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IMCS JOURNAL

SUMMER 2015 No.141



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JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

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Copy and other material for future issues should be submitted to:

Editor Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird, Email **Ljiljana.editor@gmail.com** 14 Hallfield, Quendon, Essex CB11 3XY United Kingdom **Consultant Editor** Valerie Newby **Designer** Catherine French **Advertising Manager** Jenny Harvey, 27 Landford Road, Putney, London SW15 1AQ United Kingdom, Tel +44 (0)20 8789 7358, Email **jeh@harvey27.demon.co.uk**

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Front cover
Detail of map of Sirksfelde with Duvensee and Ritzerau, 1577 by Daniel Frese, watercolour and Indian ink, 737 x 877 mm. ©Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, 402 B IV, no. 97.

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Antonio Lafreri [Carta Marina] Olavs Got. Benigno Lectori... 1572.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE & APPOINTED OFFICERS

Chairman Hans Kok
Poelwaai 15, 2162 HA Lisse,
The Netherlands Tel/Fax +31 25 2415227
Email HEKHolland@gmail.com

Vice Chairman & UK Representative Valerie Newby
Prices Cottage, 57 Quainton Road,
North Marston, Buckingham,
MK18 3PR, UK Tel +44 (0)1296 670001
Email valerie.newby@btopenworld.com

General Secretary David Dare
Fair Ling, Hook Heath Road,
Woking, Surrey, GU22 0DT, UK
Tel +44 (0)1483 764942
Email david.dare1@btopenworld.com

Treasurer Jeremy Edwards
26 Rooksmead Road, Sunbury on Thames,
Middlesex, TW16 6PD, UK
Tel +44 (0)1932 787390
Email jcerooksmead26@talktalk.net

Member at Large Diana Webster
42 West Ferryfield, Edinburgh,
EH5 2PU, UK
Email dcfw42@gmail.com

Dealer Liaison To be appointed

International Representative
To be appointed

National Representatives
Co-ordinator Robert Clancy
PO Box 42, QVB Post Office NSW 1230,
Australia Tel +61 402130445
Email clancy_robert@hotmail.com

Web Co-ordinator Kit Batten
Tel +49 7118 601167
Email KitTheMap@aol.com

Photographer David Webb
48d Bath Road, Atworth, Melksham,
SN12 8JX, UK Tel +44 (0)1225 702351

IMCoS Financial and Membership Administration
Peter Walker, 10 Beck Road, Saffron
Walden, Essex, CB11 4EH, UK
Email financialsecretariat@imcos.org



A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Hans Kok

An IMCoS local event took place in mid-April, this time in Perth, Scotland on the River Tay. The organisation was flawlessly executed by Committee members Valerie Scott and Diana Webster, with Margaret Wilkes as our local representative. Only a few political votes away and Diana and Margaret could have been our ***International*** Representatives in Scotland! No Australian members around to check on the differences between Perth and Perth; the Scottish blue and sunny skies by exception suggesting no difference. The reception given by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society made us feel at home straight away. Our editor Ljiljana will tell you about the extra miles covered by CEO Mark Robinson and Margaret Wilkes Convener of the RSGS Collections Committee to make us even happier. This small institution needs to be commended, for although short of funds it makes up for it in commitment through its dedicated team of volunteers who ensured we had a very rewarding visit.

The London June weekend (5, 6 and 7 June) is just around the corner now: dinner at the Civil Service Club on Friday evening; the AGM at the Royal Geographic Society (with IBG) on Saturday and the Map Fair on Saturday and Sunday. If you need an incentive for a trip to London, this should do it! The IMCoS stand at the Fair and the venue for the AGM are courtesy of the London Map Fair again this year; many thanks!

Preparations for our 33rd International Symposium in Cape Town are just about complete; registration is available via our IMCoS website or directly at **www.2015imcos.com**

Although maritime mapping pre-dates interior mapping, both Africa as a continent and South Africa are huge in terms of distance to cover and some remarkable surveying has taken place there.

Arranging for a historic-cartographic conference under the circumstances is no mean feat and participation is wholeheartedly recommended. The Cape celebrates the start of spring in October. I don't need to mention the great landscapes, wine and wildlife there; in case you are considering some glorious sightseeing after the symposium.

Regrettably, we have been, so far, unable to find an organiser for a symposium in Europe, but we keep trying. The 2016 International Symposium will – after 15 years – be held again in Chicago, USA in conjunction with the renowned Nebenzahl Lectures in the History of Cartography. The Chicago Map Fair will probably take place at the same time. Further information will be provided in due time.

Without pre-empting the upcoming AGM, I would like to report that your Executive Committee intends to hold subscription rates for 2016 at the current level, assuming the AGM vote will be in favour.

I wish you 'happy reading' and I look forward to meeting with you again in June.

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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

In 2014 170,000 people from Africa and the Middle East made a desperate journey across the Mediterranean Sea to the southern shores of Italy in search of a better life; the majority were rescued from sinking vessels by Italian coastguards. More than 3,000 drowned. Estimates for new arrivals in 2015 are predicted to well exceed those of last year. These figures make for uncomfortable reading and begs the question 'why?'.

Maps, or rather the arbitrary boundaries, as delineated by unenlightened colonial powers have their part to play in this story. Artificial boundaries have done much to foment the strife, instability and untold suffering in both these areas. A call for the redrawing of borders was voiced at the All African People's Conference in 1958. The call continues.

Maano Ramutsindela, professor in the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town works on border studies and has put forward a way of re-imagining borders. In his recent book *Cartographies of Nature: How Nature Conservation Animates Border* (2104) Ramutsindela reflects on nature's indifference to man-made boundaries and how it can be a useful vehicle for furthering border research.

He gives as examples the establishment of peace parks: cross-border nature conservation projects operating across the borders of several states. The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park on the borders between South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and the Kanvango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area, straddling the borders of five countries (with a total size of 444,000 km^2, larger than Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, combined) demonstrate some of the practical ways borders can be transformed. In these spaces borders cease to function as barriers. Wildlife – initially enclosed into state territories – move across state borders, making them a transnational asset rather than a national one, while each state maintains its sovereignty.

Ramutsindela proposes that cross-border conservation projects offer a direction for a new conceptualisation of borders and suggests that the principles be applied to civilian populations, particularly to those ethnic groups affected by deleterious partitioning. He cites Kgalagadi, the first official transfrontier park in Africa and historical home of the San people in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa who, unlike the wildlife and tourists, have great difficulties crossing borders for work or visiting families. Without redrawing the borders of the nations, he suggests designating Kgalagadi a micro-region to represent the land of the San. He argues that micro-regions are good for human beings because they give local residents (on both sides of the borders) a collective voice in governing the natural resources and maintaining their cultural heritage.

It may be one way forward in releasing Africa from the legacies of misguided partitioning.



WELCOME TO OUR NEW MEMBERS

Frank Hamill, UK
Collection interest: Africa; Ireland

David Murrell, USA

UVA, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Philip Clarke, Australia
Collection interest: Early world maps; maps of Australia

Radu Leca, UK
Collection interest: 16th–17th century maps of Asia; Asian maps of the world

Jeffrey Katz, USA
Collection interest: Africa; Eastern USA

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DON'T FORGET!
5 June IMCoS annual dinner
6 June IMCoS AGM
6 & 7 June London Map Fair

Forthcoming Events

19–21 October 2015

IMCoS INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

Centre for the Book, Cape Town



Centre for the Book, Cape Town, symposium venue.

Provisional programme

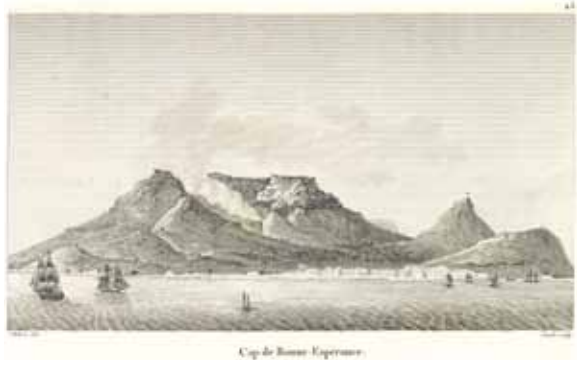
Sat 17 October Optional pre-symposium tour of the Cape Peninsula

Sun 18 October 6pm–7pm Welcome Reception, Taj Hotel, Wale Street, Cape Town. To be confirmed (TBC)

Mon 19 October 9am–9.45am Maps of the sea voyage from Europe to the Far East – Hans Kok
9.45am–10.30am Cartographic highlights from the Map Collection of the Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren, Belgium – Wulf Bodenstein
10.30am–11am Refreshment break
11am–11.45am TBC
11.45am–12.30pm TBC
12.30pm–1.30pm Light lunch at venue
1.30pm–5.30pm Exhibitions: Small and Miniature Maps of South Africa and the continent of Africa
Collections of maps of Africa and Notable Maps of the Cape of Good Hope (within walking distance of the venue): details TBC
Highlights of the University of Cape Town Collection
Evening: own arrangements

Tue 20 October: 9am–09.45am The surprising cartography of Nicolas-Louis de la Caille – Roger Stewart
9.45am–10.30am François le Vaillant's map of the Cape of Good Hope: the map for a King – Ian Glenn
10.30am–11am Refreshment break
11am–11.45am The Wentzel map of south-eastern Africa: the map for a Governor – Carl Vernon
11.45am–12.30pm David Livingstone's mapping of Eastern Africa: a missionary's maps – Elri Liebenberg
12.30pm–1.30pm Light lunch at venue
1.30pm–5.30pm Exhibitions
University of Stellenbosch: travellers' maps
Rupert Museum, Stellenbosch and Panorama of Cape Town, the cartographer, Josephus Jones TBC
Evening: own arrangements

Wed 21 October 9am–09.45am Where is Cape Town? Astronomers' answers – Brian Warner
9.45am–10.30am Lacaille's mapping of the southern skies – Ian Glass
10.30am–11am Refreshment break
11am–11.45am Mapping of the Cango Caves – Stephen Craven
11.45am–12.30pm Anglo-Boer War Cartography – Elri Liebenberg
12.30pm–1.30pm Light lunch at venue
1.30pm–5.30pm Exhibitions
Maps of the Boer War – at symposium venue
Van Schaik Map Collection
7pm Gala Dinner (Catharina's – Steenberg Wine Estate, Constantia)



J. Milbert, *Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 1812.

Registration

Registration online at www.2015imcos.com
Early bird registration fee by 30 June: US$550
Registration fee after 30 June: US$600

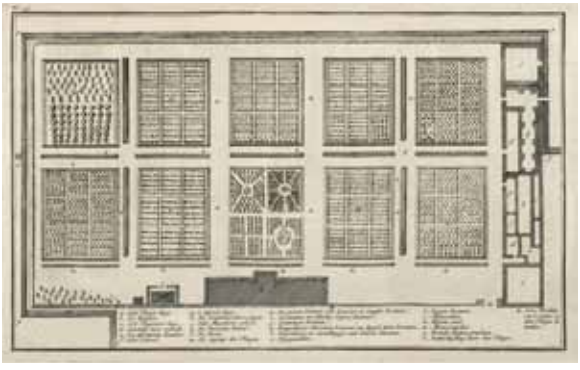
The fee for companions, who will not attend the cartography sessions but will require transport and attend the reception and gala dinner: $400 from June to the end of August and $450 thereafter.

This fee includes transfers between the airport and your hotel; between the symposium venue and the exhibition gala dinner venues; refreshments and light lunch during the symposium, welcome reception and gala dinner.

Please complete the online or downloadable registration form.

If your travel dates are not yet known, the organisers will contact you closer to the symposium to confirm these.

The organisers will send you an invoice and instructions for payment soon after your form has been received.



Layout of the East India Company gardens. ***Atlas of Mutual Heritage.***

Excursions

Saturday 17 October
Full Day Tour of the Peninsula,
Private Tour with English speaking guides.
Cost: Group of 70–R1 390 pp

The tour includes:
Hout Bay Harbour, Chapman's Peak (weather permitting), Cape of Good Hope Nature reserve with a return trip on the flying Dutchman Funicular at Cape Point, Boulders Beach, Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, Specialist guides and a set lunch en route.

Sat 24–Mon 26 October
Tour of the Garden Route
Cost: For couples – R20 691 pp sharing
Group of 10 – R8 800 pp
Group of 20 – R6 710 pp



Road to Chapman's Peak.

Day 1 (Thu 22 October):
To Oudtshoorn by road; overnight at Thorntree Country House.

Day 2 (Fri 23 October):
Visit to Cango Caves (one of the presentations at the symposium will be on the mapping of the caves), Wildlife Ranch and Ostrich Farm and then to Knysna by road; overnight in Knysna at the Protea Hotel Knysna Quays on Knysna Lagoon.

Day 3 (Sat 24 October):
Visits to Tsitsikamma National Park/Storms River Mouth. Suspension Bridge; Monkeyland OR Birds of Eden; John Benn Sunset Cruise on Knysna Lagoon; evening after dinner: presentation and discussion on early travellers to the Garden Route, their routes and maps.

Day 4 (Sun 25 October):
Transfer from Knysna to George airport for connection to Cape Town or Johannesburg.



Samuel Scott, ***Table Bay*****, c. 1730. William Fehr Collection.**

JONATHAN POTTER

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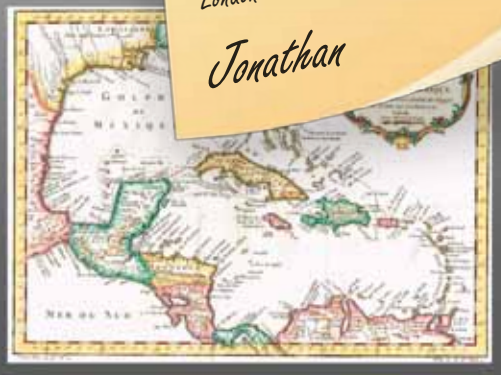
Dear Friends
After almost 40 years trading from London's West End, Jonathan Potter Ltd will relocate to Bath, just 90 minutes from London. The George Street, Marylebone gallery closes in July and the Bath premises opens in the autumn with a smaller but select stock of maps of all areas. I look forward to keeping in contact, welcoming friends and collectors, old and new, to what will become a map collectors' destination away from London, and maintaining contact at map and book fairs in London and elsewhere.

Jonathan

Septentrionalium Terrarum Descriptio
G. Mercator / J. Cloppenburgh, Amsterdam, c1630



Carte Du Golph





Underground Railways Of London
F. H. Stingemore / London Underground, London, 1932



Untitled [London Underground Map]
H. C. Beck / London Underground Transport, London, 1935

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L to R
Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird.

Warren Furth.

David Dare and his closed collapsible globe.

Rolph and Ursula Langlais.





Left
Valerie Newby thanking Margaret Wilkes for her contribution to the day.

Right
CEO Mike Robinson holds forth in the RSGS 'Explorers' Room'.





Left
Presentation to Hans Kok by Margaret Wilkes at evening reception.

Right
Blair Castle at Blair Atholl.





Left
In the castle ballroom Rolph Langlais, Jan van Waning, Mark Clark with archivist Jane Anderson.

Right
Final dinner
L to R
Peter & Caroline Batchelor, Margaret Wilkes, Cyrus Alai, Jan van Waning, Diana Webster.

IMCoS trip to Scotland 17–18 April 2015

The 11th Annual IMCoS meeting which took place at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh in the summer of 1991 was organised by Margaret Wilkes and Diana Webster. Twenty-four years later 26 members from the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany and the UK were welcomed back by Margaret and Diana; this time to Perth, headquarters of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

Perth is a short distance from Edinburgh, beautifully situated on the banks of the River Tay and is a former capital of Scotland; here the Atlantic salmon hold before running the river, and the quality of the catch draws anglers from across the world to test their skills. As far as I know, no one came equipped with a fly rod, but we certainly enjoyed the fresh salmon on offer in the restaurants.

RSGS CEO Mike Robinson opened the day's events with an overview of the Society's 130-year history and highlighted several illustrious names who had been actively involved in its development: Henry Morton Stanley and Ernest Shackleton. John George Bartholomew, of the Bartholomew mapmaking company, first proposed the idea for a national society of geography in Scotland. He was supported by Anges Livingstone-Bruce, daughter of David Livingstone, and James Geikie a Professor of Geology at the University of Edinburgh who had an interest in the advancement of geographical research and teaching. In December 1884, during a period of nationwide geographical excitement, the Scottish Geographical Society (SGS) was established in Edinburgh. It gained its Royal status three years later.

Today its headquarters are at the Lord John Murray House in Perth. Adjacent is the Fair Maid's House, (so-called after the hugely popular novel the *Fair Maid of Perth* by Sir Walter Scott) which functions as their education, information and exhibition centre, and where we met our hosts. Mike pointed out the urgency facing any historical society – relevancy – and discussed ways in which they were addressing it. The articles published in their quarterly publication *Geographer*, he explained, represents the RSGS' current ethos and deals with topics that span the breadth of geographic interest: climate change, population dynamics, conflict, development, health, trade, inequality, the biosphere, ecosystems, natural resource limits, energy, urbanisation, sustainability.

Their collection contains some tens of thousands of historical and contemporary maps, atlases, books, journals, papers, photographs, drawings, paintings and scientific instruments. It is a gifted collection and thereby is inherently eclectic, although focus is on Scotland and those areas of the world where there is or has been a Scottish influence. While the majority of RSGS books and journals are housed in the Andersonian Library, University of Strathclyde, Polar books, maps, photographs, artefacts, archives and journals are held at Perth.

Convener of RSGS Collections Committee and Trustee Margaret Wilkes introduced us to a selection of maps, mainly from the Cuthbert Collection. This was no regular show-and-tell. Margaret had done her homework; she researched the collecting interests of the participants and chose a pertinent map for our close study. Here are just a few to give an indication of the breadth of the collection and the ingenuity of our host: in acknowledgement to the indebtedness of Scottish mapmaking to the Dutch, especially Joan Blaeu for including Scottish-surveyed maps of Scotland in Volume 5 of *Atlas Novus*, Margaret presented **Hans Kok** with L. Waghenaer 'Chart of East Scotland', 1589 and **Eva** with Nicholas Visscher's 'Hollandia'; John Speed enthusiasts, **Jenny and Ian Harvey** received two Speed maps of Scotland, 1611 and 1659, the latter clearly reflecting the defeat of the Royalists by Cromwell in his choice of embellishment. The figures of the royal family on the 1611 map have been replaced with images of Scottish folk on the later one; IMCoS Treasurer, **Jeremy Edwards** was reminded of fiscal prudence with a Herman Moll map of the disastrous Darien Scheme that almost bankrupted Scotland in the late seventeenth century; and as the desk of the secretary of a learned society, Margaret explained, was not complete without a globe, she presented IMCoS Secretary **David Dare** with a nineteenth-century terrestrial collapsible globe. Eight coloured lithographed gores, printed on linen, were stitched over a black japanned umbrella-type frame. This portable globe was designed by John Betts in 1850; **David Webb**, collector of road maps received a 1688 road map of England and Wales while **Cyrus Alai**, our Persian specialist received Nicolas Sanson's 1637 'Romaniimperii, oriens descriptio geographica'; Swiss members **Margaretha and Warren Furth** received one part of the eighteen part *Companion Atlas to the Gazetteer of the World*, published by A. Fullerton – that part dedicated to Switzerland; **Jan van Waning** from the Netherlands received for perusal 'Zellandicarum', c. 1590 by Ortelius; **Mike and Lesley Sweeting** with their strong Durham connections received the 1834 County map of Durham by C. & G.

Greenwood; and for Luxembourgian **Rolph Langlais** a 'Plan Monumental of Luxemburg' (first published in 1934, but reprinted by the British War Office in 1944).

After the tour of the facilities of RSGS – the Explorers' Room and the Earth Room – the afternoon was spent in the company of Tony Simpson who presented to us, amongst other maps, the nine-sheet 'Bonnie Prince Charlie map' or 'Carte ou [*sic*] sont tracé toutes les differentes routs [*sic*] que S.A.R. Charles Edward Prince de Galles a suivies dans le Grande Bretagne' 1748 by J. A. Grante. It traces the route of the Young Pretender's ill-fated Jacobite rebellion. This rare map is inscribed in an eighteenth-century hand, on the reverse, stating that it had been found in Rome in the house formerly inhabited by the Stuart claimant to the British throne – the Old Pretender – James VII and III and his son Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

No trip to Scotland is complete without a dram of whisky. At the RSGS/IMCoS evening reception, attended by Vice Chairman Alister Hendrie and several Society Trustees, a fine whisky was served – Tullibardine Single Malt from the distillery at Blackford, 15 miles west of Perth – gifted by a member of the RSGS Collections Team who decided that the IMCoS visit was a fitting occasion to divest an exemplary product of Perth from his late father's cellar.

Maps were on the menu of day two. The setting was the icy-white turreted castle at Blair Atholl, the ancestral home of the Clan Murray. Archivist Jane Anderson had set out a selection of eighteenth-century estate maps and surveying plan books from the estate's glory days when it covered some 356,000 acres. Several maps were drawn by Matthew Stobie and his son James, who was factor to the fourth Duke of Atholl. Other mapmakers included David Hagart and James Dorret. What made these maps so interesting was their functionality, these were well-used working documents annotated with pencil markings indicating new acreage, crops and field allocations, tree planting and calculations.

En route back to Perth, we made a brief visit to the town of Dunkeld for traditional tea and scones, where on crossing the Telford Bridge and a short walk along the banks of the Tay you come to a towering oak and sycamore, thought to be the sole surviving trees of the great Birnam Wood that 'vanquished' Macbeth, well in Shakespeare's version of the story.

The weekend was rounded off with a relaxing and convivial dinner at the Royal George Hotel. Thanks to everyone who made it such an enjoyable map meeting.



Some of the party; others lost in the Castle. *Top L to R*: Peter Batchelor, Ian Harvey, Mark Clark, Rolph Langlais,Hans Kok, Lisa Sweeting, Francis Herbert, Mike Sweeting, Jan van Waring, Valerie Newby, Eva Kok. *Bottom L to R*: Warren & Margaretha Furth, David Dare, Caroline Batchelor, Jean Dare, Jenny Harvey, Diana Webster, Cyrus Alai, John Newby, Ursula Langlais.

IMCoS Annual Accounts 2014

Jeremy Edwards, IMCoS Honorary treasurer reports: The Society's accounts for the year 2014 have now been examined by our independent examiners, Peter Batchelor and Cyrus Alai, and can now be made available. The full version is published on the members' website, and a summary is given here.

Significant differences this year are the reduction in advertising revenue and bank interest. Our advertisers, who are members, have been cutting back, and we anticipate further reductions in 2015. For the last year, our bank has not been offering better rates of interest for the longer fixed terms that we have enjoyed in recent years, however there has been an improvement in rates since January. Our expenses have been very similar to the previous year, showing an overall increase of 3 percent.

The following is an extract from the figures:

	£
Income	
Subscriptions	20,128
Journal & website advertising	17,400
Interest	793
Other income, including book sales	992
Total	£39,313
Expenditure	
Journal production	26,639
Administration	2,058
Sponsorship and presentations	1,246
Bank & collection costs	1,924
General overheads	4,198
Total	£36,065
Surplus for the year	£3,248
Accumulated funds	
Library, less sales	1,000
Bank accounts	76,699
Other current assets	2,250
	79,949
Less Subscriptions for future years	19,070
Total Funds	£60,879

Full copies of the accounts will be available at the Annual General Meeting. Copies can be obtained from the Honorary Treasurer on jcerooksmead26 @talktalk.net

Notices

Rory Ryan 1942–2015

Rory Ryan, the Irish representative for IMCoS for many years, sadly passed away on 13 February 2015 after a long illness, often cheerfully, and always bravely borne. He loved and appreciated art, music, books and especially maps.

During a very busy working and retirement life Rory enjoyed collecting and framing his treasured maps. He enjoyed writing many articles and reviews for IMCoS. Rory's active life is evident from the many other organisations to which he belonged.

Rory was a member of the Board of Management of the RDS (Royal Dublin Society), an organisation involved in philanthropic work. He was also a Trustee of Russborough House, a house of outstanding Palladian architecture.

Rory has been described by family, friends and colleagues as 'a determined, glass half-full man', 'an outstanding man of science', 'an intriguing and interesting storyteller, a man of honesty and integrity who believed in high standards', 'a person who left a lasting legacy in his working and leisure life'.

Ulla Ehrensvärd 1927–2015

Winner of the 2013/14 IMCoS/Helen Wallis prize Ulla Ehrensvärd of Sweden died on the 17 April 2015. An account of her achievements, given by Tony Campbell at the award ceremony in June 2014, can be found in the *IMCoS Journal*, Autumn 2014, No. 138.




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DANIEL FRESE

A Renaissance painter and cartographer to be discovered

Barbara Uppenkamp

This article is based on a poster presentation, delivered by the author together with Regine Gerhardt at the International Conference on the History of Cartography in Helsinki 2013, to introduce a research project on the early modern painter and cartographer Daniel Frese.

