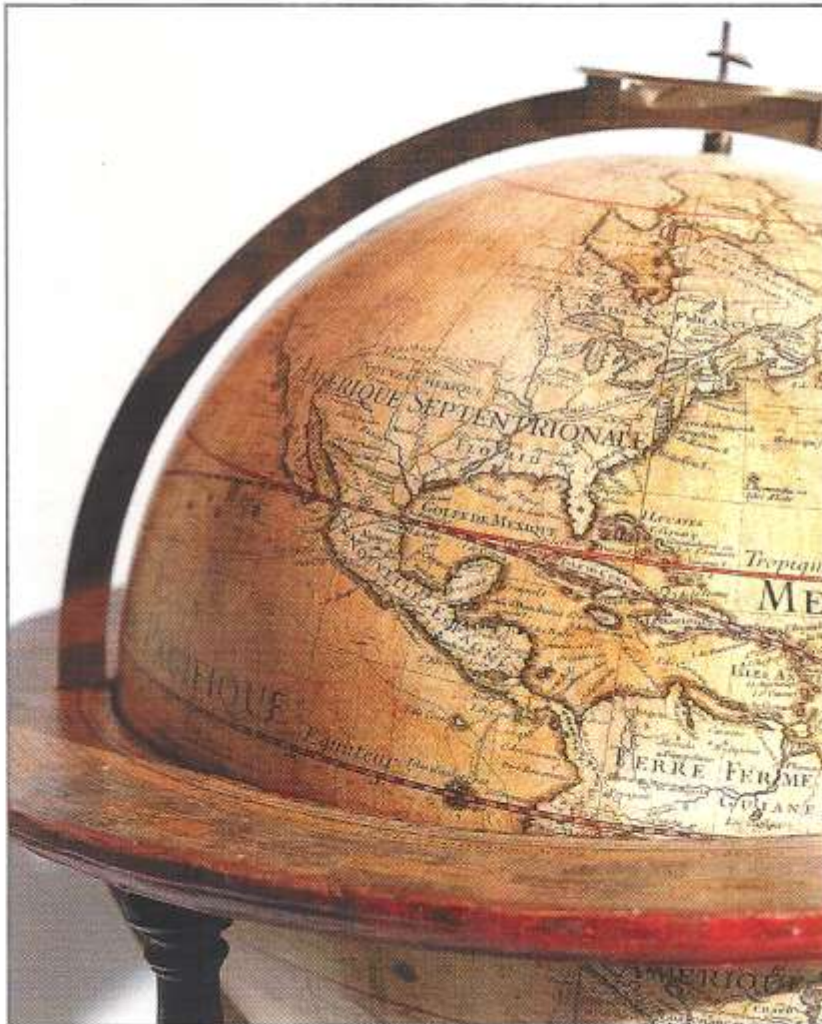
GLOBE STUDIES

The Journal of the International Coronelli Society
English Version of DER GLOBUSFREUND



Detail of Guillaume Delisle´s terrestrial globe, Paris, 1700; reissued circa 1708. Diameter: 31 centimetres (Stewart Museum, Montreal – 1997.24.1)

49/50

2002 (for 2001/2002)

POWER AND POLITICS:
The Use of the Globe in Renaissance Portraiture

Kristen Lippincott

The globe is one of the most frequently represented objects in the history of art.[1] It regularly appears in religious and secular settings. It can be found as the attribute for countless historical, allegorical and mythological figures. The globe appears in the frontispieces of atlases, navigational treatises, philosophical tracts and astronomical handbooks. It is the symbol of the emperor and the fool, the scholar and the idiot. The image of the globe can symbolize the salvation of mankind and its undoing.

The iconographic popularity of the globe seems to rely on two factors. On the one hand, the globe symbolizes the *cosmos* – literally, the "all-embracing, all-pervading order" of the universe. As such, it has been a cultural constant in Europe, the Middle East and in parts of India since the Greco-Roman era. Regardless of the details depicted on its surface, the image of the globe is widely and regularly used as a symbol for everything that is stable, established and "known." The image carries this meaning with it in numerous differing contexts: in philosophical sources, it appears as an armature upon which arguments are hung; in early Christian iconography, it is the perfect universe created by God the Father; in political imagery, it is the domain of the king or state.

When it is held, the globe signifies the power of its bearer. For example, the globe was well-accepted as an attribute of Zeus.[2] As such, it was a symbol of power from at least the fifth century B.C. onwards. One of the earliest-recorded examples, made for the temple at Olympia, is the great gold and ivory

[1] This essay is part of a larger work-in-progress. For an overview of the use of globes in works of art, see K. Lippincott, "Globes in Art: Problems of Representation and Interpretation," in Elly Dekker, *Globes at Greenwich: A Catalogue of the Globes and Armillary Spheres in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich*, with contributions from Silke Ackermann, Jonathan Betts, Maria Blyzinsky, Gloria Clifton, Ann Leane, and Kristen Lippincott; ed. Kristen Lippincott, Pieter van der Merwe, and Maria Blyzinsky (Oxford, 1999), 75-86.

