Tanja Michalsky

GAINING INSIGHT THROUGH A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

On the Chorography of Naples in the Early Modern Era

Since the 16th century, bird's-eye views, townscapes, and city maps have been favoured media for representing claims to power, but also for representing the histories of the structures of cities.[1] They play a special role in historical research into urban settlements, firstly because they strive to depict topographical features with precision and, secondly, because they seek, through a painstakingly constructed overview, to render the organically evolving structure of the city comprehensible.[2] Here, a complex heuristic task consists of analysing those aspects of map production that are devoted to surveying, to the projection of data and, hence, to ostensibly illustrative tasks in the context

1 ⎯ This text is based largely on the German version of the topic: Tanja Michalsky, "Gewachsene Ordnung. Zur Chorographie Neapels in der Frühen Neuzeit", in: *Museum, Bibliothek, Stadtraum: Räumliche Wissensordnungen 1600–1900*, ed. Robert Felfe and Kirsten Wagner, Berlin 2010, pp. 261–286.

2 ⎯ Cf. the pioneering, methodically reflected, approaches in dealing with historical city maps: Bruno Zevi, *Saper vedere la città*, Turin 1960; John A. Pinto, "Origins and Development of the Iconographic City Plan", in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 35 (1976), pp. 35–50; Jürgen Schulz, "Jacopo de Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500", in: *Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), pp. 425–474; Lucia Nuti, "The Mapped Views by Goerg Hoefnagel: the Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye", in: *Word and Image*, 4 (1988), pp. 545–570; id., "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language", in: *Art Bulletin*, 76 (1994), pp. 105–128; id., *Ritratti di città: visione e memoria tra Medioevo e Settecento*, Venice 1996; id., "Mapping Places. Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance", in: *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove, London 1999, pp. 90–108; Thomas Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence. The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century", in: *Imago Mundi*, 46 (1994), pp. 41–64; Naomi Miller, *Mapping the City: the Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance*, London and New York 2003. Finally, with a decidedly political approach: Ryan E. Gregg, *City views in the Habsburg and Medici courts. Depictions of rhetoric and rule in the sixteenth century*, Leiden and Boston 2018 (Brill's studies on art, art history, and intellectual history); for *bird's-eye view* see Exhib. Cat. *Die Welt von Oben. Die Vogelperspektive in der Kunst*, ed. Ursula Zeller and Frank-Thorsten Moll, Zeppelin-Museum Friedrichshafen, Friedrichshafen 2013; Exhib. Cat. *Von oben gesehen – die Vogelperspektive*, ed. Yasmin Doosry, Germanischen National-museum Nürnberg, Nuremberg 2014.

of the ways in which, inevitably, they assign meaning through the form and format of the depiction. A reconstruction of historical spaces with the help of maps and bird's-eye views requires attention to the specific epistemological form of the "overview," which seems to present everything, but at the same time selects and orders by positioning individual elements in relation to one another. Maps and map-like views such as bird's-eye views do not simply represent spatial configurations – they create them in the first place.[3]

The spectrum of functions fulfilled by maps for the understanding of urban spaces and their significance can be highlighted with reference to a pair of highly divergent positions within urban research: Bruno Zevi's *Saper vedere la città* as well as Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* were both published in the year 1960.[4] The urban historian Zevi analyses the achievement of the Ferrarese Renaissance urbanist Biagio Rossetti as a preservationist of evolved structures, in the process emphasising the concrete, organically evolved materiality of the city. Lynch is interested in the *mental maps* of inhabitants of large American cities, characterised, conversely, by a reduction of complexity. For his synchronous comparison of urban structures, Zevi utilises aerial photographs of cities that have remained as intact as possible. For the diachronic comparisons, he uses historical maps, although for the most part he does not reflect upon their specific representational form. The merit of his methodologically traditional

3 ___ "Mapping" has become a popular metaphor for the spatial representation and ordering of knowledge for several years. In the same way that mapping has been discovered as a meaningful representation of knowledge or information, the map, in its essentialist claim to project the surface of the world, has been increasingly examined for its meaning. Cf.: Stephen Bann, "The Truth in Mapping", in: *Word and Image*, 4/2 (1988), pp. 498–509. Christian Jacob, *L'empire des cartes: Approche théorique de la cartographie à travers l'histoire*, Paris 1992; id., *The Sovereign Map. Theoretical Approaches in Cartography Throughout History*, Chicago and London 2006; J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the map", in: *Writing Worlds. Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, ed. Trevor Barnes and James Duncan, London 1992, pp. 231–247; Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps*, New York 1992; Geoff King, *Mapping Reality. An Exploration of Cultural Cartographies*, New York 1996; *Mapping. Ways of Representing the World*, ed. Daniel Dorling and David Fairbairn, London 1997; Denis Cosgrove: "Introduction. Mapping Meaning", in: id. (as in note 2), pp. 1–23; Ute Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute*, Darmstadt 2004; Tanja Michalsky, *Projektion und Imagination. Niederländische Landschaft der Frühen Neuzeit in Geographie und Malerei*, Paderborn 2011; id., "Karten unter sich. Überlegungen zur Intentionalität geographischer Karten", in: *Fürstliche Koordinaten*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner, Leipzig 2014, pp. 321–339; id., "Karten schaffen Räume. Kartographie als Medium der Wissens- und Informationsorganisation", in: *Gerhard Mercator. Wissenschaft und Wissenstransfer*, ed. Ute Schneider and Stefan Brakensiek, Darmstadt 2015, pp. 15–38. On Naples see id., "Geschichte im Raum. Topographische Imaginationen Neapels in der Frühen Neuzeit", in: Exhib. Cat. *Caravaggios Erben. Barock in Neapel*, ed. Peter Forster, Elisabeth Oy-Marra and Heiko Damm, Munich 2016, pp. 14–29.
4 ___ Zevi (as in note 2); Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, Cambridge 1960, pp. 16–25.
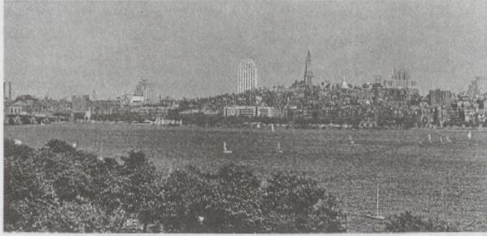
FIG. 4. *Boston from across the Charles River*

uncertainly connected to the rest. Although many subjects had an intellectual conception of Boston as a peninsula, they were unable to make a visual connection between river and harbor. Boston seems in some ways to be a "one-sided" city, which loses precision and content as one moves away from the Charles River edge.

If our sample is representative, almost any Bostonian can tell you this much of his city. Equally likely, he could *not* describe some other things, such as the triangular area between the Back Bay and the South End, the no-man's land south of North Station, how Boylston Street runs into Tremont Street, or what is the pattern of paths in the financial district.

Figure 35, page 146

One of the most interesting districts is one that isn't there: the triangular region between the Back Bay and the South End. This was a blank area on the map for every person interviewed, even the one who was born and raised there. It is an area of substantial size containing some known elements such as Huntington Avenue and occasional landmarks such as the Christian Science Church, but the matrix in which these might appear is absent and nameless. Presumably, the blocking by surrounding railroad tracks, and the conceptual squeezing-out of this area because the main streets of Back Bay and the South End are felt to be parallel, both contribute to this disappearance.

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The Boston Common, on the other hand, is for many subjects the core of their image of the city, and, along with Beacon Hill, the Charles River, and Commonwealth Avenue, is most often mentioned as a particularly vivid place. Often, in making their cross-city trips, people would veer off course to touch base here as they went by. A large, planted open space bordering the most intensive district in Boston, a place full of associations, accessible to all, the Common is quite unmistakable. It is so located as to expose one edge of three important districts: Beacon Hill, the Back Bay, and the downtown shopping district, and is therefore a nucleus from which anyone can expand his knowledge of the environment. Furthermore, it is highly differentiated within itself, including the little subway plaza, the fountain, the Frog Pond, the bandstand, the cemetery, the "swan pond," and so on.

At the same time this open space has a most peculiar shape, difficult to remember: a five-sided, right-angled figure. Since it is also too large and well planted for the sides to be intervisible, people are often at sea in trying to cross it. And since two of the bounding paths, Boylston and Tremont Streets, are of city-
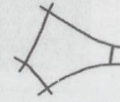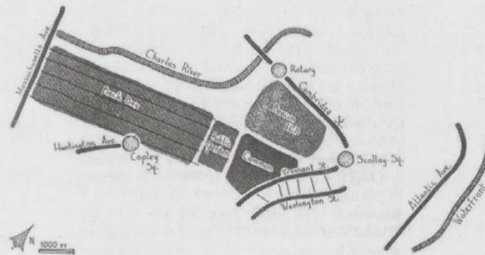
Figure 6, page 23

FIG. 5. *The Boston that everyone knows*

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1 ___ Kevin Lynch, *Boston, that everyone knows.*

study is to sensitise us to the overlapping of larger historical developments and concrete planning interventions. Notwithstanding a marked interest in its history, the city is reduced, ultimately, to an aesthetic structure that is no longer transparent in relation to its concrete historical legibility.

