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JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

JUNE 2021 No.165 ISSN 0956-5728

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Front cover **Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel, Jorge Reinel, António de Holanda, detail from the manuscript map of the Indian Ocean from the facsimile of *Atlas Miller*. © M. Moleiro Editor (www.moleiro.com)**



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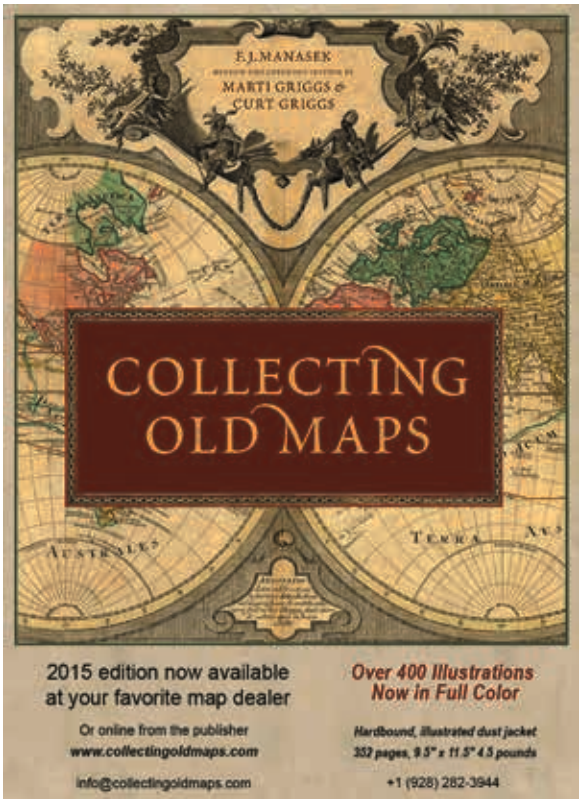
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'Universe Europe Maritime Eiusque Navigationis Descriptio. General Paschaerte van Europa',
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A LETTER FROM THE ACTING CHAIRMAN

Valerie Newby

There are early signs across most sections of international sales departments that the long disruption to trade and commerce is coming to an end. Green shoots are beginning to appear in retail and the international markets across the globe. Banking, industry, tourism and cross border trading is emerging from a year of sluggish and/or near dormancy. Tourism operators and retailers claim the world is desperate to return to travel and shopping. It is easy to apply the same attitudes to the collector sectors and to assume that both map dealers and their customers are eager and prepared to throw up the shutters and open their tills and cheque books. A year of lockdown might have disrupted sales of early maps but it is clear that the enthusiasm of collecting for both dealers and collectors is about to reopen (or even explode) with some enthusiasm and gusto.

History books tell us that in the immediate WW11 post-war years, when many national economies lay in ruins, Phoenix rose from the ashes and a vibrant trade in a kaleidoscope of businesses rose and flooded the markets. London, New York and Far East markets are bracing themselves for the spending spree which inevitably follows a depression. So IMCoS collectors must be prepared for a rush of international sales of early maps and put themselves at the forefront of the boom to come. The map shops which have been closed with the resultant loss of trade will still have had to pay rent and upkeep during lockdown which must have been very difficult. Hopefully they will be able to carry on as before.

Since my last letter to you IMCoS has had phenomenal success with an evening on Zoom for a 'Show and Tell' where members from around the world gave ten minute presentations of their chosen map. The committee members who were involved are to be congratulated on a wonderful evening of maps and entertainment second to none. The hard work and dedication which members of the committee put into getting it up and running is amazing and they are to be admired for their innovation and diligence. The programme reached members in different parts of the world who, up to now, had not been able to participate in many of our events due to distance. We are hoping to hold another similar event later in the year (date to be announced).

Part of our past Chairman Hans Kok's outstanding collection of maps and charts, atlases and books, travelogues and navigation (mainly of the seventeenth century), including hi-res scans, have been donated to the Dutch National Archives in The Hague and will be accessible online sometime in the future. More about this later.

Registration for the IMCoS International Symposium in Brussels on 11–14 October this year is open. You may apply by email to imcos2021brussels@bimcc.org or by post to Mrs Marie-Anne Dage, The Brussels Map Circle, Square Vergote 10, Box 9, 1200 Bruxelles, Belgium.

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Robert Dudley. *The Earliest Printed Chart of the Northeast.* [1647 / 1661]



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Coll. interests: Old India, old Afghanistan

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Peng Han, China
Coll. interests: Star maps

John Hurrell, USA
Coll. interests: Discovery of Australia and its exploration

Paul Kalsbeek, Netherlands
Coll. interests: Netherlands, South Africa

James Morrison, Spain

Alain-Dominique Quintart, Belgium

Brian Speidel, UK
Coll. interests: Miniature maps & atlases

Bob Starrantino, USA
Coll. interests: Europe (continental maps), Belgium, Romania

Grisha Stukalin, UK

Helen Sunderland-Cohen, UK

Gianni Vernetti, Italy
Coll. interests: Cartography of the 16th and 17th century, Ortelius, Asia, Tibet, Holy Land, islands

Marijn van Zundert, Belgium
Coll. interests: Brabant, Zeeland

EDITORIAL

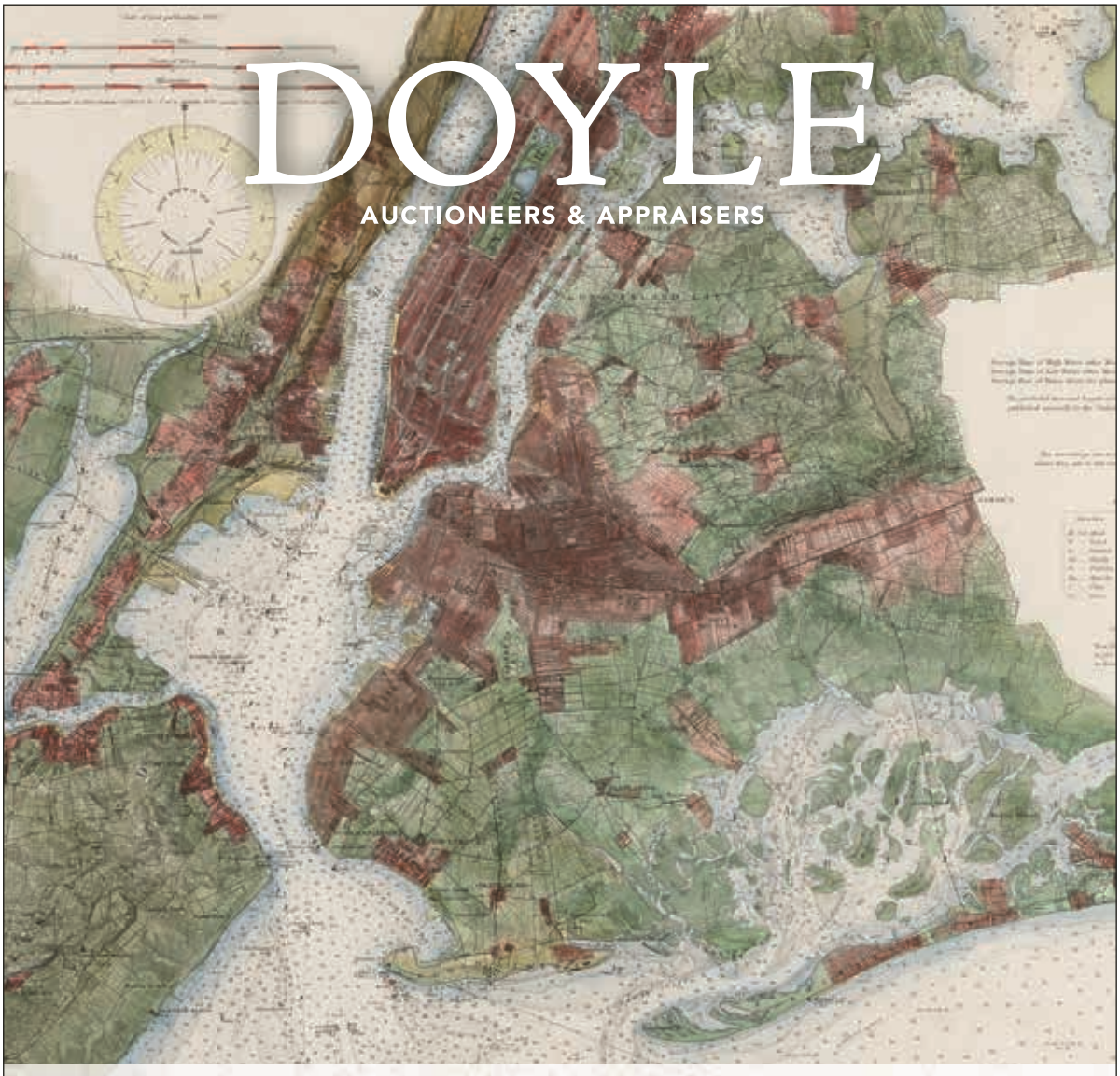
Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

For a recent promotional email map dealer Jonathan Potter took as his theme 'road maps', writing that the expression '*road map' has recently acquired new meaning in current affairs, most recently as in 'to releasing lockdown', 'road map to peace' and so on. Not surprisingly we are reminded to offer some of our road maps.* Probably, like many of us, he too was weary of hearing it in the context of the great plan forward to save us from the pandemic and wished that its currency might rapidly decline and fall out of general use. In the meantime, as an antidote to the ubiquity of an expression that has come to be associated with a period of global suffering, Jonathan drew our attention back to a happy diversion: real road maps intended for guiding travellers to their destinations and for map enthusiasts to collect.

Needless to say, exemplars of John Ogilby's work figured prominently on his website. Ogilby was a man of many parts – dancer, impresario, soldier, poet, secret agent and lastly, as a septuagenarian, 'Cosmographer and Geographic Printer' to Charles II – though he is probably best known to collectors as the creator of elegant strip maps, an example of which I suspect a good number of IMCoS members own. His atlas *Britannia, an Illustration of the Kingdom of England Dominion of Wales: By a geographical and historical DESCRIPTION of the principal ROADS thereof*, published in 1675, a year before his death, was the first road atlas of England and Wales. Eighty-five itineraries were designed to illustrate the nation's post roads in a pre-turnpike era, providing Charles and his court a detailed, surveyed record of around 7,500 miles of road and roadside features.

The project was an immense and costly undertaking. Ogilby spared no expense in making a cartographic treasure, a marriage of science and art befitting his king, and the maps he assured Charles, who was supporting the project, would improve the nation's economy.

Britannia's format is novel: a system of scrolls guides the reader from one destination, often London, to a designated town. Roads are presented in a vertical manner, expressed by double black lines or 'prick'd lines' to denote a hedge. Distances are marked in miles alongside the road at a scale of approximately one inch to the mile and are accompanied by waymarkers such as fields, hills and forests, as well as manmade features such as bridges, churches and windmills. Forks in the road and appropriate turnings are also indicated, and supplemented by the detailed itineraries. Each strip has an accompanying compass rose to register changes of orientation, a decorative cartouche contains the description of the route, and vignettes of rural life and mythological scenes contribute to the attractiveness of Ogilby's maps to collectors.



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RECENTLY DISCOVERED

Three eighteenth-century manuscript maps of Exeter by William Chapple

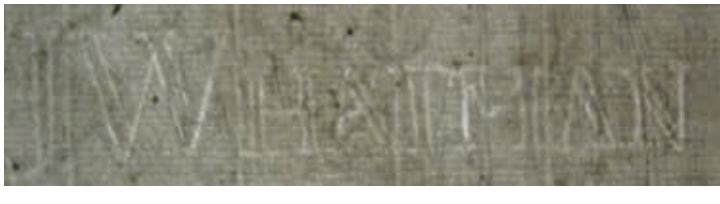
Ian Maxted

Exeter historian Todd Gray has been having a field day in discovering previously unknown maps of Exeter. Hot on the heels of his acquisition at auction of the hitherto only known copy of A PLATFORME OF THE CITY OF EXOИ [*sic*], an Exeter pewterer's strangely archaic map of the city, perhaps engraved on a pewter plate, which was reported in *William Birchynshaw's map of Exeter, 1743* (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2019) and reviewed in a recent issue of *IMCoS Journal* (No. 161, June 2020) he has now discovered no fewer than three maps of Exeter. These probably date from the 1770s, and were hidden in a scrapbook of Exeter surveyor and topographer William Chapple. Partial images were shown in the Devon Live[1] website on 8 February 2021 which announced their discovery. They are contained in a volume with the cover title: 'Nr 5. Manea curiosa et antiqua: draughts, plans &c' held in the Devon Heritage Centre in Exeter (reference 2610M/F3). These maps are much more professional than the efforts of William Birchynshaw and, rather than hearkening back to John Hooker's bird's-eye view of 1587, are more in the tradition of John Rocque's finely engraved 'Plan de la ville et faubourgs d'Exeter' of 1744, and of Benjamin Donn's map 'A plan of the city and suburbs of Exeter' of 1765, which seems to draw much of its detail from Rocque.

It is clear that map 3 was intended for publication and map 1 appears to have served as a source for the engraver. Map 2 may have been intended as the basis of a printed map covering a wider area but both projects seem to have been abandoned, probably curtailed by Chapple's sickness and death.

There is much more detail in the depiction of open areas behind the street frontages, which are normally ignored within the city walls by Rocque and Donn. This is probably influenced by his work as an estate surveyor. The areas where the cloth drying racks were laid out near the river are shown simply as single lines, rather than as Roque's and Donn's more visual depictions; but whether they reflect more accurately the numbers of racks it is difficult to say. The depiction of the 'tenter racks' on these eighteenth-century maps provide a striking image of the importance of the textile industry to Exeter, even though it was in decline in that period. There is some discrepancy between map 1 and map 3. For example, some





Figs. 1 and 2 Map 1 is untitled and measures 255 x 230 mm. The scale is approximately 1:7 450. It is executed in pen and ink with some pencil annotations and the open spaces behind the street frontages in sepia. It was sketched diagonally on a sheet of paper with a 'J Whatman' watermark. Courtesy Devon Heritage Centre (DRO:2610M/F3/folio 96).



Fig. 3 Map 2, also untitled, measures 230 x 185 mm and covers a wider area on a smaller scale of approximately 1:7 850. It is also executed in pen and ink with a small paste-on in the centre with the edges marked by pencilled crosses. There is no watermark. Courtesy Devon Heritage Centre (DRO:2610M/ F3/folio 97).

alleyways on the north side of the High Street are omitted and the engraver has elaborated the areas behind the frontages, showing carefully laid out gardens in some instances.

Map 2 is more detailed than Donn's one-inch map of 1765 and includes the earliest mention of Blackboy Road, a name under some discussion during the Black Lives Matter protests.

Although he lived in Cathedral Close, Exeter, and worked for the Devon and Exeter Hospital, these are the first maps of the city by Chapple to be discovered. Margery Rowe and Mary Ravenhill in their *Devon maps and mapmakers: manuscript maps before 1840* (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2002) list the following Devon maps and plans by Chapple:

1/4/1 A Map of so much of Higher Broomham, or Reynolds's Tenement, (the Lands of Sir William Courtenay Bart) as shews the Ancient and present Way from thence thro' the Lands of Mr Coffin to Alpington church etc. Taken 1748.

1/4/2 A General Map shewing all the publick Roads that lead to the Barn Close […] part of Higher Broomham or Reynolds's Tenement in ye Manor of Alphington (the Lands of Sir William Courtenay Bart) […]. 1749.



Fig. 4 Map 3 has a pencilled title 'A map or plan of the city of Exeter'. It appears to be a working proof of a map which has been engraved on a copperplate of 280 x 250 mm. The map itself measures 249 x 221 mm, at a scale 1:7 450. There are annotations in pencil and ink and a space is left blank, probably awaiting the text of a key to major streets and buildings. There is no watermark.
Courtesy Devon Heritage Centre (DRO:2610M/F3/folio 98).

1/4/4 [Untitled map showing Bliss's tenement and Vinnicombe's tenement, Alphington], c.1750.

1/4/10 [Untitled map of Alphington made as the result of a view to ascertain the 'Claims of the Landscores belonging to each Tenement'], 1761.

8/21/1 A Map of the whole Ground belonging to the abovementioned Tenements [in Honiton], Survey'd Janry 11th 1748[/9] by Wm Chapple.

8/21/2 A map shewing the several Incroachments made by Mr Thomas Clarke, on the Lands of Sir William Courtenay in the Borough and Manor of Honiton 1750.

8/21/3 A plan of two Tenements in the Borough of Honiton the Lands of John Tuckfield Esq; & Mrs E Hillson […] Survey'd & Mapp'd in 1754.

11/4/2 Courtenay estate atlas of eleven maps, 1747–1759:

1. A map of the Demense of Powderham Castle with the Marsh adjoining the same.
2. A Map of the South Part of Powderham Manor.
3. A map of Exwell Barton.
4. A Map of the North Part of Powderham Manor.
5. A Map of the North East Part of Kenton Manor.
6. A Map of the South East Part of Kenton Manor.
7. A Map of the South and Middle Part of Kenton Manor.
8. A Map of the North and Middle Part of Kenton Manor.
9. A Map of the South West Part of Kenton Manor.
10. A Map of the North West Part of Kenton Manor.
11. A Map of Bond's Estate near Halldown and Wieke [and on the same sheet another map showing part of the Exe estuary and Dawlish Warren].

5/11/1 A view of the lakes, sands, & oister-fishery on the Exmouth side of the river Exe; from Chickstone on the south to Darling's Rock on the north taken July 1743.

19/17/1 A map of Topsham-harbour within the port of Exeter, shewing the coast and distinguishing the villages and creeks of each side from Topsham to Exmouth […], 1757.

The last two plans probably also result from Chapple's work for the Courtenay family at Powderham: they had extensive estates on the west bank of the Exe estuary, and there is also a further manuscript map of the Exe estuary, not included by Rowe and Ravenhill, of which there is a photograph in the Westcountry Studies Library: 'A plan of the harbour of Exmouth […] for […] Sir William Courtenay', 1743.

The scrapbook also contains some other maps and plans, mostly by Chapple. An untitled map of the country between Chagford and Moretonhampstead was clearly traced from Benjamin Donn's one-inch map of 1765 and there is also 'A plan of the Devon and Exeter Hospital at Exon' engraved in 1741 and a manuscript plan entitled: 'A Plan of the Ground belonging to the Devon and Exeter Hospital' dated 8 June 1744. Of interest are also Chapple's surveys with historical notes of ancient monuments in Devon. These include 'A Plan of Berry Castle near Queen-Dart in Witheridge […]' Measured Sept 9th 177[3?]. 'Berry Castle in the Parish of Woolfardisworthy & Hundred of Witheridge', survey'd Septr 9th 1773, and 'A Plan of the Parish Church of Moretonhampstead, Devon'; taken 25th & 26th July 1775. What might the other vanished scrapbooks have contained?

William Chapple

William Chapple (1718–1781) is an interesting character, who merits an entry in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* where he is described as a topographer. He was born at Witheridge, North Devon. After a difficult childhood, during which he was largely self-taught, he was, through the intercession of a local clergyman in 1738 engaged as a clerk by John Richards (1690–1778), a builder and surveyor of land and buildings in Exeter who also worked for the Corporation of Exeter between 1744 and 1760 on the 'Sett of Maps or Charts, of all the Lands and Tenements belonging to the Chamber of Exon' which make up the Chamber map book (Devon Record Office ECA Book 58, Rowe and Ravenhill 5/3/28-54).

