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Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society

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IMCoS

Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society

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From the Editor's Desk

Another year, another symposium! This one was different on several counts, but then every single symposium, since the first one in 1982, has been different from all the others, and I am sure that next year's will be different too. Read about it in Wesley Browns' enthusiastic invitation on page 65.

Four of the eight papers that were presented in Italy are included in this issue, the rest should come in the next one. Those who could not follow the speakers will be happy to read them now. Yet how many of those who were less than happy would be able to give a paper in a language not their own. Some years back, we were in a country where map lovers were not used to mixing with foreigners. There too some participants felt they expected better from an IMCoS symposium, but I would take an idea from an American president (since they are much on our minds just now), and ask, not what can I get out of IMCoS, but what can IMCoS do to encourage map collectors. This is especially relevant in less developed parts of the world, where map libraries are much poorer, there has been little possibility to preserve maps when human lives are frequently at risk, and those who are genuinely interested in them have had little opportunity to address an international audience. It is relatively easy for accomplished researchers to present a flawless paper in their own language. We should be tolerant of those who agree to share their knowledge with us, but whose delivery might not come up to the standards of professional lecturers. They often know their subject in great depth, and we can all benefit from meeting them.

Two people who have been, and remain, very important to IMCoS were missing from Verona, Modena and Florence this year. Oswald Dreyer-Eimbcke, our third President, had to cancel at the last minute due to ill-health, and a hospital emergency. He is home now, but fears the altitude will prevent him attending the meetings in Colorado or Guatemala.

The other absentee was our Founder and first Chairman, Malcolrn Young. The other day I mentioned to Yasha Beresiner, joint-Founder, that it amazed me to meet IMCoS participants who had not heard his name. 'Why don't you write about him in the Journal?' he asked. So that is wha: I am doing.

Without Malcolm Young there would be no IMCoS.

Yasha, then working with Stanley Gibbons, was asked to organise to a small mobile exhibition of stamps in Birmingham in late 1979. Over the next few month, this developed to plans for a full-blown symposium, with invitations sent out to anyone known to have bought a few maps. Malcolm happened to be sitting in the front row when a request went out for volunteers to form a society of map collectors. As he wrote in the *IMCoS History*, 'I put my hand up rather too quickly!' So IMCoS progressed from an idea to a formal society, and to the result you can see today, with members in 55 countries, a well-attended Map Fair in London, a quarterly magazine, its own web site, and a popular international symposium each year.

Throughout the years of its existence Malcolm has been a constant presence, first as Chairman from 1980, then as International Chairman and now as Director. His enthusiasm for IMCoS has never waned although his eyes have been failing in recent years, and he is unable to travel very far. From his home in Wiltshire he used to go regularly to London for the committee meetings, planned all the early events, carried tables and billboards for many map fairs, and provided advice to the voluntary committee members, many of whom had been persuaded by him to help in the organisation. One such person was Harry Pearce, for many years the Hon. Secretary (and Treasurer for a while too). Harry happened to go along with a friend to an IMCoS meeting in Leeds. There he met Malcolm, who heard Harry say he had just relinquished the job of secretary to a chess league. Malcolm at the time was very involved, among other activities, with ASH (a medical society formed to help smokers kick the habit), and when he heard Harry was important in a 'Chest' society and possibly a doctor, he promptly enrolled him for the IMCoS committee. In this way, nearly all the early committee members were brought in by Malcolm, with his very persuasive manner and obvious enjoyment for meeting and talking with people. In Vol. 1, No. 1 of the IMCoS Newsletter, Malcolm spelt out his suggestions for the form IMCoS might take. His vision is extraordinary: all those nine ideas have been implemented, and have formed the core of IMCoS activities ever since.

Malcolm's background in industry stood him in good stead to establish an international map society. As a student at Cambridge, he enjoyed browsing through the book and map stalls. Then the war took him to Greece, and imprisonment in Germany where he 'copied maps for potential escapees'. He also qualified as a Chartered Secretary. Back in England he joined the family food business, and was one of the pioneers in the development of the frozen food industry. But it is his cheerful manner, his way of treating everyone he meets as interesting and worthwhile, with no acknowledgement of inequality, that has endeared him to very many people all over the world. He has supported IMCoS all these years, both overtly and on the quiet. When I took over as chairman, I did not plan to attend the international meetings as I was recently back from India, with no livelihood, and couldn't pay the fare. Malcolm helped me out, as he has helped so many others on similar occasions. Some years ago he thought we were not showing our gratitude to all the International Representatives who put in so much work to organise the international symposia, so he devised the large copper plate which is now displayed at these meetings, showing the names of all the many people who have been rsponsible for our enjoyement around the world. He it was who put forward the idea that IMCoS members might like to know more about how the Society started, where we have been, what we have seen, who has spoken to us. The result was the *IMCoS History 1980–2000* (copies still available to members at £15). Money for the production was raised by an appeal to all those who joined in the first year, and are still members; Malcolm was a leading contributor. I have heard it said that people don't want to hear about the past, now we are in the 21st century. But anyone who likes early maps, and is thus well qualified to be an IMCoS member, must surely be interested in the past, even if it is only twenty years old, and not two, or five, hundred.

Only the Executive Committee know this, but we have been meeting for very many years in the Farmers' Club in Whitehall, a very pleasant place and easy of access. Even this is courtesy of Malcolm who is truly a farmer, and as a member is able to arrange this for us.

IMCoS is basically a group of people who like maps. It is also much more, and has evolved over the years, and will surely change over the years to come. There are other groups with a more academic interest in early maps, either as researchers or librarians. There are now many local or national map societies in many countries, some of them formed or rejuvenated after hosting an IMCoS symposium. There are plenty of dealers who earn their living from maps, and there are worldwide groups of people who are clever enough to actually make maps, not just admire them as we do. But IMCoS has always been a meeting-place where people of all ages, all pockets, all levels of collecting, all backgrounds, all parts of the world, can come together on an absolutely level playing-field to meet other people who share that love.

And all this started as a tentative idea put forward by Yasha Beresiner, and admirably carried forward and sustained through the years by our first Chairman, Malcolm Young. We are all in his debt.

SUSAN GOLE

Forthcoming IMCoS Events

*Thursday, 24 Februar,y 6.00 pm.*The Collectors' Evening returns to the Farmers Club this winter, at 3 Whitehall Court, Westminster. An ideal time to introduce a friend to IMCoS. Bring along something in your collection that interests you particularly, or that you would like to know more about. Each member talks for a few minutes, and there is time for brief comments from others. Refreshements will be available, and a charge is made at the door for this.

June 10–11. London Map Fair, supported by IMCoS. Other events for the weekend will be announced later.

With great sadness we report the death of David Woodward on 25 August 2004, at home, peacefully, with his family around him.

Correction: In the review of Gavin Menzies' book reprinted in *IMCoS Journal* No. 98, p. 31, Note 1, the titles and publishers were regrettably reversed. It should read:
Menzies, Gavin, *1421: The Year China Discovered the World*, London, Transworld Publishers, 2002. For the American market it was published as *1421: The Year China discovered America*, New York, William Morrow, 2003. The texts appear to be identical. A TV documentary is promised.

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History of the Cartography of the Veronese Territory

Verona and its territory have a long and important history. They have always been in a strategic position both at a crossroads and near Lake Garda, so they were often mapped, particularly the lake because of its importance. Just a few of the maps are really fundamental, and they inspired most of the later production.

Before introducing the first important manuscript maps, I will trace a short history of Verona at the time the earliest extant maps were made, as I am sure you all know very well the history of the town, from the age of stone to the first world war!

The golden age of the city was between 1260 and 1387 when Verona reached its greatest splendour under the dominion of the della Scala family. Under Cangrande, the most authoritative of them, Verona subjugated a large part of the neighbouring province of Veneto, and also Parma and even Lucca, in Tuscany. After Cangrande's premature death, the dominion became weaker. The city attracted interest from the great powers of the day, Milan and Venice, anxious to expand their domains, and Verona was conquered by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, lord of Milan. When he died the city surrendered voluntarily to Venice.

The famous anonymous topographical map of Lake Garda (Fig. 1) belongs to the period of the war between Milan and Venice. It was made on parchment in about 1380 and testifies to the political, economic and strategic importance of the area. It is the oldest map of the lake and one of the rarest topographical maps existing in Italy, as very few territories are known through documents in the 14th century. It represents the whole lake with a high degree of precision, much superior to numerous later maps; the inhabited centres are described in great detail from which it can be deduced that the map was made after 1383, as it

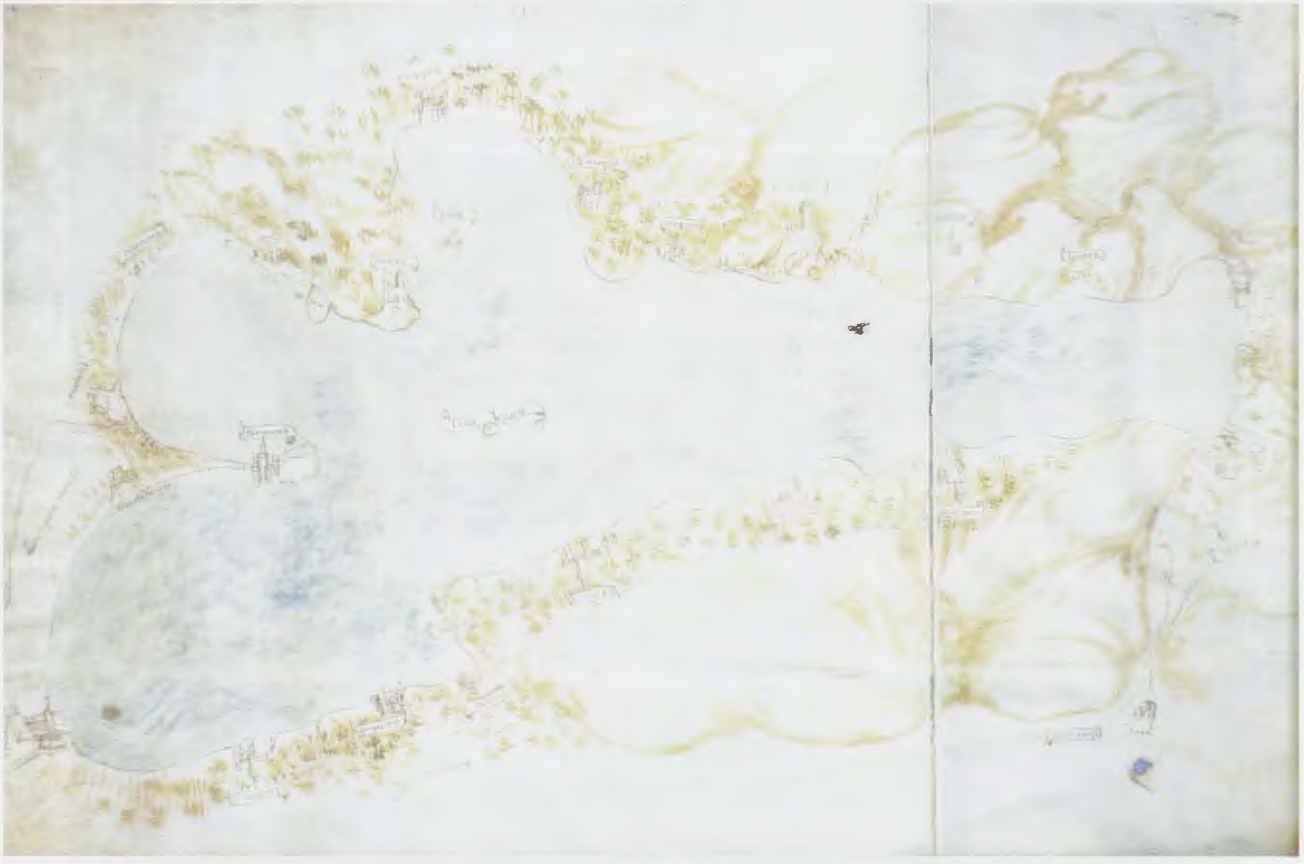
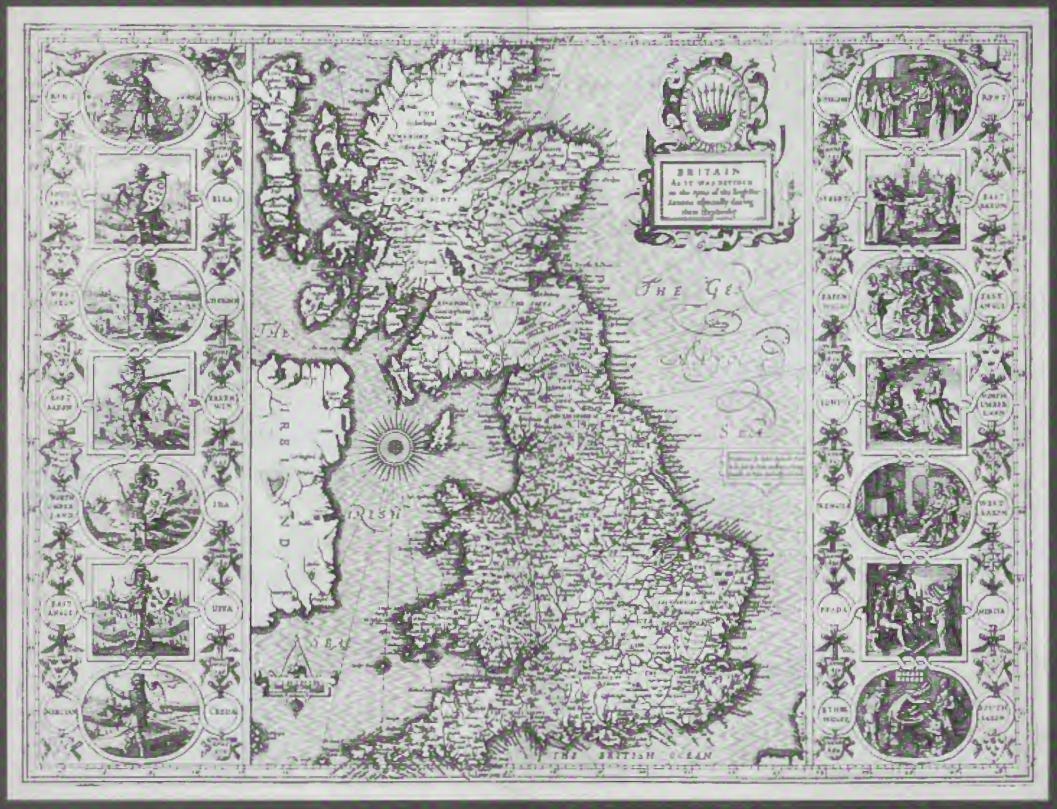


Fig. 1. Anonymous manuscript map of Lake Garda, c.1380. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.



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shows the castle of Torri, a village on the lake, and before 1400, when the castle of Brenzone, not shown here, was completed. Later maps drawn to a geographical scale were much more primitive.

An anonymous parchment map of Lombardy, made around 1440 and kept in Paris, shows an imaginary territory, rich in symbols with cities, roads and bridges making it interesting from a military point of view. But the lake and surrounding territory are completely unreal.

A map similar in style and technical limitations, drawn in 1440, is the one by Giovanni Pesato (Fig. 2), the only one that is dated and signed of this period; there are the usual symbols of the cities according to their importance, and emphasis is laid on roads and bridges for military purposes.

A small improvement to the shape of the lake can be noted in a detail of a large map of Italy, dated 1449, kept in the Correr museum of Venice; here too, the territory is approximate and the still improbable shape of the lake is easily noticed.

The best map of the 15th century is, without doubt, the Almagià map, so called from the name of the famous scholar who studied it in the early 20th century. He dated it between 1439–41 on the basis of the Venetian galleys drawn by Loppio which were transported from the Adige valley to Lake Garda during the war against Milan. Later studies tend to postpone this date to about 1460 after identification of a church in the town of Rovereto. Anyway, this fundamental map has a modernity lacking in the others and can be considered one of the most important documents of early regional cartography. It stands out from previous medieval examples and finally gives a realistic representation of the territory, revealing the intense interest Venice had for cartography, in its efforts to map all the new conquests of the Serenissima, as Venice was called; these mainland territories had been annexed only about 30–40 years before.

The hydrography is carefully drawn and also the orography (depiction of mountains) as well as the lake: the position of Verona is central with roads radiating out, forming, as it were, a skeleton on which the map is built.

The quality of the Almagià map remained unsurpassed for centuries but, as Venice was convinced of the importance of cartography for military use, this map was secret and had therefore no influence on later ones, neither manuscript nor printed.

The first Ptolemy editions were drawn and then printed in this period; it was an age of great activity if you remember that in Vicenza was published the first printed edition of the *Geography* of Ptolemy (without maps), but for a long period there was no other evidence of cartographic interest by Venice; so, in order to find new material for our talk we need to pass to 1520–30 when generally the first printed maps devoted to single nations or regions were printed.

The first of these showing the territory is a famous map by Luca Antonio De Hubertis (Fig. 4), made around 1520, the date assumed from the mention of the battle of Marignano in 1515, whilst the battle of Pavia in 1525 is missing. As can easily be seen, it is still a very archaic map, which gives great importance to hydrography and completely ignores latitude and longitude. Curious is the representation of the mountains north of Verona: the chain of Baldo along the narrow part of Lake Garda is ignored to emphasise the Lessini mountains, a pre-alpine plateau just north of the city. The mountains are the key to the development of maps of the region. This map was the model for all the 16th century productions, the so-called Lafrery maps. An anonymous map of Rome of 1556 followed soon after, as also did many others: Luchini, Lafrery, Camocio, Forlani and Bertelli often with little difference.

Forlani, the Venetian editor and engraver, provided the material for the first basic printed map of the territory of Verona; the author was Bernardino Brognolo (Fig. 5), named by Forlani in the dedication as 'Perito dei Beni Incolti' [expert in our neglected heritage]; he based his work generally on unedited Venetian manuscripts taking information for the western part also from the printed map of the Brescia territory by Cristoforo Sorte. The map was republished by Pinargent and some years later by Bertelli and Valegio. Here it is clearly seen that Brognolo gave great importance to hydrography but omitted to draw the Lessini mountains completely and even the Baldo chain looks like Vesuvius, an isolated mountain; once again the orography showed a step back compared to the Almagià map.

The map used for the *Theatrum* of Ortelius is a slightly reduced copy of the map of Brognolo, who is mentioned in the cartouche. The only significant difference is the orientation due to the practical requirement of its insertion in the atlas; if the map had kept to



Fig. 2. Manuscript map of Lombardy by Giovanni Pesato, 1440. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.

its original orientation it would not have been possible to fold it the right way.

A simplified picture appears on a map by Mercator who did not draw a separate map but inserted the Veronese territory in the Veneto map.

Important progress is shown in the Giovanni Antonio Magini map (Fig. 6) which was certainly made before 1598, although published posthumously in the atlas *Italia* by his son in 1620, the first atlas entirely devoted to Italy. Magini derived information from Brognolo and the map of Sorte for the west, but inserted new elements from unpublished documents. The orientation is now 90° to the right compared to Brognolo; the hydrography is as usual very detailed, whilst the orography is now also fairly accurate in showing the Lessini mountains, even if Magini gave no distinction to the differing heights, so that all the mountains look the same. So without distorting the arrangement of the map Magini's ideas can be considered as progress towards the realistic concept which would be achieved in the following centuries with the advent of geodetics. Magini's atlas was a great success as a fundamental work in Italian cartography (many of the maps were the first printed maps of the separate regions). The *Italia* was reprinted four times within in a few years and influenced the whole of 17th century cartography, especially the Dutch, being copied with only aesthetic variations. This is evident if one analyses Jansonius and Blaeu. But the Magini map remained a standard even later, as Jaillot, Ottens and Santini and others show.

