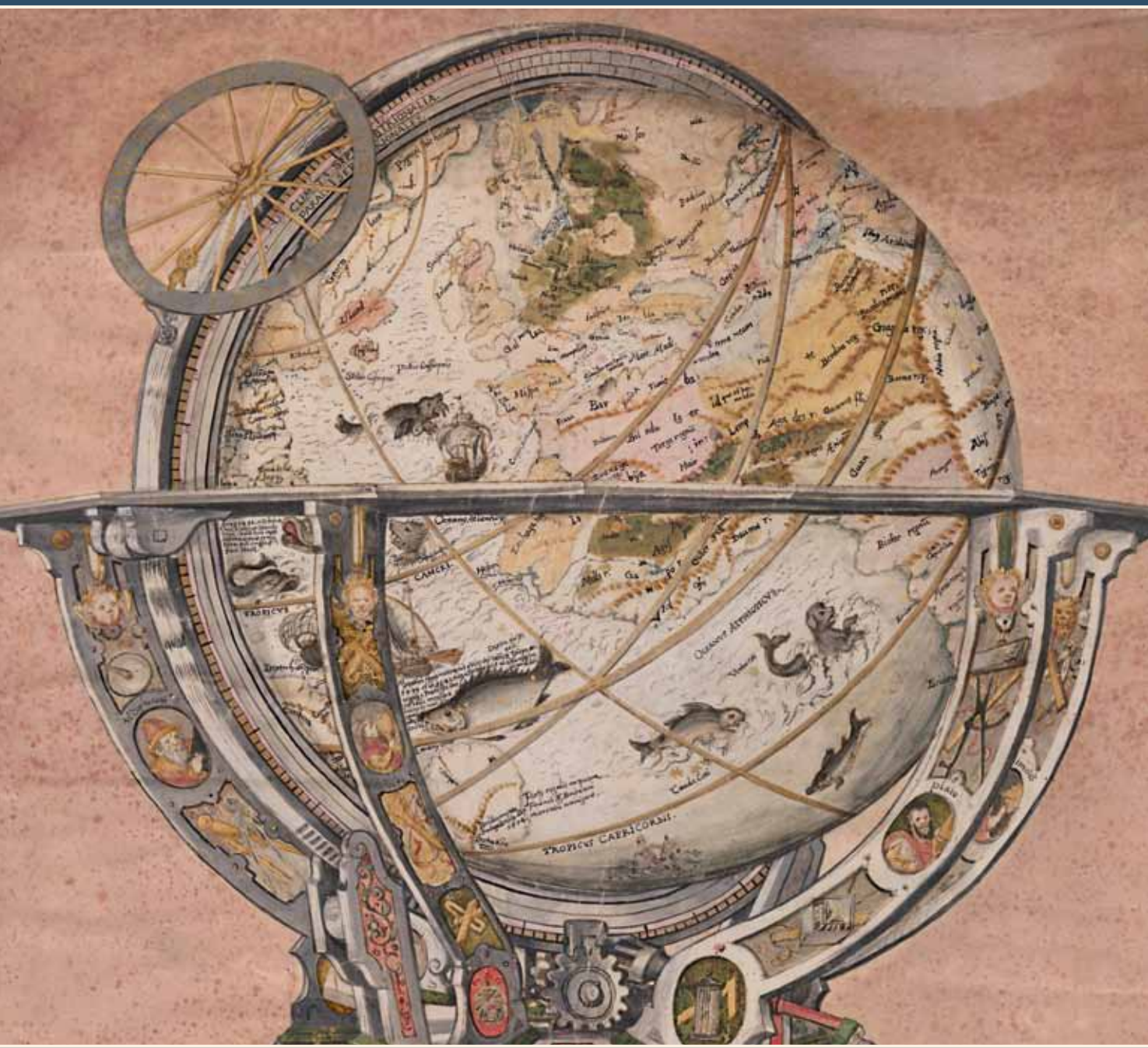
INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

IMCS JOURNAL

SPRING 2016 No.144



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JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

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Front cover
Detail from the likeness of the St Gallen Globe painted on vellum. 1571/1595. © Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Wak R 25. Full image on p.16.

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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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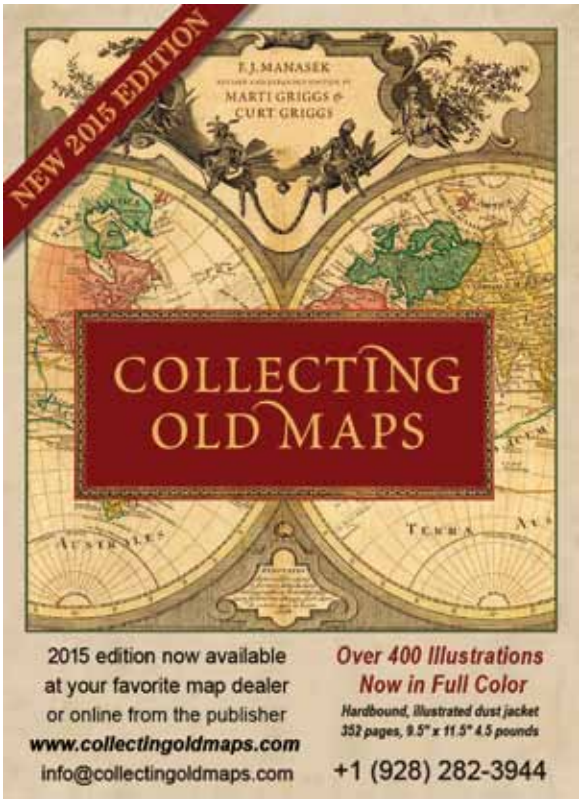
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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE & APPOINTED OFFICERS

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

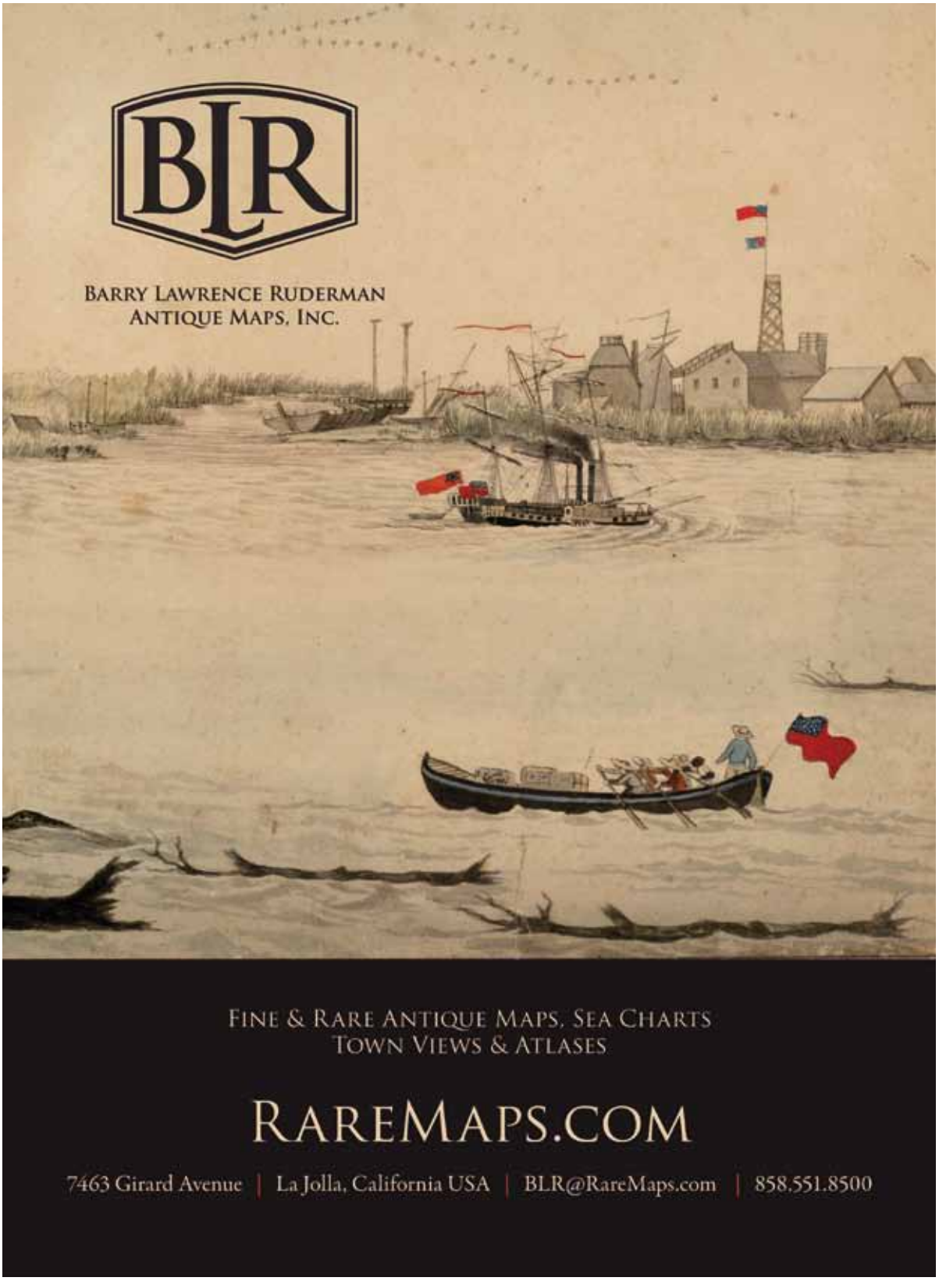
The map fairs in Paris (November) and Miami (February) are well behind us; so will the fair at Maastricht/Netherlands and the Stuttgart Antiquarian Book Fair in Germany be by the time you read this. And these are not the only ones worldwide, of course! Let us look forward to the London Map Fair in June (with the IMCoS June-weekend) and the Chicago Map Fair in the Windy City which will be held in October, just after the 34th IMCoS International Symposium, that this year combines with the Nebenzahl Lectures. The latter, by the way, are celebrating an impressive 50-year anniversary. We lift our cartographic hats to Kenneth and Jossy Nebenzahl! Chicago is a cartography hotspot, and apart from the Newberry Library, the city is home to a remarkable number of first-class private collections.

Your chairman recently got hold of the, so far, one and only, and earliest Ortelius map of a Roman fort: 'Brittenburg', (1566). Now under water, half a mile off the Dutch coast it has eluded those who have been searching for it since 1562, although it has showed up a couple of times at extreme low tides. A number of statues, coins and stones from it have washed up on the beach since then. A rare atlas by Roggeveen, containing some of the earliest Dutch charts of the east coast of America, when New York was still known as *Nieuw Amsterdam*, has popped up, having spent an unknown number of years behind a cupboard in a large mansion in Belgium. Only its binding needs restoration. No doubt, other interesting finds have taken place since our last issue: may your new map be amongst them!

The Society is proud indeed that Peter Barber, after retiring from the British Library, has agreed to become our President; our promise not to take up too much of his newly-available time has not deterred him from giving the Malcolm Young Lecture on Friday 3 June at the IMCoS Annual Dinner in London.

Quite a number of books on the history of cartography have been coming off the presses, of late, and more are in the pipeline, we hear. Although the map trade still suffers from decreased activity in the lower and medium price ranges, it is heartening to see that all these new publications are finding customers interested in buying them. Maybe it is a sign of a renewed and growing interest in the subject. Hopefully it represents a step-up in turnover for the trade and, from the collectors' point of view, an end to the diminishing number of map outlets without creating an explosion in prices, as happened some years ago. This is for the benefit of collectors and trade alike. The cyclic effects of the map economy may differ in frequency, but please, not with too much in amplitude, as it has had some devastating long-term consequences.

The members of our Executive Committee join me in wishing you all: wisdom, fun and a little bit of luck when hunting for your next treasure-to-be!


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WELCOME TO OUR NEW MEMBERS

Peter Zacharias, USA

Haldor Harridsleff, Norway

Les Harris, Canada
Collection interest: North America

Josip Faricic, Croatia
Collection interest: Old maps and charts with depiction of Croatia and Adriatic Sea

Dan Howard, Australia
Collection interest: The World, Pacific & Military maps (all periods)

David Voremberg, USA

Mike Steggles, UK

Garth Adams, USA

Peyman Achouri, Germany

Kevin J. Ryan, UK
Collection interest: 16th–19th century maps

Patrick Janssens, Belgium
Collection interest: Marine maps, battle, travel

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Please take a minute to check this by going to the **Members area** of our website **www.imcos.org**

Alternatively, send an email to **Peter Walker** at **financialsecretariat@imcos.org** who can update your details for you.



FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

According to the current stream of catalogues and magazines it is *de rigueur* to have your sofa swathed with throws emblazoned with world maps and plumped by cushions printed with the same; your cupboard drawers titivated with knobs detailed with a map; your walls papered with redesigned historical maps and your feet comforted by rugs bearing images of the continents. Maps have become a fashion statement: 'Put your home on the map' was a short advertorial featured in *The Guardian Weekend* in January this year. It was promoting cartographic wares, not the type that will assist you on your travels but rather something more for the armchair traveller. Chosen by the *Weekend* style editor, no doubt following a brief that 'maps are in', the page illustrated a chest of drawers, lamp, wall clock, door handles, coasters, bookends, cushion, paperweight and posters – all decorated with a map or parts thereof. Furthermore, many of these items can be personalised: at your request your bookends can feature your neighbourhood; helpful at a forgetful moment when you need reminding of where you are.

How widely have maps, used as design motifs, caught the imagination of the high-street market? Insert 'map' into your Internet search engine and be prepared to be aghast by what has been 'mapified'. Apart from the familiar items of stationery and clothing, there are toasters, window shades, pencil holders, wreaths, light switches, light globes and perfume bottles, to mention a few. The map has been appropriated by all manner of designers and manufacturers. However, the *pièce de résistance* must be maps as body art: tattoos and do-it-yourself nail transfers for which the instructions are as follows: '1. Paint your nails white/cream; 2. Soak nails in alcohol for five minutes; 3. Press nails to map and hold; 4. Paint with clear protectant immediately after it dries.'[1] Further advice on that subject comes from a fellow surfer, geography professor Seth Dixon at Rhode Island College: 'This also works with newspaper, but don't try it with NatGeo Maps because the paper is of too high a quality to have the ink bleed out; I would recommend using an old USGS Topo map.'[2]

The irony is that as use of the paper map diminishes in favour of the digital medium, public curiosity about a cartography based largely on pen and paper appears to be growing. The big question is: how can we convert that enthusiasm into an increased IMCoS membership? Over to you.

1 uk.pinterest.com/pin/98164466848927641/ [accessed 10 February 2016].
2 www.scoop.it/t/geography-education [accessed 10 February 2016].

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Frederik de Wit, 1660

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Forthcoming Events

15–17 April 2016
Maps galore on IMCoS visit to Durham

A true cornucopia of maps will greet members of IMCoS who have signed up for our three-day event in the cathedral city of Durham (15–17 April 2016). We arrive on Thursday evening 14 April for an early start the next day at the magnificent Norman cathedral, considered one of the finest cathedrals in Europe and a World Heritage Site. Here we will start with a guided tour followed by an exclusive visit to the Cathedral Library where we are promised a viewing of some of their cartographic gems including Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), Mercator's *Atlas Minor* (1607), Jefferys' *American Atlas* (1776), Jansson's *Novus Atlas* (1646–1650) and a number of other historically significant books and maps. We will then have lunch together in the medieval Priors Hall, not normally open to the public. The Cathedral is currently building a 300,000 brick Lego model, which we will be able to view (or add to!), to raise funds for the £10 million 'Open Treasure' development.

The following day we head off up the hill to the County Record Office for a viewing of their maps and plans from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which showcase the county's industrial heritage and landed estates. Later we will go to St John's College (part of the University) to view a display of selected plans, views, maps and charts from the collections of Ray Eddy and Jenny and Ian Harvey. These will include a rare portrait of John Howson, Bishop of Durham from 1628 to 1632, 'The Iconography of the Cathedral Church of Durham' showing the interior of the cathedral c. 1680, plus plans of the City of Durham and many maps of the county, atlases including maps of Durham, and charts of the north-east coast including one by Robert Dudley dated 1646.



'The Bishopricke and Cite of Durham'. John Speed's 1612 map of County Durham with an inset of the city in the top right-hand corner.

It will then be time for drinks and our group dinner in the Orangery of St John's College. We hope to be joined by Professor Paul Harvey, who lives in Durham and was last year's winner of the IMCoS / Helen Wallis Award, and our new President, Peter Barber, formerly Head of Map Collections at The British Library (now retired).

Our last day (Sunday) will be spent at Raby Castle, a coach journey from Durham. Although not open to the public on that day, we will be given a guided tour of this historic castle which is home to Lord Barnard and his family. We will see many family portraits, the library which is full of rare porcelain, and the Barons Hall, plus two special atlases which will be on display exclusively for us. All we need in addition is some Spring sunshine!

If you haven't booked please do so asap. The registration form was in the Winter issue No 143.

Valerie Newby

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3 June 2016
IMCoS Annual Dinner & Malcolm Young Lecture
We look forward to welcoming members to our annual dinner and the Malcolm Young Lecture which will be held at the Civil Service Club, 13–15 Great Scotland Yard, London SW1A 2HJ. The Club is a short walk away from Charing Cross and Embankment underground stations.

6.20pm Reception in the Elizabethan Room.
7pm The Malcolm Young Lecture in the Dining Room: 'Mapping Dangerous Spaces' by Peter Barber
Mapmakers have often been required by their patrons to map dangerous spaces. But what constitutes a dangerous space and how have they been conveyed cartographically through the ages? Peter will explain.
8pm Dinner followed by the presentation of the IMCoS / Helen Wallis Award.
The citation will be given by Tony Campbell, former Map Librarian at the British Library.

The charge for the evening will be £50, which includes the three-course dinner and lecture. Please fill out the leaflet enclosed with this issue of the *Journal* and return to the IMCoS Secretariat.

A list of members attending the dinner will be supplied to the Civil Service Club 48 hours before the event. Unannounced attendees risk being refused admittance.

4 June 2016
IMCoS Annual General Meeting
The AGM will start promptly at 10am in the Lowther Room at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR. Members are welcome but please fill in the form enclosed with this issue of the *Journal* as a list of attendees needs to be supplied to the RGS.

4–5 June 2016
London Map Fair
Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR (Entrance Exhibition Road)
Open: Saturday 4 June 2015 12pm to 7pm
Sunday 5 June 2015 10am to 6pm

London Map Fair Lectures
Saturday 6 June 2.30pm RGS Ondaatje Theatre
Mapseller and fair co-organiser Tim Bryars and the British Library's curator of antiquarian mapping Tom Harper will explore some of the maps and themes of their book, *A History of the 20th Century in 100 Maps*. Talks by Ashley Baynton-Williams throughout the weekend on map collecting for beginners.

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14 September 2016
The Collectors' Evening
The Collectors' Evening this year will be held on Wednesday 14 September at the Civil Service Club, 13–15 Great Scotland Yard, Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2HJ. Refreshments will be available from 6pm in the Milner-Barry Room followed by the meeting in the Elizabethan Room. Bring along your maps to discuss with other members or to have identified by our knowledgeable chairman, Francis Herbert. He has suggested the dual themes of map postcards (i.e. the map occupying the whole or a constituent part of the image side) or maps for promoting travel and tourism but if this is not your collecting area do feel free to bring a map of your choice. We will have the facility of showing large maps on screen (please bring on a memory stick) so no need to carry large tubes on the underground! A charge of £20 will be made to cover hire of the room and refreshments. Do come along and make this a successful and interesting evening. Nearest underground stations are Embankment and Charing Cross.



24–30 October 2016, Chicago, USA
- **34th IMCoS International Symposium**
- **50th Anniversary Nebenzahl Lectures**
- **4th Chicago International Map Fair**



Bird's eye view of Chicago, 1857. Lithograph by Christian Inger. Chicago Historical Society (ICHi-05656).

The Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library, the Chicago Map Society, and the Chicago International Map Fair cordially invite you to Chicago in October 2016 for the 34th International Symposium. The symposium will be held in conjunction with the Nineteenth Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the lecture series. These events will be followed by the 4th Chicago International Map Fair.

In 1966 the Newberry Library invited Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, Keeper of the Map Room of the British Library, to Chicago to deliver a series of four lectures on the theme, *The Study and Collecting of Early Maps*. Skelton's lectures, later published as an influential book by the University of Chicago Press, launched the oldest series of public lectures specifically devoted to the history of cartography. Over the years, the Nebenzahl Lectures have consistently broken new ground in cartographic study, and have played a central role in the field's remarkable growth.

To commemorate this anniversary, the nineteenth series of the Nebenzahl Lectures returns to its first theme: the relationship between map collecting and the historical study of cartography. It seemed natural to us to invite IMCoS, the only international organisation for map collectors, to hold their annual symposium in conjunction with the Lectures. And, what better way to conclude the week than with a global gathering of antiquarian map dealers at the Chicago International Map Fair.

Participating institutions

The Newberry Library, Chicago
Adler Planetarium, Chicago
American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
MacLean Collection, Green Oaks, Illinois
Chicago Map Society
4th Chicago International Map Fair

Programme summary

The theme for the IMCoS symposium will be 'Private Map Collecting and Public Map Collections in the United States'. Early arrivals are invited to a welcome reception at the Newberry Library on **Monday evening (24 October)**.

Sessions on **Tuesday (25 October)** at the Newberry will feature papers examining the role that private map collectors have played in the creation and development of major public historical map collections throughout the United States over the past century, given by the curators of renowned research map collections from across the United States. That evening we will visit Chicago's Adler Planetarium for the annual banquet, accompanied by a sky show and a viewing of an exhibition specially prepared for the occasion featuring the Adler's world renowned collections of celestial cartography and scientific instruments. There will be an opportunity as well to visit the planetarium's splendid permanent exhibitions.

On **Wednesday (26 October)** symposium participants will travel to the campus of the University of

Wisconsin-Milwaukee, where the staff of the American Geographical Society Library will have prepared an exhibition of the library's map treasures, to be followed by a light lunch and lecture. On our return to Chicago we will visit the MacLean Collection, Green Oaks, Illinois, where the staff is preparing an exhibition on the mapping and settlement of the American West featuring the collection's renowned holdings of American wall maps.

On **Thursday (27 October)** there will be free time in the morning and afternoon to explore Chicago's famous museums, parks and architecture. That evening the Nebenzahl Lectures, 'Maps, Their Collecting and Study: A Fifty Year Retrospective', will open with a reception and commemoration of the Lectures' contributions to the history of cartography, followed by the keynote lecture by Matthew Edney. The lectures will continue on Friday and Saturday morning **(28–29 October)**. Featured speakers will include James Akerman, Peter Barber, Peter Nekola, Richard Pegg and Susan Schulten.

The 4th Chicago International Map Fair will be held at the Chicago Cultural Center on **Saturday and Sunday (29–30 October)**. A separate registration is required for the fair.

Fees and Registration

The symposium registration fee of $250 is all-inclusive of all the events associated with the IMCoS and the Nebenzahl Lectures, including the annual banquet, receptions, and tours. Further information and the electronic registration form may be found on the Newberry Library's website at www.newberry.org/2016IMCoSSymposium.

Please note that the Chicago International Map Fair requires a separate registration fee. For information, go to www.chicagomapfair.com.

Accommodation

We have reserved a block of rooms at The Talbott Hotel, 20 East Delaware Place, two blocks from the Newberry, for the use of IMCoS Symposium registrants. The special symposium rate for single or double rooms (i.e., one or two beds) is $205 per night. This rate applies for the nights of 23 October (Sunday) through 29 October (Saturday). For reservations, registrants must contact the hotel directly at (01) 312-397-3619. When making a reservation, please be sure to indicate that you are part of the IMCoS/Newberry event. The rooms will be held at this rate until 23 September 2016. Fall is a busy season for Chicago hotels, and registrants are encouraged to make their reservations as soon as possible. Persons attending the symposium are welcome to make reservations at another of the many hotels near the Newberry. Several hotels offer rooms for guests at Newberry rates. For information about these and other hotels near the Newberry, visit the listing provided on the Newberry's website at www.newberry.org/accommodations-and-dining.