Following the decision to erect the new Devon and Exeter Hospital in Southernhay, John Richards designed the building, and Chapple was engaged to superintend the works. When the building was completed in 1743 Chapple was appointed the hospital's secretary, an office he held until his death.

In 1747 Chapple married Elizabeth Pollard, the niece of his employer John Richards, in Exeter Cathedral.

For twenty years, from about 1743 to the 1760s, Chapple acted as steward to the Devon estates of the Courtenay family of Powderham Castle, and most of his highly accomplished estate maps and plans and elevations are linked with this office. They are now in the Devon Heritage Centre as part of the Courtenay archives.

As well as being qualified as a surveyor, Chapple was also well-known as a mathematician. He appears to have gained much of his knowledge from John Ward's

The Young Mathematician's Guide, first published in 1706. Early in his life he was a regular contributor to *The Ladies' Diary*, especially concerning mathematical problems. This almanac, established in 1704 and continuing to 1840, covered many scientific and mathematical topics and attracted contributions from leading mathematicians. *The mathematical questions, proposed in the Ladies' Diary, and their original answers: together with some new solutions, from its commencement in the year 1704–1816* were gathered together by Thomas Leybourn and published under that title in four volumes in 1817. Chapple's mathematical discoveries were mostly in the field of plane geometry.

In 1749 he published the first known proof of the existence of the orthocentre of a triangle, the point where the three perpendiculars from the vertices to the sides meet. The orthocentre itself was known previously, but Chapple writes that its existence was 'often taken for granted, but nowhere demonstrated'.

He was also one of the earliest mathematicians to calculate the values of annuities, learning of the problems involved through his correspondence with fellow mathematicians John Rowe (1726–1776) and Thomas Simpson (1710–1761), the latter also a contributor to *The Ladies' Diary*. He carried out this type of valuation for the Courtenay estates and was one of the first mathematicians to work on this problem. This expertise did not however prevent him from being drawn into an unpleasant dispute, conducted in an Exeter pamphlet war, in which his probity and competence as a land steward were questioned. One of Chapple's expostulations bears the title *Calumny Confuted ... being a true account of the author's proceedings relative to the subject of a late dispute (in respect to the valuation of an estate), with a vindication of his conduct and veracity from the scandalous misrepresentations ... of the disappointed Doctor* [i.e. John Andrew, M.D.], which was printed in Exeter by Barnabas Thorn in 1761. The Courtenays however continued to support him and, when ill health obliged him to resign as steward, he was granted an annuity which reverted to his wife and daughter on his death.

In retirement Chapple continued to devote himself to the antiquarian researches for which he is best remembered. In 1772 he issued proposals for publishing by subscription *A Correct Edition of Risdon's Survey of Devon*. This early seventeenth-century 'chorographical description' by the antiquary Tristram Risdon had remained in manuscript until a mangled version was issued in two parts in 1714 by the disreputable London publisher Edmund Curll. After a few sheets of his correct edition had been printed Chapple received so much previously unknown manuscript material that he realised that a simple reprint of Risdon would be inadequate, so he decided to undertake instead *A review of Risdon's survey freed from the defects and dislocations of Curll's edition, with additions and notes*. He circulated a questionnaire throughout Devon, soliciting information which brought in yet more material. But he was plagued by sickness and after a painful illness he died in 1781 and was buried in St Mary Major, near his home in the Cathedral Close.

His *Review* was unfinished but the earliest sheets printed were finally published in 1785, four years after Chapple's death, with the title *Review of part of Risdon's survey of Devon; containing the general description of that county; with corrections, annotations, and additions*. 'By the late William Chapple, of Exeter'. Pages 1–116 and 125–144 were printed by Richard Thorn in Exeter for J. Fletcher in Oxford, Messrs Merrill in Cambridge and T. Davies and W. Shropshire in London. It consists of Risdon's text edited by Chapple, with on each page extensive 'notes and additions' which considerably exceed Risdon's text in length. The preface contains a memoir of Chapple by an unknown author and there is a list of the patient subscribers. Chapple's working copy of the review was purchased by the Westcountry Studies Library and deposited in the Devon Record Office (DRO 3590). It is a volume, dating from around 1780, of parallel paste-ups of Curll's editions of Risdon's *Chorographical description or survey of the county of Devon* (1714) and *Continuation of the survey of Devonshire* (1714) together with manuscript annotations and proofs of unpublished sections of the *Review*, including pages 145–168. A further copy in the Westcountry Studies Library has pages 169–84, found nowhere else. It was the copy owned by the bibliographer of Devon, James Davidson, who writes 'They were never published and were given to me by Mr Penny, bookseller of Exeter who purchased them among some waste paper'.

Other of Chapple's manuscripts were purchased from his daughter by Sir Robert Palk, patron of the literary critic Samuel Badcock who sorted them, intending to use them as the basis of a much-needed county history. He described them as 'a monument to the laudable and industrious researches of William Chapple' in a letter to fellow antiquarian and Member of Parliament Sir George Younge, quoted by the historian of Devon Richard Polwhele. But Badcock

too died, leaving the work still unfinished. Chapple's manuscripts were initially preserved in the Palk Library, Haldon House, near Exeter, Devon, but are now lost. The precise provenance of the scrapbook compiled by William Chapple between about 1740 and 1776 relating largely to the archaeology and history of Devon which contains the three maps has not yet been ascertained.

Notes

1 https://www.devonlive.com/news/devon-news/ancient-maps-exeter-unseen-centuries-4955237. Accessed 18 April 2021.

Ian Maxted was Assistant Keeper at Guildhall Library, London from 1968 to 1976 and County Local Studies Librarian for Devon from 1977 to 2005. He is the author of books and articles on the book history of Devon, Normandy and London, and maintains the Exeter working papers in book history (https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/) and Devon bibliography websites (https://devon-bibliography.blogspot.com/).







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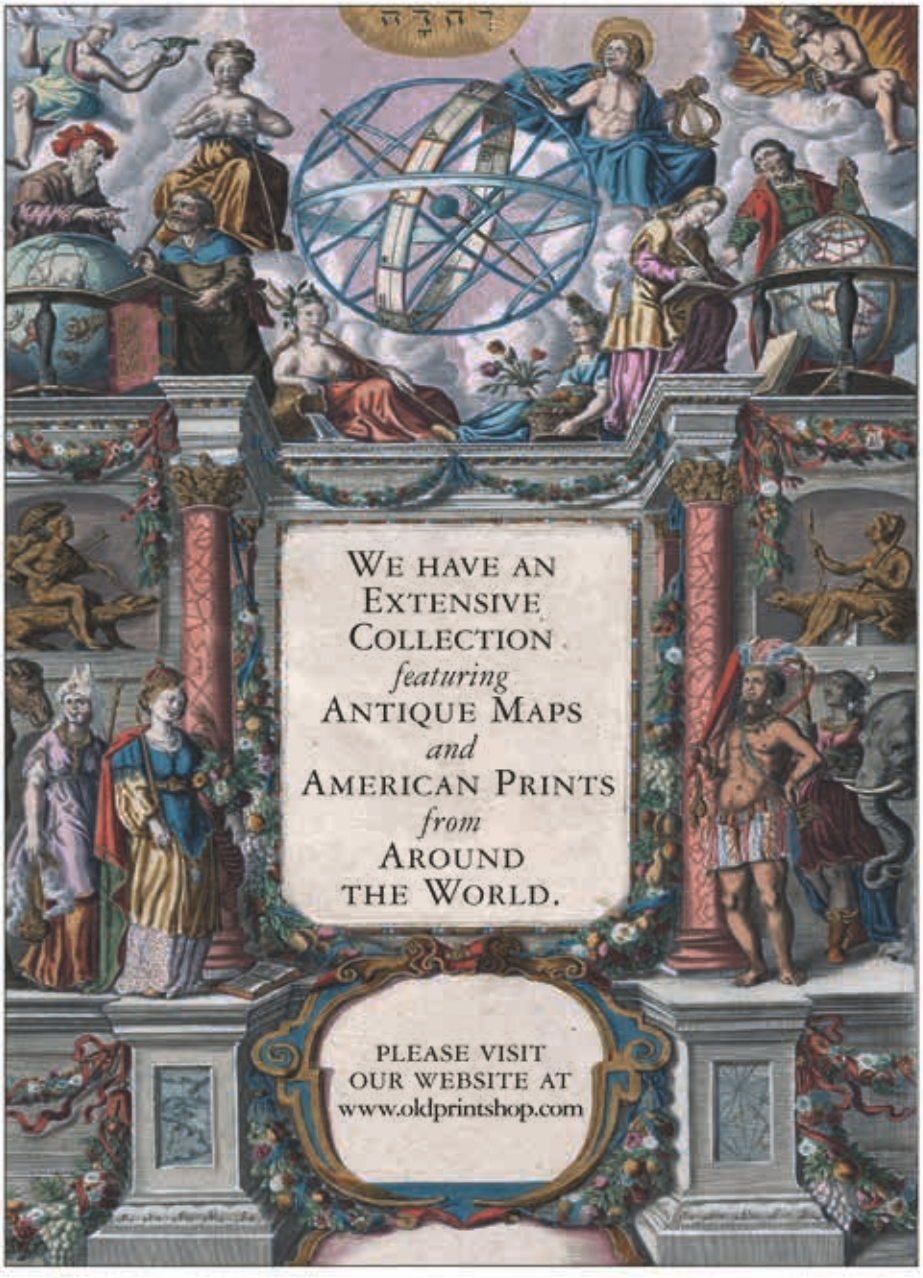
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THE *ATLAS MILLER* (1519–1522)

A Trojan horse against Magellan's project

Alfredo Pinheiro Marques

In 2003–2006, crown jewel of the Département des Cartes et Plans of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) – a celebrated nautical atlas of the world, familiarly known as the *Atlas Miller* of 1519–1522,[1] – was published in Barcelona as a facsimile by the publishing house of Manuel Moleiro. For an accompanying volume,[2] I wrote four essays: a summary of the origin and chronology of Portuguese geographic discoveries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; an overview, with some radical new developments resulting from those discoveries of the origins and evolution of Portuguese cartography, including its first family 'school', i.e. the Reinel school; an in-depth study of the geographic and geopolitical content of the *Atlas*, revealing the nature and reasons why such an ostentatiously luxurious atlas was made; a study of its lavish decoration, and new information on the identity of the artist, the Luso-Flemish illuminator António de Holanda.[3] Also Luís Filipe Reis Thomaz, leading specialist on the Portuguese presence in the Far East regions, contributed to the volume with a fifth essay. And a sixth essay, authored by both of us, covers the regional maps which are accompanied by an appendix containing transcriptions of the toponyms.[4]

With global celebrations underway commemorating the quincentennial of the first circumnavigation by Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastián Elcano, it is an opportune time to address the close and inextricable relationship between this voyage and the celebrated *Atlas* preserved in Paris. I will present a final summary of my findings regarding the *Atlas*' curious and sensational geographical and geopolitical aspects and revisit the motivation, preparation and destination of this extremely lavish 'map [intended] to deceive navigators'.[5]

Ideas that were considered novel in the 2006 studies have, in the intervening years, become universally accepted.[6] The decisive moment was when the BnF changed the identification, reference, file and the titles of the *Atlas* in its catalogues and exhibitions. It added the name of the illuminator António de Holanda to its list of the authors and identified them as 'Atlas by Lopo Homem [with Pedro Reinel, Jorge Reinel, and António de Holanda]'.[7]

In its current state the *Atlas Miller*, so called after Clément Miller from whose estate it was acquired in 1897 (ref.: GE DD 683 [2-5 RES]), is a set of separate parchment folios. Five measure 42 × 59 cm. These include the world map which has the frontispiece on the reverse with mention of Lopo Homem and the date,[8] and four folios which have charts on both sides depicting the geographical areas of the Indian Ocean north and south, the China Sea, the Moluccas, Brazil and the South Atlantic Ocean, North Atlantic and northern Europe.

They are complemented by a larger fifth 'folio' (about 61 × 118 cm) made up of two parchments stuck together back-to-back (ref.: GE AA 640 [RES]). The Atlantic Ocean is depicted on the recto and the Mediterranean on the reverse. Based on the crease folds it was concluded that all these folios had once been part of the same set (the world map and the four regional maps had been folded in half and the larger 'folio' had been folded in four with the upper and lower edges turned back). They were bound together to make a kind of 'atlas' that measured approximately 42 × 30 cm. At an unknown date it was disassembled, after which the folio depicting Africa disappeared. Moreover, and significantly, even though this 'atlas' or collection sought to represent the entire planet, the pages that should have depicted the other side of the world, between the Far East ('*Magnus Golfus Chinarum*') and the New World (Brazil), were left incomplete (one of them only has the wind rose lines and the other is entirely blank).

The *Atlas* is richly decorated, painted in the style of a Flemish book of hours by Flemish miniaturist António de Holanda,[9] about whom little is known.[10] We know he was entrusted as royal heraldic official[11] and had married into the family of the cartographer Lopo Homem.

The *Atlas* as a whole – not just its 'Neo-Ptolemaic' world map, which is dated and signed – but the regional portolan charts also date from 1519 to *c.* 1522.[12]



Fig. 1 Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel, Jorge Reinel, António de Holanda, *Atlas Miller*, 1519–1522, Lisbon, 41.5 × 59 cm. From the facsimile © M. Moleiro Editor (www.moleiro.com). Map of the Indian Ocean.



Fig. 2 Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel, Jorge Reinel, António de Holanda, *Atlas Miller*, 1519–1522, Lisbon, 41.5 × 59 cm. From the facsimile © M. Moleiro Editor (www.moleiro.com). Detail of the map of the South Atlantic and Brazil with indigenous people collecting brazilwood.

Why was the atlas made?

In 1519, on the orders of King Manuel I of Portugal (r. 1495–1521), the cartographers Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel and Jorge Reinel, along with the illuminator António de Holanda who had recently come to Portugal, created this lavish atlas of nautical maps. Decorated as though it was a Flemish book of hours, it was intended for the young Flemish princess Leonor who became the Queen of Portugal on her marriage to Manuel I in the previous year. Leonor, the eldest child of Philip of Austria and Joanna of Castile and the sister of Charles V, was nineteen years old at the time.[13] She was widowed three years later and left Portugal in 1523 and, in my opinion, took with her the unfinished *Atlas*.[14]

The very fact that the *Atlas* was left unfinished with pages 20 and 21 yet to be completed is definitive proof that Manuel I never intended it to be sent as a state gift to some European dignitary such as the King of France or the Pope.[15]

It has been my view since 2005–2006 that the*Atlas* is a deliberate geographical deception, designed as a lavish tool for diplomatic and geopolitical counter-information. It was expressly commissioned to try and thwart the idea that the Earth could be circumnavigated and thus prevent the project that at precisely the same time, during 1519, was being prepared in Seville by Ferdinand Magellan. A voyage to reach the Far East by sailing via the western hemisphere (later assigned to Spain by the Treaty of Tordesillas) was the longstanding dream of Columbus and the Castilians. Portugal was determined to refute Columbus's plan to reach India by sailing westward. The diplomatic and political aspects of its creation and the purpose for which Manuel I commissioned it were clear: to influence his young and highly-regarded brother-in-law, Charles V, who in 1519 was a new monarch recently arrived from Flanders, King of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon (and hence King of Spain), and shortly thereafter elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Portuguese intended to:

> *use the Atlas Miller as a tool for geo-strategic, geopolitical and diplomatic misinformation, trying to make the Castilians – esteemed neighbours, rival siblings and cordial competitors – believe two things. First, they tried to make the Castilians believe that it*



Fig. 3 Garcia Fernandes (attributed), *Portrait of King Manuel and Queen Leonor, c.* 1521–1541. Oil on board 210 × 165 cm. Reproduced by kind permission of Museu de São Roque/Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa. The painting is traditionally considered to represent King Manuel's third marriage to Leonor, sister of Emperor Charles V, in 1518, but which in fact might represent their entry into Lisbon, pregnant, in 1521.

was more than very difficult to reach the Orient (India, Malacca, China, Japan [which they called Cipango] and the Moluccas) via the western route. The Castilians had known this since Columbus' time, but were still trying to get there, showing increasing insistence and stubbornness and using Portuguese navigators such as João Dias de Solis in the Gulf of Mexico (1508–1509) and the River Plate (1515–1516). The Portuguese worked hard to make the Castilians think this plan was simply impossible because the New World was a continent, because the land on the planet was too big and continuous, and the seas too small and closed. As the prophet Esdras and Bishop Jacob Pérez of Valencia said (and Pacheco repeated), there was seven times as much land as there was water, and there was consequently no way of sailing west to the Orient. Secondly, they tried to make the Castilians believe that the Cape route to India – the Portuguese southeast African route that was diplomatically safeguarded by the Luso-Castilian Treaty of Tordesillas and was therefore unchallengeable and unchallenged by Portugal's neighbours – was a very easy one. It [the distance] was short – very short in fact, since Africa itself was also small – and India was just around the corner after rounding the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, the subject was closed and India was in safe hands. Consequently, it would be better if Charles V and the Castilians gave up and concentrated on marrying their princesses – one after another – to the old "King of Pepper" and Master of the Cape Route.[16]

Manuel's commission was made to counter Magellan's voyage and Magellan's voyage made to counter the *Atlas*. This is particularly noticeable in the 'world map which was made deliberately "fake" by its authors'.[17] The map shows a world in which all the seas have been joined together into a kind of great lake at the centre of the Earth. The land mass has been disproportionally enlarged. This is a concept influenced by Ptolemy, a strange Neo-Ptolemaic type which was, at the time of making the map, anachronistic and archaic. It is particularly surprising and strange that it appeared in Portuguese cartography which had never been especially influenced by Ptolemy. Much to the contrary, Portuguese mapmakers had been the most pioneering and geographically accurate with regard to portolan charts of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean regions and, for decades, had contributed more than any others towards overcoming Ptolemaic concepts.[18]

This strange vision of the cosmos was defended by seasoned sea captain and navigator, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, who had been employed as official geographer to King João II and, in 1494, served him at the signing of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Pereira subsequently served his successor, King Manuel. In his work entitled *De Situ Orbis*[19] he surprisingly supported



precisely this concept – and for the same reasons.[20]

Controversies over the paradoxical enigma of the 'fake' nature of the world map raged for decades amongst some of the most renowned historians of map history such as Giuseppe Caraci, Armando Cortesão, Marcel Destombes, Albert Kammerer, Edward

Fig. 4 Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel, Jorge Reinel, António de Holanda, *Atlas Miller*, 1519, Lisbon, 41.5 × 59 cm. From the facsimile © M. Moleiro Editor (www.moleiro.com). World map with Ptolemaic influences (the seas as a lake surrounded by the land), showing Portugal's hemisphere according to the Treaty of Tordesillas.


INDIA
EXTRA
L I M A
PARIOCO · INSVLA
MAGNVS SINVS
TERCI
CIRCVLVS CAN
LIMA PR IM
CIRCVLVS E Q V
TOCOSAN NVS · F ·
SADVS · F ·
PHASIVS · F ·
ARABS · F ·
CHIIS



Fig. 5 Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel, Jorge Reinel, António de Holanda, *Atlas Miller*, 1519–1522, Lisbon, 41.5 × 59 cm. From the facsimile © M. Moleiro Editor (www.moleiro.com). Fictitious map of the recently reached overseas regions of the Far East, with the 'land of the *Chins*', Japan as a large rectangular island, and a sea that is impossible to circumnavigate.

