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### ABSTRACT

*In the second half of the 16th century, Girolamo Righettino, a brilliant draughtsman and theologian (a member of the Order of the Canons Lateran), produced city views with ornamental frames characterised by their rich allegorical programme. The drawings earned him widespread fame and were handsomely rewarded. A recently discovered autograph manuscript by Righettino sheds precious light on his only surviving view – an elaborate plan of Turin (1583). This article offers an introductory portrait of a personality forgotten to history and presents new research that allows us to situate his unique output – at the intersection of art and science, theology and politics, topography and allegory – in the wider context of Counter-Reformation Italy, when the ambitions of absolutist rulers were stoked by the fear of Turkish advances in the Mediterranean.*

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# Girolamo Righettino's City Views: Allegories of the Christian Prince, 1583–85

Translated from the French by Louise Rogers Lalaurie.

On 25 November 1585, the pope Sixtus V, elected just a few months before, granted an audience to a Venetian canon by the name of Girolamo Righettino. The purpose of the audience, obtained through the offices of the powerful Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci, was to honour the new papal dignitary with a gift: a splendid drawing by the canon's own hand, featuring the city of Rome surrounded by an extraordinary ornamental frame teeming with allegorical figures and the heraldic emblems of the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

During their interview, the canon was at pains to explain the drawing's complex figures and imagery to the pontiff. Delighted by the beauty of the work, and its exegesis, Sixtus V ordered Righettino to set the latter down in writing; by way of thanks, he granted the shrewd theologian the bishopric of Caorle, a small city near Venice. While the original view of Rome seems to have been lost, its exhaustive exposition (which Righettino promptly committed to paper at the Pope's request) survives. The 80-page, autograph manuscript – with a fine illuminated cover bearing the arms of Cardinal Rusticucci, also by Righettino – is conserved at the Biblioteca Federiciana in Fano (Marche). In handwriting of exquisite elegance, the text offers an explanatory guide to the allegories surrounding the view of Rome, as presented to the Pope.<sup>2</sup> **Fig. 1**

Righettino is an almost wholly forgotten figure today,<sup>3</sup> however this was far from his first foray into city mapping and views. A precious handful of documents trace his astonishing career. A chapter on *chorography* in the celebrated work *La piazza di tutte le professioni del mondo* (1585) by Righettino's close colleague Tommaso Garzoni (both were Canons Regular of the Lateran)

indicates that Righettino's drawings of city views had earned him widespread fame, and compares him unhesitatingly to the greatest geographers of the day: Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, Gemma Frisius or Gerolamo Cardano. Garzoni mentions the view of Rome presented to Sixtus V, but also a drawing of the Isole Tremiti presented to the Florentine Duke Francesco de' Medici in 1581, and another, of Turin, presented to Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy in 1583 – works for which Righettino was handsomely rewarded.<sup>4</sup> The view of Turin, signed and dated 1583, is the only one that has come down to us: a drawing on two sheets of parchment measuring 68x94 cm altogether, conserved at the National Archives in Turin. Richly detailed, and virtuosic in execution, this is a unique work of its kind, though it is mentioned – surprisingly – in only a few brief records in a handful of exhibition catalogues.<sup>5</sup> **Fig. 2** In this context, Righettino's manuscript at the library in Fano, entitled *Dichiaratione degli concetti posti per ornamento della città di Roma*, offers a formidable tool for our understanding and study of the Turin work: the allegories it so painstakingly enumerates and explains correspond closely to those we see in the view of Turin.

The present, short essay will offer some essential remarks, comparing Righettino's Fano text and the imagery used in his view of Turin – both remarkable in their richness and detail – in anticipation of a forthcoming digital publication which will enable a close, systematic comparison of the two, and which will also make available all the source material identified and located to date.<sup>6</sup> This article is limited in its scope, but will offer an introductory, broad-brush portrait of Righettino's work



1  
Girolamo Righettino, Frontispiece to the *Sommario overo  
Dichiaratione degli concetti posti per ornamento della  
città di Roma...* (Ms. Federici 171, cart. XVI) 1585, Fano  
Biblioteca Federiciana, ink on parchment.



and suggest avenues for future research that will allow us to better situate his unique output – at the intersection of art and science, theology and politics, topography and allegory – in the wider context of Italy in the second half of the 16th century.

### IN THE SERVICE OF VENICE

The originality of Righettino's *invenzioni* derives in large part from his training and career, notably in powerful political circles in Venice. Thanks to an invaluable biography of important Lateran Canons, published by Celso Rosino in 1649, we know that Righettino was attached to the monastery of Santa Maria della Carità, in Venice.<sup>7</sup> Unlike many of his learned colleagues, he did not take up a career as a preacher,<sup>8</sup> but established himself as an expert in casuistry – that branch of moral theology that studies and seeks to resolve *matters of conscience* by means of general principles and the study of comparable cases; a method roundly criticised later by Pascal, for its basis in a wholly pragmatic approach to morality, adapted to the contingencies of political life and society.<sup>9</sup> According to Rosino, Righettino became something of an oracle in Venice, dispensing valued advice and judgement, in particular regarding the settlement of issues relating to social mores.

Righettino was a man of humble ambition, who never sought to involve himself in political matters, but he was nonetheless a close associate and, ultimately, confessor to several senators of the Serene Republic. Venice's ambassadors even invited him to accompany their diplomatic missions to Constantinople, Rome, Vienna, or Paris. In particular, Righettino was connected to two of Venice's most prominent cultural and diplomatic figures. The first – a great friend of the canon, according to Rosino – was Lorenzo Priuli, a Venetian nobleman who served successively as ambassador to the Medici court in Tuscany, the courts of Philip II in Madrid and Henri III in France, and finally to Rome during the last months of the pontificate of Gregory XIII and the succession of Sixtus V. In 1590 this distinguished career culminated in Priuli's nomination as Patriarch of Venice.<sup>10</sup> Righettino presented him with

images of the city of Venice [...] made with such artistry and exactitude that no detail of its great piazza seemed to have been omitted or even misplaced, and which presented itself to the eye such that anyone would immediately recognise what was depicted.<sup>11</sup>

Another close associate was a pivotal figure in the geopolitics of his day, and in late 16th century Venetian history as a whole: Marcantonio Barbaro, who also served as ambassador to France (like Priuli), and most importantly to the Sublime Porte – the Ottoman Empire and its capital Constantinople – in the period before and after the Battle of Lepanto.<sup>12</sup> Significantly, Righettino dedicated an important treatise on numerology to Barbaro. Published in Venice in 1586, all trace of the work is sadly lost today. Its existence testifies to Righettino's erudition, nonetheless, and helps us to understand what I would call the *mystical architecture* of his work, based on correspondences, numbers, and the placing of certain figures and objects in relation to one another.<sup>13</sup> Marcantonio – like his brother and their father before them – was also a protector and patron of

the church and monastery of Santa Maria della Carità in Venice, where Righettino lived and played a key role in the great project for its reconstruction, directed by Andrea Palladio.<sup>14</sup>

Righettino's close connection to these central figures in Venetian culture and diplomacy sheds light on the probable function of several of his works, as diplomatic gifts. It happens, as we have seen, that at the time of Righettino's journey to Rome to present his gift to the new pope – like some latterday magus – his friend Lorenzo Priuli was Venice's ambassador to the Holy See. Marcantonio Barbaro was also among the sizeable Venetian delegation mandated to congratulate the new pope on his election. Barbaro's family were part of the papalist faction at the heart of Venetian government.<sup>15</sup> The appointment of Marcantonio's son Francesco as Patriarch of Aquileia was negotiated during the same visit. Righettino's own appointment as Archbishop of Caorle should doubtless be understood as a diplomatic gesture on the part of an overtly pro-Venetian pope.<sup>16</sup>