When Kevin Lynch, by contrast, juxtaposes an aerial photograph of Boston – ultimately the modern variant of the bird's-eye view – with a graphic version showing the most important landmarks, and then with a simplified map of Boston (fig. 1) *that everyone knows*, the structuration runs along completely different lines. His presentation is designed to demonstrate that collective perceptions of the urban organism, evaluated via resident questionnaires, is remote from the complexity of the kind of topographical description that is already common today, and that the individual urban space is not congruent with the conventionally mapped one. Historical maps, aerial photographs, modern re-drawings, as well as sketches of the city featuring familiar landmarks: each constructs different urban spaces, and each is capable of conveying much about the individual city. Through their mode of representation, from the projected bird's-eye view, to the map, and all the way through to the photograph, all represent an understanding of the city as such.

With reference to a number of early maps, views, and descriptions of Naples, the following addresses two fundamental questions:[5]

a.   the historicity of bird's-eye views and city plans themselves, as well as the epistemological models they represent;

b.   the transparency of maps, images and text of cities in relation to the historical reality of their period of origin.

VIEWS AND IMAGES

Giovanni Tarcagnota's *Del Sito, Et Lodi Della Citta Di Napoli Con Vna Breve Historia De Gli Re Svoi, & delle cose piu degne altroue ne' medesimi tempi auenute* was published in Naples in 1566. This account of the city of Naples begins by describing the city's appearance and then narrates its history in chronological sequence up until the year of the book's publication.[6]

5 __ Comparable analyses could be made on most cartographically documented cities. The mapping of Naples is the focus of a recent research project of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, MPI of Art History and the CIRICE in Naples: Naples Digital Archive, found at: https://www.biblhertz.it/de/dept-michalsky/naples-digital (accessed August 8 2019). The pioneering work in the field was done by Cesare de Seta. See Cesare de Seta, *Storia della città di Napoli dalle origini al Settecento*, Bari 1973; id., *Napoli fra Rinascimento e Illuminismo*, Naples 1991; id., "The Urban Structure of Naples: utopia and reality", in: *Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: the representation of architecture*, ed. Henry A. Millon et al., London 1994, pp. 349–371; id., *Napoli. La città nella storia d'Italia*, Rome and Bari 2004; id., *Napoli e i centri della provincia. Iconografia delle città in Campania*, ed. Alfredo Buccaro, Naples 2006; cf. Maria Iaccarino, *L'evoluzione dell'iconografia di Napoli, dal XV al XIX secolo*, Naples 2006, pp. 99–112. See also *Napoli, stratificazione storica e cartografia tematica*, ed. Massimo Rosi, Naples 1991; Maria Forcellino, "Considerazioni sull'immagine di Napoli. Da Colantonio a Bruegel", in: *Napoli nobilissima*, 30 (1991), pp. 81–96; Vladimiro Valerio, *Piante e vedute di Napoli dal 1486 al 1599. L'origine dell'iconografia urbana europea*, Naples 1998; Barbara Naddeo, "Topographies of Difference. Cartography of the City of Naples", in: *Imago mundi*, 56 (2004), pp. 23–47; id., "Representation and Self-Perception. Plans and Views of Naples in the Early Modern Period", in: *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita, Leiden and Boston 2013, pp. 63–86; Giovanni Muto, "Urban Structures and Population", in: ibid., pp. 35–62.

6 __ Giovanni Tarcagnota, *Del Sito, Et Lodi Della Citta Di Napoli Con Vna Breve Historia De Gli Re Svoi, & delle cose piu degne altroue ne' medesimi tempi auenute di Giouanni Tarchagnota di Gaeta*, Naples 1566. This is the third printed description of Naples. Cf. Franco Strazzullo, "Un descrittore della Napoli del '500. Giovanni Tarcagnota", in: *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana N.S.*, 38 (1989), pp. 131–140. A few years earlier, Benedetto di Falco, *Descrittione dei luoghi antichi di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto*, Brescia 1549 (who refers primarily to ancient ruins) and Pietro De Stefano, *Descrittione de i luoghi sacri della città di Napoli, con li fondatori di essi, reliquie sepolture et epitaphii scelti che in quelle si ritrouano*, Naples 1560 (based exclusively on the city's sacred buildings and institutions) appeared. Cf. *Libri per vedere. Le guide storico-artistiche della città di Napoli: fonti, testimonianze del gusto immagini, di una città*, ed. Francesca Amirante et al., Naples 1995; Tanja Michalsky, "Die Stadt im Buch. Die Konstruktion städtischer Ordnung am Beispiel frühneuzeitlicher Beschreibungen Neapels", in: *Urbanität. Formen der Inszenierung in Texten, Karten, Bildern*, ed. Martina Stercken and Ute Schneider, Cologne 2016, pp. 105–131; cf. also the excellent

2 ___ Antonio Lafreri (publisher) after Étienne Dupérac: *Map of Naples, Rome 1566.*

The author begins with a topical praise of cities as refuges and symbols of human civilisation, listing a number of qualities attributed to Naples. He begins with the magnificent palaces, then proceeds to the numerous noble families, before mentioning architects and urbanists individually: "[…] no less praiseworthy are those who demonstrate how one can and must construct beautiful cities with spectacular buildings, so that from time to time […] we arrive at that grace/indefiniteness (*vaghezza*) of the buildings, and the unique arrangement which then becomes perceptible."[7] With his argument, Tarcagnota is very much up to date, i.e. when he stresses the conjunctions between planning and historicity, between control and contingency, so to speak, and when he enumerates precisely those factors that allow a city to become unique and distinctive.[8] Then, however, he takes up a rhetorical artifice which, with all of the *topoi*

online edition, available at: www.memofonte.it/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=40& Itemid=329 (accessed August 8 2019), where, however, Tarcagnota's text is not included.

7 ___ "*Ma non meno degno di lode sono quegli altri, che mostrarono poi come si potessero & dovessero le belle città bene ordinate & di magnifichi edifici adorne fabricare; ben che penso io, che di tempo in tempo, come di tutte le cose aviene, a quest'ultima vaghezza di edificii si venisse & di ordine cosi distinto come poscia si vede*"; Tarcagnota (as in note 6), fol. 1v.

8 ___ Cf. the introduction to the six-volume work of *Stadtdarstellungen*, which Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg published from 1572 onwards; "*ad praesens me opus convertam in quo quidnam ornamenti vniverso periti Architecti vrbium, oppidorumque; structura conzulerint, artificiosae Simonis Novellani, &*

employed, is particularly telling: he has three *cavalieri*, whose voices now become the vehicles of his text, gather in a villa outside of the town which offers a fictive view of Naples, one that, whilst it does not appear in this slender volume, can nonetheless be readily visualised on the basis of contemporary maps and bird's-eye perspectives of Naples (fig. 2). The gathering takes place in the home of Don Geronimo Pignatelli in a *Villa del monte* which is set above the city and, in view of the loveliness of the day, their host suggests that they dine in a windowed loggia.[9] "Visible from there" we read "was the sea and the entire city, as though one were situated directly above it." Clearly, this precise localisation of the fictive conversationalists serves to evoke a view whose perspective approaches a bird's-eye view very closely; namely, an elevated standpoint that provides an overview.[10] It is in this privileged position that the host speaks, turning toward his guests: "Have you ever seen a view lovelier than this one? And if you saw it portrayed in one of these Flemish pictures, could you fail to say that it is the most exquisite thing in the world?" Taking this comparison with contemporary landscape painting as his point of departure, he continues, explaining that the city is embedded in nature – and how readily one felt refreshed before the extraordinary beauty of these natural surroundings.

No matter how we wish to conceptualise, in methodological terms, the historical relationship between concrete, painted or graphic images and linguistic evocations of subjective views, a view of Naples painted by Pieter Bruegel, either during the 1550s, when he was in Italy (fig. 3, plate XXXIV), or slightly later in Antwerp,[11] is inevitably

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Francisci Hogenbergij manus, mirifica quadam industria, tam accuratae, & ad viuum partium singularum proportione, & vicorum ordine ad admussim observaro, expresserunt vut non icones & typi vrbium, sed vrbes ipsae, admirabili caelaturae artificio, spectantium oculis subiectae appareant. Quas partim ipsi depinxerunt, partim ab iis, sagaci diligentia conquisitas, atque depictas acceperunt, qui singulas quasque vrbes perlustrarunt […]. In quo topographicae vrbium oppidorumque descriptiones tam geometrica, quam perspectiva pingendi ratione, cum genuina situs, locorum, moeniorum, publicorum & privatorum aedificiorum observatione, singulari artis industria atque praesidio sunt delineare." Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum. 1572–1618*, ed. Raleigh A. Skelton, Amsterdam 1965, vol. 1, D2 (First Edition 1572).

9 ___ "[…] *in una di queste ville del monte, che soprasta alla citta* […] *volle, che in vna loggietta finestrata, perche era una giornata amenissima, si mangiasse* […]." (Tarcagnota [as in note. 6], S. 2v). For the construction of palaces in Naples and its surroundings, as well as the problems associated with the great influx of nobles since the end of the 16th century, see Gerard Labrot, *Baroni in città. Residenze e comportamenti dell'aristocrazia napoletana 1530–1734*, Naples 1979, chapters I. and II.

10 ___ "*Et eßendosi riposati alquanto, perche da quella loggietta si vedeva il mare, & la citta tutta come se le fossero stato sopra, il Sign. Don Geronimo volto verso gli altri con certa maraviglia incominciò in questo modo a dire: Vedeste mai per vita vostra la piu bella prospettiva di questa? Se si vedesse ritratta in uno di questi quadri di Fiandra, chi non direbbe, che questa fosse la piu delicata cosa del mondo?*" Tarcagnota (as in note 6), fol. 3r.

