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INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY JUNE 2026 | No.185



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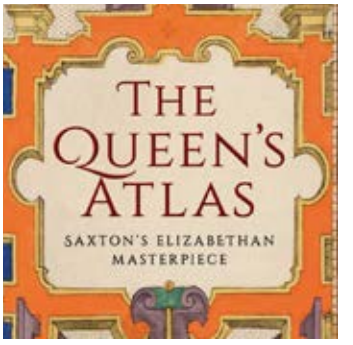
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Front cover Detail of 'Beijing Map' in the *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

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LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

In the March issue of the journal, I expressed my optimistic intention to find my replacement by the summer. I am pleased to report that this goal has been achieved. I can now hang up that hat, for waiting in the wings is the new IMCoS Chair. He will be formally appointed on Saturday 6 June at the Annual General Meeting, which takes place at 10.00 at the Royal Geographical Society in London, and to which all Society members are warmly invited.

The new Chair is Joseph Schirò, a long-time member of IMCoS. He will be familiar to many as the Editor of the *Malta Map Society Journal* and as the organiser par excellence of the immensely successful 41st IMCoS Symposium held in Malta in 2024. For those who have not yet met him, you will have the opportunity to do so at the London Map Fair (6–7 June), where he will be attending on both days.

Members of the IMCoS executive committee and volunteers will also be at the Fair, manning the Society's stand. If you are planning to attend, do come by. It is always a pleasure to meet our members, and should you wish to renew your membership, discuss a recent purchase, or even float an idea for an article for the journal, you will be able to do so. Entry to the Map Fair is free. Doors open at midday on Saturday 6 June and close at 19.00; on Sunday it is open from 10.00 until 18.00.

While the London Map Fair proudly claims its place as the largest in Europe and generates considerable excitement among both new and seasoned collectors, there are many other excellent fairs throughout the year to satisfy your collecting appetite: Amsterdam in September, Paris in November, Milan in January, Miami in February, Venice in March, and Mantua in both May and September. Increasingly, antiquarian book fairs also offer a rich and growing source of maps.

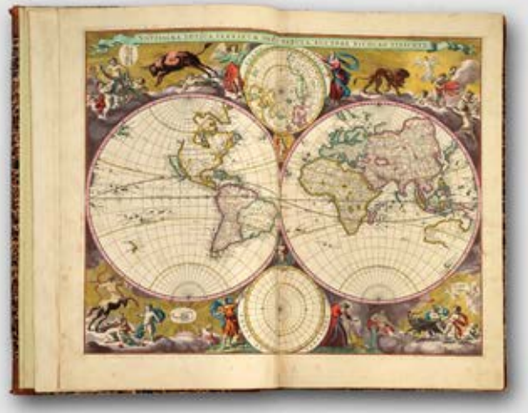
As I prepare to step aside, I do so with confidence in the Society's future in the capable hands of Joseph Schirò.

Ljiljana

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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

This morning the BBC brought UK listeners the good news that NASA's Artemis II mission had landed safely, splashing down off the California coast near San Diego at 6:07 p.m. local time. The crew of four had completed their ten-day journey, travelling farther than any previous astronauts, orbiting the Moon and becoming the first humans to see Mare Orientale (the Eastern Sea) fully revealed on the lunar far side – a region almost permanently hidden from Earth.

In 1948, using a 12½-inch reflector telescope at his home in East Grinstead, a young amateur astronomer named Patrick Moore discovered a feature on the Moon's hidden side that he identified as Mare Orientale. What he saw was the edge of a vast ringed structure visible only in part from Earth during moments of lunar oscillation and libration. In 1959 Moore's identification was confirmed when the Russian unmanned spacecraft Lunik 3 returned the first direct images of the far side. The Russians were using lunar maps that Moore had helped create with the Welsh astronomer Percy Wilkins.

The Moon became Moore's lifelong obsession. Five years later he published *Guide to the Moon*, complete with his own hand-drawn map. At the time, his meticulous telescopic observations and lunar topography were regarded as highly accurate and were used by both the Soviet space programme and NASA in early Apollo mission planning. Even before the dawn of the space age, in 1953 he predicted that humans would visit the Moon in the not-too-distant future and anticipated the use of multi-stage liquid-fuel rockets. Many of his geological interpretations and speculative theories were later overturned, and Moore himself acknowledged that much of his early lunar science had become 'completely obsolete' in light of data returned by space probes.

Moore went on to become a household name as the presenter of the BBC's *The Sky at Night*, the astronomy programme that ran from 1957 to 2013 and remains the longest-running television series with the same presenter. He reported extensively on NASA's Apollo missions and served as the principal commentator during the BBC's 27-hour coverage of the Apollo 11 Moon landing in July 1969 – a broadcast etched as firmly into the memories of viewers as Neil Armstrong's footprints are into the lunar dust.

In 2002, when presenting Sir Patrick with a BAFTA award, astronaut Buzz Aldrin remarked: "Patrick's special subject has always been the Moon; he has named some features on it and provided maps. In 1959 he was able to bring viewers the first direct pictures of the far side of the Moon. Incidentally, it was his lunar charts that the Russians used to correlate this new information."

Sir Patrick would undoubtedly have taken great satisfaction in the success of Artemis II, and in seeing his pioneering work on the Moon's far side rewarded by the images returned by the first astronauts to witness Mare Orientale in full.

BY THE PRICKING OF THEIR RHUMBS[1]

Tracking the Sea Routes to East Asia 1778–1914

Peter Geldart

The Honourable East India Company (EIC) was founded in 1600 and dissolved in 1874. During its heyday from 1708 to 1834, each year twenty to thirty, or more of its merchant ships, known as East Indiamen, would leave England in the spring for India and China via the Cape of Good Hope, and usually return in the summer of the following year. But not all East Indiamen came home – some stayed in India; others were the victims of enemy action in times of war; and all too often they were lost at sea because of typhoons, or as a result of foundering on an uncharted rock or reef.

By the eighteenth century British and French charts of the sea routes to East Asia were available, but these were not always accurate or up-to-date. The bigger challenge for the ships' captains and masters was to determine their position when out of sight of land. Latitude could be ascertained quite easily from astronomical observations, and the use of accurate chronometers – notably those made by John Harrison – had greatly improved the measurement of longitude, but sailing ships were always at the mercy of the prevailing winds and currents. Accurate sea charts were thus of the utmost importance, and Alexander Dalrymple (who had joined the EIC in Madras in 1753 and would work for the Company until his death in 1808) saw the need to collect and publish as many charts as he could obtain.

Having resigned his formal position with the EIC, Dalrymple returned to England after his third and last voyage to China and the Philippines in July 1765. He continued to promote his proposed trading settlement in the Sulu Sea, expounded the theory of the Great Southern Continent, and encouraged the exploration of the Pacific Ocean. By 1769 Dalrymple had established his position in London; for the next six years his main activity was the publication of charts, plans, memoirs and pamphlets.[2]

In 1775 he departed for India as a passenger in the East Indiaman *Grenville,* and a letter he wrote from the Cape of Good Hope illustrates the difficulties of the Atlantic passage on the outward journey.[3] As explained by Andrew S. Cook, the foremost authority on Dalrymple and his works:[4]

> Back in London in April 1777 Dalrymple soon developed a scheme to assemble data from the deposited journals of oceanic voyages by East India Company ships, to predict the safest and quickest courses to follow, and to explain the effects of the currents, particularly in the Atlantic. [In an untitled pamphlet, he wrote]: 'A comparison of the several tracks of the Company's ships would, in a few years, determine with great precision what is, at every season, the most eligible course to pursue out and home.'[5]
>
> He issued special journal forms to allow parallel recording, in detail, of positions by account, and by chronometer or lunar observation, and distributed with them blank charts calibrated at 5 degrees to 1 inch for marking tracks. The East India Company subscribed for 100 sets, for the ships of the new season.
>
> Although not formally given the title of Hydrographer, on 1 April 1779 the EIC appointed Dalrymple to a new responsibility 'for examining the Ships Journals … and for publishing from time to time such Charts and Nautical Directions as a comparison of the various Journals and other Materials may enable him to do'.[6] That year Dalrymple added a blank equatorial chart specifically for the Atlantic, 'on a Scale of half an inch to 1°, from the Cape de Verde Islands to 21° S'.[7] An example of this chart, held in the Admiralty Library in Portsmouth, 'has been completed retrospectively by Dalrymple himself with coastal outlines and tracks both "by account" and by a combination of latitude observations and chronometer, including the track of his own voyage in *Grenville* in 1775'.[8]
>
> The engraved charts that Dalrymple printed and distributed in 1778 measure approximately 22 x 37 in and consist of a plain border with dots surrounding a graticule with the meridians (longitude) marked from 45° West to 135° East, and the parallels (latitude) marked from 50° North to 40° South. No coastlines or other topographical features are shown but only the names of capes, peaks, islands and ports that captains could expect to see and use to guide their journey. These toponyms are (*sic*): Cape Clear, Lizard, Cape Finisterre, Flores, Fayal, Madeira, Peak of Tenerif, Ferro, Port Praya, Ferdinand Noronha, Reciff, Ascension, S[t]. Helena, Rio Janeiro, Cape of Good-hope, S[t]. Augustin, Mauritius, Bombay, Goa, Fort S[t]. George, F[t]. Will[m]. Calcutta, Bencoolen, Batavia, Temontangis, Banguey Peak, Goat I[d]., Gr[d]. Ladron and Canton.
>
> Two of these charts have survived. One, held in the British Library (IOR:X/14000/2021/DAL), shows three tracks from the Lizard to Calcutta (or the reverse), but the ships are not named and the chart is undated **(Fig. 1)**. A number of additional toponyms have been added in ink, including Sal and Bonavista (in Cape Verde), Bourbon, and Johan and Mayotta (in the Comoros), together with a note that in Calcutta 'Came on board a Pilot'.
>
> The other surviving Dalrymple pricking chart, now in the author's collection, carries more information. A manuscript inscription reads: 'Track of the Gen[l]. Elliot [*sic*] to Bombay and China / 4[th] Voyage / N.B. The Lines to the East and West of the different Courses is the Ships Longitude by the Observations of the Sun, Moon and Stars. The Courses are prickt off every Third day except where we made the Land. / 1789 & 1790 / David Milne 2 Mate' **(Fig. 2)**. The tracks of both the outward and return journeys are shown, the latter quite faint. Again, additional features and toponyms are drawn in ink. On the outward journey Sal, Trinidada, Tristam de Counna (*sic*), Johanna, Socatra, Golden Mountain, P[o]. Buton, Pedro Branco and Meclesfield Shoal (*sic*) have been added, with a note 'saw the Land' at S[t]. Augustin. For the return voyage the additions are Timoan, Monopin Hill, Java Head, Sharp Mountain, Cape Lagullas, Ascension and Scilly Islands.
>
> On the fourth of her voyages to China, the East Indiaman *General Eliott* (Captain Robert Drummond) sailed from the Downs– the roadstead and anchorage off the east coast of Kent – on 19 December 1788 and returned on 22 June 1790, with David Milne as

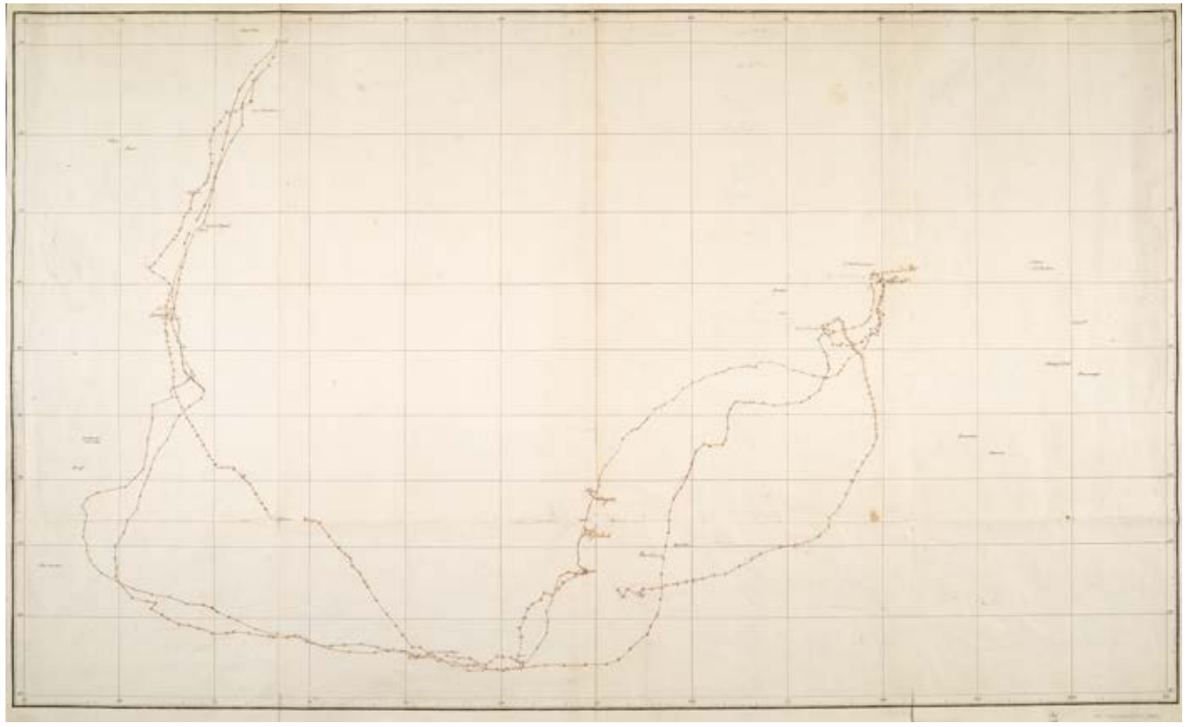


Fig. 1 Alexander Dalrymple, untitled pricking chart *c.*1778, 22 x 37 in (56 x 94 cm). ©British Library Board (IOR:X/14000/2021/DAL).

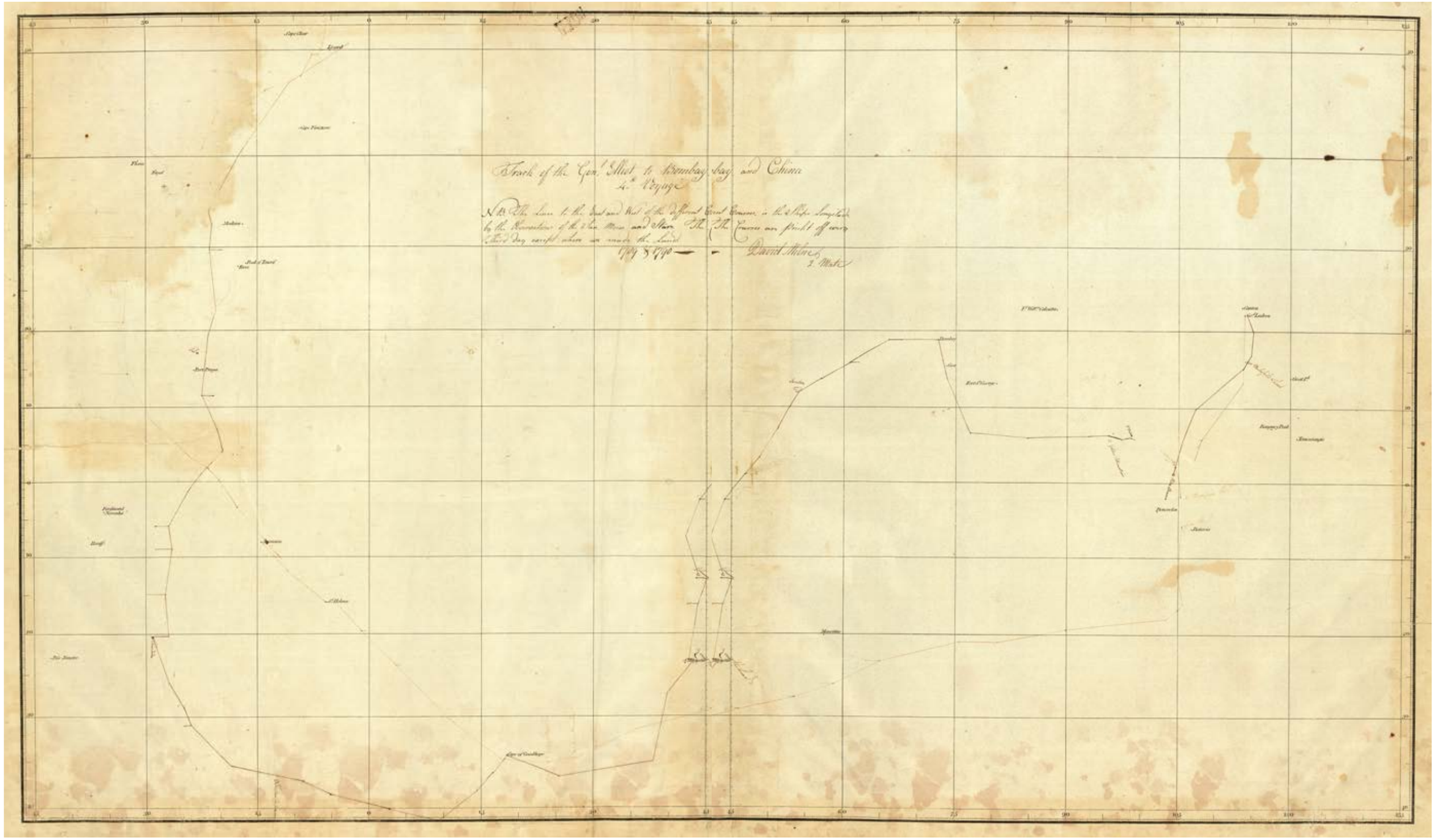


Fig. 2 Alexander Dalrymple and David Milne, 'Track of the Gen[l]. Elliot to Bombay and China / 4[th] Voyage 1789 & 1790', 22 x 37 in (56 x 94 cm). Image courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps.