Righettino's decision to present one of his city-views to Duke Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, two years earlier, should also be seen in the context of diplomatic relations, in this case between the newly-created duchy and Venice. Francesco Barbaro was Venice's ambassador to Turin from 1578 to 1581 – an appointment that came after he had accompanied his father on a difficult mission to Constantinople (1568–1573) and before his own appointment as Patriarch of Aquileia. Barbaro was a privileged witness to the creation and extraordinary consolidation of the Duchy of Savoy under Charles Emmanuel's predecessor, Emmanuel Philibert. He was also the author of a celebrated report to the Venetian senate, written in 1581, outlining the essential political orientation of the Duchy of Savoy.<sup>17</sup>

Hence Righettino's view of Turin, presented to Charles Emmanuel, may well have been intended (like his view of Rome) to reinforce the close political and cultural ties between two city states. Several artists and scholars with close connections to the Barbaro family were invited to attend the Savoy court; these include the German printmaker and publisher Johann Criegher, who published the second edition of Daniele Barbaro's celebrated commentary on *Dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio* in Venice in 1567 (in association with Francesco De Franceschi). Criegher moved to Turin the following year. Significantly, he was commissioned by Emmanuel Philibert to engrave a great street plan of the city by the Flemish artist Giovanni Caracca, dated 1572, which served as the model for Righettino's drawing. **Fig. 3** The mysterious journey to Turin made by Andrea Palladio, a protégé of the Barbaro family, documented in Emmanuel Philibert's dedication of the third and fourth books of the *Quattro libri dell'architettura*, should also be seen in the context of diplomatic and cultural relations such as these.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, scholars generally agree that the large canvases sent to the Savoy court in about 1584, by Paolo Veronese – another artist with close Barbaro ties – may be seen as a tribute from Venice to the new duke Charles Emmanuel, who succeeded his father in 1580. Veronese's painting of the meeting between King Solomon (the archetype of enlightened sovereignty, pictured here with the features of the young duke)



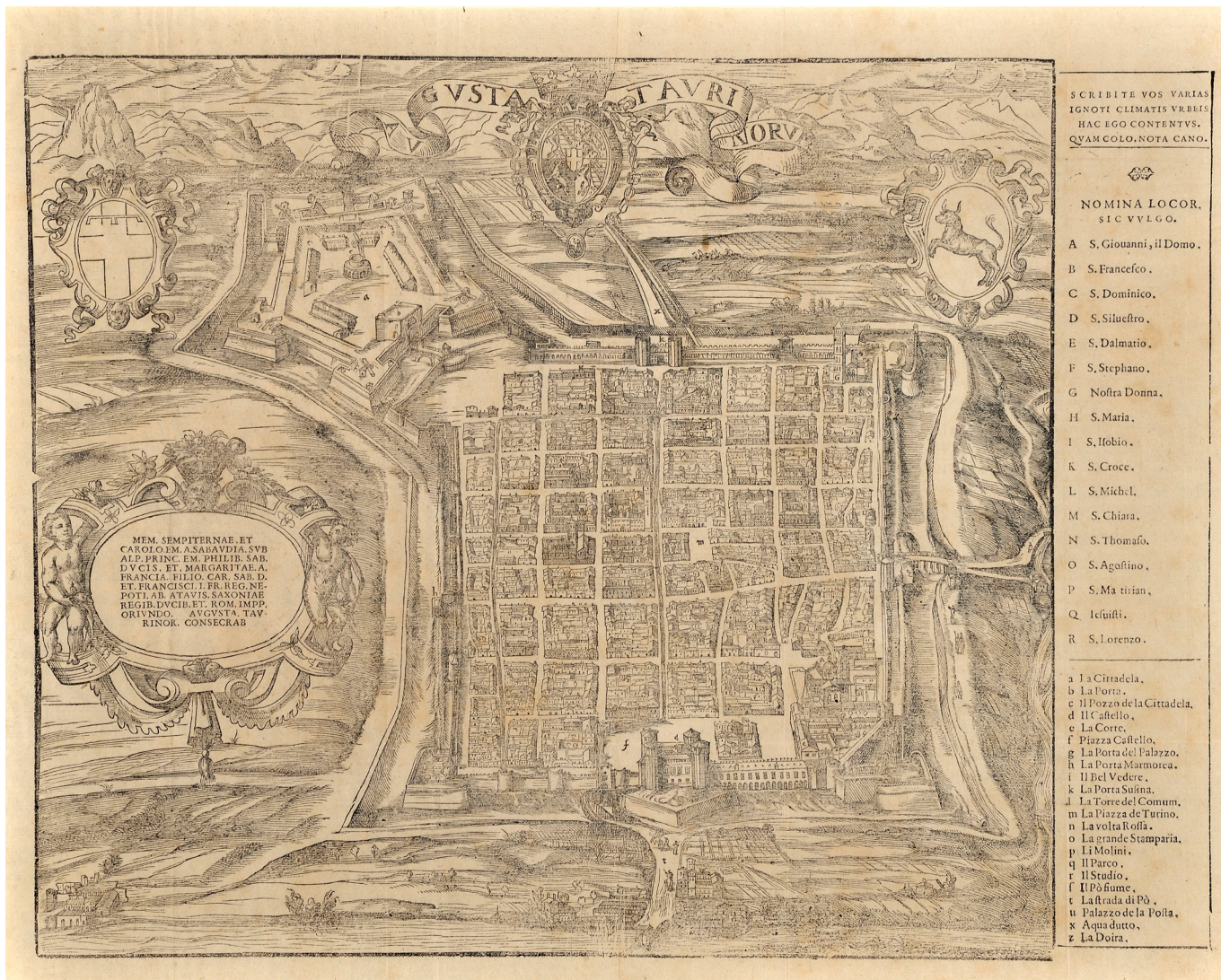


2  
Girolamo Righettino, *View of Turin with an ornamental frame and allegorical figures*, 1583  
pen drawing on parchment, brown ink and watercolour,  
680x940 mm, Archivio di Stato di Torino.









