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A Letter From the IMCoS Chairman



Summer - in IMCoS terms the June weekend - is now behind us. The change of location from Olympia to the Royal Geographical Society building made the London Map Fair more crowded than before (and hopefully both commercially and from the collectors' point of view more attractive!). Navigation through the various rooms was not so easy, but I understand the organisers will be looking into better signposting for next year. The premises for the IMCoS AGM were not crowded at all as the Ondaatje Theatre easily holds a few hundred participants and so provided ample space and equipment for the AGM. We thank the RGS/LMF organisers for making the room available to us. The Helen Wallis Award found a worthy recipient in Wulf Bodenstein from Brussels; please read the report on the Dinner, lecture and award ceremony elsewhere in the Journal. While summer is over, autumn and winter are ahead of us. With the auction season coming up and many a new exhibition in the making, finding maps to enjoy is probably easier than allotting the time to do so, but the true cartophile always seems capable of achieving both. Admittedly, finding the cash for auctions is more difficult than catering for the exhibitions in that respect. Still, the Executive Committee and its Chairman wish you happy hunting either way!

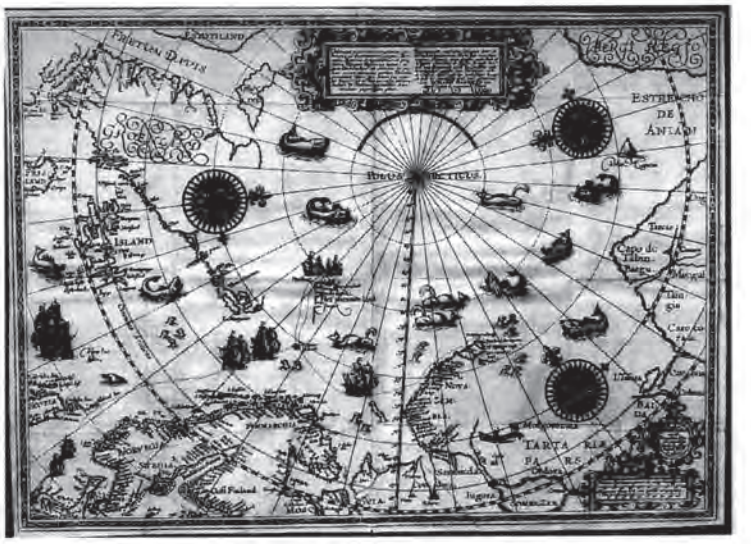
Hans Kok

Joining IMCoS

Would all members encourage their friends and colleagues to join our Society. Tell them we are a happy bunch of people who both love to collect and study early maps and that they would be most welcome to share in our events around the World.
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From the Editor's Desk

Valerie Newby

We are very lucky in IMCoS because the committee attracts dedicated people who give their time and expertise without thought of any reward save the joy of friendship from other members. The Society has been in existence now for approaching 30 years so it is hardly surprising that some of our earlier organisers are passing on, particularly as map collecting is often the sport of older, rather than younger, people.

But it is with sadness we record the death of Harry Pearce on Sunday 22nd June. Harry did a tremendous amount for IMCoS in its early days.



As were so many others he was brought on to the committee by Malcolm Young (you can read how this happened in the *IMCoS History 1980–2000*, p.44) as Honorary Secretary in 1986, and when we were short of a Treasurer, he took over that role too for three years. He was already a keen coin and stamp collector, but knew very little about early maps. It was his service with Shell, from which he had recently retired, that had nurtured his administrative capabilities, and these he now brought to IMCoS, establishing order in our records and activities.

Harry worked tirelessly for sixteen years. A list of the tasks he took on is lengthy: recording the minutes of committee meetings, booking venues for UK events, arranging for stationery to be printed, getting the awards engraved, preparing job lists for Map Fair volunteers, helping the editor put the journals into envelopes every three months. These are just a few which come readily to mind. He went about them in an unobtrusive way, and most probably few members knew how hard he worked behind the scenes. He was awarded the Honorary Fellowship of IMCoS in December 2001, in recognition of his 'sustained contribution over a long period to the organisation of the society'. In 2002, after his wife Mariette died (they had met in Brussels in September 1944, when young girls showered the incoming British troops with flowers), Harry and his son Glen decided to move to France, and in 2002 they settled in Carpentras, where they welcomed several IMCoS visitors into their home.

Only last year we welcomed Sylvia Sobernheim on to the committee as our new Events Organiser. Her first assignment was to





arrange a visit to the Dallas Pratt map collection of historical maps at the American Museum in Britain at Claverton Manor, Bath, in the Autumn of 2007. This was a great success and she was planning more events for this year when she was given the devastating news that she had an inoperable brain tumour. A mere three months after the diagnosis Sylvia died.

She was a map collector on a small scale and an enthusiastic member of IMCoS, also a keen photographer and an active member of the RSPB and the National Trust. We shall miss her too.

Now to a brighter note. I am sure you are all looking forward to the events of 2009 and the highlight will be our 27th International Symposium in Oslo, Norway on September 6th to 9th. The main theme will be the mapping and exploration of Norway and the North and I was very excited to learn that the gala farewell dinner would be held on board the *Fram*. This famous ship sailed with Fridtjof Nansen in his attempt to reach the North Pole and Roald Amundsen when he reached the South Pole so it will be a fitting location for map collectors and historians. Let's give the organisers of this symposium our support by attending in strength and enjoying their beautiful country.

Jo French, the designer of the *Journal*, likes to keep a low profile but I want to thank her publicly for all her efforts to make the articles look so attractive. We hope you will enjoy this issue which has an unusual mix of articles, two by speakers from our symposium held earlier this year in New Zealand. Nick Kanas. who has had a life long interest in maps of the heavens, has written about the Southern Heavens and even if you are not a collector of that genre of map I am sure you will find it fascinating. Thinking about that, it would be interesting to find out how many members there are who *do* collect celestial maps. Why not write and tell us about *your* collection. John Robson, who knows everything there is to know about Captain Cook, has brought you the story of those men on the expedition who made charts and we also have a thought-provoking article by Dennis Reinhartz on how the "noble savage" was depicted on maps during the Enlightenment.

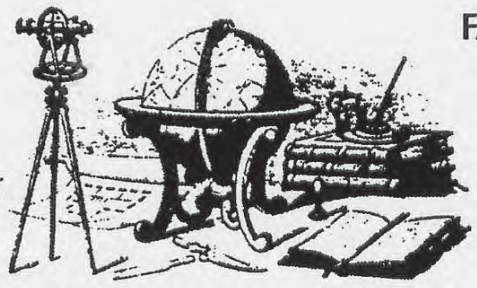
At the annual dinner in June it was suggested that all the past winners of the IMCoS/Helen Wallis award (who were present) should get together for a photocall. Walter Valk came forward with his camera and the picture here is the result (makes a welcome change from the usual photo of me).

After the presentation of the IMCoS/Helen Wallis Award at the annual dinner in June an opportunity arose to get a group of past winners together for a photograph. Holding the silver plate is, of course, this year's winner Wulf Bodenstein. Behind him, from left to right, are Valerie Newby (formerly Scott) who was the first winner, Oswald Dreyer-Eimbcke, Catherine Delano-Smith, Susan Gole, Tony Campbell, Gunter Schilder and Hans Kok.

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Celestial Mapping of the Southern Heavens

by Nick Kanas, MD

Celestial cartography developed into a precise activity in Europe, where stars and other heavenly bodies were plotted first in terms of their location in constellations and then in celestial co-ordinate systems that represented true maps. Since Europeans lived in the Northern Hemisphere, early star maps contained large gaps in their representation of the southern sky. An example of this is illustrated in Fig.1, which shows the classical Greek constellations in the southern heavens. Note the area around the south ecliptic celestial pole that is devoid of stars or constellations. This area represents the part of the sky that was always below the horizon in the Greek world. It would not be until the Age of Exploration that this area would be filled in with constellations

Indigenous People "Down Under"

This is not to say that no one had earlier visualized the stars in the southern sky, since a number of indigenous peoples lived there long before the Europeans came. One such group is the Australian Aborigines, who named many of the brighter stars, especially those that had vivid colours. The first appearances of some stars before sunrise were seasonal indicators for important activities like planting and harvesting crops. Sometimes a bright star might be ignored in favour of fainter stars that conformed more directly to a star pattern. Many of these patterns are similar to those that we identify today, although the specific image and meaning of the parent constellation might be different. Examples

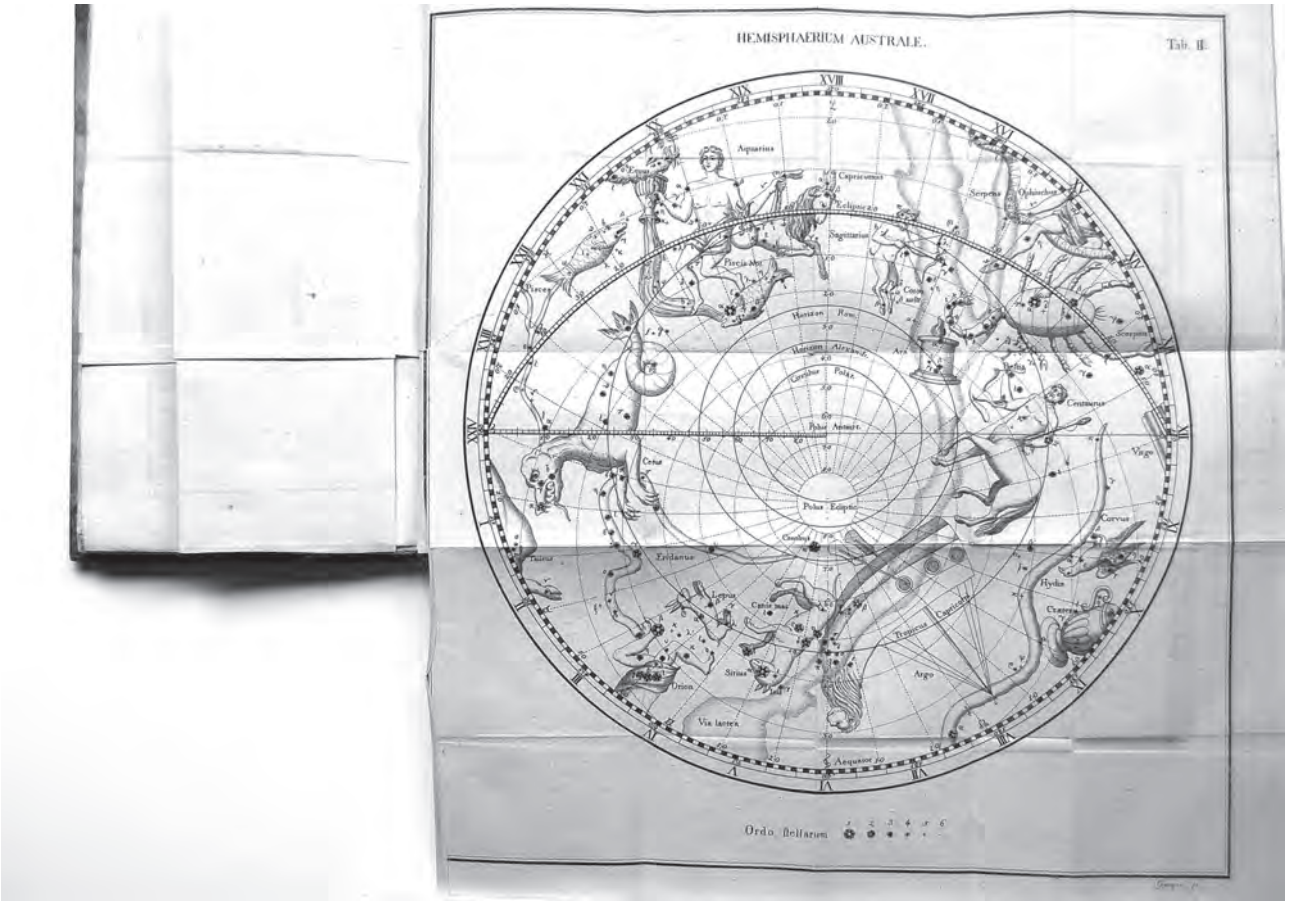


Fig.1
A pull-out plate showing the southern celestial hemisphere centred on the south ecliptic celestial pole, from Schaubach's* Eratosthenis' Catasterismi, *1795. 31 X 28.9 cm image, 24.6 cm dia hemisphere. Note the blank area around the pole that represents the sky below the horizons of Rome and Alexandria.

cited by Orchiston (1996) and Haynes (2000) include a boomerang (in our Corona Borealis); kangaroo (Corvus); stingray pursued by a shark (Southern Cross); brothers, sisters, or husbands and wives (the two Magellanic Clouds); and a plum tree (Coalsack Nebula) standing by the great sky river (Milky Way).

Most of the Aboriginal constellations were related to myths that explained nature and creation (e.g., Ancestors and the Dreaming) or taught morale lessons. The Sun typically was a female personage who carried fire across the sky, and the Moon was a male who was linked to fertility. Some tribes saw solar eclipses as the sexual union between the two, and young girls often were warned against venturing out in the moonlight lest they be ravaged. There were also many myths that pertained to the Pleiades star cluster (see Fig.2), which typically was perceived as a group of women who were sometimes linked with a lustful man or group of men in the belt of Orion.

Other indigenous peoples who shared a rich celestial heritage were the Polynesians and Maoris. Reflecting their seafaring and navigational histories and their belief that the stars and other celestial bodies (e.g., bright meteorites, comets) influenced people on Earth, these cultures employed specialists to study and interpret the heavens (Orchiston, 1996, 2000). The names of bright stars and other heavenly bodies varied by region in Polynesia and amongst different Maori tribes. For example, Orchiston (2000) mentions 14 different Maori names for the Milky Way and six for the Southern Cross. As with the Aborigines, the first appearances of stars were sometimes seasonal indicators. Many of these cultures had a lunar calendar composed of 12 or 13 lunar months, with the year typically starting in December in Polynesia and in May or June in New Zealand.

Like the Aborigines, the Polynesians and Maoris had constellation and sky myths. One of the most impressive Maori constellations was the giant canoe. Orchiston (1996) reports one myth that pictured the Pleiades for the bow, Orion's belt for the stern, the Hyades for an inverted triangular sail, and the distant Southern Cross for the anchor. Leather and Hall (2004) report another myth where the canoe spread 160 degrees across the sky, stretching from Scorpius (the bow) to Orion (the sternpost). The Milky Way sometimes was seen as the son of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother who cared for the stars in his basket. Unlike the Aborigines, the Sun typically was male and the Moon was female or in some myths a younger brother, and eclipses often were seen as attacks by demons. There were many myths involving the Pleiades. For some Maoris, they were canoe paddlers who rowed together and made sure that humans had enough food.

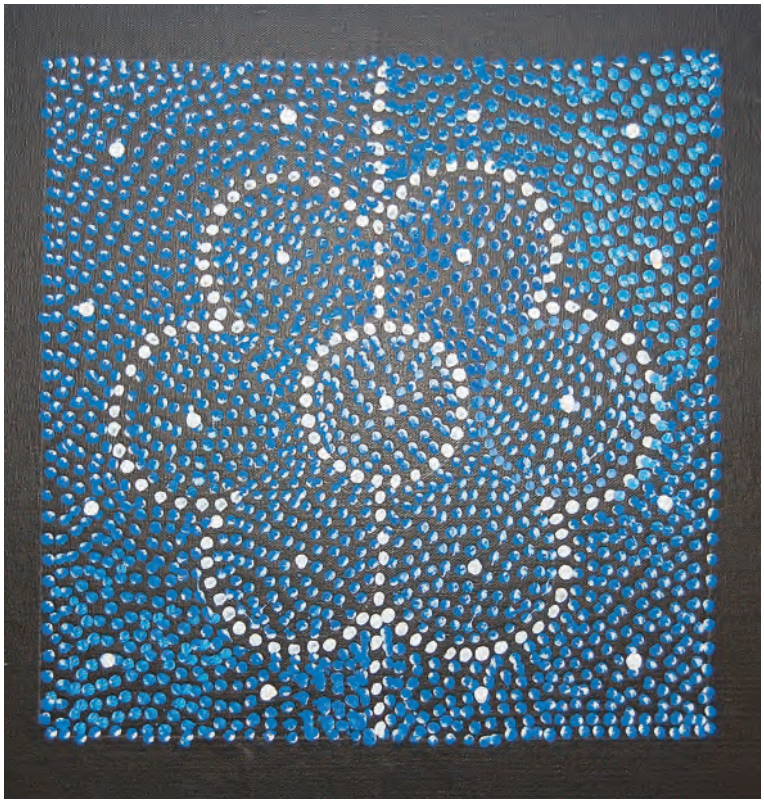


Fig. 2 Contemporary Aboriginal painting of the Pleiades star cluster. Approx. 30.5 X 31 cm image. Note the seven stars of the cluster symmetrically located in the centre, surrounded by other stars.

Southern Constellations and the Early Explorers

Europeans began venturing into the Southern Hemisphere for trade, riches, and adventure during the Age of Exploration (1400 to 1800). Navigational needs and cartographic interests required that the stars of the southern sky be plotted more accurately, so the eyes of many early seafarers turned toward the heavens. One such person was the Venetian captain Alvise da Mosto (1432-1488), who in 1455 sailed on a Portuguese voyage to Africa. According to Dekker (1990), he was the first European navigator to record an observation of southern stars that were invisible from European latitudes. Based on a *c.*1470 Italian copy of an account of his travels, he observed a group of stars that could be described as the Southern Cross and *Alpha* and *Beta Centauri*. However, an accompanying drawing was reversed left to right of what would have been seen from this latitude, casting some doubt on the identity of his observations.

More defendable was the map made by the Spaniard João Faras (active c. 1500), who sailed with Cabral to Brazil in 1500 on a Portuguese voyage. Based on his observations, he sent a map

of the southern sky to King Manuel I of Portugal. Dekker (1990) has compared a schematic of this map with a schematic from a current star atlas, and the positioning of the stars is generally the same. The Southern Cross, *Alpha* and *Beta Centauri*, and stars of other constellations can be identified, although the scale is distorted. Nevertheless, João Faras gets credit for producing the first reliable map of the southern celestial pole area made by a European navigator.

Another observer of the southern sky was Amerigo Vespucci (1454-1512), an Italian navigator and businessman who made several voyages to the new world, mainly to the Caribbean and South America. He was the first European to measure the positions of many of the southern stars. He presented his observations to King Manuel I and to his patron in Florence, Lorenzo de Medici. The latter information was published in 1504 as Vespucci's *Mundus Novus*, which was widely circulated. Warner (1979) cites four excerpts of this work from an English translation entitled "Of the Pole Antartike and the starres about the same", which appeared in 1555 in Richard Eden's *The Decades of the Newe World, or West India*…. These excerpts include the text and diagram of four stars arranged in a square around the south celestial equatorial pole (probably in our constellation Octans); the text and diagram of three stars arranged in a right triangle (probably in the constellation Chamaeleon); a description of three stars that are probably in Apus or Triangulum Australe; and the text and diagram of six stars, four in a line and two below, which probably represent the Southern Cross and *Alpha* and *Beta Centauri*. Pointing out that the *Mundus Novus* contains disputed and apocryphal information, Dekker (1990) nevertheless credits Vespucci as being the first European to record the Coalsack Nebula, the Magellanic Clouds, and the positions of the stars making up the Southern Cross.