Contact

- **Andrew Epps** Conference Secretary, The Newberry Library, 60 W. Walton Street, Chicago, IL 60610 USA Tel (01) 312-255-3541 Email eppsa@newberry.org

- **Jim Akerman** Symposium Convener, The Newberry Library, 60 W. Walton Street, Chicago, IL 60610 USA Tel (01) 312-255-3523 Email akermanj@newberry.org

Important Web Addresses

The Newberry Library www.newberry.org
International Map Collectors Society www.imcos.org
Chicago International Map Fair www.chicagomapfair.com
Chicago Map Society www.chicagomapsociety.org
American Geographical Society Library uwm.edu/libraries/agsl
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The Talbott Hotel www.jdvhotels.com/hotels/illinois/chicago-hotels/the-talbott-hotel



Chicago skyline looking across Lake Michigan. Author: Bladerunner2019.

Preliminary Programme*

34th International Symposium,
International Map Collectors' Society

Monday 24 October
6pm–7pm Welcome reception at the Newberry Library

Tuesday 25 October
9am–9.15am Welcome and opening remarks: James Akerman, Hans Kok

9.15am–11am Special session 1:
Private Collecting & Map Libraries in the United States. Brian Dunnigan (William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan), Ian Fowler (Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine), Ronald Grim (Norman Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library), Ben Huseman (Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, University of Texas-Arlington), Julie Sweetkind-Singer (Stanford University)

11am–11.15am Refreshment break

11.15am–Noon Short papers

Noon–1.30pm Lunch at the Newberry

1.30pm–3.15pm Special session 2:
Collecting the Map Collections of the Newberry Library. James Akerman, Robert W. Karrow, Jr., Peter Nekola

3.15pm–3.30pm Refreshment break

3.30pm–4.15pm Lecture: Chris Lane (Philadelphia Print Shop West)

5.45pm–9.30pm Visit to Adler Planetarium and annual banquet (travel by bus to and from the Newberry; buses leaves at 5.30pm)

Wednesday 26 October
9am–6pm All-day excursion to the American Geographical Society Library (AGSL) and the MacLean Collection

9am Buses leave from the Newberry Library

11am Arrival, AGSL, tour and exhibition viewing

Noon Light lunch and lecture

2pm Departure from AGSL

3pm Arrival, MacLean Collection, tour and exhibit viewing

5pm Departure from MacLean Collection

6pm Arrival, the Newberry Library

19th Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr.,
Lectures in the History of Cartography
Maps, Their Collecting and Study:
A Fifty Year Retrospective

All sessions are at the Newberry Library

Thursday 27 October
Free morning and afternoon

4.30pm–6pm Welcome reception and 50th Anniversary Commemoration

6pm–7.15pm Keynote lecture by Matthew Edney (University of Southern Maine and the History of Cartography Project)

Friday 28 October
9.15am–10.30am Peter Barber (The British Library)

10.30–10.45am Break

10.45–Noon Susan Schulten (University of Denver)

Noon–1.30pm Lunch on your own

1.30pm–2.45pm Richard Pegg (MacLean Collection)

Saturday 29 October
9.15am–10.30am James Akerman (The Newberry Library)

10.30am–10.45am Break

10.45am–Noon Peter Nekola (The Newberry Library)

* Please note that all times are subject to change; please refer to the final programme, which will be published in August 2016.



Fig. 1 St. Gallen Globe, 1571/1595. Collection of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich in the Swiss National Museum. © Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. 864.

A PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN LIKENESS OF THE ST GALLEN GLOBE

New speculations about its origin

Jost Schmid

This text is based on a paper delivered by the author at the 13th International Symposium for the Study of Globes, Dresden 24–26 September 2015.

The St Gallen Globe, in the Swiss National Museum in Zurich, dates from the sixteenth century. It is the product of an anonymous workshop and is one of only three large globes (its diameter is approximately 121 cm / 48 in) of this period still in existence north of the Alps.[1] The globe is unique both in terms of its construction and the manuscript nature of its exterior, including the sphere. Furthermore it is one of the very few cosmographic globes built in that period.[2] Gemma Frisius initiated this approach to globe design by combining a terrestrial and a celestial sphere on the same surface. He found a follower in Gerardus Mercator who added a selection of stars to a terrestrial globe as well. The unknown author of the St Gallen Globe also adopted the idea, as it was relatively easy to display star constellations as pictures on a terrestrial globe big enough to provide a clear view of both. However the selection of stars found on the St Gallen globe does not provide sufficient detail for true astrological applications (Fig. 1).

In the course of its restoration in 1961, Swiss map historian Franz Grenacher published the most relevant study to date of the history of this globe.[3] Prior to his research the dominant opinion on the provenance of the globe put forward by Gabriel Marcel, former head of the map department in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, was that the globe had been made in St Gallen.[4] Grenacher, however, disproved this theory basing his new opinion on a discovery of an entry in the account book of the prince-abbot of St Gallen showing that the abbot had bought this particular globe in 1595 from Lucas Stöckli, a pharmacist in the German city of Constance. The account book actually says Stöckli 'bequeathed' it to the prince-abbot Bernhard Müller (1594–1630). However, in the five years that followed, several payments were made to Stöckli. The total amount of 552 Gulden was equivalent to the price of two middle-class houses in Constance.[5] While Stöckli was no doubt an erudite and locally important man, he can be ruled out as the individual who originally commissioned the globe. Rather, he acted as an intermediary. In his work Grenacher suggested that the payments for the globe might have been designed to conceal funding for a planned Jesuit college in Constance, construction for which started in 1604. It is very likely that such Counter-Reformation activity would have found disfavour amongst the abbot's confederate Swiss friends and among the members of the city council of Constance some of whom were Protestant. This could explain why an intermediary was needed for the transaction. Grenacher further believed that the globe originated from a workshop in Augsburg as a commission of the Fugger family.[6] The focus on that city is plausible since both Augsburg and Nuremberg at the time were centres of technical expertise and art production. However there is neither a source proving this nor evidence on the globe for this conjecture. As Grenacher could find no further clues as to the origin of the globe, his theory is largely based on speculation.

Contested cultural asset

One of the few uncontested facts about the history of the globe is that it was standing in the Abbey Library of St Gallen until 1712. In that year, during the Toggenburg War, the Protestant troops of Zurich captured it, together with other precious manuscripts from the Abbey Library. Such confiscations, designed to acquire leverage for future peace talks, were a common occurrence. The holdings would have been transferred to Zurich on carts. All parts of the globe could be dismantled to facilitate ease of transport. A well-thought-out system with a counter-rotating thread even made it possible to separate the hemispheres. The sphere and the mounting would have been sewn into woollen blankets before being placed on pillows and duvets. A specially proofed blanket would have then been placed on top to act as protection against the weather.[7]

The terms of the peace treaty that ended the Toggenburg War were not fully respected by Zurich. Instead of refunding all the captured holdings, some of the confiscated material remained in Zurich's Civic Library. In 1897 the globe, still as the property of the Civic Library of Zurich, was moved to the new Swiss National Museum.

In 1996 an article in a local newspaper recalling the looting of 1712 initiated a dispute between St Gallen and Zurich that was to last no less than ten years. St Gallen demanded the return of the globe and the remaining manuscripts. Quite understandably, the materials were, and are, regarded as an important part of St Gallen's cultural identity. The globe is of special significance because the mounting (Fig. 2) bears the coat of arms of the prince-abbot of St Gallen.



Fig. 2 Coat of arms of the prince-abbot Bernhard Müller (1594–1630), painted over in 1595 on the mounting of the St. Gallen Globe. © ETH Zürich.

The Swiss Federation, which had been called on to mediate, eventually dictated a compromise. It stipulated that the globe was to remain in the Swiss National Museum still in possession of the Library, which today is the Zentralbibliothek Zürich. However, Zurich had to provide St Gallen with an exact replica, as it would have looked shortly after its creation (Fig. 3). The project took three years to complete. The rich colours of this replica serve as a reminder to viewers of its Renaissance origins. It now stands in the famous baroque hall of the Abbey Library in St Gallen as one of its main attractions. In contrast to the original, the new globe works perfectly. By turning the crank, a mechanism tilts the meridian ring making observations of different latitudes possible. Conversely, the sphere itself must be rotated by hand.

A new find

Approximately a decade ago, a rolled tempera and watercolour depiction of a big globe on vellum was sold in a Salvation Army thrift shop in the Swiss canton of Solothurn to a private individual. In spite of its impressive size (59 x 44 cm / 23 x 17 in), the likeness was sold for a handful of Swiss Francs. The reason why it was not considered to be worth more was probably the fact that the painting was neither signed nor framed (Fig. 4, overleaf).

When a few years later the St Gallen Globe received considerable media coverage due to the dispute between the Swiss cantons of St Gallen and Zurich (1996–2006), the owner had a suspicion about the true value of the painting in his possession and got in contact with the Map Department of the Zentralbibliothek. The picture, an almost photographic likeness of the St Gallen Globe dates from the time shortly after the globe's completion. Its discovery caused quite a sensation given that the globe's origins were still unknown. To aid research on the poorly understood origins of the globe, the Zentralbibliothek purchased the painting in June 2015.

It bears closer resemblance to the colourful replica than the original globe, which over the past four centuries has attracted much patina (both the likeness and the replica represent an early state of the globe). Even gold foil was added to the likeness to strengthen its similarity to the original globe. The painter was no great artist but he had mastered the art of decorative painting, in particular the *trompe l'oeil* technique, as well as the principles of perspective. A putto has been depicted on top of the bar on the left-hand side where in fact a grotesque face should be. The painter, knowing his ornaments by heart, probably worked quickly without constantly checking the original – this would also explain the awkward shape of the polar circle. Nor was he an erudite geographer: the polar circle makes a quirky move far away from Scandinavia.

The painting highlights interesting differences between it and the original globe. Whereas the St Gallen Globe lost its hour hand and the gear mechanism at some stage during its eventful history, intriguingly both are depicted on the likeness. This additional detail might help to finally complete the replica in the spirit of the original creator in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Another difference is tiny, but significant in dating the painting. The portrait medallion on the bar at the right-hand side of the crank handle on the globe differs from that on the



Fig. 3 Replica from 2009 in the Abbey Library of St. Gallen. © Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen.



Fig. 4 Likeness on vellum, 1571/1595 (recto).
© Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Wak R 25.

vellum. Where the text around the medallion on the globe says: 'HELPERICUS MONACHUS S. GALLI – 1020 – PHYS[ICUS] MUSICUS ASTRONOMUS CALCULATOR',[8] the likeness simply indicates '[Arch]imedes'. Helpericus on the globe in the Swiss National Museum is holding a panel with a drawing of a quadrant. During the work on the replica it became obvious that this portrait medallion had been partly overpainted. There is still a shimmer of a big red hat once belonging to retouched Archimedes where Helpericus wears a tonsure. Additionally, Archimedes was depicted in shirt-sleeves with brightly coloured clothes instead of the black cowl that was later added (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5
The medallion of Helpericus on the mounting was dedicated to Archimedes prior to the purchase of the globe 1595 (*Top to bottom* likeness, replica, original). © Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, ETH Zürich.

Beneath the changed medallion the prince-abbot had his coat of arms painted where formerly some astronomical instruments had been – they can be faintly seen. These instruments are not visible on the likeness as they are hidden behind a bar. The position of the abbot's symbol on the mounting had been carefully chosen, for whoever activated the crank handle in order to tilt the meridian ring could not help but notice the new owner's coat of arms. The date 1595 on this part of the mounting (Fig. 2) indicates the year when these features were added. It was not until that autumn that the globe came to St Gallen. Hence, the medallion was repainted very shortly after the globe arrived. This would date the painting on the vellum between 1595 at the latest and 1571 at the earliest, as 1571 was the year of the naval battle of Lepanto, which clearly influenced a fighting scene with galleys found on the globe's sphere.

Potential link to the author

On the verso of the vellum a handwritten note describes the contents on the front as a depiction of the original cosmographic globe. It indicates the location of the globe as the Abbey Library in St Gallen: *Uterque globus celestis et terrestris in una et eadem superficio depictus ab Architypo Globo magno qui est in Bibliotheca Monasterii S[ancti] Galli*. Thus, the handwriting confirms the assumption that the likeness is showing a finished artefact rather than a design (Fig. 6).

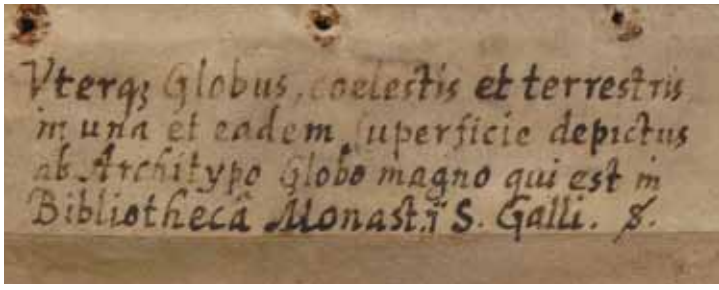


Fig. 6 Latin handwriting on the vellum describing the likeness (verso), most likely seventeenth century. © Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Wak R 25.

It was written some time between 1595 and 1712 before the globe was taken to Zurich. It was most likely an abbey archivist or a librarian of the abbey who described and stored the vellum.[9] The positioning of the text suggests that the likeness had been kept rolled at that stage. A horizontal fold in the middle of the painting reveals a once folded state, too. Nail holes on the top and bottom of the vellum bear traces of rust and reveal thus that two bars once were attached. They either stabilised the archival storage or helped to present the vellum as a showpiece in a *studiolo* during a certain period. This might explain the rather carelessly added black frame, which was fashionable in the seventeenth century. It partly covers the mounting of the globe and was therefore, most likely, added later. Remarkably, there is no text on the recto of the likeness. An UltraViolet (UV) light examination revealed neither lost title nor text that had been overpainted.

We can only guess that the message that went with the likeness was to be added orally by an intermediary. After all, the painting ended up in private hands and stayed there for centuries; its existence was unknown to experts. The most probable moment of the separation was during the raid in St Gallen in 1712. Whereas the precious parts of the holdings were captured and brought to Zurich and to its ally Berne other items similar to the likeness in question were sold or stolen on site.

Since the painting on the vellum dates back to the period of origin of the globe, it finally provides a potential link to the still unknown author and most likely to the commissioning party, too. The first thing to consider is why such a quality representation of a precious object does not refer to an owner or a location. The earliest known fact about the globe is that it was sold to the prince-abbot of St Gallen shortly after it had been finished. Albeit the painting once served as a showpiece, due to the lack of indications of location or ownership of this representative object it is highly unlikely that it was drawn to decorate a wall. The painted message clearly was awe-inspiring. Should it impress a potential buyer of the globe?

Possible origin in northern Germany

To achieve a detailed view of all the gear wheels as well as of the axle, together with the crank handle, the painter had to choose a specific point of view as shown in the likeness. The painting is not just a decorative artistic effort but a technical achievement designed to show an interested buyer how the globe actually worked. It is even possible to recognise technical detail such as the cogging on the meridian ring for the gear wheels. Moreover, he would get an impression of the dimensions of the globe: its horizon ring is painted with a slight view from below just as a standing person of average size experiences it.

There is, however, one further irregularity when comparing the likeness with the original globe that reinforces the commercial intent of the painting. The different medallions on the bar shown to the left of the middle are depicted without perspective distortion. This can be seen by comparing Figures 4 and 3. The comparison shows the correct perspective on a photo of the replica that has been taken from the identical point of view. Unlike the perspectively reduced bar itself, which thus appears thinner than it actually is, the medallions on the likeness appear as they can only be seen perpendicularly. In order to fit on the bar they are depicted smaller, resulting in superfluous space that was filled in with an additional fictive medallion (in the middle of the bar). The fact that two different perspectives were combined in one likeness poses questions that could be nicely answered by the speculation mentioned above: it was probably meant to show the beautiful painting on the mounting (at the cost of a correct perspective) in order to impress a potential buyer.

Assuming the painting on vellum to be a kind of a sales preview we must not compare it with the advertisements for modern ready-made objects. The likeness is an extraordinary artefact and it can hardly be compared with anything we know in globe history. Rather, it may be compared with contemporary portraits of brides-to-be painted for a monarch or member of the nobility in order to get a picture of what was to come.

If a sales preview had been necessary to convince the prince-abbot of St Gallen of the purchase, the globe probably was on sale in a place more distant than Constance or Augsburg where he or his men could easily have obtained an idea of the real object.

In fact, evidence on the globe suggests that it possibly originates from northern Germany: The calendar on the horizon ring names several saints that were mainly worshipped in the northern part of the Holy Roman Empire.[10] The climatic zones indicated on the meridian ring refer to places in the ancient world. There are only two exceptions, namely the zones 'Per Wittenbergam' and 'Per Rostoch' (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7 Climatic zones on the meridian ring. As well as references to locations from antiquity, the cities of Wittenberg and Rostock are also named. © ETH Zürich.

Given these facts, the aforementioned theory that the Catholic Fugger family in Augsburg commissioned the globe can be ruled out: Wittenberg is generally known as the place where the reformers Luther and Melanchton had taught. Rostock had a famous and vibrant university as well, and with the presence of Lutheran theologians Nathan and David Chytraeus many reformatory impulses spread from there – right at the time when the St Gallen Globe was built in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The fact that the vernal equinox on the globe still responds to the Julian calendar is not inconsistent with the impression of an artefact that shouts Reformation.[11]

The ideas emanating from Rostock found a benevolent supporter in Johann Albrecht I. (1525–1576), Duke of Mecklenburg. He was an important sponsor of science and art in Mecklenburg. Thus, he assigned many jobs to the decor painter Peter Boeckel (c. 1530–1599). Boeckel, originally of Antwerp, used colours similar to the ones on the likeness on vellum and there are stylistic analogies, too.[12] Unlike his artistic contemporaries, Boeckel did not sign his paintings. This makes it hard to attribute works directly to him with certainty. When the above is considered, he certainly emerges as a potential author of the likeness.

As a painter, Boeckel also executed works that were delegated to him by the geographer and cartographer Tilemann Stella (1525–1589). Stella was a student of Philipp Melanchton in Wittenberg and he secured his position at the ducal court in Schwerin after a recommendation from David Chytraeus, professor at the university in Rostock. In Rostock, in 1552, Stella published a map of Mecklenburg, probably as the sketch of the first sheet of a new map series of the Holy Roman Empire. In Wittenberg, eight years later, he issued a commentary on this new map series. Here he demonstrates the art of scaling with the aid of the known distance between the cities of Wittenberg and Rostock (34 Prussian Miles / 256 km).[13] After all, Rostock is the only place in the Holy Roman Empire that was added to the map on the sphere (Fig. 8). All the other place names on the St



Fig. 8 Detail of Gerhard Mercator 1569 world map which served as a model for the sphere. Rostock, however, is an additional toponym to the globe. The city is indicated as 'Rosto' northeast of Hamburg although without any symbol assigned to it. © ETH Zürich.

Gallen Globe – except for a Greek location called 'Pida. enio' – are a perfect match to the Mercator world map of 1569.[14] There is, however, no evidence of a Greek calligrapher in Mecklenburg at that time that could explain the additional reference to such a place. Further investigations may perhaps discover a Greek link to the brothers Chytraeus who changed their original name 'Kochhafe' into a Greek version.[15]

An imperial privilege

In his letter of recommendation for Stella addressed to Johann Albrecht, Chytraeus describes him as the right man to build a good and representative celestial globe, as was desired by the duke. After Stella secured his position as geographer and librarian at the ducal court in Schwerin he started working on that globe in 1551 and finished it in 1553. Being the earliest example of globe building in Mecklenburg this globe has been missing since the early nineteenth century. As globes of average size were available with printed gores from Mercator at an affordable price, this globe, which obviously required the engagement of a trained globe maker, in addition to two years for its construction, was probably of a larger size. In 1555 Stella issued a presumed smaller version with a diameter of 27.5 cm (10.8 in). Of this globe edition with woodcut gores only one copy in the city archive in Weissenburg, Bavaria is known today. It consists of a cardboard ball with a surface of plaster, and the printed gores are pasted. This 1555 globe was dedicated to the Prince Elector Augustus of Saxony. Apart from this dedication, however, there is no title inscription.[16]

Tilemann Stella not only had expertise in building globes; in 1560 he obtained an imperial privilege to build a cosmographic globe and to issue a calendar (in addition to the privilege to map the Holy Roman Empire).[17] The news about this privilege is particularly intriguing as it was renewed in 1569, i.e. shortly before the St Gallen Globe was built, and that it refers to a cosmographic globe; a very rare instrument in the sixteenth century.

Similar to the Weissenburg Globe, the St Gallen Globe lacks a title. Neither a dedication nor sign of an owner prior to the prince-abbot has been found so far. No artisan, no workshop and no author had left any signature. However, the skills of an erudite geographer were needed in order to understand Mercator's projection on the two-dimensional map and interpret it onto a curved surface.

The globe stands 2.3 m (7.5 ft) high – its scale denoting that it was built for someone of rank. The likeness too, painted on calfskin, would imply that the purchaser was accustomed, and able, to invest in fine materials.

Open questions

This is the moment where we leave the beaten track of science and venture into the field of speculation in order to point out promising research areas that could further develop the globe's history. Possibly, Tilemann Stella built the globe in a workshop at the ducal court. Why this unique and costly artefact was sold to a patron in a distant place shortly after its completion, we can only speculate. When we consider the circumstances in Mecklenburg, however, it could provide answers to some open questions. When Johann Albrecht died in 1576 he left a large debt. All of a sudden Tilemann Stella lacked his protector and sponsor. The successor, Duke Ulrich, stopped several undertakings of Stella's like the mapping of the Holy Roman Empire. In addition, Stella found that money owed to him for work completed would not be paid.[18] Perhaps Stella built a globe on his own account in order to dedicate it to his sovereign for which he might have expected a generous reward in return (a quite common occurrence in those days). His patron and potential recipient, Johann Albrecht, probably passed away just as the globe neared completion and Stella was left, possibly, to look for a new buyer. If the ducal successor Ulrich had no interest in buying the globe then, in order to recoup the cost of construction, other parts of the Holy Roman Empire needed to be explored. This might be a potential reason why no dedication prior to the prince-abbot of St Gallen has been detected on the globe to date; additionally, there is no indication that dedication was erased or painted over on the sphere. The new owner simply had to add his own coat of arms. Tilemann Stella's private archive consisted of 32 handwritten volumes which might have provided some answers if they had not been destroyed in 1676/77 by French troops.[19] This very fact could explain why no source indicating the origin of the St Gallen Globe has appeared until now.

The actions of Zurich's troops in 1712 showed that it was entirely possible to transport an object such as a large globe, over long distances i.e. across the Holy Roman Empire, without incurring any damage. Nevertheless, a stopover in Augsburg cannot be ruled out. The meeting of the Reichstag there in 1582 might

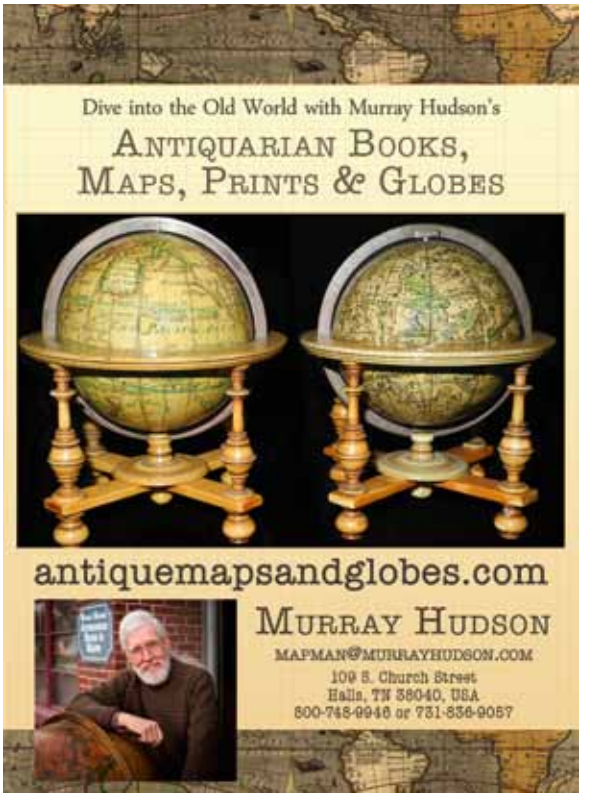
have assembled, in one location, many potential buyers for such a prestigious artefact.

