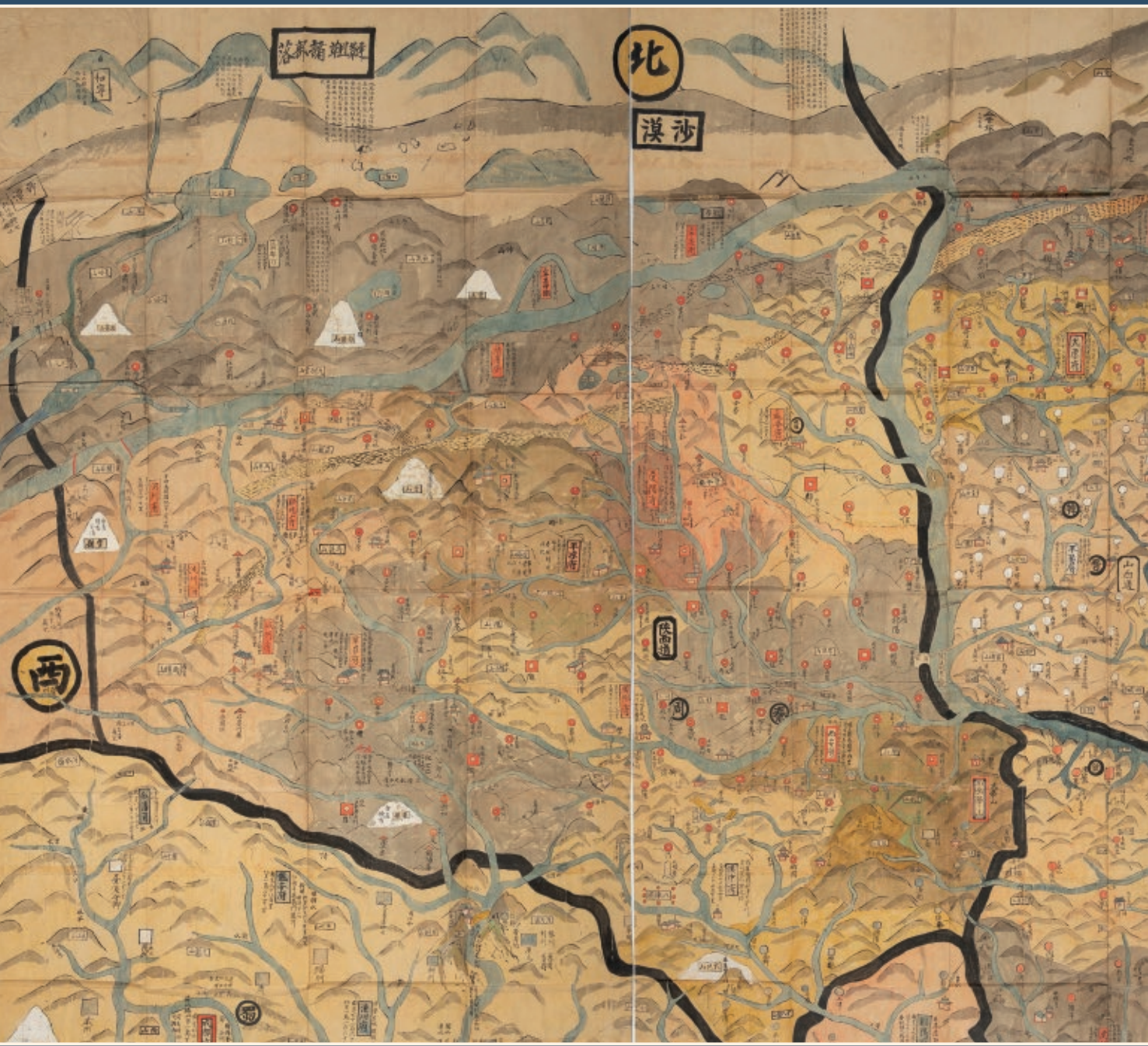
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IMCS JOURNAL

MARCH 2020 No.160



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Front cover **Detail from 'Huangming yitong datu' (Unified Atlas of the August Ming), a four-metre high map drawn in Japan in 1771 from Ming dynasty maps brought to Nagasaki by refugees from China. Image courtesy of the Hong Kong Maritime Museum.**

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A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Hans Kok

2020, a new year is just off the press, so to speak, as I write this letter!

Thinking back to 1980, the year when our IMCoS was founded, I note that the Society since then has come a long way, and the original, simple black-and-white newsletter has become a full-colour, much appreciated magazine. The number of members has remained steady, more or less, (we could use some more UK members, though) and more than half reside abroad, beyond the horizon, but in reach by means of our website, email and the journal, of course. The Executive Committee is still as active as ever and the list of IMCoS Presidents reads like a who's who in historical cartography. To date some thirty-seven International Symposia have been organised worldwide so far. Some by the Society, but the majority by interested local institutions, often in association with local IMCoS members, which goes to prove how highly the Symposia are rated.

Because we are celebrating our 40th anniversary this year, we have decided to add an extra touch to our Annual Dinner in June by holding it at the Army and Navy Club. Registration is available now, online or via the flyer in this issue. Please sign up if you have a chance to attend and we do look forward to meeting you!

Our 2020 International Symposium in Sydney and Canberra is fixed for September. Captain Cook (not your chairman in translation, but the 'real' one) has given rise to the occasion by discovering the east coast of Australian after your chairman's compatriots took care of the west coast some one hundred and fifty years earlier. Yes, I know, IMCoS is truly international and my chauvinistic remark is out of bounds, but as 'Hollandia Nova' has become Australia in the meantime, I do need some consolation to get over it. At least we kept New Zealand's name in the Dutch realm.

Southeastern Australia has been hard hit by bushfires, and a visit to the country where tourism has suffered as a result is not only good for our understanding of Australia's cartography but also helps a tiny wee bit towards bridging the gap in national income and reputation because of the fires.

Just to remind you, the 2021 Symposium will take place in Brussels in October of that year. Save the date; it will be officially announced later this year.

Fairly recently, and assuming that my observations are accurate, caricature maps and aviation maps seem to have become highly collectable. Whether John Lennon or Bob Marley coined the phrase 'Make Love, Not War', or whether it originated earlier in the anti-war protests of the 1960s, I do not recall, but surely war maps are better used for collecting – an activity you love – than for making war.

Happy hunting in 2020 for whatever maps capture your interest!

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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

The digital age has revolutionised our access to information and images, and the race is on to digitise human history. Never before have we had so many outstanding collections of maps available to us at just a press of a button, and more and more will become available over the next years as large private collections move into public institutions.

On 29 January, to mark the 200th anniversary of King George III's death, 3,000 military maps, views and prints from his vast collection, now in the Royal Collection, were made publicly available for the first time online at militarymaps.rct.uk. Catalogued over a ten-year period by military historian Dr Yolande Hodson, the collection offers an extraordinary insight into the art of warfare and mapping from the sixteenth century to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Complementing the printed maps and prints of battles and sieges are sketches drawn in the field, fortification plans, depictions of encampments and uniforms.

The quality of the images is superb, allowing the viewer to search each in minute detail, far beyond what would be possible from poring over the physical map at the Royal Library in Windsor. The catalogue is impressive too and provides an invaluable aid to researchers. Each entry has a brief explanation of the historical context, the creator, title, size, materials, scale, transcriptions, provenance, places most directly associated with the map, print or text, and references, and all this is accompanied by an extensive bibliography of works consulted in the production of the catalogue.

George III neither travelled outside of England nor fought on a battlefield; he was an armchair traveller and absent military man who viewed the world and conducted wars from the comfort of his library at Buckingham House, and yet amassed a vast collection of more than 55,000 topographical, maritime and military prints, drawings, maps and charts. The majority were given to the British Museum (now in the British Library) by George IV on his father's death. 2,500 can be viewed online, and the Library is raising funds to digitise the London and South East collection of maps and views. George III's military plans however, due to their strategic value and George IV's own keen interest in the tactics of warfare, were retained by the royal household.

Part of the King's military collection was acquired as individual items or from contemporary conflicts such as the American War of Independence and the French and Napoleonic Wars; the majority was gained from established collections, notably his uncle's, the Duke of Cumberland, who was Captain General of the British Army during the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War, and the vast Paper Museum of the Italian art patron Cassiano dal Pozzo.

This is an exceptional website (militarymaps.rct.uk). You won't be disappointed.

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JUNGLE BOUNDARIES

Redefining the Line of Tordesillas

Richard Smith

The Line of Tordesillas was part of a treaty agreement between the late fifteenth-century kingdoms of Spain and Portugal to divide their trading rights and possible territorial claims to lands discovered and conquered during the period known as 'The Voyages of Discovery'. Under the treaty Spain retained those to the west of an Atlantic meridian and Portugal the east. When superimposed on early modern maps this line ran through the Amazon River delta and to the west of today's Rio de Janeiro, thus giving Portugal a large slice of the South American continent though the Spanish territories were much more extensive. The new Portuguese colonies were to evolve into the Republic of Brazil in 1899 while those of Spain became the remaining republics except for the British, French and Dutch colonies in the Guianas. But if we look at a modern map the boundary between Brazil and the Spanish-speaking republics lies at its maximum some 2,000 kilometres to the west of the Amazon delta! (Fig. 1) What happened to produce such an enormous distortion and how were the new frontiers defined, mapped and diffused? Amazingly this three-century long story, which includes what must be one of history's major cartographic projects, appears to have little English language discourse. This article attempts a very brief synopsis.



Fig. 1 Outline map of South America showing the Line of Tordesillas, and Brazil's current frontier with rivers, regions and locations mentioned in this article. Author's additions to 'Image of South America: Uwe Dedering–CC By -Sa 3.0'.

The Treaty of Tordesillas

On the 7 June 1494, in the hot and dusty little town of Tordesillas located on Spain's northern *meseta,* the representatives of Isabel and Juan II, the respective monarchs of the kingdoms of Castille and Portugal finally settled a three-decade dispute about their navigation, territorial and trading rights outside Europe. Overnight an otherwise irrelevant Spanish location was catapulted to international fame by lending its name to a well-known treaty (Fig. 2). The main treaty outcome of relevance here is the Line of Tordesillas which divided the globe and its possible, but as yet undiscovered, land masses and islands into a Portuguese eastern area of influence and a Castilian west, while totally ignoring the rights of the already existing nations in those territories and the arguments of other European claimants. The position of the boundary line in the Treaty was finally set at 370 [undefined] leagues west of [an undefined location in] the Cape Verde Islands.

No map had been attached to the 1494 Treaty though Columbus is thought to have drawn one, now lost, for his royal patrons on his return from the first voyage and in which the line was included.[1] The first existing map to show the Line represented cartographically is the famous Cantino manuscript planisphere produced in 1502 in Portugal but

smuggled out of the country and sold to the Duke of Ferrara in Italy. This map shows the Line of Tordesillas as passing through the newly discovered delta of the Amazon River.

Colonial development in South America

The main reason for the shift in the line was the different pattern of colonial development practiced by the Portuguese and Spanish. The discovery by the latter of vast silver and gold deposits in the Andes (and in New Spain, mostly now Mexico) meant that mining was to become the defining economic feature of the Spanish Empire and little effort was spent on developing their vast backyard of the Amazon and Paraguay–Parana river basins. As late as the mid-eighteenth century, the viceroy of Peru, the Count of Sepurunda, was still describing his eastern Amazon territories as 'forests and mountains of difficult transit and the plains humid, boggy and burning where the Spanish cannot survive'.[2] Indeed, the only effective Spanish presence in these areas was the limited trading activity of the *Real Compañia Guipuzcoana* which was mainly interested in cacao from the Orinoco basin and missionary stations, especially numerous around the Parana and Uruguay Rivers.

The Portuguese meanwhile had established prosperous plantation colonies, initially based on sugar, cotton and timber, along the Atlantic seaboard. They took advantage of the Spanish indifference with incursions to the west of the Line by missionary congregations and roaming groups of 200–300 strong adventurers and frontiersmen known as *bandeirantes,* searching for precious metals, and indigenous natives to capture as slaves for the coastal plantations. By the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Portuguese missionary stations, together with military fortifications, had already been established at the confluence of the River Negro with the Amazon (today's Manaus).[3] Gold mining was being undertaken in Minas Gerais and as far west as Cuiabá, today's capital of the Brazilian State of Mato Grosso, which had been established as an official Portuguese colonial town as early as 1727.[4]

The incipient French and Dutch colonies in the Guianas (the continent's northeast) were also based on plantation economies. Although they lacked missionary initiatives, they also crossed into Spanish territory mainly to offer contraband products to the settlements in Venezuela, causing serious problems to the monopolistic trade structure created by Madrid for its South American empire.

The only serious Spanish resistance to these incursions was to the establishment of a Portuguese



Fig. 2 Tordesillas on the banks of the River Duero. 'Treaty House' is the building in the centre with two upper stories in brick above a white granite ground floor.



Fig. 3 Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726); 'Carte de la Terre Ferme du Perou du Bresil et du Pays des Amazones'; engraved map published *c.*1730. 66 x 51 cm. Courtesy: Norman B. Leventhal Center Collection.

colony at Sacramento on the north bank of the Plate River in 1680 which had the objective of capturing the growing lucrative trade of Buenos Aires. For decades this colony changed hands several times following military interventions and various treaties.[5]

The cartographic representations by the European map trade during the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries of South American political geography usually reflect this confusing situation. A good example is the 1722 map of Guillaume Delisle titled 'Carte de la Terre Ferme du Perou du Bresil et du Pays des Amazones' (Fig. 3). The map has many interesting geographic features such as the suggestion that the Negro and Orinoco Rivers share a common source, but for our purposes the most important aspect is that of territorial control. While the Line of Tordesillas is used to delimit the western boundary of Brazil, that of 'Perou' is clearly limited to the eastern flanks of the Andes and in between the two is a 'Pays des Amazones' (Country of the Amazons). To whom this 'Pays des Amazones' belongs is not stated, but it obviously suggests a knowledge of a contested territory on the part of Delisle.

Diplomatic and scientific solutions

Not until the mid-1700s did the Spanish begin to react to the Portuguese intrusions. The event which most stirred the Spanish into action was probably the limited circulation among ministers in 1749 of a secret report written by Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa about the reality of the Portuguese threat to Spanish imperial interests. These Spanish naval officers had been involved in the French Academy expedition to Peru to measure the length of the equatorial meridian.[6]

Resultant discussions and negotiations began almost immediately between the two Bourbon monarchs who then decided to establish a new boundary by signing the Treaty of Madrid in 1750. The theoretical line established in this document was based on a map presented by the Portuguese, the 'Mapa Geografico. Dos Confins do Brasil com as Terras da Coroa de Espanha na America Meridional' more easily referred to the 'Mapa de Las Cortes' (The Court Map) shown in Figure 4. Although the Spanish accepted a situation of *usi possidetis* they were quite rightly suspicious of this map which had been constructed from various other maps with adjustments to suit the Portuguese case, but as Madrid could not present any other alternative it was used to define the border. Indeed, the map has been described in Portugal 'as how the Portuguese tricked the Spanish with the help of a Brazilian' the latter being Alexandre de Gusmão, the Brazilian-born Portuguese minister and negotiator, who had arranged the map's construction.[7] Natural topographic features i.e. rivers and upland divides were used to define the new frontier but the descriptions in the Treaty are short and open to question – a couple of lines describe several hundred kilometres of frontier and indicate confusion over river names. For example Article V states that the frontier 'would continue up the river Uruguay from the confluence of the Ibicuí until reaching the river Pepiri or Pequirí on the western bank and follow it to its source and from there take the crest of the divide until the head of the next [undefined] river which flows into the Curitibá also called the Iguazú'. In order to ratify the new territorial limits, it was agreed to send joint commissions of geographers to America to delimit the exact line, erect landmarks and at the same time 'undertake the necessary observations to produce a map of the whole' (Article XI). We may well ask if the diplomats sitting in their comfortable *salons* really appreciated what they were proposing: the new frontier ran for something like 16–17,000 kilometres through largely unexplored jungles and savannahs.

This first attempt at redefinition came to a halt in 1760 with the accession to the Spanish throne of Carlos III who felt that too much of his empire was being conceded, while the Portuguese persisted with their claims to Sacramento. In 1775 however, new negotiations started which led to the Preliminary Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1777 in which Spain's right to both banks of the river Plate was established and other mutually beneficial changes were included.[8] Again new commissions were created to undertake the fieldwork of delimitation, landmarking and cartography starting in 1777 and for the most part were finished by 1795, though some were not completed until 1804.

The boundary commissions

The boundary commissions worked in the same way under both the 1750 and 1777 treaties. Each nation appointed two chief commissioners, one for the north and one for the south, these positions being filled by senior representatives of the colonial administration. Each commission was then divided into several *partidas* or sections usually defined by a major river system as these provided the only practical route of access into the interior. Under the Treaty of Madrid the southern commission had three sections and the northern four, while that of San Ildefonso again consisted of three in the southern commission, but the vast Amazon area of the north this time constituted a single section.

Each *partida* had two teams – Portuguese and Spanish – who undertook their work simultaneously. Every day each team's record of astronomic observations and events was to be recorded in a diary and countersigned by the opposite team. The Spanish leaders of the working parties, with only a couple of exceptions, were naval officers who had passed through the prestigious Guardamarina Academy in Cadiz and had received excellent training in mathematics, astronomy, navigation and cartography, while those of the Portuguese tended to be military engineers. The composition of the expedition teams varied slightly. The Spanish third section in 1752 assigned to the upper Paraguay River consisted of three naval officers led by Manuel Antonio Flores, a surgeon and assistant bloodletter, a chaplain, an army officer with a troop of twenty-four soldiers, quartermaster, chief steward and officers' servants; in total the expedition had 120 men, presumably including cooks, carpenters and native porters.[9] The corresponding Portuguese team comprised four army engineer officers, a civilian cosmographer, a surgeon and chaplain, sixty-two soldiers and forty-seven sailors.[10] A large quantity of scientific equipment was acquired, much of it specially purchased from English instrument makers. The northern commission for the Madrid Treaty took with them fourteen cases including telescopes with a wide range of lenses, microscopes, compasses, quarter circles, astronomic



Fig. 4 Spanish ms copy of the 'Mapa Geografico. Dos Confins do Brasil: com as Terras da Coroa de Espahna na America Meridional', also known as 'The Court Map', presented by the Portuguese for the negotiations of the Treaty of Madrid, 1750. 93.3 x 80 cm. Spanish possessions shown in red, those of Portugal in yellow, separated by a thin line. Courtesy: Archivo Museo Naval, Madrid. Signature: 38-C-10.

clocks, barometers, thermometers, plane tables and a pedometer. There was also a cargo of five cases of carpentry tools.[11]

For much of the time the teams travelled and lived on the water. Large boats were specially constructed including separate cabins for officers for the initial stages, but further upriver large rafts and canoes were found to be more convenient. In many areas, navigation was difficult because of the numerous channels and islands and, where possible, local Spanish and Portuguese frontiersmen were engaged as guides.[12]

Most officers spent several years on this task, some more than ten, a truly heroic feat given the extreme conditions of heat, humidity, mosquitoes, sickness,

poor supplies, wild animals and native resistance. Of course, quite a few died on the job. Also, relations between the two teams were frequently disagreeable, made even worse by secret instructions to spy on the other team and its territories.[13] Differences of view between the teams sometimes required reference back to the commissioners hundreds, if not thousands, of kilometres away and caused months of frustrating delay.

Although the boundary commissions were specifically created with the single objective of establishing a new frontier, they also acquired a series of official secondary objectives. The Spanish State was well aware, after its previous experience, that creating a new line would be as useless as the Tordesillas unless it was defended, not only by the military but also by the establishment of civilian populations and economic activity. To this end some of the Spanish teams, especially those working on the 1750 Orinoco expedition, were given instructions to explore, map and investigate the economic potential of large sections of the interior, including setting up new frontier settlements. Understanding the region's natural history was essential so a team of botanists and artists, including Per Loefling (1729–1756), the well-known Swedish student of Carl Linnaeus, was recruited to accompany the Spanish working parties. In fact, the Spanish northern *partidas* under the Treaty of Madrid spent so much time on these activities, as well as fighting Dutch and French contraband and other unfortunate vicissitudes, that they arrived three years late for their rendezvous with what was left of the corresponding Portuguese team!