A rare example of local production is the Nachius map engraved by Alberto Ronco in 1625 (Fig. 7). It is the first map that was printed in Verona and so a rarity. It too does not stand out for originality as it was still based substantially on the Brognolo model. But there are important differences which are worth mentioning, as usual in the orography: you can easily see it is more accurate and precise with many additions; all the mountains are drawn taking care to represent them in roughly their real height. Of course there is evident transformation of the decorative elements adapted to the taste of the 17th century with the addition of human figures, *putti* hold up a cornucopia, the old river Adige and Verona are shown as women supporting



Fig. 3. The so-called Almagià map of Lake Garda and the area to the east, c.1440. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.



Fig. 4. Map by Luca Antonio De Hubertis, c.1520. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.



Fig. 5. The first printed map of the area, by Bernadino Brognolo. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.

the arena at top right in the cartouche. This can also be called the best printed map of the territory.

In the 18th century there is only one important name in local cartography, that of Gregorio Piccoli (Fig. 8), even if his work is not known for any real progress in the representation of the territory; this is strange as this century was the golden age for Veronese culture thanks to outstanding figures such as Scipione Maffei. Cartography has no real development in this period of great splendour. So the Piccoli production is rare but popular, as can easily be seen from the reproductions, and was based on Brognolo and Nachius. Piccoli published three maps, the first in 1720, the second, of a devotional nature, in 1740, in which the cartographic area is very small surrounded by two plans of the town and two views with saints in the foreground. The third, which was his most important and definitive, is a good product even if not innovative; compared to Nachius the orography is more confused, less immediate and defines less clearly the differences in altitude.

Leaving aside some decorative but not significant maps like the pleasing one by Zatta, which was a typical product of Venetian typography, we come to the modern age.

In the second part of the 18th century, with the advent of geodetics and the necessity of governments to have pre-



Fig. 6. Map by Giovanni Antonio Magini, c. 1598. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.

cise knowledge of the territory at their disposal, the great season of scientific cartography began. Representation was exact, as in the large maps of France by Cassini, the first in this genre, and soon after in every state an important modern map was published, We can think of the Boscovich map of the State of the Church or the Anich Huber map depicting the Tyrol.

These maps are standardized in their symbols and because of their objectivity, they lack the inventive fascination of medieval and renaissance maps. With this in mind we can mention the innovative map by Richard De Rouvre, published in Verona in 1812. The map uses French military knowledge and is clear and precise; it is a new modern model with its symbols for accurate representation: agricultural structures are evident as are roads, ferries, postal stations and of course roads, bridges and so on. This map obviously influenced most of the production until 1870, as we see looking by at the Apollonio map of c.1860.

After the fall of Napoleon Verona became a very important Austrian possession. In 1825 the Austrians, as was their practice, began to make precise relief maps of the whole Lombardo-Veneto kingdom, their big possession in north Italy, thanks to the work of the military cartographical institute. One of the oldest examples relating to our province is the map on display,



Fig. 7. A locally produced map by Nachius. 1625. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.



Fig. 8. Third map of the region by Gregorio Piccoli, 1747.Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.



Fig. 9. Popular map of the region by Antonio Zatta. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.

a reduction of the official one by the government. This manuscript map was drawn by Labhart and other Austrian cartographers in c.1830 (Fig. 10) as can be assumed by the lack of any Austrian fortification around Verona. It testifies to the perfection that had been reached; the fascination of the unknown disappears and is replaced by admiration for the technical elaboration of absolute value and for the exceptional care to detail and skill of execution.

MARCUS PERINI

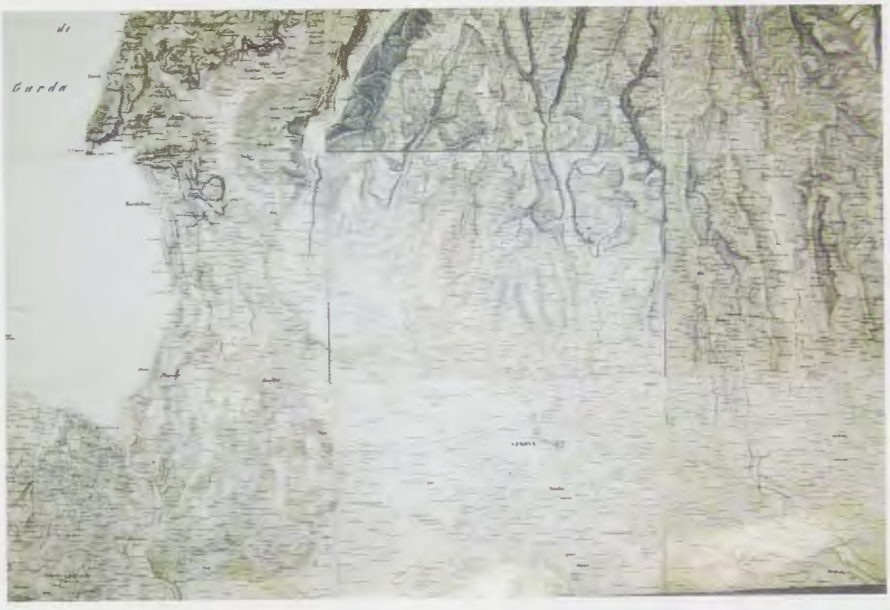


Fig. 10. Austrian mansucript map by Labhart and others, c.1830, using modern technology. Courtesy Biblioteca Civica, Verona.

Portolan Charts: A Mediterranean tradition becomes an indispensable tool of the Age of Discovery

The portolan chart was born in the Mediterranean, probably in Genoa or Venice in the second half of the 13th century. For centuries this tradition served as an important navigational aid for commercial shipping in this sea and nearby areas including the Black Sea and the Atlantic coast of Europe. When European seamen began venturing into the world outside of these waters, the portolan chart formed the basis for the sea charts they used to guide their explorations. However, as the chart makers confronted geographic realities such as converging meridians and grossly changing magnetic declinations, flaws in the structure of these charts would cause serious problems in navigation across the oceans. These flaws were not critical in the confines of Mediterranean waters, and the tradition of portolan charts continued to be used successfully in these more contained waters well into the later part of the 17th century when printed charts came into common use. In fact, makers of these early printed charts composed them very much in the style and tradition of portolan charts.

This article touches on the origins of the portolan chart tradition, describes the most important features of these charts and discusses the efforts of 16th century chart makers to solve the inherent problems of expanding the application of portolan charts beyond the Mediterranean.

Description and purpose

So what makes a chart a *portolan chart*? Scholars have proposed a number of possible definitions, typically based on function, subject matter, time period. However all of these methods present difficulties. For example, the earlier charts were certainly produced for the purpose of navigating at sea and in many Mediterranean libraries these charts are referred to as 'manuscript sea charts' or some variation on that definition. But a definition based on function is difficult to apply to all portolan charts and atlases. As an example the 1542 Jean Rotz presentation atlas (to Henry VIII), which has been safely on dry land in London continuously to this day, is impossible to distinguish stylistically or cartographically from sea charts produced in the same decade. The same can be said for the atlases of Battista Agnese produced in mid-16th century in Venice. About 70 of these survive in various libraries

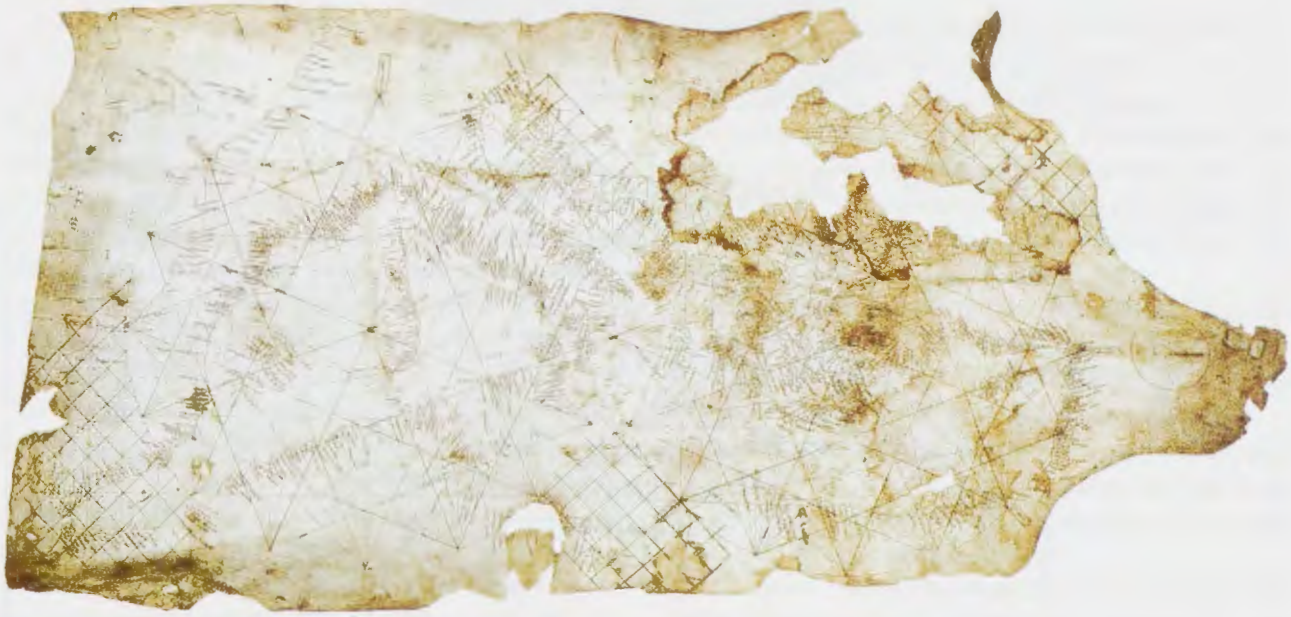


Fig. 1. The Carte Pisane, so named because it was found in Pisa, is the oldest known surviving portolan chart. It was probably produced in Genoa at the end of the 13th century.



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and to my knowledge none have ever seen use at sea.

Thus a definition based on stylistic elements seems to be more useful. For this article, we will define a portolan chart as one demonstrating all or most of the following stylistic traits:

- produced as a manuscript on vellum
- based on a simple planar projection
- focused on the sea and its coasts rather than the land
- contains a network of rhumb lines emanating from a central point
- displays limited land detail to the coastlines rather than the interior
- the names of the ports placed on land, perpendicular to the coast, not the sea

Not every chart today classified as a portolan chart displays all of these features, but certainly most charts do contain most of these features.

Perusing this list, we can see that the style was designed so that it could be useful at sea rather than on land, and some of the surviving charts show evidence of use at sea. But eventually the portolan style became popular for maps produced for other uses. This was probably because the first sea charts in this style so exceeded existing types of maps in terms of accuracy, and thus these stylistic elements became associated with high precision mapping.

The planar projection used for these charts did not involve the complex mathematics of other projection systems in vogue during this time and this created distortions which would have been unacceptable in later time. However, the pilots using the charts were apparently content with this system and any navigational problems caused by the projection were minimal, at least within the confines of the Mediterranean Sea. This is understandable when we consider other anomalies the pilot confronted: an uncorrected compass, poorly understood magnetic declination, lack of precise measurement of time, lack of good instrumentation for measuring the altitude of the sun.

Because initial purpose was apparently to support port-to-port navigation in the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and nearby waters, the first charts were functional but quite plain, in some cases not even containing a single compass rose. As the charts evolved, they eventually incorporated greater and greater use of decorative elements. The parts of the skin not needed for cartographic information were frequently used for decorative elements. In some cases these decorative elements provided general geographic information, for example of the presence of rivers and mountains in the interior. Other times, they were primarily decorative, often religious. Popular themes for the religious images were the crucifixion, the Madonna with child or other saints, and a typical location for these religious images was in the neck of the chart.

Origins

An interesting aspect of portolan charts which makes them unique: there are no known antecedents. Normally a new type of chart shows some evolution from earlier styles, but in the case of portolan charts, the first one just shows up at a given point in time, i.e., at the end of the 13th century. This does not mean that they were invented one day to the next, but rather that whatever source they derived from has not survived. The oldest known surviving Portolan chart is known as the Carte Pisane, named for Pisa, the place it was discovered (Fig. 1). Not much is known about its origin, but it is Italian, probably Genoese. It is the only known survivor from the 13th century and is the result of an extremely sophisticated production tradition. This is particularly apparent when comparing it to Ptolemaic maps or the *mappi mundi* of the Christian monasteries.

It seems unlikely that this Carte Pisane is the first or only of its period. Survival rates are difficult to estimate, but this chart could be one of dozens or even hundreds produced in that century. For example, documents from Seville's *Casa de Contracion* indicate that hundreds of charts were produced there in the first half of the 16th century and only a very few have survived.

Since at least the end of the 19th century, there has been much conjecture and study of this question of the development of this style of chart making. A few factors bearing on the subject:

1. Mariners had been sailing port-to-port for centuries and detailed knowledge of the coasts existed and was passed down to generations of navigators in some form, possibly written.
2. The earliest surviving chart is contemporary with early textual sailing instructions, *portolani*, later called *roteiros* by the Portuguese and *rutters* by the Dutch and English.



Fig. 2. This later Portuguese chart by Luis Teixeira is an example of the more highly decorated charts that developed in the 15th and 16th centuries. Its coverage area is the conventional Mediterranean area, and adjacent seas.
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3. These first charts and written sailing instructions were contemporary with the introduction of the magnetic compass into the Mediterranean Sea.

Through a review of the best known sources, we can offer a credible scenario synthesized from these works. It appears that these charts are the product of the practical experience of 13th century Mediterranean navigators using the magnetic compass and dead reckoning and were derived from or in conjunction with written sailing directions or *portolani*.

Geography of production and coverage area

That the style might have had its beginnings in Genoa or Venice is not surprising since both were important ports at the time. Venice in particular was the primary port for importation of Eastern goods into northern and western Europe, and thus there was a lot of shipping in and out of this port. The production soon spread to the other principal ports of the Mediterranean Sea such as Ancona, Messina, Livorno and Majorca, and eventually to other European ports: Dieppe, Lisbon, Seville and London (Figs 2 and 3).

Not all production was limited to Western Europe. As the Europeans developed overseas empires, the production sometimes spread to these ports as well. A notable example: the portolan atlases of Fernão Vaz Dourdao produced in Goa, the capital of Portuguese Asia. There are also examples of other points of production. The famous admiral and cartographer of the Ottoman Empire, Piri Re'is, produced charts in the same style as did the Greek, Georgio Sideri, who worked in his native Crete but also in Venice.

Initially, the coverage area of portolan charts was limited to the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the surrounding waters. As exploration and discovery progressed, coverage spread out; in the early phase, this included the Atlantic coast of Europe, the British Isles, and the Baltic Sea. Later charts added the Atlantic Isles, some real and some fictional. As time went by, charts eventually covered the west coast of Africa, the seas and coasts of the Americas, and finally the Indian Ocean and Asia. By the end of the portolan chart period virtually the whole world was covered, until



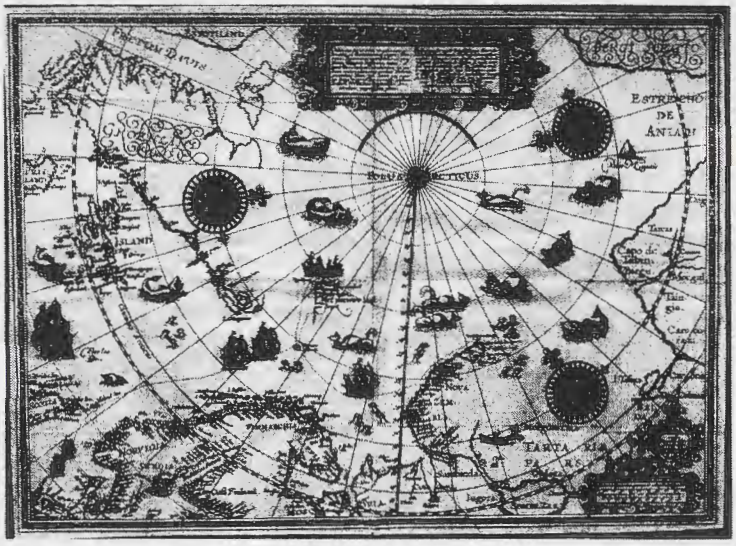
Fig. 3. This French chart, produced in the Atlantic port of Dieppe in 1543, is representative of a school of highly decorative and somewhat fanciful charts. Note the exaggerated extensions of Peru and Java.
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eventually, manuscript tradition was gradually displaced by printed charts.

Linkages between the charts and the voyages

There is an interesting, if fairly obvious, synergy between these charts and the voyages of the period. Clearly, the voyages would have been difficult if not impossible without the charts, but the charts also benefited from the voyages. Japan is a case in point. Prior to the mid-16th century, when Japan appeared on the charts, it was an indistinct form positioned at different latitudes depending on the whim of the cartographer. For example, Bordone in his book of islands of the world entitled *Isolario*, depicts *Zipango*, or Japan, as a nondescript form that could just as well be any island. The Portuguese, of course, were the first Europeans to visit Japan, about 1545, and the *namban* screen in Figure 4 portrays the comings and goings of these 'southern barbarians' in western Japan. But a mere two decades later the Portuguese were able to draw a fairly accurate picture of Japan, at least the parts accessible to foreigners. The earliest special chart of Japan by a European, found in a portolan atlas by

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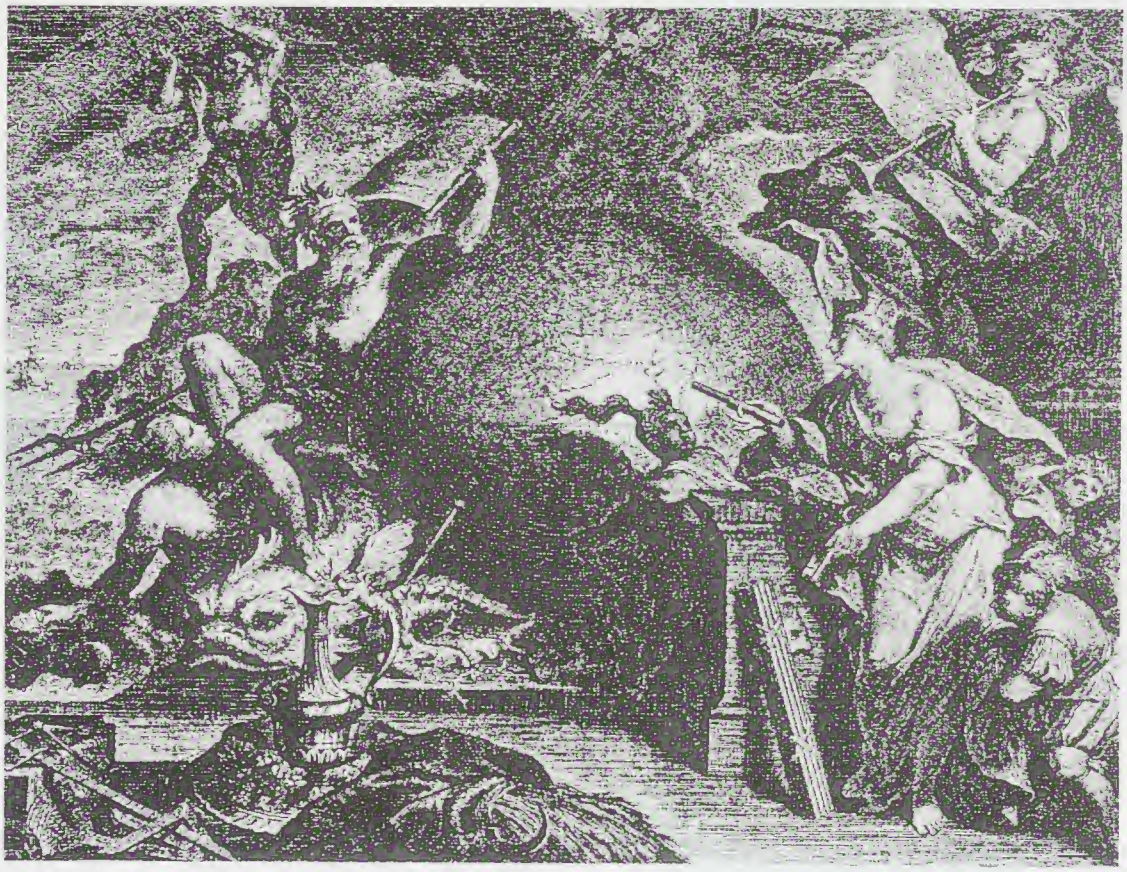
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Fig. 4. This namban screen of 16th century Japanese production depicts the arrival of a Portuguese ship from Macao. Thanks to the intrepid Portuguese mariners of the time, Europe was able to have a fairly accurate view of this far away island empire.

