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Picturing North African Cities in the Sixteenth Century

Valeria Manfrè

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Abstract

This article analyses North African views of the 16th century focusing on Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg *Civitates orbis terrarum* images, through a comparative analysis with other graphic materials. The purpose is to deepen our understanding of the image of the city by looking at the methods used to represent the city during the Renaissance, the importance and degree of verisimilitude that these views were expected to achieve through a language that relied on direct, *in-situ* observation.

La rappresentazione delle città del Nord Africa nel XVI secolo

L'articolo analizza le vedute del Nord Africa del XVI secolo esaminando le immagini del *Civitates orbis terrarum* di Georg Braun e Franz Hogenberg attraverso un'analisi comparativa con altri materiali grafici. Lo scopo è quello di approfondire la comprensione dell'immagine della città osservando i metodi usati per rappresentarla durante il Rinascimento e l'importanza e il grado di verosimiglianza che queste vedute avrebbero dovuto raggiungere attraverso un linguaggio basato su osservazioni *in loco*.

Keywords: Nord Africa, vedute di città, collezioni cartografiche.

North Africa, City views, Cartographic collections.

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1 | Introduction

The iconography of the city has a precise chronological development from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, and it was in Italy and then in Germany that the first autonomous, accurate views of cities – that is to say, views of single cities – were produced. Florence was the epicenter of change, and the point from which a new language to represent cities was disseminated. The idea of representing the city as a single whole or entity stemmed from the rediscovery of Ptolemaic cartography, and was equated with a view of the city from on high, which made the city clearly legible in its form, internal distribution and architecture [de Seta 2011]. Two of the earliest Renaissance perspectival cityscapes to offer a view of the full extension of a city are the ‘della Catena’ view of Florence (c. 1472) and the so-called *Tavola Strozzi* (c. 1472-1473) or *Aragonese Fleet returning to the port of Naples* attributed to Francesco Rosselli [de Seta 1988, 105-118; Pane 2009]. This new typology of cityscapes provided a full, accurate and fine-quality pictorial representation of the city viewed from an elevated position and from the sea [Manfrè 2016]. The year 1500 marked an important transition in the history of cityscapes, when the Venetian Senate granted Anton Kolb the privilege to publish and market the monumental woodcut of Jacopo de’ Barbari’s *View of Venice* (1500) [Schulz 1990; Id. 1999; Balistreri-Trincato 2009; Neher 2014]. The publication and sale of this costly print indicates that the search that had begun almost two centuries earlier for a new way to depict the city had now come to fruition, and demonstrates how these city portraits were becoming commercial products. The study of European cityscapes has grown steadily over the last thirty years. More specifically, since 1987, thanks to the ‘Atlas de la ville européenne’ research project and collaborations with

scholars from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and other European research groups, the bibliography on historical cityscapes has been considerably augmented [de Seta 1996]. However, this new research has largely neglected the study of the cityscapes of North Africa. For example, the multi-volume *History of Cartography* series founded by John Brian Harley and David Woodward in the late 1980s as part of The History of Cartography Project does include some research on maps and mapping of the Ottoman world [Soucek 1992, 263-292; Rogers 1992, 228-255]. The Arab and Ottoman nautical charts [Günsel 1992, 279-297; Ebel 2008, 1-22], and atlases in particular, do not deal with the cityscapes of North Africa. I propose to address this void in the scholarship and to look specifically at sixteenth-century cityscapes and other illuminated atlases for what they reveal about the complex relations between North Africa and Europe. This study will focus on cityscapes that began to circulate in Europe with the development of the printing press with movable types. More specifically, it will look at views of North African cities that appeared regularly, though not exclusively, in published atlases, tapestries, city books and other geographical compendia published throughout the sixteenth century, and the ways in which the *forma urbis* of the African city, as depicted in the cityscapes of North Africa that were produced in early modern Europe, was influenced by European culture.¹

