo San Sepolcro* exist (figures 150–51); *Borgo San Sepolcro* shows no city at all, *Volterra* only outlines where the city form will appear. Artists squared both drawings for transfer to the larger cartoon. Most of what remains belongs to the paintings in the Salone dei Cinquecento. Among these, the extant drawings show only the barest sketches of the city, such as the drawing for the allegories of *Pistoia*, *Prato*, *San Miniato nel Valdarno*, and *Pescia* in the Salone (figures 152). It would seem therefore that while the smaller drawings sometimes indicated the general position of the city in the early idea, the city in detail was only joined to the composition in the final cartoon. Most of these drawings are by Vasari. The drawing for the *Pistoia* allegory in the Salone has been attributed to Jacopo Zucchi (figure 153). The only allegory given to Stradano is that of *Volterra* in the Salone (figure 154). In this case, the drawing contains much more detail. It includes a sketch of the city as it will appear in the final version, lending further evidence to his preeminent position as the topographer of the project. The other images showing locations, such as the battle images in the Salone, or the cartoon for the ceilings of the Sala di Leone X, also generally note their positions in brief sketches. Exceptions are drawings for *The Triumph after the War of Siena* (figure 155), *The Capture of Monteriggioni* (figure 156), and *The Capture of Vicopisano* (figure 157), all of which have also been attributed to Stradano. Again these drawings bear out his topographical ability. A drawing for *The Capture of the*

Fortress of Stampace at Pisa (figure 158), given to Vasari, also depicts the setting in thorough detail, and has been squared for transfer. An earlier drawing for the same painting, by Giovanni Battista Naldini, more typically only barely lays out the walls of the city (figure 159). Naldini also drew a beginning composition for *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena*, which is squared for transfer (figure 160). This drawing faithfully records the general shape of the small fort, and situates the city in the background, though again without the fuller detail included in the final image. Stradano's drawing for the same painting shows a composition closer to the final result (figure 161). It more accurately captures the structure of the fort and background fabric of the city than does Naldini's, since the Fleming had earlier painted both parts of Siena in the Sala di Cosimo I (figure 65).[109]

The archival evidence, while scarcely more helpful, does clarify some points. It proves that the artists considered drawing from nature essential to the project. In the summer of 1557, the artist Michele Tosini (also known as Michele di Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio) traveled through Tuscany visiting cities to be portrayed in the Sala di Cosimo I. A payment on 21 August 1557 for this service records his charge "to make drawings of various sites and places," and "raise plans of Montecarlo, Pistoia, and other

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[109] Attributions of the drawings for the Salone have been problematic, and a point of dissension in the literature. For the major protagonists in the discussion, see Thiem, "Vasaris Entwurfe"; Barocchi, *Vasari pittore*; Barocchi, *disegni del Vasari*; Barocchi, "Vasari pittore"; Thiem, "Neuent deckte Zeichnungen"; Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi"; Pillsbury, "Sala Grande Drawings". The attributions are summarized in Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 251–55, 264–67. Baroni Vannucci provides the most recent catalogue of Stradano's drawings for the paintings. Baroni Vannucci, *Giovanni Stradano*, 189–94. For the attributions of the extant drawings for the Quartiere di Leone X, which have proved much less controversial than those of the Salone, see the summary in Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 123–25, 134, 141, 152, 159.

places."[110] Tosini was well known for his landscape work, and so, prior to Stradano's involvement in the project, Vasari used Tosini to capture the city views.[111] At this stage, Vasari and Tosini must have used the methods of the Barbari lineage. This would support Vasari's description of making a plan and then coordinating it with the drawing of the city. Upon Stradano's joining of Vasari's workshop, which became permanent as of 18 September 1557, the Flemish artist became Vasari's main assistant and the executor of the city views.[112] He must have immediately taken over this job from Tosini, since all of the views in the Sala di Cosimo I are by his hand.[113] Stradano's use of Tosini's graphic material may explain the discrepancy between the city views of this room and other Antwerp school views. Some of the views in the lower frieze of the Cosimo room, for instance, feel measured, cold, and almost like models, such as *Montecarlo* (figure 62) and *Empoli* (figure 60). They lack the vibrancy and dynamism of the cities found in the Sala di Clemente VII. The Cosimo room *Florence* (figure 64) and *Siena* (figure 65) also demonstrate Stradano's liveliness and verisimilitude. These views he could have easily sketched on-site.

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[110] "a fare dissegni di vari siti e lu[o]ghi"; "a levare pia[nt]e di Montecarlo, Pistoia e altri luoghi." Quoted in Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 153. Tosini began work in Vasari's workshop on 1 March 1557, Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 100.

[111] On Tosini's acknowledged proficiency at landscape, see Heidi J. Hornik, "Michele Tosini: The Artist, the Ouevre, and the Testament," in *Continuity, Innovation, and Connoisseurship: Old Master Paintings at the Palmer Museum of Art*, ed. Mary Jane Harris (University Park, Penn.: Penn State Press, 2003): 29; Vasari, *Opere*, 7:544.

[112] Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 100.

[113] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 145–51. To support an attribution to Stradano, the landscape elements are very much the same in all of the portraits, and match Stradano's other landscapes, such as those in the Sala di Giovanni dalle Bande Nere. The figures in *Florence*, *Siena*, and *Montecarlo* also correspond to Stradano's figures elsewhere. The style of the cities themselves are not different enough to preclude Stradano, nor do they resemble the work of Michele Tosini. Nevertheless, Baroni Vannucci attributes, unconvincingly, the views in the Sala di Cosimo I on the lower register to Tosini. Baroni Vannucci, *Giovanni Stradano*, 29–35, 73. Nuti agrees with Baroni Vannucci, continually describing these cities as similar to the de Seta circle's version of the Barbari style, as aerial perspectives made with maps. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 347, 349.

In fact, corresponding evidence between the views and the cities themselves suggests Stradano's presence among the hills of those cities, sketching them from strategic points just as did van den Wyngaerde. The variety of views of Florence required by the decorations obviously offered a variety of opportunities to portray the different views from nature. For instance, the bastions at the gate of S. Giorgio seen in the Sala di Clemente VII (figure 20), and those at the Porta Romano that now form part of the Boboli Gardens seen in the Sala di Cosimo I's *Florence* (figure 64), both show images captured from a position at the gates. In the case of the latter, Stradano must have sat atop the gate just as van den Wyngaerde may have done for his view of the English palace at Oatlands (figure 352). Other viewing positions can be just as specifically pinpointed. For the view of Prato in the Sala di Cosimo I (figure 59), the artist climbed the hill to the northwest of the city. A street known as the Salita dei Cappucini now replaces the old steep path that led to a Capuchin monastery on this hill, making it easy for Stradano to have achieved his coveted position (figure 162). At Cortona the artist sketched the city from the first hill to the northwest, where today a smaller road turns off from N71 to lead to a small cluster of houses known as Cegliolio (figures 49, 163). At Piombino, he managed to achieve a slight overlook, despite the relatively flat topography around the city (figures 66, 164–65). The viewing position is from a small hill to the northeast. This positioning placed the new citadel Cosimo ordered built at the north end of the city in the foreground of the image. Stradano clearly made every effort, topography permitting, to attain a height from which he could easily observe and sketch the city from nature.

Ten years later, while working on the Salone dei Cinquecento walls, the Vasari workshop used the same practices. In 1567, Vasari sent two letters to Giovanni Caccini,

the *provveditore* of Pisa, announcing Naldini's arrival there to sketch views of the city for the battle scenes. Vasari specifically directs the views Naldini should capture: "First, from outside [the walls], raise the area of Stampace from the gate of San Marco to the gate of the old citadel, ..." then "take another view over the Tower of Stampace and portray from inside [the walls] all of those parts of Pisa that you can see."[114] With this order, Vasari confirms the use of the same process as used by van den Wyngaerde. The master wants a view taken from outside the city, and then, moving to the interior, a sketch of the rest of the city from a high vantage point, to later be combined. The same letters confirm that Vasari sent Naldini to Livorno to sketch there. Naldini then returned to Pisa to draw the Tower at San Vicenzo. A drawing by Naldini of the Pisa Duomo complex shows the artist carrying out his orders, having climbed high enough to get above the roofline (figure 166).[115] Here the viewing position is much closer to the Duomo complex than that seen in the *Capture of the Fortress of Stampace at Pisa* (figure 167). Naldini stood only a block away from the Duomo. His drawing belongs to the detail sketch stage found in van den Wyngaerde's work. The Duomo sketch was somewhat stylized in the translation to the painting, but it can still be recognized in the position of

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[114] The quote is from the second letter, and more thoroughly reads: "In prima, che lievi di fuori il sito di Stampacie dalla porta a san Marcho fino alla porta della cittadella vechia, et che da Batista del Cervelliera o da altri vechi se gli mostri le rotture che furon fatte dalla artiglieria del canpo de' Fiorentini, et si segnino cosi il fosso et bastione di drento fatto per difesa da e Pisani.... Poi si faccia, che Batista pigli un'altra vista sopra il Torione di Stanpacie et ritragga di drento tutta Pisa quella parte che si vede.... Finito che arà questo, à ordine di andare a Livorno a far l'altro.... Nel suo ritorno a Pisa à ordine di andare a Canpiglia per andare a ritrare la Torre a San Vincentio et il sito dove fu rotto il campe de Vinitiani." The first letter reads: "che verrà a ritrarre et Pisa et Livorno, et s'egli darà ordine che con vostro indirizzo è vadi a Canpiglia alla Torre a San Vincentio a far l'altro disegnio con ordine di sua Ec.tia...." The letters are dated 27 and 28 April 1567, and are quoted in Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 263; Frey, *Literarische Nachlass*, III:138–40. Also see the letter dated 3 May 1567 in which Vasari writes to Caccini saying he received the drawing of Naldini, and asking Caccini to accompany Naldini to Livorno and Campiglia for the same reason. Frey, *Literarische Nachlass*, III:142. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 262; Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 205, 205 n. 59.

[115] For this drawing, see Pillsbury, "Sala Grande Drawings," 200, plate 14.

the structures. Vasari publicly confirmed the use of this process in his autobiography in the *Lives*. In describing the Salone, he wrote: "in the landscapes, ... I have portrayed from nature all the appropriate places and sites."[116] Naldini's sketching expedition demonstrates that Vasari and his workshop had by this time internalized the Antwerp school method learned from Stradano.[117]

Conclusion

The assignment of Stradano and his Palazzo Vecchio city views to the Antwerp school offers further evidence that Vasari's *Ragionamenti* description of method does not accurately describe those used in his workshop. In this, the current scholarly position on city views is misleading. Founded on a consideration of viewing position alone, it assumes a cohesiveness of technique irrespective of type. The assumption allows for the misinterpretation of Vasari's statement of practice, thereby mistakenly placing the Palazzo Vecchio city views within a tradition using instruments and plans to achieve a measurably accurate image. As an alternative, I have offered a classification system based upon the formal elements of the views and the different methods used.

The Quattrocento style began with Francesco Rosselli and his views such as those of Florence and Naples. It gave a view of a city that was stylized in its general shape and

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[116] "nè de'paesi, dove furono fatte le dette cose dipinte, i quali ho tutti avuto a ritrarre di naturale in sul luogo e sito proprio..." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:702.

[117] Nuti also notes that Alessandro di Vincenzo was paid on 24 and 29 February 1564 for a twenty-three day trip "andare a ritrarre Cortona, S. Giovanni, Figline, el Borgo, Anghiari, S. Gimignano, Certaldo, e Colle per servirsene Giorgio Vasri per l'opera della Sala Grande," and "per andare a navicello e cavallo addisegnare Livorno, Pisa, Cascina, Vichopisano, Santo Miniato al Todescho per servirsene nelle storie del palcho." Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 347. The use of the word "disegnare" gives further indication of the Vasarian workshop's assimilation of Stradano's methods—there is no longer any mention of raising plans. However, the Salone *Cortona*, at least, seems to derive from the Sala di Cosimo *Cortona*, see appendix 1, C-1.6.

character though recognizable through its monuments and general topographical situation. The viewer saw the city from a supposedly attainable position outside the city. The type lasted at least into the middle of the sixteenth century when Münster's *Cosmographia* used it extensively to illustrate its cities.

The Barbari lineage consisted of what are now considered bird's-eye views. Beginning with Jacopo de'Barbari's *View of Venice* in 1500, the type was traced along the transmission of Jacopo's techniques. Views within this lineage presented a city from a much higher angle, an ideal viewing position above the city not attainable in the age before flight. Relying upon surveys to make a plan of the city, the artist then had a measured network upon which to build his view. The Barbari lineage had a long life, continuing throughout the sixteenth century and merging in the seventeenth century with the ichnographic plan, previously in use only in technical professions, to become a precise, popular graphic representation of a city.

The Antwerp school seems to have evolved out of a combination of Albrecht Dürer's style and the Flemish tradition of landscape painting practiced by artists such as Joachim Patinir. The Antwerp school became fully formed in the generation of artists born around the 1520s and trained in Antwerp, including van den Wyngaerde and Stradano. Rather than the applied mathematics of the Barbari lineage, the Antwerp school practiced artistic observation of the natural situation to make their city views. The artists, if possible, reached positions that would allow them to overlook the city and sketch it on site. Included in the preliminary on-site sketches were more closely observed sketches of individual monuments. An artist later incorporated these sketches into a final view in the studio. The extant visual and documentary evidence demonstrates that Stradano practiced

these methods while working in the Palazzo Vecchio. Although Vasari had in his workshop Italian artists already trained in the methods of the Barbari lineage, he nevertheless brought in Stradano and put him to work on the city views. In all likelihood, this was because Vasari desired the specific qualities associated with the Antwerp school style. The remaining chapters will describe Vasari's interest in using that type of view, particularly its rhetorical benefits to the decorative program.

Chapter 2: Historiography and Cartography

By the mid-1550s when Vasari began the Palazzo Vecchio project, history-writing and mapping had a long association of reciprocal application, primarily for the benefit of the former. The information gained from the mathematical exploration and graphical representation of the world through cartography offered to historiography an extra form of evidence, akin to archival research and eyewitness testimony. This partnership appeared in forms associated with both fields, in the written histories and in maps. When Vasari began planning the decorations of the Palazzo Vecchio then, he had available a discourse acknowledging and utilizing the benefits of accuracy in both fields.

Vasari used that discourse to disguise the elaborate panegyric of the Medici as truthful history. To explain his conception, this chapter begins with a characterization of Renaissance historiography as it relates to the Palazzo Vecchio decorations. The first section describes how Renaissance authors modeled the practice and the style of their histories after the classical historians. Authors of both periods founded their rhetorical strategy on the use of evidence to build *enargeia*, a visualization in the mind, to help persuade the reader of the truth of the history and its lessons. Vasari used this strategy to make his panegyric of Medici achievements and Cosimo's rule appear not just truthful, but natural, even providential.[1] To achieve this result and convince his audience, Vasari drew on two schools of classical history. He practiced a historical fiction style, which I will term *aphegesis* after the usage of the scholar T. P. Wiseman, while giving it the form

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[1] We would today call the idea of providential history deterministic, but determinism as a specific historiographic principle was not yet formulated in the sixteenth century. The causality on which determinism relies was an important factor in the historiography of the Renaissance, and in the Palazzo Vecchio decorations. On providential explanations for causal events, see Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 53–55.

of more formal history, called *historia*.[2] Patricia Lee Rubin has already established Vasari's practice of contemporary historiography, building upon the earlier work of scholars such as Eric Cochrane.[3] Much attention in this area has been given to Vasari's writings. Yet there is little carry-over to examining the ways in which Vasari translated the same practices and style into his visual histories.[4] The section concludes by turning to Vasari's rhetorical use of evidence in preparing the Palazzo Vecchio decoration, in order to demonstrate his awareness of the principles just related.

The next section deals with the place of cartography in historiography. Cartography offered Vasari the means to translate the verbal rhetorics into visual form. This section begins with the different ways history and mapping intersected for the benefit of the former. It continues by examining the ways cartography lent its expected accuracy to the history, thereby lending it authority. Juergen Schulz described the origins of this relationship and its occurrence in sixteenth-century Italian decorative cycles, while Francesca Fiorani described a similar relationship at work in the Vatican Gallerie delle Carte Geografiche. E. M. Ingram has separately described similar principles elsewhere in

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[2] On the respective founders of these two schools, Herodotus and Thucydides, and the consideration of them by later authors, see Evans, "Reputation of Herodotus." For further consideration of *aphegesis* versus *historia*, see Wiseman, "Lying Historians." Shapiro describes *historia* as "perfect history," as it was known in early modern England, and as dealing with factual truth, causality, and utility. Her *historia* is more broadly associated with memoirs and other particular histories. Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 39, 54, 59–61.

[3] Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*; Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*. The biographical form of the *Lives* has different rhetorical requirements, which led Cochrane to exclude it from historiography proper. Rubin recognizes the differences without seeing any problem in including it with historiography. Also see *Il Vasari storiografo e artista: Atti del congresso internazionale nel IV centenario della morte, Arezzo-Firenze, 2–8 settembre 1974* (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul rinascimento, Palazzo Strozzi, 1974).

[4] Philip Fehl and Nicolai Rubinstein are two notable exceptions. Philip Fehl, "Vasari e Stradano come panegiristi dei Medici: Osservazioni sul rapporto tra verità storica e verità poetica nella pittura di fatti storici," in *Il Vasari storiografo e artista: Atti del congresso internazionale nel IV centenario della morte, Arezzo-Firenze, 2–8 settembre 1974* (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul rinascimento, Palazzo Storzzi, 1974): 207–24; Rubinstein, "Vasari's Foundation of Florence." Also Marco Collareta, "Techniche, generi ed autografia sondaggi sui rapporti tra storiografia e pratica artistica nella decorazione vasariana di Palazzo Vecchio," in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica: Convegno di Studi (Arezzo, 8–10 ottobre 1981)*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1985): 57–71.

Europe.[5] As will be seen, the topographical views of cities throughout the Palazzo Vecchio decorations also exhibit qualities of this relationship. The association of city views with cartography meant that they garnered the same expectation of surveyed exactitude held by users of maps. The cartographical associations stimulated by the views added to the evidence for the Medici history, helping Vasari to construct a veneer of veracity for his history.

The chapter concludes with two sections indicating Vasari's awareness of the benefits of combining cartography and historiography. An examination of the room of maps in the Palazzo Vecchio, the Guardaroba Nuova (now called the Sala delle Carte Geografiche) (figure 168) demonstrates Vasari's application of these principles. Recent research, including that by Mark Rosen and by Francesco Fiorani, has assisted in my determination of this room's relationship to the views elsewhere in the palace. In her recent book, Fiorani discussed some of the same issues presented here, although I further consider the connection between history and setting and the expression of dominion found in the Guardaroba Nuova.[6] The chapter then concludes with a discussion of Northern examples where historical subjects are combined not with maps but with city views. The use of Antwerp school views especially would have served as a useful precedent for Vasari in his own application of such images in the Palazzo Vecchio.

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[5] Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors"; Fiorani, "Galleria delle Carte Geografiche"; Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 171–252; Ingram, "Maps as Readers Aids," 33.

[6] I had researched and written on the Guardaroba Nuova prior to the appearance of Fiorani's book and Rosen's dissertation. In general, we reach many of the same conclusions, although there are slight differences. Fiorani focused primarily on tying the Ptolemaic organizational principle of the room to the common celebratory trope of Cosimo-Cosmos in ducal iconography of this period. Rosen focused on the maps of the room and its other physical features, adding useful information to our understanding of the main elements. I have incorporated these scholars' research where appropriate, and marked where we disagree as well. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 17–137; Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace."

Historiography

Vasari, in the preface to the second part of his *Lives of the Artists*, demonstrated his awareness of contemporary historiography and its practitioners:

> Writers of histories... not only have not remained content with merely narrating events, but have gone about investigating with every care, the methods, manners, and means that these valiant men have employed.... History is... not merely the dry narration of events which occur during the rule of a prince or a republic, but a means of pointing out the judgments, counsels, decisions, and plans of human beings, as well as the reason for their successful or unsuccessful actions; this is the true spirit of history, that which truly instructs men on how to live and act prudently, and which, along with the pleasure derived from observing events from the past as well as the present, represents the true goal of history.[7]

Here Vasari echoed his contemporaries' common view of history—a historian should not simply offer an impartial or objective "narration of events," but should edify his audience by deriving and clarifying lessons from among the jumble of facts. In order to do this, the history had to be engaging, even enjoyable. Vasari sought to make it pleasurable, which depended on his use of style.[8] The level of engagement, created through the captivating narration, enveloped the audience. This made the history more affecting, so that the audience absorbed more deeply the lessons intended by the author.

This, then, was the main point of historical writing in the Renaissance—to make a convincing argument by presenting a verisimilar situation. Renaissance historians

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[7] "Ma vedendo che gli scrittori delle istorie, quelli che per commune consenso hanno nome di avere scritto con miglior giudizio, non solo non si sono contentati di narrare semplicemente i casi seguiti, ma con ogni diligenza e con maggior curiosità che hanno potuto, sono iti investigando i modi ed i mezzi e le vie ce hanno usate i valenti uomini nel maneggiare l'imprese; e sonsi ingegnati di toccare gli errori, ed appresso i bei colpi e ripari e partiti prudentemente qualche volta presi ne'governi delle faccende: e tutto quello, insomma, che sagacemente o trascuratamente, con prudenza o con pieta o con magnanimità, hanno in esse operato: come quelli che conoscevano la istoria essere veramente lo specchio della vita umana, non per narrare asciuttamente i casi occorsi a un principe, o ad un repubblica, ma per avvertire i giudizj, i consigli, i partiti ed i maneggi degli uomini, cagione poi delle felici ed infelici azioni; il che è proprio l'anima dell'istoria, e quello che in vero insegna vivere, e fa gli uomini prudenti, e che, appresso al piacere che si trae del vedere le cose passare come presenti, è il vero fine di quella...." Vasari, *Opere*, 2:93–94. Translated in Vasari, *Lives* (Bondanella ed.), 47.

[8] On these ideas also see Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 4–5.

demonstrated a clear causal connection between events to make that argument. The historian had to use his judgment to pick the important events and give them emphasis to support a thesis. In this way, he used the history to teach moral and political lessons by example. Since only what people thought actually happened could teach useful lessons, the historian had to distinguish between facts and legends. Such distinction led the historian to focus primarily on what he found through archival research and eyewitness accounts, rather than previous narratives. For the lessons to take effect, the historian had to ensure that the reader would find the account engaging. The engagement followed from classical standards of effective discourse. Renaissance historians used their sources to convey believability. The verisimilar aspect in that conveyance, what the Greeks called *enargeia*, was the rhetorical method that provided cogency to the argument.[9]

The writers of history turned to classical models for examples of achieving versimilitude. Cicero was one of the most influential classical historians, due to his remarks in *De Oratore*.[10] Here he outlined historiography's goals, and how it should achieve them. His "first law of history" was "that an author [must] not dare to tell anything but the truth."[11] This law, however, did not entirely preclude altering facts to give only the appearance of truth, if it would make an effective example.[12] In the *De*

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[9] Eric Cochrane, "The Transition from Renaissance to Baroque: The Case of Italian Historiography," *History and Theory* 19 (1980): 26–27. For his larger account of historiography in the Renaissance, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, especially his relation of Bruni, pp. 3–81. Also Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 34–61; Arnold I. Davidson, "Carlo Ginzburg and the Renewal of Historiography," in *Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion across the Disciplines*, eds. James Chandler, Arnold I. Davidson, and Harry Harootunian (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994): especially 305; and Carlo Ginzburg, "Checking the Evidence: The Judge and the Historian," in ibid., 290–303; Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 148–65.

[10] Cicero discusses historiography in book 2. Cicero, *Orator*, 137–40.

[11] Quoted in Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 35; also see Cicero, *Orator*, 139; Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 151–52.

[12] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 34–35.

Oratore, Renaissance historians found instruction and guidance. Vasari's views quoted above, in fact, derive directly from Cicero's comments.[13] Not just Cicero, but Livy, Plutarch, Caesar, Sallust, Tacitus, Diogenes Laertius, Polybius, Josephus, and others served as models and were mined for their style.

The ancient Greek historians Herodotus and Thucydides, however, were the ultimate standards of historical excellence. To their followers, these two authors offered separate schools of history-writing. To Herodotus, *historia* meant "investigation" or "research," which he used to create an absorbing narrative. He had no problem with relating hearsay or events not personally witnessed, considering it to fall under the rubric of research. It was Thucydides who began to give voice to a distinctive methodology, since he changed the focus of history and attacked Herodotus as he did so. Thucydides turned away from Herodotus' goal of entertainment, instilling *historia* with its modern association of striving for an accurate relation of human events with exemplary value.[14] Later authors, such as the previously mentioned Livy and Cicero, followed Thucydides.[15] Dionysus of Halicarnassus wrote of him:

> All the philosophers and all the rhetoricians, or at least the great majority of them, have paid tribute to [Thucydides], recognizing that to the truth - whose priestess, as it were, we wish history to be - he devoted himself whole-heartedly: he added nothing to and took nothing from his account that he should not have; he never wrote capriciously, and in fact kept his

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[13] Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 151–152; Cicero, *Orator*, 140. For other examples of renaissance historians following Cicero, see Fryde, "'Scientific' and Erudite Historiography," 13–14; Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 483; Grafton, *Alberti: Master Builder*, 41, 67.

[14] Evans, "Reputation of Herodotus"; Wiseman, "Lying Historians"; Moles, "Truth and Untruth"; Momigliano, "Place of Herodotus"; Zacharias Rogkotis, "Thucydides and Herodotus: Aspects of Their Intertextual Relationship," in *Brill's Companion to Thucydides*, eds. Antonios Rengakos and Antonios Tsakmakis (Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 57–58. Struever makes of the two historians the central protagonists of a long-ranging debate between rhetoric and philosophy, see Struever, *Language of History*, 5–39.

[15] Cicero praises Thucydides's research, and criticizes Herodotus' lack of it. Cicero, *Orator*, 138.

> work completely free from envy and adulation, particularly in his assessments of the great protagonists.[16]

Lucian, in his essay *How to Write History*, written c. 165 B.C., described Thucydides simply as truth, and Herodotus as the negative of that.[17] Renaissance authors followed their ancient models in this too, until Herodotus, while still called the "father of history," had little credibility regarding his veracity. Herodotus' school was considered an enjoyable form of history-writing—not necessarily true in all its facts, but creating an impression of a more general truthfulness in its narrative, much like modern historical fiction. This type of writing, which T. P Wiseman has called *aphegesis*, became associated with epic poetry following Aristotle's and Livy's recommendations.[18] In the *Poetics*, Aristotle referred to *aphegesis* as poetry in his distinction between it and *historia*:

> They differ in this: the one [history] speaks of what has come to be while the other [poetry] speaks of what sort would come to be. Therefore *poiêsis* is more philosophic and of more stature than history. For poetry speaks rather of the general things while history speaks of the particular things. The general, that it falls to a certain sort of man to say or do certain sorts

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[16] Quoted in Luciano Canfora, "Thucydides in Rome and Late Antiquity," in *Brill's Companion to Thucydides*, eds. Antonios Rengakos and Antonios Tsakmakis (Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 746. Also see Momigliano, "Place of Herodotus," 134.

[17] Canfora, "Thucydides in Rome," 751–53. Lucian described truth in history in the same terms as Cicero, as the historian's ultimate goal, and in particular notes panegyric in history as a lie. Wiseman, "Lying Historians," 122–23, 127.

[18] The two authors discussed here were not quite at such disparate odds as the brief overview makes them appear; these associations, or disassociations, gained favor over the centuries, so that my explanation represents how later historians considered them rather than how they themselves saw their actual practice. Moles, for instance, comments that Thucydides also desired to entertain and that he too sometimes reconstructed facts, such as speeches, in order to capture the historically truthful sense of the situation he reported. Moles, "Truth and Untruth," 105. On the similarities of the two authors, especially Thucydides' dependence on Herodotus, also see Rogkotis, "Thucydides and Herodotus"; Antonios Rengakos, "Thucydides' Narrative: The Epic and Herodotean Heritage," in *Brill's Companion to Thucydides*, eds. Antonios Rengakos and Antonios Tsakmakis (Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 279–300. Zimmerman uses this same model in his discussion of Paolo Giovio's practices, explaining where Giovio followed Thucydides in using eyewitness reports and comparing accounts, and where Giovio strays from Thucydides, following Herodotus instead, in emphasizing narrative over an analysis of causes. Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 267–68. Cicero first termed Herodotus the "father of history." Evans, "Reputation of Herodotus," 11–12; Cicero, *Orator*, 138.

> of thing according to the likely or the necessary, is what poery aims at in attaching names. But the particular is what Alcibiades did or what he suffered.[19]

When Vasari would later turn to using *aphegesis* in his painted history, he would have Aristotle's distinguished recommendation for its preeminence on which to rely.

Most historians of the Renaissance instead built further upon the tradition of Thucydides, following his examples in primary research and rhetorical language in their quest for greater veracity and edification.[20] While for Cicero, truth was important but could be subjugated to the needs of literary quality, for Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444), writing in the fifteenth century, truth became his chief obligation. Bruni's history of Florence, the *Historiarum Florentini Populi Libri XII* (1442), set the pattern for all later Renaissance historians in its following of Thucydides' style and method as practiced by Livy.[21] Bruni used three aspects of the rhetorical strategy that Vasari would later borrow.

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[19] Aristotle, *On Poetics* [9, 1451b], trans. Seth Benardete and Michael Davis (South Bend, Ind.: St. Augustine's Press, 2002): 27. Also see Struever, *Language of History*, 21–22.

[20] Marianne Pade, "Thucydides' Renaissance Readers," in *Brill's Companion to Thucydides,* eds. Antonios Rengakos and Antonios Tsakmakis (Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 779–810. Lorenzo Valla first translated into Latin the histories of Thucydides and Herodotus for Pope Nicholas V. Valla's version of Thucydides was finished in 1452. His version of Herodotus was finished between 1455 and 1460, although he never properly revised it. For a discussion of Valla's translations, see E. B. Fryde, "Some Fifteenth-Century Latin Translations of Ancient Greek Historians," in *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983), 87–99. Valla's marginal notes in the manuscripts he consulted reveal his agreement with other humanists of his generation concerning Herodotus' good style but lack of credibility, and Thucydides' specific references to Herodotus in "criticizing his general unreliability." Fryde, "Latin Translations of Greek Historians," 95. Herodotus continued to be read and serve as a source, for instance by both Petrarch and Alberti, while he remained faulted for his fabrications. Not until 1566 did Herodotus begin to gain support, when Henri Estienne published his *Apologia pro Herodoto* as a preface to his edition of Lorenzo Valla's Latin translation of Herodotus in Paris that year. Evans, "Reputation of Herodotus," 11–12; Grafton, *Alberti: Master Builder*, 277–78. On the popularity of both Herodotus and Thucydides in the Renaissance, see Peter Burke, "A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450–1700," *History and Theory* (1966): 135–52, especially 136; Momigliano, "Place of Herodotus," 1–13.

[21] Leonardo Bruni, *Historiarum Florentini Populi Libri XII* (1442). Translated as Leonardo Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, ed. and trans. James Hankins, 3 vols., The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001). Bruni's history of Florence owed its arrangement mostly to Livy, while the author's ideas on how to write history were also informed by Sallust, and in part by Tacitus. Bruni was also one of the first and most earnest readers of Thucydides and Polybius. Fryde, "'Scientific' and Erudite Historiography," 6, 26; E. B. Fryde, "The Beginnings of Italian Humanist

His first main tactic, derived from Cicero, was to delineate the causes, or *ratio*, of the events, and outline a causal history. This delineation approach would become the source of Vasari's delivery of providential history. Bruni used his second rhetorical tactic to increase didactic effectiveness. He made his history eloquent and interesting, so that the audience more willingly read it and considered his lessons. The key to this tactic, especially for Vasari, was *enargeia*. Finally, Bruni's third tactic, his use of evidence, was intended to help him achieve the truthfulness he sought. The historian even directly expressed this concern in the preface to his biography of Cicero, the *Cicero Novus* (c. 1401). There he wrote that "[the historian] must give reasons for all his statements and provide certain proof for all his assertions."[22] To achieve this, Bruni turned to research of primary sources, including both archival and eyewitness. Not only did he transcribe speeches found in written records, but he also began to compare sources against each other. For instance, he would check information gained from a written narrative source against documents he found in the city archives. Bruni also used more recent state papers as well as those of Florentine families.[23]

Historians after Bruni used this same rhetorical strategy, building upon his foundation. They turned more and more to archival records, as did Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) and Benedetto Varchi in their positions as historians of Florence, and Pietro

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Historiography: The 'New Cicero' of Leonardo Bruni," in *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983), 34.

[22] "De singulis rationem reddere et certa probatione asserere valeamus." Quoted and translated in Fryde, "'New Cicero' of Bruni," 40, 40 n. 3. Fryde quotes the Latin from the Baron edition of the *Cicero Novus* from 1928, page 113–14.

[23] Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 3–6, 483; Fryde, "'Scientific' and Erudite Historiography," 5–6, 13–14; Fryde, "'New Cicero' of Bruni," 40, 47. In general, for an account of historiography in the Renaissance from which these and the following remarks derive, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, especially 3–81; Cochrane, "Italian Historiography," especially 26–27; Fryde, "'Scientific' and Erudite Historiography."

Bembo (1470–1547) as the historian of the Venetian Republic. Varchi not only extensively reproduced those documents verbatim, but also, and more importantly, sought eyewitness testimony, both written and oral.[24] Vincenzo Borghini, who provided the *invenzione* for the Salone dei Cinquecento for Vasari, continued the trend towards an ever-increasing reliance on credible evidence. In addition to collecting archival documents, he turned to other types of evidence, believing that the combination would provide a greater authority. In a debate on the origins of Florence, he combined study of ancient city planning and archaeological site research with knowledge of cartography and ancient texts. This mixed evidence proved superior over his opponent Girolamo Mei's purely textual reliance, and Borghini won the debate.[25] The episode demonstrates Borghini's independent and progressive thinking in the field of historiography. Another historian, Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), was the sixteenth-century's strongest proponent of interview research. He exhaustively pursued eyewitness testimony through his diplomatic contacts. For instance, he frequently interviewed his friend Alfonso d'Avalos (1502–46), the Marquis of Vasto and a general of Emperor Charles V, on the myriad battles in which Vasto participated. Giovio's own participation in many of the major events of the first half of the sixteenth century, such as the 1532 defense of Vienna, allowed him to give his

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[24] On Machiavelli and his *Istorie fiorentine*, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 265–70. On Varchi and his *Storie fiorentine*, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 278–79; Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527–1800: A History of Florence and the Florentines in the Age of the Grand Dukes* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 83, 86. On Bembo and his history of the Republic, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 229–31. On general Italian historiography of this period, with a specific focus on Guicciardini's *History of Italy*, see Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, 203–304.

[25] Moyer, "Historians and Antiquarians."

own eyewitness testimony.[26] This was perhaps the strongest research a sixteenth-century historian could give. It enabled the historian to guarantee the veracity of the event he related. It also, however, worked to create the *enargeia* that would make the account believable through its demonstrative oratory.

Authors frequently borrowed the language of ocular evidence simply to create this effect of personal eyewitnessing, because it so powerfully added to the reliability and the persuasiveness of their statements. Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), for instance, deliberately used such phrases as "I see," or "I see for myself," ("Io per mi veggo") to describe Charles V's 1536 triumphal entry into Florence in a collection of letters published 1538. These words helped create a vision of experience in his readers' mind's-eye. Aretino, however, never saw this event; he borrowed the description instead from Vasari who wrote of it to him in a letter of 28 April 1536. Aretino turned it into his own experience through words. Vasari himself would later adopt this same strategy in his *Lives*, gathering descriptive letters and changing them to his own observations through the same language.[27] He also used it in the *Ragionamenti*, placing the same ocular phrases in the mouths of both his own person and the prince Francesco. For instance, in the description of the painting *The Siege of Florence* (figures 13, 15), the artist uses the words "mostrare" and "vedere" repeatedly. The language conjures an optical situation in which the artist and his prince could be considered to actually tour the environs, rather than simply look at the image:

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[26] On Paolo Giovio's work as a historian and participation within the events of his time, see Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*. For his friendship with the Marquis of Vasto, see ibid., 191–94. On Giovio's following of Thucydides and where he strayed from his model, see ibid., 267–68.

[27] Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 117–18. Vasari's letter is printed in Frey, *Literarische Nachlass*, 1:52–61.

> Prince Francesco: Show me where you depicted the command area of the camp and where you quartered Orange with the other soldiers.
> Vasari: You can see the village of S. Miniato, the plain of Giullari and the houses of Guicciardini.... It was there that Orange was quartered, and here on the right is the command area of the Italian camp, where I portrayed accurately their entire disposition of shops and tents on the hill, since I saw how it was then.[28]

In the last sentence of this passage, the artist even goes so far as to claim his presence at the camp, although he was at that time in Arezzo and Bologna.[29] The phrase adds a further dimension of eyewitnessing language—it places Vasari not just in front of the painting he described, nor merely at the locale so as to depict it from nature (as does his description elsewhere of making the image)—it actually places him at the event, adding the weight of participatory authority to his visual account of the siege.

Vasari could describe the siege in this way because at least one of his sources for his history of the siege had participated in it. Varchi had defended Florence in the militia and described the siege from that experience in his *Storia fiorentina* (first published 1721). In describing the same camp, Varchi wrote: "in the plain of Giullari in the Guicciardini houses [lodged] the prince, near to which was the market plaza and the gallows.... This was the lodgings of the Italians."[30] Shortly thereafter, Varchi confirmed his eyewitness status when he wrote, "I remember," in regards to the Florentine response

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[28] Prince: "Mostratemi dove voi avete fatto la piazza del campo, a dove voi allogiate Oranges con gli altri soldati."
Vasari: Vostra Eccellenza vede il borgo di S. Miniato, e tutto il piano di Giullari, e le case de'Guiccardini...: quivi alloggiava Oranges, e qua in su la man ritta è la piazza del campo degl'Italiani, dove ho fatto le botteghe, le tende, e tutti gli ordini che avevano, perchè io viddi come stava allora." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:176. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 336–37.
[29] Vasari, *Lives* (C. de Vere ed.), 10:172–73; Ugo Muccini, *The Salone dei Cinquecento of Palazzo Vecchio*, trans. Anthony Brierley (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1990), 49–50; Robert W. Carden, *The Life of Giorgio Vasari: A Study of the Later Renaissance in Italy* (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1910), 10–12; Boase, Vasari: The Man and the Book, 16–17.
[30] "...nel piano di Giullari nelle case pur de' Guicciardini il principe, vicino al quale era la piazza del mercato e la forche.... Questi erano gli alloggiamenti degl'Italiani..." Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 5 vols. (Milan: Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1803–4), 3:207.

to the imperial attack on 10 November 1529.[31] The passages quoted here show the continuity of historiography in its attempts at both believability and *enargeia* through its use of ocular evidence. Vasari's placing of himself at the siege demonstrates an acceptable substitution of style for factuality. His pretense of eyewitnessing heightened the plausibility and thereby its potential impact.

Vasari's Historiographic Practice in the Quartiere di Leone X

In writing his *Lives of the Artists*, Vasari was no different from his fellow historians in working within the Thucydidean tradition.[32] Not only did he use the ocular rhetorical language, he performed research on just as extensive a scale as either Varchi or Giovio. He turned to archival records and occasionally transcribed them. He traveled throughout Italy to observe works, and turned to drawings, especially those in his own collection, as a form of archival records. For those artworks he could not see, he solicited descriptions from correspondents. He interviewed descendants and heirs of artists, and the artists themselves in the case of his contemporaries. Finally, he rarely failed to mention his contacts and research. For instance, he described interviewing Paolo Uccello's descendants ("according to what I learned myself from them"), knowing Luca Signorelli as a child ("he stayed in the Vasari home, and since I was a child of eight years of age, I still remember this good old man"), and examining Giorgione's painting of Catherine, Queen of Cyprus ("which I once saw in the possession of Messer Giovani

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[31] "ed io mi ricordi ..." Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:203. The imperial attack is described in ibid., 3:229–30.
[32] On Vasari's historiographical practice in writing the *Lives*, see Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 148–65; Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 401–4. Boase offers an account of the genesis of the *Lives*, but occasionally considers matters more historiographic. Boase, Vasari: The Man and the Book, 43–72, especially 50–52 for historical practice and sources.

Cornaro") as well as artists' drawings Vasari kept "in [his] sketch-book."[33] In this way the author established his authority and ensured his credibility.

On the other hand, Vasari's history of the Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio, because of the nature of its commission, required the panegyric associated with poetry. It therefore lent itself readily to the Herodotean model of *aphegesis*. The same aegis, however, also required that the history appear as *historia*—contemporaries' assumptions about these modes meant that it would only carry the cogency requisite for legitimization as the latter. Although no archival documents have appeared specifically outlining Duke Cosimo I's expectations for the Quartiere di Leone X, others hint at the intentions for both panegyric and credibility. Vasari's *Ragionamenti*, for instance, describes at length the supposed underlying meanings found in the decorations of the ducal apartments and the Salone dei Cinquecento, all to the glory of the duke and his family.[34] Even in spite of the demonstrated lack of relationship between the paintings and the writing, Vasari's earnestness to infuse the decorations with these ideas shows his desire to communicate the panegyric.

Further evidence for Cosimo's wishes regarding the commission may be found among the documents regarding the related project on the ceiling of the Salone dei Cinqecento. The duke, after reviewing Vasari's first design for the ceiling, famously commanded the artist to change the painting *Cosimo Planning the Siege of Siena* in a

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[33] "... suoi parenti, secondo che da loro medesimi ho ritratto...." Vasari, *Opere*, 2:215. "E perchè allogiò in casa de'Vasari, dove e io ero piccolo fanciullo d'otto anni, mi ricorda che quell buon vecchio...." Vasari, *Opere*, 3:693. "... qual viddi io già nelle mani del clarissimo messer Giovan Cornaro." Vasari, *Opere*, 4:99. Vasari collected many artists' drawings, but the quote here refers to drawings of Uccello "nel nostro Libro de'disegni...." Vasari, *Opere*, 2:215. All four passages are translated in Vasari, *Lives* (Bondanella ed.), 82, 272, 303. On Vasari's research methods for the *Lives*, see Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 168–77, 185, 190–97, 217.

[34] McGrath, "Senso nostro."

letter of 14 March 1563 (figures 169–71). According to Cosimo, "... the circle and assistance of those counselors that you want to put around us in the deliberation of the war against Siena, is not necessary, because We were alone."[35] Vasari in response removed the advisors, and replaced them with the virtues suggested by Cosimo in the same letter. The letter demonstrates the duke's desire for his own glorification under the guise of truth, since he required the painting to match his own version of events. Another letter, from Borghini to Mei, confirms the duke's desire for the appearance of historical truth. The letter stems from the debate between the two scholars regarding the origins of Florence. This debate had been stimulated by the painting of the foundation of Florence also on the Salone's ceiling (figure 172). Borghini was especially eager that the painting portray the city's foundations faithfully, since, as he wrote, the duke "did not want something that could be doubted, nor that could be recognized as manifestly false."[36] The painting in question proposed the imperial Roman foundations of the city under Augustus, in contrast to the legend of its refounding under Charlemagne after its destruction supported by Mei. The subject added to the Cosimean myth of Florence as a new Rome under a new Augustus being promoted by court propagandists.[37] Borghini's argument provided evidence for this myth. In the case of the Salone, and by extension the

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[35] "... la corona et assistenza di quei consiglieri che volete metterci atorno nella deliberatione della Guerra di Siena non è necessaria, perchè Noi soli fummo; ma sì bene vi si potrebbe figurare il Silentio, con qualche altra Virtù che rappresentassi il medesimo che li consiglieri." Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 249; Frey, *Literarische Nachlass*, 1:735. Translated in Muccini, *Salone*, 83. Three preparatory drawings survive for this painting, all by Giovanni Stradano, and all of which show the changes to have already been made.

[36] "non volse cose che si potessino tener d'acunno per dubio, non chè riconoscere false manifestamente." Moyer, "Historians and Antiquarians," 181, 181 n. 16. The translation is my own. Also quoted in Rubinstein, "Vasari's Foundation of Florence," 66.

[37] On this Cosimean myth, see especially Forster, "Metaphors of Rule"; Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny*; Paul William Richelson, *Studies in the Personal Imagery of Cosimo I De' Medici, Duke of Florence*, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1978).

Quartiere di Leone X as well, it would seem that Vasari sought to achieve a credible glorification for his benefactor, creating an epic in the form of history.[38]

The effect of historical veracity itself, then, is part of the program of the decorations. The appearance of truthfulness imparted meaning to the work, a meaning Vasari deliberately sought, but it was only the appearance that he desired. The rhetorical exigencies of the poetic myth displayed throughout the decorations would never allow Vasari to consider that he actually told the truth; for that he was too much the court artist. Although Cosimo does seem to have been interested in historical veracity over "official" versions in his court-sponsored written histories, the same does not seem to hold true for his court artist, nor need it.[39] The Salone and the rest of the Palazzo Vecchio decorations are nothing if not an official version of events, and a flattering one at that. Cosimo's letter requiring Vasari to remove the advisors can only have been in the interest of the duke's self-promotion and in the mode of making an official version. In this light, it does not matter whether the duke actually planned the siege himself (although this seems highly unlikely). What matters is that it could be true—its plausibility—so that posterity remembers it so. The alteration of the central tondo from an apotheosis of Florence to that of the duke himself also hardly derives from an interest in historicism (figure 173).[40]

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[38] Rubin argued that these instances indicated the genuine interest in historical accuracy for the paintings in the Salone. She allied it with a more general persuasion of historical accuracy in the ducal court of Florence at that period, citing the various historians writing for Duke Cosimo I. For Rubin, the letter cited above, as well as Vasari's research and striving for accuracy, suggested nothing more than the interest in truth for which it appeared. Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 204–9.

[39] Eric Cochrane describes Cosimo's interests in historical accuracy, and cites his especial dislike of flattery such as that he found in Lodovico Domenichi's *Storia della Guerra Siena*, written in 1556. Cochrane goes on to say that Cosimo "was sure that plain truth would bear him out in the end and saw no need to impose an official version of the past on the historians he supported." Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 81–82. Cochrane's position seems dubious considering the work of Varchi and Bartoli, but, if true, it only shows the different requirements for a painted history versus a written one.

[40] Van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 59–67; Van Veen, "Republicanism," 202–5; Van Veen, "Circles of Sovereignty"; *Forster, "Metaphors of Rule,"* 98; Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny*, 281.

Finally, multiple instances within the Quartiere di Leone X demonstrate Vasari's manipulation of events in the interests of panegyric, such as the painting of the Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici traveling to Hungary (figure 28).[41] These instances will be discussed throughout the following chapters, revealing that Vasari had little intention of honoring historical veracity at the expense of panegyrical intentions. In fact, it was precisely to make his version of events the official one that Vasari used the trappings of historiographic method.

Only through at least a semblance of historical research could Vasari hope to achieve a level of verity that would make his history appear authentic. The artist did perform a typical research procedure to construct his visual history, although more in the style of Herodotus. For the decoration of the Medici rooms, the artist had only the short *invenzioni* provided by Cosimo Bartoli from which to work. The *invenzioni* sketch out only the subjects for the ceilings of each room, and that briefly. Vasari's *Zibaldone*, a collection of notes on his various projects, documents extensively the additional research he undertook.[42] It contains research notes for at least two of the events in the Sala di Clemente VII, the *Coronation of Charles V* and the *Marriage of Catherine de'Medici* (figures 242, 247).[43] Most of the *Zibaldone*, however, consists of notes made from earlier chronicles and histories. These sources include the *Istorie fiorentine* (1520–25) by Niccolò Machiavelli; the *Vitæ Pontificum Platinæ historici liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum qui hactenus ducenti fuere et XX* (1479) by Bartolomeo Platina; an

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[41] For the discussion of this image, cf. chapter 3, page 166.
[42] As Bryce pointed out, a comparison between these *invenzioni* and Vasari's description of the decoration in the *Ragionamenti* shows the amount of additional research he performed. Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 68. The *Zibaldone* remains in the Archivio Vasariana, Casa Vasari, Arezzo, and was published in Vasari, *Zibaldone*.
[43] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 166; Vasari, *Zibaldone*, 91–107, 335–41.

unknown history book on events from the life of Leo X and his time; and others which have not been identified, such as notes on the Florentine war with Pisa made for Vasari by Borghini.[44] Using earlier writings as sources falls within the same rubric of research as other historians' methods, and in itself is not unusual, but Vasari makes no apparent attempt to compare them with original research or other sources as do his contemporaries.

He does perform original research in terms of soliciting eyewitness reports and descriptions. These accounts were to supplement the chronicles, adding detail and enhancing the visual *enargeia* he will create. One such account is in a letter describing the city of Volterra and its history.[45] Vasari's use of another account, requested by the artist in 1557 from Giulio Ricasoli, demonstrates his manipulations of types of research. Giulio in his response related the events of the siege of San Leo that he heard from his father Antonio. The elder Ricasoli had been the *comissario* of the Medici army at San Leo. Antonio ostensibly devised the daring and successful scaling of the cliff, and commanded the attack on the fortress. Giulio's letter includes painter's notes in the margins, showing Vasari's use of it for his painting in the Room of Leo X (figure 4).[46] Vasari contradicts this source in the *Ragionamenti*, however, claiming that "... I heard it all from [Se]bastiano Magro while he was still alive."[47] Magro was one of the first to scale the cliff and one of the captains put in charge of the fortress following its capture.

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[44] Vasari, *Zibaldone*, 152–76, 179–80, 225–31, 235–44.

[45] The letter was written 26 August 1565, and describes the city of Volterra to Vasari, including its history, from which it suggests heroes and figures. The letter also refers to the authority of Thucydides. Vasari, *Zibaldone*, 290–91.

[46] Ricasoli's response is dated 22 January 1557 (1558 in modern dating). Vasari, *Zibaldone*, 296–300, 296 n. 1; Archivio Vasariana, Casa Vasari, Arezzo, MS 51 c. 146–49. Also printed in Frey, *Literarische Nachlass*, 1:491–93.

[47] "....già tutto intesi da Bastiano Magro, mentre che era vivo," Vasari, *Opere*, 8:154. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 303. Vasari, *Zibaldone*, 296 n. 1, 297 n. 2 where del Vita claims that Magro was another informant for Vasari. Draper suggests that Vasari heard the tale from Magro first, Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 475 n. 39. Also Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 126.

No documentation exists to support Vasari's claim. While the artist may have initially discussed the battle with Magro, and then sought out the official report from Ricasoli, the artist knew that an eyewitness account by an important participant would add greater believability to his narrative.

Relaying secondhand accounts of events that the historian could not confirm was the very sort of practice Thucydides criticized in Herodotus.[48] Vasari drew attention to it regardless, for the same reason that Herodotus did so: to indicate that the author could not guarantee the information being relayed, while at the same time implying the credibility of the rest of the history. Both Herodotus and Vasari used phrases such as "I heard...," or "It is said...," frequently in their writings. Herodotus, for example, began his description of the Padei, a cannibalistic nomadic group living in far eastern India, with the latter phrase. In fact, he earlier had blatantly acknowledged the questionable status of his whole description of India by beginning it with the phrase, "among all men of whom hearsay gives us any clear knowledge...."[49] Vasari frequently used these phrases in his *Lives* to introduce the more anecdotal tales. For example, in describing the story of Paolo Uccello and the monk who gave him nothing but cheese to eat, Vasari began with the phrase, "It is said that...."[50] The author similarly begins the story of the miserly friar who did not trust Pietro Perugino to use the desired liberal amounts of ultramarine blue with the phrase, "As I have heard the story told...."[51] Among other ancient authors, Seneca and Lucian both condemned such rhetoric. Seneca went so far as to say that Herodotus and

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[48] Evans, "Reputation of Herodotus," 12.
[49] Herodotus, *History*, book III: 98, 99. In Herodotus, *Herodotus*, vol. 2, trans. A. D. Godley, rev. ed., The Loeb Classical Library (1938. Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1957): 127. Herodotus' description of India is covered in book III: 98–106.
[50] "Dicesi che..." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:207. Translated in Vasari, *Lives* (Bondanella ed.), 76.
[51] "... secondo che io udii già raccontare..." Vasari, *Opere*, 3:575. Translated in Vasari, *Lives* (Bondanella ed.), 260.

his followers did it randomly, precisely to bolster the illusion of authenticity elsewhere.[52] Vasari used the tactic more subtly, playing to two separate audiences at once. To the casual reader, Vasari appears to hear of the siege of San Leo directly from the hero of the tale, giving the information a participatory-once-removed credibility. To the more observant reader, Vasari knew that the echoes of Herodotus' hearsay would signal the suspect character of this account, while making a claim for more certain reliability elsewhere. This instance demonstrates that Vasari did not simply strive for historical veracity in all things, and wanted people to know it. Instead, he manipulated his evidence and his rhetoric to embroil audiences in a determination of truthfulness.

Meanwhile, Vasari sought out his own ocular evidence for the frescoes. This type of research was a visual pairing to that of using earlier chronicles. The *Zibaldone* has a list of portraits of the Medici, their supporters, their enemies, and philosophers and artists that Vasari needed to populate his paintings. The list records works of art and their locations next to the names, illustrating Vasari's determination to use an accurate portraiture for figures of the past. For instance, he listed the portraits of Marsilio Ficino and Angelo Poliziano in Santa Maria Novella, referring to Domenico Ghirlandaio's *Zaccharia in the Temple* in the Tornabuoni chapel (figure 174).[53] Such reuse of visual sources, in many cases direct copying, is at first glance Vasari's version of searching out eyewitness sources from the past. In the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari listed many of his artistic sources for the portraits. He commended the original works as from life since the artists and subjects were contemporaries. He went further to prove the literalness of his

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[52] Wiseman, "Lying Historians," 131, 135.
[53] Rubin mentions a list of Medici portraits, but seems to refer to a different list than that discussed here. Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 205, 208.

paintings, by citing as well his use of death masks as a source for images of those figures for whom, like Piero di Cosimo, no painted portrait exists.[54] The artist went to great lengths here to argue that his paintings are only once removed from naturally derived portraits. They therefore contain the potential to transfer the credibility associated with eyewitnessing from their subjects to the viewer.

Yet at the same time, his repetition of those images is a visual version of repeating a story heard elsewhere and prefacing it with the phrase "I heard...." An observant and knowledgeable viewer of the Palazzo Vecchio paintings could recognize the source, while Vasari pointed out the quotations for his readers. Any audience could thereby recognize the difference in reliability between the copied images and other portraits, ostensibly made from nature, of Vasari's contemporaries. He asserted this status for the portraits in the Sala di Cosimo I, for instance. Many of the figures in this room—claimed by Vasari to be "portrayed from life," as Prince Francesco states—had died before Vasari painted them.[55] The extent of Vasari's contact with the majority of these figures remains unclear. For instance, Vasari identified Francesco and Luigi Guicciardini, Alessandro Vitelli, and Ridolfo Baglioni in the *Election of Cosimo de' Medici as Duke of Florence* (figure 175).[56] Vitelli and Baglioni both died in 1554 during the war with Siena. Francesco died in 1535, and his brother Luigi died in 1551. The artist painted in 1548 a portrait of Luigi Guicciardini (no longer extant), whom he called a "dear friend" in his

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[54] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:87–88. Also see Vasari's life of Verrocchio where he mentions again the artist's responsibility for the death mask process, making it possible for Vasari to reproduce many of the portraits. Vasari, *Opere*, 3:373.

[55] "... parte di loro paiono ritratti al naturale...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:190. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 359.

[56] Vitelli and Baglioni, both soldiers, appear elsewhere in the room as well. The portraits are more thoroughly discussed and documented in appendix 1, C-I.2.

autobiography, and the *Election* portrait likely derives from this source.[57] The portrait of Francesco in the painting is a copy from the series of portraits of famous men owned by Paolo Giovio (figure 176). Vasari had sent Cristofano dell'Altissimo to Como to copy Giovio's portraits in 1552, where he worked on the project intermittently until 1574.[58] Giovio had requested likenesses from those portrait subjects still living, so that Vasari could claim Francesco's portrait to be from nature, despite its being three or four times removed. Yet for these portraits Vasari makes no effort to cite the intervening artistic sources or possible death masks. The temporal proximity itself is enough to provide plausibility for the portraits' fidelity. Vasari *could* have made these portraits from nature, and by saying they are such he attested to their literalness. These claims contrast with his disavowal of the fidelity of the portraits of figures from the past.

The desire for the appearance of credibility revealed in that contrasting position also explains why Vasari used the Antwerp school type of view for the settings. Like the many recognizable portraits of Vasari's contemporaries, the city views represented a visual version of eyewitness evidence, to oppose the "hearsay" evidence. As we have seen, Vasari sent his assistants to sketch locations on-site and subsequently described the views' natural origins. Such eyewitness "research" fostered the creation of the *enargeia* Vasari sought, not just in the views' verisimilitude, but in their ocular connection to the vision the artist wanted to stimulate—almost as if the vision in the artist's eye while translating the city to graphic form could be contained within the image and transferred to the viewer's mind through his sight. This ocular visual rhetoric forms the subject of the

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[57] "amico caro...." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:688.
[58] On the chronology of Cristofano's work on these portraits, see Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," 287–93. Zimmerman discusses Giovio's portrait series, see Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 159–62.

following chapter, but first, the cartographic grounds for Vasari's use of the city views as visual evidence requires explanation.

Cartography in Historiography

By Vasari's time, cartography had a long association with historiography. The information provided by maps located an historical event more precisely and could more thoroughly describe the detail of its setting. The description of location served as evidence for the authenticity of history through the mathematical accuracy of maps. As the noted map scholar J. B. Harley wrote, "accuracy became a new talisman of authority."[59] Such a quantified setting assisted in the stimulation of *enargeia* in the audience.[60]

The Florentine historian Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) first combined the two fields in his *Italia Illustrata* (1478), written 1448–58. Organized geographically, this history of Italy first moves down the Tyhrrenian coast and then up the Adriatic coast. Biondo pauses at each major urban center to give a survey of the current geographical site, the government, the buildings, and the culture. The wealth of detail provided by Biondo worked to create that vision desired by the ancient historians. Biondo modeled his book on a similar description of local places arranged according to geography, the *Geographia* by the first century A.D. author Strabo.[61] Strabo himself had followed Polybius' tripartite

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[59] J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 77.

[60] On the growing accuracy of maps through applied mathematics, especially developments in surveying practices, see Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*; Kiely, *Surveying Instruments*, passim, especially 220–30; Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 16–26; Camerota, "Introduzione," 89–106; Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 8, 279 n. 10.

[61] Biondo apparently read Strabo in the original Greek, or perhaps had access to early versions of Guarino Veronese's Latin translation, which was not completed until 1458. Catherine Castner, *Biondo Flavio's*

divison of historical practice that included geography as an essential element for understanding history, "the first being the industrious study of memoirs and other documents and a comparison of their contents; the second, the survey of cities, places, rivers, lakes, and in general all the peculiar features of land and sea and the distances of one place from another; and the third being the review of political events."[62] The *Italia illustrata* transferred Polybius' prescriptions into the Renaissance consciousness, permanently linking geographical information to history. In addition, Biondo's version of Strabo's combination of geography, topography, and political and cultural history served as the model for all such surveys to appear throughout Europe until the eighteenth century.[63] For instance, Giovio wrote similar descriptions—one of Muscovy, (now Russia, the *Libellus de legatione Basilii magni Principis Moschoviae*, 1525) and one of Britain (*Descriptio Britanniae, Scotiae, Hyberniae, et Orchadum*, 1546).[64]

The individual descriptions in Biondo's history derived from a type of writing called chorography, meaning a description of a certain location. The book as a whole belonged to the cartographical field of geography, which dealt with the larger areas such as countries or the world. The term chorography itself derived from Ptolemy, who in his *Geographia* described the difference between cartography and chorography through an

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Italia Illustrata: *Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Vol. 1: *Northern Italy* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Binghamton University, Global Academic Publishing, 2005), xxvii. Also Ottavio Clavuot, *Biondos "Italia Illustrata": Summa oder Neuschöpfung? über dei Arbeitsmethoden eines Humanisten* (Tübingen: Max Niedermeyer Verlag, 1990), 158–82, for Biondo's sources. Fiorani says Guarino's translation appeared in 1469, and was printed in 1472, despite his death in 1460. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 101, 296 n. 18. Diller confirms the 1458 completion date, Aubrey Diller, "The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961): 321.

[62] Funke and Haake, "Theaters of War," 370–72. The quote is translated in ibid., 372. On Strabo, see Katherine Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 1–76.

[63] Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 37–50, 56; Castner, *Biondo Flavio's* Italia Illustrata; Clavuot, *Biondos "Italia Illustrata"*.

[64] Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 66, 215–16.

anatomical metaphor. He compared geography to a depiction of the entire head, while chorography he compared to representations of individual features such as an eye or an ear.[65] Renaissance authors delighted in commenting on Ptolemy and teasing out the ancient geographer's meaning.[66] The most influential sixteenth-century commentator was Peter Apian (1495–1552), in his *Cosmographicus liber* (1524). In addition to explaining the practices of mapping founded in mathematics, derived from Ptolemy and contemporary mathematical practices, Apian elaborated on the basic understanding of geography as a visual representation of the world, and chorography as a representation of specific parts of the world (figure 177). He distinguished geography from cosmography, where cosmography was a mathematically descriptive view of the whole world, and could include its relation to the celestial sphere. Geography mapped a more specific region, though one still large enough to compare locations. Apian used the orthographic projection commonly employed in geography to illustrate his meaning.[67] While geography was described mathematically, it also included topographical details such as hills, rivers, and forests. Chorography instead depicted a more specific and individual place, such as a castle on a hill. Apian illustrated his definition of this type in perspective view. The two illustrations show a distinction between the way visual information was relayed: a map projection for geography, and a city view such as those found in the Palazzo Vecchio for chorography. Both fall under the field of cartography, yet offer different information in different ways, as we saw in the previous chapter. Later

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[65] Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence," 41; Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 96.
[66] On Ptolemy's ideas and the reception of the *Geographia* in the Renaissance, see Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), especially 102–14.
[67] An orthographic projection of the earth shows half of the world described in a circle. It is meant to represent a hemisphere as seen from an infinite point away from the world. An image usually combines two projections to show both hemispheres.

Renaissance authors and cartographers, such as Sebastian Münster and Egnazio Danti (1536–86), followed Apian's distinctions of definition almost exactly. At the same time, these authors combined the Strabo model with the Ptolemy model to offer chorographies describing local places both verbally and graphically, incorporating such descriptions into the growing juncture of cartography and history.[68]

Even before Biondo, however, chroniclers had used measurements as evidence in an attempt to add detail and credibility to their work. Giovanni Villani's *Nuova Cronica*, written between the early 1300s and 1348, uses such measurements to describe the city of Florence.[69] Varchi's long description of Florence in his *Storia fiorentina* stems directly from Villani's example combined with Biondo's. At the beginning of the passage Varchi even defends his relaying of cartographic information against detractors who would say that he is

> practicing the office of cartographer, or the describer of places, rather than of historian; but in my opinion this is not only useful, as I said in the beginning, but necessary, and I think that all should have the same opinion, so that the things both inside and outside the city during the siege of Florence will be read.[70]

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[68] Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 94–101; Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 24–25. Fiorani offers a good summary of Apian, except she confuses some terms. She calls Apian's geography "chorography." Moffitt instead argues that the term chorography originally applied to a map that consisted of what he calls duplex-cartography, showing both the larger surrounding area and individual locations within it in more detail, and including text similar to that found in Biondo and Strabo. John F. Moffitt, "Medieval Mappamundi and Ptolemy's Chorographia" *Gesta* 32 (1993):60. On Apian's relation to mapping practices, see Kiely, *Surveying Instruments*, 110, 196–98. On Ptolemy's popularity in the Renaissance, see Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 31–37.

[69] The main description of the city with its third walls, to which Varchi refers, occurs in book 10, chapters 256 and 257, Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, 3 volumes, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo and Ugo Guanda Editore, 1990), 2:428–34. Other topographical descriptions without measurements occur in book 2, chapter 6, and book 4, chapter 2, among others, ibid., 1:69–72, 146–49.

[70] "Faccendo ufizio anzi di cosmografo, cioè descrittore di luoghi, che d'istoria; ma a me è paruto il ciò fare non solamente utile, come dissi nel pincipio, ma ancora necessario, e così penso, che ebba parere a tutti coloro, i quali le cose fatte tanto di dentro, quanto di fuori della città nell'assedio di Firenze leggeranno...." Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:99.

This statement prefaces an extensive recounting of the specific measurements of the city and its surroundings, while expounding upon the topography, the buildings, the people, the customs, etc. Varchi cites Niccolò de' Pericolo, called il Tribolo (1497–1550) as the source for his measurements, who with Benvenuto della Volpaia (1486–1532) had surveyed the city to make a cork model for Pope Leo X during the siege of Florence. Varchi specifically contrasts Tribolo's measurements with those of Villani: "Florence according to Tribolo is 14,723 braccia around, that is to his reasoning five entire miles and eight-ninths more …; and according to Giovanni [Villani, it is] 14,250 [braccia], that equals a measure of four and three quarter miles…."[71] Varchi had already argued that Tribolo's measurements are more accurate. He first called Villani a "simple idiot," and that he is "in many places manifestly incorrect, and especially in that where he describes and states the measurements of the third walls of Florence." Varchi instead preferred

> to follow more than some other Niccolò the sculptor called Tribolo and Benvenuto di Lorenzo il Volpaia, two very respected engineers of our time, who in that time raised together a plan of Florence in no less than six months, working only at night, … with incredible studiousness and diligence they measured it all and made a model of wood…."[72]

The author argued that the greater mathematical skill of the two later protagonists, made so by recent technical developments and put to use with more diligence and ability, is evidence for the greater accuracy of their measurements. Varchi thereby implied that his

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[71] "…Firenze gira secondo il Tribolo quattordicimila settecento ventitre braccia, che sono alla sua ragione cinque miglia intere e otto noni di più, … e secondo Giovanni quattordicimila dugento cinquanta, che sommano alla misura sua quattro miglia e tre quarti appunto…." Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:99.

[72] "… in alcune cose e specialmente nelle misure dalle cronache di Giovanni Villane uomo assai semplice e idiota … in moltissimi luoghi manifestamente scorretti, e specialmente in quella, dove eglie la misura di Firenze del terzo cerchio descrive e dichiara, … a me è piaciuto di dover seguitare più che alcun altro Niccolò scultore chiamaato il Tribolo, e Benvenuto di Lorenzo della Golpaia, due elevatissimi ingegni del secolo nostro, I quail in que' tempi levando insieme amenduni la pianta di Firenze in non meno di sei mesi, non lavorando ses non la notte per non essere, secondo l'uso del popolo di Firenze, impediti dalla gente, con incredibile studio e diligenza lo misurarono tutto quanto, e ne fecero un modello di legname…." Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:57. Vasari also discusses this model in his life of Tribolo, see Vasari, *Opere*, 6:61–63.

history was more valid than Villani's, due to more thorough research and a more exact source.[73] Varchi's comparison of sources also reveals his dependence on the Thucydidean model.[74] With each specific *braccio* cited and brick described, Varchi builds up a vision of Florence in which the reader can fully immerse himself, subsumed by the *enargeia* constructed by the historian's descriptive, detailed settings.

Historians did not limit their borrowing from cartography to written descriptions and measurements. Maps and views also made illustrative presentations of the veracity of their history. Already by 1320, this practice had been codified by Fra Paolino Veneto in his treatise called "De mapa mundi." He summarized the relationship between textual history and visual geographic information:

> Without a world-map, I think it is not just difficult, but impossible to make an image of, or even for the mind to grasp, what is said of the children and grandchildren of Noah, and of the Four Kingdoms and other nations and regions in both divine and human writings. Hence what is needed is a two-fold map, of painting and writing. Nor will you deem one sufficient without the other, because, without writing, painting indicates regions or nations but unclearly, [and] writing, without the aid of painting, truly does not mark, in their various parts, the boundaries of the provinces of a region sufficiently for them to be made manifest almost at a glance.[75]

By the fifteenth century, this relationship had evolved from using maps to illustrate the geographical information found in sacred texts to visibly positioning the events described within the sacred text on the maps. *Mappamundi*, such as Fra Mauro's

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[73] For the full text of Varchi's relation of the measurements of Florence, see Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:99–101. His description of Florence occupies most of book 9, ibid., 3:56–126.

[74] Herodotus also cited his sources but made little effort to compare their validity, while Thucydides made systematic use of such comparisons to establish his own authority in his narrative. Tim Rood, "Objectivity and Authority: Thucydides' Historical Method," in *Brill's Companion to Thucydides*, eds. Antonios Rengakos and Antonios Tsakmakis (Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 245–46. Giovio also compared his sources and their accounts, in which Zimmerman finds a dependence on Thucydides. Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 267.

[75] Quoted in Moffitt, "Medieval Mappamundi," 60. Schulz also quotes this passage, Schulz, "View of Venice," 452.

from 1459 (figure 178), showed the entire known world in one map. Such maps combined information on histories, plants, animals, and people, to give a comprehensive depiction of the known world. The world was not just considered as a geographic representation, but as including everything within it, and particularly the history of its inhabitants. Fra Mauro strove for accuracy just as sixteenth-century cartographers would later. Maps positioned the sites of events that had occurred at a specific location. The cartographic representation of those sites grounded the credibility of the history told of the event in the accuracy of the map. The *mappamundi*, and their sixteenth-century descendants, provided a setting for these histories.[76]

In at least two cases in the Renaissance, mapping practices were even used to research and document history. Leon Battista Alberti in his *Descriptio urbis Romae*, written between 1443 and 1455, was the first to actually put into written form a practical explanation of how to perform a mapping. It described measuring positions and distances of buildings and translating them into a system of coordinates derived from the example of Ptolemy. These coordinates could be translated onto a mathematical grid within a circle to locate them on paper. It remains unclear if Alberti ever made the map itself, though if he did, it was lost long ago. The map would have been the first ichnographic projection—what we today commonly call a plan—of Rome since antiquity. The coordinates, however, located Rome's principal monuments and the restorations carried out by Pope Nicholas V. By that means, it celebrated the history of Rome and placed the

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[76] On *mappamundi* as encyclopedic containers of knowledge, including Fra Mauro's, see Schulz, "View of Venice," 449–53; Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 113–14; Moffitt, "Medieval Mappamundi"; P. D. A. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map*, British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). On their history more generally, see David Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," in J. B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987): 286–370, especially 314–17.

pope's accomplishments within that glorified context. Twenty years later Bernardo Rucellai confirmed this use of the *Descriptio urbis Romae*. Rucellai's own *De Urbe Roma*, written after a tour of the city with Alberti but not published until 1496, praised both the monuments on the tour and the *Decriptio* that exactly positioned them within that history. The praise demonstrates how the *Descriptio* functioned to bring the tourists into contact with the fabric of the city, where they commingled with its history marked out for them.[77] Following Alberti, Raphael also described mapping Rome in a letter to Pope Leo X in 1519. He used a similar method of surveying to map out the coordinates of the monuments of ancient Rome. That map, also no longer extant, pinpointed its antiquities on a grid similar to Alberti's earlier described projection, and fixed those antiquities alongside the modern monuments in the consciousness of his contemporaries. Users of Raphael's map could in this way understand elements of Rome's history through more visual means.[78]

Surveys and plans from throughout the sixteenth century demonstrate the persistent currency of the principle of locating history. Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane (1484–1546) undertook a survey of Rome's walls in 1542 as part of his project to refortify the city. One survey drawing delineates the walls and their measurements (figure 179). Amidst these practical notations Antonio placed a small inscription, "Borbone,"

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[77] No map by Alberti survives, only his written coordinates, and it may be that he never produced the map itself. Alberti, *Descriptio*; Franco Borsi, *Leon Battista Alberti: The Complete Works*, trans. Rudolf G. Carpanini (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1977; Reprint, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1989).27–31, 262; Grafton, *Alberti: Master Builder*, 243–48; Pinto, "Ichnographic City Plan," 36–38; Stroffolino 18–19, 18 n. 3. The *Forma urbis Romae*, an early-third-century plan of Rome, was an ichnographic projection, see Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 127–31; O. A. W. Dilke, "Roman Large-Scale Mapping in the Early Empire," in Harley and Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 225–30. On ichnographic projections in the Renaissance, see Pinto, "Ichnographic City Plan."

[78] The plan was actually made by Marco Fabio Calvo. On Raphael's letter, see Francesco P. Di Teodoro, *Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la Lettera a Leone X*, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1994); Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 125–27, 126 n. 52; Camerota, "Introduzione," 105.

marking the position where the duke of Bourbon, general of the imperial army, was killed during the initial charge that opened the sack of Rome on 6 May 1527.[79] This historical event, fifteen years past, served no purpose in the survey or construction of the new defenses. It illustrates the architect's momentary interest in the history that took place among the monuments he was in the process of mapping. Shortly thereafter, the military architect Giovan Battista Belluzzi (1506–54) included a drawing of Volterra's defenses from 1549–51 as part of a series of city plans for Duke Cosimo I de'Medici made between 1549 and 1552. On the Volterra plan, Belluzzi recorded the positions of the artillery batteries of the Marquis of Vasto and Fabrizio Maramaldo during the 1530 siege of the city with five and six small circles and accompanying inscriptions (figure 180).[80] Belluzzi's notations indicate that Antonio's similar note was more than just a personal rumination.[81] The historical glosses were perhaps of interest to the patrons of the projects. The practices of these artists all derive from the tradition of the *mappamundi*, but apply those principles to chorography. The resulting documentation demonstrates attempts at using maps to describe history of the immediate surroundings through the principle of

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[79] The sheet is U 1012A verso, in the Gabinetto dei Disegni, Uffizi, Florence. Frommel and Adams, *Architectural Drawings*, 1:180.

[80] The inscriptions read "batterja del marchese del vasto" and "batteria del fabritio maremano." The series of plans is located in the Collezione Magliabecchiano, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, album II.I.280. Belluzzi's plans are cc. 1–85, Voltera is c. 17. Lamberini has dated them to between 1549–50 and 1551–52. On the album, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 147–285, for the Volterra plan, 188–91.

[81] Belluzzi included similar glosses on other plans in the collection, though none so diagrammatically specific. The plan of Vienna (c. 85), for instance, marks with inscriptions ("qui fu minato la prima volta," seconda mina," "Terza mina") the three sites where Ottomans dug mines under the walls during the siege of 1529. The plan of Bologna (c. 67) also marks with an inscription ("M^a del baracano dove p^o navarra Mino") where Pedro Navarra mined the wall in 1511. On these plans, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 282–85, 258–62.

location. In this way, a memory system was built of the monuments, offering a network on which to mentally place the events of history.[82]

By the late sixteenth century in Italy, maps had come to be included in monumental decorative map cycles celebrating the history or power of their patrons. Designers of these cycles used maps to locate biblical or historical stories, such as at the Vatican Galleria delle Carte Geografiche from 1579–81. Artists depicted the stories in paintings that were positioned physically near to the maps themselves, making a visual connection between the historical scene and the depiction of the region in which the story takes place. The addition of information about location made the history more understandable through illustration, while serving as visual evidence for its credibility. At the Vatican, the biblical scenes are depicted in the vault, with the maps on the wall below (figure 181). An inscription at the beginning of the Galleria announces Pope Gregory XIII's intentions for the cycle. It reads: "The vault shows pious deeds of holy men, the maps exhibit the places where they were done."[83] In addition to locating these stories, the maps of the Vatican exhibit the Italian states and include miniaturized historical battles that took place on them (figure 182). The whole Galleria displays the extent of the pope's religious power in geographic form. By showing the biblical events that took place on those lands, the maps lend a historical Christian foundation to the power of the pope demonstrated by the territories. The maps' accuracy, derived from the most up-to-date,

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[82] Michel de Certeau describes a similar consideration of the relation between memory, stories, and places. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 104–27, especially 105–8.

[83] Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 108. For the full inscription see Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 174.

exacting cartographic methods, made the biblical history, and the power it underlay, more authoritative.[84]

The Guardaroba Nuova of the Palazzo Vecchio

The cosmographer responsible for the maps in the Vatican Galleria was Egnazio Danti, a Dominican monk from Perugia whose family was well known for its cosmographical abilities. Prior to his work in Rome, Danti had been in charge of making the maps that would adorn the Guardaroba Nuova in the Palazzo Vecchio, now called the Sala del Mappamundo or the Sala delle Carte Geografiche (figure 168).[85] This room also formed part of the decorations Vasari undertook for Cosimo, during the renovations of the Quartiere di Leone X and the Salone dei Cinquecento. Although not normally considered part of those earlier programs, it will be useful to explore Vasari's ideas for this map room.[86] The room has a complicated history, requiring a more extensive detour

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[84] For the Vatican Galleria, see Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 141–252; Fiorani, "Galleria delle Carte Geografiche"; Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 101–8; Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli, eds., *La Galleria delle Carte geografiche in Vaticano / The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican*, trans. Barbara Fisher et al., Mirabilia Italiae, 1 (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore S.p.A., 1994); Roberto Almagià, *Le pitture murali della Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana, vol. 3 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1952).

[85] Fiorani's recent book and Rosen's recent dissertation on the maps of the Guardaroba Nuova supersede the old standard reference on Danti and his Florentine maps by del Badia. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*; Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," especially 199–237; but also see Gemmarosa Levi-Donati, *Le tavole geografiche della Guardaroba Medicea di Palazzo Vecchio in Firenze / The Geographical Panels in the Medici Guardaroba of Palazzo Vecchio in Florence*, trans. Clare Donovan (Perugia: Benucci Editore, 1995). The scholarship on Danti includes Jodoco del Badia, *Egnazio Danti cosmografo e matematico e le sue opere in firenze* (Florence: M. Cellini E. C. alla Galileiana, 1881); Vincenzo Fortunato Marchese, "Del Padre Egnazio Danti matematico, cosmografo, ingegnere, e architetto," in *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani*, vol. 2, fourth edition (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1878–79): 352–71; Vincenzo Palmesi, "Egnazio Danti" *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria* 5 (1899): 81–125; J. L. Heilbron, *The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999): 48–51, 62–81. Fiorani offers new evidence that demonstrates Don Miniato Pitti's involvement in the development of the project, even initially as the main cartographer, with Danti as his assistant. Pitti was a well-known expert in mathematics and geography. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 28–29.

[86] Fiorani claims that the Guardaroba Nuova is entirely unrelated to the rest of the decorations. I find this impossible to accept, considering the timing, the similarity of use of cartographic images, and the general

into its design. But upon an analysis of the map room, Vasari's pursuit and use of accuracy within maps to support, organize, and illustrate historical knowledge will become clearer.

Vasari gave a lengthy explanation of the Guardaroba Nuova in the *Lives*.[87] He wrote how Cosimo first asked him to add a room on the second floor of the Palazzo Vecchio for the organization of part of the duke's collection of objects.[88] Vasari built the new chamber on a prior terrace, raising at least one new wall, probably between 1564 and 1571. Large cabinets of walnut with rich carvings lined the walls, made by Dionagi di Matteo Nigetti (fl. 1565–79) and finished c. 1571.[89] A map of a region of the world decorates each of the cabinet doors. These cabinets would hold the objects designated for this room, consisting mostly of *exotica*.[90] For instance, Cosimo owned an Aztec dog's head carved in onyx, which is thought to have been kept in this room. The sculpture

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intentions of these projects that both celebrate Duke Cosimo I. I cannot find them as different in iconography and function as she does. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 21.

[87] Vasari, *Opere*, 7:633–35.

[88] For the history and location of the Guardaroba, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 287–302. The Guardaroba, in addition to the collection, was also the name for the group of rooms that held the collection. These rooms were located on the Via del Gondi side of the Palazzo. The Guardaroba Nuova sits on the same side of the palace, but on the opposite side of the Salone dei Cinquecento. Visitors accessed the original Guradaroba rooms from the Sala dei Gigli, through a terrace and then a corridor that traversed the Salone over the location of the present Udienza. Vasari removed this corridor during his renovations of the Salone, begun in 1563. Fiorani says that a secret stairway connects Francesco's Studiolo with the Guardaroba Nuova, but she mistakes the latter with the Teserotto, Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 70.

[89] Nigetti was paid for two models for the room in 1564, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 309. He was paid for the cabinets in 1571, ibid., 312.

[90] The cabinets not actually being finished until c. 1571, there is little indication as to what objects specifically would have been in Guardaroba Nuova. Already by 1559–60, many objects were kept in the Scrittoio, which has its own inventories from 1558 and 1559. See Massinelli, *Guardaroba di Cosimo*, 18–19. Fourteen cabinets were constructed in 1549 and 1550, the contents of which are listed in a 1553 inventory, and must have been in the Guardaroba's original location. See Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 304; Paola Barocchi and Giovanni Gaeta Bertelà, eds., *Da Cosimo I a Cosimo II, 1540–1621*, vol 1., *Collezionismo Mediceo e storia artistica* (Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 2002): 183–95; 200–19. Rosen includes the 1574 inventory of the Guardaroba Nuova and its adjacent room. Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," 442–55. By 1581, Francesco I had already begun to move the collection over to the Uffizi, before the room was finished. See Barocchi and Bertelà, *Cosimo I a Cosimo II*, 61–75. Also Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 61–78.

would have been in the cabinet with the map of New Spain, which clearly marks the city of Mexico (figure 183).[91] The duke also had objects from Africa, Turkish countries, and the Far East, among others, which would have been kept in their respectively designated cabinets. The room would have held objects of European origin as well, such as small Italian bronzes, although many of these were kept elsewhere.[92] In its focus, the room's collection was intended as a representative sample from all parts of the world.

Vasari included in the room a second version of the famous astronomical clock made in 1484 for Lorenzo de' Medici by Lorenzo della Volpaia (figure 184). This second clock had been in the Palazzo della Signoria since 1510. The clock had seven small dials within a larger dial. The large dial showed the twenty-four hours and a zodiac calendar, allowing the hand to show the hour, the position of the sun in the zodiac, and the day of the month. The smaller dials showed the phase and position of the moon and the positions of each of the planets. A small mounted celestial globe also turned by the same mechanism.[93] There was also to be a larger celestial globe matching a similarly sized

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[91] Mexico is located even more prominently than any other city in any of the maps, illustrating Cosimo's particular interest in the Americas. Giovanni Cipriani, "Il mondo americano nella Toscana del Cinquecento: Collezionismo e letteratura" *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa* 98 (1992): 227, 229, 234.

[92] There is some indication that seven small bronzes were set aside for the Guardaroba Nuova, see Massinelli, *Guardaroba di Cosimo*, 20.

[93] Volpaia's clocks no longer exist. Rosen discusses the history of the second version in the Guardaroba, and the confusion between the two versions, of which even Vasari misspoke. Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," 151–54. For a brief but clear description, see Henry C. King, *Geared to the Stars: The Evolution of Planetariums, Orreries, and Astronomical Clocks* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978): 41. For a discussion of how it worked, its mechanisms and its mathematics, see Emmanuel Poulle, *Les instrruments de la théorie des planètes selon Ptolémée: Équatoires et horlogerie planétaire du XIIIe au XVIe siècle*, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 42, Collection des travaux de l'Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences, no. 27 (Geneva: Librarie Droz; Paris, Librarie H. Champion, 1980): 1:652–65, 2:760–61. More recently, Giuseppe Brusa discussed the clock's workings and history, demonstrating that the Guardaroba clock was indeed the second version. Giuseppe Brusa, "L'orologio dei pianeti di Lorenzo della Volpaia," *Nuncius* 9 (1994): 645–69. For Vasari's description, which is admittedly confusing in his use of the term *oriolo*, see Vasari, *Opere*, 2:593–94, 7:634. For C. De Vere's translation of this word as "clock," see Vasari, *Lives* (C. De Vere ed.), 891–93. I am indebted to Dr. Lawrence Principe for assisting me in attempting to determine the nature of this "famous" machine. Fiorani inexplicably calls the Volpaia clock an armillary sphere, although *oriolo* does not translate as this. She even says it was made in the 1490s. She

terrestrial globe.[94] In addition, Cosimo commissioned a series of 300 portraits of famous men from Cristofano dell'Altissimo (1530–c. 1605), who in 1552 began copying them from the series owned by Paolo Giovio in Como. Today known as the Giovana series, Cristofano's commission included rulers, both European and foreign, *condottiere*, artists, explorers, popes and cardinals, literati, and eminent members of the Medici. About 280 of these portraits were produced, 254 of them already finished by 1568.[95]

Vasari organized the disparate elements of his design very precisely. Upon entering, on each side of the door, were to be two hemisphere maps, a celestial map hung above a terrestrial map. Then, beginning on the right, fourteen maps of Europe would run around half the room, ending at Volpaia's astronomical clock, hung directly opposite the door. Above the maps of Europe would be eleven maps of Africa. On the other side of the clock, fourteen maps of Asia would line the walls below fourteen maps of the Americas (which Vasari called the West Indies), arriving back at the entrance. This would have made fifty-seven maps. Below the maps, at the base of the cabinets, twenty-

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cites an entry in the 1570 palace inventory that she claims references Volpaia's clock, but calls it "uno mapamondo dotone dorato," which she translates as a gilded brass globe. It is unclear why she identifies this as Volpaia's clock because it bears no resemblance to the commonly accepted understanding of the machine, as found in Poulle, whom she does not cite, nor King. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 26, 283 n. 21. In this misunderstanding Fiorani might follow Schulz, who seems to have confused Volpaia's clock and Danti's armillary sphere, as he located Volpaia's "armillary sphere" in the center of the room. Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 98.

[94] Danti began the terrestrial globe in 1563, and finished it c. 1567. Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," 212–15.

[95] Vasari listed the 254 portraits as an addendum to the last volume of his 1568 edition of the *Lives*. Allegri and Cecchi reprinted this list, but missed six of the images according to Schulz. Barocchi has reprinted the whole list. See Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 304, 310–21; Barocchi and Bertelà, *Cosimo I a Cosimo II*, 222–30; Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 224 n. 5. As the documents included by Rosen makes clear, however, Cristofano only finished 220 portraits by 1568, adding another nine in the next four years. Between 1580 and 1582, then, he painted sixty more portraits, while Allessandro Allori also painted twenty-seven in 1580. For a discussion of the complete history of the portrait series, before, during, and after their inclusion in the Guardaroba, see Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," 287–94. Fiorani claims that only 237 portraits were painted for the Guardaroba. She again cites the ducal inventory of 1570 but translates "Dugentoventinove" as 237, rather than 229. The 1574 inventory that she also cites and correctly translates records 238 portraits. The 1574 inventory makes it clear that 238 of the portraits were hung in the Guardaroba Nuova covered with green curtains. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 26, 283 n. 22. The Giovana series currently hangs in the corridors of the Uffizi.

eight pictures of animals would hang above an equal number of pictures of plants. These pictures were to line up with the maps, representing the flora and fauna from their matching country above. On top of the cabinets would sit twelve antique marble busts of rulers of those lands, the rulers aligned with their countries. Vasari designated the walls between the cabinets and the ceiling for the 300 portraits. He arranged them in three rows, grouped roughly thematically according to a specific row on a single wall, though with no apparent organization beyond that. The ceiling, divided into twelve compartments, would display four celestial signs for each of the rulers shown in the marble busts, making forty-eight constellations in all.[96] In the center of the ceiling, two hidden compartments would open to reveal the two spheres. These would descend to the floor to locate the countries and the stars.

Vasari's description emphasized two overall themes: accuracy and utility of the cartography. The maps, which he called "tables of Ptolemy," are "all measured with perfect accuracy and corrected after the most recent authorities, with exact charts of navigation and their scales for measuring and degrees, done with supreme diligence."[97] In cartography, no project "more perfect has ever been done at any time."[98] The images of plants and animals are "exactly in line" with the maps.[99] The terrestrial globe is "marked distinctly," and it is possible to use the celestial globe "for all the operations of the

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[96] Vasari, *Opere*, 7:635. Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," 129, 143–44.
[97] "... le tavole di Tolomeo, misurate perfettamente tutte, e ricorrette secondo gli autori nuovi, e con le carte giuste delle navigazioni, con somma diligenzia fatte le scale loro di misurare, ed i gradi...." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:634. Translated in Vasari, *Lives* (C. de Vere ed.), 891.
[98] "... che di quella professione non è stata mai per tempo nessuno fatta njè la maggiore nè la più perfetta." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:633. Translated in Vasari, *Lives* (C. de Vere ed.), 891.
[99] " ... dirittura a piombo..." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:635. Translated in Vasari, *Lives* (C. de Vere ed.), 892.

astrolabe perfectly."[100] Contemporaries, including Vasari, considered Danti proficient in cartography, and capable of meeting these demands. The cartographer was well trained in mathematics and its applied fields of cartography and astronomy. The author described Danti in the *Lives* as "very excellent in matters of cosmography, and of a rare genius."[101]

The room corroborates Vasari's claim of striving for accuracy and utility. The maps demonstrate Danti's endeavoring for precision, attempting to depict coastlines and position sites according to exact latitude and longitude. Errors do occur, suggesting the limits of sixteenth-century cartography.[102] The main limiting factor in the Florentine maps seems to have been the sources used. The cartographer depended on a wide range of sources for his Medici maps, in an effort to make them as exact and up-to-date as possible. Danti's main source was apparently the Venetian Giacomo Gastaldi's map *Cosmographia universalis*, a map of the entire world published in 1569.[103] He also relied heavily on Girolamo Ruscelli's (c. 1504–66) contemporary edition of Ptolemy's *Geografia*, first printed in 1561.[104] Danti depended on other recently printed maps as well, such as Gastaldi's of Asia from 1559–61, and Gerard Mercator's of Europe printed in 1554 (figures 185–86).[105] Travel books, both modern and older accounts, also served as important sources. Giovanni Battista Ramusio, who voyaged with Magellan on his

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[100] "...distintamente"; "tutte le operazioni dell'astrolabio perfettissimamente." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:635. I differ from Gaston du C. de Vere's translation for the latter quote slightly, see his translation in Vasari, *Lives* (C. de Vere ed.), 892–93. An astrolabe is an astronomical instrument for telling time and locating latitude and longitude, among other uses. The sphere would have shown all the constellations and other celestial bodies, so that a viewer could determine their location for any time.

[101] "... quale è nelle cose di cosmogafia eccellentissimo, e di raro ingegno...." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:633. Translated in Vasari, *Lives* (C. de Vere ed.), 891.

[102] Levi-Donati, *tavole geografiche*, passim.

[103] For a discussion of Danti's sources, see Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 105–31, especially 106. Rosen explains each map's references, sources, and amount of displayed information. Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," 301–429

[104] Fiorani, "Galleria delle Carte Geografiche," 145 n. 40.

[105] Almagià, *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, 14; Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 107, 109.

famous trip, published in 1550 an account of those travels in *Delle Navigatione et Viaggi*, on which Danti relied. Based on those sources, Danti's intentions appear to have matched Vasari's expressed interest in accuracy, regardless of whether he achieved them according to twenty-first-century standards.[106]

The two artists applied this accuracy in the Guardaroba Nuova to the point of utility, emphasizing the latter in how the room provides information. In particular, the globe works in conjunction with the maps, allowing a visitor to locate a map's territory relative to the other countries and regions of the world. The combination seems intended as a re-creation of Ptolemy's *Geographia.* Vasari's idea for the maps and globe matches a quote from this work, where Ptolemy writes, "We are able therefore to know the exact position of any particular place, and the position of the various countries, how they are integrated in regard to one another, and how they are situated in regard to the whole inhabited world."[107] Ptolemy professed his overall goal of utility, assuming the necessity of accuracy to reach it. Vasari followed Ptolemy's prescription within the Guardaroba Nuova. Danti marked the globe to expedite location of the regions, and the maps themselves appear as if usable even for navigation. Navigational markers such as directional lines (rhumb lines) and the major latitudes crisscross the water. Danti gave particular focus in the maps to coastlines and ports, and he marked and named each of the many cities. Cartouches display texts that offer information on the region, such as the history of exploration of the region, its inhabitants, and certain items of note found

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[106] Levi-Donati, *tavole geografiche*, 20, and passim. Danti also used Marco Polo's account of his travels, especially for locations in the far east, such as China.
[107] Ptolemy, *Geographia*, quoted in Kristen Lippincott, "The Art of Cartography in Fifteenth-Century Florence," in *Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics*, ed. Michael Mallett and Nicholas Mann,Warburg Institute Colloquia, 3 (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1996): 136.

there.[108] Such information derives directly from the *mappamundi* tradition. Vasari claimed that Cosimo himself desired the room's accuracy for the sake of utility. In fact, Vasari attributed the entire "idea and design" for the room to Cosimo, "who wished to put together once and for all these things both of heaven and earth, absolutely exact and without errors, so that it might be possible to see and measure them separately and all together."[109]

So far the discussion of the Guardaroba Nuova has depended on Vasari's description, written before the room's completion. Due to a series of events, the room was never put together as intended.[110] We can therefore form conclusions useful to this

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[108] Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 68.

[109] "Questo cappriccio et invenzione è nata dal duca Cosimo per mettere insieme una volta queste cose del cielo e della terra giustissime e sensa errori, e da poterle misurare e vedere, et a parte e tutte insieme...." Vasari, *Opere*, 7:635. Translated in Vasari, *Lives* (C. de Vere ed.), 893.

[110] Cosimo died in 1574, when Danti had only completed the globe and roughly half of the maps. The cosmographer worked for a little over a year longer on the maps, until 1576. Cosimo's successor, Francesco I, at that point replaced him for an unknown reason with Stefano Buonsignori, a monk trained in the mathematical arts from the nearby monastery of Monte Olivetano. Cristofano finished 280 of the portraits of famous men, but the pictures of plants and animals, the constellations on the ceiling, and the four hemispherical maps, had not even been started. Levi-Donati, *tavole geografiche*, 16–17. Fiorani adds that Danti had begun the celestial sphere, but left the leather in pieces, unfinished. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 26. Buonsignori continued Danti's focus on accuracy but added more decoration. In 1581, Francesco began moving the Medici collection to the Uffizi. He transferred the series of portraits there in 1584. Barocchi and Bertelà, *Cosimo I a Cosimo II*, 61–75; Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 304. In 1587 Ferdinando I succeeded Francesco, at which point Buonsignori still had not finished the maps. Between 1587 and 1597, Ferdinando moved the rest of the Guardaroba to the Uffizi. In 1588, he made a small effort to complete his father's room of maps, by commissioning Antonio Santucci delle Pomerance to make the celestial sphere called for in the design. As Santucci worked, the maps must have finally been completed, because the marble entrance to the Guardaroba Nuova was installed in the Sala dei Gigli, signaling an end to the project. Only fifty-three of the fifty-seven planned maps were painted, but the room was put together anyway. At this point the Guardaroba Nuova was simply a room of maps, with none of the other elements described by Vasari. Even the layout of the maps subverted Cosimo's design. They appear to hang partially according to size, in order to best fit the cabinet doors. They do follow a modified version of the original plan, with Africa mostly above Europe, opposite America, which is mostly above Asia, although the series is reversed left to right relative to the main entrance. When Santucci finished his sphere, called the "universal machine of the world," in 1593, Ferdinando had the sphere installed in the Camera delle Matematiche in the Uffizi. Many of the scientific objects from the Guardaroba had been placed there already, including Danti's terrestrial sphere. Levi-Donati, *tavole geografiche*, 16–17; Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 305–8.

study only from Vasari's design for the Guardaroba Nuova, not its final form.[111] In dealing with his intentions, we must first regard how the room was planned to contain and organize the collection. The decoration of the space exists in relation to that primary purpose. Vasari presented the elements of the room in a deliberate hierarchy, with the world below and the sky above. The organization, also derived from Ptolemy's *Geographia*, progresses upwards from plants and animals to humans and the heavens, with the divisions of the earth and the art of humanity in between. This room, and particularly its collection, included a representative sample of everything known in the universe, a microcosm of the macrocosm. It represented a desire to understand the earth, and perhaps larger desires of territorialism, of appropriation and possession. The hierarchical organization grew out of these desires to know—and through knowing, possess—the world. Study of this microcosm and all its objects could impart secrets, a special knowledge imparted through the organization. Cosimo presented the world as ordered through his organization, his hierarchy. He had harnessed the secrets of the cosmos by ordering its parts.[112]

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[111] Because of its appearance today, the room has been called the first atlas, as well as the first of the mural map cycles. See, for example, Levi-Donati, *tavole geografiche*, 15; Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 99. This may be true in conception, perhaps, but not in execution. The room was not finished until after Abraham Ortelius' 1570 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the first printed atlas. The mural map cycles at Caprarola, painted between 1573 and 1575, and the Galleria in the Vatican, painted 1578–81, were both finished before the completion of the Florentine room. Most scholars of the room, or of mural map cycles in general, have traditionally failed to make this distinction between conception and form. That they pay singular attention to the maps is symptomatic of this failure. Fiorani and Rosen do consider the differences between conception and execution. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 17–137; Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace."

[112] Fiorani discusses the room's organizing principles, based on Ptolemy's geographical ordering system. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 67–92. Also Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 99, 118; Andreas Grote, "Die Medici: Ikonographische Propädeutik su einer fürstlichen Sammlung," in *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo: Die Welt in der Stube: Zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800*, ed. Andreas Grote (Opladen, Leske + Budrich, 1994): 222–24. For the idea of the *studiolo* as a microcosm, see Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 74. For a similar reading of the *Kunstkammer* of Rudolf II, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: The *Kunstkammer* as a Form of *Representatio*" *Art Journal* 38 (1978): 24–25. On

The maps play a role in this ordering, by representing the world in the overall scheme of the microcosm, but more importantly by locating the objects. The cartographic knowledge presents the appearance of a naturally ordered system. The apparent precision of the cartography lends credibility to the ordering as well. If the maps are accurate, and comprehensive in their representation, then organization of the objects assumes an impression of objective empiricism that lends plausibility. The ability to compare maps to the globe by seeing a region in relation to others offers further empiric observation to the order of the room. It suggests that a viewer can also compare the objects, and the plants and animals from those lands, within the contexts of their origins. That comparison reveals knowledge and hence the world can become known.

But as Vasari described, the maps did not just locate the objects. They also worked in conjunction with the busts of rulers, establishing both the geographical limits of their rules and histories. In this we find the same principle as that expounded by Fra Vettori in 1320, still put into practice almost 250 years later. And although Vasari does not mention this, the maps would have similarly located the lives and actions—the history—of the illustrious men depicted in the portraits above, a principle also used in the Vatican Galleria delle Carte Geografiche.

The Guardaroba Nuova was therefore intended as a giant *mappamundo*, one given a spatial arrangement that could be entered. It depicted the entire world, but also made an effort to create a microcosm of the known universe. The maps located the flora, fauna,

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possession through the gaining of knowledge, see Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The* Kunstkammer *and the Evolution of Nature, Art, and Technology*, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995): 34–36; Delano Smith, "Maps in Bibles," 78. Kaufmann has discussed the *studiolo* as a symbolization of political power in the Central European *Kunstkammer*. See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "From Mastery of the World to Mastery of Nature: The Kunstkammer, Politics, and Science," in T*he Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): passim, especially 176–84.

people, and objects that were all intended for the arrangement. They also provided quantifiable settings for the histories of those people and their objects, graphically describing a secular history of creation. The accuracy desired by Cosimo was not simply to provide the trappings of investigative natural philosophy to the cataloguing of his collection. That accuracy was useful only insofar as it aided the knowledge that the maps located.[113] Precision was a formal element in the same way that composition, line, and color serve a painting. Cosimo wanted accuracy for his maps to provide his microcosm—his organization of the history of the world—with an appearance of truthfulness. By ordering the microcosm, giving this order plausibility, and then entering it, Cosimo could stand at the center of his cosmos and truly possess it.[114]

This use of maps for ideological appropriation, as symbols of a ruler's power, is certainly not new in the history of maps. In this, Cosimo followed many other sixteenth-century rulers, and especially Emperor Charles V, who sought to have their worldly territories at their fingertips and under their gaze.[115] The novelty in the conception of the Guardaroba Nuova is its microcosmic organization, and especially the history at the heart of the *invenzione*. The perceived perfection of the maps reproduces the world and its past, placing Cosimo at the center of that timeline. It offers to the duke an appearance of

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[113] Fiorani, "Galleria delle Carte Geografiche," 140; Delano Smith, "Maps in Bibles," 65–66.

[114] For the idea of appropriation through cataloguing, see Delano Smith, "Maps in Bibles," 78. Schulz discusses a similar principle in relation to medieval maps, which as he says were more concerned with philosophical ideas that were aided by the accuracy, rather than geographical curiosity. As he says, "the map is the medium, not the message." Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 111–12. Rosen discusses similar allegorical readings regarding the globes of the Guardaroba Nuova. Rosen, "Cosmos in the Palace," 140–41.

[115] Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Pictorial Legitimation of Territorial Gains in Emilia: The Iconography of the Camera Peregrina Aurea in the Castle of Torchiara," in *Renaissance Sudies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, vol. 2, ed. Andrew Morrogh et al. (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 553–68; Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles in the Renaissance: Symbols of Signoria/Symbols of Tyranny," *Art Journal* 48 (1989): 130–37; Raymond B. Craib, "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain," *Latin American Research Review* 35 (2000): 7–36; Richard L. Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 (1986): 115–35.

controlling the world and its events, so that the history becomes providential through Cosimo's will. The *Apotheosis of Cosimo I* in the Salone can make similar claims for the god-like nature of the duke.[116] More importantly, as we will see in the case study of the Sala di Cosimo I, city views elsewhere in the Palazzo Vecchio place Cosimo at the center of the history of the territory under his control, guiding its development, its safety and its organization. But while Vasari used the Italian tradition of the *mappamundi* as the basis for the Guardaroba Nuova, to place the city views within a similar discourse of history, he looked to examples in the north.

Northern Precedence for the Combination of History and City Views

While in Italy maps that located biblical and historical events began to take the form of map cycles, in northern Europe maps took the form of printed illustrations. Printers of bibles in the north included maps in accordance with Fra Veneto's prescriptions quoted above, but to locate the stories told in the printed words rather than in images.[117] Other sources indicate that maps also served as illustrations for secular histories. For instance, Johannes Cuspinianus, imperial historian in Vienna, commissioned maps for his historical works in the 1520s.[118] As early as 1486, however, Bernhard von Breydenbach had already included city views in his relation of his

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[116] Van Veen disputes this deification interpretation of the painting, van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 59–67; van Veen, "Republicanism," 202–5; van Veen, "Circles of Sovereignty," especially 216–17, although in a note van Veen recognizes this interpretation among later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century generations, 298 n. 34. Forster and Cox-Rearick both contributed to that interpretation in modern scholarship, Forster, "Metaphors of Rule," 97–98; Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny*, 21, 251.
[117] Frangenberg, 1994, 44; Ingram, "Maps as Readers Aids," 33; Delano Smith, "Maps in Bibles."
[118] Only one map was delivered to Cuspinianis; a map of Hungary by the cartographer Lazarus, which was published in 1528 by Peter Apian. That map had been adapted by another cartographer and friend of Cuspinianis, Georg Tannstetter, who had also made a map in 1522 (now lost) recording the Christian campaigns against the Turks, another case of maps locating history. Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, ed. R. A. Skelton (London: C. A. Watts, 1964), 157.

pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*.[119] Breydenbach used the views—including Venice, Rhodes, and particularly a map of the Levant with a view of Jerusalem—to illustrate his travels. As something of an armchair-travel book, the reader could use the images as a visionary experience of a pilgrimage they would otherwise be unable to make.[120] In this way, Breydenbach's images offered to Vasari an example of using city views as a visual setting onto which a viewer could project a history held in his mind.

Even more applicable to the Palazzo Vecchio images, however, were the printed early encyclopedias that included similar views of cities. Most notable were the *Liber Chronicarum of Weltchronik* of Hartman Schedel (1493) and the *Cosmographia Universalis* of Sebastian Münster, the second edition (1550) of which included city views (figures 91–94, 98–100).[121] Both mixed encyclopedic information with atlas-like illustrations of cities, flora, fauna, and people to offer a northern version of the historical chorographies written by Biondo, Giovio, and others. But while Schedel considered it

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[119] Von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio*. Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* was the first printed book to include detailed and recognizable city views for the benefit of the reader. It is properly a travel guide, as it describes the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This may explain the less-frequent consideration of its views in modern city-view scholarship as compared to the encyclopedic Schedel, Münster, and Braun and Hogenberg. Both Schedel and Münster recycled images from Breydenbach's book, demonstrating the latter's importance in the consciousness of that period. On Breydenbach's city views, see Bourne, "Maps as Palace Decoration," 5, 10, 13, 16; Juergen Schulz, *The Printed Plans and Panoramic Views of Venice (1486–1797)*, Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte, 7 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1970), 19–20; Hugh William Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land, 1483–84* (London: J. & J. Leighton, 1911).

[120] Similar principles were put into practice at the Sacro Monte of Varallo at this time, on which see Roberta Panzanelli, "Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the 'New Jerusalem' at Varallo (1486–1530)" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1999). In this function, the recognizability of the views becomes all-important, explaining the book's uniqueness noted by Schulz. Since Breydenbach's city views illustrate the cities to which his reader could expect to travel, they do not necessarily serve the same encomiastic functions commonly given to city views as discussed by Schulz and others. Schulz, "View of Venice," especially 464. Kagan describes the book as armchair travel, linking it to Schedel, Münster, and Braun and Hogenberg. Kagan, "Art of the Cityscape," 124–25.

[121] Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*; Münster, *Cosmographiae*; Münster, *Cosmographei*. The *Cosmographia universalis* was first published in Basel in 1544, but this edition did not include the city views, which were added in the second edition of 1550, simultaneously published in Latin and German editions.

less important to present recognizable representations of the cities he illustrated (only twenty-three of the 116 cities shown are recognizable; the rest may be invented and are interchanged), Münster worked hard to accumulate faithful portraits of the cities he published in the *Cosmographia*. He corresponded with agents throughout Europe and commissioned many of the views from life, then had woodcut artists translate them into the appropriate media to be printed.[122] Although these views primarily belonged to the Quattrocento style, their recognizable naturalism added credibility to the related information provided by Münster.

Historical chorographies in the style of Biondo became something of a specialty in Germany, but nothing else was published to equal the *Cosmographia* until the first volume of Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* appeared in 1572 (figures 114–16). The *Civitates* focused entirely on publishing city views and an accompanying verbal description. Many of the views were newly commissioned and drawn, most of those from the Antwerp artist Joris Hoefnagel (figure 138).[123] Hoefnagel travelled throughout Europe producing most of the perspective views with an eye principally to the literalness of the depiction, one of the recognized hallmarks of the *Civitates*. With this atlas, the city view genre reached its pinnacle, having traded much of the accompanying written description in favor of a more illustrative one. The views contain a striking sense of fidelity. Many of them present the cities in the style of the Antwerp school, from an

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[122] Skelton discusses Münster's working methods for the *Cosmographia*. Skelton, "Introduction," xvii. On the popularity of the *Cosmographia*, see Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 85–87. On Schedel's *Chronicarum*, often called the *Nuremberg Chronicles*, see Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 83; Kagan, "Art of the Cityscape," 125.

[123] For those images by Hoefnagel, see Skelton, "Introduction," appendix B, xxviii–xliii. On German chorographies, see Gerald Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959); Gerald Strauss, "Topographical-Historical Method in Sixteenth-Century German Scholarship," *Studies in the Renaissance* 5 (1958): 87–101.

attainable position in the surrounding topography. Those cities depicted as bird's-eye views derived from the Barbari lineage. They take a different approach in conveying a sense of accurate information, using the associations of information gleaned by measurement to offer a reliable image. Almost all of the views illustrate people in local dress surrounded by local fauna in the foreground. These inclusions continued the principle of locating the encyclopedic information of a region and asserting its authenticity by the accuracy of the image. They simply now translated that information into visual means.

Conclusion

The differing sets of city images in the *Civitates* indicate that by the late sixteenth-century, Apian's definitions of geography and chorography were breaking down. Map projections and perspective views appear fully interchangeable in representing the information meant to be gleaned from such images, confusing the precise divisions Apian had prescribed in his elaboration of Ptolemy. In the Palazzo Vecchio decorations, however, Vasari still managed to retain those divisions. The Guardaroba Nuova would have been an exemplary cosmography, composed of multiple geographies including their individual written chorographies in each cartouche. Vasari's design for the map room brought together *mappamundi* and Flavio Biondo, producing an alternative to the northern encyclopedic atlases of Schedel and Münster in its combination of history and maps. But it was these northern examples to which Vasari looked in designing the rest of the Palazzo Vecchio decorations and their use of city views. There Vasari eschewed cosmography and geography. He preferred instead to focus on Apian's chorography, which allowed for a greater capturing of verisimilitude in

the creation of setting. Yet chorography still retained the associations of its cartographical origins.

The use of perspective views as settings for the history of the Medici derived from the same rhetorical strategy of using cartographic evidence to stimulate *enargeia* and promote a sense of truthfulness. This strategy is found in Varchi, Bruni, and goes back to Herodotus and Thucydides. The earlier authors used evidence, primarily archival and eyewitness, to impart credibility and increase the detail of their accounts. The greater detail amplified the effectiveness of the *enargeia* and hence the ability to convince the audience of the history and its lessons. The Renaissance authors returned to these practices, favoring eyewitness evidence and including cartographical information to help construct a believable setting more exactly, in hopes that the associations of precision with the mathematical information of maps would inform the veracity of the history.

Vasari, however, was concerned with making his panegyric appear as history. In this guise, his glorification of the Medici family could argue for the legitimacy of Cosimo's rule. The narrative very much followed the Herodotean model in its inclusion of fictions for entertainment, its relaying of hearsay, and its copying of images. Yet Vasari gave his story the appearance of the Thucydidean model. The artist relied on the city views to aid him in this pursuit of veracity. In presenting not only recognizable but powerfully verisimilar settings for each historical event, Vasari offered evidence in support of his history. The views acted as artist-performed eyewitness research. They translated that research to the viewer in the form of an overwhelming amount of detail. The viewer was no longer required to form his own *enargeia*, as Vasari provided a visualized one on the wall. The cartographic inheritance of city views added its discourse

of accuracy to Vasari's panegyric, and thereby through visual rhetoric his narration gained the appearance of history.

Chapter 3: Topographical Character

Having denied the Palazzo Vecchio views of their claims to the measured accuracy postulated by Vasari, this chapter attempts to reinvest the portraits with a claim to truthfulness on which the artist could still build his disguise of *historia*. The views show generalized characteristics that are yet recognizable enough to stimulate the viewer's memory of a certain topography, thereby finding a greater degree of literalism in the images. Chapter 2 explained how, as opposed to *historia*'s specific facts that convince the reader of truth, the plausibility of *aphegesis* lies in its generality of reference. Similarly, Stradano's city views, with their foundations in observation, suitably serve as "facts" for Vasari's *aphegesis* because of the recognizable topographical character of those sites—their place.

In the discussion that follows, I borrow from Edward Casey's distinctions between place and site. He defines site as "a geographically determinate position, that is, a specific location that, by various means of projection and transformation, occupies a specific spot on a map."[1] Place is more difficult to define, and Casey wrote three separate books in order to do so. Fiorani's summary—"an individual locale represented with its unique characteristics"—offers a simple definition worthy of consideration.[2] Fiorani uses that definition as foundation for her interpretation of the map cycles in the Vatican's Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, which includes paintings comparable to those under consideration here. Nevertheless, her short definition limits place to a representation, ignoring the bodily experience on which place depends, and the character (its "spirit", or

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[1] Casey, *Representing Place*, 14.
[2] Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 5.

"its 'substance,' what holds it together as one work," as opposed to "mere 'lifelikness,' that is, formal similarity"[3]) that infuses and demarcates place. The experience, which Edmund Husserl calls kinaesthetic, allows entry of a body into a relationship with that character, helping to delineate the boundaries of that place.[4] A viewer then subverts place into space, where place becomes the location for the interests of the person. In this consideration, I have added to Casey's interpretations those ideas on space elaborated by Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre—the three overlap most apparently where space becomes defined as place inhabited by human social and physical actions. (Casey still terms this "place").[5]

Using those ideas on place, this chapter explores the nature of the topographical character of the Palazzo Vecchio city views. It first offers evidence of Vasari's directions for recognizing that character, revealing his intentions. The chapter then explores contemporary examples demonstrating issues of place and orientation to build a context for the requisite viewing process. This section demonstrates the accessibility of such city views to actual experience, and underlies the subsequent argument describing *aphegesis* as remembered experience. Throughout, the Medici are shown to have a particular interest in character of place and its potential for familial and political dominion. The chapter then concludes with a section on individual instances within the Palazzo Vecchio

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[3] Casey, *Representing Place*, 114.
[4] Casey, *Fate of Place*, 218–19.
[5] Casey, *Getting Back into Place*, 29–30; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1991), 26–27, 35, 38–39, 78–79, 94, 216–17; de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Live*, 101, 105–8, 115–18. Fiorani by her own claim follows Casey in these broader implications of place, particularly the kinaesthetic experience that allows entry of a viewer into the space of the maps, and while this plays little role in her specific interpretations, it offers a good beginning for my own. Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 8–10. Nuti explains the recognizability as the verism of city views, but considers that recognition to act upon specific landmarks, the principal edifices. Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 58–59. For more on specific recognition, see below on orientation, and the discussion of the Villa Farnesina's Sala delle Prospettive.

that deviate from Vasari's claims for truth within the decorations. First, however, the way in which this chapter considers landscape with reference to city views requires noting.

A Point on City Views and Landscape

The chapter assumes a polemical quality in explaining the topographical character of the Palazzo Vecchio city views as "accessible." Modern scholarship holds a general conception of city views, particularly those of the bird's-eye variety, as idealized in their unattainable viewing position. In this conception, views offer a "god's perspective," and by extension, imagined god-like abilities of flight.[6] An illustration of this idea appears in Jacopo de'Barbari's *Venice*, where the artist placed the viewpoint among the clouds, the domain of Mercury who hovers at the viewer's eye level above the identifying name of the city (figure 79).[7] In contrast, Stradano's images offer attainable viewpoints, already presented in chapter 1, while still resembling heights reached by flying birds. As will be shown, views of landscape and city from such heights were a part of daily experience throughout Tuscany, and a celebrated part of humanistic and noble culture. The general familiarity with such an experience enabled the character of the views to act upon memory.

A discussion of viewings of landscape must consider the interest in landscape in the Renaissance. I do not depart from city view scholarship to the extent of considering Stradano's views as "Renaissance landscapes" in the way that art history has defined the category. An occasional city serves as background scenery, but in general they are not fantasies of nature (ideal or scary), nor are they *parergon* (by-work), *locus amoenus*

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[6] Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 114; Nuti, "Mapping Places," 100–1; Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 14.
[7] On the figure of Mercury, see Schulz, "View of Venice," 468; Cosgrove, *Social Formation*, 109–10.

(places of amenity, and affiliated with love poetry), or pastoral. They share little in common with conceptions of nature found in Virgilian, Lucretian, Augustinian, or Petrarchan traditions (although I will consider Petrarch briefly).[8] Instead, I consider the city views within the context of the three forms they take in the decorations: as settings, portraits, and parts of allegories, associated with historiography, geography, and observation. Of contemporary artworks, they most resemble the use of setting found in predellas, where it enlivens the narrative imagery, and especially in Venetian Scuole paintings of miracles such as those by Giovanni Bellini and Vittore Carpaccio (figure 187). In these, figures interact with a recognizable setting taken from contemporary surroundings to add credibility to the miraculous acts.[9] Domenico Ghirlandaio's *The Miracle of a Child* in the Sassetti Chapel of Sta. Trinita from 1482–86, which sets the miracle in the Piazza Sta. Trinita just outside the church, serves as a comparative Florentine example (figure 188). The Palazzo Vecchio city views do, however,

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[8] On such Renaissance considerations of landscape, see Wood, *Altdorfer and Landscape*, especially 9–61; Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1984), especially 69–141; Denis Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-century Italy* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993); Stephen J. Campbell, "Giorgione's 'Tempest,' 'Studiolo' Culture, and the Renaissance Lucretius," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003): especially 311–28; Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 141–44, 153–58, 163–67; Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, Oxford History of Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 28–63. For discussions of examples, see Pierluigi De Vecchi and Graziano Alfredo Vergani, eds., *La natura e il paesaggio nella pittura italiana* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2002), 33–235; A. Richard Turner, *The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974). Fumagalli explains the medieval negative connotations for nature, as wild, dangerous, and violent, that was partially inherited by the Renaissance. Vito Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages,* trans. Shayne Mitchell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994). Also see Ernst Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," in *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London and New York: Phaidon, 1971): 107–21; W. J. T. Mitchell, "Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape," in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer. (New York: Routledge, 1995): 103–20.

[9] For the relation of the Venetian paintings to such city views, see Courtright, *Art of Reform*, 149–50. On the Venetian paintings themselves, see Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).

correspond to another modern theory of landscape, as mediums of power.[10] This conception finds its greatest sixteenth-century repository within maps and city view cycles, which describe and delineate dominion, bringing contested lands under control through symbolic appropriation, and strengthen self-perceptions of that dominion.[11] These issues will be more thoroughly explained in chapter 5 with regards to the views of the Sala di Cosimo I.

Vasari himself apparently did not consider the city views as landscape, but rather as portraits. Throughout the *Ragionamenti* he referred to the images of cities as "ritratto."[12] "Paese" he generally used in reference to two ideas: "country" as nationality, and "countryside" or "open country" with the potential for depiction.[13] Vasari even occasionally distinguished between the two, as in explaining the "ritratto" of Pistoia in the Sala di Cosimo I as distinct from its surrounding "paese."[14] In his *Lives*, Vasari used "paese" or its plural in describing more traditional landscapes, as in the lives of Piero di Cosimo and Parmagianino, though the word appears sparingly.[15] *Paese* as Vasari used it,

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[10] I borrow this term from Mitchell, but Warnke also deals with the politicization of landscape, and Ribouillault analyzes a specific Renaissance manifestation of the idea in the *salone* of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. Mitchell, "Introduction," 1–2; Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," especially 5, 17; Warnke, *Political Landscape*; Ribouillault, "Salone de la villa d'Este."

[11] See for instance Craib, "Cartography and Power"; Harley, "Silences and Secrecy"; Woods-Marsden, "Pictorial Legitimation"; Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles"; Schulz, "View of Venice"; Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors"; 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.

[12] Although "ritratto" usually occurs as a verb, either as "ho ritratto" or on its own, Vasari does occasionally use it as a noun, as in his discussion of *Pistoia*. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:181, 187, 193, 208.

[13] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:passim, for instance 124, 129, 130, 131, 134, 160, 175, 193, 208. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," passim, for instance 258, 265, 266, 268, 273, 312, 334, 363, 384. Also see Wood, *Altdorfer and Landscape*, 47: "the very word 'landscape,' ... in Italian (paese), German (Landschaft), and Dutch (landschap), meant terrain or countryside itself before it meant painted landscape."

[14] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:194. Twice Vasari distinguishes between "castello" and "paese" in reference to paintings of cities in their surroundings. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:205, 213.

[15] According to Vasari in his life of the artist, Piero di Cosimo painted "un paese bellissimo" in Cosimo Rosselli's *Sermon on the Mount* in the Sistine Chapel, which he mentions also in the life of Rosselli. Vasari also said that another painting by Piero has "le più fantastiche città e più gran paesi che si vedesse mai,"

as Christopher Wood has recently pointed out, "most frequently refers to an area within a panel painting, such as the background of a narrative composition or a portrait."[16] This same meaning corresponds to the term as it appears in the 1553 inventory of the ducal collection in the Palazzo Vecchio. Here, "paesi" is used in reference to landscapes, particularly of Flemish origin. Unfortunately it is impossible to know what these "paesi" showed. But where the depicted place was recognizable, the inventory refers to them by name, as in "una Affrica," "una Francia," "Spagna," "una Pisa et sua contado," and "Parigi." An exception is "uno disegno del paese di Siena in cartone."[17] The phrase matches Vasari's description of the wall fresco, *The Capture of the Fortress of Stampace at Pisa*, which he described in the *Ragionamenti* as "tutto il paese di Pisa col piano e le colline; la città ed ogni cosa ho ritratto al naturale."[18] This "paese" must refer to the city and its countryside, with emphasis on the surrounding natural features, while the city itself is still singled out as "ritratto." Vasari did refer to Pinturricchio's city views in the Belvedere as "paesi," although this passage appears only in the 1568 edition of the *Lives*, and not in the first, 1550 edition.[19]

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showing again a difference between representations of city and landscape. The landscapes by Piero usually discussed in scholarship, such as *The Forest Fire* in the Ashmolean, Vasari called "bizzarrissime fantasie," among other designations, but not *paesi*. In the life of Parmigianino, Vasari wrote that the artist paints "bellissimi paesi." Vasari, *Opere*, 3:189, 4:132, 134, 135, 5:217.

[16] Wood, *Altdorfer and Landscape*, 42. Here and on page 53 he offers a variety of Renaissance examples, both textual and visual, of the use of "paesi."

[17] Cosimo Conti, *La prima reggia di Cosimo I de Medici nel palazzo già della Signoria di Firenze: coll'appoggio d'un Inventario inedito del 1553 a cll'aggiunta di molti altri documenti* (Florence: Giuseppe Pellas, 1893), 96–97, 102. The latter page is also reprinted as a section of the inventory in Paola Barocchi and Giovanni Gaeta Bertelà, eds., *Da Cosimo I a Cosimo II, 1540–1621, Collezionismo Mediceo e storia artistica*, vol. 1 (Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 2002), 1:188.

[18] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:216. "...all of Pisa plus the surrounding plain and hills. I portrayed the city and everything in it from life...," translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 395–96.

[19] Vasari, *Opere*, 3:498. For the 1550 edition, Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue, insino a' tempi nostri: Nell'edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550*, 2 vols. Einaudi Tascabili. Classici, 72 (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore s.p.a., 1991), 1:509–12.

Others of Vasari's generation shared his use of "ritratto" rather than "paese" in this context. Cipriano Piccolpasso referred to his perspective views of cities as "ritratto," distinguishing them from "piante," or a plan.[20] The shared term "ritratto" calls to mind the oft-used *vero ritratto* in reference to city views, especially beginning in the later sixteenth century. Neither Vasari nor Piccolpasso, however, use this phrase. Stroffolino explains *vero ritratto* as a city view constituting a "topographically real situation," obtained from measuring using an optical surveying instrument and a plan. She distinguishes this from an observed view, "a occhiate dal naturale."[21] Only once did Vasari use the word "vero" in reference to a city view, and in that case it appears by itself. In first describing the *Siege of Florence*, he says "è ritratta Firenze dalla banda de' monti al naturale, e misurata di maniera che poco divaria dal vero."[22] As Stroffolino suggested, "vero" is reserved for an association with measurement. The passage shows again that Vasari's common phrase, "ritratto dal naturale," used to describe his city views, matches Stroffolino's distinction. Vasari's and Piccolpasso's term "ritratto" by itself represents the idea that as a portrait, a city view's claim for reproduction lies in its topographical character, and not in the cartographic "vero."[23]

Perhaps, in Vasari's circle, the phrase "paese" assimilated the consideration of city views only after the decoration of the *Palazzo Vecchio*.

[20] See for instance Piccolpasso, *Piante et ritratti*, 147. Anton van den Wyngaerde, in the cartouche on his print *View of Genoa of 1552*, uses "descrittione di luochi" and "descriptione della Cita di Genoua" to refer to the city view. The text is quoted in full in Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views," 54 n. 1.

[21] She calls this type "more simple." Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 152–53, 163–65. Nuti uses the term *vero* as a more general "from life," but does so within discussions of surveying. Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, for instance, 138, 140–41.

[22] Vasari, *Opere*, 173–74. "Florence is portrayed after nature from the nearby hills and measured in a way that varies little from the truth." Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 333.

[23] On the idea of artistic truth in landscape as character over facsimile, see Casey, *Representing Place*, 114–16, 271.

Vasari's Directions for Approaching the Viewing Experience

In his *Ragionamenti*, Vasari continually emphasized that reproductive claim, what we might call "truth of place," for the images. The book confirms his desire to achieve the viewer's recognition of place and to inspire confidence in the actuality of the natural views, offering advice on the use of memory to recognize the character of the depicted place. Above all, Vasari illustrated the ideal way in which to understand the city views as places represented from actual and attainable positions.

The language of the *Ragionamenti* itself stresses, even belabors, the origins of the topographical paintings in observation.[24] In the description of the scenes illustrating the events of the siege of Florence, Vasari stated that the views were "ritratto dal naturale," six times, and that an image shows the scene "sta egli appunto nel modo ch'egli era allora," ("just as it was") three times. Prince Francesco identifies seven of the locations based on their likeness. He even states three times that he "comincio a ritrovare" ("begins to recognize") the locations, suggesting that the images match his memories of those places.[25] For instance, the prince commands, "...ma ditemi, quest'altro quadro, ch'io veggo dipinto accanto alla finestra, mi pare il castel d'Empoli." Vasari responds, "io l'ho ritratto dal naturale appunto."[26] Elsewhere in the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari continued in the

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[24] Nuti also notes this insistence in the *Ragionamenti*, though she takes the descriptions as evidence for method. She attempts to discern whether a view was made according to observation or measurement depending on Vasari uses the term "naturale" or "ritratti" only. She attempts to explain the view of Empoli in the Sala di Cosimo I, for instance, as an aerial view by Tosini made according to the Barbari method, yet mentions only in a footnote that Vasari described this painting too as "naturale." Nuti places too much trust in the *Ragionamenti*, ignoring the warnings of McGrath, Tinagli, and Draper concerning the lack of relationship between the painting and the book. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 348–49; McGrath, "Senso nostro"; Tinagli, "Claiming a Place in History"; Tinagli, "Identity of the Prince"; Tinagli Baxter, "Rileggendo i 'Ragionamenti'"; Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated."

[25] Vasari, *Opere*, 173–81. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 8:333–44.

[26] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:178. P: "Now tell me about the painting next to the window. It seems to show the Castel d'Empoli." V: "I have portrayed it from life just as it was." Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 340.

same vein, reporting the portrayal of images from life and the recognizability. The fortress of San Leo, in the Sala di Leone X, for instance, was "ritratto di naturale dal luogo proprio con tutti i suoi monti, valli, piani, fonti, e fiumi."[27] Of Portoferraio in the Sala di Cosimo I, Vasari said that, "l'ho ritratto là nel lontano con tutte quelle strade e mura che per l'appunto vo sono."[28] The claim, "ho ritratto di naturale," also applies to the eight cities in the corner allegories of the same room—for instance, "Cortona è lassù ritratta dal naturale spora un altissimo monte."[29] The prince deduces that "these lands could not have been better or more exactly described. You must have been in all of them, observing and considering every detail."[30] The discussion of the lower eight cities similarly emphasizes the fidelity of the likenesses that so readily invite the Prince's recognition. As Vasari says, Francesco "ha riconosciuto benissimo il tutto."[31] The rhetoric continues in the Salone dei Cinquecento chapter, where the author continues to describe the city portraits as "ritratta al naturale," such as Fiesole and Castrocaro in the Romagna.[32]

This continuous insistence on the images' on-site derivation and their consequent likeness demonstrates Vasari's strong desire that his reader realized the character of these views. The author wanted his audience to know that to capture them Stradano climbed

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[27] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:147. "... portrayed from life in its own setting with all the mountains, valleys, plains, springs and rivers," translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 292.
[28] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:191. "I portrayed it in the distance with all the streets and walls which are in fact there," translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 360.
[29] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192–93. "... [are] portrayed from nature"; "Cortona is portrayed from nature on the mountain," translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 362, 364
[30] "queste terre non si potevano descriver meglio, nè più appunto; bisogna bene che voi siate tato in tutte, ed abbiate veduto e considerato ogni lor minuzia." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:195. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 366.
[31] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:195. "... recognized it all very well," translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 367.
[32] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:205.

nearby hills to overlook the landscape, as "one usually draws cities and the countryside."[33] As seen in the first chapter, these views were in fact made as Vasari stated. Stradano did go "to the highest possible place to draw the view" of the various cities.[34] He was, as Vasari's Francesco noted, "in all of them, observing and considering every detail." The author also intended that his audience consider these images as recognizable portraits, with a faithful likeness of their subjects. And as appendix 1 shows, and I have discussed throughout, the various views do correspond quite closely to their natural counterparts, though to describe them as "appunto" overstates their degree of fidelity.

Furthermore, the prince's continuous recognition of sites argues not only for the fidelity of the images, but serves as an example for a viewing audience. Of course, the images where the city portrait itself is the subject, those in the Sala di Cosimo I and in the Salone dei Cinquecento, carry identifying inscriptions. But the paintings that display a city as setting for a historical event, for instance those in the Sala di Clemente VII representing the siege of Florence, have no inscriptions. The viewer must depend upon the likeness of the setting and his own knowledge of the events to identify the scenes. The importance of such a system of recognition, and its problems, are illustrated by modern scholarship's misidentification of Arezzo as Perugia for one of the wall paintings the Clemente VII room, and the consequent failure to recognize the historical subject depicted (figures 11–12).[35] According to Vasari's writing, he fully expected his patrons,

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[33] "nel modo che si sogliono ordinariamente disegnare le città ed i paesi," Vasari, *Opere*, 8:174. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 334.
[34] "mi posi a disegnerla nel più alto luogo potetti," Vasari, *Opere*, 8:174. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 334.
[35] Cf. appendix 1, C-VII.1.

if not a more general audience, to be familiar with the locations depicted on the wall, and to actively work to match that memory with the image. For such recognizability, the city views do not require accuracy, only points of resemblance—specific enough to be identifiable yet lacking enough specificity to permit diverse memories to connect with an image. The paintings had to show character of place, representing (and re-presenting) common memories of those places.[36]

In the decorations themselves, Vasari provided at least one indication for the observed origins of the views and the practice of comparing the artistic image to a memory of similar experiences, using his patron now as the exemplar. The artist recorded a viewing event both specific and general in *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Portoferraio* in the Sala di Cosimo I (figure 42). The painting illustrates the duke's actual visit to the island of Elba as well as his penchant for traveling through Tuscany to inspect the cities under his dominion and especially their defenses.[37] The artist showed Cosimo standing on an elevated point looking out over a schematic vision of his new city, founded to help protect the Tuscan coast against Turkish raids. The duke holds a plan of the new city of Cosmopoli (now Portoferraio) and with his left hand points to a stylization of that city. The view emphasizes Portoferraio's fortifications, resembling a plan more than a view. To the right stands Giovanni Camerini (d. 1573), the second and

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[36] On the association of memory with place in the Renaissance, see Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, trans. Jeremy Parzen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), especially 188–89; Amanda Lillie, "Memory of Place: Luogo and Lineage in the Fifteenth-Century Florentine Countryside," in *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*, eds. Giovanni Ciappelli and Patricia Fortini Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 195–214; Patrick Geary, "The Historical Material of Memory," in ibid.: 17–25; Brenda Preyer, "Florentine Palaces and Memories of the Past," in ibid.: 176–94. Casey, following Gadamer, explains the experience of place as common and universally accessible, suggesting that we all can have a similar experience of it. Casey, *Representing Place*, 247–48.

[37] For other inspection visits by Cosimo, see chapter 5, page 274. Also see Franco Borsi, *L'architettura del principe* (Florence: Giunti Martello, 1980), 41.

main architect in charge of the project. To the left appear two court functionaries: Luca Martini, *provedditore* of Pisa, stands behind Cosimo and holds the contract founding the city; Lorenzo Pagni, secretary of the duke, stands behind Martini looking over Cosimo's shoulder.[38] The court dwarf Morgante looks out at the viewer from below the duke's feet.[39] In the sea, below Portoferraio, Neptune rides a seahorse accompanied by a woman, suggesting, according to Vasari, the new security of the sea.[40] The inscription for the painting, "ANNO MDXXXXVIII," corresponds to Cosimo's first visit to the new city (and matches, with the four "X"s, the inscription on the gate of Portoferraio announcing its foundation by Cosimo). The duke traveled to Elba 15–18 May 1548 to inspect the two-week-old fortifications. They probably looked much as they appear in the painting, since the earthworks were mostly finished but had yet to be dressed in stone before building the interior.[41]

Cosimo could have had almost this exact view of the construction site. The topography on which Cosimo and his retinue stand corresponds to a specific overlook across the bay, from the Castello Volterraio. The ruined castle sits on the crest of a hill about 300 meters high, at a position that approximates Vasari's depicted viewpoint (map 11; figure 189). The painting resembles a drawing of the city from 1553 by Camerini

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[38] In the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari switched Martini and Pagni. Kirwin first corrected these identifications, and Lamberini confirmed the new identities by reading Luca Martini's name in the contract. Lamberini also points out that Vasari incorrectly named Martini as *provedditore* of Portoferraio (which from 1547–59 was Bastiano Campana). On the identifications, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:323; Kirwin, "Vasari's Tondo," 120; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:191. For more discussion of this image and its portraits, see chapter 5, pages 250 and 281; appendix 1, C-1.3. For Campana, see "The Medici Archive Project: Bastiano Campana," http://documents.medici.org/people_details.cfm?personid=508 (accessed 20 February 2008).

[39] Lamberini reports that Morgante is included as an obscure reference to Pirro Colonna, who helped oversee the construction of Portoferraio. Colonna apparently insulted the Duchess Eleanora in 1541 and was dismissed from the duke's service until 1548 when he returned. The dwarf serves as Eleanora's "protector." Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:323 n. 21.

[40] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 146; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:191.

[41] Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:66–74; Daniela Lamberini, "The Military Architecture of Giovanni Battista Belluzzi," *Fort* 14 (1986): 12–13.

(figures 43, 120). His drawing is more properly a view than the painting. It shows the site in perspective as seen from across the bay, with shading to capture the form of the topography. Camerini must have made his view from roughly the same elevation at Volterraio. The painting rotates, tips up, and stylizes Camerini's portrayal so as to make it more diagrammatic.[42] This schematization emphasizes the duke's supervisory gaze over the almost-completed fortifications by showing the view as a military-style plan.

A viewer can also take the schematic image as a metaphor for the painting itself, an instructive diagram for how to consider the city views. The duke is shown holding a plan of the city in his hands—an artistic representation of the "actual" city—and compares that to the view before him. He stands in a verifiable and attainable position to achieve that view, illustrating an actual event. He exhorts others to make the same comparison by his turned head and outstretched arm. Yet his head turns only generally to his retinue, it seems instead to turn out of the frame to address a viewer. As Vasari's patron and foremost audience, the painted Cosimo addressed the live Cosimo first of all, instructing him to remember when he climbed Volterraio and looked out over Portoferraio with that same view. By extension, the duke is meant to bring to mind his other travels when looking at the other city views, and similarly compare that vision in his mind's-eye with the artistic representation placed before him. For other viewers, the commanding, painted Cosimo directs them to address the Portoferraio image, and the other city views, in a similar way. It is as if he says: "remember when you had a similar view of a city, and imagine that experience. In this way you can place yourself also upon Volterraio in your mind, since this, and all of the city views, are sketched on site." A

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[42] Cf. appendix 1, C-I.3.

viewer will remember what it felt like to look out over a city, to have the wind in his hair, the birds reeling below him, the haze of the atmosphere partially obscuring the city in the distance, his orientation to the city and his relationship with it. This is a place's "character," and it is these memories on which the city views act.

Among the Palazzo Vecchio decorations, the Portoferraio painting is relatively unusual in the demonstrative gaze it illustrates. Most of the city views show no such figure looking out over the city. By Stradano's time, artists routinely included an artist figure in the process of sketching the city, beginning with the *Chain Map* view of Florence (figure 190).[43] Among the Antwerp school, Anton van den Wyngaerde often included a sketching figure in his final drawings, as in his view of Jaen (figure 191). Later artists continued the tradition, seen for instance in Lucas van Valkenborch's view of Linz from 1593 (figure 192).[44] By contrast, the views of the Barbari lineage generally lacked such figures. The ideality of a Barbari-type view itself signaled the image's status as an artistic production. Since there was no way to see a city from the Barbari-type angle, the view could only have been constructed through a use of imagination, and as a work of art.[45] Jacopo de'Barbari himself included Mercury in place of an artist figure in his *Venice* to underscore the ideality of the view. By the end of the century, however, even Stefano Buonsignori found it expedient to use the artist-figure trope to broadcast the

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[43] On the artist figure in city views, see Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 138.

[44] Joris Hoefnagel copied this image the following year. His copy was included in the fifth volume of the *Civitates orbis terrarum* in 1598. Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, 5:52; Hand et al., *Age of Bruegel*, 201–2.

[45] See Schulz's description of Jacopo de'Barbari's view of Venice: "Since ... there was no way in the year 1500 to see Venice from the angle adopted in the print, ... in the last analysis the view can have been built only upon a vision of the imagination. It is a work of art. ... [Images like these] are ideal visions, reproducing something seen in the mind but invisible to the eye...." Schulz, "View of Venice," 441.

measured quality of his 1584 map of Florence. His figure holds up a giant compass with which he measures the city (figure 193).