11 ___ The picture is painted in oil on wood and measures 42 × 71 cm. It is located in Rome in the Galleria Doria Pamphili. Cf. Gustav Glück, *Das große Bruegel-Werk*, Vienna and Munich 1963, p. 37; Roger H. Marijnissen, *Bruegel*, Antwerp 1988, pp. 381–382; Philippe Roberts-Jones and Françoise Roberts-Jones, *Pieter Bruegel der Ältere*, Munich 1997, p. 281–282. The work is neither signed nor dated, but the

3 ___ Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *View of Naples*, ca. 1550, oil on wood, 42.2 × 71.2 cm, Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilii.

called to mind at this point. This work's provenance remains unresolved, but the fact that it remains in Italy alone suggests it was produced for an Italian client, perhaps one belonging to the milieu of the Spanish court in Naples – to which Tarcagnota's fictional conversational partners were also attached.[12] Having been recently restored, this picture's quality can now be appraised once again, and the topographical data provided by this bird's-eye view becomes recognisable with precision.[13] The picture's ostensible subject is the return of the victorious fleet or a naval battle, but even more impressive is Bruegel's embedding of the city in a 'delicate' landscape and the dynamism of harbour life. Whether Tarcagnota knew this particular picture is both impossible to

attribution to Bruegel is generally accepted. Surprisingly enough, no further interpretation of this picture has been made until today, although Pieter Bruegel's complete work has undergone a number of complex individual interpretations in recent decades. On Bruegel's trip to Italy cf. Nils Büttner, "'Quid Siculas sequeris per mille pericula terras?' Ein Beitrag zur Biographie Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. und zur Kulturgeschichte der niederländischen Italienreise", in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 27 (2000), pp. 209–242.

12 ___ Roberts-Jones and Roberts-Jones (as in note 11), consider whether the picture was owned by the Bruegel collector Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, who, however, only came to Naples as a viceroy from 1571 to 1575 (p. 282).

13 ___ See Manfred Sellink, "Les Vaisseux de mer de Pieter Bruegel l'Ancien. Un aspect moins connu de son oeuvre", in: Exhib. Cat. *La Flandre et la mer. De Pieter l'Ancien à Jan Brueghel de Velours*, ed. Sandrine Vezlier-Dussart and Stéphane Curveiller, Musée départemental de Flandre, Heule 2015, pp. 53–73; Gregg (as in note 2), pp. 170–175; Exhib. Cat. *Bruegel. Die Hand des Meisters*, *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien* ed. Elke Oberthaler, Sabine Pénot, Manfred Sellink and Ron Spronk, Stuttgart 2018, Cat. no. 54.

4 ___ Carlo Theti, *Map of Naples*.

ascertain and, ultimately, incidental. Of greater relevance to a historical comprehension of media is the fact that, alongside printed bird's-eye views, such landscape images, referred to as *Flemish*, were also in circulation; images which served to visualise the beauty and delectability of specific views. Educated readers were able to recall such paintings mentally in order to supplement graphic and verbal descriptions of the city.

Meanwhile, Don Giovanni d'Avalos responds directly to his host: it is very beautiful, no doubt, but it is no less amusing to view the city itself, in particular its beautiful palaces, its (artfully) outfitted churches, the marvellous collections of the aristocracy, and the refreshing fountains – along with its streets, filled with cavalieri and nobles.[14] Following this praise of nature and of the city itself, with its many attractions, a further *volte-face*, which prioritises the view of the city above its traversal, is introduced. Don Geronimo politely concedes to his friend that during a ride through the town, one indeed sees much, but he objects that the noise and confusion largely cancel one's

14 ___ "Bellissima certo, Ma non minore giocondità si sente, quando dentro la citta isteßa si veggono in particolare i bei palagi, le ornate chiese, i magnifici seggi, le fresche fontane, & le strade da tanta cavalleria & da cosi honorato popolo frequentate." Tarcagnota (as in note 6), fol. 3.

enjoyment, enjoining his friends to instead enjoy the view:[15] "In undisturbed peace of mind, we enjoy this cheerful prospect. Contemplate its gracefulness for a while, and chat with me at length about the beautiful situation of the city. As you can see, it has been shaped by the charming hills that surround it, as though it were a marvellous theatre."

This passage is substantially longer, but these excerpts suffice to highlight the importance that was accorded to views of organically evolved and ordered cities in the mid-16th century. This fictional discussion leads quite artfully from a view through a window, an unmistakable reference to the framing of the picture, and then to a bird's-eye view of the city. This severe, framed view of individual details, meanwhile, is countered by the allusion to Flemish landscape painting, which refreshes the eye in particular by depicting the beauties of nature. Finally, with a renewed focus on the individual details of the urban organism that only a map can provide, the author praises the possibilities of a placid peregrination through the city, which he then undertakes in the subsequent pages of his book. The city lies there like a theatre, not solely by virtue of its semicircular outline, but because it is conceived explicitly as a repository of knowledge of local history, of the kind treated in the book.[16]

A 16th century text could hardly articulate the dispositive of the ordering gaze with greater clarity, a gaze that is on the one hand reflected in linguistic discourse, but especially, on the other, in the pictorial production of the time, to which the author has recourse in such a self-evident fashion. Representations, conceptions and perceptions of the city, then, are intertwined with one another in highly concrete ways – but in view of the by now broad consensus according to which media generate their message, it remains to ask: What is, and has been, the concrete contribution of the pictorial media to a historical understanding of the city?

Appearing more or less parallel with Tarcagnota's book in Naples was a hybrid view of the city by Étienne Dupérac, published by Antonio Lafreri in Rome, which renders the city itself as an axonometry, and the surroundings in a distinctly more

15 ___ "Ma lo strepito, & la confusione delle genti toglie gran parte di quel diletto. Il che qui hora à noi non aviene, che con ogni nostra quiete di animo godiamo di questa generale & gioconda vista, quale io poco avanti essere diceva. Miriate un poco di grazia & discorriate meco in particolare questo bel sito della città. Vedete come è egli maraviglioso, & quasi fatto studiosamente tale dalla natura. La citta é situata & formata come vedete à guisa di vn bel theatro, insieme con questi ameni colli, che alle spalle le sono & che la circondano da questa parte." Tarcagnota (as in note 6), fol. 3r. The topos of so-called "travelling in an armchair" can be found throughout the chorographic literature of the 16th century, cf. Skelton in Braun/Hogenberg (as in note 8), p. VII; Nils Büttner, Die Erfindung der Landschaft. Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels, Goettingen 2000, p. 171; Frangenberg (as in note 2), p. 49, mentions that early modern tourists were advised to study city maps before travelling.

16 ___ Cf. Frances A. Yates, Theater of the World, Chicago 1969. Numerous card collections bear the title Theatrum, cf. Abraham Ortelius, Theatrum orbis terrarum, Antwerp 1570, the first modern atlas avant la lettre.

oblique bird's-eye view.[17] It is certainly no accident that these scrupulously precise projections – whose details are virtually imperceptible in small reproductions – are capable of substituting for the map which Tarcagnota delineates before the inner eye of his reader. Text and map spring from the same interest in the way in which history comes to assume the forms that are manifested in cities. No isolated phenomenon, they belong to a larger group of mid-16th century publications that address the history of nations and cities in images and texts.[18] One well-known example is Ludovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione dei paesi bassi* from 1567, which appeared in numerous editions supplied with an increasing number of maximally up-to-date city plans, and which advertises this feature already in its very first edition – as well as the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, edited by Frans Hogenberg and Georg Braun, published in six volumes beginning in 1572, which combines townscapes with ethnographic and historical information.[19]

Nor is it any accident that Dupérac's map, which prevailed for many years against competition from other contemporary versions, also served as the basis for the map contained in Braun and Hogenberg's city book, which made precisely this image of Naples accessible to a wider public.

This view also satisfies the requirements specified by Tarcagnota and his friends. Firstly, it shows the beauty of the city's situation, with its perimeter of gentle hills, and it orchestrates the sea in ways that go well beyond topographical necessity. It suggests a *prospettiva* by inscribing the buildings in oblique parallel projection on this highly precise map (which has a scale of 1:6000). They are too uniform in perspectival terms, i.e. 'false' in relation to a unified perspectival scheme, but they nonetheless create the impression of offering the reader a genuine vista, while providing detailed views of the individual buildings and sites listed in the legend. [20]

17 ___ Cf. Michelangelo Schipa, "Una pianta topografica di Napoli del 1566", in: *Napoli nobilissima*, 4 (1895), pp. 161–166; Naddeo (as in note 5), pp. 24–26.

18 ___ For the production, marketing and reception of maps in Italy see David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance. Makers, Distributors and Consumers*, London 1996, pp. 100–101. Woodward also emphasises the widespread use of printed maps in Italy (which is less well researched than the Netherlands due to a lack of inventory in this area). Like other graphic products, they were traded and collected (also integrated), and esteemed both aesthetically and intellectually. Their role in disseminating knowledge and ideas about the world can hardly be overestimated.

19 ___ Ludovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione dei paesi bassi*, Antwerp 1567; Braun and Hogenberg (as in note 8). See *Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589): Actes du Colloque international 28, 29 et 30 mars 1990*, ed. Pierre Jodogne, Brussels 1991; esp. Fernand Hallyn, "Guicciardini et la topique de la topographie", in: ibid., pp. 151–161; Frank Lestringant, "Lodovico Guicciardini Chorographe. De la grande a la petite Belgique", in: ibid., pp. 119–134, who introduces Guicciardini as a witness to a new conception of history. Cf. *Guicciardini illustratus. De kaarten en prenten in Lodovico Giucciardini's "Beschrijving van de Nederlanden"*, ed. Henk Deys et al., Utrecht 2001.