Heawood, etc.[21] Some found it difficult to understand and explain the extremely strange and very surprising way in which this geographical masterpiece managed to contain, side-by-side in happy coexistence, as though there was no contradiction at all, a curious world map and a series of regional maps which, in terms of their geographical aspects, were simply typical portolan charts in the manner of Pedro Reinel. However, historians – such as Marcel Destombes and Armando Cortesão – accepted that the world map was real and coeval, that it had once been included in the same codex with the regional maps and had been made by the same authors linked to the production and decoration of the regional portolan charts.

The debate was finally resolved in 2005–2006 in Coimbra and Barcelona with the publication of my research. It was agreed that the geographical content – relating to the (non-) circumnavigability of the Earth, the *Terra Austral* and the (fantastic and totally false) geography of the Far East – was deliberately erroneous and that the 'Neo-Ptolemaic' form was intended to disguise this deception.[22]

The Portuguese had perpetuated this disinformation throughout the reign of the 'Fortunate' King Manuel. It was evident in the work of Pereira, *c.* 1505–1508, in his [*Esmeraldo*] *De Situ Orbis* [23] and in Duarte Galvão's beautifully illuminated *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques,* a vernacular chronicle of Afonso Henriques, first king of Portugal, commissioned by Manuel I.[24] On the frontispiece of a 1519 copy of the manuscript is a small terrestrial globe flanked by two angels; it shows Portugal's hemisphere according to the Treaty of Tordesillas. The globe is edged with a continuous land mass depicting a Ptolemaic rendering of the world similar to the *Atlas Miller* world map. I identified the artwork in 1993–1994 and attributed it to António de Holanda at the same time as identifying him as the artist responsible for the *Atlas Miller* world map.[25 / 26]

In 2005–2006 I published that this very same geographic and geopolitical counter-information disseminating from Portugal[27] resulted in a surprising shift in the evolution (or perhaps it would be better to say 'in the strange regression') of the geography in Martin Waldseemüller's celebrated maps: from the famous 1507 map[28] and the extremely influential map dating from 1513[29] to the intriguing 'Carta Marina Navigatoria Portugallen[sia] Navigationes…' dating from 1516,[30] in which the great cartographer who had always been heavily influenced by the Portuguese, surprisingly reversed course and did a volte-face with





Fig. 6 Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel, Jorge Reinel, António de Holanda, *Atlas Miller*, 1519–1522, Lisbon, 41.5 × 59 cm. From the facsimile © M. Moleiro Editor (www.moleiro.com). The map of Insulindia with Malacca, the Moluccas Islands and the legend alluding to them.

regard to his earlier pioneering work, from 1507, which depicted a separate New World. This was the same geopolitical deception that Pacheco Pereira and Portuguese cartographers were promoting immediately prior to the Magellan-Elcano voyage.[31]

The *Atlas* represents the last Portuguese attempt to try and thwart the Castilian project to sail to Asia via the west. The project had been conceived by Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli and Fernão Teles de Meneses in 1474,[32] and was subsequently appropriated and attempted by Christopher Columbus in 1492–1493 on behalf of Castile. He failed to reach the coveted Spice Islands, instead stumbling on the Americas.[33] The final and definitive attempt was being prepared in 1519 in Seville for the Crown of Castile by a Portuguese team: Ferdinand Magellan, who had been spurned by Portugal and went to serve the neighbouring kingdom in 1517; Rui Faleiro principle scientific organiser, and the cartographers Jorge Reinel and Diego Ribeiro. The expedition was commanded by Magellan, a veteran of the Far East where he had been with the Portuguese captain Afonso de Albuquerque and others. He took with him dozens of Portuguese crew members (some of whom disguised their nationality) and, of the pilots who accompanied him, most were Portuguese: João Lopes de Carvalho, João Serrão, Estêvão Gomes, Álvaro de Mesquita, Duarte Barbosa, Vasco Galego. The fleet of five old and repaired ships set sail in 1519 and, after incredible effort and determination, discovered the Magellan Strait, traversed the Pacific Ocean and reached the Philippines, where the commander was killed in a chance encounter with local people. Of the five ships that set out only *Victoria*, now captained by Juan Sebastián Elcano, a Basque from Getaria, managed to complete the return journey, surreptitiously sailing the Portuguese route via the Cape of Good Hope. That ship was the only vessel to return to Castile in 1522. *Trinidad*, the one other ship to have survived the journey to the Moluccas was captured by the Portuguese.[34]

The dispute between the Castilians and Portuguese following the Magellan-Elcano voyage, which proved that the globe could be circumnavigated (and which reality the *Atlas* did not reflect) created a complex diplomatic situation. It was related to the Moluccas which the Spanish, after their successful circumnavigation, claimed were in fact situated in their hemisphere. With the technological resources available at the time it was absolutely impossible for either party to scientifically ascertain the actual longitudinal location of the demarcation line of the Treaty of Tordesillas. In 1524, a meeting held in Badajoz (Spain) and Elvas (Portugal), aimed at resolving the disagreement between the crowns of Portugal and Castile failed to reach an acceptable consensus. Everything seems to indicate that the head negotiator for the Portuguese, nobleman Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, was secretly working for the opposition. A ruinous treaty for the Portuguese was finally signed in Zaragoza in 1529 and the King of Portugal – who, in the meantime, had married another of Charles V's sisters in 1525 – accepted that the Spice Islands belonged to the Castilian hemisphere. He agreed to remunerate them 350,000 ducats, a vast sum of money, for the islands. He thus paid for possession of an overseas territory that in practice Portugal already controlled, and for which it had had a trading monopoly, for more than fifteen years. Castile's access to the islands via their hemisphere was at the time economically unviable – the passage there was too difficult and the return journey across the Pacific impossible, as was evident from the failure of the only subsequent Castilian expedition, the 1525–1526 voyage commanded by García Jofre de Loaysa.[35]

Without doubt Portuguese interests in the Moluccas and the Far East were badly defended by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, who in the meanwhile had been elevated to the governor of the Portuguese Indies (1518–22). This was the same individual who, in 1509, commanding the first Portuguese fleet to Malacca, almost had his fleet captured there while preoccupied playing chess. On that occasion the disaster was averted by a young and vigilant officer – Ferdinand Magellan – who clearly displayed his potential as a future commander![36]

Pedro and Jorge Reinel

One of my essays accompanying the 2006 Moleiro facsimile shed new light on the origins of the cartography of the Portuguese discoveries of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, in particular the first known family 'school' of cartography. Pedro Reinel, an official cartographer in Lisbon who had served during the reigns of Kings João II, Manuel I and João III, and his son Jorge were the earliest known cartographers whose works effectively contributed to Portuguese and European colonial expansion and geographical discoveries.

During various months of 1519 the two men worked on two projects: creating the *Atlas* in Lisbon as well as helping on preparations for Magellan's voyage in Seville. Jorge, a young lad, had allowed

himself to be enticed, just like Diego Ribeiro and others, to cross the border to Seville. However, when his father went there to bring him back to Portugal in June or July 1519 (probably having been told to do so by the Portuguese authorities), he himself, before returning with Jorge, also drew or completed some nautical chart for the Castilian expedition.[37] According to the Portuguese consul and commercial factor (and spy) in Seville, in one of his messages sent to Lisbon, dated 18 July 1519, he wrote that the Portuguese cartographer Diego Ribeiro had made the charts that were to be used for the Magellan expedition, and had made them by copying a master map drawn by the 'Reinel son', which the father himself completed when he went to fetch his son. The Reinels returned to Portugal but Ribeiro stayed on in Castile in perpetuity to serve the Crown, working at the Casa de la Contratación in Seville and at the Casa de la Contratación in La Coruña, etc.[38]

There is no doubt that cartography – then (as always) – was especially appreciated, useful and necessary for politics, diplomacy, information and intelligence. Skilled and knowledgeable mapmakers were highly sought after, everywhere; they were extremely valuable agents and were treated as such. Documented proof, which has long been known, reveals that a second attempt at recruiting Pedro and Jorge took place five years later in 1524 after the surviving members of the Magellan-Elcano expedition had returned and during the international diplomatic negotiations in Badajoz and Elvas. This attempt to entice them to serve the crown of Castile failed. Pedro reported the incidence to the Portuguese authorities and, along with his son, continued to serve Portugal.[39]

My research also concluded that, surprisingly, the two men were referred to by their compatriots as '*Negros*' [*sic*!], indicating that they were of mixed origin.[40] This discovery, I made in 2005-2005, can be explained by the cosmopolitan nature of the city where the *Atlas* was drawn and decorated. Lisbon was a hub for transoceanic trade at the time. Just as in other centres from where voyages of 'Portuguese discoveries' set sail such as Montemor-o-Velho and the Beira Litoral (where the European branch of the Reinel family, squires to the Duchy of Coimbra, originated), there was a significant presence of foreigners. It was no coincidence that António de Holanda, in the 1519 world map, instead of drawing the faces of the winds blowing in the four directions in the form of traditional *putti* (as was habitual in Ptolemaic cartography and Italian art), pictured them in an exotic manner as four young Africans. Similarly, it was no coincidence that, during that same period, in Montemor-o-Velho *c.* 1515, the tomb of the veteran navigator Diogo de Azambuja – who built the famous castle at Mina (Elmina, in modern-day Ghana) for King João II, the source of Portugal's wealth due to the bounteous gold procured from Guinea – was adorned with a sculpture depicting an impressive image of a young squire with African features, serving as an equerry, witnessing the death of his lord (or perhaps father?).[41]

Pedro and Jorge Reinel were two of the best cartographers of their time and the first circumnavigation of the planet Earth was prepared in Seville based on their knowledge. At more or less the same time, in that extraordinary year of 1519, the *Atlas* was created in Lisbon, similarly based on their geographical knowledge, this time for the Crown of Portugal. It was paradoxically commissioned precisely to try and thwart that very same circumnavigation and might be considered as the greatest (attempted) geopolitical falsification in history – or, at least, the greatest in geographical terms – as it was the first deception that had, or sought to have, a planetary dimension. It proved to be in vain as Magellan's ships nonetheless set sail, carried out their voyage and realised the long-held Castilian ambition.

Such a work, which reflected the best science and the best art available at the time, could only have been produced at that time in a country such as Portugal. A country in which Luso-Flemish Portuguese rubbed shoulders with Luso-African Portuguese. A country in which, at that time, three men, a '*Negro*' cartographer, an Iberian aristocrat and a Flemish painter – Pedro Reinel, Lopo Homem and António de Holanda – could meet and form an unlikely partnership, joining forces to create such a fascinating masterpiece.

Notes

1 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Cartes et Plans, Paris; GE D-26179 (RES), GE DD-683 (2-5 RES), GE AA-640(RES).
2 Alfredo Pinheiro Marques and Luís Filipe Reis Thomaz, *Atlas Miller*, Barcelona: Moleiro 2006 (with an introduction by Manuel Moleiro and a preface by Joaquim Ferreira do Amaral). The facsimile had already been produced by Moleiro in 2003–4.
3 These four main texts published by Moleiro and released in Lisbon, Portugal, at the Monument to the Discoveries, on 4 May 2006, were preceded by a similar academic text (not distributed commercially), produced in 2005 (Marques, Alfredo Pinheiro, *Os Descobrimentos e o 'Atlas Miller', obra-prima da cartografia e da arte do Renascimento*, Coimbra, 2005 [2006]) and by preliminary articles in journals: MARQUES, Alfredo Pinheiro, 'L'Atlas Miller: un Problème Résolu. Histoire de l'Art dans la Cartographie Portugaise', *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale*

de France, 1994 (4), pp. 53–7, and 'O "Atlas Miller": um Problema Resolvido. História da Arte na Cartografia Portuguesa [1994]', *Biblos. Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra*, 1995 [2000], 71 (Homage to Dr Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira), t.1, pp. 327–49.

4 Contents: Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, 'The Discoveries and the *Atlas Miller*, A masterpiece of cartography and art from the Renaissance', 'Nautical cartography on portolan-charts in the Late Middle Ages, and the contribution made by Portuguese cartography (15th–16th centuries)', 'The exceptional geographical significance of the *Atlas Miller* and the situation on the eve of Magellan's voyage', 'The outstanding artistic value of the *Atlas Miller*: a masterpiece by Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel, Jorge Reinel and António de Holanda'; Luís F. Reis Thomaz, 'The *Atlas Miller* and the ideology of Manueline Imperialism'; A. Pinheiro Marques, Luís F. Reis Thomaz and Bernardo Sá Nogueira, 'Geographical and toponymic study of the regional charts in the *Atlas Miller*'; A. Pinheiro Marques, 'Appendix: Reflection on the historiography, methodological influences and statements made by historians on the identification of the decorations in the *Atlas Miller*', 'Bibliography'.

5 I would like to dedicate this summary to my dear friend, the great publisher, Manuel Moleiro, a Galician (and hence someone who has a special sensitivity and capacity to understand matters concerning Portugal) to whom we all owe a debt of gratitude for the peerless 2003–6 Barcelona edition of the *Atlas Miller.* I am indebted to him, too, for the invitation to author these studies, enabling their presentation for the progress of science, through the novel information that has since become public knowledge been widely accepted. Manuel Moleiro's impartiality and independence and his respect for the freedom of scientific and historical research are also acknowledged.

6 Cf., for example the presentation entitled 'El mundo no es suficiente: el *Atlas Miller* y la primera circunnavegación de la Tierra", held on 4 March 2021 at the Casa de América (Madrid) by Manuel Lucena Giraldo (a member of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científica, Spain), erstwhile professor at universities such as Harvard, Stanford, Oxford, etc. (available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OqozmJ8K70g), or the presentation by Carmen Manso Porto, responsible for the cartographical collection preserved at the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid), at the International History Congress 'Primus Circumdedisti Me – Claves de la primera globalización', which marked the start in March 2018 in Valladolid of Spain's celebrations of the Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastián Elcano voyage (available at https://youtu.be/_NwNG0JkJM0).

7 This happened, above all, from 2012–2013 monumental exhibition, in which the *Atlas Miller* was, of course, the main display (and the graphic motif used as the exhibition's symbol). Cf. *L'Âge d'Or des Cartes Marines* (23 October 2012–27 January 2013) <http://expositions.bnf.fr/marine/>. In 2020, amidst the current global celebrations to commemorate 500 years of the circumnavigation by Magellan and Elcano (1519–1522), another decisive moment for this recognition was achieved when the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) released an institutional video on this Renaissance jewel of cartography preserved in the French State collections <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OITFKMn81m8.

8 The map was donated to the BnF by Marcel Destombes in 1976 (ref.: GE D-26179 [RES]).

9 This was unknown and unrecognised until 1993-4 when Alfredo Pinheiro Marques's research in Chicago (Newberry Library) and in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France) resulted in his discovery that António de Holanda was the creator of the artistic decoration of the *Atlas Miller.* For information on the prior knowledge of the art, see Martim de Albuquerque; Inácio Guerreiro (ed.), *A iluminura em Portugal. Catálogo da Exposição Inaugural do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, Porto & Lisbon: Figueirinhas, 1990; Pedro Dias (ed.), *A iluminura nos Descobrimentos*, Porto & Lisbon, Figueirinhas & CNCDP, 1990; Armando Cortesão, 'Illuminated Portuguese maps', *The Connoisseur,* London, 1937, 100 (republished in *Esparsos*, vol. I, Coimbra: BGUC, 1974, pp. 53–60).

10 New evidence and new means of proof, in the 2005–6 studies corroborated my 1993–4 conclusions that had made this matter '*Un problème Résolu*' (A problem solved) confirming that the artwork was by the professional Luso-Flemish illuminator António de Holanda. However, beyond this, it may be noted that some elements of this new evidence are themselves important for the history of Portuguese cartography, since they make it possible to understand that, in addition to the hitherto relatively little known António de Holanda, his famous son, Francisco de Holanda, also later diligently dedicated his life to cartographical works (drawings of globes) as part of his own artistic production. It is now known that these cartographical works drawn by the famous Francisco de Holanda (the painter and theoretician of sixteenth-century Portuguese painting who interacted with the great Michelangelo in Rome) always reinterated throughout the following decades – even during the second half of the sixteenth century – the same graphic motifs: the same type of globes depicting the Portuguese hemisphere according to the Treaty of Tordesillas, the same heads blowing the winds, the same mythical '*Terra Austral*', etc. that had previously been delineated and painted by his father, António de Holanda, in 1519, in the *Atlas Miller* world map.

11 Appointed 'pursuivant of arms' in 1518 and, in 1536, *'*king of arms and clerk to the aristocracy*'*. For further biographical information on António de Holanda, see Sylvie Deswarte, *Les enluminures de la 'Leitura Nova' 1504–1552. Étude sur la culture artistique au Portugal au Temps de l'Humanisme*, Paris, 1977, pp. 14–15, 207–14; Rafael Moreira, 'Novos dados sobre Francisco de Holanda', *Sintria*, Sintra, 1982–3, vol. I–II, pp. 619–92.

12 This date had already been accepted by Armando Cortesão in *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* in 1960. Cf. Cortesão, vol. I, p. 61; Marques, in *Atlas Miller*, p. 108–9.

13 Marques, *Atlas Miller*, pp. 209–16.

14 Leonor was, in 1530, married by her brother Charles V to King Francis I of France (imprisoned in 1525 at the Battle of Pavia but subsequently, with great gallantry, wed to the winner's own sister). That is why the beautiful and exotic illuminated atlas dating to 1519–22, which she took with her from Portugal, could have appeared in France as part of the properties of the French queens, at the Hôtel de la Reine. There, after 1559, Queen Catherine de Medici, who was, herself, a *connoisseuse* of cartography, ordered her own coat of arms to be painted on the frontispiece (which have clearly been added later and are not part of the original work).

15 The other hypotheses that until today have been propounded to identify the intended recipient of the *Atlas* seem implausible: be it the hypothesis that it was for Francis I of France (defended by Cortesão in *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, vol. I, 1960, pp. 55–61) or for Pope Leo X (defended by Thomaz in *Atlas Miller,* 2006, pp. 219–20).

16 Marques, *Atlas Miller*, p. 131.

17 Marques, *Atlas Miller*, p. 135.

18 Cf. Armando Cortesão, *Cartografia Portuguesa e a "Geografia" de Ptolomeu*, Lisbon, 1964; R.A. Skelton (ed.), *Geographia (Strassburg, 1513)*, Amsterdam: Meridian, 1966; Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, *Origem e desenvolvimento da cartografia Portuguesa na* Época *dos Descobrimentos*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1987 [1988], pp. 50–5, 102–11, 217–23.

19 The title was the same as the original work by Pomponius Mela; however, due to a simple and anecdotal mistake in the reading and transcription (which nobody in Portugal has yet been able to understand or explain), it became known as *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*.

20 Cf., noting this fact, Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos*…, 1935, vol. I, pp. 278, 341–2; and, explaining its raison d'être, Marques, in *Atlas Miller*, pp.115–20, and Marques, *Os descobrimentos e o 'Atlas Miller'*… pp. 268–79.