By contrast, the absence of a similar trope in the Palazzo Vecchio city views, save for *Portoferraio*, is significant in itself. When used, the trope establishes a level of engagement for the viewer by offering empathetic identification. By removing that element from the city portraits, Vasari relied solely on the quality of the views to create engagement through the process of memory and recognition. An artist figure would only serve as a barrier to the level of engagement that Vasari expected to create. The viewer assumes the place of the artist himself, "seeing" what the artist saw, as and where he saw it. The exclusion of the artist figure thereby more intensely created the rhetorical properties required for Vasari's history.

Vasari's description of his surveying method in producing the *Siege of Florence* in the *Ragionamenti* stands in as the artist trope for Stradano's views, though it deliberately proclaims a false message. The author's concern to disseminate the idea of the views' verisimilar character sheds light on his motives for writing the passage. Like so much else of the *Ragionamenti*, his description is rhetorical, a further tactic in building credibility.[46] It demonstrates his awareness of the common knowledge about city views and cartography: that surveying and maps were measurably accurate, and that the Barbari-type of city views contained that mathematical precision. Vasari sought to associate that quality with the Palazzo Vecchio views in the minds of the viewers, in order to equate the accuracy with his history. The description of method gave the audience what they expected from a historiographic-cartographic relationship. In

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[46] On the rhetorical aspects of the *Ragionamenti*, see McGrath, "Senso nostro"; Tinagli Baxter, "Rileggendo i 'Ragionamenti'"; Tinagli, "Identity of the Prince"; Tinagli, "Claiming a Place in History."

scholarship on city views, however, the passage has carried importance out of proportion to its status as a rhetorical point, as if it literally described the production process. Throughout his text, Vasari discussed the views in terms of the actual method used by Stradano. Even in the surveying passage, the author described the Antwerp school method as the typical way of making city views, making his own supposed practice atypical.[47] In the paintings themselves, meanwhile, Vasari made no such reference to measurement, and in fact desired none. He sought instead to convey character of place, which served in turn to construct the general truth of his *aphegesis*. To determine how place worked for Vasari in that relationship, it will be useful to explore its position in the Renaissance and the relation of the city views to landscape.

Character of Place

Comparative Examples

"Character of place," as defined by Casey, can be found in many Renaissance works, and not only visual. Two centuries before the Palazzo Vecchio works, Petrarch captured the experience of being at the top of a mountain in his letter to Dionigi da Borgo Sansepolcro now known as the "Ascent of Mount Ventoux," dated 23 April 1336. Scholars now consider the letter to have been written long after the given date, c. 1353–56, and doubt whether Petrarch ever made the climb.[48] He may never have ascended Mount Ventoux, but his description of gazing upon the landscape would suggest a similar experience at some point in his life. As Petrarch writes, upon reaching the summit,

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[47] Cf. chapter 1, page 65.
[48] Rodney Lokaj, *Petrarch's Ascent of Mount Ventoux: The* Familiaris *IV, I* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2006), 14, 25.

> Struck first of all by an uncommon breath of air and a wider view, I stood there as if dumbfounded. I looked around: the clouds were below my feet; what I had heard and read about Mount Athos and Mount Olympus became less incredible for me as I gazed out from this mountain of lesser fame. From here I cast my eyes towards Italy, to which my spirit is more attracted. The frozen, snow-capped Alps, which that bold enemy of Rome once crossed, breaking through the rocks with vinegar, if we are to believe what they say, seemed close, even though they are actually a long way off. I confess that I sighed for that Italian sky, which already seemed closer to my soul than to my eyes ....
> ... I turned and looked towards the West. We could not see the peaks of the Pyrenees, which divide France and Spain, not because there was anything in between, as far as I know, but simply because human eyesight is not capable of seeing that far. On the other hand, we could see extremely clearly places which were several days' travel away, such as the mountains of the Province of Lyons to our right, the bay of Marseilles to our left, and the waters which lash the shores of Aigues Mortes. Even the Rhone was within sight. I was marveling at each and every one of these things...[49]

Only by actually having seen the countryside from a similar high vantage point could Petrarch so vividly describe the air, the clouds, the view, and the "dumbfounded" and "marveling" aspect that draws people to such heights. That vividness enables a reader to easily connect with the description and envision Petrarch's described sight.

Leonardo da Vinci's drawing of the Tuscan countryside around Vinci offers a visual correlation to Petrarch's description. The drawing shows Leonardo's vision of the valley stretching out in the distance nestled between rolling hills, and to the left, perched on an outcropping, a fortified village (figure 194). Leonardo inscribed the date "day of Holy Mary of the Snows on the 5th of August 1473." Despite past identifications for the landscape, most recently Charles Nicholl doubted that the view represents an actual location, arguing convincingly that it is an assemblage based upon memory.[50] Like

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[49] Ibid., 101, 103–5.
[50] Nicholl identifies the hill Monsummano in the distance, but the positions of the other elements of the image do not correlate to the actual topography as Leonardo depicts. I cannot agree with Nicholl's

Petrarch's letter, for our purposes it does not matter if Leonardo drew what he actually saw or not. In fact, an assemblage of memories contains an even stronger character of looking out from the mountain, since it is removed from the specifics of literalism. Martin Kemp agrees—he points out that the drawing may not accurately record a sight of Leonardo, but that it retains the character, what he calls "spirit," of the area around Vinci:

> Anyone with a knowledge of the countryside around Vinci can readily understand the spirit in which this drawing was made. The precipitous hillsides in the dated view are altogether comparable to the steep slopes around Vinci, which plunge down to a similarly distanceless plain. Whether or not the drawing was actually made on an excursion in the hills around Vinci, he was clearly responding to effects which recalled his earliest experience of nature's magnificence.[51]

According to Kemp, the drawing remains faithful enough to stimulate the viewer's recognition of the artist's experience of the Tuscan hills. It captures the character of the actual topography, its appearance and the experience of partaking of that appearance, and relays that to the viewer. Another drawing by Leonardo, showing mountains and a rainstorm approaching a city lying far below in the valley, carries a similar effect of captured experiential character. We know that Leonardo da Vinci did climb mountains. He made at least three Alpine excursions, the earliest in the early 1490s, and he climbed Monte Rosa in the Piedmont in 1511 to make and record observations of nature.[52] One can easily imagine him having witnessed a view very similar to this, and later transferring

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suggestion that it represents a bird's-eye view, however. It shows too much character of observation from the ground. Nicholl, *Leonardo da Vinci*, 48–53. Martin Kemp has stated that the date means "that this is what the artist saw on this particular day," that the drawing recognizably represents the landscape around Vinci, and that the village is Vinci. Kemp, *Leonardo: Marvellous Works*, 51–52. Fiorio identifies it as Montevettolini with Monsummano in the distance. Maria Teresa Fiorio, "Leonardo da Vinci: la rappresentazione della natura tra ricerca scientifica e ricreazione fantastica," in *La natura e il paesaggio nella pittura italiana*, eds. Pierluigi De Vecchi and Graziano Alfredo Vergani (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2002): 138–39. Also see Turner, *Vision of Landscape*, 18, who argues that the drawing is from nature.

[51] Kemp, *Leonardo: Marvellous Works*, 52.

[52] Nicholl relates the city under a rainstorm drawing to these Alpine treks, Nicholl, *Leonardo da Vinci*, 277–80. Kirchner interprets Leonardo's name for the mountain, "Monboso," as Monte Bo. Walther Kirchner, "Mind, Mountain, and History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 11 (1950): 423–24.

it to paper. Again, however, the important aspect propagated in this image is less its actual appearance than its character, an experience "filtered" by artistic perception.[53]

Place through Orientation

An important part of the place in the city views is the viewing position. The idea that Stradano sketched the cities from actual sites helps to reinforce the idea of their approachability to the viewer and their status as portraits. Each image orients the viewer at a certain location based on an identification of the landmarks of the topography, both man-made and natural, and their spatial relationships. Incorporating orientation, what Casey calls "emplacement," was standard practice among representations of cities when they served as landscape in the Renaissance.[54] We can aid our understanding of how the Palazzo Vecchio images function in this fashion, how they orient the viewer and why, through a selective examination of how contemporary treatments of landscape did the same.

The Medici as a family was particularly interested in the idea of positioning a viewer in relation to a landscape. Giovanni de' Medici began the tradition by commissioning the villa on the hill below Fiesole, overlooking Florence, between c. 1455 and 1463. Only three years prior, in 1452, Leon Battista Alberti completed his

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[53] As another example, Turner describes the landscape in Alessio Baldovinetti's *Adoration of the Child* in similar terms: "A glance tells us that this is the valley of the Arno...the appearance is just right for the broad valley of the Arno below Florence. The counterfeit of observed facts is no more convincing than it had been in Fra Angelico. Rather it is the whole that works...." Turner, *Vision of Landscape*, 13.

[54] On orienting oneself according to landmarks, and the particular bodily experience of landscape that that orientation engenders, see Casey, *Getting Back into Place*, 26–31. This idea derives from Husserl's conception of the bodily experience of landscape—of body as the central point to which landscape is relatively considered. See Casey's discussion in Casey, *Fate of Place*, 218–19.

architectural treatise, the *De re aedificatoria*.[55] There, Alberti advised building a country house "where [the owner] could enjoy all the benefit and delight of breeze, sun, and view. [The villa] should have ... a view of some city, town, stretch of coast, or plain, or it should have within sight the peaks of some notable hills or mountains, delightful gardens, and attractive haunts for fishing and hunting."[56] Scholars often tout the Medici villa at Fiesole as the manifestation of Alberti's precepts in its location (figure 195). The architects designed the villa and grounds specifically with the view in mind, creating a terrace to look out over the city to the south, and a loggia that framed the Mugnone valley to the west.[57] The humanist Angelo Poliziano, while a guest at the villa, felt the view worthy of comment in an invitation to his colleague Marsilio Ficino to join him: "you find [the villa] commands a full prospect of the city."[58] Pico della Mirandola, a fellow humanist and neighbor of the Medici villa, confirmed the commanding view of the city in

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[55] Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, 1485. Alberti began writing the treatise around 1443, and presented it to Pope Nicholas V in 1452. Until it was published it circulated widely in manuscript form. Gadol, *Alberti: Universal Man*, 95 n. 5.

[56] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1988), book 5, chapter 17, 145. Also see James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, Bollingen Series XXXV, 34 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.), 76; Paul van der Ree, Gerrit Smienk, and Clemens Steenbergen, *Italian Villas and Gardens* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Thoth, 1992), 15; Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, 55. Alberti's prescription derived from his reading of Pliny the Younger's *Letters*, where in book II, letter 17, and book V, letter 6, he described his two country villas. Pliny the Younger, *Complete Letters*, trans. P. G. Walsh, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 47–51, 113–19. Also see the discussions of these villas in Visentini, *Villa in Italia*, 22–26; Ackerman, *The Villa*, 52–57; van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 15; Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, 59.

[57] Vasari attributed the Villa Medici at Fiesole to Michelozzo, but the documents concerning the commission only mention Antonio Manetti, Lorenzo da San Frediano, and Pagolo Calaffi. Giovanni de' Medici bought the site in 1451, but the commission documents do not begin until 1455. Giovanni died in 1463, at which point ownership fell to his brother Piero. Maria Vitiello, *La committenza Medicea nel rinascimento: opere, architetti, orientamenti linguistici* (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2004), 117–21, *scheda* 20 (although here she gives Giovanni's death as 1460). For more on the Medici Villa at Fiesole, see Donata Mazzini and Simone Martini, *Villa Medici a Fiesole: Leon Battista Alberti e il protitipo di villa rinascimentale / Villa Medici, Fiesole: Leon Battista Alberti and the Prototype of the Renaissance Villa,* trans. Caroline Howard (Florence: Centro di della Edisimi srl, 2004), in which are translated on pages 83–84 in full all three of the following letters. Also Ackerman, *The Villa*, 73–77; van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 31, 61–70.

[58] Quoted in Ackerman, *The Villa*, 76–77.

another letter to Ficino: "From the farm, despite being hidden in the woods, one can nevertheless see and admire Florence."[59] Ficino, writing in 1488 of his stay in the area with Pico, concurred: "When once I and my noble master Pico della Mirandola were wandering among the hills of Fiesole, we saw spread out beneath us all Florence—fields, houses and, in the middle, over the Arno, mist, and on the other side, steep mountains."[60] Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo even celebrated the view from the window of Lorenzo's room in their *Annunciation* of 1470, a view that can still be seen today (figures 196–97).[61] Clearly, the prospect of the city and the surrounding valley was a considerable, and recognized, factor in choosing the location of the villa, towards which the architect made certain to direct a visitor's attention, thereby placing him in a certain relation to the city.

Following the Villa Medici at Fiesole, later patrons constructed villas with *belvedere*-loggias to similarly orient the visitor in a viewing position relative to a specific landscape. In 1485–87, Pope Innocent VIII built the Villa Belvedere on the Monte S. Egidio just outside the Vatican (figures 198–99). Originally this villa, now enclosed by connecting walls of the Vatican complex, had an unrestricted sight of the Tiber, the city, Monte Mario, and the Sabine hills from its open loggia. The building's plan was designed specifically to accent the views, and the name of the villa itself suggests the fame of the panoramas.[62] Here the loggia, directing the gaze towards certain locations of Rome, positioned the viewer in a specific orientation to those elements. Then, in c. 1488, despite already having a spectacular view, Innocent VIII had Pinturicchio paint the solid walls of

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[59] Mazzini and Martini, *Villa Medici a Fiesole*, 157.
[60] Quoted in Ackerman, *The Villa*, 77.
[61] Mazzini and Martini, *Villa Medici a Fiesole*, 158.
[62] On the Villa Belvedere, see Coffin, *The Villa*, 69–87, especially 72–74; van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 86–87.

the Villa Belvedere loggia with portraits of famous cities of Italy between illusionistic pilasters (figure 144). Such paintings of landscapes often stood in for actual vistas where architecture lacked the physical potential to acquire them. Although little remains of the decoration of the main loggia, scholars generally assume that the extant fragments are the paintings attributed by Vasari to Pintoricchio (figure 145). The only recognizable element, however, is a depiction of the Villa Belvedere itself (figure 146).[63] Within the context of the Belvedere, where the loggia had already positioned a viewer in relation to actual landscape, the recognizable image serves as another landmark. This inclusion of the very building that contains the decorations orients the viewer outside of that building. It removes him from the present physical location, to offer a new, artificial point of view.

The decoration of the Villa Farnesina shares that self-descriptive element. Baldassare Peruzzi had built the villa in 1505 for Agostino Chigi at the bottom of the Gianicolo hill on the banks of the Tiber river (figure 200). The building therefore had no panorama of the city. Fourteen years later, Peruzzi painted illusionistic loggias in the Sala delle Prospettive with views of Rome on the northern, southern, and eastern walls of the room that looked toward the city, and rural landscapes of the countryside on the western side that faced away from the city (figure 201). The paintings show Rome as if from a higher altitude and sometimes from a different site. Peruzzi's compensation, even correction, for the building's physical limitations includes recognizable landmarks such as the Torre delle Milizia and the Theatrum Marcellus, placed in approximate symmetry to their actual counterparts (figure 202; map 12). The villa itself appears in a portrait of the Porta Settimiana neighborhood, emphasizing the idea that the viewer no longer stands

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[63] Coffin, *The Villa*, 75–76, 79. Also see Scarpellini and Silvestrelli, *Pintoricchio*, 100–3; Schulz, "View of Venice," 465; Schulz, "Pinturicchio," 35–44; Sandtröm, "Programme," 35–60.

on the Villa Farnesina's physical foundations (figure 203).[64] This image makes more concrete the effect produced in the Belvedere loggia. The visual correspondence between subject and representation positioned the Sala delle Prospettive visitor at specific sites in relation to certain Roman monuments. The viewer oriented himself through recognition of those landmarks, which increased the illusory quality of the paintings. The decoration offered an experience that a viewer could recognize from his past views of the city from the hills, and through that recognition surpass the natural limits of the architectural structure itself.[65]

Familiarity with Views of Landscape

Recognition depends on familiarity. In order for the evocation of place to work in Peruzzi's Sala delle Prospettive, the viewer of the illusions needs to have seen the landmarks before, so that he can then recognize their representations. However, Peruzzi

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[64] On the Villa Farnesina and its decorations, see Christoph Luitpold Frommel, ed., *La villa Farnesina a Roma / The Villa Farnesina in Rome* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore Spa, 2003), especially 1:192–209, 2:126–33, 187; Margherita Azzi Visentini, *La villa in Italia: Quattrocento e cinquecento* (Milan: Electa, 1995), 87–92; van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 87, 103–5; Coffin, *The Villa*, 87–109, especially 101–3; Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, 3 vols. (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1973), 1:101–2, 2:149–74. The Theatrum Marcellus, seen in the easternmost opening of the south wall, appears where roughly it could have been seen if there were a window from which to view it. It has not been identified as such in the literature so far as I have found—Frommel et al. calls it only "un anfiteatro molto simplificato," Frommel, *Villa Farnesina*, 2:187. However, Peruzzi's amphitheater matches, almost to the point of copying, the depiction of the Theatrum Marcellus in the view of Rome in Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, LVIII. Scholars have argued that Schedel's view is a reworking of a lost view of Rome by Francesco Rosselli, of which a supposedly more faithful copy exists in painted version in the Palazzo del Mantua, from 1534. Bourne, "Maps as Palace Decoration," 54, 69 n. 19; Rykwert and Engel, *Leon Battista Alberti*, 140, 540–42; Schulz, "View of Venice," 429–30, 433; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, no. 97, 1:151–5. Peruzzi had an intimate knowledge of the Theatrum Marcellus. He built a palace on its remains for the Savelli family in c. 1525–33, and drew a plan of the theater itself, now in the Uffizi Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, U438. Cristiano Tessari, "Baldassare Peruzzi e il Palazzo Savelli sul Teatro di Marcello," in *Baldassare Peruzzi, 1481–1536*, eds. Christoph L. Frommel et al. (Venice: Marsilio, 2005): 267–71.

[65] The views of Rome in the Room with Topographical Views, c. 1581–82, in the Tower of the Winds of the Vatican Palace, also demonstrate the same self-referential imagery and orientation principle for the viewer. Their illusionistic aspect makes the orientation even stronger. They show Rome as seen from the Janicullum hill, almost the site of the Tower itself, and from the Viminal hill, which represents the Vatican in the background. Courtright, *Art of Reform*, 147–67, especially 151.

offered no inscriptions to aid in the recognition, as Vasari frequently did, and no authorial description exists for the Sala delle Prospettive. The Palazzo Vecchio views do offer just as individual and specific a site as Peruzzi's for those familiar enough with the cities and their landmarks, though Cosimo himself was perhaps one of the very few with knowledge of all the represented Tuscan cities. Instead, a contemporary viewer likely was acquainted with only a selection of the cities, which could then recommend the verisimilitude of the other views. Because of this situation, the character of place in each view was more important than its specific site. A viewer lacking familiarity with the individual city would at least have had knowledge of the experience of standing on a hill overlooking a landscape, such as that described by Petrarch and Leonardo. More importantly, that viewer would have knowledge of the region of Tuscany and its hills, whether living there or having traveled to there. The memories of that topography and the experience of it respond to the character depicted in the city views, so that a viewer can recognize the place, if not the site. Before finally discussing the position of that viewing relationship within the *aphegesis* of the images, a few remarks on the widespread familiarity with such city views will demonstrate the possibility of a more general audience for these images beyond Duke Cosimo himself.

The interest of situating villas in the hills so as to offer a view of the city to their occupants stems from before Alberti. The wealthy of Florence had long built country houses in the hills around the city. It had become something of a fad in the mid-fourteenth century, so that "there was no ordinary or great citizen who had not built or was not in the process of building in the country a grand and rich estate...," according to

Giovanni Villani in his *Cronica*.[66] In the fifteenth century, the phenomenon of having a villa outside the city for the benefits offered by the countryside and its views, today known as *villegiatura*, became particularly prominent and associated with humanist culture, as seen in Ficino's, Poliziano's, and Pico della Mirandola's comments.[67] The same circumstances occurred in the hills around Rome, with villas such as the Villa Lante and that now known as the Villa Madama. Both of these were provided with loggias from which to view Rome.[68] Venetians in the sixteenth century especially took to *villegiatura*, moving into the *terraferma* to build their villas among the hills of their territory. Andrea Palladio built the Venetian villas most commonly associated with the concept. His Villa Almerica, more commonly known as the Villa Rotonda, built 1566–70, is perhaps the most famous expression of *villegiatura*. In his architectural treatise, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (1570) Palladio explained how he designed the villa to take advantage of

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[66] "ciò non v'era cittadino popolano o grande che non avesse edificato o che non edificasse in contado grande e ricca possessione...." Giovanni Villani, *Cronica: Con le continuazioni di Matteo e Filippo* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1979), book 11, chapter XCIV, 212. Translated and quoted in Ackerman, *The Villa*, 64.

[67] On the concept of *villegiatura* and its expressions, see especially Cosgrove, *Palladian Landscape*, 52–53, and passim; Cosgrove, *Social Formation*, 98–141; also Ackerman, *The Villa*; van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*.

[68] Giulio Romano built the Villa Lante in 1518 on the Gianicolo hill for Pope Leo X's datary, Baldassare Turini. On the Villa Lante, see Eva Margereta Steinby, ed., *Ianiculum-Gianicolo: Storia, topografia, monumenti, leggende dall'antichità al rinascimento*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, 16 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finalandiae, 1996), especially the articles by Keller and by Frommel; van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 87; Visentini, *Villa in Italia*, 113–16; Henrik Lilius, *Villa Lante al Gianicolo: L'architettura e la decorazione pittorica*, 2 vols., Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, 10 (Rome: [Institutum Romanum Finladiae], 1981); Coffin, *The Villa*, 257–67; Frommel, *Römische Palastbau*, 1:113–17; O'Gorman 1971. Also see Coffin's review of Lilius, David R. Coffin, review of *Villa Lante al Gianicolo: L'architettura e la decorazione pittorica* by Henrik Lilius, *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): 695–96. Leo X's cousin, Cardinal Giulio de'Medici, who would later become Pope Clement VII, commissioned Raphael in 1518 to design his villa on Monte Mario, which would become known as the Villa Madama after Charles V's daughter Magrita d'Austria took possession of it in 1538. On the Villa Madama, see Sheryl E. Reiss, "'Villa Falcona': The Name Intended for the Villa Madama in Rome," *Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995): 740–42; Visentini, *Villa in Italia*, 95–112; Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Villa Madama," in *Raffaello architetto*, exh. cat., eds. Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Stefano Ray, and Manfredo Tafuri (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1984): 311-56; Renato Lefevre, *Villa Madama* (Rome: Editalia, 1973); Coffin, *The Villa*, 245–57; David R. Coffin, "The Plans of the Villa Madama," *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967): 111–22.

the surrounding views. First he described the site as "one of the most pleasing and delightful that one could find because it is on top of a small hill ... it is surrounded by other pleasant hills which resemble a vast theater...." The architect then explained how, "because it enjoys the most beautiful vistas on every side, some of which are restricted, others more extensive, and yet others which end at the horizon, loggias have been built at all four sides..." to take advantage of them.[69] By the time Vasari decorated the Palazzo Vecchio, then, villa life with its related landscape views was a common, Italy-wide experience.[70]

At the same time, Vasari's contemporaries had begun climbing mountains, both for pleasure and for natural investigation. Following Leonardo's ascent of Monte Rosa, and until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the main impetus for such exploration was botanical. Conrad Gessner, Pietro Andrea Mattioli, and Francesco Calzolari all climbed mountains to discover new plants found only on certain peaks.[71] Josias Simler

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[69] "Il sito è degli amenti e dilettevoli che si possano ritrovare, perché è sopra un monticello di ascesa facilissima et è da una parte bagnato dal Bacchiglione, fiume navigabile, e dall'altra è circondato da altri amenissimi colli che rendono l'aspetto di un molto grande theatro, e sono tutti coltivati et abondanti di frutti eccellentissimi e di buonissime viti; onde, perché gode da ogni parte di bellissime viste, delle quali alcune sono terminate, alcune più lontane et altre che terminano con l'orizonte, vi sono state fatte le loggie in tutte quattro le faccie...." Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, eds. Licisco Magagnato and Paola Marini, Trattati di architettura, 6 (Milan: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1980), book II, chapter, 3:114. Translated in Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books on Architecture*, trans. Robert Travernor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997.), 94. On the Villa Rotonda, see Visentini, *Villa in Italia*, 281–94; van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 265–69; Ackerman, *The Villa*, 106.

[70] Also see the treatise written in 1566 in praise of villa life, *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura e piaceri della villa* by Agostino Gallo, which describes the same experience in Lombardy. Ackerman translates Day VIII (fols. 138r–151v), in which Gallo discusses the advantages of villa life, in Ackerman, *The Villa*, 124–33.

[71] On the scientific culture in which these men participated, see Findlen, *Possessing Nature*. Findlen discusses the travel and observation of nature that underlay their investigative theory in chapter 4, "Pilgrimages of Science," ibid., 155–92. Gessner climbed Mount Pilatus in 1555. He described the experience in *Descriptio Montis Fracti sive Montis Pilati*, from the same year. On Gessner, see Kirchner, "Mind, Mountain, and History," 424–25; W. A. B. Coolidge, *Josias Simmler et les origines d'alpinisme* (Grenoble, 1904), XLI–XLIII. Mattioli climbed mountains in the Trentino to discover new plants between 1527 and 1541 while physician to Prince-bishop Bernardo Cles (d. 1539). He described his alpine experience on Monte Roen in the 1565 Latin edition of the *Discorsi a Dioscoride Anazarbeo*, the

moved the appreciation of mountain views from the humanist tradition to the popular consciousness. His treatise on mountains and the climbing of them, the *De Alpibus commentarius* published in 1574, brought the Alps to the admiration of Europe. In response, people began traveling there to reap the benefits of the view.[72] As these examples show, by the time of Vasari's work in the Palazzo Vecchio, the experience of landscape views from natural heights that Petrarch had so long ago described had become standard practice among the learned of the time.

Finally, in Tuscany one did not need to own a villa or have the leisure to hike up mountains to enjoy a bird's-eye perspective over the countryside. Many of the most important cities themselves are perched high atop hills overlooking river valleys—such as Volterra, Cortona, and Montepulciano—so that many of Tuscany's inhabitants had a visual panorama presented to them daily. These cities have a variety of architectural sites—piazzas, streets, and gates—that elegantly frame a view. For instance, Cortona's Borgo San Domenico has a view to the south, while the piazza of the Duomo looks out to the west (figure 204). Volterra's altitude provides a panorama of the surrounding countryside, for example that seen looking south from the baptistery (figure 205). The

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Commentarii P. A. Matthioli in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anaz. De medica materia..., Venice 1565 (2nd latin ed.; 1st ed. 1554). On Mattioli, see Sara Ferri, "Il 'Dioscoride,' i 'Discorsi,' i 'Commentarii': gli amici e i nemici," in *Pietro Andrea Mattioli, Siena 1501–Trento 1578: La vita, le opere*, ed. Sara Ferri (Perugia: Quattroemme Srl, 1997): 15–48, especially 18; Franco Pedrotti, "Piante segnalate per il Trentino," in *Pietro Andrea Mattioli, Siena 1501–Trento 1578: La vita, le opere*, ed. Sara Ferri (Perugia: Quattroemme Srl, 1997): 220–26; Coolidge, *Josias Simmler*, XLVI. Calzolari published his ascension of Monte Maggiore in his pamphlet titled *Il viaggio di Monte Baldo, della magnifica città di Verona...*, published in 1566. He also made regular trips up Monte Baldo, leading excursions for other naturalists, including Ulisse Aldrovandi. On Calzolari, see Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 179–84, and passim; Ferri, "'Dioscoride,' 'Discorsi,' 'Commentarii'," 36; Coolidge, *Josias Simmler*, XLVI. Monte Maggiore, today called "Punta Telegrafo," is the central point and the second highest peak of Monte Baldo. For a history of climbing mountains from the classical references to the early modern period, see Kirchner, "Mind, Mountain, and History"; Coolidge, *Josias Simmler*, "Introduction."

[72] Josias Simmler, *De Alpibus commentaries*, 1574. The *De Alpibus commentarius* is reprinted in Coolidge, *Josias Simmler*, 1–307, with commentary. Also Kirchner, "Mind, Mountain, and History," 425–26.

Balze, just northwest of the city, also creates a uniquely stunning natural lookout. Similarly, S. Miniato (al Tedesco)'s Prato al Duomo, the piazza in front of the Duomo, has served as a viewing platform over the Arno plain to the south since the 1200s, while its Torre di Federico offers a commanding 360-degree view across the Valdarno (figures 206–7). Gates seem common places from which to present a view, where they frame a spot at which to pause before turning to head away from the city. Such positions are found at Montecarlo (e.g., Porta Lucchese and Porta Nuova), Montepulciano (e.g., Porta al Prato and Porta di Farine), Cortona (e.g., Porta Colonia), and Volterra (e.g., Porta Fiorentina and Porta San Felice), among others (figures 208–11).[73] At least one such Tuscan view was recognized for its beauty in the sixteenth century: Paolo Giovio described Montemurlo as having "a large piazza that has a vast view."[74] This same view, looking out over the Arno plain between Pistoia and Prato, is still celebrated today by a modern scope that directs the eye to distant landmarks (figure 212).

Roads also granted periodic vistas of those cities and the surrounding landscape to travelers upon their approach. Modern roads approaching Tuscan cities contain multiple pull-offs at strategic *bellavista* points for tourists to stop and photograph the city. Many of these roads take essentially the same route as those in the Renaissance. Travelers in that time would have been offered similar periodic glimpses of the city during their

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[73] These viewing locations have continued to be popular in the changing fabric of the modern cities. The street exiting Porta Montanina in Cortona now offers benches from which to relax and enjoy the breathtaking view to the west. S. Miniato al Tedesco also has a loggia at the corner of via Garibaldi and via Augusto Conti from which to more formally view the landscape out to the west. I have been unable to determine when the loggia was built. The nearby buildings in general, such as the Palazzo del Vescovile (fourteenth century) and the Palazzo Imperiale (twelfth century), were renovated to various degrees in the seventeenth century during a general restructuring movement, when new structures such as the Seminario replaced the older dwellings. The loggia could date from this period, but could also be contemporary to the older civic and ecclesiastical buildings.

[74] "una piazza larga che a vaghissima vista." Paolo Giovio, *La seconda parte dell'historie del suo tempo*, trans. Lodovico Domenichi, (Florence: L. Torrentino, 1553), 742.

approach.[75] They too also paused to appreciate, and sometimes record, the sight, as seen in the case of the painter Andrea Boscoli (c. 1560–1607). While traveling, Boscoli passed by Macerata, and found the view of the city so beautiful he had to stop and draw it, together with its fortress.[76] City views, in fact, had long been associated with traveling by Vasari's time. Albrecht Dürer's 1495 watercolors of Trent and Innsbruck record his impressions of these cities during his travels (figure 141).[77] The woodcuts of cities in the earlier *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486), by Bernhard von Breydenbach, served as illustrations of the author's Holy Land pilgrimage, and also as a substitute, armchair-pilgrimage for the reader.[78] Antwerp-school city views corroborate this desire of the Renaissance traveler to admire the topography of their destination. Anton van den Wyngaerde's *Daroca* (figure 213) shows just such a figure pausing at the crest of a hill to take in the vista spread below him. The myriad travelers on roads approaching cities seen in almost every depiction by van den Wyngaerde and Hoefnagel, and especially their

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[75] Examples of roads in continued use in Tuscany are the SS 2 (also known as the Cassia senese, or the Strada Senese in the *Libro Vecchio di Strade*) and the SS 222 (also known as the via Vecchi Chiantigiana, or the Strada da Ricorboli in Chianti in the *Libro Vecchio di Strade*). There have been occasional alterations to the routes, such as the Strada da Camucia sino a Montepulciano, altered during the eighteenth century. On the continuance of the routes of Tuscan roads, see Gabriele Ciampi, "Introduzione," in *Il Libro Vecchio di Strade della Repubblica fiorentina*, ed. Gabriele Ciampi, Istituto per la storia degli antichi stati Italiani, fonti e studi, 2 (Florence: Francesco Papafava editore, 1987): especially 43–56. The *Libro Vecchio di Strade della Repubblica fiorentina* designated the communities along the principal routes of Tuscany responsible for upkeep of sections of the roads. The book continued to be copied and used from 1461 until at least the seventeenth century, although the information existed in other texts from the fourteenth century. Ciampi, "Introduzione," 37; also see Leonardo Rombai, "Prefazione," in *Il Libro Vecchio di Strade della Repubblica fiorentina*, ed. Gabriele Ciampi, Istituto per la storia degli antichi stati Italiani, fonti e studi, 2 (Florence: Francesco Papafava editore, 1987): 5–36. A comparison of the roads related in the *Libro Vecchio di Strade* with a modern map confirms Ciampi's testament to the little-changed nature of most of the main roads of Tuscany.

[76] Unfortunately, the administrators of Macerata did not appreciate Boscoli's enthusiasm for the beauty of their city, and thinking he was a spy recording their defenses, quickly arrested him and condemned him to death. Boscoli was pardoned and released upon word from Florence vouching for Boscoli's innocence. The story is told in Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, ed. F. Ranelli (1845–47; Reprint, Florence: S.P.E.S., 1974–75), 75. Also see Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence," 63, n. 80.

[77] Wood, *Altdorfer and Landscape*, 16.

[78] Cf. chapter 2, page 123.

positioning of viewpoints along similar approaches, visually document the practice (figures 165, 214, 331). Both characteristics are seen in Stradano's *Siena* and *Montecarlo* in the Sala di Cosimo I (figures 62, 65).

The painted cities in the Palazzo Vecchio even sometimes correspond to the point of views from the road. For instance, the location that best matches the depiction of Montepulciano in the Salone dei Cinquecento is a point along the northern approach, on the road from Torrita di Siena (the via di Torrita, SP 135) (map 13; figures 215–16).[79] The prevalence of such views as a part of daily experience must have made them familiar to the average citizen. Their frequency demonstrates the multitude of opportunities for Palazzo Vecchio visitors to experience Tuscany as shown on the walls of the palace. That frequency would breed familiarity, sparking an even stronger recognition, on which Vasari based the functioning of the city views.[80]

Cosimo himself traveled frequently across Tuscany to visit many of the cities under his dominion, inspecting their fortifications and their economic production. Stradano's paintings recreate the experience of Cosimo's looking down on those cities, as in Vasari's *Portoferraio*. For instance, another particularly literal correspondence between a city view in the Palazzo Vecchio and one of Cosimo's habitual viewing

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[79] The *Libro Vecchio di Strade* does not relate the road between Torrita di Siena and Montepulciano, part of the road between the latter and Sinalunga, because the former town lay within the Sienese border until it officially became part of ducal Tuscany in 1559 with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. That roads did exist in this area we know from reports of movement during the Florence-Siena war. For instance, in October 1554 the count of Santa Fina, a commander for the Florentine forces, was ordered to travel to Montepulciano, capturing Pienza on the way, collect the artillery stored there, and return to Siena by way of Lucignano where he would collect more guns. The heavy artillery would by necessity have been moved by oxen along the roads, as the order of locations attest. Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 132. Other movements corroborate the use of roads between these locations, ibid., 141–43, 185.

[80] In this respect, the Palazzo Vecchio landscape portraits are organized with respect to what Michael Baxandall called a "period eye." Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style,* Second Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 29–108.

experiences is found in the painting *Alessandro de'Medici Returning to Florence after His Coronation by the Emperor* (figures 32–33). In the *Ragionamenti*, Francesco says the view of Florence in this painting is "si conosce benissimo."[81] A Medici would of course have been able to easily recognize the view of Florence from the north as seen in the *Alessandro* painting—the family saw the city in that position from the hills behind their Villa Careggi (figure 217), which sits north-northwest of the city, and, less precisely, from the Villa Medici in Fiesole.[82] The depiction of the entrance of the first Medici duke into a Florence that corresponded so closely to the gaze from those Medici villas demonstrates the infusion of place and orientation into the Palazzo Vecchio decorations. It also suggests a further idea of a Medici-specific appropriation through gaze and place to which we will return later.

Topographical Character in the Palazzo Vecchio City Views

Remembered Experience as the General Truth of Aphegesis

For a viewer's memory to respond to a painted city view, the portraits need not be so literal in their recreation of Cosimo's experience, nor separated from the historical narrative material for which they serve as setting. In fact, the memory aided the building of *enargeia*, and so was an important part of the rhetorical material of Vasari's history. *Enargeia* blended memory with the image painted on the wall, so that the viewer

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[81] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:182. "... easily recognizable," translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 346.
[82] The Villa Careggi sits at an altitude of about ninety meters, which is thirty meters above the altitude of Florence. The villa's altitude is too low to see the city over the intervening hills, namely the locations of Villa Aurora and La Petraia. To see the domes and towers of the city, one has to climb into the hills northwest of the Villa Careggi to an altitude of about 150 meters. Of course, the topography of Careggi has been much changed, especially with the more recent developments of the hospital zone, making any assessment of the degree of impeding topography and vegetation in the sixteenth-century uncertain. Cf. appendix 1, C-VII.12.

"remembered" the depicted event as if he had watched it occur. Within this moment, the viewer becomes an eyewitness, and he assists in the authentication of the history.[83] Vasari alluded to this very process in the *Ragionamenti*: he explained how he could portray the troop arrangements around Florence accurately because he "saw how it was then."[84] The artist's (false) statement described to his readers the viewing process—through words he tried to achieve a semblance of the same quality of engagement. The enargeic-experiential response places the viewer before the city at the scene, as it happens.

Petrarch described a similar experience of historical memory being stimulated by his view of landscape. Upon viewing the Alps, he was first reminded of Hannibal's crossing of the mountains to attack Rome.[85] This association of history with landscape corresponds to the use of cartography to add vividness and setting. In fact, it vividly recalls the much later depictions of Hannibal's deeds among the maps of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican, from 1579–81. The diminutiveness of Hannibal's army in various battles, for instance at Lake Trasimeno and at Cannae, suggests that it is seen from a great distance, as if one stands on a mountaintop looking down over the countryside (figure 182).[86] The tiny skirmishes depicted in the *Siege of Florence* share

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[83] Bolzoni has explained the Renaissance belief in the power of images to act upon the viewer's memory and affect him, and the use of that power to distort narrative time in the mind. On the latter, she quotes the *Ars memorativa* (1425): "everything must appear, not as belonging to the past, but almost as if it were to happen in the future or as if it were present in the mind." Bolzoni, *Gallery of Memory*, especially 130–40, 213–14. Courtright explains the topographical views of Rome in the Tower of the Winds at the Vatican as similarly making present Christian spirituality and values, Courtright, *Art of Reform*, 158–63.

[84] "... perchè io viddi come stava allora." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:176. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 337.

[85] Livy describes the crossing in his *Ad Urbe Condita*. Livy, *Hannibal's War, Books 21–30*, trans. J. C. Yardley, intro. Dexter Hoyos, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2006), 31–38. The scene remembered by Petrarch, when soldiers explode rocks with vinegar, occurs at an extremely impassable point during the descent. Ibid., 37.

[86] Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 194–97.

this quality of watching history occur from a distant height (figure 13). Petrarch was very familiar with the tenets of classical historiography, as he owned at least two copies of Livy's *Ad Urbe Condita*, one of the more famous and influential of the Latin historians in the Renaissance.[87] That Petrarch applied the cartographic relationship to an actual view demonstrates the ingrained prevalence of that association. Through a process similar to *enargeia* and orientation, he located the historical event upon the landscape, giving it place. The viewers of the Palazzo Vecchio city views similarly associate the view with Vasari's version of the past of Florence, the Medici, and Duke Cosimo—effectively "remembering"—and through that process add authority to that past, thereby authenticating ducal dominion through its history.

What Vasari created, by appealing to the authority of remembered experience, was both the evidence and the rhetoric required of historiography. The participatory viewing provided the evidence for the appearance of *historia* sought by the artist. His viewers enabled the appearance of a deterministic history by witnessing it themselves. Yet Vasari's history actually took the form of an *aphegesis*. Many of the events are portrayed less than accurately, both in their depiction and their relation. Similarly, Stradano's views rarely present a literal portrait of a city. In *aphegesis*, that deviation from the specifics was permissible, though the form still demanded a generalized truthful description onto which the audience could grasp with their credulity. Vasari recognized that in the viewing system created by Stradano's views lay the generalization that would

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[87] For the position of Livy in the Renaissance, see Fryde, "'Scientific' and Erudite Historiography," 18; Giuseppe Billanovich, *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'umanesimo* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1981). Billanovich discusses Petrarch's familiarity with Livy, a familiarity that passed to Lorenzo Valla with Petrarch's copy of the text, Giuseppe Billanovich, "Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951): 137–208. Petrarch and Valla's manuscript of Livy is reproduced in facsimile in Billanovich, *Tradizione del testo di Livio*, volume 2.

supersede the specific facts and fictions. The Antwerp school, in its practice of capturing attainable views through on-site sketching, offered a transference from artist to viewer of the perceived experience. Its verisimilitude portrayed the character of the topography, without the specificity of cartography. That topographical character provided Vasari's history with its overall appearance of veracity to underlie the individual events, forming the general truth of his *aphegesis*.

Place Used to Create Space: Medici Views as Control

The Medici family's constant construction and decoration of villas throughout the Renaissance acquired a dynastic significance in their use of both place and of landscape views that requires some examination. Cosimo grew up within this milieu and inherited it upon becoming duke in 1537. Characteristically, he passed on similar values to his inheritors, values now adapted to the new princely status of the family. We can trace an ideological profile specific to Cosimo by examining instances of the "topographical gaze" among these other members of his family.

The same interest that determined the site of the Medici villa at Fiesole—framing a view of a landscape, and especially a city—informed the locations of the family's other villas. In particular, the family favored views of regions under their control, whether nominal (as at Florence under Cosimo the elder), economic (as at Cafaggiolo), or dynastic (Tuscany under Ferdinando I). The villa of San Piero at Careggi, acquired by the Medici in 1417 and restructured by Michelozzo in 1436–40 and 1450–59, was also

located in the hills to the north of Florence (figure 217).[88] The villa of Trebbio, renovated c. 1427–33 by Michelozzo again on commission from Cosimo the Elder, sits on the summit of a steep hill overlooking the countryside of the Mugello with the city of Scarperia in the distance (figures 218–20).[89] Cafaggiolo, also in the Mugello, sits at a lower elevation but still offers a view of the sloping hills from the large tower in its center (figures 221–22). According to Poliziano, Cosimo preferred this view over that of Fiesole, despite the latter's superior elevation and urban view, because everything he could see from Cafaggiolo belonged to him.[90]

Towards the end of the next century, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici followed what had by now become a family tradition. He renovated two hilltop villas, one near Florence and one in Rome, to keep in tune with the prevailing preferences for panoramic landscape. In 1574, he bought a villa property on Monte Pincio overlooking Rome, and redesigned it to give more and better-framed urban views (figures 223–24). The Villa Medici received a new portico, a new tower and viewing balcony, and even a fake "mountain" called *Mons Parnassus*. The spiral path up the mountain, finished in 1580,

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[88] On the villa of Careggi, see Zangheri 2006, especially 95–96; Vitiello, *Committenza Medicea*, 37–39, *scheda* 10; Visentini, *Villa in Italia*, 49–53; Mario Gori Sassoli, "Michelozzo e l'architettura di Villa nel primo Rinascimento," *Storia dell'arte* 23–29 (1975): 28–32.

[89] On the villa of Trebbio, see Vitiello, *Committenza Medicea*, 32–36, *scheda* 5; Tancredi Carunchio, "Michelozzo architetto 'restauratore' di fabbriche Medicee: il Trebbio," in *Michelozzo Scultore e Architetto (1396–1472)*, ed. Gabriele Morolli (Florence: Centro Di, 1998): 73–80; Visentini, *Villa in Italia*, 41–46; Ackerman, *The Villa*, 66–68; Sassoli, "Michelozzo e l'architettura di Villa," 13–21. The observation of the villa's view is my own, from personal experience.

[90] "Cosimo predetto solera dire che la casa loro di Cafagiuolo in Mugello vedera meglio quella di Fiesole, perche? ció che quella vedera era loro, il che Fiesole non arrevia." Quoted in Ackerman, *The Villa*, 290 n. 24. The dates of Michelozzo's work at Cafaggiolo are uncertain. 1434 is often given as a *terminus ante quem*, but Cosimo did not come into possession of the villa until 1451. At that time, it was the center of an estate comprising thirty-one farms, to which the Medici continued to add over the next century. On the villa of Cafaggiolo, see Vitiello, *Committenza Medicea*, 43–46, *scheda* 8; Visentini, *Villa in Italia*, 46–49; Ackerman, *The Villa*, 68–69; Sassoli, "Michelozzo e l'architettura di Villa," 21–27. The Villa Barbaro at Maser, built by Andrea Palladio in 1557–58, has a comparable expression of economic ownership expressed through a view of its fields from the window in its *salone*. Ackerman discusses the economic associations of ownership in villas in general, see Ackerman, *The Villa*, especially 103.

offered alternating urban and rural landscape views to the climbing visitor. The western section of wall bordering the north garden (now removed) had four windows framing views of the city, with benches situated nearby to better enjoy them (figure 225).[91] Simultaneously, Ferdinando had Bernardo Buontalenti retrofit the Villa Petraia with a *belvedere* in the original central tower of the house between 1575 and 1580 (figures 226–27). The upper terrace of the gardens, on which the villa sits, directs the main view southwest across the Arno valley towards Florence (figures 228–29). That view is now marked with its own eighteenth-century *belvedere*.[92]

Shortly thereafter, the now-Grand Duke Ferdinando I began to consolidate these views by building a new villa situated so as to see his other properties. Almost two centuries of Medici views of family-controlled landscape had brought an appropriative element to the idea of orientation specific to the family. Ferdinando used that relationship to spread the idea of dominion from specific locales to control over a larger region. In 1594, he had the Villa di Artimino located on Monte Albano where he could see the villas of Petraia, Castello, Careggi, Poggio a Caiano, and Fiesole, as well as Florence, Prato, and Pistoia (figures 230–31).[93] From here his view created a matrix of possession incorporating the city of Florence and its suburbs within the network of views of and from the Medici villas (map 14; figure 232). While the pleasure afforded by overlooking landscape and city still carried weight, Cosimo the Elder's preference for looking out on his property had special resonance for his descendant, the ruler of a now-absolutist

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[91] On the Villa Medici in Rome, see Visentini, *Villa in Italia*; van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 106–10; Coffin, *The Villa*, 219–33, especially 224–31; Glenn M. Andres, *The Villa Medici in Rome*, 2 vols. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976); André Chastel, ed., *La Villa Médicis*, 2 vols. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome; École Francaise de Rome, 1989).
[92] Van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 73–74.
[93] Van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 31. Also see Amelio Fara, "Le ville di Bernardo Buontalenti nel tardo Rinascimento toscano," *Storia dell'arte* 29 (1977): 25–38.

Tuscany. The decorations of Ferdinando I's villa, while not working on the illusionistic system described in the Villa Farnesina, does carry forward the system of orientation found in that decorative program. While from outside Ferdinando could look out over Florence and see many of the other Medici villas, the Villa di Artimino's *salone* brought that same view to the interior with its fourteen lunettes showing the other Medici residences (figure 233). Giusto Utens painted these lunettes in c. 1599 (figure 219, 222, 227). Each painting shows a bird's-eye view of a villa and its gardens. The program included those villas seen from the *belvedere* of the Villa di Artimino, but more importantly it brought those villas that Ferdinando could not see under the grand duke's gaze.[94] The viewpoint of the images is more ideal than that of the Villa Farnesina, but the Villa di Artimino *salone* functions on a similar system of recognition and orientation. The images placed Ferdinando above those distant villas, incorporating their individual appropriative gazes into that already found at Artimino. The combination established for the grand duke a sense of dominion over Tuscany while remaining in the comfort of his *salone*.[95]

Ferdinando's desires for such constructed views demonstrate the continuing currency of landscape appreciation, especially in the Medici-Florence milieu, throughout the period of Palazzo Vecchio decoration and after. For many wealthy families, villas represented the ideals of *villegiatura*. For more aristocratic families with a history of political influence such as the sixteenth-century Medici, the views further served to

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[94] Van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*. On the painted lunettes by Giusto Utens, see Daniela Mignani, *The Medicean Villas by Giusto Utens*, 2nd ed, trans. Stephanie Johnston (Florence: Arnaud Ed. srl, 1995),.

[95] On these ideas of using views to define a space of dominion, see Craib, "Cartography and Power," especially 22, 25; Warnke, *Political Landscape*, 39–40, 53; and more generally Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, especially his "representational space," 33, 38–39, 244–45.

demonstrate appropriation and dominion while retaining their recreational and commercial associations.[96] The practice of viewing for the Medici was not solely about appreciation of beauty or even economic ownership—it constituted a survey of the environment within which they had power. The views of Florence from nearby villas represented the heart of their established dominion, while the views of Rome, for both Ferdinando and his father Cosimo, represented future aspirations while evoking memories of past familial sovereignty over Rome—the papacies of Leo X and Clement VII. The Artimino views served as reminders of their familial past and the extent of its dominion while keeping a controlling eye on their current territory. *Alessandro Returns to Florence* visually documents this merging of panorama, power, and history under the ducal Medici. The Palazzo Vecchio views of Tuscan cities carry the same associations of constructing a space of Medici dominion through Cosimo's appropriative gaze over past and present history. This idea underlies the remaining two case study chapters, which examine specific views functioning in their respective local contexts. Essentially, history as seen in the Medici view of landscape kept the family focused on its future, while illustrating to any guest the basis and the extent of its power.

Departures from Vasari's "ritratto dal naturale"

We now have an idea of how Vasari expected these views to function as rhetorical elements. Their stimulation of *enargeia* worked independently of his description of the paintings in the *Ragionamenti*; scholars have already argued for the writing's distance

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[96] Van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 31. Cardinal Ippolito d'Este's villa at Tivoli represents another instance of expressing power through landscape and villa decoration. Ribouillault, "Salone de la villa d'Este."

from the paintings themselves. Nevertheless, in that writing Vasari carried further his rhetorical strategy of bolstering the descriptive and mimetic claims of the paintings by claiming their origination in drawings made on site. Although Vasari correctly describes the great majority of paintings in this way, occasionally a painting can be found to quote an already existing image. The disparity between the original images and the borrowed ones offers a final insight into Vasari's use of topographical painting as evidence and as rhetoric. This last section investigates these artificially derived views, offering an assessment of the ways in which Vasari juggled different manifestations of truths and fictions and their immediate effects, while following his model of *aphegesis*.

A *Dürer Quotation in* Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici ... as Papal Legate

The most blatant quotation occurs in the painting of *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Is Sent to Hungary as Papal Legate* in the Sala di Clemente VII (figure 30). Painted by Stradano sometime between 1558 and 1562, the background reproduces a print by Albrecht Dürer, the *Siege of an Ideal Fortress* from 1527 (figure 31, 142).[97] In that borrowing of an artificial setting, the painting of the Medici cardinal as legate is unusual among the city views. The painting also stands out for its commemoration of a youth who was little more than a burden for his family. Vasari had to narrate Ippolito's tale in a way that added to the encomium of the Medici. The use of Dürer's ideal fortress signals a northern-specific setting for this story. In addition, Vasari probably expected some of his

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[97] For a discussion of posited identifications for the setting of this painting, see appendix 1, C-VII.11. For the completion date, see Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 102; for the attribution, see page 172. Also Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 168. Gregory first noted Vasari's borrowing from Dürer. Gregory, "Dürer's *Treatise*." Fara later unknowingly declared himself the first to note the quotation. Giovanni Maria Fara, *Albrecht Dürer teorico dell'architettura: Una storia italiana*, Accademia Toscana di scienze e lettere "La Colombaria," 181 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1999), 67–68.

audience to recognize the quotation and its panegyrical purpose: a rhetorical device borrowed from Herodotus to bolster the perceived truth of the rest of the painted history.

The painting under consideration shows Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici (1511–35) arriving amidst a train of soldiers at a heavily fortified city under siege. As the title suggests, the scene represents the period in late summer, 1532, when Pope Clement VII designated Cardinal de'Medici Papal Legate to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. His official mission as legate was to bring aid for Charles V's campaign against the Ottoman Turks. The Kingdom of Hungary had six years previously lost the Battle of Mohács against the Ottomans, which meant the kingdom no longer acted as a buffer against the expansion of the Turks into Western Europe.[98] In 1529 the Turkish army had moved as far west as Vienna, the new border of Western Europe's power, and besieged it. They lifted the siege after twenty-nine days and retreated due to the advancing winter and over-extended supply lines.[99] The encroaching Ottoman threat raised calls in the West for a new crusade to protect Christendom. Charles himself supported this initiative, but prior to 1532 was too committed in Italy and his struggles with France to respond.[100]

In 1532, Sultan Suleiman I was reported to again be advancing towards Vienna at the head of an immense army. Charles finally found himself unencumbered elsewhere, his Italian troubles over, and seized the opportunity to call for the crusade. While his call to arms was largely ignored outside of his direct subjects, he still managed to raise

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[98] For the events of the Battle of Mohács, see Antony Bridge, *Suleiman the Magnificent: Scourge of Heaven* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1983), 98–100; Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1494–1660* (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1979), 199; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 3, *The Sixteenth Century to the Reign of Julius II* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), 248–49.

[99] Bridge, *Suleiman*, 114–120; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:324–27.

[100] William Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V* (Houndmills, England: PALGRAVE, 2002), 43–44.

promises for almost 150,000 troops.[101] Pope Clement VII named the twenty-one year old Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Papal Legate on 20 June, and the cardinal left Rome on 8 July. He met the emperor at Regensburg on 13 August with a small force sent by the pope and 50,000 ducats, enough to raise 8,000 Hungarian cavalry (maps 9–10). Ippolito traveled with a large retinue that included the historian Paolo Giovio, secretaries and members of the curia, and forty captains, 130 arquebusiers, and about 200 cavalry, all of whom Stradano represented in the painting. Before the imperial force could move down the Danube to Vienna, however, Charles had to come to an agreement with the Lutherans at the Diet of Regensberg. The Emperor finally made a temporary peace with the Protestants, having to concede that the forces raised by the German estates would not advance beyond the borders of the empire (effectively Vienna). Leaving Regensberg 3 September, Ippolito accompanied Charles to Vienna.[102]

Curiously, the Ottomans never attacked the city. They instead laid siege to surrounding smaller towns. Sulieman's strategy seems to have been intended to draw the imperial army into a field battle, where his forces would have an advantage with their overwhelming numbers.[103] The most famous incident of the 1532 campaign was the siege

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[101] Reports indicated the Ottoman army consisted of anywhere from 200,000 to 700,000 troops and more, while the lesser figure seems closer to the truth. The imperial army estimates varied almost as widely, (overly) optimistically placing them at 200,000 or more. On the varying figures, see the comments by Setton on the more outrageous estimates. Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:364 n. 74, and especially 365 n. 75.

[102] For summaries of the events of 1532, see Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:358–61, 364–66; James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 138–41; Maltby, *Reign of Charles V*, 44–45; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 123–25. Sanuto and Giovio report on Ippolito's arrival, Sanuto, *Diarii*, 56:817–18; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 334. Oliva curiously reports that Ippolito went to Vienna, where King Ferdinand I received him. Mario Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna tra Rinascimento e Controriforma* (Milan: U. Mursia editore S.p.A., 1985), 140. This seems to derive from a mistaken report by Sanuto, though I have been unable to find the source and Oliva does not cite it.

[103] Bridge, *Suleiman*, 123; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:365, 366, 366 n. 82. According to Giovio the siege of Güns failed because the Ottomans had not brought siege guns, expecting to engage the emperor in

of Güns (modern Köszeg in Hungary), a tiny fortress south of Vienna and at that time just inside the Austrian border. The Ottoman army invested Güns 6 August, while the imperial army still formed up at Regensberg. Less than a week later the vanguard of the army similarly invested Wiener-Neustadt, about halfway to Vienna from Güns, but the army's advance apparently halted there, held up by their siege of the first fortress. After three weeks, Güns, defended by a small force under Nicholas Jurisic, surrendered but retained the fortress. The Ottoman emperor raised the siege 28 August.[104] It was then too late in the campaigning season to continue on to Vienna with a hope of success. The army instead turned south to ransack the province of Styria (north of Graz) for about two weeks before turning home.

While the main army paused at Güns, a small raiding force of 15,000 Ottoman cavalry, called *akinji* and led by Kasim Bey, had advanced west almost as far as Linz by 18 August to ravage the countryside there. After 9 September, they began to approach Linz and a bridge over the river Enns, where Ippolito's forces halted their advance. The *akinji* joined the main body in Styria as its rearguard about 16 September.[105] Suleiman's

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a field battle. Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 345–47. But also see Klára Hegyi, "The Ottoman Network of Fortresses in Hungary," in *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, eds. Dávid Géza, and Pál Fodor, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage: Politics, Society, and Economy, 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2000): 163–93.

[104] On the siege of Güns, see Marino Sanuto, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 58 vols (Bologna: Forni, 1969–70), 56:814, 865–68, 891, 894, 915, 925, 926, 927, 947–48, 949–50, 951–52, 959–60, 962–63, 965–66, 969, 982, 1002–3; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 345–47; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:365. Zimmerman gives the date of Güns' investment as 7 August, Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 124.

[105] Sanuto mistakenly reports that Suleiman quickly lifted the siege of Linz and then retreated. Giovio mistakenly reports that the main body instead headed for Vienna. The fighting around Linz has been largely ignored or forgotten by modern scholarship, in part due to a lack of cohesive evidence, making it more difficult to piece together these events and Ippolito's part in them. On this part of the campaign, see Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 348, 351, 358; Sanuto, *I diarii*, 56:969; Géza Dávid, "An Ottoman Military Career on the Hungarian Borders: Kasim *Voyvoda*, *Bey*, and Pasha," in *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, eds. Dávid Géza and Pál Fodor, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage: Politics, Society, and Economy, 20 (Leiden: Brill 2000): 270, 270 n. 19; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:366 n. 82; Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna*, 141; Joseph

army then retreated, again facing the onset of winter and dwindled supply lines, before the imperial force ever reached Vienna. The only fighting that year besides Güns included a few skirmishes with the Turkish raiders, the largest between Kasim Bey's *akinji* as the rearguard and Hungarian forces in Styria in a valley between Enzesfeld and Leobersdorf on 19 September, a victory for the latter.[106] Meanwhile, Charles had left Regensburg 3 September and moved along the Danube as far as Linz by 12 September, where he held a council of war. Here he had to pause since the Ottoman forces held the area between Linz, Graz, and Vienna.[107] Charles finally arrived in Vienna on 23 September as the Ottoman army was already crossing the Drava river on their way home.[108] The emperor had little intention of progressing further, due to the restrictions on the German soldiers and the pay of the Italians and Spanish being in arrears.[109] On 4 October, pressing threats of Turkish problems in the Mediterranean forced the Emperor to return to Spain via Italy, Ippolito in his train.[110]

Cardinal de'Medici's activities among these events are as confusing and contradictory as the rest of the 1532 campaign. In terms of historical descriptions of his

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Francis Patrouch, *Negotiated Settlement: The Counter-Reformation in Upper Austria under the Habsburgs* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2000), 91–92, 95; Wolfgang Menzel, *The History of Germany: From the Earliest Period to 1842*, trans. Mrs. George Horrocks (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1908), 253. On Kasim Bey, see Dávid, "Ottoman Military Career."

[106] Giovio wrote of the death of Kasim Bey at the 19 September skirmish, apparently a mistaken report that spread among the imperial forces. Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 352, 355; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:366; Gertrud Gerhartl, *Die Niederlage der Türken am Steinfeld 1532*, Militärhistorische Schriftenreihe (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1974), 9–18; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 56:820.

[107] Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 358–59; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 124, 328 n. 102; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 56:969; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:366 n. 82

[108] Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 359, 363; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 124, 328 n. 102; Bridge, *Suleiman*, 123–24.

[109] Charles did write a letter to his wife Isabella on September 21 stating that he was considering pushing forward to Esztergom (modern Gran). John Zápolya, Ferdinand's rival for the throne of Hungary, was besieging the city, but Charles could not have been too serious in this consideration considering the restrictions on his army. He did leave 8000 Italians for Ferdinand's use, which later were led to the relief of Esztergom. See Tracy, *Charles V, Impresario of War*, 141. Also Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 370; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 124–26.

[110] Tracy, *Charles V, Impresario of War*, 141.

activities, we have only the *History* of Paolo Giovio, who traveled with Ippolito, and the ambassador reports recorded in the *Diary* of Marino Sanuto, who was in the imperial camp as the Venetian ambassador. Giovio wrote fairly of his companion, treating his successes and his disgraces equally, albeit sparingly. Sanuto also related the details of the cardinal's disgraces, but lacked Giovio's decorum. Neither presented the cardinal's story in detail.[111] In what follows I have tried to clarify the details of Ippolito's activities.

While the emperor was still delayed by the Diet, the cardinal advanced to Vienna, to examine the preparations for defense. He kept himself busy by coordinating the activities of the Italian troops under the general Maramaldo, and undertaking the task given him by Pope Clement VII. By 21 August, Ippolito worked with the commissary Camillo Campagna as his agent and the Hungarian Turco Valente to begin raising troops in Hungary with the pope's money, apparently at the request of the emperor's brother, King Ferdinand I.[112] Upon word of Turkish forces approaching Linz, Ippolito left Vienna with a small force to defend the bridge at Enns, on the orders of Ferdinand. While these defensive measures proved victorious, it is not clear what, if any, part Ippolito played in them. Giovio reported only that two captains nominally under the cardinal's command, Sforza Scipio Baglione and Otto da Montauto, were responsible for defeating Kasim Bey's marauding *akinji*. The Ottoman raiders retired to Krems, where Baglione and Montauto's arquebusiers again defeated them. The *akinji* afterwards retreated to Graz,

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[111] Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 334–73; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 56:533, 817–18, 868–69, 922; 57:87–92. Lorenzo Cardella briefly relates Ippolito's period as legate in his biography of the Cardinal, though he offers no further information. Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*, Vol. 4 (Rome: Stamperia Pagliarini, 1793), 108–9. Other information gathered by scholars has derived from letters, mostly those of Charles V.

[112] On Ippolito in Vienna for the fortifications, see Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 349; Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna*, 140. On Ferdinand's interest, see Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 123. On the date, Campagna, and Valente, see Sanuto, *Diarii*, 56:868–69, 922. On Maramaldo's troops, see Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna*, 141.

which they held for a brief time until it was relieved by imperial troops, and then to Styria. It was this same force that was defeated in the skirmish on 19 September.[113] Unfortunately for Cardinal de'Medici, when he returned to the imperial camp at Regensburg, his soldiering efforts earned him only the disapproval of the emperor. Charles blamed Ippolito's absence for a mutiny among the latter's soldiers, caused by competition for quarters, and he chastised the cardinal for negligence.[114]

That reprimand did not curtail the cardinal's exploits. While still at Vienna, a group of Italian soldiers with uncertain associations to Ippolito again mutinied, now at the threat of being stationed in Austria. A band of about 8,000 soldiers under a Volterran, Tito Marconio, returned to Italy and set to pillaging the Friuli countryside around the Tagliamento river. Possibly suspecting the Cardinal's involvement, Charles placed Ippolito at the rear of the imperial train with the other diplomats, two days behind the military force. Dissatisfied, Ippolito slipped away in armor with a group of soldiers on 8 October, rode past the emperor, and joined the rebel Italians in Friuli on 10 October. He seems to have desired to use the remainder of the Pope's money and the rebel force to march on Florence, to free the city from what he perceived as the clutches of his tyrannical cousin Alessandro. Charles sent a force to quell the disturbance, captured Ippolito and his captain Pietro Maria de Rossi, the Count of San Secondo, and held them in St. Veit in Carinthia, in Austria. Five days later the emperor released Ippolito, and sent to the pope an apology for having treated the cardinal with less dignity than his station

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[113] Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 351–52; Gerhartl, *Niederlage der Türken*, 9–18. Giovio mentioned only that Ferdinand sent Ippolito there; the actions described by the historian are those of the captains. Oliva reported that a third captain, Sforza, was also at Linz, though I have found no source confirming this. Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna*, 141.

[114] Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 349–51; Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna*, 142; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 126.

required.[115] The cardinal's actions became the talk of the diplomatic community, his friends citing his heroic defense of Linz, while his enemies painted him as slightly less than an imperial traitor for conspiring with the Florentine *fuorosciti*. Following his release, Ippolito nursed his bruised ego in Venice until he returned to papal and imperial favor later that year.[116]

The painting in the Palazzo Vecchio commemorates these events from an obviously pro-Medici perspective. Cardinal Ippolito and his soldiers arrive to aid in the siege shown in the background, but the location remains unidentifiable due to the idealized setting. Neither does the river god in the lower right foreground, representing the river Danube, aid identification. The river formed the axis around which most of the relevant action occurred, so that the personification makes only a general reference to the region. The painting reminds the viewer that Pope Clement VII, a Medici and the room's namesake, sent one of the family to aid the emperor in Habsburg lands. It celebrates a connection between Charles V and the Medici, acknowledging the dependence of the emperor on the family and glorifying the Florentine family's part in the crusade. The painting makes no reference to Ippolito's actual deeds during the course of the crusade—

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[115] For the story of these events, see Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 370–73; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 126–27; Sanuto, *Diarii*, 57:87–92; Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna*, 143–45. Giuseppe Moretti also briefly described Ippolito's experiences as legate, focusing almost singularly on the "rebellion" in Friuli, which he attributed to lack of pay for the 7000 soldiers with Ippolito. Moretti offers no source for his information. One bit of interest, however, as a follow-up to the cardinal's time in Hungary, is that Charles V and Clement VII seem to have discussed in 1533 sending Ippolito to Spain as legate. Apparently, Ippolito refused. Moretti suggests that these ideas of sending Ippolito away derived from the pope's desire to remove the cardinal from the affairs of Italy, so as to distract him from his obsession with assuming the reigns of Florence. While perhaps a partial motive, the perceived importance of the 1532 crusade would suggest other, more important rationales. Giuseppe E. Moretti, "Il cardinale Ippolito dei Medici dal trattato di Barcellona alla morte (1529–1535)," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 1 (1940):156–57.
[116] Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna*, 145.

neither to the trouble he caused the emperor, nor to the disgrace in which he returned home. Instead, it attempts to overcome those memories.

The painting does not tell a revisionist history by celebrating Ippolito's successes to the exclusion of his improprieties. Instead it generalizes the entire event, making mention of neither. The painting commemorates the pope's diplomacy rather than Ippolito and his actions. Vasari used the cardinal's involvement as legate, reduced to a single event, to celebrate Pope Clement VII and his support for the emperor in sending Ippolito in the first place. In downplaying the cardinal's person and actions, the artist took an even more tactful position than Giovio. For instance, Giovio tried to apologize for Ippolito's involvement in the Friuli mutiny, saying that Cardinal de'Medici had acted with "a certain impatience and youthful thoughtlessness," because of his "nature of ardent and quick spirit."[117] That apology follows a lengthy description of the incident, in which Ippolito plays a central role as a diplomatic embarrassment for the emperor, although Giovio downplayed the young Medici's association with the mutinous soldiers. The length of text, however—almost three pages as opposed to the half page devoted to the Enns skirmish—suggests the potential seriousness of the Friuli situation. And Ippolito plays a much larger role in the Friuli section than in Giovio's mention of Enns. Vasari perhaps could have made more specific mention of Enns. But to do that would draw attention to Ippolito's personal role in the crusade, a role that was much more famous for the Friuli affair. Such specific reference could raise embarrassing memories of the intemperateness of one of the Medici family members, undermining the encomium of

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[117] "Ma il Cardinale Hippolito, con una certa impatientia & leggierezza giovenile ruppe questo ordine fatto con consiglio militare, percioch'essendo egli da natura d'animo ardente & veloce." Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 371.

Clement VII that Vasari painted in the room. It would thereby sabotage the argument of the room's decorations, which adduce Medici support for the emperor to substantiate the legitimacy of Duke Cosimo's rule.

To aid in the revisionism, Stradano copied Dürer's woodcut almost exactly, save for slight changes due to compositional requirements. The variations are minor in the face of Stradano's clear intent to achieve an almost exact reproduction, plainly visible in a comparison of the two images. The minor variations are due to compositional requirements of space and narrative. Stradano painted his version in a style sketchier and looser than Dürer's tight lines and tiny details. The city is set in the distance and seen through atmospheric perspective. The buildings have little texture and the barest definition. On the other hand, Stradano's soldiers, horses, and cannon have been given mass and volume, rather than Dürer's stick-like forms. Space requirements forced Stradano to crop the image to the left and to the right, while the soldiers and river personification in the foreground cropped the bottom quarter of Dürer's design. Stradano then condensed the proportions of the fortress slightly, and moved the defending troops a bit to the right in relation to it. Dürer's tiny knights, who are about to trade lances in-between the two forces, have been separated, so that knights rush forward on either side of the branch obscuring the central field of battle. Finally, Stradano has depicted most of the countryside on the horizon as untouched, while Dürer showed most of it in flames.

It remains unclear how Stradano had the image and why he used it. Dürer printed the woodblock in 1527, the same year he printed his treatise on fortifications, *Etliche underricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schloss und flecken.*[118] While Dürer did not originally

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[118] Albrecht Dürer, *Etliche underricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schloss und flecken*, Nüremburg, 1527.

include the print in the book, it has been found tipped into examples of the earliest editions of the treatise. Dürer scholars have been unable to ascertain whether or not the print was originally intended as part of the treatise on fortification.[119] The woodcut was reissued independently three more times before Vasari executed the Palazzo Vecchio decorations.[120]

In light of Vasari's extensive historiographic efforts, it seems a wide departure for Vasari to admit an artistic quotation that apparently flouts those intentions. Nevertheless, the borrowing does help to clarify the setting as northern European. The features of the city such as the front gate, the tall pointed spires, and the rooftops, are all decidedly northern. Cities from this region depicted in Münster's *Cosmographia*, such as *Frankfurt am Main* and *Lübeck*, display comparable features (figures 234–35).[121] Furthermore, despite the occasional past identification, the print is now generally accepted as an

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[119] As early as 1827 Heller found it in three separate examples of the treatise. Winkler in 1928 argued that it was part of the treatise, while in the same year Bohatta argued the opposite. Meder in 1932 offered the most conclusive evidence to date, that the watermark on the print was the same as the watermark on the paper for the first editions of the book. Strauss leaves it inconclusive, adding that the defenders perform a maneuver that Dürer described in a tract but which also was not included in the treatise. See Strauss, *Dürer: Woodcuts*, 588. The tract describing the maneuver can be found among Dürer's manuscripts in London.

[120] For this reason, Gregory's conclusion—that Stradano's painting demonstrates the existence of the treatise in Vasari's workshop—while suggestive, cannot be fully sustained. Gregory, "Dürer's *Treatise*," 278. Dürer's treatise was not found in the inventory of Vasari, or in those of the Medici, although two copies of the Latin edition of 1535 are in the Magliabechiano collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, which incorporated the libraries of the Medici. This version of the treatise did not include the print, however. Fara introduces this information as if it explains Vasari's access to the print. He claims that the German edition can also be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, although I could not find it in the catalog of that library. Fara, *Dürer teorico*, 67 n. 9. Images of cities do appear in both the Medici inventory of 1553 and1560–70 and Vasari's inventories, but nothing specifically denotes Dürer's print. On the Medici inventories, see Barocchi and Bertelà, *Cosimo I a Cosimo II*, 183–95, 200–21; James Beck, "The Medici Inventory of 1560," *Antichità viva* 13 (1974) 3:64–66, 5:61–63. The inventory of Vasari's art collection does record works by Dürer owned by him, but does not specifically mention the *Siege* print. Spinelli, filza 34, filzetta 6. The inventory of Vasari's house in Florence, included with his last will and testament from 1572, is found in Spinelli, filza 34, filzetta 17 (with copies in filzetta 7). Also see Babcock and Ducharme, "Preliminary Inventory."

[121] Münster, *Cosmographiae*, 674–75, 734–35.

invented example of Dürer's theorized fortifications.[122] The depicted style of fortification does closely resemble Dürer's designs. His theoretical fortifications, made famous by his treatise, were unusual in their monstrous size, and impractical for the immense cost and the dead ground at their salients. As such, few countries adopted his ideas *in toto*.[123] The multi-level guntower, however, of which Dürer's *bastei* was an enlarged and improved version, was popular in late-fifteenth-century northern fortifications, especially in Germany and Poland. The Florianska gate at Krakow in Poland serves as a typical example still extant (figure 236).[124] The use of the large guntower shape therefore designates Stradano's setting as a northern, and more specifically, an eastern northern European land.

Vasari's choice of a generic northern-type city to stand for the setting of Ippolito's adventures imparted the appropriate foreign air to the painted setting, without being too specific. A more general northern setting provided the appropriate stage to encompass all of Ippolito's actions while legate, without referencing his antics and disgraces. It avoided uncomfortable inferences about his negligence at Regensburg, and implied his heroism during the skirmishes around Linz. The setting even evaded the issue

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[122] Strauss, *Dürer: Woodcuts*, 588. For a discussion of the identifications, see appendix 1, C-VII.11, page 332.

[123] Dürer's treatise, as the first to publish a system of fortification, was widely known among those who studied the art. The treatise went through two successive editions in German in 1527, and into Latin in 1535. Later writers on fortification such as Girolamo Maggi discussed Dürer's system, if only to explain its impracticability. Fara, *Dürer teorico*, 71, 71 n. 22. On the implementation of Dürer's theories, or lack thereof, see Ian V. Hogg, *The History of Fortification* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1981), 101; Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 4–7. An exception is England, where on a stretch of the English Channel known as "The Downs," King Henry VIII began in 1538 a system of fortifications that seem to have been influenced by Dürer's ideas, such as the castle at Deal. Hogg, *History of Fortification*, 106; Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 4.

[124] Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 22; Hogg, *History of Fortification*, 80–95. Other examples are Ciechanow in Poland, and Rabi in Czechoslovakia.

of the questionable success of the crusade for the defense of Vienna, while celebrating the random skirmishes.

Yet, when contrasted with Vasari's efforts to obtain faithful portraits of cities for the other paintings in the Palazzo Vecchio, taking them from direct observation when possible, the use of Dürer's print offers a deliberate signal to those who could recognize it. Other evidence, discussed in the following pages, suggests that Vasari *could* have obtained views of the appropriate cities from his northern contacts, had he desired. While the verisimilitude of the settings lends credibility to the history related by the other paintings, the deliberate placement of the cardinal's travels in such an artificially derived setting suggests that the entire panegyric is fiction.[125] This artistic fact matches the rhetorical principle used by Herodotus and his followers, where they prefaced a relaying of hearsay with such phrases as, "I have heard...," as discussed in chapter 2. Such a statement acted as a disclaimer, the historian avowing responsibility for the truth of the statement, while simultaneously implying veracity for the rest of his history.[126] Stradano's reproduction of Dürer's print is a visual version of Herodotus' qualification of hearsay.

That Vasari chose to place this rhetorical statement of second-hand falsehood in one of the more questionably heroic events demonstrates his use of the Herodotean principle, as he refused responsibility for the scene's truthfulness. The background signals to the more visually literate viewer that the young and intemperate cardinal's position as legate was not quite the heroic commander of reinforcements coming to the

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[125] On the principle of setting lending credibility to the historical event it placed, cf. chapter 2, pages 101ff.
[126] Cf. chapter 2, page 97.

rescue of the imperial forces as seen in the painted panegyric, while the painting still celebrates the cardinal's role as imperial emissary for the pope, and therefore for the Medici. At the same time, the viewer's recognition of the blatant artificial source for the setting perhaps enhanced the credibility of the natural sources for the other images. It confirms the topographical settings as evidence, thereby supporting the validity of the history.

Other Quotations as Settings

At least three other images in the Palazzo Vecchio decorations also use earlier prints as sources for their city view settings. Rather than signaling falsehoods, most of these quotations function much in the same way as Vasari's borrowing of portraits from earlier works of art, as research. Confirming this difference in function is the fact that none are as blatant as the Dürer quotation; yet at least one does carry its own rhetorical importance predicated on its reproduction of artifice.

For instance, the painting *Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici Assists at the Battle of Ravenna*, in the Sala di Leone X, borrows its composition from a c. 1512 engraving of the subject by the master Na Dat (figures 2, 237).[127] As Hale pointed out, Vasari's drawing study for this painting reproduces the earlier image quite faithfully, with two minor modifications: the pointing figure and the river god replace the two central Landsknechts, and two figures now crouch over the cannon in the foreground (figure 238). Vasari's drawing appears to even reproduce the Master Na Dat's idealized

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[127] Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 140–43; Gregory, "Dürer's *Treatise*," 278.

depiction of Ravenna in the background.[128] Upon translation of this image into paint, however, the portrait of Ravenna changes dramatically, to become much more verisimilar. Vasari in the *Ragionamenti* again describes "the land and the city which are portrayed from life in that view showing exactly where the battle took place."[129] That statement, upon comparison with the painting, appears fully plausible. The fidelity of the city adds a high degree of topographical character to the image, overcoming the artistic source for the composition. It changes the quotation enough so that the use of the Na Dat print becomes researched evidence, rather than a signaling of hearsay.

Elsewhere, Vasari had his assistants decorate the *primo cortile* of the Palazzo Vecchio with city views for the wedding festivities of Prince Francesco and Giovanna d'Austria. Painted in 1565 by Bastiano Veronese, Giovanni Lombardi, Cesare Baglioni, and Turino da Piemonte while Vasari worked in the Salone, the courtyard originally displayed fourteen cities of the hereditary Habsburg lands.[130] Today only eight remain, and of those only one, Graz, is in good condition. The extant cities are Hall, Konstanz, Innsbruck, Vienna, Prague, Passau, and Klosterneuburg. Even some of these paintings remain in such poor condition that one can hardly make them out. Most of the cities, so far as the elements within them can be recognized, have no apparent artistic source. The

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[128] Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 143. Hale apparently never looked at the painting itself, as his remarks are confined to the design drawing, and he seems to make the assumption that the painting follows the drawing faithfully.

[129] "il paese e la città, la quale è riratta di naturale per quella veduta apunto dove fu il caso,'" Vasari, *Opere*, 8:124. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 258.

[130] The other cities portrayed in the Primo Cortile are Stein, Freiburg, Linz, Bratislava, Ebersdorf, and Wiener-Neusdtadt. Domenico Mellini wrote *Descrizione dell'Entrata della Serenizzima Reina Giovanna d'Austria et dell'Apparato, fatto in Firenze...*, published in Florence in 1566, in which he described the Primo Cortile, including the city views, on pages 106–10. In a later edition, though still in 1566, a note was added to the end of the passage naming the painters of the city views. The relevant text is reproduced in Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 281–82. For the whole entry on the Cortile, see ibid., 277–83. Also on these views, see Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 351–54.

view of Vienna, however, has an illustrious origin—Vasari's assistants copied it out of Münster's *Cosmographia* (figures 239–40).[131] The others do not match their counterparts in either the *Cosmographia* or Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum,* or other known images from around this time.[132] They may owe their origins to the sketches of unknown northern artists on site. Vasari, on 17 March 1564, sent letters to the ducal ambassador Ricasoli at Vienna and to Giralamo Graffer, a ducal agent in Germany, listing the cities being depicted and asking for information regarding them. Graffer, at least, sent artists to depict cities on site. He sent a bill on 8 August for having "sent a painter from Linz to Passau to portray the land of Passau" and another "to Konstanz, Fribourg, and Breisach, for which he traveled for 26 days." The bill also included the shipment to Venice of those images plus drawings of Innsbruck, Sterzing/Vipiteno, and Hall.[133] The cities must have been recognizable, since the ostensible motive for their making was to render homage to Giovanna. She, at least, would have needed to be able to identify them.[134] Viewers considered the images to have been "ritratta di naturale," as Domenico Mellini wrote in his 1566 description of the decorations for the wedding.[135] Why the artists would copy the view of Vienna and not others invites speculation. Perhaps Ricasoli could not obtain drawings of the cities made on site. Or perhaps Vasari preferred the Münster *Vienna* image for its familiarity. At this time, however, the artistic source for the Cortile *Vienna*

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[131] I believe I am the first to notice this source. Münster, *Cosmographei,* dcccxxiii–dcccxxvi.
[132] Nuti states that only Passau, Konstanz, and Friebourg are portrayed elsewhere, the first two in the *Liber chronicarum*, the last in the *Cosmographia*. She agrees that the images do not correspond, but misses Vienna. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 352.
[133] "mandato uno dipintore do Linz a Passau per ritrarre la terra di Passau," "a Gostanza Friburg et Prisgau qual ha speso in viaggio che è stato fuori 26 giorni." Quoted in Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 352; also Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 281. Vasari requested of Grafer information on "Inspruch, Hala, Passau, Costanza, Friburg, Friesach d'Elsatia, Sterzin." Quoted in Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 280–81.
[134] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 277.
[135] Mellini, *Descrizione dell'Entrata...*, 1566, quoted in Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 282.

shows only that Vasari had access to a page from Münster's *Cosmographia* in 1565. A full history of the cortile views must await a later date, but one more quotation does bear quick mention: *Graz*, the one view in decent condition, was repainted a century or more after Vasari. It reproduces a view by Laurenz van de Sype and Wenzel Hollar from 1626, and printed in 1657.[136] For now, the cities painted in the cortile show once again that a main concern of these views was to establish a rapport with their intended audience on the basis of topographical character.

The final quotation I have so far been able to determine occurs in *The Enlargement of Florence* in the Salone dei Cinquecento, executed by Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano between 1563 and 1565 (figure 241).[137] The city of Florence in the background of this painting derives from the view of Florence by Francesco Rosselli, or at least from one of its many derivatives such as the *View with a Chain* (figure 80). The painting shows the city from roughly the same viewing position, with the same layout of walls and monuments. As discussed in chapter 1, the idealized shape of the city walls in the *Chain Map* was one of its significant stylizations, and the repetition of that shape in the painting reveals the borrowing. Even Fiesole appears very much the same in the painting, although the artists have moved it to the right so that it hangs more centrally over the city below. The viewpoint of the painting does change the image slightly from

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[136] Nuti also noticed the relation of the painting to the seventeenth-century print, citing the version in the *Theatrum* by Jan Jansson, though later as an aside attributing it to Hollar. She admits the different style of the painted view, but proposes the opposite, that the Jansson version derives from the Florence view, or at least that both derive from the same no longer extant source. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 354. I cannot at this time give a construction history of the fortifications depicted in the view, but they are attributed to Domenico dell'Allio, begun c. 1543, and were likely finished by 1565. The restoration history of the Cortile and the exemplary state of the painting as compared to the state of the other views suggests that it has been subsequently repainted.

[137] For the attribution and dating of this painting, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 235, 243–44, 253.

its source. Vasari and Stradano have lowered the viewpoint so that they show the city from a lower angle. The effects of this lowering are seen most easily in the obtrusion of the southern riverbank and buildings over the river, as opposed to the full view of the river as found in the *View with a Chain.* In addition, the Duomo and the Palazzo Vecchio are shown in the process of construction, more properly dating the city. The artists made these slight changes primarily in the interest of capturing a greater naturalism. The alterations disguise the artistic source just slightly to proffer a greater topographical character of the city and its surroundings. The heightened verisimilitude aids the stimulation of memory and hence *enargeia.* In this instance, however, the recollection that the painting triggers may in fact be of the *View with a Chain*'s version of Florence. In that sense, it would seem very familiar to the audience. The prevalence of Rosselli's image has already been demonstrated. It must have formed one of the main conceptions of the city in the public's imagination. Using that portrayal of the city would only make the viewing experience stronger, since it acted upon a common vision. The slight changes do not fully disguise the artistic source. Many viewers would likely have recognized the origins, even more so than in the case of the Dürer print. In this case, though, referring to a specific past depiction of the city does not necessarily claim the falsehood of the event. Vasari's use of an image made almost eighty years in the past adds to the transference of time in *enargeia.* It adds authenticity to his image of the city because it literally shows the Florence of many years ago (although not the two and half centuries of the narrative), rather than the mid-sixteenth-century Florence. The source transfers its archaism to the viewer's *enargeia,* aiding the viewer to travel to the past through his vision.

Conclusion

The quotations of works of art for views of cities can play different roles in the construction of Vasari's history, but they all work as rhetorical instances to bolster the credibility of Vasari's history. In that function, the borrowed settings do not differ from the views made on site, only in the ways that they perform that function. Nevertheless, the prevalence of views *dal naturale*, the heavy reliance on the style of the Antwerp school in these views, and Vasari's insistence on their derivation from on-site sketching, all suggest a hierarchy of origin with "ritratto dal naturale" at the top.

That hierarchy corresponds to the prevailing attitude of historiography with its dependence on setting, and the popularity of landscape. The experience of viewing landscape from above was widespread and even commonplace. Vasari capitalized on this phenomenon in presenting topographies that emphasized the character of a place rather than its specific site. A painting's generalities left it more accessible to a more diverse audience. The Medici, meanwhile, had its own particular interests in landscape. By the time of the Palazzo Vecchio decorations, the Medici gaze had become one of appropriation. This visual demonstration helped to establish their dominion, not just in their guests' eyes, but even more importantly, in their own. Under Cosimo's patronage the topographical paintings could reference the Medici gaze of power, working to support the tale of dominion that the artist related in his history.

The main rhetorical character of the city views, then, was to create a visualization that could establish truth for this tale. The viewing process exploited the viewer's memory of past experience and combined it with the painted image on the wall. By "remembering" the event, the viewer served as his own eyewitness for the credibility of

the history. The viewer recognized the "memory" based on the fidelity of the topographical character displayed in the paintings. Whether the viewer had previously seen a specific city from the depicted position remained unimportant, only that the landscape appeared as how he would expect, had he observed it. The verisimilitude of the city views served as evidence itself for the plausibility of the character of the topography. The topographical character and the experiential viewing relationship it established underlay the *aphegesis* as a whole, so that it could properly function as a vehicle for the legitimization of Medici ducal rule.

Chapter 4: The Sala di Clemente VII

Of all the rooms in the Quartiere di Leone X, the Sala di Clemente VII has been the most discussed in scholarship, with a primary focus on the *Siege of Florence*.[1] Scholars have often been misled by Vasari's rhetorical stratagems in this painting, believing in its accuracy of historical depiction because of the recognizable fidelity. Nineteenth-century writers appreciated the painting for its *bella veduta*, and cited it as a historical reference while partaking in similar *belvederi* in the southern hills of Florence.[2] The following century continued to treat the painted view of Florence as a historical document, as evidence for a detailed history of the siege, for the 1561 topography, or for some combination of the two. Few scholars heeded Mario Boffito, a scholar of early modern views of Florence, when, as early as 1921, he recognized that the image does not faithfully represent its topographical subject.[3] Paola Barocchi in 1956 described the *Siege of Florence* as "pretentiously exact," based on its supposed reliance on a compass-based technique, while Stadano's other paintings she called "amiably anecdotal," such as the *Skirmish at the Bastions of S. Giorgio*.[4] Elizabeth Cropper followed Barocchi's example,

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[1] For information on this room and an early bibliography, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 166–74.

[2] Cesare da Prato and another author known only as Cenni both, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, climbed to the top of the Torre del Gallo and described the panorama with reference to the painting. Cenni, *Cenni sulla Torre del Gallo, proprietà del Conte Paolo Galletti e sul panorama che vi si ammira il più stupendo di tutti i dontorni di Firenze* (Florence: Tipografia della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1875); Cesare da Prato, "La Torre al Gallo e il suo panorama," in *La Torre al Gallo e il suo panorama; Gli affreschi del secolo XV scoperti in un villa ad Arcetri,* ed. Alberto Bruschi (Florence: Alberto Bruschi s.r.l., 1992 [1891]), especially page 42.

[3] Giuseppe Boffito, "Intorno alla più antica veduta di Firenze e al suo autore," in *Atti VII Congresso Geografica Italiano* (Florence, 1921), 247.

[4] Barocchi emphasized Vasari's role as head of the workshop, downplaying Stradano's influence in the outcome of these images, which she acknowledges only in a footnote. Paola Barocchi, "Il Vasari pittore," *Rinascimento* 7 (1956): 210, 210 n. 2.

calling the *Siege*, "almost a photographic record."[5] Earlier, in her 2000 book on Pontormo's *Portrait of a Halbardier*, she designated the painting of the siege "a historical document of some value," and used its visual information as evidence for Florence's 1530 situation.[6] In this book, however, she did acknowledge the inconsistency between the painting's commitment to naturalism and its ideality of view, suggesting that it illustrated Medici attitudes towards the siege. The current chapter builds on her interpretation of Medici power and its legitimization as shown in the *Siege.* Other scholars, however, have continued to use the painting as historical evidence. Richard Goldthwaite's 2000 history of the Villa Spelman epitomizes the dangers of trusting the Florence view.[7] The belief held by these scholars in the factual character of the *Siege of Florence* greatly recommends the value of Vasari's rhetorical practices, still operative almost 500 years later.

The manipulations responsible for Goldthwaite's, and others', misplaced trust are the subject of this chapter. Vasari and Stradano worked deliberately to achieve those effects of persuasion in order to tell the version of history illustrated within the Sala di Clemente VII. The chapter begins by introducing the general scheme of the room's ceiling decoration, in its promotion of the connections between the emperor and the pope. This relationship sets the stage both for an understanding of the siege of Florence illustrated in the paintings on the walls below and for the following chapter. I then turn to an analysis of the *Siege of Florence* painting, explaining how it convinces the viewer of the virtue of the war and its aggressors, for the ultimate benefit of Cosimo I. The

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[5] This statement occurs as an aside. Elizabeth Cropper, "Preface," in *Villa Spelman of the Johns Hopkins University: An Early History* (Florence: S.P.E.S, 2000), 7.
[6] Cropper, *Pontormo*, 5, 33–36.
[7] Goldthwaite, *Villa Spelman*.

following section continues an examination of the same strategies in the remaining siege images. In the end, the chapter shows that Vasari appeared to posit historical judgment on the viewer, and this implies a new form of history-telling. The visual experience of perceived eyewitnessing persuaded the viewer of the truth of the events and the virtue of the imperial-Medici army, manipulating him into determining the fitness of Medici rule over Florence.

The Theme of the Sala di Clemente VII

The Sala di Clemente VII constitutes a panegyric on the deeds of Pope Clement VII. Vasari presents the themes of the establishment of Florence as a Medici duchy under Alessandro and the family's relationship to the emperor.[8] The artist shows this relationship as imperial debt, or even dependency, in the service of glorifying the pope. The room positions Clement among the family heroes, a possibly controversial view of a figure widely condemned as responsible for the sack of Rome and the siege of Florence. In fact, no historian celebrated Clement in print with regards to the siege until c. 1559, when Cosimo Bartoli, author of the *invenzione* of the Quartiere's decorations, first finished his *Discorsi historici universali* (although it was not published for another ten years).[9] In that text, Bartoli maintained the justness of the siege and the pope's involvement in it, on the basis of its responsibility for Cosimo's rule in Florence.[10]

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[8] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 166. Bryce notes the theme of establishing Alessandro as duke in this room. Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 67.
[9] Cosimo Bartoli, *Discorsi historici universali* (Venice, 1569); Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 281. Normally the Pope was considered one of the greatest villains of the sixteenth century. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 280–81.
[10] Bartoli, *Discorsi historici*, discorso XII, 78–81; Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 287–88, 293–95.

The idea of a just war owed its modern tradition to St. Augustine, who synthesized Cicero's and Christianity's justifications for war and popularized it for later writers—Bartoli followed Augustine closely. The justification for war was based on two ideas: *jus ad bellum*, "the justice of war," or the acceptable reasons for going to war; and *jus in bello*, "justice in war," or the way one conducted war. Of these, the former was more important, and constituted various principles that justified a state to declare war. While all of these principles were required, Bartoli based his thesis primarily on the principle of just cause; in particular, that a state could go to war to avenge wrongs committed by the other state.[11] In theory, the siege was a just war because the Florentine Republic had become immoral and incapable of governing its state. For instance, at one point, Bartoli implied the tyranny of its government: "If yet one could call liberty that way of governing, that a few of its perverse citizens, with such malignity of spirit, administered and governed all."[12] He had earlier called the Last Republic "sick," because of its inability to govern itself.[13] He persistently attested to the disorder into which the Republic had fallen, and in Discorso VII argued how it could only be fixed by the institution of Cosimo as duke. Then, in Discorso XII the author went on to argue for the siege as an example of just war, justice being with Clement VII, for the same reason.[14]

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[11] Mattox explains the Augustinian tradition of a just war, which has roots among the thinking of Plato and Aristotle, among others. Cicero wrote on the idea in his *De re publica*, while Ambrose represented for Augustine early Christianity's ideas on it. Augustine explains his mentor's ideas in the *Confessions*. The other principles of *jus ad bellum* are comparative justice, right intention, competent authority, last resort, public declaration, reasonable probability of success, proportionality, and peace as the ultimate objective. John Mark Mattox, *Saint Augustine and the Theory of Just War*, Continuum Studies in Philosophy (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), especially 8–11, 73–85.

[12] "... se però si poteva chiamare libertà quel modo di governo che con tanta malignità de gli animi di pochi suoi perversi cittadini, era amministrato & governato il tutto." Bartoli, *Discorsi historici*, 308. Also Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 295.

[13] "infermo," Bartoli, *Discorsi historici*, 78; Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 294.

[14] Bartoli, *Discorsi historici*, discorso VII, 39–53, discorso XII, 76–85; Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 286–88, 291–92.

Through causal historical reasoning, Clement VII's justification lay in his guiding the war that led ultimately to Cosimo I's rule as the ideal prince who healed the infirmities of Florence.

Having worked on the paintings of the pope at this same time, Vasari followed Bartoli's thesis closely. That dependence is revealed most clearly in the *Ragionamenti*. Vasari extended Bartoli's metaphor of the ill Republic to the Palazzo Vecchio, describing the duke as a doctor who heals the palace:

> Our duke now demonstrates precisely in this building his beautiful method for correcting the architecture, just as he has done in the government—which is to subject it no longer to the will of many, but to one alone, his will. And that is what was needed if he were not to destroy what was already made, requiring him to build a new building. There have been many who have constructed very dignified and admirable buildings anew, which is not surprising. But it takes really miraculous talent to restore a crippled, broken body with straight, healthy limbs.[15]

The passage refers to how the various parts of the Palazzo, all built in Republican times, lacked a sense of accord. Vasari's renovation for Cosimo brought it all together in a harmonious and pleasing way, just as he brought order to the disorder of the Republic. Later, in beginning his explication of the Sala di Clemente VII to Francesco, Vasari declared that his "sole intent was to paint pictures of those deeds which have been the reason for the greatness of the Medici house and which gave birth to the perpetuity of the inheritance which [Clement VII] provided to [Prince Francesco de' Medici's] house in

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[15] "Il Duca nostro adesso mostra appunto in questa fabrica il bel modo che ha trovato di ricorreggerla, per far di lei, come ha fatto in questo governo, di tanti voleri un solo, che è appunto il suo. E questo è quanto gli è occorso per non rovinar quello che è fatto, ed avere a tare nuova fabrica, perchè molti sono stati che di nuovo hanno fatto fabriche onoratissime e mirabilis; e non è maraviglia: ma egli è ben virtù miracolosa un corpo storpiato e guassto ridurlo con le membra sane e diritte...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:16–17. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 92; also Muccini, *Salone*, 51.

the beginning of the Florentine state...."[16] In the wall paintings of the siege, Vasari followed Bartoli in presenting Clement's virtuous guidance of a just war as endorsement for the consequent establishment of Cosimo's control over Florence, a control that would be celebrated in his own room, as explained in the next chapter. But first, in the ceiling paintings, Vasari established Clement's responsibility for Medici-Hapsburg relations to substantiate the legitimacy of Cosimo's dominion.

The Ceiling Paintings and Their Theme of Imperial-Medici Relations

The ceiling paintings consist of nine history paintings, three rectangular and six oval, and eight triangular paintings of personified virtues in the corners. Directly in the center of the vault, the largest picture sets the tone of the decoration. Here Clement crowns Charles V Holy Roman Emperor in San Petronio in Bologna, which occurred 24 February 1530 (figure 242).[17] Charles, holding an orb and cross in his left hand and a sword in his right, kneels before an enthroned pope. Clement places a mitre on the emperor's head. The two are surrounded by over one hundred figures (according to the *Ragionamenti*), including cardinals, prelates, soldiers, dignitaries, and foreign diplomats.[18] At the lower left corner appears a personification of Italy, holding a scepter, leaning on an elephant head, and surrounded by crowns, which represents Charles V's

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[16] "... sendo stato l'intento mio solo di dipingere que' fatti, le storie che sono stati cagione della grandezza di casa medici, e donde nascce la perpetuità della eredità che egli provvedde a casa vostra nel principio dello stato di Firenze...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:165. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 320.
[17] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 167–68.
[18] The nineteen-year-old Vasari attended the coronation, although he does not appear in the scene. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 167; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:168. Rather than trust his memory of the event, the artist took extensive notes from Giovio's description in the *Seconda parte dell'historie*. Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 166. Vasari identified many of the figures in the *Ragionamenti*. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:167–73.

hegemony over the peninsula, as well as other parts of the world such as Africa.[19] In their pairing, the figure of Italy and the duo of the emperor and pope symbolize the appropriate reading of the painting and the decorations of the entire room. According to Vasari, "Italy, relying on the virtue of the emperor, is unwrapping herself from the annoyances and troubles suffered in times previous, with the hope that in the future, since His Majesty has received the sword from the pope, he will serve to defend and cherish her."[20] For the artist, the coronation signaled the end of years of strife and warfare on Italian soil, much as historians interpreted the outcome of the siege of Florence.[21] Charles was crowned at the same time that Florence was besieged by the two leader's combined forces, and the fall of Florence cemented imperial domination of Italy. Unfortunately, France refused to admit Hapsburg hegemony, so that the wars actually lasted until the fall of the Sienese Republic and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559.[22] In the years immediately following, as Vasari worked on the decorations of this room, and as peace fell over Italy under unchallenged imperial authority, it was perhaps easy to link the coronation to the peace at hand. Clement's crowning of the emperor gave the pope the key role in bringing quiet to Italy. It also put Charles in the Medici pope's debt—a debt repaid by his installing the Medici back in Florence. The coronation fundamentally linked

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[19] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:173.

[20] "... conciossiachè, sperando essa nella virtù di Cesare, si sviluppa dale noie e travagli patiti per i tempi addietro, con speranza che in avvenire, poichè Sua Maestà ha avuto la spada dal pontefice, sia per difenderla ed accarezzarla ...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:173. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 332.

[21] Hale offers a similar, though more negative, interpretation of the coronation, J. R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 113. For this sixteenth-century interpretation of the siege of Florence, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 277–78, 281.

[22] On the war of Siena and the end of France-Hapsburg aggressions, see Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 156–57, and passim.

the two houses, a sealed agreement with far-reaching consequences of ducal authority for Alessandro and then for Cosimo.

Compositional pairings continue to support this link between the two leaders. The next two largest paintings are the rectangular ones flanking the central coronation image: on the north wall, Vasari and Stradano painted *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Is Sent to Hungary as Papal Legate* (figure 30); its opposite on the south wall is *Alessandro de'Medici Returning to Florence after His Coronation by the Emperor* (figure 32). Both paintings show their respective Medici papal nephew amidst a retinue of soldiers marching towards a city in the background. In the case of Alessandro, soldiers at the head of his column enter the city through the Porta San Gallo. The city towards which Ippolito marches, as discussed in the previous chapter, is an ideal fortress that owes its design to Albrecht Dürer. It represents not a specific city, but rather the eastern European boundaries to which Clement sent the cardinal as legate.[23] The diminishing distance of the soldiers in this painting fails to bridge the visual distance between the foreground and the city in the background. The architecture appears more like a stage backdrop than an actual setting, an effect only slightly lessened in the *Alessandro* painting. Both armies trail from the lower left corner along a road walled by rocks into an atmospheric distance where across the full background lay the city and its surrounding topography. The lack of participation between figure and setting belies the high degree of naturalism with which Stradano has depicted the topography. Also contradicting the verisimilitude is the giant river god in the lower right corner of each image, in each case an old and nude bearded man with an urn gushing water and a cornucopia. The personifications, while on the same

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[23] See appendix 1, C-VII.11, and chapter 3, page 177.

plane as the closest figures, dwarf them by almost three times their size. Diana crowns Florence's river god, representing the Arno, with a ducal crown, to mark the moment of Florence's transition from republic to duchy. The river god in the *Ippolito* painting is already crowned with laurel and cradles an oar. He represents the Danube, marking the 1532 theater of war for the Turkish-European fighting and Ippolito's activities as legate.

The ostensible events portrayed by these two images happened within months of each other, though both images conflate multiple events spanning a few months each. First, Charles V never physically crowned Alessandro "Duke of Florence," at least according to the recorded sources. The emperor did crown the young Medici Duke of Penna in 1522. Nine years later, Alessandro again joined the imperial court in Brussels, where Charles V proclaimed Alessandro *capo assoluto* of Florence on 21 October 1531. Alessandro returned to Florence shortly thereafter. At this point the emperor allowed the city to keep its republican constitution. Not until April of 1532 did Pope Clement VII require Florence to reform its constitution, which on the 27th named Alessandro "Duke of the Florentine Republic" with hereditary rights for his family.[24] Meanwhile Ippolito had been nominated a cardinal by Clement VII 10 January 1529.[25] In order to quell the resentment Ippolito felt at Alessandro receiving leadership of Florence, the pope sent his nephew, named Papal Legate 20 June, to bring money and troops to Charles V in Hungary in 1532. On 13 August, Ippolito met the emperor at Regensburg, where Charles

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[24] E.Grassellini and A. Fracassini, *Profili Medicei: Origine, sviluppo, decadenza, della famiglia Medici attraverso i suoi componenti* (Florence: Libreria S.P. 44, 1982), 62–63; Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, 119–22.
[25] Grassellini and Fracassini, *Profili Medicei*, 61.

was gathering an army to defend Vienna against the Turks. The two armies' main bodies never met in battle, and Ippolito returned with the emperor to Bologna in early October.[26]

Both images depict idealized events to acknowledge the relationship between the emperor and the Medici. The pairing of these two images is almost as important as the coronation of Charles V and its pairing of the pope and the emperor. The Alessandro being made duke follows upon the imperial coronation, both of which were agreed upon in the Treaty of Barcelona. Charles and Clement signed this agreement 29 June 1529. It forgave the sack of Rome, and struck a pact between the two families. In the Treaty, the pope agreed to crown Charles Holy Roman Emperor, while Charles pledged an army for the recovery of Florence. The deal included putting Alessandro in control of the city and marrying the emperor's daughter to him.[27] The Medici therefore owed their leadership of Florence to the emperor's dominion, while the emperor needed the Medici's assistance in legitimizing that dominion. He soon thereafter would again require their assistance, in the form of soldiers and money for the 1532 campaign, to protect the limits of his power.

The verisimilitude of the paired paintings argues the veracity of that symbiotic dependency. Stradano aided the credibility of Alessandro's ducal coronation by offering such a recognizable and apparently faithful portrait as setting for his return to Florence.[28] The borrowing from Dürer meanwhile recommends the veracity of the other historical events—particularly for Alessandro's ducal coronation.[29] The visual dichotomy of the flaunted artistic quotation and the recognizable portrait makes the *Alessandro* event

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[26] On these events, see chapter 3, pages 168ff.; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 2:334–73.
[27] On the Treaty of Barcelona and its import, see Barbara McClung Hallman, "The 'Disastrous' Pontificate of Clement VII: Disastrous for Giulio de'Medici?" in *The Pontificate of Clement VII*, eds. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Hampshire, England, and Burlinton, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 38–39; Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, 112–13.
[28] See appendix 1, C-VII.12.
[29] Cf. chapter 3, page 178.

appear all the more factual for its faithful setting. But even within the *Ippolito* painting itself, Stradano's verisimilitude endorses credibility for the value of the aid Ippolito brought to the Emperor, superseding the memory of the diplomatic embarrassment caused by the cardinal's intemperance. The painting argues the importance of the Pope's aid brought by the cardinal, offering a truthful theme within an invented scene, while simultaneously supporting the factual basis for Medici ducal rule, both in proper aphegesic fashion.

The lesser paintings continue the visual pairing in support of the thematic relationship. On the north wall to the right of *Ippolito Sent to Hungary* is *Pope Clement VII Nominates His Nephew Ippolito a Cardinal* (figure 243), while diagonally opposite, to the right of *Alessandro Returning to Florence*, is *Emperor Charles V Crowns Alessandro Duke of Florence* (figure 244). The two paintings again share compositional qualities that create a mirroring across the ceiling. They continue the connection between the pope and the emperor, putting forward Ippolito and Alessandro as the partnership's beneficiaries. Both images appear in an oval format, with Pope Clement VII and Emperor Charles V both seated and leaning forward with an arm outstretched to hold over the kneeling recipient the respective headgear (a cardinal's hat for Ippolito and a ducal crown for Alessandro). The two pairs of figures mirror the imperial coronation. In the *Alessandro* image, however, another river god fills the lower foreground area, while in the *Ippolito* painting four attendees of the ceremony gaze out at the viewer. Interestingly, Ippolito also looks out of the frame to acknowledge the audience, while Alessandro properly focuses his attention on the emperor. The play between fact and fiction within these images is striking in consideration of the relative veridicality of the events and the

way in which they support Vasari's history. The gazes of Ippolito and the four onlookers below him add to the naturalism of the scene, making it very present for the audience both in time and in space. That immediacy corresponds to the factuality of the event. In contrast, the river god, the small putto that appears behind the emperor, and the lack of audience engagement all declare the theoretical status of Alessandro's coronation. Much like Ippolito's trip to Hungary, the *Alessandro* painting presents a theme true in its larger results, while compressing that statement into a poetic invention.

There the specific dualities begin to break down, although compositional pairs and subject pairs continue. Also on the south wall, on the other side of *Alessandro Returning to Florence*, Vasari painted *Alessandro de'Medici Marrying Margherita d'Austria, Daughter of Charles V* (figure 245). The artist here celebrated the matrimonial connection between the Medici and the Habsburgs, with the bride and groom positioned centrally and flanking the emperor who stands slightly behind them. Marine gods in the foreground represent the Tyrrhenian Sea on which Naples sits, where the ceremony took place in 1536.[30] The subject pairs poorly with *Clement VII Opening the Holy Door for the 1525 Jubilee*, the last oval painting on the north wall (figure 246). This image commemorates one of the important events of Clement's reign, unrelated to the imperial connection theme. Rather, the chronology of events may possibly connect these two paintings. The opening of the Jubilee door is the first event shown of Clement VII's life, unconnected to the political events of the other images, while the marriage of Alessandro occurred two years after the pope's death. Clement had no physical connection with his nephew's marriage, but he had orchestrated it six years prior in the Treaty of Barcelona.

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[30] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 169; Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 176.

The two paintings thus offer a beginning and an end to the events of Clement's life and his role in establishing the Medici Duchy of Florence.

The last two narrative paintings on the ceiling occur on the east and west walls. In contrast to the previous discussion, they celebrate Clement's relationship with France and the Medici marriage into Valois royalty. Vasari painted on the east end of the ceiling Clement's presiding over the marriage of Catherine de' Medici to Henri, son of King Francis I of France, while on the west side is *Clement VII Returning from France to Rome* (figures 247–48). The marriage took place in Marseilles in 1533. The pope, having resolved the troubles with Florence and the emperor, had cemented a similar alliance with France to ensure Medici royalty. The importance of the event to Clement VII is signaled in the awarding of two prominent images to the marriage and the amount of research Vasari sought to accurately recreate it.[31] The prominent placement of Cosimo's mother, Maria Salviati, just behind the pope, demonstrates the particular familial concern the wedding held for Cosimo. Within the context of the decorations, however, the paintings mark less the dynastic status gained by the Medici, and more the politics of peace and neutrality sought by Clement VII. The pope has been roundly criticized for his vacillation between France and the Empire that ultimately led to the Sack of Rome, particularly by sixteenth-century historians.[32] His policies, though, were mandated by a desire to keep

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[31] Vasari searched out eyewitness testimony and documentary descriptions in preparation for his painting, as his letters of 26 December 1556 and 4 January 1557 attest. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 168–69.

[32] See, for instance, Guicciardini's summary of the pope's character: "perchè, impedito non solamente dalla timidità dell'animo, che in lui non era piccola, e dalla cupidità di non spendere ma eziando da una certa irresoluzione e perplessità che gli era naturale, stesse quasi sempre sospeso e ambiguo...." Francesco Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia (libri XI–XX)*, vol. 3 of *Opere* (Torino: Tipografia Torinese S.p.A., 1981), book 16, chapter 12. Zimmerman discusses this characterization of the pope as made by both Guicciardini and Giovio. T. C. Price Zimmerman, "Guicciardini, Giovio, and the Character of Clement VII," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII*, eds. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Hampshire, England, and

the peace within Italy and keep it from foreign domination. He effectively failed at this goal with the Treaty of Barcelona, but continued to court both sides during the rest of his papacy.[33] Clement agreed to marry Catherine to Henri because he was concerned by reports that Francis I might leave the Catholic church should the partnership between the emperor and the papacy progress.[34] Vasari recognized the pope's intentions in *Clement VII Returning to Rome.* Clement VII rides on the shoulders of four allegorical figures—Tranquility, Victory, Harmony, and Peace—while to the left foreground Fury is shackled to a column, and to the right foreground is a strapping Tiber with a full cornucopia.[35] In the political context of the room's theme, the triumphal allegory symbolizes how the Pope's policy of playing both sides succeeded in peace for Rome, and all of Italy. The allegorical figures here again, however, signal the questionable nature of this statement. France and the Empire would continue their fighting, on Italian soil even, until 1559.

The remaining paintings of the ceiling honor the virtues of the pope with eight personifications. Elaborate stucco grotesques designed by Bartolomeo Ammanati surround all of the paintings, while the cornice contains a series of *imprese* of the Pope and Duke Cosimo I with painted grotesques attributed to Stradano (figure 249).[36] The walls continue the themes portrayed on the ceiling. Vasari painted two rectangular paintings over doors that show, in one, a portrait of Clement VII with Charles V, and in

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Burlinton, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 19–27. Also see Hallman, "'Disastrous' Pontificate of Clement VII," especially 114, 122–23. On the general contempt of Clement VII held by Renaissance historians, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 280–81.

[33] Giovio admits this desire, despite still criticizing the pope as weak, greedy, and ambitious. Zimmerman, "Character of Clement VII," 21–22. Hallman disputes the Renaissance criticisms with this thesis. Hallman, "'Disastrous' Pontificate of Clement VII." Also Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, 110–12, 115.

[34] This is according to Hallman, who explains the importance of the marriage to Clement's peace policy. Hallman, "'Disastrous' Pontificate of Clement VII," 39–40.

[35] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 169.

[36] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 166.

the other, Clement with Francis I (figures 250–51).[37] These portraits proclaim the pope's political maneuvering, at first appearing to announce the pope's friendship with both the emperor and the King of France. Upon a closer look they present another claim for the Medici-Habsburg relationship: Clement engages in gentlemanly conversation with Charles V. They gesture to each other and appear to enjoy a camaraderie. The Pope and the French king by contrast remain icily detached.

Ten topographical views of regions around Florence and Tuscany continue this theme around the walls, telling the story of the siege of Florence. The paintings have been attributed to Giovanni Stradano, yet an early sketch of Florence by Vasari marking some of the depicted battles demonstrates that it was he who planned the compositions (figure 86).[38] The narrative paintings of the siege display their historical events in a very different style from the paintings on the ceiling. While the ceiling paintings appear in Vasari's heroic, mannerist style designed for figural celebration, Stradano executed the paintings of the siege in the northern verisimilitude of the Antwerp school. This style adds to the naturalism of the paintings, and positions them at that juncture of cartography and historiography on which Vasari depended so heavily for credibility. But the style also allowed Vasari and Stradano to make their argument in a much quieter way then the two conversation portraits and the ceiling paintings. The latter group clamor to communicate their message compared to Stradano's city views. Relying on the naturalism of the views, and a new historiographical practice learned from his contemporary Vincenzo Borghini,

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[37] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 171, 173.

[38] The plan is found in Vasari's *Zibaldone*, carta 90, Archivio Vasariano, Casa Vasari, Arezzo, and published in Vasari, *Zibaldone*, 199. It is not, however, the plan of which Vasari speaks in the Ragionamenti of combining with his survey, as Allegri and Cecchi seem to think. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 166. The drawing is nothing more than a planning sketch of how to organize the composition.

Vasari created a subtle manipulation of audience perception. A viewer, lingering over the details of topography in the city views, can only come to Vasari's conclusion that Medici rule is just, grounded in imperial dominion, and the natural course of events.

Sources for Vasari's History of the Siege of Florence

Renaissance historians continually sought a greater semblance of veracity through use of sources, seeking more archival evidence and examining ever closer the earlier narratives of their chosen subject. As we have seen, contemporary cartographers also strove to increase the accuracy of their maps and views, using as evidence their surveyed measurements and on-site sketches. Vasari's paintings of the siege incorporated both conceptions, by then a common combination. Cartographical information provided in a text created a setting, making the written history more engaging and more believable through its descriptive accuracy. The views of Florence and other cities of Tuscany rely on the same methods, illustrating the settings for historical events through chorographies that viewers could assume were surveyed.

Historians first required a great event around which they could structure their argument. They considered the siege of Florence the greatest event since the French invasion of 1494, the cause of all Italy's hardships. In the 1540s, authors could begin to apply historical analysis to the siege, having witnessed its immediate effects. Included among the siege's main historians were Bernardo Segni (1504–58), Filippo de'Nerli (1485–1556), Benedetto Varchi (1503–65), and Paolo Giovio (1483–1552).[39] Francesco

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[39] Bernardo Segni, *Storie fiorentine* (Livorno: ed. Glauco Masi, 1830), books 3–4, 195–285; Filippo De' Nerli, *Commentarj de' fatti civili ooccorsi dentro la città di Firenze dal 1215 al 1537* (Trieste: Colombo Coen Tip. Ed., 1859), books 9–10, 92–168; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, books 10–12, 3:142–284, 4:3–284;

Guicciardini (1483–1540) also wrote of the siege in the last four books of his history, but these were not published until 1564 in Venice and it seems unlikely that Vasari read them.[40]

Varchi and Giovio could provide Vasari with the greatest detail, the former offering the most thorough account. Varchi had participated in Florence's defense as a militiaman for three months in 1529, and paid for his patriotism with exile. In 1542, Cosimo brought Varchi back to Florence and made him the official state historian of Tuscany. Varchi was particularly thorough in his use of archival sources, turning to records of the governing bodies of the Florentine Republic and reports of ambassadors from other states. He reproduced many of the relevant documents verbatim, such as the articles of surrender for Florence, and included eyewitness testimony in the form of letters and formal commentaries.[41] Giovio favored the use of eyewitness accounts even more, and sought out as many participants as he could find to relate the story of the siege to him. In fact one of the captains in the imperial army, the Marquis of Vasto, was his close friend, and another imperial captain, Fabrizio Maramaldo, related to the historian firsthand the details of the defeat of the Florentine army at Gavinana.[42] While Giovio also had Republican archival material made available to him by Cosimo I, the historian

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Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, books 28–29, 237–323. Another main historian of the siege was Jacopo Nardi. Iacopo Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze* (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1888), books 8–9, 162–220. Also see Emanuella Scarano, Cristina Cabani, and Ileana Grassini, *Sette assedî di Firenze* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi editori, 1982).

[40] Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, books 19–20, 1899–1922. Bartoli refers to material from the first sixteen books of Guicciardini's history, which were not printed until 1561 (when the Sala di Clemente was already finished), but not to the last four books published in 1564, suggesting that he did not have access to them. Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 282. If Bartoli did not know this part of Guicciardini's history, neither, most likely, did Vasari.

[41] Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 280.

[42] Maramaldo related to Giovio how he murdered Francesco Ferrucci, the Florentine commander, Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 296; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 117. On Giovio's long and close friendship with the Marquis of Vasto, see ibid., 151, 169–70, 191–94.

considered the eyewitness accounts of much greater value in lending authority to his history.[43]

All four historians, however, carefully practiced the historiographical principles of the time. They explained history causally in the interest of gathering lessons to be taught later generations, and derived the same interpretation of events: 1) the siege had been a civil war, the outcome of all the internal strife the city had had as a Republic for the last three centuries; 2) its effects led to Cosimo's peaceful government, solving the old problems of the Republic and justifying his rule; 3) the duke's establishment marked the end of an entire age of Florentine history and the start of a new one; 4) the siege also stood for the end of an age of Italian history. With its conclusion, all of Italy fell under Hapsburg imperial rule, ending the problems begun with the French invasion, but costing the peninsula its liberty.[44] That all of these historians should reach the same conclusions is understandable, since they all knew each other. All were active in Florence in the middle of the century, and all participated in its literary culture. Giovio was not a member of the Accademia Fiorentina as were the others, but did interact with them on both a social basis, and occasionally in an advisory capacity on historical writing.[45] Cosimo Bartoli also participated in this circle. His *Discorsi* must have derived from conversations with these men, as it was first begun in the second half of the 1550s.[46] In it, Bartoli carried the interpretation of the siege and its resultant history to even more propagandistic conclusions, justifying the authority of Cosimo as the imposition of Medici rule on

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[43] Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 256.
[44] Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 82–83. For historians of the siege of Florence, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 277-82. He leaves out Guicciardini here though, preferring to put Guicciardini in a class by himself based on his different interests.
[45] Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 245–46.
[46] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 281.

Florence for its own good. Vasari followed his advisor's thesis in the paintings of the siege and throughout the Quartiere.

The artist likely proceeded as thoroughly with his research for the siege of Florence as he did for other historical events, although no documentary evidence has been found for this stage of his work. Among the many historical works, Varchi's history would have offered the best source for its eyewitnessed authority, extensive research, and detail. Giovio's preference for eyewitness research would have recommended his account to Vasari as well. Other testimony had been earlier published. Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano, for instance, a Perugian captain who also defended Florence, offered a thorough eyewitness account in his popular poem *Lo assedio et impresa de Firenze*, published in 1530, that probably served as a source for the subsequent historians.[47] Even Bartoli had taken part in the siege for an instant, as he was in the imperial camp at least in January 1530, when he received Antonio da Sangallo's plan to mine the walls of Florence to bring to Pope Clement VII.[48] As a practicing historian, Vasari should have read as many of these accounts as possible. He even could have spoken of them with Varchi and Bartoli while preparing the decorations. Yet while many of the salient facts and events are to be found in each of the written histories, there is no one-to-one correspondence between any of them and the paintings. For instance, Stradano depicted a skirmish between Republican forces and Alessandro Vitelli's soldiers in the upper right corner of the *Capture of Empoli*. The only account to describe Vitelli's actions in this way was

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[47] Published in Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano, "L'assedio di Firenze," in *Guerre in ottava rima*, vol. 3, *Guerre d'Italia (1528–1559)*, eds. Marco Bardini, Maria Cristina Cabani, and Donatella Diamanti (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1989), 17–116. Also see Francesco Fiumara, "'Tradotti pur hora': Mabrino Roseo da Fabriano e la diffusione del romanzo cavlleresco spagnola nell'Italia della controriforma" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2006), 1:71–81; Scarano, Cabani, and Grassini, *Sette assedî*.
[48] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 30. The pope vetoed the plan. Also see Cecil Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1925), 283 n. 2.

Giovio, who briefly mentioned Vitelli's infantry engaged in combat with Empoli's defenders outside of the city. The other authors, even Varchi with his extra detail, explained the incident as Vitelli battering the walls in that location, and Empoli defending the breach.[49] Only Varchi, however, described the ambush of Anguilotto da Pisa in the detail that Vasari has depicted in the *Siege of Florence*, and the artist's dependence on Varchi for the description of the imperial lodgings has already been demonstrated. Giovio mentions both, but with less detail and specificity.[50] The paintings aggregate a variety of sources, presenting the same series of events discussed in the written histories, but forming an independent history. And while Vasari modeled the form of this history on a loose collection of authors—from Herodotus, Thucydides, and Julius Caesar to Varchi, Giovio, and Bartoli—to tell the tale of the siege of Florence, he turned especially to the ideas of Vincenzo Borghini.

Borghini had developed a new theory of historiography that put the burden of interpretation of the historical events on the reader.[51] He was particularly interested that the historian present an exposition of the facts, rather than a subjective analysis. Borghini wrote in various notes and essays that the historian should provide a thorough examination of the sources, weighing them against each other. In his argument with Girolamo Mei concerning the origins of Florence, Borghini explained that he did not seek "certainties" in history (history was not to be treated "like numbers and measure"), and

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[49] In addition, Giovio described the battery by the mill that Vasari has represented. Interestingly, Giovio named the church near which Vitelli set up camp as Santa Maria, and Varchi called it San Francesco, while Vasari just referred to it generically. For Vasari's identification of the skirmish, see Vasari, *Opere*, 8:178–79. Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 273–76; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:91–95; Nardi, *Istorie di Firenze*, 189; Segni, *Storie fiorentine*, 255–56; Nerli, *Commentarj*, 146.

[50] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:206–8 (imperial lodgings), 4:34–35 (Anguilotto ambush); Vasari, *Opere*, 8:176, 177–78; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 238–39 (imperial lodgings), 252 (Anguilotto ambush).

[51] Robert Williams and Patricia Rubin proposed this argument. Williams, "Borghini and Vasari's 'Lives'," 80–110; Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History* 1995, 190–92.

went on to clarify that the historian must "make appropriate and correct use of all the weapons or tools that there are to call upon...."[52] In using those tools, the historian related evidence to the reader. He could point out motives, but the ultimate judgment of the causality of facts, and the lessons to be gained from them, Borghini left to the reader's own judgment. Borghini outlined this theory in his "Avvertimenti per la Historia," in which he likened a historian to a teacher, and explained him as someone who researches history but acts as "a narrator of a case and not as a theologian or as the doctor in the cathedral." In that way the reader of history learns its lessons better, because "it is the first true and most natural pleasure to extract [lessons] oneself, exercising your own ingenuity and judgment, and more gratification is found in doing so, than from other instances in which it is simply proposed...."[53]

Patricia Rubin has argued that Vasari used Borghini's method in the 1568 edition of the *Lives of the Artists*, making the biographies "more detailed and more literally correct."[54] Borghini specifically suggested such methods to Vasari as he proofread the manuscript throughout 1564, always requiring him to add more details to aid the reader. For example, on 14 August, Borghini wrote:

> In certain lives, such as that of Pordenone, you say "he did a façade on the Grand Canal." If you can, I would have you say also whose it was,

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[52] Translated in Williams, "Borghini and Vasari's 'Lives'," 88. For the full quote, cf. the introduction, page 15, note 34.

[53] "... uno che voglia come pedagogo o maestro insegnare quell che si ha a fare che la maggiore parte ricerca ben' della historia ma non per questa via a molto manco dall historiografo, il quale vane come a narratore d'un caso e non come teologo al dottore nella cattedra. Io ho detto non per questa via per ché io so molto ene che il fine nella historia è per chi scrive d'insegnare, e per chi legge imparare a vivere, e delle attioni altrui imprendere a regolare le sue. Ma ha caro ciascuno che gli sia proposto il cibo inanzi intero, e di masticarlo e cavarne il sugo da sé, e non volentieri riceve questa tale, se si può chiamar' cortesia da un alstro. Anzi questo è il primo vero e naturalissimo diletto che da lei si cava, che vi si exercita l'ingegno et il giuditio, e si compiace ownguno di trovar da se un po' più oltre di quello che gl'è semplicemente proposto...." Vincenzo Borghini, "Avvertimenti per la Historia," Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, II.X.106, fols. 133v–34. Also printed in Williams, "Borghini and Vasari's 'Lives'," 266–67.

[54] Rubin, *Vasari: Art and History*, 192.

> whether of the Contarini Palace, for example, and if you cannot do that, at least the story depicted there, such as that of Curtius, so that one will be able to distinguish and recognize it. For if you say of someone "he did a figure in Santa Croce," but do not say where or which it is, then the reader will not know....[55]

Borghini's *invenzione* for the *Foundation of Florence* painting on the ceiling of the Salone dei Cinquecento incorporated similar ideals. The painting presents as much detail as Borghini could find while pursuing his research on the origins of Florence, but left the viewer to determine how that evidence led to the current city. As Robert Williams aptly described the painting, it was "the ideal means for presenting the incomplete data of archaeology in a completed form: the viewer is encouraged to 'complete' the building of Florence in his mind."[56] In their wealth of detail, naturalistic style, and lack of clear narrative emphasis, it would seem that Vasari practiced this form of historiography in the images of the siege of Florence as well.

Vasari's style in the presentation of history becomes particularly clear when compared with his paintings in the Salone dei Cinquecento, such as those depicting events from the siege of Siena. In their painting of the successful night raid in *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena*, Vasari and Stradano draw particular attention to the hero, the marquis of Marignano (figure 252).[57] They position Marignano directly in the foreground, just to the left, with his body turned so that he can be clearly identified. One of his captains mirrors him to the right, but faces forward,

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[55] "In certe vite voi dite (come in quella del Pordenone): 'Fece una facciata sul Canal Grande.' Havendo voi commodità, vorrei, nominassi di chi l'è: come dir, di casa Contarini, etc. Et se questo non potessi, almeno l'historia, che vi è dipinta; come quella di Curtio, che basta, a poter distinguere et farla conoscere: Perchè se dicessi d'uno: 'E' fece una figura in Santa Croce,' et non dicessi o dove, o che, chiama e rispondi; et chi legge, non sapendo, quale ella è...." Borghini to Vasari, 14 August 1564, in Frey, *Literarische Nachlass*, 2:101–2. Translated in Williams, "Borghini and Vasari's 'Lives'," 115, with the last phrase as "useless."
[56] Williams, "Borghini and Vasari's 'Lives'," 84.
[57] Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 117–20.

reducing the narrative emphasis placed upon him in favor of the general. The mass of Marignano's troops march in an orderly fashion into the fortress guarding Siena, in spite of the Sienese fire directed upon them. Elsewhere along the fort, Marignano's forces storm the walls with apparent ease. The background of the painting offers little distraction from this heroic moment, offering only an atmospheric setting of a burning Siena. The soldiers are powerful in their proportions and individually delineated, and they act with strength and purpose. The painting clearly celebrates Marignano's strength of command as responsible for the ease of victory over Siena. In contrast, in the *Siege of Florence*, Stradano gives no particular attention to any specific details (figure 13).[58] All of the actions, from cooking to fighting to bodily functions, happen at the same time, and with equal lack of narrative emphasis. The artist offered no visual clues as to what story to discern from the overall image, picked out no obvious heroes, and defined no specific moment. Instead the copiousness of usual information requires the viewer to already have knowledge of the events, and piece together the story himself from the offered evidence. Borghini's process engages the viewer more immediately in the historiographic process, so that he is more affected by the conclusions he draws. The process, however, only gives the appearance of objective facts—through visual manipulations of the image Vasari guides the viewer to certain conclusions about the rightness of Medici rule.

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[58] This interpretation follows from Fehl's stylistic analysis of similar images in the Sala di Giovanni delle Bande Nere and prints later designed by Stradano in the heroic style of Vasari. Fehl, "Vasari e Stradano come panegiristi."

The *Siege of Florence*: The Painting

The *Siege of Florence* painting summarizes the events that occurred around Florence during the siege, including those events awarded additional paintings elsewhere in the room. The viewer can easily recognize settings and recall their associated events, thereby visualizing the siege through the course of its ten months. The painting shows at least four main events that occurred during this period. Stradano made reference to the opening of the siege by depicting cannon fire between the imperial artillery on the hill of Giramonte and the Florentine guns at San Miniato, which Michelangelo had just turned into a fortress (figure 253). Imperial hostilities began 29 October 1529 by opening fire there, as strategists considered the church the strategic key to taking the city. In addition, a now-famous bombardier named Lupo sat at the top of the campanile with some pieces of light artillery and caused havoc within the imperial camp. For three days the emperor's forces fired over 150 shots at the belltower, leading Michelangelo to protect it with 1800 bales of wool and mattresses. Finally, overnight the Florentines built a large earthwork to protect the belltower, forcing the Prince of Orange, the imperial general, to aim his attack elsewhere the next day.[59] Stradano painted neither type of defense at the belltower, and because hostilities continue to rage in the depiction of these two locations, the viewer can assume that this section illustrates those first three days of battle.

The other events are made even more explicit. Just above San Miniato on the north side of the Arno, Stradano depicted a skirmish in the plain of San Salvi (figure 254). Anguilotto da Pisa and his troops protected peasants gathering firewood on 11 February 1530. Anguilotto had defected from the emperor's army to join the Florentine

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[59] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 225; Varchi *Storia fiorentina*, 3:208–10 (S. Minato fortifications), 216–19 (opening fire and Lupo); Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 239; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:176–77.

cause less than a month before, and Orange sought revenge. His forces crushed the troops and killed Anguilotto, sending a clear message to would-be deserters.[60] Then, in the lower left of the middle ground below the Porta Romana, Stradano showed the most romantic event of the siege: the duel on 12 March 1530, between Giovanni Bandini of the imperial troops, Lodovico Martelli, a Florentine defender, and their respective seconds Bertino Aldobrandini and Dante da Castiglione (figure 255). Martelli had insulted Bandini and the other Florentines among the imperial forces, because the married object of his affections favored Bandini's attentions instead. Bandini demanded satisfaction as champion for his side. The four men fought before a large crowd of both imperial soldiers and Florentines. Despite Castigilione's superiority of skill, Aldobrandini fought bravely until his wounds forced him to submit. He then died that evening. Martelli, however, gravely wounded, had to surrender to Bandini. He returned to Florence defeated, and died twenty-four days later.[61]

On 5 May 1530, another skirmish took place along the eastern line of the walls of Florence, the largest skirmish to date. The Florentines ventured out against the Spaniards lodging in the convent of S. Donato a Scopeto. The battle was disastrous for the Florentines, as casualties included their general's lieutenant, and even Niccolò Machiavelli's son, Ludovico. Stefano Colonna, the Florentine's second in command, was so angry about the outcome he afterwards killed Amico da Venafro, a captain, on the

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[60] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 248; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:34–35; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 251–52; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:177–78.
[61] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 249–50; Varchi 4:45–50; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 258–59; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:177.

Ponte Vecchio for his performance in the sortie.[62] This skirmish can be seen in the middle ground just to the left of the city, outside the Porta Romana (figure 256).

Finally, to the northwest of the city, Vasari has shown another large sortie against the German camp at the convent of San Donato in Polverosa, which took place on 21 June 1530 (figure 257). Led by Stefano Colonna, the Florentines left the city two hours before dawn through the Porta al Prato for an *incamiciata*, a night attack. They desperately needed supplies, as they were by this time entirely surrounded and could not leave the city. Colonna attempted to take advantage of the Marquis of Vasto's absence, as he was at Volterra, to open the way to Prato. The Republican forces attacked the landsknechts in their beds, but after a seeming early victory the Florentines turned to sacking the camp. Their lack of discipline allowed the Germans to rally and cause their share of casualties. For two hours the fight raged, until imperial reinforcements began to arrive from the south camp, and Colonna, wounded in two places, retreated. The loss of life was such that both sides could claim the victory for the battle, although the Florentines managed to capture many supplies.[63]

The painting lacks the chronological, causal organization required by historiography to discern meaning. Rather than follow the linear pattern of a historical account, Stradano has created a single image incorporating the ten months. The scene is complex, full of detail, and built of various smaller events, creating a continuous narrative. This provides the audience with at first glance an overall view of the siege,

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[62] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 261; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:73–80; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 261–63; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:177.

[63] The white shirts worn to identify themselves led to these night attacks being called *incamiciate*. Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 281–82; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:100–6; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 282–85; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:177.

making it a single event in the overall history of the apartments. The viewer can then look closer, reading each shown event individually. Following this, the complexity of detail constructs a setting that the viewer can fill with those events not depicted using his imagination. The historiographic practice of causal organization here becomes the responsibility of the audience. Vasari, by including only a few events, invited the viewer to bring his own knowledge of the history to bear on the image.

A reading of the *Ragionamenti* suggests just this method of viewing. In this work, Vasari points out certain buildings as lodgings for important figures and the locations of significant battles. Prince Francesco in response continually bolsters the verisimilitude of the image by recognizing both edifices and the events for which they serve as setting. In this way, Francesco is figured as the ideal audience. His character demonstrates the necessity of reading the historical image using remembered knowledge brought to bear on the painting. Vasari had an illustrious precedent in relying on this viewing method. Pope Clement VII had used a highly detailed and exact model of Florence, no longer extant, in just this way. He tracked on it the events and troop placements during the siege relayed to him through dispatches. Varchi described the making of this model by Tribolo and Benvenuto di Lorenzo della Volpaia, and Clement's use of it, in his history. Vasari also related the story in his life of Tribolo, showing the artist's awareness of the use of topographical recreations for imaginative historical reading.[64]

Through recognition of locations, the viewer can visualize the events not depicted in the painting and replay the entire siege almost literally before his eyes. For instance, just to the right of S. Miniato is Sta. Margherita a Montici, where Sciarra Colonna,

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[64] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:57; Vasari, *Opere*, 6:62.

second in command of the imperial forces, lodged (figure 258). On the night of 11 December 1529, the Florentines crept behind the enemy's lines at night to reach Sciarra's camp, and assaulted the soldiers in their tents. Chaos ensued, with pigs running everywhere and a fire that raged for two hours. By the time reinforcements arrived, the Florentines had safely retreated back behind their walls with no wounded, leaving over 200 imperial soldiers dead.[65] Stradano has given us other recognizable locations as well (figure 13). Just to the left of the Porta S. Giorgio is the *baluardo* (a large wall bastion) del Belvedere, commonly known as the "Cavaliere," where the powerful cannon called "Malatesta's arquebus" held off Orange's battery at Giramonte. Stradano has shown this cannon fire. Just below Sta. Margherita a Montici is the house where the Pope's commissary, Baccio Valori lived. Behind Giramonte, Count San Secondo lived in the Torre del Gallo. Finally, along the via Pian dei Giullari, just in front of the viewing position, we see the two Guicciardini houses. In one of these lodged the Prince of Orange, and here also the articles of surrender were signed.[66] Stradano's setting offers such a detailed canvas, the relation of troop placement, movements, and skirmishes could continue until complete.

Such an active relationship between the viewer and the painting provided the necessary engagement called for in historiography. It ensured that the lessons took root in the audience so that they could later be put into practice. The projected reading created by Vasari's painting depended on the depicted setting for the history. Its detail and comprehensiveness relate very closely to the description by Varchi of the city, its

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[65] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 230–31; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:238–42; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 241–42.
[66] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:175–76; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:206–7. Guicciardini lived in both of these, retiring to one to write his history at the end of his life.

surroundings, and its inhabitants, which he provides as a setting for his history. Varchi attempted to communicate thoroughness and exactness, spending pages relating measurements of the city, its architecture, and its topography, and even comparing his account to cartography. He defined the region that encompassed his description and measurements as that area that contained the "32,000 possessions of Florentine citizens that surround Florence for twenty miles."[67] In the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari also said that he "reduced more than twenty miles of country into six braccia of measured area," providing both scale for the picture and a hint as to his sources.[68]

It is difficult to determine what Vasari means by his claim of encompassing twenty miles. The distance covered by the painting directly in the foreground is equal roughly to one and a quarter miles). The distance shown to the hills of Fiesole is a little over four and a half miles. Of course, the plain of the Arno stretches far into the distance in the upper left background, apparently at least as far as Prato, almost twelve and a half miles distant. Nevertheless, any sort of measured correctness is almost impossible to ascertain due to changes in scale caused by perspective, and in fact is beside the point. Manipulations to the topography, some of which even Vasari admits, reveal only a superficial concern with measured accuracy, while also hindering an analysis of mathematical scale.[69] Stradano and Vasari want the image only to *appear* accurate; in this way the distortions through which the artists convey their intent are all the more plausible.

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[67] "... che dintorno a Firenze a venti miglia sono trentaduemila possessioni di cittadini Fiorentini." Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:112. For the description of the city, see Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:79–113; cf. chapter 2, page 105.

[68] "... ho ridotto quel che tiene venti miglia di paese in sei braccia di luogo misurato...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:175.

[69] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:174.

Regarding those distortions, the painting does not show a faithful topography of the city (figure 14). The recognition of cities in views depended upon an identification of landmarks. City views commonly included distortions, especially of the main buildings, to aid that process.[70] The Duomo, the Palazzo Vecchio, the Badia, and the Bargello all testify to Vasari's reliance on this principle, as they dwarf the generalized buildings around them. In fact, they appear larger even than structures located much closer to the viewpoint, such as the Torre del Gallo or Sta. Margherita a Montici. When compared with an actual view from the Torre del Gallo, the idiosyncrasies appear even more clearly—the monuments blend into the general fabric surrounding them (figure 259). The laws of perspective that Vasari supposedly followed in his surveying and use of plans, in his professed devotion to accuracy, would not permit the distortions seen in Stradano's painting. The chorographic principles of Stradano's city views, however, cannot permit otherwise.