20 ___ Cf. Daniela Stroffolino, "Technice e metodi di rappresentazione della città dal XV al XVII secolo", in: Buccaro (as in note 5), pp. 33–45, here p. 42.

With regard to all of these qualities, it is superior to the map – just six years older – of Carlo Theti (fig. 4), whose interest in military cartography leads him to present a far more dramatic version. This version, whilst it certainly registers the city's structure and also follows the conventions of the bird's-eye view, accommodates neither the desire for *vaghezza* nor the demand for additional information concerning the town's marvellous churches and palaces.[21]

One can readily imagine contemporaries laying out Dupérac's map (fig. 2) next to them while reading Tarcagnota's description of the city, which consists, significantly, of topographic and chronological parts. This, indeed, is precisely how Abraham Ortelius, the publisher of the first modern atlas, the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), imagined readers using his handy maps. As we know, Ortelius referred to geography as the "eye of history," and praised maps for their capacity to present the settings of history to the eye as though they were actually present, so that deeds and places became recognisable.[22] We know that Ortelius was familiar with Tarcagnota's book because the copy presently preserved in Berlin's Staatsbibliothek[23] was once in his possession. To be sure, this says very little about the direct relationship between the two texts, but serves as an indication of how closely linked historians and geographers were in the mid-16th century as they worked to integrate historiography and topographic description.
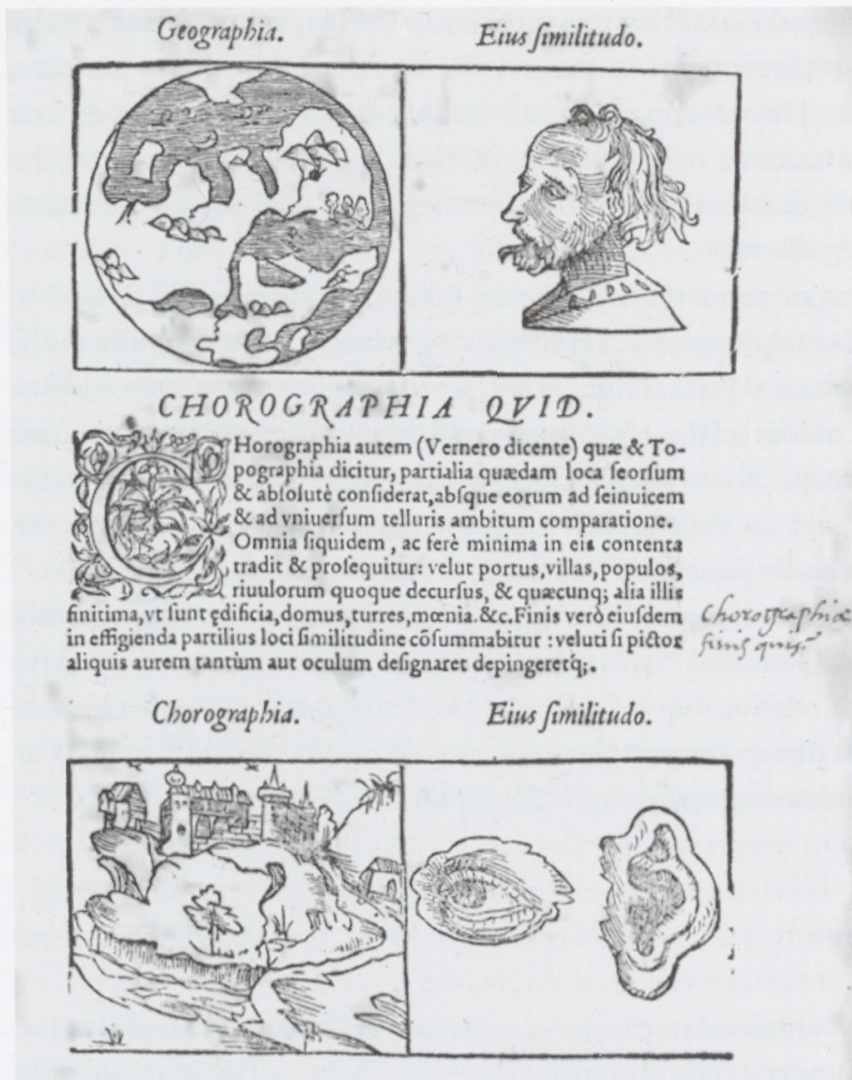
CHOROGRAPHY

Much of the information contained in the geographic and cosmographic literature of the time suggests that an understanding of history was closely bound up with not only maps in general, but also with townscapes, which is to say that a heuristic potential was attributed to views of the organic order of the city which could not be exhausted in the

21 ___ For the concept of *vaghezza* in Italian art theory and, in particular, in relation to landscape paintings: Karen Hope Goodchild, *Towards an Italian Renaissance Theory of Landscape,* Ph.D. thesis (University of Virginia), Ann Arbor 1998, pp. 83–100. The term derives from *vagare,* meaning wandering, connecting hiking, desire and beauty, whilst in the metaphorical sense it also means (feminine) sensuality, which in painting is primarily conveyed by colour.

22 ___ "*Geographia, quae merito a quibusdam historiae oculus appellata est*", Ortelius (as in note 16) writes in his preface, later: "*si Tabulis ob oculos propositis liceat quasi praesentem, res gestas, aut loca in quibus gestae sunt, intueri.*" In addition, he praises her for her memorability, which serves to keep the story itself, as present in the maps, longer in the memory: "*Tabulis his quasi rerum quibusdam speculis nobis ante oculos collocatis, memoriae multo diutinus inhaerent*", literally translated: "Panels set up like mirrors of reality in front of our eyes extend the memory." See Tanja Michalsky, "Geographie – Das Auge der Geschichte. Historische Reflexionen über die Macht der Karten im 16. Jh.", available at: https://www.voss-stiftung.de/tanja-michalsky-geographie-das-auge-der-geschichte-historische-reflexionen-uber-die-macht-der-karten-im-16-jh/ (accessed August 8 2019).

23 ___ The name is inscribed by hand and appears to be authentic in its *Album Amicorum* when compared with the writing of Ortelius.

Geographia.   Eius similitudo.

CHOROGRAPHIA QVID.

Horographia autem (Vernero dicente) quæ & To-
pographia dicitur, partialia quædam loca seorsum
& absolutè considerat, absque eorum ad seinuicem
& ad vniuersum telluris ambitum comparatione.
Omnia siquidem, ac ferè minima in eis contenta
tradit & prosequitur: velut portus, villas, populos,
riuulorum quoque decursus, & quæcunq; alia illis
finitima, vt sunt ædificia, domus, turres, mœnia.&c. Finis verò eiusdem
in effigenda partilius loci similitudine côsummabitur : veluti si pictor
aliquis aurem tantùm aut oculum designaret depingeretq;.

Chorographie finis quis

Chorographia.   Eius similitudo.

5 ___ Peter Apian, *Chorography*, 1524 (from *Cosmographicus liber*, fol. 2r).

projection of data. The term "chorography" reflects the historical understanding of such depictions. Originally derived from the antique term "cosmology," it was used more or less synonymously with the term "topography" beginning with Ptolemy.[24] More precisely, however, it is individual details that are depicted by chorography, while geography is concerned with the representation of the world as a whole. Chorography therefore means more than the 'precise depiction of a place' (which is how the term topography is used today), for it is first and foremost a component of a larger system whose ambition is to describe and explain the history of the entire world.

24 ___ Woodward (as in note 18), pp. 5–7; Tanja Michalsky, "Medien der Beschreibung. Zum Verhältnis von Kartographie, Topographie und Landschaftsmalerei in der Frühen Neuzeit", in: *Text-Bild-Karte. Kartographie der Vormoderne*, ed. Jürg Glauser and Christian Kiening, Freiburg 2007, pp. 319–349, esp. pp. 325–329.

In 1524, which is to say when modern representations of the world were first emerging, Peter Apian explained precisely this in his *Cosmographicus liber,* which was supplied with informative illustrations (fig. 5). Accordingly, geography corresponds to a map of the world, or to the entire human head, while chorography is the equivalent of the individual parts, and is hence represented by an abbreviated view of a town, as well as by the two sensory organs, the eye and the ear. Freely translated, the picture caption explains that chorography's aim is achieved with the accurate illustration or portrayal of particular places, just as if a painter were to paint or draw nothing more than an individual ear or eye.[25] Although this metaphor is primarily intended to clarify the subordinate role of chorography, it nonetheless provides a bridge of sorts to the tangible, sensuous perception that is to be expected, according to Tarcagnota, from a beautiful, delicate, townscape. During the 16th century, in short, chorography referred to the depiction of a place, one that moreover portrayed its "organic order" within the larger context of cosmography (which is to say world history). It is important to realise that early modern chorography itself, with its dominant media, the image and the map, advanced a spatial explanatory model of the urban organism, one we continue to use today, and one that will be explored below in greater detail, finally, with reference to Naples.

The urgent question here is: how did the maps of 1566 display history and social order, and what conclusions can be drawn concerning the contemporary understanding of the city as an expression of the social fabric? To begin with, the answer involves a detour into the topic of modern maps, which facilitate a grasp of urban development.

