



*Non, se, haze, nada, nel, con-
scio, del, Rey, senza*

FIVE ENGRAVINGS OF VEJER (16th - 18th centuries). Critical Study.

Antonio Gámiz Gordo.

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**Sociedad Vejeriega de Amigos del País.
Vejer de la Frontera (Cádiz), 2006**

Cover: Detail from the handcoloured engraving of Cabezas de San Juan (Seville).
Joris Hoefnagel (dr.) 1565, Georg Hogenberg (engr.) 1598.
Private collection Eduardo Páez López.

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INTRODUCTION.

From the 16th century onwards it was very common for artists, travellers and people of diverse pursuits and purpose to concern themselves with gathering information about all sorts of towns and landscapes, and to draw outlines of them with their salient features so as to have an image to remember them by. And so it is that many towns like Vejer have the good fortune to have been recorded in this way in graphic art that is a remarkable witness of past times. These images should be interpreted with care however, since they are not exact reproductions of the past as it was. Apart from the real data recorded, the creation of these graphics encompassed a social, artistic and cultural background, as well as personal vision, which pose a range of questions of past, present and future which I hope to sketch-out in these lines.

Bringing to light the five Vejer engravings presented here has not been fortuitous, but rather the fruit of many years of research in the field which started with the examination of all types of illustrative documentation on the Alhambra and its setting which I undertook for my doctoral thesis of 1998. Since then, thanks to the classes I gave at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura in Seville, my interest widened from Granada to include Seville, Cordova, Toledo and so on, and of course, within the province of Cádiz, Vejer de la Frontera could hardly have been omitted; one of the 'pueblos blancos' and of which I feel an adopted son. During these years the Gámiz-Vélez family collection has had the luck to acquire four of the small series of engravings now published and the fifth comes from the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice.

The first and most important of the five views of Vejer was drawn by Joris Hoefnagel and then engraved and published in 1575 in the second volume of one of the greatest graphic achievements of the 16th century, commonly known as *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. A reproduction of this view was published in 1996, locally sponsored by the Sociedad Vejeriega de Amigos del País, and this new publication gives a welcome opportunity to furnish more information about it and to understand it better by exploring different aspects of interest.

The four remaining engravings are versions of this first, copied with unequal success, and published by Daniel Meisner (1625), Pieter van der Berge (1700), Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1706) and Pieter van der Aa (1707), some of which are bibliographical rarities. There are also later editions. Their great interest lies in the contribution that they have made to the diffusion of the image of Vejer well beyond our own frontiers in the most select circles of Europe.

Although the cartography of Cadiz and environs is plentiful in the 17th and 18th centuries, it is noteworthy that no original view of Vejer is known later than Hoefnagel's drawing, even if curious copies of the plate published from it do exist, such as the four presented here. This long lull in the production of original city views, in which publishers slavishly copied the work of others but without contributing very much new, also occurred in the case of other close-by cities such as Granada. This topic is touched-on by D. Francisco Izquierdo, an expert whom I had the good fortune to know during my first years studying the subject, in his book, *Apografía y plagio en el grabado de tema granadino*, 1982. He describes the state of affairs as, '*...an arsenal of duplication or fraudulent imagination*' and continues, '*...in writing these notes, most certainly incomplete and inconclusive, it is my intention to stimulate those better qualified than I to undertake a critical examination of the subject. This would be of great interest as it has not yet been seriously studied, not even as a curiosity*'.

Just so; very little indeed has been written about the plagiarized views of our towns which illustrate books of the 16th and 17th centuries. This may be because tracing and examining copies of the different editions and versions is by no means an easy task given their rarity, and the fact that sometimes the views are available only as odd plates. There is moreover, a general lack of information about the authors, artists, editions and dates of the works, and also about such subtle variations between plates as may be found in the legends, paper and layout etc., the details of which are known only to a few specialists and collectors. We cannot but agree with Izquierdo that detailed and critical new studies are desirable.

As a small step in this direction, the present work will examine these engravings bearing in mind that a proper interpretation of them must always include an evaluation of their historical and cultural context. Not having pretensions here to produce an exhaustive scholarly account I have nonetheless carefully sifted and organized the historical data and systematically cited references and sources which will, I hope, prove of value in any possible future revision of the present work.

This study then, has been written from the viewpoint of an architect teaching and researching the drawing and analysis of architecture, the city & its environs and with the hope that the result will be gratifying to a very wide public. With this in mind I have left aside distracting conjecture and attempted to strike a balance, not always easy, between opinions already published (which I have synthesised and brought up-to-date) and my own considered reflections. I have also given in detail here the few available facts there are about some of the views and this has required considerable research, not always, I have to say, concluded to my satisfaction.



1. VEJER AND THE *CIVITATES ORBIS TERRARUM*.

1.1. City views in 16th century Europe.

The discovery of the New World and new routes to the East stimulated a growing curiosity in 16th century Europe about the geography and topography, the cities, the flora & fauna, customs & arts of different countries and cultures. A great array of books and prints was produced to satisfy this demand and thirst for knowledge at a time when printing and the art of engraving on metal was rapidly developing. The elaboration and diffusion of these images was fundamental in the history of European culture.

Within this context appeared the ‘atlases’, that is, compendiums of diverse graphic material, and monarchs and potentates formed significant collections of maps and city plans and views and they would even commission some to decorate their palaces. Italian examples are



1-2. Satellite photographs of the south of Spain, showing the area around Vejer and the Straits of Gibraltar, the mythical Pillars of Hercules. (Aramco World 43, 1992; Google Earth 2006).

those painted from 1578 onwards in the Vatican Galleries for Pope Gregory XIII or those which decorate one of the great halls in the Farnese palace in Capraola. In Spain one might mention the city views painted in the El Viso palace for Álvaro de Bazán, marqués de Santa Cruz or those painted for Philip II to complete the portrait gallery in the Sala de los Reyes in the Pardo palace, destroyed by fire in 1604, but mentioned by Argote de Molina. Also now lost, but seen by a German traveller, Diego de Cuelbis in 1599, were the views by Wyngaerde of Spanish and Dutch cities painted for the northern gallery and the Sala de Comedias in the Alcázar Real in Madrid, and who mentions, ‘*Seville, Cordova, Granada, Toledo, Xeres de la Frontera, Antequera...*’ (Fol. 104r.), and many more¹.

1. GALERA I MONEGAL, M.: *Antoon de Wijngaerde, pintor de ciudades y de hechos de armas...* p. 69-83, 1998.



3. Titlepage of Abraham Ortelius's 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum' (c. 1570).

4. Titlepages of the six volumes of 'Civitates Orbis Terrarum':
I, 1572; II, 1575; III, 1581; IV, 1588; V, 1598;
VI, 1617.



Although collections of Spanish and Andalusian city views are not common before the second half of the 16th century, it is about this time that a major atlas was published with views of all the most important cities and towns in the world; including Vejer. Publication commenced in Antwerp and Cologne, instigated by a catholic cleric, Georg Braun (1541-1622), who acted as editor and used his religious and scientific contacts abroad to collect drawings and texts (bought, copied or commissioned from many sources) of European cities as well as the Near East, North Africa, and part of Spanish America. Frans Hogenberg (1535-1590) took on the task of re-working the drawings that were to be engraved to give them a uniformity of style and format, and he was probably responsible for revising, or even writing, the complementary texts. All of these were then collected and a first volume published in 1572 as *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, a title now generally used to refer to the complete set of six volumes, the last of which appeared in 1617.

Other widely differing individuals were involved in the editorial enterprise; great draughtsmen like Joris Hoefnagel, who drew almost all of the Spanish views, including Vejer; several unknown artists and the contributors to Münster's famous *Comographia* published about the middle of the 16th century and from which many views were taken (above all those of Germany)². Another contributor was the prestigious

cartographer Abraham Ortelius, who published an important atlas about 1570, in which some of the maps were re-worked by Hogenberg himself to give uniformity of style, and which had a similar title: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. It is possible that the two works were meant to complement each other; they even had similar bindings³. Other notable contributors were the engraver Simon Novellanos (or *Simon van den Neuvel*), who worked on volumes two and three; the Dane Heinrich von Rantzau (1526-1599) known as *Rantzovius*, who supplied maps, plans, descriptions and views of Danish and north European cities, and Jacob Roelofs, better known as van Deventer (1505-1575) as well as others. Such was the success of *Civitates* that a total of six volumes were eventually published, the set being known, as has been said, by the title of the first. The titles, places and dates of the first editions, together with number of plates, are as follows⁴:

2. There is a list of the views taken from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* in SKELTON, R. A.: *Georg Braun – Frans Hogenberg, Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. 3, appendix B, p. XXVIII-XLIII, c. 1965.

