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Map as Tapestry: Science and Art in Pedro Teixeira's 1656 Representation of Madrid

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"Mantua of the Carpentana, or Madrid, Royal City" reads the Latin inscription on the banderole that hovers above Pedro Teixeira's monumental map of the Spanish capital, the *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* (Topography of the town of Madrid) (Fig. 1). The text refers to a place from the distant Roman past, the purported origin of Madrid, as well as the regal capital that it had become in the seventeenth century. For Teixeira, who served as royal cosmographer to the Spanish Habsburg kings Philip III (r. 1598–1621) and Philip IV (r. 1621–65), this was a city worth seeing and worthy of being represented on a grand scale.

Teixeira's map is composed of twenty individual folios. The plates for the folios were engraved in the studio of Salomon Savery (1594–1665) in Amsterdam and then printed by Jan and Jacques van Veerle in Antwerp in 1656. Unfortunately, the details of the process are unknown.¹ Together, the folios measure nearly six feet high and nine and a half feet wide, a considerable scale for a map and one whose size alone—as large as many of the oil paintings made by Peter Paul Rubens for display at the Spanish court—was intended to impress a viewer. Displayed on a wall as an edifying visual tool, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* rivaled the authority of oil paintings and, more important, tapestries, those woven paintings that best manifested courtly magnificence in the early modern period.² The ambitious size suited the representation of Madrid in the middle of the seventeenth century, as the metropolis of a universal monarchy with territories on four continents. The extent of the domain gave rise to the appellation Rey Planeta (Planet King) for Philip IV, which was promoted in literature and the arts as well as the science of cosmography, as *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* makes clear.³

Teixeira's map was produced during an era in which royal and municipal officials, as well as chroniclers and playwrights, forged an imperial identity for Madrid. The efforts range from official histories such as Gil González Dávila's *Teatro de las grandezas de Madrid*, which appeared in 1623, to Félix Lope de Vega's *relación*, or account, of the festivals staged in 1622 to honor the city's patron saint, Isidro the Laborer, and to published tracts by individuals or corporations seeking favor from the court administration. Other words of praise, mingled with inevitable critiques, derive from diaries and correspondence written by natives and visitors to Madrid who commented on the city's *grandeza*, or greatness. The middle decades of the seventeenth century witnessed an enhanced image of Madrid, but since the era also coincided with political and economic downturns for Spain, it is necessary to reconcile the conceit of grandeur in the capital city as represented in histories or maps with the reality of the social climate in the larger realm.

Contemporary political theory in Spain dealt considerably with a perception of decline.⁴ Many of the nation's ills were

attributed to the overreach of Philip IV's royal favorite and prime minister, Gaspar de Guzmán, the count-duke of Olivares (1587–1645). In 1640, in the midst of the Thirty Years' War, rebellions arose in Catalonia and Portugal, compounding the monarchy's ongoing financial crises and leading to Olivares's ouster. The monarchy would lose Portugal but otherwise survive the decade, although in a much weakened state.

Despite this uncertain political climate, the cosmopolitan court at Madrid served as the setting for many of the finest artistic accomplishments of a period that has been called Spain's golden age, from portraits painted by Diego Velázquez to plays written by Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Teixeira's work deserves to be considered in this context. Until now, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* has been judged primarily by scholars as a scientific triumph. The assessment is owed to the map's utility in helping us understand the physical setting of the city experienced by seventeenth-century residents, although it was dramatically altered in subsequent eras.⁵ On his map, showing a perspectival view of the city's medieval core and all that had been achieved in less than a century since the institution of the Spanish court in the city by Philip II (r. 1556–98) in 1561, Teixeira claims to depict Madrid accurately. Recent studies have compared Teixeira's map with the surviving street plan to verify its remarkable level of accuracy, and the proven reliability has converted the document into a priceless picture of Madrid's urban fabric at a particular moment of the capital's history.⁶ Yet, with its artistic, political, and even biographical messages, the map has much more to offer the study of seventeenth-century visual culture in Spain.⁷

Historians of early modern Spain have demonstrated that maps, given the vital military information they could convey in a bellicose era, were often protected from view and even classified as state secrets.⁸ Teixeira's meticulous rendering of Madrid thus seems to be an anomaly in that it was created with the intent of being seen and interpreted. Following procedure for many contemporary printed maps, its sheets would have been attached to canvas and the whole image suspended on rollers or framed and hung on a wall. Numerous maps by Teixeira were hanging in the Royal Palace of Madrid by 1636. Additionally, maps and city views by a variety of other artists—most of them unknown—adorned important rooms in the palace such as the Great Hall, which featured two painted views of Madrid alongside monumental paintings and tapestries.⁹

In preparing his map, Teixeira combined an exemplary knowledge of cartographic science with ornamental flourishes and esoteric emblems, as well as allusions to historical legend, on a monumental scale. The map responded to a perceived need for artistic representations of Madrid and



1 Pedro Teixeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, 1656, engraving in 20 folios, 5 ft. 11 in. × 9 ft. 6 in. (1.78 × 2.86 m). Museo de Historia de Madrid, I.N.1522 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Museo de Historia de Madrid)

deserves consideration as an art object. Moreover, it reflects the practice of cosmography as both a humanistic and scientific pursuit, and also Teixeira's particular experience of this science as a Portuguese-born subject of the Spanish monarchy.¹⁰ In his map, Teixeira combined science and art to project an image about Spanish Habsburg power that contrasted sharply with political realities but fit perfectly with the environment at court.

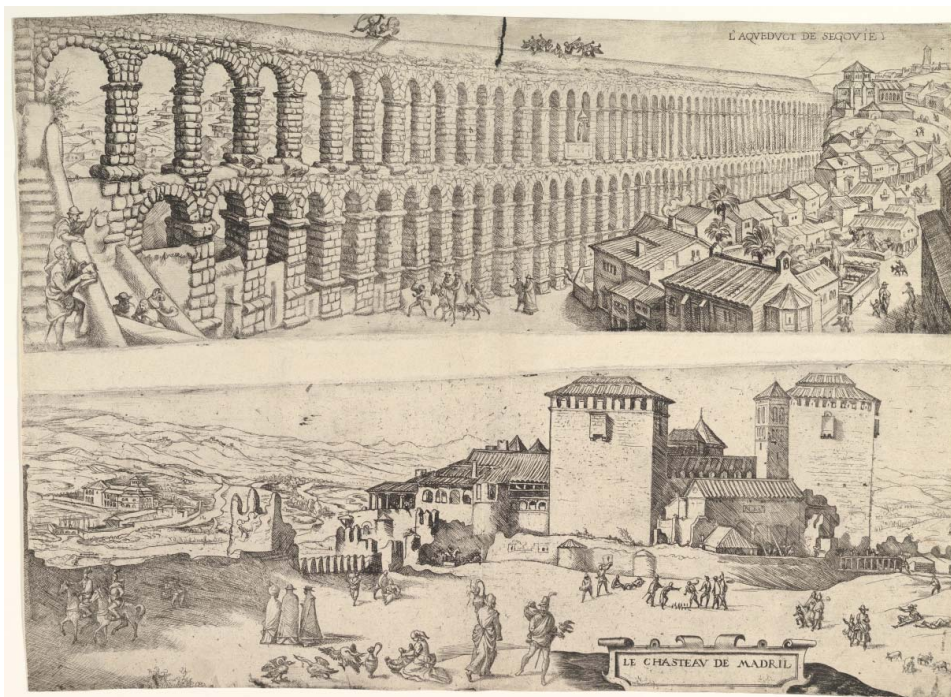
Early Maps and Histories of Madrid

In an influential article of 1969, the Spanish art historian Julián Gállego wrote about the theatrical quality of urbanism in Habsburg Madrid but dismissed the city's buildings as unworthy of much attention.¹¹ For Gállego, Madrid was a stage from which the person interested in a show looked outward, to the streets and the countryside. Save for a few exceptional scholarly efforts, the architecture of seventeenth-century Madrid has largely been understudied.¹² In part, the poor survival of unaltered buildings from the era explains the slight, but the lack of contemporary city views, given the practice among historians of architecture and urbanism to depend on these images, also contributes to the oversight. In his analysis of the mid-seventeenth-century reform of Rome during the papacy of Alexander VII (1655–67), for instance, Richard Krautheimer expounded on the notion of a theatrical urbanism not unlike that considered by Gállego, but one that was masterfully represented in printed views, or *vedute*, of that city, most notably by the artist Giovanni Battista Falda.¹³

Rome had a long tradition of city portraits made in a range of media.¹⁴ Such was not the case for contemporary Madrid, which had only recently become a city of note and was perceived by foreigners and residents alike as lacking in sufficient monumentality. In creating *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, Teixeira contributed the most ambitious view of the city ever attempted, and he did this in a manner that incorporated elements of the evolving city-view genre as a form of artistic representation.

The earliest known image that can be considered a view of Madrid was made by the Flemish painter and engraver Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (ca. 1500–ca. 1559) in 1536. The engraving captures the rustic appearance of Madrid's westernmost edge in the lower register with a rendering of the Roman aqueduct of Segovia above (Fig. 2).¹⁵ Vermeyen illustrated Madrid's royal residence, known then as the Alcázar, with a cluster of buildings in its vicinity on the eve of its transformation into a modern palace. The artist also portrayed the Casa del Campo, a royal retreat located to the immediate west of the palace, although at a considerable drop in topography. Efforts such as Vermeyen's to record distant places would become common and commercially profitable over the course of the sixteenth century. Views could be assembled for publications such as Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, first published in 1572, and others served as the basis for designs woven into tapestries.¹⁶

Vermeyen arrived in Spain in June 1534 and accompanied the king and Holy Roman emperor Charles V (r. 1516–56)



2 Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, *L'aqueduct de Segovie* and *Le chateau de Madril*, 1536, engraving, 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (35.2 × 48.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917, 17.50.19-134a, b (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, source: www.metmuseum.org)



3 Vermeyen, Pieter Coecke, and Willem Pannemaker, *Charles V Reviewing the Troops at Barcelona in 1535*, 1740, from the tapestry series *The Conquest of Tunis*, wool, silk, gilt-metal wrapped thread, 17 ft. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 23 ft. 4 in. (5.25 × 7.12 m). Reales Alcázares y Jardines, Seville, Spain (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Album / Art Resource, NY)

on his expedition to Tunis the following year before returning to Spain and then the Low Countries after 1539.¹⁷ Vermeyen used his drawings of the Tunis campaign and places in Spain to create cartoons for the magnificent series of tapestries woven by Willem de Pannemaker (active 1535–78) for Mary of Hungary (r. 1505–58), who bequeathed them to her nephew Philip II.¹⁸ The tapestries contain a number of city views, such as one of Barcelona in the upper left-hand section of *Charles V Reviewing the Troops at Barcelona in 1535* (Fig. 3). The city is depicted from a bird's-eye perspective, with its Mediterranean harbor serving as a distinguishing feature

along with monumental buildings that can be readily identified. Madrid, too, appears in this tapestry, but in word only. In the cartouches at the top and bottom, in Spanish and Latin respectively, we read that the expedition set off from Madrid en route to Barcelona.

