

## **View of the Spanish City of Burgos in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and Dissemination of this Image until the 18th Century**

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### **Abstract**

The oldest and most famous drawing of the Spanish city of Burgos is the engraving published in the first edition of the city atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* published in Antwerp in 1572. This view, attributed to the Flemish painter Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1600), lacks the chorographic and architectural precision of the other Spanish views made by this artist during his stay in Spain between 1563 and 1567. This image of Burgos was spread throughout Europe in successive editions of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* from 1572 to 1617, and it was a model for later engravings that used this atlas as a reference until the 18th century. A graphic analysis of the drawing, comparing it with the view of the city made by Anton Van der Wyngaerde (1512-1571) in 1565, reveals that Hoefnagel's drawing was a graphical interpretation of the city made afterwards in Antwerp, when preparing all the views for atlas editing, rather than a drawing made from a graphic surveying of the city.

**Keywords:** *Views; graphical analysis; architectural drawing; Burgos; Joris Hoefnagel; Anton Van der Wyngaerde.*

### **Introduction**

Burgos is a small Spanish city located on the Castilian plateau that played a significant role in Spanish history during the Middle Ages and up to the 16th century. The city preserves a rich cultural heritage from that period, among which the Gothic cathedral stands out exceptionally. It was declared a National Monument on April 8, 1885, and a World Heritage Site by UNESCO on October 31, 1984. The historical views of Burgos and its cathedral, as its main hallmark, have been the subject of several studies during the last decade of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. The engravings and illustrations collected in the Municipal Archive of Burgos and in private collections have been exhibited in various exhibitions and catalogues (Elorza Guinea, Negro Cobo and Payo Hernanz 1995) (Iglesias Rouco 2002) (Negro Cobo and Payo Hernanz 2000). These collections showed the evolution of the graphic representation of the city from the first engravings with panoramic views, published in the 16th century, to the urban sketches made by some 19th century travellers such as Gustave Doré (Davillier 1991), Charles Garnier and Ambroise Baudry (1868), among others, who focused on portraying the perspectives of its streets and promenades.

The case study of this Castilian settlement is just one example of the evolution in the graphic representation of cities since the appearance of the printing press (Cornejo-Vega 2010). The first books with illustrations of the most important cities of the world were published in Europe in the 15th century, for example; *Supplementum chronicarum* (Foresti 1490) and *Liber chronicarum* (Schedel 1493). Also in Spain, in 1549, the Sevillian cleric Pedro de Medina published *Libro de grandes y cosas memorables de España* with illustrations of the main cities. Professor Cornejo-Vega explains that these early illustrations represented the city in a symbolic, and generic or conventional way, as opposed to a real representation of the city with a recognizable point of view and with the intention of reproducing its image identically (2010: 3).

During the 15th century, the city was symbolically represented as the centre of military, religious and political power, through drawings of defensive, religious and palatial architecture. The drawings also highlighted the geographical elements that had conditioned the settlement of the population and the urban form, such as mountains, rivers or the sea. These engravings are considered generic or conventional illustrations because the same schematic drawing of a church or a castle was used to represent these buildings in any city and, therefore, the illustrations did not reproduce the real image of the city.

In *Libro de grandes y cosas memorables de España* a symbolic and generic illustration of Burgos was published (Medina 1549). Its author, used the same woodcut plate to make engravings of

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several Spanish cities such as Burgos, Pamplona, Calahorra, Salamanca, Jerez de la Frontera, Écija, Alhama, Córdoba or Zaragoza, whose settlements stood out for the location of the walled city on the edge of a river. In the graphic history of Burgos, Pedro Medina's engraving is not considered a view of the city, but rather a symbolic and generic illustration (Figure 1).

The first real representation of the city in the sense defined by Professor Cornejo-Vega is the drawing of Burgos published in the city atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (hereafter *Civitates*) in 1572. This view, attributed to the Flemish painter Joris Hoefnagel, consolidated an image of the capital of Old Castile that was disseminated throughout Europe in the successive editions of this great editorial work and in other similar atlases that were published until the beginning of the 18th century<sup>i</sup>.

The objective of this work is to demonstrate, through a graphic analysis the errors and inconsistencies in Hoefnagel's drawing of Burgos as a representation of the city and the architecture of Burgos in the 16th century, comparing it with the main graphic source of its historical context, which is the view of the Flemish painter Anton Van der Wyngaerde, and the historical references where the landscape of the city, the geographic elements that conditioned the urban settlement, and the architectural definition of its main monuments were reflected.



**Figure 1: Burgos. Pedro de Medina 1549. Source: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico © Ministerio de Cultura**

#### **The engraving of Burgos in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum***

The first edition of *Civitates* was the beginning of a great editorial project promoted by the German Catholic priest Georg Braun (1541-1622) and the Flemish engraver Franz Hogenberg (1535-1590). Their purpose was to compile views and plans of cities around the world in a printed work to complete the cartographic spectrum of the first modern atlas edited by Abraham Ortelius in Antwerp two years earlier (1570).