[2] See A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion; I. Zeus: God of the Bright Sky* (Cambridge, 1914), esp. 41-56 ("The Blue Globe"), in which he lists a number of images of a globe-bearing Zeus, including a silver statue of *Iupiter Victor*, which stood on the capitol of Cirta; the relief scenes from the *Ara Capitolina*; and a sarcophagus lid in the Villa Borghese. Also, see A. Schlachter's chapter, "Die Erd- oder Welt-Kugel als Symbol in ihren verschiedenen Anwendungsarten," in his *Der Globus: Seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike nach den literarischen Quellen und den Darstellungen in der Kunst*, Stoicheia: Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft, Heft 8, ed. F. Gisinger (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927), esp. 69-76; P. Bastien, *Le Buste monétaire des empereurs romains* (Wetteren, 1992), 2:498-99; C. Nicolet, *Inventaire du monde* (Paris, 1988), 56; and M.-L. Vollenweider, "Un symbole des buts politiques de César," *Genava* 18 (1970): 49-61; and D. Lecoq, "À Rome: le globe et la Victoire. Emblème de la puissance souveraine de l'empereur," in C. Hofmann, D. Lecoq, E. Netchine and M. Pelletier, *Le Globe et son image*, Exhibition catalogue, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 13 April - 27 May 1995 (Paris, 1995), esp. 14-15.

statue – one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World – whose configuration is recorded by Pausanius and lauded by Quintilian.[3] Numerous Roman copies of the Phidian statue survived into the Renaissance, albeit in fragmentary states, and are recorded in the notebooks of Giuliano da Sangallo, Cassiano del Pozzo and in the *Codex Escurialensis*.[4] During the sixteenth century, a number of artists created inspired reconstructions of what the original statue may have looked like. For example, in the print by Philips Galle, made in 1572 after designs by Maarten van Heemskerck of the *Seven Wonders of the Ancient World*, the figure of Jupiter is seated on a throne. He holds a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and his left hand rests on a large globe, which, in turn, is placed upon the back of a large eagle.[5] In the painting by Hermannus Posthumus, signed and dated 1536, the figure of Jupiter is shown without attributes, but seated on a large globe on whose surface a panelled band of the ecliptic has been sculpted.[6]

The early Roman emperors also adopted the Greek image of the winged *Nike* as a Roman *Victoria*, and show her standing upon a small globe. This image often appears on the reverse of imperial coinage, where she is used to underscore the message of imperial power (fig. 1).[7]

The image of the globe-carrying emperor is, perhaps, one of the most consistent of the globe-related *topoi*, especially in its Byzantine format of the globe surmounted by a cross: the Christian orb.[8] The image combines the charged iconography of the globe with that of the cross, forming a powerful symbol of legitimacy. It sums up the concept that the Christianized emperor has been appointed by a Christian God to rule over His dominions; and it remains a consistent feature in the personal iconography of any ruler with imperial claims or pretensions from the fourth to the nineteenth century. In particular, the most consistent use of the orb as "political iconography" is the one that was passed down through the ages by those who laid claim to the rule of the Holy Roman Empire – from Charlemagne to Maximilian I. The orb

3 See Pausanius, *Descriptio graecae*, V, ii, 1-2, and Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XII, x, 9.

4 See M. M. L. Netto-Bol, *The So-Called Maarten de Vos Sketchbook of Drawings after the Antique*, trans. Gary Schwartz (The Hague, 1976), 44-45, and the entry in P. P. Bober and R. O. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London, 1986), 51-52 for references and illustrations.

5 The New Holstein ... *Maarten van Heemskerck* (1994), pt. 2, p. 192 and pl. 515/1. Van Heemskerck drew the reassembled statue after it had been moved to the Villa Madama. For a reproduction of his drawing of the statue *in situ*, see E. Filippi, *Maarten van Heemskerck: Inventio Urbus* (Milan, 1990), no. 48 and p. 107.

6 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. For a reproduction and discussion of the painting, see R. O. Rubinstein, "'Tempus edax rerum': A Newly Discovered Painting by Hermannus Posthumus," *The Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985): 425-33, and N. Dacos, "Hermannus Posthumus: Rome, Mantua, Landshut," *The Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985): 433-38, esp. fig. 15.

7 See Schlachter, *Der Globus*, 81-87 (note 2); Gilbert Charles-Picard, *Les Trophées romains: contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome* (Paris, 1957); and Lecoq, "À Rome: le globe et la Victoire," (note 2).

8 For a discussion of this motif, see P. E. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel: Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftzeichens von Caesar bis Elizabeth II: Ein Beitrag zum 'Nachleben' der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1958).

of power is also held by the figure of God the Father or Christ in numerous images: it can be found in depictions of God creating the universe,[9] the *Mystic Trinity*,[10] the *Coronation of the Virgin*,[11] Christ as the *Salvator mundi*[12] and in the myriad of decorative pieces stimulated by Petrarch's description of the "Triumph of Religion."[13] It is an imagery whose iconographic tradition runs unbroken from the late years of the Roman Empire well into the modern era. Whereas common sense might suggest that the image of God or Christ carrying the orb of power should serve as the basis for imperial iconography, the evidence suggests that the opposite is true. For, even though the impetus for the imperial iconography did come from earlier images of a globe-carrying Zeus or Jupiter, the doctrine of iconoclasm in the early Byzantine Empire ensured that a similar image of God the Father or Christ was unthinkable during the period when other forms of pagan imagery were being adopted and adapted by the Christian Church. By the time such images were permitted, the direct link with classical religious iconography had been severed. The only available iconographic model would have been images of the orb-carrying emperor.