The inclusion of city views in the Tunis tapestries recalls other undertakings such as Melchior Lorichs's famous panoramic view of Constantinople made in 1559 that might have been intended to serve as a model for a woven copy.¹⁹ In a later instance that illustrates the reciprocal relation between city views, maps, and tapestries, François Quesnel's 1609 map

4 Benedit de Vassalieu, dit Nicolay, *Portrait de la Ville Cité et Vniuersité de Paris avec les Favboirs*, 1609, facsimile copy, 30 × 39 in. (76.2 × 99 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph © BnF, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY)



of Paris was modeled, as Hilary Ballon has shown, after a tapestry made between 1569 and 1588.²⁰ Another Parisian map, by Benedit de Vassalieu, dit Nicolay (ca. 1564–after 1614), *Portrait de la Ville Cité et Vniuersité de Paris avec les Favboirs* of 1609, offers a visually rich image that, despite its relatively small size, echoes the weave of fabric (Fig. 4). Nicolay's map also shows royal arms, a portrait of King Henri IV, and other decorative features along the map's perimeter. Ballon has argued that maps such as Quesnel's and Nicolay's served to promote the urban achievements of Henri IV, and it is not surprising that such maps could be found adorning the walls of royal residences in France and beyond.²¹

A quarter century after Vermeyen, the Flemish artist Anton van den Wyngaerde (1525–1571) recorded panoramic views of Madrid in preparatory pen-and-ink studies, as well as a more finished drawing with color washes (Fig. 5).²² Wyn-gaerde illustrated Madrid at a critical moment, as it had just been chosen by Philip II to serve as court and de facto capital of the Spanish monarchy. Partially fortified with substantial medieval walls, the town maintains the rustic appearance suggested earlier by Vermeyen. Most notably, the city's hilly landscape dominates the representation of the city, which is sited high above a ravine. It was this medium-size town that would soon become the metropolitan center of an empire composed of cities from Seville to Brussels, Palermo to Mexico City. The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed explosive demographic growth and the rapid transformation of Madrid. For the historian interested in a visual representation of this process, however, the search for surviving views of the city from this period, despite evidence of their existence, comes up short. For instance, at least four views of Madrid—three painted, one engraved—and what was most likely another original drawing by Wyngaerde are noted as hanging on the walls of the Royal Palace in a 1636 inventory just two decades before the publication of

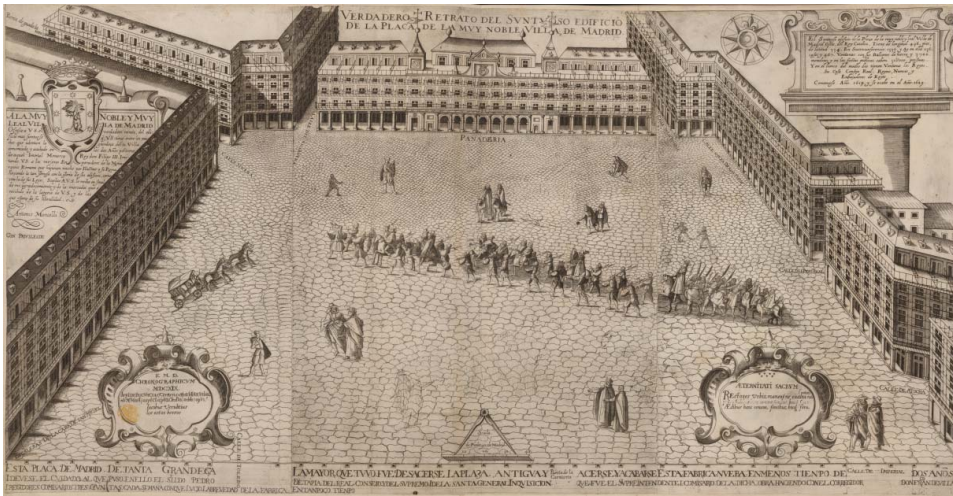
Teixeira's map.²³ Additionally, the inventory mentions a painted image of the limits of the city by Fabrizio Castello (ca. 1560–1617) mounted in a gilt black frame.

The engraved image of Madrid itemized in the 1636 inventory might have been the map made by the Italian cartographer Antonio Manzelli in 1623. In late 1622, only a year into the reign of the young King Philip IV, Madrid's municipality signed a contract with Manzelli for two engraved images, a map of the city and a view of its Plaza Mayor.²⁴ Both were delivered by April 1623. The commission came on the heels of the completion of the four-decade-long project led in its final phase by the royal architect Juan Gómez de Mora (1586–1648) to reform the plaza and turn it into a singular public space worthy of view. Moreover, Gómez de Mora's extensive reforms at the Royal Palace reached a critical point in 1622, when the royal arms were ready to be placed atop the main facade entrance. The year 1622 was a monumental date for another reason. That June, four Spanish saints were canonized in what Rudolf Wittkower, the eminent scholar of Italian Baroque art, called "a kind of authoritative acknowledgement that the regenerative forces inside Catholicism had saved the Church."²⁵ Alongside the Jesuits Ignatius of Loyola and Francisco Xavier and the founder of the Discalced Carmelites, Teresa de Jesús, the fourth Spanish saint was Isidro the Laborer, the patron of Madrid, who was to be portrayed in the map commissioned from Manzelli.²⁶ In a sense, Madrid in 1622 was ready to be seen and represented. Alongside Manzelli's map, other depictions of the city begin to emerge in the decade of the 1620s, and a mapping tradition, however scant, can be dated to that period.

Manzelli's map of Madrid has yet to come to light, but his view of the Plaza Mayor survives in the British Library (Fig. 6).²⁷ Labeled *Verdadero Retrato del Sumptuoso edificio de la Plaza de la muy noble Villa de Madrid* (True likeness of the sumptuous building of the plaza of the very noble town of



5 Anton van den Wyngaerde, panoramic view of Madrid, ca. 1562, pen and color washes on paper, 15 × 50½ in. (38.2 × 128.5 cm). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. min. 41, fol. 35r (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by ÖNB/Wien)



6 Antonio Manzelli, *Verdadero Retrato del Sumptuoso edificio de la Plaza de la muy noble Villa de Madrid*, 1623, engraving, 17⅞ × 35⅞ in. (45.5 × 90 cm). British Library, London, Map K.Top.73.15.c (artwork in the public domain; photograph © British Library Board)

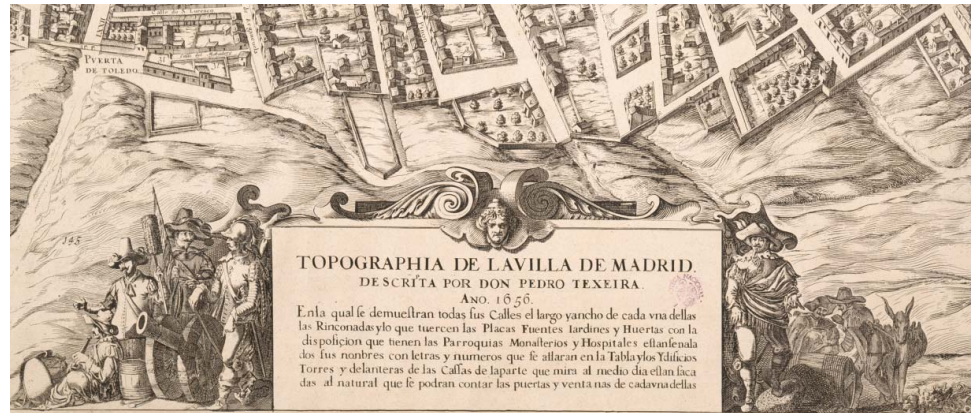
Madrid), Manzelli's large-scale print is notable for highlighting key features of the city square, and also for including extensive textual passages to adorn the image. The text praises the process of construction and Madrid's aldermen, who are noted for their efforts to "decorate this [city] with buildings, fountains, and this forum." The map contains a panegyric ode penned in Latin by a poet who signs himself Iacobus Verulitius. Hinting at the contemporary reception and understanding of city views and evoking a period association of the Habsburg kings with the Roman pantheon, Verulitius wrote, "Jupiter looking from out of the clouds upon all of the city, does he not see this most beautiful work of the vast world?"²⁸ In this ode, the ideal viewer of the Plaza Mayor and Madrid as a whole—one with the vantage point of a deity—is King Philip IV, whose monumental forum is on display.

This nascent visual representation of Madrid was matched by the appearance of local histories offering written descriptions of the city. Two were published in 1623 and 1629 with royal sponsorship. Gil González Dávila's *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Theater of the greatness of the town of Madrid, court of the Catholic Kings of Spain) of 1623 was the first modern history of

Madrid.²⁹ Given the author's position as royal chronicler, González Dávila's book can be understood as an example of what Richard Kagan has deemed "official history," whereby a text is "generally crafted with an eye toward creating a historical record that favors the interests and concerns of a ruler."³⁰ The opening dedication to Philip IV reveals González Dávila's aim to write a history of a "great court" befitting a leader of a vast empire, "so that with the greatness of your illustrious name, like that of your famed predecessors, your Majesty might attain the desires of your realms and bring the glory of your fame to the place occupied by past illustrious princes."³¹

As Francisco Marín and Javier Ortega have noted, Teixeira's ordering of monuments in the index of *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, placed in the lower left corner of the map, follows their description in González Dávila's history of Madrid, with some amendments for buildings that postdated the book.³² This is concrete evidence of the relation between history writing and map making at court, and particularly in the office of the royal cosmographer. The second history of Madrid to come out in the 1620s, Jerónimo de Quintana's *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid: Historia de su antigüedad, nobleza y grandeza* (To the very

7 Teixeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, detail of pl. 18. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, INV/23233 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)



ancient, noble, and crowned town of Madrid: History of its antiquity, nobility, and greatness), hints at the relation between history and description even more directly. In the dedication of his book, published in 1629, Quintana professes to be a proud son of Madrid who aims to write “a history [of the place] that would be its true likeness [*verdadero retrato*], revealing to the world the truth of its Nobility, the distance of its Antiquity, and the presence of its Greatness.”³³ The reference to a “true likeness” corresponds to the title Manzelli gave his view of the Plaza Mayor and prefigures claims about veracity that Pedro Teixeira would make with his map of Madrid. Like the new histories by González Dávila and Quintana, Teixeira’s map sought to meet a demand for more information about the appearance of Madrid.

The Cosmographer’s Science and Biography

If the artistic tradition of city views was important to Teixeira in the production of his map, the science of cosmography was even more so. In the bottom central plate of the map, Teixeira presents a title for his undertaking—*Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*—within a cartouche topped by strapwork and framed by figures on either side (Fig. 7). The term *topografía* bespeaks the descriptive nature of the image and refers specifically to maps that cosmographers like Teixeira made of local places, as opposed to universal maps or those showing regions and provinces, which fell under the contemporary categories of *geografía* and *corografía*.³⁴

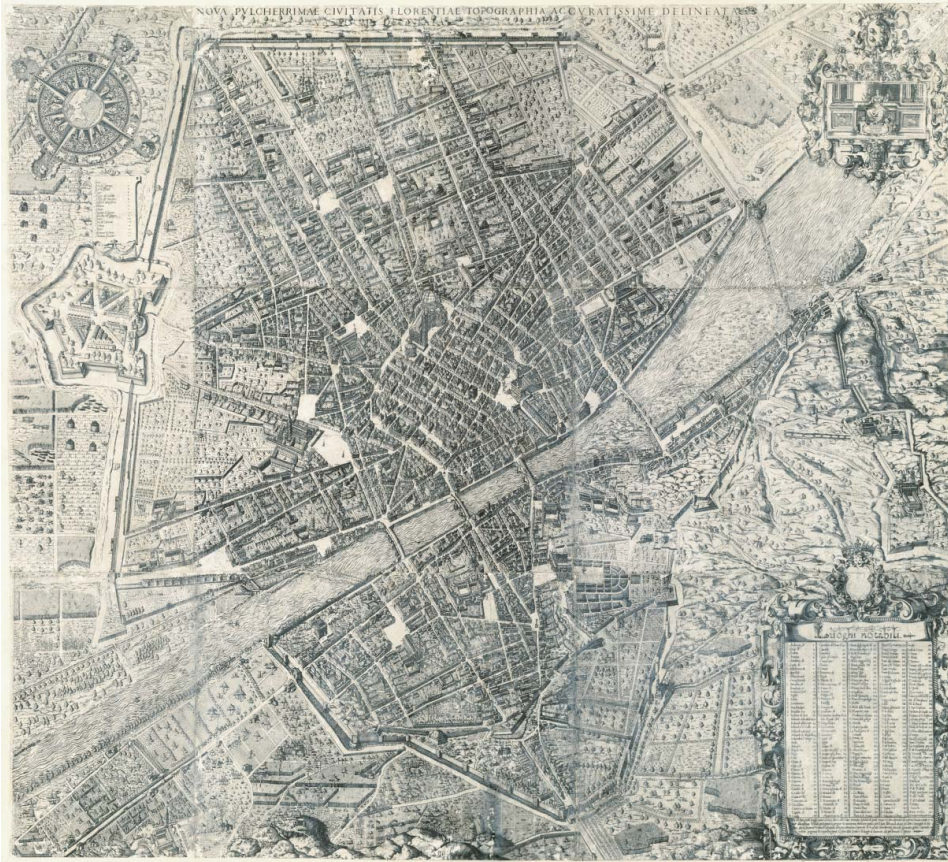
Below the title of the map and in the same cartouche, Teixeira claimed authorship and professed to convey the length and width of each of Madrid’s streets, as well as the “corners, plazas, fountains, gardens, and orchards to which they give shape.” He depicted all parishes, monasteries, and hospitals, providing their names in the index. As already noted, the list follows the presentation of the city’s monuments given by González Dávila in his history of Madrid, but Teixeira departed from the official history to proclaim his individual achievement: that he recorded the facades of all buildings and towers that face south, showing them “true-to-life, so that one can count the doors and windows of each.” His commitment to accurate description makes clear that Teixeira’s primary goal was to represent Madrid as an *urbs*, a physical city that can be experienced and even measured.³⁵

