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Copy and other material for our next issue (Summer) should be submitted by **22nd April, 1990.** All items for **editorial** use should be sent directly to the Editor, George Beal, 48 Kings Drive, Surbiton, Surrey KT5 8NQ. **Advertising** copy, artwork, etc. should be sent to the Advertising Manager, Warwick Leadlay, Gallery, 5 Nelson Road, Greenwich, London SE10 9JB. Tel: 081 858 0317.

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From the Chairman's Desk

AS A relative newcomer to IMCoS, I find myself frequently lost, and in need of a map to guide me. Most of you will already know how Tony Burgess and I exchanged positions last year when his wife became so ill, and he found his new business very demanding. Kay was with us in Athens, still fit enough to enjoy the trip, but then she became worse and died just before Christmas. We all extend our sympathies to Tony.

As the months go by, I realise how much Tony contributed to the welfare of IMCoS, and how little I knew about it. He will continue to look after the Map Fairs each June, and will, I am sure, be as successful this year and for many years to come, bringing in new members, and encouraging cartographic interests more widely.

IMCoS is ten years old this summer. Since I was living abroad during the early years, I was not involved in the activities till quite recently, and rely on members of the committee to help me in many ways – they are my map, and on most matters they provide consistent information!

The one who pushes us all along, thinks three years ahead, bullies us all into doing more and more – I'm sure you know who I mean – doesn't like to be mentioned by name, so I can't give my public thanks to M.... Y.... for coming to my aid on so many small but important matters of procedure. Nevertheless, I do thank him, and I'm sure all members will join me.

The success of IMCoS and its growing strength is the diversity of its membership. Looking through the address list, one can gain some idea of the professions of the members who have map-collecting as a hobby as well as the number for whom maps form a livelihood.

Interests range from detailed research into minor plate changes to maps on cigarette cards, from concertina road maps to escape routes on silk. And yet more specialised interests continue to come to notice. Such diversity is merely in type; it is multiplied many times when all the various regions collected by members are taken into account.

This is where the international meetings are so valuable. They take us out of our own narrow area of specialisation so that we can share the enthusiasm that our fellow members have for *their* equally narrow field, and thus we can gain a wider view of cartography as a whole.

IMCoS has done well in ten years because of the large number of members who take an active part in it. By active, I mean joining in and being present at functions. There would be no society if it were formed only of those who do the organising. But there is still scope for more participation by a larger number. Joining in doesn't necessarily imply attending when the distance is too great or other matters more pressing.

It may take the form of writing for the **Journal** about anything cartographic that goes on in your part of the world – just a note about an exhibition or a cutting from the local paper; somewhere there will be another member to whom this information is interesting. After all, it interested you.

Alternatively, fellowship may be fostered by contacting members in other countries if you are travelling their way. You already know you have an important interest in common.

Those who talk at seminars, organise meetings, keep our account books, write regular articles, are all contributing in their way. Every member has something to contribute. Until you have the courage to speak out, either on something you would like to share, or to make a suggestion for something IMCoS might be doing, no one else can benefit from your experience or realise where your enthusiasms overlap with theirs. In IMCoS no other priorities beyond a shared interest in maps carry any weight.

In future issues, this space will be used by the President, the International Chairman, and the Executive Chairman in rotation. The rest of the **Journal** is open to every member to add his bit, air his views, add to our knowledge, grumble, praise, make us think, or entertain us. I look forward to it.

SUSAN GOLE

Cover map by Herman Moll from *Atlas Minor* 1729. Courtesy Graham Franks.

Due to pressure on space in this issue, some items concerning the Athens Symposium have had to be held over. They will appear in the next issue of the **Journal**.

The Cartographer Barbié du Bocage

and the Approach to the Greek World in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries

MAPS are representations and projections, works which originate in, and are addressed to, the human mind, and which tend, through abstractions and proportions, to record some external 'objective' space, to reshape it, and to make it accessible, adapting it to codes which are capable of being read.

Maps are texts, codified descriptions. They bear the concentrated written symbols of a particular area in order to meet the various needs – practical and mental – which arise from man's relationship with space. Maps can familiarise soldiers, merchants, builders, emissaries and explorers with the area which interests them.

They open up the way for those driven on by curiosity or profit, by those travelling on behalf of a monarch or for religious purposes, for those who journey in search of knowledge, information, commodities or relics, for those whose task is to enrich the libraries and collections of the powerful, to fill the archives of ministries, or to conduct the studies of learned societies.

At the same time as their use by travellers, maps also came to acquire another purpose, one which gained ground over time. Broader use of maps was made by people who did not travel: academics and scientists, scholars, technicians, men of erudition and the merely curious – a wide range of readers who wished to familiarise themselves with space in its broader sense.

As the interests of this reading public varied and differed, so various forms of cartography came into use, each defining its own world, always in relation to what was demanded of it, for ever proposing new readings of the world and producing new maps for specialist users.

The maps which we shall be dealing with in this short paper belong to one of these special categories. Their purpose is to familiarise their users with a particular field – the world of history. These maps make up a single, organically-united entity of thirty different publications. They were engraved and published by the French Hellenist and geographer, Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, between the years 1782 and 1824, dates which also mark the beginning and the end of the cartographer's career.

The historical Greek world which interested Barbié was not a static one, nor was it confined to any particular age. His interest spread itself over the entire period of ancient Greek history, and often spilled over into modern times, providing maps which were practical in different ways, but which were always indissolubly connected to his primary interest: he made archaeological maps; maps which helped a reading of travel narratives and the classical writers, and even military maps.

The specialisation of learning today does not permit of leaps from subject to subject or generalisations such as those to be found in the work of Barbié. However, in the late 18th century, when humanistic classical studies and the historical encyclopædic concept co-existed with the modernist, 'mathematical' mode of thought, things were very different.

As the 18th century drew to an end, the needs of French scientific thought (at least) made it necessary to divide geography into a number of interdependent branches, which all had the same object of study, but which approached it in different ways. These branches were brought together under two general headings, that of 'modern' geography and that of 'ancient' geography.

The division between these two headings was clearer on the academic level, where modern geography was the object of study by the Classe des Sciences Physiques et Mathématiques, and ancient geography was the concern of the Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Anciennes.

The memorandum which this latter Classe presented to Napoleon in 1808 further sub-divided ancient geography into the separate sectors of 'historical', 'geometrical', 'astronomic' and 'mixed and local' geography. The geographer Gossellin, who drew up the geographical appendix to the memorandum, laid down as the field of interest of the ancient geographical sciences research into and study of the observations made by the ancient astronomers, the calculations of the ancient geographers, the descriptions recorded by ancient historians and geographers, as well as the study of the observations made by more recent travellers and geographers up to the time of the Renaissance in the sciences.

However, this definition stresses the tendency on the part of ancient geography to unite its efforts with those of modern geography. The geographer of the Classe of ancient history and literature relied on the studies and research of his contemporaries to understand and shed more light on the studies and research of the ancients, which had taken place centuries before. He asked what was in order to discover what had been.

If I have dwelt at some length on these technical distinctions, that has been for the sole purpose of making it possible to understand Barbié's position and manner of approaching the Greek historical world, not to mention the interdependence between his scientific methods and his dual interest in the ancient and modern Greek worlds.

Regardless, then, of the cartographer's service in the realm of modern or ancient geography, I believe that for the French academic thought of the late 18th and early 19th century, the Greek world of history and the modern Greek world constituted a single area for interdependent study. This fact becomes even more evident in the travellers' narratives of the period, in which interest in the ancient world was admixed with interest in the modern world.

The trend to compare the two became more and more marked, given that a concept of the continuity, interrelation and association between the two worlds, and the way was now open for the attempts to divide Greek history into two periods, which would occupy specialists throughout the 19th century, was now open.

The cartography of Barbié du Bocage and all his geographical work concerning Greece fall at this dividing line, and perhaps, constitute the most representative example of the way in which Western thought approached and perceived the Greek world.

Right from the beginning of his career as a cartographer, Barbié had the dual capacity of Hellenist and geographer. As the sole pupil of the scholar-cartographer d'Anville, and the continuer of his work, he undertook when still young a part of the cartography to accompany the first volume of

Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, while at the same time working on the monumental Atlas which followed the publication of the Abbé Barthélemy's *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (1788).

For Barthélemy, the return to antiquity which was one of the watchwords of the day, would become possible through an analytical and encyclopædic knowledge of the ancient world. According to Barthélemy, this antiquity ought to be assessed in its true dimensions 'dans sa couleur propre'. Young Anarcharsis' journey did indeed constitute a kind of living encyclopædia of the ancient world, in which the reader had at his disposal a vast amount of documented material concerning life in the ancient world in all its manifestation.

In his desire to intensify the vividness of this revival of the lost ancient world, Barthélemy decided to supplement Anarcharsis' narrative with detailed tables of the natural conditions, places and political sub-divisions of the ancient world and to provide pictorial representations of the great battles, the monuments and even the landscapes.

Barbié du Bocage undertook the composition of this massive Atlas, working through the vast mass of material which d'Anville had accumulated in the Royal Library and which Barthélemy had collected in the Cabinet des Medailles of the same Library. More and more observations and notes, sent by Choiseul from Constantinople, were constantly being added to the volume of this material.

At this point, mention should be made of the important services offered by this antiquarian traveller, who during the last years of the French monarchy was its ambassador in Constantinople, detailed topographical maps of Attica, various parts of the Peloponnese and sections of the Asia Minor coastline, and a considerable quantity of information which helped to improve the cartographical work of Barbié. The mapmaker, for his part, worked through the material collected by Choiseul and edited the closing volumes of the *Voyage Pittoresque.*

Barbié devoted a considerable portion of his efforts to perfecting *Anarcharsis' Atlas*, a work which was republished a number of times, in an improved form on each occasion. In the critical analyses which accompanied each edition of the Atlas, Barbié provided notes on the sources which he had used in producing each individual map. These 'critical analyses' make it clear that Barbié's cartography relied almost exclusively on the measurements and calculations of his contemporaries.

I believe that the fact that Barbié undertook to map the ancient Greek works without making use of the descriptions and measurements of ancient times is an indication of the modernising spirit of his times, and of the phenomenon, characteristic of the period, to which we referred earlier: that is, of the attempt to read the ancient world through the modern world.

The involvement of Barbié du Bocage with the maps in the *Voyage Pittoresque* and with Young Anacharsis' *Atlas* was decisive for his career. His name was now irrevocably linked with two of the most important texts of his age. In his obituary of Barbié in 1825, written on behalf of the members of the Institut, Émeric-David noted that although outstanding examples of his work had shown what a master he was of the science of geography, he had from a very early date been dubbed a specialist in Greek geography.

Émeric-David also tells us that Barbié's studio had become a kind of

clearing-house through which all fresh information about these ancient areas passed. When one saw the zeal with which travellers hastened to impart to him all their notes and observations, one might say that Barbié had acquired property rights over Greek geography; rights which, although he was almost entirely ignorant of them, had granted him absolute ownership.