2 | Viewing the “Other”: North Africa into the European Cultural Representations

This analysis will look at the interrelationships between iconography, accuracy in the depiction, practice, technique and modes of representation. Firstly, it will consider what North African cities were represented, and from which position or point of view, as well as what cityscapes were considered important, and for what reasons (i.e. military, religious, antiquarian or aesthetic). A related issue is whether military and religious conflicts between North Africa and the European states influenced the production and interpretation of these images. Secondly, it is important to understand how authentic or accurate these pictorial representations are, and how their authors defend their authenticity or accuracy. In this regard, one question is whether for images of African cities, the European urban reality was recycled as an image frozen in time, as it was in the depiction of Hispanic American cities [Kagan 2000]. Lastly, what practices, techniques and modes of representation were used in the production of these cityscapes? Was there an on-site examination documented by textual notes or sketches? Does the visual representation of a building reflect the ‘idea’ of that building or does it offer an accurate portrayal? What parts of the cityscape are included? Are the city views the product of a philological and critical interpretation of classical geographical texts or descriptions of the period?

The aim is to ‘reconstruct’ these images of North Africa from a cultural historical perspective, through the first collections of cityscapes, in order to examine the significance of the presence and absence of urban portrayals in a broad variety of visual and literary sources. The information obtained from urban cartography of North Africa was often incorporated into European cartographic collections. A frequent means for contemporary Europeans to gather information for their works was to speak with well-travelled Africans (e.g., merchants, pilgrims, diplomatic agents), who would tell them about the settlements and topography of the areas they frequented. The information gleaned from these itineraries was then crosschecked with other sources. The urban landscapes often represented in maps of Africa include: Tangier, Ceuta, Algiers, Tunis, Alexandria, Mozambique, the Stadt Minae (the Fort at El Mina), Tripoli, Fort Dauphin (Madagascar), and Fort Nassau on the Guinea Coast. In order to reconstruct the history and fortune of portraits of North-African cities, the first place to go is the images contained in the six volumes *Civi-*

¹ The preliminary conclusions of this study were presented at the LXII Annual Conference Renaissance Society of America (31 March-2 April 2016), in the session *Early Modern Europe and Africa*, Part I. The author is a member of the research project *I+D+i Hacia Antonio Acisclo Palomino. Teoría e historiografía artísticas del Siglo de Oro* (HAR2016-79442-P).

tates orbis terrarum, the celebrated town book produced by Georg Braun (1541-1622), canon of the cathedral of Cologne, and the German publisher and engraver Franz Hogenberg (c.1540-c.1590), published between 1572 and 1617 with close to six hundred maps and city views of famous cities of the world, many of which await systematic study, along the lines proposed here. The triumph of the first volume, with its numerous maps, plans and views of cities around the world that were completely autonomous from the text, was endorsed through the publication of the six additional volumes that appeared successively in the following years, and then by the continuous re-editions of the opus, first by Franz's son Abraham Hogenbergh, and later in numerous countries until the eighteenth century [Nuti 1984, 3-35]. Together, this led to the establishment of iconographic archetypes for more than five hundred cities depicted in the *Civitates*.

The Latin texts that accompanied the views in this monumental collection of urban landscapes were for the most part written and reworked by Georg Braun; they are descriptive in nature and make reference to the history and geography of each city as well as to certain social and economic aspects. The texts on the *verso* of the images also had to be compelling and solid in their scientific basis, and provide readers with reliable information on the origin of the city's name and its foundation, history, economic resources, commerce, architecture and urbanism, though clearly they were secondary in importance to the cityscapes, the real focus of the whole work. The engraver Franz Hogenberg – who had already worked with Abraham Ortelius – was committed to making most of the plates. The production of a map or view of a city with its major buildings is a large undertaking that often required the participation of more than one specialist (painters, measurers, architect-engineers) and was thus quite costly. This explains why an initial portrait of a city served as the basis for a generation of views of the same city. Prototypes and earlier collections such as Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*, Ludovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (1567), Antoine du Pinet's *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses* (1564), Johannes Stump's *Schwytzer Chronik* (1548), some images of the United Provinces by Jacob van Deventer and, it would seem, even Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, were the starting point for the preparation of the *Civitates*. Add to this the sixty-three fine, exceptional views by the Flemish draftsman Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1601), a seasoned and expert collaborator whose drawings that were later used for the *Civitates* were made from direct experience during his travels. Cornelis Chaymox contributed to the description of many places in Germany, in addition to Abraham Ortelius. Most of the bird's eye views are, with additions by Hoefnagel, copies of the views by Deventer, Leonard Abent, Simon Belmont, Hendrick Steenwyck, Jan Vermeyen, Peter Bruegel, Egidius van der Rye and Quenton van der Gracht [Ewart Popham 1936, 185, 192-193]. The fieldwork normally undertaken by travellers, draftsmen and topographers who visited different places in order to gather the most precise information first-hand was done by Hoefnagel between 1561 and 1569, the son of a well-to-do diamond merchant from Antwerp who toured France, Spain, Germany and England.