Along the bottom of the map, Teixeira included three scales. One measuring distances in Castilian *varas* appears twice. A second marks paces at two and a half feet, and the

last, intervals at one-third of a *vara*. Notably, all of these scales are Castilian, suggesting that the map was printed with a primarily local audience in mind. The decision could not be more different from that exhibited by a Paris map made by French engineer Jacques Gomboust in 1649 and engraved by Abraham Bosse in 1652, which included scales in Spanish, Dutch, and English feet side by side so that they were easily convertible. Analyzing the messages of the Gomboust map, Louis Marin asserted that the parallel measurements “are recognized, by their mutual convertibility, to be diverse and equivalent metric representations of a same intelligible space in the homogenous universality of an identical geometric reason.”³⁶ Any move toward universality seems to have been denied in *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*.

The announced accuracy of Teixeira’s street plan is the result of a meticulous survey that would have begun with an ichnographic plan of Madrid.³⁷ Such an image would have been the expected work of a cosmographer. Indeed, the fact that Fabrizio Castello’s earlier survey of Madrid’s limits was framed and hung in the Royal Palace indicates that an image like this was valued for the empirical information it yielded. No drawings or documents have yet been found to explain Teixeira’s surveying technique, which would have involved direct measurement of buildings and public spaces as well as the preparation of elevation drawings for individual monuments.³⁸ For Teixeira, however, the street plan served as the basis for a more compelling image that, following contemporary practice in city views, incorporated the artistic rendering of buildings as seen from a bird’s-eye perspective. One exceptional sixteenth-century precedent is Stefano Buonsignori’s map of Florence printed in nine plates in 1584 (Fig. 8).³⁹ As scholars have noted, perspective plans such as Buonsignori’s were composed in part by measurements taken on the ground and in greater part by the artistic license that would have been demanded of a cartographer who imagined a city and its component buildings as seen from above.⁴⁰

Teixeira’s addition of decorative elements and text to his map helps us appreciate that he planned its composition with an eye toward its eventual display and close inspection. Moreover, his concern with accurate representation echoes an artistic discourse in the period about realism or truth in painting.⁴¹ Truthful representation was certainly expected by viewers of maps, but, as scholars of early modern cartography have shown, these beholders also sought symbolic and



8 Stefano Buonsignori, *Nova pulcherrimae civitatis Florentiae topographia accuratissime delineata*, 1584, engraving in 9 folios, 53 × 57 in. (123 × 138 cm). Museo di Firenze com'era, Florence (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Scala / Art Resource, NY)

communicentric messages that allowed them to better understand the place on display.⁴² As Kagan has explained, communicentric views tended “in the direction of metaphor, seeking to define, via the image of *urbs*, the meaning of *civitas*: the idea of the city as a community with a special, distinctive character along with the memories and traditions that served to distinguish that community from another.”⁴³ Teixeira’s map seems at first glance devoid of people, but a close study reveals the presence of street vendors, horse tamers, and the capital’s residents of all sorts—approximately 130 of them—who, along with the seven figures and even a mule framing the title cartouche, bring the representation of the city to life and transport us from the realm of the cartographer’s science to that of painters, engravers, and perhaps even weavers, who made city views.

As an example of Teixeira’s precise rendering of city fabric, the twelfth plate of *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* illustrates the western approach to Madrid via the late sixteenth-century Segovia Bridge (Fig. 9). From the bridge, a broad esplanade (labeled “Pvente Segoviana”) leads to the core of the medieval city. To the north of the bridge and perched above a ravine stands the Royal Palace, with its irregular and sizable plaza fronting a neighborhood filled with residences of Madrid’s noble families and some of the city’s oldest parish churches, including those of San Gil (“XXVII”) and Santa María (labeled “A”). Teixeira’s precise rendering allows the viewer to hover over city gates, private gardens, and winding medieval streets, many of which are named.

In the map’s thirteenth plate, the curving streets to the immediate north and southwest of the Plaza Mayor (“Plaça

Mayor”) trace the original location of Madrid’s medieval walls (Fig. 10). To the northeast of the square, Teixeira depicted the seven-pronged Puerta del Sol. Like arteries feeding into the old city, a network of major streets leads from the Plaza Mayor and Puerta del Sol, cutting through the city’s newer fabric and establishing commercial and ceremonial routes for daily life in Madrid. These streets rise and fall in response to Madrid’s topography, providing pleasant vistas onto the hilly surroundings also rendered by Teixeira. Views would have been one of the principal delights of early modern Madrid, as noted by Gállego, but these would be complemented by urban features such as a variety of open spaces, thirty-four public fountains identified by Teixeira in the map’s legend, and tree-lined promenades located at the eastern and northern edges of the city, as well as along the Manzanares River. Teixeira’s inclusion of wandering figures in the map echoes his written description of the gently sloping streets of Madrid in an undated document now in Vienna.⁴⁴ As Teixeira pointed out in that document, Madrid is semicircular in shape, with its elevated western front permitting views to the river “without disturbing the view of its beautiful horizon.”

To the north, east, and south, Teixeira portrayed Madrid’s growth after 1561 to reveal a series of developments laid out in grids. This regularity betrays the parceling and selling of lots owned by Madrid’s elites during the boom decades leading up to the map’s survey. Much of this growth happened during Teixeira’s life in the capital, another example of a “true likeness” witnessed by the cosmographer over the course of a career spent at court.

9 Teixeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, pl. 12. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, INV/23233 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)



10 Teixeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, pl. 13. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, INV/23233 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)



We lack many details about Teixeira's effort to map Madrid, and his biography, too, is full of lacunae. Born in Lisbon about 1595, Teixeira was raised in a family of illustrious cartographers.⁴⁵ His father, Luís (active 1564–1613), was appointed by Philip II as royal cosmographer, and Pedro must have trained in the science from his early youth as he, too, would hold the title of royal cosmographer by 1620.⁴⁶

Teixeira came of age during the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, a political reality that seems to have played a significant role in his later life as a courtier, not to mention in recent historiography, wherein the Portuguese spelling of his family name has been Hispanicized.⁴⁷

Teixeira's earliest known work is a map of the newly discovered Strait of San Vicente and a scientific survey of the nearby



11 Teixeira, *Plano del Estrecho nuevo de San Vicente y del Estrecho de Magallanes*, 1621, from Bartolomé García de Nodal and Gonçalo de Nodal, *Relación del viaje . . . al descubrimiento del Estrecho nuevo de S. Vicente y reconocim[en]to del de Magallanes*, Madrid, 1621, illuminated engraving, $15\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39.5 \times 34.4 cm). Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, R/4017 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

Strait of Magellan—known more commonly as the Straits of Magellan—published in Madrid in 1621 (Fig. 11). The engraved map was included as an illustration to the account authored by the renowned naval captains and brothers Bartolomé García de Nodal and Gonçalo de Nodal, which narrated their successful voyage to the straits from September 1618 to July 1619.⁴⁸ The copy illustrated here, which derives ultimately from the Spanish royal library, is illuminated and hints at a period taste for the viewing and display of maps. Safe navigation of the South American passage was critical to the Spanish imperial enterprise, a point that helps us appreciate the importance of Teixeira's early work as well as speculate on his reputation at the time. In an appended report of the captains' services following the narrative of their journey, Gonçalo de Nodal takes credit for having drawn by his own hand "a painted plan and description of the discovery [*la planta y descripción del descubrimiento, en pintura*]." ⁴⁹ He did this, he claims, despite the presence of a "wise cosmographer and select pilots" who accompanied the expedition and are named on the face of the map. Some scholars have suggested that Teixeira may have been part of this company, although there is no evidence to prove the point one way or the other.⁵⁰

On the return of the fleet to Iberia in late summer, Gonçalo disembarked at the Cape of San Vicente in the Algarve, and Bartolomé led the ships to port at Sanlúcar de Barrameda in

Andalucía. Gonçalo's haste can be explained by the presence of Philip III in Lisbon, where the captain headed to share the news of his discovery. The captains do not mention who might have accompanied Gonçalo on this mission, offering yet another tantalizing point of speculation about Teixeira's possible presence. It has often been assumed that Teixeira arrived in Madrid with the express purpose of preparing the South American map for publication. That he might have been summoned to court by the king himself is a point that only comes to light via a careful reading of the Nodal brothers' book. From Lisbon, Teixeira traveled to Madrid with his brother João (ca. 1575–1649), both of whom already occupied the office of royal cosmographer.⁵¹ Teixeira signed the Straits of Magellan map with this title. Notably, his brother João returned to Lisbon soon after arriving in Madrid. João had traveled to South America previously and would return on many occasions, producing some of the most important maps of Brazil made in the seventeenth century.⁵²

Cosmography was a complex science in the early modern period and one that was highly esteemed.⁵³ In the manuscript with which he established the foundation of a Royal Academy of Mathematics in Madrid in 1584, the architect Juan de Herrera (ca. 1530–1597) laid out the duties of the cosmographer alongside those of the pilot.⁵⁴ The text is worth quoting to understand the fundamentally cartographic nature of the position:

Cosmography presupposes knowledge of the sphere, and from the theories of planets, that which concerns eclipses. It is subordinate to astrology, and assisted by geometric and arithmetic principles. He who professes to this knowledge must understand profoundly the *Geography* of Ptolemy, from which all that is related to this material is derived; know the uses of the terrestrial globe; understand sea charts and how to make them, as well as [how to make] descriptions of all provinces, both the general and the particular.⁵⁵

In short, the cosmographer must know Ptolemy and the scientific pursuits derived from him, which includes mastering the descriptions of provinces, or making maps. The importance of drawing is also significant in that it parallels Herrera's approach to architecture, as argued most notably by Catherine Wilkinson Zerner.⁵⁶ Not insignificantly, architecture was also part of the curriculum at the Royal Academy of Mathematics in Madrid. As María Portuondo has proposed in a recent study of Spanish cosmography, Herrera was a key agent behind major changes in the science from a humanistic pursuit to a more mathematically driven one.⁵⁷ Earlier sixteenth-century cosmographic practice, which combined descriptive, written histories with mapmaking, fell in importance as the quantities of information coming from the exploration and settlement of the New World demanded a new methodology by which the monarchy could assert its changing territorial claims.