Another Italian explorer and navigator who ventured south was Andreas Corsali (active early 1500s). From 1515-1517, he sailed to China and the East Indies in an expedition sponsored by King Manuel I. Corsali recorded his observations in 1516 and included a map showing 18 stars and the two Magellanic Clouds. Although the stars of the Southern Cross were known to the ancient Greeks as part of the hind legs of Centaurus, Cosali was the first person to describe them as a separate constellation. His map was cruder than that of João Faras, and the image was left to right reversed of what actually appears in the sky, but the letter and map became popular, being reprinted in Ramusio's widely circulated 1550 *Navigationi et Viaggi* and in Eden's 1555 *The Decades of the Newe World or West India*. At least one pirated version appeared in Venice *c*.1530 (see Fig.3) that was probably made from a copy in Florence, reflecting the fact that for military and commercial reasons such maps were valuable secrets that were kept from other countries, city-states, and business enterprises.

Dutch Contributions to the New Southern Constellations

A major figure in Dutch exploration was Petrus Plancius (1552-1622). Originally a Flemish monk, then a Calvinist theologian, he later developed an interest in cartography and globe-making. In 1585, he moved to Amsterdam, which was a major centre of cartographic activities. As he became more successful, he began to promote Dutch naval expeditions and became involved with the Dutch East India Company.

Prior to the departure of the first Dutch trading expedition to the East Indies in 1595, Plancius trained one of the navigators and chief pilots, Pieter Dirckszoon Keyser (1540-1596), to chart



Fig. 3
A pirated version of Corsali's map of the southern celestial polar region, c.1530. 29.5cm x 22 cm (page size). Note 17 of Corsali's 18 described stars, the Southern Cross at top centre, and two Magellanic Clouds at the pole. Reproduced courtesy of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, on permanent loan from the Bruce and Joy Reid Foundation, Sydney, Australia. Ref: Safe1/239.



Fig. 4
The southern celestial hemisphere centred on the south equatorial celestial pole, from a later (1795) edition of Fortin's* Atlas Celeste de Flamsteed. *17.5 x 22.4cm image, 16.9cm dia hemisphere. Note the additional constellations from those shown in Fig.1 (added from Keyser / Plancius / De Houtman and Halley).

the southern sky, and he gave him some positioning instruments. Keyser subsequently recorded the positions of 135 southern stars, and although he died during the trip, his measurements were given to Plancius when the fleet returned in 1597. Based on this information, 11 new southern constellations and the Southern Triangle were included on a celestial globe authored by Plancius and published by Jodocus Hondius in 1598 (van Gent, 2006). Also included was the constellation of Crux (the Southern Cross), which according to several sources (Ridpath, 1988; Dekker, 1990; Van Gent, 2006) was its first appearance in correct form and location on a celestial map, albeit a global one. It actually appeared earlier on a 1589 celestial globe designed by Plancius and published by Van Langren, but it was much too large and was inaccurately placed.

During his voyage, Keyser was accompanied by Frederick Pieterszoon de Houtman (1571-1627). During a later expedition, De Houtman was imprisoned for nearly two years in Sumatra for a skirmish that took place in September 1599 involving a local sultan (Dekker, 1987). During this time, he made his own astronomical observations and included these in a catalogue, which he published in 1603 after returning to Holland. According to Ridpath (1988), this catalogue included most of the stars recorded by Keyser plus another 168, resulting in a total of 303 measured southern star positions. His stars were organised into constellations that essentially were the same as those found in Plancius' 1598 globe. Today, both Keyser and De Houtman are given joint credit for the observations that led to these new constellations: Apus, Chamaeleon, Dorado, Grus, Hydrus, Indus, Pavo, Musca, Phoenix, Triangulum Australe, Tucana, and Volans (see Kanas, 2007, for common names and other details).

There has been some confusion about who in fact invented these constellations, since there are no existing records of Keyser's listing. Some

experts believe that Keyser organised his observations into groups that essentially were the new constellations (Bakich, 1995; Ridpath, 1988), whereas others believe that they were invented solely by Plancius (Dekker, 1987; Van der Krogt, 1993; Van Gent, 2006). Warner (1979) has written that Keyser may have grouped his observations into constellations (p.30), but that Plancius "probably had a hand in the selection of the twelve constellation figures described by Keyser and Houtman (sic)…" (p.206). Perhaps the best compromise is to credit all three individuals. Plancius invented ten additional constellations on his own, three of which still exist: Camelopardalis, Columba, and Monoceros.

The Southern Sky begins to fill up

Another European traveller to the Southern Hemisphere was Edmond Halley (1656-1742). Halley developed an early talent for astronomy, collaborating with John Flamsteed (the first Astronomer Royal) and publishing a paper while attending college at Oxford that extended some of the ideas of Kepler. In 1676, with the financial support of his father, Halley left Oxford to undertake a voyage to the island of St. Helena, where he recorded the longitudes and latitudes of 341 stars. After he returned home in 1678, he produced the first telescopically-derived catalogue of these southern stars (along with an accompanying celestial hemisphere), and this catalogue was used in many subsequent star atlases (Dekker, 1990). Halley also invented the constellation of Robur Carolinum in honour of the oak tree where Charles II had hidden from Cromwell's soldiers in 1651.

The southern sky was beginning to fill up! An example of this is shown in Fig.4 which is a southern



Fig. 5. Lacaille's famous southern celestial hemisphere reproduced in the first (1776) edition of Fortin's* Atlas Celeste de Flamsteed*. 19.4 x 23.9 cm image, 18.4 cm dia hemisphere. Note constellations invented by Lacaille showing scientific instruments and tools of the period. In comparison with Fig. 4, the southwest area has been filled in.

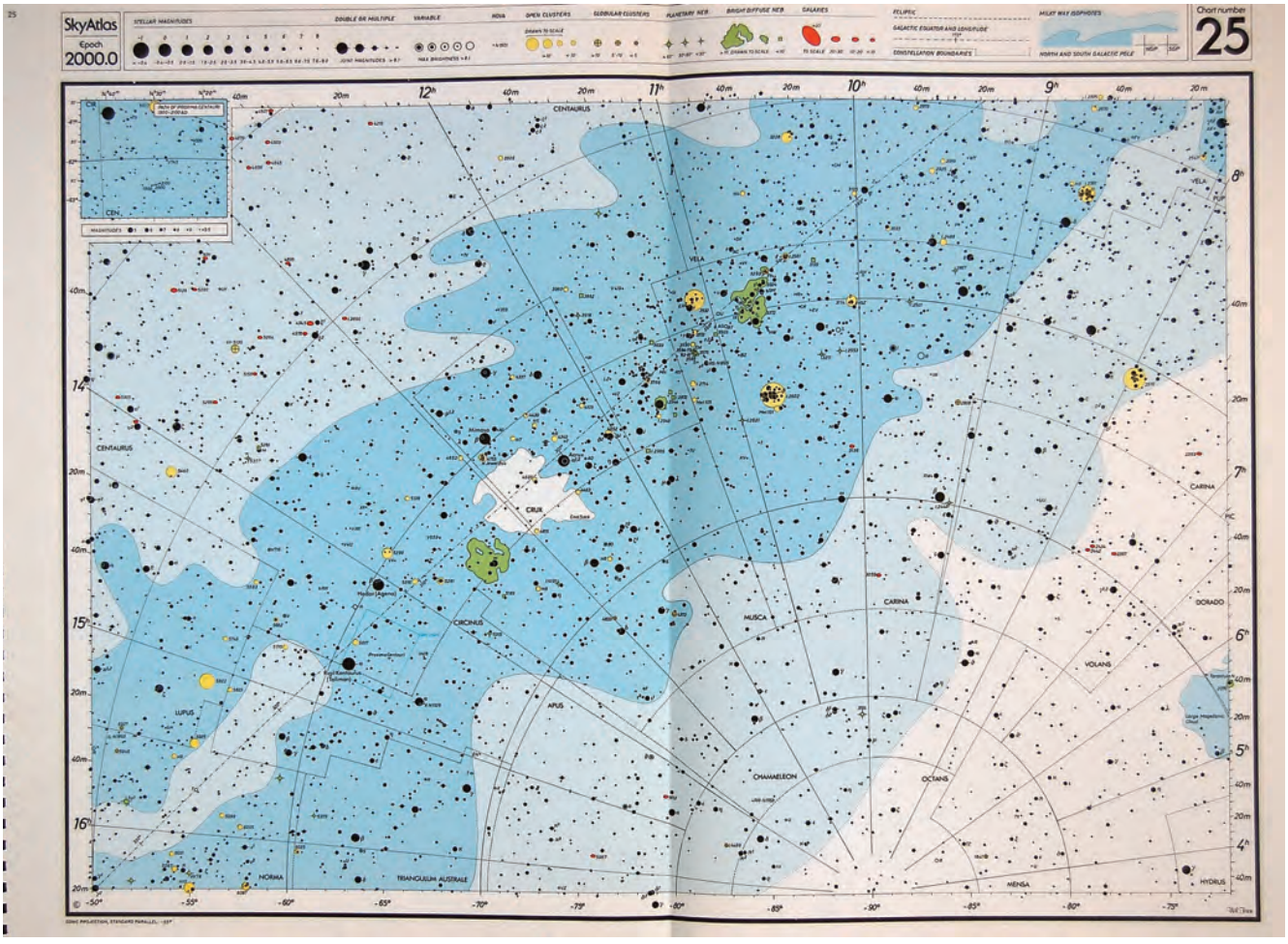


Fig. 6. Chart 25 showing a section of the southern equatorial celestial pole, from the 1981 1st Deluxe Edition of Tirion's* Sky Atlas 2000.0. *Note the absence of constellation images or lines, the presence of precise I.A.U. rectilinear constellation boundaries, and stellar magnitudes indicated by variations in the size and design of the star images.

celestial hemisphere map of the sky made in the later 1700s. Note the constellations added by Keyser/Plancius/De Houtman, along with The Southern Cross and Robur Carolinum. However, there is still a small but noticeable blank area near the pole that is devoid of constellations. This situation would not last long.

Nicolas de Lacaille (1713-1762) was a French theologian and astronomer. Backed by the *Académie Royale des Sciences* and the French East India Company, Lacaille left for South Africa in late 1750 to telescopically observe the southern stars. From 1751 to 1752, he recorded the positions of some 9,800 stars and invented a number of new constellations. After returning to France, he presented his work to the *Académie* on November 15, 1754, and a map showing these new constellations was published in its *Mémoires* in 1756. In keeping with the spirit of the Enlightenment, Lacaille did not use classical mythological themes for his new constellations but depicted them as instruments and tools from the arts and sciences. All 17 of his constellations still exist today as: Antila, Caelum, Carina, Circinus, Fornax, Horologium, Mensa, Microscopium, Norma, Octans, Pictor, Puppis, Pyxis, Reticulum, Sculptor, Telescopium, and Vela (see Kanas, 2007, for details). Fig.5 is an image of the *Mémoires* map that appeared in the first (1776) and subsequent editions of Fortin's *Atlas Celeste de Flamsteed*. Compare this image with that of Fig.4, which represented the pre-Lacaille southern sky.

The Demise of Constellation Images

Unfortunately, the number of constellations that populated both celestial hemispheres was growing out of control, since anyone who created a star catalogue or celestial atlas could add anything he or she wanted. The sky was becoming cluttered with over 100 constellations, some of which were invented for patrons funding an observation programme or for nationalistic purposes. Consequently, at the first General Assembly of the International Astronomical Union in 1922, 88

constellations were selected as being the official number, and their official boundaries were published in 1930.

Another issue involving the constellations had to do with the need for images. Newer and larger telescopes could visualize fainter stars and deep sky objects, and the inclusion of all of these began to fill up star maps. Sometimes, it was difficult to tell if a dot or shadow was part of a constellation image or an underlying star or nebula. In addition, micrometers, photographic plates, and (later) computers led to more accurate star placements within the coordinate systems that were set up in the sky. It was no longer necessary to position stars based upon their locations in a constellation image. As the 1800s progressed into the 1900s, star maps began to de-emphasize the images. Initially, they were drawn with faint lines, or only the zodiacal figures were depicted, but gradually they disappeared completely, as is shown in Fig. 6. Although the beauty and mystique of the old star charts disappeared, what remained was a more accurate depiction that better achieved its primary purpose: mapping the heavens.

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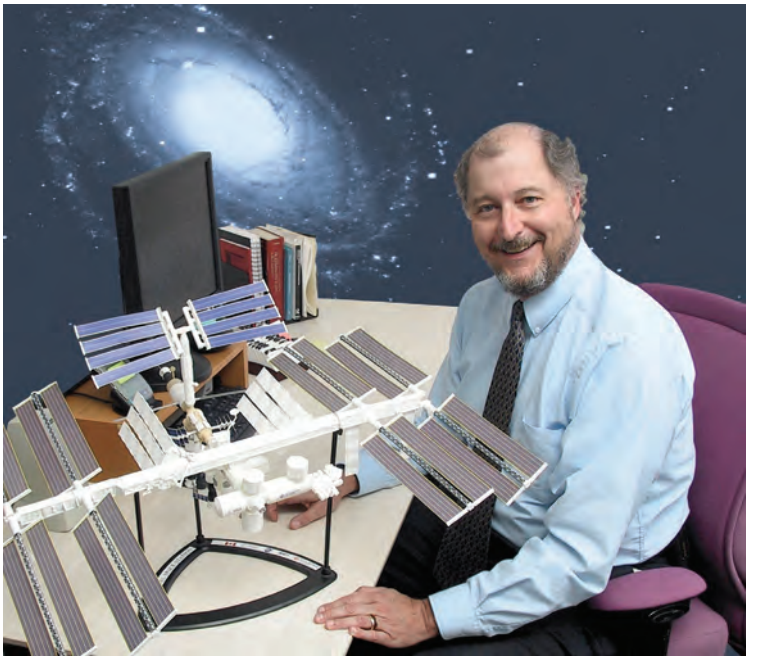
The author would like to thank Mr. Paul Brunton, Senior Curator of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Australia, for providing the image for Fig.3. The remaining images are courtesy of the Nick and Carolynn Kanas collection.

The author also would like to thank Drs. Peter van der Krogt and Robert H. van Gent for their helpful comments concerning the Dutch contributions to the new southern constellations.

Nick Kanas is Professor of Psychiatry, University of California, San Francisco, where he does NASA-funded research on the human interactions of astronauts in space. He lives with his wife Carolynn in Marin County just north of the city. His book Star Maps: History, Artistry and Cartography *was published recently.*

Nick's interest in celestial cartography was sparked when as a child he scanned the evening sky for a glimpse of the Soviet Union's satellite Sputnik as it orbited the earth. This fired his imagination and fostered a life-long enthusiasm for amateur astronomy and the study of maps of the heavens. He is a member of IMCoS and was a speaker at the International Symposium in New Zealand earlier this year.

A fuller and more in depth version of this article will be published in the journal of the Australian Map Circle, The Globe.



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Mapping Matters

News from the world of maps

New venue for Map Fair a success

Exhibitors reported a genuine buzz at the first London Map Fair to be held at the Royal Geographical Society on June 7th and 8th this year. There had been concerns that the weak dollar, strong Euro and the much-hyped 'credit crunch', would undermine the fair, and there were also worries that not everyone would find their way from the ABA book fair at Olympia. Some of the exhibitors actually reported their best ever fair and in the event the overall take was up on last year.

The number of sales to private customers made up a third of the total, more than double the proportion of non-trade sales at Olympia in 2007, and the number of visitors has certainly increased. One reason for the change in venue from Olympia to the RGS was to bring in some new faces and it seems to have been successful in that respect. The lectures on London maps and mapmakers, another innovation, were well attended and well received. Peter Barber could so easily have romped through some well known images of London, but he deftly reminded us at every turn that even city plans are seldom neutral representations of streets and squares. Laurence Worms ably defended the reputation of so-called 'hack' cartographers who may indeed have copied some of the best work of their rivals – makers of the 'great maps' – but who, of necessity, took tremendous care to keep their maps of London scrupulously up to date. They knew just what their customers wanted and they also knew that inaccuracies would be discovered almost immediately (within walking distance of the shop rather than on the far side of the world).

The venue provided a wonderful setting for the fair. The sunshine was a great boon for everyone and exhibitors and visitors alike soaked up the sun on the terrace outside the tea-room. The warren of rooms certainly made planning the fair more difficult but a number of people told the organisers that they found it easier to remember where they had seen items so that they could go back for them. All in all the feedback was overwhelmingly positive and plans for next year's events are already in hand for June 6th and 7th 2009.

Priceless map collection goes to government of Malta

Dr Albert Ganado's collection of maps of Malta, which includes hand painted manuscripts as well as printed maps dated between 1507 and 1899, and represents a lifetime of research and acquisition, has been acquired by the nation in an unusual deal. In exchange for the collection the government of Malta have given Dr Ganado the house in which he lives with his wife Muriel (which is public property) in Valletta. A resolution to this effect was approved unanimously by Parliament.



Dr Ganado, now aged 84, is well known in mapping circles for the books he has written, most notably *A Study in Depth of 143 mqps representing the Great Siege of Malta of 1565*. His co-author of this work was Maurice Agius-Vadala. He has also contributed articles on Maltese history to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He is a Knight of the Sovereign Order of St John and a Member, Order of Merit, of Malta.

Apparently his collection consists of 450 maps which will be housed at the National Museum of Fine Arts in Valletta. They will not be on permanent display because of light damage but will feature in exhibitions. An article in *The Times* describes this unusual arrangement as "an extremely fine gesture by Dr Ganado."

Dr Ganado agreed to give an exclusive interview for the *IMCoS Journal*. Below is what he said:

"I can honestly say that when my collection went to the nation half of my life went with it. I even miss the relatively common maps which I used to browse through, happily comparing the different states of the same map. But, of course, it was also difficult to part with the beautiful unique manuscript maps with all their wealth of detail particularly a unique map of about 1615 made by a Maltese goldsmith, Aloisio Gili.

It all began in 1953 when I organised my first trip to London. A colleague of mine at the Chamber of Advocates had just received a catalogue of maps from Francis Edwards of 84 Marylebone High Street, one of the top London dealers at that time. He suggested I pay them a visit as he knew I was very keen on Melitensia (my father had a very good collection of books, manuscripts, prints on Malta and the Order, and about 20 Malta maps of which 5 were my share when he died).

So, together with my wife Muriel, off I went up to the Map Department (3rd or 4th floor) in an old, wide elevator with double clanging doors, where for the first time I met 'King of the Trade', Ronald Vere Tooley. He brought out a thick portfolio of maps of Malta. I started putting aside the most attractive, coloured, double-sheet maps which eventually went up to 26 with my wife murmuring that I could not buy them as she had to do her shopping. At that time we could only take £250 each when we went abroad. She was even more persistent when Mr Tooley quoted the catalogue price at £75 for the lot. I wanted them badly so Mr Tooley said that to please us both he would bring the price down to £46!