In the preface of the first edition, Georg Braun referred to the process of compiling city drawings and creating the engravings. In that text, he acknowledged the skill of Simon Novellanus and Franz Hogenberg in delineating the views and unifying the style of the collected drawings. He also expressed gratitude for the contributions of illustrations from other collaborators, notably mentioning Abraham Ortelius, the Nuremberg print dealer Cornelius Caymox, and the artist Joris Hoefnagel for his drawings of several Spanish cities (Braun and Hogenberg 1572).

Apart from these acknowledgments, the book did not provide specific details about these contributions or recognize the authorship of the original drawings reproduced. Subsequent studies on *Civitates* conclude that the original sources of the published engravings were quite diverse. Hoefnagel and Novellanus made some of the drawings, even though they didn't sign them, but very few drawings were graphic surveying of the cities made on-site. The rest of the drawings were collected from works by local artists, or copied from woodcuts or linocuts previously published as loose plates or in collective

works. In any case, Skelton confirms in the introduction to the facsimile edition, that drawings were redrawn by Hoefnagel and Novellanus in Antwerp for creating the engravings (Skelton 1965: xiv-xv).

Among the book references, Skelton cites *Cosmographia*, published by Sebastian Münster in 1548 and *Liber chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel, published in 1493. For the views of Italian cities, he mentions the editions of Guicciardini (1567), Ballino (1569) and Bertelli (1574), and as the main reference for the English cities, he highlights the illustrations published by John Speed in the book *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611). None of those books included drawings of Burgos.

Joris Hoefnagel was a draftsman specialized in creating topographical views of cities and their landscapes, to which he added a scenic representation of the lives of their inhabitants in the foreground, following the criteria established by Georg Braun for the *Civitates* edition. Hoefnagel was in Spain between 1563 and 1567. Few details are known about his travels, except for those inferred from the dates of his drawings, which confirm that he spent most of his time in Andalusia, as stated in the studies of Professor Gámiz (2006) (2022). During his stay in Spain, he drew and gathered the necessary references to make most of the views of Spanish cities that were published in the six editions of *Civitates*, of which other attributions have been made in Skelton (1965: xii) and Gámiz (2006: 10) (2022: 86).

The engraving of Burgos was included among the ten views of Spanish cities published in the first book of *Civitates* grouped into five plates: Sevilla, Cádiz, and Málaga; Toledo and Valladolid; Granada; Barcelona and Écija; Burgos and San Sebastián<sup>ii</sup>. Only the views of Granada, Écija, and San Sebastián were signed by Hoefnagel. The view of Burgos is also attributed to him because it was published on the same plate as the view of San Sebastián (Figure 2).



**Figure 2: Burgos and San Sebastián. Joris Hoefnagel, 1572. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España**

There are significant differences in the chorographic representation of those ten drawings. Only the Andalusian cities of Sevilla, Cádiz, Málaga, Écija, and Granada include legends with the names of geographical landmarks in their natural surroundings and the main architectural monuments. Additionally, these views label information essential for orientation, such as the direction of roads and even the location of cardinal points, which is indicated along the edges of the Granada plate.

That topographical information, which characterizes the precision of drawing of the Andalusian views, is not evident in the views of the other Spanish cities published in this edition such as Toledo, Valladolid, Barcelona, Burgos, and San Sebastián. The topographical definition of the drawings could be one of the keys to understanding their origin and thereby differentiate between the views created by Hoefnagel directly from nature during his visit to Spain, from those drawings made later from sketches made by himself and other existing references.

The Burgos engraving belongs to the second group, as it does not represent the topographical and architectural reality of this Castilian city in the 16th century. The drawing does not indicate the orientation of the cardinal points. It does not include toponymic legends of the geographical sites and neither are the main architectural monuments of the city identified. The drawing has obvious errors in the representation of the city form and its architecture that have been highlighted by several local historians such as Isidro Gil who attributed the errors in Hoefnagel's view to the lack of skill of the draughtsman (1913), and others later historians (Río de la Hoz and Marías 1985: 891). However, Hoefnagel was a great draughtsman. The lack of precision in the drawing indicates that Hoefnagel did not make the view of Burgos during his visit to the city, but rather afterwards, in Antwerp, which confirms Skelton's general hypothesis (1965: xv).

### **Historical and Graphic References of Hoefnagel's View of Burgos**

The selection of Burgos as one of the Spanish cities included in Book I of *Civitates* was justified by its historical significance as the capital of the former Kingdom of Castile and by its condition as a crossroads frequented by merchants and pilgrims. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the city had reached its maximum economic and cultural peak. Since 1494, Burgos had a monopoly on the wool trade with Flanders, and the city stood out for its important wool, leather, metal, and textile industries. It was also known for the printing activity of Fadrique de Basilea, which had its most fruitful period between 1485 and 1500 (Marías 1988: 394). For this reason, Burgos was one of the cities that always appeared in cartographic representations of the Iberian Peninsula, such as the world map of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, published in Latin by Jacopo d'Angelo in 1467, or *Cosmographia* published by Sebastian Münster (1550:22), before Abraham Ortelius published the first cartographic atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570: 21, 25).

