

# The Mastery of Space in Early Modern Political Thought

**Giovanni Botero, the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican and the  
fusion of the *civitas* and *urbs* in sixteenth-century Italy.**

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*Dedicated to my Nonna Santa Maria Favaloro who taught herself to read and write.*

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## Acknowledgements

This project has been a long time in the making and represents in many respects the culmination of ideas I have explored in my work over the last few years. It was in walking through the Gallery of Maps itself that this project, in its infancy, was conceived. As such, if you will allow me, I invite you to walk through this space and consider its significance for the history of political thought.

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Lastly thank you to my parents John and Sharon Favaloro who have listened to my musings on an almost constant basis and might be forgiven for thinking they have been wandering in the depths of Renaissance Italy for the past year!

I hope the reader finds this as enjoyable to read as I found it to write.

## Abstract

*Before the sixteenth century there was a strong emphasis in Renaissance political thought on the difference between the political city (the civitas) and the physical city (the urbs). The body politic 'floated' above the landscape—it was not rooted in a specific territory as we understand states to be today. In 1588 the philosopher-priest Giovanni Botero argued that wealth underpinned political power; challenging humanist narratives about the corrupting forces of wealth for the civitas. These narratives were rooted in a classical 'politics', which saw the civitas as a morally oriented body. Botero conceived his arguments in the context of 'reason of state', where politics became the art of maintaining one's 'stato'. While arguing that wealth was the source of civitas' power he grounded it in the economic capacity of the urbs. Physical space became an object of political power. I argue in this thesis that the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican was a potent visual exposition of these ideas—ideas which had important implications for the rise of the territorial mercantilist 'state'.*

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(Fig.1) *The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican, Vatican Museums*



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# *A walk with great cities*

## Introduction

*Just as Jove sometimes interrupted his care of the spheres and turned his attention to human concerns... directing his eyes to earth at a glance he would take in singly and altogether everything which the earth generates, the heavens sustain and the soil moisture makes grow.<sup>1</sup>*

*-Anonimo Romana-*

*-ca. 1583-*

In 1583 Pope Gregory XIII traversed the whole of Italy without leaving the Vatican. Gliding across the Apennines, Italy's mountainous spine, he was awed by the great cities, remote castles and nameless villages. Looking back on the earth like Icaromenippus, the Sky-Man of Lucian's *Dialogues*, he assumed a godly position—'the life of man in its entirety disclosed' to him.<sup>2</sup> But this was no leisurely sojourn, indeed this *passeggiata* embodied the papacy's claims to temporal dominion. The late sixteenth-century was a period when the papacy was under siege, its temporal claims hotly contested. It was amongst this tumult that Gregory XIII retreated to his gallery. By gazing upon Italy 'again and again' Gregory could consider 'how best to administer and govern it', resolving 'civil discord' and maintaining 'lasting peace for his people'.<sup>3</sup> Even today the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican, Egnazio Danti's 120-metre-long immersive masterpiece depicting the whole of Italy, transports the viewer on a spatial journey without match. It is through the act of walking that the gallery begins to unfurl as one of the most potent early-modern arguments for the importance of space in human action and its ultimate conclusion: that a mastery of space is indeed a mastery of

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<sup>1</sup> Anonimo Romano, 'Ambulatio Gregoriana', trans. in *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, ed. Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (Modena, Italia: F. C. Panini, Mirabilia Italiae, 1991) p.78

<sup>2</sup> Lucian of Samosata, 'Icaromenippus or The Sky-man', in *Lucian Volume II*, trans. A.M Harmon, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915), p.289

<sup>3</sup> Anonimo Romano, 'Ambulatio Gregoriana', p.78

power. Crucially, among the rolling hills, the fractured coastlines and the meandering and mighty rivers, beyond the depiction of the natural world, it is those most intricate of human creations—the cities themselves—that stand out in these maps. While borders fade into obscurity, cities are placed front and centre. They are presented as the keys to the lands that surround them. They are the pivots of human action from where political space is commanded.

Such a decidedly *urban* focus may not seem surprising in an Italy that was much more urban in character than any other part of Europe.<sup>4</sup> But it is our modern assumption that a political ‘city’ and a physical ‘city’ are one and the same thing that forms the central problematique of this investigation. Until the sixteenth-century the dominant strain in western-political thought made a stark contrast between the ‘*civitas*’ or political city and the ‘*urbs*’ or physical city. The *civitas* was not the same as the ‘*state*’ as we might understand it today. The *civitas* was defined by most thinkers as a political ‘body’ of citizens. It was a legal order of people, but like a human ‘body’ it was not inherently tied to any particular piece of land or urban area (*urbs*).

For fifty years historians of political thought have debated the contours of the major shift in the language of politics from the fifteenth-century humanists to the late sixteenth, early seventeenth-century political philosophers.<sup>5</sup> The terms of this transformation were described by the historian Maurizio Viroli as a change from ‘*politics*’ to ‘*reason of state*’.<sup>6</sup> The former was that realm of classical civic philosophy where the focus of politics lay in the ‘*vivere politico*’ (the political life). This was an

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<sup>4</sup> ‘The most urbanised large area of Europe in 1500’: Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800*, (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1984) p.109

<sup>5</sup> Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: Volume One- The Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); J.G.A Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press); Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: international competition and the nation state in historical perspective*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005)

<sup>6</sup> Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State: The acquisition and transformation of the language of politics 1250-1600*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

idea of the *civitas* as the unit of ultimate human fulfilment, the vector for the ‘good life’ sustained by ‘virtuous’ citizens. This idea was associated with Italian humanists who were inspired by the writings of Aristotle, but most importantly, Cicero. By contrast, ‘*reason of state*’, was where politics had become synonymous with the art of maintaining a person’s ‘*stato*’ at all costs. This term *stato* was devoid of the connotations the word ‘state’ has today. It literally referred to the political position, a ‘state of being’ of a powerful individual, rather than a political entity.<sup>7</sup> It described the patronage networks that an individual like Cosimo de’ Medici held in the Florentine Republic—he maintained a *stato* within the republican *civitas*. As historian Francesco Guicciardini observed, such figures had no need of a city ‘inhabited by generous souls seeking glory’, but only those ‘concerned with particular interest’—‘interest’ which could be manipulated in favour of the *stato*.<sup>8</sup> Hence, while the *civitas* was the political ‘body’ of citizens, the *stato* was the political position of an actor within this body.<sup>9</sup>

This conceptual-political change was precipitated by the foreign invasions of Italy in 1494, which accelerated the rise of the *signori* across the peninsula and hastened the demise of republican cities.<sup>10</sup> In this context, the language of politics as classical civic-philosophy was usurped by a language where the *stato* of princely figures became synonymous with the *civitas* itself. Even republics began to adopt the language of the prince—the ‘art of the state’—for internal in addition to external matters. As Istvan Hont has shown more recently, this transformation in favour of the ‘politics of interest’ in service of the prince was key in the

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<sup>7</sup> Quentin Skinner, ‘A Genealogy of the Modern State’, *British Academy Lecture, Proceedings of the British Academy*, 162, (2008); Noel Malcolm, ‘Reason of state and Hobbes’, *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.92-124

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State*, p. 183

<sup>9</sup> Though a republican *civitas* also had a *stato* as a ‘legal person’ in the international sphere.

<sup>10</sup> For example, Florence in 1530: John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200-1575*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp.452-61



development of the state system in Europe and its associated rise as the homeland of sprawling colonial empires.<sup>11</sup>

What has always been missing in these accounts is an acknowledgement of the central role changing conceptions of physical space had in the process. Historians have not mapped the spatial dimensions of this crucial development in the language of politics. This is what I aim to do in this thesis. I chart the development of the relationship between political thought and space within the contours of 'politics' to 'reason of state'. In the process, I argue that the triumph of the language of the *stato* enabled theorists, namely the philosopher-priest Giovanni Botero (1544-1617), to conceptually fuse the *urbs* and the *civitas* together. Political bodies which had once been seen to be unrooted, moveable entities, what I term a 'floating' sovereignty, were now increasingly 'rooted' in specific territories because of the incentives produced by the new language of the *stato*.

Historian Annabel Brett has more recently attempted to explore spatial relationships in early-modern political thought by charting for example the political status of beggars moving between cities: asking whether their belonging to a *civitas* or their actual position in physical territory determined their jurisdiction.<sup>12</sup> But as even she acknowledged:

the concept of space has yet to permeate, in any systematic way, the study of the history of political thought... despite the currency of the 'spatial turn' in history more generally.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Hont, *Jealousy of Trade*, (2005), pp.3-156

<sup>12</sup> Annabel Brett, *Changes of State: nature and the limits of the city in early modern natural law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 170-190.

<sup>13</sup> Annabel Brett, 'The space of politics and the space of war in Hugo Grotius's *De iure belli ac pacis*', *Global Intellectual History* 1, no. 1, (2016) pp. 36-60; For the 'spatial turn' more generally: Barney Warf and Santa Arias, 'Introduction: the reinsertion of space into the humanities and social science', in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Barney Warf and Santa Arias (New York: Routledge, 2009); Also see spatial histories like those of: Lauren Benton. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013)

In the first two chapters of this thesis, I chart these key changes in the relationship between physical space and political thought. I begin with an analysis of the writings of fifteenth-century humanists like Leonardo Bruni and Leon Battista Alberti, who represented the aims of the *'vivere politico'*. I show how their framework of classical *'politics'* encouraged a 'floating' conception of sovereignty in relation to land. I then consider the innovations of Machiavelli who considered the importance of a *civitas* maintaining its *stato* as a 'legal prince' in world governed by the unpredictable whims of *fortuna*. This was even while he sustained his ideas about the moral functions of the *civitas*. Finally, I come to the writings of Giovanni Botero who did not speak of the moral ends of the *civitas*, but described the methods through which the *stato* could be maintained. Importantly, it is in applying this spatial approach that Botero's thesis emerges as a far more important transformation in this process than has often been acknowledged.

It was in the Palazzo Altamps in Rome on 10 June 1588 that Giovanni Botero wrote his dedication to his new work *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*.<sup>14</sup> In it he summed up the novel spatial-economic argument embodied by Gregory XIII's maps. The then secretary of the young Milanese Cardinal Federico Borromeo, Botero worked between the Altamps residence and the Papal Palace throughout the 1580s.<sup>15</sup> He argued in his treatise that the power of a ruler came from the 'multitude of inhabitants' under their control and the people's 'wealth', who by nature of 'necessity', 'utility' and most importantly 'convenience', gathered in and built cities.<sup>16</sup> Cities were the central heart of human achievement,

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<sup>14</sup> Giovanni Botero's main works: *Delle cause della grandezza e magnificenza delle città/ On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, 1588, trans. Geoffrey Symcox (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), p. 11; *Della Ragione di Stato/ The Reason of State*, 1589, trans. P.J. and D.P. Waley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956); *Le Relazioni Universali/ Universal Relations*, 1596, ed. Blythe Alice Raviola, (Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2015), vol.1-2

<sup>15</sup> Geoffrey Symcox, 'Introduction', in *On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, pp.xi-xxxvii

<sup>16</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.1, p. 11.

or as he reflected, ‘a special sign of man’s excellence’.<sup>17</sup> They functioned as a *speculum dei*—literally a ‘mirror of god’—that embodied in true humanist spirit ‘the glory of God’.<sup>18</sup> But when he talked of ‘cities’ he meant, unusually for a political-theorist in this period, the physical *urbs* themselves.

The primary focus of historians has been Botero’s innovation in redeeming the ‘art of the state’ from its immoral connotations.<sup>19</sup> He did not consider the source of the *civitas*’ moral end, but he advocated for ‘moral’ forms of ‘*reason of state*’.<sup>20</sup> This indicated the last intellectual jump in usurping classical ‘*politics*’. But it is in considering this undoubtedly important leap that historians have systematically ignored Botero’s most important contribution to the language of political thought: his spatial reorientation of power.<sup>21</sup>

Botero transformed the role of wealth in political power by challenging humanist assumptions about the corrupting powers of wealth; assumptions understood within the realm of the classical *civitas*. In the language of *reason of state*, he argued that wealth was integral in maintaining the *stato* of the *civitas*. In doing so he assumed a fusion between the *civitas* and the *urbs*. He argued that the physical composition of the *urbs* had a decisive and quantifiable, rather than just a symbolic effect on the survival of the *civitas*. This transformation had enormous implications for the thought underlying theories of and expansion of *dominion* and

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<sup>17</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, dedication, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p.4

<sup>19</sup> Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Malcolm, *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years War*; Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political thought*, vol.1, pp. 248-49

<sup>20</sup> Malcolm, *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years War*, pp.94-7; Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, pp.45-46

<sup>21</sup> With notable exceptions in French and Italian exploring Botero’s economic ideas albeit without specifically ‘spatial’ approaches: Romain Descendre, *L’État du Monde: Giovanni Botero entre raison d’État et géopolitique* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2009); Mario De Bernardi, *Giovanni Botero economista (Intorno ai libri “Delle cause della grandezza delle città”) con una postilla bibliografica*, (Turin: Istituto Giuridico della Regia Università, 1931); Federico Chabod, *Giovanni Botero*, 1934, in *Scritti sul Rinascimento*, ed. Federico Chabod, (Turin: Einaudi, 1967) pp. 271–352

*imperium*, especially in its reorientation of ‘sovereignty’ more decisively in favour of ‘territory’. Botero’s thesis catapulted ‘land’ as an object of political control into a position of relevance.

It is with this that I conclude this transformation was key to understanding the rise of ‘Grotian’ ideas of stately ‘self-preservation’, which drove the economic-political competition of the nascent European colonial empires. This system of thought was ‘Grotian’ because it was embodied by the writings of Dutch theorist Hugo Grotius, who argued that it was natural ‘to acquire for oneself’, or for a *civitas* as a ‘legal person’, and ‘to retain, those things which are useful for life’.<sup>22</sup> As a forerunner to this language of economic self-preservation, Botero emerged as what one might describe as the proto-Malthusian portender of mercantilist thought. Large populations, he argued, could only be supported by large swaths of land to feed them. Wealth could only be encouraged through access to and the development of resources, and then the subsequent manufacture of goods for trade. Industry was key to economic and therefore political and military power and could only reach its zenith in labour dense cities. Marvelling at the economic power of France he wrote:

What power can seem more terrible, then the majestie of the Kingdome, which is able to feede fiftene millions of people...For the abundance of people and plenty of vittailles are the strongest sinews of all Kingdoms.<sup>23</sup>

It was in these reflections that Botero manufactured a new incentive to control lands as the ‘nutritive’ bases of peoples. Lands were ‘nutritive’ because they

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<sup>22</sup>Hugo Grotius, *De Indis*, cited in: Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace*, p. 85: See also: Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Praedae Commentarius / Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty*, 1604, trans. Gwaladys L. Williams (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1950), also known as: Hugo Grotius, *Mare Liberum*, 1609, edited by David Armitage, translated by Richard Hakluyt (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> Giovanni Botero, *Universal Relations, The Worlde, or An historical description of the most famous kingdoms and commonweals therein....*, trans. Robert Johnson (London: John Iaggard, 1601), p.19



sustained large productive populations. It was a system of thought where control of space and its potential for wealth creation—human settlements at its centre—became all important in the pursuit of power. Critically, it was through ‘economic development’ of such lands that *specific* lands began to emerge as a referent object of political power.

Earlier humanist writers like Leonardo Bruni had acknowledged the importance of space. Its advantages for political power were, however, most emphatically expressed through reflections on the *qualitative* forces of landscapes and cities. That is, the effects that the composition of space and importantly climate, had on the virtuousness of citizens. Florence’s ‘pleasing’ climate represented the ‘natural genius’ and ‘prudence’ of the Florentine people who founded the city.<sup>24</sup> Conversely, climate influenced the temperament of peoples. This argument remained squarely within an interpretation of political power as control over *people* rather than *space*.

Bruni’s reflections were a form of ‘floating’ sovereignty: an idea of land that acknowledged it uses and its determinative presence but where the *civitas* was not inalienably bound up in a *particular* land.<sup>25</sup> This idea was still maintained in Botero’s time by writers like the Aristotelian John Case. In his 1588 *Sphaera Civitatis*, he argued that ‘If the place should be changed, it will be another city [*urb*], but not another commonwealth [*civitas*].’ Indeed, ‘if the French were driven

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<sup>24</sup> Leonardo Bruni, ‘Panegyric to the city of Florence (Laudatio Florentinae Urbis)’, trans. Benjamin G. Kohl, in *The Earthly Republic: Italian humanists on government and society*, ed. Benjamin G. Kohl, Ronald G. Witt, Elizabeth B. Welles (Manchester: Manchester University Press: 1978), pp.135-75

<sup>25</sup> Annabel Brett explores scholastic debates about jurisdiction ‘disconnected’ from land in: *Changes of State: nature and the limits of the city in early modern natural law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), esp. pp. 170-190

to the Indies, with the same form of administration remaining', he quipped, 'that is where France is.'<sup>26</sup>

In contrast, Botero's articulations more confidently precipitated a spatial change in the language of political survival. For Botero, survival of a princely or republican *stato* became less about the subjugation of other *civitates* as rival communities of virtue, where the landscape represented a physical barrier between 'floating' peoples, and shifted more decisively in favour of cities and the land in their orbit as economic bases of power. In arguing this, he altered the practice of the most important secular virtue in medieval and early-modern political thought: prudence. Indeed, he provided an explanation of power that more forcefully articulated the need for a utilitarian 'spatial-economic turn' in prudential thinking. This was within a humanist world concerned with the interplay between *fortune* and *virtue*.

Botero knew many of the people involved in Pope Gregory XIII's artistic, scientific and political counter-reformationary agenda. The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican was a visual exposition of Botero's thesis—it encapsulated the intellectual moment that he inhabited. There is no doubt that he walked along its length perusing its very messages. Thus, in the last chapter of this investigation I explore the relevance of these spatial-economic arguments in the context of a papacy in crisis. Particularly, I focus on the representation of the cities and lands depicted but also on the historical vignettes which are drawn within the landscapes themselves. These vignettes, represented almost as if they were chess pieces on a board, depict the likes of Hannibal fighting across Italy in the Punic Wars—stories with particularly firm links to the execution of prudence in humanist scholarship. Such representations I suggest embodied the opening up of

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<sup>26</sup> John Case, *Sphaera Civitatis*, 1588, trans. Dana F. Sutton, (Irvine: The University of California, 2002), III.2.1

the papacy to the vicissitudes of *fortune* after a period of crisis—a vulnerability that forced a more open consideration of how the papacy may maintain its *stato*.

Many historians have written about the Gallery of Maps and its unique splendour. Some verge on the edge of an intellectual history. They remain however, within the realm of the history of cartography and art itself.<sup>27</sup> No historian has written about the relevance of Botero and the Maps for each other, despite their intellectual (and actual) proximity. This is what I do in the last chapter. It is through the interaction between Gregory XIII's visual argument for the papal domination of Italy and the intellectual milieu in which Botero's ideas germinated that we can understand the changes of this period—changes which underlay this transformation in the concept of sovereignty, which forms a key part of the story of the rise of the territorial expansionist 'state'.