There remains the question of the role of the intermediary Lucas Stöckli, who most probably acted as an agent. Was he necessary to camouflage a deal between a Protestant scholar and a prince-abbot in this critical period of Reformation and Counter-Reformation? Oddly, the prince-abbot omitted to indicate the origin or author of the globe. Considering he usually kept exact records one can only wonder why this was the case.

Notes

1 While belonging to the Zentralbibliothek Zürich the St Gallen Globe is on show in the Swiss National Museum. The two other big globes are in Munich at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
2 Elly Dekker, 'Globes in Renaissance Europe', in David Woodward, ed., *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 2007, pp. 135–73.
3 Franz Grenacher, 'Der sog. St.-Galler Globus im Schweiz. Landesmuseum', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 21 (1961), pp. 66–78.
4 Gabriel Marcel, 'Note sur une Mission Géographique en Suisse', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie,* 20 (1899), pp. 76–81.
5 Grenacher, 'St.-Galler Globus', p. 68.
6 Grenacher, 'St.-Galler Globus', pp. 70–71.
7 Sabina Brunnschweiler et al., *Präsentation Erd- und Himmels-Globus*, Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gallen, 2009, p. 6. See also: Gaby Petrak, 'Konstruktion und Terminologie', in Martina Rohrbach et al., ed., *Der Zürcher Globus: Projekt Globus-Replik 2007–2009 – Dokumentation*, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, 2009, pp. 24–33.
8 'Helpericus, monk of the monastery of St. Gallen, died 1020, physician, musician, astronomer, mathematician.'
9 Dr Karl Schmuki (deputy in the Abbey Library of St. Gall) and Prof. Dr. Christoph Eggenberger (former head of the Manuscript Department of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich) are experts in St Gallen Abbey handwriting. They both say the handwriting looks familiar to them even though they cannot put it down to a certain scribe yet.
10 Karl Schmuki, 'Der Heiligenkalender auf dem Horizontring', in Martina Rohrbach et al., ed., *Der Zürcher Globus: Projekt Globus-Replik 2007–2009 – Dokumentation*, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, 2009, pp. 42–47. Schmuki says a presumed workshop in Augsburg probably lacked a local calendar and managed with a Dutch exemplar that was illustrated with saints believed to be, until recently, patrons with local southern German connection like *Othmar.* This saint, however, shows up in c. 1560 in a calendar of Tilemann Stella from Mecklenburg (northern Germany), too.
11 Jost Schmid, 'Neue Kenntnisse über die Funktionsweise des St. Galler Erd- und Himmelsglobus (1571/84)'. *Cartographica Helvetica,* 41 (2010), pp. 19–24.
12 Letter by Dr Carsten Neumann, University of Greifswald, 11 August 2015, unpublished.
13 Letter by Prof. Dr Gyula Pápay, University of Rostock, 6 September 2015, unpublished. See also: Christa Cordshagen, 'Tilemann Stella – ein Leben für die Kartographie*',* in Wolfgang Scharfe et al., *9. Kartographiehistorisches Colloquium*, Kirschbaum, Bonn, 2002, pp. 13–20.
14 Marcel, 'Mission Géographique', pp. 76-81. See also: Klaus-Peter Schäffel et al., 'Beschriftung', in Martina Rohrbach et al., ed., *Der Zürcher Globus: Projekt Globus-Replik 2007–2009 – Dokumentation*, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, 2009, pp. 180–92.
15 Letter by Dr. Carsten Neumann, University of Greifswald, 9 November 2015, unpublished.
16 Alois Fauser, 'Ein Tilmann Stella-Himmelsglobus in Weissenburg in Bayern', *Globusfreund* 21/23, pp. 150–55. See also: Klaus Lindner, 'German Globe Makers Especially in Nuremberg and Berlin', *Globusfreund* 35/37, pp. 169–90.
17 'Ferdinandus (…) notum esse volumus (…) Tilemannus Stella (…) in lucem edere (…) globum tam coelestem, quam terrestrem, (…) computum ecclesiasticum.' Quote: Peter H. Meurer, '*Corpus der älteren Germania-Karten*', Canaletto, Alpen aan den Rijn, 2001, pp. 330–31. This privilege to edit a combined celestial and terrestrial globe, i.e. a cosmographic globe, was first granted in 1560 and was prolonged in 1569. Meurer translates the phrase relating to the globe as follows: '(…) *je einen Globus des Himmels und der Erde* (…)'. His understanding of the Latin text referring to two separate globes is most likely incorrect.
18 Since 1582 Stella had been working in Zweibrücken in the service of the Count Palatine of the Rhine Johann I., who unsuccessfully claimed outstanding payments for Stella from Duke Ulrich. See: Cordshagen, 'Tilemann Stella', p. 14.
19 Ibid., p. 19.

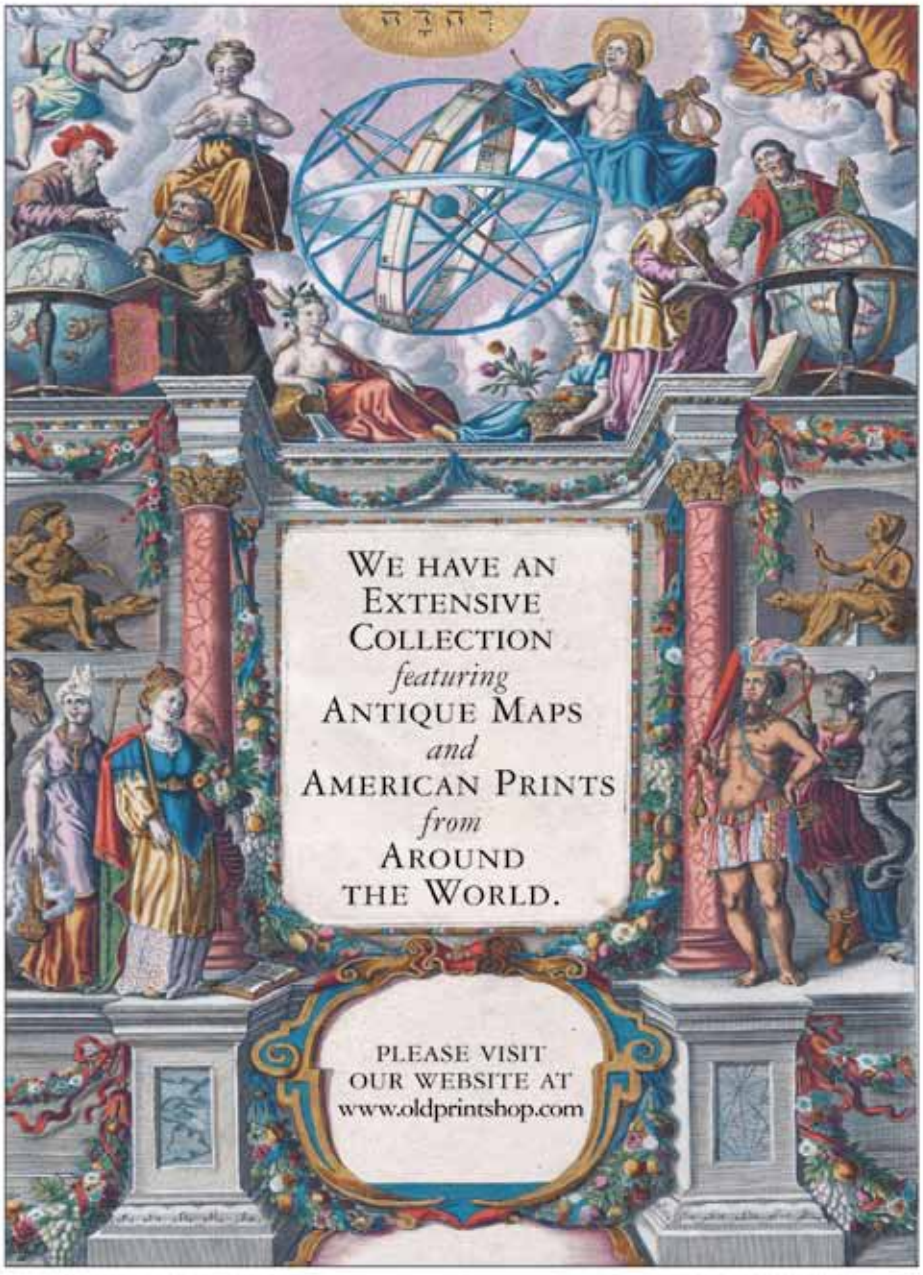
Jost Schmid *studied geography and history at the universities of Zurich and Verona. Since 2006 he has been the head of the maps and panoramas department of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich and a specialist consultant for geography. He is on the board of editors of the periodical* Cartographica Helvetica *and author and publisher of publications on the history of maps and globes.*



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PROJECTING EARTHLY MATTERS ON TO THE MOON

The Toponyms of Van Langren and Hevelius

Nydia Pineda De Ávila

This article was developed from a paper delivered at the 26th International Conference on the History of Cartography, Antwerp, Belgium, 12–17 July 2015.

In January 1647 the Dutch polymath Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) wrote to his French friend, the natural philosopher Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), about his expectation to be given a place on the moon in Johannes Hevelius' *Selenographia*:

> *If this author does not give me a place in this new world, he damages the good right that had been given to me by the scheme of the mathematician of Brussels, whose project you would have seen since on your side the matter concerns you also.*[1]

Constantijn Huygens is referring to the spots assigned to himself and to his friend in a previous lunar map, Michiel Florent van Langren's *Plenilunii Lumina Austriaca Philippica* (Brussels, 1645).[2] In that lunar cartography, general areas of the moon's visible surface had been named after regents of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, other European states, or virtues such as justice, dignity, honour and knowledge. The brightest spots of the satellite bore the names of renowned regents and scholars. Huygens' name had been placed between *Terra Sapientiae*, north-east of *Lacus Scientiae* and a sea named after Isabel Clara Maria Eugenia (1566–1633), Archduchess of Belgium. His friend, Mersenne, held a place in *Terra Dignitatis*, below a large bright spot honouring Louis XIV in the centre of the southern hemisphere of the moon. Months after this letter was sent, when *Selenographia* was published, Huygens and Mersenne would have been surprised to find that they did not hold a place in Hevelius' recently published lunar map.[3] The nomenclature proposed by this astronomer did not use names of people but of ancient geography and the inscriptions made the earth's satellite a mirror of the classical and biblical Mediterranean.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the moon, a space charged with mythological and philosophical meaning, was becoming a place mapped in the style of terrestrial cartography. Astronomers made drawings of the lunar surface with the assistance of refracting telescopes of diverse combinations of lenses. The optical instrument revealed details of different parts of the satellite that were later combined to form a map: selenographies were not representations of the moon as it was seen in one night but composite pictures. Cartographic signs of orientation and measure were transferred onto the image of the lunar body and, finally, different systems of nomenclature were proposed to organise the space as a cartography. The inscription of names made the image apprehensible and useable for a community of users. While toponyms provided a common ground for readers of lunar maps, they also allowed selenographers to claim the newly charted space in a language pertaining to their ideological background; a language that allowed them to express their beliefs and interests in order to attain a desired readership or patron.

In Europe, lunar maps with nomenclature first appeared precisely in the works that Huygens and Mersenne joked about in early 1647. Both works were published in Latin although in entirely different formats: the first was a single sheet map promoting methods for the calculation of longitude by a Dutch cosmographer; the second consisted of a treatise in quarto of more than five hundred pages, with 110 engraved illustrations among which we find three maps of the full moon in different styles alongside 40 representations of its phases and two base maps of its general features. Of the *Selenographia*, I will only discuss the map of the full moon entitled 'Tabula Selenographica', engraved in the style of terrestrial cartography with toponyms inscribed in it.[4]

Land and water: the earth–moon analogy

Both Van Langren and Hevelius named the dark areas of the lunar disc as water and the bright areas as land. In this gesture we can recognise the theoretical framework of geography and, more specifically, of cartography. That maps of the moon with hydrographic

and orographic classifications such as oceans, seas, bays and mountains appeared in this period could be explained as the result of two coinciding phenomena: the development of a surveying instrument such as the telescope and the publishing wave for atlases in the seventeenth century. However, astronomical observations were not merely translated into linguistic codes pertaining to the atlas genre: this land and water rationale reflects how lunar cartographers appropriated a philosophical discussion centred around the image of the earth–moon analogy.

Earth–moon analogy was a classical topos that circulated throughout Antiquity, medieval philosophy and humanist scholarship. Notably, although enunciated through different registers in many classical authors, the idea was discussed by Plutarch in his dialogue *Of the Face of the Moon*, a text that had significant impact during the Renaissance. The Greek author claimed that the movement of the moon was a phenomenon that could prove divine providence, and that its body was opaque and reflected the Earth's light. He also argued that the spots of the celestial body were seas. Copernicus acknowledged the usefulness of Plutarch for his planetary theories; in the first decade of the seventeenth century the ideas of the classical author on the earthly nature of the moon were widespread and debated by astronomers educated in the humanist curriculum, such as Kepler and Galileo, and even by scholars who did not defend the heliocentric world system. The contentious notion proved especially useful to discussions on practical optics in the observation of celestial bodies, which was prompted with the development of the telescope.[5] Among natural philosophers of the seventeenth century it was generally understood that light reflected off solid surfaces and refracted in liquid media. As light appeared to bounce off some parts of the moon, it was therefore held that this planet was solid and composed of land and water: the brighter surface areas were thought to be composed of mountains or valleys according to their appearance through light and shade; darker areas were understood as oceans, seas or lakes.[6]

The selenographies of Van Langren and Hevelius reflect that they were aware of this wide spread discussion. Although the two shared a general framework from which they understood the basic components of the lunar body, their use of the image was entirely different. Their approach to the naming of discrete features suggests that for Van Langren the analogy was a working concept, while for Hevelius it may have been a more philosophical category. Hitherto, nothing in Van Langren's written work leads us to conclude that he actually believed that the lunar body was composed exactly as was the terrestrial. On the other hand, Hevelius' belief in the earth–moon analogy as a more physical reality can be inspected throughout his *Selenographia* especially in his quotations of the works of Johannes Kepler.

Van Langren's moon as a new world

When his lunar map was published, Van Langren, who was born in a family of Dutch map and globe makers, lived in Brussels under the reign of Philip IV of Spain (1605–65). Throughout his life he produced several regional maps of the Low Countries, and his lunar mapping activities were strongly tied to his interest in finding methods for the accurate determination of longitude. Documents witnessing his project to publish a map of the moon under the patronage of the Spanish king date back to 1625, when he made astronomical exhibitions in the court of the Archduchess of Belgium, Isabel Clara Eugenia, aunt of Philip IV. With her support, he travelled to the Spanish court in 1630. In the court of Madrid he presented many inventions to the king and his council, aiming mostly to obtain a prize for his calculation of longitude with lunar methods. Though Van Langren submitted his request of patronage to the Consejo de Indias, this recognition was not given to him and he returned to Brussels in 1634. Finally, with the support of the governor of the Belgian provinces, he was able to publish his map in 1645.[7] (Fig. 1).

Living in the context of the Spanish Netherlands, and especially as he was well connected with the industry of cartography, Van Langren was aware of the politics behind the invention of toponyms for newly colonised territories. In the mapping of the New World, places were named after royalty, patrons, religious symbolisms such as the cross and the holy Trinity, saints and even cosmographers. Just as the Philippine Islands had been named after Philip II, in his map of the moon, Van Langren named the largest areas *Oceanus Philippicus*. With this name the kingdom of Spain was symbolically extended beyond the terrestrial globe.

The dedication to the Spanish king is the most obvious feature in Van Langren's complex nomenclature: his printed map holds 325 names ranked through typographic distinction. The largest names on the map corresponded to the brightest spots on the lunar disc and to the most important statesmen and women of the geopolitical context around the end of

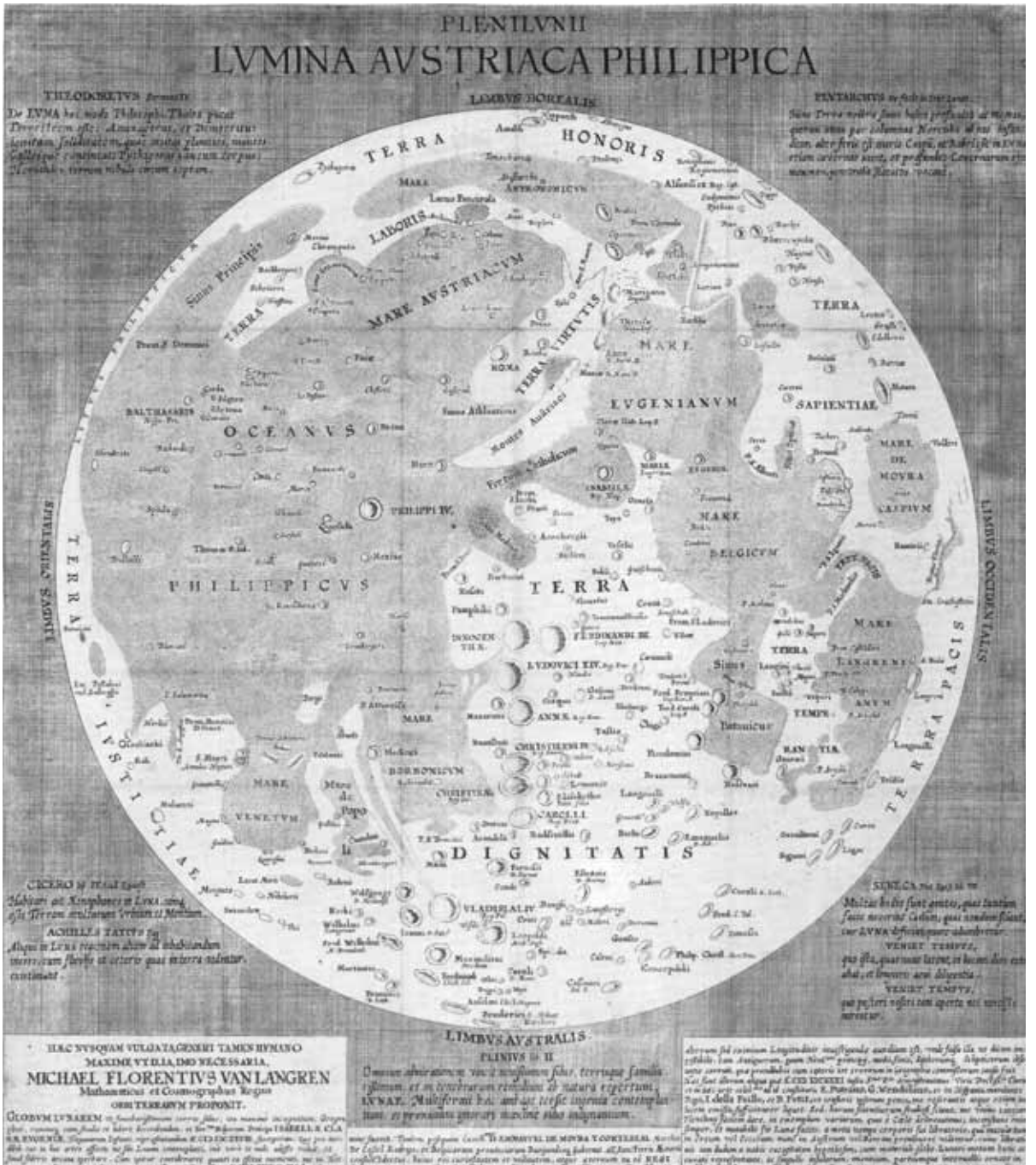


Fig. 1 Michiel Florent Van Langren, *Plenilunii Lumina Austriaca Philippica*, Brussels, 1645. European politics and scholarship are represented on the lunar disc.

the Thirty Years War. The smallest inscriptions in light italics name classical philosophers. In between the two extremes we find further distinctions between natural philosophers of different nationalities and faiths. A manuscript volume holding a collection of letters in the Royal Library of Belgium allows us to trace some of the stages and decisions made behind the establishment of this lunar nomenclature. Van Langren first considered naming lunar spots after saints. He finally decided to establish toponyms based on names of possible patrons and eminent people, but he nonetheless incorporated names of saints chosen by his close friends or by ecclesiastical authorities, by whom he wished to be favoured.[8]

Two months before his map was engraved and printed, he debated the exact list of names to be distributed across the lunar disc with Erycius Puteanus, the Jesuit humanist. The principle governing the scheme was that groups of people of the same nationality should be clustered together. Although this rationale seems clear enough, it was difficult to execute it effectively: friends would want to sit beside friends although they were of different nationalities, and people of one same region could potentially be rivals. The location of the areas holding inhabitants of determined nations would also be interpreted emblematically. Following many exchanges of letters where Puteanus commented on the politics of the lunar nomenclature, Van Langren prepared several proofs incorporating his friend's advice and clarifying his own ideas.[9]

The earliest copy of Van Langren's map known to us is a coloured manuscript that was attached to a request of licence submitted to the Council of Brussels in 1645. This map contains the basic features of the printed edition. The largest region, in the west of the lunar disc, is *Oceanus Philippicus*. North-east of that water mass is *Sinus Austriacus*, the gulf of Austria, representing the Habsburg dynasty from which Philip IV descended. The extreme north-west was attributed *Sinus Principis*, the gulf of the Prince, most likely alluding to Balthasar Prince of Asturias. The Venetian Sea, *Mare Venetum,* on the south-east of *Oceanus Philippicus* evoked the territory under conflict with the Ottoman Empire during the time of the map's publication. The Medicean Gulf, *Sinus Mediceum*, was located south of *Oceanus Philippicus* symbolising Philip IV's relationship with the Medici family through his first wife, Élisabeth de Bourbon, daughter of Maria de Medici. While the request of licence was being debated in the Council of Brussels, Van Langren replaced *Sinus Mediceum* with *Mare Borbonicum*.

On the opposite side of the moon, the region that for centuries has popularly been known as the 'man in the moon', was emblematically given to the Low Countries. Paradoxically, the head of that man is named *Mare Eugenianum*, after the aunt of Philippe IV, Isabel Clara Eugenia. The sea of the Infanta flows into *Mare Belgicum,* which is about the same size as her eponymous sea. On the south-east, another strait joins those waters to a large area denominated *Mare Langrenianum,* honouring the map's author. The shape stretching down from the Belgian sea towards the south-west is designated *Sinus Batavicus,* the Latin name for the Low Countries. Further east of the Flemish seas, touching the eastern limb of the moon, is an ovoid-shaped region named *Mare de Moura*, after Manuel de Moura y Cortereal, governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1644–47; he was instrumental in the final publishing of this map as is mentioned in the large cartouche at the bottom of the sheet.

Between the two large areas west and east, there are two clearly discursive denominations: in the northern hemisphere, a strait named *Fretum Catholicum* unites the Spanish monarchy and the Spanish Netherlands. In the south, between the large ocean of the west and the seas of the east, in what would therefore have been considered a space outside the realm of the Spanish crown, the manuscript map is covered with names of European monarchs in the conflict during the Thirty Years War. But this map is not only about the geopolitics of Europe: it is also about scholarship. In the northern pole of the moon, the selenographer named a region *Mare Astronomorum*, the sea of the astronomers. Moreover, the brightest spots distributed across all these areas were given names of scholars organised roughly in clusters of nationalities. The names of Jesuits mathematicians who were directly connected to the world of Van Langren are particularly prominent.