Fig. 3 William Heather, 'To the Officers in the Honorable East India Company's Service, This Outline Chart Intended for their Use to prick off a Ship's Track / A New Edition, 1815. Revised & Corrected by J.W. Norie'. 25.5 x 48 in (65 x 122 cm). Image courtesy of Daniel Crouch Rare Books.

second mate.[9] Milne had entered the Royal Navy at the age of 16 but was paid off at the end of the American War of Independence. He then joined the EIC, but resumed his naval career at the outbreak of war in 1793 and was eventually promoted to Admiral.[10]

Even before his death in 1808, Dalrymple's pricking charts began to be superseded by those produced by the commercial 'blueback' chart publishers. In 1793 William Heather opened his chart publishing business, at that time one of six private chart publishers in London. Located at 157 Leadenhall Street 'at the sign of The Little Midshipman', Heather's Navigation Warehouse published charts from the outset. To quote Susanna Fisher: 'Some of Heather's charts were innovative in a practical way such as the small-scale outline chart for the route to the east which he first published in 1796. This was intended for 'pricking out' the whole track of a voyage and became a popular item in his and his successors' East India Pilots for nearly fifty years'.[11]

The full title of the chart was: 'To the Officers in the Honorable East India Company's Service, This Outline Chart Intended for their Use to prick off a Ship's Track Is most respectfully dedicated by their Obliged and Grateful Servant, WHeather'. A revised edition published in 1802 shows significant changes

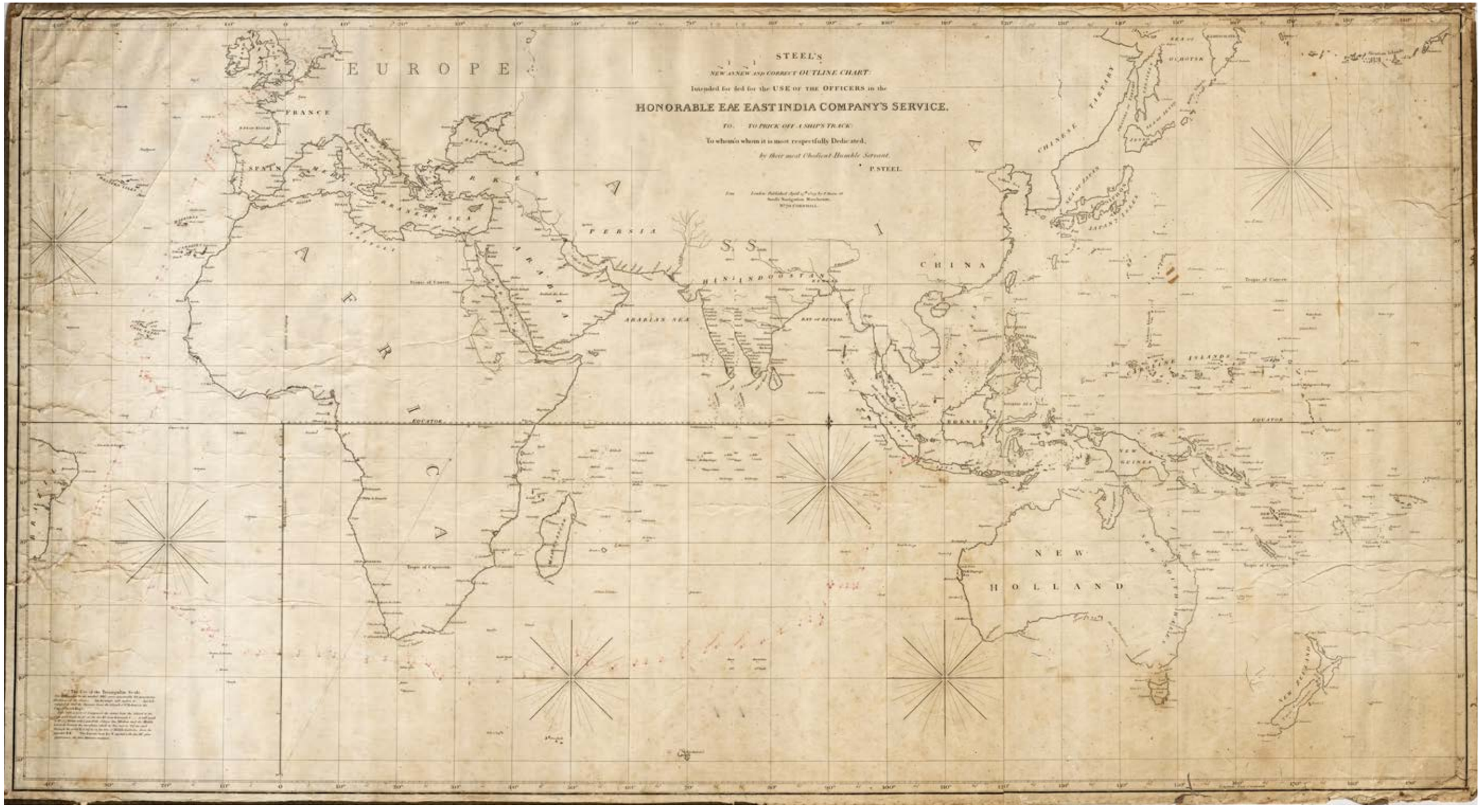


Fig. 4 Penelope Steel, 'Steel's New and Correct Outline Chart: Intended for the Use of the Officers in the Honorable East India Company's Service, to Prick Off a Ship's Track', 1809, 26 x 47 in (66 x 119 cm). Image courtesy of Leen Helmink Antique Maps.

to the west coast of Australia with the addition of the Bass Strait between Australia and Tasmania, which was first surveyed by Matthew Flinders and George Bass in 1798. Tasmania is shown attached to the mainland on the first edition of the chart.

Heather died in 1812, and his business was acquired by his employee John Norie in partnership with George Wilson junior. It traded under the name John William Norie & Co., and in 1815 it re-issued the 1812 edition of Heather's pricking chart with the title unchanged but as 'A New Edition, 1815, Revised & Corrected by J.W. Norie' **(Fig. 3)**. It was published again with the date changed to 1820, then 'with Additions to 1827', and yet again in 1830.

The London publishers often copied each other's charts, despite the introduction of copyright laws. David Steel began to publish nautical charts in 1782; after his death in 1799 the business was taken over by his son, also David, and then in 1803 by the latter's widow Penelope until it was acquired by Norie in

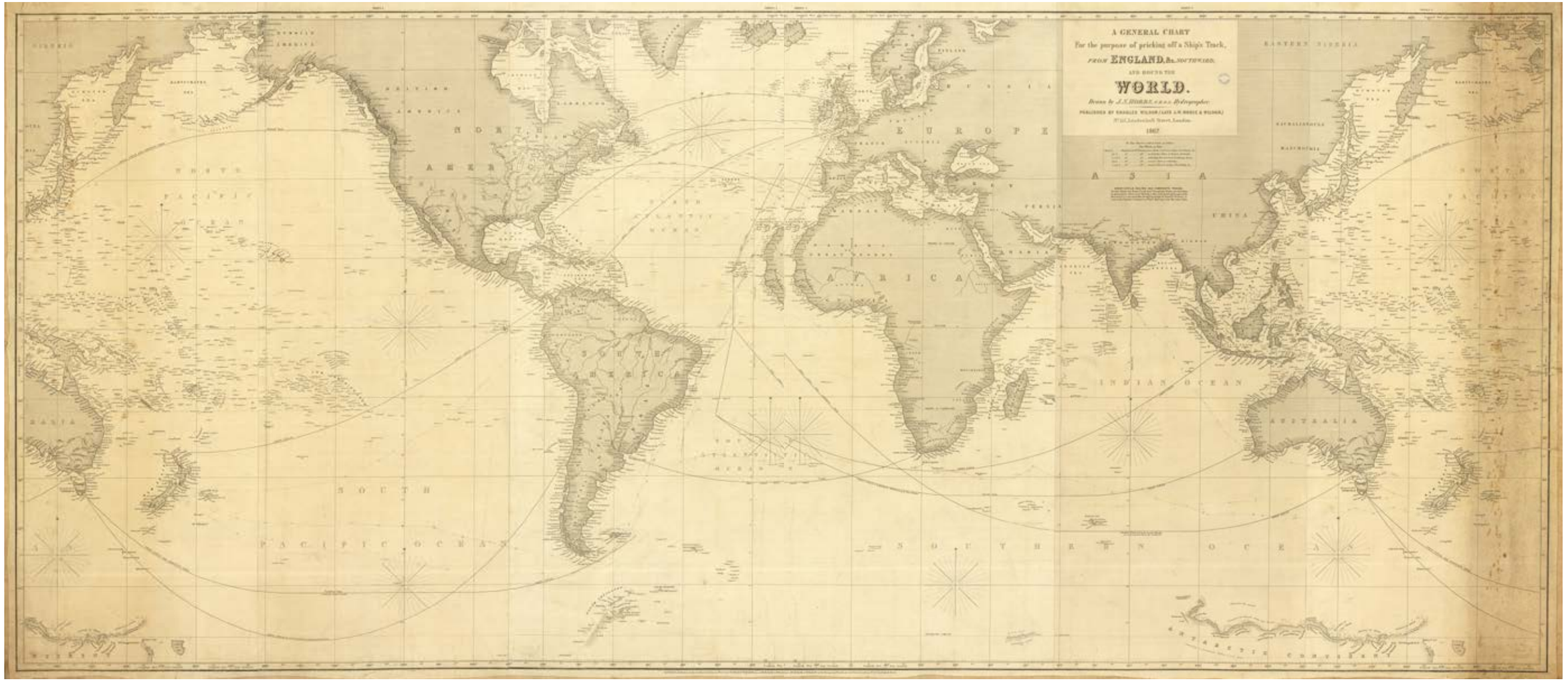


Fig. 5 J.S. Hobbs and Charles Wilson, 'A General Chart For the purpose of pricking off a Ship's Track, from England, &c. Southward, and round the World', (1854) 1867. 32 x 72 in (81 x 183 cm). Image courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps.

1819.[12] In 1809 Penelope copied Heather's chart, with the titled changed to: 'Steel's New and Correct Outline Chart: Intended for the Use of the Officers in the Honorable East India Company's Service, to Prick Off a Ship's Track: To whom it is most respectfully Dedicated, by their most Obedient Humble Servant, P. Steel' **(Fig. 4)**. The only known example of this chart shows a ship's track plotted daily in red pencil for a voyage that left Amsterdam on 28 September 1825 and arrived in Batavia on 26 January 1826.

The Government of India Act 1833 ended the commercial activities of the EIC, which thereby lost its monopoly on trade with China and the Far East and became a purely administrative body. As a result, on 25 April 1833 Norie's pricking chart was re-issued with a revised title: 'A New and Correct Outline Chart: Intended for the Use of the Officers in the Royal Navy and Merchant's Service, To Prick Off a Ship's Track: To whom it is most respectfully Dedicated, by their most Obedient Humble Servant, J.W. Norie, Hydrographer, &c.' A new edition of the chart was published with 'Additions to 1844'.

The Heather and Norie pricking charts consisted of three sheets, which could be purchased separately or joined. The first covered the eastern Atlantic Ocean, the second the Indian Ocean, and the third the China Sea and the western Pacific Ocean. For the revised 1833 chart an additional sheet was added, covering the eastern Pacific and the western Atlantic.

Norie retired in 1840 and died in 1843; his business was continued by Charles Wilson, the cousin of his former partner.[13] On 4 February 1854 a new pricking chart was published: 'A General Chart For the purpose of pricking off a Ship's Track, from England, &c. Southward, and round the World. / Drawn by J.S. Hobbs, F.R.G.S. Hydrographer. / Published by Charles Wilson, (Late J.W. Norie & Wilson).' Several editions followed in 1861, 1867, 1871 and 1877 **(Fig. 5)**.

The full chart on four sheets measures 32 x 72 in (81 x 183 cm) and covers the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans and the China Sea, with part of the western Pacific repeated, but a note states that the chart could be bought whole or as separate parts or as sets, as needed. Another note reads: 'On this Chart the Great Circle and Composite Tracks are laid down to those parts where such sailing is most practicable; against the Monsoons it is not available, excepting perhaps Steamers; & near to the Equator it becomes as Plane Sailing on the Mercator Chart'.

As publishers of blueback charts Norie and Wilson

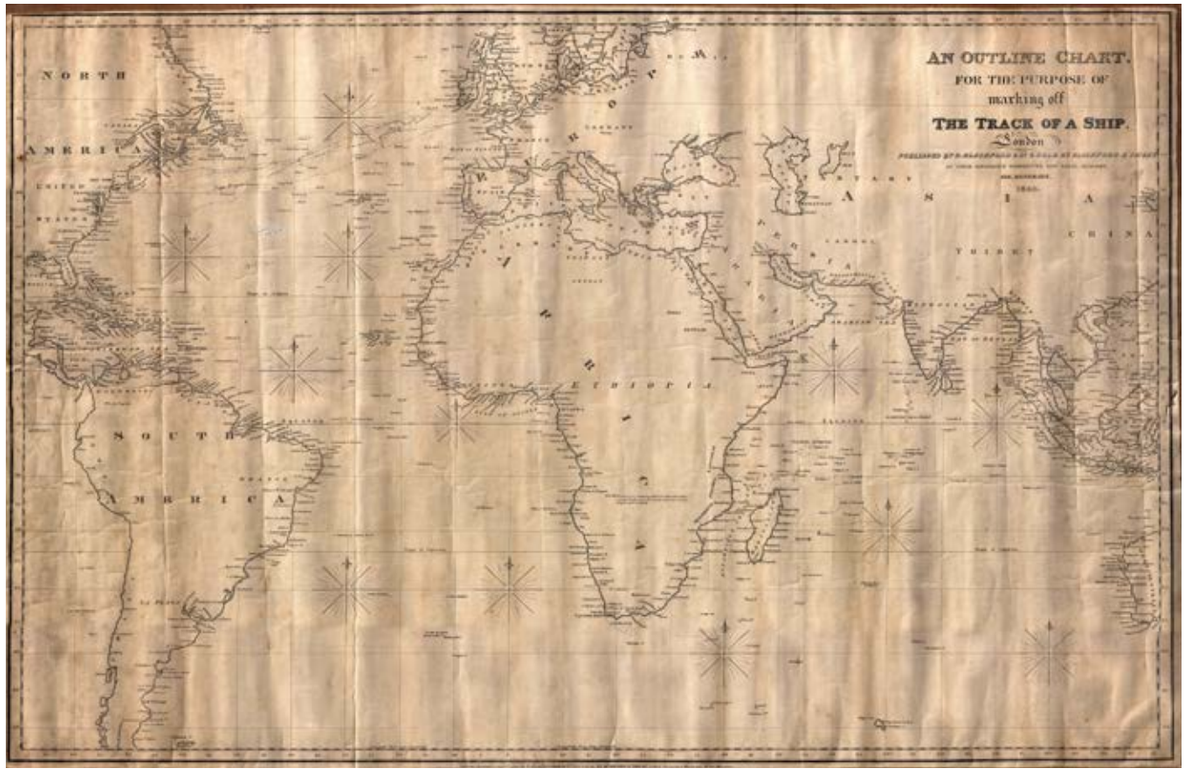


Fig. 6 Robert Blachford, 'An Outline Chart for the purpose of marking off The Track of a Ship', 1846. 26 x 40 in (66 x 102 cm). Image courtesy of Geographicus Rare Antique Maps.

had competitors. In 1829 Robert Blachford had issued his pricking chart, 'An Outline Chart for the purpose of marking off The Track of a Ship'. No examples of the first edition are known to have survived, but in 1846 it was re-issued as 'Published by R. Blachford & Co. & Sold by Blachford & Imray' **(Fig. 6)**. The chart covers only the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and on one of the only two known surviving examples of this chart four manuscript ship's tracks are shown between Britain and North America.

That year James Imray, who had bought out his partner Michael Blachford (Robert's son), began to publish his own blueback charts and eventually became the most prominent chartmaker in London.[14] After Imray's son James Frederick had joined as a partner, in 1855 James Imray & Son published a new pricking chart covering the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans: 'An Outline Chart of the World Intended for the Purpose of Marking Off a Ship's Track'. The northern coast of the Antarctic Continent is included as far as 69° South. New editions of the chart were produced over the years, including in 1875, 1878, 1883 and 1889. Also in 1855, James Wyld Jnr. published 'Wyld's Outline Chart from England to Australia & China for the purpose of pricking off a ships track'. The chart was issued sectioned, backed on linen, and folded into a slipcase with the title 'Track Chart to China' **(Fig. 7)**.

These pricking charts were still in use at the end of the nineteenth century, and document new routes as they opened. An example of the 1877 Wilson chart marks a ship's track from Portsmouth to Launceston in Tasmania via the newly-opened Suez Canal, with stops along the way including Gibraltar, Suez, Aden, Port Galle, Albany, Adelaide and Melbourne. An example of the 1889 Imray pricking chart is heavily annotated with a record of the tracks of no fewer than thirteen voyages by an unnamed American mariner on both naval and commercial vessels from 1877 to 1900. And an example of the 1867 edition of the Wilson chart shows the track of a voyage from New

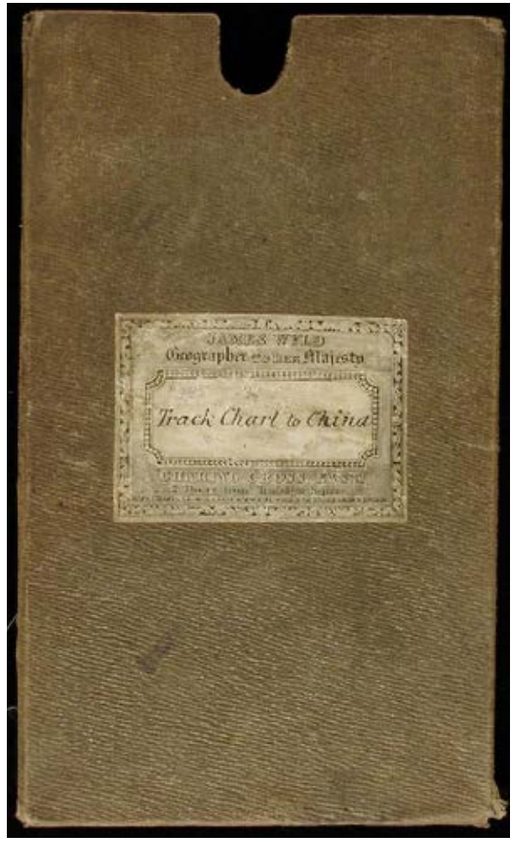


Fig. 7 James Wyld Jnr., Slipcase for 'Wyld's Outline Chart from England to Australia & China for the purpose of pricking off a ships track', 1855, 9.3 x 5.5 in (23.5 x 14 cm). Image courtesy of Australian National Maritime Museum.

Zealand to England via the Caribbean Sea that crosses the Isthmus of Panama – presumably through the canal which opened only in 1914. Alexander Dalrymple would have been surprised and gratified to know that the successors to the pricking charts he pioneered in 1778 were still being used 136 years later.