Daniel Frese (c. 1540–1611) was born in the independent district of Dithmarschen in North Germany.[1] The small province was conquered in 1559 by Johan Rantzau (1492–1565) and subsequently became a part of the Duchy of Holstein under Danish rule. Frese was active as an artist and cartographer probably from about 1560 onwards, but we know nothing about his apprenticeship. The earliest reports of his work refer to the altarpiece of the church of Seester in Holstein in 1565. Around 1568 Frese moved to the Hanseatic city of Hamburg, where he executed paintings for the church of St Catherine's. Neither these paintings nor the paintings for the church in Seester are with us today. From 1572 Frese worked in Lüneburg, another Hanseatic city, primarily for the city council and for clerical and patrician patrons. He became a burgher of the city in 1586, and in 1592 he was an alderman of the painters' guild. As an artist Frese is mainly known for his paintings in the Lüneburg town hall, which he executed between 1572 and 1610. He created a series of thirteen canvases for the great council hall, representing complex allegories that visualise the ideal of good government in the sense of a Protestant, Lutheran reign.[2] He made designs for the architectural modification of the Gothic facade of the town hall in order to modernise it in a Renaissance fashion,[3] and he decorated the civil court, which is located in an arcade of the town hall, with allegories of Justice.[4] Although Daniel Frese must be regarded as an important Renaissance artist of North Germany, his work as a painter and cartographer has not yet been studied comprehensively. This article aims to present some of Frese's exemplary works as a cartographer without any ambition to give a complete overview.

The Pinneberg panel

The Pinneberg panel is a large-scale map of the county of Holstein-Shauenburg, oriented to the north (Fig. 1).[5] The commissioner of the work was Count Adolf XIV of Schauenburg-Pinneberg (1547–1601), who intended it as a document of his current land ownership and that of his family in the past. It was agreed with the Count's bailiff in Pinneberg, Simon Werpup that Frese would finish the map within one year for a fixed fee. Frese had to depict all villages, borders, lakes, meadows, streams and rivers with fishnets and woods with their exact names. It took Frese, in fact, three years from 1585 to 1588 to make the necessary field trips and survey the land. Many of the 650 places represented in this large-scale map, are charted for the first time. This is also true for parts of the infrastructure. For instance, part of the cattle route leading from Barmstedt to Wedel is marked with tiny oxen. This was an important route which dates back to the Bronze Age and was used for cattle drives until the nineteenth century. It led from Viborg in Denmark to the Netherlands. Along this route, oxen were driven to places near Wedel and Hamburg, where they could cross the river Elbe. The map is fully completed, except for the fishnets, but as a work of art, the painting remained unfinished. The portraits of the Count and his wife in the lower left and right corners are executed only in *grisaille*.

The text of the central cartouche at the bottom of the map explains that the areas under different rulership are marked with different colours. The green areas at the top belong to the Count of Holstein-Schauenburg; the yellow parts above the river Elbe to the Duchy of Holstein; the yellow parts below the Elbe belong to Bremen and to the Duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. The bluish areas belong to the convent of Itzehoe and the red parts to the city of Hamburg. Those areas which had passed from Holstein-Schauenburg to other rulers are surrounded with red lines, and parts that were now in the possession of Hamburg, are marked with a red 'H'. The Pinneberg panel is not only a map

Fig. 1 Daniel Frese, Pinneberg panel, 1588, oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 436 x 500 cm, detail of the lower central part.
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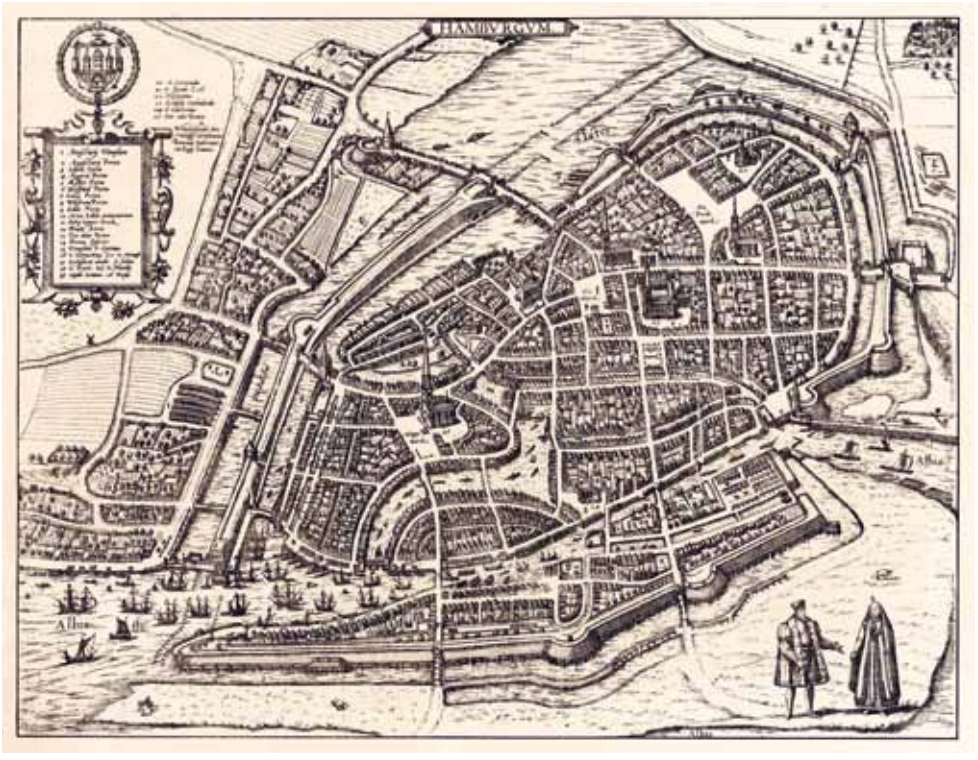


Fig. 2
Daniel Frese, View of Hamburg, 1589, engraving, 370 x 477 mm, in Georg Braun, Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. IV, fol. 36, Cologne, 1594, reproduced from facsimile Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2002.

depicting the status quo but documents what had been in the possession of the Counts of Holstein-Schauenburg many years ago.

The portraits of Count Adolph XIV and his wife Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1567–1618) are represented as half figures. Each holds their personal coat of arms and is surrounded by the coats of arms of their ancestors in architectural frames. This documentation of lineage links the couple to medieval times, when the Counts of Holstein-Schauenburg ruled over the whole region of Holstein and Stormarn. Representations of virtues, placed on the framework, lend dignity to the princely couple and their impressive ancestry.

Frese developed a complex strategy of authentication of the Count's claim to political power with the help of painting and cartography alike. Frese strengthened the Count's argument by an innovative combination of different, well-established conventions of display of information: portraits, coats of arms, allegories, explanatory text and a cartographic depiction which carries information about the county's past and present. The Pinneberg panel proffers a specific view of the world, and by this, the artist has made decisions about how the beholder will perceive the information in the painting. Frese follows the Renaissance idea of the primacy of vision to translate the world by observation and, in this way, to gain intellectual insight. He emphasises his crucial role as creator of this visual offering by inserting a portrait of himself as a surveyor handling a large compass, which indicates the iconographic tradition of *Deus Artifex*. This iconography is based on representations of God as the architect of the world with a huge compass in his hands in French illuminated manuscript Bibles of the thirteenth century, the so-called *Bibles moralisées*.[6] The image of God handling a compass became a visual topos that was frequently copied by later artists and played a fundamental role in the self-fashioning of Renaissance artists as ingenious, divine creators.[7]

The patronage of Heinrich Rantzau

Johan Rantzau's son Heinrich Rantzau (1526–1598) was an eminent humanist and powerful politician in North Germany. Heinrich became the governor of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in 1556. He probably supported Daniel Frese at an early stage of his career as a painter.[8] Heinrich maintained a network of correspondents throughout Europe. Among his contacts were members from the high nobility, such as Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1528–1589) and Francesco I de' Medici (1541–1587);

the humanists Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) and Justus Lipsius (1547–1606); the historian Reiner Reineccius (1541–1595); the publisher Georg Ludwig Frobenius (1566–1645); and the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601).[9] Important contacts with regard to the work of Frese were the surveyor, astronomer and historian Nicolaus Reimers (Ursus Reimarus, 1551–1600), who, like Frese, was born in Dithmarschen; the Lüneburg cleric and historian Hieronymus Henninges (d. 1597); and Georg Braun (1541–1622) and Frans Hogenberg (1535–1590), the editors of the atlas of the cities of the world *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572–1617).[10] It was Heinrich Rantzau who commissioned the views of the North German cities for the fourth and fifth volumes, published around 1588 and in 1598 respectively.[11] In this way, he exerted great influence on the selection of the cities and how they were represented.

In the Pinneberg panel, Frese had provided the first bird's-eye view of the city of Hamburg. The view of Hamburg in volume IV, fol. 36 of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* is dated c. 1590 and can be attributed to Frese (Fig. 2).[12] It shows a perspective plan of Hamburg from the south and contains detailed information about the structure of the city and its prominent buildings: the newly erected stock exchange and the busy harbour. The densely developed quarter near the harbour reflects the many Netherlandish refugees who settled there after the sack of Antwerp in 1585. It is also important to note how the city is placed in its surroundings. The print provides information about the landscape and about the rivers and roads leading to the city. The noble estate of Wandsbek in the top right corner, marked with the letter 'A' was one of the many estates belonging to Heinrich Rantzau, who, as commissioner of the plan, clearly wished to have his castle represented.

Frese chose the modern bird's-eye perspective specifically for an educated audience who were able understand the visual concept as an artificial but, above all, truthful perspective. They literally were invited to stroll through the streets and lanes with their eyes. In his introduction, Braun stresses 'the primacy of the city in human history, the primacy of architecture among the arts, and particularly the primacy of sight among the senses' by quoting from Classical and Renaissance art theoretical sources.[13] Frese's representation of Hamburg in Braun and Hogenberg's city atlas may be related to a city prospect of the same town, drawn by him and engraved by Claes Jansz. Visscher (1550–1612) in 1587 (Fig. 3).[14]



Fig. 3
Daniel Frese, City prospect of Hamburg, c. 1590, engraving, 246 x 365 mm. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Plankammer 131-2/158.71. Photograph: ©Regine Gerhardt.

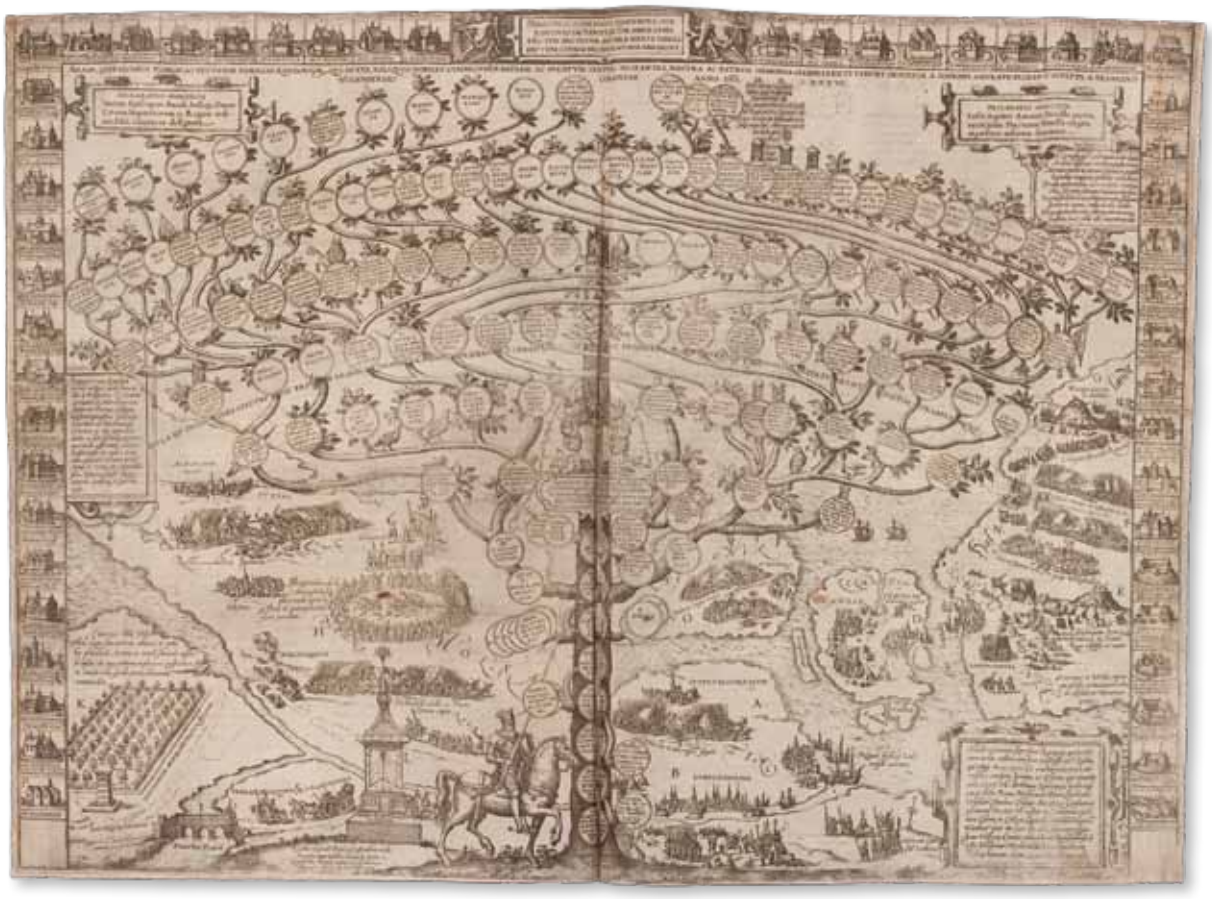


Fig. 4 Daniel Frese, Rantzau panel, 1586, engraving, 383 x 523 mm, in Hieronymus Henninges, *Genealogiae aliquot nobelium in Saxonia*, fol. 35v–36r, Hamburg: Wolf, 1590. ©Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Ff 2° 23.

In this image, Frese combined the more traditional, panoramatic city prospect with an aerial view of houses and gardens in parallel projection in the foreground. The prospect view, which is more apt for representational occasions, emphasises the city's pictorial image. The city appears to be under the protection of God, with a good and peaceful government, which is also a guarantee for good commerce. Political treatises of the sixteenth century refer to the Aristotelian concept of the city as *polis* or *civitas,* the social unity that has an analogy in the architecture of the city. The panorama or skyline creates a city portrait which stresses this symbolic connotation. The city represents a perfect human community, and the image of the city functions like a portrait of its *body politic*, which is comparable to a ruler's profile and suitable to appear on coins, like the famous Hamburg Portugalöser.[15]

The Rantzau panel

Around 1587 Daniel Frese painted a map on a copperplate for Heinrich Rantzau, who at the time was acting as the regent for the Danish King in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.[16] This painting, the so-called Rantzau panel, shows a map of the Duchies in combination with a genealogy of the Rantzau family in the shape of a family tree. The model for the painting can be found in two books published by the Lüneburg cleric and scholar Hieronymus Henninges in 1587 and 1590.[17] Rantzau exerted great influence on the content of these editions by collecting texts of the epitaphs of deceased relatives and complementing them with his own poems. He thus turned these books into homages to the Rantzau family. Among the most interesting illustrations, is a copper engraving from 1586 (Fig. 4).[18] The Rantzau panel is the product of several creative minds. Hieronymus Henninges conceived the Rantzau family tree with the help of the renowned Florentine historian Scipio Amiratus (1531–1601). The pictorial

invention may be attributed to Daniel Frese, who combined the family tree with text cartouches, coats of arms, and miniature scenes of battles and other incidents. Frans Hogenberg engraved the plate after Frese's design.

This complex panorama with the genealogy functions as a statement for self-aggrandisement showing Heinrich Rantzau's self-awareness of himself as a good ruler. In various ways, the map invites the beholder to wander about with his eyes in time and space by exploring the many details. It is a manifestation of the Rantzau family's claim to assert political influence by the images of important historic events connected with family members.

Heinrich Rantzau's personal merits were, among others, improvement in the methods practised in agriculture and horticulture. The plantation of trees is an example of such activity and symbolises good governance. Another feature in the panel is the temple of Nordoe, which refers to an anecdotal incident of a wager between Heinrich Rantzau and the Danish King Frederik II (1534–1588). Rantzau bet that he was able to build a tower overnight, higher than the church tower of the nearby town of Krempe. He erected the tower, which is now known as the temple of Nordoe, on the top of a hill, so that in fact, although the temple is only five meters high, its top was higher than the top of the church tower. Rantzau won the bet and the King granted him the privilege of a mill.

The impressive ancestry reinforces the Rantzau family's lineage and legitimises their position to rule. The cartographic depiction of the territory is based on a map of Denmark of 1585 by Marcus Jordanus (1531–1595), which was inserted into volume IV of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1588) on the request of Heinrich Rantzau. The Rantzau plate is framed with small images containing architectural portraits of the family estates. They are related to another book publication that Heinrich Rantzau had commissioned.[19]

The Rantzau panel addresses an audience capable of reading and understanding the visual message. Like a Renaissance Cabinet of Curiosities or contemporary emblems, the Rantzau panel offers an intellectual challenge: Rantzau and Frese invite the beholder to unravel the connections between time and space, history and territory.



Fig. 5 Daniel Frese, *Allegory of Res publica*, 1578, oil on canvas, 170 x 233 cm, Lüneburg town hall. Photograph: ©Fred Dott.

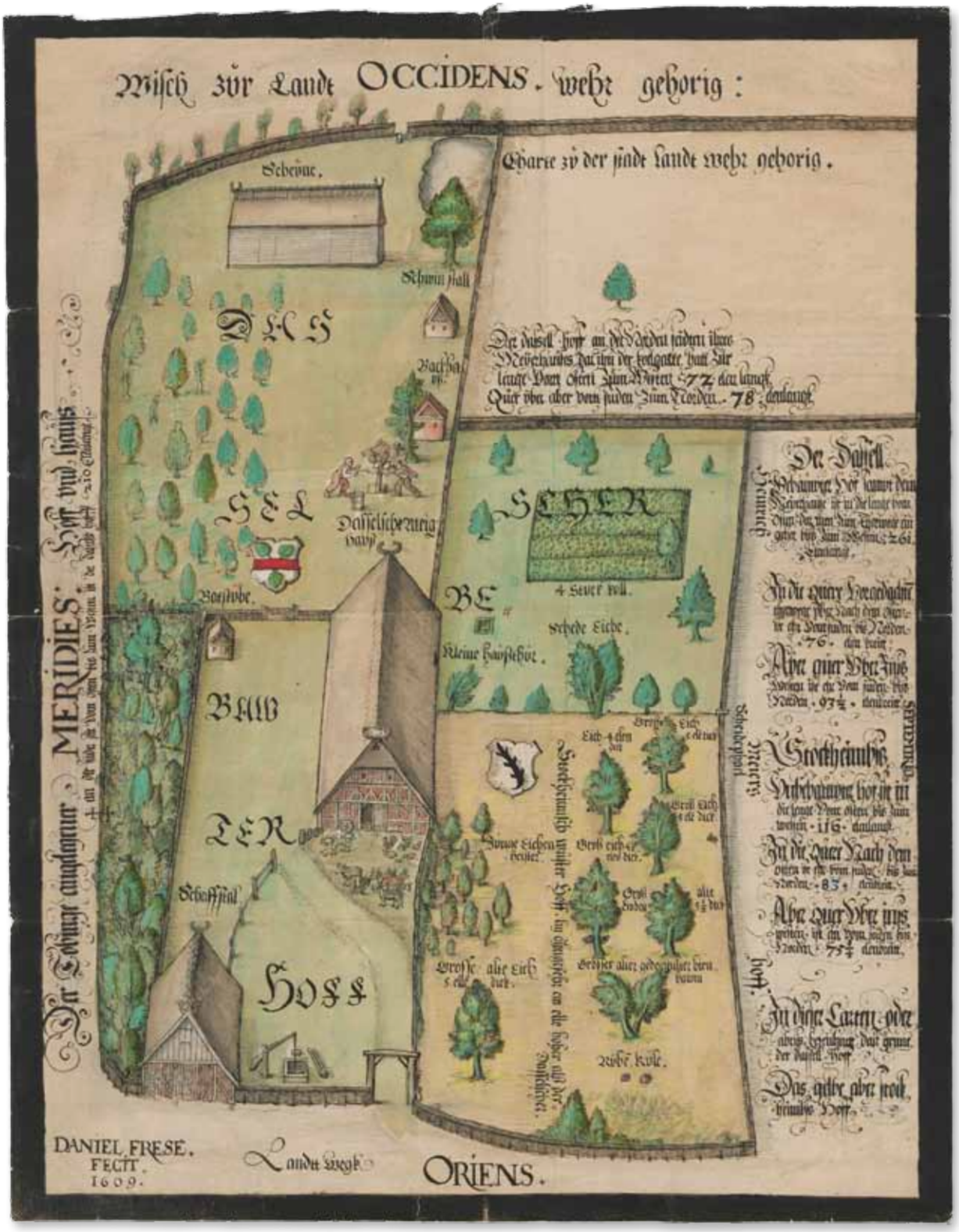


Fig. 7 Daniel Frese, The country estate of Burgomaster Dassel, 1609, watercolour and Indian ink on paper, mounted on canvas, 635 x 495 mm. ©Stadtarchiv Lüneburg K 8C76(k).

Works in the Lüneburg town hall

As an appointed painter of the city of Lüneburg, Daniel Frese worked almost exclusively for the city council, with some prominent exceptions, namely the Hanseatic city of Lübeck, the Count of Holstein-Schauenburg and Heinrich Rantzau. From 1576 Frese decorated the town hall of Lüneburg with paintings of political allegories. They show detailed views of the city from different viewpoints and with different types of perspective. Among these paintings, an allegory of good government is most interesting for its combination of representations of virtues, members of the city council and a profile view of the city. Frese's allegorical painting *Res publica* symbolises the idea of the good government and functions as a visualisation of the Constitution of Lüneburg and a portrait of the city at the same time (Fig. 5).[20] The allegorical figure of the Republic, protected by God, with Peace sleeping on her lap occupies the centre foreground. Justice and Concord stand to her left and right side. The image opens via side depictions of contemporary scenes located in the Lüneburg town hall. They show the sitting of the court under an arcade on the left and the four newly elected burgomasters, who present themselves in an oriel of the town hall to the public on the right. The background of the painting is a prospect of Lüneburg. The meticulous individual portraiture of the city can be regarded as an idealised projection of a well-organised community. Frese's visual strategy to guide the view into the depth of the painting develops in parallel to the movement from allegory to reality, from abstraction to concreteness. The city prospect is a symbol of the ideal community and at the same time a portrait of the beholder's real, existent world. It oscillates between a timeless symbol and a time specific place. In this way, the view of the city of Lüneburg authenticates and substantiates the allegory.

Topographic maps for legal issues

In a lawsuit on hunting rights disputed by the Hanseatic city of Lübeck and the Dukes of Sachsen-Lauenburg, representatives of Lüneburg acted as mediators and commissioned Daniel Frese to visualise the issue of contention.[21] Frese combined pictorial and cartographic methods to create a visual impression of utmost authenticity – thus, the artist's perception and the surveyor's measurements are of equal value for the evidence. Frese's signature points to his role as a surveyor and a painter by using the words *gerissen* (charted) and *geconterfeit* (painted). The case was not settled easily, and a year later Frese was asked to draw a second map, representing a detail of the first one (Fig. 6, see cover).[22] Both maps depict the fence where the game was driven during the hunt. While the first map also includes little scenes of a hunting party, the second map concentrates more clearly on the borders between the hunting grounds of the two parties.

Another legal map about borders is that of the Dassel country estate in 1609 (Fig. 7).[23] It was presumably used in a lawsuit about land rights and ownership between the Lüneburg family of Dassel and the Stöckheim family. The territory of the Dassel family is marked in green, while the territory of the Stöckheim family is indicated in yellow. Both territories are also identified with the coats of arms of both patrician families. The view shows the exact borders of the Dassel estate and its economic use, supplemented by an extensive descriptions and exact measures of the territory. In this small map, Frese uses the same principles of representation as in the large-scale map of the Pinneberg panel. Frese combined text, colour, bird's-eye view and parallel projection to create a most descriptive and convincing argument, appealing to the audience's eye and mind.

Conclusion

Daniel Frese's oeuvre is the subject of an interdisciplinary research project led by the author. The intention is to assemble and to investigate his work as a painter, a draughtsman, and a cartographer in a critical catalogue of works. The project aims to reveal the international relevance of this artist, especially with regard to the Braun and Hogenberg atlas and the cartography of North Germany and Denmark. In accordance with the wide range of Frese's oeuvre, the project engages with several academic disciplines. It connects art history and early modern history with history of cartography and history of science. The interdisciplinary approach is in line with a field of critical cultural studies. Apart from the usual subjects of art historical research, the research project will also investigate heraldic and genealogic images, representations of cities, and maps. By connecting several disciplines of historical research, the project will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of visual production and the use of images around 1600.

Notes

1 Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart,* vol. 12, Leipzig: Seemann, 1916, pp. 408–09; Friedrich Gross, 'Frese, Daniel', in: Günter Meißner

(ed.), *Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker,* vol. 44, Munich: Saur, 2006, pp. 455–56; Hans Walden, 'Frese, Daniel', in: Franklin Kopitzsch, Dirk Brietzke (eds.), *Hamburgische Biographie. Personenlexikon,* vol. 3, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006, pp. 126–27.

