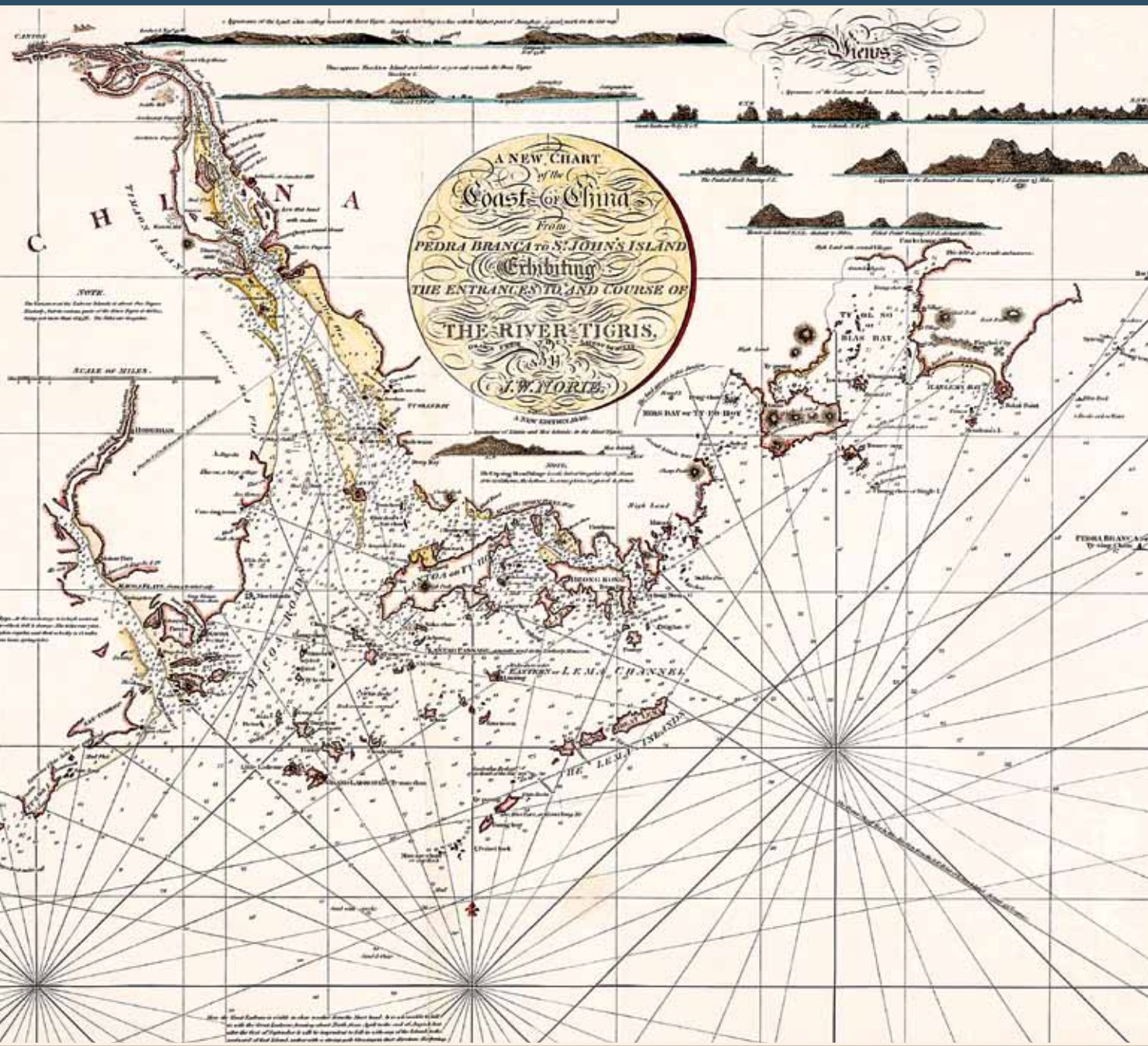
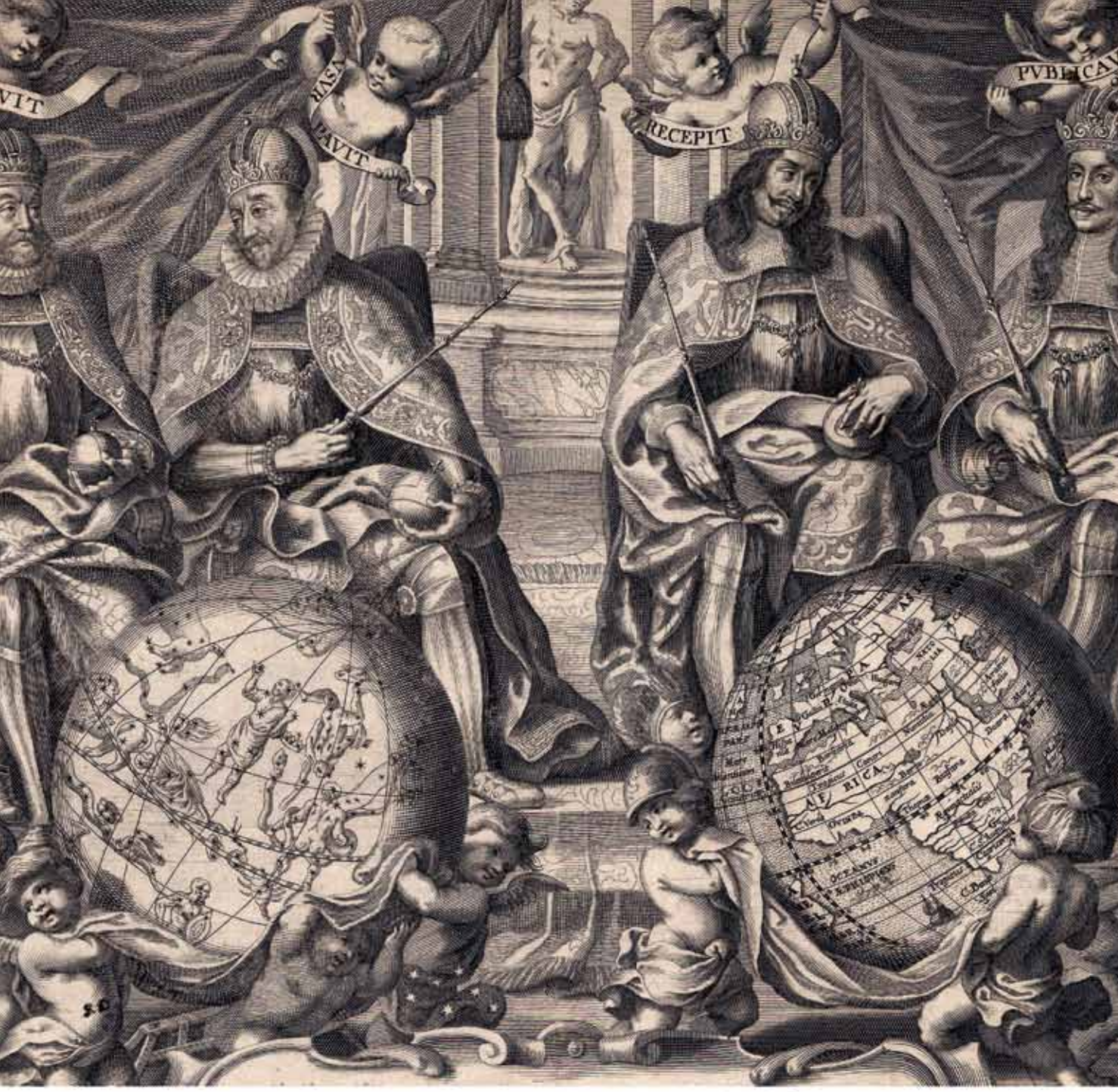
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IMCS JOURNAL

JUNE 2018 No.153



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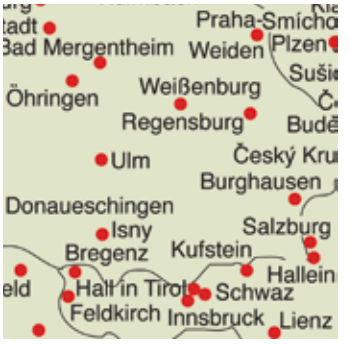
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Front cover **Detail of 'A New Chart of the Coast of China from Pedra Branca to St John's Island Exhibiting the Entrances to, and Course of The River Tigris', J. W. Norie, 1840. Courtesy of Wattis Fine Art, Hong Kong.**

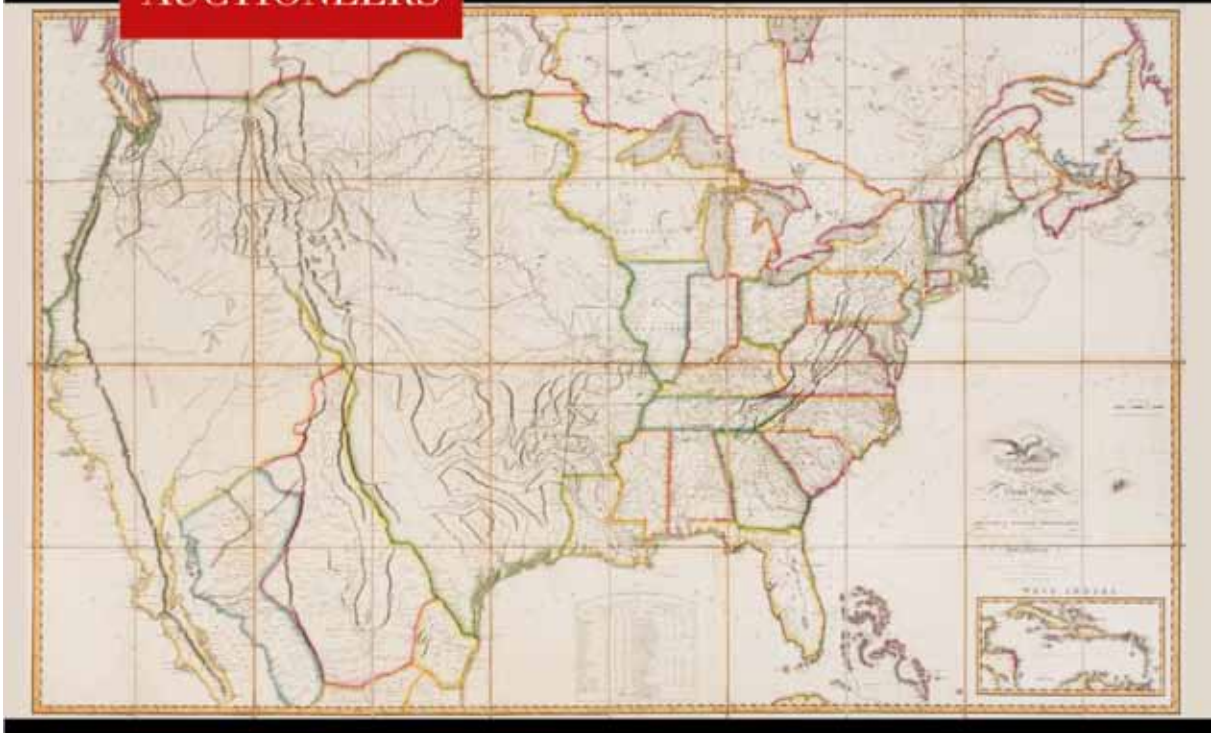
THE FINE CARTOGRAPHIC AND PRINTED AMERICANA COLLECTION OF EVELYN AND ERIC NEWMAN

November 12, 2018 | Chicago

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MELISH, John. *Map of the United States...Entered...the 6th day of June, 1816... improved to the 1st of January, 1818.* Philadelphia, 1818. Engraved map hand-colored in outline, dissected in 40 sections and mounted on linen, edged in cream silk, folds with marbled end sheets. THE THOMAS W. STREETER COPY.



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A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Hans Kok

We have just had a very successful visit to Cambridge where we also had our annual Map Evening, now rather a cross-breed between a map afternoon and a map evening, as it started around 4.30pm and lasted until almost 8pm, with a variety of maps being shown and discussed.

Our next event will be the June weekend that will be familiar to many of you as it features the Annual Dinner on Friday evening (8 June), when the Malcolm Young Lecture is scheduled and the Helen Wallis Award will be presented. The weekend will include the constitutionally required Annual General Meeting (AGM) on Saturday morning, and seamlessly lead into the London Map Fair proper on Saturday afternoon and Sunday (9 and 10 June). It offers the rare, but pleasurable, occasion to find so many reputable dealers with their maps under one roof. Furthermore, the Fair, which is held in Kensington at the Royal Geographical Society, is an excellent incentive for an interesting trip to London, I feel.

Registration for our combined Manila/Hong Kong Symposium in October is now open for either both venues or just one of your choice. It is accessible at www.imcos.org, where you can also find further details on the programme via the through-linked websites of the local organisers.

Bad news for 2019, regrettably, we have been unable to arrange an International Symposium for 2019 and suggest we look to the big Amsterdam ICHC Symposium instead, which takes places between the 14 and 19 July 2019. IMCoS is considering organising a touristic pre-Symposium tour of a few days in the eastern and northern region of the Netherlands, terminating in time for the start of the Amsterdam conference. Sydney is slated for October 2020.

On 25 May, this year, a new GDPR or General Data Protection Regulation will come into effect in the European Union and, notwithstanding Brexit, the United Kingdom will be adopting it for at least two years also. The basic intention, though laudable, will still pose problems of implementation and related supervision and enforcement. IMCoS, as a matter of principle, never provides private data to third parties at all, but we may have to ask for your permission to hold your data and to publicise a data handling policy in the near future to show our compliance with the new rules. We are happy to have Mike Sweeting on the Executive Committee, who knows the ins and outs of the matter, and Peter Walker who will be our DPO (Data Protection Officer) in future, as he handles the registration of our members.

IMCoS will again have a stand (free, thank you LMF!) at the London Map Fair where we will be waving the flag for Historical Cartography, as well as attracting new members. 'Old' ones who missed out on renewing their membership are certainly welcome too! We will gladly make them 'legal' again at our stand at the LMF. Your chairman certainly hopes to meet many IMCoS members on the occasion!

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Frederik de Wit, 1660

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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

Shetland wants its place on the map! Tavish Scott, a member of the Scottish Parliament, who represents this subarctic archipelago, the northernmost region of the British Isles, is arguing for an amendment to the Islands Bill to 'put Shetland in the right place' on all official publications, including the country map. He says, "Shetlanders are rightly irked when they see Shetland placed in a box in the Moray Firth." Boxing the islands has been seen as a necessary solution to dealing with the near 200-km distance between Scotland and its northern isles. Lerwick, the capital of the group of islands, is located at 60°10' N, placing it further north than Oslo, Stockholm and Moscow. It is nearer to the capitals of Norway and Denmark than to London.

How best to depict the rangy shape of the British Isles with its outlying islands has always been a dilemma for mapmakers. The solution, used for centuries, has been to inset those inconvenient outliers in boxes in 'empty spaces' around the island of Great Britain. Positioning them nearer to the mainland means that the map can show greater detail, but doing so, gives the viewer a distorted picture of their exact geographical position. Even though the lines of latitude and longitude may be included in the design of the box it takes a mental effort to accurately imagine their location. Alaska and Hawaii also suffer the same misrepresentation on maps of the North American continent. Communities whose geographical identity is compromised at the hand of cartographic convenience signals how they are perceived and valued by the nation's policymakers. Rescaled and tucked somewhere convenient on a map, understandably makes Shetlanders feel undervalued and isolated. They are reminded daily of their otherness, whether on television weather bulletins, road maps or in school atlases, and, to add insult to injury, the new polymer banknotes issued by the Clydesdale Bank feature Shetland in a box.

Information Systems developer Dorothy Mortenson speaking some years back at a Northwest GIS User Conference, raised the question of why the standard practice of positioning the states of Alaska and Hawaii and the US Territories in the corner of maps of the USA still persisted when today's mapping and publishing capabilities allow space for all states to be accurately represented. She added, "If you don't want to correctly map those regions that don't fit the landscape page efficiently, then call the map what it is – the conterminous or contiguous 48 states."

The explanation behind this continued use of insets is largely attributable to commercial inertia to search for a better inclusive solution. As the historical lament of the high cost of paper, often quoted as the reason for insetting, is no longer germane, publishers have no excuses for geographic misrepresentation.

WELCOME TO OUR NEW MEMBERS

Ozan Akar, Turkey
Collection interest: Maps of Turkey and the Mediterranean countries

Kevin Anderson, Hong Kong
Collection interest: China, Hong Kong

Stelios Christodoulou, Cyprus
Collection interest: Maps of Cyprus

Tom Hardin, USA

Paul Hughes, UK
Collection interest: Hydrography, tides, charts, sailing directions

Stuart Whayman, UK
Collection interest: Suffolk county and Ipswich town maps

Alfredo Roca, The Philippines,
Collection interest: Asia, The Philippines and Mariana Islands

EMAIL ADDRESSES

It is important that we have your correct email address so please take a minute to check this by going to the **Members area** of our website **www.imcos.org**

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

PHOTOGRAPHERS

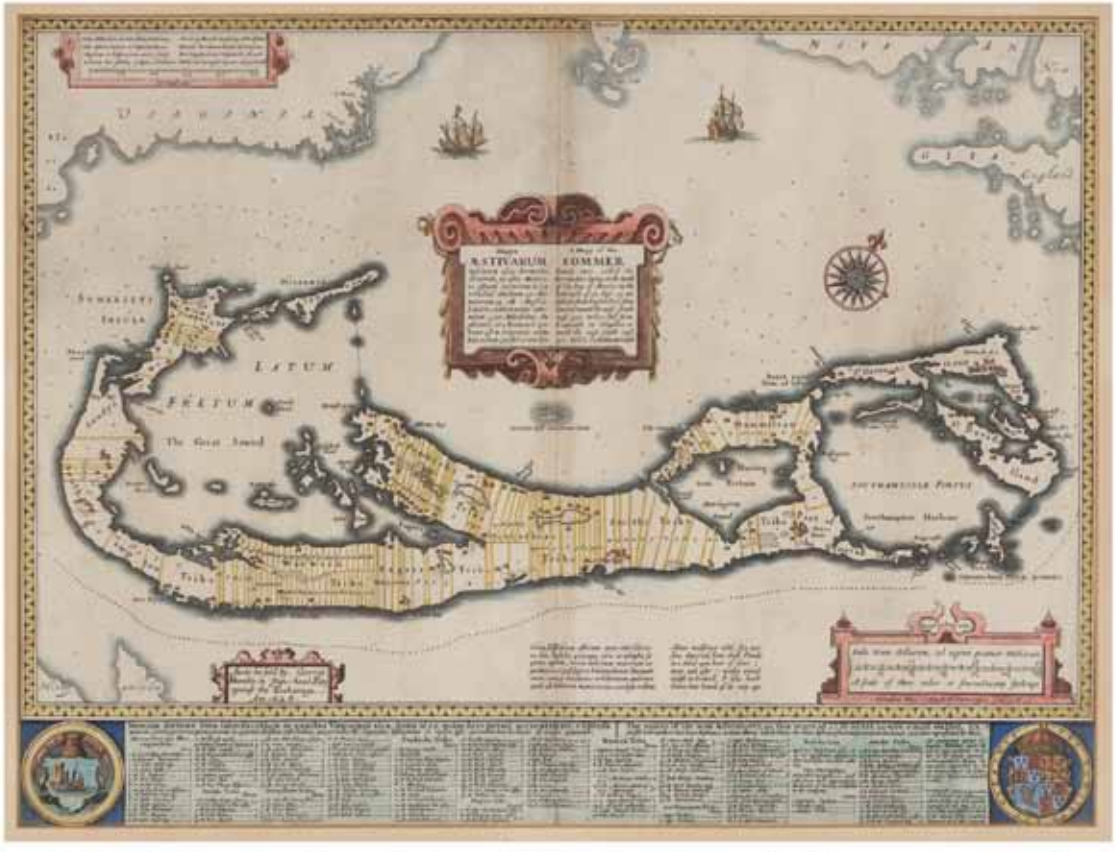
The Society has been well served for decades with an excellent and dedicated photographer in David Webb, a long-time member of IMCoS. David has attended almost all IMCoS events and his photographs are testament to the enthusiasm that he brings to the Society.

Are there any members, handy with a camera, who would like to support David at upcoming IMCoS functions?

If so please contact me on tel: **+44 (0)1799 540 765** or email: **ljiljana.editor@gmail.com**

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John Speed. *A Mapp of the Sommer Ilands once called the Bermudas...* London: George Humble, circa 1626. Hand-colored engraved map with English text on verso from Speed's *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, one of only two maps of the New World in that atlas. Estimate: $1,500-2,500

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12–13 April 2018 IMCoS goes to Cambridge



Fig. 1 Braun and Hogenberg, 'Cantebrigia', 1575 showing the colleges of St John's, Christ's, Jesus, King's, Trinity, Queen's, Magdelene and Pembroke, Peterhouse, Clare and Bennet (Today Corpus Christ). Cambridge University Library. Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 3.0 Unported Licence (CC-BY-NC 3.0).

Twenty-six members of IMCoS met on a very murky morning for a two-day visit to Cambridge. The visit started at the Scott Polar Research Institute (SPRI) in the Memorial Hall under the ceiling domes decorated with maps of the Arctic and Antarctic painted by MacDonald Gill (Fig. 2). Here we were met by Naomi Chapman, member of the Museum Education Team, who gave us an introductory talk about the museum and its artefacts. The museum was built in 1934 and the institute where the museum is based was founded in memory of Captain Scott and his men following their epic expedition to Antarctica which ended so tragically. The bust cast by his wife Kathleen overlooks the sculpture garden. Peter Lund, the Librarian, showed us a selection of the 17,000 maps of the polar regions which the institute holds and explained that they were hoping to get funding to have them digitised some time in the future.



Fig. 2 Gill's painting of Antarctic as it was understood in 1934 when he undertook this commission. His depiction is quite inaccurate. The world would have to wait another three years before explorers finally worked out the shape of the continent. Photo: L.O-B.

We then went on to the Whipple Museum of the History of Science in Free School Lane, where we were given a general tour by Josh Nall, Curator of Modern Sciences. The museum takes its name from Robert Stewart Whipple chairman of the Cambridge Scientific Instrument Company who, in 1944, donated his collection of 1,000 scientific instruments and a similar number of rare books to the University of Cambridge. A quote from his speech given at the presentation of his collection – *I little thought when I bought an old telescope for the sum of 10 Francs from an antique shop in Tours in 1913 that I was embarking on the slippery slope of collecting. A slope which leads one to many strange places and has been known to lead to financial disaster. I have been spared the latter trouble and have had much fun* – brought a wry smile to many of the participants. Whipple, like any collector, made a few mistakes, and on display was a silver terrestrial globe, purportedly by Paolo Forlani, *c.*1575 which after metallographic analysis in 2013 was found to be a forgery (Fig. 3).

The museum is partially housed in a large hall with Jacobean hammer-beam roof-trusses, built in 1618 as the first Cambridge Free School. The Main Gallery is the original hall of the Perse School in which is displayed an impressive orrery made in *c.*1750 by George Adams, instrument maker to George III (Fig. 4). Demonstrating the planetary system, as it was known in the mid-eighteenth century, the orrery is missing Uranus and Neptune as these had not yet been discovered.