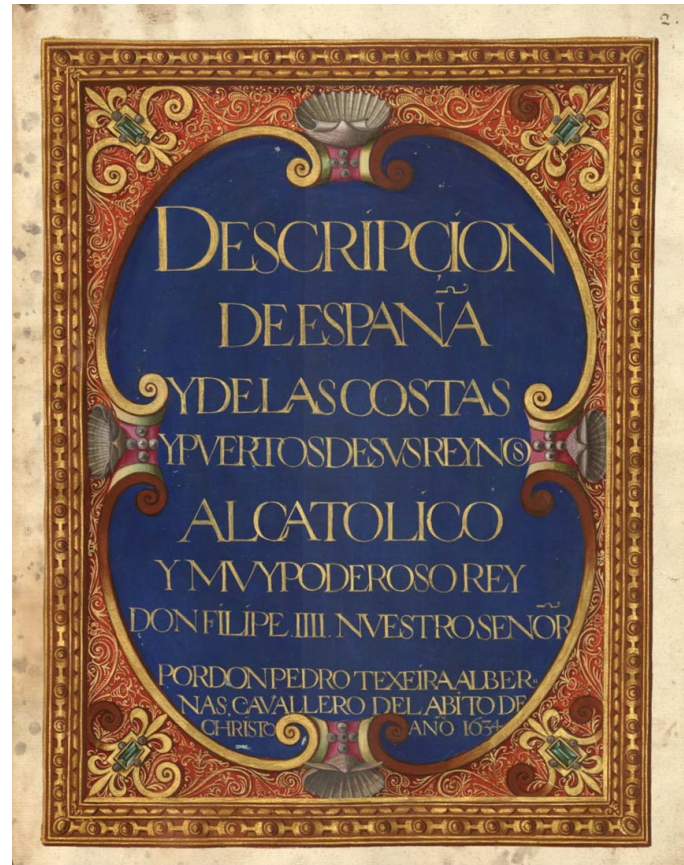
Not only was cosmography taught alongside architecture at the Royal Academy of Mathematics, but all of this happened in the vicinity of the Casa del Tesoro, service quarters adjacent to the Royal Palace. Teixeira's early years at court coincided with the presence of the renowned cosmographer

João-Baptista Lavanha (1555–1624).⁵⁸ Also of Portuguese origins, Lavanha had served the court in Madrid since 1582 with periodic travels to Portugal and Aragón, which led to his most important map of the latter kingdom published in 1622. In Madrid, Lavanha taught at the Royal Academy of Mathematics and garnered privileged access to the palace. Another prominent figure at court was the royal architect Gómez de Mora, who simultaneously held the title of court *apostentador*, with duties that included decorating the Royal Palace. Indeed, the 1636 palace inventory cited already lists a number of maps and views made by Teixeira, who is mentioned by name, giving us grounds to conclude that he and Gómez de Mora knew each other.

As royal cosmographer, Teixeira proved his ability over the course of a long and decorated career both at court and farther afield until his death in 1662. The recent rediscovery of a manuscript atlas of the coast of Spain dedicated to Philip IV and now in Vienna is helping to fill gaps in our knowledge of Teixeira's occupation.⁵⁹ In addition to the manuscript, three copies of Teixeira's corresponding written description of the journey survive in London, Madrid, and Vienna. All of these documents relate to an undertaking that began in 1622 with a nine-year coastal survey and came to an end about 1634, when Teixeira dated the Vienna atlas. Titled "Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reynos" (Description of Spain and the coasts and ports of its reigns), the manuscript was intended to represent the richness of Spanish ports and coastal cities, as well as to help plan for the defense of these places against foreign powers.

In a path-breaking study of the Vienna atlas by Felipe Pereda and Fernando Marías, Pereda argues that the coastal survey was "the most important geographic enterprise in the whole of Philip IV's reign."⁶⁰ Moreover, Pereda interprets the resulting atlas within the context of Spanish political ideals of the 1630s in which the Spanish Habsburgs saw themselves—despite a precarious political reality already noted—as dominators of the world. The richly illuminated manuscript remained most likely in the king's library, located in the southwest tower of the Royal Palace. A staircase leading to the library in 1636 had seventeen illuminated maps or views made by Teixeira hanging on its walls.⁶¹ It bears noting that these views included cities and ports in Spain that might have been part of the atlas project, as well as others of French and Italian places, which hint at further travels on the part of the cosmographer.

The Vienna atlas opens with an elaborate title page, a luxurious depiction of the Spanish Habsburg arms, and a two-folio map (*tabla general*) of Spain. The title page is richly adorned to give the look of a jewel-encrusted book with a scrolled frame for the title that appears in gold letters on a blue ground (Fig. 12). Notably, Teixeira identifies himself on this page as a knight of the Order of Christ, an honorific for Portuguese nobles he was granted about 1632. The atlas proceeds with twelve maps of provinces interspersed with eighty-eight bird's-eye views of principal ports, beaches, and naturally fortified areas. The sequence moves the viewer from the westernmost extreme of Spain's northern coast counterclockwise along the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea to the province of Catalonia and the border with France. A spectacular *mappamundo* closes the atlas, making



12 Teixeira, title page, from *Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reynos*, ca. 1634, pen, ink, and color washes on vellum, 17½ × 13⅞ in. (44.4 × 35.2 cm). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. min. 46, fol. 2r (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by ÖNB/Wien)

the allusion to the worldwide reach of the Spanish monarchy. Although Teixeira does not use the appellation, Pereda and Marías's coining of the manuscript as the "Atlas of the Planet King" is useful as a means of considering the scope of Teixeira's undertaking and the importance of cosmography among the sciences at the Spanish court.

In his treatment of the Vienna atlas within the context of the Spanish city-view tradition, Marías proposes that Teixeira, via a manipulation of scale and emphasis on topography, sought to make his representations of places capable of being experienced by the viewer.⁶² In this way, the images are not unlike those published by Braun and Hogenberg in the sixteenth century, although the "Atlas of the Planet King" would have a much more limited audience. Marías's analysis can be expanded to explore the narrative impulse that is present in Teixeira's atlas pages, as well as in details of his later map of Madrid. On one page of the Vienna atlas, the viewer hovers over ships—what Teixeira calls "titans of grandeur [*monstruos de grandeza*]" in his written account—entering the Straits of Gibraltar with cannons firing (Fig. 13). The scene is remarkable for its combination of topographical accuracy and artistic rendering. The minor battle under way seems to capture a lived experience and provides perhaps a record of Teixeira's travels, if not on this venture then perhaps another. With the introduction of narrative, the cosmographer's image is imbued with the features of a painting, woven or otherwise,



13 Teixeira, “Estrecho de Gibraltar,” from *Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reynos*, ca. 1634. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. min. 46, fol. 59v (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by ÖNB/Wien)

suggesting the ways in which life at court and collaboration with other court scientists and also artists might have informed Teixeira’s work.

Carrying out the coastal survey afforded Teixeira ample opportunities to perfect the representation of cities in bird’s-eye perspective, a skill that would serve him well in preparing his map of Madrid. He must have known Manzelli’s now lost map of the city,⁶³ and we can only speculate that Teixeira, given his own level of accomplishment, would have found engraved maps of Madrid that were printed in Amsterdam and began to circulate about 1635 to have been faulty. Teixeira’s work at court yielded incredible access to descriptions and views of other cities.

To date, no specific documentation has been uncovered to trace Teixeira’s work in Madrid during the later part of the 1630s and through the decade of the 1640s. Drawings from 1636–37 discovered in the Archivo General de Simancas indicate that the cosmographer traveled again, this time to the Basque region and Navarra, to map territories there related to conflicts with France.⁶⁴ As early as 1630, Teixeira had completed a large map of Portugal that would be engraved and published posthumously in 1662.⁶⁵ A version of the Portugal map is recorded as being on display in the 1636 inventory of the Royal Palace, and this very image appears to have been consulted by Philip IV and his advisers when a revolt in Portugal broke out in 1640.⁶⁶

Given that Teixeira’s map of Madrid does not represent any buildings dating after 1644, it is likely that he did not begin his survey until the late 1630s.⁶⁷ Sometime after 1644, Teixeira prepared the drawings for his Madrid map that would be sent to Amsterdam for engraving. The drawings might have been ready by September 1651, when Teixeira was paid the sizable sum of 200 ducats for drawings to be used for engravings.⁶⁸ If the document noting this payment refers to the drawings for the Madrid map, it unfortunately offers no further information that might help us understand the transmission of the drawings to the Low Countries. The lack of documentation for an undertaking like *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* is striking, and Teixeira’s extensive travels through the middle of the 1640s make it difficult to imagine how the city survey would have been carried out.

The unrest in Portugal, as well as upheavals in Catalonia and the eventual downfall of the count-duke of Olivares in 1643, made the decade of the 1640s a critical one in Spain’s political history. For Teixeira, the events in Portugal would also have brought about familial turmoil. His brother João continued to serve the Portuguese loyalists, while Teixeira worked for Philip IV surveying territories along the Portuguese border in early 1642. Teixeira even lost property in the Portuguese revolt, leading him to request an annual retainer as a Portuguese knight resident in Madrid.⁶⁹ For a good part of the period from 1642 to 1645, Teixeira was in Zaragoza, the city from which Spanish generals plotted their attempt to quell the Catalanian revolt. As part of this effort, he was at work preparing maps of Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia.⁷⁰

It is futile to speculate about Teixeira’s experience of political events, but there may be a clue to his Portuguese pride in the two-folio, bird’s-eye view of the mouth of the Tagus River with Lisbon lording over it in the Vienna atlas. The theatricality of the view is clearly intentional, as Teixeira states in his report, “Lisbon is one of the most important cities of Europe, and there is none in Spain that is comparable.”⁷¹ These are interesting words that perhaps haunted the cosmographer as he turned his attention to the preparation of *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*. In the later map, the Spanish Habsburg arms still include the escutcheon of Portugal, a detail that contributes to the bombastic message of the tapestry map.

Map and Empire on Display

In addition to the arms of the Spanish Habsburgs, the city arms of Madrid, featuring a bear and strawberry tree, appear prominently in the upper register of Teixeira’s map. Their presence suggests the possibility of municipal patronage, but the banderole alluding to the city’s royal identity and the allegorical dedication to Philip IV at upper right reveal that the map’s primary purpose was to promote the Spanish monarchy. Indeed, a recent documentary find indicates that Teixeira received a payment of 500 escudos from the royal household in 1658.⁷² Such a substantial disbursement may well have been related to the costly undertaking of producing the Madrid map and would confirm royal sponsorship.

The decorative portions of *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* evince that its author or authors were engaged in a cultural undertaking to reaffirm an ancient past and proclaim a glorious present for Madrid. The map’s ornamental features

remind us that a facet of the royal cosmographer's job was not unlike the work of a royal chronicler who shaped historical accounts to serve the needs of the monarchy. In doing this, the map engages a number of other representational enterprises in the seventeenth century.

Across the top of the map, Madrid is declared an *urbs regia*, or royal city, supplanting the former Mantua Carpentanorum. "Mantua" refers to a fictional ancient Madrid, a place invented in the sixteenth century and promoted anew in seventeenth-century histories such as those penned by Gil González Dávila and Jerónimo de Quintana. Importantly, this Mantua was centrally located on the Iberian Peninsula, leading Quintana to label Madrid the "yolk of all of Spain" in the introduction to his 1629 history.⁷³ Moreover, Quintana argues that this city is an ancient settlement whose name derives from Latin and "is not Arabic."⁷⁴

Despite the persuasive voice of the official historian, archaeological evidence has revealed that Madrid was founded in the late ninth century by Muhammad I, the fifth emir of Córdoba.⁷⁵ Some remnants of the Muslim settlement, such as the Puerta de al-Vega, were still standing in the middle of the seventeenth century and are recorded in Teixeira's map (Fig. 9). After the Christian conquest of Madrid in 1085, the town expanded as a commercial center of note. Its new walls, contemporary with those built at Ávila, inspired a legend of a city "ringed by fire," which the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero duly noted in the early decades of the sixteenth century.⁷⁶ From the 1390s and through the fifteenth century, the Trastámara kings of Castile began to show particular favor toward Madrid as the itinerant court came to reside there on numerous occasions.