3  
 Johann Criegher, after a drawing by Giovanni Caracca, *View of Turin* (1572), woodcut (39x49 cm) in Emanuele Filiberto Pingone, *Augusta Taurinorum*, Turin, 1577, private collection.

and the Queen of Sheba (a familiar and frequent personification of Venice) may be read as an implicit *staging* of diplomatic ceremonials of this kind. Richard Cocke has even suggested that the figure positioned below the sovereign may be a portrait of the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Barbaro himself.<sup>19</sup> In the bottom left corner of Righettino's drawing, an inscription identifies the Duke of Savoy as a son of the Venetian Republic [*Carolus Eman. Dux Sabaudie Serenissime Reip. Ven. Filius*]. **Fig. 4** Close by, Righettino draws a small figure offering a gift to the Duke. This may be Righettino himself: he was noted for his diminutive stature, from which his popular name was derived (the diminutive of Righetto).<sup>20</sup>

#### BETWEEN TRADITION AND INNOVATION

Righettino is, then, a figure apart in the world of Italian Renaissance art. His work as a draughtsman was first and foremost a pastime, and a pastime which – in the context of his monastic life – we may legitimately consider from a spiritual perspective, indeed as a form of prayer, comparable to the devotions of copyists and illuminators in monastic

scriptoria, but also to the making of geographical works such as the famous world map by the Venetian Fra Mauro, a copy of which is conserved at the Biblioteca Marciana, dated 1459.<sup>21</sup> In this sense, Righettino may be seen to engage with a specific practice, namely “cosmographic meditation”, characterized as “a meditation between two books or texts: a continual cross-referencing of the Holy scriptures and the book of the world that lies open to the gaze of us all”.<sup>22</sup> In Righettino's and Rosino's accounts, Sixtus V was struck by the canon's left-handedness, a manifest sign of the divine nature of his inspiration.<sup>23</sup>

There is nothing to indicate that Righettino mastered the topographical survey techniques required for the making of city views. On the contrary, his views seem to be faithful copies of the most recently available topographical engravings (a widespread practice among painters of his day). His view of Turin, as noted above, was based on that of the Flemish artist Giovanni Caracca, dated 1572, engraved by Johan Criegher in 1577 and included in the *Augusta Taurinorum*, a major work by the historian and humanist Emanuele Filiberto Pingone.<sup>24</sup>





4  
Detail of the lower section of the *View of Turin* (Fig. 2):  
Duke Charles-Emmanuel receiving a gift.

Similarly, his drawing of the Isole Tremiti – Adriatic islands owned by his order, the Lateran Canons – is inspired by an engraving by Natale Bonifacio, published in Venice in 1574.<sup>25</sup> He employed the same method for a view of Geneva, inset into the Turin drawing. **Fig. 5** According to Righettino's biographers, he also produced a larger, independent view of Geneva, the city against which the young Duke Charles Emmanuel I waged a veritable crusade shortly after his accession. The latter view is based on a very rare engraving, itself one of the oldest known views of Geneva. Attributed to Paolo Forlani, it is included in his celebrated atlas of city views, published in 1567 under the title *Il primo libro delle città, et fortezze principali del mondo*.<sup>26</sup> **Fig. 5b**

In short, the primary interest of Righettino's work lies not in his talent as a chorographer (as suggested by his colleague Garzoni), but in his minutely detailed draughtsmanship, a mastery of line worthy of the finest miniaturists, and his unique articulation of the shifts between different figurative registers. Righettino grants us access to the urban space, lays it out *beneath our gaze* while at the same time isolating the built

environment from its natural surroundings, its setting within the landscape. In so doing, Righettino situates his *chorographia* within an abstract, geometric and cosmographical framework. Each image is both a vision of the real city and the ideal city of the kingdom of Heaven – an allegory of princely power and the omnipotence of God. The inseparability of these two registers – the indissociable nature of princely and divine power, chorography and cosmography – constitutes the central *theorem* of his work.

The city view is part of a long tradition of geographical and urban views whose primary function was the proclamation of religious and historical verities by means of allegorical and symbolic figures, rather than the accurate recording of geographical "reality".<sup>27</sup> In this case, Righettino's view of Turin should clearly be considered in relation to the extensive Renaissance tradition of utopian city views, such as that of Sforzinda, by Filarete.<sup>28</sup> Righettino's views have much in common, for example, with Ambrogio Lorenzetti's celebrated frescoes of *Good and Bad Government* at the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. Both artists depict allegorized virtues, and centrally



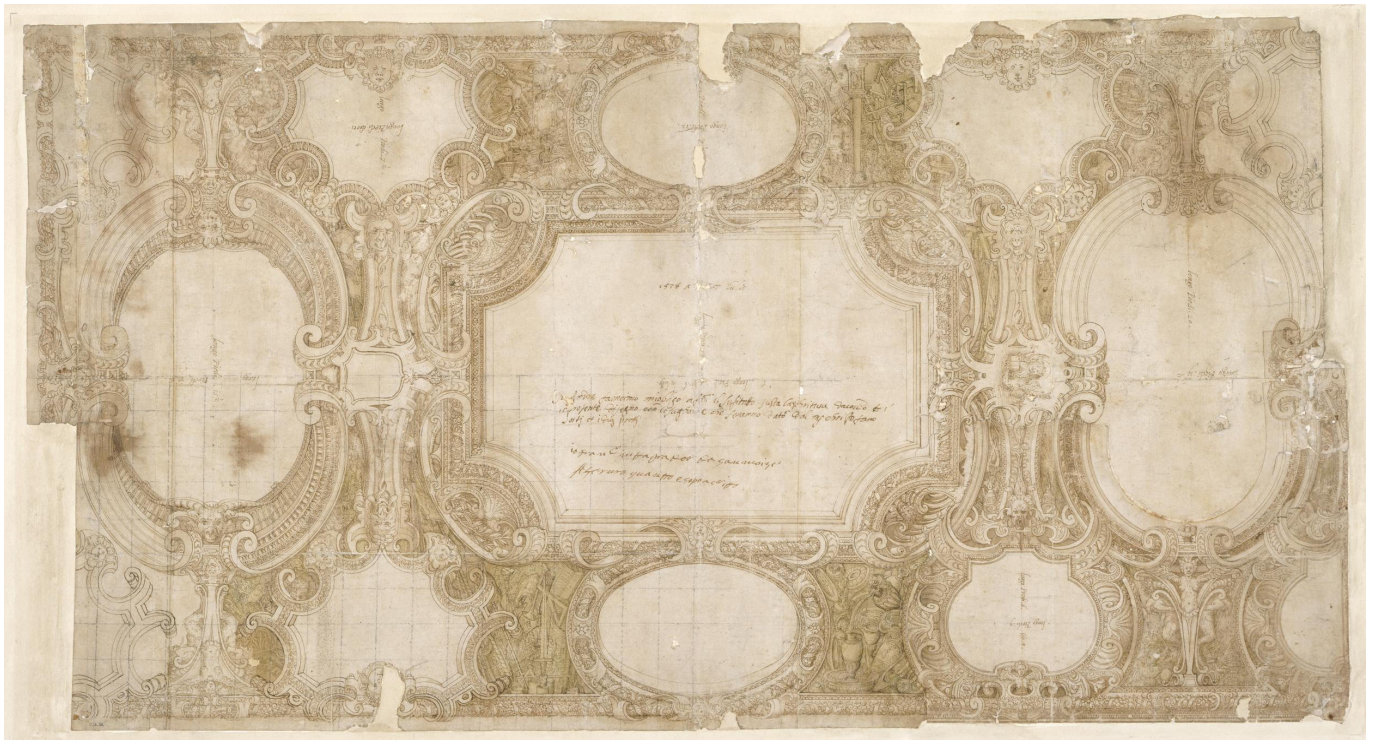


5a  
Detail showing the city of Geneva (Fig. 2).



5b  
Paolo Forlani, *View of Geneva*, Venice, alla libreria dalla Colonna, 1567, copperplate engraving, 18x6 cm, private collection.