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<sup>27</sup> Mark Rosen, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy: Painted Cartographic Cycles in Social and Intellectual Context*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); The scholarship in *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, ed. Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (Modena, Italia: F. C. Panini, *Mirabilia Italiae*, 1991-1994); Pauline Moffitt Watts, 'A Mirror for the Pope: Mapping the "Corpus Christi" in the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 10 (2005), pp. 173-192; Fiorani, Francesca., *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Goffart, Walter, 'Christian Pessimism on the Walls of the Vatican Galleria delle carte geografiche', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51, 3 (1998), pp. 788-827



Floating Sovereignty: The *urbs* as a symbol of the *civitas* as a moveable 'body'. (Fig.3)  
*Urbs of Siena*, Fresco in Palazzo Publico Siena, Joshua Favaloro 2016



(Fig.4) *Urbs of Lucca*, Fresco in Cattedrale di San Martino, Lucca, Joshua Favaloro 2016



# *The Mastery of Landscapes: the ‘floating’ civitas, virtue and wealth*

## Chapter 1

### *Landscape and Humanism: Leonardo Bruni*

In 1416 Amadeus VIII of Savoy, a count in north-western Italy, celebrated with family his elevation to the rank of duke by the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund. Key to the festivities was a huge cake in the shape of his territory.<sup>28</sup> There is no doubt that to depict territory like this alluded to a claim of control over such lands. But in this period this imagery represented a symbolic connection to the land. The land represented the prestige of the Savoyard family and not, to avoid the pun, an understanding that this territory formed a ‘nutritive’ base of a *civitas*’ power. This symbolic understanding was dominant in fifteenth-century Italy and was most potently articulated by the chancellor of Florence Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444). Well known in his role as a political philosopher of what some have called ‘civic humanism’, his role as a resourceful historian in communicating these ideas of the ‘floating’ *civitas* is less understood.<sup>29</sup> The most important of his works was the *History of the Florentine People* published in 1442.<sup>30</sup>

The success of a *civitas* in his world of thought depended not on the power of institutions, nor the resources of the state, but on the moral quality of citizens. A virtuous citizenry was key to political success; a tenet understood within the core

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<sup>28</sup> Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe’s History*, (Milton Keynes: Allen Lane, 2016), p.253

<sup>29</sup> On ‘civic humanism’ see: *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. James Hankins, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000); On Bruni’s use of history: Gary Ianziti, ‘Bruni on Writing History’, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Bruni and the uses of the past*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp.7-24;

<sup>30</sup> Leonardo Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, ed. & trans. James Hankins, (Cambridge, MA: The I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press, 2001-2004) v.1,2,3

humanist understanding of the world as an interplay between fortune and virtue.<sup>31</sup> As was common to the humanists in this period, ‘prudence’ emerged as among the most important of these virtues in the battle with fortune. ‘Prudence’ usually referred to a certain foresight and preparedness. Specifically for Bruni, this was a form of moralised political prudence which was most concerned with the external threats that rival communities of virtue, whether free or under a prince, presented to the *libertas* of the Florentine Republic.

Bruni posited that prudence improved with age because experience gave individuals the repertoire which enabled an effective response to the unpredictability of fortune. History thus provided the humanist with an inexhaustible resource of experience. ‘If we think men of advanced years are wiser because they have seen more life’, he proclaimed in his preface, ‘how much greater is the wisdom history can give us if we read it carefully!’<sup>32</sup> Bruni’s *History* therefore was not just scholarship for its own sake, it was a didactic document aimed at the practical education of those who would hold the reigns of the Florentine republic. It was an early form of rhetorical history writing which employed history as a tool of persuasion.<sup>33</sup> It was through this educational program that the relationship of political power to land was most clearly expressed. Bruni understood land as a ‘container’ of human affairs without emphasising its ‘nutritive’ capacities as we will see, but this is not to say that Bruni ignored physical space.

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<sup>31</sup> On Fortune and Virtue: Mark Jurdjevic, ‘Virtue, Fortune, and Blame in Machiavelli’s Life and the Prince’, *Social Research: An international Quarterly* 81, no.1 (2014), pp.9-12

<sup>32</sup> Bruni, *History*, Preface.1, vol. 1, p.3

<sup>33</sup> On rhetorical history writing in the Renaissance: Nancy S. Struever, *The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970); John F. Tinkler, ‘The Rhetorical Method of Francis Bacon’s History of the Reign of King Henry VII’, *History and Theory*, 26, 1 (1987), pp.32-52

Bruni's first concern in the *History* was to establish the genealogical origins of the Florentine people. He claimed that the Florentines were descended from the ancient Romans, who founded the city as a colony. In doing so he was claiming a virtuous inheritance from them—a common trope throughout Italy. Nevertheless, as a devoted 'Guelph' republican keen to promote the rule of the *popolo* as an 'emperor unto itself', Bruni claimed contrary to convention that the republican period, as opposed to the imperial one, was the zenith of Roman virtue.<sup>34</sup> In Bruni's account, Florence was founded while Rome was a free city and by settlers who were 'excellent Roman citizens'. In being founded 'free' Florence had inherited a tradition of *libertas*.<sup>35</sup> This focus on virtuous inheritance embodied the understanding that the Florentines were a common 'people' or 'body', not just co-inhabitants of a city (*urbs*).<sup>36</sup>

Bruni also provided an analysis of the pre-Roman Etruscan Tuscany, alluding to a dual heritage for Florence. This analysis explored themes of a people's geographic connections. It was a less direct connection than what the Greek idea *autochthony* maintained, where, as Isocrates in his *Panegyricus* described, the people 'sprung...from [the] very solid' of the Greek soil.<sup>37</sup> The Etruscans in contrast, though very ancient in their presence in Tuscany, had migrated from Western-Anatolia from whence 'with a large populace... [they] sailed to Italy and settled in the region now called Tuscany'.<sup>38</sup> It was, in this case, the Etruscan's long presence in Tuscany and their record as a people who held 'the greatest

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<sup>34</sup> Bruni, *History* I.38, vol. 1 p.49; 'Sibi Princeps'—'Emperor unto itself': Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, v.1, pp.11-12

<sup>35</sup> Bruni, *History* I.4, vol. 1 p.11; Harvey C. Mansfield, 'Bruni and Machiavelli on civic humanism', in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. James Hankins, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.231

<sup>36</sup> On the metaphor of the 'body' in Renaissance political thought: John M Najemy, 'The Republic's Two Bodies: Body Metaphors in Italian Renaissance Political Thought', in *Language and images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. Alison Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp.237-262

<sup>37</sup> Isocrates, *To Demonicus. To Nicocles. Nicocles or the Cyprians. Panegyricus. To Philip. Archidamus*, trans. George Norlin, Loeb Classical Library 209 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928) p.133

<sup>38</sup> Bruni, *History* I.13, vol. 1 p.19

wealth and power in Italy' before the Romans that warranted their mention.<sup>39</sup> They provided a glorious precedent for a people who achieved pre-eminence in their time from a Tuscan base. So, although the Etruscans did not hold any intrinsic connection to the land, they had through their *virtue* made a mark on it—'Tuscany' was named after the 'Etruscans' not the reverse. Brunni suggested the Florentines had a connection to Etruscan virtue, but this was because Etruscan virtue had been symbiotically infused into the landscape. This infusion was not a metaphysical process. It was brought alive by a knowledge of history. It was visible in the Etruscan names of and the physical *urbs* of the cities they founded, which Brunni reflected were 'continuing monuments to their former power.'<sup>40</sup> The Florentines effectively 'floated' above the land as a people and could move at any time, but the land had a qualitative value through its history.

Brunni suggested that the spatial experience of the physical Roman origins of Florence similarly inspired this virtue; origins apparent in the city's central grid pattern and buildings.<sup>41</sup> The Florentine people inspired by these surroundings and its associated lineage came to assert their own *libertas*. This was why their link to specifically republican Rome was so important.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Brunni, *History* I.13, vol. 1 p.19

<sup>40</sup> Brunni, *History* I.14, vol. 1 p.21

<sup>41</sup> See: Brunni, *History* I.5, vol. 1 p.13

<sup>42</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy*, pp.104-105



The defence of this *libertas* was at the core of Bruni’s relationship to space in a different sense—an understanding demonstrated in the numerous battles for Florentine survival in the *History*. In narrating the Milanese Wars (1390-1402) of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Bruni considered the barriers presented by mountains but particularly rivers. Describing the spatial composition of the Po Valley, he verbally mapped the mountains on three sides and the Adriatic on the other.<sup>43</sup> Importantly, he detailed the way in which the Po dissected ‘the plain lengthwise in the middle’. This was invaluable information for a military campaign.<sup>44</sup> Milan, the target of a Florentine expedition, was protected by the rivers Po on its south



(Fig. 5) *Po River Valley - Google Earth*

side, the Ticino to the west and the Adda to the east. It was with this knowledge that a pro-Florentine French force from the west marched along the Po ‘keeping the river on their left’ (fig.5).<sup>45</sup> It was their plan, ‘when they had passed the region where the Ticino enters the Po’ to cross the river as soon as possible. This was to

<sup>43</sup> Bruni, *History* X.35, vol. 3, p.139

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Bruni, *History* X.36, vol. 3, p.141

avoid crossing more than one major river.<sup>46</sup> Bruni's lesson was that crossing rivers with large armies was a difficult affair prudently avoided. Water was also potentially a weapon; a reflection dramatically illustrated by the way that John Hawkwood's expeditionary force was cut off while crossing the river Adige. The enemy had 'broken the dikes and flooded the whole region'.<sup>47</sup> The lesson seems clear enough, but it is a key example of how throughout the *History* Bruni acknowledged landscape as an often-decisive mediating factor in military clashes.<sup>48</sup>

This military-spatial understanding of the land had been relatively common in western political thought since antiquity. Bruni's spatial knowledge was nonetheless closer to the 'Icaromenipean' god-like view that a modern map represents than, for example, the spatial military imaginings of Julius Caesar in his work *De bello gallico*.<sup>49</sup> Caesar's descriptions of the landscape were not cartographic. They constituted instead a mnemonic list of features in the landscape based on a journey experienced from the ground.<sup>50</sup> This was a form of spatial imagining found in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a thirteenth-century copy of an ancient Roman map which imagined the world as a diatonic network of major roads and cities—like a modern railway map (fig.6).<sup>51</sup> The map still provided a top-down view of the landscape, but it only represented information that was relevant 'from the ground'. The result was a geographically distorted rendition.

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Bruni, *History* X.43, vol. 3, p.147-9; William Caferro, *An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp.298-304

<sup>48</sup> Bruni, *History* X.43, vol. 3, p.149

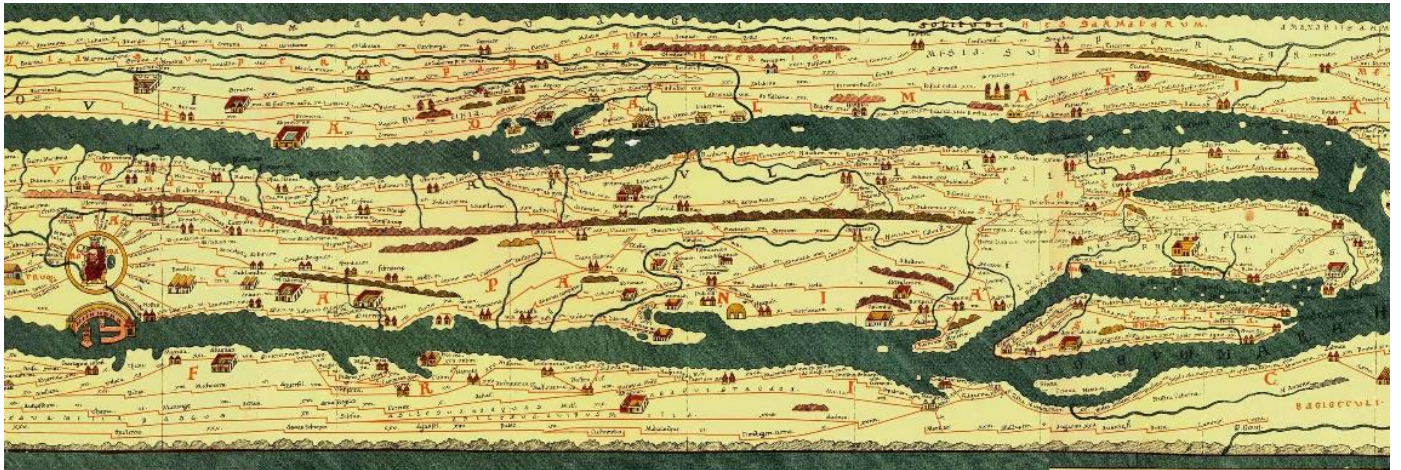
<sup>49</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, II.18, trans. H. J. Edwards. Loeb Classical Library 72 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917) p.113

<sup>50</sup> *The Gallic War* I.6, p.11, for example: 'There were two routes... [one] was a narrow and difficult, where carts could scarce be drawn in a single file; with an exceeding high mountain overhanging it'; Gavin A. Sundwall, 'Ammianus Geographicus', *The American Journal of Philology* 117, no.4 (1996), pp.619-25; Christopher B. Krebs, "Imaginary Geography" in Caesar's "Bellum Gallicum", *The American Journal of Philology* 127, no.1, (2006), pp.111-36

<sup>51</sup> The exact date of the maps creation is unknown: Richard J. A. Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.108-10

This network was not one where cities functioned as pivot points to command landscapes, but instead operated as way-points on a journey. Cartographic space was not as important as travel distance or *spatium* between nodes.<sup>52</sup>

Bruni's description of the Po river valley was far more geographically accurate than the *Tabula*. He imagined the landscape 'as the crow flew'. Physical space was clearly an integral mediating force between peoples. Importantly though, he did not hold an explicitly 'nutritive' or economic understanding of the land. The land was a stage of power rather than the object of power; it was an arena rather than a sustaining 'womb'. The *urbs* reflected virtue, but they were also more simply the 'container' of virtuous acts.



(Fig.6) *Tabula Peutingeriana, Bibliotheca Augustana*

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<sup>52</sup> Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), p.56

*Niccolò Machiavelli: fortune, wealth and the economic implications of 'manpower'.*

Machiavelli's political thought in many ways represented a continuation of these earlier humanist reflections. No doubt, his argument that one must 'know how to enter into evil' when necessary was controversial amongst contemporaries.<sup>53</sup> But his traditional humanist sensibilities have consequently been underplayed. Machiavelli understood landscapes similarly as a spatial 'container' of human action. He produced different conclusions however, as to exactly how the geography 'unveiled' by this spatial awareness should be used in military campaigns. In his *Discourses on Livy*, he argued that 'a Captain Ought to Be a Knower of Sites', for he suggested, without this 'knowledge a captain of armies cannot work anything well'.<sup>54</sup> More strongly than Bruni however, he asserted that one could *not* rely on landscape barriers in military concerns. The consequence of this argument was to begin to 'ground' the *civitas* conceptually.

Clearly, Machiavelli's understanding of *fortuna* did not differ significantly from Bruni's. Bruni described *fortuna* as a female figure with 'hair in front' and 'bald from behind', so that when 'it approaches, you can seize it, but if you let it pass, it offers you no purchase afterwards.'<sup>55</sup> Machiavelli described *fortuna* similarly as a violent and unpredictable 'river' that could not be stopped, but only directed by 'dikes and dams'.<sup>56</sup> These two metaphors were essentially the same, but Machiavelli placed a greater emphasis on the specific military implications of fortune's intransigence. Specifically, he emphasised the need for an active battle

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<sup>53</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, XVIII, ca. 1514, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985), p.70; Critic include for example: Innocent Gentillet, *Anti-Machiavel*, 1576, ed. C. Edward Rathè (Genève: Droz, 1968)

<sup>54</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, III.39.1, ca.1517, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996) p.298

<sup>55</sup> Bruni, *History*, VI.7, vol.2 p.163

<sup>56</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, 'How Much Fortune Can Do in Human Affairs, and in What Mode It May be Opposed', in *The Prince*, XXV, p.98; For an analysis of Machiavelli's concept of *fortuna*: Jurdjevic, 'Virtue, Fortune, and Blame in Machiavelli's Life and the Prince', pp.1-30



with fortune through intensive ‘forward’ action.<sup>57</sup> Relying passively on landscape for defence was to throw your lot into fortune’s camp. Accordingly, he lamented the Italian obsession with the barrier that the Alps provided against the incursions of *ultramontane* forces. This ‘obsession’, he claimed, resulted in a disastrous over-reliance on guarding ‘difficult passes’.<sup>58</sup> The harshness of such environments inevitably limited the staying-power of military forces. Soldiers could not ‘live there long’.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, they were often quickly ‘destroyed by the malignity of the site’ before the enemy even arrived.<sup>60</sup> Most problematically, as was evidenced by the 1515 incursion of the French King Francis I into Lombardy, the sheer length of such geographic features made them permeable.<sup>61</sup> ‘The mountains are like the countryside’, he wrote.<sup>62</sup> They have ‘not only customary and frequented ways’ but many others that, ‘if they are not known to foreigners are known to peasants’.<sup>63</sup> With the support of a disaffected local, the enemy could regularly overcome such obstacles.<sup>64</sup>

This permeability of geography was precisely why a *civitas* required great standing armies, so the enemy could be fought, as the Romans had in opposition to Hannibal, on the *other* side of the mountain passes. This was why virtuous, well-disciplined standing armies and the associated concept of ‘manpower’ were so important for Machiavelli. To have such forces and to fight in open plains was to take fortune, he believed, more actively into one’s own hands. To guard the mountain passes was to lazily subject yourself to the whims of fate. A prudent

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<sup>57</sup> Mark Jurdjevic, ‘Virtue, Fortune, and Blame in Machiavelli’s Life and the Prince’, p.13

<sup>58</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.23.2, p.57

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.23.3, p.58

<sup>61</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.23.4, p.58

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

political operator thus sought to expand this ‘manpower’. This was done by promoting population growth and subjugating other peoples.

This tenet was the basic dynamic of Machiavelli’s argument for imperial expansion: a *civitas* in order to maintain its *stato* must acquire before it is acquired and increase its manpower to fill the ranks of its armies. Significantly, we can see in this argument a transformation of the physical landscape from being important only so much as it provided a ‘container’ for the virtue of peoples to being a nutritive base for a utilitarian demography.

Machiavelli elucidated this point by comparing ancient Sparta and modern Venice with ancient Rome. Sparta and Venice were often the golden exemplars of cities that had historically preserved their *libertas*. Sparta could boast this because Lycurgus had ensured its ‘modes’ and ‘orders’, as Machiavelli called them, by restricting migration and maintaining demographic purity.<sup>65</sup> This increased internal cohesion. Similarly, Venice had perfected a limited form of aristocratic government where ‘the number of gentlemen’ was tightly controlled.<sup>66</sup> Florence by comparison was racked with factional strife. Ancient Rome was similarly characterised by such instability—it was a demographic leviathan with an enormous population and near-constant discord.<sup>67</sup> Machiavelli argued though, that this unrest was one of the very foundations of Roman power. It was a method through which a *civitas* could preserve its liberty.<sup>68</sup> It was in maintaining this point that he came to consider the economic implications of a city’s geographic

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<sup>65</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.23.1-2, p. 21

<sup>66</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.23.1-2, p. 21

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Laura F. Banfield and Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), preface, p.6-7



location. He posed the question as to whether a fertile location for the *urbs* improved or undermined a *civitas*' chances of survival.<sup>69</sup>

Machiavelli suggested that when a city's founder chose a geographic site, a 'sterile' place may in fact embody the best location for a *civitas*.<sup>70</sup> This was because the necessity of the site would 'constrain [men] to be industrious and less seized by idleness'.<sup>71</sup> A fertile site to the contrary inevitably bred idleness and corruption, which enervated the civic body. This idea that the landscape had qualitative effects on the temperament of peoples was common amongst humanists.<sup>72</sup> It was considered by Bruni as we have seen, but it was most articulately expressed by the architect-scholar Leon Battista Alberti.