Madrid's newfound favor inspired sixteenth-century humanists in the nearby university town of Alcalá de Henares and in Madrid itself to research the city's history. Some sought to disprove Madrid's Muslim origins, while others invented a Greco-Roman antiquity.⁷⁷ To direct their investigations, these early modern scholars relied on classical texts like the *Memoirs* of Julius Caesar, as well as their knowledge of other Roman settlements in Castile and manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography*, which appeared in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1450s.⁷⁸ The humanists narrowed their search for ancient Madrid to the Carpentana, an elevated zone in the center of the peninsula identified by Ptolemy. Among the towns of the region was "Mantua," a place cited by Julius Caesar, thereby enhancing its appeal for humanists such as Juan López de Hoyos (1511–1583), who chose it to serve as Madrid's point of origin.⁷⁹ Thus, the place was called Mantua Carpentanorum to distinguish the city from Mantua in Italy.

That Teixeira alludes to the antiquarian name Mantua Carpentanorum in the middle of the seventeenth century confirms the authority of sixteenth-century humanist accounts as well as more recently published histories of Madrid. It could be argued that Teixeira toed the humanist line regarding Madrid's foundation history as recorded on the map. Without a contract, however, we are at a loss to determine the specifications expected of the cosmographer. A contract for the printing of Manzelli's 1623 map of Madrid, for instance, reveals that it was to be illuminated, with border decorations such as coats of arms and images of the city's patron saints.⁸⁰ As noted, that map has not yet surfaced, but Manzelli's

accompanying view of the Plaza Mayor, interestingly, includes a good deal of text that was not stipulated in the contract between the cartographer and his municipal patrons (Fig. 6).

There remains, evidently, a gap between what a mapmaker might agree to in a contract and what might actually appear in a final product. Thus, we can only hypothesize about Teixeira's allusion to a fictional Mantua in his map. This Mantua, however, was a small settlement, and *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* sought to celebrate a much more impressive place, "Matritvm, Urbs Regia." Teixeira knew that his map of the royal city would hang alongside paintings and tapestries in palaces and retreats in and around Madrid and sought to adorn his map accordingly.

In the fifth plate, located at upper right, Teixeira relies on allegory and emblems to give his map meaning and enhance its visual impact (Fig. 14). Clouds part and the sun bathes a crown held aloft by two putti. Like the top of a baldachin, the crown hovers above the Spanish Habsburg arms, with ribbons linking crown and heraldry in the form of a canopy. The arms, in turn, are held by putti holding martyr's fronds who stand on a plinth. Cannons, banners, and two Habsburg lions at either side of the plinth suggest the might of the Spanish king. On the face of the plinth, we read the following in Latin: "PHILLIPO IV. REGI CATHOLICO FORTI ET PIO VRBEM HANC SVAM ET IN EA ORBIS SIBI SVBIECTI COMPEMDIVM EXHIBET," which can be translated, "The Catholic Monarch Philip IV, strong and pious, presents this, his city, and within it the whole of the world subject to him."⁸¹ The allusion to the king's domain over both *urbis* and *orbis* makes further claim to a Roman imperial past for Madrid and perhaps even a challenge to contemporary Rome as the center of the Catholic Church.⁸²

The sophistication of the dedication plate leads one to wonder about its authorship. The device is not unlike the trophies and neighborhood arms seen in Giovanni Battista Falda's map of Rome published in 1676 and inspired, perhaps, by Teixeira's or other mid-seventeenth-century maps. It is possible that Teixeira did not make the drawing for this portion of his map. However, its creation cannot lie with the engravers in Salomon Savery's Amsterdam studio, where it was engraved.⁸³ Contracts might have allowed for benign flourishes such as compasses or scales—like those that appear on Teixeira's map—but not allegorical material of this nature. Moreover, it is clear that the map's format was carefully calculated to encompass the dedication, which bleeds from the fifth into the tenth plate. Teixeira might have been the sole author of this portion of the map, but it is reasonable to assume that this career royal servant did not produce this image alone. Rather, the agency of the Spanish court, the milieu in which Teixeira worked, deserves consideration for its contribution to the ornament of the map.

In a recent and highly innovative study, the Spanish literary scholar Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor argues that the Spanish Baroque era had a particular "way of seeing" that was less concerned with scientific accuracy and more so with an esoteric visual culture that embraced phenomenological experience and explorations of individual interiority.⁸⁴ One of the principal means by which this Spanish Baroque visual culture was manifested was in the popularity of *empresas*, complex visual hieroglyphs that were used extensively in a range



14 Teixeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, pl. 5. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, INV/23233 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

of media and among a variety of artists and writers.⁸⁵ Scholars of Italian Baroque art have also written about *impresa*. In English-language scholarship, the term “emblem” is used widely to describe these esoteric images, although it diminishes slightly the importance of the print medium from which these sorts of images emerged.

For an analysis of the message behind Teixeira’s dedication plate and map as a whole, the influential writing of the diplomat and political theorist Diego Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648), which captures the anxieties of the Spanish monarchy at midcentury and features *empresas*, seems especially germane. The key work is Saavedra’s manual on kingship, *Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano, representada en cien empresas* (The idea of a political-Christian prince, represented in one hundred emblems).⁸⁶ The book was written in the late 1630s and published in Munich in 1640 and Milan in 1642, a complicated publication history that can be explained by the inclusion of many engraved images. The book outlines the education and duties of a Christian prince in one hundred chapters, each of which opens with an emblem whose meaning is subsequently explicated for the reader. As Saavedra explains in his prologue, he uses the burin and the pen so that “via the eyes and the ears . . . your Highness’s soul will be better informed about the science of Governing.”

Saavedra comments that he drew on thirty-four years of service for the Spanish court in the composition of *Idea de un príncipe*. His work as an ambassador had taken him to Rome, Switzerland, and the courts of the Austrian Habsburgs, and his service earned him membership in the Military Order of Santiago. By the mid-1640s, Saavedra was in Madrid, serving on the Royal Council of State as well as that of the Indies. It is in this latter governing body that Saavedra might have encountered the office of the royal cosmographer, whose

work fell under the jurisdiction of the Council of the Indies.⁸⁷ The count- duke of Olivares, about whom Saavedra had expressed caution in his book, had fallen from grace in 1643, and the young prince and heir Baltasar Carlos, to whom the book was dedicated, had died in 1646, thereby lending Saavedra’s book a sense of urgency.

But the book’s currency can also be explained by its innovative visual program, which led to its widespread translation in the second half of the seventeenth century. Among the themes raised in the book, Saavedra addressed the role of the king as distributor of justice with an emblem that must have been known to Teixeira or whoever prepared the drawing for the dedicatory folio for *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* (Fig. 15). In this thirty-ninth emblem, titled “Omnibvs,” Saavedra writes,

I have plac[e]d upon the Altar the Golden Fleece . . . which for a token of Victory was moist[e]ned with the Dew of Heaven, when all the Country about it was dry. [This is a] Symbol whereby Meekness and Humility is expres[se]d, as the same is signified by that immaculate Lamb the son of God, offer[e]d for the World’s Salvation. The Prince is a Victim devoted to Fatigues and Dangers for the common good of his Subjects. . . . [In him,] they ought at all times to find wherewithal to quench their Thirst, to redress their Grievances. . . .⁸⁸

The Golden Fleece seen in the emblem is the very chain worn by the king of Spain as grand master of the order; it was also used to frame the royal arms in Teixeira’s dedication folio.

In another emblem about rulership titled “Regit et corrigit,” a bridle hovers above a landscape. With this image, Saavedra offers a commentary on good government by

employing a spatial metaphor of great relevance to Teixeira's map: "Justice is the Center from which the Circumference of a Crown is drawn."⁸⁹ Considering the placement of the crown in Teixeira's allegorical image above the royal arms, we can interpret the map to signify the spread of justice in the capital and beyond. This "royal city" represented by Teixeira is the locus of Spanish Habsburg power, embodied in the person of Philip IV, whose circumference of influence reaches the far ends of the monarchy—that is, the *orbis* cited in the dedication carved on the plinth.

The allegory of the Spanish arms as depicted by Teixeira recalls the kind of celebratory image that tapestries, the most luxurious art objects of the era, often represented. One example of many is a late seventeenth-century tapestry woven in France, picturing the arms of the Greder family of Solothurn, Switzerland (Fig. 16). The creators of the tapestry situated the arms under a baldachin, flanked by swans, with an armor shield and helmet in the foreground, all framed by an ornamental border. Flowering vases and a lush landscape behind the arms allude to a tranquil setting brought about by the good rule of the Greder family. Indeed, the image strongly invokes its power of persuasion over the viewer, as many decorative objects like tapestries produced in the French royal works sought to do in the age of Louis XIV,



16 *Arms of the Greder Family of Solothurn, Switzerland, France, ca. 1691–94, wool, silk, metal thread, 9 ft. 1 in. × 9 ft. 10 in. (2.77 × 3 m).* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Lucy Work Hewitt, 1935, 35.40.5 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



15 After Diego Saavedra Fajardo, "Omnibvs," ca. 1640, emblem 39 from *The Royal Politician Represented in One Hundred Emblems*, London, 1700, vol. 1, 279–80, engraving, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (9 × 6 cm). The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., S211 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Folger Shakespeare Library)

according to Peter Burke.⁹⁰ Burke also notes that the French court took many of its cues about royal image making from the Spanish court in Madrid. As a maker of images that helped portray an empire, Teixeira certainly understood the importance of allegorical imagery, as the dedication plate of his map proves.

Beyond the dedication, the scale of *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* suggests that the cosmographer might have intended his map to compete with a tapestry as a representation of royal magnificence. Its propagandistic message about Spanish Habsburg rule fits comfortably within the official art produced at the court of Philip IV. One of the best analyses of this political art is Jonathan Brown and John Elliott's examination of the decoration of the Hall of Realms in Madrid's Buen Retiro Palace.⁹¹ In addition to a series of paintings illustrating the feats of Hercules by Francisco de Zurbarán and dynastic equestrian portraits by Diego Velázquez—the latter an artist personally acquainted with Teixeira—the hall included twelve battle paintings executed by the leading court artists of the day, many with important cartographic and city-view features. Hanging on the walls of the ceremonial hall like tapestries, these large-scale battle paintings presented a revisionist history of Spanish Habsburg might, based on contemporary events as well as works of theater commemorating these events. It is tempting to imagine that, once printed, Teixeira's map might have hung near this gallery as a further visual celebration of the monarchy's achievement.⁹² But there were other places for the map to be displayed.

As Steven Orso has noted in his study of the decoration of the Royal Palace in Madrid, cartographic and cosmographic imagery appeared prominently in a 1636 inventory of the building's contents.⁹³ This listed a number of maps by Teixeira already discussed, as well as tapestries such as Bernaert



17 Bernaert van Orley and Georg Wezeler, *Earth under the Protection of Jupiter and Juno*, 1520, from the tapestry series *The Celestial Spheres*, wool, silk, metal thread, 12 ft. × 11 ft. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (3.5 × 3.47 m). Palacio Real, Madrid (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Album / Art Resource, NY)

van Orley and Georg Wezeler's series *The Celestial Spheres* (Fig. 17). Rich, colorful, and filled with allegorical imagery, a tapestry like *Earth under the Protection of Jupiter and Juno* exemplified royal magnificence through its very materiality, incorporating precious metals turned to thread. Though printed maps and city views would have been much humbler objects than tapestries, there were many on display, and the 1636 inventory specifies that most were affixed to canvas and framed.