6  
Cristoforo Sorte, *Design for the ceiling of the Sala del Senato, Doge's Palace, Venice, 1578*, pen and ink and wash, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. E.509-1937.

important allegories of War and Peace, and both also posit the relationship between *città* and *contado*: the city is positioned and designated as the hub from which the social and political organisation of an entire territory seems to emanate. Lastly, cosmic symbols locate all these terrestrial signifiers under the aegis of transcendent divine authority. The comparison is complete when we acknowledge that the image of the city of Siena in the Sala dei Nove should not be considered as purely realistic or mimetic. As Hans Belting reminds us, Lorenzetti

[...] intended first to describe an ideal city and then to make sure that this ideal city was Siena. We must distinguish between the structure of the whole, which is organised as an argument for the ideal city, and the narrative detail, which can be taken literally and invites empirical verification as the city of Siena.<sup>29</sup>

The same reasoning applies absolutely to Righettino's work, especially when we remember that the views of Rome and Turin share essentially the same allegorical programme. In formal terms, the comparison between Righettino's drawing and the decorative scheme of a great hall of state is not as incongruous as it might at first seem. There are indeed close stylistic and programmatic similarities between Righettino's views and decorative schemes in the Doge's Palace in Venice, in which geographical paintings (around the walls) dialogue with an allegory of Good Government on the ceiling, all within elaborate ornamental frames. In 1577, two of the main staterooms in the Doges' Palace were destroyed by fire; one year later, a team was commissioned to devise a new *invenzione* for the decorations. Cristoforo Sorte, one of the leading Venetian cartographers of

his day, provided the design for the extraordinarily elaborate frames on the ceilings of the Sala del Senato and the Sala del Gran Consiglio: frames that would contain some one hundred historical, mostly military, scenes by the finest painters of the day. In the same contract, Sorte was commissioned to produce a large map of Venice's mainland territories (*terraferma*) for one wall of the Sala del Senato, perpetuating a tradition established at the Doge's Palace over several hundred years. A design for the ceiling, dated 1578, is conserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. **Fig. 6** It shows close similarities to Righettino's drawings, in particular the use of trophies and symbolic objects arranged inside and around the frames. Sorte and Righettino doubtless knew one another, most likely through Marcantonio Barbaro, who played a key role in Sorte's career and was one of the leading members of the committee in charge of restoration work at the Doge's Palace.<sup>30</sup>

Was Righettino's drawing also intended for reproduction as a painting, on a ceiling? To date, we have no documentary proof. Like Sorte, Righettino delights in extravagant frames, such that the latter becomes at least as important as the figures and scenes it is designed to off-set. As in the ceiling design, several different viewpoints and scales coexist. The minutely detailed drawing, and the *dall'alto* view clearly reference the idea of the *visio dei*, the eye of God (or the mirror of God), a concept further reinforced by the scheme of a round shape (the pupil?) within an oval (the eye?) – an omnipotent vision of the world conveyed here in the realistic topography of the city and its territory, and the topology of the virtues of Good Government.





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### AN APOTHEOSIS OF THE CITY

As discussed above, the view of Turin is both a celebration of the city, and of its patron, Duke Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy – in accordance with a widely used Renaissance trope that conflates the image of a city with the image of princely power, expressed in the essentially symbolic geometrization of the city's geographical form.<sup>31</sup>

At the drawing's four corners, Righettino places four archetypal portraits of the duke (enthroned, as a Christian knight or *miles christianus* on horseback, and as a protector of the people, in an adaptation of the iconographic image of the Virgin of Mercy). These depictions are placed alongside medallions showing Pope Gregory XIII, King Henri III of France and Poland, the Venetian Republic and, in the bottom right-hand corner, the Order of the Lateran Canons. **Figs. 2, 4 and 7** The cartouches accompanying these idealized portraits underscore the duchy's close ties with Venice (*Serenissime Reip. Ven. Filius*), and Charles Emmanuel's status as a Prince and Defender of the Church and Christendom (*Universe Chr. Rel. Protector / S. Rom Ecclesie Defensor*). This military aspect, with its strongly messianic overtones connected to the idea of the crusader knight, is central to both the mythography of the Duke of Savoy and the politics of Sixtus V whose alliance with Venice, a few years after the decisive Christian victory at the Battle of Lepanto, was directly linked to a projected crusade.<sup>32</sup> Here, it is expressed not only in portraits of the ruler, but also in the martial character of the decorative vocabulary employed throughout the drawing (the bottom half in particular, with its trophies of weaponry and Turkish prisoners of war). Righettino is explicit on this point in his *Dichiaratione*: the virtuous Christian Prince has the power and duty to exterminate his enemies, foremost among whom are the Turks, and heretics.<sup>33</sup> The views are to be understood as exhortations addressed to their rulers by Righettino and his Order, to defend the *Respublica christiana* and reconquer

7

Detail of the upper left section of the View of Turin (Fig. 2): Duke Charles Emmanuel as a Christian Knight (*miles christianus*), with the arms of Pope Gregory XIII and an allegory of Natural Philosophy.

8

Detail of Fig. 2.

their usurped territories, most notably Jerusalem.<sup>34</sup> The Lateran Canons followed the Rule of St Augustine and fervently espoused the concept of the Christian Republic, which they dreamed of rebuilding under the governance of a philosopher-king. Righettino's *chorographic* work must be understood in this context. It is deeply rooted in Augustinian politics as expressed in *The City of God*: temporal power is subsumed into spiritual power.<sup>35</sup>

Lastly, the martial character of the drawing's iconography is seen in the image of the city itself, with its emphasis on Turin's defensive walls and fortress, which were considered the forefront of military architecture in their day. **Fig. 8** The design became the unrivalled model for all princely European citadels from then on. Notable for its highly symbolic geometry, incorporating references to the cosmos (the pentagon), the fortress was built under the direction of the Urbino-based architect Francesco Paciotto, and completed in 1577.<sup>36</sup> Here, detached from its surrounding landscape, the square, walled city with its perfectly aligned gates and thoroughfares, clearly references the *ideal city*, or the Heavenly City of Jerusalem. The entire city appears as if suspended in the sky. **Fig. 2** The bastions that mark the corners of the ramparts, and the city's fortress, are literally resting upon clouds, like some veritable urban *apothēsis*. The effect is reinforced, too, by the personified Winds, a familiar feature in world maps, but less often present in city views. Righettino was doubtless inspired, in this instance, by the Winds in Jacopo de' Barbari's celebrated view of Venice. De' Barbari's view may also have inspired Righettino's scheme for the Five Elements associated with the ancient gods of mythology at the centre of the design. Here are Ceres and Bacchus (earth); Neptune with his chariot and Aeolus, god of the winds, with his conch shell (water); Jupiter and Juno enthroned in the skies with their emblematic birds,



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the eagle and peacock (air); and finally Vulcan (fire), busy making weapons at his forge – a clear visual pendant to the fortress of Paciotto. **Fig. 8**