In his 1450 work *On the Art of Building*, Alberti wrote about the importance of a city's locality for the success of a people. 'The ancients', he wrote, 'put much effort into ensuring that [a location] should contain nothing harmful and that it should be supplied with every convenience'.<sup>73</sup> The highest responsibility was to choose a climate that was not 'disagreeable or unwholesome' for while a specific defect in the land could be remedied 'by skill and ingenuity', nothing could improve climate.<sup>74</sup> After all, he continued, 'the air we breathe... plays such a vital role in maintaining and preserving life'.<sup>75</sup> He concluded for instance:

...those who enjoy a purer climate surpass in ability others subjected to a heavy and damp one; for that very reason, so it was said the Athenians were much sharper than the Thebans.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Machiavelli, 'What have been universally the beginnings of any city whatever, and what was that of Rome', in *Discourses*, I.1.1-6, pp.7-10

<sup>70</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.1.4, p. 8

<sup>71</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.1.4, p. 8

<sup>72</sup> Z.S Fink, 'Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence', *Modern Language Quarterly* 2, (1941), pp.67-80

<sup>73</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, I.3, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), p.9

<sup>74</sup> Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, I.3, p.9

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

The climate and the nature of a location thus directly influenced the character of peoples. In an earlier echo of Machiavelli's argument about industriousness, Alberti repeated the views of the ancient writer Pliny. 'The popularity of her wine and figs', her agricultural plenty, is what caused Italy to be 'invaded by so many foreign armies', Alberti relayed.<sup>77</sup> This fertility was a problem because 'an overindulgence in anything concerned with pleasure is... harmful to old and young alike'.<sup>78</sup> The easy wealth that came from such a site was corrupting. Indeed, just as in the Sallustian tradition, the spoils of empire undermined martial virtue and encouraged effeminacy.<sup>79</sup> Natural abundance made a people over-secure and naturally weak. Citing Livy, Alberti explained:

The territory of the Emerici – according to Livy – is extremely fertile, but as often happens with productive land, it rears a cowardly nation.<sup>80</sup>

Nevertheless, this problem was not an inevitability of the site. A people who wanted to settle in 'a region so well endowed' could overcome this tendency.<sup>81</sup> It could be done with 'their ancestral laws and customs', through which they could ensure 'that proper use be made of such resources'.<sup>82</sup> Machiavelli's imperial argument *relied* on this qualification.

In the *Discourses*, Machiavelli explained that 'since men cannot secure themselves except with power', that is secure the *stato*, it was 'necessary to avoid this sterility' despite its promise of virtue, and settle 'the most fertile places'.<sup>83</sup> Idleness could, he advocated, be overcome with strong laws that enforced a culture of

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<sup>77</sup> Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, IV.2 p.95

<sup>78</sup> Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, IV.2 p.95; See Titus Livy, *The History of Rome*, 29.25.12, trans. Cyrus Edmonds, (London: Henry G. Bohn. John Child and son Printers, 1850)

<sup>79</sup> Sallust most famously wrote about this corruption in: Sallust, '*The War with Catiline*' & '*The War with Jugurtha*', ed. John T. Ramsey, trans. J. C. Rolfe. Loeb Classical Library 116. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013)

<sup>80</sup> Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, IV.2 p.95

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.1.4, p.8

industriousness.<sup>84</sup> Laws could not however by themselves produce the material abundance necessary, but specifically in Machiavelli's case the men necessary, to fill the ranks of standing armies and fend off all a *civitas*' adversaries. It was true, he reflected, that a large concentrated population tended towards factional rivalry. But this was not a problem either. The social division of ancient Rome could be funnelled into productive pursuits by prudent laws.<sup>85</sup> The most productive cathartic exercise was war. The enormous population as the ultimate cause of these tensions was thus simultaneously the necessary foundation of Roman survival. 'If Rome wished to remove the causes of tumults', he reasoned, 'it removed too the causes of expansion'.<sup>86</sup> This was because 'it is neither possible nor natural for a thin trunk to support a thick branch'.<sup>87</sup> An enormous base, even one which produced internal discord, was the only 'mode' which could facilitate military expansion. Conversely, this was the only route through which the *civitas* could as he put it: 'weaken all other bodies so as to increase its own body', to maintain and increase its *stato*.<sup>88</sup>

A *civitas* could thus conceivably follow the path of Sparta or Venice. That is, the static, industrious, pure city; one which like Venice was protected by its unique geography, happily pursuing the moral ends of classical '*politics*'. If 'necessity led it to expand', however, without the necessary base to defend itself, this Machiavelli concluded, would 'make it come to ruin sooner'.<sup>89</sup> This was in fact what happened to Sparta and was, he suggested, happening to Venice.<sup>90</sup> Large populations constrained by superior 'modes' formed the most solid foundation

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<sup>84</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.1.5, p.9

<sup>85</sup> Florence similarly had these tensions but lacked the 'modes' and 'orders' to funnel these energies: Niccolò Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, preface, p.6-7

<sup>86</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.6.3, p.21

<sup>87</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, II.3.1, p.134

<sup>88</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, II 2.4, p.133

<sup>89</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I 6.4, p.23; Importance of Machiavelli's defensive republic in a dialogue between an Aristotelian and Machiavellian: Antonio Brucioli, 'Dialogo VI della Republica', *Dialogi*, 1526, A. Landi (eds), (Napoli: Prism, 1982), pp.118-19

<sup>90</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I 6.4, p.22

for imperial expansion. It was the best figurative ‘dike’ one could build to channel the river *fortuna*. In the context of the Italian Wars, this ‘molestation’ from other powers would occur even if the *civitas* in question did ‘not molest others’.<sup>91</sup> All ‘things of men are in motion and cannot stay steady’.<sup>92</sup> They must, he wrote, ‘either rise or fall’.<sup>93</sup> Empire for its own sake was *not* in the long-term interests of preserving the *vivere politico* of the republic, but empire and expansion was a *necessity*.<sup>94</sup>

Machiavelli’s exhortation to imperial expansion for survival was not an entirely new development. Bruni himself, in the fictional speech of Pino della Tosa in the *History*, provided an impassioned plea for the subjugation of Lucca in 1329. ‘Once occupied’, the city of Lucca ‘would not lie open for enemy use’, Pino implored an assembly.<sup>95</sup> ‘You would’, he continued, ‘find it highly convenient to use against an enemy’.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, removing such a base would prudently ensure the future security of the city. Pino even provided a hint of Machiavelli’s demographic base proclaiming:

...how much your power will increase when you get control of this most beautiful and well-fortified city-state, with such a large territory and so many towns and citadels! Think how much the glory, fame and majesty of the Florentine People will grow if a city which has long been nearly our equal in wealth and power should be made subject to you?<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, II 19.1, p.173

<sup>92</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I 6.4, p.23

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> On Machiavelli and *grandezza* see: Patrick Coby, *Machiavelli's Romans: liberty and greatness in the discourses on Livy* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 1999); On the tension between empire and liberty: Armitage, David, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Chapter 5; An important study on the centrality of imperial expansion for Machiavelli: Mikael Hornquist, *Machiavelli and Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); On Machiavellian ‘*necessity*’ see: Harvey C. Mansfield, ‘Necessity in the Beginnings of Cities’, *Machiavelli's Virtue*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp.57-78

<sup>95</sup> Bruni, *History* VI.4, vol. 2, p.157

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Bruni, *History* VI.5, vol. 2, p.159

But it was *just* a hint. The primary driver of Pino's argument for conquest was contained in the 'glory, fame and majesty' it would confer on the Florentine people. Conquest reflected the superior virtue of Florentines. And as was common in humanist thinking, if the glory of one's city was a *speculum dei*, a reflection of god's greatness, then conquest in support of the city reflected the glory of God.<sup>98</sup> The acquisition of Lucca would be a prudent action informed by the reflection that one must 'acquire or be acquired'. It would remove a potential base against the Florentine people it is true. But crucially, the wealth of Lucca would confer symbolic greatness on the city of Florence.<sup>99</sup> Wealth was understood not as a foundation of power but as a mirror of virtue.

We can see in this contrast the conceptual transformation of Machiavelli's exhortation for greater manpower. Machiavelli argued that the Florentines should heed the example of the Romans and force conquered peoples to come and live in the imperial city. 'Meanwhile Rome grew from the ruin of Alba', Machiavelli wrote, quoting Livy's famous quip from the *Discourses*.<sup>100</sup> He concluded:

Those who plan for a city to make a great empire should contrive with all industry to make it full of inhabitants, for without this abundance of men one will never succeed in making a city great.<sup>101</sup>

An enormous population was the prerequisite for true power and such power was necessary for survival. Machiavelli remained however incredibly suspicious of the corrupting influences of wealth—a position which seemed to contradict his assertions. How else could a city maintain this population? Evidently, Machiavelli was a transitional thinker. He still maintained that conquest *could* confer greatness on a people as well as ensure political survival. He articulated in

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<sup>98</sup> On *Speculum Dei*: Geoffrey Symcox, 'Introduction', to *On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, p.xxix

<sup>99</sup> Mansfield, 'Bruni and Machiavelli on civic humanism', p.240

<sup>100</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses* II.3 p. 133

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

his analysis of *fortuna* a more certain way to defend a *civitas*, yet he was even more suspicious of wealth than earlier humanists. This intense suspicion was echoed in the tracts of many of his Italian contemporaries. This was because he was an intellectual child of the tumult of the early sixteenth-century precipitated by the foreign invasions of 1494.<sup>102</sup>

### *Crisis and the Corruption of Wealth*

In 1472, before the crisis, Benedetto Dei described Florence and its *urbs* as a precious jewel; the ultimate reflection of a virtuous citizenry's success because of its wealth. He wrote for example:

Beautiful Florence has all... the fundamental things a city requires for perfection.... it has a large, rich and elegantly dressed population... it has banks and business agents all over the world. Venetian, Milanese, Genoese, Neapolitan, Sieneese, try compare your cities with this one!<sup>103</sup>

The fundamentals of these ideas are generally labelled 'civic humanist', which Quentin Skinner has alternatively labelled 'neo-Roman' because of their Roman republican roots.<sup>104</sup> They may be understood however, in the terms that Cicero described them. Indeed, Cicero was throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the most important thinker for humanists.<sup>105</sup> He argued in his treatise *De Officiis* for the need of a *vita activa*, an active life in the city alongside the *vita contemplativa*.<sup>106</sup> One's energies, he suggested, should be funnelled into the

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<sup>102</sup> On the invasions of 1494: Michael Mallet, *The Transformation of war, 1494-1530*, in *Italy and the European Powers: The Impact of War, The Impact of War, 1500-1530*, ed. Christine Shaw (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp.3-22

<sup>103</sup> Benedetto Dei, *La Cronica dall' anno 1400 all' anno 1500*, in *Images of Quattrocento Florence: Selected writings in literature, History and Art*, ed. Stefano Ugo Baldassarri and Arielle Saiber (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) p.83

<sup>104</sup> See: Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.54-5; James Hankins, 'Introduction', *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, p.6

<sup>105</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), p.29

<sup>106</sup> 'We are not born for ourselves alone': Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.20-22, trans. Walter Miller, Loeb Classical Library 30. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913), p.71; Active vs Contemplative life: Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.70-74, pp.73-75



greatness of the *civitas*.<sup>107</sup> This was in opposition to the withdrawal characterised by the *vita contemplativa* associated with scholastic approaches to knowledge.<sup>108</sup> Though, this is not to suggest these ideas were entirely new in the fifteenth-century, as Hans Baron so controversially suggested in the *Crisis*.<sup>109</sup> There were broad continuities with the political thought of the medieval period, as scholars have shown.<sup>110</sup>

As Dei showed in his acclamation of Florence, the commercial success of Florentine merchants represented a contribution to the *civitas*. Wealth production was a meritorious activity that allowed citizens to practice magnanimity.<sup>111</sup> The Christian adaptation of Cicero's call for a *vita activa* led to the transformation of pagan greatness into a greatness that redounded the glory of God. The financial prosperity of Florence thus embodied the virtue of the Florentine people engaged in the *vita activa*. In pursuing wealth, they were contributing to the collective greatness of the city and thus glorifying God. This was all because as God's creation the achievements of people *were* the achievements of God. This was understood as a *speculum dei*—a mirror of God argument.<sup>112</sup>

The success of private wealth for Cicero was always tempered however by concerns for the need to balance *profit* and *honour*. This profit was a legitimate aim if it was subordinate to the pursuit of honourable ends and always in the interests

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<sup>107</sup> Gordon Griffiths et. al, 'Bruni's Civic Humanism', in *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987), pp.15-21

<sup>108</sup>But still part of humanist systems of thought: Patrick Baker, 'The scholastic *studia humanitatis* and the hagiography of humanism', in *Italian Renaissance Humanism in the Mirror*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, Press, 2015), pp.118-25

<sup>109</sup> Hans Baron, *The crisis of the early Italian Renaissance: civic humanism and republican liberty in an age of classicism and tyranny*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966)

<sup>110</sup> James M. Blythe, "'Civic Humanism' and medieval political thought', in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, p. 30-33

<sup>111</sup> Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol.1, pp.43, 74

<sup>112</sup>On *Speculum Dei*: Geoffrey Symcox, 'Introduction', to *On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, p.xxix

of the city.<sup>113</sup> If a choice arose between the two, Cicero argued that one must always put public good ahead of private wealth. An obsession with the pursuit of wealth would decay virtue and endanger the moral *civitas*. He argued in his *De Officiis*:

... there is nothing so characteristic of littleness of the soul as the love of riches; and there is nothing more honourable than to be indifferent to money, if one does not possess it, and to devote it to liberality, if one does possess it.<sup>114</sup>

Ancient Roman writers like Sallust, Juvenal, Tacitus, Seneca, and Quintilian, all contributed to this narrative that too much concern for wealth resulted in ‘asiatic’ corruption, which made citizens effeminate and undermined martial virtue.<sup>115</sup> It also made the *civitas* more susceptible to the rise of tyranny. Bruni’s and Dei’s writings, though full of incessant praise of this civic wealth, were always tempered by this background. Wealth was beneficial but it was ultimately subordinate to other concerns.

This mild suspicion was challenged by the tumult of the early sixteenth-century. A crisis of confidence produced many theorists who more strongly than ever articulated the problems of wealth. The post-1494 Italian Wars stimulated thinkers like Mario Salamonio who argued that ‘when riches and rich men are honoured in a city, men of virtue and probity come to be despised’.<sup>116</sup> Similarly, Francesco Guicciardini bemoaned how Italy’s problems stemmed from having enormous wealth while being militarily weak. He argued in the opening lines of his *Discorso di Logrono* that ‘there is little love of glory and true honour’, instead

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<sup>113</sup> *honestum vs utilitas*: Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.11-12

<sup>114</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.68, p.71

<sup>115</sup> Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, p.20

<sup>116</sup> Quoted in Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol.1, p.150

everyone was consumed by ‘great love of wealth and money’ to the detriment of their city.<sup>117</sup>

Machiavelli was the most well-known proponent of the view that wealth was destructive to the *civitas*. He attacked elites who promulgated this positive view of wealth to serve their own narrow interests.<sup>118</sup> Quoting Juvenal’s *Satires*, he wrote about how the acquisition of foreign lands led to the infiltration of ‘foreign customs’ into ‘Roman breasts’.<sup>119</sup> These conquered territories made their revenge on ancient Rome through the ‘gluttony and luxury’ they introduced.<sup>120</sup> This had usurped that most ‘excellent of virtues’: thrift.<sup>121</sup> Evidently, with his arguments about the need for a large population explored earlier, his ideal *civitas* demanded some form of wealth. But Machiavelli made an important distinction between *public* wealth, that was essential to survival, and *private* wealth, which was always a danger to a commonwealth. He posited that while the *civitas* should be collectively ‘rich’ and well-resourced, the people should be individually guided by frugality.<sup>122</sup>

This dichotomy was a consequence of a domestic and foreign policy divide. Internally the republican *civitas* was guided by a traditional Aristotelian-Ciceronian program aimed at human fulfillment. Externally the republican *civitas* had to maintain its *stato* in the face of foreign threats. Within the realm of ‘politics’ the pursuit of wealth was corrupting because it distracted the citizen from a love of liberty and glory. When one understood the goal of politics as the ‘reason’ of

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<sup>117</sup> Francesco Guicciardini, *Discorso di Logrogno*, trans. Moulakis, Athanasios, in *Republican Realism in Renaissance Florence: Francesco Guicciardini’s Discorso di Logrogno*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), p.118

<sup>118</sup> Mark Jurjevic, ‘Virtue, Fortune, and Blame in Machiavelli’s Life and the Prince’, p.15

<sup>119</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses* II.19 p.175

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> Mark Jurjevic, *A Great and Wretched City: Promise and Failure in Machiavelli’s Florentine Political Thought*, (Cambridge, MA: I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance, Harvard University Press, 2014) pp.62-64

maintaining the '*stato*' of the prince or republic then wealth became all important. In times of incessant political instability this language of classical '*politics*' became increasingly unsatisfactory. Even a republic, even while it was attempting to preserve the classical goals of the *civitas*, now also needed to think in terms of '*reason of state*'. Machiavelli was reluctant to completely relinquish the moral ends of the republic and thus maintained his suspicions of wealth. But the consequence of his arguments, in maintaining the *civitas* in relation to foreign foes, was to open doors for the transformation of land and its capacity to support wealth into a central object of control. Through this process we can begin to see a grounding of the *civitas* in physical space in the language of the *stato*.

Both the understandings of wealth provided by Bruni's school (where wealth could reflect god's greatness *through* the city), and Machiavelli's school (where wealth was corrupting), were largely disconnected from physical space. They imagined communities which 'floated' above the earth. Machiavelli did not explore the implications of his assertions, but they were critical as we will see for opening a new discourse promulgated most articulately by the counter-reformationary theorist and supposedly 'anti-Machiavellian' Giovanni Botero.