Notes

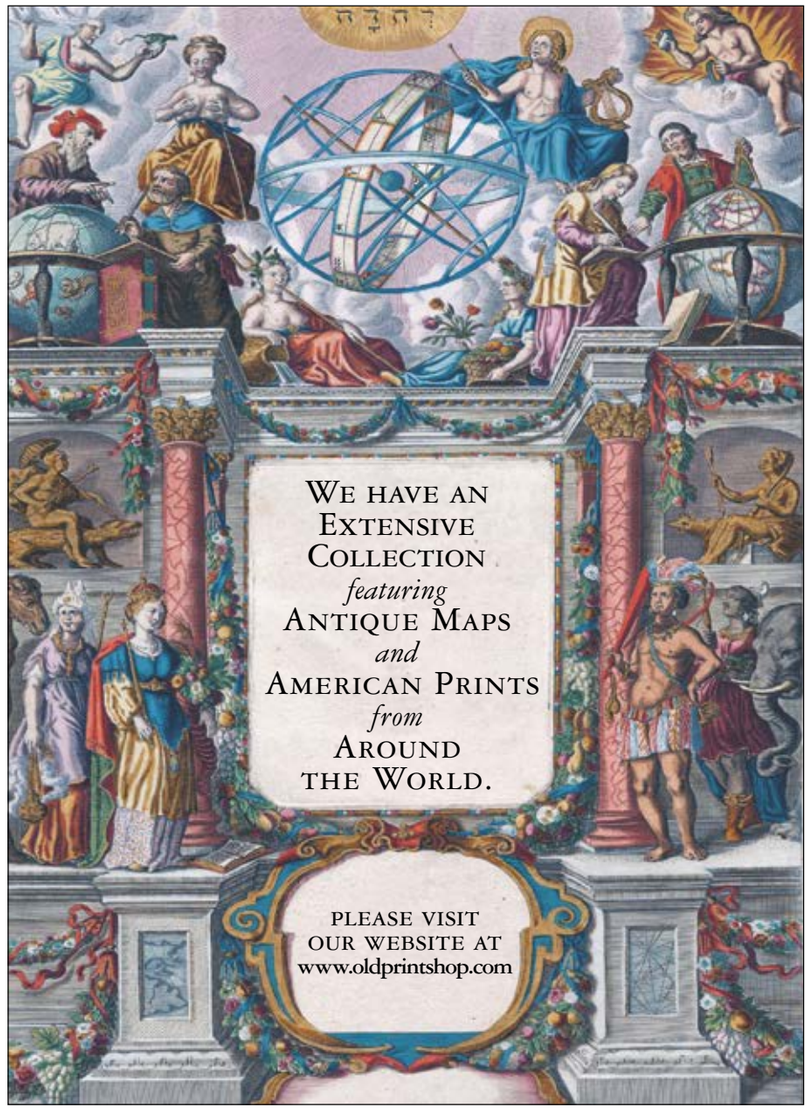
1 With deference to William Shakespeare: 'By the pricking of my thumbs' Macbeth, Act 4, Scene 1.
2 Andrew S. Cook, *Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), Hydrographer to the East India Company and to the Admiralty as Publisher: A Catalogue of Books and Charts*; thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, September 1992, pp. 21-22.
3 Alexander Dalrymple to Robert Orme, 8 September 1775, The British Library, India Office Records, Mss Eur Orme O.V.171(1); cited in Cook (2002) *op. cit.* pp. 123-125.
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11 Susanna Fisher, *The Makers of the Blueback Charts: A History of Imray Laurie Norie & Wilson Ltd*, Regatta Press Limited, Ithaca, New York / Imray Laurie Norie & Wilson Ltd, St. Ives, 2001, p. 82.
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TRACING A LATE-IMPERIAL CHINESE ATLAS IN ETON COLLEGE

The Tianxia Shanhai Tu as an early modern knowledge artifact

Man Zheng

In 1736 Eton College Library absorbed a substantial bequest from the English collector Richard Topham, who had died in 1730. Topham's gift was famous above all for its classical and antiquarian riches: he left Eton not only his library but also a collection of about 3,000 drawings and prints recording Roman sculptures and paintings, and he did so on the explicit condition that 'all learned persons at convenient seasons may have recourse to and reasonable use of said books, prints and drawings'.[1] Yet, folded into this overwhelmingly Greco-Roman universe was an object that seems, at first glance, wholly out of place: a Chinese manuscript atlas, later summarised in library notes under the title *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* 天下山海圖 *[Map of Mountains and Seas All under Heaven].*

A belated modern record

The atlas enters the modern record only belatedly. The earliest notice that can presently be traced dates from 1921, when Chu Chi-ch'ien described the volume in a letter to Provost of Eton College, Montague Rhodes James, written before May of that year. Later institutional attention appears mainly in the form of brief curatorial summaries rather than sustained study: a note associated with Howard G. H. Nelson at the British Library, dated 1965, explicitly treats Chu's letter as 'a most accurate summary', and it was revisited again in November 2011 in connection with British Library staff. These later references may point to moments of cataloguing or curatorial review, but, in substantive terms, Chu's 1921 letter remains the fullest – and in effect the only – extended account of the atlas to date. The circumstances of its production therefore matter: who, then, was Chu Chi-ch'ien (more commonly rendered today as Zhu Qiqian), and how did he come to examine a Chinese atlas preserved in an English school library at a moment when China itself was in political turmoil?

Zhu Qiqian 朱啟鈐 (1872–1964) was not a specialist in the history of cartography, but a prominent early-Republic statesman and an influential antiquarian with sustained interests in rare books and material culture. In 1921 he travelled to Europe as a special envoy of President Xu Shichang 徐世昌 and, alongside his official duties, undertook a deliberate survey of old books and collections.[2] In the absence of a securely documented itinerary for his movements in Britain, it is not yet possible to state with certainty whether he examined the atlas in person at Eton or worked from materials supplied through the Provost, M. R. James. What can be said is that the surviving correspondence establishes a line of contact between Zhu and James, and that the atlas entered the record through this encounter – whether as one incidental 'find' in Zhu's broader programme of overseas book-hunting, or as part of James' efforts to solicit informed assistance in making sense of a Chinese volume that had been in Eton's possession for nearly two centuries.

Zhu's suitability for such a role lay in the combination of his elite scholarly formation and his long-standing engagement with documentary work. He came from a family of Jiangxi ancestry, long resident in Guizhou, and was raised within a milieu shaped by scholar-official culture. In the late Qing he moved within reformist circles and, by 1902, held an appointment connected to the Translation School (譯學館) of the Imperial University in Beijing (京師大學堂) – an environment in which foreign-language mediation and the management of texts were quotidian concerns.[3] In short, even if he was not a map specialist, he was well placed to recognise the genres of late-imperial compilations, to identify and gloss difficult phrases, and to provide the kind of historically informed reading that an English curator could not easily supply.

In Zhu's portrayal, the work is 'a late Ming dynasty manuscript atlas of military installations in China', framed as 'a scheme of defence against pirates and bandits' and accompanied by narrative remarks on disturbances and their suppression. He provides a folio-by-folio overview of the atlas' 64-page contents, identifying a prefatory section of classical geography, maps of the empire as a whole, province-by-province coverage, and an extensive series on coastal defences



Fig. 1 The front cover of the present Western binding of the *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* housed in Eton College. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.



Fig. 2 The front pastedown of the *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* with the College's armorial bookplate. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

against Japanese raiders, whose captions range from strategic prescriptions to historically specific references. On the basis of internal details as he read them, Zhu proposes a late dating for the compilation, arguing for a terminus between 1630 and 1644 because the latest events mentioned fall in the early 1630s and no Qing references are noted in the letter. He also reads the recurring seal at the centre of each double page spread as '邊疆夷國長城', translating it as 'Borderlands, Barbarian Countries, and the Great Wall'. Beyond transcription and translation, he occasionally adds brief interpretative glosses grounded in his own historical and geographical knowledge – limited in scope, but significant simply because, to date, no fuller study has replaced them.

Valuable as Zhu Qiqian's notes are, they are necessarily partial. Composed in the first instance to make the atlas legible to an English curator, they concentrate on what can be read directly from the maps and their accompanying headings. They do not attempt – nor could they, within the genre of a descriptive letter – to reconstruct the atlas' production context, its intended users, or its modes of circulation and reuse. Yet these are precisely the questions that make the volume historically consequential. Late Ming China produced a wide range of defence-oriented atlases and 'atlas-like' compilations. This *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* manuscript cannot be understood simply by listing what it contains. Does it belong to a recognisable lineage of late Ming military or administrative mapping, with demonstrable practices of copying and inheritance? Or does it represent a more idiosyncratic compilation assembled for a local purpose? How should its structure, its selection of regions covered, and its internal rhetoric be situated within the broader history of Chinese mapmaking and, more specifically, within the fraught Ming–Qing transition, when military knowledge, territorial imagination, and documentary practices were being reconfigured?

The manuscript as book

Before pursuing these larger questions, however, it is necessary to establish a fuller baseline description of the Eton volume itself – what it contains and how it is made as a book. Zhu's letter is invaluable as a first guide, but it is not a complete or consistently granular inventory. It necessarily prioritises the atlas' headings and section sequence, together with broad thematic identifications, namely military administration and coastal defence, and it does not always register features that become visible only through sustained, object-led examination. In places, too, the level of detail is uneven and some readings invite correction. Equally importantly, the letter tends to treat the atlas as 'map content' rather than as a composite artefact with a material history. This is evident, for example, in what Zhu did not record. The volume includes elements that sit outside the mapped programme altogether. Two apparently post-1644 printed inserts – cloth-shop notices warning customers against counterfeit fabrics – are attached at the very end of the atlas, inside the back cover. Small as they are, and seemingly unrelated to the atlas's cartographic programme, such intrusions remind us that this manuscript was not only compiled and read, but also physically used, stored, and altered over time. The discussion therefore begins with a systematic account of the atlas' contents and format – its map corpus, organisation, and material features. Only on that basis can we move to the next stage of analysis: interpreting the atlas' semantic claims and pragmatic functions.

Although the atlas is a late-imperial Chinese manuscript, it now survives in a Western-style codex. The present binding is described in the Eton College Library catalogue as a late seventeenth- or early

eighteenth-century English red morocco over boards, with gold-tooled decorative borders built from sunflower, bird, star, and arabesque tools, and with the gilt armorial device of Eton College set within a laurel wreath at the centre of each board **(Fig. 1)**. The spine is gilt-tooled and divided by seven raised bands, the edges are gilt, and the endpapers are marbled. in red, blue, green, and orange. The front pastedown is marbled paper carrying a black-and-white armorial bookplate of Eton College with the legend Collegium Beatae Mariae de Etona. Above it, later shelfmarks have been added in pencil, including 'MS 376', alongside an earlier Eton Library shelfmark, 'Sa2.4.03' **(Fig. 2)**. The pastedown faces a matching marbled free endpaper, after which several blank flyleaves intervene before the Chinese material begins. The whole volume measures about 460 × 560 mm.

The atlas was originally sewn in the Chinese manner, with each sheet folded outwards at the centre so that sectional maps could be read continuously across a spread. In its present state, this structure has been taken apart and remounted. The Chinese material consists of laid plant-fibre paper with no watermarks, arranged as bifolia that have been opened out and lined onto nineteenth-century Western paper as individual leaves to form a codex. The Chinese leaves measure about 403 × 250 mm when folded, and about 403 × 502 mm when unfolded, with eleven vertical chain-lines per folio. This remounting forces the original right-to-left structure into a left-to-right sequence. The folio numeral written at the upper right now pertains only to the left-hand half of an original spread, while the corresponding right-hand half of that same spread is located on the left-hand side of the preceding folio. The recurring seal motif registers the same misalignment: each spread carries a half-seal near each outer margin, and the two halves that form a complete impression now pair across successive folios rather than across a single opening **(Fig. 3)** The Chinese sequence begins with two mounted title leaves, both written on the right-hand side: the first bears the larger vertical title 天下山海圖 and a full impression of the recurring seal beneath,

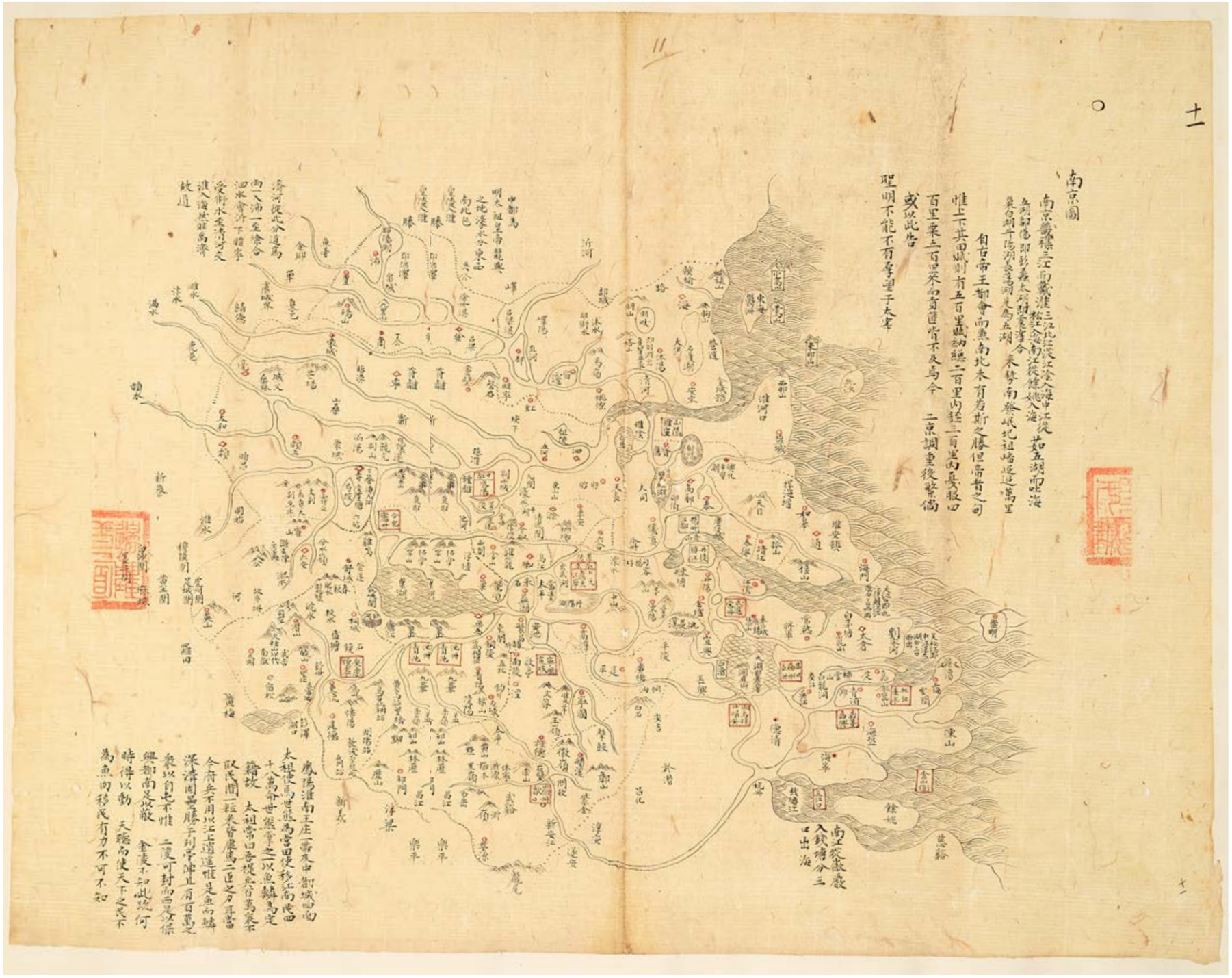


Fig. 3 The 'Nanjing Map' from *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* shown in its present Western remounting. Originally part of a Chinese-style spread in which each sheet was folded at the centre and read continuously from right to left across the spread. The map has been opened out as a single leaf. This remounting disrupts the original structure: the two halves of the recurring seal, once aligned across a single opening, now pair across successive leaves. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

while the second repeats the title in smaller script without the seal. The atlas proper is then paginated in Chinese numerals from one through sixty-four, followed by an unnumbered blank Chinese leaf. At the end of the volume, two printed commercial notices from a cloth shop warning customers against counterfeit fabrics are mounted on a Western support leaf inside the back cover. Further Western blank leaves and matching marbled endpapers then lead to the back board.

Imperial order, coastal defences, and frontier knowledge

Despite its title *Map of Mountains and Seas All under Heaven*, the manuscript, as Zhu Qiqian already suggested, reads less as an attempt to visualise a cosmological conception of 'Tianxia 天下 [All under Heaven]' or a Sino-centric ordering of the world than as an atlas oriented towards imperial administration and military disposition. The sequence opens not with a bespoke preface but with a canonical text. On pages one and two,[4] under the heading 'Yu Gong 禹貢 [Tribute of Yu]', the atlas reproduces in full the well-known geographical chapter of the *Shangshu 尚書 [Book of Documents]*, without interlinear commentary or appended exegesis.[5] Pages three to five then present 'general maps' of the realm, labelled simply 'Zongtu 總圖 [General Map]'. These consist of three empire-wide maps accompanied by dense marginal writing. As summarised in Chu Chi-ch'ien's letter, the surrounding text includes a historical account of campaigns and battles through which the empire's order was extended, framed in terms of the 'subjugation' of neighbouring polities and regions.

Page six offers a further empire-wide map entitled 'Yitong Zongtu – 統總圖 [General Map of Unified Rule]'. A caption placed to the right of the map announces an ambitious scope, claiming to encompass the two capitals, the thirteen provinces, the nine border commands, the seven garrisons, the 'Four Barbarians',[6] and major mountains and rivers. **(Fig. 4)**. In contrast to the preceding *Zongtu* series, the names of the two capitals and thirteen provinces are here picked out with red rectangular frames.

The cartographic content, however, is less densely worked than in the previous maps, suggesting that this sheet was intended as a more immediately surveyable, one-page synopsis of the empire. Pages seven and eight comprise a discursive general account entitled 'Yitong Ditu Zonglun – 統地圖總論 [General Discussion of the Unified Map]'. In a mode familiar from many late-imperial atlases, it frames the empire's territorial extent in terms of dynastic expansion and consolidation, with emphasis on the achievements of the founding Ming rulers. This essay is followed by an appendix headed 'Fu Tuli Shengwen Xinfa 附圖例省文新法 [Attached New Method for the Map Legend]', which supplies an unusually detailed legend. The legend specifies symbols for the capitals and provinces, prefectures, subprefectures, and counties, and for an extensive range of infrastructural, military, and frontier-administrative categories including post stations, guards and battalions, camps, stockades, and forts, as well as offices associated with native administration and border governance, together with passes, mountains, rivers, boundaries, and roads. It also announces a 'Jili Huafang 計里畫方 [*li*-based measurement and grid-square plotting]' scale-grid

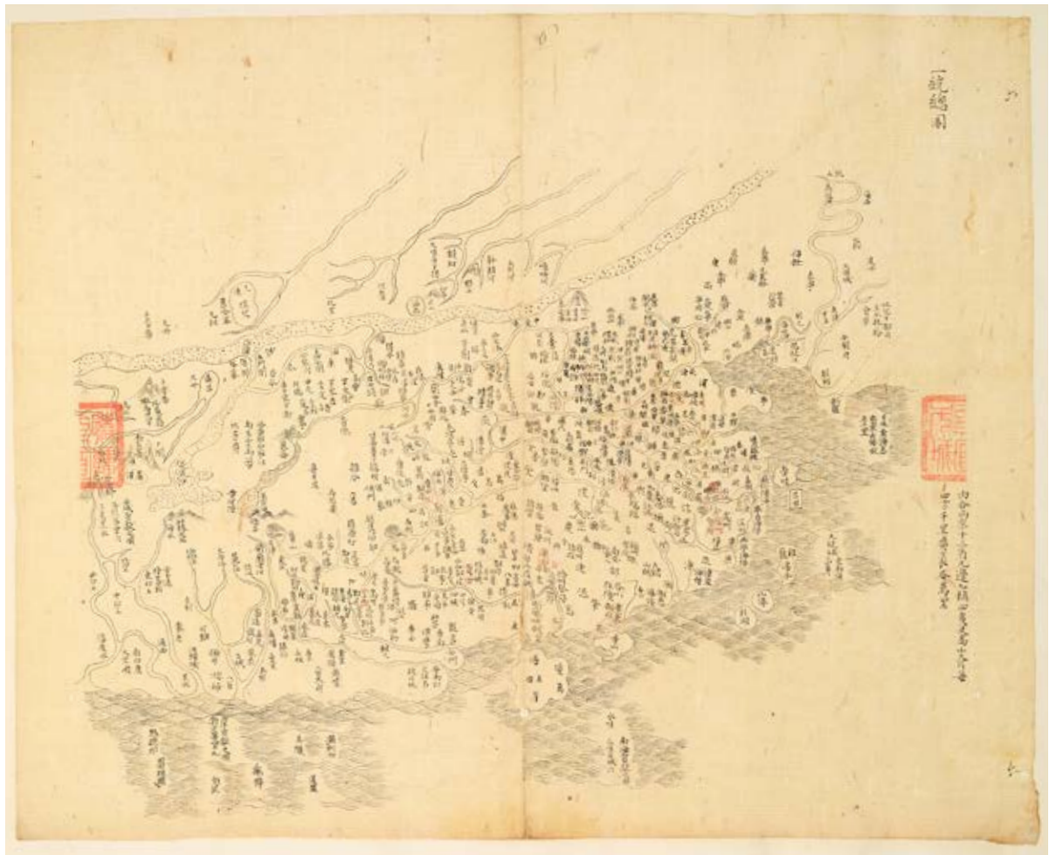


Fig. 4 'Yitong Zongtu', an empire-wide map from *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* with the two capitals (Beijing and Nanjing) and the thirteen provinces of the realm marked in red rectangular frames. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