The collection is particularly strong in material dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, especially items produced by English instrument makers, but also objects dating from the medieval period to the present day. The museum has a good collection of globes which the group were particularly interested in viewing and boasts the best public collection of Martian globes (Fig. 5). A small silver globe, thought to have been made in Italy in the sixteenth century and three examples of early English globes, including a rare one, dated 1679 by Joseph Moxon, caught the group's attention.

IMCoS at Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge
L to R back row **Christopher Peploe, Mark Clark, Ian Harvey, Clare Terrell, Mike Sweeting, Francis Herbert, Hans Kok, Rolph Langlais, Mark Rogers, Moira and Jeremy Edwards, Val Newby.**
L to R front row **Lesley Sweeting, Peter and Caroline Batchelor, Christopher Beresford-Jones, Eva Kok, Cyrus Alai, Jenny Harvey, David Dare, Ursula Langlais. David Webb is taking the photograph.**





Above
Fig. 3 Robert Whipple bought this silver globe in 1927 believing it to have been made by 16th-century Italian globemaker Paolo Forlani. Sadly, today its authenticity is in question, as several anomalies have surfaced as a result of recent detailed examination of the globe. Photo: L.O-B.



Right
Fig. 4 Grand Orrery made by London instrument maker George Adams in *c.*1750. Photo: L.O-B.

Below
Fig. 5 Examples of Mars globes: On the left is one made by Malby for Capt. Hans Busk in 1873. It is the earliest mass-produced globe of the planet. On the right is one made by Bertaux and published by Flammarion in 1884. Photo: L.O-B.





Below Clock tower and quadrangle courtyard of Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge. The college was founded in 1584 by Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Elizabeth I. Photo: David Webb.

Friday morning saw us all gathering at Emmanuel College in the city centre for an illustrated talk in the Queen's Building Lecture Theatre. It was given by Dr Sarah Bendall, Fellow and Development Director, entitled 'Oxford and Cambridge colleges as mapmakers and map-users *c.*1550–1850'. We learned that early on the colleges acquired land, either by purchase or as gifts, which provided funding and led to the surveyors preparing manuscript maps of these holdings.

The afternoon visit was to the Cambridge University Library which was built seventy-five years ago and is one of six legal deposit libraries in England and Ireland. It contains eight million books, maps, manuscripts and journals, and we were told is 'bursting at the seams'. After an interesting visit to the Historic Printing Room where we were given a talk and demonstration by Colin Clarkson we were hosted in the Map Department by their Head, Anne Taylor, who had assembled a wonderful collection of maps for us to enjoy. Highlights included David Loggan's fabulous 1688 bird's-eye view of the city; Hondius' 1638 map of the Fens; George Taylor's 1785 manuscript map of the roads of Scotland; and the amusing 'Dogs of All Nations' map which was published for *Dog World Magazine* in Chicago and the Canine Insurance Assoc. Ltd in London.

Collectors' meeting in Cambridge



Together these two photographs of Valerie Newby, holding up her Blaeu map of Cambridge, and Cyrus Alai, better known for his collection of Persian maps, explaining the New Electoral Map of Britain demonstrate the variety of maps that were brought to the 2018 Collectors' meeting for discussion. The meeting was held in conjunction with the IMCoS UK visit to Cambridge.

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36th International IMCoS Symposium 2018

The 36th International IMCoS Symposium 2018 is a two-part event. It will open in Manila on Sunday 14 October and continue until Wednesday 17 October. The Hong Kong part runs from Friday 19th to Saturday 20th. Thursday 18th has been assigned as a travel day. Each destination has its own registration and registration fee.

14–17 October, Manila
'Insulae Indiae Orientalis'

Sunday 14 October
IMCoS Manila Symposium registration and welcome reception cocktails

Monday 15 October
Lectures:
Jose Rizal, the National Hero and his Significance on the Philippines and Beyond by Dr Ambeth Ocampo
Murillo Velarde, the Significance of this Philippine-made Map by Dr Carlos Madrid
The Maggiolo Mystery – a Failed Proposal for Peace in a 1531 Portolan by Daniel Crouch

Afternoon excursion to the Ayala Museum for a viewing of the exhibition 'Insulae Indiae Orientalis'. Early evening visit to the Gallery of Prints.

Tuesday 16 October
Lectures:
Anna D'Almeida (1836–1866), a Modern Tourist in the Far East by Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird
Berghaus Map of the Philippines and his Unfinished Atlas of Asia by R.J.H. Lietz
Rhubarb and Martini: A Strangely Sinister Relationship by Dr Richard Jackson
Local Exploration Highlights in the Days of the Dutch East India Company by Hans Kok

Afternoon excursion to the Lopez Museum Map Collection and Ortigas Foundation: Map Collection.

Wednesday 17 October
Lectures:
The Trade between New Spain and Manila and Vice-versa by Martine Chomel Harent
One Step Too Far: The Spanish Lake, the Moluccas, and Terra Australis by Prof. Robert Clancy
Chinese Maps, Trade Networks and the Philippines by Dr Richard Pegg
Ancient Maps in the South China Sea Dispute by Justice Antonio Carpio

Afternoon excursion to the University of Sto. Tomas Miguel de Benavides Library.

IMCoS Gala Dinner

Thursday 18 October
Optional transfer to Hong Kong

Registration for Manila only
www.imcos-2018-manila.com

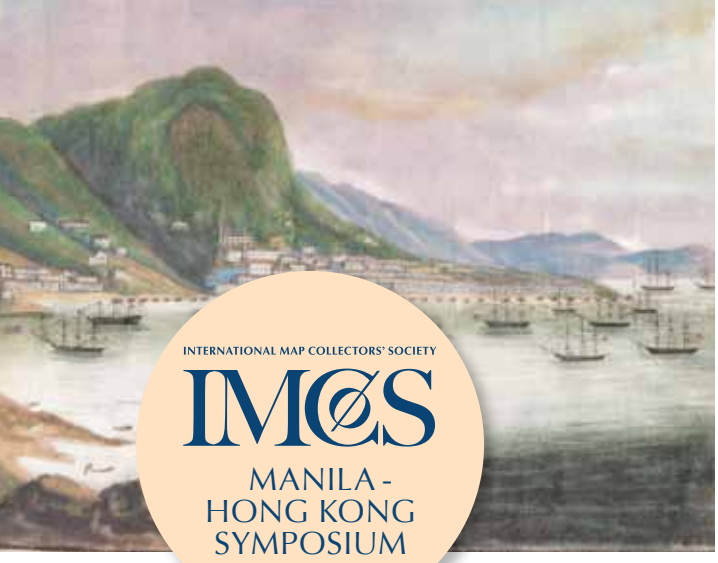
1 Reception cocktails, Gala farewell dinner and
2 Three-day Symposium with excursions **US $450**
3 Reception cocktails and Gala farewell dinner ONLY **US $125**

Options 1 & 2 include pre-Symposium reception, morning coffee/tea on days of the Symposium, entry to afternoon visits, gala dinner and transport to and from all venues.

Hotels
Preferential rates for participants have been obtained at Hotel Fairmont Makati and the Makati Diamond Residences Hotel. Please visit the website for further information.

Optional Tours
Wayfair Tours, Inc. has organised one half-day tour for Sunday 14 October and two options for a full-day tour on Saturday 13 October. Visit the website for more information and booking.

Above **Francois Valentijn, Detail of 'De Stade de Manilha', 1726. Courtesy of Gallery of Prints, Manila.**



18–20 October, Hong Kong
'Cultural Encounters in Maps of China'

Thursday 18 October 2018
Welcome drinks and preview of exhibition

Friday 19 October
Opening addresses by Richard Wesley, Museum Director, HKMM and Hans D. Kok, IMCoS Chairman

Foreign Influence in Chinese Shipping and Evolution of Chinese Sea Charts in the 17th Century by K.L. Tam, Managing Director, Kingstar Shipping Limited and Director, HKMM

Maps, the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean and Science by Professor Fung Kam-Wing, University of Hong Kong

Morning coffee break

The First Encounter of European and East Asian Cartographies by Dr Mario Cams, Assistant Professor, University of Macau, Department of History

Mapping Hong Kong – from Documenting Bandit Hideouts to a Global Destination by Dr Gordian Gaeta, Collector of the long-term loan The Gordian Gaeta Collection at HKMM

Lunch break

Charting the Life of Captain Daniel Ross of the Bombay Marine by Dr Stephen Davies, Honorary Professor, University of Hong Kong

Cross-reference on Maps and Literature, and the Methodology of Researching China Maps by Dr Lin Jeng-yi, Director, Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum, Taipei

Afternoon coffee break

Jansson's Xuntien alias Quinzay — City Map or Chimera by Dr Marco Caboara, Digital Scholarship and Archives Manager, Lee Shau Kee Library, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Panel Discussion: ***Current Trends in Collecting Antique Maps and Charts of Asia***

Symposium dinner

Saturday 20 October 2018
Map Gallery tour at Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Presentation by Dr Marco Caboara on the past, present and future of the HKUST map collection

Wattis Fine Art Gallery exhibition: ***Early Maps and Charts of Hong Kong and the Pearl River c.1775–1975***

Farewell Reception at Wattis Fine Art Gallery

Information and registration for Hong Kong
https://tinyurl.com/imcos-2018-hk

1 Delegate fees: **US $280**
Includes welcome drinks on 18 October; café lunch, coffee breaks and Symposium dinner on 19 October, materials and papers of the Symposium, entrance fees for the Museum; transportation to and from the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology on the 20 October.

2 Welcome drinks and Symposium Dinner ONLY: **US $125**

Hotels
Booking can be done on the website
Hong Kong Island (Museum side)
Mandarin Oriental (10 min. walk)
iClub Sheung Wan Hotel (30 min., incl. Metro + walk)
Special rate has been offered to participants
Holiday Inn Express Hong Kong SoHo Hotel by IHG (20 min. walk)
Tsim Sha Tsui (Opposite side of harbour from the Museum)
Sheraton Hong Kong Hotel & Towers (10 min. walk + 10 min. ferry)
The Salisbury – YMCA Hong Kong (10 min. walk + 10 min. ferry)

Above Detail of 'View of Hong Kong Island and the Harbour', *c.*1846. Courtesy of Wattis Fine Art, Hong Kong.

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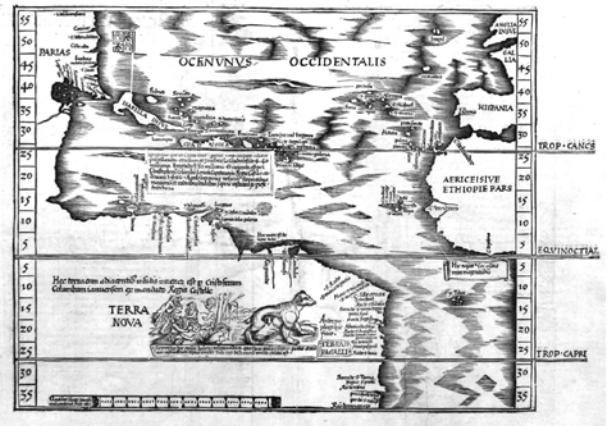
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Oceani occidetalis sive terre nove tabula, woodcut map by L. Fries from the Ptolemaeus edition by J. Grüninger, Strasbourg, 1525

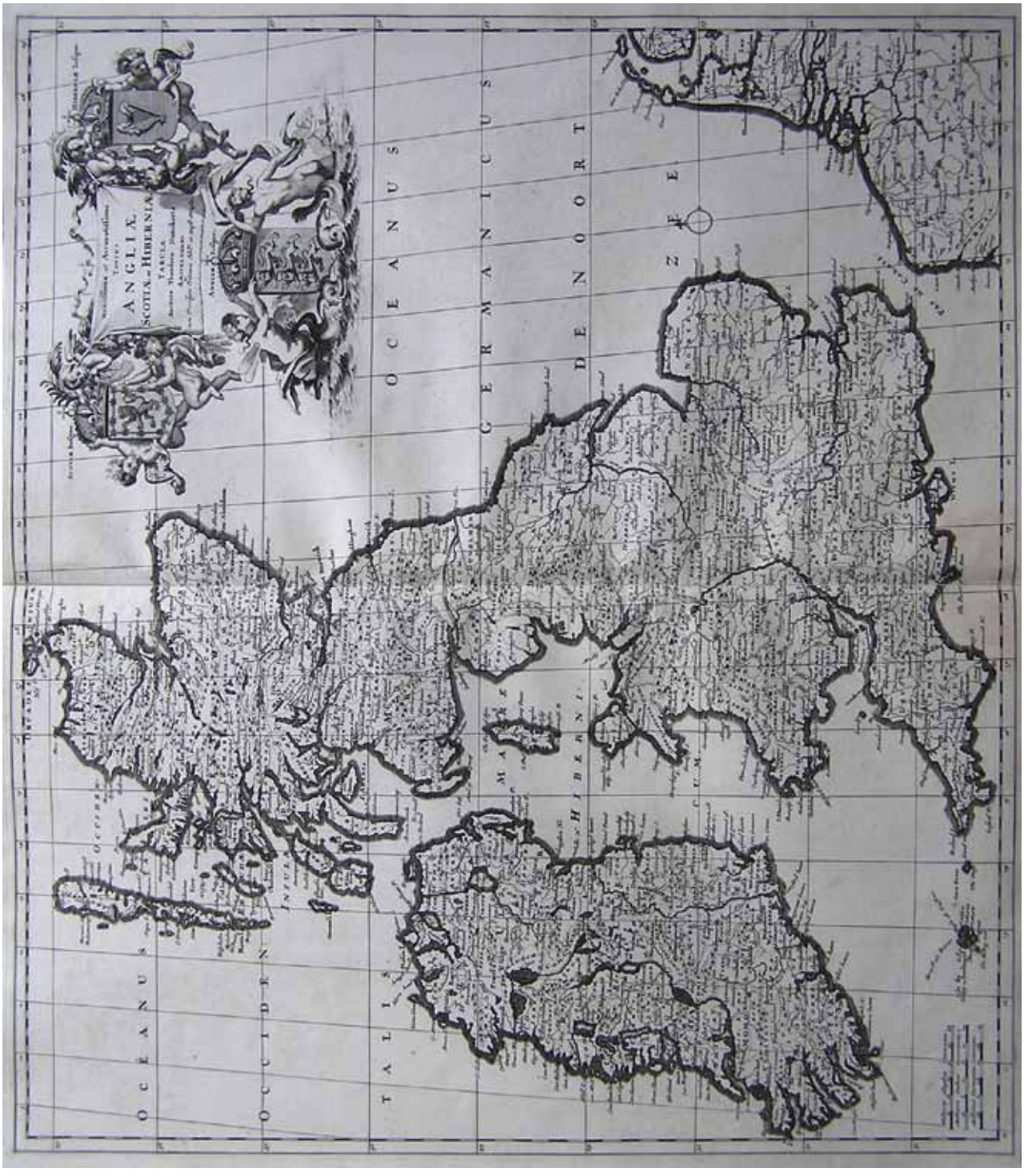


Fig. 1 'Novissima et Accuratissima Totius Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ Tabula', atlas map of Britannia by the Danckerts. State 1, 1686–87. With permission of the National Library of Hungary, Budapest, call no.: TA 225-17.

'NOVISSIMA ET ACCURATISSIMA TOTIUS ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ TABULA'

States of the single-sheet map of the British Isles by the Danckerts

Gyuri Danku and Krisztina Oláh

The first suggestions about the publishing history and states of the single-sheet general map of the British Isles issued by the Danckerts were made by Rodney W. Shirley in 1988. He mentioned the three different states that were known at that time (Fig. 1).[1] In 2007 the author and his co-researcher gave a list of eight states of the map in an essay which summarised the findings of our Danckerts Atlas's research.[2] Research continued and a further five states have been identified.[3]

Our intention here is to provide the most important information and clues to dating the states of this map. Such knowledge is vital to both map librarians and map dealers who have been mostly using Shirley's suggestions of thirty years ago. We hope this article will be useful in correcting some of the frequent and recalcitrant misconceptions held by our cartophile community on the publishing history of this Danckerts map.[4]

The four generations of the Danckerts firm of Amsterdam were leading book, print and map publishers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The publishing house was founded by Cornelis Danckerts I (1604–1656) in the 1620s. His son Justus (1635–1701) started producing maps for the Atlas in *c.*1680 and the business was continued by his sons: Theodorus I (1660–1727), Cornelis II (1664–1717), Johannes (1672–1712), Eduardus (1679–1722) and one of his grandsons, Theodorus II (1700/1–1727). On Theodorus II's death the firm closed. 'Novissima et Accuratissima Totius Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ Tabula' was made, according to our examinations, in 1686 or 1687. The map's printing plate was in use until the firm ceased operating. In its some forty-year life span the lively decorative title cartouche was reworked three times, and some parts of the geographical content were reworked twice. However, most changes were made to the nomenclature, particularly in the period between 1688 and 1691. The 2nd to 8th states were produced in this period and their additions, of mostly settlement names, are connected mainly to military events taking place in England, and later in Ireland. The author's name in the title was also altered twice. In *c.*1692 Justus replaced Theodorus (state 9), then in the years 1705–1707 (state 11) Theodorus replaced Justus.

State 1

Some of the sources of the map have been recently identified. The Danckerts closely copied parts of the title cartouche of two maps by Frederick de Wit. The coats of arms of Scotland and of Ireland are clear imitations of the two shields flanking De Wit's Alsace map's title.[5] The crest of Scotland follows that of Alsace and the coat of arms of Ireland is a copy of the map of the Duchy of Zweibrücken. The lively scene of mermaids, dolphins and cherubs surrounding the shield of England is also a close copy of De Wit's treatment in his map of England.[6] However, the geographical content does not slavishly follow any contemporary maps or older maps.[7] The entire geographical content and scale bars in the lower left corner seem to be closest to De Wit's second plate of the British Isles.[8] But in the details of rivers, lakes and toponymys there is considerable divergence. Theodorus I, who might be the compiler of the map, seems to have used more maps for his rendition of the British Isles.[9] What is certain is Rodney Shirley's correct claim that the Danckerts' four-sheet map wall map of the British Isles was not a source of the single sheet map.[10]

The dating of the first state is a little complicated. All known examples of the map include the privilege that concludes the title, giving the earliest production date as 14 September 1684. The latest possible date differs surprisingly: the original Danckerts atlas of twenty-six sheets, held in the National Library of Hungary[11] was compiled in the middle or in the second part of 1688 and contains

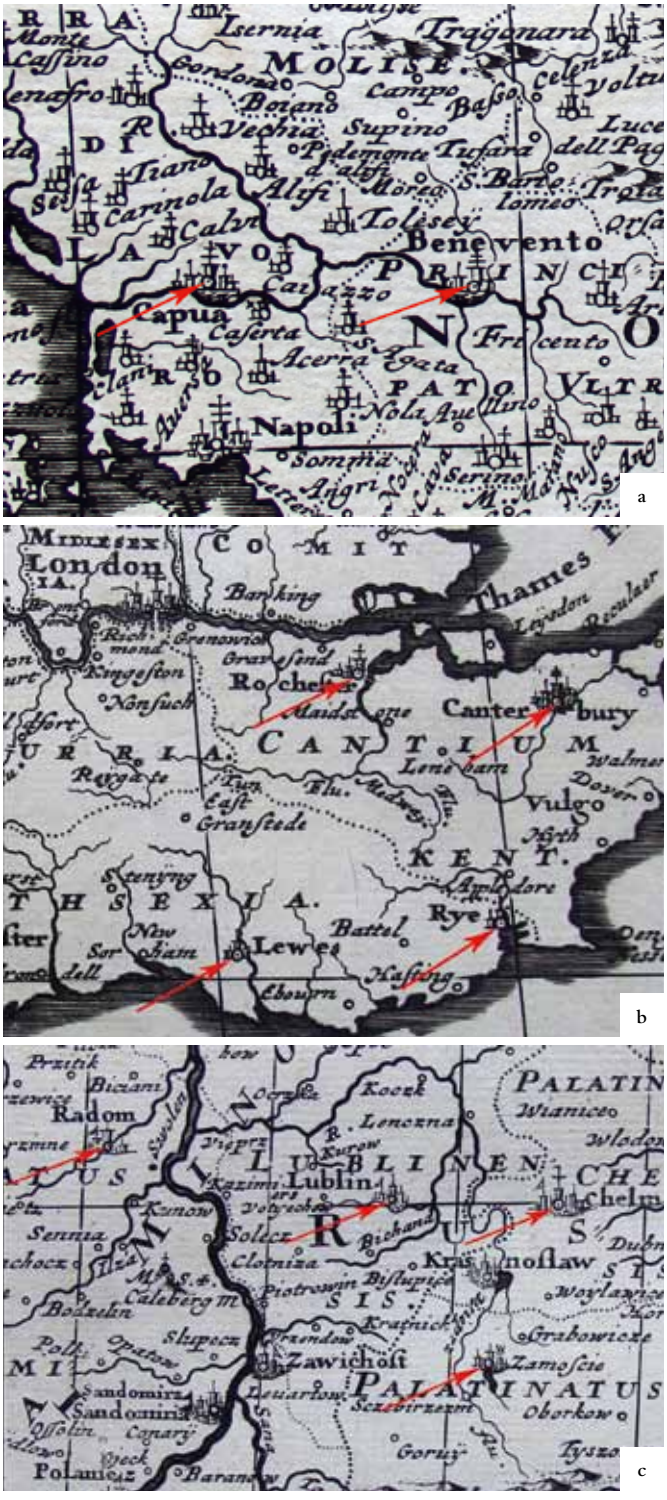


Fig. 2 Details from State 1 of three Danckerts atlas maps with dots in middle of settlement signs. a) from the map of Italy b) from the map of Britannia c) from the map of Poland. With permission of the National Library of Hungary, Budapest, call no.: TA 225-11,-17,-20.

a fresh impression.[12] All known early Danckerts atlases with 26 sheets in the Bavarian State Library, Munich and the National Library of Austria include examples of the fourth state of the second plate of the British Isles by De Wit.[13] All known original atlases compiled and issued by the Danckerts afterwards include later states of the map.[14] See Table 1. The table shows that in the earliest atlases four maps by De Wit and one by Visscher were only gradually replaced by maps of the same countries made by the Danckerts.[15] The earliest known original Danckerts atlas in Munich was issued in Spring 1688. In order to narrow this quite broad time period of production (late 1684 – mid-1688), we analysed the engraving style of the Danckerts maps.[16] Our findings reveal that the Britannia map belongs to a sub-group of five maps which must have been produced between 1684 and 1687.[17] Examples of these five maps, except for Britannia, first appeared in the Munich atlas. This supports our claim that this sub-group seems to have been made before 1688. A particular feature of the symbols for settlements closely links three maps of this sub-group. Small dots were put in the middle of many settlement symbols on maps of Italy, Poland and Britannia. No other maps produced by the Danckerts for their earliest atlas with 26 sheets have this pecularity (Fig. 2). The first state of the map of Peloponnese was issued in late 1686 or early 1687, and the map of Italy lacks a privilege in the title cartouche.[18] Taking into account all these aspects, we can say that the Britannia map must have been produced between 1685 and 1687. However, based on the quality of the impression of the earliest known example in the Budapest atlas we would surmise that it was produced between 1686 and 1687.

State 2

State 2 reveals the considerable amendments that were made to the map's content. One hundred and sixty new names, mostly of settlements, were added, essentially in southern and northeastern England. Examples include four new names on the south coast of England between the Isle of Wight ('WICHT I.' on the map) and 'The Beache' (below 51°): 'Portesmouth', 'Selseÿ', 'Bersted', 'Brightemston'. Also a group of five symbols indicating the 'Seven Stones' reef between 'Land End' and the 'Isle de Silley' were improved.[19]

Changes may have been made in the period between 1687 and 1688. However, if the adding of the new names is connected to events before Prince William of

Orange Nassau's landing on the southwestern shore of England, then the amendment might have been made in the middle of 1688 but still before the landing (see State 3). The only known example of this state has been sighted at Barry L. Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. ID Inv: 45037.