# *The Mercantilist Portender: Giovanni Botero*

## Chapter 2

### *The anti-Machiavellian?*

*We now come to the true strength of a ruler, which consists in his people: for upon them depend all his other resources. The ruler who has plenty of men will have plenty of everything which the ingenuity and industry of man can provide.<sup>123</sup>*

Giovanni Botero was born in 1544 in the Piedmontese town of Bene Vagienna.<sup>124</sup> He spent much of his life training to become a Jesuit—an ambition which he never achieved reportedly because of his troublemaking tendencies.<sup>125</sup> But it was through his tumultuous career that he encountered the rich intellectual climate in Italy and abroad that informed his thinking. In the history of political thought Botero's relevance has often been overlooked by modern historians. This is even though he was one the most influential political writers of his generation.<sup>126</sup> Fifteen Italian editions of his *Reason of State*, which was commonly published with *The Greatness of Cities*, were produced before 1700. It was also translated into French, Spanish, Latin, German, and English. His *Universal Relations* was even more successful being published in over eighty editions in almost every major European language.<sup>127</sup> His largely unrecognised fame aside, it was through his transformation of the role of wealth in humanist thinking that in the context of 'spatial' perspectives he became indispensable in the transformation from 'politics' to 'reason of state'. In many ways Botero's thought represented a continuation of

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<sup>123</sup> Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.12, 1589, trans. P.J. and D.P. Waley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), p.144

<sup>124</sup> Geoffrey Symcox, 'Introduction', to *On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, pp. XIV-XV

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> Ridolfo de Mattei, *Il Problema della "Ragion di Stato" Nell'eta della controriforma*, (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1979), p.65

<sup>127</sup> Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, p.48; Botero, *Universal Relations*, 1596

some basic humanist tropes we have explored. Cities he proclaimed, in a classic *speculum dei* argument, were reflections of God's greatness:

Cities are like little worlds... and just as the contemplation of Nature leads to recognition of the greatness of God, in the same way the study of cities affords a special sign of man's excellence, which in turn redounds the glory of God. <sup>128</sup>

Further, there is no doubt that Giovanni Botero was very much aware and in fact partially subscribed to the Machiavellian argument regarding the corrupting forces of wealth. In his *Reason of State*, he wrote about the dangers that wealth held for the *stato* of a prince, especially when it was sought for its own sake and displayed ostentatiously.<sup>129</sup> Temperance was 'the foster-mother of all virtues', he said, writing in a familiar line of thinking that:<sup>130</sup>

... the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire... [were] luxury and display. When the soft ways of Asia and Greece reached Rome, they so delighted the martial people of that city that the spirit which had been unconquered by the sword was vanquished by pleasure...<sup>131</sup>

Yet Botero has been described as a critic of Machiavelli. This was accurate in the sense that he nominally rejected that notion so famously promulgated by Machiavelli, that to be successful in maintaining a *stato* one must be willing to do everything, even if morally questionable. Botero argued that such a path usually led to destruction. And this was not only because, in the familiar Machiavellian caveat, one may become 'hated' through such immoral conduct.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Botero, 'Preface', *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, p.32

<sup>129</sup> *The Reason of State*, II.17, p.70-71

<sup>130</sup> *The Reason of State*, II.17, p.69

<sup>131</sup> *The Reason of State*, II.17, p.71

<sup>132</sup> See: Niccolò Machiavelli, 'Of Avoiding Contempt and Hatred', *The Prince*, XIX, p.71-82



Botero had taught at a Jesuit College in Paris in 1567 amid the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598).<sup>133</sup> In November of that year the fighting had flared up, culminating in the Battle of Saint-Denis just outside of Paris.<sup>134</sup> He was thus aware of the anxieties implicated in these intense religious struggles, the bitterness of which many attributed to the currency of Machiavellian thought. The corruption ‘fostered... in the policy of princes’ by such ideas, Botero suggested, had caused ‘strife among Christians’.<sup>135</sup> Consequently, he attempted to show that there could be a harmony between the *useful* and the *moral*.<sup>136</sup> He declared that adherence to a Christian morality in fact *increased* the success of the *stato*. This stance was partly what brought him such acclaim. In 1597 Apollinare de’ Calderini proclaimed for example that ‘Botero is marvellous, he has so accommodated morality, justice, and obligation with the profit of the prince as to merit in this respect immortal praise’.<sup>137</sup>

Botero had indeed specifically styled himself in the preface of his *Reason of State* as the anti-Machiavellian, aware of the attention it would bring him. In response to his astonishment in finding through his travels that ‘*reason of state*’ was a ‘constant subject of discussion’, he indulged the reader with the reasons he took to writing the tract:

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<sup>133</sup> Geoffrey Symcox, ‘Introduction’, in *On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, p. XV

<sup>134</sup> Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library, 1995) p.64

<sup>135</sup> Botero, ‘Dedication’, *The Reason of State*, p.xiv

<sup>136</sup> It is not always clear whether it’s only the appearance of the moral that is crucial; Ridolfo de Mattei, *Il Problema della “Ragion di Stato” Nell’eta della controriforma*, (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1979), p.56

<sup>137</sup> Apollinare de’ Calderini, *Discorsi sopra la ragione di stato del signor Giovanni Botero*, (Milano: Pietro Martite Locarno, 1597), p.63: ‘monsignor Botero è stato maraviglioso, poi ch’egli ha accomodatò tanto l’honesta della causa, è giusto, e’ l dovere, col profitto de’ Principi, che perciò egli merita in questo fatto lode immortale’: own translation.

I was amazed that so impious an author... should be held in such esteem... [and] thought to provide ideal examples of the methods by which states should be governed and administered.<sup>138</sup>

This conscious attempt to distance himself from Machiavelli's reputation distracted from the broad similarities in their political thought, especially regarding the theme of 'necessity'. Botero was not, as one historian suggested, the tokenistic 'anti-Machiavellian' theorist who artfully advocated Machiavellian methods to sustain this 'morality'.<sup>139</sup> His arguments were however remarkably similar. Importantly, he adopted Machiavelli's assertions about the need for prudence in the pursuit of political self-preservation. 'Human nature is corrupt', he wrote, 'power prevails over reason and force of arms over law'.<sup>140</sup> It was for this reason, he said, that history 'teaches us that the Roman's policy is to be preferred to that of the Greeks'.<sup>141</sup> Crucially, this 'Roman policy' was where he built on that key argument that 'manpower' underpinned a *civitas*' strength. The Romans, Botero continued, 'triumphed as much because of their inexhaustible manpower, with which they recovered from their defeats and overwhelmed their foes' than because of their martial virtue.<sup>142</sup> Accordingly, we see in Botero's works Machiavelli's theory of the thick demographic 'trunk' required in a *civitas* that, considering the unpredictability of *fortuna*, should embark on a process of expansion for its survival. Importantly though, Botero explained the implications of what Machiavelli left largely unexplored.

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<sup>138</sup> Botero, 'Dedication', *The Reason of State*, p.xiii-xiv

<sup>139</sup> William Bouwsma, 'The Roman Challenge: Catholic Reformation as Counter Renaissance', *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty: Renaissance values in the age of the Counter Reformation*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 301-2; Ridolfo de Mattei, *Il Problema della "Ragion di Stato" Nell'eta della controriforma*, p.65; See also Robert Bireley, 'Giovanni Botero: Founder of the Tradition (1589)', *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, p.46;

<sup>140</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, III.1, p.71

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

## The Greatness of Cities

In 1588 Botero published *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities* while working in Rome. He declared in the opening lines that ‘the greatness of a city does not consist in the extent of its site or the circumference of its walls, but in the number of its inhabitants and their strength’.<sup>143</sup> He considered exactly how such populations were grown and maintained in sufficient concentrations to form a reliable base for power.<sup>144</sup> If ‘greatness’, which Botero equated with the force of stately power, was underpinned by the number and strength of inhabitants, what was it he asked that supported such large populations and allowed them to continue in a single political unit?<sup>145</sup>

In answer to this question, Botero suggested that large populations were ultimately dependent on resources to survive.<sup>146</sup> A strong economic base was required to provide those resources.<sup>147</sup> People required victuals to keep them fed and industry to keep them occupied; and they also needed infrastructure to move around the goods and services implicated in this process. This all operated as a feedback loop in the sense that the better the economic ‘base’ was, the more people could be supported. Conversely, the more people there were, the greater the wealth that could be produced. In short, he provided a detailed political-economic explanation for the maintenance of large populations. It was in analysing the material basis of these economic processes that Botero’s advanced spatial thinking was so potently demonstrated. Indeed, it was through this analysis that geographic location, landscape features, climate and soil fertility assumed a novel centrality in his political theory.

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<sup>143</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.1, p.9

<sup>144</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, III.2, pp.72-3

<sup>145</sup> On Greatness see: Botero, *The Reason of State*, I.6, p.7-9;

<sup>146</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, III.2, pp.73

<sup>147</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, III.2, p.74

In this way Botero has generally been misread, placed unreflectively within that wider tradition in political thought which made a strong distinction between the *civitas*, the political city, and the *urbs*, the physical city.<sup>148</sup> This division was embodied by Thucydides' reflection that 'wherever you establish yourselves you are at once a city... for it is men that make a [*civitas*], not walls nor ships devoid of men.'<sup>149</sup> The French political-philosopher Jean Bodin (1530–1596), who influenced Botero's thinking during his time in Paris, was particularly stern about this point in his influential *Six Books of the Commonwealth*.<sup>150</sup> He argued that though a town may be:

...well-built, with people, and furnished with plentie of all things necessarie to live withal, & yet that be no citie, if it have not laws and magistrates to establish therein a right government... but is more truly called an Anarchie than a citie.<sup>151</sup>

For Botero the concept of the *civitas* as a political 'body' was still central to his thinking. But he changed the relationship it held with *urbs*. Humanist architectural writers like Alberti, Averlino Filarete, Sebastiano Serlio and Andrea Palladio argued that the *civitas* redounded symbolically in the built environment, the *urbs* of a city.<sup>152</sup> The *urbs* were, in the tradition of *speculum dei* humanism, increasingly understood as a metaphor for the *civitas*, or more strongly, as embodying it. It was also understood in the opposite sense that the *virtue* of the city depended on the

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<sup>148</sup> For example, in: Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p.10

<sup>149</sup> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, VII.77, trans. C. F. Smith, Loeb Classical Library 108, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), vol.1, p. 159

<sup>150</sup> On Bodin's influence on Botero: Foisneau, Luc. 'Sovereignty and Reason of State: Bodin, Botero, Richelieu and Hobbes'. In *The Reception of Bodin* ed. Howell A. Lloyd, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp.323-343

<sup>151</sup> Jean Bodin, *The Six Bookes of A Commonweale, 1606 Translation*, (eds) Kenneth Douglas McRae, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 51

<sup>152</sup> Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, (1450); Averlino detto il Filarete, *Trattato di architettura*, (1469); Sebastiano Serlio, *Architettura*, (1537); Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, (1570); For this idea in Alberti: Casper Pearson, *Humanism and the Urban World: Leon Battista Alberti and the Renaissance City*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011)

greatness of the built environment *a priori*.<sup>153</sup> All this, however, was still understood firmly within the world of *virtue*—the built environment embodied the *virtue* of the *civitas*.

Botero did not make a clear distinction between the *civitas* and the *urbs*, but this was because his entire system of thought was predicated on the fact that a strong *civitas* could not survive without the economic capacity of the *urbs*. So that while earlier writers had contended that the *civitas* and the *urbs* were separable, Botero argued to the contrary that the form of the *urbs* had a decisive effect on the existence of the *civitas*. The physical city, embodied in the roads, the bridges, the warehouses, factories and canals, formed the vector through which the *civitas* flourished. The foundation of the *civitas* and the *urbs* were thus inseparable.

This inseparability did not mean that a *civitas* could only be found connected to a single physical city, on the level of the city-state. The meaning of the *urbs* expanded. Kingdoms which encompassed many urban centres still constituted a *civitas*. As Bodin asserted, advocating for his ideas of ‘floating’ sovereignty: ‘if all the citizens be governed by the same lawes and customes, it is not onely one Commonweale, but also one very citie, albeit that the citizens are divided in many villages, townes, or provinces.’<sup>154</sup> Botero’s economic theory of political power necessitated however that while the *civitas* was not locked down to one physical city, it was inalienably joined to those ‘many villages, townes, or provinces’ and the road, rivers, bridges, and the improved land that joined them together. The consequence was that an idea that had once only been understood largely on the level of the Italian city-state was ‘uploaded’. The French heartland encompassing many *urbs*, as an example, became both a single *civitas* and a singular *urb*. For

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<sup>153</sup> Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, p. 10

<sup>154</sup> Bodin, *The Six Bookes of A Commonweale, 1606 Translation*, p.49

Botero, a French kingdom could be understood as a single physical city as well as a legal one.

The foundation of a 'city' was simultaneously a foundation of a *civitas* and an *urb*. 'Men are gathered together', he wrote, through 'authority, or force, or pleasure, or the utility that results from it'.<sup>155</sup> Crucially, his language in describing these processes demonstrates how the foundation of the legal and physical city are one and the same.

In his *De Inventione* Cicero disagreed with the 'natural' sociability Aristotle had assumed in the *Politics*. Man was 'by nature a political animal', Aristotle asserted.<sup>156</sup> Because of our natural ability for speech 'the *city* is thus prior by nature to the household and to each of us'.<sup>157</sup> Cicero argued instead that there was a time when 'men wandered at large in the fields like animals', doing nothing 'by the guidance of wisdom'.<sup>158</sup> This was until, in true Ciceronian style, a 'great and wise' man, 'through reason and eloquence,... transformed them from wild savages into a kind and gentle folk'.<sup>159</sup> The foundation of the city was thus an act of persuasion.<sup>160</sup> This idea would form the basis of later seventeenth-century ideas, promulgated by Grotius and Hobbes—that the formation of the 'state' arose out of a contract that sought to lift people out of the 'state of nature' where life was 'nasty, brutish, and short'.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.1, p.9

<sup>156</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, I.2.9, trans. Carnes Lord, (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2013) p.4

<sup>157</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, I.2.13, p.4

<sup>158</sup> Cicero, *De Inventione*, I.2, trans. H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library 386. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), p.5

<sup>159</sup> Cicero, *De Inventione*, I.2, p.7

<sup>160</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, II.73 p.249; Victoria Kahn, 'Rhetoric, Rights, and Contract Theory in the Early Modern Period', in (eds.) Walter Jost and Wendy Olmsted, *A companion to Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004), pp.129-131.

<sup>161</sup> Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 13.62, 1651, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) p.89

Botero opened his treatise in these Ciceronian terms of self-preservation. 'Human beings were scattered here and there through mountains and the plains', he wrote.<sup>162</sup> They led a life that was comparable to animals, 'without laws, common customs, or any kind of civil conversation'.<sup>163</sup> This was until 'certain persons' through their eloquence 'showed the rough multitudes the great benefits they would enjoy from the mutual exchange of everything', if they gathered in a 'single place and united in a single body'.<sup>164</sup> Importantly the assumption was that a *civitas* could not form without the physical coalescing of people. It was the same 'act'. The physical *place* was the prerequisite for the political *body*.

There were some continuities in Botero's thinking with the classical-philosophy of the *civitas*. Indeed, he explained the foundation of the city in the context of humanist understandings of the *vita activa*. By bringing all the peoples of the world into the 'urban' sphere, God's work was truly achieved. Ordering people into the urban sphere allowed them to pursue the *vita activa*.<sup>165</sup> In his later versions of the *Universal Relations*, he alluded to the unification of all peoples into a single Christian *civitas*, encapsulated by the Spanish king's claims to *Monarchia Universalis*.<sup>166</sup> Botero largely subscribed, however, to the decidedly Guelph humanist argument, which theorised that a union with any Christian *civitas* was a route to God. This point also drew on Thomas Aquinas' idea of the city of a

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<sup>162</sup>Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.1, p.9

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup>Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.2, p.9

<sup>165</sup> Botero and a universal civilising mission: John, M. Headley, 'Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilising Process, *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no.4, pp.1119-55

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1137; *Monarchia Universalis* (Universal Monarchy): Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp.29-62

*perfecta comunitas*, part of which understood the city as an ideal instrument of evangelisation.<sup>167</sup>

Drawing on a potent example from his own time, Botero reflected how ‘a similar thing is being done constantly in Brazil’, whose people he said, lived scattered among the forests ‘in caves and huts’.<sup>168</sup> These surroundings encouraged a ‘savage mentality’ and ‘rude customs’, which made it ‘hard to preach the Gospel’ and convert unbelievers.<sup>169</sup> The Jesuit fathers in these lands therefore used every means possible to persuade the locals to gather in physical settlements in order that they be instructed more easily in the Christian faith: a real-world enactment of his Ciceronian narrative of foundation. The coalescing of cities, which for Botero involved the *civitas* and the *urbs* simultaneously, represented the rhetorical excellence of eloquent individuals in the service of God or what he called *autorità* (authority).<sup>170</sup>

Where these places emerged most apt for the coalescing of people into a single city (*urb*) was a function of geography. People gathered in certain places usually initially out of *forza* (force), which he defined as ‘the threat of some imminent danger’.<sup>171</sup> Safety was typically found in ‘rugged, mountainous places, or marshes’.<sup>172</sup> Significantly though, cities founded in such sites never achieved greatness or remarkably increased their populations because ‘the strength of these places’ was rarely matched by any ‘great territorial or commercial advantage’.<sup>173</sup> The exception to this was a city like Venice; but this only flourished precisely

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<sup>167</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship, To the King of Cyprus*, trans. Gerald B. Phelan, (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1949); Cities as instruments to control barbarian populations: Pagden, *Lords of all the World* p. 96

<sup>168</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.2, p.10

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.2, p.9

<sup>171</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.3, p.11

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.3, p.12



because the site offered ‘important benefits besides security’.<sup>174</sup> For Botero, the centripetal forces thus needed to be stronger than the centrifugal tendencies which the difficulties of sustenance necessitated. The most powerful centripetal forces were those that ‘pulled’ people in, rather than those that ‘pushed’ people from other places.

One of the more curious of these ‘pull’ factors was what Botero called *piacere* (pleasure). People gathered in cities ‘in order to enjoy the pleasures afforded’ by them.<sup>175</sup> This could manifest itself in the city’s natural location which might provide ‘cool breezes, pleasant valleys, good hunting grounds and abundant water’, among many other things.<sup>176</sup> It might instead be found in a city’s artistic beauty embodied in its ‘straight streets and its fine buildings, magnificent for the skill and materials of which they are made’.<sup>177</sup> His reflection on such aesthetic factors at first glance harks back to the fifteenth-century architect humanists like Alberti. Botero considered, however, the aesthetic power of the *urbs* as a modern geographer would. He had a specific demographic focus on how the form of the *urbs* ‘pulled’ people into a place to live or to visit—people being understood as a quantifiable ‘resource’ of the *civitas*. This was different from Alberti’s reflections that the form of the *urbs* had an effect of the temperament of peoples. It is for reflections like these that some scholars, largely outside the discipline of history, have ventured to call Botero the world’s first ‘demographer’ or ‘social geographer’.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.6, p.14

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> In 1985 the Population Council published a portion of *The Greatness of Cities*, describing him as ‘the originator of modern population theory’: ‘Giovanni Botero on the Forces Governing Population Growth’, *Population and Development Review*, 11, 2, (1985), pp.335-340; Paul Meadows, ‘Giovanni Botero and the Process of Urbanization’. *The Midwest Sociologist* 20, no. 2 (1958): 90-95; The first ‘comparative urban sociologist’: Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), p.3

Of all the cities of Italy, Rome and Venice were the most frequented because of the ‘pleasure they offer those who behold them’, he reasoned.<sup>179</sup> The former because of the ‘stupendous remains of its ancient greatness’, and the latter for ‘the splendour of its present magnificence’.<sup>180</sup> The physical and visual experience of urban space and the sense of *grandezza* it conferred to such a viewer, was reflected in its wealth *through* the magnificence of its buildings. This pulled enormous numbers of people into a city as visitors but it also signified a place as a space where the greatest deeds of humanity occurred. As the ‘centre’ of human action—legitimated by magnificent built surroundings—such spaces conferred a sense of relevance on those who occupied it. One might argue that Rome and Venice today are still two of the most frequented cities in the world for these reasons. People visit the ruins of the Roman Forum and the canals of the floating city because they wish to feel part of the human story that the physical existence of a city confers on the viewer.<sup>181</sup> A beautiful *urb* could thus strengthen a *civitas* by drawing people into its fold. But aesthetics alone could never provide strong enough forces to make people settle permanently. Botero suggested something more was needed.