Van Langren assigned a spot to Christoph Clavius (*P. Clavi*), the Jesuit mathematician who reformed the teaching curriculum of the Jesuit colleges promoting the study of advanced mathematics. Grégoire de St Vincent (*P.S Vincenti*), student of Clavius and teacher of some of the most important Jesuit mathematicians of the Low Countries, is placed below his mentor. Between them is André Tacquet (*Tacqueti*), student of St Vincent and professor in Louvain at the time Van Langren published this map. Located nearly on the same horizontal line as these mathematicians although on the Belgian side of the Moon, a spot was named after Jean della Faille, also a Jesuit educated by

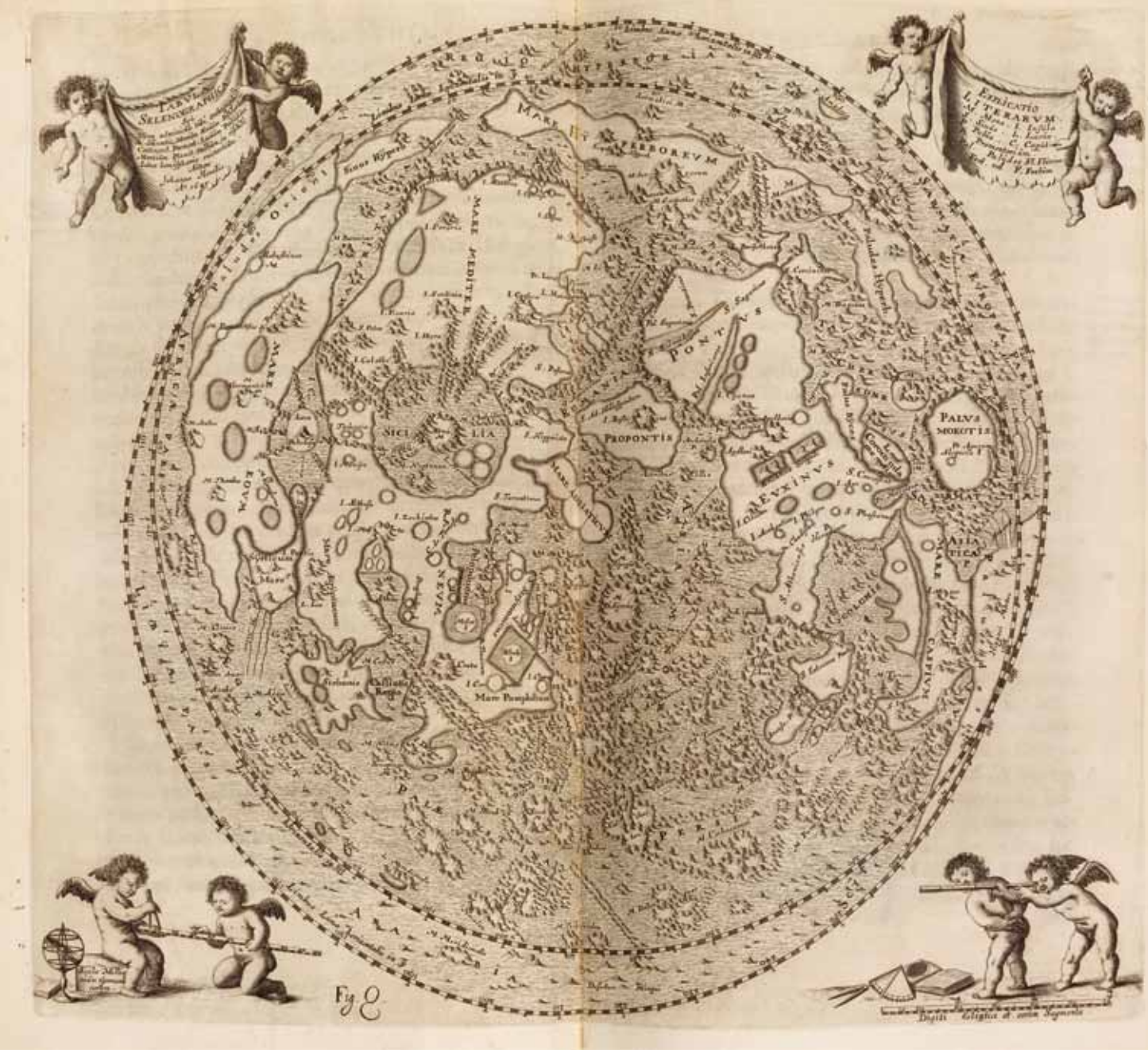
St Vincent. Della Faille grew up in the Belgian provinces, was educated in Antwerp but moved to Madrid in 1629 when he was named Royal Mathematician of Philip IV. Van Langren met him when he arrived in Madrid in 1631. In their correspondence the publication and the choice of names for the lunar map are also discussed.[10] Della Faille, who never returned to his land of origin, was taken there symbolically by the cosmographer. In this lunar cartography we find a representation of a scholarly and religious culture shared between the southern Low Countries and Spain.

Hevelius' moon: a mirror of the classical and biblical Mediterranean

The *Selenographia*, Van Langren's competition, needs to be understood within the context of the scientific activity of the thriving port of Gdańsk. Its author, Johannes Hevelius, was born into a family of wealthy German brewers and magistrates of Gdańsk, where he was taught by Peter Krüger (1580–1639). His mentor, who had met Tycho Brahe and Kepler, was the author of treatises on astronomy and trigonometry, and of the construction of astronomical instruments. Besides teaching mathematics and poetics, he was a civic surveyor and almanac designer for the city. Krüger encouraged Hevelius to learn drawing and engraving from a young age and to continue his astronomical investigations. Hevelius was thus skilled in astronomical observation, dial making, engraving and rhetoric, activities and disciplines which were all directly connected to his lunar maps. He left Gdańsk to train in jurisprudence in Leiden and, after his studies, travelled to London and Paris, where he met natural philosophers such as Pierre Gassendi and Marin Mersenne, and probably Athanasius Kircher. He returned to Gdańsk to manage the family brewery at the request of his father in 1634. Thereafter, as well as becoming a successful merchant, he became an independent astronomer. He built an observatory on top of his brewery in the 1640s and there devised his own communication strategy in close collaboration with a printer in order to publish and distribute his works without the intervention of a stationer. His archive is witness to the vast network he established throughout Europe.[11]

Hevelius' influence extended, from the brewer's guild, to the court, to the scholarly communities of natural philosophers throughout Europe. His identity as an astronomer was profoundly shaped by the practices of court-financed astronomers, such as Tycho Brahe. Like his Danish predecessor, he construed the image of the astronomical observatory as a public space using illustrated printed books to promote his investigations.[12] His lunar images were vehicles, as well as mathematical instruments, for his self-promotion. The *Selenographia* was dedicated to the regents of Gdańsk but he did not name the lunar topography after them; he named the ocean that Van Langren had dedicated to the Spanish monarch, *Mare Mediterraneum* instead. Indeed, as has been mentioned above, Hevelius' entire lunar disc was covered with toponyms from ancient and sacred geography. It is important to note, however, that this lunar map did not mirror terrestrial cartography exactly: the selenographer sought out analogies between the shapes he observed on the moon and those shapes delineated in contemporary atlases. His moon is therefore a sort of *collage* of terrestrial features. Moreover, the criteria behind his associations were heavily laden with a preference towards regions that had strong symbolism in classical and biblical literature (Figs. 2 & 2a).

In *Selenographia* Johannes Hevelius commented on his own experience in deciding how to construe his nomenclature. He wrote that following the Ancients, who named the stars after exceptional people, such as Hercules, Cassiopeia, Andromeda and Perseus, he first considered naming the visible spots on the moon after eminent astronomers, ancient and modern, so that their fame and memory would reach the skies. In a similar tone to Van Langren, although he did not even mention the existence of his contemporary's lunar map, he noted a list of names he had initially considered with this intention: *Oceanum Coperniceum*, *Oceanum Tychonicum*, *Mare Keplerianum*, *Lacum Galilaei*, *Palludem Maestlini*, *Insulam Scheinerianam*, *Peninsulam Gassendi*, *Montem Mersenni*, *Vallem Bullialdi*, *Sinum Wendelini*, *Promontorium Crugerianum*, *Fretum Eichstadianum*, *Dessertum Linnemanni*.[13] This was not a random list of generally renowned sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars but a statement of philosophical affinity. Hevelius had thought of naming the lunar regions after the two authors of the most important world systems in the seventeenth century and after astronomers who strongly defended the earth–moon analogy. He also considered naming a feature after the astronomer who produced the iconic astronomical book on the sun: Christoph Scheiner and his *Rosa Ursina*, which probably gave Hevelius a model for *Selenographia*.[14] The peninsula of Gassendi, the mountain of Mersenne, the valley of Boulliau, would have honoured his most renowned French





Figs. 2 & 2a
Johannes Hevelius, 'Tabula Selenographica', Gdańsk, 1647. The nomenclature conveys ancient and biblical imagery. Mons Sinai and Mons Horeb, locations related to Moses' reception of the Ten Commandments and discussed in biblical scholarship, are placed near the southern limb of the moon.
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correspondents, all of whom sent him data for his work and who received a copy of *Selenographia* directly from the author in return. Krüger, Eichstädt and Linneman, all potential beholders of a lunar spot were part of Hevelius' closest circle of philosophical acquaintances. Notwithstanding, Hevelius said that he desisted from this first scheme considering the enmity that placing some names and not others would occasion. He then stated that in his desire to avoid conflict he thought of the idea of the moon as an *Antichthona*, or a counter-earth. This image led him to consider using names from geography such as seas, rivers and valleys to name the satellite's features:

> […] *I found to my perfect delight that a certain part of the terrestrial globe and the places indicated therein are very comparable with the visible face of the moon and its regions, and therefore names could be transferred from here to there with no trouble and most conveniently; namely, think of the part of Europe, Asia and Africa that surround the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, and all the other regions including and adjacent to them which are: Italy, Greece, Natolia, Palestine, Persia, a part of Sarmatia and Tartary, Egypt, Mauritania, etc. which places extend from the tenth to the nineteenth degree of longitude and from the twenty-fifth to the sixtieth degree of latitude.*[15]

Hevelius did not shape the lunar seas exactly as cosmographers did the terrestrial. Neither did he copy proportions. Thus, in order to provide further clarity to his representation, he included a table listing the terrestrial equivalents of the names used to describe the lunar surface. The table presented in *Selenographia* is in the style of Ortelius' *Thesaurus Geographicus* (Antwerp, 1596), from which Hevelius summarised many entries. However, this was not merely a copy of sections of Ortelius' geographical dictionary: Hevelius undertook selected toponyms, he summarised some of Ortelius' entries, and finally, he added some toponyms from other sources and provided his own definitions. Hevelius explained that he opted for the nomenclature of ancient geography because he considered that the multiplicity of toponyms of diverse origins increasingly incorporated into terrestrial atlases resulted in much confusion. The nomenclature of ancient geography seemed to him a more stable system.

Memorable toponyms

The largest area in Hevelius' selenography (the same that Van Langren had named *Oceanus Philippicus*) is *Mare Mediterraneum* and, just as the terrestrial sea although oriented with the west in the north, it looks like a large long inlet, wider on one side, with large islands scattered within. Opposite this region, Hevelius designated as *Pontus Euxinus* the area that Van Langren had symbolically attributed to the Low Countries. Instead, Hevelius gave this space a name charged with fictional and mythological meaning. An entire sheet in Ortelius' popular *Parergon* was devoted to this sea. In its description, this author reminded his reader of the classical and biblical imaginary related to it:

> *They which take any pleasure in fables or fictions of poets belonging to this Pontus or spoken of the same, let them have recourse to Senecas Medea, or the Iphigenia of Euripides, and others that have written of the Voyages of the Argonautes, or the story of the Golden Fleece. But before I leave this sea I thinke it not amisse to put thee in mind what Iosephus writeth in the II chapter of his 9 booke of the Antiquity of the Iewes. Hee there saith that Ionas the Prophet being devoured and swallowed up of the whale about Issicus sinus (Golfo de Aiazzo, a bay of the Mediterranean sea, near to Issus, a city of Sicilia, which now they vulgarly call Aiazzo) was after three days cast up again, into the Euxinus Sea, alive unhurt or any way perished.* [16]

Closer attention to specific areas of the lunar maps of Van Langren and Hevelius may serve to further understand their differences and possible points of convergence. The land in the southern lunar hemisphere, between the two large seas of east and west, is conceptualised very differently in each. In Van Langren's map the region called *Terra Dignitatis* portrays a complex religious and regional political network of Italian Dukes, Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, French, Danish and Polish sovereigns. When commenting on this part of the map Puteanus insisted that they needed to work towards a system that would be respected even by their enemies: 'We should devise a way so that our enemies find themselves without excuses to make a new map of the Moon according to their ideas'.[17] It appears, therefore, that Van Langren's map was devised as an emblem of European peace.

Hevelius, on the other hand, named this large and very topographically uneven lunar region after Asia Minor, Persia and Palestine, regions of biblical events, apostolic missions and pilgrimage. A great number of place names inscribed in this map are also found in maps of sacred geography, such as Ortelius' map of Palestine and his map of the Peregrination of Saint

Paul in the *Parergon*. It is notable that the large mountain depicted in the south (a white circle encompassed by mountains), from where two large lines of mountains reach outwards, a region now known as the crater Tycho, is named Mons Sinai, a place of relevant symbolism in Reformation theology. Hevelius' moon thus also contains a strong emblematic charge, but his is more in the tone of the antiquary who seeks to locate sacred geography onto a newly charted space.

Despite their apparent differences, these early lunar nomenclatures had a shared purpose: to provide a classification of features that could be committed to memory by a community of users with shared cultural referents. The users of Van Langren's map would have been in some way connected to the groups of people represented on the moon and this familiarity would allow them to find memorable points of orientation. Hevelius also wanted the toponyms in his map to serve a mnemotechnic purpose; his use of the earth–moon analogy was practical, almost rhetorical. The Mediterranean and its surrounding regions was perhaps the most familiar cartographic representation in his time. By reading Hevelius' *Selenographia*, the users would be able to associate symbolic places and stories of classical and biblical literature with specific areas of the visible lunar disc.

Beyond the map

The rhetorical and philosophical discourses conveyed in Hevelius' and Van Langren's toponyms had a strong political potential and the astronomers exploited it as much as possible to their advantage. Both thought that their lunar representations would appeal to statesmen and women of their time. Van Langren not only dedicated his map of the moon to Phillip IV of Spain, he also distributed copies in the courts with which he had connections. His correspondence with Puteanus reveals how he planned to give a copy to Louis, the Elector Palatine who was coming back from English exile the year the *Plenilunii Lumina Austriaca Philippica* was published. Hevelius offered presentation copies of his *Selenographia* to the king and the queen of Poland, and seventeen years after its publication he offered a fully illuminated copy to Louis XIV and another to his secretary Colbert.[18]

These cartographies were also instruments of promotion for the astronomers in a network of European scholars. Van Langren sent his map to scholars across Europe through the Jesuit circle of his friends Puteanus and Jean della Faille. Hevelius also played an acting role in the circulation of his maps: he distributed dedication copies throughout Europe and also published the map in the style of terrestrial cartography, the 'Tabula Selenographica' as a single sheet. This sheet was sold in Paris at a high price and the reprints made in London by John Seller at the end of the seventeenth century suggests that the English publisher saw economic potential in copying and reediting this map as a single sheet and in pocket size atlas.[19]

Van Langren's and Hevelius' lunar maps and their toponyms were discussed and critiqued by their contemporaries, and their work played an important role in lunar investigations. Though their nomenclatures did not prevail, they gave grounds to the toponymic system devised by Jesuit Giambattista Riccioli in *Almagestum Novum* (Bologna, 1651). Attention has especially been payed to this afterlife of Van Langren and Hevelius' naming systems. However, by focusing on the sources and the decisions behind the inventories of lunar names selected by these astronomers, it is possible to perceive the diverse cultural frameworks and interests in which early selenography took place. Beyond the history of cartography, it is important to remember that these lunar nomenclatures coexisted with very unstable classification schemes not only in cartography, but also in botany, geology and zoology. To conclude, Van Langren's and Hevelius' naming systems can also be windows into the issues of representation, philosophy and politics that laid behind debates of taxonomy of the natural world in Early Modern Europe.

Notes

1 Constantijn Huygens to M. Mersenne, 14 January 1641. Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Huygens. Correspondance 1657–1659, Tome II (The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1888–1950), p. 558.

2 Until 2010, the following editions and states had been identified: one coloured manuscript *Luna vel lumina Austriaca Philippica*, Archives Générales du Royaume, Cartes et Plans MS no. 7911. Three states of Plenilunii Lumina Austriaca Philippica: First state in Library of the University of Leiden, COLLBN 505-10-003 and Bibliothèque Nationale de France, GE D-17925; second state: Crawford Library, Royal Observatory, University of Edinburgh; third state: Real Observatorio de la Armada, 17.277/ L-18 and Bibliothèque Nationale de France GE D-12817; other state, without text: Bibliothèque Nationale de Strasbourg R171. A copy of a second edition published in 1670 is in a private collection. See also Ewen Whitaker, *Mapping and Naming the Moon* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1999); Peter Van der Krögt and Fermjan Ormeling, Michiel Florent Van Langren and Lunar Naming, in Actes del XXIV Congrès Internacional d'ICOS sobre Ciències Onomàstiques. Annex. Secció 8, Accessed: www.gencat.cat/llengua/BTPL/ICOS2011/190.pdf (Feb. 2016).

3 Johannes Hevelius, *Selenographia, sive luna descriptio*, Gdańsk, 1647.

4 Johannes Hevelius, 'Tabula Selenographica' in *Selenographia*, Gdańsk, 1647, between pp. 226–227.

5 Isabelle Pantin, 'Le Débat sur la substance lunaire après le *Sidereus Nuncius*: Stratégie et Visée de la Resistance Peripateticienne', *La lune*

aux 17e et 18e Siècles, ed. Chantal Grell (Brépols: 2013), pp.103–120; Natacha Fabbri, 'The Moon as Another Earth: What Galileo owes to Plutarch', *Galilaeana* IX, 2013, pp. 103–135.

6 See, for instance, John Wilkins, *The Discovery of a New World or a discourse tending to prove, that 'tis probable there may be another habitable World in that Planet* (London, 1640).

7 Peter van der Krogt, *Globi Neerlandici: The production of globes in the Low Countries* (Utracht: HES, 1993), pp. 263–71; Van der Krogt, 'Das "Plenilunium" des Michael Florent van Langren: Die erste Mondkarte mit Namenseinträgen', *Cartographia Helvetica* 11 (1995): pp. 44–49. A. de Smet, 'Langren, Michael Florent van Langren'. *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Detroit, Mich., Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008. Cuvelier, J. and J. Lefèvre, *Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne sur les affaires de Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Brussels, 1927.

8 KNB Ms 19837-38; Puteanus, Erycius, *Honderd veertien Nederlandse brieven van Erycius Puteanus aan de astronoom Michael Florent van Langeren. Met een inleiding uitgegeven door J. J. Moreau*, Antwerp, 1957.

9 Henri Bossmans, 'La Carte Lunaire de Van Langren conservée aux Archives Générales du Royaume, à Bruxelles', *Revue des questions scientifiques*, 1903 (4), pp. 106–39.

10 Omer van der Vyver, *Lettres de J.-Ch. della Faille, S. I., cosmographe du roi à Madrid, à M.-F. Van Langren, cosmographe du roi à Bruxelles, 1634–1645*, extracto del vol. XLVI del *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu,* Roma, 1977.

11 For a complete bibliography of Hevelius' works and of critical studies dedicated to him in C. Grell (ed.), *Correspondance de Johannes Hevelius, Tome I. Prolégomènes critiques*, Brepols, 2014.

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13 Johannes Hevelius, *Selenographia*, Gdańsk, 1647, pp. 222–35.

14 Christoph Scheiner, *Rosa Ursina sive Sol,* Bracciano, 1630.

15 Translation published in Ewen Whitaker, *Mapping and Naming the Moon,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 55.

16 English translation in *Abraham Ortelius, Parergon Sive Veteris Georaphiae aliquot Tabulae, XXV,* in *The Theatre of the Whole World*, London 1606 with an Introduction by R. A. Skelton (Theatrum Orbis Terrarum LTD: Amsterdam, 1968), p. XXV.

17 Henri Bossmans, see note 9, p.130.

18 Johannes Hevelius, *Selenographia*, Gdańsk, 1647, BNF, RES-V-244.

19 Johannes Hevelius, *Tabula Selenographica* (Gdańsk [1647]), BNF GEDD2387 no.52 and BL Maps⋆30. (1); evidence of market value of this sheet in interior board of the copy of *Selenographia* BNF G-V-508 "20tt il y a un segond cuivre qui est très rare et tres cher"; for the reeditions of this map in the English market, see John Seller, *Atlas Caelestis* (London, 1980) and John Seller, *Tabula Selenographica… A Map of the Moon, being an orthographical delineation… by J. Hevelius* (London, 1680), BL Maps ⋆30. (12).

Nydia Pineda De Ávila *is a PhD candidate, supervised by Prof. Markman Ellis, at Queen Mary University of London. Her doctoral studies have been funded by Queen Mary University of London and the Mexican Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT).*

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'THE ENGLISH ATLAS' OF THE LATE-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

John Ogilby, Moses Pitt and their Dutch atlas models

Christianna Thompson

Notwithstanding George Humble's publication of a world atlas by John Speed (1627), it was not until the second half of the seventeenth century that a significant number of world atlases were produced in England.

These included publications by Peter Heylin (1666), John Ogilby (1670) John Seller (1675), Moses Pitt (1680) and William Berry (1689). This essay concerns the contributions of Ogilby and Pitt to world atlas production in late seventeenth-century England. The two men worked roughly ten years apart, each producing a multivolume atlas of the world with identical titles, *The English Atlas*. My focus here is the different approach each employed for his project, especially as this relates to the handling of their Dutch models and their professional relationships with publishers in Amsterdam. The aim is to determine the extent to which these factors influenced the success, or otherwise, of the two English atlases.

As both publications were essentially books for a gentleman's library, it was appropriate that my primary research has been based at the Cranston Library at St Mary's Church in Reigate, Surrey – originally a lending library founded by Rev. Andrew Cranston in 1701, and now a private library held in trust – where Volumes I and II of Ogilby's atlas and all four volumes of Moses Pitt's atlas had been donated by eighteenth-century gentlemen.

High quality atlases were characteristic of the Dutch Golden Age during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Atlas publication was driven by scientific pursuit and fuelled by the exploits of Dutch mercantilism. In Benjamin Schmidt's words the Republic attained a pre-eminent position among European geographers: 'From the firms of Blaeu, Hondius and Janssonius came the highest quality printed maps, globes and atlases. The overall effect placed the Republic in the enviable position of setting the geographic agenda for Europe'.[1]

The prolific output of atlases from the Netherlands during the first half of the seventeenth century goes some way to explain England's late contribution to the genre. Schmidt asserts that, 'England's relatively limited experience in engraving, printing and disseminating maps meant that it could hardly compete with the thriving cartographic trade of Amsterdam'.[2] Instead, seventeenth-century English publishers such as Ogilby and Pitt commonly used Dutch atlases as source material with the result that there is a tendency to dismiss the English atlases as derivative. Schmidt, for example, describes how, 'publishers outside the Netherlands crudely pirated, brazenly copied or otherwise relied upon Dutch originals to satisfy local demand'.[3]

Schmidt further claims that English mapmakers worried that their 'Dutch rivals consistently outmanoeuvred them in the imperial contest of geography'.[4] As Elizabeth Sutton explains, seventeenth-century Dutch atlas production was bound up with political grandstanding: 'Map publication and dissemination coincided with what was part of the rise of the Dutch Republic as a pre-eminent capitalist nation in the early modern global world system'.[5] However, despite such fears and the Anglo-Dutch wars, English gentlemen including the scientist Robert Hooke were proud of the great Dutch atlases they held in their private libraries, not least because they symbolised an egalitarian pursuit of knowledge. The maps of Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius were regarded by many to be not so much Flemish and Dutch exports but, as Robert Batchelor explains, 'products of Europe or even, in the case of Mercator's globe, pure science'.[6] That is to say, Dutch atlases were not wholly politicised, to be viewed with anxiety by English readers, but rather as products of the pan-European enlightenment in which all educated gentlemen shared. Thus, Batchelor defends the legitimacy of reusing Dutch maps by observing that, 'Even though Ogilby appeared to be merely copying, re-engraving and resetting [...] he also reframed'.[7] Indeed, I show below how the dissemination of Dutch maps created channels of communication

between atlas publishers in Amsterdam and London, bringing about opportunities for reinterpretation as well as translation to varying degrees of success. Ultimately these collaborative projects would set the agenda for English atlas production in the Long Eighteenth Century when London emerges as a powerful centre for global trade.