3. In a letter from Braun to Ortelius he mentions 'master Frans', that is Franz Hogenberg, the engraver of many of the maps in the *Theatrum* by Ortelius and of the majority in *Civitates*. GOSS, J.: *Ciudades de Europa y España. Mapas antiguos del siglo XVI de Braun & Hogenberg*, p. 6, 1992.

4. KOEMAN, Dr. Ir. C.: "Braun, Georg and Hogenberg, Frans. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*", *Atlantes Neerlandici, Bibliography of terrestrial, maritime and celestial atlases and pilot books, published in the Netherlands up to 1880*, v. II, p. 10-27, 1967-70. Koeman is professor of cartography at the University of Utrecht.



- Book I: *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Cologne & Antwerp, 1572 (59 plates).
- Book II: *De praecipuis totius universi urbibus. Liber secundus*, Cologne, 1575 (59 plates).
- Book III: *Urbium praecipuarum totius mundi*, Cologne, 1581 (59 plates).
- Book IV: *Urbium praecipuarum totius mundi*, Cologne, 1588 (59 plates).
- Book V: *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum*, Cologne, 1598 (69 plates).
- Book VI: *Praecipuarum totius mundi urbium. Liber sextus*, Cologne, 1617 (58 plates).

For various reasons the number of plates in each volume often differs as new editions were brought out. This might be because of wear to the metal printing plates or an editorial decision to leave out some city views. Dr. Koeman, basing his data on a collation of copies all over the world⁵, puts the number of plates in the first edition at 361⁶, which, according

5. According to Koeman, there are numerous odd volumes in the Bibliothèque Nacional of Paris (36), the British Museum, now British Library (29), and in Polish libraries (70); most common are the Latin editions (Newberry Library, Chicago; Bib. Naz. Roma; Bib. Naz. Firenze, etc.) and less so those in German & French (l'Arsenal, Paris; Harvard, etc.).

6. Elena Santiago states that there are 363 plates (SANTIAGO, E.: *Teatro de las más ilustres ciudades de España y Portugal*, p. 12, 1996). The on-line catalogue of the Marciana Library in Venice lists 355 plates in the six volumes (v. I, 57; v. II, 60; v. III, 55; v. IV, 57; v. V, 53; & v. VI, 73).

to Skelton, include a total of 546 different views⁷. This is because, above all in the first few volumes, two or even three views were often included on the same plate in elongated format, as is the case with Vejer, which shares a plate with Vélez Málaga. In some instances smaller views are included with the principal one.

That Vejer should have been included in such a widely distributed work, alongside the principal towns of the whole world, gives an idea of its importance in the 16th century.

1.2. The Spanish views in *Civitates*.

Curiously the Spanish views are all grouped towards the beginning of each volume, after English towns, but not in any obvious order. Not all are signed and only a few are dated. They are as follows:

- Book I (5 plates showing 10 towns): 2. Seville-Cádiz-Málaga; 3. Toledo-Valladolid; 4. Granada (1563); 5. Barcelona-Ecija (1567); 6. Burgos-San Sebastian.
- Book II: (7 plates showing 9 towns): 3. Alhama (1564); 4. Antequera; 5. Vejer-Vélez Málaga; 6. Conil-Jerez; 7. Loja; 8. Bilbao; 9. Santander.
- Book III: (1 plate showing 2 towns): Lebrija-Setenil.
- Book IV: (2 plates showing 3 towns): 2. Seville; 3. Marchena-Osuna.
- Book V: (12 plates showing 17 towns): 5. Cádiz (1564); 6. Cádiz; 7. Seville (?); 8. San Juan de Aznalfarache-Gerena; 9. Archidona; 10. Los Palacios-Alcantarilla-Cabezas (1565); 11. Hardales (1564)-Cártama; 12. Bornos (1564)-Záhara; 13. Granada (1565); 14. Granada (Alhambra, 1564); 15. Toledo (1565); 16. La Sierra de San Adrián in Vizcaya (1567).
- Book VI: (1 plate showing 1 town): 5. Cordova.

Thus in the complete six volumes there are 28 plates with 42 views (plus one rare variant) of Spanish towns and cities, some with insets of detailed views. Of note is the prominence of Andalusian towns of which there are 32 views (plus the variant); while there are only 4 of the two Castilles (Valladolid, Burgos and 2 of Toledo); 4 of northern

7. According to Gross the total is 530 views (GOSS, J.: *Ciudades de Europa y España...*, p. 5, 1992).



5-6-7-8-9-10. Spanish views from Book II of 'Civitates' (1575):
Alhama; Antequera; Conil-Jerez;
Loja; Bilbao; Santander.

Spain (Santander, Bilbao, el Monte San Adrián & San Sebastián); and just one of Barcelona. Of Portugal there are 6 views; 2 of Lisbon, one of Coimbra, one of Braga (all large views) and 2 of Belem and Cascaes (small views).

By about 1624, 16 editions of the first volume had been published and about 47 editions⁸ of the complete work in various formats (50 x 36cm.; 46 x 33cm. etc.), apart from the plagiarized copies noted below. Dr. Koeman has identified six editions of Book II in which Vejer appears: 1575, 1597, 1612 in Latin, 1575 & 1576 in German, and 1575 in French.

There is no lack of curious printing variants; as for example the coloured copy used on the cover of the folder of plates which accompanies this study⁹, in which Vejer appears laterally inverted (a mirror image), with the position of the name 'VEGEL' moved and with small differences in the lettering compared to other copies. There is also great variety in those copies which have been coloured by hand. In some this has been splendidly executed, but in others with less success. Many purists prefer the engravings uncoloured given that very often colour-wash was used to camouflage the poor quality of some engraved lines. And in the later editions of the six volumes, with the plates now worn, it is common to find them with a standardized colouring of the 16th century or later. Nor is it rare to find plates where the colouring is not contemporary, but of the 19th or 20th centuries.

The *Civitates* views are at any rate skilfully drawn, giving a close approximation to the more important urban and architectural features, and include meticulous details of the surrounding countryside. The truthfulness of the graphic data given demonstrates a clear interest in *verisimilitude*, a key word with regard to drawings of towns in the second half of the 16th century, and often expressed on the plates

8. SANTIAGO PÁEZ, E. M.: "Sevilla la evolución de una imagen", *Iconografía de Sevilla (1400-1650)*, p.18, 1988. Koeman has identified editions in Latin, German and French with the following dates: Book I: Latin, 1572, 1575, 1577, 1582, 1588(?), 1593, 1597, 1599, 1612, 1623, 1624; German, 1574, 1582 (?); French, 1575, 1576, 1579. Book II: Latin, 1575, 1597, 1612; German, 1575, 1576; French, 1575. Book III: Latin, 1581, 1588, 1593, 1599 (?), 1606, 1612, 1616, 1621; German, 1582; French: 1583. Book IV: Latin, 1588, 1594, 1597, 1617; German: 1590 (?), 1617; French: 1590 (?). Book V: Latin, 1598; German, 1600; French: 1600. Book VI: Latin, 1617, 1618; German, 1618; French: 1618.

9. This view is by courtesy of Anticuaria La Victoria (Granada) and Eduardo Páez López who provided the scanned image.

themselves in such terms as: *vero ritratto, vero disegno, vera descrizione, real disegno, fidele ritrato* or *ad vivum delineata*¹⁰. Sometimes the artist even includes himself in the drawing in an attempt to create greater realism, as is the case in the view of the Sevillian town of Cabezas (see cover of this study).

In this sense the *Civitates* images were composed as pleasing scenic landscapes giving a wealth of information through the drawing of an abundance of detail and subjects. Their enormous documental value lies in the careful depictions of roads, topographical landmarks, urban and architectural details, and the mercantile and agricultural environment, etc. What is more, the foregrounds are illustrated with figures dressed in period costume, busy with everyday affairs of work and play and are of keen interest to scholars as sources of knowledge about, and a genuine epitome of, 16th century life¹¹.