Less obviously, the Flemish artist has idealized the surrounding countryside's appearance during the siege. Varchi described the actual pitiable conditions of the camp, as it lacked food and money for the troops, and fuel for warmth and cooking, leading to almost daily mutinies and desertions. He even prefaced this description with "I remember" to add to its credibility.[71] In July 1529, the Florentines had torn down all of the buildings within a mile around Florence, a defensive measure described by Varchi and other historians. The defenders left hardly any edifice standing, razing even four

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[70] Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 170–72.
[71] "io mi ricordo," Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:230–32; 4:38; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 231–32, 258–60. Cropper used the orderly imperial camp as evidence for Vasari's interest in ideality for the depiction. Cropper, *Pontormo*, 33, 35

monasteries, and anything left was stripped of its wood and iron.[72] Then, in June 1530, the imperial forces burned all the pasture within two miles of Florence, cutting off any hope of Florence to scavenge supplies. A participant would have found the countryside a blackened, desolate waste, the land early on picked clean and ground to dirt by thousands of feet and hooves. Varchi even describes earthwork entrenchments to protect the besiegers, such as at the Porta S. Giorgio.[73] The painting, however, shows very little of this (figure 13). There may be imperial earthworks painted outside the Porta S. Giorgio, and certainly on Giramonte, though even these have been minimized. Stately villas and trees dot the verdant landscape, offering the imperial forces strategic protection, exactly the reason that Florence pulled them down. Gallows punctuate the camp, yet remain empty, unnecessary in this disciplined, well-governed army. Soldiers calmly stroll through a pleasant camp of orderly tents, cooking large meals of game over many small fires. The whole picture has the air of a grand festival.

The astute student of the Florentine countryside can find more than generalities among the inaccuracies. Stradano has depicted on via S. Leonardo, just before the second curve, a villa on the eastern side of the road (figure 260). Richard Goldthwaite has identified this building as the villa now known as the Villa Spelman, then owned by Lorenzagnolo di Giralamo Guidetti. The villa, as Goldthwaite has pointed out in his history of it, is only about 250 meters from the Porta S. Giorgio, well within the area the

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[72] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:185–86; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 190–92.
[73] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:43–44; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 249. Cropper assumed that trenches also formed part of the imperial earthworks, describing a system known as sapping that the besieger used to approach the walls in order to mine and storm them. Cropper, *Pontormo*, 36. These trenches most likely did not exist. Although Orange had originally asked for 3000 sappers from Siena, only 400 arrived, not nearly enough. As a result, neither mining nor storming was part of the strategy of the siege, which became primarily a blockade. This was fine with the pope, who did not want the army to enter the city and sack it. Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 257–59.

Florentines razed. Goldthwaite acknowledged that the representation of buildings intended to locate the villa in the painting is "approximate at best," though he also calls it "visual evidence."[74] The tax records of 1534 attest to the lack of veracity with regards to Vasari's depiction of the villa during the siege. They clearly state, twice, that "there were formerly the owner's house and a farm worker's house," the same buildings mentioned as early as the first catasto in 1427 and again in 1498.[75] The comments imply that four years after the siege, the 100-year-old buildings no longer stood, having been pulled down in July 1529. By 1560, the owners had rebuilt the dwellings, as the deed of sale in 1561 mentions them.[76] The villa could have existed when Stradano made sketches and painted the view, but is unlikely to have done so during the siege. It should be noted that Varchi does report the Marquis of Vasto's lodgings as a villa near the church of S. Leonardo. He says, "... towards the Porta San Giorgio more near to S. Leonardo the Marquis of Vasto [lodged]."[77] His living quarters are most likely represented, however, by the castle marked by the imperial flag just below the "Cavaliere."[78] Varchi's report does suggest

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[74] Goldthwaite, *Villa Spelman*, 48.

[75] Ibid., 47–48. Goldthwaite suggests that the notes do not mean that the buildings were razed during the siege, his evidence being that there are older parts of other villas along via San Leonardo, for which he offers no examples. I would suggest that the buildings were razed so as not to afford protection, but the foundations remained intact. This would enable rebuilding afterwards and ensure the continuity of location on the land found throughout the tax records.

[76] Ibid., 19.

[77] "...verso la porta a san Giorgio più vicino a san Lionardo il marchese del Guasto." Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:207. Varchi's descriptor, "verso la porta a san Giorgio," in the context of the paragraph means in the direction of the gate from the Palazzi del Barducci and della Luna, see below.

[78] The castle was previously identified by Allegri and Cecchi as the Palazzi del Barduccio and della Luna. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 171. Their identification derived from Vasari's *Ragionamenti*, where the artist neglected to mention the Marquis of Vasto, but does describe the two palaces as near the S. Giorgio bastion:

> P: ... quell vicino al bastione di S. Giorgio mi pare il palazzo del Barduccio, ed accanto mi par quello della Luna.
>
> V: Signore, e' son essi; nell'uno stava alloggiava il signor Marzio Colonna; in quell del Barduccio alloggiava il signor Pirro da Castel di Piero. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:177.

The names contrast with Varchi, who instead says, "...in quella del Barducci il signor Pirro; nella Luna il signor Valerio Orsino." Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:207. If Allegri and Cecchi are correct in their

that the Florentines spared the church, an unusual circumstance but not impossible. The location of the villa, via S. Leonardo, and the church in the painting do appear very close to the current topographical situation. The relationship is not exact, but it is close enough to hypothesize Stradano's sketching of it from life in c. 1560.

Even further from the reality of 1530, Stradano conspicuously left open the space where the Uffizi now sits (figure 14). As shown in the *View with a Chain*, small buildings filled this area in front of the Palazzo Vecchio (figure 80). Cosimo had had these tenements pulled down in 1546 as part of a project to celebrate his dominion. In 1560, Vasari began construction of the Uffizi at this site, then known as the *strada nuova.*[79] At the time Stradano sketched the view, then, this area looked as it is seen in the painting, cleared to begin building the new administrative center of the duchy. His inclusion of this space is a clear allusion to Cosimo's control over Tuscany. These two architectural cases, the Villa Spelman and the Uffizi, help to date the depicted topography of Florence in the *Siege*. They demonstrate that Stradano not only sketched from life, but that Vasari desired a recognizable depiction of the current (c. 1560) landscape. He depended on the audience's recognition of the view for the effects of his history, which the more

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interpretation, the Marquis of Vasto's accommodations could find accord with the villa near San Leonardo depicted by Stradano, but this seems unlikely. First, the painting shows only the one castle, not two. Second, Stradano marked all of the locations where a commander of the imperial forces resided. Considering the Marquis of Vasto's prestige, it would be unusual not to mark his residence, and instead mark those of the two lesser figures. Third, strategically, it would be unreasonable for a captain to live as close to the city as the Villa Spelman, at such a high risk of danger. In fact, none of the army lodged that close to the walls—not until 25 January 1530 did they even move in closer, to two arrow shots from the city (about 800 meters). Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 244. The Villa Spelman is only about 325 meters from the walls. It seems more likely that Vasari's description again fails to match the decoration, and that the castle shows the Marquis of Vasto's residence.

[79] Van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 81. The *strada nuova* also appears in *The Entrance of Leo X into Florence*, in the Sala di Leone X. Vasari's preparatory drawing for this painting shows evidence that it was sketched onsite, as it includes the sculptures in their present location. For the *Entrance*, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 121–23. Nuti also notices the empty space designated for the Uffizi in the *Siege* painting, Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 350.

contemporary setting assisted. Stradano then placed the idealized camp within that setting, rather than trying to truly capture the 1530 fabric.

With this system of recognition, the view of Florence worked perfectly for Vasari's historiographic needs. It provided a setting for the historical events, matching Varchi's almost cartographical description in his history.[80] The game of identification of landmarks leading to recognition of event draws the audience into the history, recreating both the depicted battles and other events not shown. The viewer actually becomes an eyewitness to the events, as if the battles happen before his eyes. In this way the topography becomes a viewing experience of projected memories. Although not actually personal experiences of the viewer, the knowledge remembered from history gets imaginatively recreated through an active participatory viewing. The audience placed the events in their proper locations and "watched" them happen. The viewer becomes the eyewitness, the highest level in a hierarchy of ocular evidence. Vasari first did his research, reading historical accounts and searching out eyewitnesses. He (supposedly) then posed as an eyewitness himself, researching the setting by measured means. Stradano actually did serve as an eyewitness to the setting, sketching the city from various positions. Vasari then presented the events within that setting, and turned the viewer into the eyewitness himself.

Through this increased engagement in tracing the history of the siege, and linking the individual occurrences together to form a historical judgment, the painting leaves the viewer deeply affected by the lessons of history it teaches. Those lessons argue for Cosimo's legitimate rule on the basis of the poor government of the Republic and

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[80] Collareta, "Techniche, generi ed autografia," 66–67.

Clement's just war against it, the argument exemplified by Bartoli's contemporary *Discorsi*. The painting made this message quite lucid (figure 13). The idealization of the imperial camp and the environs recommended the Medici's cure for the ills of the Last Republic. Vasari has placed the viewer very deliberately within that camp, looking to the city from the south.[81] He could have found a much better view of the region from the mountains of Fiesole, for instance from the Medici Villa. There the hills would have presented no problem, but he would have lost the imperial association afforded by the southern view. Vasari could also have shown any number of the events that took place around Florence during the siege, but of the occasions he chose to depict—the skirmish in the plain of S. Salvi, the duel between Bandini and Martelli, and the skirmish near the Porta Romana—all are instances where the empire could declare a victory. In the historical consideration these victories were due to the leadership among the imperial forces, its generals and captains, and ultimately Pope Clement VII and Charles V. In addition, the well-organized and supplied imperial camp and its conditions suggest that its leaders gave much more consideration to this aspect of war than they actually did.[82] Charles V hardly cared about the enterprise, preferring to leave the organization in the hands of the Prince of Orange. The financing he left to Clement, who had no money whatsoever.[83] The viewer, however, finds in the painting a lesson on the poor governing of the Republic, contrasted with the wise rule of the combined imperial and papal forces, justifying the imposition of the Medici as dukes of Florence.

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[81] See Cropper, *Pontormo*, 35.
[82] Cropper, *Pontormo*, especially 35.
[83] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 258–59.

The use of viewing position to relate this lesson suggests associations with other imperial projects using city views. The *Siege of Florence* descended from an encomiastic tradition that expressed the self-perceived power, wealth, and greatness of the city, its government, and its people in an image of the city itself.[84] By the middle of the century, rulers built upon that tradition, using city views as a way of connoting dominion. Emperor Charles V and his son King Philip II of Spain both used programs composed of views of cities under their domain as a way of ideologically creating a Spanish state, such as those of Anton van den Wyngaerde (figures 213, 333, 347, 367). The ideal views brought each city under Philip's gaze, ideologically submitting them to his power and unifying the disparate regions of his state.[85] For the same reason, the view of Florence shows the city from the imperial camp (figure 13). The perspective demonstrates multiple levels of control and rule. The city, and all that the city represented—its governing Republic, its people, its wealth and territory—are subject to imperial rule through the gaze offered from the position behind the command center. The viewpoint specifically calls attention to Cosimo's rule of the city, as the patron of the decoration and its ostensible viewer. Cosimo himself was subject to the emperor, and so the duke's gaze itself enfolds the city into the larger Spanish imperial state.

These connotations of imperial power were necessary to place the image within the decorative program. The evidence Vasari and Stradano presented to the viewer could only allow for the official interpretation of dynastic legitimization. The inaccuracies

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[84] Schulz, "View of Venice," 425–74. Also Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 97–122.
[85] Craib, "Cartography and Power," 14–17. On page 17 he says that "maps improve understanding thereby proving possession and providing illusion of control from distance"—only for the viewer though. Kagan discusses Charles V and Philip II. Kagan, "Philip II and the Geographers," 41. For a description of the van den Wyngaerde project, see Kagan, "Art of the Cityscape."

themselves suggest this reading. In the painting, the Palazzo Vecchio, the seat of the old Republican government and now residence of the duke, sits at the center of the city composition. Cosimo's appropriation of the building already suggested the replacement of republican government with autocratic rule. In the painting it threatens to replace the minimized Duomo itself, the Palazzo looming almost as large as Brunelleschi's dome, the traditional signifier of Florence. Here the seat of Cosimo's rule attempts to usurp that position, associating ducal authority with the very fabric of the city. That authority has restored the city, marked by the construction space for the Uffizi.

Those ideas of seeing and eyewitnessing, and judging and legitimizing through sight, lie at the heart of this image. An allegorical figure of peace sits in the center of the very foreground, her back to the city of Florence (figure 261). The figure makes an obvious statement about the loss of peace to the city in this time of war. Yet it offers a more pertinent statement within the context of the city view. Portraits of cities often contained a depiction of the artist in the foreground engaged in viewing, sketching, or measuring the scene before him (figures 190–93). In the *Siege of Florence*, the figure of peace replaces this rhetorical device, while Vasari has incorporated the artist figure instead into his *Ragionamenti* description. Since the viewer himself was meant to witness the siege, the artist trope would only have drawn attention to the fictive nature of the scene. By replacing the artist figure with the figure of peace, Vasari comments on the activeness of the gaze in this image. While peace denies her look, the viewer's gaze, representing Cosimo's power and the imperial authority behind it, brings the resultant harmony to the city denied by the allegorical figure. The viewer himself justifies

Cosimo's rule. Such an active visuality continues in the remaining images of the siege, simulating experience for the purposes of dominion.

Strategies in the Other Images of the Siege of Florence

The rest of the siege images continue the same style of verisimilar depiction and Borghini-style history, using the same strategies to naturalize the legitimization of Medici rule. Those strategies—the historical moment shown, making the event and the heroes appear more virtuous, placement of the viewer, and topographical distortions to support the virtue—will be discussed in a selection of the images (the descriptions of the images in their proper order can be found in appendix 1). The images appear primarily in chronological order, except for the unordered placement of the painting of Empoli, beginning with the *Capture of Arezzo* (previously identified as *Encampment near Pistoia*,[86] figure 11), and moving clockwise around the room. To summarize them in the order they appear: Arezzo surrendered peacefully to the imperial army on 18 September 1529; the army then invested Florence, opening the siege on 29 October 1529, and it lasted until 8 August 1530; during this period Orange captured and sacked Lastra a Signa on 6 December 1529 (figure 16); they took Empoli on 29 May 1530 (figure 18); a skirmish was fought near the Porta S. Giorgio, at the "Cavaliere," on 25 March 1530 (figure 20); skirmishers fought again outside the Porta Romana, at S. Donato a Scopeto, on 5 May 1530 (figure 22); Volterra changed hands three times during the course of the siege, but the scene represented must be that between 12 June and 21 June 1530 (figure 24); another skirmish was fought at S. Donato in Polverosa outside Florence also on 21

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[86] See appendix 1. For the old identification, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 171.

June 1530 (figure 21); Francesco Ferrucci, general of the Republican army, left Pisa 31 July 1530 (figure 26); and Republican and imperial forces met at Gavinana on 3 August 1530, where both generals were killed, and where the Republican army's loss signaled the end of Florentine resistance (figure 28).[87] Through this order of the paintings, the siege seems to play out along a natural course, just the way it happened.

But things are not as they seem. As mentioned, Empoli is placed too early in the chronology. Its placement is determined by formal concerns similar to those guiding the argument of the ceiling paintings. The painting of Florence covers more than one moment in the history. In fact, it depicts the three skirmishes also given their own paintings, and so these events occur twice. Finally, the individual images themselves carry inaccuracies and manipulations designed to create credibility for the story, making it appear a natural course of events, while presenting Vasari's version of the greatness, heroism, and rightness—the virtue—of the imperial conquering of a famously, historically free republic.

This theme is demonstrated in part by the formal organization of the wall paintings, though not to the same extent as found in the ceiling. Compositional pairings occur, though they add little to the panegyric of the images. Stradano painted *The Capture of Empoli* as a larger image, out of chronological order, to pair it opposite the *Battle at Gavinana* (figures 18, 28). Both were milestones in the course of the siege, leading to the city's surrender. Empoli's capture was strategically a very important event for the imperial army, as it finally closed the circle around Florence. The two Florentine skirmishes that occurred before the capture of Empoli have been relegated to smaller

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[87] For these events in brief, see Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 171–73. Also see the timeline in appendix 3.

corner paintings because Stradano already represented them in the siege of Florence. But still other compositional considerations seem to have determined the placement, or even the depiction, of some of the images. The most obvious pairing is that of the *Siege of Florence* and the *Siege of Volterra*, the two largest paintings, which face each other across the room (figures 13, 24). Both show views of the city set within its surrounding topography, invested by the imperial army, and give prominent attention to each city's water source. Similarly, both have personifications depicted in color in the center foreground, neither of which looks at the city or at the viewer. Instead each one focuses internally on their separate tasks.

These same features recur in the other paintings. A personification appears in each painting's foreground, although in almost every other case it represents the natural topography of the region. Usually they appear in the guise of river gods, though in the case of *Arezzo* the deity represents the fertility of the plain, and in the case of *Gavinana*, the god represents both river and forest. In almost every other case as well, the personification is shown in grisaille, suggesting its appearance as stone or bronze. The rivers play a further point of consideration in the composition, where all but *Arezzo* and *Skirmish before the Bastions of S. Giorgio* show parts of rivers, and these two appear diagonally opposite of each other (figures 11, 20). The paintings with rivers are often paired in the way they show those rivers. *Empoli* and *The Burning of Lastra a Signa*, next to each other, show their fortified towns along the geometrical bends of the rivers (figures 16, 18). In the opposite corner across the room, *Passage through Pisa of Ferrucci* and *Skirmish near S. Donato in Polverosa* show their respective rivers in matching diagonals across the lower left corner (figures 21, 26). Similarly, *Gavinana* and *Skirmish outside*

the Porta Romana, the last remaining pair, both show their rivers in a line across the bottom of the image, cut off by the lower frame (figures 22, 28).

While these considerations of topographical composition have little bearing on the way in which the history is received, except in the case of *Empoli*, they do demonstrate the concern with topography and its considered importance as a medium for that history. Descriptions of geography held an important place in written histories, helping to explain the course of events. By making the pairings, Vasari and Stradano made subtle connections between the images, linking them into a more cohesive work. It also signals to the attentive viewer, however, to pay attention to those manipulations of topography. The nature personifications reinforce this idea. Much like the figure of peace in the *Siege of Florence*, the allegorical figures and the attentiveness to the topography call attention to the city view as a medium, and its consequent discourse of looking and placement. The viewer is oriented in a specific relationship to the paintings, made a participant in the eyewitnessing created by the *enargeia*. That all the images share a similar horizon line links them even more visually. The hills that serve as the background of each painting continue the level of horizon from image to image. This helps the paintings feel more as windows out onto the scenes, adding to the verisimilitude and broadening the eyewitness experience.

The Historical Moment

Besides their handling of topography, another similarity among the group of paintings is their handling of the depicted moment. Almost all of the paintings display their histories in the middle of the chosen event, a moment chosen to suggest the victory of Charles V's army. The one exception is *Lastra a Signa*, which shows the city burning

as imperial cavalry ride through the gate, putting an end to the short siege. For the others, the audience must project their knowledge forward temporally to remember the outcome. For instance, in *Empoli*, the Spanish forces pour through a breach in the wall in the upper left corner of the city, the west corner on the north side of the walls, while in the foreground another imperial battery makes a second breach, and to the right (south) of the city Vitelli's forces occupy Empoli's defenders during a sortie (figure 19). Stradano's painting suggests that Empoli will fall easily to the powerful invading force, just as Vasari described in his *Ragionamenti*. There he explained how

> the soldiers had the courage to climb over the ruins to enter the city through the breach in the wall, in spite of heavy losses. Shortly after a meeting called by the commissioner Giugni, while he was at table and not thinking about the enemy, there came a rush of soldiers who entered the ruined walls without much opposition, as you see, and went about plundering the castle.[88]

Similarly, in *Volterra*, imperial forces have surrounded the city and fire upon it (figure 25). They have even breached the walls in three places, but have yet to storm it. Stradano visually explains the lack of capture by the Volterrans' strategic use of a *retirata*, seen at the closest breach, where the defenders formed a second barrier of earth, gabions (tall baskets filled with earth), and artillery.[89] Nevertheless, the implication is that Orange's forces will ultimately take the city; the stream of soldiers along the road leading towards it suggesting the coming of a planned assault. The imperial army did not take Volterra at this time. They had previously captured it, forcing it to surrender on 24

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[88] "ed ebbono ardire i soldati salir su per le rovine, ed entrar nella terra per il rotto della muraglia, ma con gran danno e more loro; e poco dopo il parlamento fatto al Giugni commissario, per non pensare egli a'nimici, mentre che era a tavola venne un impeto di soldati, e con non mollto contrasto entraro dento per le rovine, che Vostra Eccellenza vede, del muro rotto, a si messono a saccheggiare il castello." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:178–79. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 341.
[89] Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 15–17.

February 1530, after being surrounded by Vitelli's soldiers.[90] Republican forces still held the citadel though, and Ferrucci joined them on 26 April. The next day Ferrucci fought Vitelli out of the city and recaptured it.[91] In the month of June, imperial forces returned to besiege the city, headed by Maramaldo, the Marquis of Vasto, and Don Diego Sarmiento. Despite fierce fighting, breaching of the walls in three places, and a furious assault, Ferrucci managed to hold them off. Eventually, on 29 June, Orange's captains withdrew. It was a humiliating defeat.[92]

By showing Volterra under siege, Vasari can circumvent problems associated with showing an imperial defeat. It is already curious that he chose to include Volterra at all, considering the outcome. Every other event shown, just as in the *Siege of Florence*, are imperial victories (even Ferrucci passing through Pisa can be considered so, since it led to his defeat at Gavinana). Vasari does not even describe the *Siege of Volterra* in the *Ragionamenti*. The painting must have been a subsequent addition, after he had already written that section, and not part of the original plan.[93] Varchi, however, recounts the story at great length, even including a brief chorography.[94] The artist included the painting as a complement to *Florence*, needing a large image to pair with it across the room, and in keeping with the traditional historical attention. The siege of Volterra was the only other on such a large scale, and to exclude it would be to deny a significant part of the story. Vasari therefore included it, potentially allowing doubt into the panegyric of

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[90] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:120–46; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 265–68; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 246.
[91] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:146–56; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 267–72; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 262.
[92] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:156–65; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 277–82; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 282–83.
[93] For the *Ragionamenti* written before the paintings, see Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 58–59; Tinagli Baxter, "Rileggendo i 'Ragionamenti'," 86–87.
[94] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:120–25.

the imperial army and its commanders. Hence, he chose to depict the height of the siege, giving the appearance of an assured imperial victory in hopes of overcoming that doubt.

The other paintings follow the same lines, showing the event in the middle of the action: the emperor's army enters the undefended Arezzo; Florentines attack the Spanish camped at S. Donato a Scopeto; imperial and Republican soldiers battle at Gavinana. Stradano does not give a definitive account of the endings, leaving those to the viewer. This only increases the effect of the viewer as eyewitness—the action almost literally happens before his eyes. The lack of conclusion accords with Borghini's historiography. There is no definitive hero, nor even a stated victor. The audience is left to determine the consequences, and the causality of the events, although the historical manipulations of the scenes suggest to the viewer's mind a certain interpretation of events. We can now read that causality meant for the viewer: because the Republic left Arezzo undefended, the Prince of Orange easily entered Florentine territory and surrounded Florence. This reading is supported by the key held by the Arezzo personification—Arezzo was the "gate" which the Florentines left open. In order to close the circle of Florence, the imperial army took Lastra a Signa, and then Empoli, with similar ease. Meanwhile, they engaged Republican soldiers around Florence, winning victories that further demoralized the besieged city. Orange's army could take Empoli because Ferrucci had left it to go capture Volterra, which meant that the general had to attempt to reconquer the latter city. The outcome of Volterra is unimportant—Ferrucci left it for Pisa, and then for Florence. The imperial army followed him and caught him at Gavinana, where the Florentines were defeated, bringing about the end of the siege.

Virtue for a Just War

Vasari and Stradano also manipulated their presentation of history to bring virtue to the imperial army, and consequently to its commanders. Again, they derived this strategy from historiographical practice, in this case primarily from Paolo Giovio. The historian was particularly interested in virtue and vice, praising "true glory" as the ultimate goal of men. He found this glory in virtuous actions, and praised or denounced people according to how he felt they acted within those ethical standards. He founded these standards on a mixture of Christian morality, classical virtues, and medieval chivalrous codes of conduct. Giovio cared particularly for the concept of *virtù*, which for him meant manliness, strength, vigor, and courage. While praising bravery and nobility, he denounced treachery, cowardice, disloyalty, and brutality. Giovio would present figures and armies in good or bad light depending on how he felt their actions fit within these standards of conduct.[95] This accords with Bartoli's theory of a just war, particularly for the idea of *jus in bello*—a just war must be fought in a just manner. Bartoli discusses *virtù* as necessary for a just war, as revealed in his statement, "The true *virtù* is that which confirms states and stabilizes them."[96] By this he means a ruler must possess *virtù* in his actions, which would include war.[97] Rather than glorify figures as Giovio does, Vasari presented to the viewer facts to allow him to judge for himself who had *virtù* and deserved "true glory." Of course, Vasari simulated the objectivity of those facts. In many of the siege images, Stradano depicted the scene in such a way as to embellish the *virtù* of the imperial army.

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[95] Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 271–76.
[96] "... la vera virtù è quella che conferma gli stati & gli stabilisce." Bartoli, *Discorsi historici*, 53.
[97] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 291.

For instance, in the image of *Empoli*, Stradano's depiction shows the incidents that occurred late in the day of 28 May, primarily following the details given by Giovio but editing even those to favorably summarize the story. Stradano's and Vasari's version of events is not in accord with the eyewitness accounts; they invented the part about the soldiers finding Giugni at his table. Varchi and Giovio both wrote how the Marquis of Vasto and Don Diego Sarmiento set up cannons on the north side along the Arno and on the east side, and fired over 300 shots at the walls, breaching them. They meanwhile drained the moat around Empoli with a ditch connecting it to the Arno. The Spanish forces under the Marquis of Vasto then impetuously launched a ferocious assault, only to be fought back by Empoli defenders giving heavy fire.[98] All of this can be seen in the image, and Vasari pointed it out in the *Ragionamenti* (figure 19). But while Vasari described a heroic and easy capture of the city in the face of danger, Varchi instead recounts a scene of cowardice and treachery. In his version, Sarmiento decided it was too dangerous to try to take Empoli by assault. Varchi makes no mention of Vitelli's involvement with a skirmish, only that he too had damaged a portion of wall ("un buon pezzo di muro dalla sua parte rovinato"[99]), and then held back from assaulting the city when Sarmiento did the same. That night, 28–29 May, men inside Empoli secretly made an agreement with the imperial captains. Sunday morning, Piero Orlandini, captain of a company of defenders, raised the defenses and the Spanish forces entered the city without resistance. The soldiers proceeded to sack the city, and Vitelli's infantry joined the

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[98] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina* 4:92–93; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 273–76. Varchi's description matches that of the single extant eyewitness testimony, a fourteen-year-old boy's description, published in Libertario Guerrini, *Empoli dalla peste del 1523–26 a quella del 1631: vita borghese e popolare, produzioni, commerci, trasporti, istituzioni, demografia*, 2 vols., Documenti inediti di cultura toscana, 2 (Florence: Edizioni Gonnelli, 1990), 1:55, 57.

[99] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:93. Giovio is slightly more discreet in treating Vitelli's soldiers, saying they "ebbero la più ignobil preda." Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 276.

pillaging, even raping the women. Varchi insinuated that Andrea Giugni shared culpability in the surrender, following the Florentine authorities in their declaration of both Giugni and Orlandini as traitors.[100] Vasari altered the end of the story to make the capture appear more virtuous, more heroic, despite his brief mention in the *Ragionamenti* of the sacking. In the painting, these events seem more heroic simply by Stradano having left out the ending. The image insinuates that the breaches and the Spanish assault led to the city's capture. The insertion of Vitelli's skirmish makes the imperial victory appear even more honorable, on the basis of Giovio's *virtù*, in an attempt to overcome the historical memory of their villainy.

Volterra and *Gavinana* both also leave out the conclusions in favor of imperial virtue. Representing all of the besiegers' strength and none of their weakness in the loss makes the army surrounding Volterra appear full of *virtù*. In *Gavinana*, Stradano leaves the viewer in little doubt that the imperial forces will win—the outnumbered Republican army is boxed in and battles on three fronts (figure 29). While Stradano shows fierce fighting, he gives little indication that three times it seemed as if Ferrucci might win the battle due to imperial cowardice and weakness. For instance, Orange's infantry bravely charges to the attack on the hill below the town. Yet when Orange was slain by two arquebus balls while leading the infantry in a second charge, his troops retreated in panic.[101] Even more suggestively, by leaving out the end of the battle at Gavinana, Stradano did not have to show the murder of Ferruccio Ferrucci by Fabrizio Maramaldo. The imperial captain was already infamous for his conduct at the siege of Rome. The pope did not even want him at Florence, but he came because of the opportunity for

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[100] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:93–95. Also Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 263.
[101] Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 294; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 313–14.

fighting.[102] In the end, he distinguished himself chiefly by his total lack of success during the siege. His forces were defeated time and again by Ferrucci, for instance at Volterra, along the way to Pisa, and even preliminarily at Gavinana.[103] At the last, Maramaldo again proved his lack of character, coldly killing a mortally wounded, unarmed, surrendered Ferrucci, as reported by Varchi.[104] Giovio, however, reports that Maramaldo told him firsthand how he killed Ferrucci because he could not bear that Ferrucci lived while the Prince of Orange had died.[105] This excuses Maramaldo's actions somewhat, making the action seem one almost of chivalry. While Varchi condemned Maramaldo, Giovio attempted to justify his actions on the basis of *virtù*. Vasari avoided the issue altogether, which shows a particular strength of the Borghini method. The historian did not have to try to justify a villain's actions for the sake of history, the audience could do that for the historian. In fact, Stradano let one area allude to Ferrucci's heroic resistance, and to Maramaldo's lack of *virtù*. On the right of the city, cavalry gallops away from the city down the road towards the lower right corner of the painting. Here Ferrucci not only held off Maramaldo's cavalry, but even forced them out of the city—twice.[106] The retreating cavalry refers to those defeats, so often suffered by Maramaldo at the hands of Ferrucci, and illustrates the base character of the imperial captain. This incident,

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[102] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 259.
[103] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:150–65, 207–10, 216–20; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 272–73, 277–82, 291–97; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 282–83, 310–14
[104] "Fabbrizio volle che egli fosse condotto dinanzi, e fattolo disarmare in sulla piazza, e dicendoli tuttavia villane e ingiuriose parole alle quali il Ferruccio rispose sempre animosamente, gli ficcò, che dice la spada, che dice il pugnale e chi una zagaglia, chi dice nel petto e chi nella gola, e commandò a suoi (avendo egli detto: *Tu ammazzi un uomo morto*) che finissero d'ammazzarlo, o non conoscendo o non curando l'infinita infamia che di così barbaro e atroce misfatto perpetuamente seguire gli doveva." Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 4:220; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 315.
[105] "Io intesi poi dire dal Maramaldo, quando biasimato d'averlo amazzato, che spinto non dalla privata ingiuria, ma da certo onesta rispetto, non l'avea voluto lasciar oich'era morto cosìgran capitano generale." Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 296; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 117.
[106] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 314.

however, bore little impact on the outcome of the battle. Maramaldo rallied with the assistance of Vitelli and together the two captains overtook Gavinana. The image as a whole presents the grand battle that encapsulates events tragic (Orange's and Ferruccis deaths), villainous (Maramaldo's actions), and heroic (Ferrucci's defense and the imperial victory), and leaves the viewer to complete the history and make sense of it.

A final example of the celebration, and even creation, of virtue in the imperial army is in *The Burning of Lastra a Signa* (figure 17). Lastra sits at the confluence of the rivers Vignone and the Arno. Situated ten kilometers from Florence to the west, it served as Florence's first defense towards the sea and its lifeline to the outside world. Orange recognized its strategic importance, and quickly captured it an attempt to stop supplies from reaching Florence. He brought four hundred cavalry, fifteen hundred infantry, and four artillery pieces to take the castle. It was defended by three companies of infantry, which were not enough to hold out for help from Florence.[107] The castle fell on 6 December 1529. The imperial army burned the city and butchered the entire garrison, despite the terms of surrender.[108] Stradano showed the city from the northeast, where the imperial cavalry enters the fortress through the Porta Fiorentina. On the hill overlooking the city to the southwest is the Pieve di San Martino a Gangolandi, where Orange had his command post. From there the artillery bombarded the city. In the course of the capture of Lastra, the Pieve itself suffered great damage, being half destroyed as well.[109] Yet Stradano shows the church untouched, and not occupied by troops, as if Orange was not

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[107] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:178.
[108] Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:232–35; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 242–43; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 229–30.
[109] This is according to a sign at the Pieve.

so impious as to subject a holy site to an artillery battle.[110] The *Burning of Lastra* leaves to posterity the idea of a virtuous army fighting a just war—that such atrocities were only the case of necessity. This coincides with the principle of *jus in bello*, or justice in war, and in particular the idea of proportionality which argues that "all actions taken in war should be limited by military necessity."[111] Virtue also seems suggested in the peace of the surrounding countryside, the flowing river, and the sleepy river god. Even the cavalry's rushing into the city belies the ferocity of a burning city. It suggests their strength and bravery, their *virtù*, as responsible for the capture of the city, contradicting the savagery and treacherousness enacted upon the garrison.

The Imperial Viewpoint

Lastra is unusual in that it does not illustrate the scene from the imperial camp. It is the only painting of an imperial action during the siege not to use this viewpoint. A view made from the Pieve would have been much easier to capture, as it is the only location that overlooks the city in the area. The artists clearly wanted the church to be seen for their argument for *virtù*, and perhaps on considering the brutality at Lastra, Vasari was reluctant to let the viewer assume the viewpoint of the perpetrators. In contrast, in the other paintings Stradano has used the same imperial viewpoint as in the *Siege of Florence*, to the same effect. In *Volterra* the audience is placed within the camp to the north of the city, along the via di Porta Diana. The road leads to the Porta

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[110] In actuality, the use of sacred buildings in the course of war was hardly a concern—the Republic used S. Miniato as an important fortress in the defense of Florence, and later Cosimo I made those fortifications permanent.
[111] Mattox, *Just War*, 83.

Fiorentina, where the main attack was centered.[112] In *Empoli* and in *Arezzo*, the viewer is similarly positioned among the besieging camp outside the city, in both cases to the west. In the *S. Giorgio* image, the viewer stands behind the imperial gabions as they trade fire with the "Cavaliere," just outside the Porta S. Giorgio along the via di S. Leonardo. Finally, in the *Battle at Gavinana*, the viewer is placed outside of the action but still from the imperial perspective. There is no camp, but forces rush up the hill from just below the viewing position.

The remaining three images represent Florentine actions. They show the scene from a more neutral position. In each, the viewer is removed from the actions of the Republican forces. One painting shows them either entering or exiting Pisa (figure 26). In another, Florentines enter from the right and move up the hill away from the Porta Romana (figure 22). In the last, from across the Arno they can be seen attacking the German camp at S. Donato in Polverosa (figure 20).[113] In all three cases, rivers separate the viewer from the action. The topography ensures the desired psychological distance from the protagonists, in contrast to the encouraged identification in the paintings of imperial events.

Manipulation of Topography

The manipulation of the depicted architecture and landscape is the last strategy to discuss. As in the *Siege of Florence*, the other siege images have a close fidelity to their subjects, yet contain occasional changes to the fabric of the cities. These subtle

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[112] Here Ferrucci successfully beat off the imperial assaults. Cosimo would later, between 1545 and 1551, have Giovan Battista Belluzzi build a *baluardo* there. The large bastion is depicted in the view of the city in the Sala di Cosimo I, suggesting a continuity between the images of the rooms. The bastion still exists, and is depicted in a plan of the city by Belluzzi from 1549–51. On the bastion, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:62–64, for the plan, 188–91.

[113] Appendix 1, C-VII.9, C-VII.6, C-VII.8.

modifications assist in the influence of the viewer's judgment while not detracting from the high degree of recognizable topographical character. One such alteration, dealing with the walls of the cities, will serve as an example of how Vasari and Stradano employed this principle.

Walls were particularly important in a city's life. They served for safety and defense, and so had become invested with associations of liberty and sovereignty. A free city, it was understood, had walls, and the greater the walls, the greater the city.[114] Florence loved its walls for these very reasons. Attributed to Arnolfo di Cambio and built between 1284 and 1333, the magnanimity of the walls represented the city's freedom as a Republic and its greatness, including the extent of its *dominio*. In Florence a tradition existed—Florentines knew walls, and knew how to read them.[115] Walls primarily represented strength (or weakness) and control, and so Stradano modified the walls in his depictions to suit his assertion of the *virtù* of the imperial army.

The description of topographical determinants to the outcome of an event also corresponds with historiographical practice. Giovio's chorographies demonstrate this most prolifically among Vasari's contemporaries, but the idea owes its origins to Polybius's tripartite divisions of history and Strabo's emphasizing of geography before research and review of events. Julius Caesar in particular emphasized topographical features as a determinant for a battle's outcome in his *Gallic War*, *Civil Wars*, and

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[114] Simon Pepper, "Siege Law, Siege Ritual, and the Symbolism of City Walls in Renaissance Europe," in *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambrdge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 583. This point is elaborated in the next chapter.
[115] Ibid.; J. R. Hale, "The End of Florentine Liberty: The Fortezza da Basso," in *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Nicolai Rubinstein (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 501–32.

Commentaries.[116] In *The Gallic War*, for example, Caesar described the place that he chose to fight the Belgae near Bibrax as

> naturally convenient, and suitable for forming a battle line. The hill on which the camp was pitched was slightly raised up from the plain, and had enough space in front for a battle line to take up a position at the ready: it sloped steeply on both flanks, but in front rose gently to a ridge and then returned to the level. [Caesar] constructed a ditch of about 400 paces at right angles from either side of the hill, and at the ends set up outposts and stationed his artillery. … Between [the Roman] army and [the Belgae] was a small marsh.

Rather than enter the marsh, the Belgae tried to cross the Aisne river that protected the Roman army's rear. Caesar's "men attacked the enemy while they were stuck in the water and killed a large number of them," which led to the Roman victory.[117] Vasari and Stradano in their siege images associated similar consequences with their portrayed settings, but rather than physically manipulate the natural terrain as did Caesar, they visually altered architectural fabrics.

Stradano did more than simply idealize the topography around Lastra in order to recommend the *virtù* of that army. He changed the walls of the fortress town itself—not their shape, but the form of the defenses (figure 17).[118] Lastra has something of an illustrious architectural history. Filippo Brunelleschi designed its defensive walls in 1424. The preeminence of the architect for such a seemingly small town illustrates the strategic importance of the city to Florence and its *dominio*. The topography reveals Stradano's

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[116] Peter Funke and Matthias Haake, "Theaters of War: Thucydidean Topography," in *Brill's Companion to Thucydides*, eds. Antonios Rengakos and Antonios Tsakmakis (Leiden and Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 369–84; Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 256–57, 366; Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 66; *Fortification: Art or Engineering*b; Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, 210.

[117] Julius Caesar, *Seven Commentaries on The Gallic War, with an Eighth Commentary by Aulus Hirtius*, trans. Carolyn Hammond, The World's Classics (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 39–40.

[118] Vasari calls Lastra a "castello." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:178. Varchi uses the same term, Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:233.

faithfulness to his subject; he must have visited the site, and probably had a plan of the *castello* as well. Despite this, the fortress feels compressed into the space, making it look smaller and downplaying the strength of Brunelleschi's defenses. Those defenses are the only patently false portion of the image. Brunelleschi placed square towers with machicolation (the rampart walkways that jut out over the walls to enable soldiers to launch missiles down on an attacking enemy) around the walls (figure 262). Stradano would certainly have seen those on his sketching visit, since many of them still exist today. Yet he painted the city with round towers. Round towers in the cinquecento were decidedly out of fashion in the mid-sixteenth century, a holdover from medieval fortification still seen, for instance, at Avila.[119] This change in the towers indicates a choice made by Vasari and Stradano to attest to the strength of the imperial army over the weakness of the Florentines.

Square towers were built along the Florentine walls, some of which still exist on the stretches remaining in the Oltr'arno (all of the wall except for four of the gates has been removed north of the river; figure 263). These towers are also shown in the *Siege of Florence* (figure 13). At a time when everyone else built round towers, Arnolfo designed square ones, in the manner of Roman defenses. A century and a half later Brunelleschi would follow suit. The pedigree of the Lastra walls makes the painted round towers even more interesting in light of the pride Florentines felt in Arnolfo's walls. Vasari celebrated that pride in the Salone dei Cinquecento by awarding Arnolfo's construction of the walls

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[119] On medieval fortifications, almost all of which demonstrate round towers, see Hogg, *History of Fortification*, 38–95. Within these pages it will be noticed that among all of the examples Hogg shows, Florence is the only one to use square towers along the walls in the manner of ancient Roman fortifications, found for instance in the Aurelian walls of Rome, begun in A.D. 271 and modified in the next century, and at the Housesteads fort in England, built c. A.D. 160. On Roman fortifications, see Hogg, *History of Fortification*, 23–33.

a painting on the ceiling, *The Enlargment of Florence* (figure 241). This painting's companion piece, *The Foundation of Florence*, offers a further clue to help explain the idiosyncrasies of changing tower design (figure 172). Vasari shows Augustus and others ordering the founding of Florence as a Roman settlement. In the background workers build the city, while in the foreground an old man plows a furrow to circumscribe the city for the path of the walls. The plowing represents an old Roman ceremony to celebrate the founding of the city, in essence marking their dominion of the region and the act of possession.[120] While the plowing demonstrates Vasari's concern with the symbolism of walls and their history, more applicable to the current discussion are the walls with round towers shown on the right side of the city, above the soldier's bowed head. Round towers on the walls of Florence appear also in *The Defeat of Radagasius*, an event that also occurred in the Roman times of the city, A.D. 404. (figure 264).[121] With these indications it seems probable that Vasari considered the round tower to be a more ancient defensive system, with the pedigree of the Roman empire, and that the square towers felt too modern because of his, and all Florentines', immediate experience of them.[122]

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[120] On this figure with his yoked oxen, see Pepper, "Siege Law," 583.

[121] Colin Hardie, "The Origin and Plan of Roman Florence," *Journal of Roman Studies* 55 (1965): 135. Vasari says 414 A.D. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:209.

[122] Square towers perhaps resembled too closely, in such bare visual form, the modern bastion, and especially the artillery platforms known as *cavalieri* in the middle of curtain walls that the duke's military architects had recently been building. For instance, Giovan Battista Belluzzi had begun such bastions at Sansepolcro in 1544, and Bernardo Buontalenti was just at this time finishing them. On the bastions at Sansepolcro, see Amelio Fara, *Bernardo Buontalenti: L'architettura, la guerra, e l'elemento geometrico*, Città difese e architettura (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1988), 19, 24–25; Amelio Fara, *Il sistema e la città: Architettura fortificata dell'Europa moderna dai trattati alle realizzazioni, 1464–1794*, Città difese e architettura (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1989), 97; Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, "Il rinnovamento del sistema difensivo e l'architetto militare," in *La nascita della Toscana: Dal convegno di studi per il IV centenario della morte di Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Massimo Tarassi, Biblioteca di storia Toscana moderna e contemporanea, studi e documenti 23 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1980), 284–87; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:60–62, 173–75.

Confirmation for this consideration is found in Villani's *Cronica*, who described the foundations of Florence with walls of round towers.[123]

Based on comparisons with other defensive systems depicted in the Palazzo Vecchio decorations, the change in tower form can be explained as the artists' view on the effectiveness of the different systems. It seems likely that the square towers were meant to represent strength, while the round ones indicated weakness. Other examples where the artists substituted round towers for square towers are views of Montemurlo and Castellina, the former in the Sala di Cosimo I (figure 38), the latter in the Salone dei Cinquecento. In the painting of Vicopisano also in the Salone, square towers have been substituted for round ones (figure 265). In *The Triumph at Montemurlo* and *The Capture of Vicopisano*, at least, round towers made the defenses appear archaic, suggesting a greater ease to the taking of the fortress, while square towers provided greater strength for the defenders. Both are images of battle, where the army of Florence won over its enemy. In the Montemurlo image, the *fuorusciti* held Montemurlo, and Cosimo's army easily routed them and captured the castle.[124] The castle's square form was therefore changed to look round, signaling the defenders' weak position (figures 39, 266). Vicopisano, on the other hand, was another fortress with defenses designed by Brunelleschi, although much of its walls, including the round towers, were built in the 1300s (figures 265, 267). It was an important Pisan stronghold during Florence's war

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[123] "I muri della città edificò torri ritonde molto spesse, per isppazio dall'una torre a l'altra di XX cubiti, sicché le torri erano di grande bellezza e fortezza." Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, 1:61.Vasari could not have known the actual round towers of the original Roman walls, discovered only in 1872 and now outlined in bronze on the Via del Proconsolo. On the interest in ancient Florence in conjunction with the Salone ceiling paintings, see Moyer, "Historians and Antiquarians." On Roman Florence, see Hardie, "Roman Florence."

[124] Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 741–47; Mara Visonà, "La Rocca, Piazza Castello n. 9," in *Ville e dimore di famiglie Fiorentine a Montemurlo* (Florence: Edam, 1991): 233–75; Anacleto Francisci, *Storia di Montemurlo* (Bologna: Atesa Editrice, 1979), 47–69; Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 34; Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, 128.

with Pisa. With the substitution of square towers for round ones in the painting, Vasari indicated the difficulties the Florentines had in winning the war with Pisa by suggesting the strength of their enemy's defenses.[125] *Vicopisano*'s square towers match those in *The Capture of Cascina*, the other major Florentine victory over a Pisan fortress that Vasari included in the ceiling (figure 268). In the case of Cascina, however, the towers take the correct form (figure 269). In contrast, the ease with which the Florentines suffered defeat was indicated in the siege paintings in the Sala di Clemente VII by the round towers of Lastra and Empoli (figures 17, 19). The only other paintings in this series to show towers are images of Florence, which because of the proximity of the actual walls, had to be square. And in fact the walls of Florence formed such a strong defense that the imperial army never captured the city—the Republic surrendered due to lack of provisions.

Stradano has shown the walls of Arezzo to be even further from the 1529 topography, when Orange took control of the city (figure 12). The painting is one of the most confused as to its historical topography, perhaps explaining why it had been mistakenly identified as Perugia. The bastion, wall, and gate seen in the painting did not exist until 1538, when Cosimo ordered the city newly fortified with modern defenses. At the time of the siege, the walls were still those built between 1319 and 1337.[126] The gate through which the soldiers enter the city resembles the Porta Sto. Spirito, but Stradano has positioned the gate too far to the west. The Porta Sto. Spirito actually sits further to the south, as the southwest entrance. The Porta S. Lorentino does function as the west

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[125] The Salone puts that difficulty in deliberate contrast with the war of Siena that Cosimo had such relative ease in winning. Vasari makes this comparison quite evident in his *Ragionamenti*. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:212.
[126] Andrea Andanti, "L'evoluzione del sistema difensivo di Arezzo: 1502–1560," in *Architettura Militare nell'Europa del XVI secolo: Atti del Convegno di Studi, Firenze, 25–28 Novembre 1986*, ed. Carlo Cresti, Amelio Fara, and Daniela Lamberini (Siena: Edizioni Periccioli, 1988): 127–48; Bardeschi, "Rinnovamento del sistema difensivo," 284–87.

entrance into the city, but is too far north for the depicted gate to represent it. The misplacement and use of the new walls seems to suggest Stradano's sketching the view onsite, and then subsequently altering it so as to suggest the older walls. It would have been easy enough for Stradano to show medieval walls, however, rather than the modern artillery bastion. The deliberately chosen bastion looks ahead to the outcome of the siege and the effects on the city fabric, as seen in the *Siege of Florence* with the empty Uffizi site (figure 13). As discussed in the following chapter, Duke Cosimo made an effort to strengthen his dominion by building new defenses throughout Tuscany. They represented the extent of his power as well as his military strength. Showing the new defenses of the city that had served as the gate to Florentine territory and its downfall linked the siege to Cosimo's rule.

The city of Volterra has no towers, and Stradano has not shown any, except for one unusual squat shape along the walls to the right of the Porta Fiorentina (figure 25). Contemporary plans also show no such tower. The shape may, as in the painting of Arezzo, be a veiled reference to the bastion built by Cosimo next to the Porta Fiorentina beginning in 1544.[127] The history of the siege had demonstrated to Cosimo the places most requiring better defense. The Porta Fiorentina was the most accessible place to attack. The hill is simply too steep on the other side of the city to mount an effective bombardment or assault. Cosimo had his bastion built just to the left of the gate, and this one sits further to the right, but the gate played too important a part in the defense of the city to position a future bastion there in a historical painting. A depiction of the real bastion would have only added to the strength of Volterra's defenses, which Vasari

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[127] Bardeschi, "Rinnovamento del sistema difensivo," 284–87.

wanted to downplay. Instead Stradano shows the weakness of the city in the breaches of the walls. The Volterrans put up a valiant defense, but by breaching the walls, the empire has breached their freedom. If walls represent possession, as seen in *The Founding of Florence*'s furrows, Charles V's forces work to break that possession. A reference to Cosimo's bastion looks past the fact that this time, the imperial army did not succeed, but the outcome was the same—Medici possession of the city.

Conclusion

Medici possession was the foundation on which Vasari built his interpretation of history. He used various strategies to persuade the viewer to come to the conclusion that the siege of Florence was a just war that duly led to Cosimo's rule. Those strategies—a relation of the events as occurrences rather than as a conceived history, idealizing of the imperial army to appear more virtuous, placement of the viewer among the imperial position to generate sympathetic identification, and the manipulation of a city's topography to recommend the proper interpretation—work for that persuasion, for it is persuasion that is most important here.

Histories had already been written about the siege. Many authors had already collected the facts, spun interpretations, and sought to convince their audience of the truth of their judgments. In placing a history of the siege in visual form, Vasari had an opportunity to tell the tale in a new and different manner, and one that would support his theme of Medici legitimacy. The artist had little choice—previous historians had recounted the siege at the expense of the Medici rulers. In the princely apartments, however, Vasari could hardly deviate from his panegyric in following a history that broadcast the tyranny of the room's namesake. Instead, he attempted something much

grander—to change history itself. Vasari endeavored to create a new perception of the siege, one in which the victors are the heroes. To support his decorative scheme, he had to work against the common perception of the heroism of the defenders of the Republic. Bartoli was contemporaneously doing the same in print. Vasari's visual history did not rationally argue the point, however, but rather influenced people to change their own minds. This encouragement and persuasion is the heart of Vasari's use of the rhetorical *enargeia.* The physical view on the wall and the corresponding vision in the viewer's mind enabled a fictive experience for the viewer in which he served as eyewitness for the events that happened the way Stradano depicted them. By this Vasari placed in the viewer's mind a fashioned memory. He altered their experience of the siege, making it appear to be recognition based on the "false memory" implanted by the *enargeia.* That recognition made the history seem natural, and true.

The paintings of the siege worked in conjunction with the paintings on the ceiling above to jointly celebrate the relationship between the Medici and the emperor, and demonstrate the outcome of that beneficial association. It was the partnership between Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII that brought Florence back under Medici control. That familial relationship was more important, however, in legitimizing Cosimo's rule. His position as Duke of Florence was contingent on the emperor's authority, and his approval. Following the siege, that authority was first given to Alessandro de'Medici, as seen in the images on the ceiling. It is significant, however, that Alessandro does not receive his own room as a celebration of that authority. Vasari's history wastes little time in legitimizing the turbulent and controversial rule of the first Duke of Florence. It instead moves ahead to Cosimo's paternal line, pausing only to

celebrate the glory of Cosimo's father who passed his virtues on to his son. Vasari's history jumps almost directly from the siege to Cosimo I, who came to cure the ills of Florence and its *dominio*. The Duke's own room celebrates this aspect of his dominion—how it does so is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 5: The Sala di Cosimo I

In the Sala di Cosimo I, Vasari presented sixteen cities of Tuscany as the subjects of the paintings (figures 34–37). These cities appear in two registers, one above the other. The upper register consists of eight triangular paintings each with a city in the background. The lower register comprises portraits of the cities themselves framed in horizontal ovals. Cosimo built fortifications at each of the displayed cities as part of a long campaign to strengthen his domain and solidify his rule. The paintings of the Sala di Cosimo I follow upon the themes of legitimization and credibility expressed in the Sala di Clemente VII where they illustrate the foundations for ducal rule, but here the images make a more definitive statement about power and dominion. The rhetorically conceived evidentia of the views reinforces the perception of a strong, well-protected duchy created by Cosimo. Yet it is the strange irony of this room that while fortification and the military arts depended increasingly on the exactness of applied mathematics, from which a departure could literally mean life or death, the cities and their fortifications displayed so prominently here are not only far from accurate, but frequently fabricated. The motives for such manipulations offer insight into both Cosimo's view of the state of his rule and Vasari's view on the potential of his art.

Vasari explained in the *Ragionamenti* how the depicted cities in the Sala di Cosimo I represent those that the duke fortified during his rule. The artist described the eight triangular paintings as containing "large figures…who represent cities" while "in

the distance the same cities are portrayed from nature."[1] He went on to clarify how at each city Cosimo "rebuilt the walls in the modern way," for which stands a crenellated crown offered to the personification by Cosimo in three of the images.[2] Modern scholarship has presented little additional insight on this topic.[3] Only Simon Pepper has offered some context for the focus on fortification in this room, arguing that such images of military architecture denote the power of the ruler.[4] Van Veen most recently, in one paragraph, championed this interpretation in the common terms of the Cosimean myth proposed by Kurt Forster and elaborated by Janet Cox-Rearick. His idea that, in his words, "the principal theme, is Cosimo's subjugation of the Tuscan cities and regions...," and that "the Duke presented himself as a dynastic, territorial ruler of well-nigh royal stature," is too severe.[5] It represents the peremptory treatment warranting the sustained consideration provided by this chapter.[6]

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[1] "Vi ho, come la vede, fatte gigure grandi che rappresentano città, e nel lontano la medesime ho ritratte di naturale," Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 362.
[2] "Sua Eccellenza gli mette in capo la corona murale, per avergli rifatte le mura alla moderna," Vasari, *Opere*, 8:193. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 363. Vasari does not mention new walls or crowns for three of the cities—Pisa, Pistoia, and Prato—nor do the paintings themselves show such crowns, but Cosimo did add fortifications to the walls at these cities, discussed in more detail below.
[3] The lack of publications on the Sala di Cosimo I may perhaps be due to a lack of access to the images. The room currently serves as a private anteroom between the office of the mayor's assistants in the Sala di Giovanni delle Bande Nere and meeting rooms in the Sala di Lorenzo and the Sala di Cosimo il Vecchio. Access is therefore limited and requires permission.
[4] Pepper, "Siege Law," 587–88.
[5] Van Veen dismisses the entire Quartiere in similar terms in five short paragraphs. This dismissal is surprising in light of his rethinking of the same Cosimean myth for the Salone dei Cinquecento and other commissions in the same book. Van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 20.
[6] Publications dealing with other aspects of the room are no more numerous. W. Chandler Kirwin wrote the only piece of scholarship devoted exclusively to an aspect of the Sala di Cosimo I. He identified Vasari's classical source for the painting *Cosimo Among the Artists of His Court* as the relief of Liberalitas from the Arch of Constantine, as well as correcting the portrait identifications given in the *Ragionamenti*. Kirwin, "Vasari's Tondo." Wittkower and Wittkower had earlier offered identifications of the portraits, but Kirwin's is more convincing in its evidence and identification. See also Rudolf and Margot Wittkower, *The Divine Michelangelo: The Florentine Academy's Homage on His Death in 1564* (London: Phaidon Publishers, 1964), 159.

A description of the decoration will begin an understanding of its organization and its themes, including the focus on fortifications. Following this section, the chapter places that focus within the larger field of sixteenth-century interests in military architecture, and discusses Cosimo's particular enthusiasm for it in the interest of security. The chapter then turns to the inaccuracies of the city views, which is explained by the secrecy required of state security. The chapter concludes by finding the character of the views in the specialized knowledge of military architecture, revealing Cosimo's concerns regarding the state of his dominion.

Composition of the Decorations

The General Layout

Vasari divided the ceiling into five areas. At the center of the vault sits the large rectangular painting *The Triumph of Cosimo at Montemurlo* (figure 38). In it, the Florentine *fuorusciti*, the exiles that opposed Cosimo's rule, kneel in defeat before the duke and his generals. The painting commemorates the Florentine victory on 1 August 1537, signaling the end of any major resistance to his rule.[7] The four other history paintings Vasari presented in *tondo* format, one in the center of each side of the ceiling. The first, on the south side, is the *Election of Cosimo de' Medici as Duke of Florence*

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[7] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 144. On the battle of Montemurlo, see Giorgio Spini, *Cosimo I e l'independenza del principato mediceo* (Florence: Vallecchi editore, 1980), 85–91; Francisci, *Montemurlo*, 47–69. While all real resistance ended at Montemurlo, Piero Strozzi escaped capture and took up service with the French. He would command the French and Sienese forces during Florence's and the Empire's war with Siena. Strozzi would finally be defeated with the capture of Port'Ercole, 18 June 1555, though he again evaded capture and continued working for France primarily designing fortifications until his death in 1558. For a narration of these later events, see Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, especially 147–49; "Condottieri di Ventura [Piero Strozzi]," http://www.condottieridiventura.it/condottieri/s/1901%20%20%20%20%20%20PIERO%20STROZZI%20%20Di%20Firenze.htm (accessed 1 December 2007). For a discussion of the image, see appendix 1, C-I.1.

(figure 175) This painting shows the Quarantotto (the Senate of the Forty-Eight) choosing the seventeen-year-old Cosimo to succeed Duke Alessandro, who had just been murdered. Francesco Campana, the ducal secretary, reads the imperial privilege dated 30 September 1537 in a meeting that occurred on 16 October. This privilege confirmed the Quarantotto's choice, and granted Cosimo hereditary rights officially as "Duke of the Florentine Republic."[8] An inscription commemorates the event, reading "ANNO MDXXXVII." Moving clockwise, the viewer next comes to *Cosimo among the Artists of His Court*, an idealized depiction in the nature of a *sacra conversazione* (figure 270–71). Ten figures surround the seated duke, who is shown slightly older than his portrait in the

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[8] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 146. The Quarantotto included figures such as Cardinal Cibo, the emperor's representative, Alessandro Vitelli, commander of the Spanish imperial armed forces in Florence, and the historian Francesco Guicciardini, and was nominally in charge of Florence in the absence of ducal authority, although Cibo actually ran affairs. The election of Cosimo on the morning of 9 January 1537 was only as "head [capo] of the Florentine Republic," and was not official until approval by the emperor. The emperor sent Juan de Silva to Florence to decide the situation, who in a ceremony on 12 June acknowledged Cosimo in the same position. De Silva's pronouncement remained unofficial until the privilege of the emperor, which then made Cosimo "Duke of the Florentine Republic," as Vasari noted in the *Ragionamenti*. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:189. Technically, Cosimo remained duke of a republic until Tuscany was made a Grand Duchy in 1569. The republic, however, was in name only, and according to Cochrane, even the title was shortened to "Duke of Florence" within the year. I have been unable to directly confirm Cochrane's observation on the title change, and his informal note system only confuses the issue, but documentary evidence suggests that by 1538 Cosimo had graduated from citizen of a republic to royal lord in the eyes of his subjects and the international community. In 1537, his position is still uncertain—in the same nine days between 29 April and 7 May 1537, Cosimo is referred to as "Signore Cosimo" by Venetian officials, "V. S." (Vostro Signore) by Cherubino Buonanni to Cosimo himself, and "V. Ecc." (Vostro Eccellenza) by the same to the same, while Cosimo himself refers to "Duca Alessandro," which suggests how he considered his own title in the same position. See, respectively, Medici Archive Project (hereafter abbreviated as MAP, see appendix 4), 12450, 19363, 19380, 19385, 827. On 25 November 1537, Giovanni di Iacopo Salviati, at that time Bishop of Bitetto, still referred to "il signor Cosimo," placing the duke on the same level as "il signor Alessandro [Vitelli]" (who held the Fortezza del Basso and Filippo Strozzi for ransom against Cosimo), in a letter to Bernardo de Santi da Rieti, imperial agent in Florence. MAP, 12452. The following year, examples show Duke Cosimo exclusively referred to by versions of "Sua [or Vostra] Eccellenza." MAP, 5420, 5434, 19883, 5422, 5429, 19471. This is most likely the result of the imperial privilege, and word spreading shortly thereafter of his officially receiving the "beretta Ducale." MAP, 19876, also 2355. For the events surrounding Cosimo's election, see Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 5:284–94, 373; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 709–15; Spini, *Independenza del principato mediceo*, 28–31, 81–83; Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 17–35. For the confusion on the title, ibid., 33, 35, and 38–39; for Cosimo's removal of the republican system, ibid., 37–40; for Cosimo's being made Grand Duke, ibid., 92. Draper confused the painted scene with that of the ceremony of 12 June, despite Vasari's statement that Campana is reading the emperor's privilege. Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 501 n. 3; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:193.

previous painting. Artists and architects make up nine of the surrounding figures: Giovan Battista Belluzzi, Bartolommeo Ammanati (1511–92), Niccolò Tribolo, Giovan Battista di Marco, known as il Tasso (1500–55), Nanni Unghero (c. 1480–1546), Davit Fortini (1515/20–94), Baccio Bandinelli (1488–1560), Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71), and at the bottom, Vasari himself. Next to Vasari is Francesco di Ser Jacopo (fl. 1539–d. 1571), administrator (*provedditore*) of various fortresses, including Florence's.[9] Flanking the painting is an inscription reading "ANNO MDXLVIII," leaving the viewer uncertain as to what event the date marks.

The *tondo* on the north side is *Cosimo Orders Aid to Serravalle* (figure 40). It shows an older Cosimo seated before a group of captains, while through a window in the background a battle rages below a castle. The amount of historical documentation regarding events at a Serravalle does not equal the prominence of the painting's placement, and so little is known about the subject. Even Vasari remained strangely reticent about the image in the *Ragionamenti*, giving it only a cursory description.[10] The painting apparently refers to two separate battles at two separate Serravalles. The first battle took place at Serravalle Scrivia in Lombardy in 1544, to which Cosimo sent troops under Ridolfo Baglioni to aid imperial forces against the French led by Cosimo's old

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[9] Lamberini recently slightly changed the accepted identifications first offered by Kirwin and repeated by Allegri and Cecchi. The changes deny Kirwin's suggestion that Vasari depicted the living artists in contemporary dress and the dead artists in Roman togas to represent their mythical status at the meeting. Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:325–32, especially 330. Also Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 145; Kirwin, "Vasari's Tondo," 115–20. In the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari mentions only eight figures in addition to Cosimo, and those in a different order. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192. For the identification of the figures, see figure 271. Davit Fortini, also known as Davide, was an engineer who consulted on fortifications, bridges, and other architectural projects. For his career, see "The Medici Archive Project: Davide di Raffaello Fortini," http://documents.medici.org/people_details.cfm?personid=488 (accessed 20 February 2008), and related documents. Francesco di Ser Jacopo was Provedditore del Castello di Firenze from 1550 to 1571, for his career and dates, see "The Medici Archive Project: Francesco Seriacopi," http://documents.medici.org/people_details.cfm?personid=477 (accessed 20 February 2008).

[10] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192.

enemy Piero Strozzi. There they halted the French advance on Milan. The second battle took place at Serravalle Pistoiese in Tuscany in 1554 during the war of Siena, when Florentine and imperial troops stopped the same Strozzi's advance on Pistoia.[11] The *tondo* is flanked by an inscription that reads, "ANNO MDXXXXVIIII," marking the middle year of the ten separating the two battles. The ambiguity, or the deliberate combination, of the two events may have been suggested to Vasari by the similarity of names. It offers an ingenious solution to the presentation of Cosimo's military might and ability to aid the emperor. Yet it remains an odd documentation of a historical event in relation to the other, more certain historical images of the Palazzo Vecchio decorations. In this case the panegyrical possibilities of the elision of events, a visual homograph, seems to have appealed to Vasari's poetical bent over his historical intentions. The discussion of similar ambiguities in the city views that follows in the rest of this chapter will show such ambiguities to be deliberate and rhetorically determined.

The final tondo is *Cosimo Visiting the Fortifications at Elba*, already described in chapter 3 (figure 42). It represents Cosimo's trip to Elba to inspect the fortifications of Cosmopoli (now Portoferraio) on 15–18 May 1548, marked by the inscription "ANNO MDXXXXVIII." Vasari represented Cosimo discussing the fortifications with four men while overlooking the city from Volterraio. Cosimo's companions include the architect Giovanni Camerini, his secretary Lorenzo Pagni, Luca Martini, and the court dwarf Morgante. During the duke's visit, however, Belluzzi, not Camerini, served as the architect, having designed the fortifications and overseen their foundation.[12] In addition, Luca Martini, *provveditore* of Pisa, was not present at Cosimo's 1548 visit—he remained

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[11] For a full discussion on the identification of this scene, see appendix 1, C-I.2.
[12] Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:66–74; Lamberini, "Military Architecture of Belluzzi," 12–13.

at Pisa.[13] Again Vasari has presented ambiguities among the event, the personages involved, and those depicted. Here, however, the artist has combined those uncertainties within a topographical situation that corresponds to the natural location of Volterraio on the island, supporting the validity of the historical depiction.

Two triangular allegories of selected cities in Tuscany flank each of the four tondos. Each allegory contains a personification of the city kneeling before a young Duke Cosimo I. Three of the allegories—Volterra, Cortona, and Arezzo—show Cosimo awarding the figure with a crenellated crown, representing the fortifications Cosimo had built there (figures 46, 48, 52).[14] In the others, Fivizzano receives nothing, Sansepolcro a deed, Pisa a cornucopia, Pistoia a laurel, and Prato orders (figures 44, 50, 52, 56, 58). Behind the figures a view of the represented city serves as the background for the allegorical scene. Beginning to the left of the *Election of Cosimo*, first is the *Allegory of Pistoia*, then moving clockwise, are allegories of the cities of Prato, Fivizzano, Volterra, Cortona, Borgo San Sepolcro, Arezzo, and Pisa.[15]

Vasari described these paintings in the *Ragionamenti* as typical encomiastic allegories, celebrating the position and history of each depicted city in the duchy, and sometimes certain effects or institutions due to Cosimo's intervention. The author explained for what each personification stands, as well as the various river gods, shields and flags, and various specialties of each city, such as a cauldron of boiling salt for Volterra's salt production, an olive branch awarded by Cosimo to Pistoia for having

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[13] MAP, 7381. The image and its portraits are discussed in chapter 3, page 138, and appendix 1, C-I.3.
[14] Pepper recognized the crown as the *corona muralis*, a Roman military award given to the first man over the walls during a siege. The crown by the sixteenth century had become simply a representation for the building of new walls, as shown here. Pepper, "Siege Law," 588.
[15] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 147–48.

"stilled the factions and hostilities" there, or the Spanish pilgrims Egidio and Arcana who founded Borgo San Sepolcro.[16] For instance, Vasari described the female personification in the *Allegory of Pisa* as holding a horn of plenty, symbolizing the agricultural production of the city following Cosimo's draining and cultivating of the marshes around Pisa (figure 54). The marshland had previously caused illness and death. The woman puts her arm around an old man who holds books and has a zodiac band across his chest. According to Vasari, the man represents the Studio, the university at Pisa that Cosimo revived in 1542. The artist described a triton behind the personification, blowing a horn and representing the sea, although in the painting two such figures appear, one of which blows a trumpet. Vasari also said Cosimo gives Pisa "the law," but in the painting he gives her the horn of plenty with his right hand and a blessing with his left.[17] Similarly, Vasari described Arezzo as represented by an old man dressed as an ancient priest, to represent the Roman sacrifices made there (figure 52). Cosimo gives a crenellated crown to the man to stand for his rebuilding of "the walls in the modern way."[18] A river god represents the Chiano river with a horn of plenty full of wheat, and Janus, the legendary builder of the city, appears as well.

Below each of the allegories is a view of another city of Tuscany in a format resembling a cartouche, with elliptical edges and flanking fictive bronze grotesques. In the lower frieze, beginning below Pistoia, is *Piombino*, then *Livorno*, *Empoli*, *Lucignano*,

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[16] ""L'ho fatta per Pistoia, quale riceve da Sua Eccellenza il ramo dell'oliva in segno di pace, per avere il duca Cosimo quetate le fazioni ed inimicizie che erano fra'Pistolesi...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:194. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 364–65.

[17] "piglia le leggi dal duca...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192–93. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 363. On Cosimo's reestablishment of the Studio, see Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 68–69.

[18] "Sua Eccellenza gli mette in capo la corona murale, per avergli rifatte le mura alla moderna...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:193. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 363.

Montecarlo, *Scarperia*, *Florence*, and *Siena* (figures 60–67).[19] Of these smaller city portraits, Vasari said only that he "portrayed the eight principal places fortified by His Excellency."[20] He proceeded to name each city, but offered little information beyond another remark on the new defenses in each, and the viewing position from which the city is shown.

To complete the ceiling, below the *tondi* and between the city views are oval portraits of Cosimo's wife Eleanora (1522–62) and sons Giovanni (1543–62), Garzia (1547–62), Francesco (1541–87), and Pietro (1554–1604).[21] Elaborate grotesques by Marco da Faenza, Vasari's assistant who specialized in such decorations, frame the various images. Similar grotesque designs fill the upper half of the walls below, surrounding three large rectangular paintings of battle scenes, and eight smaller oval-shaped images of familial events commemorating Cosimo's continued lineage, which completes the story of Medici ducal dominion (figures 34–37).[22]

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[19] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 147–48.

[20] "io ci ho ritratto otto luoghi più principali fortificati da Sua Eccellenza...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:195. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 366.

[21] Eleanora, Giovanni, and Garzia would all die of malaria at Livorno in 1562. Giovanni was the second child of Cosimo and Eleanora, was made a cardinal at seventeen, and at eighteen became archbishop of Pisa. Garzia was the seventh child, and at thirteen was made supreme commander of the Tuscan navy. They are shown here to be respectively about fifteen and eleven years old. Pietro apparently did not amount to much, being suspected of killing his wife in 1576 when he was twenty-two. He is shown here at the age of about five, and so was likely done from life. The portrait of Pietro is unfinished, and would probably have included a portrait of Ferdinando (1549–1609), who would become the third Grandduke of Tuscany. Francesco was the first-born, and would become the second Grandduke at Cosimo's death in 1574, although he served in that position from 1564 onwards when his father officially retired. His portrait shows him at about eighteen years old. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 148; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:195–96; Grassellini and Fracassini, *Profili Medicei*, 73–74, 86–87.

[22] On the wall below the *Election of Cosimo*, *The Capture of Port'Ercole* is flanked by *The Baptism of Francesco I* and *The Restoration of the Fortezza of Florence*. Below *Cosimo among the Artists* is *The Rout of the Turks at Piombino*, with *Cosimo Goes to Genoa to Meet with the Emperor* on the left, and *The Duke Receiving the Golden Fleece in the Duomo* on the right. The next wall, below *Serravalle*, has no battle image, with only *Cosimo I Entering Siena*, and *The Birth of Francesco I*. The last wall, below *Cosimo at Elba*, shows *The Rout of Valdichiana* between *Eleanora di Toledo Departs from Naples* and *The Arrival of Eleanora di Toledo at Poggio a Caiano*. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 149–51; Vasari, *Opere*, 8:196. For information regarding the battle images, see appendix 1.

Organizational Principle for the Distribution of City Views

The decisions guiding Vasari's choices of cities and organization of layout has remained elusive. Cosimo's improvement of each city's fortifications cannot alone account for the selection of individual cities, however, or their location on the ceiling. Importance of city would suggest itself as an organizing principle, yet the view of Florence, the capital city, hides in the lower frieze (figure 62), while Fivizzano, a small city in the northern reaches of Tuscany, Vasari awarded a personification (figure 44). In similar decorative schemes where important locations are the subject, such as at Torrechiara (decorated in the mid-1440s; figure 273), the *salone* of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli (1565–68), and even in the ceiling of the Salone dei Cinquecento (1562–65), the depictions are organized according to their geographical orientation relative to the architectural work.[23] Prato, for example, is located northwest of Florence (maps 15–16), and so in the Salone, Vasari placed the allegory of the city in the northwest corner of the ceiling. In the Sala di Cosimo I, however, the *Allegory of Prato* sits in the southwest corner (map 6). Of the sixteen cities depicted, in fact, Vasari placed only four of the paintings—*Montecarlo*, *Arezzo*, *Scarperia*, and *Siena*—in a position oriented to their geographical location.

The layout does share some affinity with the geography of Tuscany, as it depends on the cities' strategic importance relative to their location. While not accurately mapping out the borders of Tuscany on the ceiling, the cities shown in the triangular paintings did generally serve as the fortified positions around the duchy's borders c. 1560 (maps 15–16). The cities appearing in the lower frieze were situated more within the interior.

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[23] On Torrechiara and its topographical organizing principle, see Woods-Marsden, "Pictorial Legitimation"; on the same for the Villa d'Este *salone*, see Ribouillault, "Salone de la villa d'Este."

This explains why Vasari has placed an allegory of Fivizzano on the upper register while Florence and Siena both appear in the lower one. The new fortifications of Fivizzano, begun c. 1539 and completed shortly after 1552, were especially important. Nanni Unghero designed them, and Belluzzi reworked the design after the former's death.[24] The town controlled the Lunigiana road, the northwest-southeast mountain pass through the Cerreto, and defended the northern region of Tuscany against Genoa to the west, Milan to the north, Ferrara to the east, and Massa and Lucca to the south, which cut off its northern area from the rest of the duchy.[25] While a lack of contiguity would today pose no difficulty in defining the confines of a state by delimiting specific borders, sixteenth-century territorial boundaries were much more fluid. The only sure delineation of dominion was marked by a city strongly equipped for the area's defense. The amount of area that a city could defend—its zone of control—made up part of the border of the state. The ambiguities of the situation led to frequent border contestations.[26] It led also, as

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[24] Cosimo decided to fortify Fivizzano following the 1537 sacking of the city by the Marquis of Vasto's troops in the days following Duke Alessandro's murder. Belluzzi was at Fivizzano in March 1547. MAP, 7411, 17036; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:66, 205–7; Bardeschi, "Rinnovamento del sistema difensivo," 284, 284 n. 26; Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 20–21.

[25] On Fivizzano's importance by controlling road access, see Giorgio Spini, "Introduzione generale," in *Architettura e politica da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I*, ed. Giorgio Spini, Studi sulla Toscna Medicea, 1 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1976), 29, 29–30 n. 31. On 24 August 1560 Cosimo even had to ask Duke Alfonso II d'Este, ruler of Ferrara, for permission to allow a shipment of salt to pass through Camporegiano and his other territories, as the salt traveled from Pietrasanta to Fivizzano. MAP, 8758. This demonstrates both the discontiguous boundaries of Tuscany and the strategic importance of these various fortress towns as rulers negotiated diplomacy.

[26] For example, the Val d'Elsa, with Casole as one of its central border sites, and the Chianti, with Castellina, were both regions hotly contested by Florence and Siena for centuries. Alessandro Naldi, ed., *Città e centri storici della Toscana: Da Firenze a Siena, da Arezzo alla Maremma*, trans. Silvia Silvestri (Florence: Arti Grafiche Stampa Nazionale, 2002), 98–101, 126–29. Cochrane notes the ill-defined borders between Tuscany and the Republic of Lucca during Cosimo's reign, although it caused few incidents (certainly due to the strength of the much-larger Tuscany, which Lucca hesitated to cross). He also notes the more problematic border with Ferrara through the Garfagnana, resulting in a number of raids. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 48, 100. A more illustrative case of the medieval use of border towns is that of the Sienese outpost of Monteriggioni and the Florentine one of Staggià, fortified against each other and only five km apart on the via Cassia, now SS 2, that ran between the cities, suggesting that at least in this region the border was closely defined. Giovanni Fanelli and Francesco

will be seen later in the chapter, to a use of cartography in an effort to give greater definition to those borders, to ideologically claim them on the part of the issuing state.[27]

The southwestern and southern borders of Tuscany at the end of the 1550s, in fact, were remarkably undefined, due to the transitions and exchange of territory in the wake of the war with Siena. Following the surrender of Siena on 17 April 1555, Cosimo had possession of Siena, but the French and Sienese continued to hold Port'Ercole, Montalcino, Grosseto, Chiusi, and Radicofani. Port'Ercole fell to the imperial army 18 June, effectively signaling the end of the war and a truce was signed April of the following year, leaving much of the southern territory under imperial control. When Vasari and Stradano began the room's decorations, the duke had only just been granted Siena by Philip II (to whom it had been left by Emperor Charles V upon his abdication in 1556) as payment for the imperial war debt on 19 July 1557. Philip ceded further territory to Cosimo with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, signed 3 April 1559, including the four Franco-Sienese outposts that had finally surrendered to Cosimo's forces earlier that year, though Spain kept Orbetello, Monte Argentario, and Port'Ercole.[28] At this time, Vasari had almost finished the decoration of the room, and no defenses had yet been built at Siena by Cosimo. The only Florentine fortifications there in 1559 were those built for the siege by Belluzzi and others in 1554, much of which consisted of alterations to the forts at the Porta Camollia for imperial occupation.[29] The image of Siena in the frieze focuses on the remains of these forts, as well as the Sienese renovations to the Spanish citadel

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Trivisonno, *La cultura delle città Toscana* (Florence: Cantini Editore, 1990), 46. On the principle in general, see Paolo Marconi, ed., *I castelli: Architettura e difesa del territorio tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Monumenti d'Italia (Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1978).

[27] Craib, "Cartography and Power," 11–12.

[28] On Cosimo granted possession of Siena, see MAP, 339, 8638; Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 156–57.

[29] MAP, 8520, 8522, 3027, 7770, 16788; Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 121.

(figure 65). Baldassare Lanci later built the Fortezza di Santa Barbara (1561–63) at the location of the old Spanish citadel. In retrospect, the view of Siena stands for all those southern territories that were to come under Cosimo's control, adding to its borders, though when painted, Siena very much represented the limits of Florentine control directly to the south.

Further confusing the boundaries, the emperor had granted Cosimo sovereignty over Piombino in 1552, but the duke was forced to return it in 1557. The city was therefore no longer technically a part of the duchy when Vasari painted its representation, although this did not stop Cosimo from influencing its policies and its architectural fabric for the well-being of his state. He had been paying for Unghero, Belluzzi, and Camerini to build fortifications there since 1543, and continued to do so, which explains Piombino's inclusion.[30] The defenses of Portoferraio outweighed the military significance of Piombino by this time, and so the southwestern edge of the duchy was still well represented in the *tondo* above. The inland southwestern border appears marked by the *Allegory of Volterra.* While not technically a border-site, Volterra's strength lay in its location high atop the hills where defenders could survey the southern lands.[31]

In contrast, Arezzo, Cortona, and Borgo Sansepolcro clearly defined the southeastern edge of Tuscany that bordered the papal states. All had been fortified in the

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[30] Cosimo first sent Unghero to Piombino in July 1543, where Otto da Montauto joined him to assist—they worked primarily on the walls. MAP, 334, 3908, 3914, 6070, 6054. Two years later Cosimo sent Belluzzi to Piombino in February 1545. MAP, 675. Camerini first appears there in August 1552, joined by Belluzzi for the month. Daniela Lamberini, "Regesto," in *Il disegno interotto: trattati medicei d'architettura*, vol. 1: *Testi e documenti*, eds. Franco Borsi et al., Documenti inediti di cultura toscana, IV (Florence: Edizioni Gonnelli, 1980), 390. Cochrane reports Cosimo having paid twice to buy the city from the emperor and having to return it twice without a refund, Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 47. I have been unable to find evidence for any second period of direct control.

[31] Volterra's position as a Vicariate also probably recommended its inclusion over other more literal border-protecting fortresses, such as Casole d'Elsa. On Casole as a border site, see above, page 257, note 26, and page 306 below.

fifteenth century by the Florentine Republic, and refortified with new fortresses under Cosimo. They controlled the western approach into Tuscany from the Papal States, known as the Marecchia, one of the main routes to Florence and easily traversable. In 1527, the Venetian ambassador Marco Foscari remarked on the ease of access provided by the Marecchia, which was so wide it "could conduct artillery, but is longer than other [routes]." For this reason it was well defended, and "could give much impediment to any army."[32] The combined imperial-papal army would in fact take this road in 1529 on their way to besiege Florence, and were forced to stop at Arezzo, though the city surrendered immediately.

The allegories of Prato and Pistoia represent the northern stretches of the contiguous duchy. Pistoia especially was of prime strategic importance.[33] It had been the focus of a long campaign of fortification throughout Cosimo's reign. Beginning in 1538, military architects including Unghero, then Belluzzi, and finally Bernardo Buontalenti built a new fortress, called Santa Barbara, and restructured the walls with modern bastions, work not finished until 1571.[34] Also protecting borders to the north, Scarperia is

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[32] "per essa si può condurre artiglieria; ma è più lunga di tutte," "potrebbero dar molto impedimento a qualunque esercito," quoted in Franco Cristelli, "Introduzione" and notes, *Arezzo ed il suo capitanato nel 1566*, by Giovambattista Tedaldi ([Arezzo: s.n., 1985]), 16 n. 8. Also see Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, 132.

[33] The strategic importance of Pistoia is demonstrated by its military history. Encroaching armies had made Pistoia their target twice under Cosimo, in 1537 by the *fuorusciti* and again in 1554 by the Franco-Sienese forces, though it was never attacked during his rule. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 34; Giovagnoli 1992, 41. The following century, Urban VIII's papal troops attacked it on 3 October 1643 and were defeated. Alberto Cipriani, *L'assalto dei Barberini a Pistoia nel 1643*, Incontri pistoiesi di storia, arte, cultura, 43 (Pistoia: Società pistoiese di storia patria, 1989); Giuliano Pinto, "Sintesi finale," in *Storia di Pistoia*, vol. 3, ed. Giuliano Pinto (Florence: Casa Editrice Flice le Monnier, 1999), 453–54, 465. Prato had also been a target under the Republic. The Spanish sacked it in 1512 as a warning to Florence to resubmit to Medici rule. Guido Pampaloni, "Prato nel cinquecento," in *Prato e i Medici nel '500: Società e Cultura artistica*, exh. cat. (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1980), 20. The vicinity to Florence on its northwestern approach explains their importance.

[34] Unghero and Belluzzi both began at Pistoia in 1544, and Buontalenti began there in 1570. MAP, 5431, 6292; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:57–60; Fara, *Buontalenti: L'architettura, la guerra*, 25; Fara,

missing from the upper register. This smaller city controlled the road from Bologna to mark the northeastern border, and appears in the lower frieze. Similarly, Montecarlo protected the west border of Tuscany against the Republic of Lucca, and yet its depiction sits on the lower frieze. Pisa, however, also marked that border. As a larger city with more powerful defenses, Vasari granted this city the higher status.[35] Livorno, marking the western border of Tuscany on the coast, was also overshadowed by Pisa's military might, and so appears on the lower frieze as well.

In all, the idea of border and interior strongholds offers the only satisfactory explanation for the decisions involved in the organization. It does not, of course, explain the placement of the individual cities in such a seemingly random order. The strategic importance that guided the choice of city, however, matches the focus on fortifications found in each one of the paintings, supporting the hypothesis.

The Fortifications Shown in the City Views

Each painting emphasizes those fortifications built by Cosimo. The upper register of allegories promotes the walls of the cities where possible, pushing fortresses and Republican defense works to the background. The lower register views mostly commemorate the cities themselves as fortresses, bringing the walls and citadels together as a single organism.

Buontalenti, 15; Lamberini, "Regesto," 387; Leone Andrea Maggiorotti, *Architetti e architetture militari*, vol. 2, L'opera del Genio Italiano all'estero (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1924), 101.

[35] *Pisa* also reminded the viewer of the Florentine victory over the medieval Republic, and was the home of the new state-sponsored university, the Studio, to which Vasari referred in the allegory and mentioned in the *Ragionamenti*. These facts seem less important in the decorative scheme, however, with Florence and Siena both on the lower frieze. Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192–93.

For instance, the *Allegory of Pistoia* presents the northern curtain (the stretch of wall between two bastions) renovated by Unghero and Belluzzi in 1544 (figure 57). These architects added angled bastions at the corners, artillery platforms along the curtains, and fortified the gates, none of which appear in the image.[36] The Fortezza di Santa Barbara appears in the left background showing only the corner of its northeastern bastion. The *Allegory of Volterra* similarly pushes its famous fortresses to the background (figure 47). Directly in the foreground, next to the Porta Fiorentina at the northwest point of the city, is the large bastion designed by Belluzzi in 1545.[37] The bastion holds a very strategic position on an outcropping of Volterra's hill, overlooking the valley that drops away to the northeast. Far in the background, at the opposite end of the city, the Rocca Nuova appears, though its connected counterpart, the Rocca Vecchia to the east, sits outside the picture frame. The Rocca Nuova was built 1470–75 at the orders of Lorenzo de' Medici, and connected to the Rocca Vecchia, built earlier in 1343. Likewise, the *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro* shows only a part of the city's fortress in the back right corner (figure 51). The fortress was originally built in 1318, but Giuliano da Sangallo began an extensive remodel, adding angular bastions at the corners, in 1500. Renovation work was continued first by Bonaventura di San Leo in 1538, then Unghero in 1542–43, and Belluzzi in 1544. Giovanni Camerini finally completed the fortress in 1564.[38] Despite the resources lavished on the fortress, the painting instead focuses on the southwestern walls. The large *cavaliere* (an artillery platform along a curtain) designed

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[36] Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:57–60.
[37] Belluzzi was ordered to Volterra 2 Setember 1545. MAP, 5574; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:62–64. Bardeschi incorrectly gives the date of Belluzzi's work at Volterra as 1544. Bardeschi, "Rinnovamento del sistema difensivo," 286. Francesco Ferrucci famously defended this gate for the Florentines on 21 June 1530 when the imperial forces attacked Volterra during the events of the siege of Florence.
[38] MAP, 15491, 15494, 12961, 7079, 3520, 8029; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:60–62; Bardeschi, "Rinnovamento del sistema difensivo," 285.

by Belluzzi in 1544 sits centrally in the composition, with another *baluardo* (a large corner bastion on city walls) to the left.[39]

Arezzo and *Pisa* share this same emphasis on walled defense. They both show new bastions built at the duke's orders along their respective walls, while relegating their fortresses to outside of the view. Immediately upon being made duke in 1537, Cosimo turned his attention to Arezzo (figure 53).[40] In 1538, he sent Unghero there to renovate the fortress, completing the earlier design by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. Unghero turned his attention to the city walls in 1540, and in 1550 Camerini visited the site to finish the job of fortifying the city, which continued until 1555.[41] The *Allegory of Pisa* displays the older Fortezza Vecchia, built 1405 and attributed to Brunelleschi, at the left edge, while the duke's bastion appears at the front (figure 55). To the right of the Fortezza Vecchia along the river is the Arsenale Mediceo, begun before 1546 to replace the Republican Arsenale.[42] The bastion derives from Unghero's work on Pisa's walls beginning in 1542, and Belluzzi completed that work in 1552.[43] The Fortezza Nuova,

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[39] These bastions are probably part of those fortifications with foundations built in 1546, as work was still being paid for on the fortress in 1545. MAP, 15295, 2464.

[40] MAP, 12616, 12684.

[41] Otto di Montauto again assisted Unghero at Arezzo, reporting on the height of the walls in 1540. MAP, 2375, 19039, 19040, 19044, 12961, 6554, 9467, 1753, 20527. The Aretines had rebelled against Florence 4 June to 25 August 1502. In response, Florence sent Giuliano there on 14 October, to replace the old citadel built between 1337 and 1343 in the same location. Antonio da Sangallo the Elder worked there in the subsequent years—he was there 13 June 1505, and again in 1506 and in 1508, to inspect progress on the fortress. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger visited Arezzo in 1534 (he was there 9 June) and in 1536 to redesign the fortress for Duke Alessandro, who accompanied the architect in 1534 and again 13–15 August 1536. Clement VII had first ordered the architect to renovate the fortress in 1531, as the Aretines had demolished most of the first Sangallo fortress (20 July 1530) while rebelling against the Republic in 1529–30 during the siege of Florence. Also present at Arezzo was Otto da Montauto and Alessandro Vitelli, both of whom worked with Antonio da Sangallo on the fortress. Andanti, "Sistema difensivo di Arezzo," 127–35. The latter two probably served as Sangallo's on-site overseers.

[42] MAP, 7354. Ships were built at the Arsenale. It was certainly finished by 1563. MAP, 19652.

[43] MAP, 5937, 3821; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:80–81. Ridolfo Baglioni was overseeing the Pisa fortifications in 1543 for Unghero. MAP, 18555, 2158, 18585, 5494. Bardeschi attributes Pisa's defenses to Belluzzi's visits in 1544 and 1548. Bardeschi, "Rinnovamento del sistema difensivo," 286. I have been unable to find any evidence of Belluzzi in Pisa in 1544. Prior to 1552, he met Cosimo in Pisa on 10 April

built before Cosimo under the Florentine Republic (designed by Giuliano da Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo the Elder in 1509), would be in the right background, but falls outside the frame.

The remaining three allegory cities do not fit such a perfect pattern—they still push the walls forward, but lack the same overt emphasis on their fortification. *Cortona* presents the north face of the city's walls to the viewer (figure 49). This side has no distinctive defensive features, although the walls were renovated at least as early as 1543, when Unghero was there.[44] The fortress of Girafalco, extensively modernized beginning in 1549 by Franceso Laparelli (1521–70), can be seen commanding the top of the hill in the background to the left.[45] The *Allegory of Prato* also only shows an undistinguished stretch of curtain wall, broken by the bridge and Porta Mercatale over the Bisenzio river to the northeast of the city (figure 59). Cosimo was already directing substantial resources to the city's defenses at the end of 1537.[46] The defensive plan focused primarily on bastions at the corner of the city, since it had no viable fortress.[47] A main focus of the design was the Jewish Bastion (the Baluardo dei Giudei), begun c. 1544 at the eastern point. It falls just outside of the frame to the left. Cosimo considered this bastion so important, he had Girolamo Inghirami divert the course of the Bisenzio river away from

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1548, but only to discuss the proposed Portoferraio, and then immediately rushed to Elba. Lamberini, "Regesto," 388; MAP, 8019.

[44] Foundations were still being laid for portions of the wall defenses in 1546, and probably 1548. MAP, 3852, 6054, 2464, 6380.

[45] The fortress was damaged in May 1549, probably stimulating its renovation. Bardeschi, "Rinnovamento del sistema difensivo," 285; MAP, 13067.

[46] The architect at this time was Bernardo di Onofrio Acciaioli until 1538, at which point the overseer was Otto di Montauto. It is unclear how long Montauto remained, but this phase of the project lasted until 1539, based on the frequency of correspondence. MAP, 12681, 12683, 15515, 15507, 5420, 7403, 5576. Bernardo Buontalenti later performed further work on the bastions, in 1574. Fara, *Buontalenti*, 16.

[47] The Castello dell'Imperatore could not be considered a viable part of the defensive system. Its location in the middle of the city offered no advantage in sixteenth-century warfare. Construction on it started in 1247, and despite government use by both the Republic and the Medici, its thirteenth-century style of fortification remained undeveloped.

it and towards the Porta Mercatale the following year.[48] The engineering feat explains the focal point of the image—the river and gate references the importance of the bastion without having to show the latter. Like Prato, Fivizzano had no fortress to hide. Its portrait shows the city's new walls at the southern end of the city (figure 45). The Porta Nuova appears to the right of Cosimo's head, and to its left the south bastion can just be discerned.

In contrast, the views in the lower register often display the entire city. These paintings give greater attention to the fortresses, citadels appearing prominently in half of them. For instance, there seems little specific focus at all to the portraits of Empoli, Lucignano, and Scarperia. In each case, the foreground locates the viewer towards the main gate of the city. The view of Lucignano places its fortress, begun in 1555 to a design of Camerini but never finished, off to the left, though it still feels prominent in the composition (figure 61).[49] *Livorno* and *Piombino* both also highlight their military architecture. The viewer observes Piombino from land, while Livorno is seen as if from the water. *Piombino* pushes its newest fortress, mostly built 1552–55 by Camerini, towards the viewer, while in the background can be seen the old palace with defenses built by Leonardo da Vinci in 1502 and 1504 (figure 60).[50] In *Livorno*, the Fortezza Vecchia faces the audience (figure 67). Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio designed this fort

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[48] MAP, 2413, 6332.
[49] MAP, 4973.
[50] On Leonardo's fortifications at Piombino, see Fara, "Leonardo a Piombino"; Paolo Ghelardoni, *Piombino: Profilo di Storia Urbana*, Biblioteca del "bollettino storica pisano," 19 (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1977), 33–41. Between 17 and 31 August Camerini and Belluzzi surveyed and planned the new defenses, Lamberini, "Regesto," 390. Camerini reported to Cosimo on the site for the construction of his fortress on 1 September 1552. MAP, 6433. Camerini's report to Cosimo in 1555 would seem to indicate that they are in the finishing stages, covering the walls. MAP, 7279. Payments were still made to various workers in that year, and even as late as 1563 Cosimo ordered payment for Battista di Bernardo da Lugano, "capomaestro" of the fortifications. MAP, 7298, 3514, 19565. Bardeschi dates the fortress to 1552–54.

in 1506, but it was not finished until 1518, subsequently modified in 1534, and in 1542–43 was renovated by Unghero to form part of the ducal palace. Belluzzi worked at Livorno in 1545, but focused on its landward defenses.[51] Meanwhile, *Montecarlo* presents its fortress prominently in the foreground (figure 62). The city trails off behind the hill, making the desired emphasis clear.

Montecarlo is one of three views to display a populated topography. It shows three small figures straggling up the windy road under the shadow of the fortress in the foreground. *Florence* and *Siena*, the other two views to contain figures, both show more intimate sections of the city. They place their defenses prominently in the foreground, with the rest of the city falling back in the distance. In *Florence*, Belluzzi's new bastioned wall (1546–47) in the Oltr'Arno is the subject of the portrait (figure 64); Siena offers the small forts at the Porta Camollia (figure 65).[52] The figures in *Florence* work at constructing the bastions with the aid of pack animals. Florence's medieval walls surround the viewing position, moving in and out of the picture frame. The new fortified wall climbs up to the artillery platform called "il Cavaliere," while in the background to the far right the fortress of San Miniato can be seen. The population of the *Siena* painting appears to travel to and from the city. The figures and the more intimate focus in these two views give Florence and Siena a greater narrative feel compared to the static imagery of the other city portraits. All, however, leave little doubt about the importance of the fortifications to the decorative scheme.

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[51] MAP, 79; Lamberini, "Regesto," 388. The Fortezza Vecchia at that time was simply the Fortezza—the Fortezza Nuova was not built until 1590–94 by Buontalenti.
[52] On Belluzzi in Florence, Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:82–97; Lamberini, "Regesto," 388.

The Importance of Fortifications in the Sixteenth Century

Form and Use of Fortifications in the Sixteenth Century

The sixteen paintings exemplify the general concern of all sixteenth-century rulers with fortification. Following the French invasion of 1494, defenses across Europe underwent substantial revision. Old city walls and castles, tall and relatively thin, were deemed no longer practical in the face of a growing use of artillery. Prior to Charles VIII's invasion of Italy, artillery had been used in sieges, but not in as concentrated an effort. Wars had involved the use of artillery since the early fourteenth century, but only sporadically. The expense and the weight of the guns made them impractical to bring as an offensive weapon in a siege. Early artillery's basic form consisted of a bombard, either a squat megaphone shape or a cylindrical shape, with a surrounding frame subsequently constructed to hold it in place.[53] Consequently, artillery before 1494 was most often used for defense, since this required no travel logistics. France's march across Italy to conquer Naples changed the perception of artillery by the speed of the march. The army brought new, lighter guns that could be transported on wheeled carts, permitting more guns to be brought to bear on city walls. Once artillery was turned on the medieval walls, the inefficiency of those walls to withstand bombardment became clear, requiring a new defense.[54]

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[53] For a description of these bombards, and their change to more maneuverable artillery, see Bert S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics*, Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 55–66, 121.

[54] Ironically, Charles VIII conquered Naples without almost a single firing of his artillery. He used it only against Monte S. Giovanni. Every other city or state he approached surrendered peacefully, even Naples. It was the potential threat of his guns, and the speed by which he conquered, that made the invasion so momentous for the sixteenth century. This tale of the development of bastioned fortification as due to the invasion of the French in 1494 is oft-repeated, so that it has become over-simplified. In fact, artillery developments continued throughout the fourteenth century, given impetus by constant warfare during that

The bastion formed the solution to this problem of defense. Essentially an outcropping from the defensive walls, the bastion served two functions: It was a large platform for the placement of artillery, and it provided the ability to fire along the flank of the wall (called *enfilade* fire; figure 274). Early experiments at renovating medieval walls proved that simply widening them by adding banks of earth on the interior would give the minimum width necessary for cannons, but would not stop a breaching of the walls—a constant battery would break through eventually no matter how thick. *Enfilade* fire was required then to cover the curtain in case of a breach and an attempted storm of the enemy.[55] Italian architects had already begun experimenting with bastion forms in the later fifteenth century before the French invasion. Giuliano da Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo the Elder would first begin using the angular bastion as a deliberate defensive system, as seen in Giuliano's 1487 designs for Poggio Imperiale and Antonio's Civita Castellana fortress in 1494 (figures 275–76).[56]

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century. France achieved the greatest developments in making its artillery mobile, during its war with England, and hence was able to bring siege trains to Italy. The Italians at that time had had very little experience with such portable artillery. Consequently, it was the Italians' perceptions of these siege trains and their potential that left them so awestruck. Hall gives a thorough account of the development of artillery and its use in warfare through the early modern period. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare*, 105–33, and passim. For a thorough account of Charles VIII's invasion of Italy, see Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 2, *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978), 448–82. For a brief summary of these points together with their effect on fortress warfare, see Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 8–11; Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 8–11.

[55] For a brief summary of the principles of artillery fortification and the bastioned defense, see Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 2, 25; Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 3–6.

[56] Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 29. The history of the bastion has been written many times, see ibid., 2–7, 23–40; J. R Hale, "The Early Development of the Bastion: An Italian Chronology c. 1450–c. 1534," in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. J. R. Hale, R. L. Highfield, and B. Smalley (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1965): 466–94; Horst de la Croix, *Military Considerations in City Planning* (New York: George Braziller, 1972), 39–48; Amelio Fara, *La città di guerra nell'Europa moderna* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore s.p.a., 1993), especially 5–7.

Charles VIII's invasion sparked the so-called Wars of Italy that lasted until 1559.[57] With the almost permanent state of warfare during the first half of the Cinquecento, artillery fortification made dramatic technical developments in a short amount of time. The angled bastion became the cornerstone of a system of defense, despite attempts by some designers, including Albrecht Dürer in his 1527 treatise on fortification, to use rounded bastions.[58] The round bastion left dead space at its end where artillery could not reach, allowing enemy forces to dig mines or scale walls (figure 274). Designers had long known this problem because of the round medieval towers along city walls. The angled bastion allowed the *enfilade* fire to scrape the walls along the entire flank to its salient, leaving no space unprotected. It soon was employed ubiquitously and ever more elaborately throughout the sixteenth century. The bastion design spread from Italy to all parts of Europe and its holdings, from Antwerp to Cypress and Malta, through Italian military architects.

The ubiquitous warfare made fortifications absolutely necessary to European rulers. Following the major technological developments of artillery in the fifteenth century, little changed in their production in the sixteenth.[59] But developments in their use made artillery ever more devastating. Advances in ballistics, especially those of Niccolò Tartaglia, gave mathematical foundations to the firing of artillery, so that they became more accurate and more destructive.[60] Experiments with artillery deployment at

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[57] Oman in books 1 and 2 offers a good overview of the Wars of Italy, which lasted from Charles VIII's invasion from 1494 to 1559 with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. See especially his summaries, Sir Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1937), 3–13, 211–28, and the more in-depth 14–101.
[58] Albrecht Dürer, *Etliche underricht zu befestigung*. Also see Fara, *Dürer teorico*.
[59] Hall, *Weapons and Warfare*.
[60] Niccolò Tartaglia, *La Nova Scientia*, 1537. Also Mary J. Voss, "Between the Cannon and the Book: Mathematicians and Military Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy" (Ph.D. Diss., The Johns Hopkins

sieges and employment on the battlefield kept designers of defense constantly adapting to offset the offensive advantages.[61] With the increase in firearms, battles became more deadly. Consequently commanders tried to avoid battles on the field. Warfare became increasingly focused on sieges, requiring more artillery, more advanced fortifications, and, of course, more bodies, to surround the city during a siege, and to account for the greater casualties.[62] Fortifications became so important that their construction consistently accounted for the greatest part of a ruler's budget, short of paying for an entire army's campaigning season.[63]

Exterior defense was not the only reason for the fortification of a city. Both rulers and subjects considered the building of fortresses as a way of controlling the citizens, as an interior defense against rebellion or as tyrannical dominance, depending on one's viewpoint.[64] Partly for this reason Alessandro de' Medici had Antonio da Sangallo build

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University, 1994); Giovanni Battista Gabrieli, *Nicolo Tartaglia: Invenzioni, disfide, e sfortune* (Siena: Università degli Studi di Siena, 1986), especially 37–42.

[61] Oman, *History of the Art of War*, 28–29.

[62] Following particularly bloody battles at Ravenna (11 April 1512) and Pavia (24 February 1525), both of which began as sieges but ended as field battles, very few large-scale battles were fought on the open field. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare*, 157–90; Oman, *History of the Art of War*, 28, also 130–50 for Ravenna, 186–210 for Pavia.

[63] Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 29–32. Cosimo I frequently complained about the cost of fortifications. His letters regarding Piombino in 1545 express his anxiety, saying that he could not afford it and requesting the emperor to field the expenses. MAP, 3924, 3930. Cosimo apparently was quite serious about his financial situation. In 1543, he was forced to temporarily halt fortification work in Pisa, Pistoia, Arezzo, and Prato, due to a budget shortfall of 24,000 *scudi*. MAP, 3821, 16918. In 1547, he told Jacopo VI de' Appiani, ruler of Piombino, that he expected reimbursement, and that he would no longer underwrite the fortification costs. MAP, 4398. The individual cities apparently sometimes helped to defray costs. On 5 August 1540, Arezzo's governors asked to raise the salt tax to help pay for the defenses. MAP, 19388. In September 1546, representatives in Montepulciano agreed to pay 800 *scudi* a year for theirs. MAP, 7613.

[64] In this interpretation, I follow Pepper, "Siege Law"; Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles." The fortress' associations of control over a populace had been carried over from at least the fourteenth century. The Este built the castle in Ferrara directly in response to an uprising against their rule in 1385. Alberti and Filarete both described the citadel as establishing rule through architecture by means of repression. Sixteenth-century political theorists such as Guicciardini and Machiavelli continued the discussion of fortresses used in this way, but turned the associations to the negative one of tyranny. See Woods-Marsden, "Pictorial Legitimation," 133–34.

the Fortezza da Basso, begun in 1534 (figures 277–78).[65] Contemporary commentators clearly recognized the citadel as a means of controlling the citizens of Florence. Bernardo Segni in his *Storie fiorentine* wrote how Alessandro intended the fortress "to place on the necks of the Florentines a yoke of a kind never experienced before; a citadel, whereby the citizens lost all hope of ever living in freedom."[66] Even Vasari interpreted it as a "bit and curb-rein … being made ready for certain folk who had hitherto been in the habit of pulling the check-string themselves" in a letter to Pietro Aretino written 15 July 1534.[67] Duke Cosimo learned this lesson of the civic fortress early, when Alessandro Vitelli took over the Fortezza da Basso upon Cosimo's election. Alessandro Vitelli served Emperor Charles V as commander of his forces in Florence, and held the fortress as insurance for the emperor until 1543.[68] Commentators considered the duke to have learned this lesson well, as an A. Gussoni levied the same accusations against the San Miniato fortress in 1576. He said it provided "defense against foreign people," but was "principally a bit for the people."[69] For the same reason, and even more deliberately so, Charles V ordered the citadel built at Siena in 1550, when the Sienese became increasingly agitated under imperial rule. Unfortunately in this case the citadel did not work to protect the hegemony

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[65] Simon Pepper, "Body, Diagram, and Geometry in the Renaissance Fortress," in *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture*, ed. George Dodds and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002), 124–25; Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, 123–25; Hale, "End of Florentine Liberty."

[66] Quoted in Pepper, "Siege Law," 589; Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, 124.

[67] "… e si vedervano tali volti bianchi in aaspetto a essere strumento di metter tal morso a chi l'ha messo a tanti." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:247. Quoted in Carden, *Life of Giorgio Vasari*, 25–26.

[68] Cosimo received the Fortezza da Basso and the Fortezza at Livorno from the emperor in May, having paid him 100,000 *scudi*. He formally took possession of the former 3 July, and the latter 7 July. Van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 1–2; Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 20–21, 49; MAP, 6019, 3879, 3905.

[69] "a qualche difesa di gente forestiera," "principalmente per freno dei popoli." Quoted in Cristelli, notes to *Arezzo ed il suo capitinato*, 16–17 n. 8. Tommaso Contarini wrote similarly of the fortresses of the *dominio*, singling out Arezzo especially, in 1581. As already noted, the Florentines had built the fortress at Arezzo originally in response to a rebellion there in 1502, so were not innocent of applying the "bit." Ibid.

of the ruler. Before it was finished the Sienese rebelled, threw out the Spanish, and tore down the citadel in 1552.[70] The Sienese fortress had been the provocation that broke the status quo, the Republican Sienese providing a living demonstration of Segni's perception. Despite the perception of imposed tyrannical rule that the fortress carried, it did serve as a useful retreat in times of warfare. Many sieges ended with the garrison retreating from the city walls to the fortress, a time-honored refuge derived from the ancient keep or donjon.[71]

Cosimo's Interest in Fortifications

Cosimo's attention to fortification immediately upon taking command has already been demonstrated. The events surrounding his election demanded it. Even in the first weeks, rebels, unruly subjects, and foreign powers threatened his reign. The *fuorusciti* raised troops in the south to threaten Montepulciano. The Farnese under Pope Paul III, who also had designs on Florence's territory, tried to capture the fortress at Pisa, while the Marquis of Vasto marched imperial troops down the coast towards Livorno, sacking Fivizzano. Vitelli's colleague at Pisa followed his example with the Fortezza da Basso and took control of the Livorno fortress in the name of the emperor. Meanwhile the citizens of Borgo San Sepolcro and those of Pistoia both separately revived old feuds and began fighting among themselves.[72] Cosimo's diplomacy and quick action handled these problems. Then, in April 1537, Piero Strozzi led 400 infantry and 100 cavalry of

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[70] Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 58–62.
[71] On the donjon, keep, fortress, and their use, see Hogg, *History of Fortification*. Republican troops did this with much success at Arezzo and at Volterra during the siege of Florence.
[72] On Vitelli's taking of the fortress, Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 5:299–302; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 720–21. On the problems with the Pistoiese, Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 5:326–34; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 740–41; Spini, *Independenza del principato mediceo*, 63–66. On the crises of the first months of 1537 in general, Spini, *Independenza del principato mediceo*, 32–84; van Veen, *Cosimo I and his Self-representation*, 1–2; Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 20–21.

fuorusciti, including the young Benedetto Varchi, against Borgo San Sepolcro. This scheme failed because Cosimo's captains Otto da Montauto and Ridolfo Baglioni had preceded them with a larger force.[73] Shortly thereafter, on 1 August, was the battle of Montemurlo, checking the *fuorusciti* army before they could reach Pistoia. This battle ended the first chaotic months of Cosimo's rule, and must have demonstrated to him the importance of military readiness and well-defended cities.

The duke's letters reveal his concern with the defense of his land. They are full of orders, questions, directives, and requests concerning the military architecture being built around Tuscany. As early as 12 January 1537, only eight days after being elected duke, he wrote to Arezzo concerning the storage of munitions for the fortifications there.[74] In his first year Cosimo ordered fortification work at Prato, Arezzo, Borgo San Sepolcro, Castrocaro, and the Rocca San Casciano in the Romagna, at that time part of Tuscany and forming the border with the papal states.[75] Various letters show his personal concern with their expense (Borgo San Sepolcro and Prato), their design and construction (Borgo San Sepolcro, Prato, Castrocaro), their continued work in spite of local opposition (Prato), and their staffing and provision (Arezzo, Rocca San Casciano, and Cortona), among other issues.

The duke continued this avid interest throughout his reign. He turned his attention to Pistoia and Scarperia in 1538, Fivizzano in 1539, and Montepulciano and Livorno in 1540. By 1543, fortification work had begun at Pisa, Firenzuola, Piombino, and the

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[73] Strozzi's band then attacked the castle Stesino, where they lost sixty men. Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 5:348–65; Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 726–27; Spini, *Independenza del principato mediceo*, 63; "Condottieri di Ventura [Piero Strozzi]." Cochrane cites the failure as due to lack of supplies. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 27–32.
[74] MAP, 12616.
[75] MAP, 12623, 827, 12677, 15462, 12681, 12683, 12684.

fortress of San Miniato in Florence.[76] By 1548 work had begun on the defenses of Portoferraio, while work continued at many of the other sites. His letters reveal his deep concern with the projects, with the protection of his territory, and especially with the costs. He speaks with authority on the efficacy of existing fortifications of various places, as his letters concerning the fortifications of Piombino make clear. There the inadequacy of the defenses and the inept rule of the Appiani left open Tuscany's borders to the imposing threat of a Franco-Turkish fleet in 1543. The duke continually wrote to the emperor regarding the impotence of Piombino and the danger to his subjects, asking either that Charles fortify the city or cede control to Tuscany.[77] Cosimo also personally visited many of the construction sites to inspect the defenses, and personally approved plans projected for them. For instance, Cosimo visited fortifications in Pisa in 1542, 1548, and 1552, Prato in 1544 and 1546, Livorno and Pistoia in 1545, and Cortona, Borgo San Sepolcro, and Arezzo also in 1546.[78] Paintings in the Palazzo Vecchio celebrate this personal attention to and knowledge of military architecture. The *tondo* showing the duke inspecting the fortifications at Portoferraio illustrates his fortification-specific travels. The *tondo* of the duke with his artists and architects, in which he holds a compass and square, the tools of the architect's trade, suggests his abilities in that field. In the Salone, Cosimo puts those tools to use in his study of a plan of Siena's defenses. Although a model of the city sits before him, Cosimo ignores it to measure the diagram of the fort instead. The special training necessary for the reading of plans usually required

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[76] On Piombino, MAP, 3908, 3914, 6070, 6054.
[77] MAP, 3922, 3924, 3930, 6242, 3998, 4398, 7451, 4690, 4679.
[78] MAP, 5937, 8019, 686, 6449, 6454, 6332, 19790, 4328. For more on Cosimo's personal interest in fortification, see Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 189; Borsi, *Architettura del principe*, 41.

architects to present fortification designs in the form of models to their patrons.[79] Vasari's painting makes a blatant statement of Cosimo's technical capacity in military matters. The paintings in the Sala di Cosimo I of the cities fortified by him represent, then, his very real and personal interest in their defenses.

Other Images of Fortification

Views of cities already held an established place in the collecting practices of European rulers. Images of castles and fortresses made up a subset of this genre. Since at least the fourteenth century, rulers had used such views to celebrate their territorial gains, those gains marked physically by the building of a castle in that area, again on the principle of a fortress representing authority over the region.[80] The Sienese, for example, painted an idealized view of Montemassi in the Sala di Mappamundo in the Palazzo Pubblico, attributed to Simone Martini in 1328 (figure 279). In a prolonged siege of the castle that year, Siena recaptured the rebelling castle, and subsequently commemorated the victory with a portrait of the commanding condottiere and the city submitted to their control. In the fifteenth century, Sigismondo Malatesta used similar imagery with his castle at Rimini, Costanzo Sforza did so with Pesaro, and Pier Maria Rossi created a decorative scheme of his dominion at one of his castles, Torrechiara. Malatesta and Sforza broadcast their territorial gains on medals with image of the castles on their reverse, almost as an *impresa*. These medals were sent to other rulers, as propaganda, but

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[79] Pepper offers evidence for the use of models to present fortifications to uninitiated patrons, citing the painting showing Cosimo studying the defenses of Siena as part of that evidence. He misses, as everyone else has, the fact that Cosimo studies the plan and not the model. Pepper, "Artisans, Architects, and Aristocrats," 120, 128–29.

[80] Hogg, *History of Fortification*, 38, 60; Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles," 130–31.

also were put in the foundations of fortresses for posterity.[81] Cosimo would later do the same, having medals founded with his portrait on the front and a bird's-eye view of the respective fortress on the reverse (figure 280). He had such medals installed in the foundations of his fortresses, for instance at Portoferraio, Arezzo, Cortona, and Borgo Sansepolcro in 1546 and 1548.[82] Sigismondo even had Piero della Francesca include his Castello Sismondo, built 1437–46, as a portrait medallion in the *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta before St. Sigismond*, painted in the Tempio Maletestiano in 1451 (figure 281).[83] Torrechiara also included images of fortresses. Rossi placed depictions of the twenty castles that marked his territory around the Camera Peregrina Aurea according to their geographic locations (figure 273). The castle views mapped out the boundaries of Rossi's territorial power. Rossi, in fact, shared with Cosimo an interest in military architecture and a desperate sense of its necessity to protect his domain from external threats.[84]

With the popularization of the city view in the sixteenth century, such deliberate fortress images seem to have lost popularity. None are known in Italy until the Palazzo Vecchio decorations. City views became instead a desirable decorative scheme. They carried encomiastic celebrations of the greatness of those cities and their domains, such as Jacopo de'Barbari's 1500 view of Venice (figure 79), or offered a source for

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[81] Woods-Marsden, "Pictorial Legitimation," 553; Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles," 132–33.
[82] Lamberini, "Military Architecture of Belluzzi," 13; MAP, 2464, 6380.
[83] Woods-Marsden argued that this painting was a deliberate message of warning and confrontation. Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles," 135. But see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Fresco of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta before St. Sigismund...," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): especially 356–63.
[84] The threats came from Milan and the Sforza, Rossi's old allies under Francesco. Lodovico il Moro, upon taking command, considered Rossi's power a threat to his own rule. Unfortunately, Rossi's carefully constructed defenses did not prove adequate to protect him from Lodovico. Woods-Marsden, "Pictorial Legitimation," 553–54, 559, and passim.

humanistic study, as in Francesco II Gonzaga's Camera della Citate from 1493–94 in his country house at Gonzaga, which did not consist of territorial possessions.[85] The Sala di Cosimo I images depict cities of Cosimo's dominion, certainly in an encomiastic sense, but more so in a return to the ideas of power and possession of the earlier fortress images. The new defenses Cosimo ordered made each city in effect a fortress, while the paintings' focus on those new fortifications demonstrates Vasari's intent for a similar program to that at Torrechiara.

The only project comparable to the Sala di Cosimo I city views took place shortly after it under Philip II of Spain. King Philip hired Anton van den Wyngaerde to produce views of all the important Spanish cities. As discussed in chapter 1, van den Wyngaerde spent from 1562 to 1575 traveling and preparing these views, which depict the various cities as seen on site. These Spanish views follow in the encomiastic tradition, yet return to the possessiveness of Torrechiara as well. Together they present to Philip II the scope of his Spanish dominion. Other projects fill in Philip II's hegemony, with Jacob van Deventer (1505–75) producing maps of the Spanish possessions in the Netherlands from 1559 to 1575, and similar productions for those in the New World.[86]

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[85] On the view of Venice, see Schulz, "View of Venice"; also Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors." Francesco II's room of cities was one of four rooms he decorated with maps and city views. The others were the Camera del Mappimundi and the Camera Graeca at Marmirolo, both done in 1494, and a room in the Palazzo del San Sebastiano in Mantua, done 1506–12. Bourne argues that Francesco's Camera della Citate was an effort to place himself and his state within a wider world picture, raising it to the same status and position as the great cities of the world, at least to his own perception. Bourne, "Maps as Palace Decoration," especially 52–53. Kagan mentions a room of city views at Gian Giacomo Medici's villa at Melegnano in 1548, which he suggests was a source of inspiration for Philip II's commissioning of Anton van den Wyngaerde to make views of Spanish cities. Kagan, "Art of the Cityscape," 134. This is the same Gian Giacomo, Marquis of Marignano, who served as general of Cosimo I's troops, though there seems to be no connection between the *Palazzo Vecchio* and the Melegnano views.

[86] Kagan, "Philip II and the Geographers"; Kagan, "Art of the Cityscape"; Craib, "Cartography and Power"; Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 61–62. On maps being used to assert dominion in general, see Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power."

Iconography of Fortifications in the Palazzo Vecchio City Views

The Palazzo Vecchio views differ from the Spanish program in their presentation of military architecture over other areas of civic life. While the Spanish views depict a more verisimilar portrait of a city, with streets sprawling over the natural topography of its setting, the Florentine views show their cities more as self-contained units. They appear in a natural setting, but hardly participate within it. Stradano's views remove the urban life visible in the Spanish ones, presenting the city in the manner of Malatesta's medals. In fact, most of the views resemble architectural models more than a depiction of the actual city in their lack of animation.[87]

The framing device of the lower register only adds to this effect. The cartouche-like frame very much resembles an *impresa*, the fictive bronze grotesques reminding the viewer of medals on the reverse of which such *imprese* would appear. Vasari made this association explicit in the *Ragionamenti*. He describes the lower city portraits, through the mouth of Prince Francesco, as "in the manner of medals."[88] In this way Cosimo, much like Malatesta before him, identified those city-fortresses with himself as their ruler.[89] The domain they represent is an extension of him, thereby extending his dominion throughout the regions of Tuscany over which those cities have control. The cities in the triangular paintings may represent the more powerful border cities and their defenses for which Cosimo was responsible, but the *imprese*-like cities below define a

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[87] Pepper makes mention in his article of depictions of models in the *Palazzo Vecchio* decorations, but it is unclear if he is referring only to the actual models shown, as that of Siena which Cosimo studies in the Salone, or includes these images as well. The latter seems doubtful since they are really supposed to be cities, but remains possible. Pepper, "Siege Law," 587–88.

[88] "fatti a uso di medaglie." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:195. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 366.

[89] Sigismondo named his castle after himself, and many contemporary documents record his personal identification with it. Not only did Cosimo create medals and place them in foundations like Sigismondo, but he even mirrored his predecessor to the point of naming a fortress-city after himself: Cosmopoli. On Sigismondo identifying with his castle, see Woods-Marsden, "Images of Castles," 132.

second border to the state, an extension of Cosimo himself and his rule. This may help to explain why Florence and Siena appear in this lower register, being the capitals of both the new Tuscany and the old state just conquered. *Livorno*, *Piombino*, *Lucignano*, and *Scarperia* meanwhile mark roughly the four corners of Cosimo's authority, even though Piombino was not technically part of the duchy. What the allegories display explicitly, by Cosimo crowning the cities with his authority, the lower frieze represents symbolically with its seemingly straightforward portraits. The overlapping of the duke's head over the cities in the background of the allegories may also refer to this idea of medals, with Cosimo's head in front, and the city behind it.

With this association, the images of Tuscan fortifications became symbols of the strength and wealth of the duchy, personified by its duke. At first glance, each city representation, made fortress by its new defenses, is akin to one of Rossi's citadels, and hence is symbolic of Cosimo's dominion.[90] More specifically, the representations of power inherent within the defenses would not be lost on a contemporary viewer, who would have been well aware of the resources required for such a construction undertaking. Every one of the cities had been given fortifications *alla moderna*, meaning the new bastioned system. This could, for instance, refer to the new bastions at Pisa, or the renovations of the fortresses at Borgo San Sepolcro and Arezzo. Many of them had also been given fortifications *all'reale*, literally meaning king-size, but used in reference to an entire ring of a fortified system of defense, such as the new walls of Fivizzano. These defenses signaled a strong state; the greater the number, the greater the strength.

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[90] This interpretation fits well with the general interpretation of Cosimo's rule and the Medici myth offered by Kurt Forster and later Janet Cox-Rearick. Forster, "Metaphors of Rule"; Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny*. That authoritative interpretation has lately been revised by Th. Henk van Veen for those commissions after 1560. Van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*.

The perimeter ring of fortifications *alla moderna* also represented the great wealth of Tuscany. The cost of their construction, especially *all'reale*, was not only often prohibitive itself, but the expense for the manpower and artillery to equip them was similarly exorbitant. While a well-designed system of defense required fewer soldiers to defend it, fortifications *all'reale* required a much larger garrison than just a fortress.[91] Despite Cosimo's posturing over the expense of Piombino, Tuscany was quite wealthy by the 1550s. The duchy had a relatively large standing army, as these images of military architecture would suggest.[92] Cosimo could repeatedly send forces to aid the emperor in battle, as at Ceresole in 1544, and later the naval battle of Lepanto in 1571.[93] The images of fortified cities indicated this prosperity and preparedness.

Yet despite their acknowledged associations of power, the views can also be interpreted as rejections of despotism. They focus on the areas of the cities in which the city walls were refortified. While fortresses served as manifestations of control or symbols of tyranny (depending on the interested party), walls were symbols of freedom, representing a city's independence and liberty.[94] To this purpose, Stradano tended to push the fortresses of the cities to the background or place them outside of the frame, hiding those symbols of authoritative rule. The manipulation of the city views may be intended

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[91] Pepper and Adams report, for example, that to have fully armed Antonio da Sangallo's double bastion at the Porta Ardeatina in Rome would have required about two-thirds of the heavy guns in Florence's entire arsenal. This was only a single bastion, albeit a large one on a scale not built again until the seventeenth century, and demonstrates why Rome could not afford to finish the proposed line of new walls. Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 22–27. On provisioning in general, see also Christopher Duffy, *Fire and Stone: The Science of Fortress Warfare, 1660–1860* (Newton Abbot, England, and Vancouver: David and Charles Ltd., 1975), 81–85.

[92] For a discussion of Tuscany's wealth in relation to its military status, see Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 12–14, 30–31.

[93] For Ceresole, see Oman, *History of the Art of War*, 229–43; for Lepanto, ibid., 729–35. On this point, also see the description of events under entry C-I.2, appendix 1.

[94] Pepper, "Siege Law," 589.

to costume Cosimo's oft-attested iron grip on all parts of Florentine culture and society. The most infamous manifestations of this control universally raised by scholars were the Pratica Segreta, the circle of ministers formed in 1547 that controlled everything and answered only to him, the Legge Polverina of 1548, that made challenging his authority punishable by law, and his spy network.[95] Yet at the same time, the city images seem to genuinely celebrate a new Tuscany harmonized into a unitary state through Cosimo's efforts at bureaucratic reform.

Another image in the room may offer a clue to interpretation of the views. Vasari changed the tondo of *Cosimo among the Artists of His Court* from a theme of military architecture to an emphasis on public works (figure 270). The original drawing for the tondo, dated c. 1556, shows the figure that now represents Tasso as holding a model of fortifications (figure 271–72). Tasso did design military architecture, but in the painting Vasari changed the fortification model to a model of the Mercato Nuovo. In addition, the painted Tribolo holds a model of his fountain at the Medici villa of Castello, which also does not appear in the drawing. The drawn figure located where Vasari's self-portrait appears in the painting also holds a plan of a quadrilateral fortress. The artist subsequently changed the design to the sanitized plan of rooms in the painting. In fact, the majority of the figures shown by Vasari and mentioned by him in the *Ragionamenti*

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[95] Th. Henk van Veen most recently reiterated these measures in relation to Cosimo's artistic commissions, making no effort to hide his disapproval: "In 1547 [Duke Cosimo] formed the all-powerful Pratica Segreta, consisting of himself and his ministers. Lacking any constitutional basis, this institution was uncontrolled if only because it was uncontrollable. The following year he promulgated the draconian Legge Polverina, which prescribed severe punishments for challenging his authority. A network of spies and an extensive police force ensured law and order." Van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 2. Eric Cochrane offers a more balanced view, presenting Cosimo's rule as both authoritarian and liberal. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 13–92.

were responsible for fortifications in some form.[96] Most of them also designed public works, such as Tasso's Mercato and Tribolo's fountain.[97] The prince, in Vasari's *Ragionamenti*, recognizes the original concept where he asks Vasari to "come to the description of the last *tondo*, showing the duke seated amidst several architects and engineers, who are portrayed from life holding models of fortifications."[98] Vasari seems to have realized that, while in keeping with the fortification focus of the room, a painting of the duke surrounded by his military architects would present Cosimo as subjugating his duchy with military architecture. The inclusion of his most important military architects, such as Belluzzi and Unghero (now pushed to the background), and the compass and square held in Cosimo's right hand, acknowledge the duke's military ability and strength. But by changing the models, Vasari altered the association of the painting from a tyrant imposing authoritarian control, to that of a liberal prince worthy of his position. This suggests that Vasari intended to present the duke as similarly liberal in the city views, but it does not necessarily mean that he intended to mask Cosimo's authority.

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[96] Tribolo, Porta a Pinti of Florence, 1552; Baccio Bandinelli, Porta San Friano of Florence, 1552; Benvenuto Cellini, the Porta al Prato of Florence and another gate by the Arno (Prato d'Ognissanti?), 1552; Francesco di Ser Jacopo, Provveditore del Castello; Nanni Unghero, many; Giovanni Battista Belluzzi, many; Luca Martini, Provveditore of Pisa and Portoferraio. For the gates of Florence, see Cellini 1961, 459–62. Those not involved in fortification design—Battista del Tasso, Giorgio Vasari, and Bartolomeo Ammanati—all acted as architect for the duke's residences, the first two on the *Palazzo Vecchio* and the latter on the Pitti.

[97] Edelstein explains how the fountain at the Medici Villa at Castello was originally intended to serve as a water reservoir for the city of Florence (though the aqueduct was never completed), and thereby represents the benevolence of Cosimo as an ideal prince. The iconnography of the garden's sculpture and waterworks represented this very benevolence. Bruce L. Edelstein, "'Acqua viva e corrente': Private Display and Public Distribution of Fresh Water at the Neapolitan Villa of Poggioreale as a Hydraulic Model for Sixteenth-Century Medici Gardens," in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, eds. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 191–95.

[98] "Venite alla dichiarazione di questo ultimo tondo, dove è il duca a sedere in mezzo a tanti architettori ed ingegneri ritratti di naturale, con i modelli di tante fortificazioni." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 362.

In fact, the duke's administration was more complex than a simple autocracy-liberty comparison allows, and the city views share that complexity in their expression of that government. Throughout his rule, Cosimo sought to consolidate power by incorporating the disparate parts of his state into a more cohesive unit.[99] His methods put control more securely in his sole hands while simultaneously avoiding the accusation of tyrant and allowing for more stable government. In the early years of his ducal career, he turned to the lower classes of the plebians and the *popolo* for support, giving them greater liberties. During those tumultuous times he also looked to the Florentine *dominio*, appealing to their governors on the basis of loyalty to his heroic father, Giovanni dalle Bande Nere. Over time the duke made a show of treating the *dominio* cities as near-equals to the capital city in the forming of his new Tuscan state. This differed significantly from their previous status under the Republic, as sources of revenue for the support of Florence.[100] For instance, in 1546, one year before the institution of the Pratica Segreta, he returned to Pistoia a measure of independent governance with the so-called "restitution of honors." Since 1538, Pistoia had been under strict control in order to curb the internal feuding of its inhabitants that had begun with the inception of Cosimo's rule. The duke had been building the Fortezza di Santa Barbara there in part to control the tumultuous populace. The restitution of Pistoia's governing offices returned its liberty in principle, though with limited independence in practice. Local citizens filled the offices,

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[99] For general comments on Cosimo's consolidation and reform of government, see van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 1–4; Lamberini 2002; Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 13–92, especially 53–66.
[100] Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 27–29.

but the duke's representatives oversaw those offices and their decisions.[101] The lack of full autonomy was characteristic of Cosimo's governing system. He had a group of ministers (*commissari*) that were placed in charge of each major city for a few years (usually two to three) and were under Cosimo's direct supervision through his secretaries. These ministers came from all cities of the duchy, and were promoted through their competence, rather than the Republic's practice of appointing governors only from the Florentine oligarchy. The system placed the *dominio* cities on a more equal footing to the capital city, while leaving the reins of government in Cosimo's grip.[102]

The city views illustrate this consolidation. The granting of the crenellated crown in certain of the allegories makes Cosimo's act of recognizing the individuality of each city more apparent.[103] His presentation of the olive branch in the *Pistoia* supports the individuality represented by the walls in the background, referencing the "restitution of honors" of 1546 that recognized the city's peacefulness. The paintings in both friezes replace the idea of the *dominio* with one of a more unitary Tuscany. The equalizing of stature helps to explain Florence's appearance in the lower register, demonstrating its

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[101] On the Medici governing of Pistoia and the "restitution of honors," see Carlo Vivoli, "Cittadini pistoiesi e ufficiali granducali nel governo di Pistoia medicea," in *Il territorio pistoiese nel granducato di Toscana*, eds. Alberto Cipriani, Vanna Torelli Vignali, and Carlo Vivoli, Biblioteca storica pistoiese, 12 (Pistoia: Società pistoiese di storia patria, 2006), especially 3–6; Giovanni Cipriani, "Dai Medici ai Lorena: politica—cultura—vita cittadina," in Storia di Pistoia, vol. 3, ed. Giuliano Pinto (Florence: Casa Editrice Flice le Monnier, 1999), 81–82, 86; Pinto, "Sintesi finale," 453. On Pistoia's feuds, Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 21.

[102] See, for instance, the career of Giovanni Battista Tedaldi, *Commissario* of Arezzo 1565–66, and then of Pistoia in 1569, from which he was subsequently transferred to govern Pisa, where he died in 1575. Cristelli, "Introduzione," 5–8; Cipriani, "Dai Medici ai Lorena," 89–92; Vivoli, "Cittadini pistoiesi ," 7. Other important positions of the bureaucracy were the *segretari* and *provvedetori*. Daniela Lamberini, "Strategie difensive e politica territoriale di Cosimo I dei Medici nell'operato di un suo provveditore," in *Il Principe architetto: atti del Convegno internazionale Mantova, 21–23 ottobre 1999*, eds. Arturo Calzona et. al., Ingenium, 4 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), 130; Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 55–59; Van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 1. It should be pointed out that Cosimo generally eschewed Florentines for high positions in public office.

[103] A similar case has been made for maps during the English Civil War, although in this case the growth in provincial identity and independence it bolstered led to a reaction against the ruler. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 60.

equal position among the other cities.[104] The technological developments of military architecture, which turned to renovating a city's entire defenses rather than focusing solely on a fortress, favored Cosimo in these associations. The changing trend permitted Vasari to use its liberty-or-tyranny symbolism in the Sala di Cosimo I. There, the duke's reconstructions of the individual cities' walls appear more as references to freedom. With that emphasis on walled defense, the illustrated cities of Tuscany together generate a conception of dominion founded in equal participation in a unitary state, avoiding despotic associations.[105]

Inaccuracies in the City Views

The expression of good government through city views continues the theme found in the Sala di Clemente VII. Like that room, the Sala di Cosimo I city views also contain discrepancies between the portraits and their subjects. In fact, many of the images differ substantially from their actal counterparts, to a greater degree than the images of the siege of Florence. Unlike the Clemente VII city views, however, the Cosimo I ones are unrelated to a specific history, as are their alterations. Their only apparent purpose, in fact, is to confuse the viewer's perception of the cities—a surprising position given that Vasari's stated purpose was to display the fortifications of those cities. The deliberateness

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[104] Van Veen interprets this placement of Florence similarly. Van Veen, *Cosimo I and His Self-representation*, 20.

[105] This interpretation is supported by J. N. Stephens' discussion of the Medici's rise to power in the second decade of the Cinquecento on the shoulders of their supporters among Florentine families, and how it would not have been possible without the conception of commune on which the Florentine Republic was founded. That commune depended on "a federation of clans whose common interest was the 'common good.'" J. N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic, 1512–1530*, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 124. Here the clans have become cities, the commune the duchy, yet the same ways of thinking about government formation are at work.

of Stradano's manipulations will become apparent in the further context of fortification culture, but first the nature of the inaccuracies must be determined.

Alterations in the View of Montecarlo

Montecarlo was one of the cities for which Vasari paid Michele Tosini to visit and make a plan. The plan, if made, no longer exists, and Stradano executed the painting. If Michele did make a plan, Stradano must not have used it. A comparison between the painting and a plan of the city shows how far from the natural situation Stradano's painting deviates (figures 62, 282–83).[106] First of all, the city itself is depicted as too large. Montecarlo does not have as many buildings as Stradano shows. The topographical situation of the city is also incorrect. The supposed viewing position is from the northwest, based on the location of the Rocca and the bastion. From there the town would appear flat, since the edge of the city remains within three meters of elevation from end to end. The city slopes away to the east, on the other side of the hill. Even the shape of the city itself is far from recognizable. Stradano shows it as round, with circular streets much in the way of Lucignano, but in fact the city's actual layout resembles more of an acute angle with the point at the fortress. The walls at the southern end even curve concavely, rather than the convex curve shown in the painting. The relationship of the Rocca and Cosimo's new bastion to the city and to each other approximates the actual fabric. However, since the proportions of the city are too large, the monuments appear too distant from each other. The new bastion actually lies not far from the Rocca along

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[106] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 153. Nuti not only attributes the painting to Tosini, she assumes that he used the plan in making the view. She offers it as evidence for the fidelity of the portraits, what she calls the "verità della rappresentaione," with their reliance on plans and observation. She fails to notice that it only slightly resembles the actual city, and that the fortress is invented. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 349, 351.

the southwestern curtain, about a third of the way down, outside the Porta Lucca on the west side. The square towers along the city walls are correct to that side, if spread too far.

The biggest inaccuracy in the painting is the fortress itself, the main focus of the view both in composition and according to Vasari's descriptions of this room. The actual Rocca of Montecarlo is quite distinctive among Italian fortresses (figure 283). It was successively built over the course of three centuries, since Charles IV of Bohemia founded the fortress in 1330. At its north end is the original medieval donjon, a half-circle tower of grey stone with thick squat crenellations and its flat end to the south. The fortress was extended to the southeast towards the city later in the fourteenth century, adding the square towers at the southeast end of the triangle formed by them and the tower. In the fifteenth century, a keep was added at the southeastern end, using the square towers as two corners, creating a further irregular extension and connecting the fortress to the city at the *piazza* now called Garibaldi. This keep must have been added in the second half of the fifteenth century, according to the keyhole-shaped gunports guarding its entrance, an early response to the development of firearms (figure 284).[107] Cosimo I had the walls strengthened, and ordered hornworks (two angled bastions connected by a curtain placed in front of the fortified wall) built facing northwest in front of the original tower, framing a large open area called the Piazza d'armi. These outworks appear in an undated plan from the eighteenth century (figure 285). Today they have been mostly demolished, though a visitor can still see the open area and a few remains. The painted view makes reference to these hornworks, with the two bastions sticking out from the fortress, although in the painting they appear as part of the fortress, connected at the

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[107] On keyhole gunports in fortifications of the late fifteenth century, see Hale, "Development of the Bastion," 482–84.

flanks. Stradano has also depicted the original tower, though with the form of a regular cylinder. The large square fortress, however, he fabricated entirely.

The view of Montecarlo reveals some interesting intentions. A viewer finds the city almost unrecognizable. Without the inscription placed above it, an identification would be difficult. While the painting has some recognizable aspects when compared with the actual city, those elements, such as the hornworks, the thirteenth-century tower, or the bastion, are so stylized as to be almost re-invented. Nevertheless, those features form the most noticeable parts of the image. The fortress specifically draws the viewer's attention. It looms over the tiny visitors on their approach to the city nestled in behind the Rocca and with its flank protected by the bastion to the right. The city itself feels unimportant. The fortifications exude strength, protection over the figures, and dominance over the landscape below the hill. The prominence of the fortress and distortions of the topography have been designed to intensify those feelings of power.[108]

So far this fits with Vasari's expressed intention to show the fortifications. The fortress, however, has amalgamated its various parts, making it appear a much more unified piece of military architecture, both in time and substance. It appears as a part of a cohesive defensive system built under sixteenth-century guidelines, to protect the approaches of the city. One hardly notices the little square towers of the earlier walls, now obsolete. These aspects of the painting seem designed to make the viewer recognize the superiority of the fortifications *alla moderna* over those *all'antica*, celebrating

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[108] Similar distortions of topography are found in Piero della Francesco's painting of Sigismondo Malatesta's castle at Rimini, the Rocca Malatesta, which exaggerated the height of its towers and placed it on a fictional hilltop site. Piero's painting makes more explicit the exercise of authority associated with fortresses, but it also demonstrates the desirable deviations from the natural in the pursuit of projecting a greater perceived strength. Pepper, "Siege Law," 587.