As noted, seventeen maps by Teixeira adorned the walls of the staircase leading to Philip IV's office and, directly above, a gallery that included the king's library, which had been assembled in the 1620s and 1630s as a counterpart to the Escorial Library. The contents of the Royal Palace library, which focused on history, geography, and politics, have been meticulously reconstructed by Fernando Bouza, who asserts that its primary purpose was to serve the education of the prince.⁹⁴ Besides books, the gallery displayed a collection of maps, assembled originally by João-Baptista Lavanha, the royal cosmographer and elder of Teixeira, in addition to "natural rarities from all over the world" and other curious objects.⁹⁵ One such item was an ebony box fronted with glass openings that allowed one to view a painted backdrop scene of the Royal Palace with wax figures and coaches filling the plaza and its adjacent gardens before it.⁹⁶ With its books, maps, and other objects assembled by librarians, cosmographers, and perhaps even the royal architect, the gallery serves as concrete evidence of the spatial proximity of court servants who collaborated in their efforts to promote the image of the Planet King.

Moreover, the gallery's contents reflect Philip IV's keen interest in geography and what has been called the monarch's "geocentric education."⁹⁷ Such an education would have been imparted to the king's heirs, as Saavedra suggests when he writes of a prince's tutelage in his *Idea de un príncipe*. In a striking passage, the political theorist conflates the importance of geography and cosmography with the richest of visual objects, tapestries, as teaching tools:

So that [the Prince] understands the practice of geography and cosmography—sciences so important that without them reason of state is blind—the tapestries in his rooms should display general maps of the four parts of the Earth as well as its principal provinces, not as a jumbled whole but with rivers, mountains and some notable cities and ports. . . .⁹⁸

As royal cosmographer, Teixeira would have valued Saavedra's words, which speak to his ambitious project to provide an image of the true likeness of a city to adorn the palace walls.

A surviving copy of Teixeira's map in the Royal Library in Madrid once hung in a Spanish royal palace (Fig. 18).⁹⁹ Affixed to canvas, the map was discovered rolled. Like many maps and views noted in the 1636 inventory, it includes additional ornamental elements painted onto its surface as well as a painted border with a geometric pattern, indicating that the map was originally framed. The 1636 Royal Palace inventory yields many details to help us appreciate how maps and large-scale engravings were displayed. Near the service quarters of the palace, Albrecht Dürer's monumental woodcut of the Arch of Maximilian I, nearly nine feet wide by twelve feet high, hung in a gilded frame. It is described as "a large print of a triumphal arch on paper applied to canvas, which [Albrecht] made, in which are indicated famed battles and names of the Houses of Austria and Spain at the time these two crowns were joined. It has a gilded frame and was made in 1515."¹⁰⁰ Other inventory entries note the addition of appended notations, as in the case of two painted views of Lisbon hanging in the Gallery of the North Wind:

Two canvases, each more or less sixteen feet long, with gilded black frames, on which are painted the city of Lisbon. One is a plan and the other an elevation, which displays the city and port from Almada. They are [made of] tempera. One has the arms of Your Majesty and on one there is a placard attached with the arms of Lisbon.¹⁰¹

Hanging in the same gallery was a painted view of Mexico City, which the inventory noted as fourteen feet wide but offered no hint of its manner of display.

Like Dürer's great woodcut, Teixeira's map and its message about royal power could be comprehended only when the printed folios were assembled together. It is the composite image mounted to canvas, framed, and hung on a wall like a tapestry that would give the map its visual efficacy. The intentions were primarily edifying, but the map also would have adorned wall space as a work of art. In this sense, the map might be considered a "cartifact," to use Martin Brückner's assessment of the ornamental quality of maps in

18 Teixeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid*, 1656, engraving in 20 folios, 5 ft. 11 in. × 9 ft. 6 in. (1.78 × 2.86 m), with additions. Biblioteca Real, Madrid, ROLL/109 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)



19 Gregorio Fosman, *Mantua Carpetanorum, sive Madrid urbs regia*, 1683, engraving in 4 folios, 27 × 43 in. (68.5 × 108 cm). Archivo de Villa de Madrid, ASA P-A-31 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Museo de Historia de Madrid)



public buildings and private residences of the eighteenth-century British American colonies.¹⁰² As Brückner points out, large-scale maps “were not only intended for public display but also invariably became devices similar to early modern movable stage scenery, a theatrical backdrop against which to project public debate.”¹⁰³ Such a reading of wall maps parallels Saavedra’s seventeenth-century instructions about the use of maps for educational purposes and for the good of the state.

Few copies of Teixeira’s representation of Madrid, like most large-scale maps of the early modern period, survive. Given its scarcity, the image approaches the status of a unique work of art, in this respect resembling the paintings and tapestries in the Spanish royal collection.¹⁰⁴ And yet the map must have

been diffused. It seems likely that it would have been displayed in Rome at the Spanish embassy, if not in the homes of Spanish officials, as well as in viceregal capitals such as Naples, where a fresco painting of the Plaza Mayor of Madrid, for instance, greeted visitors to the Castel Nuovo in the late seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵ For comparison, the 1636 inventory of the Royal Palace notes multiple views of Naples, some of which might have been made by Teixeira. The individual sheets of the surviving copy of *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid* in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, were bound until recently and meant to be viewed as an album book, suggesting another way in which the map may have circulated.

In and around Madrid, Teixeira’s map must have hung in the Buen Retiro and Pardo Palaces, among other sites where

painted views of Madrid could be found.¹⁰⁶ As testament to the map's legacy, a derivative map at a smaller scale than Teixeira's was engraved in four plates in 1683 by the Dutch-Spanish artist Gregorio Fosman (1635–1713) and printed in the Madrid studio of Santiago Ambrona (Fig. 19).¹⁰⁷ Fosman's map relies considerably on Teixeira. Although he made a few additions to the urban fabric reflecting construction that post-dates the earlier survey, most of the corrections Fosman offers can be found in the extensive legend provided along the bottom of his image. The lengthy text signals a privileging of scientific observation over artistic propaganda in this map, which does not include an allegorical dedication like Teixeira's. In the upper right corner, Fosman depicts the Spanish Habsburg arms alone and, notably, without the standards of Portugal.

Those contemporaries of Teixeira who saw his 1656 map on a wall beheld a propagandistic celebration of monarchy via a precisely rendered picture of the realm's principal city. Teixeira's image of a modern Madrid, aware of its history as well as its central though tenuous place on the European political stage, aimed to supplant any representation of the city that preceded it. To achieve this end, Teixeira situated his scientific description within a large, decorative format, the whole of which competed with works created by painters and weavers to promote the *grandeza* of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy. The map is an accurate representation of an imperial city, but it is also a promise of good government rooted in the metropolis and spread outward to a vast realm. Like the makers of paintings and tapestries whose works were displayed in the Royal Palace, Teixeira helped shape a message of empire with his map. Art and science merge in this realm of exchange among painters and cosmographers, as well as historians and architects, who worked side by side at the court of a Planet King.

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Notes

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Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

1. For studies of the map by Teixeira (spelled alternatively as "Texeira," following a seventeenth-century Spanish variation), see Avelino Teixeira da Mota, "Pedro Teixeira Albernaz," in *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, by Armando Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, 4 vols. (Lisbon: n.p., 1960), vol. 4, 159; Richard L. Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain," in *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago

Press, 1998), 85–87; Francisco J. Marín and Javier Ortega, "La biografía de Pedro Texeira a la luz de nuevos documentos," in *16 documentos de Pedro Texeira Albernaz en el Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid*, ed. Carlos Baztán (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2002), 13–51; Felipe Pereda and Fernando Marías, "El atlas del Rey Planeta: Felipe IV y Pedro Texeira," in *El Atlas del Rey Planeta: La "Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos" de Pedro Texeira (1634)* (Madrid: Nerea, 2002), 19–20; and Jesús Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 52–60. All of this research is indebted in varying degrees to two foundational studies: Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *El antiguo Madrid: Paseos históricos-anecdóticos por las calles y casas de esta villa* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1861), xxxvi–xxxix; and Miguel Molina Campuzano, *Planos de Madrid de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1960; facsimile ed., Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2002), 247–311.

2. The study of early modern tapestry has undergone a recent revival, owing in large part to highly successful museum exhibitions with excellent catalogs. See Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002); and Thomas P. Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007). For the spatial implications of tapestry display, see also Tristan Weddigen, "Notes from the Field: Materiality," *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 1 (2013): 34–37.
3. On the notion of Philip IV as Planet King, see Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, rev. and exp. ed. (1980; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 40; J. H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 177–78; and Pereda and Marías, "El Atlas del Rey Planeta," 10.
4. On the concept of decline in seventeenth-century Spain, see especially Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*; and idem, "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain," in *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 241–61. For recent considerations, see Christopher Storrs, *The Resilience of the Spanish Monarchy, 1665–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); and Henry Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 172–205.
5. On Madrid's historical and contemporary urban fabric, see *Arquitectura de Madrid*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 2003). On the growth of Madrid and its transformation in the early modern period, see Molina Campuzano, *Planos de Madrid*; and Javier Ortega and Francisco Javier Marín, *La forma de la Villa de Madrid: Soporte gráfico para la información histórica de la ciudad* (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid and Comunidad de Madrid, 2004).
6. Ortega and Marín, *La forma de la Villa de Madrid*, offers the most in-depth treatment of Teixeira's plan vis-à-vis Madrid's contemporary fabric. See also Javier Ortega Vidal, "Los planos históricos de Madrid y su fiabilidad topográfico," *Catastro* 39 (2000): 65–85, in addition to two recent guides to the map that comment on individual buildings and places represented by Teixeira: M. I. Gea, *Guía del plano de Texeira (1656): Manual para localizar sus casas, conventos, iglesias, huertas, jardines, puentes, puertas, fuentes y todo lo que en el aparece* (Madrid: Ediciones La Librería, 2006); and Luis Miguel Aparisi, *El plano de Texeira, 350 años después* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2007). Additionally, Julio Vidaurre Jofre, *El plano de Texeira: Lugares, nombres, y sociedad*, vol. 2 of *El Madrid de Velázquez y Calderón: Villa y Corte en el siglo XVII*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid and Fundación Caja Madrid, 2000), provides helpful reconstructed views of the city derived from Teixeira's map.
7. This instance of royal image making precedes parallel efforts at the court of Louis XIV explored in studies by Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King*, trans. Martha M. Houle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); and Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). For recent literature on early modern political imagery in Spain of particular relevance to this study, see Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, trans. Sonia López and Michael Agnew (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); idem, *Palabra e imagen en la corte: Cultura oral y visual de la nobleza en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Abada Editores, 2003); Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, *Era melancólica: Figuras y imaginario barroco* (Barcelona: José J. de Olañeta, 2007); and idem, *Imago: La cultura visual y figurativa del Barroco* (Madrid: Abada Editores, 2009).
8. Richard L. Kagan, "Arcana Imperii: Mapas, ciencia, y poder en la corte de Felipe IV," in Pereda and Marías, *El atlas del Rey Planeta*, 49–70. See also Geoffrey Parker, "Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs," in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 124–52.