21 A summary of these long and fierce disputes among leading historians of ancient cartography can be found in Marques, *Atlas Miller*, pp. 106–9, and Marques, *Os descobrimentos e o 'Atlas Miller', obra-prima da cartografia*… pp. 251–57. Also see the state of affairs of all these matters, so crucial for the history of Portuguese cartography until 2005–6: Jean Denucé, *Les origines de la cartographie Portugaise et les cartes des Reinel*, Gand, 1908 (reprinted Amsterdam: Meridian, 1963); Armando Cortesão, *Os homens. cartógrafos Portugueses do século XVI*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1932; Idem, *Cartografia e Cartógrafos Portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI (Contribuição para um estudo completo)*, 2 vol., Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1935; Idem, 'Os cartógrafos Pedro e Jorge Reinel e a sua Obra', in Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, vol. I, Lisbon, 1960, pp. 19–21; Ibidem, 'Lopo Homem – Reinéis, Atlas de 1519', pp. 55–61;

Ibidem, 'Pedro Reinel, carta de c.1485', vol. V, pp. 3–4; Ibidem, 'Apêndice IV. Dois novos documentos sobre os Reinéis', vol. V, Lisbon, 1960, p. 144 (facsimile re-edition ed. A. Pinheiro Marques, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 1987 [1988]); Marcel Destombes, 'Lopo Homem's Atlas of 1519', *The Geographical Journal*, 1937, vol. 90, 460–4 (republished in *Selected contributions to the history of cartography and scientific instruments*, Utrecht: HES, 1987); Idem, 'Lopo Homem and the Miller Atlas of 1519', *The Geographical Journal*, 1938, vol. 91, pp. 264–6; Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, *Origem e desenvolvimento da cartografia Portuguesa na* Época *dos Descobrimentos*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1987 [1988]; Joaquim Ferreira do Amaral, *Pedro Reinel Me Fez. À volta de um mapa dos descobrimentos*, Lisbon: Quetzal, 1995; Idem, 'Preface', in *Atlas Miller*, Barcelona: M. Moleiro, 2006, pp. 11–12; Joaquim Ferreira do Amaral & Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, 'Nova luz sobre as origens da cartografia Portuguesa da Época dos Descobrimentos', in Jesús Varela Marcos & María Montserrat León Guerrero (ed.), *Cristóbal Colón, su tiempo y sus reflejos: Actas del Congreso Internacional V Centenario de la Muerte del Almirante (Valladolid, 2006)*, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2006, pp. 455–84.

22 On the geographical content of the atlas and the real reason behind its strange 'Neo-Ptolemaic' form, cf. Marques, *Atlas Miller*, pp. 113–22 and 125–32.

23 Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho (ed.), *Esmeraldo De Situ Orbis de Duarte Pacheco Pereira. Edition Critique et Commentée*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1991.

24 Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, Porto; Ms. 139.

25 Marques, 'L'Atlas Miller: un problème résolu…', pp. 54, 56.

26 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Cartes et Plans, Paris; GE D-26179 (RES).

27 Cf. Marques, *Os descobrimentos e o 'Atlas Miller'*…, pp. 285–6; Idem, in *Atlas Miller*, p. 123.

28 *Universalis Cosmographia Secundum Ptholomaei Traditionem et Americi Vespucii Aliorv*[m]*que Lvstrationes*, Saint-Dié, 1507. This famous engraved map (the first to include the name *America*) reconciled the new discoveries with Ptolemaic geography. It included portraits of Ptolemy and Vespucci and already depicted the New World separately. In the Library of Congress, Washington DC (USA).

29 Strasbourg, 1513 (general map of the new, updated and extremely influential edition by Ptolemy).

30 *Carta marina navigatoria Portvgallen navigationes, atqve tocius cogniti orbis terre marisqve formam natvram situs et terminos nostris temporibvs recognitos et ab antiqvorum traditione differente…* Saint-Dié, 1516. In the Library of Congress, Washington DC (USA).

31 Waldseemüller, in Central Europe, always reflected the evolution of the Portuguese geographical patterns: Emperor Maximilian, first cousin of the 'Perfect Prince' King João II of Portugal (with whom he had a close relationship), maintained similarly close ties with his successor King Manuel I. That is why the interests of German financiers, linked to Maximilian, played a decisive role during King Manuel's reign in Portuguese trade to the real India, via the 'Cape Route' which had been discovered, and was operated, by the Portuguese. In this aspect too, the 'Fortunate' King Manuel tried (especially during his third and final marriage) to emulate his deceased cousin and brother-in-law King João II. However, in truth, since the death of his predecessor (the 'Perfect Prince' was poisoned during the 1495 palace coup), the main diplomatic game of the matrimonial alliance with the Habsburg Emperor and House of Austria had already been won by the 'Catholic Monarchs', Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, who created the conditions for a unified Spain. The Portuguese had lost. The next Emperor was Charles, the grandson of the 'Catholic Monarchs'.

32 For further information on the importance and significance of Fernão Teles de Meneses' westward project, obviously related with Toscanelli's 1474 proposal, see Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, *A Maldição da Memória do Infante Dom Pedro e as origens dos descobrimentos Portugueses*, Figueira da Foz: CEMAR, 1994 [1995], pp. 211, 232, 240–50, 276. On the previous western project, also by the House of Coimbra, by João Vogado in 1462, see pp. 243–4. On the subsequent western projects by the Flemish Ferdinand van Olmen in 1486, and by the German Martin Behaim in 1492, both in the service of King João II, see pp. 249, 278, 293–4.

33 Cf. Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, 'O sucesso de Vasco da Gama e a desgraça de Cristóvão Colombo', in Ana María Carabias Torres (ed.), *Las relaciones entre Portugal y Castilla en la* época *de los descubrimientos y la expansión colonial. Actas del Congresso Hispano-Portugués (Salamanca, 1992)*, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca – Sociedad V Centenario del Tratado de Tordesillas, 1994, pp. 181–94 (republished in *Biblos. Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra*, 1994, vol. 70, pp. 119–37); Idem, 'Epilogue: Triumph for Da Gama and Disgrace for Columbus', in George Winius (ed.) *Portugal, the Pathfinder: Journeys from the Medieval toward the Modern World. 1300–ca. 1600*, Madison WI: Luso-Brazilian Review – University of Wisconsin, 1995, pp. 363–72; Kenneth Maxwell, 'Adiós Columbus!', *The New York Review of Books*, New York, 1993, vol. 40 (3), pp. 44–5.

34 There is a vast bibliography available on Magellan and Elcano and the circumnavigation of the globe. In addition to the Portuguese bibliography, which, until 2005–6, was very dated, see the updated international bibliographical lists in Martin Torodash, 'Magellan Historiography', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1971, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 313–35; Idem, 'Magellan Historiography: Some Twenty Years Later', in Francis A. Dutra; João Camilo dos Santos (ed.), *The Portuguese and the Pacific. Proceedings of the International Colloquium (Santa Barbara, 1993)*, Santa Barbara, CA: Center for Portuguese Studie, UCSB, 1995 [1996], pp. 11–16. Above all, see the important work by A. Teixeira da Mota (ed.), *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a questão das Molucas. Actas do II Colóquio Luso-Espanhol de História Ultramarina*, Lisbon: CECA, 1975.

35 For further information on the diplomatic games and spying see Marques, in *Atlas Miller*, pp. 73–80, 91–3. About the conflicting positions see Luís de Albuquerque, Rui Graça Feijó, 'Os pontos de vista de D. João III na Junta de Badajoz-Elvas', in Mota (ed.), *A viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a questão das Molucas,* 1975, pp. 527–46 (republished in *Estudos de História*, vol. IV, Coimbra: BGUC, 1976, pp. 223–58); Armando Cortesão, 'O descobrimento da Australásia e a "Questão das Molucas"'; Manuel Hidalgo Nieto, 'La cuestión hispano-portuguesa en torno a las Islas Molucas', *Revista de Historia*, Madrid, 1943; Hermann Kellenbenz, 'El Negocio de los 350.000 Ducados', in *Vice-Almirante A. Teixeira da Mota: In Memoriam*, vol. I, Lisbon: Academia de Marinha / IICT, 1988, pp. 57–66; Idem, 'La Vendita del Diritto Castigliano Sulle Moluche', in *Venezia e la Spagna*, Milan, 1988; Germán la Torre, *Los españoles y portugueses en ultramar. La cuestión del Maluco*, Seville, 1923.

36 Cf. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da* Índia *pelos Portugueses*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida, vol. I, Porto: Lello e Irmão, 1979 (Book II, Chapter 114), pp. 464–6.

37 Marques, *Atlas Miller*, p. 73.

38 Marques, *Atlas Miller*, pp. 81–6.

39 Marques, *Atlas Miller*, pp. 75–80.

40 Marques, *Atlas Miller*, pp. 65–80, 92.

41 Marques, *Atlas Miller*, p. 79.

Since 1982 **Alfredo Pinheiro Marques** has lectured at Portuguese and foreign universities, and in 1988 was the scientific coordinator of the Portuguese commission for the Universal Exhibition of Seville/Columbus Celebration (EXPO 92). He authored the 'Addenda' for the new edition of *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* in 1987 and in 1992 he created his *International Bibliography of the Discoveries and Overseas Encounters*. Among his books are the *Guia de História dos Descobrimentos e Expansão Portuguesa* [Guide for the History of Portuguese Discoveries and Expansion] (1988), and *A Maldição da Memória do Infante Dom Pedro e as Origens dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* [The Accursed Heritage of Prince Peter and the Origins of the Portuguese Discoveries] (1995).

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REVEALING THE MYSTERIOUS WEST

Claude and Guillaume Delisle's maps of North America, 1700–1718

Wesley A. Brown

Three maps published between 1700 and 1718 by Claude Delisle and his son Guillaume reveal the significant advances they made to knowledge of the Mississippi River and western North America. This article considers their contributions and the information sources which enabled them to produce maps that were far superior to those of their contemporaries. Claude Delisle (1644–1720), student of French mapmaker Nicolas Sanson and a geographer for the French Royal Academy of Sciences, produced mostly manuscript maps (Fig. 1). Claude trained his son Guillaume (1675–1726) (Fig. 2) in the family business and arranged for him to be educated by the mathematician and astronomer Jean-Dominique Cassini. As partners, Claude and Guillaume became leading actors in the French enterprise of map publishing. Claude focused on gathering cutting-edge geographical information while Guillaume directed his energies to making the maps. Guillaume was so successful that, by the age of 27, in 1702, he became a member of the French Royal Academy of Sciences. In 1718 he received the special title of Premier Géographe du Roi (First Geographer to the King) and was so celebrated as to be visited by Peter the Great of Russia and the king of Sicily. Although Guillaume's name was usually the only Delisle name to appear on the printed map, his father was an essential partner. After Claude's death his sons Guillaume and astronomer Joseph Nicolas, then Guillaume's widow, and son-in-law Philippe Buache, carried on the Delisle workshop continuing to publish maps into the 1780s.

This article will primarily discuss three cartographic treasures created by Claude and Guillaume: the North American maps of 1700, 1703 and 1718. We begin, however, with a discussion of an



Fig. 1 Claude Delisle (1644–1720). Wikipedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Claude_Delisle_AGE_V10_1802.jpg



Fig. 2 Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726). Wikipedia Commons. https://commons. wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Guillaume_Delisle_AGE_1802 jpg


AMERICA SETTENTRIONALE
MARE DI CALIFORNIA
NUOUO MEXICO
NUOUO MEXICO
N. GRANATA e MARATA
GOLFO DEL
MARE DEL SUD

earlier map that illustrates the general understanding of the geography of western North America before the Delisle family published their works.

Coronelli's map of 1688: 'America Settentrionale'

During the final quarter of the seventeenth century the English were beginning to explore west of their Atlantic colonies while the Spanish were trying to maintain their huge northern empire of New Spain with outposts in New Mexico along the northern Rio Grande and Florida. In contrast, the French had been developing prosperous trading ventures with the native populations. They pushed ever west and south from the St Lawrence river system, taking them farther into the Great Lakes region including some of the northern rivers that drained into the Mississippi.

Working predominantly in Venice at this time was the Franciscan priest Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650–1718). His maps and globes were so highly regarded that he moved to France to work directly for King Louis XIV. As a member of the French Royal Academy of Sciences and later Geographer to the King, he was privy to information coming from French traders and explorers. In 1688 he drew a map of North America which was engraved and published by Jean Baptiste Nolin sr (1657–1708), who was responsible for its beautiful artistic elements (Fig. 3). The map includes details about the interior of North America first shown by Coronelli in smaller maps separately published by Nolin a year earlier.[1] But this large map was widely distributed and presents the best cartographic image of the North American West that was generally available to the European public at that time.

Coronelli's map celebrates the explorations of René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, who in 1682, travelled the length of the Mississippi proving that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico (Fig. 4). This feat, together with the voyages of Jesuit Father Jacques Marquette and merchant Louis Jolliet nine years earlier, are noted on the map by legends alongside the river. Upon his arrival at the Gulf, La Salle claimed the region drained by the mighty river for his king, Louis XIV. However, after travelling the twists and turns for hundreds of miles on the complex river, he had no idea where he was along the coast. His longitude was a complete mystery and his latitude imprecisely measured. The 1688 map illustrates Coronelli's attempt to show the parameters of the Mississippi River. In doing so, he perpetuated a significant error of placing the outlet of the Mississippi 500 miles too far west, debouching just next to the Rio Grande (labelled on map as Rio Bravo). This



Fig. 3 Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, Western half of 'America Settentrionale', 1688. The full map is printed on two sheets. Each sheet measures 60 x 45 cm. Author's collection.

Fig. 4 Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, detail from 'America Settentrionale', 1688. Showing the Mississippi River flowing into the Gulf of Mexico 500 miles too far west.

depiction requires significant lengthening of the Wisconsin, Illinois and Ohio Rivers to reach the Mississippi misplaced further west.

How did this error come about? There are several possible explanations. I have summarised a few of the most significant. First, early French Jesuit mapmakers Claude Allouez and Claude Dablon exaggerated the westward reach of Lake Superior resulting in the upper Mississippi being located too far west.[2] Second, the Rio del Espíritu Santo, or Bay of the Holy Spirit, was first shown on the manuscript map of Alonso Alvarez de Pineda in 1519. It was generally assumed to be the outlet of the great river draining the interior, first heard of in Europe when Hernando de Soto's expedition crossed it in the 1540s. Later it was known as the Mississippi. For the previous half-century, on most maps, the bay had been located in the western third of the Gulf Coast. Marquette and Jolliet's 1673 exploration down the Mississippi ended at its junction with the Arkansas River because they feared attacks from both hostile Indians and the Spanish farther south. Consequently, they assumed the outlet of the Mississippi was the Rio del Espíritu Santo; thus, they naturally placed its location in the Western Gulf. The third explanation by Professor Peter Wood is that the true latitude of the central Gulf Coast is 30° and was generally shown as such on contemporary maps but without the delta, which extends a full degree of latitude farther south to 29°. Upon reaching the Gulf Coast at the mouth of the unknown delta, La Salle attempted to determine his latitude. But when he took his measurements that should have yielded 29°, he obtained 27°. That mistake may have resulted from either a calculation error or the use of a faulty astrolabe. Because La Salle believed the mysterious outlet of the Mississippi must be at 27°, he pushed his expected landing hundreds of miles to the west where the Gulf Coast bends southward.[3] Finally, by strategically placing the outlet near the anticipated silver mines of New Spain, La Salle pleased his financial backers. His mistaken assumption of the location of the Mississippi's outlet was illustrated by his draftsman, Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin, and copied by Coronelli.[4]

Spain's ambitions in the northern part of the southwest had long been limited to remote Santa Fe and small settlements nearby along the upper Rio Grande because of the extreme hostility of the Indians and the difficult terrain beyond this region. In his map, Coronelli depicted previously unknown information from Don Diego de Peñalosa, governor of New Mexico from 1661 to 1664. Peñalosa was later banished from New Spain, discredited for defying the Catholic Church's effort to Christianise the native populations, and went to Europe to sell his first-hand geographical information to the French. Coronelli acknowledged his debt to Peñalosa in a lengthy caption on the map. The image of New Mexico includes many new settlements that survive to this day. Significantly, it reflects the generally mountainous terrain surrounding the upper Rio Grande, here labelled Rio del Norte. The Rio Grande is shown draining due south to El Paso (the town shown for the first time on Coronelli's 1687 map) and then turns sharply southeast to the Gulf of Mexico. As we look at the western portion of Coronelli's map, we see one final feature that deserves note. Since the 1620s, California had commonly been shown as an island. Although laughable today, its insularity was generally accepted by cartographers of the day. We will see how the Delisles played a role in debunking this myth.

Delisles' map of 1700: 'L'Amerique Septentrionale'

With this background in mind, we turn our attention to the three maps created by the Delisle dynasty. In 1700, father and son, utilising Guillaume's and perhaps brother Joseph Nicolas's astronomical observations from the Royal Observatory of Paris, produced their first printed maps in the form of an atlas. Those observations positioned most of the continents more accurately than earlier maps, thus enhancing knowledge of world geography. Their atlas contained maps of the world and the continents, including a major map of North America (Fig. 5). Although this map bears a decorative cartouche we can see Guillaume's sparse style in the comparatively simple tables and blank spaces where precise information is absent: for example, the northwest region of North America above Cape Mendocino is completely blank. This important map makes three primary contributions to our study. First: it improved coordinates for the positioning of North America; second, it positioned the Mississippi River east of contemporary maps; third, it hinted that California was not an island.

Earlier maps had generally shown the newly discovered Mississippi approximately 500 miles west of its true location. Close inspection of this ultra-rare

Fig. 5 Claude and Guillaume Delisle, 'L'Amerique Septentrionale', 1700. Rare first state published early 1700. Bibliothèque nationale de France. bnf.fr/ark/12148/cb40675939p/.


ECHELLE
AVERTISSEMENT
Comme il y a plusieurs choses sur cete carte et sur les autres que j'ay mises au jour qui sont differentes de ce qui se trouve sur les cartes qui ont paru jusqu'ici, Il est a propos d'avertir icy que cela n'est point arrivé par inadvertence & que je rends raison de ces changemens dans la Nouvelle Introduction a la Geographie
BAYE DE BAFFINS
GROENLAND
TERRES ARCTIQUES
Cercle Polaire
BAYE D'HUDSON
TERRE DE LABRADOR
CANADA ou NOUVELLE FRANCE
PAYS DES ILLINOIS
CALIFORNIE
NOUVEAU MEXIQUE
FLORIDE
MER DU NORD
GOLFE DE MEXIQUE
Tropique du Cancer
ISLES ANTILLES
TERRE FERME
AMERIQUE MERIDIONALE
MER DU SUD ou MER PACIFIQUE
ISLES ACORES
L'AMERIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE
Dressée sur les Observations de Mrs de l'Academie Royale des Sciences & quelques autres, & sur les Memoires les plus recens
Par G. DE L'ISLE Geographe
A PARIS
Chez l'Auteur Rue des Canettes proche St Sulpice Avec Privilege du Roy pour 20. ans. 1700.

first state of Delisles' map printed in early 1700 (Philip Burden reports five known copies[5]) shows they moved the Mississippi 5° eastward. The outlet is indicated at 281° (the Delisles used the Canary Island of Ferro as their prime meridian) (Fig. 6). In a letter to Cassini, Claude explained that their rationale for moving the river eastward was based upon their reading of the account of Father Chrétien Le Clerc, a survivor of La Salle's travels and the writings of Father Louis Hennepin.[6] Hennepin, who explored the Great Lakes region with La Salle between 1678 and 1682, published three popular narratives of his travels. His first of 1683 included the map that influenced Delisle.[7]

1697 brought a conclusion to the War of Grand Alliance (known as King William's War in the Anglo-Americas) between France and an alliance of England,



Fig. 6 Claude and Guillaume Delisle, detail of 'L'Amerique Septentrionale', 1700. Rare first state published early 1700 in which the Mississippi River enters the Gulf of Mexico 5° latitude farther east of earlier maps. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Spain and other European powers. Lasting nine years, the battles raged mainly in Europe. In the New World, French and English colonists and their Indian allies were pitted against each other in eastern Canada and New England. The Treaty of Ryswick (1697) brought no territorial change in the Americas and released both France and England to pursue territorial expansion in the gulf at Spain's expense. Although La Salle's failed colony in Texas dramatised the risk of New World settlement, the opportunity for immense land claims for the French crown and English threats induced Louis XIV to back Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville's attempt to establish a colony near the mouth of the Mississippi.