Fernão Vaz Dourado drawn in Goa in 1568, shows the main islands and several important cities.

Problems arise as the technology expands into the oceans

Within the confines of the Mediterranean Sea and other smaller and nearby waters, the techniques of the portolan chart tradition functioned fairly well and there was little change in the basic structure over a period of hundreds of years. Of course styles of decoration evolved and placenames were added or eliminated as commerce dictated. The names of some ports changed as ownership shifted, but the shape of the coastlines, the scale of the charts and the system of production were basically constant. This was, I believe, a testament to the functionality and effectiveness of the charts as aids to navigation.

However, as the explorers drew the chart makers out of the comfortable confines of the Mediterranean Sea and into the open oceans, problems with the charts became apparent. Some of these problems were as follows:

Variability of magnetic declination
The fact that rhumb lines are not truly straight lines
Convergence of meridians at the poles

'Fixes

Double latitude scale
Alternative projections
Oblique meridian

These were creative solutions but generally not very successful. In one case, the attempted solution was probably quite counterproductive to navigation.

While the introduction of the magnetic compass to the Mediterranean world must have been a Godsend to mariners in the 13th century, its imperfectly understood anomalies caused problems which were magni-

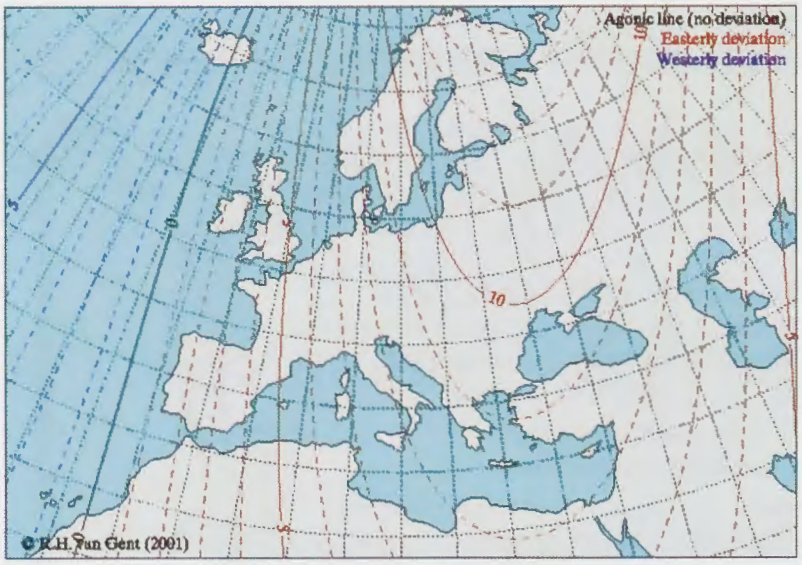


Fig. 5. Although still under development, this type of chart created by modern geophysicists is giving us an indication of likely patterns of magnetic declination in historical epochs. Courtesy of Robert H. van Ghent, University of Utrecht.

fied when mariners and their charts ventured into the open oceans. The magnetic declination which causes the compass to point some few degrees away from true North was quite manageable over short distances. For example, if the bearing from Marseilles to Bugia in North Africa was due South by the compass, then the chart could so indicate and the navigator could guide the ship to that destination by following the chart. However things became more complicated when the chart covered wider areas. Not only does the compass variation change with position on the globe, it changes also over time. Figure 5 provides an intelligent estimate of magnetic declination for the year 1300. Notice the line running through Iceland roughly North-South and marked '0'. The red lines passing through Europe indicate an eastern deviation of the compass, ranging from about 3° degrees at Gibraltar to about 8° in the Holy Land. A similar chart for the year 1400 would indicate these lines in significantly different places. Over the expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, these errors were quite large and even worse in the Pacific Ocean.

To see how the resulting compass error would affect a ship at sea, let's follow a hypothetical voyage in the mid-Atlantic. We assume a starting point for the ocean crossing at the Canary Islands at a North latitude of about 25° and a compass variation in the range of 10°. Even by sailing exactly due West by the compass, our ship would arrive in America at a latitude of about 30°. This is, of course, because the actual course sailed was deflected northward by the error of the compass. This problem especially affected the Spanish ships sailing nonstop from the Canaries to Cuba, Mexico or Florida.

One solution employed by chart makers in the 16th century was simply to add a new latitude on the chart in the western part of the Atlantic Ocean. An example of this technique can be seen on the famous 'King-Hamy' chart drawn about 1500 as shown in Figure 6. Another example is the famous chart of the Atlantic by Diego Gutierrez, signed and dated in 1550 in Seville which also uses the double latitude scale. His charts employing this double latitude scale were quite controversial because navigators found the overlapping scales confusing. Finally in 1545 he was ordered to cease producing charts with this device, but as we can see, some five years after this mandate he was still using the double latitude scale.

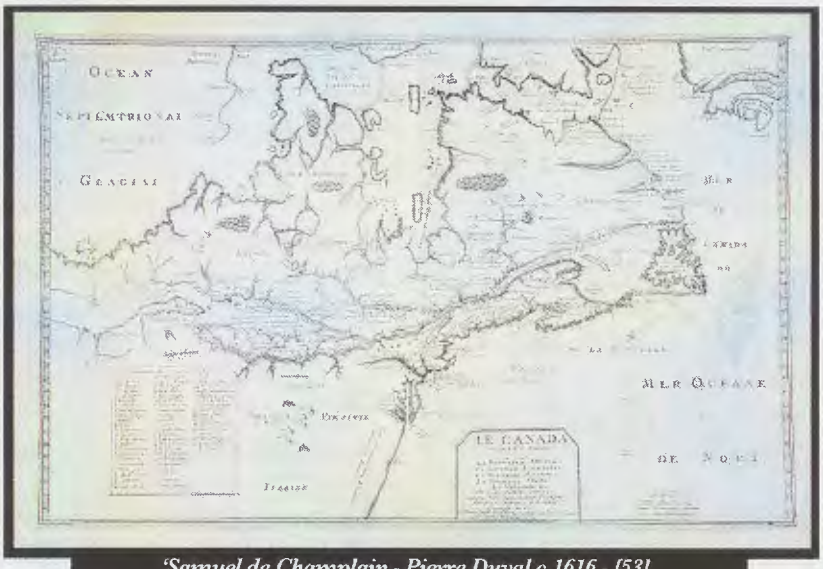
The network of rhumb lines is one of the most recognizable features of these charts. These are straight lines radiating initially from a central point and then from other points around the chart. Although quite decorative, they also served the purpose of allowing the navigator to mark off the course to follow from point to point. As can be seen in Figure 7, these rhumb lines are not straight lines on the surface of the earth, but rather they are curves which spiral eventually ending at one or the other of the poles. At mid-latitudes and for distances of a few hundred miles, the deviation between the straight lines of the portolan charts and

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Fig. 6. Detail from the King-Hamy chart (c. 1500), showing how the double latitude scale created twin equator lines overlapping in central Africa. This practice was largely abandoned by the mid 16th century.
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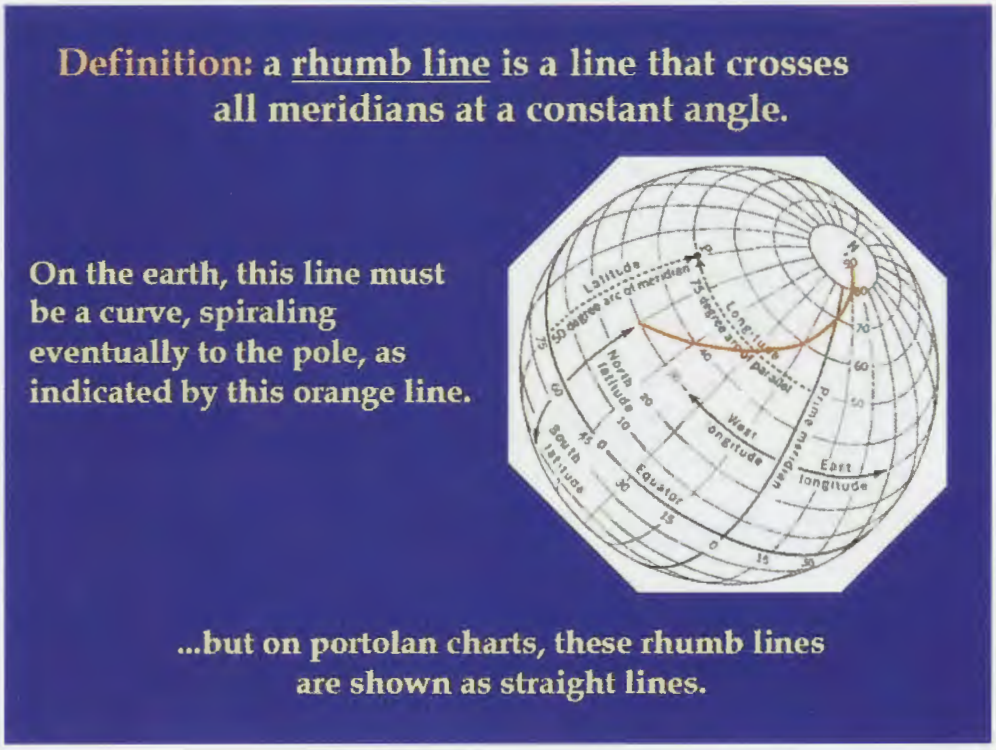


Fig. 7. This diagram explains how rhumb lines, while shown as straight lines on portolan charts, are really curved lines spiralling eventually to the poles.



Fig. 8. Anonymous Portuguese chart of the North American coast showing the placement of an oblique meridian scale in the area of Newfoundland.

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their proper curving direction is not too significant, but in the expanses of the open oceans, this error becomes significant. In fact there is no way to rationalize straight rhumb lines with the constant latitude scales these charts were based on.

In the second half of the 16th century, some more progressive chart makers bridged this gap by including maps on different projections without rhumb lines in their portolan atlases. These maps, typically of the world, are not portolan charts, but did serve their purpose. About this time, the Mercator projection would be available to solve this problem in a mathematically correct way. However, it would be some decades before it would be extensively applied to nautical charts. Even printed sea charts of the 18th century can be found still employing the plane projection of portolan charts.

The oblique meridian scale was another creative but misguided attempt to correct some of the problems with portolan charts as mariners approached artic waters. The idea was to correct for navigational anomalies in these waters by adding a local latitude scale tilted at an angle of 22 ½° to the east of the primary latitude/longitude grid of the chart. This oblique meridian appears at the end of the 16th century and was placed in the northern latitudes. Because the compass variation is very great in these regions and the convergence of the meridians becomes more exaggerated, reference to this local meridian scale rather than the standard ones was intended to help the navigator. Figure 8, a chart from an anonymous Portuguese atlas of this period, shows this secondary latitude scale south of Greenland and east of Newfoundland.

Conclusion

We have seen some of the problems encountered by navigators and cartographers as the portolan charts expanded into the expanse of the open oceans. This is not to say that the technology was fatally flawed — these charts continued to aid navigators for several centuries, especially in the Mediterranean and Black Seas. We should see these deficiencies and their well-intentioned if misguided corrections as legitimate steps in the evolution to the modern charts utilized by navigators today. As in many aspects of the study of the history of cartography, it is the error, the anomaly, which gives insight into the thought processes of the map makers of the day.

RICHARD PFLEDERER

Dick Pflederer would welcome the opportunity to read your comments on this article and to discuss in fuller detail other aspects of his work on portolan charts. He can be contacted by email: RLPfled@prodigy.net

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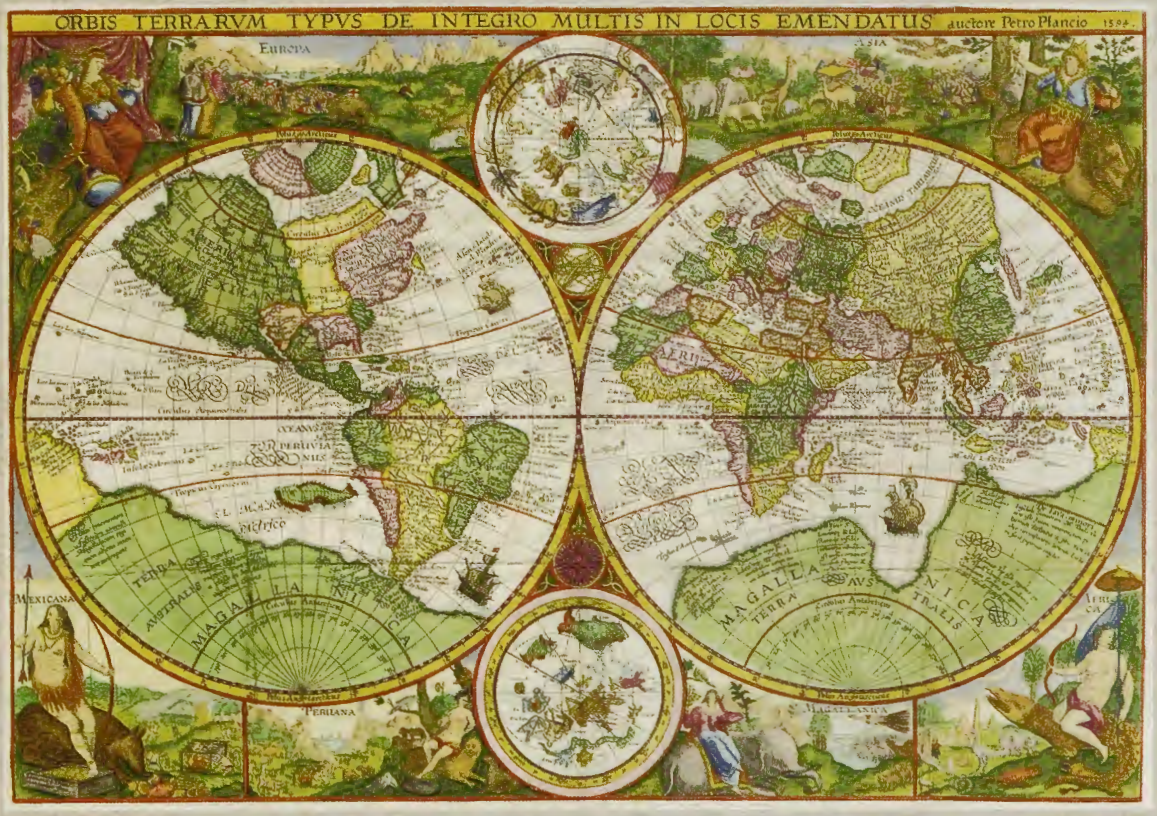
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Map Collections in the Estense Library

In the agitated political scene of medieval and Renaissance Italy the Estense family with their long, uninterrupted rule over Ferrara represented a striking phenomenon. What has attracted the attention of historians in recent years has been, in fact, not so much the history of the House of Este, as the indissoluble bond that united them to the city and the solid foundation of consent on which the relationship between the city and the lords (later dukes) always rested.

They ruled Ferrara for nearly three centuries, from the early 14th century to 1598, when the city was incorporated into the Papal State and they moved their court to Modena. Their departure marked the progressive decline of one of the most brilliant cities of the Renaissance.

If we want to characterise their lordship, we must say that theirs was certainly a despotic power, which makes the choice of the Ferrarese population to give up freedom in favour of despotic rule really unusual, at least by modern political thought. Certainly they were despots, but, as it has noted, they were not really tyrants pure and simple.

Werner Gundersheimer, trying to explain the complex link between the lords and the city in his interesting book *Ferrara. The Style of a Renaissance Despotism*, described the Estense as 'accomplished



Fig. 1. The Catalan planisphere, c.1450–60. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena, C.G.A.1.

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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 "Wingandekoe" 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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rulers who practiced statecraft as an art'.This statement needs perhaps some explanation. Within the standards of their time, while striving to maintain their own powers and privileges, none of the Estense rulers neglected the improvement of the lot of the citizens of Ferrara .

One of the principal reasons for the continuing success of the Este was their more or less consistent ability to recognise and provide for the demand of stability and security in many areas of Ferrarese life. So, they came to patronise artists and men of letters, scientists and physicians, but also engineers, hydraulic experts and architects. The extraordinary literary and artistic development that transformed the city from a culturally retrograde region into a peaceful, well-ordered cultural centre had its essential precondition in flood control, agricultural production and urban construction.

In the artistic fields, the personality of the duke had a determining influence on the achievements of artists and men of knowledge and affected the developing cultural life of the court, especially in the second half of the 15th century, in a number of ways.

At a time when collections of illuminated manuscripts, paintings, gems, medals and tapestries had become status symbols that signified the owner's position within the social hierarchy and the great families of Italy competed with each other to provide hospitality for artists and kings, the Estense, like many other rulers and noblemen of this age, took pleasure in collecting and displaying the works of art they commissioned or received as gifts from the many artists who came to the court in hopes of some benefice.

Unfortunately, many of those objects, housed then in the Castle and in other palaces around Ferrara, were lost over the centuries or are now dispersed over many libraries and museums. However, in the last few years a number of research projects have been carried out on a wide range of topics and several exhibitions, that brought together the greatest works produced for the Estense (especially paintings, sculptures and books), have been mounted in Italy and abroad. All these studies, together with the inventories that were drawn up at various times and the descriptions we can find in many literary and archival sources, are of great help in reconstructing those collections (or at least part of them) and the way they were arranged in the Castle.

Regarding the library, it is difficult to establish what the original collection was, given that, if we compare the inventories, we can see that the books in the library changed in the course of a few decades. As happened in many libraries, a lot of books were replaced with new copies for various reasons, when they were worn out from extensive use, or when a better copy, lavishly illuminated or bearing a more complete and correct text, was acquired; besides, many books got lost, because they were borrowed by members of the court who never returned them (and this also explains why some of the manuscripts did not follow the rest of the library, when it was moved to Modena in 1598 and are still in the Ferrara library), others, old or damaged and no longer necessary, were not replaced.