The drawings are signed and dated, and demonstrate his incomparable talent of observation and great technical pictorial skills, which together provide a notable amount of information [Colletta 1984, 45-102; Nuti 1988a, 211-217, Ead. 1988b, 545-570]. The images in the *Civitates*, a monumental literary-pictorial work, conform to a series of criteria that gave the volumes uniformity in terms of format, pagination, compositional structure, figures and ornament. The objective was to create views that allowed Italian, French, German, Dutch, Flemish and Spanish readers to 'enter into' the cities, stroll through their streets and admire the beauty of its buildings, squares and main churches in addition to reading the texts.

3 | The North African Views

The *Civitates* includes thirteen views of North-African cities, all appearing in the first two volumes of the atlas published respectively in 1572 and 1575. In the first volume we find the views of the Moroccan cities of Asilah, Ceuta, Tangier, Safim, Salé, Anfa (now Casablanca) and Azem-mour, whereas the second includes the views of Algiers, Mahdia, in Tunisia, the Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera (on the Spanish peninsula but in African territory) and two views of Tunis. Military, religious and political motives influenced the decision to create views of certain cities and not others. Take for example the plate that illustrates Emperor Charles V's Tunis expedition against the Ottoman pirate Hayreddin Barbarossa in 1535 [Visone 2016, 1393-1434], when his forces landed in the port of La Goleta, at the entrance of the city, and sieged its fortress. To illustrate and promote Charles V's military feats, a portable pictorial chronicle was commissioned, in the form of the series of twelve monumental tapestries known as The Conquest of Tunis, now part of the Patrimonio Nacional tapestry collection in Madrid [Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero, 1986, 73-82; Domínguez Ortiz, Herrero Carretero, Godoy 1991]. Accompanying the Emperor on his campaign were the chronicler, humanist and collector Felipe de Guevara (1500-c.1563) [Jordan 2005, 91-113; de Guevara 2016], the imperial cosmographer and historian Alonso de Santa Cruz, and the Flemish painter Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (c. 1500-1559) [Avilés 2008, 87-94]. Vermeyen had worked for Margaret of Austria between 1525 and 1530, and then for Mary of Hungary from 1530 to 1533, who sent him to Spain in 1534 to serve the Emperor [Horn 1989]. Vermeyen documented the military operations in carefully-detailed drawings made *in situ*; these were reworked in Brussels between 1546 and 1550 into cartoons for the tapestries, which were woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker between 1548 and 1554 [González García 2007, 24-47]. Due to their symbolic importance, the details of Charles V's victory over the Moors and Turks at La Goleta and Tunis in 1535 were carefully illustrated in the tapestries, and replicas of the panels were made, as were drawings and engravings of Charles V's victories in North Africa [de Bunes Ibarra, Falomir Faus 2001, 243-257]. One noteworthy example is the series of prints made between 1560 and 1569 by Hogenberg and published in Cologne between 1569 and 1570. These seven prints, included in the *Sucesos de la Historia de Europa* were based on the tapestry cartoons by Vermeyen and Pieter Coecke van Aelst which Hogenberg could have seen in Pannemaker's workshop in Brussels [Páez, et al. 1993, 99-90]². Both the prints and the tapestries are strongly narrative and descriptive, and merge image and history, as does the history-themed though compositionally imaginative print of Charles V on horseback entering the gates of the conquered city. The prints, like the tapestries, manifest the Hapsburg desire to project an image of victory over the infidel [Páez, et al. 1993, 110]. In addition, Charles V commissioned Alexander Mayner and Giulio d'Aquili to paint a fresco cycle in the Tower of the Queen's Dressing Room in the Alhambra of Granada [López Torrijos 2000, 123-125]. Painted between 1539 and 1546, these frescoes have also been related to the tapestry cartoons [Horn 1989, I, 26-27], but they show a degree of independence and compositional freedom rather than the impressions and details that are typical of first-hand visual accounts. Returning to the *Civitates*, the copper-engraved view of Tunis depicts the Ottoman attack of 1574 that marked the final conquest of the Maghreb. It is based on an engraving of the Imperial attack on Tunis by Mario Cartaro (c. 1540-1620), an engraver from Viterbo who worked in Rome between 1560 and 1580. Cartaro's image, printed by Antonio Salamanca, emphasized the star-shaped plans of the two fortresses in a high-angle view from the east. The cartouche for the second copper-engraved view of Tunis depicts the town from the southwest in cavalier