MODERN MAPS OF HISTORY

Reference to these highly reductive graphic representations of the historical urban development of Naples facilitates a brief account of the city's history, along with the method of its depiction (fig. 6a–d.) The images are drawn from the new edition of a historical city guide, and register (in accordance with current conventions) only

25 ____ *"Finis verò eiusdem in effigienda partilius loci similitudine consummabitur: veluti si pictor aliquis aurem tantum aut oculum designaret depingeretque"*, see Petrus Apian, *Cosmographicus Liber,* ed. Gemma Frisius, Antwerpen 1533, fol.3r. William Cuningham also distinguished in his *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) between the cosmography with the picture of the globe as "the heavens containe in them the earth", the worldmap "without circles, representeth th'earth, set forth with Waters, Hylles, Mountaynes, and such like" as geography, and took as an example for chorography: "th'excellent Citie of Norwych, as the forme of it is, at this present 1558" accompanied by a perspective view of the city, cf. William Cuningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse*, London 1559, reprinted in facsimile, Amsterdam and New York 1968, pp. 7–8.
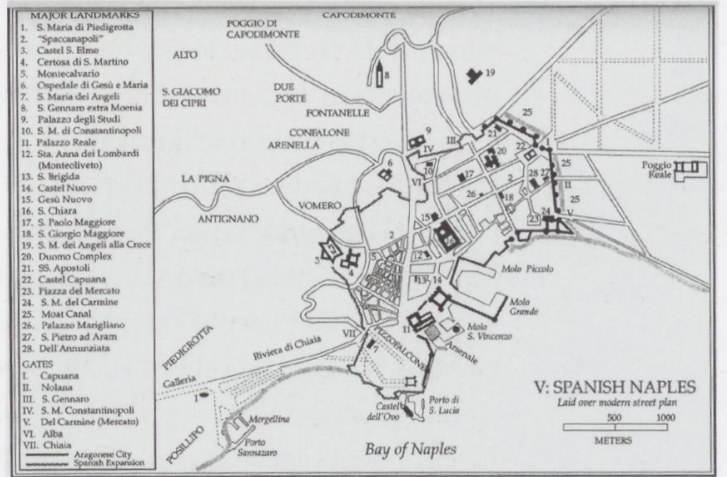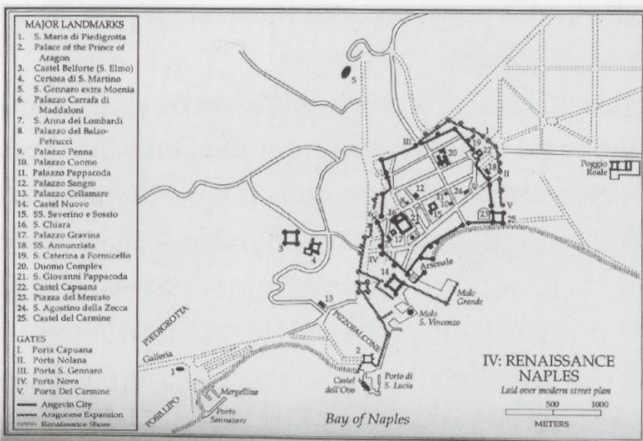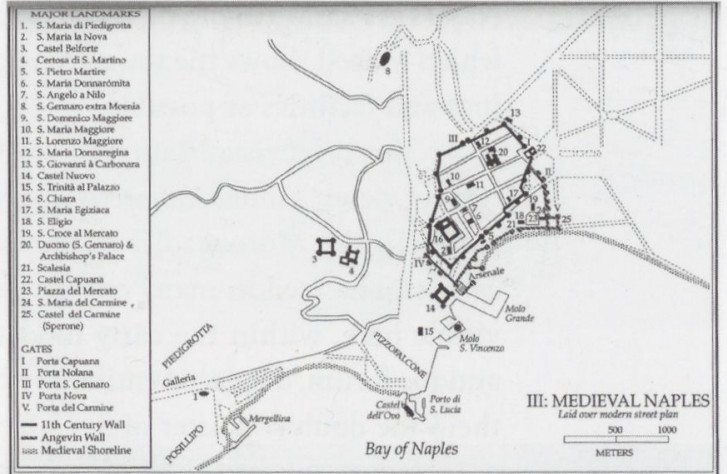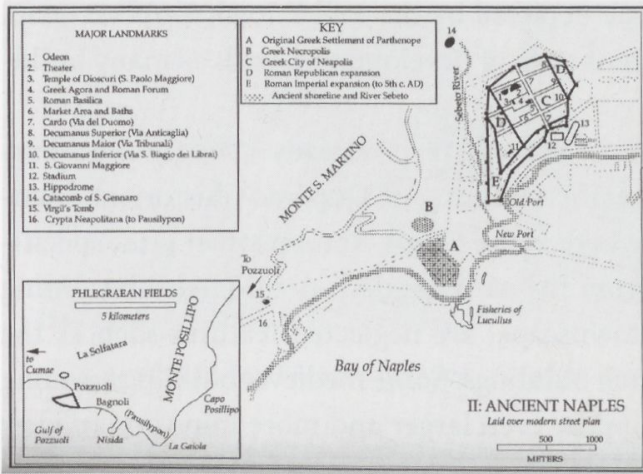
important new buildings and urbanistic changes for the respective epoch, with the localisation of the buildings based on a modern map.[26]

The initial Greek settlement of Parthenope was situated on the Pizzofalcone (fig. 6a). Neapolis, from which the name *Naples* was derived, was the associated new town and was expanded by the Romans. Readily recognisable are the symmetrical street layout, the forum and the nearby theatre. Situated outside of the town were sprawling imperial villas, whose memory was preserved for centuries.[27] Medieval Naples was characterised in particular by an expansion toward the southwest (fig. 6b). Rightly the map emphasises the large church buildings, erected primarily under the French Royal House of Anjou during the 13th and 14th centuries.[28] Also included are the New Cathedral (20), the mendicant church of San Lorenzo (11), San Domenico (9) and the enormous double cloister of Santa Chiara (16), as well as the fortifications, some of them integrated into the city wall (Castel Capuano, 22, Castel Carmine, 25), some positioned outside of it, such as the Castel Sant' Elmo and the Castel Nuovo. In concrete urbanistic terms, the fortifications and the expansion of the harbour stood in the foreground. In contrast, the church buildings were utilised in order to underscore the new dynasty, buildings whose imposing dimensions must have shaped the townscapes significantly at that time. During the Renaissance, which in this instance means the second half of the 15th century when the Aragonese resided in Naples, the westward expansion continued (fig. 6c). However, urbanistic transformations are reflected less in the map itself, where the most likely object of attention is the large pleasure palace, Poggioreale, in the adjoining hunting grounds, and instead more in the legend, which now registers fewer churches and more palaces. In fact, the interest of the royal house and of a number of noble families shifted during the 15th century toward the construction of profane buildings, which transformed the townscape significantly in ways comparable to other Renaissance cities. A sweeping new town plan of the kind that is tangible in 15th century Tuscan cities, for example, can not, however, be demonstrated

26 __ Enrico Bacco, *Naples. An Early Guide*, trans. and ed. Eileen Gardiner, New York 1991. The best overview of the city's history since the Middle Ages is offered by Giuseppe Galasso, *Napoli capitale. Identità politica e identità cittadina. Studi e ricerche 1266–1860*, Naples 1998.

27 __ Cf. for the urban development of Naples in antiquity: Wolfram Döpp, *Die Altstadt Neapels. Entwicklung und Struktur*, Marburg 1968; Paul Arthur, *Naples, from Roman Town to City State. An Archeological Perspective*, Rome 2002; Anna Andreucci Ricciardi, "Forma Urbis e scacchiera ippodamea", in: Rosi, *Napoli, stratificazione storica* (as in note 5), pp. 14–23; Christoff Neumeister, *Der Golf von Neapel in der Antike. Ein literarischer Reiseführer*, Munich 2005.

28 __ Cf. Tanja Michalsky, *Memoria und Repräsentation. Die Grabmäler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien*, Goettingen 2000 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 157), pp. 92–154; Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples. Church Building in Angevin Italy, 1266–1343*, New Haven and London 2004.