9 For example, see the creation scene in *Le Livre des sept âges du monde* in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms 9047, ff. 1v and 12r (reproduced in F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peinture de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* [Paris, 1989], III, 1, 208-10). See also the numerous images reproduced in J. Zahlten, *"Creatio mundi": Darstellung der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1979).

10 For examples, see the predella of the sixteenth-century Schwabian work in the Stadtmuseum in Ulm (reproduced in Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, pl. 49, fig. 103b [note 8]), and the Rohrdorfer Altarpiece from ca. 1480 in the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe (reproduced in Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, pl. 49, fig. 103c [note 8]).

11 See, for example, the painting by a follower of Francesco Vanni, which was sold at Christie's in Monaco on 14 June 1996 (lot 16), and the wooden sculpture of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the museum of the Johanneskirche in Lüneberg (reproduced in Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, pl. 49, fig. 102 [note 8]).

12 For example, see Alessandro Allori's *The Infant Christ with the World in His Hand* (reproduced in S. Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori* [Turin, 1991], pl. 304, no. 128); Andrea Schiavone's print of *Christ as the Saviour of the World* (reproduced in *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 32 [= Bartsch XVI, I], 38 II-15); the elaborate image of *The Infant Christ and the Vanities of the World*, by Antonio de Pereda, in the Church of Arc-en-Senans (reproduced in *Les Vanités dans la peinture au XVIIe siècle: méditations sur la richesse, le dénuement et la rédemption*, ed. Alain Tapié, Exhibition catalogue, Caen, Musée des Beaux Arts, 27 July 1990 - 15 October 1990, and Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 15 November 1990 - 20 January 1991 (Paris, 1990), 98-99; and the *Madonna and Child*, painted by Fra Angelico's workshop in Berlin (reproduced in John Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico* [London, 1974], fig. 55).

13 For a discussion of the development of the illustrations, see Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *Pétrarque, ses études d'art, son influence sur les artistes, ses portraits et ceux de Laure* [...] (Paris, 1902); Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci, eds., *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle*, University of Toronto Italian Studies, 4 (Ottawa, 1990); J. Seznec, "Petrarch and Renaissance Art," in *Francesco Petrarca: Citizen of the World*, Studi sul Petrarca, 8, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo (Padua, 1980), 133-52; G. Frasso, G. Mariani Canova and E. Sandal, *Illustrazione libraria, filologia e esegesi petrarchesca tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento: Antonio Grifo e l'incunabulo Queriniano G. V. 15*, Studi sul Petrarca, 20 (Padua, 1990). For reproductions of the Florentine sets of the *Trionfi*, see A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving: A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of All the Prints Described* [...] *in the British Museum* (London, 1910). The so-called "Vienna Triumphs" appear in Catalogue, I, pp. 32-36 and Plates, II, pls. 18-23; the "Set of 6 Triumphs on one plate" appear in Catalogue, I, p. 36 and Plates, II, pl. 24; and the set of "Triumphs in the Fine Manner," dating from 1460-70, appear under Catalogue, I, pp. 131-36 and Plates, III, pls. 191-96.

Figure 1. Roman, Aureus struck by Augustus after the Battle of Actium.
(Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Monnaies BN/C 37.)
[cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France – Paris]

Whereas the globe remains a potent image of power for many rulers, one ruler who used the globe as an integral part of her personal iconography was Queen Elizabeth I of England. Admittedly, the orb had formed a part of the royal *regalia* in England since the period of William (Rufus) II, who used the image of ruler-with-orb in his Great Seal.[14] Nevertheless, it was Elizabeth I who made the image of the globe her own.[15]

From her childhood onwards, Elizabeth I used both the globe and the armillary sphere to multiple effect. The earliest occurrence of an armillary sphere appears amongst the pages of a *Psalter* which was apparently given by the young

[14] See W. de Gray Birch, *Seals* (London, 1907), x and 30-31, and pl. IV, 1. The formulation of the similar Great Seal used by Henry III is discussed in R. Kent Lancaster, "Artists, Suppliers and Clerks: The Human Factors in the Art Patronage of King Henry III," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 81-107, esp. 95 and pl. 7c.
[15] The secondary literature on the different images used by Elizabeth I is ample. See, for example, R. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963); R. Strong, *The National Portrait Gallery: Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London, 1969); F. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1977); R. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1977); R. Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1987); M. J. Rodriguez et al., *Armada, 1588-1988*, Exhibition catalogue, London, National Maritime Museum, 20 April - 4 September 1988 (London, 1988); and K. Hearn, ed., *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630*, Exhibition catalogue, London, Tate Gallery, 12 October 1995 - 7 January 1996 (London, 1995).

princess to some confidant at court, and is now kept at Windsor Castle.[16] The illustration shows an armillary sphere standing, somewhat miraculously, on the open pages of a book upon which the words *VERBUM DOMINI* have been written. The six zodiacal signs from Cancer to Sagittarius are clearly visible. Below the image, there is the Italian motto: *Miser è chi speme in cosal mortal pone* ("Unfortunate is he who places his hope in things mortal").