Indeed, Barbié had supplied maps of Greece and the greater Greek world for most of the reputable publications of the day which were in any direct or indirect way related to the subject. Thus, apart from the cartography for volumes of travellers' reminiscences (Chardin 1797, Chandler 1806, Castellan 1808, Choiseul Vol. II, which contains the first parallel reproduction of ancient and modern place-names 1809, Zalony 1809, Pouqueville 1805, Spencer-Stanhope 1817, Melling 1819, Pouqueville 1812 and 1824, vol III, see Pitt), Barbié's maps were also engraved to supplement editions of the ancient and classical writers (Pausanias 1795, Herodotus 1797, *the Plous of Nearchos* 1799, the *Hippocrates of Coraes* 1600, *The Adventures of Telemachus* 1810, the *Thucydides of Gail* 1810).

Apart from these maps, which could be said to be more or less essential for a fuller understanding and reading of the texts concerned, we also find other maps, dating in particular from the early years of Barbié's career, in works such as the *Anciens Gouvernements Fédératifs* of Saint-Croix, for which Barbié produced an historical map of Crete (1798), or the plates which accompanied the studies of Count Fortia d'Urban published under the title *Mélanges de Géographie, d'Histoire at de Chronologie Anciennes.*

This map was engraved in 1796 and printed in 1805. In order to complete the picture of Barbié's maps, we should also add his military maps, produced on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, such as the map of the Constantinople channel, or the topographical map of the Peloponnese, both engraved in 1807.

The geographical work of Barbié revolved around the axis of his primary interest; that is, his constant concern to provide as refined as possible a record of the Greek world throughout the course of its history. In order to attain this goal, Barbié made contact with all those involved with Greece in some way: men of learning, geographers, artists, archaeologists and observers, and particularly with those who were, or had been, in Greece: diplomats, travellers, doctors, merchants, interpreters, even Greeks of learning.

Through this dense network of informants, he was able to collect information about the Greek world, the progress of archaeological excavations, modern Greek life, and the intellectual pursuits of the modern Greeks, especially where these involved geography.

The fact that Barbié managed to give shape to a considerable proportion of the material he collected was due, in my opinion, first to his refusal to undertake unduly grandiose schemes, and second to the period he spent as a learned geographer – a science which is, by its very nature inter-disciplinary, and which made possible a critical and comparative analysis of material which was in other respects heterogeneous.

Barbié, like his mentor, d'Anville, is a classic example of the laboratory geographer. He circled the world by proxy, while himself never leaving the city in which he collected his material, devoting all his time to composition. For him, the most important aspect of his work was textual criticism. His papers, which are split between the Biblio-

thèque Nationale and the Gennadeios Library, consist of extracts from the works of ancient Greek writers and modern travellers, and extensive exchanges of letters with geographers and commentators on Greece and the wider Greek world.

Dacier, who was Secrétaire Perpetuel of the Classe of ancient history and philosophy in the Institut, had the good fortune to live long enough to write obituaries on behalf of the foundation for both d'Anville and Barbié. Thus, on two occasions separated by 44 years, he outlined the principles which governed the geographical work of both men.

According to Dacier, they marked the passage from ancient geography to modern geography, since 'ancient and modern geography assist and correct each other'. Dacier called their method *érudition appliquée à la géographie comparée*, because the ancient world should be compared with the modern world, the present state of the planet with that in which it was in ancient times, and during the intervening period.

So it came about that within the framework of historical geography, ancient geography spilled over to cover modern geography, knowledge of the ancient world covered modern knowledge, and observations on the current condition of the country set right the picture conveyed by the ancient writers.

Similarly, this picture determined what the modern age was looking for. The Hellenism of Barbié, like that of most French commentators on Greek affairs in the late 18th century, was the dominant – if not the only – viewpoint from which the phenomena could be approached and perceived. The Hellenism represents a characteristic moment in European thought, before any attempt was made to divide Greek history into periods, at which the dynamic sequence of events in the historical Greek world were first felt.

At the same time, this moment marked the end of the humanist approach, since this time the focus went beyond the Classical authors and the study of them, and attempted to project the ancient world on the living modern world in a complex and critical manner.

The Greece of the Hellenists of the pre-Romantic period, as exemplified in the historical maps of Barbié. was a palimpsest, on which the world as indentified and probed by contemporary commentators was superimposed on the successive strata of the ancient Greek world: the world of Herodotus, of Hippocrates, of Xenophon, of Strabo or of Arrian.

Goussellin appeared to have had a suspicion of this process when, in the memorandum he submitted to Napoleon, he stated that the academic geographer did not concern himself with the specific area at an specific point in time, as did his colleague, the 'mathematical geographer'. His interest embraced 'all the periods; he notes all instances of deterioration, observes each error and records the wide-ranging nomenclature of every age.'

YORGOS TOLIAS

Invitation to Williamsburg

For those who would like two or three days in old-world Virginia, Helen Wallis reports an invitation to Colonial Williamsburg, to be arranged by Pearce S. Grove, director of the Foundation Library, Colonial Williamsburg. This would follow on to the Washington meeting, 4th or 5th to 6th or 7th October, as preferred.

International News and Events

Washington Symposium; Congress Library, 1st – 4th October, 1990.

The registration forms for the joint IMCoS-Washington Map Society meeting were sent out with the Winter issue of this **Journal**. If more registration forms are required, please contact either the IMCoS Secretary or the Washington Map Society, c/o Jeanne Young, Registrar, 710 Lowander Lane, Silver Spring, MD 20901, U.S.A.

Please note that bookings made before 1st May 1990 are at a reduced rate.

For members travelling from or through London, travel arrangements can be made through our agents:

The Streatham Travel Centre,
12 De Montfort Parade,
Streatham High Road,
London, SW16 1BU
Tel. 01 677 5333
[After 5th May, 081 677 5333]
Fax. 01 664 6031.

N.B. London telephone code changes to 081 after 5th May 1990. (Inner London 071).

At the time of writing we are planning to leave Heathrow, London, on Sunday 30th September, 1990. However, the agents are prepared to arrange for any special requirements.

Singapore and Australia Symposium

Please note alteration in dates as previously published:

Symposium 11th–12th November, 1991, followed by the Sydney, Australia Symposium, 17th–19th November, 1991.

Contacts, Singapore:
Michael Sweet,
21 Cuscaden Road,
01–02 Ming Parade,
Singapore 1024.
Tel. Singapore 734 9351
Fax. Singapore 732 8652.

Contacts, Australia:
Prof. Robert Clancy,
99 Carrington Parade,
New Lampton,
N.S.W. 2305,
Australia.
Tel. 049 527348
Fax. 049 291413.

Notice of Annual General Meeting

on Wednesday 9th May, 1990 at 6 p.m.

The Farmers' Club, Committee Room,
3, Whitehall Court, London
(near Embankment Tube Station)

AGENDA

1. President's Welcome
2. Apologies for Absence
3. Minutes of AGM on 10th May, 1989
4. Chairman's Report
5. Executive Officers' Reports:
   Secretary, Membership Secretary,
   International Secretary, Treasurer,
   Journal Editor, Publicity Officer.
6. Approval of Audited Accounts for 1989
7. Proposed increase in Subscriptions:
   Registration to £4.00
   Annual Membership to £16.00
   3 Year Membership to £45.00
   Annual Junior Membership to £8.00
   (Under 21 or full-time student)
8. Election of Directors, Officers
9. Any other business.

Ancient Sources for Greek Coastal Topography

THE ANCIENT Greeks, great navigators, thought of cartography and topography more in terms of coastlines, while the Romans, an originally pastoral people, in general linked their maps and itineraries more to the land. It is clear that ancient geographers, including Ptolemy, often separated coastlines, islands and hinterland into those three categories when enumerating places. Strabo ix.2.21, in a digression from his description of the Argolid, writes: 'It is difficult, in naming so many places, mostly insignificant and in the interior, not to go wrong anywhere in their order. The sea-coast has a certain advantage in this: the places are better known, and the sea suggests their order'.

There is a great scarcity of large-scale maps from classical Greece. The earliest, quasi-maps, are the attractive frescoes of about 1500 B.C. from Santorin, now in the Athens National Museum, which show coastal scenes. Lists of places, on the other hand, with or often without comment, go back to comparatively early times.

Homer was considered by Hipparchus, among others, not only as a poet but as the first geographer. His 'catalogue of ships', in the second half of Book II of the *Iliad*, is a detailed account of the forces of the Greek allies, followed by a much briefer description of the Trojans and their allies. The ancients recognised that in hexameter verse, the order of place-names was sometimes influenced more by the metre than by the topographical sequence; that Homeric forms of place-names often differed from classical forms; and that some Homeric places had completely disappeared, while other names were duplicated, giving rise to topographical disputes.

Thus, Strabo vii.6.16 says there is not only an island of Aegina, but a town of that name in the neighbourhood of Epidaurus. On the whole, Homer's (or his predecessor's) knowledge of Greek topography seems to have been fairly good, except for the western islands.

Hecataeus of Miletus, born *ca.* 550 B.C., wrote a *Periodos Gês*, 'circuit of the world', and is frequently quoted as an early authority on places; fragments however, show that he did not give any distances. Miletus was also the birthplace of Anaximander, said to have drawn the first Greek map, and of Hippodamus, called the father of town-planning, as he designed Miletus, the Piraeus and Thurii (S. Italy) on orthogonal lines.

The historian Ephorus, in his history of the Greeks, used mainly coastal description for his account of the known world. We know that his work was accompanied by at least some maps, one of which gave Indians, Ethiopians, Celts and Scythians in the East, South, West and North respectively. He is said by pseudo-Scymnus to have written a periegesis of the west coast of Asia Minor.

A common type of compilation is the periplus, a description of coastal navigation. There are two types, one dealing with distant exploration, the other, which alone concerns us, consisting