Boundary Commission cartography

The very large surviving archive of boundary commission cartography in the field offers an extensive range of content.[14] The maps and plans selected here attempt to reflect not only the delineation of the new frontier but also the wider official objectives as well as to introduce some of the leading expeditionary personalities, some with their own particular concerns beyond their official duties and tested loyalties.

The first document, Figure 5, is a very simple



Fig. 5 José Solano y Bote (1726–1806). [Confluence of the rivers Atabapo and Guaviare with the Orinoco]. Ms 38.3 x 49.4 cm. A sketch map showing the location of San Fernando de Atabapo, an important strategic location on the Orinoco founded by José Solano in 1757. Courtesy: Archivo Museo Naval, Madrid. Signature: 30-E-27.


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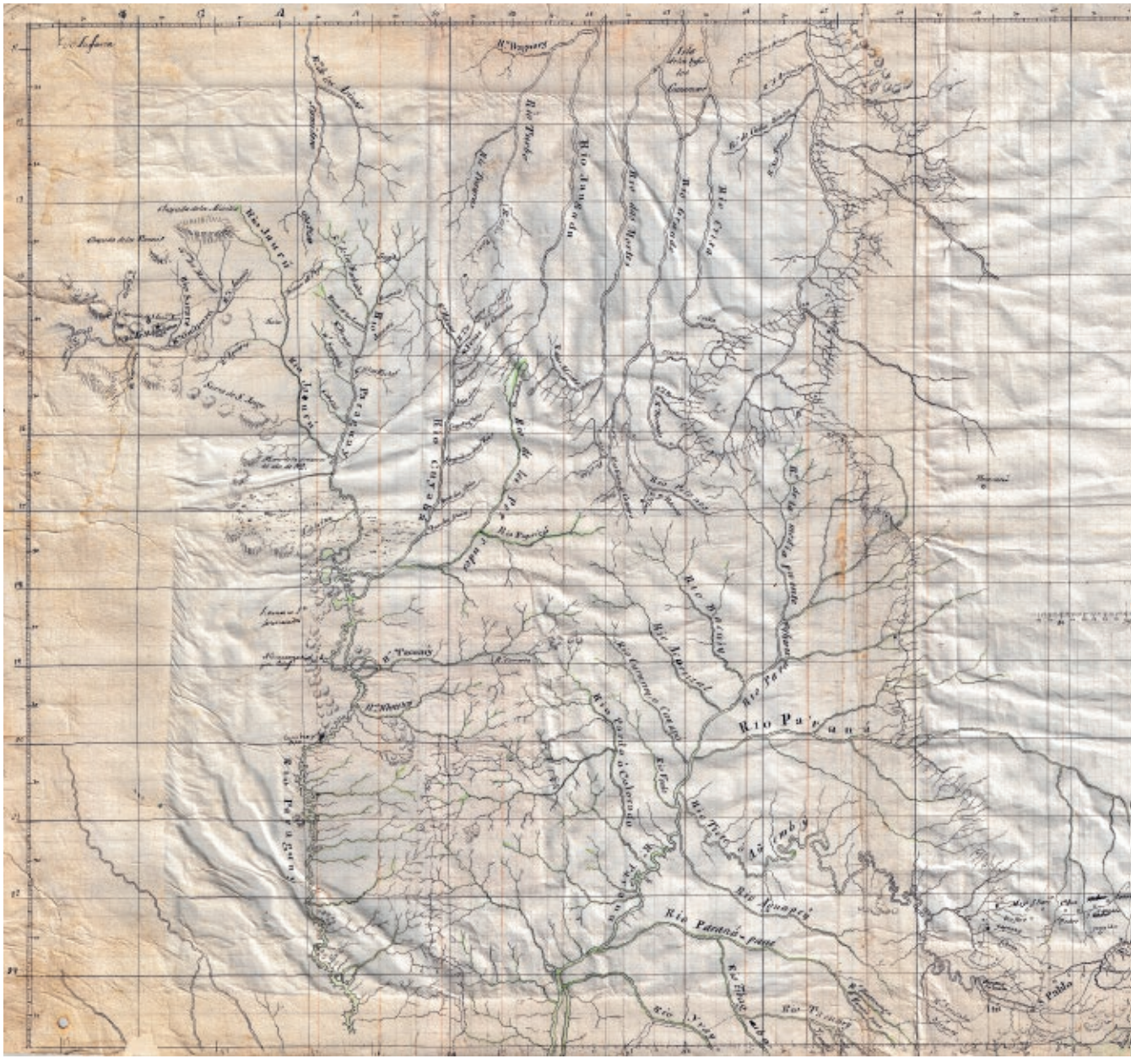


Fig. 6 José Custodio Saá e Faria (1710–1794) [Mato Grosso, 1759]. Ms, 45.9 x 74.1 cm. Spanish copy drawn by Andres Oyarvide, naval officer assigned to the second working party in 1781. Courtesy: Archivo Museo Naval, Madrid. Signature: 38-C-12.

example of everyday fieldwork without scale, title or date. Hundreds of such pieces were used to compile the more elaborate maps that follow. Here, José Solano y Bote (1726–1806), a naval officer party leader of the 1750s northern commission, shows the location of San Fernando de Atabapo at the confluence of the Atabapo and Guaviare Rivers and the two together with the Orinoco. The outline is in ink over a pencil drawing, and there are also many lines of bearings and some calculations in pencil. In the centre the settlement is shown by some thirty small squares which represent houses, a larger rectangular building for the church and a double circle, presumably indicating the fortification. The text next to the location states 'San Fernando de Atabapo founded with Indians of the Guaipunabi nation. Joseph Solano 1757'. At some 200



kilometres from the headwaters of the River Negro, San Fernando was a strategic location – both as a supply point for the expedition and for fulfilling the Commission's secondary objective to develop the region. The settlement flourished and, by 1759, it was home to two hundred Spanish migrants and the same number of natives.[15]

Figure 6 is a Spanish copy of a Portuguese map of the Mato Grosso region drawn by José Custodio Saá e Faria, (1710–1792), undoubtedly one of the finest Portuguese engineer officers who worked on the boundary commissions. The large map extends from latitude 11°S to almost 25° and in longitude from 40°W to 63 so that, in the southeast corner, we see Rio de Janeiro and on the western margin the foothills of the Andes. The main geographic feature is the Mato Grosso uplands and the rivers that flow north to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay–Parana system. On the southern side of the divide, dashed lines show paths linking numerous small circles, presumably denoting settlements though without name (for example Cuiabá mentioned above is indicated), and circles with a cross presumably for missions. The only indication of the boundary commission's work is a dot at the confluence of the rivers Juari and Paraguay with a note 'Landmark of the Demarcation of 52' referring to the marble pillar erected by the third section south in 1752. The detail and accuracy of the map are testimony to the prior exploration and settlement of this part of the continent by the Portuguese, though most of the fieldwork used to compile it must surely have emanated from the work of the boundary commissions.

Copies of several maps by Saá e Faria are to be found in the archives of the Museo Naval in Madrid: at first the author thought they were simply an exceptional case of Spanish–Portuguese cooperation – and so they are, but with a twist. Saá e Faria worked on the frontier project during the 1750s and his efforts were rewarded with promotion to the governorship of Rio Grande de São Pedro and later to brigadier. In 1777 he was working on the defences of Santa Catalina, an important port in the south of Brazil, when attacked and overwhelmed by Spanish forces. As the senior military officer he was ordered to negotiate and sign the rendition after which he returned to Buenos Aires with the Spanish forces, but whether voluntarily or as a hostage is subject to considerable debate.[16] In any event he became a leading engineer and cartographer in the Spanish South American service, never to return to his homeland. It seems obvious that he brought with him a large part of his Brazilian cartographic work (possibly suggesting a deliberate decision to join the Spanish), much of which was copied by Andres Oyarvide a Spanish naval officer involved in the boundary commissions and who afterwards lived and worked in South America until his death in 1805.

The final map in this section, Figure 7, is one produced by Félix de Azara y Perera (1742–1821) and



Fig.7 Félix de Azara, 'Sketch showing the relative positions of the missions in Chiquitos....', 1791. Ms 70.4 x 53.7 cm showing in red a section of the boundary line measured by the third party under the Treaty of San Ildefonso. Most of the detail however is centred on the native territories. Courtesy: Archivo Museo Naval Madrid, Signature: 38-C-8.

is a rare case of a Spanish army engineer sent out with the boundary commissions as leader of the third party of the San Ildefonso Treaty.[17] The map is dated 1791 and shows the principal rivers in Chiquitos, part of Moxos and in Santa Cruz de la Sierra (today in Bolivia). The main feature is the line of demarcation linking the Juari river (a tributary of the Paraguay) with the Guaporé (part of the Madeira River basin) which empties into the Amazon), boldly shown in red, with landmarks indicated at each end (the one at the

southeast end is the same as that shown on Saá e Faria's map). It would appear that this is simply one piece in the boundary definition to be used in the final compilation of the frontier map, but the document also reveals much additional information on the location of missions and the paths linking them and the names of the native groups populating the area. Maybe Azara's superiors requested this information, maybe not, but it does reveal his prime interests. Azara worked on the boundary commissions for thirteen years and continued in South America until 1801 to become a leading authority on Paraguay's geography and natural history. Reading his book, *Travels in South America,* one has the suspicion that, while scrupulously fulfilling his cartographic commission, his main interests lay elsewhere and sometimes were contrary to his superiors' orders. He took particular interest in the native tribes and his main book contains detailed statistics of their settlements and population estimates as well as some criticisms of the Jesuit missions.[18] Although a self-taught amateur he also wrote widely on natural history and apparently was read with interest by Darwin.[19]

Diffusion of results

The boundary commission's field maps would be of only limited use unless they could be collated into final maps of the continent which ratified the treaties and made available a wider knowledge of South American geography to the general public. Two most important maps produced in Spain served this purpose.

The first is the enormous map (216 x 176 cm) produced by Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla (1734–1790) on orders from the Minister of State, the Marquis de Grimaldi in 1764. The main objective was to produce a map to rival the Portuguese 'Court Map' and though it included much of the boundary commission's cartography, other material of variable quality was also used. It was published first in 1775. Later editions omitted the new boundary lines as the Spanish negotiating position prior to the San Ildefonso Treaty was to revert to the Line of Tordesillas. The government deliberately discredited the map to cause its withdrawal from the market which resulted in Cruz Cano's financial ruin. However, in 1802, Francisco Requena y Herrera (see below) praised the map and succeeded in having it reinstated and reissued.[20]

A more interesting map, at least in terms of accurately summarising the work of the 1775 boundary commissions, is that of Francisco Requena y Herrera (1743–1824). Requena was a military engineer sent to South America in 1764 and initially employed in planning new fortifications in what is today Panama, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador before being named simultaneously governor of the vast Amazonian province of Mainas and commissioner of the fourth, or northern, division of the boundary commissions. He was to spend eleven years in this post during which time he and his team produced many maps of the region despite all sorts of inconveniences and frustrations. When he arrived in Spain in 1795 Prime Minister Godoy requested a report and maps of his area of the boundary commission. Delighted with Requena's work in this respect, Godoy then asked for a map of the whole continent including the southern sections' reports and recommendations. Requena presented this, his major cartographic work, to King Carlos IV at the Escorial Palace in December 1796. For his work he was appointed to the Royal Council for the Indies (the apex of Spanish Imperial administration).[21]

Various manuscript copies were made in the following years but the one illustrated here in Figure 8 is a lithograph printed in Philadelphia, US in 1860 by F. Bourquin & Company. The English translation of the map's Spanish title is 'Geographical Map of the major part of southern America indicating the areas where the Boundary Line that divides the dominions of Spain and Portugal should be drawn'. It shows the continent north of approximately latitude 36ºS (just south of a line joining Buenos Aires and Valparaiso) and excludes that part of Brazil to the east of the Line of Tordesillas which is indicated. Bold red and yellow lines show the border claims by the Spanish and Portuguese respectively and an extensive legend explains key points of difference as can be seen in the following detail.

In Figure 9 we see one of the main areas of contention in the continent: the considerable territory between the upper headwaters of the rivers Negro and Japura. Portuguese incursions are indicated with a 'q' but Requena's line between the confluence of the river Apaporis ('i') with the Japura and the Spanish fort at San Carlos ('u') is based on the preliminary Treaty. The detail also shows the Casiquiare Canal linking the Orinoco and Negro Rivers. [22]

The significance of the map for future negotiations is beyond doubt, but they never happened. Both Spain and Portugal were swamped by the tsunami of the



Fig. 8 Francisco Requena, (1743–1824), 'Mapa Geográfico de la mayor parte de la América Meridional'. Lithograph, 126 x 99 cm by F. Bourquin, Philadelphia, USA, *c.*1860. A copy of Requena's original ms produced in 1796. Courtesy: Biblioteca Nacional de España.



Fig. 9 Detail from Requena's map (Fig. 8) distinguishing the Spanish claim (red line) from the Portuguese (yellow line) to the area between the headwaters of the rivers Yapura (Japura) and Negro.

Napoleonic Wars and left destitute of resources and initiative which allowed the revolutionary forces in their South American empires to gain independence (Ecuador in 1809, Brazil in 1822 and Uruguay in 1828).

Epilogue

That such an enormous cartographic project should end in failure regarding its prime objective seems at first sight like a gigantic disaster. However, two very important results emerged. Firstly, much of the territory covered by the commissions was seen for the first time by European eyes, or at least, by responsible state servants who could map it and report on its geography, natural history, anthropology and potential development. Secondly, although final boundary negotiations between Spain and Portugal never took place, they were certainly continued, and still are today, by the new independent republics for whom Bourquin probably republished Requena's map. Today's South American geo-political configuration is a direct, if somewhat modified, descendant of the work of the eighteenth-century boundary commissions.

While Spanish and Portuguese literature on the boundary commissions created by the Treaties of Madrid and San Ildefonso abound in Portugal, Spain and South America, the author has been unable to trace any relevant publications in English on this subject. Hopefully the upcoming Volume 4 of the *History of Cartography* will provide a starting point. In addition, this article may inspire some budding students, armed with at least a smattering of Spanish and Portuguese to turn his or her attentions to this fascinating piece of map history.

Notes

1 Carmen Manso Porto, *La cartografía de las Comisiones de Limites en América Meridional* in *Dueños del Mar, Señores del Mundo. Historia de la Cartográfica Náutica Española,* Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2015, p. 82.
2 Manuel Lucena Giraldo, 'La delimitación hispano–portuguesa y la frontera regional quiteña 1777–1804', *Procesos Revista Equitonana de Historia*, No. 4 © Corporación Editora Nacional, Quito.
3 Camila Loureiro Dias, 'Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse: The Amazon River of Father Samuel Fritz', *The Americas*, Vol. 69, No. 1, July 2012, pp. 95–116.
4 www.matogrossobrasil.com.br Accessed 14/04/2019.
5 Manso Porto, *op.cit.,* p. 84.
6 *Historic and Geographic dissertation on the meridian of demarcation between the dominions of Spain and Portugal…in South America* (Author's translation). For a description of Juan and Ulloa's involvement in the French Academy expedition see Richard Smith 'High in the Andes' *IMCOS Journal*, winter 2011.
7 Quoted in Jorge Pimental Cintra, 'O mapa das Cortes: perspectivas cartográficas', *Anais do Museu Paulista*, Vol. 17, julio–diciembre 2009, pp. 63–77.
8 Manso Porto, *op.cit.*, pp. 95–68.
9 Padre Josef Quiroga, *Diario de la expedición en el Rio Paraguay para la*

Demarcación de los Límites entre España y Portugal. Descripción del Rio y sus Producciones Naturales, 1753, ms Signature 9/7287 Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
10 María de Fatima Costa, 'Viajes en la Frontera Colonial. Historias de una expedición de límites en la América Meridional (1734-54)', *Anales del Museo de América*, No. 16 (2009) Madrid, pp. 113–26.
11 Manuel Lucena Giraldo, *Laboratorio Tropical: la expedición de límites al Orinoco 1750-67,* Venezuela: Monte Avila Editores, 1993, pp. 130–31.
12 Quiroga, *op.cit*.
13 For instance, Captain Flores mentioned above was given secret instructions to fain illness as an excuse to visit and report on the Portuguese gold mines in Cuiabá. Miguel Angel Puig-Samper, 'Las expediciones cientificas españolas en el siglo XVIII', CSIC, Madrid, 2011, p. 3.
14 As the Spanish cartographers were naval officers their records are to be found in the Museo Naval Madrid. See catalogue by Luisa Martín-Merás, 'Fondos Cartográficos y documentales de la Comisión de Límites de Brasil en el siglo XVIII en el Museo Naval de Madrid', *Terra Brasilis* (Nova Serie) *Revista da Rede Brasileira de Historia da Geografía e Geografía Historica*, 7–8–9, 2007.
15 Lucena Giraldo, *op.cit*., pp. 193–95.
16 Oscar Rico Bodelón, '¿Qué fue de José Custodio? Un ingeniero dieciochesco en la frontera de los imperios Iberoamericanos', *El Futuro del Pasado, Revista Electrónica de la Historia*, No. 5, 2014, pp. 317–39.
17 In order to maintain tight military control and discipline the few Spanish Army engineers employed on the boundary commissions were given a corresponding naval rank while working on the frontier.
18 Félix de Azara, *Viajes por la América Meridional,* Paris 1809. Reprinted Madrid: Editorial Espasa-Calpe, 1969.
19 Barbara G. Beddall, 'Un naturalista original: Don Felix de Azara 1746–1821', *Journal of the History of Biology*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1975, pp. 15–66.
20 Manso Porto, *op.cit*., pp. 93–95.
21 Eric Beerman, *Francisco Requena: La expedición de Límites. Amazonia 1779*–1795, Madrid: Compañía Literaria, 1996.
22 This highly unusual geographical bifurcation of over 300 km was first reported by Father Cristóbal Diatristán deAcuña in 1639 and later by others, but it was largely discredited until José Iturriaga and José Solano working for the Boundary Commission verified and mapped its existence.

Acknowledgement

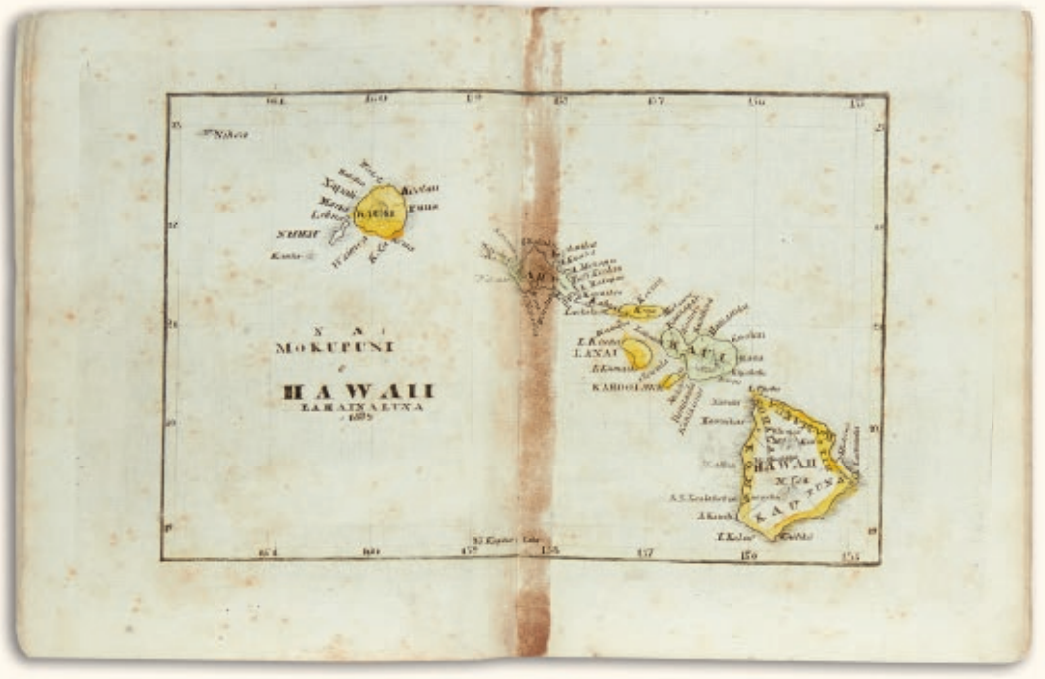
The author is extremely grateful for the kind assistance of the staff at the Museo Naval, and at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and especially to Dr Carmen Manso Porto, Director of Fine Art and Cartography at the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Also, thanks to son Chris for preparing the illustrations.