² National Library of Spain (hereinafter BNE), ER/2901, about 1610.

perspective, and provides some important information, such as the name of the author of the drawing, Ioanne Maio, i.e. the painter Johannes Vermeyen, also known in Spain as Juan de Mayo ‘el Barbalunga’ – followed by the words *ad vivum delinatum*. This expression indicates how essential the connection between cityscapes and direct experience was, and the importance of direct observation, which became one of the main qualities that artists of the early chorographic representations of territories belonging to the Spanish Monarchy were expected to maintain [Swan 1995, 353-372; Parshall 1993, 554-579]. Vermeyen’s insistence on verisimilitude and credibility of the events is explained and even stressed in the textual notes to the tapestry that opens the Tunis series, the Map of the Mediterranean, where the painter states that it contains only ‘the closest possible semblance of the events’, and even that precision in depicting the site outweighs purely painterly concerns [von Engerth 1889, 419-28]. Alonso de Santa Cruz supervised, and according to Horn [Horn 1989, I, 178.], authored the inscriptions. Verisimilitude and realism are stressed through the portrayal of the painter and chronicler, faithful witnesses to these events, in a number of the tapestries [de Bunes Ibarra 2006, 95-134]. This conceit is a way of emphasizing that what is being represented was seen, and of maintaining the veracity in the depiction of the geography and the cities where the military actions took place. The chroniclers even used the tapestries to back up their claims, rather than the other way around. Nevertheless, the cartouche for the Map of the Mediterranean specifies that the parts showing the sea were entrusted to a cartographer, someone who has the proper geographic and scientific training, whereas the representation of land was done by a painter, in accordance with his art. This explains the representation of certain archaeological ruins, such as the aqueduct, to increase the topographical verisimilitude. The tapestries, and consequently the plates in the *Civitates*, compound various disciplines, with painting, cosmography, history and geography used by the artist at his discretion to create an image which to one degree or another, is not a completely faithful depiction of the events. This is also apparent in the views drawn by Anton van den Wyngaerde (c. 1525-1571) [Galera i Monegal 1998], one of the most celebrated and prolific Flemish artists of the sixteenth century in the service of Philip II and author of the most important series of Spanish cities. Wyngaerde made a similar declaration, employing the expression *fecit ad vivum* – drawn from life – for his chorographic representations of cities [Haverkamp-Begemann 1969, 375-399; Id. 1986, 57, 58, 66; Gregg 2013, 323-342]. However, while we know that Vermeyen witnessed the events and travelled to the places he represents, the term *ad vivum* often implied that the artist merely made an effort to reproduce reality as accurately as possible, though in fact he may have been working on the basis of a highly reliable engraving or drawing. These copper-engraved views sometimes represent specific buildings that were associated with the imaginary of the city and chosen by the artists who participated in producing the work. In this manner, certain conventional elements were mixed in with other truthful ones.

Overall, in the evolving image of North-African cities, we find a mixture of Mediterranean and Northern European architectural typologies, making it sometimes difficult to clearly identify some of the cities that are depicted. This ‘hybridization’, however, was not unique to the depiction of North African cities, as some images of cities were recycled, such as the more symbolic and less descriptive images from the *Liber chronicarum* (1493) by Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514). This explains how Brunelleschi’s dome, for example, was subtracted from its context and perfectly reinterpreted in a German context, in the city of Trier [Nuti 1996, 64].