Cosimo's work at Montecarlo. Other views share this point, such as *Volterra*, with its Rocca Nuova pushed far to the back of the city, while Stradano placed Cosimo's bastion right in the foreground (figure 47). In *Piombino*, the earlier fortresses, the Torrione-Rivellino and the 1502–3 fortress by Leonardo, appear far to the background and diminished in scale, while Cosimo's fortifications at the closer end take center stage at immense proportions (figure 60). Even the earthworks on the right of Piombino appear out of proportion in relation to the city and their placement in the distance.

Alterations in the View of Piombino

While more recognizable due to its coastal topography, *Piombino* also offers fabricated fortifications to the viewer. There are no indications in the visual records that the earthworks shown at the western end of the city, to the rear right of the painting, ever existed. If earthworks did exist there, they most certainly would have taken a more regular and efficient form, rather than the wandering walls of those seen here. The depicted walls offer little opportunity for *enfilade* fire. They also stop below the hill's crest, leaving space for enemy artillery embankments.[109] Interestingly, the outworks that Stradano shows here bear a striking resemblance to the fortress of San Miniato built by Belluzzi and recorded in his 1550 plan of the fortifications of Florence (figure 277).[110] The San Miniato fortifications climb up a hill just as those shown in the *Piombino* painting, with two large bastions forming a connected hornworks at the end, and irregular—though practical—salients and flanks along the sides, in typical Belluzzi style.

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[109] A topographical plan of the seventeenth century by P. Mortier shows outworks across the entire front of the city, though in the later French fashion, a complex and extensive series of outworks in a system not yet known to the Italians in the sixteenth century. Ghelardoni, *Piombino*, 42–44; on the French system of the seventeenth century, see Duffy, *Fire and Stone*.

[110] On this plan and its dating, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:153–57.

The painted earthworks share enough of a resemblance to suggest their power to the viewer, perhaps even reminding the Florentine viewer of their San Miniato origins, yet Stradano has distorted them enough to make them unworkable for defensive fire.

The fortress at the eastern end of the city, in the foreground, also bears little resemblance to the proportioned and measured citadel that Giovanni Camerini built between 1552 and 1557.[111] The military architect built a quadrilateral fortress with an angled bastion at each corner, two of which face the city (figure 286). It surrounds the Pisan Castello, seen in the painting at the edge of the crenellated walls. The painted fortifications, meant to represent Camerini's citadel, are hardly functional with their skewed shape that would permit no *enfilade* fire. Stradano also painted a small brick bastion where the flank of the citadel's bastion meets the wall. Belluzzi recorded this bastion, which was actually earthwork, in a plan of Piombino from 1545 or 1552 (figure 287). The small temporary defense work was demolished when the new citadel was built. The current citadel's eastward-facing bastions sit where Belluzzi located the bastion.[112]

Belluzzi's plan shows the fortifications in existence in 1545, most of which Stradano has altered. The plan includes the palace ravelin, the Torrione, the Rochetta, and the Pisan Castello. It also shows the *cavaliere* (today known as "il Bastione di Cosimo")

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[111] Ghelardoni, *Piombino*, 41 n. 34, 42 n. 36.

[112] Lamberini dates this plan to August 1552 when Belluzzi was in Piombino working with Camerini on designing the new fortifications. However, it seems more likely to date from February 1545 or shortly thereafter, when Belluzzi was sent to Piombino by Cosimo. Lamberini dates that visit to a year earlier, citing a separate document—a letter from Belluzzi in Castrocaro—that does not seem to support the earlier date. MAP, 675; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:198–200; 2:106–7; Lamberini, "Regesto," 390. The plan shows no relation to the fortifications constructed from the 1552 project that were being laid out on that visit. It instead records only those defenses that were already completed by 1544. It seems counterintuitive to record an earthwork bastion that was only eight years old and in the process of being replaced by a more permanent and productive fortress. In addition, Belluzzi labels the bastion as "Punton fatto di terra novamente" and others as "Ristretto fatto di terra novamente" and "Piatta forma nova." Again, it seems unlikely that he would label the earthworks as "newly made" if they were eight years old (a long life for earthworks) and being replaced.

built in the 1540s along the wall on the eastern half of the city, and records two earthworks bastions. Besides the one next to the Castello depicted by Stradano, the other sat north of the palace. The ravelin protecting the palace at the east end of the city, built by Leonardo in 1502–3 and modified by Otto da Montauto in 1543, had a pentagonal salient, while Stradano has shown it as a non-functional half-hexagonal shape. Finally, Stradano has obscured the most distinguishing feature of Piombino. The Rocchetta, the promontory that sticks out into the sea, appears to the left of the Castello. While this does suggest its topographical position when seen from the hill to the west as the viewing position shows, alterations in scale and position do not allow the viewer to recognize it as such. Nor can a visitor actually see the Rocchetta past the citadel from that location (figure 165).

As in *Montecarlo*, the painting of Piombino focuses on fortifications *alla moderna*, to the detriment of the fortifications *all'antica*. Stradano makes that even more explicit in *Piombino* with the keyhole gunports shown in the round towers along the wall and in the Castello. These appear far larger than actual such gunports, which were used for arquebuses (early handheld firearms), not cannons. Stradano placed the gunports in the painting to make clear the obsolescence of the older portion of Piombino's defenses.

Fidelity in the View of Florence

In contrast, the view of Florence is relatively precise in its depiction of the fortifications designed by Belluzzi and built 1546–47 in the Oltr'Arno (figure 64). This new wall of bastions, known as the "retirata" due to its location behind Florence's thirteenth-century walls, appears in the same Belluzzi plan of Florence already cited (figure 277). The line of defense ran southeast from the lost Camaldolite monastery of

San Salvatore (now the location of the Piazza Torquato Tasso, and then through the current Giardino Torrigiani), peaking near the church of San Pietro in Gattolino, and turning east to go up along the hill south of the Pitti gardens (through the current Boboli Gardens) to the crest called the "Cavaliere" (figure 84).[113] The latter point had earlier played a prominent defensive role in the siege as an artillery platform for the Last Republic. Even in the *Ragionamenti*, Vasari, in a rare moment of precision, properly (if not thoroughly) described the view as showing "all the fortifications that his Excellency had made on the side of the hill of S. Giorgio, beginning at the church of the Camaldolites." Of course, he also described the view of Florence as "made from the view of Mont'Oliveto, outside the gate of San Friano," which is incorrect. Stradano sketched the view from the top of the Porta Romana.[114]

The bastioned wall shown in the painted view follows Belluzzi's layout almost exactly, beginning at the westward bastion with the most obtusely angled salient next to the wall, which appears in the painting as touching the wall. The painting here skips the bastion with orrillons (the curved lobes where the salient meets the flank) shown farthest to the west in the plan. Moving towards the east (to the right), each successive bastion, platform, flank, and curtain appears in the proper place and proportion, including the curtain with the gate. This section of the image shows exceptional fidelity in comparison to the views of Montecarlo and Piombino. On the other hand, Stradano gave the San

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[113] On the plan and these defenses, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino* 1:93–97, 153–57. Only one of these bastions remains extant: the highest one next to the wall, just below the garden patio of the Palazzo Pitti porcelain museum (what used to be the "Cavaliere"). As of May 2006, the bastion, little more than a grassy flat area, was closed to the public and being renovated to make a sculpture garden.

[114] "... il ritratto della città di Firenze, fatto per la veduta di Mont'Oliveto, fuor della porta a San Friano, dove, come la vede, si veggono tutte le fortificazioni che Sua Eccellenza ha fatte nella parte del colle di S. Giorgio, insino alla chiesa di Camaldoli." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:195. My translation, based on the translation in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 366.

Miniato fortress only the barest of definition, but it still does not appear to match Belluzzi's plan with the frontal hornworks. Instead the painting shows a corner angled bastion with recessed flanks. However, San Miniato can only barely be discerned in the haze of distance, and under the actual viewing conditions in the room hardly at all. Again the fortress element of the painting is subordinated to the walled defense, in this case giving prominence to the precision of the new wall. Vasari must have found it expedient to make the *retirata* fortifications as literal as possible. A viewer could not check the claims of fidelity in the other views of Tuscan cities, but in Florence, a visit to the bastions would indicate to any viewer the literal quality of this portrait. The verisimilitude of the painting, with its staffage, and the old walls closing around the viewer to include him in the image, adds to the evidence. *Florence* acts, in essence, as evidence for the accuracy of all the bird's-eye views and the strength of defenses that they display.[115]

Rhetoric for the Fidelity of the City Views

Stradano has altered the shape of both Piombino's and Montecarlo's fortifications *alla moderna* to the point of impracticality, yet the viewer is still meant to accept their reliability. Following on the earlier chapters' explanation of city views, such radical manipulation should be surprising. Normal scholarly opinion holds that artists first made intensive surveys of the subject, then detailed plans, fixing all the parts into a workable matrix to ensure the accuracy of the view as much as possible. Sixteenth-century viewers

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[115] The rest of the views fall somewhere in-between these extreme degrees of fact and fiction. For their discussions, see appendix 1.

were to accept that the image presented an entirely faithful depiction of the topographical situation, a faith based in part on the precision of method, and in part on recognizability.

Vasari intended that his audience approach these views with the same mindset. In the *Ragionamenti*, he described the cities in the Sala di Cosimo I as he did the other city views of the Palazzo Vecchio—as "ritratte di naturale."[116] He repeated a version of the same phrase in discussing each one of the individual allegories. While cities like Pisa, Sansepolcro, Arezzo, and Fivizzano repeat it exactly, in the case of Volterra, Vasari says that "ho fatto il ritratto della montagna di Volterra a punto come sta," and of Prato, he says only that "non ho mancato ritrarcela."[117] Similarly, Vasari calls the lower frieze of cities *ritratti*, but only of Piombino did he say that "ho ritratto la veduta ... come sta oggi appunto."[118] In his descriptions of these smaller paintings, Vasari focused more on the fortifications, pointing out his display of the sections built by Cosimo, but the artist sought to ensure that a viewer acknowledged the faithful recreation of topography in both registers. The prince's continual recognition reinforces Vasari's insistence on their fidelity.

Fortification Plans as Sources for the City Views and State Secrets

Dependence on Belluzzi's Plans

Vasari's reliance on plans also appears designed to stimulate cogency. The artist originally sent Michele di Ridolfo to various cities to make plans of them. Shortly

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[116] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192.
[117] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192–95. "... painted the portrait of the mountain of Volterra just as it looks," "... did not fail to portray the city," translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 364, 366.
[118] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:195. "I portrayed the view ... just as it is today," translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 367.

thereafter he replaced Michele with Stradano, whose on-site sketching methods offered an alternative inducement to belief. Yet Stradano also used plans available in the duke's collections. An existing plan by Belluzzi corresponds to almost every city shown in the Sala di Cosimo I. Eleven of the sixteen painted cities were represented in an album of plans made by Belluzzi for Cosimo between 1544/49 and 1552, to which Stradano referred.[119] In addition, Belluzzi had made the 1554 plan of Siena during the siege. Among the remaining four paintings, Belluzzi also worked at Empoli in 1552, and in May 1553 sent a plan of Lucignano to Cosimo on which he had recorded the Sienese defenses there. In addition, Belluzzi's assistant and heir to his treatises, Bernardo Puccini, oversaw the works at Lucignano in 1554–57 following a design by Belluzzi with changes by Giovanni Camerini.[120]

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[119] The eleven are: Florence (c. 1), Prato (c. 4), Pistoia (c. 5), Pisa (c. 7), Livorno (c. 9), Sansepolcro (c. 10), Arezzo (c. 12), Cortona (c. 14), Volterra (c. 17), Piombino (c. 21), and Fivizzano (c. 25). Belluzzi's plans from this project are contained, along with other plans of his, in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, album II.I.280. Lamberini dates the plans to 1549–50 and 1551–52. As noted above, however, the Piombino plan seems to more likely date to Belluzzi's 1545 visit. In addition, Lamberini admits that the Fivizzano plan probably dates to Belluzzi's 1547 designs for the fortifications, and that the Livorno plan shows the fortifications prior to Camerini involvement in 1547. The latter dating indicates that the plan might date from Belluzzi's work there in 1544. The precise provenance of these images is unknown, but Vasari must have had access to them. For the plans made by Belluzzi for the survey commissioned by Cosimo I, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:147–285; also Nicholas Adams, Daniela Lamberini, and Simon Pepper, "Un disegno di spionaggio cinquecentesco: Giovanni Battista Belluzzi e il rilievo delle diffese di Siena al tempi dell'assedio," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 32 (1988): 567–68; Lamberini, "Regesto," 387. A letter dated 29 December 1550 from Cosimo I to Averardo Serristori, the Florentine ambassador at Rome, mentions this album: "Noi facciamo fare un libro all'Ingegneri nostro San Marino di fortificationi, nel quale ci studiamo metter le piante delle città che sono hoggi forti in Italia come in alter parti del mondo." Quoted in Lamberini, *Il principe difeso*, 107.

[120] For Empoli, MAP, 7908; Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:80. For Belluzzi's 1553 plan of Lucignano, see Lamberini, *Il principe difeso*, 72–73; Lamberini, "Regesto," 391. Lamberini does not mention Camerini's involvement, instead attributing the fortress design to Belluzzi and then Puccini. Lamberini, *Il principe difeso*, 75–89. Fortification work was undertaken at Lucignano over at least four years, including, in addition to Puccini, Giovanni Giandonati in 1554, Giorgio Aldobrandini in 1555, Giulio de'Medici in 1556, and Francesco de'Medici in 1557. MAP, 4973 7281, 7291, 7318, 7341. On Puccini as Belluzzi's heir, see Lamberini, *Il principe difeso*, especially 59–89. We have already seen how Michele di Ridolfo in 1559 made a plan of Raffaello della Vachia's 1557 works at Montecarlo. Francesco Inghirlani had recently completed fortifications at Scarperia in 1556, which had been worked on since 1538, including sections built by Stefanno Colonna in 1542. MAP, 833, 5960, 7311.

It seems certain that Stradano referred to Belluzzi's plans. The comparisons already made for Piombino suggests this claim, as does the fact that no plan for Montecarlo by Belluzzi exists. The missing design could explain why Vasari sent Michele there (although Michele also went to Pistoia, for which multiple plans by Belluzzi existed). Montecarlo's fortifications had recently been finished by Raffaello della Vachia, and there must have been no plan of them available for Vasari to consult.[121] In the case of Piombino, further evidence proves the dependence on Belluzzi's plan. Besides the depiction of fortifications that no longer existed except on that plan, Stradano has shown the Porta al Terre as located along an extended curtain from the Torrione to the Rivellino (figure 66). Other plans place the gate in its actual location, along the hemisphere of the Rivellino (figure 286, 288). The source for Stradano's information must be Belluzzi's plan, which also inaccurately positions the gate on the curtain (figure 287). That Stradano and Vasari were aware of the differences in this plan from the actual fortifications at Piombino is clear, since they include the reference to Camerini's citadel, built after Belluzzi drew his plan. The artists must have had access to a plan of this citadel as well. Among the other cities, the view of Livorno displays a close affinity to Belluzzi's c. 1544 plan and its represented defenses (figures 67, 291). Others, such as Prato, Pistoia, and Pisa, do not show enough of the city outlines to need the plan, much less enable a determination if Stradano used them.[122] Still, the visible correspondences suggest the artistic referral.

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[121] Raffaello della Vachia was paid in 1556 and in 1557 for work on the fortifications, most likely the hornworks, at Montecarlo. MAP, 7312. Work on the new defenses had begun at least prior to 28 July 1555, when funds are requested for continuing work on them. MAP, 8142.

[122] Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:160–62 (Prato), 162–65 (Pistoia), 166–69 (Pisa), 171–73 (Livorno).

Military Information Revealed in the Plans and in the Paintings

For Vasari and Stradano, these available plans designated more than just the general shape and proportions of the city and its layout. They were specific to the defenses of each city, and were made not for Stradano's use, but for Cosimo's military education. The use of these plans as sources for a celebration of the state fortification program is so fitting as to suggest that the artist sought Belluzzi's designs specifically, for their military qualities. Belluzzi's fortification plans are images created by a designer with a specific and specialized knowledge appropriate to their making—the use of mathematics, of course, but even moreso, the matters of soldiering. The constant state of warfare in the sixteenth century gave rise to the professional military engineer, a new profession and one that had significant results. Previously, and up until the mid-sixteenth-century, artists served as military engineers in designing fortifications and weapons and advising on their use. Halfway through the century, a polemic developed between the artist-engineers and the professional soldiers. The latter claimed that one needed to have experience on the battlefield to design effective defenses or command artillery.[123] This polemic arose during the period Cosimo fortified Tuscany. The argument took shape right at the time of the War of Siena, and the duke's military architect Belluzzi figured prominently as a transitional figure from artist to professional soldier.[124]

Belluzzi was a soldier himself, and was an outspoken proponent for soldiering as a requirement for fortification design. He served at many sieges during the war of Siena,

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[123] On this polemic, see Nicholas Adams, "Military Architecture and Renaissance Art History, or 'Bellezza on the Battlefield'," *Architectura* 141 (1984): especially 111; Lamberini, "Regesto," 376–78; J. R. Hale, *Renaissance Fortification: Art or Engineering?*, Walter Neurath Memorial Lecture, 8 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 32–36.

[124] Adams, "'Bellezza on the Battlefield'," 111. On Belluzzi's life, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, volume 1.

as artillery advisor and fortifications engineer. At the sieges of Montechiello, Tregonda, and Lucignano during March, April, and May of 1554, Belluzzi made sketches of the enemy's fortifications and positions, and sent them to Cosimo. These were not peaceful surveys—at Montalcino, while performing the same function on 8 June 1553, he was wounded by an arquebusier shot. Duke Cosimo subsequently rewarded his chief military architect with a captaincy of 200 infantry on 2 February 1554, in the midst of the siege of Siena. The duke quickly came to regret his decision, when during the assault on Aiuola in Chianti (a small and relatively unimportant fortress), Belluzzi was mortally wounded by a shot to the head on 6 March and died two weeks later. Cosimo, furious, strongly reprimanded his general for wasting Belluzzi's talent on the field, suggesting that the duke did not think that his engineers required soldiering experience.[125] Belluzzi, however, clearly felt that battlefield experience aided the efficacy of his designs. As the architect described in his treatise on fortifications, *Della fortificatione*, "Engineers that want to construct fortifications need to be instructed in the arts of war..." and later recommends as schooling the very "experience of war."[126] Throughout the first chapter of the treatise, titled "Della qualità degli ingignieri," Belluzzi explained that, while some elements are to be borrowed from architecture, such as mathematics, his profession is an engineer.[127]

The same period marked a shift in fortification design that epitomized the change in attitude. Design moved away from fortifications conceived along the idealized principles of the previous century, seen in much of the Sangallo school fortifications, to

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[125] On these events, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:99–124; Lamberini, "Regesto," 391–92.
[126] "Agli ingignieri che vorranno ordinare et terminare le fortificationi, haveranno bisogno di esser instrutti delle cose della guerra...," "... esperienza di guerra...." Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Della fortificatione*, published in Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 2:185–87. The treatise was published posthumously as *Opera del modo di fortificar un luogo et sito, posto in piano, o in monte, o in ogn'altro modo ch'egli stesse. Composto da Giovanbattista Belicci da San Marino* (1598).
[127] "Delle mathematiche deve l'ingignier sapere bene quella parte che si conviene all'architettura...," ibid.

ideas founded in the practicality of the professional soldier-engineer. For instance, Giuliano da Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo the Elder's fortress at Poggio Imperiale, 1487–95, is often described as deriving from Francesco di Giorgio's theory of proportioning fortifications according to a human body (figures 275, 292).[128] Michelangelo's designs from 1528 for the gates of Florence show similarly abstract and ideal designs that apparently were not useful enough to preserve, if they ever found physical form (figure 293).[129] Antonio da Sangallo the Younger paid more attention to the requirements of topography and defense, but occasionally placed elements on his fortifications that were for aesthetic purposes and hence unnecessary. An oft-cited example is his northwest bastion of the Fortezza da Basso at Florence with its alternating brick-and-ball pattern suggesting the Medici *palle* (figure 278). Baldassare Peruzzi, whose fortifications served Siena so well during the 1554 siege, also included many decorative elements.[130] Soldiers often derided such decoration, because it would shatter

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[128] Daniela Lamberini, "Architetti e architettura militare per il Magnifico," in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo: Convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze, 9–13 giugno 1992),* ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994), 420–21; Giancarlo Severini, *Architetture militari di Giuliano da Sangallo* (Pisa: Industrie Grafiche V. Lischi & Figli, 1970), 21–29.

[129] William Wallace has argued for the efficacy of these gates, though the fact that his fortifications at San Miniato and Porta San Giorgio were saved and faced in stone, while most of the gates were not, suggests that the problems seen in the designs—walls too thin, shape too complex to properly defend, not enough space for troop movement and artillery placement—were magnified when put into physical form. In fact, there is no evidence they were ever even built to the designs, particularly since Florence had only a handful of months to prepare all of their defenses, and built only earthworks. William Wallace, "'Dal disegno allo spazio': Michelangelo's Drawings for the Fortifications of Florence" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46 (1987): 119–34.

[130] For Sangallo's fortification designs, see Nicholas Adams and Simon Pepper, "The Fortification Drawings," in *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and His Circle*, vol. 1, eds. Christoph L. Frommel and Nicholas Adams (New York: The Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994): 61–74; Christoph L. Frommel and Nicholas Adams, eds., *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and His Circle*, 2 vols. (New York: The Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994), passim; Hale, *Fortification: Art or Engineering*, 39; also see Lamberini, "Regesto," 377–78. For Peruzzi's designs, see Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 32–57; Adams, "'Bellezza on the Battlefield'." Sangallo and Peruzzi also had a certain amount of military experience, both at least serving as artillery advisors at the siege of Florence. However, there is no evidence for the effectiveness of Sangallo's presence in December and January on the

so easily upon being hit by artillery, causing harm. Belluzzi wrote in his treatise that, "ornament is superfluous in fortification because it is not very necessary."[131]

Belluzzi's generation created a new status of military architect. He and his colleagues, such as Francesco Laparelli, Francesco de'Marchi, Girolami Maggi, and Domenico dell'Allio (d. 1563), knew first-hand military experience and the practicalities of their fortification designs.[132] The style of this generation, of which Belluzzi's designs make an excellent example, was one of practicality. Belluzzi's designs lack the harmonious, regular, and even elements found in the Sangallesque designs. Rather, they often seem rough, harsh, and jagged, because they follow the topographical lines of best defense (figure 294). They also lack any ornament. Yet Belluzzi's popularity with Cosimo recommends the success of his designs.

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siege, as no major success came of it. Adams argues that Peruzzi's presence there for four days at the turn of the new year sparked a turning point for the imperials, which also lacks support. Adams' argument here is unfortunately undermined by a lack of evidence more than circumstantial and his claim that Peruzzi's plan is the result of an espionage mission into the city. The plan, sharing very little affinity with the shape of Florence's walls, offers little in the way of military information. Nicholas Adams, "Baldassare Peruzzi and the Siege of Florence: Archival Notes and Undated Drawings," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 475–82.

[131] "De gli ornamenti, benché si cosa superflua nelle fortificationi, perché non si convengono molto...." Earlier in the treatise Belluzzi wrote, "la più degna parte dell'architettura consista degli ornameni, i quali alle fortificationi servono poco...." Belluzzi, *Delle fortificatione,* in Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 2:187, 331. Hale quotes Belluzzi as writing that, "fortresses need no architects because they need no cornices or architraves or swags of flowers or other carved work which the cannon would send up in smoke," a quote that Adams repeats. I have been unable to find this exact quote in Belluzzi's treatise. On the discussion of ornament on fortifications, see Hale, *Fortification: Art or Engineering*, 36–40; Adams, "'Bellezza on the Battlefield'," 111.

[132] On Belluzzi's early formation among the Genga/Urbino school, see Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:3–40; Vasari, *Opere*, 6:330–34. Lamberini explains the cohesive style of the Genga (or larger Urbino) school, of which Belluzzi forms a part and includes Baldassare Lanci and Francesco Maria della Rovere, as it relates to the practical experience of war, see Daniela Lamberini, "Funzione di disegni e rilievi delle fortificazioni nel Cinquecento," in *L'architettura militare veneta del Cinquecento*, ed. Daniela Lamberini (Milan: Electa Spa, 1988), especially 48–50 and notes. On Francesco de'Marchi, Girolamo Maggi, and other soldier-architects, see Hale, *Fortification: Art or Engineering*, 32–36. On Laparelli, see Paolo Marconi, "Introduzione," in *Visita e progetti di miglior difesa in varie fortezze ed altri luoghi dello stato pontificio: Trascrizione di un manoscritto inedito di Franceso Laparelli architetto cortonese*, ed. Paolo Marconi, Accademia Etrusca-Cortona note e documenti, 3 (Cortona: Grafiche Calosci, 1970), especially 7–8 n. 1; also Laparelli, *Visita e progetti.*

Belluzzi's plans, then, represent military architecture according to an experiential assessment of its efficiency. The military designs offered different information than that obtained by sending assistants to draw these views from life. While Stradano did sketch the cities onsite, placing those sketches over the matrix of Belluzzi's plans transferred to the images the specific military knowledge of a soldier.[133] This character, then, became dangerous in the paintings—it was too revealing. Hence, Vasari found it necessary to have Stradano subvert the designs while still following their general sense. In the use of Belluzzi's designs, and then their subversion, Vasari's attitude on the power of art reveals itself. The artist appears to have thought that the copying of those images presented a truthful artistic image, not just in the sense of portraying something from life, but in that the inherent sense of the source gets transmitted in the copy. In this case, however, the underlying military character of the image threatened a breach of state security.

Secrecy in the Fortification Images

Maps, plans, and views of cities, especially where they featured fortifications, were considered state secrets.[134] Venice, for instance, had a room of maps in the Ducal Palace, in an antechamber to the audience chamber, with a map of Italy and of Venice's holdings painted on the walls. Rarely did they allow foreigners access to this room.[135]

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[133] Lamberini describes a similar desirable quality of knowledge in plans of fortifications as explanation for the widespread copying of such drawings among military architects. She uses the plans by Belluzzi as examples. Lamberini, "Funzione di disegni e rilievi." Nuti also describes the special place plans held in the Florentine ducal court, describing it as: "la pianta divenne un punto di forza nell'iconografia del potere alla corte dei Medici." She relates that high regard and the iconographic force to the *Palazzo Vecchio* city views' reliance on plans. The plans Nuti refers to are the problematic ones of Michele Tosini. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 349–50.

[134] Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 59–61; Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 63–65.

[135] Bourne cites a case when Duke Francesco II Gonzaga sent his court cosmographer Girolamo Corradi and his court painter Antonio to Venice to copy the map of Italy in this room in 1506. Corradi was at first denied access, especially due to the strained relations between Mantua and Venice at the time, but eventually the cosmographer was permitted to copy the painting, and Bourne suggests this is the painting of

Philip II commissioned a survey of the Kingdom of Naples in the late sixteenth century for a printed atlas, but the atlas was never published, because once finished, authorities considered it a threat to the security and interests of Spain.[136] Similar circumstances surrounded the fate of van den Wyngaerde's views of Spanish cities produced for King Philip II. Philip sent them to Christoph Plantin in Antwerp for printing as an atlas as well. Plantin even squared the views for transfer to blocks, but never printed them.[137] It can be hypothesized that this was also due to security concerns. The cartography scholar J. B. Harley noted, even, that not only were maps subjected to censorship and concealment, as these examples show, but also to abstraction or falsification, as seen in the Sala di Cosimo I city views.[138]

Some well-known cases prove that Cosimo and Vasari were both aware of and practiced such subterfuges in the case of military architecture and maps. For instance, in the first days of February 1554, during the siege of Siena, Belluzzi himself practiced espionage by sneaking into Siena through the underground acqueducts. He had two intentions: to determine how to shut off Siena's water supply, and to find a route for an invasion force. He made a detailed map of the acqueducts and Siena's walls from this venture (figures 289–90). Belluzzi's mission succeeded in the former goal, enabling the Florentines to close down some of Siena's water supply, while the second goal never

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Italy listed in Federico II's *studiolo* in 1540. Bourne, "Maps as Palace Decoration," 65. For Venice's early interest in the use of maps as important for the running of the state, and for military purposes, see Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 58–61.

[136] Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 60, 73 n. 35. See also Vladimiro Valerio, "The Neapolitan Saxton and His Survey of the Kingdom of Naples," *The Map Collector* 18 (1982): 14–17.

[137] Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views," 63–66.

[138] Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 59. Admittedly with these latter two words, Harley seems to refer more to his instances of map secrecy in the service of commercial competition, as in the case of the Portuguese state offices of cartography, in which contemporaries alleged the occurrence of such practices. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 61–65.

manifested.[139] Unrelated but to similar purpose, in 1577, Cosimo's cosmographer Egnazio Danti wrote in his treatise *Le scienze matematiche ridotte in tavole* of the cartographer's obligation when visiting a foreign city, to remember and record if possible the topographical facts of the city in the service of political espionage:

> Where one can do so without raising suspicion, [one should inspect] in detail the plan of the cities and of the fortresses, and draw it, with the measurements of the curtains, bastions, cavaliers, and moats, with the nearby hills from where one observes if the place can be defeated, and if the land is such that it can be mined, if water can be drawn, if it can easily be besieged, and one can flood it with some river.[140]

Vasari meanwhile wrote in his life of Niccolò Tribolo of the sculptor's collaboration with Benvenuto di Lorenzo da Volpaia in the surveying of Florence to make of a model of the city in cork during the 1529–30 siege. The artists worked secretly under cover of night. When finished they sent the model hidden in a cart of hay to Pope Clement VII so that he could follow the course of the siege.[141] Even Vasari later participated in a small instance of espionage. In 1573, he asked his friend Cosimo Bartoli, ambassador to Venice, for assistance in the securing of a plan of the Venetian armory at the behest of the duke. This proved immensely difficult considering the high security surrounding the armory, and Bartoli had to carry it out in secret.[142] Finally, the ceiling of the Salone offers evidence of the dangers of accurate information of defenses falling into the wrong hands. In Vasari's

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[139] The map is now in the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena. Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:112–19; Adams, Lamberini, and Pepper, "Disegno di spionaggio."

[140] "Ove si può senza sospetto minutamente la pianta delle città, et delle fortezze co'l prenderne disegno, con le misure delle cortine, baluardi, cavalieri, et fossi, con li colli vicini, ove si osserva, so il luogo può essere battuto, et se il terreno è ddi tal qualità che possa essere minato, se li può tor l'acque, et assediare facilmente, ò con qualche fiume farlo allagare." Egnazio Danti, *Le scienze matematiche ridotte in tavole* (Bologna, 1577): 50, tavola 39, number 26. Translated in Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence," 52. The whole tavola, "Delle osservationi de Viaggi," is printed in ibid., 56–57, and translated on 57–58.

[141] Vasari, *Opere*, 6:62.

[142] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 137. Other instances of Bartoli's subterfuges while the Medici ambassador in Venice between 1562 and 1572 are recorded on pages 115–20, 127–28.

painting of *Cosimo Planning the Siege of Siena*, the duke studies a plan of Siena's forts at Porta Camollia with a compass (figure 171). According to the duke, this study led to the city's capture.

The inaccuracies described in the city views of the Sala di Cosimo I derive in part from this perceived need for secrecy. Even the apparent randomness of the placement of the images on the ceiling may in part be explained by this principle. While Cosimo wanted to display his new duchy's strength of arms and the extent of his dominion that those fortifications represented, the public nature of the rooms, some of which may have served as guest accommodation, perhaps gave concern as to the security of the locations.[143] The apparent belief that a foreigner could have discerned military utility from two- by eight-foot images placed roughly twelve feet above the floor reveals the extent of the court's anxiety over security. Despite the invented defenses, these paintings retain their heavily fortified appearance, while the viewer remains unaware of the actual form of Cosimo's new defenses.

In fact, Cosimo had good reason to be anxious during the years the room was under decoration. While his victory over the *fuorusciti* at Montemurlo in 1537 had effectively sealed his authority, only oppressive laws and fortresses had imposed peace among troublesome cities such as Pistoia and Arezzo. Surrounding states had caused him no end of trouble. The weakness of Piombino left a hole in the duchy's defenses that Cosimo continually tried to plug. The Turkish landings at Piombino of 1544, 1553, 1555,

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[143] While the original functions of these rooms are unknown, Adelson has suggested they were used for court visitors as lodging during their stay. Candace Adelson, "The Decoration of Palazzo Vecchio in Tapestry," in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica: Convegno di Studi (Arezzo, 8–10 ottobre 1981)*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1985), 173, 173 n. 97. The rooms do not have to have been guest rooms for the images to be available to whatever dignitaries may be visiting the Medici court.

and 1558 demonstrated its continuous problems. Cosimo had been granted sovereignty over Piombino in 1552, but in 1557 Philip II of Spain forced him to return it. Meanwhile, Cosimo's enemy Piero Strozzi continued in the service of France, and commanded its forces in the war against Siena between 1553 and 1554, even invading Tuscany and approaching Pistoia in the latter year. The defeat of Strozzi and the French at Marciano and Port'Ercole in 1555 effectively ended the war, leaving Siena under Cosimo's governing. The duke was not granted Siena and its immediate territories until 19 July 1557, however. The Sienese and French, based at Montalcino, held out on the southern borders. Fighting continued there until 3 April 1559 with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, when these areas were granted to Tuscany. In summary, the period of the room's decoration was politically tense, as Cosimo negotiated with Philip II, lost some of his territory, tried to institute control over the vast territorial additions, and deal with the continued French threat to the south, as well as with the pro-French pope Paul IV who supported the enemy presence on Tuscany's borders.[144]

The program of fortification during this period indicates the urgency of Cosimo's concerns with the security of his dominion. Puccini began constructing defenses at Lucignano immediately upon capture of the Sienese stronghold at the end of the war in 1554. The fortress was left unfinished when it was perceived that the conquered territory no longer needed subjugation and the border no longer represented a threat. At the same time, Puccini hastily erected fortifications at Sarteano and Cetona between 1556 and 1558. Meanwhile, fortification work continued at Pistoia, Piombino, Cortona,

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[144] Roberto Cantagalli, *Cosimo I de' Medici: granduca di Toscana* (Milan: U. Mursia editore S.p.A., 1985), 235–36.

Montepulciano, and Portoferraio.[145] Most tellingly, Casole d'Elsa, near Volterra to the southwest, was refortified in 1555 by Carlo Martelli. Imperial troops had, in the previous year, destroyed Casole's defenses built in early 1554 by Giovan Battista Pelori for Siena, and the imminent threat required their repair. In 1559, however, Cosimo had Casole's artillery transported to Siena following the surrender of Montalcino.[146] He no longer had need of its defenses, following the defeat of France and Siena and the election of the Medici-friendly pope Pius IV that began a period of lasting peace and stability.

Conclusion

Here, in the Sala di Cosimo I, we see Vasari's concern with the power of visual images, in their capacity for revealing or hiding privileged knowledge, to the end of celebrating the dominion of the ruler. The ambiguities of the *tondi*, of the portraits, and especially of the city views, detract from any real certainty, all while offering the appearance of certainty from every corner. There are few visual facts in this room, despite its celebration of the practical, measured field of fortification. The views create a history of Cosimo's rule through his consolidation of power and his strengthening of the state, to defend it from aggressors and preserve it for the future. It completes the legitimizing propaganda carried through the decorations of the other rooms, using the same tools of panegyric, historiography, and cartography.

That need for extensive propagandistic legitimization is revealed in this room, however, as an underlying anxiety about the real extent of Cosimo's power. The actual

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[145] On Puccini's activity as engineer and commissary in the Valdichiana during the period 155–58, see Lamberini, *Il principe difeso*, 74–105.
[146] MAP, 7293, 3590, 8438.

fortification campaign displays a preoccupation with foreign threats, matching the concern with espionage informing the city views. The real fabrications in this room are not the individually depicted fortresses, but the strength of dominion that they represent. In this sense, the paintings functioned as propaganda not for the citizens of Tuscany, nor for foreign visitors, but for Cosimo himself. His personal interest in fortifications offered pleasure, but the power they suggest soothed his immediate anxieties.[147] The military character found in the images is so powerful that it overrides those doubts, providing the audience—whether Cosimo, his subjects, or his visitors—with belief in the dominion of the duke.

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[147] This idea of influencing self-perceptions of the patron can also be seen in Francesco II's Camera della Citate at Gonzaga. Cf. note (64?).

Conclusion

Scholarship has generally used the Palazzo Vecchio city views to illustrate one of two common analyses: power as represented in Duke Cosimo I's commissions, or the dependency of city views on surveying. As I have argued, the views fit neither of these molds. While they were put to use in the service of legitimizing and illustrating Cosimo's power, the views themselves only carry this connotation once placed within the context of the artist Vasari's history. Their foundations in artistic observation and on-site sketching similarly remove them from both the assumption that city views were founded in cartographic practices and that they frequently document a desire for the imagined position of a bird's-eye view. The alteration of some of the cities' fabrics demonstrates that such views are rarely the "vero ritratto" or historical document for which scholars have taken them, and that they need not depend on measurement. In fact, some of the alterations indicate that the views, if anything, de-emphasize Cosimo's despotism.

The city views support the dominion of Duke Cosimo I de'Medici, but do not necessarily reinforce the principle of autocratic control so often described for the new duchy of Tuscany. Rather, the views themselves are akin to what we commonly consider to be facts—neutral information until put to use as evidence for an argument. This project has focused on how Vasari used the views to draft an image of Cosimo's control, manipulating the "facts" to construct a history of power. In this, the views become mediums of power—they present an argument, persuading the audience to believe Cosimo's ideological dominion. Some of the views argue for that dominion by presenting the past as prefiguring the present, while others delineate the borders of control. In some cases, however, Vasari manipulated views to focus on city walls and highlight the

beneficence of Cosimo's rule. The variation of interpretation, sometimes within the same images, shows how the portraits themselves are like containers, holding whatever Vasari has placed within them, or even what scholars have placed upon them. It simply is not enough to note the focus on fortification and therefore assume the views to be a necessary result of authoritarianism.

The topographical portraits function within a system of viewing that depends in part on the techniques of their production. By identifying the methods of production used by Stradano, I have filled a lacuna in the historical interpretation of the Palazzo Vecchio decorations, while presenting an alternative tradition to the usual school of thought concerning the city view genre. The Antwerp school methods offer a visual equivalent of eyewitnessing. They bring to the viewer a city and surroundings captured directly by the eye, unmediated by measurement or instruments. The image corresponds to a viewer's memory of a similar experience, capturing his attention and engaging him within the setting. The viewer then becomes incorporated in the evidential system itself, observing the event that occurs within the history. He can then piece together the historical argument and offer judgment as if drawing these conclusions himself, without noticing how Vasari's visual rhetoric leads one to specific conclusions. Vasari, then, has equated chorographic technique with historiographic rhetoric.

The identification of artistic techniques employed by Vasari in his practice of visual history-telling has been another goal of this project. Vasari's historiographic practices have garnered a significant amount of attention in the scholarship, but little attention has carried over to his artistic practice. The history of the Medici and their rule of Florence presented in the Quartiere di Leone X has offered the opportunity to examine

just that. The inclusion of the views forms an integral part of that practice. As classical historians often attested, geographical information was one of the most important elements of history. It constructed a setting, enabling a consideration of geographical determinants for a history's outcome. More importantly, the setting allowed for the proper positioning of events, assisting the audience to visualize the occurrences through the visual *enargeia* process previously described. The accuracy of the geographical information, or at least the perception of its accuracy, acted with the observational character to promote the cogency of the history.

As stated in the introduction, truth and its perception lie at the heart of this project. We have seen the importance truthfulness held for Renaissance historians—they strove to convince their readers of the intrinsic truths of their tales. Vasari also sought credibility for his history of the justness of Medici rule, which the painted chorographies helped to sustain. The irony of Vasari's use of the views is that they neither contained the measured cartographic information normally associated with history and such images, nor were they themselves faithful in their portrayal of their subjects. The information that they presented is quite different from the information that they actually contained, and both worked in Vasari's schema. The appearance of cartographic data matched the expectation of history audiences and signaled to them the truth of Vasari's story. The topographical character actually contained within the views, however, influenced audiences to believe in the story through *enargeia*. In the end, at question for us is not the degree of truth in Vasari's history or in the literalness of the city views, but the power of art to convince an audience of the veridicality of those things, and of the consequent ducal dominion for which they argue.

The relevance of these conclusions weighs heavily in both city view and Vasarian studies. We can now reconsider the methodology of studying city portraits, for their dating, their aid as a historical document, and their iconography. The release of the genre from the ideological literalness imposed upon views by the assumption of their cartographic origins opens the discrepancies to reinterpretation. As shown throughout the dissertation, they are not necessarily truthful documents of moment, but rather individual iconographical essays that reward sustained attention. A similar rethinking of Vasari as a historian should be discerned from the dissertation. Despite much revisionist work, Vasari is still maligned for the inconsistencies in his *Lives of the Artists*, much as lacking fidelity in a city view is often cast as a mistake or lack of knowledge. The presentation of Vasari's historiographic practice in the Palazzo Vecchio reveals the artist's views on truthfulness at the time he was also working on the *Lives*. That view, much like that of his contemporaries, is not the strict one of our twenty-first century.

If anything, this dissertation can serve as a reminder, or perhaps a warning, that the primary source material that we use as evidence so often fails us because we place too literal an expectation on it as neutral data, when in fact that material is already evidence in service of another argument. In fact, considering such material in divisions of objective/subjective and fact/evidence imposes too great a value of factuality on it. We as historians would do well to remember that, when even the lack of a building itself can serve as signifier, there are no sureties—sometimes a fortress is Regensburg, sometimes Vienna, and sometimes Buda, but it may also represent the entire Danubian river basin. To navigate the course between them, we must train the *bussola* on our own assumptions.

PANORAMA, POWER, AND HISTORY: VASARI AND STRADANO'S CITY VIEWS IN THE PALAZZO VECCHIO
Pt. II

by
Ryan E. Gregg

A dissertation submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Appendix 1: Select Inventory of Palazzo Vecchio City Views[1]

Sala di Leone X, 1556–60

(figure 1; maps 2–3)

L-X.1: Ravenna, seen from the south **Figure 3**

In: Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici Assists at the Battle of Ravenna* (figure 2; A-C 27.3)

As discussed in chapter 3, the composition derives from a design of the same subject originally by the Master Na Dat, and later copied by Agostino Veneziano.[2] The city in the background of the painting, however, has been altered to more accurately reflect the city's topography. Vasari proudly calls attention to this fact in the *Ragionamenti*. The artist described the painted landscape as a "countryside of pine forests along the sea and the river full of boats flowing by the Porta Sisa and then continuing from Badia di Porto to the sea," and later says that it was "portrayed from life" and "show[s] exactly where the battle took place."[3] Indeed, the river with boats, the Ronco, can be seen in the right background with the sea further to the right, though no pine trees are to be found. The river bordered the south side of Ravenna's walls, with the Porta Sisa (now Sisi) on the right, and the Porta S. Marina (now Porta Mamante) to its left. Two

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[1] The AC numbers correspond to the number of the work in Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*. The number following the period also marks the position of the work on each room's plan.
[2] Cf. chapter 3, page 179.
[3] "guardi Vostra Eccellenza un poco la campagna di Ravenna, che io ho dipinta, ed il paese con la pineta, in su la marina, ed il fiume, che passa da porta Sisa, pieno di barche, che va poi dall Badia di Porto in mare. ... Avete voi considerato il paese e la città, la quale è ritratta di naturale per quella veduta appunto dove fu il caso?" Vasari, *Opere*, 8:124. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 258. For Vasari's full description of the painting, see Vasari, *Opere*, 8:123–29.

miles southwest of the city on the eastern bank of the river the Holy League's army (consisting of primarily Spanish forces) constructed a system of earth fortifications. Here, on 11 April 1512, the French forces attacked the entrenched army, ultimately winning the battle. The painting shows this topography in roughly the proper positions, as if the battle and the city are viewed from the south looking north, from the Spanish position.

One problem with Vasari's claim to exactness is that the French artillery battery was aimed on the western walls, between the Porta Aurea and the Porta Adriana. At that position soldiers did not have to attempt an impossible river crossing under fire to enter the breach, as they do in the painted version. Vasari wrote that the French battered the walls "just next to the Porta Santo Man, where the canal and mills are."[4] A tower appears to the right of the breach, and a mill to the left. Vasari may mean the Porta S. Mamante, shown just to the right of the breach on the other side of the tower. Further to the right appears the Porta Sisi. Both gates appear in their proper locations but no longer bear a resemblance to their subject. To the left, the wall angles south, from which the defending forces fire on the besiegers' flank. Further left the Porta Aurea can just be made out, and it is to the left of this that the battery actually was located. Both the turn of the wall and the gate closely follow the actual circuit.

Vasari depicted the relevant events of the battle, which he also describes in the *Ragionamenti*, in an idealized form of continuous narrative moving from front to back. First the two cavalries clash in the decisive moment of the battle in the middle ground (although on the wrong side of the river), then the French breach the city walls in the

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[4] "Fois che con quell numero grande di artiglierie batte la città appunto accanto al torrione della porta Santo Man, dove è il canale ed i mulini." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:124. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 258.

background. Vasari described the foreground as the aftermath of the battle, in which the Cardinal Giovanni, in his red robes on the right, is shown as prisoner, along with Pedro Novarra in the black hat and the Marchese di Pescara in the gold helmet between them. However, on the left poses Gaston de Foix, general of the French army, who lost his life during the battle. The idealism derives from the artificiality of Vasari's source, from which the artist reversed the composition. The reversal perhaps explains why the battle occurs on the west side of the river rather than the east.

Finally, in its idealism the painting also celebrates an outmoded form of warfare, the heavy cavalry charge. The uncontrolled Spanish cavalry charge may have hastened the imperial defeat, when the French cavalry routed them and then successfully dispersed the Spanish infantry. It was the artillery battle, however, the first of its kind in recorded history, that was immediately responsible for the Spanish loss of entrenched advantage and ultimately responsible for what Ravenna was truly infamous for, the tragically high loss of life. Vasari references the status of artillery by the cannons and bombardiers in the lower right foreground. According to the artist, they suggest the French's heavy siege artillery, and more specifically the Duke of Ferrara's famously superior guns, that so influenced the outcome of the battle.[5]

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[5] On the battle of Ravenna, see Oman, *History of the Art of War*, 130–50; Hall, *Weapons and Warfare*, 171–76. Oman notes the reliability of the various sources for Ravenna, stating that Guicciardini, Vasari's main source, is particularly full of errors. Unfortunately, Oman himself earlier mistakenly cites Cardinal Gulio de' Medici's presence at Ravenna, rather than Giovanni. Oman, *History of the Art of War*, 147, 149–50; also see Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 466–67 n. 2.

L-X.2: San Leo, seen from the north **Figure 5**

In: Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of San Leo* (figure 4; A-C 27.13)

Looking south, the fortress appears at the far end of the plateau and the cliffs in the front. A small group of buildings nestled in the middle below the fortress suggests the small town of San Leo, which also corresponds to this viewing position, placing most of the town behind a smaller crest on the plateau. The group of houses on the left side of the plateau may be soldiers' quarters, placed so closely to one of the outlying towers. The three towers placed around the edges of the cliffs no longer seem to exist. The remaining topography also corresponds to a northern viewing position, with the hill on the left, to the west, providing a raised height for the artillery battery, and its slope down to the right just as in the picture. To the south, hills rise in the distance, and a tributary of the Marecchia river flows just below San Leo.

The depicted attack occurred in May 1516, when Pope Leo X sent an army under Lorenzo to wrest the Duchy of Urbino from Francesco Maria della Rovere in order to invest Lorenzo as its new duke. Little has been written on this war, providing few sources with which to compare Vasari's version. The artist received his information in a letter from Giulio Ricasoli, son of Antonio Ricasoli, the *commissario* of the Medici army who was in charge during the ascent of the cliffs and assault on the fortress. Consequently, Vasari's relation of events is one of the few published sources on the military action. He provides more detailed information than Guicciardini, for instance.[6]

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[6] On the events of the War of Urbino and the capture of San Leo, see Vasari, *Opere*, 8:146–54; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 1242–44; Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vols. 7 and 8 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1908), 7:155–57, 165–70; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:166; Cecil H. Clough, "Clement VII and Francesco Maria Della Rovere, Duke of Urbino," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII*, eds. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Hampshire, England, and Burlinton, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2005): 90–91. These sources offer little

With only Vasari's word and no facts against which to compare, it remains difficult to assess the intended effect of the image. The daring assault against a supposedly impregnable fortress offers much to laud in the handling of the war and the creation of a new duchy for the Medici to which it led. In this, the painting glorifies the Medici house and especially the pope who caused it all to happen. Yet perhaps the artist intended the *Capture of San Leo* to be compared to the *Siege of Florence* in the Sala di Clemente VII. Florence was another Medici-pope-driven siege, much glorified but less glorious, that led to another duchy for the family. The paintings are even placed in the same positions in contiguous rooms. Yet while the second siege led to lasting peace and stability, San Leo led only to a second war of Urbino the following year and subsequent tragedy for the Medici. Della Rovere attempted to reconquer his duchy, during which an arquebusier shot wounded Duke Lorenzo in the head, from which he never fully recovered and ultimately died in 1519. Though della Rovere was again beaten back, there was no Medici figure to replace Lorenzo, the duchy brought Leo X little money and cost much, and ten years later Pope Clement VII granted Urbino back to Francesco Maria in appreciation for interceding in the revolt in Florence that year. Perhaps Vasari intended the two siege images to be compared as statements on the two duchies: a contrast between the tale of quick and adventurous capture leading to the brief and tragic Urbino

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detail, and even the date of the event is very problematic. Pastor records that Leo X received news of the capitulation of the Duchy, following the capture of fortresses including San Leo, on 4 and 5 June 1516. Lorenzo was then invested with the title of Duke of Urbino on 18 August. Clough says that Urbino surrendered 30 May, most of the duchy was in Lorenzo's control in early June, and that the fortresses held out only a few weeks more, so that his enfiefment with the duchy could be confirmed in July. Allegri and Cecchi give the date of the attack as 17 September 1517, placing it in the second war, but this is unlikely since Guicciardini describes it during the first war, and Pastor states that San Leo did not fall to Francesco Maria during this campaign. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 118–19.

against the drawn out siege that destroyed the fabric of Florence but led to its successful, durable duchy.

L-X.3: Piacenza and/or Parma, seen from the west/southwest **Figure 7**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Cardinal Giulio de'Medici is Sent as Ambassador of Leo X to Lombardy* (figure 6; A-C 27.2)

Here Vasari illustrated Cardinal Giulio's joining of the papal and imperial troops at Casalmaggiore shortly after 1 October 1521. Pope Leo X sent Giulio as Papal Legate to the forces upon hearing, on 10 September, of the raising of the unsuccessful siege of Parma and retreat. Giulio's mission was to reconcile the commanders of the two forces, Prospero Colonna of the imperial troops, and the papal Marquis of Pescara, whose disagreements were blamed for the defeat at Parma. Following the meeting illustrated here, the troops quickly moved against Milan, the effects of which he illustrated in the central panel previously discussed.[7]

The view is difficult to identify. It does not seem to show Casalmaggiore, whose green-domed cathedral was not built until the nineteenth century. The columned pillar to the left of the dome could refer to the baptistery of S. Chiara, built in 1531, but the resemblance is poor with the painted version's taller height and thinner proportions. The only element potentially recognizable is the gate tower, which bears a close resemblance to the existing Torrione. The tower is the only part of Casalmaggiore's walls still extant, though it sat at the entrance to the castle and was not a gate. The painted topography of the city and its surroundings, including the hills, the river, and the distant city do not correspond to the natural landscape of Casalmaggiore.

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[7] On these events, see Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 8:50–56.

The painting derives from Bartoli's short description of "la recuperatione di Piacentia," suggesting that the city in the right background is Piacenza.[8] This seemingly simple narrative is represented more clearly in Vasari's study for the ceiling, in which a generic city fills the background between the two groups of figures. That setting has become more complex for the painting, where a city sits on the bank of a river on the right, and on the left another city sits in the distance. Vasari's naming of the river god in the painting as a personification of the river Po would aid the identification of Piacenza for the city on the right, as does the orientation of the river with its tributary, the Trebbia.[9] If Piacenza, the city is seen from the southwest, looking northeast, with figures passing through the Porta Genova. The arrangement of the gate and the bastions of the walls coordinate well with the actual defenses of the city. However, there are no hills near Piacenza, particularly along the valley of the Po, as shown in the painting on the left.

More importantly, the main recognizable monuments in the city—the round green dome set on a windowed drum, and to its left the colonnaded cylindrical structure—bear a strong resemblance to Parma's cathedral and baptistery. The rivers could also support this identification, showing the Baganza and the Parma, the former stretching across the plain, the latter receding into the distance. The orientation of the Baptistry and Duomo dome suggest a view of the city from the west, looking almost east-southeast, to coordinate with the arrangement of the rivers. The painted hills again lack proper topographical support, yet could refer to the hills lying not far from the city along the south, the origin of both rivers. If Parma, however, the topography of the walls,

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[8] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 115.
[9] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:160.

monuments, and surroundings is more awkward than the usual care taken for these city views.

Immediate identification of city views generally depends on recognition of the landmarks, however, and it would take a perhaps unnaturally sharp eye to discern the topographical problems in an identification of Parma. Since, according to Vasari, Leo X had sent Cardinal Giulio de'Medici to take command of the Papal troops following the difficulties during the siege of Parma, the city would fit into the story quite nicely. It would serve as the background for Giulio's presence and subsequent victory in the taking of the area defined by him as Piacenza, Parma, Cremona, and Pavia. Vasari considered this region the necessary key to the taking of Milan by the imperial and papal troops shortly thereafter. The idea is referred to by the nude female figure personification of Lombardy "who willingly gives the keys to her cities to Cardinal de'Medici."[10]

Finally, because the painting is meant to refer to the geographical area of southern Lombardy (which in Vasari's time—after 1545—was partly contained by the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza held by the Farnese, and now is divided into southern Lombardy and northwestern Emilia-Romagna), it may also be possible that the apparent confusion of the city is deliberate on the part of the artist. He has visually conflated both cities to represent the region and even the current duchy at the same time.[11] The city in the far background on the left is impossible to identify due to lack of detail, and could represent any of the

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[10] "... volentieri presenta le chiavi delle sua cuttà al cardinale de'Medici." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:160. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 312. Parma was the eastern-most fortress of the Duchy of Milan in 1521, Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 18. In fact, however, the cities did not submit until after the fall of Milan, and the French even retook Cremona following its surrender. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 8:55–56.

[11] For more on the visual conflation of a region, cf. chapter 3, page 177.

four cities, or even Milan in the distance, a reference to the ultimate goal and victory over the French, whose armies depart on the right side of the painting.

L-X.4: Milan, seen from the south **Figure 9**

In: Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of Milan* (figure 8; A-C 27.1)

The painting shows the eastern half of Milan looking northeast. Directly in the foreground is the bastion at the Porta Romana attacked by the Marchese di Pescara, with the gate, the taller square tower defended by arquebuses, directly behind it. To the left is the Porta Ticinese where the conquering troops enter, including Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and behind him the commander of the papal and imperial forces, Prospero Colonna.[12] In the background can be seen the Porta Vercillina, after 1859 known as the Porta Magenta. To the right of this gate can be seen Bramante's dome for Sta. Maria delle Grazie, and further to the right a faithful depiction of the Castello Sforzesco and its defenses. On the right in the middle ground can be seen the Duomo with its many spires.

Vasari depicts the Spanish walls with their modern defenses, a change from his study for the painting, which depicted the forward bastions as medieval round towers. One of these towers remains from the study, next to the Porta Ticinese. Despite the apparent fidelity of the depiction, there are many problems. First, the Spanish walls were begun in 1545 by Giovanni Mari Olgiati and not completed until 1560. They were only begun after the conquest that Vasari depicts, which occurred on 19 November 1521. The attack would have taken place on the medieval walls begun in the twelfth century and finished under Azzone Visconti (1302–1339) in the early fourteenth century. Among the painted Spanish walls, Vasari has left out the Porta Lodovica and the Porta Vigentina, as

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[12] For the events of the 1521 capture of Milan, see Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 8:54–55.

well as seven bastions. These can be seen in a map of Milan from 1881, before the destruction of the Spanish walls began in 1884 (figure 295). The missing gates and bastions are likely due to the requirements of narrative, since the attack centered on the Porta Romano and the Porta Ticinese, described by Vasari in the *Ragionamenti.*[13] However, the 1881 map reveals that the angled bastion of Porta Romana was on the left of the gate, not on the right as Vasari shows it. This reversal can also be seen in Lafreri's view of Milan from 1560, published in the *Civitates orbis terrarum* in 1572 (figure 296).[14] According to the *Civitates* view, Vasari has left out only the Porta Lodovica and four bastions. Lafreri also stylized the walls, making them more regular. Perhaps he even provided Vasari and Stradano with an early map of the city. Lafreri's own source was most likely an early design for the new walls, or his own drawings of the unfinished defenses, which could also explain the differences between portrait and subject.

Lafreri's view also shows the Porta Romana gate as topped more like the Porta Ticinese as Vasari has shown it. Vasari, however, depicts the former as a crenellated tower, again most likely an element remaining from his original study of the antiquated defenses. The crenellation and the round tower next to the Porta Ticinese most likely refer to the medieval walls on which the attack actually took place. The decision to ultimately show the Spanish walls and their modern bastions was calculated to display the end result of imperial hegemony, with the growth of the city and its consolidated

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[13] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:160–62.
[14] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, 1:42.

power. Yet the reminder of the medieval defenses alludes to the inadequacies of the French defense.[15]

Sala di Clemente VII, 1556–62

(figure 10; maps 4–5)

C-VII.1: Arezzo, seen from the south **Figure 12**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Encampment near Arezzo* (figure 11; A-C 34.20 [as *Pistoia*])

The paintings narrating the siege of Florence begin with a portrait of Arezzo, misidentified by Allegri and Cecchi as Pistoia.[16] The view of the city almost matches that of Arezzo in the Sala di Cosimo I (C-I.8), although it does not use exactly the same cartoon. The Cosimo room view turns the city slightly to the west, but shows in essence the same portrait with the same monuments. Stradano depicts the Clemente room Arezzo with imperial tents pitched to the south and figures entering the city through a gate that resembles the Porta Sto. Spirito. The viewing position is placed south of the city just behind the imperial camp. In the center of the city can be seen the Pieve di S. Maria, with its distinctive arcaded campanile. The Fortezza sits behind it in the background. To the left is S. Francesco and behind that is the Duomo. The prominent church on the right is S. Agostino. This painting represents the opening of the events of the siege, but prior to the siege itself, as imperial troops entered Florentine territory. Supposedly despite orders from Florence to remain at Arezzo and defend it if possible, Malatesta Baglione, the Perugian condottiere hired by Florence to lead their troops, abandoned the city on 15

[15] For more on modern defenses indicating the result of the event and the allusions of power within the depicted walled defenses, cf. chapter 4, pages 236ff.
[16] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 171.

September 1529. In fact, it appears that the Florentines had already decided not to defend it. They left Arezzo with 700 soldiers, less than half the number required. Three days later the imperial army arrived, and the city surrendered. The citadel continued to hold out until 22 May 1530.[17] The painting's position between Gavinana, which effectively closed the siege, and Florence itself, places it chronologically in the opening position. That it shows no military action also suggests the easy capture with which the imperial army took the city. The soldiers entering the gate, apparently unarmed, also recommend the peaceful transition of possession.

The viewpoint identifies the viewer with the imperial position. The camp is orderly, well-maintained, and relaxed. The peacefulness suggests the well-run imperial army: powerful, capable, and self-assured. Together with the imperial position of the viewer, the painting presents a propagandizing image beginning to inculcate the audience into an imperial viewpoint towards the siege. Stradano will use these strategies in each of the siege images to build on this idea.[18] In the foreground, a grisaille figure with a cornucopia proffers a key. This would seem to represent two ideas: one, the ease with which the imperial army took the city—the Florentines essentially handed them the key to the city by abandoning it. Two, it must also represent the key to winning the siege itself. By taking Arezzo unchallenged, the imperial army was given way to pass freely into Florentine territory, take over the surroundings, and besiege Florence unmolested. The ease of the taking of Arezzo, the allegorical figure celebrating it, and the imperialist viewpoint of the image, all combine to present an important, yet bloodless, imperial

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[17] Andanti, "Sistema difensivo di Arezzo," 130–31; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 166–68, 246; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 3:142, 162–66.

[18] For an analysis of the *Siege of Florence* using the same strategies, see Cropper, *Pontormo*, 33–35.

victory. It begins the process of demonstrating to the viewer the natural legitimacy of imperial victory. The verisimilitude of Stradano's style only adds to this effect.

The painting is nevertheless somewhat confused as to its topography, perhaps explaining why it had been mistakenly identified as Perugia. The Baluardo del Poggio, wall, and Porta Sto. Spirito seen in the painting did not exist before 1540, when Cosimo ordered the city newly fortified with modern defenses. At the time of the siege, the walls were still those built between 1319 and 1337. The Porta Sto. Spirito, despite its physical resemblance, is not positioned it in the proper place. Stradano shows the gate as west of the city, but it actually sits further to the south, as the southwest entrance. The Porta S. Lorentino does function as the west entrance into the city, but is too far north for this to be it. The misplacement and use of the new walls seems to suggest the on-site sketching of the view, but its subsequent manipulation so as to suggest the older walls. It would have been easy enough for Stradano to show medieval walls, however, rather than the modern artillery bastion. This must be a conscious choice, looking ahead to the outcome of the siege and the effects on the city fabric. As discussed in chapter 5, Duke Cosimo made an effort to strengthen his dominion by building new defenses throughout Tuscany. They represented the extent of his power as well as his military strength. Showing the new defenses of this city, representing the power of the new duke, illustrates the outcome of the siege, as also seen in the *Siege of Florence*.[19]

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[19] For more on modern defenses indicating the result of the event, cf. chapter 4, page 236.

C-VII.2: Florence, seen from the south **Figure 14**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *The Siege of Florence* (figure 13; A-C 34.21)

Florence is seen from a position at the crest of a hill along the viuzzo di Monteripaldi, where now a watertower stands. Almost all of the city's major monuments can be identified. To name a few, outside of the city S. Miniato al Monte, the Torre del Gallo, Francesco Guicciardini's houses, and Bellosguardo can all be seen (figure 15).[20] Inside the walls, the major gates and churches, including Sta. Croce, the Badia, S.S. Annunziata, the Duomo and Baptistry, Orsanmichele, and Sta. Maria Novella, are all recognizable, as are palaces such as the Bargello, the Palazzo Vecchio, the Palazzo Castellani (now hosing the Museo di Storia della Scienza), and the Palazzo Pitti. San Lorenzo may appear in the background, a long, low squat building, between the baptistery and Sta. Maria Novella, though its modesty makes it difficult to identify. The image in all presents a very credible portrait of sixteenth-century Florence because of its many recognizable features, despite its manipulations of scale and space. The relationship between the Oltr'Arno and the hills south of it, Giramonte and San Gallo, has been altered so as to be able to see the Oltr'Arno from the viewing position. Many of the monuments have been extended in height so as to make them conspicuous against the fabric of the city. For instance, the towers of the Bargello and the Badia, in fact the whole buildings, rise much further above the skyline than in their natural state. The same enlarged proportions have been given to the Palazzo Vecchio and the Orsanmichele. The Palazzo Pitti appears to sit on a hill to make it more prominent and rise above the hill and walls. The baptistery rises too high in comparison with the chapels of the Duomo, which

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[20] These have been identified by Allegri and Cecchi. Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 171.

themselves do not rise high enough. The urban spatial relations also collapse blocks, so that the Annunziata appears to sit against the back wall, the Bargello and the Badia appear on the same street as the Palazzo Vecchio but in reality are two or three blocks north of the palace, and the Ponte Vecchio lies too far east along the river, so that it is made to line up with the edge of the Piazza della Signoria (itself too long) and the via dei Calzaiuoli. The view of Fiesole in the background is repeated in larger format, though not much more detail, in the Salone ceiling.

C-VII.3: Lastra a Signa, seen from the northeast **Figure 17**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *The Burning of the Castle of Lastra a Signa* (figure 16; A-C 34.23)

The town is seen from a viewpoint looking over the almost geometrical oxbow bend of the river Vignone, just before it runs into the Arno (which would be to the right, out of the frame). The cavalry enter the fortress through the Porta Fiorentina, no longer extant, while on the far side can be seen the large Portone di Baccio in the midst of the smoke, represented with its two levels in a very basic form. Smoke obscures parts of the town, but there is still no sign of the Ospedale and the central piazza on which it is located. The towers on the walls are the most problematic part of the image. The defenses, designed by Brunelleschi, actually have square towers and machicolation. The surrounding topography matches the urban layout of the town in its fidelity. The road in the background leads up the hill to the Pieve di S. Martino a Gangolandi at the top, where

the imperial army set artillery to bombard the town, and in the process of the siege destroyed half the church.[21]

C-VII.4: Empoli, seen from the west **Figure 19**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *The Siege of the Castle of Empoli* (figure 18; A-C 34.24)

The image shows the same view as the Sala di Cosimo I *Empoli* (C-I.12), though the viewing position has been moved slightly to the left to place the town at a greater angle to the viewer. The monuments, however, are seen from the same orientation. This view lacks the modern fortifications seen in the other Empoli view.

C-VII.5: Florence walls between Porta S. Giorgio and Porta Romano

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish before the Bastions of S. Giorgio* (figure 20; A-C 34.25)

The viewer is located outside of the Porta S. Giorgio, looking southwest towards the Porta Romano. The latter can be seen in the middle ground. Artillery fire originates from its upper level as Florentine troops pour out of the gate below to engage the imperial troops. In the foreground, an imperial artillery battery with gabions exchanges fire with Florentines defending the *baluardo* known as the "Cavaliere" just to the south of the gate. This large bastion was designed by Michelangelo as part of the defensive system for protecting the gate that also included the *baluardo* to the northeast. Both were later faced with stone by Giovan Battista Belluzzi and can be seen in Stefano Buonsignori's 1584 map of Florence (figure 84).[22] At the right background of the painting at the top of the hill sits Villa Bellosguardo. The topography of the area corresponds to the same area in the *Siege of Florence*. The same roads lead away from the gate towards the imperial

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[21] According to a sign at the Pieve.
[22] Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 321; Vasari, *Opere*, 6:332.

camp, especially the Palazzo de' Taddei, where the Duke of Amalfi had his lodgings. The Palazzo de' Taddei is located just outside the picture behind the building at the left edge of the image across from the gate.

C-VII.6: Marignolle, seen from the west **Figure 23**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish outside of Porta Romana, near Marignolle* (figure 22; A-C 34.26)

The church of S. Maria a Marignolle can be seen perched at the top of the hill. The small church was rebuilt in 1718, so is no longer recognizable. The viewpoint is located across the river Greve from the via delle Bagnese, the road along which the Florentine troops march heading left in the foreground. The road leading up the hill to the church is the via della Pescaia, the soldiers turn at the intersection of the two roads at the left foreground. The other buildings cannot be identified at this time, but structures do remain roughly at those locations. Via Senese, the main road running southwest from the Porta Romana, sits below the hill running past it, which corresponds to the natural topography.

C-VII.7: Volterra, seen from the north **Figure 25**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Encampment of the Army of Philbert d'Orange near Volterra* (figure 24; A-C 34.27)

Although more extensive and more detailed, the painting shows the same view of the city as the Sala di Cosimo I *Volterra* (C-I.5). The viewpoint in the current image is placed further away from Volterra along the via di Porta Diana, and further around to the north to give a wider profile of the city. The ancient Etruscan gate along that street for which it is named can be seen in the foreground. Because of the greater space, Stradano

has added appropriate topographical details such as the walls and the ditch at the Porta Docciola. The second breach in the walls to the right of that gate is where Cosimo would have a new bastion built, to the left of the Porta Fiorentina, where Ferrucci put up a significant resistance. Despite the rotated viewpoint, most of the major monuments appear the same as in the painting in the Sala di Cosimo I, particularly the Duomo area. The view has been extended to the east to include the Rocca Nuova, and to the west to include the Porta S. Francesco.

C-VII.8: S. Donato in Polverosa, Florence, seen from the south

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish in the Plain of S. Donato in Polverosa* (figure 21; A-C 34.28)

The painting depicts the plain of S. Donato in Polverosa, which today corresponds to the area between the Cascine gardens and the old Fiat factory to the west of Florence. The viewpoint looks north over the Arno river to where a camp of landsknechts was attacked during an *incamiciata,* a Florentine night attack, on 21 June 1530. The same episode is represented in the middle background of the *Siege of Florence.*

C-VII.9: Pisa, seen from the southeast **Figure 27**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Passage through Pisa of Francesco Ferrucci's Militia* (figure 26; A-C 34.29)

The city is shown from a position across the Arno at a point southeast of the city, looking at the Porta alla Piaggia through which the soldiers pass. The gate no longer exists, but was located near S. Matteo on the east side of the city, on the north side of the Arno. The Duomo and tower appear in the background for identification purposes, as the landmarks would not be able to be seen from this perspective. The gate location suggests

that the soldiers exit the city to head for Florence via Pistoia, which Allegri and Cecchi have stated.[23] Rather, the soldiers appear to enter the city, which would instead make the depicted gate the Porta andar va a Livorno, now known as the Porta a Mare, on the road from Livorno. Ferrucci passed through Livorno 17 July 1530 on his way to Pisa where he arrived the next day.[24] If indeed the painting shows Ferrrucci's entrance, the viewpoint would be located on the north side of the Arno, west of the city, outside of the walls near the Cittadella Vecchia. The river topography corresponds to this position as well. This position, however, would not permit a sight of the Duomo complex, nor much of the northern side of Pisa at all.

C-VII.10: Gavinana, seen from the south **Figure 29**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Encounter between Orange and Ferrucci at Gavinana* (figure 28; A-C 34.31)

Gavinana appears amidst the Pistoiese mountains in the right center of the composition. Three divisions of the imperial army converge on it. The burning town to the left (west) of Gavinana is S. Marcello Pistoiese. The entire topography, with the mountains, the two towns, and the stream in the foreground, all correspond very closely to the actual topography. Stradano even faithfully reproduced the campanile of Gavinana and the town's general fabric. The view must have been sketched onsite from the hill across the stream south of the town, above road No. 66, though the exact location could not be accessed. Regardless of the viewpoint, the view relates the particular character of

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[23] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 173; Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 311.
[24] Roth, *Last Florentine Republic*, 298.

the Pistoiese mountains that served as the setting for the final battle of the Siege of Florence.

C-VII.11: Ideal Fortified City, after Albrecht Dürer **Figure 31**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Is Sent to Hungary as Papal Legate* (figure 30; A-C 34.2)

The background reproduces a print by Albrecht Dürer, the *Siege of an Ideal Fortress* from 1527 (figure 142). Sharon Gregory first published the quotation in *Print Quarterly* in 1995, but neglected to offer any analysis. Four years later, Giovanni Maria Fara also wrote of the copying in his book on Dürer's fortification treatise.[25] As discussed in chapter 3, the scene represents the period in late summer, 1532, when Pope Clement VII designated Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici the Papal Legate to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. His official mission as legate was to bring aid for Charles V's campaign against the Ottoman Turks. The setting is deliberately general, meant only to refer to the theater of the crusade in which Ippolito took part. Despite this, scholars have occasionally offered suggestions for the city that the print or the painting might portray. I will here dispute those various identifications.

The woodcut has independently garnered two separate identifications, neither acceptable. In 1904, Scherer identified the print as the siege of Vienna. However, the first siege of Vienna did not occur until two years after the print was made, and a year after Dürer's death in 1528.[26] Simon Pepper and Nicholas Adams more recently claimed the

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[25] For the completion date, see Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 102; for the attribution, see ibid., 172. Also Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 168; Gregory, "Dürer's *Treatise*." Fara also claimed himself the first to notice the source. Fara, *Dürer teorico*, 67–68.

[26] Strauss, *Albrecht Dürer*, 588. Tradition may explain Scherer's association. Stradano's painting was later used as the source for the background of Matteo Rosselli's painting, *The Defense of Vienna*, part of the

city to be Regensburg, without explanation. Despite the apparent correspondence to Ippolito's arrival there, the authors make no connection between the print and Stradano's painting.[27] Regensburg did not come under siege until almost three centuries after the print's issue, in 1809. The image bears no relation to either the cities themselves or to contemporary images of them found in books such as Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* of 1493 or Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis* from 1550 (figures 240, 297–98).[28]

Identifications for the setting of the painting have ranged further afield in the landscape of Ippolito's activities. Lucia Nuti calls it "an anonymous city of Hungary."[29] Fara recognized the generic aspect of Dürer's print, but claimed Vasari used it to represent the siege of Buda (now Budapest) in August 1529. Fara offers as his reason only that an Italian military engineer named Domenico da Bologna built a bastion at Buda in the 1530s in the style of Dürer, and that Vasari, knowing this, kept the painting in line with the other Palazzo Vecchio siege images. According to Fara, these images "contain elements of veracity in relation to the city that they portray."[30]

Fara's identification is no more accurate than those by previous scholars. The image bears no relation to the relatively widespread sixteenth-century images of Buda

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decorations in the Sala di Carlo V e Ferdinando II in the Villa di Poggio Imperiale carried out c. 1623. Clearly tradition had come to associate the setting with Vienna, despite its artificial origin. Scherer may have recognized Dürer's print as the source for these paintings much earlier than Gregory, which would explain his incorrect identification, though it would make Pepper and Adams' identification even more confusing. For the Rosselli painting, see Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte*, 181, fig. 219.

[27] Pepper and Adams never explain why they identify the Dürer print so, labeled only in an illustration inscription. Their source in the Newberry Library makes no such identification of the city. Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 23.

[28] Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, XCVIII (*Regensburg*), XCIX (*Vienna*); Münster, *Cosmographei*: dcccxxiii–dcccxxvi (*Vienna*).

[29] "un'anonima città dell'Ungheria." Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 347.

[30] "Le altre scene di assedio affrescate da Vasari e sua *equipe* in Palazzo Vecchio contengono tutte elementi di veridicità in relazione alla città che vengono raffigurate." Fara, *Dürer teorico*, 67–68.

(figures 299–301).[31] The veracity that Fara correctly notes in the other Palazzo Vecchio images also resides in the temporality of the narratives. It would be particularly unusual for Vasari to show an event unrelated to Ippolito's adventure. The Turkish army on their way to Vienna captured the small fortress without resistance and then burned it following the Battle of Mohács, six years before Cardinal de'Medici even became legate.[32] They placed the Hungarian John Zapolyá, Ferdinand's rival for the crown of Hungary, in charge, who controlled it as a vassal of the Ottoman Empire throughout the 1530s. Ferdinand of Austria recaptured Buda briefly in 1527, but the Turks again had little trouble taking back the city in 1529.[33] Ferdinand then sent his general Wilhelm Roggendorf to besiege Buda in 1530 after the Turks left, but Sulieman I had little trouble recapturing it upon his return in 1532. Domenico da Bologna fortified the city at the invitation of Zapolyá, against Habsburg aggression, described by Giovio in his *History* (maps 9–10).[34] In 1541, following an unsuccessful siege of Buda by the Austrian general Roggendorf the year before, the Ottoman Empire formally annexed Buda and the surrounding territory, placing Zapolyá as their governor as King of Hungary, a situation

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[31] The image of Buda in the *Cosmographia* (Münster, *Cosmographiae*, 868) republishes the city from Erhard Schön's *Siege of Buda* from 1541, and so I have not illustrated it. On these images, see Zsuzsa Ordasi, "Rappresentazioni di Buda e Pest su stampe nei secoli XV–XVII," in *L'Europa moderna: Cartografia urbana e vedutismo*, eds. Cesare de Seta and Daniela Stroffolino (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001): 213–17.

[32] Bridge, *Suleiman*, 100.

[33] Bridge, *Suleiman*, 113–14, Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 3:249–53.

[34] On Giovio's involvement of Domenico at the invitation of Zapolya, see his quote below, page 336, note 40. On the 1530 siege of Buda, see Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 785–92, with descriptions of its outdated fortifications on 784, 786, 787, and 792. On Domenico's position within these events, see Carlo Promis, *Gl'ingegneri e gli scrittori militari Bolognese del xv e xvi secolo*, Italica Gens: Repertori di bio-bibliografia italiana, 70 (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1975), 11–12. Kasim Bey, who would later lead the cavalry against Ippolito at Linz, assisted Zapolya at the 1530 siege of Buda with 600 cavalry. Dávid, "Ottoman Military Career," 270, 270 n. 18. Giovanni Maria Speciecasa was in Buda in 1532 assisting in its defense in the service of Archduke Ferdinand. Giovio attributes some of the defenses at Pest to him. Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 792; Maggiorotti, *Architetti e architetture militari*, 98–99.

that only officially recognized an already existing situation.[35] Vasari would have been unlikely to celebrate these facts, considering the glorification of Habsburg-Medici relations in the painting, and throughout the decorations.

I have been unable to fully ascertain the nature of the fortifications Domenico built at Buda. References suggest, however, that the defenses he built were in the modern Italian style. Domenico da Bologna in 1531 worked for Archduke Ferdinand, designing fortifications at Vienna and in lower Austria, such as at Wiener-Neustadt. In 1533, he was paid 300 florins a year, with which he was apparently unhappy. The following year he took the position with John Zapolya, to fortify Buda. In 1540, Domenico was again working for Ferdinand as architect of the state ("architetto regio"), where he continued to serve afterwards.[36] Round guntowers resembling Dürer's theoretical designs, on a smaller scale, may have been popular in late-fifteenth-century northern fortifications, especially in Germany and in Poland, but the angled bastions of the Italian style quickly replaced the older round bastions of Dürer's designs, both in the south and in the north. The last Italian guntower resembling Durer's fortifications was built at Assisi in 1535, and by then this was already out of date.[37] It is therefore particularly unlikely that an Italian military engineer would build an obsolete style of fortification in the 1530s, since the Italians were imported into the northern countries precisely for their expertise in the Italian style.[38] In fact, Domenico's work at Vienna would recommend his *alla moderna* style of military architecture. Following the siege of 1529, and especially that of 1532, Ferdinand

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[35] On the 1540 siege of Buda and the corresponding outcome, see Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 795–834; Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 201.
[36] Maggiorotti, *Architetti e architetture militari*, 99–101.
[37] Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 4, 22–23; Hogg, *History of Fortification*, 80–95, 101.
[38] Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, passim, for example 41–42, 45, 170.

made it a high priority to renovate the inefficient defenses in the new Italian style. Plans from 1547, 1549, and 1552 show these fortifications to have been completed to Ferdinand's wishes (figures 303–3).[39]

Sources describing the fortifications of Buda confirm the hypothesis of Domenico's style. According to Giovio, a "Bolognese architect" renovated the medieval defenses at Buda between 1534 and 1540, ruined during the siege by Roggendorf in 1530. When the general returned in 1540, he found the new, impregnable defenses consisting of large bastions and towers. There now sat a "marvelous bastion made of stone … with a very obtuse angle and with a very large flank" where Austrian forces had opened a breach in the medieval walls ten years prior. Giovio described another "enormous bastion" built at the Porta Sabatina, what is now known as the Transylvanian bastion.[40] Maggiorotti identified Giovio's unknown Bolognese as Domenico da

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[39] For these plans, see Pinto, "Ichnographic City Plan," 47–49.

[40] "Percioche laspetto della città s'era mutato, maravigliandosi egli di vedervi edificati bastioni grandi, e fabriche di torri nuove, lequali il re Giovanni servendosi dell'ingegno di uno architetto Bolognese haveva aggiunte per fortificar le porte. Et prima da quella parte, dove Rochandolfo medesimo dieci anni innanzi facendo una gran ruina di mura havea battuta la muraglia, v'era un marabil bastione fatto di pietra. Il qual bastione abbraciando le case de nobili Horsaci, ilquale guardava verso il vento di Maestro, e con angulo molto ottuso, e con un fianco grande, dov'erano le cannoniere, di qua e di la difendeva la muraglia, talche mostrato il pericolo era tolto via il piu facil luogo che vi fosse da far là batteria, percioche da quella parte uno alto e perpetuo poggio, sulquale comodamente si vede posta Buda, finisce il piano, e da Tramontana e Levante di state, onde si scuopre il Danubio, v'è una erta molto aspra e impedita, con strettissimi & molto torti sentieri. Alla porta Sabatina anchora, laquale va a Buda vecchia e a man manca a Visgrado, v'era fatto un bastione di giusta grandezza, ilquale havendo diligentemente piantate lartiglierie all'altezza de nimici che salivano, nettava le mura diritte verso mezzo giorno. Poi dalla parte di Levante, dov'è edificata la rocca con sontuose opere di tanti re, laquale ha una bellissima vista, haveva fattoun larghissimo torrione di pietra di mediocre altezza, ilquale era talmente congiunto e accostato alla rocca, che di fuora haveva una porta con un ponte, per laqual porta sette huomini armati alla fila potevano liberamente uscire e sicurissimamente scendere al fiume per la fossa, essendo tagliato il masso, e cavato il terreno. Percioche dianzi non si poteva andare dalla rocca al fiume, se non pogliando un circuito grande per la città, ma il monte altissimo, ilquale era dirimpetto alla rocca e alla città, essendoci in mezzo una valle, e quella fossa ch'io dissi, era tanto alto, che il mezzo del monte pareggiava la cima della rocca, e sulla cima del monte si vedevano la strade e le piazze in mezzo della citta scoperte a colpi d'artiglierie. Su questo monte era una chiesa intitolata a San Gherardo …" Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 796.

Bologna.[41] Giovio's description, especially his comment on the bastion's angle, suggests a modern design. Unfortunately, only the foundations of the Transylvanian bastion remain, for which I have yet to confirm Domenico's responsibility, but the foundations reveal this bastion to be *alla moderna* (figures 304–5).[42] The sixteenth-century author Ascanio Centorio in his treatise on fortifications explained how the fortifications at Buda allowed only 2,500 Hungarians under John Zapolya to hold off King Ferdinand's forces in 1540: "... with ingenuity and art a certain Bolognese architect [also identified as Domenico da Bologna] fortified the city with bastions, and surrounded the walls with deep and wide ditches which were furnished with casemates and other rearward defenses, such as you may see at Piacenza, Padua, Milan, Trevigi, Nepi and many other places in Italy."[43] Piacenza, Padua, Milan's and the others' defenses were all built in the Italian

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[41] Maggioroti calls Giovio's Porta Sabatina the Porta degli Ebreia that connected the old city with the lower city. Maggiorotti, *Architetti e architetture militari*, 153–54; also Promis, *Ingegneri Bolognese*, 11–12. Maggiorotti clarifies Giovio's description, explaining how Domenico also built a wall along the eastern tract of Buda, running parallel to the old wall there, between the Rondella di Strigonia and the next (unnamed) gate, with a distance between the two walls of fifteen meters. To the west of the Rondella di Strigonia Domenico prolonged the wall to a point where he erected the Torre di Galla, and he opened in the same wall a new gate for the lower city called the Porta Nuova. Maggiorotti, *Architetti e architetture militari*, 154.

[42] The U.S. Embassy in Budapest currently resides in the building built on these remains, which they attribute to Domenico da Bologna. "The Historic Complex on Táncsics Mihály Street – U.S. Embassy Budaapest, Hungary," http://budapest.usembassy.gov/tancsics_complex.html, January 23, 2007.

[43] "... con l'ingegno et arte d'un certo architetto Bolognese l'aveva si fattamente di belloardi fortificata e cinta di mura e di fossi profondi e larghi intorno con casematte dentro ed altri ripari, come hor si vede in una Piacenza, Padova, Milano, Trevigi, Nepi, et altri infinit luoghi d'Italia." Ascanio Centorio, *Discorsi di Guerra*, 1569, IV, chapter 8, quoted in Promis, *Militari Bolognesi*, 12. Duffy translates a corrupt version of Centorio's quote from Maggiorotti, which I have corrected in my translation. Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 201. Promis and Duffy identify Domenico da Bologna as Centorio's unnamed Bolognese architect, Promis, *Ingegneri Bolognese*, 12; Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 201. The Venetian ambassador Marino Sanuto and other writers also attested to Buda's well-constructed defenses. Maggiorotti, *Architetti e architetture militari*, 155. Lorenzo Contarini, for instance, wrote in 1548, "Buda sebbene è stimata in quelle parti fortezza inespugnabible, è pero manco che mediocre." Promis, *Ingegneri Bolognese*, 12.

style *alla moderna*.[44] It seems unlikely then that Vasari intended the setting to serve as Buda.

Other scholars have made similar unfounded identifications for the setting, though without a similar reasoned argument or evidence. Mario Oliva has claimed that Stradano's painting represents Ippolito's exploits at Linz. Oliva provides no evidence or further interpretation to support this claim.[45] Lacking any further information, I can only recourse to a comparison of the image with its supposed subject. Dürer's city bears no resemblance to Linz, and I have found no sixteenth-century images of Linz. Oliva's identification seems, at the least, an unlikely conjecture. Most recently, Ugo Muccini and Alessandro Cecchi stated that the painting shows Ippolito arriving in the plain of Pannonia. The term is ill-chosen in its inexactness. Pannonia may refer to the topographical regions of the Great Hungarian Plain, the larger Pannonian Basin, or Transdanubia, an area of western Hungary divided into three districts.[46] Budapest falls within central Transdanubia, but more relevant to Ippolito's activities, Köszeg sits near the Austrian border in the county of Vas in Western Transdanubia. Burgenland, the easternmost Austrian state, also falls within the region of the Pannonian Basin. Wiener Neustadt, at least, sits on the border of this state, though today it is technically a part of Lower Austria. Of course, Ippolito took part in none of the actions at these locations. The

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[44] Michele Sanmicheli built the new defenses at Padua, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger designed the fortifications at Piacenza in 1541. The fortifications of Milan have a longer history due to its continuous changing of hands between France and Spain. Designers for its defenses included Leonardo da Vinci, Oronce Fine, and Pellegrino Tibaldi. On the Italian style of bastioned defense found at these locations, see Duffy, *Siege Warfare*, 23–42, especially 32, 36.

[45] Oliva, *Giulia Gonzaga Colonna*, 141.

[46] The Great Hungarian Plain covers parts of many countries in eastern Europe, including Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, and Croatia. Its largest part, however, falls in the southern and eastern parts of Hungary. The Pannonian Basin, left behind when the Pannonian Sea dried out in the Pliocene epoch, falls within Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, and Ukraine.

Pannonian region does encompass much of the military activity that occurred in 1532—perhaps Muccini and Cecchi meant to indicate only that Vasari sought to suggest the general theater of war, as I have argued elsewhere. If this is the case, their term is unfortunate in its specificity, as it excludes the eastern theater and Ippolito's activities.

C-VII.12: Florence, seen from the north-northwest **Figure 33**

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Alessandro de'Medici Returning to Florence after His Coronation by the Emperor* (figure 32; A-C 34.4)

Florence appears as seen from the direction of the Villa Medici at Careggi, according to the angle of the front gate and the general position of the monuments, although the viewpoint is positioned much closer to the city. The gate in the foreground is the Porta San Gallo. The Duomo appears just above and to the right of the gate, with the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio appearing between the Duomo's dome and campanile. At the left edge of the painting is San Lorenzo. Above and just left of the gate is the spire of the Badia, and further left can be seen Sta. Croce, and then the drum of S.S. Annunziata, with a cherub's foot pointing to it. In the background, on the hill above the city, is located an unfortified S. Miniato and S. Salvatore. Below the two hilltop churches appear more city gates: the Porta S. Niccolo directly below, then to the left the Porta alla Croce, and finally, on the side of the viewer, the Porta a Pinti (or Fiesolana).

Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59

(figures 34–37; maps 6–7)

C-I.1: Montemurlo, seen from the south **Figure 39**

In: Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Triumph of Cosimo at Montemurlo* (figure 38; A-C 30.1)

Much like the image of Ravenna, an idealized continuous narrative runs from background to foreground. In the very back, the castle of Montemurlo lies under siege, while in the middle ground, cavalry battle on the plain below. In the foreground, Cosimo receives the prisoners. The duke never attended the battle of Montemurlo, which occurred on 31 August 1537. His captains presented his prisoners to him back in Florence afterwards. Vasari's comments in the *Ragionamenti* admit these facts while announcing the panegyric of the image. He wrote that the castle was "portrayed from nature," and even has the prince recognize it as such to emphasize the point.[47] Vasari acknowledged having illustrated Montemurlo in the background while saying that he shows the prisoners brought before the duke in Florence, deliberately confusing the principle of topography as historical setting in the *Montemurlo* image. [48]

Here, the artist's claim of verisimilitude may simply indicate the general topographical character of the setting, with its commanding position high on a hill overlooking the plain. The apparent fidelity recommends the strength of the *fuorusciti*'s position at Montemurlo, and consequently the superior strength of Cosimo's army in

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[47] "ritratto di naturale," Vasari, *Opere*, 8:190. Translated in Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 359.
[48] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:190.

successfully besieging the fortress and carrying the victory.[49] However, the manipulations of the walls, making them round rather than square, may perhaps subtly indicate the inadequacies of the defender's military power by its resemblance to the round towers of medieval defenses.[50]

C-I.2: Serravalle Scrivia or Serravalle Pistoiese **Figure 41**

In: Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo Orders Aid to Serravalle* (figure 40; A-C 30.3)

This painting appears to refer to a skirmish at Serravalle Scrivia in Lombardy that occurred on 2 June 1544, an endnote to the battle of Ceresole that took place 11 April between France and the Holy Roman Empire. Piero Strozzi led a combined army of French and Swiss troops against a much larger imperial army under the Marquis of Vasto. Strozzi was trying to pass from Piacenza through enemy lines to French forces at Torino. Once combined, the French army was to advance on Milan, which Charles V had left poorly defended. Cosimo had already sent his general Ridolfo Baglioni (1512–53, sometimes Rodolfo) at the head of a large force to aid the emperor at Ceresole, and the duke ordered Baglioni to similarly assist at Serravalle, having sent him 4,000 more infantry. Baglioni apparently led the attack on Strozzi, which routed the latter's forces, thereby saving Milan for the emperor.[51]

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[49] On the battle of Montemurlo, see Francisci, *Montemurlo*, 47–69. On the *rocca*, see ibid.; Visonà, "La Rocca."

[50] For more on the allusions of power within the depicted walled defenses, cf. chapter 4, page 236.

[51] For mention of this battle, see Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 42; Oman, *History of the Art of War*, 242–43; and the website "Note biografiche di Capitani di Guerra e di Condottieri di Ventura operanti in Italia nel 1330–1550," pages "Rodolfo Baglioni di Perugia," http://www.condottieridiventura.it/condottieri/b/0132%20%20%20%20%20%20RODOLFO%20BAGLIONI%20%20Di%20Perugia.htm; and "Piero Strozzi di Firenze," http://www.condottieridiventura.it/condottieri/s/1901%20%20%20%20%20%20PIERO%20STROZZI%20%20Di%20Firenze.htm (accessed 28 January 2008).

According to Allegri and Cecchi this painting instead refers to a small incident during the War of Siena, in 1554. Again featuring Piero Strozzi, the now-commander of French forces in Italy led French and Florentine *fuorusciti* troops against the Florentine and imperial troops under the Marchese di Marignano (1498–1555) at Serravalle Pistoiese. Strozzi's army had been raiding the Florentine countryside, receiving shelter from Lucca even, and seemed headed for Pistoia. As in 1544, however, Strozzi's troops were badly provisioned and exhausted from overly long marches, as well as outnumbered. Marignano held Serravalle as a buffer against Strozzi's plan to attack Pistoia. Again, Strozzi's army lost, and retreated back into Sienese territory and to Siena shortly thereafter. No source or argument is offered for Allegri and Cecchi's identification of this scene.[52]

There are indications that suggest the 1544 Serravalle event and not the 1554 event. First, Judith Bryce reports that Bartoli, who provided the *invenzione* for the ceiling of the Sala di Cosimo I, avoided the war of Siena since he was saving it for the Salone dei Cinquecento. Admittedly, she says this only in reference to the central painting.[53] Second, if Vasari had depicted a scene from the war of Siena, the 1554 Serravalle seems highly unlikely, as does such a depiction of it—either the battle of Scannagallo, which effectively signaled the end of the war of Siena, or the Siege of Port'Ercole, which did end it, would seem a more likely choice. Both events are depicted in a more unassuming

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[52] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 145. For a timeline of these events, see Renato Giovagnoli, "Cronologia della guerrra di Siena," in *La fortuna di Cosimo I: La battaglia di Scannagallo* (Arezzo: PAN, Congressi & Immagine, 1992), 41–42. For a brief summary of Strozzi's incursion into Florentine territory, but that does not mention Serravalle, see Marco Giuliani, "La campagna per la conquista di Siena condotta dal Marignano nel gennaio–marzo 1554," in *La fortuna di Cosimo I: La battaglia di Scannagallo* (Arezzo: PAN, Congressi & Immagine, 1992), 49–50. Pepper and Adams suggest Florence as Strozzi's ultimate goal, Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 127.

[53] Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 67.

position and style on the wall below (C-I.21, C-1.22). Nor did Cosimo need to order his captains to the aid of Serravalle. Marignano was already there, continually positioning his army in a chess-game of counter-maneuvers against Strozzi. Vasari in the *Ragionamenti* specifically says that Cosimo orders his captains "to give succor to Serravalle," while the positioning of troops there was rather to defend Pistoia, Serravalle itself not requiring aid.[54] Third, the 1544 Serravalle allows for the continuation of a roughly chronological organization to the scenes in the four *tondi*. Finally, two distinctive fortresses mark Serravalle Pistoiese. One, the Rocca vecchia, includes the famous square Torre Barbarossa, named after Frederick I, and dates from the twelfthth century (figure 306). The second, the Rocca nuova, was built by the Lucchese early in the fourteenth century with a hexagonal tower (figure 307). The castle depicted in the background of the painting, a circular tower of later, fifteenth-century design, matches neither of these fortresses. While that in itself does not mean the image cannot represent Serravalle Pistoiese, combined with the other arguments it certainly casts doubt on Allegri and Cecchi's identification of the scene.

A counter-argument, in favor of Allegri and Cecchi, may be that Vasari's intention was to show Cosimo as strategically and militarily minded, providing for the defense of Tuscany against invaders. This would match the theme of fortification and dominion found throughout the room, and an identification of the 1544 Serravalle battle admittedly loses this connotation. What it gains, however, is prestige for Cosimo, having sent aid to the emperor. It suggests both wealth and military strength, and a connection to the emperor in the form of a gift, or a debt, that will be repaid during the war of Siena.

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[54] "che vadano a dar soccorso a Serravalle...." Vasari, *Opere*, 8:192.

Other paintings in the Quartiere also suggest such imperial connections in the form of aid by the Medici, such as *Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici is Sent to Hungary.*[55]

Lacking further documentary evidence, I have turned to the portraits to further determine the identification of the scene. The portraits of this painting have not to my knowledge been discussed, besides the two identifications Vasari makes of Onofrio Bartolini de' Medici (d. 1555), the archbishop of Pisa from 1518 to his death at 1555 (whom Vasari, and Allegri and Cecchi, call Noferi Bartolini), and Lelio Tortelli (1489–1576), First Secretary of the State of Tuscany from 1546 until his death (along with many other positions). Torelli is the older gray-bearded gentleman to the right of Cosimo, and Bartolini the younger one to the left. The captains remain unknown. While unable to determine more than one, I would suggest that the front captain, with his right hand palm-up and his left hand resting on the pommel of his sword, is Ridolfo Baglioni, who played such an important role in the 1544 Serravalle. It almost certainly is not Marignano, who led the 1554 episode against Strozzi. Vasari shows the 56-year-old general as much older with a gray beard in the *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena* in the Salone, which occurred the same year (figure 252). In 1544, however, Baglioni was one of Cosimo's most important commanders, having attained Captain General of the Tuscan Cavalry in 1543. He would go on to play important roles in the war of Siena, and was killed in action towards its end.

While Vasari does not mention Baglioni in this painting, the artist does identify the soldier in both *Election of Cosimo de'Medici as Duke of Florence* and *The Triumph*

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[55] Kurt Forster has discussed how frequently Cosimo was connected to the emperor through the art of his court. Forster, "Metaphors of Rule." For the *Ippolito* painting, see chapter 3, page 166.

at Montemurlo (figures 175, 38).[56] Allegri and Cecchi, without offering any evidence, claim that Baglioni does not appear in the former, and that he cannot be identified in the latter.[57] The Baglioni in *Serravalle*, however, looks very similar to figures in both of the other paintings. He closely resembles the soldier closest to Cosimo with his arm raised in the election scene, which Allegri and Cecchi claim to be Alessandro Vitelli (1500–54), following Vasari's identification. The other soldier, however, shares similar features as well. In the *Montemurlo* image, the two soldiers looking at each other above the prisoners, one in yellow and one in purple, also share features, both with themselves and with the soldiers in the other two scenes. Allegri and Cecchi, again without citing evidence, identify the soldier on the right, in yellow, as Otto da Montauto (or Montaguto, d. 1552), and the soldier on the left, in purple, as Vitelli.

Based on comparisons between the three images, I would suggest that Baglioni is the soldier who looks out and raises his arm to Cosimo in the *Election* painting, the other soldier being Vitelli. This second soldier has slight streaks of grey in his beard, making him appear older than the other. At the time of Cosimo's election, in 1537, Vitelli was 37, while Baglioni was only 25, ages more consistent with the depicted differences in the two soldiers. The differences in position would also correspond with the varying support Cosimo received from either soldier. Vitelli nominally supported the election of Cosimo at first, but then ransacked the young duke's house and took refuge in the Fortezza da Basso against Cosimo, justifying his actions on the authority of the emperor. It took Cosimo almost six years to get control of the fortress and be rid of Vitelli, who continued to oppose his rule. Even after leaving Florence, employed elsewhere in Europe in the

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[56] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:189, 190. Draper, "*Ragionamenti* Translated," 358–59.
[57] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 144, 146.

service of the emperor, Vitelli would continue to be an opponent of Cosimo, until the War of Siena brought them together and they made amends.[58] On the other hand, Cosimo found support in Baglioni, and quickly learned to rely on him more and more for the next seventeen years until the latter's death. The more prominent role as intercessor to the audience would seem a natural position for a supporter of the duke. In the *Montemurlo* painting, following on this reasoning, I would suggest that the soldier in yellow is instead Vitelli, again shown as an older soldier at thirty-seven, and the one on the left, in purple, is again the younger Baglioni at twenty-five years of age. Vitelli, as the senior general, presents the prisoners to the duke. After Montemurlo, the two soldiers would not work together again until Siena.[59] The presented identifications would better correspond to the events, lives of the men, and Vasari's description in the *Ragionamenti*, the only correction needed being Vasari's statement that Vitelli is closer to the duke. As Kirwin has shown, however, Vasari frequently made such changes in positioning of the figures from design to finished painting, and the *Ragionamenti* generally corresponds to the former rather than the latter, making such a discrepancy acceptable.[60] These identifications then support the proposed identification of Baglioni in *Serravalle*.

The feasibility of definitively identifying scenes and personages based on likenesses in the Quartiere, however, is doubtful. For instance, Francesco Guicciardini in the *Election* scene is shown as a young man, although at the time of the election he was fifty-four, and only had three years left to live. Vasari depicts him as such because of the

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[58] Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 20, 25–26, 31–32.
[59] Giovio notes the presence of both soldiers at Montemurlo, Giovio, *Seconda parte dell'historie*, 744. For details on the careers of these soldiers, see the website, "Note biografiche di Capitani di Guerra e di Condottieri di Ventura operanti in Italia nel 1330-1550," http://www.condottieridiventura.it/pagine/home.htm (accessed 2 October 2006). Information on dates and titles come from "The Medici Archive Project," http://documents.medici.org/medici-index.cfm (accessed 2 October 2006).
[60] Kirwin, "Vasari's Tondo."

source that he used, a painting that appears to be part of the series of famous men paintings originally intended for the Guardaroba Nuova, made in the 1560s.[61] In this case, likeness is more important to Vasari than historical accuracy, so he makes no attempt to match the portrait to the event. Francesco's brother Luigi (1478–1551), on the other hand, while only five years older, appears quite aged—much closer to his actual age, fifty-nine, at the time of Cosimo's election. Similarly, the two advisors in the *Serravalle* image, Torelli and Bartolini, were both in Cosimo's service in 1544, Torelli not becoming First Secretary until 1546, but prior to that holding many positions—in 1544 he was a member of the *podestà*. Again, Vasari is concerned with the accuracy of his source, listing Torelli in the position in which he knew of him, rather than his position at the time. (Vasari could, of course, have been simply mistaken.) Having no other images of Cosimo's soldiers for comparison then, my conclusions must remain only proposals. The prominence of Baglioni in the *Serravalle* painting, however, indicates that the scene represents the 1544 event.

Finally, it may be that Vasari left the *Serravalle* scene deliberately ambiguous, suggested to him perhaps by the similarity of name and antagonist (Piero Strozzi). There is little reason to suppose Vasari would not have wanted audiences to remember both occurrences, and his scant information offers no conclusions, almost deliberately so. The oddity of the inscription's date, 1549, adds to this idea, as it falls exactly in between both events, five years from each. In addition the portrait of Cosimo resembles his portraits in the Salone dei Cinquecento, showing a more mature duke. His appearance here is definitely older than the twenty-four years he would have been at the time of the 1544

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[61] On these portraits, cf. chapter 2, page 114.

Serravalle. Again, the portraiture discrepancy can only support the ambiguity of the scene.

C-I.3: Portoferraio, seen from the east-southeast **Figure 43**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Elba* (figure 42; A-C 30.4)

As already discussed, the painting records an actual visit to Elba by Cosimo in order to inspect the fortifications, which occurred in 15–18 May 1548.[62] Vasari's diagrammatic depiction of Portoferraio shows the city more as a plan than a view. Only the fortifications and certain buildings are shown in perspective, as seen in similar contemporary plans, such as those by Cipriano Piccolpasso (figure 74). The painted plan shares similarities with another view and a plan of the city, both drawn 1553 by Giovanni Camerini, the city's second military architect (figures 120–21). For instance, both views show the same error in position of the Fortezza della Stella, according to Renzo Manetti. In addition, the chain across the port in both views is shown as a wall, while the Baluardo della Cornacchia is depicted with two orillons. In Camerini's plan, however, this *baluardo* is shown with only one orillon, the other face being more flat, corresponding to the flat front in the painted view, while in Camerini's view it has a salient. Most importantly, Camerini's view shows the city as seen from across the bay at about the position of Volterraio, an older fortress now in ruins, a position to which the painted view also corresponds. The similarities suggest that Vasari referred to Camerini's 1553 designs.[63]

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[62] Cf. chapter 3, page 138, and chapter 5, page 252.

[63] Lamberini dated the construction in the Vasari view to the end of the 1550s based on the architectural elements shown. She makes no mention here of its relation to the Camerini view, however, though later she points out that both views show a similar Fortezze della Linguella. The Camerini view in fact shows all of the same architectural forms. This could mean that that architecture already existed in 1553, or that

Despite the precision of the historical event, Vasari has slightly altered the city fabric. The Fortezza del Falcone and the Fortezza della Stella have been regularized, though they remain recognizable and approximately positioned. For instance, Falcone appears to be a four-pointed star, losing the southwest-facing hornworks. The layout of the streets and buildings appear to correspond fairly well to the actual city, although the piazza is too big and of more regular proportions. Vasari even appears to represent the Duomo, Ss. Sacramento, and the Misericordia, though in rough approximation to their subjects. The most accurate element is the Torre della Linguella, the hexagonal tower at the edge of the harbor, represented prominently in a steep perspective. The artist has also manipulated the plan that Cosimo holds, so that it can fit on the paper and remain recognizable. The Fortezza della Stella on the plan, however, demonstrates a more precise shape.

The speed at which the Portoferraio project was carried out is almost unbelievable. On 10 April 1548, Cosimo ordered Giovan Battista Belluzzi, his military architect, to Pisa to discuss the new project. On 28 April, Cosimo approved Belluzzi's designs, and sent ships to Elba immediately. By 5 May, the foundations were already underway, despite a lack of drinking water. On 8 May, the foundations of the Fortezza Stella have progressed enough that they can be defended. On 27 May, Belluzzi can already report the completion of the earthworks and the start of the stone facing. On 9 June, however, Cosimo sent Giovanni Camerini to take over the project, recalling

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Camerini projected the elements in a view to make the project more legible for those not initiated in reading technical plans. Vasari could easily have made his view based on those projected plans. In either case, in her dating, Lamberini assumes too great a degree of relation to the subject in the portrait. The relation to Camerini's view was suggested by Manetti. Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 68; Manetti, *Kosmos*, fig. 5.

Belluzzi back to Florence. From then on, Camerini served as the official architect of Portoferraio, although Belluzzi continued to occasionally send plans to Camerini regarding the city, and the completed city contained only minor modifications to Belluzzi's plans.[64] The inclusion of Camerini rather than Belluzzi is therefore an understandable presentation on the part of Vasari, considering Belluzzi's short involvement, his death years prior to the painting, and Camerini's status as official architect in the mind of Vasari and his audience.

Luca Martini was *provveditore* of Pisa, but he was not present on this trip. A letter preserved in the Medici Archives from Cosimo to Martini on 17 May 1548, shows Martini to be in Pisa.[65] Lamberini reports that Martini accompanied Cosimo to the island, though without mentioning her source.[66] It is of course possible that Martini accompanied Cosimo on his boat to the island, and returned earlier, although the short time span makes this seem unlikely.

C-I.4: Fivizzano, seen from the southeast **Figure 45**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Fivizzano* (figure 44; A-C 30.6)

The viewer looks west-northwest over Porta Nuova. The campanile of Ss. Jacopo e Antonio can be seen just to the left behind the gate. This church was remodeled in 1576, although the depicted belltower resembles the existing one with its two levels of single-arch windows and the bands separating the levels, though it no longer has the peaked roof. Further to the left the next campanile is likely that of the Augustinian

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[64] Lmberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:66–74; Lamberini, "Military Architecture of Belluzzi," 12–13.
[65] The letter constitutes a list of supplies Cosimo directs Martini to send to Portoferraio for the fortification work. MAP, 7381.
[66] Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 1:70; Lamberini, "Military Architecture of Belluzzi," 13.

church, and to the left of that is either the Oratory of the Ganfalone or another church that was later turned into a prison. The road follows a faithful course as it leads away from the gate. The elements are properly placed in their relevant positions, although the wall and the buildings in-between the monuments have been shortened, as just to the left of Cosimo's head appears to be the south bastion. The painting does not show the fortress, built in 1377, located at that bastion.

C-I.5: Volterra, seen from the north-northwest **Figure 47**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Volterra* (figure 46, A-C 30.7)

The viewer looks southeast over the Porta Fiorentina, where remains of Etruscan walls support the more modern walls. The bastion built under Cosimo I sits prominently to the left of the gate. To the far right can be seen the dome of the baptistery, shown green though today roofed with red tiles, surrounded by belltowers. The towers cannot at this time be fully identified, although directly to the left of the baptistery most likely represents the Duomo's campanile (despite its lack of resemblance), and the tower furthest to the left, near the fort, is probably S. Michele Arcangelo. Left of this tower appears the western half of the Rocca Nuova. The fortress closely approximates its subject, although the towers no longer have the peaked roofs seen in the painting and possibly in the sixteenth century. The view is repeated on the Salone ceiling, the larger space there allowing for greater detail and consequent verisimilitude (figure 308).[67] The Salone image's Porta Fiorentina and its bastion have been turned slightly to face the viewer.

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[67] Nuti also notes the similarity to the Salone *Volterra*. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 346, 347.

C-I.6: Cortona, seen from the northwest **Figure 49**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Cortona* (figure 48; A-C 30.8)

Looking southeast towards the city, the fortezze Girafalco sits at the top of the hill at the left edge of the picture. Below the fortress is S. Cristoforo, and to its right is the sanctuary of Sta. Margerita. The next church to the right down the hill is S. Francesco, identifiable by the large ocular window on the façade, and finally the church furthest to the right is S. Agostino, identifiable by its location, the single window in the campanile, and the structure jutting to the right horizontal to the picture plane. The gate, however, is Porta Montanina, just above the portion of the west walls that jut out in three points. While Stradano exaggerated this section of the walls, in general, the walls correspond to their actual position quite well. This means that the monuments have been moved up along the hill, as only the upper half of the walls are shown, but S. Agostino sits at the bottom of the city. The large square central building protected by the pointed walls represents the Palazzo Communale, though again this has been moved north up the hill. The cathedral does not seem to appear in the painting, unless it is represented by the church oriented east-west along the wall just to the right of the gate. This seems unlikely, considering the painted church's modest demeanor and position, the latter of which corresponds more closely to S. Antonio, an otherwise inconspicuous church. The building further down the hill on the left, more to the foreground and outside the walls, is Sta. Maria Nuova, begun in 1550 and completed in 1586 by Vasari. The view is repeated, with only slight modifications, in the Salone ceiling (figure 215).

C-I.7: Sansepolcro, seen from the southwest **Figure 51**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro* (figure 50; A-C 30.9)

The city is seen looking northeast towards the Porta del Ponte, with its companion tower (no longer extant) just to the left. To the right is the *cavaliere* (a gun platform with little to no salient built along a curtain between two bastions) positioned midway along the southern walls, but exaggerated with a deeper, more aggressive, salient. The existing *cavaliere*, designed by Bernardo Buontalenti in the 1559, has only a very shallow and broad salient (figure 309).[68] At the right edge of the painting is half of the Baluardo di San Niccolò at the southeast corner. The towers shown do not correspond precisely to the existing towers of Sansepolcro. Many medieval towers still stand, including four on the main piazza, although the largest one was destroyed during World War II. The belltowers of the Duomo and S. Francesco both do have peaked roofs like three of the painted towers, but they are shorter and squatter in proportion than those shown. A square building in the back right corner must represent the fortress in an early form, certainly without its modern defenses. Originally built in 1318, Giuliano da Sangallo began renovations in the early 1500s by building angular bastions at the corners, which were completed in 1564 by Giovanni Camerini. Interestingly, the view of Sansepolcro on the Salone ceiling is shown from the opposite, north side of the city, looking at the Porta del Castello and, on the left, a stylized Fortezza (figure 310).

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[68] Fara, *Buontalenti*, 15; Fara, *Sistema e la città*, 25; Fara, *Buontalenti: L'architettura, la guerra*, 19, 24–25.

C-I.8: Arezzo, seen from the southwest **Figure 53**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Arezzo* (figure 52, A-C 30.10)

The view looks northeast over the Baluardo del Poggio. The gate at the right edge of the image is the Porta Sto. Spirito, sitting southeast along the wall. According to contemporary maps, the road travels a path closely approximating the original. The walls, however, appear straighter than their actual counterparts, and the bastion itself is not the correct shape, being too angular. San Francesco sits prominently in the center of the city, just behind the walls and to the right of the bastion, compressing the actual space between it and the walls. The belltower of the Pieve juts up to the right of this, further to the rear of the city, and at the right above the gate rises the campanile of S. Agostino. The two tall, square buildings in the background cannot be identified. The one at the left edge seems to resemble a church with a campanile, and may represent the Duomo. The Duomo should actually be located more where the double windowed structure in the center appears. This structure may represent the Palazzo dei Priori, located in this position, or the Palazzo del Popolo, also located here until it was demolished c. 1561 during a period of urban restructuring by Giorgio Vasari. The view is repeated, with more detail due to the extra space, in the Salone ceiling (figure 311), and a version of it also appears in the Sala di Clemente VII (C-VII.1).[69]

C-I.9: Pisa, seen from the east **Figure 55**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Pisa* (figure 54; A-C 30.11)

The viewer looks down the length of the Arno and its north bank from the south side of the river. The street along the north side is the Lungarno Simonelli, which begins

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[69] Nuti also notes the similarity to the Salone *Arezzo*. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 346, 347.

at the Ponte di Cittadella and the Citadella Vecchia, the corner and tower of which can just be made out at the left edge. Just beyond this is the Arsenale di Galee, although neither depiction resembles its military-oriented subject. In the background, of course, is the leaning campanile of the Duomo complex, and the dome of the cathedral. Along the Lungarno, the junctions of first via Roma and then via Sta Maria can be made out, both of which lead to the Duomo. At the corner of the latter the leaning campanile of S. Nicola marks that church. On the viewer's side of the river, the road leads to the Porta a Mare with its bastion to the right, and behind the gate the church S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno. Although the monuments in general resemble their subjects very little, their accurate positioning all corresponds closely enough to the actual topography of Pisa that they can be easily identified.

C-I.10: Pistoia, seen from the north **Figure 57**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Pistoia* (figure 56; A-C 30.12)

Looking southwest over the north wall, the viewpoint is probably located more along the east half of the wall. The baptistery can be seen to the right, with the Duomo and the campanile in the center. While the baptistery resembles its subject closely, though with slightly higher proportions, the campanile varies more from the actual tower. The painting only shows two of the three arcades. The difference stems most likely from the fact that the top was not completed until 1576. On the left in the back, a corner of the Fortezza di Santa Barbara can be made out, which records the form of the northwest corner with its bastion and guntower. The fortress has been brought forward, collapsing the distance between it and the church. The wall in front of the viewer shows no *baluardi* or *cavalieri*, so that they must lie just outside of the picture plane. The river Brana, which

forms a moat on this side, cannot be seen behind its bank. The view is repeated in the Salone ceiling, where more of the city can be seen to the right and the left, including the Baluardo di Porta San Marco to the left, and the Cavalieri a cavallo to the right (figure 312). The lack of detail in the Salone *Pistoia* may be due to damage.

C-I.11: Prato, seen from the northeast **Figure 59**

In: Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Prato* (figure 58; A-C 30.13)

The viewer looks west to the Porta del Mercatale. That gate opens onto a bridge, the Ponte del Mercatale, which leads over the river Bisenzio towards it, and also appears in the picture. On the right, the Duomo and its campanile rise above the city. In the center the Palazzo Communale also appears on the skyline. The tower on the left is the Torri gemelle dei buonconti, also known as the Torri di Borgo al Cornio. The topography closely resembles that of the city, although the gate has been moved slightly to the northwest so as to ensure its appearance in the image. A street off of the Salita dei Cappucini, which runs away from the Porta del Mercatale, offers a corresponding viewpoint to that of the image. The view from that position permits a comparison of the skyline with the image, and indicating a potential sketching position for Stradano (figure 162). The view is repeated in the Salone ceiling, where the city receives greater treatment both in detail and in amount to the right and the left (figure 313).[70]

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[70] Nuti also notes this similarity. Nuti, "Città di Palazzo Vecchio," 346, 347.

C-I.12: Empoli, seen from the west

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Empoli* (figure 60; A-C 30.18)

The view looks east over the Porta Pisana. Little is left of the city following destruction during World War II, although the gate shown does remain, and some of the wall running south from the gate has been preserved and restored. The remains of that wall include a round tower just as shown in the painting. Most closely resembling the topography is the depiction of the river, which still has the angular curve along the north side of the city. The city does not sit so close to its banks, however, which may be due to subsequent topographical changes, or to the artist's intent.

C-I.13: Lucignano, seen from the northeast

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Lucignano* (figure 61; A-C 30.19)

The Porta San Giovanni sits in the foreground, protected by a small bastion. To its left, the round tower corresponds to a still-extant one. The curtain walls connecting the city to the Fortezza Medicea on the hill to the right enclose the Porta Murata. The fortress, designed by Giovan Battista Belluzzi in 1554, was built in earth in 1554–55. Bernardo Puccini began to face it in brick, but the project halted in 1557. Only the two northern bastions facing away from the city and the short wall connecting them were completed.[71] The round towers shown in the painted fortress bear only a circumstantial correspondence to the round tower on each of the two extant bastions, as they were apparently built in the last century as windmills. On the far (west) side of the city the Cassero, also known as the Rocca Senese, rises above the horizon. It bears a marked

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[71] Daniela Lamberini explained the defenses shown in Stradano's view, though in using it as historical evidence she assumes its accuracy to be greater than it is. She also too-casually locates the viewpoint to the north. Lamberini, *Il principe difeso*, 79–86.

resemblance to its subject, despite the street layout placing it in the town center at the crest of the hill, while the walls still correctly meet it on either side. The dichotomy collapses the space between the town's center and its western edge, thereby combining the Palazzo Communale that sits on the central piazza with the Cassero. The circular street layout, however, helps to mark the city as one of its distinguishing features, despite it having too many concentric streets. The Porta San Giusto can be seen just to the left of the Cassero. The gate tower on the left side of the city no longer exists, although a passageway through the walls still does in that location. The bastions that protect each gate were built in 1552 as Sienese defenses during the war with Florence.[72]

C-I.14: Montecarlo, seen from the west

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Montecarlo* (figure 62; A-C 30.20)

The view of the city is particularly imagined. Even its topography does not correspond to the natural situation. The town and the fortress all sit at the same level, so that the buildings do not fall away behind a hill as seen in the painting. There was no gate next to the fortress. There is an angled bastion on the southwest walls, but it is much nearer to the fortress. The second gate to the right is the Porta Lucchese, and does sit next to the bastion on its south side, making it closer to the fortress as well. In addition, the walls curve inward, not straight or outwards as seen in the painting. They do have square towers on this side, although on the opposite side of the Porta Lucchese. The fortress also resembles its supposed subject very little. The actual Fortezza is not square, but rather triangular, and curved at the northwest end. The dual forward bastions make a slight

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[72] Lamberini, *Il principe difeso*, 75–76.

reference to the hornworks originally built under Cosimo I and since destroyed, though this is where the resemblance ends.[73]

C-I.15: Scarperia, seen from the south-southwest

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Scarperia* (figure 63; A-C 30.21)

The painted city follows the topography of the actual one quite closely. In the foreground, the break in the 1562 walls that led to the Porta Fiorentina still remains, as do the foundations of the front right bastion. To the left, the round tower from the original walls, built c. 1400, can still be seen onsite. Today the extant tower is known as il Torrione. These earlier walls did have square towers along their curtain, though the only one left today, located along the strip of wall behind the Torrione, does not appear in the image. The rear right bastion still exists as a mounded hill in a private garden. The Palazzo dei Vicari can be identified by its tower seen on the left of the central piazza, although the attached fortress is depicted as too small. The actual rectangular structure stretches to the wall where it has its own gate to the countryside, not shown in the image. On the right side of the piazza, the campanile of the Ss. Jacopo e Filippo marks that church, recognizable by its paired arched windows, though today it has a peaked roof. The only problematic part of the topography is the square shape given to the city. Its proportions are actually much more rectangular, with both the northwest and southeast walls angled inwards, as shown on the right (southeast) wall. In actuality, however, the opposite wall was the more angled. Vasari and Stradano painted a similar view of the city on the Salone ceiling in the *Allegory of the Mugello*, though it is not the same (figure 314). The city appears from the same viewpoint with the same landmarks, including the

[73] For a more detailed analysis, see chapter 5, page 286.

road flanked by buildings leading to the gate and the two towers, though the fortifications have now been hidden. In addition, the viewpoint has been moved slightly west, and lowered, so the city is seen in profile. The difference is enough to suggest the possibility that one of the artists made a new view.

C-I.16: Florence, seen from the south

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Florence* (figure 64; A-C 30.19)

The city is seen from a low perspective, looking north just over the walls at the Porta Romana. In the foreground can be seen the area of Florence that now forms the lower, southwestern section of the Boboli garden. At the time of Stradano's painting, this area had a bastioned wall designed by Giovan Battista Belluzzi. The new defenses, as shown in the painting, ran southwest from the wall at the Piazza T. Tasso, through what is now the Giardino Torrigiani, angled at the via de' Serragli and the via de' Mori, and went west up the hill to the bastion then known as "il Cavaliere," which now serves as the foundations for the Museo delle porcellane. These defenses with their bastions have been shown quite faithfully in the painting, although the space between the new and old walls has been collapsed slightly. Behind Belluzzi's wall, still in the Oltr'Arno, the Porta San Frediano can be seen furthest to the left, then, moving right, the Sta. Maria del Carmine, Sto. Spirito with its dome and campanile, and finally, the Palazzo Pitti just before the hill. In the background, on the far right, San Miniato with its fortifications can just be made out at the top of the hill, and to its left S. Salvatore al Monte. On the north side of the Arno, the Palazzo Vecchio rises above the city between the Pitti and Sto. Spirito. Just to its left, the towers of the Bargello and then the Badia can be made out. The Duomo and its campanile sit almost central in the image, with the baptistery roof barely visible above

the roofline. Finally, Sta. Maria Novella can be seen in the distance left of the Carmine, with the belltower of the Ognissanti to its left. All of the monuments are easily recognizable and particularly faithful to their subjects.[74]

C-I.17: Siena, seen from the northwest

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Siena* (figure 65; A-C 30.23)

The view looks southeast over the old forts at Camollia. In front is the Fortino di Sta. Croce on the left with the white Torrione Dipinto (still standing), and behind it the Castellacia, with the Torrazzo di Mezzo gate, also white. Stradano represented these forts quite faithfully, according to plans left from the war of Siena, including the one by Belluzzi (figure 289). Stradano's forts most resemble a plan by Francesco Laparelli, another military architect working for Cosimo during the war (figure 315).[75] The forts no longer exist, except for the Torrione Dipinto, as they were demolished during the construction of the Fortezza di Santa Barbara, begun in 1561 by Baldassare Lanci. Behind the Torrione is the Porta Camollia, and to the right a breach in the wall where Florentine forces knocked down a tower during the siege. Further to the right, still outside the walls, Stradano has depicted the foundation remains of the old Spanish citadel. Just behind those remains is positioned S. Domenico, with the Duomo to the left. Further to the left, the Torre di Mangia conspicuously protrudes from the city fabric. In the distance

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[74] For a more detailed analysis, see chapter 5, page 291.

[75] Pepper and Adams date this plan to 1562, though this date seems unlikely. Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 82. That year Laparelli was engaged in surveying the fortresses of the Papal States. Laparelli, *Visita e progetti*, 7–8 n. 1; Fabio Mariano, *Architettura nelle Marche dall'età classica al liberty* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 1995), 283. Laparelli would have had no reason, much less the time, to divert to Siena that year. In addition, the forts were likely demolished c. 1561, as Baldassare Lanci demolished the remains of the Spanish Citadel that year in preparation for the Fortezza di Sta. Barbara. Laparelli was engaged with the forces of Marignano during the war of Siena, as indicated also by his plan of the fortress at Montalcino, and so it seems more likely that the plan dates from the time of the siege in 1554.

above the Duomo, S. Agostino can be discerned, and on the far left, S. Francesco. Like the *Florence* of this room, the painting bears a remarkable fidelity to nature, though primarily in the layout of the topography. The Duomo and the Torre are easily recognizable due to their familiarity, but the other churches are known only through their positions. S. Domenico, for instance, has no resemblance to the actual structure.

The view shares elements in common with the model of the city portrayed in *Cosimo Planning the Siege of Siena* in the Salone ceiling (figure 171). The model also places the forts of Porta Camollia in the foreground, and the remaining city topography resembles the positions of the gates, their relation to the tower, and the undulating walls. The same elements reappear in the oval painting *Cosimo I de'Medici Enters Siena* on the walls of the Sala di Cosimo I (C-I.25), which shows the city from the same viewpoint. None of these views are exactly the same, and their similarities derive primarily from their matching viewpoints. They are close enough, however, to suggest a common source, whether Stradano's sketches or perhaps, as suggested below, another popular image. The repetition of the city further demonstrates the currency specific views held in the popular consciousness.[76]

C-I.18: Piombino, seen from the northwest

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Piombino* (figure 66; A-C 30.24)

The Fortezza Medicea is shown surrounding the Castello in the left foreground. The Fortezza looks nothing like its subject. In the middle of the city is the Porta a Terre, with its Torrione and the round Rivellino built in 1447. In the background is the Cittadella, originally designed by Leonardo in 1502 and 1504. The round towers along

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[76] On this idea, see chapter 3, page 183.

the wall also derive from Leonardo's designs, and though they no longer exist in those positions shown in the painting, others are still extant near the Cittadella. These, however, do not appear in the painting. Far to the left is a tower meant to represent one that used to stand at the edge of Piombino's distinguishing promontory, the Rocchetta. The tower is unable to be seen from any such viewing position, however, as it does not protrude from behind the Castello. In general, the city is recognizable only from its position on the water and its three major defensive monuments, the Castello, the Citadella, and the Rivellino, and even those have been manipulated. Almost everything else is invented, and lacking the Rocchetta, the city loses its distinctive shape.[77]

C-I.19: Livorno, seen from the west

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Livorno* (figure 67; A-C 30.23)

Taken from out on the water, the view looks over the old harbor, the Fortezza Vecchia, and the city beyond. Livorno appears in its earlier guise as a small port city, prior to Bernardo Buontalenti's enlargement of it beginning in 1575 under Duke Francesco I. We look down the length of via S. Giovanni to Porta Pisano. S. Giovanni is located about halfway down this street with its small campanile. The fortress, designed by Giuliano da Sangalo in 1518, appears very close to natural, with its tower and bastions. The old pier and the two foreground flanking lighthouses also closely resemble their subjects. In general the topography of the city, its position, shape, and monuments, all conspire to make a very recognizable image.

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[77] For a more detailed analysis, see chapter 5, page 289.

C-I.20: Piombino, seen from the northwest

In: Giovanni Stradano, *The Rout of the Turks at Piombino* (figure 68; A-C 30.32)

This view reproduces the image of Piombino in the frieze above (C-I.18). The same view reappears in the Salone ceiling, in the painting of the same name.

C-I.21: Lucignano and Marciano, seen from the east

In: Giovanni Stradano, *The Rout of Valdichiana* (figure 69; A-C 30.37)

The view of Lucignano shows the same depiction of the city as the one in the frieze above (C-I.13). From the supposed viewpoint, northeast of Lucignano approximately at a hilltop between Marciano della Chiana and Pozzo, the distance allows a similar perspective.[78] The city at the right edge, cut off by the picture plane, must be Marciano from the southeast, according to its location. Stradano's later use of the composition in the design for *The Battle of Marciano in Val di Chiana*, part of the print series *Delle azioni felicemente concluse, delle vittorie e dei trionfi della Casa Medici*, from 1583, confirms the identifications, as it labels Lucignano and Marciano.[79] The painted Marciano only vaguely resembles its natural counterpart, however. Marciano was of a square plan and did have round towers at its corners, of which two remain, though these are of a taller and thinner proportion. The Sienese fortress in Marciano is actually located at the southeastern corner of the city, while the tower in the middle of the painted

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[78] The viewpoint corresponds to the position of Vasari's S. Stefano della Vittoria at Pozzo della Chiana, built 1569–72 to mark the victory of Scannagallo.

[79] Marciano in this print shows only a slight difference, with square towers, and Lucignano and its fortress have been better positioned with regards to the viewpoint. Stradano also used the same composition in a painted commemorative platter signed but undated (in the collezione Odescalchi, Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome). On the battle of Scannagallo and related visual and architectural material, see *La fortuna di Cosimo I: La Battaglia di Scannagallo*, exh. cat. (Arezzo: PAN, Congressi & Immagine, 1992); Vincenzo Saladino, "Esculapio, la battaglia di Scannagallo, il Vasari e la chiesa di S. Stefano della Vittoria," *Journal of Ancient Topography / Rivista di topografia antica* 1 (1991): 129–46.

town looks more like a belltower than the fortress it represents. Nevertheless, the topography of the hills, with the position of Lucignano and the towns flanking the Scannagallo stream, is faithful enough to determine the identification of Marciano through its location. Vasari reproduced the topographical composition in the background of the *Battle of Marciano in the Valdichiana* on the wall of the Salone dei Cinquecento, which he painted with the assistance of Jacopo Zucchi in 1567–71 (figure 316).[80]

C-I.22: Port'Ercole and forts, seen from the west

In: Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of Port'Ercole* (figure 70; A-C 30.40)

The view appears to be from about the position of the Punta Telegrafo on Monte Argentario, looking east to Port'Ercole in the upper right at the edge of the promontory. The present town long ago outgrew the small walled area shown to encompass the entire harbor, but the walls still remain, and compare closely to Bernardo Buontalenti's plan of the city during his designs for the Rocca Spagnola, which replaced the small fortress shown in the painting. Fortresses still exist in many of the locations shown in the painting, though they are now of different form. Forte Filippo has replaced the small fort shown as an "x" on the hill across the harbor from Port'Ercole. Forte Stella now sits along the hills southwest of the Rocca Spagnola, approximately where another small "x" fortress is positioned below Port'Ercole in the painting. Another small fort still sits above P. Avoltore almost south of Monte Argentario, perhaps represented by the small fort just below the second "x" fort. The Isolotto, shown to the right of Port'Ercole, no longer has the fort depicted on its hill, but otherwise matches the natural topography. Apart from a

[80] The painting of the battle on the ceiling of the Salone by Stradano and Vasari differs in its composition and its topography, offering a closer, though no more detailed, view of Marciano.

slight stylization of the promontories, the general topography of the picture resembles that of Monte Argentario. A very similar topography appears on the walls of the Salone in the painting by Vasari of the same name. This painting shows the same small forts in the same locations from the same viewpoint, though in greater detail, with varying shapes (figure 317).[81]

C-I.23: Genoa, seen from the south

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo Travels to Genoa to Visit* the *Emperor* (figure 71; A-C 30.31)

This painting has been alternately identified as Prince Francesco visiting King Philip II in Spain. Vasari's *Ragionamenti* began the confusion by describing two separate paintings, one for each event.[82] Both descriptions can only apply to this painting. Allegri and Cecchi offer both, but tentatively suggest the event featuring Cosimo since the room is devoted to him.[83] In fact, the city view confirms the location as Genoa. The painting almost reproduces the view of Genoa as found in the *Civitates orbis terrarum* from 1572 (figure 318).[84] Of course, this book appeared too late for it to serve as source for the painting, but the original image is attributed to Giovanni Camocio from c. 1560. Camocio's view in turn derives from that by Anton van den Wyngaerde, engraved and published as *View of Genoa of 1552* (figure 130). Stradano's painting does not correspond precisely to either image, but it shares more in common with the Camocio view. The harborfront and especially the pier share the same perspective, and the tower

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[81] Pepper and Adams make a claim for the accuracy of the depiction of these forts, but do so by using it as their historical source itself. Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 150.
[82] Vasari, *Opere*, 8:196.
[83] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 149.
[84] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, I:44.

on the pier is quite a close resemblance. Even more telling, Stradano placed the ships in very similar positions, though to different scale. A boat below the pier's tower heads into shore, with a boat crossing its path. Another follows in its wake, which Stradano cuts off with the frame. More ships appear behind the pier to the left of the tower, while others (only one in the case of the Camocio view) dock to the right. Stradano's background, however, deviates from both views in its depiction of the walls in the background. Stradano shows them rising and falling along the hills, with the Bastia in the background at the top of the tall hill.

C-I.24: Naples, seen from the east

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Eleanora di Toledo Departs from Naples* (figure 72; A-C 30.36)

The oval depicts the pier of Naples, known as the molo grande, with the Lanterna at the left edge. The Castel Nuovo sits in the middle ground to the left and San Giacomo di Spiaggia appears further back in the middle of the painting. The Castel Sant'Elmo sits above the Certosa di S. Martino on the hill in the background, though neither is recognizable. The city is slightly stylized yet remains recognizable, largely through the Castel Nuovo. A comparison with van den Wyngaerde's view of Naples from c. 1553 confirms the relative fidelity of the palace, although, as seen in this earlier image, the tower guarding the pier was actually round (figure 131). That comparison also shows a close similarity between the two compositions. Both images demonstrate the same relationships between the landmarks, from almost the same viewpoint. Van den Wyngaerde placed his viewpoint lower and slightly to the left. His drawing is also more detailed and depicts the entire city. Nevertheless, the similarity offers another indication of how city views could structure a shared consciousness of a location among audiences,

where both images draw on a similar composition for their viewing position. That shared source is most likely Francesco Rosselli's view of Naples, the *Tavola Strozzi* from c. 1472–73 (figure 87). Stradano's version reproduces nearly identically the earlier pier's perspective and the palace depiction.

C-I.25: Siena, seen from the northwest

In: Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo I de'Medici Enters Siena* (figure 73; A-C 30.34)

The city of Siena appears from almost the same viewpoint as used in the portrait of the city in the frieze above (C-I.17). Again here, the Torrione dipinti sits in the foreground, and Stradano paints it with the same form and small red awning, though the tower is now seen from just to the left. The painting does not exactly reproduce the larger view, however. Its form shares elements in common with a view of Siena by Hieronymous Cock, engraved in c. 1555 (figure 319). The popularity of Cock's view is demonstrated by its subsequent copying by Antonio Lafreri in c. 1570, and again for the *Civitates orbis terrarum* in 1572.[85] The resemblance may indicate Stradano's dependence on Cock's engraving. The similarity is only slight, however, particularly as this view by Stradano lacks the Porta Camollia forts. It is possible that Stradano had the print before him while practicing his standard method in making all of the Siena images.

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[85] A painting on panel from the sixteenth century also reproduces Cock's view. For the Cock *Siena* and its reproductions, see Roberto Barzanti, Alberto Cornice, and Ettore Pellegrini, *Iconografia di Siena: Rappresentazione della Città dal XIII al XIX secolo* (Siena: Banca Monte dei Paschi di Siena Spa, 2006), 40–45; Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, I:48.

Appendix 2: Anton van den Wyngaerde's City View Production Method[1]

The order in which van den Wyngaerde made his images is complicated, and hampered by the fact that for almost every view there are most certainly sketches missing. The steps in the use of media for his preparatory drawings, however, is well-evidenced, and so it will help to begin here. In almost every case, whether sketch from nature or final view, the artist began the drawing with black chalk.[2] In the case of the sketches from nature, the artist did the chalk drawing while observing the subject. He used the chalk only to briefly sketch in the forms on the paper, outlining roofs, architectural blocks, the horizon, and other significant features without paying attention to detail. For example, the unpublished sketch, possibly of the Mechelen walls, on the

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[1] As stated in chapter 1, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann earlier published an article on van den Wyngaerde's process in making his Spanish city views. The author derived his discussion from a study of van den Wyngaerde's drawings that represented different stages of finish, from a sketch from nature ("situation studies" and "studies of details of cities") to a worked up complete sketch ("sketch of view") to the presentation drawing, colored and often squared for transfer. This article was extremely useful in forming a working understanding of that process, but upon further examination of the views themselves, it was discovered that, whether due to lack of space or the focus solely on the Spanish views, the article left out many of the finer points of the process. While therefore owing much to Haverkamp-Begemann, the explanation of process presented here depends upon my own study of the views, expanding upon the earlier article. Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views," especially 57–63. In addition, even Haverkamp-Begemann's discussion of the Spanish views has occasional gaps. For instance, Haverkamp-Begemann inexplicably states that the views of Cuenca are made from an imaginary position, his only cited evidence being that the preparatory sketch of the view from the east "gives the impression of having been constructed rather than drawn from nature." Haverkamp-Begemann, "Spanish Views," 60. Kagan's entry for this view, however, states that it was drawn from nature on a hill across the Huécar river from the city. Kagan, *Spanish Cities*, 243–44. Nuti also briefly discussed van den Wyngaerde's methods. She is dependant on Haverkamp-Begemann, though seems to have misinterpreted his discussion. She still discussed these views in terms of being surveyed, leading her to call the artist a cartographer. As a result, her discussion of method differs greatly from mine. Nuti, *Ritratti di città*, 94–97.