There is no direct evidence to show when the Estense first began regularly to collect books. Nor is it possible to establish the date when the library may be said to have been actually founded. Most likely, they began to assemble their library during the XIV century, but at the beginning it must have been a small collection, intended for practical use, certainly not a display of wealth, with books such as constitutions, agreements, books of law, texts, in other words, that were a necessary support to safeguard the interests of the family, so that we do not know whether there was a clear difference between the library and the archive.

It was only during the reign of Niccolo, who is generally considered the true founder of the library, that the Este began to acquire a substantial collection of books, many of them illuminated. In 1436, when the first inventory was drawn up, the library possessed 279 manuscripts, many of which were vernacular works in Italian and French, chiefly romances of chivalry, that were Niccolo's true fondness.

It must be said that he was essentially a statesman, not a bookish man, but he was not ignorant of letters, nor of the use of learning. The hasty judgment that Niccolo was not an educated man may be justified only if we compare him with his son Leonello, because he was the first lord of Ferrara to have been tutored by a humanist (Niccolo degli Albanzani). So it is no surprise that he liked to surround himself with men of letters and, being receptive to the new cultural movements that were taking place, he sent for the best teachers for his son who was designated to succeed him. And no doubt, in those years, the best teacher was Guarino da Verona.

Guarino arrived in Ferrara at the end of 1429 and

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devoted five years to the education of the future marquis. Calling him a teacher might sound a little reductive for he was one of the most prominent figures of Italian Humanism; he was, above all, a humanist and during all his life he never ceased to study, translate and search for rare manuscripts of the classics he had heard about or he knew that friends and acquaintances possessed. But it is also apparent that, while acting as tutor to Leonello, he put into practice the most innovative ideas of Humanism. If he emphasised training in correct expression, the study of classical Latin and Greek, he also stressed the importance of a well-rounded training of the mental, moral and physical aspects of his pupils and preparation for public life. His open-mindedness to treat any subject that might have been useful to the formation of man made him appreciate the reading of books in every field. Guarino really embodied the attempt to construct a corpus of knowledge that met the demands of man's daily life, private and public, and therefore could serve as an effective instrument for his plan in the future. This education project of course could not ignore the study of the basic texts of ancient science. On the other hand, Guarino himself in 1426 had read enthusiastically the *De medicina* of Celsius, that was largely unknown in the Middle Ages, and towards the end of his life devoted five years to the translation into Latin of the *Geography* of Strabo. So it is evident that his arrival in Ferrara marked a turning point in the intellectual and cultural life of the city, where, while scholars came one after the other to meet Guarino, students from all Europe arrived to study under him.

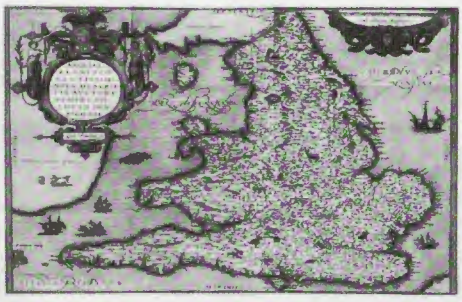
Among the books catalogued in the inventory of 1436, many Latin classics appear that had been certainly requested by Guarino or Leonello. On the contrary, it seems that the library did not own any books of geography, excepting three copies of the *Cosmography* of Pomponius Mela (one of them in Italian translation). However there are archival sources that attest to the purchase of at least one very important text in the year 1435, when the Florentine illuminator Giovanni Falconi was paid 20 florins for the illumination of a copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmography*. This manuscript is now lost, but we can presume that it was a Latin translation of Ptolemy's work, given that the Este library did not possess any Greek manuscripts at that time. The book should have been listed in the inventory. However, we know that these inventories were very often incomplete, because when they were drawn up some books might have been in other rooms of the Castle or on loan to members of the court.

Unfortunately, the 1436 inventory, and the following inventories as well, do not provide us with any information about the maps and nautical charts the House of Este certainly owned. From archival sources, in fact, we come to know that many local cartographers over many years supplied the dukes with several topographic maps, mostly of local interest, like the maps of Ferrara or Polesine and Cremona, which never appeared in the inventories of the library. They were likely to be kept in the archive and considered documents, a form of tools, for state government.

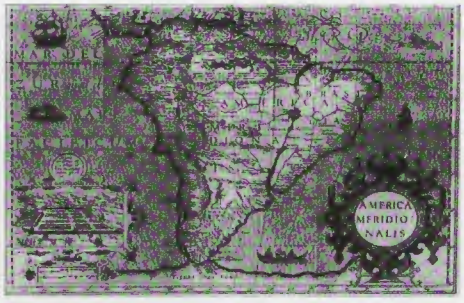
The keen interest in geography that Guarino's teachings could arouse among several members of the court is documented by an archival register that, under the years 1459–1460, records the loans of some books and maps: a world map (il mapamundi) was sent to the count Ercole Strozzi who was then at Belfiore (a country seat of the Estense), while Carlo da San Giorgio, a well known courtier and scholar, borrowed a book of Pomponius Mela; again, and most interesting, a world map and a nautical chart were lent to Ludovico Casella, the first secretary and privy consular of Borso of Este, and another world map was given to the astrologer Pietro Buono Avogaro.

Thus, it is no surprise that around the same years the reputation of the Ferrarese court attracted the famous cartographer Nicolaus Germanus, who visited the city and came into contact with some members of the court and when, in 1466, his revised edition of the *Geography* of Ptolemy was ready, he decided to dedicate his work to the duke Borso of Este, as one of the most qualified rulers to receive and appreciate the new maps he had drawn. The duke entrusted his secretary Ludovico Casella, the astrologer Pietro Buono Avogaro and the mathematician Giovanni Bianchini with the task of having the *Cosmography* thoroughly examined to determine a recompense for it. We know that Nicolaus Germanus was rewarded with a large sum of money, 100 florins in gold, 'for his excellent book entitled Cosmographia'.

The Ptolemy is the only book of geography dedicated to the duke in those years that we are well informed about, and also the only one that is still held in the Estense Library. Instead we do not have any infor-



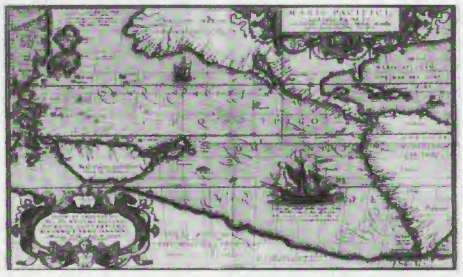
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4 'Maris Pacifici' (1579) The Pacific Ocean by Abraham Ortelius, from the famous 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum'. The first printed map of the Pacific and acknowledged as a cartographic cornerstone and one of the most beautiful and decorative of the Ortelius maps

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mation, but the notes of a register, about two other works the duke Borso received in the same year, namely the map presented by the Venetian cartographer Antonio Leonardi, and for which he received 10 ducats in gold, and another book offered by a Giovanni Stanexe. It was a Cosmography that must have contained a world map, but we cannot better identify the work. In return, the duke rewarded Stanexe with 280 lires.

The interest in this field became even more evident in the following years, when Ercole I was duke of Ferrara. It was under his reign that the two most important maps, that you will see on display in the exhibition room, were acquired by the Estense.

The first was the Catalan Map (Fig. 1). We do not know exactly when and how it reached the court of Ferrara, though recently it has been conjectured that it might have come from Naples, during the reign of Ercole I, thanks to the close connections he had with that court. Ercole not only had married Eleonora of Aragon, daughter of the King of Naples, but had also spent many years in that city, in a sort of exile, before succeeding his half-brother Borso as duke.

Perhaps the note we can read on the 1488 inventory of the library refers to this map, judging from the importance attached to the item: 'A world map' – the note reports – 'into a leather case that has to be put on display in the study of the duke'. This is the right destination for the Catalan Map.

As you can see, it is a circular map, measuring 113 cm in diameter, attractive for its rich and colourful decoration, consisting of a number of kings shown throughout Africa, castellated towns, ships, islands and mermaids, but it is even more intriguing for the variety of its sources and cultural suggestions.

The toponomy and nearly all the legends on the map (52) are in Catalan, except two that are in rather corrupt Latin. For its close resemblance to the 1375 Catalan Atlas of Paris in the delineation of the continents and other main features and the contents of the legends, in the past this map too was dated to the second half of the14th century. More recently, however, the study of the place names of the western coast of Africa, that embody some details of contemporary Portuguese voyages as far as *C. ude* [Cape Verde] and *C. groso,* made scholars think that the map was drafted nearly a century later, about 1450–60.

The fact that many legends are often very similar to those of the Catalan Atlas, though in some instances they are more complete and in others are less detailed, suggests that it was not a direct copy of the Atlas, but that certainly the two world maps must have had a common source.

In the Estense world map we can distinguish three different kinds of sources:
1. Nautical charts, that supply the outlines of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and the coasts of western Europe.
2. Narratives of 13th and 14th century travellers in Asia, that provided historical information.
3. Elements derived from the typical circular map of medieval times.

The Catalan Map, though constructed on a framework of radiating compass lines in the *portolan* style, is not, of course, a chart for daily use. Unlike the typical nautical charts, that were designed to assist mariners find their way at sea and traditionally displayed only known, discovered coasts and every coastal feature likely to be important to a pilot and normally limited to regions frequented by European sailors (the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and north-western Europe), the Estense map was instead, like most other Catalan maps, a luxury edition destined for a princely library, that combined aspects of the nautical chart with the medieval *mappaemundi,* with their legends and illustrations.

There are great differences to be observed between the area that is based on the portolan charts (Europe and North Africa) and the rest of the map. In the former the coastlines are greatly differentiated and the abundance of names is in great contrast with the quantity of information supplied in other regions, especially Asia. Here the islands are displayed and painted in colour. The mountains are arranged in chains or chain-like symbols, while in Asia they appear as regular garlands of rocks, a representation that corresponds to the traditional medieval methods.

One major merit of the Majorcan cartographers is that they employed the best contemporary sources to modify the traditional world picture, rarely proceeding further than the evidence warranted. So they removed from the map most of the traditional fables which had been accepted for centuries, and preferred, for example, to omit the northern and southern regions entirely, or to leave southern Africa blank rather than fill it with the monsters which adorn so many medi-



Fig. 2. Europe on the Catalan map. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.

eval maps. Though drawings of men and animals still figure on their works, they are often those for which there was some contemporary, or nearly contemporary, source.

Africa occupies most of the southern half of the chart. The continent ends in a great arc, conforming to the circular frame of the map, with a long narrow gulf on the west, and extends eastwards to form the southern boundary of the Indian Ocean.

The southern interior is blank, save for the legend *Africa begins at the river Nile in Egypt and ends at Gutzola in the west: it includes the whole land of Barbaria, and the land in the south.* This outline and legend have been interpreted to imply some knowledge of the southern extremity of Africa, and perhaps of a practicable route from the west to the Indian Ocean. As to the great western gulf, it is likely that it reflects some knowledge of the Gulf of Guinea.

The map, like the *Catalan Atlas*, marks the progress in the gradual discovery of the Atlantic and the west coast of Africa with an illustration of Jaime Ferrer's ship, which set sail on 1st August, 1346 bound for the fabulous *Rio de Oro* [River of Gold] in Africa. But, apart from a small portion of the north-western coastline, that embodies some detail of latest Portuguese discoveries, the map owes nothing to Portuguese exploration.

As to the interior of Africa, it has been observed that the portrayal of this region goes back at least to 1375. The limit of contemporary knowledge of this area is marked by the *Mountains of the Moon*, from which five rivers flow northwards to a lake (the five main sources of the Niger). These *Mountains of the Moon* are stated to be on the Equator, and the streams are called the *riu de lor*, the River of Gold of the classical tradition.

It is no accident that south of the Mountains of the Moon, in the ocean, the *Illa de gentils*, the mythical Atlantis, is also placed. Here the Catalan cartographer compensated for the lack of known geographical points by including historical facts. We are told, for example, that merchants bound for Guinea pass the Atlas mountain range, shown here in its typical form of a bird's leg with three claws at its eastern end, at Val de Ara.

South of the Atlas range, the black king holding a shield is identified as *Rey Melly*, 'lord of Guinea' — of fabulous wealth. 'The King,' we are told, 'is the richest and most distinguished ruler of this whole region, on account of the great quantity of gold that is found in his land'. Mansa Musa, who reigned over the kingdom of Mali, probably from 1312 to 1337, is known for having encouraged the development of Islamic learning and his pilgrimage to Mecca, including a visit to Cairo, was famous for the enormous amount of gold he spent on that occasion. Of course, we may presume that reports of the fabulous wealth of this African ruler did much to encourage an interest in the exploration of Africa.



Fig. 3. Prester John on the Catalan map. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.



Fig. 4. The gate built by Alexander in the Caspian mountains to contain Gog and Magog. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.

East of the King of Mali appears the *King of Organa,* in turban and blue dress. The legend says that he is always at war with the Saracens. Next, the *King of Nubia*, holding an oriental sword and a shield, who is always at war with the Nubian Christians who are under the rule of Prester John, the same king who is depicted here, not far from the Terrestrial Paradise.

In this part of the map the influence of the medieval Christian tradition is evident.

As to Prester John (Fig. 3), his legend arose in the 12th century during the Crusades. He was believed to be a powerful king, a descendent of the Magi, who was Christian and would be a strong ally to the Pope and the Crusaders. Originally, he was thought to be in Asia, beyond Persia and Armenia, but as the area became more well known and all searches for Prester John and his kingdom in Asia turned up empty, from the second decade of the 14th century, the location of the legendary kingdom shifted to East Africa. Here Prester John appeared in the following century too.

Since the fabulous realm of Prester John was represented in medieval imagery as a Paradise in itself, it was not fortuitous that this shift of location was reflected in the shift of Paradise to the centre of Africa. Ethiopia became the most commonplace location of Paradise in Africa.

In the Catalan Map it appears as a delectable place harbouring Adam and Eve, with the tree of life and the



Fig. 5. Taprobana on the Catalan map. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.

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fountain, which then divides into four rivers that water the world. There is also the depiction of nine other trees denoting the Garden of Eden and, finally, six 'monts de diamants' acting as a ring of fire which flares up to heaven and are said to be the guardians of the Terrestrial Paradise.

The same influence of medieval Christian tradition may be seen in other features of the Estense world map, like the location of Jerusalem, that is still approximately in the centre of the map, or the image of the Red Sea, shown as red and cut in two by a land passage, which is a conventional allusion to Moses' miraculous crossing.

In Arabia, between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, is located the kingdom of Sheba; the queen, who came to visit King Solomon, is shown crowned and holding a golden disk as symbol of her wealth. In the same area Mecca and Medina are clearly marked, and also the importance of Baghdad as a centre of the spice trade is emphasised.

During the 14th century, when great interest was already turning to the spice trade and many European kings and rulers were keenly interested in reports of Eastern lands, maps were no longer limited to the European continent and North Africa. To satisfy growing demands from patrons and noblemen, who were after all the only buyers of their luxury maps, the cartographers began extending their charts to include all that was then known of Asia, notably from Marco Polo's narrative.

The continent assumed then a recognisable form and along its coast appear several of the great medieval ports and trading centres frequented by Arab merchants. It should be noted, however, that these coastal outlines of Asia take on a somewhat generalised appearance when compared with the relatively more familiar European/North African coastlines. In the interior the position, chief divisions, towns and rivers of China and the Mongol Empire are approximately represented.

In China, the capital Cambalech, the city of the Great Khan, receives due prominence, with a long legend based on Marco Polo's text. The description emphasises the richness and urbanity of the Chinese capital at the edge of the civilised world.

Further south is the island of *Trapobana* (Fig. 5) already found on maps attributed to Ptolemy. For Pliny and classical authors it was evidently Ceylon, but it was later associated with Sumatra. Here some of the legendary and monstrous races of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages have been placed: 'On this island are people who are very different from the rest of mankind. In some of the mountain ranges. . . are people of great size, like giants, with very dark skins and without intelligence. They eat white men and strangers, if they can catch them.'

To these far distant waters are also relegated mermaids, some of them the traditional half-woman and half-fish, the others half-woman and half-bird or half-woman and half-horse, while between India and the Chinese empire is a legend about pygmies fighting cranes. Pygmies had been described by Pliny and were later mentioned in the travel accounts of Odoric of Pordenone and Mandeville, but Marco Polo doubted their existence.

The last interesting feature that reveals again a medieval influence in this part of the map is the mention of Alexander the Great (Fig. 4). There we are told that Satan came to his aid and helped him to imprison the Tartars *Gog* and *Magog*. The reference is to the gate that Alexander is supposed to have built in the *Caspian Mountains* to exclude *Gog* and *Magog*, who are here equated with various Central Asian tribes.

There is a further allusion to Alexander having erected two trumpet-blowing figures in bronze; these, according to various medieval legends, resounded with the wind and frightened the Tartars. Here the text freely combines the medieval legend of Alexander with biblical traditions.

The Cantino map (see front cover)

The second map that belonged to the Estense — and is now on display at the Estense Library — is perhaps even more famous than the Catalan world map, because it is the first Portuguese chart to represent the coasts of America. The name of the cartographer remains unknown due to the secrecy imposed by the King of Portugal.

The Portuguese king, John II, in fact, had placed an embargo on the provision of charts showing the new discoveries under penalty of death. The *Casa da Mina e India* was the body responsible for overseas territories and colonies and for assembling information from returning mariners to form official charts. These maps were given to pilots for use on voyages, but had to be handed in again on return to Portugal.

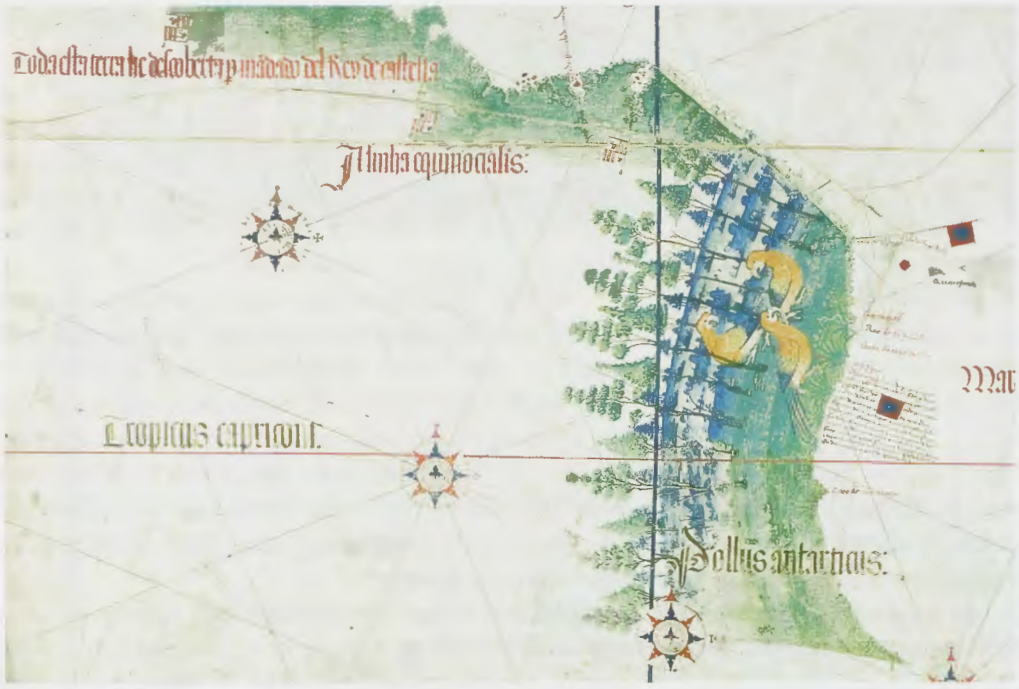


Fig. 6 Detail from the Cantino map showing Brazil, and the line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.