2 Susan Tipton, *Res publica bene ordinata. Regentenspiegel und Bilder vom guten Regiment. Rathausdekorationen in der Frühen Neuzeit,* Hildesheim: Olms, 1996, pp. 350–61; Antje Schmitt, 'Painting versus sculpure: The Lüneburg town hall', in: Stuart Currie, Petra Motture (eds.), *The Sculpted Object 1400–1700,* Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997, pp. 153–76; Maike Haupt, *Die große Ratsstube im Lüneburger Rathaus (1564–1584). Selbstdarstellung einer protestantischen Obrigkeit,* Marburg: Jonas, 2000; Barbara Uppenkamp, 'Politische Ikonographie im Rathaus zu Lüneburg', in: Joachim Ganzert (ed.), *Das Lüneburger Rathaus. Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen 2008 bis 2011,* vol. 2, Petersberg: Imhof, 2014, pp. 247–353, esp. pp. 308–25.

3 Birte Rogacki-Thiemann, 'Die Marktfassade des Lüneburger Rathauses', in: Ganzert, *Lüneburger Rathaus* (note 2), vol. 1, pp. 55–120, esp. pp. 78–84.

4 Katrina Obert, 'Architektonische Manifestationen von Gerichtsbarkeit. Die Befunde am Lüneburger Rathaus', in: Ganzert, *Lüneburger Rathaus* (note 2), vol. 2, pp. 7–156, esp. pp. 80–97, pp. 130–39; Jochim Ganzert, 'Herrschaft als Vergegenwärtigung. Zum Niedergericht im Lüneburger Rathaus und zur Archetypik sakraler Herrschaftslegitimation', in: Ganzert, *Lüneburger Rathaus* (note 2), vol. 2, pp. 157–246, esp. pp. 161–88.

5 Daniel Frese, Pinneberg panel, 1588, oil colour on paper, mounted on canvas, 436 x 500 cm. The figure shows only a detail of the lower central part of the map. The Pinneberg panel is in the possession of the Count of Schaumburg-Lippe at Bückeburg Castle, not open to the public. A copy by the painter Clara Thämer from 1949–51 on the scale 1:1 is in the Altonaer Museum in Hamburg. Another copy by Max Finné from 1965 is in the Pinneberg town hall. For the Pinneberg panel see Lorenz Petersen, 'Daniel Freses "Landtafel" der Grafschaft Holstein (Pinneberg) aus dem Jahre 1588', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 70/71, 1943, pp. 224–46; Olaf Klose, Lilli Martius, *Ortsansichten und Stadtpläne der Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg,* Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1962, vol. 1, pp. 42–43, vol. 2, plates 7 and 8; Doris Meyn, 'Daniel Freses "Landtafel" der Grafschaft Holstein (Pinneberg) aus dem Jahre 1588', *Die Heimat* 70, 1963, pp. 301–12; Hans-Dieter Loose, 'Landtafel der Grafschaft Holstein (Pinneberg) 1588', *Hamburg im Kartenbild der Vergangenheit,* Poster Reproduktion, Hamburg: Hartwich, 1980; Reimer Witt, *Die Anfänge der Kartographie und Topographie Schleswig-Holsteins 1475–1652,* Heide in Holst.: Boyens, 1982, pp. 34–38; Hans Walden, *Stadt-Wald. Untersuchungen zur Grüngeschichte Hamburgs,* Hamburg: DOBU, 2002, pp. 60, 67, 69; Oswald Dreyer-Eimbcke, *Geschichte der Kartographie am Beispiel von Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein,* Oldenburg: Komregis, 2004, pp. 89–93.

6 The most popular illustration of this visual topos is folio Iv of the Bible moralisée in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 2554. See Katherine H. Tachau, 'God's Compass and Vana Curiositas: Scientific Study in the Old French Bible Moralisée', *The Art Bulletin* 80, No. 1 (1998), pp. 733; John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées,* 2 vols., University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2000.

7 On this special aspect see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art. Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, and Lucas Cranach the Elder,* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1993.

8 For Heinrich Rantzau as a patron of the arts see Wiebke Steinmetz, *Heinrich Rantzau (1526–1598). Ein Vertreter des Humanismus in Nordeuropa und seine Wirkungen als Förderer der Künste,* 2 vols., Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1991.

9 Collections of Heinrich Rantzau's letters are in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Codex Vindobonensis 9737 1-n); the University Library of Kiel (S. H. 388); the University Library of Göttingen (prid. 8, Bd. IX, 2. T), and at the Rantzau estate at Breitenburg. See Peter Zeeberg, 'Heinrich Rantzau (1526–98) and his humanist collaborators. The examples of Reiner Reineccius and Georg Ludwig Froben', in: Eckard Keßer, Heinrich C. Kuhn (eds.), *Germania latina – Latinitas teutonica. Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit,* URL: www.phil-hum-ren.uni-muenchen.de/GermLat/Acta/Zeeberg.htm (document created 2002-08-13; last update 2002-08-20; active 2015-01-14).

10 For an excellent, recent reprint see Georg Braun, Frans Hogenberg, *Städte der Welt. 363 Kupferstiche revolutionieren das Weltbild. Gesamtausgabe der kolorierten Tafeln1572–1617; nach dem Original des Historischen Museums Frankfurt,* ed. by Stephan Füssel, Hong Kong: Taschen, 2008.

11 Johanne Skovgard, 'Georg Braun und Heinrich Rantzau', *Nordelbingen* 15, 1939, pp. 100–25.

12 For the representations of Hamburg in Braun and Hogenberg's city atlas see Regine Gerhardt, 'Ein Blick auf Text und Bild – Die Contrafactur und Beschreibung von den vornembsten Stetten der Welt des Georg Braun am Beispiel Hamburgs', in: Bernard Lachaise, Burghart Schmidt (eds.), *Bordeaux – Hamburg. Zwei Städte und ihre Geschichte,* Hamburg: DOBU, 2007, pp. 173–208; idem, 'Drei Mal Hamburg – zum intellektuellen Programm der Civitates Orbis Terrarum', *Cartographica Helvetica* 38, 2008, pp. 3–12.

13 For the development of bird's-eye perspective see Lucia Nuti, 'The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language', *The Art Bulletin* vol. 76, No. 1, 1994, pp. 105–28; the quote is on p. 106.

14 Daniel Frese pinx., Claes Jansz. Vißcher excud., *Hambvrgvm: Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris*, engraving, 260 x 360 mm, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Plankammer 131-2/158.71; Reprint Hamburg: Hensel, 1905; Reprint s.l., 1979.

15 See Hermann Hipp, '"Das Ansehen der Stadt Gottes": politische und heilsgeschichtliche Perspektiven in Hamburger Stadtansichten der frühen Neuzeit', in: *Bewahren und Berichten. Festschrift für Hans-Dieter Loose zum 60. Geburtstag, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* vol. 83, No. 1, 1997, pp. 243–68; idem, 'Hamburg', in: Wolfgang Behringer, Bernd Roeck, *Das Bild der Stadt,* Munich: Beck, 1999, pp. 235–44; idem, 'Stadtrepublik von Gottes Gnaden: freie Stadt im Absolutismus', in: Ralf Wiechmann, Joist Grolle (eds.), *Geprägte Geschichte: Hamburger Medaillen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts,* Hamburg: Ed. Wartenau, 2014, pp. 54–71.

16 Daniel Frese, Rantzau panel, c. 1587, oil on copper, 78 x 54 cm, Rantzau estate Krengerup, Funen. Vilhelm Lorentzen, *Rantzauische Burgen und Herrensitze im 16. Jahrhundert nach der Rantzauschen Tafel,* Schleswig: Bergas, 1913. For images of the Rantzau panel see URL www.rantzau-online.de/stammbaum/haeusertafel/index.php# (active 2015-01-14).

17 Hieronymus Henningens, *Genealogiae aliquot nobilium in Saxonia,* s.l., 1587; idem, *Genealogiae Aliquot Familiarum Nobelium in Saxonia,* Hamburg: Wolf, 1590.

18 Ibidem, fol. 35v–36r, Rantzau panel, copper engraving by Frans Hogenberg after a design by Daniel Frese, 383 x 523 mm.

19 Peter Lindeberg, *Hypotyposis arcium, palatiorum, librorum, obeliscorum, cipporum, molarum, fontium, monumentorum & epitaphiorum, ab Henrico Ranzovio, Prorege & Equite Holsato, conditorum,* Hamburg: Wolf, 1591.

20 Daniel Frese, *Allegory of Res publica*, 1578, oil on canvas, 170 x 233 cm, Lüneburg town hall. – For detailed analyses of this painting see Tipton, *Res publica* (note 2), p. 357; Haupt, *Die große Ratsstube* (note 2), pp. 167–72; Uppenkamp, 'Politische Ikonographie' (note 2), pp. 311–14.

21 Daniel Frese, Map of Sirksfelde and surroundings, 1576, coloured drawing, 538 x 1187 mm, signed and inscribed 'Gerissen vund geconterfeit durch M. Danielen Frese Malern zu Lunenburg. Ao. 1576', Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, 402 B IV, no. 96. See Klose and Martius, *Ortsansichten* (note 5), vol. 1, pp. 44, 273, 276, vol. 2, pp. 392–93; Wolfgang Prange, 'Lauenburgische Prozeßkarten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', *Lauenburgische Heimat* 43, 1963, pp. 15–32; Witt, *Anfänge* (note 5), pp. 27–30; *Landschaft und Siedlung im Wandel. Alte Flurkarten aus Schleswig-Holstein, Erdbücher, Urkunden, Vermessungsinstrumente,* exhibition catalogue. Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig: Selbstverlag des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesarchivs, 1989, pp. 10–12; Jörg Hillmann, *Territorialrechtliche Auseinandersetzungen der Herzöge von Sachsen-Lauenburg vor dem Reichskammergericht im 16. Jahrhundert,* Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1999, pp. 354–56, 444, 450.

22 Daniel Frese, Map of Sirksfelde with Duvensee and Ritzerau, 1577, watercolour and Indian ink, 73.7 x 87.7 cm, signed and inscribed

'Dorch Daniel Frese to Lvneborch geconterfeit vnd gerissen. Anno 1577', Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, 402 B IV, no. 97. See Klose and Martius, *Ortsansichten* (note 5), vol. 1, p. 273, vol 2, p. 391; Prange, 'Lauenburgische Prozeßkarten' (note 21), pp. 20–22; Witt, *Anfänge* (note 5), pp. 31–32; Hillmann, *Territorialrechtliche Auseinandersetzungen* (note 21), pp. 359–61, 445, 450–51; Arthur Dähn, *Ringwälle und Turmhügel. Mittelalterliche Burgen in Schleswig-Holstein,* Husum: Husum Verl., 2001, p. 82.

23 Daniel Frese, The country estate of Burgomaster Dassel, watercolour and Indian ink on paper, mounted on canvas, 635 x 495 mm, Stadtarchiv Lüneburg K 8C76(k), unpublished.

Barbara Uppenkamp *holds a PhD in art history (University of Hamburg). She started her career as a research associate at the Weserrenaissance-Museum in Lemgo, where she co-curated a major exhibition on Hans Vredeman de Vries, held at the Weserrenaissance-Museum and at the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp. In 2004 she became a lecturer for the history of art and architecture at the University of Reading. In 2005–2006 she held a postdoctoral fellowship of the J. Paul Getty Foundation, Los Angeles. In 2008 she became a research associate and lecturer at the University of Hamburg and in 2012–2014 she took over a lectureship at the University of Kassel. She has published widely on the history of North European art and architecture c. 1500–1800, most recently on the interior decoration of the Lüneburg town hall.*

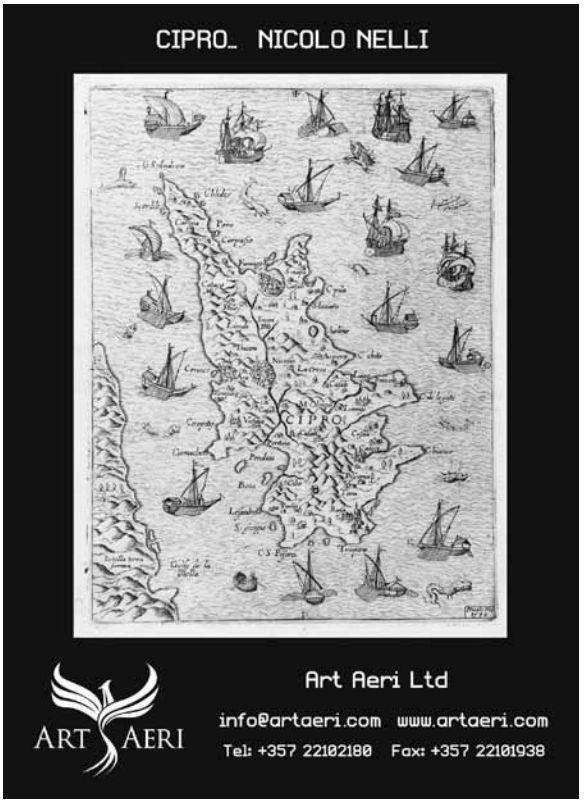
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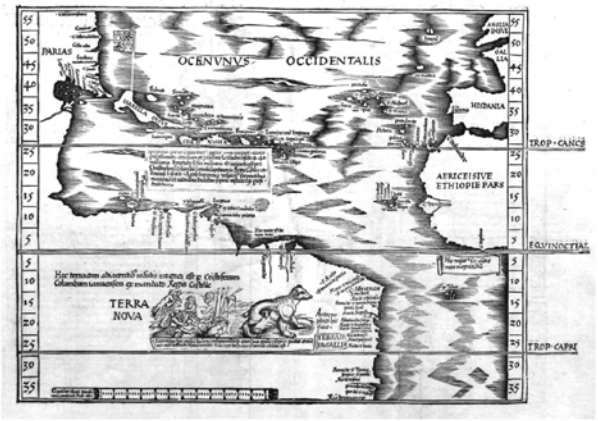
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Oceani occidetalis sive terre nove tabula, woodcut map by L. Fries from the Ptolemaeus edition by J. Grüninger, Strasbourg, 1525

FROM TEXTS TO MAPS

Evolution of irrigation maps in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule

Wu Chia-Jung & Lay Jinn-Guey

Irrigation heritages in Taiwan

Irrigation is a significant water resource as well as a cultural heritage in Taiwan. Since the early seventeenth century irrigation systems, including canals and ponds, have been extensively built throughout Taiwan to cope with severe water shortages the country experiences.[1] Traditionally, irrigation developments were spearheaded by local individuals or communities, and thus irrigation systems played an important part of the cultural landscape and identity. After Japan colonised Taiwan in 1895, improvements and construction of irrigation systems began being undertaken directly by the government to support agricultural modernisation, particularly the sugarcane and rice industries, as part of the so-called 'Green Revolution'.[2]

Today, irrigation canals in Taiwan are prolific and run to a total length of 69,294 km,[3] which is approximately 56 times the length of the Rhine River. However, a substantial number of irrigation ditches deteriorated during the latter half of the twentieth century. In recent years, growing concerns have been voiced about the preservation and renovation of Taiwan's historical irrigation system and for it to be designated a national treasure. In the meantime, there has been a growing interest in historical irrigation maps,[4] as they provide significant information to help reconstruct the historical water routes.

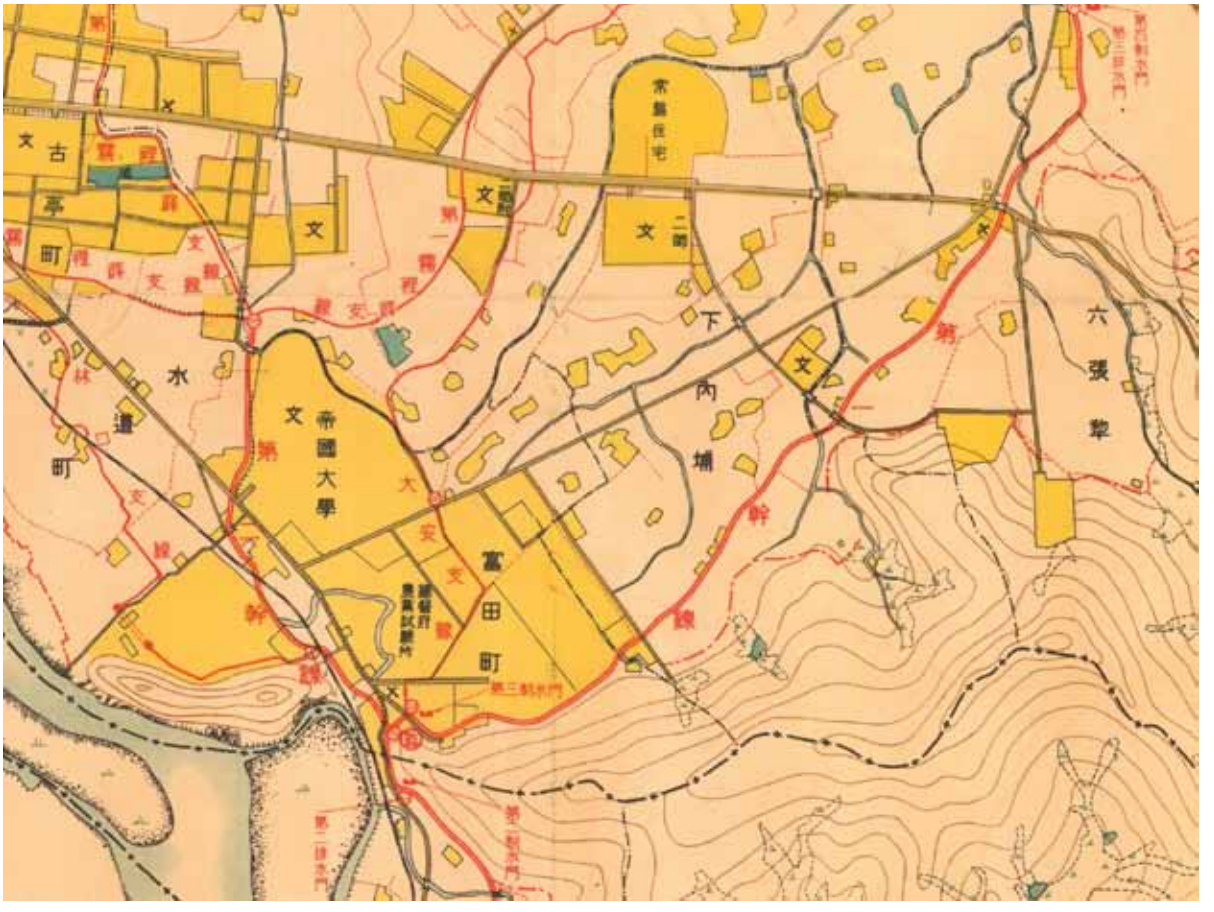


Fig. 1 A section of the Liu-gong Irrigation Cooperative District map, 1939. Courtesy of Academia Sinica.

Irrigation maps before colonisation?

This question began with the controversy of finding the historical route of the Liu-gong irrigation canal, which was built in the 1740s and currently designated as a cultural heritage site in Taipei.[5] This canal once crisscrossed the whole of Taipei city and was one of the largest irrigation canals in Taiwan. In a 2008 renovation project, cultural experts from the Taipei City Government and planners from National Taiwan University were discussing the possibility of recovering a part of the Liu-gong canal that ran through the central area of the University campus.[6] As the waterways were constantly changed and gradually covered by roads, different possible routes were suggested by university teachers, according to what they could remember. A map, dated to 1939, was considered as crucial evidence, and actually the only surviving map available at the time, in solving the controversy (Fig. 1). A large number of irrigation ditches, indicated by red lines, are marked on this map. However, under the name of Liu-gong Irrigation Cooperative, the map in fact depicts a new irrigation district established by the Japanese in the 1920s that merged numerous canal systems into the original Liu-gong Canal. Therefore, a more comprehensive collection of earlier maps about this canal was needed. Yet, intriguingly for such an old canal, no maps from the eighteenth or nineteenth century were found.

So, how can the irrigation routes be traced back to before Japanese colonial rule? When Taiwan was ruled by the Qing Empire (1683–1895), geographic details of each irrigation system were recorded, primarily, in civil contracts. This method of documentation was not because society lacked mapping knowledge; rather because the irrigation systems were created as a kind of private property, and usually shared by different social groups. Traditionally, in Taiwan, irrigation construction projects were initiated by individual or groups of landlords who provided the capital and became 'canal owners'. By signing contracts, they transferred water accessibility to farmers who became 'canal tenants' and who paid an annual water tax in crops.[7] Meanwhile, the position of 'canal managers', who were tasked with maintaining the canals, was regarded as being part of the irrigation property and could be transacted via contracts as well.[8] Due to this tenancy arrangement, geographic details of irrigation facilities were recorded as part of irrigation ownership in civil contracts, which were textually based (Fig. 2). However, in these contracts, irrigated lands were often ambiguously described. For instance, their location could be referenced only by village names and surrounding environment.

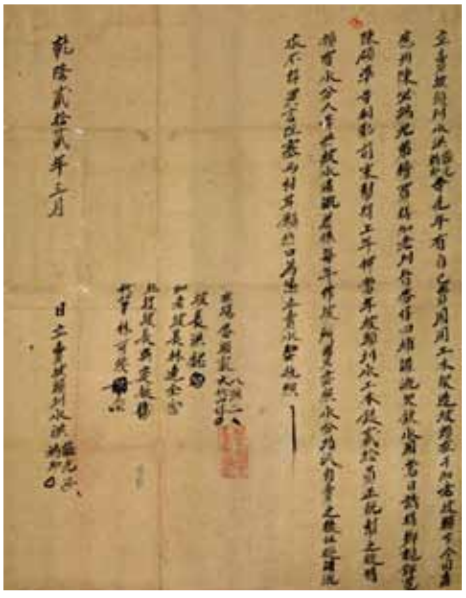


Fig. 2 An irrigation contract example from 1757. Courtesy of the Graduate Institute of History and Historical Artifacts at Feng Chia University.

On the other hand, the authority in Taiwan involved itself only passively with irrigation affairs during this period. Although there was regular textual documentation of irrigation facilities in local gazetteers, comprehensive mapping of irrigation systems was never conducted by government. Only when water disputes occurred were maps made by official surveyors, and such cases were very limited.[9]

It should be noted also that defining geographic boundaries of traditional irrigation property is rather complicated. This is because the service area of each irrigation system was dependent on its various interested parties, including canal owners, managers and tenants. With different rights and duties, each had a different dynamic geographic relation to the area being irrigated. For instance, canal owners, whose main interest was the collection of taxes from tenants, might reside far away and as such, were not involved with the day-to-day management of the irrigation. In contrast, canal tenants and managers often lived adjacent to irrigation areas, since they held major responsibilities of water maintenance.[10] In reality, each irrigation system had its unique geographic pattern depending on various scales, stakeholder partnerships and management strategies.

Irrigation canals in topographic maps, 1904

In past literature, Japanese colonial mapping was widely considered as the key driving force behind the development of modern cartography in Taiwan.[11] After colonising Taiwan in 1895, the Japanese government immediately launched a programme of land surveys with state-of-the-art mapping technologies imported from the West. The well-known *Taiwan Bao Tu* completed in 1904, which included 465 sheets of topographic maps at a 1:20,000 scale based on triangulation, was a milestone in mapmaking in East Asia.[12] Not surprisingly, all the existing irrigation systems were illustrated in detail (Fig. 3). They were denoted by networks of dashed lines in topographic maps. However, there was lack of clear reference to traditional ownerships and service areas.



Fig. 3 Irrigation systems were represented by dashed-lines in this topographic map from 1904.[13]

Maps of irrigation registers, 1901–1908

By examining the Archives of the Government-General of Taiwan,[14] which includes all official papers approved by the Japanese colonial central authority in Taiwan, this study uncovered a unique type of irrigation maps. The maps were enclosed in the documents entitled irrigation registers produced from 1901 to 1908. There are 30 surviving maps in total. These maps are all hand-drawn originals and are starkly different in terms of technique and content from the topographic maps of 1904.

The background of the irrigation registers in fact relates to the irrigation reform implemented in 1901. The aim was to facilitate state control over the existing irrigation resources. According to a preliminary investigation by the Japanese, the large irrigation systems in Taiwan previously developed by locals were estimated to number 263.[15] In the colonial government's view, it was critical to maintain the original structure of the irrigation property and management system. Be that as it may, government supervision and assistance was deemed necessary.[16] Hence, a new law[17] was launched in 1901 requiring that all old irrigation systems affecting the public be re-named as *Public Canals*[18] and audited by the government. This policy triggered an island-wide survey of the irrigation facilities. Once an irrigation canal or pond was evaluated to be of potential public interest, its overall conditions were to be exhaustively reported on in an 'irrigation register'.[19]

In each irrigation register entry, a map was included. Interestingly, the map contents were based on abundant textual information compiled in register tables (see Fig. 4 on p. 28). In such tables, details of the geographic distributions of water resources, interested parties, management rules and water taxes were described. When relating the above information to maps, there were three key principles. Firstly, locations of water resources should include three parts: water source, irrigation area and tail end of the canal. Secondly, information regarding interested parties should include residence of key stakeholders, such as canal developers, owners and managers. Thirdly, locations of both water resource and residence of key stakeholders should be referred to by village names. In this manner, water and people were geographically linked.

Accordingly, the register maps usually presented each irrigation canal as a network composed of villages, instead of focusing on individual land parcels. Figure 4 shows a map example from 1903, and as depicted, the canal was shared by a total of twelve villages. By referring to the residences of key stakeholders mentioned in the table, we can also determine their geographic linkages to the irrigated area (Fig. 5).