II: ANCIENT NAPLES — MAJOR LANDMARKS
1. Odeon
2. Theater
3. Temple of Dioscuri (S. Paolo Maggiore)
4. Greek Agora and Roman Forum
5. Roman Basilica
6. Market Area and Baths
7. Cardo (Via del Duomo)
8. Decumanus Superior (Via Anticaglia)
9. Decumanus Maior (Via Tribunali)
10. Decumanus Inferior (Via S. Biagio dei Librai)
11. S. Giovanni Maggiore
12. Stadium
13. Hippodrome
14. Catacomb of S. Gennaro
15. Virgil's Tomb
16. Crypta Neapolitana (to Pausilypon)

KEY
A Original Greek Settlement of Parthenope
B Greek Necropolis
C Greek City of Neapolis
D Roman Republican expansion
E Roman Imperial expansion (to 5th c. AD)
Ancient shoreline and River Sebeto

PHLEGRAEAN FIELDS — 5 kilometers

II: ANCIENT NAPLES — Laid over modern street plan — 500 1000 METERS

III: MEDIEVAL NAPLES — MAJOR LANDMARKS
1. S. Maria di Piedigrotta
2. S. Maria la Nova
3. Castel Belforte
4. Certosa di S. Martino
5. S. Pietro Martire
6. S. Maria Donnarómita
7. S. Angelo a Nilo
8. S. Gennaro extra Moenia
9. S. Domenico Maggiore
10. S. Maria Maggiore
11. S. Lorenzo Maggiore
12. S. Maria Donnaregina
13. S. Giovanni à Carbonara
14. Castel Nuovo
15. Trinità al Palazzo
16. S. Chiara
17. S. Maria Egiziaca
18. S. Eligio
19. S. Croce al Mercato
20. Duomo (S. Gennaro) & Archbishop's Palace
21. Scalesia
22. Castel Capuana
23. Piazza del Mercato
24. S. Maria del Carmine
25. Castel del Carmine (Sperone)

GATES
I Porta Capuana
II Porta Nolana
III Porta S. Gennaro
IV Porta Nova
V Porta del Carmine

— 11th Century Wall
— Angevin Wall
Medieval Shoreline

III: MEDIEVAL NAPLES — Laid over modern street plan — 500 1000 METERS

IV: RENAISSANCE NAPLES — MAJOR LANDMARKS
1. S. Maria di Piedigrotta
2. Palace of the Prince of Aragon
3. Castel Belforte (S. Elmo)
4. Certosa di S. Martino
5. S. Gennaro extra Moenia
6. Palazzo Carrafa di Maddaloni
7. S. Anna dei Lombardi
8. Palazzo del Balzo-Petrucci
9. Palazzo Penna
10. Palazzo Cuomo
11. Palazzo Pappacoda
12. Palazzo Sangro
13. Palazzo Cellamare
14. Castel Nuovo
15. SS. Severino e Sossio
16. S. Chiara
17. Palazzo Gravina
18. SS. Annunziata
19. S. Caterina a Formicello
20. Duomo Complex
21. S. Giovanni Pappacoda
22. Castel Capuana
23. Piazza del Mercato
24. S. Agostino della Zecca
25. Castel del Carmine

GATES
I. Porta Capuana
II. Porta Nolana
III. Porta S. Gennaro
IV. Porta Nova
V. Porta Del Carmine

— Angevin City
— Aragonese Expansion
Renaissance Shore

IV: RENAISSANCE NAPLES — Laid over modern street plan — 500 1000 METERS

V: SPANISH NAPLES — MAJOR LANDMARKS
1. S. Maria di Piedigrotta
2. "Spaccanapoli"
3. Castel S. Elmo
4. Certosa di S. Martino
5. Montecalvario
6. Ospedale di Gesù e Maria
7. S. Maria dei Angeli
8. S. Gennaro extra Moenia
9. Palazzo degli Studi
10. S. M. di Constantinopoli
11. Palazzo Reale
12. Sta. Anna dei Lombardi (Monteoliveto)
13. S. Brigida
14. Castel Nuovo
15. Gesù Nuovo
16. S. Chiara
17. S. Paolo Maggiore
18. S. Giorgio Maggiore
19. S. M. dei Angeli alla Croce
20. Duomo Complex
21. SS. Apostoli
22. Castel Capuana
23. Piazza del Mercato
24. S. M. del Carmine
25. Moat Canal
26. Palazzo Marigliano
27. S. Pietro ad Aram
28. Dell'Annunziata

GATES
I. Capuana
II. Nolana
III. S. Gennaro
IV. S. M. Constantinopoli
V. Del Carmine (Mercato)
VI. Alba
VII. Chiaia

— Aragonese City
— Spanish Expansion

V: SPANISH NAPLES — Laid over modern street plan — 500 1000 METERS

6 —— a, b, c and d Four thematic maps of Naples.

for Naples. Only individual piazzas were reorganised in accordance with functionalist aspects, for example the area around the market (23).[29]

With his urbanistic projects, Viceroy Pedro da Toledo (in office from 1532–1553) shaped the Naples of the Spanish viceroys (fig. 6d). His most significant action was the laying out of the Via Toledo which is named after him, providing an entirely new access to the town on the west, and creating a link to the *Quartieri spagnoli*, the newly constructed quarter for soldiers. This also meant that the control of the viceroys became quite conspicuous with reference to the military presence.[30] The outline of "Spanish

29 —— Cf. Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples*, Princeton 1987; Andreas Beyer, *Parthenope. Neapel und der Süden der Renaissance*, Berlin 2000; *Naples*, ed. Marcia B. Hall and Thomas Willette, New York 2017 (Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance).

30 —— Cf. Giulio Pane, "Pietro di Toledo viceré urbanista", in: *Napoli nobilissima*, 14 (1975), vol. 3, pp. 81–95; id., vol. 5, pp. 189–196; Giuseppe Coniglio, *Il viceregno di don Pietro di Toledo, 1532–53*, 2 vols., Naples 1984; Guido d'Agostino, *Per una storia di Napoli capitale*, Naples 1988, chap. II. Capitale e Viceregno; Daria Margherita, *La strada di Toledo nella storia di Napoli*, Naples 2006.

Naples" is shown more or less in the state depicted by the well-known Dupérac map, which indeed shows the town in its current state of development, with as many buildings and facilities as possible.

This brief visualisation on the basis of reduced maps already strongly alters particular views, guided respectively by specific interests, of Dupérac's historical townscape (fig. 2). More readily recognisable here is the Greco-Roman street grid, specifically emphasised in many city guides from the early modern period. Also becoming visible here, within the early modern townscape, are neglected features such as the antique forum, displaced entirely by church buildings. Some medieval buildings, among them the double-cloister of S. Chiara, appear even larger and more imposing in view of their dates of origin. The *Quartieri spagnoli* from the era of the viceroys are identifiable by virtue of their homogenous building methods, whilst the numerous *castelli*, which date from various phases of the city wall's construction, illustrate the urgency of protection and surveillance during various epochs.

Against the background of specialist historical knowledge, clearly, such maps themselves order information while at the same time visualising it in a concentrated, two-dimensional mode. Remaining open, nevertheless, is the question of whether this knowledge is congruent with a broader historical perception of inhabited, urban space which was the focus of interest in Kevin Lynch's studies, or whether such depictions of cities as repositories of knowledge are not primarily the product of a specific interest in the conjunction of topography and history, one that preoccupied historians and urbanists in particular – and which found an educated readership throughout 16th century Europe. Precisely because such depictions are sustained by a discourse that was set into motion by historians and geographers, it remains to clarify how deeply or widely this discourse extends, and whether it is inscribed in the spatial praxis of residents and travellers. The fascinating quality of these plans and bird's-eye views is that they employ all of the rhetorical tools available to them in order to orchestrate the registration of historically evolved contingency, while at the same time, through minimal linear displacements, imposing an ordering on the city that is explicable only in relation to the historian's interests.
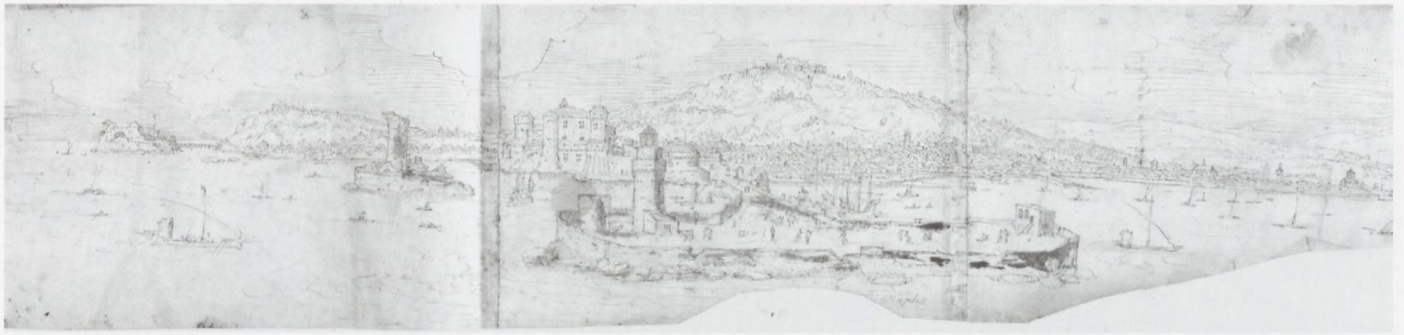
7 ___ Anton van den Wyngaerde, *View of Naples*, ca. 1550, Oxford, Ashmolean.


8 ___ Jan van Stinemolen, *View of Naples*, 1582, Vienna, Albertina.