In his *Dichiaratione* on the view of Rome, Righettino amply confirms this reading by associating the city with Paradise: “Io hò disegnato detto luogo, cioè il paradiso nella prospettiva di sopra in mezzo à quelle nubi, che circondano la Città [...]”.<sup>37</sup> According to Righettino, the Pope’s Good Government ensures that the city’s inhabitants will merit entry into Paradise. The image of the city is both real and a vision of the Heavenly City promised to its population in the afterlife. In the drawing of Turin, this idea is further expressed in a long scroll floating just above the symbolic bull (Torino), **Fig. 8** bearing the inscription “che conturba et acqueta gli elementi” (“he who rouses and calms the elements”), a quotation from Petrarch’s *Triumphus Eternitatis* (1374, v. 56). The quotation evokes and encapsulates the poem as a whole: a paean of praise to almighty God, master of the elements and time itself, and a hymn to the fragility of all things terrestrial, after which comes the immutable joy of a new world, no longer subject to Heraclitean time, but rather to Parmenides’s concept of an eternal “present”.<sup>38</sup> In this Petrarchan vision of *time out of time*, we see the direct influence of St Augustine’s concept of time and space, so dear to the heart of our Augustinian canon.<sup>39</sup> The placing of Petrarch’s verse immediately beneath the Duke’s coat of arms, suggests a second, parallel reading, however, connected with Charles Emmanuel’s terrestrial power: the Duke reigns over land and sea, he has the capacity to forge weaponry that will bring peace and unity to his duchy, and he aspires to a truly imperial destiny. Rising up into the clouds, two swans carry a scroll bearing the inscription (*CAROLUS*) in their beaks – a reference to the Duke’s illustrious, imperial line of descent from Charlemagne to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.<sup>40</sup> In

short, Righettino’s drawing substitutes the Duke’s arms for the figure of God the Father, as traditionally depicted in numerous Renaissance representations of the *Triumph of God*,<sup>41</sup> seated amid the heavenly spheres and gazing down upon the Earth. Petrarch’s verse also casts light on the allegory of Renown (the poet’s *Trionfo della Fama* precedes his *Triumph of Eternity*), and the allegories of Peace and War (*Bellum*) at the left and right-hand sides of the view. The latter are given special significance by Righettino, as the only clearly identified allegorical figures in the drawings. **Fig. 2** The *Dichiaratione* shows how they refer to the Prince’s preparedness for war and peace alike, in imitation of God himself – the model *par excellence* of Good Government.<sup>42</sup>

#### PRINCELY VIRTUES AND TERRITORIAL POWER

The “ideal city” of Turin is surrounded by five concentric circles: a further reference to the theme of the Elements referenced in the quotation from Petrarch, and to well-known medieval cosmogonies illustrating the Aristotelian concept of the universe (the four elements as defined by Empedocles, and a fifth – the quintessence or ether – which forms the upper strata of the Empyrean). **Figs. 2 and 8** Each of these primordial elements has been *terrestrialized* in terms of the city state’s territorial possessions. But above all, the traditional *hierarchy* of the elements has been turned on its head. Traditional medieval and Renaissance representations place the element of Earth (the terrestrial realm) at the centre; but in Righettino’s drawing, the Duke’s lands are relegated to the outermost circle, while the city of Turin occupies the centre, at the top of the cosmic hierarchy.

Contained within the outer circle, the territorial possessions of the Duchy of Savoy are enumerated (foreshadowing the celebrated *corona di delizie* that would develop around Turin in the next century), with recognisable depictions of cities



recently conquered by Emmanuel Filibert of Savoy, and others that the young Charles Emmanuel planned to annex in their turn, including Geneva.<sup>43</sup> With one or two exceptions, they are situated in their correct geographical relationship to Turin.

The second circle figures the element of Water. The Mediterranean islands represented here are not ducal possessions, but former Christian territories that had fallen to the Turks. The islands reinforce the central theme of the defence of Christendom against the Turkish threat in the Mediterranean. They also evoke certain of the family's ancestral titles and possessions. Of these, Cyprus (with the Venetian stronghold of Nicosia) was captured by the Turks in 1571 and serves here as a reminder of Charles Emmanuel's claim to the island's sovereignty, a title central to the intense competition for status and rank among the various Italian monarchies of the day. Pursuing his father's original claim, Charles Emmanuel asserted his right to the title in 1594, by circulating a *Trattato delle ragioni sopra il Regno di Cipro, appartenenti alla Serenissima casa di Savoia*.<sup>44</sup> The view of Rhodes is highly interesting, too. **Fig. 8** Inscribed around it, we see the device of the Supreme Order of the Most Holy Annunciation, the chivalric order of the House of Savoy: *FERT*, for *Fortitudo eius Rhodum tenuit* ("By his courage he held Rhodes / Rhodes was saved by his valour"<sup>45</sup>). The Order was founded in 1362 by Amadeus VI (1334–1383), who ordained the device in honour of his predecessor Amadeus V (c. 1250–1323), defender of Rhodes against the Turks in 1315, fighting alongside the Knights Hospitaller (the Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem). The Order's medal is depicted between the legs of the allegorical figure of Charity, who holds the Duke's heraldic arms aloft, over the city. **Fig. 8** Allusions such as these were common currency at the Turin court: they seek to establish Charles Emmanuel as a new Amadeus, scourge of heretics and the Turks in the Mediterranean. In this context, it is fascinating to compare Righettino's work with that of certain panegyrists, such as Agostino Bucci, a professor at the University of Turin, who authored a treatise in 1582 (unpublished, but conserved in manuscript form), under the title *Il memorial del principe precetti della virtù; per poter meglio e con maggiore autorità esercitare sopra gli altri l'imperi*.<sup>46</sup> The same manuscript contains a poem entitled the *Amedeide* ("the Amaediad"), a paean to the legendary defender of Rhodes, and the first of a series of dynastic poems designed to flatter the young duke's territorial and monarchic ambitions.<sup>47</sup> The poem is dated 1583, the same year in which Righettino presented his drawing at the court of Turin.

The third circle around the city figures the element of Air. Swans in flight carry scrolls bearing the inscription *CAROLUS*. Next comes Fire, with the notable inclusion of a salamander, the cherished emblem of the French King François I, the maternal grandfather of Charles Emmanuel, who adopted the heraldic beast as his own.<sup>48</sup> The last circle, Ether, is depicted as a ring of clouds, symbolising Paradise in Righettino's work.

We shall now look at the allegories within the ornamental frame, of which Righettino gives an exhaustive, detailed exposition in his *Dichiaratione*. The figures represent the classical virtues as depicted in numerous large-scale decorative schemes in the Renaissance: the theological virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity,

surrounding the duchy's heraldic arms), and the four cardinal or moral virtues (to the left, Prudence and Temperance, either side of the figure of Peace; to the right, Justice and Fortitude, flanking the figure of War).

Righettino's inclusion of the less commonly depicted speculative or intellectual virtues – a highly original and essential element in his compositional and iconographical scheme – merits closer study. In the upper section, from left to right, we see Natural Philosophy, Divine Theology, Metaphysics and Mathematics. **Fig. 7** The figures are allegorical translations of Aristotle's principles of Physics and Metaphysics; here, they reflect Righettino's Venetian culture and his education in Padua, which finds obvious echoes in the culture promoted by the young Duke Charles Emmanuel in Turin. A cultural background which Righettino also shared with the members of the Barbaro family.<sup>49</sup>

Righettino incorporates the languages of heraldry, topography and allegory into his drawing, and with them, quite naturally, the language of emblems. In the upper section, a medallion contains seven cypress trees, one of which, at the centre of the group, is noticeably smaller than the rest. **Fig. 2** In Andrea Alciato's definition, the cypress tree symbolises "equality for all".<sup>50</sup> The image of a small cypress tree surrounded by other, taller trees is very likely designed to strengthen this message. The inscription *NEC MINIMA DES PICIT* ("Do not disdain the small") reinforces the symbolic illustration of *Gran Carlo's* ambition to set himself and his Duchy on a par with the greatest courts in Europe.<sup>51</sup>

In conclusion, Righettino's city views are unique in their genre, though their compositional elements were familiar and long-established. As archetypal examples of courtly, diplomatic art, they depict the virtues of princely figures such as Charles Emmanuel of Savoy or Sixtus V, whose city-building and large-scale artistic and cultural campaigns consolidated the image of the city-as-state and contributed to the theorisation of the Counter-Reformation Prince: a heroic monarch, capable of upholding and bringing to fruition the idea of the *Respublica christiana* as a new Earthly Paradise, a new City of God.