Claude Delisle, through his work with the French Royal Academy of Sciences, was charged with producing preparatory maps for Iberville's explorations. In exchange, he was the first to receive the explorer's cartographic findings. D'Iberville's exploration of 1698–1699 was a success. For the first time the Mississippi River was entered from the sea. Nearby at Biloxi Bay he established a colony. Details from that first voyage provided the Delisles with the information for the first state of the map.[8] D'Iberville sailed again from France arriving at Fort Biloxi in December 1699, providing desperately needed supplies to the starving colonists who had established the fort in April 1699. His men went on to establish a second fort on the Mississippi about 60 miles upriver from its mouth. He returned to France in June 1700, and Claude was immediately made privy to these new reports. This cutting-edge information was used by father and son to produce a second state of the map published late in 1700 (Fig. 7). This state shows numerous changes from the first printed earlier that year, primarily along the Mississippi with the most important changes at its mouth. The Mississippi Delta was added for the first time on a printed map. The River's mouth was moved even farther eastward by 3 additional degrees to 284°. The term 'Fort' shows Iberville's new location on the Mississippi. Fort Biloxi is also indicated.

It is interesting that knowledge of the Delta, the approximate longitude of the Mississippi outlet, and the existence of Fort Biloxi were available to the Delisles following Iberville's return to France from the first trip, although this valuable information was not placed on the map until the second state published late in 1700. Why? Seymour Schwartz and Henry Taliaferro, who discovered the rare first state in 1983, offer two possibilities. They speculate this



Fig. 7 Claude and Guillaume Delisle, detail of 'L'Amerique Septentrionale', 1700. Second state published late 1700 in which the Mississippi Delta is added, and the river is moved another 3° degrees latitude east from the first state. Author's collection.

delay could have been a temporary expediency as the plate might have already been engraved and it was thought it might be corrected with more information from the second voyage that was expected in a few months. Alternatively, there may have been political reasons. During the awkward period of the demise of Spain's King Charles II, French authorities did not want a map published with the sensitive information about French colonisation of Louisiana until Louis XIV confirmed his grandson Philip as heir to the Spanish Crown late in 1700 when the second state was published.[9]

Directing our attention to the vast region of the Southwest boldly titled 'Nouveau Mexique', we see the area of the upper Rio Grande (labelled Rio del Norte on the map) is encircled with a faint dotted line and named 'Nouv. Mexique', probably a reference to the administrative region under Spanish authority. The place names are rather sparse and generally follow those on a 1671 edition of a printed map of North America titled 'MEXICVM' by Giovani Battista Nicolosi (1610–1670). Unlike Coronelli's map, the one created by the Delisles in 1700 fails to reflect the information provided by Peñalosa. There is one feature that deserves our attention. North of Taos there is an east-flowing river titled 'R. de S. Francisco' that perhaps reflects native knowledge of the headwaters of the Arkansas River.[10] This river is connected with a dotted line to 'Pekitanoni R', an earlier French name for the Missouri derived from Jolliet and Marquette. Thus, north of Taos, the Rio de S. Francisco is the headwaters of the Missouri! This idea came from La Salle's writings and was supported by the maps created by Franquelin, his draftsman.

The Delisles suspected that California was attached to the mainland although the generally held view at that time was that it was an island. By showing the land at the head of the Gulf of California as very close to the mainland, the Delisles led some historians to cite this map as the first in print to refute the myth of California's insularity. Nevertheless, the land is not attached on the map. Delisle's uncertainty is expressed in a letter written by Claude in 1700 after he inspected a manuscript map completed by Jesuit Father Eusebio Kino in 1696 that had been forwarded to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris. At this time, Kino was still convinced of California's insularity as shown on his map of the Southwest ('Theatre of the Apostolic Efforts of the Society of Jesus in North America') that illustrated his advanced knowledge of the Pima Indian region. In his letter about Kino's map that clearly


CANADA ou NOUVELLE FRANCE
ACADIE
Le Grand Banc de Terre Neuve
Grand Banc de Malebarre
GRAND TEGUAIO
Apaches Vaqueros
FLORIDE
NOUVEAU MEXIQUE
MER DU NORD
ISLES LUCAYES ou DE BAHAMA aux Anglois
GOLFE DU MEXIQUE
Tropique du Cancer
MEXIQUE ou NOUVELLE ESPAGNE
Baye de Campeche
YUCATAN
ISLE DE CUBA
ISLE S. DOMINGUE
LA JAMAIQUE
GOLFE DE HONDURAS
HONDURAS
GUATIMALA
MER DU SUD ou MER PACIFIQUE
COSTARICA
PANAMA
ST MARTHE
VENEZUELA
AMERIQUE MERIDIONALE
TERRE FERME
CARTE DU MEXIQUE ET DE LA FLORIDE des Terres Angloises et des Isles Antilles



shows California as an island, Claude notes 'nonetheless, the most cautious geographers hesitate to express their opinion as to its insular or peninsular nature'.[11/12] The Delisles were clearly unsure.

Fig. 9 Claude and Guillaume Delisle, detail of 'Carte Du Mexique Et De La Floride', 1703/1708, showing the Red and Arkansas Rivers flowing into the Mississippi River from the west and the Missouri River which has been moved far to the northwest. Author's collection.

Delisles' map of 1703: 'Carte Du Mexique et De La Floride'

In 1703 the Delisles published a pair of exceptional maps of North America, one centered on Canada and the other focused on the south (the subject of this essay), which sheds new light on the Gulf of Mexico and the western interior. Although only Guillaume's name again appears in the title cartouche, he stated that his father was the primary compiler of the map (Fig. 8).[13] The title 'Carte Du Mexique et De La Floride' announced that most of North America was controlled by the Spanish or French. The English possessed the small region east of the Appalachian Mountains from Carolina northward. Florida, where France and Spain jostled for control, expands far westward to include Louisiana and Texas. With Iberville's new base on the lower Mississippi, the intense exploration undertaken during the first years there provided the Delisles with information from

Fig. 8 Claude and Guillaume Delisle, 'Carte Du Mexique Et De La Floride', 1703/1708. 47 x 64 cm. Author's collection.

many sources enabling them to map the most up-to-date image of the continent's interior.

On the 1703 map, which used the prime meridian of Ferro in the Canary Islands, Delisles moved the Mississippi River's outlet three more degrees to the east to 287° (Fig. 9). If we convert to Greenwich Prime Meridian, the Delta is placed at 91° west, only two degrees west from its correct position. The Delta, Lake Pontchartrain and the Gulf Coast are enhanced as the result of Iberville's reports. The explorer is specifically mentioned in the title cartouche. It was the first printed map to convey significant new information about the Mississippi's western tributaries. It illustrates the Red and Arkansas Rivers, whose sources although incorrectly shown far to the mysterious west, join the Mississippi with reasonable accuracy at their confluences. The Delisle map illustrates this lower section of the Mississippi using earlier reports from Henri de Tonty, La Salle's faithful lieutenant, on the first trip to the upper Mississippi in 1682 and several later excursions on the river. Other important sources were Iberville and his assistants, Father Du Ru and Pierre-Charles Le Sueur. For the upper Mississippi, new elements are shown to the very northern edge of the map including the R. St. Pierre (likely the Minnesota River) entering the Mississippi from the west at its source Lac de Tintons (Teton Sioux). This valuable information came from Le Sueur, who left Iberville in 1700 to explore the Mississippi north, where he had been seeking mineral wealth. He found copper and lead in what is today Minnesota. The travel memoirs of this 'able voyager', so described by Joseph Nicolas, were a primary source for the upper Mississippi information on the 1703 map.[14]

We also note that the position of the Missouri River is now quite different from that on the map created only three years earlier. Delisles' 1703 map eliminated the error of connecting Rio de S. Francisco, above Taos, to the Missouri. They are now separated by a great distance. On the earlier map, the Missouri flowed due east; now it flows from far in the northwest. Key information about the Missouri was conveyed to Le Sueur by Father Gabriel Marest who established a mission at its base in 1700.[15] These revelations resulted in a tremendous improvement over all prior images in the depiction of the Missouri River on the 1703 Delisle map.

Despite the many advances regarding the locations of the northern rivers, the map includes two confusing images that might have been derived from native descriptions of the Missouri. Well south of the 'Missouri ou R. Pekietanoni' on Delisles' map is an additional western river titled 'Meschasipi ou Grande R'. flowing southwest from the 'Lac des Panis'. Historian Ralph Ehrenberg explains that this fiction derives from the testimony of Le Sueur, who based his account on legendary Sioux lore.[16] Another confusion is found further north; between the Mississippi and the Missouri is the large 'R. des Moingona' that leads northwest to the top of the map. Delisles' 1703 northern map of Canada meant to pair with this one (image not present) shows the continuation of this river as it bends west into a huge river and a series of giant lakes leading the way to a great mountain chain. On the western side is a mighty river that flows west into a huge body of 'salt' water which suggests that the Great Salt Lake or even the Pacific were intended. This image derives from the manuscript of Baron Louis La Hontan who, from 1683 to 1692, served as a French officer in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi region. In 1703 he published his captivating tales and famous map that illustrates the 'River Longue' that the Delises' have reproduced to full effect.

Although the Mississippi River is more detailed and accurate on this map, the region that would become Texas is still crudely depicted. The Delisles, with little French information, drew from the Spanish. They obtained the itinerary of Spaniard Alonzo de León's successful expedition across Texas to discover La Salle's lost colony in 1689 (he had conducted three prior unsuccessful attempts to find its whereabouts). This inland information, in addition to details of several coastal voyages, was assembled into a manuscript map by New Spain's leading cartographer, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora.[17] This valuable espionage was smuggled out of Mexico through an arrangement executed by Frenchman Abbé Claude Bernou and delivered to France.[18]

Farther west, unlike on Delisles' 1700 map, the area of the upper Rio Grande on this map shows greater resemblance to Peñalosa's manuscript map than Coronelli's 1688 map we studied earlier (Fig. 10). Delisles' excellent image of the upper Rio Grande Valley and the settlements thereabout shown on the 1703 map would be copied by most European mapmakers until the final decades of the eighteenth century. Just above is the text 'Grand Teguaio habite par les Tiguas'. Teguaio is a general term for the region north and west of the upper Rio Grande, the Great Basin region as we know it today, often enlarged as a huge legend on maps later in the century. [19]

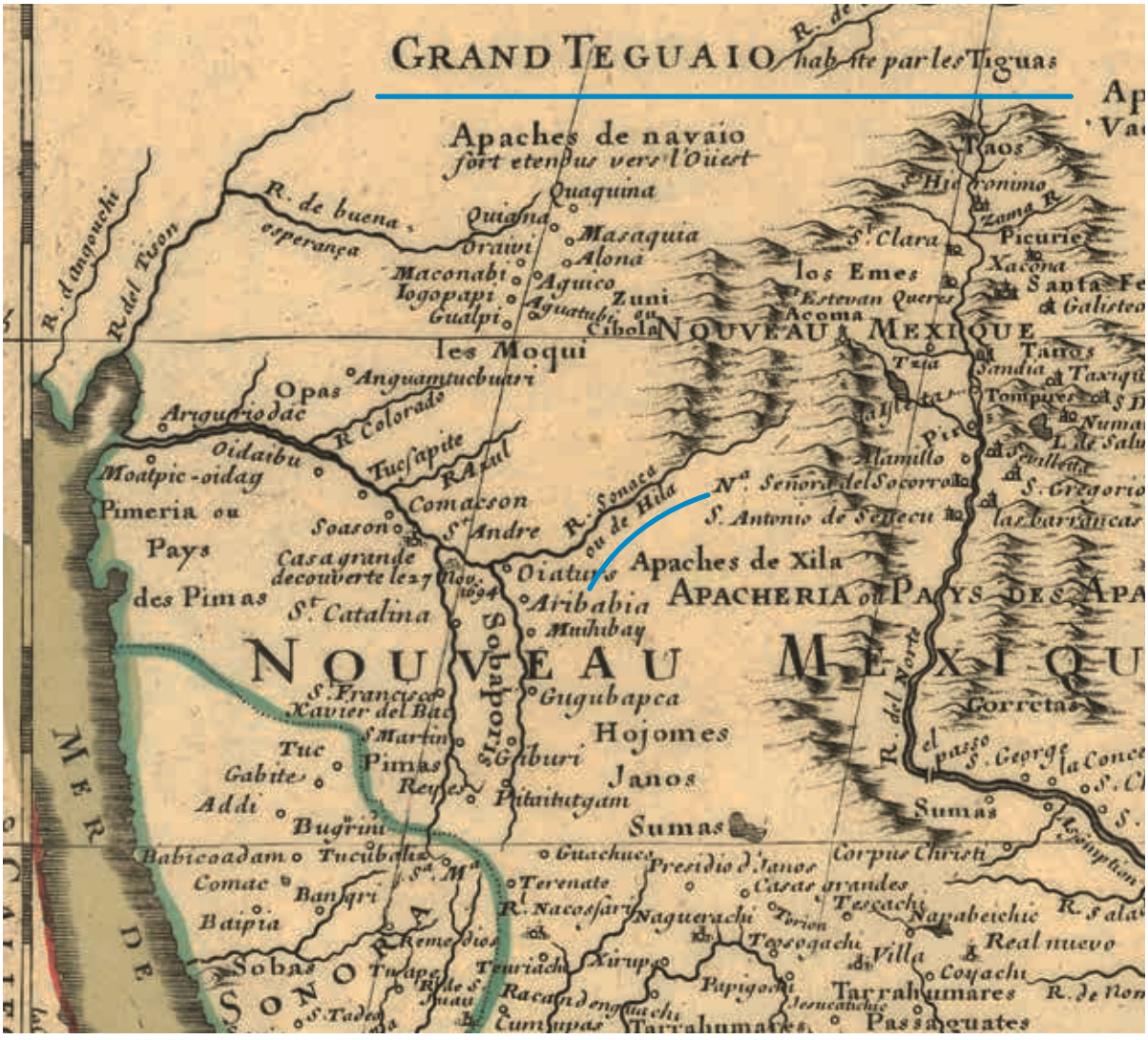


Fig. 10 Claude and Guillaume Delisle, detail of 'Carte Du Mexique Et De La Floride', 1703/1708, showing Nouveau Mexique with an improved depiction of the upper Rio Grande Valley, Hila River to the west, and Grand Teguaio.

In the far southwest, the Delisles made full use of Father Eusebio Kino's 1696 manuscript, showing extensive and accurate toponyms in the areas of the Pima in southern Arizona, Sonora and Sinaloa. Regarding the theory that California was an island, the Delisles were still unsure. It would take Kino nine expeditions to the area around the mouth of the Colorado between 1698 and 1701 to provide evidence for him to produce his famous manuscript map of 1701 (finally printed in 1705) that shows accurate detail of the area and boldly states in its title 'Overland Passage to California'. Although the Delisles did not have the benefit of Kino's 1701 manuscript before the publication of their 1703 map, they were quick to accept Kino's work. But others were not so sure. Leading English mapmaker Herman Moll wrote in 1711, 'Why I have had in my office mariners who have sailed round it'.[20] In response to the persistence of many European map publishers in showing California as an island, King Ferdinand VII of Spain issued a decree in 1747 that 'California is not an Island'.

This landmark map, first printed in 1703, was reprinted in 1708 and 1722. After Guillaume's death, the map was printed by his widow and then by his son-in-law, Philippe Buache (1700–1773), and after that by his successors until 1783! The map was copied by most other European publishers during the first half of the eighteenth century.



Fig. 11 Guillaume Delisle, 'Carte De La Louisiane Et Du Cours Du Mississipi', 1718. 48 x 64.5 cm. Author's collection.



Guillaume Delisle's map of 1718: 'Carte De La Louisiane Et Du Cours Du Mississipi'

When I think of Louisiana, Delisle's famous 1718 map pops into my mind (Fig. 11). After 1703, the Delisle family continued to receive maps and journals from explorers in the region drained by the Mississippi and along the Gulf of Mexico. Their information culminated in the publication of 'Carte De La Louisiane Et Du Cours Du Mississipi'. With Claude's waning involvement because of his advanced age, the map was primarily Guillaume's work. Along the top, printed in simple text is the map's lengthy title; latitude and longitude for each degree are noted around the other three borders. It has absolutely no decoration other than a standard compass rose in the Gulf of Mexico. Few maps have influenced the public image of North America more than Guillaume's masterpiece. Yet he never set foot on the continent! This astounding fact requires us not only to describe the map but also to study his primary sources.

At the time the map was published, the rivalry between France, Spain and England was intense in North America and the Treaties of Utrecht and others between 1713 and 1714, while resolving the issues of the War of Spanish Succession in Europe, hardly settled those in North America. English colonists threatened Spanish Florida from the east and the French posed threats from the west as they moved eastward along the Gulf from the Mississippi's outlet. The English wanted the Ohio Valley, pressuring the French, and the Spanish sought to protect themselves from the French by occupying Pensacola Bay on the Gulf and establishing permanent settlements in Texas.

It is in this context that Guillaume published his map on which advanced geographical information had an aggressive political ambition. The map is centered on the Mississippi River which extends past the border at the northern edge of the map and omits land that would become Canada. By extending all the rivers that drain into the Mississippi further north, west, or east, the mapmaker was clearly inflating the domain of French authority. With the term 'La Louisiane' in the largest print on the map reaching from the Rio Grande to the Appalachian Mountains, the Spanish and English holdings were squeezed. Neither world power was amused; this map set off a cartographic territorial war during which mapmakers from each competing nation produced maps that exaggerated their holdings. The English promptly rebutted Delisle's 1718 map with one by Herman Moll

('A New Map of the North Parts of America Claimed by France', 1720) showing the interior of the continent, and specifically illustrating (almost mocking) France's claims.[21]

We begin with the map's geographic details. The revised longitude of the Mississippi Delta shown on Delisles' 1703 map is affirmed on the 1718 map but now with vastly greater detail as elaborated in the inset map. Its accuracy along the Gulf Coast stems from Delisle's access to the coastal chart dated 1716 made by an officer and pilot of the French navy. Known only as Soupart, he participated in coastal surveying during 1715 between the Mississippi Delta and the west coast of Florida on the *Dauphine*, a brigantine in the French service.[22] Delisle's map contains the first accurate depiction of the lower reaches of the Arkansas and Red Rivers as they join the Mississippi (Fig. 12). Delisle shows the Missouri as a tributary of major size whose confluence with the Mississippi is close to accurate. Further up the Missouri, the outlets of the Kansas River ('Cansez') and the Platte ('Panis') are shown for the first time. This information was obtained from the journals of a French-Canadian officer Sieur de Bourgmont describing his 1714 expedition up the Missouri River as far as the Platte River. [23]

Near the Missouri, upstream, is a legend, which translated reads: 'The French have only ascended the Missouri this far' (Fig. 13).[24] To the left, the Missouri is shown ascending northwestward to the map's western edge. In 1673, seeing the heavy flow of the Missouri entering the Mississippi, Marquette remarked, 'I hope by means of it to make the discovery of the Vermillion Sea and California'.[25] Forty-five years later there was still a strong conviction among mapmakers that there must be some waterway across the continent or a short portage between a great eastward-draining river and one that emptied into the Pacific. On this map, Delisle does his part to uphold this hope. A legend names this westward extension 'Le Missouri R. ou Riv. Large'. The term 'Large' may be a reference to La Hontan's 'River Longue' marked on Delisles' 1703 map. By 1718 Guillaume had concluded that La Hontan's mysterious river represented a confusion with the Missouri River, an opinion no doubt influenced by Father Le Maire, who described the feature as a 'fairy tale'.[26] The mythical river was entirely removed, and this word 'Large' is the only remaining reference to this concept. It remained prominent on many maps of North America published for thirty more years.