Back in Malta I card-indexed every single map with all its details. My fascination grew and I never looked back. I am not scientifically minded but I always loved history. So I was intrigued by the story a map had to tell, how it came about, who had a part in it and where and why it was published. Hence my interest in the history of cartography and my various publications on the subject.

I was lucky because I started collecting when the market was slow. Going around the main cities in Europe I soon found out that most capital centres had a map showing the sites of all the map dealers. I used to walk from one shop to the other buying all the maps of Malta I could find. I left my name and address at each shop and I also bought maps by mail. So several duplicates came my way and that is how I discovered that there were different states that virtually no-one knew about.

At first I started collecting only separate maps of the Maltese islands until I realised that I should also add Ptolemaic maps showing St Paul's ship-wreck, or the route he travelled on his way to Rome, maps of Sicily and Italy showing Malta as an inset, and important maps of the Mediterranean basin like Lucini's Central Mediterranean from Dudley's *Arcano del Mare*. My collection consists of well over 500 different maps excluding duplicates. I am transferring 450 maps to the State of Malta and they will be looked after by Heritage Malta. I could not transfer the maps in books because in many instances the book itself is worth much more than the map it contains. So I will keep my books for research. In fact, the oldest separate map of Malta I possess is the first printed map of Malta published in Lyon in the first printed book on Malta in 1536. The book is very precious and rare and I have kept it in my book collection.

In the early years it was quite easy to amass the maps that often came on the market like those by Homann, Münster, Seutter, de Fer, Robert de Vaugondy, Coronelli and de Rossi but then collectors started increasing and the supply diminished. Naturally, it was always difficult to acquire the manuscript maps and the rare maps published in the 16th century. In order to acquire the so-called Lafreri maps I kept a watchful eye on sales so when Kraus of New York broke up *The Lloyd Triestino atlas* in 1972 I succeeded in buying five of the six maps of Malta in the volume. These were the acquisitions that gave me the greatest pleasure. You feel excited when a unique printed map comes your way. The earliest map of Malta by a Maltese cartographer in about 1614 I bought through a telephone call from a London dealer. I had no inkling that it existed and no other copy has surfaced since then. For another unique map of about 1568 I travelled to London to an auction at Sotheby's.

For those who start forming a collection of antique maps of a particular country or theme I would like to give some advice. It is not so easy today as it was many decades ago. On recent trips abroad I have found that map shops have practically disappeared. Amsterdam is a classic example. Once it had countless map and print shops but today the Internet seems to be commandeering the market. So the new collector should arm himself with knowledge of his subject by reading, consulting atlases and old dealers' catalogues and by corresponding with libraries and museums about their holdings. To form a good collection one needs perseverance, hard work and a lot of luck. But the reward is great.

I have dedicated 55 years of my life to the building up of my collection. Not only have I derived intense satisfaction when adding a new map but I have learned a lot about the history of Malta. When writing the volumes on the siege maps of 1565 I discovered information from the maps which was unrecorded in history books. When I wrote the book on the foundation and construction of Valletta after the siege, I revealed unknown facets on the fortifications and buildings of the new city by studying the maps. As my good friend David Woodward wrote in his foreword to the book, the work evinced "an awareness of the power of geography in history." When David delivered the Panizzi Lectures in London in 1995 he used and illustrated 5 siege maps published by Nicolo Nelli in 1565.

It is from personal experience that I say you need a lot of luck. When I travelled to Germany for an auction sale in which there were five Lafreri Malta maps (including a Gastaldi) in the catalogue, I was advised by a Polish dealer who wanted them that I would have to pay through the nose to get them. Unknown to him and to all the other dealers there were another six Lafreris in a lot of 11 miscellaneous maps of Malta. I went back home on top of the world with 11 Lafreri maps of Malta which had been lying in a cellar since 1938 when the shop owners fled the country as the Gestapo were after them.

On another occasion I was lucky to enrich my collection not only with another four Lafreris and two manuscript maps of the Great Siege made in 1565 but also with the unique large manuscript map drawn by Bartolomeo Genga in 1558 for the projected fortress city on the promontory dividing the main harbour where Valletta was eventually built. These were in the prestigious collection of Count Emeric Hutton Czapski who owned the Doria atlas. I was the first person in Malta to know that he had died in Rome. Somehow I managed to get in touch with his beneficiaries from whom I acquired all those items before other rival collectors knew of his death. The Genga map I have retained but all the Lafreris, which I treasured dearly, have had to go.

With my hair getting whiter and whiter, uppermost in my mind was the thought: what is going to happen to my collection when I die? It happens to be the largest collection of maps of Malta in the world and nothing like it can ever happen again. My wife and two daughters always insisted that it had to remain intact but I could not see how this could be. But one fine day my wife had the bright idea of exchanging the collection for the house where we have lived since 1958. The proposal was enthusiastically endorsed by the Chairman of Heritage Malta, Dr Mario Tabone… and that is how it happened.

Through my collection I was in a position to provide information to David Woodward for his work on Paolo Forlani and on his *Catalogue of watermarks in Italian printed maps ca.1540-1600*, to some entries in *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers* (first and revised editions), to the excellent catalogues of Reiss & Sohn and quite recently to The *Strabo Illustratus Atlas 1545-1571.*

Occasionally, a practically unknown map of Malta turns up. My latest acquisition was a map with text cut from a Dutch book marked page 691. The Amsterdam National Library could not identify it. A map I know about but which I have never come across is by P. Chassereau, engraved by E. Bowen in 1740 and dedicated to Sir Robert Walpole.

The Parliamentary Resolution authorising the transfer of my collection to the State was approved by a unanimous vote which has given the collection national status. It will always be there for scholars to study and people to admire and enjoy. That alone is worth the sacrifice of giving it up."

Exhibition of Korean maps in London

Maps of Korea dating from 1600 were on display at the gallery of the Korean Cultural Centre, London from May 21st to June 13th. A lecture was held to accompany the exhibition. It was titled "Map, Revering the Land" and was given by Beth Mckillop, Director of Collections and Keeper of the Asian Department at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Revisualizing Westward Expansion: a century of conflict 1800-1900

The Sixth Biennial Virginia Lectures on the History of Cartography are titled "Revisualizing Westward Expansion: a century of conflict 1800-1900". They are to be held on October 3 this year followed by the joint fall meeting of the Texas Map Society and Philip Lee Phillips Society the following day. All the events will take place at the University of Texas at Arlington Central Library. Speakers will include John R. Hébert. Chief of the Geography and Map Division at the Library of Congress, Samuel Truett, Associate Professor of History at the University of New Mexico, and Ronald Grim, Head of the Map Collection at Boston Public Library. At the Map Society meeting speakers will include Wes Brown of Denver, Colorado, Bill Warren of Pasadena, California, and Robert Sherwood of Weatherford, Texas. The keynote address will be given by Stephen Huffenberger on the "Cartography of the Indian Country".



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Book Reviews

A look at recent publications[1]

Historical Atlas of California with Original Maps by Derek Hayes, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2007, ISBN 978-0-520-25258-5, cloth: alk. paper, dust jacket, 256 pages, incl. catalogue of maps, bibliography, index, 476 maps, all in color, 13 x 10 inches, list price $39.95.

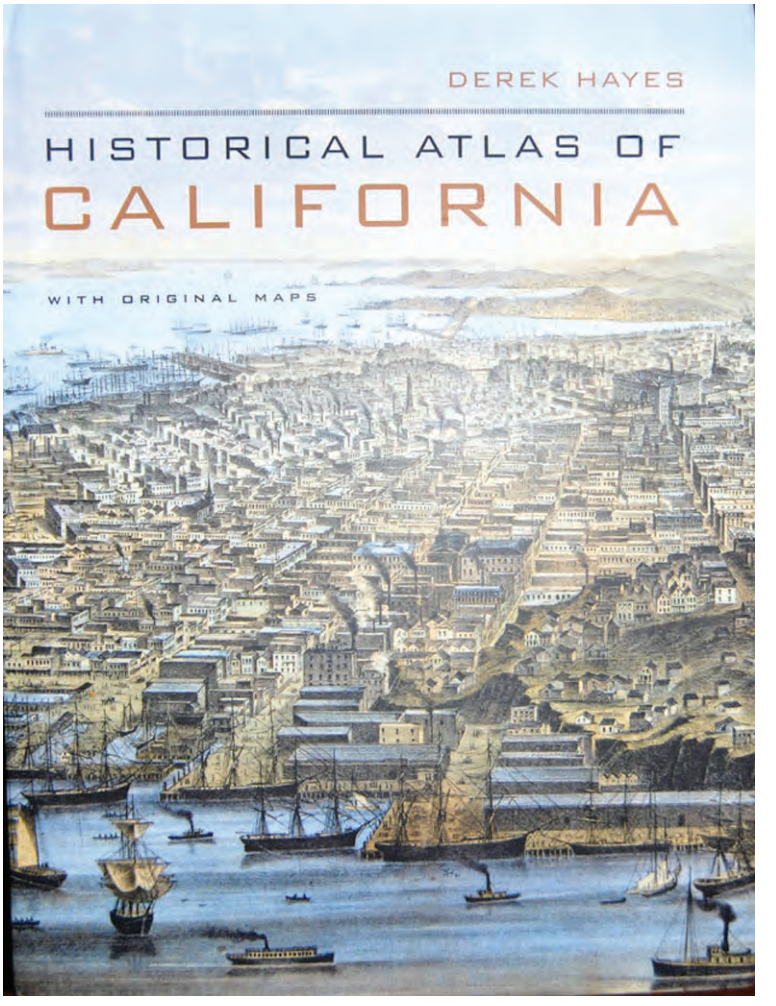
The map world may know California best as an island that disappeared, leaving lots of expensive maps in its wake. It is hard to resist those beautiful examples of plagiarism gone to extremes. In this latest volume of Derek Hayes' Historical Atlas Series he carefully explains how this myth began and how it progressed with the use of many colourful examples. All 256 pages of this book are printed in colour. The maps are large, with excellent resolution, so details can be easily studied.

California as an island is simply the starting point for examining this sometimes weird part of the world. Sailing north from Mexico is difficult; winds invariably blow from the north. San Francisco Bay hid itself from view behind a labyrinth-like entrance and treacherous rocks. No other navigable rivers existed. The dry and desolate coast held little appeal for early explorers. Until one day in 1848 when everything changed overnight. Gold! Suddenly California maps sprouted streams galore embossed with crosses indicating gold diggings. Maps of North America now featured travel routes converging on the Golden State. The world rushed in. The development of San Francisco can easily be followed through a progression of bird's-eye views drawn over the next 50 years.

The author does not stop there; he shows the development of agriculture, the railroads and, of course, the coming of the automobile. Californians cannot exist without automobiles but may have overdone a good thing. Bringing water to the desert transformed California into a lush landscape; getting the water to where it was needed aggravated regional tensions, often pitting north versus south. Each of these threads is illustrated with colourful and historic maps.

Until recently, printing a book this large and colourful would have been an expensive proposition but luckily, the price is affordable. Yet, using colour on every page might seem overkill. We think maps often cry out for that extra dimension. We live in a visual world, demanding eye appeal. Hand this volume to a youngster and watch their enthusiasm as they turn the pages. This is not simply a pretty picture book; the author has carefully studied California history. We find no factual errors in his description of the 476 maps included. An index provides provenance for each map with proper credits. This is a great example of scholarship presented in a most beautiful fashion by one of our fine historians of the world of maps.

Bill Warren



Ayutthaya in European Maps (in Thai language) by Thavatchai Tangsirivanich. Published by Matichon Publishing House, Bangkok, 2006. 154 pages, 90 colour photographs (28 maps in colour), ISBN 974-323-824-7. No price given.

Ayutthaya, a former capital of Thailand, was a major power in the region from 1350 onwards until the Burmese sacked it in 1767. Ideally situated midway between India and China, Ayutthaya served as a centre of trade on the east-west maritime sea routes. The Portuguese arrived at the beginning of the 16th century in the wave of European exploration eastward and, soon after, western contingents began establishing trading quarters in the capital. By the 17th and 18th centuries Ayutthaya was a cosmopolitan centre attracting a diverse populous including the Dutch, French, English, Khmer, Laotian, Burmese, Chams, Japanese and Persians.

This new publication chronicles for the first time the European mapping of Ayutthaya and includes all known maps of the ancient capital. The book is the result of extensive research that includes an important discovery by the author—the earliest mention of Ayutthaya and the Chao Phraya River which appeared as '*Scierno*' on the Fra Mauro map of 1457-9. A detail from this map appears on the cover of the book. The spellings of Ayutthaya on later maps varies but it is usually referred to as 'Siam'.



By all accounts, Ayutthaya was a beautiful and important capital. The inner city sparkled with hundreds of golden spires rising from white-washed domes of Buddhist temples. Diaries of traders and diplomats visiting the kingdom described it as 'the most beautiful city in the East' and 'even grander than Venice'. Extant maps of the kingdom enable a glimpse of Ayutthaya's former glory. A bird's-eye view (*Ivdia ov Sian*) published in *Déscription de l'Univers* (Paris, 1683) by Alain M. Mallet is one example. The two most remarkable depictions of the city, at least in this reviewer's eye, are *Siam ou Iudia, Capitale du Royaume de Siam* by Jean Courtaulin in 1686 (Paris); and *Siam, o Iudia* by Vincenzo Coronelli in 1696 (Venice). Another very rare map is the *Carte du Royaume de Siam* (1686) by Placide, an Augustine monk and geographer to Louis XIV, which charts the route of the first French embassy to Siam. As the ship carrying the delegation rounded the southern tip of the Malaysian Peninsula, it sailed northward along the coastline towards Ayutthaya and was met by the magnificently decorated golden barge of the King of Siam.

Even though Ayutthaya was situated 70 kilometres inland from the Gulf of Thailand, it served as a port because it was accessible by the Chao Phraya River. Reaching the capital was a necessary challenge for those who wanted to engage in trade. It required manoeuvering upstream against a current along a twisting river. Two well-known maps depict this difficult access in detail - *De Goote Siamse Rievier ME - NAM* [an incorrect name for the Chao Phraya River that appeared frequently on European maps] by François Valentyn (Amsterdam, 1724-26); and *Carte du Cours du Menam* by Jacques Nicolas Bellin (Paris, 1751).

The text of this book is written in the Thai language and script. Nevertheless, interested collectors and historians will quickly recognize the familiar maps by renowned cartographers of the period which are reproduced in quality colour photographs and presented chronologically based on the author's research. Today, only a few architectural remains survive at Ayutthaya but one can capture some of its importance as a former capital of Thailand and its role in the western exploration of the east through the publication *European Mapping of Ayutthaya* by Thavatchai Tangsirivanich.

Dawn F. Rooney

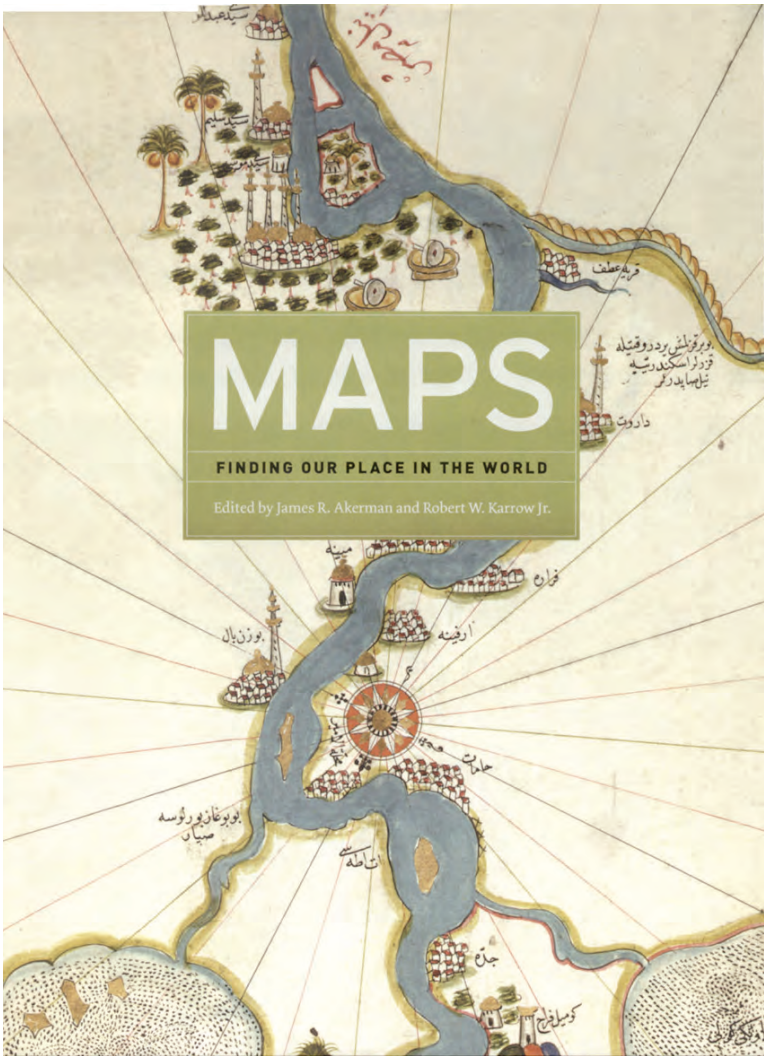
Maps finding our place in the world edited by James R Ackerman and Robert Karrow. Co-published with the Field Museum in association with the Newberry Library. The University of Chicago Press, 5000 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 63607, 2007. Paperback, pp.400, 186 illustrations. ISBN-13:978-0-226-01075-5. Price not stated.

The genesis of this volume was the magnificent exhibition held at the Field Museum in Chicago from November 2007 until February 2008 as part of the city-wide Festival of Maps. The exhibit then moved to the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore where it was on display until July 2008. We are all indebted to the organisers and to the sponsors of the exhibitions, including the doyen of scholarly map collectors Kenneth Nebenzahl.

For those of us lucky enough to see the exhibition in Chicago, it was a feast for the eye, and many of our favourites were there; they embraced the long history of cartography from cultures across the world to the modern experience of map making and use. The exhibition was the centre-piece of the map extravaganza in Chicago with exhibitions at all the main venues and at some less well-known like the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago which had an exhibit of maps, sea-charts, and atlases exploring how Europeans came to know and map the Ottoman world between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Even more surprisingly, the Lincoln Park Zoo displayed a series of GPS "layered" maps used in its African and South American wildlife conservation programmes. The Newberry itself had two map exhibitions, one on the era of Ptolemy using its own very fine collection and another on 'Chicago and the American West: Mapping manifest destiny.' (Chapter 4 of the present volume by Susan Schulten refers).