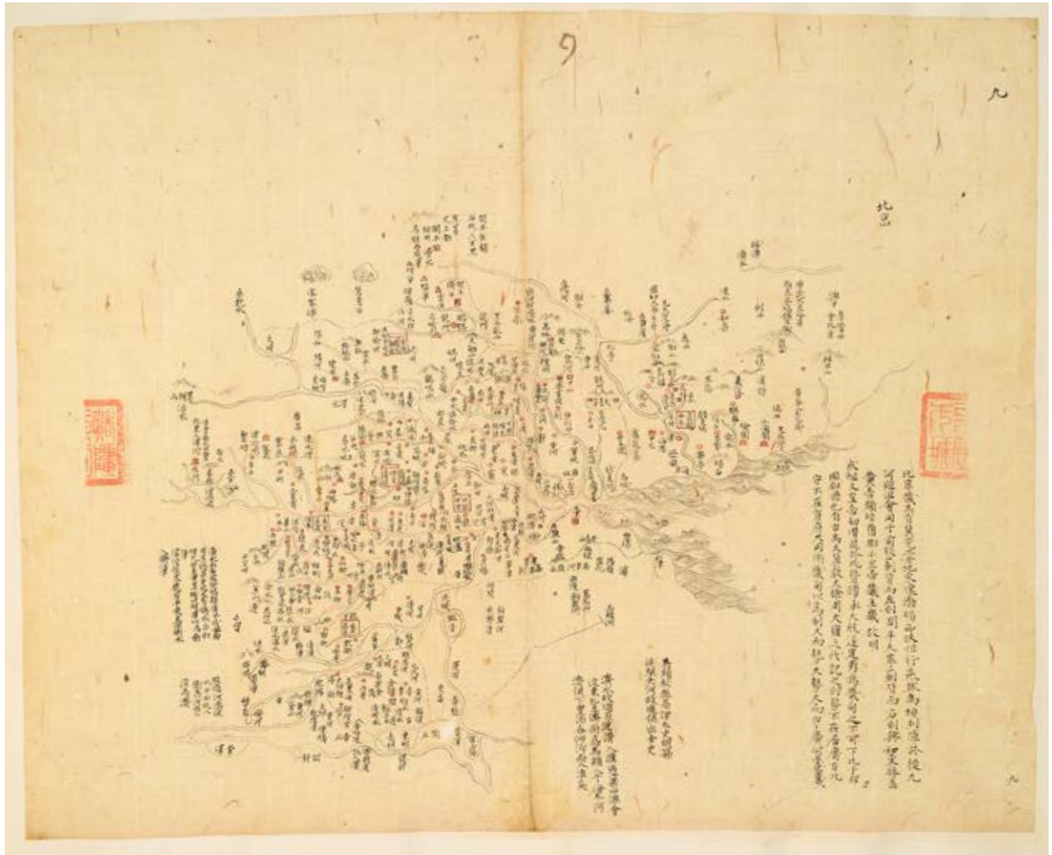


Fig. 5 Example of a provincial map from *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*, here using the map of Beijing as an illustration of the atlas' province-by-province sequence for the Ming realm. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

system, although such a measured grid is not in fact visible on the maps themselves in the present state of the atlas.[7]

From page nine through page forty-one, the atlas moves into a province-by-province sequence for the Ming realm **(Fig. 5)**. The ordering begins with Beijing and Nanjing, with the provinces following, a conventional sequence in Ming empire-wide atlases. In this section, each map is followed by a short descriptive text headed 'Xuyue 敘曰 [Explanatory note]', whose length varies from brief paragraphs occupying roughly half page to longer passages filling an entire page. As the existing letter summarises them, these notes typically anchor each region within the classical geographical framework of 'Yu Gong', while supplying selectively chosen information of historical, administrative, and especially military relevance, including brief local histories, strategic assessments, references to disorder, and occasional mention of environmental stress such as flood or famine. With three exceptions – Shaanxi, Shandong, and Sichuan, each of which extends across two spreads – the maps in this run occupy a single spread.

From page forty-two to page fifty-one, the atlas shifts into a continuous coastal-defence series that extends across ten spreads. The sequence begins at the southern end of the Ming coastline with Qiongzhou Prefecture 瓊州府 and proceeds northward along the shore to Liaodong 遼東, presenting the geography of maritime security as a continuous defensive frontage. The first map is titled 'Wanli Haifang Tu Yi 萬里海防圖一 [Ten-thousand-*li* Sea Defence Map, One]' **(Fig. 6)**, while the remaining nine are numbered 'Haifang u Er 海防圖二 [Sea Defence Map, Two]' through 'Haifang Tu Shi 海防圖十 [Sea Defence Map, Ten]'. Each spread follows a consistent layout. Roughly the lower two-thirds of the spread is occupied by the map, while the upper third is densely filled with prose describing coastal-defence conditions and priorities across successive regions, moving through Guangdong 廣東, Fujian 福建, Zhejiang 浙江, Zhili 直隸, Jiangbei 江北, Shandong 山東, and Liaoyang 遼陽. These notes combine practical emphases on defensive focal points



Fig. 6 The opening two sides of the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' in *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*. In the present Western remounting the original two sides have been opened out and mounted together as a single spread. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.



Fig. 7 'Riben Daoyi Rukou zhi Tu' [Map of Japanese Island Barbarian Incursions] from *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

with retrospectively framed accounts of how maritime defences were built, arranged, and maintained over time.

The prominence of this long coastal sequence is broadly legible within a late-Ming military context. From the Jiajing 嘉靖 era (1522–1566) onward, the Ming court faced sustained pressure from Wokou 倭寇 [Japanese raiders], and maritime defence became a recurring strategic priority. It is therefore unsurprising that comparable sea-defence series appear frequently in mid- and late-Ming atlas compilations. Immediately following the ten maps, pages fifty-one to fifty-three present three short essays on maritime defence. These are attributed to two leading Jiajing-period anti-Wokou strategists who were directly engaged in coastal campaigns – Hu Zongxian 胡宗憲 and Tang Shunzhi 唐順之 – and to Wei Xiao 魏校 who held office as a Director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices 太常寺卿. Wei is not presented as a battlefield commander in the same sense, but rather as an influential scholar-official and teacher within the Jiajing intellectual milieu, with connections to figures such as Tang Shunzhi and Zheng Ruozeng, whose writings and compilations became central to late-Ming coastal-defence knowledge. What follows shifts away from the ten-map coastal sequence to a set of maps concerned with land frontiers, neighbouring polities, and 'outer' regions as conceptualised within a Chinese-Barbarian tributary world order. In sequence, the atlas presents 'Quanliao Biantu 全遼邊圖 [Complete Map of the Liaodong Frontier]', 'Chaoxian Ditu 朝鮮地圖 [Map of Korea]', 'Xiyu Tu 西域圖 [Map of the Western Regions]', 'Shuomo Ditu 朔漠地圖 [Map of the Northern Desert]', 'Annan ditu 安南地圖 [Map of Annam]', and 'Chaogong Daoyi Tu 朝貢島夷圖 [Map of Tribute-Paying Island Barbarians]'. The final map returns explicitly to the maritime threat, focusing on Japanese raiders in a sheet titled 'Riben Daoyi Rukou zhi Tu 日本島夷入寇之圖 [Map of Japanese Island Barbarian Incursions]' **(Fig. 7)**. Two concluding texts then reinforce this emphasis. Pages sixty-two to sixty-three carry 'Yanhai Yukou Yaodi 沿海御寇要地 [Key Coastal Strategic Points for Resisting Raiders]', attributed to the Jiajing-period political figure Jiang Feng'a 姜鳳阿. The final spread, spanning pages sixty-three to sixty-four, is taken up by an even denser, unsigned discussion entitled 'Yanhaijie Wo Yaohai 沿海界倭要害 [Strategic Chokepoints for Containing the Japanese along the Coast]', set in notably reduced script in order to accommodate its length.

Rereading the seal inscription

The arrangement of the maps after the provincial sequence makes unmistakable the manuscript's sustained orientation towards military knowledge, coastal defence, and the problem of resisting Wokou. It also appears, at first glance, to sit comfortably with the recurrent seal **(Fig. 8)** that Zhu Qiqian deciphered as 'Bianjiang Yiguo Changcheng 邊疆夷國長城 [Borderlands, Barbarian Countries, and the Great Wall]'.

On closer inspection, however, Zhu's reading is difficult to sustain. In late Ming usage it is not common to label neighbouring polities generically as Yiguo 夷國, and the seal inscription itself repays re-examination in palaeographic terms.



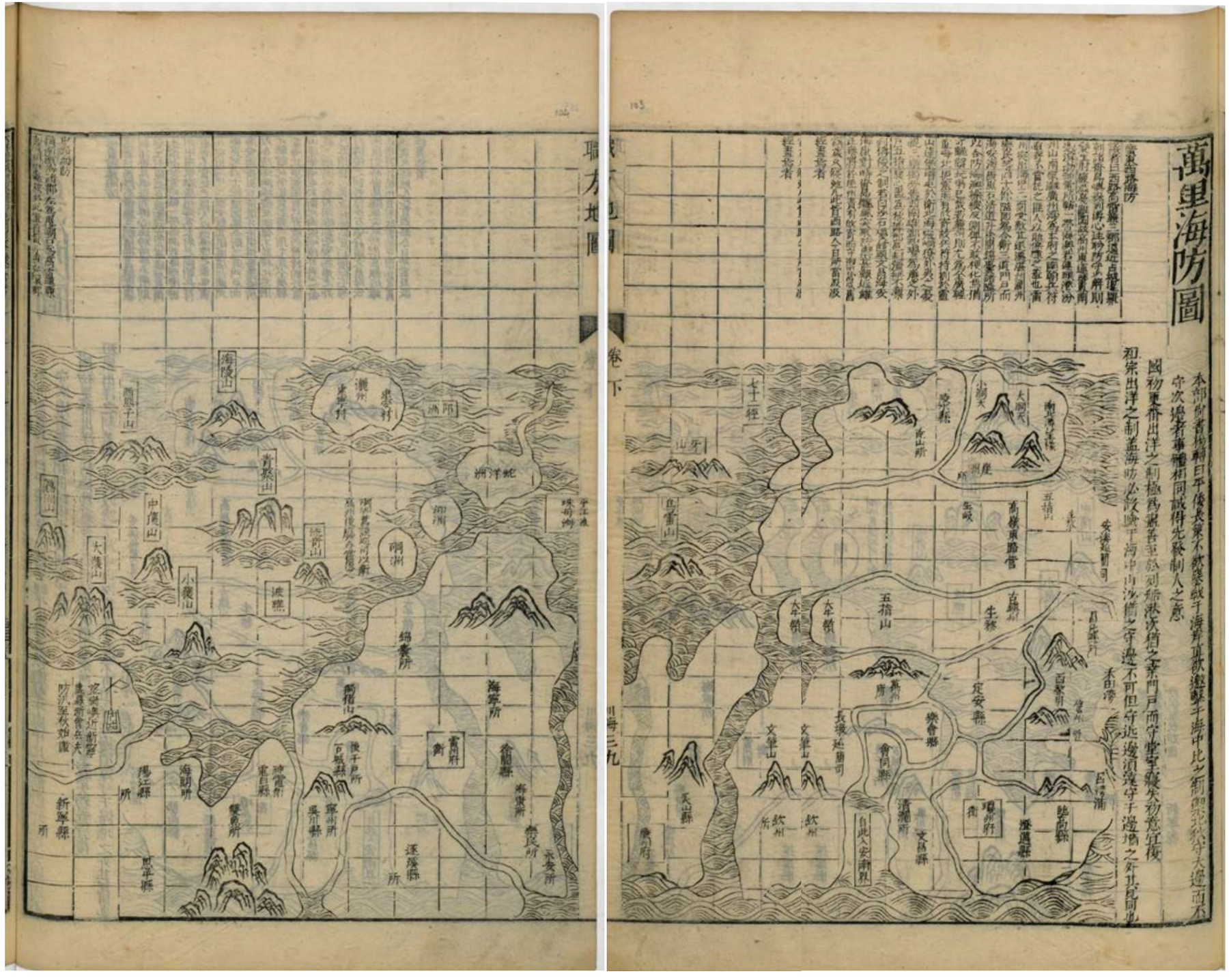
Fig. 8 The recurring seal impression in *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

The first two characters, Bianjiang 邊疆 [Borderlands], and the last one, Cheng 城 [wall/fortification], are secure. The uncertainty lies in the three characters between them. The third character in the impression, which Zhu took as 'Yi 夷', is more plausibly 'Yi 弋', an archaic graphic form of 'Yi 一 [one]'. The following character is not 'Guo 國 [state]' but 'Mian 面 [side/aspect]'. These readings yield the intelligible opening phrase 'Bianjiang Yimian 邊疆弋面 [the frontier side]'.

The remaining difficulty is the fifth character, the first in the left-hand column. On palaeographic grounds, 'Shi 氏' offers the closest visual analogue in extant seal-script exemplars; 'Gan 干' and 'Chang 長' are also conceivable, but each fits the impressed form less perfectly, with small mismatches in stroke configuration. The graphic evidence, in other words, points most strongly towards 'Shi 氏'. Semantically, however, 'Shicheng 氏城' would be opaque in this context, whereas 'Gancheng 干城' and 'Changcheng 長城' both yield intelligible compounds and can complete a coherent six-character legend. The reading therefore cannot be settled by shape alone and must be adjudicated on contextual grounds. Here the atlas' thematic emphasis is decisive. This is not a compilation centred on the Great Wall as an emblem of land-frontier security, nor is it restricted to the Great Wall as a privileged spatial focus. The manuscript's organising concern is broader and, in its latter third, emphatically maritime. By contrast, 'Gancheng 干城', in classical usage, denotes 'shield and city wall' and, by extension, a protective mainstay or bulwark: those charged with defending and upholding a ruler, a polity, or a cause. Read in this light, the seal is best taken as 'Bianjiang Yimian Gancheng 邊疆弋面干城 [this frontier side as a bulwark]', a formulation that aligns closely with the atlas' practical orientation towards securing vulnerable frontiers, above all the littoral frontier where the Wokou threat was imagined and managed.

Tracing the printed model

Once the atlas is read straight through, a practical impression emerges. This is a book built to orient action: it privileges defence over spectacle, and treats the coast and the frontiers as zones to be managed. If we provisionally keep Zhu Qiqian's suggested late



dating in view, the manuscript's contents and ordering – the empire-wide framing, the provincial sequence, the extended coastal-defence run, and the closing cluster of frontier and tributary maps – sit comfortably within a mid- to late-Ming world in which the littoral frontier was repeatedly cast as a zone of disturbance, and in which coastal defence generated a substantial body of texts and map compilations. From Zheng Ruozeng's *Chouhai Tubian* 籌海圖編 *[Treatise with Maps for Planning Coastal Defence]* in the Jiajing period and the later reworkings that followed its model, to the coastal-defence map series incorporated into Zhang Huang's *Tushu Bian* 圖書編 *[Compendium of Illustrations and Writings]* in the Wanli 萬曆 period (1573–1620) and subsequent derivatives, modern Chinese scholarship has identified well over a dozen late-imperial compilations that likewise place maritime defence at the centre, with some map sets continuing to be recopied or adapted into the Qing. Given this context, the question is unavoidable. Does *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* in fact belong to one of the late-Ming coastal-defence atlas lineages – deriving from, and demonstrably copying or reworking, an earlier compilation –or does close comparison suggest that it cannot be securely tied to any such series and was assembled independently?

A natural point of entry is the atlas' long coastal-defence run: the sequence of more than ten consecutive spreads 'Wanli Haifang Tu' **(Fig. 6)**, a standard and frequently recopied module in late-Ming defence compilations and therefore a useful discriminator for lineage. Starting from this internally coherent set, it is straightforward to identify close pictorial correspondences with the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' series as transmitted in, and Chen Zushou 陳祖綬's *Huangming Zhifang Ditu* 皇明職方地圖 *[Atlas of Imperial Ming Administrative Geography]* **(Fig. 9)**, Zhang Huang's *Tushu Bian* **(Fig. 10)**, and Zhu Shaoben 朱紹本's *Ditu Zongyao* 地圖綜要 *[Compendium of Essential Maps]*.[8] Across these

Fig. 9 First two sides of the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' sequence in Chen Zushou 陳祖綬, *Huangming Zhifang Ditu* 皇明職方地圖 *[Atlas of Imperial Ming Administrative Geography]*, 1636, lower volume, p. 39. Digital facsimile on Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France. This figure shows the same opening two sides of the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' sequence as Fig. 6. In the Eton manuscript, these two sides have been opened out and mounted together within the present Western binding, so they appear as a single visible spread. In Chen's printed atlas, by contrast, the original Chinese book format is preserved, so the same two sides are reproduced separately here. Fig. 10 follows the same principle, showing the corresponding opening two sides of the same map in Zhang Huang's *Tushu Bian*.





witnesses, the mapped image content aligns so closely that the differences are, at least at first glance, minute. One formal feature, however, is suggestive. Among these comparanda, only Chen's atlas presents the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' in the same page design found in *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*, with dense text occupying the upper one third portion of each spread and the map placed below.

A further detail strengthens the case for a particularly close relationship between *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*'s 'Wanli Haifang Tu' and Chen's. Immediately before the cartographic portion of the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' series begins, both atlases place, at the extreme right margin, the same four-line statement attributed to a 'Shangshu Yang Zhuan 尚書楊轉 [Minister Yang Zhuan]', arguing that the most effective strategy against the Wokou was to meet them at sea (**Figs. 6, 9)**. The Minister in question, however, is certainly Yang Bo 楊博, the Jiajing-era Minister of War. In terms of graphic form, 'Bo 博' and 'Zhuan 轉' are close enough in certain hands that a carving error is plausible. The likeliest scenario is that 'Bo 博' was miscut as 'Zhuan 轉' in a printed exemplar, and that the manuscript *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* reproduced the error verbatim. Crucially, Chen's atlas was not the first printed work to transmit this mistake. The same miswriting already appears in one of its key sources, Zhang Huang's *Tushu Bian*, printed more than two decades earlier. The question, then, is where the Eton manuscript took the error from: directly from Zhang's compilation, or via Chen's reworking. Here the wording of the attribution is decisive. In *Tushu Bian* the passage reads 'Minister of War Yang Zhuan says (兵部尚書楊轉云)'.[9] When Chen, then serving within the Ministry of War, incorporated the statement into his atlas, he adjusted its bureaucratic deixis, changing 'Bingbu 兵部 [Ministry of War]' to 'Benbu 本部 [This ministry]' and 'yun 云 [says]' to 'yue 曰 [states]'. The Eton manuscript reproduces precisely these secondary modifications, along with Chen's inheritance of the miscut name 'Yang Zhuan'. Taken together – a shared mise-en-page, a shared miscut

Fig. 10 First two sides of the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' sequence in Zhang Huang 章潢, *Tushu Bian* 圖書編 [*Compendium of Illustrations and Writings*], 1613, juan 57, p. 1 (Harvard-Yenching Library digital facsimile, vol. 64). This figure shows the first two sides of the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' sequence, corresponding to those in Fig. 6 and Fig. 9. Digital facsimile downloaded from Harvard University, Harvard College Library, Harvard-Yenching Library (accessed 19 January 2025). The Harvard-Yenching Library scan is available via an open-access page. https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/chinese-rare-books/catalog/49-990079102480203941

name, and identical micro-edits in the attribution – this cluster of correspondences provides further support for a direct copying relationship in which the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' in Chen's atlas functioned as the immediate model for the Eton manuscript. Since the coastal-defence sequence is not an isolated excursus but part of a continuous frontier-oriented arc – moving from maritime defence to border commands, neighbouring polities, and tributary spaces – the next question follows naturally. Does the same dependence extend beyond the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' to the seven maps that immediately follow?