The most powerful explanation for the rise of great cities was provided by *utilità* (utility). None of the other forces, Botero claimed, were sufficient for a city’s greatness ‘without the action of this one’.<sup>182</sup> Our nature is so attached to ‘comfort and convenience’, he said, that necessity was by itself never enough for the long-term success of a city.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.6, p.15

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> Tourist promenading in Piazza San Marco for example: Robert C. Davis and Garry R. Marvin, ‘The Heart of the Matter’, in *Venice, the Tourist Maze: a cultural critique of the world’s most touristed city* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) p.61-2

<sup>182</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.7, p.16

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

Since plants... cannot long survive without the benign influence of the heavens and the benefit of rain, so in the same way communities of men that originate from bare necessity do not subsist for long if they do not benefit from convenience as well...<sup>184</sup>

Botero's crucial intellectual jump was embodied in this last point. Indeed, by considering what *utilità* consisted of, the political relevance of land was immediately increased. He argued that *utilità* was found in three physical dimensions of the *urb*'s existence. The first was the *commodità* (convenience) of the site; the second was the *fertilità* (fertility) of the land around the site; and the third was the *commodità* of the city for the transport of goods.<sup>185</sup> The first and third points seem at first glance like the same argument repeated, but Botero intended to communicate a convenience which operated on two distinct levels. The first was concerned with convenience considered in the context of a much larger geography, and the third concerned the physicality of the city itself. That is, he made a macro-micro distinction.

The convenience of the site of the city in the first instant referred to its natural attractiveness as a place where 'many peoples need it for trade'.<sup>186</sup> The greatest cities, he theorised, occupied some strategic point in the landscape which acted as a mediator between extremes in trade flows. The Alps were *not* an example of this because although travellers passed through by necessity, such places did not necessarily mediate between different economic zones.<sup>187</sup> Venice and Genoa in contrast *were* great cities because they functioned not only as 'transit-points', but as 'mediators between extremes'.<sup>188</sup> They were warehouses and thus also distribution points for wider territories. They were mediators between the eastern

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<sup>184</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.7, p.16-7

<sup>185</sup> Convenience of site: Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.8, p.17; Fertility: I.9, p.18; Convenience for transport: I.10, p.20

<sup>186</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.8, p.17

<sup>187</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.8, p.18

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

and western worlds, but they were also mediators between the sea and the land. For this reason, it was essential that such sites were ‘useful to neighbouring peoples’.<sup>189</sup> Venice would not be great without a European mass that demanded its economic mediation. Lisbon similarly mediated between the eastern trade routes to India and Europe, which quickly made it, Botero said, ‘the largest city in Europe’ apart from Constantinople and Paris.<sup>190</sup>

This type of broad convenience, however, was almost meaningless if a city was in a barren location. The *fertilità* of the land that surrounded the city was essential, ‘since all human life depends on food and clothing, which are obtained from what the land produces’.<sup>191</sup> The greater this fertility was, and the closer it was to the city, the greater the city could become because it would, Botero argued, have ‘less need of others’ and the abundance would draw people from surrounding territories.<sup>192</sup> This fertility of the land could be problematic in the sense that alluded to the ‘corruption of abundance’ arguments discussed by classical theorists. But Botero expressed a more spatially developed perspective on the matter. He was less concerned with the moral than the material implications of abundance. He suggested that such abundance diffused the need for people to concentrate in cities, because ‘inhabitants find everything useful and necessary at home’.<sup>193</sup> This was why Botero’s home province of Piedmont was lacking ‘a single big city’, despite it being the most productive region in Italy.<sup>194</sup> Stopping short of arguing that a little bit of rural poverty promoted the urban migration that grew cities, Botero concluded that something specific about a site must also provide a

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<sup>189</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.8, p.18

<sup>190</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, II.12, p.59

<sup>191</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.9, p.19

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

significant economic convenience to overcome the natural centrifugal tendency of peoples when there was plenty.

Botero's third more specific convenience was provided by something unique about the landscape at a site. This was found, he argued, either in a unique quality of the land or access to water. Convenient land consisted in flat land that 'permits the easy transport of goods'.<sup>195</sup> Convenient water was found in navigable bodies like 'rivers, lakes and the sea', but could also consist in canals constructed by 'human labour and skill'.<sup>196</sup> Water, Botero marvelled, enabled the transport of 'incomparably bigger cargoes'.<sup>197</sup> It seemed to him that 'God created water...as a most convenient way to transport goods'.<sup>198</sup> In a stroke of Christian universalism, he asserted that it was 'His Divine Majesty's will that human beings should embrace one another as members of a single body'.<sup>199</sup> To facilitate 'communication' between these peoples, echoing Vittoria's 'right of communication', God created water of the correct density and liquidity to support enormous burdens.<sup>200</sup>

Botero detailed with remarkable scientific prowess the key qualities that a body of water should hold for such transport. The value of rivers for trade depended not only on its length but in its depth, placidity, consistency and breadth. Certain rivers held greater viscosity than others. The Seine, for example, was much thicker than the Nile, and could thus carry heavier loads. This is because rivers take on 'the nature of the earth that forms their beds'.<sup>201</sup> A lengthy river like the Nile developed swift currents that broke up its viscosity. This was opposed to the rivers

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<sup>195</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.10, p.20

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> Francisco de Vitoria, *Political Writings*, ed. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrence, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Sovereignty, Property and Empire, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.70-73

<sup>201</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.10, p.25

of Germany and France which retained this thicker consistency because they ‘rise and flow through rich pleasant countries, and are not usually violent’—affording these regions distinct economic advantages.<sup>202</sup> These things considered, Botero argued that the greatest cities emerged in those places that enjoy ‘several kinds of navigable water’.<sup>203</sup> Importantly, this access could be constructed. Bruges and Ghent in the Low Countries were brought to wealth through their ‘skilfully constructed’ canals.<sup>204</sup> Similarly, landlocked cities like Milan had opened the commercial flood-gates, enriching itself with endless merchants ‘by means of a canal that matches the grandeur of ancient Rome’ and connected the city to the Ticino then the Po and beyond.<sup>205</sup> While these same rivers provided advantageous and disadvantageous barriers for Leonardo Bruni in the *History*, for Botero they were highways for goods and arteries of economic power. Land was a nutritive base for the *civitas*, not just a container of human affairs.

If a large part of a city’s greatness was dependent on the interaction between such geographic features and the economic activity of people; one can see how the physical control of advantageous sites or existing cities which already occupied such sites became increasingly important. If the power of a *civitas* was found in the demographic size of such cities then increasing control of land and cities as ‘units’ served as a route to power. This argument strengthened an expansionist policy. To increase populations, and thus the strength of the *civitas*, the *civitas* needed to control either more cities or more land to sustain even larger cities. If one’s neighbour engaged in the same process, subscribing to Botero’s ideas, then the drive for ever more ‘nutritive’ capacities through the conquest of new lands became imperative.

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<sup>202</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.10, p.25

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, I.10, p.22

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

## Industry, Money and Infrastructure

It was at this point that different forms of population distribution came into question for Botero. That is, a question as to whether ‘vertical’ expansion was more useful than ‘horizontal’ expansion. Why were urban spaces more useful to a ruler than a high population spread across many villages? Surely a richly populated hinterland was just as conducive to the development of a sufficient base for the *civitas*? Controlling vast sparsely populated territories with a few large cities, like the Spanish did in the New World for example, was largely useless if there were not sufficient distributions of people to work the land. Without people even fertile land became ‘useless’ wilderness. Botero’s answer was a sophisticated economic analysis of the types of industries which underpin true wealth; industries that only flourish in large cities. And the Spanish Empire became his key case in point, summed up by his quip in his *Universal Relations* that ‘the King of Spain’s pay is the greater, but the Dutch, the better.’<sup>206</sup>

Evidently there was a need for a rural populace. Spain itself, Botero relayed, was throughout Europe ‘accounted a barren land’.<sup>207</sup> But this was not because of any deficiency in the soil itself. The ultimate problem was the ‘sparseness of its inhabitants’.<sup>208</sup> The ‘Catholic Kings’, as Botero called the Spanish monarchs, had neglected their homeland, throwing their lot into flimsy sources of wealth. Even the Ottoman Sultan, Botero chastised, had been shocked at the self-destructiveness of the policy pursued by the Spanish monarchy in driving out the Jews and Moriscos. To the Sultan’s great delight, the King had deprived ‘himself of what made most kingdoms great’.<sup>209</sup> That is, ‘of so many people’ who were

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<sup>206</sup> Giovanni Botero, *Universal Relations of the most Famous Kingdoms and Commonweales Thorough the World: Discoursing of their Scituations, Manners, Customes, Strengths, Greatnesse, and Policies.*, trans.

Robert Johnson (London: John Jaggard, 1616), p.34

<sup>207</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.12, p.145

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.12 p.146

‘gladly received’ into Ottoman lands.<sup>210</sup> If Spain had instead cultivated this population, its homeland would have been developed to the point where it was ‘capable of sustaining an infinite number of people’.<sup>211</sup>

Yet the Spanish Monarchy was still the pre-eminent power in Europe, especially in the sixteenth-century.<sup>212</sup> Was this not after all a consequence of its conquests in the New World and its seemingly infinite access to precious metals? Botero himself proclaimed that the trade from the New World had made at least one city wealthy beyond compare. ‘The infinite riches of New Spain and Peru are all gathered in Seville’, making it great in the process, he wrote.<sup>213</sup> Gold from the New World had certainly enabled the Spanish monarchy to buy some of the fiercest soldiers in Europe. Indeed, through this ‘indian golde’ Walter Raleigh complained in 1596, the Spanish had ‘indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe’.<sup>214</sup> But this inexhaustible gold, through its abundance, yielded fewer returns. Its seeming power distracted from its fatal flaw: inflation. Botero insisted that while this may seem the source of Spanish power, in fact, ‘the duties on the commerce in Milan’ were ‘worth more to the Catholic King than the mines of Zacatecas and Jalisco’.<sup>215</sup> The Eighty Years War was fought so stubbornly by the Spanish monarchy because the Low Countries, which had ‘no veins of metals’, were so thickly populated that there was no country in Europe ‘more splendid,

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<sup>210</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.12 p.146

<sup>211</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.12, p.145

<sup>212</sup> In 1581 Phillip II of Spain rose to the throne of Portugal, creating an Empire on which the ‘sun never set’: Geoffrey Parker, ‘David or Goliath? Phillip II and his world in the 1580s’, in *Spain, European and the Atlantic World: Essays in honour of John H. Elliot*, ed. Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.245-50

<sup>213</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, II.9, p.48

<sup>214</sup> Walter Raleigh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empire of Guiana*, (London: 1596), fol.

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<sup>215</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VIII.3, p.152



more wealthy'.<sup>216</sup> The Netherlands instead, he wrote, might more accurately be called 'His Majesty's Indies'.<sup>217</sup>

Gold was problematic for Botero not only because a *civitas* always made more through the 'export of finished goods' rather than raw materials, but also because Spain was effectively propping up the economies of the rest of Europe, which ultimately provided Spain with all its manufactured goods.<sup>218</sup> This killed industries at home. It left the Spanish impoverished, so that perversely Spanish gold had made Spain poorer.<sup>219</sup> Industries were thus the true source of economic wealth and power for Botero. And, such industries were invariably located in cities where labour was found in high concentration and goods could be easily moved because of the 'convenience' of the site.

Nothing is more important for causing a state to grow, and for making it populous and well supplied with everything, than industry and a great number of crafts.... From this comes a flow of money and people, who are workers, or who deal in the finished goods, or who supply the workers with materials, or who buy, sell and transport the ingenious products of human hands and minds from one place to another.<sup>220</sup>

These industries were essential because they supported larger populations and then larger populations supported more industry.<sup>221</sup> This was important because a ruler's forces consisted of 'a numerous valorous people'; 'victuals' which

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<sup>216</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, II.9, p.45

<sup>217</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, II.9, p.45; Botero, *The Reason of State*, VIII.3, p.152-3

<sup>218</sup> Timothy Walton, 'Ascendancy, 1580-1620', *The Spanish Treasure Fleets*, (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1994), pp.84-5

<sup>219</sup> On the problems of gold: Elvira Vilches, *New World gold: cultural anxiety and monetary disorder in early modern Spain*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Angel Garcia Sanz. 'Castile 1580-1650: economic crisis and the policy of 'reform''. In *The Castilian crisis of the seventeenth century: new perspectives on the economic and social history of seventeenth-century Spain*, ed. I. A. A. Thompson and Bartolome Yun Casalilla (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.13-31

<sup>220</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VIII.3, p.150-1

<sup>221</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VIII.3, p.151

required a strong agricultural base; and importantly ‘munitions, horses, weapons of attack and defence’—the products of industry.<sup>222</sup>

This economic activity additionally provided a source of reliable revenue, which could be collected through taxes. Machiavelli had argued in the *Discourses* that ‘money is not the sinew of war’. Indeed, ‘not only does it not defend you’ but it ‘makes you come to prey sooner’.<sup>223</sup> Botero was sympathetic to the context of this point and agreed that one cannot rely on mercenaries for example.<sup>224</sup> He ultimately concluded, nonetheless, that ‘a prince should always have a good sum of money by him’.<sup>225</sup> It was too late to raise sums when war had begun *post-facto*, because ‘the disorganisation of war [puts] an end to commerce and trade’.<sup>226</sup> This money was required to pay for the organisation of the war effort and the provision of victuals and munitions. There was a qualification to this, as always, that it was important to take the ‘middle way’ and to not gather taxes ostentatiously, because to do so would cripple the economy and hence actually *lower* a ruler’s tax base.

...the prince obtains money by taxes... which are necessary to the state and therefore lawful...for it is reasonable that the wealth of individuals should serve the public good, which cannot be maintained without it...<sup>227</sup>

...[but] a prince who takes so much that merchants are deprived of the means of exercising their skill...[and] industry is hindered, strikes at the roots of his state...<sup>228</sup>

The ruler, Botero argued, should never hoard wealth, nor should that wealth be poured into the industries of other *civitates*. Instead, this revenue should be spent within the *urbs* of the *civitas*. Doing so would develop the ruler’s tax base, increase

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<sup>222</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.1, p.131

<sup>223</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, II.10.1, p.147

<sup>224</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, IX.2, p.168-169

<sup>225</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.3, p.134

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>227</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.4, p.136

<sup>228</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.10, p.142

population and increase the industrial capacity of the *urbs*. ‘The ruler must do all he can’ to ‘encourage his subjects to cultivate the land’ and, he continued, ‘to practice every kind of skill’.<sup>229</sup> Botero implored that the ruler should always be looking for ways to develop the land for the promotion of agriculture and industry. He articulated the need for public works and the construction of public infrastructure. ‘It is his business to initiate and direct all works that are for the public benefit’, such as ‘draining marshes, clearing and preparing for cultivation any forests that are useless or superfluous’.<sup>230</sup> The prince must also build water systems contriving to ‘assist nature by leading rivers or lakes through his country’, for the movement of goods but also for the watering of agricultural lands.<sup>231</sup>

Clearly, we can see how Botero’s political-economic philosophy altered the assumptions underlying political ‘power’, and hence altered the referent object of ‘sovereignty’. Control over people, and thus hierarchy, had been more politically significant than geographical boundaries right into this period.<sup>232</sup> The *civitas* linked people rather than places. People evidently remained central to Botero’s economic system, but it was only in their interaction with physical space that they could succeed. Without land they simply could not survive. The construction of infrastructure and cities to facilitate the economic power of peoples unavoidably ‘grounded’ people—a *civitas* that had invested in specific lands became attached to specific lands. There is no doubt then about the relevance of Botero’s system for later notions of the ‘territorial’ and ‘mercantilist’ state.<sup>233</sup> This occurred through his transformation of the role of wealth as we have seen.

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<sup>229</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VII.4, p.136-7

<sup>230</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VIII.2, p.148

<sup>231</sup> Botero, *The Reason of State*, VIII.2, p.149

<sup>232</sup> Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p.249

<sup>233</sup> Brief overview of Mercantilism see: Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)





# *The Pope's City Besieged: The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican*

## Chapter 3

### A Papacy in Crisis



(Fig.8), *Lansquenets in Front of Castel Sant'Angelo, 1527*

*Unhappy Italy, how demeaned you are  
Subjugated by the one you often vanquished;  
Wiped out is the glory, the prestige, the strength  
That once was given by the highest gods<sup>234</sup>*

On a foggy morning on 6 May 1527 Spanish and German Imperial troops unexpectedly scaled the walls of Rome. This city, referred to as the *Caput Mundi*, the head of the world, was the centre of a resurgent Italian papacy. It was home to fifty-three thousand inhabitants, including Pope Clement VII, who confident in the strength of their defences lay totally unprepared for Charles V's loot-hungry armies.<sup>235</sup> Even as news arrived of soldiers pouring over the city's defences the

<sup>234</sup> Anonymous Poet, 'La Presa di Roma', (Sonnetto), 1527, extract from *Scelta di Curiosita Letterarie*. F Mango (Bologna: 1886), quoted in D. Hay, "Italy and Barbarian Europe", In *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. by E. F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960)

<sup>235</sup> Kenneth Gouwens, 'Prelude: 6 May 1527', *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome*, (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp.xvii-xix

pope continued to pray in the Vatican, unable to ‘believe that his enemies would effect their entrance’ into the city.<sup>236</sup> He barely escaped. In haste, the pope ran with a small entourage along the raised corridor connecting the papal palace to the Castel Sant’Angelo.<sup>237</sup> The famed humanist Paolo Giovio, who was immediately behind him, threw his purple cloak over the pontiff fearing that his gleaming white robes would make him a target for an opportunistic soldier.<sup>238</sup> Over the next year, the city was violently plundered and its people murdered. Clement lay imprisoned in his papal fortress. In perhaps the lowest moment in papal history, Lutheran German *Landsknecht* soldiers taunted him from the outside. According to reports they ran around donning pontifical robes looted from the papal palace shouting: ‘*Vivat Lutherus Pontifex!*’<sup>239</sup>

By 1528 over ten thousand people lay dead and much of the city’s riches had been looted and vandalised.<sup>240</sup> Papal claims to *plenitudo potestatis*, an idea that posited that temporal rulers were ultimately subordinate to the authority of the pope as the *Vicarius Christi*, could not have seemed more detached from reality.<sup>241</sup> How could this city possibly be the centre of the world? How could the papacy claim to be the continuation of the Roman Empire when Rome and its churches lay in ashes? As many historians have argued, this event had a profound impact on Italians in general but especially the papacy, which emerged from the trauma a

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<sup>236</sup> Bevenuto Cellini, *The Life of Benevento Cellini*, trans. John Addington, (Toronto: Department of Art and Archaeology, University of Toronto, 1906) p.168

<sup>237</sup> The raised corridor known as the ‘*Passetto di Borgo*’, see **(Fig.9)**.

<sup>238</sup> Paolo Giovio, *De vita Leonis Decimi Pont. Max. libri IIII. His ordine temporum accesserunt Hadriani Sexti Pont. Max. et Pompeii Columnae Cardinalis vitae* (Florence:

Torrentino, 1551), p. 191: “Clementi auté plenis passibus evadenti proximus aderat Paulus Iovius qui hæc conscripsit, susteleratque ei ab tergo talaris togæ sinus, ut expeditius iter conficeret, suumque it violaceo colore pallium & pileum capiti atque humeris iniecerat, ne pöntifex à candore vestis agnitus, dum aperto demum & ligneo ponte in arcem transiret, à Barbaris accuratiore forte glandis ictu sterneretur.”

<sup>239</sup> Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), p.322

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>241</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) p. 194; William McCreehy, ‘Papal Plenitudo Potestatis and the Sources of Temporal Authority in Late Medieval Papal Hierocratic Theory’, *Speculum* 48, no.4, (1973), pp.654-674

seeming shadow of its former self.<sup>242</sup> But it was the soul-searching and the eventually enthusiastic reaction to the Sack, Reformation and the Italian Wars more generally that made the Vatican the unlikely breeding ground for the spatial-political ideas we have hitherto explored. It unleashed the desire for a prudential consideration of the church's role in the world that formed the foundations of an evangelist counter-reformationary outlook. This was a new development in papal history, which challenged traditional understandings of the pope's immunity from fortune.