[2] In at least three cases, the artist unusually used red chalk to lay out his composition—one of the Chateau of Terverun near Brussels (London 29 recto), and two of the countryside and Roman ruins near Merida (London 20vo). All three of these views are localized landscapes in a style popularized by Bruegel the Elder but practiced by many Flemish artists, including Cornelis Massys, Matthys Cock, and others, rather than in the city view style of most of van den Wyngaerde's work. The red chalk may be specific to this style, then, as it seems to have been used to add color to the architecture of the drawing. Other areas of the drawings do not use the red chalk, for instance in Terverun there are large portions using black chalk, and in the Merida views most of the rest of the images use no chalk.

back of the drawing of Baena (London 14ro; figure 320) uses chalk in this way, as do the sketches of the Palaces of Richmond (Oxford 11a^{ro} and 12a^{ro}; figures 348–50) and Oatlands (Oxford 11a^{vo}, b^{ro} and c^{vo}; figures 352–55). Instead only the general composition was important, being drawn quickly and roughly. In some cases, the sketches include only a few general lines, as for instance in the sketch of Valencia (London 22ro and 22vo; figures 321–22). In studio preparatory drawings, the chalk was used to combine the various nature sketches onto the page. Here the artist more carefully delineates the drawings in chalk and includes more detail. This use of chalk is best seen in the drawings of Ubeda and Baeza (London 11ro; figure 323), Lyons (London 19ro; figure 324), and of Granada (London 9ro; figures 325–26). This part could occasionally have been done from nature as well, or checked against it, in order to have a general guideline as to how to fit the parts together. In the finished drawings, the chalk apparently was done from tracing. At least two examples, the largest unfinished drawing of Granada (London 9ro; figures 325, 327) and the Chateau of Terverun (London 29ro, figures 328–329) have chalk on the back for transferring the image. Both show indications, slight tracing remains in the chalk, that the artist used them in this way. Then, after combining the sketches into the final chalk image, the surrounding scene—including figures, animals, boats, and other populating aspects—could be added in chalk as well (e.g., Utrecht, Oxford 105b^{ro}; figures 330–31).

The artist then went over the chalk with pen. In this stage he corrected his chalk sketch with his pen overlay, moving lines and forms as needed. These corrections can be seen in every drawing that uses both chalk and pen, from the nature sketches to the finished drawings, from the views of Flemish cities, to those of Rome, to the English and

Spanish ones. In some cases the corrections could be dramatic, as in the view of Gibraltar (Oxford 61ro; figure 332). Here van den Wyngaerde moved the mountain so much that the chalk form falls directly between the highest peak and the next lower mound. In the view of Granada (London 9ro; figure 333), he repositioned the individual buildings to the lower right.[3] More often he simply refined the form, reshaping the architecture to better fit the composition as in the tower of the Palace of Cantecroy (Oxford 74a^{ro}; figure 334).

In this pen stage, at least in the case of clearly derived studio drawings, the artist worked up the form over the whole image at the same time. The examples of *Granada* (London 9ro; figure 325) and *Ubeda and Baeza* (London 11ro; figure 323) demonstrate this most clearly. Van den Wyngaerde first worked out the whole image on the paper with chalk, as discussed. The thoroughness and detail suggests a chalk transfer from earlier sketches from nature. Next the artist began to go over the forms in pen, first doing a building or cluster of buildings in one place, and then moving to a separate section and doing a building or few there, and so on, eventually filling in the whole picture.[4] In this way, the artist could monitor the structure of the composition and make corrections as needed.

The finished pen drawing consisted primarily of outlined forms. The artist might add slight amounts of texture or detail, for instance defining a bridge as stone, as in the profile of Tarragona (London 13ro; figure 335). Depth he achieved by diminution of

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[3] The view of Darocha also has a dramatic change from chalk to pen stage, with a chalk outline of buildings hovering in the sky above the city. The buildings do not seem to match those of Darocha, so that perhaps van den Wynagerde even changed his mind about the city for which he would use the paper. Other chalk lines for the wall and towers on the left hill do match the pen drawing.

[4] With this in mind, the drawing of Lyons (London 19ro) is likely finished as it is, van den Wyngaerde deciding ahead of time to stop before reaching the right third of the sheet. The pen lines all stop at an equal vertical line, suggesting that the finished drawing he worked towards would have stopped at this point. This decision placed the city more centrally in the composition.

scale, and he added modeling through parallel hatchmarks. The preparatory drawings occasionally contain a slight amount of this shading, such as *Ancona* (London 17ro; figure 132) or *Lyons* (London 19ro; figure 324). Even in the on-site sketch of the main gate and bridge of Valencia (London 22ro; figure 321), quick horizontal lines provide depth underneath the bridge arches. The presentation drawings use hatching for modeling and line for texture extensively.

In some cases, van den Wyngaerde then returned to his pen sketch and further corrected his lines. This stage occurs primarily in the presentation drawings. For instance, in *Malaga* (Oxford 116ro; figure 336) along the front wall, he traced over the drawing with a different black ink, and in *Zamora* (Oxford 1ro; figure 337), he did the same in the front gate to the bridge. Even the populating aspects were not immune to this correction. A boat in the view of the Straits of Gibraltar, sketched in with pen, he later covered with watercolor (Oxford 61ro; figure 338). Similar visible corrections also appear in the preparatory drawing (Oxford 112ro; figures 339–40) for a non-extant view of Sluys, for instance in the top of the clocktower of the city hall. In this last drawing, the correction was more necessary, because no initial chalk drawing was used. Apparently leaving the alterations visible did not seem to affect van den Wyngaerde's conception of the finished product.

As the *Sluys* drawing shows, Van den Wyngaerde did occasionally sketch directly in pen. Actually, in many cases, in his finished drawings he inked in the figures without recourse to chalk. For the architecture, this usually occurred as small and quick sketches of buildings, often added randomly on available paper space without regard to composition. The pen sketches seem to be visual thoughts for working out the image,

dashed off in the middle of working on a larger section of the city. Elsewhere on the same paper the same image may appear, given more care and detail in the usual chalk and pen technique. For instance, a drawing of a part of Granada (London 3ro) also contains at the lower left edge of the sheet a quick sketch of the Sto. Heronimo complex (figure 341). The complex is also drawn in chalk and pen above in more detail. Elsewhere, the same sheet that contains the wall of Valencia, roman ruins, and a drawing of a seal also has a similar quick sketch in pen of the church S. Salvador near Sagunto (London 22vo; figure 342), while another sheet has a quick pen sketch of a garden in Valencia (London 12vo; figure 343). Also in this vein are the few schematic sketches resembling maps more than drawings from nature. The schematic sketch, as seen in those of the Cordoba walls (Antwerp 15ro; figure 344), of Granada (Vienna 55vo; figure 345), and of Barcelona (London 11vo; figure 346), lays out the lines of the city. This type of sketch is quick and very diagrammatic. It may serve as a guideline for later sketches as van den Wyngaerde fits parts of the city together. The *Cordoba* sketch suggests this use. Each tower and gate of the wall is labeled with a number corresponding to a legend. The *Barcelona* sketch also has text labels. The schematic sketch may also simply serve for the artist to get a graphic feel for the city as he thinks about how to capture it on paper, to be discarded upon completion of his thought process. The *Barcelona* sketch is cut through with the back used for another drawing, and the *Cordoba* image includes further sketches. The transitory nature of these images would suggest that they did not hold value in the process for long, regardless of their position in the process.[5]

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[5] Their diagrammatic nature would also seem suggest their primary position in the process, as he began organizing the image, but in fact I would argue that it comes in the middle, acting as visual notes as he worked out how to coordinate the multitude of information he was gathering. Following the sketching from

In addition to his initial material process, van den Wyngaerde's various stages, illustrated in their corresponding types of images, each required specific methods. Those methods are perhaps most easily understood by examining his English palace views. The views of Richmond and Oatlands best illustrate the process of working a drawing up from sketches of nature to finished view, due to the available evidence and the simplicity of the views.

For instance, for the final view of the palace at Richmond seen from across the river (Oxford 12b^{ro}; figure 347), the artist first made three sketches on site. The main palace, the central building complex, and its left-side garden (Oxford 11a^{ro}; figure 348) he sketched from across the river, as seen in the final view. The lower vantage point for this sketch explains the corresponding section's profile view in the final image, where the viewer looks up to the roof. Van den Wyngaerde then sketched the two sides of the palace. The left group of buildings, the back wall of the left garden, and some of the surrounding countryside (Oxford 12a^{ro}; figure 349) he sketched from one of the left towers flanking that garden, probably from a third-story window. This is evidenced from the perspective, which looks down onto the architecture. That perspective places the viewer just slightly higher than the gables of the roofs, but at about an equal height to the third story of the taller peaked tower in the upper right corner. In addition, the sketch's immediacy to the picture plane, and its cutting off before the front garden wall, supports the proposed viewpoint. The front wall could not be seen from that viewpoint, nor need it, since the artist had drawn the wall in the first sketch. The right side garden with its enclosing buildings (Oxford 11a^{ro}; figure 350) was similarly drawn from a flanking

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nature process, where he gathered the information, he then had to work out how it came together. Unfortunately there is no evidence to support any argument regarding when they come in the process.

building, in this case from the roof of the lower two-story crenellated building jutting out from the right side of the palace.[6] Here again the front wall sits behind the viewing position, and is seen only outlined in the lower foreground of the sketch. The sketch gains definition as it moves back in space, illustrating where van den Wyngaerde's main attention lay, since he could not see this area from across the river. The level of the gables again confirms the height of the viewing position. The gables lay only slightly below the horizon, and so the artist stood only slightly higher than them. Then having made these three sketches from nature, van den Wyngaerde could go back to his studio and combine them into the final view.

For the view of the palace at Oatlands seen from the south (Oxford 11c^{ro}; figure 351), the illustrated method becomes even more fascinating in its simplicity and its logic. Again, van den Wygnaerde began outside of the complex, from a position slightly raised on a hill. Here he sketched the wall and gate in the front of the complex, and made further visual notes as to the vegetation and fence on the left (Oxford 11a^{vo}; figure 352). The perspective looks down even on the gate to show its top edge, demonstrating the artist's raised position. He next made two sketches of the first line of buildings. In the first, he drew the central block itself. In the second, he captured its flanking buildings, only briefly noting the central block's position (Oxford 11b^{ro}; figure 353). It is clear from the perspective in these sketches that the artist was again raised off the ground, at about the level of the gables of the side buildings, or about the third story of the central structure. It remains unknown whether he gained this height from where he also sketched the gate, or

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[6] In Galera i Monegal's catalogure, this image, mislabeled Oatlands, is switched with Oxford 11a^{vo}, mislabeled Richmond. Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 159.

if perhaps he sketched this part from the top of the gate itself.[7] Van den Wyngaerde, working his way towards the background, next climbed to the top of the front central block to sketch the second, middle series of buildings (Oxford 11a^{vo}; figure 354). The perspective of this sheet, especially where the height of the top of the two flanking towers sits at the horizon, evidences the artist's high and central vantage point. Finally, the artist climbed to the top of the second central building to sketch the last row of buildings, including the higher central circular tower in the back. (Oxford 11c^{vo}; figure 355). Van den Wyngaerde then brought these sketches back to his studio where he could combine them all into the final view. The different perspectives, especially the difference between the front row of buildings and the last two rows, easily seen in the final view, shows how the artist simply transferred his sketches, making no effort at a greater cohesiveness. Missing from the step just related is a sketch of the countryside and some of the surrounding outlying buildings. Either such a drawing no longer exists, or he sketched that part directly onto the final view.

We can see these same steps in the material for other views. Those of Hampton Court (Oxford 9a^{ro}; figure 356) and Greenwich Palace (Oxfrod 8b^{ro}; figure 357) show the same use of high vantage points, sketching from life, and subsequent combination. For the views of cities, which involved a greater wealth of detail to complicate the image, van den Wyngaerde still handled the material by dividing it into sections both sideways and back into space. The sections incorporated a larger amount of topography, yet still divide the composition into roughly thirds. The view of Bruges demonstrates this sequence (Antwerp 10ro; figure 358). The artist made a separate sketch for the front profile, or

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[7] That van den Wyngaerde sketched the two architectural masses separately, even on different paper, may suggest that he made the sketches from two different locations.

skyline, of the city seen from a spot not much higher than the wall. The image shows only roofs sticking above the wall and spires rising above the roofline, as well as some of the countryside between the viewer and the wall (Oxford 331a^{ro}; figure 359). The page contains a small, separate sketch of the northern gate in the lower left corner, and also a sketch of one of the gate towers of the city in the lower middle. These details show that the artist still gave equal attention to the recognizable monuments in spite of the greater amount of visual information. On the back of the sheet he also made a quick sketch of the Katelijne gate to the south and some of the wall in that area (Oxford 331a^{vo}; figure 360). The next stage shows Bruges from a higher vantage point on the southwest edge of the city (Oxford 331b.54ro; figure 361) corresponding to a middle plane of the composition of the final view. Finally, a third large sketch from a high tower in the center of the city captures the countryside around Bruges, forming the background of the final view (London 28ro; figure 362). The final drawing (Antwerp 10ro; figure 358) incorporates all of these elements, though not so faithfully as those of the English palaces. The left windmill has been moved further from the walls, for instance, while the city within the walls has been slightly enhanced to extend beyond the original sketch. The combination of sketches makes the viewing position appear higher than the city. The profile view of the city walls in front, which still matches that of the sketch, is scarcely noticeable even upon close inspection. The view appears much more cohesive than it actually is, overpowering the difference in perspectives of the sketches. The Bruges sequence contains all of the elements of van den Wyngaerde's process. It has the individual sketches of buildings from nature, the sketches of swatches of urban fabric, the quick chalk-less sketches and the carefully observed and corrected ones. The images are

carefully labeled so as to easily coordinate them into the final view. Finally, the first skyline sketch of the city (Oxford 331a^{ro}; figure 359) contains letters on the edges of the sheets of paper marking how to match them up. The left sheet and the middle match at "B" and the right sheet matches the middle at "¢". Judging from these markings it would seem that van den Wyngaerde worked on each sheet separately, before connecting them. The only practical reason to do that would be to sketch on them from nature, where one larger sheet would be too unwieldy.

Occasionally the artist would sketch the monuments separately, depending on their size and importance. He did this with the Granada images, particularly on the sheet with the front section (London 3ro). This sheet includes drawings of various monuments, such as Sto. Josepho (figure 363), which he would later incorporate into the overall view. The same thing occurs with his view of London, dated to 1544, that shows the whole city as seen from the Southwark cathedral (Oxford L-1/14ro). Only one preparatory sketch remains for this immense view, of the Tower of London (Oxford 99b^{ro}; figure 364). The sketch shows the Tower as seen from the bank across the river Thames. The artist reproduced the Tower faithfully, together with its low perspective, in the larger view on the upper row of sheets to the right (figure 365). A similar inclusion may have been intended for van den Wyngaerde's view of Ancona (London 17ro; figure 132). The citadel built by Antonio da Sangallo and others should appear in the upper right of the city but does not. Van den Wyngaerde most likely drew a separate sketch of the fortress, now

lost, or planned to do so but never did. He either would have included it on this sheet or together with this one on an even more finished view.[8]

The last step van den Wyngaerde performed in this detailed process, after assimilating his sketches into the final drawing, was to add watercolor. He used a limited palette, red for buildings and occasionally ground, yellow for ground and occasionally in shallow water, brown for shading, blue for water, and green for vegetation. The colors were spread haphazardly, with little concern for lines, sometimes almost to the point of muddying the image (e.g., *Daroca*, London 8; *Louvain*, Oxford 74b; *Sagunto*, Vienna 4; figures 213–14, 366). The artist labeled many of his nature sketches, such as those of Richmond and Oatlands, with letters denoting what color to paint the different sections. The sketch of the Richmond courtyard (previous figure), for instance, has labels of "2," "v," "wit," "mink," although it is unclear how to decipher this code—both "2" and "v" were placed in spots where the artist later added red. Some of these labels may instead correspond to a system of how to piece together the different views.

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[8] Kagan publishes it as an unknown city. Kagan, *Spanish Cities*, 401. On the view's dating, cf. chapter 1, note 56.

Appendix 3: Select Dates

1247

Construction on the Castello dell'Imperatore in Prato begins.

1284

c. 1284–1333: The walls around Florence, designed by Arnolfo di Cambio, are built.

1318

Fortress at Sansepolcro built.

1319

c.1319–37: Perugia's walls built.

1330

Charles IV of Bohemia builds the Rocca of Montecarlo.

1337

1337–43: Old citadel built in Arezzo.

1343

The Rocca Vecchia built in Volterra.

1353

c. 1353–56: Petrarch writes the letter known as "Ascent of Mount Ventoux," though he dates it 23 April 1336.

1400

c. 1400: Scarperia's il Torrione built.

1405

Fortezza Vecchia construction begins at Pisa.

1424

Filippo Brunelleschi designs defensive walls around Lastra.

1437

1437–46: The Castello Sismondo is built.

1440

Mid-1440s: Torrechiara decorated.

1443

c. 1443–55: Leon Battista Alberti writes *Descriptio urbis Romae.*

1444

Leonardo Bruni writes *Historiarum Florentini Populi Libri XII.*

1447

Piombino's Rivellino built.

1448

Flavio Biondo begins his *Italia Illustrata.*

1451

Sigismondo has Piero della Francesca include his portrait medallion in the *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatsta before St. Sigismond.*

The villa Cafaggiolo comes into Cosimo il Vecchio's possession.

1452

Lorenzo Vallo completes his translation of Thucydides into Latin for Pope Nicholas V.

1455

c. 1455–63: Giovanni de' Medici commissions the villa below Fiesole overlooking Florence.

1455–60: Lorenzo Vallo completes his translation of Herodotus into Latin for Pope Nicholas V.

1458

Guarino Veronese completes his Latin translation of Strabo.

1459

Fra Mauro produces his *Mappamundi.*

1470

Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo complete their *Annunciation*, with a view from the bedroom window of the Villa Medici, Fiesole.

1470–75: Rocca Nuova built in Volterra at the orders of Lornezo de' Medici.

1471

c. 1471–82: Francesco Rosselli makes his view of Florence (known as the *View with a Chain*, c. 1510).

1472

c. 1472–73: Rosselli paints his view of Naples, the *Tavola Strozzi.*

Guarino Veronese's Latin translation of Strabo is printed.

1473

August 5: Leonardo da Vinci draws the Tuscan countryside around Vinci.

1478

Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata* published.

1480

c. 1480s: Rosselli depicts Constantinople and Pisa.

1481

Rosselli depicts Genoa.

1482

c. 1482–90: Rosselli depicts Rome.

1484

Lorenzo della Volpaia makes an astronomical clock for Lorenzo de'Medici.

1485

Pope Innocent VIII builds the Villa Belvedere on the Monte S. Egidio.

Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* is published.

1486

Erhard Reuwich creates a view of Jerusalem in his woodcut of the Levant.

Bernhard von Breydenbach publishes *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam.*

1487

1487–95: Giuliano da Sangallo designs Poggio Imperiale.

1488

Pinturicchio decorates the Loggia of the Villa Belvedere.

Marsilio Ficino writes a letter telling of his stay with Pico della Mirandola in the hills of Fiesole.

1490

1490s: Leonardo da Vinci makes his first of three Alpine climbs.

1492

Hartmann Schedel publishes *Liber Chronicarum of Weltchronik.*

1493

1493–94: Francesco II Gonzaga completes the Camera della Citate.

1494

The French under Charles VII invade Italy, beginning the Wars of Italy (end 1559).

Antonio da Sangallo the Elder creates designs for the Civita Castellana fortress.

Francesco II Gonzaga completes the Camera del Mappimundi and the Camera Graeca at Marmirolo.

1495

Dürer makes watercolor views of Innsbruck and Trent.

1498

Marten van Heemskerck is born.

Florentine catasto describing an owner's house and a worker's house at the Villa Spelman.

1500

Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen is born.

Jacopo de'Barbari publishes his *View of Venice.*

Jacopo de'Barbari is court painter and miniaturist to Emperor Maximilian.

Jacopo de'Barbari and Albrecht Dürer acquaintances in Nuremberg, Jacopo refuses to show Dürer the "principles" of his art.

Giuliano da Sangallo adds angular bastions to the fortress at Sansepolcro.

1502

June 4–August 25: The Aretines rebel against Florence.

October 14: Florence sends Guiliano da Sangallo to replace the old citadel at Arezzo.

Leonardo da Vinci produces the map of Imola.

1502–3: Leonardo da Vinci builds defenses at Piombino.

1502–50: Pieter Coecke van Aelst has a workshop in Antwerp.

1505

June 13: Antonio da Sangallo the Elder works on the replacement of the old citadel in Florence.

Albrecht Dürer visits Venice.

Baldassare Peruzzi builds the Villa Farnesina for Agostino Chigi.

1506

Antonio da Sangallo the Elder designs the Fortezza Vecchia in Livorno.

Antonio da Sangallo the Elder inspects progress on the replacement of the old citadel in Arezzo.

1506–12: Francesco II Gonzaga completes the Palazzo del San Sebastiano in Mantua.

1508

Antonio da Sangallo the Elder inspects progress on the replacement of the old citadel in Arezzo.

1510

Cornelis Massys is born.

Matthys Cock is born.

Anton van den Wyngaerde's father joins the Guild of St. Luke in Antwerp.

A second version of the famous astronomical clock that Lorenzo della Volpaia made for Lorenzo de'Medici is placed in the Palazzo della Signoria.

c. 1510–11: Horenbout is paid for a "description" of the city of Ghent and surrounding towns.

1510–16: Jacopo de'Barbari begins working in the court at Mechelen.

1511

Leonardo da Vinci climbs Monte Rosa in the Piedmont.

1512

April 11: Battle of Ravenna.

Giuliano da Sangallo designs the Fortezza Nuova in Pisa.

The Spanish sack Prato.

1515

April: Margaret of Austria appoints Horenbout court painter at Mechelen. Horenbout continues to travel between the court at Mechelen and his home at Ghent until his death in 1522.

A view of Antwerp is produced by an anonymous artist.

Joachim Patinir joins the Guild of St. Luke in Antwerp.

1516

May: Pope Leo X sends an army under Lorenzo to wrest the Duchy of Urbino from Francesco Maria della Rovere.

1518

Albrecht Dürer in Augsburg.

Van Scorel studies with Dürer in Nuremberg until the following year.

The Fortezza Vecchia in Livorno is completed.

Clement VII commissions Raphael to design his villa on Monte Mario, also known as the Villa Madama.

Giulio Romano builds the Villa Lante on the Giancolo hill for Pope Leo X's datary, Baldassare Turini.

1519

Dürer draws Hohenasperg under siege.

Raphael writes a letter to Pope Leo X describing mapping Rome.

1520

Dürer travels to Antwerp, where he remains until the following year.

August 2–20: Dürer and Joachim Patinir socialize and collaborate in Antwerp.

1520–25: Niccolò Machiavelli writes *Istorie fiorentine*.

1520s: Johannes Cuspinianus in Vienna commissioned maps for his historical works.

1520–70: Frans Floris has a workshop in Antwerp.

1521

September 10: Pope Leo X learns of imperial-papal retreat from the siege of Parma.

End: Cardinal Giulio de'Medici appointed Papal Legate.

October 1: Papal and imperial troops cross the Po at Casalmaggiore to be joined shortly thereafter by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici as Papal Legate.

November 19: Capture of Milan by combined imperial and papal forces under Prospero Colonna, Marquis of Pescara, Cardinal Giulio de'Medici, and Cardinal Schinner.

December 1: Pope Leo X dies at midnight.

Hans Weiditz and Jörg Seld publish their view of Augsburg.

Margaret of Austria gives Jacopo de Barbari's sketchbook to Bernard van Orley.

1522

Charles V makes Alessandro de'Medici Duke of Civita in Penna in Abruzzo.

Georg Tannstetter makes a map recording the Christian campaigns against the Turks.

1523

November 18: Giulio de' Medici, illegitmate son of Giuliano di Piero di Cosimo, elected Pope Clement VII.

Giovanni Stradano is born Jan van der Straet in Bruges.

1524

Jan van Scorel returns to Utrecht.

Peter Apian's *Cosmographicus liber* is published.

1525

February 24: Battle of Pavia.

Suggested date of Anton van den Wyngaerde's birth in Antwerp.

Hendrick van Cleve III is born in Antwerp and later trained under Pieter Coecke van Aelst.

1525–30: Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen works for Margaret of Austria at her court in Mechelen.

c. 1525–30: Peter Bruegel the Elder is born in Breda.

1526

Gerard Horenbout publishes a view of Antwerp.

1527

May 6: The initial charge opens the sack of Rome, the imperial general Bourbon is killed.

Dürer prints the *Siege of a Fortress.*

Dürer publishes his treatise on fortifications Etliche underricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schloss und flecken.

Marten van Heemskerck trains under Jan van Scorel in Harlem, until 1530.

1527–41: Mattioli climbs mountains in the Trentino to discover new plants.

1528

Michelangelo designs fortified gates for Florence.

1529

January:

Michelangelo elected to Nove delle Milizia to care for fortifications.

10: Clement VII makes Ippolito a cardinal.

April: Michelangelo made Governor-General and Procurator of Fortifications.

June 29: Charles V and Clement VII sign the Treaty of Barcelona.

July:

Main imperial army leaves Apulia.

Florence prepares for war.

Florence resolves to destroy the villas and suburbs outside the walls.

11: Clement VII sends an ultimatum to Florence.

24: Clement VII sends the second ultimatum to Florence.

end: Florence sends Michelangelo to Ferrara to inspect its fortifications.

August

5: Clement VII sends a third ultimatum.

end: imperial army under the Prince of Orange begin the Perugia campaign on its way to Florence.

September

1: Imperial army captures and sacks Spello.

8: Imperial army camps before Perugia.

11: Imperial army takes control of Perugia.

13?: Probable date Malatesta Baglione arrives in Florence (according to Roth reading Capello's letter).

14: Imperial army crosses the Florentine border and arrives at Cortona, which surrenders.

c. 14: Rosso Buondelmonti arrives at Arezzo, finds Malatesta and Albizzi there, and attempts to delay their retreat.

15: Buondelmonti arrives at the imperial camp at Cortona to meet Orange.

16?: Probable date Malatesta and Albizzi arrive in Florence.

18?: Incorrect date Roth gives for Malatesta arriving Arezzo, joining Albizzi.

18: Imperial army takes possession of Arezzo.

19?: Incorrect date Malatesta arrived at Florence, given by Vasari in the *Ragionamenti*.

21: Michelangelo flees Florence.

22: Imperial army arrives at Montevarchi.

27: Imperial army arrives at Figline.

27: Date of Signoria document discussing the rush to finish the S. Miniato fortifications.

end: Florence destroys all buildings within one mile of walls.

September 17–October 14: Siege of Vienna by Ottoman Empire.

October

beginning: Florence rushing to finish fortifications of S. Miniato, working day and night, with Michelangelo back in Florence.

7: Clement VII leaves Rome for Bologna.

12: Imperial army arrives at Florence, in S. Donato.

c. 26: Imperial army has taken positions to the south of Florence.

24: Clement VII arrives at Bologna to meet with Charles V.

27: Musicians play on a bastion of S. Miniato; Florence artillery fires a resistence.

29: First artillery shot fired against Florence (fifty against the S. Miniato campanile). Shots continue for three days.

November

2: Florentine troops assault the imperial line from Porta S. Niccolo to Porta S. Giorgio.

4: Imperial army fires on the Palazzo della Signoria (the shot falls short, on the Bargello).

5: Charles V arrives at Bologna to meet with Clement VII.

6: Francesco Ferrucci engages an imperial column, capturing 100 and killing or wounding as many.

10: Ferrucci captures S. Miniato al Tedesco.

10–11 (night before St. Martin's Day): Orange's assault on Florence and reverse.

11: Orange leaves for Bologna to talk to Charles V about the bad situation.

29: Orange returns from Bologna, with money, and reinforcements coming to surround Florence to the north.

December

6: Lastra a Signa captured by the imperial army under Orange and sacked.

8: Signoria orders a reward for Baccio Valori, and breaches the walls of his home.

11: 1st *incamiciate*, at Sta. Margherita a Montici, the camp of Sciarra Colonna.

13: Ferrucci overwhelms Pirro Colonna's forces as revenge for Lastra a Signa.

16: A shot brings down a building in S. Minato, killing Mario Orsini and others.

17: The imperial army engages the Abbot of Farfa near Anghiari, winning control of Florence's southern territory.

19: Florentine night sortie.

20: Florentine night sortie.

22: Clement VII sends Antonio da Sangallo the Younger to assist the imperial army as an artillery advisor.

1530

January

beginning: Florentines storm the new artillery embankment opposite S. Miniato, but they do not hold it.

1 (maybe 31 Dec 1529): Baldassare Peruzzi arrives at Florence to assist the imperial army as an artillery advisor.

7: Peruzzi has made dwgs and recommendations in the imperial camp.

8–12: Imperial strategy meetings with Sangallo and Peruzzi.

9: Peruzzi preparing to leave Florence; by13 January he is gone.

20: Major artillery hit by imperial army, 8 *canne* of bastions collapse.

21: Anguilotto da Pisa with his company defects to Florence.

25: Imperial war council held at Lastra, they decide to move troops two bow shots closer to the Florence.

26: Malatesta Baglione made Captain-General of Florentine forces.

February

11: Anguilotto and troops killed in the S. Salvi countryside while protecting peasants gathering firewood.

24: Pope Clement VII crowns Charles V Holy Roman Emperor in San Petronio, Bologna.

24: Volterra surrenders to Vitelli, who had surrounded it.

28: Three engagements between the Florentines and the imperial army.

March

c. 2: Francesco Guicciardini tried in absentia by the Quarantia and declared *rubella.*

7: Cavalry encounter at Asrico.

11: Lodovico Martelli and Dante da Castiglione leave Florence for the duel.

12: Duel between Giovanni Bandini and Martelli, and Bertino Aldobrandini and Castiglione.

21: Imperial forces driven back by artillery fire from Porta S. Gallo.

25: Heavy imperial cannonade against the gun emplacement on a tower near S. Giorgio, which fails.

c. 25: Damage in Piazza S. Giovanni in Florence due to bombardment.

28: Florentine sortie against the entire south imperial line to destroy new artillery embankments near Porta S. Giorgio, which fails because of betrayal.

April

Benvenuto della Volpaia's and Niccolò Tribolo's model of Florence sent to Clement VII at Rome.

Antonio da Sangallo still in the imperial camp at Florence.

c. 5: Lodovico Martelli dies from wounds from the duel.

6: Galeotto Giugni suggests sending the plague into the imperial camp.

middle: Vitelli leaves the Volterra region for Pistoia.

18: Imperial army under Orange and the Marquis da Vasto engage Jacopo Bichi of Siena, a Florentine cavalry captain, outside Porta al Prato.

before 26: Florentines destroy the S. Salvo monastery, leaving the refectory with its Andrea del Sarto *Last Supper* intact.

26: Ferrucci leaves Empoli for Volterra, arriving that night at the citadel.

27: Ferrucci takes Volterra.

May

Plague appears in the imperial camp.

5: Florentine sortie (the largest) against the Spanish in the convent of S. Donato a Scopeta.

5: Ottaviano Signorelli (Malatesta's lieutenant) and Ludovico Machiavelli (Niccolò's son) killed.

5: Amico da Venafro killed by Stefano Colonna on the Ponte Vecchio.

c. 8: Jacopo Bichi dies from losing his leg in the 5 May sortie.

15: Imperial army begins to arrive at Empoli.

22: Citadel of Arezzo surrenders to imperial forces.

28: The Marquis of Vasto, Diego Sarmiento, and Alessandro Vitelli attack Empoli. After being repulsed, they bring artillery into position and bombard it.

29: Andrea Giugni surrenders Empoli; it is sacked.

June

3: Sansepolcro surrenders to the imperial army.

Before 12: Fabrizio Maramaldo arrives at Volterra and besieges it.

Before 12: Ferrucci hangs Maramaldo's second herald.

Before 12: The bombardment of Volterra begins.

12: Vasto and Diego Sarmiento arrive at Volterra to aid Maramaldo in the attack.

14: Intensive bombardment of Volterra, making a breach. The imperial army attacks; Ferrucci is wounded but holds them off; imperials withdraw.

Middle: plague abates in imperial camp, but rages in Florence.

21: After the arrival of more artillery and a stronger bombardment, two breaches are made at Volterra. Ferrucci defends the city at the Porta Fiorentina and after two hours defeats the imperial forces.

21: Stefano Colonna attacks the German encampment at S Donato in Polverosa; both sides claim victory based on casualties, but the victory is really Florence's.

21: Malatesta tells the imperial army of a plot to poison Clement VII.

24: Special religious procession of Florentine magistrates for the feast of St. John.

29: Imperial army abandons Volterra.

29: Ferrucci plunders Volterra, known as the Second Calamity.

July

Middle: Malatesta in negotiations with Orange and Pirro Colonna.

15: Ferrucci leaves Volterra for Pisa.

16: Ferrucci is in Livorno.

18: Ferrucci is in Pisa, where falls ill.

20: Aretines demolish most of the first Sangallo fortress in Arezzo.

23: Malatesta sends Bino Signorelli to Rome to negotiate with Clement VII.

31: Ferrucci leaves Pisa for Florence.

August

1: Ferrucci stops in Medicina for the night.

1: Orange leaves Florence to meet Ferrucci, picking up men-at-arms in Prato; Maramaldo and Vitelli in Vicopisano following Ferrucci.

1–2: Malatesta refuses to attack while Orange is away from Florence.

2: Ferrucci stops in Calemecca for the night.

2: Orange in Pistoia, where he surveys the countryside from the top of the Duomo.

3 (a Thursday): Ferrucci fires S. Marcello, then rests in Campo di Ferro.

3: Battle of Gavanina between Ferrucci, Maramaldo, Vitelli, Bracciolini, and Orange.

3: Orange is killed by two arquebus shots leading a charge on Gavinana up the hill.

3: Ferrucci is overwhelmed and surrenders, and Maramaldo kills him.

4-6: Florence in an uproar—Malatesta is trying to surrender, the Florentines want to remove him, a battle almost breaks out in the city.

6: Two Florentine commissaries are sent to Malatesta, and he kills one.

6: Malatesta's troops take control of Porta S. Pier Gattolini.

6: Florence gives into Malatesta's control and his demands for surrender.

8: Florence sends emissaries to the imperial camp to make terms for surrender.

9: Baccio Valori enters Florence with others to make an agreement for Clement VII.

12 (a Friday): Florence signs its capitulation at Valori's quarters, ending the siege after ten months.

Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano publishes the poem *Lo assedio et impresa de Firenze.*

1531

Anton Woensam publishes his view of Cologne.

Clement VII commissions Antonio da Sangallo the Younger to rebuild the fortress at Arezzo.

October 31: Charles V's declares Alessandro *capo assoluto* of the Florence as a republic.

c. November/December: Alessandro returns to Florence from Brussels as *capo assoluto*.

1532

The Ottoman army under Sultan Sulieman I advances towards Vienna while Charles V raises 150,000 troops.

Paolo Giovio participates in the defense of Vienna.

April:

The Florentine Balia appoints a reform commission for its constitution.

27: A reformed constitution declares the Medici as hereditary rulers of Florence, but includes a supreme magistracy, the Quarantotto, and names Alessandro "Duke of the Florentine Republic."

June 20: Pope Clement VII names twenty-one-year-old Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Papal Legate.

July 8: Ippolito leaves Rome for Hungary as Papal Legate.

August

6: Ottomans besiege Güns.

13: Ippolito meets the emperor at Regensburg with a small force and 50,000 ducats, and Paolo Giovio in his train.

18: Kasim Bey leads a 15,000 Ottoman cavalry to ravage the countryside almost as far as Linz.

21: Ippolito, with the commissary Camillo Campagna as his agent, sets the Hungarian Turco Valente to raise troops in Hungary with the pope's money.

28: Sulieman raises the siege on Güns.

September

3: Ippolito leaves Regensberg to accompany Charles V to Vienna.

9: Kasim Bey's cavalry is halted by Ippolito's forces.

12: Ippolito and Charles V reach Linz and hold a council of war.

16: Kasim Bey's cavalry joins the Ottoman army in Styria.

19: Kasim Bey's cavalry fights Hungarian forces in Styria and the Hungarian forces take victory.

23: Ippolito and Charles V reach Vienna as the Ottoman army crosses the Drava river to return home.

October

4: Charles V returns home to Spain to deal with Turkish problems.

8: Ippolito dresses in armor and sneaks out of the rear of the train with a group of guards past the emperor.

10: Ippolito joins rebel Italians in Friuli to march on Florence.

25: Emperor Charles V writes letter of apology from San Vito to Pope Clement VII for having laid hands on Ippolito.

Cornelis Massys joins the Guild of St. Luke in Antwerp.

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger begins the citadel in Ancona.

c. 1532–36: Marten van Heemskerck makes his view of Rome.

1533

Gemma Frisius publishes the method of triangulation with the *bussola* in an appendix to his German edition of Peter Apian's *Cosmographia.*

Catherine de'Medici marries Henri, son of King Francis I in Marseilles.

1534

Emperor Charles V commissions Vermeyen to accompany the military expedition to Tunis.

The northern wooden spire on the northern tower of the church of Ss. Michael and Gudule in Brussels is completed.

The Fortezza Vecchia in Livorno is modified.

Antonio da Sangallo builds the Fortezza da Basso in Florence.

A tax record indicates that the Villa Spelman is still standing.

June 9: Antonio da Sangallo the Younger visits Arezzo accompanied by Duke Alessandro.

September 25: Pope Clement VII dies.

1535

Erhard Schoen publishes *The Siege of Münster.*

Charles V's expedition to Tunis, during which Vermeyen serves as court artist and makes views of Barcelona and Tunis.

1536

April 28: Vasari writes Aretino a letter describing Charles V's triumphal entry into Florence.

August 13–15: Duke Alessandro accompanies Antonio da Sangallo the Younger to Arezzo, where the latter has been continuing the fortress construction for the former.

Marten van Heemskerck makes a view of Florence.

1536–37: Francesco Fiorenzuoli builds fortifications along the marina walls in Ancona.

1537

January

9: Cosimo is elected Head (*Capo*) of the Florentine Republic.

12: Cosimo writes Arezzo concerning storage of munitions for the fortification of Arezzo.

April: Piero Strozzi leads a group of *fuorusciti* against Borgo San Sepolcro.

June 12: Charles V sends Juan de Silva to Florence, who in a ceremony acknowledges Cosimo as head of the state, unofficially.

August 1: Florentine victory at Montemurlo.

October 16: In a meeting, Francesco Campana reads the imperial privilege created on 30 September 1537.

Fivizzano is sacked by the Marchese da Vasto's troops.

Unrest in Pistoia.

The Fortezza da Basso in Florence is completed.

Cosimo orders fortification work at Prato, Arezzo, Borgo San Seplocro, Castrocaro, and the Rocca San Casciano in the Romagna.

1537–43: Vitelli takes over the Fortezza da Basso and holds it as insurance for the emperor.

1537–40: Giovanni Stradano trains in Antwerp under Pieter Aertsen.

1537–38: Bernardo di Onofrio Acciaioli is architect at Girafalco with Otto di Mantauto as overseer until 1539.

1538

Cornelis Anthonisz. paints a view of Amsterdam.

Cosimo orders fortification work in Pistoia and Scarperia.

Nanni Unghero begins building the Fortezza di Santa Barbara in Pistoia.

Cosimo sends Unghero to Arezzo to renovate the fortress.

Bonaventura di San Leo begins renovating the fortress at Sansepolcro.

Pistoia is placed under strict control to curb internal feuding.

King Henry VIII begins a system of fortifications on a stretch of the English channel seemingly influenced by Dürer's ideas.

1539

Nanni Unghero begins new fortifications at Fivizzano.

1540

The ducal family moves into the Palazzo Vecchio, and Cosimo commissions Battisa del Tasso to begin renovations.

Unghero begins work on the walls of Arezzo, assisted by Otto da Montauto.

Cosimo orders fortification work at Montepulciano and Livorno.

c. 1540: Cornelis Massys draws a view of Brussels.

1540s: The *cavaliere*, known as "il Bastione di Cosimo," is built along the wall on the east side of Piombino.

1541

Siege of Buda.

1542

Joris Hoefnagel is born in Antwerp.

Cosimo brings Benedetto Varchi back to Florence from exile and makes him official state historian of Tuscany.

Cosimo revives the Studio at Pisa and visits fortifications there.

Unghero begins work on Pisa's walls.

Cornelis Anthonisz. makes his *Siege of Algiers*.

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger surveys Rome's walls, noting Bourbon's death.

1542–43: Unghero works on renovations of the fortress of Sansepolcro.

1542–43: Unghero renovates the Fortezza Vecchia in Livorno.

1543

July:

Cosimo sends Unghero to Piombino to be joined by Otto da Montauto to work primarily on the walls.

3: Cosimo receives the Fortezza da Basso.

7: Cosimo receives the Fortezza at Livorno.

Giovan Battista Belluzzi and Giovanni Camerini also work on fortifications at Piombino.

Fortification work is begun at Firenzuola, Pisa, and the fortress of San Miniato in Florence.

Unghero renovates the walls of Cortona.

Ridolfo Baglioni becomes Captain General of the Tuscan Cavalry.

Baglioni oversees the Pisa fortifications for Unghero.

Cosimo is forced to temporarily halt fortification work in Pisa, Pistoia, Arezzo, and Prato due to a budget shortfall of 24,000 *scudi*.

1544

April 11: Battle of Ceresole.

May: Battle between the Marquis of Vasto and Baglioni against Piero Strozzi at Serravalle Scrivia in Lombardy following Ceresole.

Cosimo sends forces to aid Charles V at Ceresole.

Unghero and Belluzzi renovate the northern circuit in Pistoia.

Belluzzi works on renovating defenses at Sansepolcro.

Cosimo visits fortifications in Prato.

Belluzzi visits Pisa.

Cosimo orders a bastion built next to the Porta Fiorentina at Volterra.

Cornelis Anthonisz. publishes his woodcut view of Amsterdam.

Anton van den Wyngaerde produces views of Dordrecht, London, and s'Hertogenbosch.

1544/49–52: Belluzzi makes a collection of plans for Cosimo.

c. 1544: The Jewish Bastion is begun at Prato.

1545

February: Cosimo sends Belluzzi to Piombino to work on fortifications.

September 2: Belluzzi is ordered to Volterra.

Belluzzi works in Livorno on the Fortezza Vecchia.

Cosimo visits fortifications in Livorno and Pistoia.

Cosimo I writes letters complaining about the cost of fortifications in Piombino and requesting that the emperor cover the expenses.

Belluzzi designs the large bastion next to Porta Fiorentina in Volterra.

Giovanni Stradano joins the Guild of St. Luke in Antwerp.

1545 or 1552: Belluzzi makes a plan of Piombino.

1546

Cosimo visits fortifications in Prato, Cortona, Borgo San Sepolcro, and Arezzo.

Cosimo has medals installed in the foundations of his fortresses at Portoferraio, Arezzo, Cortona, and Sansepolcro.

Cosimo returns to Pistoia a measure of independent governance with the so-called "restitution of honors."

1546–47: Belluzzi builds the *retirata* in the Oltr'Arno of Florence.

c. 1546–47: Belluzzi draws a plan of Florence's defenses.

1546–63: The Arsenale Mediceo is built in Pisa to replace the Republican Arsenale.

1547

March: Belluzzi is at Fivizzano.

Cosimo forms the Practica Segreta.

Cosimo tells Jacopo VI de' Appiani, ruler of Piombino, that he expects reimbursement and would no longer underwrite fortification costs.

1548

April

10: Cosimo orders Giovanni Battista Belluzzi to Pisa to discuss Portoferraio.

28: Cosimo approves Belluzzi's designs.

May

5: The foundations of the fortifications at Portoferraio get underway.

8: The foundations of the Fortezza Stella are ready to defend.

15–18: Duke Cosimo travels to Elba to inspect fortifications.

17: Martini is in Pisa according to a letter he wrote.

27: Belluzzi reports the completion of earthworks and the start of stone facing.

June

9: Cosimo sends Giovanni Camerini to take over the project at Portoferraio.

Cosimo recalls Belluzzi back to Florence.

Cosimo visits fortifications in Pisa.

Cosimo forms the Legge Polverina.

1549

Francesco Laparelli begins the fortress of Girafalco in Cortona.

1549–51: Belluzzi makes a drawing of Volterra's defenses.

1550

Sebastian Münster publishes the second edition of *Cosmographia universalis* that includes city views.

Balthasar van den Bosch makes a view of Lyon.

Emperor Charles V orders the citadel to be built at Siena.

Vasari publishes the first edition of the *Lives of the Artists.*

Brussels begins building the Willebroek canal (completed 1561).

1550–51: Hendrick van Cleve III travels to Italy drawing views of Rome, Florence, and probably Genoa and Naples. Two views of Rome, one from the Gianicolo hill and the other from the Oppio hills, are dated 1550.

1550–55: Camerini completes the fortifications of Arezzo.

1551

c. 1551–52: Pieter Bruegel the Elder joins the guild of St. Luke.

1552

August: Belluzzi works at Empoli.

September 1: Camerini is in Piombino to assist with fortifications.

Cosimo visits fortifications in Pisa.

Charles V grants Cosimo sovereignty over Piombino.

Fortifications at Fivizzano are completed.

The Sienese rebel, expel the Spanish, and tear down the citadel.

Augustin Hirschovogel produces his *Circular Plan of Vienna.*

The Large Tower is renovated in Brussels, removing the peaked roof.

Bruegel is in Naples; he probably sketches the city for his painted view.

1552–53: Anton van den Wyngaerde travels to Italy and makes views of Rome, Genoa, Naples and Ancona.

1552–57: Giovanni Camerini builds the citadel in Piombino.

c.1552–61: An unknown artist draws the Ashmolean view of Brussels.

1552–74: Vasari sends Cristofano dell'Altissimo to Como to copy Paolo Giovio's portraits.

1553

Bruegel returns to Rome.

Anton van den Wyngaerde returns to the Netherlands.

Camerini draws a view and plan of Portoferraio.

Pieter Coecke van Aelst publishes *The Customs and Fashions of the Turks*, including a panoramic view of Constantinople.

May: Belluzzi sends a plan of Lucignano to Cosimo.

June 8: Belluzzi is wounded by an arquebusier shot while making a plan of Montalcino

1554

Belluzzi builds fortifications in Siena consisting of alterations to the forts at the Porta Camollia.

February

2: Duke Cosimo rewards Belluzzi with a captaincy of 200 infantry.

Belluzzi sneaks into Siena during the siege and makes a detailed map of the acqueducts and walls.

March:

The siege of Montechiello.

6: Belluzzi is mortally wounded by a shot to the head during an assault on Aiola di Chianti.

22: Belluzzi dies.

June 21: Battle at Serravalle Pistoiese in Tuscany during the war of Siena.

August 2: Battle of Scannagallo (also known as the Battle of Marciano).

Vasari begins working for Cosimo.

1554–57: Bernardo Puccini oversees the works at Lucignano following a design by Belluzzi and modified by Camerini.

1555

April 17: Siena surrenders.

June 18: Port'Ercole falls to the imperial army, ending of the Florence-Siena war.

July 28: Funds are requested to continue work on fortifications at Montecarlo.

Vasari begins directing renovations of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence for Duke Cosimo.

Ugo Pinard makes a view of London.

Bruegel returns to Antwerp.

Conrad Gessner climbs Mount Pilatus.

1556

Vasari hires Giovanni Stradano.

Emperor Charles V abdicates his rule.

Spring–summer: Cosimo Bartoli sends Vasari the *invenzioni* for the Quartiere di Leone X.

1556 and 1557: Raffaello della Vachia is paid for work on fortifications at Montecarlo, likely the hornworks.

c. 1556–59: Vasari decorates the Sala di Cosimo I.

c. 1556–60: Vasari decorates the Sala di Leone X.

c. 1556–61: Vasari decorates the Sala di Clement VII.

1557

April 26: Giovanni Stradano receives his first payment for work in the Palazzo Vecchio.

June 19: Philip II grants Siena to the duke as payment for the imperial war debt.

Summer: Michele Tosini travels through Tuscany visiting cities to be portrayed in the Sala di Cosimo I.

August 21: Michele Tosini receives a payment "to make drawings of various sites and places" and "raise plans of Montecarlo, Pistoia, and other places."

September 18: Stradano's position in Vasari's workshop at the Palazzo Vecchio becomes permanent.

November 8: Stradano becomes Vasari's principal collaborator, exclusively so in the paintings of the Quartiere di Leone X.

Duke Cosimo is forced to return Piombino to Philip II of Spain.

Anton van den Wyngaerde joins the imperial campaign into Northern France documenting sieges.

1558

Anton van den Wyngaerde produces and dates a view of Brussels.

Anton van den Wyngaerde travels to England to make views of the Royal Palaces.

1558–62: Bruegel paints *Naval Battle in the Bay of Naples.*

1559

April 3: The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis.

c. 1559: Cosimo Bartoli completes his *Discorsi historici universali.*

1559–75: Jacob van Deventer produces maps of the Spanish possessions in the Netherlands.

1560

Hans Rogel makes his view of Augsburg.

Hendrick van Cleve III makes a view of Florence from earlier sketches.

The Uffizi in Florence is begun.

Antonio Lafreri produces a view of Milan.

1561

Anton van den Wyngaerde joins Philip II's court at Spain as a court artist.

The spire of St. Paul's seen in Anton van den Wyngaerde's view of the Richmond Palace (dated 1562) is destroyed in a fire.

The Rivage gate in Brussels is built, completing the Willebroek canal.

1561–63: Baldassare Lanci builds the Fortezza di Santa Barbara in Siena.

1562

Anton van den Wyngaerde dates his view of the Richmond Palace.

Eleanora, Giovanni, and Garzia de'Medici die of malaria at Livorno.

1562–75: Van den Wyngaerde travels Spain (and North Africa) to draw views of the principal cities.

1563

March 14: Cosimo writes a letter to Vasari commanding him to change the painting *Cosimo Planning the Siege of Siena.*

Vasari and his workshop begin to decorate the Salone dei Cinquecento.

Vasari hires Giovanbattista Naldini and Jacopo Zucchi to assist in the Salone.

Hans Rogel makes his view of Augsburg.

1563–75: Egnazio Danti paints maps for the Guardaroba Nuova.

1564

February 24 and 29: payments made to Alessandro di Vincenzo for a twenty-three day trip to sketch cities throughout Tuscany.

March 17: Vasari sends letters to the ducal ambassador Ricasoli at Vienna and to Giralamo Graffer listing the cities being depicted and asking for information regarding them.

August 8: Graffer sends Vasari a bill for payment of the city depictions of the requested cities as for shipment of the images to Venice.

Giovanni Camerini completes the defenses of Sansepolcro.

Cosimo officially retires.

Bartoli publishes *Del modo di misurare.*

c. 1564–71: Construction of the Guardaroba Nuova.

1565

The courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio is painted by Bastiano Veronese, Giovanni Lombardi, Cesare Baglioni, and Turino da Piemonte.

Cipriano Piccolpasso surveys Umbrian cities and fortresses, producing *Le piante et i ritrattie delle città e terre dell'Umbria, sottoposte al governo di Perugia* for Pope Pius IV.

Francesco I de'Medici marries Joanna of Austria.

c.1565–68: The salone of the Villa d'Este is decorated.

1566

Anton van den Wyngaerde sires a son.

Borghini debates Girolamo Mei over the foundations of Florence.

1566–70: Andrea Palladio builds the Villa Almerica also known as the Villa Rotondo.

The treatise *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura e piaceri della villa* is written by Agostino Gallo.

Calzolari publishes his ascension of Monte Maggiore in his pamphlet *Il viaggio di Monte Baldo della magnifica città di Verona.*

1567

Lododvico Guicciardini publishes *Descrittione di tutti Paesi Bassi.*

Vasari and his workshop return to the walls of the Salone.

April 27 and 28: Vasari sends two letters to Giovanni Caccini, the *provveditore* of Pisa, announcing Naldini's arrival there to sketch views of the city.

May 3: Vasari writes to Caccini saying that he received Naldini's drawing and asking Caccini to accompany Naldini to Livorno and Campiglia.

1568

Vasari publishes the second edition of his *Lives.*

1569

Florence is made a Grand Duchy.

Giacomo Fontana executes a view of Ancona.

Bartoli publishes *Discorsi historici universali* (written in 1559).

1570

Bernardo Buontalenti begins working in Pisotia on the fortifications.

1571

The walls of the Salone in the Palazzo Vecchio are completed.

The Fortezza di Santa Barbara in Pistoia is completed.

Cosimo sends forces to the naval battle of Lepanto.

1572

Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg publish the first volume of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (publishing completed 1617).

1573

1573–75: The mural map cycles at Caprarola are painted.

Vasari asks Cosimo Bartoli to secure a plan of the Venentian armory.

1574

Josias Simler publishes his treatise *De Alpibus commentaries.*

Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici buys and then redesigns a villa property on Monte Pincio in Rome.

Duke Cosimo I dies.

Francesco de' Medici becomes Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany.

Bernardo Buontalenti works on bastions of the fortress at Girafalco.

1575

Egnazio Danti leaves Florence.

Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, Scipione Dattili, and Domenico Tibaldi fresco a view of Bologna in the Sala di Bologna, Vatican.

Buontalenti designs the Fortezza Nuova in Livorno.

1575–80: Buontalenti renovates the Villa Petraia in Florence.

1576

A. Gussoni criticizes the fortress at San Miniato as a bit for the people.

1577

Egnazio Danti writes his treatise *Le scienze matematiche ridotte in tavole.*

1577–86: Stefano Buonsignori paints maps to complete the Guardaroba Nuova

1578

Egnazio Danti surveys the territory of Bologna for Pope Gregory XIII, from which he produces his manuscript titled *Disegni di alcuni Castelli del Bolognese.*

1579

1579–81: Danti and his workshop paint the maps for the Gallerie della Carte Geografiche in the Vatican.

1580

Mons Parnassus is completed at the Villa Medici, Rome.

1581

Francesco I begins to move the inventory from the Guardaroba Nuova to the Uffizi.

c. 1581–82: The views of Rome in the Room with Topographical Views in the Tower of the Winds in the Vatican are painted.

1584

Stefano Buonsignori publishes his map of Florence.

c. 1584–89: van Cleve makes views of Florence (possibly re-worked), Naples, and Genoa.

1585

Hans Bol paints *Panoramic Landscape with Parable of the Rich Man and View of the City of Brussels*, reproducing the view of the city by Massys.

1587

Ferdinando I de'Medici succeeds Francesco I as Grand Duke of Tuscany.

1588

Ferdinando I commissions Antonio Santucci della Pomerance to complete the map room at the Palazzo Vecchio.

1590

1590–94: The Fortezza Belvedere in Florence is built by Buontalenti.

1593

Santucci completes the armillary sphere for Ferdinando I, called the "Universal machine of the world".

1594

Ferdinando I has the Villa Artimino built on Monte Albano.

1595

Francesco Vanni publishes his view of Siena.

1599

Donato Rascicotti makes his view of Brescia.

c. 1599: Giusto Utens paints fourteen lunettes of Medici residences for the Villa Artiminio.

1626

Laurenz van de Sype and Wenzel Hollar make a view of Vienna.

1643

October 3: Urban VIII's papal troups attack Pistoia and are defeated.

1657

Laurenz van de Sype and Wenzel Hollar's view of Vienna printed.

1721

Varchi's *Storia fiorentina* first published.

Appendix 4: List of Archivio di Stato, Florence, Documents from the Medici Archive Project (MAP)

Citations for documents accessed online through the Medici Archive Project, at: "Medici Archive Project," http://documents.medici.org/document_details.cfm?entryid= (accessed 11 February 2008).

Individual document pages are available at the http address above with the entryid number added at the end.

entryid	citation
79	Cosimo I de' Medici to Menichino da Poggibonsi, 17 April 1542, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3 folio 225.
334	Cosimo I de' Medici to Iacopo V Appiani d'Aragona, 11 July 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 323 folio 2.
339	Cosimo I de' Medici to Felipe II de Austria, 23 July 1557, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 325 folio 93.
675	Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 4 February 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 338.
686	Cristiano Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 11 February 1552, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 631.
827	Cosimo I de' Medici to Martella da Fuligno, Capitano, 2 May 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 45.
833	Cosimo I de' Medici to Girolamo di Piero Guicciardini, 30 May 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 183 folio 15.
1753	Cosimo I de' Medici to Vincenzo Poggio, 9 November 1551, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 196 folio 8.
2158	Ridolfo Baglioni to Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni, 9 August 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 362 folio 94.

2355 Lorenzo Gualterotti to Giovanni Battista Gualterotti, 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1169 folio 226bis.

2375 Raffaele di Francesco de' Medici to Pier Francesco Riccio, 21 October 1539, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170 folio 318.

2413 Marzio di Girolamo Marzi Medici to Pier Francesco Riccio, 7 January 1544, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 420.

2464 Iacopo Guidi to Pier Francesco Riccio, 13 November 1546, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1172 folio 45.

3027 Unknown to Agnolo Dovizi da Bibbiena, 20 February 1554, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 419 folio 25.

3514 Giovanni Camerini to Cosimo I de' Medici, 29 June 1555, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 442 folio 417.

3520 Giulio de' Medici to Giovanni Camerini, 25 January 1564, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3520 folio 251.

3590 Federico Casolano to Cosimo I de' Medici, 30 March 1554, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 422 folio 362.

3821 Cosimo I de' Medici to Girolamo di Piero Guicciardini, 19 January 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 41.

3852 Alessandro di Pierluigi Farnese to Unknown, February 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 66.

3879 Cosimo I de' Medici to Girolamo di Piero Guicciardini, 4 July 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 186.

3905 Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni Battista di Simone Ricasoli, 7 July 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 217.

3908 Cosimo I de' Medici to Unknown, July 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 219.

3914 Francesco Campana to Averardo di Antonio Serristori, 10 August 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 259.

3922 Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni Battista di Simone Ricasoli, 26 March 1544, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 513.

3924 Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni Battista di Simone Ricasoli, 14 February 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 553.

3930 Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni Battista di Simone Ricasoli, 8 March 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 586.

3998 Cosimo I de' Medici to Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, 3 December 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 6 folio 384.

4328 Cosimo I de' Medici to Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, 30 September 1546, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 8 folio 72.

4398 Cosimo I de' Medici to Diego Hurtado de Medndoza, 16 February 1547, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 8 folio 390.

4679 Cosimo I de' Medici to Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, 6 February 1548, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 9 folio 396.

4690 Cosimo I de' Medici to Unknown, February 1548, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 9 folio 398.

4973 Bernardo di Francesco Puccini to Cosimo I de' Medici, 4 July 1555, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 449 folio 92.

5420 Barbolani di Montauto, Pierfrancesco to Pier Francesco Riccio, 20 April 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1169 folio 29.

5422 Alessandro di Antonio Malegonnelle to Pier Francesco Riccio, 15 June 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1169 folio 40.

5429 Alessandro di Antonio Malegonnelle to Pier Francesco Riccio, 15 July 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1169 folio 53.

5431 Francesco Seriacopi to Pier Francesco Riccio, 17 August 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1169 folio 65.

5434 Giovanni Conti to Pier Francesco Riccio, 24 August 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1169 folio 68.

5494 Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 26 October 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5494 folio 196.

5574 Giovanni Francesco Lottini to Pier Francesco Riccio, 2 September 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 83.

5576 Pierfrancesco de' Ricci to Pier Francesco Riccio, 13 August 1539, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 424.

5937 Ugolino Grifoni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 25 January 1542, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170 folio 68.

5960 Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 5 August 1542, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170 folio 135.

6019 Pier Francesco Riccio to Ugolino Grifoni, 18 June 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170 folio 261.

6054 Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 21 October 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170 folio 334.

6070 Pierfrancesco Barbolani di Montauto to Pier Francesco Riccio, 29 September 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170 folio 370.

6242 Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 24 November 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 255.

6292 Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 7 February 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 344.

6332 Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 17 February 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 364.

6380 Cristiano Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 18 May 1548, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 559.

6380 Cristiano Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 18 May 1548, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a folio 559.

6433 Giovanni Camerini to Cosimo I de' Medici, 1 September 1552, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 411 folio 1.

6449 Ugolino Grifoni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 28 February 1546, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1171 folio 27.

6454 Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 27 March 1544, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1171 folio 30.

6554 Vincenzo Ferrini to Pier Francesco Riccio, 26 October 1544, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1171 folio 140.

7079 Pier Francesco Riccio to Cosimo I de' Medici, 22 September 1544, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 600 folio 41.

7279 1554, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 1.

7281 1554, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 1.

7291 1555, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 4.

7293 1555, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 4.

7298 1555, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 5.

7311 1556, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 8.

7312 1556, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 8.

7318 1556, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 9.

7341 1557, account record, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 635 folio 10.

7354 Ugolino Grifoni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 28 April 1546, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1172 folio 6.

7381 Cosimo I de' Medici to Luca Martini, 17 May 1548, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 11 folio 172.

7403 Cosimo I de' Medici to Unknown, 14 September 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 183 folio 100.

7411 Cosimo I de' Medici to Unknown, 28 July 1539, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 183 folio 268.

7451 Cosimo I de' Medici to Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, 13 January 1548, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 9 folio 339.

7613 Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 1 October 1546, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1172 folio 27.

7770 Giovanni Battista Bellucci [Belluzzi] to Cosimo I de' Medici, February 1554, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 4128a folio 744.

7908 Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni Battista Bellucci [Belluzzi], 24 January 1552, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 196 folio 77.

8019 Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni Battista Bellucci [Belluzzi], 10 April 1548, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 187 folio 84.

8029 Giulio de' Medici to Cosimo I de' Medici, 25 January 1564, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 503 folio 252.

8142 Gismondo Puccinelli to Cosimo I de' Medici, 28 July 1555, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 449 folio 310.

8438 Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni Battista di Alamanno de' Medici, 17 April 1559, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 210 folio 61.

8520 Bartolomeo Concini to Cosimo I de' Medici, 1 February 1554, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1854 folio 1.

8522 Bartolomeo Concini to Cosimo I de' Medici, 3 February 1554, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1854 folio 6.

8638 Giovanni Conti dal Bucine to Cosimo I de' Medici, 19 July 1557, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1864 folio 49.

8758 Cosimo I de' Medici to Alfonso II d' Este, 24 August 1560, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 211 folio 90.

9467 Cosimo I de' Medici to Vincenzo di Poggio, 22 August 1550, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 639 folio 280.

12450 "Dicifrato dell'amico di Venetia de VII de Marzo," 7 March 1537, report, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato 1169 folio 29.

12452 Giovanni di Iacopo Salviati to Bernardo de Santi da Rieti, 25 November 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3 folio 11.

12616 Cosimo I de' Medici to Sebastiano Nolfi, 18 January 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 6.

12616 Cosimo I de' Medici to Sebastiano Nolfi, 18 January 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 6.

12616 Cosimo I de' Medici to Sebastiano Nolfi, 18 January 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 6.

12623 Cosimo I de' Medici to Bartolomeo di Andrea Capponi, 28 March 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 33.

12677 Cosimo I de' Medici to Spadone del Bianco da Boccone, 5 November 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 137.

12681 Cosimo I de' Medici to Bernardo di Onofrio Acciaioli, 17 December 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 176.

12681 Cosimo I de' Medici to Bernardo di Onofrio Acciaioli, 17 December 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 176.

12683 Cosimo I de' Medici to Bernardo di Onofrio Acciaioli, 22 December 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 179.

12684 Cosimo I de' Medici to Domenico di Braccio Martelli, 24 December 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 182.

12961 Cosimo I de' Medici to Unknown, undated [September 1542], Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1175 folio 10.

13067 Cristiano Pagni to Pier Francesco Riccio, 13 May 1549, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 1175 folio 21.

15295 Cosimo I de' Medici to Pier Francesco Riccio, 23 August 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 638 folio 120.

15462 Cosimo I de' Medici to Tommaso di Bernardo de' Nerli, 24 November 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 154.

15491 Cosimo I de' Medici to Unknown, 3 February 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 218.

15494 Cosimo I de' Medici to Unknown, 12 February 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 231.

15507 Cosimo I de' Medici to Bernardo di Onofrio Acciaioli, 16 February 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 236.

15515 Cosimo I de' Medici to Bernardo di Onofrio Acciaioli, 16 February 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 182 folio 236.

16788 Girolamo di Luca degli Albizzi to Cosimo I de' Medici, 17 March 1554, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 423a folio 906.

16918 Cosimo I de' Medici to Unknown, 22 January 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 2 folio 509.

17036 Cosimo I de' Medici to Antonio Bocca, 10 February 1552, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 196 folio 95.

18555 Ridolfo Baglioni to Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni, 8 August 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 362 folio 83.

18585 Ridolfo Baglioni to Lorenzo di Andrea Pagni, 13 August 1543, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 362 folio 130.

19039 Pierfrancesco Barbolani di Montauto to Cosimo I de' Medici, 15 March 1540, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 343 folio 287.

19040 Pierfrancesco Barbolani di Montauto to Cosimo I de' Medici, 15 April 1540, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 343 folio 289.

19044 Giovanni Gualberto Brogiotti to Pier Francesco Riccio, 8 December 1540, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 343 folio 300.

19363 Cherubino Buonanni to Cosimo I de' Medici, 29 April 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3260 folio 87.

19380 Cherubino Buonanni to Cosimo I de' Medici, 5 May 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3260 folio 101.

19385 Cherubino Buonanni to Cosimo I de' Medici, 7 May 1537, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3260 folio 102.

19388 Deputati della Communita d' Arezzo to Cosimo I de' Medici, 5 August 1540, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3263 folio 165.

19471 Agnolo di Matteo Niccolini to Cosimo I de' Medici, 21 December 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3261 folio 92.

19565 Cosimo I de' Medici to Pandolfo Benvenuti, 4 April 1563, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 219 folio 86.

19652 Cosimo I de' Medici to Filippo Ducci, 26 August 1563, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 219 folio 175.

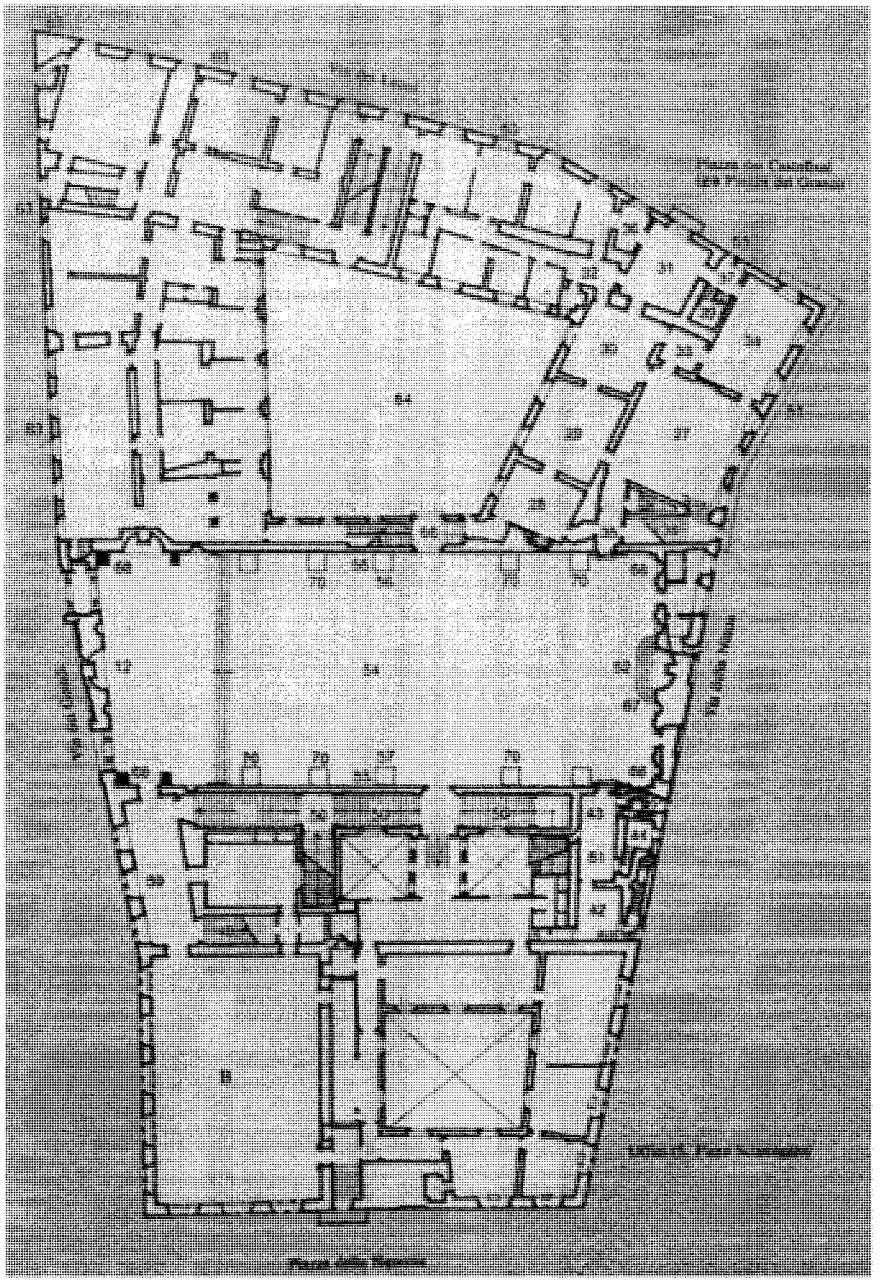
19790 Cosimo I de' Medici to Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, 20 February 1545, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5 folio 563.

19876 Gianfrancesco Gonzaga di Bozzolo to Cosimo I de' Medici, 5 February 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3 folio 15.

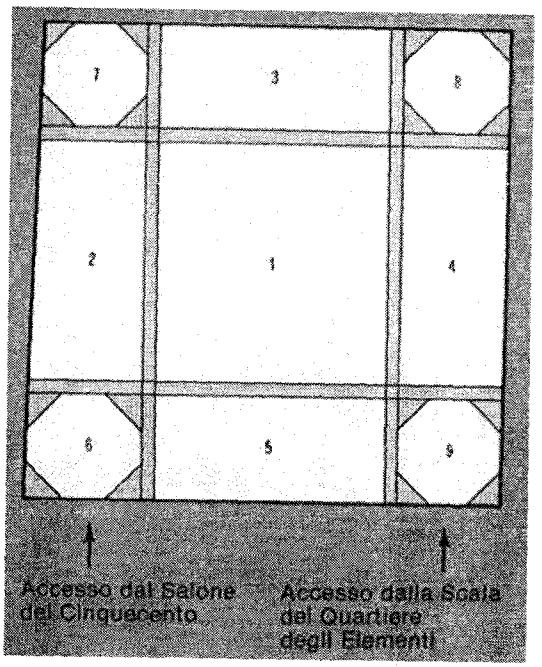
19883 Bernadetto Minerbetti to Cosimo I de' Medici, 31 March 1538, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 3 folio 20.

20527 Bongianni di Iacopo, Cosimo I de' Medici, 10 March 1555, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 421 folio 109.

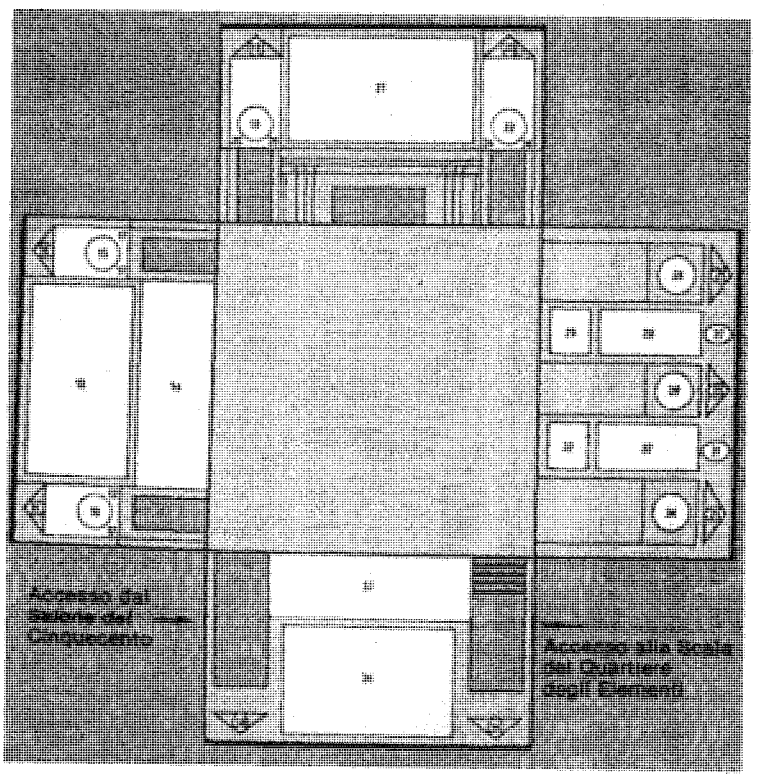
Maps



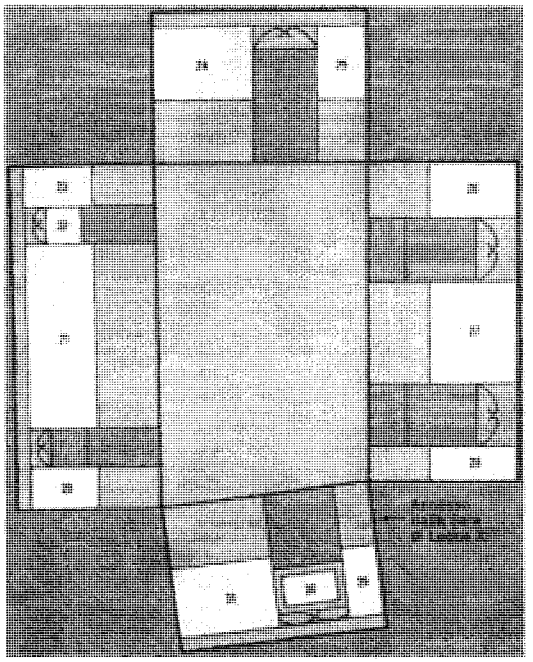
Map 1. Plan of the piano primo (second floor) of the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, from Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, xxi. 27) Sala di Leone X; 28) Sala di Cosimo il Vecchio; 29) Sala di Lorenzo il Magnifico; 30) Sala di Cosimo I; 31) Sala di Giovanni dalle Bande Nere; 34) Sala di Clemente VII; 54) Salone dei Cinquecento.



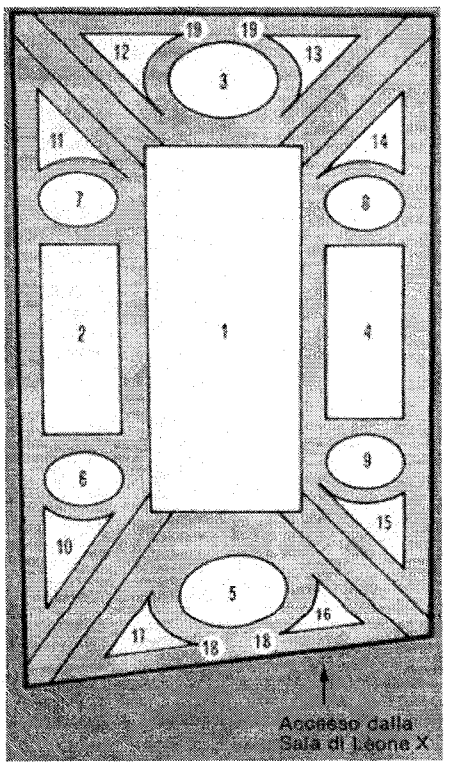
Map 2. Plan of the Sala di Leone X ceiling, from Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 115.



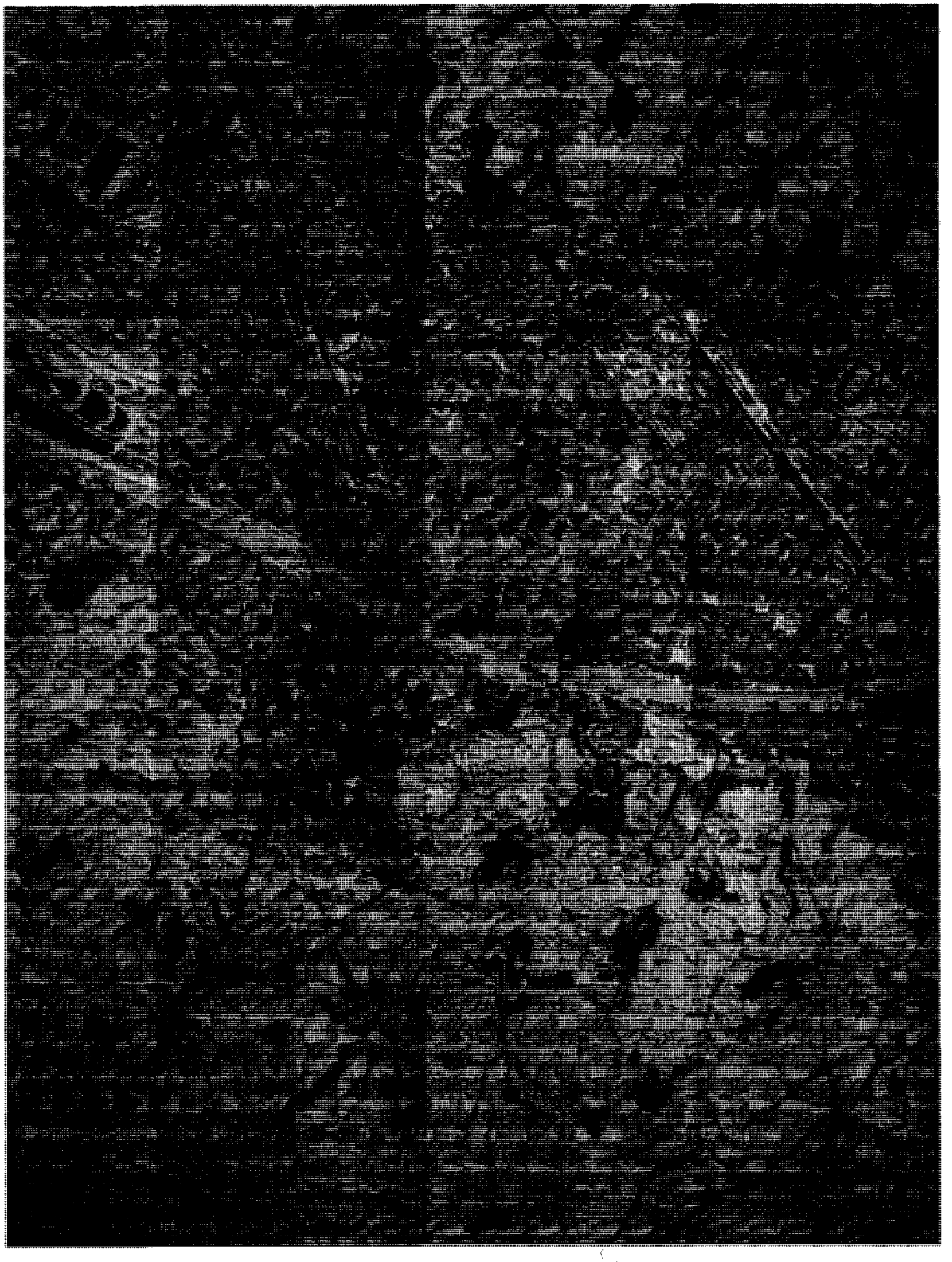
Map 3. Plan of the Sala di Leone X walls, from Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 118.



Map 4. Plan of the Sala di Clemente VII walls, from Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 170.



Map 5. Plan of the Sala di Clemente VII ceiling, from Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 167.



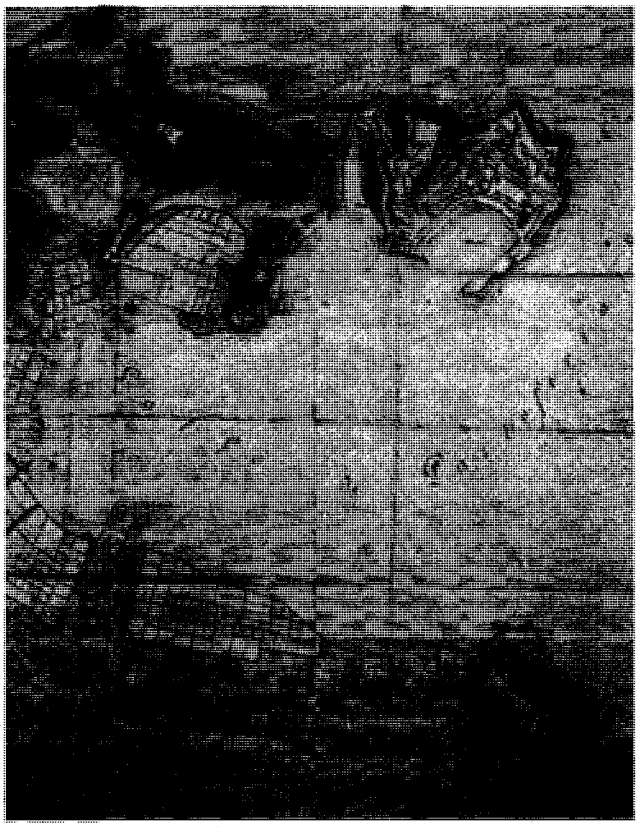
Map 8. Map of Florence. The supposed viewing position of the *Siege of Florence* is marked by the red dot.



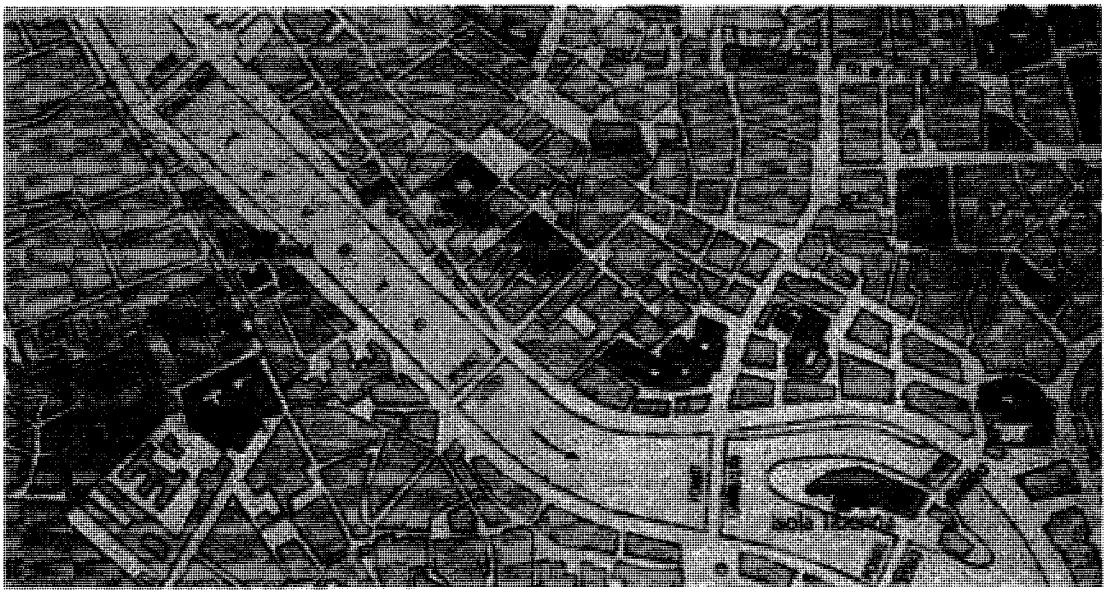
Map 9. Map of territory concerning Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici's term as papal legate in 1532, showing modern political divisions, from *Google Earth*.



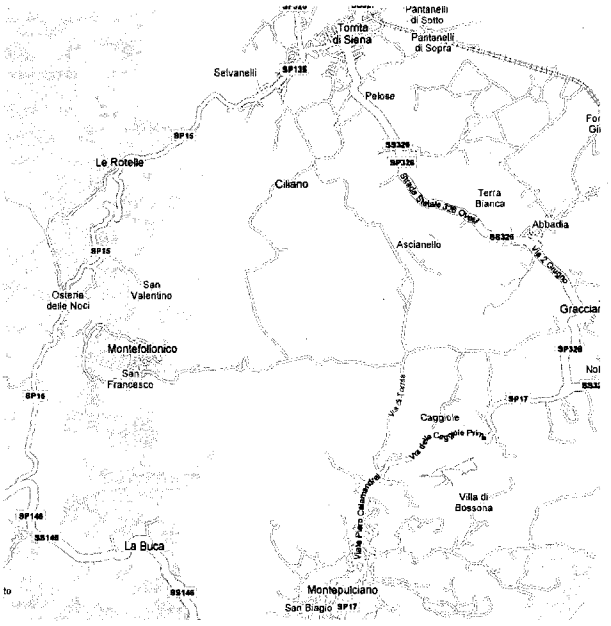
Map 10. Map of territory concerning Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici's term as papal legate in 1532, showing 1532 political divisions, from *Google Earth*.



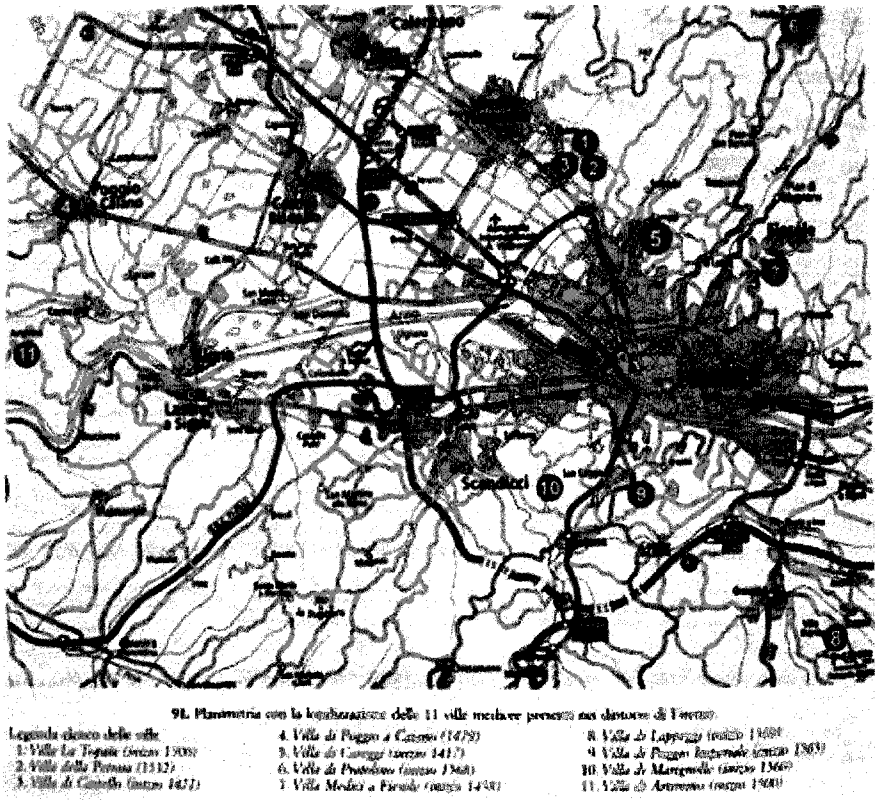
Map 11. Partial map of Elba showing Portoferraio on upper right and Volterraio on lower right. (Photo: Marconi, *Castelli*, 268.)



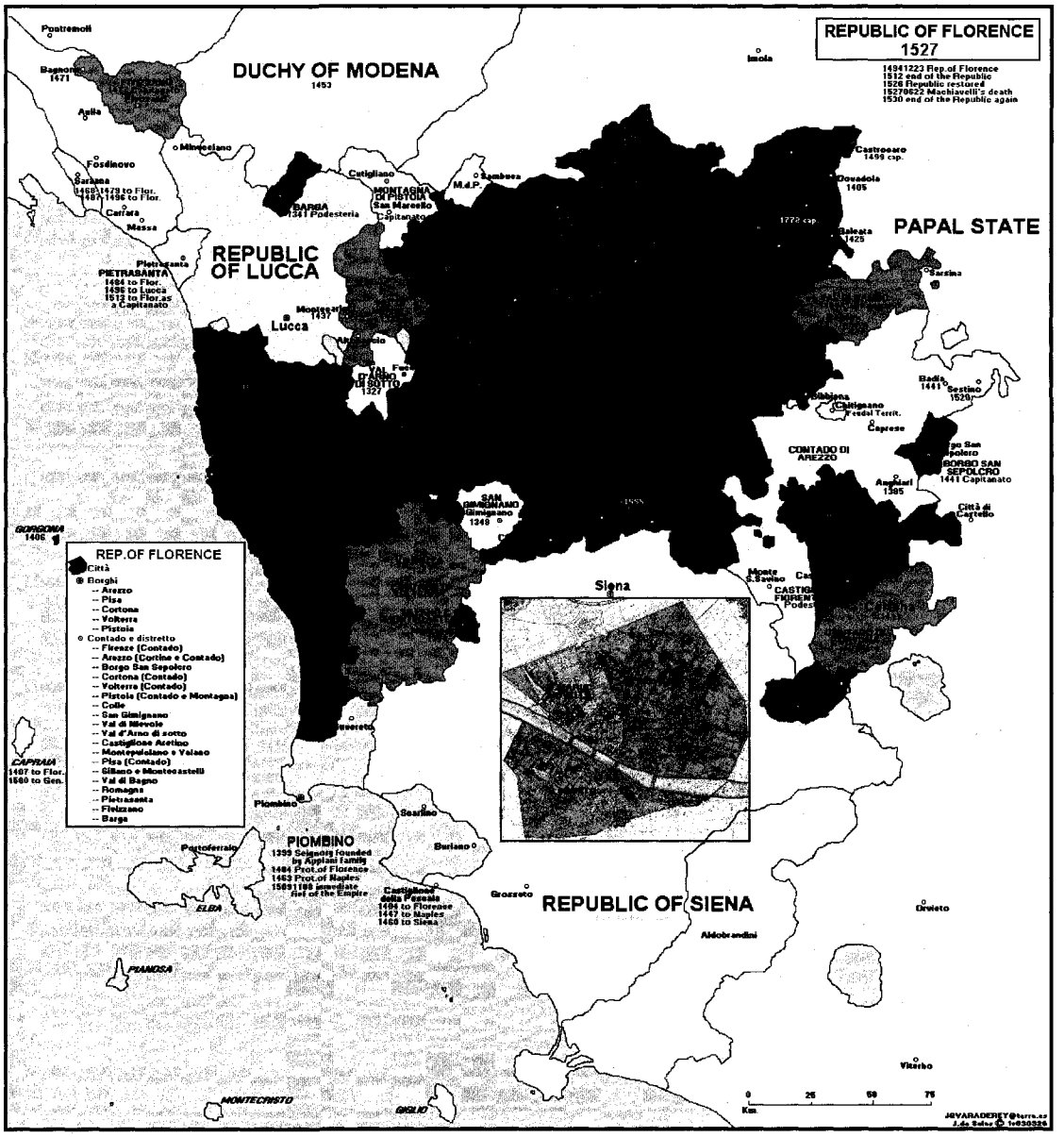
Map 12. Map of Rome showing Farnesina and to the southwest the Theatrum Marcellus, from Frommel, *Villa Farnesina*, 18.



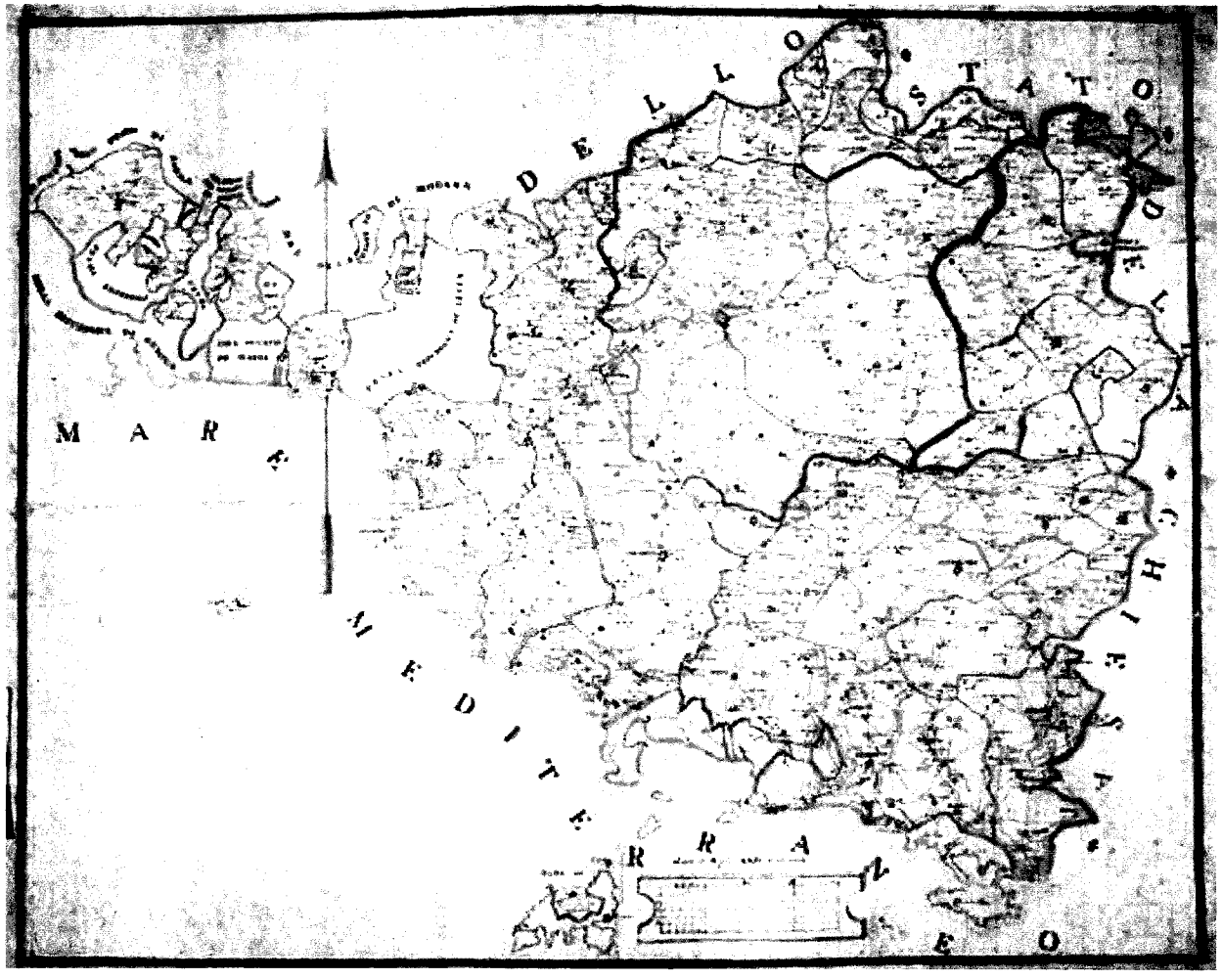
Map 13. Map of area north of Montepulciano, from "Google Maps," http://maps.google.com [accessed 27 March 2008].



Map 14. Map of the Medici villas around Florence, from Zangheri, *Villa medicea di Careggi*, 94.



Map 15. Map of Republic of Florence, 1527, by Joaquín de Salas Vara de Rey, from "Historical and Political Maps of the Modern Age," http://www.terra.es/personal7/jqvaraderey/1527__fl.gif [accessed 27 March 2008.].



Map 16. Map of Granducal Tuscany, last quarter of the eighteenth century, from "I segni del territorio," http://segnidelterritorio.comune.prato.it/carte/ [accessed 27 March 2008].

Figures



Figure 1. Sala di Leone X, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 106–7.)



Figure 2. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici Assists at the Battle of Ravenna*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X. (Photo: author.)



Figure 3. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Ravenna, from *Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici Assists at the Battle of Ravenna*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X. (Photo: author.)

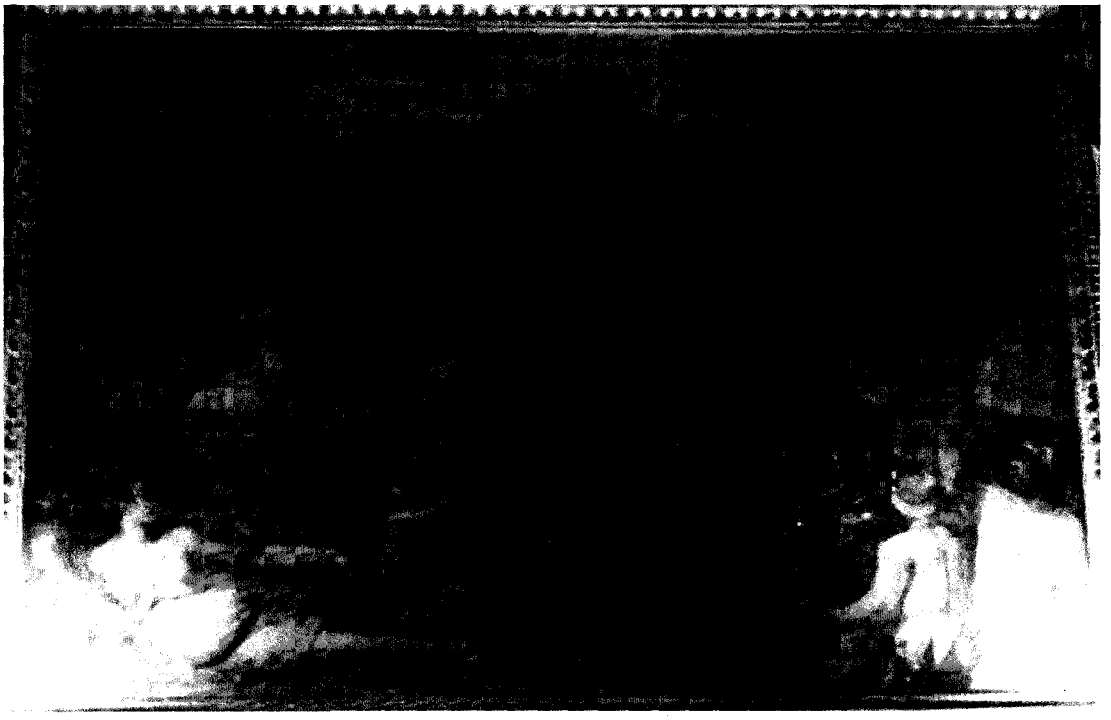


Figure 4. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of San Leo*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X. (Photo: author.)

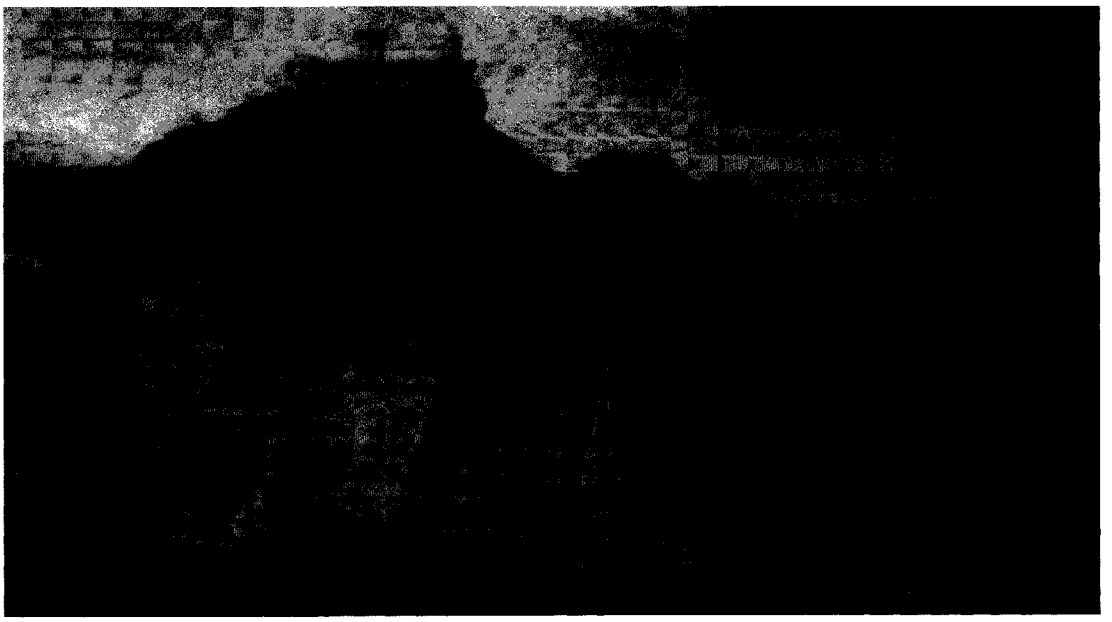


Figure 5. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of San Leo, from *The Capture of San Leo*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X. (Photo: author.)

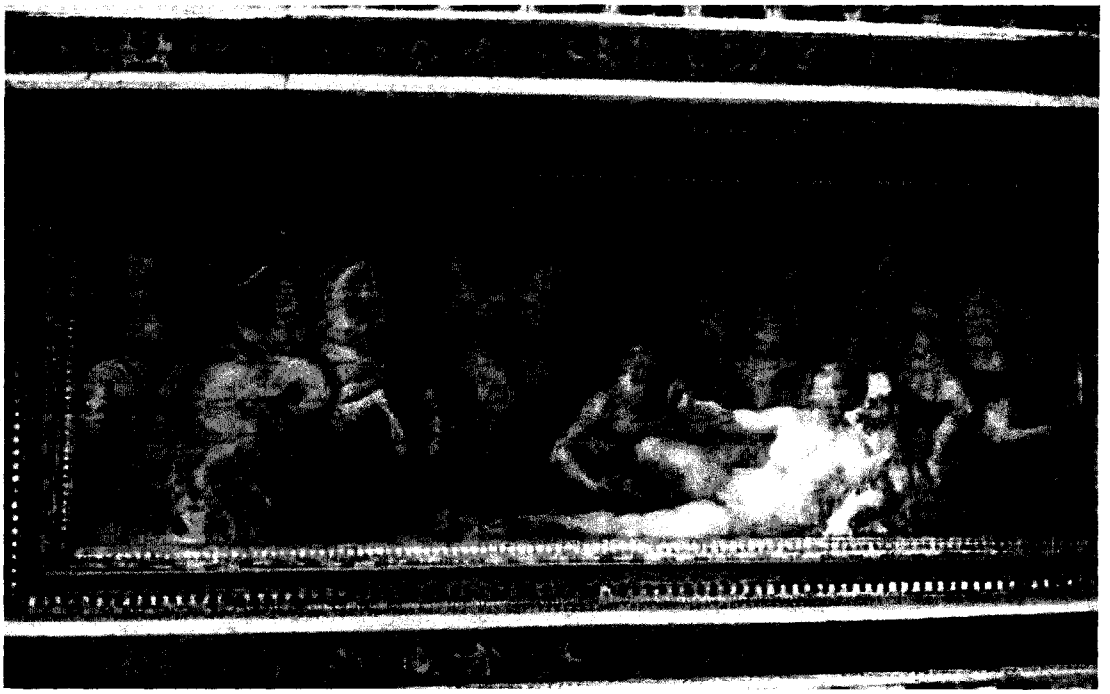


Figure 6. Giorgio Vasari, *Cardinal Giulio de'Medici is Sent as Ambassador of Leo X to Lombardy*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X. (Photo: author.)



Figure 7. Giorgio Vasari, detail of city (Piacenza/Parma?), from *Cardinal Giulio de'Medici is Sent as Ambassador of Leo X to Lombardy*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X. (Photo: author.)



Figure 8. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of Milan*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X. (Photo: author.)



Figure 9. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Milan, from *The Capture of Milan*, 1556–60. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Leone X. (Photo: author.)

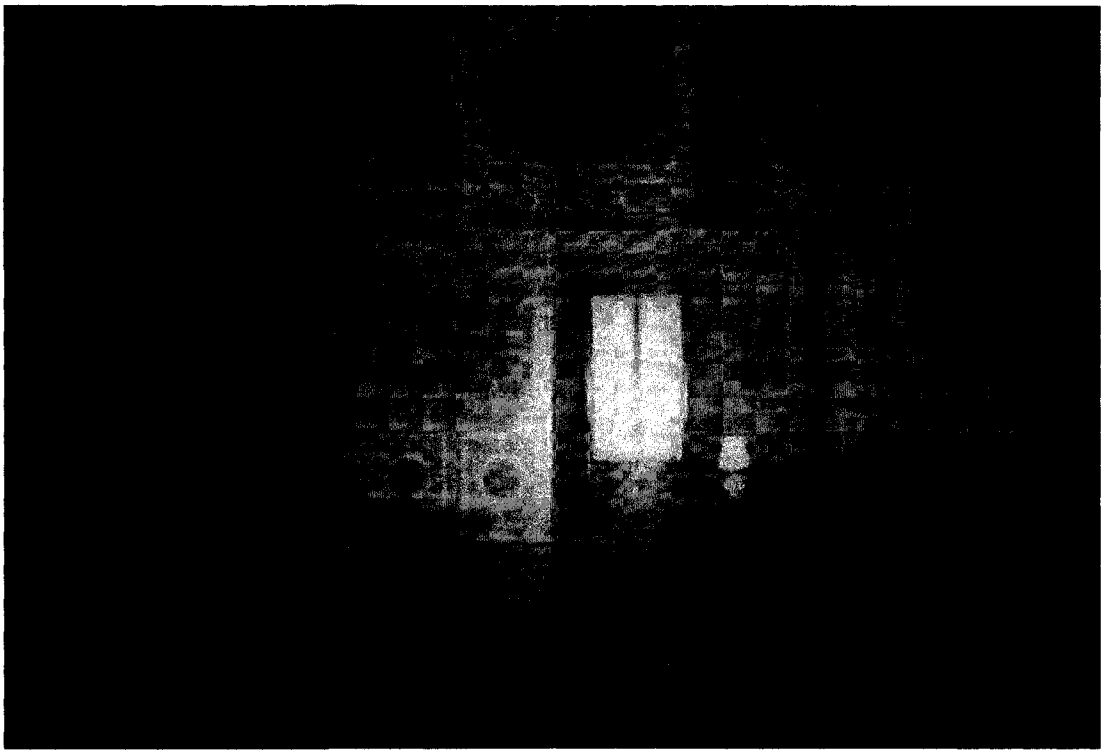


Figure 10. Sala di Clemente VII, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. (Photo: Muccini-Cecchi, 164–65.)

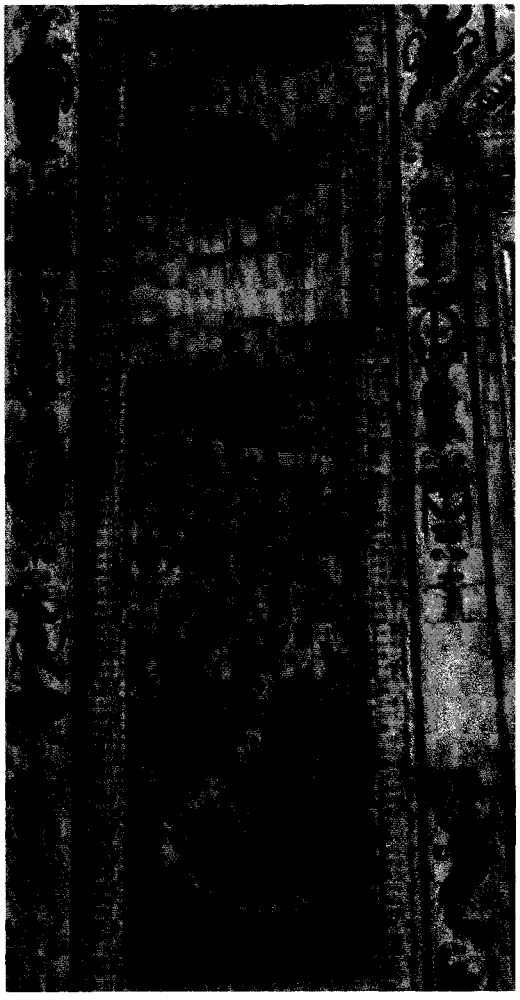


Figure 11. Giovanni Stradano, *Encampment near Arezzo*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 12. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Arezzo, from *Encampment near Arezzo*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

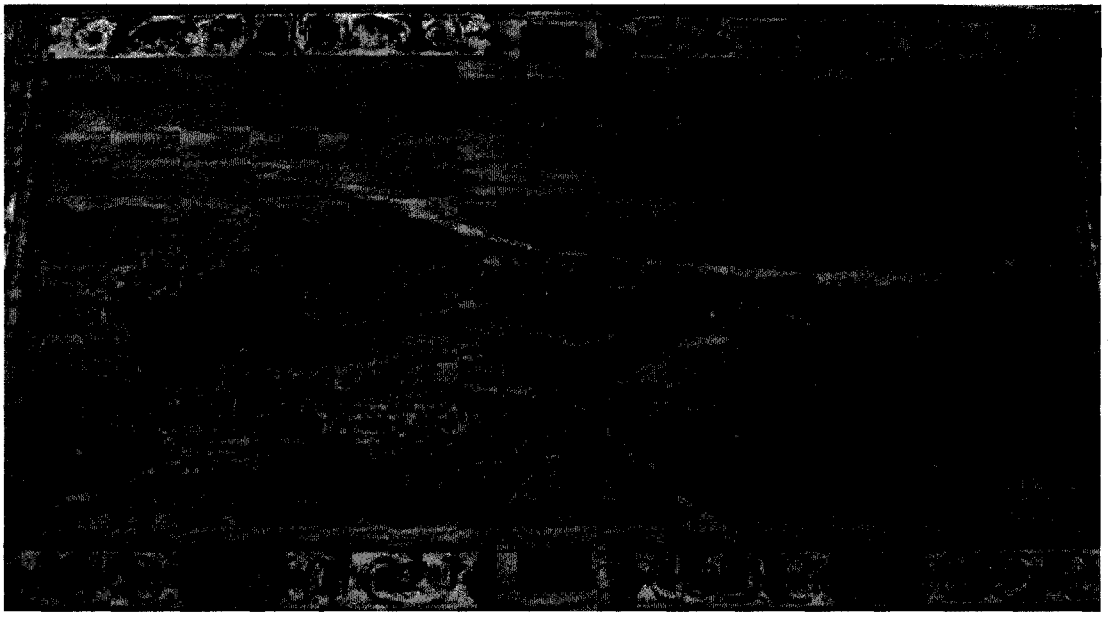


Figure 13. Giovanni Stradano, *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

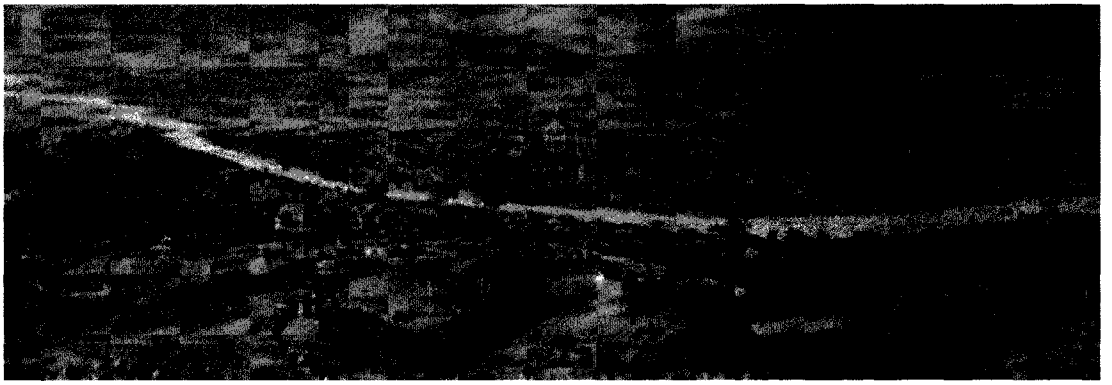
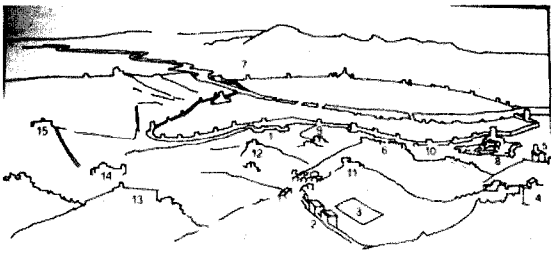


Figure 14. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Florence, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



1) Bastion called il Cavaliere
2) Guicciardini houses
3) Piazza of Italian camp
4) Baccio Valori's house?
5) Sta. Margherita a Montici
6) Giramonte
7) S. Donato in Polverosa
8) S. Miniato
10) Porta S. Giorgio
11) Torre del Gallo
12) Palazzi della Luna and del Barduccio
13) S. Matteo
14) Palazzo dei Baroncelli
15) Palazzo dei Taddei

Figure 15. Diagram of locations in *The Siege of Florence*, from Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 171.

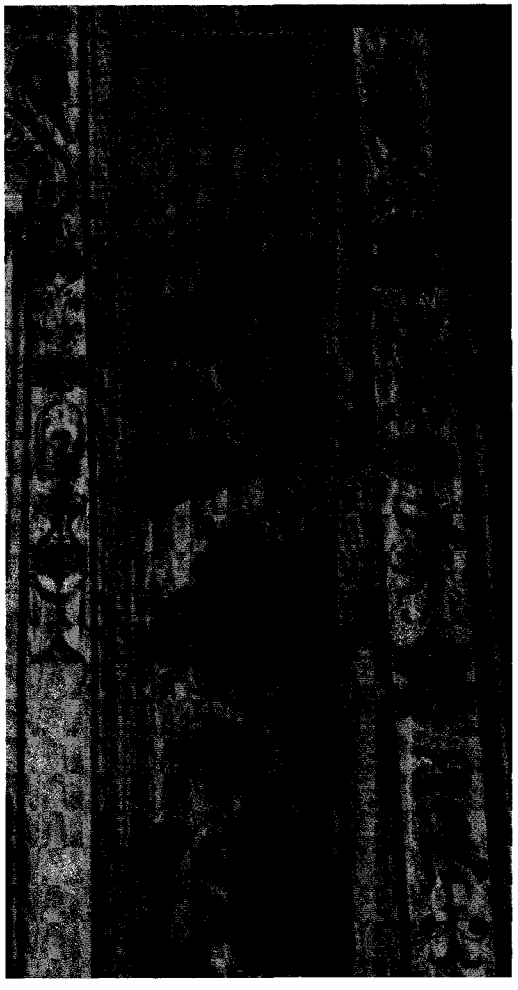


Figure 16. Giovanni Stradano, *The Burning of the Castle of Lastra a Signa*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

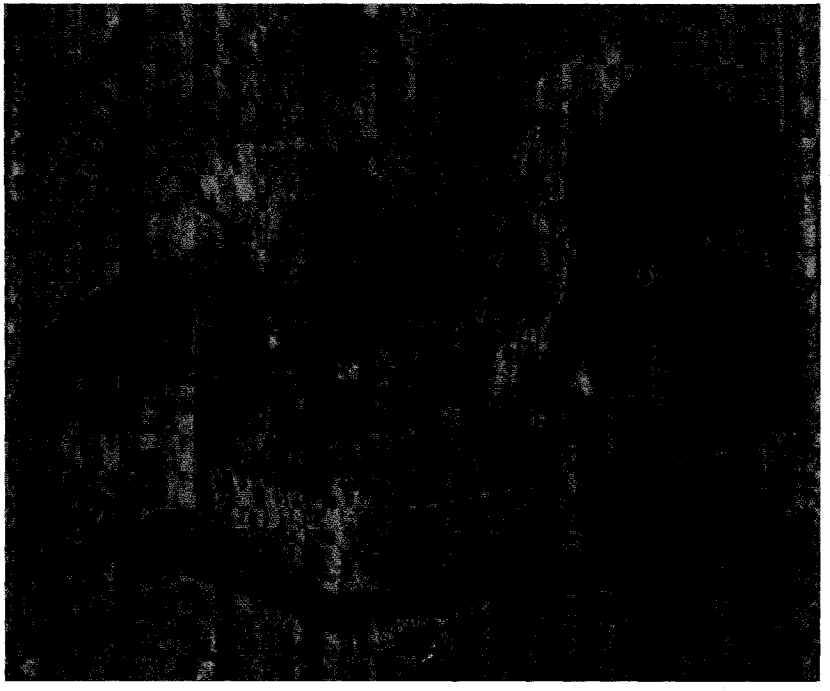


Figure 17. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Lastra a Signa, from *The Burning of the Castle of Lastra a Signa*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 18. Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of the Castle of Empoli*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 19. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Empoli, from *The Capture of the Castle of Empoli*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

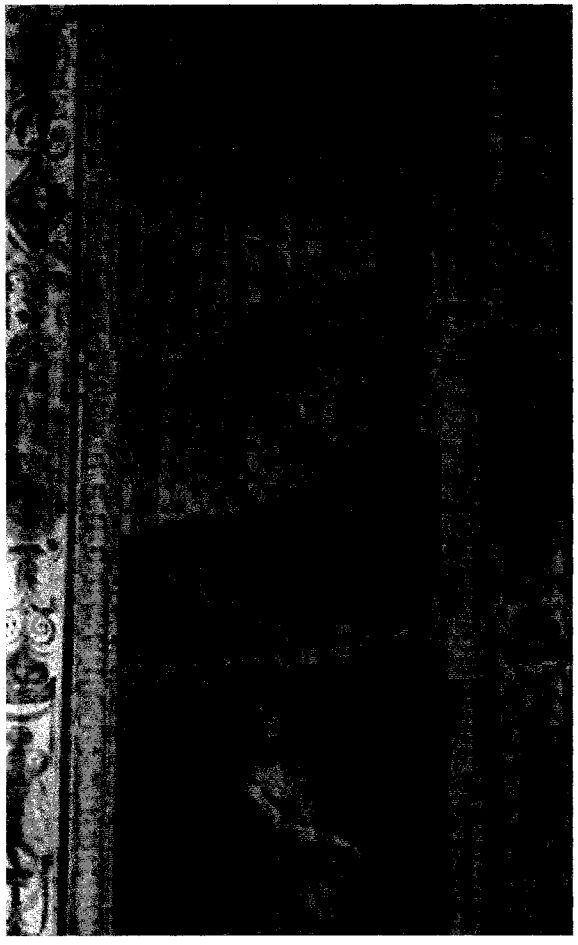


Figure 20. Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish before the Bastions of S. Giorgio*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

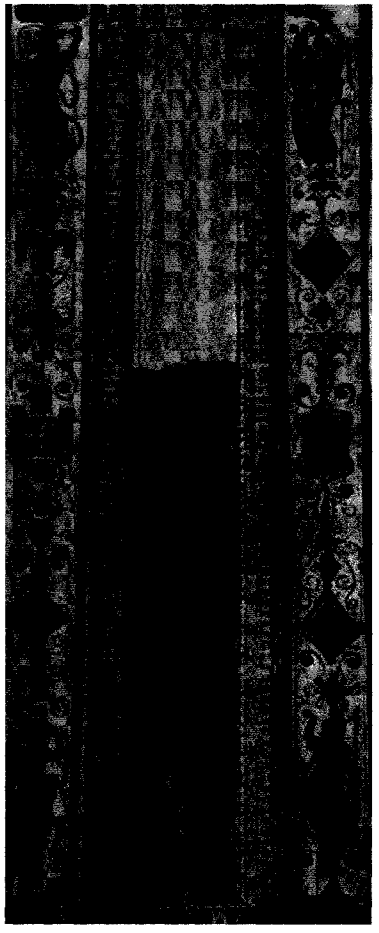


Figure 21. Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish in the Plain of S. Donato in Polverosa*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 22. Giovanni Stradano, *Skirmish outside of Porta Romana, near Marignolle*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

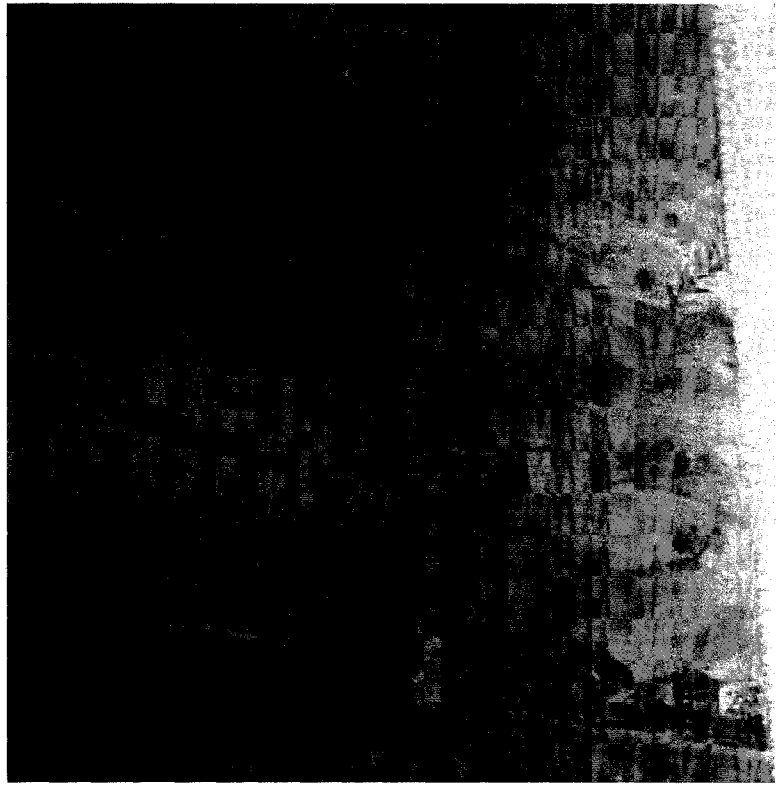


Figure 23. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Marignolle, from *Skirmish outside of Porta Romana, near Marignolle*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 24. Giovanni Stradano, *Encampment of the Army of Philbert d'Orange near Volterra*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

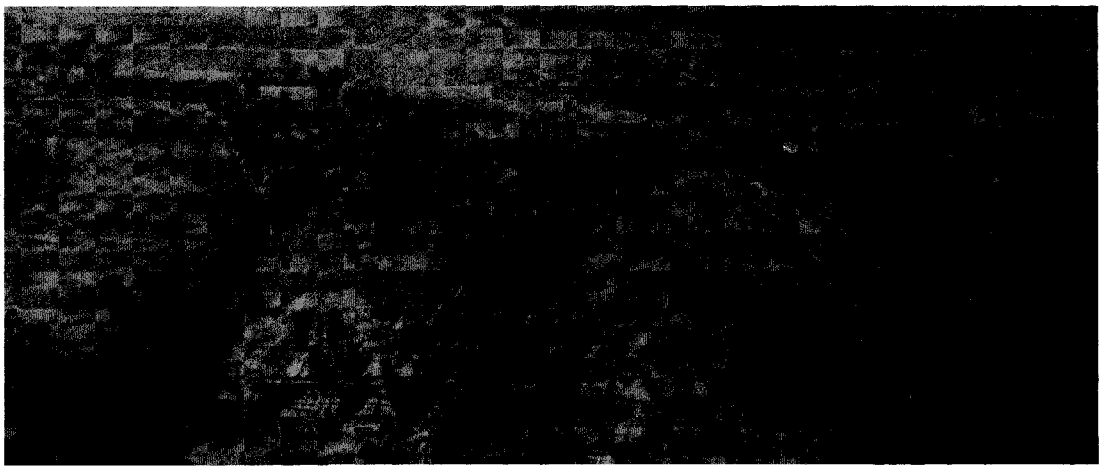


Figure 25. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Volterra, from *Encampment of the Army of Philbert d'Orange near Volterra*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 26. Giovanni Stradano, *Passage through Pisa of Francesco Ferrucci's Militia*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

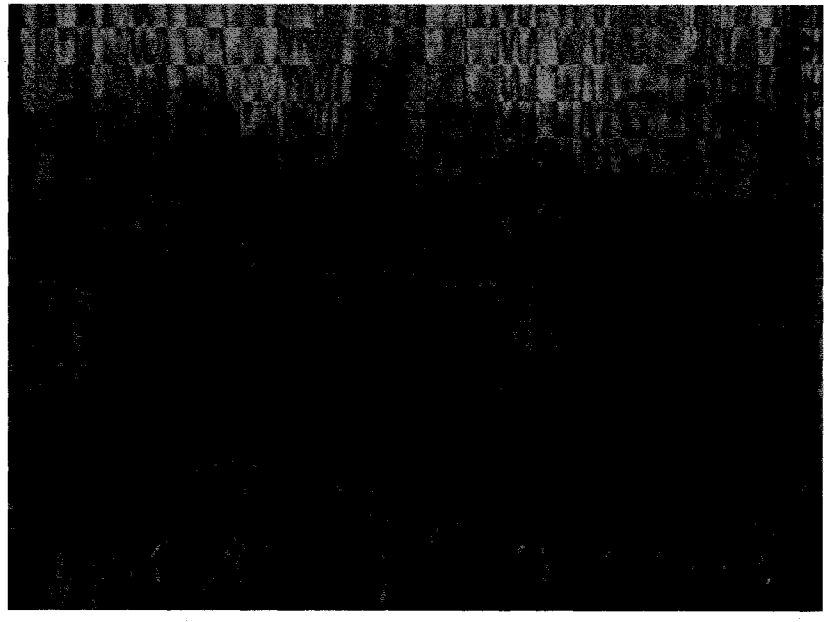


Figure 27. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Pisa, from *Passage through Pisa of Francesco Ferrucci's Militia*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 28. Giovanni Stradano, *Encounter between Orange and Ferrucci at Gavinana*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 29. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Gavinana, from *Encounter between Orange and Ferrucci at Gavinana*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 30. Giovanni Stradano, *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Is Sent to Hungary as Papal Legate*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

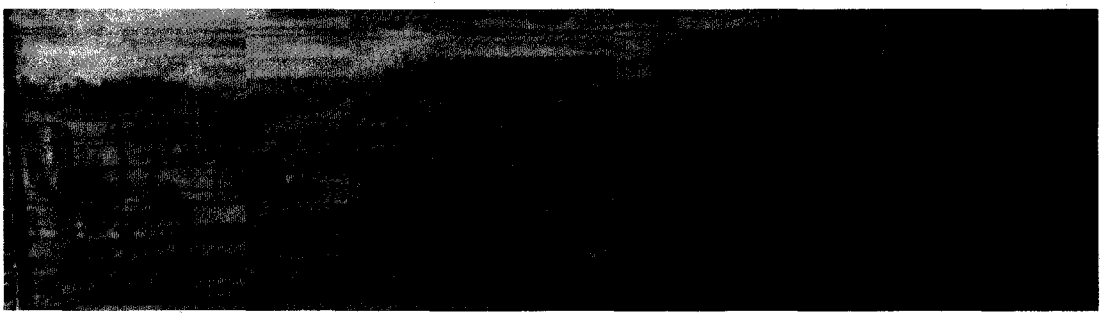


Figure 31. Giovanni Stradano, detail of background with fortified city, from *Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici Is Sent to Hungary as Papal Legate*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

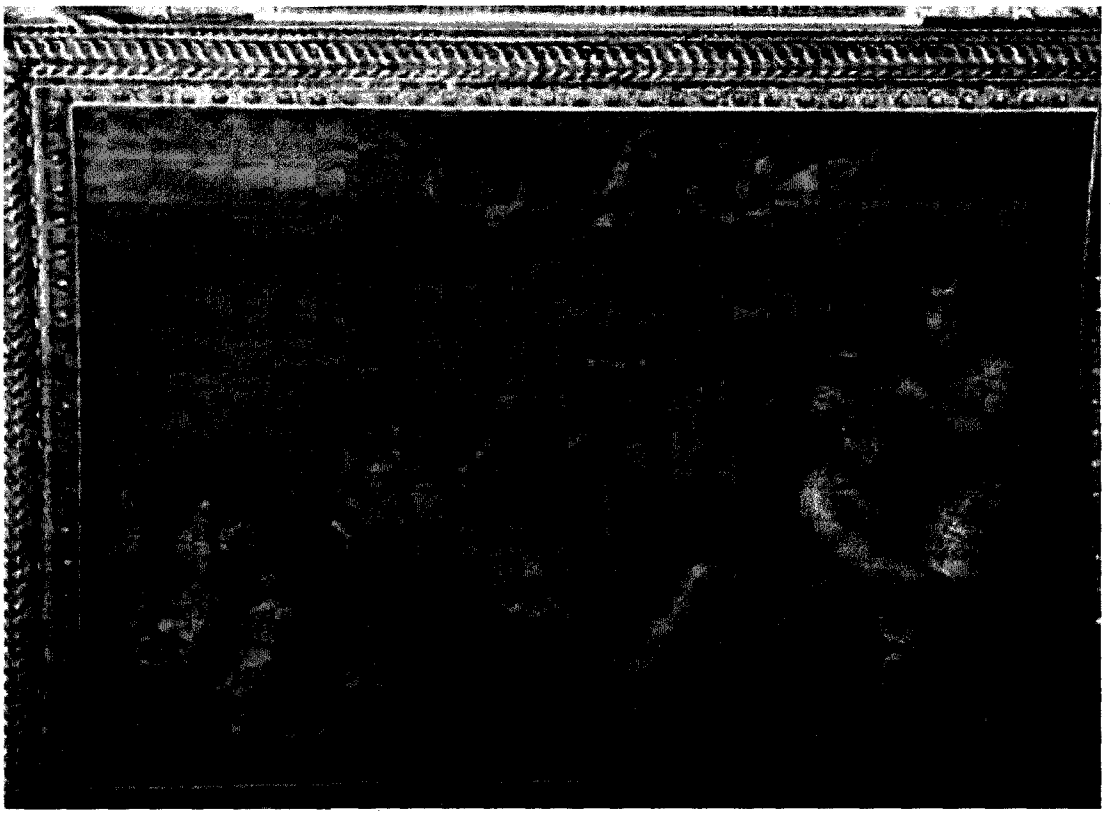


Figure 32. Giovanni Stradano, *Alessandro de'Medici Returning to Florence after His Coronation by the Emperor*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 33. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Florence, from *Alessandro de'Medici Returning to Florence after His Coronation by the Emperor*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 34. North wall, Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. (Photo: author.)



Figure 35. East wall, Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. (Photo: author.)

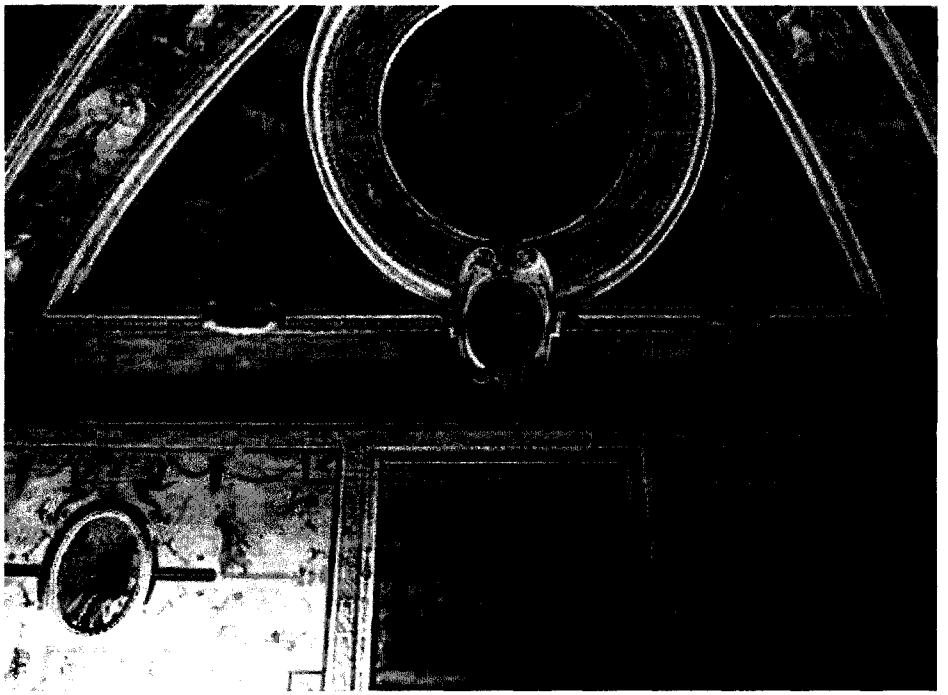


Figure 36. South wall, Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. (Photo: author.)

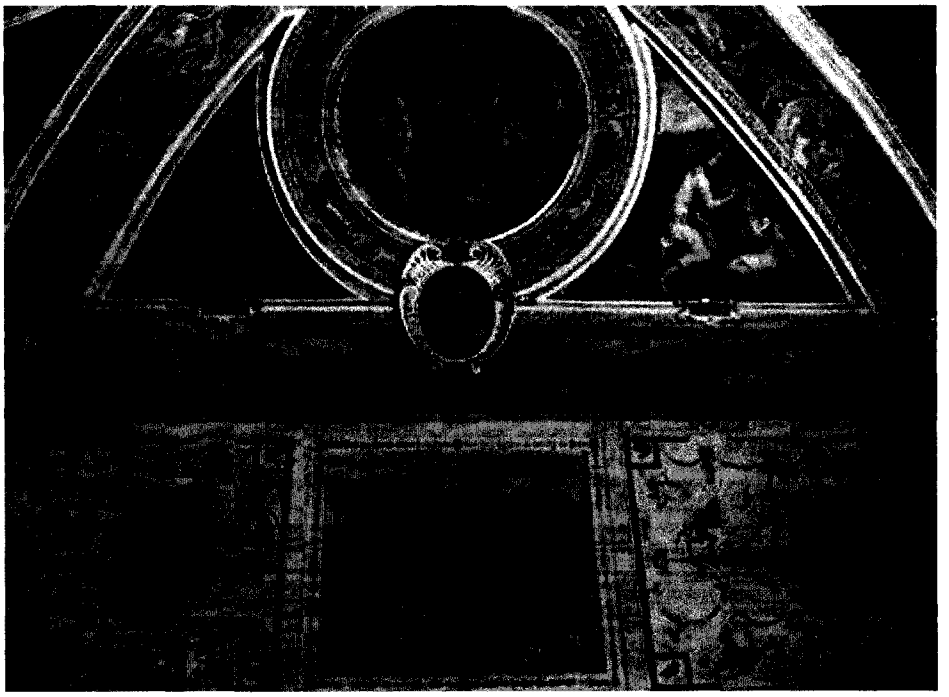


Figure 37. West wall, Sala di Cosimo I, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. (Photo: author.)