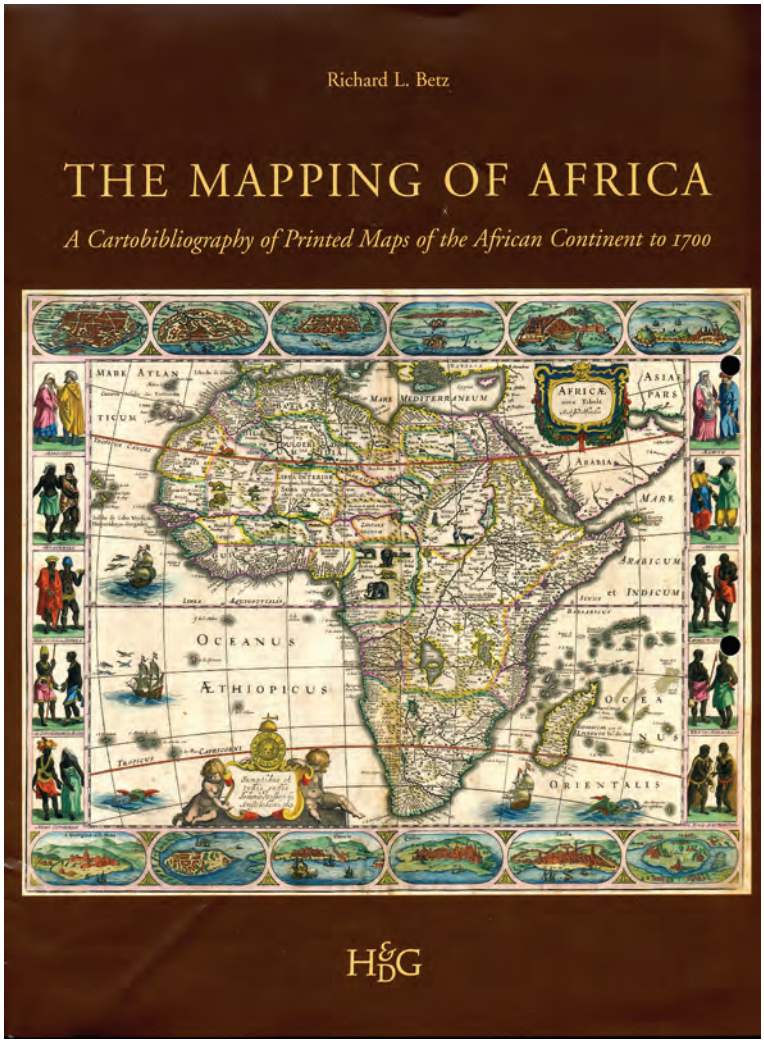
It is against this background that the present book has been produced. It was edited by James Akerman and Robert Karrow after the untimely death of the original exhibition curator David Woodward, who I feel sure would have been delighted with the outcome. Although the volume provides the scholarly commentary on the exhibition themes in monograph form and is a successful book in its own right, many map lovers (and we all are) will be glad to know that there is also a list of the exhibits to refresh our memories at http://www.fieldmuseum.org/maps/pdfs/full_map_list.pdf. I encourage you to look at it to gauge the immensity of the task of bringing the exhibits from all over the world together in one city. including some unique items which rarely, if ever, travel. For instance part of the Roman plan of Rome in marble dated 203-211AD and the *Carte Pisane*, the earliest surviving portolan chart of *c*.1290. I was especially pleased to see the 'Red-lined' map, a copy of the map of North America by John Mitchell, 1755, showing the suggested boundaries of the new United States added in red ink; these were more generous to the Americans than the final boundaries as agreed by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. For that reason the 'Red- lined' map was regarded as a state secret for over a hundred years and kept under lock and key at the British Museum. Now 'all passion spent' it could be seen in Chicago. We will each have our favourite map!

Finding our place in the world is as encompassing as the exhibitions and written in an accessible style for the interested reader and visitor as well as for the *aficionado*. The authors are all well known to the Anglo-American mapping world; Matthew Edney, Denis Cosgrove, Susan Schulten, Ricado



Padrón, Diane Dillon, Michael Friendly and Gilles Palsky; the latter heirs to the pioneering work of Arthur Robinson on thematic maps in the 1970s. The European and later American mapping traditions are juxtaposed, both in the exhibitions and in the book, with those of non-European and non-modern traditions; for example the approach of the well known Harry Beck map of the London underground and a nineteenth century stick chart by the Marshall Sea islanders of routes in the Pacific Ocean are compared. These comparisons jolt our minds into examining the motives and ways of making and seeing maps anew.

The scope of the exhibition and book was not just 'treasures' but represented themes illustrating how human experience and mapping are intertwined; there being as many types of maps as there are human events, thoughts, or imaginations, to produce them. In this sense the book grounds the history of maps and mapping in human history, beyond the once conventional conception of the ever advancing scientific map as against the mythical and the products of earlier or non-western societies. In this it succeeds, although there are occasions when the reader will quarrel with a particular point of view. In general the new humanistic approach is managed well, without denying the very real technical advances of some eras of mapping which have altered our perceptions of the world and of the planet earth. The view of the Earth from Apollo 17 became an iconic representation of planet Earth for the 1970s and later (Cosgrove p.69). Did it usurp the map even?



The illustrations are all relevant and I like the glossary of some of our more arcane mapping terms to enable others to understand what we are talking about. There is much to learn, whatever our own specialism; in particular for me the recent work described in the chapters on mapping of the world and on particular parts of the world, on thematic mapping and on imaginary maps. For Europeans the book also provides a valuable insight into how Americans view their own history as seen through mapping. Abraham Lincoln's ownership and frequent use of the 'Slave map' by Edwin Hergesheimer, 1861, which is shown in Francis Bicknell Carpenter's picture of the *First reading of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln in* 1864 springs to mind. The general arrangement with section headings means that this work is also an excellent reference work for the history of cartography as well as an illuminating discussion of the maps the world has made and used over the millennia.

Sarah Tyacke

The Mapping of Africa. A Cartobibliography of Printed Maps of the African Continent to 1700 by Richard L. Betz, HES & DE GRAAF Publishers BV,'t Goy-Houten, Netherlands, 2007, ISBN 978 9061944898, 530pp, 293 illus., Hardback 32 x 24 cm, Price 159 Euros.

Prior to the publication of this monumental study, reference works on the early maps of Africa were predominantly catalogues of collections and exhibitions, with no pretensions to be comprehensive. The exception was R.V. Tooley's cartobibliography of African maps but even this is selective and excludes great rarities, although it is still useful for maps published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We now have a vastly more comprehensive bibliographical study of the early maps of Africa falling within its terms of reference.

Only printed maps depicting the entire African continent are included but these range from multi-sheet wall maps to tiny maps on playing cards. The cut-off date of 1700 is justified on the grounds that it marks a major change in the depiction of the interior of the continent, as well as a constraint on the magnitude of the task. What really makes this work stand apart is the detailed treatment of each of the 175 maps which are recorded.

Each entry has an illustration of the map in its entirety followed by a detailed bibliographical description including every known variant and state, many of them with small inset illustrations showing the identifying characteristic. In the extreme case of Münster's map of 1540, fifteen variants are identified and located in the different editions. For other maps, four or five states or variants are quite frequently identified, together with the collections where they may be seen. Thereafter, each map is described, including bibliographical details of the cartographer, a history of the map and a discussion of its content. Content is considered within the context of several models whereby successive maps are seen to derive from a common source such as the Mercator model or the Blaeu model. Then there is a commentary on the publication history of each map, considering how and where the map was published, a complex subject in many instances. Lastly, there is a list of sources consulted in researching the provenance of the map and references to further information. As a measure of the amount of information provided, the entry for each map including illustrations, is generally spread over two large-format pages but occasionally runs to several more, amounting to several thousand words.

The author has evidently consulted the holdings of more than one hundred of the foremost libraries of Europe, North America and Africa; a monumental task. If only it were possible to read not just the author's text but also the detail of all of the illustrations. It is, of course, inconceivable that the detail of many such large-format originals could all be legible in the illustrations. We must await further on-line technological advances to permit comparative scrutiny of the content of maps in many different libraries whilst remaining in one location. Many of these maps are very rare, occasionally unique, so that reliable information on precisely what they are and where they can be seen, is invaluable in facilitating further research. For the collector of maps of Africa, this remarkable volume is surely an essential reference.

Jeffrey Stone

Publications Received

The Mapping of Ukraine. European cartography and maps of early modern Ukraine, 1550-1799.

Catalogue of an exhibition staged at The Ukrainian Museum, New York. Published by the Ukrainian Museum, 222 East 6th Street, New York, NY 10003 (www.ukrainian museum.org). ISBN-10: 0-96660621-4-0, ISBN-13: 978-0-9660621-4-4. Lists 42 maps with descriptions and colour illustrations; all text in English and Ukrainian. pp.104.

James Corbridge-Surveyor by Raymond Frostick in Norfolk Archaeology XLV Part II (2007). ISSN 0142-7962.

An article describing what is known of the life and work of James Corbridge, arguably the single most significant figure in the mapping of Norfolk in the 18th century. His lasting achievement is his printed maps of Norfolk and Suffolk and his plans of Norwich and Great Yarmouth. He also built a reputation as an estate surveyor. Includes a catalogue of his published and unpublished works. 20pp. 5 illustrations. The author has some offprints which he would be happy to supply to IMCoS members for £5 each plus p&p (contact Raymond.frostick@btinternet.com)

Quote for the Day

"Now when I was a little chap I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration. At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth, and when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map (but they all look that), I would put my finger on it and say, 'When I grow up I will go there.' "

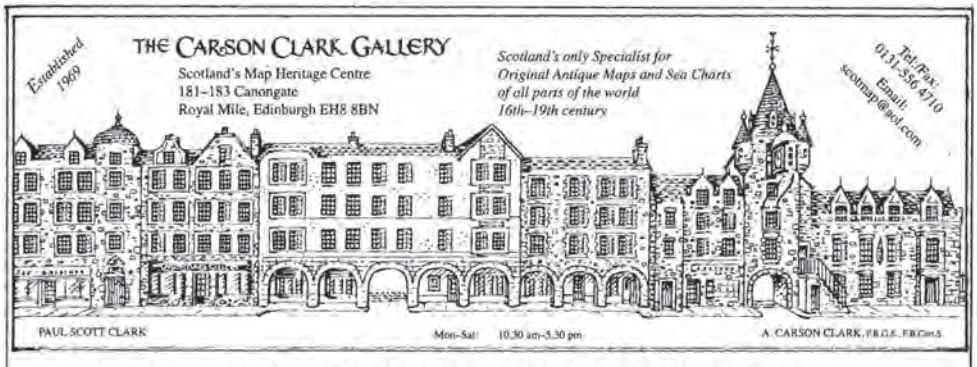
Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness and the Secret Sharer* pp.70-71.



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Cartographers with Cook

The cartographic output of men who sailed to New Zealand with Captain Cook

by John Robson

Peter Fannin was master of the *Adventure*, Cook's companion vessel during the second voyage to the Pacific. The *Adventure* was separated from Cook's *Resolution* for much of the voyage and spent several weeks alone during November-December 1773 in Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand. It was during this stopover that 11 of the crew were killed at Wharehunga Bay. Fannin drew a chart of the area marking the position of the massacre as Bloody Bay. The chart is interesting in that it is the first to depict a strait (later known as the Tory Channel) separating Arapawa Island from the rest of South Island. It is also evidence of the cartographic skill of one of the men sailing with Cook. Here Fannin showed independence and initiative to survey new waters without being ordered to do so by Cook.

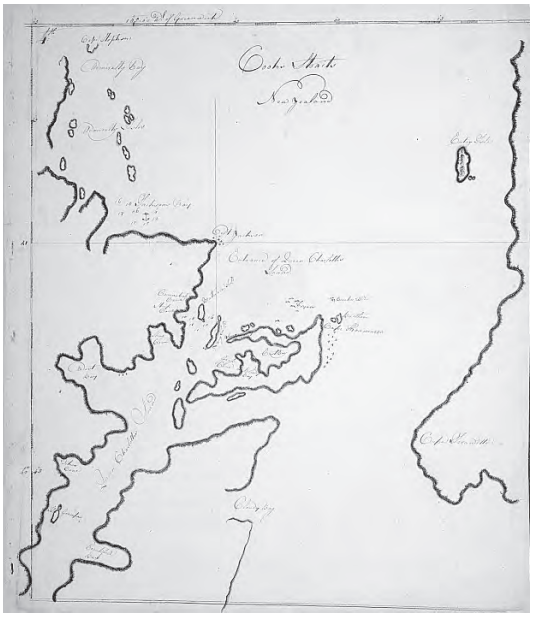


Fig. 1 (left) Fannin's chart of Queen Charlotte Sound. Image taken off National Library of Australia's website. The original is held at the Naval Museum in Portsmouth.

The map of the Pacific was very empty before Cook ventured there in 1769. Ten years later, the map was still very empty but Cook had identified the precise locations of most of the islands and island groups and shown the rest to be ocean. In the 21st century Cook is synonymous with the charting of the Pacific and the impression is often given that he did it all himself. It comes as a surprise then to find that other members of his voyages were capable mapmakers and actually did produce charts of their own.

More than any other of his contemporaries, Cook had taken to the role of chartmaker and he became the most proficient and conscientious marine surveyor of his time. It became his raison d'être. It is as if Cook's reason for going anywhere was to produce a new chart. He is known for his work in the Pacific yet he spent a greater part of his career in the Royal Navy working in Canada and Newfoundland. For most of this time, he was a master (the senior non-commissioned officer on a ship) and he served in this capacity from 1757 to 1768, a period of 11 years. A major duty of a ship's master was chartmaking. Naval regulations of the time stated that masters were expected to produce charts, coastal views and detailed instructions to enable other ships to sail along coasts and in and out of inlets and harbours. Reefs, rocks and other hazards would be depicted and described, plus any other information relevant to the location e.g. suggestions for future ports, settlement, etc. would be added.

When Cook ventured into the Pacific, he assumed the mantle of running his ships and this added responsibility prevented him spending so much time on surveys and chartmaking. Indeed, by the third voyage he had virtually stopped doing



Fig. 2 (below) William Hodges. Dusky Bay, New Zealand. ML., PXD11, f. 32.

any himself. Luckily there were other options. There were other people on board the ships who already knew how to do surveys, for example Peter Fannin, and there were young men among the midshipmen and master's mates who were keen to learn.

On the first voyage, the *Endeavour* carried several men who already had experience of the Pacific. The master, Robert Molineux, and his mate, Richard Pickersgill had both sailed on the *Dolphin* under Captain Samuel Wallis and both were able to draw charts. Molineux and Pickersgill appear to have worked independently of Cook as witnessed by their charts of New Zealand which, while similar to each other, are quite different from those of Cook. Pickersgill, especially, had a style of his own and was ready to honour persons who might help his own advancement. He owed his place on the voyage to George Jackson, undersecretary to the Admiralty, and Jackson's name appears in some places only on Pickersgill's charts.

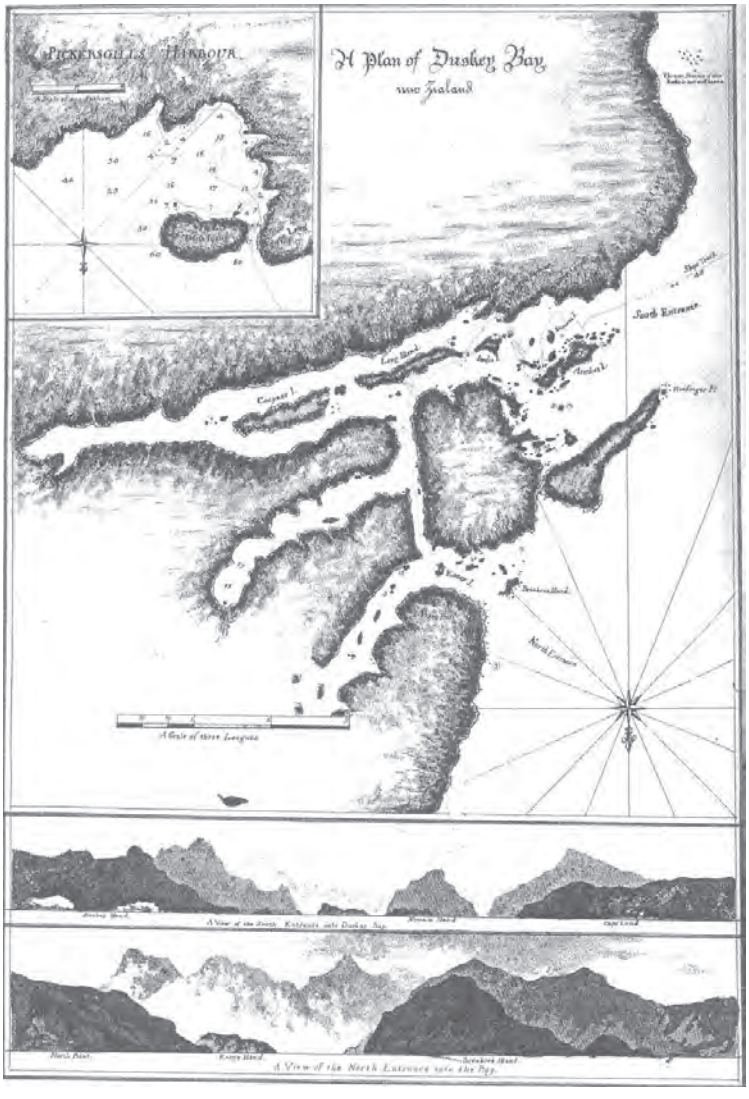


Fig. 3 Joseph Gilbert. Dusky Bay in New Zealand, with two views. TNA, Adm 55/107, f. 73.

On the second voyage, Joseph Gilbert sailed as master of the *Resolution*. Gilbert was known to Cook as he had been master on the *Guernsey*, Governor Hugh Palliser's ship in Newfoundland. Cook had used Gilbert's charts in 1767 and some of Gilbert's of the Labrador coast would be published with those of Cook in the *North American Pilot*. Peter Fannin, the *Adventure*'s master, would later produce the first map of the Isle of Man. The third voyage had two new but most able masters. William Bligh, of subsequent *Bounty* mutiny infamy, was on the *Resolution* while Thomas Edgar served on the *Discovery*. For all his troubles, Bligh was a skilled marine surveyor and did most of the surveys on the voyage. His navigational skills were demonstrated when he took the longboat from Tonga to Indonesia after the mutiny. He was even able to produce charts in those adverse circumstances. Edgar would later produce one of the first charts of West Falkland. All these men undertook surveys under Cook and we have examples of the charts they produced during and after the voyages.

The artist, William Hodges, sailed on the *Resolution* during the second voyage and produced many outstanding landscapes. Early in the voyage, Hodges did several pen and wash coastal views including a beautiful and evocative one of the entrance to Dusky Sound in New Zealand (Fig. 2, previous page). It would seem that Hodges was giving art classes to members of the crew as many of the charts and coastal views drawn by them show his influence. For example, Joseph Gilbert's chart and coastal views of Dusky Sound (Fig. 3, left).