Combining allegory and topography, these views – at once decorative and true to life – play on the simultaneously opaque and transparent quality of the drawn surface itself. The coexistence of a variety of figurative registers within an essentially diagrammatic drawing encourages us to read their multiple internal references and engage with the act of exegesis foregrounded by Righettino in his *Dichiaratione*. As a genre, topographical drawings such as this establish a set of ambivalent relationships that are ideally suited to the expression of multi-layered ontologies: they depict concrete, visually realistic scenes while at the same time projecting them into the abstract world of ideas. An allegorical vision of territorial power, a topography of princely virtues.



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<sup>1</sup> Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Iscrizioni Veneziane* (Venice, 1824–1853), t. 6, fasc. VI, 539–40. The meeting is also reported by a relative of Righettino, originally from Treviso, in Bartolomeo Burchelati, *Commentariorum memorabilium multiplicis historiae Tarvisinae locupletis promptuarium* (Treviso: Angelum Righetinum, 1616), 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Sommario overo dichiarazione degli concetti posti per ornamento della città di Roma, fatta a penna et consacrata al Santiss. et Beatiss. Padre Nostro da D. Gironimo Righettino Veneziano Canonico Reg. Lateranense, per allegrezza della sua nova esaltazione* (Rome, 1585); Ms. Federici 171. cart. XVI, Fano, Biblioteca Federiciana. The manuscript is referred to in Giuseppe Mazzantini, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Florence: Olschki, 1968 [1928]), t. 38, 88. I am grateful to the staff at the Biblioteca Federiciana in Fano, who greatly facilitated my access to, and consultation of the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> A few brief remarks on Righettino were published in Giovanni Musolino, *Storia di Caorle* (Caorle: Edizioni PubbliciCaorle, 2004 [1967]), 317 and 349. At the Archivio di Stato in Venice, and the Archivio storico del Patriarcato di Venezia, the only references to Righettino I have been able to find are contained in the administrative records of the parish of Caorle during his time as bishop. Archivio storico del Patriarcato di Venezia, Curia vescovile di Caorle, "varia" (busta 1, a folder from 1592 for a collection of letters sent and received by the bishop in 1591; and busta 2, folders 9, 13.2, 13.3 and 13.12); "atti diversi" (buste 1 to 3, containing folders dated 1586, 1587 and 1589 and a collection of letters written in 1588).

<sup>4</sup> Tommaso Garzoni, *Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (Seravalle di Venetia: 1605 [1585]), "De' cosmografi, e geografi, e Dissegnati, ò Corografi, e Topografi. Discorso XXXVII", 312 and 351.

<sup>5</sup> See in particular, Carlo Promis, *Storia dell'antica Torino: Julia Augusta Taurinorum*, (Turin: Stamperia Reale, 1869), 170; *Il Tesoro del Principe. Titoli, carte, memorie per il governo dello Stato*. Archivio di Stato di Torino, exh. cat., Turin, Archivio di Stato, May 16 – June 16, 1989, (Turin: Archivio di Stato), 218–19, scheda 85 (Andreina Griseri); *La Reggia di Venaria e i Savoia. Arte, magnificenza e storia di una corte europea*, exh. cat., Turin, October 12 – March 30, 2008 (Turin, Allemandi, 2007), 70–1, scheda 4.3 (Federica Paglieri); Anna Maria Bava and Enrica Pagella, eds., *Le meraviglie del mondo. Le collezioni di Carlo Emmanuele I di Savoia*, exh. cat., Turin, Musei Reali, December 16, 2016 – April 2, 2017 (Genoa: Sagep Edizioni, 2016), scheda 25 (Maria Carla Visconti).

<sup>6</sup> The digital publishing project is being carried out at the University of Montréal in association with Emmanuel Château-Dutier, assisted by Fannie Caron-Roy and Joana Casenave.

<sup>7</sup> Celso Rosino, *Lyceum Lateranense* (Cesena: Ex typographia Nerii, 1649), t. I, 399–401.

<sup>8</sup> The essential work on the Order of the Canons Lateran remains Nicola Widloecher's *La congregazione dei canonici regolari lateranensi* (Gubbio: Scuola Tipografica Oderisi, 1929).

<sup>9</sup> See Albert R. Jonsen and Stephen Toulmin, *The Abuse of Casuistry. A History of Moral Reasoning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

<sup>10</sup> Antonio Niero, *I patriarchi di Venezia: da Lorenzo Giustiniani ai nostri giorni* (Venice: Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1961), 100–02.

<sup>11</sup> Rosino, *Lyceum Lateranense*, 399–400. I am grateful to Lise Otis for her help with the Latin translation.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Yriarte, *La vie d'un patricien de Venise au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1874); Deborah Howard, *Venice disputed: Marc'Antonio Barbaro and Venetian Architecture, 1550–1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>13</sup> Girolamo Righettino, *De Numerorum Sophia algebraica ac mystica lib. VI* (Venice: apud Jolitos, 1586) ("Ad Marcantonium Barbarum equitem ac Divi Marci Procuratorem"). On this work, see Rosino, *Lyceum Lateranense*, 401, and Salvatore Bonghi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, da Trino di Mongerrato, stampatore in Venezia* (Rome: Presso i Principali Librai, 1895), t. 2, 408–09, which supposes that the work was included in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. On this subject, a useful summary is Jean-Pierre Brach's *La symbolique des nombres* (Paris: PUF, 1994), 59–127.

<sup>14</sup> Paola Modesti, *Il convento della Carità e Andrea Palladio. Storie, progetti, immagini* (Verona: Cierre Edizioni, 2005), 143 and 146.

<sup>15</sup> Franco Gaeta, "Barbaro, Marcantonio," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1964), vol. 6, ([http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marcantonio-barbaro\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marcantonio-barbaro_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)).

<sup>16</sup> On Francesco Barbaro and the Barbaro family's pro-Roman politics, see especially Giuseppe Trebbi, "Francesco Barbaro e la scelta romana," in *Una famiglia veneziana nella storia. I Barbaro*, edited by Michela Marangoni and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1996), 397–433. On the positive relations between Sixtus V and Venice, see Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi* (Rome: Desclée, 1955), t. 10, 383–88.

<sup>17</sup> Francesco Barbaro, "Relazione della Corte di Savoia," in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, edited by Eugenio Albèri (Florence: Società Editrice fiorentina, 1858), 2<sup>nd</sup> series, t. V, 73–96.

<sup>18</sup> *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio, Tradotti & commentati da Mons. Daniel Barbaro...*

(Venice: Francesco De Franceschi & Johann Criegher, 1567). See Ilario Manfredini, "Le relazioni culturali tra Torino e Venezia nella seconda metà del Cinquecento," *Studi Veneziani*, 66 (2012): 49–174 (here, on page 165).