State 3

In this state the borders of the Medieval Heptarchy are marked and fourteen new names have been added to the southwestern regions of England. The events of 1688 must have motivated for these changes. The name 'Tor baÿ' was also added to the coast. Prince William of Orange Nassau, the future king of England, landed in Tor Bay on 5 November 1688 with his expedition army . Another important clue to help date the state is the map of the British Isles engraved by Johann Baptist Homann (1666–1724) for David Funck (1642–1709) of Nuremberg. Comparing both maps reveals that Homann's map is not only a close copy of Danckerts' but specifically the third state was used by Homann as his source.[20] Peter Meurer and Klaus Stopp note in their monograph on Funck that Homann's map was a supplement in *Fortuna Britannica* published in Hamburg in 1689.[21] *Fortuna Britannica* dealt with events of the Glorious Revolution and the coronation of William and Mary in April 1689. So it is reasonable to suggest that Homann engraved his map in the first half of 1689. Moreover, the fourth state of Danckerts map was ready in the middle of 1689. All these considerations point to a mid-November 1688 to an early 1689 date of the third state. The only known example, hitherto identified, is at the Francksche Stiftung Library in Halle, 86 A-42 (05).

State 4

Apart from the name change of 'Derrie' to 'LondonDerrie' in Northern Ireland, no other alterations to this state were made. In the early phase of the Williamite War (1688–1691), Derry was under siege by the Jacobite forces in mid-April 1689; the Williamite troops arrived to relieve the besieged city, breaking through and ending the siege in late July. The fourth state must have been made in this period. Our suggestion would be an earlier date, when the deposed King James II joined the siege (17 April). The Danckerts atlas held in the National Library in Saint Petersburg (NLR, K-0 Mir 8/141/17) was compiled in the middle half of 1689 and includes this state (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Detail from State 4 where name 'Derrie' is changed to 'LondonDerrie'. With permission of the National Library of Russia, St Petersburg, call no.: K-0 Mir 8/141-17.

A further example was found on the website of Inter-Antiquariaat Mefferdt & De Jonge (23.07.2016).[22]

State 5

The only addition made to the fifth state is the Dutch form of Falmouth in Cornwall: 'Vaelmuÿden'. No obvious historical events have been identified to explain this alteration. Perhaps the new status of this southwestern harbour could provide an explanation: in January 1689 the port became a point of departure of mail boats for Spain and Portugal. Date of preparation: mid-1689 to early 1690. Known examples of this state can be found at College of Charleston, South Carolina, Mss 91/8; the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer 135 D18/17; the Bavarian State Library, Mapp. VI,3f.

State 6

Four new toponyms and two amendments distinguish the sixth state. New names include 'Charlemont' (13-14° W, 54-55° S); 'C. Rosse' (13-14° W, 54-55°S); 'C. Raÿdon' at the coast under Dublin (14-15° W, 53-54° S); 'Donomo' in south east Ireland, at the coast above the name 'Fernes' (14-15° W, 54-55° S). 'Knockfergus' has been revised to 'Carickfergus' and 'Knockfergus baÿ' to 'Carickfergus baÿ'. The clue to dating this state is Charlemont Fort, Armagh which was held by the Jacobites and captured by the Williamite forces in May 1690. As Belfast only appeared on the seventh state of the map, the date of publication must have occurred between March and May 1690. Other alterations might have been made as a result of military events but, to date, none has been identified. If any

had been, then an intermediate state could be calculated (Fig. 4).[23] Examples of this state can be found in the Bavarian State Library, 2° Mapp 58/17 and 2° Mapp 187/8. The latter copy has also an alphabetical index of places attached to both sides of the map.



Fig. 4 Detail from State 6 where the map has added toponyms: 'Charlemont', 'C. Rosse', and revised names: 'Carickfergus', 'Carickfergus baÿ'. With permission of the Bavarian State Library, Munich, call no.: 2° Mapp 58-17.

State 7

Belfast has been added to this state and its presence can be connected to the landing of William III and his army on 14 June 1690.[24] The state must have been prepared shortly afterwards; an example can be found at the Royal Museums Greenwich, London, PBB 6190/17,

State 8

Parts of the cartouche of this state have been refurbished The toponym 'Ballimore' [Ballymore] has been added with a small lake (12-13°W, 53-54° S), and is a clue for dating. The Williamite army, led by General Godert de Ginkel (1644–1703), captured the small fort nearby on 8 June 1691. Surprisingly however, Aughrim, where a decisive battle took place on 12 July of that same year, between the armies of Ginkel and of Marquis de St. Ruth (*c.*1650–1691) a French General of the Jacobites, does not appear. This strongly supports the idea that this state must have been made close after the capture of Ballymore, during the siege of Athlone or shortly afterwards, but before the battle of Aughrim, i.e. in the period between 8 June and 12 July 1691 (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Detail from State 8 showing where the map has added toponyms: 'Ballimore'. With permission of the Maritime Museum, Rotterdam, call no.: WAE 22-17.

A copy of state 8 can be found at the Maritime Museum, Rotterdam, WAE 22/17.

State 9

In state 9 the name Justus replaces name Theodoro. Until recently we had no clear idea why this change was made. As Justus II Danckerts (1668–1692) died at the age of 24 (his death indicates the latest dates of his possible participation) it seems improbable that this change would have related to him just before he died. Perhaps the aging Justus I rethought the distribution of the family's estate and stock after his young son's tragic death and renamed the author of the maps of Italy and Britannia.[25] An original Danckerts atlas held in the Academic Library, Krakow includes an example of the earliest known print of this state, and supports our dating it to between mid-1692 and mid-1693. Ten examples of the ninth state have been located in Danckerts and composite atlases, and as loose sheets.

State 10

The title cartouche of state 10 was extensively reworked as the printing plate was thoroughly worn. The Atlantic Ocean '*OCEANUS ATLANTICUS*' and the English Channel – '*LA MANCHE SIVE T CANAAL*' – have been added. The name of the ocean was put on as lettering which curved around the coasts of southern to western Ireland (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6 Detail from State 10 where the map has added: 'OCEANUS ATLANTICUS.' With permission of the National Library of Hungary, Budapest. call no.: TA 224-37.

The dating of this state can be firmly established with the assistance of Danckerts atlases containing exclusively maps produced by the family. See Table 2. The table shows the earliest known example of this state was first inserted in the Prague atlas with 50 sheets in 1699. Between 1697 and 1700 the Danckerts family firm reworked the printing plates of many maps included in their atlas. The Prague atlas comprises fifteen new states of different maps! So this state might have been prepared in the 1698 to early 1699 period. Six examples have been located in Danckerts atlases or as loose sheets.

State 11

On the eleventh state the name Theodorus has replaced Justus. The title cartouche was reworked again and, for the first time in the life of the printing plate, some changes were made to the geographical content. The hatching along the sea coasts and on the lakes was refreshed. The original fainter, but longer, lines of hatchuring along the eastern coastline (particularly along the coast of 'NORTFOLCIA') are still visible and provide a useful clue in dating this state.[26]

After Justus I's death (mid-July 1701) the author's name on ten older maps changed from Justus to Theodorus.[27] The process of name changing was drawn out over five years, from around 1702 to 1706 or even 1707. The maps of the Turkish Empire and of British Isles were the last to be changed. The original Danckerts atlas with 75 sheets held in the Maritime Museum of Rotterdam, issued late 1704 or early 1705, does not have an example of this state.[28] The earliest copies have been located in the Danckerts atlases held in the State Library, Berlin and in the Central Library, Zürich, both were issued in around 1707 or 1708.[29]

Five examples of this state have been located: four in Danckerts atlases, and one as a loose sheet.

State 12

Heavily worn and faint settlement symbols in the Netherlands, on the lower right side of the map have been refreshed. According to our atlas examination, examples of this state appeared around 1711 to 1714 (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7 Detail from State 12 where settlement signs have been amended in the Netherlands but the original Amsterdam-Haarlem road still visible. With permission of the National Library of Hungary, Budapest, call no.: TA 232-85.

Examples of this state can be found at University Library, Bern MUE, Kart III 7/42; the National Library, Budapest NL, TA 232/85; National Library, Vienna NL, ALB 44 /42.

State 13

A more extensive re-engraving of the plate of the geographical content was made for the final state. Settlement symbols, larger rivers, some names, mostly along the coasts, some relief signs at the Hadrian's wall. The best clue to help date this state is the Amsterdam–Haarlem road which has a new double line instead of a single one as marked in previous states (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8 Detail from State 13 where the Amsterdam-Haarlem road has been revised with a new double line. With permission of the University Library and Learning Centre, Pécs, call no.: HH I 10-62.

Atlas codes of Table 1
This is an excerpt from a larger, more comprehensive table; it shows which states of the maps are in sixteen original Danckerts atlases. The table lists only 25 maps and title page of the earliest Danckerts atlas type with 26 sheets regardless of how many maps each atlas actually has; the table reveals the strict regularity in which the prints of the maps were bound in their atlases by the Danckerts; earlier states always precede latter states of a particular map.

The De Wit and Visscher maps in the Munich, Vienna, Budapest and St Petersburg atlases were inserted by the Danckerts.
Missing maps are indicated with a minus sign.

At the end of the row of 'Germania' two atlases (Lon30 and Wie60) have number 1. These maps are impressions of the second plate of Germania. Under the Chicago Atlas (Chi26) column many numbers have questions marks. These indicate that we could only study those maps digitally and work from the online catalogue description; thus these states can only be temporarily conjectural.

Code	Library
Mun26	Bavarian State Library, Munich. Now part of a composite atlas: 2° Mapp. 13
Wie26	Austrian National Library, Vienna. FKB 272-28
Bp26	National Library of Hungary, Budapest. TA 225
Pb26-1	National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg. K-0 Mir 8/141
Chi26	Newberry Library, Chicago. Ayer 135 .D18
Mun26	Bavarian State Library, Munich. 2° Mapp. 58
Lon26	Royal Museums Greenwich, London. PBB6190
Pb26-2	National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg. K-0 Mir 8/142
Rot26	Maritime Museum, Rotterdam. WAE 22
Kr37	Academic Library, Krakow. B IV 1443
Pb50	National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg. K-0 Mir 8/143
Gr50	Provincial Library of Styria, Graz. T 258003 VI
Br26	University Library, Bristol. Now part of a composite atlas. D 541
Pr50	Charles University Faculty of Sciences, Prague. D1A/9
Lon30	British Library, London. Maps 39.f.2.
Wie60	Austrian National Library, Vienna. IV 292877

Note The number in the code indicates the number of the maps in each atlas as originally printed in the atlas' index.

Table 1

Map	Mun26	Wie26	Bp26
Title page	1	1	1
Terrarum orbis	1	1	1
America	1	1	1
Africa	1	1	1
Asia	1	1	1
Europa	1	1	1
Portugalia	2	2	2
Hispania	1	1	1
Gallia	1	1	1
Helvetia	Visscher	Visscher	Visscher
Italia	1	1	1
Germania	2	2	2
Germania Inferior	1	1	1
Comitatus Hollandia	1	1	1
Rhenus fluvius	1	1	1
Circulus Saxonia /Ducatus Luneburgensis	2	2	2
Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia	De Wit	De Wit	1
Dania	De Wit	De Wit	De Wit
Suecia & Norvegia	1	1	1
Polonia	1	-	1
Hungaria	2	2	2
Hungaria & Graecia	6	7	7
Morea	2	2	2
Russia	De Wit	De Wit	De Wit
Turcicum Imperium	De Wit	De Wit	De Wit
Nova Belgica	2	2	2

	Pb26-1	Chi26	Mun26	Lon26	Pb26-2	Rot26	Kr37	Pb50	Gr50	Bri26	Pr50	Lon30	Wie60
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1
	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	-	4	6	6	6
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	3	4	4	5	5	6	6
	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	2	3	4	5	5
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	-	2	-	3	4	5	5
	1	1 or 2 ?	1	2	2	3	4	4	4	5	6	7	7
	2	2 ?	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
	2	4	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	7	7	7
	Visscher	1 ?	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
	3	5	5	6	6	6	6	7	7	8	8	1	1
	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	-	3	3	3	-	-	3
	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
	2	2 ?	2	2	2	2	2	3	3				
	4	5	6	7	-	8	9	9	9	9	10	10	10
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	5	5
	2	2 ?	2	2	-	2	3	3	-	3	3	3	3
	9	10	11	11	12	12	13	14	14	14	14	14	14
	2	2 or 3 ?	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	3	3
	1	1 ?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3

Copies of this state can only be found in late Danckerts atlases which were compiled after 1720. At the moment we would suggest dating this state between *c.*1718 and 1722.[30] Examples of this state are in University Library, Amsterdam UL, OL 63-1680/85; the Geographical Institute, Bonn GI, A 41/97; the University Library, Pécs UL, HH I 10/62.

Notes

1 Rodney W. Shirley, 'Printed Maps of the British Isles 1650–1750', London: Map Collector Publications Ltd., 1988, pp. 48–49.
2 Gy. Danku & Z. Sümeghy, 'The Danckerts Atlas: the production and chronology of its maps', *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 59, Part 1, 2007, p. 52.
3 Our Danckerts Atlas's research has been completed and our findings will be published in the near future.
4 Shirley's conclusions were based on a limited examination of available atlases. During our fifteen-year research we consulted some 40 original Danckerts atlases, many single-sheet Danckerts maps and have built a large digital database for our comparative examination.

Table 2

States of *Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia* by the Danckerts		
State 1	1686–1687	
State 2	1687–1688 (mid-1688?)	content additions and changes: 160 new settlement names in south and central England clues: 1. 'Newton Gushel' added 2. Seven Stones islands reworked
State 3	mid-November 1688–early 1689	content additions and changes: 14 new settlement names in south and central England clues: 1.*'Tor Baÿ'* added 2. borders of medieval Heptarchy marked
State 4	mid-April–July 1689	name 'Derrie' ⟶ changed to 'LondonDerrie'
State 5	mid-1689 – early 1690	'Vaelmuÿden' added to Cornwall
State 6	March–May 1690	new names and name changes in Ireland: clue: 'Charlemont' in northern Ireland added
State 7	late June 1690	Belfast in northern Ireland added
State 8	8 June–12 July 1691	cartouche retouched clues: 1. 'Ballimore' added to Ireland 2. stipples on waves under the leg of mermaid to the right
State 9	mid-1692–mid-1693	*Justus* in the title copy: Graz LB, T 258003 VI /37
State 10	mid-1698–early 1699	cartouche reworked, new sea inscriptions clues: 1. sea inscription 'Oceanus Atlanticus' added 2. sea inscription 'La Manche sive T Canaal' added 3. body stipples on the cartouche figures
State 11	1705–1707	content and cartouche amendment: clues: 1. *Theodoris* in the title 2. narrower seashore hatchings
State 12	*c.*1711–1714	settlement signs in Netherland reworked clues: 1. settlement signs in Flandria reworked 2. Amsterdam-Haarlem road still worn
State 13	*c.*1718–1722	content reworked clue: Amsterdam-Haarlem road with new double line

5 Carhart 2016, 71: *Utriusque Alsatiae, Ducatus Dupontii, et Spirensis Episcopatus novissima descriptio per F. de Wit.* State 1 *c.*1677–80.
6 Carhart 2016, 105: *Anglia Regnum in omnes suos ducatus, comitatus et provincias divisum*. State 1. *c.*1682–86.
7 To establish the sources, many maps of contemporary or earlier mapmakers were examined such as J. Blaeu, J. Janssonius, N. Sanson, F. de Wit, N. Visscher, A. H. Jaillot, C. Allard, G. Valk, P. Schenk, etc. De Wit's maps of the British Isles, of Scotland and of Ireland might be among the sources as many correspondences have been found in their details with those of Danckerts map.
8 Carhart 2016, 103: *Nova totius Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae tab: auctore Frederick de Wit*.
9 Name 'Theodoro' can be read in the title as 'auctore' in States 1–8. For biographical data of the members of the family, see biographical tables issued in J. van der Veen 'Danckerts en Zonen: Prentuitgevers, plaatsnijders en kunstverkopers te Amsterdam, ca. 1625–1700', Elmer Kolfin & Jan van der Veen (eds), Gedrukt tot Amsterdam: Amsterdamse prentmakers en –uitgevers in de gouden eeuw, Zwolle Waanders Uitgevers, Amsterdam Museum het Rembrandthuis, 2014, pp. 58–119 and Gy. Danku & Z. Sümeghy, 'The Danckerts Atlas', *Imago Mundi,* Vol. 59, Pt 1, 2007, pp. 43–77.
10 Shirley 1988, Danckerts 1: *Nova totius Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae, tabula. Auctore Iustus Danckerts*.
11 National Library of Hungary, call no. TA 225.
12 More than 40 additions to the contents of different maps were found, mostly settlement names relating to historical, military events. Such additions are clues for dating the states of the different maps and original Danckerts atlases.
13 The original atlas with 26 sheets in Munich is a core part of a composite atlas with 68 sheets at present. State Library, call no.: 2° Mapp. 13. The Vienna atlas is in the National Library, call no.: FKB 272–28. For the De Wit map see Carhart 2016, 103.4. *c.*1680.
14 We have information of the existence of some 60–62 Danckerts atlases at the present time, 41 of which we have consulted personally and/or have digital material of their contents.
15 This is only an excerpt of a larger table which comprises of more than 30 original Danckerts atlases.
16 *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 59, Pt. 1, pp. 51; 55–56.
17 Maps of Italy, Poland, Scandinavia and the Peloponnese.
18 First state of the map of Peloponnese bears ten dates of towns captured from the Turks by the Venetians in the Venetian-Turkish war, 1683–1699. The last is the town of Nafplio, taken by the Venetians on 3 September 1686.
19 The Seven Stones Reef is some 25 km west of Land's End.
20 No addition or alteration of later states of the Danckerts map appear in the Homann map's content.
21 Peter Meurer & Klaus Stopp, *Topographica des Nürnberger* Verlages David Funck, Alphen aan Rijn Canaletto & Repro Holland, 2006, p. 50: Note to I. A and I. B entries.
22 Unfortunately, no lot or inventory number of the map was found on the homepage.
23 Name modification of 'Carrickfergus' and 'Carrickfergus bay' could be connected to the landing of the Danish mercenary army under command of Duke Württemberg-Neustadt in the Bay13 on 13 March 1690. 'C. Rosse' is an abbreviated version of Castle Rosse. The topography around the place is highly distorted, however. The long lake could be two actual lakes of the area joined together, Lough Ross and Lough Muckno. At the northernmost tip of Lough Muckno lies Castleblayney, an important fort held by a Jacobite garrison during the war after the loss of Charlemont to the Williamite forces. 'C. Rosse' might be a mixture of Castleblayney and Lake Ross. Castleblayney was occupied by the Williamite troops in late spring–early summer 1690. 'C. Raydon' represents Castle Raydon, a settlement which has since disappeared. Its addition to the map may have been prompted by an attack close to Dublin harbour by a Williamite fleet under Admiral Shovell on 18 April 1690. 'Donomo' is a distorted version of Donaghmore. No historical events have been connected to this place yet. John Childs' *The Williamite Wars in Ireland, 1688–91*, London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007 was mostly consulted.
24 The king's ship actually landed at Carrickfergus but the king moved on to Belfast which operated as the king's headquarters. An image of this state can be consulted via the Internet on the homepage of the Royal Museums Greenwich.
25 In the title of Italy map, 'IUSTINUM' replaced 'THEODORUM' in this time period too. See Table 1, Krakow atlas.
26 Along other coasts also.
27 These maps are of Asia (plate 2), British Isles, Italy, Portugal (plate 1), Turkish Empire, Rhenish Palatinate, Electorate of Mainz, Swabia, Province Namur, English Channel.
28 As the Turkish Empire map still has the name Justus (or, more precisely, the first letter of the name).
29 State Library in Berlin (call no. 2°Kart. B 535/42) and Central and University Library in Zurich, (call no.: Atl. 101/85).
30 Remarkably, another five late Danckerts atlases do not include a copy of this map. Three atlases in the Library of Congress, one in the Central Library in Birmingham and one in Maritime Museum of Rotterdam.

Krisztina Oláh *is a cartographer who, since 2015, has worked in the Map Department of the National Library of Hungary. Her main task has been to build a 'digital map library'. She joined the Danckerts research last year.*

Gyuri Danku *is a map historian who has been working in the Map Department of the National Library of Hungary since 1983. Although having a degree in cartography, he has spent all his professional life researching map history. His fields of interest include the theoretical and cognitive aspects of development in early modern map history and the Danckerts.*



THE EUROPEAN HISTORIC TOWNS ATLAS PROJECT

and the British contribution

Nick Millea, Keith Parry and Adrian Phillips

The British Historic Towns Atlas series forms part of a Europe-wide programme which was started in 1955 by the Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Villes (International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT)) of the Comité Internationale des Sciences Historiques. This programme was inspired by Anngret Simms in 'a spirit of reconciliation in the aftermath of the destruction of European towns in the Second World War'.[1] Inspiration came too from ICHT member Philippe Wolff whose pioneering work on Toulouse especially provided a model of how to research and map medieval cities.[2] The ICHT aimed to promote the comparative study of the history of towns in Europe through the co-ordinated production of atlases of towns to common scales, accompanied by commentaries and supplementary maps.

This ambition built on the work undertaken a year earlier by Erich Keyser, Thomas Kraus and Emil Meynen who had suggested a structure for a Deutscher Städteatlas. Using this as a basis, Heinz Stoob proposed a framework for a Europe-wide atlas programme, which was accepted by the ICHT in 1968. The key components of Stoob's plan as originally recommended were:

1. Three core maps:
- A principal map (known in Great Britain as the 'Main Map'), to be drawn to modern cartographic standards of accuracy and clarity, which would recreate the town as it appeared in the early or mid-nineteenth century, just before the onset of the industrial revolution, at a scale of 1:2,500. (This has certain sizing implications which are discussed later).
- A regional map to be drawn at a much smaller scale (1:50,000–100,000), often a reproduction of an early nineteenth-century map.
- A modern town plan, at a proposed scale of 1:5,000.

2. Supplementary maps
The varied history of towns meant that the ICHT saw scope for many kinds of special maps depicting aspects of urban morphology, such as fortifications, administrative boundaries, and other physical evidence of economic and social development.