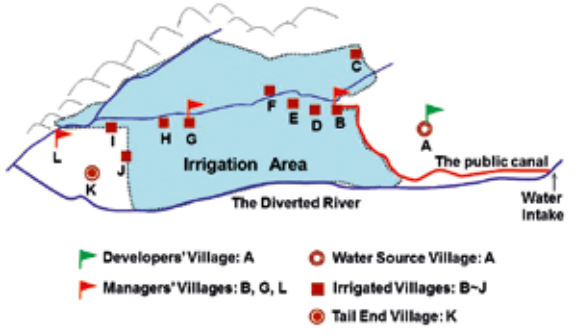


Fig. 5 A re-drawn map of Fig. 4. It shows how a public canal is presented as a network of villages. The geographic linkage between key stakeholders is also identified.



Figs. 4a & b An example of an irrigation register map (a) which was drawn based on the table below it (b). Courtesy of Taiwan Historica.

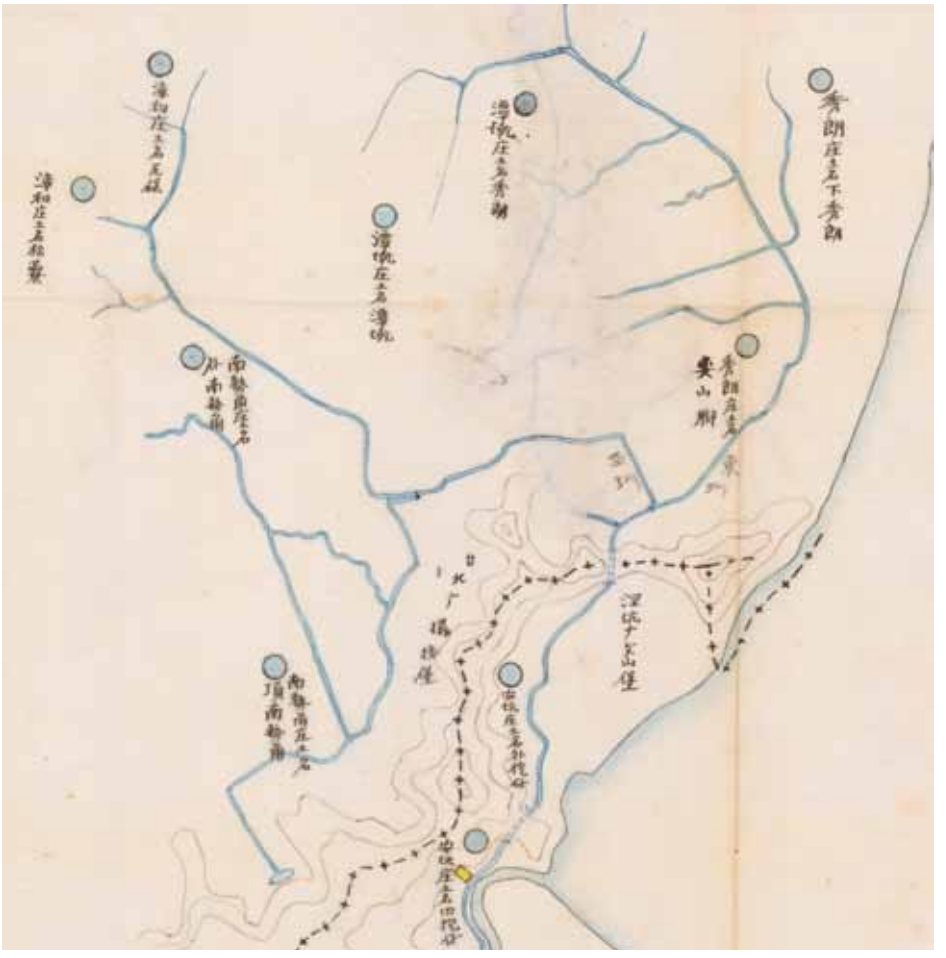


Fig. 6 A section of an irrigation register map from 1906 which has been executed in a more 'modern' style. Blue circles indicate the irrigated villages. Courtesy of Taiwan Historica.

While the canal developers had the greatest proximity to the water source (Village A), the canal managers resided either in the centre (Villages B and G) or close to the tail end of the canal (Village L). Although the accuracy is rather poor, this map delineates boundaries of a public canal and the human interests involved in this spatial context, all of which were formerly obscure in civil contracts.

Technically speaking, however, the Japanese government did not impose a strict rule on the mapping of irrigation registers. Consequently, a variety of techniques were employed by local mapmakers, resulting in a mixture of traditional and modern cartographic methods. For instance, topography in earlier cases (Fig. 4) was depicted with pictorial icons like those in Chinese calligraphy painting. In other cases, the topography was illustrated with western mapping techniques, such as hachuring and contour lines. Nevertheless, measurements of lengths and widths of irrigation facilities were recorded with Chinese characters instead of numbers. Overall, the register maps conducted at the initial stage of the programme lacked a fixed scale and orientation, and it was not until after 1906 that these maps were increasingly made to follow uniform rules, usually at a 1:20,000 scale with north at the top (Fig. 6). This progress was supported by the topographic maps completed in 1904, which offered the ground data of Taiwan for various uses. Still, each map was presented with diverse ways of colouring and symbology.

One noteworthy characteristic is that accuracy 'errors' were purposely made in certain regions. Figure 7 shows such an example in which an extreme distortion is made due to the emphasis on the relationship between the water source and the irrigated area. This map describes a canal located in the Heng-chun Peninsula in southernmost Taiwan. The canal, in fact, was only 1.4 km and ran through only one village located on the coast. Nevertheless, the map delineates an extensive mountain area covering fourteen villages.

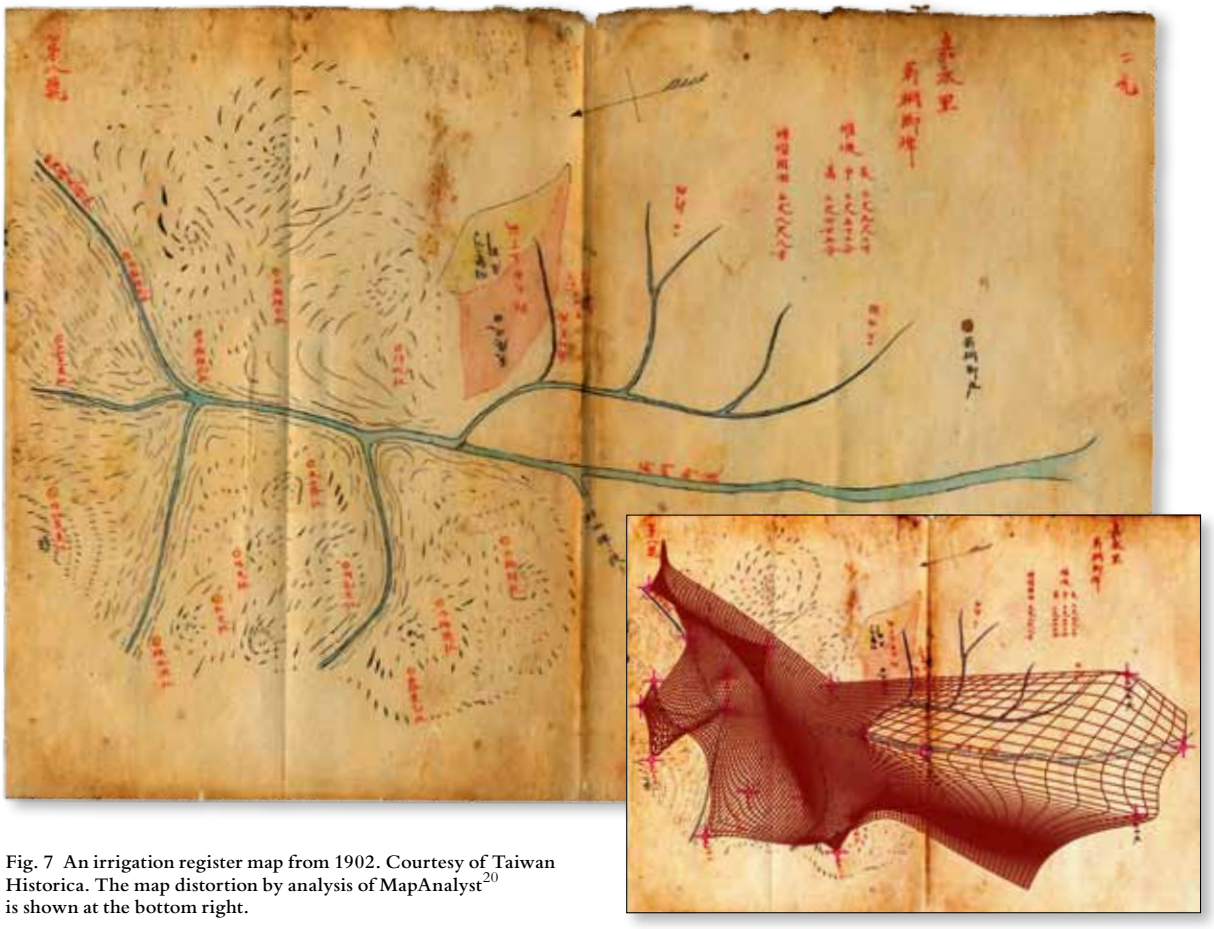


Fig. 7 An irrigation register map from 1902. Courtesy of Taiwan Historica. The map distortion by analysis of MapAnalyst[20] is shown at the bottom right.

The reason, according to the register table, is because these villages are home to indigenous tribes situated in the upper lands of the diverted river and could thus influence the water source. In order to incorporate this huge area into the map, it was drawn using two different scales. Namely, the water source area (left side) was depicted relatively smaller, whereas the irrigated area was larger (right side). This resulted in the map distortion in two directions. Obviously, accuracy was not the primary concern here; rather, a cross-border impact of irrigation water-use was stressed (Fig. 7).

One likely reason to help explain the flexibility of mapping techniques used is that the irrigation register maps were made for internal use only. The data was first collected and compiled by local surveyors and then submitted to the central authority for verification. After being approved, the service area of each public canal was confirmed, but the information of the register map was not released to the public. However, since they constituted a critical reference for decision-making by the central government, these maps could not be drawn arbitrarily. It should not be overlooked that the mapping content had to comply with a fixed number of subjects described in the corresponding table. The diversity of visualisation skills essentially reveals the local characteristics of each irrigation canal as well as the varied perceptions of local mappers in understanding their common values.

By 1921 115 public canals had been established, which included the majority of large irrigation canals built in the pre-colonial period and accounted for 70 percent of the total irrigated area in Taiwan.[21] The irrigation register maps contributed not only to clarify complicated ownership and service areas of these old canals, but also to visualise each canal as a concrete geographic unit shaped by 'public interest'. Such a unit also represents an administrative body that was given an independent legal status and a certain degree of autonomy in water management.[22] In addition, these public canals became the cornerstones for the new irrigation

districts established by the Japanese after 1921,[23] as illustrated in the example of Liu-gong Irrigation Cooperative District map of 1939.

Conclusion

The irrigation register maps discussed in this article provide evidence for a new type of property mapping created by the Japanese in 1901. Unlike the topographic maps made in the same period, which documented only the geometry of irrigation routes, the core concepts of these irrigation maps dealt with the representation of traditional water property in Taiwan. Concretely speaking, they illustrated a geographic overview of village networks of water management that were previously uninterpretable in textual contracts. However, produced under the name of 'Public Canals' and with an emphasis on cross-village human interactions, these maps symbolised a new age for the meaning of irrigation systems. That is, the irrigated facilities were transformed from purely private property towards a public resource under strict state control.

The rediscovery of irrigation register maps also provides a new perspective to the understanding of the cartographic history in East Asia. Previously, Japanese colonial mapmaking had been widely viewed as a cartographic revolution strongly influenced by Western sciences. However, as evidence of the irrigation register maps demonstrates, traditional and modern cartographic techniques were employed alongside each other. These maps, instead of being produced solely as graphics, integrated abundant textual descriptions about water ownership and human relations. As such, without understanding the textual context, the maps could not be properly interpreted. Moreover, their visualisation approaches showed the creativity of local mapmakers, who combined a variety of old and new mapping techniques, beyond the focus of accuracy.

In sum, this article emphasises that mapmaking is never a bureaucratic product divorced from local cultures, even when developed under a colonial power. They are valuable footprints of local knowledge.

Notes

1 H. T. Chen, *Taiwan shuei li shi [Irrigation History of Taiwan]*, Wu-nan Book Co., Taipei, 2009, pp. 60–64 (in Chinese).
2 H. Y. Chang, *Development of Irrigation Infrastructure and Management in Taiwan 1900–1940: its implications for Asian Irrigation Development, in Economic Development and Income Distribution in Taiwan: the Essays of Dr. Chang Han-Yu* Vol. IV, ed. by the editing committee of the essays of Dr. Chang Han-Yu, Sun Ming Book Co., Taipei, 1983
3 Statistics of the Department of Irrigation and Engineering, Council of Agriculture, downloaded from http://doie.coa.gov.tw/english/about-history-part2.asp
4 Currently, there are two web resources about historical irrigation maps in Taiwan: http://gis.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/canal/?m=200902 and http://webgis.sinica.edu.tw/map_wra/ established by Academia Sinica.
5 The tunnel at the canal intake of the Liu-gong Canal was designated as a cultural heritage site by New Taipei City in 2002.
6 The meeting minutes from 22 October 2008 by the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City government.
7 See note 1.
8 F. D. Liao, 'Qing Dynasty Taiwan's Rural Pichun System – One of the Rural Systems of Qing Dynasty Taiwan', *The Journal of History*, Vol. 3, 1985, pp. 147–92 (in Chinese).
9 This kind of irrigation mapping can be found in the Tan-hsin Archives, a collection of administrative and judicial documents in pre-colonial Taiwan.
10 C. H. Li, Y. W. Ku, Y. C. Chuang, 'Formation and Disintegration of Water - Evolution of Liougoing Irrigation systems from 18th to early 20th century', in *Ocean, River and the Transformation of Settlements in Taiwan: A comparative Perspective*, ed. Huang F. S., Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 2009 (in Chinese).
11 T. W. Wei, C. C. Kao, C. Y. Lin, C. C. Huang, *Japanese maps relating to Taiwan 1895-1945*, National Museum of Taiwan History & SMC Publishing Inc., Taipei, 2008, pp. 18–19 (in Chinese).
12 Wei et al. (see note 11), p. 32.
13 The topographic maps *Taiwan Bao Tu* was republished by the Historical Records Committee of Taiwan in 1969.
14 The digital archives are accessible at: http://db1n.th.gov.tw/sotokufu/
15 *Taiwan tochi kankou ippan [The General Land Customs of Taiwan]* Vol. 2, The Temporary Land Survey Bureau of Taiwan, Taipei, 1905, pp. 550–53.
16 According to the official papers about 'the Regulations for Public Ponds and Canals' in the *Archives of Taiwan Government-General*, Vol. 598, Document 2, Issue 19, 1901.
17 'The Regulations for Public Ponds and Canals'.
18 See note 2.
19 See note 2.
20 MapAnalyst is a tool for accuracy analysis of historical maps. The distortion grids show how the speculated points of the original map were displaced from the correct positions of the reference map. When the distortion grid is squeezed, the map scale reduces.
21 *Taiwan soutokufu naimukyoku shukan tomoku jigyo toke nenbou (The Annual Statistics of Civil Engineering Development by the Interior Affairs Bureau of the Government-General of Taiwan)*, The Civil Engineering Division of the Interior Affairs Bureau, the Government-General of Taiwan, Taipei, 1929 (in Japanese).
22 See note 1.
23 See note 1.

Wu Chia-Jung *is a PhD candidate of geography at the National Taiwan University. Her PhD studies focus on the development of irrigation maps and interplay between mapmaking and society during the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan.*

Lay Jinn-Guey *is professor of geography at the National Taiwan University. His research interests concern information technology and geographic education, old maps and historical GIS.*

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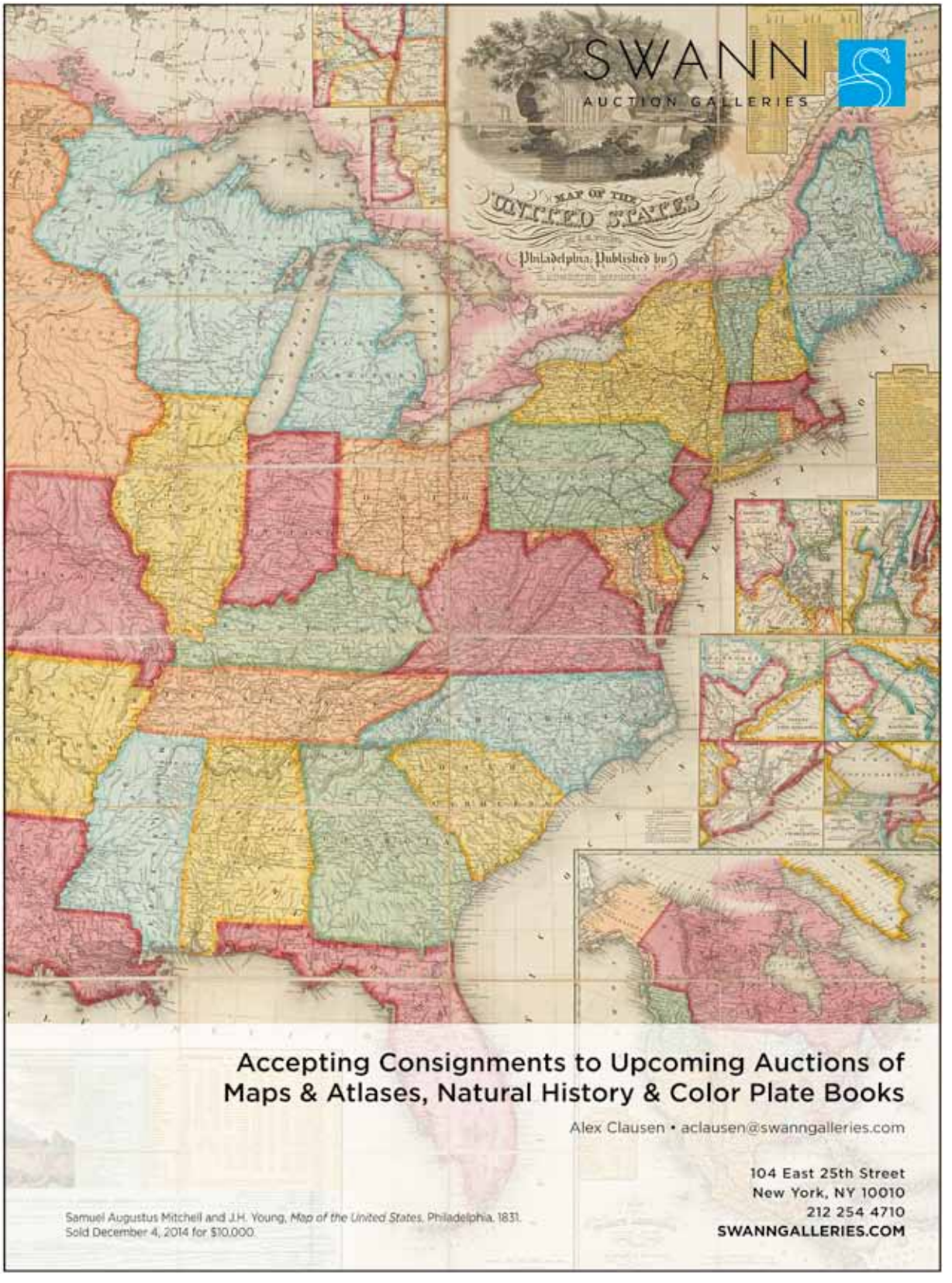
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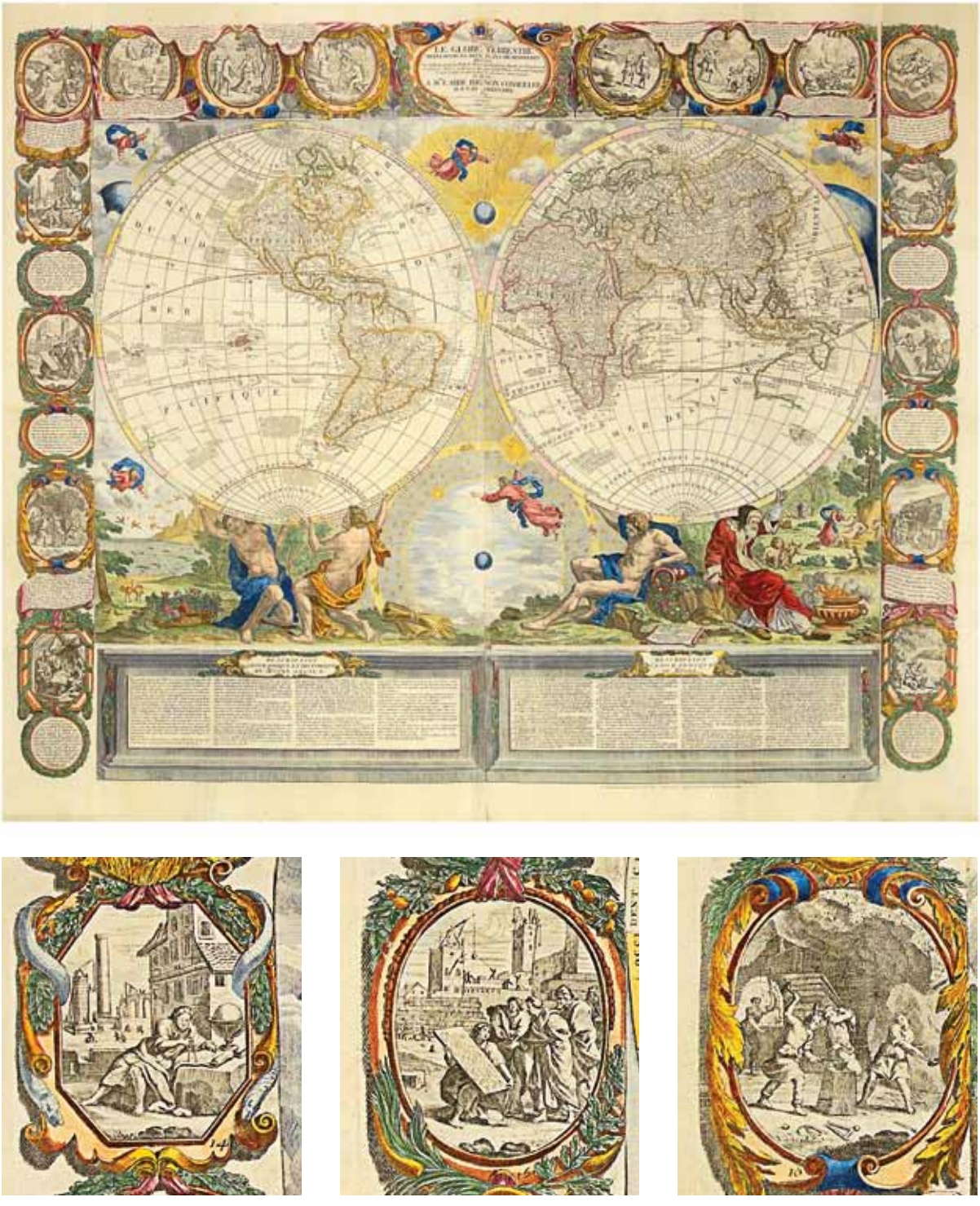


Fig. 1 J.-B. Nolin, 'Le Globe Terrestre Representé En Deux Plans-Hemispheres', Paris, 1700.
Vignettes *L to R*: 14. Seth as the founder of the natural sciences. 15. Enoch building the first city. 16. Enoch forging iron and bronze.
Courtesy of Daniel Crouch Rare Books LLP.

WALL MAPS WITH HISTORIATED BORDERS

A new map type in the eighteenth century

Franz Reitinger

This text is based upon a paper delivered by the author at the 24th International Conference on the History of Cartography, Moscow 10–15 July 2011. The conference theme was 'Multiculturalism in the history of mapmaking'.

It is assumed to be established knowledge that the production of wall maps reached its climax in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, only to decline in the following era. This belief is challenged by a group of maps, which assumed the potential of a powerful visual apparatus by their display of splendour and learning.

At the turn into the eighteenth century, France saw some interesting, and yet widely unnoticed changes in the history of mapmaking. Firstly, it became common practice to produce wall maps in sets with standard topics. These maps had the same format and shared the same decorative elements and stylistic characteristics, so that they were easily to identify as a coherent cartographic body. Secondly, although still wall maps properly speaking, they were reduced in size in order to fit into a particular indoor setting. Thirdly, they were supposed to be displayed jointly, creating a decorative system for cartographic cabinets or other study-rooms. And finally, they followed new didactic purposes. These wall map series reflected pretty much the taste of the Pompadour-era, and thus were among the most impressive maps produced in the eighteenth century.

Perhaps the most salient feature in these maps was the decorated border with illustrated cartouches. Instead of displaying standard elements of humanistic learning in numeric sequences, they supplemented abstract knowledge with tangible events in history. They showed an early effort to reconcile notions of linear time, sacred or secular, with the diversity of geographic space and the known world regions, an effort that, today, might help us to better understand the relationship between global developments and patterns of distribution.