<sup>19</sup> Richard Cocke, *Paolo Veronese. Piety and Display in an Age of Religious Reform* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001) 66–9. See also Anna Maria Bava, ed., *Il Veronese e i Bassano: grandi artisti veneti per il Palazzo Ducale di Torino*, exh. cat., Venaria Reale, October 12, 2013 – February 2, 2014 (Savigliano: L'Artistica Editrice, 2013), 60–2. On the strongly political aspect of this episode in Venetian iconography, see for example Nicolai Kölmel, "The Queen in the Pawnshop: Shaping Civic Virtues in a Painting for the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi in Venice," in *Sites of Mediation. Connected Histories of Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond, 1450–1650*, eds. Susanna Burghartz, Lucas Burkart and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 94–124.

<sup>20</sup> On Righettino's small stature, see Rosino, *Lyceum Lateranense*, 399. The object carried by Righettino, if the figure is indeed him, is not easily identified. It may be a set of rolled, hand-drawn parchments, or rolls of silk, which were often presented by Venetian ambassadors to European monarchs.

<sup>21</sup> On the devotional aspect of the work of monastic scribes, see for example the celebrated text: Johannes Trithemius, *De laude scriptorum manualium* (Mainz: Peter von Friedberg, 1494). On the world map by Fra Mauro, showing the world and the cosmos, (simultaneously a chorography and a cosmogony) see Angelo Cattaneo, *Fra Mauro's Mappa Mundi and Fifteenth-century Venice* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

<sup>22</sup> See especially Frank Lestringant, ed., *Les méditations cosmographiques à la Renaissance* (Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009).

<sup>23</sup> Rosino, *Lyceum Lateranense*, 401–2; Burchelati, *Commentariorum*. On the social, cultural and psychological connotations associated with left-handed artists during the Renaissance, see for example Carmen C. Bambach, "Leonardo, Left-Handed Draftsman and Writer," in *Leonardo da Vinci. Master Draftsman*, edited by Carmen C. Bambach, exh. cat., New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, January 22–March 30, 2003, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 31–58.

<sup>24</sup> See *La Reggia di Venaria e i Savoia. Arte, magnificenza e storia di una corte europea*, 70–1, cat. 4.2 (Nadia Ostorero, with pre-existing bibliography) and Paola Sereno, "Cartography in the Duchy of Savoy during the Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography*, t. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 831–53 (here, on page 846). Pingone's work was published *apud haeredes Nicolai Beuilquaes*, publishers located in both Turin and Venice. It is dedicated to Charles Emmanuel, who only acceded to the ducal throne three years later. Both views show an identical street plan. A few differences may be seen in individual houses, regarding the number of windows and doors, and their position on each building. They suggest that Righettino took some liberties in his work as a copyist.

<sup>25</sup> Roberto Almagia, "I porti delle isole adriatiche," in *Monografia storica dei porti dell'antichità nella penisola italiana* (Rome: Officina Poligrafica Italiana, 1906), 389–428 (here, on pages 425–28).

<sup>26</sup> Fabia Borroni Salvadori, *Carte, piante e stampe storiche delle raccolte lafreriane della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1980), n. 301.

<sup>27</sup> See Juergen Schulz's perennially useful study "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 60, n. 3 (september 1978): 425–74.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Klein, "L'urbanisme utopique de Filarete à Valentin Andreae," in *La forme et l'intelligible. Écrits sur la Renaissance et l'art moderne*, edited by Robert Klein (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 310–26.

<sup>29</sup> Hans Belting, "The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: Historia and Allegory," *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985): 151–68 (here, on page 160).

<sup>30</sup> See Wolfgang Wolters, "Zu einem wenig bekannten Entwurf des Cristoforo Sorte für die Decke der Sala del Senato im Dogenpalast," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 10, n. 2 (December 1961): 137–45 (here, on page 139); Juergen Schulz, "Cristoforo Sorte and the Ducal Palace of Venice," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 10, n. 3 (June 1962): 193–208; "New Maps and Landscape Drawings by Cristoforo Sorte," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 20, n. 1 (1976): 107–26; Silvano Salgaro, *Cristoforo Sorte e il suo tempo* (Bologna: Pátron, 2012), 188. I am indebted to Michel Hochmann for bringing this decorative scheme to my attention.

<sup>31</sup> See especially (on the city of Milan): Patrick Boucheron, "Le passé mais pas exactement. Mémoire urbaine et miroir princier à Milan au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Le miroir et l'espace du prince dans l'art italien de la Renaissance*, edited by Philippe Morel (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2012) <http://books.openedition.org/puf/7875>.

<sup>32</sup> See, on this point, Stéphane Gal, "Charles-Emmanuel I<sup>er</sup> ou l'appel à être plus que soi-même," *Chrétiens et sociétés*, special edition II, 2013, *La vocation du Prince*, 121–51, (here on pages 139–43), last accessed March 31, 2014, <http://chretienssocietes.revues.org/3459>. On Sixtus V's projected crusade, see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, 383–86.

<sup>33</sup> Righettino, *Dichiaratione*, [...] fol. 31v-32: "acciò tutto il mondo conosca, che S. S.tà è potente à vincere non solamente gli Turchi, et altri infideli, non battezzati, mà ancora gli Rè, et altri Principi christiani, che fossero (il che Iddio non voglia) infideli, heretici, scismatici, et contrarij à questa Apostolica Sede; and fol. 34: "Con l'orazioni di Sisto Terzo, et con la forza di Spagna, che gli è à canto si potrebbe vincer' Algieri, che è in Affrica dove, quel Rè è molto offeso da Turchi, et però hò descritto Algeri sotto alla protettione di Sisto Terzo".

<sup>34</sup> Fol. 34, on the alliance with France: "[...] con la forza di Francia che gl'è à canto, si potrebbe rihavere Gierusalem, che già fù presa, et posseduta da Francesi". On the notion of *Respublica christiana*, see especially Denis Crouzet, "Chrétienté et Europe: aperçus sur une source interrogation du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *L'ordre européen du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited

by Jean Béranger and George-Henri Soutou (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1998) 11–50.

<sup>35</sup> Étienne Gilson, *Les Métamorphoses de la cité de Dieu* (Paris: Vrin, 1952); Henri-Xavier Arquillière, *L'augustinisme politique. Essai sur la formation des théories politiques du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Vrin, 1955); Michel Meslin and Jeannine Quillet, "Augustinisme," in *Encyclopædia Universalis*, <http://www.universalis-edu.com/encyclopedie/augustinisme/>.

<sup>36</sup> On the Turin citadel and its pentagonal fortress, see especially Amelio Fara, "Geometrie della fortificazione e architettura da Borromini a Guarini," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 45, n. 1–2 (2001): 102–89 (here on pages 157–67). Two pivotal monographs on this point are: Nadia Ragni, *Francesco Paciotti, architetto urbinato (1521–1591)* (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 2001), and Alessandra Coppa, *Francesco Paciotti, architetto militare* (Milan: Ed. Unicopli, 2002). On the cosmological aspect of pentagonal Renaissance fortresses, see Paolo Marconi, "Una chiave per l'interpretazione dell'urbanistica rinascimentale. La cittadella come microcosmo," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 15, n. 85–90 (1968): 53–94. More generally, on Turin, see Martha D. Pollak, *Turin 1564–1680: Urban Design, Military Culture and the Creation of the Absolutist Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

<sup>37</sup> Righettino, *Dichiarazione*, fol. 35.

<sup>38</sup> The principal Italian commentaries on Petrarch in the 15th and 16th centuries are by Bernardo Licinio (1475 ff), Alessandro Vellutello (1525 ff) and Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo (1533 ff). See *I trionfi del Petrarca: con la spositione di M. Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo da Traetto* (Venice: Per Domenico Giglio, 1553), fol. 68r–68v; *Il Petrarca con l'espositione di M. Alessandro Velutello* (Venice: Gio. Antonio Bertano, 1573), fol. 206r–208r.