Figure 38. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Triumph of Cosimo at Montemurlo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

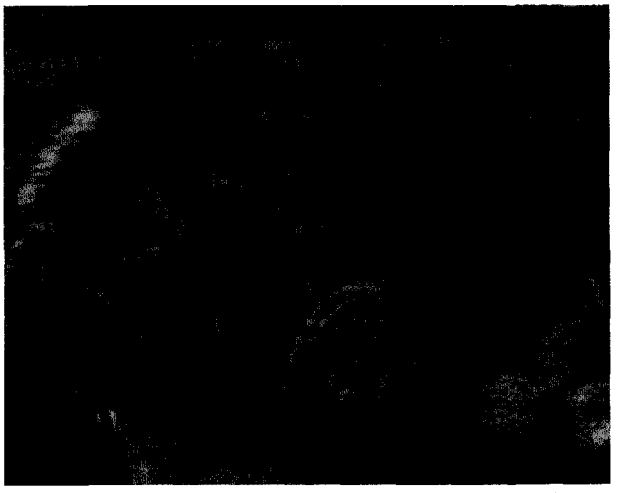


Figure 39. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Montemurlo, from *Triumph of Cosimo at Montemurlo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

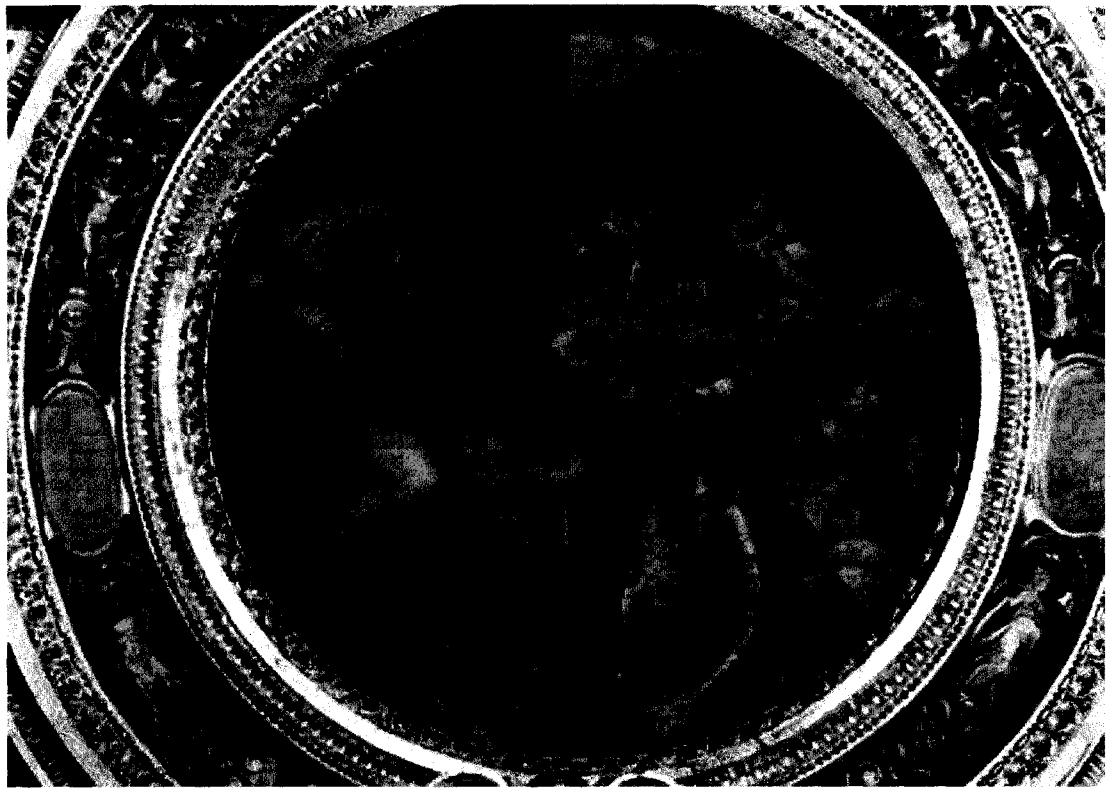


Figure 40. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo Orders Aid to Serravalle*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

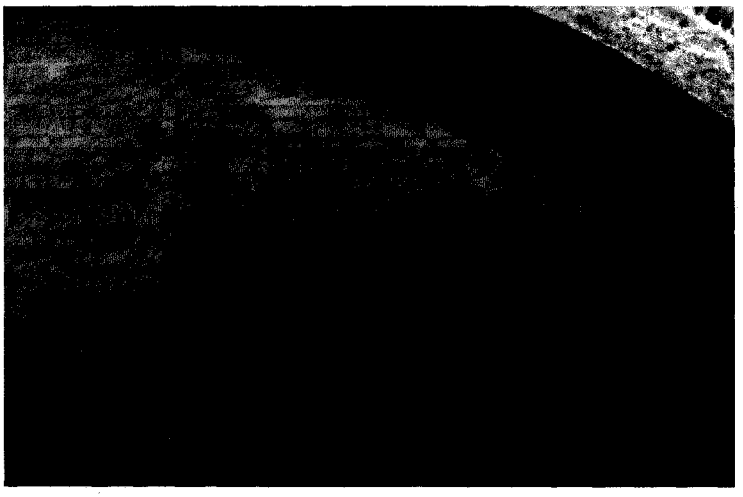


Figure 41. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of "Serravalle," from *Cosimo Orders Aid to Serravalle*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

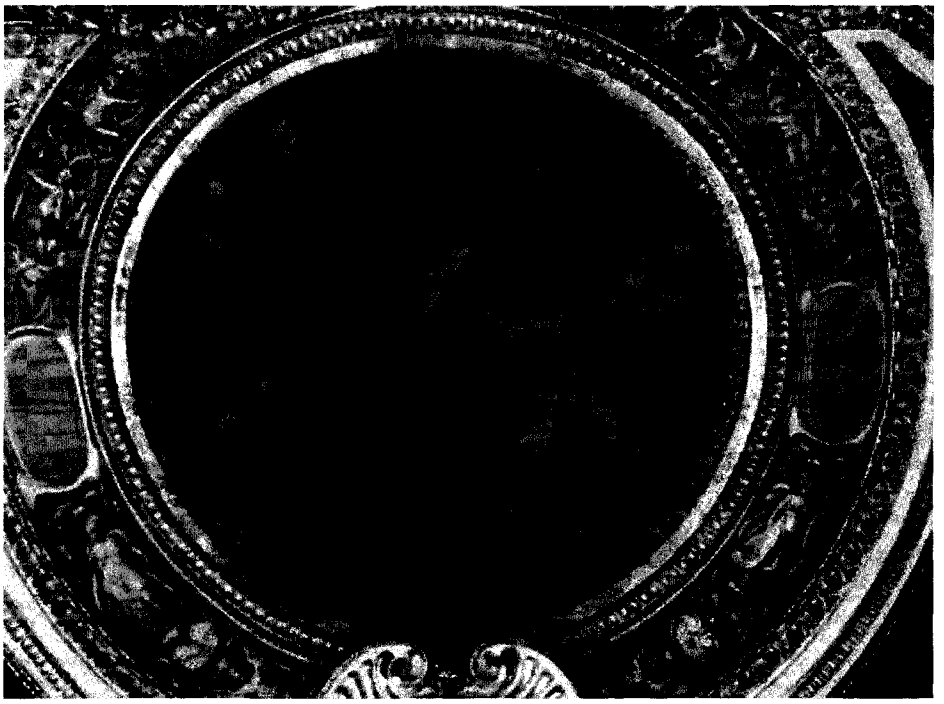


Figure 42. Giorgio Vasari, *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Elba*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

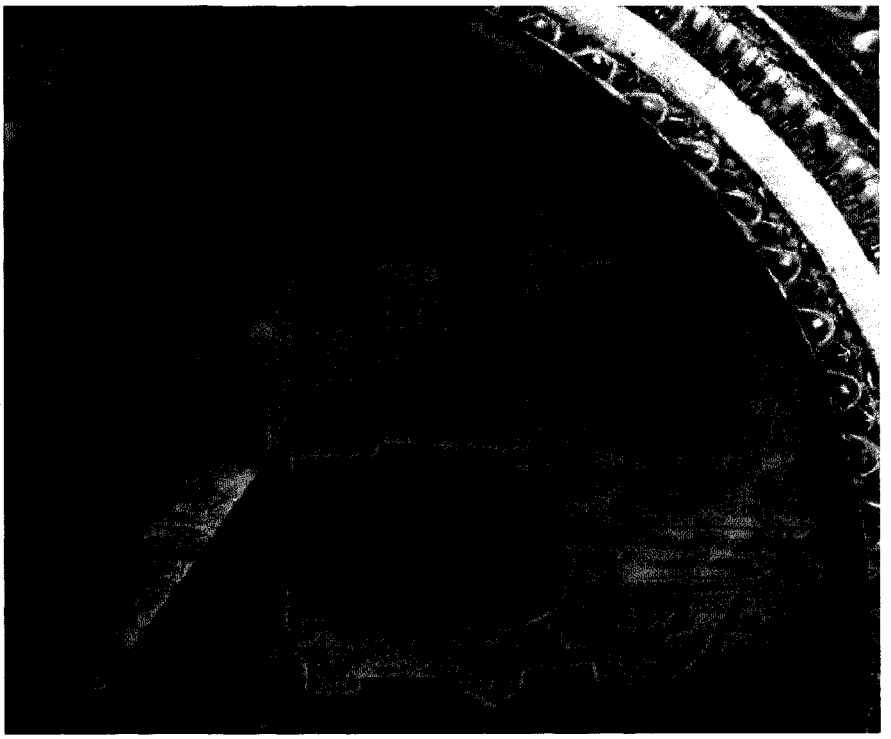


Figure 43. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Portoferraio, from *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Elba*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 44. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Fivizzano*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

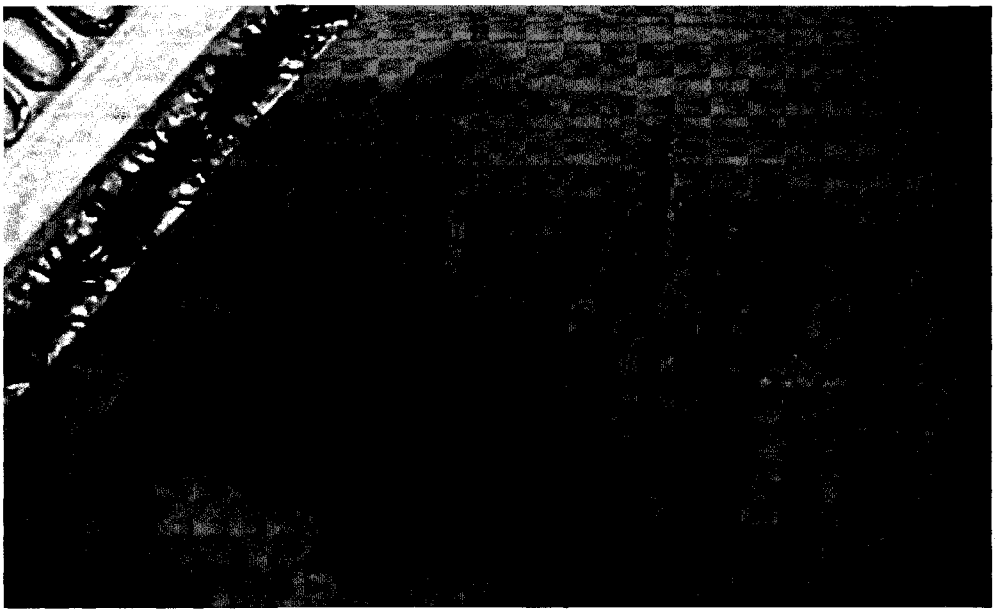


Figure 45. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Fivizzano, from *Allegory of Fivizzano*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

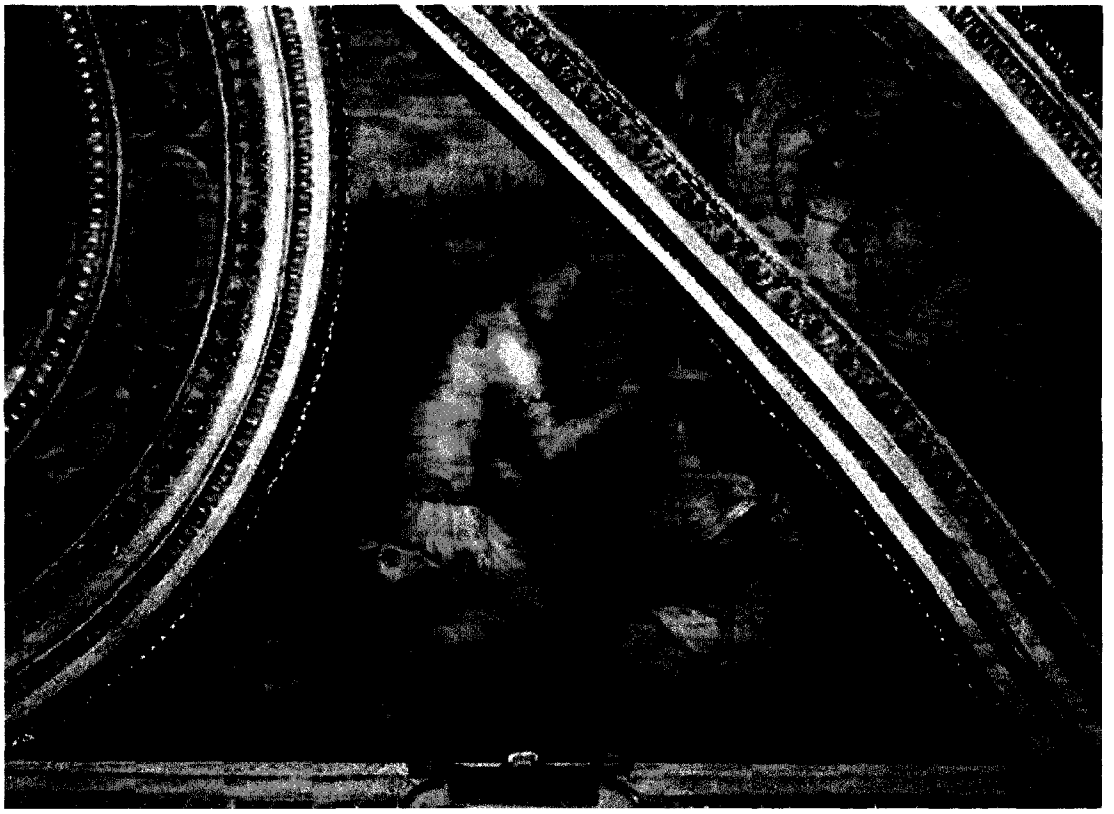


Figure 46. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Volterra*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

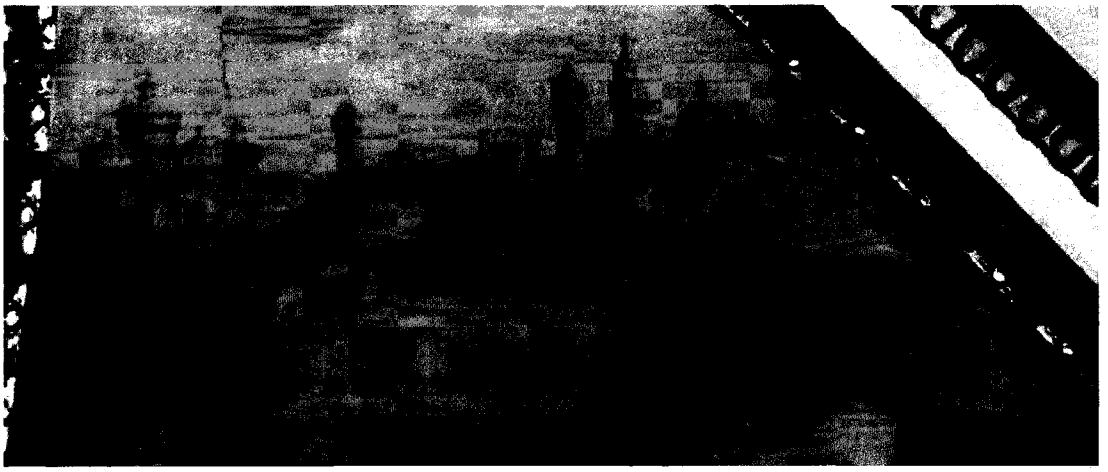


Figure 47. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Volterra, from *Allegory of Volterra*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 48. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Cortona*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 49. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Cortona, from *Allegory of Cortona*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

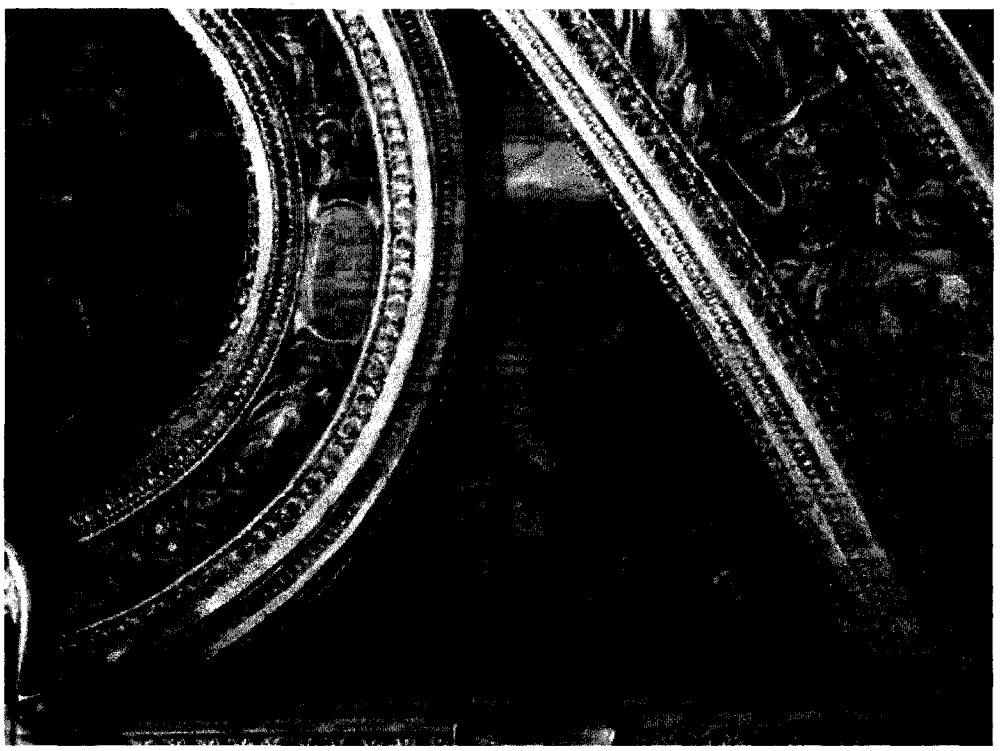


Figure 50. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 51. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Sansepolcro, from *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 52. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Arezzo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 53. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Arezzo, from *Allegory of Arezzo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 54. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Pisa*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 55. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Pisa, from *Allegory of Pisa*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 56. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Pistoia*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 57. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Pistoia, from *Allegory of Pistoia*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

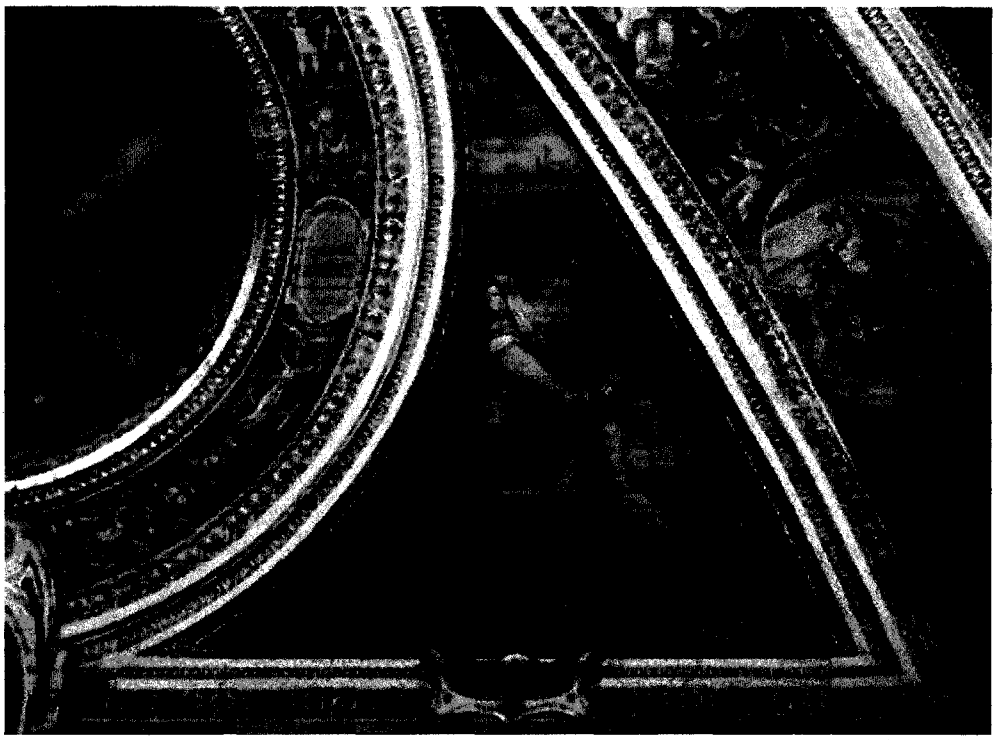


Figure 58. Giorgio Vasari, *Allegory of Prato*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

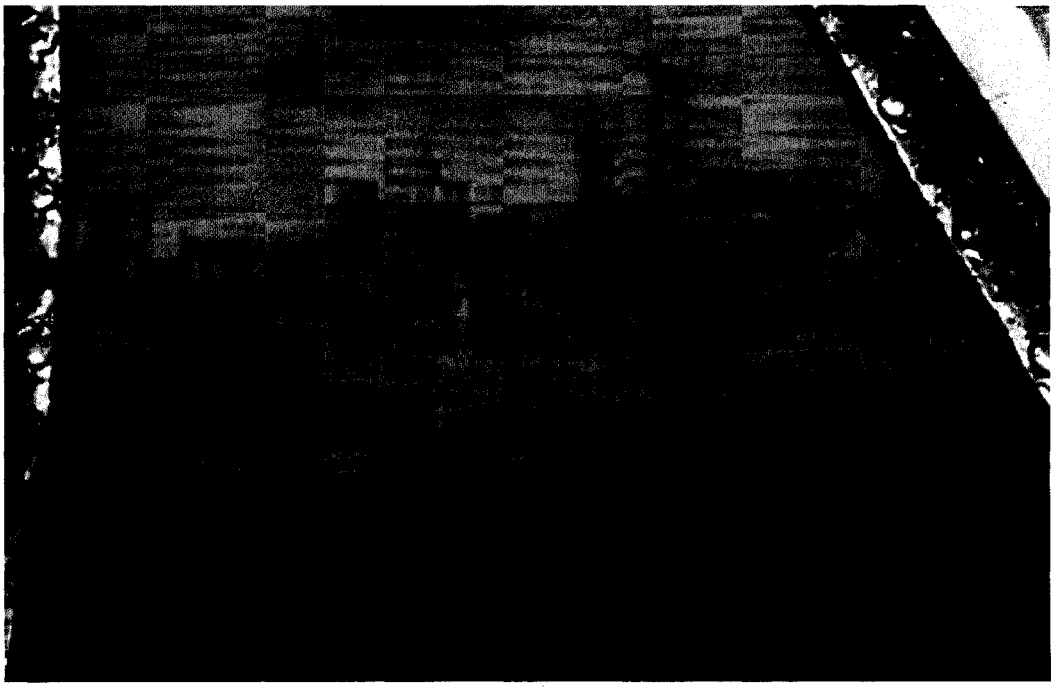


Figure 59. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Prato, from *Allegory of Prato*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

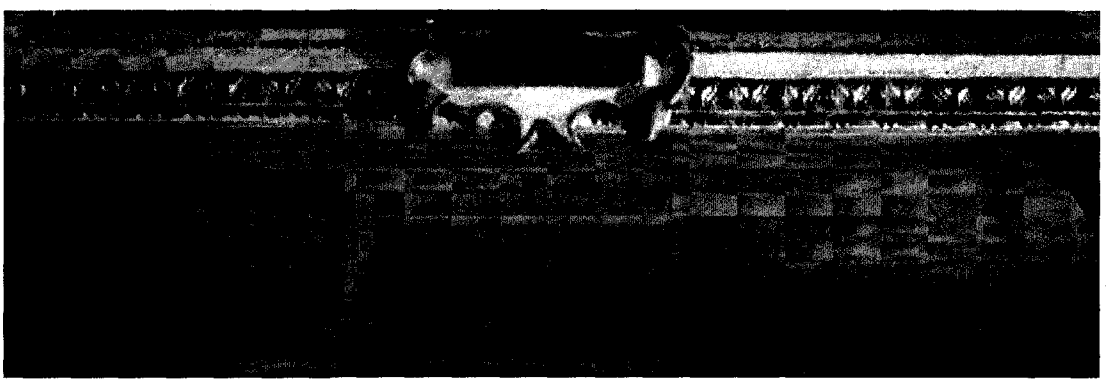


Figure 60. Giovanni Stradano, *Empoli*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 61. Giovanni Stradano, *Lucignano*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 62. Giovanni Stradano, *Montecarlo*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 63. Giovanni Stradano, *Scarperia*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 64. Giovanni Stradano, *Florence*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 65. Giovanni Stradano, *Siena*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

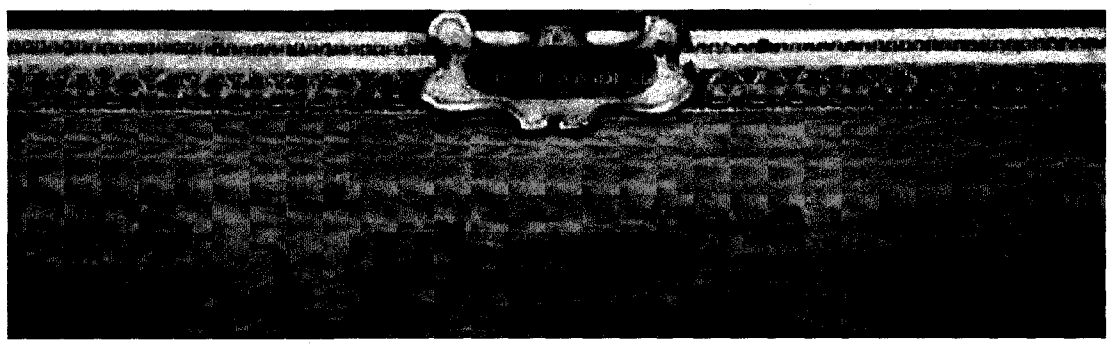


Figure 66. Giovanni Stradano, *Piombino*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

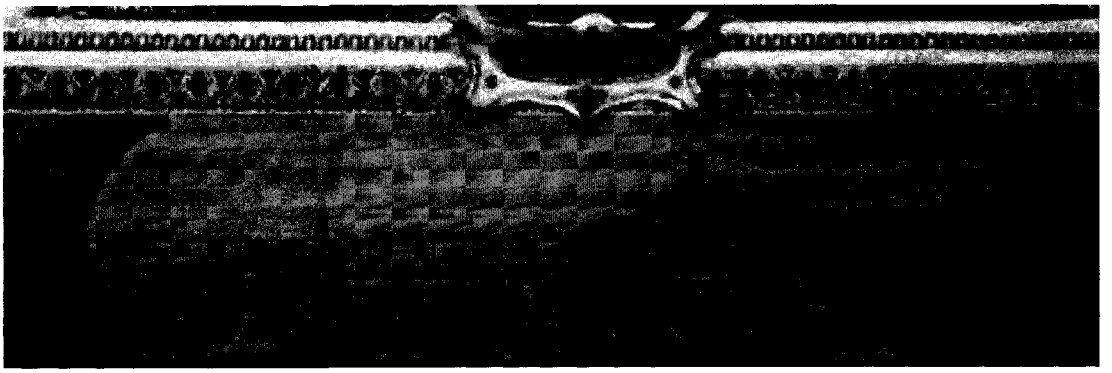


Figure 67. Giovanni Stradano, *Livorno*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 68. Giovanni Stradano, *The Rout of the Turks at Piombino*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

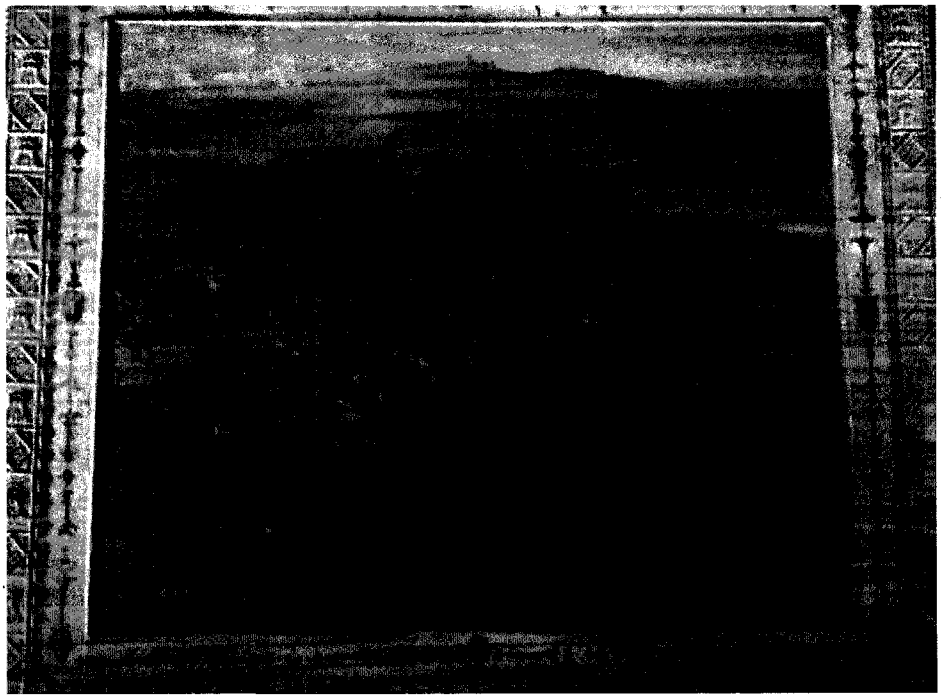


Figure 69. Giovanni Stradano, *The Rout of Valdichiana*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 70. Giovanni Stradano, *The Capture of Port'Ercole*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

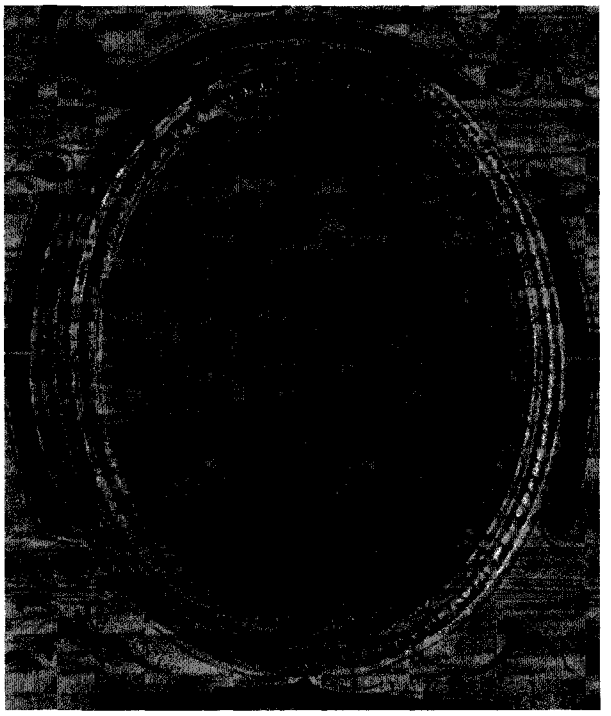


Figure 71. Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo Travels to Genoa to Visit the Emperor*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

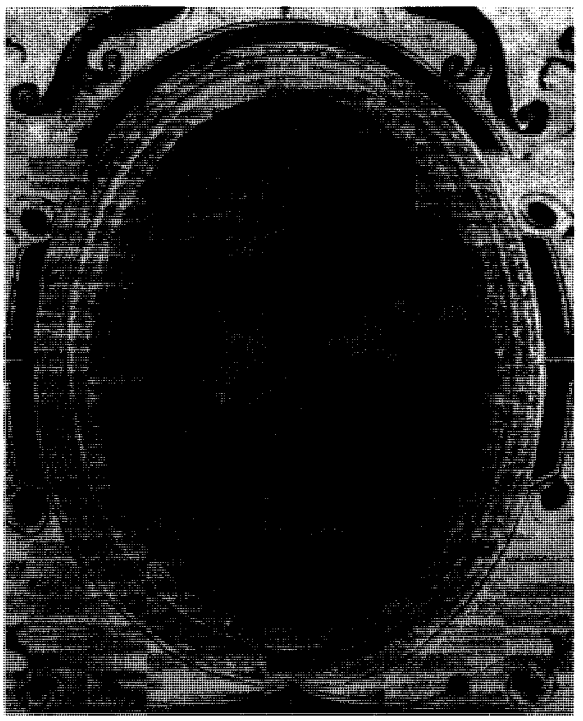


Figure 72. Giovanni Stradano, *Eleanora di Toledo Departs from Naples*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

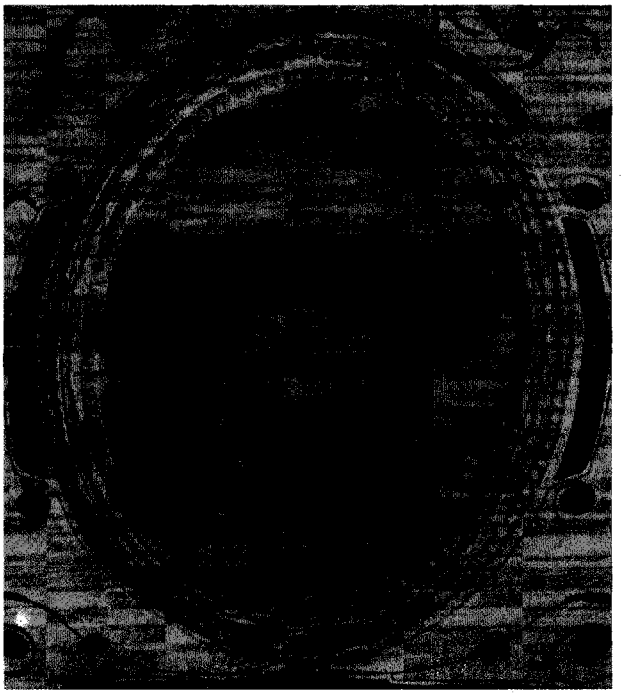


Figure 73. Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo I de'Medici Enters Siena*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

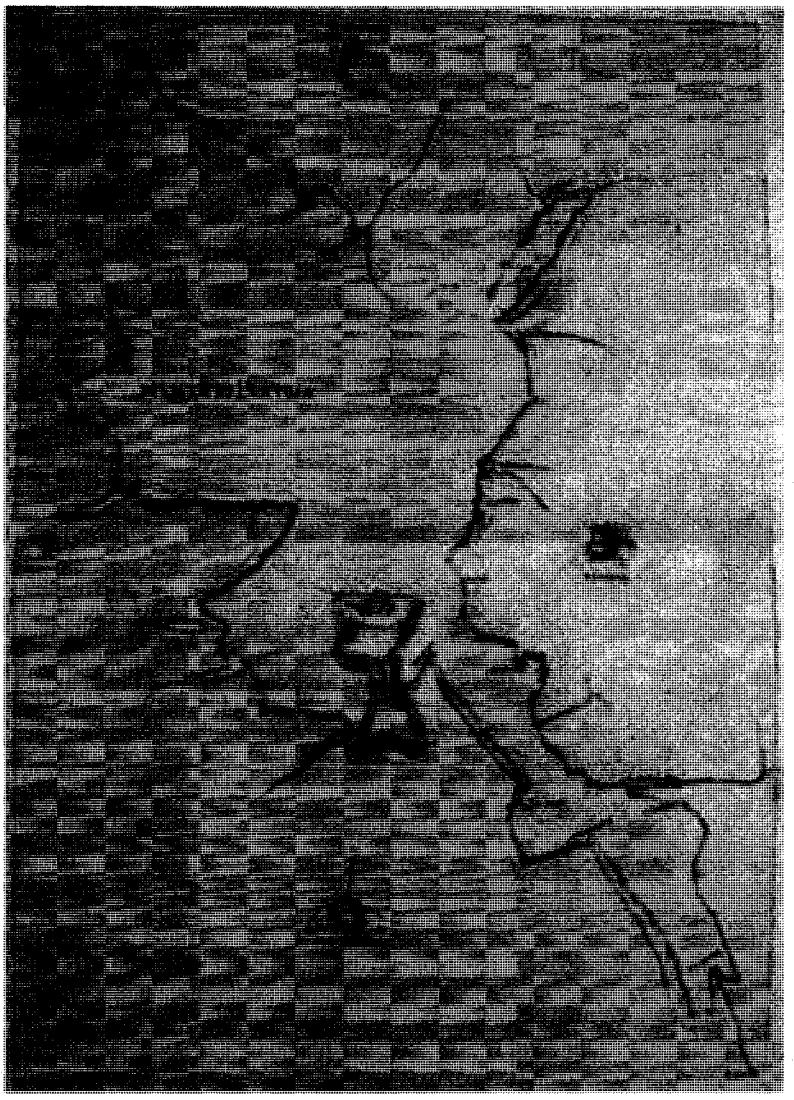


Figure 74. Cipriano Picolpasso, plan of Perugia, from *Le piante et i ritrattie delle città e terre dell'Umbria* (1565): tav. I.

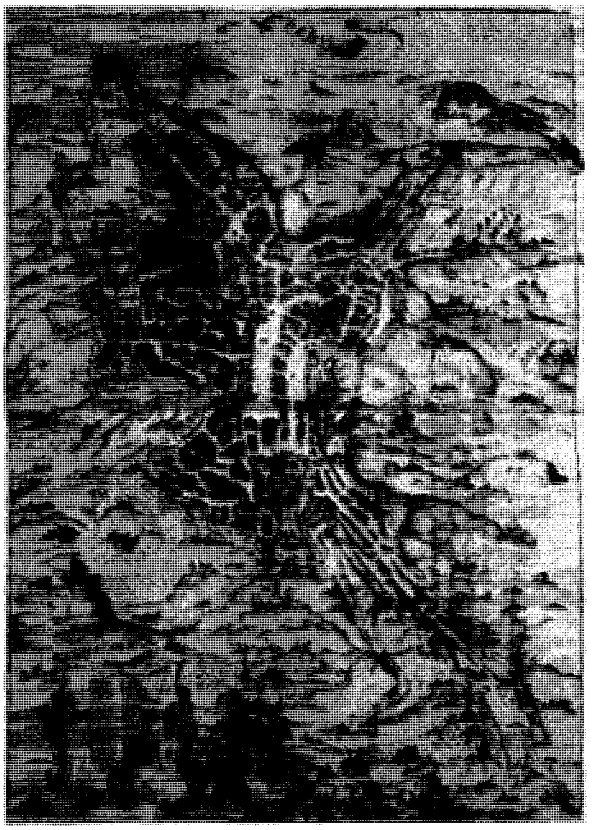


Figure 75. Cipriano Picolpasso, bird's-eye view of Perugia, from *Le piante et i ritrattie delle città e terre dell'Umbria* (1565): tav. II.

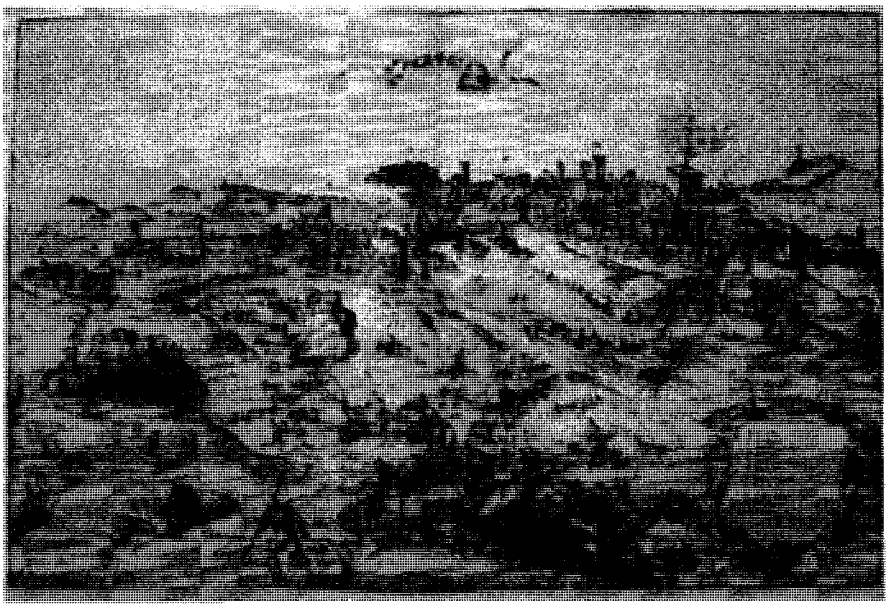


Figure 76. Cipriano Picolpasso, perspective view of Perugia, from *Le piante et i ritrattie delle città e terre dell'Umbria* (1565): tav. III.

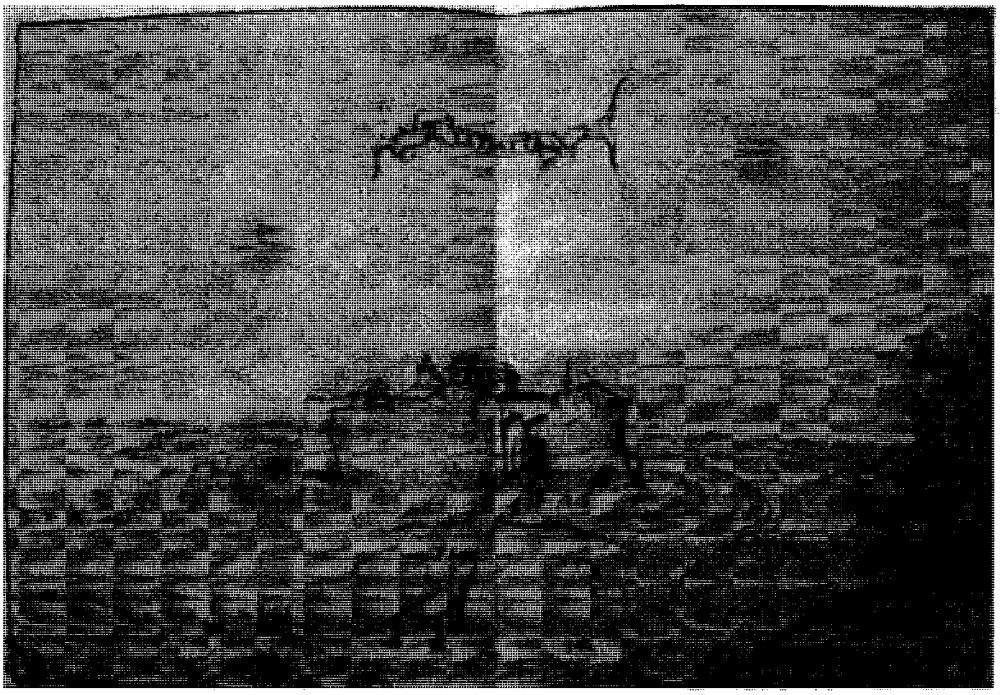


Figure 77. Cipriano Picolpasso, profile view of La Fratta, from *Le piante et i ritrattie delle città e terre dell'Umbria* (1565): tav. XVIII.

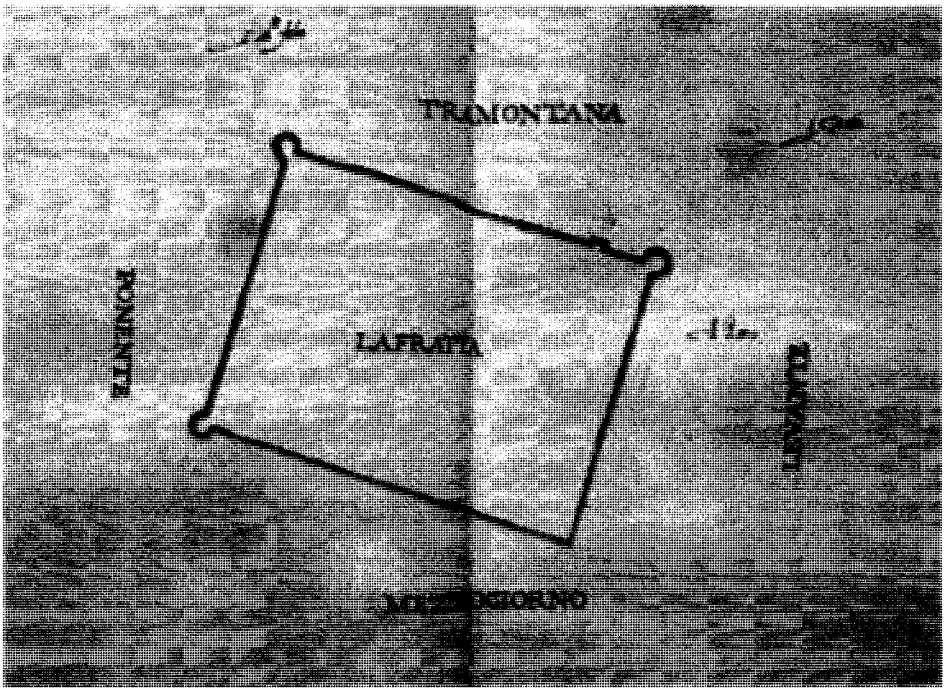


Figure 78. Cipriano Picolpasso, plan in orthographic projection of La Fratta, from *Le piante et i ritrattie delle città e terre dell'Umbria* (1565): tav. XVIII.



Figure 79. Jacopo de'Barbari, *Venice*, 1500. Venice, Museo Correr. (Photo: Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 150.)



Figure 80. Anonymous, after Francesco Rosselli (c. 1471–82), *View with a Chain*, c. 1510. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kuferstichkabinett. (Photo: Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 146.)

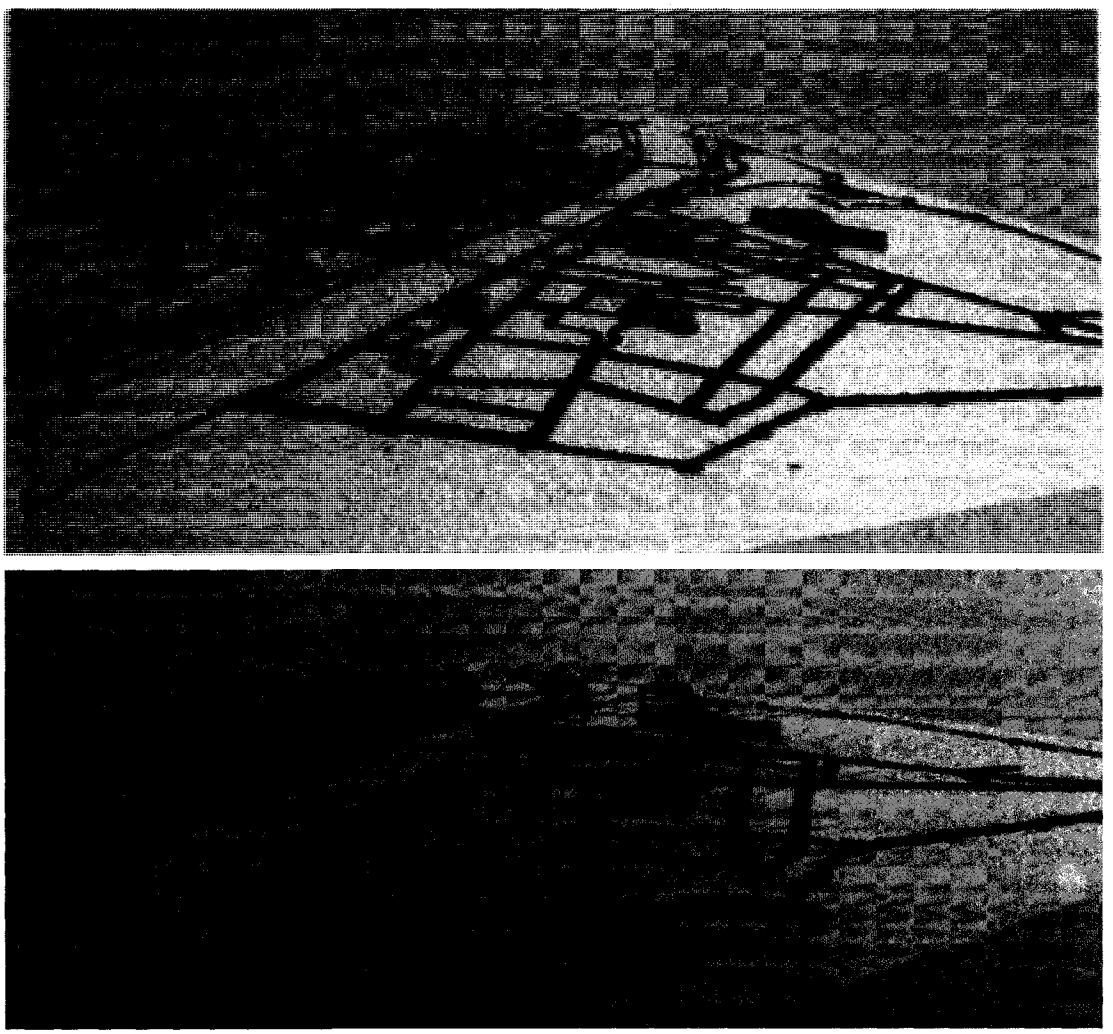


Figure 81. Perspective diagrams of the *View with a Chain*, from Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 147.

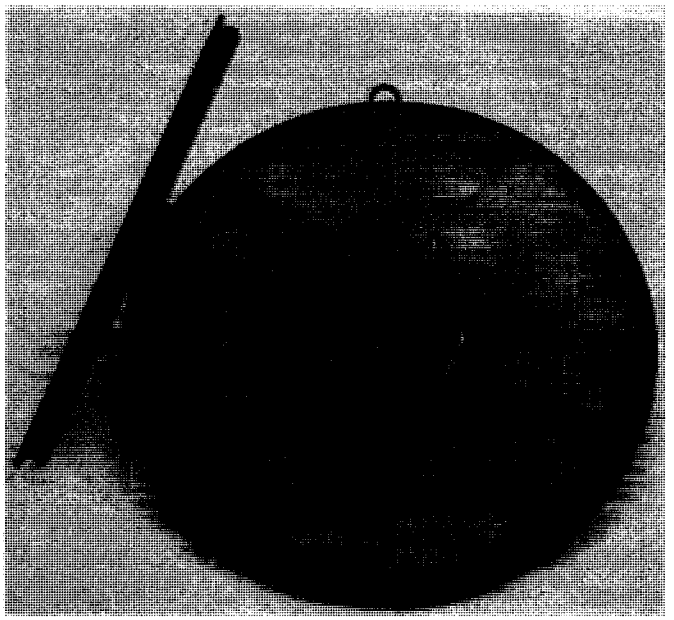


Figure 82. Florentine shop of Giovanni Battista Giusti, *Topographical Bussola*, sixteenth century. Florence, Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, inv. n. 2506. (Photo: Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, tav. 40.)

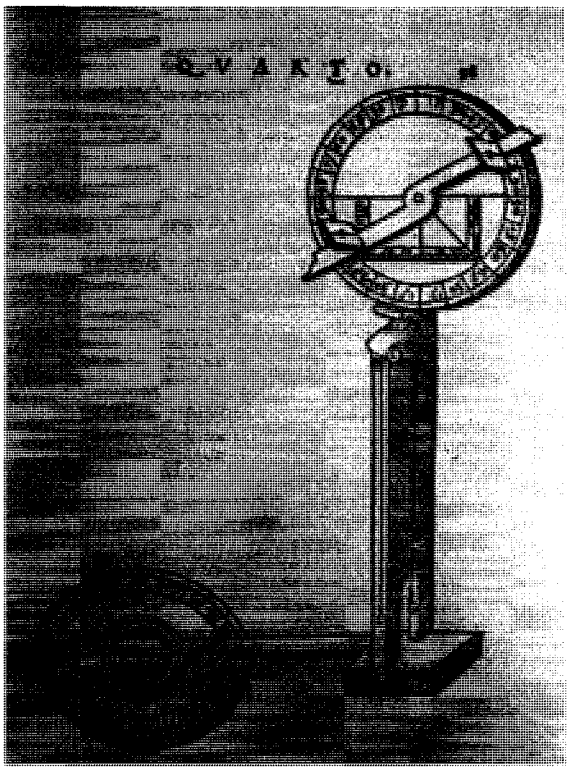


Figure 83. Cosimo Bartoli, *Bussola,* from *Del modo di Misurare...,* (1564): 98r.



Figure 84. Stefano Buonsignori, *Florence*, 1584. Florence, Museo Topographico "Firenza com'era." (Photo: Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 176.)

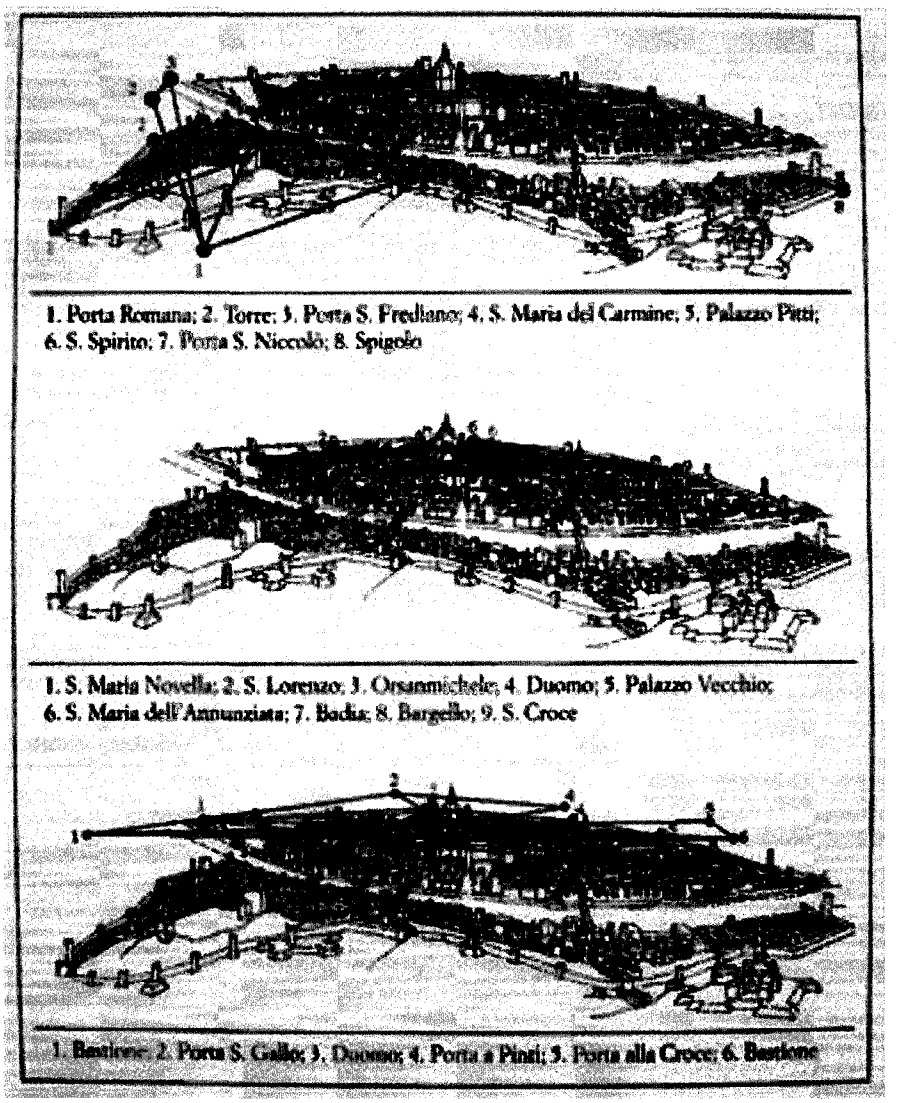


Figure 85. Three diagrams of *The Siege of Florence* with superimposed monuments from a schematized 1584 map of Florence, from Iaccarino, "Immagine di Firenze," 279.

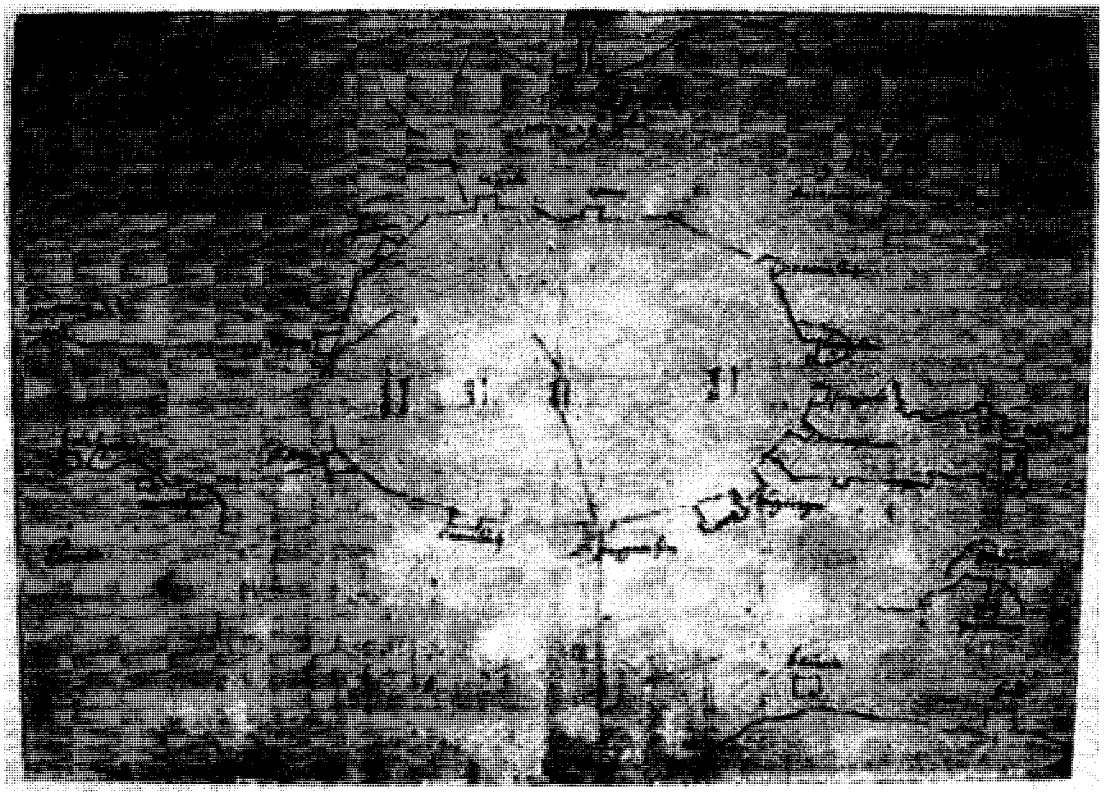


Figure 86. Giorgio Vasari, sketch for the *Siege of Florence*, c. 1556, from his *Zibaldone*. Arezzo, Casa Vasari, Archivio Vasariano, Ms. 36, c. 90. (Photo: Vasari, *Zibaldone*, 198).

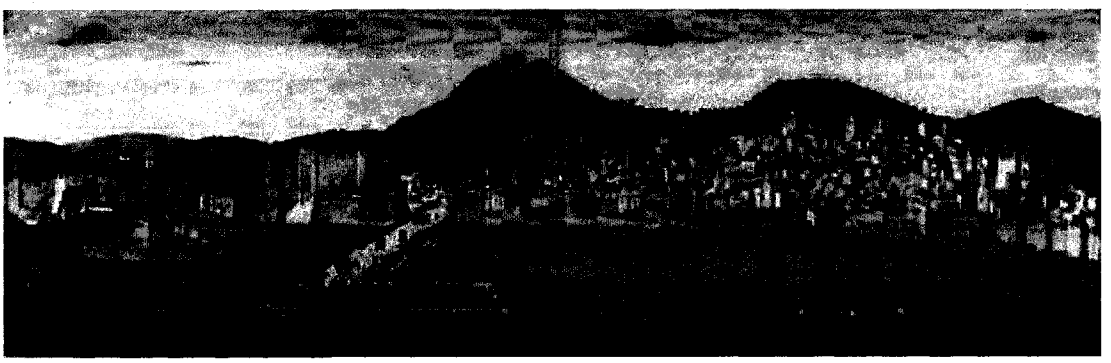


Figure 87. Francesco Rosselli, *Tavola Strozzi*, c. 1472–73. Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte. (Photo: Bourne, "Maps as Palace Decoration," 56).

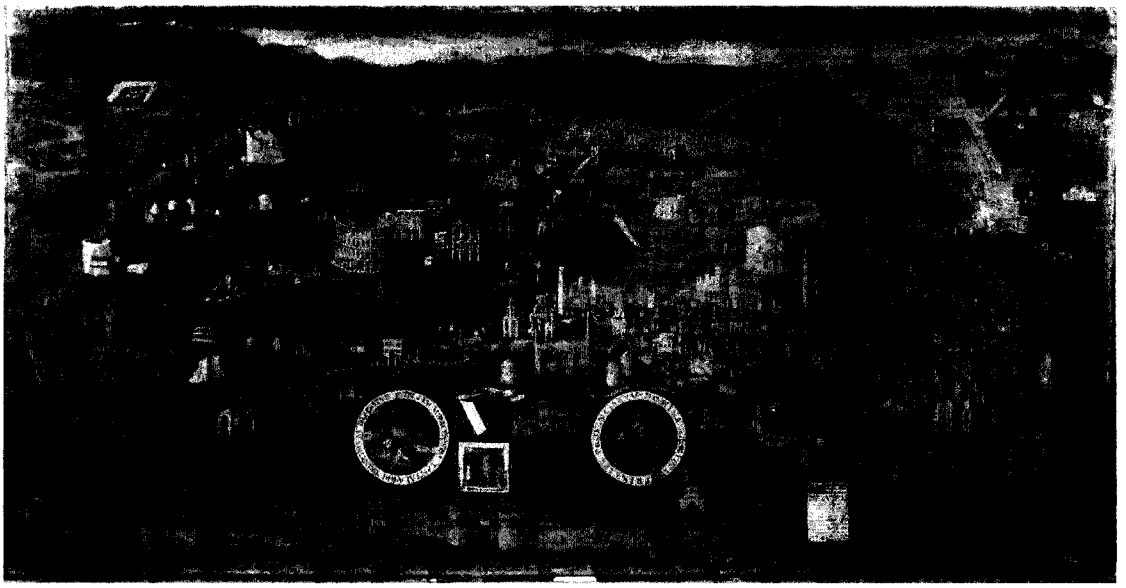


Figure 88. Anonymous, after Francesco Rosselli (c. 1482–90), *Rome*, after 1538. Mantua, Museo di Palazzo Ducale. (Photo: Schulz, "View of Venice," 433.)



Figure 89. Cristoforo de Grassi, after Francesco Rosselli (c. 1481), *Genoa*, 1597. Pegli [Genoa], Museo Civico Navale, Inventario 3486. (Photo: Bourne, "Maps as Palace Decoration," 59.)



Figure 90. Erhard Reuwich, detail of Jerusalem, from *Civitas Iherusalem*, from Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Sanctarum peregrinationum in Montem Syon* (1486): end of book. (Photo: Ancient Maps of Jerusalem," http://maps-of-jerusalem.huji.ac.il/html/jer030.htm [accessed 5 March 2008]).



Figure 91. *Genoa*, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (1493): LVIII. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

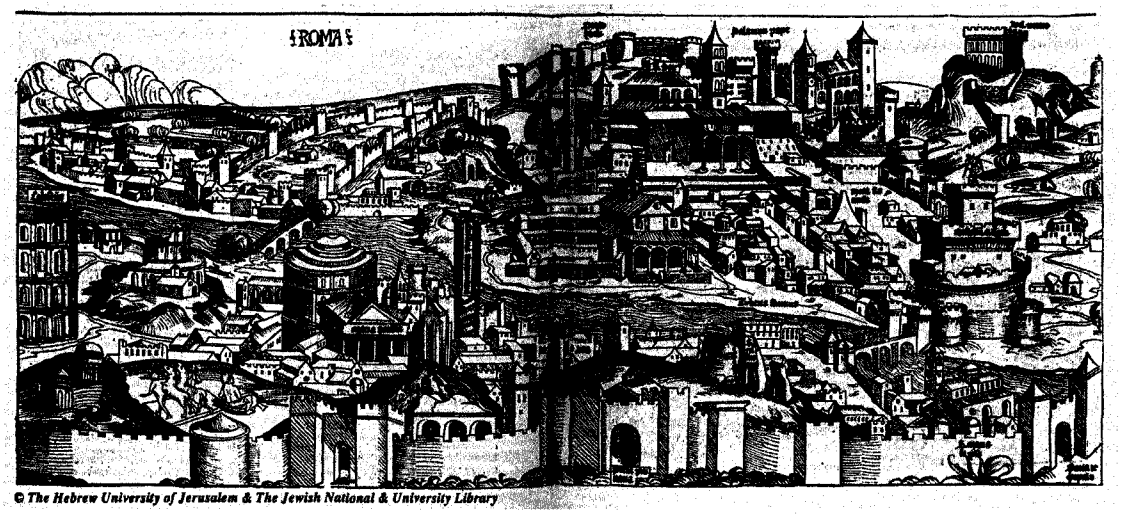


Figure 92. *Rome,* from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (1493): LIX. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

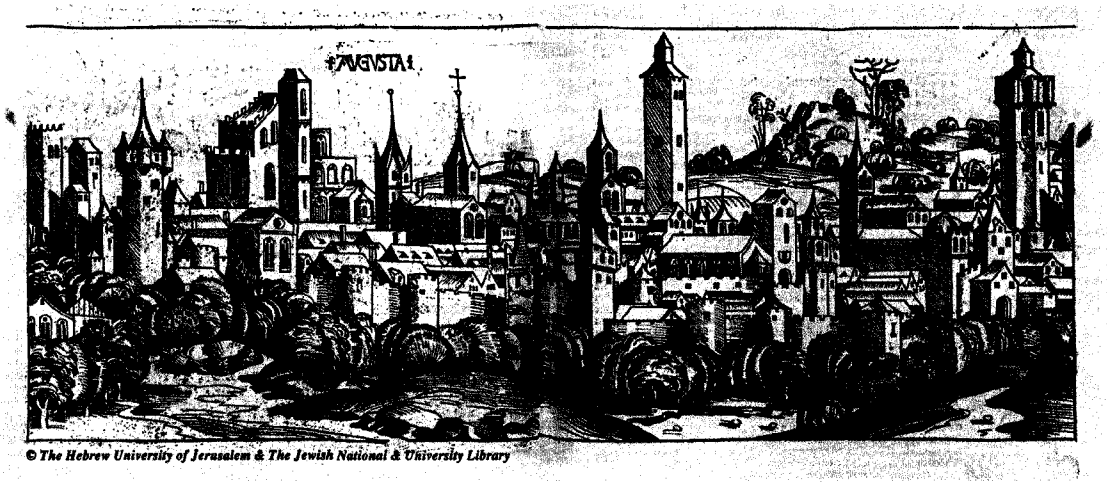


Figure 93. *Augsburg*, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (1493): XCII. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



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Figure 94. *Florence*, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (1493): LXXXVII. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

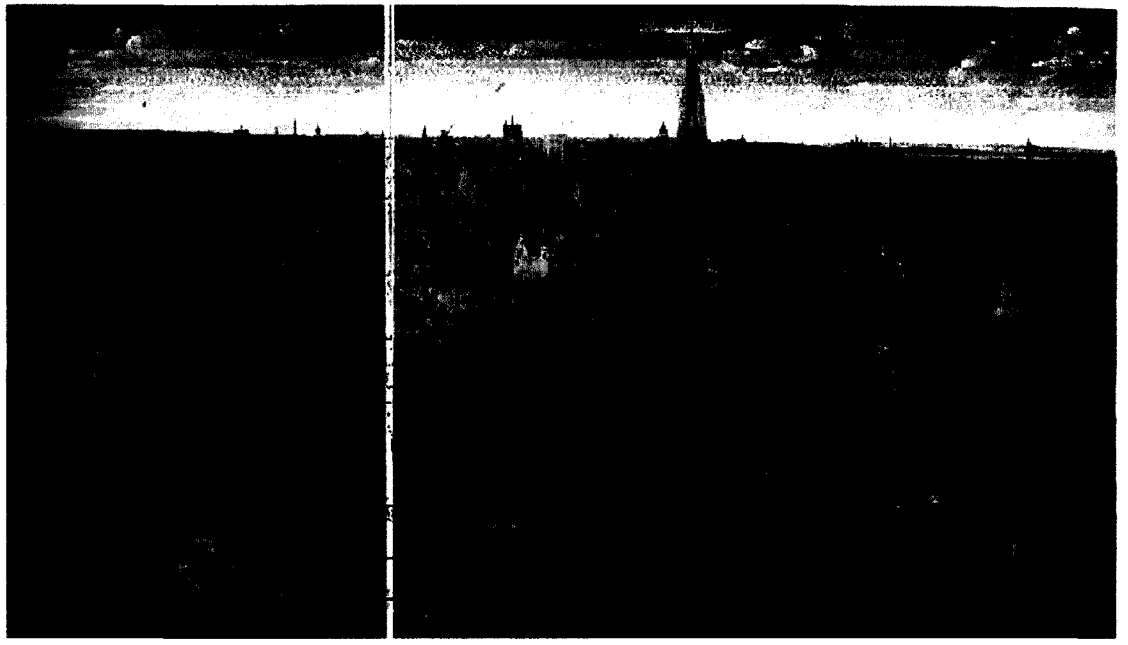


Figure 95. After anonymous (1515), *Antwerp*, after 1515 .



Figure 96. Anton Woensam, detail, from *Cologne*, 1531. (Photo: H. F. Helmolt, ed., *The History of the World: A Survey of Man's Record*, vol. 7, *Western Europe* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1902): between 232 and 233.

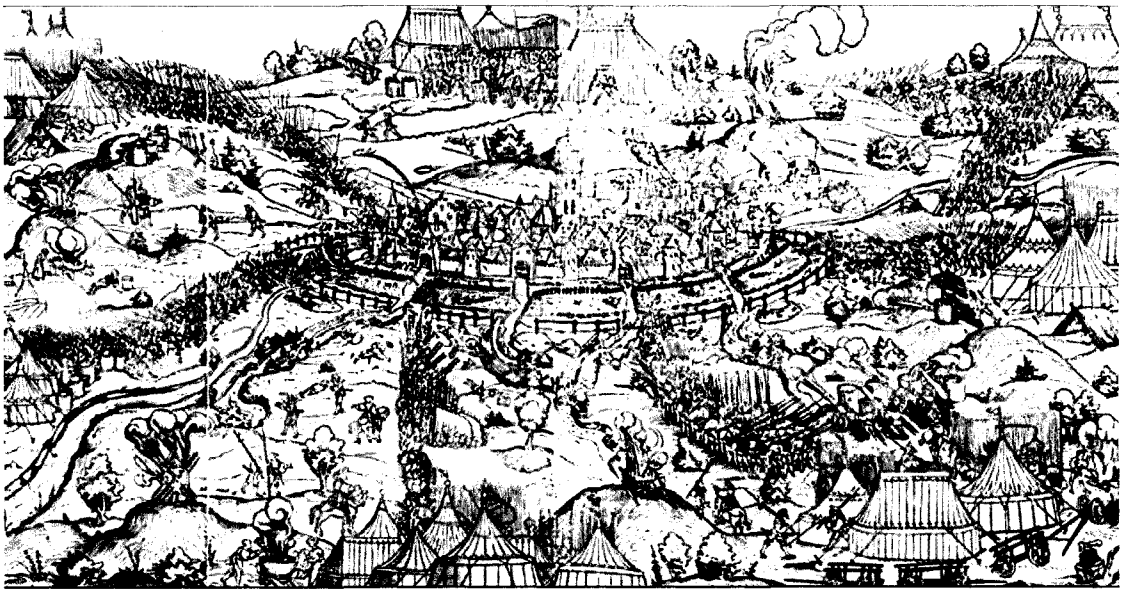


Figure 97. Erhard Schön, *The Siege of Münster*, 1535. (Photo: Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 13.)

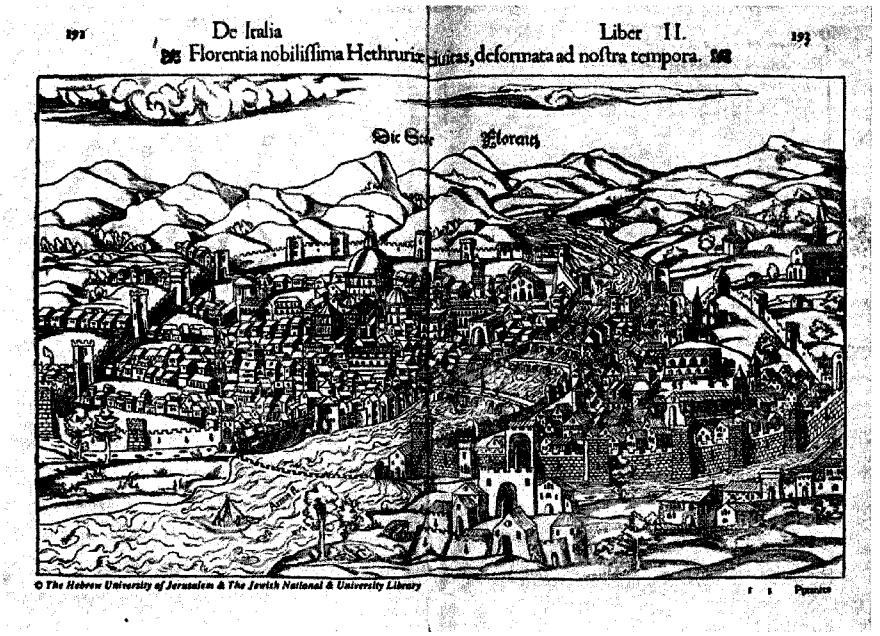


Figure 98. *Florence*, from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1550): 192–93. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

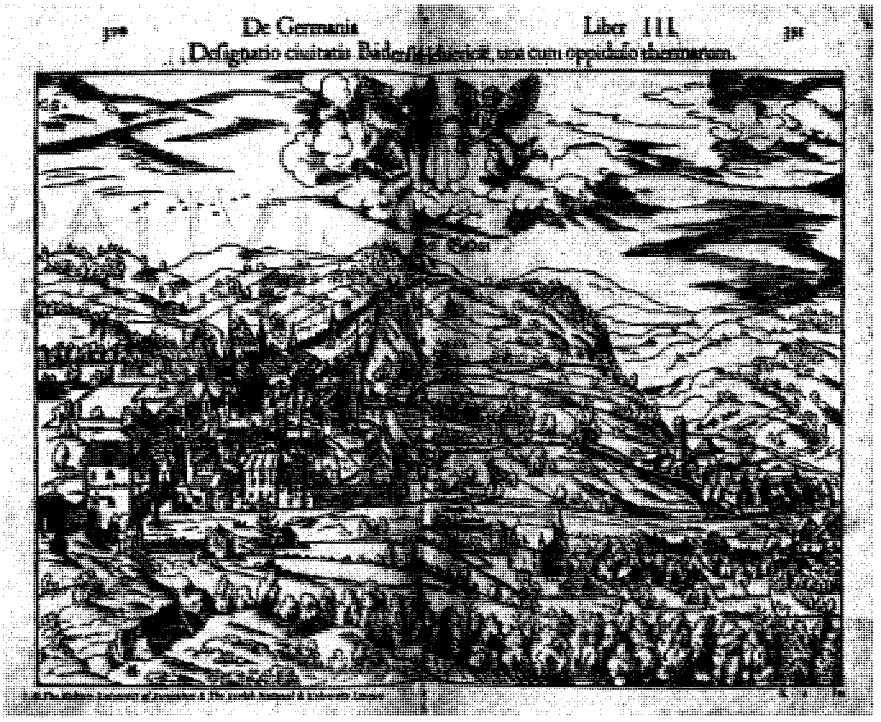


Figure 99. *Baden*, from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1550): 390–91. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

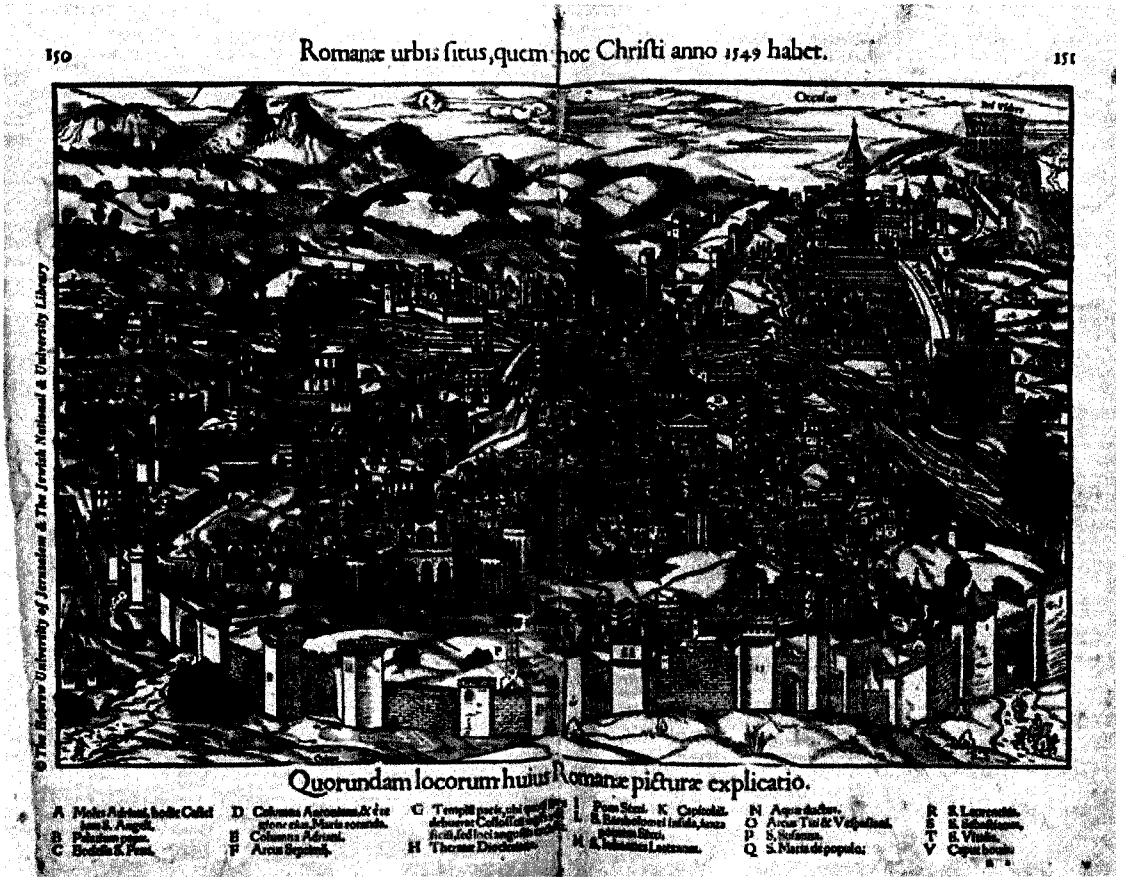


Figure 100. *Rome*, from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1550): 150–51. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

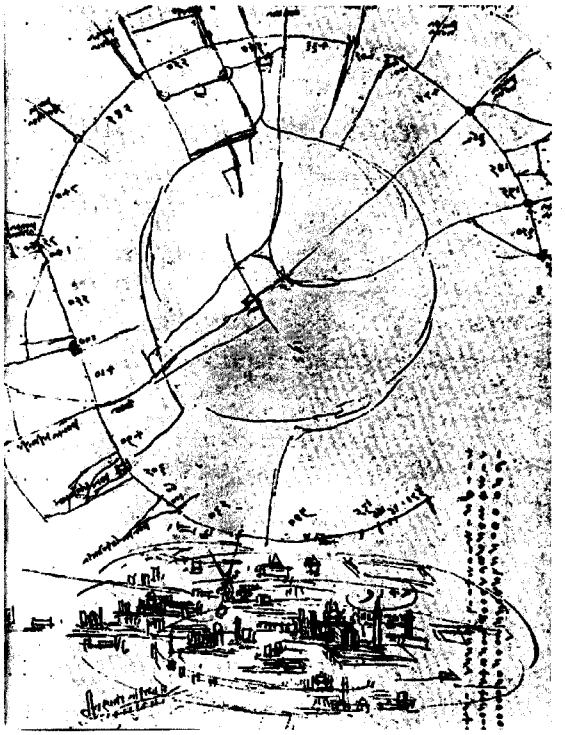


Figure 101. Leonardo da Vinci, plan and bird's eye view of Milan, c. 1508–10, from Codex Atlanticus, 199v. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Photo: Nicholl, *Leonardo da Vinci*, 188.)

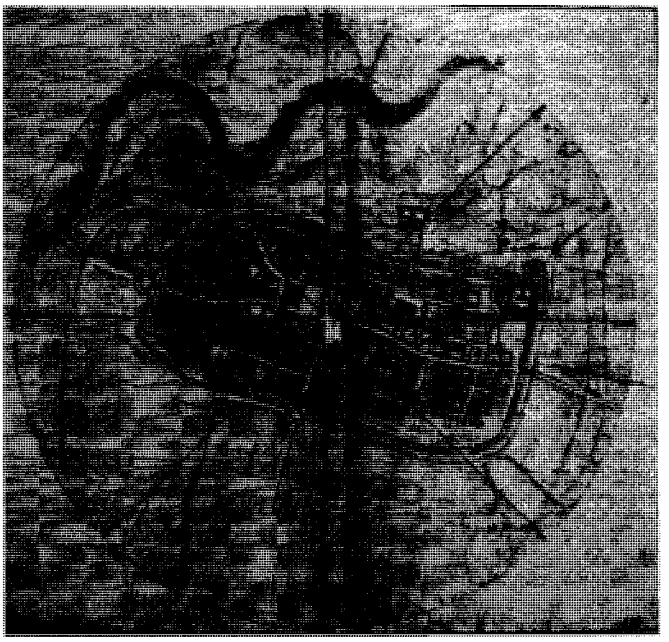


Figure 102. Leonardo da Vinci, map of Imola, c. 1502. Windsor Castle, The Royal Library, RL 12284. (Photo: Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 129.)

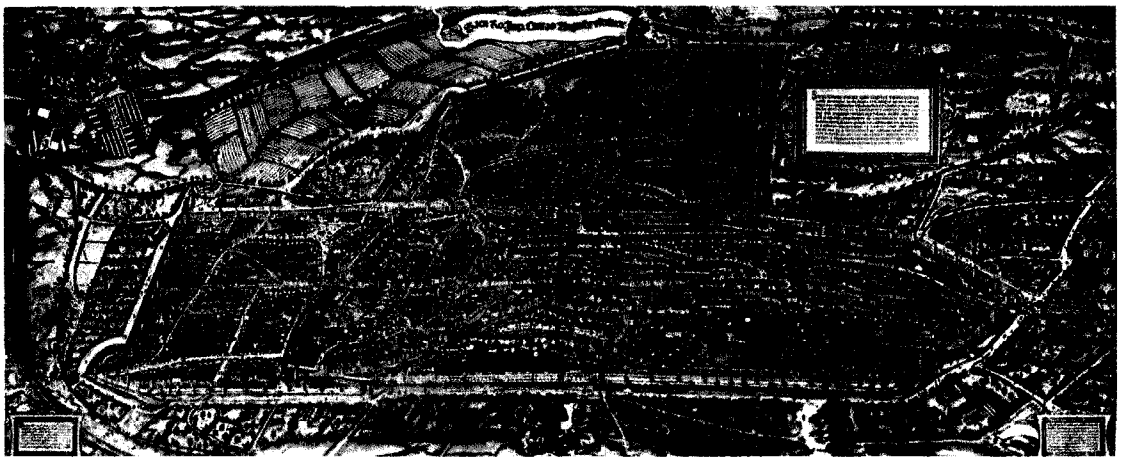


Figure 103. Hans Weiditz, after Jörg Seld, *Augsburg*, 1521. Augsburg, Maximilianmuseum. (Photo: Schulz, "View of Venice," 469.)



Figure 104. Gerard Horenbout, detail, from *Antwerp*, 1525. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. OB4318. (Photo: "Kroniek 004 – Antwerpse geschiedenis," http://www.strecker.be/2004/kroniek/kroniek-a_004.htm [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 105. Cornelis Anthonisz., *Amsterdam*, 1544, woodcut. Amsterdam, Amsterdam Historisch Museum. (Photo: Armstrong, *Moralizing Prints*, fig. 3.)

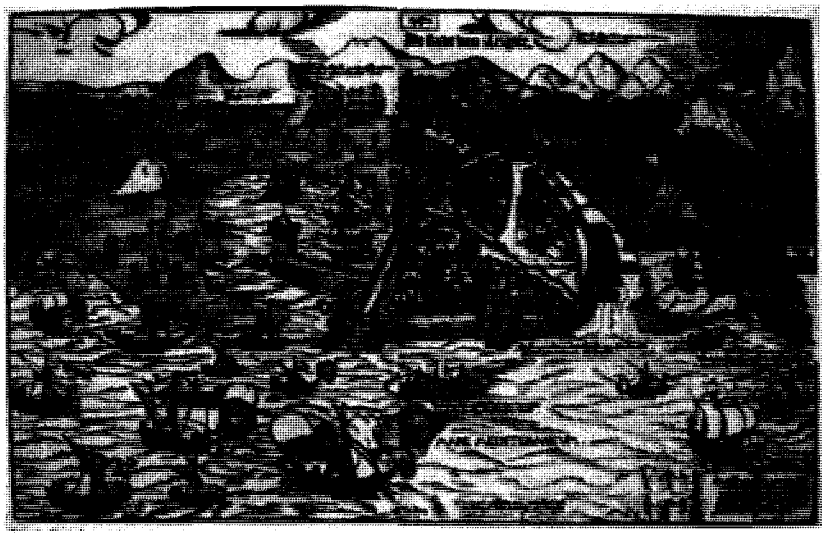


Figure 106. Cornelis Anthonisz., *Siege of Algiers*, 1542. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (Photo: Armstrong, *Moralizing Prints*, fig 6.)



Figure 107. After Cornelis Anthonisz. (1544), *Amsterdam,* from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1550): 129. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 108. After Jacopo de'Barbari, *Venice*, from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1550): 158–59. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

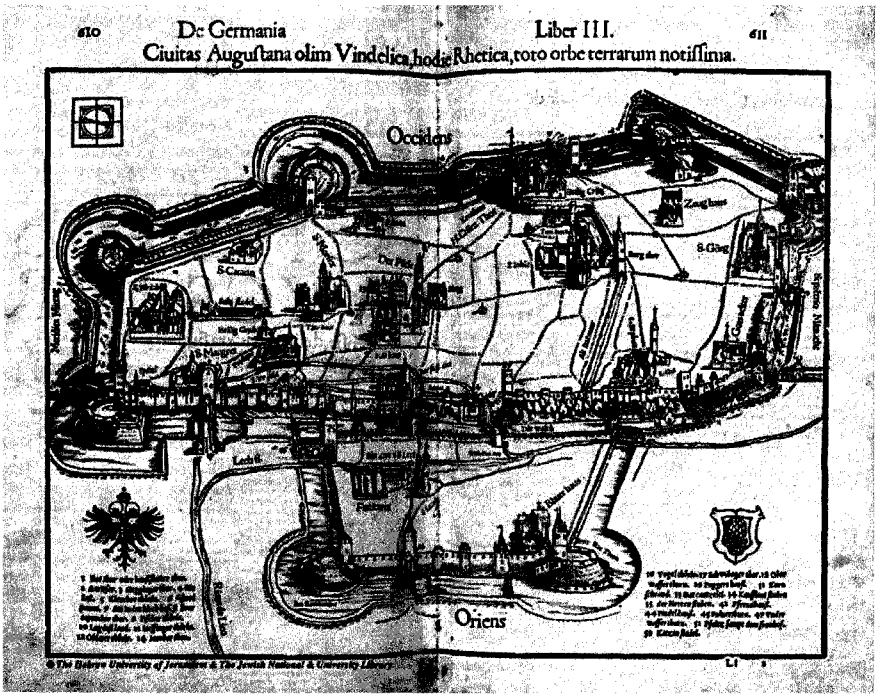


Figure 109. *Augsburg*, from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1550): 610–11. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

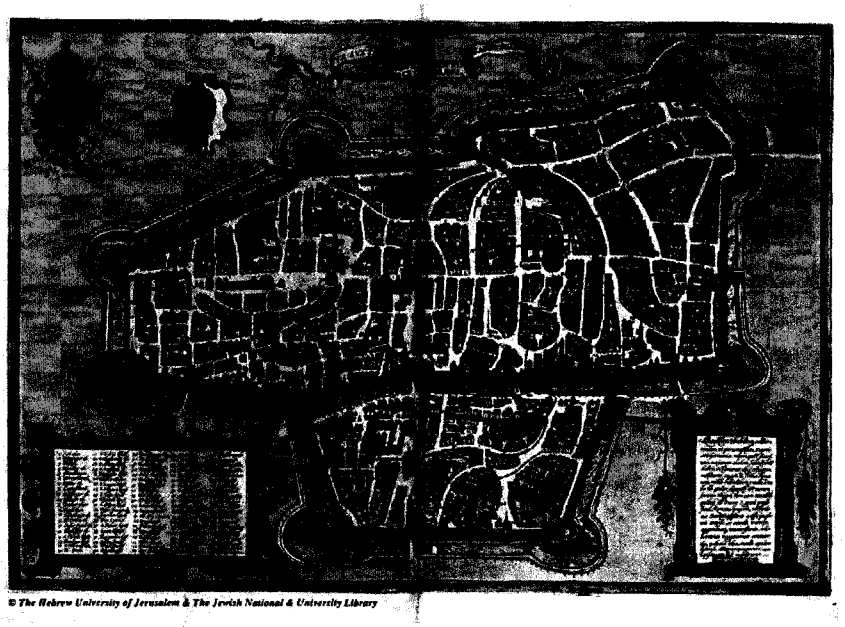


Figure 110. After Hans Rogel (1563), *Augsburg*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572): I:39. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

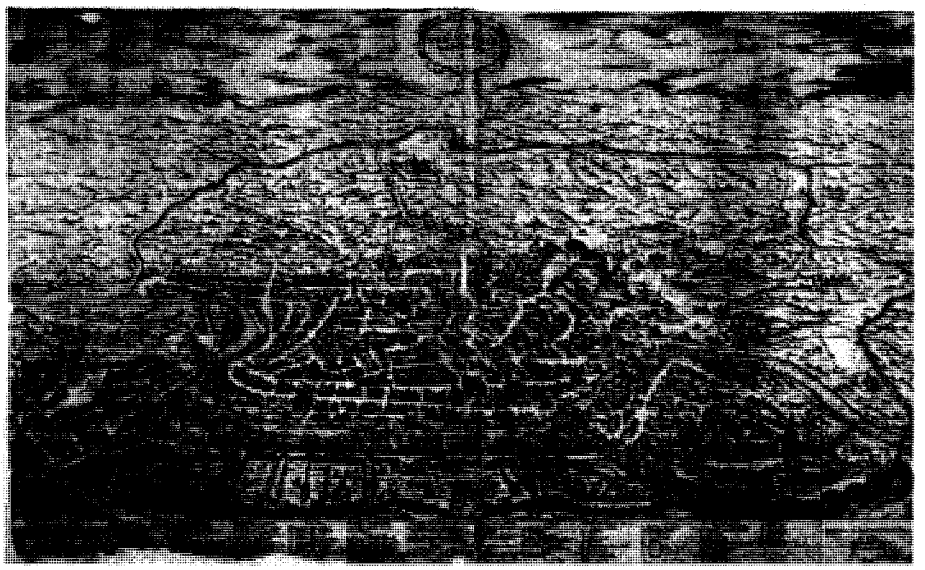


Figure 111. Ugo Pinard, *Rome*, from Antonio Lafreri, *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* (1555). Vatican, Stamp. Barb. X I 13 A vlib02 INT .59. (Photo: "Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture: An Exhibit at the Library of Congress, 8 January 1993 to 30 April 1993: The City Recovers," http://www.ibiblio.org/expo/vatican.exhibit/exhibit/a-vatican_lib/City_recovers.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

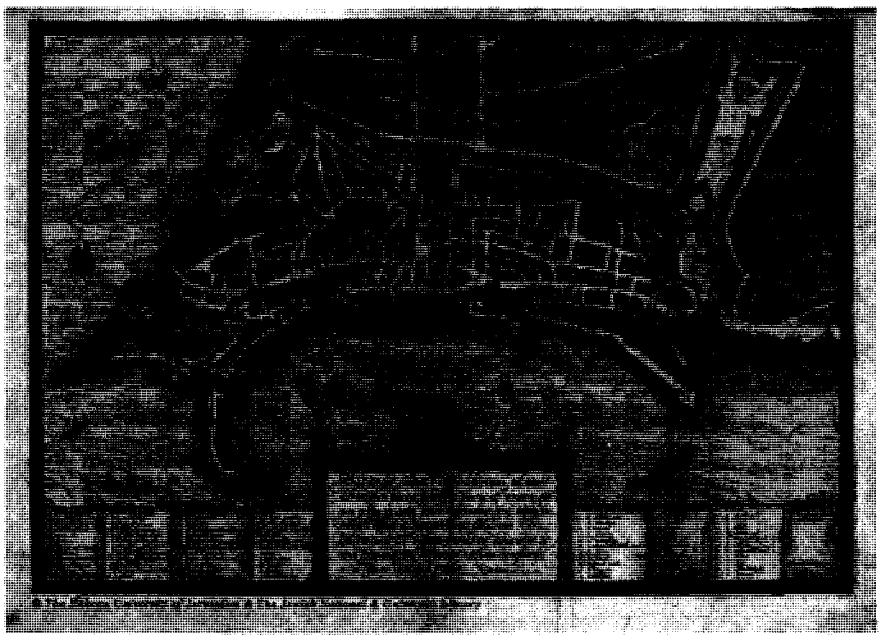


Figure 112. Giacomo Fontana (1569), *Ancona*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572): I:46. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

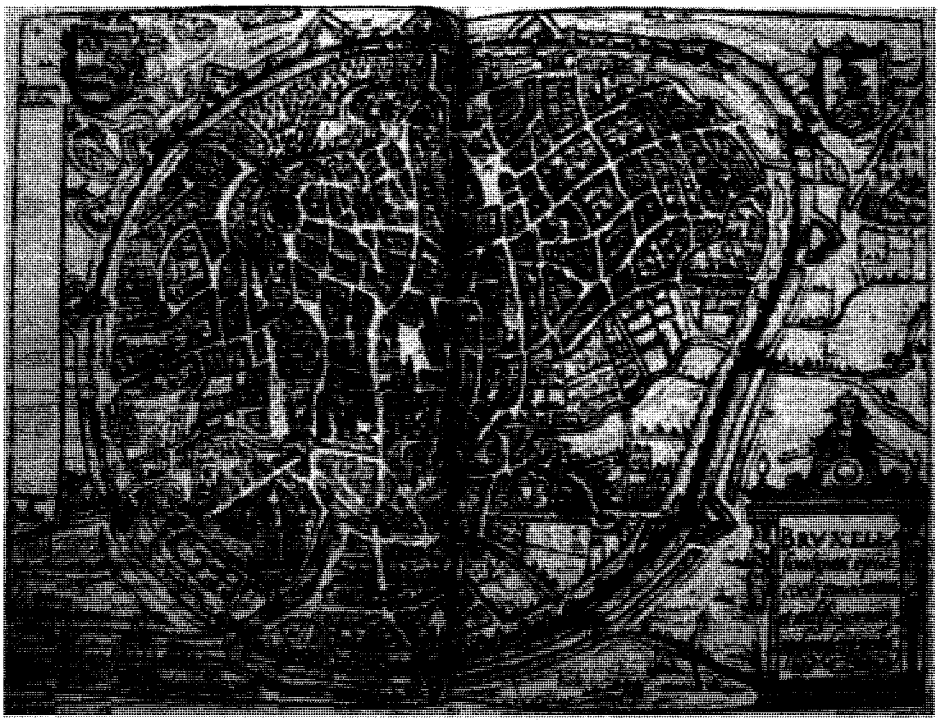


Figure 113. *Brussels*, from Ludovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1612): between 52 and 53.

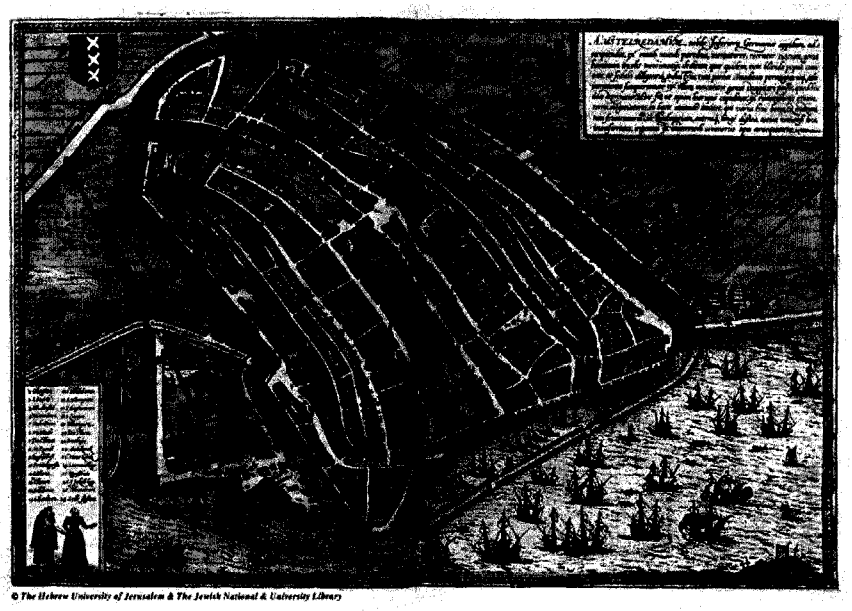


Figure 114. After Cornelis Anthonisz. (1544), *Amsterdam*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572): I:20. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

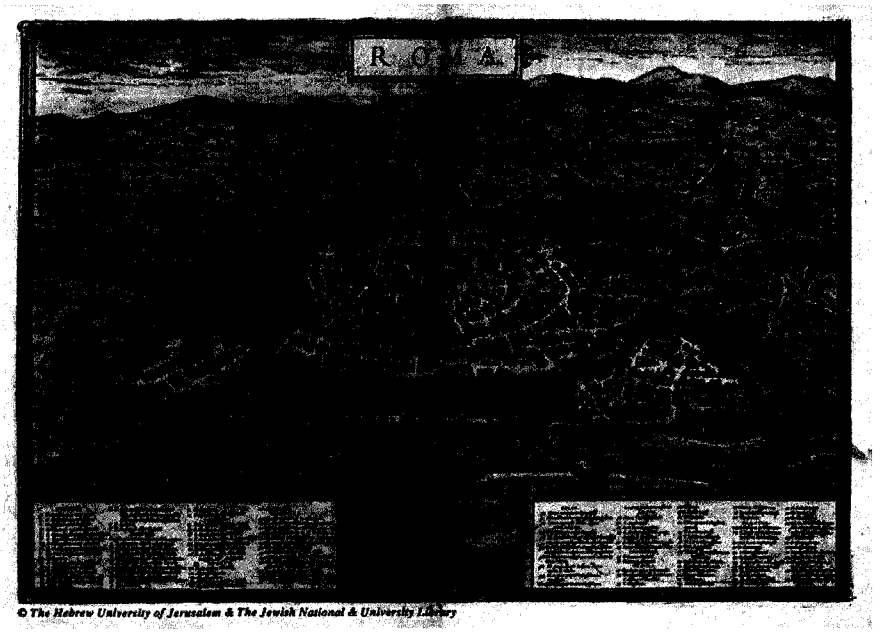


Figure 115. G. F. Camocio (1569), *Rome*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572): I:45. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

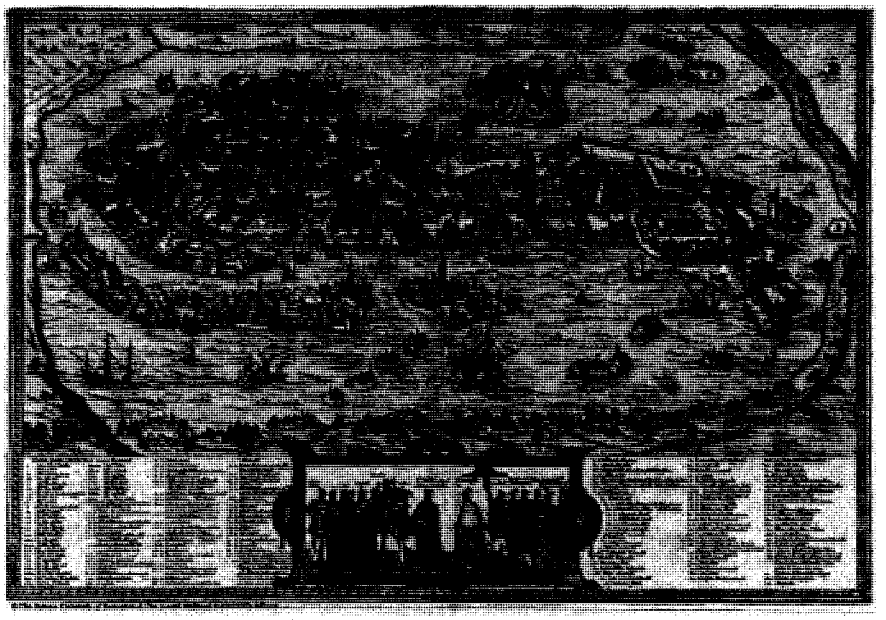


Figure 116. Bolognino Zaltieri (1565), *Venice*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572): I:43. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

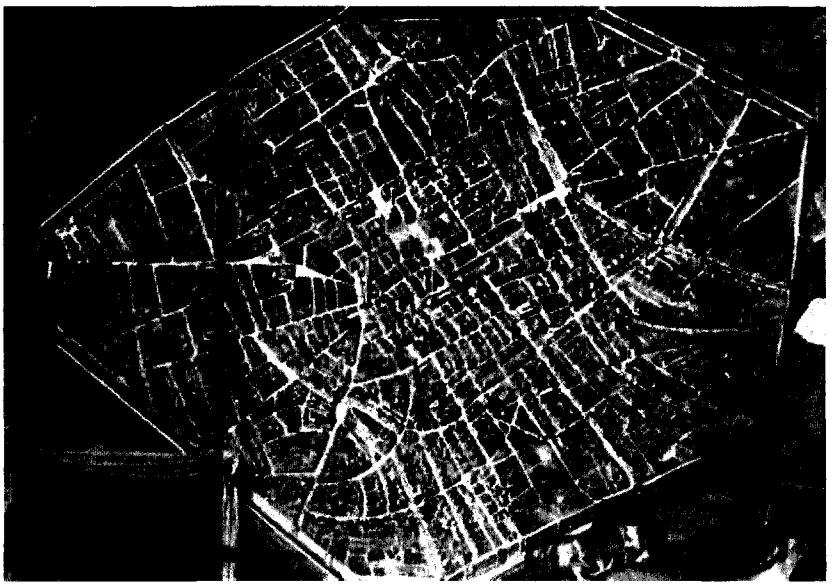


Figure 117. Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, Scipione Dattili, and Domenico Tibaldi, *View of Bologna*, 1575. Vatican, Sala di Bologna. (Photo: Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 172.)



Figure 118. Francesco Vanni, *Siena*, 1595. (Photo: Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 189.)



Figure 119. Giorgio Vasari, detail of Cosimo's map, from *Cosimo Visits the Fortifications of Elba*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)

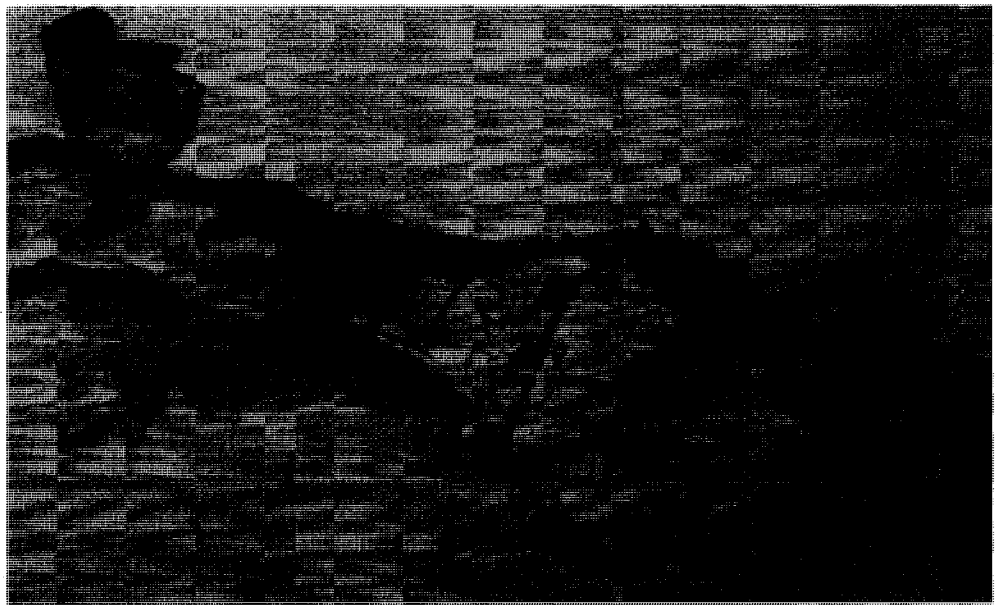


Figure 120. Giovanni Camerini, view of Cosmopoli (Portoferraio), 1553. Siena, Biblioteca communale. (Photo: Manetti, *Kosmos*, fig. 5.)

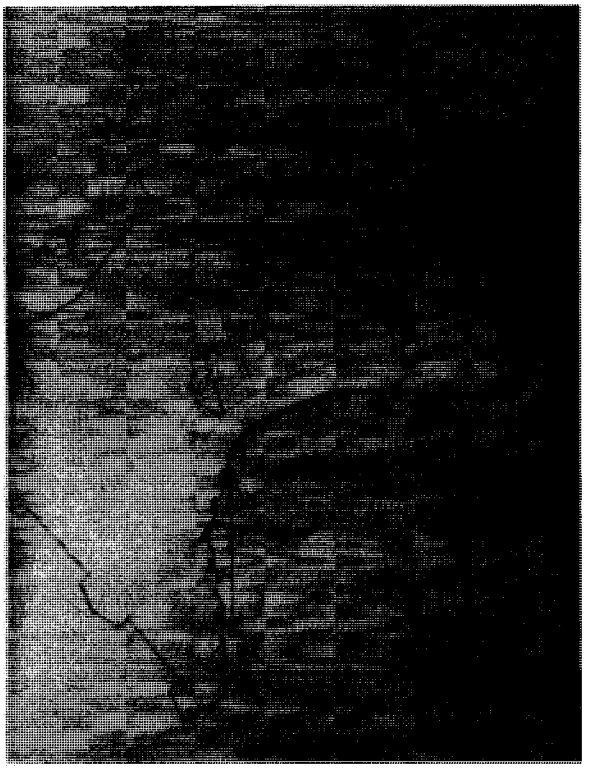


Figure 121. Giovanni Camerini, plan of Cosmopoli (Portoferraio), 1553. Florence, Archivio di Stato. (Photo: Manetti, *Kosmos*, fig. 5.)

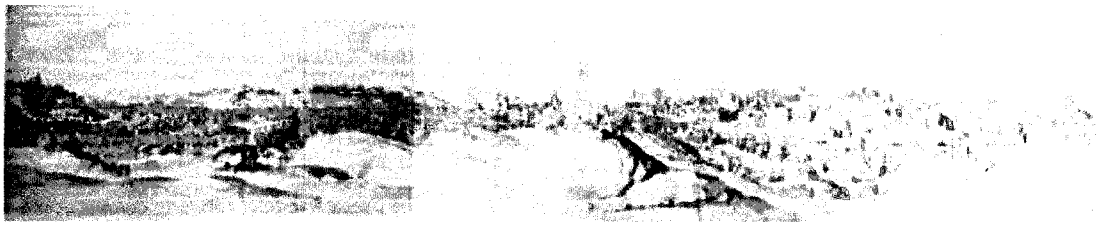


Figure 122. Marten van Heemskerck, *Rome*, c. 1532–36. (Photo: "ArtServe: heemskerck," http://rubens.anu.edu.au/htdocs/bycountry/italy/rome/popolo/themes/heemskerck/index6.html [accessed 5 March 2004].)

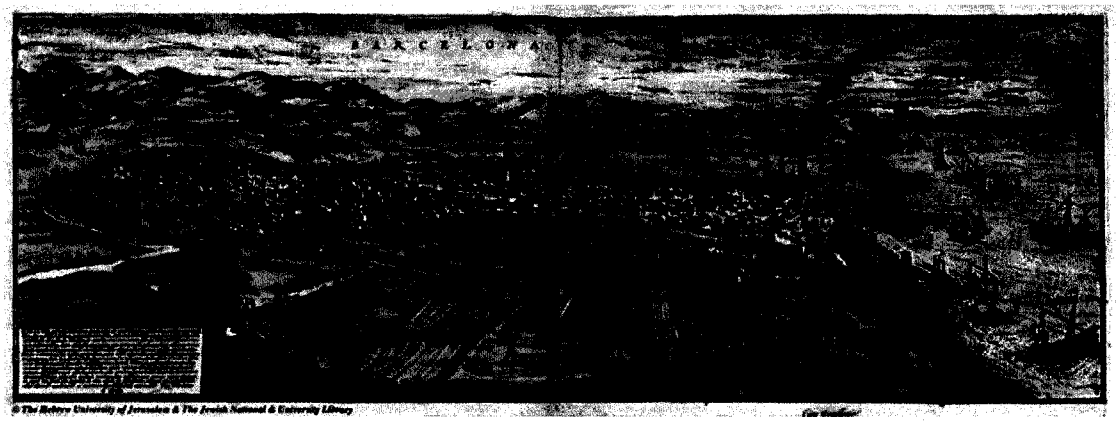


Figure 123. Joris Hoefnagel, after Jan Cornelis Vermeyen (1535), *Barcelona*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572, I:5. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

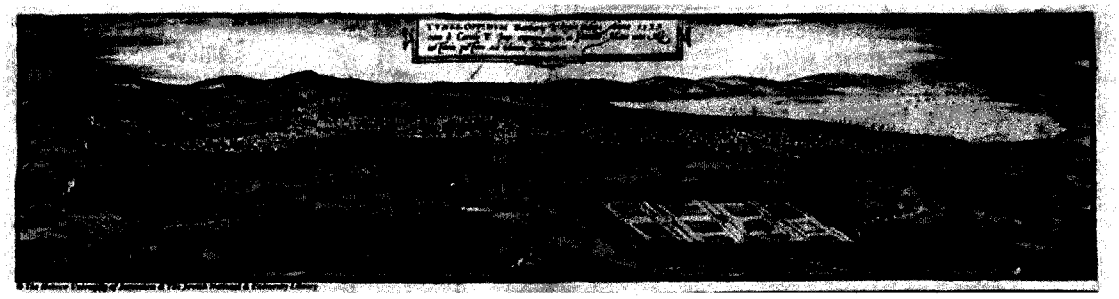


Figure 124. Joris Hoefnagel, after Jan Cornelis Vermeyen (1535), *Tunis*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572): II:57. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

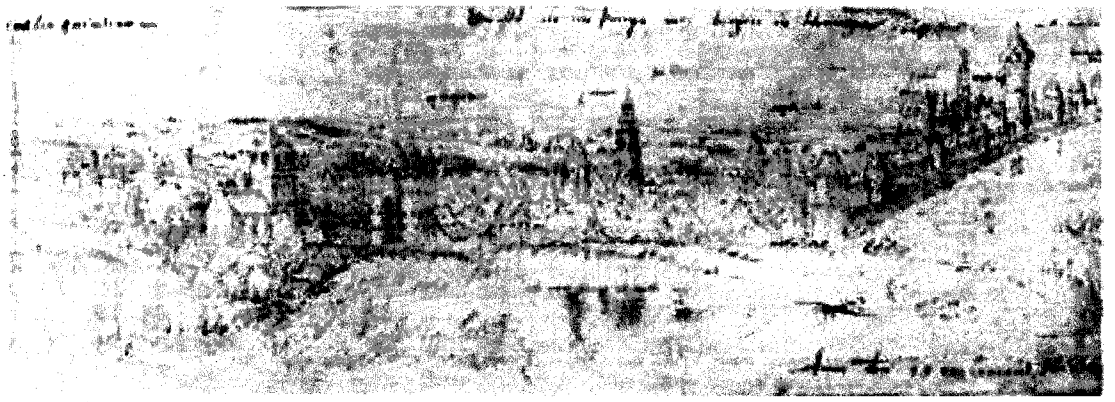


Figure 125. Cornelis Massys, *Brussels*, c. 1540. Berlin, Berlin-Dahlem Kupferstichkabinett (Photo: Dunbar, "View of Brussels," plate 8.)

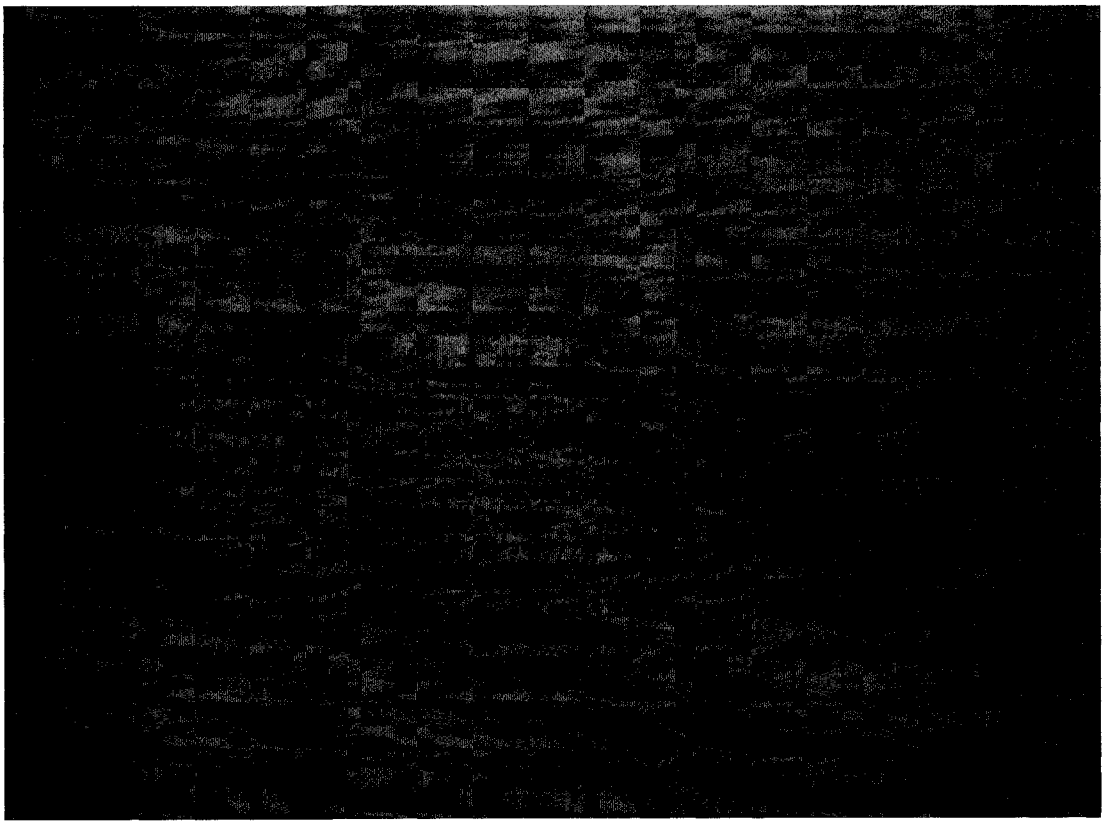


Figure 126. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from *Dordrecht*, c. 1544. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, B.I.328.40^{ro}. (Photo: author.)

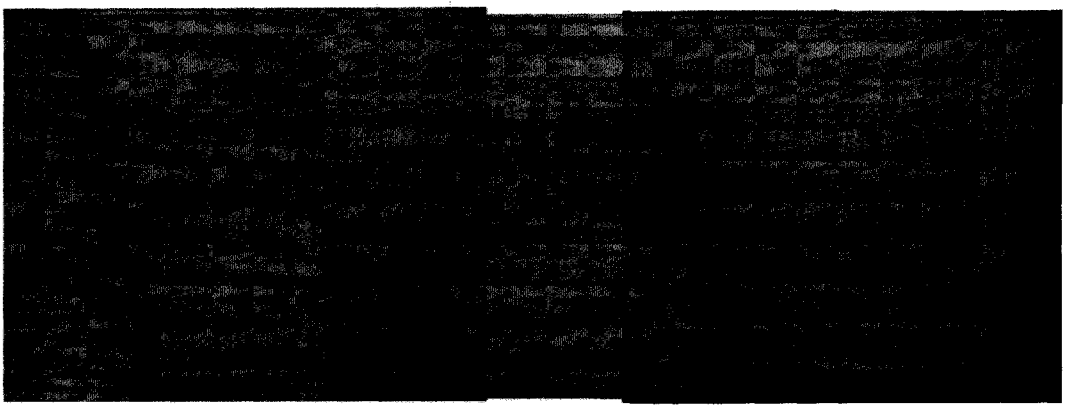


Figure 127. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *s'Hertogenbosch*, c. 1544. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.45ro. (Photo: author.)

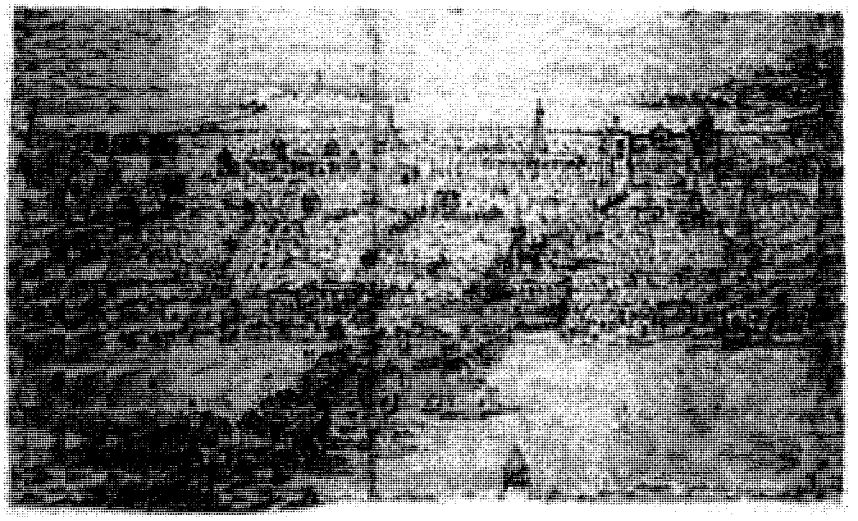


Figure 128. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of London Bridge, from *London*, 1544. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.1/14ro. (Photo: author.)



Figure 129. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Rome from the Gianicolo Hill*, c. 1552–53. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Photo: "The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Timeline of Art History," http://www.metmuseum.org/TOAH/HD/noro/ho_52.124.1.htm [accessed 5 march 2008].)



Figure 130. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Genoa*, c. 1552–53. Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket. (Photo: Kagan, *Spanish Cities*, 56.)

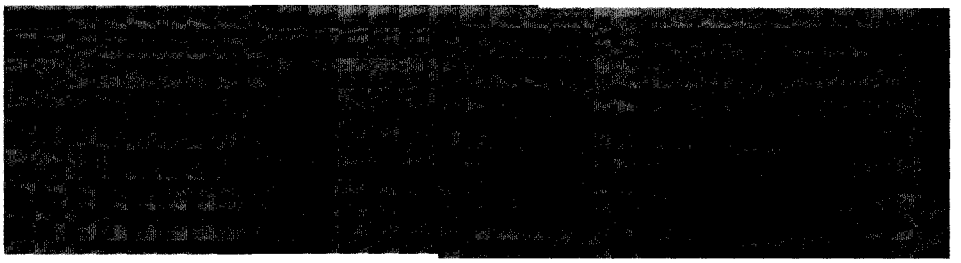


Figure 131. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Naples*, c. 1552–53. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, B.II.328b. (Photo: author.)



Figure 132. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Ancona*, c. 1552–53. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 8455–17ro. (Photo: author.)

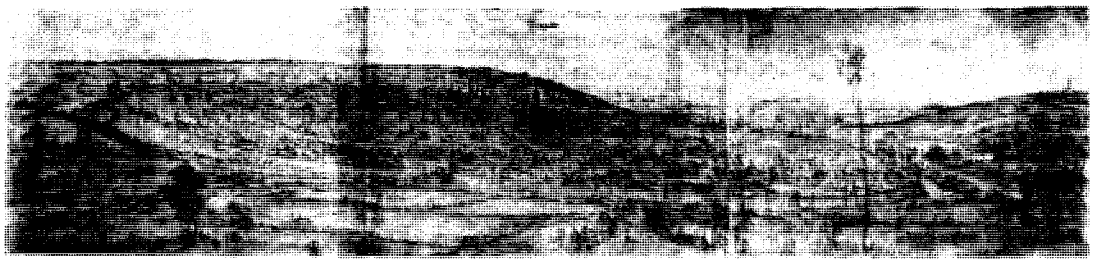


Figure 133. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Brussels*, 1558. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.46b. (Photo: author.)



Figure 134. Hendrick van Cleve, *Rome,* 1550. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, F. N. 3379. (Photo: Bartoli,"Panorama of Rome," tav. I.)

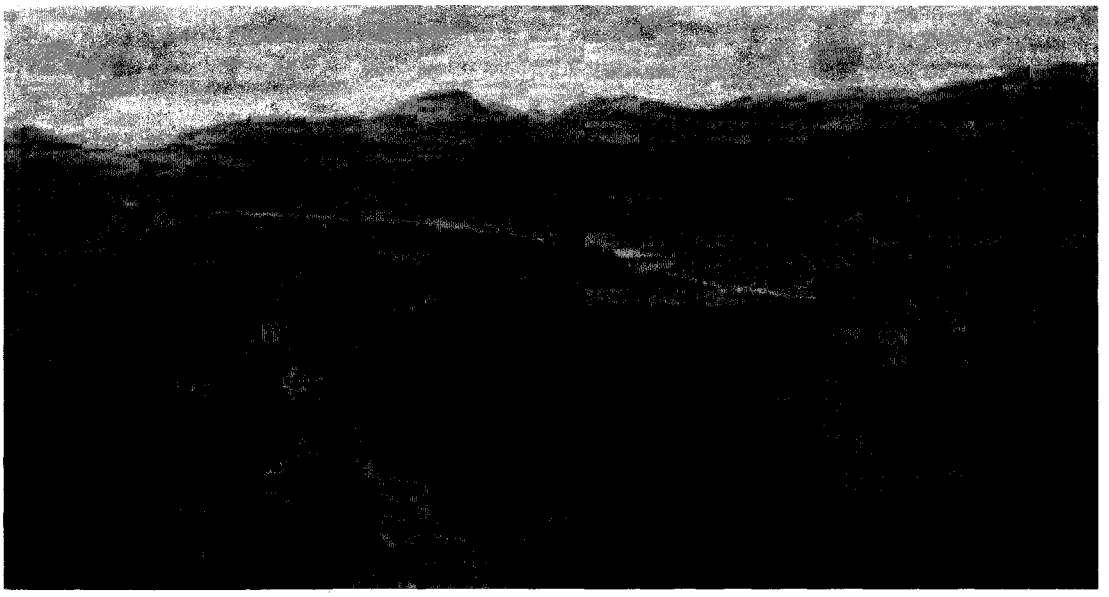


Figure 135. Hendrick van Cleve, *View of the Villa Belvedere and Rome*, 1589. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. (Photo: *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508–1608: Artisti dei Passi Bassi e del Principato di Liegi a Roma durante il Rinascimento*, exh. cat. (Milan: Skira Editore, 1995), 121.)

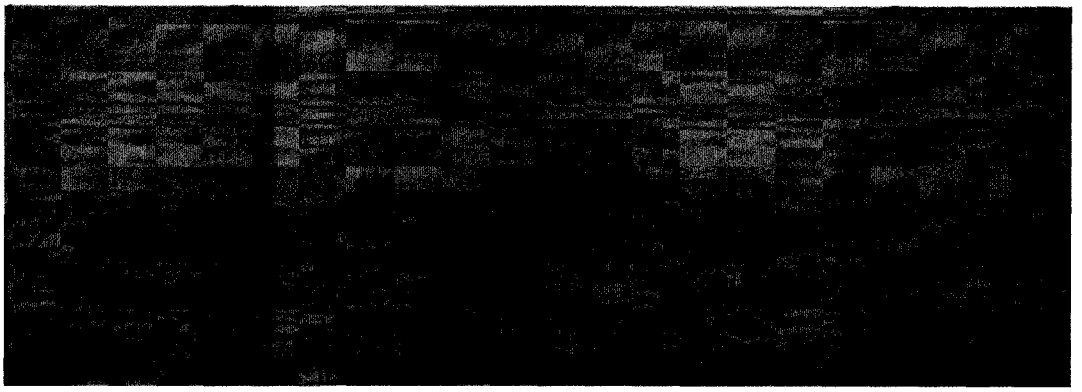


Figure 136. Anonymous, *Brussels*, c. 1552–61. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.46a. (Photo: author.)



Figure 137. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Naval Battle in the Bay of Naples*, c. 1558–62. Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili. (Photo: "Galleria Doria Pamphili: Visit to the Gallery," http://www.doriapamphilj.it/ukbattaglianapoli.asp [accessed 5 march 2008].)

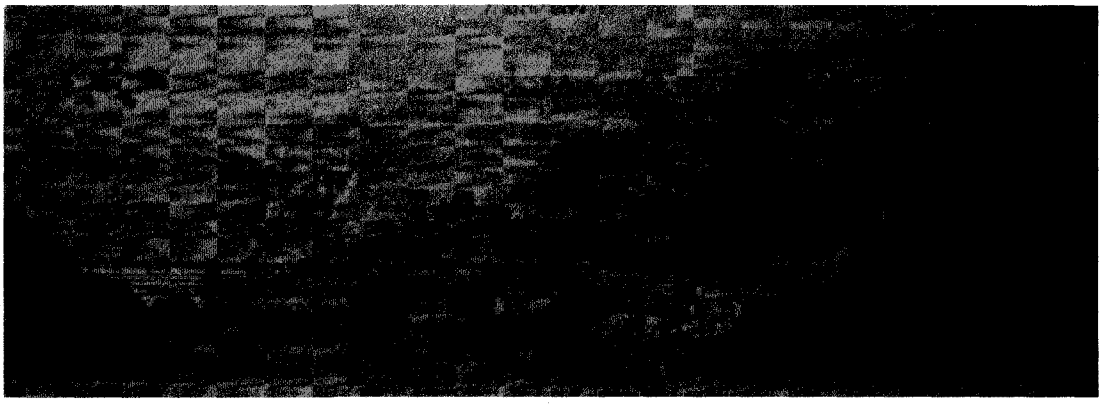


Figure 138. Joris Hoefnagel, *Acquapendente*, c. 1582. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 2241.1(Photo: *Fiamminghi a Roma*, 193



Figure 139. Joachim Patinir, *Landscape with St. Hieronymous*, c. 1515–24. Madrid, Museo del Prado. (Photo: "Olga's Gallery: Joachim Patinir," http://www.abcgallery.com/P/patinir/patinir.html [accessed 5 March 2004].)

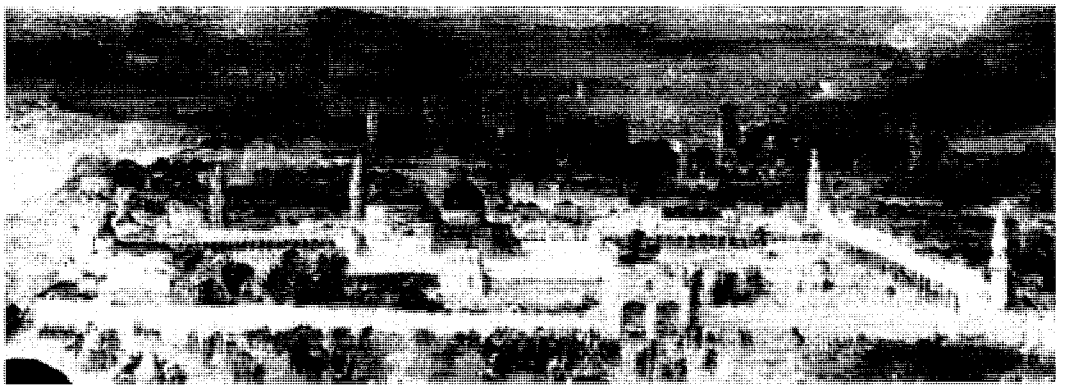


Figure 140. Jan van Scorel, *Entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem*, c. 1526. Utrecht, Centraal Musem. (Photo: *Fiamminghi a Roma*, 256.)



Figure 141. Albrecht Dürer, *Innsbruck*, 1495. (Photo: Katherine Crawford Luber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005]: 99.)



Figure 142. Albrecht Dürer, *Siege of a Fortress*, 1527. (Photo: Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 171.)

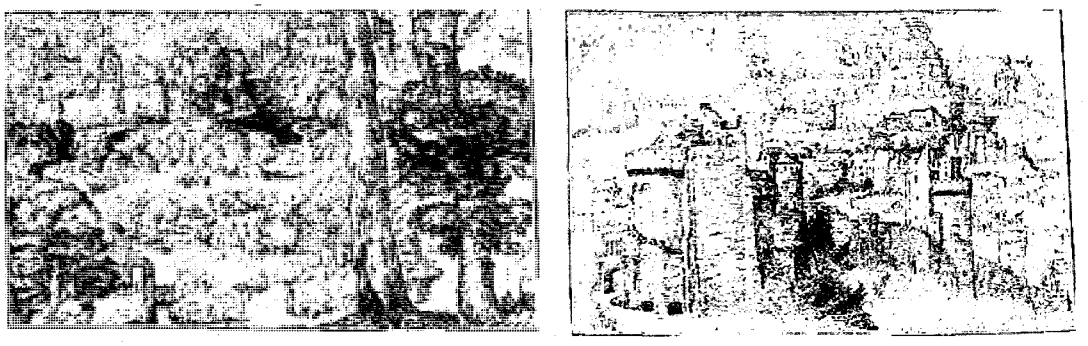


Figure 143. Master A, pages 126 and 130, from the Errara Sketchbook. Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, 4630. (Photo: Dunbar, "'Errara Sketchbook'," 60.)



Figure 144. Loggia, Villa Belvedere, Vatican. (Photo: author).

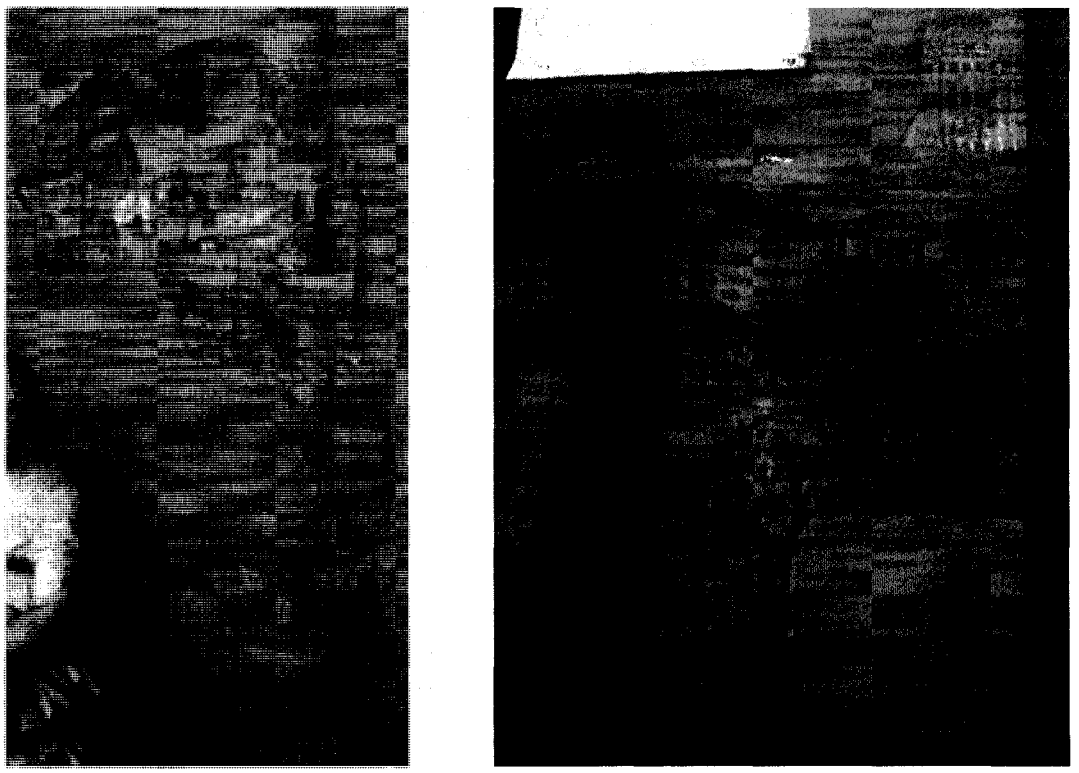


Figure 145. Bernardino Pinturicchio, *Cityscapes*, 1488. Vatican, Villa Belvedere, Loggia. (Photo: author.)

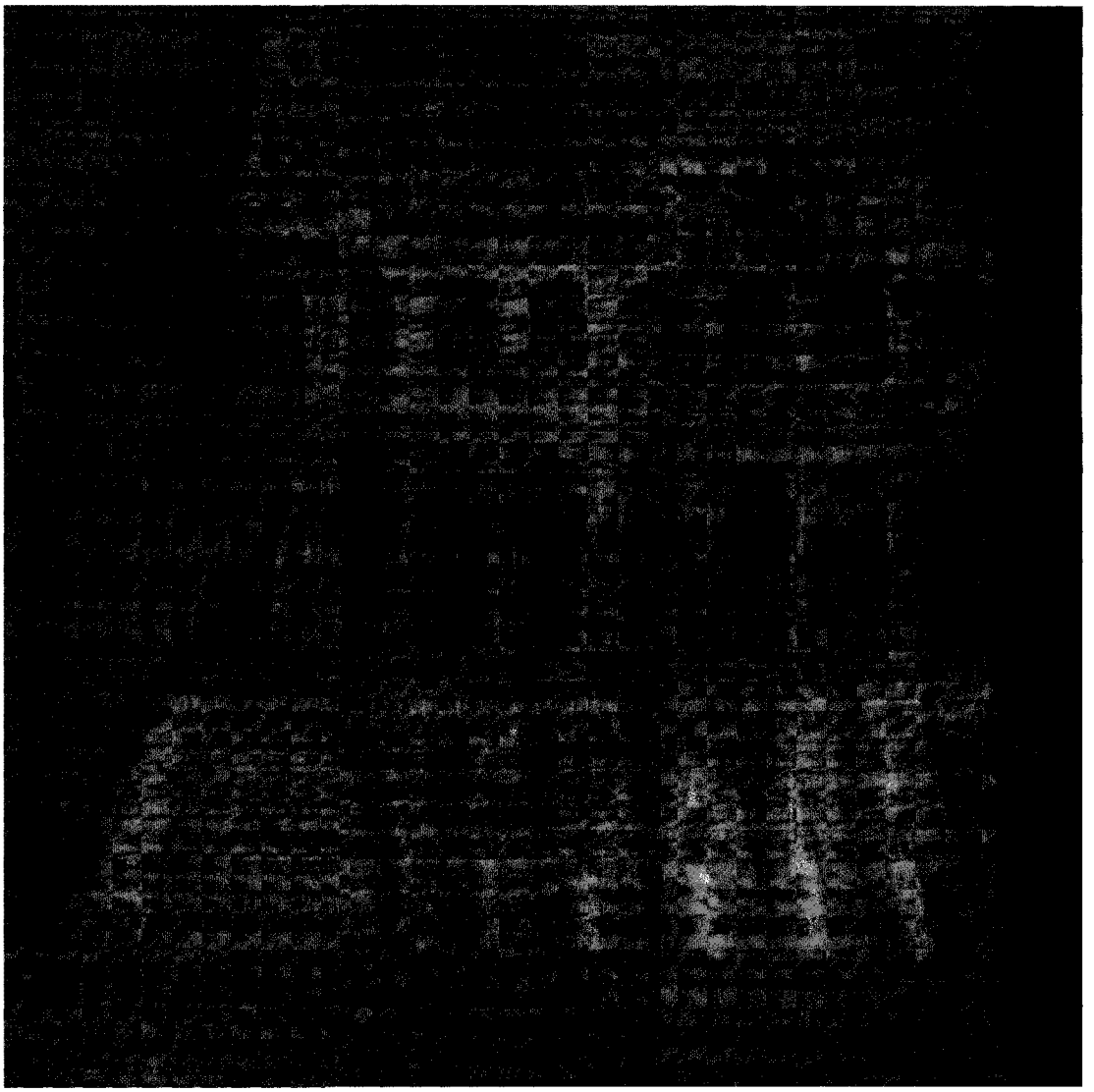


Figure 146. Bernardino Pinturicchio, detail of the Villa Belvedere, from right *Cityscape*, 1488. Vatican, Villa Belvedere, Loggia. (Photo: author.)

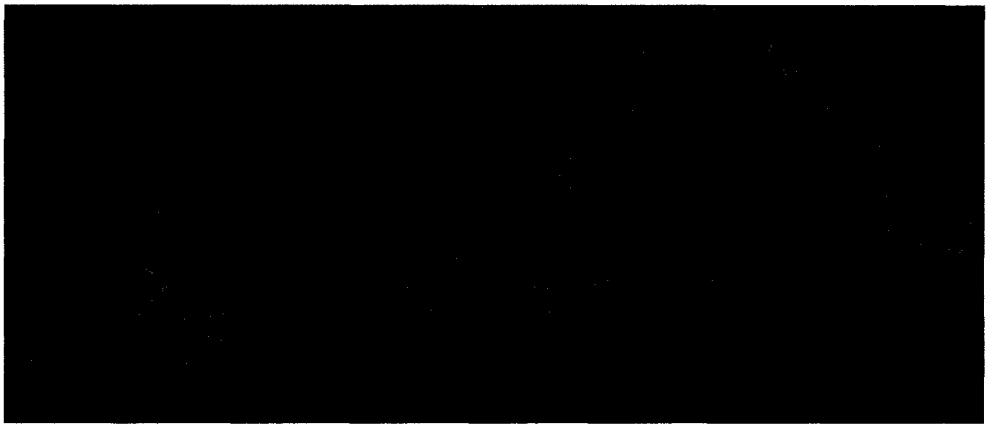


Figure 147. Giovanni Stradano, detail of figures, from *Skirmish before the Bastions of S. Giorgio*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

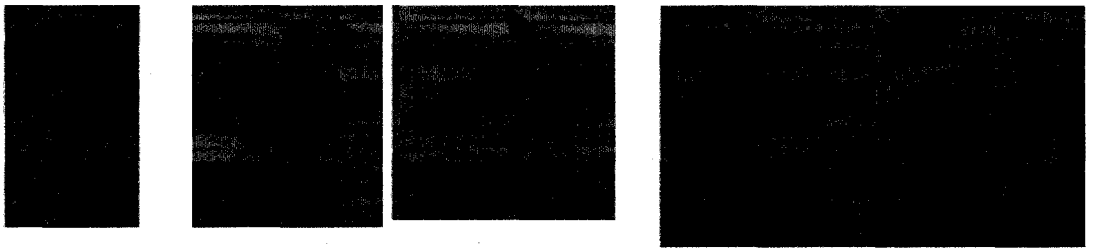


Figure 148. Anton van den Wyngaerde, details of figures, from *Mechelen*, 1557–58; *s'Hertogenbosch*, c. 1544; and *Cantecroy*, 1557–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, B.II.112.28^{ro}, LG.IV.45ro, LG.IV.74a^{ro}. (Photos: author.)