John Ogilby (1600–1676)

After the Great Fire of 1666 had destroyed Ogilby's stock of Classics and poetical works, he chose to renew his reputation as a publisher with a different genre of book: the atlas. Amidst the widespread appreciation for Dutch publications Ogilby discerned an interest in atlas ownership amongst English gentlemen and the aspiring merchant class in London; his biographer Katherine S. van Eerde noted that Ogilby 'yielded to the shift of interest from the quiet of the study to the governance of growing areas of the world, a shift that was beginning to absorb Englishmen in the later seventeenth century'.[8] Ogilby's recent publication *The Entertainment of His most excellent Majestie Charles II, in his passage through the city of London to his coronation* (1661) was an overt celebration of London and the restored monarchy that ran to a second luxury edition. The book's popularity was indicative of positive national feeling, albeit tempered with insecurity after years of civil war. On Ogilby's decision to publish atlases Batchelor concludes that 'his timing was right, coming at a period of great uncertainty about the emerging economies of the Restoration, the nature of Charles II's sovereignty, and London and the Honourable East India Company's role in relation to Asian trade'.[9]

From the start Ogilby's atlas venture was reliant upon his relationship with the Dutch printer publisher and engraver Jacob van Meurs (c. 1619–1680), who by 1680 had published around eighty books under his sole name, a modest output compared with the major Dutch publishing firms of his day.[10] By 1669 Ogilby had entered into an agreement with Van Meurs whereby he had acquired the plates for his edition of Jan Nieuhoff's *Het Gezantschap Der Neêrlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aan den Grooten Tartarischen Cham, Den tegenwoordigen Keizer van China* (1665). Ogilby translated the original text with some additions, reused the original plates and published the work as *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China* (1669). With its maps and numerous illustrations Ogilby's *Embassy* was a successful experiment which 'demonstrated to Londoners how complex global images were already being produced in Amsterdam, Rome and Beijing'.[11]

We can assume the success of Ogilby's *Embassy* convinced him to return to Van Meurs for further translation projects based on the Dutchman's existing stock and forthcoming titles. Evidently Ogilby was so impressed by Van Meurs' travel books that he saw the potential to create a self-styled 'atlas' for the popular English market. Ogilby's good relationship with the royal court encouraged him to petition Charles II for a Royal Warrant, granting him fifteen years exclusive rights to *The English Atlas*. The application was successful and the King also pledged Ogilby a sufficient supply of quality French paper for the project.

In May 1669 Ogilby circulated a one-page advertisement entitled *A Proposal Concerning an English Atlas*. This sets out his plan to produce a five-volume atlas set beginning with Africa, then America, Asia, Europe and lastly, a fifth volume dedicated to England. The set could be secured with an immediate deposit of 20s [£1], with a further 20s owed upon receipt of each volume, amounting to £6 for the set – equivalent to around £850 today.[12]

Van Meurs' publication of Olfert Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten* and the *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Eylanden* (1668) were to form the basis for the first volume of Ogilby's atlas. Neither explorer nor cartographer, Dapper's writing style was not scholarly, despite his academic credentials as a physician; he interpreted and condensed numerous sources to create accessible and entertaining accounts. Sutton describes how Dapper deliberately combined 'contemporary and ancient knowledge' to create compilations of 'commercialised exotic travel imagery'.[13] His popular geographical histories were embraced by publishers such as Van Meurs whose output was 'adapted to an increasingly pan-European market and created luxury atlases that meshed and melded familiar signs of difference'.[14] The inclusion of lavish illustrations including fourteen maps and 28 plan views had been Van Meurs' idea and he probably engraved them himself.[15] The maps were likely copied from one of Johann Blaeu's world atlases; as Adam Jones observes, 'Van Meurs was content to publish what was in his day the most up to date textual description of Africa together with maps which contained virtually nothing that had not already been published in Blaeu's Atlas Maior (1662) or earlier works'.[16] Some of the topographical views in Dapper's book can be attributed to Reinier Nooms (known professionally as 'Zeeman') who specialised

in maritime scenes and whose images served as an example to many artists.

The preface to Ogilby's first Volume, *Africa: Being an Accurate Description of the Regions…* (1670), barely mentions his relationship with Van Meurs other than to say,

> 'a Volume lately Publish'd beyond Sea in *Low-Dutch*, came to my hands, full of new Discoveries, being my chief and onley business to enquire after, set forth by D^r^ O. Dapper, a Discreet and Painful [serious] *Author* whose large Addition, added to my own Endeavors, hath much Accelerated the *Work*'.

The most obvious acknowledgement is Van Meurs' imprint on the large continental map bearing the words, 'Africae accurata tabula ex officina Jacobum Meursium' (Fig. 1).



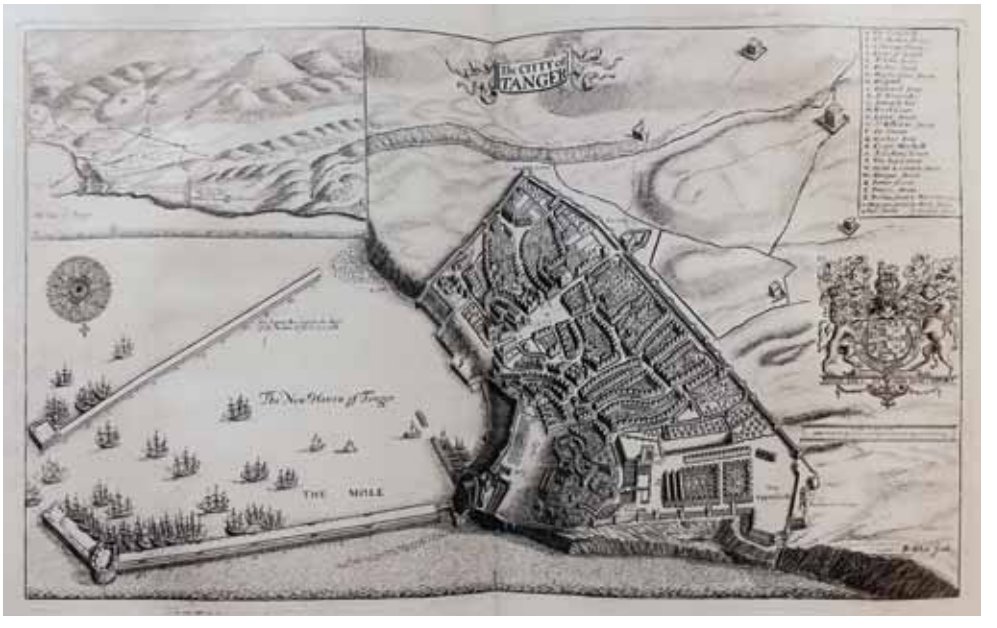
However, Van Meurs' name has been incompletely erased from the allegorical image of Africa on the frontispiece.

Ogilby reused all the Dutch maps and illustrations, enlisting the services of a number of London engravers for additional material. Wenceslaus Hollar, for instance, produced an illustration to accompany his personal account of travelling on the *Mary Rose* and Robert White, a city plan of English-owned Tangier (Fig. 2).

Additional plates include views and plans of pyramids and Egyptian mummies taken from John Greaves' *Pyramidographia* (1646) published by George Badger. Although Ogilby added relatively few plates, he was careful to commission some of the best engravers in England and, in the case of Greaves' book, to showcase work that promoted skilful English endeavour. Ogilby may have replicated Dapper's compilation style but his agenda was different; it was to offer 'an ideal future vision for a globally oriented and explicitly monarchical Britain centred on London and Charles II'.[17]

While Ogilby had busied himself with the publication of *Africa*, his Dutch associate Van Meurs was engaged on the subject of America with *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld: of Beschryving van America en 't Zuid-land* (1671) by Arnoldus Montanus (1625–1683). Like Dapper, Montanus was an educated Dutch author fascinated by the exploration of foreign lands, although he had never travelled beyond Europe, and his account of the New World was also a compilation drawn from numerous ancient and modern sources. Once again,

Above
Fig. 1 Map of Africa, used by Ogilby in Volume I of *The English Atlas* with the cartouche bearing Van Meurs' name. Courtesy of Cranston Library, St Mary's Church Reigate, Surrey.



Right
Fig. 2 Robert White, 'The Citty of Tangier', 1670, which was one of the few new engravings Ogilby commissioned for *Africa: Being an Accurate Description…* . Courtesy of Cranston Library, St Mary's Church Reigate, Surrey.

Van Meurs lavished Montanus' book with illustrations to suit the text: 70 plates, sixteen maps, and seven portraits. The principle map of America bears the imprint of the Dutch cartographer Gerard van Schagen and it is reasonable to suppose Van Meurs had engraved it himself. There are virtually no clues as to who engraved the other illustrations, which leaves us assuming they are all the work of Van Meurs or anonymous engravers he may have employed.

Ogilby worked twice as fast on his translation of Montanus' work and was able to publish an English edition in the same year as the Dutch original, under the title *America: Being an Accurate Description of the New World* (1671). In Van Eerde's opinion, 'America was probably the best of [Ogilby's] foreign atlases, so far as content, style and organisation were concerned. His strong sense of addressing himself to English readers was offered greater opportunity in this volume'.[18] England's political and economic stakes in America were significant, its geography better understood and contemporary accounts of the region were readily available.

Whereas previously Ogilby had made some acknowledgement of his Dutch model and retained Van Meurs' imprint on the principle map of Africa, there is no mention whatsoever of either Van Meurs or Montanus in *America*. Montanus' name does not appear in Ogilby's long list of authors whose work had influenced the volume. Van Meurs' name has been erased from the allegorical illustration of America; the area left blank, as on the map of Africa in the earlier volume. On the updated map of the Americas Van Schagen's name has been replaced by Ogilby's imprint (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Ogilby's imprint on his updated map of the Americas, 1671.

There are some key differences: Ogilby's map shows New England and New York, having been claimed from the Dutch in recent years. An armorial cartouche is dedicated to Baron Ashley of Wimburn [Wimborne], who was appointed one of the eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina. Ogilby's map also picks out Virginia and the colonial islands with greater clarity.[19] Having compared the two maps, Van Eerde concluded that, 'Ogilby's [map of] America in many respects is far more attractive to the eye than Montanus''.[20] This calls into question Schmidt's claim that 'English printed maps of America were inadequate: limited, derivative, or just plain inferior';[21] Ogilby's map demonstrates that this was not always the case, as he was able to augment the maps to better suit his English reader and thus improve them. Other new maps included in Ogilby's *America* are of the English island colonies, in particular Bermuda and Jamaica. These maps show the islands divided into plantations and numbered with a corresponding table listing the names of the English proprietors (Fig. 4).

Ogilby returned to Van Meurs on two more occasions for the purpose of *The English Atlas*. First he acquired the plates for an English edition of Montanus' book on Japan, *Gedenkwaerdige gesantschappen Der Oost-Indische Maatschappy in 't Vereenigde Nederland, Aan de Kaisaren van Japan* (1669) and then, in the following year, returned for the plates for Olfert Dapper's book of China, *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf Der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye, op de Kuste en in het Keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* (1670). In translation, with some changes and additions, these became Ogilby's *Atlas Japannensis* (1670) and *Atlas Chinensis* (1671). Again, Ogilby must have worked intensively in order to publish his editions so soon after their original publication in Dutch – unless Van Meurs had given him only the raw material and they were working on their respective editions simultaneously. The new volumes are similar in style and form to Ogilby's *Africa* and *America*. Nevertheless, despite Ogilby's reluctance to pay full due to his Dutch collaborator, there is no evidence that their professional relationship faltered. Although nothing is known of their financial agreements, it would appear that Van Meurs was satisfied to share his materials with Ogilby for several years.

Ogilby had intended his *English Atlas* to include a volume on Europe but this never materialised, or, at least, not in the same format as the previous four. Instead, the volume that appeared in 1675, titled *Britannia. Volume the First: or an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales* is principally a book of road maps and is generally considered a stand-alone title. As such, it is not considered further here, other than to observe that it was during the compilation of *Britannia* that Ogilby became

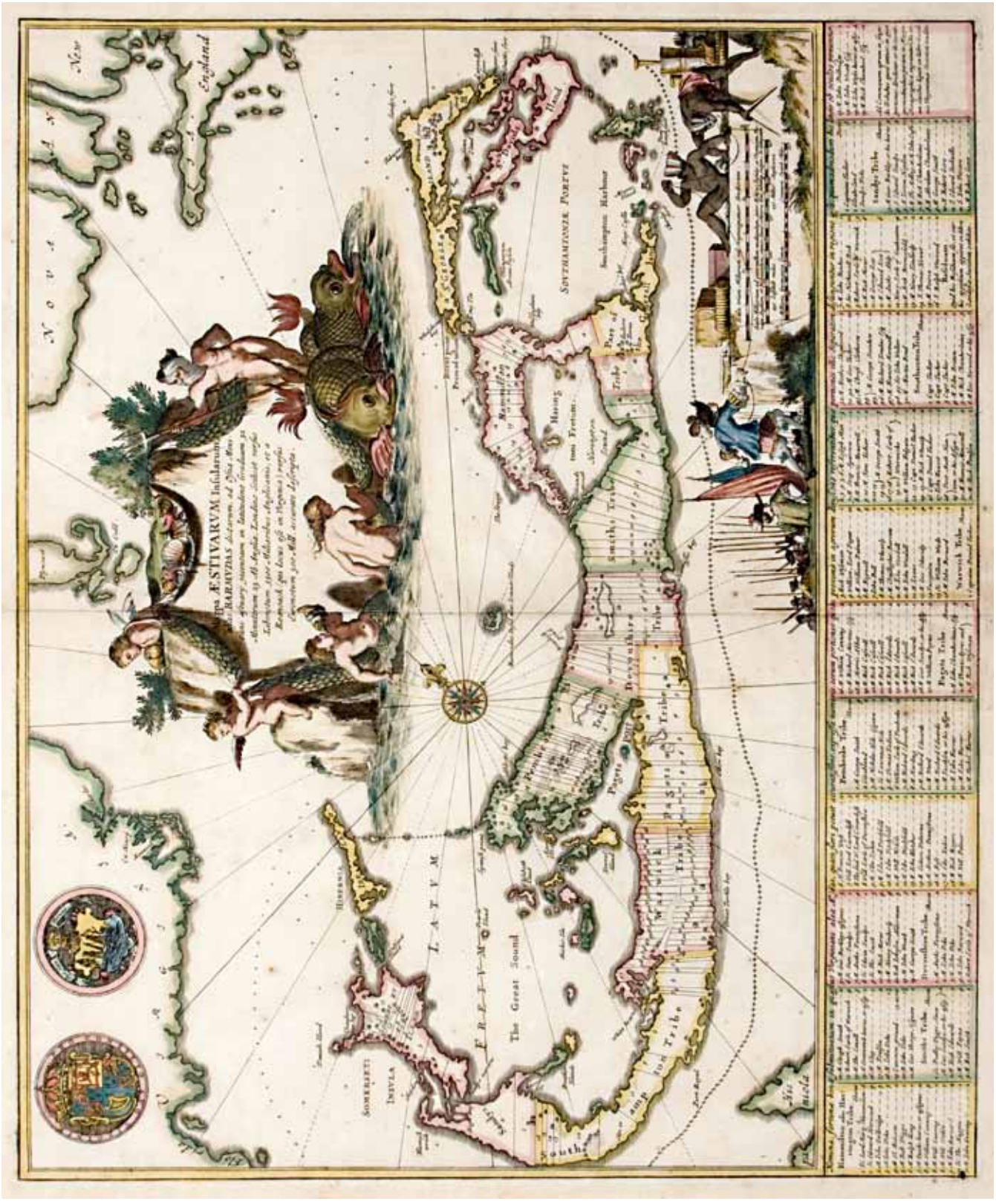


Fig. 4 John Ogilby, 'Mappa Aestivarum Insularum Alias Barmudas', 1671 showing English plantations. Courtesy of Martayan Lan, (www.martayanlan.com).

associated with Robert Hooke of the Royal Society. Hooke had already supported Ogilby, having purchased all available volumes of *The English Atlas*.[22] After Ogilby's death in 1676, Hooke turned to other atlas makers, such as Moses Pitt whose proposal appeared 'more likely to create the kind of scientific project that Hooke desired'.[23]

Moses Pitt (1639–1697)

As one of Ogilby's fellow publishers, Moses Pitt will have been aware that Ogilby's death would result in the expiration of his exclusive rights over *The English Atlas* and wasted no time in claiming the title for his own project. In her seminal study of Pitt's atlas E. G. R Taylor suggests that Pitt's decision to use an identical title was opportunistic.[24]

Like Ogilby, Pitt had a professional association with a Dutchman who was at various times printer, publisher and bookseller, by the name Stephen Swart (fl.1663–1683). Pitt's association with Swart is first evidenced in 1678 when they cooperated over *A Description of the Nature of Four-Footed Beasts* by John Johnston, which was issued in Amsterdam and in London. Although his business appears to have been steady, Swart's independent contribution to Dutch publishing was relatively modest with only 60 titles extant.[25] According to Taylor however, Swart was at one time a partner of, or employed by Johnannes Janssonius van Waesbergen, heir to the great Jansson (Janssonius) publishing firm. Unsurprisingly therefore, Waesbergen was a major figure in the publishing world, issuing more than 200 books during the same period as Swart.[26] Waesbergen also possessed a stockpile of Jansson's map plates, including reissues and updates of earlier maps by Hondius and Blaeu. The plates had already been used for decades and must have been outdated, worn and possibly defective before they reached Waesbergen, who decided to sell them. According to Leona Rostenberg, Waesbergen was encouraged by his associate Swart who, 'saw ready opportunity to sell the old plates abroad', and identified a potential purchaser in Pitt.[27] None of the great Dutch atlases had ever been published in the English language and so it was presumed that Pitt could make use of the famous plates. Pitt considered:

> *that our English nobility and gentry were not less curious and inquisitive into Geography than those of other countreys where it was so much valued, I conceived it might be an acceptable work to them to print an Edition in our English tongue*.[28]

Pitt was emboldened to approach the Royal Society for financial support, which he did through Robert Hooke, who was enthusiastic about the idea. Upon gaining the Society's approval, Pitt found himself answerable to a seven-strong committee who would in turn be overseen by a board of Directors, headed by Hooke himself.[29] It is difficult to imagine a balanced dynamic between Hooke's coterie of scholars and the profit-orientated Pitt and, as Rostenberg's study of Hooke's diaries and correspondence reveals, disappointment soon followed. Upon inspecting test-prints of Pitt's newly acquired plates Hooke noted in his diary, 'all manner of faults, old worn out, executing imperfect […] in no wise to be admitted'.[30] Hooke complained to Swart in Amsterdam who replied that other maps within the collection would bring 'great satisfaction'.[31] Hooke remained unimpressed and imposed strict guidelines that would inevitably force costs upwards. He instructed that, 'where the mapps are ill graven, ill described or ill projected, [they are] to be laid aside and instead thereof [Pitt was to] either make use of maps of Visscher, de Wit etc or have new graven with all amendments and corrections'.[32] The engravers Francis Lamb, Herman Moll and a Dutchman by the name of 'Cramer' are all noted in Hooke's diary as providing their services. Meanwhile, a team of Oxford scholars were recruited to provide accurate geographical descriptions.

All these considerable demands would have overwhelmed Pitt, especially in the early stages of the project. Taylor writes, 'Pitt must have realized at once the gulf between the respective viewpoints of himself and these men of learning. They were enthusiastic for an up-to-date atlas, he was anxious to profit by the reissue of an old Dutch one in an English guise'.[33] Whatever his anxieties, Pitt was willing to risk a good deal of money on this project and in September 1678 he signed a three-year lease on the printing office at the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford costing £200 per annum.[34] Pitt also hired a French paper mill, at considerable expense, to produce 'paper in a larger size than any that was used at the time in France or Holland'.[35]

Next Pitt set about marketing his venture to the general public by circulating his *Proposals for Printing a New Atlas* (1678). Herein he advertised a large folio atlas (58.8 x 37.2 cm / 23 x 14 $^{1}/_{2}$ in) of eleven volumes, containing 900 pages of text and 600 maps, setting the price at 40s [£2] per volume.[36] For the full set Pitt asked his subscribers to pay £22, or £3000 in today's money.[37]

Production took far longer than anticipated and by April 1680, with the first volume already a year behind schedule, Hooke drafted an apology to subscribers on Pitt's behalf to the effect that, 'My greatest difficulty was to find such persons to perform the Descriptions as should be approved by the Gentlemen Directors, severall having attempted w[i]thout engaging, on w[hi]ch tryalls some considerable time was spent'.[38] By the time the first volume appeared, in November 1680, Pitt had apparently attracted subscriptions from nearly 700 individuals, as listed towards the front of the book. If 700 subscriptions were indeed paid the total could have amounted to about £1400. An additional 20s [£1] was paid by any gentleman wanting his coat of arms displayed on a given map, but this occurs no more than a handful of times throughout the atlas volumes. The cost of producing a single volume had escalated to about £1000, leaving Pitt with very little profit after paying his rent at the Theatre and making loan repayments to Hooke.[39] An additional half page of subscribers is listed at the front of the second volume in 1682 which will have brought in further funding, but not significant enough to increase profits in line with production costs.

Volume I of Pitt's ambitious atlas, *Containing a Description of the Places next* [to] *the North-Pole, as also of Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark and their Dependances* (1680), contains 44 maps with a corresponding index listing thousands of place names. The world map bears the imprint 'Johannes Jansonnius à Waesberge and sons, Moses Pitt and Steven Swart' (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Dedication to the Bishop of Oxford with the shared imprint of 'Johannes Janssonnius à waesberge and Moses Pitt and Steven Swart'.

The same imprint is found on the majority of maps throughout the volume whilst a significant minority display no names whatsoever, and a smaller number shows names of earlier Dutch publishers or engravers. Despite the involvement of Lamb, Moll and Cramer, as recorded in Hooke's diary, their names rarely appear. The map of the North Pole, dedicated to the Earl of Plymouth, is the only one carrying Moses Pitt's name alone. All place names are in English, suggesting that this map was originally designed in England and was not part of the original Dutch collection of plates. The map of Europe is a direct reissue of an original Dutch plate by Nicolaus Visscher, as confirmed by its dedication to the Dutch nobleman Simon van Hoorn. The map of Russia is credited to the Dutch traveller Isaac Massa, and bears the shared imprint of 'Apud Janssonio-Waesbergios, et Mosemm Pitt', indicating a map from the original collection. Prussia bears the imprint of 'Joannes Janssonius', indicating that it is an earlier Dutch original plate. Perhaps unsurprisingly, in view of Pitt's close adherence to his Dutch models and despite the considerable effort and expenditure, sales of this first volume of Pitt's atlas to subscribers and other gentlemen were apparently disappointing 'not only to Pitt but also to his adviser Robert Hooke'.[40]

Volume II, *Description of Part of the Empire of Germany* (1681), compiled by William Nicolson, features a dedicatory portrait of Catherine of Braganza newly commissioned by Pitt and, on the opposite page, the original frontispiece from the Dutch model as indicated by the pasted-down label (Fig. 6).

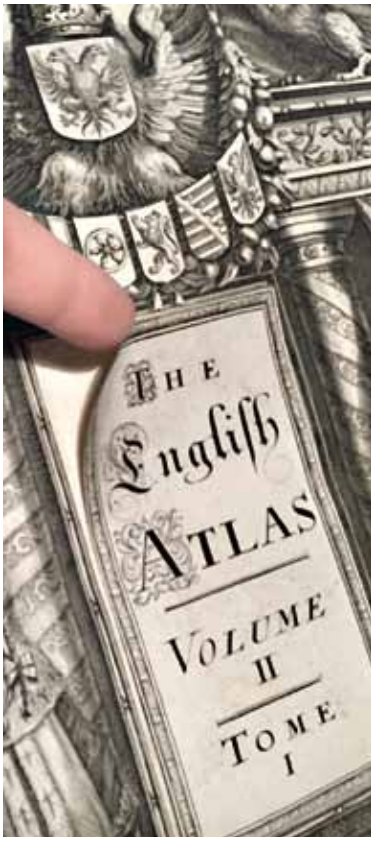


Fig. 6
The pasted down label of the title page of Volume II. Courtesy of Cranston Library, St Mary's Church Reigate, Surrey.

Although Dutch nomenclature dominates throughout the maps, many of the dedications are this time to English noblemen. The map of Brandenburg is dedicated to 'Honorable Sir Lyonel Jenkins, Judge of the Admiralty'; the city of Grotganus, Silesia [Grotkaw, Poland] to John Nicolls; Bremen to Sir Henry Calverley; and Frankfurt to John Hillersden.

At the back of the volume an 'advertisement' to the reader defends the errors and criticisms levelled at Volume I, and is followed by advertisements for forthcoming titles published by Pitt, instructions to the bookbinder and, as with Volume I, an extensive index to the maps.