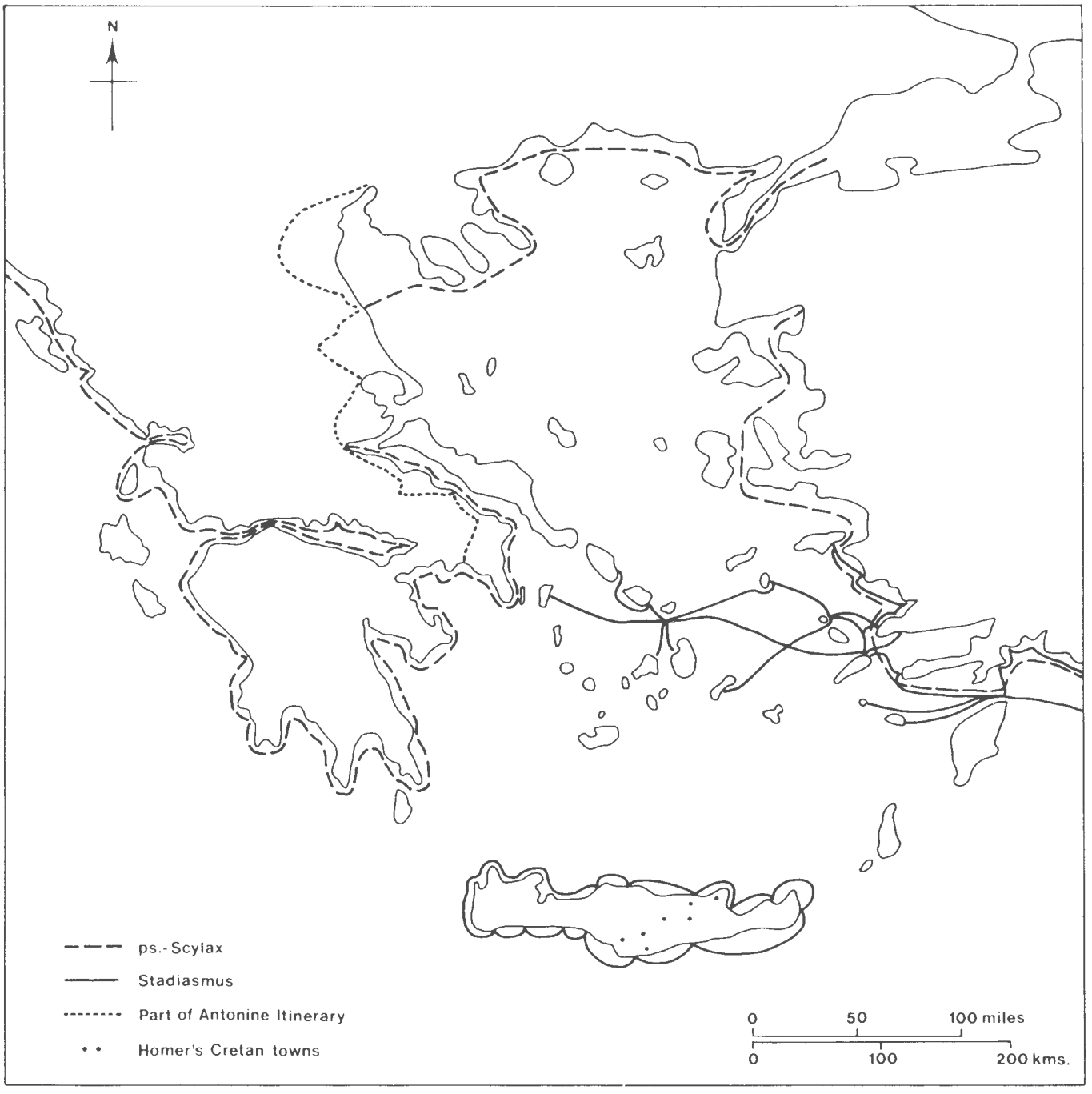


Fig. 1. ***Diagram of some textual references to sea and land routes.*** *The eight dots in Crete show the very limited distribution of towns actually named, as opposed to the 100 counted, in that island in Homer's* ***Iliad.*** *The sea routes taken by ps.-Scylax and the Stadiasmus Maris Magni typify measurements in* ***stadia*** *(under the Roman Empire, usually 8* ***stadia*** *= 1 Roman mile). The land route, with measurements in Roman miles, from Athens to Thessalonica in the Antonine Itinerary includes in its northern stretch a deviation inland to avoid marshy land.*

of a manual for sailing in familiar waters. The earliest preserved of these latter is the Periplus of pseudo-Scylax, composed *ca.* 325 B.C., which briefly describes coastal places on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. It sometimes gives distances in stades (stadia), sometimes in days' journey, more often neither: the totals in stades allow for indentations.

Timosthenes of Rhodes, an admiral of Ptolemy II of Egypt, wrote a treatise,

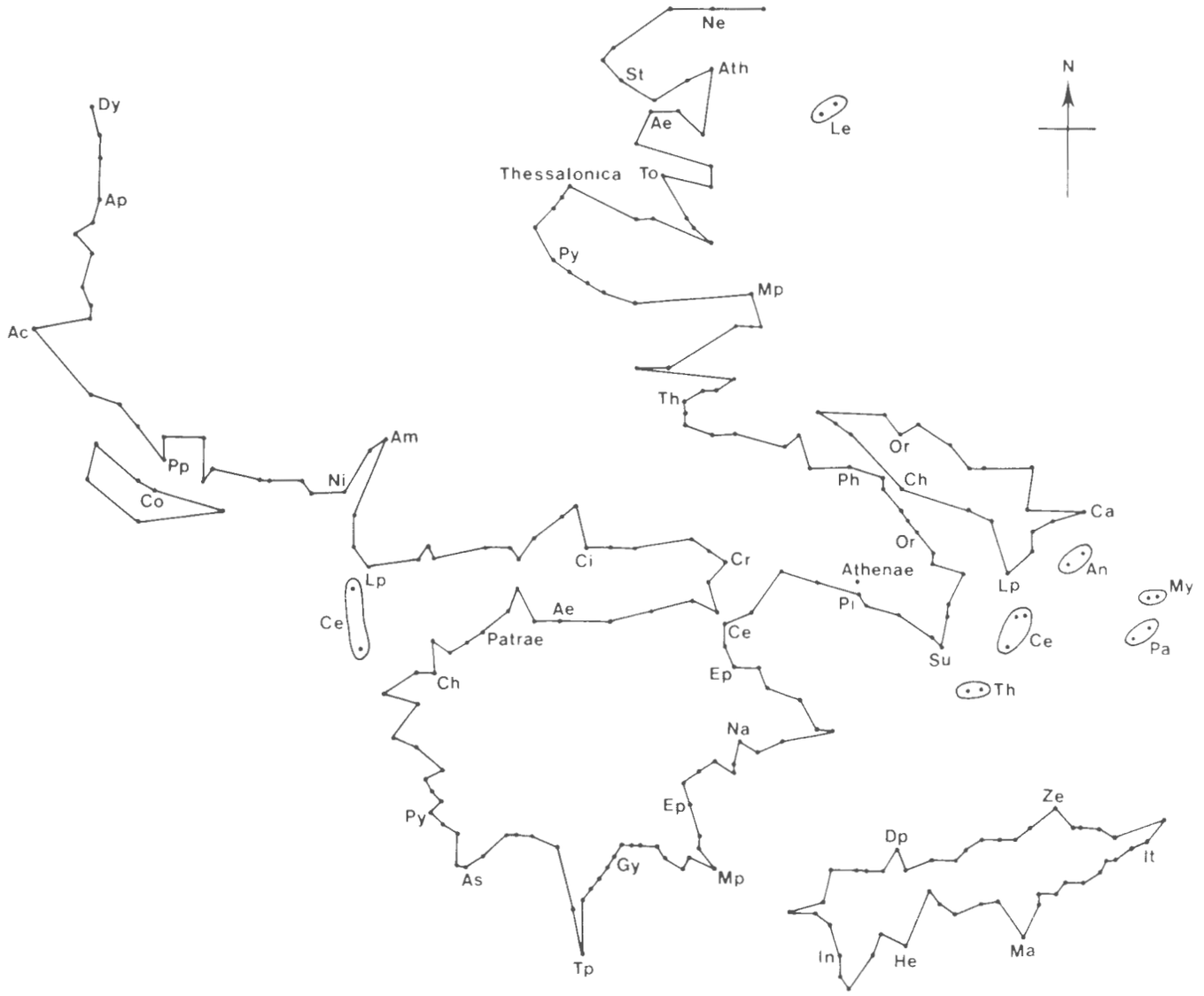


Fig. 2. ***Coastal Greece from the co-ordinates of Ptolemy.*** *Constructed on computer, the dots indicate either settlements or mouths of rivers; interior settlements have not been included. The large number of places on the coasts given helps towards a far more realistic shape than in many Ptolemy areas. But his problems with longitudinal measurement contribute towards (a) excessive E.-W. length of central Greece; (b) local errors: (1) The Chalcidice (Halkidiki) peninsulas are made to extend mainly W.-E. or W.N.W.-E.S.E. instead of mainly N.W.-S.E., with Athos too wide at its extremity; (2) the area of coast N. of Euboea is poorly delineated, as are the Argolic Gulf, Acroceraunium (Karaburuni) and Corfu; (3) Crete is placed relatively too far north, its S. coast is decidedly poor and its E. coast has incorrect orientation.*

now lost, *On Harbours*. Aristotle, in the *Meteorologica*, had drawn, or intended to draw, 10 or 11 wind names and 12 directions from which winds could come. Timosthenes completed this, added distant tribe names, and gave (perhaps in a separate work), directions and distances from Rhodes of useful harbours.

Rhodes was also the centre of Dicaearchus of Messana's diaphragma, which showed the distances of significant places E. and W. of Rhodes on a line Gibraltar – Messana – Rhodes, and so on eastwards to the Himalayas. This scheme was extended by Eratosthenes, who, after he had measured the circumference of the world, constructed a central parallel and a central meridian crossing at Rhodes. His N.-S. line ran through the mouth of the Borysthenes

(Dniepr) to Byzantium, Rhodes and Alexandria, and his distance from Byzantium to Alexandria was 8,100 stades. This gives a distance in latitude of 11°34.2′ by his reckoning, closer to the actual figure of 9°40′ than Ptolemy's (12°5′), though still too great.

We do not possess the geography and periplus of Artemidorus of Ephesus, written in 11 books about 104–101 B.C. He is often quoted for distances by later writers. The same approach, but more exactly carried out, was clearly adopted by Agrippa in his (lost) map of the Roman Empire with commentary, incomplete at his death in 12 B.C. Pliny, our chief authority on Agrippa's map, does not mention it in connection with Greece. But we know that Agrippa depended largely on lengths of Roman road; and Strabo vii.7.4 tells us that the Roman road, Via Egnatia, from Apollonia, Illyria, to Macedonia and the river Hebrus (Evros) was measured in Roman miles with milestones, a total distance of 535 miles.

Strabo wrote the most complete geography in antiquity that we possess, in 17 books, mostly preserved. His description of the Peloponnese strongly indicates reading from a map, as he tells us (viii.2.1) it is like a plane-tree leaf, and is about 1,400 stades long, from Cape Malea through Arcadia to Aigion, and about 1,400 wide.

On this, he seems to have accepted Artemidorus's land route rather than estimated as the crow flies. Strabo, like Artemidorus, is more interested in coastal than inland areas of the Peloponnese. His account of Asia Minor, which he knew well personally, being a native of Amaseia, Pontus, and partly of Asiatic stock, is more valuable for topographical studies than his accounts of more westerly areas.

Pomponius Mela, a native of Tingentera in Spain, wrote in Latin under Caligula or Claudius his *Chorographia*, still extant and described by its recent editor Silberman as *une description en forme de périple*. Nevertheless, he does briefly mention places in the interior. Like Strabo, he ignores Roman province names in Asia Minor. Cartographers can learn rather little about Greece from Mela.

Far more interesting from a Latin writer are the relevant parts of Books 4–5 of the elder Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. He tells us, for example on the subject of canals, that Leucas has again become a peninsula, though earlier its inhabitants cut a channel at the narrowest point; that violent deaths befell all who tried to dig a Corinth Canal; that Alexander the Great dug a canal $7^1/_2$ miles long through the peninsula in Ionia opposite Chios; that Xerxes' canal across the Athos peninsula was $1^1/_2$ miles long.

Pliny does not always make a critical analysis of enough sources; for example, in iv.67 he merely states: 'Older writers said the circuit of Syros was 20 miles, whereas Mucianus [governor of Syria A.D. 68–69] says it is 160 miles.' His statement that the Vale of Tempe is 5 miles long and $1^1/_2$ *iugera* wide is misleading, since the *iugerum* is a measure of area, not a linear measure.