There is little evidence that the other commanders and lieutenants on the voyages had much cartographic ability. Either that or they did not feel they needed to produce charts. Lieutenants Hicks, Clerke, King and Gore left none while the few charts by Furneaux are very basic. The astronomers on board were more amenable and William Wales and William Bayly both produced many charts. Both men produced correct but "mathematical" charts covered with grids of lines of latitude and longitude. Charles Green, the astronomer on the first voyage did not leave any charts.

In 1758 Cook himself learned the basics of surveying on board the *Pembroke* from Samuel Holland, an army engineer. The *Pembroke*'s captain, John Simcoe, had encouraged Cook and the other "young gentlemen" (the midshipmen and lieutenants, including a John Robson!) to learn and had given over the cabin as a schoolroom. Cook now began a similar approach

on his Pacific ships. He was keen that all his "young gentlemen" acquired the skills of surveying, astronomy and chartmaking and arranged that they were given the opportunity to learn. Members of the ships' crews were shown how to prepare charts, while the survey work was undertaken more by the ships' masters, all the while under the supervision of Cook. As a result, it was known that commissioned and senior warrant officers who had sailed with Cook had received a good all-round training and would be most suitable for further employment.

There was a practical consideration to Cook's plans. It was normal practice to copy journals, logs and other documents in order to send this material back to Britain as opportunities arose just in case some tragedy befell a ship. The French did the same thing and we know much about the voyage of La Pérouse in the Pacific because he sent material from Botany Bay, Macao and Kamchatka before he disappeared. Cook therefore employed the same practice with charts. Two young men especially were used to draw up the results of the surveys and make copies. Isaac Smith (Mrs Cook's second cousin) sailed on the first and second voyages and had been with Cook in Newfoundland. After the *Endeavour* voyage, Cook wrote:

> *Mr Isaac Smith … was of great use to me in assisting to make surveys, plans, drawings &c in which he is very expert.*

It is not clear whether Smith actually conducted any surveys himself but many surviving charts are in his hand. Henry Roberts sailed on all three voyages and gradually assumed a greater role in the chartmaking. Roberts also displayed artistic ability as evidenced by his painting of HMS *Resolution*. After the third voyage, it was Roberts who was given the task of producing charts for publication much to the disgust of William Bligh. It was therefore Roberts who drew the chart of the Pacific, which depicted the tracks of all of the Cook voyages and was the first to show the ocean much as we know it today.

Other midshipmen such as John Elliott, James Colnett, Nathaniel Portlock, Edward Riou and George Vancouver all learned under Cook during the voyages to the Pacific. Some of them produced charts during the voyages but there is no clear evidence that all of them drew charts later in their careers. John Elliott left several maps from the second voyage but at least one of his remained in the Elliott family. In a memoir written years later, Elliott recorded that he had managed to have breakfast with Cook one morning after the voyage and that Cook returned Elliott's work annotated with his "name, Elliott's chart and ship's track" in Cook's hand. Edward Riou drew several charts during the third voyage but few survive from his illustrious career, which culminated in his death at the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801.

Colnett, Portlock and Vancouver all left few charts from their time with Cook but went on to be accomplished surveyors. All three spent time on the Northwest Coast of North America where Colnett and Portlock led sea otter fur trading expeditions in the mid 1780s. Nathaniel Portlock and another of Cook's men, George Dixon, sailed the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* to Alaska and the Queen Charlotte Islands where, as well as collecting furs, they drew charts of the coast. James Colnett produced charts on the same coast and nearly precipitated a war when he was arrested by the Spanish. However, Colnett later returned to the Eastern Pacific and produced charts of Cocos Island and part of the Galapagos Islands

George Vancouver was probably the star of Cook's protégés. In 1791, he set off for Nootka Sound on the Northwest Coast of America leading an expedition to resolve the crisis that Colnett's arrest had generated. The expedition lasted four years from 1791 to 1795 and in that time Vancouver surveyed the coast from San Diego in the south as far north as Alaska including the intricacies of British Columbia. Vancouver was ably assisted by the likes of Joseph Whidbey and James Johnstone and the set of charts that Vancouver produced are amongst the finest ever drawn and rank with those of Cook. He also managed to trump Cook in Fiordland, New Zealand where Cook had left an inlet unsurveyed and marked on the map "nobody knows what". Vancouver visited the inlet some years later and put "somebody knows what" on his chart.

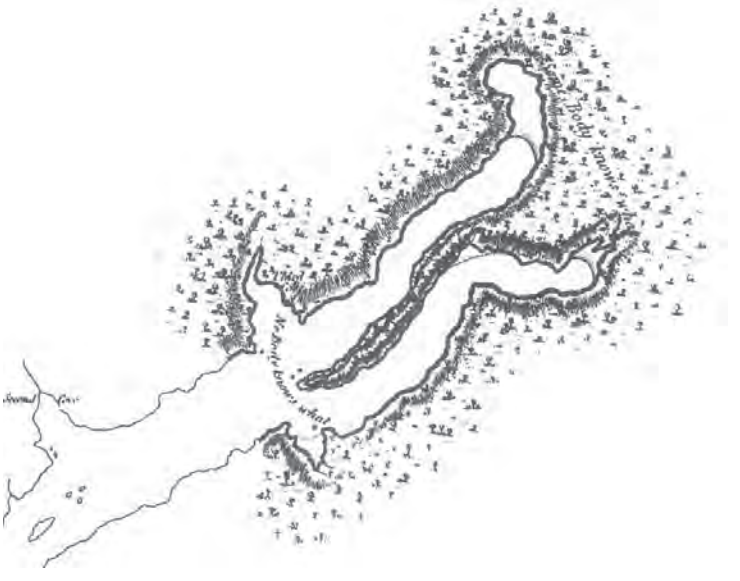


Fig. 4
The upper arms of Breaksea Sound. Part of Vancouver's chart of Dusky Sound. Scan of chart from Vancouver's voyage.

The author, John Robson (below) was born at Stockton-on-Tees in County Durham, U.K. in 1949. He has had two lifelong interests – maps and Captain James Cook. They were combined in 2000 when his book, Captain Cook's world, *was published. Robson has travelled extensively in his career, first as a mining geologist and later as a librarian. He is now the Map Librarian at the University of Waikato in Hamilton. He is president of the New Zealand Map Society, a member of the Captain Cook Society and N.Z. representative for the Hakluyt Society. As well as* Captain Cook's world, *he has produced* The Captain Cook Encyclopaedia *and the* Historical Dictionary of the Discovery and Exploration of the Pacific Islands *and is working on a book about Cook's early Royal Navy career to be published in 2009. He was historical consultant on the recent television documentary,* James Cook – obsession and discovery. *Robson moved to New Zealand in 1981 and now lives in Hamilton with his two corgis, Hector and Cullen, and a house full of Cook books and Cookabilia.*

Matthew Paul, who sailed on the third voyage and drew several coastal views, was someone who had learned his mapmaking skills another way. Paul was a product of Christ's Hospital School in London. The school maintained a mathematical section, which trained young men in navigation for the merchant navy, especially the East India Company, but some like Paul entered the Royal Navy. Michael Lane, who was Cook's deputy in Newfoundland for one season, was also a graduate of Christ's Hospital. William Wales, the astronomer on the second voyage went to teach at the school after his time with Cook.

Cook would never leave a coast unmapped but he was also a pragmatist. As such he rarely if ever bothered to survey somewhere he had already looked at on a previous visit or voyage. Occasionally, others would carry out a new survey perhaps as an exercise for the trainees. For example, Thomas Edgar drew a chart of Ship Cove and Motuara Island in Queen Charlotte Sound on the third voyage even though several similar charts were produced on the first voyage. There is always a feeling that even though Cook was doing fewer of the surveys himself he retained total control of what work was undertaken. It is for that reason that Fannin's chart of Queen Charlotte Sound is all the more surprising.

Cook was never very elaborate with his charts. For him, they were working documents, not just for show and cartouches and other embellishments are rare. Mostly, the charts by his men also show a similar basicness depicting coastlines, anchorages, rocks (visible and submerged) and any other features that will assist mariners. It is interesting to compare the spare Cook's originals with the elaborate copied versions published by Zatta and Cassini.



Technology helped Cook and he was prepared to use new instruments as they became available. He ensured that his men learned how to use sextants, telescopes and chronometers to calculate latitude and longitude to better fix locations. Charles Green was dismayed on the first voyage at how few on board could take sightings of the stars so Cook made sure that that was not repeated. Accuracy was important to Cook and instruments, especially the chronometer, helped him achieve a level never achieved before and for some time rarely achieved after. William Bayly, the astronomer, was able to improve the readings taken at Queen Charlotte Sound to the point that by the third voyage latitude was only 5 seconds out and longitude was only 6_ minutes out.

As well as producing charts, Cook prepared coastal views. These were sketches of coasts from the sea which would allow future visitors to identify where they were or where they should be. Cook, himself, was very poor at coastal views while the on-board artists were generally too elaborate. Luckily for Cook, Hermann Spöring sailed on the *Endeavour* and he was excellent; his pen and ink sketches are marvellous. Sadly Spöring died on the voyage and nobody of similar skill sailed on the other voyages.

Sailing directions were the third thing that masters were supposed to produce. Whereas Cook produced extensive directions for the waters around Newfoundland, he was not so prolific when he reached the Pacific and his men were equally negligent. Some directions were incorporated by Cook in his log and journal as part of the general descriptions.

Anyone wishing to view the cartographic output of Cook's voyages can do so by referring to the three volumes published by the Hakluyt Society under the editorship of Andrew David, the foremost authority on the subject. As well as reproducing copies of virtually all the charts and views there are essays and much background information about the men.

Reference.

The Charts & coastal views of Captain Cook's voyages, edited by Andrew David. Vol. 1: The voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771; Vol. 2: The voyage of the Resolution and Adventure, 1772-1775; Vol. 3: The voyage of the Resolution and Discovery. London: Hakluyt Society, 1988-1997.

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You Write to Us

The map charger

My reason for this letter is the article by Daniel Nadler on the Japanese plate map. My late wife Jane found a 51cm x 50cm copy of what seems to be the same map done on a cotton piece (see attached images). The second image is the label on the back, probably modern, but except for the lack of compass rose and statement, nearly the same map. I have no idea where she picked this up but it may have been in Kyoto, Japan, during the IMCoS meeting in 1998. I am delighted to have some idea of the dates (1830-1844) when the original may have been produced although ceramics have been known to use older maps than the dates when they were made. Anyway, I was glad to get the information and I am happy for you to forward my comments to Daniel Nadler.

Bill Warren
California Map Society





The hidden date in a chronogram

In an earlier age, when we each wore different hats, you published an article I wrote on 'chronograms', and then various follow-ups to that. For those who may not be familiar with them, a chronogram is a sentence or inscription in which specific letters are capitalised and interpreted as Roman numerals, namely M,D,C,L,X,V,I = respectively: 1000, 500, 100, 50, 10, 5, 1. These then have their values added up so as to give a hidden date, for example:

'LInc**VI**t **I**n **I**sto **M**onaster**I**o re**LI**g**I**os**V**s fr**. L**an**D**e**LI**n**V** s b**I**ehe**L**er **I**b**I** profess**V**s' **(= 1781)**

When my article appeared in *The Map Collector* in 1983, just one cartographic example was known. Now, with the help of various informants and the Internet, the total has risen to 30. Most have been found on German or Dutch maps or globes. The date range on the examples recorded so far is 1552-1781.

The original *TMC* material, and notes on subsequent discoveries, are set out on a recently published webpage entitled 'Chronogram dates of cartographic interest (a round-up of present knowledge)' <http://www.maphistory.info/chronograms.html>. My reason for writing is to invite your readers to see if they can add to the existing 'Census'.

It is also worth pointing out that many of the cartographic examples are dated only by their chronogram, a fact which was missed by some bibliographers and cataloguers. In addition, a chronogram can sometimes point to the existence of an earlier, lost original.

Even if you do not find one on a hitherto unrecorded map, you will certainly see chronograms on 16th-18th century European buildings, particularly churches, once you realise what they are. You could then figure out the date, say 1708, and impress your companions by saying that "the architecture looks to me to be about 1710".

Tony Campbell
compiler of the Map History website
<http://www.maphistory.info>

Thanks for the thanks

It would look like self-congratulation to print the many letters I have received from members saying how much they are enjoying the new-look journal. Suffice to say that I am grateful for the encouragement and hope I will be able to satisfy

one of them who said "I hope you are going to be able to keep up this high standard!" I hope so too.

Valerie Newby
Editor

Another test for our astute readers

While I was on a visit to Korsør in Denmark last autumn I visited Borreby Manor which was built in the 1600s. One of the reasons for the visit was to see several of the country houses where Hans Christian Andersen wrote some of his books and poetry. In the Great Hall of the Manor (the owners called it a castle but this may have been a mistranslation) I saw a portrait of one of the earlier owners, Waldemar Kruse and his wife. They took over the manor in the 1600s and had a modest 13 children. The story of the family's downfall into poverty after the early death of his wife was recounted by Andersen in "The Wind tells the story of WD and his daughters". The second picture shows Waldemar and his three unmarried daughters fleeing the manor in the snow after he had gone bankrupt. The mystery lies in the first picture which shows Waldemar holding a pair of compasses and pointing to a place on a sea chart. Was it to indicate that he was going on a sea voyage or for some other reason? Also, can any sharp-eyed reader recognise the chart? Apologies for the distorted picture of the painting but I had to photograph it hanging on the wall in the manor house.

Which all goes to show that even when I am on my holidays I am thinking of interesting items to amuse our readers!

Valerie Newby





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6th November 2008.
Graham Dolan F.R.A.S. (Senior Educational Officer, The Greenwich Observatory, London).
'On the Meridian of Greenwich: When did it move, and why, and where is it?'

4th December 2008.
Professor Francesca Rochberg (Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley.)
'New Light on the Maps and Mapping in Ancient Mesopotamia'

22nd January 2009.
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'Speculations and Discoveries: Brazil and the Other Side of the Globe at the end of the 15th Century'.

26th February 2009.
(Details to follow).

12th March 2009.
Stéphane Blond (Department of History, University of Evry-Val d'Essonne)
'The Trudaine Road Maps, a Masterpiece in French Enlightenment Cartography'

26th March 2009.
Dr Hanna Vorholt (British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow, The Warburg Institute)
'Provenance and Dissemination of Medieval Maps of Jerusalem: Constructing and Deconstructing a Stemma'

23rd April 2009.
Eva Stamoulou (Art History and Visual Studies, University of Manchester)
'Portraying the Mediterranean: Sixteenth-century Books of Islands (Isolarii) and the Venetian Maritime Empire'

14th May 2009.
Dr Alastair Pearson (Department of Geography, University of Portsmouth
'"The greatest map ever published": The American Geographical Society and the Map of Hispanic America at 1:1 Million Scale, 1922-1945'

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All are most welcome.

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The web version of the programme http://www.maphistory.info/warburgprog.html can be book-marked, as it will always contain the current details. For a comprehensive list of talks and meetings in the history of cartography, see John Docktor's 'Calendar' http://home.earthlink.net/~docktor/index.htm



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The Noble Savage

and Enlightenment Maps

by Dennis Reinhartz

Lo, the poor Indian! Whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
His soul proud Science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk or milky way;
Yet simple nature to his hope has giv'n
Behind the cloud-topped hill, an humbler heav'n.
Alexander Pope [1]

The idea of the "noble savage" is a product of the Enlightenment. It was prevalent in Western thought and exemplified in artistic, philosophical, and discovery and exploration literature and imagery, including maps, from the middle of the seventeenth into the first part of the nineteenth centuries and Romanticism,[2] especially in countries that had ongoing imperial or national frontiers in the New World. It also preceded the "sentimental savage" of Romanticism.[3] Yet, while a good deal has been written by scholars and others about the images and statements referencing the indigenous peoples of the New World and their cultures (e.g. cannibalism)[4] on the European cartography of the time, comparatively little has been said with regard to the allusions to the transformed-Indian-into-noble savage on Enlightenment maps.

Firstly, this article will discuss the evolution of the Indian from savage (the "cannibalistic other") to noble savage. At the same time, it will consider comparable indications on contemporary maps of Africa to sub-Saharan natives and their cultures as well as to ancient peoples such as Germans, Celts, Britons, Slavs, and others on the Enlightenment cartography of historic Europe. Finally, the visual definition of the noble savage will be aligned with the theoretical characterisation of the philosophers and writers of the Age to better comprehend the understandings of these distant peoples held not only by the intellectual elites of the Enlightenment, but also by those of the general public who were often still illiterate though nevertheless viewed the maps of far away places. New vocabularies, literary and graphic, were evolving and engaged to express the often amazing New World to the Old. In the process, this presentation will underscore again the value of cartographic sources to historical research and to our discernment of the past.

In *c.* 1000, the Norse were the first Europeans to record their encounters with natives of the Western Hemisphere. They called them "skraelings" and equated them to the previously met peoples of Greenland and possibly northern Scandinavia, to whom they actually were kindred. All were viewed as inferior and savage. The first modern contact came half a millennium later with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the New World in 1492 and consequently set off what would be an intellectual paradigmic shift in the Old World.

That the Indians were not of the Bible initially created significant consternation. Their portrayed

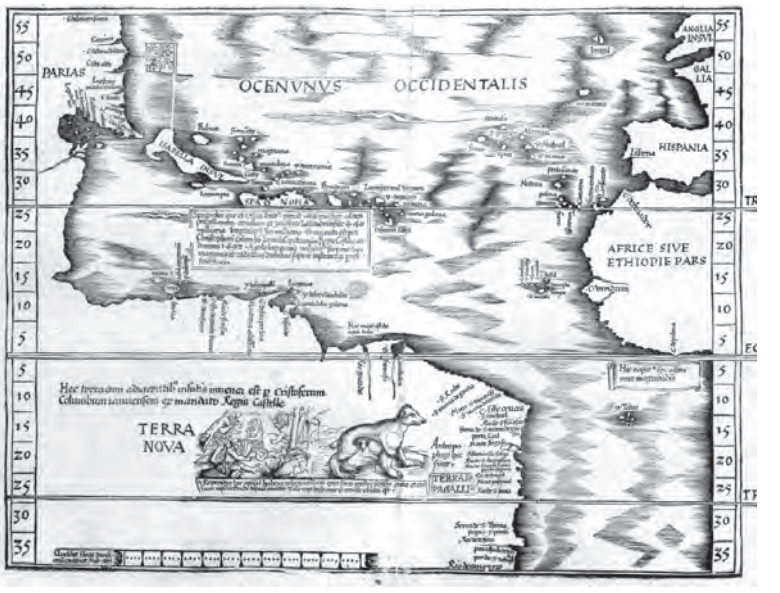


Fig.1





Fig. 2



savagery was a product of the dual shock of first contact and the European invasion of the New World. Prior to the seventeenth century, this savagery of the Indians was compared to that of sub-Saharan Africans by Europeans and thereby partially influencing the observers of the Indians.[5]

This relatively famous inset from the 1522 edition of Martin Waldseemüller's groundbreaking first printed Atlantic Basin map, "Tabula Terra Nova" (Fig. 1 previous page), is an example of the pictures of Indians appearing in Europe in this early period. It is placed in the white space of the *terra incognita* of South America and depicts the cannibalism of the New Worlders, who strangely, but understandably, look like naked northern Europeans. Similar imagery dotted other New World accounts of the time, such as those by the Fleming Theodore de Bry.