However, it was not impossible for a wealthy buyer to get an up-to-date map.

Of course, news of the discoveries was circulating all over Europe and the Duke of Ferrara, interested in obtaining a map illustrating those voyages, asked his envoy in Lisbon, Alberto Cantino, to get one. We do not have any information about how Cantino succeeded in buying this map, but on November 19th, 1502, while in Rome, he informed the Duke that he had left the map in Genoa to be forwarded to Ferrara. He had paid 12 gold ducats for it.

Now the planisphere, complete and in very good condition, presents no border or margin of any kind. But it is very unlikely that it was so poor when it was presented to the Duke of Ferrara. It is rather surprising that such an elaborate map, executed for a prince, should have been left without some ornamented frame. It has been speculated that the long stroke near the northern extremity of the line of demarcation, which has the appearance of the lower end of a capital letter, may have belonged to a running title. In this case, we may presume that the map was cut all around the border, perhaps after it had been stolen from the palace of the Dukes after the riot in 1859, and was used for some years as a screen in a butcher's shop. Anyway, this is only a surmise, since we do not have any direct description of the map to show what it looked like in the past.

The Cantino map, though anonymous, can be precisely dated. The *ad quem* date is fixed by the letter written by Cantino to Ercole of Este, but further evidence comes from the geographic information and a legend expressing fear that Gaspar Corte-Real, the Portuguese explorer, had perished in the North Atlantic. Because two of Corte-Real's ships returned to Lisbon and brought this news in October 1501, the map could not have been completed before then.

Additional evidence comes from the possibility that Cantino may have met Amerigo Vespucci, who had just returned from his third voyage to the New World, or other sailors, and may have acquired from them the new place-names that appear in a cursive handwriting on the map.

The map was drawn on six pieces of parchment, glued together, to form a chart 220 cm long x 105 cm wide. It is the earliest surviving Portuguese map of new discoveries in the East and West and represents the known world at the very beginning of the 16th century.

The great political importance of the map is stressed by the prominence given to the *raya*, the Line of Demarcation between the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence (Fig. 6), established in 1494 by the Treaty of Tordesillas, in a brilliant blue with the legend: 'Este he o marco dantre castella et portugall'.



Fig. 7. Detail from the Cantino map showing, possibly, Florida and Cuba.
Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.



Fig. 8. India in the Cantino map, for the first time near its real shape.
Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.

On the left of the *raya*, there are the *Antilhas del Rey de castella* [Antilles], which appear here for the first time by this name, and the statement appears that 'these are the West Indies of the King of Castille, discovered by Columbus... Admiral of these islands... at the command of the most high and mighty King don Fernando...'. This area, of course, has always attracted the attention of historians of New World discoveries. The problems it poses, however, have found no answers so far.

As in other planispheres of the early 16th century, the unknown Portuguese cartographer divides North America into three disconnected landmasses, widely separated from one another:

1. *Punta de Asia* [Greenland ?] Here the Corte-Real landfalls in Greenland and Labrador (1500–01) are marked by Portuguese flags and by the legend: *This land which was discovered by order of . . . Dom Manoel, King of Portugal, they think is the end of Asia.*

2. *Terra del Rey de portugall* [Newfoundland ?] [Land of the King of Portugal] the large island in the North Atlantic, whose imposing trees recall the description of the east coast of Newfoundland given by the Corte-Reals when they returned to Lisbon in October 1501.

3. Land to the northwest of *yssabella* [Cuba], bearing names from Columbus' first two voyages, which has been variously interpreted as representing Florida, Yucatan, or an unintentional duplication of Cuba, or a peninsula in East Asia (Fig. 7).

Although *yssabella* strongly resembles Cuba, and the peninsula to the north-west could be Florida, there are several theories to the contrary. One is that the anonymous Portuguese mapmaker confused Spanish reports of the configuration of the newly discovered islands and duplicated Cuba; first as the island but also as the incompletely explored area to the north-west.

Another interpretation considers *yssabella* to be Cuba, but regards the peninsula as the Asian mainland Columbus and Cabot believed they had reached. If we are really seeing Cuba and Florida, however, it is difficult to conjecture from whom this information came, as Florida was not formally discovered until 1513. About this, there is speculation that early voyages may have been the source, or that an unknown Portuguese pilot could have unofficially sailed through Spanish waters before 1500 and coasted Florida.

As to the north-western configuration, scholars believe that it appeared in the Cantino map for the first time and this chart would be the earliest specimen of

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what Harrisse calls the Lusitano-Germanic cartography.

South of Cuba, the Brazilian coast is decorated with Portuguese flags, tall trees in green, gold and brown, three enormous parrots and the announcement of the landing in April 1500 by Pedro Alvares Cabral.

Here we can find one of the most interesting features of the map, that shows how carefully reports of the new discoveries were received in Europe. The original coastline of Brazil, north of Porto Seguro, was covered with a scrap of parchment and redrawn to correct the evident inaccuracy by Cabo de San Jorge. This can be seen clearly because not only this place-name appears twice, but also the flagstaff is too long and slightly bent. It is obvious that the place-names north and south of *Porto Seguro*, on the Atlantic coast — that are in a cursive handwriting — were inscribed after the map had been completed, and perhaps already delivered to Cantino, otherwise the copyist himself would have inserted the correction.

As to the other parts of the map, though America is the part that has attracted the greatest attention, no doubt that Africa is the most complete and rich in information.

The continent is shown for the first time closely approaching its correct outline. It is characterised by a hilly landscape in pale blues and greens, an imposing castellated fortress (the Portuguese fort of São Jorge da Mina on the African Gold Coast), native huts, birds of various colour and a huge lion-headed figure in brown and gold.

This area of the planisphere shows the continent and the Indian Ocean as known to the Portuguese after the voyages of Vasco da Gama (1497–99) and Cabral (1500–01) and later discoveries reported in Lisbon as recently as September 1502. *Padroes* and Portuguese flags on the coast of Africa mark the spots where da Gama and Cabral and other discoverers set foot. Madagascar, discovered in 1500, is shown for the first time.

Comparisons with earlier maps show a striking improvement also in the delineation of India (Fig. 8); the peninsular form of India is now suggested, with Sri Lanka/Ceylon reduced to truer proportions and relative position. The Indian sub-continent is drawn as a sharply tapering triangle, on the western coast of which are names (e.g., *Cambaya, Calecut*) and legends detailing the wealth of these parts, which were drawn from accounts of Vasco da Gama's voyage.

These appear to mark the limit of first-hand knowledge; beyond this, the outline must have been inserted largely by second-hand reports. That these were obtained from native seamen is very likely because the term *pulgada* is used in place of a degree. The places whose latitudes are given thus are inserted only approximately in their correct positions.

The eastern coast of Asia runs away to the north-east, almost featureless but with a number of names, mostly unidentifiable.

The Castiglioni planisphere (Fig. 9)

After seeing the Catalan World Map and the Cantino planisphere, so colourful and rich in their decoration, the third world map I am going to present may look a bit disappointing.

This map did not belong to the Este collection. It was purchased recently by the Ministry for Cultural Properties (in the year 2000) from the family Castiglioni of Mantua. It is said, by tradition, that it was given by King Charles V to Baldassarre Castiglioni, while he was at his court in Spain as ambassador of the Pope. Since then it has been in possession of the family, not always willing to show it to scholars, even the most qualified, who quite often had to rely only on rather poor reproductions.

Having been left unfinished for unknown reasons the Castiglioni map, unlike the other planispheres produced by the same cartographer, does not show any kind of decoration, except the illustration of technical instruments we know to be typical of Ribero's world maps. That the map was to receive some illustrations is proved beyond doubt by the blank in the lower part, where certainly a coat of arms was to be placed.

The planisphere is anonymous, but can be attributed with certainty to the Portuguese cartographer in the service of King Charles V of Spain, recognised as one of the most expert mapmakers of his time.

As royal cosmographer, it was Ribero's duty to revise the *padron real*, the official map maintained by the Casa de Contratacion, as new data was brought back by the pilots from their voyages of discovery. Therefore this map was the one that incorporated the most recent discoveries, corrections and revisions into one master map thereby providing the most accurate, continually updated delineation of the known world.

The *Casa de Contratacion* was organised in 1503,



Fig. 9. The Castiglioni planisphere, 1529. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.



Fig. 10 (above). The mariner's astrolabe on the Castiligioni map.
Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.



Fig. 11 (right). South-east Asia on the Castiglioni map.
Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.



Fig. 12. Detail from the Castiglioni map showing the coast of North America and Brasil. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.

by order of King Ferdinand, to supervise discoveries and regulate all trade with the colonies, like the Portuguese *Casa da Mina e India*. No copy of this important *padron real* is now known to exist, though the Pilot Major was authorised to make and sell copies to all pilots, who were ordered to take them on their voyages.

Ribero's existing maps are the nearest examples of what the official map probably looked like. The Castiglioni planisphere is one of the earliest copies and, a fact of great importance, it is dated. The date 1525, in fact, appears in two different places: on the mariner's astrolabe (Fig. 10) (this is the earliest exist-

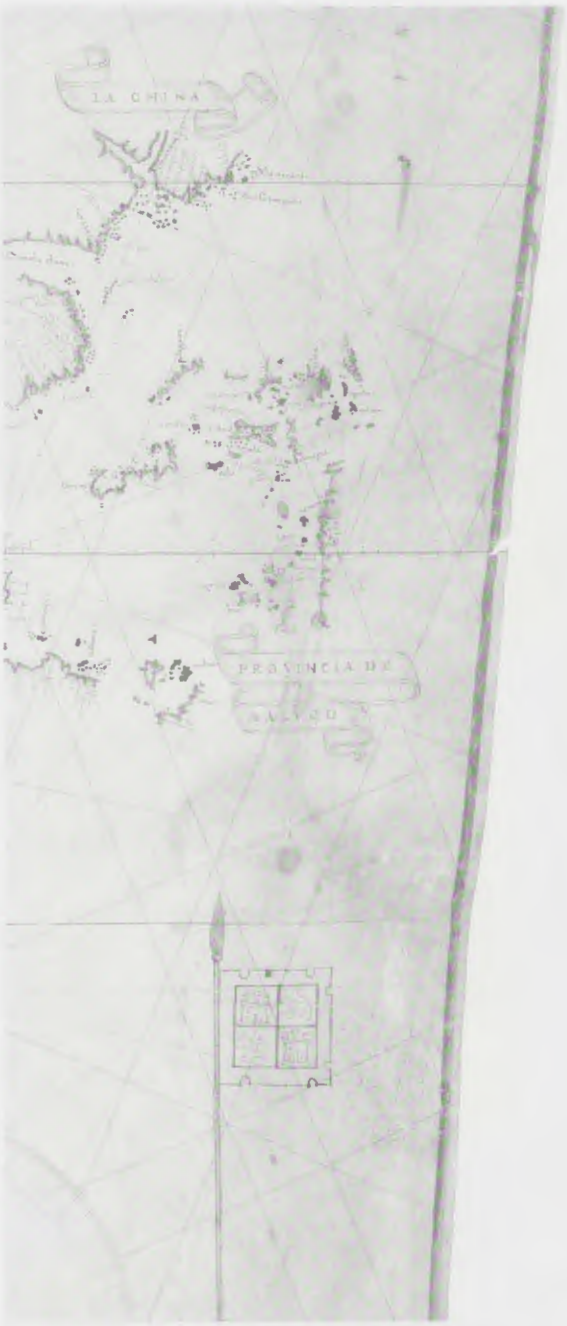


Fig. 13. The right side of the Castiglioni map showing the Spice Islands and the coast of China. Courtesy Estense Library, Modena.

ing illustration of a mariner's astrolabe) and more clearly in the legend on the coast south of Newfoundland: *The country discovered by Estevan Gomez, this year 1525, at the command of his Majesty* (Fig. 13).

When the Castiglioni map was produced the dispute as to whether the Philippine Islands lay within the part of the world allotted by the Treaty of Tordesillas to Spain or to Portugal was still harshly debated. The Conference of Badajos that had assembled to settle the dispute in 1524 had dissolved without agreement. On the map the Spanish claim to the Spice Islands is duly emphasised. In accordance with the recommendations of the Conference of Badajos that all Spanish maps should thereafter locate the Line of Demarcation, Ribero drew such a line (which is stressed by the two flags) 370 leagues west of Cape Verde islands, using it as the initial meridian. He thus allotted Brazil, Greenland and a part of Newfoundland to Portugal; and to Spain, all lands within 180 degrees west of that line, including the greater part of the new continent, the Philippines and the Spice Islands.

Only partially relating to the Moluccan question is an interesting feature of the map revealing the new geographical knowledge that followed Magellan's circumnavigation: on both sides of the map, part of China and the Spice Islands are depicted (Fig. 13). They are represented in a very similar way, and, as the flags underline, they lay within the Spanish sphere of influence.

Looking in detail at the left part of the map, we can see that there are a multitude of place-names on the coasts of south America. They show the amazing growth of detailed knowledge of the New World since the first voyage of Columbus. The entire east coast from Florida to the Straits of Magellan had been explored, and reports of voyages along the Pacific coast began coming in rapidly.

On the contrary, part of the North American (Fig. 12) coast, though already explored by Estevan Gomez during his voyage in search of a shorter passage to the Spice Islands, was not yet completely known. Thus Ribero just coloured in green the coastline about which he had reliable information, while, when he could rely only on fragmentary surveys brought by mariners, he restrained from any speculation and left a break.

The same scientific approach of the cartographer can be seen in the drawing of the coastline of South-East Asia.

Not much can be said about the other continents, only that the interiors certainly were to be filled with mountains, castellated towns and animals, like the more famous Borgia Map, that the illuminator never added.

ANNALISA BATTINI

Maps of the Eastern Islands (Sri Lanka, Sumatra, Java) in Venetian Cartography from Fra Mauro to Coronelli

Confusion about the major islands of the Southeast Asia arose from the fact that many Italian maps drawn between the end of the 15th century and the end of the 17th did not, in certain respects, take into account recent geographical discoveries relative to the major islands of the Indian Ocean that had been revealed through the new trading routes opened with the route round Africa. To understand such a peculiarity, which is not the result of direct evidence, we must examine some of the cartographic documents of the time, starting with the large and well-known map prepared by Fra Mauro in Venice around the middle of the 15th century.

In this important map the expansion of the eastern ocean covers the width of the sea which stretches from the south — following the orientation of the southernmost point on the planisphere, to the southernmost extremity of Africa —ending at the islands of Sonda and Banda, and at Japan or *Ixola de cimpagu*. Classical authors knew the Eastern Ocean by the name Erythraean Sea, which more or less ended with the Indian lands, while beyond it was the vague idea of the great ocean which surrounded the whole earth. Such a conception remained unchanged more or less from the time of Eratosthenes (3rd century BC) to that of Ptolemy; he enlarged and substantially increased the geographical knowledge of the world, but also introduced, as far as regards the Eastern ocean, a new element, of a speculative nature, which would have considerable consequences when, from the beginning of the 15th century, the rediscovered text of Ptolemy's *Geographia* began to circulate in the Christian west.

In the seventh book of Ptolemy's work he presumed the existence of a large continental southern landmass which united the farthest extent of the Asian continent with that of Europe, in such a way that the *Mare Indicum* —to be precise, the Indian Ocean — was closed from all sides, in the manner of an internal sea. In the easternmost part of this sea, closed on the east by *Cattigara* and surrounded by *Aurea Chersonesus*, were placed the following: *Insulae Satyrorum*, *Labadi insula* (Java?), *Insulae Sabadicae*, *Insulae Sindae*, *Barussae Insulae*, *Manioliae Insulae*, the island of *Bona Fortuna* and *Bazacata Insula*. The most important consequence of this geographic configuration was the conviction that it was not possible to circumnavigate Africa. On this point Fra Mauro, confident of information to the contrary, added two important notes.

Before the rediscovery of the *Geographia* knowledge of this part of the world had been gradually evolving, thanks largely to the accounts of certain westerners who had ventured into the farthest regions of Asia, accounts by Marco Polo, Nicolo de Conti, Giovanni de Marignolli, Jordanus Catalanus of Severac, and other contemporary travellers; at the same time some knowledge about the Indian Ocean had arrived through Arab merchants, who were already conducting frequent and regular trade along the coasts and islands of the east. This latter influence, direct or more probably indirect, is well documented in our world map, as can be seen from the large number of toponyms of Arabic origin to be found on it. The work of Islamic geographers, above all that of al-Idrisi, and the accounts of such travellers as Ibn Battuta, profoundly enlarged the geographical knowledge of this region, and traces of their contribution can be found in some very interesting documents, especially in the lost mappmundi of Albertin di Virga,[1] drawn in Venice in the second decade of the 15th century.

Here the eastern ocean is called *mari oziano* magno, and in it the author has placed various islands — of which the largest is *caparu sive iava magna*[2] (Giava) — whose names are surely not derived from Ptolemaic tradition; compared to the standard form of the Asian and African continents, this map appears to differ from western geographic models and recalls instead certain well-known Chinese documents, for example the map titled 'The countries of the Southwestern Sea' by Chu Ssu-Pen made in 1320, preserved thanks to the copy which Hung-Hsien made towards the middle of the 6th century.[3]

It is within this area of knowledge that I will now briefly outline the connection with the representation by Fra Mauro which resulted in a greater richness of geographical detail than can be found in other contemporary maps. The space allowed to the



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Fig. 1. The World Map of Fra Mauro. Courtesy Marciana Library, Venice.

Indian Ocean is in fact larger than usual, revealing distances, positions and far more precise and numerous geographical detail than was customary in the cartography of the time. If a modern overlay of the same dimensions were placed upon it, very little space would remain unknown; the dense notation appears to be less the cause than the consequence of the dimensions of the work, as can be seen in those inscriptions in which he asserts that he is not able to offer a greater wealth of detail through lack of space.

If the placing of the large island to the southeast of Africa which Mauro calls *Diab* merits separate treatment, then that of the other large islands in the Indian Ocean — *Saylam* and the *Isola Siamotr*a or *Taprobana* on one hand, and the islands he calls *Giava minor* and *Giava mazor* on the other — opens up the interesting question of how one can view the

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forced coexistence of the Ptolemaic tradition with the accounts by Marco Polo and those derived from Bracciolini/Nicolo de Conti which resulted, in certain repsects, in irreconcilable opinions. In spite of such incongruities, which nevertheless must have been apparent to the makers of the maps, from the time of Mauro's work there began a certain cartographic tradition radiating from a Venetian centre which was widely followed in spite of the evidence already brought back by oceanic explorers since the early 13th century.

The island which Mauro called *Saylam* and whose position corresponds to modern Sri Lanka is indicated by him with little doubt; however while he held to the Ptolemaic cartographic text, but located it not far from the place called by Ptolemy *Saylam* with the additional name *Taprobana*,[4] which the maker of this mappamondi attributed only to the island of Sumatra. In other words, Mauro distanced himself from Ptolemy in the way he adopted reports about Sri Lanka contained in Polo's account, where the island was called *Seilan* (in various forms).