In complete contrast, building on the work of Marinus of Tyre, who made a map of the known world with commentary (both lost) perhaps about A.D. 100, Claudius Ptolemy, some 25–50 years later, wrote his *Geographike Hyphegesis*, 'manual of geography', plotting thousands of *poleis* (cities or towns). This was a scientific approach, using coordinates of latitude and longitude, the latter east of the Canaries.

Both he and Marinus realised the problem of putting a curved surface on

to a flat one, and constructed projections. Ptolemy criticised the orthogonal projection of Marinus's world map, saying it was correct only for the latitude of Rhodes, 36°N. He accepted orthogonal projection only for regional maps, for which he allotted each region a latitude/longitude proportion. Greece, tenth and last map of Europe, was allotted a proportion of 7 E.-W.; 9 N.-S.

His map covered the Roman provinces of Macedonia, Epirus, Achaea and Crete, and occupied Book 3, chapters 12–15; Thrace is on the previous map, and western Asia Minor on the first map of Asia. After brief descriptions of boundaries, he splits Macedonia into districts, Epirus and Achaea into coastal and inland districts, and Crete into W., S., E. and N. coasts, followed by

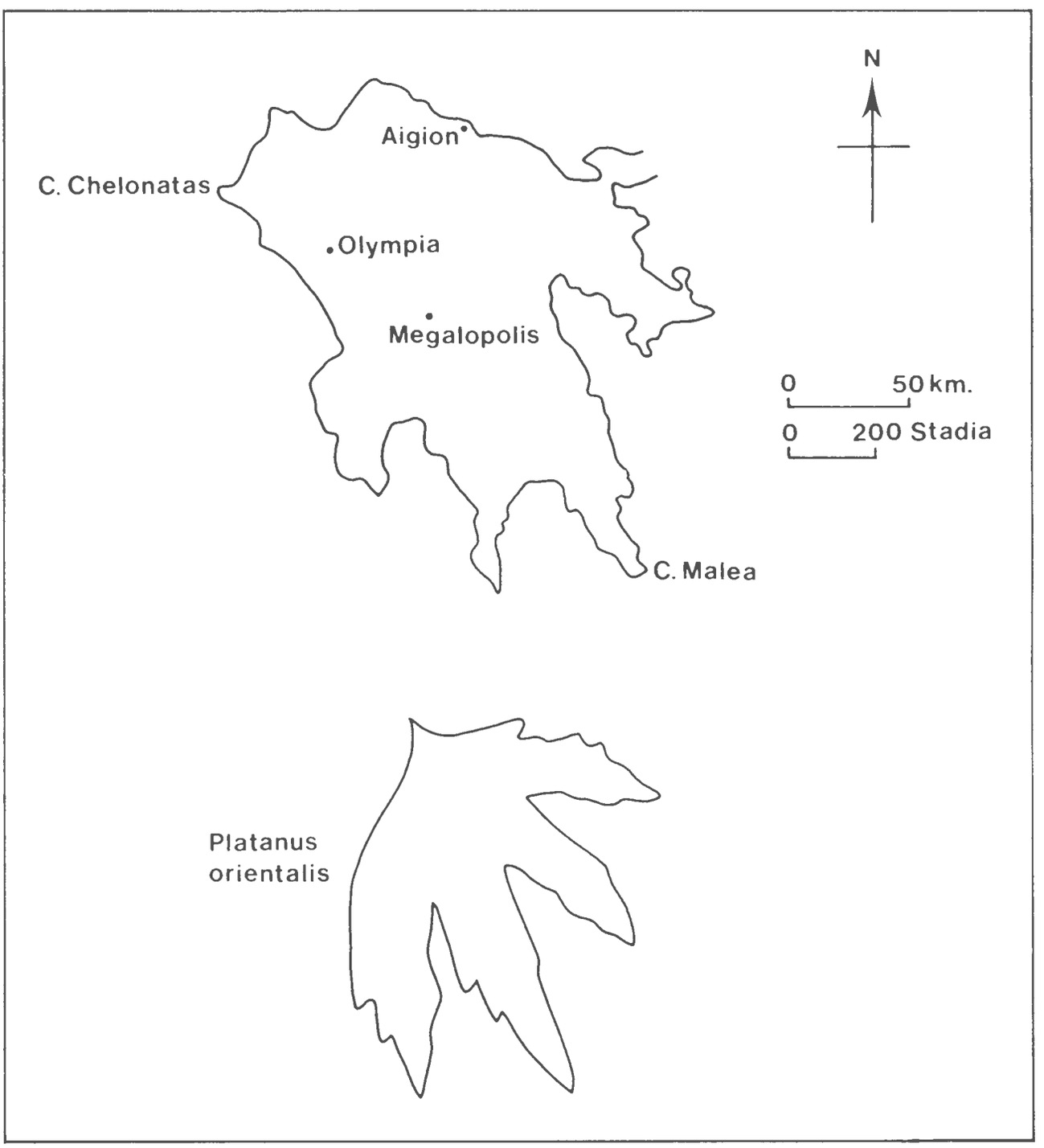


Fig. 3. Strabo viii.2.1: 'the Peloponnese is like a plane tree leaf in shape.' He adds that its length (Chelonatas – Olympia – Megalopolis – Isthmus) and width (Malea – Aigion) are each about 1,400 stades.

inland places and, as with the other three, adjacent islands.

Ptolemy's greatest mistake in Greece and the Aegean was enlarging its area. Latitude was easier to determine than longitude. Yet he, following earlier suggestions, placed Byzantium at 43°5′ N., whereas it is actually 41° N. Since he gets the latitude of Rhodes about right, this means that everything between these latitudes occupies some 7° N.-S. instead of some $4^1/_2°$ N.

As to longitude, the Peloponnese is made to extend $4^1/_2°$ E.-W., whereas, in fact, it extends only about $2^1/_2°$. Similarly, Sunium is given as $9^1/_2°$ E. of Acroceraunium (though not on the same latitude), while in fact it is only $4^3/_4°$ E. But there are a great many Greek coastal co-ordinates, so that even the computer can give a realistic impression of the coastal shape without filling in with verbal descriptions.

Pausanias's *Periegesis of Greece* in 10 books, all preserved, had reached Book 5 by A.D. 174. The author is particularly concerned with works of art, so that topographical information is incidental; but he describes his journeys in detail through central and southern mainland Greece, beginning with Attica. On the N. side of the Gulf of Corinth, he records (x.37.2–3) that Bulis had half its inhabitants collecting shellfish with purple dye. In a digression on Asia Minor (vii.2.10), he mentions that Myus was on the Maeander near the coast until the river silted up and formed a lake, and the inhabitants were driven out by mosquitoes.

We get rather little information on Greek coasts from the itineraries of the Roman Empire, though the measurements in Roman miles are useful. The Antonine Itinerary has a route from Acroceraunia to Nicopolis, Delphi, Megara, Athens and on to Thessaloniki, and a more direct route from Aulon (Vlonë) goes past Thessaloniki to Byzantium.

The Bordeaux-Jerusalem Itinerary of A.D. 333 has a similar W.-E. route through Macedonia, based on very short stages, most of 10–12 miles. No distances are given in these provinces except incomplete ones for Epirus. There is also an Antonine maritime itinerary, but it has only one distance, the others having been lost in transmission.

More useful is the Stadiasmos of the Mediterranean, probably 4th century A.D. It includes a periplus of Crete, with entries such as: 'From Poecilassus to Syba 50 stades. This is a city which has a fine harbour.' The figures in stades are mostly rounded off to the nearest 10. Periploi of this type go right on to Byzantine times.

The Peutinger Table is a 12th or early 13th-century copy, at several removes, of a 4th century A.D. original. Since the total width is about 20 times the total height, it elongates west-east the shape of Greece, which is therefore very difficult to recognise cartographically. Miletus and the whole region each side of it appear to be opposite the coast of Palestine, while the Troad seems to occupy not the N.W., but the S.W. corner of Asia Minor. But if we use it more like a modern communications map, say a London Underground or Paris Metro plan, than a map to scale, we do find (a) that it gives mileages on almost every road included, (b) that, whereas the Itineraries give us no roads in the Peloponnese, the Peutinger Table has quite a network of them; (c) that most of the place-names are correct or little altered by copying.

However, the road from Actia-Nicopolis to Larissa has no detailed mileages, while the road from Athens to

Sunium, Marathon and onwards, given on the Antonine Itinerary, is not marked. The Peutinger Table can be illuminating about the topography of the period. For example, the symbol on the Peutinger Table for a large walled city at Thessaloniki, similar to those at Aquileia and Ankara, indicates that city's importance in the 4th century A.D., as pointed out by Annalina and Mario Levi.

If, then, we may distinguish cartographic from non-cartographic ancient sources of the Greek world, which is not always easy, Ptolemy comes first, to my mind, in the former, followed by the Peutinger Table; in the second, Strabo is the most informative, followed either by Pliny or, despite his limitations, by Pausanias.

The use of the Greek sources does not end in the 4th century. It goes on with Byzantine scholars down to the fall of Constantinople, and with western scholars before and after that. A hundred years after Planudes (*ca.* 1260–1310) had unearthed manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* in Constantinople or elsewhere, Manuel Chrysoloras and Iacopo d'Angelo promoted its translation into Latin (1406), and it was that translation which led to its incredible influence on the geographical understanding and world exploration of the Renaissance.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: I should like to thank my wife for her help, both before the Athens meeting and since; our son, Stephen W. Dilke for plotting the Ptolemy co-ordinates on computer; and John Dixon, of the School of Geography, University of Leeds, for drawing out the figures.

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Susan Gole

SUSAN Gole, author of *India Within the Ganges, Indian Maps and Plans, Maps of Mughal India,* and *Early Maps of India* has been appointed Chairman of IMCoS.

Susan, who lives in London, will be well known to those that attended the Athens Symposium Dinner last year. As the main speaker for the evening, she gave her speech in fluent Greek, which surprised her English friends, and was appreciated by the Greek and Cypriot members attending the Symposium.

Jaya Books, her recently-formed publishing firm based in London, is a distributor of Indian books throughout Europe. Susan Gole is held in high esteem by those who have worked with her. She has an attractive, friendly manner, and in a quiet and unassuming way is very efficient. She will be an excellent Chairman of IMCoS, and I know that members will enjoy meeting her.

Tony Burgess, who retired as Chairman, will be helping Susan in the role of vice-Chairman. We would like to thank Tony for his period as Chairman, and for organising the London Map Fair at its new successful location. We were sorry that he had to give up so suddenly, and we give him our greatest sympathies at the recent loss of his wife, Kay. We were so pleased to see her enjoying herself at Athens.



IMCoS Executive Chairman, Susan Gole

MALCOLM YOUNG

IMCoS – Tooley Award

NOMINATIONS are invited for this prestigious Award for 1990. All members are welcome to put forward their suggestions in writing to the President, Dr Helen Wallis OBE (c/o Harry Pearce, Hon. Secretary), before the end of May. The Award will be presented to the individual who, in the opinion of the Selection Committee, has been responsible for the cartographic contribution of greatest merit and widest interest to map collectors world-wide. Though the Award is intended to recognise individual merit, in special circumstances a group of people or an organisation could be eligible.