3. A commentary on the principal map
As originally proposed, this text was to be a fixed length of two folio sheets.

European National Historic Towns Atlases

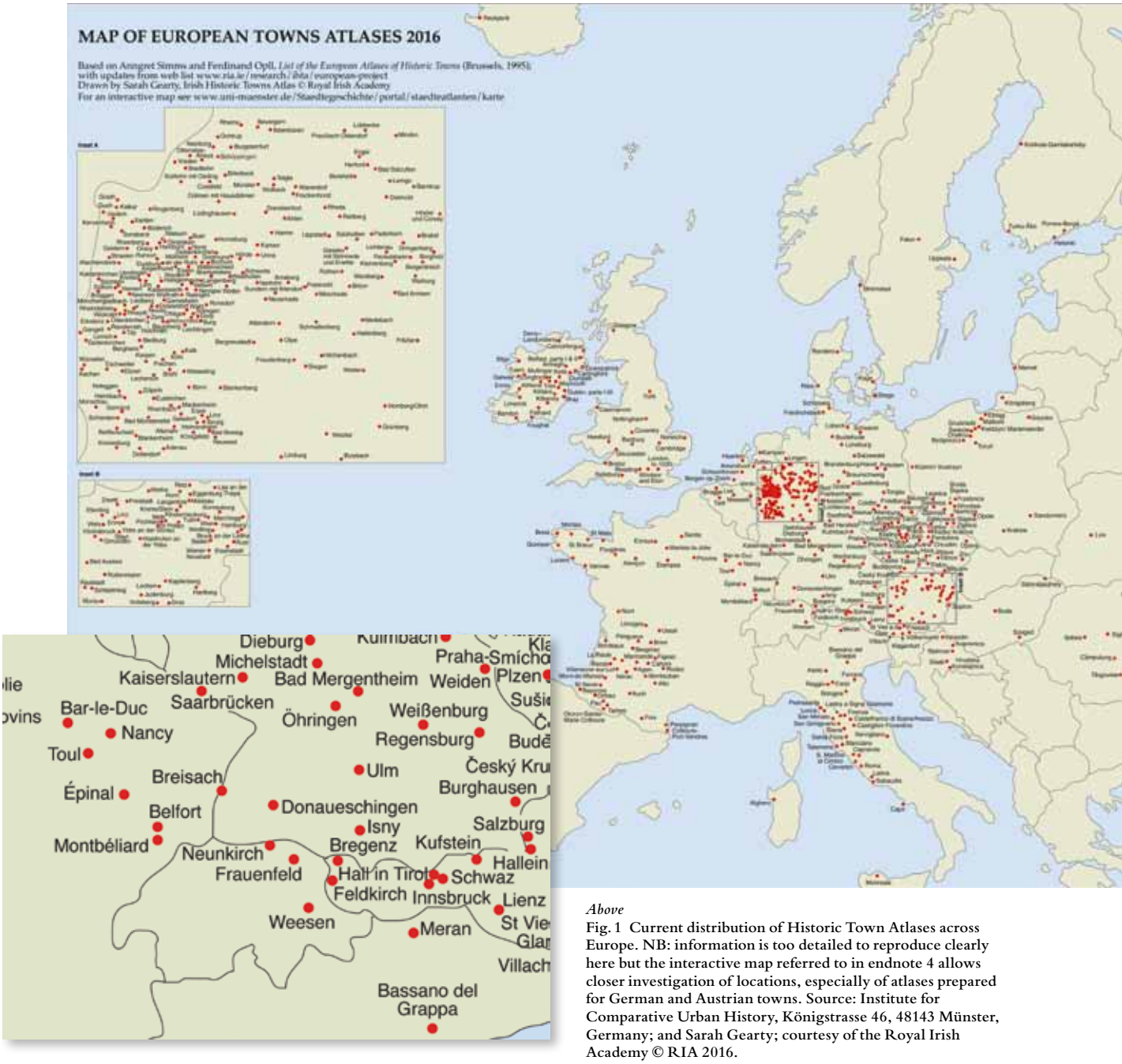
The first British and German town atlases appeared from 1969. The programme has expanded so that it now includes 574 atlases from nineteen countries, all using the Stoob's guidelines as the basic model (Table 1).[3]

Table 1: Numbers of atlases by country

Country	to 1979	1980–1989	1990–1999	2000–2009	2010–2018	Total
Austria	0	18	16	25	5	**64**
Belgium	0	0	4	0	0	**4**
Croatia	0	0	0	5	1	**6**
Czech Republic	0	0	7	11	11	**29**
Denmark	0	2	2	0	0	**4**
Finland	2	0	1	1	0	**4**
France	0	33	10	5	3	**51**
Germany	71	63	51	56	32	**273**
Great Britain*	8	5	0	0	3	**16**
Hungary	0	0	0	0	4	**4**
Iceland	0	1	0	0	0	**1**
Ireland	0	3	6	11	8	**28**
Italy	0	7	21	4	0	**32**
Netherlands	0	4	2	1	0	**7**
Poland	0	0	6	10	18	**34**
Romania	0	0	0	5	3	**8**
Sweden	0	1	2	0	0	**3**
Switzerland	0	0	3	1	1	**5**
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
Total	**81**	**137**	**131**	**135**	**90**	**574**

*** Note that this atlas covers Britain only; towns in Northern Ireland are included in the Irish atlas.**

Geographical coverage within individual countries varies. Thus, there is heavy emphasis in Germany on North-Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse, in France on Aquitaine and Brittany, in Poland on Silesia and East Prussia/Warmia, and in Italy on Tuscany and Lazio. A map, which reveals this uneven geographical distribution (Fig. 1), has been prepared by Sarah Gearty and can be viewed as an interactive webpage.[4]



Above
Fig. 1 Current distribution of Historic Town Atlases across Europe. NB: information is too detailed to reproduce clearly here but the interactive map referred to in endnote 4 allows closer investigation of locations, especially of atlases prepared for German and Austrian towns. Source: Institute for Comparative Urban History, Königstrasse 46, 48143 Münster, Germany; and Sarah Gearty; courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA 2016.

Left
Enlarged portion of the map in Fig. 1 showing where atlases have been published for towns in parts of Austria, Czech Republic, France, Germany and Italy, and in Switzerland. Source as in Fig. 1.

As countries began to develop their own series of historic town atlases, Stoob's plans were modified. For example, while he had strongly favoured the inclusion of a 'growth phases map' of the town some countries have omitted it; others have included it as a single sheet indicating growth phases, or as a series of outline maps, or just as text. Likewise, Stoob's proposed commentary soon evolved into an essay of up to 20,000 words on the town's history, using the latest archaeological and documentary findings. This text is often illustrated with maps showing phases in the town's history and historic images of local features and buildings in the town. Some atlases have made good use of aerial photography.

While commentaries are always in the national language of the country, some such as Hungary, Italy and the Scandinavian countries have included an English version, whilst those countries with strong historical German connections – Silesia and Prussia/Warmia in Poland and Romania – have provided a German version.

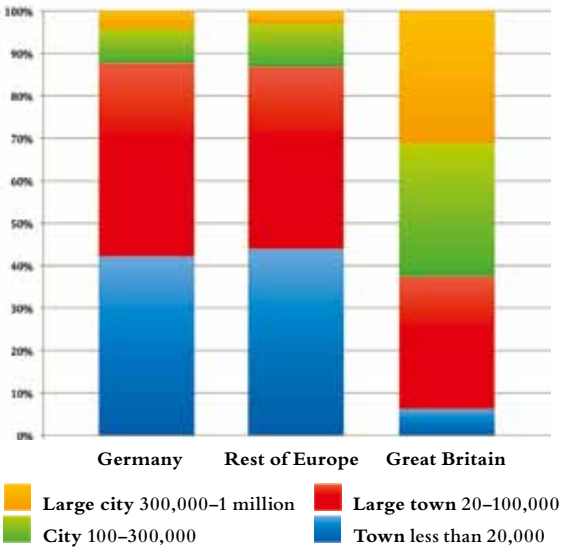
Comparing National Historic Towns Atlases

A number of reviews of the work of the ICHT and analyses of the atlases have been published by Hennessy and Keene (2007),[5] Conzen (2008),[6] Clarke (2008),[7] Opll (2011),[8] Jean-Courret and Lavaud (2013),[9] and Simms and Clarke (2015).[10]

Stoob, in the opening discussions within ICHT, argued strongly for a map scale of 1:2,500, as a scale of 1:5,000 would make the inclusion of small and medium towns impractical. He maintained that, as smaller towns made up 80 per cent of all European towns, it was essential to use a map scale that allowed their proper presentation.[11] Figure 2 is a breakdown of atlas towns by population size for Germany, the rest of Europe and Britain. It shows that nearly 90 per cent of the atlases from Germany and the rest of Europe, excluding Britain, feature towns smaller than 100,000 with 40 per cent less than 20,000 people. It would seem that the smaller town has received proper coverage. Interestingly, Britain has covered relatively few towns with a population less than 100,000; 60 per cent of the towns covered are larger.

There are many reasons why towns are selected for inclusion in a country's atlas project, however, the availability of funding and of committed individuals are vital considerations in deciding which are included.

Fig. 2 Percentage breakdown of atlas towns by population size for Germany, the rest of Europe and Great Britain.



Moreover, individual member countries have approached the production of atlases in different ways, reflecting the huge diversity of Europe's urban history, as well as national preferences about what is important in terms of form and content. But, despite the diverse appearances of the national atlases, there is sufficient common content and approach to allow comparisons to be drawn between them.

In size, most atlases are 42 x 30 cm, portrait. A large format is essential to accommodate the key 1:2,500 map, ideally on a double page. Even for middle-sized towns, it is rarely possible to include such a spread as a single sheet bound into the atlas; so some atlases spread the map over several pages, whilst others print it on one large loose folding sheet. Doing so may require the insertion into the bound volume of a large, single soft-bound booklet to contain the map, or the atlas is presented as a collection of loose bound items in a folder.

Atlases in several volumes have been published for some larger towns and cities. To date, Vienna has been covered by sixteen volumes. Bologna, Dublin, Rome and many German cities – where current suburbs have often formerly been separate historic towns – also encompass several volumes. Some volumes focus on particular areas or features within a city (e.g. Rome, German cities, Bordeaux). In other cases, separate volumes split the task chronologically, as has been done for Dublin, Florence, London and Vienna.

The atlas programme has continued to evolve. Several atlases, such as Galway, Winchester, York and

Youghal, now include a CD version of their material; others are available in full on the Internet. For instance, all those for Austria, Ireland, Hesse (in Germany) and Hungary are accessible in this way, as are some of the towns in the British collection. In others, such as Poland, only parts are available. All countries have developed their own websites for their projects; a list of some of the addresses is available on the Hungarian site.[12] A bibliographic list of all European atlases published to 2016 can be found via the Royal Irish Academy website.[13]

Several of the atlases have formed the basis for other books and publications. For example:

- Some of the basic 1:2,500 maps have been issued in Great Britain and Ireland on their own, with explanatory notes on the map's verso or with a booklet (e.g. Oxford,[14] Galway[15]). The format is similar to the UK's Ordnance Survey (OS) maps, or the German and Austrian walking maps published by Kompass.
- Teaching materials have been produced based on the Irish atlases, comparing towns in order to understand urban morphology and development (just as drawing international comparisons between atlases has always been a key objective of the ICHT).[16]
- Also in Ireland, key parts of John Rocque's map of Dublin (1756) have been included in a book, along with an explanatory text and contemporary historic engravings to illustrate the locations.[17]
- The Austrian team have produced a series of five commentaries on the history of Vienna.[18]

The British Historic Towns Atlas project

The British Atlas of Historic Towns project was established in 1963 as part of this pan-European project. The British series is published by the Historic Towns Trust (HTT). It has as its aim that every town and city in Great Britain should have an authoritative atlas of maps and text, so helping people to appreciate the nation's urban history and historic townscapes. The Trust has a strong public educational commitment. It sees the audience for its atlases and maps as not only universities and the academic world, but also schools, policy-makers, urban planners, heritage organisations, visitors to historic towns and interested members of the general public. Under the chairmanship of Professor Keith Lilley (Queen's University Belfast), the HTT is governed by a board of trustees which sets the strategic direction of its operations – for more detail, see the Trust's website.[19]

When the HTT came into being over fifty years ago, Col. Henry Johns and series founder, Mary 'Roddy' Lobel, had a key influence over the cartographic content. The compilation of the topographic 'summary maps' of the first three volumes (which cover Banbury, Bristol, Caernarvon, Cambridge, Coventry, Glasgow, Gloucester, Hereford, London, Norwich, Nottingham, Reading and Salisbury) reflect the working practices of Johns and those of the cartographic company he set up in the 1960s, Lovell Johns (which is still going strong). Well before the advent of the digital methods used in cartography today, Johns was redrawing earlier historic maps and plans. The scale he consistently chose was that recommended by Stoob: 1:2,500. The maps of the first two atlases showed towns and cities on the eve of the industrial age, prior to the coming of the railways and the major transformations in urban landscapes that industrialisation brought about. Volume III, on London up to 1520, reflects the peculiar challenges and opportunities of Britain's largest city, taking the story from prehistoric times to the end of the Middle Ages, with reconstructed maps of Roman and medieval London, both at 1:5,000, and one of the city *c.*1520 at 1:2,500.[20] Volumes I–III are now out of print, but much of the content is available to view on the HTT website.

With the deaths of both Lobel and Johns in 1993, the British Historic Towns Atlas lacked a dedicated cartographic editor. While the Trust worked closely with Lovell Johns in continuing the atlas programme, it was not until 2008 that the HTT's current Cartographic Editor, Giles Darkes, joined the project. His advice and expertise on the compilation and production of historic towns maps and mapping have shaped the more recent series.

There was in fact a 26-year hiatus before Volume IV was published in 2015, during which time cartography and printing underwent a sea change. While little progress was made with the British project over this period, Table 1 shows that many other countries in Europe were actively developing their town atlas programmes. The Trust took advantage of this by gathering sample atlases from the other participating countries and drawing on examples of best practice. It decided to abandon the conventional hardbound volumes which it had used previously, and chose instead a slipcase design as its favoured option, which had been used by the Swiss. Each case holds separate sheet maps and a bound text fascicle. This made it possible to produce loose sheet maps, ideal for



Fig. 3 Extracts from the atlas of York, showing the same area, side by side. *Top row* 1100, 1300 and 1500. *Bottom row* 1600, 1700 and 1800.

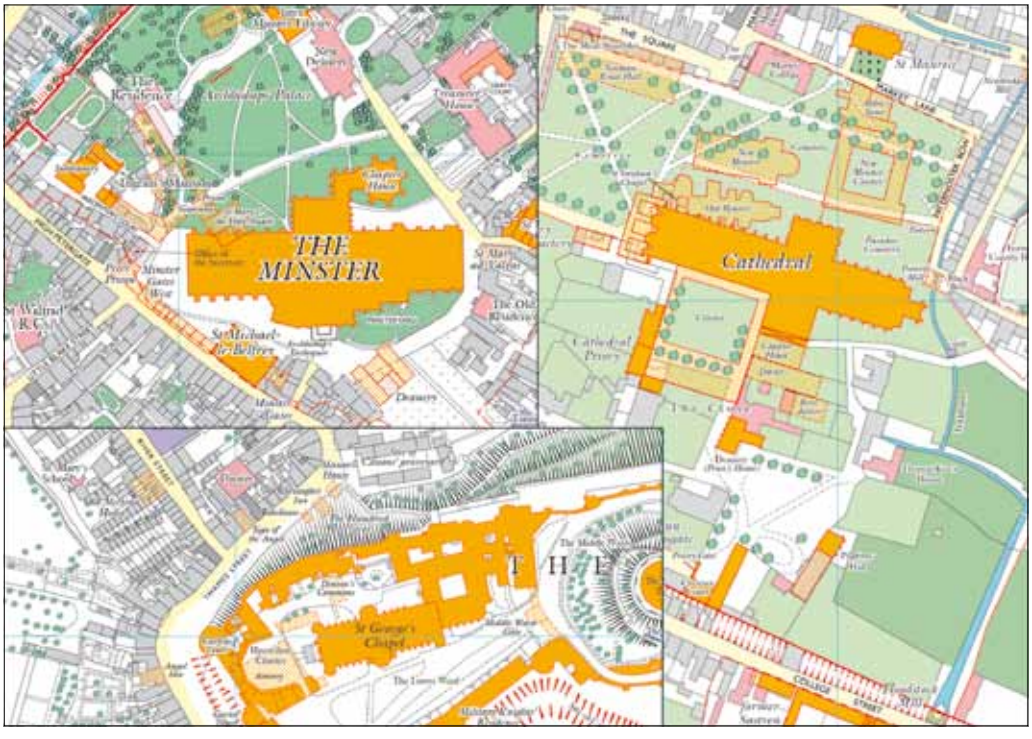


Fig. 4 Composite map of York (*top left*), Winchester (*right*) and Windsor (*bottom left*). All drawn at the same scale: 1:2,500. Note how densely settled York is and always has been, compared to Winchester, which had open fields within its city walls well into the nineteenth century, and Windsor, which remained a much smaller settlement (albeit dominated by its huge castle) until the late nineteenth century.

comparative analysis. It also decided to follow another European innovation: the inclusion of aerial photography.

With a design concept in place, the HTT commissioned its publishing partner, Oxbow Books of Oxford, to test how best to deliver such a novel yet attractive product that would look good, work well in practice, and yet be robust enough to withstand constant handling. Oxbow designed a mock-up, which the Trust adopted as a basis for Volume IV and subsequently. After a period of relative inactivity, the project has undergone a dramatic revival, with the publication between 2015 and 2017 of atlases for Windsor and Eton (Volume IV), York (Volume V) and Winchester (Volume VI).[21] Oxford and other towns are forthcoming.

The content of recent Historic Town Atlases in Great Britain

Following the guidance from ICHT, each British volume always includes a Main Map, more recently based on a re-digitised mid-nineteenth century large-scale OS map or a comparable original. This summarises the town's growth and shows the site of its principal medieval and post-medieval buildings and structures. The use of OS maps and plans means that the urban features share a common cartographic origin, though the summary maps that are used to illustrate different aspects of the town's development often use surveys of differing dates.

The Windsor and Eton atlas uses OS base maps of 1869–75, the York atlas one of 1850, while Oxford (planned as Volume VII) will use one of 1876. The Winchester atlas uses a derived base of around 1800, created from a synthesis of later OS maps and detailed town surveys by William Godson of 1750 and R.C. Gale of 1836. Exceptionally, the third volume for London uses as its base map the city as it was in *c.*1520, though Col. Johns also sourced maps by John Leake (1666), and John Ogilby and William Morgan (1677).

As well as the Main Map, the atlases also contain a series of maps showing: the extent of each town at critical periods in its development; maps of parishes and civil wards; the town in its regional and local context; and a reproduction of an OS one-inch (1:63,360) illustrating the town's location at the start of the railway age. All maps are printed in full colour. Because they are not bound into a volume, they can be set side-by-side, so making it easy to understand the town's history and development by comparing maps of different dates (Fig. 3); it is also possible to compare information from different towns (Fig. 4).

Cartographic material is always accompanied by a text, the purpose of which is to provide a well-researched, but readable, summary of the history of the town, incorporating the latest scholarship. The text is designed to be read by the non-specialist but is supported with full references. It includes an introduction and summary of the town's history from its inception to the mid-nineteenth century. Each atlas also contains a gazetteer giving details of all the named features of buildings, streets, etc. that appear on maps in the atlas.

Finally, each volume is illustrated with aerial photographs, reproductions of old maps and topographical views.

The recent volumes on Windsor and Eton, York, and Winchester, are published as high-quality board folders containing around twenty-five maps, up to a hundred illustrations, and an introduction and gazetteer. The current plan is to follow this format in future atlases.

Volume V: The Historic Town Atlas of York

Important since Roman times, York grew to become one of the most prosperous, densely settled and influential cities of England in the medieval period and beyond. The atlas charts the city's development to the advent of the railway age. It was edited by Peter Addyman (formerly Director of York Archaeological Trust) and written by a team of experts in the city's various phases of development.

Its comprehensive gazetteer explains the origins and development of all principal buildings, streets and features shown on the maps, with a grid reference. Some twenty-five or so maps show the city at key phases, the complex parish boundaries of York, and York in its local and regional settings. Also included is a specially produced version of the second edition OS one-inch map of York (1850) and its surroundings, and modern maps to 2015. The text recalls the city's history in a number of chronological sections as follows: Eboracum: Roman York; Eoforwic: Post-Roman and Anglian York 410–866; Jorvik: York in the Anglo-Scandinavian period 866–1066; York 1066–1272; York 1272–1536; York 1536–1696; York 1696–1840; Afterword: York since 1840.

At the atlas's heart is the Main Map, drawn at 1:2,500 and showing all the sites of York's most important buildings and structures on the base map of

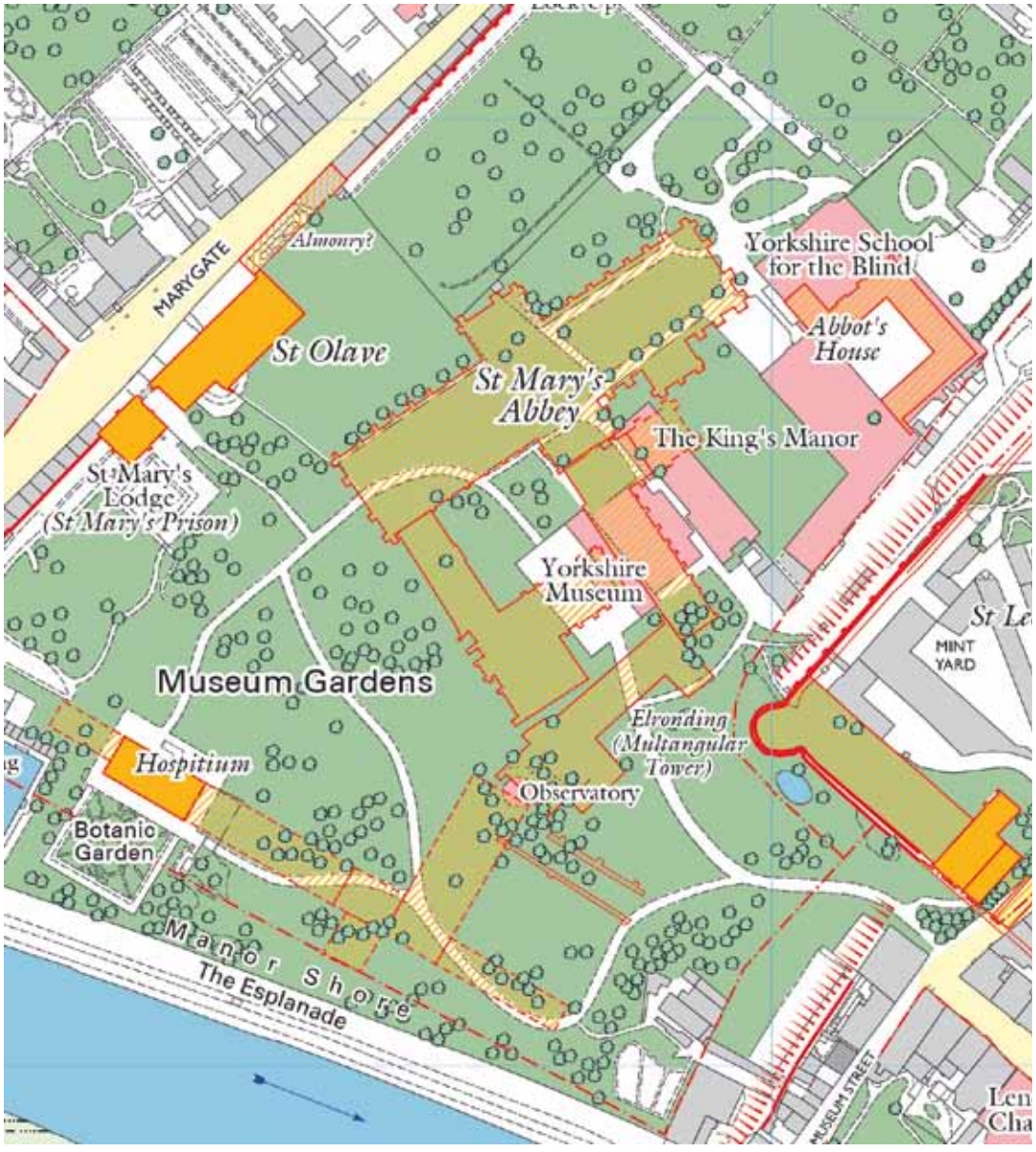


Fig. 5 An extract from the British Historic Towns Atlas, Vol. V, York. Source: York. Historic Towns Trust, 2015.