9. The 1636 inventory can be found at the Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid, Sección Administrativa, legajo 768. See the very helpful transcription and partial reconstruction of surviving objects by Gloria Martínez Leiva and Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas que tienen su Magestad Felipe IV en este Alcázar de Madrid: Año de 1636* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2007).
10. A cosmographer's dual duties of writing history and producing scientific maps are expertly explored in María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). On the complex relation between word and image in early modern cartography of the Spanish world, see also Richard L. Kagan, with Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1–9; and Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
11. Julián Gállego, "El Madrid de los Austrias: Un urbanismo de teatro," *Revista de Occidente* 25 (1969): 19–54.
12. Notable contributions include Virginia Tovar Martín, *Arquitectos madrileños de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1975); idem, *Arquitectura madrileña del siglo XVII: Datos para su estudio* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1983); idem, *Juan Gómez de Mora (1586–1648): Arquitecto y trazador del Rey y maestro mayor de obras de la Villa de Madrid* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1986); Antonio Bonet Correa, *Iglesias madrileñas del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984); and Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*.
13. Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1665–1667* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). See also Sarah McPhee, "Rome 1676: Falda's View," in *Piante di Roma dal Rinascimento ai Catasti*, ed. Mario Bevilacqua and Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Artemide, 2012), 233–43.
14. The bibliography on city views for Italy is extensive. To cite only a few critical studies, see Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin* 60, no. 3 (1978): 425–74; Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of Representational Language," *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 105–28; and Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography, and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). See also the wide-ranging study of city views in the context of military urbanism by Martha Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For developments in Spain, see Richard L. Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Kagan, *Urban Images*; and, for an account with a focus on the technical production of views, Federico Arévalo, *La representación de la ciudad en el Renacimiento: Levantamiento urbano y territorial* (Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2003).
15. Suzanne Boorsch, "Vermeyen," *Print Quarterly* 12 (1995): 392–95; and Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor*, 27–28.
16. On the commercial potential of these images, see Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century."
17. For the chronology, see Thomas P. Campbell, "Jan Vermeyen and the Conquest of Tunis," in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 385–89; and Hendrik J. Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, Painter of Charles V and His Conquest of Tunis: Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Cartoons and Tapestries*, 2 vols. (Doornspijk, The Neth.: Davaco, 1989), vol. 1, 25–30.
18. On the Tunis series, see n. 17 above; and Concha Herrero Carretero, "La revista de las tropas en Barcelona," in *El arte del poder: La Real Armería y el retrato de corte*, ed. Álvaro Soler del Campo (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado and Patrimonio Nacional, 2010), 144–47. For its display in Madrid, see Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 135–43.
19. For a recent study of Lorichs, see Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark, and Rene van Meeuwen, "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69 (2010): 62–87.
20. Hilary Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 233–44.
21. Ibid., 220–33.
22. On the drawings, now in the Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, see Fernando Marías, "Madrid," in Kagan, *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age*, 110–18.
23. For the inventory, see Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas que tienen su Magestad Felipe IV*. On the display of Wyngaerde's views in the Royal Palace, see also Kagan, *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age*, 11.
24. Jesús Escobar, "Antonio Manzelli: An Early View of Madrid in the British Library, London," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 17 (2005): 33–38.
25. Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750*, 3rd rev. ed. by Joseph Connors and Jennifer Montagu, 3 vols. (1958; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), vol. 1, 25.
26. Madrid staged elaborate festivals for the canonization, which are known through written accounts. See Miguel de León, *Fiestas de Madrid, celebradas a XIX de Junio de 1622 años* (Madrid: n.p., 1622); Félix Lope de Vega, *Relación de las fiestas que la insigne Villa de Madrid hizo en la canonización de su bienaventurado hijo y patron San Isidro. . .* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1622); and, on the city's relation with its patron saint, María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia: La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2000), 93–118. A visual record of Madrid's pride in Isidro's canonization was recorded in an engraved view, now in the British Library, London, of the nave of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome outfitted for the canonization ceremonies at the papal court and paid for by the Madrid municipality. See Alessandra Anselmi, "Roma celebra la monarchia spagnola: Il teatro per la canonizzazione di Isidro Agrícola, Ignazio di Loyola, Francesco Saverio, Teresa di Gesù, e Filippo Neri (1622)," in *Arte y diplomacia de la monarchia hispánica en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2003), 221–46.
27. The Plaza Mayor view may have ultimately derived from Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum, a compilation of prints and drawings that served as a record of this famously astute collector's broad interests; for more on the map, see Escobar, "Antonio Manzelli." Several scholars have proposed that a later map published by "De Wit" in Amsterdam may be based on the lost Manzelli prototype. However, a number of discrepancies, beginning with the faulty representation of the Plaza Mayor in the later image vis-à-vis Manzelli's view, suggest for now that this theory is flawed. See Felipe Pereda, "Iconografía de una capital barroca: Madrid entre el simbolismo y la ciencia," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 11 (1998): 103–34, reworked as "Immagini di Madrid, fra scienza e arte," in *L'Europa moderna: Cartografia urbana e vedutismo*, ed. Cesare de Seta and Daniela Stroffolino (Naples: Electa, 2001), 129–43.
28. Jerónimo de Quintana, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid: Historia de su antigüedad, nobleza y grandeza* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1629), bk. 1, chaps. 14, 24, underscores the association of the Habsburg kings with Jupiter, as well as the astrological significance of Madrid's site relative to the planet Jupiter. In an even more direct parallel with Manzelli's engraving, Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Madrid: Tomás Iunti, 1623), 3, published a Latin ode to Jupiter in which the deity looks down on Madrid as a whole and sees a great city: "Iupiter ex alto cum totum spectet in orbem/ Nil nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet."
29. González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas*. Some sixteenth-century authors wrote about legends surrounding Madrid's foundation, as will be explored later, but González Dávila's is the first work dedicated to the history of Madrid. The book's four parts cover the origins and site of the city as well as holy and royal figures born there, with an extensive history of the reign of Philip III; the city's parishes, convents, and religious foundations; the offices of the royal household; and a history of the royal councils in Madrid, including biographies of notable figures who served in them.
30. Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 3.
31. González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas*, n.p.: "suplicole humildeme[n]te, reciba, como cosa adquirida con mi estudio, la Historia de su gran Corte, que le pertenece como a señor de tan dilatado Imperio, para que con la grandeza de su esclarecido no[m]bre, a semejança de sus Inclytos Progenitores, cumpla los deseos de sus Coronas, con que V. Magestad po[n]dra la Gloria de su fama en el lugar que ocuparon Príncipes tan señalados y claros."
32. Marín and Ortega, "La biografía de Pedro Texeira," 39–41.
33. Quintana, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid*, n.p.: "Y pareciendome que el servicio de mas importancia, que segun mi estado y profession devia hazer a V.S. era escribir una historia que fuesse su verdadero retrato, descubriendo en el al mu[n]do los reales de su Nobleza, los lexos de su Antigüedad, y lo presente de su Grandeza."
34. For these distinctions, see Portuondo, *Secret Science*, 132.
35. For the concept of the *urbs* in the city-view tradition, see Kagan, *Urban Images*, 1–18. Such care for detail was a common feature in early modern cartography, as explored in the groundbreaking work by Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), esp. chap. 4, "The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art."
36. Marín, *Portrait of the King*, 177.
37. John Pinto, "Origins and Development of the Ichnographic City Plan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (1976): 35–50.
38. For an introduction to surveying in the period with a mention of Teixeira's map of Madrid, see Hilary Ballon and David Friedman, "Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement,

- Representation, and Planning," in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, vol. 3 of *The History of Cartography*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 680–704. See also David Friedman, "Visual Documents, Property Archives, and the Map of the City of Rome: 1563–1712," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71, no. 3 (2012): 278–305.
39. For Buonsignori, see the early article by Florio Banfi, "The Cartographer 'Stephanus Florentinus,'" *Imago Mundi* 12 (1955): 92–102. There is no direct evidence that Buonsignori's Florence map hung in the Royal Palace in Madrid, but it could be one of the Italian cities recorded in the 1636 inventory without further specification.
 40. See Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century"; and Ballon and Friedman, "Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe," 690, who note that although there is no evidence that bird's-eye views are based on actual surveyed plans, they "managed to establish an aura of knowledge and authority."
 41. This direct appeal to veracity follows the concept of the "eyewitness" viewer discussed by Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 125–34. See also Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 172–90; and Michael Schreffler, "'Their Cortés and Our Cortés': Spanish Colonialism and Aztec Representation," *Art Bulletin* 91, no. 4 (2009): 407–25, for corollary discussions about eyewitness accounts in writing about the colonial experience in the Spanish New World.
 42. For the symbolic messages represented in maps, see Marin, *Portrait of the King*, 169–79; Ballon, *Paris of Henri IV*, 212–49; Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century"; Tom Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 157–70; Helen Hills, "Mapping the Early Modern City," *Urban History* 23 (1996): 145–70; and Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps*.
 43. Kagan, *Urban Images*, 16.
 44. Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. vind. 5563: "Descripcion de España por don Pedro Texeira Albernaz cavallero de la orden militar de Christo," fols. 31–32. I am grateful to Felipe Pereda for sharing this document with me; see also Pereda, "Un atlas de costas y ciudades iluminado para Felipe IV," in Pereda and Marías, *El atlas del Rey Planeta*, 48.
 45. Marín and Ortega, "La biografía de Pedro Texeira," date his birth between the years 1594 and 1598. See also Pereda and Marías, "El Atlas del Rey Planeta"; and Teixeira da Mota, "Pedro Teixeira Albernaz."
 46. For Luís Teixeira, see Armando Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI (Contribuição para um estudo completo)*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Edição da "Seara nova," 1935), 265–76; Avelino Teixeira da Mota, "The Cartographer Luís de Teixeira and His Work," in Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, vol. 3, 41–84; and Sandra Sider, *Coastal Charts of the Americas and West Africa from the School of Luís Teixeira* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1993). On the Teixeira family of cartographers, see also Maria Fernanda Alegria et al., "Portuguese Cartography in the Renaissance," in Woodward, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, 989–90.
 47. As noted above, Teixeira's name appears on the Madrid map without the first "i" he used in signing his first published map discussed below, and a number of late documents in Madrid's notarial archive are signed by the cartographer as "Texeyra." See Marín and Ortega, "La biografía de Pedro Texeira."
 48. Bartolomé García de Nodal and Gonçalo de Nodal, *Relación del viaje... al descubrimiento del Estrecho nuevo de S. Vicente y reconocim[en]to del de Magallanes* (Madrid: Fernando Correa de Montenegro, 1621).
 49. "Relacion sumaria de los servicios de los Capitanes Bartolome Garcia de Nodal y Gonçalo de Nodal hermanos," fol. 14r, in *ibid.* The fifteen-folio report appears after the journey's narrative and a table of navigational coordinates used on the expedition.
 50. Pereda and Marías, "El Atlas del Rey Planeta," 13, note that Teixeira's earliest years of service date to about 1615, when he claims to have been occupied with the Armada Real under the command of the Savoy prince Emanuele Filiberto.
 51. Avelino Teixeira da Mota, "João Teixeira I ou João Teixeira Albernaz," in Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, vol. 4, 80, cites a September 1619 document in the Archivo General de Indias in which Gonçalo de Nodal names "Juan Teisera y don Pedro Teisera hermanos cosmógrafos de su m[a]g[esta]d en el Reyno de Portugal."
 52. Teixeira da Mota, "João Teixeira I ou João Teixeira Albernaz," 79–149.
 53. Portuondo, *Secret Science*, offers an outstanding overview of cosmography at the Spanish court. See also Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 133–39; and Denis E. Cosgrove, "Images of Renaissance Cosmography, 1450–1650," in Woodward, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, 55–98.
 54. Juan de Herrera, *Institución de la Academia Real Mathematica*, facsimile ed. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1995). See also Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La Academia de Matemáticas y Arquitectura fundada por Felipe II: Orígenes y continuidad," in *El arte en las cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999), 251–58.
 55. Herrera, *Institución de la Academia Real Mathematica*, 13r. The passage is also quoted by Portuondo, *Secret Science*, 84, with variations in the translation.
 56. Catherine Wilkinson Zerner, *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), esp. 46–62. See also Agustín Bustamante García, "Las trazas de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid: Felipe II y sus arquitectos," in *Las trazas de Juan de Herrera y sus seguidores* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2001), 287–336.
 57. Portuondo, *Secret Science*, 257–98.
 58. Avelino Teixeira da Mota, "João Baptista Lavanha," in Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, vol. 4, 63–70.
 59. For the Vienna atlas (Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. min. 46), see Pereda and Marías, *El Atlas del Rey Planeta*. On a partial copy of the atlas made about 1630 and now in the library of the University of Uppsala, Sweden, see Pedro Teixeira, *Compendium geographicum*, ed. Ramón Alvargonzález Rodríguez (Madrid: Fundación Alvargonzález, 2001). In the introduction, 20, Alvargonzález writes that the Uppsala atlas fragment is dedicated to Diego Mexía de Guzmán, the first marquis of Leganés (1580–1655) and an important patron of the Royal Academy of Mathematics. See also Pereda, "Un atlas de costas y ciudades iluminado," 35–38.
 60. Pereda, "Un atlas de costas y ciudades iluminado," 29.
 61. Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas que tienen su Magestad Felipe IV*, 93: "Diez y siete mapas sobre papel iluminadas, de mano de Don Pedro Texeida, que tienen de largo menos de vara, que son de diferentes ciudades y puertos de España, Francia, Ytalia, que se mudaron de la galería del çierço aquí." See also Pereda and Marías, "El Atlas del Rey Planeta," 15–16.
 62. Fernando Marías, "Imágenes de ciudades españolas: De las convenciones cartográficas a la corografía urbana," in Pereda and Marías, *El Atlas del Rey Planeta*, 99–116. The point is elaborated on further in Felipe Pereda and Marías, "De la cartografía a la corografía: Pedro Texeira en la España del Seiscientos," *Éria* 64–65 (2004): 129–57.
 63. This is the "De Wit" map mentioned in n. 27 above, which was reproduced as late as the 1690s with its faulty and outdated features.
 64. Pereda and Marías, "De la cartografía a la corografía."
 65. On the Portuguese map, see Teixeira da Mota, "Pedro Teixeira Albernaz," 159–60; and Pereda and Marías, "El Atlas del Rey Planeta," 13.
 66. Pereda, "Un atlas de costas y ciudades iluminado," 13.
 67. Marín and Ortega, "La biografía de Pedro Texeira," 41.
 68. See *ibid.*, 56–58. Pereda and Marías, "El Atlas del Rey Planeta," 18, suggest that this payment might have been intended instead for maps of Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia that Teixeira was preparing during extensive travels in the kingdom of Aragón during the 1640s.
 69. Pereda and Marías, "El Atlas del Rey Planeta," 17, describe Teixeira's work in Portugal based on new documents uncovered in the Archivo General de Simancas.
 70. See n. 68 above.
 71. Translated from the transcription by Luis Zolle in Pereda and Marías, *El Atlas del Rey Planeta*, 339. This passage is also cited by Teixeira da Mota, "Pedro Teixeira Albernaz," 155.
 72. Marín and Ortega, "La biografía de Pedro Texeira," 45.
 73. Quintana, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid*, 1v: "Madrid es la yema de toda España. . . ."
 74. *Ibid.*, 22r.
 75. Fernando Valdés, "El Madrid islámico: Notas para una discusión arqueológica," in *Mayrit: Estudios de arqueología medieval madrileña* (Madrid: Polifemo, 1992), 141–80. For a more complete discussion of Madrid's origins, real and fictive, see Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor*, 45–47.
 76. Andrea Navagero, *Il viaggio fatto in Spagna, et in Francia* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1563), fol. 32r, entry dated January 1, 1527.
 77. On the theme of the invention of the past in the early modern period, see Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); and Kagan, *Clio and the Crown*. For Madrid's legendary history, see also Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro, *El nacimiento de una capital europea: Madrid entre 1561–1606* (Madrid: Turner and Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1989).