Volume IV *Containing the Description of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low-Countries, or Netherlands* (1682) compiled by Richard Peers was ready before Volume III. The impressive map of Holland bears the imprint of Dutch engraver Geeraerd Coeck. The map of Flanders is dedicated to Sir Joseph Williamson with otherwise Dutch nomenclature. Volume III, *Description of the Remaining Part of the Empire of Germany* (1683), again compiled by Nicolson, was the last volume to be published and tells a different story from all other volumes. None of the maps give the publishers, whose names have all been erased from the copper plate. The map of 'Totius Sveviae novissima tabul' reveals the faint outline of 'Moses Pitt' and 'Swart' (Fig. 7).



Fig 7 Example of incompletely erased names from the map 'Totius Sveviae novissima tabula', Volume III. Courtesy of Cranston Library, St Mary's Church Reigate, Surrey.

Time had been taken to prepare the plates with the current publishers' names, but equally time had been spent erasing them, a curious situation suggesting some conflict of interest or dispute had arisen at this stage of the project. Moreover, unlike earlier volumes there are no advertisements or messages at the back of the volume, although the frontispiece and title page still display Pitt's name. Whatever the problem was – for Pitt alone or with his collaborators in Amsterdam or London – it heralded the end of Pitt's *English Atlas*.

The subsequent seven volumes listed in Pitt's *Proposals* were never published. Several years later Pitt was jailed for debt, a fate perhaps justified by Hooke's diary that he was a 'rascal' who had failed to repay certain loans related to the project.[42]

A decade of 'English Atlases'

We have seen that despite attracting hundreds of subscribers for his atlas, Pitt was unable to meet the costs of production. Lead times increased, deadlines were missed and customers were left disappointed. In the rush to bring the first volume to market, errors were made. New subscriptions dwindled as successive volumes emerged. The subjects were not enthralling; by focusing on northern and central-eastern Europe, Pitt's atlas did nothing to capture the zeitgeist about the New World. It was also impractically large – larger than Ogilby's atlas (40.1 x 26.2 cm / 15 $^{3}/_{4}$ x 10 $^{1}/_{4}$ in) and the original Dutch atlas it was based upon.

Ogilby's atlas may be judged a success. He had kept pace with current publications in Amsterdam and selected particular sources, textual and graphic that had not been seen in England. He had time to gauge Van Meurs' success with the same material in Amsterdam before investing in the project himself. By working efficiently he minimised delay between the Dutch publication and his own, often issuing his English edition within the same year. The intriguing geographic histories by Dapper and Montanus, some with exotic tales of sexual deviation, were intended to surprise and delight. Ogilby's maps were relatively few in number and were selected to compliment the text and to elevate the book to 'atlas' status without following the classical atlas format. The opposite was true of Pitt's atlas, in which the Dutch copperplates guided the project and the text was written around them. Nor were Pitt's materials as up-to-date, being little more than a re-packaging of maps from a legendary Dutch atlas in circulation for decades. Weasenberg seems to have judged well when he sold the plates to Pitt, recognising that the market for such a large-scale atlas had by then weakened. Presumably he and Swart kept such thoughts to themselves when presenting the sale to Pitt.

Indeed the professional relationships each man established with his Dutch counterpart was crucial to the success of their respective projects. Ogilby appeared to have found a like-minded associate in Van Meurs as they both understood the market for illustrated, geographical histories. In contrast, Pitt and Swart did not have a long-term association. Their brief collaboration on the octavo *Four-footed Beasts* had not been an obvious precursor to a large folio multivolume atlas project two years later, and it could be said that their relationship was built on little more than opportunism. Following the demise of Pitt's *English Atlas* there is no indication that Pitt and Swart ever

worked together again and we might speculate that Pitt was somewhat humiliated by the experience.

A final judgment may come from the Cranston Library in which I worked on this essay. Although Ogilby and Pitt hoped for a wide readership for their respective English atlases, purchase of either publication would have been beyond the means of general readers. These, however, could visit a public library such as Cranston. Although established in 1701, records from Cranston, begun only in 1730, were not maintained consistently and exhibit large gaps across some decades. However, these inconsistent records demonstrate that Volumes I and II of Ogilby's atlas were reasonably popular throughout the 1700s and, together with his *Embassy to China*, were borrowed at least 21 times before 1830. The two atlas volumes (1670 and 1671) had been donated to the Library in 1713 by the wife of one Edward Thurland Esq. This likely refers to the son of Sir Edward Thurland (1606–1683) – MP for Reigate, solicitor to the Duke of York, knighted during the reign of Charles II – who would represent exactly the calibre of gentleman Ogilby had hoped his atlas would appeal to and could buy it for himself.[42]

By contrast the records show that Volume I of Moses Pitt's atlas was borrowed only once in 1822, with the additional three volumes meriting no mention at all. This could reflect its unsuitability for lending, because of its enormous size and this particular copy's fragile condition. All four volumes were donated in 1701 by Haestrecht James Esq., a gentleman of Dutch extraction whose forebears, on arriving in England c. 1540, changed their surname from Van Haestrecht to James.[43] He was the grandson of Sir Roger James (1589–1636) MP for Reigate. Haestrecht's father, Roger James Esq. (c. 1620–1700), had also been an MP. James donated a variety of books to the library over the years but the atlas stands apart both for its size and condition. Covered crudely in paste boards and soiled at the edges, with evidence of candle burns in places, it does not bear the hallmarks of gentlemanly ownership, despite apparently exhibiting James' signature in the margin of page 12, Volume I (Fig. 8). The James family does not appear in Pitt's long list of subscribers.

In conclusion it would appear that Ogilby's version of *The English Atlas* was the more successful. The two atlases shared Dutch origins, their compilers' close association with Dutch publishers and their intended readership. The key differences lay in their approach. Ogilby better understood his audience and had realistic ambitions about what he could achieve. Pitt, on the other hand, had correctly identified the value of the great Dutch atlases of previous decades but misjudged the market appeal in his own era and in any case could not provide the capital required. Unfortunately, Pitt's version of *The English Atla*s never achieved the fame nor fortune he had so hoped for.

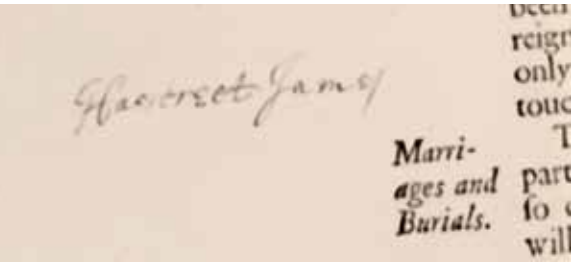


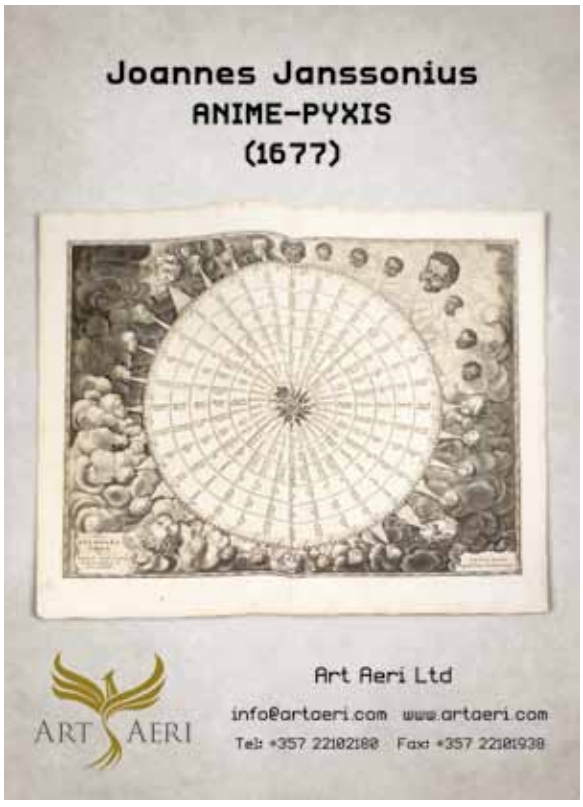
Fig. 8 The apparent signature of Haestrecht James Esq, in the margin of Volume I, page 12. Courtesy of Cranston Library, St Mary's Church Reigate, Surrey.

Notes

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14 Ibid.
15 Adam Jones, 'Decompiling Dapper: a Preliminary Search for Evidence', *History in Africa,* Vol. 17, 1990, p.186.
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36 Harris, p. 181.
37 Laurence Officer and Samuel Williamson, *Measuring Worth*, www.measuringworth.com, [accessed August 2015].
38 Quoted in Taylor, p. 295.
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40 Taylor, p. 296.
41 Rostenberg, p. 7.
42 The History of Parliament Trust, *The History of Parliament* www.historyofparliamentonline.org
43 Ibid.

Christianna Thompson *is a postgraduate student of Book History at the Institute of English within the School of Advanced Study at the University of London, where her special interest is seventeenth-century printed books and their bindings. She was introduced to the study of maps and atlases during the Institute's annual London Rare Book School and furthered her research at the Cranston Library in Reigate, a registered charity which holds an annual lecture series.*



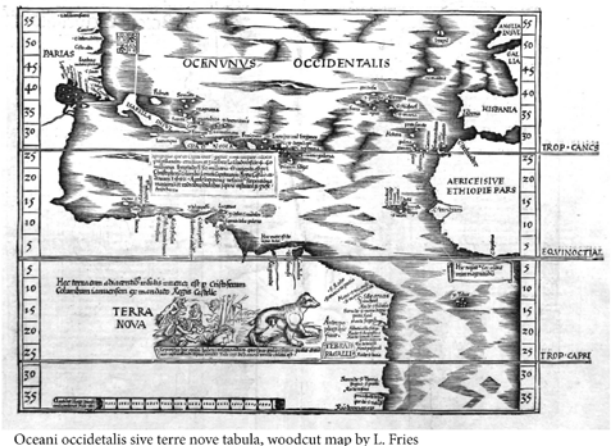
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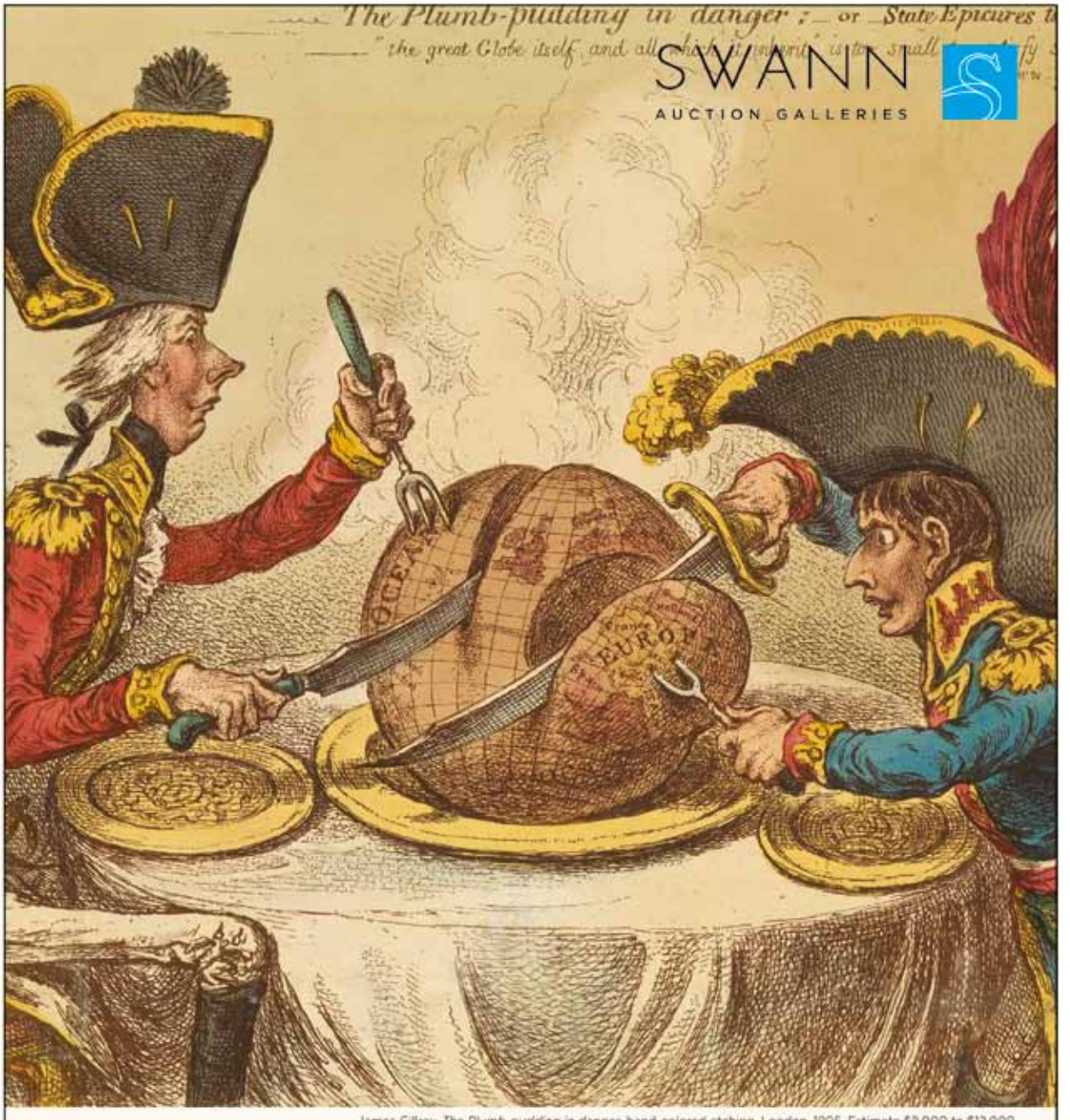
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Oceani occidetalis sive terre nove tabula, woodcut map by L. Fries from the Ptolemaeus edition by J. Grüninger, Strasbourg, 1525



James Gillray, *The Plumb-pudding in danger*, hand-colored etching, London, 1805. Estimate $8,000 to $12,000.

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J. N. Bellin, Paris, c1760





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



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

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CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Exhibitions

Until 12 March 2016, Portland, Maine
Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education
Masterpieces at University Southern Maine: Celebrating Five Centuries of Rare Maps and Globes. It features monumental pieces of cartographic history from around the world, ranging from the first modern printed map in 1475 to superb examples of woodcut, copperplate and lithographic map printing from the fifteenth through to nineteenth centuries. Information: www.oshermaps.org/exhibitions/masterpieces-at-usm

Until 2 April 2016, Indianapolis
Rosemary McKee Lanham Gallery, History Center
Mapping Indiana: Five Centuries of Treasures from the Indiana Historical Society explores the ways we think about maps, how we use them and how they have helped to shape Indiana. Maps are themed to explore from the earliest understandings of the area's geography through the mid-20th century. The exhibit also features information on Hoosier [a resident of Indiana] mapmakers and their lives. Information: www.indianahistory.org

Until 3 April 2016, Hoorn, The Netherlands
Westfries Museum
Kaap in Kaart [The Cape Mapped]
To celebrate the fourth centennial of the rounding of Cape Horn the Westfries Museum in Hoorn, after which the Cape takes its name and one of the centres of the United East India Company, has mounted an exhibition of 43 maps dedicated to describing Europe's expanding knowledge of the most southern tip of the Americas. Information: www.wfm.nl

Until 2 May 2016, Marseille, France
Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilisations
Made in Algeria, Genealogy of a Territory. This first exhibition dedicated to cartography is organised in collaboration with the National Institute of Art History (INHA) and the National Library of France (BNF) with support of the French Ministry of Culture. The event will highlight 'the map invention that accompanied the "conquest" of Algeria and its description'. A series of maps, drawings, paintings, photographs, films and historical documents, as well as works by contemporary artists will be presented at this exhibition. Information: www.mucem.org

Until June 2016, Durham, California
Patrick Ranch Museum
Maps of the Past Tell our History focuses on the water, roads and railroads



From *Kaap in Kaart* at the Westfries Museum: William Blaeu 'Fret Magellanic ac novi Freti Vulgó Le Maire exactissima delineato' [Magellan Straits and the new Strait described by Le Maire]. The map was published only in the 1630 Appendix edition to the *Atlas Novus* and was replaced in the following edition. Private collection.

which were vital in the development of the Butte County. Information: www.patrickranchmuseum.org

Until 5 June 2016, Davenport, Iowa
Figge Art Museum
Mississippi River Views from the Muscatine Art Center Collection.
Beginning with a rare map from 1680 by Nicholaus Visscher, the exhibit includes drawings made on the river by Seth Eastman in the 1830s, and paintings of the river from the 1850s to the present. Information: www.figgeartmuseum.org

Until August 2016, Wellington, NZ
National Library
This exhibition tells New Zealand's history through its maps – from the charts of Captain Cook's voyages to the GPS technology used today. ***Unfolding the Map*** is a collaboration between the National Library, Land Information New Zealand, Eagle Technology and Archives New Zealand. The maps and charts on display highlight the variety and richness of resources held by New Zealand libraries and explain the concepts of cartography. Information: www.natlib.govt.nz

2 April–28 August 2016, Boston
The Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library
From the Sea to the Mountains: The Trustees 125th Anniversary
In 1891 landscape architect Charles Eliot asserted the bold idea to form an organisation that would 'preserve, for public use and enjoyment, properties of exceptional scenic, historic and ecological value in Massachusetts'. Today, the body he founded, The Trustees of Reservations, oversees more than 26,000 acres of preserved places from the Atlantic Coast to the Berkshire Mountains. In celebration of their 125th anniversary, the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library is partnering with The Trustees on an exhibition, featuring maps, photographs and historical items from both collections. Information: www.maps.bpl.org

Lectures and conferences

10 March 2016, London
Maps and Society Lectures, Warburg Institute, 5pm
Mental Maps of the World in Great Britain and France, 1870–1914
Dr Isabelle Avila (Lecturer, University of Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée, France). Information: Catherine Delano-Smith at c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk or Tony Campbell at tony@tonycampbell.info

17 March 2016, Chicago
The Chicago Map Society, The Newberry Library, 5.30pm
Michael Quane will speak about ***In-car Navigation Systems: A 20-year Retrospective.*** Information: www.chicagomapsociety.org

24 March 2016, Washington
The Washington Map Society, Library of Congress, 7pm
Watching the Apocalypse: Using GIS and Social Media to Map Refugees
John Hessler (Specialist in Modern Cartography and Geographic Information Science, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress). The dynamics of population movements during humanitarian disasters is one of the most complicated geospatial problems of the modern era. This talk will showcase some of these new dynamic maps and discuss how these new cartographic tools and visualisations are being used to help track and model these kinds of mass migration and to help allocate disaster response efforts. Information: www.washmapsociety.org

1–3 April 2016, Schwerte, Germany
Every year since 2006, collectors have come together for the ***Atlas Tage [Atlas Days]*** to share their passion for atlases. The 11th International ***Atlas Days*** will mark the 200th anniversary of the launch of the subscription for *Stieler's Hand-Atlas*. Information: Jürgen Espenhorst, panverlag@t-online.de

7–8 April 2016, Rome
X Seminario di studi storico-cartografici ***Dalla mappa al GIS*** Il progetto del territorio nelle fonti d'archivio, organised by the Laboratorio geocartografico 'Giuseppe Caraci' del Dipartimento di Studi umanistici dell'Università Roma Tre, in collaboration with the Centro Italiano per gli Studi Storico-Geografici. Information: www.cisge.it

15–17 April 2016, Durham, UK
International Map Collectors' Society event. See pages 7-8 for details.

14 April 2016, London
Maps and Society Lectures, Warburg Institute, 5pm
Cultural Landscape in Early Modern Jewish and Christian Maps of the Holy Land, Dr Pnina Arad (Research Fellow, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel). Information: Catherine Delano-Smith at c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk or Tony Campbell at tony@tonycampbell.info

14 April 2016, Washington
The Washington Map Society, Library of Congress 7pm
Thomas Holdsworth Poppleton and the Surveyor's Map that Made Baltimore, Edward Papenfuse, (former Archivist of the State of Maryland). Information: www.washmapsociety.org

16 April 2016, Richmond, Virginia
Library of Virginia
The 2016 Alan M. and Nathalie P. Voorhees Lectures on the History of Cartography. ***Alexandria, Virginia: In and Out of the District of Columbia, 1791–1865***, Donald Hawkins and ***Iconic Maps of Washington D.C.***, Dennis Gurtz. Information: www.lva.virginia.gov

20–22 April 2016, Riga, Latvia
The 11th conference of the series Digital Approaches to Cartographic Heritage will run jointly with the 20th Conference of the Map & Geoinformation Curators Group (MAGIC), ***'The one who wants to last is the one who is willing to change': old maps for new user profiles***.
The two conferences will be hosted by the National Library of Latvia. Information: www.cartography.web.auth.gr/ICA-Heritage/Riga2016

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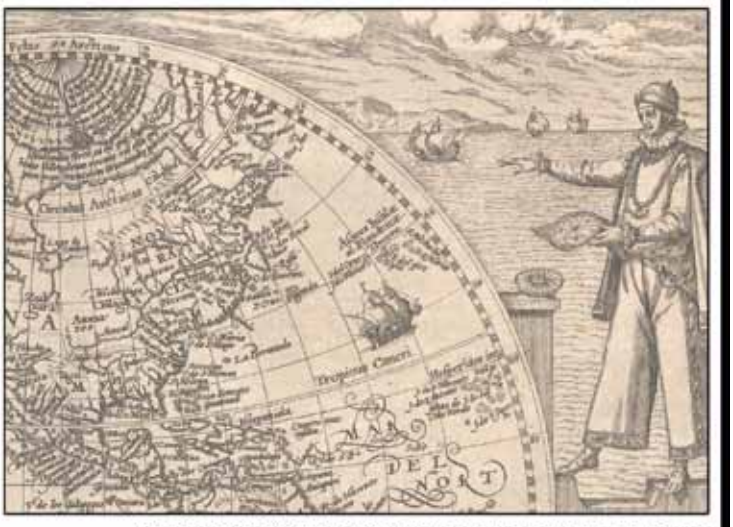
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20–22 April 2016, Santiago, Chile
6th Simposio Iberoamericano de Historia de la Cartografía, Del mundo al mapa y del mapa al mundo: objetos, escalas e imaginarios del territorio, at the Universidad de Chile and the Universidad Católica de Chile. Information: www.6siahc.cl

21 April 2016, Norwich, UK
Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, 6pm
'Myriad Countries': The Outside World on Historical Maps of Japan
Dr Radu Leca. Information: www.sainsbury-institute.org

28 April 2016, London
Maps and Society Lectures, Warburg Institute, 5pm
Cartography and Captivity during the Napoleonic Conflicts, 1803–1815
Elodie Duché (Alan Pearsall Postdoctoral Fellow, Institute of Historical Research, University of London). Information: Catherine Delano-Smith at c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk or Tony Campbell at tony@tonycampbell.info

28 April 2016, Milwaukee
American Geographical Society Library, 6pm
The 2016 Holzheimer 'Maps and America' Lecture: Mirela Altić, Institute of Social Sciences, Zagreb, Croatia will present a talk on Jesuit missionaries as geographers and cartographers of the New World. Information: www.uwm.edu

3 May 2016, Cambridge, UK
Cambridge Seminars in the History of Cartography, Emmanuel College, 5.30pm
Alexander Ogg (1811–65): surveyor, farmer and gold prospector, Aberdeenshire and New Zealand
Dr Douglas Lockhart (formerly University of Keele). Information: Sarah Bendall, sarah.bendall@emma.cam.ac.uk

4–8 May 2016, Rome
The Brussels Map Circle 'excursion' to Rome is on the the theme of Lafreri. In the morning there will be a workshop and in the afternoon, visits to collections and places connected to maps. Speakers will be Birte Rubach (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Karen De Coene (UGent), Vladimiro Valerio (IUAV), Francis Herbert (Royal Geographical Society), Emilio Moreschi (Associazione Almagià), Stefano Bifolco (Antiquarius) and Wouter Bracke (Academia Belgica). Four visits are planned: The Vatican, Galleria delle carte geografiche en Terza loggia; Biblioteca centrale di Roma; Biblioteca Casanatense; Palazzo Farnese. The workshop will be held in the Academia Belgica, This is a joint venture with our sister organisation in Italy, the Associazione Italiana Collezionisti di Cartografia Antica, 'Roberto Almagià'. Information: www.bimmc.org