The earliest images of North-African cities are primarily symbolic in nature, and provide scant documentary evidence of the cities represented. An analysis of the representation of the cities



Fig. 1: *Tvunes vrbs*, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Cologne 1575, vol. II, plate 58.



Fig. 2: *Thvnis*, in Franz Hogenberg, *Sucesos de la Historia de Europa (1569-1570)*, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, ER/ 2901.



TYNES. OPPIDVM Barbaricis Regis sedes. Anno 1555,
cum à Carolo V. Imp. expugnaretur, à Joanne Alao eius Ma-
iestatis pater ad hucm delincentum.

Fig. 3: Tvunes, Oppidvm, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Cologne 1575, vol. II, plate 57.



Fig. 4: Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, *Map of Mediterranean*, 1548-1554. Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional. PN Inv.-Nr. A230-6289, S.13/1. © Fundación Carlos de Amberes. Photo: Paul M. R. Maeyaert.

in the four Pastrana Tapestries portraying king Alfonso of Portugal's victories in Asilah and Tangier in 1471 the Landing at Asilah, Siege of Asilah, Assault on Asilah and Conquest of Tangier— and the two tapestries on the conquest of Ksar es-Seghir in 1458 confirms this [de Bunes Ibarra 2010; Id. 2011, 225-247; Meira Araújo 2013, 43-56]. Another frequent typology is the view of the city from the sea. The Conquest of Tangier is a frontal view of the city from the water, as if it were taken from a ship approaching the port. This typology will be repeated over and over again thanks to the dissemination of the *Civitates* plates by Braun and Hogenberg. In fact, the most scientific chorography, providing credible portraits of cities, was produced through the diffusion of models from the *Civitates*, in representations that are more accurate in terms of topography and architecture, though not entirely unbiased in historical and cultural terms. These birds-eye views and city outlines visually stress the importance of the height of some of the more representative buildings, such as religious and civil structures that rise above the town, and towers on their walls from which the approaching enemy could be seen at a great distance. In iconographic terms, height became a symbol of city.

The depiction of Tangier's most emblematic images reflects the power of Alfonso V in Africa. The title of the *Civitates* plate Tingis, Lusitanis, Tangiara makes reference to the Portuguese occupation of coastal Morocco, including Tangier and Asilah, which were taken in 1471, although effective Portuguese presence began with the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 and ended with the evacuation of Mazagão, in 1769. This view of Tangier can be dated to the early sixteenth century and has a distinctly European appearance. Structural renovations on the one hand, and shifts in representation, with new elements that substituted the older Merinid structures, are apparent in the presence of the late-medieval-style castle built onto the kasbah and the cathedral built onto the great mosque [de Menezes 1732, 41; Correia 2008, 217-220]. The high, compact, towered structure that overlooked Tangier from its highest point, with lower blank walls, upper perforated wall and tile roof, is inscribed 'Domus Praefectj' in the engraving. To the north-east, defending the port is a large, European-looking castle, called New Castle, built by order of John II of Portugal (1481-1495), with double walls and a square tower to defend the site on the side open to the sea. This structure is described by Menezes as the residence of a governor [de Mezenes 1732, 45]. Elements on the New Castle, such as the torre de homenaje, or keep, topped by a balcony with semi-circular bartizans on the corners and a steep timber-frame and tiled roof, are similar to other towers on Portuguese castles, such as the towers of Bragança, Estremoz and Beja [Correia 2008, 224; Moreira 1989]. And inside, the castle had other, less military sections with tile roofs and chimney pots, as seen in the engraving. A stretch of wall fortification known as a coracha, built during the reign of João II, joined the keep to a large tower, or torreón, as per the inscription 'Arx aedificata a D. Ioanne Lusitaniae Rex, eius nominis II'.