Maps onto walls

Wall map – the term we use today – was not commonly used in the eighteenth century. In general, maps suitable for covering an entire wall were described as *grandes cartes*. In 1716, Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy, preeminent private scholar with a particular interest in cartographic theory, became the first to establish a distinction between *cartes d'atlas* and *cartes de cabinet*. In his definition, *cartes de cabinet* were maps made up of four, six or more sheets designed to be hung in a room or a hallway.[1] With his fourteen-page compilation of cabinet maps Lenglet du Fresnoy gives today's readers a good idea of the wide choice of large-scale maps available during his time.[2]

The term *carte de cabinet* took into account that it was not only the overall size of a map that turned it into a wall map. During the reign of Louis XIV, mapmakers had begun to print maps in series, with five, six, or seven items. The standard set of suitably large *cartes de cabinet* that any self-respecting Parisian map dealer had to have on offer, comprised maps of France, Paris, the world and the four continents in the fixed order Asia, Africa, Europe and America. In 1724, the historian Eberhard David Hauber informed his readers that these 'general maps' 'are usually produced in sets, and while none of a map-maker's other maps is in consecutive order, the general ones match and complement each other'.[3]

In addition to creating a repertoire of themes, there was a tendency to standardise formats in order to adapt the wall map to the prevailing representational scheme and the actual aesthetics of display. The width of the map was determined by the wooden poles, on which it was mounted, while its height accommodated the average beholder's eye level and the dado, above which it would most likely be hung. There would have been little point in having a map extending right up to the ceiling because of the restrictions this would have imposed on its legibility. This uniform format for a series of maps opened up new, hitherto unknown possibilities of systematic hanging.



Fig. 2 N. Bailleul, 'L'Europe', Paris, Lyon, J.-L. Daudet, 1752.
Vignettes *L to R*: 1. Des Royaumes d'Angleterre. 2. Prise de Constantinople par les Turcs. 3. Abjuration de Henri IV.
Courtesy of Map Department, Staatsbibliothek PrK, Berlin.

In Holland, wall maps had traditionally led a rather solitary existence amongst a mixed array of prints and paintings. In providing a picture of the Dutchman's own nation, the map hanging above the dining table was the *non plus ultra* of a prosperous domestic interior. In contrast, French cabinet maps were intended to decorate whole rooms, turning them into small universes of geographical knowledge. By 1707 the German architectural theorist Leonhard Christoph Sturm was already proposing the creation of a geographical cabinet in which the walls would be adorned with a continuous sequence of maps. The Saxonian cartographer Adam Friedrich Zürner (1679–1742), for his part, suggested to a 'grand gentleman' that he could decorate his rooms in a 'magnificent manner' by hanging them with 'roll maps'.[4]

Besides seriality and standardised repertoire, there was yet another feature that set French Rococo wall maps apart from earlier examples. With the increasing differentiation of functions and contents, the wall map now became a virtual apparatus of general learning. Subsidiary information was partitioned into medallions and vignettes and packed into a printed border running round the two or four sheets of the actual map. Not only did its enhanced functionality make the map more compelling, it also offered an alternative to those who would find a sign-based and drawn-to-scale view from above simply too top-heavy. The application of the typical elements of cartographic ornamentation as a means of communicating visual learning became a distinctive feature of Enlightenment cartography.

The prime set

In 1692 Jean-Baptiste Nolin (1657–1708) paved the way for a wall map series with a plan of Paris and a map of France. He then went on with a map of the world, which even a critical spirit as Lenglet de Fresnoy welcomed as the 'most perfect treasure' available in the cartographic field.[5] (Fig. 1) One cursory glance at the two global spheres was enough to see that all major developments in the field of geography were happening outside Europe. With the exception of the European continent, the world had become one huge cartographical workshop. But how could a mapmaker properly describe the gap that had opened up between the time of Creation and the time of discovery?

Three sides of the border in Nolin's map were filled with sixteen scenes from the Book of Genesis. The sequence set off with the creation of man on the seventh day, a scene somewhat irregularly marked number 7 as it carried on from the previous six days of the Creation story represented in the map quadrangle between the two hemispheres. The formative period of the earth, still present in the geophysical aspect of the map, thus, was extended by an early history of mankind. Seth, the last and belated son of Adam, is styled the founder of the natural sciences, the useful side of which is demonstrated in the image of a globe (No. 14). Among his descendants are Cain's son Enoch and his offspring, building the first city and introducing the forging of bronze and iron some generations later (No. 15 & 16). While the images in the border made the map a perfect setting for decisive moments in history, the map laid out the territory where nature and culture could be perceived as intermingling forces.

The first of Nolin's continental wall maps, featuring Asia (1704/1738–41), continued the sequence of images from both Old and New Testaments in the border with the landing of Noah's ark on Mount Ararat, ending with the Finding of the Holy Cross by the mother of the Roman Emperor Constantine as number thirty. These Bible stories had been chosen, as it seems, to create a transition from mythical to historical time. On closer examination, however, it appears that Nolin's aim was to preserve these stories by carrying them over into a profane history of mankind. With the Biblical imagery firmly anchored in the Europeans' mind, Asia assumed the aura of a cradle of humanity, an impression fostering the overall idea that the Asian continent was resistant to historical development as such, and that the run of images around the map only was right to scourge the cultural inertia and moral lassitude of its inhabitants. Nolin's Bible knowledge yet hid the fact that the Europeans had not managed to establish themselves permanently on that continent and knew sadly little of it. Only a few scenes depict strictly 'historical' events; among them the supposed '"deceit" of Mohammed', the 'Triumph of Tamburlaine' and the 'Mongol Conquest of China', which formed the historical background of Voltaire's tragedy *Orphelin de la Chine* (1753). While these incidents had receded into the distant past, others, such as the Crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem and Damietta, had proved to be of little importance to the later course of history. The sequence closed with the French Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier whose death from exhaustion in 1552 made the failure of the French on the Asian continent apparent.

The only identifiable figure from the modern era, who appears on Nolin's map of Africa, was a woman. Nolin devoted two of the 30 vignettes to the despotic ruler Anne Zingha of Angola, based on the illustrations by Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi. The religious overtone

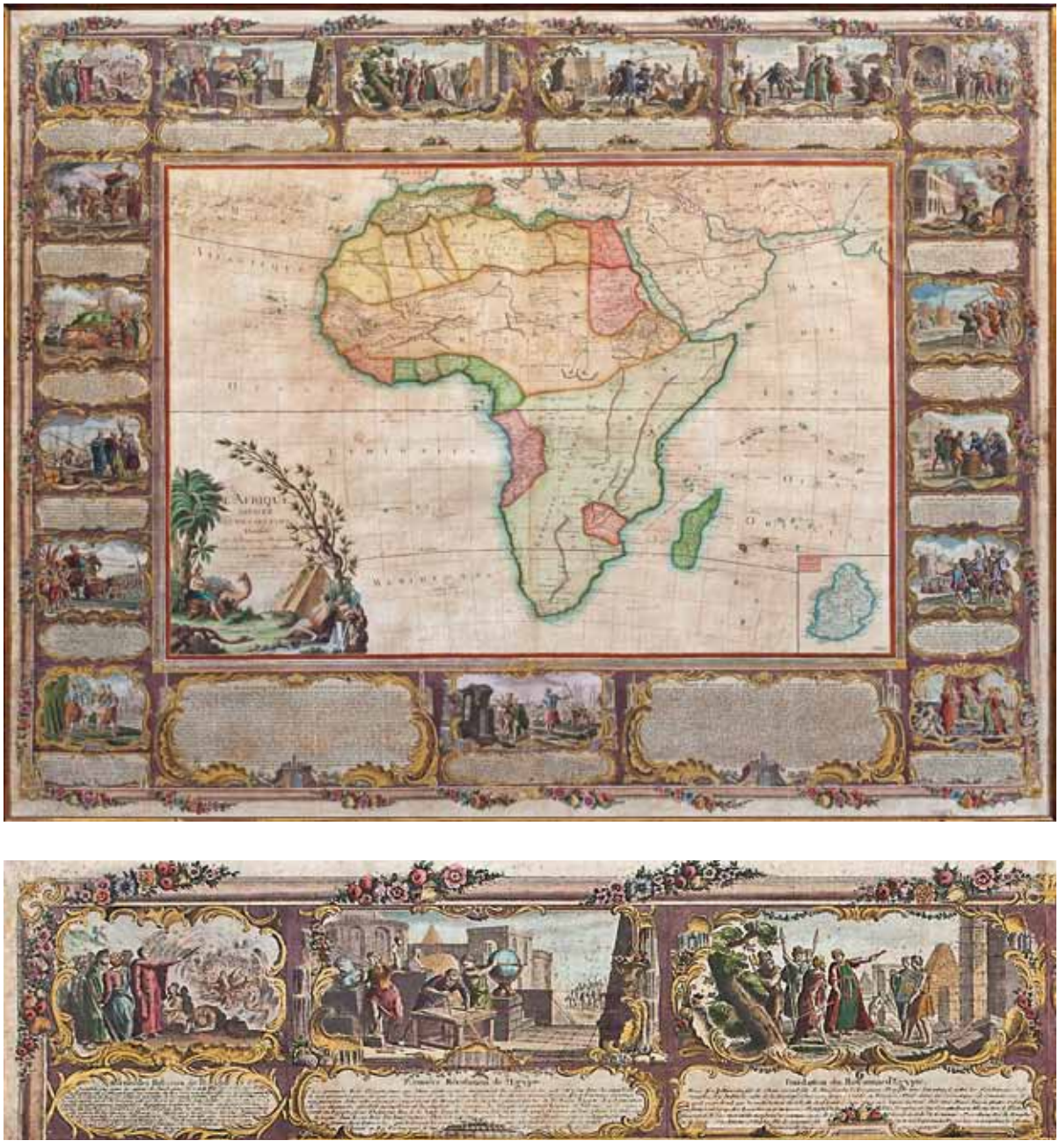


Fig. 3 G.-D. Chambon, 'L'Afrique Divisée suiva[nt] l'etendue de ses principales parties', Paris, S. G. Longchamp & J. Janvier, 1754. Vignettes *L to R*: 1. Sortie des Hebreux de l'Egypte. 2. Première Révolution de l'Egypte. 3. Fondation du Royaume d'Egypte. ©Henri Godts Auctions, Brussels, 09.12.2014. Photography: Marc Segond.

in these and other scenes is evident in the way in which Zingha's rejection of idolatry and conversion are stylised as a world event. Christian religion is portrayed recurrently in Nolin's maps as a world-shaking power in its self-proclaimed role as a 'triumphant church'. Notably in Peru, the natives' disdain for the foreign religion was used as a pretext for their violent subjugation. In a key episode, which had been circulated in prints and illustrations, the Inca Atahualpa is seen taking the Bible offered to him by Pizarro, and throwing it to the ground.

While Africa was emerging as the terrain where the politics of modern trade were to be played out, America proved to be the main driving force behind historical developments. Precisely in comparison with Nolin's map of Asia the forward-moving nature of the American continent becomes evident. The large key scene at the top centre in his map of Asia had marked the beginning of the sequence with the saving of Noah. The map of America (1704/1738–41) on the other hand emphasised the most recent event, namely the finding of the mouth of the Mississippi River. Settlement, nation building, discovery, conquest and appropriation turned into key issues which – in the contemporary debate on state jurisdiction – established private and public ownership rights. Following an old and all too well-known pattern of justification, a single bloody act served as a convenient pretext: here, for the conquest of Chile. Only the founding of the British colony of Virginia was conducted in a more seemly manner with the result that the marriage between the tobacco planter John Rolfe and the daughter of a native American chief became an obligatory episode in the illustrated borders of French wall maps long before it ever was to provide the sentimental subject for weighty novels and popular comics.

The majority of the surrounding episodes are connected with a place in the map. The reader could approximately locate the territory where the French embarked on their campaign against the Iroquois thanks to the place name *Pays des Iroquois*, and although the Treaty of Tordesillas, depicted in the border, was not explicitly mentioned in the map, it was not hard to make out the line which divided the world into two spheres of interest. The routes of distinguished explorers laid down on the map, opened up further associations. Eventually, incidents such as the profitable raid on the Spanish colony of Cartagena by the French in 1697 were indicative of genuine cartographic knowledge in that they called to mind earlier maps produced on that occasion.[6]

Nolin's wall map series perpetuated a scholastic mind-set well into the modern era. And yet, his map of Europe (1704) revealed a distinctly new feature in presenting a modern history of nations, thereby setting the lines for Voltaire and others. Europe stood out from the rest of his map series as the only one with a separate border title which put the map in relation with the actual political situation.[7] The sequence of images began with what was described as the 'first kingdom on European soil', that is the realm of Sikyon, and closed with the accession, in 1701, of a member of the House of Bourbon to the Spanish throne, making it clear that Europe had become the 'theatre for the heroic deeds of the French King'. That way, history extended right into the present.

Although Nolin's approach may seem fairly modern to us, it must be viewed against the backdrop of a politically affirmative notion of history which – as in the subsequent case of Hegel's philosophy of history – regarded the currently prevailing system as the pinnacle of progress to date. The geographical framework, nevertheless, added to the clarification of historical processes as may be seen from a comparison with the phantasmagorical chronologies of historical synopses and timetables of the Baroque period. Even Lenglet du Fresnoy regarded the 'historical embellishments' as a specific advantage that Nolin's maps had over similar ones from other publishers.[8]

Turning points in history

After 1750 new wall map series proceeded to challenge Nolin's market dominance. A map of America by Louis-Charles Desnos (1725–1805) was the only item realised from a potential wall map series, which is notable for its almost square format and clearly articulated cartouches. While other series had featured the discovery of Florida and the conquest of Peru each in one single scene, Desnos allowed the two decisive moments no less than fourteen episodes. One could hardly expect any real degree of objectivity from such a specific selection. Although the deeds and actions evoked in the border were of little relevance from a global point of view, it would be wrong to underestimate their strategic value. In effect, they shifted the focus of the viewer's perception from the heroic feat of discovery and the legitimacy of territorial acquisition to the injustice done to the indigenous peoples. The power struggles among conquistadors, accordingly, provided a negative foil against which to set the moral and cultural achievements of the natives.

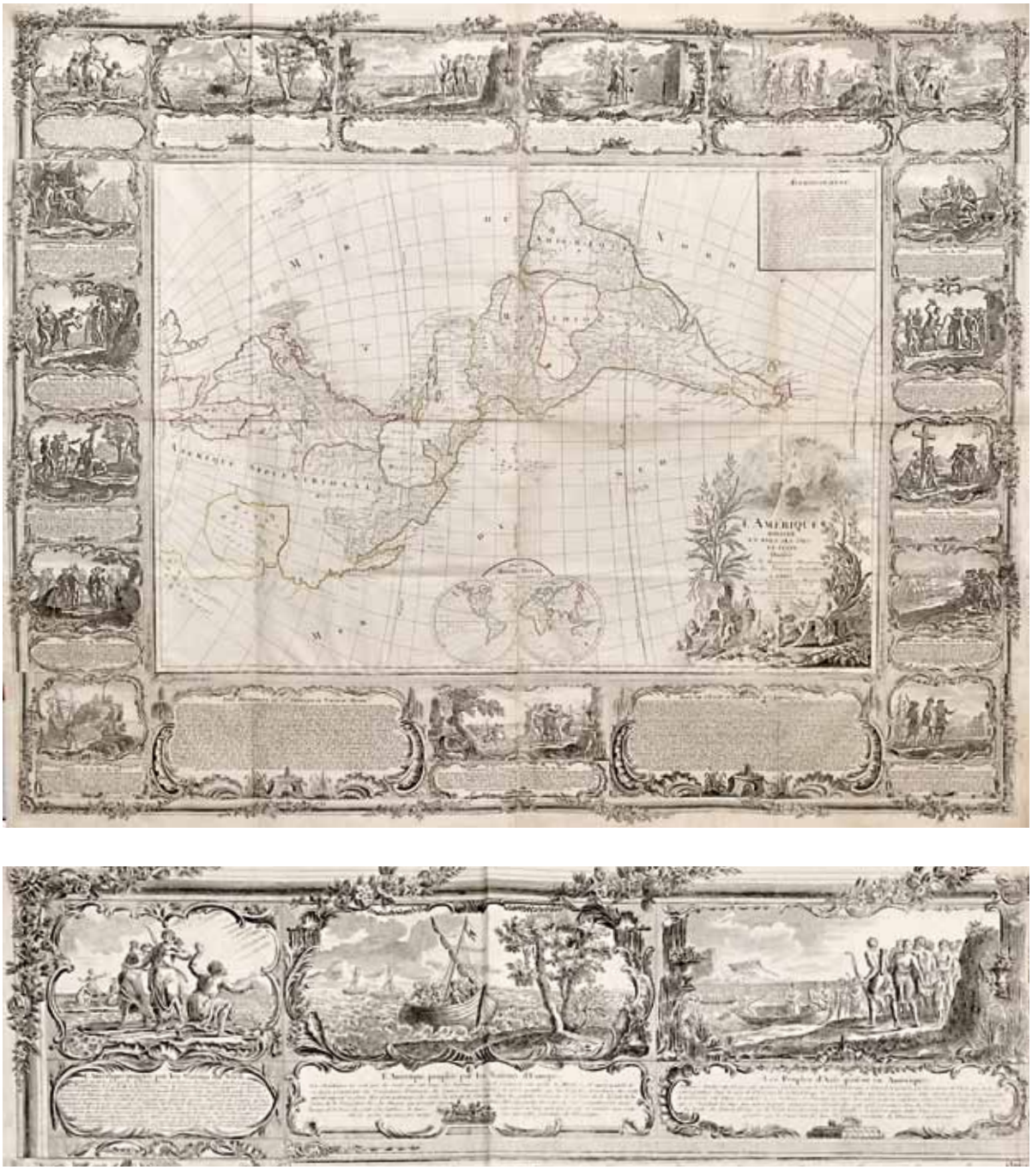


Fig. 4 G.-D. Chambon, 'L'Amérique divisée en tous ses pays et états', Paris, S.G. Longchamps & J. Janvier, 1754. Vignettes *L to R*: 1. L'Amérique peuplée par les Nations du Nord. 2. L'Amérique peuplée par les Nations d'Europe. 3. Les Peuples d'Asia passent en Amérique. Courtesy of Universitätbibliothek, Regensburg.

An aesthetic alternative to the ornate style of the Baroque period offered the plain and artless maps produced by the Lyonnais publisher Jean-Louis Daudet (1695–1756). Now even minor deviations from the original model looked like small revolutions within an oppressive publishing environment of police informers and censorship. Whereas Nolin and his fellow cartographers had presented the absolutist rule of the Sun King as the culmination of historical development, Daudet, in his map of Europe (Fig. 2), replaced the field formerly devoted to the reign of Louis XIV with the renunciation of Protestantism by Henry of Navarre and the beginning of Bourbon dominance. This shift backwards to the roots of absolutism and the invocation of Henry IV as a figure of integration may be understood as an early sign of the wish to overcome the deepening rifts in society and the growing alienation between the royal court and public institutions.

A cluster of six scenes, which took up a fifth of the total of thirty events on Daudet's map of America, memorably demonstrated that the indigenous high cultures had a long history of their own, predating the so-called 'discovery' of America by Columbus whose arrival on the shores of Hispaniola was again only one in a long series of further discoveries.

Sébastian G. Longchamps (1718–1793) and Jean-Denis Janvier (active 1746–1782) for their part reduced the narrative scenes in their 1754 wall map series almost by half to seventeen. They largely dispensed with Christian iconography and gave their *nouvelles cartes géographiques* a rather modern look. In their map of Asia, the birth of Jesus Christ was the only religious motif retained, and even this stood for nothing other than the introduction of a new calendar. The two mapmakers reiterated the year 4004 as the date of Christ's birth – in keeping with the calculations made by the Irish Archbishop, James Usher (1581–1656), which provided Voltaire with ample opportunity to poke fun at ecclesiastical synoptists and universal historians. The birth of Christ in the illustrated border served primarily as a temporal marker separating eight earlier events from eight later ones. The reduced number of images in the other maps was at the expense of those scenes that had served to glorify the Sun King or had been of interest only to a French audience. Similarly discarded were episodes that had no lasting significance – such as the failed attempt to colonise Florida – or were somewhat repetitive, such as the various scenes highlighting France's involvement in Canada. The streamlining of the organisational structure in the wall maps was well thought through and effected a gain in both transparency and consistency.

Longchamps and Janvier also revised the terminology in the explanatory texts. Their revision represented a conceptual achievement in the sense that the historical events were reassessed in the light of their global importance. Like many other cities, Constantinople owed its existence to imperial Rome. But what particularly distinguished the city on the Bosporus was that its foundation saw the 'transfer of Roman imperial power' from West to East. The 'Lombardian kingdom' had a much shorter history than the Byzantine Empire. However, as Longchamps rightly saw, the 'breaking up of Italy into individual city states' was to resonate throughout the centuries, right down to his present. And no matter how tantalising the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi River might have been for some geographers, much greater political significance was attached to the outcome of this discovery for the 'establishment of the French in Louisiana'. Almost unnoticed, Longchamps adapted outworn names to the actual language use with the result that the English settlement in Virginia and the crown colony of New France gave way to the greater spaces of New England and Canada.[9]

Daudet had already refused to keep on glorifying the reign of Louis XIV. While he was looking back and longing for the time of Henry IV, Longchamps had his sights set firmly on the future. In his map of Europe, the 'foundation' of great monarchies, the 'establishment' of smaller republics, the 'division' of Italy and the 'renewal' of the Empire culminated in an *état actuel* populated with good-willed, hard-working individuals who would give of their best for their nation under the guidance of an enlightened monarch.[10] A peaceful gathering of crowned heads under the auspices of Mercury stood out prominently from earlier power fantasies under Louis XIV. This astoundingly advanced vision of a community of European nations in the title cartouche was, however, far too beautiful to be anything other than wishful thinking.

With their map of America (Fig. 4), Longchamps and Janvier almost managed to revolutionise the conventional view by tipping the double continent over on its side to fit into the landscape format of their map series. The practical advantage of this presentation is obvious, compared to the full-figured shape of the continent in most maps of that period. Only by massively reducing the scale could the immense length of the American continent be squeezed into the most common of all cartographic formats. The arbitrary nature of this procedure was not too conspicuous as

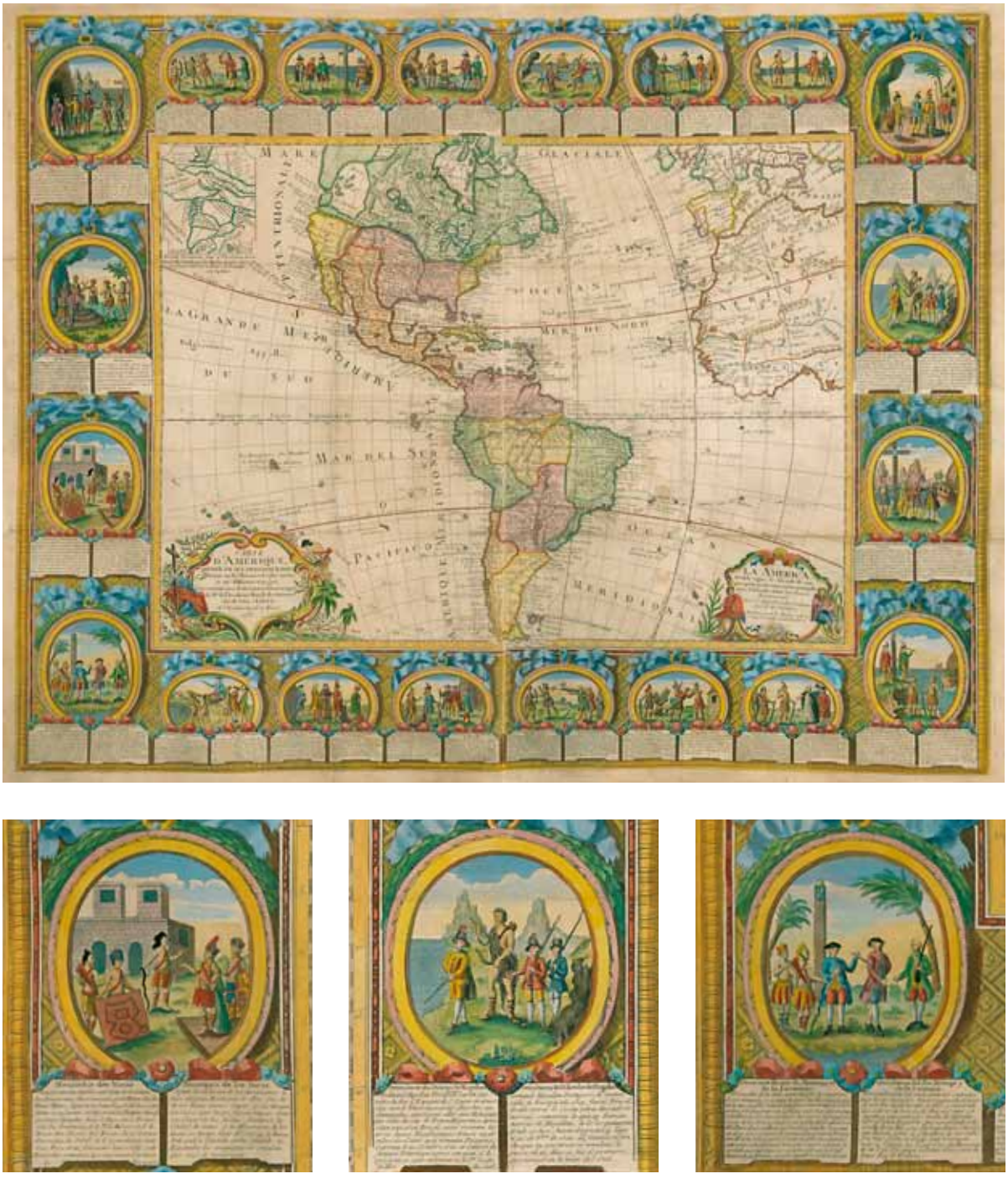


Fig. 5 J.-B. Clouet, 'Carte d'Amérique', Paris, L.-J. Mondhare, 1776.
Vignettes *L to R*: 1. Kingdom of the Incas. 2. Patagonian Giant. 3. Murder of La Salle.
Courtesy of Paulus Swaen Old Maps & Prints.

long as the map stopped at sixty degrees northern latitude – which also had the advantage that the vast unexplored expanses further north disappeared from the scene. In a fit of reformist exuberance, Longchamps and Janvier succeeded in representing the four continents on roughly the same scale. Thus, they met the demands of Lenglet du Fresnoy, who had complained in his *Méthode pour étudier la géographie* of the confusion arising from the diverging scales used indiscriminately in contemporary maps. Although Longchamps and Janvier justified their unusual layout in an additional commentary, the loss of the familiar icon was too much for their contemporaries. Eventually the publishers bowed to pressure and replaced their version with a conventional north-south orientation.