HISTORICAL IMAGES OF NAPLES

Needless to say, other depictions of Naples existed during the 16th century. For his townscape, created during the 1550s (fig. 7, plate XXXV) and almost certainly the model for a cycle found in the Alcazar in Madrid, Anton van den Wyngaerde, for example, chose the pier as his standpoint, so that the town nestles cosily in the hillsides behind the royal palace, from which the Spanish viceroys rule.[31] Despite Wyngaerde's undoubted precision in rendering the topography, very little is recognisable, and the scopic regime that characterises Tarcagnota's Text and Dupérac's map is restricted here to the exclusion of the beholder. Jan van Stinemolen, by contrast, positions the beholder

31 ___ See Richard L. Kagan, "Philipp II and the Art of the Cityscape", in: *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17 (1986), pp. 115–135; id. (ed.), *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*, Berkeley 1989; Montserrat Galera Monegal, *Antoon van den Wijngaerde, pintor de ciutats i de fets d'armes a l'Europa del Cinc-cents. Cartobibliografia raonada dels dibuixos i gravats, i assaig de reconstrucció documental de l'obra pictòrica*, Barcelona 1998.
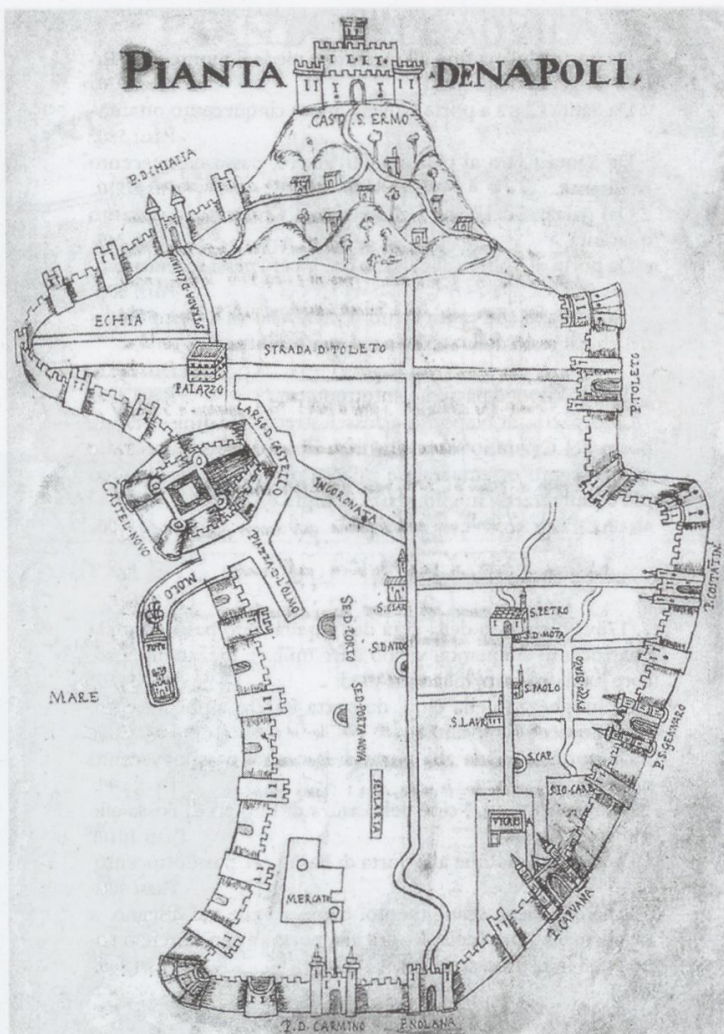
9 ___ Ieronimo Pico Fonticulano,
Map of Naples, 1582.

on the surrounding mountains (fig. 8), and the regime of his perspectival construction interferes with the viewer's perception of the city's organisation.

The most revealing version however, when it comes to the power of cartographers, is the one by Ieronimo Pico Fonticulano from a manuscript book dated 1582 (fig. 9) and which is preoccupied explicitly with describing the city.[32] Here, it is an urbanist and cartographer, of all people, one who elsewhere compiled the tools of triangulation and the calculation of projections as guidance for aspiring cartographers with the greatest precision,[33] who chose for his cartographic definition of Naples the intersection of the antique *decumanus maximus* with the above-mentioned Via Toledo, which he shows surrounded by the city wall in a correct projection. Our sense of orientation

32 ___ See Pico Ieronimo Fonticulano, *Breve descrittione di sette illustri città d'Italia*, ed. Mario Centofanti, L'Aquila 1996 (1582). See Stroffolino (as in note 20), p. 40.
33 ___ The work was published posthumously by his brother: Geometria di Ieronimo Pico Fonticulano dell'Aquila, L'Aquila 1597.

10 ___ *Tavola Strozzi*, 1472, Naples, Museo di San Martino.

is improved by rotating the map 90° (in conformity with entrenched conventions); recognisable now are the *Palazzo*, the *castelli* and the city gates, as well as, alongside a small number of churches, the small, semicircular symbol which identifies the *Seggi*, the most important public gathering places for the nobility, and hence an explicitly political emblem within the urban space.

Decisive here is that beginning around the mid-16th century, various images of Naples (and, evidently, of other cities as well) were accessible in relatively large quantities, and that they consequently shaped conceptions of the city that were embedded in a larger framework of geographical and historical interests. Such views of the city are congruent with the notions of its history that are formulated in contemporary texts, and the temptation is great to suppose that, thanks to all of these documents, we are fully capable of viewing the city of the time with a 16th century eye (i.e. Michael Baxandall's "period eye").[34] Precisely this, however, must be called into question – instead, we should be mindful of how strongly the specific, to a high degree seemingly neutral, projection of a "container-space" embodied in the cartographic representation of cities developed in the 16th century continues to pursue us right up to the present, when we attempt to comprehend a structure as complex as a city.

Can we conclude, for example, from the absence of such depictions from the 15th century that the city was in fact perceived somehow differently? How does the *Tavola Strozzi*, extolled as the first view of Naples and executed in 1472 on a commission from Filippo Strozzi to serve as the backboard of a bed, which also shows the city from

34 ___ See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Florence*, Oxford 1972, chap. II; cf. Allan Langdale, "Aspects of the Critical Reception and Intellectual History of Baxandall's Concept of the Period Eye", in: *About Michael Baxandall*, ed. Adrian Rifkin, Oxford 1999, pp. 17–34; Adrian Randolph, "Gendering the Period Eye: 'Deschi da Parto' and Renaissance Visual Culture", in: *Art History*, 27 (2004), pp. 538–562. Cf. Tanja Michalsky, "The Local Eye. Formal and Social Distinctions in Late Quattrocento Neapolitan Tombs", in: *Art History*, 31/4 (2008), pp. 484–504 and pp. 599–600.

the sea, fit into this picture (fig. 10, plate XXXVI)?[35] While it is certain that the projection was elaborately calculated, that here, Francesco Rosselli – who drafted the celebrated *View of Florence with the Chain* around the same time – produced a highly precise view of Naples, one nonetheless notices that individual buildings are more strongly emphasised, suggesting that such selections involve attributions of meaning that are conveyed with greater directness than in later maps. Here, the painted chorography displays the situation, splendour and security of the large city that was to a large degree the work of the previous generation of rulers. Here, urban organisation is orchestrated, but despite the wide-angle perspective and the use of two different vanishing points, it remains more faithful to actual experience.

In 1997, with reference to Florence, Marvin Trachtenberg argued for relating medieval planning more strongly to intra-urban perspectives.[36] Additionally, in a recent conference volume that addresses conceptions of urban beauty in the Middle Ages, quarters, rituals, ordinances and heraldic signs are emphasised as factors of order.[37]

THE HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE CITY

If we take up an older text for the Naples of 1472, in search of other examples, this impression is, initially, confirmed. An anonymous description of Naples from 1444 alternates between structuration and the inspection of the urban realm.[38] It begins by naming the *castelli* and their functionality for the king, before moving on to a number of the city gates, with the one through which Alfonso of Aragon had passed a year earlier in his triumphal procession receiving special emphasis. Seemingly without order, it shifts between the enumeration of a series of acts of destruction which occurred during battles for the city, and the structural register which states that the city is divided into five parts. These five parts are, however, not described in topographic terms, but instead registered within the public space together with their emblems.[39] These are the five

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35 ___ Cf. De Seta (as in note 5), pp. 11–22, here also the comparison with the following city maps and other pictures (pp. 31–53); id. (as in note 5), pp. 363–367, with the attribution of the panel to Francesco Rosselli, who also designed the so-called "chain plan" of Florence. See Cat. no. 1 in: id. and Buccaro (as in note 5), p. 113; Giulio Pane, *La Tavola Strozzi tra Napoli e Firenze. Un'immagine della città nel Quattrocento*, Naples 2009.

36 ___ See Marvin Trachtenberg, *The Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art and Power in Early Modern Florence*, Cambridge 1997.

37 ___ See *La bellezza della città. Stadtrecht und Stadtgestaltung im Italien des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, ed. Michael Stolleis and Ruth Wolff, Tübingen 2004; see my review in: *Das Mittelalter*, 12 (2007), p. 211.

38 ___ Cesare Foucard, "Descrizione della città di Napoli e statistica del regno nel 1444", in: *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 2 (1877), pp. 725–757.

39 ___ Foucard (as in note 38), p. 732: "*La ditta citade se parte in cinque parti e cinque sedie […] le qual Sedie sonno lozie lavorate e ornate, dove se reduce tuti i zentilhuomini delle ditte contrade […].*".

loggias of the nobility in which the *gentilhuomini* assemble throughout the day. Emphasised thereafter, in a direct comparison to Venice, are the main axes, along which the author moves, beginning from the city gate on the market, in order to enumerate the contiguous industries (in particular the saddlery), which, with its numerous cross streets, occupies an entire district. Before the text proceeds toward purely statistical data, the stroll through the city culminates in the following sentence: the longest street in the city leads to the *sedia di Nido*, where we find long, beautiful streets, as well as large palaces.[40] Thanks to the beautiful palaces, one can move in parallel to the *Tavola Strozzi;* although the correspondences with the map by Fonticulano (fig. 9) are even more remarkable. Registered there alongside the few streets, city gates and *castelli* are precisely these *sedie*: Porto, Portanova, Montagna, Nido, and Capuana, as well as the market together with the saddlery (Selleria). On the one hand, the drawing articulates the conceptions of order of the city planner at the end of the 16th century, with his interest in route-straightening measures and ceremonial avenues;[41] on the other, it mirrors the city's political and social structure, and hence still corresponds with astonishing precision to the circumstances of the previous century, thereby underscoring the *longue dureé* of an urban realm that is permeated with meaning, and has been shaped by political symbols and buildings.[42] Fonticulano's map, which, today, would probably be called a thematic map as distinct from a topographic one, demonstrates that despite the predominant rhetoric of the regime of 16th century cartographers' gaze, as exemplified by Tarcagnota's text, they were capable of performing reductions and attributions of meaning with great precision – that our current view of the historical city is also skewed, due to the superior state of preservation of elaborately printed maps, in favour of the overview.