In 1612, a more stylized (and even generic) illustration appeared on John Smith's map (Fig. 2 above and left) of "Virginia" (Oxford: Joseph Barnes). Over time, this posed figure, originally of a Algonquian-speaking Secotan from the Carolinas by de Bry from Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report on the New Found Land of Virginia*, which was about the ill-fated Roanoke Colony, in de Bry's *India Occidentalis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1590), had migrated northward to Smith's map and was

transformed into a Susquehannock. For want of a better understanding of Indian government, in the upper left hand corner of the map Powhatan, the Chief of the Susquehannocks, is pictured meeting with his leaders as would the English monarch with the House of Lords.[6] Indian accommodation into the European mindset took the best part of the sixteenth century. In part in reaction to their biological decimation, they were granted their humanity, but remained largely unknown.

It was out of the greater understanding (and misunderstanding) of the seventeenth century that the idea of noble savage emerged. It and the related concept of the "State of Nature" as applied to the New World were influenced by its strangeness or "differentness" and to critique existing European society and its perceived inequities for the purposes of reform. Almost from the first modern contact in 1492, Indians were employed in critiques of the existing European social order. For instance, in Jean Bernard Bossou's *Nouveaux voyages aux Indes Occidentales…* (Paris: 1768) there is a reference to and an illustration of a noble Indian chief trampling on a spilled chest of coins of gold used to try to bribe him, demonstrating his disdain for it. The Indian noble savage also rested upon the foundation of noble savages of the European past.[7] By the eighteenth century, most of the European peoples had acquired noble savages as parts of their nascent national myth histories. There were the Scythians of the Russian Eurasian steppe, the Sarmatians of Poland, *die Uhrdeutschen vom Wald* (the "original Germans" of the forest), and the Britons and Celts of the British Isles, among others.

This ancient Celt in "A perspective section of the Giants Castle in the vale of Glenbegg Scotland" (Fig. 3, right above), by the physician, churchman, and controversial antiquarian William Stukeley, who did the original field work on Avebury and Stonehenge, from his *Itinerarium Curiosum…* (London: 1724) and "*A British Druid*" (London, 1743) also by Stukeley (Fig. 4 right), and reminiscent of de Bry's Secotan-Susquehannock, are typical of Enlightenment depictions of historic European noble savages.[8] About a half of a century before Stukeley, the antiquarian-writer John Aubrey had already drawn a connection between the Indians and the ancient Britons when he offered that the Britons 'were 2 or 3 degrees less salvage (sic) than the Americans.'[9]

Stuart Piggott, a historian of the Druids and Stukeley biographer refers to this view as "a sympathetic mood of soft primitivism" that took in not only the European ancients, but the more newly encountered American Indians and South Sea Islanders as well.[10] Noble savagery came to mean basic humanity and became a concept with which to belabour nobility and to elevate

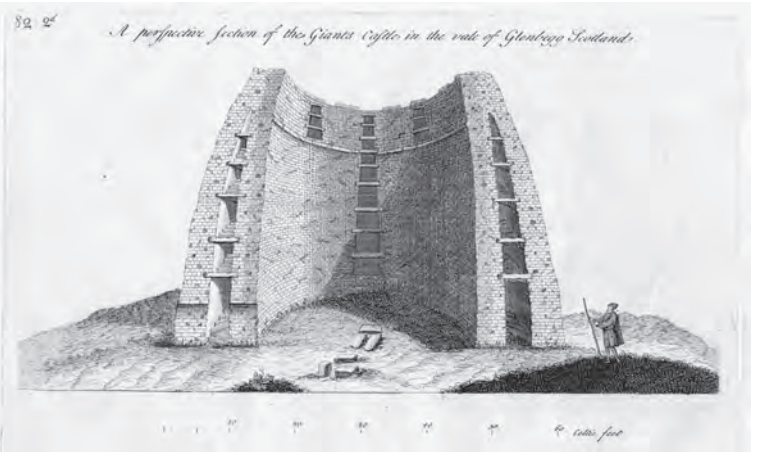


Fig. 3

savagery.[11] As Berkhofer has offered, "…the Noble Savage really pointed to the possibility of progress by civilized man if left free and untrammelled by outworn institutions."[12] But Weber elaborates that the State of Nature was not necessarily a better place than civilized Europe and that here "nobility" did not necessarily indicate "superiority." Actual Indian policy, for example, was always made more pragmatically. Neither was the seeing of the Indians as noble savages universal among the Europeans; the French were the most interested and the Iberians less so.[13]

The romanticization of the Indians dates back to the sixteenth century to Peter Martyr, Francisco López de Gómara, Michel de Montaigne,



Fig. 4



Fig. 5 (above)



Fig. 6 (below)

Bartolomé de las Casas, and José de Acosta, among others. But the term "noble savage" as understood today was first used by Thomas Dryden in his play *The Conquest of Granada* (1672) with reference to its hero Alamanzor, a rebel, who eventually is reconciled to post-1492 Spanish *reconquista* society.[14] In the eighteenth century, French *philosophes* and Spanish *illustradors* saw wild and especially nomadic peoples as humans in an early state of development; on his circumnavigation of the globe in 1791, in California Alejandro Malaspina still reported them in that way. The State of Nature was deeply rooted in the ideas of Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and others, and, exemplifying the tolerance of the Enlightenment, they often made excuses (e.g. harsh environments) for the wild Indians' less than peaceful behaviour, usually even ignoring their cannibalism, for example.[15]

Thus on Guillaume Delisle's "Carte du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France…" (Paris: 1703) the Indian practice of scalping is portrayed in the same cartouche with their coming Christianisation (Fig. 5 above left), and in the cartouche of Pierre (Pieter) van der Aa's "L'Amerique…," (Leiden: 1729) cannibalism is shown quite naturally to the rear of a not uncommon allegorical rendering of America as an Indian maiden.

And during the early Enlightenment, with its breakthroughs in astronomy, geography, and religion, the new found lands of the Americas even were related to speculations about the Moon and its possible inhabitants and explorations. Especially in England and France, the determination and acceptance of the Indians' humanity was extended to a "plurality of worlds."[16]

The German philosopher of history, Johann Gottfried Herder, has left us with some of the best Enlightenment statements on the Americas and their native peoples:

> *'…in the makeup of humankind there [in the Americas], on the whole, lies under an imprint of uniformity that is not even found in the land of the Negroes…. This, to wit, consists in that sound and steady strength, the fiercely proud love of freedom and war, which informs their way of life and domestic affairs, their education and government, their occupations and customs both in peace and war. A character that stands alone on the globe, both in its vices and its virtues… if… there were to the Americans a dominant or central character, it would be goodness of heart and childlike innocence; a character that their ancient establishments, their habits, their few arts, and above all their initial conduct toward the Europeans, confirm. Springing from a savage land and unsupported by any assistance from the civilized world, all the progress they made was their own; and in their feeble beginnings of civilisation,*





Fig. 7 and detail

they exhibit a very instructive picture of humankind.'

The cartography and related graphics of the Age of Enlightenment regularly reflected many of its intellectual tenets and the thinking on the noble savage as well as the written words of Herder, Pope, or Rousseau. As Michael Guadio relates:

> *'…engraving belongs with the various technological and educational practices that since the Renaissance have shaped human habitats and manners through… 'the civilizing practice.' As a metallic art, engraving held special status among these civilizing technologies.'* [18]

He further emphasizes the power and quality of engraving to establish the authority of an image, especially to non-reading viewers.[19]

The cartography of Herman Moll, one of the United Kingdom's most prominent map makers and an excellent engraver of the first half of the eighteenth century, offers many images of and even comments on the primitive nobility of the American Indians.

For instance, on what is today his most renowned map, "A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain on ye Continent of North America…" (London: 1715), the "Beaver Map," from The World Described…, to the west of Pennsylvania there was a telling reference to the Iroquois (Fig. 6 opposite):



'The Iroquois consist of four Cantons, Govern'd by so many Kings and are all hearty friends of ye English: those Princes came into England in 1710 to offer their services agt ye French in Canada, and had it not been for ye miscarriage of our Expedition to Quebec in 1711 those People would have been of great service to us, for they joyn'd General Nicholson with 2000 on his March to attack Monreal.' [20]

Oddly, he indicates only "four Cantons" of the Six Nation Confederacy of the Iroquois, but he obviously has respect for them. The Whig Moll alludes to their unique quasi-democratic political system and values them as allies (as they had been to the Dutch in the seventeenth century) in Queen Anne's War (War of the Spanish Succession). He of course fails to mention that the French also had their honoured allies in the Huron Confederacy on the same frontier.[21] And on Moll's map of "…North America…" (the "Codfish Map", Fig. 7 previous page) dedicated "To the Right Honourable John Lord Sommers…" (London: 1712?), also from *The World Described…*, the hunter-gatherer and farmer Indians clad for summer and winter, surrounding the cartouche in the upper left hand corner, are not only clearly ennobled, but are no longer undressed Europeans either.[22]

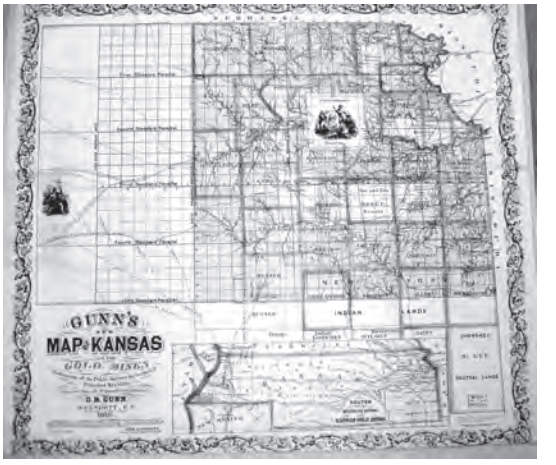
Henri Joutel was an officer who accompanied LaSalle to the Mississippi River and Texas in 1684-1687 and made his way back to his home in Rouen, France via Quebec apart from the assassins after LaSalle's murder. In 1713, he published an account of his adventures that included a map of Louisiana. In the lower left hand corner of the 1714 English edition are two Indians holding up a buffalo hide that bears the title of the map, "A New



Map of the Country of Louisiana and of the River Missisipi in North America discovered by Monsr. de laSalle …" (Fig. 8 opposite page, top) These are muscular New Worlders, scantily clad in animal skins, of the State of Nature; both have feathers in their hair, and the one on the left bears a great club and the one on the right a crude bow. The Indian on the left even appears to have a tail! But perhaps it extends from the hide of his breechcloth.[23] They too are reminiscent of the Europeans' own Neolithic ancestors. A very similar muscular native with a bow occurs along the dedication cartouche of Captain John Abraham Collet's "A Compleat map of North Carolina" (London: 1770), only this time harried by a formidable alligator (Fig. 9 opposite, bottom). After reading Joutel's manuscript of his Journal, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville failed to convince him to return to Louisiana in 1699-1702.

A wonderful nineteenth century map (Fig. 10 right and below) to end on is "Gunn's New Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines…" (Pittsburgh: 1859). It appeared in a guide, responding to the short-lived Kansas Gold Rush and hoped for statehood by Otis B. Gunn of Wyandott, Kansas.

Just inside the left hand margin of the map is a very late and even archaic rendering of a noble savage, in skins and carrying a bow, perhaps still running free in the foothills of the Colorado







Rockies on the western edge of the Great Plains. But almost at the centre of a map of the once designated "permanent Indian country" of the 1830's, now enclosed in a surveyed rectangular reservation labeled "Pottawattamie Reserve", there are several sentimentalized and more "tame" Indians, admiring an allegorical visage (e.g. George Washington) of a westward expanding United States. Several other (temporary?) "reserves" (e.g. Sac and Fox) are clearly designated as well. The ultimate message on Manifest Destiny is clear; they must depart or "civilize" and assimilate.[24]

Notes

1. In Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 79.

2. See: J.L. Talmon, *Romanticism and Revolt: Europe 1815-1848* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967).

3. Berkhofer, 76.

4. For an excellent recent example, see: Cynthia Chambers, "Cannibalism in Cultural Context: Cartographic Imagery and Iconography of the New World Indigenous Peoples during the Age of Discovery" (doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Arlington, 2006).

5. Ibid., 10 and 69.

6. Dennis Reinhartz, "Establishing a Transatlantic Graphic Dialogue, 1492-1800," in *Transatlantic History*, ed. by Stephen G. Reinhardt and Dennis Reinhartz (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 53-54. Courtesy of the Virginia Garret Cartographic History Library, The University of Texas at Arlington and the Collection of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, respectively. Also, see: Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

7. Berkhofer, 43-44 and 74.

8. Dennis Reinhartz, *The Cartographer and the Literati: Herman Moll and His Intellectual Circle* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), 97-112. Collection of Dennis and Judy Reinhartz.

9. In William Stukeley, *Stukeley's 'Stonehenge': An Unpublished Manuscript, 1721-1724*, ed. by Aubrey Burl and Neil Mortimer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 11. In this work, Stukeley, exhibiting the anti-Deism of his later life, freely compared the Druids, who he viewed as noble, evolved, and proto-Christian, yet still savage Celts, to the ancient Germans (pp. 109-110), Egyptians (pp. 118-120), and Hebrews (p. 121). Similar images appear on many of the maps of the Enlightenment, such as those of richly tattooed ancient Britons, for example, on Henri Chatelain's quite large "Carte Pour L'Introduction A La Historie D'Angleterre…" from his *Atlas Historique*, published in Amsterdam in 1708.

10. Stuart Piggott, *The Druids* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 153.

11. Berkhofer, 76; David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 38; and Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Clash of Morality in the American Forest" and Hayden White, "The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish" in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. by Fredi Chiapelli (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), I, 337-339 and 130-135 respectively.

12. Berkhofer, 76.

13. Ibid., 74-75 and Weber, 19 and 43-44.

14. Richard Ashcroft, "Leviathan Triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Wild Men" and Earl Miner, "The Wild Man Through the Looking Glass" in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from The Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Edward Dudley and Maximillan E. Novak (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 150-153 and 105-106 respectively and Weber, 19.

15. Weber, 38-41.

16. David Cressy, "Early Modern Space Travel and the English Man on the Moon," *The American Historical Review* 111-4 (October 2006), 960-982 .

17. Johann Gottfried Herder, *On World History: An Anthology* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 189-194.

18. Guadio, xvii.

19. Ibid.

20. Herman Moll, "A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain on ye Continent of North America (London: 1715). Collection of Dennis and Judy Reinhartz.

21. Reinhartz, *The Cartographer and the Literati,* 140-142.

22. Herman Moll, "To the Right Honourable John Lord Sommers Baron of Eversham in ye County of Worcester President of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, &c. This Map of North America According to ye Newest and Most Exact Observations is most Humbly Dedicated by your Lordship's most Humble Servant Herman Moll Geographer" (London: 1712?). Courtesy of the Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, The University of Texas at Arlington. Reinhartz, *The Cartographer and the Literati*, 37-41.

23. Henri Joutel, *A Journal of the Last Voyage Perform'd by Monsr. de la Sale to the Gulph of Mexico to Find out the Mouth of the Missisipi River…* (London: 1714).

24. Otis B. Gunn, *New Map and Hand-book of Kansas and the Gold Mines* (Pittsburgh: 1859).

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Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio

Third state of this famous map with the revised shape of South America. Other revisions include the addition of the name California, and the Indian name "Wingandekoa" in the Chesapeake Bay region. The Solomon Islands are shown here for the first time since they were discovered in 1568. Latin text on verso with page number 5, most probably from the 1603 edition.

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Daniel's Dream Map

The Wittenberg World Map 1529-1661

by Ernst Gallner

The Wittenberg World Map, more commonly known in English as Daniel's Dream Map, is probably the most mystical world map of all time.

At the time of its first publication as the sixty-first world map to go into print it was, on the one hand, a depiction of the Old World based on the Ptolemaic world view but including a number of recent Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, but on the other hand, a visualisation of the prophet Daniel's apocalyptic dream of the four kingdoms.

As only a little systematic knowledge concerning Daniel's Dream Map is available, this article has two primary goals: first, to describe the various versions and printing blocks and place them in the historical context of the time of their creation, and secondly, to attempt to systemise them, taking into account the year of publication, the author, the publisher, the artist, and the various printing blocks.

The first mention of Daniel's Dream Map is made in a commentary on the prophet Daniel by Justus Jonas and Philip Melanchthon in December 1529 and immediately afterwards in January 1530 in an interpretation of the book of the prophet Daniel by Martin Luther, both published by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg. This version is referred to in the following as the original version. From this time on, the map appears in a number of Lutheran, German or German-influenced bibles and theological books of the 16th and early 17th centuries and in a book on the history of the Jews by Flavius Josephus. These later variants partially copy the original, whereby some of the artists,



Fig.1
This is from Version two of the Dream Map with the word Africa incomplete. There were four different blocks made of this version and this is Block 4 and comes from the bible,* Die Propheten alle deudsch*, printed by Lorenz Seuberlich, Wittenberg 1599, 1603, 1604, 1606 and 1610. Note the beasts especially the three-headed one depicting Europe.

contrary to the wish of the time for geographical accuracy, increasingly alter the outlines of the continents, with visionary aspects taking precedence over correct cartographic depiction. The only variant to occur in a Latin bible is a schematic, abstract, map by Tobias Stimmer.

The original version of the map shows a simplified depiction of the three continents which are designated on the map as Europa, Affrica and Asia. The northern section is evidently based on Martin Waldseemüller's modern world map contained in the Strasbourg Ptolemy edition of 1513, and the southern section on Apian's heart-shaped world map of 1530.

In light of this, Wilhelm Bonacker and Hans Volz surmise that the map was probably initiated by Philip Melanchthon who had an interest in cartography and was a friend of Peter Bienewitz (Apian) of Ingolstadt.

In Europe, the Pyrenees can be seen in the west, the Alps in the middle, and the River Don in the far north. Scandinavia and Britain are missing. Africa is separated from Europe by a broadened Mediterranean, with four islands which cannot be precisely identified. In the northern part of Africa the Atlas Mountains are depicted, while in the south the Moon Mountains are shown as the two sources of the Nile. On the way northwards, each of the two arms first flows through a lake before joining in a great basin from where the Nile then flows to the Mediterranean. In Asia the Himalayas can be seen, with the river Indus arising in one direction and the Ganges in the other. The island of Taprobana (Ceylon) is depicted as a peninsula connected to the mainland by Adam's Bridge.

The continents are surrounded by a great sea on which, in some later variants, a ship is disappearing off the side horizon. The map is framed by four winds with human heads blowing wind and clouds on to the earth. In the continents stand four fabulous beasts: a lion – in the first version, contrary to the biblical description, still without eagle's wings; a bear; a leopard with four heads and four bird's wings; and a goat with iron teeth, seven large horns and one small horn with a human head. In the west of Asia but east of the Caucasus a mounted army with people wearing turbans and carrying banners can be seen.