Raleigh Ashlin Skelton establishes as the main historical reference for the texts of Spanish cities published in Book I of *Civitates* the *Libro de grandes y cosas memorables de España* by Pedro de Medina (Skelton 1965, xviii). The description of Burgos made by Medina collected some historical stories of *Tratado del origen y fundación de la ciudad de Burgos* by the Dominican friar from Burgos, Alonso Venero (1540)<sup>iii</sup>. Other important historical references of Burgos that George Braun and Hoefnagel probably knew are *Rerum Hispaniae Memorabilium* by the Flemish humanist Juan Vaseo (1552) which was later reissued in Cologne in 1577, and *Los XL Libros del Compendio Historial de las Chronicas y Universal Historia de todos los reynos de España*, by Garibay and Zamalloa (1571), published in Antwerp by Christophoro Plantino.

It is ruled out that Braun and Hoefnagel were aware of the Hispano-Muslim narrative and cartographic sources of the 10th century and later that the researcher Eloy López Zamanillo has recently incorporated into the study of the historical evolution of Burgos (2023: 215-264). The Andalusian Arab chroniclers and geographers such as Ibn Hayyān (10th century), Muhammad Al-Idrisi (12th century) and Al-Himyāri (13th – 14th century) provide significant data that have not been studied in depth until the beginning of the 20th century, due to the lack of quality translations (García San Juan 2001: 107).

Hoefnagel's stay in Spain coincided with the period during the Flemish painter Anton van den Wyngaerde was creating a pictorial inventory of the most important Spanish cities commissioned by King Philip II (Kagan 1988: 11). Wyngaerde drew a view of Burgos in 1565 that is considered a true graphic testimony of the city in the 16th century due to its rigorous chorographic and architectural representation (Río de la Hoz and Marías 1985) (Marías 1988: 394-399) (Iglesias Rouco 2022: 25) (Figure 3).



**Figure 3: Burgos, Anton van den Wyngaerde, 1565. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**

Wyngaerde's views of Spanish cities remained unknown until Haverkamp-Begemann published the first catalogue analysing the historical value of the drawings in 1969. The reasons why his drawings were never printed in the 16th century are unknown, but the consequence is that these views provide us with a unique visual testimony that was never copied or reproduced, and could not influence later representations of these cities (Haverkamp-Begemann 1969: 388).

Nevertheless, several authors agree on the hypothesis that Hoefnagel might have known Wyngaerde's drawings, given that both artists were Flemish and were in Spain at the same time (Gámiz 2022: 86) (Haverkamp-Begemann 1969: 387) (Kagan 1988: 12). Professor Gámiz even suggests that Hoefnagel might have accompanied Wyngaerde because the latter self-portrayed with a companion in some of his drawings (2006: 12). Analysing the dates of his drawings we know that Hoefnagel was in Andalusia in 1565, when Wyngaerde drew the view of Burgos, but he may have met him later during Wyngaerde's trip through Andalusia in 1567 (Kagan 1986: 10).

The differences between the views of Burgos made by Hoefnagel and Wyngaerde are obvious, and they not only differ on the artist's drawing style. The drawings are different in the way they represent the walled city and its surroundings. Both artists chose the same viewpoint on San Isidro Hill, in the south of the city. This coincidence could be explained by the fact that they chose a very popular place known as Colina de los Ahorcados (Hill of the Hanged Men) since 1420 (De la Cruz 1973: 77). From that point, the whole city and its landscape could be seen, and it was strategically located next to the road that linked Burgos with Madrid. It does not seem credible that Hoefnagel copied Wyngaerde's drawing, although it is possible that he knew it, and was inspired by it to make a sketch that later served him to compose the drawing of the city. If we focus on the upper half of the centre of Wyngaerde's drawing, we can see that this fragment is similar to Hoefnagel's view.

#### **Chorographic Definition and Shape of Burgos in the 16th Century**

The earliest settlements that led to the founding of Burgos in the year 884 were established next to San Miguel Hill, from where they dominated the routes towards the centre of the country and towards Santiago de Compostela that crossed the city. In the 11th century, the city became the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Castile. Its urban growth developed on the slopes of the hill in a crescent shape, and on the banks of the Arlanzón River, as defined by Hendrik Cock, notary of Philip II in the account of the king's stay in the city in 1592 (Cock 1540-1598: 43).

In the 16th century, Burgos kept its wall intact. The city's profile was dominated by the fortified castle, the Romanesque chapel of Santa María la Blanca, the Gothic cathedral, and the bell towers of its numerous parishes. The Hispano-Christian historical sources (Venero 1551), (Vaseo 1552) (Garibay and Zamalloa 1571) (Barrio Villamor 1638) (Prieto 1639), and other accounts by illustrious travellers like Wenceslaus Shaschek, who recounted the journey to Santiago of the Czech baron Leo von Rozmíthal between 1465 and 1467 (García Mercadal 1952), consolidated the image of Burgos as a fortified city. This description was immortalised in the model made by the brothers Rodrigo and Martín de la Haya (1562-1580) for the sculpture of the guardian angel on the main altar of the cathedral (Figure 4).