In 1447 Poggio Bracciolini, the Florentine humanist who completed Bruni's *History*, argued in his dedication to *On the Vicissitudes of Fortune* addressed to Pope Nicholas V, that it was 'by the power of almighty God only the Roman Pontiffs [who were] placed beyond fortune'. 'Fortune was rightly subdued', he continued, because the papacy was propelled by a providential destiny to assume the mantle of a Christian empire.<sup>243</sup> It had commonly been argued during the medieval papacy that although the physical city of Rome had been devastated by time the eternal glory of the church rose independently of the *urbs roma*.<sup>244</sup> This idea was strengthened by the papal exile in Avignon (1309-77). The papal return to Rome in 1377 brought a greater zeal for the symbolism of the ancient city, especially as humanists flooded in under the patronage of the fifteenth-century popes.<sup>245</sup> Architect humanists like Alberti became involved in various archaeological projects which attempted to 'repurpose' the carcass of the ancient city in service

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<sup>242</sup> Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the close of the middle ages*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr, (London: Kegan Payl, Trench, Trubner & Co., LD., 1910) Vol.9, Ch. XI, XI, pp.388-466; Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. Annie Hamilton, (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), Vol.8, Ch. VII, pp.607-657; Also see:

<sup>243</sup> Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae*, 1447, (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1993), p. 3 "Licet autem extra fortune arbitrium omnipotens Deus hanc tantam pontificatus maiestatem esse uoluerit, tamen propter illa, que pontifices Romani possident, fortune iuri subdita, uidimus earie eorum quosdam, de quibus in nostris meminimus libris, fortunae impetu iactatos"

<sup>244</sup> Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p.293

<sup>245</sup> Hellmut Wohl, 'Martin V and the Revival of the Arts in Rome'. In *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), pp.171-184

of the resurgent papacy.<sup>246</sup> In the latter stages of this ‘Golden Age’, a fusion began to emerge in the writings of figures like Flavio Biondo.<sup>247</sup> He posited that the timelessness of the church was connected to the timelessness of the *urbs Roma*.<sup>248</sup> The *respublica christiana*, was equated with the *imperium* of the Roman Empire—the *urbs Roma* was the eternal capital of the Christian *civitas*.<sup>249</sup> In rebuilding the city, the papacy was attempting to draw on the glory of the ancient Romans.<sup>250</sup> This spirit was embodied in the imagery which surrounded the warrior Pope Julius II (1503-13), who was to inherit the legacy of his namesake, Caesar himself.<sup>251</sup> In the context of this confident intellectual climate, the Sack of Rome was a devastating twist in the providential story.<sup>252</sup> In the aftermath of the Sack, Giovio, among other humanists, began to attribute the disaster to the unpredictable vicissitudes of fortune, which clearly had not favoured him.<sup>253</sup> It was evident to some that the pope was indeed *not* placed by the will of God above fortune.

These conclusions coincided with increasingly withering Lutheran claims that the papacy was a corrupt human construction and quite the opposite of the divinely ordained institution it claimed to be. By the 1530s the church had lost

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<sup>246</sup> Archaeological projects of Lake Nemi for example: Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Renaissance* (New York: Hill and Wang, A division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), pp.225-59; Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p.293

<sup>247</sup> In his *Roma Instaurata* (1446) and *De Roma Triumphante* (1459); Mazzocco, Angelo. ‘Rome and the Humanists: The Case of Biondo Flavio’. In *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), pp.185-196.

<sup>248</sup> Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, pp.183-4, 243-44

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.* p.293

<sup>250</sup> Carroll William Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974); Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, pp.62-65

<sup>251</sup> Nicholas Temple, *Renovatio urbis: architecture, urbanism, and ceremony in the Rome of Julius II*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011)

<sup>252</sup> For the crucial moment in Renaissance Thought: Kenneth Gouwens, ‘The Sack of Rome and the Theme of Cultural Discontinuity’, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome*, (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp.1-30

<sup>253</sup> Paolo Giovio, *The Notable Men and Women of Our Time*, trans. Kenneth Gouwens (Cambridge, MA: The I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press, 2013), pp.93-97; On Giovio’s Time in Rome: T.C Price Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of the Sixteenth-Century Italy*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp.60-85; For the humanist response to the sack: Kenneth Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome*, (Leiden: Brill, 1998)



ecclesiastical control of vast swathes of northern Europe to the Reformation, a quandary deepened by the fact that even Catholic states theologically loyal to the church were resisting ecclesiastical appointments.<sup>254</sup> After an initial period of pessimism, characterised by the gloomy 'end of times' allegories of Michelangelo's most famous masterpiece *The Last Judgement* in the Sistine Chapel, the counter-reformation took a more confident turn.<sup>255</sup> Spurred by these anxieties, there was a reassertion of Catholic dogma at the Council of Trent (1545-63).<sup>256</sup> It was in the years after the conclusion of the council however, that these anxieties were transformed into enormous investments in the city of Rome.<sup>257</sup> But in contrast to the fifteenth-century, these investments were not just meant to redound the glory of the Christian *civitas*. Indeed, there was a greater emphasis, more than ever before, on the relationship between the universal church and the physical economic basis of it. That is, in the terms of the debate over whether there was an inherent connection between a *civitas*, in this case the 'commonwealth' of the church or more broadly the universal *respublica christiana*, and the physical expression of it in the *urbs*.

The practical implications of the Sack of Rome and the Reformation lay in the fact that the church now needed to act as an entity that, although still technically claiming universal *plenitudo potestatis*, was rooted in a physical territory whose wealth it could control for its own survival. Clearly, the papacy could not rely on temporal rulers to act in the best interests of the church. The soldiers who so violently sacked Rome were, after all, the agents of the supposedly Catholic

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<sup>254</sup> Christopher F. Black, *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy*, (Houndmills, HA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.48-54; A.D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564-1789*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), pp.5-6

<sup>255</sup> William E. Wallace, 'Rome 1534-1542', *Michelangelo: The Artist, the Man and his Times*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) pp.184-8

<sup>256</sup> John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp.250-75

<sup>257</sup> Many of these investments into the *urbs Roma*, were begun by Gregory XIII and continued famously by Sixtus V: A.D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy*, p.31

Emperor Charles V. How could the pope act as the *Vicarius Christi*, if the streets of Rome could be so easily overrun by ‘barbarians’? The papacy could not rely on the monetary contribution of ecclesiastical estates across vast portions of Europe either, as it once had in its medieval manifestation, especially when it was based in Avignon. Such revenues had collapsed to the point that by the late sixteenth-century the vast majority of papal finances were sourced from the pope’s Italian territories. Indeed, by 1592, revenues from the Papal States had quadrupled on 1525 levels.<sup>258</sup> This remarkable increase was comparable to the finances of the increasingly centralised secular monarchies, which also saw a steep rise in taxation.<sup>259</sup> In effect, the rise of these powers and their incessant meddling in Italian affairs had perversely forced the church to adopt the attributes of those very monarchies.<sup>260</sup> This situation produced intellectual tensions where older arguments of papal rights to temporal dominion through spiritual dominion, that is *plenitudo potestatis*, were harder to sustain.

It was in May 1572 that the Bolognese Cardinal Ugo Boncompagni was ‘unanimously elected to the sacred throne’ becoming Pope Gregory XIII. During his eventful pontificate (1572-85) he had, according to an Anonymous Roman, restored the ‘Golden Age to this peaceful land.’<sup>261</sup> He was the counter-reformationary pope *par excellence*. Within months of his election he had struck coins in celebration of the Catholic triumph of the St Bartholomew’s Day massacre, which left thousands of Huguenots dead.<sup>262</sup> His papacy was dedicated to an extensive program of centralisation; a drive which manifested itself in

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<sup>258</sup> Peter Partner, ‘Papal Financial Policy in the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation’, *Past and Present*, 88, 1, (1980) pp.40-42

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.* p. 42

<sup>260</sup> The Italian Wars also meant secular monarchies increasingly treated the Papacy as a secular principate rather than a universal body: Christine Shaw, ‘The Papacy and the European Powers’, *Italy and the European Powers*, pp.107-128

<sup>261</sup> Anonimo Romano, ‘Ambulatio Gregoriana’, trans. in, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, vol.2, p.78

<sup>262</sup> Antonio Pinelli, “‘Bellissimo Spasseggio” of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni’, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, vol.2 p.9

enormous architectural and scientific agendas in Rome and beyond.<sup>263</sup> Though the Catholic world in general was still revelling in light of the naval victory against the Ottomans at Lepanto a year earlier in 1571, papal authority was still under siege.<sup>264</sup> Gregory's boundless ambitions were the symptoms of a church keen to survive in this new political world. His most famous legacy lay in the reordering of time itself. He introduced the calendar we still use today and that still bears his name—the Gregorian Calendar.<sup>265</sup> But his attempts to order physical space in consideration of the geopolitical and jurisdictional crisis faced by the papacy are less well understood. The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican was his core architectural achievement, especially in the context of these conceptions, which had a newfound and particular relevance for a besieged papacy.

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<sup>263</sup> Antonio Pinelli, “‘Bellissimo Spasseggio’ of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni”, pp.9-11; Wright, A.D., *The Early Modern Papacy*, p.13, p.111

<sup>264</sup> Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-century Mediterranean World*, (Allen Lane: An imprint of Penguin Books, 2015), pp.151-194

<sup>265</sup> Nicola Courtright, ‘Subjects of Calendar Reform: Time and the End of Time’, *The Papacy and the Art of Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory’s XIII’s Tower of the Winds in the Vatican*, pp.70-84





(Fig.10) Map depicting Sicilia, Joshua Favaloro 2016



(Fig.11) Inscription above the northern entrance, Joshua Favaloro 2016



## The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican

*Just as nature has divided in two the territory of Italy, by means of the Apennines, so it has been divided in this Gallery.... So that it should be a source not of just pleasure but also of instruction, through the knowledge of things and places, Pope Gregory XIII, with a view less to his own advantage than to that of the Roman Popes, completed this Gallery... in the year 1581.*<sup>266</sup>

*-Inscription above the northern entrance-*

Built from 1578 to 1580 and decorated until 1581, the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican was the most potent microcosm of the anxieties and ambitions of the Gregory's pontificate. But it also embodied those reflections which Giovanni Botero so artfully articulated later in the decade: that a mastery of space was a route to power; that cities were economic units which underpinned the power of a ruler; and that the *civitas* was largely inseparable from the *urbs*. Measuring 120 metres in length and 6 metres in width this '*bellissimo spasseggio*', as one commentator described it, was divided in two as the Apennines divided Italy.<sup>267</sup> As one walks down the corridor, one walks along the Apennines itself, flanked on each side by enormous maps which depict 32 of regions of Italy. The elongated nature of the space means that one cannot take in the whole gallery in one glance. It is only through the act of walking that Italy unfurls.<sup>268</sup> This was a walk that Gregory would 'snatch the odd hour for' in his spare time, but as the inscription above the northern doorway suggests the maps were 'a source not of just pleasure but also of instruction'.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> 'North Entrance to the Gallery of Maps Inscription in praise of Italy and the cycle of maps commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII (1581)' trans. in *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, Note 445, p.384

<sup>267</sup> 'Bellissimo Spasseggio'[sic] means 'a most beautiful walk'; Antonio Pinelli, "'Bellissimo Spasseggio" of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni', *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, vol.2, p.9; Virtual tour of the Gallery: <<http://www.stockholm360.net/fp.php?id=vatican-museum-gallery-maps>>

<sup>268</sup> Michel de Certeau, 'Walking in the City-Spatial Practices' *The Practice of Everyday Life*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p.92

<sup>269</sup> Anonimo Romano, 'Ambulatio Gregoriana', trans. Rolando Ferri in, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, p.78: **Overview of Vatican Complex in (Fig.12)**

Described by Michel de Montaigne in 1580 as ‘a very handsome old man, of middle height, erect, with his face full of majesty’, Gregory XIII would walk along the Gallery to catch a fresh breeze.<sup>270</sup> The room was lined with windows that separate each map and command magnificent views of Rome on one side and the Vatican Gardens on the other (fig.13). Gregory was not just treating his eyes to pleasant art and ‘empty scenes’ that contained, as was often the case in this period, general pronouncements toward good governance.<sup>271</sup> Indeed, as was described in a 1583 poem entitled the *Ambulatio Gregoriana*, it was in gazing upon Italy in these maps ‘again and again’ that the pope could ‘consider how to administer and govern it’.<sup>272</sup> To depict physical space was to assert control over it symbolically, but the visual exposition of such maps also made them invaluable tools in the prudential consideration of both temporal and ecclesiastical rule. If the maps were not enough, the pope could make his way to the open terrace on top of the Gallery and witness directly panoramic views of ‘the fields of Latium with rippling wheat ready for harvest’ (fig.14).<sup>273</sup> Gregory could make his way to the central window, near the map depicting his home territory of Bologna, which sported a ‘Serlian’ motif and looked out onto the Belvedere courtyard where people would gather to receive his blessing.<sup>274</sup> This architectural motif involved the confluence of three arches on a façade with a major window or balcony in the centre and was associated with the emperor appearing to his subjects since antiquity (fig.15).<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Michel de Montaigne, ‘Rome: November 30, 1580-April 19, 1581’, *Travel Journal, The Complete Works of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1957), p. 939

<sup>271</sup> Anonimo Romano, ‘Ambulatio Gregoriana’, p.78

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, p.79

<sup>274</sup> Antonio Pinelli, “‘Bellissimo Spasseggio” of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni’, p.40

<sup>275</sup> Also known as Palladian Motif but popularised by: Sebastiano Serlio, *Architettura*, (1537); David Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture*, (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), p.231; Nicola Courtright, ‘Architecture Unifying the Imagery of Rule and Retreat’, in *The Papacy and the Art of Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory’s XIII’s Tower of the Winds in the Vatican*, pp.59-63

Gliding over Italy like a god and appearing to his subjects like an emperor—there was no doubt that the Gallery was the command centre of an absolute prince.

Gregory XIII did not, however, control all the lands of Italy. The papacy did nevertheless claim Italy through the infamous Donation of Constantine. According to this account, the Emperor Constantine (274-337 C.E) had ‘donated’ all Italy, and more vaguely ‘the western regions’, to Pope Sylvester (papacy: 314-335 C.E). This legend was not as powerful as it had once been. It had been over a century since 1440 when Lorenzo Valla philologically debunked the document at the centre of the claim as a forgery, though his work was only published in 1517.<sup>276</sup> But throughout this period the church stubbornly held onto the donation story. There is no direct reference in the Gallery regarding the donation, but that is because the entire map cycle *was* the argument for the donation, without referring to the controversial document itself. It is key to consider that intense debate raged in the Vatican in this period. There were those like Carlo Sigonio and Caesar Baronius, papal historians who sympathised with Valla’s philological approach. There were other forces more loyal to the temporal implications of the donation.<sup>277</sup> Nonetheless, both parties generally agreed that the papacy had a temporal right to Italy whether the donation was true or not.<sup>278</sup> The gallery was the result of this intellectual climate where it was not entirely clear how the church should respond to the mounting challenges to its authority. The Gallery hence operated as a compromise—it claimed control over Italy without referring to the donation directly.

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<sup>276</sup> Lorenzo Valla, *Declamatio de falso credita et ementita donatione Constantini/ On the Donation of Constantine*, 1440, trans. G.W. Bowersock, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007)

<sup>277</sup> Sigonio was replaced by his colleague Baronius. He was stopped from publishing one of his books unless he accepted the donation of Constantine: William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio: The Changing World of the Late Renaissance*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p.77-8; Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius: Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp.35-48; Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, (Hew Haven, Yale University Press, 2005), pp.217-18

<sup>278</sup>Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*, pp.217

Whether the pope genuinely believed the donation had occurred or simply saw its use in solidifying papal claims is unclear. What we do know is that a year after the completion of the Gallery in 1582 Gregory XIII commissioned the Sicilian painter Tommaso Laureti to paint the ceiling in the *Sala Constantino*, a room steps away from the Gallery. The room depicts, as its name suggests, Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni's monumental fresco *The Donation of Constantine* (1524) (fig.16).<sup>279</sup> The ceiling was, according to an anonymous writer, a necessary clarification of the work in which 'the donation of Italy made by Constantine to Sylvester and to his successors had been represented through a small, not very legible figure'—a statuette of Rome personified.<sup>280</sup> Rome in this case was a metaphor as the 'key' to all Italy, but problematically some observers were interpreting this as meaning 'just the city of Rome'.<sup>281</sup> Laureti's clarification was painted on the ceiling in the form of 'Italy divided into eight provinces according to Strabo's order'. This was done, it was reported, 'so that this donation would be more intelligible' (fig.17).<sup>282</sup> These eight provinces were personified by female figures commanding celebrative cartouches that describe their beneficial traits (fig.17.1). This representation of lands through human figures had an older tradition, which conformed more readily to the understanding that the landscape held qualitative forces that influenced the virtue of the people who lived in it—a trope consistent with the understandings of Brunni and Alberti explored earlier.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Jan L. de Jong, 'Universals and Particulars. History Painting in the "Sala di Costantino" in the Vatican Palace', in Karl Enekel, Jan L. De Jogn, Jeanine de Landtsheer, *Recreating ancient history: episodes from the Greek and Roman past in the arts and literature of the Early Modern Period*, (Boston, MA: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002), p.27-55; Virtual tour of the Raphael Rooms: <<http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/stanze-di-raffaello/tour-virtuale.html>>

<sup>280</sup> Boncompagni Archives, *BAC, MS, Boncompagni D 5 fol. 241*; quoted in Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*, p.213; relevant documents also quoted in *Appendix*, Antonio Pinelli, "'Bellissimo Spasseggio" of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni', vol.2, pp.70-71

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>283</sup> Territories personified, see Julius II's 1513 *carro trionfale*: Nicholas Temple, *Renovatio urbis: architecture, urbanism, and ceremony in the Rome of Julius II*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011), p.91-2



To depict the physical landscape instead was to have a more direct concern for the material rather than the symbolic nature of the land.

Maps of this kind were not entirely new innovations by the late sixteenth-century. Indeed, ever since the translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia* various maps of Europe and the world had been devised.<sup>284</sup> Frescoed maps were common across the courts of Italy, decorating the walls of a great variety of buildings. Egnazio Danti (1536-1586), the famed Dominican friar largely responsible for the cartographical design of the Vatican Gallery had been selected for the job precisely because he was experienced in mapped frescoes.<sup>285</sup> Most notably he had been responsible for the Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's geographical room, the *Guardaroba* in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.<sup>286</sup> This displayed a series of maps portraying the entire world, arranged across the room as if the viewer were standing in the centre of the Earth looking out. Danti's work in the room took place between 1563-75.<sup>287</sup> The grandson of Pope Paul III, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, also commissioned north of Rome in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola a *Sala del Mappamondo* depicting the entire world between 1573-75.<sup>288</sup> Importantly, some of the same artists involved in these projects, for example Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, had been employed by Pope Pius IV to paint the *Terza Loggia* in the Vatican Palace, not far from the Gallery of Maps.<sup>289</sup> Painted between 1559-65, this too depicted the entire world on the walled side of an open loggia.