At first glance the section in *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* looks slighter. After the coastal-defence run, the manuscript continues with seven maps concerned with frontier commands, neighbouring polities, and tributary barbarians. Each has a counterpart in Chen's atlas under the same map title, yet the Eton manuscript lacks the fuller apparatus that structures Chen's compilation. In Chen's work, these materials are distributed across two volumes and framed by extensive tables and explanatory writing, whereas the Eton manuscript presents the maps largely as standalone images, with little or no appended text apart from the cluster of coastal-defence discussions that follows the 'Riben Daoyi Rukou zhi Tu'. This disparity in richness, however, does not imply independence. On the contrary, wherever *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* includes a map from this frontier-and-overseas cluster, the cartographic content matches Chen's atlas closely, down to the placement of features and the phrasing of many labels, with only minor textual adjustments to be discussed below.

On this basis, the latter portion of the Eton manuscript – its pages forty-two through sixty-four, from the 'Wanli Haifang Tu' sequence through the frontier and extra-territorial maps – can be identified with high confidence as copied and redrawn from Chen's atlas, specifically from the sets transmitted under the middle volume, *Huangming Zhifang Bianzhen Ditu Biao 皇明職方邊鎮地圖表 [Tables and Atlas of Imperial Ming Administrative Geography: Frontier Commands]*, and the lower volume, *Huangming Zhifang Chuanhai Ditu Biao 皇明職方川海地圖表 [Tables and Atlas of Imperial Ming Administrative Geography: Rivers and Seas]*. The image content is effectively identical, while the accompanying text shows small but systematic changes. Turning back to the first half of the manuscript – the empire-wide general maps and the province-by-province sequence for the two capitals and thirteen provinces – a straightforward comparison likewise shows that these sections also derive from Chen's atlas, more specifically from its upper volume *Huangming Zhifang Liangjing Shisansheng Ditu Biao 皇明職方兩京十三省地圖表 [Tables and Atlas of Imperial Ming Administrative Geography: The Two Capitals and Thirteen Provinces]*. As in the latter part of the book, the Eton manuscript's first half also largely copies Chen's cartographic images and omits the measured-grid scale system. In textual terms, it also pares back Chen's accompanying matter. For each province it drops the official-title tables and the longer regional accounts that frame the maps in Chen's edition, retaining only the closing component of the post-map text: the 'Xu Yue 敘曰 [Explanatory Note]', which anchors the province within the Yu Gong framework and offers brief historical and geographical remarks.

Copying, reduction, and Qing reworking

At this point, the dependence can be stated plainly. The *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* donated by Richard Topham to Eton College is a manuscript copy of Chen Zushou's three-volume *Huangming Zhifang Ditu* printed in 1636. With the Ming collapse less than a decade away, the obvious question is when the Eton manuscript was copied: while the Ming still stood, or under the Qing? Copying dates for such manuscripts are usually inferred not from a single explicit colophon but from small, cumulative signals: the addition of new geographical information, the appearance of avoidance forms in personal names, or adjustments in dynastic and imperial terminology. Answering the dating question here therefore requires sustained attention to the fine-grained divergences between the Eton manuscript and its printed model. As the source-identification exercise has already begun to show, the copy is broadly faithful, but it repeatedly introduces minor – yet patterned – changes to Chen's textual content, and it is in these micro-variations that the best chronological clues are likely to reside.

Tianxia Shanhai Tu's reductions and interventions vis-à-vis Chen Zushou's atlas operate in five main respects. The first concerns the map corpus. The manuscript adopts a selective principle of inclusion, omitting many of Chen's maps and retaining only a subset of the printed plates. Beyond its full copying of Chen's upper volume – the empire-wide general maps and the province-by-province sequence for the two capitals and thirteen provinces – *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* retains only eight maps from the thirty-one transmitted in Chen's middle and lower volumes. The pattern of retention suggests a selection strategy driven by the priorities of coastal defence. Of the eight maps preserved, seven are taken from Chen's lower volume and concern maritime security, overseas polities, and extra-territorial spaces, while only one derives from the middle volume and treats a single land-frontier border command.

The second concerns running text at the level of complete units. The Eton manuscript removes prefatory and volume-opening paratexts, that is, the framing materials that introduce Chen's work as a whole and each of its three volumes. Chen begins *Huangming Zhifang Ditu* with an essay entitled 'Huo Wen 或問 [Questions and Answers]', written in a dialogic, interrogative format of posed questions and replies. There he explains the circumstances and aims of compiling the atlas, presents it as an expansion of earlier empire-wide maps produced under the Ming, lists a number of reference works, and notes the individuals involved in the compilation. *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* omits this prefatory statement entirely. Chen's upper volume then begins by placing the map sequence under the authority of two classical texts, the 'Yu Gong' and the *Zhouli 周禮 [Rites of Zhou]* chapter 'Zhifang 職方 [Offices of Territorial Administration]'. Both texts long functioned as classical foundations for thinking about territorial order. 'Yu Gong' supplied a canonical geography of the realm, organising space through regions and routes and thereby offering a template for later geographical description, while 'Zhifang' articulated an ideal administrative geography that linked territorial knowledge to the bureaucratic management of jurisdictions – an especially resonant frame for an atlas explicitly concerned with administrative geography. The Eton manuscript retains 'Yu Gong' but drops 'Zhifang'. Moreover, as noted above, the Eton manuscript does not preserve Chen's middle- and lower-volume division, and it also alters the ordering and grouping of the materials drawn from those two volumes. The brief 'Xiao Xu 小序 [Short Preface]' that open Chen's middle and lower volumes are therefore likewise absent.

The third concerns the suppression of the substantial blocks of explanatory writing that accompany many of Chen's maps: the historical, geographical, and administrative narratives that gloss the mapped space, often with lists of offices and extended contextual accounts. Their systematic removal may point to an intended readership that did not require such granular administrative detail, but instead sought a more schematic, readily consultable spatial overview.

The fourth concerns minor but telling interventions within the maps themselves: small adjustments to place-names, personal names, and short marginal or in-map annotations. These micro-edits are particularly valuable because they offer one of the best avenues for dating the manuscript copy. In many places *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* retains Chen's Ming-loyal diction, including references to 'Wo Chao 我朝 [our dynasty]'. Yet a handful of revisions pull in a different direction. On page nine, for example, Chen's 'Wo Chengzu 我成祖 [our Emperor Cheng] is recast as 'Ming Chengzu 明成祖 [Emperor Cheng of Ming], a shift that no longer presumes the speaker's identification with the ruling house. More explicit still is a change in the 'Xu Yue' following the Shaanxi map on page seventeen, where Chen's 'Ben Chao 本朝 [this dynasty]' is rewritten as 'Qian Chao 前朝 [previous dynasty]' **(Fig. 11)**. In the same passage, the pejorative term 'B ei Lu 北虜 [Northern Barbarian]' is removed from Chen's phrase 'Bei Lu Xiao Wangzi 北虜小王子 [little prince of Northern Barbarian], leaving only 'Xiaowangzi 小王子 [little prince], as if to avoid an explicitly derogatory label for a non-Han polity. Taken together, these alterations – small in number but unambiguous in implication – indicate that the manuscript copy was produced under Qing rule. The term 'Qian Chao' would be inconceivable in a copy made within the Ming.

Why, then, are such post-Ming adjustments so sporadic, when much of Chen's Ming-period language remains untouched? One possibility is that, as a manuscript copy intended for private use or a very narrow circle rather than wide circulation, it was not subject to the standardising pressures associated with print. Linguistic updating could therefore remain intermittent rather than systematic. Another, suggested by a fifth category of intervention, is that the copyist did not consistently command the historical, geographical, or military knowledge embedded in the text, and therefore introduced errors and miscopyings alongside occasional moments of updating.

A fifth and final pattern consists of miscopyings of individual characters, many of them prompted by graphic similarity. *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* contains many slips in which a plausible-looking graph is substituted for the intended one because the two forms are close in script. Some do not materially impede the sense, as



Fig. 11 Detail from the 'Xu Yue' section following the 'Shandong Map' in *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*, showing the post-Ming revision of Chen Zushou's wording: Ben Chao 本朝 [this dynasty] is rewritten as Qian Chao 前朝 [previous dynasty]. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

when on page three 'Bei Lin 北鄰 [northerly adjacent to]' is copied as 'Bi Lin 比鄰 [adjacent to]'. Others produce phrases that are plainly unintelligible because the substituted graphs, though close in form, are semantically incommensurate with the context. On page five, for example, Chen's 'Po Lei Zhonghua 頗類中華 [rather resembles China] becomes 'Po Lu Qi Hua 頗顱其華': 'Lei 類 [to resemble/be akin to]' is replaced by the graph 'Lu 顱 [skull/head]', and the binome 'Zhonghua 中華 [China]' is displaced by 'Qi Hua 其華', which yields no coherent sense in this construction. Likewise, on page forty-eight the attribution formula 'You Yun 又云 [further says]' – with 'Yun 云 [says]' – is reproduced as 'You Qu 又去', where 'Qu 去 [to be distant (from)]', despite its graphic similarity to 'Yun 云', is syntactically and semantically inappropriate. Such errors are too frequent to enumerate here, but their cumulative effect is clear. The copyist was not attending to the semantic coherence of what was being transcribed, but was reproducing written forms mechanically. One miscopying in particular suggests that this mechanical copying was reinforced by a lack of relevant historical and administrative knowledge. On page four, in the Sichuan sector of the empire-wide general map, the Eton manuscript labels a place as 'Tianjin Liufan 天金六番'. In Chen's printed model the label is correctly 'Tianquan Liufan 天全六番', more precisely 'Tianquan Liufan Zhaotao Si 天全六番招討司 [Office of Military Pacification in Tianquan and Liufan]', a native-office institution established by the Ming in Sichuan. An informed reader would have recognised the administrative term and the toponym. The copyist, apparently unfamiliar with such designations, reproduced the phrase as a string of characters, and in the process miscopied 'Quan 全' as 'Jin 金'.

Taken together, these five patterns of omission, selection, and alteration define the Eton manuscript's status with some precision. It is not an independent compilation but a derivative copy of Chen Zushou's *Huangming Zhifang Ditu*, reshaped through selective retention and systematic reduction. The handful of unmistakable dynastic recalibrations – above all the substitution of 'Qian Chao' – anchors the copying securely in the Qing, even as much Ming-period diction remains unrevised. At the same time, the manuscript's interventions are not those of a thoroughly re-edited new edition. Rather, they suggest a copy made for private reading and personal interest rather than for producing a print-ready product for commercial sale: one that privileges mapped images and an immediately navigable spatial synopsis, while dispensing with Chen's extensive tables and discursive apparatus. The density of shape-based miscopyings, and the occasional slip that betrays unfamiliarity with administrative terminology, further imply that the copyist's labour was primarily graphic rather than philological – reproducing forms more than meanings – so that sporadic moments of conscious updating coexist with mechanical transcription and error. In this sense, *Tianxia Shanhai Tu* emerges as a Qing-period reworking of a late-Ming printed model: image-forward, selectively coastal-defence oriented, and materially adapted to a new setting of reading, handling, and reuse.

Commercial ephemera and the atlas' later life

Precisely when after 1644 this copying took place remains a tighter question. The revisions discussed above secure a Qing horizon, but they do not, on their own, yield a narrow date. Yet the outer bounds matter. The manuscript must have entered England by the time it reached Richard Topham, who died in 1730 and, as far as is currently known, never travelled to Asia.[10] If the copying is to be placed more precisely within the interval between the Ming-Qing transition and Topham's ownership, we need evidence not from mapped content alone but from the artefact's material accretions. Here the atlas preserves exactly the kind of clue that Zhu Qiqian's content-focused letter passed over: two printed inserts attached at the very end of the volume **(Fig. 12)**. These non-cartographic intrusions offer a potential terminus post quem for the manuscript's later history and provide a concrete point from which to begin reconstructing when, and in what circumstances, the atlas was handled, augmented, and ultimately detached from its original Chinese setting.

The two printed inserts pasted onto the final leaf are commercial notices rather than cartographic matter. Both serve essentially the same function: they are cloth-shop anti-counterfeiting proclamations, issued to protect a named shop's reputation and to steer customers away from imitations by insisting on identifiable house marks and seal impressions as proof of authenticity. The upper slip is printed in red on a small buff-coloured laid sheet. The paper shows a visible fibre texture and slight mottling,[11] with the text cut in a Kaishu 楷書 [regular-script] style. Its decorative border is markedly pictorial, shaped like an unfurling banner with scrolling terminals and patterned side panels. It includes a cyclical-year date formula, 'Yiyou Qiuyue 乙酉秋月 [autumn month of a Yiyou year],' and closes with an explicit shop attestation, 'Zhenghong Zhuren Zhi 正宏主人識 [attested and marked by the master of Zhenghong]'. The lower slip is printed in dark blue on a pink-tinted sheet whose surface reads as smoother and less fibrous. The typography is Song font, and the impression is noticeably less crisp, with ink spread and minor blurring in places. Its border is also different in kind, built from a rectilinear key-fret frame with clipped upper corners. It conveys the same kind of message as the upper one. Read together, the two inserts do not represent two different kinds of document. They are parallel iterations of the same genre of commercial warning, differing mainly in layout, colour, and the particular arrangement of seals.

Because, as noted above, the atlas was not produced on cloth, the two printed inserts cannot be treated as original components of the manuscript's making. They do not, in themselves, tell us where, when, or by whom the maps were copied. Their value lies elsewhere: as material residues of the atlas' subsequent life, they matter for what they allow us to infer about the object's later circulation and handling. The key question is when and by whom these notices were placed into association with the atlas. Two broad scenarios are plausible. In the first, the inserts were slipped into the volume in China, either by the copyist or by a later Chinese holder, and then travelled together with the atlas to Britain before entering Richard Topham's collection. In the second, Richard Topham encountered the atlas and the loose notices separately, or acquired them together but as discrete



Fig. 12 Two printed cloth-shop notices mounted at the end of *Tianxia Shanhai Tu*. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

items, and, treating them simply as related Chinese paper artefacts, stored them together by inserting the notices into the atlas. The later Western rebinding would then have preserved that association by pasting them in place. If the second scenario is correct, the inserts could in principle have been printed at almost any point before 1730, and their bearing on the date of the Eton copy would be limited. If the first scenario is correct, however, the inserts provide two kinds of leverage: a chronological anchor and a geographical clue.

Chronologically, the red notice supplies a dated point of reference through its cyclical-year formula 'Yiyou 乙酉'. Between 1644 and 1730 this designation corresponds to only two years, 1645 and 1705. The notice must therefore have been printed in one of those two years, and it cannot have entered the atlas before that date. A 1705 printing is also a much better fit with the internal linguistic updating observed in the manuscript itself, including the recasting of Ming-loyal phrasing into post-Ming terms such as 'Qian Chao' and the avoidance of explicitly derogatory labels like 'Lu'. Dynastic transitions were not experienced as instantaneous switches on a single date, and in the unsettled decades immediately following 1644 such phrasing would not necessarily have stabilised in the forms we see here. Taken together, the evidence makes it more likely that the relevant 'Yiyou' is 1705, and that the inserts were introduced into the atlas no earlier than the early eighteenth century. Geographically, the same notice also offers a concrete point of localisation, naming a shop identified as Zhenghong Ji 正宏記, situated in Sanlin Tang Town 三林塘鎮, Shanghai County 上海縣, Songjiang Prefecture 松江府. Follow-up work has not yet yielded identifiable traces of this specific shop name in local records: in site visits to present-day Sanlin Tang and targeted checks of Ming-Qing Songjiang gazetteers have not yet produced explicit references to Zhenghong Ji 正宏記. Even so, the place-name is itself informative. Sanlin Tang had long been a major centre for the production and trade of Biaobu 標布, a locally branded cotton cloth associated with the Sanlin Tang textile market. If the notices were indeed inserted while the atlas was still in Chinese hands, they point to a Lower-Yangzi commercial milieu – specifically the Songjiang–Shanghai area – as a context in which the manuscript was handled. This could mean that the atlas passed through such a cloth-trade environment at some stage of its circulation. It could also mean, more ambitiously, that the copying itself took place there, with the manuscript produced within or for a local network that had access to both Chen's printed atlas and everyday commercial print such as shop notices. The evidence does not allow us to choose decisively between these scenarios, but it does anchor the manuscript's post-1644 life, at minimum, within a plausible regional setting rather than an abstract 'China' of undifferentiated provenance.

Taken together, the two printed slips are not part of the atlas' cartographic programme, yet, under the China-side insertion possibility outlined above, they become evidentiary for the manuscript's material life as an object. Read in that way, the red notice's cyclical date formula is best taken as 1705, and it provides a firm terminus post quem for when such ephemera could have been placed into association with the book and, by extension, for when the atlas itself was present in a milieu where such notices circulated. The implication is a plausible sequence rather than a certainty: the Eton copy was made at some point before 1705,[12] whether produced in the Lower Yangzi – conceivably in the Songjiang region indicated by the shop name Zhenghong Ji in Songjiang Prefecture – or only passing through that commercial landscape at a later stage of exchange or use. From there the trail remains discontinuous, but the outer bound is clear: by no later than 1730 the atlas had reached Britain and entered Richard Topham's hands, carrying with it these small, accidental residues that hint at an otherwise invisible Chinese segment of its pre-Topham itinerary.

Conclusion

Read as an artefact with a traceable material and textual history, the 'Topham Atlas' or 'Eton manuscript' (*Tianxia Shanhai Tu*) emerges here not as an isolated Chinese manuscript curiosity in an English collection, but as a Qing-period manuscript reworking of Chen Zushou's three-volume late-Ming print atlas *Huangming Zhifang Ditu*, reshaped through selective retention, systematic reduction, and small but telling micro-edits. The article has therefore moved in three steps: first establishing the volume's current Western rebinding and internal page logic; then reconstructing its content sequence in a way that makes its practical orientation legible, one that privileges defence, coastal security, and frontier management over cosmographic or spectacle-driven representation; and finally demonstrating, through close comparison, that the manuscript's map plates ultimately derive from Chen's printed sets, while its treatment of paratext and descriptive apparatus reveals a copy made for personal use and curiosity rather than for creating a commercially marketable, print-ready product. Even if, at first glance, this can look like a relatively 'simple' reduced copy, its value is twofold: it documents a concrete Qing afterlife for Chen's Ming defence geography, showing how a major printed atlas could be re-entered into manuscript practice under new political and social conditions, and it expands the known circulation horizon of this late-Ming coastal-defence atlas genre by following one such derivative artefact out of China and into an early modern British collecting context, where it was in hand by no later than Richard Topham's lifetime. At the same time, the analysis also clarifies what we still cannot securely narrate: the Chinese segment of the manuscript's itinerary, the mechanics of its detachment from its original milieu, and the chain of custody by which it crossed from China to Britain and then circulated within Britain before entering Topham's library remain largely undocumented. Even the promising 'accidental' evidence of the cloth-shop inserts, plausibly dated to 1705, can only be treated as probabilistic leverage rather than proof of a single pathway. Future work, accordingly, will need to shift from internal cartographic comparison to external archival reconstruction – Eton and British curatorial files, British book-trade and collecting networks, and Chinese local documentary traces – in order to turn the present, necessarily cautious possible sequence into a better-evidenced circulation history for the atlas as an object.