Though the accuracy of city views increased over time, these city portraits contain slight distortions and some visual correction solutions employed by the draftsman. To wit, the engraver of the *Civitates* plates, Franz Hogenberg, claimed that sometimes the actual perception of a city was manipulated in order to enhance the appreciation of the whole [Goss 1992, 5]. In this instance, it is clear that the new model of the Christian city has been grafted on to its Islamic forebear. The view of the city of Aprodismus, current-day Mahdia, also evokes a historical event; specifically, the Spanish conquest of the African peninsula led by the Spanish Admiral Andrea Doria [Baskins 2017, 25-48]. This event was first commemorated in 1551, with the publication in Antwerp of Juan Cristobál Calvete de Estrella's *De Aphrodisio Expugnato* commentaries. The text by the Spanish chronicler was accompanied by a woodcut that served as a prototype for a



Fig. 5: *Conquest of Tangier*, tapestry, Pastrana (Guadalajara) Museo de la Colegiata de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción. © Fundación Carlos de Amberes. Photo: Paul M. R. Maeyaert.

plate in volume II of the *Civitates* that was, again, widely disseminated. Here there are obvious errors in the drawing of the city, and in the broad panorama of the peninsula, the artist has emphasized aspects of the naval attack and siege to the east and west.

The deliberate use of the chronicles of Alonso de Santa Cruz, written to authenticate events of the war where the Emperor was present, as a source for the tapestries and consequently all of the images that draw on them, demonstrates an existing interest in depicting the military enterprise and reconstructing the orography of the terrain. The chronicle's realistic and factual account of events, unencumbered by excessive allegory, was a novelty that went on to characterize future iconographic representations related to military events. Cityscapes both engage and influence the issues of their time and are the product of scientific, social and cultural developments.

In identifying the prototype used as a source for the *Civitates* view of Algiers, one must turn to maps produced in Italy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Despite showing early promise, the market for printed maps in Florence was impacted by the city's commercial decline and was soon surpassed by the production of maps, views, plans and books in Rome and Venice [Bellini 1975, 19-45; Bonaventura 1960, 430-436], where the cartographic printing industry seized on novel textual and visual descriptions of territory. Some of Rome's greatest publishers included Antonio Lafréry [Borroni Salvadori, 1980], Antonio Salamanca [Misiti 1992, 545-563], Claude Duchet and Francesco Tramezzino. The *Civitates* view of Algiers derives from a 1541 image of the city printed by Salamanca, which was then frequently revised and disseminated, by Matteo Florimi among others. The image of Algiers was also based on a historical event. Fueled by the Tunisian success of 1535, Charles V turned his attention to Algiers, and in 1541 attacked the city. The *Civitates* view of Algiers depicts the formidably fortified town in a low bird's-eye view based on the sketch by an exceptional eyewitness, the painter Cornelisz Anthonisz who returned from the expedition with a drawing of Algiers that circulated throughout Europe in an adapted form, through prints and engravings. It is possible that Anthonisz made the sketch

Fig. 6: *Tingis, Lusitanis, Tangiara*, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Cologne 1572, vol. I, plate 56.



from a ship that, given the catastrophic outcome of the campaign, might not even have landed. According to Skelton, the *Civitates* view of the Peñón de Velez de la Gomera also has an Italian source [Skelton 1965, xliii], an image that is either by the Venetian publisher and book merchant Giovanni Francesco Camocio in 1570, or Fernando Bertelli (c. 1570). The view of the Peñón in the *Civitates* is also related to Wyngaerde's drawings of 1564 [Bravo Nieto 2016, 237-238; Bustamante García 2008, 169-178], two of which demonstrate his great talent for observation³; the first one is taken from the sea and emphasizes the Peñón's place on the coast, and the second one looks out from a promontory onto the sea, similar to the perspective in the *Civitates*' plate. The views of the other Moroccan cities – Anfa, Asilah, Azemmour, Safim, Salé and Ceuta – may have been based on images taken from Portuguese chronicles of the Portuguese presence on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. One such source may have been the chronicle written by the bishop Jerónimo Osorio and published in Cologne in 1574, which may have been provided to Braun by the mayor of Cologne and merchant, Constantin von Lyskirchen (d. 1581) as an iconographic and descriptive source [Skelton 1965, vii-xxiii]. Cortesao and Texeira da Mota mention the possible existence of a Portuguese manuscript enriched with views of cities, similar to the *Lendas da Índia* by Gaspar Correia or the *Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu*, both completed before 1564 [Cortesão 1960, 173]; however, these works do not deal with North Africa. These six images of Moroccan cities constitute a group for which no specific visual or pictorial source has been identified. A hypothetical source is Duarte de Armas (c. 1465-15??) [Correia 2008, 42], the Portuguese royal escudeiro and talented draughtsman who participated in the expedition along the Moroccan coast in 1489 and during the summer of 1507 and made drawings of the fortifications on the Spanish-Portuguese border for King Manuel I of Portugal (1469-1521) [Elbl 2013, 925-26]. His drawings, plans, panoramic views and notes on the cities and towns of northeastern Portugal were brought together in a codex known as the *Livro das fortalezas do reino* (1510) [Pimenta 1944; da Silva Castelo-Branco 1994, 101-105]⁴. Duarte de Armas's artistic activity was thus quite broad and spanned a variety of locations. In his *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, printed

³ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. min. 41, f. 68r and f. 79r.

⁴ Codex A, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo Lisbon; Codex B BNE; Brás Pereira de Miranda, *Fronteira de Portugal justificada pelos Reis deste Reyno*, National Library of Portugal in Lisbon, 1642 (codex II 192).

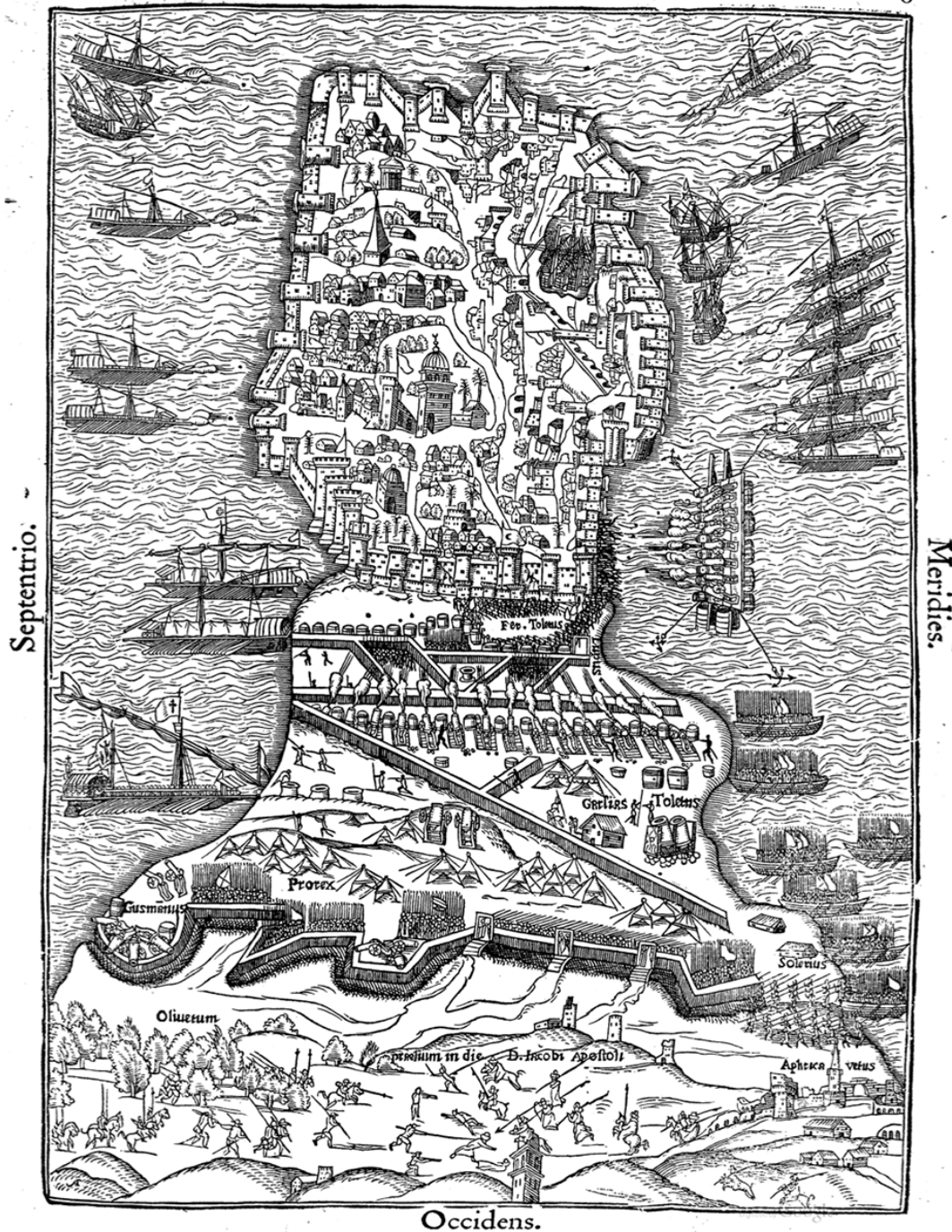


Fig. 7: Mahdia, in Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *De Aphrodisio Expugnato commentaries*, Antwerp 1551, Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad Complutense, BH FLL 20382.

Fig. 8: *Africa Aphrodisvm*, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Cologne 1575, vol. II, plate 57.



Fig. 9: *Algerii*, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Cologne 1575, vol. II, plate 59.





24 Fig. 10: *Algeri*, A[ntonio] S[alamanca] excvd, 1541. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Invent/21886.

Fig. 11: *Peñón de Veles*, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. II, plate 57, Cologne 1575.



in Lisbon in 1566 [Chronica 1926, 245; Cortesão 1935, 110-111], the Portuguese chronicler, philosopher and humanist Damião de Góis says that Duarte de Armas, whom he describes as a ‘great painter’, accompanied the Portuguese captain Jo João de Meneses in 1507 in order to make drawings of the river mouths and lands around Azammour, subsequently conquered by the Portuguese in 1513, the fort of La Marmora, Salé and Larache. The authors of the *Civitates* may have used them as models, however at present it is not clear they still exist. In addition, the authors of the *Civitates* may also have been able to use the maps and illustrations, no longer in existence, of the Moroccan coast that adorned the *Esmeraldo de situ Orbis* manuscript by the Portuguese cosmographer Duarte Pacheco Pereira (1505-1508) [Daveau 1999-2000, 79-132] even though they were not made by Pereira, who simply selected the images from the documentation available at that time, such as the Duarte de Armas drawings for Larache and Anife [Alegria, Suzanne, Garcia, Relano 2007, 1012].

5 | Conclusions