The mapping of Texas and its complex river system is a great improvement on all prior published maps (Fig. 14).[27] The extensive body of southeast flowing rivers between the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) in the west and Red River in the east are detailed. The complex coastal features are shown including 'Baye of S Louis or S Bernard' (Matagorda Bay); the term S Louis here refers to the short-lived fort established here by La Salle in 1685. The three great tribes of the Caddo-speaking Indians are illustrated with the 'Cadodaquios' (Kadohadacho) and 'Natchitoches' along the Red River, and the 'Tejas' (Hasinai) to the west. Natchitoches, where a French trading presence had been established by Frenchman Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis as early as 1700, now shows text noting a French fort was established here by Sieur de Bienville in 1717, just one year before the Delisle map was printed. This same intrepid and wily explorer had led an extraordinary excursion across Texas to the Rio Grande in 1713–14 and back again in 1716. As noted on Delisle's map Saint-Denis was captured, interrogated and imprisoned by the Spanish in Mexico City. Impressed by his knowledge of the area they wished to claim, the Spanish commandered him to



Fig. 12 Guillaume Delisle, detail of 'Carte De La Louisiane Et Du Cours Du Mississippi', 1718, showing the most accurate depiction of the course of the Mississippi River with major rivers flowing into it, and especially a new detail of the Missouri River. Author's collection.



Fig. 13 Guillaume Delisle, detail of 'Carte De La Louisiane Et Du Cours Du Mississippi', 1718, showing upper western reaches of the Missouri River yet unexplored, next to headwaters of the Rio Grande River placed 7° latitude too far north. Author's collection.

lead them to the 'Mission de los Teijas etablie en 1716', the area of Hasinai Natives. This was the earliest of Spanish missions in east Texas. It was built to thwart the French threat evidenced by Saint-Denis' exploits. This notation – 'Teijas' – is the first appearance on a map of a form of the place name Texas.

In detailing the path of Saint-Denis across Texas as far as the Rio Grande and then back to the Mississippi from 1713 to 1716, and by showing the fort at Natchitoches, Delisle was demonstrating the French footprint in the form of prior French explorations to shore up its territorial claims. Likewise, after Bienville founded New Orleans in December 1718, the city would be prominently placed on all subsequent printings of this map. It does not appear on this example because it is the rare first state, printed before the city's founding.

Claude and Guillaume received information about the New World through a 'virtual' pipeline. The Compte de Pontchartrain, the Minister of the Marine, around the turn of the century had established an official Bureau of Maps and Plans in Paris to archive valuable written intelligence about the French colonies. French explorers such as Saint-Denis came back to key Louisiana forts for supplies and recovery. Their personal accounts together with copies of their journals and maps were conveyed to local authorities who passed this data downriver. The information was aggregated into official reports by others, such as Antoine de La Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, governor of Louisiana from 1713 to 1716.

One of these sources was especially important. In June 1706 François Le Maire arrived in Louisiana. His reports indicated that he, a secular priest, unassociated with any order, had become disillusioned with saving souls, but was fascinated with the political affairs, science and geography of Louisiana and the Gulf Coast. Serving primarily in Fort Louis in the French hub of Mobile Bay and for a few years in Pensacola Bay, Le Maire was a keen observer, talented geographer and sly recipient of French and Spanish information. Forming a trusted bond with Father Jean Bobé, a well-connected priest in Versailles, Le Maire sent him back detailed relations and manuscript maps; he, in turn delivered the materials to the Bureau, but often shared them directly with his close friends, the Delisles. Thus, as geographers to the King and members of the inner circle, they had access to the documents in the Bureau but occasionally even received advance copies from Bobé.[28]

Guillaume's task was to evaluate the maps and relations of his most important source, Le Maire, as

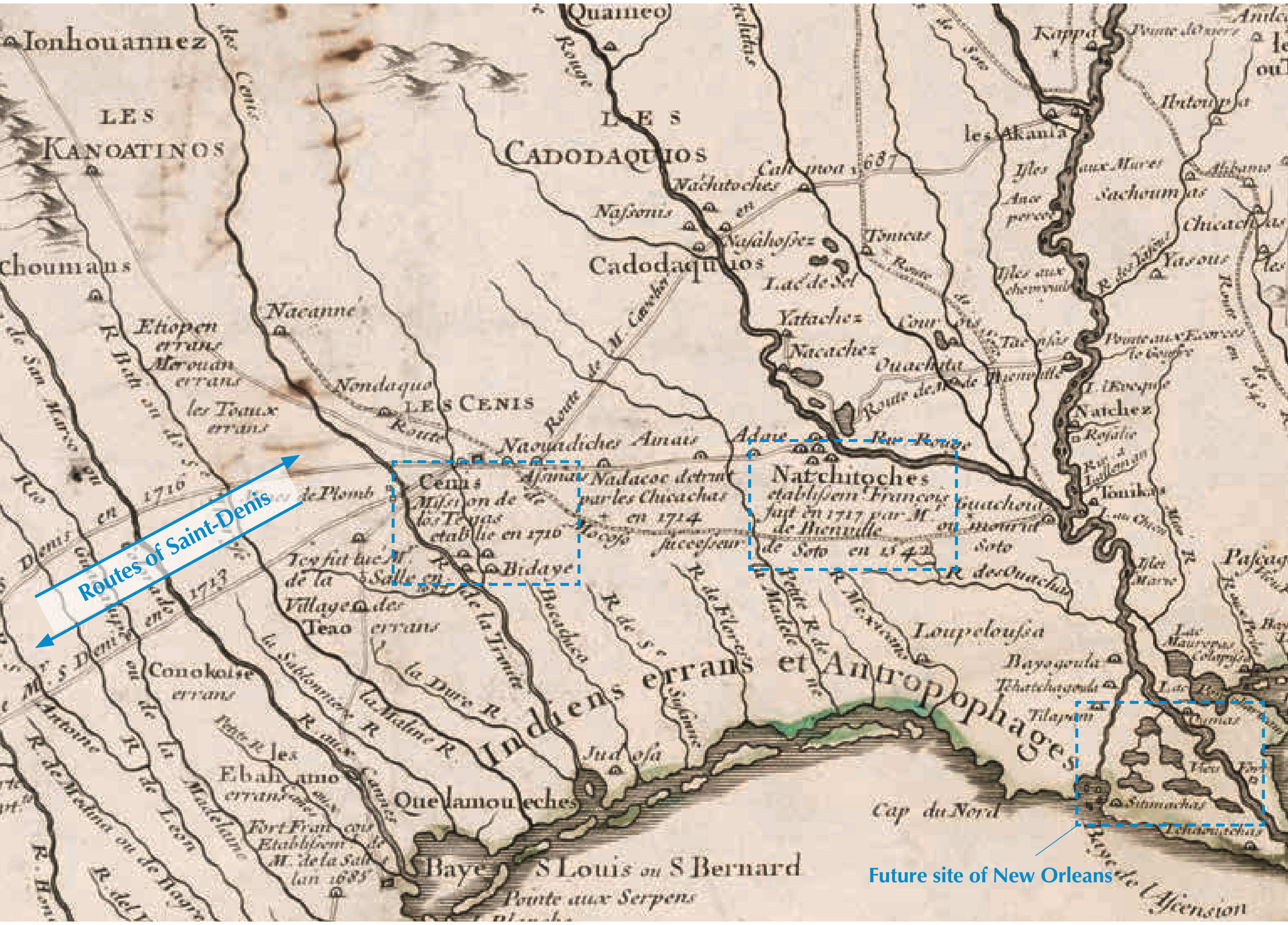


Fig. 14 Guillaume Delisle, detail of 'Carte De La Louisiane Et Du Cours Du Mississippi', 1718, showing details of Texas including 'Mission de los Teijas etablie en 1716', the first time that a form of Texas as a place name has appeared on a printed map. Author's collection.

well as those of many other primary sources, for example, the journals of the Sieur de Bourgmont's 1714 expedition up the Missouri River. For Texas, Delisle evaluated the inland itinerary of Spanish explorer Alonzo de León; coastal maps of cartographers Següenza and Enríquez Barroto; and early expeditions of Saint-Denis when he traded with the Caddo tribes up the Red River (labelled as Riv. Rouge on the map) as far as Cadodachos, as well as information from his later treks across Texas. For the coastal detail east of the Mississippi, Delisle relied on Le Maire, who in turn used Soupart's 1716 chart. One final manuscript map with significant new information about the far interior west up the Missouri, Arkansas and Rio Grande sent to the Bureau in December 1717 or early 1718, was shared with Delisle just before the publication of his great map in June 1718. The manuscript has been lost, but a manuscript copy survives, made by Sieur Vermale, a French cavalry officer responsible for preparing maps from the colonies.[29] Thus we can evaluate the final map sent by Le Maire used by Delisle through Vermale's copy.

The overly-extended Rio Grande River on the 1718 map

This lost map contains one final riddle that requires discussion. One of the most curious features of Delisle's map is the extremely elongated Rio Grande (labelled Riv. du Nort on the map) (Fig. 13).

Although the latitude of Taos and Santa Fe are only slightly north of their correct position, the Rio Grande extends north to the 45th parallel into the present state of Montana rather than in southern Colorado as it should be. It therefore almost touches the Missouri River at the northwestern corner of the map. Recall that on the 1700 Delisle map, the headwaters of the Rio Grande and the Missouri, or Pekitanoni, as it was called, were very close. Then, on the map made in 1703, the Delisles moved the Missouri far to the northwest and the headwaters of the Rio Grande remained in the south.

So why did Guillaume create this new fallacious arrangement that brought the rivers together? The final manuscript map by Father François Le Maire that was returned to France in late 1717 or early 1718 contained such an elongated Rio Grande[30] plus new details about the Indian tribes in the northwest. The erroneous information about the upper Rio Grande must have come from Saint-Denis and Derbanne's final trip, as Le Maire mentioned in correspondence of his receipt of the latter's journal; this was used in the preparation of the map.[31] Assuming the fresh information to be correct, Delisle copied Le Maire's image of the extended Rio Grande. Vermale's manuscript copy locates many of the known landmarks of New Mexico farther north on the Rio Grande than we now know them to be; presumably they are where Le Maire drew them. For example, Acoma and a reference to Cebola are depicted in what would be today's Colorado. Delisle wisely places these landmarks farther south where they belong, but still greatly extends the headwaters of the Rio Grande, with no place names along the way, to north of the 45th parallel.

Why was Delisle so easily convinced? For a considerable period the French believed that the great western river, which became known as the Missouri, must drain from the mountains near the headwaters of the Rio Grande. This belief was amply illustrated on the maps of La Salle, Hennepin and Franquelin. Le Maire states in a 1717 memoir: 'The sources of the Missouri are still unknown but there are strong reasons to believe that they are not far from the place where the Rio Bravo [Rio Grande] leaves [the Missouri]'.[32] If the sources of the Missouri were much further to the north, so must be the Rio Grande, and therefore it was stretched north seven additional degrees of latitude.

A roughly translated legend in the top left corner of Delisle's map notes: 'near this place, according to Indian reports, the Spanish ford the Missouri on horseback going to trade with nations located toward the northwest whence they bring back yellow iron' (see Fig. 13).[33] The placement of this legend seems strange because it is too far north on the map to connect with the Spaniards. But if the legend relates to the headwaters of the Rio Grande (where the Spaniards were fording the nearby Arkansas or Platte Rivers northeastward to trade gold), this Indian legend would have made sense provided the Rio Grande's headwaters were correctly located.[34] Although Delisle's elongated Rio Grande remained on copies of his 1718 map for years, it was quickly discarded on maps independently drawn by other mapmakers. For example, it does not appear on most of the maps based on the expeditions of La Harpe in the 1720s, Moll's map of North America in 1720, or the influential map of D'Anville in 1746.

Conclusion

Although Delisle's 1718 map contains errors, it was a great leap forward. Why were the Delisles' maps so praiseworthy? Just as in sports and business, success breeds success. As brilliant and exacting technicians, the Delisles received great acclaim. This led them to the inner circle of French geographers and resulted in early access to all the reports from French explorers and New World officials. Armed with these manuscript maps, reports, and those of many others, the Delisles applied their judgment to the preparation of their great map of Louisiana for publication in June 1718. In the map's title-block Delisle explained that his map was based on many first-hand sources, but singles out only one for special mention: Father Le Maire. The Delisle map revolutionised geographic knowledge of North America and, in tribute, the King created a special title for Guillaume: Premier Géographe du Roi.

This map had enormous influence in serving as the benchmark image of the interior West into the final decades of the eighteenth century. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Delisle family dominated the field of European mapmakers. Surely, the Delisles delivered a *tour de force* of cartographic expression.

Notes

1 One map focused on the Great Lakes and northeast region; the other on the southwest; both were probably published in 1687.

2 Carl Kupfer and David Buisseret, 'Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Explorers' Maps of the Great Lakes and Their Influence on Subsequent Cartography of the Region', *Journal of Jesuit Studies 6*, (2019), pp. 57–70.
3 Peter H. Wood, 'La Salle: Discovery of a Lost Explorer', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 89, no.2, April 1984, pp. 303–10.
4 Ralph E. Ehrenberg, 'Exploratory Mapping of the Great Plains before 1800', *Mapping the North American Plains*, eds. Frederick C. Luebke, Frances W. Kaye, and Gary E. Moulton. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, p. 7 and fn 11.
5 Philip Burden, *The Mapping of North America,* Rickmansworth, UK: Raleigh Publications, 2007, vol. 2, 482.
6 Seymour I. Schwartz and Henry Taliaferro, 'A Newly Discovered First State of a Foundation Map, L'Amerique Septentrionale'. *The Map Collector*, No. 26, March 1984, p. 4.
7 Jean Delanglez, 'The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703', *Mid-America 25*, 1943, p. 285.
8 Jean Delanglez, p. 289.
9 Schwartz and Taliaferro, p. 6.
10 This follows the 1660 North America map of Giovani Battista Nicolosi where it is labelled 'R. de San Francisco'.
11 The letter from Claude Delisle to Monsieur Régis of the Royal Academy of Science in Paris is described by Ernest Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain*. Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1965, p. 64.
12 Yet Delisle's globe, produced in 1700, clearly showed California as a peninsula as noted in Wagner, vol. 2, 322. Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937, vol.1, pp.140–42; image 141; vol. 2, map 459.
13 Delanglez, pp. 276–78.
14 Delanglez, pp. 291–92. The 1697 manuscript map of Louis de la Porte de Louvigny was also used.
15 W. Raymond Wood, 'Mapping the Missouri River Through the Great Plains, 1673-1895,' in Mapping the North American Plains, eds. Frederick C. Luebke, Frances W. Kaye, and Gary E. Moulton (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p.30.
16 Ehrenberg, p.182.
17 Delanglez, p. 298.
18 Jack Jackson and Winston DeVille, 'Le Maire and the 'Mother Map' of Delisle', *Mapping Texas and the Gulf Coast*, Jack Jackson, Robert S. Weddle, and Winston DeVille eds. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1990, p. 32.
19 Tiguex was originally the name given in 1540 by Coronado's Spaniards for the collection of pueblos near the upper Rio Grande from Taos south to Albuquerque; some of his men spent two winters there. But nothing was known about the area to the north, home of the Tiguas.
20 R.V. Tooley, *The Mapping of America*. London: Holland Press Limited, 1980, p. 11.
21 Susan Schulten, *A History of America in 100 Maps.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2018, pp. 64–71.
22 Jack Jackson, 'The Soupart Map of 1716 and its Influence on Gulf Cartography', *Mapline*, No. 81–82, Winter 1996-1997, p. 11.
23 Ehrenberg, *'Exploratory Mapping* of the Great Plains before 1800', 184. Also, Wood, 'Mapping the Missouri River Through the Great Plains, 1673–1895', p. 30.
24 Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, vol. 1, p. 67.
25 W.P. Cumming, S. Hillier, D.B. Quinn, G. Williams, *The Exploration of North America 1630-1776*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1974, p.160.
26 Jackson and DeVille, p. 31.
27 Authors Jackson and DeVille make the point that had Delisle been willing to accept the river system well described by Saint Denis's itinerary, the reader would have been better off. But Delisle's insistence to blend incorrect stream courses and names from his 1703 map created some problems. Jackson and DeVille , p. 43.
28 Jackson and De Ville, p.28.
29 The map titled 'Carte Generale de la Louisiane ou du Miciscipi' was most likely produced in early 1718 (dated 1717 by another hand). An image of Vermale's manuscript map is found in Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, fig. 98 and pictured opposite page 63 in vol. 1. Additional commentary in Jack Jackson, *Manuscript Maps Concerning the Gulf Coast, Texas, and the Southwest (1519–1836).* Chicago: Newberry Library, 1995, pp. 22–23.
30 Jackson and DeVille, pp. 44-45.
31 Jackson and DeVille, p. 44.
32 Jackson and DeVille, p. 36.
33 Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, vol. 1, 67 The text was derived from a memoir of Le Maire according to Jackson and DeVille, p. 45.
34 Delisle takes care to locate various Indian names near the rivers of the Great Plains. We see numerous references to the Padoucas, a name generally thought to be associated with the Commanche, whose range was further south than shown during this period. Again, because the Rio Grande is mistakenly placed way too far to the north, the Padoucas are placed there as well.

Wes Brown has been a map collector for forty-five years, first starting in college. His greatest interest is in mapping the western US, especially Colorado. He also loves early world and Chinese maps. He has published many papers and is actively involved in numerous map organisations.
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IMCoS MATTERS



IMCOS SUMMER LECTURES

Wednesday 9 June 7pm
The Malcolm Young Lecture
Daniel Crouch
A Protestant Wind or Hot Air? A study of the Astor Armada drawings

The Lecture

In January 2021 a set of ten ink and watercolour drawings were acquired by the National Museum of the Royal Navy. The re-discovered manuscripts are the earliest visual representations of the progress of the Spanish Armada and depict one of the greatest events in British naval history from the sighting of the fleet at the Lizard on the 29 July 1588 to the Battle of Gravelines on 8 August 1588. The drawings had, in 1828, been identified as preparatory sketches for Robert Adams and August Ryther's engravings, 'Expeditionis Hispanorum in Angliam Vera Descriptio'– the first commercially-produced English prints – published in 1590, to accompany Ryther's description of the battle, *A Discourse Concerninge the Spanishe Fleet*…. The lecture discusses the penmanship, provenance and production of the maps, and raises the possibility that, rather than being preparatory sketches for a printed work, they comprise separately-produced illustrations to accompany a now lost manuscript despatch of the campaign. In either case, both the drawings and the prints are shown to have played a vital role as part of protestant propaganda and the Tudor spin machine.

The Speaker

Daniel has worked as a bookseller since the age of sixteen; first at Sanders of Oxford on weekends and holidays whilst at school and university, before starting full-time in 1997 and becoming General Manager in 1998. Subsequent to this, he left to work as a business developer in the book department at Bonham's auction house in 1999. In 2002 he was invited to set up a map and atlas department at Bernard Shapero Rare Books in London.