Conspicuous in some of the plates for example, are the 'almalafas' (yashmaks)¹² worn by the women. These are hoods or veils derived from *morisco* tradition and surviving in Vejer to recent times: 'It is from the 16th century onwards that the *almalafa* is recorded as street wear of the people of eastern Andalusia. Christoph Weiditz describes a trip which Johannes Lange made to Granada in 1526: half the people of this city are white Moors whose women and girls wear white breeches or bloomer-like trousers, and cover the head and body with a white shawl reaching down to the calves, like our village shepherds, and they extend the headscarf to cover half the face'¹³.

It is noticeable that at times the human figures are out of scale on the plates. According to Francisco Izquierdo many were simply copied from other previously published plates: 'The figures which abound in the foreground of the plates, above all those representing *morisco* men and

10. AREVALO RODRÍGUEZ, F.: *La representación de la ciudad en el Renacimiento*, p. 208, Caja de Arquitectos, 2003.

11. GIL SANJUAN, J. / PEREZ DE COLOSÍA, M.I.: *Imágenes del Poder. Mapas y paisajes urbanos del Reino de Granada en el "Trinity College" Dublin*, Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía, Universidad de Málaga, 1997.

12. 'The *almalafa* is an article of dress typical of northern Morocco and of Islamic Spain ... jaique y *almalafa* are different from the *cobijada* of Vejer. It is perhaps the *almalafa* which the *cobijada* mostly resembles'. MAS GORROCHATEGUI, A. / MUÑOZ RODRÍGUEZ, A.: "El cobijado de Vejer y su leyenda morisca", *Revista NARRIA*, n° 69-70, p. 45-49, Universidad Autónoma Madrid, 1995.

13. ALBARRACÍN, Josefina: *Vestido y adorno de la mujer musulmana de Yebala*, CSIC, Madrid, 1964. MAS GORROCHATEGUI, A.: "Cobijado vejeriego, *almalafa* y jaique: precisiones a un equívoco romántico", *Revista JANDA* n° 1, p. 69-86, Sociedad de Amigos del País, Vejer, 1995.



11-12. Women dressed in 'almalafas', as depicted in the foreground of the view of Granada taken from the Vega in 'Civitates'. The costume of a Granadine woman, taken from a contemporary print.

13-14. Portraits of Joris Hoefnagel; a drawing of 1591 (Kunstverein, Bremen) and engraving by Hendrich Hondius I of 1598.



women, are slavishly copied from drawings by Christoph Weiditz of thirty years before. And this copying is so obvious that suffice it to note the figures in the general panorama of Granada from the south (engraved in 1563), and add to the scene those of the Alhama plate (engraved 1564), to reveal the blatant plagiarism. The figures have been lifted entire, even to the artificial postures of a tailor's dummy'¹⁴.

On the verso of the plates an original text complements the drawing or gives more information about the city depicted: origin, history, economic resources, commerce, architecture, urban development etc. The nomenclature in this text is in Latin, the language of the erudite, although prominent locations are given their common name, spelt in a form sufficiently familiar for easy identification by a native of the place.

1.3. Hoefnagel: travels and artistic context.

It was especially fortunate that the Spanish views in this immense publishing enterprise counted on one of the finest of the draughtsmen involved in the venture, and one who, moreover, travelled throughout the country to draw *in situ* the great majority of views published. Joris (or Georg) Hoefnagel (1542-1600), was the son of a diamond merchant and according to Skelton, an indefatigable traveller from the age of nineteen.

In 1561 he was in France¹⁵ and about 1563, at twenty-one, he arrived in Spain accompanied by his compatriot and associate Nicolas Malepart, who is mentioned in the text of one of the views of Seville.

Using the dates on Hoefnagel's plates some authorities have attempted to reconstruct the itinerary he might have followed. It is supposed that he arrived by boat at Seville since there was then a flourishing colony of Flemish and Dutch merchants at the port trading with America, but Cádiz has also been suggested as a possible port of arrival. The present author is studying the possibility that he was a student of another important artist in the service of Philip II, Anton de Wyngaerde, who arrived in Spain in 1563 and left in 1567, and that their visits might have coincided. This is still speculation however, as very little is known at present of the details of his travels.

It is significant that *Civitates* includes 3 plates of Granada (plus a rare variant) dated variously 1563, 1564 and 1565, making it the city with the most published views, not only in the Peninsula, but in the whole work, as a glance at the index to the six volumes shows. This is an indication of the great interest the city aroused at the time, an interest corroborated by the text on the verso of the third of the plates¹⁶. Given that the only Hoefnagel Spanish view dated 1563 is that of Granada, it is logical to suppose that he arrived in the city in that year. From there he would have

14. IZQUIERDO, F.: *Apografía y plagio en el grabado de tema granadino*, p. 8, 1982.

15. GOSS, J.: *Ciudades de Europa y España...*, p. 6, 1992.

16. A translation (into Spanish) can be found in SANTIAGO PÁEZ, E. / WACQUEZ, M.: *Teatro de las más ilustres ciudades de España y Portugal*, p. 112, 1996.

made several trips: views of Granada, Alhama, Cádiz, Bornos and Hardales are dated 1564; Las Cabezas, Toledo and another of Granada, 1565; and one of Ęcija (sharing a plate with Barcelona) and one of San Adrián in Vizcaya are both dated 1567. And so, although the view of Vejer is not dated, a likely date for the original (but unknown) drawing would be 1564, eleven years before the publication of the corresponding engraving.

It should be stressed that not all the Spanish views in *Civitates* are signed or dated, nor are they all by Hoefnagel, and some are copies of earlier drawings. For example, in the case of Bilbao, a 1544 drawing by Joannes Muflin, another interesting character, was used (as is noted in the legend). Additionally, in the Seville plate, a drawing of 1585 by the Milanese architect and artist, Ambrosius Brambilla (itself based on an earlier view by Münster) was copied. Neither the view of Cordova, nor the rare view of Granada seen from the Vega, which only occurs as an un-numbered plate in the first edition, would seem to be by Hoefnagel.

After his travels in Spain, Hoefnagel went back to Antwerp to improve his landscape drawing, studying under the artist Jan Bol. In 1568 he travelled in England, returning to Antwerp in 1570, and then in 1577-78 he travelled with Ortelius through Italy. From 1578 to 1590 he worked in Munich as a miniaturist for the Elector of Bavaria, and after that date for the Emperor Rudolph II in Prague. A brief account of the remarkable historical ambience in which he found himself follows below, and will help to explain the artistic development of the author of the Vejer plate and of the people around him.

It will be remembered that during the 16th century the Renaissance flourished in several Italian city-states and in other cities of central and northern Europe, where princes interested themselves in encouraging all things cultural, converting their territories into important centres of the arts, letters and sciences. Among these cities Prague stood-out especially during the reign of Rudolph II, archduke of Habsburg, king of Hungary and Bohemia and, from 1576 to 1612, Holy Roman Emperor. *His agents, artists or not, scoured Europe and elsewhere searching for select pieces, and what with these and what he himself purchased or received as gifts from other princes or governments...he created one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of picture galleries in modern Europe, with a collection that, according to contemporary witnesses, grew to three thousand pieces.* One might well suppose that a traveller such as Hoefnagel was much involved in the collecting of this graphic material.



15-16. Engraved plates with naturalistic drawings by Hoefnagel ('*Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*', Frankfurt 1592).

Rudolph also attracted to his court distinguished painters, gold and silversmiths, sculptors, architects and other artists, some of whom had already worked for his father, Maximilian II of Habsburg (1564-76). And so Hoefnagel found himself alongside the likes of people such as the astronomer Johannes Kepler, who apart from his famous discovery of the motion of the planets, designed and experimented with a 'camara oscura' to make his astronomical observations. He also developed a theory of vision stimulated by problems posed by the findings of a wide range of precision instruments constructed by clock and gadget makers such as Erasmus Habermel and Jobst Burgi. It is obvious that Rudolph interested himself in the visual arts as an intellectual exercise of the first order, and he patronised such extraordinary graphic work as the fantastic architectural drawings of Vredemann de Vries, a master of perspective, the engravings of Goltzius and so on¹⁷. Within this milieu Hoefnagel led an artistic movement called *naturalistic* to describe the meticulous nature drawings produced in the decade of the 1590s¹⁸, a consequence or evolution of the manner in which he had addressed the issue in his urban views years before in *Civitates*.

17. DACOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: "La Praga de Rodolfo II", *Historia Universal de la Pintura. Summa Pictorica, t. V, El manierismo y la expansión del Renacimiento*, p. 68-72, 1999.

18. See HOEFNAGEL, J.: *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*, Frankfurt 1592 (facsimile ed. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, München 1994), with naturalistic drawings by the artist which bear some relation to the capricious pictures of Arcimboldo or to natural history paintings (pictures of animals, landscapes...). There are some original Hoefnagel drawings in the Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, which are reproduced in the above mentioned article: DACOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: "La Praga de Rodolfo II"..., 1999.



17. Drawing of Zahara de los Atunes with Vejer sketched-in at upper right. Anton de Wyngaerde, c. 1567 (153 x 535 mm.) (National Bibliothek of Viena).

It should also be borne in mind that Philip II and Rudolph enjoyed a close relationship; they were cousins and brothers-in-law and the latter spent his adolescence at the Spanish court during the years when the Escorial was being built. Looking at some of the views of American cities included in *Civitates* one can imagine the drawings being pored-over by the Spanish court, and it is telling that in the *Civitates* view of Cabezas in Seville there is a legend reading, '*Non se haze nada nel conscio del Rey senza*', that is; nothing is to be done without the king's knowledge¹⁹.

There is in this an aspect of great interest which has not been noticed before (something the present writer hopes to put right with new research), and that is the relationship between Hoefnagel's original drawings, not now known, and those of an outstanding draughtsman in Philip II's employ; Anton de Wyngaerde²⁰, whose magnificent drawings of cities remained practically unpublished until the close of the 20th century. Wyngaerde made his first journey to the south of Spain in 1564 (the same year in

19. That part of the view showing this lettering and Hoefnagel himself sketching is used on the covers of this study.

20. This theme was cautiously touched on in HAVERKAMP-BEGEMANN, E.: 'Las Vistas de España de Anton de Wyngaerde', *Ciudades del Siglo de Oro...*, p. 62-67, 1986.

which many of Hoefnagel's views are dated) in order to draw the siege of the Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera on the North African coast. Passing through Málaga, he arrived in August of that year and started his drawings of the city. His second visit to Andalusia was in 1567 (the date of Hoefnagel's last Andalusian views), when he started in Cordova and then travelled on through Úbeda-Baeza, Jaén, Granada, Alhama de Granada, Antequera, Ojén, Gibraltar, Tarifa, Zahara de los Atunes, Cádiz, El Puerto de Santa María, Jerez de la Frontera, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Seville, Carmona, Itálica and continuing along the Ruta de la Plata. If a relationship could be established between the two artists it would date the Vejer view to 1567, when Wyngaerde made his very interesting drawing of Zahara de los Atunes (situated within the historical boundaries of Vejer) and which includes an outline sketch of the latter in the landscape background.

It is intriguing that Wyngaerde often depicts himself drawing alongside a companion; and we may conjecture that this was the young Hoefnagel²¹. It has come to our notice that in the National Library of

21. This occurs in several views: 1563 (when Hoefnagel arrived in Spain) in Chinchilla de Montearagón y Monzón; in 1565 in Cuenca; and in 1567 (when Hoefnagel left Spain) in Jaén, Carmona, Guadalupe & Talavera de la Reina.

Austria there is a collection of views by Wyngaerde, now stored as separate sheets, but which in the 19th century were numbered and bound-up in parchment together with drawings by Hoefnagel. This album of 79 leaves, 48 x 37cm., was at that time given the title, *Anton van den Wyngaerde und George Hoefnagel. Spanische Städtebildern 1563-1570*²². Is it too much to hope that this trail might lead in the near future to the re-discovery of Hoefnagel's original (but unknown) drawing of Vejer ?

1.4. The engraving of Vejer in *Civitates* (1575).

As has been noted, Hoefnagel's drawing of Vejer, dating from 1564-67, was engraved for Book II of *Civitates* on a double page which it shares with a separate view of Vélez Málaga in Málaga, the engraved plate containing both, measuring approximately 511 x 326 mm.

The cardinal points of the compass are written below the borderlines of the plate: at the top, *MERIDIES* (south); bottom, *SEPTENTRIO* (north); on the left, *ORIENS* (east) and on the right, *OCCIDENS* (west). The plate includes the following lettering: on one side the name of the town (*VEGEL*), then a fountain (*Fuente*) is indicated and, standing within a copse, a hermitage (*Heremitaño*), although, curiously this last word only appears on the rare variant plate which has been reproduced on the cover of the accompanying suite of views. On the other side are geographical locations: Spain (*Espanna*), Morocco (*BARBERIA*), the Atlantic (*MAR OCEANO*), the Strait of Gibraltar or Pillars (here lit. 'narrows') of Hercules (*Estretcio de Jubraltar siue fretum herculis*) and Cape Platas, as well as Cape Spartel, the mythical promontory of Ampelusium (*Cabo spatel: seu Ampelusium Promont*) and *Abila mons*, now called Jebel [Mount] Muza, both in North Africa.

In the foreground are two standing figures who appear to be discussing Vejer, which they are pointing out. One holds a horse and surely represents Hoefnagel himself since the legend *Deping: Georgius Hoefnagle* appears directly beneath him. What is more, his clothes, a cape over one shoulder and a shirt with decorative bands between sleeve and shoulder, hat, sword and beard, all coincide with those in the self-portrait in the view of Cabezas already mentioned (see the covers of this study). The other figure is a shepherd leaning on a hefty crook, his flock

22. GALERA I MONEGAL, M.: *Antoon van den Wijngaerde, pintor de ciudades y de hechos de armas...*, p. 53, 1998.

behind him, and would seem to be giving directions to the traveller. In the background are several sailing ships plying the Atlantic Ocean, with an intriguing cameo scene of what might be corsairs attacking one of them.

With regard to the technical execution of the view it should be remembered that many cities were drawn in perspective from sketches made *au naturel* and with many similarities between them: *the choice of a high viewpoint, a panoramic vision of the whole and framed to encompass all of the view to be drawn, without cutting anything out...*²³. A certain distance would be necessary to achieve a wide panorama that would relate the city to the adjacent countryside (with its rivers, mountains, agriculture and so on) and the position of prominent buildings and landmarks would also influence the choice of the frame of reference. Using an elevated viewpoint, apart from giving a wide overview of all the surroundings, avoided one urban feature obstructing another. To enhance the perception of the image, manipulation was frequently resorted to: widening tortuous and narrow streets, rescaling buildings in the foreground, lowering of the height of ordinary houses, giving an emphasis to important buildings and so on. In this way, although the views lose some of their accuracy, they gain a readability that even people unaccustomed to such things can comprehend. Hoefnagel recognises this himself when he speaks of making a drawing: *'cities should be represented in such a way that all of the roads and streets, as well as the buildings and open spaces, can be seen by the viewer'*²⁴.

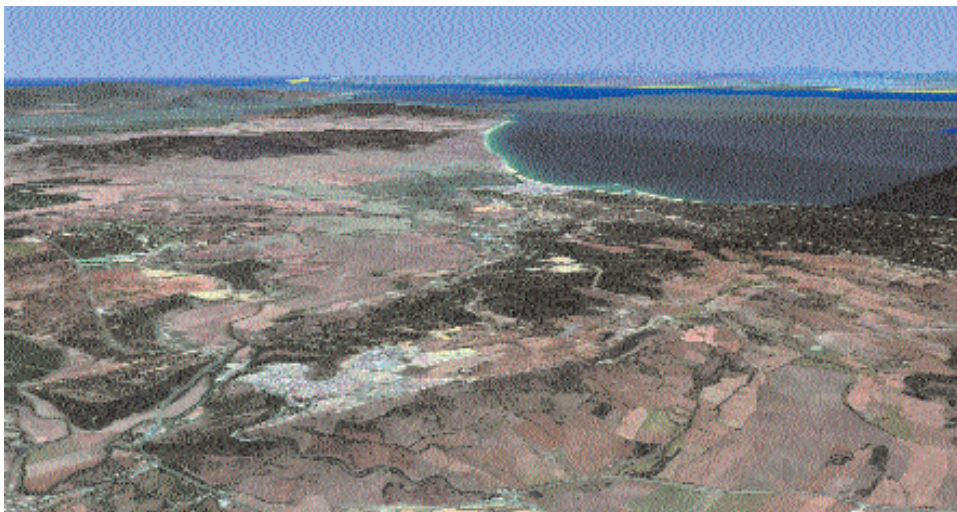
With Vejer, the topography surrounding the town gave Hoefnagel his vantage point on a high hill with stunning views and aptly named, El Cerro de Buenavista (fair view), near the spot where the old windmills are today and by the landmark called '*El Santo*' beside the municipal water storage tanks. From here one can see for oneself that the plate of Vejer is no invention, but contains truthfully rendered elements, albeit with some exaggeration and falsification such as the close proximity of the sea, which in reality is not visible from this hill (although it is from much higher viewpoints, as can be seen from the aerial photograph photographs p. 15)²⁵.