9 May 2016, Denver, Colorado
Rocky Mountain Map Society, Denver Public Library, 5.30pm
Sea Monster of Olaus Magnus (1539 map), Joseph Nigg. Information: rmmaps.org

12–15 May 2016, Kalamazoo, Michigan
The 51st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University. Panels include ***Defining Otherness on Medieval Maps, Roman Heritage of Medieval Maps, Mapping Space and Time, and Medieval Maps, their Makers and Uses***. Information: www.wmich.edu/medievalcongress

12 May 2016, London
Maps and Society Lectures, Warburg Institute, 5pm
Paid to do a Hobby: A Map Dealer's Reflections on the Last Forty-five Years, Jonathan Potter (Jonathan Potter Ltd). Information: Catherine Delano-Smith at c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk or Tony Campbell at tony@tonycampbell.info

13 May 2016, Washington
The Philip Lee Phillips Map Society, Library of Congress, 12 noon
Julio Cesar Perez Hernandez, a Cuban architect and urban planner, professor and author of the books 'Inside Cuba' and 'Inside Havana'; will talk about ***300 Years of Mapping Cuba***. Information: Ryan Moore rymo@loc.gov

16 May 2016, Denver, Colorado
Rocky Mountain Map Society, Denver Public Library, 5.30pm
Mapmaking & mythmaking, P. J. Mode. Information: www.rmmaps

19 May 2016, Chicago
The Chicago Map Society
The Newberry Library, 5.30pm
'Peoples of the Edge': Map Cartoons of Newfoundland, 1948–1949
Amanda Murphyao. Information: www.chicagomapsociety.org

19 May 2016, Oxford
Oxford Seminars In Cartography, School of Geography and the Environment, 4.30pm
Oxford and cosmopolitan science in Greenland, 1920–1940, Richard Powell (School of Geography, Oxford). Information: Nick Millea nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk

21 May 2016, Denver, Colorado
Rocky Mountain Map Society, Denver Public Library, 5.30pm
The Sea of the West, Don McGuirk. Information: www.rmmaps

23 May 2016, Denver, Colorado
Rocky Mountain Map Society, Denver Public Library, 5.30pm
The Colorado Lake that never was, Wes Brown. Information: www.rmmaps

3–4 June 2016, Lisbon
National Library of Portugal
3rd ISHMap Symposium, ***Encounters and Translations: Mapping and Writing the Waters of the World*** is organised in cooperation with the Interuniversity Centre for the History of Science and Technology. Information:www.ishm.elte.hu

6 June 2016, Denver, Colorado
Rocky Mountain Map Society, Denver Public Library, 5.30pm
Cartographic myths of the American West, Chris Lane. Information: www.rmmaps

6–7 June 2016, Lisbon
Interuniversity Centre for the History of Science and Technology, University of Lisbon and the National Library of

Portugal announce the first international workshop ***On the Origin and Evolution of Portolan Charts***. Information: www.ciuhct.org

16 June 2016, Libertyville, Illinois
Chicago Map Society,
MacLean Collection, 5.30pm
Surveys of the Upper Peninsula
Joe Deo. Information: www.chicagomapsociety.org

17–18 June 2016, Lisbon
National Library of Portugal
Universum Infinitum. From the German Philosopher Nicolaus Cusanus to the Iberian Discoveries in the 15th Century: Ocean World in European Exploration. Conference partners are Kueser Akademie für Europäische Geistesgeschichte and the Cusanus-Hochschule (both: Bernkastel-Kues, Germany). Information: Thomas Horst, thomashorst@gmx.net

24–26 June 2016, Portland, Maine
Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education
3-day ***Manuscript Map Workshop*** with Connie Brown of Redstone Studios. The workshop is limited to ten participants. Registration fee is $650, which includes all the materials and tools needed for the project. Also included in your fee is continental breakfast and lunch daily. Information: www.cms.usm.maine.edu/osher-map-library/map-making-workshop

14–17 September 2016, Vienna
University of Vienna
The ***18th Kartographiehistorisches Colloquium***. Information: Petra Svatek, petra.svatek@univie.ac.at

September/October 2016, Baku, Azerbaijan
Caspian From Past to Future, an International Caspian Sea Congress, organised by the Caspian Strategy Institute/Turkey (HASEN) in conjunction with the Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. The working language of the congress is English, but there will be simultaneous translation into Azerbaijani, Turkish and Russian. The themes include 'Toponomy of Port Cities in the Caspian Sea Region' and 'Historical Maps of the Caspian Sea'. Information: www.hazar.org

22–25 September 2016, Newport, Rhode Island
Society for the History of Discoveries
The Mariner's Life: At Home, Abroad and At Sea. A featured part of the conference will be the Rhode Island Marine Archaeology Project and its work locating British ships, including Cook's HM Bark *Endeavour*, lost off the Rhode Island coast during the Revolutionary War. Information: www.sochistdisc.org

6–7 October 2016, Washington
Library of Congress
Washington Facts or Fictions: Debating the Mysteries of Early Modern Science and Cartography – A Celebration of the 500th Anniversary of Waldseemüller's 1516 'Carta Marina'
The conference combines both the Kislak Lecture and a celebration of the acquisition project that led to the Waldseemüller/Schöner materials all being brought back together and is meant to be multi-disciplinary and will not only include cartographic historians but also historians of early science, philosophy and literature. Speakers will include Kirsten Seaver on the Vinland Map, Ben Olshin on the Rossi Map with Ship and Marco Polo, Chet van Duzer and Don McGurck on the *Carta Marina*, and Joaquim Alves Gaspar on Portolan Charts, Stephanie Wood on the Puebla-Tlaxcala contrived maps and manuscripts. Information: John Hessler, jhes@loc.gov

13–14 October 2016, Dubrovnik, Croatia
Inter-University Centre Dubrovnik (IUC) 6th International Symposium on the History of Cartography,
The Dissemination of Cartographic Knowledge: Production – Trade – Consumption – Preservation organised by three International Cartographic Association (ICA) Commissions (History of Cartography; Map Production & Geoinformation Management; Use, User & Usability Issues) and the Institute of Social Sciences 'Ivo Pilar' (Zagreb, Croatia). Information: www.histacartodubrovnik2016.com

14–15 October 2016, St Louis
Conference on Manuscript Studies, Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections. ***Manuscripts for Travelers: Directions, Descriptions and Maps***
This session focuses on manuscripts of travel and accounts of places and geographies intended for practical use: perhaps as guidance for a journey; descriptions of topography and marvels, or as travel accounts of pilgrimage, mission, exploration, and commercial or diplomatic expeditions. Information: www.lib.slu.edu/special-collections/programs/conference

17–18 October 2016, Albi, France
Centre Universitaire Jean-François Champollion
À l'échelle du monde. La carte, objet culturel, social et politique, de l'Antiquité à nos jours [On the scale of the world. Maps: a cultural, social and political object from Antiquity to the present day] is a symposium organised around the eighth-century *Mappa Mundi* d'Albi. It will compare the views of historians and geographers on the cultural practices, political and social mapping at the world scale. Information: Sandrine Victor colloquemappamundi@lists.univ-jfc.fr

Map Fairs

4–5 June 2016, London
London Map Fair. Information: www.londonmapfairs.com

28–30 October 2016, Chicago
Chicago Map Fair. Information: www.chicagomapfair.com

5 November 2016, Paris
Paris Map Fair. Information: www.map-fair.com

† Donald Hodson, died 1 Feb 2016

An obituary will be published in the next issue of the *Journal*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The History of Cartography Volume 6, Parts I and II 'Cartography in the Twentieth Century'

edited by Mark Monmonier. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2015. ISBN 978-0-2265-3469-5 (cloth); ISBN 978-0-2261-5212-7 (e-book). HB with dust jacket, 1,960 pages 805 colour plates, 119 halftones, 242 line drawings, 61 tables. US $500.



In the mid-1920s French hydrographers developed the 'Marti' recording system for depth determination, using something akin to preparing a copperplate for etching: the soot from an open flame would coat the paper, followed by a mechanical stylus inscribing depth profiles derived from echolocation. The system wasn't in use for long, given the unsurprising propensity of the paper to burst into flames. How to address a century of proliferating technologies from what now seem exotic, analogue methods to GPS devices based on satellite data, small enough for car, boat or hand? Charting this heterogeneity is precisely what Volume 6, in two, hefty parts accomplishes. No other scholarly project or resource[1] comes close to covering this range of cartographic methods and topics in the twentieth century and, now that it exists, already seems impossible that we could have gone so long without it. If you have ever wished to better understand geodesy or geographic information systems (GIS), unpack acronyms from VICAR to TIGER, IDRISI to ODYSSEY, or compare what the USGS were doing at the same time as their Soviet counterparts, this volume is an excellent place to start.

Unlike the previous volumes of the History of Cartography series, entries are organised alphabetically like an encyclopaedia. Think of a topic and look for that title; if it's not there, a redirection to where you want to go is usually offered. A search for 'digital cartography' sends you to 'electronic cartography' and a clear list of subtopics are provided at the outset. As ever, the author of the entry is named and crucially, for a scholarly enterprise such as this, bibliographies are not kept at a predefined maximum; some are substantial. Also unlike former volumes, bibliographies are kept with each entry. The inside covers of both Part I and II show topic headings arranged by conceptual cluster, and Part II contains the generous index, both providing further paths through what might otherwise be a daunting amount of material. The chances of encountering new information may be higher from these arrangements, so reading about specialist subjects such as Kriging (a predictive method, useful in mining and other applications) or Lidar (a remote sensing system using lasers) – as two examples only – might not occur without individual headings, cross-referenced in a 'see also' list appearing at the end of each entry. Of course this may be a feature of browsing, generally speaking; one wonders how the material will be divided for PDF download as has been done for some of the series' existing volumes.

As the author of many monographs on twentieth-century cartographic issues including controversies of naming, spying and surveillance, cartographies of weather and much more, Mark Monmonier was the apposite choice for the task of chief editor. He has been accompanied by four esteemed scholars as associate editors: Peter Collier, Karen Severud Cook, Jon Kimerling and Joel Morrison; over 300 further experts have contributed to the volume. If the range of authors is not hugely variable in their respective backgrounds – academics in the USA and Europe predominating – they are far more numerous than for other volumes, reflecting the multiplicity of topics covered. The overall editing decisions and what such a volume entails have therefore been exceptional and, unsurprisingly, took over fifteen years from initial

forays to final publication. In the very informative processual history of the volume's development, provided at the end of Part II, Monmonier proposes the volume as 'a reference of first resource'.[2] This is critical, as expectations usually exceed the reality of any reference work, as it is by definition impossible to cover everything in the depth that an expert in the field might wish for. It is also impossible to undertake such a broad survey and cover all items of interest, so each reader is likely to identify omissions based on their own knowledge or preferences. Monmonier also rightly proposes that any such gaps are opportunities for fresh research; some biases – even if acknowledged – are worth revisiting, so more on that below.

The military origin of many current satellite-based spatial technologies is well known. Nevertheless it was still surprising to read that the single, greatest output of paper maps produced – 100 million – for a single purpose was in service of the 1991 Gulf War.[3] *Warfare and cartography* has an independent, overview entry covering key issues, as does *Military mapping of geographical areas*, i.e., defence forces undertaking cartographic work for the state, with multiple, national subsections. The entry *Military mapping by major powers* contains subsections for the USA, NATO, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ottoman Empire, Israel, Russia and the Soviet Union, China and Japan. Cold War topics are well covered with an excellent overview that leads to other entry titles that are necessarily broader in scope, such as mapping by the US Intelligence Community, as well as the relationship to photogrammetry, remote sensing and GPS. There's even an entry titled *Cartographic duplicity in the German Democratic Republic*, outlining the systematic, officially sanctioned practice of creating false sets of topographic and other maps for the purpose of misleading or confounding. Greater access to information from the former Soviet Union has benefitted this volume enormously in relation to other, non-military topics, including entries on Soviet cartographic institutions and individuals (Fig. 1).

Some conflicts have continued from last century into this one. Examples such as the Sino-Indian border tension that creates headaches for Google Earth, the critical role of maps in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, or the naming issues over what is conventionally called

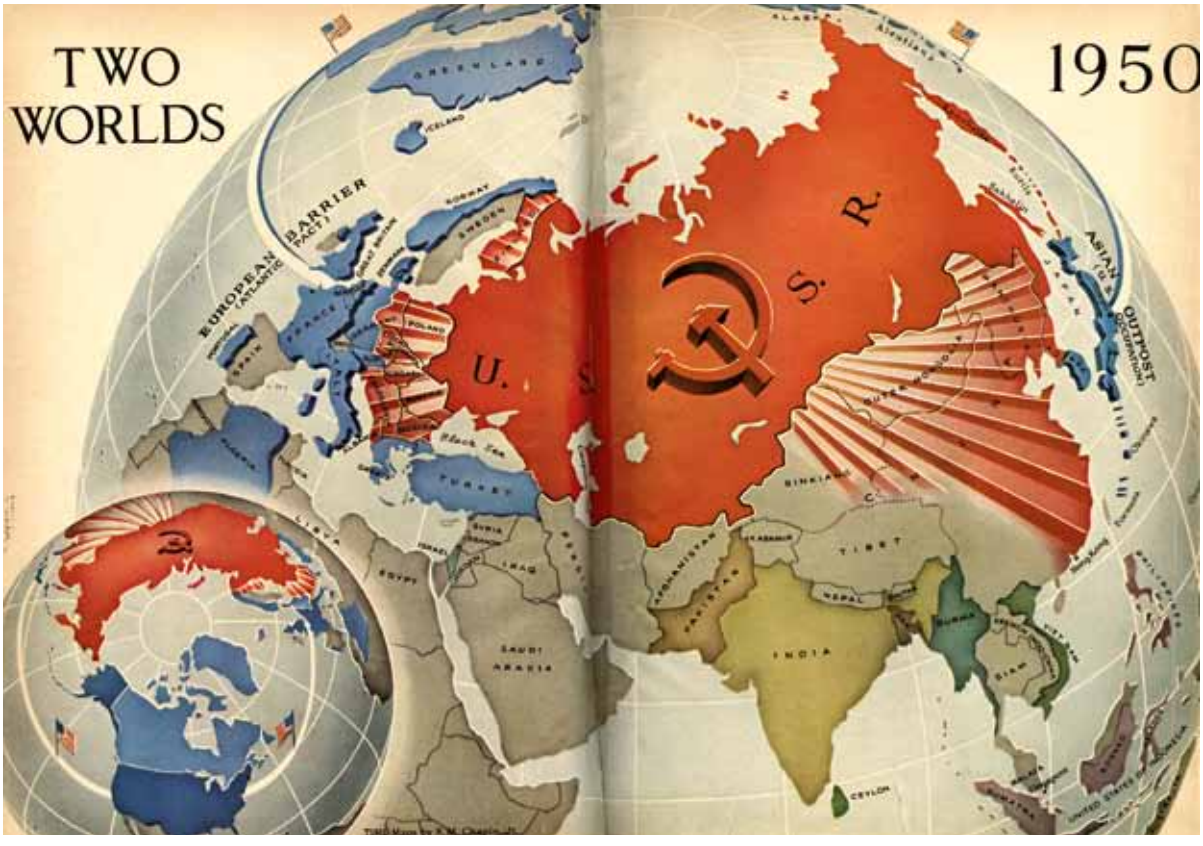


Fig. 1 Anticommunist Polar Projection Map, 'Two Worlds', 1950, by Robert M. Chapin. From *Time* magazine 55, No. 1 (2 January 1950): 34–35.

the Sea of Japan are registered (not, in these cases, with specific entries) in such moderate tones it can be hard to read them as controversial. The entry *Decolonisation and Independence* contains a single sentence merely noting what generated the twentieth century's largest mass human migration, the 1947 partition of India and creation of Pakistan. This event had been exacerbated by problematically conceived and implemented demarcations, known as the Radcliffe Line, which set boundaries for the immediate movement of what is usually considered to be some 14 million people, with immense mortality in its wake. Cartography's pivotal role in this event is not explored in otherwise robust entries such as *Nation-State Formation and Cartography, Boundary Disputes, Colonial and Imperial Cartography*, or in any of the entries relating to India (Pakistan itself, let alone the Radcliffe Line, does not appear in the index).[4]

Before this volume, the shift from analogue to digital cartographies has been arguably more difficult to find histories or quality information about, beyond general overviews or technical information on specific processes. For some, the medium is old wine in new bottles; for others, this change will affect human subjectivities for decades, if not centuries to come. This 'swerve' of our time is well registered in the initial entries on GIS, or the processes explored as precursors for today's practices, such as photogrammetry or the early rivalry between the US Corona satellite programme and the initially more advanced Soviet Zenit system, as just two examples amongst many. The military genesis of these methods is well covered and is one of the volume's strengths. In the entry *Cruise Missile*, reasons for the relatively scarce in-depth investigation of such technologies is proposed as secrecy surrounding military developments combined with scholarly reluctance to acknowledge these origins.[5] This discussion is further developed in a section resonantly titled *The Uses (and Abuses) of GPS*, for example, questions around these methods as inherently militaristic or neutral.[6] The multiple-sectioned entry for *Remote Sensing* – a topic also discussed in similarly in-depth entries for *Topographic Mapping*, and more – covers the histories of a variety of aerially based technologies and their applications. It also usefully contains a subsection on how data is transformed into the kind of imagery we increasingly take for granted. In the *Gulf War* entry is a reproduction of Colin Powell addressing White House staff, using physical maps, but consider his 2003 speech as US Secretary of State to the United Nations in support of claims for Iraq having weapons of mass destruction:

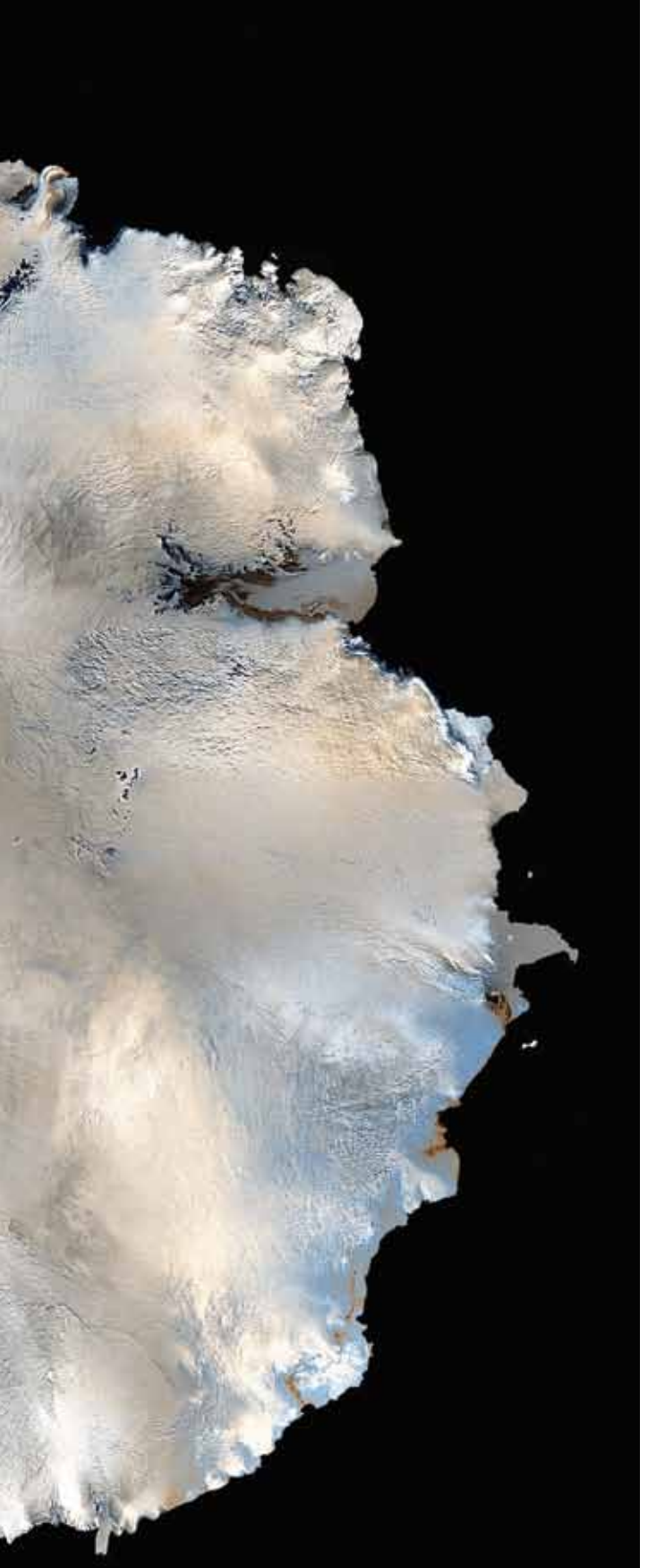
> *Let me say a word about satellite images before I show a couple. The photos that I am about to show you are sometimes hard for the average person to interpret, hard for me. The painstaking work of photo analysis takes experts with years and years of experience, poring for hours and hours over light tables. But as I show you these images, I will try to capture and explain what they mean, what they indicate to our imagery specialists.*[7]

Given the degree of translation and re-organisation satellite data undergoes an entry on digital, spatial image literacy could have been fitting. Like many everyday technologies, we often use the end product without understanding how it is created and what the implications of that might be; there is much work to be done in this arena (Fig. 2).

One bias that was not discussed in the processual account is so fundamental it can be hard to imagine any alternative, our increasing dependence on data notwithstanding. This is the map's pre-eminence as a visual entity (we can no longer say artefact): in so many ways, the map has become Lord of the Infographics. Western cartography has long been visual at its core, although not exclusively. Locative practices delivered via non-visual means, especially those from indigenous cartographies, is a significant absence from this volume. Despite the hope expressed in the entry for *Histories of Cartography* on the 'need to integrate non-European cultures into general narratives on map history',[8] the main entry related to this subject concerns the impact of Western cartography on the indigenous. Perhaps fifteen years ago it was thought that those topics were covered in Volume 2, Book 3 of the series as *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian and Pacific Societies*, published in 1999, just before work on the current volume began. With all due respect, the majority of its entries had been written by white, non-indigenous scholars; also, many cartographic practices that have either survived or have flourished in the meantime could be of interest to many: from the resurgence of Pacific navigational methods, to the current fates for the astonishing maps of Aboriginal cultures hiding in plain sight as art, to international comparisons on indigenous naming issues, to name a few. Some of these topics are mentioned, sometimes in just one sentence, but a significant opportunity may have been missed to canvas developments over the last decade and a half for cartographies with radically differing ontologies than our own.



Fig. 2 Radar satellite image mosaic of Antarctic ice sheet. Made using Advanced Very High Resolution Radiometer (AVHRR) images collected between 1980 and 1994. Original digital mosaic corrected into polar stereo graphic projection by the National Remote Sensing Center, United Kingdom. From Richard S. Williams and Jane G. Ferrigno, eds., *State of the Earth's Cryosphere at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Glaciers, Global Snow Cover, Floating Ice, and Permafrost and Periglacial Environments*, Satellite Image Atlas of Glaciers of the World, 1386A (Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 2012), fig. 6A. Image courtesy of the U.S. Geological Survey.



Readers do therefore need to take the (acknowledged) orientation to Western, superpower-driven concerns of the volume into account. Having said that, what this volume does well, it does particularly well, both deepening available information on key spatial practices that increasingly affect us all, irrespective of class or culture. So rich is this material it is hard to do it justice in review. It also brings these practices to the attention of many more people than otherwise would have been possible. Arguably then, one of its greatest contributions is to bring this quality information into one volume, putting a spotlight onto its histories – military and otherwise – thereby taking the subject of twentieth-century cartography beyond the realm of the experts. This is likely to stimulate many new markets for maps, but hopefully too a market for new ideas and responses.

Ruth Watson, University of Auckland, New Zealand

Notes

1 Wikipedia is not in the same scholarly category, primarily because authors are not identifiable, so mistakes have little or no professional consequences. Nevertheless it remains a major portal for information on contemporary topics, so warrants mention. Yet searching via keywords 'cartography' and 'mapping' reveals limited subject areas, although some topics have in-depth entries, for example 'The Sea of Japan naming controversy'; it may be useful – with the attendant grains of salt – for specific issues, but cannot really offer a synthesis of the information that this volume is able to.