40 ___ Foucard (as in note 38), p. 734: "*Poy se va al diritto, e per longa se trova la strata Capuana, la quale è la piu dritta e longa strata sia in Napoli, vegnendo verso la sedia di Nido. E in quella sedia de nido se trova de belle e longe strate e magni palace.*"

41 ___ The accompanying text, in which Naples is always considered in comparison to Rome, is rather pejorative and sober: "*Napoli non ha per il piú strada con ordine ripartita, né che commoda o bella sia o pur rende vaga e riguardevole*". Even if Charles I and his successors have already worked hard "[…] *invero una città da principio malpartita, difficilissima cosa è il poterla mai rimediare, se non si butta a nuova pianta.*" As expected, Viceroy Pedro da Toledo receives the only praise for his new clear cut axis; cf. Fonticulano (as in note 32), p. 10.

42 ___ Fonticulano (as in note 32), p. 12. The marking of this *sedie* is all the more astounding, as they are not specifically mentioned in the text, while there the individual places are named and consistently blamed for their smallness and irregularity.

URBAN SPACE AND SOCIAL REALITY

The perception of the urban order as an image of its social reality in societal and economical categories can already be substantiated for the 15th century. Here, orientation is provided by the main streets, the settings incidentally for political rituals such as processions, the large palaces – and the *sedie* or *seggi* (and this particular phenomenon is dependent upon Naples' social structure), which refer both to the subdivisions of the various quarters, as well as to their assembly spaces.[43] Modern maps either visualise the city's spheres of control, for example Rosalba di Meglio, with shaded areas for the various quarters (fig. 11), or demarcate their singular role through a particular colouration, as in the drawing by Cesare de Seta, which renders legible the close proximity of the *seggi* to the churches, which accommodated their most important chapels.[44] In short: the social space described by the anonymous historian of 1444 is registered again on the current maps, but movement, which can be depicted successively in a text, is reduced now to the divisions and adjacencies that result from the cartographic medium.

A comparison with such modern maps is relevant because they are also confronted – albeit in a sophisticated and reflective way – with the above-discussed problem: that of coordinating historical social spaces with the topographically determined continuum of a map. Confronting one another here is the contingency of the organic city, with all of its upheavals, and the control of the historian, who projects meaning onto it.

But how are the historical inhabitants to be incorporated; those who, unlike the nobleman at the *Villa sopra monte* cited above, rarely enjoy access to an overview and instead, of necessity, invent their own patterns of meaning in the process of using the city, patterns that are related to the city's history, but which are also contoured for instance through functions or rituals? Despite all well-intentioned attempts to approximate historical reality through modern maps, to structure it and render it comprehensible, the historical experience of the city is, precisely through this procedure, overlaid by a newer medium that suggests an overview. To emphasise it once again: the problem,

43 ___ Cf. Camillo Tutini, *Dell'origine e fundazione de' seggi di Napoli*, Naples 1754; Maria Antoniette Visceglia, "Corpo e sepoltura nei testamenti della nobiltà napoletana (XVI–XVIII)", in: *Quaderni storici*, 17 (1982), pp. 583–614; id., *Identità sociali. La nobiltà napoletana nella prima età moderna*, Naples 1998, pp. 90 ff.; Christoph Weber, *Familienkanonikate und Patronatsbistümer. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Adel und Klerus im neuzeitlichen Italien*, Berlin 1988, pp. 279 ff.; Giuliana Vitale, "La nobiltà di seggio o Napoli nel basso Medioevo: aspetti della dinamica interna", in: *Archivio per le province napoletane*, 106 (1988), pp. 151–169; *Ordnungen des sozialen Raumes. Die Quartieri, Sestieri und Seggi in den frühneuzeitlichen Städten Italiens*, ed. Grit Heidemann and Tanja Michalsky, Berlin 2012; Fulvio Lenzo, *Memoria e identità civica. L'architettura dei seggi nel Regno di Napoli XIII–XVIII secolo*, Rome 2014.
44 ___ Cf. Rosalba Di Meglio, *Il convento francescano di S. Lorenzo a Napoli. Regesti dei documenti dei secoli XIII–XV*, Salerno 2003, p. XXXIII; De Seta (as in note 5), pp. 78–79.
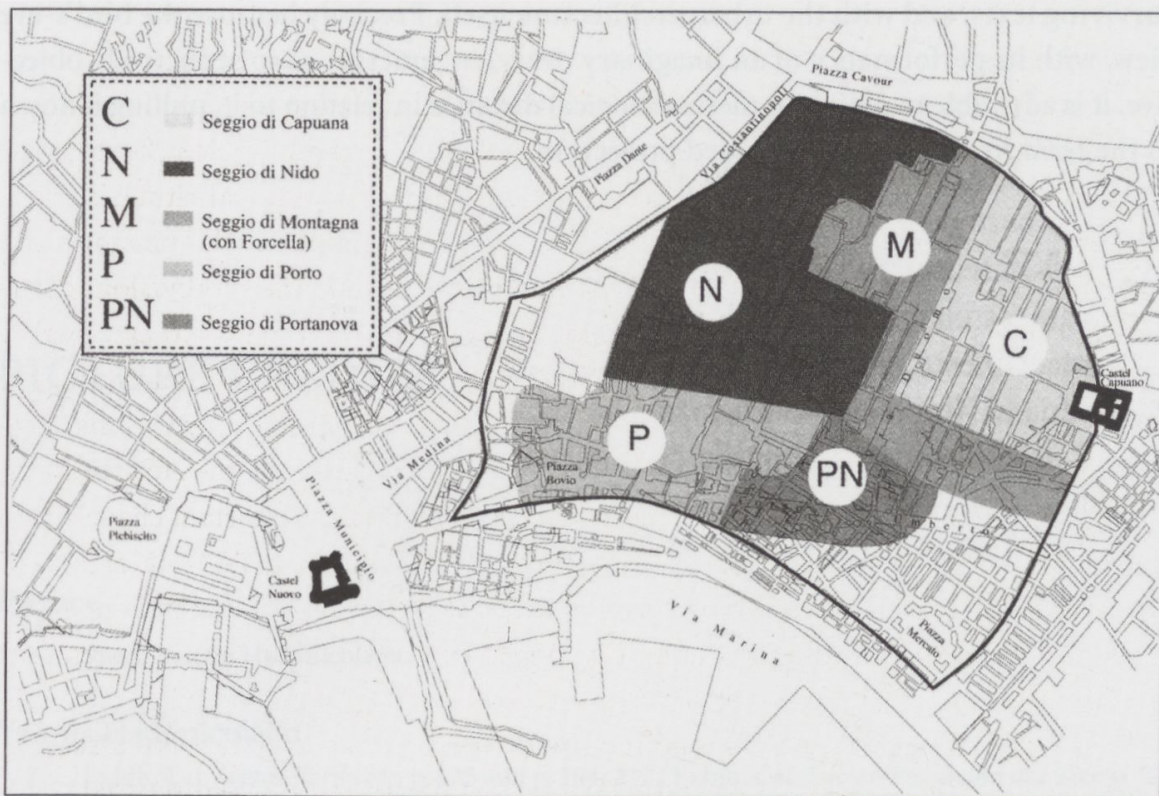
11 —— Modern Map of Naples with the *Seggi*.

both current and historical, of understanding the city as a so to speak organically evolved and continually re-ordered structure is also manifested in the media used to represent it. However, even (and especially) in the era of Google Earth, which ostensibly makes satellite views accessible to all, there still remains the ineluctable dilemma that emerges when we attempt, through cartographic reduction, to mediate between the convoluted materiality, built up over centuries, and the social space that is inherent in it, because the historical perception of this space is, as a rule, repressed by its putatively objectifiable topography.

*

The early modern chorography of Naples is part of that discourse in the science of history which, in the 16th century, discovered in maps and map-like representations such as the bird's-eye view an authentic medium for anchoring historical events and social spaces in a territory, thereby controlling the contingency of historical events, at least *ex post*. Although today, at least in theoretical geography, maps have long since been deconstructed, they continue to radiate their fascinating power, evidently making it possible to endow difficult-to-grasp historical facts with a space, and hence with reality. Many of the spatial conceptions and forms of orders from earlier times, so conditioned by social reality, however, can only be investigated through comparison with the few

surviving texts, and with the urban architecture itself. Precisely because the bird's-eye view, with its performance of an imaginary overview, emerges as so seductively objective, it is advisable to maintain methodological distance in relation to it, pulling it down to the *terra firma* of interest-guided projection.

Tanja Michalsky

1 __ Lynch, Fig. 5, p. 20; 2, 3, 4, 9, 10 __ De Seta 1991, p. 68, p. 80, pp. 60–61, pp. 74–75, pp. 24–25; 5 __ Büttner 2000, p. 323; 6 __ Bacco 1991, Appendix; 7 __ Fonticulano 1996; 8 __ De Seta 1991, pp. 32–33; 11 __ Rosalba Di Meglio 2003, Tav. 2, p. XXXIII.

Colour Plates

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