These views most of them depicted as if seen from aboard an approaching ship differ from medieval renderings in their use of perspective, which made it possible to incorporate elements that are proper to the topography and morphology of cities. In the cases here analysed, the clients and authors of the views do not come from the local society, and the city is transformed into a celebratory icon that often magnifies military events. Moreover, their European appearance takes place in the context of the city books editorial novelty that sees the *Civitates orbis terrarum* it leader [Behringer 1996, 148-157]. The difficulty of representing the city’s shape provides an overview of the authors’ strategies used to recreate the “best” representation of the city’s design. At the same time, these images also suggest the way in which the artists conceived



Fig. 12: Anfa, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. I, Cologne 1572.

Fig. 13: Azemmour, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. I, Cologne 1572.



their works. The descriptive capacity of the figurative and textual language is often subjected to a Eurocentric mental scheme that could be based on topographical details recorded in words and images. This process does not exclude a personal elaboration of the author with the aim of creating an image of urbs that is not entirely faithful, but which makes then easy identifiable, overcoming the symbolic-celebratory representations. Nevertheless, they still betray what Craig Harbison has called the ‘model-book mentality’ [Harbison 1995, 21-34]. Their image of the city is no longer an imaginary collage or mix of fictitious elements, but is not an entirely accurate depiction either. These cityscapes of North Africa are notable for their increased accuracy, based as they are on on-site topographic surveys and reliable, even topographically exact information with perfectly recognizable outlines. On the other hand, some of their iconographic elements relate them to more conventional representations, and suggest that such compositions were based on notes taken during travel by artists who were familiar with the city represented. They include buildings that belong to the city’s imaginary, chosen by the artist, and mix conventional elements with more accurate ones.

Fig. 14: Asilah, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. I, Cologne 1572.

Fig. 15: Ceuta, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. I, Cologne 1572.



Fig. 16: Safim, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. I, Cologne 1572.

Fig. 17: Salé, in Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. I, Cologne 1572.



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