<sup>39</sup> Augustine develops his thinking on time chiefly in book XI of his *Confessions*, a text beloved of Petrarch. See Paul Ricoeur's foundational reflections on this in *Temps et récit*, t. 1, together with a handful of classic commentaries, including Jean Guittou, *Le temps et l'éternité chez Plotin et St Augustin* (Paris: Vrin, 2004 [1933]); Jules Chaix-Ruy, *Saint Augustin, Temps et Histoire* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1956); Aimé Solignac, "La conception du temps chez Augustin," *Recherches augustiniennes*, 1 (1958): 113–48; Étienne Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (Paris: Vrin, 1969), and more recently, Frédéric Veigne, "Un temps pour l'éternité. Le temps dans la pensée de St Augustin," in *Le temps*, edited by Alexander Schnell (Paris: Vrin, 2007), 61–90.

<sup>40</sup> See Gal, "Charles-Emmanuel I<sup>er</sup>," 140.

<sup>41</sup> Ada Labriola, "Da Padova a Firenze: l'illustrazione dei Trionfi," in *Francesco Petrarca, I Trionfi. Commentario* (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Strozzii 174), edited by Ida G. Rao (Castelvetro di Modena: Artcodex, 2012), 59–115.

<sup>42</sup> Righettino, *Dichiarazione*, fol. 29v–30: "Con queste dunque voglio dimostrare che S. S.<sup>is</sup> come Principe, pio generoso, et magnanimo, è atto, et pronto all'una, et all'altra. secondo che segli rappresenterà l'occasione, et in questo è imitatore non pur della bontà degl'antecessori del suo nome, i quali sempre in quanto à loro bramaron la pace, et felicemente quanto à se la goderono, mà molestati poi da perturbatori di tanto bene accettavano così prontamente, et intrepidamente la guerra, che col soggiogar quelli, et vincer' i regni loro, con prospera facilità, et di nuovo ritornando à godere la pace dimostravano à tutto il mondo, questa loro virtuosissima dispositione; mà ancora è imitatore dell'istesso Iddio, il quale ancora che sia Iddio degl'eserciti, et delle vendette, non di meno protesta essere ancora padre amorevole, et principe, e Dio di pace". For a more precise explanation of the signification of War and Peace, see the preceding fol. 29v.

<sup>43</sup> For a study of Charles-Emmanuel and his territorial politics, see Stéphane Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie: La politique du précepte* (Paris: Payot, 2012).

<sup>44</sup> See Géraud Poumarède, "Deux têtes pour une couronne: la rivalité entre la Savoie et Venise pour le titre royal de Chypre au temps de Christine de France," *Dix-septième siècle* 262, n. 1 (2014): 53–64.

<sup>45</sup> This is only one of several interpretations of the acronym. It seems, however, to have been widely accepted under the reign of Emmanuel Filibert and his successor Charles Emmanuel. See also Guillaume Paradin, *Chronique de Savoie* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1561), 238: "ces mots FERT [...] qui signifioient fortitudo eius Rhodum tenuit, en memoire et perpetuel monument de la prouesse de son predecesseur Amé le Grand comte de Savoie, qui avoit assisté aux chevaliers de la religion de St Jean de Jerusalem à la prinse de Rhodes, et signifioient ces quatre lettres chacune un mot, en ceste maniere, sa force ha obtenu Rhodes".

<sup>46</sup> Agostino Bucci, *Il Memorial del Principe, nel quale sotto un breve trattato di quattro capi si discorre delle virtù piu principali, e necessarie a formare un buono e valoroso Principe*, (Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. N.VI.42, 37 f.), in Maria Luisa Doglio, "Un trattato inedito sul principe di Agostino Bucci," *Il Pensiero Politico*, 1 (1968): 209–24.

<sup>47</sup> Mariarosario Masoero, "Una 'Amedeide' inedita di Agostino Bucci," *Studi piemontesi*, 3 (1974): 357–68. For more on this work and its wider context, see Rosanna Gorris, "Sous le signe des deux Amédée: l'Amedeide d'Alphonse Delbene et le poème dynastique à la cour de Savoie sous Charles-Emmanuel I<sup>er</sup>," *Nouvelle revue du XVIe Siècle* 15, n. 1 (1997): 73–105.

<sup>48</sup> François l's salamander and its accompanying motto *Nutrisco et extinguo* refer to his capacity to nurture good and extinguish evil; as reported for example by Gabriele Simeoni in his *Sententiose imprese* dedicated to Emmanuel Philibert (Lyon: appresso Guglielmo Roviglio, 1560), 47.

<sup>49</sup> In this context, it is interesting to compare the iconographical programme of Righettino's paper cities with certain real-life projects such as the fortress and new city of Palmanova, overseen by Marcantonio Barbaro from 1593. The cosmic ideal, the interest in mathematics, the struggle against the Turks and numerous other themes connect these otherwise (superficially) disparate works. On Palmanova, see Howard, *Venice Disputed*, 193–212, and studies collected by Francesco Paolo Fiore, ed., in *L'architettura militare di Venezia in terraferma e in Adriatico fra XVI e XVII secolo* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2014).

<sup>50</sup> "Le Cypres monstre en sa fueille, comment il fault traicter les siens egalement". *Emblemes d'Alciat* (Lyon: G. Roville, 1549), 258.

<sup>51</sup> We may also see the emblem as a reference to Righettino himself. According to Rosino, *Lyceum lateranense*, 399, Righettino was often identified with the Biblical figure of Zacchaeus, due to his short stature. Zacchaeus climbed into a sycamore tree to see Jesus enter Jericho (Luke 19, 1–10). Righettino incorporated the tree into his personal coat of arms, associating it in particular with the (Christic) lion of his benefactor Sixtus V. The figure is drawn on the cover of the *Dichiaratione* (Fig. 1) and carved on the baptismal font of the cathedral of Caorle (with three mountains and a star), where Righettino was bishop from 1585 until his death in 1593. I am grateful to members of the parish of Santo Stefano (in the diocese of Caorle), who assisted my research.

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# Le vedute urbane di Girolamo Righettino: Le allegorie del principe cristiano, 1583–85

Denis Ribouillault

## KEYWORDS

Rinascimento; Egesi; Diplomazia; Disegno; Illustrazione; vedute urbane

## ABSTRACT

*Nella seconda metà del Cinquecento, Girolamo Righettino, geniale disegnatore e teologo (membro della Congregazione del Santissimo Salvatore lateranense), realizzò delle vedute di città contornate da ricami ornamentali caratterizzati da ricche illustrazioni allegoriche. I disegni affermarono la sua fama e furono fonte di generose ricompense. Un manoscritto autografo del Righettino scoperto di recente fa luce sulla sua unica opera superstite, un elaborato in pianta di Torino (1583). Questo articolo offre un ritratto introduttivo di una personalità dimenticata dalla storia e presenta una nuova ricerca che ci consente di situare la sua produzione unica – all'intersezione tra arte e scienza, teologia e politica, topografia e allegoria – nell'ampio contesto dell'Italia della Controriforma, quando le ambizioni dei governanti assolutisti furono alimentate dalla paura dell'avanzata turca nel Mediterraneo.*

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