Notes

1 Frank Salmon, 'The Topham Collection: Eton', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 155, No. 1328, November 2013, pp. 788–89.
2 Li Huanian 李華年 and Yang Zukai 楊祖愷, 'Zhu Qiqian Xiansheng Nianbiao Jianbian 朱啟鈐先生年表簡編 [A Brief Chronological Table of Mr Zhu Qiqian]', *Guizhou Wenshi Congkan 貴州文史叢刊 [Guizhou Literature and History Miscellany]*, No. 4, 2004, p. 98.
3 Li and Yang, 'Zhu Qiqian Xiansheng Nianbiao Jianbian', p. 96.
4 For clarity of reference, the page and folio numbers used in the present description follow the Chinese numerals written at the upper right of each spread in the current Western binding.
5 Yu is the legendary figure Yu the Great credited with controlling the floods and thereby rendering the realm governable. The text 'Tribute of Yu' is traditionally framed as a foundational account of territorial order: it maps the world through regions, routes, products/tribute, and hydraulic works, and for later readers it functioned as a classical template for geographical description and state spatial knowledge.
6 'Four Barbarians' translates Siyi 四夷, a conventional premodern Chinese classificatory term for non-Han peoples/polities positioned in the four directions around the central states, widely used in classical and imperial geographical discourse.
7 *Li* (里) is a traditional Chinese unit of distance whose actual length varied across periods and according to the measuring standard in use. For the late Ming, a commonly used late-imperial convention yields an approximate value of 1 *li* ≈ 576 metres (c. 0.58 km).
8 For discussion of the transmission and close similarities among these atlases in their coastal-defence map series, see Li Xingui 李新贵, 'Ming Wanli Haifang Tu zhi Zhanghuang Xi Tanyan 明萬里海防圖之章潢系探研 [On the Zhanghuang Lineage of the Ming Ten-thousand-*li* Sea Defence Maps]', *Shixueshi Yanjiu 史學史研究 [Journal of Historiography]*, No. 1, 2019, pp. 8–18; Cheng Yinong 成一農, 'Ming Qing Haifang Zongtu Yanjiu 明清海防總圖研究 [A Study of Ming Qing General Sea Defence Maps]', *Shehui Kexue Zhanxian 社會科學戰線 [Social Science Front]*, No. 2, 2020, pp. 137–50.
9 Zhang Huang 章潢, *Tushu Bian 圖書編 [Compendium of Illustrations and Writings]*, 1613, Vol. 57, p. 33; digital facsimile, Harvard University, Harvard-Yenching Library (accessed 19 January 2025).
10 Patricia Witts, *Drawings of Roman Mosaics in the Topham Collection, Eton College Library*, Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2021, pp. 11–25.
11 Although the upper notice is likewise printed on a fibre-rich laid sheet, its paper stock appears distinct from that of the atlas leaves: differences in colour tone, surface finish/sizing, and the spacing and visibility of the laid/chain-line pattern suggest that it was produced on a different batch of paper rather than on the same paper used for the maps.
12 Although the absence of taboo-avoidance for the Kangxi emperor's personal name Xuanye 玄燁 might suggest, in principle, that the manuscript copy was made before his accession in 1661, this inference is fragile. As shown above, Ming-loyal diction and identificatory phrasing such as 'Wo Chao 我朝 [our dynasty]' were by no means systematically purged in the Eton manuscript, which makes it difficult to assume that the copyist would have observed Qing naming taboos with any consistency or deliberation. For that reason, the present article retains a conservative dating frame of 1644–1705 for the copying of the atlas, rather than advancing the terminus ante quem to 1661.

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IMCoS MATTERS

March 2026 Show & Tell

We had a good turnout for the March event, which, this year was organised by Steve Hanon. He brought together a group of presenters who spoke on a variety of topics. **Joyce Kam** introduced us to a Thai map of the waterways of Guangzhou (formerly Canton); **Andrew Kapochunas** spoke about early modern maps of the Kingdom of Poland and Duchy of Lithuania; **Martin van Brauman** shared examples of WWII escape maps made of cloth which had been a part of his father's military kit during the war; **Wes Brown** had a touching personal story of his wife Linda's contribution in setting him off on his path of map collecting; **Robert Clancy**, who joined us from Sydney (and, considering the time difference between Sydney and the UK, he must be commended for his commitment), spoke about the first route map produced by Qantas dating back to the 1920 when, Australia's flagship airline flew only a handful of domestic routes in Western Queensland; dealer **Chuck Ashman** from 'Rare Charts' introduced us to a little known map genre – blueprint maps – a type of printing process introduced in 1842 by English polymath Sir John Herschel and more commonly associated with technical drawings; **Melinda Allison** presented Visscher's 'New Netherlands Map'; and to wrap up the evening's proceedings **Steve Hanon** spoke about three maps of St Louis.

26 May 2026 Malcolm Young Lecture

Sovereign Cartographies: Canada and its Margins was delivered by Lauren Beck, Professor of Visual and Material Culture studies at Mount Allison University, New Brunswick, Canada. She spoke about how the territory of Canada has been challenged and shaped since its founding in 1535. Even after it was established as an independent nation, threats to its sovereignty have continued, whether in the form of external claims upon its land or the impact of climate change along its northern reaches.

This was a fascinating lecture which clearly demonstrated that, no matter how boldly you mark your territory on a map, history can, over time, erase boundaries, erode shorelines, or forcibly change ownership.

IMCoS attends the Venice Map Fair

Treasurer Cinzia Viviani represented the Society at the Venice Map Fair which was held over three days from 20–22 March at the Palazzo Pisani Revedin in the heart of the city. The Fair is in its second year, and is the brainchild of Ermanno Bertelli, a gallery owner based in Bologna. He chose to locate the Fair in Venice, a city renown for its publishing and mapmaking heritage.

Dates for next year's Fair are :
Friday 19 March between 15.00 – 18.00
Saturday 20 March between 10.00 – 19.00
Sunday 21 March between 10.00 – 17.00



Massimo de Martini of Altea Gallery participating at the Fair.



Treasurer Cinzia Viviani with Fair organiser Rebecca Scattolin.

Introducing Amy Sander Herr

Amy is IMCoS' new National Representatives Coordinator. She replaces Robert Clancy who held the position for more than a decade. Some members will recognise Amy from the recent 2025 symposium in Portland, Maine, and the memorable visit to the Osher Map Library. She also attended the 2007 symposium in Guatemala and does not plan to leave another 18-year gap between future meetings.

Amy is the daughter of long-time IMCoS member Tom Sander, and her connection to the Society reflects both family ties and her own growing involvement in the map world. She lives in Vienna, Virginia, just outside Washington, DC in the United States, with her husband and two teenage boys and is looking forward to meeting fellow members at the IMCoS Annual General Meeting and London Map Fair this June.

Amy maintains a small but thoughtfully assembled personal map collection, with a particular interest in 19th-century decorative cartography. Among her pieces are maps from John Tallis' *Illustrated Atlas and Modern History of the World* (1851), celebrated for their detailed engravings and vignette illustrations, as well as later works such as city plans from S. Augustus Mitchell's *New General Atlas* (1880).

Please join us in welcoming Amy!



DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

6 June 2026, London

The ***IMCoS Annual General Meeting*** will take place on Saturday morning at 10.00 in the Lowther Room at the Royal Geographical Society, Kensington, London SW7. All members are welcome to attend. As the meeting takes place before the opening of the Map Fair, please enter by the doors on Exhibition Street. (www.imcos.org).

6–7 June 2026, London

The 2026 ***London Map Fair,*** the largest in Europe. takes place at the Royal Geographical Society, Kensington, London SW7. It is open from 12 noon until 19.00 on Saturday and from 10.00 to 18.00 on Sunday. The 2026 LMF lecture will be delivered on Saturday at 14.30 by **Rose Mitchell**, author and former archivist at the National Archives. She will explore the varied purposes of mapmaking, beyond simply way-finding. In addition to the annual lecture, Ashley Baynton-Williams will be giving talks on map collecting for beginners throughout the weekend. **Entry to the fair is free** Information: https://www.londonmapfairs.com

8 June–14 September 2026, Iceland

Imaging Iceland: the earliest printed maps 1507/08–1598 opens at the Akureyi Museum. IMCoS members Karl-Werner and Gisela Schulte will be curating it. They donated their collection of maps of Iceland to the museum in 2015 and since then they have regularly mounted special exhibitions drawn from the collection. To mark his 80th birthday, Karl-Werner is preparing ***Imaging Iceland*** and welcomes IMCoS members who are planning a visit to Iceland with a special guided tour of the exhibition. He can be contacted at **karlwernerschulte@icloud.com**

9–13 November 2026, Tokyo & Kyoto

43rd IMCoS International Symposium

The Japan Map Society is hosting the 43rd IMCoS International Symposium which is split between Tokyo and Kyoto, with the first part taking place in the capital on the 9th and 10th November and the second in Kyoto on the 12th and 13th. The draft programme and information on hotel accommodation in Tokyo and provisional fees can be found on pages 46–51.
Further information:
www.imcosjapan2026.jp english_index.html

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DAVID RUMSEY

WINNER OF THE 2026 IMCOS/HELEN WALLIS AWARD

Citation by Peter Barber

The recipient of this year's IMCoS/Helen Wallis award is not only a perspicacious map collector, with a precocious grasp of the significance of hitherto generally disregarded examples, and the creator of one of the world's greatest, initially private, map collections. He is also one of the most munificent living cartographic philanthropists, inspired innovators in the techniques of map digitisation and generous enablers of history of cartography scholarship throughout the world.

He obtained a master's degree in fine arts from Yale University and worked there as a lecturer in fine art, specialising in electronic technologies, before embarking on a highly successful 20-year career in real estate on the East Coast of the USA. He began collecting maps, initially relating to the Americas, in the early 1980s, long before moving to the West Coast and settling in southern California. He first concentrated on nineteenth- and twentieth-century maps at a time when few were interested in them. He acquired these comprehensively, not shying away from collecting enormous, multi-sheet series. He also moved into more conventional – and expensive – areas. He purchased examples of almost all the significant single sheet maps, multi-sheet wall maps, atlases, travel accounts, maritime charts and globes, dating from the dawn of printing to the present day. Today the collection is encyclopaedic, including more than 150,000 items and still growing: so much so that dealers have been mentioning that maps they are selling are not in his collection as an indication of rarity! Not the least of his achievements has been to ensure that all the maps in his collection get catalogued to the highest, internationally accepted, standards.

But the personal satisfaction that every collector gets from his collection has not been enough for him. From the first, visitors to his house, wishing to look at his maps have been made welcome. He was happy to discuss carto-bibliographical details over the phone and more recently via Zoom with fellow-enthusiasts – who left impressed at the depth of his knowledge. Before long, taking advantage of the latest technology and his own mastery of the medium, he decided to make his collections freely available to the world. From his home he supervised their digitisation in the most expert manner possible, to ensure that they were as close as possible in all respects to the originals and that the smallest details could be clearly seen. He also allowed high resolution images to be downloaded free of charge. In the process he pioneered digitisation techniques that have since set the international standard and have have been copied by libraries, public as well as private, throughout the world. The process of digitisation is ongoing, with over 120,000 maps from his total collection digitised to date, and more being added monthly. His action in sharing his collections digitally has proved over the decades to be an enormous boon: not only for collectors in all corners of the globe but also to scholars – whether or not they are researching the history of cartography.

In 2016 he decided to secure the long-term future of his collection by gifting it to Stanford University together with an endowment, thereby creating a Map Center bearing his name. This provides classroom instruction in the field, and the chance for the public to inspect the maps in person in the elegant surroundings of the Bing Wing of the Green Library. The Center also organises digital exhibitions, conferences, talks and other events. It is perhaps the greatest publicly available centre for the study of historic maps on the West Coast. In doing what he has, in the words of another leading map collector, he 'has inspired students, collectors, and researchers, the world over to love maps and learn from them'.

But his generosity in making his collection and the related records available to scholars is only a part of his contribution to our field. Behind the scenes he has made significant donations to scholarly institutions and has helped to underwrite scholarly projects in the map history field being undertaken by universities and libraries not only in the USA but throughout the world, including the United Kingdom. To give only one example: he contributed substantially to the digitisation by the National Library of Scotland of almost all sheets of early Ordnance Survey maps at all scales.

I can think of no worthier recipient of this year's IMCoS /Helen Wallis award than David Rumsey.



David Rumsey, winner of the 2026 IMCoS/Helen Wallis award, at work at the Map Center that bears his name and which this year celebrates its 10th anniversary. © Micaela Go/Stanford University Libraries.

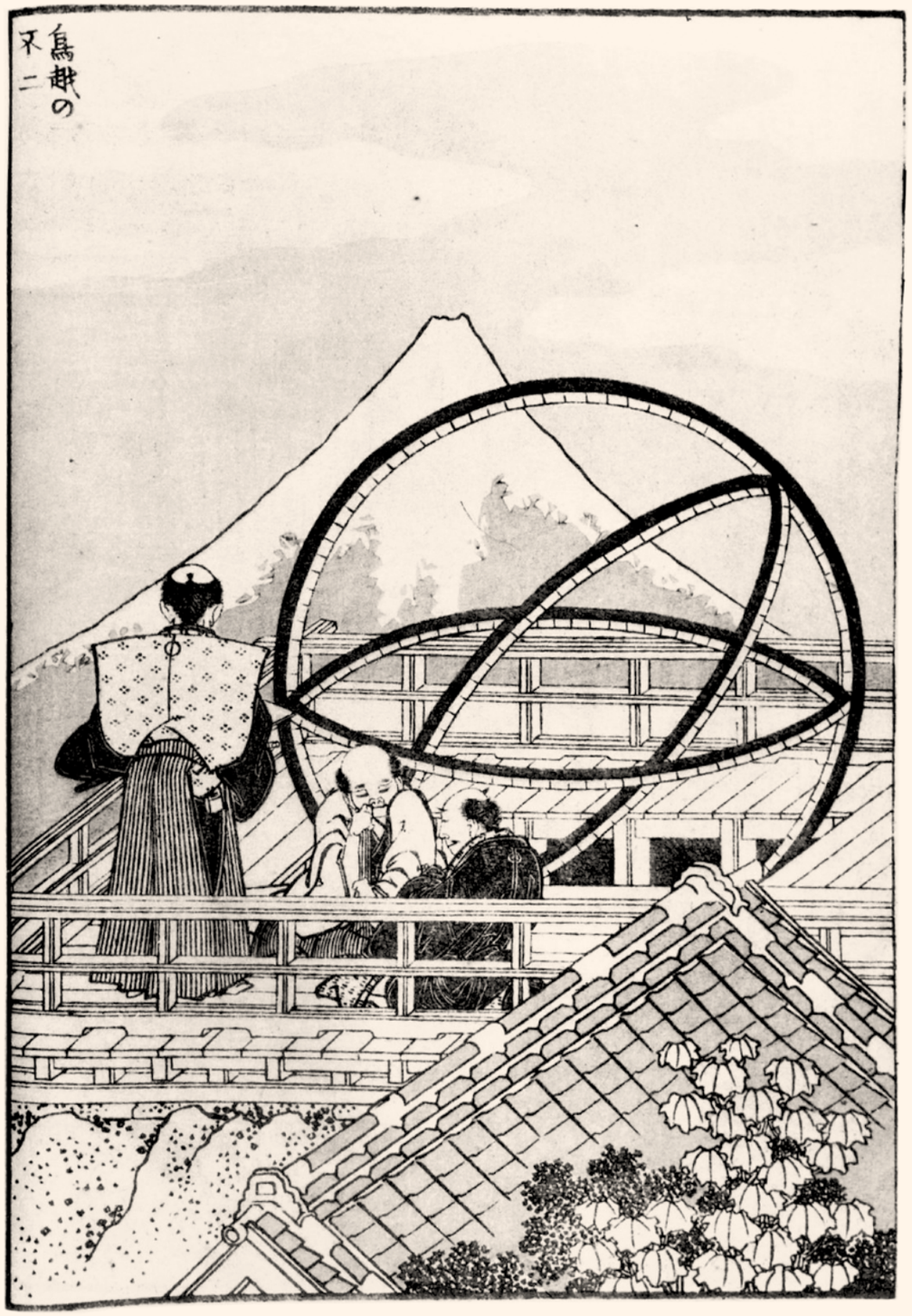
Nominations for the IMCoS/Helen Wallis Award, 2027

The IMCoS/Helen Wallis Award goes to an individual who in the opinion of the selection sub-committee has been responsible for cartographic contributions of great merit and wide interest to map collectors worldwide.

You can nominate a collector, dealer, librarian, independent researcher or academic. Though the award is intended to recognise individual merit, in special circumstances a group of people or an organisation could be considered. The nominee should demonstrate their enthusiasm by actively promoting the history of cartography, be that through study, publications, assistance to other categories (for example as benefactors) or in the field of organising societies, visits, symposia, exhibitions, talks, internet activities or the like.

Past winners can be viewed on the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org).

Please send your nominations to the Chairman of the Committee Peter Barber (peter_barber@me.com) or the Editor (ljiljana.editor@gmail.com) by no later than 15 February 2027.



Katsushika Hokusai, 'Torigoe no Fuji'. The shogunate astronomical observatory in Asakusa (1782–1869) with Mt Fuji in the background. From *One Hundred Views of Mt Fuji*. Wikimedia Commons.

IMCOS 43RD INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM TOKYO & KYOTO

9–13 November 2026

EARLY INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE WESTERN WORLD AND JAPAN SEEN THROUGH HISTORICAL MAPS

Japan Cartographers Association (JCA) and the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) will host the 2026 conference.

There will also be an optional one-day pre-symposium trip to Nikko, and an optional two-day post-symposium tour to Kyushu, including a stay at the Beppu hot springs.

REGISTRATION IS NOW OPEN

PLEASE NOTE THE NEW WEBSITE ADDRESS
www.imcosjapan2026.jp/english_index.html

DRAFT PROGRAMME

(The programme is subject to change based on scheduling needs; the dates are fixed.)

Pre-symposium tour to Nikko (optional)

Sunday 8 November 2026 Nikko

We will take a morning express train from Tokyo to Nikko (approximately 125 kilometres in the mountains north of Tokyo, a journey of less than 2 hours). We will visit the Kegon Waterfall, Chuzenji Lake, Tōshōgu Shrine (see photo overleaf), Rinnōji Temple, and Kanaya Museum.

Dinner on your own in Tokyo.

This tour is limited to the number of seats that can be reserved on the express train. Note that the visits to the shrines and temples will involve stairs.

Monday 9 November 2026 Tokyo

Monday's venue will be at the Nihon University, a 3-min walk from Suidobashi subway station and a 5-min walk from Jimbōchō subway station.