Richard Smith is a retired businessman who has worked and lived in Spain for almost forty years. Maps were always an interest especially for his cycling and fell walking expeditions in the Lake District and the Dales when living in his native Lancashire. Since retirement he has published several articles related to the history of maps and mapmaking.
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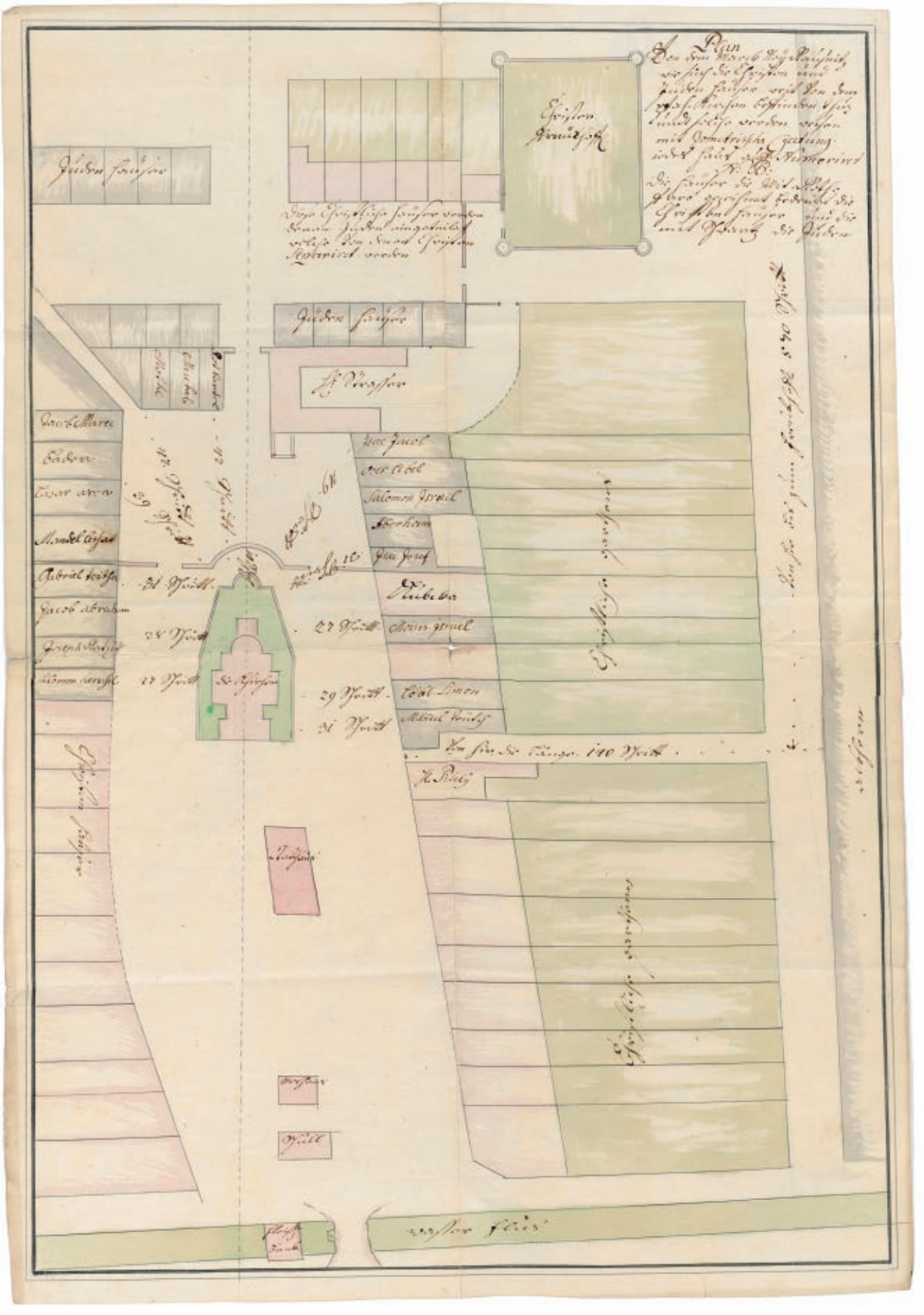
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MAPPING PREJUDICE

The Moravian Segregation Plans of 1727–1728

Peter Barber

with assistance from Daniel Soukup, Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic

On 8 December 1726 and 13 May 1727, Emperor Charles VI, under pressure from the provincial ecclesiastical and civil authorities at a time when he was particularly dependent on their support, issued edicts ordering that country towns and villages of his most prosperous provinces, respectively Moravia and Bohemia (currently the Czech Republic), be mapped by sworn, professional surveyors.

The intention was to identify houses occupied by Jews in the vicinity of churches, along processional routes, and on roads leading to cemeteries, so as, ostensibly, to prevent them from profaning the Catholic sacraments in the future. There had also been objections to Jews blatantly trading on Sundays and employing Christian staff, particularly maids, and generally offering unfair competition to Christian traders. It was ordained that Jews be moved, if feasible, from the town centres to the less commercially attractive periphery.

The edicts formed part of a set of legislation, including a census of Jews of 1724, and further decrees of 1725 and 1726. These aimed at restricting the growth of the Jewish population and, where possible, under pressure from the Emperor's close adviser, Wolfgang, Cardinal Schrattenbach, Bishop of Olomouc 1711–1738, confining Jews to ghettos and creating them where none had existed earlier.

The edicts were occasioned by the discovery in 1726 that the parish church of Rousínov (Neu-Raussnitz or Neuraussnitz) was surrounded on three sides by Jewish-occupied houses and incidents of local Jews profaning the host (though Jewish houses had also been repeatedly attacked by local Christian mobs) (Fig.1).

The Imperial edicts were not welcomed by most local *seigneurs* – usually aristocrats, who had been ordered to commission and pay for the plans – and not only on grounds of cost. Though most, to varying extents, shared the religious prejudices of their fellow citizens, they derived a healthy income from special taxes on Jews and tended to employ them as their agents.

They therefore had no interest in seeing Jewish numbers restricted. Finding sometimes specious excuses for not commissioning plans, many towns and villages appear to have remained unmapped.

Conversely some over-enthusiastic and, perhaps, extremely prejudiced parish priests seem to have commissioned or drawn their own sketch maps of villages with only one or even no Jewish occupied houses, but with distilleries (*Brandweinhäuser*) which the *seigneurs* often leased to Jews (Fig. 2).

The legislation resulted in numerous plans being produced, with nearly two hundred surviving plans, some representing the earliest detailed depictions of the respective towns and villages. Sixty-three cover Moravia in the eastern part of the country and are less well-known than those of Bohemia. Moravian Jews were concentrated in small towns rather than, like their Bohemian counterparts outside Prague, being spread through numerous small villages and settlements in the countryside. So often Moravian plans were more complex, but their essential nature was the same as the Bohemian ones, which were more frequently the work of trained surveyors, engineers or architects.

Content, types and creators

This article discusses a selection of the fifty-seven plans housed in the Moravian State Archives (Moravský Zemský Archiv) in Brno (MZA D22/1315–1360, see Appendix). Forty-two Moravian towns and villages are depicted, several more than once. Thirty-three are depicted in the entirety while at least nine plans show parts. For instance, in Kroměříž (Kremsier), a relatively large town with a big Jewish population, only the Jewish quarter and its immediate vicinity are depicted.

Fig. 1 Anonymous plan of main square of Rousínov (Neu-Raussnitz), 1727, showing Jewish occupied houses, significantly painted black and with their occupants named, almost entirely surrounding the parish church. There was subsequently an exchange of houses and the Jews were moved to a ghetto to the south. Moravský Zemský Archiv, (MZA) D22/1349.



Fig. 2 Anonymous, Sedlnice/Sedlnitz, [1727] sketch map showing no explicitly Jewish houses, but the parish church (1), the vicarage (2), the local distillery (3), the smithy (4), the school (5). The leased distillery (6) is shown upside down on the other side of the Sedlnitz stream with a dotted line going from one of its windows to a church window: implicitly, the leaseholder was or might well be Jewish. MZA D22/1352.

The surveyors appointed to do the mapping by the *seigneurs* would already have had information to hand. About twenty years earlier they had been ordered to provide detailed information about their lands to the military engineer Johann Christoph Müller (1673–1721) for the large-scale survey of Moravia (1708–12) that he was then preparing. Though in the event there had not been space for the detailed depiction of villages on Müller's map, copies of the information must have survived in many princely archives.

Yet the plans created in 1727–28, even those covering whole settlements, are selective. Only features relevant to the purpose of the survey are identified: marketplaces, routes, town gates, the local *Schloss*, Jewish and Christian houses, churches, synagogues, cemeteries, vicarages, distilleries, breweries, taverns and occasionally schools, mills and kosher butchers. Sometimes other features, such as plague columns, might be added pictorially. However Christian civic buildings and shops are not usually specifically identified.

Several types of segregation plans were produced. There were: Sketch maps (Fig. 2); Pictorial town views both schematic (Figs 3 and 5) and measured (Fig. 10); Measured town plans by civilian surveyors (Figs 7 and 8) and by or after anonymous military engineers (Fig. 6).

Most of the plans are anonymous (Figs 1–6 and 9), and – despite the terms of the edicts – many are clearly the work of amateurs (Figs 2, 3 and 5).

But one professional surveyor, Franz Lorenz Anton Knittel (1671–1744), a lecturer in surveying and fortification in Linz,[1] secured numerous commissions that must have kept him very busy throughout 1727 and early 1728 (Figs 7 and 8). He was responsible for eleven plans with another fourteen attributed to him. What was probably a relative, Johann Knittel, a registered surveyor, was involved in mapping some Bohemian villages.

Building the wall

Most of the plans record the existing situation, but some are annotated to suggest transfers of houses (Fig. 9) and the construction of encircling ghetto walls (Fig. 7) a few of which were implemented.
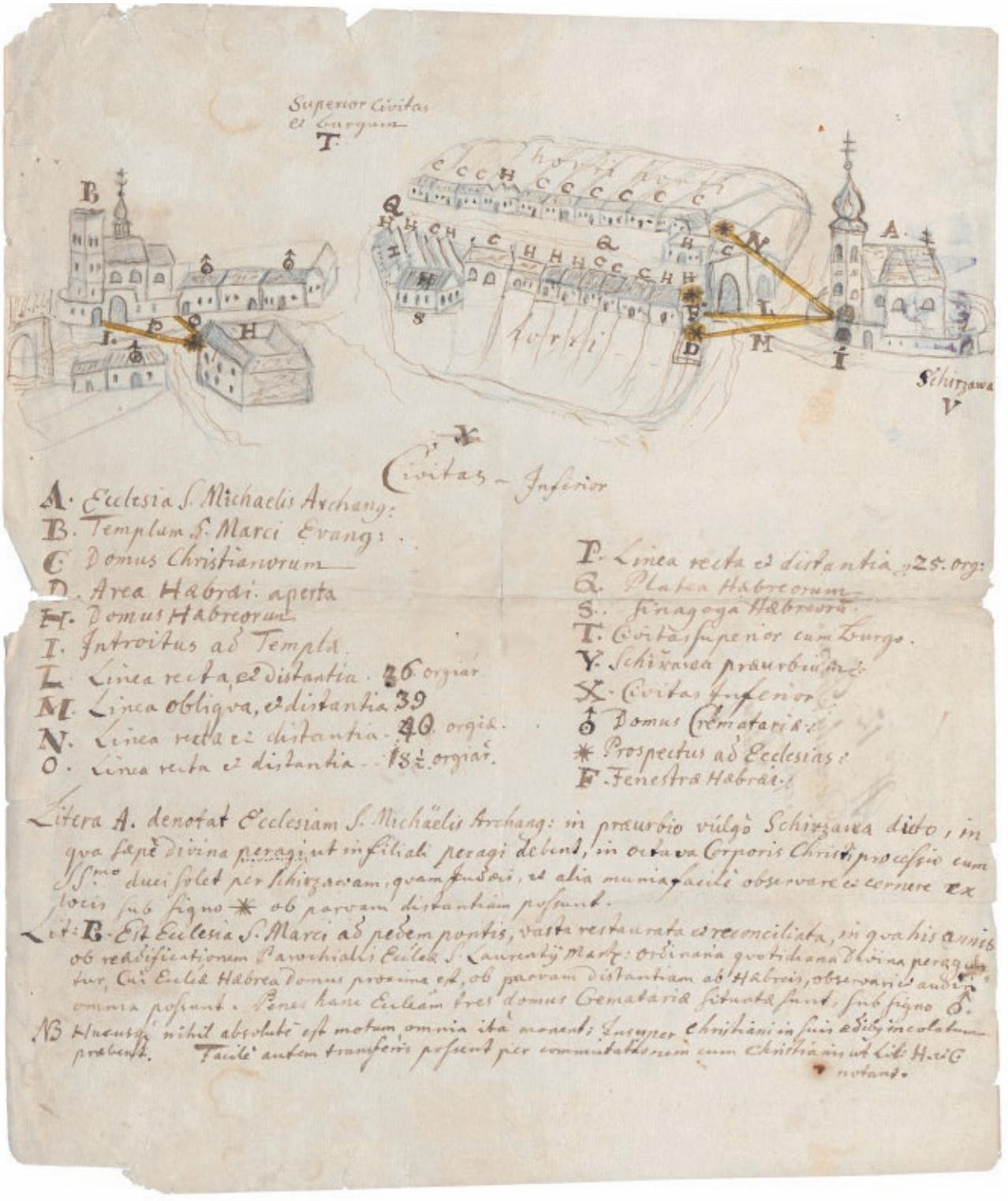


Fig. 3 Anonymous sketch plan of the upper and lower towns of Přerov (Prerau), [1727] with yellow lines indicating the distances between the windows of Jewish-occupied houses and the entrances of local churches from which the host might be viewed. The key to the relevant letters gives the distances. MZA D22/1347.



Fig. 4 Anonymous, Pictorial plan of Jewish quarter of Kroměříž/Kremsier, 1727. MZA D22/1332/2. The plan, with south at the top, shows the ghetto, north of the parish church (1), nestling within the town wall (13) and the walls (9 – 11) separating it from the Christian town. There is only one entrance (4) and the Jewish town hall (5) and synagogue (6), hospital (17) and cemetery (15) are shown amidst the Jewish houses (7). Most still survive to this day, including a section (9, 10) of the wall.



Fig. 5 Anonymous plan of Boskovice (Boskowitz) [1727], indicating the principal buildings, with the Jewish houses shown in black. Note particular K: the Jewish houses closest to the parish church and the entrances to the existing ghetto (G). MZA D22/1316.

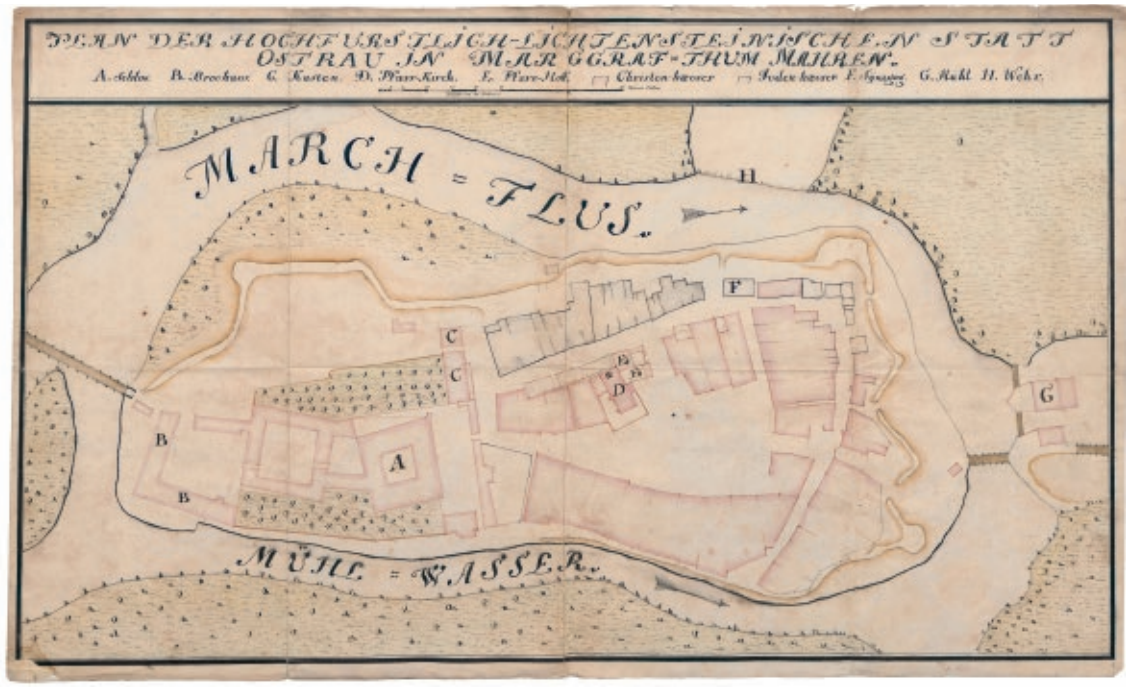
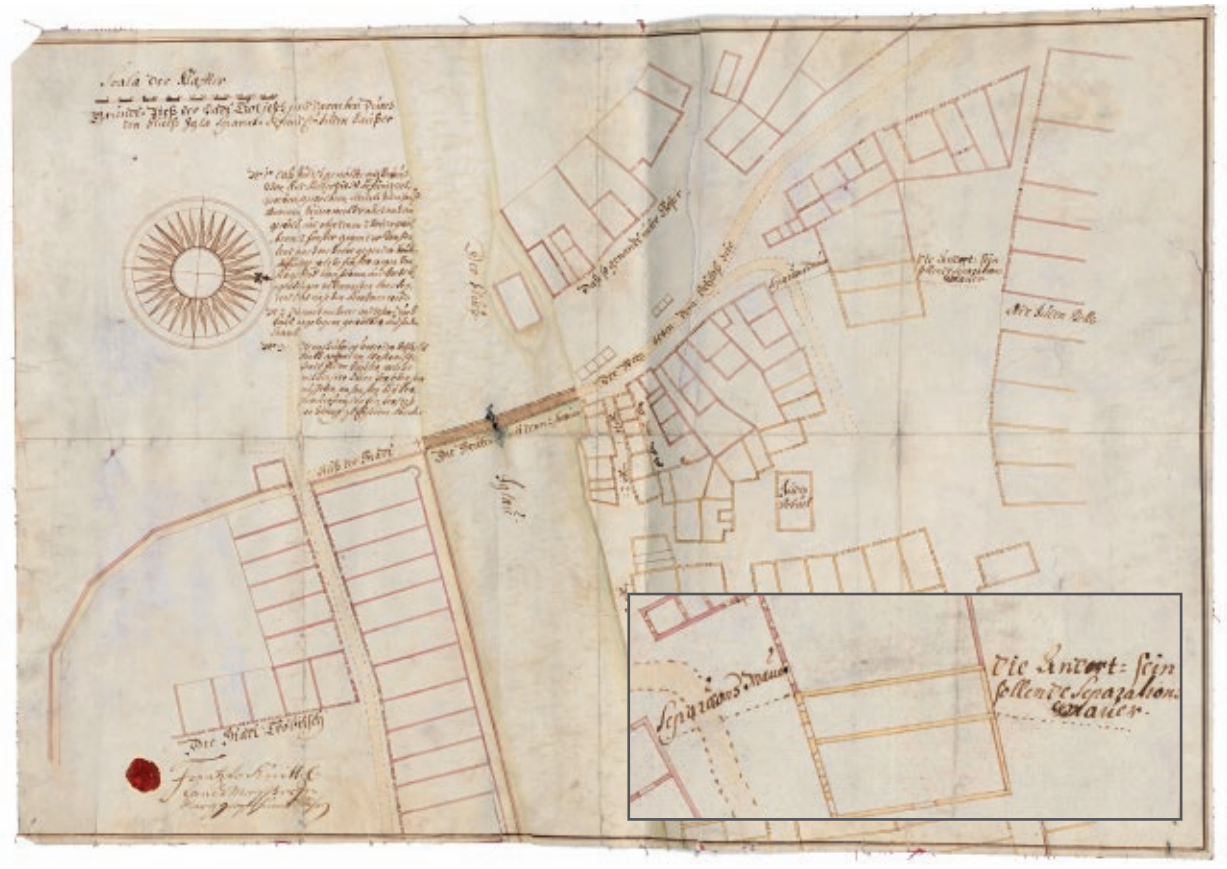


Fig. 6 Anonymous, 'Plan der Hochfürstlich-Lichtensteinischen Statt Ostrau....' [Plan of Uherský Ostroh], 1727. MZA D22/1341.