History takes command

Jean-Baptiste Clouet (1730–1786), a professor of history, was to become the first scholarly author of a wall maps series. In 1767, Clouet announced a number of *cartes ornées de cartouches*, which he planned to publish in conjunction with an atlas of modern geography, in order to bring historical learning to life for his students. His neoclassical series of maps was embellished by an elaborate architectonic framework, and designed for both the French and Spanish markets. The instigator and mastermind of the eighteenth-century wall map, Jean-Baptiste Nolin, had attached prime importance to the discovery of the Mississippi River during a period of economic growth, long before the bubble of speculative trade in Mississippi shares had burst. His copyright dispute with Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726) centred not least on the fair use of geographic information deriving from that finding. Clouet and his publisher Mondhare followed up on the discovery of the Mississippi in their map series (Fig. 5), but turned the spotlight on the explorer La Salle and his murder by a group of mutineers seventeen years earlier. Deviating from the official account by Father Hennepin, they presented the bloody deed as a treacherous knife attack, as though they wanted to portray the demoralising effect of the assassination as the original cause of the failure of French colonial policy.

Nolin and his successors had turned their attention to economic matters such as the discovery of the pearl fishing in the Caribbean by Christopher Columbus and of Colombian emerald mining by Gonzales Ximenes. By contrast, in Clouet's map, the riches of America occurred only implicitly as one of the issues of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Clouet and Mondhare also abstained from their predecessors' speculations on the early settlement of America and instead devoted a scene to the 'Kingdom of the Incas' in which Indian architects – as though to demonstrate their supreme design skills – dedicate a building plan in the form of a piece of feather work, to their godlike ruler. A French campaign, mounted against the Iroquois in 1695 was the most recent historic event to be included in the border. While the authors kept on dreaming of a great Louisiana territory, their maps – printed in the year of the Declaration of American Independence – were overtaken by history.

Global memory and the plural

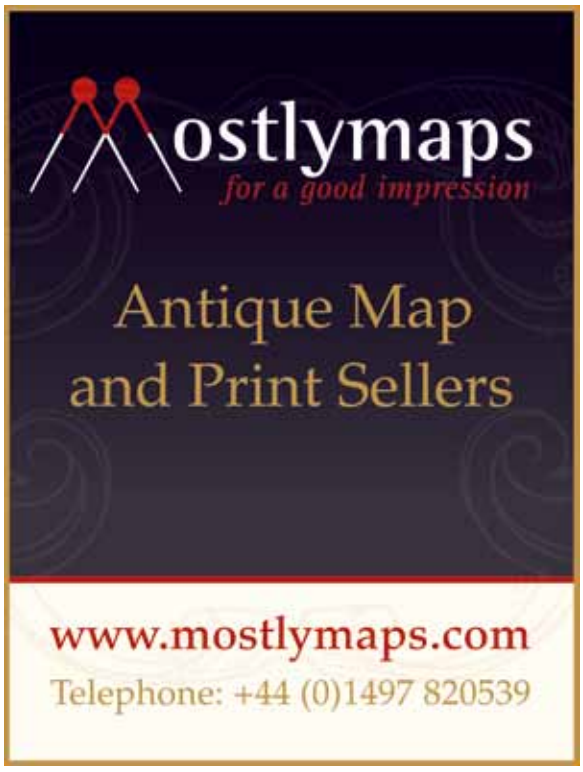
In a largely conservative environment, eighteenth-century wall map series struck an independent note that we may appreciate nowadays as a significant contribution to the visualisation of historic events and time courses by the early Enlightenment. Thanks to their visual organisation, the map series with historiated borders made a clear contrast to the older wall maps with their motley array of humanistic learning, and revealed a pioneering quality in cartography.

Maps had always recorded historical events alongside geographical facts. The historiated borders responded to the somewhat promiscuous treatment of cartographic and non-cartographic information by making historical learning explicit and sourcing it out to the margins, from where the images could interact with the map as contextual knowledge. Thanks to their conciseness and synoptic qualities, the images in the borders put an end to lengthy rhetorics and set the scene for an image-based *philosophie de l'histoire* of the kind Voltaire was pleading for in his *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756). The many stellar moments of history evoked, however, did not necessarily link together into a consistent genealogical line. Changing degrees of continuity and diversity transformed into a loose sequence of successive and parallel events, rather than into an identical process of differentiation.

A particular feature of the new generation of cartographic apparatuses was the division of historical time into world regions as it followed from the internal logic of a standard set of four continental maps. The way of thinking in historical spaces marked an intermediate stage in early modern periodisation from a succession of empires and dynasties to a more recent history of peoples and nations. Although the advantages of this scheme were obvious when considering the relatively young story of trans-European trade relations and voyages of discovery,

only few universal scholars of the Baroque age took notice of geographical patterns in world history.

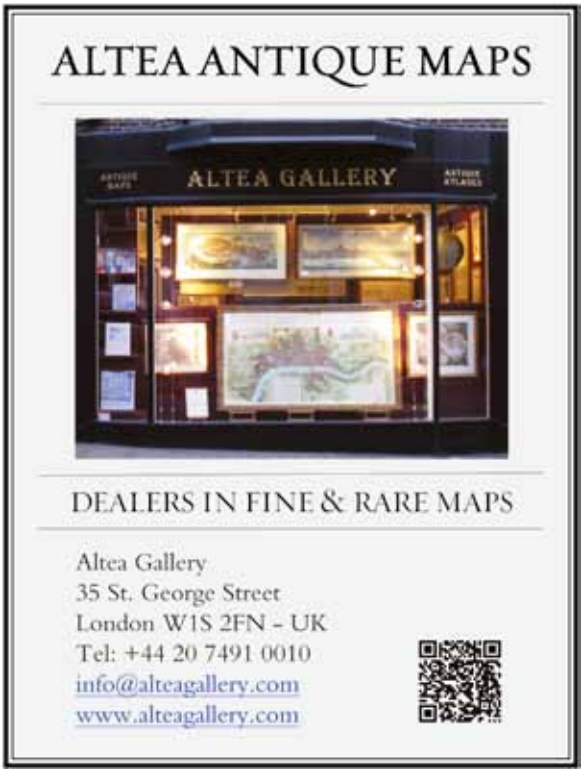
Voltaire was among the first to use geography as a means to challenge the Eurocentric view of history. The wall map series fitted in with this aim in the sense that all four continents were formally treated alike. And yet, the history of the continents as put forward in the historiated borders was largely a European construct that said more about the Europeans' themselves than about the rest of the world. The equal treatment of the continents alone attributed a disproportionally high share of world events to European culture. However, was a history of the continents not likely to result in four uncoordinated lines of narration, held together solely by the red thread of colonial rule? The synchronisation of the various historical threads and their integration into a single and coherent storyline had become, not without reason, a main concern of Enlightenment historiography. Today, we become once more aware of the necessity to write and think of history in the plural, which is why world-history wall maps are becoming the focus of renewed attention.



Notes

1 Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy, *Méthode pour* étudier *la géographie*, Paris 1716 ([3]1741, [4]1768); cf. Nouvelles littéraires (The Hague), 5, 1717, 1, 3. April, p. 218.
2 Lenglet du Fresnoy (vol. 1, 1768), pp. 187–201.
3 Eberhard David Hauber, *Versuch einer umständlichen Historie der Land-Charten*, Ulm 1724 (reprinted Karlsruhe 1988), p. 61f.
4 Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Großes vollständiges Universal Lexicon*, vol. 41, Halle 1744, col. 1771f. The citation was misleadingly retranslated into German in Leo Bagrow and Raleigh Ashton Skelton, *Meister der Kartographie*, Berlin, fifth ed., 1985, p. 285, since the original text speaks explicitly of knitted and not of papered 'wallhangings'.
5 'Le globe terrestre représenté en deux plans-hémisphères', cf. exhibition catalogue, *Imago Mundi Moderna. Weltkarten des Zweiten Entdeckungszeitalters*, ed. Gerhard Römer, Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe 1993, p. 110. The fourth edition of Lenglet du Fresnoy (vol. 1, 1768), p. 407, no longer mentions that.
6 Aveline, *Cartagane, ville d'Espagne bien peuplée et très riche par son commerce*, Paris 1697. On the temporary seizure of the nowadays Colombian seaport also a commemorative medal had been struck, cf. Peter Burke, *Ludwig XIV. Die Inszenierung des Sonnenkönigs*, Berlin 2001 (second ed., 2005), p. 137.
7 Title: 'L'Europe dreßée sur les nouvelles observations'; border title: 'L'Europe historique et le Théatre des actions heroiques de Louis Le Grand'.
8 'Cette carte [Nolin, l'Amérique] n'est pas moins bonne que celle de M. Sanson; mais il y a des ornemens historiques', Lenglet du Fresnoy (vol. 1, 1768), p. 190.
9 Quotations are taken from the text cartouches in Longchamps/ Janvier's map of Europe.
10 Ibid.

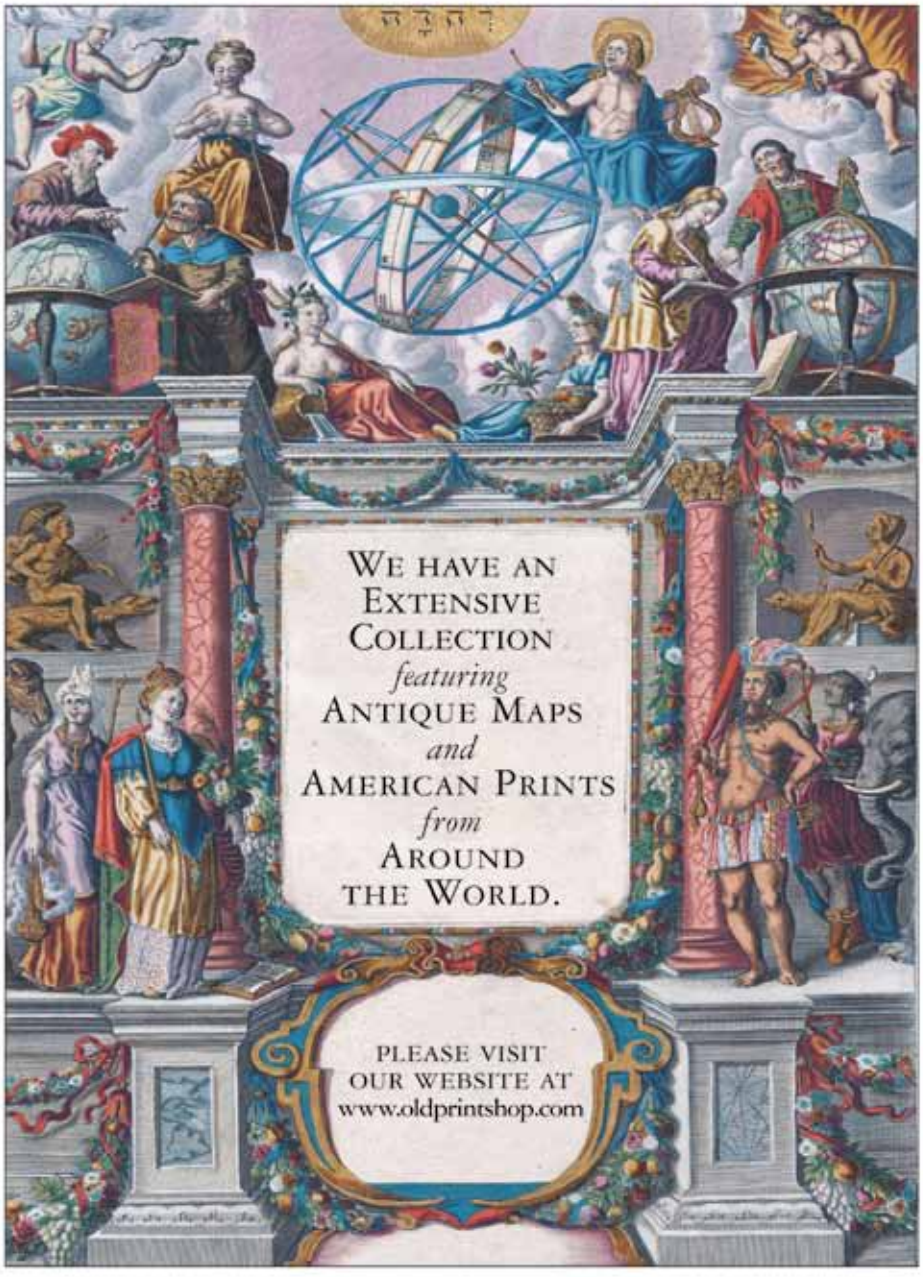
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POCKETING THE WORLD

Globes as commodities in the eighteenth century[1]

Katherine Parker

Due to its wide audience and perceived benefits, geography, and the objects associated with it, increasingly became important vehicles by which readers organised information about their world in the eighteenth century.[2] Emblematic of the contemporary hunger for geographic knowledge, maps proliferated as decorative accents in boxes, as wallpaper, screens, wine coasters, and jigsaw puzzles.[3] Globes, less studied than other forms of map objects, played various roles in the daily lives of eighteenth-century peoples. By examining globes in general, and table and pocket globes in particular, it is possible to probe some of the ways people might have interacted with these objects. A focus on the depiction of a fast-emerging part of the world, the Pacific Ocean, will further focus the inquiry into how objects condition human understanding of geography.

Eighteenth-century geography was the study of the spatial differentiation of the terraqueous globe. It was a not a specific discipline, but rather a subject that enhanced comprehension of human difference and history.[4] Textual outputs concentrated on descriptions of peoples and their dress, religion, customs, and trade. Amateur and formally trained scholars both wrote these texts. Beyond the subject, there was also geographic knowledge, which is best thought of as the result of a set of practices involving observation, classification, and compilation to order knowledge spatially.[5] People exercised and expanded their geographic knowledge by attending public lectures, purchasing compasses and other instruments for calculation or display, and participating in coffee-house discussions of global issues. Indeed, one of those conversations, the debate over calculation of the longitude, extended far beyond maths professors and Royal Society Fellows to enthrall a huge public audience who read about longitude schemes in pamphlets, saw the solutions illustrated in broadsides, and laughed at crackpot geographic dreamers in engravings such as Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*.[6]

The audience for geography was therefore quite broad. Growing numbers of government clerks and bureaucrats needed geographic knowledge to complete their tasks; merchants involved in maritime trade valued geographical description as a way to gain commercial advantages. Women of the privileged strata of society were supposed to have a base level of geographic acumen in order to participate constructively in polite conversation while children increasingly encountered geography in grammar schools and from private tutors.[7] According to guidelines for the Oundle grammar school published in 1794, there was 'no study so agreeable to the youthful mind as geography', which was 'obvious when it is carried on chiefly with a view to commercial interests'. Geography allowed the user 'to trace out the situation and extent of every country, the climate and the production springing from it, the state of the manufactures and their effect upon the internal happiness and wealth of the people, the foreign commerce, strength, government and religion of each'.[8] Thus, eighteenth-century peoples, from sailors to schoolboys, merchants to arm-chair travellers, increasingly called upon and sought out geographic knowledge as a way to access and order the mountain of information available to them about new places, peoples, and practices. Such interests connected to a larger, more general engagement with natural philosophy and its related material culture as a way to show refinement, learning and politeness – in short, as a way to be considered a respectable member of a commercial society.

The majority of people engaged with geography via printed materials. Reverence for ancient sources, especially Ptolemy, survived alongside newer forms of geographical practice, such as the public lectures mentioned earlier. Beyond the grand, usually folio or quarto-sized textbook, geography objects burst from the shelves of booksellers and print sellers, not to mention the compasses, sextants, quadrants, and globes sold in specialty and instrument shops. Geography was, and is, a study that demanded material engagement yet was financially available to a wide swathe of society.

Globes were a particularly recognisable symbol of geographic knowledge. As objects, they required more specialised skill to create than maps, but there was considerable overlap between mapmakers, globe makers, and navigational instrument makers. For

example, George Adams Sr. received a commission to supply King George III with philosophical, optical, and mathematical instruments in 1760. Adams also constructed a pair of globes for the Royal Collection, c. 1766. Like mapmakers, globe makers had to ensure adequate funds to finance their undertaking, usually in the form of specific orders for goods. They also listed some globes in catalogues along with charts, instruments, and mathematical books. A few advertised subscription schemes, such as with Joseph Moxon's *English Globe*.[9] Moxon also raffled off his wares in a speculative draw wherein adventurers gave twenty shillings for a chance to win a pair of globes valued at twenty pounds.[10]

How might they have used globes in the eighteenth century? Joseph Moxon's (1627–1691) unusual *English Globe*, was clearly designed as an educational apparatus (Fig. 1).[11] Rather than a meridian ring, the *English Globe* sits on a pedestal stand which contains a planisphere; it is the only known example of an immobile globe. The Earl of Castlemaine, Roger Palmer, designed the globe to more easily facilitate geographical and astronomical calculations. What one could usually achieve with a pair of globes – terrestrial and celestial – this globe provided all on its own. However, efficiency had its limitations. The immobility of the globe puts it at odds with more commonly seen rotating spheres. It displays a Ptolemaic, rather than a Copernican, view of the universe,[12] marking it as an especially didactic item.

Perhaps sensing that the new globe might confuse possible buyers, Moxon released an instruction manual with the globe, *The English Globe Being a STABIL and Immobil one, performing what the Ordinary Globes do, and much more* (1679).[13] (Fig. 2) In his introduction Moxon explains the many operations that render this globe more useful than those that rotate, yet he also mentions that globes in any form are not simple objects to approach:

> *But here my Reader must remember that though I endeavor all along… to be clear and easy, yet unless he has formerly read, Hewes, Blaeu, or rather Moxon's Book on the Globes, I cannot promise him I shall always be understood without the help of a Master; for I have not time to descend to all the Definitions and minute Explanations, which those that are wholly unacquainted with Astronomical or Geographical Principles, may perchance expect.*[14]



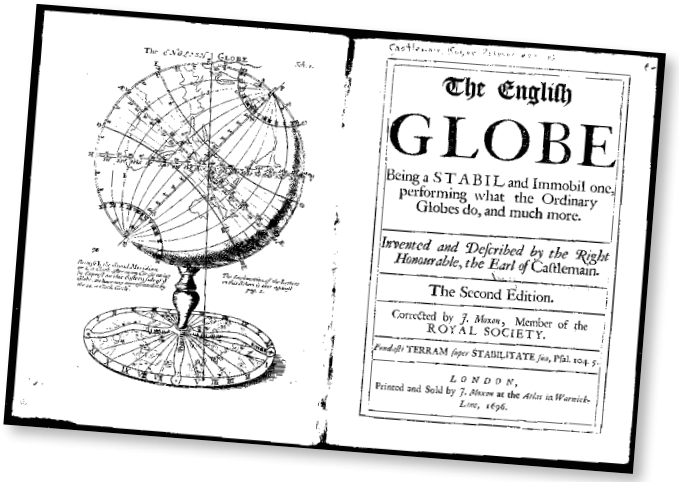


Fig. 1 Joseph Moxon, *English Globe*, 1679. ©Whipple Museum, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 2 Joseph Moxon, frontispiece and title page of second edition (1696) of the manual that accompanied his *English Globe*.



Fig. 3 John Senex, 'A New & Correct | GLOBE of ye EARTH | together with a View of ye General & | Coasting Trade winds, Monsoons &c | Laid down according to ye Newest | Discoveries and from ye most Exact | Observations', 1718. ©Museum of History of Science, Oxford University.

The differences between the uses of rotating globes, combined with the need to use the *English Globe* in conjunction with its manual, at least at first, indicate that this object would be viewed differently than others sold by Moxon. It would attract a more specialised audience than other table globes of similar size, and it was intended for a more selective purpose than general perusal.

As a contrasting example, take the table globe of Edward Leigh, fifth Baron Leigh, in the collection of Oriel College, Oxford.[15] (Fig. 3) The Leigh globe, dated 1718, is the work of John Senex (1678–1740). The woodwork and shiny meridian ring indicate at first glance that this globe is intended for display, but it is far from a passive object meant to convey wealth. The possession of a globe, usually placed in a study

or sitting area, would indicate engagement with global commerce, progress, and ideas of social improvement. Even a casual glance at the globe imparts information and indicates that information itself is a valuable commodity.

The experience of viewing a table globe varies from poring over a sheet map. The sheet map offers a two-dimensional world, although most eighteenth-century projections would have been corrected so that users could perform calculations with compasses. A globe is three-dimensional, bringing distances and relationships into starker contrast. Tracing the track of a ship on a globe suggests something of the arduous journey necessary to cross the world, whereas a map literally flattens the experience. Table globes were a display item surely, but they were also used for private instruction in the home, for reference, and even for children's games. Who among us has not spun a globe and placed a finger on it, only to imagine what it would be like to travel to the land covered by our hand? Globes invite tactile interaction; one must literally move it to see everything it has to offer.

That said, the construction and display method of the globe could limit interaction with the object. The southern Pacific Ocean, indeed the entire southern hemisphere, is usually difficult to view. The very tilt of the earth illustrated by table globes favours the northern hemisphere, especially Europe, whereas the sub-tropical regions are difficult to see at the bottom. The placement of the axis rod, meridian rings, title cartouches, and text can also act to hide areas of geographic ignorance or uncertainty. Similarly, if one is trying to trace a ship's track to opposite sides of the world, it is difficult to keep Europe in connection with distant places without turning the object, thus disconnecting the places in practice. Thus, certain areas come into clearer focus with globe use, others less so.

The particular moment, 1718, in which the Leigh globe was made signals a problem with globes as things: that is, as indicators of subject-object relations. Within a few decades of its production, the Leigh globe was woefully out of date. Anson refined coordinates for Pacific islands in the mid-1740s as did Wallis, Carteret, and Byron in the 1760s. Cook discovered Tahiti and mapped New Zealand in the 1770s, Flinders circumnavigated Australia in the early 1800s. What effect did this have on its status as an object? Whereas it was as still a well-made artefact that could signal economic status and carry sentimental value, the loss of accuracy could also undermine its value as a teaching tool and symbol of polite interaction with global empire. Rather, an outdated globe could mark one as old-fashioned and behind the times, both pejorative ideas in the eighteenth century. It is easy to understand why few globes have survived today in terms of the fragility of the materials with which they were made, but it is also possible to imagine that many globes owned by those in the upper middling classes were disposed of in favour of a newer model, as a way to maintain an image that involved management of increasingly complex and intricate geographic knowledge. Globes increased in their 'thing-ness' over time, that is in their ambiguous and marginal classification as objects. They could become increasingly obsolete yet remain part of the furniture of a house, an item to be tripped over, to drape coats on, and to gather dust. However, other globes might have been designated in this way from the start: perhaps a gentlemsn bought a globe like the *English Globe* intending to learn to use it, but never did so. The subject-object relation of that globe would be very different from the Leigh globe, or indeed a globe bought for a specific library or reading room. This line of questioning leads one to wonder at what point an object starts to gain value again as an item of historical value rather than an outdated piece?

As an example of these changing relations, let us examine the terrestrial table globe of Lord Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor of England. His 24-inch globe, part of a pair with a matching celestial counterpart, was made by Senex, c. 1730.[16] In many ways it resembles the Leigh globe, except that this globe has a manuscript addition: the track of Anson's ship *Centurion* circumnavigating the world. Anson led a squadron of ships into the Pacific to raid Spanish ports and capture a treasure galleon in 1740. He returned with a quarter of his men, only the *Centurion* from the squadron, and immense wealth four years later. It is interesting that someone chose to embellish – or ruin, or update, depending on one's interpretation – the globe, especially considering that such globes cost £20 a pair. The addition becomes even more intriguing when one takes into account that Hardwicke was Anson's father-in-law; his daughter, Lady Elizabeth Yorke, married Anson in 1748. Did Hardwicke himself trace Anson's track on the globe, perhaps with his son-in-law's bestselling voyage account close by?[17] While it is impossible to know the exact circumstances in which the globe was marked, it does show the globe's shifting use, from a static repository of geography to an evolving

reflection of exploration and, perhaps, nostalgia or affection. The inclusion of a ship's track on the surface of a globe would anchor the sphere in larger conversations about exploration and discovery, possibly negating some outdated geographical information by referencing a historic moment of British pride and navigational prowess. Globes are thus good indicators of the shifting meanings of objects over time, from useful to obscure to re-valued, even if they leave researchers and collectors with more questions than answers.