Figure 149. Hans Bol, detail of Brussels, from *Landscape with Parable of the Rich Man and View of the City of Brussels*, 1585. Paris, Galerie de Jonckheere. (Photo: "Galerie de Jonckheere," http://www.artnet.com/Galleries/Artwork_Detail.asp?G=&gid=151176&which=&ViewArtistBy=online&aid=159670&wid=159671 [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 150. Giorgio Vasari, study for *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro* in the Sala di Cosimo I, c. 1556. Ottowa, National Gallery of Canada, 9838P12. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 152.)

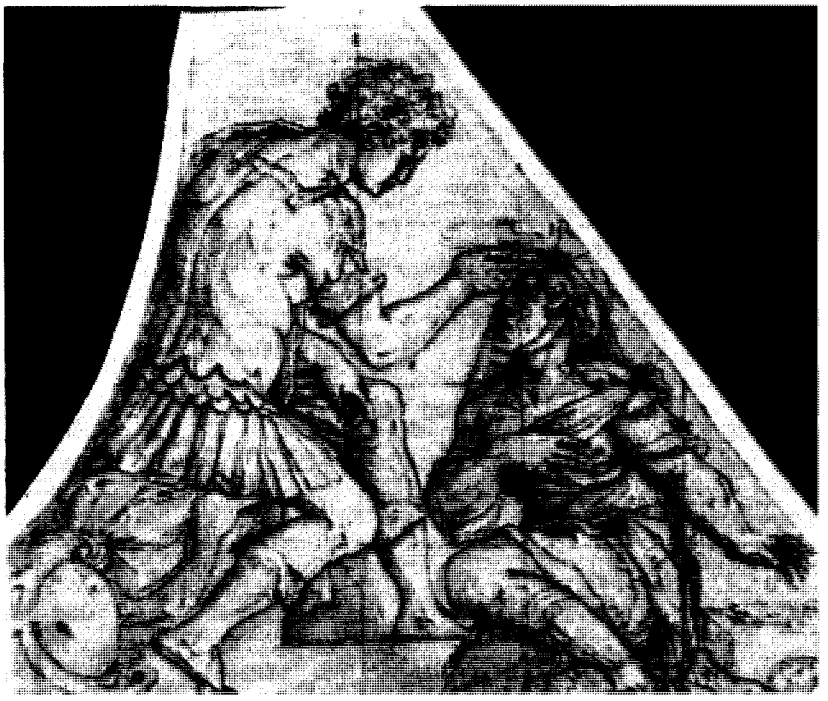


Figure 151. Giorgio Vasari, study for *Allegory of Volterra* in the Sala di Cosimo I, c. 1556. Private collection. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 152.)



Figure 152. Giorgio Vasari, study for the allegories of San Miniato, Pescia, Pistoia, and Prato, c. 1563. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, 961 S. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 251.)

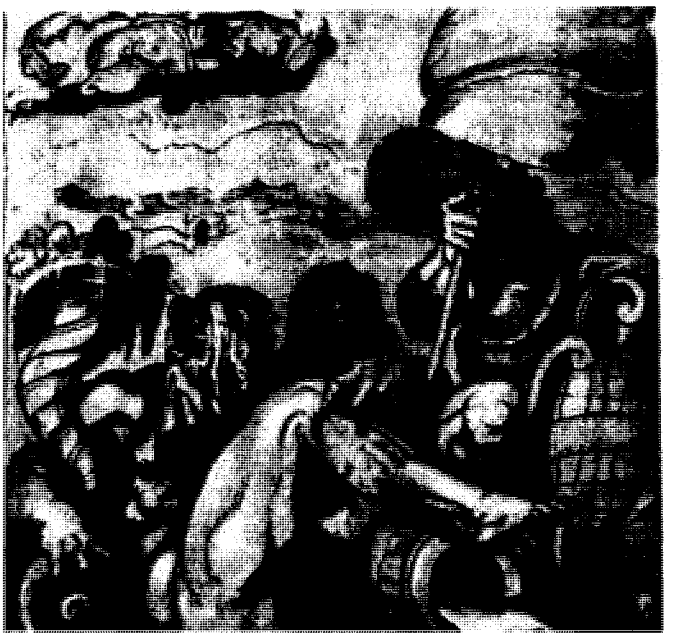


Figure 153. Jacopo Zucchi, study for *Allegory of Pistoia*, c. 1563. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, 1491 Orn. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 252.)



Figure 154. Giovanni Stradano, study for *Allegory of Volterra* in the Salone dei Cinquecento, c. 1563. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, B. 173150. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 255.)



Figure 155. Giovanni Stradano, study for *Triumph after the War of Siena*, c. 1563. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, 657 F. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 252.)



Figure 156. Giovanni Stradano, study for *The Capture of Monteriggioni*, c. 1563. Stockholm, Kunstakademie. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 252.)



Figure 157. Giovanni Stradano, study for *The Capture of Vicopisano*, c. 1563. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, 1184 E. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 254.)



Figure 158. Giorgio Vasari, study for *The Capture of the Fortress of Stampace at Pisa*, c. 1567. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, 631 F. (Photo: Barocchi, *Vasari Pittore*, fig. 75.)

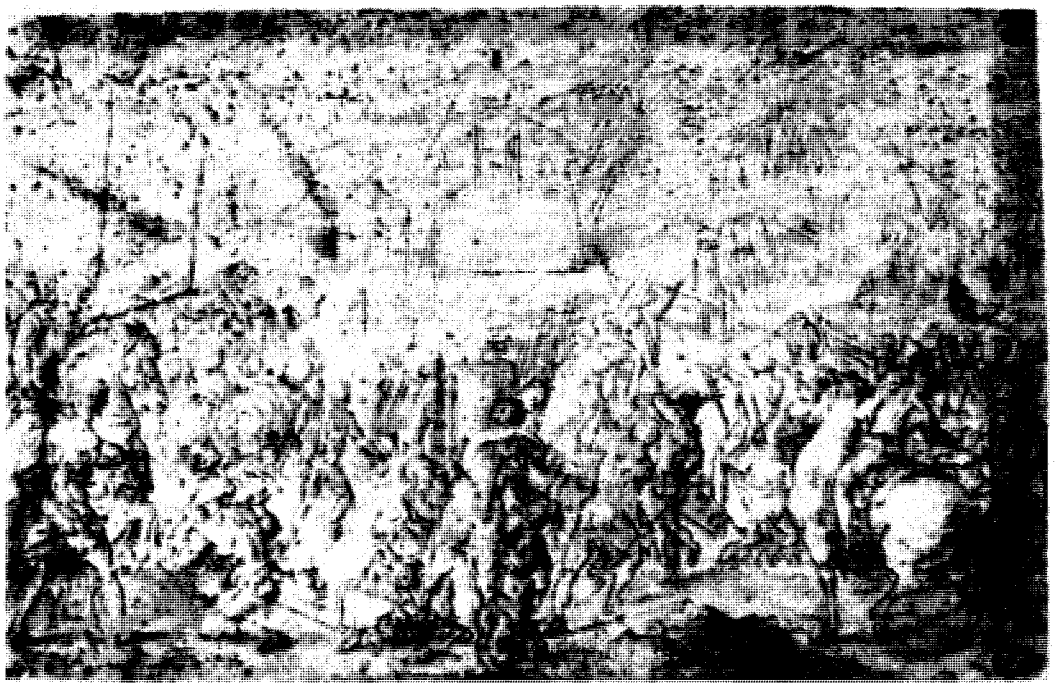


Figure 159. Giovanni Battista Naldini, study for *The Capture of the Fortress of Stampace at Pisa*, c. 1567. Rome, Farnesina, 124267. (Photo: Barocchi, *Vasari Pittore*, fig. Q.)

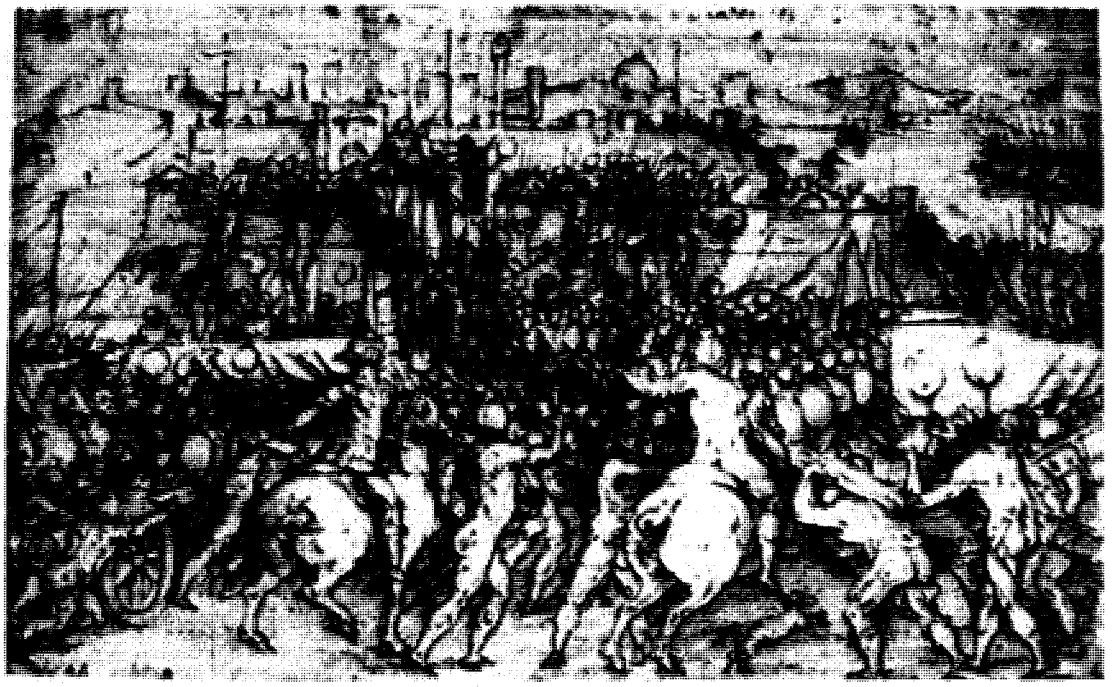


Figure 160. Giovanni Battista Naldini, study for *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena*, c. 1567. Rome, Farnesina, 124190. (Photo: Barocchi, *Vasari Pittore*, fig. S.)



Figure 161. Giovanni Stradano, study for *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena*, c. 1567. Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts, 1981. (Photo: Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 264.)

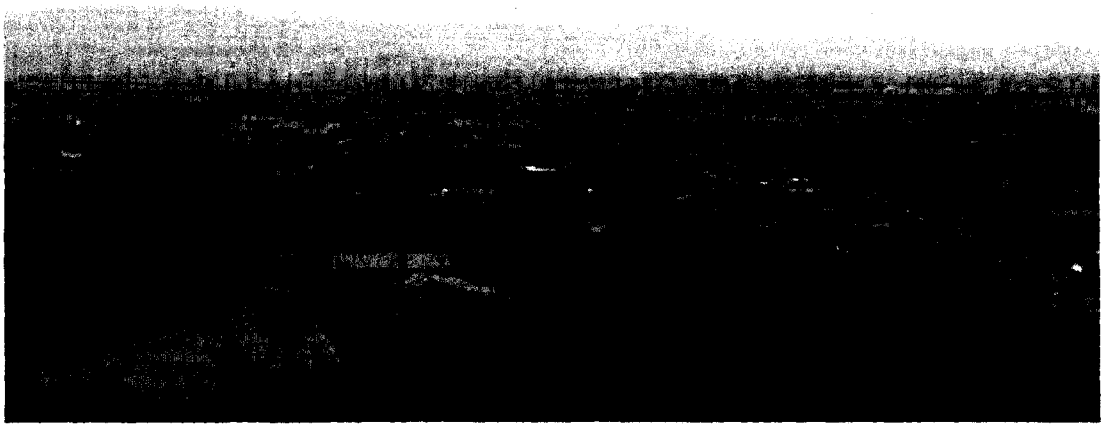


Figure 162. Prato seen from the Salita dei Cappucini. (Photo: author.)



Figure 163. Cortona seen from the northwest. (Photo: author.)



Figure 164. Hill northwest of Piombino, from where Stradano could have sketched the city. (Photo: author.)

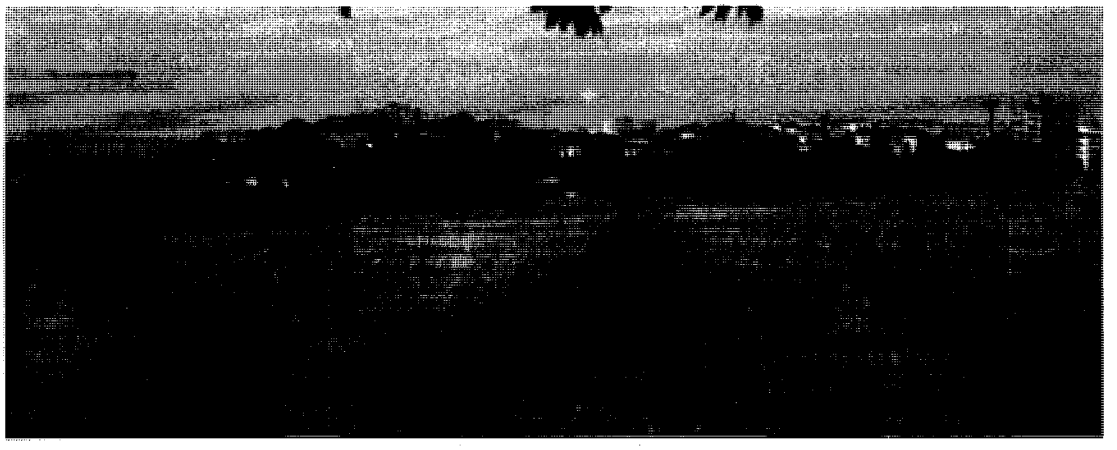


Figure 165. Piombino seen from northwest hill (but below the summit). (Photo: author.)

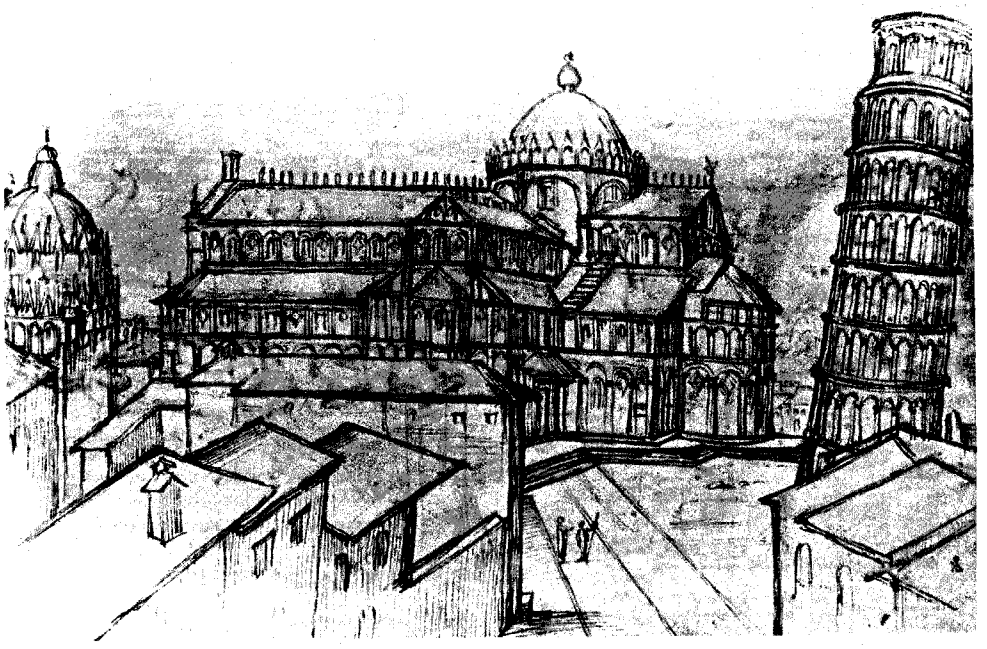


Figure 166. Giovanni Battista Naldini, sketch of Pisa Duomo complex. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 137. (Photo: Pillsbury, "Drawings by Jacopo Zucchi," plate 14.)

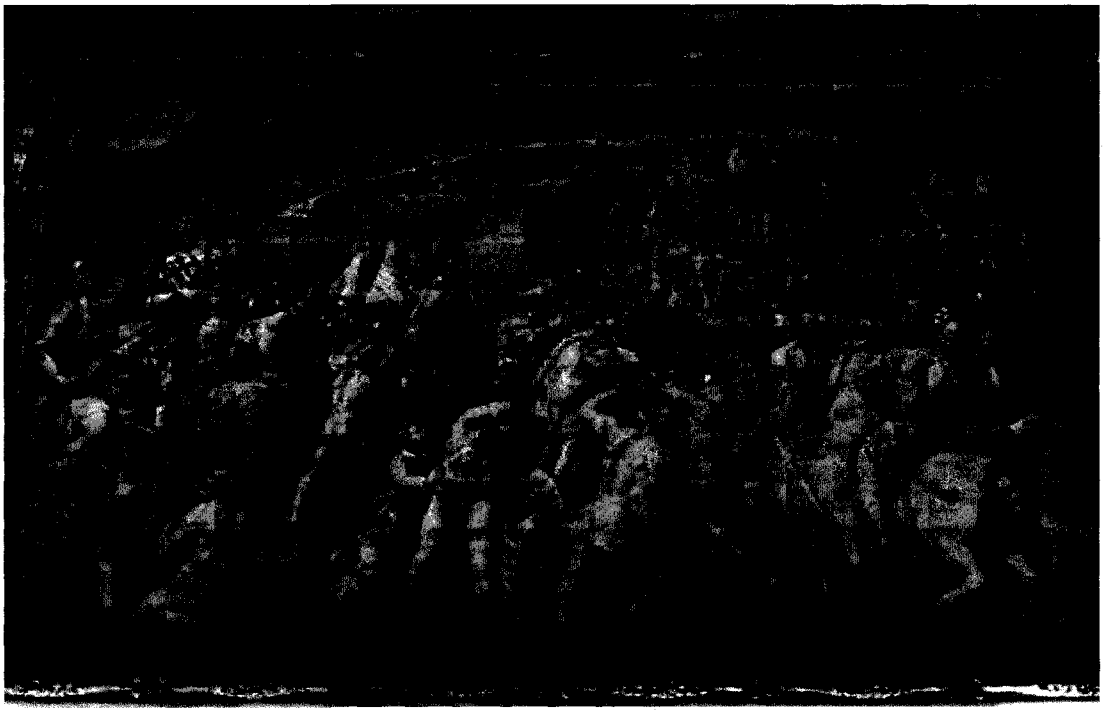


Figure 167. Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Battista Naldini, and Jacopo Zucchi, *The Capture of the Fortress of Stampace at Pisa*, 1567–71. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento. (Photo: author.)

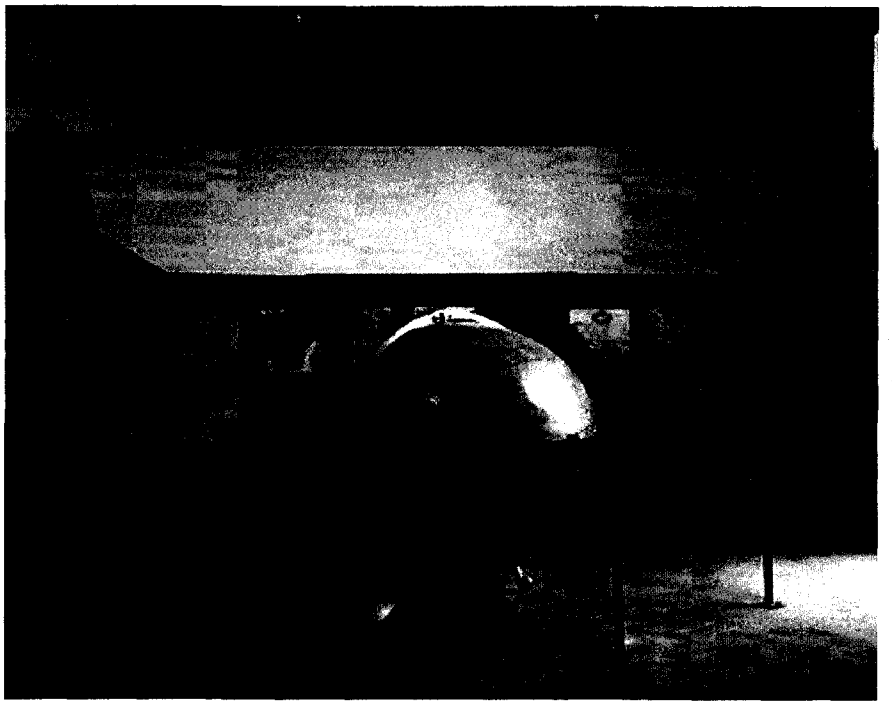


Figure 168. Giorgio Vasari, Egnazio Danti, and Stefano Buonsignori, Guardaroba Nuova, 1563–89. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. (Photo: author.)

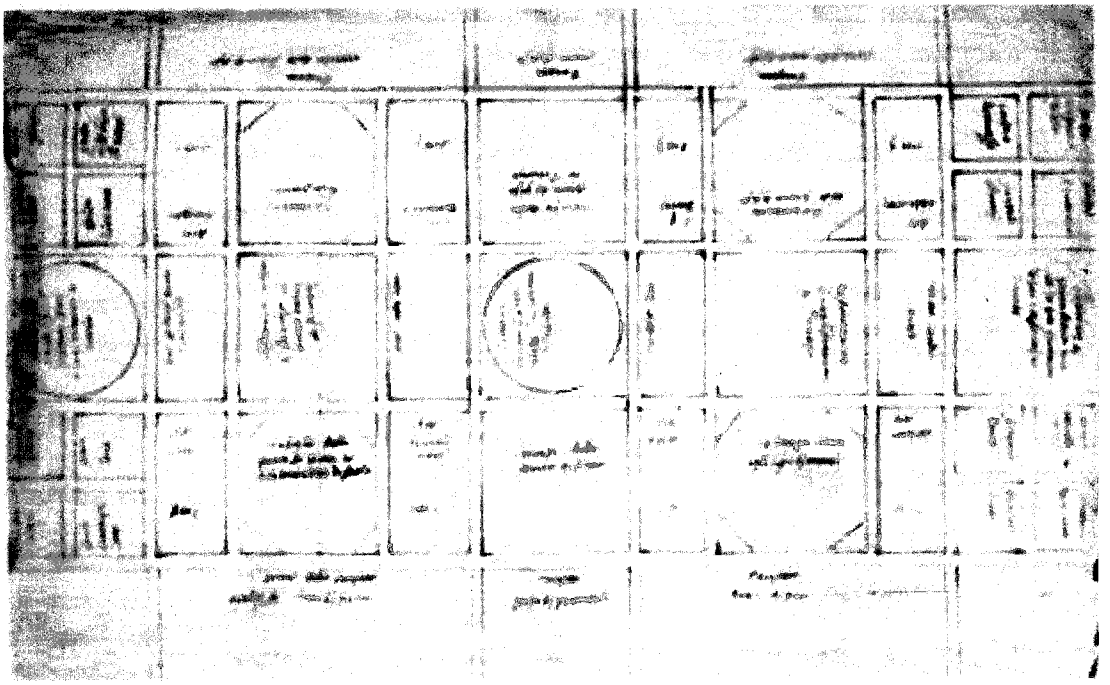


Figure 169. Giorgio Vasari, first design for the ceiling of the Salone dei Cinquecento, March 1563. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Med. Univ., filza 497A, f. 1597. (Photo: Muccini, *Salone*, 82.)



Figure 170. Giovanni Stradano, study for *Cosimo Planning the Siege of Siena*, c. 1563. Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, 6558. (Photo: Baroni Vannucci, *Giovanni Stradano*, 189.

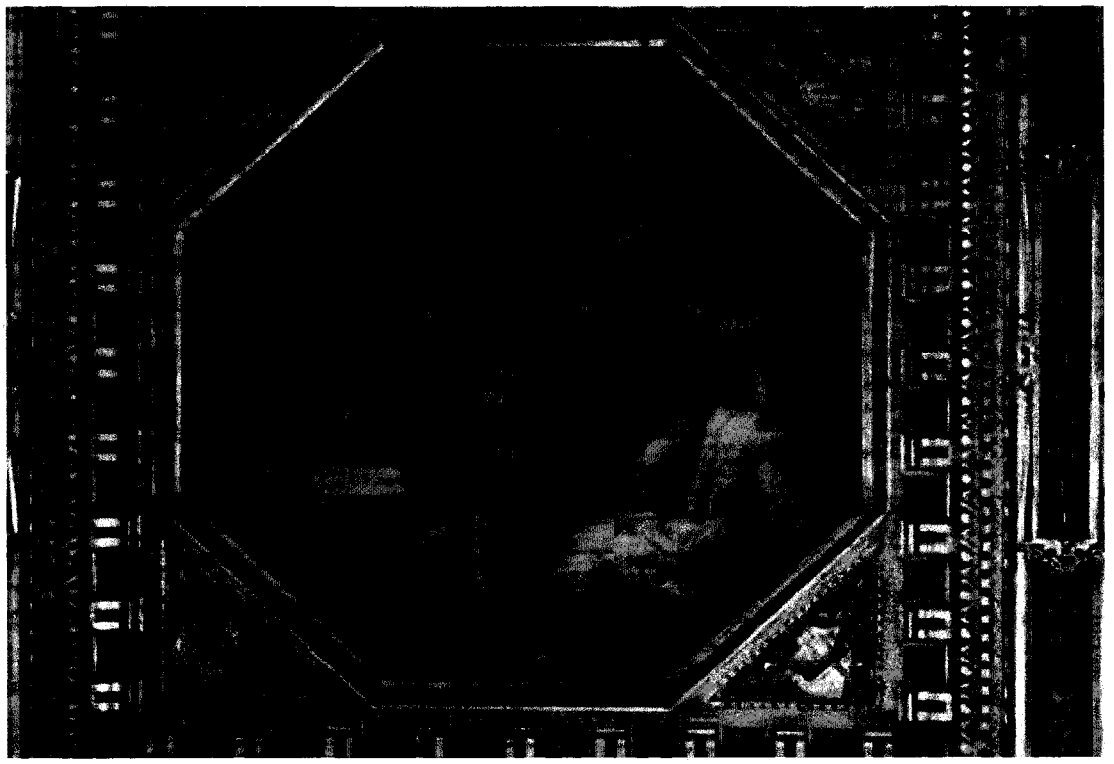


Figure 171. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Cosimo Planning of the Siege of Siena*, 1563–65. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento. (Photo: author.)



Figure 172. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Foundation of Florence*, 1563–65. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento. (Photo: author.)

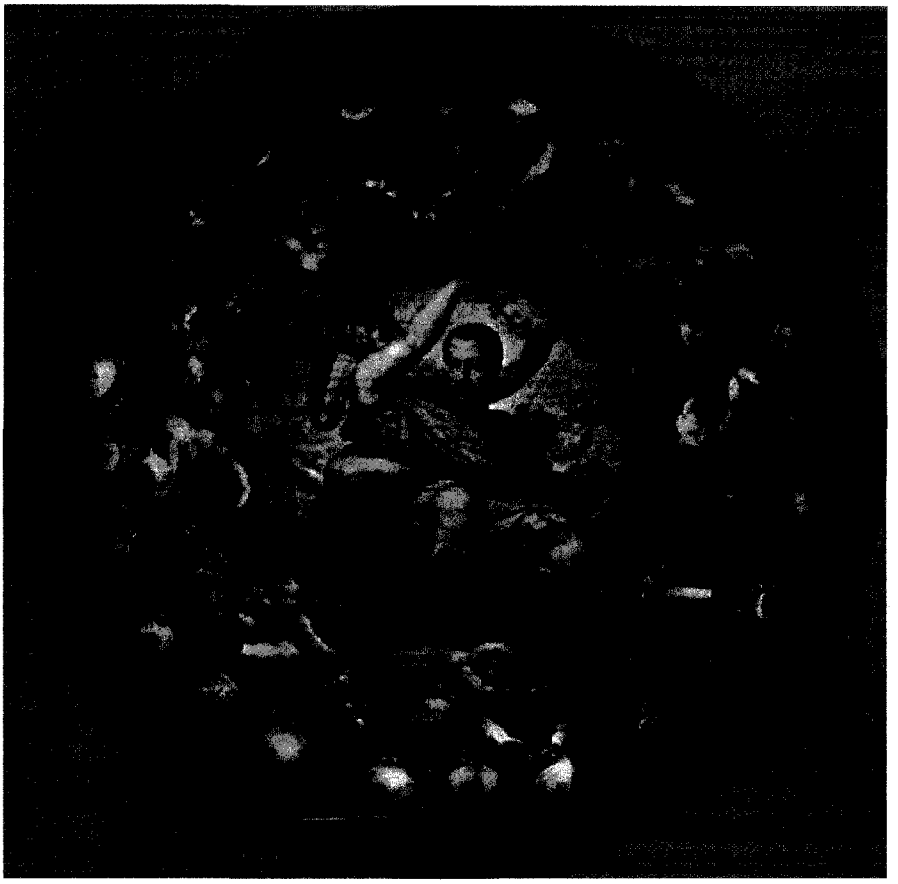


Figure 173. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Battista Naldini, *Apotheosis of Cosimo I.* Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento. (Photo: Muccini, *Salone*, 128.)



Figure 174. Domenico Ghirlandaio, detail, from *Zaccharia in the Temple,* 1486–90. Florence, Sta. Maria Novella, Tornabuoni Chapel. (Photo: "Monumentalkomplex von Santa Maria Novella, "http://www.florentinermuseen.com/musei/sant_maria_novella-florenz.html" [accessed 5 March 2004].)

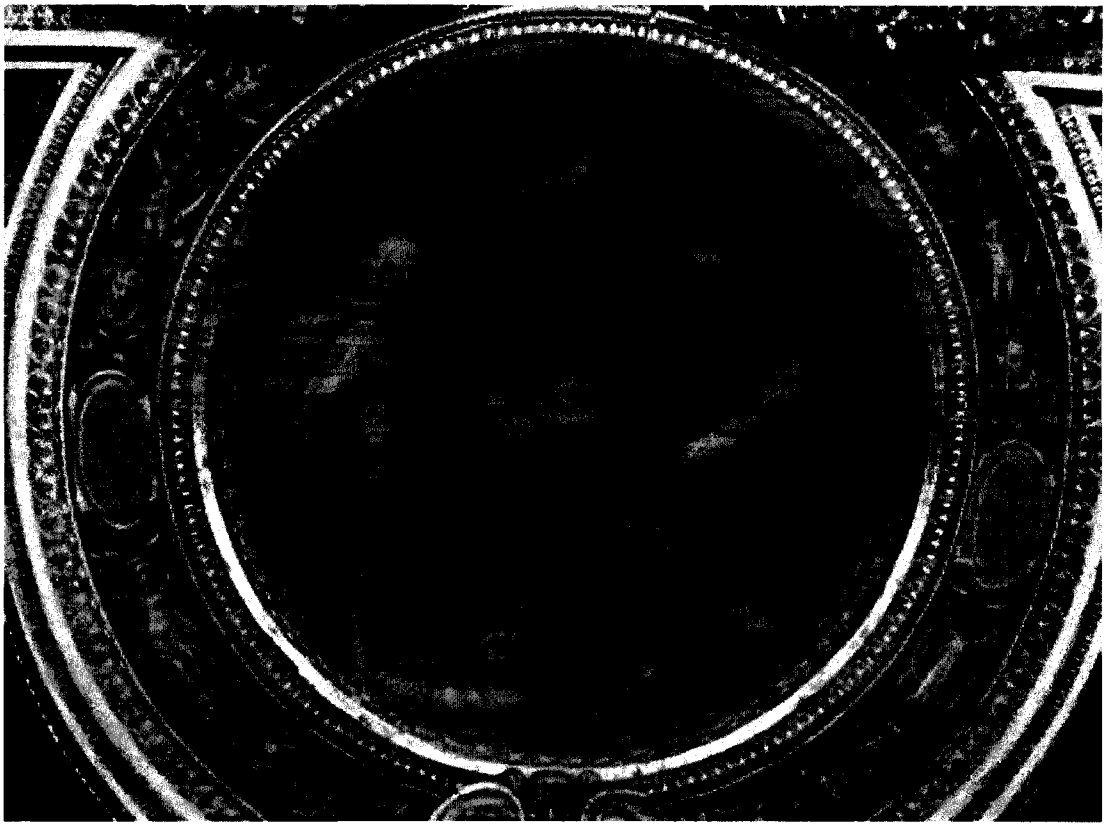


Figure 175. Giorgio Vasari, *Election of Cosimo de'Medici as Duke of Florence*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



Figure 176. Anonymous, *Francesco Guicciardini,* from the collection of Paolo Giovio, before 1521–49. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. (Photo: "Francesco Guicciardini: vita, opere e pensiero," http://www.filosofico.net/guicciardini.htm [accessed 5 March 2008].)

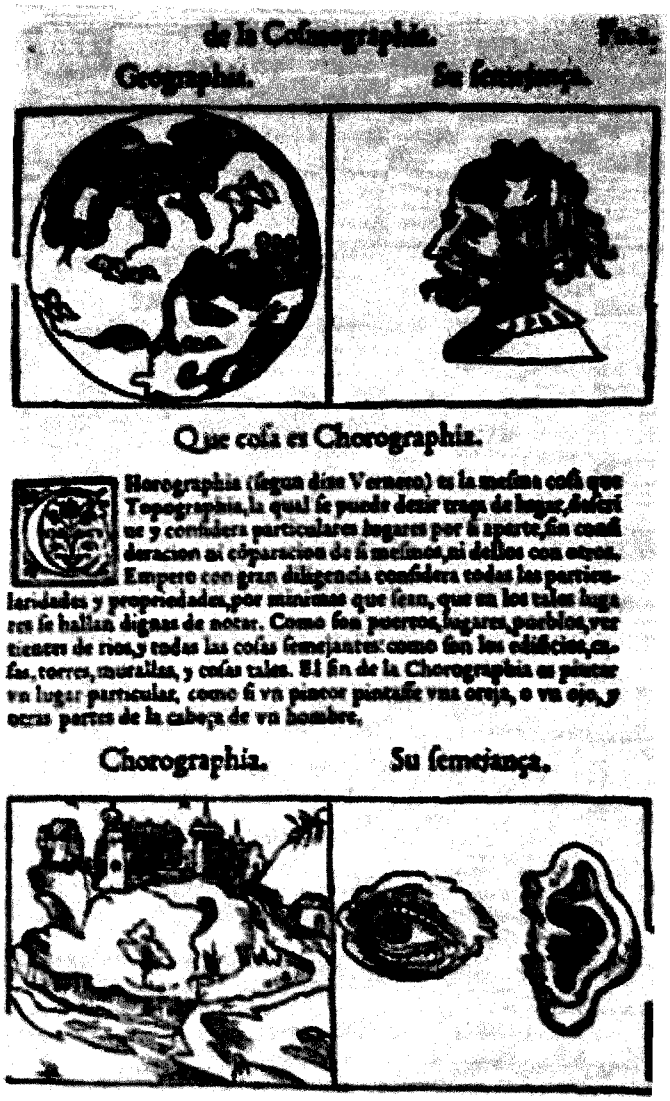


Figure 177. Peter Apian, *Geographia* and *Chorographia*, from *Libro de Cosmographia*, (1548): 2. (Photo: Kagan, "Philip II and the Geographers," 44.)



Figure 178. Fra Mauro, *Mappamundo*, 1459. (Photo: Schulz, "View of Venice," 455).

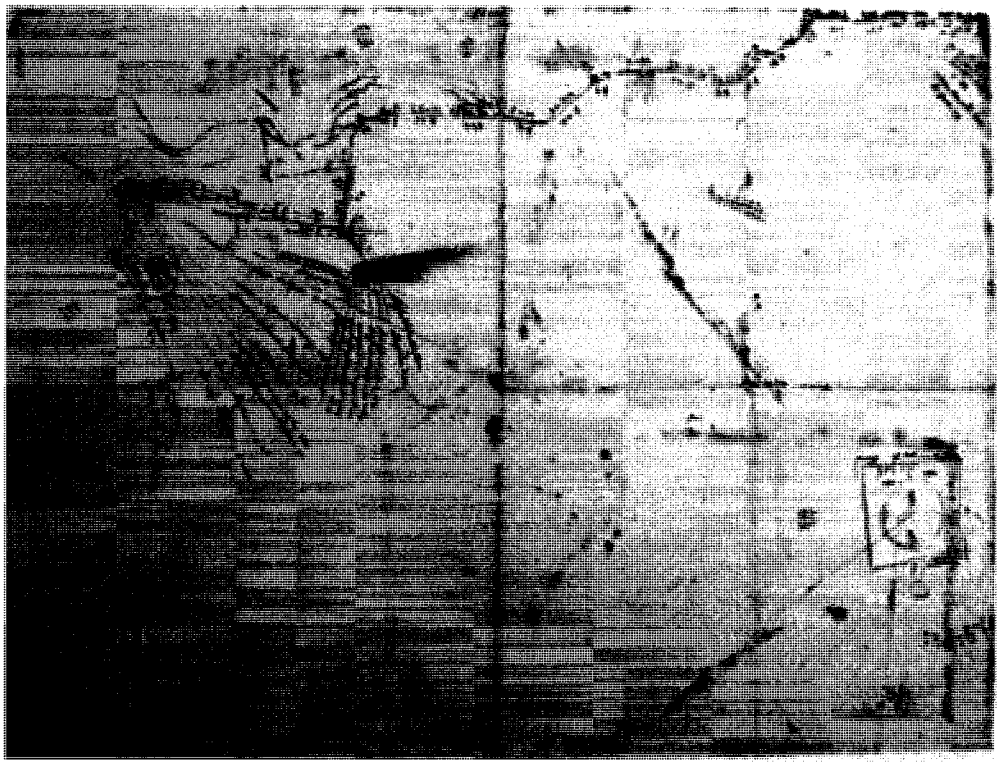


Figure 179. Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, Survey of Rome, 1542. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, U 1012A verso. (Photo: Frommel and Adams, *Architectural Drawings*, U1012A verso.)

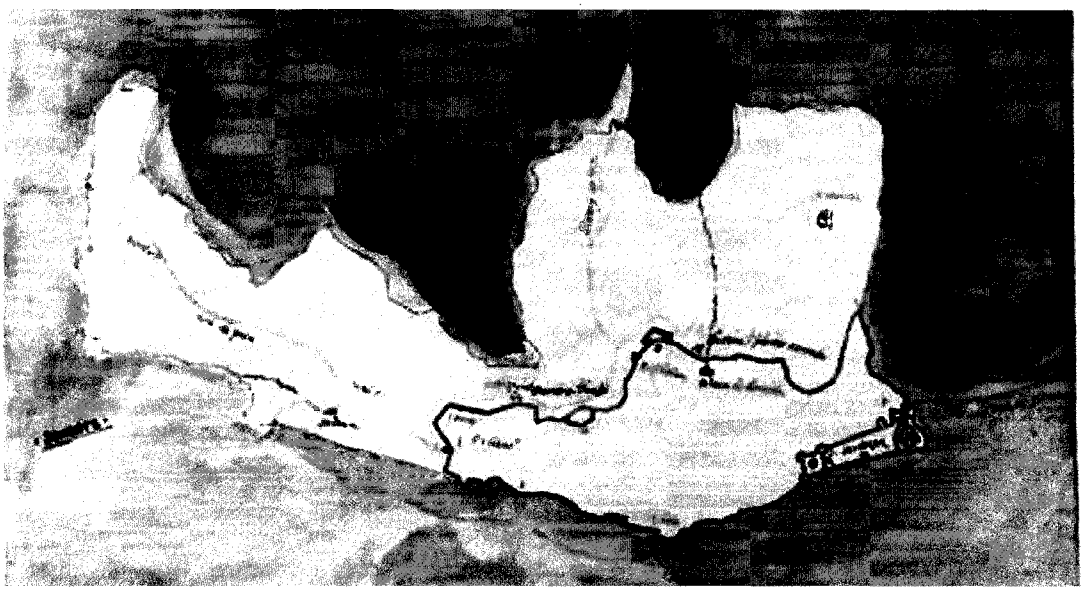


Figure 180. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, detail of *Plan of Volterra*, 1549–51. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo nazionale, II.I.280, c. 17r. (Photo: Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, tav. 59.)



Figure 181. Egnazio Danti and assistants, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, 1579–81. Vatican. (Photo: Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 4.)

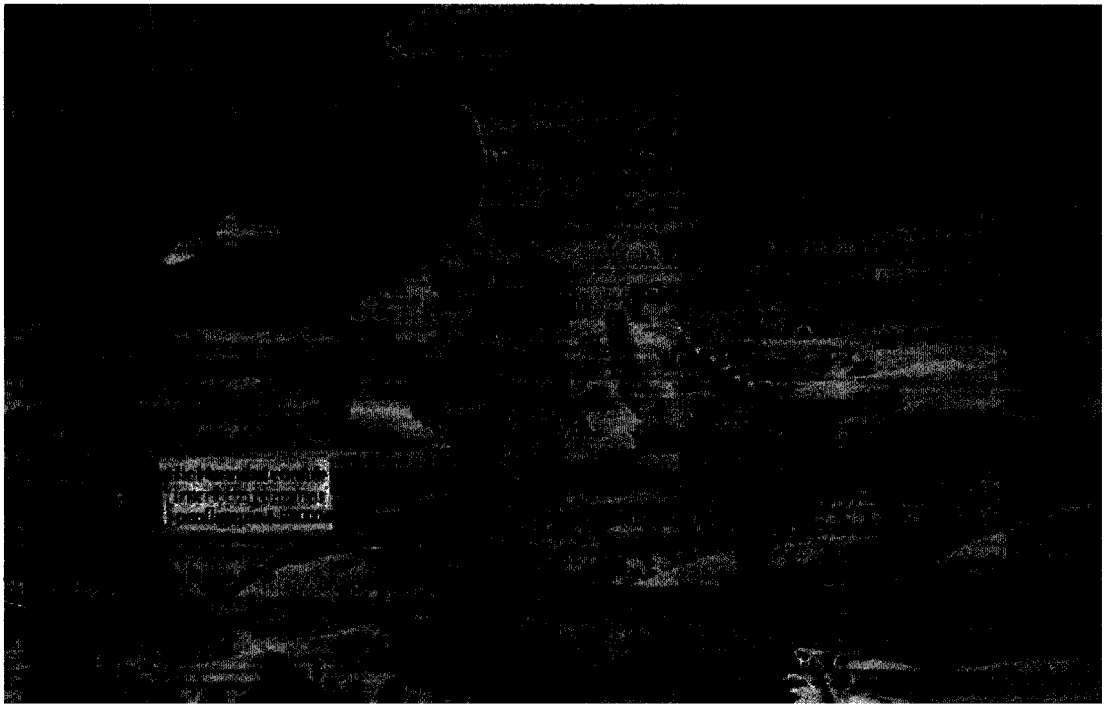


Figure 182. Egnazio Danti and assistants, detail showing Hannibal's Battle at Lake Trasimeno, from *Map of the Territory of Perugia*, 1579–80. Vatican, Galleria della Carte Geografiche. (Photo: Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 194.)



Figure 183. Egnazio Danti, *Nuova Spagna* (Mexico), 1564. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Guardaroba Nuova. (Photo: Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 81.)

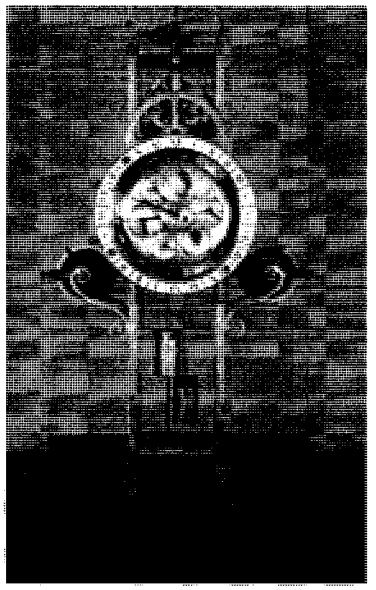


Figure 184. Alberto Gorla, after Lorenzo della Volpaia, reconstruction of the 1484 *oriolo*, 1994. Florence, Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza. (Photo: "IMSS Multimedia Catalogue: XII.38 Lorenzo della Volpaia's Planetary Clock," http://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/museum/esim.asp?c=412038 [accessed 5 March 2008].)

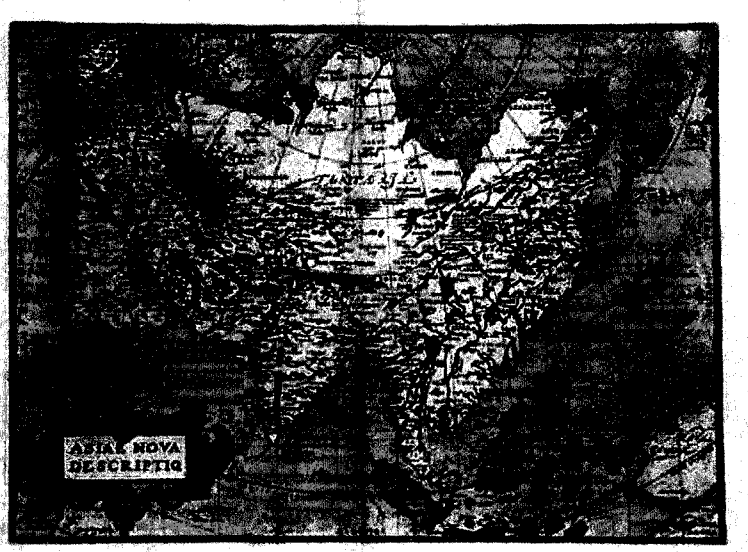


Figure 185. Abraham Ortelius, after Giacomo Gastaldi, *Map of Asia* (1559–61) from the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570): between 3 and 4. (Photo: "Library of Congress: American Memory: Theatrum orbis terrarum," http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=gnrlmap&fileName=gmd3m/g3200m/g3200m/gct00003/ct_page.db&recNum=20&itemLink=r%3Fammem%2Fgmd%3A%40field%28NUMBER%2B%40band%28g3200m%2Bgct00003%29%29 [accessed 5 march 2008].)

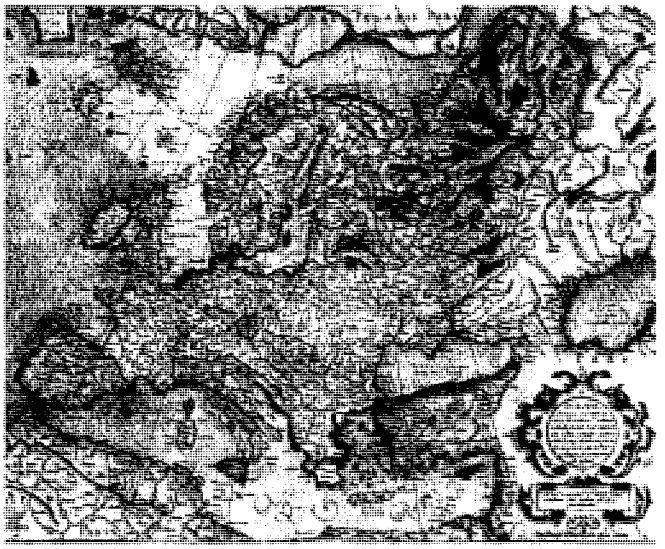


Figure 186. Abraham Ortelius, after Gerard Mercator, *Map of Europe* (1554) from the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570): between 5 and 6. (Photo: "Library of Congress: American Memory: Theatrum orbis terrarum," http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=gnrlmap&fileName=gmd3m/g3200m/g3200m/gct00003/ct_page.db&recNum=24&itemLink=r%3Fammem%2Fgmd%3A%40field%28NUMBER%2B%40band%28g3200m%2Bgct00003%29%29 [accessed 5 march 2008].)

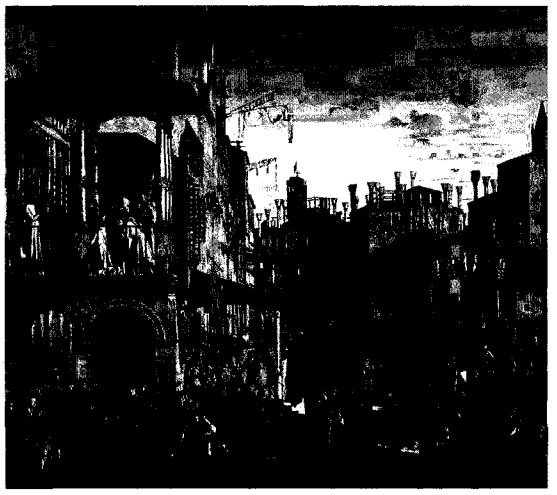


Figure 187. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Healing of a Madman*, 1494. (Photo: "Olga's Gallery: Vittore Carpaccio," http://www.abcgallery.com/C/carpaccio/carpaccio26.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 188. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Miracle of a Child*, 1482–86. Florence, Sta. Trinita, Sassetti Chapel. (Photo: author.)



Figure 189. Portoferraio from Castello Volterraio. (Photo: author.)



Figure 190. Anonymous, after Francesco Rosselli (c. 1471–82), detail of artist, from *View with a Chain*, c. 1510. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kuferstichkabinett. (Photo: Stroffolino, *Città misurata*, 146.)



Figure 191. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of artist, from *Jaen*, 1567. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 8455–4ro. (Photo: author.)



Figure 192. After Lucas van Valkenborch, *Linz*, from Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572): V:52. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 193. Stefano Buonsignori, detail of surveyor, *Map of Florence*, 1584. Florence, Museo topografico "Firenze com'era." (Photo: author.)



Figure 194. Leonardo da Vinci, *Study of a Tuscan Landscape*, 1473. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe. (Photo: Nicholl, *Leonardo da Vinci*, plate 2.)



Figure 195. Villa Medici, c. 1455–after 1460. Fiesole. (Photo: Mazzini and Martini, *Villa Medici a Fiesole*, 21.)

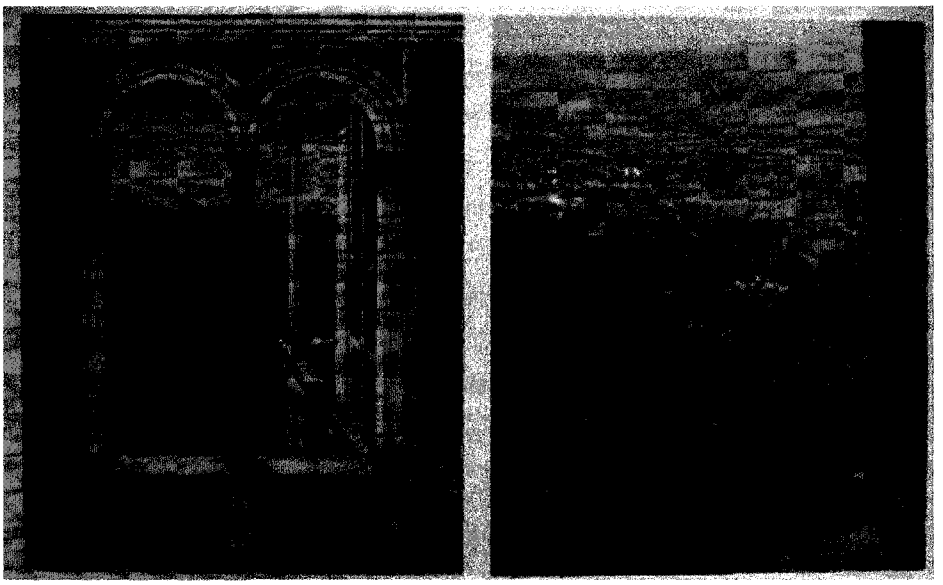


Figure 196. Left: Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, detail of window with view of Florence from the Villa Medici at Fiesole, from *Annunciation*, 1470. Berlin, Gemalderie. (Photo: Mazzini and Martini, *Villa Medici a Fiesole*, 89.)

Figure 197. Right: View from the window in Lorenzo's room at the Villa Medici at Fiesole. (Photo: Mazzini and Martini, *Villa Medici a Fiesole*, 89.)



Figure 198. Villa Belvedere, 1485–87. Vatican. (Photo: Coffin, *The Villa*, 74.)



Figure 199. Gaspare van Wittel, *View of Rome from the Belvedere*, c. 1682. Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina. (Photo: Chastel, *Villa Médicis*, 1:16.)

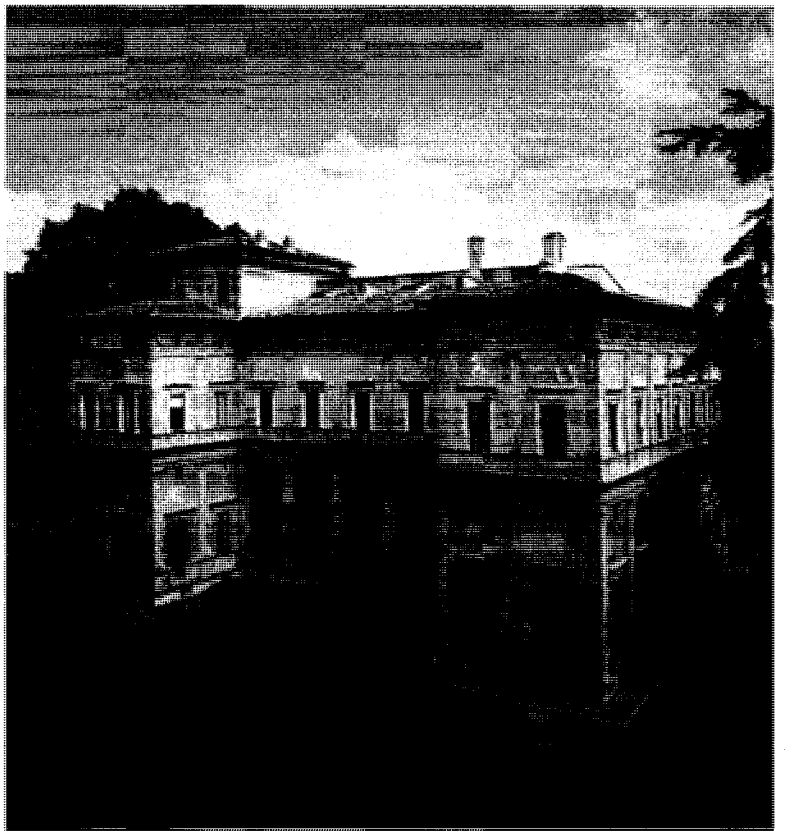


Figure 200. Baldassare Peruzzi, Villa Farnesina, 1505. Rome. (Photo: Frommel, *Villa Farnesina*, 31.)

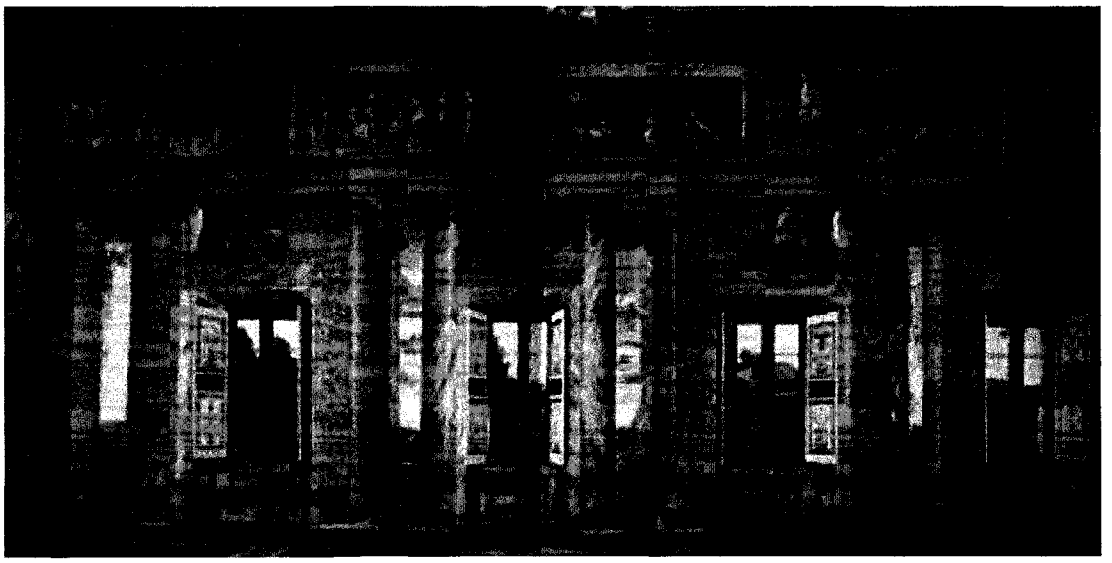


Figure 201. Baldassare Peruzzi, south wall, Sala delle Prospettive, 1519. Rome, Villa Farnesina. (Photo: Frommel, *Villa Farnesina*, 200–1.)

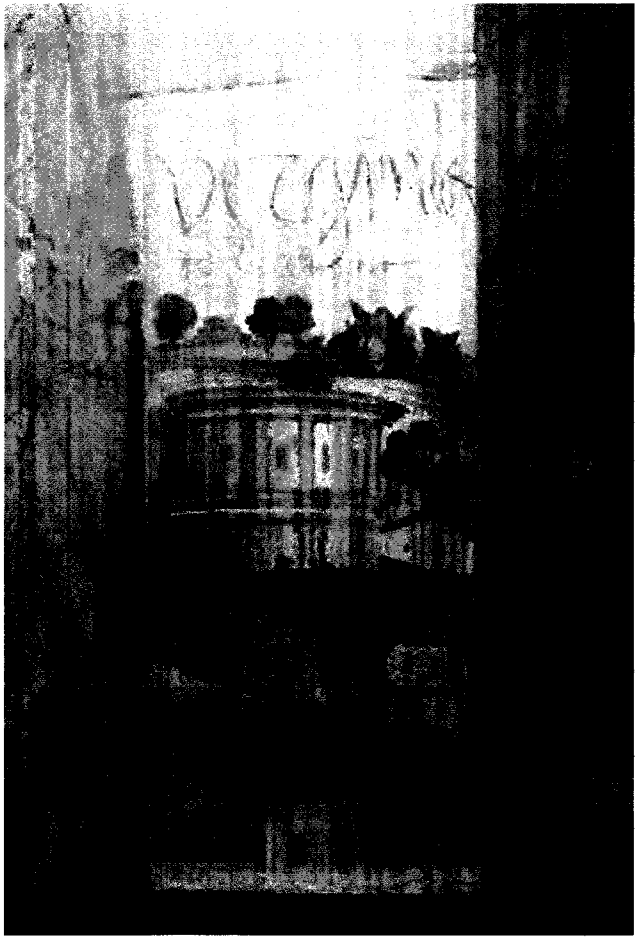


Figure 202. Baldassare Peruzzi, detail of the Theatrum Marcellus, from the south wall, Sala delle Prospettive, 1519. Rome, Villa Farnesina. (Photo: Frommel, *Villa Farnesina*, 208.)



Figure 203. Baldassare Peruzzi, detail of the Villa Farnesina, from the south wall, Sala delle Prospettive, 1519. Rome, Villa Farnesina. (Photo: Frommel, *Villa Farnesina*, 209.)

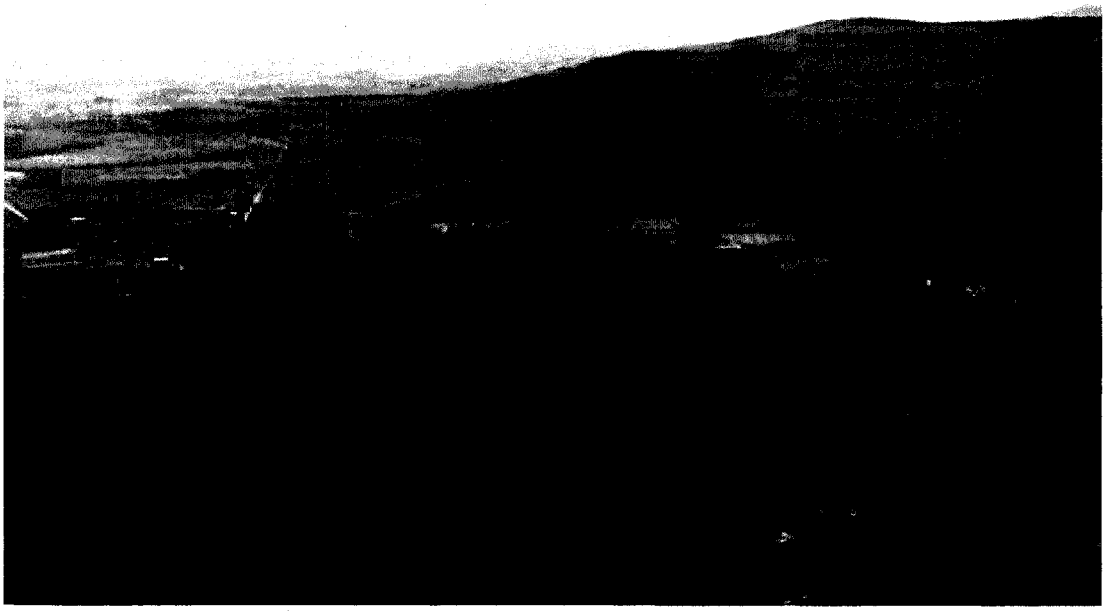


Figure 204. View from Cortona looking west. (Photo: author.)



Figure 205. View from Volterra looking south. (Photo: author.)

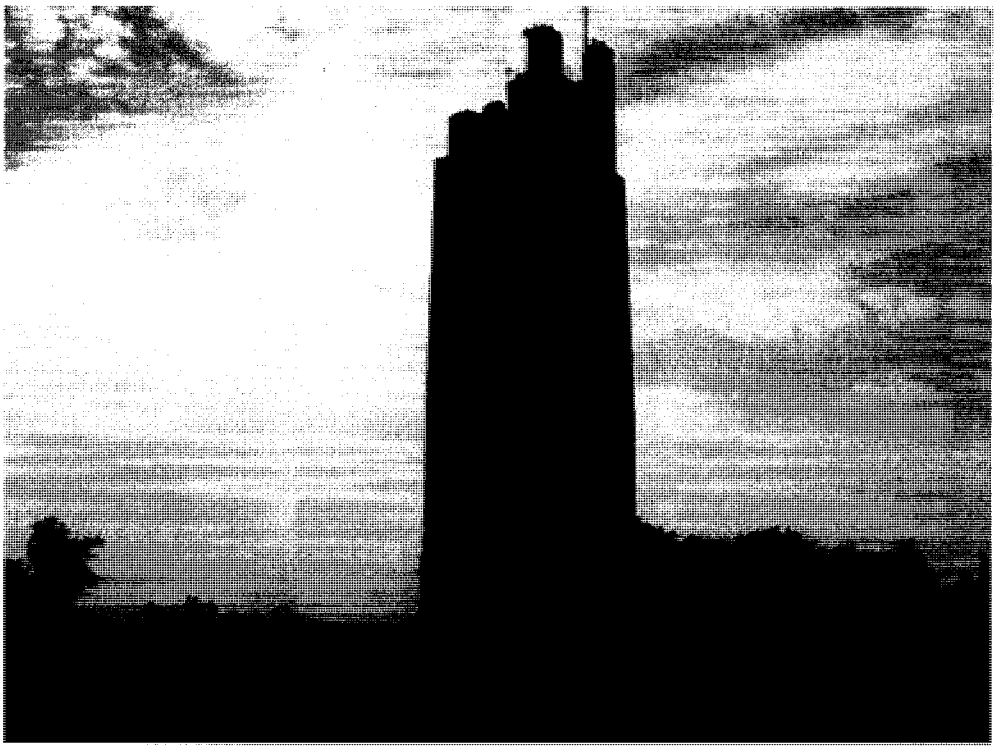


Figure 206. Torre di Federico, S. Miniato al Tedesco. (Photo: author.)

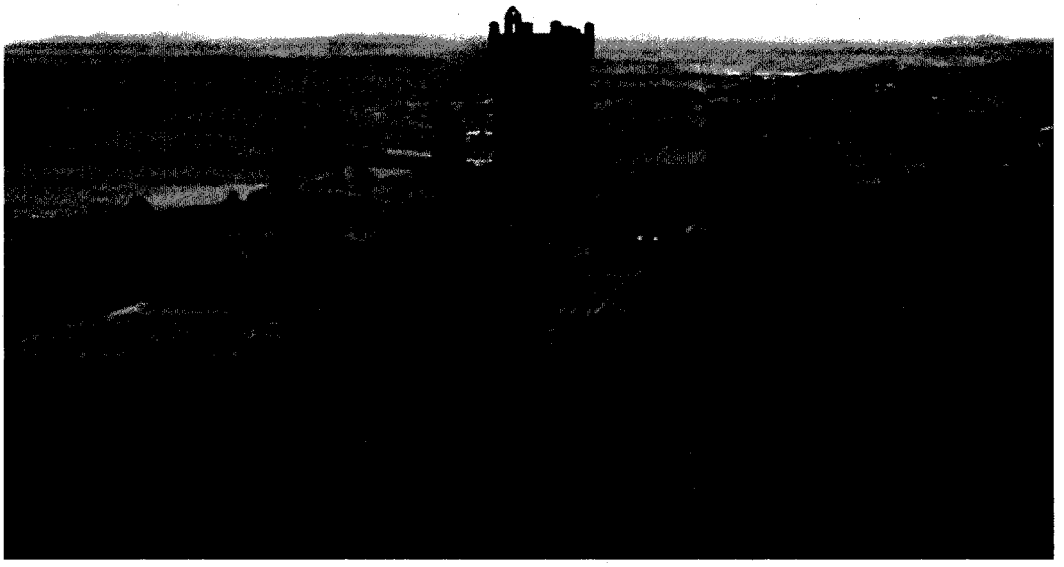


Figure 207. View from the Torre di Federico, S. Miniato al Tedesco, looking southwest. (Photo: author.)



Figure 208. Porta Lucchese, Montecarlo. (Photo: author.)

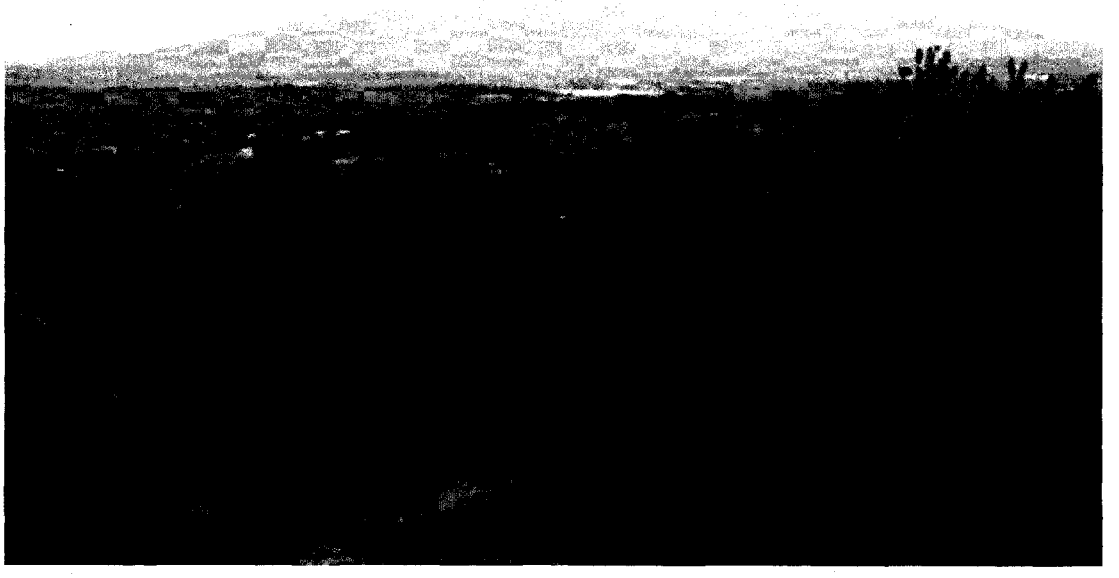


Figure 209. View west from Porta Lucchese, Montecarlo. (Photo: author.)

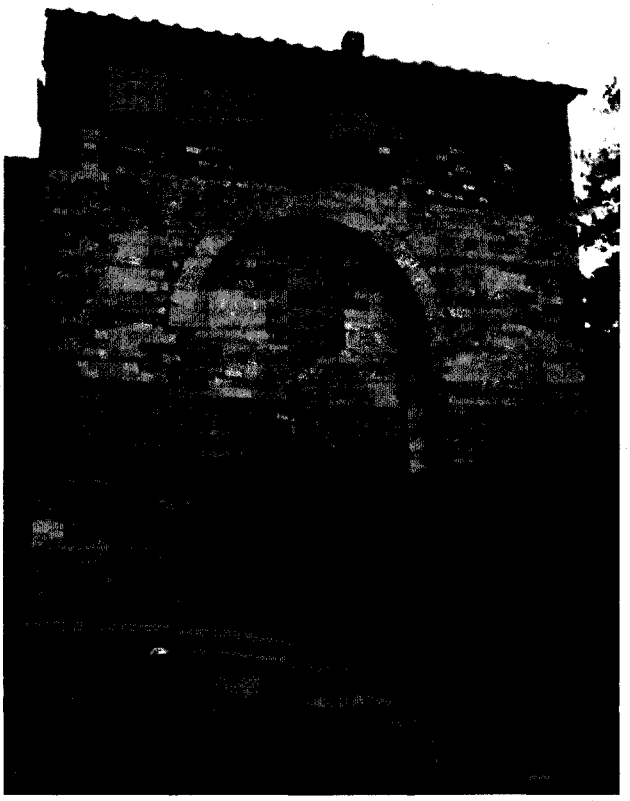


Figure 210. Porta Farine, Montepulciano. (Photo: author.)

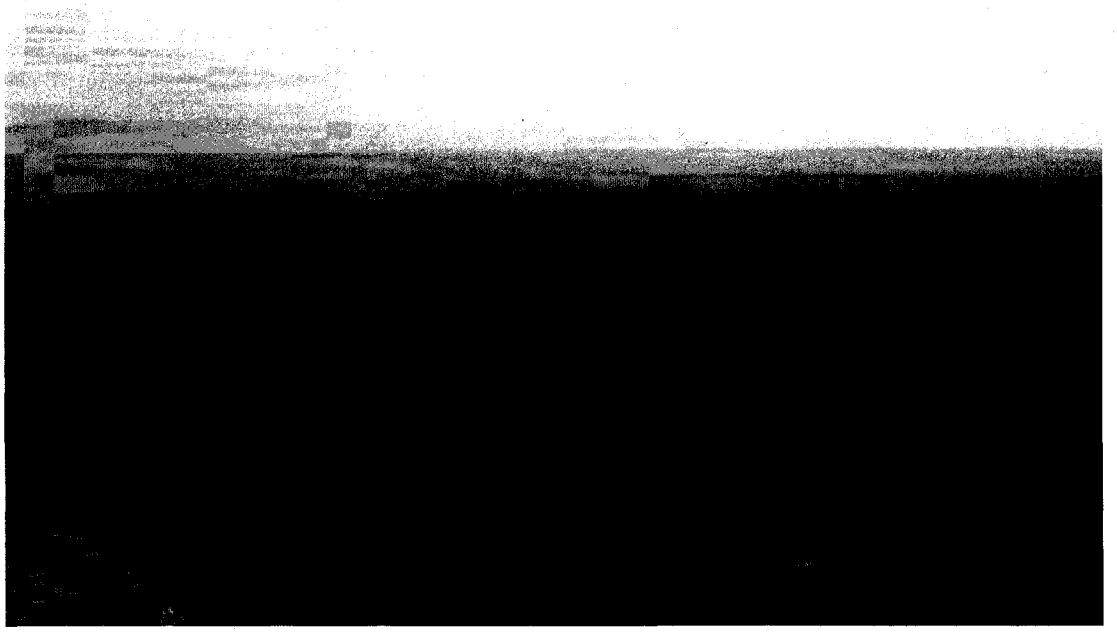


Figure 211. View west from Porta Farine, Montepulciano. (Photo: author.)



Figure 212. View from Montemurlo looking southeast towards Prato. (Photo: author.)



Figure 213. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Daroca*, 1563. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 8ro. (Photo: Kagan, *Spanish Cities*, 139–41.)

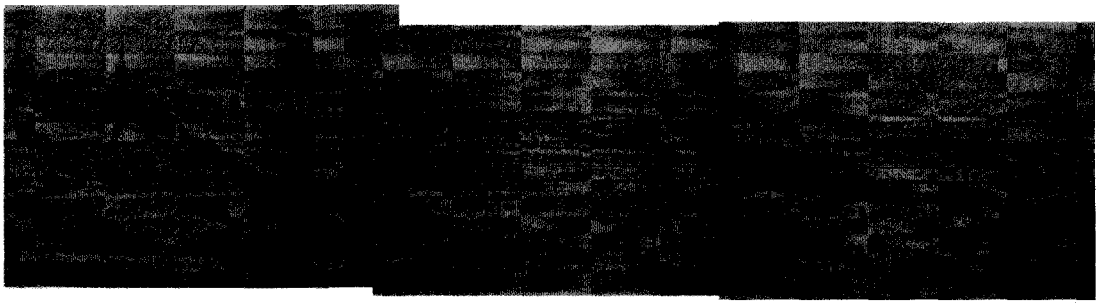


Figure 214. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Louvain*, 1557–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.74b^{ro}. (Photo: author.)



Figure 215. Giorgio Vasari and assistants, detail of Cortona (left) and Montepulciano (right), from *Cortona and Montepulciano*. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone di Cinquecento. (Photo: author.)



Figure 216. View of Montepulciano from the north on the road from Torrita di Siena. (Photo: author.)

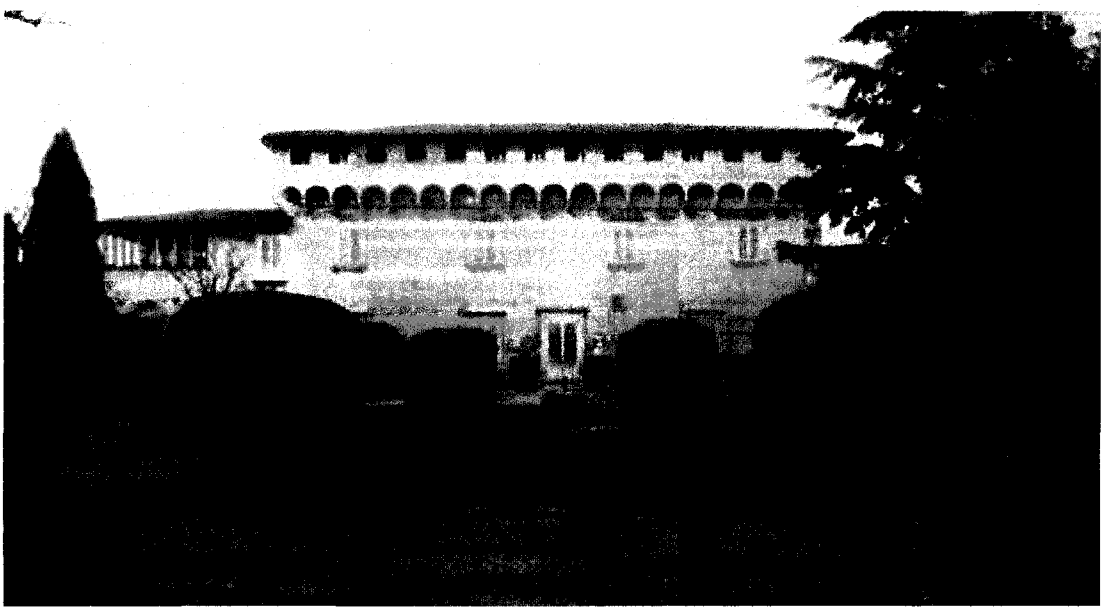


Figure 217. Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, Villa Carreggi, 1436–40, 1450–59. Florence. (Photo: Vitiello, *Committenza Medicea*, 37.)

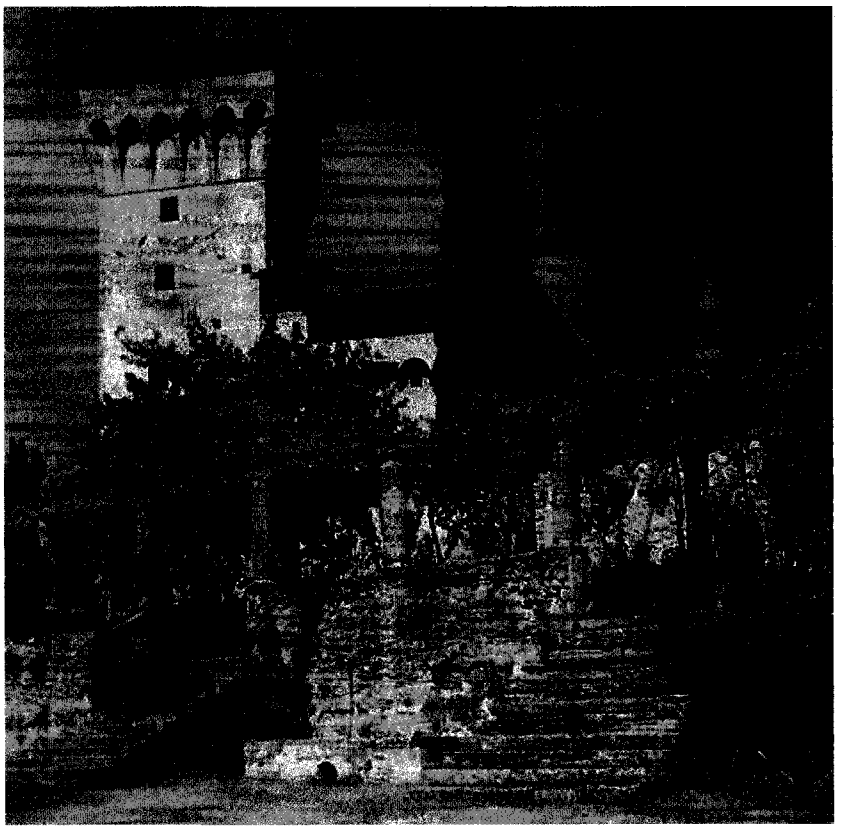


Figure 218. Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, Villa del Trebbio, 1427–33. Barberino di Mugello. (Photo: Visentini, *Committenza Medicea*, 45.)

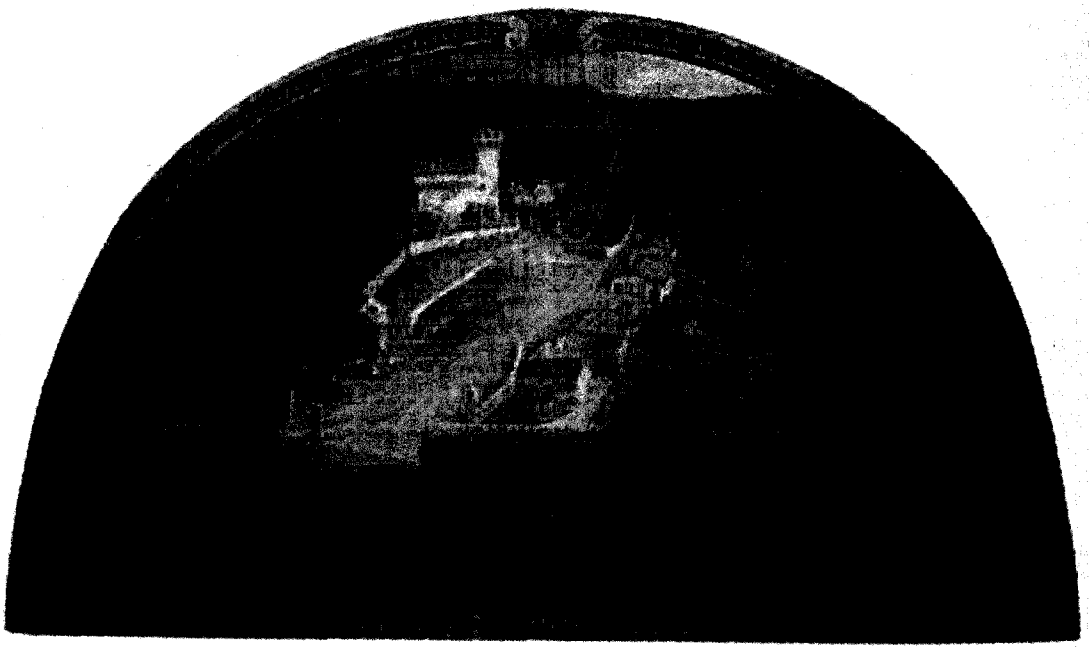


Figure 219. Giusto Utens, *il Trebbio*, c. 1599. Florence, Museo Topografico "Firenze com'era." (Photo: Visentini, *Villa in Italia*, 44.)

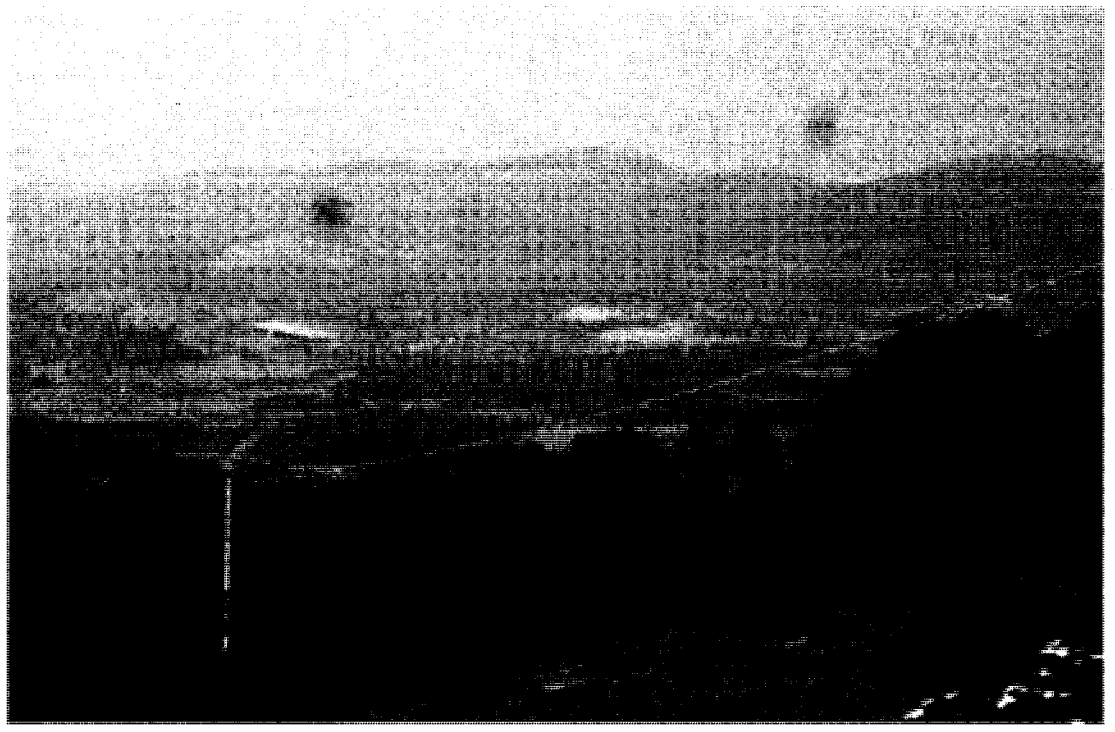


Figure 220. View from Villa Trebbio looking northwest. (Photo: author.)



Figure 221. Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, Villa di Cafaggiolo, after 1451?. Barberino di Mugello. (Photo: Vitiell, *Committenza Medicea*, 43.)

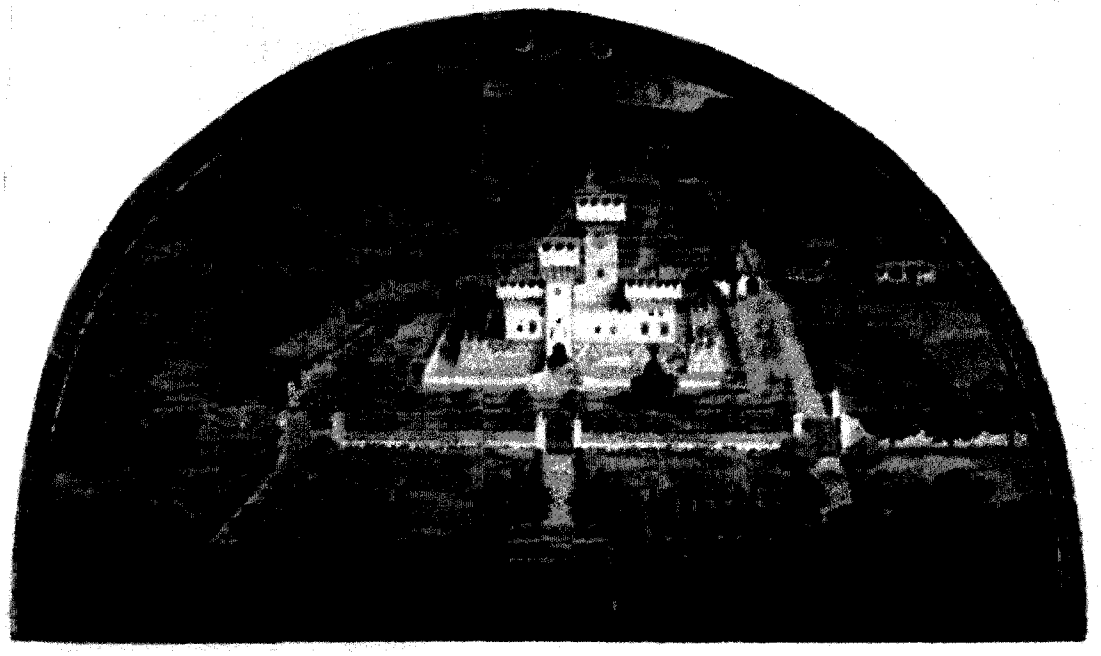


Figure 222. Giusto Utens, *il Cafaggiolo*, c. 1599. Florence, Museo Topografico "Firenze com'era." (Photo: Mignani, *Medicean Villas by Utens*, 25.)



Figure 223. Villa Medici, 1574–80. Rome. (Photo: Chastel, *Villa Médicis*, 1:233.)



Figure 224. Anonymous, *View of the Eastern Façade of the Villa Medici*, 1767–70. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. (Photo: Chastel, *Villa Médicis*, 1:16.)

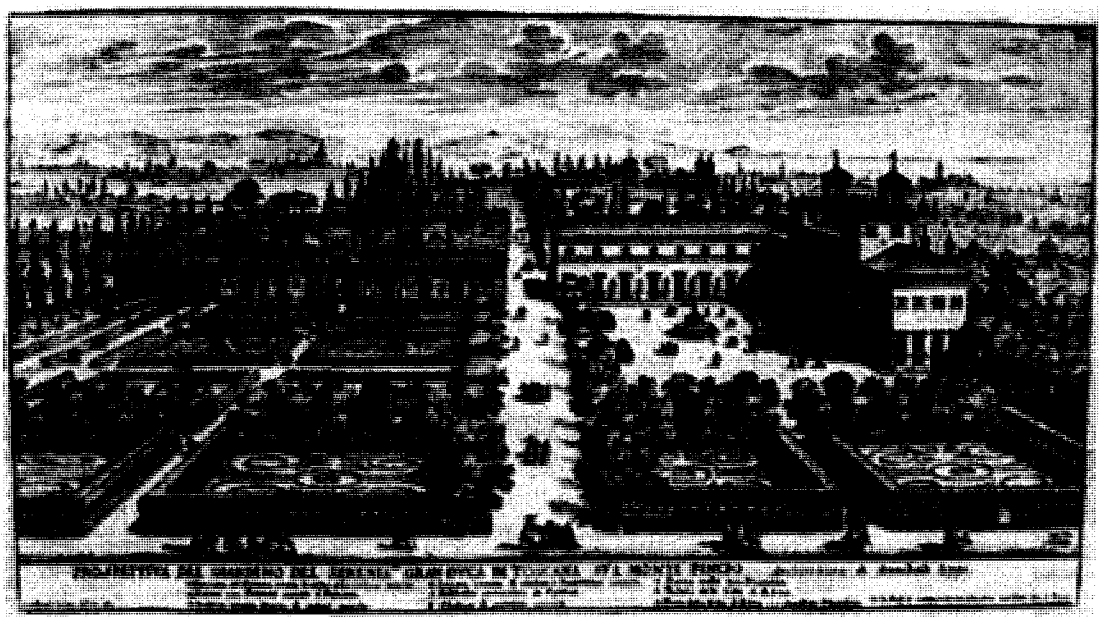


Figure 225. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Perspective View of the Gardens of the Villa Medici from the North*, 1667. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Vb 83 in f. 82. (Photo: Chastel, *Villa Médicis*, 1:93.)

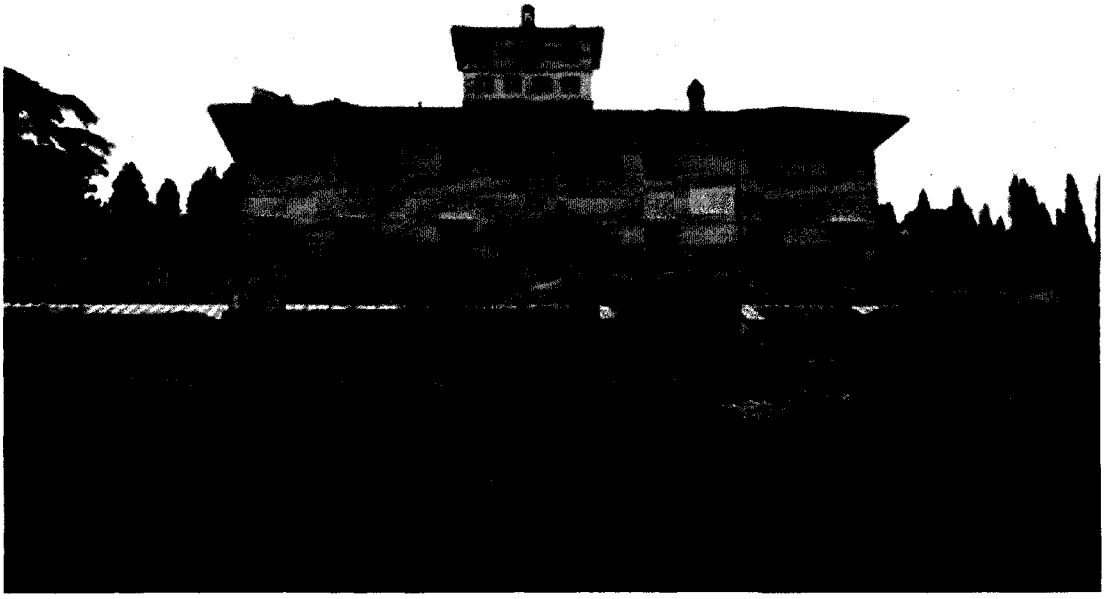


Figure 226. Bernardo Buontalenti, Villa Petraia, 1575–80. Florence. (Photo: author.)

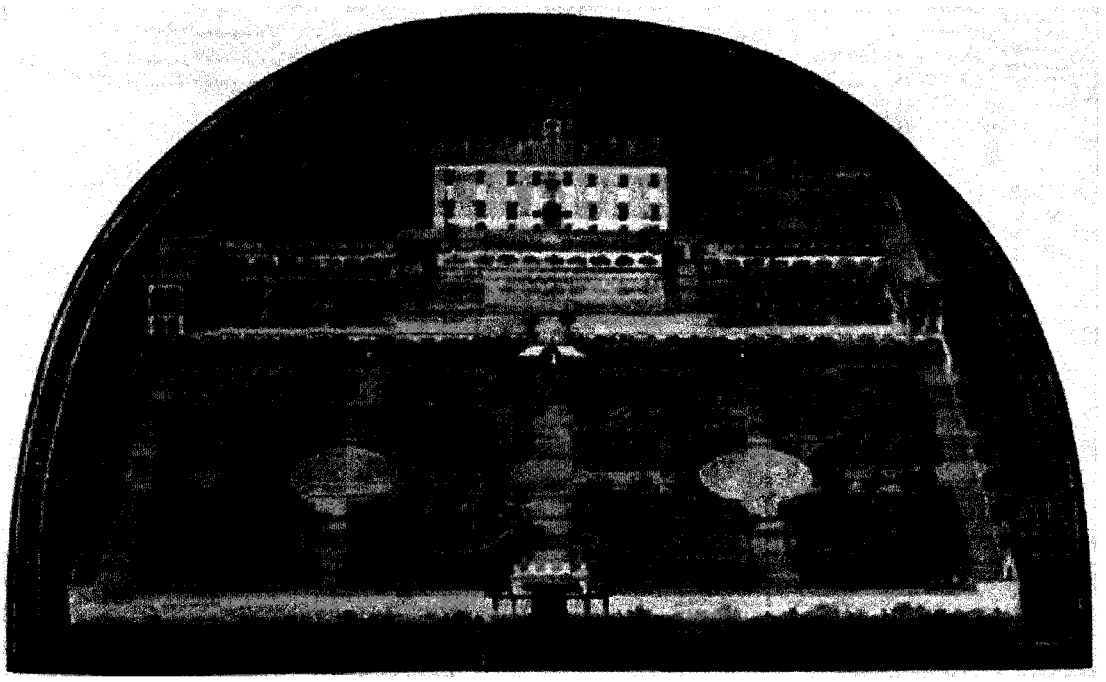


Figure 227. Giusto Utens, *Villa Petraia*, c. 1599. Florence, Museo Topografico "Firenze com'era." (Photo: Mignani, *Medicean Villas by Utens*, 35.)

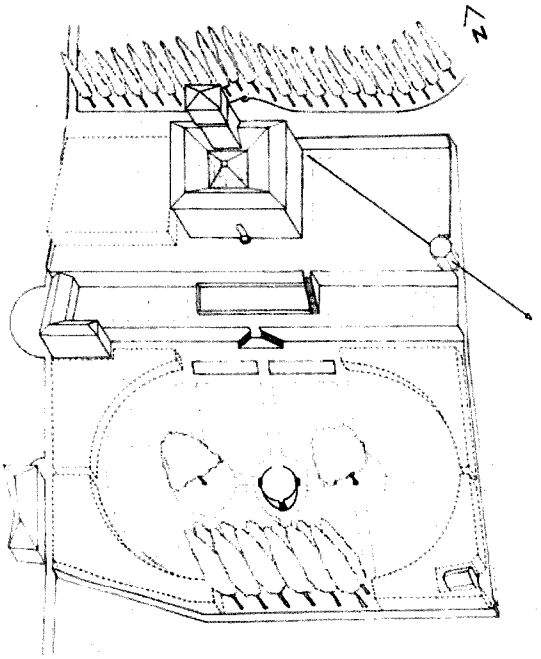


Figure 228. Perspective Rendering of the Villa Petraia showing direction of view of *belvedere*, from van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 71.

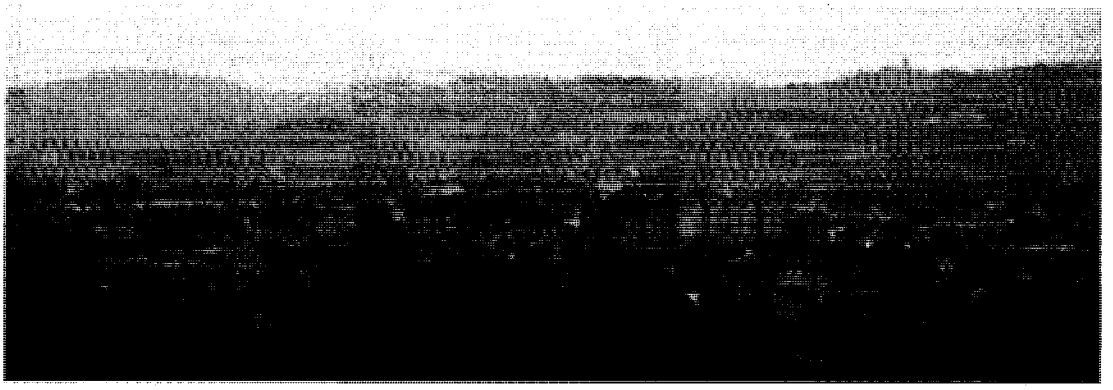


Figure 229. View of Florence from the Villa Petraia. (Photo: author.)

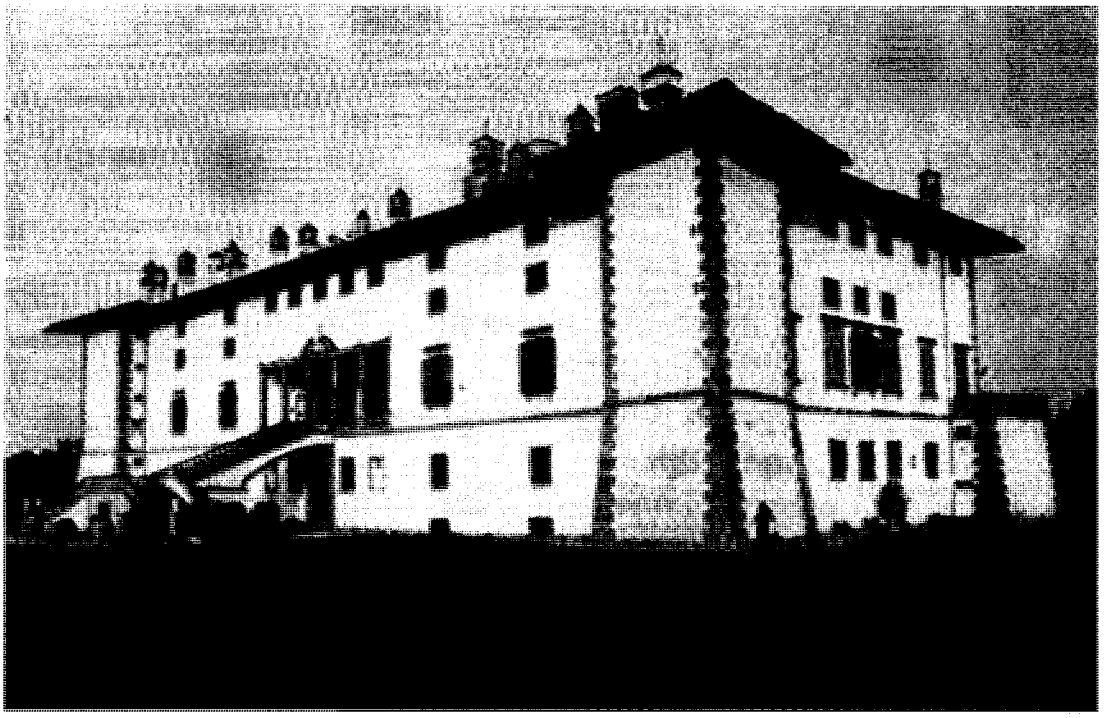


Figure 230. Bernardo Buontalenti, Villa di Artimino, 1594. Artimino. (Photo: Fianico Studio, *The Medici Villas*, Florence: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina (1980): 115.)

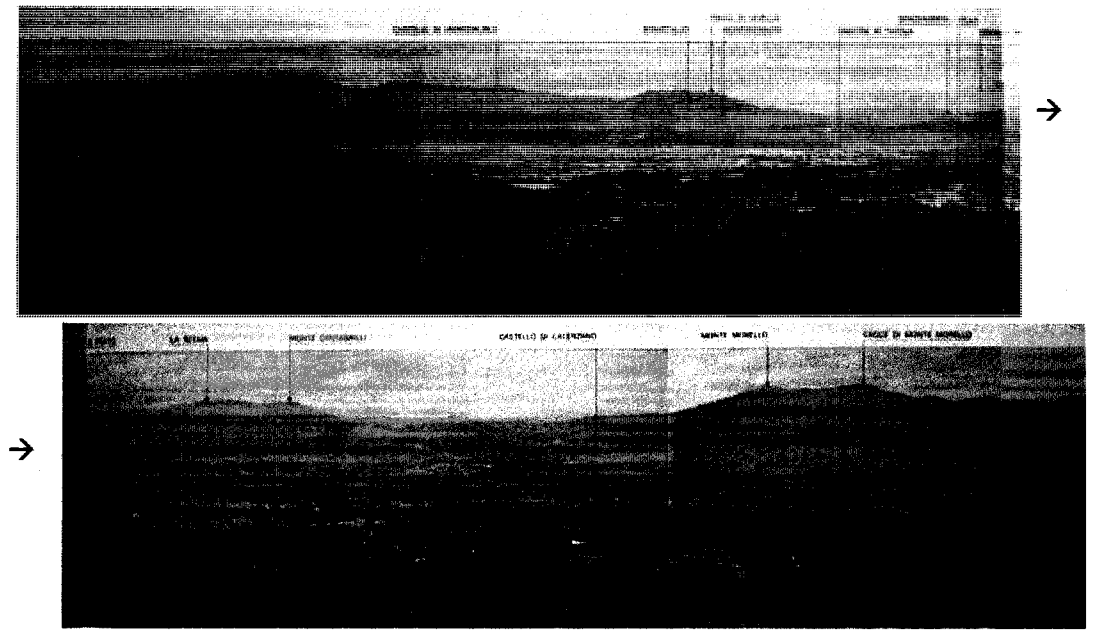


Figure 231. View from the Villa di Artimino. (Photo: Silvestro Bardazzi and Eugenio Castellani, *La Villa Medicea di Poggio a Caiano*, 2 vols. (Prato: Edizioni del Palazzo, 1981), 110–11.)

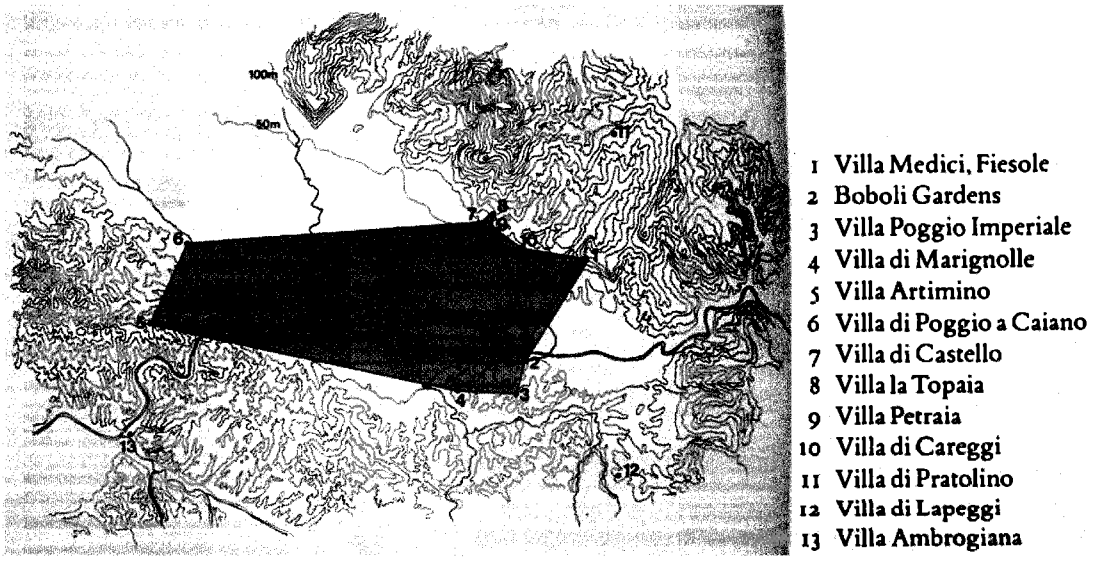


Figure 232. Diagram showing the network created by the views from the Medici villas around Florence, from van der Ree, Smienk, and Steenbergen, *Italian Villas*, 32.



Figure 233. Sala delle Ville, Villa di Artimino. (Photo: Mignani, *Medicean Villas by Utens*, 103.)

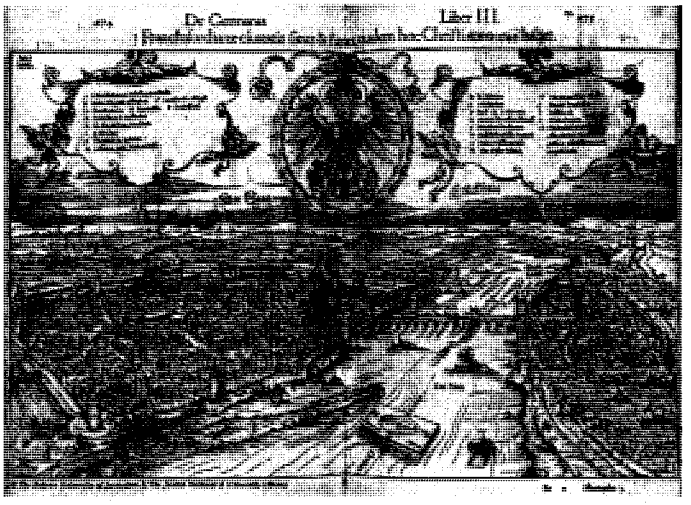


Figure 234. *Frankfurt am Main*, from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1550): 674-5. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 235. *Lübeck*, from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1550): 734–35. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

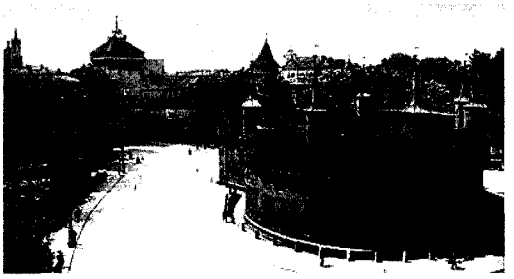


Figure 236. Barbican of Florianska Gate, sixteenth century. Poland, Krakow. (Photo: "Krakow Info: Krakow's City Walls," http://www.krakow-info.com/mury.htm [accessed 5 March 2008].)

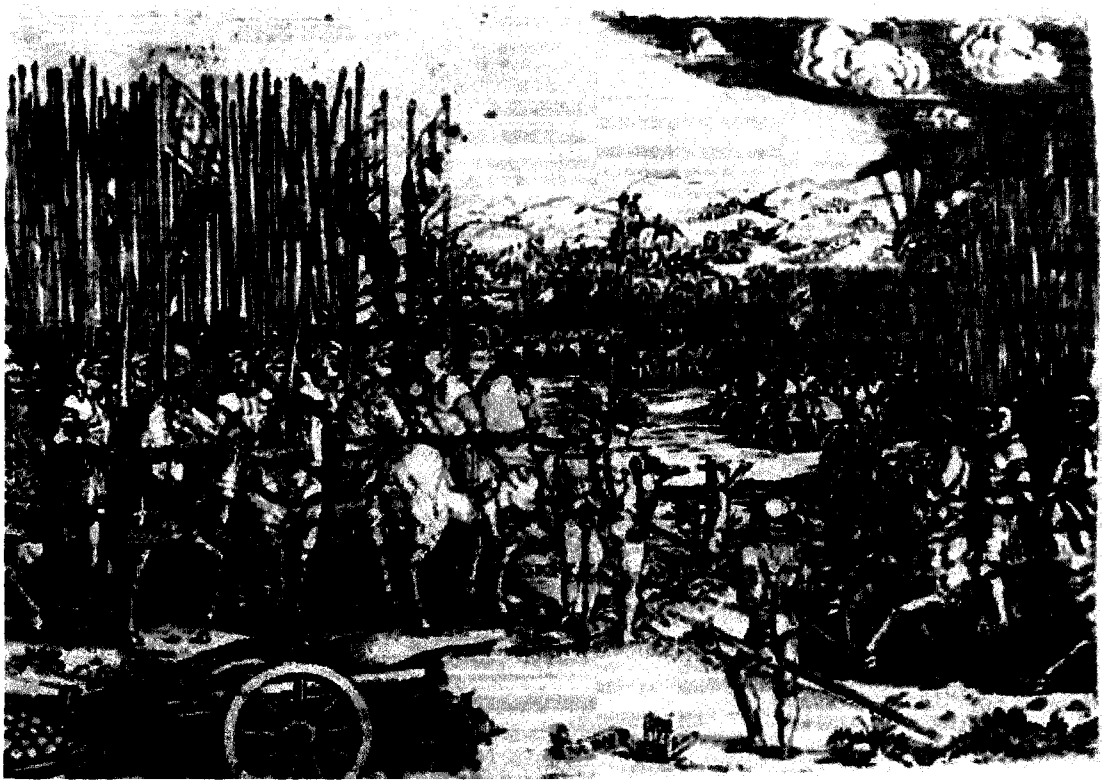


Figure 237. Agostino Veneziano, after Master Na Dat (c. 1512), *The Battle of Ravenna*, 1518. London: British Museum, B xiii, 365, 2. (Photo: Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 141.)



Figure 238. Giorgio Vasari, detail of *The Battle of Ravenna,* from the design for the ceiling of the Sala di Leone X, c. 1558. Paris, Louvre, 2175. (Photo: Barocchi, *Vasari Pittore*, fig. 64.)

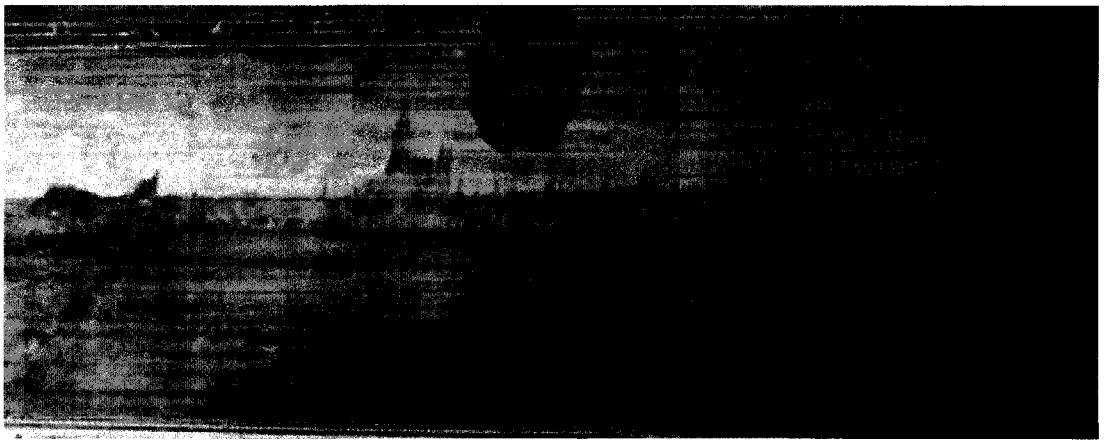


Figure 239. Workshop of Giorgio Vasari, *Vienna*, 1565. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Primo Cortile. (Photo: author.)



Figure 240. *Vienna*, from Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographei* (1550): dcccxxiii-dcccxxvi. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 241. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Enlargement of Florence*, 1563–65. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento. (Photo: author.)

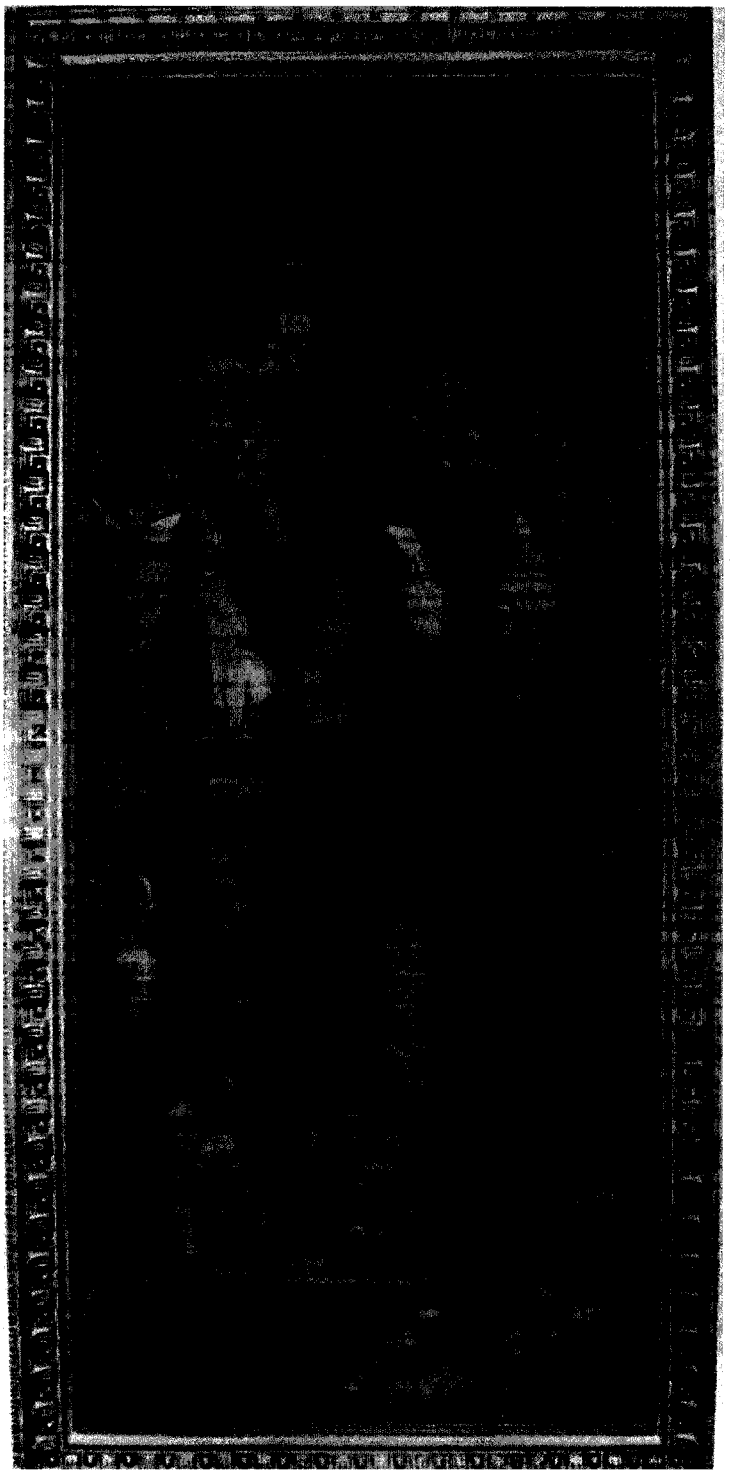


Figure 242. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Clement VII Crowns Charles V Holy Roman Emperor*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 166.)

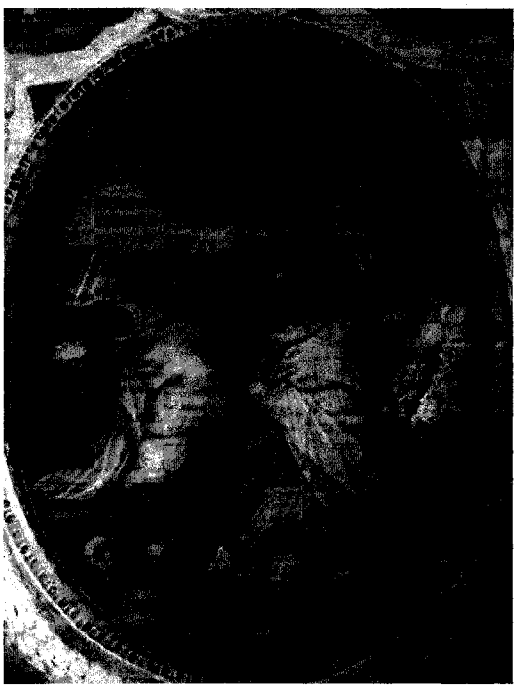


Figure 243. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Pope Clement VII Nominates His Nephew Ippolito de'Medici a Cardinal*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 168.)



Figure 244. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Emperor Charles V Crowns Alessandro de'Medici Duke of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 169.)



Figure 245. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Alessandro de'Medici Marries Margherita d'Austria, Daughter of Emperor Charles V*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 177.)

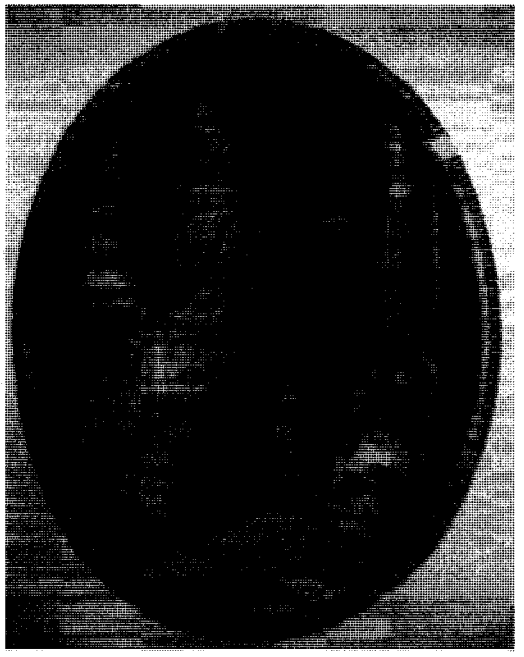


Figure 246. Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII Opens the Holy Door for the 1525 Jubilee*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 163.)

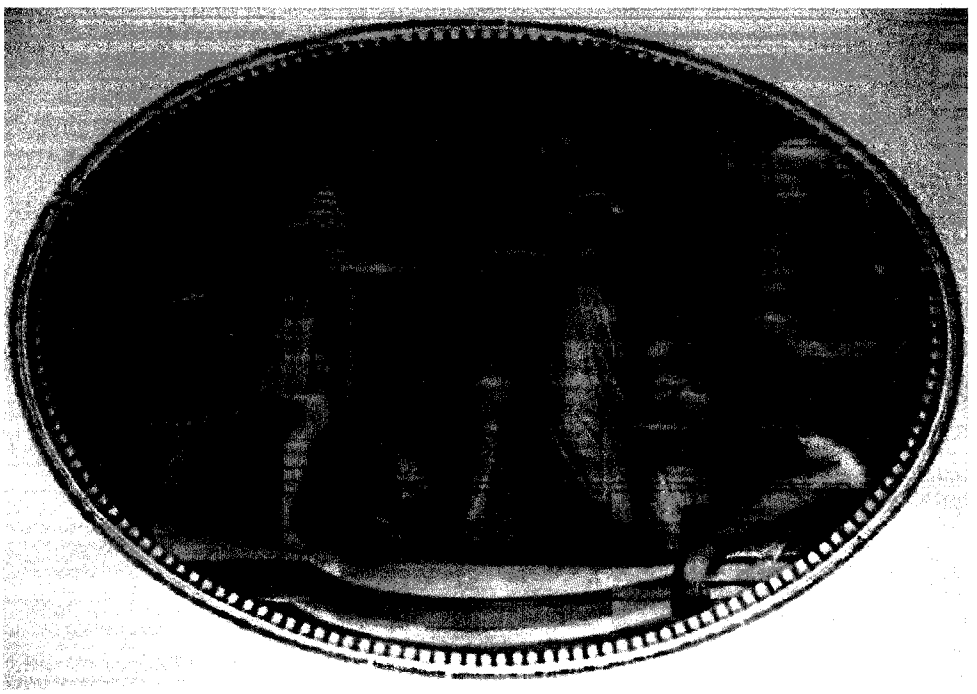


Figure 247. Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII Presides over the Marriage of Catherine de'Medici to Henri, Son of King Francis I*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 174.)



Figure 248. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *Clement VII Returns from France to Rome*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 174.)

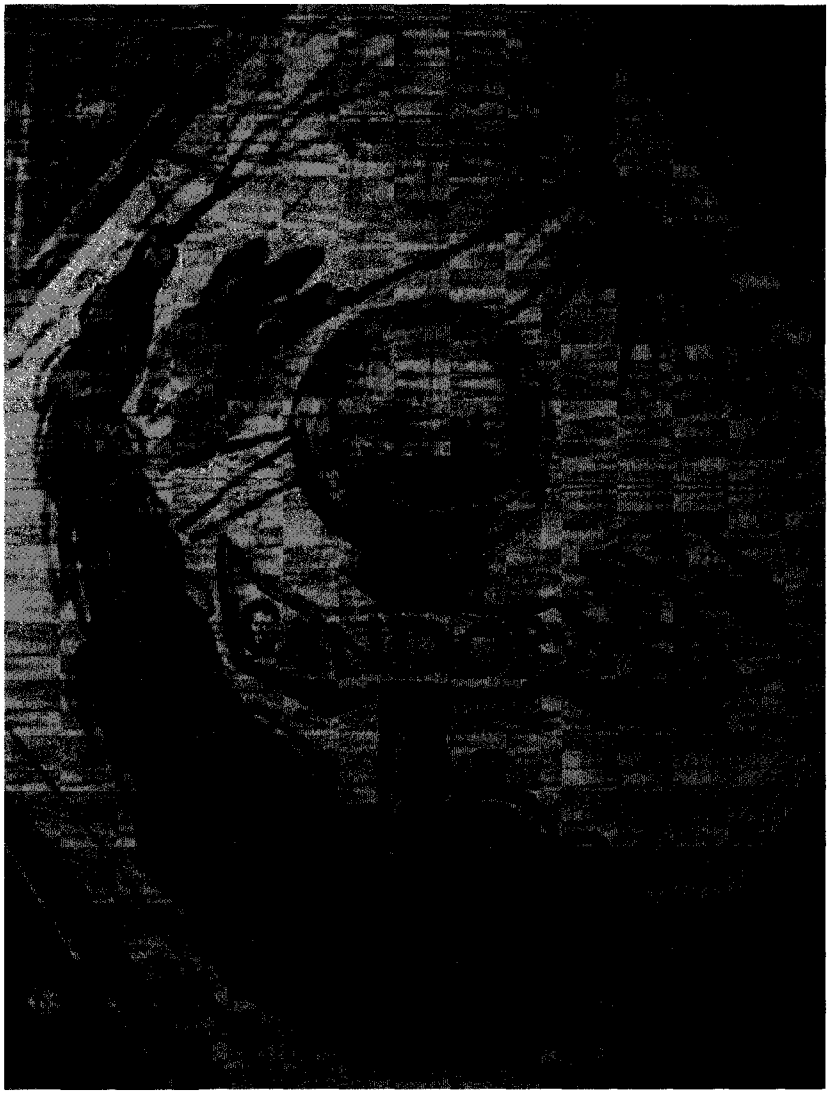


Figure 249. Giovanni Stradano, *impresa* of Clement VII, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 176.)



Figure 250. Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII and Charles V*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 166.)



Figure 251. Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII and Francis I*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: "Medici Popes: Leo X and Clement VII," http://www.paradoxplace.com/Perspectives/Italian%20Images/Montages/Firenze/Medici%20Popes.htm [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 252. Giorgio Vasari, Giambattista Naldini, and Giovanni Stradano, *The Night Capture of the Forts near the Porta Camollia at Siena*, 1567–71. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Salone dei Cinquecento. (Photo: author.)



Figure 253. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Giramonte and San Miniato, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 254. Giovanni Stradano, detail of San Salvi, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 255. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Bandini-Martelli duel, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

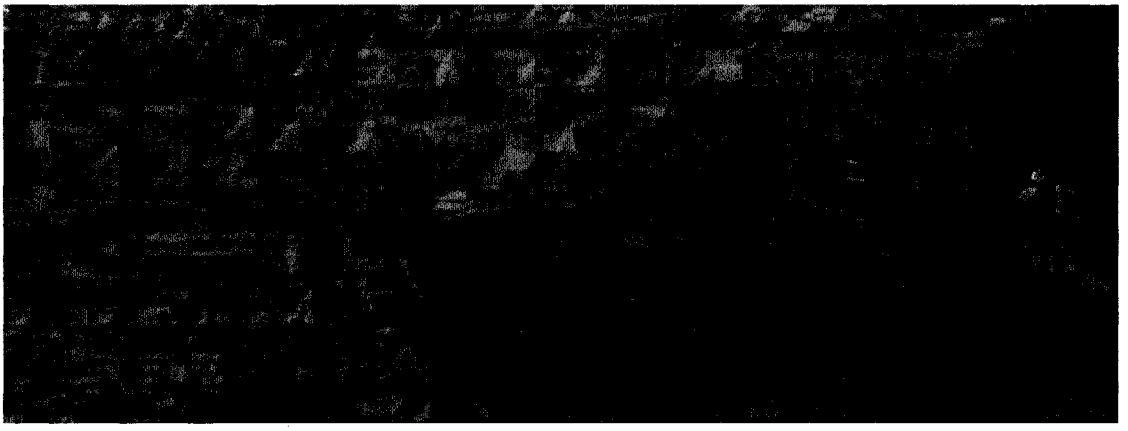


Figure 256. Giovanni Stradano, detail of S. Donato a Scopeto, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

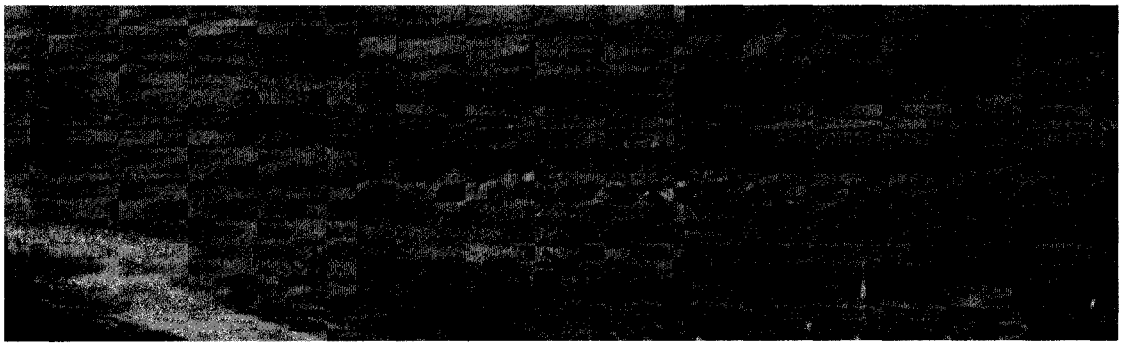


Figure 257. Giovanni Stradano, detail of S. Donato a Polverosa, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

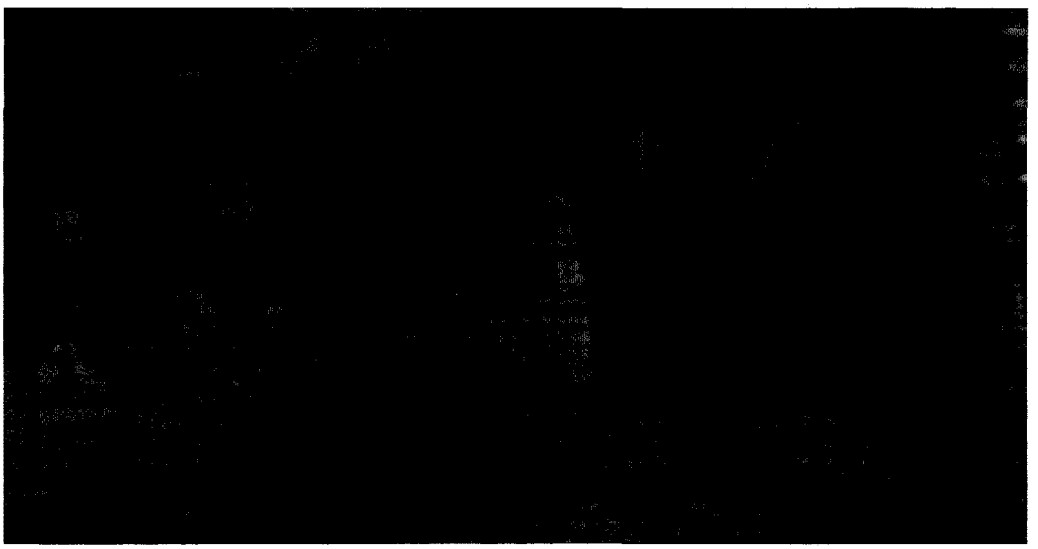


Figure 258. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Sta. Margherita a Montici, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

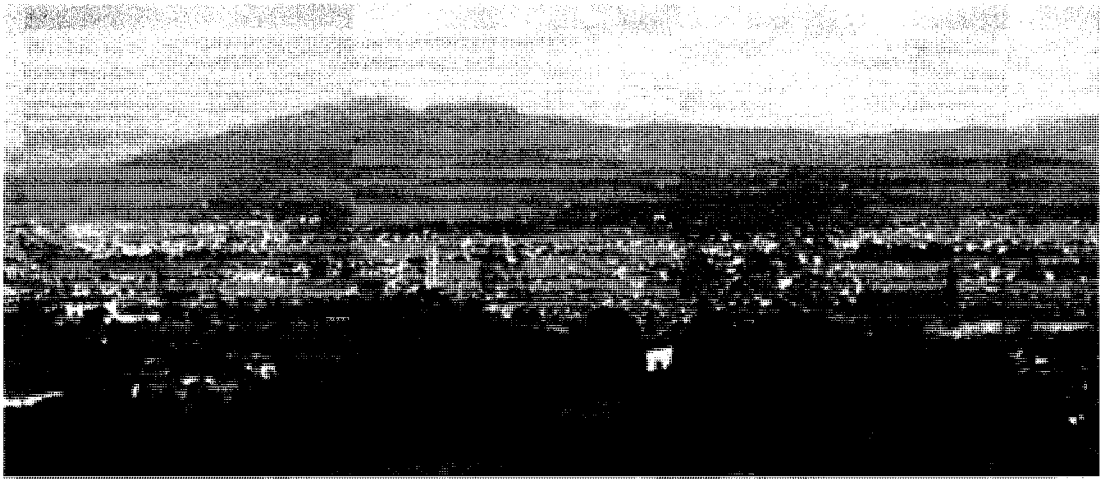


Figure 259. View of central Florence from the Torre del Gallo. (Photo: author.)

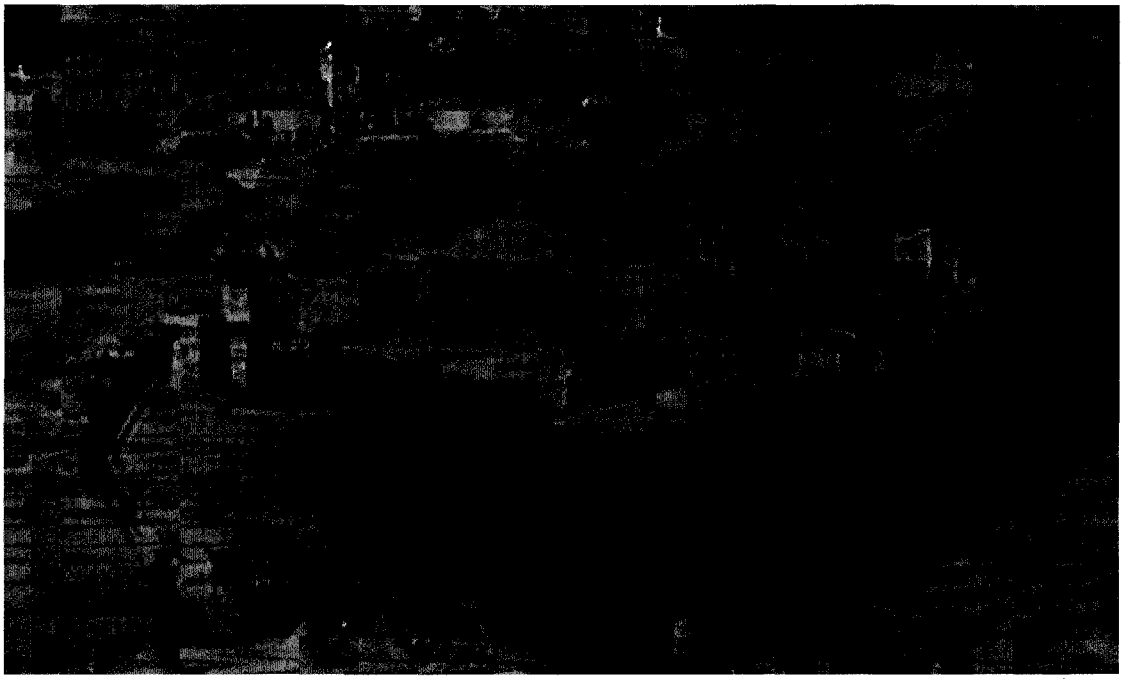


Figure 260. Giovanni Stradano, detail of via S. Leonardo, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)



Figure 261. Giovanni Stradano, detail of Peace, from *The Siege of Florence*, 1556–62. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Clemente VII. (Photo: author.)

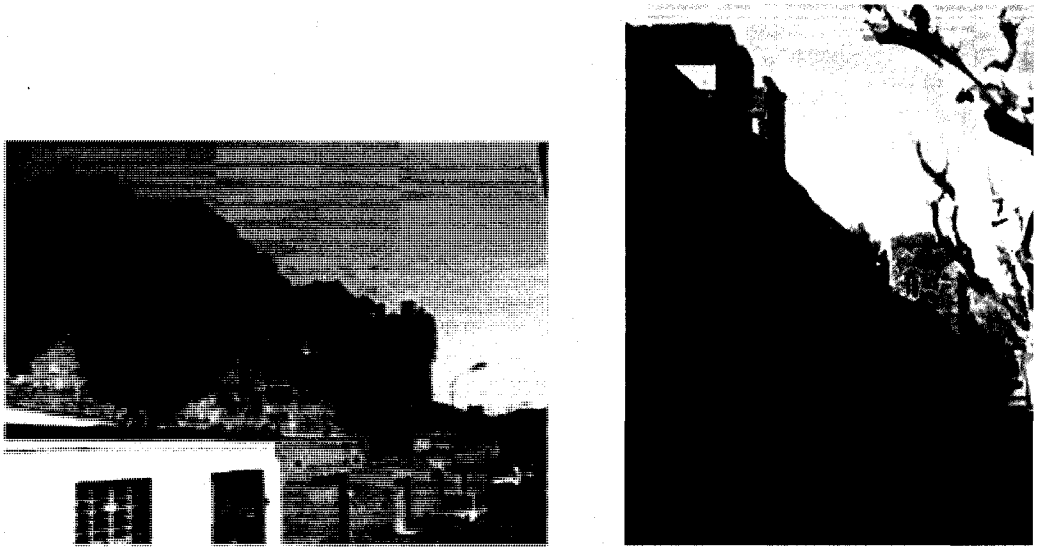


Figure 262. The east and west walls of Lastra a Signa. (Photo: author.)



Figure 263. Wall and tower of Florence. (Photo: author.)



Figure 264. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, *The Defeat of Radagasius*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)



Figure 265. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Vicopisano, from *The Capture of Vicopisano*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)



Figure 266. Montemurlo. (Photo: author.)



Figure 267. Round wall towers of Vicopisano. (Photo: author.)