Previous recipients include Dr Helen Wallis OBE, Rodney Shirley, Valerie Scott, Kenneth Nebenzahl, Malcolm Young, Dr Mireille Pastoureau and Dr Eila Campbell. Members of the Selection Committee (two nominated by IMCoS and two by Tooley Adams & Co.) are ineligible for the Award.

The Award is presented annually at the June Dinner, and consists of a trophy, engraved each year with the name of the winner, and a voucher worth £100 to be spent at Tooley Adams & Co.

An 18th-Century Archaeological Map from East Yorkshire

IN THE writer's possession is a copy of a map, 530mm by 760mm, drawn and surveyed in 1744 by John Haynes of York, and engraved by George Vertue at the expense of Lord Burlington. It delineates a tract of land in the Yorkshire Wolds from Market Weighton in the south to Garrowby Hill, twelve miles to the north, to a scale of 36 chains to the inch, or 2.2 inches to the mile.

There are other copies extant, for example in the British Library, at the Royal Geographical Society, and the Yorkshire Museum. The map is hand-coloured, but as the key in the map's title shows, this colouring is essential to the map.

John Haynes, probably born about 1705, took up his freedom of York as a saddler in 1728. An advertisement in the *York Courant* (9th Sept., 1740) shows the connection between that trade and his draughtsmanship and surveying: 'Saddlers that have Occasion to have their Leather printed... may have it done... by John Haynes, Engraver and Copper-Plate Printer, in the Minster Yard, York.'

He also offered land-surveying and perspective views of Gentlemen's Seats. He had already in 1731 published a south-west prospect of York more useful for the accuracy of its detail than elegant, either in its draughtsmanship or perspective. He drew several of the plates in Francis Drake's *Eboracum* (1736) including the well-known and often-reproduced view of the Roman road and Bramham Moor with its attractive figures of contemporary travellers.

He produced a magnificent large scale map of the Newborough Priory estate in North Yorkshire, now in the County Record Office at Northallerton. In 1751 he published a survey of the Chelsea Botanic Garden.

Haynes' East Yorkshire map belongs to a class of map not often collected: those designed primarily to show archaeological features. This class is not described by David Smith, *Antique Maps of the British Isles* (1982), who indeed treats the one example he does illustrate (fig. 44, p.94), Bradley's survey of the prehistoric fortifications at Stanwick, near Richmond, Yorks, as if it were a plan of contemporary military lines.

Not all archaeological maps are as pretty as the present example, but are part of a tradition that includes John Aubrey in the 17th, the detailed surveys of General Roy in the 18th, and the beautifully engraved plans and maps of Henry MacLaughlan in the 19th century.

Haynes spells out his archaeological purpose in the rather long title enclosed in an elegant cartouche [fig.1], decorated with wild flowers. He mentions first 'some Stupendous Remains of Roman Antiquity'. These are the Wold dykes, multiple or single ramparts and ditches, of probably mainly Iron Age date as far as their visible structure is concerned, but marking out boundaries of earlier late Bronze Age origin.

Haynes, influenced by Drake, was the first to illustrate the dykes as a system and in relation to the landscape, in particular the deep chalk dales whose bottoms – and it is these that Haynes marks – often connect otherwise discon-

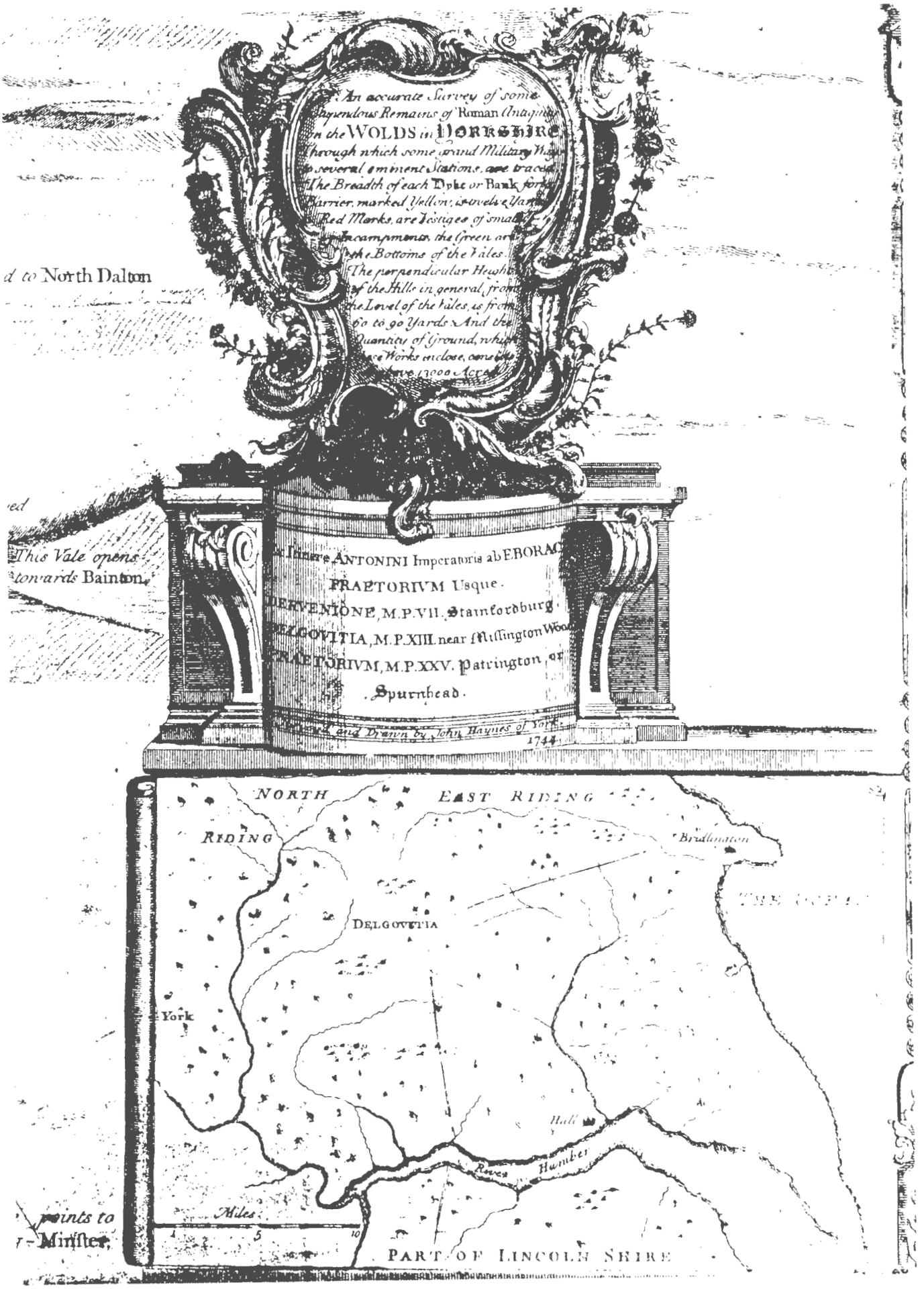


Fig. 1: Haynes spells out his archaeological purpose in the rather long title enclosed in an elegant cartouche, decorated with wild flowers.

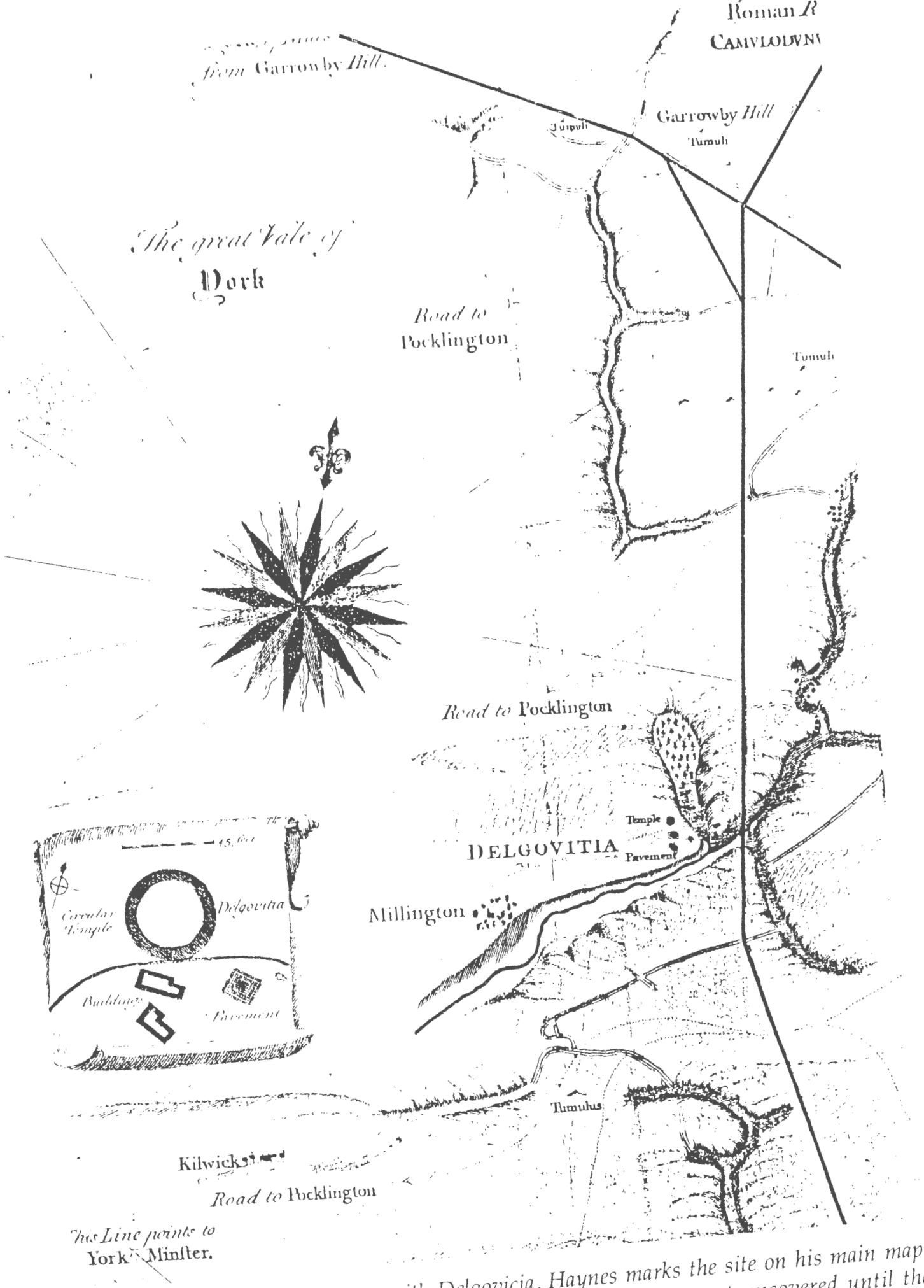


Fig. 2: Besides the identification with Delgovicia, Haynes marks the site on his main map, and includes an inset plan of the Roman buildings which were not uncovered until the summer of 1745.

tinuous lengths of dyke. Modern agriculture has destroyed most of these dykes, which extended over a much larger area than Haynes shows, covering all the Wolds and adjacent areas.