Pocket globes provide a nice contrast to table globes, as they are clearly intended for different purposes and perhaps a different audience than table globes. In a 1679 advertisement Joseph Moxon advertised 15-inch globes for £4; 8-inchers for £2; and 6-inchers for £1 10 shillings.[18] Similarly, Senex offered globes of 28 to 3 inches to an international market for prices ranging from 25 guineas to a more economical 10 shillings. Thus, the reduction in price corresponded to the reduction of diameter, making the 3-inch diameter pocket globes a more economical way to hold the world in your hand. Still, with Moxon listing his pocket globes at 15 shillings each, £1 and 5 shillings with a shagreen case, they were not objects ever likely to have been in every workingman's pocket.[19]

Pocket globes were first brought to England by Moxon between 1659 and 1670. His and other pocket globes were typically terrestrial globes housed in a leather or fish skin case which had the celestial globe printed on the inside of the case (Fig. 4).[20] They were popular during the Georgian era, but were produced far into the nineteenth century. Unlike larger globes, pocket globes seldom came with instruction manuals, thus little is known about their prescribed use.[21] Their size is limiting, so the cartographic information available to consumers on the surface of the globes is sparse. For example, the Pacific Ocean is often illustrated with a number of indistinct island shapes; the makers intended neither accuracy nor realism.

Globemakers such as Moxon indeed advertised these globes as pocket globes, so whose pockets would they have fit in? In the eighteenth-century, women's clothing tended to not include integrated



Fig. 4 John Senex 'A New & Correct Globe of the Earth', 1730. ©British Library Board.

pockets, whereas men's greatcoats and jackets contained wide, deep pockets. Judging from advertisements for other small books of arithmetic and maps, it seems such gentlemen were the primary target audience for pocket globes in the early eighteenth century. However, 'pocket' as a description most likely referred to their size more than their location on the owner's person.

Some saw little utility in pocket globes, as Moxon mentions in his 'to the Reader' in *The English Globe:*

> *Waiting upon my Lord in the beginning of Anno 1672, at his then arrival into England, I brought his Lordship (knowing that any thing new and ingenious would be acceptable to him) one of my 3 Inch Terrestrial Globes, with the Stars described in the inside of the Case, which when his Lordship had considered, and bin inform'd by me, that its only Use was to keep in memory the situation of Countries, and Order of the Constellations and particular Stars, He intimated, that certainly much more might be done by it, and so returning beyond Sea fell upon this excellent Work*.[22]

The English Globe, then, was the direct result of an encounter with another globe object.

Although pocket globes were not minutely detailed, as the Earl of Castlemaine pointed out, they could be quickly consulted for general geographic knowledge, or just presented as a symbol of one's affinity toward the subject. Fingering the curves of the globe would be a way to mark yourself in coffee-house conversation as worldly; an important image for merchants, clerks, aristocrats, and even upwardly mobile naval officers. The same audience could also have owned pocket globes as conversation pieces for a study or drawing room.[23] Utility was not always the goal of globe objects, no matter what the makers thought of their practical applications.

Pocket globes were also used for instruction. Boys in grammar schools or with private tutors would use a pocket globe as a reference to a larger globe, such as Lord Leigh's. At the Gresham School at Holt, Norfolk, England, Senex produced a pair of table globes as part of a library overhaul by the Fishmongers' Company in 1729. The table globes were part of geographical performances, wherein the globes were placed on a table, flanked by sheet maps by Herman Moll. Young men presented their reports with indication to pocket globes in their hands, made by Richard Cushee (a trained surveyor) and Senex.[24] Thus, pocket and table globes both were not intended solely for display, but for use. They were working objects, to borrow Daston and Galison's term:[25] the globes did work to create and reinforce geographic information, which allowed users to imagine identities based on their useful knowledge in global context.

Globes are intertextual objects layered with meanings that change over time. They were commodities used to understand global commerce and represented a broader interest in geographic knowledge by men and some women of varying socioeconomic backgrounds and ages in eighteenth-century British culture. In examining how globes might have been used, it is possible to see how the reception and use of objects is individual to the subject-object relationship over time. From the form of globes, we can hypothesise as to their intended uses, but without much more information than is usually available it is quite difficult to surmise precisely how people reacted to a specific item. A 1753 catalogue of printseller John Bowles advertised 'Maps, Prints, Copy-Books &c.' for sale at his shop where, 'Merchants for Exportation, Gentlemen for Furniture, Shop-Keepers to sell again, May be furnished with the greatest Variety of Maps and Prints at the lowest Prices'.[26] We cannot know if the merchants, gentlemen and shopkeepers used their purchases as Bowles intended in his advertisement, but we can know that geographic knowledge as communicated via maps and globes, as well as in travel accounts and atlases, was of immense interest in eighteenth-century Britain. How these objects – in their production and dissemination, and, when possible given source materials, their reception – let us glimpse the construction of new spaces on the page or gore and in the mind is a subject that merits further study.

Notes

1 This article is based on a paper given at the 'Forms and Formats: Experimenting with Print, 1695–1815' Conference, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, UK, September 9, 2014.

2 Indeed, Jonathan Scott argues that an early modern political misrepresentation that called on geographic language to present England as an isolated island strongly shaped the development of a unique sense of nation. Overseas empire was a central component to this (mis)representation. However, this discourse of isolation had no basis in geopolitical fact or practice. Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500–1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

3 Examples of these objects can be found in the collection of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, UK.

4 Robert Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650–1850,* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: MacMillan Press, Ltd., 2000, pp. 30–31.

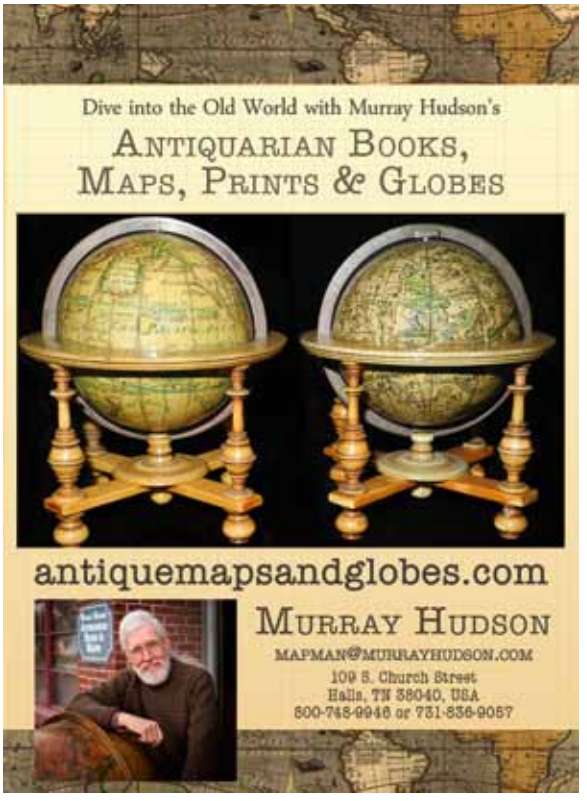
5 Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* Chicago: University of Chicago, 2007, p. 20.

6 Katy Barrett, 'The Wanton Line: Hogarth and the Public Life of Longitude', PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2013.

7 For youth geography education, see Paul Elliott and Stephen

Daniels, 'No study so agreeable to the youthful mind': geographical education in the Georgian grammar school'. *History of Education* 39, No. 1 (2010): pp. 15–33.
8 W. G. Walker, *A History of the Oundle Schools* London: Hazell Watson & Viney, 1956, pp. 262–3, as quoted in Ellott and Daniels, 'No study so agreeable', p. 25.
9 BL Harley MS 5946, f. 202r. Another example of a globe advertisement is at BL Add MS 4413, 'Proposals for the Publishing of a New Size of Great Globes', n.d.
10 BL Harley 5963, image 64.
11 There is an example of this globe in the Whipple Museum, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK
12 Katie Taylor, 'An immobile globe, designed by the Earl of Castlemaine and Joseph Moxon', *Explore Whipple Collections*, Whipple Museum of the History of Science, University of Cambridge, 2009, accessed 2 April 2015, www.hps.cam.ac.uk/whipple/explore/globes/animmobileglobe/ X-ray images included in this article reveal that there is a bag of lead shot inside the sphere, indicating that the sphere was initially meant to rotate.
13 Joseph Moxon, with Robert Palmer, *The English Globe…* London: Joseph Moxon, 1679.
14 Moxon, *The English Globe,* p. 1.
15 John Senex, terrestrial globe, 1718. Wood, brass, paper, 500X450 mm. See catalogue reference, Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, www.mhs.ox.ac.uk
16 NMM GLB0138. Terrestrial Table Globe, John Senex, c. 1730. Brass; copperplate engraved; hand-coloured; ink; lead (?); leather; paper; plaster; varnish; wood; papier mâché. Overall: 930 x 880 mm; Diameter of sphere: 680 mm.
17 Richard Walter, *A Voyage Round the World,* London: John and Paul Knapton, 1748.
18 See catalogue at the end of the copy at BL 531.i.34.
19 BL Harley 5963, item 72.
20 The pocket globe shown in Fig. 4 is John Senex, 'A New & Correct Globe of the Earth. By I. Senex F.R.S.', c. 1730. Pasteboard, paper, in wooden case bearing, 7 cm diameter. Available at the British Library, Cartographic Items Maps C.4.a.3.(6.) .
21 Katie Taylor, 'Pocket-sized globes', *Explore Whipple Collections*, Whipple Museum of the History of Science, University of Cambridge, 2009, accessed 5 March 2015, www.hps.cam.ac.uk/whipple/explore/globes/pocketsizedglobes/
22 Moxon, *The English Globe,* 'To the Reader'.
23 An example of such a pocket globe is the a miniature terrestrial globe with curved wooden stand, either French or Italian, Ivory and gilt brass, 160 mm. See catalogue reference, Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, accessed 5 March 2015, www.mhs.ox.ac.uk
24 Elliott and Daniels, 'No study so agreeable', pp. 27, 32.
25 Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, 'The Image of Objectivity,' *Representations* No. 40 (1992): pp. 81–128.
26 John Bowles, *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, &c. From off Copper-Plates*, Printed for John Bowles and Son At the Black-Horse in Cornhill, London', London, 1753.

Katherine Parker *is a PhD candidate at the University of Pittsburgh, where she is writing a dissertation on the European print culture about the Pacific Ocean prior to Cook's voyages. She specialises in the history of cartography, history of the book, Pacific History, and British imperial history. In 2014–15, she is researching in London archives as an Andrew W. Mellon pre-doctoral Fellow. In summer 2015 she will serve as a short-term fellow at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, USA.*





MAPPING MATTERS

News from the world of maps



The History of Cartography volume 6

Cartography in the Twentieth Century, edited by Mark Monmonier, was published in May this year, 28 years after the publication of Volume 1 *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* edited by the founders of the project J. B. Harley and David Woodward. Volume 6 deals with a 'pivotal period in map history' when new technologies – aerial photography, digitisation and the Internet – transformed the production and use of maps. *Cartography in the Twentieth Century* retains the same general appearance and page size of the earlier volumes, but there are some welcome changes: of its 1166 images 805 have been reproduced in full colour, and it is the first volume in the series to be arranged in encyclopedic format. Volume 6 is a snip at US$500 in bookshops and $400 from the University of Chicago Press website: www.press.uchicago.edu/Complete/Series/HOC.htm

Volumes 4 and 5, *Cartography of the Enlightenment* and *Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* respectively, are yet to be published, but are well underway. Series publisher University of Chicago Press have generously made Volumes 1, 2 and 3 available online at www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC

New journals on mapping

The Old Map is a recent addition to journal publications dedicated to historical cartography. It is a first in that it focuses exclusively on Asian cartography. Published in Korea, *The Old Map* is the brainchild of map enthusiast T. J. Kim, who was largely responsible for hosting the 32nd IMCoS International Symposium that took place last year in Seoul. He recognises that Asia is a new and growing market for both the collecting of maps and the study of historical maps. The quarterly magazine is published bi-lingually in Korean and English. Annual subscription is US$80. For further information contact T. J. on tjkim@tmecca.com



Meanwhile in Italy another journal *Charta Geografica*, under the guidance of Vladimiro Valerio, is in the pipelines with its first issue due to roll out in October 2015. Its manifesto states that it:

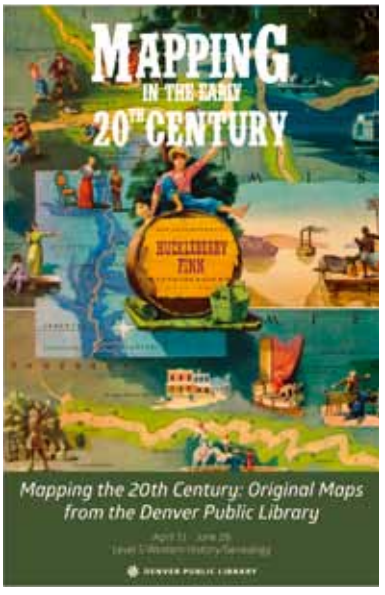
> *has neither academic ambition nor a desire to be a bulwark of specific theoretical positions. Its sole purpose is to highlight the discovery and understanding of maps through simple, clear writing and engaging exposition and illustration. Even the most banal of the maps has a story to tell: the context of its birth, the surveyor, engineer, geographer, artist, architect,or other author who imagined or conceived it, the draftsman who translated it into an image, the engraver who brought it to print; the publisher who disseminated it; the authority who ordered it; the audience who used it. The map is a product of its historical context, the study of which reveals its origins and ideology and its power.*

Charta Geografica will be a quarterly publication. Although primarily an Italian language journal, it will accept some submissions in French and English which will be published in their original language.

CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Exhibitions

Until 28 June 2015, Denver
Denver Public Library
Mapping the 20th Century: Original Maps from the Denver Public Library
This exhibition provides an overview of the nature and variety of maps of Colorado from 1900 onward, including cities, mountains, tourist destinations, and commercial publications. Of special interest are maps by the Clason Map Company, a Denver based cartography and printing enterprise. Information: www.history.denverlibrary.org



Until June 2015, Denver
University of Denver, Anderson Academic Commons
Pictorial Maps of the 20th Century: Popular geographic information presented for beauty and amusement
This exhibition, drawn from the private collection of Wesley Brown, follows the innovative style of pictorial mapping from the 1920s through the 1980s. Information: www.history.denverlibrary.org

Until 30 June 2015, St. Louis
Mercantile Library
Mapping St. Louis History – An Exhibition of Historic Maps, Rare Books and Images Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of the Founding of St. Louis
Information: www.umsl.edu/mercantile/events-and-exhibitions/index.html

Until 17 July 2015, Antwerp
Museum Plantin-Moretus
Drawing the City follows the main construction drives and contributions to the city's development in the sixteenth century through the use of maps and city plans. It considers the underlying functions and intended purposes of the maps: to glorify the city and draw attention to its special qualities. Two extraordinary city maps are compared: Antwerp by Vergilius Bononiensis (1565) and the oldest known hand-drawn city map (late 16th century). Information: www.museumplantinmoretus.be

Until 19 July 2015, Singapore
The National Library of Singapore
Geo/Graphic: Celebrating Maps and Their Stories, a series of curated exhibitions and programs that will showcase how Singapore and the region around it have evolved over the past centuries, through hundreds of rare and original maps and creative art pieces. Information: www.nlb.gov.sg

Until 31 July 2015, Sint-Niklaas, Belgium
Mercatormuseum
Lafreri – Italiaanse cartografie in de Renaissance [Lafreri – Italian cartography in the Renaissance]
Information: www.kokw.be

Until August 2015, Charlottesville
University of Virginia's Mary and David Harrison Institute for American History, Literature and Culture
'Who shall tell the story?': Voices of Civil War Virginia
The Civil War's impact on the culture, politics, and geography of Virginia is investigated through maps, letters, diaries, scrapbooks, newspapers, songsheets, broadside advertisements, photographs, and physical artefacts. Information: pages.shanti.virginia.ed

Until 13 August 2015, Boulder, Colorado
University of Colorado, Boulder, Jerry Crail Johnson Earth Sciences and Map Library
Expressions of Rocky Mountain National Park: A Centennial Celebration
Information: Melissa Harden at maplib@colorado.edu

Until 16 August 2015, Antwerp
Museum Rockoxhuis, Keizerstraat 12
Abraham Ortelius under the spell of classical antiquity
Information: inforockoxhuis@kbc.be

Until 18 August 2015, Antwerp
Museum aan de Stroom
The world in a mirror depicts the history of the Western view of the world through a display of maps and globes. Information: www.mas.be

Until 23 August 2015, Washington DC
The Folger Shakespeare Library, with the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, ***Ships, Clocks, and Stars: The Quest for Longitude***
To mark the 300th anniversary of the Longitude Act in 1714, this landmark exhibition tells the extraordinary story of the race to determine longitude (east-west position) at sea, helping to solve the problem of navigation and saving seafarers from terrible fates including shipwreck and starvation. Information: www.folger.edu

Until 29 November 2015, Boston
The Norman B. Leventhal Map Center
We are One: Mapping the Road to American Independence
commemorates the 250th anniversary of Britain's 1765 Stamp Act. This pivotal moment sparked American opposition to Britain's restrictive colonial policies which ten years later resulted in the American Revolutionary War. Employing geographic and cartographic perspectives, the exhibition will tell the story of how thirteen separate colonies fought for independence and a new and united nation. Information: maps.bpl.org

New exhibitions opening

17 July–13 September 2015, Antwerp
Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library
The Seven Seas
From the fifteenth century onwards explorers sailed the Seven Seas in search of new lands. The Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library presents the story of these heroic sailors using navigation books, sea charts, maritime atlases and the exceptional globes by Blaeu.
Information: www.consciencebibliotheek.be/Museum_Erfgoedbibliotheek_EN/ErfgoedbibliotheekEN/The-Seven-Seas.html

13 September – 6 December 2015, Lemgo, Germany
Wesserrenaissance Museum–Brake Castle
Weltvermesser – Das Goldene Zeitalter der Kartographie [World surveyor – The Golden Age Cartography]
The exhibition, in collaboration with the Berlin State Library, is the culmination of an international interdisciplinary symposium on European cartography of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries that took place in Lemgo last year. On display are maps, atlases and globes, and tools used for land surveying, astronomy and mapmaking.
Information: www.weltvermesser.de



Lectures and conferences

9 June 2015, London
School of Advanced Study, University of London Senate House, 5.30pm
Charting Manifest Destiny: 19th-century exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West
Imre Josef Demhardt (University of Texas at Arlington; Seng Tee Lee Visiting Professorial Fellow). The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and the lost War of 1812 inevitably turned expansionism of the booming United States continental westwards This lecture aims at a tour d'horizon on 'how the West was won' by focusing on the army's topographical engineers. Free to attend, but please register in advance.
Information: www. events.sas.ac.uk/support-research/events

11 June 2015, Oxford
The Oxford Seminars in Cartography Conference, Weston Library, 5pm
From cosmopolitan exploration to colonial penetration: Germany and the colonial turn in the cartography of Africa, Imre Josef Demhardt (University of Texas at Arlington).
Information: Nick Millea nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk

5–10 July 2015, London
16th International Conference of Historical Geographers
Royal Geographical Society (with The Institute of British Geographers)
Information: www.ichg2015.org

12–17 July 2015, Antwerp
26th International Conference on the History of Cartography (ICHC)
Theatre of the World in Four Dimensions
Organised by the city of Antwerp in cooperation with the University of Antwerp and *Imago Mundi*.
Information: Joost Depuydt, FelixArchief / City Archives Antwerp.
Information: www.ichc2015.be

6–9 July 2015, Leeds
Leeds University
The **22nd International Medieval Congress**
Its special thematic strand is ***Reform and Renewal***. Information: www.leeds.ac.uk/ims/imc

8–11 July 2015, London
Senate House of the University of London and the Conference Centre of the British Library. For the first time since 1987 the **Society for the History of Discoveries** will convene in Europe and hold its ***Annual Meeting 2015*** in London. Information: www.sochistdisc.org

12–17 July 2015, Antwerp
The **26th International Conference on the History of Cartography** will be hosted by the City of Antwerp and the University of Antwerp. It is organised under the main heading ***Theatre of the World in Four Dimensions/ Space-Time-Imagination-Spectacle.***
Information: www.maphistory.info/ichcintro.html

26–31 July 2015, Washington
Rare Book School, University of Virginia
From Manuscript to Woodblock: The Art and Science of Cartography from Ptolemy to the Age of Copernicus, 200–1550 CE to be taught by **John Hessler** at the Library of Congress.
This course will introduce students to the earliest forms of cartography. We will examine in detail the construction methods of some of the masterpieces of Renaissance cartography. Students will look closely at the making of portolan charts and take full advantage of new analytical research on their make-up. In addition to close scrutiny of the maps themselves, class discussion and reading will consider medieval and early Renaissance theories of the earth and the relationship of cartography to contemporary developments in astronomy and navigation, as well as the social and cultural aspects of patronage and production.
Information: www.rarebookschool.org

17–21 August 2015, Moscow
Lomonosov Moscow State University
Geography, Culture and Society for Our Future Earth
The International Geographical Union will meet in Moscow this summer for the third time since the International Geographical Congress of 1976.
Information: Alexey Postnikov at postnikov@comtv.ru

20–21 August 2015, Rio de Janeiro
Prior to the 27th International Conference of the International Cartographic Association, the ICA Commission on The History Of

Cartography will have a ***Pre-Conference Symposium on Atlases, Topography and the History of Cartography***.
Information: Elri Liebenberg at elri@worldonline.co.za

21–22 August 2015, Rio de Janeiro
Institute of Geosciences of the Fluminense Federal University (Niterói).
Cartography beyond the ordinary world
Commissions for the Cartography and Children, Maps for Blind and Partially Sighted People, Planetary Cartography and Cartography for Early Warning and Crisis Management are organising a joint symposium before the 27th International Cartographic Conference. Information: www.niteroi2015.elte.hu

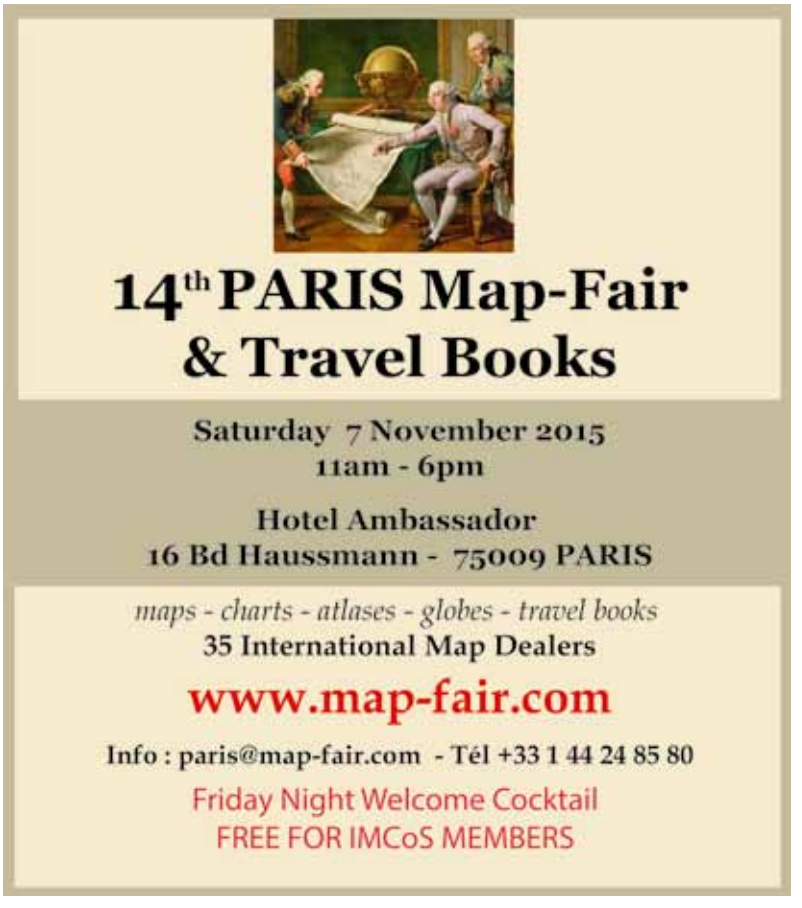
23–28 August 2015, Rio de Janeiro
SulAmérica Convention Centre
27th International Cartographic Conference and the ***16th General Assembly of International Cartographic Association***.
Information: christina@congrex.com.br

1, 8, 22 & 29 September and 6 &13 October 2015, Charlottesville
Osher Lifelong Learning Institute
Joel Kovarsky will be teaching ***The Roles of Old Maps: History, Art, Cartography and the Building of Nations*** again at the University of Virginia on six Tuesdays from 11am to 12.30pm. This course is intended as an overview of the history of cartography, with a general focus on the printed mapopportunity to see examples of original maps. Information: joel.kovarsky@gmail.com

8 September 2015, York
The Map Curators' Group (MCG) of the British Cartographic Society will hold its ***Annual Workshop*** at the Park Inn by Radisson. The MCG workshop theme will be ***New maps for old: repurposing and reusing map collections for digital users***.
Information: Ann Sutherland at ann.m.sutherland@talk21.com or Paula Williams at p.williams@nls.uk, Curator, Map, Mountaineering and Polar collections, National Library of Scotland Map Library.