Cartographic context

The segregation plans are not unique in general conception. They were, for example, to some extent, anticipated by the maps of English towns generated in response to the requirements of the English 1541 Act for the abolition of places of sanctuary, of which two plans (of Southwark and Norwich) survive in The National Archives, UK.

Thematic maps distinguishing religious groups can be traced back to at least the mid-sixteenth century and arguably earlier. Claudianus's 1518 map of the Kingdom of Bohemia, for instance, distinguishes Catholic and Hussite towns with cross keys (Catholic) and chalice (Hussite) signs.

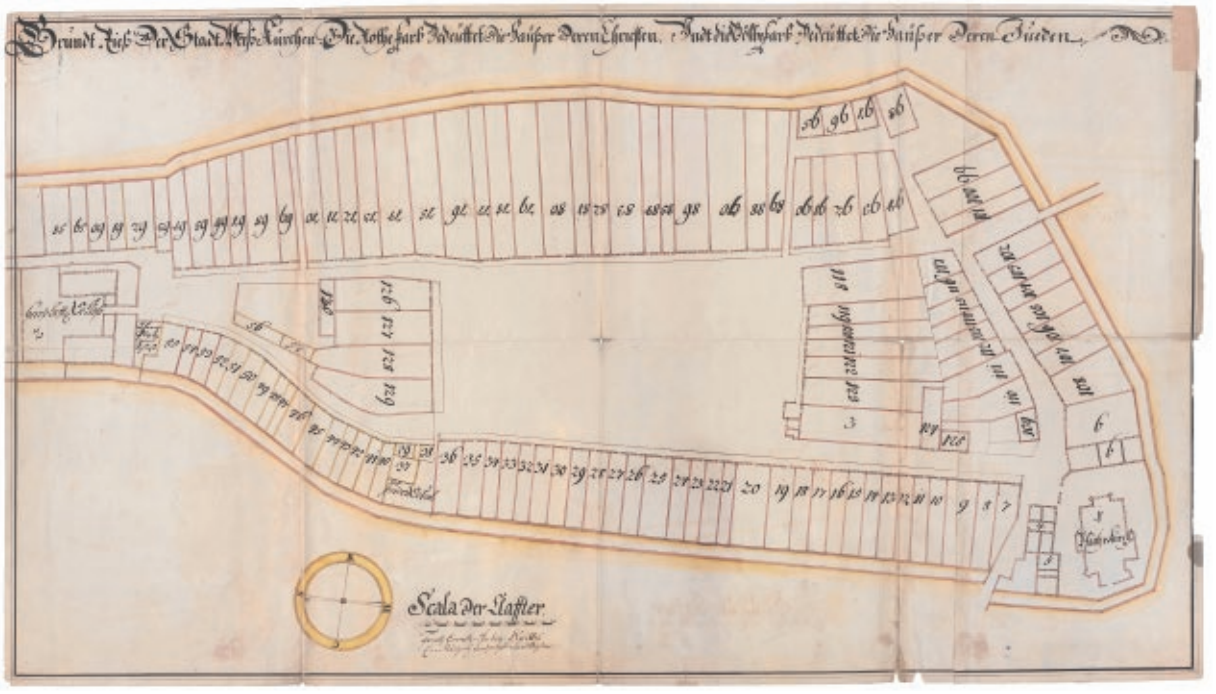
The measured bird's-eye map views of towns such as Šafov/Schaffa (Fig. 10) or Miroslav/Mislitz by Matthias Gottfried Schmidt look back ultimately to Jacopo de Barbari's map-view of Venice of 1500.

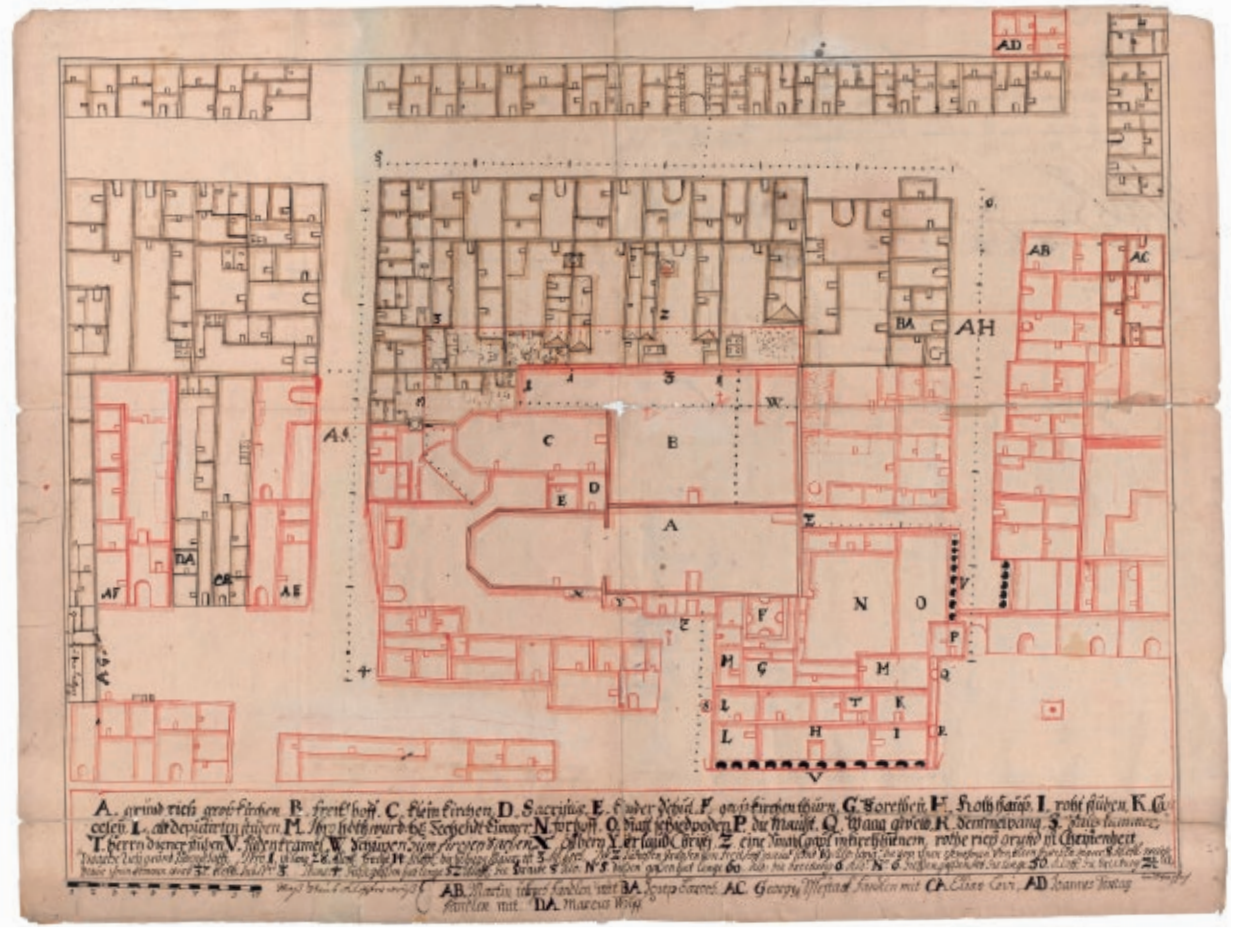
More generally there was a dramatic increase in the extent and quality of European cadastral mapping from the mid-seventeenth century. The technically most accomplished plans among the Moravian segregation plans, by Knittel (Figs. 7 and 8), resemble

Fig. 7 F.A.L. Knittel, 'Grundriss der Stadt Trebitsch ...' [1727], showing the Jewish quarter of Třebíč/Trebitsch (Jewish houses in yellow, Christian houses in red), attested and sealed by the head of the civic administration of the town. Superimposed inset: annotations showing the locations of the proposed walls to separate the Jewish from the Christian parts of the town. MZA D22/1357.

Fig. 8 F.A.L. Knittel, 'Grundt-Riss der Stadt Weisskirchen' [Hranice]. Jewish property (synagogue (*Juedenshuel*) and house numbers 37–52, 55–57) indicated in yellow (a hint of the traditional Jewish association with money and the colour of badges worn by Jews and whores in the middle ages). The plan also shows (left) the seigneur's palace (*Herrschaffiliches Schloss*) in whose shadow the Jewish street lay and (bottom right) the parish church (*Pfaahrkürche*). His plans show windows as well as property divisions. MZA D22/1325.

Fig. 9 Anonymous measured plan of surroundings of the Jewish quarter of Prostějov/Prossnitz, identifying the church (A-D) and use of individual rooms on the Christian (red) side. Letters beneath the lower margin indicate the homes and name the individual Christians and Jews who exchanged homes with each other: AB with BA; AC with CA: AD with DA, to create religiously homogeneous blocks. MZA D22/1345.


Scala der Laster


A. grund riehs groß kirchen B. freith hoff C. klein Kirchen D. Sacristie E. Kuder Schul F. gantz kirchen thürn G. Torethen H. Roth haus I. robi stuben K. Ce
celen L. ad depidarium stuben M. Thy hoth wurd by Seyde Eingang N. vorhoff O. Magi schreibboden P. du Maujst Q. Wang gibreit R. dennwendung S. klais kammer
T. Herrn diener stuben V. Fürst Cammel W. Schnuren dem fürsten Saalen X. Silbern Y. Erlandt Cammer Z. eine Neuh Capell in der rechten ruthe rechts grund ist Chrysenbett
AB. Martin Ihres Handlen wirt BA. Joseph Sarors AC. Georgy Mestand Handlen mit CA. Claus Cuer AD. Johannes Jentag
DA. Marcus Weig

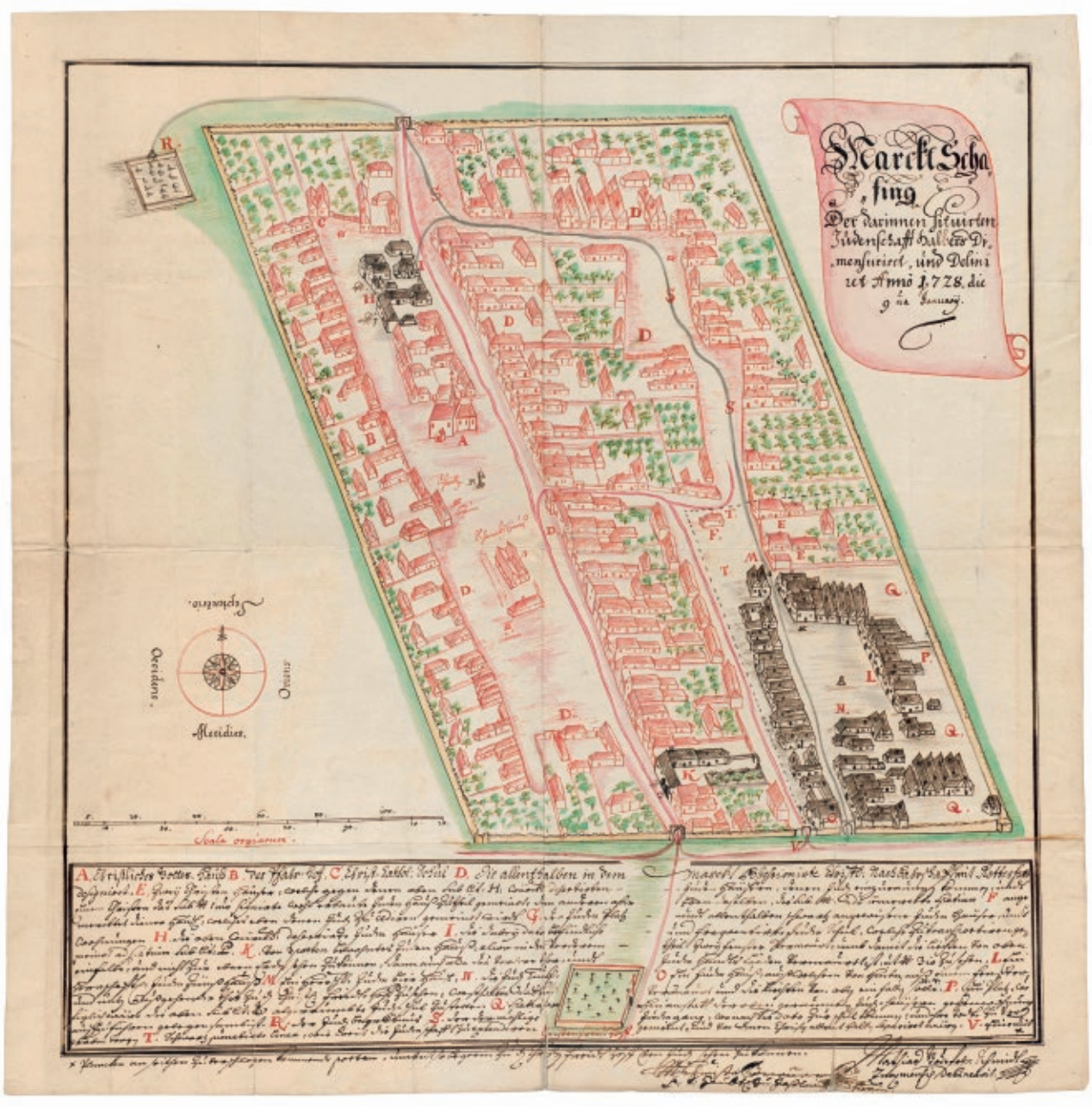


Fig. 10 Matthias Gottfried Schmidt of Znojmo/Znaim, 'Marckt Schafing. Der darinnen situirten Judenschafft halbers Dimensuriret und Deliniret Anno 1728 die 9na Januarii'. Note the black line indicating the route of Jews from synagogue (top left) to their main settlement. The text proposes to transfer Jews and synagogue from top left to main settlement at bottom right. Schmidt was responsible for two other bird's-eye segregation plans. MZA D22 1356.

in technique property plans such as those that accompany English property deeds and the property books of London livery companies – and there are certain to be similar examples elsewhere in Europe.

In some ways, the mapping looks forward to the ethnic mapping of the late nineteenth century and particularly to George Arkell's 1900 map of Jewish London, but more in appearance than in the latter's racist rather than religious essence.

Lasting consequences

In the event relatively few new ghettos were created in Bohemia and Moravia, in part because many plans demonstrated that the Christian and Jewish populations were so intermixed that it was not feasible to separate them. Even the new ghettos brought problems. There was a little further mapping by military engineers of the Jewish communities in Moravia, such as Loštice in the 1770s, during the reign of the fiercely anti-semitic Empress Maria Theresa.

The bulk of the anti-Jewish legislation was only finally dismantled, after a false start in 1848, in 1867, though it had been modified – usually with respect to the wealthier Jews – from the 1780s.

Notes

1 Georg Grüll, 'Die Ingenieure Knittel im Rahmen der o.-ö. Mappierungen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert' in *MOÖLA* 2 (1952) pp. 43–67; Andreas Heindl, *Die Vermessung des Grundbesitzes des Klosters Lambach durch den Ingenieur Franz Anton Knittel: im Jahre 1723: ein frühes Beispiel der Kadasterkartographie in Oesterreich*. M.Phil thesis, University of Vienna, 2011, pp. 22–24.

Appendix

Moravian towns & settlements mapped in 1727–28 and 1770 in the Moravský Zemský Archiv, Brno

Some numbers cover more than one plan; four of the plans depict more than one settlement but only the main settlement shown is named on the list below.

Boskovice (Boskowitz) D22/1316, Břežany (Frischau) D22/1321, Brtnice (Markt Pürnitz) D22/1318, Bučovice (Buschovitz) D22/1319, 1319a, Černá Hora D22/1324, Dřevohostice D22/1320, Holešov (Holseschau) D22/1323 (4 plans), Hranice (Mährisch Weisskirchen) D22/1325, Horny Mostienice (Moschtienitz) D22/1340, Hrušovany (Markt Gruspach) D22/1326, Ivanovice (Eibenschütz) D22/1327, Jemnice (Jamnitz) D22/1328, 1329, Jiřice (Markt Iritz) D22/1330, Kunice u Lysic (Kunitz/ Kinitz) D22/1331, Kroměříž (Kremsier) D22/1332 (2 plans), Lipník (Leipnik) D22/1334, 1335, Loštice (Loschitz) D22/1336 (of 1770), Miroslav (Misslitz) D22/1339, Moravský Krumlov (Mährisch Krumlau) D22/1333, Podivin (Kostel) D22/1342, Pohořelice (Pohrltiz) D22/1343, Police u Jemnice (Pullitz) D22/1344, Prostějov (Prossnitz) D22/1345 (2 plans), Přerov (Prerau) D22/1346, 1347, Rousínov (Neu-Rausnitz) D22/1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, Šafov (Schaffing/Markt Schafing) D22/1356, Sedlnice (Sedlnitz) D22/1352, Slavkov (Austerliz D22/1353, Spálov (Sponau) D22/1354, Staré Hobzi D22/1322, Svitávka D22/1355, Třebič (Trebitsch) D22/1357, Třešť (Triesch) D22/1358, Uherský Ostroh (Ungarisch Ostra) D22/1341, Uherský Brod (Ungarisch Brod) D22/1317, Újezd (Augezd) near Boskovice D22/1359, Úsov (Stadt Aussee) D22/1360, Velké Mezířicí (Gross Meseritsch) D22/1337, 1338.

A few surviving plans of Moravian towns and villages created in 1727–28 are housed in other archives. All the plans were digitised to mark their inclusion in the UNESCO World Memory Register but have not yet been placed online.

Acknowledgment

My thanks to the archivists of the Moravian State Archives (Moravský Zemský Archiv) in Brno for giving me access to the original plans, for their readiness to help and their assistance in many ways.

Further Reading

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Roger J.P. Kain and Elizabeth Baigent, *The Cadastral Map in the Service of The State. A History of Property Mapping* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993)

Jaroslav Klenovský, 'Plány separace židovského osídlení na Moravě z let 1727-8', *Židé a Morava: sborník příspěvků přednesených na konferenci konané 8. Listopadu 1995 v Kroměříži* (Kroměříž, 1996), pp. 54–62

Jaroslav Klenovský, *Židovské památky Moravy a Slezska/ Jewish Monuments of Moravia and Silesia* (Brno, 2001)

David Knichal, *Dobrozdání olomouckého biskupa Wolfganga Hannibala kardinála ze Schrattenbachu ze dne* 6. *Května 1727 kseparaci židovských domů na Moravě – edice a rozbor pramene* [An edited edition of Cardinal Schrattenbach's report of 6 May 1727 on the separation of Moravian Jews and Christians]. (unpub. MA thesis, Masaryk Univ., Brno, 2019)

Karel Kuchař, *Early Maps of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia* (Prague, 1961)

František Roubík, 'Die Judensiedlungen in Böhmen auf den Ortsplänen vom Jahre 1727', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der Cechoslovakischen Republik* 3 (1931), pp. 283–306. [The article originally appeared, with illustrations, in Czech also in 1931 as 'Plánky obcí v Čechách s vyznačením židovských obydlí z r. 1727' in *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností českých v Praze* xxxix (1931), pp. 49–68]

Peter Barber OBE was head of maps and topography at the British Library from 2001–15, He is descended from Moravian Jews who lived in some of the settlements mapped between 1727 and 1728.