*c.*1850, the first time that such a map of the city has been created and published (Fig. 5). The volume also includes historic and modern aerial photographs of the city centre, and ninety or so illustrations of the main buildings, streetscapes and prominent topographic features.

The atlas was published jointly with York Archaeological Trust in December 2015 and is now in its second printing. A spin-off from the York atlas, 'Historical Map of York about 1850', won the British Cartographic Society Stanfords Award for Printed Mapping and the British Cartographic Society Award 2014 – 'Best in show'.

A preview of the Oxford Atlas

An interesting story can be used to introduce the value of the forthcoming Oxford atlas. Tucked away behind the My Sichuan restaurant, near Oxford's Gloucester Green bus station, lies a robust, vegetation-topped and seemingly unremarkable stone wall. It is about 1.5 m high at its highest, and some 50 m long (Fig. 6). To its south is a private, gated and rather grubby back



Fig. 6 The southern side of the wall at Gloucester Green. Photo: Nick Millea.

access to the aforementioned restaurant, and a stabling point for Oxford Market's fleet of mobile rubbish bins. On the wall's north side, lies a peculiar lozenge-shaped spinney or wood, abandoned to ivy and half a dozen mature trees. This extends a short way towards the traffic lights outside Worcester College, and houses a small electricity sub-station. At the wall's eastern end, a more modern brick wall forms the side of a house at right angles. Why should this short section of everyday piece of masonry warrant a mention here?

The answer will be revealed in the soon-to-be published Oxford Atlas. Editor Alan Crossley will show that this is one of the few surviving remnants of Beaumont Palace, birthplace of kings Richard I and John. He will provide incontrovertible evidence of its origins, based on maps of the city published by Ralph Agas, David Loggan, Isaac Taylor, Richard Davis and others.

Thus the research of Crossley and his team shows how Oxford's urban topography can be followed chronologically from Agas' map of 1578, through to the OS 1876 base map that will be used for the atlas and the associated folding map, and the current cartographic interpretation by Giles Darkes and the team at Lovell Johns. Using this historic material it is possible to follow how the hitherto anonymous section of wall referred to above became embedded in the town and has survived to this day (Figs. 7–9).

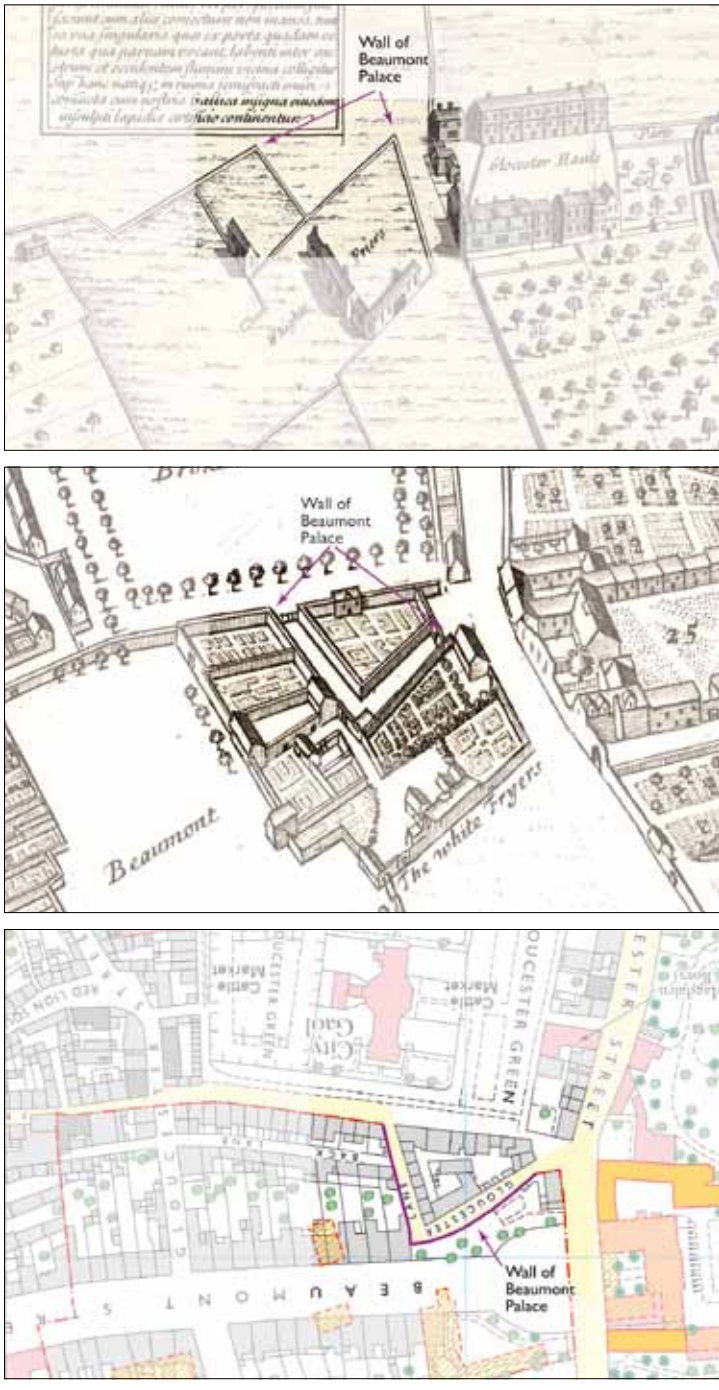


Fig. 7 The Beaumont Palace wall on the Whittlesey facsimile of Agas' 1578 map (note south is at the top). Source: Bodleian Libraries – Gough Maps Oxfordshire 2.

Fig. 8 The Beaumont Palace wall on Loggan's 1675 map (note south is at the top) Source: Bodleian Libraries – (E) C17:70 Oxford (12).

Fig. 9 The Beaumont Palace wall along Gloucester Lane (note south is at the top for the purposes of comparison with Figs. 7 and 8). Source: An Historical Map of Oxford. Historic Towns Trust, 2016.

Town and City Historical Maps

The material prepared for the atlases can be used in different ways to create other products. Using them as a basis, Old House Books published for HTT: 'A Map of Tudor London 1520' in 2008; the prizewinning map of York, 2012; and 'Historical Map of Windsor & Eton about 1860' in 2013. The HTT now publishes these popular single-sheet maps itself in its series of Town and City Historical Maps. In some cases this allows the Trust to give readers a 'taster' of what will soon become the maps in the published atlases.

The maps are drawn at the scale of 1:2,500. On the back of each is a summary of the town's history, along with a short account and a gazetteer giving brief details of the town's main historical features and illustrations from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Each map is folded into a card cover, similar in format to OS Landranger 1:50,000 series (and like the OS maps, this series is printed by Dennis Maps of Frome in Somerset).

Four maps have already been published:

'An Historical Map of Oxford' was launched in early 2016.[22] The initial print run of 1,000 quickly sold out, so a second printing was commissioned.

'An Historical Map of Winchester' was co-published with the Winchester Excavations Committee in October 2016. It shows Winchester in about 1800, with all the main medieval and post-medieval public buildings. On the reverse is an illustrated gazetteer of Winchester's main buildings and historical information. The illustrations are in full colour and include many never previously published.

In May 2017 HTT published 'An Historical Map of Kingston upon Hull: from medieval town to industrial city' (Box 1). The catalyst for this map's creation was Hull's status as the United Kingdom's City of Culture for 2017. A different cartographic approach was taken with the Hull map compared with others in this series, by using as a base the 1928 Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 scale map, and overlaying onto this features of historic interest, such as lines of former defences, and the locations of key buildings.

In May 2018 the HTT published a revised and much updated version of the map of London in 1520 (Box 2). This was created with support received from the London Topographical Society, which allowed for a complete redrawing of the map and the use of GIS to add much new information on the city's medieval topography.

As well as these four maps, the very popular HTT historical map of York is also to be republished in 2018 in the new Town and City format.

Box 1: An Historical Map of Kingston upon Hull: from medieval town to industrial city

This map uses large-scale 1:2,500 OS mapping as a background, on which are superimposed historic urban features, such as defences, medieval streets, churches and institutions. 1928 marks an important period in the city's history, as Hull was at that time at its apogee as a maritime port, a prosperous and expanding industrial city, whilst still retaining much of its medieval street pattern. This is captured with this map base, showing how Hull looked before wartime bombardment destroyed large parts of the city centre. Nonetheless, it retains the HTT map 'branding', with conventions that use similar colours and symbology to those used in previous and current HTA atlases.

As well as major medieval and post-medieval buildings, the map also records fortifications and ancient water-courses, including the possible old route of the River Hull. The reverse carries a comprehensive gazetteer, listing all the most important sites of historic interest with a brief history of each, and many illustrations.

Published in 2017, it is larger in format than HTT's previous publications for Oxford and Winchester, allowing more of the city to be mapped. The authors are David and Susan Neave (authors of the *Pevsner Architectural Guide to Hull*) and D.E. Evans, former Hull City Archaeologist.

Box 2: A Map of Tudor London *c.*1520

This map first appeared as the Main Map in 1989 in the third atlas published by the HTT: 'The City of London From Prehistoric Times to *c.*1520'. It was printed on four double folio pages. Twenty years later Old House Books joined the pages together and produced a single folding map which showed at a glance the extent and detail of the medieval city. The map was reprinted several times, but its content was overtaken by new research and its appearance by more sophisticated mapping technology.

The Trust decided to revise the map, still to a scale of 1:2,500, but now digitised and, as far as possible, geo-rectified. The most striking difference between this map of 2018 and the earlier one is the introduction of a much greater range of colours so that different categories of buildings can be distinguished: religious houses, parish churches, royal buildings, legal inns, civic buildings and public inns (Fig. 10). The area covered has also been extended to include Southwark on the south bank of the Thames, and the hospital of St Mary Spital and the Priory of St John at Clerkenwell to the north. Recent archaeological work and new archival research have been incorporated so that, in particular, the many religious houses and the waterfront have been depicted more precisely. In the 1989 atlas there was a separate map to show the hundred or so parish boundaries; these have now been added.

Educational outreach

As an educational charity the HTT has an interest in outreach and public engagement, and encourages use of maps from the Historic Towns Atlas volumes for a wide range of audiences, for research and other



Fig. 10 An extract from the newly published map of Tudor London, 1520.

purposes. The Trust has partnered with universities, colleges and other educational bodies to set up public events that focus on its atlases and maps. For example, the Trust worked with the University of Oxford's Department for Continuing Education (March 2015) and the University of York (April 2016) in holding seminars around the respective atlas projects. At each, papers were presented by the authors on various sections of the maps and atlas, along with contributions on the project in general and supporting material that helped participants to understand the editorial processes involved in creating modern maps using historical research. The HTA atlases and maps are also used by other researchers and groups, with HTT permission. Two maps of Cambridge from the second volume were used to illustrate a collection of essays on *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge*.[23]

Where next for the British Historic Towns Atlases?

The British Historic Towns atlas project is currently enjoying a strong revival. Progress on creating new projects will always depend on funding. But there are other considerations, such as filling geographical gaps (especially Wales and Scotland) and including a wider range of town types and urban forms. The availability of local enthusiasm and finance is always critical to success in creating an atlas. Already, potential new projects are being discussed for Canterbury, Chester, Colchester, Exeter and Swansea. But there are a number of other towns and cities where the Trust would be interested in seeing an atlas created in order to improve the geographical range and historical scope of the series as a whole, for example: Edinburgh, Liverpool, Ludlow and Newcastle upon Tyne.

With an eye to future developments the HTT is also exploring how digital technologies can be even more widely used, for example how GIS can assist in the wider dissemination of its maps. Already the HTT website has freely accessible PDFs of HTA Volumes I–III. There is scope too to use geo-rectified historical maps in online GISs: this is currently being explored for London and Bristol.

Re-assessing the approach for the future

While there is an active, on-going programme of publications, the passage of time since Johns and Lobel started their work on the atlases has prompted new thinking on the future direction of the series. When it started, the atlases focused on the development of towns and cities up to the railway age, but this misses out the important urban developments and changes of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which of course also deserve to be included. Indeed, there is plenty of potential for developing similar maps of other industrial urban centres in Britain, as well as other towns and cities with nineteenth- and twentieth-century origins such as coastal resorts and spa towns that have shaped the nation and contributed to Britain's urban heritage.

The new approach taken for the 'Town and City Historical Map of Hull' is an example of how the HTT has begun to address this issue. The British atlases will of course continue to include summary topographic maps of urban landscapes at around the time of the dawn of the industrial age, but for many towns and cities of Britain – especially for large urban centres such as Hull – it makes better sense to map the urban landscape of the twentieth century, for it too is now of historical and topographical interest. While this builds on the principles and traditions laid down by Johns sixty years ago, it shows that the HTT is committed to moving with the times in the approach it takes to the atlases as well as adopting the best modern production

techniques. The series has a long and distinguished history and 2019 will mark the Golden Jubilee of the publication of the first British Historic Towns Atlas.

Acknowledgements
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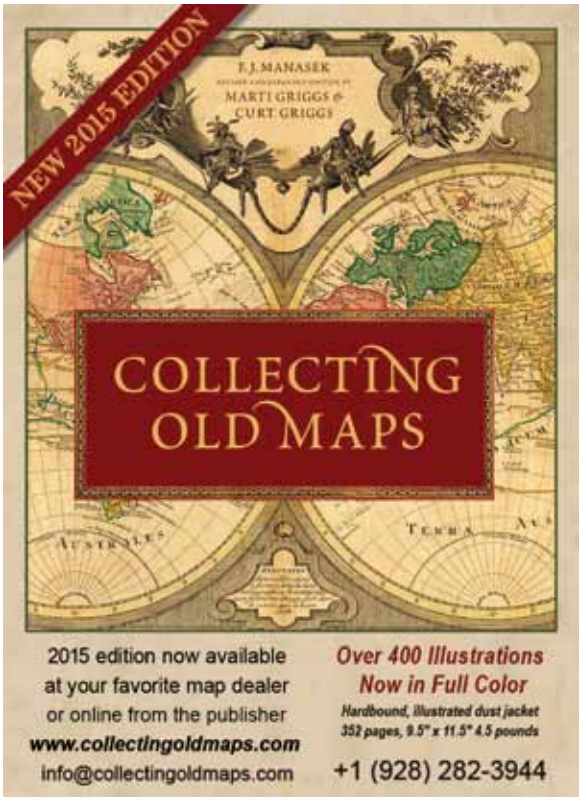
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THE AUSTRIAN ATLAS OF HISTORIC TOWNS

As part of the European Historic Towns Atlas project[1]

Ferdinand Opll

Cities and towns have long been prominent subjects of historical and documental literature, as well as other texts, including literary fiction. Likewise, since antiquity, there has been the desire to capture their physical appearance in graphic representations. In particular, a wealth of visual records – views as well as maps – of settlements, towns and cities from the late medieval period to the early modern – has accumulated in our museums and archives. Access to, and understanding how these depictions of our urban past have shaped our current environments have been made possible, in part, by the work of the European Historic Towns Atlas project (HTA), one of the main scientific endeavours of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT) founded in Rome in 1955. Being able to make scientific comparisons between towns is a useful tool to better understanding urban development. However, recognising that accurate comparison of early town plans was not possible when each was idiosyncratic in scale, content and symbology, HTA set out to find a way to standardise them. The first guidelines were approved in 1968 at the General Assembly of the ICHT in Oxford. After the establishment of an Atlas Working Group of the Commission in 1993 a reformed version of these standards was concluded in Münster/Westphalia in 1995, and, recently, further evaluations concerning the inclusion of maps for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were introduced in Lisbon in 2013.

The idea of historic town atlases goes back to Johannes Fritz, a schoolteacher from Strasbourg. In 1894 he published the first comparative study of German city and town maps.[2] The concept was developed by Paul Jonas Meier who, in 1922, published the *Niedersächsischer Städteatlas* (Atlas of Lower Saxony Cities and Towns. It contained thirteen town plans as they appeared on the nineteenth-century cadastral survey of the region. Each was accompanied by a short account of the town's history. With this publication Meier, in more than one sense, laid the foundation for the development of the project of a European Atlas of Historic Towns – the name and term for a conglomerate of national historical towns atlases, but never a series in its own right – which originated in the late 1960s. See the previous article (pp. 26–36) by Millea, Parry and Phillips for information on the early years of the project.

As one who has been closely connected with this project for four decades, let me briefly address my own, personal experience in the course of this endeavour and give you a concise 'workshop report' on the Austrian initiative (AHTA).

Unlike Britain and Germany who published their first volumes in 1969, Austria did not get underway until the early 1980s, publishing their first volume, which included the cities of Mödling, Wels, Vienna and Wiener Neustadt, in 1982. The project was made possible through close co-operation between the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna) and the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Urban Historical Research, as well as various other research institutions, including universities, archives and local history associations.

It was set up as a collaboration between three professional teams: the scientific editors; a group of expert cartographers; and the respective author(s) for each volume in the series who were specialists on the history of the selected town. Direct collaboration with cartographers proved to be very useful and the practice has been adopted by atlas publishers elsewhere in Europe.

The AHTA established very clearly structured work processes, which I will explain here briefly:

1 The first step was to select which towns to be included. The number of volumes published in 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011 and 2013 fluctuated between three and seven. Apart from some fundamental considerations, this selection was based on the goal to present towns in the atlas which are as varied as they are characteristic ('town types' like fortification towns, trade towns, mining towns etc.). In addition, there were a number of 'certain starters', such as the capital Vienna and the capitals of the federal provinces. The selection process

also considered non-scientific factors, among them, for example, town anniversaries and financing – the extent to which municipal authorities were prepared to support the undertaking. Attention was paid in particular to the availability of suitable experts. The question asked was: Would it be possible to count on experienced scholars with a substantial record of recent publications to be collaborators or, would the core atlas team in Vienna need to provide the scientific research?

2 The next major step in the work process was to localise and retrieve scans or copies of the original cadastral survey documents (maps and register lists) dating from the early nineteenth century (called 'Franziszeischer Kataster', named after Emperor Francis I). The most important partners at this stage were the Österreichisches Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen (the Austrian 'Ordnance Survey') with its archives of cadastral maps, and the Austrian Provincial Archives.

3 The team of cartographers then prepared the digital map copies for printing. The historical map of the town and its environs from the time of the cadastral survey drew on strategic-military maps from the oldest calibrated survey (Franziszeische Landesaufnahme, once again named after Emperor Francis I) called the second general survey, which was carried out for Austria in the early nineteenth century. These maps were retrieved from the war archive department of the Austrian State Archives.

4 The author/s and the scientific editorial team were responsible for finding the oldest possible view of the town, which is an obligatory element that appears in each volume, and a reproduction of the municipal seal for the cover. This collaboration also formed the basis for drafting the historical essay which, in turn, served to draft the 'Growth Phases Map'. This map illustrated the topographical evolution of a town from its very beginnings to the time of the original cadastral survey.

While the framework for the atlas programme that all nineteen participating countries adhere to was established in 1968, and revised in 1995, a closer look at the individual undertakings reveals that different approaches have been taken to attain the common goal of producing atlases that can serve as a basis for comparative urban history studies. Efforts to present not only topographical, but also thematic content have yielded a wide variety of results. Comparing the national atlas projects, we find that a more comprehensive approach has been taken by the Irish, Italian, Polish, Czech and Hungarian towns atlases. In contrast, the Austrian, German, Westphalian and Hessian atlas makers have, by and large, been content to stick to the basic programme.

Of utmost importance to the success of the HTA project is its ability to reach out to a wider audience. One way in which this is being tackled is by exploiting modern technology; it holds the highest promise for the future. Following the lead of Italy in 1999 and Ireland in 2007, Austria published its atlas volumes in CD-ROM and DVD formats in 2009. These formats provided an interactive access to the rich information they contained, enabling the viewer the possibility of comparing different town maps at identical scales.

The ultimate goal, however, was to make all the atlases freely available online. Realising this goal would overcome the problem of reproducing large-format map sizes, which have the reputation for being difficult to handle, and they are not popular with librarians. Furthermore, a digital solution overcomes the problem – intractable in conventional media – of mapping cities of great size. Printing on paper is constrained by needing to choose reasonable paper formats.

The AHTA published its last volume (Volume 11) in 2013, and over three decades it produced sixty-four single volumes, which represents almost a third of Austrian towns. Its one remaining objective, to take the project online, was accomplished in 2014 with the support of the Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung (Austrian Association for Urban Historical Research). See: http://mapire.eu/oesterreichischer-staedteatlas/. All the volumes can be accessed free of charge and are available worldwide. This achievement has made the study of the history and development of Austrian towns included in the series easier than ever before. The text is searchable and the reproduced maps and views can be examined in detail with the zoom function. With the help of a crosshair tool, the user can easily locate the topographically exact place where the term appears on the Growth Phases Maps. All these technical tools and functions offer a decisive advantage over the printed volumes, and meet the expectations of today's user.

While Austria has completed its mission, the European Historic Towns Atlas project, which was first conceived in the 1950s, launched in the following decade and since then evolved in a very positive way, continues, and there are a great number of very active national atlas projects underway. This scientific pan-European project has given us a fresh view of cities and towns, and it is an indispensible contribution to comparative historical urban research, as well as to the preservation of our cartographic and urban heritage.

Notes

1 This contribution owes its existence to the request of the editor during the author's visit to London on 26 April 2018. It is based especially on texts published by the author since 2010 but also on other studies which are mentioned in the bibliographical reference. I do also refer to my lecture on 'Der Österreichische Städteatlas: Organisation, Rahmenbedingungen und Ergebnisse eines finalisierten Großprojekts' given at the workshop 'Towns as living spaces. Static and Dynamic Aspects of Medieval and Early Modern Urban Communities: A Comparative Topographical Approach' organised by Judit Majorossy and Elisabeth Gruber in Vienna in October 2017 (See: https://viscom.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Folder-TOWNS_as_Living_Spaces.pdf/3 May 2018) which will be published in the future.

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WORTH A LOOK

The Chiswick Timeline: A history in art and maps

Karen Liebreich

In January this year a new cartographic wonder was installed outside Turnham Green tube in West London, beneath the bridges carrying the Piccadilly & District tube lines. Nearly thirty metres long, three metres high and covering the walls on both sides of a bustling shopping road, the mural shows sixteen historic maps of the area, from 1593 to today.

In 2013 Abundance London, a small voluntary group that works with school children and volunteers creating guerrilla gardens and harvesting fruit gluts, decided to tackle the depressingly dirty and fly-posted walls. Initially they proposed living green walls in the light wells between the bridge spans, linked by some kind of ceramic mural, but – after eighteen months of lobbying – Transport for London rejected the living plant element. They gave permission for the mural, but specified that it must be made of vitreous enamel. After some hesitation at losing the environmental element, Abundance decided nevertheless to proceed.

The group applied for funding from the London Borough of Hounslow. There was no response (not even a rejection!) until in July 2016, completely out of the blue, a surprise email arrived: a substantial grant had been awarded. Suddenly the project was on again. TfL was re-contacted, and design began in earnest, along with further fundraising.