In the Renaissance, *imprese* or emblems, consisting of a picture and a motto, were often used by scholars and nobles as part of their personal iconography.[17] The *impresa*, to quote one contemporary author, was intended to convey "the meaning of our mind placed within a knot of words and things."[18] It was a puzzle which the bearer used to express "a purpose, a wish [or a] line of conduct [...] by means of a motto and a picture which reciprocally interpret each other."[19] Most importantly, the *impresa*, to quote Paolo Giovio, "must not be so obscure that it needs a sibyl to interpret it; but, at the same time, it should not be so clear that every plebeian can understand it."[20]

With this warning in our ear, it might seem foolish to spend too much time trying to tease out the significance of the young Elizabeth's message. Obviously, though, there is the introduction of some visual punning here. The word for "sphere" in Italian is *sfera*, but – as rules for orthography were rarely constant – both medieval and Renaissance authors played with the spelling to create *spera*, which, conveniently, could be used as a pun for forms of the verb *sperare*, "to hope" or "to have faith in." The most common occurrence of this pun appears in the phrase "*spero in Dio*": "I believe in God" or "the sphere [of the cosmos] is in God."[21] And there have been suggestions, for example, that the prominent placement of the armillary sphere in Sandro Botticelli's fresco of *Saint Augustine*

[16] Windsor Castle, The Royal Library, MS B & R, 447. For a reproduction and discussion, see Strong, *Gloriana*, 138-89 (note 15).
[17] There is a vast and growing literature on the Renaissance *impresa*. For an overview, see K. Lippincott, "The Genesis and Significance of the Fifteenth-Century Italian *Impresa*," in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. S. Anglo (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1990), 49-76, and K. Lippincott, "*Un gran pelago*: The impresa and the Medal Reverse," in *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, Garland Series in the Renaissance, 11, ed. S. K. Scher (New York, 2000), 75-96.
[18] Scipione Ammirato, *Il Rota ovvero dell'Imprese* (Naples, 1562), esp. 12-14: "[...] una significazione della mente nostra sotto un nodo di parole e cose [...]."
[19] Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 3 (London, 1939), 50.
[20] Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari e amorose* (Lyon, 1559); cited from the version edited by M. L. Doglio (Rome, 1978), 34: "[...] ch'ella non sia oscura di sorte ch'abbia mestiero della sibilla per interprete a volerla intendere, né tanto chiara ch'ogni plebeo l'intenda."
[21] See, for example, the printer's mark of an armillary sphere with the motto *IN DEO* by Francesco di Iacopo della Spera. The joke, of course, is that he is not only playing on his name (Spera), but is saying: "*spera in deo*." See E. Vaccaro, *Le marche dei tipografi ed editori italiani del secolo XVI nella Biblioteca Angelica di Roma* (Florence, 1983), 94. The mark is used as early as 1516 and appears as a decorative detail in the title page of Pier Paulo Fantino's *Trattello delle donne da far ridere le brigata*, printed in Florence sometime before 1519. The print reappears in a work by Lorenzo de' Medici entitled *Canzone a ballo*, printed in Florence in 1533. For a reference, see P. Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (London, 1897), 115 (no. 287).

in the Church of the Ognissanti in Florence is a reference to Augustine's implicit faith in the rationality of God's universe. He is shown as *spera in dio*.[22]

One could see Elizabeth's drawing as a youthful expression of piety. Alternatively, in the juxtaposition of the three elements of this *impresa* – the image, the inscription on the book and the Italian motto – one could argue that the image records Elizabeth laying an early claim to her God-given right to rule. Citing both the "word of God" and showing us the orderly nature of His cosmos, Elizabeth is warning us that she will not be amongst those unfortunate mortals who place their trust in other human beings. Her eyes are firmly fixed on her holy destiny.

The most dramatic evocations of the symbolism of the globe, however, appear in those works which were commissioned by Elizabeth when she was at the height of her powers. The so-called *Sieve Portrait* exists in a number of copies, which seem to have been executed in two different campaigns. The first series can be dated to around 1579 and the second was painted sometime between 1580 and 1583.[23] The paintings take their name from the notable attribute of the sieve – a symbol of chastity drawn from the story of the vestal virgin Tuccia, who was commanded to carry a sieveful of water from the Tiber to the Temple of the Vestals in the Roman Forum, without spilling a drop, in order to prove her chastity.[24]

In the first series, the young queen is shown standing at the front of the picture plane, with a rather obscured globe lurking behind her in the shadows.[25] In fact, the globe is so hazy that it is difficult to tell if it is a terrestrial or celestial globe. In the second series, however, the globe plays a more dominant role in the iconography of the painting (fig. 2). Indeed, one could easily argue that the difference between the two series is the extent to which the image of the queen is transformed from being a simple "portrait-with-attributes" into a new kind of fully fledged allegorical portrait, in which the attributes themselves seem to stand as equal *personae* of the queen, vying with her iconic, mask-like face for attention.