Dr Daniel Soukup is a lecturer in medieval Czech literature in the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague and lecturer in Jewish studies at the University of Olomouc, Czech Republic.

DOYLE





Joseph Duff, *Traveller's Guide. A Map of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.* Cincinnati: George Conclin, 1848. Est. $1,000-1,500.

Abraham Ortelius, *Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio.* Ab. Ortelius, c. 1587. Est. $2,500-3,500.

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AFRICA

A group of small maps with shields, 1690–1753

Roger Stewart

'L'AFRIQVE Selon les Autheurs les plus *Modernes*' [Africa according to the most modern writers] is striking because of its two panels of armorial shields (Fig. 1). It is commonly attributed to Antoine Phérotée de La Croix (1640–1715), author of the 1690 edition of *Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre facilement La Geographie universelle* in which it first was published.[1] It is one of five different engravings of geographically very similar maps, each with bilateral panels of armorial shields outside the map's side border. They are small maps measuring approximately 20 cm wide, including the shields, and 15 cm high. Between 1690 and 1753 variations appeared in twenty-eight editions of books, printed in various languages from publishing houses in Lyon, Paris, Amsterdam and Leipzig. Consequently, the cartobibliography is complicated. Building on the work of Richard Betz,[2] I present the group of five maps and their states. Though geographically quite similar they are readily distinguished by their non-geographical features. In this article are maps and states not recorded in cartobibliographies of Africa.

A small map by Pedro de Murillo Verlade, 'Africa arreglada a las mejores relacion[e]s',[3] though based on



Fig. 1 Third state of Antoine Phérotée de La Croix's 'L'AFRIQVE Selon les Autheurs les plus *Modernes*', Paris; 1705 and 1717. 14.5 x 20.5 cm. Sixteen shields. With permission, Barry L. Ruderman (www.raremaps.com).

De La Croix's map it is excluded from consideration because of its geographical and other differences; it has an exaggerated bulge of the southwestern coastline.

Geography of the maps

De La Croix's map, according to Betz, is modelled on Pierre Duval's of 1678. The inner borders of the maps mark the latitude and longitude with 10° gradations. The lines of latitude shown are the equator and the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. The only longitude is the prime meridian which runs through Ferro Island. The Cape of Good Hope is located at approximately 44°E and 36°S, as was commonly represented at the time, but this is about 7.6° too far east and about 2° too far south.

The continent is divided into the following regions: Barbarie, Belidulgerid, Saara ou Le Desert (Sahara), Nigritie, La Guinee, Abissinie, Ethiopie, Congo, the Empires of Monoemugi and Monomotapa, Cafrerie, and the eastern coastal territories of Mozambique, Zanguebar and Ajan. Somewhat strangely, the map does not display European settlements, some of which had been in existence for more than a century when the map first was published.

Amara is at about 58°E, a short distance north of the equator. It is the mountain of Amba Geshen where Ethiopian emperors held captive their brothers and male heirs.[4] An unnamed lake in Abissinie is the source of the Blue Nile (Lake Tana in today's Ethiopia); the White Nile is not shown. The Nubie is a tributary of the Nile that flows from the west and joins the Nile near at 62°E 28°N. It is tempting to speculate that the seemingly mythical tributary could possibly depict the ancient Yellow Nile, which had not flowed for millennia and is now the dry Wadi Howar. However, the Yellow tributary joined the Nile further south, at the Great Bend in today's Sudan.[5] The Ptolemaic lakes have been omitted and the Mont de la Lune (Mountain of the Moon) seems to be the source of the unnamed Congo River. The Niger flows north then westwards from Lac Niger, just north of the equator and 47◦E, into the Atlantic Ocean.

Numerous islands are shown in the Ocean Ethiopien (the Atlantic) and Mer des Indes (Indian Ocean); these include the phantom islands of S. Mathieu and Nouvelle S. Helene in the Atlantic, and Dos Romeiros (Dos Romeyros), southeast of Madagascar. The islands of Dos Romeiros do not appear consistently on all of the five maps in the group.

The group

The unifying feature of all the five maps is the presence of bilateral panels of armorial shields engraved alongside the map. Some have two panels of three shields each, others have two panels with six. The shields on the left represent Barbarie, Maroch, Egypte, Ethiopie, Tripoli and Notolie; those on the right are Abissinie, Malthe, Congo, Nubie, Monomotapa and Nigretie. However, on the maps with sixteen shields, only the first three in each panel have been completed, the remaining are in outline. On the maps with twelve shields all have been completed.

1. De La Croix–Demasso map, 1690 with 16 shields

L'AFRIQVE Selon les Autheurs les plus *Modernes*, the first map in the group, was engraved by Michel-François Demasso (1624–*c.*1725): 'M. Demasso fec' is printed directly below the cartouche. It measures 14.5 x 20.5 cm, with shields. It was included in Volume 4 of the Lyon and Paris editions of De La Croix's *Nouvelle methode,* which was also published by Jean-Baptiste Barbier.[6] Demasso was an engraver and painter and De La Croix a linguist, geographer and mathematician, and it was probably De La Croix who provided the geographic content for the map. I have added the engraver to the attribution in order to distinguish the map from another used by De la Croix in the Amsterdam publication of the *La geographie universelle.*

The De La Croix–Demasso map is known in three states: the first (1690) has no printer's instruction; on the second state (1693 and 1696), the printer's instruction is engraved outside the top right border: 'Tom. 4. pag. 225'; in the third state (1705 and 1717) the instruction is 'Tom 5. pag. 243'. The first two states of the Demasso map have been described by Betz;[7] the previously unrecorded third state was recently on sale at Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps,[8] part of a group of six similar maps which Ruderman has attributed to Mathieu Ogier (1601–1709). Ogier's imprint is on one of the maps, although the Africa map has the imprint of Demasso below the cartouche.



Fig. 2 First state of the first edition of the De La Croix–Jaillot 'L'AFRIQUE Selon les Autheurs les plus = *Modernes*', 1693, Amsterdam. Sixteen shields. 15.2 x 17.8 cm. With permission, Universitätsbibliothek LMU Munich, UB Munich, (W 8 H.aux. 2(4)).

2. De La Croix–Jaillot map, 1693 with 16 shields

'L'AFRIQUE Selon les Autheurs les plus = *Modernes*' first was published in 1693 by Chez George Gallet in the Amsterdam edition of De La Croix's *La geographie universelle*. This is a new engraving and measures 15.2 x 17.8 cm.[9] The map is not listed in Betz.[10] The Amsterdam printing of the map is reported and illustrated (the first state) here for the first time (Fig. 2). The most striking difference between this and the De La Croix–Demasso map is the cartouche. It has been replaced with a vignette of a naked figure handling, what appears to be, a long-stemmed pipe over a fire, accompanied by two seated men in native dress looking on. One carries a long basket over his shoulder. Observing the scene are two standing figures; the first, and more clearly delineated, is possibly a Roman soldier who carries a shield in one hand and a spear in the other; a small antelope is to his right. The map title is slightly different: the title is printed over four lines, not three; AFRIQUE replaces AFRIQVE; and a double dash is inserted after 'plus'. A printer's instruction is engraved outside the border at the top left: 'Tom. 4. pag. 158'.

Jaillot's name is added as the attribution of this map, because of its appearance in his small, very scarce atlas *Tablettes géographiques ou Recueil des principales cartes* (1695). Betz had not seen this and, therefore, was unsure if it included a map of Africa. The University of Kentucky has an example of the first edition of *Tablettes géographiques* in which he used a second state of the map, with no printer's instruction.[11] A second edition of this atlas is dated 1697 and was published with the amended title: *Recueil des principales cartes géographiques generals et particulars*.[12] The late H.A.M. van der Heijden identified a paradox when he examined the second edition of this very scarce atlas.[13] Partially deleted



Fig. 3 Third state of the De La Croix–Jaillot 16-shield map, 'L'AFRIQUE Selon les Autheurs les plus = *Modernes*' in *Nouvelle Geographie* (1700) by Denis Martineau du Plessis, Amsterdam. 15.2 x 17.8 cm. Private collection.

printer's instructions on the atlas maps are identical to those on the maps in *Nouvelle Geographie, ou Description Exacte De L'univers* by Denis Martineau du Plessis, which had been published in 1700 in



Amsterdam.[14] Furthermore, many pages in Jaillot's atlas have a watermark of the Amsterdam coat of arms. Consequently, Van der Heijden concluded that the imprint on the title page of the atlas was misleading and that it must have been published later than 1695 (*c.*1700). He also concluded that it had not been published in France, but in Amsterdam, where Du Plessis's book had been published by George Gallet. Following Van der Heijden's reasoning, the Library Director of the Special Collections at the University of Kentucky was asked to examine their example of the first edition. All but the Africa map have incomplete erasures of the printer's instructions; the same map illustrated by Van der Heijden in the second edition had identical instructions. Therefore the 1695 edition of the atlas also must have been published after Du Plessis's first edition of *Nouvelle Geographie* (1700). It is likely that it too was published in Amsterdam, where Gallet published the De La Croix–Jaillot map of Africa in *La geographie universelle* in 1693.

Du Plessis used the third state of this map (Fig. 3) in 1700, 1730 and 1733 for the Amsterdam editions of *Nouvelle geographie*.[15] The printer's instruction 'Tom. 3. pag 2.' was inserted within the map border at the bottom right of the Jaillot plate. Two small changes were made to the geography of this third state: the town of Alexandrie was engraved immediately north of the Nile delta, in the Mediterranean, and the phantom islands of Dos Romeyros to the southeast of Madagascar have been deleted.

3. Gleditsch map (1697) with 16 shields

In 1697 the 1693 edition of *La geographie universelle* was translated into German by Hieronymus Ditzel and published by Johann Ludwig Gleditsch and the Heirs of M.G. Weidmann in Leipzig. A third, similar map was engraved for this publication and is described and illustrated in Betz, #167.[16] Gleditsch copied the De La Croix–Jaillot vignette and inserted the title 'Africa' within it. The printer's instruction at the top right is in German and the toponyms are in Latin (Fig. 4). The map retains the phantom island of Dos Romeyros with the same spelling as on the De La Croix–Jaillot map and the town of Alexandrie is absent.

4. De La Feuille map, 1702 with 12 shields

Daniel de La Feuille (*c.*1640–1709) engraved a new map on which the title 'L'AFRIQUE Selon le Autheurs les plus Modernes' is contained within the De La Croix–Jaillot vignette. The most striking difference on De la Feuille's map is the number of armorial shields. It has four fewer shields and all are completed (Fig. 5). The map is known in two states and the main difference is in the title. It appears as



Fig. 4 Detail of cartouche with simplified title and printer's instruction in Gleditsch's sixteen-shield map, published in *Des Herrn Phérotée de la Croix ...Geographia universalis*, Leipzig, 1697. 15.5 x 130 cm. With permission of the Universitätsbibliothek LMU Munich, UB Munich, (W 8 H.aux. 2(3_4)).

L'AFRIQUE in the first and AFRICA in the second. The islands of Dos Romeiros have been omitted.

The first state was published in Amsterdam in De la Feuille's *Atlas portatif, ou, Le nouveau theatre de la guerre en Europe* in 1702, 1706 and *c.*1708 (dated 1706, but two maps are dated 1708).[17] De La Feuille also used the map in 1706 and 1708 in *Les tablettes guerrières* and again in 1708 in the Dutch translation, *Oorlogs-tabletten*. His son, Paul, republished his father's *Les tablettes guerrières* in 1709, 1711, 1717 and 1725, and his sister Jeanne de la Feuille published it in 1729, after Paul's death. The purchaser of *Les tablettes guerrières* could select to include between thirty and a hundred maps when buying the atlas; therefore, the map of Africa may not have been included in all extant copies of the book. An English edition, *The Millitary Tablettes, containing a choice of Mapps, for the use of Officers and Travellers,* was published in 1709 and possibly in 1707, 1711 and 1717 by the De La Feuille family.[18]

A Huguenot family, the De La Feuilles moved to Amsterdam, where they worked in association with Dutch publishers. The copperplate for the Africa map was modified for the Dutch edition *Geographisch-toneel, Of uitgezochte kaarten, Tot gemak der officieren, reisigers en liefhebbers*. The title of this second state (Fig. 6) is 'AFRICA Selon le Autheurs les plus Modernes'. The number 5 is engraved to the right of the top right shield. A second Dutch edition was published in Amsterdam in 1730 by Johannes Ratelband; in 1735 by de erven en van J. Ratelband, en Compagnie; and in 1747 by B. van Gerrevink en de erven Ratelband. In 1994 a facsimile of the scarce 1753 Dutch edition was published in Amsterdam by Robas.[19]

5. Baeck map, 1710 with 16 shields

Elias Baeck (also Elias Bäcken, also called Heldenmuth) (1679–1747) engraved yet another similar map with sixteen shields (Fig. 7), used in his *Atlas Geographicus, oder Accurate Vorstellung der gantzen Welt* which was published in 1710 in Saxe-Weimar and 1740 and 1748 in Augsburg. [20] His map is easily recognised by the banderolle engraved in German and French above the map: 'Africa ligt gegen Mittag und ist der Wärmeste Theil der Welt / L'Afrique la partie du monde la plus chaude vers le midi'. The length and width of the continent is also included. Baeck identifies himself as the engraver.

The full title of Baeck's atlas includes *Land-carten nach den berühmten französischen Geographo Hubert Jaillot und anderer vornehmer Männe*r [Maps after the famous French geographer Hubert Jaillot and other famous men]. Indeed, the Africa map is very similar to that of De La Croix–Jaillot: the title in the cartouche is identical and the phantom islands of Dos Romeiros are retained.



Fig. 5 First state of De La Feuille's, 'L'AFRIQUE Selon les Autheurs les plus Modernes', 1702, Amsterdam. Twelve shields. 13.7cm x 19.9 cm. With permission, Paulus Swaen old map auction and galleries (www.swaen.com).



Fig. 6 Detail of the cartouche with page number '5' to the right of the top shield in the second (i.e. Ratelband) state of De La Feuille's 'AFRICA Selon les Autheurs les plus Modernes', Amsterdam. Twelve shields. 13.7 x 19.9 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 7 Elias Baeck, detail of descriptive banderole with text in French and German and page number '28' in the top-right corner of 'L'AFRIQUE Selon les Autheurs les plus = *Modernes*', published in *Atlas Geographicus*, Weimar, 1710. 16.5 x 14 cm. With permission, Stanford University.

Notes

All URLs were active on 6 October 2019.

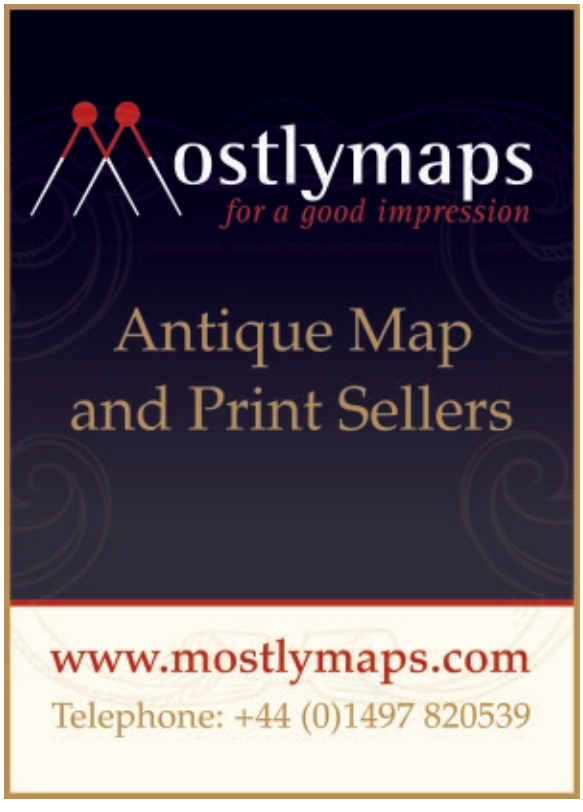
1 Antoine Phérotée de La Croix *Nouvelle methode pour apprendre … La Geographie*. Lyon: Chez Jean-Baptiste Barbier, 1690, 1705, 1717. Also published as *La geographie universelle: ou nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement cette science*. Lyon: 1696, 1705 and Paris: Mabre-Cramoisy, 1693.
2 R. L. Betz. *The Mapping of Africa. A cartobibliogrphy of printed maps of the African continent to 1700.* (Tuurdijk: HES & De Graaf, 2007), pp. 439–40 (Map #149) and 480–81 (map #167).
3 'Africa arreglada a las mejores relacion[e]s ...', Stanford University. It may be viewed at https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/12113495
4 Amba Geshen, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amba_Geshen
5 The Nile River, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nile
6 See note 1.
7 See note 2.
8 https://bit.ly/2Mv90f1
9 L'AFRIQUE | Selon les Autheurs les plus =| Modernes in Antoine Phérotée de la Croix. *La geographie universelle: ou nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement cette science*. Amsterdam: 1693. Example at the University Library of Munich, catalogue number W 8 H.aux. 2 (4). In April 2014 the catalogue entry for this map had the erroneous date of 1688.
10 R.L. Betz see note 2.
11 *Tablettes géographiques ou Recueil des principales cartes* is at the Special Collections Library of the University of Kentucky, call number: G101. T330 1695. The Library Director, Special Collections, inspected the map and sent me a scanned image of the map; there is no printer's instruction. Betz reported that, according to Burden, there is also a copy of the atlas in Gdansk – see R.L. Betz, note 2, p. 440.
12 H.A.M. van der Heijden, 'Een onbekende kleine atlas uit Amsterdam ca. 1700 (?)'. *Caert-thresoor*, 4 (1999), pp. 63–66. Available at http://www.caert-thresoor.nl/pdfs/CT09/CT09-4.pdf. An English summary is provided at the end of the article. The map is in the atlas, *Recueil des principales cartes géographiques generals et particulars* which is at the Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome, catalogue number 85.C.13.
13 The second edition of *Tablettes géographique*, with the title *Recueil des principales cartes géographiques generals et particulars* is in the Biblioteca Corsiniana, 85.C.13, in Rome.
14 Denis Martineau du Plessis, 1700, *Nouvelle Geographie, ou Description Exacte De L'univers, tiré des meilleurs auteurs tant anciens que modernes*. Amsterdam: chez G. Gallet.
15 Illustration of the Africa map and other illustration in Du Plessis's book may be viewed at https://bit.ly/2IrvUTe
16 R.L. Betz, see note 2.
17 *Atlas Portatif*, Library of Congress, Call number G1793 .L3 1708, http://www.loc.gov/item/2006629135/
18 A 1709 example of *Millitary Tablettes* is in the British Library, General Reference Collection 118.b.11.
19 *Geographisch-toneel*, *Of uitgezochte kaarten*, WorldCat at http://goo.gl/elrMco
20 *Atlas Geographicus*, WorldCat at https://bit.ly/2ofDOrS; image available at https://stanford.io/35ATjf0

Acknowledgments

I thank the following organisations for permission to use digital copies of their maps: University Library of Munich for the 1693 edition of the map (W 8 H.aux. 2(4)); Antiquariat Nortbert Haas for the Baeck map; and Altea Gallery for the De La Feuille map (not illustrated here).