**Figure: 4. Model of Burgos, Rodrigo and Martín de la Haya (1562-1580) (López Zamanillo 2023)**

These sources omitted the existence of the river and the suburbs that were considered illegal settlements in the 16th century. However, the river had been one of the generating elements of the city, as confirmed by Arab historians such as Ibn Hayyān, who described Burgos highlighting the old citadel and the urban settlement on the river plain in his work *Kitāb al- Muqtabis V* in the year 934 (cited in López Zamanillo 2023: 219). In the 11th century, the geographer Muhammad Al-Idrisi draw the city of Burgos (Burgūsh) as two cities on both sides of a river on the world map called *Tabula Rogeriana* (1154). Later, the Berber geographer Al-Hymyārī in his work *Kitāb al-Rawd al-Mi'tar* in the 13th-14th centuries also agrees with Al-Idrisi in the description of Burgos as a large city crossed by a river (cited in López-Zamanillo 2023: 243).

The view of Burgos made by Anton van der Wyngaerde accurately represented the chorographic and architectural reality of the city, so it has become an essential historical and artistic document to contrast the narratives of historians and travellers who subsequently visited the city (Ponz 1772-1794: 19-22) (Laborde 1806-1820: 842-854) (Amador de los Ríos 1888: 378-398) (Nougué 1982) (Robertson 1976). The drawing shows the shape of the city within the wall, and the plain of the Arlanzón River valley, separating the other part of the city where the suburbs and convents of the religious orders were located in an environment of farmland crossed by streams, and canals (Ibáñez 1977: 31, 33-40).

In 1565, three bridges connected the walled city with the other bank of the Arlanzón. In the central area of the drawing, is Santa María Bridge that connected the main gate of the wall with the Vega suburb located in the southern area. To the east, is San Pablo Bridge that connected the city with the Carmelite and Santa Clara convents, among others, described by Antonio Ponz in his letters (1772-1794: 61-66). To the west is Malatos Bridge that pilgrims crossed on their way to Santiago de Compostela (Río de la Hoz and Marías 1985: 896) (Marías 1988: 394). When crossing Malatos Bridge, pilgrims entered the grounds of the Monastery of Las Huelgas and the Hospital del Rey where they could recover before continuing their journey.

In Hoefnagel's drawing it is not possible to graphically interpret the city described above except for the profile defined by San Miguel Hill, the castle, the hermitage of Santa María la Blanca and the cathedral. His drawing represents a city surrounded by mountains that hide a large part of the wall and the valley of the Arlanzón River so, it is not possible to see the shape of the city within the walls. He also did not draw the river, which is one of the elements that characterize the urban settlement.

On the contrary, the artist drew a dense city that extending continuously from the cathedral to the south and east, without differentiating the city's boundaries, suburbs, and convents of the religious orders. Additionally, in Hoefnagel's view, the Monastery of Las Huelgas and the Hospital del Rey are not depicted, although they are expressly mentioned in the description of Burgos in *Civitates* due to the historical and social significance of both institutions founded by King Alfonso VIII of Castile (Braun and Hogenberg 1572: 6).

### Architectural Definition of the Main Monuments by Hoefnagel and Wyngaerde

The views of Wyngaerde and Hoefnagel also differ in the graphic definition of Burgos architecture. Wyngaerde precisely defines the architectural form of the main monuments of the city while Hoefnagel draws architectural elements typical of European Gothic architecture that do not correspond to the language of Castilian Gothic architecture. The most obvious differences can be seen when comparing the representations of the church of San Pedro and San Felices, the cathedral, and the architectural elements that defined the city profile in both drawings.

The Church of San Pedro y San Felices, located in the foreground of the drawing, was a small Gothic temple from the 16th century with a Latin cross plan, an apse oriented to the east, and a small bell tower on the main facade. In Wyngaerde's drawing, we can observe the so-called Torre de Buradón or Torre de San Pedro next to it, which Pérez Monzón mentions in his studies (1993: 84). In the foreground of Hoefnagel's drawing, we see a building with two towers whose representation does not correspond to the church described above (Figure 5a).

The bell towers of the disappeared churches of San Martín and San Román also serve to analyse the graphic fidelity of the drawings. The parish church of San Martín was located on the western slope of San Miguel Hill. The bell tower of this Romanesque church was a prismatic volume characteristic of medieval Castilian architecture, that Wyngaerde faithfully portrayed. However, Hoefnagel drew a four-part stepped pyramidal tower (Figure 5b).

Below the castle, Wyngaerde drew the facade gable of San Román Church, which is a typological element characteristic of Castilian architecture where the bells are placed. Hoefnagel replaced it with a bell tower with a roof typical of Central European architecture that does not exist in Burgos architecture (Figure 5c).