[22] See H. I. Roberts, "St. Augustine in 'St Jerome's Study'," *Art Bulletin* 9 (1959): 283-97 and M. Kemp, "The Taking and Use of Evidence, with a Botticellian Case Study," *The Art Journal* 55 (1984): 207-15. Kemp cites a passage from Nicolaus Cusanus to support the idea that the depiction of scientific instruments in paintings "could acquire potent meaning." See N. Cusanus, *De ludo globi*, II, 231: "creat ergo sua inventione nova instrumenta, ut discernat et noscat: ut Ptolemaeus astrolabium et Orpheus lyram et ita de multis. Neque ex aliquo extrinseco inventores creaverunt illa, sed ex propria mente. Explicarunt enim in sensibili materia conceptum." Cited from E. Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 12 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927), 61, note 2.
[23] For a full discussion of the two series of paintings, see Strong, *Gloriana*, 95-107 (note 15).
[24] The story appears in a number of classical sources (such as Valerius Maximus, *Factorum Dictorumque Memorabilium*, VIII, I, and C. Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, ii) and reappears in St Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, X, xvi, and Petrarch's *Trionfo della Castità*, II. 148-53. For a discussion, see Strong, *Gloriana*, 96-97 (note 15).
[25] Strong records two different copies of the earlier version of the *Sieve Portrait*. See Strong, *Portraits*, 66 (note 15), and idem, *Gloriana*, 95 (note 15).

In the first series, the globe appears in the background, to the right. Above it, there is a motto reading: *TUTTO VEDO & MOLTO MANCHO* ("I see it all, and lack so much"). The combination of globe and motto can be interpreted as an *impresa*. For the first time in her portraiture, Elizabeth is clearly making a record of her imperial pretensions – basically, she is saying, "This is the world and I want it all." In the second version of the *Sieve Portrait*, the terrestrial globe, along with her other symbolic attributes, has been brought forward from the shadows.[26] Furthermore, the artist has added a number of significant mottoes, should the viewer need help in deciphering the importance of the different images within the picture. The globe itself is placed on its stand so that the British Isles proudly occupy the most prominent, spot-lit section of the surface. In the second version of the *Sieve Portrait*, then, Elizabeth is associating herself specifically with the image of the terrestrial globe, upon which Britain predominates.

Also, behind the terrestrial globe in the second version of the *Sieve Portrait*, there is a group of young nobles, including Elizabeth's Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, who is recognizable from the device of the white hind he bears on his sleeve. The inclusion of Hatton further highlights the imperial tone of the painting for, as Roy Strong has shown, it was Hatton who formed the nucleus of a select group of advisors and courtiers, which included Sir Martin Frobisher and John Dee, who encouraged Elizabeth's imperial ambitions and, in particular, supported her claim to imperial power on the strength of her sovereignty at sea.[27]

The globe itself, undoubtedly a manuscript production, cannot be identified with any extant globe; but, it is interesting to note the detail of the banded prime meridian, which is depicted running through the Azores – a strange concession to Spanish seamanship which, perhaps, Elizabeth was not aware that she was making! But then, the English meridian at Greenwich was not established until 1676, more than 60 years after Elizabeth's death.

A second painting of Elizabeth I in which a terrestrial globe plays a prominent role is the so-called *Armada Portrait*, dating from the late 1580s (fig. 3).[28] The

[26] The portrait exists in seven versions. The best of these is the version in the Pinacoteca di Siena, signed and dated 1583 by Quentin Metsys, the Younger. It was discovered late in the nineteenth century in the attic of one of the *palazzi* in Siena, which had once been the property of the Medici family. It was formerly attributed to Cornelius Ketel, but the Metsys signature and a date of 1583 were discovered during the cleaning of the painting in February 1988. For more information, see Yates, *Astraea*, 115-18 (note 15); Strong, *Portraits*, 68-89 (note 15); idem, *Gloriana*, 101-7 (note 15); idem, *Armada*, 86 (note 15); and idem, *Dynasties*, 85-86 (note 15).
[27] See Strong, *Gloriana*, 98-99 and 101-7 (note 15). Strong also suggests that Dee's work, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1577), had a pivotal effect on the queen. Frobisher spent much of his career at sea searching for the Northwest Passage to the Far East.
[28] The *Armada Portrait* exists in [illegible] versions, with the best-preserved version being the one in the Duke of Bedford's Collection at Woburn Abbey, which Strong attributes to the queen's Serjeant Painter, George Gower. See Strong, *Portraits*, 72-75 (note 15); idem, *Gloriana*, 131-33 (note 15); idem, *Armada*, 274 (note 15); and idem, *Dynasties*, 88 (note 15).

Figure 2. Quentin Metsys, *Elizabeth I* (second Sieve Portrait). (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.)

terrestrial globe upon which Elizabeth rests her right hand (fig. 4) is significantly different from the one in the *Sieve Portrait*. Unlike the more realistic globe in the *Sieve Portrait*, the terrestrial globe in the *Armada Portrait* is largely non-sensical – its land-masses are unidentifiable and its only co-ordinates are the crossing of the equator and ecliptical band. Despite this lack of realism, however, the meaning of the globe in the *Armada Portrait* is clear and is, essentially, the same as the one proclaimed in the *Sieve Portrait*. One major difference, however, is that, after the queen's victories over the Spanish Armada, the globe moves even further towards the front of the picture plane. In the *Sieve Portrait* of 1579, she tells us that she lacks what she wants. In the *Armada Portrait* of ten years later, the whole world now sits comfortably under her hand, her fingers rest gently on the

Figure 3. English, *Elizabeth I* (the Armada Portrait), end of 1580s. (Duke of Bedford Collection, Woburn Abbey.)