I also thank Gordon E. Hogg, Library Director at the Special Collections section of the University of Kentucky Library, for examining Jaillot's 1695 *Tablettes géographique* and for digital copies of the title page, table of contents and map; Kyle R. Triplett of the Rare Books Division of the New York Public Library, for examining the 1735 edition of the Ratelband map; Dr Sven Kuttner of Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München for assistance with the 1693 Amsterdam edition of *La Geographie universelle*; Dean Smith, of the Bancroft Library at U.C. Berkeley for examining the De La Feuille map in *Oorlogs-tabletten*.

Roger Stewart is a truant from medicine, academic clinical physiology and commercial business. He is an independent scholar who publishes on the history of the Cape and on African maps. He is the International Map Collectors' Society representative in South Africa, a member of the Washington Map Society and the Royal Society of Southern Africa. (rogerstewartonline@gmail.com)



IMCoS MATTERS

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

12–14 May 2020
IMCoS visit to Leith, Scotland
The next IMCoS UK visit will be based in Leith, Edinburgh's historic port which has been undergoing considerable regeneration over the last twenty years, now rebranded as Edinburgh's Waterfront. IMCoS has visited Edinburgh before and this will give a different perspective of the city.

Programme

Tuesday 12 May
Travel to Leith. Meet in a local pub at 17.30–18.00 for a walk around old Leith for about an hour. This will finish at a restaurant at 19.30 where those who do not wish to walk may join us (please note this meal is not included in price).

Wednesday 13 May
Morning: Visit to ***Trinity House of Leith***, originally founded in the fourteenth century by mariners. This small architectural gem, built in 1816, holds nautical memorabilia contributed by its members: portraits, ship models, navigation instruments and sea charts.
Afternoon: Visit the ***Maps Reading Room, National Library of Scotland.*** The focus of the display will be examples from several different collections – private, institutional and business. Finish by 16.30. Free time.

Thursday 14 May
Morning: 8.15–8.45 start to drive through the Scottish Borders to Dumfriesshire to visit ***Drumlanrig***, a seat of the Dukes of Buccleuch & Queensberry. On the way we shall stop for a couple of hours at ***Wanlockhead Lead Mining Museum***. This is the highest village in Scotland and the site of mining for several centuries. There will be an optional mine visit underground plus a guided tour of cottages, fitted out as they would have been in the eighteenth–early twentieth centuries. For those less able to walk or to go underground, there is an excellent museum, which covers the social history of the village. (Walking shoes or robust trainers will be needed as there is rough terrain in the mine. Waterproof clothing is desirable in case of bad weather, or drips within the mine.)
Afternoon: Lunch at ***Drumlanrig***. Prof. David Munro formerly Director-Secretary of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society will introduce us to the map collections. A guided tour of the castle will follow.
Evening: Reception and dinner at the Barony Castle Hotel and view the ***Great Polish Map of Scotland***

Friday 15 May
The organised IMCoS programme finishes on Thursday, you may also wish to visit the ***Royal Yacht Britannia*** (www.royalyachtbrittania.co.uk).

Accommodation

Premier Inn, 51-53 Newhaven Place, Leith, Edinburgh EH6 4TX. This budget hotel has a quiet scenic location on the seafront. It is about a 15–20 minute walk to Leith, but there are regular bus services.
Holiday Inn Express, Britannia Way, Ocean Drive, Leith, Edinburgh EH6 6JJ. This mid-price hotel has a noisier and less scenic location but offers more services and is closer to Leith meeting places.
Malmaison, 1 Tower Place, Leith, Edinburgh EH6 7BZ. This 4-star 'boutique' overlooks Leith Harbour. Closest to Leith meeting places.



Leith waterfront. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LeithView.JPG

Travel

Rail: Waverley station. Regular buses from Princes Street to Leith (15–20 mins). London–Edinburgh train takes 4–5 hours. **Air**: The Premier Inn and Holiday Inn are on the Skylink 200 bus route from Edinburgh Airport. For Malmaison take the tram or Skylink 100 bus into the city centre, then a local bus, but a taxi is easier. **Buses**: Skylink services: https://www.lothianbuses.com/our-services/airport-buses/. **Taxis**: Cost about £10+ from the station, or about £25 from the airport.

Restaurants

If you wish to enjoy the Michelin star restaurants, do book in advance: ***Restaurant Martin Wishart*** (restaurantmartinwishart.co.uk) and ***The Kitchin*** (www.thekitchin.com).

Cost: £115 per person. This includes: All entry fees on Wed. and Thurs. * Food and coach travel on Thurs. in an executive coach with on-board toilet. **A booking form is available online at the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org) where there is more detailed information about the trip.**

Friday 5 June 2020
IMCoS Annual Dinner & The Malcolm Young Lecture

To mark the Society's 40th anniversary, the annual dinner will be held at the Army and Navy Club at 36 Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5JN. Registration and payment for the evening can be done on the IMCoS website or by completing the leaflet in this issue. The cost is £65 which includes the champagne reception, lecture and three-course dinner and wine. IMCoS President Peter Barber OBE will present the Macolm Young Lecture.

Saturday 6 June 2020
10am IMCoS Annual General Meeting

Royal Geographical Society, I Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR.

Saturday 6 & Sunday 7 June 2020
London Map Fair
(Sat. 12 noon–7pm & Sun 10am–6 pm
Royal Geographical Society, I Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR.
Admission is free.



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Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, 'Universe Europe Maritime Eiusque Navigationis Descriptio. General Paschaerte van Europa', circa 1583. Sold for £6000 (March 2019).

Mallard House, Broadway Lane, South Cerney, Cirencester, Gloucestershire, GL7 5UQ

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The State Library of New South Wales and members of the Australian and New Zealand Maps Society are looking forward to welcoming IMCoS members to Sydney and Canberra for the 37th IMCoS Symposium in September. Planning is well underway and registration will open at the end of February.

The symposium will consider the traditional way-finding knowledge of the Pacific community and European exploration and mapping of the Pacific from the early modern era through to the nineteenth century, including the cartography of James Cook.

The conference is planned as a three-day event, commencing with an opening reception at the State Library on the evening of Sunday 6 September. Keynote presentations and lectures will take place over Monday 7 and Tuesday 8 September. As part of the programme Prof. Robert Clancy AM has curated a special exhibition, *Mapping Sydney: Mythology to Reality (1480-1950)*. The exhibition will be held at Manly Art Gallery and Museum. Conference delegates will have the opportunity to catch a ferry across beautiful Sydney Harbour to Manly to view this special exhibition. Robert will give a presentation on the maps displayed, from his personal collection. This exhibition of contemporary printed maps traces the development of Sydney from the idea of a western European settlement in 'Terra Australis Incognita' to the reality of Sydney today as a major centre with the highest world standard of living.

Following Sydney, a two-day excursion to Canberra, the nation's capital, has been arranged. The Canberra programme will include a morning seminar and a special viewing of the National Library cartographic treasures. Further details on this event including transport to Canberra, accommodation and expenses will be available soon.

The venue for the conference is the State Library of New South Wales, Australia's oldest library, located in the centre of Sydney, opposite the Royal Botanic Garden. It is located a short distance from a wide range of accommodation options, from backpacker hostels to five-star hotels, as well as numerous bars, cafés and restaurants. Sydney is famed for its natural beauty, beaches and cultural life.

Visit https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/research-and-collections/research-and-engagement/mapping-pacific-conference to keep abreast with developments. The conference convener is Maggie Patton (maggie.patton@sl.nsw.gov.au).

EXHIBITION REVIEW

The World on Paper: from Square to Sphericity

Peter Geldart

Notwithstanding the anti-government protests that have recently shaken Hong Kong and significantly reduced the number of visitors, from 18 December 2019 to 24 February 2020 the Hong Kong Maritime Museum hosted *The World on Paper: from Square to Sphericity*, an exhibition of maps and books intended 'to demonstrate the evolution of Chinese navigation and cartography, explore the changes in China's world view and scientific knowledge, and explain cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries during the early modernisation period'.

The exhibition was organised by the Hong Kong Maritime Museum, under the guidance of its Director, Mr Richard Wesley, and Assistant Director (Curatorial and Collections), Dr Libby Lai-Pik Chan; the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology's Lee Shau Kee Library and the Library of the Macau University of Science and Technology were co-organisers. China Resources Group was a major sponsor, and the exhibition was supported by the Home Affairs Bureau, Hong Kong SAR. Two of the museum's directors, Mr Tam Kwong Lim, a longtime collector of Chinese maps, and Prof. Fung Kam Wing of the University of Hong Kong, served as guest curators.

Organised in four sections, the exhibition covered the development of Chinese and Western navigation and cartography; traditional Chinese cartography; the encounter of Chinese and Western cartography during the Ming and Qing dynasties; and maps of the Pearl River Delta, including Hong Kong. Some eighty maps and charts (both Chinese and Western) were exhibited, along with fifty Chinese books from the late Qing and early Republican eras, globes, ceramics, models and nautical instruments. As well as original



'Huangming yitong datu' (Unified Atlas of the August Ming), a four-metre high map drawn in Japan in 1771 from Ming dynasty maps brought to Nagasaki by refugees from China. Image courtesy of the Hong Kong Maritime Museum.


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maps from the collections of the organisers and curators, reproductions of maps from other institutions were also on display.

The core exhibits, housed in the museum's main exhibition room, consisted of Chinese maps on loan from a private collection; many of these were on display for the first time. Highlights included a navigation chart from 1621 showing the route taken from Nanjing to Africa by the fifteenth-century explorer Zheng He; several pages from the forty-one-sheet *Huangyu quanlan tu* (Imperial Atlas of China), completed by Jesuit missionaries and Chinese officials in 1718; and two maps in Chinese made in the seventeenth century by the Flemish Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest: a star map of the southern hemisphere (reproduced in 1712) and 'Kunyu quantu', a huge double-hemisphere world map (reproduced in 1860). The eye-catching *c.*1811 'Daqing wannian yitong-tianxia quantu' (Complete Geographical Map of the Everlasting Unified Qing Empire), known as the 'Blue Map', is an administrative map of all the Chinese provinces, in eight panels, showing borders, provincial capitals, prefectures, district magistrates, departments, sub-prefectures, districts, and western tribute states.

The star of the exhibition, four metres high and somewhat wider, was the 'Huangming yitong datu' (Unified Atlas of the August Ming, see pages 44–45) which occupied an entire wall. The map, made in Japan in 1771, is believed to have been redrawn by Japanese monks from maps of China brought to Nagasaki by refugees at the end of the Ming dynasty. It shows the thirteen provinces and two capitals, the Yellow River flowing from the Huai River in Jiangsu, and maritime routes from Fuzhou to the Ryukyu islands.

Early Western maps of China by Abraham Ortelius, Cornelis de Jode, Jodocus Hondius, Joan Blaeu and John Speed were on display, as was the map drawn by Luo Hongxian in 1541 as reproduced by Samuel Purchas in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes,* published in 1625. The exhibition also contained many atlases, including the *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, the first European atlas and geography of China, compiled by the Italian Jesuit missionary Martino Martini and published by Blaeu in 1655; and the *Nouvel atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet* by Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, published in 1737. *Haiguo tuzhi* (Illustrated Treaties of the Maritime Kingdom) from 1841 was responsible for spreading the spherical earth theory in China, and *Daqing yitong yutu* (Unified Maps of the Great Qing), a Chinese atlas of 1863, confusingly combines Eastern and Western measurement systems, with a traditional mileage grid superimposed on coordinates for latitude and longitude. First published in 1899, the *Daqing huangyu quantu* (Imperial Atlas of China) has the first modern map of China made without foreign assistance; it uses a conical projection, with Beijing as the prime meridian.

As well as the individual captions accompanying most of the maps, the themes of the exhibition were elaborated in introductory panels explaining such topics as the Maritime Silk Road, Chinese cosmology, the styles and techniques used in Chinese mapmaking, the contributions to Chinese cartography made by Western missionaries, and the modernisation of China in the late Qing dynasty. Unfortunately these panels, printed in white on dark fabric hung as vertical banners, were not always easy to read in the relatively dark exhibition hall (which had no natural lighting).

However, the maps and charts of Hong Kong and the Pearl River delta were on view in the museum's separate, well-lit Long Gallery. The most interesting items here were three spectacular Chinese handscrolls: an early nineteenth-century defence chart of the coasts of Fujian and Guangdong showing navigational information; a pre-1839 map of the zones of control along the Guangdong coast before the First Opium War; and a pre-1860 map of Guangdong's coastal naval defences before the Second Opium War showing Hong Kong island, known as *Hung Heung Lo* (red incense-burner island), and Kellett Island. The exhibits also included an 1849 Spanish edition of Sir Edward Belcher's seminal chart of Hong Kong; the three-panel panorama of Hong Kong harbour in 1846 drawn by Lt. L.G. Heath R.N., published as Admiralty Chart 1696 'Hong Kong &c. as seen from the Anchorage'; and 'Lingnan Shaoyanshi', a Chinese map of Xin'an County (comprising Hong Kong and Shenzhen) dated 1894.

Most Western map collectors do not see a lot of Chinese maps and find them difficult to understand. The Hong Kong Maritime Museum is to be commended for having made the effort to stage this informative exhibition, albeit only for a period of two months and during a difficult time for the city. To encourage more map enthusiasts to learn about Chinese cartography, it would be desirable if another, similar exhibition could be staged again in the future, perhaps enlarged with rare Chinese items from other private collections and institutions in both Hong Kong and China.





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Frederik de Wit, 1660

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KENNETH NEBENZAHL (1927–2020)

Map Collectors & Collections…

Or, Would you buy a previously owned, probably inaccurate map from this man?

Kenneth was a leading light in the field of map collecting, and his lasting legacy will be found in those great institutional collections which he has greatly enriched and supported. His association with IMCoS goes back to the early years of the Society's history when he was awarded the IMCoS-Tooley award in 1984 for his extraordinary contributions to map history, a year later he become the Society's US Central representative, a position he held for thirty-five years. He was a wonderfully generous, charismatic and fun-loving person whose vast knowledge of maps is manifest in his various publications. His commitment to the advancement of research in map history and mapmaking is well known. With his wife Jossy, he founded the Kenneth Nebenzahl Jr. Lectures in Historical Cartography, the first event of its kind in the field of map history. A board member of the Newberry Library, the Adler Planetarium, and Imago Mundi Ltd, he was also an inveterate traveller to far-flung places and a devoted conservationist.

Below is an extract taken from a talk he gave at the 2001 IMCoS International Symposium in Chicago. In describing 'some of the people and some of the maps [he] encountered' as a rare books dealer he reveals his passion for the business and scholarship of maps, far more entertainingly than your editor could possibly do. He will be sadly missed.

…It is a particular honour for me to be addressing IMCoS, as this Society, in 1984, honoured me with the second IMCoS-Tooley (now Wallis) Award; placing me between Valerie Scott and Rodney Shirley, in what has become a veritable pantheon of persons in this field, most far more deserving than I.

My wife, Jossy, strongly asserts that a post-mortem examination will reveal a map covering the inside of my skull. She remembers hearing that at age ten, in 1937, I acquired Idaho, the 48th and most fugitive of my collection of gratis state road maps provided in those days by the oil companies; which I crudely bound as an atlas and unfortunately long since have lost. Incidentally, Jossy is still upset that our friends Sarah Tyacke and the late Helen Wallis used part of the Henry Fielding quote, 'Map me no Maps, Sir, my Head is a Map', for their festschrift entitled *My Head is a Map*, commemorating R.V. Tooley's 75th birthday. Jossy had long thought that title should be the epitaph for my gravestone! I say, perhaps on hers as well, after sleeping for over forty years under the nine-foot National Geographic world map papered to the ceiling over our conjugal bed.

Jossy presented to me in 1953 the first two volumes of what would become our reference library, for years before we became full-time dealers: Lloyd Brown's *The Story of Maps* and R.V. Tooley's *Maps and Mapmakers*. Later, I called on America's most prominent rare book dealer, H.P. Kraus, to announce my entry into the trade, and he offered three sterling pieces of advice: first, he stated paternally, build yourself as great a reference library as you can, the better the reference library, the better the dealer; second (reflecting his Austrian origins), always make sure your passport is valid and handy: a phone call at any moment can have you running for a plane to buy a collection before someone else gets there first; and third, move to New York immediately, you will never make a living in Chicago!

When we began our business in 1957, the map trade was small. The booksellers Francis Edwards, Ltd., in London, had the largest map department in the world, directed by that same Mr Tooley. The majority of cartographic materials entering the market-place arrived via London auction rooms, where the Edwards firm was a major player. They bought most of the atlases that came under the hammer, bringing to their very active guillotine defective copies, (and hopefully only defective copies!) whose contents could better serve society dispersed, than held in incomplete volumes.

Orderly distribution occurred as dealers came to Tooley on their periodic buying trips: German maps to German dealers, Dutch to Dutch, Italian to Italian. We competed for Americana. In preparing for my first buying trip, I wrote the Edwards firm to make an appointment with the famous Mr Tooley. Upon arriving in the map department of their shop, a gentleman appeared, thrust out his hand in greeting, thereby flaring open his linen office jacket, revealing four vest pockets, each with several dripping paint brushes! He smiled broadly and said, "I'm Mick Tooley, how do you do," and a friendship of almost thirty years

had begun. My introduction to Tooley and to 'contemporary' colouring was simultaneous!

In the late fifties there were hardly as many map collectors as there are map societies today. Maps were purchased either for decorative purposes or as graphic documentation of the history, and progressive geographical perception, of a place or region. Those are still good reasons to acquire maps, and intensive and comprehensive such collections are still being formed. However, the explosion of interest during the past five decades has been accompanied by an ardent curiosity about the history of mapmaking itself and its relationship to many other disciplines.

We now see focal points for the study of the history of cartography not only here at the American Geographical Society and at the Library of Congress, but at Chicago's Newberry Library Smith Center and, in Maine, at Portland's Smith Center (two different Smiths). Both of these Smith Centers provide environment and encouragement for scholars to pursue research in this field, and are supported by collections of range and which were mostly assembled first privately, then donated….

Hermon Dunlap Smith, Chicago corporate and civic leader, served long and effectively as the Newberry Library's Board Chairman. 'Dutch' (as he was known) and Ellen Smith lived on the shore of Lake Michigan, had a cabin for birding on the Des Plaines River, and a summer cottage in Ontario near Sault Ste. Marie. The three locations were related in the annals of pioneer French exploration in North America, and early on Dutch Smith formed an intellectual attachment to the history and geography of the region, from the time of Champlain to the growth of Chicago. For fifty years he assembled a significant collection of explorers' narratives and original maps, focused primarily on the Great Lakes, the Upper Mississippi, and the Illinois….

Dutch Smith founded the Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library in 1972, the first such establishment of its kind.… Mr Smith emphasized that the establishment of the Center had been inspired by the success of, and interest in, the series of lectures in the history of cartography which Jossy and I had established at the Newberry in 1963, in honour of, later in memorial to, our handicapped son, Kenneth Jr.….

Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, superintendent of the map room at the British Museum, delivered the first series of those lectures. His subject was an historical survey of the study and collecting of maps….

People often ask what is the oldest map we've owned. In our case the oldest is also perhaps the finest. The Petrus Roselli manuscript portolan sea chart made in Majorca in 1447, is drawn and painted on parchment and, significantly, carries in the neck the signature and date….

The manuscript descended through the Florentine family that commissioned Roselli to produce it in the 1440s. The last of the line left it to an order of nuns who had a house in Berne as well as in Rome. Thus this map which I could not have exported from Italy was conveniently sold to me in Switzerland. A private collector bought it from us in 1967, and ten years later sold it back to us, (albeit with the decimal point in the price somewhat re-arranged!) We sold it a second time, again to a private collector, and because 'hope springs eternal' perhaps we may some day have the opportunity to acquire it once more.