The same discrepancy is found in the representation of the Gothic tower of the Church of San Esteban, located in the drawing next to the cathedral spires. It is a prismatic volume with buttresses at the corners and a tiled roof. Its composition differentiates the lower part decorated with a stained-glass rose window and the upper part with the bell tower openings. Hoefnagel drew a stepped prismatic tower in three sections topped with a very sloping roof, which is not typical of Castilian architecture (Figure 5d).

Hoefnagel's drawing of the cathedral did not represent architectural reality either, but it contains its characteristic architectural elements: the two towers of the western façade topped with spires, the domes of the transept and the Constables Chapel and the Sarmental façade. However, Hoefnagel drew towers higher than they really are, in the style of the cathedral towers of Amiens and Cologne, but he did not draw the perforated pyramidal spires of the towers, which is one of the singularities of the Burgos cathedral. He wrongly drew the dome of the transept with two superimposed volumes, much larger than it really is, and he was not correct when drawing the dome of the Constables' chapel, which is located at the head of the temple. (Figure 5e).

The churches of San Gil and San Lorenzo are identified by a legend in the view of Wyngaerde, to the right of the cathedral. In Hoefnagel's engraving, there is only a Central European-style bell tower that does not represent these Burgos churches (Figure 5f). Finally, at the far right of the sheet, the Monastery of San Juan is depicted with a bell tower on the front of the church, instead of representing the mural structure of the bell gable that is perfectly outlined in Wyngaerde's view (Figure 5g).

All the errors mentioned above show that when Hoefnagel made the drawing he was unable to verify the accuracy of his drawing with reality. This would explain why the details of the drawing correspond to Germanic or Central European Gothic architecture and do not represent the architecture of the city.



**Figures 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e, 5f, 5g: Comparison of Wyngaerde and Hoefnagel drawings.**  
**Source:** Authors.

#### Graphic Life of Hoefnagel's Engraving of Burgos: Reprints and Copies

Hoefnagel's engraving of Burgos is not a precise representation of the city's landscape and architecture, but he spread its image throughout the world in successive editions of *Civitates* from 1572 to 1617, and it served as a reference for the creation of subsequent engravings that faithfully reproduced the same urban and architectural form. Thus, we can establish a genealogy of the engravings of Burgos, distinguishing between those engravings that come from the original plates made by Franz Hogenberg, and those that were printed from new patterns that copied the drawing published in *Civitates* or even from later copies.

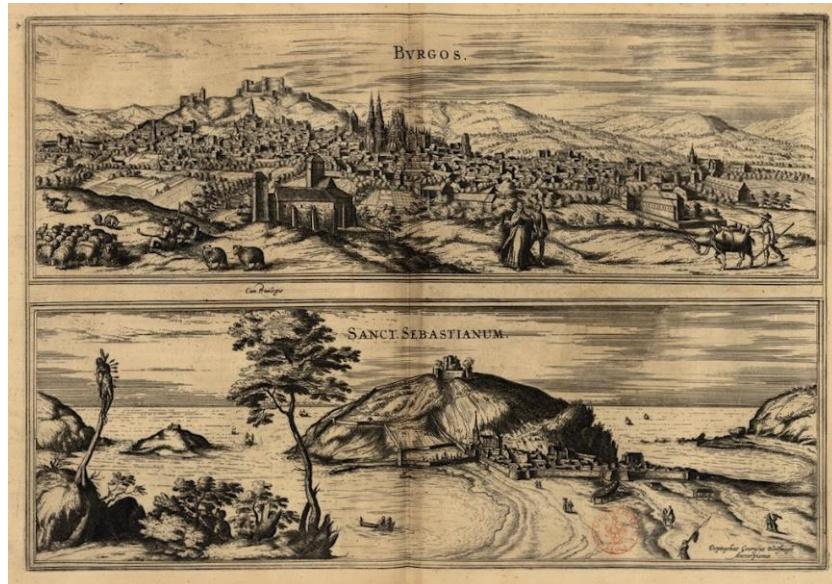
#### Early reprints of Burgos engraving from *Civitates*

The copper plates used by Braun and Hogenberg for printing *Civitates* were inherited by Hogenberg's son, Abraham Hogenberg, who continued printing with them from his workshop in

Cologne. Subsequently, the plates were sold and auctioned off, passing from one publisher to another. According to Skelton, some plates continued to be used until the mid-19th century (1965: xxi).

Upon Abraham Hogenberg's death around 1653, the Amsterdam publisher Johannes Janssonius (1588-1664) purchased the 363 original plates of the city atlas and immediately published two works in several volumes, grouping the city views by country. The engraving of Burgos, like other Spanish cities, was published in *Illustriorum Hispaniae urbium tabulae* (Janssonius 1657a: 4) and in *Theatrum Hispaniae Urbes* (Janssonius 1657b: 4).