Opening and presentations
8:30 am Arrival and Coffee/Tea
9:15 am Opening by Tokyo Chair of JCA and a representative of IMCoS.
Presentations on Maps of Japan with a coffee break.
11:30 am Lunch on your own
12:30 – 4:30 pm Presentations about maps of China and their influence on Japanese mapmaking.
3.00 pm Coffee break
4:30 pm – 6:30 pm Jimbōchō on your own. (This is Tokyo's centre for antique and vintage book stores, general antiques and curios and publishing houses.)
7.00 pm Welcome dinner (close to Jimbōchō)



View of Shinjuku skyscrapers and Mt Fuji.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tokyo#/media/File:Skyscrapers_of_Shinjuku_2009_January.jpg

Tuesday 10 November 2026

Map viewing and excursion to Sawara
8:45 am Arrival and Coffee/Tea at the Meiji University Library.
9:00 am Map viewing at Meiji University Library (Ashida Bunko Map Collection).

10:45 am – 1:00 pm Sawara tour by bus with preordered lunch box on the bus.
Visit to the Inō Museum, Festival Float Museum, and Katri shrine.
Canal boat trip.

Note: access to the boats is down six steep stone steps. If you are unable to use the stairs you will not be permitted to participate. In case of wet weather or abnormal canal water levels, the trip will be cancelled and the tickets refunded.

4:00 pm – 5:45 pm return to Tokyo by bus.
Dinner on your own.
OPTIONAL: Performance of traditional Kabuki theatre at the Kabukiza Theatre. Details to follow.

Wednesday 11 November 2026

Travel day from Tokyo to Kyoto *by Shinkansen (Super express train), 2 hrs 15 mins. Individual travel, not included in the registration. Participants must make their own arrangements.*

Thursday 12 November 2026

Kyoto opening, presentations & map viewing
The Kyoto venue is the International Research Centre for Japanese Studies at the Nichibunken Hall. Private Shuttle bus to Nichibunken. It departs from Hankyu Rakusaiguchi Station at 8 am, 8:45 am, 9:30 am. Travel time is approximately 20 minutes.

8:45 am Arrival and Coffee/Tea
9:15 am Opening by Kyoto Chair
Presentations about cultural interactions between the East and West.
12:00 pm Lunch on your own
1:00 pm – 3:00 pm Presentations addressing current studies of Japanese maps and world famous collections of historical Japanese maps.



The Yomeimon Gate at the Nikko Toshogu Shrine. Nikko City is famous for its shrines and temples, specifically a group of 103 shrines and temples of great artistic and historical value which, together with their natural surroundings, are registered as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikk%C5%8D_T%C5%8Dsh%C5%8D-g%C5%AB#/media/File:Nikko_Toshogu_Yomeimon_Gate_2024.jpg

Coffee break
3:10 pm – 4:10 pm Map viewing at Nichibunken Library with Prof. Frederik Cryns.
Shuttle bus to Hankyu Rakusaiguchi Station, leaving at 4.20 pm and 5.00 pm.
5:30 pm Explore Kyoto and dinner on your own.
7:00 pm OPTIONAL: Dinner and performance of traditional music and dance by Maiko performers.

Friday 13 November 2026

Excursion to Unsōdō Publishing House, Nara and Tenri
9:00 am Bus departs from Kyoto Station and the Hotel Okura to visit Unsōdō which is famous for producing exquisite art books and wood block printing. You will be able to view their collection of old woodblocks and have time to explore the antique book and map shops in the immediate area.

12:00 pm – 1:30 pm Bus to Nara, a UNESCO World Heritage site with lunch on the bus.
1:30 pm – 3:00 pm Guided tour of Tōdaiji, the Buddhist temple complex.
3:00 pm – 5:00 pm Visit to Tenri Central Library and Sankōkan Museum.
Return to Kyoto
7:00 pm – 9:00 pm OPTIONAL: Kyoto Farewell Dinner at the Fortune Garden.

Saturday 14 November 2026

Post-Symposium Tour to Kyushu
7:30 am Meet at Kyoto Station
8:03 am – 10:30 am Sanyo Shinkansen express train to Kokura Station
10:30 am – 12 pm Visit to the Zenrin Museum which houses the Jason Hubbard Collection of maps of Japan.
12:30 pm Lunch
13:30 pm Kokura Castle visit
2:30 pm – 4:30 pm Bus to the seaside town of Beppu to overnight and dine at the Suginoi Hotel.

15 November 2026

8:30 am–10:45 am Tour of various hot springs
1:00 pm Individual departures from Hakata.
Express trains to Kyoto and Tokyo leave every hour and there is a direct flight from Fukuoka airport to Tokyo. The airport is a 5-minute subway ride from Hakata station. While in Kyushu, consider visiting Nagasaki. Hiroshima on Honshu can be reached from Hakata by train.
MORE INFORMATION ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE SYMPOSIUM ARE AVAILABLE AT www.imcosjapan2026.jp/english_index.html

Hotels in Tokyo

Hotels in the Kanda area are reasonably priced. You can stroll through the Jimbocho bookstores on foot from the hotels. **The Ueno, Asakusa, and Ryogoku areas** are ideal for experiencing Japanese history and culture. They offer a variety of museums and reasonably priced accommodation. Asakusa and Ueno are convenient for the early-morning tour of Nikko. The **area around Tokyo Station** offers excellent transportation access to Kyoto and other areas. The **Ginza and Nihonbashi areas** are convenient for shopping, but hotel prices are on the higher side. The **Akasaka-Roppongi and Nishi-Shinjuku areas** are home to many well-known, long-established hotels and newly built luxury hotels. **Chinzanso** is known for its beautiful gardens, but it's a bit far from the station. Hotels in the **Bay Area** are relatively affordable and of good quality, but travel times can be lengthy.

Everyone's travel goals in Japan are different, so it's difficult to recommend the best hotel. For those who want to attend the entire symposium programme at a reasonable price and enjoy visiting museums to experience Japanese culture, the Ueno, Asakusa, and Kanda areas are recommended. For those looking to enjoy a glamorous trip, we recommend areas like Ginza and Akasaka. Also, if you usually take the subway instead of taxis, hotels with direct transfers (marked '0Tr') are convenient. Most of the hotels in Tokyo are modern and clean. If you would like to stay in a traditional Japanese room with tatami, check availability with the hotel.

For details on hotels in Kyoto visit: www.imcosjapan2026.jp/english_index.html

Hotels

		Price for 1 night	Grade	Distance (approx mins)
1.	+Hotel Metropolitan Edmont Tokyo	35K-	4*	20
2.	+Hotel Villa Fontaine Tokyo Kudanshita	30K-	2.5*	12
3.	Sotetsu Fresa Inn Ochanomizu-Jimbocho	27K-	2*	5-10
4.	Hotel Niwa Tokyo	40K-	3*	3-15
5.	Tokyo Stay Suidobashi	30K-	2*	3-15
6.	APA Hotel Kanda Jimbocho Ekihigashi	18K-(single)	2*	5-10
7.	Tokyo Dome Hotel	75K-	4*	20
8.	Tokyo Garden Palace	30K-	3*	15-25
9.	Ochanomizu Conference Center	25K-	2.5*	3-12

+ Recommended
• Estimated for 2 adults 1 nights average of 11/-10 (not guaranteed; early 2026).
Prices vary on the days of the week, on when you search etc.
Please only use this as a reference when comparing hotels.

Kanda Area Hotels



ANTICIPATED FEES FOR IMCOS JAPAN SYMPOSIUM 2026 (to be finalised in April)

Fees payable in Japanese Yen	Tentative fee Yen		USD/JPY est. at 155		November dates
	Regular	**Student**	**Regular**	**Student**	
Tokyo & Kyoto conference (all presentations & map viewing)	25,000	5,000	$161	$32	9, 10, 12
Welcome Dinner	10,000	7,000	$65	$45	9
Sawara excursion (Tokyo)	12,000	8,000	$77	$52	10
Nara-Tenri excursion (Kyoto)	16,000	9,000	$103	$58	13
Farewell dinner (Kyoto)	10,000	7,000	$65	$45	13
Complete Conference	**73,000**	**36,000**	**$471**	**$232**	9 thru 13
Pre-Nikko Tour (incudes transportation from and to Tokyo)	27,000		$174		8
Post-Kyushu Tour (Includes hotel in Beppu & transportation from Kyoto to Beppu)	92,000		$594		14, 15
Limited conference participation to presentations & map viewing only					
Tokyo conference only	13,000	3,000	$84	$19	9, 10
Kyoto conference only	13,000	3,000	$84	$19	12



MAPPING MATTERS

ONLINE RESOURCES

Shōhō Ryukyu Kingdom Map Digital Archive

The 'Ryukyu Kuniezu' consists of three large hand-drawn maps depicting the Ryukyu Kingdom and its chain of islands which stretch between southern Japan and Taiwan, with Okinawa at the centre. Kuniezu are highly detailed provincial land maps created during the Edo period by order of the Tokugawa shogunate. They were designed for taxation purposes by showing crop productivity across Japan.

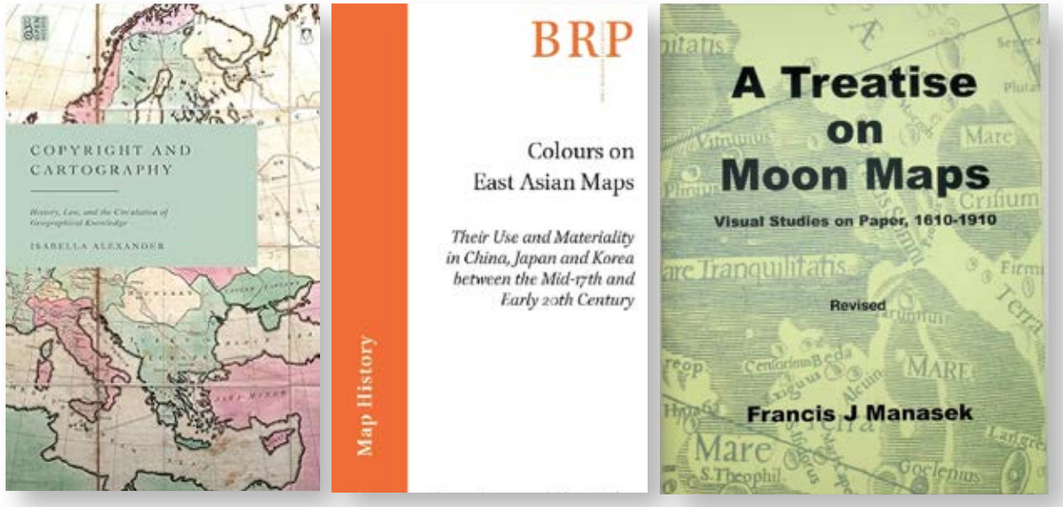
Each map measures 3.5 x 7.3 metres, making them difficult to display or study in person. However, they have been scanned by the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo (see photo below) and can be viewed in superb detail on the Institute's website: https://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/collection/digitalgallery/ryukyu/

The Digital Atlas of Roman Roads

Itiner-e.org hosts a detailed open digital dataset of roads of the Roman Empire as it was between 27 BC and AD 476. The map provides a snapshot of AD 150 when the Empire, stretching from modern day Britain to Egypt and Syria, was at the height of its power. The map was created by identifying roads from archaeological and historical sources, locating them using modern and historical topographic maps and remote sensing, and digitising them. This interactive map allows users to view and download the map or selected sections; create itineraries between ancient places and calculate the time each took; measure distances; compare Roman roads with current roads; identify Roman roads on satellite imagery; navigate seas and rivers to cover long distances in the Empire; and view landscapes of the Roman empire in 3-D.



OPEN ACCESS BOOKS



Copyright and Cartography: History, Law, and the Circulation of Geographical Knowledge by Isabella Alexander. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023. **Open access: https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/74780**

The book explores the intertwined histories of mapmaking and copyright law in Britain from the early modern period up to World War 1, focusing chiefly on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A review of the book can be found in the June 2024 issue, No 177 of the *IMCoS Map Journal*.

Colours on East Asian Maps: Their Use and Materiality in China, Japan and Korea between the Mid-17th and Early 20th Century by Diana Lange and Oliver Hahn. Leiden: Brill, 2023. **Open access: https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-bam/files/56968 /Lange_Hahn_Asian_Maps.pdf**

It examines how, in China, Japan and Korea, between the mid-seventeenth and early twentieth centuries, colour was used to enhance readability, convey political meaning, and define the physical and aesthetic nature of maps.

Left **Researchers unfold one of the maps of Ryukyu in an exhibition room at the National Museum of Japanese History in Sakura, Chiba Prefecture, before it is scanned. Photo courtesy of Professor Satoru Kuroshima who led the project.**

Treatise on Moon Maps: Visual Studies on Paper 1610–1910 by Francis J. Manasek. Norwich, Vt.: Antiquaries Manasek, 2022. The book offers a detailed study of printed moon maps. **Available for free online at http://www.antiquaries.com/**

The History of Cartography **(Volumes 1–3 & 6) are available to access online:**

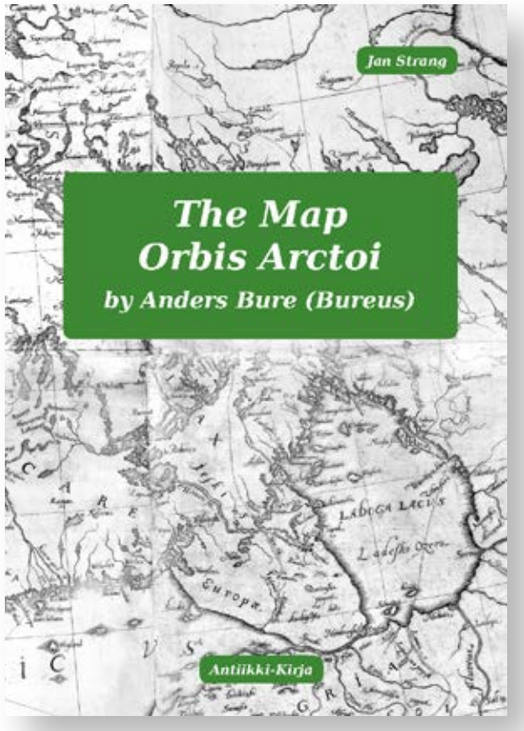
Vol 1 Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean.
https://press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V1/Volume1.html

Vol 2 (Books 1-3): Covers Islamic, South Asian, East Asian, African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific societies.
https://press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V2_B1/Volume2_Book1.html
https://press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V2_B2/Volume2_Book2.html
https://press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V2_B3/Volume2_Book3.html

Vol 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance.
https://press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V3_Pt1/Volume3_Part1.html
https://press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V3_Pt2/Volume3_Part2.html

Vol 6: Cartography in the Twentieth Century.
https://press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V6/Volume6.html

The Map Orbis Arctoi by Anders Bure (Bureus) by Jan Strang. Helsinki: Antiikki-Kirja, 2026. ISBN: 9789519813578. The book is free to read and download at: **https://www.strang.fi/Bure/**



In the book Strang argues that as a result of Bure's delineation of Finland and its neighbouring countries, his map 'reshaped the perception of Europe' for contemporary and later mapmakers. An earlier version of Strang's work was published in Finnish as part of his book *Suomen karten historia* and presented at the 2013 ICHC conference in Helsinki.

The author advises readers who are interested in keeping the book, to download it, as he cannot guarantee the availability of the file at the current web address in the years to come.

Please contact the journal editor should you wish to review the book.

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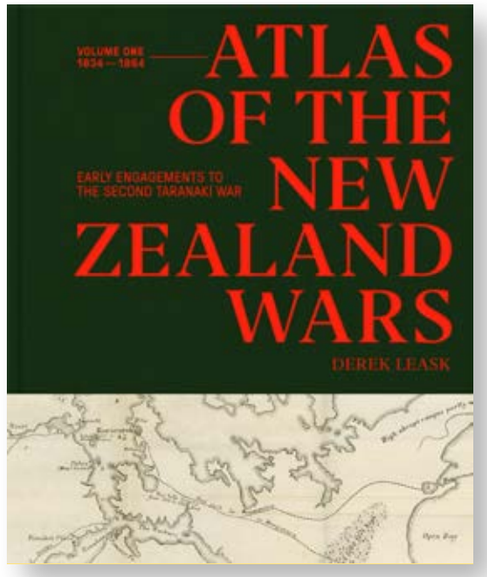


C. Ptolemaeus, La geografia, Venice 1561

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BOOK REVIEWS

Atlas of the New Zealand Wars: Volume One 1834-1864, Early Engagements to the Second Taranaki War *by Derek Leask. Auckland University Press, 2025. ISBN 9781776711291. HB, 384, 181 illus. NZ $89.99.*



The term 'New Zealand Wars' denotes the confrontations and conflicts involving European settlers, British troops and Maori tribes during the middle years of the nineteenth century. The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, and the consequent Crown proclamation of New Zealand as a British colony, provided for the colonial government to 'buy' land Maori treated as surplus, for allocation to British settlers. This contradicted the traditional Maori concept of using land without necessarily controlling it, on the basis that it would always be available to them, and they did not anticipate that government 'purchases' of the use of land would result in increasing extents being parcelled into individual landholdings for settlers. With the increasing number of settlers arriving, these transactions could no longer be represented as being purely of land peripheral to Maori interests and traditional use. The consequences were disagreement, confrontation, conflict, and eventually confiscation of Maori land for government (and settler) use.

Derek Leask charts a unique course through the Maori wars, based on thirty years research in archive and library collections in New Zealand and, more particularly, in Britain and continental Europe. More than 40 years in the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, he served as ambassador to the European Union, and, from 2008 to 2012, as New Zealand High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. In his private research during this time he assembled and catalogued an impressive collection of images of maps, diagrams and drawings, chiefly from military sources. The first five volumes of this catalogue he has deposited with the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. From this collection Leask has identified and selected over 180 images for inclusion in the *Atlas,* marrying them at all points with his accompanying narrative history of the wars.

The tone and method of the *Atlas* are set with an account of the affair of the *Harriet*, a private trader wrecked on the Taranaki coast on the west of New Zealand's North Island in 1834. The owner's family were captured and held hostage by the local Maori, prompting a naval and military rescue mission from Sydney. The account is illustrated with a series of atmospheric pen-and-ink sketches by Lieutenant Thomas Woore of HMS *Alligator,* with emphasis on the appearance of Maori hilltop stockaded settlements or *pā*. The second chapter of the *Atlas* relates the events of 1840, and is accompanied by charts of the Bay of Islands, already well mapped by (and for) vessels calling for shelter and supplies at Kororāreka, the chief commercial settlement. The decision, later in 1840, to move the capital south to Auckland, as strategically nearer the Maori heartland and better equipped with land for settlement, resulted in early garrison planning of Auckland figuring in the maps and drawings in consequence. Chapter 3 is devoted to the Wairau Massacre, a confrontation between Maori and New Zealand Company settlers from Nelson, in South Island, seeking to expand their landholding onto Maori land not formally purchased. In Chapter 4 the military action returns to the Bay of Islands, with the sack of Kororāreka and subsequent punitive operations against Maori *pā* which are

mapped in great detail. Chapter 5 illustrates the developing military defences and harbour and town planning of Auckland, with street layouts.

With Chapter 6 the action moves to Wellington, the name given in 1840 to the New Zealand Company's settlement in Port Nicholson. The settlers who arrived aboard the Company ships found the land negotiated for settler use in short supply and already contested by Maori title-holders, particularly in the Hutt Valley. Troops were moved from Auckland for use in 1846 against the Maori in the Hutt Valley, at Porirua and later at the Company's new land 'purchase' at Whanganui, illustrated by official copies made of the New Zealand Company's surveys and settlement maps.