23. AREVALO RODRÍGUEZ, F.: *La representación de la ciudad en el Renacimiento*, p. 189-ss., 2003.

24. GOSS, J.: *Ciudades de Europa y España...*, p. 5, 1992.

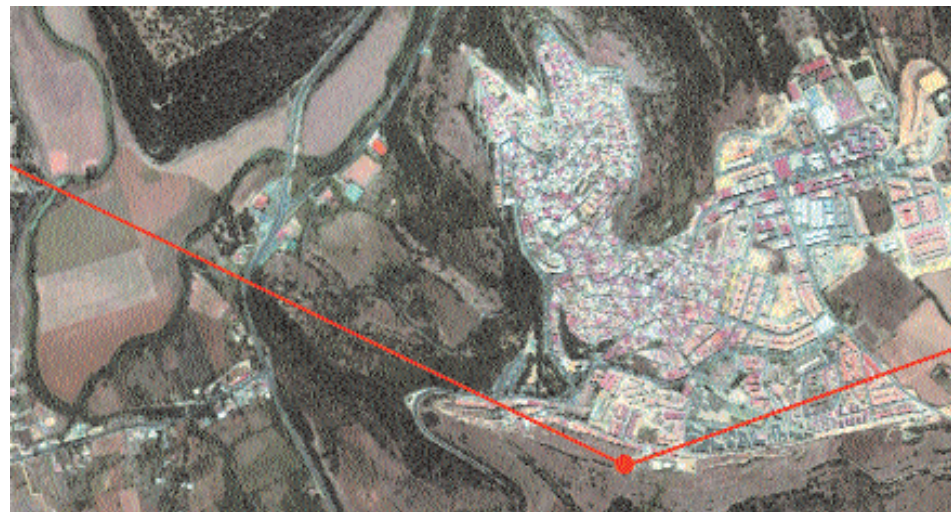
25. I acknowledge with gratitude the invaluable help of Francisco José Cepero Sánchez in locating this viewpoint. Of great interest too, is the fixing of the viewpoint in the case of Granada, which appears in SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, Carlos: *Granada (1563-1853): Tres siglos de evolución urbana a través de la stampa*, Discurso de recepción Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Nuestra Señora de las Angustias, Granada 2005.





18. Handcoloured engraving with the views of Vejer and Vélez Málaga in Book II of 'Civitates', 1575. (Courtesy of Anticuario la Victoria, Granada, & Eduardo Páez López).

The topography is on the whole accurate. Drawn to the left, reduced in scale, are the Granada mountains (known locally as sierra 'Graná' or 'Ganá') and the river Barbate. Separating Vejer from the countryside are the old town walls, mostly still standing, and clearly delineated in the view. The immediate surroundings of the walls are practically denuded of trees, probably for defensive reasons, this being a common practice at the time. The fountain depicted in the town outskirts is possibly that called 'Gallardo' or 'del Cagajón'. It will be noticed that there are not, as yet, any buildings outside the walls nor does the Plazuela exist. Later a franciscan monastery (now partly hotel) would be built here, incorporating an old hermitage, Nuestra Señora de Clarinas. Nor does the street, calle Alta, appear, the result of later town growth. Also shown are the hill called Bonete, but without of course the present buildings, and the road which leads up to the town fortifications, today the Corredera. The building depicted in the foreground surrounded by trees and with an adjacent cultivated plot, would seem to be the hermitage of Los Remedios (perhaps previously an Islamic marabout or oratory) of which there are rests on the roundabout at the entrance to the town. This is less likely to be the



19-20. Aerial photographs of Vejer and surroundings with the sea in the background and showing the approximate viewpoint taken by Hoefnagel for his drawing (Google Earth, 2006).

hermitage of Santa Lucía since that remains outside the visual frame chosen for the view.

Dominating the town view is the church tower with its spire. This now looks as if its height were exaggerated, but in fact its proportions correspond to the old spire which was replaced in the 18th century by the much lower one now in place. Alongside the church was the Segur bastion, built at the close of the 15th century by the second duke of Medina Sidonia, and the important North Tower, seen to advantage today from the Corredera. Also conspicuous is the main bulk of the Convento de las Concepcionistas with adjacent tower, and the castle with a keep which might be the original Torre del Homenaje, no longer extant²⁶.

On the verso of the plate is the following text, here translated from the Latin:

26. MUÑOZ RODRÍGUEZ, A.: *Vejer de la Frontera*, Los pueblos de la Provincia nº 39, Diputación de Cádiz, 1996.

VEGEL.



Lest bien vray, que VEGEL est petite ville, si ne laisse elle pourtant d'estre renommee tant pour la belle & plaisante asiette ou elle est, comme pour ses ouurage sestant en la prouince de Andelouzie, Royaume d'Espagne, qui est à sept lieues du destroiët de Gibraltar vers la part de Midi, ayant sa situation sur vn collau environné de tous costez d'une planure tresplaisante & fertile, tellemët que ceste ville à son regard libre de toutes parts, tant que la veue peut porter tant sur vne plainure abondante & spacieuse & lieux de pasturages deuers le soleil leuant, comme sur les montaignes d'Afrique, & la part, qui est sur le Midi. Et pareillement regarde elle du coste de Septentrion sur ceste large & spacieuse mer Oceane. La pescherie à laquelle les habitants sont adonnez, les fournit abondamment de toutes choses necessaires à la vie. Non gueres loin de ceste ville l'Oceane par vn petit destroiët separe l'Europe de l'Afrique, lequel destroiët de Gibraltar, communement ainsi nommé par les Espagnols, estant autrement appellé les colonnes d'Hercules, separe la ville Gibraltar, qui est en Espagne, de Ceuta ville de Mauritaine par vn petit entre deux contenant trois mille pas. Et d'ici se void aussi Abyla montaigne treshaute de Mauritanie, vulgairement dicte Almiuna, que les mariniers Alemans nomment *den Schemünchelberg* à laquelle est correspondant en hauteur le mont dict Gibraltar, qui est en Espagne au dessus de ce destroiët. Or quant à ces montaignes & destroiët de Gibraltar, oultre plusieurs qui en ont escrit Denis Alexandrin & celui qui l'a commenté satisfieront au lecteur amateur de science & choses nouuelles.