From the start the river Thames' flowing line was intended to form the basis of the design. However, it presented a conundrum. Chiswick sits in a deep loop like a smile in a square, but the space we intended covering was letterbox long and thin. The solution: the river would loop repetitively through the centuries, and its blue wave would hold the design together.

Once it was decided that the mural would consist of historic maps and works of art showing the important landmarks of the area, we started to assemble our material. First stop was Chiswick Library's Local Studies department where local archivists and historians welcomed us with open



arms. From there we extended our research and kept finding new treasures. The London Metropolitan Archives proved a particularly rich source of historic maps, and nearly all picture and map archives proved generous with both material and knowledge. One of the group's mother is a map dealer, and member of IMCoS for many years, but we didn't let that put us off.[1]

Scanning the works at very high resolution and clearing the rights to use the images proved both tedious and very challenging. Maps that had been created on several separate sheets had to be joined together seamlessly, historic stains and tears became enormous scars. Marks and dog hairs that were acceptable when tiny became unacceptably obtrusive when blown up large. There was a huge amount of 'bleeding eyeball' work at the screen to clean up the images.

Our earliest map, for instance, was John Norden's County of Middlesex from 1593. His maps show roads, landmarks and the boundaries of the Hundreds, and this was one of the earliest to label Chiswick (Cheswyke on the map) clearly. We wanted only the tiny section of our river loop, barely 5cm^2 on the original, which would be expanded to a huge 3m^2 where every blemish would be magnified many times (Figs. 2 & 2a).



Fig. 1 The west wall of the Chiswick Timeline vitreous enamel mural at Turnham Green tube station showing Chiswick as depicted on eight historical maps dating between 1593 and 1867.



Fig. 2 John Norden's map of Middlesex measures 270 x 330 mm. The white imposed square indicates the area where Chiswick is marked. Courtesy of Michael Raw, www.antiquemapdrawer.co.uk.



Fig. 2a The enlargement which was transformed into a 3 metres square panel. It is the first panel of the mural (see Fig. 1).

We spent several happy hours joining the four relevant sheets of John Rocque's 1746 'Exact Survey of the City's of London... and the Country near ten miles round', a series that mapped London's major expansion, especially to the west. Rocque's whole project comprised twenty-four sheets, an ambitious project with which we had some sympathy (Fig. 3).

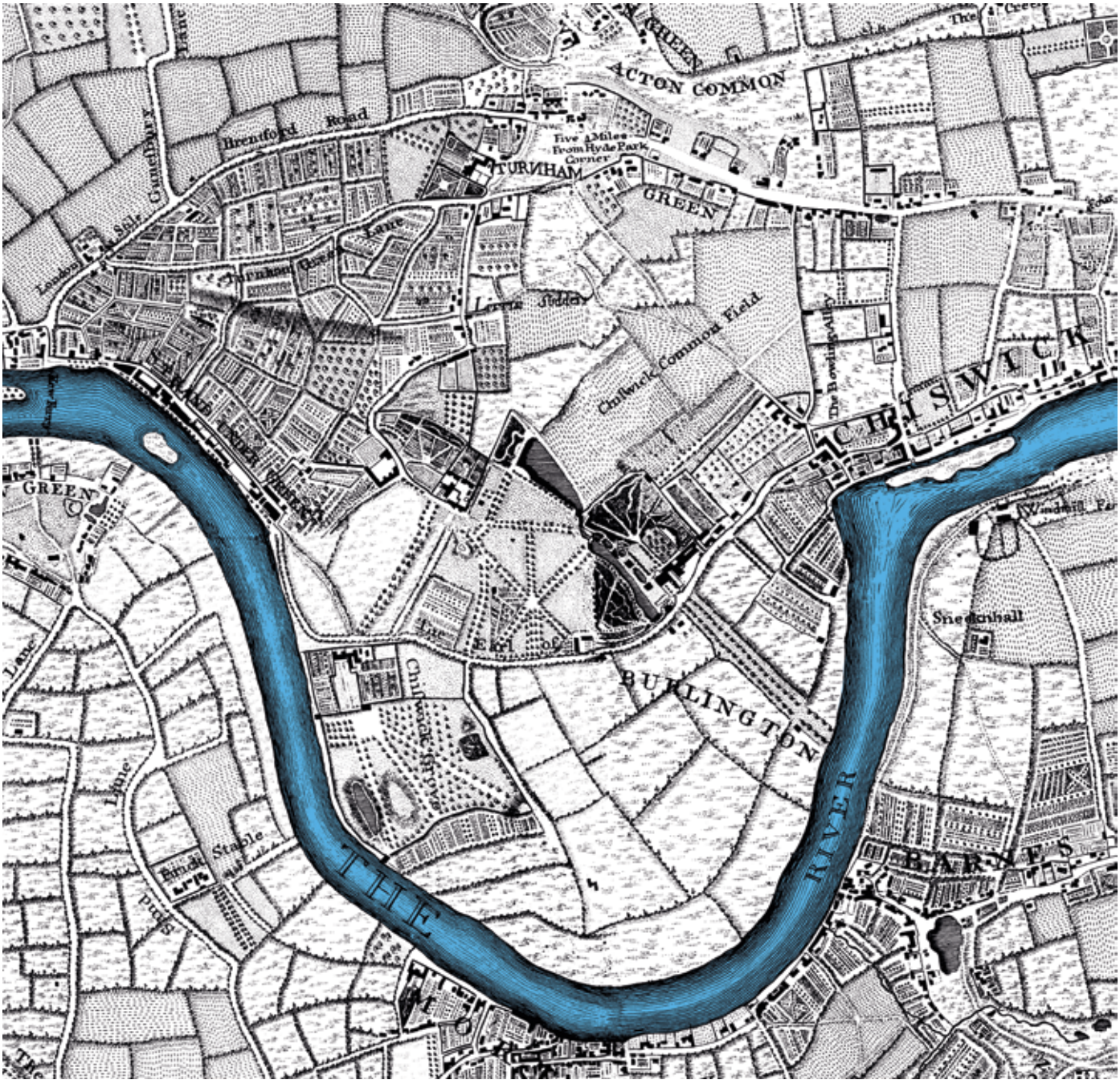


Fig. 3 Detail of Chiswick and its immediate surrounds from John Rocque's 'An Exact Survey of the City's of London, Westminster, ye Borough of Sout[h]wark, and the Country near ten miles round', 1746. Courtesy Val Bott and www.kittyprint.com.

The British Library and the London Topographical Society provided us with Thomas Milne's rare and colourful 'Land Use Plan' of 1800, clearly demarcating with code and colour the areas of arable, market, orchard etc. The nursery at Turnham Green, birthplace of the Conference and the Williams Pear was clearly visible. Another rare map, courtesy of the Diocese of London, was the 1847 Tithe Map, which provided details of each field's owner and occupier in order to facilitate accurate accounting for the calculation of tithes that would no longer be payable as produce or duties.

We kicked off the Ordnance Survey maps with the first one to show Chiswick, that of 1822, years after all the important coastlines had been mapped to ensure the safety of coastal defences against Napoleon. We followed the arrival of the railways and the growth of housing through the rest of the nineteenth century via several more Ordnance Survey maps, before celebrating the first *A-Z* in 1938.

After much digging at the London Metropolitan Archives we (or rather, the extremely helpful archivist) unearthed the 'Middlesex County Council Bomb Damage' map of 1939–45 for the area, which shows each building that was totally destroyed (painted in dark red), seriously damaged (orange) or suffered general non-structural blast damage (yellow) in the Blitz.

The modern colourful *A–Z* atlases underlined the dominance of the car, as the A4 and the A316 sliced their way through Chiswick, creating those bywords for congestion, the Hogarth Roundabout and the Chiswick Flyover. We finished off with a 'Legible London' map, a way-finding project that is creating little map columns (monoliths) outside tube stations and at junctions throughout the capital to provide better information for pedestrians.

The Timeline was welcomed with enormous enthusiasm locally. We were allowed to close the road for the launch party and several thousand people turned up. A commemorative book sold out within weeks. Local residents compiling lists of historic landmarks for planning protection have requested that the mural be added, an unprecedented honour for something that is barely two months old. Young and old seem equally pleased. "My four-year old knows they are maps and loves them!" "My teenage kids learned more about their local history in half an hour, than their lifetime of me banging on about it." "Brilliantly done and gorgeous – from an octogenarian nit-picker." It seems that maps have a universal appeal.

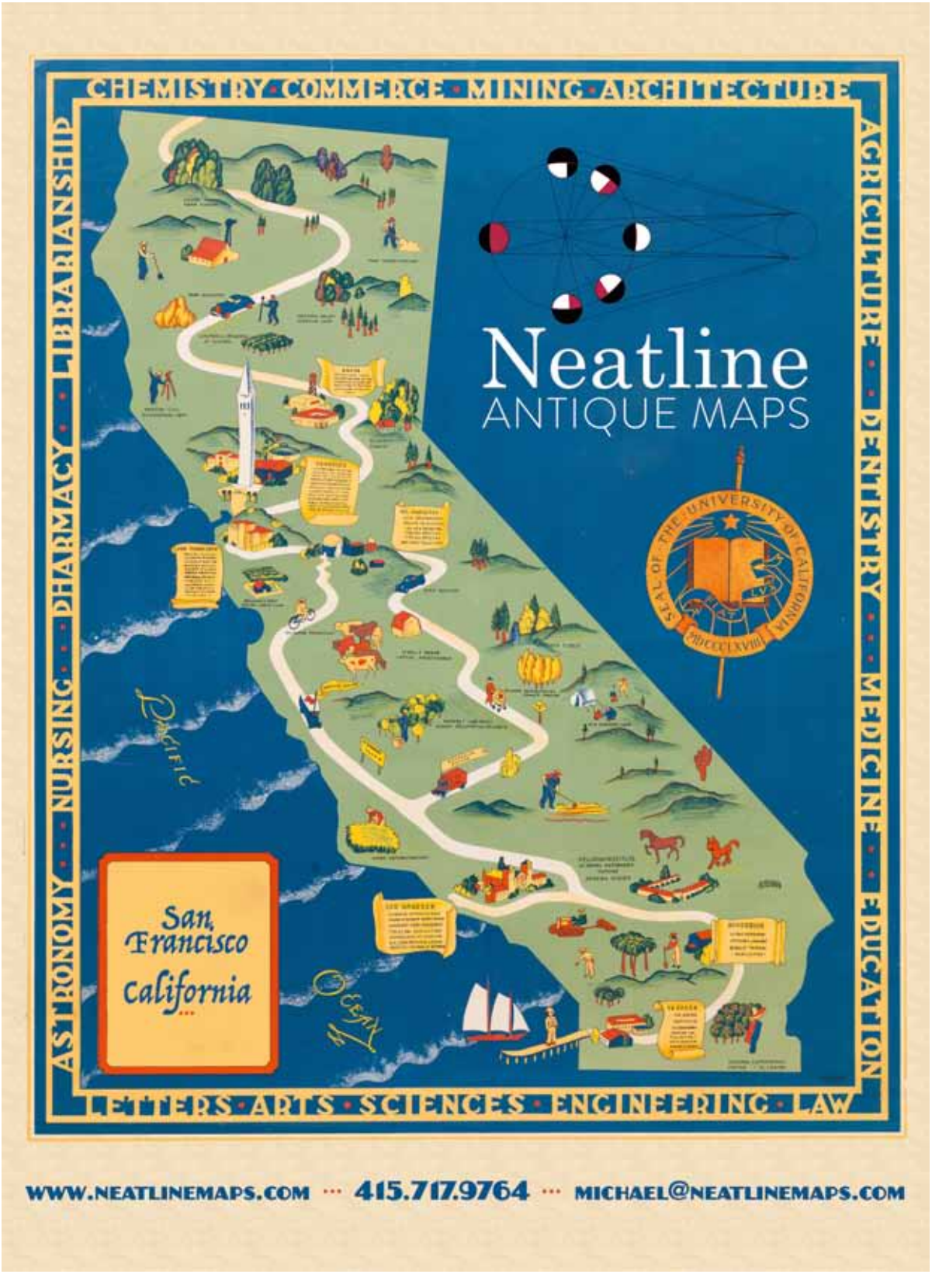
The sixteen maps used to create The Chiswick Timeline:

1 John Norden, 'Middlesex Olima trinobantibus habitata', 1593.
2 William Knight, 'Map Containing the Towns Villages Gentlemen's Houses Roads Rivers and other Remarks for 20 Miles Round London', 1700.
3 John Rocque, 'An Exact Survey of the City's of London, Westminster, ye Borough of Sout[h]wark, and the Country near ten miles round begun in 1741 and ended in 1745', 1746.
4 John Rocque, 'Topographical Map of the County of Middlesex', 1754.
5 Thomas Milne, 'Land Use Plan of London & Environs, 1800.
6 The first Ordnance Survey map of the area, One inch to the mile, 1822.
7 Tithe map of Chiswick. Map showing details of fields and agriculture to calculate tithe payments. Plan of the parish of Chiswick in the County of Middlesex 1847.
8 Ordnance Survey Map, 6 inches to the mile, 1867.
9 Ordnance Survey Map. 6 inches to the mile, 1893.
10 Ordnance Survey Map. 25 inches to the mile, 1914.
11 *Geographers' A–Z Map*, 1938.
12 'Middlesex County Council Bomb Damage' map. 25 inches to one mile, 1939–45.
13 Ordnance Survey Map. 6 inches to one mile, 1949.
14 *Geographers' A–Z Map*, 1962.
15 *Geographers' A–Z Map*, 1994.
16 'Legible London', 2018.

The commemorative book published to accompany the opening of the mural was sold out within weeks. It is being reprinted and is available from chiswicktimeline.org.

Notes
1 Kitty Liebreich, kittyprint.com

Karen Liebreich *is a writer and gardener. Her most recent book (apart from* The Chiswick Timeline*) is* The Black Page: Interviews with Nazi Filmmakers *(McHugh Publications 2017). Her aim is to create Small Acts of Defiant Beauty. The Timeline was created in conjunction with designer Sarah Cruz; together with Karen Wyatt they run Abundance London.*


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MAPPING MATTERS

News from the world of maps

2021 ICHC conference

The Directors of Imago Mundi Ltd have announced that the 29th International Conference on the History of Cartography (ICHC) will take place in Bucharest, Romania between 4 and 9 July 2021.

Digitising the Middle Ages: *Virtual Mappa*

Virtual Mappa is a set of networked digital editions of eleven (and counting) medieval maps, including the Anglo-Saxon Cotton Map and the Hereford Mappaemundi, which have been published as open access scholarship. This resource is designed to be an ongoing and collaborative effort, inviting scholars to add and edit more maps. The annotated content then automatically becomes a part of a growing searchable database. If you are interested in contributing to this initiative, by editing a specific medieval world map and adding it to this project (with full credit as a publication), please see 'How to Become a Contributor' (http://sims.digitalmappa.org/workspace/#965fe731).

Each map's digital facsimile contains annotated transcriptions and translations for every place name it contains, and is paired with a short introductory text and scholarly bibliography. Users can search for specific place names or words across all maps included in the project. Information: www.schoenberginstitute.org.

Maps enter the UNESCO Memory of the World Register

It is with immense pride that the Malta Map Society (MMS) has come to know that the very rare set of four Camocio siege maps (see pp 46–47) at the Malta National Museum of Fine Arts has been recognised by UNESCO as a Memory of the World.

Two of the four maps are in the Albert Ganado Malta Map Collection at the Malta Museum of Fine Arts. One of those two (State 3) is unique as there is no other known copy worldwide. The second map of the set is also unique as only one copy is known to exist. It forms part of the map collection of Charles University in Prague and was discovered in 2013 by Joseph Schirò.

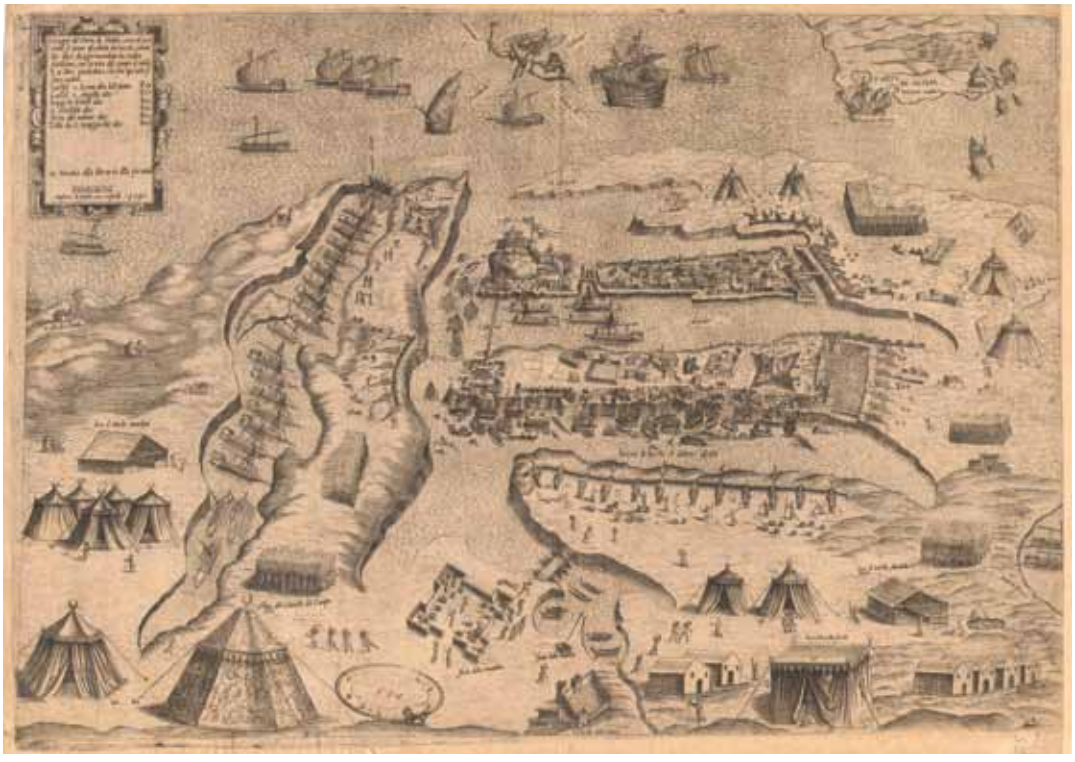
When Albert Ganado described states 1, 3 and 4 in *A Study in Depth of 143 Maps Representing the Great Siege of Malta of 1565* (1994/1995), he wrote that a close examination of 1 and 3 led him to believe there was another between those two, although no copy was known. The Prague discovery has confirmed his conjecture. Three of the Camocio set of siege maps were described in great detail in volume 1 of the said opus and illustrated in the second volume.

The timing of the discovery was fortuitous because Charles University were preparing for an exhibition in 2014 to showcase the treasures of their map collection. When they were informed that the Camocio map was the only preserved exemplar known worldwide, the map was included in the exhibition and catalogue which was published for that occasion.

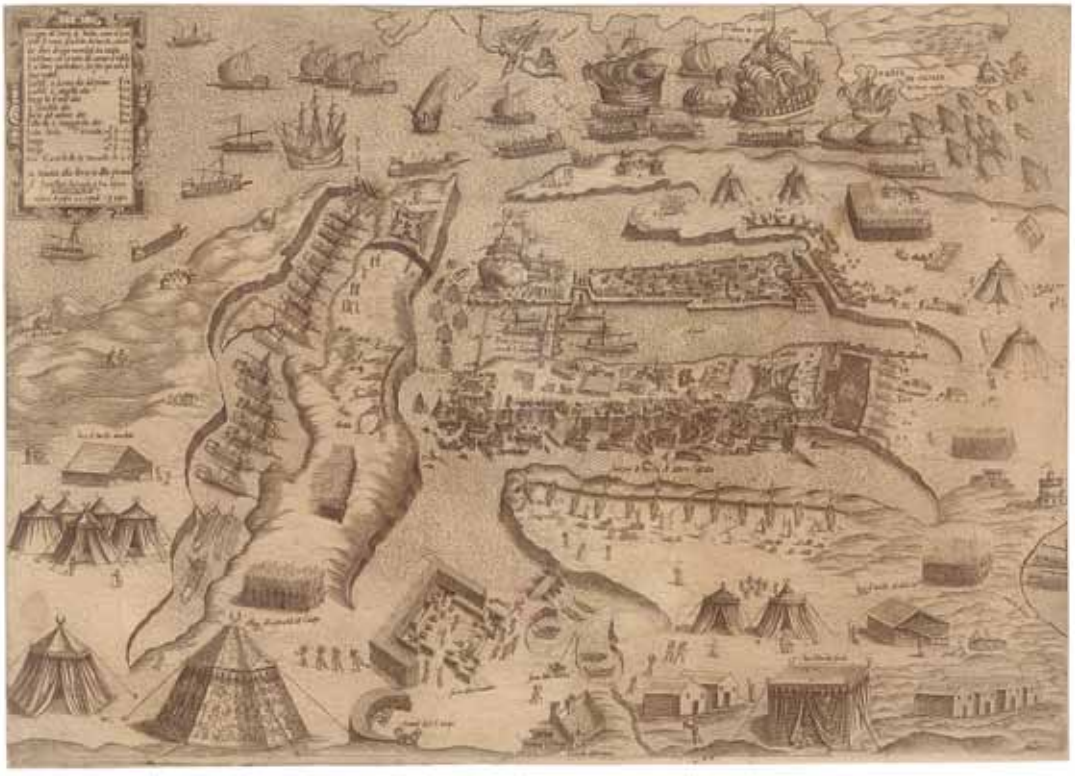
State 2 of the map at Charles University provided the unique opportunity for it to be linked with states 1, 3 and 4 of the Cartographic Collection at Heritage Malta; states 3 and 4 are from the Albert Ganado Malta Map Collection; and state 1 from the Count Messina Bequest. During his visit to the exhibition in Prague, Joseph Schirò proposed to Dr Eva Novotna, the Director of the Map Collection, that the set of four maps be included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register, arguing that this significant merge would thus permanently seal the four-state set of the Great Siege maps.

Knowing that trans-boundary applications always stood a better chance, he recommended that Charles University and Heritage Malta, as the two institutions who now own the maps, should contact each other and collaborate to start the application process which was compiled jointly. The application was followed by an exhibition of the maps titled *Siege Maps: Keeping Memory Safe* which was first held at the National Museum of Archaeology in Valletta and then in Prague in 2016.

It is worth mentioning that this set of maps will be sharing their place in the Register with the A.E. Nordenskiöld Map Collection; the maps of the Russian Empire and its collection of the eighteenth century; the Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem of the Austrian National Library; the Tabula Peutingeriana; and the Description of the Georgian Kingdom and the Geographical Atlas of Vakhushti Bagrationi.



State 1. Heritage Malta.