Figure 4. Detail of fig. 3.

Spanish territories of the New World and the treasures which would soon be hers.

The final coming-together of attribute and self occurs in the so-called *Ditchley Portrait* painted by Marcus Gheeraerts, the Younger, sometime around 1592.[29] Here, the queen is shown as the embodiment of England, standing on a detailed map of the islands like a titan of superhuman dimensions. Monarch and realm are one. Her head is in the clouds and her stature is so grand that the surface of the Earth is shown gently curving away from her feet.

In the *Ditchley Portrait*, the queen is shown wearing an earring or, possibly, a hair ornament in the shape of an armillary sphere. As mentioned, the armillary sphere is a device she had used since her youth and it reappears as part of her personal iconography not only in the *Ditchley Portrait*, but also as a design woven into the cloth of her dress in a portrait from the early 1580s.[30] In the so-called *Rainbow Portrait*, which is now in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury in Hatfield House, she wears an armillary sphere-shaped jewel hanging from the edge of her oversleeve.[31] In these late portraits, the universe has become her jewel, her bauble – a decorative plaything that is used to heighten the beauty of its mistress.

On the reverse of a medal, dating from 1569-70, there is a castle perched above an armillary sphere with the motto: *Quid hoc sine armis* ("What is this without arms?"). The obverse of the medal bears a portrait of the queen with the motto, "What is all this without you?" The medal poses the question: What is the world without the queen herself?[32]

Elizabeth I was the centre of her world – much in the same way that the immobile Earth was at the centre of the Ptolemaic universe. Not surprisingly, her courtiers were quick to adopt and adapt her personal iconography for their own ends to show the allegiance to the queen or to curry favour with her. For example, in Nicholas Hilliard's portrait of *George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland* in the National Maritime Museum, the garment lining of his sleeve bears small armillary spheres.[33] The *Portrait of Sir Henry Lee* by Antonio Mor in the National Portrait Gallery, dated 1597, also has armillary spheres delicately woven into the fabric of the sitter's sleeve.[34] Finally, one might mention the well-known

[29] For a reproduction, see Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: Renaissance Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven and London, 1990), 26; Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Paintings*, 104-7 (note 15); idem, *Gloriana*, 135-38 (note 15); and idem, *Dynasties*, 89-90 (note 15). There are seven paintings which follow the so-called "Ditchley pattern," the finest of which is in the National Portrait Gallery. See Strong, *Portraits*, 75-76 (note 15).

[30] The painting is in a private collection. For a reproduction, see Strong, *Gloriana*, 141, fig. 150 (note 15).

[31] For a reproduction, see Strong, *Gloriana*, 157-61, fig. 172 (note 15).

[32] See Strong, *Gloriana*, 139 (note 15).

[33] National Maritime Museum, inv. no. MNT0193. For a reproduction, see Strong, *Gloriana*, 139-40 (note 15); idem, *Armada*, 251 (note 15); and idem, *Dynasties*, 126-27 (note 15).

[34] See Strong, *Gloriana*, 139-40 (note 15). See also the border decoration of entwined snakes and olive branches with an armillary sphere in the sonnet dedicated to Lee by William Segar and dated 1597 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms L. 75-1984), cited ibid., p. 141, fig. 148.

Figure 5. Nicholas Hilliard, *Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland*. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

Figure 6. English, *Elizabeth I as pantocrator.*
From John Case, *Sphaera civitatis*
(London, 1588).

miniature by Hilliard in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam of *Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland* (fig. 5).[35] In the picture, Percy is shown lounging in a walled garden. A level balance hangs from the branches of the trees above his head. The balance was Percy's own *impresa*, but this rendition of the balance has been slightly altered here to change its significance. In the pan on the left, there is a terrestrial globe; in the one on the right there is a feather. Beside the balance, there is the motto *TANT* – meaning "so much" or "this much." The meaning is unclear. Either he is saying "The weight of the world is like a feather to me." Or, perhaps, he is saying "The burden of my allegiance to the queen – who is my world – is as easily carried as a feather."

Perhaps the most striking image using celestial iconography during this period is the image of Elizabeth that appears as the preface woodcut to John Case's *Sphaera civitatis*, published in London in 1588 (fig. 6).[36] In the picture, Elizabeth is shown in a posture clearly taken from religious iconography. The only difference is that Elizabeth has been placed in the position where one would normally see God the Father. Here, she is presented as the "great mover" (the *primum mobile*) behind the *Sphaera civitatis*, the "sphere of the state," and is shown holding a sphere, arranged like an image of the Ptolemaic universe. Instead of the immobile Earth, there is *iustitia immobilis* – "immovable justice" – at the centre of her cosmos. And, working from the centre, each of the planetary spheres has been redefined in terms of Elizabeth's virtues. The sphere of the Moon is *ubertas rerum* ("richness" or "fertility of living things"); the sphere of Mercury is labelled *facundia* ("eloquence"); Venus is *clementia* ("clemency"); the Sun is *religio* ("religion"); Mars is *fortitudo* ("strength"); Jupiter is *prudentia* ("prudence"); and the sphere of Saturn is labelled with *maiestas* ("greatness," "majesty"). In the sphere of the fixed stars, there is the *camera stellata proceres heroes consiliarii* – "The starry chamber of her court, including the nobles, the heroes and her counsellors." A description of Elizabeth herself fills the space usually allocated for the *primum mobile*: *Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae Reginae, fidei defensatrix* ("the queen of England, France and Ireland and the defender of the faith").