In both editions, Johannes Janssonius reused the original plate of Burgos for new prints with minimal modifications from the original. Burgos once again shared a sheet with the view of San Sebastián. In both drawings, the original side cartouche containing the city's name and a brief description was removed and replaced by a central title at the top of the views (Figure 6).



**Figure 6: Burgos and San Sebastian, Johannes Janssonius 1657a. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España**

After the death of Johannes Janssonius, the reprints of the original copper plate of Burgos become difficult to trace. Subsequent owners of the *Civitates* plates collection, such as Janssonius van Waesberghe (1682), Frederick de Wit (1694) and Joan Blaeu (1665) (1672) created new compilations of the views, but the city of Burgos was not included in any of those editions.

The copper plate of Burgos had a different destiny. In 1656, we find a reprint of the original engraving in the travel book by the German writer Martin Zeiller (1589-1661), published by Aegidius Janssonius Valckenier in Amsterdam; *Hispaniae et Lusitaniae Itinerarium nova et accurata descriptione, iconibusq. novis et elegantibus loca earundem praecipua illustrans* (Zeiller 1656: 138). Besides the view of Burgos, he also used the engravings of San Sebastián, Toledo, Valladolid, Cádiz, Alhama, and Sevilla from *Civitates* as illustrations of the travel itinerary through the Iberian Peninsula.

In this edition, the outline of the drawing has lost definition compared to the original due to the wear of the plates produced by successive printings. Some modifications were included in the outlines of the clouds and the foreground of the drawing where a large shaded area at the base frames the sheet. In this way, some of the figures from the scenery created by Hoefnagel were eliminated and simplified (Figure 7).



**Figure 7: Burgos, Martin Zeiller 1656. Source: Biblioteca Digital de Castilla y León.**

#### Other copies of the original *Civitates* engraving

Other printers and engravers from the Netherlands, Flanders, Germany, and Italy copied Hoefnagel's engraving of Burgos to edit their own atlases. Following the city selection criteria of the pioneers Braun and Hogenberg, Burgos became an essential view in the atlases published during the 17th and 18th centuries that included cities of the Iberian Peninsula, although the city had lost the economic prominence it had during the 15th and 16th centuries.

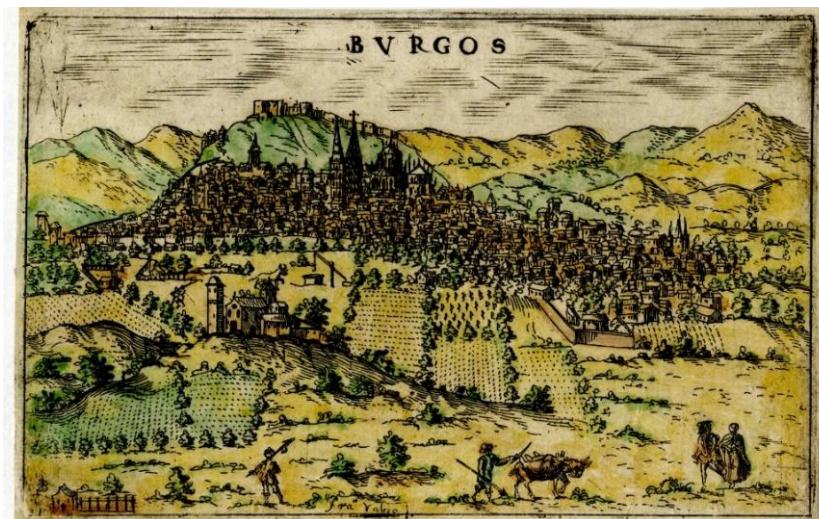
Francesco Valegio, Matthäus Merian the Elder, Pierre Aveline the Elder, Pieter van der Aa, Pieter van den Berge, and Vincenzo Maria Coronelli created their own engravings of the city of Burgos based on the graphical reference of Hoefnagel's drawing, or even subsequent copies. In each reinterpretation, the drawing increasingly diverged from the real image of the city.

#### Engraving by Francesco Valegio, 1595

The oldest of these versions was published in the book *Raccolta di le più illustri et famose città di tutto il mondo* by the Italian Francesco Valegio in 1595. Francesco Valegio or Valesio (ca. 1560 - ca. 1650) was a painter, draftsman, engraver, publisher, and print dealer in Venice, whose intense activity was described by the Italian geographer Roberto Almagia in Ferrari's book (1985: 151).

Valegio's drawings, including the view of Burgos, are very simple sketches with the geographical elements of the city and a generic, almost symbolic representation of its architecture. This type of drawing is more similar to the city illustrations published in *Supplementum chronicarum* (Foresti 1490) or in *Liber chronicarum* (Schedel 1493) in the 15th century, than the graphic quality of Hoefnagel's engraving of Burgos.

Francesco Valegio marketed the engraving of Burgos as an independent picture and used it in several editorial works, making this image of the city very popular. It was so well-known that the German traveller Jacob Cuelbis included this drawing in his manuscript *Thesoro chorographico de las Espannas* where he recounted his travels through Spain between 1599 and 1600 (Villayandre Llamazares 2021: 20). Other Italian publishers, such as Savonarola (1713) also used it in later editions (Figure 8).