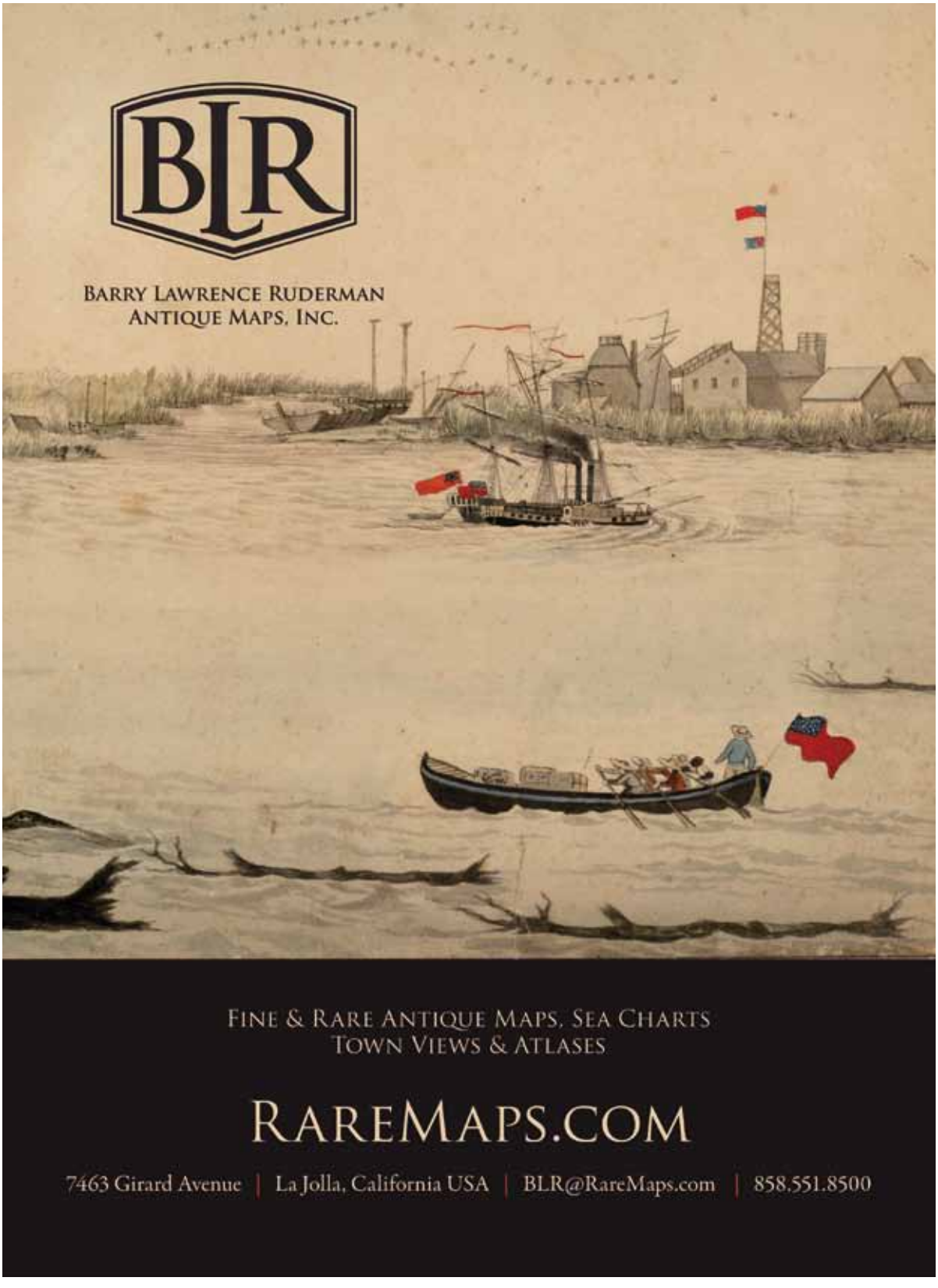
State 2. Charles University, Prague.



State 3. Heritage Malta.



State 4. Heritage Malta, Messina Bequest.


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CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Exhibitions

Until 12 August 2018, Tainan, Taiwan
National Museum of Taiwan History
Something About Maps
Taiwan History in Maps
One of only six known maps remaining in the world that demarcate zones of residence of the Han from those of the Aborigines on Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty is on display with 70 other pieces.
Information: https://en.nmth.gov.tw/exhibition_64_377.html

Until 28 August 2018, London
The British Library
James Cook: The Voyages
To mark 250 years since Captain James Cook's ship the *Endeavour* set sail from Plymouth, this major exhibition will tell the story of Cook's three great voyages through original documents, maps and artefacts.
See a review of the exhibition on p. 52.
Information: www.bl.uk/events/james-cook-the-voyages

Until 3 September 2018, Washington
Smithsonian's National Museum of African Art
World on the Horizon: Swahili Arts Across the Indian Ocean
The exhibition presents more than 160 artworks and maps brought together from collections from four continents. These works reflect on the diverse interchanges breaking the barriers between Africa and Asia in a space that physically connects the Smithsonian's African and Asian art museums. These works are recognised for not only their artistic excellence, but also how they visualise wide-reaching networks of mobility and encounter.
Information: www.si.edu/exhibitions/world-on-the-horizon-swahili-arts-across-the-indian-ocean-6255

Until 3 September 2018, Paris
The National Museum of Asian Arts, Guimet
Le monde vu d'Asie tells the story of the world from an Asian point of view. The masterpieces, famous or unpublished, testify to the richness of the different traditions (China, Japan, Korea, India, Vietnam, etc.) and the fruitful exchanges between the different Asian regions; as well as between Asia and France and the rest of the world. These maps and iconographic representations (paintings, engravings, manuscripts or objects), often relegated to the status of exotic documents, appear here as true works of art and precious historical sources, which shed light on the decisive role of Asia in the process of globalisation from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. They show the cosmographic constructions, pilgrimage routes, discovery routes, imperial gestures, urban projects, and colonial expansions.
Information: www.guimet.fr/event/le-monde-vu-dasie/

Until 30 September 2018, Mystic, Connecticut
Mystic Seaport, The Museum of America and the Sea
The Vikings Begin: Treasures from Uppsala University, Sweden
This exhibition will feature the Vinland Map, the document that ignited a controversy in 1965 as it purported to show that the Vikings reached and mapped a portion of the New World long before Christopher Columbus. Experts concluded it is not legitimate, but it still has much to tell us about issues of authenticity and the origins of modern America.
Information: www.mysticseaport.org

Until 28 October 2018, Oxford
Weston Library, Bodleian
Tolkien: Maker of Middle-earth
The exhibition will feature manuscripts, artwork, maps and letters from the Bodleian's extensive Tolkien Archive, artefacts from the Tolkien Collection at Marquette University in the USA and from private collections.
Information: www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk

Lectures and conferences

7–8 June 2018, Lisbon
Instituto Hidrográfico Marinha Portuguesa
Second International Workshop On the Origin and Evolution of Portolan Charts
The main objective of the meeting is to bring together researchers interested in the history of portolan charts.
Information: www.amqnunes.wixsite.com/portolan-workshop

14 June 2018, Oxford
Weston Library Lecture Theatre
The 25th Annual Series Oxford Seminars In Cartography. Nigel Clifford (Chief Executive Officer, Ordnance Survey) will speak about ***The future of Ordnance Survey – heritage or holograms, rambling or robots?***
Information: nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk

21–23 June 2018, Portland, Maine
Osher Map Library
The International Society for the History of the Map (ISHMap) symposium and annual general meeting
Information: email ishm2018@maine.edu

2–5 July 2018, Leeds
University of Leeds
The twenty-fourth International Medieval Congress led by Felicitas Schmieder and Dan Terkla. Theme is of the congress is 'Memory'.
Information: felicitas.schmieder@fernuni-hagen.de or terkla@iwu.edu.

15–20 July 2018, Warsaw
University of Warsaw
The 17th International Conference of Historical Geographers will take place in cooperation with the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, the Polish Academy of Sciences. Papers will be presented on any aspect of historical geography, including focused empirical, theoretical and historiographical contributions to historical geography and related fields including history of cartography, history of science and environmental history.
Information: http://ichg2018.uw.edu.pl/

13–15 September 2018, Oxford
Weston Library
The 7th International Symposium on the History of Cartography is co-hosted by the ICA Commissions on the History of Cartography and Topographic Mapping and the Bodleian Library. The title of the symposium is ***Mapping Empires: Colonial Cartographies of Land and Sea***. The organisers encourage contributions investigating the cartography of Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas as influenced by cosmopolitan exploration and imperialistic activity during, but not limited to, the 'long nineteenth century' (mid-18th to mid-20th centuries).
Information: www.mappingempires.icaci.org

20–22 September 2018, Golden, Colorado
Colorado School of Mines
Golden Quest: Mapping the Stampedes (RMMS pre-conference)
Great Mountains of the American West (SHD conference)
The 2018 Society for the History of Discoveries meeting is in partnership with the Rocky Mountain Map Society.
Information: www.rmmaps.org and www.sochistdisc.org

4–6 October 2018, Arlington, Texas
The University of Texas, Arlington Library
The 11th Biennial Virginia Garrett Lectures on the History of Cartography
Information: https://texasmapsociety.org/events/

10–13 October 2018, Gotha
Gotha Perthes Collection, University and Research Library Erfurt/Gotha
19. Kartographiehistorisches Colloquium
Information: petra.weigel@uni-erfurt.de or Markus Heinz at kartographiegeschichte@sbb.spk-berlin.de

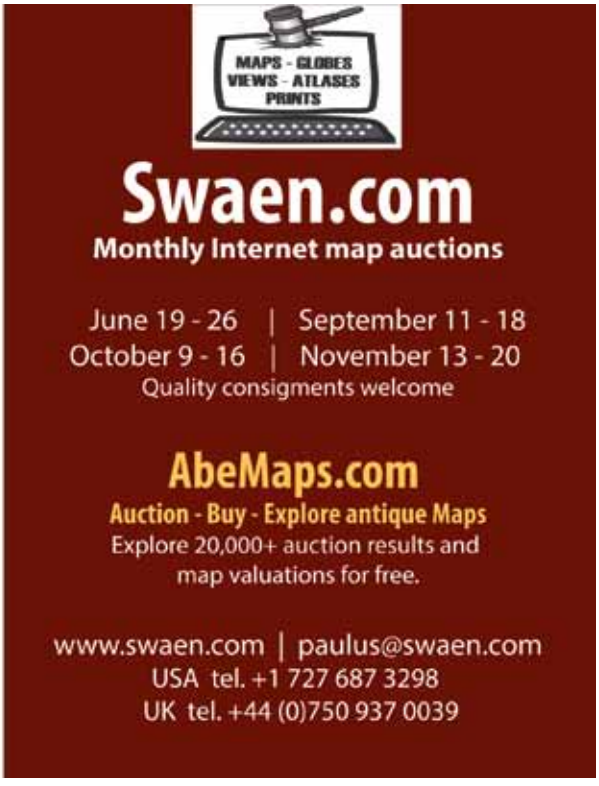
14–21 October 2018, Manila & Hong Kong
36th International Map Collectors' Society Symposium
See pages 13–14 for details.
14–17 October Manila: 'Insulae Indiae Orientalis'.
Information: www.imcos-2018-manila.com
19–20 October Hong Kong: 'Cultural Encounters in Maps of China'.
Information: https://tinyurl.com/imcos-2018-hk

Map and Book Fairs

9–10 June 2018, London
London Map Fair
Royal Geographical Society,
1 Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR
Information: www.londonmapfairs.com

21–23 September 2018, San Francisco
The San Francisco Map Fair will take place in the Lodge at the Regency Center. The lecture series portion of the Map Fair is sponsored by the California Map Society.
Information: www.sanfrancisco mapfair.com





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Richard Hakluyt, *Novus Orbis*. Paris, 1587. Sold December 2017 for $60,000.

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EXHIBITION REVIEW

James Cook: The Voyages

Katherine Parker

On 25 August 1768 the HMB *Endeavour* (there was already an HMS *Endeavour* in service) sailed from Plymouth Harbour for the Pacific, where the commander was to act as an official observer of the Transit of Venus. That commander, of course, was Lieutenant James Cook, perhaps the world's best-known explorer. 2018 marks the 250th anniversary of the departure of the first voyage and also marks the first year in a decade of commemorations and conversations about Cook's legacy, exploration and empire in the Pacific.

Anniversaries aside, exhibitions telling the story of his eventual three voyages are not uncommon, which makes the subject a challenging one for curators. How can an institution tell a well-known story in a fresh way? How can it balance the awe-inspiring account of navigation and intellectual curiosity with the frequent violence of encounter and the inauguration of British imperial interference in the Pacific? How do you visually display a voyage that covered so much area and visited so many places?

The British Library attempts to thread this needle in its latest exhibition, *James Cook: The Voyages* by including indigenous voices which reflect on the consequences of Cook's landings on their shores, the first of many by outsiders. The three voyages are told via the Library's impressive manuscript collections, which allow familiar stories to be told from novel perspectives. Underlying the exhibition, however, is a tension that also haunts academic and political discussions about exploration – should we celebrate the voyages or condemn them? How do we deal with their complicated legacies? This tension is not solved by the time one leaves this exhibition, but it is at least recognised.

Maps feature prominently in the exhibition, forming between a quarter and a third of the total items on display. Indeed, the first object one sees upon entering the exhibition space is Joan Blaeu's majestic 'Archipelagus Orientalis sive Asiaticus', from the Klencke atlas. The map is an example of the limitations of Pacific geographic knowledge in the century prior to Cook's voyages, particularly as regards Australia. The Blaeu map is juxtaposed with a piece by artist John Pule from Niue, an island Cook visited in 1774. The work, 'This Splendid Land', blends together a series of images, including charts and views, to illustrate the creativity and threat of cultural encounters on Pacific shores. This trope of European world views as confronted with other peoples, ideas and places runs throughout the exhibition.

After the viewer passes a large modern globe which shows Cook's tracks, they descend into a cabinet of curiosities meant to illustrate the intellectual climate of London in 1768. The books on display, which include a double hemisphere world map by Emanuel Bowen that was used as a frontispiece in *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* by Adam Anderson (1764), represent European hierarchical theories about social order, economics and human development. One returns to this 'London' area with its dark browns walls after passing through displays of each of the voyages; these are, by contrast, coloured in blues, greens and purples.

Upon entering the area chronicling the first voyage, the initial object on display is an eighteenth-century rifle, reminding one that cultural encounters were often violent affairs. The entire exhibition is a mixture of written documents, books, charts and maps, and objects like this rifle. One of the most engaging objects in the entire exhibition is the beak of a squid, believed to have been collected by Joseph Banks; its flesh was used to make soup. Touches of the bizarre such as this recall the sense of alienation and strangeness that affected many of the experiences for both Europeans and Islanders on these voyages.

The first voyage introduces the viewer to Tierra del Fuego, Tahiti, New Zealand and Australia. Maps are central to each display and highlights include a view of Buenos Aires by Alexander Buchan, the landscape artist who died in Tahiti of an epileptic fit. The presentation of many of Buchan's drawings, particularly of the people of Tierra del Fuego, brings to light one of the lesser known voyage artists who are often eclipsed by such figures as Sydney Parkinson, who also died on the first voyage, and William Hodges.

The British Library show marks one of the largest concentrations of paintings and sketches ever

assembled in one place by the Ra'iatean priest Tupaia. He accompanied the chieftainess Purea on her visits to Cook at Matavai Bay. He chose to join the expedition and acted as translator in New Zealand and Australia; he died in Batavia (Jakarta) after catching a fever. The subjects of his paintings include the exchange of a lobster between a Maori and Joseph Banks in New Zealand, the Chief Mourner of Tahiti and the Pacific itself. The original of his chart of the Pacific has been lost, but a near contemporary copy attributed to Cook is featured in the exhibition and discussed in a video as well. Researchers still dispute precisely how to read the chart, revealing the intricacies of Polynesian navigation.

Cook's own manuscript charts are also featured throughout, although those of the first expedition are the most famous. These include his chart of Tahiti, which is paired with a simpler outline of the island drawn by George Pinnace who sailed on the *Dolphin* when it became the first European ship to encounter the island in 1767. Cook's chart of Botany Bay is displayed next to his journal describing the landing. Perhaps his most famous chart, of New Zealand, is a powerful object to behold, especially as it is seen and reproduced less often than its print counterpart.

Back in the London room the controversy over the official published account of the first voyage is discussed alongside Cook's pencil sketch of his track in Charles Burney's personal copy of Bougainville's account. Then one enters the world of the second voyage, which is dominated by the ice mountains of Antarctica. Cook ventured farther south than any previous expedition, crossing the Antarctic Circle three times. The stark and brutal beauty of the landscape is communicated in the many sketches made by Hodges.

The second voyage also returned to several islands visited on the first voyage, including Tonga and Tahiti. Hodges' large sketches of war canoes and views of bays are ranged across a long wall, where the visitor can



Fig. 1 Banks and a Maori by Tupaia © British Library Board.

examine in depth the beauty and craftsmanship of these vessels. The second voyage also brought more encounters and the story of Mai, mistakenly known as Omai, and his trip to England is the subject of a third return to the London room.

The third voyage is, intentionally or not, shown in a more confined set of rooms than the previous two expeditions, which lends a sense of foreboding to Cook's final expedition. As with the previous two displays, this one is organised chronologically and geographically, with sections on the Northwest Passage and Hawaii. Treatises about the supposed Northwest Passage are laid out, including Jacob von Staehlin's oddly configured map of the Bering Sea and Alaska and a 1774 Philippe Buache map showing the Sea of the West.

Cook's death continues to be a subject of debate and the objects in a room dedicated to the event attempt to reflect the remaining ambiguity of just what happened at Kealakekua Bay. Various eyewitness accounts are laid out for comparison and Cook's final journal entry soberly shows the abrupt end to his scribal work, which amounted to nearly a million words, not to mention his many charts. A video showing a sequence of art works that illustrate his death portray just how his role has changed over time. The video ends with a comparison of E. Phillips Fox's 1902 painting glorifying Cook's landing at Botany Bay with Daniel Boyd's 2006 'We Call Them Pirates Over Here'. The latter takes Fox's painting and refashions Cook as a pirate and invader, not a triumphant, and peaceful, master of all he surveys.

The last thing the visitor sees is a short video featuring indigenous leaders and intellectuals who reflect on Cook's legacy. While their opinions vary about the man himself, the consensus is understandably negative when it comes to the plight of indigenous people post-British encounter. This video is the final in a series of short films that were interspersed throughout the exhibition in an attempt to include indigenous perspectives. In addition, the text plaques are sure to underline the violence of encounter and to undermine any sense of European mastery communicated by the papers of the voyage. Objects from various island cultures were borrowed from other institutions, especially the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, to compare to manuscript drawings of similar items. While these are absolutely necessary steps for a modern exploration gallery to take, it would have been useful to see an entire legacy section of the exhibition with objects, not just videos, communicating the multifaceted fallout of Cook's voyage, from environmental to cultural degradation.

Overall, the exhibition is instructive and entertaining. The curators have made smart choices. At times, they are careful to include objects which strike satisfying chords with people familiar with the voyages: Joshua Reynolds' portrait of Banks with a globe, Cook's chart of New Zealand, Sydney Parkinson's Maori portraits, Cook's journals. More often, however, they chose less well-known items to bring a deeper understanding to the breadth of these huge endeavours. For example, rather than the famous portrait of Mai in a turban and robes by Joshua Reynolds they chose a lesser known group portrait by William Perry featuring Mai in conversation with Banks and Daniel Solander, naturalist on the first exhibition. This may reflect issues with inter-institutional loans more than anything else, but it results in a stimulating reflection on what Cook has meant, and will mean, in a post-colonial world. Maps are central to telling this story, and they receive the pride of place they deserve in an exhibition about the redrawing of the world as Europeans then knew it.

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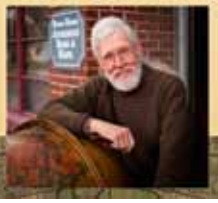
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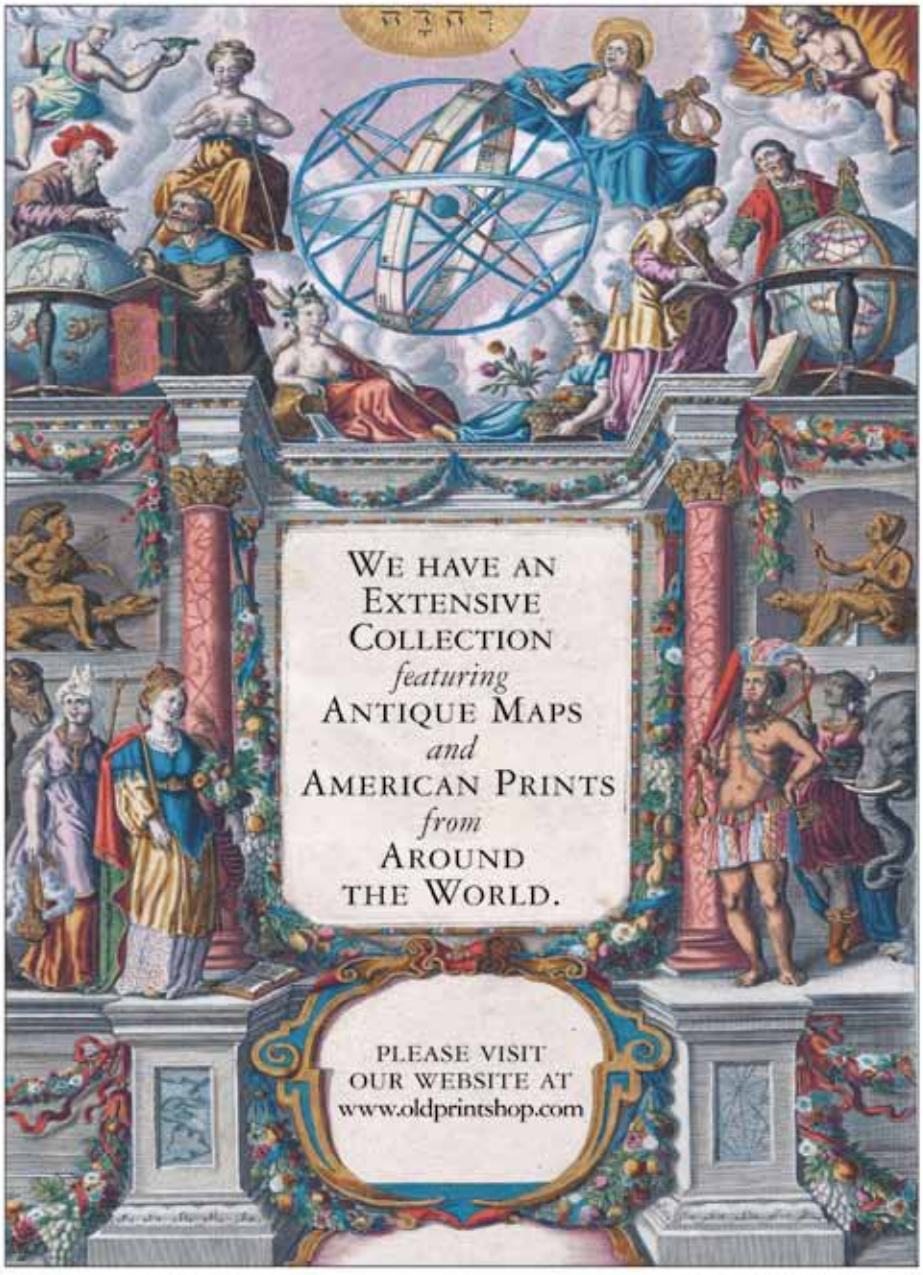
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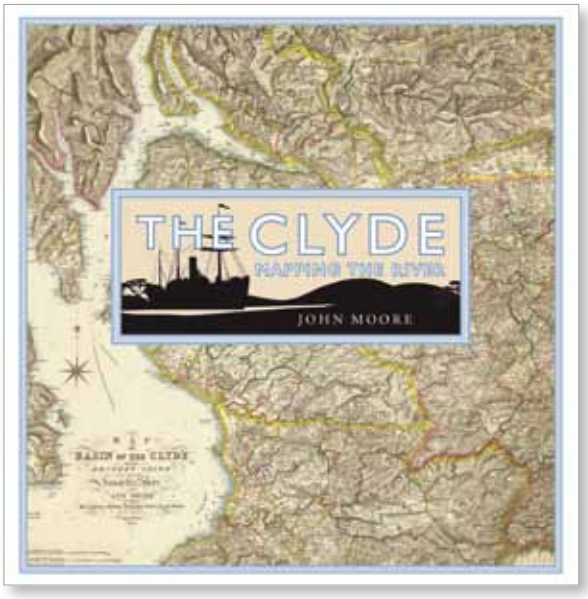
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Clyde: Mapping the River *by John Moore. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2017. ISBN 9781780274829. HB with dust jacket, xi, 276, many illus. £30 STG.*



The River Clyde in south-west Scotland is 170 km (106 miles) long from its source in South Lanarkshire some 488 m (1600 feet) above sea level to the town of Dumbarton on its northern bank. Thereafter it flows into the estuary known as the Firth of Clyde which is flanked by small and medium-sized towns and contains a number of inhabited islands: Cumbrae, Bute and Arran. The scale, varied landscapes and contrasting economic history of riverside communities offer huge scope for their mapping. This has been addressed in *The River Clyde: Mapping the River* which is the second book by John Moore in Birlinn's impressive series that introduces Scotland's rich cartographic heritage to a wide audience. His study of *Glasgow* was reviewed in the *IMCoS Journal* (Winter 2015) No.143 pp. 62–3. It was logical to follow it up with a volume focussed on the River Clyde because for many centuries the fortunes of the communities on both banks of the river and on the shores of the Firth of Clyde have been closely linked to the city.