In what had been a relatively short space of time, then, the powerful image of the globe has moved from being used as the symbol of an intention, to a prop, to an attribute and a bauble – and, finally, to the rightful possession of the queen. In 1579, she tells us how much she wants to own the world; and, by 1588, it is all hers.

Whereas the armillary sphere seems to have a more intimate role in Elizabeth's personal iconography, the use of the terrestrial globe in her political imagery is calculated and sustained. She was, however, not unique in making the image of

[35] See R. Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London, 1983), 108-10.
[36] See Strong, *Gloriana*, 133 (note 15); and C. B. Schmitt, "John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England," *McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas* V (1983), 87 and 134-36.

the terrestrial globe synonymous with a claim upon power, with the structure of her court and with her being. As discussed, there had been ample use of globes as symbols of imperialism; but there were two particular Renaissance examples which seem to have been influential for Elizabeth's own thinking on the subject.

Charles V, king of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, was certainly the leading political power in the generation which immediately preceded Elizabeth's. If she had been looking for a single figure upon which to model her own imperial pretensions, Charles V was certainly the best candidate. And, perhaps, it should not surprise us to note that Charles V also used the globe as part of his personal iconography.

It is quite possible that Elizabeth's first use of the globe as an attribute in the *Sieve Portrait* was based on a portrait of Charles V by the Italian artist known as Parmigianino. Although the original painting has been lost, it is known through several copies.[37] It also is fully described by Giorgio Vasari in his well-known *Lives of the Artists*. Vasari describes "a huge canvas of Cesare" (identifying Charles V as the Caesar of the new age), which was "[...] painted in oil. In it, he [Parmigianino] has painted Fame, who crowns Charles with a laurel. There is also a small male child, dressed like Hercules, who holds up the world."[38] In the extant copies, Charles V is placed to the left, with Fame and the small boy/Hercules on the right. The "world" that the boy described as holding is actually a huge terrestrial globe. The message is clear: an allegorical Hercules, known from fables as one of the great globe-carriers of antiquity, is presenting his gift, his burden, to the newly crowned ruler of the world.

Amongst her immediate contemporaries, Elizabeth was not alone in wishing to seize this imperial imagery. Indeed, Charles V's son, Philip II of Spain (1527-98) also used the globe in his personal iconography. In one medal by Giovanni Poggini, Philip is shown on the obverse and described as *Philippus II Hispaniarum et novi orbis occidui rex* ("Philip II, king of the Spains and of the new world in the west"). The reverse carries an image of a crowned female figure, wearing a cuirass and carrying a globe (fig. 7).[39] The top half of the globe is filled with meridians and, presumably, the Arctic Circle and the Tropic of Capricorn. The band of the zodiac is clearly marked and one can see the outline of one of the zodiacal signs, probably Cancer. The lower half of the globe is blank. Following the

[37] See Strong, *Gloriana*, 99, fig. 83 (note 15); Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 164, fig. 177 (note 29); and M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Il Parmigianino: Un saggio sull'ermetismo nel Cinquecento* (Rome, 1970), pl. 291.
[38] See Giorgio Vasari, "Francesco Mazzuoli," in *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari pittore aretino con nuove annotazioni e commenti*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1878-85), V (1880): 229: "L'imagine di esso Cesare [Charles] a olio in un quadro grandissimo, ed in quello dipinse la Fama che lo coronava di lauro, ed un fanciullo in forma d'un Ercole piccolino che gli porgeva il mondo, quasi dandogliene il dominio."
[39] See the entry by Philip Attwood in *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, Exhibition catalogue, New York, Frick Collection and Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, ed. S. K. Scher (New York, 1994), 166-68 and 195.

Figure 7. Giovanni Poggini, *Medal of Philip II of Spain*, reverse.
(Private collection.)

female figure, there are a number of characters, who appear to be the inhabitants of the New World. In front of her is the Spanish Fleet. The motto reads: *RELIQUUM DATURA*, indicating that "she [the female figure] will provide the rest." Along the bottom of the medal there in a second label reading: *INDIA*. In a letter describing the manufacture of the medal, Poggini says that the back of this medal celebrates the king's possessions in India:

> I [have] dressed the men and women with the clothes that they wear in Peru, as you see; and that animal which resembles both a camel and a sheep, I have portrayed from one which is alive here, and I have included it because it is a rare and useful animal, since like our [sheep] it gives wool, milk and meat, and it bears loads like an ass. I have shown it burdened with bars of silver. The woman who bears the half globe as an offer represents the province of India, as my Lord Gonzalo Pérez is pleased [to interpret it]. But I prefer to identify her as Fortune or Providence.[40]

[40] See G. Kubler, "A Medal by G. P. Poggini Depicting Peru and Predicting Australia," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* V (1964): 149-52. As cited by Attwood in *Currency*, 166 (note 39).

Figure 8. Spanish, *Portrait medal of Philip II of Spain, reverse*
(British Museum, London.)