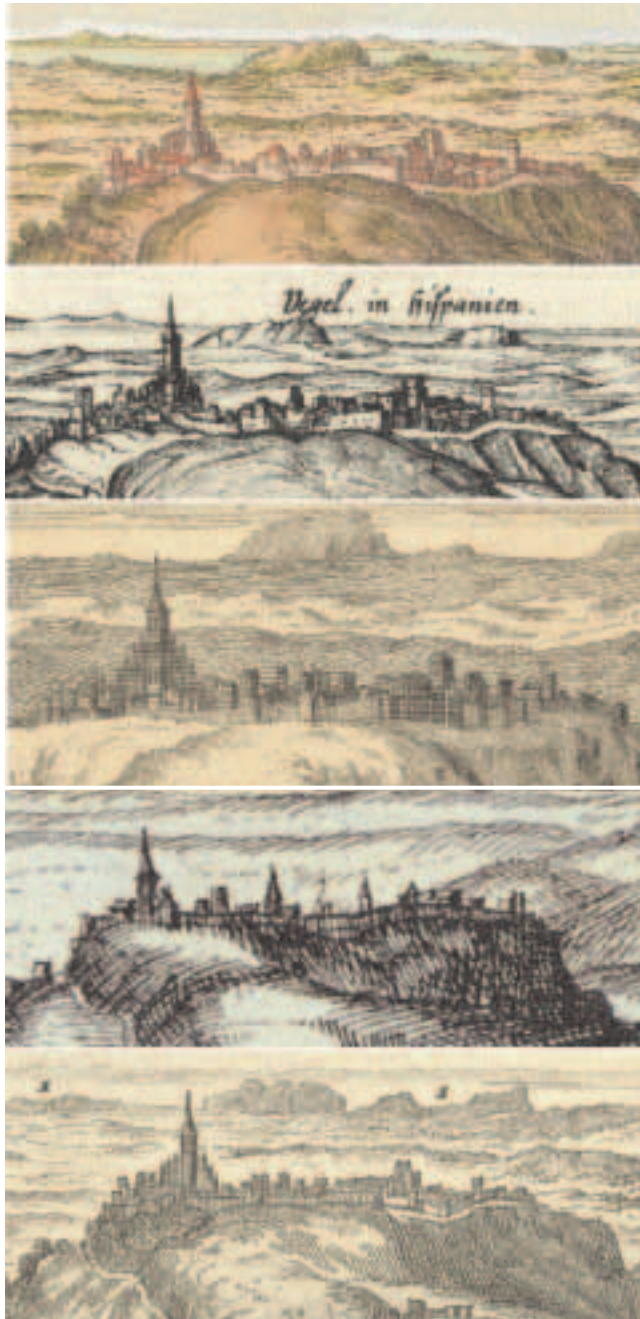


21-22. Text on the verso of the Vejer plate in 'Civitates'. On the left in French, above in Latin.

'It is truly said that Vejer is a small town as famous for its alluring and agreeable situation as for its produce. Located in the province of Andalusia in the kingdom of Spain, at seven leagues from the straits of Gibraltar towards the south, it is set on a mount surrounded by delightful fertile lowlands, such that this town enjoys wide views on all sides, from the bounteous and capacious plains and pastureland of the east, to the mountains of Africa in the south. In like manner, to the north it looks out over the large and expansive Ocean. The inhabitants devote themselves to fishing, which furnishes them with an abundance of all they could need in life. Not far from this town the Ocean separates, by a strait, Europe from Africa. This strait of Gibraltar, commonly so-called now by the Spaniards but known in old times as the Pillars of Hercules, separates the town of Gibraltar which is in Spain, and Ceuta a town in

Mauretania, with a narrow sea passage of three thousand paces. And from there can also be seen Abila, a very high mountain in Mauretania, commonly called Almina, which German sailors call Den Schemünchelberg, and which has as its equal in height the Calpe mountain in Spain, above the strait. There we are, of these mountains and the strait of Gibraltar the enquiring reader interested in science and things new, will have his curiosity satisfied by, among a multitude of authors, Dionysius of Alexandria and his commetarist, Eustathius²⁷.

27. The translation is taken from: SANTIAGO PÁEZ, E. / WACQUEZ, M.: *Teatro de las más ilustres ciudades de España y Portugal*, p. 114, 1996.



23. Comparison of the town of Vejer in *Civitates*' (1575) with the copies by Meisner (1623), van der Berge (1700), Coronelli (1706) & van der Aa (1707).



24. Titlepage of Jansson's 'Theatrum Hispaniae Urbes', c. 1657.

2. NEW EDITIONS AND PLAGIARIES OF CIVITATES.

2.1. Jansson's edition and other copies.

Once the enormous task of collecting and publishing a great number of views of cities has been completed, there was no lack of opportunists ready to copy or re-work them. It should be noted that Book VI of *Civitates* was published in 1617, when all those who had started the project were dead, with the exception of Braun, but whose name does not appear in it. Abraham Hogenberg, Frans's son, did however continue to publish the six volumes with a Latin text. When he died in 1653, the metal plates were bought by the Amsterdam map publisher Jan Jansson or Johannes Janssonius, who, after adding new views, published them in about 1657, grouping the cities geographically by country, in eight volumes under the title *Theatrum Urbium...*(with variations), followed by the name of the country, and with a Latin text.

In the volume on Spain, *Theatrum Hispaniae Urbes*, the plates are collected in no particular geographical order, but five views copied from different sources are added, as well as two which were new and original (a plan of Madrid and a view of Monserrat)²⁸. Some of the views included

28. A copy of the Jansson in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid was used for a facsimile edition: SANTIAGO PÁEZ, E. (est.) / WACQUEZ, M. (trad.): *Teatro de las más ilustres ciudades de España y Portugal*, 1996. Jansson's Andalusian views are reproduced in: QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 17-38, 1996.

changes because the metal plates were worn through use or had cracked and had to be re-touched for this edition of about 1657²⁹. This was not the case however with Vejer, which remained unchanged.

After passing through the hands of Jansson's heirs, the metal plates were acquired about 1694 by Frederick de Wit, who included some of them in an important collection of views called *Theatrum Praecipuarum totius Europae Urbium* published in Amsterdam sometime after this date.

And so, after publication of Hoefnagel's original drawing of Vejer, there followed a long period in which no new view of the town appeared, in spite of the fact that Cádiz itself was notably included in cartographic production of the time. Hoefnagel's view was however copied for inclusion in the works described in the notes below, it has to be said though that not all the works which plagiarized *Civitates* included Vejer, choosing instead other cities. Some examples might be given: the book by the traveller Martin Zeiller (1589-1661) who copied the views from *Civitates* but omitted the figures³⁰; the volume on Spain and Portugal by Alain Maneson Mallet entitled *Description de l'Univers* (Paris, 1683) which contains about 700 engravings³¹; or the views by Antoine Aveline or Auelin³² (Paris, 1691-1743) a printseller and artist who engraved, by royal privilege, views of European castles collected under the title *Vues topographiques. Europe*³³, and others.

2.2. Daniel Meisner's engraving (1625).

After Georg Braun's death it seems that Eberhard Kieser collected up to 830 city views which were redrawn and published under the title *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus* in Frankfurt between 1623 and 1631. They were republished in Nuremberg between 1637 and 1642, with the title *Sciografia Cosmica*, and later in 1678³⁴ and in 1700 as *Politica Politica*³⁵.

29. SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, Carlos: *Granada (1563-1853): Tres siglos de evolución urbana a través de la stampa*, Granada 2005.

30. FOULCHE-DELBOSC, R. *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal*, p. 46 (n° 63), 1896. A digital facsimile may be consulted on the web page of the Fundación Sancho el Sabio.

31. ORSSICH, P.: *Catálogo 39*, n° 69. IZQUIERDO, F.: *Apografía y plagio en el grabado de tema granadino*, p. 12, 28-29, 1982. CATÁLOGO: *Colección de Estampas de la Fundación Focus*, p. 73, 1996.

32. CATÁLOGO: *Colección de Estampas de la Fundación Focus*, p. 122, 1996.

33. PAU PEDRÓN, A.: *Toledo Grabado*, p. 124, Toledo 1995.

34. *Antiquariatskatalog Frühjahr, 2006*. Meter Bierl Buch & Kunst Antiquariat. Der 100. Katalog, p. 41, n° 475. Catalogue made available by Ricardo Sierra Delgado.

35. IZQUIERDO, F.: *Apografía y plagio en el grabado de tema granadino*, p. 17, 19, 20, 21, 1982. The Meisner is dated 1623 in SERRERA, R. M.: *El Darro y la Granada romántica*, p. 32, 1984.



25. Potrait of Daniel Meisner from a contemporary print.

26. Daniel Meisner's engraving of Vejer from 'Thesaurus Philo-Politicus', Frankfurt, 1625. (Private collection G-V).

All the views are of very great interest for the curious scenes and figures included in the foreground together with a short text. These texts have been little studied, but would seem to be taken from classical sources or composed with moralising intent.

The view of Vejer, measuring 100 x 150mm., is dated 1625 and signed by the engraver, Pfeffer. It is entitled 'Vejer in hispanien' (Vejer in Spain) and at the foot is the legend: '*Arcadice pecudes calcant. (Heu!) Palladis Artes: Temporis haec nostri signa dolenda ferunt*' ('The beasts trample Arcas here [Aye!] the arts of Pallas Athene. They say such signs of our time are to be lamented')³⁶. There follow beneath this, two rhyming couplets in German expressing the same sentiments: 'The gross asses depicted here / violently trample art, / scorning cultured people. / This is an Image of our time'.