The large island located to the south of India by both the classical authors and by Ptolemy was named by them *Taprobana*; this name conforms to the works of Pliny, Solinus, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, not to mention others too, and the identification was generally followed by most authors and their documents (non-cartographic as well) of the 14th–16th centuries; for example the *Dittamondo* by Fazio degli Uberti or the *Orlando* of Ariosto, but above all in certain other important maps, such as the Catalan Atlas (ca. 1375), the world map of Giovanni Leardo (1448), the map of Nicolaus Germanus in the Bologna edition of Ptolemy (1477), the Borgia map (second half of the 15th century), Hartmann Schedel's planisphere (1493) and that of the *Margarita philosophica* by Gregor Reisch (1503), as well as others.

However, the fact that other authors, among them Mauro, identified modern Sri Lanka with *Saylam* (or *Zeilam* and numerous other variations) is not, as you might think, purely a question of name, in as much as preference for this name is found more among travellers and the literature than among geographers and cartographers. We find it first of all in Marco Polo, in Odoric of Pordenone (1330),[5] in Jordanus Catalanus of Severac (ca. 1330),[6] and in the variant form *Sagela* which is definitely found in Ceylon, and can be read in the *Libro do cognoscimiento* [Book of Knowledge], composed around 1350.[7] We find it again in Nicolo de Conti, who wrote (1447): 'At the head of this land [India] towards the middle is the fine island of Zeilam, which has a circumference of two thousand miles . . .'[8] This can be compared with the name *Xilana* in the Genoa world map in the National Library at Florence, made perhaps by Agostino Noli in the same years as Mauro was at work.[9]

So at the time of Mauro two different names to identify modern Sri Lanka, *Saylam* and *Taprobana*, and both were equally accepted, apart from the fact that such contradiction came to have serious consequences and specially when the name *Taprobana* came to be used by other authors to identify the island of Sumatra. For example, one finds such an attribution on the Martin Behaim globe (1492), where Sri Lanka carries the name *Tabrobana*, while an island which appears to be surely identified with Sumatra is called *Seilan Insula*. The origin of this confusion can perhaps go back to Marco Polo; in fact, he gave the name of *Samarca* or *Samara* to one of two kingdoms on the island of Java Minor, usually identified with Sumatra.[10] Odoric of Pordenone was also following Marco Polo when he placed the kingdom of Sumatra on the island of Java, writing: 'From there one comes to another kingdom on this island [Java] which is called Sumatra'[11] and close to Java, according to the Book of Knowledge, is the island of Sumatra.[12] But perhaps the real point of departure for this change of names and of places is the account by Conti/Bracciolini (1447), in which we read: 'Ad insulae Taprobanes quae Sciamutera eorum lingua dicitur' [to the island of Taprobana which local people call Sciamutera].[13]

From the testimony of Nicolo de Conti, transmitted through Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate fortunae*, the identity of Taprobana with Sumatra can be verified in numerous authors and documents, starting with Mauro, who made the same decision while preparing his world map, and in Nicolo's text. The 16th century is rich with examples, as can be seen in the letter which Andrea Corsali sent to Giuliano de' Medici on 6 January 1515, in which he noted that Ptolemy placed



Fig. 2. Detail from Fra Mauros's world map, showing the Spice Islands. Courtesy Marciana Library, Venice.

Taprobana incorrectly, and it must surely be Sumatra.[14] In 1519 Massimiliano of Transilvania in *De Moluccis insulis* also wrote: 'And from there they sailed to the island that was formerly called Taprobana, the same that is now called Sumatra, for where Ptolemy and Pliny and other cosmographers placed Taprobana, there is no island that we can believe they meant.'[15] Similar directions can be found in the Miller Atlas, which was drawn in the same year by Lopo Homem Reinel, and going back the 1st century BC in the narrative of the merchant Iambolo, reported in the *Bibliotheca Historica* of Diodorus Siculus, which was published by Ramusio in the middle of the 16th century; in the Introduction to the Discorso, Ramusio averred that 'Sumatra is truly the Taprobana discovered in our time'.[16] The list can continue with *Table de la region orientale, comprenant les derniers terres & royaumes d'Asie* by Sebastian Münster, the map of the Indian Ocean which can be found in several atlases by Battista Angese,[17] or on the Tabula Asiae XII in Ruscelli's edition of Ptolemy (1561), which carries the following caption: 'Taprobanum insulam hodie vocant Sumatram», e molti altri che per brevità omettiamo' [Today they call the island of Taprobana Sumatra], and many others too numerous to mention now...]

According to the interpretation that different authors gave, the question of Taprobana appears to be of some importance, but the case of Java — or rather the two Javas — represents a really critical point which brought considerable confusion to writers of travels accounts, geographers and cartographers at the end of the 16th century; it was only after a better knowledge of these regions was obtained that the naming of the islands became fixed. But certainly such confusion regarding names and places is a typical characteristic, and perhaps also exclusive to Venetian cartography, in that only in Venice, according to the evidence, did they continue to hold to the geographical information supplied by Il Milione [Marco Polo] and in the accounts of Bracciolini/de Conti, well beyond the time that new evidence had been brought back by travellers and sailors of the oceans.

The name Java has a Sanskrit root, and is found for the first time in the *Ramayana* (2nd century AD) in the form *Yavadvipa*. At the same period, in the west, Ptolemy gave the name *Iabadiu* or *Labadi*u (*Geographia*, VII, ch. 2)[18] to an island, describing it as very fertile and rich with gold. However it is not clear

to which place the two works referred, and in both earlier and later Arabic texts gold was claimed to be found in Java as well as Sumatra; it is possible that a single item could be found in several parts of the same region.[19]

The first description of an island called Java by a European author is that of Marco Polo where he seems to identify two Javas with some certainty:

> After leaving Ziamba [Vietnam], sailing southeast with the sirocco wind for five hundred miles, we found a very large island called Java, which, according to the advice of some good sailors, is the largest island in the world with a circumference of more than three thousand miles; it is under the rule of a great king, the people worship idols, and they do not pay tribute to anyone. This island is very rich, it has pepper, nuts, wine, spices, *galanga*, *cubebe*, cloves, and all sorts of other good things which are native to this island ... [20]

This information is rather vague, but the distance that is given corresponds more or less with that between Vietnam and Java, and the direction to the south-east compares well with that to Borneo, which would justify the statement that it is the largest island in the world; but we do not find traces in any author or subsequent commentary, which gives us reason to hold to the identification of Marco Polo's Java with modern Java.

Shortly before this passage, we find a reference to Java Minor, described thus:

> About 100 miles south-east of Bintan[21] lies the island of Lesser Java. You may understand that it is not so little but what it extends to more than 2,000 miles in circumference. There are eight kingdoms on the island, and eight crowned kings. The people are all idolaters and speak languages of their own — that is each of the eight kingdoms has its own language. The island abounds in treasure and in costly products, including aloe wood, brazil, ebony, and many other things ... [22]

Here the position, the distance and the rest of the description leaves little doubt that it refers to modern Sumatra, also that the name might be given as a trick;[23] we can however presume as an acceptable hypothesis that by Java and Java Minor Marco Polo is referring respectively to Java and Sumatra.

Odoric of Pordenone also defines Sumatra and Java with no doubt, calling them respectively *Sumoltra* and *Iana*,[24] while from the time of Nicolo de Conti definition of the names and the geography of these islands is more uncertain, as to whether they describe Sri Lanka, then *Taprobana* (or Sumatra as we have seen), and the two Javas, so that the confusion to which later authors gave recognition inevitably results.

> In further India are two islands towards the farthest ends of the earth, and both are called Java; one of them has a circumference of three thousand miles, and the other two thousand, both in the east; and as the names of greater and lesser differ, to travel from one to the other requires a month of continuous sailing, and the same for the return. From one island to the other is a distance of a hundred miles, between the closest parts.[25]

This differs from Marco Polo's information — where, as we recall, Java Minor corresponds to Sumatra — and is effectively the result of geographical information supplied by Nicolo, either from the interpretation of Bracciolini, or, more simply, the result of poor understanding of the text, and we cannot know for certain which it is. It appears clear, however, that Fra Mauro collected for his mappamondo both the information from Marco Polo as well as that of Nicolo de Conti, and that he also must have observed that the position of Java Major did not correspond in all respects between the two travellers and for this reason he had to form a compilation without better identifying his sources.

On the basis of these arguments we may now examine if it is possible to discover other methods used by Fra Mauro. Moving ahead it is clear that in keeping to the false identification of *Tabrobana* with Ceylon by Ptolemy, demonstrated also in such details as the letter in the *Geographia*, he placed everything under very close scrutiny. Secondly, while placing his own notes on the islands mentioned by Marco Polo and taking note of the difficulty of drawing a coherent cartographic depiction from purely descriptive texts, he settled the general geographic picture of the major islands of the Indian Ocean according to the accounts of Conti/Bracciolini, which were dictated, it is worth remembering, in the same years in which Mauro was busy with his mappamondo. The *authority* of such a learned humanist as Poggio, and the esteem in which he was held at the time, as well as the fact that he was a fellow citizen, appears to have been more important to the monk than tradition, whether

this concerned the classical Ptomelaic texts or simply the more recent accounts from Marco Polo. Fra Mauro appears too to have been constantly on the look out for ways to revise his knowledge, and by this revision came a cartographic impression which must have appeared surprising to this contemporaries, above all if one thinks that at that time the total known shape of the earth had not fully emerged, as we know it today, in the visual imagination of a large part of humanity.

On the other hand, it is important to note that new definition of the geography of these islands produced an effect which lasted a long time, and which dragged on among other authors active in Venice facing the same indecision — as is confirmed by the conservatism found in the geographic knowledge of the whole era, and especially confirmed in the new representations in the work of Fra Mauro. One example of this that is the well known and of great historical importance is the large map of Asia in three sheets made by Giacomo Gastaldi and published in Venice in 1561.

This document includes an insertion attributed to the hand of Paolo Forlani,[26] which covers the region between the equator and 17° 50' S, to be precise that part of the Indian Ocean where Java and the other islands in question are found. One observes the absence of a name for the island of Sumatra, on which appear only the names of kingdoms which assume political shape, which Gastaldi or Forlani might have known about — such as were certainly there — and the uncertainty of the names in use, with the wish to refrain in this way from including more precise information. The island of Java is called Java Major, while an island which bears the name of Java Minor is situated in a position roughly corresponding to that of modern Sumba (a little to the south-east of Java). The interesting thing is that in *Giava Menore* this map follows the names (*Ferlet, Basman, Samarra*, etc.) of the kingdoms that Marco Polo had listed for Java Minor (actually for Sumatra), thus perpetuating the confusion and uncertainty of Conti/Bracciolini. Even more interesting is the fact that the map by Gastaldi (and only his) titled *India tercera nova tabula* (Venice, 1548), shows the island of *Iava Menor* in a position largely corresponding to that of Borneo, while on Sumatra can clearly be read *Camatra*, and to the east of this, corresponding to modern Java, is the island *Iava Mazor*.

Notwithstanding all the 'errors' broadly listed here, and the new geographical knowledge in these regions that were by now being frequently visited by European commercial enterprises, the 'tradition' of Conti/Fra Mauro, if we can call it such, still continued to be followed for some centuries, as for example by Benedetto Bordone in his Isolario (1528). In Venice, in particular, it motivated the geographical character superimposed by those apologists who wished to enhance at all costs the contribution to geographical knowledge brought by the Venetian travellers of the past; the doubts put forward by Baudraud on the actual existence of the island of *Iava minor* were refuted with the rather fanciful arguments of Terrarossa, which favoured the hypothesis that the island described by Marco Polo had since that time been reunited with the mainland,[27] and through this motive were not able to acknowledge such an island in the contemporary geography. The hypothesis, even if it was not insisted on by everyone, was welcomed at the time by Vincenco Coronelli, to whom later authors gave recognition and whose opinion seems to have been imprinted on geographic conceptions which were highly ideological and both politically and militarily motivated in the Republic of Venice at the end of the 17th century. In his *Isolario*,[28] the renowned 'cosmographer' devoted some pages to the islands of the Indian Ocean, where, describing Java and Batavia, he published a long paragraph on the so-called *Java Minore*,[29] in which he showed among other things how, by slavishly following Terrarossa, he had not understood the geographical contradiction inherent in the problem:

> It is now known by the whole world that the Venetian Marco Polo was the first to reveal both the islands of Java Major and Java Minor situated in the Indian Ocean . . . This was confirmed by Nicolo Conti . . . who always maintained that he had seen with his own eyes . . . yet, sometimes the clearest rays of the sun are misted by thick clouds, so that he mistook this irrefutable truth, by denying the existence of Java Minor, so that the learned abbot Baudraud said . . . (*he wrote thus*) '. . .there is only one island of Java. . . there is truly no Java Minor' . . . But to agree with these distinguished writers . . . rather to follow with the best reasoning that Java Minor really does exist, and is not a chimera, and that today it has its own system, when this would not have been possible in the eccentric ups and downs of the times or of Nature, losing the denomination of a true island by its joining to some continent close by . . .[30]

The defence of the venerable old man of Venice, emphasised in this way in a large circulation work, in the same years in which Venice was fighting in the Mediterranean against the Turks to safeguard its vital interests, induced Coronelli to subordinate the reading of geographical reality to the celebrated rhetoric of the former splendour of Venice, which is found also in Fra Mauro, even if his name has been kept quiet — an unwitting support. As a final observation, if Coronelli had continued in those same years to produce cartography derived, if not copied, from modern authors (for example Blaeu), then all traces of the legendary Java Minor would have disappeared.

NOTES

1 Falchetta, Piero. *Marinai, mercanti, cartografi, pittori. Ricerche sulla cartografia nautica a Venezia (sec. XIV-XV)*. *Ateneo Veneto*, 182 (1995), pp.40–45.

2. The form caparu comes from *Iapara*, a coastal region in the straits of Surabaya, in the north-west part of the island of Java; cf. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Leide, Brill - Paris, Picard, 1913-34, 4 vol. v. 2, p. 614.

3. Chang, Kuei-Sheng. *Africa and the Indian Ocean in Chinese maps of the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries*. *Imago Mundi*, 24 (1970), pp. 21-30

4. The note stated that Ptolemy was trying to describe *taprobana*, but only wrote *saylam*.

5. Ramusio, Giambattista. *Navigationi et viaggi*, edited by Marica Milanesi, Torino, Einaudi, 1978-1988, 6 vol. v. 4, p. 282.

6. Jordanus Catalanus. *Mirabilia descripta per fratrem Jordanum, Ordinis Praedicatorum, oriendum de Severaco, in India Majori episcopum columbrensem, in Recueil de voyages et mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*. Tome quatrième. Paris, Arthus-Bertrand, 1839, pp. 1-68; see p. 50.

7. *Libro do conoscimiento*. Traduzione italiana: *Il Libro della conoscenza di tutti i regni paesi e signorie nel mondo*. Introduzione, traduzione e commento di Corradino Astengo. Genova, Erga edizioni, 2000; see p. 86: "After this kingdom [of Vijayanagar] there is an island in the Indian sea, called Sagela . . ."

8. Ramusio op. cit., v. 2, p. 792.

9. Florence National Library, Port. 1: "Xilana insula trium milium miliarriorum ambitum continens".

10. "Or know that, when a man leaves Basma, he comes to the kingdom of Samarca, which is in the middle of this island [Giava Minore]; cf. MPO, p. 170.

11. Odorico da Pordenone. *Viaggio del Beato Odorico da Pordenone*. Edited byGiorgio Pullè. Milano, Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1961; see p. 108.

12. *Libro do conoscimiento*, p. 87.

13. See, for example, the lecture of Ms. Marciano Lat. VI, 141 (2560), and Grossato, Alessandro. *L'India di Nicolò de Conti. Un manoscritto del Libro iv del* De varietate fortunae *di Francesco Poggio Bracciolini*. Padova, Editoriale Programma, 1994; see p. 82.

14. Ramusio op. cit. v. 2, pp. 33-34. The same Corsali confirmed the uncertainty of such an identification, and in his letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, 18 September 1517 observed that: "This island of Zeilam seems to me to be Taprobana, and not Sumatra, as many say, although it was writen to the contrary last year; after considering it well, I confirm that Sumatra had not been discovered at that time", ibid p. 53.

15. Ramusio, v. 2, p. 845.

16. Ramusio, v. 1, p. 905.

17. See for example Ms. It. IV 492 (=5120) della Biblioteca Marciana, ai ff. 6^{V}-7^{R}

18. Ioubadiou in Ptolemy manuscript preserved in Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Gr. Z. 388 (=333), f. 96^{V}.

19. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, v. 2, p. 612; *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 454.

20. Marco Polo, Ramusio edition, book III, ch. 7.

21. The island of Bintan is situated opposite Singapore, at the southernmost end of the Malay peninsula.

22. Marco Polo, Ramusio edition, book III, cap. 10.

23. For this argument, see particularly Marco Polo, Yule edition, v. 2, pp. 286-87.

24. Ramusio, v. 4, p. 278.

25. Ramusio, v. 2, p. 801; the passage is faithful to the original Latin of Bracciolini: «Sunt insulae duae in interiori India, e pene extremis orbis finibus, ambae Javae nomine, quarum altera tribus, altera duobus millibus miliarum protenditur orientem versus; sed Majoris, Minorisque cognomine discernuntur etc.»; cf. Grossato, p. 85.

26. Karrow, Robert W. *Mapmakers of the Sixteeenth Century and Their Maps*, Chicago, The Newberry Library – Speculum Orbis Press, 1993; see. p. 239.

27. Terrarossa, Vitale. *Riflessioni geografiche circa le terre incognite*, in Padova, per il Cadorino, 1686; see p. 296.

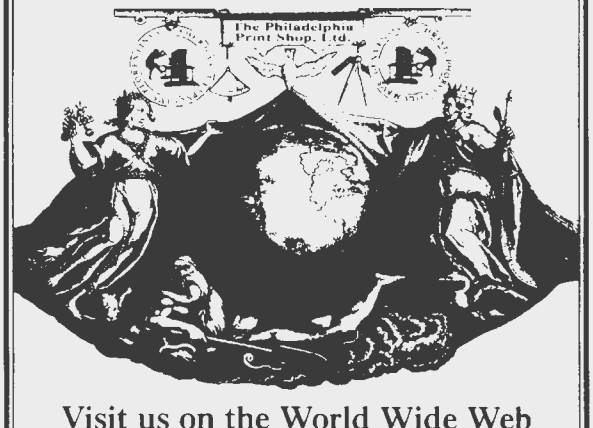
28. Vincenzo Coronelli, *Isolario dell'Atlante Veneto, Parte I [-II]*. In Venetia, 1696; considering the scarce information about the Coronelli editions, it seems right to cite here the edition of his work preserved at Biblioteca Marciana, with the shelf mark 225.d 16.

29 Ibid., pp. 128-129.

30. The reference to Coronelli is in the geographical dictionary by Michel Antoine Baudrand, *Geographia ordine littetrarum disposita*. Paris, Estienne Michallet, 1681-82, 2 vv.

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23rd International Symposium:
At the Welcome Reception in Modena Town Hall. Above: Participants all around the room. Unfortunately delayed arrivals from the airport meant some could not be there. The Mayor made a formal entrance at the start of the proceedings, in true Italian style.
Right: Signor Pighi welcoming the participants, with Signor Lugli on his right. To his left is the Elena Bergonzini from Modenatur who interpreted, and at right Susan Gole, preparing to thank the Mayor in Italian, and again in English .