The reviewer's first impression was of the wide range of printed and manuscript plans that the author has chosen. On view are maps that date from the seventeenth century to recent examples depicting the Falls of Clyde Nature Reserve and the Scottish Environment Protection Agency's River Classification for the River Clyde. In his research, the author has tapped into the resources of many archives, libraries and private collections in the region, elsewhere in Scotland and further afield. Some maps are worth special mention such as those prepared by Germany during World War II and the Soviet Union in the Cold War era. Other readers may find those that depict the rich sports history of the region more appealing notably maps prepared for yachting regattas and golf at Troon and Turnberry. Urban historians are well served with a large number of plans of harbours, river crossings and towns as different as New Lanark and its cotton mills, Clydebank noted for its shipbuilding and Dunoon, holiday resort and genteel retreat for wealthier families.

The diversity of maps available is certainly challenging and the author has arranged this book into seven themes each of which contain a number of case study chapters, some of which are based around the evidence of maps produced by a single surveyor while others draw on several contrasting maps, architectural plans and early paintings. Like most books in this series, the focus in the first section is on early mapping with contributions from Pont, John Adair and John Elphinstone among others before featuring maps of the Clyde during the era when county maps were fashionable and concludes with early editions of Ordnance Survey maps. This sets the scene for the remaining sections which address themes that have made the Clyde a distinctive and important river in the context of Scottish economic and social history since the early eighteenth century. 'Navigating and Improving the Channel' begins with John Adair's mapping of the Firth of Clyde between the Isle of Arran and the Ayrshire coast. This section moves on to examine successive attempts to improve the channel of the river between Glasgow and Dumbarton before returning to charts depicting the west coast such as those of Murdoch Mackenzie and John Ainslie, and the themes of lighthouses and harbour development. Defence and conflict are addressed in the third section. The significance of Dumbarton Rock, William Roy's military survey, the Clyde in the two World Wars and the Cold War are among the themes investigated. The large page format in the Birlinn map series is ideal for highlighting the detail in Roy's maps,

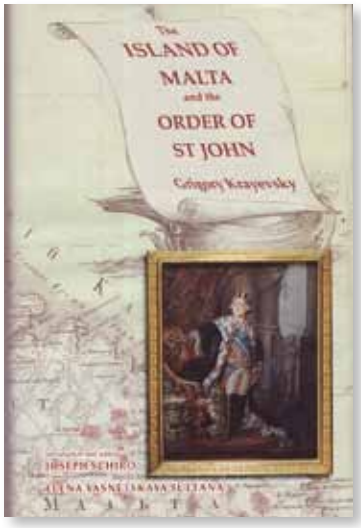
for studying a German Luftwaffe image of the town and shipyards in Clydebank and the Glasgow 1:200,000 map produced in the mid-1980s by the Soviet military authorities. In 'Using the River', the focus is on economic activities. The themes explored here are remarkably varied: cotton mills (New Lanark), bleaching greens, shipbuilding, sewage disposal and orchards. This is followed by 'Crossing the River' and as you might expect there are numerous maps and architectural drawings of bridges, however, there is a horse ford (1764), ferries and modern motorway bridges such as that at Erskine and the M8 crossing in Central Glasgow that dates from the early 1970s. Next are maps that show how the Clyde estuary developed from the early nineteenth century as a significant tourist destination that was given royal approval by the visit of Queen Victoria in 1847. Later in the century yachting regattas and golf were attracting visitors. Maps and charts were produced for yacht races, to show the location of the rapidly expanding number of golf courses (Caledonian Railway, 1915) and the layout of individual courses (Troon). The final section highlights towns that owed their growth to tourism (Helensburgh; Largs and Dunoon); harbours (Ardrossan) and industry (Port Glasgow and Greenock). The concluding maps are of planning for post-World War II reconstruction and contemporary maps that return readers to the twin themes of recreation and leisure. In a short postscript, Moore identifies the threats to the cartographic heritage that readers of this book currently enjoy: the transient nature of much twenty-first century mapping and the limited financial resources to support the conservation, cataloguing and promotion of older maps and plans. He is clearly concerned, as are many local history societies, including the Scottish Local History Forum, about the threat to local collections of which maps form an important component.

To conclude, the quality of map reproduction in this book could not be bettered; the research is presented in a lively, interesting and detailed way, and the range of topics covered is very comprehensive. *The Clyde* is printed on high quality paper and is very reasonably priced. This book should be a priority purchase by IMCoS members who already have bought volumes in this series and for those still to enjoy Scottish mapping at its best, it would represent a very good starting point from which to explore more widely. Finally, it is hoped that Birlinn will continue to publish books that focus on maps; they deserve the wholehearted support of map enthusiasts. Looking to the future, there is certainly scope for a parallel volume on the River Forth; other mapping projects that ought to be considered are that of a volume on Aberdeen and Dundee together with their respective satellite commuter settlements and perhaps two volumes that focus on Scottish burghs and the distinctive features of Scotland's villages.

Douglas G. Lockhart, Ayr, Scotland

The Island of Malta and the Order of St John

by Grigory Krayevsky, translated by Elena Yasnetskaya Sultana, edited and introduction by Joseph Shirò. Valetta: Midseabooks in collaboration with Malta Map Society, 2017. ISBN 9789993276401. HB, x, 123, 30 illus. €40.



During its brief existence the Malta Map Society has published many well-reviewed works on the history of the island, as chronicled by mapmakers and travellers over the past six hundred years. Joseph Shirò, the Society's Secretary, has tracked down a rarity, a Russian travelogue of the late eighteenth century, of which only four copies were known to exist. *The Island of Malta* was written by Grigory Krayevsky, who in the role of interpreter accompanied a 'non-hazardous expedition' to Malta, sponsored by the Russian Ambassador to Naples, Count Pavel Skavronsky. Some fifteen years elapsed between the expedition in 1785 and the publication of his book, with a new sponsor, the Tsar Paul I.

Although Dr Shirò does not offer an explanation for the delay in publication, it seems likely that the premature death of Count Skavronsky in 1793, after a prolonged period of poor health, obliged Krayevsky

to seek a new sponsor. Opportunely, he had included a lengthy description of the Sovereign Order of the Knights of St John, and their contribution to the defence of the Mediterranean islands against invasion by Saracens, Turks and Egyptian sultans. The second half of Krayevsky's book also contains accounts of the initiation of Knights into the Order, and of the election of a Grand Master. This seemingly appealed to Tsar Paul, who had installed himself as Grand Master of the St Petersburg Order of St John, when he received the Knights of Malta, who had been summarily expelled by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799, when his fleet briefly anchored there while en route to Egypt.

The first section of the book is a rather dry account of Malta's topography, with emphasis given to its military fortifications and the palatial quarters of the Grand Master. Fortunately, Dr Shirò has enlivened the narrative with copious footnotes and illustrations, which complement the centrepiece of Krayevsky's book, a small map of the islands.

It is claimed that this is 'an absolutely unique map... the only known Russian printed map of the Maltese islands'. Furthermore 'this is one of the few travel accounts (of Malta) written by a non-European'.

Both statements require some qualification. Grigory Krayevsky's 'unique map' of 1800 is a reduced scale copy of Gervais de Palmeus's 1:36000 double-sheet map of Malta, issued in Paris in 1752. His maps of Malta and his city plans of Valletta and Chambray (pub. 1757) were widely circulated. Krayevsky makes no acknowledgment of his debt to de Palmeus, whereas William Faden, the London mapmaker, gives due credit to de Palmeus in his own full-scale reproduction, published in June 1799. Perhaps it should also be noted that Krayevsky's translation of de Palmeus's instructions to mariners is very accurate, as is Faden's, whereas the same is not true of the Russian to English version in this book.

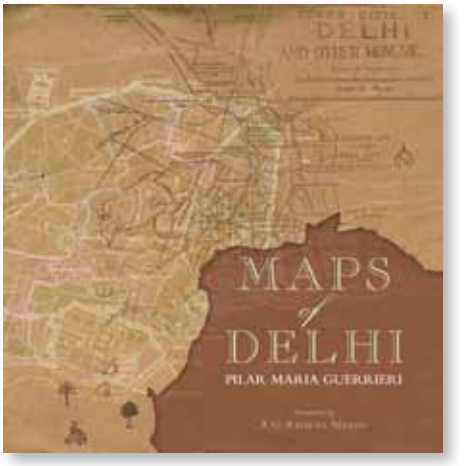
The suggestion that Krayevsky's commentary was written by a 'non-European' would have surprised Peter the Great, whose aim was to establish Russia as a truly European power. Krayevsky's own fluency in French, Italian and Latin is testament to this willingness to embrace European culture. However, the paradox of the great era of exploration launched by Peter the Great was that it was directed not to the West, but to the East. The astonishing achievements of explorers, such as Bering, Humboldt and Laptev are well chronicled, and generally they treated the natives of Siberia and the permafrost regions with a respect worthy of the Enlightenment era. Regrettably, Krayevsky did not hold such a favourable view of the Maltese, whose North African origins made them in his view treacherous and untrustworthy, although he did concede that they were highly skilled seamen and privateers.

Sadly, as Dr Shirò points out, affairs did not end well for Krayevsky. His patron, Paul I was assassinated in 1801, and Russia's interest in the Mediterranean melted in face of threats nearer to home. Krayevsky died in 1802, laden in debt, presumably with insufficient copies sold to recoup the costs of map engraving and production. Predictably the Church in Rome refused to recognise any Russian authority over the Knights of Malta, and re-established the Sovereign Order on land granted by the Vatican.

The only person to have emerged happily was the beautiful, if vacuous, widow of Count Skavronsky, whose charms persuaded Count Litta, the Sovereign Order's ambassador in St Petersburg, to renounce his knightly vows and marry her. Her portrait, by Vigée Le-Brun, which was painted in 1796 after she had returned from Naples and become Lady-in-Waiting to Catherine the Great, now hangs in the Louvre, and is reproduced in Dr Shirò's entertaining and informative book.

Henry Greenfield, Clavering, UK

Maps of Delhi *by Pilar Maria Guerrieri. New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2017. ISBN 9789385285509. HB with dust jacket & slipcase, 432, 66 maps. INR 4,500 / £65 STG / $85 US.*



Pilar Maria Guerrieri is the author of *Maps of Delhi*, printed and published by Niyogi Books. She holds a PhD in Architectural Design, Architectural Composition,

Criticism and Theory from Politecnico di Milano. I asked her why she chose Delhi as her subject of research. She answered:

> *I came to Delhi to do my PhD research as I wanted to understand the development of one of the biggest fast-growing megacities of the world. In particular, I chose to analyse the pre- and post- independence period as it was the moment in which the current megacity began to develop substantially. While I was studying the capital, I learnt that even among scholars there was a lot of confusion on its development, hence I began to look for primary sources/maps to fill this gap. While I searched through several Indian archives and institutions, specifically for the pre- and post- independence maps, I slowly found and collected many other documents. At the end of my PhD I realised that if I had the complete collection of maps at the beginning of my studies, my research would have been much easier. I decided to publish the whole collection with the aim that it would prove useful for future scholars interested in understanding the capital of India.*

Let us begin at the very end of the book, where Guerrieri writes: 'This book is an attempt to collect and bring a sense of order, chronology, and direction to the multitude of diverse maps of Delhi. Most importantly, though, to show the development of its planning, the diversity of its cartography, and the impact that foreign influences had upon it.'

This book is a work of immense effort and dedication. As a cartographer working out of Delhi, I am aware of the difficulties of sourcing maps, old and new. Guerrieri, an architect by training and foreign to India, would have invested months finding these maps. She has taken many from the Delhi State Archives. While most maps are in digital form in the archives and access is unrestricted (though not accessible on the Internet), it still takes several visits to get to see what you choose. In other repositories, old survey maps of nineteenth-century Delhi are in very poor condition, often stained and brittle. Yet Guerrieri has brought them together for all to see, compare and study with ease in one handsome volume.

Prof. A.G. Krishna Menon, writes in the Foreword to the book: 'this initiative can be distinguished from the earlier publications from the disciplinary perspective of urban planning. Guerrieri has used maps to analyse the evolution of the city rather than merely to illustrate it. She has used the maps to understand the evolution of the city in the manner that a historian would use written archival records to understand the narrative of historical events. On the basis of her analysis, for instance, she compellingly demonstrates that Delhi is a composite city of singular parts collectively forming an intricate whole "Delhi, a city of cities"'.

A glance through the maps, arranged chronologically in the book, points to broadly four kinds: sketches of nineteenth-century Delhi in the regional context; several maps of Shahajahanabad at around the time of the 1857 uprising; New Delhi of the twentieth century; and Delhi master plans from 1962 to 2021.

The manuscript sketches of the early nineteenth century are useful for readers to understand the relative location of Delhi and the surrounding villages and towns that existed then and have now been engulfed by the metropolis. These give credence to the proposition that Delhi is a city of cities.

The map 'Shahjahanabad: Delhi around 1850' is of special interest.... The labels of the mansions, neighbourhoods and gardens have been transliterated from Persian to English. Shahajahanabad was the name of the walled old city of Delhi built by the Emperor Shah Jahan from 1638 to 1649. Guerrieri concludes: 'Red Fort is a micro-city within the city of Shahjahanabad'. It is the walled citadel enclosed within Shahajahanabad, where the Emperor and nobility lived and worked. The map does demonstrate that functional areas are similar, at least as reflected partly in the morphology of the two entities, but the author leaves the interpretation of this important matter to the reader.

The military maps of 1857 reflect the siege of Delhi. The maps, made by military engineers, well document the preparation for battle. Though very interesting, the significance of these maps in support of the city of cities theory is questionable. The significance of these maps is far greater as recording the events of the siege of Delhi that led to the ultimate end of the Mughal rule and also that of the East India Company's administration of British territories in India, later replaced by the Crown.

Following the siege, and as a consequence of the increased presence of the British in Delhi, remarkable changes took place. The 1873 map of Shahajahanabad is among the earliest to record the presence of newly constructed railway lines and railway station within the walls of the city. Delhi spread far beyond the walls of Shahajahanabad as the topographic map, surveyed in 1910–11, shows large settlements in the west and north. But it was the transfer of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911 that truly spurred its planned expansion and growth.

'Delhi, Season 1912', shows the conceptual layout of

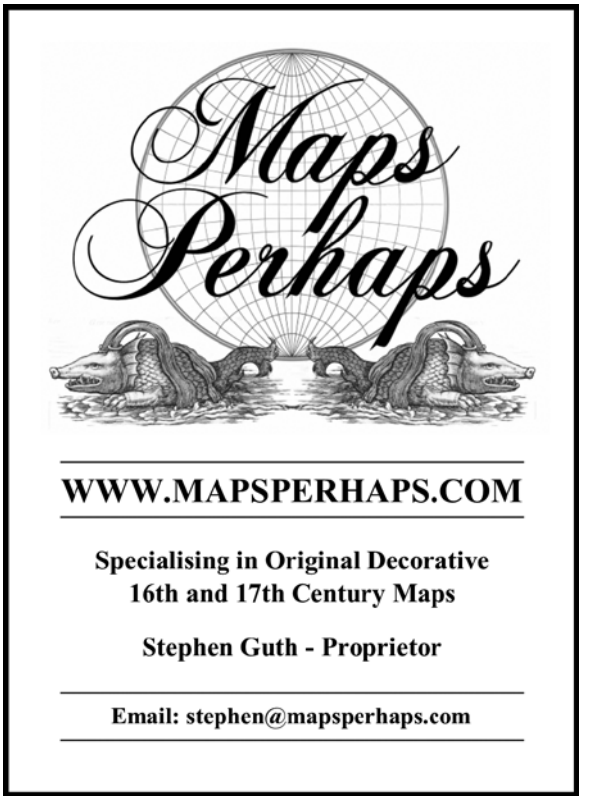
Edwin Lutyens' Delhi, 'very geometric and strategic in nature'. This map, from the collection of the National Archives of India, was signed by Lutyens in 1913. It gives an excellent overview of the inter-relation between Shahajahanabad and Imperial New Delhi connected by major roads, the promenade along the river Jamuna, the 'complexes of government buildings arranged along a central axis… culminating majestically at Rai Sina hill' at Viceroy's House. The new cantonment is suggested to the southwest while the railway station is planned (but not built) in the central commercial area, Connaught Place. 'Lay Out Plan of New Delhi, pre 1930' shows different categories of land marked out for development. These include parcels marked for Government (occupied and to be used in future), land sold or leased, or available for private purposes. This plan is significant as it predefined what New Delhi became in the next century.

Comparison of two topographic maps, 'Delhi Guide Map', surveyed in 1939–42 and 1955–56 show the exponential expansion of Delhi over a brief period of a decade and a half. Large numbers of migrants arrived after the country was partitioned between India and Pakistan on 15 August 1947. Commenting on the 1955–56 map, Guerrieri states, 'India's independence is manifest; the once imperial capital has embraced a patriotic spirit and the desire of asserting its liberation from the British Raj is unmistaken in this map. The names given to roads, once predominantly British in heritage, are now increasingly Indian, where King's Way and Queen's Way have been renamed Raj Path and Jan Path respectively… the expansion the city has undergone since 1947 is astonishing, the magnitude of which becomes noticeable owing to the presence of numerous new colonies developed by then – colonies accommodating the influx of refugees', housing cooperatives and government employees. Earlier, Delhi had been an 'amalgamation of various informal settlements', it is now 'a consolidation of miscellaneous, yet planned colonies'.

The concluding section of the book focuses on the Master Plans of Delhi. The Delhi Development Authority was established in 1955 and the Town and Country Planning Organisation along with the American Ford Foundation conceptualised the 1962 Master Plan of Delhi. 'Fundamental to this plan is the notion of separating areas according to their function, usage and association, with an acceptance of zones or sectors for the purpose of symmetrically arranging or segregating them into categories – Residential, Commercial, Industrial, Governmental, Recreational, Public and Semi-Public Facilities, Agricultural, and Circulation.' The Land Use Plans of 1962, 2001 and 2021 reflect this, apportioning densities of buildings and population and functional concentration by area, distinct from the early maps of Delhi which show informal multi-use of land. The zoning principles introduced in the 1962 Master Plan continue, even as the city expanded vastly in the Master Plan of 2021.

This compendium contains the maps and plans that were used to study the evolution of the capital city of India by Guerreri. Her contribution in understanding and explaining the evolution of this city of cities now has a special place in urban studies. This book would have been even better served by including fewer maps to demonstrate the evolution and planning of Delhi. As often is the case with passionate scholars, excluding research material does not appear to be an option. Unfortunately, excessive content also detracts from the focus of the work. While the book contains many more old maps than recent plans of Delhi, it is in the latter section on Master Plans where Guerrieri's role as a researcher comes through clearly and strongly.

Manosi Lahiri, New Delhi



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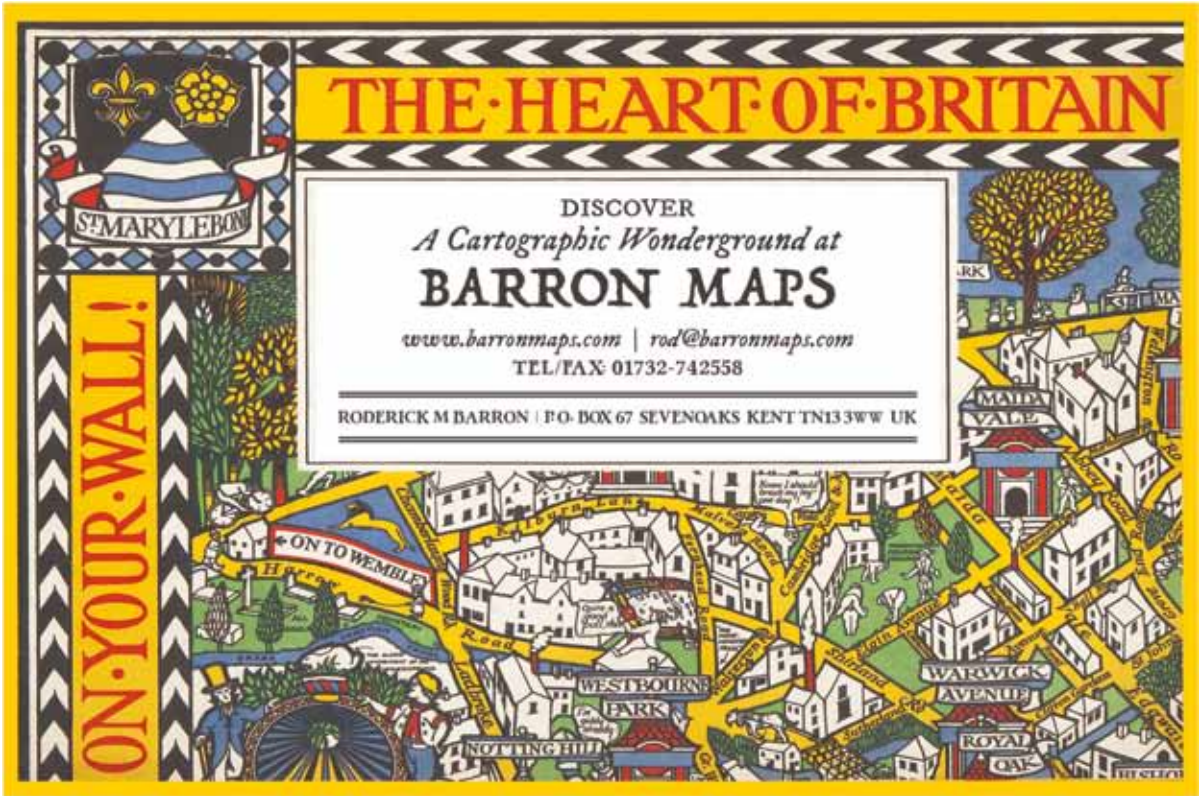
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