**Figure 8: Francesco Valegio, Burgos, 1598. Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum**  
**Engraving by Matthäus Merian the Elder, 1638**

Parallel to the reprints made in Amsterdam with the original *Civitates* plates, the Swiss engraver Matthäus Merian the Elder made one of the most widely distributed engravings of the Castilian city in his Frankfurt workshop in 1638. Matthäus Merian marketed this engraving, like many others, as an independent card. Years later, his son compiled his engravings for the publication of the editorial work *Topographia* published in twenty-one volumes. The Burgos engraving was included in the volume dedicated to *Topographia Germania* (Merian 1659).

Merian's drawing uses Hoefnagel's engraving as a graphical reference to represent the city's form and the architectural definition of its monuments, but he embellishes it with meticulous detail of the surrounding vegetation, which is the main characteristic of this work. Additionally, he gives greater depth to the drawing by adding a tree in the foreground and depicting some figures whose scale allows for a better interpretation of the drawing's dimensions (Figure 9).



**Figure 9: Matthäus Merian the Elder, Burgos 1659. Source: Instituto Geográfico Nacional**  
**Engraving by Pierre Aveline the Elder, 1676**

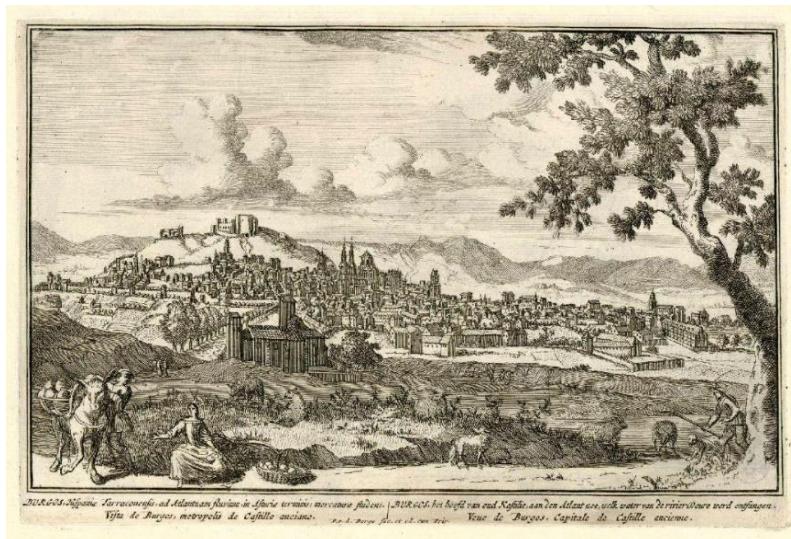
Pierre Aveline the Elder (1656 - ca. 1722) was a French engraver of city views with a workshop in Paris. In 1676, he made an engraving of Burgos, copying the drawing of *Civitates*. Aveline also added a foreground to the drawing to give it greater depth, creating his own scenography that distinguished it from the versions of other printers (Figure 10). Aveline's version reproduces the drawing of the tree trunk on the lower left edge, indicating the possible reference of this drawing to the modified pattern of the original plate published in Martin Zeiller's travel book in 1656.



Figure 10: Burgos, Pierre Aveline el Viejo, 1676. Source: Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

Engraving by Pieter van den Berge, 1700

Around 1700 is the date of the edition of the book *Theatrum Hispaniae exhibens regni urbes* in Amsterdam. This atlas included an engraving of Burgos made by Pieter van den Berge, copied from the original model (Berge 1700: 57). On the first page of the book there was an inscription indicating that Pieter van de Berge made the drawing and engraving of the published illustrations. The type of linework used by the author characterizes this view, even though the drawing reproduces a previously published image of the city. In this case, as well, Van den Berge added a foreground of vegetation, characters and animals to design the scenography of city life (Figure 11).



**Figure 11: Burgos, Pieter van den Berge 1700. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España**

Engraving by Pieter van der Aa, 1707

Skelton's studies on *Civitates* suggest that, in the early 18th century, the original plates might have been in the possession of bookseller and publisher Pieter van der Aa, based in Leiden (1965, XXI). However, as previously noted, the plate of the Burgos engraving did not share the same fate as the others. Pieter van der Aa created a new copper plate for the Burgos engravings, that he used in three different editions: *Les delices de l'Espagne & du Portugal* (Álvarez de Colmenar 1707), and *Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal* (Álvarez de Colmenar 1741), published under the pseudonym Juan Álvarez de Colmenar. The third edition is the monumental work *La Galérie Agréable du Monde*, published in 66 volumes using the French pseudonym Pierre van der Aa (1729).