23–26 September 2015, Dresden
13th Symposium of the International Coronelli Society for the Study of Globes
All aspects of the study of globes, especially the history of globes and globes in their historical and socio-cultural context, as well as globe related instruments such as armillary spheres, planetaria, telluria and lunaria. Language: German and English. Information: vincenzo@coronelli.org www.coronelli.org

19–21 October 2015, Cape Town
33rd IMCoS International Symposium
Information: imcos2015.org

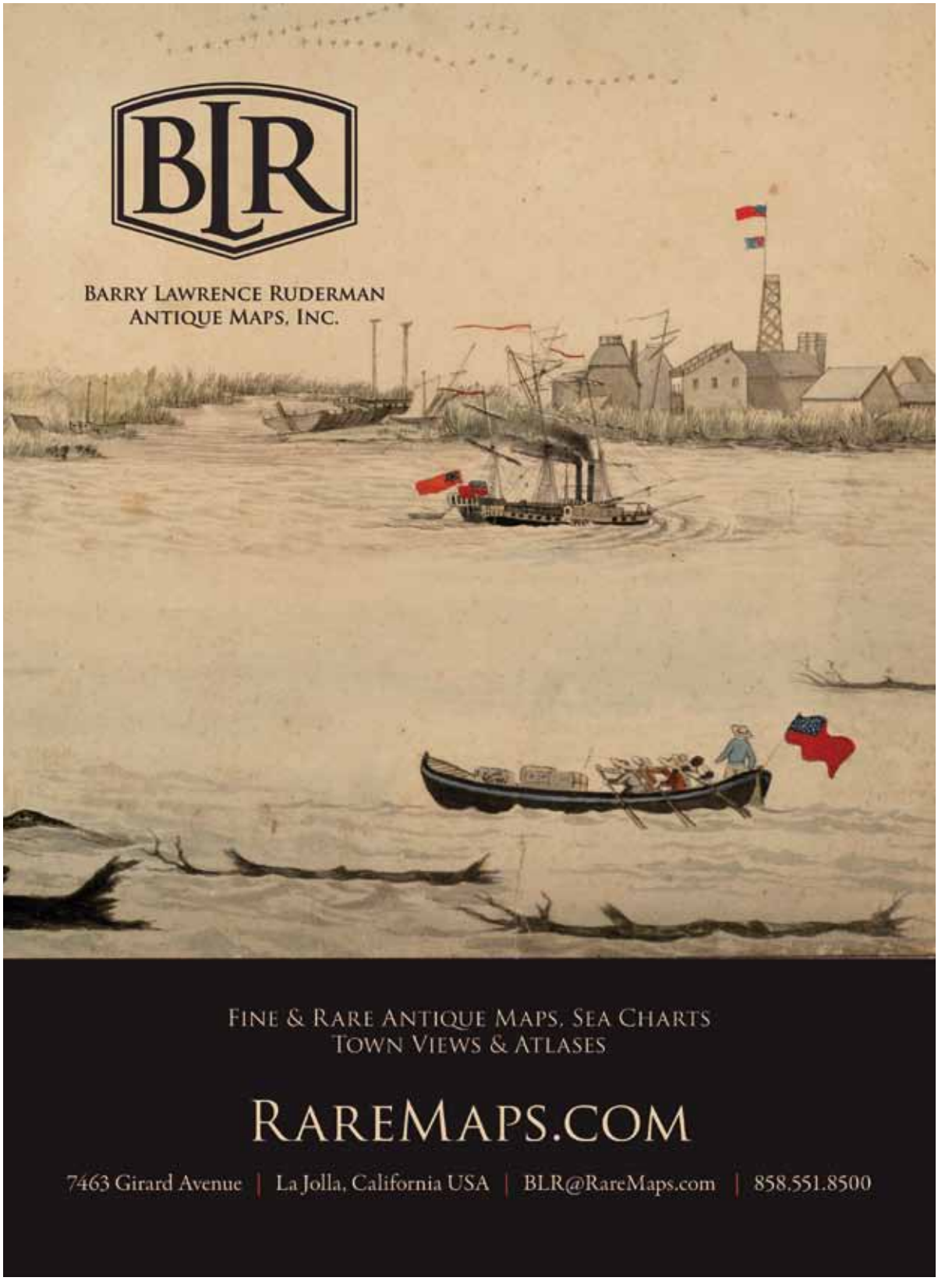


Map Fairs

6–7 June 2015, London
Royal Geographic Society, Kensington
London Map Fair
Admission free. Information: www.londonmapfairs.com

23–25 October 2015, Chicago
Loyola University Museum of Art
The Chicago International Map Fair
The fair will also consist of 4 lectures, a sponsored exhibit from the MacLean Collection, and two tours of the Newberry Library Map Collection. Tickets are free to those who register for the fair before 1 July. After that, they will be $10 for the weekend. Information: www.chicagomapfair.com

7 November 2015, Paris
Hotel Ambassador, 16, Bd Haussmann.
14th Paris Map-Fair
A pre-Map-Fair cocktail reception will be held Friday 6 November at 7.30pm in Salle Mogador, Hotel Ambassador. A cocktail reception will be held for visitors and participating dealers. Reservation is needed. Information: www.map-fair.com/Paris


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YOU WRITE TO US

'Beans Atlas' correction

Issue No. 140 looks great. I think you are doing a fine job with the *Journal*.

Regarding Dr. Ganado's very interesting article, I can clear up some confusion regarding the provenance (and title of the article). George H. Beans collected 16th-century Italian maps, and also Japanese maps of the Togugara period, for many years (and frequently contributed to *Imago Mundi*). His Japanese map collection is in the University of British Columbia library.

He did not sell his Italian maps to Roy Boswell in 1966. In 1963 he sold them partially to H. P. Kraus and partially to me. My lot included the 'Beans Atlas', which I sold to Roy Boswell in 1965. A few years later Boswell telephoned, offering to sell the atlas back to me if I would fly to San Francisco where he would meet me at the airport and exchange the book for my check. I did so and returned with the book to Chicago on the next flight. It remained in my collection for the next 30+ years until my sale at Christie's in New York in 2012.

Ken Nebenzahl, Illinois

Maps in a Scottish setting

I am writing to express my thanks and appreciation for the recent Perth weekend. In doing so, besides giving where credit is due, I hope to stimulate others to get more involved in such events. It is easy to see participation in a society like IMCoS as something to 'do when I am less busy'. However, retirement and IMCoS do not have to be synonymous! I am still travelling the world for business, and in fact I find that gives me more of an appetite for maps, not less.

Besides, Perth, my wife and I had attended an IMCoS day in Bath long ago. I had been to a day meeting with the Society to Birmingham Public Library even longer ago. All three experiences have proven to me the strong community of the map world. Perth included a great mix of 'mappy' things and social stuff. My wife Lesley is not a keen map person, but she felt both welcomed and engaged throughout the days. What really struck me is the enthusiasm of the participants.

Margaret, Diana and the Royal Scottish Geographical Society made it a weekend to remember. Valerie made sure everything went incredibly smoothly. The 'goodie bags' were also appreciated. We were all stunned by the way Margaret Wilkes had searched out a specific map or print that reflected the core interests of each member – the maps coming almost entirely from the Cuthbert Collection at the RSGS. I do recommend that you visit them at the 'Fair Maid's House' if remotely nearby. You will find their upstairs 'research and relax' room alone well worth that detour.

Whoever arranged the weather also did a great job. Blair Castle shone in the sun. I had never seen Dunkeld in real sunlight before. It makes a difference! The final dinner together in the Royal George Hotel Perth was an ideal finishing touch.

Dr Mike Sweeting, Wensleydale, UK

A questionable identity

l want to address just a few words to you and to the readers of the *IMCoS Journal* about Hans Kok's presentation of a chart of the Southern Seas from *Dell'Arcano del Mare*, by Sir Robert Dudley.

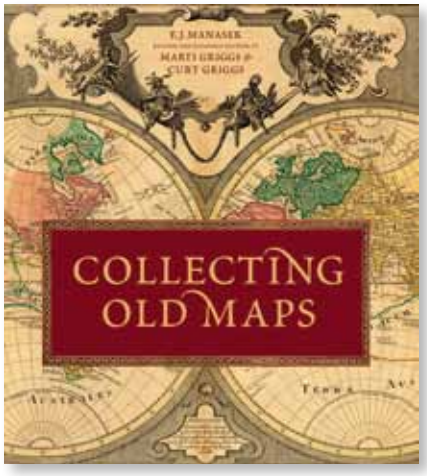
I was just a little bit surprised by a sentence which defines the work as 'the first English sea-Atlas of the whole world'. Why the editor of the Report of the IMCoS Collectors' Meeting in London (31 January 2015) defined it as an English output is almost obscure to me. The atlas was drawn in Florence, while Sir Robert Dudley worked at the court of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany ruled by Medici's Ferdinando I, Cosimo II and Ferdinando II; engraved by an Italian artist Antonio Francesco Lucini; published by an Italian printer Francesco Onofri in Florence; and, above all, it is written in Italian.

For all the above-mentioned reasons I put it in the list of my Italian Atlases as I supposed it was Italian. Have I to change my mind and delete it from my list?

Vladimiro Valerio, Italy

BOOK REVIEWS

Collecting Old Maps by Francis J. Manasek.
Marti & Curt Griggs Sedona, Arizona, 2015.
ISBN 978-0-692-25936-8. HB with dust jacket,
352, 408 illus. US $75.



From a map collector's viewpoint, a lot of time has passed since Francis J. Manasek first published *Collecting Old Maps* in 1997. Collectors have become more sophisticated and knowledgeable, the hobby has expanded, societies, dealers and auction houses have multiplied and, not least, the advent of the Internet has put a new face to the hobby. In this 2015, second, revised and expanded edition, the new authors, map collectors and dealers Marti and Curt Griggs of OldMaps.com, who purchased the rights to the publication, have taken every aspect of the development of the hobby into account and have produced a stupendous and useful – effectively new – book.

The voluminous tome (240 mm x 250 mm x 34 mm, weighing a hefty 2 kilos) is a combined coffee-table book and a reference work that will appeal as much to the casual book lover as it will to a student of maps and cartography, seeking further knowledge. It has all the elements of an aesthetically appealing work of literature, with excellent and plush illustrations, a comfortable and well-balanced font and, maybe most importantly, an easy to follow and attractive layout. Academically, it is equally versatile, with detailed and accurate information presented in an easy to read text with an extensive bibliography; and a comprehensive content which covers every conceivable aspect of map collecting.

The 351-page book is conveniently divided into two sections. The first half, up to page 148, consists of eight chapters covering in great detail standard themes such as the art of collecting, types of maps, forgeries, condition and colouring, as well as the map-market and hints on storing. These several chapters are interspersed with fascinating single page and unrelated map curiosities, headed 'Cartographic Miscellany'. The second half of the book is an impressive 'Timeline' beginning with a fold-out illustrated graph, followed by single-page entries of selected years starting with the fifteenth century and ending in 1962, looking into the space age. The illustrations alone, with their extended explanatory captions, justify the full value of the book. They are almost all in colour and often there are several to the page. The last 50 pages are devoted to six appendices of which the first, titled 'The Map Collector's Reference Library', has already been acknowledged. It is an extensive and useful ten-page bibliography with most of the classical and well-known works as well as new publications updated to 2013. They are listed under a large number of various headings, which include Internet sites, and bring the subject right up to date. This is followed by a very useful glossary which includes a section on decoding Roman numerals and another explaining the French revolutionary calendar. Other appendices discuss paper and watermarks, another looks at resources for the collector, the fifth appendix considers the general subject of housing a collection and the last, and most intriguing, looks at symbolism and allegory so prevalent in old maps. The index is a further addition.

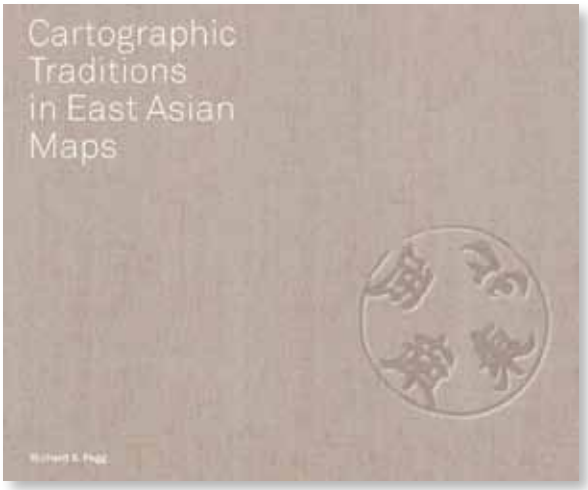
There is really very little that can be criticised about this marvellous publication. If I were pressed, however, I would admit some slight frustration at the frequent partial and sectional illustrations. Whilst such enlargements of one small (or large) section of the map may prove very useful in emphasising an aspect of the map, I was able to count 32 details in the first four chapters. I feel, considering the size of the volume, more complete maps could have been accommodated into these large pages.

The book comes very highly recommended to all, suitable for the neophyte and expert alike.

Yasha Beresiner, London

Cartographic Traditions in East Asian Maps

by Richard A. Pegg. *University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2014. ISBN 978-0-8248-4765-4. HB, 126, 130 col. illus. US $40.*



This book introduces a number of maps from three East Asian countries – China, Korea and Japan – all of which belong to the MacLean collection in Chicago, one of the world's largest private collections of maps. The author is the director and curator of Asian Art for the collection.

The book focuses on a fairly small number of maps, primarily from the eighteenth and nineteen centuries. This collection seems to be young but it does not mean that its maps are without interest. These centuries represent major change – the industrial revolution and the period when leading Western countries were trying to find new markets in East Asian countries. China and Japan had to face the modernisation of their military, economic and cultural power. Their doors slowly opened to western influences and the contact gradually influenced the cartography of the East Asian countries. This period coincides with my particular collecting interest.

In the chapter dedicated to China, ten maps of four different categories are introduced. The first category includes two large printed maps of the Qing Empire. One of them is a reverse woodblock printed in blue. The second is a travelling map for the Emperor 'Imperial Ancestral Grave Visit Map', dated 1778. Qing dynasty came from a Manchu tribe, so the Emperor travelled from Beijing to Youngling every several years. This is a very rare piece. In the third category is a double-hemisphere world map dated to 1800. The last category includes six Beijing town plans from different periods which reflect the different styles of mapmaking, and includes an example of a twentieth-century map.

In discussing mapping in Korea, the author notes the role of Feng Shui in geography and the use of geomancy, which help explain the prominent role of the depiction of major mountains in old Korean maps. Four categories of maps and atlases are shown in this chapter. The first category includes two maps of the complete Joseon dynasty; one is a manuscript and the other printed. In the second category is 'Map of Northern and Western Frontiers of Korea'; this is very similar to one held at the Seoul National University. The author suggests that it must be the first-draft map. In the third category are three provincial atlases including neighbouring foreign countries. The last category contains world maps *Cheonhado*, mostly from the above atlases. The world was represented as a round plate with a continent in the middle surrounded by an ocean, which in turn was framed by a narrow band of land. This is very unique and can be better understood from a Feng Shui perspective.

In discussing Japan, the author has emphasised the point that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Japan kept a limited trade relationship with Holland. Six categories of maps are examined in this chapter. The first one includes a map of Japan on a ceramic plate; exactly speaking, it has no practical function but rather, is a decorative item. Amongst the second group are three versions of 'Complete Map of Japan' dated 1840 (reprint of 1775), 1852 and 1879. In the third category is a Buddhist's world map of 1710. India is depicted as the largest country, and is placed in the centre of the map with China, Korea and Japan placed, in order, to the right. Europe is represented as a small island in the upper left. In the fourth category are city plans of Yedo and Tokyo. A comparison of the Yedo plan (1859) with the Tokyo plan (1894) is most interesting. It reveals not only the changes that took place in the city over 35 years but also the developments in printing techniques used and changing aesthetics of cartography. A Kyoto city plan dated 1716–36 appears in the fifth category, while in the last are bird's-eye views of Yokohama city which was opened as a trade harbour to Westerners in 1859. All of the Japanese maps and plans here are printed ones and were commercially sold.

The book prompts consideration of the cartographic traditions shared by these three East Asian countries. Most distinctive is the use of Chinese characters by

every country. Each nation could understand the form. Also, the ways of cartographic depiction are sometimes very similar. But I must point out the importance of the application of the principles of Feng Shui to cartography in this area of the world.

In ancient China, geography meant Feng Shui, and it was used in cartography, town planning, house planning and grave building.[1] Even today it is still very influential in China and Korea. Japan was less influenced by Feng Shui, except in house planning; however, it is one of the important shared elements of East Asian cartography.

Travel became very popular in Japan among ordinary people and with it came the publication of maps, plans and views. In contrast, in China and Korea, the use of maps was regarded as inappropriate for lower ranking people and as a consequence distribution of maps was limited, which in turn, has created many challenges for present day map collectors focusing on these areas: China and Korea.

Kazumasa Yamashita, Japan

Notes

1 See my article 'Feng Shui Maps: A chance discovery', *IMCoS Journal*, Autumn 2010, No. 122.

Lafreri, Italian cartography in the Renaissance

edited by Karen De Coene, Eddy Maes, Wim Van Roy, Philippe De Maeyer. *Sint-Niklaas, KOKW and the University of Ghent, 2014. ISBN 978-90-822-9481-1. PB. 154, many ill. (13 with partial MS col.). €25.*



Visitors to the impressively modern Mercatormuseum in Sint-Niklaas (southwest of Antwerp) can view the results of 20 years' conservation work on the Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Waas (KOKW) [Society of Antiquaries of the Land van Waas]'s excellently-displayed 'Lafreri' atlas maps.

Additional to the free list of forty-three exhibited maps is the accompanying book to the exhibition – reviewed here. This consists chiefly of an introductory essay 'Entrepreneurship and networks in the Italian map trade. The creation of the [Italian composite] atlas' by Ghent University's Karen De Coene and Philippe De Maeyer with references to the 'Bibliography' on pp. 148–149. On this KOKW atlas the latter had co-authored the article 'Italian composite atlases and a Belgian undescribed copy' in *The Cartographic Journal* (British Cartographic Society), November 2008, 45(4), pp. [296]–303, giving a 'preview' to the present exhibition and book. An expanded list of all 96 maps of the atlas on pp. 43–49 follows, adding (when present and identified) details of the watermarks; for brevity each map is referred to by a 'KOKW' number with, when possible, R. V. Tooley's number from his innovatory listing 'Maps in Italian atlases of the sixteenth century' in *Imago Mundi*, 1939, 3, pp. 12–47.

The book's main corpus is formed by illustrations in black-and-white or grey; the occasional colouring being 'contemporary' red underlining of selected toponyms on a few maps, or of water-colouring of two buildings in Venice. Alas, most (all?) of the maps illustrated – some possibly at original size, others obviously reduced or enlarged – have been so trimmed that we cannot tell, here, the dimensions of the originals: this information is, however, to be found in the above-cited *Cartographic Journal* article! Space, in this reviewer's opinion, is occasionally wasted by extracts and/or enlargements from perfectly legible fuller illustrations in this main corpus being repeated in the introductory essay: KOKW 22, 23, 26, 30, 32, 33, 47, 48, 48B, 49, 53, 59, 66, 68, 74 and 77 are, regrettably, not illustrated. Oddly, an extract of KOKW 93 ('Ultimo disegno delle forti di Malta …') on p. 33 is omitted on the double-spread illustration on pp. [114]–[115].

Groups of between five to nine consecutive illustration pages are un-numbered. The very first illustrations on pp. [3] and [4] lack page and KOKW numbers (apparently 41 & 39 respectively) and a caption; on pp. 36–[37] is an un-captioned enlarged extract from pp. [62]–[63] of [KOKW 79]; [KOKW 35] is illustrated on p. [42]. These aspects of overall typographic and editorial design could be described as 'idiosyncratic – if not unhelpful.

An ongoing problem in the cartographic world, to

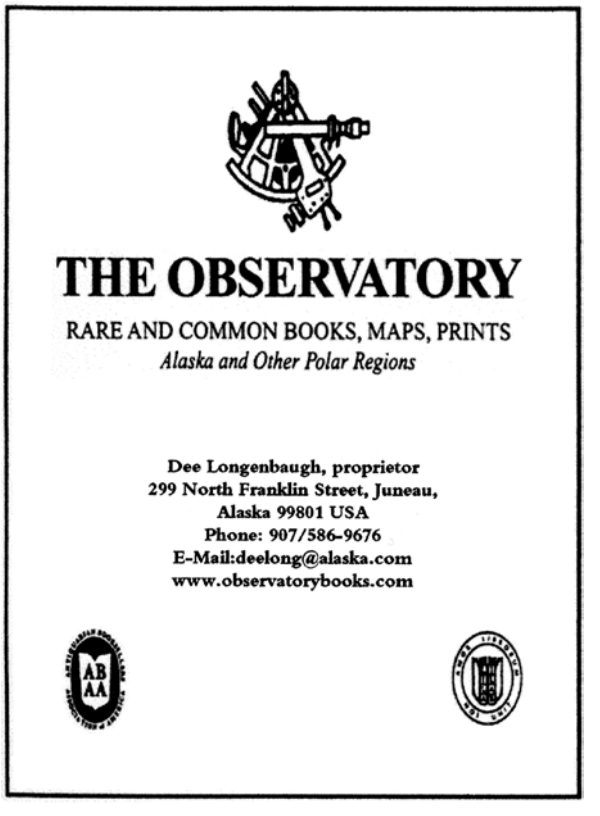
precisely identify states of 'Lafreri' prints, is the ambivalence and limitations of textual bibliographic descriptions; all such maps need to be scanned to the paper's edges, with the watermarks, and made publicly available worldwide. The point was voiced strongly by this reviewer at the conclusion of a 'Table ronde' chaired by Jean-Marc Besse at the École française de Rome, in January 2013. Such a project would explain that KOKW 29, 30 and 53 – each here described as "Untitled …" – are the NW, NE and SE sheets of the 4-sheet 'Geographia particolare d'una gran parte dell'Europa … Opera nuoua di Giacopo Castaldi piamontese' by Fabio Licinio; while the SW sheet (KOKW 47, not illustrated) carries the complete map's title and author statements. Interrogation directly of either the Bibliothèque nationale de France's catalogue http://catalogue.bnf.fr (leading to its 'Gallica' site, with both metadata and zoomable high-quality images), or indirectly through Europeana www.europeana.eu/portal will help resolve some such problems of identification. And that KOKW 27 ("Untitled: Franconia, Bohemia, Bavaria Hegora [!], Suevia …") is an earlier state, with blank cartouche, of 'La descrittione del Ducato di Bauiera, con gl altri [!] Dominij … reuisto et dato in luce l'Anno.M.D.LXVI. Paulo Forlani Veronese, Intagliatore.f.' This identification, however, is taken from entry No. 84 in *The maps and prints of Paolo Forlani: a descriptive bibliography*, by David Woodward (1990) – omitted from this book's 'Bibliography'.

For seventeen of the KOKW's Lafreri printed maps that cover the whole, or regions, of today's Italy the reviewer would recommend referring to *Cartografia rara italiana: XVI secolo: l'Italia e i suoi territori: catalogo ragionato delle carte a stampa*, by Stefano Bifolco and Fabrizio Ronca (2014). This book's first edition helpfully includes a high-quality image of one state of each map – complete to its paper edges – with frequent enlargements of either cartouches or decorative elements (or both); a census of Lafreri atlases and collections lists 151 numbered maps (different states bring the total to 327 items). Thirty-eight variants of 'Lafreri' or 'IATO' collections are surveyed; of these *atlas factices* a fuller list is supplied of those recorded as extant, with 'uncertain locations' and those 'dispersed or destroyed'.

One collection, listed as "Bruxelles, Ghent University" is an "Atlante di 96 mappe" – understood by this reviewer to refer to the KOKW atlas in Sint-Niklaas. Although the present KOKW/University of Ghent book's back cover notes the atlas, when donated in 1863, had "94 rare old maps. The most recent date from 1567 …", Bifolco and Ronca indicate that KOKW 46 (illustrated on p. [111]) is in its first state (of two) from c. 1580. The small discrepancy between 94 and 96 engraved plates is probably due to the presence of two (KOKW 48 & 48B) that are place-name indexes.

Readers who attended the 13th International Symposium of IMCoS in October 1994 (one of the Gerard Mercator anniversary years), based in Antwerp, may recall the visit to the Mercatormuseum Sint-Niklaas to view the 'Lafreri' atlas maps, and the gift of the booklet *Italiaanse cartografie uit de sestiende eeuw* (25 un-numbered leaves) with its welcoming introduction by KOKW's chairman, Alfred Van der Gucht. How rewarding it must be for him, 20 years later, to see finally realised his then objective of the Society of Antiquaries of the Land van Waas to conserve, exhibit, lecture and to commence research more fully on, its 'Lafreri' atlas.

Francis Herbert, London



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IMCoS NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

America, Central Erika Bornholt PO Box 1376, Guatemala City erikab@ufm.edu
America, South Lorenzo Guller Frers magallanes@sion.com
Australia Prof. Robert Clancy clancy_robert@hotmail.com
Austria Dr Stefaan J. Missinne Unt. Weissgerberstr. 5-4, 1030 Vienna
Belgium Stanislas De Peuter stanislas.depeuter@hotmail.com
Canada Edward H. Dahl ed.dahl@sympatico.ca
Croatia Dubravka Mlinaric dubravka.mlinaric@zg.t-com.hr
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