Daniel has given numerous lectures on maps and atlases, including talks at the Library of Congress, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and the Fine Art Museum, Houston.

In the summer of 2010, with the support of a group of their customers, Daniel together with Nick Trimming started Daniel Crouch Rare Books. Daniel still lives in Oxford.

REGISTRATION:
https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/153323088485

This lecture will be followed with the presentation of the IMCoS/Helen Wallis award.

Wednesday 16 June 2pm
Peter Geldart
Mapping the British Occupation of Manila 1762–64

The Lecture

Towards the end of the Seven Years War, the East India Company (EIC) saw an opportunity, supported

by the British government, to seize the Philippines from Spain. An invasion fleet was assembled in Madras and arrived in Manila Bay on 23 September 1762. Within ten days Manila had fallen, and the acting Governor-General, Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo, surrendered. The British went on to capture Cavite and the Manila galleon *Santísima Trinidad*, but faced resistance by a native army under Simón de Anda. Under the terms of the 1763 Treaty of Paris, Manila was returned to Spain on 31 March 1794 by the then Provisional Deputy-Governor, Alexander Dalrymple, who would later become hydrographer to the EIC and (in 1795) the first Hydrographer to the British Admiralty.

Peter will discuss the background to the invasion, the dramatic attack on the fortified citadel, subsequent events, the return of Manila to Spain, and the cartographic consequences of the occupation. To illustrate his talk, he will show maps from the British Library, George III's Collection of Military Maps held by the Royal Collection Trust, the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center Collection at the Boston Public Library, the Library of Congress, and private collections in Manila.

The Speaker

Peter Geldart, who retired after a long career in banking and finance spent mostly in Asia, now resides partly in Manila and partly in Hong Kong. A keen map collector, he is a member of the Philippine Map Collectors Society (PHIMCOS) as well as IMCoS. In 2017 he curated and wrote the catalogue for the PHIMCOS exhibition titled 'Mapping the Philippine Seas', and is also the editor of the PHIMCOS journal, *The Murillo Bulletin*. He has assisted the Hong Kong Maritime Museum in cataloguing its map collection, and is an occasional contributor of book and exhibition reviews for the *IMCoS Journal*.

REGISTRATION:

https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/152104628037

(Note different time.)

Wednesday 23 June 7pm

Paula van Gestel

Wall maps published in the Netherlands between c.1550 and 1850

The Lecture

Paula van Gestel will present aspects of her research for a cartobibliography on Dutch wall maps which she has been compiling with Günter Schilder since 2010. In addition to setting out their defining characteristics, manner of construction, sources, geographic and decorative content and the historical context, she will also discuss several prominent publishers of wall maps, the commercial environment, and issues of privileges and commissions.

The Speaker

Paula van Gestel has been affiliated with the historical cartographic research programme Explokart (https://explokart.eu/) at the University of Amsterdam since 1999. She is also a member of the staff and board member of the Explokart Foundation and the Cartographiae Historicae *Cathedra* (CHC Foundation) for whom she additionally fund raises, edits, and supervises various projects. In 2007 she published the Liber Amicorum for Günter Schilder, *Mappæ antiquæ* and in 2011 Part 13 of the Explokart series *Maps in books of Russia and Poland*. She received the IMCoS/Helen Wallis Award in 2013.

REGISTRATION:

https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/152108419377

Wednesday 30 June 7pm

Wes Brown

Alzate y Ramirez and the mapping of New Spain

The Lecture

In 1768, Mexican Jesuit priest Don José Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez, created a large manuscript map of New Spain (defined at the time as those portions of North America controlled by Spain) which, in a bold move, he sent to the French Royal Academy of Sciences hoping that the learned society would publish it. For centuries, Spain had guarded its geographic knowledge about the New World and rarely allowed information to be published. Alzate's outrageous breech of protocol resulted in the publication of the only map of New Spain printed in the eighteenth century using Spanish information. The map is rich with new geographic information of the area which would become the western United States. The lecture will describe this extraordinary map in the context of the limited knowledge of that region of America at the time.

The Speaker

Wes has been a collector of old maps for over 45 years with a particular interest in the exploration and

settlement of Colorado and western North America from the sixteenth through to the twentieth century. His other collecting passion is early world maps up to 1540. He is an eager student of the history of maps and mapmaking, a frequent speaker at conferences, and has published numerous articles. He is the founder of the Rocky Mountain Map Society and is IMCoS's new International Chairman.

REGISTRATION:
https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/152109701211

Annual general meeting 2021

The Executive Committee has decided that the cancellation of the London Map Fair and the likelihood that international travel restrictions will still be in place in June will make it impossible to hold a face-to-face Annual General Meeting in London again this year. It has reluctantly been decided that the AGM will follow the pattern adopted in 2020. The Agenda and all relevant documents will be posted in the members section of the website in August 2021. Voting on all resolutions will be invited via a ballot paper on the IMCoS website during the first two weeks of September. The EXCOM will meet shortly thereafter to receive the voting results and to take actions as required. Members will receive further information and full details of the voting procedure by email in due course.
David Dare, IMCoS Secretary

Treasurer's report for 2020

Because of the pandemic, the accounts this year show a very different figure to what was expected, however, we have balanced the books and have not had to draw on reserves. At the onset of the first lockdown in March, the committee decided to support our advertisers (who are also members) by forgoing fees for the spring edition of the journal whilst none of us could foresee how trading would develop with closed premises and no London Map Fair. This reduced our revenue by £4,500. As the year progressed some activities were curtailed and the advent of Zoom meant that we saved on committee meeting costs. Our contribution to the hospitality costs of the Maps and Society lectures was not needed, and our total expenditure has been reduced by £2,000. Our final (happy) result has been a surplus of £361.

I have much enjoyed my thirteen years as Treasurer and the opportunities to join visits and other activities. I am very grateful for the help of our Administrators, first Sue Booty and then Peter Walker. Finally, a word of thanks to our honorary examiners, Cyrus Alai and Peter Batchelor who have reviewed our accounts for many years and both of whom now wish to retire from these duties.
Jeremy Edwards, our former Treasurer

25–27 August 2021 Sydney

Mapping the Pacific

State Library of New South Wales, Sydney

The State Library of New South Wales's 2020 conference *Mapping the Pacific*, which had to be cancelled because of the Covid-19 pandemic, will be going ahead in 2021 from 25–27 August. The conference is planned as a three-day event with presentations from international scholars who will examine the traditional wayfinding knowledge of the Pacific community, European exploration and the mapping of the Pacific from the early modern era through to the nineteenth century.

Considering the continuing impact of Covid-19, the current programme is under review and will be delivered through a combination of online and onsite presentations with the expectation that many of the planned international speakers and members will be able to attend virtually. The conference website is currently under review, but information is available on the venue, accommodation and Sydney attractions.

The conference website is:
https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/research-and-collections/research-and-engagement /mapping-pacific-conference
Enquires can be sent to: Maggie Patton, Manager, Research & Discovery, State Library of NSW
maggie.patton@sl.nsw.gov.au

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38TH IMCOS INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

Mapping the World, the Belgian contribution

11 – 14 October 2021, Brussels, Belgium

Hosted by the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR)
and the Brussels Map Circle (BIMCC)

THE 38TH IMCOS INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM will highlight the early Belgian contributions to the development of cartography worldwide, such as the introduction of triangulation techniques (Frisius, van Deventer), first world atlases (Ortelius, Mercator) and the first navigation charts using the Mercator projection.

This extraordinary history will include the Golden Age of Flemish cartography as well as masterpieces of the later periods. The visits to Belgian collections will also reveal cartographic works from Dutch, Italian, French and English origin.

The symposium logo of the Pythagorean tetrad stems from an early ninth-century manuscript in the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR) which contains amongst other texts, Isidore's *De natura rerum*. It summarises all the topics which will be explored during the conference: the earth element stands for land cartography; the air for celestial cartography; the water for the portolans and sea charts and the fire for maps related to warfare and fortifications plans.

This symposium is planned as a three-day event, commencing with an opening reception on the evening of 11 October 2021 at the Royal Library, morning presentations on 12–14 October at the KBR and afternoon visits to collections/institutions with remarkable map collections. These may include the State Archives of Belgium, the Art & History Museum, and the Royal Military Museum. An official dinner will close the conference on 14 October 2021.

Information on hotel accommodation is available in detail on the Symposium website (see below).

A three-day optional coach tour has been planned which will focus on historical landmarks in Belgium: Antwerp, Ypres (Flanders Fields) and Ghent.

Further details on the conference programme, the optional tour and registration will be available at http://imcos2021brussels.org and at http://www.bimcc.org, and http://www.kbr.be.

REGISTRATION IS NOW OPEN

Mapping the World, the Belgian contribution

PROGRAMME

Monday 11 Oct. 2021

17:00 KBR Registration

18:00– 19:00 KBR Reception

Tuesday 12 Oct. 2021

09:00 Registration

09:30 Opening

10:00 *Where are you? Introduction to Belgium* by Prof. Wouter Bracke, KBR/ULB

10:30 Coffee

11:00 *Darkness there and nothing more? Medieval cartography and the Liber Floridus* by Dr Karen De Coene

11:30 *Intersections of military architecture and cartography in the Low Countries(1540–1625), from Jacob van Deventer to Pierre Le Poivre* by Prof. Pieter Martens, VUB

12:00 free* Lunch at leisure*

13:30 Guided visit to the 'Dukes of Burgundy' museum (in KBR)

15:30 Viewing of KBR map collections

17:00 Close of day's events

Wednesday 13 Oct. 2021

09:30 *Ortelius: the man and his world* by Joost Depuydt, Curator at the Museum Plantin Moretus

10:00 *Gerard Mercator as a maker of scientific instruments: aspects of materialised knowledge* by Prof. Koenrad van Cleempoel (Universiteit Hasselt)

10.30 Coffee

11.00 *Northern Europe in sixteenth-century nautical cartography: a comprehensive review* by Luis Robles (PhD candidate), ULB

11:30 *Between Heaven and Earth. Michiel Florent van Langren and his map of the Moon* by Prof. Geert Vanpaemel, KU Leuven

12:00 free* Lunch at leisure*

14:00 Visit to the scientific section of the Art & History Museum

15:30 Visit to the Map room of the Royal Army Museum

16:30 End of day's programme

Thursday 14 Oct. 2021

09:30 *Oostende East India Company 1722–1742* by Dr Jan Parmentier, Museum aan de Stroom

09.55 *From a 1761 Venus transit to the Second Military Survey – the century of the Habsburg Empire in cartography* by Prof. G. Timár (Eötvös University, Hungary)

10.20 *The role of geography and cartography in Leopold II's imperialist ventures around the time of the Berlin Conference (1884–1885)* by Dr Jan Vandersmissen, (UGent)

10:45 Coffee

11:10 *The 'Mappoethèque' of Philippe Vandermaelen* by Maguerite Silvestre (to be confirmed)

11.35 *The Mapping of the Antarctic Peninsula by European Nations around 1900* by Robert Clancy

12:00 free* Lunch at leisure*

14:30 Visit to the Map room of the State Archives of Belgium

16:30 Close of day's events

18:30 Reception at the Cercle Gaulois / Official dinner at the Cercle Gaulois / Speeches

Friday–Sunday 15–17 Oct. 2021

Optional touristic excursion by bus to Antwerp, Ghent and World War I memorial locations.

* Lunch not included in registration fee.

YOU WRITE TO US

I have been contacted by the map collector P.J. Mode about an item he has recently acquired for his fascinating Persuasive Maps Collection of more than 800 items at Cornell University Library. It is an allegorical map of France as a galleon on the rocks at the time of the Revolution and the title starts: 'The Kingdom of France is represented under the form of a ship …'. It is framed on both sides by a lengthy printed text 'Events of Paris from the beginning of the Revolution' (see inset image). The full sheet measures 68 x 101 cm, the map 43 x 44 cm.

The British Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and the Library of Congress all catalogue the items as 'author unknown', but there is a clue in the imprint: which reads: 'Published as the Act directs, June 28th, 1796, by the Author, No. 49 Great Portland Street."

I have also located a companion map with the same date and address: 'The Kingdom of France, being one of the most antient in Europe is represented as an oak…'. This has a typographical listing of events from 1789 to 1795 arranged by place from Aix to Zealand.

The McMaster University Library exemplar can be viewed online at: https://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A21825

I have searched my topographical guide to the London book trades (https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/streets-g.html) and also such 1790s directories and court guides as I can find online but without success. Are there any readers who could suggest an identification of the cartographer or the compiler of the texts – not necessarily the same individuals.

Ian Maxted, Exeter, UK (ianmaxted@hotmail.co.uk)



Author unknown, 'The Kingdom of France is represented under the form of a ship …', (London: s.n, 1795) Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/91680104/. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.


GERMANY
SWABIA
SWITZERLAND
STATE OF VENICE
SAVOY
PARIS
DEPARTEMENT DU NORD
Dunkerque
Ypres
Courtray
Tournay
Mons
Namur
Sambre R.
Meuse R.
Liege
Maestricht
Juliers
Cologne
Bonne
Mozelle R.
Spa
Luxemburg
Frankfort
Main R.
Worms
Rhine R.
Landau
Philipsburg
Freiburg
Basle
Grattauer
Berne
Sion
Geneva
Milan
Pavia
Po R.
Chamberry
Meridian
Out of Paris
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Flanders
Germany
Swabia
Switzerland
Savoy
Spain

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mappae Mundi of Medieval Iceland Studies in Old Norse Literature *by Dale Kedwards. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2020. ISBN 9781843845690. HB, 256, 23 illus. STG £60.*



Apart from three exemplars of a plan of Jerusalem dating from about 1300, we have only five maps from medieval Iceland, and there are those who would say they are hardly maps at all; none has any drawn geographic outlines, though one names 136 places and other features, placing them in their relative positions within a circular zonal diagram, while another is centred on a tiny T-O map of the three continents. Two others show the continents along with the postulated southern inhabitable land set in circles that name the Equator, the Tropics and the Arctic and Antarctic zones, and the fifth simply distinguishes the ocean and the inhabitable lands to north and south. To doubt their relevance in a book about maps, however, does them less than justice: they are of extraordinary interest, of real importance in the development of cartographic imaging, and they fully justify this account of them in a book that is both detailed and learned.

From the start the author emphasises that the maps cannot be properly understood in isolation from what else we know of the culture that produced them, a point that might well be made of many other maps besides these. Here, we might say that the maps themselves at least make a start on just this point. On the first page of the bifolium on which two of the maps were drawn, at the Augustinian monastery at Vithey in south-west Iceland, is a list of forty priests, ten from each of Iceland's four quarters. A note at the end explains that the list was first compiled in 1143, when all those named were still alive. This is not to be seen as a comprehensive list of Iceland's clergy at that time; it is introduced simply as 'the names of some highborn Icelandic priests'. It at least gives us a tiny fragment of background in which to set the maps.

One interesting feature of these Icelandic maps is that they are all oriented with south at the top. We should not see this as pointing to the similarly oriented maps from the Islamic world as their model, but we may perhaps see the same mental process at work. In both cases is it not perhaps in looking upwards on the map that the viewer is directed towards what the mapmaker regarded as their most important centre of interest, on the Islamic maps unquestionably Medina and Mecca. On portolan charts, north-oriented, it was presumably the North Star. Can we say that on the Icelandic maps it was continental Europe, with its general culture, its literature and its maps?

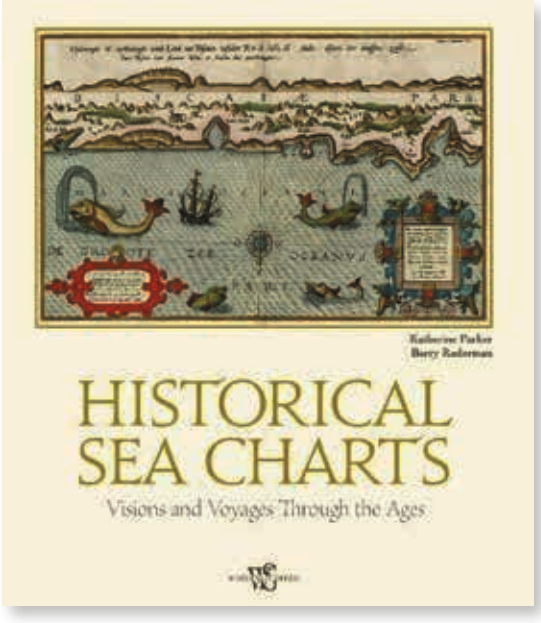
What becomes clear from the Icelandic maps is that behind the development of what we see as normal maps, with linear outlines, a clear distinction between land and sea, careful positioning and naming of settlements and other features, must lie a long history of which we know less than we might wish, with the successive emergence of all that to our minds makes a map. At what point we start to call it a map, not a geographically ordered list or itinerary, is an interesting question, to which there are likely to be answers that are significantly different and arguably equally valid, equally helpful in our understanding of the emergence of cartographic conventions. In the Icelandic maps we have what can at least be seen as an early stage in the process.

The book is bound in boards illustrated, colourfully and cheerfully, with ten images taken from the world

map of about 1050 that is the earliest to show Iceland (British Library, Cotton MS. Tiberius B.v, f.56v). It is a shame that the book's illustrations of other maps are all printed in a dark brown that makes the inscriptions difficult, even impossible, to read, and that makes a nonsense of the note accompanying the fourteenth-century zonal map that explains its use of colours to distinguish the cold polar and the hot equatorial regions. But what colours? – they are defined only in the text, 130 pages away. These are the only flaws in a book that is as important as it is interesting.

P.D.A. Harvey, University of Durham, UK

Historical Sea Charts: Visions and Voyages through the Ages *by Katherine Parker and Barry Lawrence Ruderman. Milan: White Star Publishers, 2020. ISBN 9788854417168. HB, 208, 100 illus. STG £28.38.*



It might seem unusual to begin the review of a book by alluding to its heft (1.75 kg) and page size (310 × 270 mm): the authors, Dr Katherine Parker and Barry Lawrence Ruderman, clearly negotiated with White Star Publishers of Novara, a specialist publisher of illustrated books, a format and paper quality sufficient to allow the most attractive display of an extraordinary range of sea charts. The generous page size, and the quality and definition of the colour printing throughout, lets the reader study the maps (only in extreme cases needing a glass) as though he or she had the originals on the desk.

The collaboration of Parker and Ruderman is particularly effective. Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. is increasingly acknowledged internationally as one of the leading antiquarian map specialists, with an extensive digital archive of high-grade map images. Katherine Parker, as the Ruderman research officer, has a faultless academic pedigree, with a Pittsburgh PhD in sevententh- and eighteenth-century Pacific geographic knowledge, and the position of Honorary Administrative Editor in the Hakluyt Society. Together they have selected 88 manuscript and printed charts, all but ten deriving from the Ruderman digital archive (and one might conjecture a possible previous Ruderman interest in those ten), grouping them in six broad chronological categories: portolans, isolarios and the Mediterranean; Dutch seventeenth-century hydrography; the eighteenth century; national hydrographic services; nineteenth-century private and commercial chartmaking; and 'the continuing manuscript tradition'. Each section is introduced by an allusive Parker introductory essay, setting the cartography in its wider context. Inevitably there is some 'leakage' between categories: James Horsburgh's southern China Sea (pp. 158–59) and John Walker's River Hooghly and Balasore Roads (pp. 164–65) show the nineteenth-century East India Company more as a national hydrographic service than a commercial publisher.