In the depiction of the four animals and their geographical attribution, the artist largely follows the text of the seventh chapter of the book of the prophet Daniel in the Old Testament of the Bible.



Fig. 2
Version Four of the map of which there is only one block. The illustrator was Erhard Altdorfer and this version appeared in three different bibles dated 1534, 1550 and 1578.

The Turkish army on the other hand derives from the interpretation of the three authors. And it also indicates the reason for the creation of the map, namely, in a striking pictorial depiction, to convey to the Christian world, and especially the illiterate masses, the visionary message of the Bible in the light of the threat to the Western world from an imminent Turkish invasion. In 1529 the Turks had conquered large areas of the Occident and in October of the same year were outside the gates of Vienna. Europe's rulers, especially the Emperor Charles V, King Francis I and the Pope, were planning a new crusade with the aim of reconquering occupied territory, and also the Holy Land. In this time of political uncertainty and frightening change, large sections of the Christian population sought advice and guidance in their faith.

As legitimisation for a war against the Turks, the Protestants Philip Melanchthon, Justus Jonas and their friend Martin Luther, drew on the prophet Daniel and especially his dream of the four kingdoms. Thus, they interpreted the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel as an eschatological [the science of the four last things: death, judgement, heaven and hell] prophecy of a victory of Christianity over the Turks, who were viewed as the embodiment of Antichrist.

The first kingdom in the dream of the prophet Daniel, symbolised by the lion, is Babylon or Assyria; the bear corresponds to Persia [Iran], while the leopard stands for the kingdom of Alexander the Great of Greece. The fourth kingdom prophesied by Daniel is seen as referring to the West Roman Empire. The German Empire is regarded as one of the ten successor kingdoms created out of the Roman Empire because the seventh chapter of Daniel speaks of ten horns growing out of the goat-like beast. The small horn with the head that subsequently destroys three other horns, stands for the Mohammedan Empire. Beginning with the Saracens and continuing under the Ottomans, this has conquered and destroyed parts of the old Empire.

Unlike the three other powers of world historical importance, the Ottoman Empire is not a power positively ordained by God, but an apocalyptic catastrophe sent by God who will, after this final secular war, sit in judgement on Antichrist on Judgement Day.

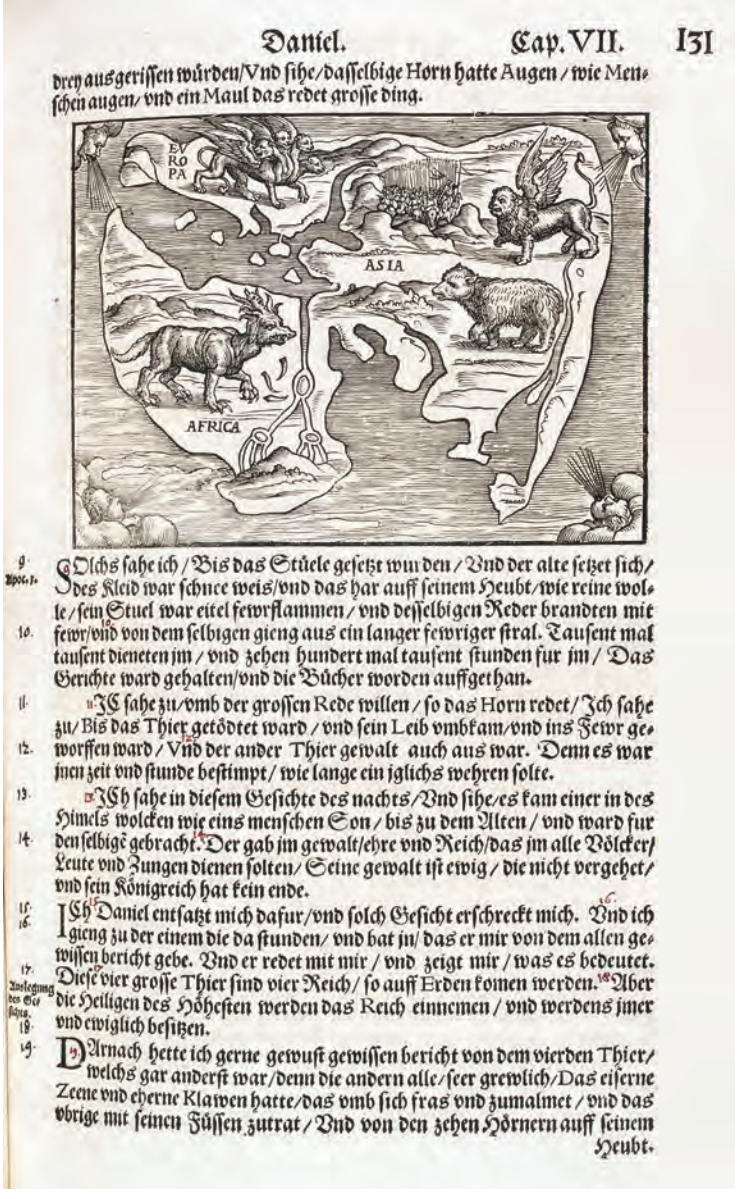
The original and most common historical interpretation dates the creation of the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel to the year 548BC when Daniel, a Jew held in captivity in Babylon under King Belshazzar, has a dream of divine revelation. In his dream he sees four winds sent by God which are directly connected with the Creation and at the same time represent the four directions of the heaven and the earth. The sea is the symbol for the sea of nations i.e. the whole of mankind from which the four beasts arise in sequence symbolising great kingdoms or empires.



Fig. 3
Version Six by an unknown illustrator. From Martin Luther's* Eine Heerpredig Wider den Türcken,** ***Strassburg 1542.

The first beast, which looks like a lion with eagle's wings, refers to the successor of the Babylonian Medo-Persians. Medo-Persia is followed by the Greek Empire of Alexander the Great which is symbolised by the second animal, a bear with three ribs between its teeth which is tearing the wings off a lion. In this context, Flavius Josephus, the historian, reports that on entering Jerusalem, Alexander was shown the prophecy of the four beasts by Jewish scholars. He interpreted this as referring to himself and acknowledged himself as King of Greece.

The empire of Alexander if followed by the Roman Empire symbolised by the third beast, a four-headed leopard with four wings. The fourth beast is described in the prophecy as being totally different from the other. It is powerful and terrible and destroys everything that is cultivated, holy and human, until God himself passes judgement on it, kills it and gives Christianity dominion for all time. This fourth beast, depicted as a goat, represents King Antiochus IV of Syria, who symbolises Antichrist.


Daniel. Cap. VII. 131

drey ausgerissen würden/Vnd sihe/dasselbige Horn hatte Augen/wie Menschen augen/vnd ein Maul das redet grosse ding.

EVROPA
ASIA
AFRICA

9. SOlchs sahe ich/Bis das Stüele gesetzt wurden/Vnd der alte setzet sich/
Apoc. 1. des Kleid war schnee weis/vnd das har auff seinem Heubt/wie reine wolle/sein Stuel war eitel fewrflammen/vnd desselbigen Reder brandten mit
10. fewr/vnd von dem selbigen gieng aus ein langer fewriger stral. Tausent mal tausent dieneten jm/vnd zehen hundert mal tausent stunden für jm/Das Gerichte ward gehalten/vnd die Bücher worden auffgethan.
11. VIch sahe zu/vmb der grossen Rede willen/so das Horn redet/Ich sahe zu/Bis das Thier getödtet ward/vnd sein Leib vmbkam/vnd ins Fewr ge-
12. worffen ward/Vnd der ander Thier gewalt auch aus war. Denn es war jnen zeit vnd stunde bestimpt/wie lange ein jglichs wehren solte.
13. XIch sahe in diesem Gesichte des nachts/Vnd sihe/es kam einer in des Himels wolcken wie eins menschen Son/bis zu dem Alten/vnd ward fur
14. den selbigē gebracht. Der gab jm gewalt/ehre vnd Reich/das jm alle Völcker/Leute vnd Zungen dienen solten/Seine gewalt ist ewig/die nicht vergehet/vnd sein Königreich hat kein ende.
15. 16. IChDaniel entsatzt mich dafur/vnd solch Gesicht erschreckt mich. Vnd ich gieng zu der einem die da stunden/vnd bat jn/das er mir von dem allen ge-
17. wissen bericht gebe. Vnd er redet mit mir/vnd zeigt mir/was es bedeutet. Auslegung des Gesichts. Diese vier grosse Thier sind vier Reich/so auff Erden komen werden. Aber
18. die Heiligen des Höhesten werden das Reich einnemen/vnd werdens jmer
19. vnd ewiglich besitzen. DArnach hette ich gerne gewust gewissen bericht von dem vierden Thier/welchs gar anderst war/denn die andern alle/seer grewlich/Das eiserne Zeene vnd eherne Klawen hatte/das vmb sich fras vnd zumalmet/vnd das vbrige mit seinen Füssen zutrat/Vnd von den zehen Hörnern auff seinem Heubt.

Fig.4 Version 8 also by an unknown illustrator but coming from the bible* Der Ander Teil, Die Propheten alle deudsch, *Jena 1564.

Within a short time of its publication, Daniel's Dream Map gained great popularity with the result that it was reproduced by other printers or used, with artistic changes, right up to the mid-17th century. On the basis of my research there are 14 different versions of the maps with 20 printing blocks. All versions are produced by the woodcut technique. From the geographical standpoint the map is of little significance as it only rudimentarily reproduces the knowledge of the earth which already existed at that time. From a world, political, theological, and social point of view, however, it can be seen as unique. For more than 100 years it was repeatedly reworked by some of the most important artists of the time and published in what is still the most disseminated book today. Over the centuries and right up to the present its vision of Judgement Day has been interpreted in the apocalyptic literature with reference to the major historical events.

Further reading

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Note from Editor: For space reasons it would be impossible for us to illustrate all the different versions of the Dream Map but this article is taken from the booklet published recently which can be bought for Euros 30 from Ernst@daniels-dream-map.com and contains illustrations of all the versions. The booklet by Ernst Gallner is titled *The Wittenberg World Map. Daniel's Dream Map 1529-1661.*

The author, Ernst Gallner, is a medic for naturopathy who lives in Münster, Germany. As a balance to his job he collects early world maps, in particular books containing the Daniel's Dream Map. Because there was little known about these maps when he started his collection seven years ago he decided to carry out research and to list the various versions and printings.



Daniel. 113

Sondern es gehet mit der höchsten Gottesleſterung vmb/das es Chriſtum leugnet/er ſey nicht Gottes Son/vnd ſtellet Mahomet vber Chriſtum/ſolches findet man bey Julio Ceſare nicht/noch bey ſeinen Nachkomen/das es ſo lang vnd gewaltig bey jnen wie bey dem Türcken gangen hab. Derhalb leſſen wir das Klein Horn niemand denn den Türcken vnd Mahomet ſein.

1 IMerſten Jar Belſazers des Königes zu Babel/hatte Daniel einen Traum vnd Geſicht auff ſeinem Bette/vnd er ſchreib 2 denſelbigen Traum/vnd verfaſſet jn alſo: Ich Daniel ſahe ein Ge- 3 ſicht in der nacht/vnd ſihe/die vier Winde vnter dem Himel ſtürmeten wider einander auff dem groſſen Meer. Vnd vier groſſe Thier ſtiegen er auff aus dem Meer/eins je anders denn das ander. Danielis Geſicht von den vier Thieren.

EVROPA.

ASIA.

AFFRICA.

4 DAs erſte wie ein Lewe/vnd hatte Flügel wie ein Adler. Ich ſahe zu/bis das jm die Flügel ausgerafft worden/vnd es ward von der Erden genomen/vnd es ſtund auff ſeinen Füſſen/wie ein Menſch/vnd jm ward ein Menſchlich Hertz gegeben. 1. Lewe.

5 VNd ſihe/das ander Thier hernach/war gleich einem Beeren/vnd ſtund auff der einen ſeiten/vnd hatte in ſeinem Maul vnter ſeinen Zeenen drey groſſe lange Zeene/Vnd man ſprach zu jm/Stehe auff/vnd Friſs viel Fleiſch. 2. Beer.

6 NAch dieſem ſahe ich/vnd ſihe/ein ander Thier/gleich einem Parden/das hatte vier flügel/wie ein Vogel/auff ſeinem Rücken/vnd daſſelbige Thier hatte vier Köpffe/Vnd jm ward gewalt gegeben. 3. Parde.

7 NAch dieſem ſahe ich in dieſem Geſicht in der nacht/Vnd ſihe/das vierde Thier war greiflich vnd ſchrecklich vnd ſehr ſtarck/vnd hatte groſſe eiſerne Zeene/fraſs vmb ſich/ vnd zumalmet/vnd das vbrige zutrats mit ſeinen Füſſen/Es war auch viel anders/denn 1 die vorigen/vnd hatte zehen Hörner. 4. Thier.

8 DA ich aber die Hörner ſchawet/ſihe/da brach erfur zwiſchen denſelbigen/ein ander klein Horn/für welchem/der förderſten Hörner drey ausgeriſſen worden/Vnd ſihe/ daſſelbige Horn hatte Augen/wie Menſchen Augen/vnd ein Maul das redet groſſe ding. Klein Horn.

9 SOlches ſahe ich/Bis das Stüle geſetzt worden/Vnd der Alte ſetzet ſich/des Kleid war ſchnee weis/vnd das Har auff ſeinem Heubt/wie reine Wo- 10 le/ſein Stuel war eitel Feuerflammen/vnd deſſelbigen Reder brandten wie Fewr/Vnd von dem-

Fig. 5
Version 12 by the illustrator Jacobus Lucius der Ältere (Jacob von Siebenbürgen), in the bible **Propheten alle deudsch,** ***1572, 1576, 1584.***

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IMCoS Matters

Annual dinner and lecture

About 60 members and their partners gathered at the East India Club in London on June 6th for the annual dinner and Malcolm Young lecture, both organised by IMCoS Secretary, Stephen Williams. The lecture was held just before the dinner (the Malcolm Young Lectures were inaugurated last year as a tribute to our first president) and the speaker was Nick Millea who gave a powerpoint presentation about the Gough Map at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Nick is the Map Curator at the Bodleian and has recently had a book published on the subject of this map which is the oldest surviving road map of Great Britain and dates to around 1360.

Following the dinner Tony Campbell, chairman of the IMCoS/Helen Wallis Award Committee, announced the winner for this year. Tony gave such an entertaining tribute that I thought we would print the full text.

"I always seem to get the worst job of the IMCoS weekend and, as the English comedian George Formby used to say when asked how he was: "Ooh, I can't complain – but I DO". I am supposed to feed you tantalising tit-bits about the winner – enough for some to guess but most not. This is almost impossible. So you won't have to wait long and when I give you some hints that will be the end of the excitement:-

Our winner grew up in Hamburg but does not live in Germany

Our winner has a French wife but eats cornflakes for breakfast

Our winner wanted to be a pilot but instead had a career in air traffic control

Our winner has recently retired, for the second time

He is also involved with BIMCC (The Brussels International Map Collectors' Circle). It is, of course, Wulf Bodenstein who was the founder of that group and until its 10th anniversary its President. He and BIMCC have been inseparably linked for many of us. To set up an organisation in Belgium catering for those from the Benelux countries, France and Germany, with English as the language of its meetings and publications, was an inspired and courageous decision.

When I first heard about it, I admit I was doubtful if it would succeed. Wulf's successor as BIMCC President, Eric Leenders, notes in their Newsletter 'Ten years of perseverance with moments of doubt. He overcame most problems but never let them interfere with his amazing enthusiasm. He believed in what he was creating.'

The Washington Map Society's journal, The Portolan*, summed up his achievement very well, 'Wulf took the group from an idea to a vibrant group of many*



(above)
Our Chairman, Hans Kok (left) is pictured with the lecturer, Nick Millea and President of IMCoS Sarah Tyacke. (Photo by David Webb)



(left)
Sarah Tyacke is pictured presenting the IMCoS / Helen Wallis Award to Wulf Bodenstein (photo by David Webb).

nationalities with numerous events each year.' Apparently he got the idea from the IMCoS symposium in Budapest. During the mid-90s, working for Eurocontrol, he found that a colleague, Jean-Louis Renteux was also a cartophile. Two courses taken with Gunter Schilder in Utrecht also strengthened his resolve. The 30 issues of the Newsletter for which he wrote the bulk of the book reviews and exhibition reports, is a testament to the range of his knowledge and interests. He also contributed the essay on Ortelius's maps of Africa for the quadricentennial study of the atlas.

Despite a kind of second 'retirement' – his first official one was 12 years ago – Wulf remains BIMCC's Honorary President. He will also continue to catalogue the maps housed at the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren."

International Symposium 2009
6th – 9th September, Oslo, Norway

Pål Sagen, our IMCoS representative in Norway, informs us that the main theme of the symposium will be the mapping and exploration of Norway and the North. The symposium will be held in co-operation with the Norwegian National Library. The programme will include a visit to the Norwegian Mapping Authority in Honefoss and other venues of cartographic interest.

In parallel to the symposium an exhibition about travel routes and the mapping of the North will take place at the National Library in Oslo. The symposium gala dinner can be enjoyed on board the *Fram*. This famous ship sailed with Fridtjof Nansen in his attempt to reach the North Pole and Roald Amundsen when he reached the South Pole.

The post-conference tour to the North of Norway will take place from 10th – 13th September 2009. It will be a splendid opportunity to discover the beautiful nature of northern Norway. The tour will begin in Trømso with a visit to the University Library and the Polar Museum and will include sailing with "Hurtigruten" for two days along the coast down to Trondheim.

For further information please consult the website www.IMCoSNorway2009.com or Pål Sagen at contact@ImcosNorway2009.com and Postbox 3893, Ullevål Stadion, N-0805, Oslo, Norway Tel.: +47-22333650

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A Bird's-eye view of a leopard skin
By Stephanie Meece

At the 1999 IMCoS symposium in Istanbul, Cevat Ülkekul discussed a wall painting from the Neolithic site of Çatal Hüyük (now Çatalhöyük - see http://www.catalhoyuk.com/) in Anatolia, which has been interpreted as the earliest evidence of cartography. Recently, I published an article re-evaluating that claim; it is available at http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/195777

The painting was made around 6500 B.C.E., and has been interpreted as a map of the settlement below an exploding volcano. It is acknowledged to be the world's first map, as well as "the greatest find in cartographic history" [Photo 1, opposite].

However, in the first published description of this painting, the excavator identified it as a depiction of a leopard skin. And this first interpretation is in fact the correct one.

1. The painting is usually presented as an isolated work of art, rather than part of a tradition of wall decoration. However, its motifs are typical variations of the normal range of stylistic decoration [Photo 2, opposite] used throughout the site. The lower range of the painting is an unexceptional example of Çatalhöyük's common geometric wall decoration. The upper range is simply another depiction of a leopard skin, a motif that the Çatalhöyük people painted and sculpted almost obsessively [Photo 3, opposite].