78. On the reception of Ptolemy in early modern Spain, see Parker, "Maps and Ministers"; and Portuondo, *Secret Science*, 20–38.
79. See Juan López de Hoyos, "Declaración de las armas de Madrid," a tract appended to his *Hystoria y relacion verdadera de la enfermedad felicissimo tránsito, y sumptuosas exequias funebres de la Serenissima Reyna de España doña Isabel de Valoys* (Madrid: Pierres Cosin, 1569). Not all humanists accepted the identification of Madrid as the ancient Mantua.
80. Escobar, "Antonio Manzelli," 35.
81. This translation varies slightly from the one provided by Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas," 86–87. Following the dedication, a date of "MDCIII" is an error that scholars have convincingly argued as intended to read "MDCLIII," or 1653. See Eugenio Varela Hervás, "Nota sobre el plano de Texeira," *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo, y Museo de Madrid* 13 (1944): 223–25; and José del Corral, "La fecha de los dibujos del plano de Texeira," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 3 (1968): 43–49. Pereda and Marías, "El Atlas del Rey Planeta," 19, suggest the date should be read as 1654. Recently, Marín and Ortega, "La biografía de Pedro Texeira," 45, posit that 1653 could indicate the date by which the drawings for the map were ready to be engraved. This is a noteworthy hypothesis for a future scholar who might uncover new documentation about the engraving process in Amsterdam.
82. Spanish relations with the papacy were contentious throughout the reign of the Spanish Habsburgs, who viewed themselves as the true defenders of Catholicism. See Thomas James Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
83. For Savery's work, see G. S. Keyes, ed., *Salomon Savery to Gillis van Scheyndel*, vol. 24 of *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1980), 5–127; and Jasper Hillegers and Lotte Jaeger, "Salomon Savery, een plaatsnijder en zijn vrienden," in *Gedrukt tot Amsterdam: Amsterdamse prentmakers en uitgevers in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Elmer Kolfin and Jaap van der Veen (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), 120–63.
84. Rodríguez de la Flor, *Imago*, which builds on earlier research by the author on emblems, as discussed in n. 7 above. This author writes in response to some of the theses put forward by Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, as well as against a standard interpretation of early modern visual culture as one dominated by the sciences of linear perspective and optical instruments. His work shares much in common with Victor I. Stoichita's exploration of religious images for the period. See especially Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995).
85. The term "hieroglyph" is used in one of the best studies of *empresas* at the Spanish court: Steven N. Orso, *Art and Death at the Spanish Habsburg Court: The Royal Exequies for Philip IV* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1989), esp. 71–110. For a recent consideration of *empresas* in Spanish Colonial painting, see Luisa Elena Alcalá, "A Call to Action: Visual Persuasion in a Spanish American Painting," *Art Bulletin* 94, no. 4 (2012): 594–617.
86. Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano representada en cien empresas* (Munich and Milan: n.p., 1642). The book's dedication is signed in 1640. On Saavedra Fajardo, see J. A. Fernández Santamaría, *Natural Law, Constitutionalism, Reason of State, and War: Counter-Reformation Spanish Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005); and the special issue of *Res Publica: Revista de Filosofía Política* 11, no. 19 (2008), devoted to "Saavedra Fajardo y su época." The journal's opening essay by José María González García, "Saavedra Fajardo, en los múltiples espejos de la política barroca," 13–40, is especially helpful as a general introduction to specialized studies.
87. On the relation between cosmography and the Royal Council of the Indies, see Mariano Esteban Piñeiro, "Los cosmógrafos del Rey," in *Madrid, ciencia y corte*, ed. Antonio Lafuente and Javier Moscoso (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Palermo, 1999); and Portuondo, *Secret Science*, esp. 103–40.
88. Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *The Royal Politician Represented in One Hundred Emblems*, trans. Ja[mes] Asty, 2 vols. (London: Matt[hew] Gylliflowe and Luke Meredith, 1700), vol. 1, 279–80.
89. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 149.
90. Burke, *Fabrication of Louis XIV.*
91. Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, esp. 149–202. See also José Álvarez Lopera, "The Hall of Realms: The State of Knowledge and a Reassessment," in *Paintings for the Planet King: Philip IV and the Buen Retiro Palace*, ed. Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado in association with Paul Holberton Publishing, London, 2005), 91–111; and, for a new reading that emphasizes the presence of Spanish noblemen on display, Fernando Marías, *Pinturas de historia, imágenes políticas: Repensando el Salón de Reinos* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2012).
92. An early eighteenth-century inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace lists paintings and other decorative objects but does not include engravings of any sort. For the Buen Retiro inventory, see Gloria Fernández Baytón, ed., *Inventarios Reales: Testamentaria del Rey Carlos II, 1701–1703* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1981).
93. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar*, 121–25. For the 1636 inventory, see Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas que tienen su Magestad Felipe IV.*
94. Fernando Bouza, *El libro y el cetro: La biblioteca de Felipe IV en la Torre Alta del Alcázar de Madrid* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2005). See also Elena Santiago Páez, "Las bibliotecas del Alcázar en tiempos de los Austrias," in *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos siglos de arquitectura y coleccionismo en la corte de los reyes de España*, ed. Fernando Checa (Madrid: Nerea, 1994), 318–43.
95. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown*, 207–14.
96. Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas que tienen su Magestad Felipe IV*, 94–95, citing item 704 in the 1636 inventory: "Otro cajón de euano que tiene de largo dos pies poco más y de alto media uara, con cinco chriales grandes, tres delante y dos a los testeros y dos pedaços, y está hecho dentro de çera, cartón y colores, la delantera de este palacio de Madrid con las dos torres acabadas y el escudo de las armas de bronce y en el suelo de la plaça muchas figuras de hombres y coches y se demuestran los jardines a la parte de mediodía."
97. Kagan, "Arcana Imperii," 54.
98. Saavedra Fajardo, quoted in Alvargonzález Rodríguez, introduction to Teixeira, *Compendium geographicum*, 17: "Para que entienda lo práctico de la geografía y cosmografía (ciencias tan importantes que sin ellas es ciega la razón de Estado), estén en los tapices de sus cámara labrados los mapas generales de las cuatro partes de la tierra y las provincias principales, no con la confusión de todos los lugares, sino con los ríos y montes y con algunas ciudades y puertos notables. . . ."
99. The map was restored after 2003 and has not yet been fully studied. It is believed to have entered the palace collection from another royal estate after the 1734 fire that destroyed the Habsburg Royal Palace in Madrid.
100. Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas que tienen su Magestad Felipe IV*, 76: "Una estampa grande de un arco triunfal sobre papel pegado en lienço, que la hizo Alberto, en que están puestas las batallas y hombres ynsignes con sus armas de la Casa de Austria y España quando se juntaron estas dos coronas, tiene moldura dorada y el año que se hizo fue de 1515."
101. *Ibid.*, 95: "Dos lienços de diez y seis pies de largo cada uno, poco más o menos, con las molduras que so doradas y negras, en que están pintada la ciudad de Lisboa, que el uno es planta y el otro alçado, donde se demuestra la ciudad y puerto visto desde Almada, son al temple, y el uno tiene unas armas de su magestad y en una tarjeta pendiente de ella las de Lisboa."
102. Martin Brückner, "The Spectacle of Maps in British America, 1750–1800," in *Early American Cartographies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 389–441. I am grateful to Jason LaFountain for referring me to this source.
103. *Ibid.*, 417.
104. There are five or six accepted original copies in Madrid, and another is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. Marín and Ortega, "La biografía de Pedro Texeira," 45, claim that the overall total of existing copies (including examples they presume to be in London and New York that cannot be confirmed) would not surpass fifty. An original copy was on the art market in Madrid at the time this article was in preparation.
105. The fresco was rediscovered in the 1990s; see Comune di Napoli, *Dal castello alla città: Ricerche, progetti e restauri in Castel Nuovo* (Naples: Edio de Rosa, 1998), 58–59.
106. See Fernández Baytón, *Inventarios Reales*, for the 1701–3 inventories of the Buen Retiro and the Sitio Real del Pardo. The latter included a painted view that might have been an illuminated version of Teixeira's map (item 134): "Un Lienzo Pintado al olio grande de Madrid con las armas de Su Magestad con marco dorado y negro tassado en mil y quinientos." Likewise, the entrance to the Torre de la Parada, a royal lodge located just north of Madrid, had seventeen paintings of royal buildings, including the Royal Palace of Madrid.
107. Molina Campuzano, *Planos de Madrid*, 283–89, notes that the depiction of the city in Fosman's map is approximately one-seventh the size of Teixeira's. Given its reduced scale, Fosman's image would, in itself, serve as a model for a number of eighteenth-century maps of Madrid engraved by foreign artists in Paris, Amsterdam, and Augsburg. The copy of the map belonging to the Archivo de Villa de Madrid and deposited at the Museo de Historia de Madrid, illustrated here, includes appended notations marking the conduits for the water supply of the city.