It is always open to the purist to take issue with the term 'sea chart' when what charts generally show is land where the sea meets it. The most hazardous part of a voyage is when a ship approaches its destination (or unexpected) coast, particularly a sailing ship driven by an onshore wind: the mariner needs to recognise the coast quickly and adjust direction to reach the chosen port. The value of quality and detail in early coastal topography is clear in the authors' choice of the Piri Reis Adriatic chart (pp. 14–17) and the Mediterranean islands in the Ollive portolan atlas (pp. 24–25). The allure of the sea chart has always been in coastline depiction, either in plan or (in later engraved charts) in coastal recognition profiles.

One might also hesitate at the statement in the introduction (p. 6) that 'Charts are only necessary when one is out of sight of the shoreline or sailing in unknown waters.' Open ocean charts (nowadays oceanic plotting charts), maintained on a voyage by

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World Map by P.Kaerius / J. Janssonius, 1632



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noon solar altitudes for latitude and by 'dead reckoning' (properly 'deduced reckoning') for longitude progress, can only be tentative, and subject to the retrospective apportionment of accumulated error when the series of shipboard calculations of daily position is subsequently reconciled with the established coordinates of the port of arrival. Charts which display information useful in open ocean are rare, which makes the authors' choice of the Mount & Page 'England to Cape Bona Espranca' (pp. 74–75) the more interesting. The *karrepad* or *wagenweg* for passage into the South Atlantic between Guinea and Brazil was the advised route to guide mariners to combat the Benguela Current, which, if not allowed for, would carry a southbound ship to strand on the Brazil coast north of Cape Recife. Overcompensation would take a ship into dead water in the Gulf of Guinea.

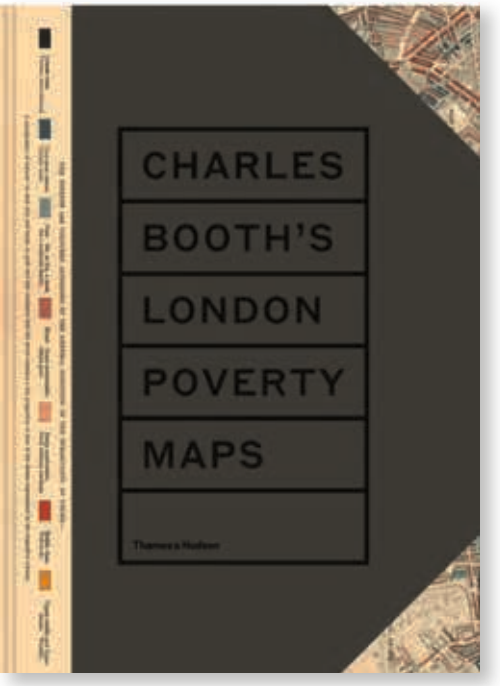
An attractive element of basing a publication on an antique map specialist's archive is the inclusion of groups of maps and charts which have seen use, rather than relying on illustrations of pristine but sterile examples from institutional collections. Particularly interesting is the group of three China items (pp. 134–39), clearly associated by their extravagant hand-colouring and dissection for mounting. Belcher's 1841 Admiralty chart of Hong Kong corrected to 1857, Heywood's 1804 Macao corrected to 1858, and the Admiralty compilation map of the North East Provinces of China of 1860, were brought together for a user during the Second Opium War, the north-east China map reflecting British Government use of its Hydrographic Office under Admiral John Washington as an intelligence resource.

In this example, as throughout the book, Parker's insightful research notes complement the images well. Errors are few, though it is strange to find Fielding Lucas Jr (Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, pp. 168–71) biographised as 'Lucas Fielding Jr'. In this exceptional book there are 88 reasons for starting new lines of cartographic research: if the map you like is still on the Ruderman website, he might sell you a digital high-resolution image download for 30 dollars!

Andrew S. Cook, St Andrews, Fife

Charles Booth's London Poverty Maps

by Mary S. Morgan and the London School of Economics. London: Thames & Hudson & London School of Economics, 2019. ISBN 9780500022290. HB, 288, lavishly illustrated. STG £49.95.



© Thames & Hudson

Charles Booth's poverty maps of London once seen are never forgotten, their striking graphics reveal in equal measure the extent of the city's population living in penury in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Charles Dickens and Henry Mayhew had already drawn attention to the plight of the poor but it was a claim made by the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885 that twenty-five percent of London's population lived in poverty that galvanized Booth to investigate the causes of the city's misery. He attempted to understand the lives of Londoners through a tripartite investigation of their places of work and working conditions, their homes and the urban environments in which they lived, and through the religious life of the city.

Booth and his team of investigators, accompanied by London School Board visitors and policemen on their beats, pounded the capital's streets to record, in astonishing detail, the living conditions of its population. They interviewed factory owners, workers and trade union representatives at their places

of work or in their homes. They visited ministers of religion and their congregations. The data captured of the city's households were documented in 450 notebooks, the research of which culminated in the seventeen-volume publication *Inquiry Into the Life and Labour of the People in London* published between 1889 and 1903.

Accompanying the first edition of volume I (1889) was the first of Booth's signature colour-coded maps: 'Descriptive Map of East End Poverty'. It covered East London and Hackney and was based on information gathered by School Board visitors between 1886 and 1887. The second map, published in volume II (1891) and printed in four sheets covered the whole of London. Each street of the sixty preparatory maps and the twelve final printed maps was colour coded to indicate the level of poverty found there – black and dark blue for those in abject circumstances ('loafers and semi criminals'); pale blue for those who had barely sufficient to sustain a family; pink for the comfortable, working class in regular employment; red for the middleclass without servants; and yellow for those with and the 'well-to-dos'.

Though Booth's Inquiry was a landmark in social science and his methods of investigation unparalleled, the accompanying maps are probably his most important and enduring legacy.

The title reviewed is a joint publishing venture between the London School of Economics, holders of the Charles Booth's archives (available on open access at https://booth.lse.ac.uk) and the art and design-led publishing house Thames & Hudson. It is an astute partnership, the LSE as authorities over the content and T & H who ably translate Booth's maps to make a visually exciting book suitable for a general readership.

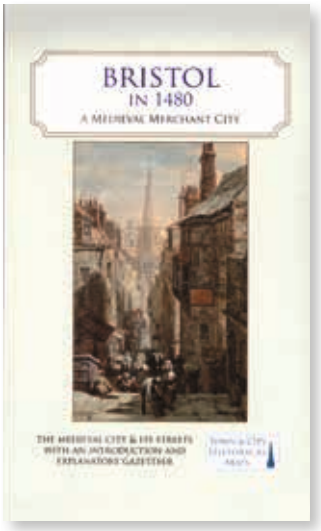
Editor and contributor Mary S. Morgan, Professor of the History of Economics in the London School of Economics, explains in the introduction the aims and methodology of Booth's original and complex survey, his understanding of the causes of poverty and the reception to, and legacy of, his pioneering work. The book is organised into six thematic chapters by contributing authors, Anne Power, Katie Garner, Aileen Reid, Jacob F. Field, Sarah Wise and Inderbir Bhullar. Each author addresses one of the principal themes of Booth's Inquiry – housing, immigration, religion, trade, morality and leisure – and frames their essay within a wider historical context. Chapter II on immigration provides a revealing insight into 'migration hierarchy' – the value of migrants according to their perceived contribution to the economic well-being of the nation. Despite an attempt to record data dispassionately, it was clear from the investigators' notes that migrants were assessed on the basis of their utility: Germans were generally admired for their industry, while the 'lascars' and African and Caribbean migrants were largely dismissed.

The chapters are interspersed with interleaving sections of maps of the twelve geographic districts – covering an area from Hammersmith in the west to Greenwich in the east, and from Hampstead in the north to Clapham in the south – which Booth used to divide London, each street coloured according to the socio-economic experience of the households. The chapters are enriched with photographs of contemporary London life. 'Trade' is particularly well illustrated with scenes of London's markets, poignant images of spent homeworkers and children labouring to earn their keep. Included in each section are reproductions of pages from investigators' notebooks, sufficiently enlarged to be able to read with ease. Describing Brand Street in Holloway in Notebook B348/239 the note-taker wrote: 'Whelks and vegetable refuse lying in the street, costers the inhabitants. Cat's meat seller. Cooked horse flesh. 2 ½ *d*. per lb, and men make a very good living at it too for nearly every poor family is a customer for its cats even though it can hardly afford to feed itself'.

The title's large format (36.5 x 26.5 cm) is a great advantage to the reader. With maps spread across a double page, street names are effortlessly legibly and the binding ensures that information is not lost in the gutter. A fascinating exercise has been to plot the change, or not, in the economic circumstances of the streets where I lived during my time in London. While some areas have been gentrified beyond recognition, others have remained resolutely poor. I suspect Booth's explanation for the causes of such persevering poverty – 'irregular employment and poorly rewarded economic activity' – remain pertinent today.

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird, Quendon, UK

Bristol in 1480 – A Medieval Merchant City. The Medieval City & its Streets with an Introduction and Explanatory Gazetteer *by The Historic Towns Trust in association with the University of Bristol. Oxford: The Historic Towns Trust, 2020. ISBN 9780993469879. STG £9.99.*



This new map of Bristol in 1480 is a worthy addition to the steady output of The Historic Towns Trust. One of the greatest cities in medieval England, Bristol had the distinction of becoming the only county of itself save London from 1373 and became a diocese in 1542. This publication's declared aim is to rediscover Bristol's heyday as an important merchant city, occupying a key strategic location. It succeeds well in doing so. The choice of date is important in cartographic history for the 1480 map view of Bristol incorporated in *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar* for that year is usually recognised as the earliest town map of anywhere in England. It is appropriately reproduced on the reverse of the present publication.

Bristol in 1480 attempts to map the detailed topographic description and perambulation of the place made that year by William Worcestre, noting that 'traces of his footsteps can be found throughout this map'. The map shows the built-up area and the boundary of the County of Bristol and draws our attention to important buildings and social institutions of the city such as churches, almshouses and taverns. A useful inset showing trades and occupations such as milling, metal workers and dyers is included. One impression gained from the map is that at least within the walls, urban development was very concentrated there being little *rus in urbe* characteristic of many similar cities of the time.

The whole of the reverse of the map is used as a thematic gazetteer, starting with a list and details of the eighteen churches which were crammed into the fairly small medieval core. Other sections include information on religious buildings, markets and fairs, water supply and town houses. There are also sociological themes such as migrants, and crime and punishment, in the city. These detailed descriptions help to bring the map to life and are nicely co-ordinated with the themes shown on it.

The map might have been better if it had shown a slightly smaller area, there being quite large empty parts at the edges. This would also have given more prominence to the core within the walls. Indeed, it is noted that 'the streetscape of the town within its walls was studded with fine parish churches serving local communities of residents and craft guilds'. Why then not show the parish boundaries and names? The parish was probably the most significant badge and determinant of local identity at the time. Still, this addition to the Historic Towns series is a valuable one. The map is affordably priced, nicely designed and produced, and is commended to map historians, collectors and anyone else interested in the development of this vitally important English city.

David Fletcher, Department of Geography,
University of Sussex

Books Received

The Story of the Two Volumes: 'General Maps of Persia' and 'Special Maps of Persia' *by Cyrus Alai. Cologne: Forough Publishing, 2021. ISBN 9873965310421. Copies can be obtained from the publisher at foroughbooks@gmail.com.*
This book was written in response to the frequently asked question posed to the author: 'What were your motives for writing these books [*General Maps of Persia 1477–1925* (2005) and *Special Maps of Persia 1477–1925* (2010)]?' This slim volume, written in Persian, is a condensed history of the creation of those two award-winning volumes on maps of Persia.

CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Lectures & conference

Please note that the lectures and/or conferences are currently listed as online events, though there may be some which will be hybrid events. Please check with the organisers.

3 June 2021 28th Annual Series Oxford Seminars in Cartography will be virtual. Katherine Parker (Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. / Hakluyt Society) will discuss ***Revision and erasure: indigenous presence and maps of southern Patagonia, 1670–1750***. Seminars run from 4.30pm to 6.00pm (BST) via Zoom. Information: nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

9 June 2021 IMCoS Summer Lecture at 7 pm (BST) conducted via Zoom. ***A Protestant Wind or Hot Air? A study of the Astor Armada drawings.*** Daniel Crouch(Daniel Crouch Rare Books) will discuss recently sold 'rediscovered' manuscripts of the earliest visual representations of the progress of the Spanish Armada. The lecture is free but registration is necessary. Register at: https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/153323088485
This lecture will be followed with the presentation of the IMCoS/ Helen Wallis award.

12 June 2021 New York Map Society Historian Lindsay Frederick Braun will speak on ***Mapping in 19th Century Africa***. Registration is not required. Braun's work over the last decade and a half has involved surveying, mapping, and struggles over land and landscape in South Africa between the middle of the 19th century and the First World War. Information: http://www.newyorkmapsociety.org/

16 June 2021 IMCoS Summer Lecture at 2 pm (BST) conducted via Zoom. Peter Geldart will discuss ***Mapping the British Occupation of Manila 1762–64***. To illustrate his talk, he will show maps from the British Library, George III's Collection of Military Maps held by the Royal Collection Trust, the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center Collection at the Boston Public Library, the Library of Congress, and private collections in Manila. The lecture is free but registration is necessary. Register at: https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/152104628037

23 June 2021 IMCoS Summer Lecture at 7 pm (BST) conducted via Zoom. Paula van Gestel will discuss ***Wall maps published in the Netherlands between c.1550 and 1850***. Paula van Gestel will present aspects of her research for a cartobibliography on Dutch wall maps which she has been compiling with Günter Schilder since 2010. The lecture is free but registration is necessary. Register at: https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/152108419377

24 June 2021 The Boston, California, Chicago, New York, Philip Lee Phillips, Rocky Mountain, Texas, and Washington Map societies' virtual lecture. Leah Thomas will discuss ***John Marrant's Narrative and Map of Cherokee Lands in South Carolina***. RSVP to John Docktor at washmap@gmail.com in order to receive the meeting ID and passcode. Meeting will start at 7 pm Eastern Time, 6 pm Central Time, 5 pm Mountain Time, 4 pm Pacific Time.

29 June–2 July 2021 London London Rare Books School, University of London ***A History of Maps and Mapping*** is an introductory course for which no specialist knowledge is required. It will be run by Dr Katherine Parker with a guest lecture from Matthew Edney. Information kaparker18th@gmail.com and www.ies.sas.ac.uk

30 June 2021 IMCoS Summer Lectures at 7 pm (BST) conducted via Zoom.Wes Brown will discuss ***Alzate y Ramirez and the mapping of New Spain***. In 1768, Mexican Jesuit priest Don José Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez, created a large manuscript map of New Spain (defined at the time as those portions of North America controlled by Spain) which, in a bold move, he sent to the French Royal Academy of Sciences hoping that the learned society would publish it. Alzate's outrageous breech of protocol resulted in the publication of the only map of New Spain printed in the eighteenth century using Spanish information. The lecture is free but registration is necessary. Register at: https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/ 152109701211

31 August–3 September 2021 London The three-day Royal Geographical Society-IBG Annual International Conference is taking place online, with in-person elements if it is possible to do so. The Chair's theme for the conference is ***borders, borderlands and bordering.*** Information: https://www.rgs.org/geography/news/rgs-ibg-annual-international-conference-2021/

1–4 September 2021 Basel The ***20. Kartographiehistorisches Colloquium*** will be held at Kollegiengebäude der Universität. Additional information from Dr Markus Heinz <kartographiegeschichte(at)sbb.spk-berlin.de> or Dr des. Noah Regenass < Noah.Regenass(at)unibas.ch>. Please check with the organisers for further information: https://www.kartengeschichte.ch/dach/

9 September 2021 Boston, California**,** Chicago, New York, Philip Lee Phillips, Rocky Mountain, Texas, and Washington Map societies' virtual lecture. Andrew J. Rhodes will discuss ***James Monteith: Cartographer, Educator, and Master of the Margins***. Monteith (1831–1890) was a leading figure in American geography education in the late nineteenth century, but his career has been largely forgotten and his contribution to cartography underappreciated. RSVP to John Docktor at washmap(at)gmail.com in order to receive the meeting ID and passcode. Meeting will start at 7 pm Eastern Time, 6 pm Central Time, 5 pm Mountain Time, 4:00 pm Pacific Time.

17–18 September 2021 Winston-Salem, North Carolina (In-person and online). The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, will be hosting a two day conference ***Cartography and Culture: Mapping the Early American South.*** From the earliest mapping of North America by

European navigators to campaigns during the French & Indian War and the American Revolution to further exploration through westward expansion, the conference will explore how different communities used maps as tools to establish unique visions of the American South. Information: https://mesda.org/program/mesda-fall-seminar/

24–25 September 2021 Rome The ***Rome Map, Atlas & Travel Book Fair*** will be taking place at 80 Piazza Santi Apostoli with 30 International map dealers from Italy, Europe and America. Access to the fair is free of charge. Open Friday 17.00–21.00 and Saturday 10.00-20.00. Information: http://map-fair.com/Roma-mapfair.html

30 September–3 October 2021 Arlington, Texas (Online & hybrid) The second regional symposium of the ICA Commission on the History of Cartography, the 12th Virginia Garrett Lectures, and the Fall meeting of the Texas Map Society will be held at the University of Texas Arlington. The theme is ***Coordinating Cartographic Collections*** and the accompanying exhibit will feature recent acquisition. Information: https://history.icaci.org

11–14 October 2021 Brussels IMCoS 38th International Symposium Further details on the conference programme, the optional tour and registration is available at http://imcos2021brussels.org and at http://www.bimcc.org, and http://www.kbr.be.

Exhibitions

Until 10 October 2021 North Lincolnshire Museum, England features two cartographic exhibitions. The exhibition ***On The Map*** will use maps to tell stories of war and conflict, power and control, our changing landscape, and our priorities and identities. It will show the development of the railway, military campaigns and changing local landscapes. The exhibition ***Colours Beneath Your Feet*** tells the story of William 'Strata' Smith, who created the first ever nationwide, detailed geological map of England, Wales and parts of Scotland. Information: https://www.northlincs.gov.uk

Until 22 July 22 Taiwan The National Palace Museum opened a new exhibition – ***Stories of Ancient Maps***, showing several full-scale maps that demonstrate historical developments in Taiwan and transportation routes in China during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Information: https://www.mutualart.com/Organization/National-Palace-Museum/C078F72225D14F1A/Exhibitions

July 2021–November 2021 Sydney An exhibition on ***Mapping the Pacific*** at the State Library of New South Wales. This exhibition explores the mapping of the Pacific over 400 years from the early 1500s. Inquiries: maggie.patton@sl.nsw.gov.au



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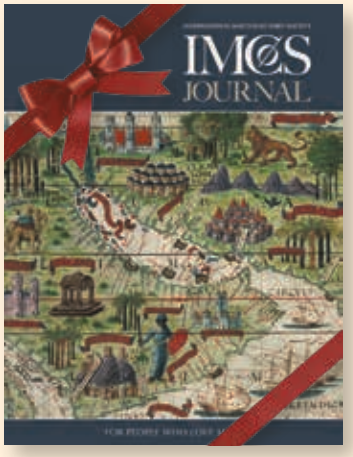
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REVIEWERS NEEDED

If you would like to review books for the *IMCoS Journal*, or you have come across an interesting new book on an aspect of map history which you think should be reviewed, contact the Editor.
Email **ljiljana.editor@gmail.com**



Copy and other material for future issues should be submitted to:

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