2. Recent analysis of the obsidian found at Çatalhöyük proved that the twin peaked mountain Hasan Dag, which was thought to be the mountain depicted in the painting, was not the source of Çatalhöyük's obsidian - nor of any obsidian used for toolmaking in the neolithic period.

3. As people move through a landscape, they are in the world, not on it. Orientation and wayfinding is based on an ordered series of landmarks; one moves from one to the next and so on. The 'bird's-eye view' that we take for granted in modern mapmaking is a particular and specific representation of a world with a surface, viewed from a single imaginary point in the sky above. But this dislocation of human perception from being 'within the world' to being above and beyond it develops in a specific social circumstance, arising within specific social structures. The cognitive change involved in moving the human viewpoint to an entirely imaginary location, from which the world's surface can be authoritatively surveyed, rather than understanding place as a series of vistas through which the individual moves, is enormous, and utterly unique in the Neolithic period.

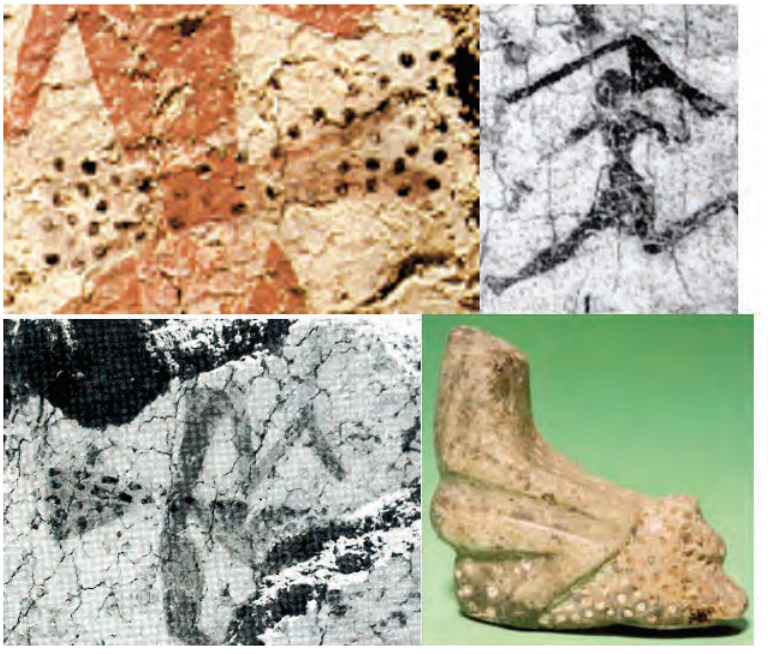
4. Mapmaking is absent from any other

Neolithic culture, and indeed throughout the prehistory of the Near East, no other maps have been found until those of the literate, urbanised societies of Mesopotamia, many thousands of years later than Çatalhöyük. These later maps clearly do encapsulate a bird's eye view of cities and their surrounding territories. Dislocation from the landscape, and the existence of systemised abstract representational schemes, are much more credible in these complex societies possessing a fully developed tradition of written records.

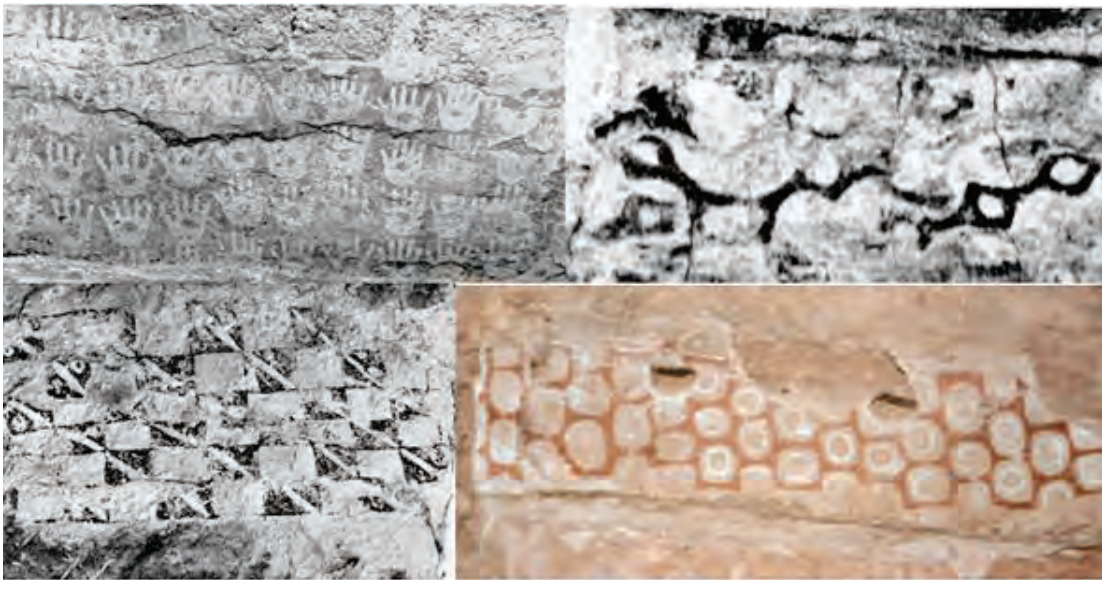
The development of mapmaking was as significant to human life as was the development of literacy. We must establish its origin beyond doubt. The claim that the Çatalhöyük painting represents this origin is not strong. Responses are warmly invited.

Stephanie Meece is a doctoral candidate in archaeology at the University of Cambridge, and a member of the Çatalhöyük research team. The article on which this summary is based is 'A bird's eye view - of a leopard's spots. The Çatalhöyük 'map' and the development of cartographic representation in prehistory', published in Anatolian Studies *56:1-16]*









(top)
Photo 1 and detail above left

(above)
Photo 2

(left)
Photo 3

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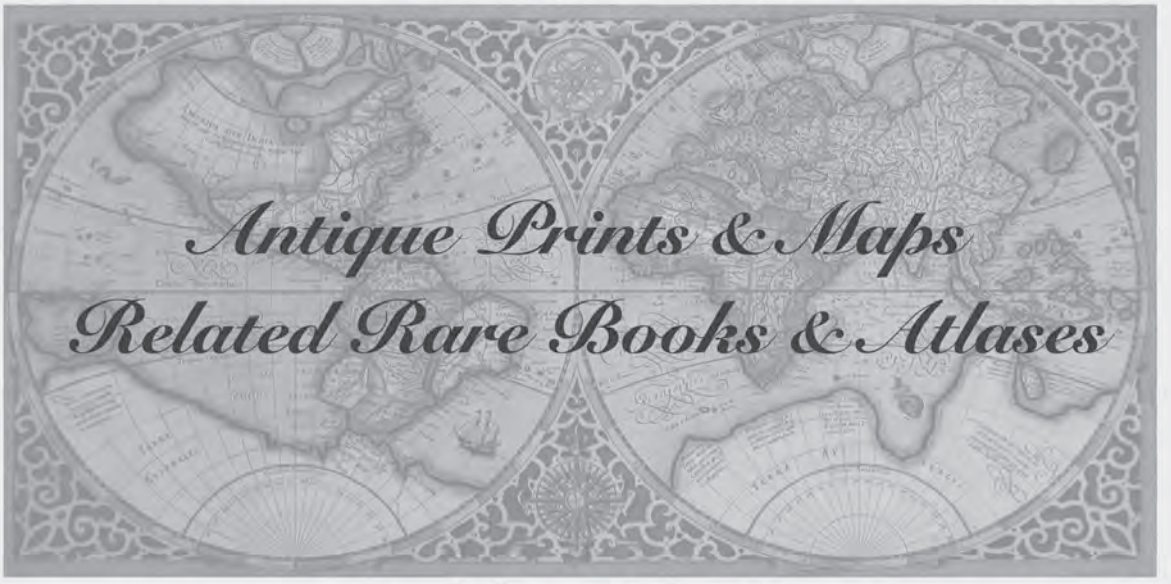
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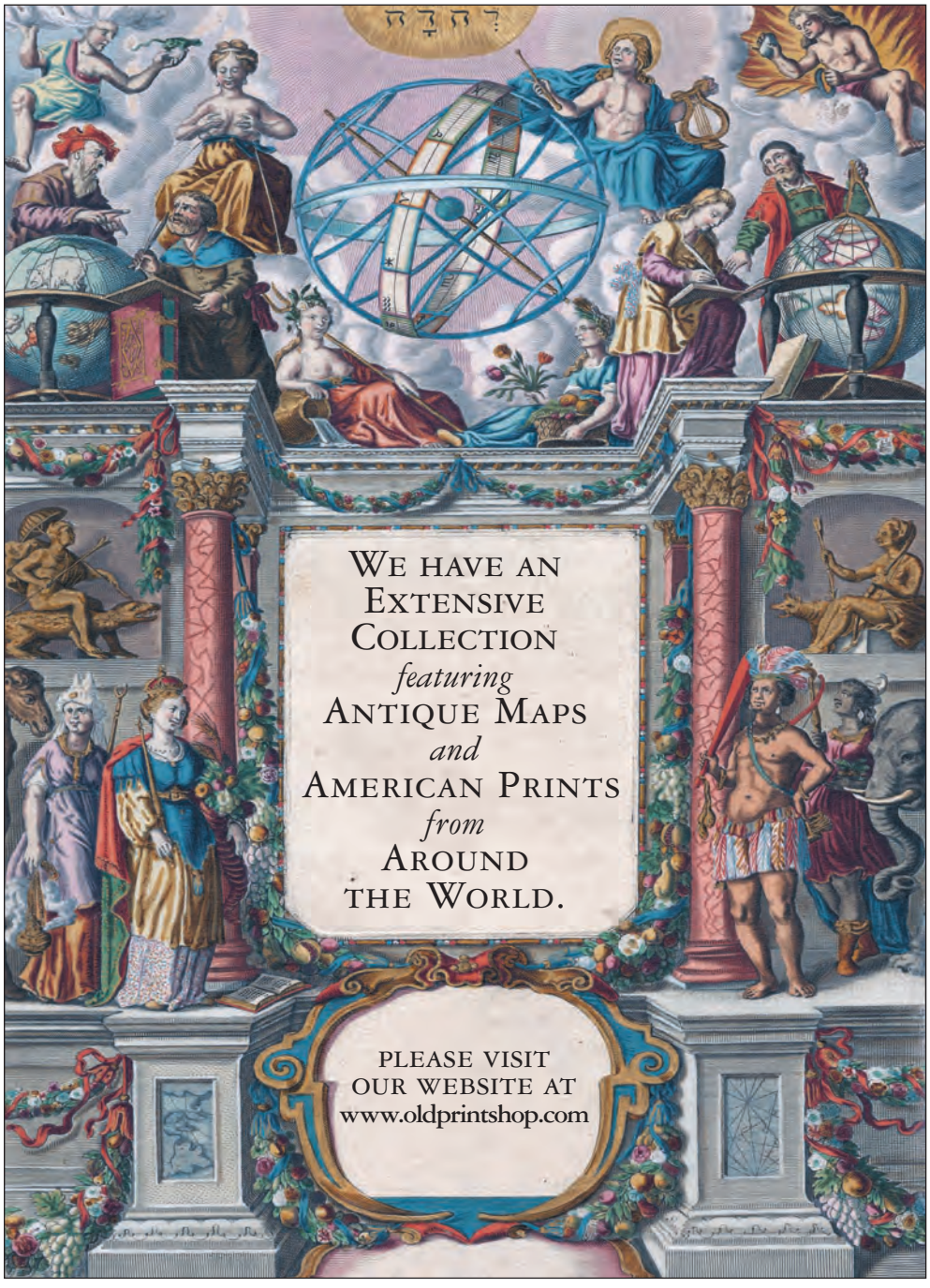
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Skin Maps

The Mapping of a Path Through Life

by Dee Longenbaugh



Not long ago I came down with a relatively common but still very mysterious and painful disease with the odd name of Shingles (*Herpes Zoster*). The name is derived from the Latin, cingulum, meaning a band or sash. As it often occurs on the chest or waist, this is an apt term. Shingles is caused by a virus related to chickenpox, (*Varicella Zoster*) and is self-limiting. Only one side of the body is attacked, such as the chest or the right thigh or arm. The nervous system there is besieged, causing deep aches and fiery sensations. It normally lasts from two weeks to a month. Skin lesions occur but gradually disappear.

So why on earth would this have anything to do with maps? Well, in the process of dealing with this problem I took a closer look at my skin.

There is a map there, a landscape that has changed over time. In my hands the river veins run clear and deep now. Years ago they were mere little creeks, and the brown freckle mounds mere dots.

When I was in High School I took stock of my social talents. I am not musical, nor an artist; neither was I a superb conversationalist. So when I found a pamphlet on reading palms I decided that was my party career. The number of wrinkles at the wrist was said to presage the amount of travel. True today, I have travelled a great deal.

The lines in the palms told the story of lives. I have forgotten most of the meanings, but the lines are still around. The lifeline seems pretty strong, but am not sure about the one indicating material fortune.

The fingers have developed interesting bumps and angles, but they do not seem to affect palmistry.

On my back, formerly just ordinary skin stretched across with my backbone at the centre, moles have formed hills here and there. From a snowy expanse rather like the Arctic tundra in winter, it is now marked with hills, Inuksuks helping the traveller across the plains.

Battles over the years have changed the landscape, as does happen. When I was about eleven-years-old, I had a skin ailment and was ordered not to scratch. It itched and I scratched and now there's a small scar on my hand in memory. High on my left arm is the shield-shaped dotted reminder of the smallpox vaccination of long ago.

Those whose desks were by the pencil sharpener in most classrooms when I was in high school were the victims of the person with the freshly sharpened pencil. Somehow it was almost irresistible to test the new point by poking the person sitting next to you. Once I flung up my hand to ward off the blow just as the spear wielder jabbed. The result was a piece of graphite embedded in my palm and it is still there.

The earlobes show a defeat. They were pierced for earrings, but the injudicious use of cheap posts a few years later led to a severe allergy to all metals except stainless steel, silver, and gold. The princess-and-the-pea analogy is somewhat cheering, but it would be nice to wear earrings again without oozing and swelling of the lobes.

The face is the most changed. Exposed daily to the elements, shaped by emotions; currents welling up from the ocean deeps, the ridges beside the eyes have developed and grown deeper with the years. Small grooves are now busy parallel paths, even rutted roads.

Toes are mostly unchanged peninsulas, as are nails. With a bit of imagination. toe and fingernails could be thought to be small lakes or ponds, perhaps even frozen if they are looked at from the right angle. Am happy to report the hair on my head is still a pleasant thicket, although the colour is changing, presaging autumn, then winter. However, with a bit of effort, summer can be restored.

At some point, of course, this will all be forgotten. However, I plan to leave this Earth with the words of Valiant-for-Truth, "My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought his battles, who now will be my rewarder." Not sure about the size of the reward and I rather doubt the trumpets will sound for me on the other side, but it would be nice.

AUCTION 66

26. + 27. September 2008

Valuable books, prints and art



Cypern. Cipern. Die Insel ist eigentlich Conterfet wie Solche im Meer ligt, und mit welchem Land es grenzt Copper map by B(althasar) I(enichen) 1571. 42x29 cm



Cypern. Die Insel Cypern den Venedigern zugeherig. Gott Well ine Genedig bey sten Wyder den Thiran... Copper map. Nuremberg, 1570. 28,5 x 39 cm (plate).

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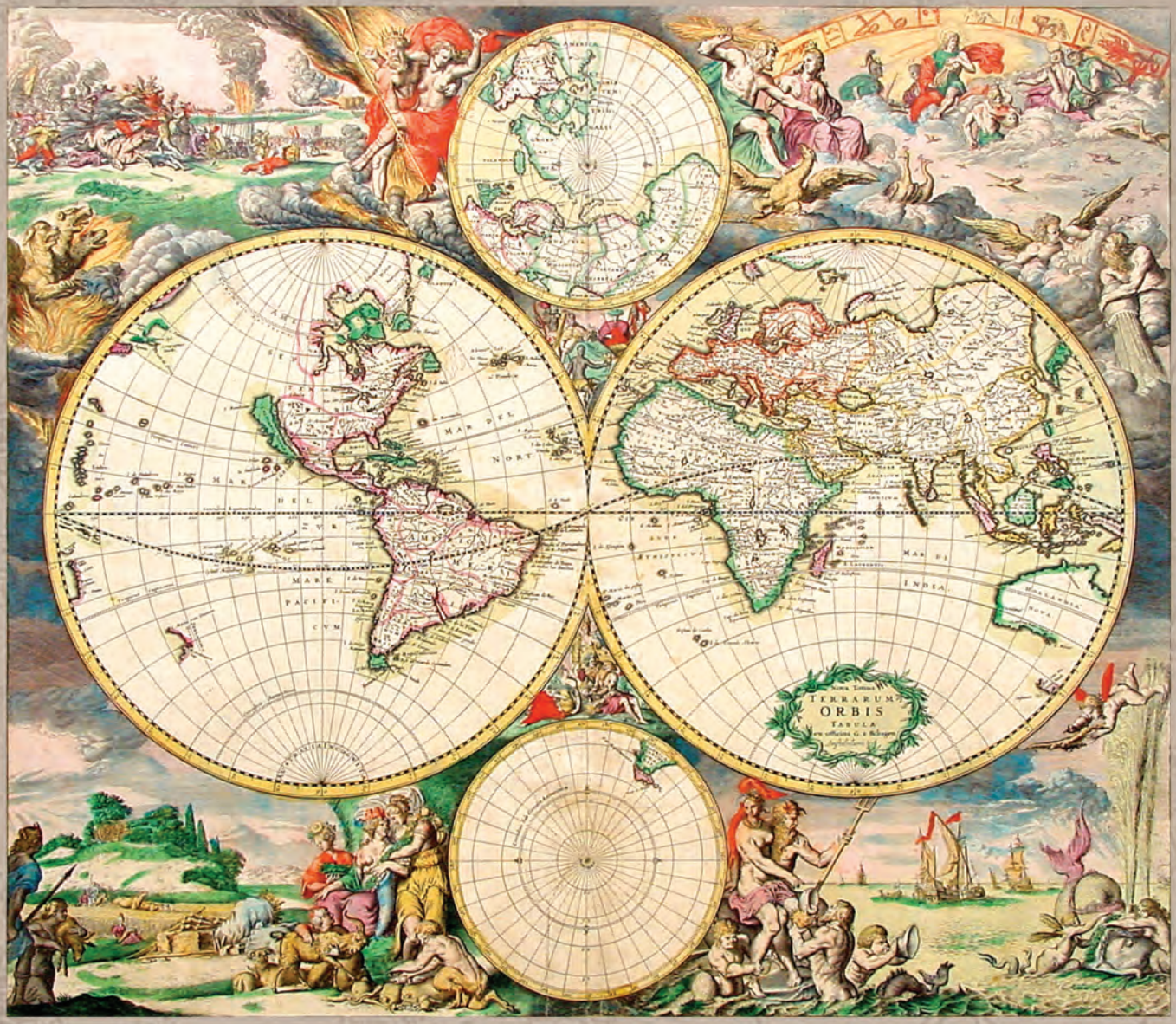
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