We have to rely today on air-photography as well as the work of earlier surveyors such as Haynes if we are to recover anything like a complete picture of these works.

The layout, axis of the map, and the area covered is designed to illustrate a theory of Drake's about one of the routes in a 2nd-century Roman road book,the Antonine Itinerary from York (*Eboracum*) to *Praetorium*, identified by Drake with with Patrington or Spurn Point, and the intermediate station of *Derventio* and *Delgovicia*.

In particular, he wished to show as part of that route a length of the Roman road from Malton to Brough-on-Humber (I. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, No.29). Drake (*Eboracum* [1736], 32), describes the discovery of part of that road during the construction of the Great Pond in Londesborough Park by Thomas Knowlton, Lord Burlington's head gardener, a man of some importance in the history of gardening, and the subject of a recent biography (Blanche Henrey, *No Ordinary Gardener*, [1982]).

He was able to trace the road by observation north and south of the pond, and it is probably his fieldwork which Haynes was mapping. Today, very few traces of the road are obvious. Where Haynes differs from the route shown on modern 1:10,000 O.S. maps at the approach to Willington Dale from the south, his line is not only the more suitable one, but traces of the road can be found on it. Sighting lines to York and Beverley Minsters are marked by Haynes from the Roman road which he probably used as the base line of his survey.

Drake identified *Derventio* with Stamford Bridge on the river Derwent, and *Delgovicia* in 1736 with Londesborough, but after the discovery of the Roman buildings there in 1745, with Millington. On a plinth supporting the cartouche of his title, Haynes inscribed the Latin of the Antonine Itinerary with Drake's identifications. The identification of *Delgovicia* with Millington apparently contradicted the date 1744 after Haynes' signature.

Below the plinth, Haynes has an inset map of the East Riding, showing the Roman roads over a wider area, set against a background of natural features: rivers, hills and trees. The only contemporary settlements shown for the purposes of location are York, Hull and Bridlington. Surprisingly, Haynes has not adapted Drake's own map of Roman roads (*Eboracum*, opp.37), but seems to have used two separate maps to compile his base map, taking the coastline from Moll (1724), but other details such as the sandbanks in the Humber, the hills and the rivers, from Morden (1695).

Besides the identification with *Delgovicia*, Haynes marks the site on his main map, and includes an inset plan of the Roman buildings which were not uncovered until the summer of 1745 [fig.2]. A local farmer informed Knowlton of the discovery, who summoned to the site Dr Burton, caricatured as Doctor Slop, the man midwife, by Sterne in *Tristram Shandy*, but well-known as an antiquary, and Drake. All three published accounts in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society (xliv, Nos.479 [1746] and 483 [1747]), and Drake added an account in manuscript to his own interleaved copy of *Eboracum*, now in the York Central Library.

Drake brought a surveyor with him,

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Fig. 3: Londesborough Park is shown in some detail with the village and church and house and gardens shown in plan.

whom he does not name, but was presumably Haynes. He ends his manuscript account: To conclude whilst we were on the Spot and directing this Survey, in the year 1745, a year in which the House of Stewart, again, attempted to recover the British Crown, some people observing us gave an information at York, that we were marking out a Camp in the Wolds, which had like to have occasioned us some trouble to contradict'.

Two separate figures illustrate Drake and Burton's article in the Philosophical Transactions based on the main survey, and the one of the buildings at Millington. The combined drawing cannot have been ready in time for that publication. Haynes probably made his original survey and drawing in 1744, corrected and added to it after the discovery in 1745. On 27th July, 1747, Drake wrote to Stukeley: 'I have sent up an accurate survey of the Roman roads leading to and from this place', [i.e., Millington] 'with the stupendous remains of the fortications by earthen ramparts... to the Lord Burlington. His Lordship has put this map into the hands of Mr Vertue to contract and make a plate of, at his own expense.'

On 7th June, 1749, he again wrote to Stukeley: '... as the plate is in town... of the Roman roads about Londesborough, you may have as many prints taken off... as you desire for yourself and friends.' (Surtees Society 80, *Memoir of... Stukeley and... Correspondence*, III [1887], 355-6).

Other archaeological features included by Haynes are barrows, the 'Vestiges of small Encampments' which where identifiable today include a miscellany of small earthworks such as the house platforms of a formerly more extensive village at Warter, or pillow mounds, the remains of artificial rabbit warrens, and at Kiplingcotes the plan of 'Some Remains of a decayed Village'.

Contemporary features include villages, shown in birdseye view convention with the church correctly with or without spire, roads, woodland, the course of the Kiplingcotes Horse Race and arable land. Londesborough Park [fig.3] is shown in some detail with the village and church and house and gardens shown in plan.

Both Haynes in his title and Drake emphasise the accuracy of his map, and on the whole within the limits of such a survey it is accurate. Henry Still of the Ordnance Survey commented favourably on the map's accuracy in 1853 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1853 pt.ii, 269-70).

The alignment of the map is based on the compass, which in 1744 had a very different magnetic variation from today. Its accuracy ensured that the map was used both in the library and in the field. The Yorkshire Museum copy is varnished and mounted on rollers for library use, the number 47, written on the author's copy, suggests that it, too, was once a portfolio in a library, but there exist copies so criss-crossed with folds that they can only have been out in someone's pocket in the field.

HERMAN RAMM

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Reminiscences of an Old Collector (2)

Murder in the Map Shop

CECIL COURT, near the National Gallery in Leicester Square, is a short pedestrian way linking Charing Cross Road with St Martin's Lane, lined each side by small shops, selling old books, prints, etc. It is interesting to map collectors as now the new home of Tooley Adams Ltd., whose illustrious founder was the legendary R.V. Tooley, who for most of his lifetime presided over the famous map room of Francis Edwards Ltd., at No.83 Marylebone High Street, then mecca of map collectors.

Thirty years ago, in the full flush of my map collecting enthusiasm, Cecil Court was one of my regular 'ports of call' (there were few map-selling shops then), in particular a small, dimly-lit antique shop owned by a Swiss called Louis Meier.

The shop and its owner alike, might well have come out of the pages of Dickens. The window of the shop had a 'display' of a few prints and old maps, rarely seen through the dirt and last disturbed months or perhaps years before. Inside, the shop – only nine or ten feet wide – was piled high each side with a motley collection of Roman antiquities, old pictures, old prints, bric-à-brac and massive, ornate gilt picture-frames. Louis had a passion for frames and was reputed to have a warehouse full of them.

The jumble on each side cascaded into the middle of the floor, bearing only a narrow path, along which a prospective customer gingerly picked his way. In a small office at the back of the shop, Louis sat in his overcoat, crouched over a small, ancient gas fire.

The shop was locally notorious as the scene of an earlier brutal murder, of which I have no details*. Was it imagination, I wonder, that there seemed to be a chilly, macabre at at atmosphere about the shop?

When I first knew Louis, the shop was open most days and most of the day, and he had an assistant, a large lady of uncertain age, but very certain flaming red hair, whose real function was not obvious; she knew about maps.

Louis himself – the very model of what a salesman should *not* be – only appearing if he did not actively dislike the look of a would-be customer, then waited for him to speak. If, when asked 'Have you got a ——-?' Louis decided that after all, he didn't really like the customer, replied with a curt 'no', whether or not he had one.

The truth was, I supposed, that Louis was at heart a collector who didn't like parting with his treasures. Though by repeated visits I eventually became accepted – more or less – buying from him was always akin to extracting teeth. He was, I think, a compulsive bargain hunter rather than a discriminating buyer at the sales he frequented. So, though his map stock was of variable quality, yet there were nuggets of gold amongst the dross, and some surprises.

I still wonder how he came to have not just one, but two first edition Saxtons of fine quality of the same county, which I, of course, snapped up at £18

**The murder, I believe, took place in fairly recent times, during the last 10 – 15 years. ED.*

each (alas, he had no other Saxtons), and how did he come to have quite a large pile of excellent Mordens, in multiples of several counties?

Eventually, I broke through his reserve *somewhat*, and he told me – in rather fractured English – that he originally came to England to work in a Swiss bank, but became side-tracked into antiques and hence into old maps.

As the years passed, first his lady assistant left, then he opened only part time and eventually neighbours said he only came occasionally. What happened to him, his stock and his 'warehouse-full' of gilt frames – probably quite valuable by now I never heard. My memory of him is of a rather sad character, who, I hope, found some happiness amongst his treasures.

CLIFFORD STEPHENSON

London Collectors' Evening

WHEN Rodney Shirley and Caroline Batchelor planned the informal Meeting at the Farmers' Club, London, for 25th January, they might have worried about snowdrifts keeping members away. Whoever would have thought that 110 m.p.h. gales, overturning trucks, closing stations and blocking roads, would be the culprit? Through the storm, eleven stalwarts managed the journey (though one or two were almost at last gasp as they crawled through the door), and a most enjoyable evening it turned out to be.

Five brought maps to display and talk about, and since the numbers were so few, we were all able to study them closely, and learn why they appealed to their owners. Three large maps of Africa showed how the various European nations added their names to the tracts of unknown land; even the Russians were doing it.

A beautifully-executed map of Durham county had been drawn by a fourteen-year-old boy in the 18th century. Bound sheets of a large-scale map of Wiltshire enabled its owner to talk knowledgeably about the state of his host's house two hundred years ago, when he went out to dinner with friends. Quite different maps of Wiltshire, modern in content, but antique in style, are used in today's advertising.

A long chase through bureaucratic tape in India resulted in photographs of unusual manuscript maps of Kashmir. Those without maps were persuaded to talk briefly on their collections, and the evening passed pleasantly with wine, sandwiches and mellowed reminiscing of IMCoS's early days.

United Kingdom Symposium, 1991

1991 brings an exciting innovation to IMCoS members. The Annual Summer Symposium and Dinner will be held in Edinburgh instead of London, and will take place one week earlier than usual. The host will be the National Library of Scotland. Members will thus be able to attend both the IMCoS Symposium on 8th June, and that of the History of Cartography in Uppsala and Stockholm in the following week. The IMCoS Map Fair will be held as usual at the New Connaught Rooms in London on 16th June, 1991.

Bird's Eye View of the City of York

By Nathaniel Whittock

IN THE middle of the last century, a coloured lithograph on York appeared on sale, which recorded in great detail the buildings and street elevations of the city from a viewpoint in the south-west, several hundred feet above Blossom Street.

It was entitled a *Bird's Eye View of the City of York*, and N. Whittock was named as the artist. As it recorded the city then existing within the mediaeval walls and their immediate environs before the newly-invented art of photography had any practitioners, it is now, in its precision, an important topographical work, especially as in many cases there are no other paintings, drawings or photographs of buildings and streets that have vanished in more recent years.

Who, then, was N. Whittock, and how did he become involved in the production of this *tour de force*?

On 29th November, 1856, Robert Sunter, owner of a bookshop and picture gallery at 23, Stonegate, York, announced in the columns of the *Yorkshire Gazette* that he had on view 'the beautiful original drawing of a Bird's Eye View of the City of York and Neighbourhood by Nathaniel Whittock [*sic*], Esq., of London, including the Cathedral, Churches, Bars, Walls, Museum and Grounds, the Castle, Clifford's Tower, St Peter's School, the Retreat, the Cattle Market, Country, &c., &c., and embracing every object of interest in the City and Environs.'