Early on we published a series of map catalogues which ran for over twenty-five years entitled *The Compass for Map Collectors*. When *Compass,* Number One was issued, customer number one was a gentleman who purchased a map of America from the Lafreri School of Italian sixteenth-century engraved maps. Thus began a long, treasured relationship with Dr Dallas Pratt, lasting until his death a few years ago. Dr Pratt collected maps of the world and America from the discovery period, primarily sixteenth-century imprints. An elegant bachelor gentleman of broad and refined taste…[whose] love for his maps did not permit their being hidden in portfolios, drawers or print racks…. The heart of his collection was the Venetian six-sheet woodcut cordiform Turkish world map attributed to an enigmatic figure known as Hadji Alimed. This dramatic production, measuring 4 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 4 $^{1}/_{2}$ feet, was framed, glazed and mounted on the canopy over his four-poster bed, facing down – the last thing he looked at the end of the day for twenty-five years. Hadji Ahmed's map and I have followed each other since the fifties when I bought at auction, in London, Sir Percival David's copy, now at the John Carter Brown Library. Franco Novacco's outstanding collection in Venice, comprising the most comprehensive privately held group of sixteenth-century Italian maps, went to the Newberry in the sixties via our firm. Included was his fine example of Hadji Ahmed's cordiform. We acquired the Newberry copy, now made duplicate, and placed it in Dallas Pratt's collection. Thus, of the eight or nine prints of the Hadji Ahmed map known, we have handled three.

Buying trips to Paris were always an adventure. One interesting custom of French dealers is occasionally to syndicate acquisitions. This can result in somewhat comic antics, such as when a prospective buyer declines a very special item offered by a dealer on the Right Bank which, by the time he proceeds to his next appointment with a dealer on the Left Bank, miraculously materializes to be offered by the second dealer for reconsideration, sometimes at a more realistic price. The example that comes to mind relates to one of the more exciting cartographic artifacts we have handled. At the end of a fruitful visit with a good friend and colleague in Paris on the Right Bank, from whom I had bought important items for years, he ushered me into his office behind the shop. In a grave and conspiratorial tone, he said, "Kenneth, I have the very most important thing for you – the original copper for the first map engraved in America!" We discussed it at great length, and when I interrupted to inquire of the price, it was so staggering that I was obliged immediately to decline with great, incalculable regret.

Arriving by taxi through Parisian traffic to my next appointment on the Left Bank, I was shocked to be shown the very copperplate, which had preceded me there by a breathless courier, via the underground. The Left Bank dealer explained that he was also one of the owners, and proposed a downward revised price. After protracted negotiations, and a meeting of the five owners to pass on my offer, I left Paris – with the treasure. It is now in the Library of Congress….

In Japan, foreigners normally do not have direct access to suppliers or customers, a tradition rarely circumvented. These contacts are carefully channeled through Japanese agents. An exception proved the rule. We were approached by an American collector serving on the Board of a Japanese corporation, informing us that a Japanese associate wished to dispose of his collection of Japanese woodblock maps. We arranged to meet the collector in Tokyo and experienced the rare occasion of visiting his home. Toward the end of a very long evening viewing maps and after completing negotiations, my host produced a tightly rolled scroll containing a European world map of no interest to him, which he gratuitously added to my purchase.

Later, after a restorer in Chicago preserved it flat, my research began. It was a manuscript map of the world from circa 1600, made in Japan by a Portuguese Jesuit mapmaker to illustrate the progress of Christianity throughout the world. It had a Maltese cross drawn on the Christianized nations and some of the place names were in Portuguese. I could go no further. The configurations of some parts of the world, particularly North America, defied identification of a source. In 1993 the XVth International Conference on the History of Cartography took place in Chicago, and among the delegates was a Portuguese scholar, Alfredo Pinheiro Marques. We discussed this map and he returned to Portugal with a photograph of it from which he performed further research. Shortly afterwards the Portuguese government sponsored a scholarly symposium commemorating the 450th anniversary of the Jesuits in Japan. Professor Marques read a paper attributing our map to Inacio Moreira, a trained mapmaker with the Jesuits in Japan beginning in the 1580s. The Portuguese press considered it a newsworthy discovery. An article in *Mercator's World* illustrates and describes this map and Marques's attribution. One has to have an occasional dose of good luck to survive 45 years selling used maps and books.

No map printed on a flat surface can be as accurate as a globe. Map projections are devised to control the distortion that must occur when transferring the delineations on a sphere to a flat surface. So why don't we just work from globes? As this audience knows, they are three dimensional, fragile and endlessly troublesome to provide care and feeding….

George H. Beans, the great map collector of the 1920s to '50s invited me to visit his 'Tall Tree Library' in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania in the early sixties, when he began dispersing his collection. I purchased from him a number of the single-sheet Italian sixteenth-century engraved maps of Mr Beans's collecting specialty. And, the only Lafreri Atlas we have owned….

At the end of our negotiations, opening a small closet door to retrieve my coat, I almost stumbled over a pair of globes on the floor. "What are these, Mr Beans?" I asked. "Nothing," said he, "just an old pair of modern globes, and you can see, my cleaning woman has knocked them with the vacuum cleaner." "Would you like to sell them?" I inquired, having noticed they were by James Wilson of Vermont, America's first globemaker. (Coincidentally, this was a subject on which I had recently become an instant 'expert', because I was on my way to talk to the Friends of the University of Vermont Library on that very topic.) With a look questioning my sanity, Mr Beans sold me the broken globes. I had them shipped to R.R. Donnelley's Graphic Conservation Department in Chicago for restoration.

Two weeks later Ralph McAleer, chief cartographer at the National Geographic Society, telephoned. They wanted a pair of Wilson globes for the permanent exhibition in their new Explorers' Hall, opening in two months. "Ralph," I said, "you can *not* call up and order a pair of extremely rare, 150-year-old globes for immediate delivery, even if you are the National Geographic Society. It might take years to locate a pair. And, – yes I have them."….

An unexpected call from Houston some years ago set us off on a different kind of cartographic adventure. The caller asked to bring in a manuscript map of a Caribbean cay to be authenticated, fee no object. He claimed to have an original pen and ink chart by Sir Francis Drake showing where Drake buried his treasure, thought to be off the coast of Belize. I told him we could not authenticate Drake's handwriting, but we would date the paper and the ink to at least the century in which it was written.

He arrived the following morning via his personal jet, accompanied by two well-dressed but unsavoury looking characters, replete with briefcases and bulges in their suit coats hardly concealing their weaponry…. He said he had organized an expedition which planned to sail immediately from Houston to Belize in an LST, which is a World War II tank landing ship. It would be armed in order to protect the un-earthed fortune from pirates….

We examined the map. The paper, ink and handwriting appeared to be sixteenth century. In a darkened room with an ultraviolet lamp, we found no emendations, eradications or alterations. We advised the client that there was no evidence to indicate the map was not genuine and of the period, while there also was no evidence to indicate who drew it or where the island it delineated was located. The 'gentleman' paid our fee from an enormous roll of hundred-dollar bills and departed with his associates.

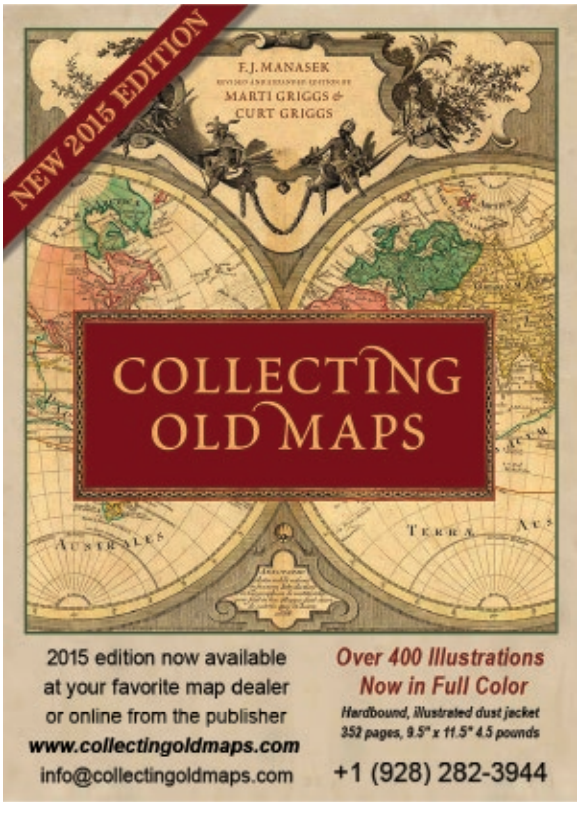
We have never heard a word about this expedition. I am sorry not to be able to show you a slide of the map, but I am afraid if I had one I might not be here today. You may take that either way.

Had time permitted, I would have enjoyed telling you of some experiences in appraising, including a week in Winnipeg that Jossy and I shared with that wily rascal with an awesome knowledge of Canadian cartography, Ed Dahl, IMCoS's representative for those places in North America north of the United States. The Hudson's Bay Co. retained Ed and me to appraise their early cartographic archives. What maps we were privileged to view, and challenged, to value! – including the ledgers of Peter Fidler the young Hudson's Bay Co. agent who travelled to western Alberta in 1801 bringing back the famous manuscript map derived from the Blackfoot Indians; the map which helped sort out the complicated hydrography of the Rocky Mountain system.

Or, of another unique experience when, after ignoring my protestations of ignorance about twentieth-century mapmaking, a high executive of a giant corporation dispatched me to that oxymoron of a place, Comfort, Texas, to appraise the original artwork by Hal Shelton for his great natural colour relief maps that were the basis for many beautiful and realistic airline maps. To shorten a long tale, the Shelton Collection lives, at the Library of Congress.

I could go on forever. We have had such a great time with the maps and with the people involved with them. I will leave you with a final thought: Do be careful about associating with anyone who might try to sell you a previously owned, probably fallacious map!

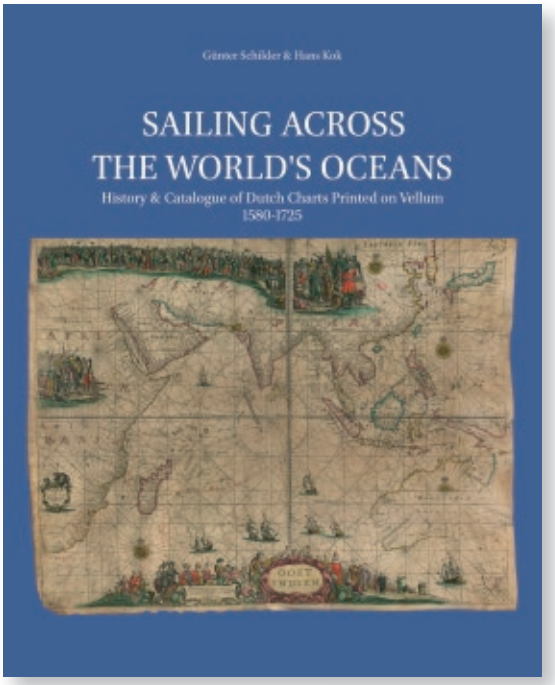
Kenneth Nebenzahl, Chicago, 1984



BOOK REVIEWS

Sailing across the World's Oceans: History & catalogue of Dutch charts printed on vellum 1580–1725

by Günter Schilder & Hans Kok. Leiden, Boston: Brill, HES & De Graaf, 2019. Explokart Historisch-Cartografische Studies, Vol. 19. ISBN 9789004398573. HB with jacket, 840, lavishly illustrated. €175, US$ 211.



Yet again Günter Schilder and his co-author Hans Kok have produced a marvellously comprehensive and definitive study of Dutch maritime cartography from the sixteenth to early eighteenth century; this time based on the production of large printed charts on vellum (80 x 100 cm approximately) for use at sea and in the offices of the merchants and stakeholders running and financing the trading companies of the Dutch overseas empire.

This volume has to be seen as the continuation of the story of Dutch sea charts for oceanic navigation and planning from the period of the chartmakers of the *North Holland School 1580–c.1620* (Schilder) based in the Zuyder seaports, published in the same series. (Vol. 1, 2017). It is also the companion to Schilder and Kok's account of the MS charts for the Oriental Navigation *Sailing for the East* (Vol. 10, 2010) which recorded all the known MS charts 1602–1799. This present volume expands the account of the charts produced to cover the rest of the Dutch maritime world, which was most of the known world.

Although focusing on charts printed on vellum, the introductory chapters to the catalogue give a comprehensive overview of the Dutch cartographical and navigational worldview centred on the great *entrepot* of Amsterdam, with its vast production and distribution of charts and maps of all types. The conduct of navigation at the time with its attendant problems such as the difficulties of calculating a ship's position before longitudes were definitely established is explained clearly by Hans Kok. The account of Dutch mapping of the Mediterranean, the Arctic regions north of Russia and those of north America, the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the Far East, stretching as far as the west coasts of Australia and Tasmania, is also very instructive, with new insights, although much of the story is well known. The relationship between the Dutch explorations, their settlements and trading links overseas with chart production are intricately linked. It is necessary to appreciate this to understand why there were so many charts produced at the time by the Dutch publishers.

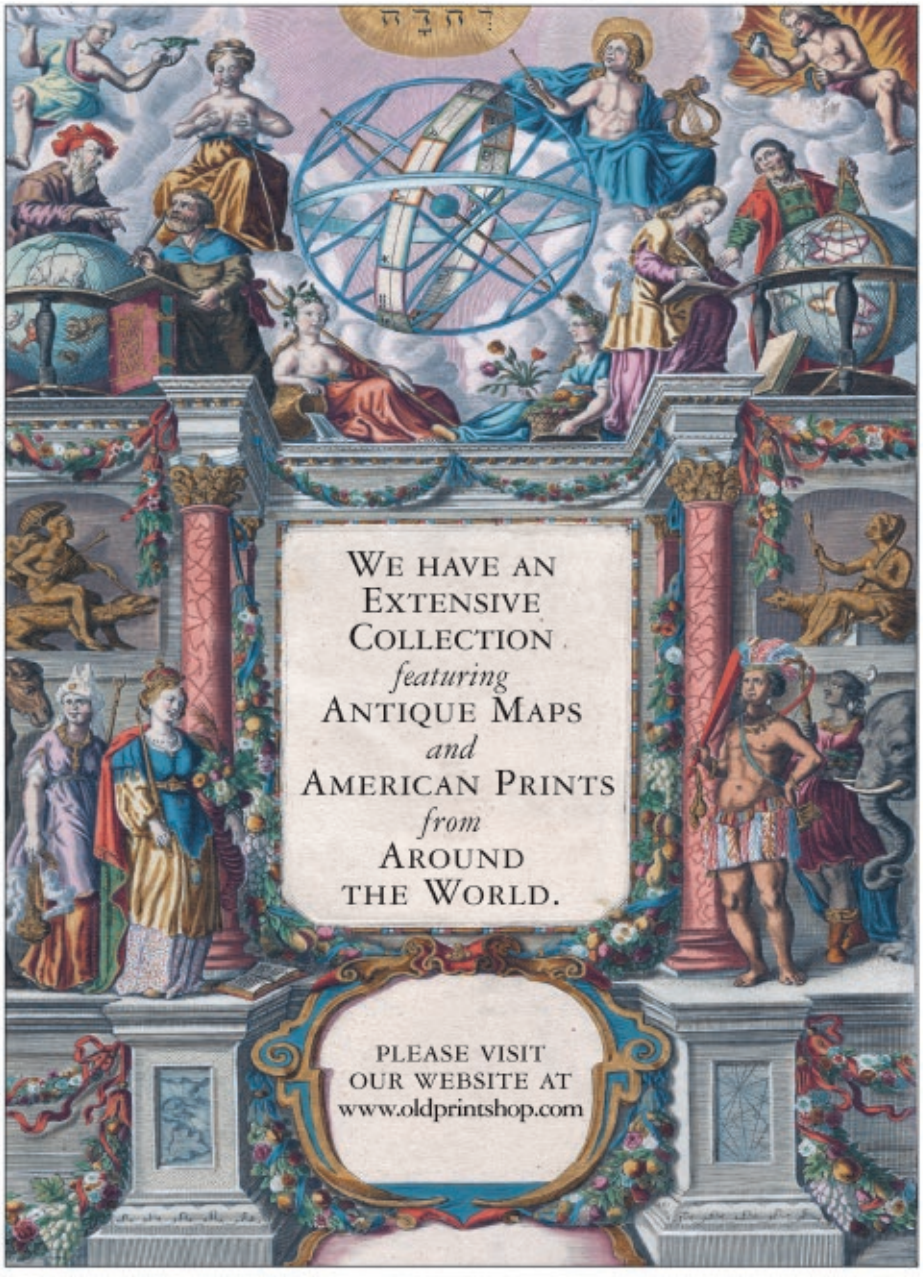
Some of the chartmakers who contributed to this production are particularly noteworthy: the survey work of the navigator Joris Carolus (*c.*1566–*c.*1636) in the Arctic, and Hessel Gerritsz (*c.*1581–1632) in the Caribbean, who, as well, was the official cartographer for the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The chapters are an excellent synthesis of research, much of which was provided by Schilder in his previous publications covering this period.

The use of printed charts on vellum was not, as far as we can tell, as usual as those drawn in MS on vellum, or at least we have far fewer surviving. Because of this scarcity, their existence as a category of map publication has often been overlooked. The authors have rectified this issue and have described the production and their content. There are even a few such charts surviving on the Mercator projection. Contemporaries often labelled these charts in some descriptive way as, for example, 'waxing degree'

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charts rather than, as we would, 'Mercator projection' charts. A good example of this is Willem Janzsoon Blaeu's chart of the Atlantic, 1630, the 'West Indische paskaert waerin de graden der breedde over weder zijden vande middellijn wassende soo vergrooten …' [where the degrees of latitude on both sides of the Equator are progressively extended…]. These charts were used for Atlantic crossings by some discerning navigators, who realised that sailing by them should mean a quicker voyage. On the production side, it is interesting to note that because of the size of the vellum used, extra wide rolling presses were specifically manufactured to print the charts. Some were printed on paper sheets which were then pasted to the vellum to make them more durable during sea voyages There is much to discover in this volume for the generalist as well as for the specialist.

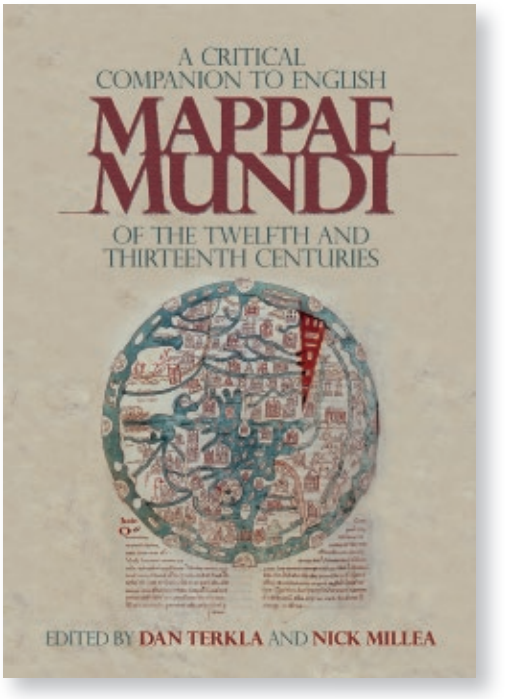
It is always difficult to marry up the catalogue part of such a volume and the history of the period, in this case of Dutch discovery and expansion across the world. Although an online or a CD option might have been thought better for examining the charts in detail, the publication issue remains that online is not necessarily accessible from institutions nor from private owners; nor is it likely to be permanent in the very long term. CDs can easily become corrupted or, indeed, are already inaccessible on computers without a CD drive. A conventional paper publication is probably best in this case to ensure the new information about the charts, with their full-colour illustrations which are at a reasonable size and resolution, remain permanent. Each entry for the 150 charts printed on vellum is in alphabetical order of the publishers and includes valuable carto-bibliographical and geographical descriptions showing the development (or not) of cartographical knowledge through the states listed.

Charts may seem nowadays to be more the province of modern naval professionals and a specialist subject for historians, but in the period 1580–1725 they were esteemed, not just by navigators and the like, but also by interested audiences and other map producers across Europe; so much so that the English and French in particular acquired the charts and copperplates when they could, one way or another, to make their own copies such as the London map publisher John Seller (1632–1697). Thus, this volume should be seen as part of the European cartographical endeavour to map the world.