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<sup>284</sup> Mark Rosen, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy: Painted Cartographic Cycles in Social and Intellectual Context*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 49

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.* p.149; Lucio Gambi, 'Egnazio Danti e la Galleria delle Carte geografiche', in *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, v.2, pp.89-96

<sup>286</sup> Mark Rosen, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy*, pp.134-52

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.* p.152

<sup>288</sup> Loren Partridge, 'The Room of Maps at Caprarola, 1573-75', *The Art Bulletin* 77, no.3, (1995), p.416

<sup>289</sup> Florio Banfi, 'The Cosmographic Loggia of the Vatican Palace', *Imago Mundi* 9, (1952), pp.23-34; Juergen Schulz, 'Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance', in *Art and Cartography: six historical essays*, ed. David Woodward, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987), pp.104-6

We might be forgiven then, considering all this, for concluding that there was nothing particularly novel about the Gallery of Maps beyond its opulence and scale. But if the pope already had a mapped fresco of the world why would he need another map room just rooms away? No doubt, they were both considered to be works of art—art that in attempting to unveil God’s creation, the Earth, reflected God’s greatness. There was no inherent ‘limit’ on how much of this art could be produced. The most plausible explanation however, is that these two rooms clearly served different purposes.

The fundamental difference between all these other frescoed map cycles and the Vatican Gallery lay in the fact that while the former attempted to unveil the *entire* world, the latter depicted Italy alone with notable extensions like Avignon. In depicting the entire world, clearly Duke Cosimo I de Medici and Alessandro Farnese were not claiming a sovereign right to the world’s territories. Instead, the iconographic function of these rooms was related to the role of *Sapientia* (knowledge) in political rule or the furthering of God’s work. Just as in Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s much earlier Siennese fresco the *Allegory of Good Government*, the figure of *Sapientia* provided the material necessary for the functioning of justice and thus government.<sup>290</sup> These ideas were influenced by Cicero’s arguments in *De Officiis* and *De Legibus* that *Sapientia* was the ‘mother of all good things’.<sup>291</sup> It was, he wrote, ‘foremost of all virtues’.<sup>292</sup> *Sapientia* in the Siennese fresco was the source of a rope that threads down through a figure representing *Concordia* (Concord) and then ultimately links to the figure of a ruler (fig.18).

Such worldly geographies thus represented the patron’s will to good governance *through* knowledge. The *Guardaroba* sported globes and various scientific tools.

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<sup>290</sup> Quentin Skinner, ‘Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Artist as political philosopher’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72, (1986), pp.18

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>292</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.153, p.157

Significantly, these objects conferred prestige on Cosimo I as the humanist ‘collector’ of knowledge.<sup>293</sup> Hence the iconography did not necessarily allude to the physical control of the lands depicted. The Vatican *Terza Loggia* embodied similar motives. Though, in the context of papal claims to *plenitudo potestatis* and the universal mission of the church there was also an allusion to the spiritual dominion, and therefore indirectly temporal dominion, of the *respublica christiana* over the entire world. There was a visualisation of the Christian world and new lands to be Christianised.

Evidently the universal mission and the *plenitudo potestatis* had a role to play in the Gallery of Maps too, as is demonstrated by the paintings in the vault (fig.19). One of these depicts the Emperor Constantine holding the reigns of Pope Sylvester’s horse—a clear allusion to the subordination of temporal to spiritual authority (fig.20). Some historians have argued in this spirit that the Gallery of Maps is thus primarily an argument for this spiritual authority.<sup>294</sup> But if this was the case, why would a counter-reformationary pope only depict Italy? Or more to the point, why would one of the maps depict the territory around Avignon for example, but nowhere else in southern France? The link between the papacy and Avignon was of course a directly temporal one.<sup>295</sup> This is not to suggest that the Gallery represented a cynical secularisation of papal objectives. It is to say though that it exemplifies an understanding evident in the composition of these maps that the pope had a dual role. One as the *Vicarius Christi*, the head of the *respublica christiana*, and the other as a temporal absolute prince.<sup>296</sup> These two personas did

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<sup>293</sup>Mark Rosen, ‘The Medici Guardaroba’, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy*, p.79-89

<sup>294</sup> For example: Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*; Walter Goffart, ‘Christian Pessimism on the Walls of the Vatican Galleria delle carte geografiche’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no.3 (1998), pp. 788-827

<sup>295</sup> Clement VI bought Avignon in 1348 from the Countess of Provence: Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy, 1309-1417: Popes, Institutions, and Society*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), p.177

<sup>296</sup> Pauline Moffitt Watts also explores of this dual role in relation to the maps: ‘A Mirror for the Pope: Mapping the "Corpus Christi" in the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche’, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 10, 2005, pp.177-8

not run parallel to each other but they were inherently connected. The pope's role as absolute temporal prince was a necessary tool to further the *respublica christiana*. In physically walking down the gallery the pope was thus engaged in a papal act of *consideratio* of this dual role.<sup>297</sup>

As in earlier fifteenth-century understandings, Rome, and by extension Italy as the *suburbicaria*—literally the suburbs of the city as the *caput mundi*—had a powerful symbolic relevance for the papacy as the historical home of the Catholic Church.<sup>298</sup> As has been argued by modern historians, Italy was described by some contemporaries as a new 'holy land'.<sup>299</sup> Rome held special significance, especially when considering the early Christian period as the ultimate place of martyrdom and the sacred domain of the early church.<sup>300</sup> This symbolic significance is demonstrated on the maps. One example is in the form of a historical vignette which depicts the triumphant 1376 return to Rome by Gregory XIII's namesake Gregory XI. The brigade is depicted sailing down the Rhone, away from Avignon in late 1376, accompanied by a cartouche proclaiming the move to Rome as 'in accordance with God's will' (fig.21).<sup>301</sup>

If the focus on Italy were solely symbolic as a new 'holy land' however, it would be difficult to justify the spatial accuracy of the maps. The map of *Latium and Sabina*, the territory around Rome for example does not show this intense concentration of symbolism beyond the corresponding painting in the vault showing *The Appearance of Christ to St Peter Outside Rome*. Indeed, the iconography

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<sup>297</sup> The act of papal *consideratio*, as detailed in Bernard of Clairvaux (1150), *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam tertium libri quinque / Five Books On Consideration: Advice to A Pope*, trans. John D. Anderson & Elizabeth T Kennan, (Kalamazzo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976), pp.37-42

<sup>298</sup> 'Visione suburbicaria della penisola': Antonio Pinelli, 'Above the earth, the heavens: Geography, history and theology—the iconography of the vault', (ed.), *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, v.2, p.126

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid*; Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*, p.210

<sup>300</sup> Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p.170-72

<sup>301</sup> 'Papal Entourage on its way to Rome from Avignon' trans. in, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, Note 194, pp.273-4

of the vault in general is determined by geography. The scenes depicted demonstrated the participation of a certain region in the Christian story: territories are presented incidentally as the locations of miracles.<sup>302</sup> This style of description was common in verbal chorographies like Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di Tutta Italia* (1553).<sup>303</sup> Cartographic space was thus placed above symbolic schematic coherence. In considering the focus on Italy and the extra temporal dominions of the pope, it can be concluded that the Gallery of Maps had less in common with those frescoed maps of the world and more in common with the national chorographical maps emerging around Europe (like fig.22,23). These were different from geographies because they described on a smaller scale the constituent territories (*urbs*) of a *civitas* within a wider geography.

Many of Egnazio Danti's maps were effectively large frescoed copies from those various chorographical renditions.<sup>304</sup> But much of the detail especially in the maps depicting the Papal States were the result of Danti's own surveying. In 1578, Gregory XIII sent him to survey papal territories in preparation for the Gallery.<sup>305</sup> Danti intended to produce a chorography as he indicated in his 'signature' on one side of the Gallery (fig.24), but he intended to create a chorography which was different from what was generally understood at the time. Informed by Ptolemy's tract *Geographia*, translated into Latin in fifteenth-century Florence, the study of geography was understood as a scientific exercise involving the study of the interrelationship between the land, sea and the earth.<sup>306</sup> Chorography was concerned more with the description of place, hence the etymology of the Greek

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<sup>302</sup> Marcia Milanese supports the primacy of geography in the Gallery: 'The Historical Background to the Cycle in the Gallery of Maps', *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, v.2, pp.97-123

<sup>303</sup> Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di Tutta Italia*, (Venezia: Giovan Maria Bonelli, 1553)

<sup>304</sup> Pinelli, "Bellissimo Spasseggio" of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni', p.46-7

<sup>305</sup> Antonio Pinelli, "Bellissimo Spasseggio" of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni', pp.45-7; Lucio Gambi, 'Egnazio Danti e la Galleria delle Carte geografiche', pp.93-4

<sup>306</sup> Mark Rosen, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy*, p.31

word ‘*chōros*’, which means ‘place’.<sup>307</sup> According to Antoine du Pinet (1510-84), chorography served to ‘represent places in a life-like manner, without bothering with measurements, proportions, longitudes’.<sup>308</sup> In his 1533 *Liber cosmographicus*, Peter Apian (1495-1552) had famously described the differences between geography and chorography using bodily metaphors. He said, that if geography could be compared to the study of a head then chorography was the study of an ear (fig.25).<sup>309</sup> Thus, geography was a science and chorography an art meant to express the quality rather than the proportion of a thing. In this tradition, many popular city views leading did not represent entirely accurate renditions of cities.<sup>310</sup> They instead attempted to communicate the qualities of the *civitas*, which the *urbs* embodied as a *speculum dei* (see the focus on identity through human figures in fig.26,27).<sup>311</sup> Danti attempted to bridge this division between science and art. He considered his work to be a chorography, but one where it was necessary for there to be spatial accuracy:

...In the case of the more important places every care has been taken to ensure that the degrees and minutes given are correct (as far as this is possible in a chorography). This is hereby made known by the wish of Egnazio Danti<sup>312</sup>(fig.24)

This accuracy was necessary because unlike the personified representations of Italy in the *Sala Constantino*, there was an attempt here to fuse the qualities of Italy with the actual physical space of it. The Gallery of Maps was not simply an artwork, it was the most accurate representation of the Italian peninsula in the

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<sup>307</sup> Etymology explained in: Kenneth R. Olwig, ‘Landscape as a contested topos of place, community and self’, in Paul C. Adams, Steven D. Hoelscher, and Karen E. Till (eds.), *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p.96

<sup>308</sup> Antoine de Pinet, *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses, tant de l'Europe, Asie et Afrique, que des Indes, et terres neuves*, (Lyon: Jan d'Ogerolles, 1564), p.xiii

<sup>309</sup> Petrus Apanius, *Liber cosmographicus*, (Basel: 1533); Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 11

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>312</sup> ‘Egnazio Danti’s Signature’ trans. in, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, Note 391, pp.363-4

entire world. This accuracy was indispensable to its functioning and demonstrates a higher level of spatial thinking than had hitherto been the case.

Though some of the smaller cities were represented on the maps metaphorically as a collection of a few buildings, cohering to older understandings of chorography, the larger cities were represented as schematic plans exactly as they lay in the landscape. That is, accurate representations of the larger cities created a continuous vector between the space inside the city and out—the effect being the same as looking at a modern-day satellite image. The land was not simply a container of peoples whose virtue was displayed through their activities inside it. Land was represented as an invaluable resource through highly detailed renditions of the roads and canals which connect cities, and the agricultural lands and towns that flourish in the spaces between cities. Cities were represented as the pivot points of human control over these lands—the permeating centres of economic networks. Clustered together they convey an overwhelming sense of richly populated territories whose development could be coordinated from above. The map showing the territory around Ferrara is one of the places where this theme is so dramatically displayed; smaller centres revolve around larger centres. The spatial-economic connectedness of the region becomes clear (fig.28). Similarly, in the map of *Patrimonium S. Petri* roads permeate in all directions from the centre of Rome, suburban settlements extending into the hinterland (fig.29). The city presents itself as the permeating centre of human activity and economic power. This urban subjection of the hinterland also suggests the imposition of a political order, as if roads were the sinews of political power. Cities were shown thus as economic ‘prizes’ to be won in service of the *civitas*—the nodal points of sovereignty (figs.28-31).

The Gallery was undoubtedly an argument for the papal domination of Italy, but it was also importantly an active tool in the functioning of this temporal papal power. One of the most revealing pieces of evidence for this ideological program was that far from being a static ‘snapshot’ of Italy at one historic moment, these maps were continually updated.<sup>313</sup> They were updated to demonstrate new papal acquisitions and infrastructural additions to the landscape and cities.<sup>314</sup> Borders are not overly visible in these maps, but this is precisely because on the one hand, the papacy claimed sovereignty over all the lands of Italy regardless, and on the other because they were constantly redrawn. The maps showing the papal states are shown on a much larger scale than those of northern territories, highlighting their central importance. The Duchy of Milan, for example, occupies only one map even though it represents a similar area to the central portion of the papal states depicted in several maps (fig.32). Nonetheless, the depiction of the entirety of the peninsula allowed a future pope to redraw those boundaries—a symbolic moment which occurred at various occasions throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>315</sup>

This symbolism was even more powerful given that these papal claims were vigorously contested. They were even contested by cardinals who held divided loyalties between their home regions and the papacy. Michel de Montaigne, who visited the Vatican in early 1581 had seen or at least heard of the Gallery describing it as ‘the beautiful gallery that the pope is erecting for paintings of all parts of Italy’.<sup>316</sup> It was at the Holy Thursday service a few weeks later held on the portico of St Peter’s Basilica—then still under construction with its unfinished

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<sup>313</sup> Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*, p.227; Pinelli, “‘Bellissimo Spasseggio” of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni’, p.61

<sup>314</sup> Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*, p.227

<sup>315</sup> Like when the Papacy acquired Ferrara in 1598, which was accompanied by an extensive program of papal triumph: Karen Meyer-Roux, ‘The Entry of Clement VIII into Ferrara: Donato Rascicotti’s Triumph’, *Getty Research Journal* 3, (2011), pp. 169-178

<sup>316</sup> Michel de Montaigne, ‘Rome: November 30, 1580-April 19, 1581’, *Travel Journal*, p.943



dome rising in its centre—that these tensions were openly aired.<sup>317</sup> A Papal bull was read aloud that excommunicated a variety of people. It also chastised ‘those princes who have appropriated some part of the territories of the church’.<sup>318</sup> As Montaigne recounted, it was at this moment that, positioned next to the pope, the Medici cardinal associated with Ducal Tuscany in open defiance ‘laughed very hard’ at the declaration.<sup>319</sup> It was in the context of these types of challenges that Gregory XIII insisted that specific cities and regions ‘restored’ to the papacy be marked out on the new maps with his own heraldic dragon (fig.33). One of the artists wrote this message on his behalf:

I want you to know that the places in the panel marked with a gold dragon like this one, are those restored to the papal jurisdiction by Pope Gregory XIII.<sup>320</sup> (fig.34)

Pope Urban VIII (1623-44), nearly fifty years after Gregory’s pontificate, was still making additions in this spirit. He even went as far as to—in a spatial competition with his predecessor—draw his own heraldic symbol, the Barberini Bee, in the locations he had acquired during his papacy (fig.35).<sup>321</sup> Urban VIII also commissioned a *trompe-l’œil*, detailing his development of the port of Civitavecchia (fig.36). In the *ekphrasis* which accompanies the scene, he proclaimed how he ‘restored the port...to its former dignity’.<sup>322</sup> ‘Urban VIII consolidated the moles so damaged in times past’, it continued, ‘he cleaned out

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<sup>317</sup> St Peter’s Dome was nearing completion: ‘Michelangelo to Marchionni 1546-1784’, *St Peter’s in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.100-4

<sup>318</sup> Michel de Montaigne, ‘Rome: November 30, 1580-April 19, 1581’, p.943

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>320</sup> ‘Gregory XIII’s Heraldic Dragon’, trans. in, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, Note 310, pp.332

<sup>321</sup> On the Barberini Bee: Peter Rietbergen, ‘When the bees flew’, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p.1

<sup>322</sup> ‘*Ekphrasis*’ refers to the rhetorical explanatory writing that accompanies an image. See: Andrew James Johnston, Ethan Knapp, and Margitta Rouse, ‘Introduction: the Dynamics of *Ekphrasis*’, *The Art of Vision: Ekphrasis in Medieval Literature and Culture*, (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2015), pp.1-14

the two basins, chocked with mud for centuries'.<sup>323</sup> This was all in order to 'mitigate the fury of the sea' and 'allow ships to approach... more easily'.<sup>324</sup> Smaller notes attached to the view detail specific projects like the city's new aqueduct, which 'gathered more abundant waters from purer sources'. All this was done 'to the benefit of all'.<sup>325</sup> The port of Civitavecchia was a potent symbol of papal rule, the implicit message being the critical importance of developing commercial activity through infrastructure to solidify the papacy's *stato*.

In the context of these various papal markers Gregory XIII's dragons had an extra level of significance that would not have been lost on educated contemporaries. The dragons were like serpents which were often understood to be representative of prudence.<sup>326</sup> Indeed, contemporary allegories of prudence generally depicted a female figure holding a mirror and a snake (fig.37). In the work *Delle Allusioni* by Principio Fabricii the dragon comes into its own.<sup>327</sup> This voluminous panegyric written in praise of Gregory XIII's rule is littered with imagery associated with good governance. In one image amidst an urban scene Gregory's dragon encircles two columns which allude to the Pillars of Hercules (fig.38). The Pillars were a symbol of the Straits of Gibraltar and were usually accompanied by the ancient warning '*non plus ultra*' (no further!). They thus represented 'limits'. In Charles V's use of the symbol (fig.39), accompanied by his slogan '*plus ultra*' (further beyond!), he claimed to have in his conquests of the New World literally gone beyond the known world and metaphorically to have burst through the normal barriers to human achievement.<sup>328</sup> Gregory's dragons easily overwhelm the

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<sup>323</sup> 'Urban VIII and Civitavecchia trompe l'oeil' trans. in, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, Note 400, p.366

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>325</sup> 'Civitavecchia', trans. in, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, Note 399, p.365-6

<sup>326</sup> Liana Cheney, 'Moral Virtues: Virtutis Amore', in *Giorgio Vasari's Teachers: Sacred and Profane Art*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2007), pp.178-182

<sup>327</sup> Principio Fabrici, *Delle allusioni imprese et emblemi sopra la vita, opere, et attioni di Gregorio XIII*, (Rome: Bartolomeo Grassi, 1588)

<sup>328</sup> Earl Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra, Non plus ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34, (1971), pp.204-228

columns and the limits they represent. Critically, at the bottom of the columns are the inscriptions '*prudentia*' and '*fortitudo*'. Further, the Greek etymology of Gregory's chosen name strengthens these associations: 'Gregory' literally means 'the vigilant'.<sup>329</sup>

Gregory's pontificate was clearly steeped in symbols of vigilance and prudence in defence of the church. Hence, there is no doubt that the appearance of Gregory's dragon in every part of the Gallery held a deep significance beyond its function as his signature (fig.40). The use of the dragon as a marker of territorial acquisition embodied the connection between the mastery of landscapes and prudence as a necessary function of political survival. On the maps, Gregory's dragon presents a potent symbolic device communicating the prudential nature of acquiring cities and the land in their orbit in the service of the *civitas*.