In the foreground on the left is a donkey laden with work-tools (some perhaps agricultural) and on the right, a mule carrying part of a suit of armour, a book and other artefacts. Scattered beneath them on the ground are a number of curious objects: a globe, a sextant, a set square and books etc.; the scene clearly illustrating brute creatures trampling the various symbols of the arts and sciences. The background landscape is a simple copy from *Civitates*, with the frame of reference reduced but accurately reproducing urbanistic features.

36. Translation by courtesy of Antonio Muñoz Rodríguez. Arcas, eponym of Arcadia, is a semi-god and Greek hero; 'beasts' might be translated livestock.

Zustand freier Kunst zu unsern Zeiten.

G68

Uebel. in Hispanien.



Arcadice pecudes calcant (heü!) Palladis ARTES:

Temporis hæc nostri signa dolenda ferunt.

Die groben Esel hie gemalt
Die Kunst zertretten mit gewalt,

Verachten fromm gelehrte Leüt.
Diß ist ein Abriß unsrer Zeit.



2.3. Pieter van der Berge's engraving (1700).

The little-known work of the Flemish engraver Pieter van der Berge, *Teatrum Hispaniae exhibens Regni Urbes, Villas ac Viridaria magis illustria* (Amsterdam, 1700), contains 71 plates³⁷, one of which is of Vejer. This plate is patently yet another copy from *Civitates* with the view frame modified and the figures in the foreground removed. The quality of the impression is high, although the image loses in overall accuracy.

Only the words *Gibraltar* and *Africa* are retained in the lettering. The title below is in four languages: '*Vegelia, Hisp. Baetica opp. à colle circumquaque fretum Herculeum montosaque Africa littora respiciens. Vegel situada cerca Cádiz, assentado sobre las montañas a l'entrada*

37. In the catalogue *III Salón del Libro Antiguo*, Granada, 1996, the bookseller José Porrúa Turanzas, offered a copy with 71 plates although I am informed by Jaime Armero of the printers, that there are copies with just 60. The work is quoted in *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1650-1790*, v. II (p. 172 et. seq.), 1989; & in *Colección de Estampas de la Fundación Focus*, p. 122, 1996.



27-28. Letterpress titlepage (left) and engraved titlepage (right) to '*Teatrum Hispaniae...*', Amsterdam, 1700. (Courtesy of Grabados Frame, Madrid).

29. Pieter van der Berge's engraving of Vejer in '*Teatrum Hispaniae...*', 1700. (private collection G-V).

d'Estrecho. Vegel cen stedeken niet verre van Cádiz, fiende naar de Staat van Gibraltar en de Afrikaansche kusten. Vegel, petite ville, pas loin de Cadis, proche du Detroit à la veue d'Afrique'. Below this, in the centre is: '*P. v. d. Berge fec et edit cum Priv.*', that is Pieter van der Berge made this and published it by royal privilege.

To find out more about the engraving the watermark of the paper was examined and compared with examples given in the standard reference works. This gave Amsterdam as the place of manufacture and dates of 1698 and 1700 as a *terminus post quem* for the printing (and later on, 1707 & 1729)³⁸.

38. These watermarks have kindly been identified by Ricardo Sierra Delgado from the following works: CHURCHILL, W. A.: *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection*, Hertzberger, Amsterdam 1967; nos. 35 (1698) y 37 (1700). HEAWOOD, Edgard: *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, 2nd rev. ed. The Paper Publications Society, Hilversum 1969; nos. 405 (1729) & 422 (1707).



Vegeles, sup. Bética opp. à celle circonquaque hrenum Herculeum
 montesque Africa litorea respiciens.
 Vegeles, situado cerca Cádiz, asentado sobre las montañas à la entrada d'España.

Vegeles, een stadken niet verre van Cádiz, siende naar de Straat-
 van Gibraltar en de Afrikaanische kust.
 Vegeles, petite ville, pas loin de Cádiz, proche du Détroit à la route d'Afrique.



30. *Engraving of Gibraltar & Vejer in Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's 'Teatro della guerra, Gran Bretagna, Spagna, Portogallo' vol. II, n° 44. (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice).*

2.4. Coronelli's engraving (1706).

Another publisher who collected and copied from *Civitates*, was Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (Venice c.1650-1718), a franciscan priest who constructed interesting terrestrial globes and published many works in his native city. In 1673 a doctorate of Theology was conferred on him by the Santo Bonaventura college in Rome, and between 1681-1683 he worked for Louis XIV in Paris on two globes of 3.85m. diameter each: these are now in the Bibliothèque National in Paris. He was made cosmographer to the Republic on his return to Venice, and founded a navigation academy there.

Among his many published works are³⁹: *Morea, Negroponte & Adiacenze*, 1686; *Ritratti de celebri Personaggi*, 1697; *Lo Specchio del Mare*, 1698; *Atlante Veneto*, 1691-1696 (perhaps his most famous); *Roma antico-moderna*, 1716 and *Singularita di Venecia*.

Of more interest for the present study is a three-volume work published in 1706, since volume two, *'Teatro della guerra, Gran Bretagna, Spagna, Portogallo'*, contains a view of Vejer. The other volumes are: *'Teatro della guerra, Belgio e Olanda'* (vol. 1) and *'Teatro della guerra, Francia. La Francia divisa in 12 prefetture'* (vol. 3)⁴⁰. This second volume has 76 views of Spain and 37 of Portugal. Of the Spanish views, 38 are dedicated to Andalusia and the greater number of these (14) are of Granada (plus Loja and Alhama within the province), following is El Escorial with 11, then Madrid with 10, and then Seville & towns, Toledo, Cádiz etc. All of these are copies from earlier works.

The view of Vejer (n° 44 in the book) which shares a plate with Gibraltar, is the most distorted of the plates presented here. Yet although it is of little documental value, like the other views considered here, it too played its part in the dissemination of the image of Vejer well beyond our frontiers.

39. Useful references are: *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, vol. 1, London 1903; & FRENCH, Josephine (ed.): *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers*, 1999.

40. This is in the Biblioteca Marciana Venice (203.d.208) and all the plate images can be downloaded from the library web site.

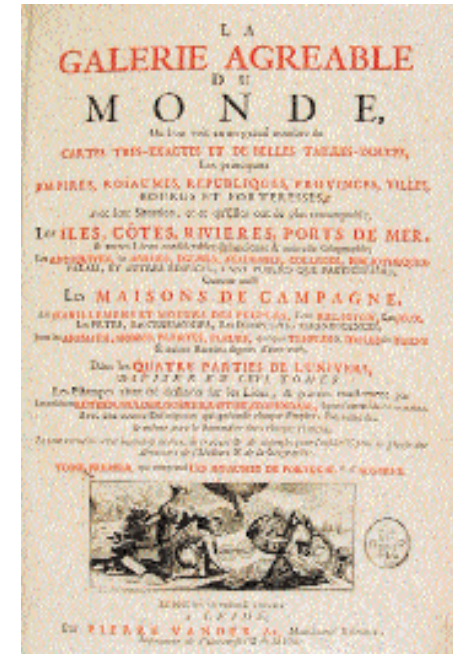
2.5. The Pieter van der Aa engraving (1707).

Another copy or version of the Vejer view from *Civitates* appeared in *Beschrywing van Spanjen en Portugal*,⁴¹ a work of Pieter van der Aa (also written Van der A. A.) and published in Leiden in 1707. In this edition the text is in Dutch and the author anonymous although the licence to publish was granted to the said van der Aa, a Flemish printer, engraver and cartographer. The work includes a total of 166 copperplates engraved and etched (platemark, 274 x 171mm. and smaller) with legends in French in the lower margins and a place name. The plates themselves are not signed although the engraved titlepage and dedication are, by Jan Goeree (1670-1731). Another edition of the work was published also in the same year of 1707 and with all the same views included, but with the text in French.