It will be used extensively by scholars in the fields of early modern history, art history and the history of maps and mapmaking, and navigation, as well as by collectors hoping to find an additional printed chart on vellum. They will be fortunate to do so since this work is the accumulation of forty years of searching the world's public and private collections by Günter Schilder. Although future collectors may strike lucky and add to this catalogue, it is difficult to see how its scholarship can be surpassed, and it will remain a valuable reference work well into the future.

Sarah Tyacke, Chair JB Harley Trust, London

A Critical Companion to English Mappae Mundi of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries *edited by Dan Terkla and Nick Millea. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019. ISBN 9781783274222. HB, xxiv, 314, illus. STG £50. (The publisher is offering IMCoS members a 35% discount. Orders may be placed on its website https://boybrew.co/mappae using the special offer code BB135.)*



This is an interesting book, and an important one. Besides general chapters on manuscripts and maps by Dan Terkla and Michelle P. Brown, with much of interest on the intellectual background at Glastonbury and Durham, and one on digital mapping by Helen

M. Moleiro



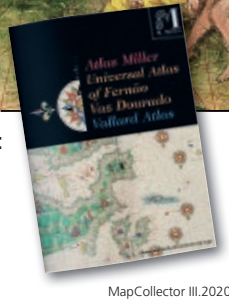
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Davies and Gregory Heyworth, it gives us a detailed chapter on each of seven world-map undertakings: the Munich map by Nathalie Bouloux, the Sawley map by Alfred Hiatt, the Vercelli map by Asa Simon Mittman, Matthew Paris's maps by Daniel K. Connolly, the Psalter map by Chet Van Duzer, the Duchy of Cornwall fragment by Dan Terkla and the Hereford map by Marcia Kupfer. What has been written up to now on each of these maps differs hugely: for the Hereford map we can construct a significant bibliography, for the Sawley map no more than two articles and references in a couple of general works. Here we see them all treated equally in a way reminiscent of Konrad Miller's *Mappaemundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten* (1895–98), and, though Hartmut Kugler's work leaves us with little more that can be said, a case might have been made for including the Ebstorf map with the rest: it seems not much less English than the Munich map.

Their differing historiography gives a different slant to each of the chapters. Thus Mittman's breaks much new ground in discussing the Vercelli map, while Marcia Kupfer describes her account of the Hereford map as an addendum to her insightful *Art and Optics in the Hereford Map* (2016). Inevitably it is in the accounts of the less well explored maps that we particularly find points of especial interest, such as the importance of colour on the Munich map and the relationship between the Sawley and Hereford maps, while the account of the Duchy of Cornwall map, which 'teems with life', is the fullest to have yet appeared. Terkla convincingly suggests that the importance of Glastonbury in the creation of *mappae mundi* has been underestimated and points to the likely significance of wax tablets in transmitting designs. Perhaps less convincing are Marcia Kupfer's doubts over the Hereford map's connection with Lincoln, and Connolly's statement that we know nothing of Robert of Mentley (*de Melckeleia*), author of a world map seen by Matthew Paris, is hardly correct, for he is well recorded in easily accessible sources: a clerk of the king and rector of a parish in Hertfordshire from 1237 until his death in 1271.

But these are tiny details in a book that is full of valuable information and valuable insights. It is to be seen as a standard work of reference that will be read and consulted as basic for many years to come. Editors and authors are to be warmly congratulated on a most impressive achievement.

P.D.A. Harvey, University of Durham

Johann George Schreiber (1676-1750). Kupferstecher und Atlasverleger in Leipzig [Johann George Schreiber (1676-1750). Engraver and atlas publisher in Leipzig] *by Eckhard Jäger. Bad Langensalza: Verlag Rockstuhl, 2019. ISBN: 9783959664301. HB, 96, generously illustrated. €39.95.*



Among map collectors, the engraver and publisher Johann George Schreiber (1676–1750), active from 1718 to 1750 in Leipzig, is mainly appreciated for his small maps, which he published from *c.*1727 in his *Atlas Selectus*. Until now only a few facts were known about his life, and his output of town views and pocket calendars has been largely unexplored. Literature on Schreiber is scant: a study on his views of the German city of Bautzen by Hagen Schulz (Volker Schimpff, Wieland Führ (eds.): *Historia in museo. Festschrift für Frank-Dietrich Jacob zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Langenweißbach, 2004) and an essay about Schreiber's life and work by Marianne and Werner Stams (*Neues Lausitzisches Magazin*, N.F. 7/2004). Eckhard Jäger corrects the lacuna with the first monograph on this prolific cartographer. The author tells the exciting story of a self-made man who succeeded in building what is described as a 'little publishing empire' which was active for at least 150 years.

Although the source material is very limited, Jäger's diligent work sheds new light on Schreiber's life and on the history of his Leipzig publishing house, which after his death became known as *Schreibers Erben* (Schreiber's heirs). By examining his printed works, archival sources (mainly in the archives in Bautzen, Dresden and Leipzig) and the only existing account of Schreiber by a

contemporary in Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* (Bd. 35, Leipzig/Halle 1743), Jäger traces Schreiber's life story, beginning with his first years in his birth town Neusalza-Spremberg where, as the son of a master carpenter, he gained drawing and mathematical skills. Schreiber's first known artistic work is a small panorama of Bautzen (1698) where he was a student at the municipal grammar school. A large city map of Bautzen in the form of a bird's-eye view showing all the buildings of the town followed in 1700. In 1709 he produced another which lays bare the disastrous damage to the city caused by a fire of that year. The 1700 Bautzen view established Schreiber's reputation as a cartographer and led to a commission to map the territory of the *Landstände* (political representatives of the estates of the realm in the German Empire) of Oberlausitz (Upper Lusatia). In 1705 the Duke Elector of Saxony and King of Poland granted Schreiber the printing privilege to publish the map. It was revised around 1709, indicating the language border between the Germans and the Slavic Sorbians who populated the eastern region of the land.

Schreiber's significant period of activity was in Leipzig, where he is traceable from *c.*1709. In 1712 he published a magnificent view of Leipzig market-place. After completing some work for Duke Moritz Wilhelm of Saxony-Zeitz (a bird's-eye view of his residence Moritzburg, 1713; a map of his territory, *c.*1718) he finally established himself in Leipzig as a publisher of atlases. Jäger identifies Schreiber's *Saechsische Post-Charte* of 1727 (soon corrected to *Neue Reise-Charte durch Sachsen*) as the nucleus of his famous small format *Atlas Selectus*. Schreiber then went on to compile the first world atlas ever published in Saxony. The number of maps included in the atlas grew with each new edition. For example, the 1743 edition contained thirty-seven maps. Schreiber also sold the maps separately. The largest edition with maps appeared posthumously *c.*1760. As a valuable supplement to the monograph, Jäger provides a carto-bibliographical catalogue of all the maps of the *Atlas Selectus*.

Beside his atlas maps Schreiber engraved views of historical events, for example the tribute of the city of Leipzig to the new Saxon Elector and King of Poland Friedrich August II in 1733 and high quality Leipzig *vedute* of such as the *Thomaskirchhof*, (*c.*1735); or the street *Im Sack*, where Schreiber worked and lived, (*c.*1746). Jäger also presents Schreiber's lesser known output of pocket calendars which he published from about 1725 and were continued by Schreiber's heirs until *c.*1875. These miniature size calendars (4.5 x 3.5 cm) with text and illustrations were engraved and printed in two colours. From about 1830 onwards they were produced in lithograph technique. Jäger reports on the history of Schreiber's publishing house beyond his death, which was continued by his widow and his nephew Johann Christian Schreiber (*c.*1705–1790) and subsequently by Christian Gottlieb Riedig (1768–1853). Furthermore, he has discovered some interesting references to Schreiber's cartographical oeuvre in late eighteenth-century publications.

It is particularly pleasing that – thanks to the commitment of the publisher Harald Rockstuhl to the project – it is an attractive book, well designed and produced, with a hardcover and generously illustrated in colour throughout. The meticulous reconstruction of Schreiber's life and work is completed with a socio-historical sidenote on the working speed of an engraver, average print runs and prices of maps.

Jäger's book fills a gap in the literature on the history of German maps and mapmaking.

Michael Bischoff, Lemgo/Berlin, Germany

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Observations on Heath's Panorama of Hong Kong Harbour

Thank you for publishing Stephen Davies' article on Heath's Hong Kong views (December 2019 *IMCoS Journal*). It is stimulating to see an Admiralty Chart subjected to such forensic analysis. May I make some observations from my own work on nineteenth-century Admiralty Charts more generally?

1. ***The price 'spike' in 1860.*** The price of 5s.0d. for Chart 1696 was neither an error nor peculiar to that plate, but was part of a general increase in the price of larger-format charts, introduced for the 1860 *Catalogue*. Almost all double-elephant (DE) and half-double-elephant (DE/2) charts, as well as some of the atlas-format (A) and quarter-double-elephant (DE/4) charts, had their prices increased. The prices of 38 among the DE and DE/2 plates from the 1857 *Catalogue* were increased to 5s.0d. in 1860, and 46 DE plates new in the 1860 *Catalogue* were priced from the outset at 5s.0d. It seems that 5s.0d. was treated in 1860 standard for complex plates: W.H. Smyth's 1823 DE/2 views plates of Sicily were, like Heath's Hong Kong, increased from 3s.0d. to 5s.0d. in 1860. The 1860 general price increase was quickly rescinded, and prices reduced in the 1862 *Catalogue*, though not in all cases exactly to pre-1860 levels. Smyth's and Heath's views plates did return to 1857 prices, and Flinders' DE/2 Australia views plates were reduced proportionately from 2s.6d. to 1s.6d.

2. ***Lithography affecting chart pricing generally?*** Prices set for Admiralty Charts in the first half of the nineteenth century reflected the complexity of their engraving or drawing rather than techniques for reproduction and printing. Before standardisation of pricing later in the century, both engraved and lithographed DE/2 charts are found priced anywhere in the range from 6d. to 3s.0d. Chart 634 Table Bay, lithographed by Engelmann in 1827, and heavy with topographical detail, was priced at 2s.0d., while the first (lithographed) DE/2 chart of Six Shilling Channel in the Bahamas was priced in 1830 at 6d.

3. ***Lithography affecting 1860 pricing of Chart 1696?*** The Hydrographic Office pricing of Chart 1696 was not affected (for reasons given in (1) above and (7) below) by the existence of an unofficial lithographed copy, on thin paper folded, of part, at least, of Heath's views. There is, *pace* Adrian Webb, no evidence of any separate Hydrographic Office print run of Heath's views by lithographic transfer on inferior paper. The fact that Hullmandel's unique 1840s album of Wickham and White's coastal recognition views of the north-east coast of Australia, lithographed but not on chart paper, was listed (to supplement sailing directions) in the 'Books, &c.' section of Catalogues, rather than as charts, strengthens the argument.

4. ***Lieut. G.P. Heath.*** In compiling Chart Catalogues, Dunsterville and his clerk(s) were notoriously slipshod in matters of ranks, initials and honours of surveyors. G.P. Heath appears in Catalogues from 1857 onwards, Lieut. G.P. Heath from 1860, as the officer responsible for two surveys in 1852 in the Tonga island group, published as charts 2357 and 2363. The compilers of the 1860 *Catalogue* apparently thought 'L.G.' an error in their 'copy', and so mistakenly attributed the Hong Kong views to 'G.P.', an egregious error which persisted until the chart was cancelled.

5. ***Hydrographer's initials 'FB' in the oval 'seal'.*** Hydrographic Office practice, from Sir Francis Beaufort onwards, was to engrave, in the foot of the oval 'seal' the initials of the Hydrographer in post at the time of publication. These initials remained unchanged throughout the currency of a plate, except only where the addition of conflicting topographical detail required the chart title area (and oval 'seal') to be re-engraved elsewhere on the plate. The continuing presence of 'FB' on Chart 1696 was entirely normal practice, and should not influence any discussion about possible reprinting. From Washington onwards the Hydrographer's name in the imprint line normally matched the initials in the oval. Beaufort was the exception for, following Parry rather than Hurd, he used an impersonal office imprint line, as in Heath's Hong Kong.

6. ***Addition of 'a', 'b' and 'c' to the chart number.*** Following the bibliographer Philip Gaskell's principle to consider 'simplest workshop practice' first, I suggest the sub-numbering was added when the plate was cut in three, for inventory control.

7. ***The unofficial Malby lithograph of 1696b.*** The copy in Jonathan Wattis' hands in 2011 was not on chart paper but on thin paper with fold marks. This suggests very strongly that it had nothing to do with Hydrographic Office printing, issue or sales stock. The firm of Malby & Sons, engravers, lithographers and printers, printed, and latterly also corrected, Admiralty Charts for the Hydrographic Office from 1855 to 1922, for which they

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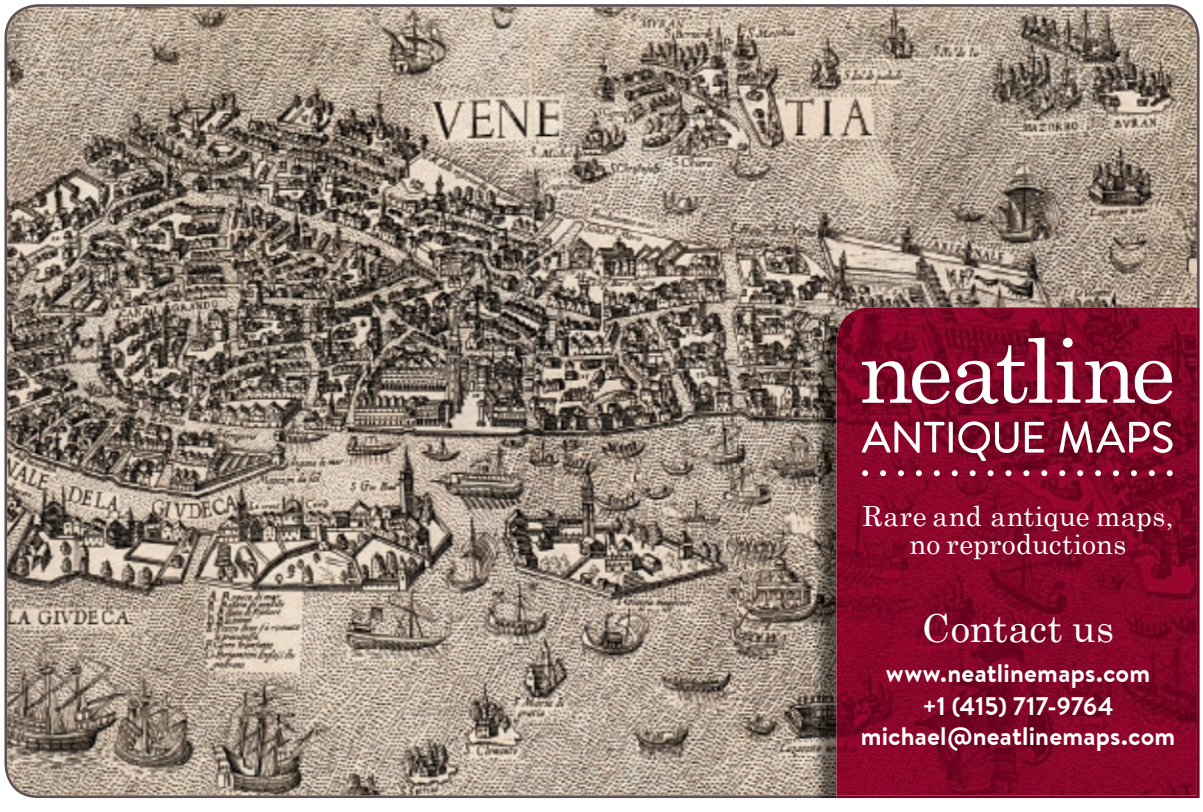
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controlled the inventory of copper plates. They were also prominent among printers used by Government for the supply of large-format graphic material for inclusion in Government publications. Malby is known to have used Admiralty Chart material, by lithographic transfer, to illustrate Parliamentary Papers on Arctic Exploration in search of Franklin, and I think was also the producer of the lithographic copies of composites of Admiralty Charts used to disseminate the 1871 German arbitration award in the British Columbia-United States 'Pig War' boundary dispute in the Strait of Georgia. Most likely the Wattis copy of Heath's view represents a similar use by Malby of Admiralty Chart material, with title etc. modified and Hydrographic Office oval seal duffed out in the lithographic transfer. If the quarto fold pattern of the Wattis thin paper copy is compatible (as it should be) with being tipped, folded, also into a foolscap pamphlet or binding, I suggest that any search for its formal publication might usefully begin in the Hong Kong and China series of British Parliamentary Papers, particularly at the time of the Second Opium War (1859-60).

8. ***Creation of the second set of plates.*** Notwithstanding the suggestion on p. 37, it is clear that the second set of plates is not the product of fresh freehand engraving. Such an exercise would have introduced countless accidental differences, qualifying the product as a completely new work. We should consider instead the methods of mechanical copying available during the life of the plates. Increasing demand for charts led to wear and tear (often literally cracking) of plates. Repeatedly passing dampened paper across the face of an inked engraved plate under pressure on the bed of a rolling press tended over time to burnish fine detail smooth and eventually to distort the plates themselves (see the right side of figure 7 on p. 35). Experiments in mechanical plate copying led to the technique developed in the last decades of the nineteenth century, that of the electrolytic deposition of fresh copper on the silvered surface of a plate to create a duplicate. This is described on p. 6 of B.W. Burton, 'A brief account. of the main processes involved in the production of British Admiralty Charts' (UK Hydrographic Office, Archives, typescript, [1961]). Such a contact method could produce only an exact copy of the layout of the original chart, and was patently *not* used to produce the second set of plates of Heath's views. The critical piece of evidence is the difference in the vertical spacing on plate 1696c between the lower edge of the view and the imprint line/chart number. The Library of Congress copy (pp. 30–31) shows a wider spacing than does the Hong Kong Maritime Museum copy (p. 36). Yet the engraving of the imprint and sales agent lines is clearly the same, even down to 'accidentals' and juxtapositions of characters between lines in both positions. (The clarity of the *IMCoS Journal* illustrations allows this to be seen under strong magnification.) The electrolytic copper-deposition process could not move the imprint line up while retaining its unique characteristics, and we have to consider instead the more modern photogravure process. With photogravure the change in vertical spacing of imprint line and chart number, while maintaining their original engraved image, could be achieved by judicious manipulation of the continuous-tone film positive prior to laydown. This pushes the date of the second set of plates into the twentieth century (i.e. well after the views were withdrawn from public sale), explains why these plates exhibit the same lack of fine detail (sky ruling, etc.) and the same blemishes as late impressions from the original plates, and confirms Adrian Webb's remark (p. 29) about the continued availability until the 1990s of pulls from the plates, presumably for official presentation purposes. One can envisage framed sets of pulls adorning the office walls of senior naval staff in pre-1997 Hong Kong.

9. ***Persistence of Bate's name as chart agent.*** After R.B. Bate's appointment in 1830 as sole agent for Admiralty Charts, chart stocks for sale were hand-impressed below the imprint line with a slug of moveable type giving his name and address. New charts after 1830 were engraved instead with Bate's details in hairline. Pre-1830 chart plates had this line added only when they next required engraver attention for substantive correction or additions. Similarly, after the transfer to Potter in 1850, Potter's name as chart agent began to appear straightaway on new charts, but was changed on pre-existing charts only when they had other occasion to go to engraver. Because Heath's views never required such 'correction', Bate's name has persisted on 1696c engraved in hairline.

10. ***The 1991 re-issue.*** The 1991 Hydrographic Office venture to produce a 'limited edition of 300' of Heath's views was the initiative of Dan Dickens, then owner of Intaglio Editions of Bradninch in Devon. The flyer he sent me includes a sheet noting that 'The edition is hand printed from the original copper plates made in 1847'. This marks a reversion to the original plates, in place of the photogravure substitutes (I have to thank Stephen Davies for pointing this out on reading a draft of this letter). I have yet to discover how many of the 300 hand-coloured sets were sold at £765 '(£900 after 31st May 1992)', a far cry from the 1847 price of 3s.0d.

Andrew S. Cook, St Andrews, Fife

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