2 Mark Monmonier, (ed), *The History of Cartography Volume 6: Cartography in the Twentieth Century*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2015, p. 1789.

3 Ibid., p. 570.

4 Are we therefore to assume there has been no contribution to mapping in the twentieth century outside the dominant cultures? Consider the fate within this volume of my home country, New Zealand, as an example of a non-superpower: you could be forgiven for thinking little innovation or interest had taken place here. Like Australia, this country is well known as an 'early adopter' of new technologies so extremely early national computer map production might have warranted coverage, from aeronautical charting in the 1970s to the international award winning *Historical Atlas of New Zealand*, published in 1995 (mentioned in a subsection on national atlases). Discussion of Larry Lee's work, illustrated in the entry on conformality in map projections, does not reveal that it was done here.

5 Author John Cloud notes it is the Cruise Missiles' 'earth models' and subsequent 'cartographic mechanization and integration' that have had a long-term impact on contemporary mapping technologies. Monmonier, op.cit., p. 291.

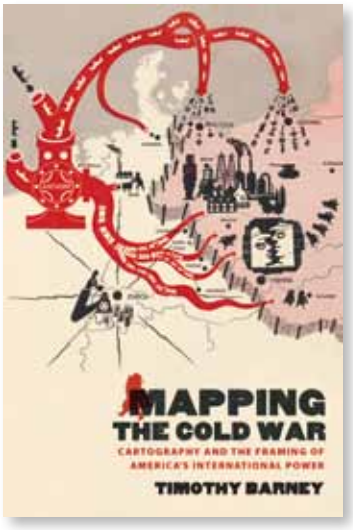
6 Monmonier, ibid., pp. 555-57. Author William J. Rankin ends this section with a most resonant paragraph of relevance to my next topic, ending with: 'And thus with GPS the basic political question, as ever, is not what or how, but by whom'.

7 The photo of Powell in the White House is on page 569; full text of Powell's speech is visible online via *The Guardian* at (seen Friday 22 January 2016): www.theguardian.com/world/2003/feb/05/iraq.usa – but also see a discussion of this speech in the context of imagery in Laura Kurgan, *Close Up at a Distance: Mapping, Technology and Politics*, Brooklyn, NY, Zone Books, 2013, pp. 19–30.

8 Monmonier, op. cit., p. 612.

Mapping the Cold War, Cartography and the Framing of America's International Power

by Timothy Barney. *The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2015. ISBN 978-1-4696-1854-8. PB, 338, 25 illus. US $29.95.*



Throughout history, few conflicts have passed without stimulating cartographic production of some kind. The unconventional conflict of the Cold War was no exception, though the nature of maps and their purpose was equally unconventional but nonetheless crucial. As the 25th anniversary of the dissolution of the USSR approaches, it is perhaps surprising that the cartography of the Cold War has been the focus of only a handful of scholars and that literature in the field is generally sparse. This volume by Timothy Barney (University of Richmond) is therefore a welcome, if overdue, contribution to the field.

Dealing with a broad range of themes throughout its five chronological chapters, *Mapping the Cold War* allows readers to trace the dynamic cartographies of the Cold War from an American perspective and the roles of personalities instrumental in shaping it. The book deals with the thematic mapping output of the USA, encompassing popular journalistic maps in addition to those with similar themes used in official reports and publications. The book does not tackle thematic maps published elsewhere and only briefly refers to topographic mapping.

Being primarily concerned with the theme of rhetoric, it is unsurprising that Barney frames his analysis within the paradigm of critical cartography from the outset. Barney conceptualises the 'instrumentality' and 'rhetorical lives' of Cold War maps, claiming that they were not only a frequent basis of political and military strategy but were *the* crucial means of forming ideology, identity and the geographical perceptions of their readers.

Furthermore, the book claims that maps give an unrivalled insight into American geopolitical aims and were the chief means of articulating these throughout much of the twentieth century. As a result of this far-reaching 'instrumentality', Barney argues that maps became an integral part of states and their culture, rather than simply being a means of depicting them in an abstract form. Barney quells any notion that cartography was merely a superfluous aspect of the Cold War and balances his arguments effectively throughout with his shrewd understanding of broader political developments.

Chapter one observes the dawn of 'air-age globalism' in the 1940s and the notion that the growth of flight in public consciousness expanded the possibilities of cartographic perspective. 'Bird's-eye views', seemingly from a plane's vantage point, appeared for the first time and perceptions of the USA as a geographically isolated state swiftly waned – undeniably so following the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941. The 1940s also saw technological leaps in trans-continental communications. Not only was physical movement around the globe easier, ideas, money and almost anything else could be transmitted with ease, and maps soon reflected this new global interconnectedness.

The work of the eminent journalistic cartographer Richard Edes Harrison is dealt with at particular length and Barney provides comprehensive and credible interpretations of many of Harrison's most famous works, including *Europe from the East* (1944) and *The US Commitment* (1952). Harrison's characteristically innovative projections and perspectives are also examined; novel in the way that they place the viewer in the position of allies or enemies in the air, thus portraying particular strategic viewpoints – a tool which would be indispensable during the Cold War and greatly influence American foreign policy.

Barney reasons that few advanced this influence more than S. W. Boggs, geographer of the Department of State and the focus of chapter two. The chapter infers that Boggs in many ways bridged the gap between the use of 'air-age'-style cartography to enlighten public perceptions and its capacity to shape actual global strategy.

Chapter three departs from the semi-biographical nature of the first two, instead describing numerous

maps from the early years of the Cold War and their portrayal of America's position in the conflict. The emergence of geopolitical maps in government agency documents and diplomatic interactions is also accounted for, notably including a thorough and highly interesting discussion of *Time* magazine's '*Gulag' – Slavery, Inc.*' (1951). *Mapping the Cold War* convincingly argues that maps were not only a means of disseminating ideas and information to general audiences, but that they also had a significant impact on US foreign relations – including some rather antagonistic exchanges with Soviet officials.

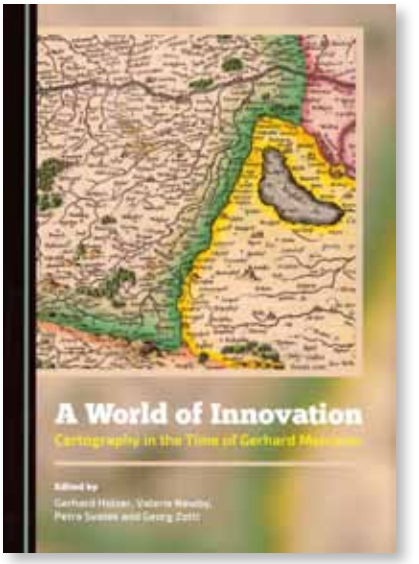
Chapter four shifts the focus to cartographic representations of the 'Third World' and America's relations with the Global South, as framed by such works as the American Geographical Society's *Atlas of Disease* (1955). This is followed by a chapter bearing the Fukuyama-esque title, 'The End of Cartography'. Barney coins the term 'hyperinternationalism' to refer to the 'spectacular collapse of distance' (p. 176) prompted by the threat of nuclear war from the 1960s, before examining how maps – produced increasingly by digital means – adapted to contribute to this notion.

With 76 pages of the volume given over to footnotes and a bibliography, it is evident that Barney's discussion is based on a thorough consultation of a range of historical and contemporary sources. However, the book disappoints in that all of its 25 illustrations are reproduced in black and white. Given the importance of colour to semiotics and cartographic communication, its absence in this volume is unfortunate. While publishing constraints make it impractical to expect reproductions of all maps dealt with in the book, parts of chapter three are particularly hampered by detailed descriptions of map content, where further illustrations would be far more engaging while reserving the text purely for deeper analysis and comment. Nevertheless, the text is rich in content, though its dense presentation of ideas may potentially place it beyond the interest of the typical casual reader or undergraduate student.

While maps are indisputably the major theme, the book will doubtless appeal more broadly to those with an interest in American history or the wider development of 20th century political and geographical discourses. It would hence be a beneficial yet affordable addition to research libraries and personal collections alike.

Martin Davis, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK

A World of Innovation. Cartography in the Time of Gerhard Mercator edited by Gerhard Holzer, Valerie Newby, Petra Svatek and Georg Zotti. *Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015. ISBN 978-1-4438-7153-2. HB, 261, 81 b & w illus. £47.99.*



In 2012 the scientific community commemorated the 500th birthday of Gerhard Mercator (1512–1594). In all, the academic and publishing output was not as extensive in this instance as in 1994, the occasion of the 450th anniversary of his death. A highlight of the learned activities was the 30th IMCoS Symposium: *500 Years Mercator – Early Cartography in the Habsburg Empire* which was held in Vienna between 9 and 12 September 2012. Thirteen papers from this conference have been adapted and published in the present volume.

Part 1 deals with aspects of cartography in the Habsburg Empire in Mercator's time. Helga Hühnel describes early Geographica in the holdings of the Austrian National Library. Among them is an exemplar of Montaboddo's anthology of travel reports (Milan 1508) with six unassociated woodcut maps (Strasbourg c. 1520). Ferdinand Opll gives a condensed and, unfortunately, poorly illustrated survey on the pre-1550 pictorial depictions of Vienna. Wolfgang Lazius and his fundamental atlas *Typi chorographici provinciarum Austriae* (Vienna 1561) is presented in detail by Petra Svatek. Zsolt Török describes manuscript atlases of the Habsburg-Ottoman border zone produced mainly by members of the Angelini family, who were Italian architects in service to the Habsburgs. Closer to the core issue

again is the study by Elmar Csaplovics on early maps of Hungary and their adoption in the work of Mercator.

Part 2 begins with a basic discussion of the term 'atlas' by Peter van der Krogt. Mercator's *Atlas* was conceived as an all-embracing description of earth and the heavens. There are some earlier collections of printed maps without this title. In answer to the question who is the author of the first atlas Antonio Lafreri and Abraham Ortelius must be considered, Lafreri for the first map collection with the figure of Atlas on the title page and Ortelius who published the first atlas according to modern definition). However, one should not forget Waldseemüller's *Supplementum*, the independent second part of 1513 Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy. Two very useful appendices give English translations of Mercator's own discussion around *Atlas* and of the original sources texts on the atlas myth by Diodorus Siculus. There follows a perfectly complementary and highly scholarly article by Marica Milanesi on *Cosmographia*, on the contents and development of this scientific genre and Mercator's understanding of it. The section ends with a study by Patricia Seed of the surviving copies of Mercator's 1569 world map. Some of her conclusions need further discussion from the map historian's perspective. The projection of the map has nothing to do with the actual assembly of the separate sheets into a wall map. The dissected exemplars in London and Rotterdam were made by Mercator to give local patrons an idea on the future atlas. Also missing is a reference to the annotated facsimile edition of the interesting Rotterdam copy (Zutphen,2012) by Sjoerd de Meer.

Part 3 opens with the contribution 'Mercator and Ortelius: Two of a kind?' by Marcel van den Broecke. We find summarised the documents of their lifelong friendship and cooperation, their mutual influence and some of the differences in their working methods. Jan de Grave gives an updated report on his long-term research on the library of Gerhard Mercator. An auction catalogue of 1604 provides information on the content and organisation of the library.

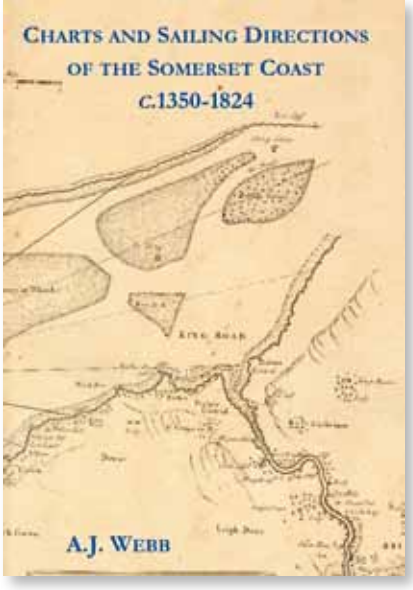
To date only two volumes have been identified to come from Mercator's library. Among them is his personal copy of Copernicus' *De revolutionibus* libri VI, which today is in Glasgow University Library. Wouter Bracke studies the relationship between Mercator and Christiaan Sgrooten, royal cartographer to King Philipp II and author of the manuscript *Atlas Bruxellensis* (c. 1575) of the Holy Roman Empire. Mercator, who was probably Sgrooten's teacher, made extensive use of his pupil's maps. Interesting new facets result from the view of the Sgrooten atlas against the background of contemporary dynastic constellations in family of the Habsburgs.

The final part deals with 'Globes and celestial maps in the time of Mercator'. Nick Kanas gives a survey on celestial maps and title pages up to the early seventeenth century. Thomas Horst strongly abridges our knowledge of Mercator's world maps and globes and discusses the cartographer's interests in astrology. A new find are fragments of a second copy of Mercator's astrological disc (1551), which were pasted on the base of the copy of the celestial globe in Berlin.

In general terms, the present volume is a representative of the best tradition of IMCoS' philosophy. The contributions provide solid summaries on selected and partially very complex fields around the study of Mercator. This includes some new insights and details. But above all, the worldwide scientific community gains access to a wealth of knowledge which, to date, has not been accessible in the English language.

Peter H. Meurer, Heinsberg, Germany

Maritime Surveys, Charts and Sailing Directions of the Somerset Coast, circa 1350–1824 by Adrian James Webb. *Somerset Record Society, Vol. 97., 2014. PB in cloth-covered slipcase with colour facsimiles of 14 charts, 2014, ISBN 978-0-901732-43-9. £52 plus £3 p+p.*



Bristol was Britain's second port until overtaken by Liverpool in the eighteenth century. It supported ocean going ships in the Atlantic and African trades, as well as coasting traffic but the approach up the Bristol Channel is open to the west, subject to strong tides and dangerous for strangers. When the Channel narrows near Ilfracombe ships kept to the Somerset shore to avoid the shoals off the Welsh coast. The small drying harbours, Minehead and Bridgewater, and a few open roadsteads offered the only shelter before King Road, the main anchorage for ships waiting to go up to Bristol.

Adrian Webb's objective has been to record all cartographic and textual information available for this passage from the fourteenth century to 1824, the eve of regular publication of Admiralty surveys. He describes his work as a 'hybrid of record society publishing', and neither 'a carto-bibliography, nor a volume of pure transcripts in the sense of normal record society volumes', perhaps not, but it offers far more.

Both sailing directions and charts were working documents used at sea which suffered a high rate of attrition and were often discarded when replaced by newer versions. Charts fared better than sailing directions, as they were more likely to be decorative and bound in atlases preserved in libraries ashore. Sailing directions tended to be ephemeral, sometimes unbound or even broadsheets, and even the author's long worldwide search for surviving copies has not located examples of every edition.

Adrian Webb has worked for a number of years on subjects of maritime interest relating to his home county and recently edited the first volume of a *Maritime History of Somerset* for the Somerset Archaeological and Historical Society. This experience has enabled him to bring a scholarly approach to planning an arrangement which makes accessible not simply the charts and sailing directions but a great deal of complementary research on the Somerset coast and the sea passage to Bristol.

The published work consists of a generously illustrated, stitched paperback volume of A4 size presented in a robust cloth-bound slipcase together with full-size facsimiles of fourteen charts. A short foreword describes the arrangement of the work and includes a helpful plan of the area marking most of the navigational features discussed in the text with both their current and former names. It also explains some of the main editorial decisions taken when selecting the items recorded, for example reducing unnecessary duplication, by omitting French editions of English charts with no alteration of content, and foreign language editions of sailing directions recorded elsewhere.

The main part of the work is arranged in three sections: a 28-page introductory essay followed by the calendars of sailing directions and charts. The introduction describes the main features of navigation of the Bristol Channel and the services which supported it. It draws on extensive research to describe the recognised route into the Channel and up to Bristol and its dangers, maintenance and improvement work on the Rivers Avon and Parret, lights, seamarks and landmarks. It also recounts the parts played by The Society of Merchant Venturers in Bristol, the pilotage service, local chart publication, nautical education and early work on local tides.

The calendars of the listed records, Part 1 Sailing Directions and Part 2 Surveys and Charts, are numbered in one consecutive sequence printed in bold type. These numbers are used throughout the book facilitating quick identification when they are referred to in editorial parts of the book. As well as the fourteen facsimile charts there are 54 illustrations in the text; many of them enlarged details from charts, these are numbered in their own sequence, but I would have found inclusion of a link to calendared items helpful where relevant.

The calendar of Sailing Directions has its own introductory section summarising their development from fifteenth century manuscripts to works of the early nineteenth century. Directions were often included in publications covering the English Channel so the records transcribed are mainly short extracts from larger works. Notable exceptions are John Payne's 1723 broadsheet describing the entrance to the River Parret published to promote a scheme for the improvement of Bridgewater harbour, Lt Murdoch Mackenzie's manuscript directions written during his 1774 survey but unpublished during the period covered and John Barlow's rare pilot for the whole Bristol Channel published in Ilfracombe in 1821. All text variants in later editions within the period are included.

The section on Surveys and Charts has no introduction and the entries are less formulaic many with extensive editorial comment. For example, the entry for the charts in Waghenaer's *Spieghel der Zeevaert* of 1589, the first edition to include a chart of the Bristol Channel, makes use of other sources to throw light on the geographical features named and details of mooring arrangements in the Avon. The last entry is a detailed study of a large manuscript chart of the whole Bristol

Channel, of c. 1823 held by the Hydrographic Office, compiled from a number of sources on the eve of publication of charts from its own surveys.

I welcome the innovative decision to record these two forms of assistance for navigators side by side. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries directions and charts were often published together in bound pilot books, but the practicalities of handling charts in bound volumes led to the separation of the two. Sailing directions became vulnerable ephemeral small volumes when published alone and are rarely studied in detail. Charts have been more closely studied, but before accurate nineteenth-century charts it was the guidance to be found in directions which seamen preferred. The third and most popular aid of all for navigators was of course the local knowledge handed down orally by regular users and pilots. This cannot be recorded now but sailing directions represent the nearest approach to it.

Adrian Webb's scholarly but flexible arrangement of these records works well. The supporting supplementary information is excellent: an extensive bibliography, a list of 700 references refreshingly numbered consecutively right through the volume and four indexes (by subject, offshore and river features, place names on land and personal names).

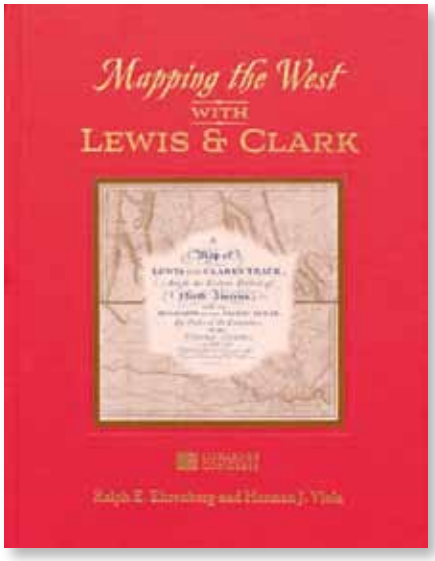
The author concludes that his work illustrates that, in the case of the Bristol Channel, no charts or sailing directions significantly influenced the development of either the routes used or coastal trade, though they did gradually improve safety as better surveying instruments and methods produced more accurate and detailed results. It is the pilots and those with local knowledge who, when they were available, which was not always the case, stand out as the most useful aid to navigators. Printed paper was a second choice.

The many varied but complementary strands of the author's research provide a rich source of information on many facets of the subject with leads to further sources. The book will appeal to anyone with an interest in the topography of the Somerset coast and its off-lying seaways, and possibly, inspire others to research the aids provided for early navigators on other sections of the British coast.

Susanna Fisher, Upham, UK

Mapping the West with Lewis & Clark

by Ralph Ehrenberg and Herman Viola. *Washington D.C.: Library of Congress & Levenger Press, 2015. ISBN 978-1-929154-56-2. HB, 111, 100 illus., loose & large centrefold map. $99US. Only available from Levenger Press, the Library of Congress bookstore, or the Philip Lee Phillips Society of the Library of Congress.*



Many, many books and articles have been written about the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806. These works have focused on every aspect of the journey, from the trip itself, to the natural wonders discovered, to the medical issues that arose during the expedition, to the fates of all the participants. Some have even been devoted to the maps, which were evaluated before, and created during and after the expedition. So, the question arises: will another book about the Lewis and Clark expedition add something significant to this voluminous literature? In the case of Ralph Ehrenberg's and Herman Viola's new book *Mapping the West with Lewis & Clark,* published in 2015 by Levenger Press, in collaboration with the Library of Congress, the answer is an emphatic yes!

First, the book is written and illustrated by true experts. Ralph Ehrenberg is the Chief of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, and a specialist in Lewis and Clark and in American military exploration of the West. Dr Herman Viola is a Curator Emeritus at the Smithsonian Institution, and a widely recognised authority on the history of the American West and the Lewis and Clark expedition. Second, the book is devoted to the maps associated with the expedition, in a detailed way that will appeal to anyone

interested in cartography and in the history of early American western exploration. Third, the book is visually stunning, with almost 100 maps dating from the eighteenth century maps to Google maps of today. Fourth, the text describes the journey, in clear, concise language, from Thomas Jefferson's vision of the new republic through the evaluation of pre-1804 maps, in order to get some idea of the possible obstacles to be overcome, to the actual mapping of the routes and to the final product: the seminal 1814 map of the expedition.

The authors discuss, in considerable detail, the evaluation made by Jefferson and Meriwether Lewis, prior to the trip, in an effort to understand what the terrain might be like. Since the only Europeans who had been west of the Great Bend of the Missouri River were a few English fur trappers and traders, such maps as existed of the country west of a few miles up the Missouri from the Mississippi were pretty sketchy, and maps west of the Great Bend were essentially non-existent. The authors analyse, and illustrate, the few maps that were available, and point out their flaws. They also describe, in depth, the enormous contribution that was made to Lewis and Clark's knowledge, by maps based on descriptions given to earlier explorers by Native Americans who had been further west than the Great Bend. As Ehrenberg and Viola point out, the input of Native Americans to the knowledge base of the Corps of Discovery cannot be overestimated.

The authors then discuss and illustrate the expedition and the mapping that accompanied it. Included as a part of this discussion is a description of the tools and equipment used to determine latitude, longitude, direction and distances, and the methods used to make those calculations. Also discussed is additional information gathered from Native Americans, about the trails west, as the Corps of Discovery interacted with them along the routes.

In addition to all the maps reprinted in the book, there are two large, fold-out maps, inserted inside the front and back covers. Both are copies of maps made by Nicholas King, an Englishman who came to the United States in 1794, worked as a surveyor and draftsman in New York and Pennsylvania, and ultimately came to the new nation's capital city to-be, in 1796. He worked in the city surveyor's office for several years; then became City Surveyor of Washington from 1803–1812. King's first map, prepared in 1803, and discussed at length by Ehrenberg and Viola, is a map that attempts to show what was known about the West as of that date. It turned out to be incomplete in a number of respects, but it provided some invaluable information to Lewis and Clark. The second map, done in 1805, is based on the reports and maps sent back by Lewis and Clark from the Mandan Villages, where they wintered in 1804–05. That map is a very good description of the Missouri, as far up as Lewis and Clark had travelled by that first winter, but, as it notes, 'the country west of Fort Mandan is laid down principally from Indian information'.

Finally, the authors consider the creation and publication of the seminal map of the trip – 'A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track Across the Western Portion of North America from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean'. Ehrenberg and Viola point out that, since this map (with the official report of the trek) was not published until 1814, eight years after the expedition had been completed, considerable additional cartographic information was, by then, available. Clark had updated his copy of the base map between the years of 1807 and 1812, and the authors indicate what features on the map came from expeditions that followed that of Lewis and Clark, such as that of Zebulon Montgomery Pike.

There are a few things which might have been done, to add to the enjoyment of this book. There is no word index in the book, and the addition of one would have made it easier and faster to re-locate subjects and individuals. The occasional use of maps which would have superimposed current state lines over early nineteenth-century terrain would have aided those not familiar with the geography and topography of the northwest. However, these are minor complaints. Considered as a whole, this book is a fascinating and incredibly thorough examination of the Lewis and Clark expedition, from its inception to the publication of the fruits of the labours of all of the Corps of Discovery. It deserves a place of honour in the library of any student of the history of the westward expansion of the United States.

J. C. McElveen, Washington Map Society

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