He then concludes saying that the female figure was his idea in the first place, but after he had discussed it with his superiors, he was convinced that the meaning suggested by Pérez was superior to his. "India" of course was one of the names the Spaniards used to describe the New World.

On the reverse of another one of Philip II's portrait-medals, there is the image of a globe surmounted by a galloping horse with the motto, *Non sufficit orbis* ("The world is not enough") (fig. 8).[41] On one level, the motto simply reflects Philip's desire to be considered the king of both the "new" and the "old" worlds – *hispaniae et novi orbis rex*. On another level, it can be seen as an affirmation of the king's religious beliefs. Being the ruler of his earthly domains was not enough to sustain one. The presence of God and the promise of eternal life was always needed. For contemporaries, however, Philip's medal was seen in strictly political terms. As Peter Barber has recently noted, the medal, struck in 1580 specifically to commemorate the union of the Spanish and Portuguese empires under Philip II, became the subject of a vehement riposte from both Dutch (in a medal they struck in 1602) and the French (in a medal dated "1515," but actually struck in 1663).[42]

Given the evidence that Philip's claim to control "the globe" irritated both the Dutch and the French for the best part of a century, it certainly seems plausible that Elizabeth's use of the terrestrial globe in her state portraits – all of which,

[41] For a description and reproduction, see Attwood, *Currency*, 166-67 and pl. 195 (note 39).
[42] See P. Barber, "Beyond Geography: Globes on Medals, 1440-1998," *Der Globusfreund* 47/48 (1999-2000): 53-80 (with German résumé on pp. 81-88), esp. 65-67.

save the first *Sieve Portraits*, date to after 1580 – was a conscious attempt to counter Philip's imperial claims. Moreover, it is likely that her use of the globe was not only motivated by a political rivalry with Philip, but by a degree of personal enmity as well – for Philip had been fleetingly married to Elizabeth's sister, Mary Tudor, in the mid-1550s.

Luckily, there is a documented series of episodes from the early 1590s that supports the idea that Elizabeth viewed the globe as a charged political symbol. In 1592, Emery Molyneux of Lambeth published the first pair of English, printed globes.[43] From the terrestrial globe that still survives at Petworth House in Sussex, one can see that it is inscribed with a large cartouche, containing an extensive dedication to Elizabeth I.[44] At the end of July the previous year (1591), Molyneux had presented Elizabeth with what appears to have been the exemplar, manuscript terrestrial globe in Greenwich. According to an eye-witness account, provided by the Italian Ambassador, Petruccio Ubaldini, the purpose of the globe and its cartouche was quite specific: "[...] the Dedication to the queen has to be printed with the royal arms and its wording suggests that he gave her the globe to let her see at a glance how much of the seas she could control by means of her naval forces." He then adds, rather enigmatically, "This is a fact well worth knowing."[45]

Apparently, the globe-giving ceremony at Greenwich pleased Elizabeth to such an extent that she re-enacted it several times during the next year. On one occasion, she was presented with a terrestrial globe at William Sanderson's house in Newington-Butts. The queen was recorded as joking that, "The whole earth, a present for the Prince; but with the Spanish king's leave."[46] Or, as might be translated into the modern idiom: "The whole earth is being given to me, but only with the kind allowance of the Spanish king." During a later visit to Sanderson's home, she was given a celestial globe and responded: "Thou hast presented me with the Heavens also: God grant me to Govern my part of the one that I may enjoy but a mansion place in this other."[47]

Elizabeth I used both the armillary sphere and the terrestrial globe in her personal and political iconography throughout her long life. In the former case, it seems to have been used to symbolize her divine right to rule. In the latter case, it symbolized the vast extent of her earthly ambitions, which started as a vague yearning – "*tutto vedo, molto mancho*" – but ended with Elizabeth being acknowledged as "*Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae Regina, fidei defensatrix.*"

[43] See A-M. Crinò and H. Wallis, "New Researches on the Molyneux Globes," *Der Globusfreund* 35/37 (1987-89): 11-18 (German résumé on pp. 18-20), esp. 12-14.
[44] See Crinò and Wallis, "Molyneux Globes," fig. 4 (note 43).
[45] See Crinò and Wallis, "Molyneux Globes," 14 (note 43).
[46] See Crinò and Wallis, "Molyneux Globes," 14 (note 43), citing a pamphlet by Sir William Sanderson, *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet* (London, 1656), sig. A3^v^.
[47] Ibid.

Résumé

Les globes sont, depuis l'Antiquité, représentés dans une variété d'œuvres d'art. La plupart du temps, on les utilise dans un but iconographique bien particulier, notamment afin de faciliter l'identification du personnage qu'ils accompagnent. Ce personnage peut être une représentation allégorique d'un concept abstrait ou encore la personnification d'un art ou d'une science. En ce qui concerne l'art du portrait, le globe sert d'attribut matériel pouvant agir comme moyen d'élargir notre connaissance du personnage public portraituré. La présente contribution explorera les différentes façons employées par les portraitistes renaissants pour représenter les globes comme symboles de richesse, de pouvoir et, dans plus d'un cas, d'ambitions impériales. On portera une attention particulière à l'utilisation des globes, cartes et sphères armillaires associée à l'iconographie de Charles V de même qu'aux portraits d'Élisabeth I d'Angleterre et de sa suite.