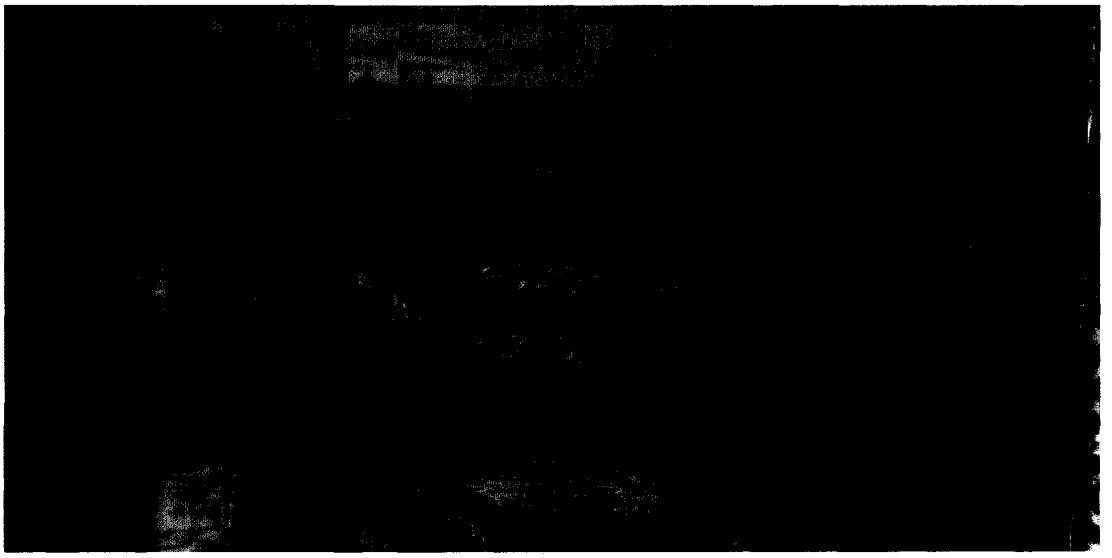


Figure 268. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Cascina, from *The Capture of Cascina*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)

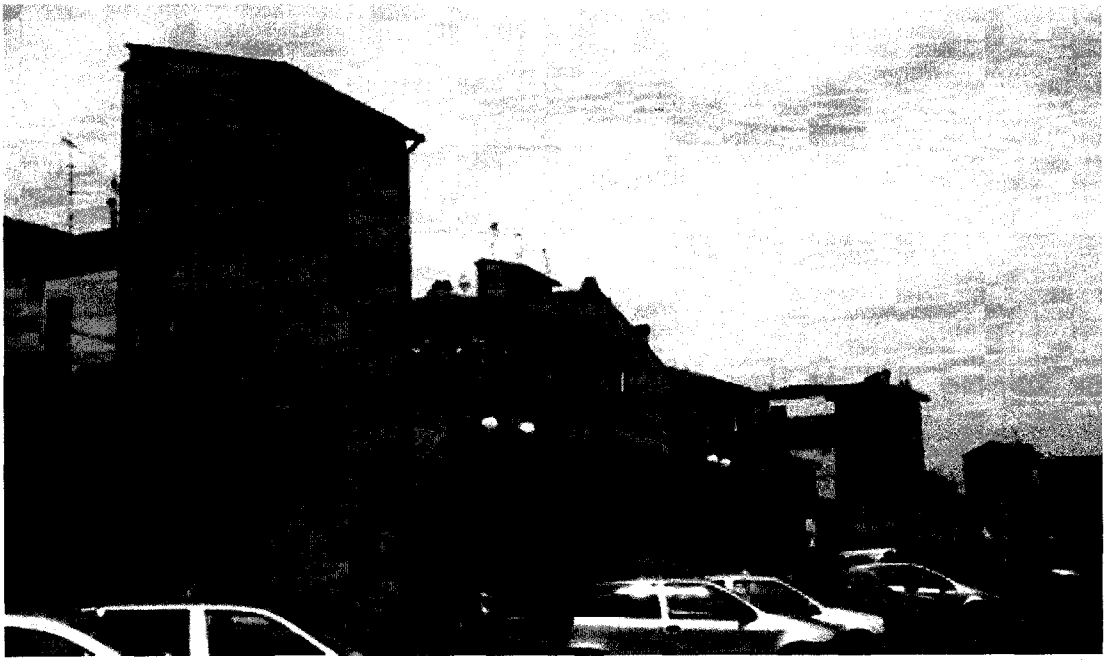


Figure 269. Square wall towers of Cascina. (Photo: author.)

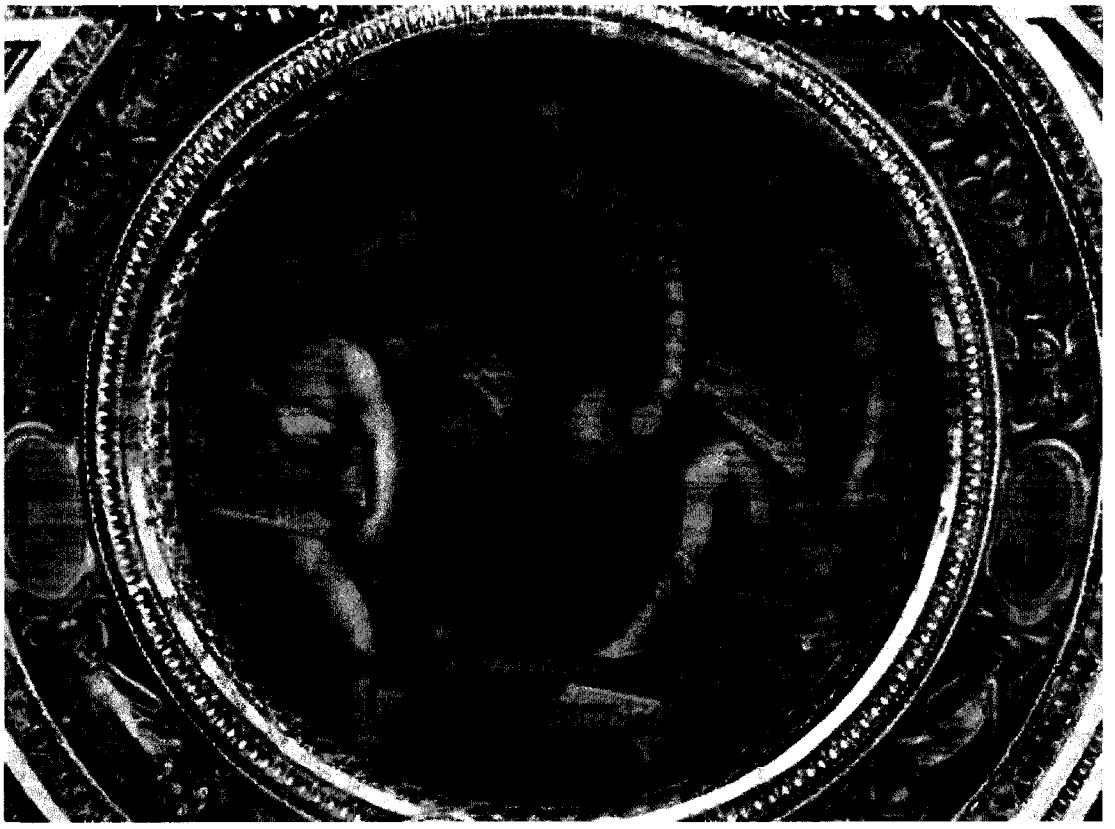
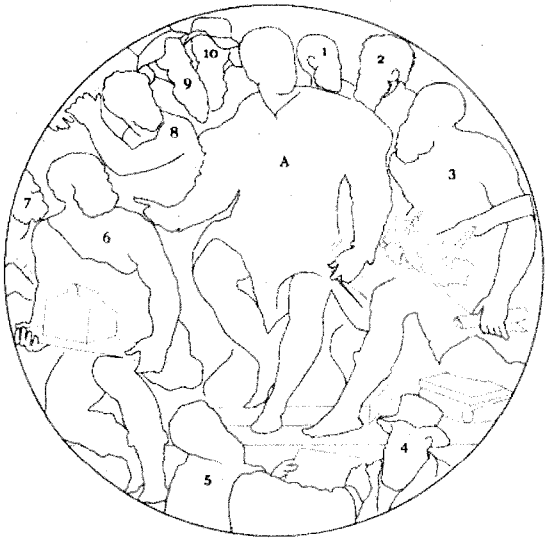


Figure 270. Giorgio Vasari, *Cosimo among the Artists of His Court*, 1556–59. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. (Photo: author.)



A) Cosimo I
1) Giovan Battista Belluzzi
2) Bartolomeo Ammanati
3) Niccolò Tribolo
4) Francesco di Ser Jacopo
5) Giorgio Vasari
6) Giovanbattista del Tasso
7) Nanni Unghero
8) Davit Fortini
9) Baccio Bandinelli
10) Benvenuto Cellini

Figure 271. Diagram of figures in *Cosimo among the Artists of His Court*, after Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, 331.



Figure 272. Giorgio Vasari, drawing for *Cosimo among the Artists of His Court*, c. 1556. Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolta d'Arte, Gabinetto dei Disegni. (Photo: Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, tav. 124.)

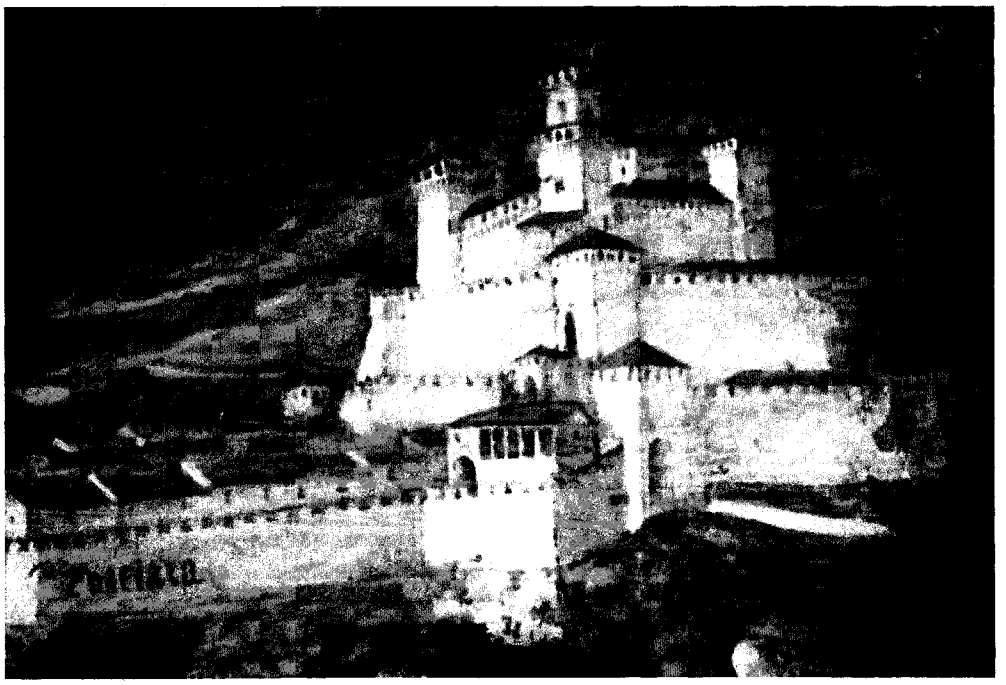


Figure 273. Detail of Torrechiara, Camera Peregrina Aurea. Torrechiara. (Photo: author.)

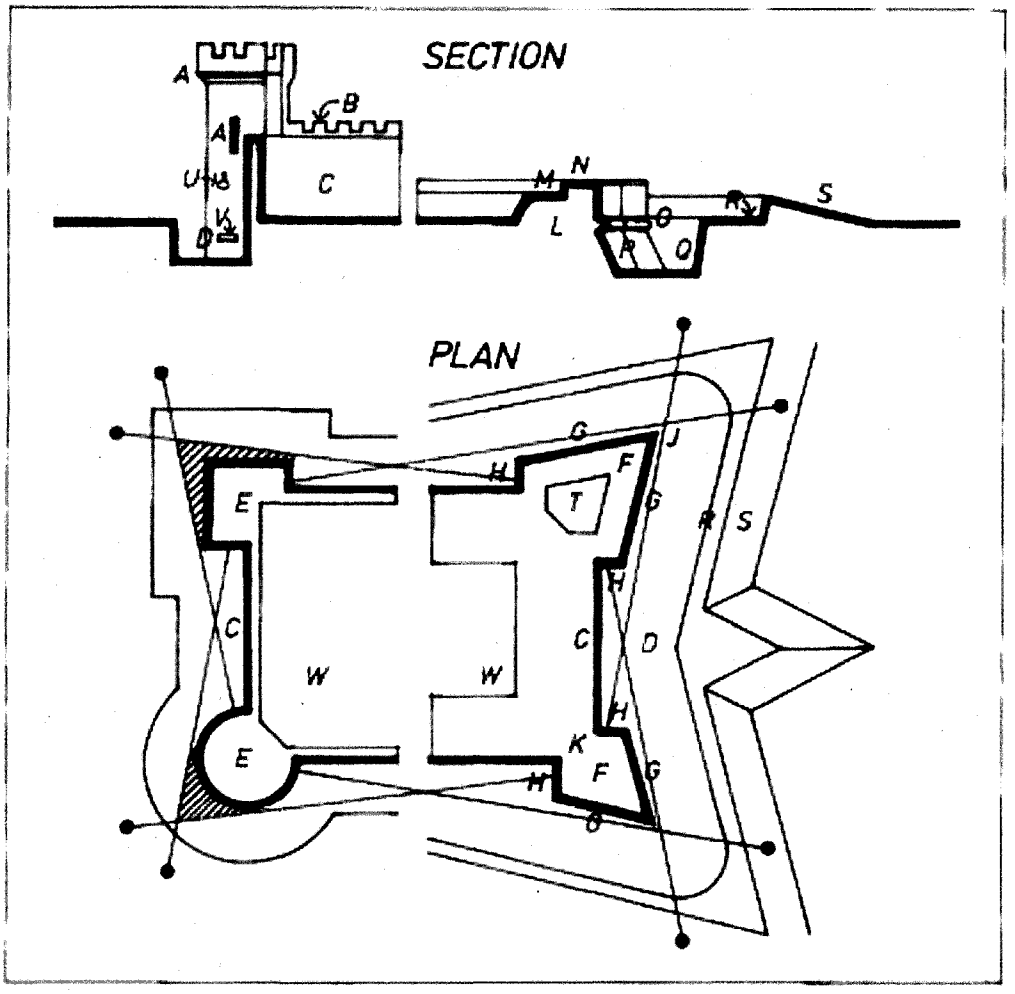


Fig. 1. Medieval and Early Modern fortification. Diagram contrasts medieval wall and tower defenses (left) with the bastion and rampart system (right). Lines of fire illustrate how the triangular trace avoids blind spots. **A:** Machicolations or machicoulis gallery, bracketed upper-level works allowing defenders to drop heavy objects to the foot of the wall. **B:** Merli (Italian) or merlons (English), solid protective components between embrasures. **C:** Curtain, section of wall or rampart between towers or bastions. **D:** Ditch. **E:** Towers, with hatching indicating blind spots. **F:** Bastions, solid gun platforms projecting from the curtains. **G:** Face of the bastion. **H:** Flank of the bastion. **J:** Salient or pointed tip of the bastion. **K:** Gorge or throat of the bastion. **L:** Rampart. **M:** Terreplein or gun platform. **N:** Parapet. **O:** Cordon, moulding dividing vertical and battered sections of a rampart or bastion. **P:** Scarp, battered (sloping) lower section of rampart/bastion. **Q:** Counterscarp, outer wall of ditch. **R:** Covered way, protected infantry position outside the ditch. **S:** Glacis, gently sloping earth bank concealing the covered way and all but the uppermost defensive works. **T:** Cavalier, raised gun platform on rampart or bastion. **U:** Keyhole gunport. **V:** Letterbox gunport. **W:** Enceinte, area enclosed (literally "belted") by a fortification.

Figure 274. Diagram of bastioned fortification, from Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 4.

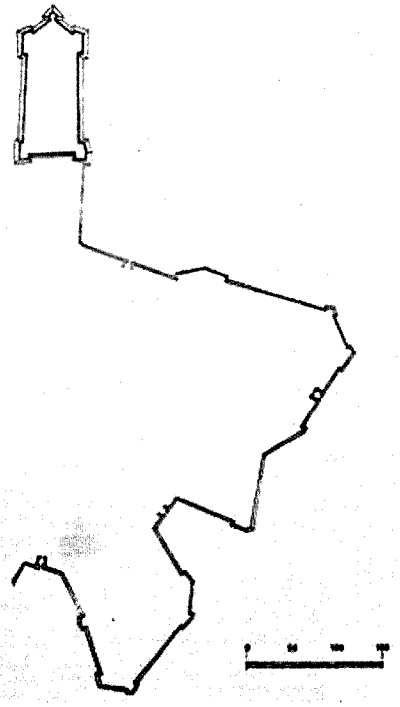


Figure 275. Plan of Poggio Imperiale. (Photo: Severini, *Architetture militari*, 23.)

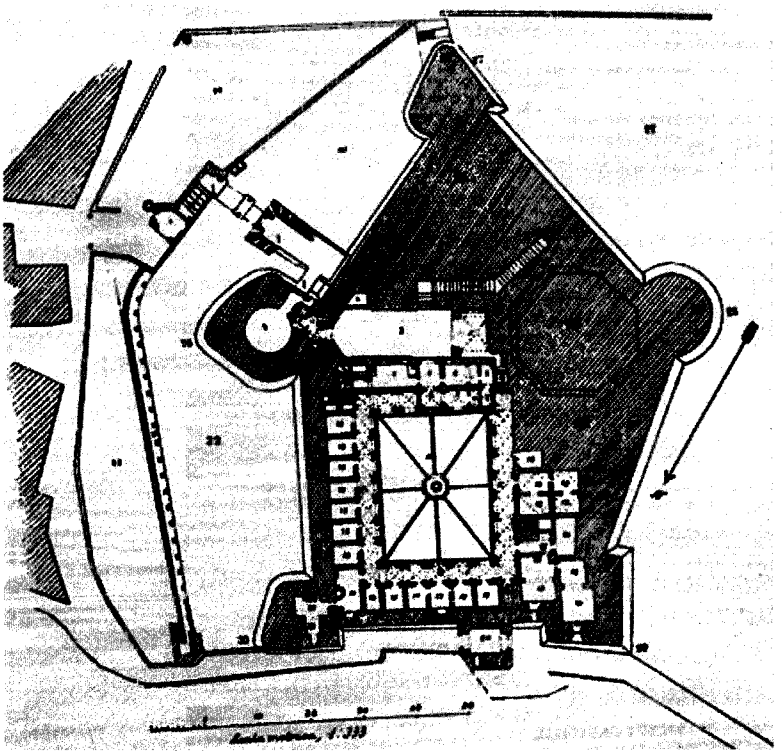


Figure 276. Plan of Civita Castellana (after G. Guglielmotti). (Photo: Severini, *Architetture militari*, 31.)

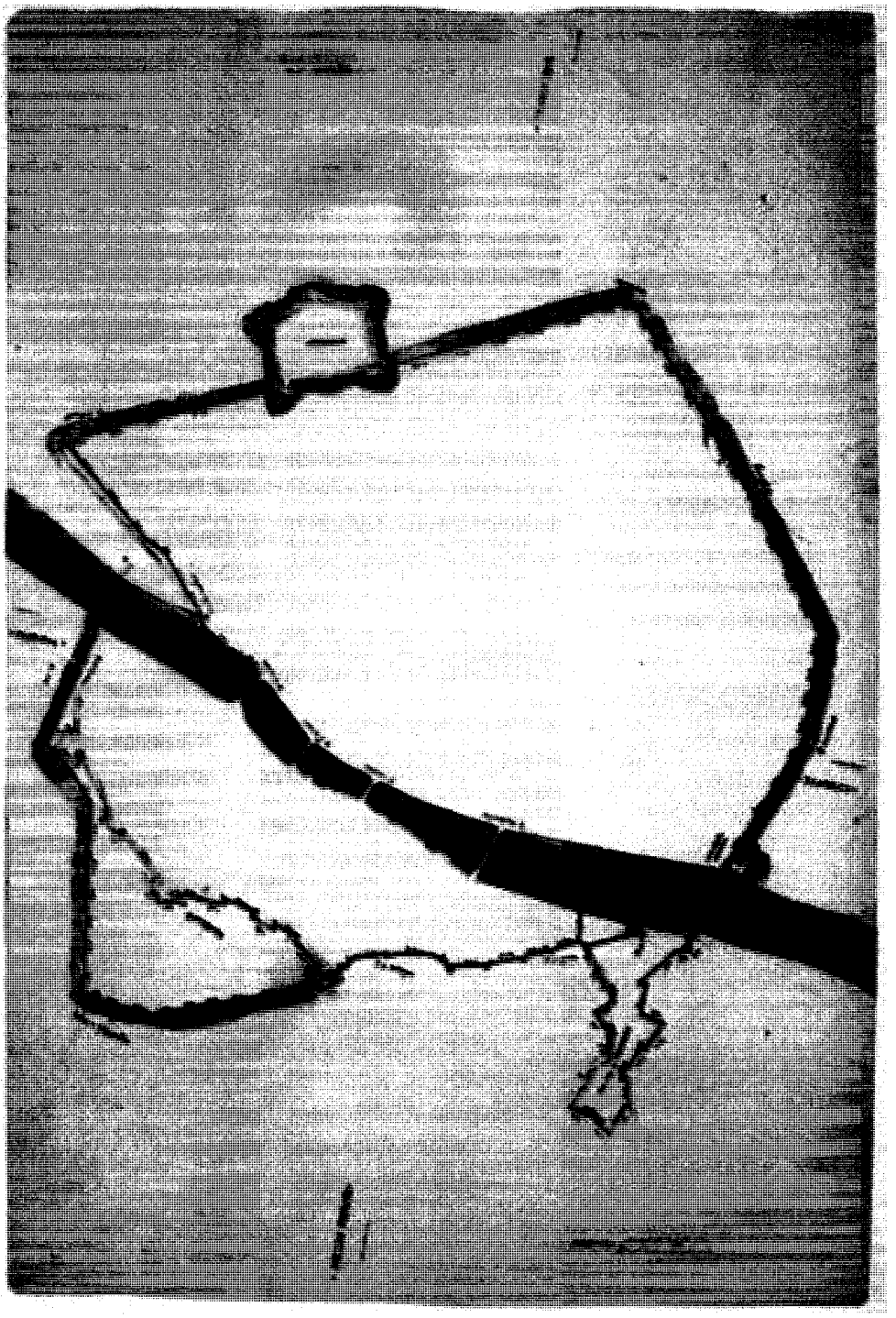


Figure 277. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Florence*, 1550. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo nazionale, II.I.280, c. 1r. (Photo: Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, tav. 43.)

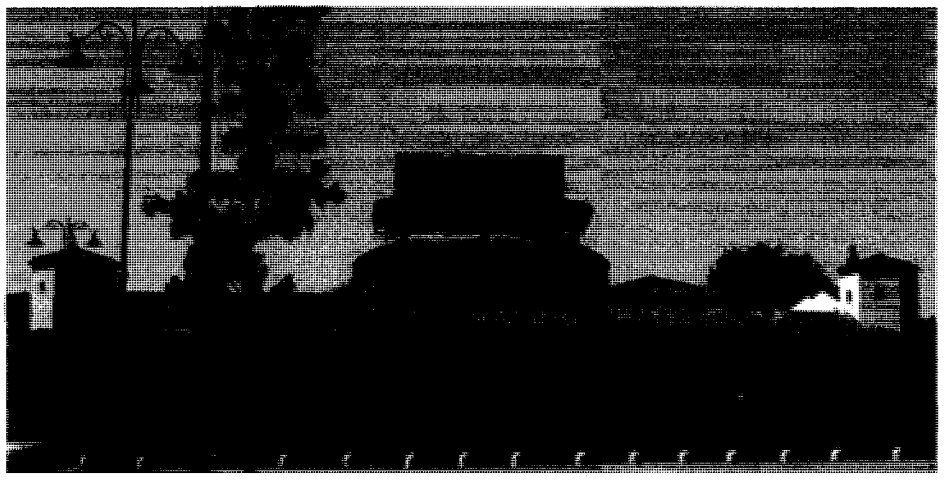


Figure 278. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, *mastio* of the Fortezza da Basso, designed 1532, begun 1534. Florence. (Photo: author.)



Figure 279. Simone Martini, *Montemassi*, 1328. Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala di Mappamundo. (Photo: author).

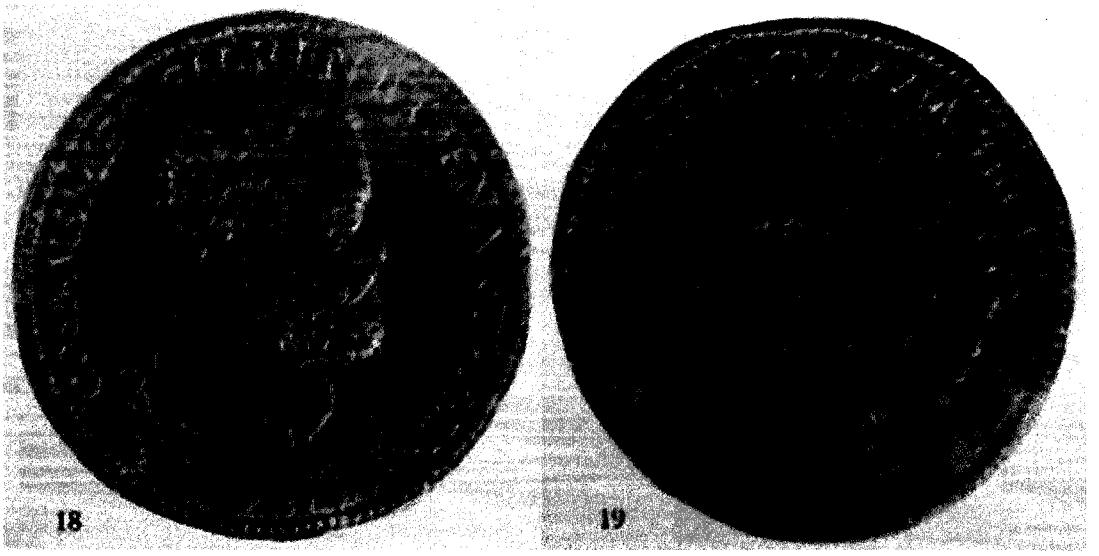


Figure 280. Pietro Paolo Galeotti, medal with Cosimo and Portoferraio, 1567–79. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. (Photo: Battaglini, *Cosmopolis*, 88.)



Figure 281. Piero della Francesca, *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta before St. Sigismond*, 1451. Rimini, Tempio Maletestiano. (Photo: "Olga's Gallery: Piero della Francesca," http://www.abcgallery.com/P/piero/piero37.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

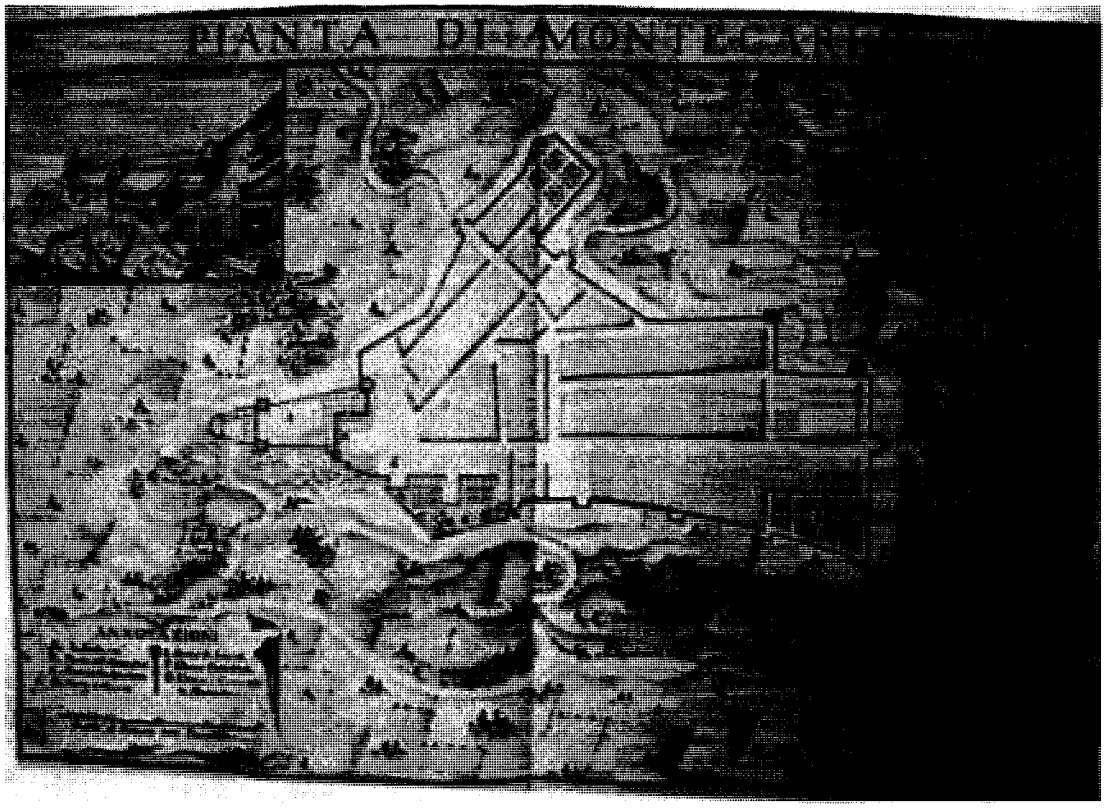


Figure 282. (Warren?), *Plan of Montecarlo*, (c. 1749?). Rome, Istituto Storico e di Cultura dell'Arma del Genio, Atlante del Granducato. (Photo: Ilario Principe, *Fortificazioni e città nella toscana lorense*, La storia per immagini 1 (Vibo Valentia: Edizioni Mapograf s.r.l., 1988), 60.)



Figure 283. Fortezza, Montecarlo. (Photo: author.)



Figure 284. Gunports. Montecarlo, Fortezza. (Photo: author.)

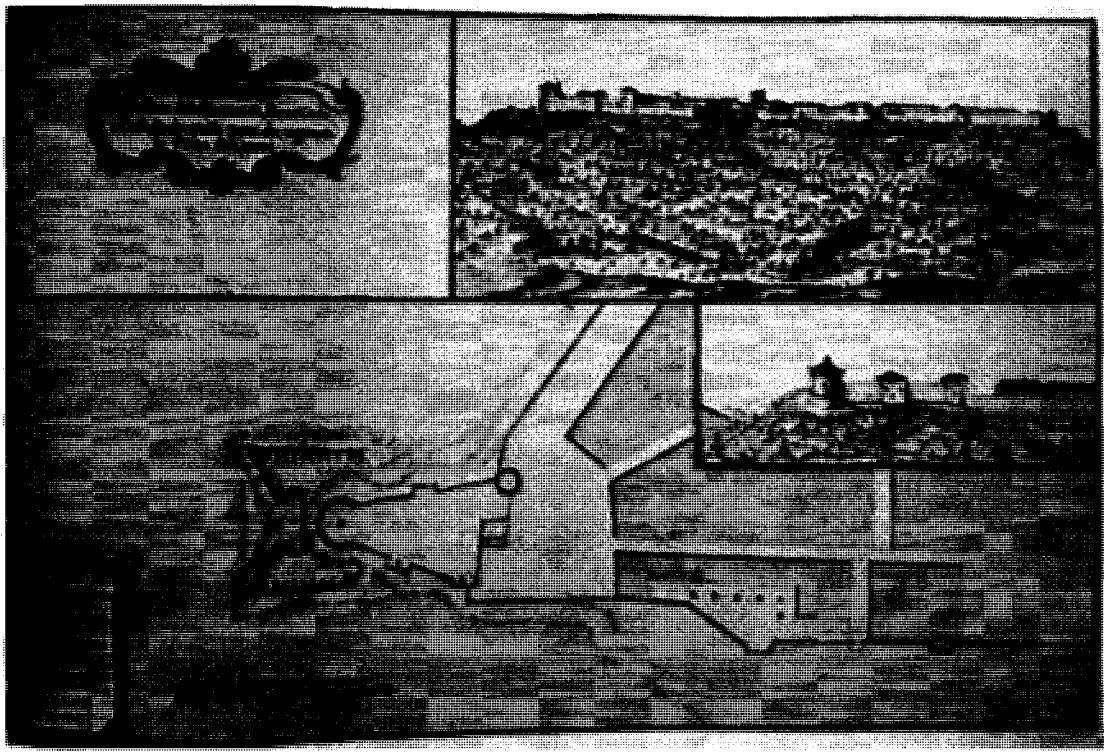


Figure 285. Wareen, *View of the Fortress of Montecarlo*, 1749. Rome, Istituto Storico e di Cultura dell'Arma del Genio, Atlante del Granducato, f. 1648. (Photo: Principe, *Fortificazioni e città*, 60.)



Figure 286. Ferdinando Morozzi, *Plan of Piombino*, c. 1770–85. ASF Appendice Segreteria di Gabinetto 187. (Photo: Carlo Cresti, ed., *I centri storici della Toscana*, 2 vols. (Milan: Silvana Editoriale d'Arte, 1977). 2:128.)

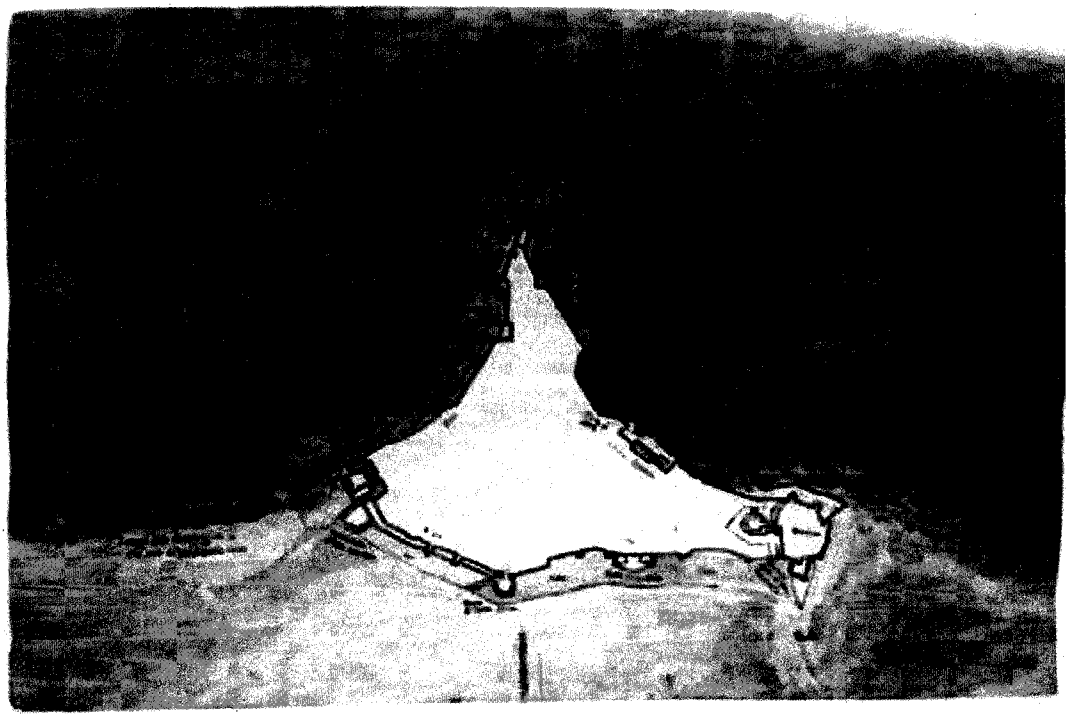


Figure 287. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Piombino*, 1545 or 1552. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo nazionale, II.I.280, c. 21r. (Photo: Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, tav. 63.)

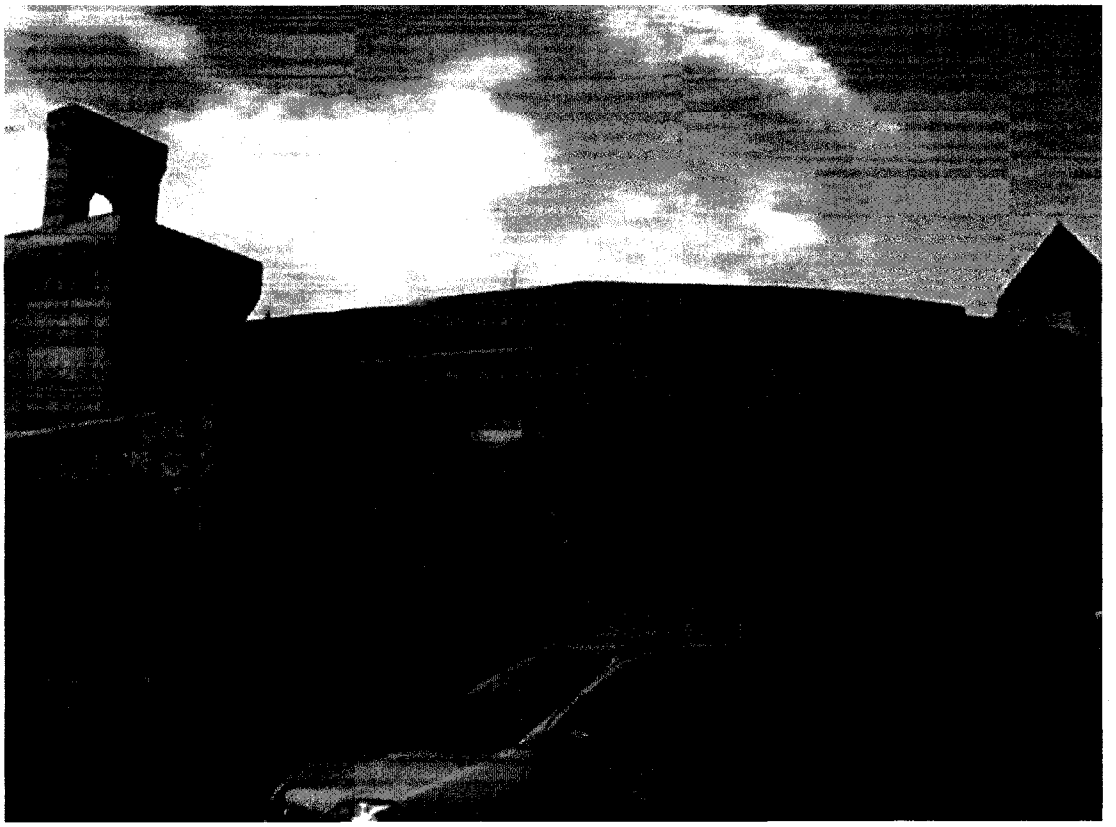


Figure 288. Rivilleno, Piombino. (Photo: author.)

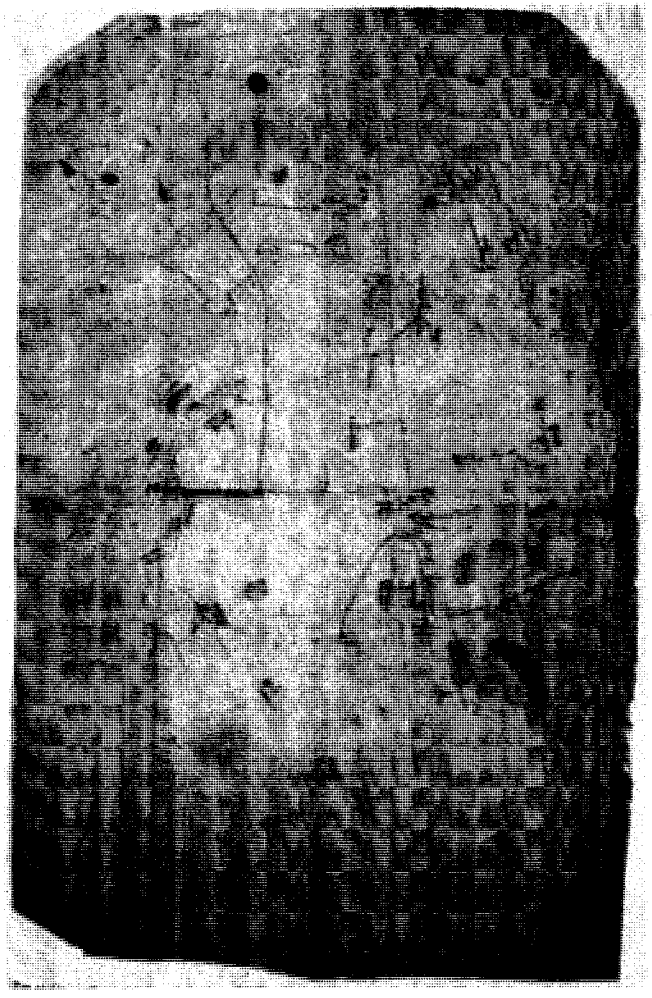


Figure 289. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Siena's Defenses and Waterways*, 1554. Siena, Biblioteca Centrale, ms. S.I.8, c. 357. (Photo: Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, tav. 35.)

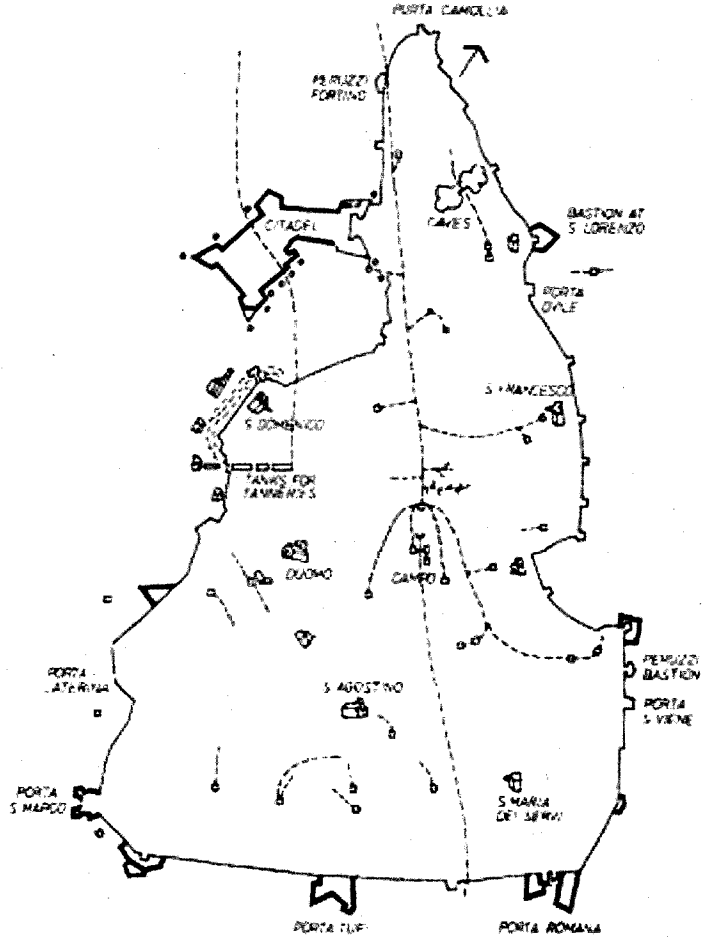


Figure 290. Diagram of Belluzzi's plan of Siena, after Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 67.



Figure 291. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Livorno*, c. 1544. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo nazionale, II.I.280, c. 9r. (Photo: Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, tav. 51.)

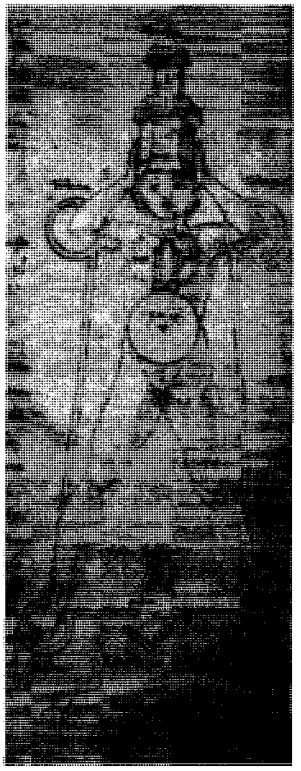


Figure 292. Francesco di Giorgio, detail of fortress design according to a human figure, from the codice Saluzziano 148, f. 3r, Turin. (Photo: Francesco Paolo Fiore and Manfredo Tafuri, *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1993), 134.)

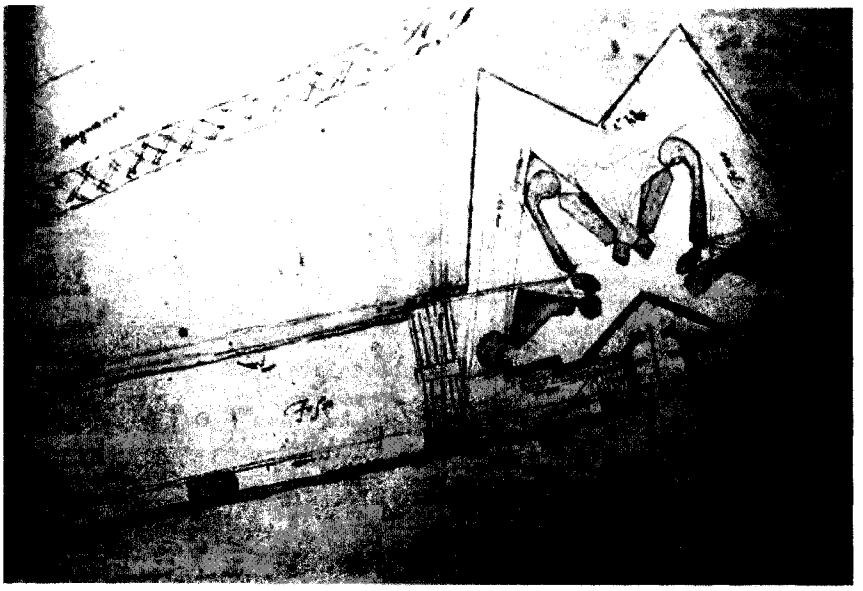


Figure 293. Michelangelo Buonarotti, Design for a fortification at Porta al Prato, 1528. Casa Buonarotti 14Ar. (Photo: Wallace, "Michelangelo's Drawings for Fortifications," 127.)

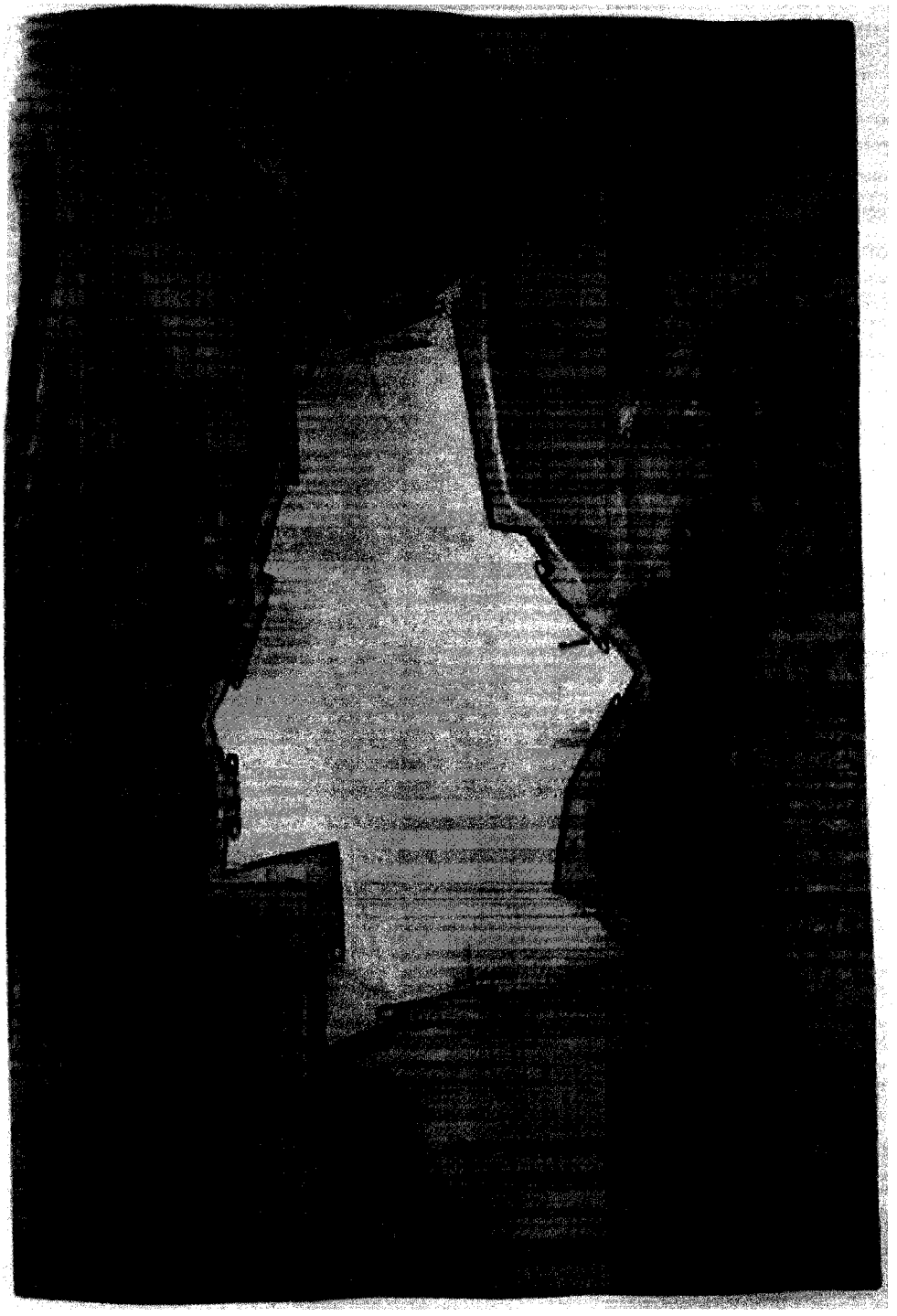


Figure 294. Giovan Battista Belluzzi, *Plan of Fivizzano*, 1547. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo nazionale, II.I.280, c. 32r. (Photo: Lamberini, *Il Sanmarino*, tav. 67.)

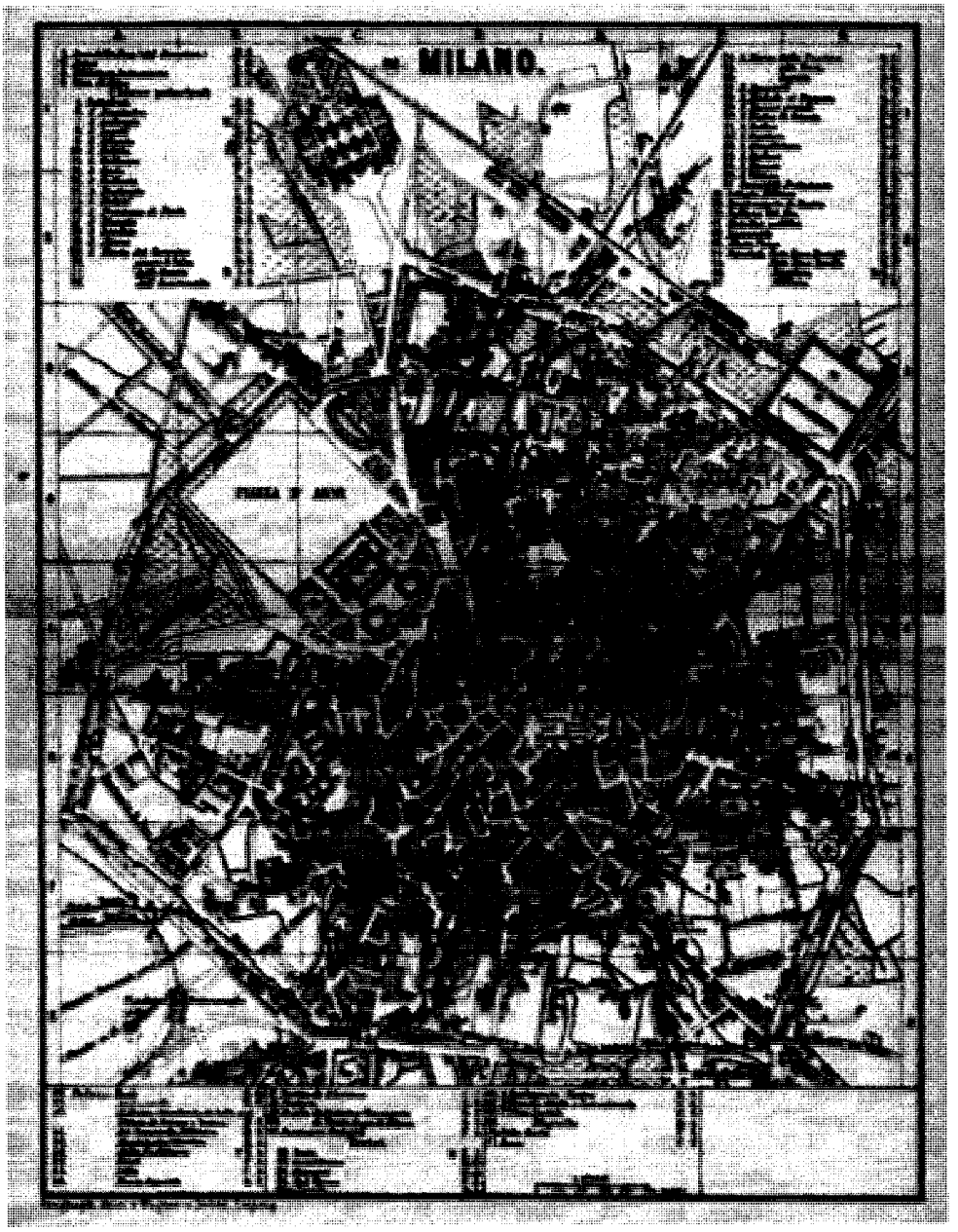


Figure 295. *Map of Milan*, from *Switzerland* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1881).



Figure 296. After Antonio Lafreri (1560), *Milan*, from Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarium* (1572): 1:42. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

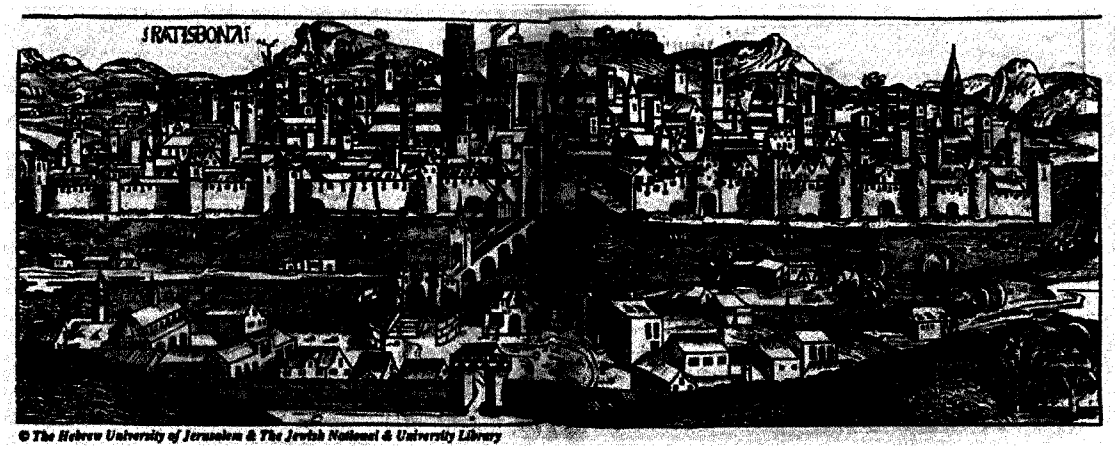


Figure 297. *Regensburg*, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (1493): XCVIII. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



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Figure 298. *Vienna*, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, (1493): XCIX. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



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Figure 299. *Buda*, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (1493): CXXXIX. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)

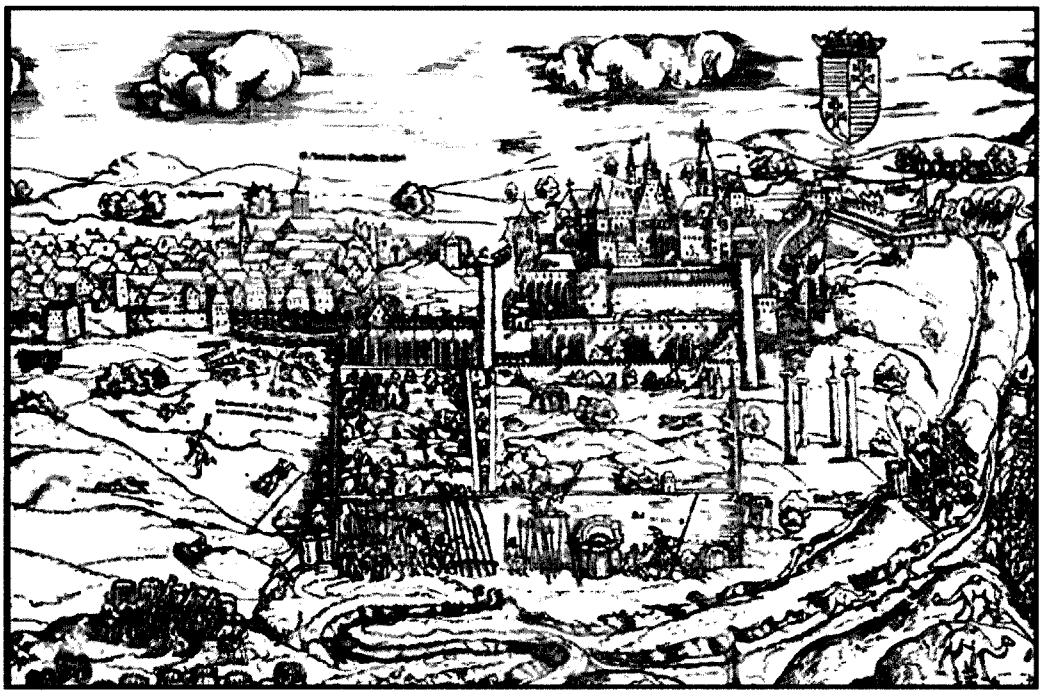


Figure 300. Erhard Schön, *Siege of Buda*, 1541. (Photo: Ordasi, "Rappresentazioni di Buda," 214.)

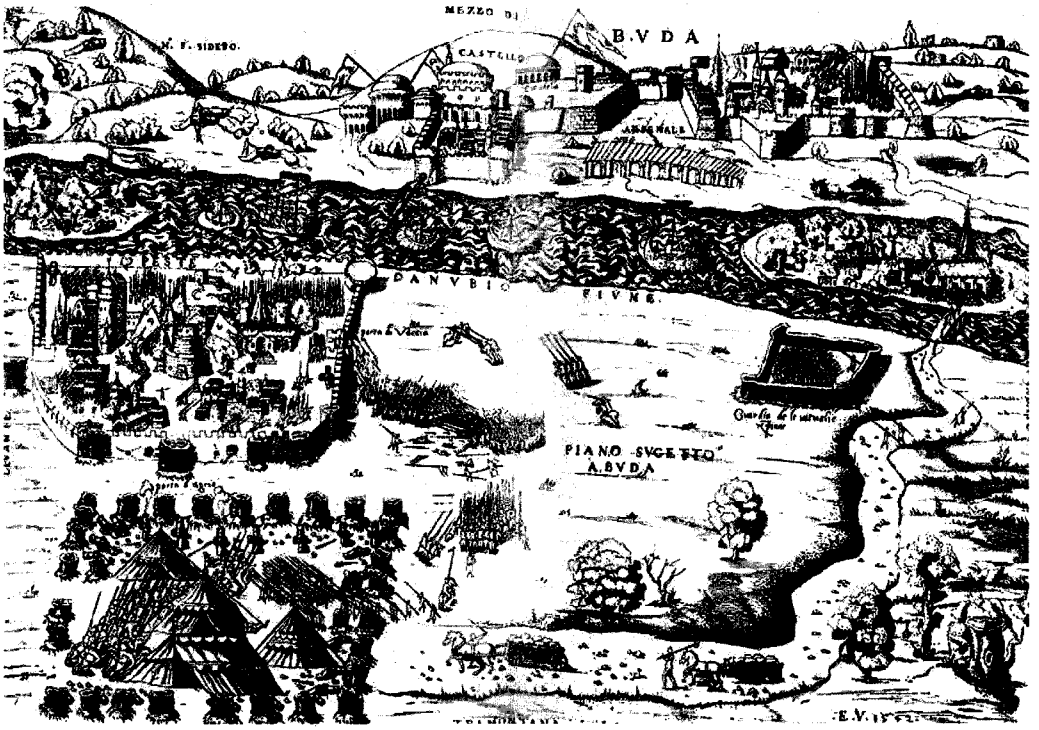


Figure 301. Enea Vico, *Siege of Buda*, 1542. (Photo: "The Siege of Buda and Pest," http://mek.oszk.hu/01900/01911/html/index1749.html [accessed 1 May 2008.)



Figure 302. Bonifaz Wohlmuet, *Plan of Vienna*, 1547 (after Eisler). (Photo: Pinto, "Ichnographic City Plan," 46.)



Figure 303. Augustin Hirschvogel, *Circular Plan of Vienna*, 1552. London, British Museum Library, Map Room. (Photo: Pinto, "Ichnographic City Plan," 47.)

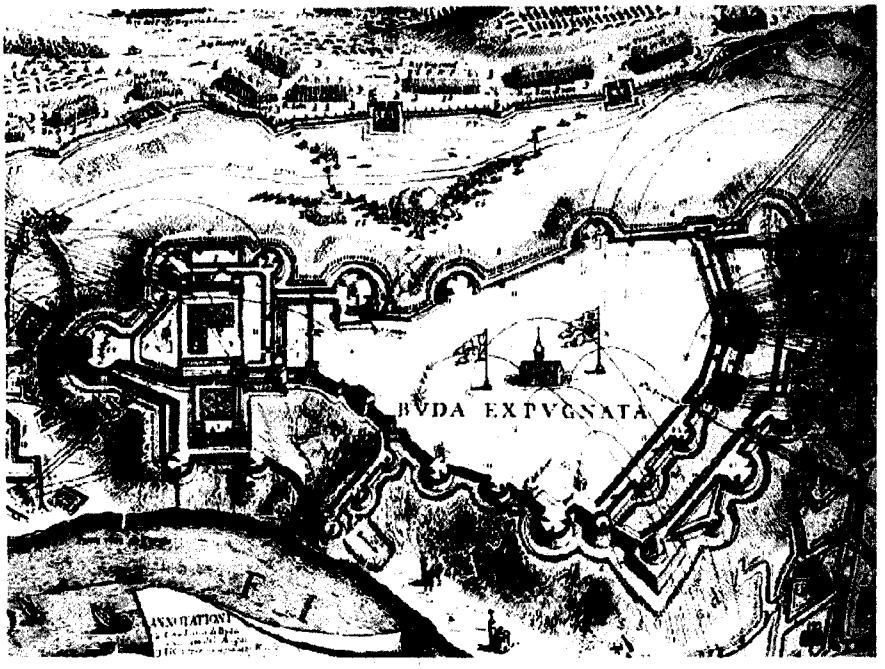


Figure 304. Giangiacomo de Rossi, *Buda*, 1686. (Photo: "KÉPMELLÉKLETEK," http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/szakdolg/iras/f2.htm [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 305. Aerial view of Buda, from *Google Earth*.

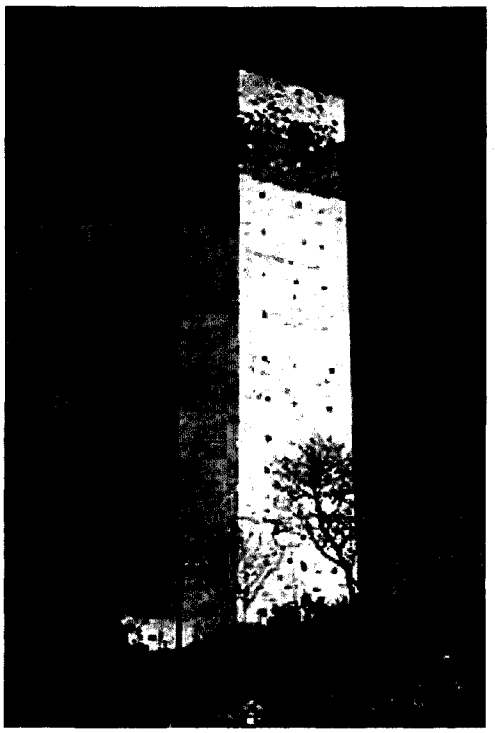


Figure 306. Torre Barbarosa, Serravalle Pistoiese, twelfth century. (Photo: "Castelli Toscani: Serravalle Pistoiese Castle," http://www.castellitoscani.com/serravalle.htm [accessed 5 march 2008].)

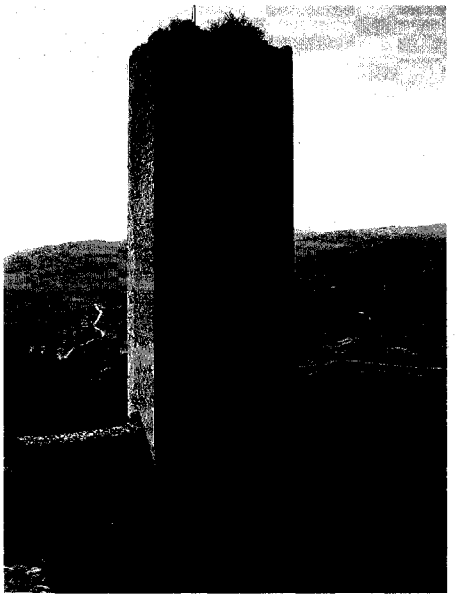


Figure 307. Rocca nuova, Serravalle Pistoiese, fourteenth century. (Photo: "Castelli Toscani: Serravalle Pistoiese Castle," http://www.castellitoscani.com/serravalle.htm [accessed 5 march 2008].)



Figure 308. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Volterra, from *Allegory of Volterra*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)

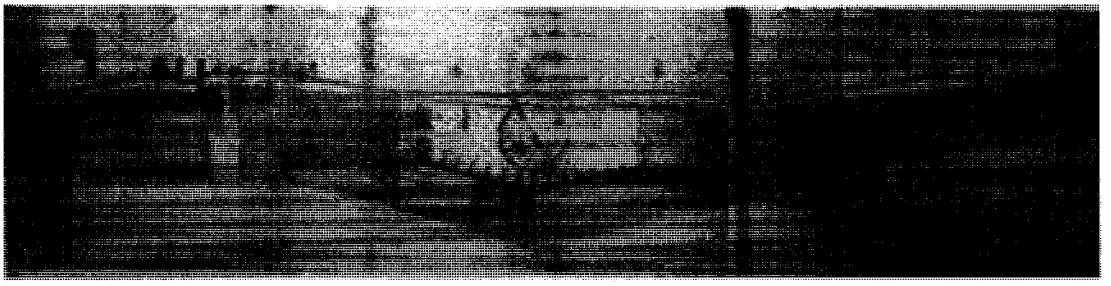


Figure 309. Bernardo Buontalenti, *Plan of Sansepolcro Walls*, c. 1559. Florence, Archivio di Stato. (Photo: Fara, *Buontalenti: L'architettura, la guerra*, 27.)

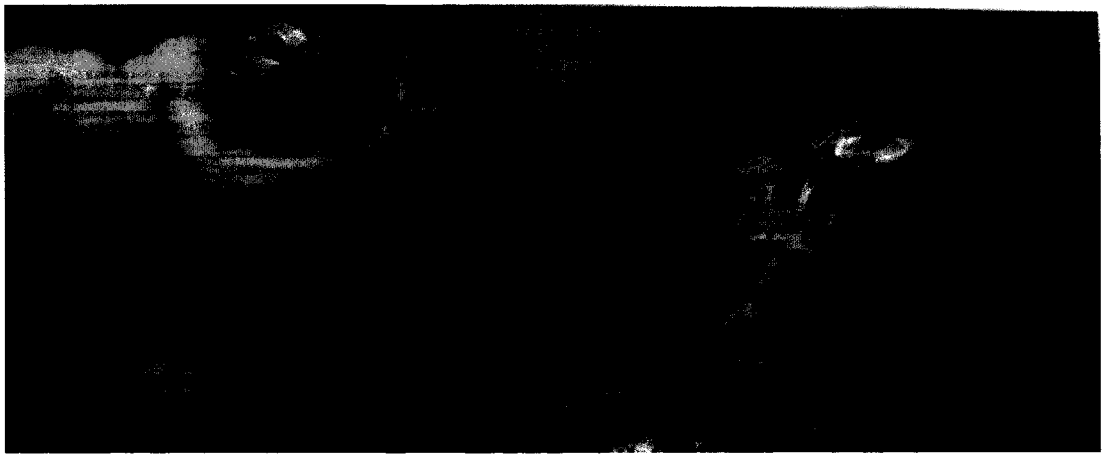


Figure 310. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Sansepolcro, from *Allegory of Borgo San Sepolcro and Anghiari*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)



Figure 311. Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Stradano, and Giambattista Naldini, detail of Arezzo, from *Allegory of Arezzo*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)



Figure 312. Giorigo Vasari and Jacopo Zucchi(?), detail of Pistoia, from *Allegory of Pistoia*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)

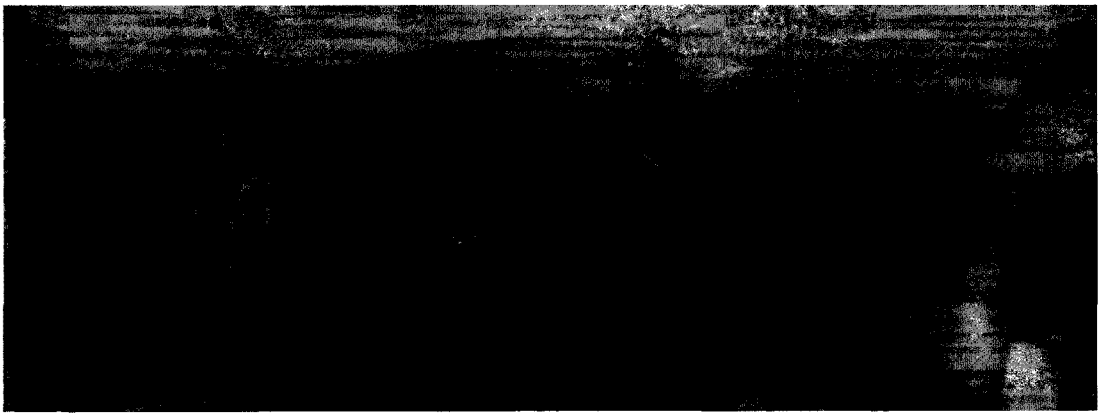


Figure 313. Giorgio Vasari and Jacopo Zucchi(?), detail of Prato, from *Allegory of Prato*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)



Figure 314. Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Stradano, detail of Scarperia, from *Allegory of the Mugello*, 1563–65. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)

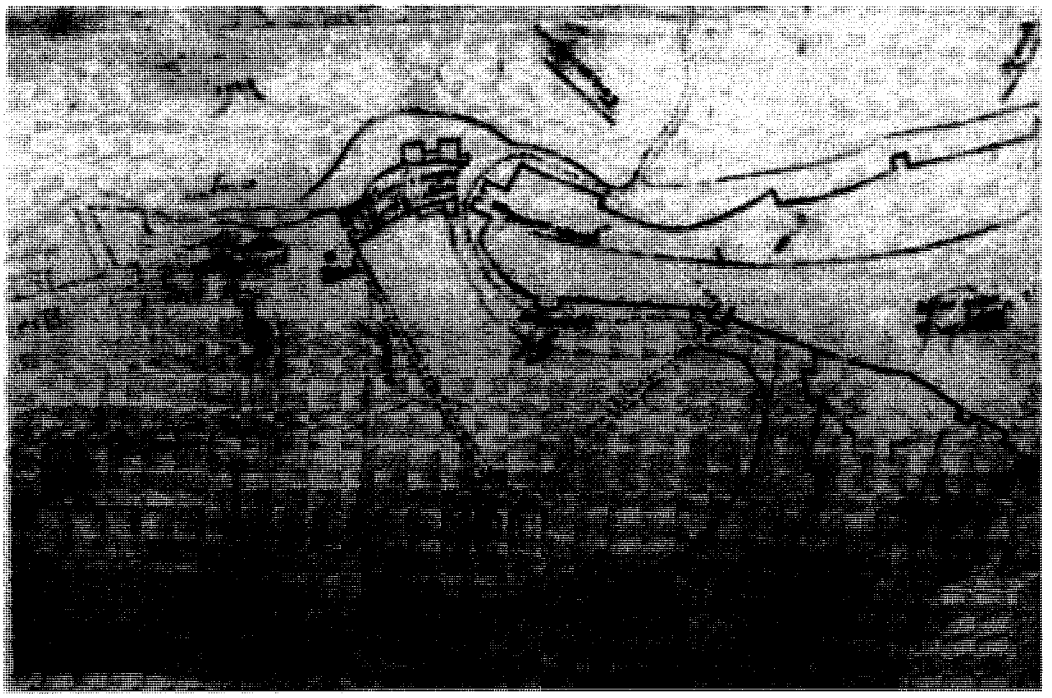


Figure 315. Francesco Laparelli, *Plan of the Forts at Porta Camollia, Siena*, c. 1554. Florence, Collection of Countess Laparelli Pitti. (Photo: Pepper and Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications*, 82.)



Figure 316. Giorgio Vasari and Jacopo Zucchi, *The Battle of Marciano in Valdichiana*, 1567–71. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)

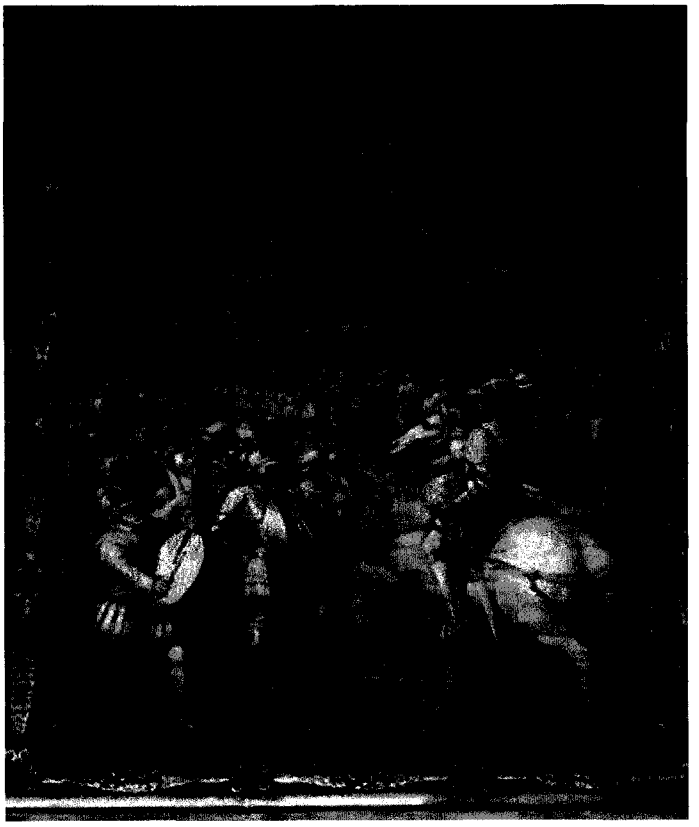


Figure 317. Giorgio Vasari and assistants, *The Capture of Port'Ercole*, 1567–71. Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. (Photo: author.)

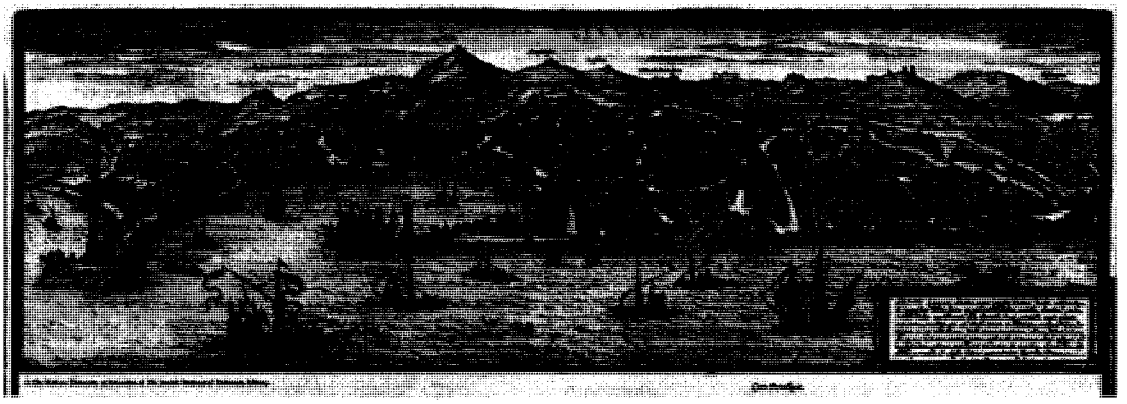


Figure 318. After Giovanni F. Camocio (c. 1560), *Genoa*, from Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarium* (1572): I:44. (Photo: "Historic Cities," http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/historic_cities.html [accessed 5 March 2008].)



Figure 319. Hieronymous Cock, *Siena*, 1555. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. (Photo: Barzanti, Cornice, and Pellegrini, *Iconografia di Siena*, 40–41.)



Figure 320. Anton van den Wyngaerde, drawing of unknown walls with detail showing chalk. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 14vo. (Photo: author.)

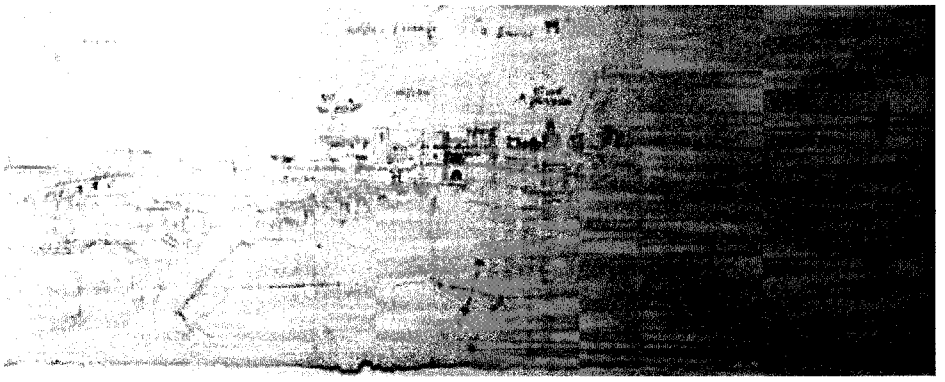


Figure 321. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Valencia, 1563. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 22ro. (Photo: author.)

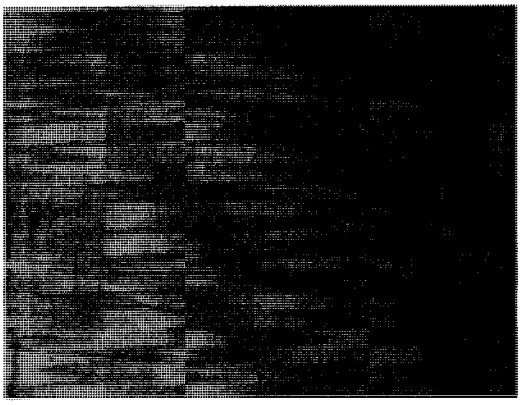


Figure 322. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Valencia, 1563. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 22vo. (Photo: author.)

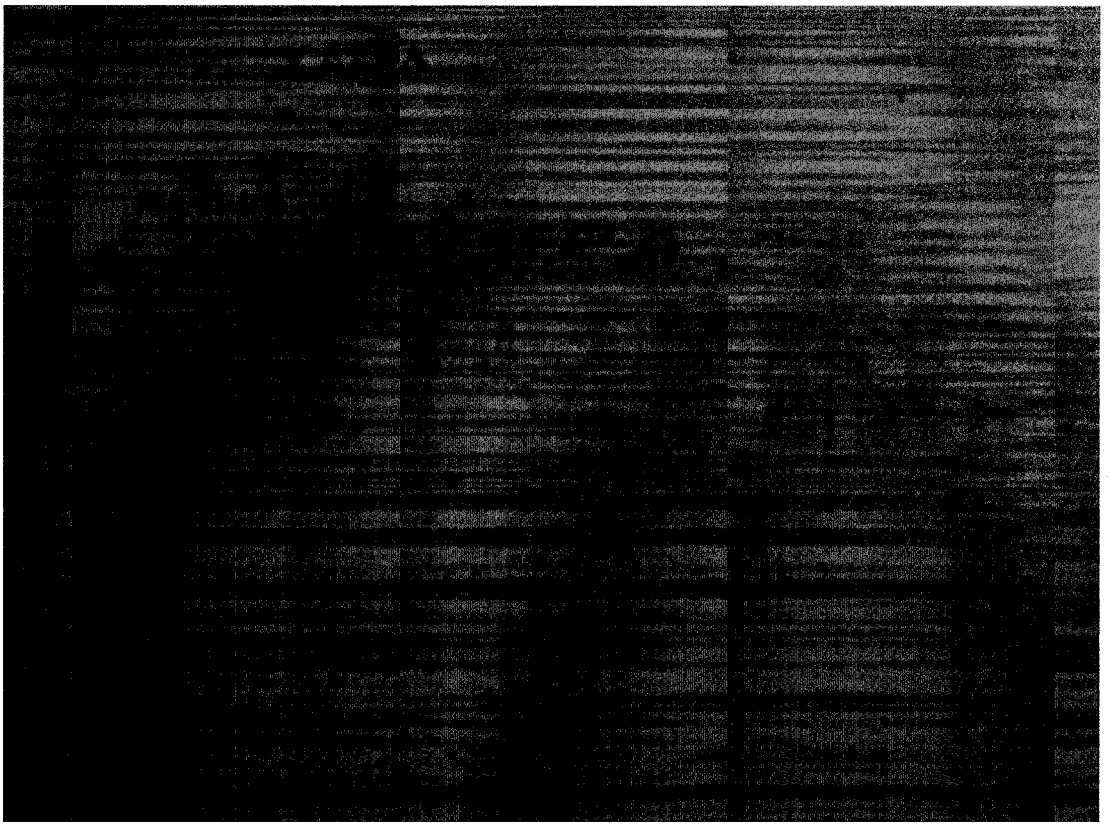


Figure 323. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of left half, from *Ubeda and Baeza*, 1567. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 11ro. (Photo: author.)

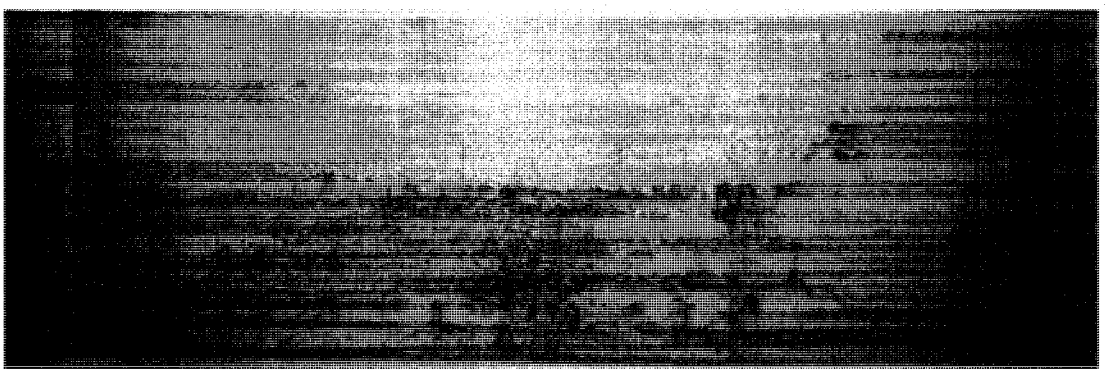


Figure 324. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Lyons*, c. 1561. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 19ro. (Photo: author.)

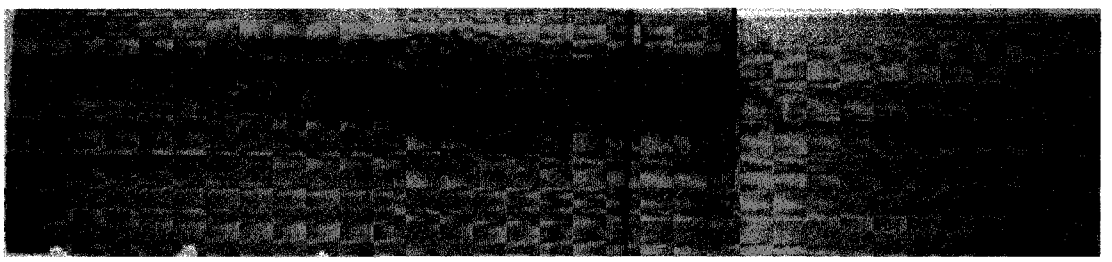


Figure 325. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Granada*, 1567. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 9ro. (Photo: Kagan, *Spanish Cities*, 270.)

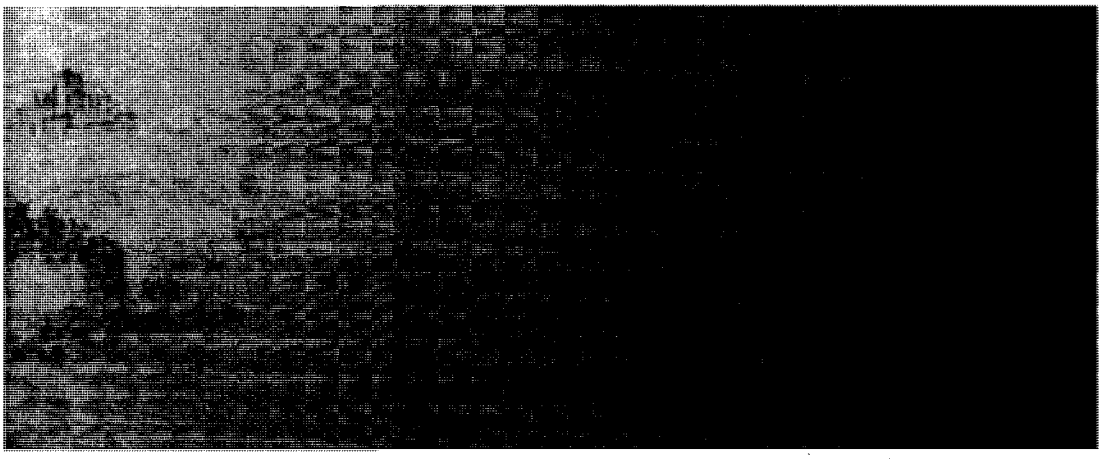


Figure 326. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from sketch for *Granada*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 9ro. (Photo: author.)

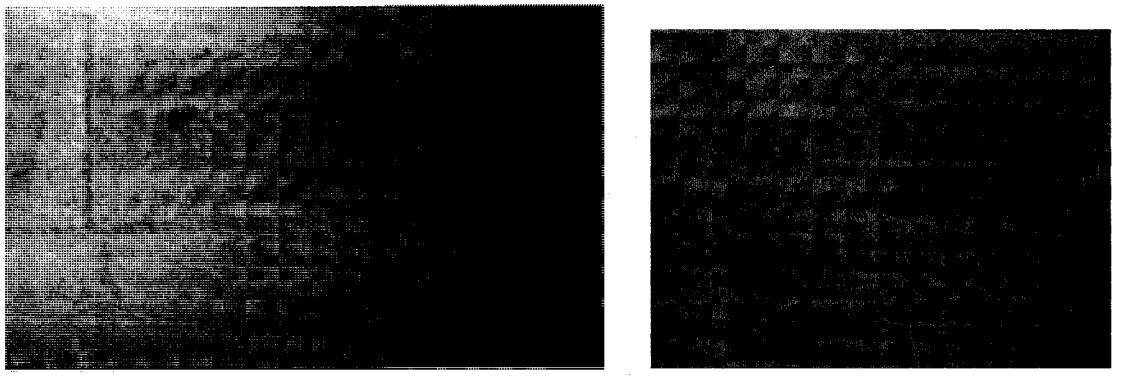


Figure 327. Anton van den Wyngaerde, chalked reverse of sketch for *Granada*, with detail of traced forms, 1567. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 9vo. (Photo: author.)

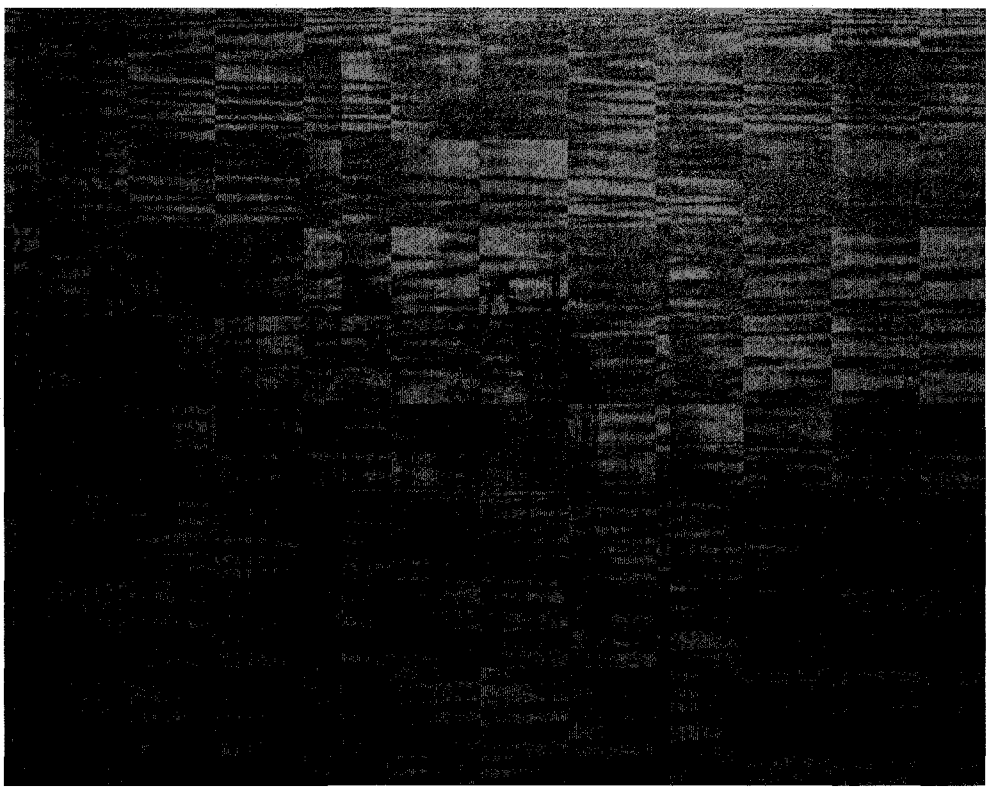


Figure 328. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, *Chateau of Terverun*, 1557–58. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 29ro. (Photo: author.)

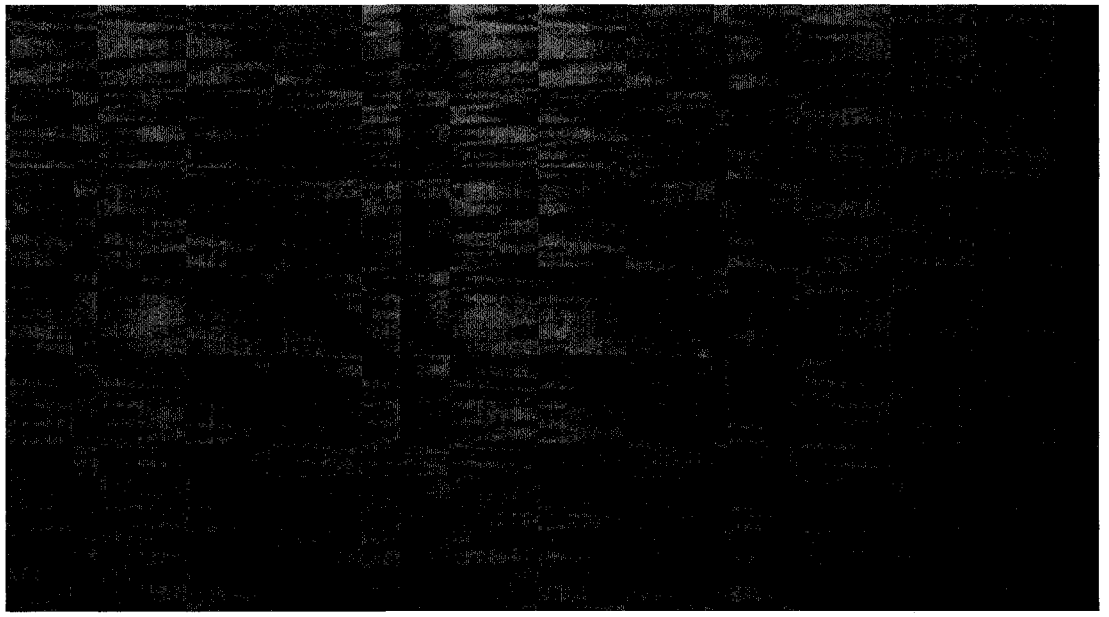


Figure 329. Anton van den Wyngaerde, reverse of *Chateau of Terverun*, 1557–58. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 29vo. (Photo: author.)

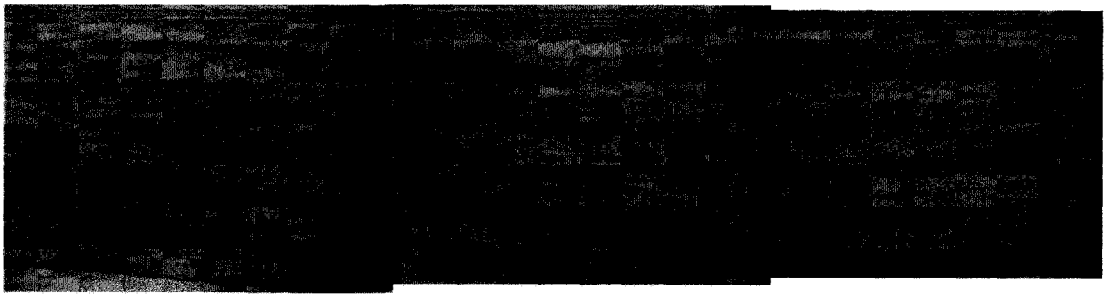


Figure 330. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Utrecht*, 1554–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.105b^{ro}. (Photo: author.)



Figure 331. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail showing chalk, from *Utrecht*, 1554–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.105b^{ro}. (Photo: author.)

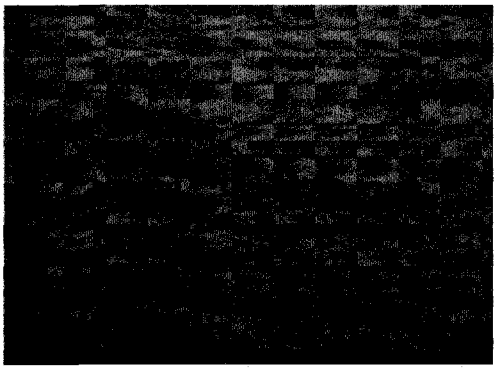


Figure 332. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail from *Gibraltar*, 1567. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.61ro. (Photo: author.)

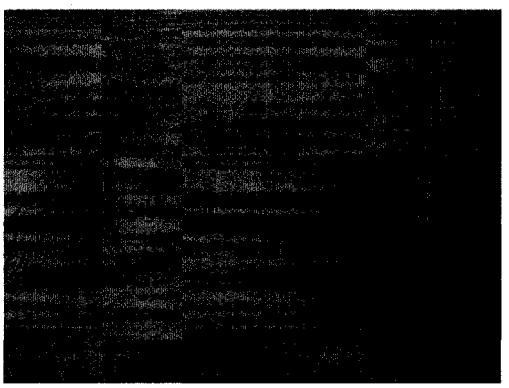


Figure 333. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from sketch for *Granada*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 9ro. (Photo: author.)

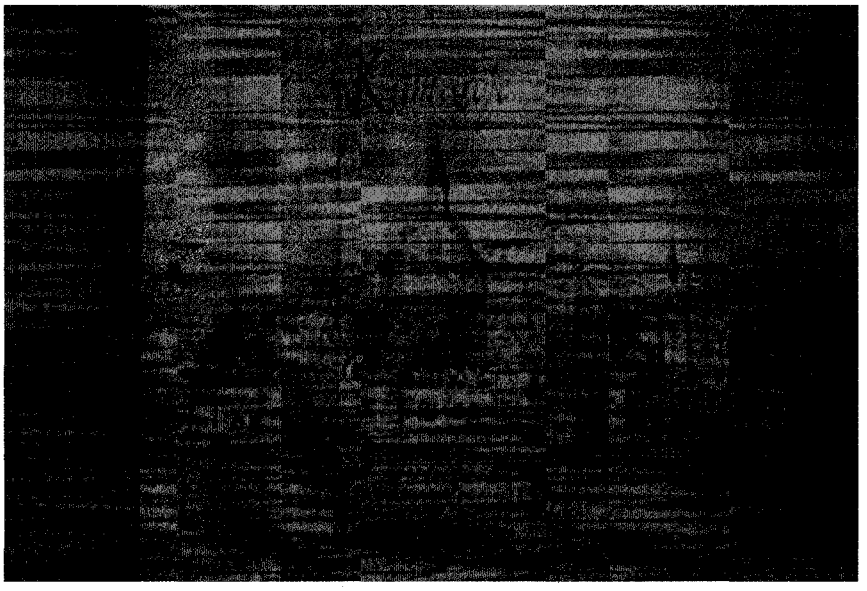


Figure 334. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Palace of Cantecroy*, 1557–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.12b^{ro}. (Photo: author.)

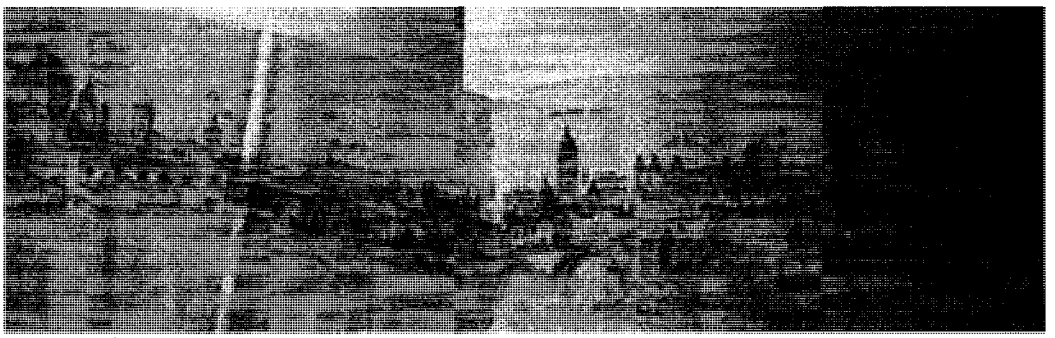


Figure 335. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Tarragona*, 1563. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 22ro. (Photo: author.)

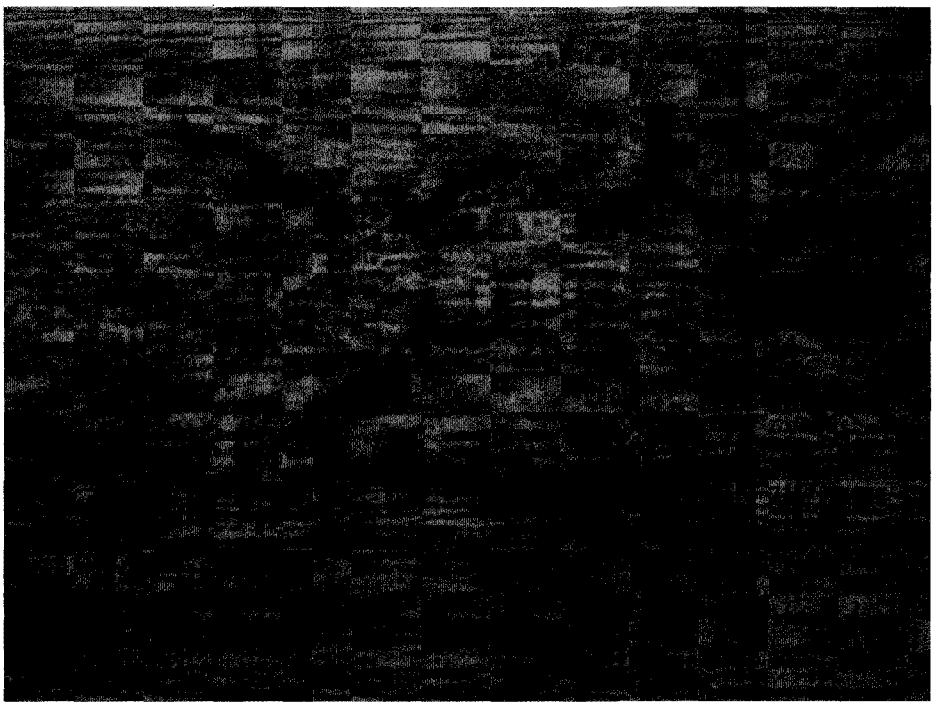


Figure 336. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from *Malaga*, 1564. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, B.II.116ro. (Photo: author.)

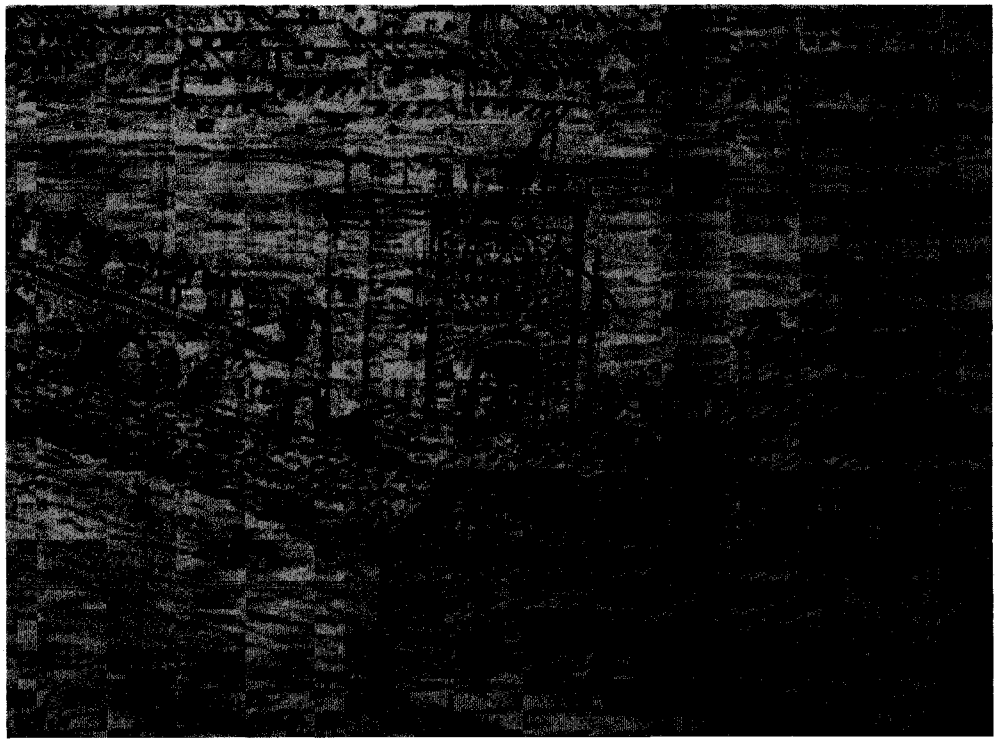


Figure 337. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail, from *Zamora*, 1570. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1ro. (Photo: author.)



Figure 338. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of removed boat, from *Gibraltar*, 1567. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.61ro. (Photo: author.)

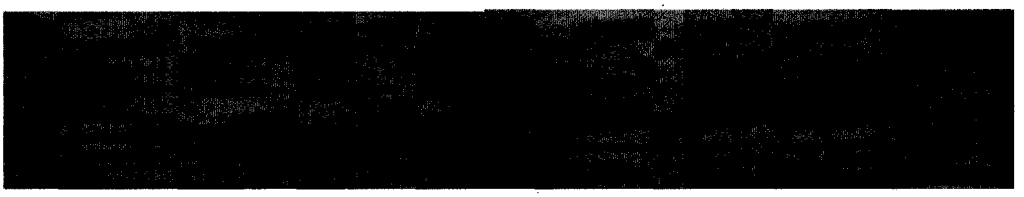


Figure 339. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Sluys*, 1557–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, C.IV.112ro. (Photo: author.)

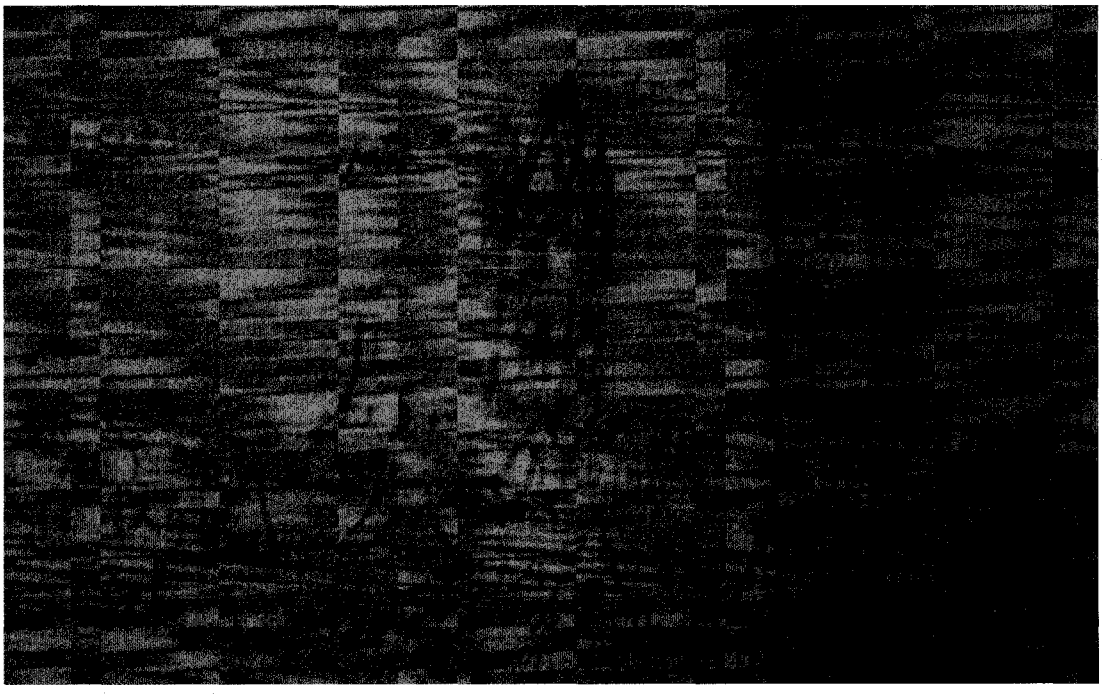


Figure 340. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of tower, sketch for *Sluys*, 1557–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, C.IV.112ro. (Photo: author.)

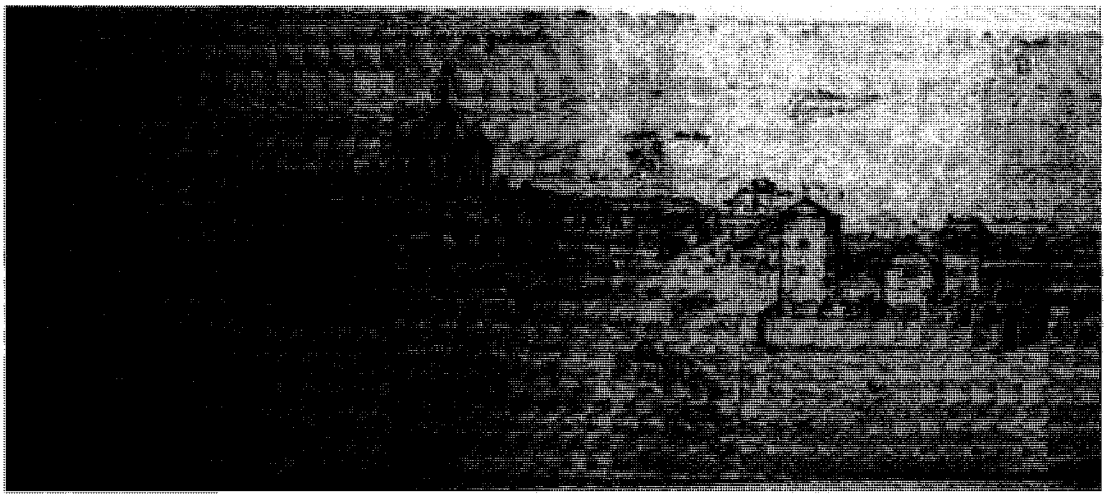


Figure 341. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of Sto. Heronimo, from sketch for *Granada.* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 3ro. (Photo: author.)

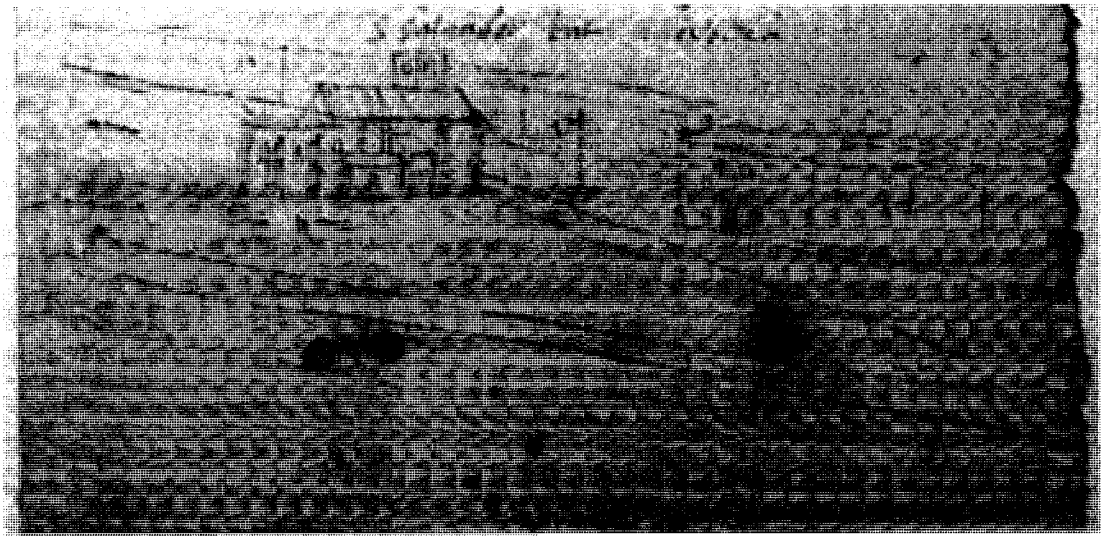


Figure 342. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of S. Salvador near Sagunto, 1563. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 22vo. (Photo: author.)



Figure 343. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of garden in Valencia, 1563. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 12vo. (Photo: author.)

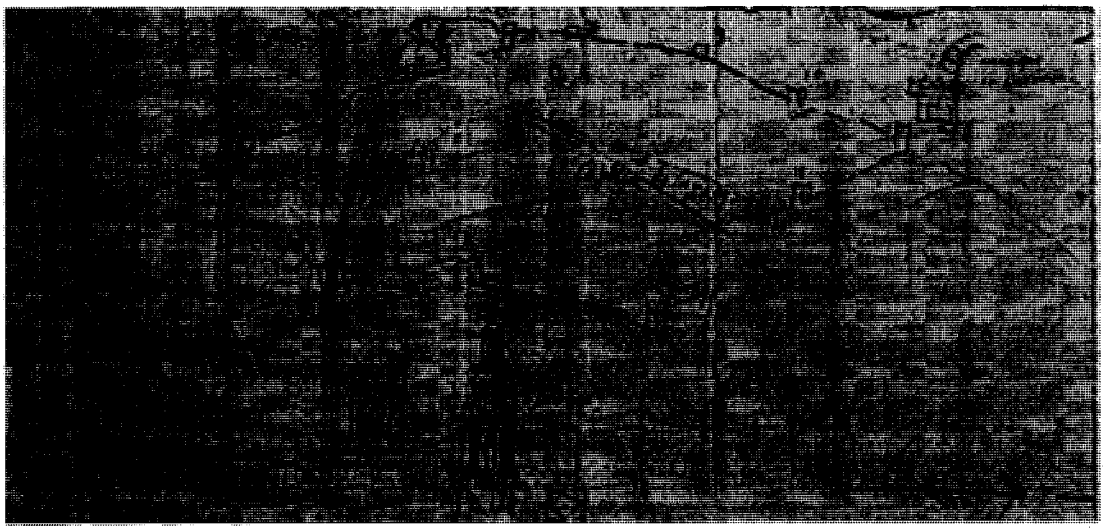


Figure 344. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Cordoba walls, 1567. Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, F-I-15ro. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 191.)

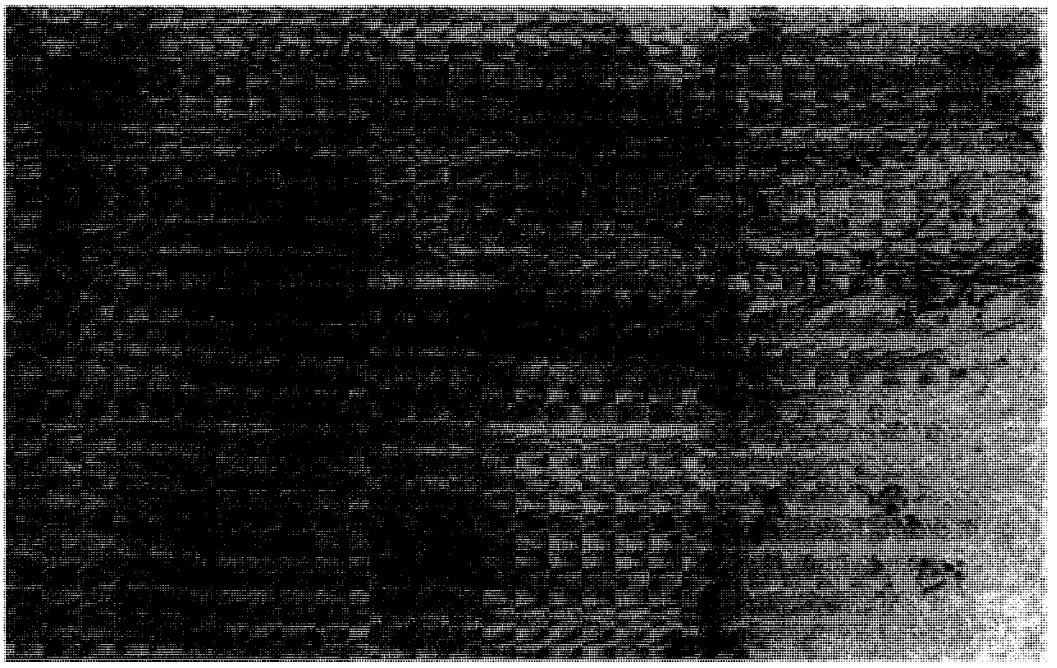


Figure 345. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Granada, 1567. Vienna, National-Bibliothek, Ms. Min 41, 55vo. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 114.)

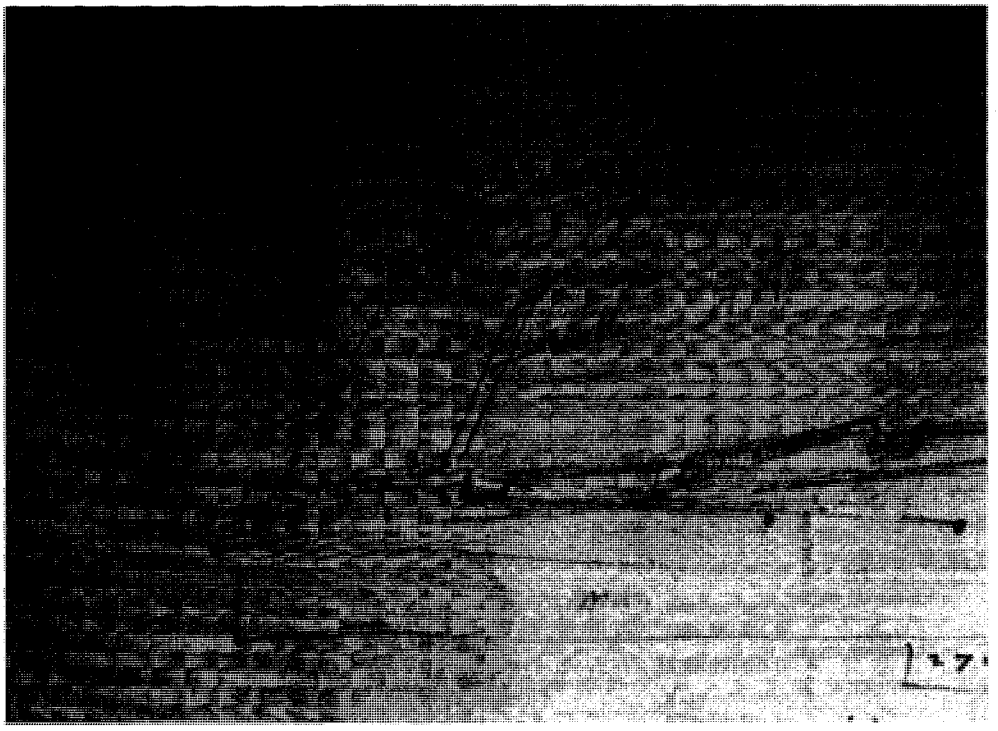


Figure 346. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Barcelona, 1563. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 11vo. (Photo: author.)



Figure 347. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Palace at Richmond*, dated 1562. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.12b^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 162.)

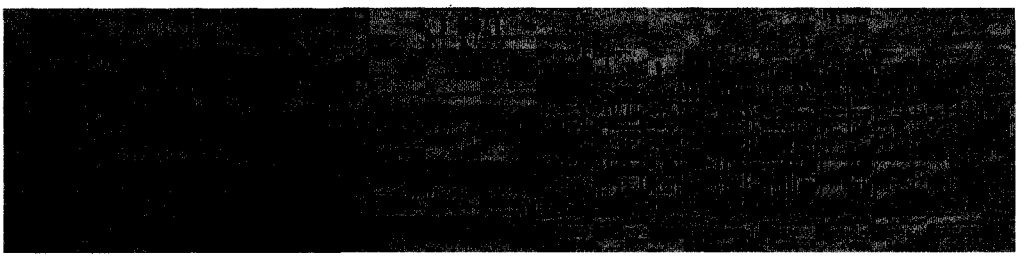


Figure 348. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Richmond*, 1559. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.11a^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 158.)

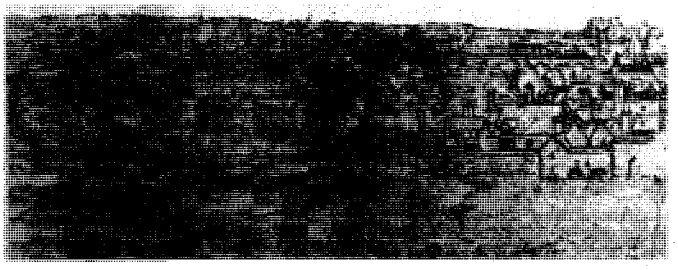


Figure 349. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Richmond*, 1559. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.12a^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 162 [as Oatlands].)



Figure 350. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Richmond*, 1559. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.11a^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 159.)

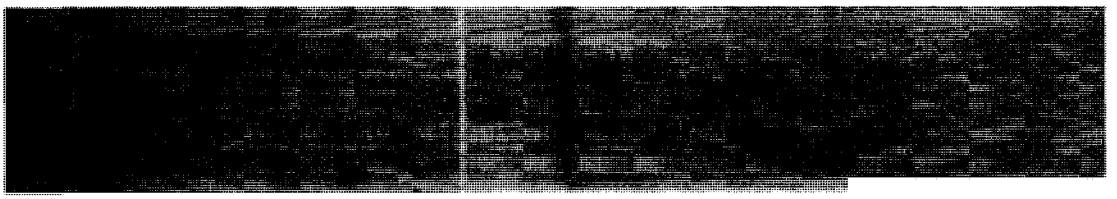


Figure 351. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.11c^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 160.)

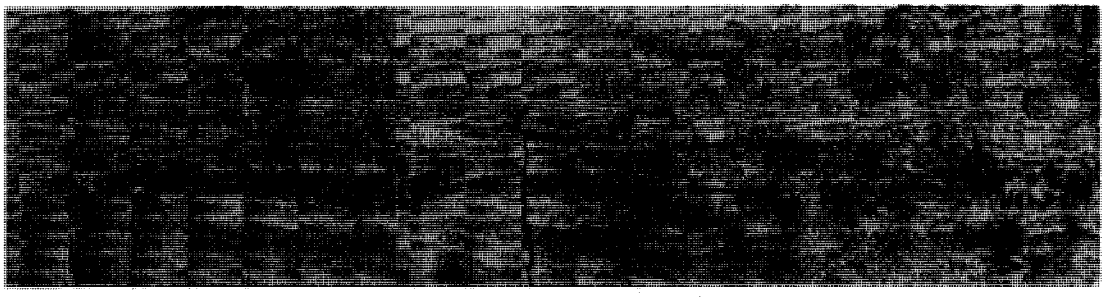


Figure 352. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.11a^{vo}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 159.)

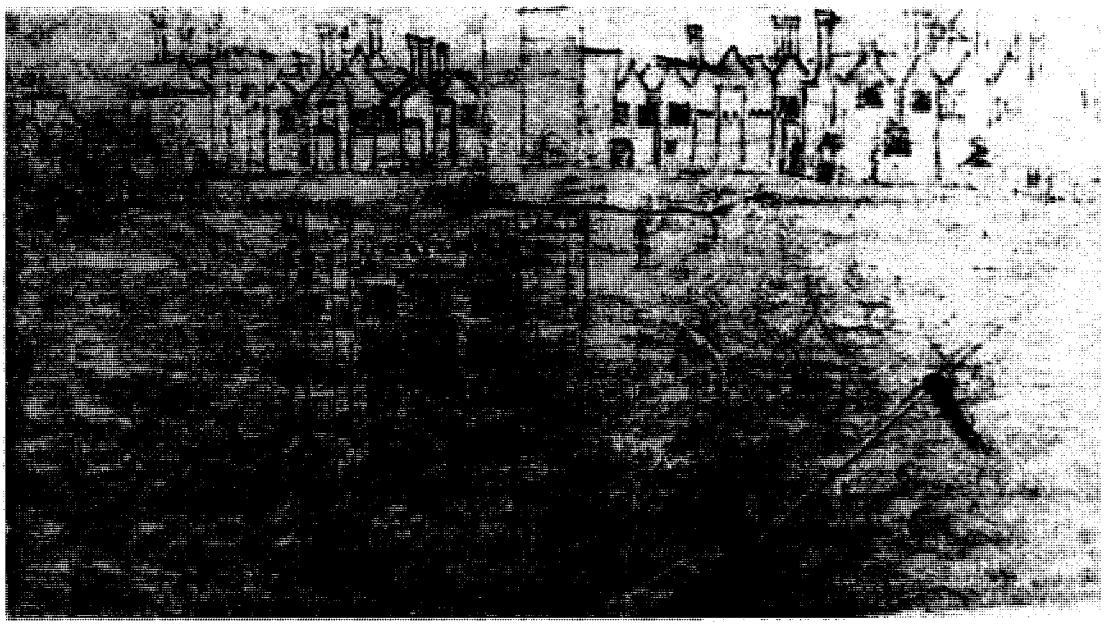


Figure 353. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.11b^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 160.)



Figure 354. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.11a^{vo}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 159 [as Richmond].)

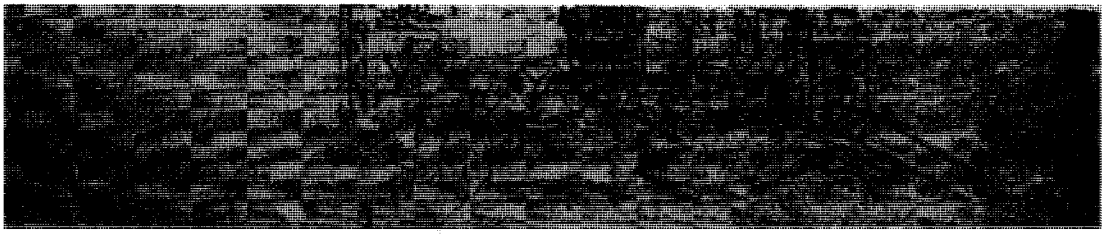


Figure 355. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Palace at Oatlands*, 1559. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.11c^{vo}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 161.)



Figure 356. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Hampton Court*, dated 1558. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.9a^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 157.)



Figure 357. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Greenwich Palace from Greenwich Hill*, 1558. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.8b^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 157.)

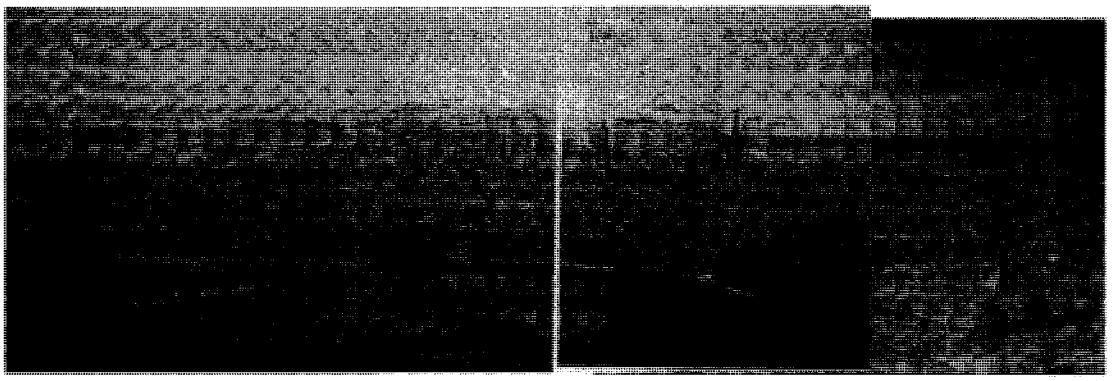


Figure 358. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Bruges*, 1557–58. Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, F-I-10ro. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 189.)

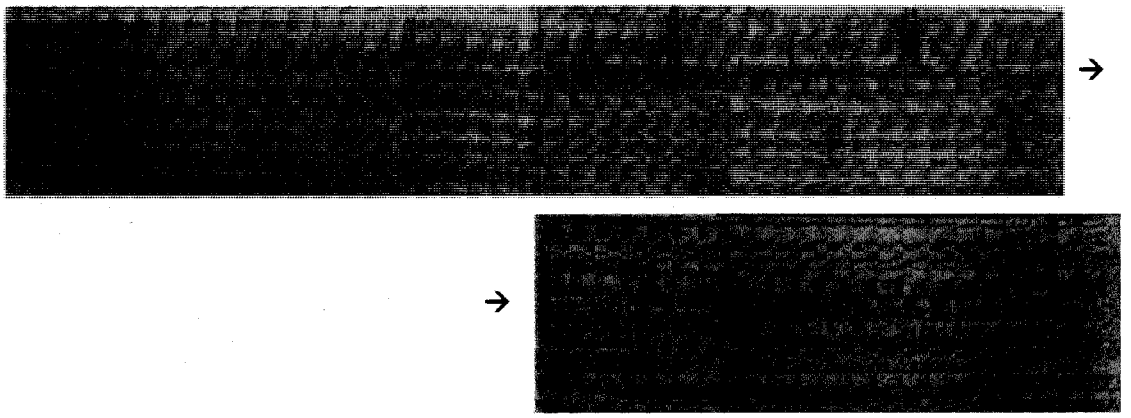


Figure 359. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Bruges*, 1557–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, B.I.331a^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 170.)

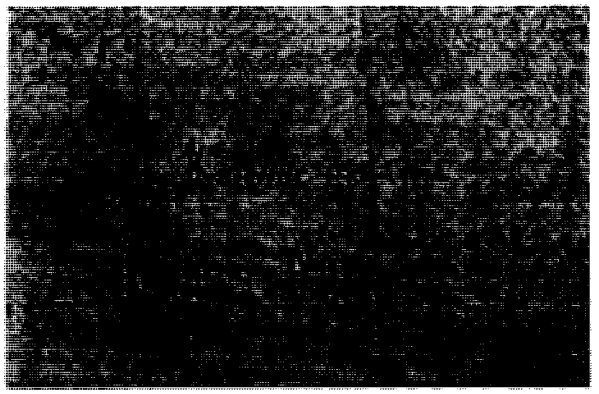


Figure 360. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Katelijne Gate, for *Bruges*, 1557–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, B.I.331a^{vo}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 170.)

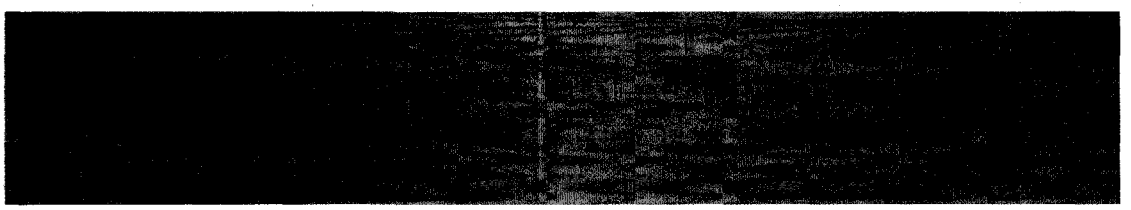


Figure 361. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Bruges*, 1557–58. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, B.I.331b.54ro. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 171.)



Figure 362. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch for *Bruges*, 1557–58. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 28ro. (Photo: author.)



Figure 363. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of Sto. Josepho, from sketch for *Granada*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 3ro. (Photo: author.)

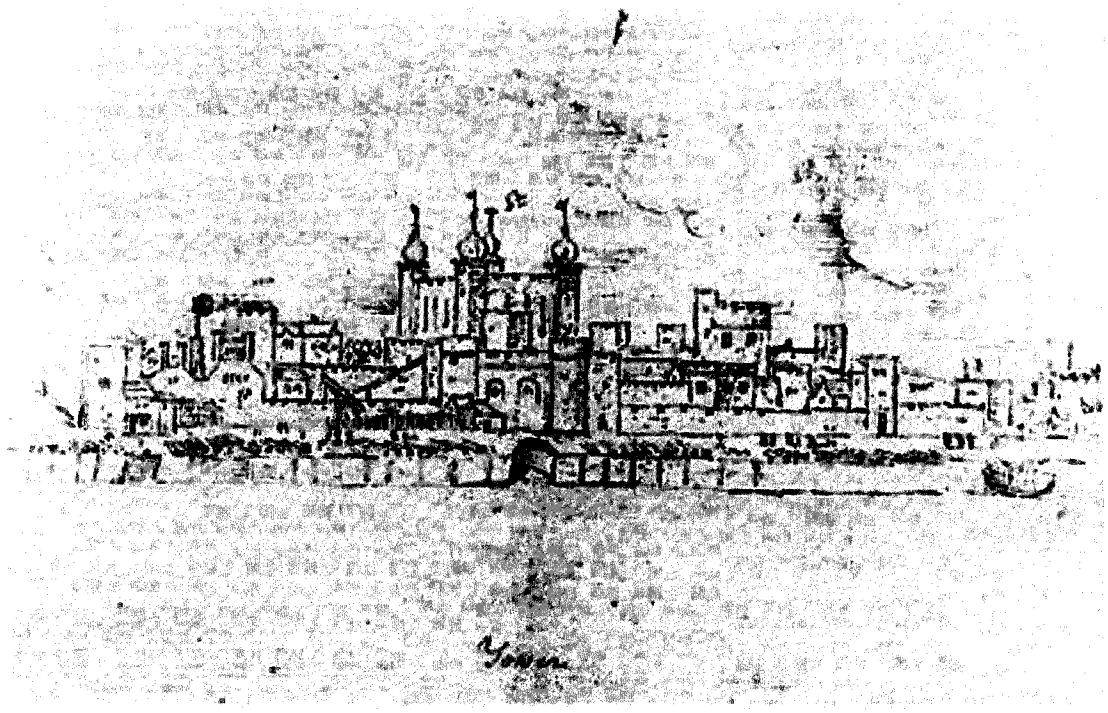


Figure 364. Anton van den Wyngaerde, sketch of Tower of London, 1544. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, C.IV.99b^{ro}. (Photo: Galera i Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde*, 177.)

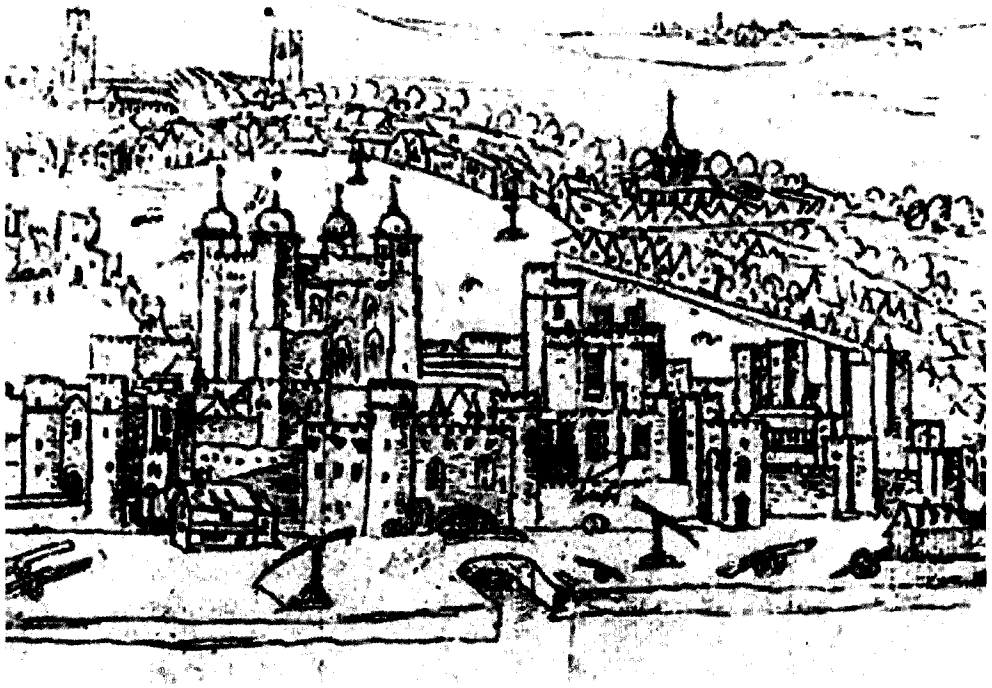


Figure 365. Anton van den Wyngaerde, detail of Tower of London, from *London*, 1544. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, LG.IV.1/14ro. (Photo: author.)

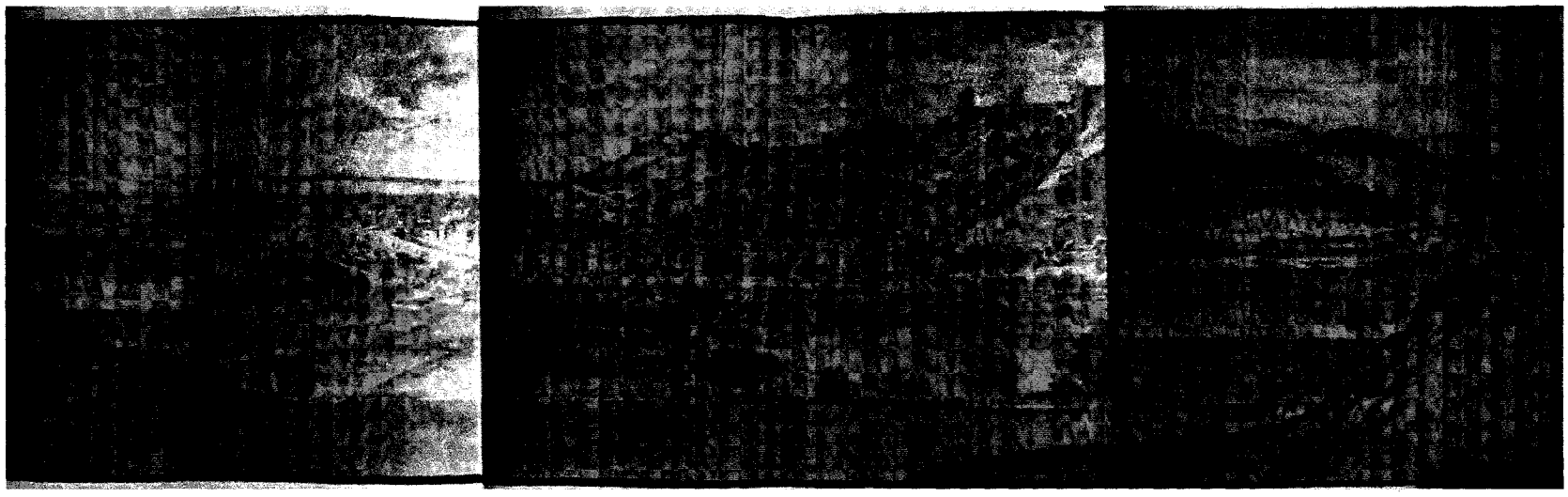


Figure 366. Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Murviedro* (Sagunto), 1563. Vienna, National-Bibliothek, Ms. Min 41, 4. (Photo: Kagan, *Spanish Cities*, 188–90.)

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Curriculum Vita

Ryan Gregg was born 2 August 1976 in Phoenix, Arizona. He graduated magna cum laude with a B.A. in Art History from Truman State University, in Kirksville, Mo., in 1999. Ryan then worked for two years as a curatorial assistant at the Art Institute of Chicago in the Department of Asian Art. He next attended Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, Va., from which he graduated with an M.A. in History of Art in 2003. He then attended The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Md. There he pursued a Ph.D. in the History of Art, which he completed in 2008.