The next week, when this advertisement was repeated, the *Yorkshire Gazette* was able to report 'we have been delighted with an inspection of the Bird's Eye View of the City of York and its Vicinity, by Nathaniel Whitlock [*sic*], Esq., of London. The painting is on an extensive scale, and as work of art, is a highly meritorious production. It enters into the minutest details, showing every street, and all the public edifices, from the magnificent Cathedral to the unpretending fish-market.

'The residences of our fellow-citizens are also accurately defined – even the lamp-posts have not escaped the keen observation of the artist. Mr Sunter, the proprietor of this extraordinary work of art, has it now on view in his picture saloon, and we strongly recommend to all the friends of Old Ebor to gratify themselves by witnessing this splendid panoramic production.

Following two further advertisements on 13th and 20th December, 1856, Sunter again, in the *Yorkshire Gazette* of 18th July 1857, it informed its readers that, 'this Minute, Picturesque and Original Drawing by N. Whittock' was still on exhibition. After this reminder, the original drawing, probably executed in ink and watercolour if he used the same medium as his earlier bird's eye view of Hull, is lost to sight. Its whereabouts are now unknown. Fortunately, a little later, John Storey made a lithograph of it [approx. 21 x 36 inches], which was printed by William Monkhouse.

This enabled Sunter to sell copies of the original, many of which have survived to the present time. In fact, it was so popular that another edition was necessary. The second (approx. 20 x 34 inches) is exactly the same as the first except that some detail has been

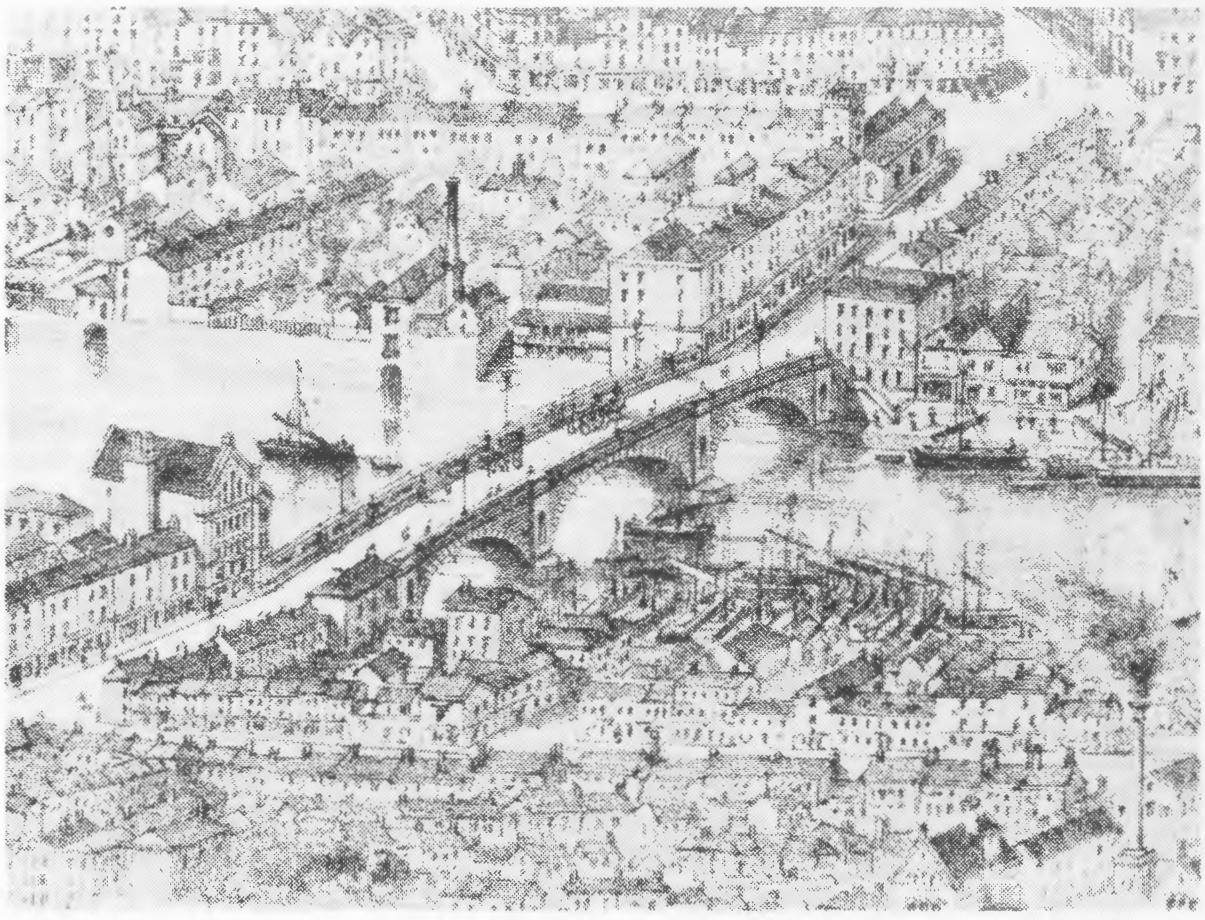
cropped around the edge of the picture. A key to the lithograph was also published, giving 98 numbered references to the principal buildings in the city that could be seen in it.

Some time after Lendal Bridge was opened on 8th January, 1863, Edward Brown, a lithographic artist who had been apprenticed to Storey, made a smaller copy (approx. 12 x 18 inches), on which the new bridge Duncombe Place, St Wilfrid's Catholic Church and some new buildings in Nunnery lane had been added. This copy is very rare.

The artist, Nathaniel Whittock was born in the city of Westminster on 26th January, 1791, the son of John and Sarah Whittock, and was baptised on 6th March at St John the Evangelist, Smith Square. He next appears, at some time between 1824 and 1828, in Oxford, where he styled himself 'Teacher of Drawing and Perspective, and Lithographist to the University of Oxford'.

He is not mentioned in any Oxford directory, but in 1823, Thomas Whittock, possibly a relation, was selling prints in St Clements. His lithographic printing establishment, called both Whittock & Co., and Whittock & Goodman, was originally in Oxford, but moved to 14 Paternoster Row, London, in April, 1828, where it remained until the next year.

In 1830 and 1831 he was at 24 Garnault Place, Spa Fields, London, but there is no further mention of him in the street directories of the capital until 1848, when he was to be found at 34 Richard Street, Islington, where he worked in partnership with his nephew, Henry Hyde, until 1860. A trade card, which cannot be dated, may provide an explanation of his activities in the missing years. This shows him to be working on his own at 39 Rathbone Place,



Ouse Bridge: a detail from Nathaniel Whittock's ***Bird's Eye View of the City of York,*** *published in 1858.*

Oxford Street, as a Lithographic Draughtsman and Engraver. He also taught lithographic drawing and supplied materials.

He was an excellent draughtsman, and produced many illustrations for Thomas Allen's topographical works on Surrey and Sussex (1829 and 1830), London (1836) and Dublin (1846). The breadth of his interests and abilities can be seen in his educational works. These include a self-instructional drawing-book for youths, a guide for decorative painters and glaziers, a manual for miniature painters, and a new manual of perspective.

His earliest book, *The Oxford Drawing Book*, was published in 1825, and his last was *The Easy Self-Instructing Drawing Book* in 1860, the year of his death, giving him a productive working life of over 35 years. He died at his residence in Islington on 12th August, 1860, at the age of 69, having survived his wife, Ann Reeves Whittock, by six months. Besides the considerable evidence of his output, little is known of Whittock as an artist or a person, and where he received his training.

He obviously came north to York and Yorkshire at the instigation of Thomas Allen, and he was in Hull at a later time. It must have been on one of these occasions that Robert Sunter became aware of his abilities, and remembered them when looking for someone to undertake the commission which resulted in the *Bird's Eye View of the City of York*.

The accuracy of the lithograph is extraordinary. While the width of the streets is sometimes exaggerated to show the full aspect of the buildings on the far side of them, this is merely an artifice to avoid obscuring details which would have been hidden had true perspective been used. The individual buildings, however, are portrayed very precisely with very few errors; those in the foreground on the Micklegate side of the river are, necessarily more detailed than those at the top of the picture, nearer the skyline. How then did Whittock set about the production of the original drawing from which the lithographic copies were made?

He was certainly no stranger to the methods of making bird's eye views, having completed one of Oxford in 1834, another of Melbourne, Australia, in 1854, one of Hull in 1855 and three of London in 1845, 1849 and 1859. The key to the York picture states that it 'was drawn on the spot by N. Whittock'. Does this imply that Whittock was able to observe the city from the actual viewpoint over Blossom Street? This would have required him to have worked from the basket of a gas-filled captive balloon, and certainly this technique is suggested in the title of other bird's eye views. For instance, *A Balloon View of London (as seen from Hampstead)* was published in 1851 by Banks and Co.

While this is possible – such balloons were an attraction at this time at the Great Yorkshire Galas held annually in Botham Park – the number of hours needed aloft to record the details necessary to make the actual drawing at ground level would have made this a prohibitively expensive exercise. On the other hand, he could have taken a camera up with him and used photographs to work from in his studio. Whittock was well aware of the possibilities of photography, having written the world's first photographic manual: *Photogenic Drawing Made Easy: A Manual of Photography*.

This is not dated, but it is possible from internal evidence to place it between April and September 1839. He gives no details of Daguerre's process, as this was not then known, but

describes the far more flexible system invented by William Henry Fox Talbot, with improvements by Herschel and others, that is the basis of modern photography. The balloon, however, would not have been sufficiently stable a platform to cater for the relatively long exposures required at the time; while originally some minutes were needed to make a calotype negative, even in the mid 1850s several seconds were necessary.

In any case, he could not have used photography for the Oxford picture, as the Fox Talbot process was not published until January 1839.

It is certain then, that Whittock made the *Bird's Eye View of the City of York* from observations at ground level, and all his skills as a teacher of perspective would have been required to change what he recorded there to what could be seen from the imagined elevated view-point. George Washington Wilson, in 1850, produced a bird's eye view of Aberdeen, which was published in the same year by J. & J. May. Although Wilson was then an artist specialising in portraiture and teaching drawing and painting, he was later to make a world-wide reputation as the producer of high-quality topographical photographs.

For his bird's eye view, he made many sketches of buildings and streetscapes, both from street level and from tall buildings. Then, with the help of maps, he drew a detailed view of Aberdeen from the south, changing the perspective to the new view-point. Whittock must have used this same technique in York. A large number of sketches would have been needed by him to achieve the accuracy of detail that it is characteristic of the whole lithograph. He must, therefore, have been a familiar figure in the streets of York for a considerable period during 1856.

The last question that needs answering is – when was the first edition of the lithograph made if it was not on sale at the same time as the original drawing was on display at Sunter's picture gallery? This can be answered, determining the date of the buildings contained in it. A number were built in the early to mid-1850s, but one in particular, Priory Street Wesleyan School, enables the date of the lithograph to be estimated with some precision.