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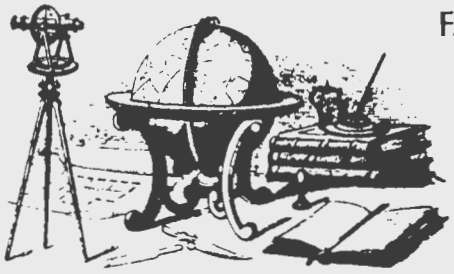
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IMCoS 23rd International Symposim : Italy 2004
Modena, Verona, Florence

Modena, Saturday, October 16

Prior to the formal opening of the Symposium, we all gathered at a Welcome Reception at the Palazza Comunale (Town Hall). It is part of a larger building on one side of the Piazza Grande across from the Duomo. Our host was the Mayor of Modena, Sindaco Giorgio Pighi, accompanied by the Councillor for Culture, Mario Lugli. It was a festive occasion with a bountiful table of excellent local hors d'oeuvres as well as wines of the region. This evening was a prelude to the presentations and maps that we were to see in the course of the next few days.

Verona, Sunday, October 17

We boarded our designated coaches near our various hotels and travelled about an hour and a half to Verona. It was a bright and sunny day and, in addition to the Symposium program, we had the opportunity to wander about the city and enjoy lunch in a number of local cafes. Our coaches let us off in the shadow of the walls of the old city. The opening of the Symposium took place three

hours later on the other side of the city at the Conservatorio Dall'Abaco, Auditorium Montemezzi. This gave us the opportunity to walk from one end of the old town of Verona to the other.

Our President, Roger Baskes, opened the Symposium with a short and eloquent welcome address. We then heard from Marcus Perini, a map collector and owner of Libreria Antiquaria Perini who had worked with Susan Gole in organising the Verona day of the Italian Symposium. His topic: 'History of the Cartography of the Veronese Territory'. Of particular interest were his 13th c. and 14th c. maps of Verona and 14th c. and 15th c. maps of the region and Lake Garda as well as the first printed map by De Hubertis, 1520

Richard Pflederer then discussed 'Portolan Charts: A Mediterranean tradition becomes an indispensable tool of the Age of Discovery'. His discussion heightened our understanding and enjoyment of the portolan maps we were to view later in the afternoon and again in Modena and Florence. One of the highlights was a 1290 portolan chart.

We then adjourned to the exhibition of maps from the Verona Biblioteca Civica at San Giorgetto which had been arranged for us by Dr Agostino Conto and Marcus Perini.

Later we attended an intimate reception at the Galleria Perini, again through the courtesy of Marcus. The exhibition and inventory of maps was impressive and the food and wine were just right to sustain us for our journey back to Modena.

Monday, October 18

Hans Kok called the morning session to order at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria. Our first speaker, Dr Annalisa Battini, described the map collection of the Estense library, which we were to view later that day. Dr Piero Falchetta, in his paper 'Maps of the Eastern Islands (Sri Lanka, Sumatra and Java) in Venetian cartography from Fra Mauro to Coronelli' discussed the 1450 World Map of Mauro and the Eastern Islands.

After the coffee break, Angelo Cantaneo discussed 'Innovation in 15th century Cosmography: a forgotten mid-fifteenth century Venetian manuscript codex with sixty maps. The first vernacular translation and adaptation of Ptolemy's Geography'. His paper helped many of us to understand better the geometrical basis of Ptolemy's projections. Vladimiro Valerio's 'Italian Printed Atlases: Their history and the Project of a Virtual Library' gave us the opportunity of viewing a small example of this most interesting project. Each of us had received a CD-Rom in our packet of materials, a new departure for IMCoS, and easy to carry home.

After these presentations, we adjourned for lunch at Da Enzo restaurant. Da Enzo is not normally open for lunch on Mondays, but they opened for IMCoS for a traditional Modena meal.

After lunch, we reassembled at the Biblioteca Estense and Dr Marica Milanese presented her paper 'A Special Geography for the King. The terrestrial globe made by Vincenzo Coronelli for Louis XIV (1681–81)'. This work, now in storage in France, was a major project involving not just painters and draftsmen, but also wood workers of varied skills. It consisted of two large globes: one terrestrial, the other celestial. In the latter, the constellations were reversed, right to left.

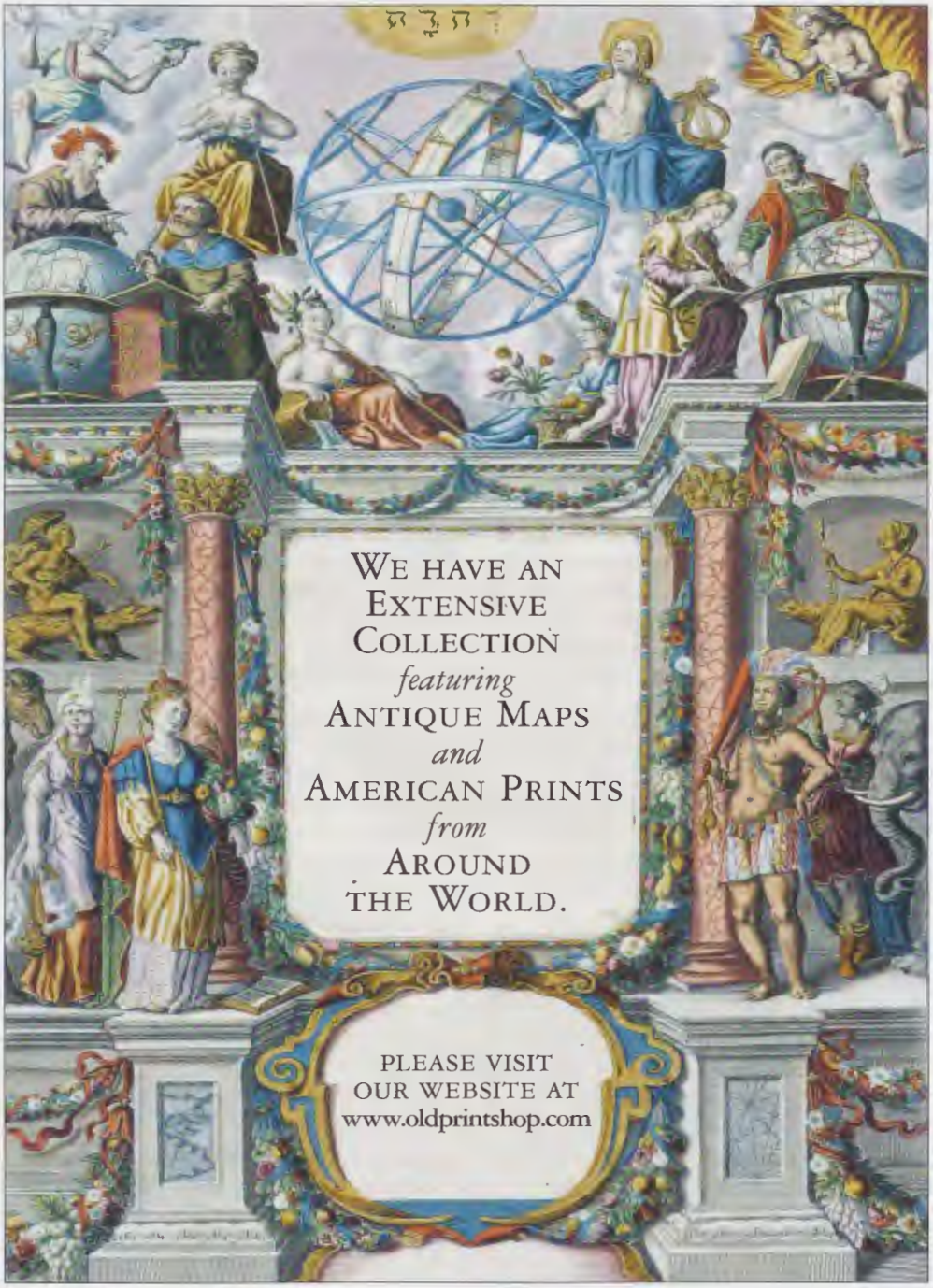
Colonel Antonio Finizio and Major Luca Bani then presented their paper 'The Colonial Cartography of the Military Geographic Institute'. The Institute was founded in 1861 and moved to Florence a few years later. We viewed maps reflecting Italy's colonial history. These included maps of Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia and Libya.

We adjourned to view a special exhibition of maps from the collection of the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria prepared for us by Dr Ernesto Milano and Dr Annalisa Battini. There was also an exhibition of maps in the nearby Biblioteca Poletti. This exhibition, 'Imaginary maps by Gianni Valbonesi' presented a novel artistic approach to maps as was explained by the artist and added a light touch to the end of a very full day.

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Speakers at the symposium: Top left: Dick Pflederer, Roger Baskes and Marcus Perini. Top right: Major Luca Bani, Marica Milanesi, Hans Kok and Col. Finizio. Bottom left: Vladimiro Valerio, Piero Falchetta, Marica Milanesi, Annalisa Battini, Angelo Cataneo and Hans Kok. Bottom right: During the visit to the Istituto Geografico Militare at Florence, the very warm welcoming team who greeted us.

Florence, Tuesday, October 19

We assembled near our hotels with our luggage in the morning and were picked up by coaches for our trip to Florence. The weather was mild and it was an enjoyable trip on the autostrada through the mountains to Florence where we were let off near our hotels.

The Palazzo Vecchio was our destination in the afternoon. There, on the third floor, we were privileged to see a set of maps of various parts of the 16th c. world painted on framed wooden panels and arranged on all four sides of the Guarderobe. Angelo Cataneo was our guide and gave us the historical background of the maps as well as highlighting details of the individual maps. Visiting the various rooms, passages and halls on our way up to and back down from the Guarderobe was a treat in itself.

Wednesday, October 20

This was our day to view three diverse map collections in Florence. We visited the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, a building designed by Michelangelo in 1524 to house the Medici manuscript collection. The building was formally opened in 1571. It was one of the most impressive architectural works we had the opportunity to visit. Through the courtesy of Dr Giovanna Rao, we were able to view a small part of its collection.

We walked over to the Palazzo Medici Riccardi, built in 1444 as a private residence for Cosimo d' Medici, to visit the Biblioteca Riccardiani where Dr Giovanni Lazzi had prepared a selection of maps from the library's collection for us to view.

In the afternoon we had the opportunity to visit the Instituto Geographico Militare where Colonel Antonio Finizio, Lt Colonel Elio Ruggiano and Mr Andrea Cantile had prepared a special exhibition of maps, surveying instruments and map production equipment for us.

Our Symposium reception and dinner celebration be-

gan as we boarded our coaches near our hotels, crossed the Arno, drove through heavy traffic in the southern suburbs of Florence and finally arrived at the Castello di S. Maria Novella located on one of the highest points in Tuscany. We were greeted there by the owner, Tommaso Zanzotto and his manager Fernando Guerrieri who, while we sipped our proseco, described the castle and its history since the beginning of its construction as

a fortified farm in the 9th c. We then entered the Castello to view the Zanzotto map collection with its focus on Tuscany. The quality of the collection was very impressive and it was a privilege to view it so informally at close range.

We then re-boarded our coaches for a very short trip down the hill to the Villa Tavolese where we enjoyed an excellent, well served dinner and ample wine. The whole evening was well planned and well executed by all those responsible.

Thursday, October 21

This was a day of leisure. The map exhibit at Archivio di Stato was arranged for us by Dr Marina Laguzzi and open from 9:30 to 17:00. It was an outstanding presentation of maps dating back to the 14th c., well displayed in an uncrowded room and with minimal personal time constraints on the viewer. It was one of the high points of the Symposium.

Our final gathering was the farewell reception at Palazzo Gaddi in the Sala Luca Giordana. It was gracious and comparable to the welcome reception at the Modena Palazzo Comunale.

This 23rd International Symposium was the first held in Italy and the first organised without the aid of a local IMCoS member. All of us who participated must certainly thank Susan Gole and all those who worked with her for a job very well done.

GEORGE PINESS

Maps on display at the exhibtions in Florence

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence

Acq.e doni 3 : Battista Agnese, Nautical atlas of 28 maps; 16th century. 265x185 mm

Acq.e doni 183 : Joan Martines, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean, from the Black Sea to western Europe; 1568. 1002x695 mm

Ashb 1882 : Map of Palestine, from Syria to Egypt; 13th century. 274x750 mm

Gaddi 9 : Medicea Atlas. End of 14th century. 400x540 mm

Med. Palat 248 : Carta marina by Perrino Visconte, 1327. 925x570 mm

Plut. 30.7 : Strabo's 'De situ orbis', translated from Greek to Latin by Guarino Veronesi, with world map; 1466. 386x268 mm

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Nuremberg about 1695–1763. *Estimate: € 18.000*



C. Ptolemäus, Geographia universalis. Basle 1540.
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The following maps under the cat. no. 'Castelli' were acquired from Amsterdam by Cosimo III of the Medici family, during the first of his two tours in Europe between 1667–68.

Castelli 4 : Coast of Japan, from Osaka to Jedo. 365x830 mm

Castelli 7 : The city and fortress of Taiwan on the island of Formosa. 530x895 mm

Castelli 9 : Portobello in the Gulf of Panama. 525x755 mm

Castelli 16 : City and peninsula of Macao in China. 535x770 mm

Castelli 18 : Plan of New York, the only surviving copy from the original by Jacques Cortleyou. 525x655 mm

Castelli 23 : Mocca, Yemen. 430x675 mm

Castelli 24 : Coste of Tasmania in the Pacific Ocean, to the south-east of Australia. 475x685 mm

Castelli 26 : Island of Manhattan with Staten Island, Sandy Hook and the coast of New Jersey. One of two surviving copies made in 1660 from the original of 1639. 465x660 mm

Castelli 43 : Plan of the City of Mexico with the Lake of St Lazzarus, made in 1628 and probably the work of Juan Gomez de Trasmonte. 475x598 mm

Castelli 47 : Cape of Good Hope. 464x582 mm

Castelli 58 : Surat, India. 405x602 mm

Castelli 61 : Chart of coasts of Asia in the China Sea, showing China, Cambodia, Philippines, Molucca, Java and Borneo. 555x425 mm

Castelli 71 : Portuguese chart of the eastern Mediterranean. 415x561 mm

Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence

Edizione rare 235 : Ptolemy: Geographia, Rome, 1490.

871 : 'Poggio Bracciolini e il viaggio di Niccolo di Conti', 15th century.

488 : Manuscript of Pliny, Naturalis historia, from Beauvais.

Edizione rare 526 : Pomponio Mela, Latin edition of 'De situ orbis of Dionisio Periegata', 1477.

237 : Marin Sanudo, map of Palestine, end 14th–beginning 15th century

ms 1774 : Fior di Virtu: Gregorio Dati, La Sfera, f. 104, 15th century, Alexandria, 214x140 mm

ms 818 : Fior di Virtu (another page)

ms 492 : Facsimiles of ms. Virgil 'Aeneid', 1460, with two maps of the Mediterranean.

3616 : Gifts to the son of Cosimo I , map scroll showing California.

3615 : Gifts to the son of Cosimo I map scroll showing Africa.

1813 : Portuguese portolan atlas.

3829 : Small portolan chart in roll of the Mediterranean

Edizione rare 624 : Francesco Berlinghieri edition of Ptolemy.

Archivio di Stato, Florence

Cart. naut 1: Pietro Visconti, Portolan chart of the eastern Mediterranean, Black Sea and Sea of Azov, 1311. 480x630 mm

Cart. naut 3 : Giuglielmo Soler, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean and western Europe, 1485. 1120x667 mm

Cart. naut 4 : Anonymous Portolan chart of Palestine, 14th century. 521x1686 mm

Cart. naut 5 : Grazioso Benincasa, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean and western Europe, 1461. 905x568 mm

Cart. naut 7 : Jaë Bertran, Portolan chart of the Atlantic coast to the Sea of Azov, 1482. 1040x765 mm

Cart. naut 8 : Anonymous Portolan chart of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, with the Atlantic coast of Europe to the North Sea and the Baltic, 15th century. 960x658 mm

Cart. naut 9 : Grazioso Benincasa, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean and western Europe, 15th century. 1235x745 mm

Cart. naut 10 : Anonymous map of Italy without the islands, 15th century. 640x1140 mm

Cart. naut 12 : Jacopo Russo, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean and western Europe, including the coast of Africa to Guinea, 1520. 1055x670 mm

Cart. naut 14 : Reinaut Barthollomiou de Ferrieros and Matheus Prunes, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean and western Europe including the coast of Africa to Guinea, 1592. 1005x605 mm

Cart. naut 15 : Conte Freducci, Portolan chart of the Atlantic, 16th century. 1207x770 mm

Cart. naut 16 : Three anonymous Portolan chart: western Europe, eastern Mediterranean, Aegean Sea, 16th century. 420x267 mm

Cart. naut 17 : Portolan chart atlas of 12 charts, relating to Europe, Africa, Asoa, America, c.1530–35. 408x310 mm

Cart. naut 19 : Vincenzo di Demetrio Volzio, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, with coasts of western Europe and Africa as far as Guinea, 1607. 861x522 mm

Cart. naut 21 : Placido Oliva, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean and western Europe, 1615. 895x430 mm

Cart. naut 22 : Gabriel de Vallescha, Portolan chart of the Mediterranean, 1449. 977x620 mm

Capitani di Parte Guelfa, Piante 117, Road between Santa Maria and Mazzapagani, 1581. 300x210 mm

Maps selected from the Confini del Granducato di Toscana, showing lands in Tuscany.

















Top: Tommaso Sanzotto telling us about his map collection, in the courtyard of his castle.
Middle: Roger Baskes presenting the plaque given by IMCoS to organisers of our International Symposia to Susan Gole, and the enthusiastic Tommaso (facing the camera this time!).
Below: Looking at maps in the castle rooms.
Right: Participants enjoying the Farewell Reception at Palazzo Gaddi in Florence.

International News & Events

2005 24th International Symposium
USA: Denver, Colorado
17 Sept: 5th Annual Rocky Mountain Map Fair
18 Sept: Map Fair or one-day optional tour
18 Sept Symposium opening in evening
19–21 Sept Symposium
22–25 Sept Optional tours

2006/7 25th International Symposium
Feb 2007, Guatemala
2007 Probable: Russia: Moscow and St Petersburg
2008 Probable: New Zealand
2009 Probable: Norway

2005 Denver IMCoS Symposium

Share your love of maps by joining friends at the mid-September 2005 IMCoS Annual Symposium and Rocky Mountain Antique Map Fair in Denver, Colorado. Learn about the complex historic interplay between Indian, French, Spanish, and American cultures in the vast Rocky Mountain Region, as seen through exploration and mapping.

The Rocky Mountain Map Society is the local sponsor for the Symposium, which will be co-sponsored by the United States Library of Congress and its Phillips Map Society together with the Denver Public Library.

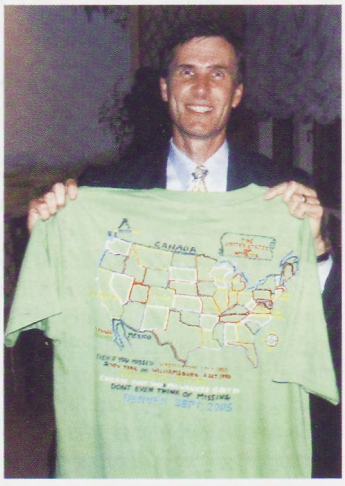
Map Fair and IMCoS Symposium

The fifth annual Rocky Mountain Antique Map Fair, featuring 25 map dealers from around the globe will be held on Saturday and Sunday, September 17 and 18. The fair will be followed immediately by the three-day IMCoS Symposium, which will culminate with a Gala Banquet on Wednesday evening, September 21. Optional cultural, geographical, and historical excursions will precede and follow the Symposium.