Better known is the new French edition of 1715 by Juan Álvarez de Colmenar⁴², the pseudonymous author of the text. *'Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal...'* (A Leide, 1715, Chez Pierre van der Aa) was published in six volumes in a reduced format, so that the plates are folded. The third volume of the work, *'Les Provinces d'Andalousie, & de Grenada, & de l'Île de Cadix'*, includes the following views: map of Andalusia (66), Cordova (67), Archidona (68), Écija (69), Seville (70-79), San Juan de Aznalfarache (80), Gerena (81), Palacios & Alcantarilla (82 & 83), Cabezas (84), Bornos (85), Zahara (86), Lebrija (87), Jerez de la Frontera (88), Cadiz (89-92), Gibraltar (93 & 95), a map and 2 views (Conil), Vejer (93), Hardales

41. A.A., Pieter van der (publisher): *Beschrywing van Spanjen en Portugal; Waar in, Op het naauwkeurigste, al het geene, dat, zoo ten opzichte van hunnen ouden, als tegenwoordigen staat, aanmerkens waardig, noodig en vermaakelijk om te weeten is, verhaald en door kungstige Print-verbeeldingen en Land-kaarten aageweesen werd; Dienende daar-en-oven, voor een kort begriip der voormaamste Geschiedenissen, Staats-gevallen, Regten, Zeden en Gewoontens deezer magtige Koningrijken, En eyndelijk, tot een duydelijke Weg-wijzer, om alle der zelve Landschappen, Grens-paalen, Steeden, Vlekken en Dorpen, op het kortste, veyligste en gemakkelijkste, te bereyzen. Te LEYDEN: By Pieter Vander AA, Boekverkoper. Met Privilegie. 1707. Folio: 39.0 x 23.5 cms. Halftitle; engraved title; printed titlepage in two colours with an engraved vignette after J. Goeree; engraved dedication; Bericht aan den Leezer, (III); Tafel, (IV); Privilegie, (I); 80, 84, 128, 52, 56 pp; Index (60 p.) the last with a fine engraved vignette; a folding map; and 166 engravings in the text. Text in two columns. Biblioteca Nacional; ER/2405.*

42. ÁLVAREZ de COLMENAR, Juan: *Les Delices de L'Espagne & du Portugal, où on voit une Description Exacte des Antiquitez, des Provinces, des Montagnes, des Villes, de Rivieres, des Ports de Mer, des Forteresses, Eglises, Academies, Palais, Bains, &c. De la Religion, Des Moeurs des habitans, de leurs fêtes, & généralement de tout ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable. Le tout enrichi de Cartes Geographiques, très-exactes & de figures en Taille-douce, dessinées sur les lieux mêmes, Par Don Juan Álvarez de Colmenar. Nouvelle Edition, revûë, corrigée & beaucoup augmentée. A LEIDE: Chez Pierre Vander Aa, Marchand Libraire, demeurant dans l'Academie... Avec Privilege. 6 Vols., 1715.*



32-33. Titlepages of two editions of Pieter van der Aa: 'Les Delices de L'Espagne et du Portugal...', 1707; & 'La Galerie Agreeable du Monde...', c. 1720-30.

31. Engraving of Vejer in the Dutch edition of Pieter van der Aa's 'Beschryving van Spanjen en Portugal...', 1707. (Private collection G-V).

34. Engraving of Vejer in the French edition of Pieter van der Aa's 'Les Delices de L'Espagne et du Portugal...', (Private collection G-V).

(96), Osuna (97), Marchena (98), Granada (99-113), Loja (114), Antequera (115), Malaga (116), Cartama (117), Setenil (118), Vélez Málaga (119), Alhama (120). Each plate is numbered in the lower right-hand corner.

The Vejer view (125 x 158mm.) shares plate number 93. The Dutch edition has the words 'BESCHRYVING VAN CADIX' above the view. In the cartouche at the foot is, 'Vuë du VEGEL près du Detroit', and on either side of this title the legend '1. le Detroit de Gibraltar. 2. l'Afrique. 3. l'Ocean. 4. Cap. Spartel.', all of which had already appeared in the Civitates plate.



1. Le Détroit de Gibraltar
2. L'Afrique

Nos Le VECKL. près de Détroit.

3. L'Algerie
4. Cap Spartel

The same plates were re-used in another publication of Pieter van der Aa. This is an atlas of 66 books in 29 volumes covering a wide diversity of geographical zones over the whole world⁴³. The Book dedicated to Spain is entitled, *La Galerie Agreeable du Monde: Tome Second, Du Roïaume D'Espagne à Leide*, Par Pierre van der Aa, Marchand Libraire (with engraved and etched plates, 606 x 476mm. or less) and published in the 1720s, possibly 1723 (and later in 1745)⁴⁴. The names of the engravers are listed on the titlepage: Luyken, Mulder, Goeree, Baptist and Stopendaal. Although the plates had been published previously some have the signatures of Abraham Allard, Carel Allard and of F. de Wit, the publisher.

A variant of the same work by Pieter van der Aa is kept in the Sala Goya of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (sign. ER/5825). It is an album of 167 engraved and etched copperplates with the title, '*Les Royaumes d'Espagne et de Portugal. Représentés en tailles-douches tres-exactes, dessinées sur les lieux mêmes...*' A Leide Chez Pierre Van der Aa, Marchand Libraire. Avec Privilege' (142 x 450mm.; 177 x 230mm.) and dated 1730 by Palau.

The French editions of 1707 and 1715 were re-issued in 1741 in four volumes under the title, '*Annales d'Espagne et Portugal*' (395 x 250mm.)⁴⁵. The plates eventually formed part of the collection of views by Pieter Mortier of Amsterdam and were published by Johannes Covens and Cornelius Mortier, and remained in the hands of their descendants into the 19th century.

43. France; Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden; Anatolia, Syria; Arabia, Holy Land; Poland, Prussia, Moscow; America; Portugal; Persia & Mongolia; China & Tartary; East Indies; Japan; Africa; Great Britain, Ireland...

44. BRUNET: *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 1990 v. 2, p. 1454.

45. ÁLVAREZ DE COLMENAR, Juan: *Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal: contenant tout ce qui s'est passé de plus important dans ces deux Royaumes & dans les autres parties de l'europe, de même que dans les Indes Orientales & Occidentales, depuis l'établissement de ces deux Monarchies jusqu'a présent. Avec la description de tout ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable en Espagne & en Portugal*. Amsterdam, chez François L'Honore & files, 1741. 4 volumes: I: 2 leaves, XII+424 pages, 1 leaf, 3 folding maps. II: 2 leaves, 288 pages, 46 plates with 96 views, maps, plans. III: 2 leaves, 331 pages, 30 plates with 63 views & another of Barcelona, folded. IV: 2 leaves, 340 pages, 22 leaves, 5 plates with ten views.

3. CONCLUSION.

The five views presented here show Vejer and its extraordinary setting at a time still close to its Islamic past, with the town already displaying a certain scenic maturity. One can appreciate the preservation of its fragile surroundings, certainly enriched and slowly evolving with the passage of time, only to be transformed by what is called 'progress' and 'modernity' at the dawn of the 21st century.

It should not be forgotten that the Vejer landscape has changed far more in the last few decades than in the preceding five centuries, when the appearance and flavour of its Islamic past was maintained. All this underlines the desirability of further research into the urban context and countryside surrounding Vejer, the better to appreciate and understand, and thereby protect, the beauty of its setting so prized today. It is our hope that the views in this collection, with their rich store of images, of vision, of sense of landscape, might contribute to a greater architectural and planning sensitivity.

In any case, this collection should be seen as something more profound than mere views of Vejer, charged as they are with a symbolic dimension which might be described as 'the spiritual representation of a people'. In these prints one can find something of the essence of the inhabitants, given that certain traditions and ways of being always coexist with landscape and architecture, expressed as they are with graphic symbols whose richness and significance constitute a link whose value is not always easy to fully understand.

It has been my intention not only to present and comment on a series of curious engravings of an historic town and its architecture, but also through these images to attempt to evoke the *raison d'être* or soul of Vejer. What distinguishes one town or village from another is not only its shape, form or size, but the presence of a sense of place in the inhabitants. This can sometimes be distilled in graphic images which, reflecting its visual appearance within its setting, give it its own face, individuality, identity and in a way a certain immortality.

Antonio Gámiz Gordo.
Vejer, July 2006.



35-36. Comparison of the engraving of Vejer in Book II of 'Civitates', 1575 (Private collection G-V) with a recent panoramic photograph (taken by the author) from the Buenavista hill beside 'El Santo', approximate viewpoint of the engraving.

The printing of this study was completed
on 15th August, 2006,
the feast of Nuestra Señora de la Oliva,
Patron of Vejer de la Frontera.