Its foundation stone was laid on 1st January, 1857, but it was not until 9th January 1858 that the *Yorkshire Gazette* was able to report that the school was to be reopened shortly and would be ready for practical use the next week. Its representation on the lithograph, with people in the forecourt, shows very clearly that it was in use. As the work of building it had not commenced until after the original drawing had been completed, it cannot have been on it, and must have been added when preparing the lithographic stone to ensure that the copies were completely up-to-date.

This could not have happened until early in 1858. It is, of course, possible that the school was added in 1857, sometime during its reconstruction. The architect's plans would have been available then from which the finished building could have been depicted, but nevertheless, the copies could not have been put on sale until the school was opened and in use; otherwise they would have been inaccurate. 1858 emerges very clearly, then, as the date of the first edition. The second edition cannot be dated. The later reduced and redrawn version must, of course, be after the opening of Lendal Bridge in 1863 and before 1867, by which year its

lithographers, W. Monkhouse, Newbald and Stead, had ceased their partnership.

To appreciate fully Nathaniel Whittock's *Bird's Eye View of the City of York* it must be studied very closely and compared, if possible, with contemporary photographs by such photographers as Fox Talbot and Roger Fenton, with a national reputation, who visited York in 1845 and 1854 respectively or, like William Pumphrey and George Fowler Jones, only known locally. The comparisons which can be made using these photographs clearly demonstrate the wealth of detail which Whittock included, and the accuracy with which he recorded it in his picture – a veritable mine of information and a worthy follower in the lineage of prospects and panoramas of British towns and cities, which started with Hoefnagel's portraits of Oxford that appeared in 1575 in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

HUGH MURRAY, MC, C Eng, FSA

Forthcoming Diary Dates

1990

14th March:	IMCoS Executive Committee Meeting.
11th April:	IMCoS Executive Committee Meeting.
9th May:	IMCoS Executive Committee Meeting. [Annual General Meeting]
13th June:	IMCoS Executive Committee Meeting.
15th–17th June:	United Kingdom Reception, Symposium, Map Fair and Exhibition.
11th July:	IMCoS Executive Committee Meeting.
12th September:	IMCoS Executive Committee Meeting.
14th November:	IMCoS Executive Committee Meeting.
1st–4th October:	Washington, USA. Symposium.

Advance Dates/ Venues under Discussion

1991

8th June	Annual Symposium and Dinner, Edinburgh
16th June	Map Fair, London
11th–12th November	Singapore Symposium; travel on to
17th–19th November	Sydney, NSW, Australia
1992 October	Istanbul, Turkey
1993 October	Mainz & Duisburg, Germany
1994 October	Italy

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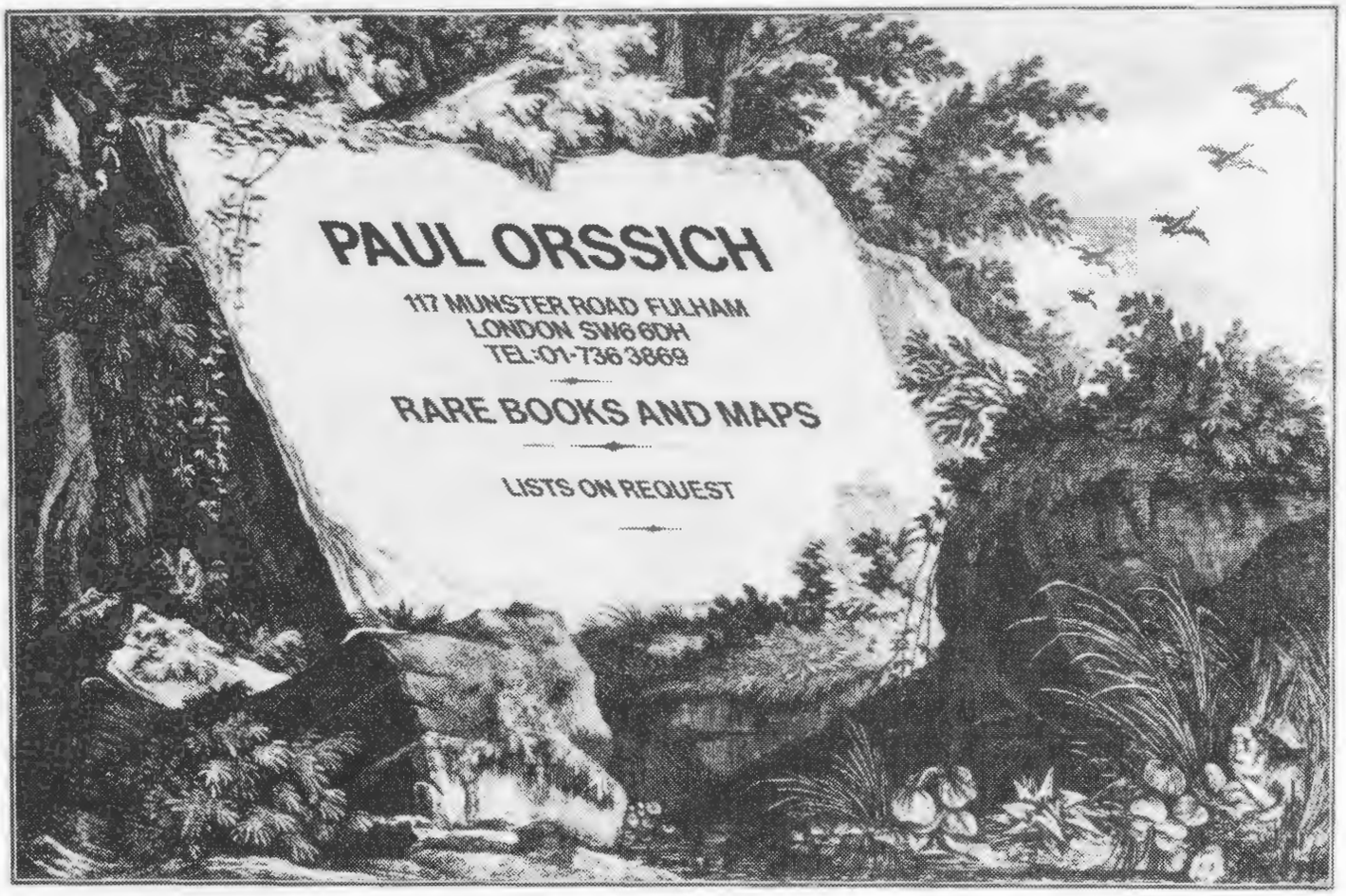
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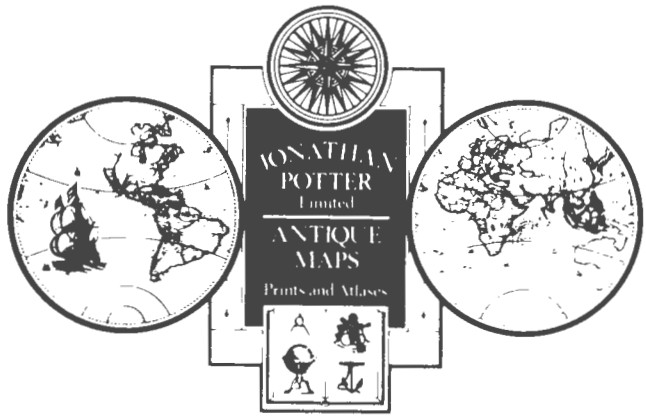
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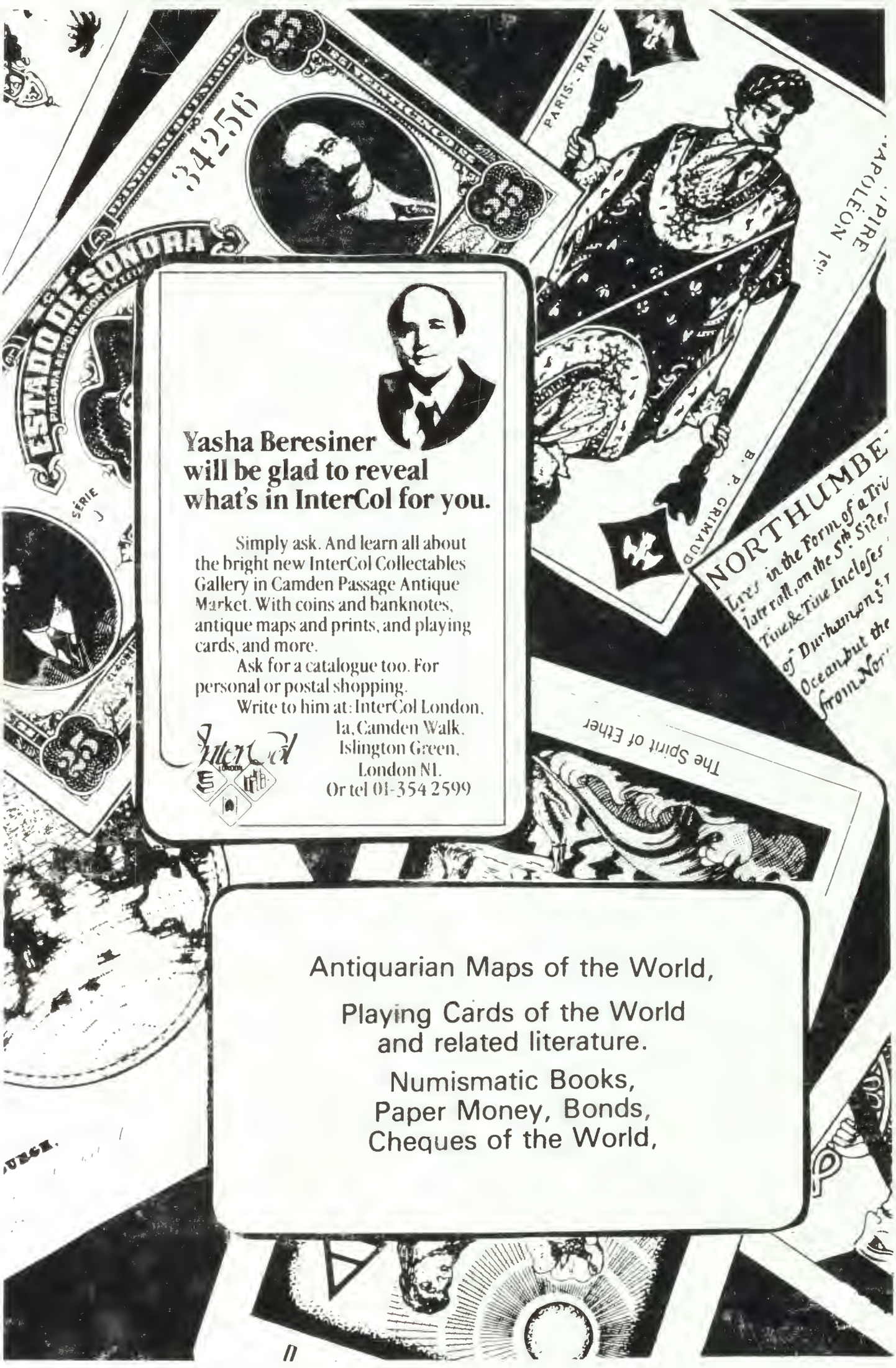
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