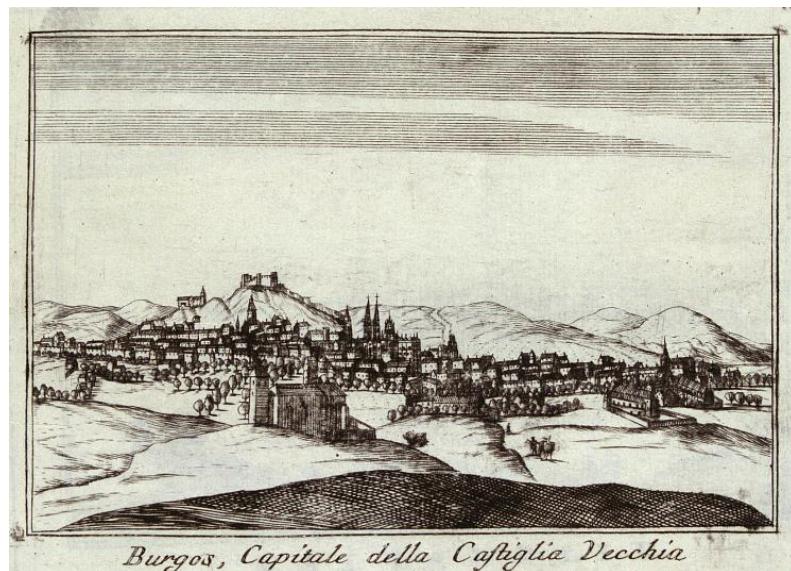
Van der Aa's engraving differs from the original *Civitates* plate in its proportion and graphical quality. The architectural delineation and definition of elements such as landscape, vegetation, and figures in the scenery are simplified. The drawing for this new pattern frames the view by introducing a shaded base in the foreground, sketching some elements of the original scenery that appear disproportionate and disconnected from the rest of the composition (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Burgos, Juan Álvarez de Colmenar 1707. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España

#### Engraving by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, 1706

The Venetian cartographer Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650-1718) made an engraving of Burgos to include it in the second volume of the *Teatro della guerra*, published in Naples in 1706, along with other views of cities in Spain, Great Britain, and Portugal (Coronelli, 1706). Coronelli's depiction of Burgos is a simplified version of the image of the city published in *Civitates*. The representation of the city keeps the same proportions and architectural definition as Pieter van der Aa's engraving. It also copies the shading of the lower area used to frame the drawing, suggesting that it might be a direct copy from one of Pieter van der Aa's publications (Figure 13).



**Figure 13: Burgos, Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, 1706. Source: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana**

### Conclusion

The drawing of Burgos by Hoefnagel published in Book I of the atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in 1572 is considered a real view of the city because it depicts some geographical and architectural elements that unmistakably identify it with this Castilian city. However, this drawing differs considerably from the precision and veracity of the views of other Spanish cities made by Hoefnagel, which highlights the process of its creation.

The view contains errors in the definition of the landscape and the architecture of the city that a great draughtsman like Joris Hoefnagel would not have ignored if he had made the drawing during his visit to the city. Hoefnagel made the drawing of Burgos in Antwerp based on previous sketches of the profile of the city with its main architectural monuments. When completing the drawing, Hoefnagel was unable to compare the previous sketch with reality, and used historical references that described the city settled on the slope of the San Miguel hill where its castle is located, and the numerous churches of the city among which the Gothic cathedral in the Germanic style stands out. This information helped him to compose a drawing of the city, placing in the foreground the scenery with the figures of the shepherds and merchants that characterized its economic and social life.

The origin of Hoefnagel's sketch of the city remains to be determined. It is possible that he used part of Anton Van der Wyngaerde's drawing as a reference to make a schematic drawing, but it is also possible that he made the sketch during a visit to the city, since there are no details of his trip to Spain that could help us to contrast this hypothesis. If Hoefnagel visited Burgos, he had to make a quick visit that did not allow him to know the city well, so that when he drew it he did not remember it.

Despite everything, Hoefnagel's drawing of Burgos became an artistic, historiographical and bibliographical object when it was included in the first edition of *Civitates*. The view was widely disseminated and later plagiarised by European engravers until the 18th century. In this way, Hoefnagel's drawing disseminated an image of Burgos linked to the Germanic origin of its name, which was evident in the Germanic style of its cathedral, and its main monuments, instead of identifying the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Castile with the imagery of its Castilian origin.

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<sup>i</sup> *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* achieved great diffusion. It had six editions from 1572 to 1617 (Braun and Hogenberg 1572) (Braun and Hogenberg 1575) (Braun and Hogenberg 1581) (Braun and Hogenberg 1588) (Braun and Hogenberg 1598) (Hogenberg and Hierat 1617).

<sup>ii</sup> The first book of *Civitates* also included a view of the Spanish city of Ceuta in Africa (Braun and Hogenberg 1572: 56), but until 1668, Ceuta belonged to the kingdom of Portugal.

<sup>iii</sup> This manuscript by Friar Alonso Venero has disappeared. The stories about Burgos were included in his later book *Enchiridión de los tiempos*, which was printed in Antwerp (Venero 1551). Later local historians such as José Barrio Villamor (1638) and Melchor Prieto (1639) cited Venero's manuscript as the origin of their sources.