IMCoS Programme

A map exhibit of the renowned Denver Public Library plus visits to several local museums enhance the program agenda and, of course, the main feature of the Symposium will be presentation of professional papers by outstanding authors. These will include:

- *Rocky Mountain Geography & Native Americans* by Dr Patricia Limerick
- *Native American Mapping* by Dr Louis DeVorsey
- *Spanish Exploration of the Southwest* by Dr John Hèbert
- *The Expedition of Zebulon Pike* by Dr Dennis Reinhartz
- *Mountain Men and Mountain Mystery* by Dr John Allen
- *Expeditions of John Charles Fremont* by Ralph Ehrenberg
- *Mapping the 1859 Gold Rush* by Wes Brown
- *Early Days in Denver* by Dr Tom Noel
- *Taking Measure of the West: The Pacific Railroad 1844-1869* by Dr David Bain



At the Dinner in Italy, Wesley Brown holds up David Webb's tea shirt to show us where we will all be next year.

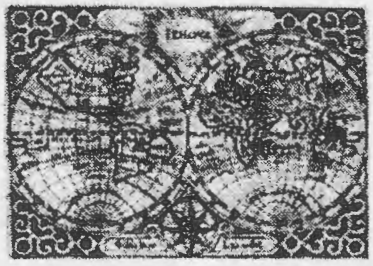
The final day of the symposium will include a trip to historic Georgetown where we ride a steam-powered narrow-gauge train over Georgetown railway loop to Silver Plume, Colorado, tour an old mine, and visit historic Victorian Georgetown.

Optional Trips

An optional pre-symposium excursion to the Rocky Mountain National Park is scheduled for Sunday the 18th. After the symposium you may select either of two one-day post-symposium tours: to the top of Pikes Peak by cog railway, also tour the geologic and scenic wonders of the Garden of the Gods; or a guided visit of historic Bent's Fort National Historical Site and Koshare Indian Museum. Another option is a four-day scenic journey that includes the ancient ruins at Mesa Verde National Park, the rugged San Juan Range, the Black Canyon of the Gunnison and a journey on the famous narrow-gauge railroad from Durango to Silverton, Colorado.

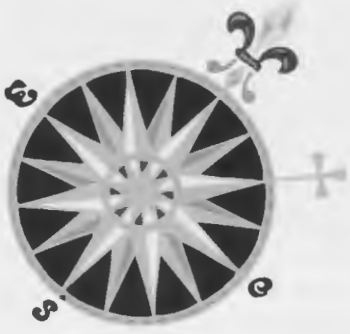
More information will be published in an insert to the IMCoS Spring Journal, and on the Rocky Mountain Map Society's Web site: http: www.RMMaps.org
Registration forms will be sent to members with the Spring Journal, with information about hotels.

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The Wonderful World of Geographical Names, the Writings of Meredith (Pete) F. Burrill, (Toponymist Extraordinaire) compiled by R.A.Detro and H.J.Walker. Louisiana State Library, Baton Rouge, LA 70803-4105. 2004. ISBN 0-938909-12-6 (pbk). US$ 25.

This is a long (435 pages) paperback of (almost) incredible interest and affection from the legend known as Pete Burrill to most of us.

The volume is a collection of academic papers, essays, lectures, agendas, annexes, reports, reviews and more, from the very large oeuvre of a man with unique knowledge, experience and authority in his subjects. The range is immense, likewise the erudition.

He started his graduate career at Oklahoma Agriculture and Mechanical College, now Oklahoma State University, where he lectured on a variety of geography-related subjects from 1930 to 1940. He moved to Washington, DC, as an economic geographer with the General Land Office, and by 1942 was Chief of Research and Analysis. Advancement was rapid, and his contribution to the technical changes in map making, standardisation of place names, toponyms and topographic generics was invaluable.

The papers are in three groups. The first is titled 'Geographical Names', with 30 appropriate essays. The second contains 17 papers on 'Standardisation of Geographical Names', and the third features a further 23 papers on 'Weather, Fire, Industry and Other Topics'.

So the reader can tap into any of 70 different subjects, presented in a wide spectrum of written work. It is impossible to describe each one in a review of this sort. Each of us will choose our favourite themes.

By a short head, I plump for the 25th paper, 'Names that pass in the slight'. Tracing particular geographic names through the ages is a great sport, as we inch our way from Christopher Saxton to the newest computerised ordnance survey map. Burrill was lecturing informally to the Cosmos Club in 1981, citing numerous name changes through the decades for a number of reasons.

In the USA these reasons can be romantic, political, droll, nostalgic, as in the UK, but in a country so young, care has to be exercised to eliminate words which might contain a slur, or be reminiscent of a former colonial status, or earthy or uncomplimentary. He quoted Dishwater Pond which became Paradise Lake once resort developers were brought in.

The last words on that subject from Burrill himself: 'Names do persist in some form as long as they perform what is perceived to be a useful function: when they don't . . . they pass in the slight'. His style, written and vocal, is surprisingly colloquial and entertaining. No dull, scientific boffin is he.

We owe a great debt to R.A.Detro and H.J.Walker for the painstaking and thorough way they have compiled this splendid collection of writings, and it will be a chair side, desk side, bed side treasure for many of us in the future. There are two appendices which decipher the myriad of acronyms and list Meredith Frederic Burrill's other writings respectively.

Pete Burrill has the happy talent of making difficult concepts comprehensible. His language is free of jargon. His vocabulary, given the length of his career, is contemporary and refreshing.

But, ultimately, for me, his greatest triumph was in tackling the colossal tasks facing him, especially during the war, when maps from all over, of the Far East in particular, with their symbols in so many alphabets and writing systems, needed to be standardised by an organisation which had not previously existed. Most people would have buckled or broken under the strain, but not Pete Burrill.

GEOFFREY TAPPER

The Mapmakers, A History Of Stanfords, by Peter Whitfield, with a foreword by Nicholas Crane. Publ. Compendium, 43 Frith Sreet, London, W1D 4SA..ISBN 1-902579-75-3

There is a treasured fragment of central London, between Charing Cross and Long Acre, where much cartographic commerce and history resides. For many of us, whose interests include philately and postal history as well, a day or two spent trawling these deep seas are better than a week on a Mediterranean beach.

Stanfords have occupied this space for 150 years, and here is the book to celebrate it. Nicholas Crane, who needs no introduction, has written a happy foreword acknowledging his debt to Stanfords, and from then on the book takes us through the turbulence of the past century and a half in world history. Each story, be it of war, exploration and discovery, boundary changes, railway and road development, is reflected, illuminated by the cartography and or the publication and presentation of maps for reference and for sale, of course.

Stanfords have been unfazed by the huge advances in technology, coping readily with the (so far) ultimate, computerisation in maps, changing by the minute, as they were in the less hectic days of the earlier ordnance surveys of the nineteenth century.

This book illustrates and describes examples ranging from the menace posed by the Russian Bear, including the Crimean war, the exploration and opening up of Africa, the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the complexities of the Balkans, the struggles in Afghanistan, Gordon in Khartoum, the relief of Ladysmith, and much more.

Historical research into the past reveals 'Surveys of Ancient Babylon', a map of the region round Troy and a chart of the Falkland Islands, based on the surveys made by Fitzroy of the *Beagle* in the 1830s.

A book such as this is needed, in part to point up the urgency and violence of life now, compared to the gracious progress of cartography, especially domestic map making, as edition after edition of Christopher Saxtons and John Speeds could spread over a century or so, because not a lot was happening to change landscapes and communications in Britain and the European continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This is a handsome, well presented book, and its illustrations, coloured and black and white, are profuse and informative.

RUPERT WILLIAMS

Dictionary of New Zealand Map-Makers and an appendix: Early Cartography in New Zealand – A Guide, by Brian Hooker. Publ. by Del Zur Research, 9, Amorino Drive, Red Beach, Orewa, 2002. ISBN 0-473-08098-2.

This book has been out for two years, but is likely to be around and well used for many years yet. It comprises an alphabetical accumulation of all the main contributors to New Zealand map making. It is 203 pages long, including 12 pages of bibliography, 43 black and white illustrations, mainly of maps and charts, and a long appendix with 379 entries, a guide to early cartography in New Zealand.

It is no surprise, but a sweet journey into history, to find Joan Blaeu, as official cartographer to the Dutch East India Company, able to translate charts, compiled during the epic expedition of Abel Tasman and Franchoys Jacobsen Visscher on behalf of this Company in 1642–3, into his world wall map of 1648 and others shortly after. These were the models for all maps of New Zealand, partial and inaccurate as they were, for all maps of South East Asia until 1773, when Captain Cook's data became available.

With a country like New Zealand, the dictionary is largely concerned with explorers, naturalists, hydrographers and sea captains, sailing to and around New Zealand from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The majority were English and French, of course. But by no means all. Don Alessandra Malaspina, an Italian, commanded a Spanish expedition to Doubtful Sound in 1793, the expedition's chief navigator being Don Felipe Bauzá. His survey-chart was published by the British hydrographer. William Edwardson, who carried out surveys in the sloop, Snapper, hailed from New South Wales.

Isaac Gilsemans was a Dutch mariner, and Julius von Haast, from Germany, put the Arrowsmith map publishing family into the atlases with the eponymous Range and Mount in 1861. There is even a Russian explorer, Adam Krusenstern, who became that country's first circumnavigator, his name preserved with Cap Krusenstern as the western cape of Great Barrier Island.

I particularly enjoyed the potted histories, concise yet informative, of so many international figures whom we know from their mapping work in other parts of the globe, demonstrating their relevance to New Zealand. Even Bligh of the Bounty features. The Bounty Islands, I learnt, are now part of New Zealand territory.

It is a dictionary, apparently, given its title, but it reads like an encyclopaedia. And there are sufficient people in the UK, with family who have in years gone by emigrated to the Antipodes to command a good readership of this volume here.

ALBERT JAMES

Journal of Map and Geography Libraries : Advances in geospatial information, collections, and archives. Volume 1, Number 1 2004, ISSN: 1542-0353, published by The Haworth Information Press, 10 Alice Street, Binghampton, NY 13904-1580, USA., co-edited by Mary Lynette Laragaard, MA, and Paige G. Andrew, BA, MLS. The journal is available online at http//www.HowarthPress.com/web/JMGL or by e-mail to: orders@haworthpress.com

We must welcome this newcomer to cartography with open arms. Every new venture in the field is an aid to the advancement of appreciation for and knowledge of maps of all sorts and all generations. But this journal is special.

It is a crisp account, including, as claimed in their flyer, 'issues and trends in cartographic cataloguing', 'effective, efficient ways to run map collections (the Compleat Map Collection)', 'All Things Digital' and 'Geoscopes: Interior and Exterior'. These are the benefits as they describe, fully, in their leaflet accompanying Volume 1, Number 1, which arrived on my doormat, unerringly, on November 1st.



The editors have good credentials. Mary Laragaard is Assistant Head of the Map and Imagery Laboratory, Davidson Library, at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Paige Andrew is the faculty Maps Cataloguer at the Pennsylvania State University Libraries.

American sources have already written glowing reviews, with the advantage of prior knowledge of what was to come. We should not be jealous, but grateful for an excellent demonstration of how cartography has entered the 21st century.

Please make sure you access this treasure of modernity. Much will be added unto you, as you receive, not only the journal, but the supporting literature.

Of the articles in the opening issue I particularly value the first paper, 'Welcome to Geoscapes'. Here the purpose is clearly stated. 'Its goal is to provide a peer-reviewed forum for papers concerning geography, map, remote-sensing image etc, information and its uses, and collections'. There are to be two issues a year, one a general issue, one a theme issue, with a guest editor.

There is, above, ample information for any who might wish to access this new addition to our studies. Please explore and enjoy!

GEOFFREY TAPPER

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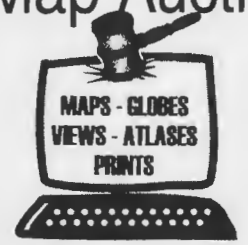
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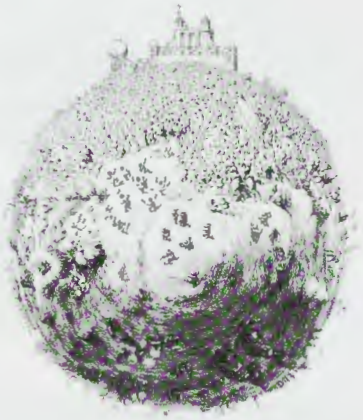
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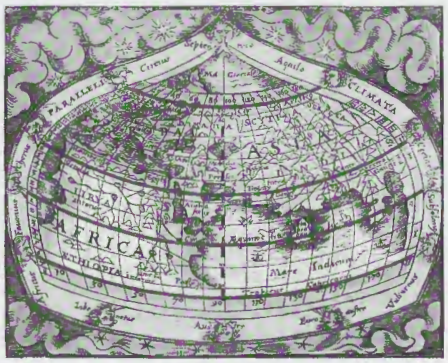
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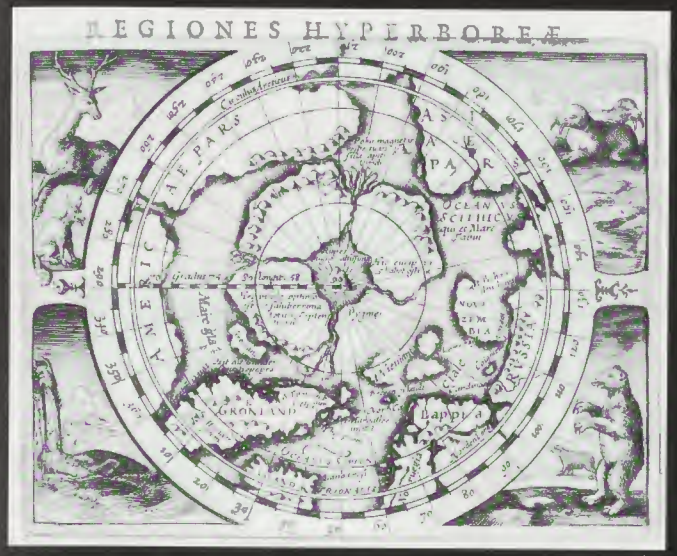
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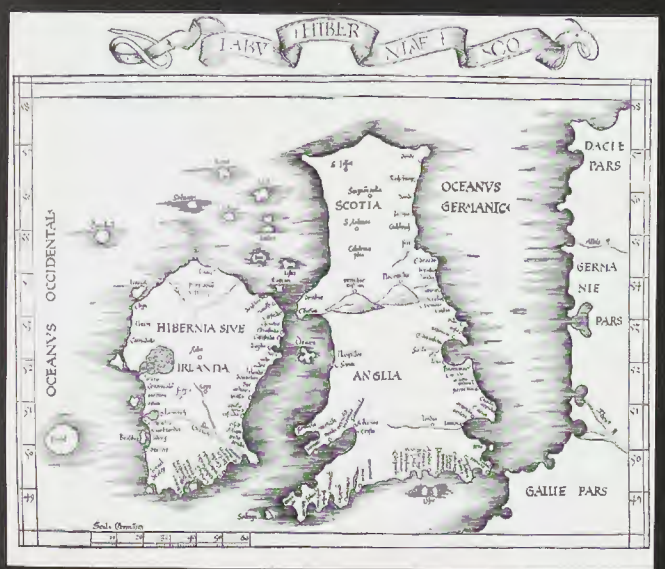
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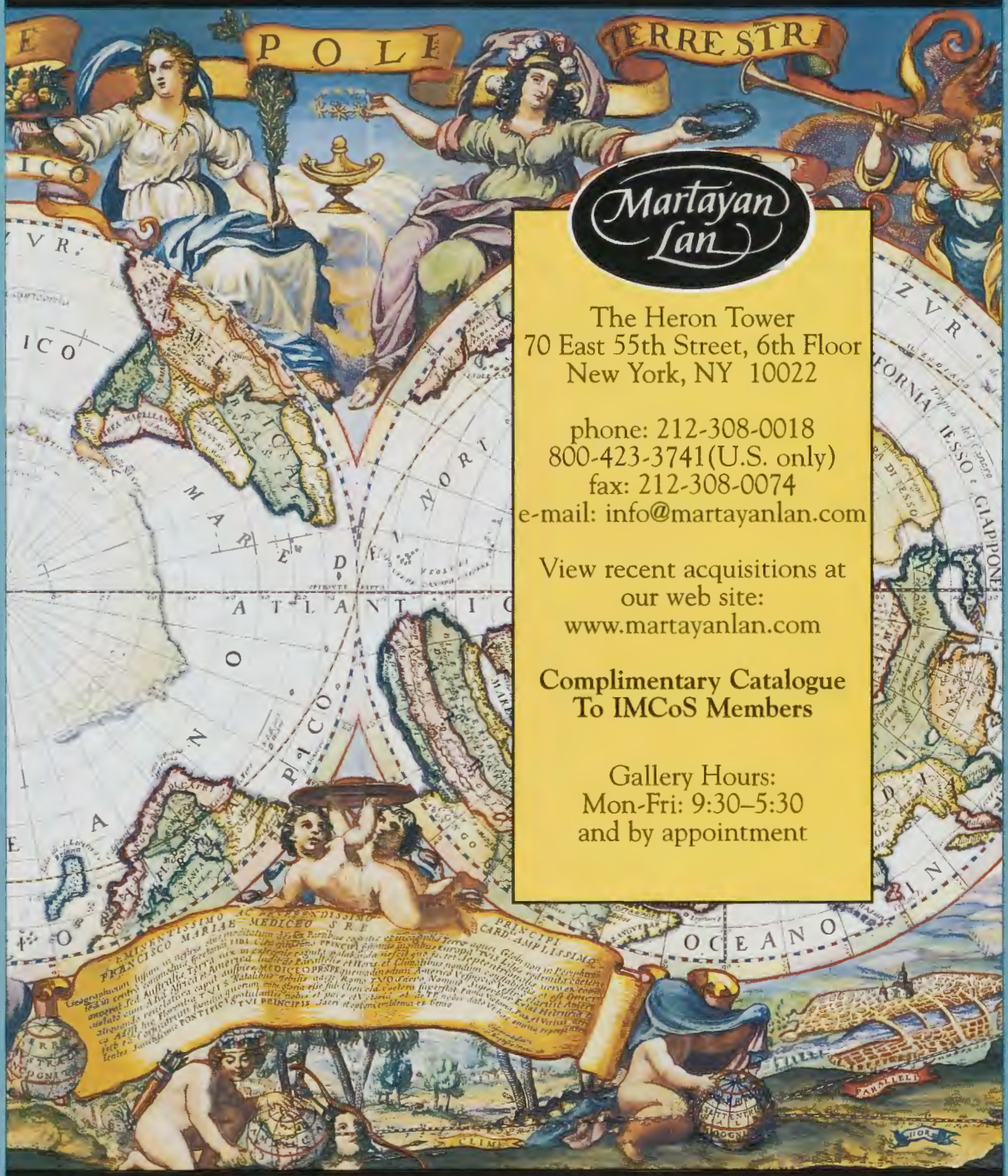




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