### **The Historical Vignettes**

One of the more curious aspects of the Gallery are the historical vignettes, which dot several of the maps. In all there are twenty-three of these drawings achieved by different artists.<sup>330</sup> They represent battles and events in their geographic location in a side-on perspectival form. Embedded in the landscape, which itself is presented at the bird's eye view at a slight angle, the visual fields are thus different. Despite this, the two projections do not clash, successfully producing a vivid scene of a space that is filled with human activity. Just over a third of these vignettes represent ancient battles with a focus on the Punic Wars. There is a collection from the early Christian and Carolingian period, a few others from the fourteenth-century, and the last third focus on the Italian Wars after 1494. What has puzzled scholars for generations is their focus on devastating defeats on the

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<sup>329</sup> Antonio Pinelli, "'Bellissimo Spasseggio" of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni', vol.2, p.18

<sup>330</sup> John Brown, *The Historical Vignettes in the Vatican Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, (Dissertation, University of London, 2015), p.2

part of Italian defenders or at best hard-won victories fought mainly against foreign intruders. Others simply show foreigners fighting in Italian lands, like the scene depicting the Battle of Ceresole (1544) between the Spanish Imperial forces of Charles V and the French King Francis I (fig.41). At least one historian, Goffart, has suggested that the lack of triumphalism in these scenes reflected a deeply pessimistic Christian ideology, contrary to what the confident counter-reformationary context of the gallery suggests.<sup>331</sup>

In this account, the message of the scenes was inspired by the pessimism of early church historian Paulus Orosius (385-420). Orosius represented a tradition in Christian historiography that contrasted the ‘disasters of worthless men’ to the ‘miracles of saints’—highlighting the misery of the human condition and the destructiveness of war.<sup>332</sup> This interpretation drew on ideas of the church as rising ‘above’ fortune. It was subject instead to a providential story, which emphasised the triumph of the spiritual over the temporal. A different approach, namely an artistic analysis of all the scenes, however, renders this explanation of the vignettes unlikely. In all, these representations are remarkably sterile in their composition. That is, although some of the events allude to an enormous loss of life if one is familiar with the history, the scenes rarely show bloodshed or corpses.

Many of these renditions were painted by the Flemish artist Mathijs Bril.<sup>333</sup> As such they reflect common northern-European tropes in military painting, which like the pamphlet depicting the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600)—a key event of the Dutch Revolt—had a focus on the way that army groups work through the landscape (compare fig.42,43). Specifically, this style of battle depiction had

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<sup>331</sup> Walter Goffart, ‘Christian Pessimism on the Walls of the Vatican Galleria delle carte geografiche’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no.3 (1998), pp. 788-827

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, p.807

<sup>333</sup> John Brown, *The Historical Vignettes in the Vatican Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, p.33; Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, p.105

developed out of verbal descriptions of battles in newsprints as opposed to grander moralised battle painting. These ‘order of battle’ scenes were produced as visual accompaniments to text, used to communicate a sense of the space and scale in battles and proved popular during the French Wars of Religion (fig.44).<sup>334</sup>

One of these tropes employed in the Gallery of Maps were the square-like formations with many brush-strokes, which in fine concentrations create the allusion of a multitude of soldiers.<sup>335</sup> Importantly, the overall effect is a series of formations which together look like moveable pieces on a detailed chess board. Often one side of an army is placed on the other side of a river from another group of enemy forces; formations are arranged in specific relationships with each other.

Thus, in the spirit of Danti’s fusion between the work of the artist in chorography and the scientist in geography, the actual spatial relationships between military units in the composition of these vignettes are key to understanding their function.



(fig.45) Charlemagne defeats the Lombards at Piacenza, 774 C.E

<sup>334</sup> Phillip Benedict, ‘The Visual Reporting of Current Events in Europe before 1570 and the Pictorial Language of the Prints’, in *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrin*, (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2007), pp.75-121

<sup>335</sup> ‘Forest of Pikes’: John R. Hale, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p.138

These vignettes do not simply represent the ‘quality’ of a battle as a representation of a moralised story. Instead, the specific spatial relationships of the figures to the land’s features and cities arise as the very focus of these scenes.<sup>336</sup> For example, the scene depicting the battle of Cannae shows the formations in the positions exactly as they are described by Livy (fig.46).<sup>337</sup> Historians have often looked far beyond the maps for a coherent thematic story in these vignettes, but just as the ceiling vault miracles are determined by their relationship to the maps, these vignettes, not all of them famous historical events, have a primary relevance in so much as they relate to the land itself. They show didactically how a specific piece of land has been used in the past. In doing so they communicate an understanding that history occurs not in a spaceless vacuum but in specific places that can be controlled. The scenes function as devices of spatial prudence—they encourage a consideration on the part of the observer as to how human activities interact with the landscape.

All this is not to say that the vignettes were chosen at random without any historical ‘message’ within them. A common interpretation is that this focus on foreign intruders can be explained as an attempt to communicate the threats faced by a Christian holy land—a reflection on the pope’s role in defending a ‘holy’ Italy.<sup>338</sup> This does not explain however, the great focus on the struggles of the republican pagan Romans in the Punic Wars (for example fig.47). The problem here arises from the fact that there has been little consideration of how the most

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<sup>336</sup> The intellectual climate of the Counter-Reformation brought a greater zeal for ‘accuracy’ in the painting of *historia*: Anton Boschloo, ‘The Representation of History in Artistic Theory in the Early Modern Period’, in *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period*, ed. Karl Enekel, Jan L. De Jong and Jeanine de Landtsheer (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2002), p.3

<sup>337</sup> John Brown, *The Historical Vignettes in the Vatican Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, (Dissertation, University of London, 2015), p.39

<sup>338</sup> Iris Cheney, ‘The Galleria della Carte Geografiche at the Vatican and the Roman Church’s View of the History of Christianity’, *Renaissance Papers*, (1989), pp.21-37; Pauline Moffitt Watts, ‘The Donation of Constantine, Cartography, and Papal “Plenitudo Potestatis” in the Sixteenth Century: A Paper for Salvatore Camporeale’, *Italian Issue Supplement: Studia Humanitatis: Essays in Honor of Salvatore Camporeale*, 119, 1, (2004), p.97; Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*, pp.210-32

prominent political theorists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, specifically those humanist figures we have considered in this paper, influenced the intellectual environment in which the maps were conceived. It is useful to consider how in Leonardo Bruni's tradition of rhetorical history writing there was often an inordinate focus on military and political failure.<sup>339</sup> Bruni's focus on Florentine failure was part of his didactic program which educated future leaders through an analysis of past mistakes. Most of these stories communicate the central importance of prudential thinking in the constant battle with fortune. Bruni makes his most potent points about the destructiveness of noble obsessions with military glory through his 'negative' narration.<sup>340</sup>

The Punic Wars held a specific relevance in this historical program. In fact, in humanist scholarship the Roman fight against Hannibal in Italy was usually depicted as a story where the long term prudential policies of the Romans eventually overcame the ferocity of Hannibal. Indeed, Machiavelli argued in the *Discourses*, in discussing the lessons of the Punic War, that a prince 'should always await a... dangerous war at home, and not to go encounter it'. This was because:

You can better impede his plans because you have more knowledge of the country than he... Being defeated, you can easily recover... So you come to risk all your forces and not all your fortune.<sup>341</sup>

The Romans eventually won because in their home territories they could field more resources. Namely, they could put more 'boots' on the ground.<sup>342</sup> Importantly, this point was most articulately made by our catholic scholar Giovanni Botero, he argued in *The Greatness*:

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<sup>339</sup> See page 18 on this paper.

<sup>340</sup> See for example: Bruni, *History*, II.39-40, vol.1, p.151

<sup>341</sup> Machiavelli, *Discourses*, II.12.3, p.153

<sup>342</sup> An argument consistent with what many modern historians of Ancient Rome still argue: Mary Beard, *SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome*, (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2015), pp.173-84

The Romans however emerged victorious after losing most of their battles... But they triumphed as much because of their inexhaustible manpower, with which they recovered from their defeats and overwhelmed their foes.<sup>343</sup>

It is in considering these arguments that the liberal spread of Punic War material across the maps becomes so powerful in communicating the importance of the prudential governance of lands. Not only was the way that soldiers interact with the landscape a key consideration of how military campaigns should be conceived, but it was their relationship to the land itself as a *resource* that was consequential. The development of cities, roads, and other infrastructure aided the defence of the realm allowing, as Machiavelli advocated, for the ‘deep’ defence that no longer relied on specific geographic barriers. Clearly, as the French and Spanish Imperial battles across the peninsula demonstrate, no geographic barrier could successfully keep foreign intruders out of Italy. One of the original scenes, painted over by a much later restoration possibly because of water damage, depicted Hannibal crossing the Alps—the ultimate case for the uselessness of such barriers in defence.<sup>344</sup> The only sure defence of the *civitas* was in fact an economic one: an economic solution that inalienably connected a people to their invested lands and cities.

Not all the vignettes depict battles. But the imagery of these ‘political’ scenes further strengthens this intellectual program. These scenes all depict a moment of decision for a ruler—an act which challenges the observer to consider the interplay between virtue and fortune. One depicts the moment that Julius Caesar crosses the Rubicon; another shows the halt of Attila the Hun by the eloquence

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<sup>343</sup> Botero, *The Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, III.1, p.71; Guicciardini argues along the same lines in *Discorso di Logrono*, p.120

<sup>344</sup> Antonio Pinelli, “‘Bellissimo Spasseggio’ of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni”, p.56; John Brown, *The Historical Vignettes in the Vatican Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, (Dissertation, University of London, 2015), p.23; For changes to the maps: Claudio Franzoni, ‘The restoration of the Gallery of Maps’, In *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, pp.169-74



of Pope Leo I. In the former scene, Caesar's large army stretches across the map of the *Flaminia*, the area around Ravenna (fig.48,48.1). On the left of the map is a large obelisk, which although non-existent in Caesar's time supposedly marked the political significance of the Rubicon as a barrier.<sup>345</sup> On this obelisk is the message:

By order... do not dare to lead an army with its retinue across the River Rubicon. Anyone who does what this law forbids will be considered an enemy of the Senate and of the People of Rome...(fig.49)<sup>346</sup>

This was the moment of no return, yet Caesar so consequentially crossed it. At the very point on the map where the tip of Caesar's legionary column crosses the Rubicon there is an inscription in bold capitals: 'IACTA EST ALEA', *the die is cast*. This phrase was famously attributed to Caesar by Suetonius.<sup>347</sup> In using this gambling metaphor, he was throwing his lot to fortune. Nobody knew how the dice would fall.

The other scene depicting Pope Leo I stopping Attila 'with the power of words' who, as the inscription describes 'had dreamed of the destruction of Rome', similarly draws on this interplay between virtue and fortune (fig.50).<sup>348</sup> Through his eloquence, a strongly Ciceronian humanist instrument, he managed to convince Attila that sacking Rome was not worth the effort.<sup>349</sup> The vignette presents a dramatic scene of a single figure—the pope—confronting an entire army. The vigilant virtuous figure strides out in defence of the *urbs Roma*.

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<sup>345</sup> 'Cippus with Sanctia, 15th century pseudo-classical inscription' trans. in, *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, Note 313, p.333-4

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>347</sup> Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars, Volume I: Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula*, I.32, trans. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 31, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), p.77

<sup>348</sup> 'Pope Leo and Attila' trans. in *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, Vol.2, Note 264, p.300

<sup>349</sup> Eloquence as an instrument see: Quentin Skinner, *Reason and rhetoric in the philosophy of Hobbes*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Curiously, this is the only scene that also has a corresponding image in the ceiling vault (fig.51). The major difference in the vault scene is that Attila is instead terrified by the appearance of a godly figure in the sky. This suggests an alternative interpretation of this event as embodying the providential story for the church. Attila was here turned away by divine intervention. This repetition of the same scene in the Gallery is an anomaly. Fundamentally, it represents the tension inherent in the Gallery. This tension forcefully indicates how the Gallery was a true product of its times. A papacy that once saw itself in largely providential terms, protected by the hand of God, was forced by the dramatic events of the sixteenth-century to question its providential story. But this questioning did not result in a total usurpation. This tension was ultimately at the core of Christian theology too: contained by the age-old question as to whether events were always directed by God or whether human beings ultimately had agency as God's creation.

In the sixteenth-century, the papacy faced what one might describe as a 'mid-life crisis'. It was forced to consider the role of fortune and thus prudence in its existence. It was forced to reconcile its spaceless existence as the head of a spiritual body, the *respublica christiana*, and its physical grounded existence as an entity that temporally controlled cities and lands in Italy—an entity necessitated by the physical threats the papacy faced on all fronts. The pope thus simultaneously held two roles that looked parallel to each other. In fact, these maps were an argument that the pope's role as the *Vicarius Christi* and a temporal absolute prince were inseparable from each other. These two scenes depicting Caesar and Pope Leo I represent an opening up of the papacy to fortune. The Punic Wars speak specifically to Botero's economic prudence, which as we have seen was so crucial in the transformation from '*politics*' to '*reason of state*'. This is especially in the spatial context of these maps. If the papacy was subject to fortune

then Botero's economic prudence was the ultimate response to its threats lined against it.

We can see here the context in which a counter-reformationary priest like Giovanni Botero working for a cardinal in Rome developed his ideas about the centrality of land, people and cities for the survival of a *civitas*. Botero was an individual who certainly frequented the Gallery of Maps on a regular basis; it was used by the pope as a reception chamber.<sup>350</sup> In this context, we can understand the potency of Botero's ideas about the inseparable nature of the *civitas* and the *urbs*.

The entire iconographic and cartographic composition of the gallery is direct evidence of an intellectual-historical moment. In Gregory XIII's pontificate, Italy was increasingly understood as the *urb* of the Christian *civitas* that was the universal church. Italy *could* exist without the church, but the church *could not* exist without Italy. It speaks to the pervasiveness of these ideas in a European context that the institution that had the strongest claims to a 'floating' sovereignty—the papacy—should have been 'grounded' in this way. It seems a contradiction of terms that the ordained providential papacy should need to acquire cities to ensure its 'survival'; but with Ottoman enemies to the east, Protestant enemies to the north, and unenthusiastic allies all around, it should not seem so surprising that the papacy increasingly employed and developed these ideas.

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<sup>350</sup> Antonio Pinelli, "'Bellissimo Spasseggio" of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni', pp.66-9



(Fig.52) *The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican*, Joshua Favaloro, 2016

## *Conclusion*

Pope Gregory XIII's *Ambulatio Gregoriana* was not just a leisurely walk as we have seen. It represented the new-found power of the '*urbs*', the physical 'city', for the maintenance of the papacy's '*stato*', its political position. In an agonistic European context of bitter political and religious struggles, even the pope was now inclined to follow the precepts of '*reason of state*'. In this context Giovanni Botero provided an economic explanation for the source and maintenance of the *stato* with a cogency that had not been seen up to this period. Through this process, space went from being a vector through which the virtue of the 'floating' *civitas*, the 'floating' political body, was redounded, to being a quantifiable 'nutritive' resource. Space was 'nutritive' in the sense that it provided the material base for populations and their wealth.

Through this process we see the conceptual development of a 'core' territory for the body politic. A specific territory like England became inalienably associated with the English *civitas*. This was because the more that a *civitas* improved its economic *stato*, by building infrastructure and improving land, the more it became associated with specific lands and cities. The 'grounding' of the body politic promoted over the next centuries a key legal difference between core and non-core territories. As a legal and physical 'core' city, England could more easily maintain its *stato* through control of subject territories and peoples that were not part of the English *civitas*. The more *urbs* a *civitas* controlled, the stronger it would be. This association a *civitas* developed with a 'core' *urb* through economic development explains how in the later British Empire no overseas territory was considered part of the British *civitas*: an idea which resolved the tension between traditions of 'liberty' and 'empire'. The British *civitas* preserved its 'liberty' by

controlling more lands and more wealth, and in the process subdued the liberty of others.

In the Boteroean model there needed to be a defined core ‘economic’ heartland, a core economically integrated *urb* for a *civitas* to survive. This was even if a *civitas* controlled foreign *urbs*, beyond the sacred limits of the modern ‘pomerium’—the new physical barrier of the political city. This process increased the relevance of borders when once borderlands were diffused and spatially heterogeneous places in an older spatial order where people were linked by vassalage rather than places.

Crucially, although these economic ideas and the resultant fusion of the *urbs* and the *civitas* may seem so familiar to us as inhabitants of a modern world obsessed with ‘economic growth’, these precepts were in the sixteenth-century a novelty in the language of political thought. The spatial dimensions of the transformation from ‘*politics*’ to ‘*reason of state*’ provide us with new and powerful ways to consider the rise of the territorial state. This thesis has not been about the development of economically powerful cities or empires in a direct sense. It *has* been about the development of a spatial language of political power which would change the face of the planet for the next few hundred years and make the creation of those empires possible. It was a vital moment in the development of the precept we take for granted today: that a mastery of space is a mastery of power.

The ideas we have explored were adopted by the theorists of the seventeenth-century who advocated in favour of empire building and colonisation. These were conceived as methods to maintain the *stati* of *civitates*. The Dutch humanist Hugo Grotius argued that wealth acquired through colonies and trade would enable the

Dutch provinces to fight off the Spanish threat.<sup>351</sup> He employed Botero's ideas of economic greatness in doing so. Investment in infrastructure increased the economic capacity of the Dutch *urbs* to defend the new *civitas*. The pursuit of the wealth of the East Indies would preserve the power of the *stato*.<sup>352</sup> Importantly, Grotius developed the idea of the *civitas* as a 'legal person', who just as an individual in the 'state of nature' was driven by 'self-preservation' and had a 'right' to do what was necessary for survival, to extend and solidify the *stato*.<sup>353</sup> If economic power was the basis of the methods necessary to 'preserve', then we can begin to see the intellectual context where political entities became locked in never-ending battles of self-preservation—battles which led to the aggressive overseas expansion of the European powers and contest over those territories they conquered.

This language also enabled English colonial propagandists to ask the same questions. In the context of rising French and Spanish threats it enabled them to think of the preservation of the *stato* of their *civitas* in terms of the pursuit of new lands for economic exploitation and expansion. Even in the debates amongst early-English colonists in the Virginia Company, there were those humanists who continued to decry the corruption that these commercial imperial enterprises would inflict on the English *civitas*.<sup>354</sup> Those propagandists like Richard Hakluyt, Walter Raleigh and Robert Johnson<sup>355</sup>, who instead argued in favour of such

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<sup>351</sup> Grotius, Hugo, *Mare Liberum*, ed. David Armitage, trans. Richard Hakluyt (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1609); Fitzmaurice, Andrew. 'The Dutch Empire in Intellectual History'. *Low Countries Historical Review* 132, no.2, (2017): 97-109

<sup>352</sup> Richard Tuck, 'Hugo Grotius', *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.79

<sup>353</sup> 'to defend [one's own] life and to shun that which threatens to prove injurious', but then crucially, 'to acquire for oneself, and to retain, those things which are useful for life' in Grotius, Hugo, *De Indis*, Cited in: Tuck, Richard, *The Rights of War and Peace*, p. 85

<sup>354</sup> See: Armitage, David, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.127. See also: Fitzmaurice, Andrew, *Humanism and America*, p. 164-8

<sup>355</sup> The treasurer of the Virginia and East India Companies who translated Botero's *Universal Relations* into English; Johnson as the English adopter of Botero: Fitzmaurice, Andrew. 'The Commercial Ideology of Colonization in Jacobean England: Robert Johnson, Giovanni Botero, and the Pursuit of Greatness'. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (2007): 791-820



endeavours, spoke in the language of the economic *'reason of state'* articulated by Giovanni Botero and embodied in the Gallery of Maps.<sup>356</sup>

Clearly more work must be done in the realm of spatial-intellectual history. But what is clearer is that the intellectual changes that took place in the most unlikely contexts unveiled in this investigation made important contributions. They helped to form those ideas which today form the basis of modernity: the pre-eminence of political bodies that are physically rooted in specific territories, or as we call them *'states'*.

*fin.*



<sup>356</sup>Richard Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', in *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 1584 ed. Eva G. R. Taylor (2; London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), pp. 211-326; Walter Raleigh, *The discoverie... Guiana*, (London: 1596); Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent fruites by Plating in Virginia. Exciting all such as be well affected to further the same.* (London: Samuel Macham, 1609)



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## *Appendix*

See attached.