Chapters 7 and 8 cover the Taranaki wars of the 1860s, provoked by disputes over the extent of land occupied by New Zealand Company settlers in New Plymouth. A military presence was established there in the mid-1850s, and the resulting campaign surveys, field sketches and plans display a measured Government approach to the looming territorial conflict. Maori domination of the surrounding countryside effectively isolated and threatened the settlement of New Plymouth from March 1860 to March 1861. The account of the first Taranaki war is remarkable for including one of few Maori maps created and preserved, an intricate depiction of complex Maori landholding in the Pekapeka Block on the Waitara River north of New Plymouth.

The major part of the 180-plus maps, plans, views and diagrams selected for inclusion in the *Atlas* are from five main sources: The National Archives of the United Kingdom provide 58, chiefly from War Office papers; 14 from the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office; 18 from the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington; the Archives of New Zealand furnish 32, and the Auckland Libraries Heritage Collection 11 specimens. It is perhaps inevitable that British military maps and plans predominate in the collection: moving troops around unfamiliar country and garrisoning them ready for action demanded not only intelligence and reconnaissance mapping, but also construction plans for defences and barracks. Besides water-colour and pen-and-ink views, most notably of Auckland and Wellington, plans in the *Atlas* reflect also the British military preoccupation with the construction and layout of the Maori stockaded villages or *pā,* the strongholds in which they retreated to repel British troop advances. Henry Warrington's 1845 plan, profile and section of Heke's *pā* at Ohaeawai in the Northern War (plan 4.18 on pages 114–115) show a cross-section of the double stockade with the central ditch or pits which enabled protected defensive musket fire at ground level. Such was the British unpreparedness for such defences that the Royal Engineers mocked up lengths of stockade at Chatham and tested their destruction (plans 4.19 and 4.20 on page 118).

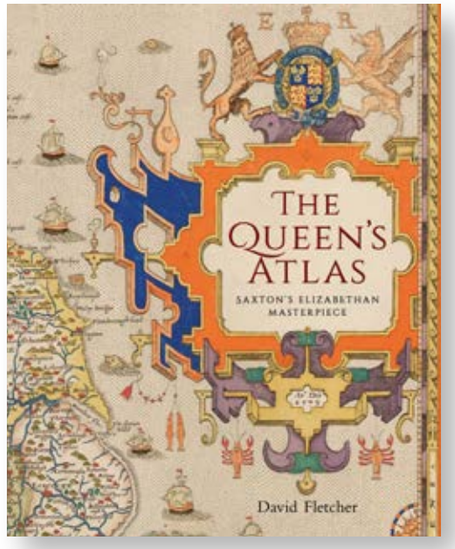
The archival nature of the *Atlas* is enhanced by the exceptional fidelity of the reproduction of the original documents illustrated. Many are of drawings which have been folded, joined, torn, or damaged, or otherwise bear the signs of use: these have been photographed as found 'with all faults', with original annotations, signatures and document references, and with the colour of the original substrates, whether letter paper, tracing sheets or cloth, faithfully reproduced. One instinctively reaches to try to 'flatten' apparent folds or to 'open' folded-down corners.

The author has been well served by Auckland University Press in the design and layout of the *Atlas*. A generous page size, 29 x 24 cm (11.4 x 9.4 inches) allows even relatively large-format maps and plans to be reproduced in full and, what is more important, legibly. This works even for double-elephant Admiralty charts (Cook Strait on page 21, for example), where use of a magnifying glass reveals the finest detail of sounded depths, such is the quality of the reproduction and printing. For the binding the *Atlas* is generously sewn to eight bands in 'sixteens' – four bifolia (or sixteen pages) to a gathering. This allows the open *Atlas* to lie flat, minimising the loss of 'joins' of split-page illustrations vanishing in the gutter between pages. The reproduction of the UK Hydrographic Office original survey of Porirua Harbour (plan 6.13 on pages 178–179) is a good example of this.

This impressive publication is not just an atlas, but a real cartographic source-book, the wealth of illustrative material superbly complementing Derek Leask's compelling and readable narrative (buttressed by more than 1450 endnotes!) of the first part of the New Zealand Wars. Volume Two, we are told, is in active preparation.

Andrew Cook, St Andrews, Scotland

The Queen's Atlas. Saxton's Elizabethan Masterpiece *by David Fletcher. Oxford: Bodleian Library Publishing, 2025. ISBN 9781851246205. HB, 224, 90 figures. STG £35.00.*



Ninety years ago, the British Museum reproduced Christopher Saxton's innovative county maps of England and Wales published in 1579 with an introduction by its then map-room superintendent Edward Lynam. Four decades later, in 1982, the Chatsworth Library followed suit employing an atlas held in that grand Derbyshire mansion, coupled with an elegant introductory text by William Ravenhill, one of the leading historical cartographers of his generation. Now a further four decades on we have *The Queen's Atlas* produced by the Bodleian Libraries' publishing arm, raising the question as to whether we need a further facsimile of Saxton's masterpiece.

The expository text in this Bodleian volume is by David Fletcher another map specialist, best known in cartographic circles for his assessment of the map archive at Christ Church, one of the venerable Oxford colleges, and published by the Clarendon Press in 1995. Fletcher is able to draw on a broad range of research more recent than 1982, both general appraisals and analyses of specific features of Saxton's oeuvre, to develop a text written in an accessible academic form and covering a much broader canvas than those of his predecessors.

Under the heading of 'Who was Christopher Saxton' Fletcher examines the mapmaker's early life, his social background, his family and his education, then sets this in the wider context of Elizabeth I's England, focusing on cultural and intellectual developments during her reign. Next comes a chapter on mapping developments in England before Saxton, highlighting (unsurprisingly) the Bodleian's Gough Map and the creators of maps of Britain such as George Lily and Gerard Mercator, questioning why maps were becoming more important to the state as the sixteenth century progressed, and bringing in Laurence Nowell and Humphrey Llwyd, cartographers who might have been in the running to undertake a survey of all the counties. The author then turns to the practicalities of preparing a county atlas: who were Saxton's patrons, the surveying techniques and instruments available to map an entire country successfully, the earlier maps that might have facilitated his work in some areas, and the chronology of the survey between 1574 and 1578. A helpful map reveals the surveyor's movements over the five years of fieldwork, but why did he start in Norfolk and then move to three central counties that included Oxfordshire? Next a section on all the engravers who prepared his maps and the techniques used, and finally in this chapter an all too brief section on the proof copies of the maps sent to Elizabeth's chief adviser William Cecil and annotated by him.

Under the chapter heading 'The New Picture of England and Wales', are reproductions of all the county maps together with a useful discussion of the various elements that were displayed and the purpose behind their inclusion. Here too is commentary on how the index to the maps became more elaborate in the ten years or so after the first publication, while from around 1589 further additions showed the coats of arms of the political elite and tabulated details of major towns in each county.

Logic dictates that the next chapter should consider the impact of Saxton's maps after their publication, how they were used by Cecil and Elizabeth's spymaster, Francis Walsingham, its depiction of the landscape, how Saxton collated the information onto a single wall map (only two copies of which have survived), how tapestry versions of several Midland counties were commissioned by Ralph Sheldon, and how the maps were depicted on playing cards. Then we learn of the benefits enjoyed by Saxton from his creation, including his grant of a coat of arms. His surveying career was not over, and up until a few years before his death in 1610 he continued to produce estate surveys; a section

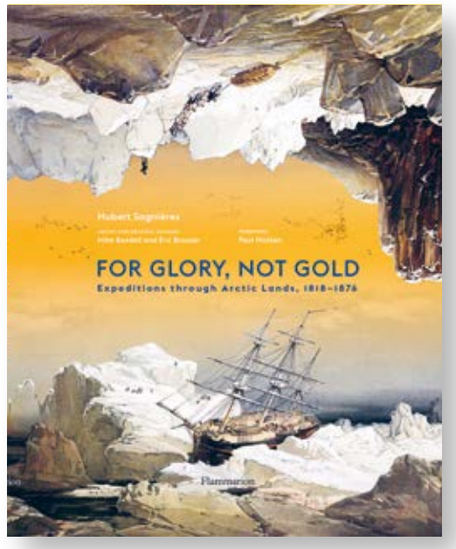
that could have been lengthened. Chapter six deals with 'Saxton's Legacy': the maps' inclusion in William Camden's *Britannia (*1607), the county surveyors who followed him including John Norden, William Smith and John Speed, and the re-publications in the seventeenth century by Webb and particularly Philip Lea. Closing, a brief postscript considers the maps as collectibles in the present age, with prices for a complete atlas now fetching six figures. It is difficult to see how Fletcher could have done more. Most of the sections are reasonably short, but there are ample end notes, and the text is supplemented by a page of references for further reading.

The only quibble is with the illustrations and is perhaps a reflection of Bodleian Library Publishing's ethos. The complete set of county maps in the central part of the volume has photographed well – one wouldn't have expected anything less from one of our national libraries – but each image is spread across facing pages marginalising the detail in the book's gutter; in a sense this is of little consequence for such is the size reduction of each page that a magnifying glass is required to examine the landscape content. This reviewer will continue to resort to the Chatsworth volume for those details. Many of the other supporting illustrations are helpful, but there are omissions and questionable inclusions. Much is made of William Cecil's use of Saxton's maps in proof form. His annotated map of Dorset is illustrated but more would have been welcome. Conversely, Cecil dominates one chapter of the book, a full page being devoted to the Bodleian's portrait of Elizabeth's adviser riding a mule, yet portraits of other contemporaries, of Seckford and Walsingham, take up only small portions of adjacent pages. I'm a great admirer of the large collection of Thomas Langdon's estate maps commissioned by Warden Hovenden of All Souls in the late sixteenth century, but here one of his maps spread over a page and a half with no reference to it in the text appears to have been included as an attractive space filler. In short, the designers of this book might have given a little more thought to the relevance of their illustrations, less to advertising the Bodleian's collections.

That said, research on Saxton these days tends to focus on specific aspects and traits of his cartography, and it is good to be able to step back and examine the cartographer's complete story. *The Queen's Atlas* must be welcomed for offering us just such an opportunity.

Bob Silvester, Meifod, Powys, Wales

For Glory, Not Gold: Expeditions through Arctic Lands 1818–1876 *by Hubert Sagnières. Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 2025. ISBN 9782080487919. HB, 400, 300 illus. and maps. STG £65.*



This volume is Hubert Sagnières' second title for Flammarion devoted to exploration. It follows the format, design and editorial principles established in his first book *Daring French Explorations: Trailblazing adventures from around the world*, published in 2023 and reviewed in this journal (June 2024, No. 177). That earlier volume presented excerpts from the travel narratives of eleven French explorers spanning the years 1714 to 1854. By contrast, *For Glory, Not Gold* adopts a more focused scope, both geographically and chronologically: it concentrates on the Arctic regions and on the period beginning with the 1818 departures of Edward Parry and John Ross in search of the elusive Northwest Passage and concluding with George Nares' 1876 attempt to reach the North Pole.

Sagnières sets out his intentions for writing the book in the introduction:

> This book seeks to pay tribute to all those courageous souls who pitted themselves against the pitiless ice of the Arctic, enduring untold suffering for the sake of discovery. Let us salute their memory, their bravery in the face of biting cold and hunger, their passion in pursuing their dreams to the ends of the world. But let us honor the Inuit: for saving so many of these expeditions from oblivion; for extending their hand of friendship to so many lost strangers so far from home. Those who did not take that hand died in agony. May this book also serve to celebrate the meeting of two worlds: one on a quest for new horizons, the other steeped in ancestral wisdom. Together they wrote the history of the Great North. (p. 11).

Having completed more than twenty expeditions to the Canadian Arctic, Sagnières brings considerable first-hand experience of the northern regions, albeit under conditions far removed from the extreme privations endured by the nineteenth-century adventurers he discusses. Even so, his background leaves him well positioned to compile this volume. He surveys ten major Arctic expeditions undertaken by Edward Parry, John Ross, John Franklin, Joseph René Bellot, John Rae, Francis Leopold McClintock, Elisha Kent Kane, Charles Francis Hall, John Nares, and the crew of HMS *Investigator* who spent three winters trapped in ice. Lady Jane Franklin's role in nineteenth-century Arctic exploration is underestimated, reduced to just a single-page mention. During her twelve-year campaign to find her husband she sponsored seven separate search expeditions, each of which advanced the mapping of the Canadian Arctic and deepened contemporary understanding of the region.

Sagnières employs the effective device of allowing the explorers to speak for themselves, selecting a wide range of observations and reflections from their published accounts. Most are by the expedition leaders with the exception of the voyage of the *Investigator,* where additional perspectives are provided by the ship's surgeon and translator. The chosen passages address daily life aboard ship, the harsh landscape, freezing conditions, sickness and death, overland forays, hunting, attempts at diversions during long months of darkness. Some writers reflect on the fate of the Inuit, expressing concern for their well-being amid increased European contact. Ross describes the psychological toll of the 'uninterrupted and unceasing ice and snow during all those months of four years,' recalling how such scenes were etched permanently in his memory (p. 93). Joseph René Bellot, a young French officer, who unable to convince the French government to launch an Arctic expedition, joined the British Navy, muses on his role as commanding 'men of a foreign nation' and marvels that 'though I be a foreigner in their midst, there is not one who does not regard me as one of their own' (p. 158). The richness and variety of these extracts may well inspire readers to consult the original sources for a fuller understanding of each expedition.

In keeping with the aesthetic of Sagnières' first book, this volume is filled with striking images that convey both the awe and fear inspired by the Arctic landscape.

For Glory, Not Gold stands as an engaging and visually impressive introduction to the history of Arctic exploration in the nineteenth century.

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird, UK

MALTA MAP SOCIETY JOURNAL 2026

The 2026 issue of the *Malta Map Society Journal* resembles a mini Festschrift for Dr Albert Ganado who died late last year at the venerable age of 101.[1] It is fitting that the Society has dedicated its annual publication to the man who founded the organisation and championing the study of antique maps of Malta and the island's history more broadly.

This issue features articles on subjects which represent some of Dr Ganado's key interests. One article examines a 'lost' map by the Brocktorff family, prolific mapmakers and the subject of a book Ganado co-authored with Joseph Schirò in 2012. Ivan Fsadni's contribution addresses Ganado's interest in Maltese publishing history, especially titles that included maps. Fsdani investigates the correspondence between London publisher George Robinson and Chev. Louis Boisgelin, author of *Ancient and Modern Malta* (1804), one of the earliest English-language accounts of the island and one that includes a map of Malta. An article by Marieke van Delft highlights a newly discovered map of Malta by Dutch geography teacher P. H. Witkamp, and Joseph Schirò discusses an unstudied plan of Valletta and the Three Cities by Moritz Bodenehr.

That Malta's map fraternity continues to generate new discoveries of the island's cartographic heritage is remarkable, and a credit to the resourcefulness and dedication of Joseph Schirò, the journal's editor.

I believe Dr Ganado would have been delighted by this issue.

1 *Liber Amicorum: Essays on Art, History, Cartography and Bibliography in Honour of Dr Albert Ganado,* ed. by J. Schirò, S. Sørenson, & P. Xuerub was published in 1994 to celebrate his 70th birthday.

IMCOS LIBRARY BOOK SALE

Book list No. 32
June 2026

The books can be purchased from **Jenny Harvey**, who will quote a revised price to include postage cost. **jeh@harvey27.co.uk** or telephone **+44(0) 20 87897358**.

Title	Author	Date	Publisher	Price
London – A Cartographic History 1746–1950, 200 Years of Folding Maps	Lucinda Boyle	2002	Countrywide Editions	30
Five Centuries of Map Printing	Ed. David Woodward	1975	University of Chicago	5
Maps and the 20th Century – Drawing the Line	Ed. Tom Harper	2016	The British Library	20
La Carta de Gabriel de Vallseca de 1439	Ramon J. Pujades i Bataller	2009	Lumenartis	20
Tudor Townscapes – Town Plans from Speed's 'Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine 1610'		2000	Map Collector Publications	15
Lewis Morris Plans in St George's Channel – 1748 (Facsimile)	Ed. G. Budenberg	1987	Lewis Morris Productions	5
Early Maps of the British Isles A.D. 1000 – A.D. 1579	G.R. Crone	1961	Royal Geographical Society	5
Wheels on the Road: Road Maps of Britain 1870–1940	T.R. Nicholson	1983	Geo Books, Norwich	10
Cartografia Antigua de las Encartaciones	Itziar Rubio Barcina	1996	Sopuerta	10
Printd Maps of Sussex 1575–1900	D. Kingsley	1982	Sussex Record Society	15
Historic Maps of Armenia, The Cartographic Heritage	Rouben Galichian	2004	I.B.Tauris	20
Modern London Maps: Fascinating & beautiful maps of 20th century London	Vincent Westbrook	2025	Batsford	20

CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Lectures & Conferences

4 June 2026, Oxford (Online)
The 33rd Annual Series Oxford Seminars in Cartography runs from 16.30 to 18.00 (UK time) via Zoom Webinar. **Jean-Marc Besse** (L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris) will discuss ***Geography and Catholic censorship in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century.***
Information: nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk or to book a place visit https://visit.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/tosca

6 June 2026, London
The **Annual General Meeting** of the **International Map Collectors' Society** will be held at 10.00 in the Lowther Room at the Royal Geographical Society. All members are welcome to attend.
Information: www.imcos.org

10 June 2026, Paris
Another world map is possible. Maps, cosmographies and cosmogonies in Southeast Asia (16–19th Centuries).
The conference coincides with the exhibition *Cartes imaginaires, / Imaginary Maps*. The symposium will be held at the François-Mitterrand site of the BnF in Paris.
Information from Catherine Hofmann: catherine.hofmann@bnf.fr

18 June 2026, Oxford (Online)
At the 33rd Annual Series Oxford Seminars in Cartography **Nick Bolton** (CEO, Ordnance Survey) will discuss ***Ordnance Survey: twenty-first-century National Mapping Agency***. The lecture will take place via Zoom Webinar between 16.30 pm and 18.00 (BST). To book a place visit https://visit.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/tosca

7–11 July 2026, Prague & Brno
The theme for the 31st **International Conference on the History Cartography** (ICHC) is ***Bridging the Past and Present in Cartography***. The keynote speaker is Jakub Niedzwiedz, professor of early modern literature and culture at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. He will discuss the 'Atlas of the Principality of Polatck' (1580) and its polyphonic character.
Information: ichc2026@hiu.cas.cz

29 July–1 August 2026, St. John's, Newfoundland
The ***Society for the History of Discoveries annual conference*** will be held at Memorial University. Panels will run all day Thursday and Friday, with the annual banquet on Thursday evening. On 1 August, there will be optional tours/excursions. Information: https://discoveryhistory.org/

1–4 September 2026, London (Hybrid)
The Royal Geographical Society-IBG ***Annual International Conference 2026*** will be chaired by Professor Peter Hopkins (Newcastle University, UK). This year's title is ***Geographies of inequalities: toward just places.*** The conference will take place at the Society and Imperial College London, and online. Information: www.rgs.org
For recent publications published by the RGS-IBG that speak to the conference theme see https://rgs-ibg.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/toc/10.1111/(ISSN)9999-0017.geographies-of-inequalities
Information: rgs.org/research/annual-international-conference

8-9 September 2026, Edinburgh
The Map Curators' Group of the British Cartographic Society will have a ***workshop*** on 8 September and the British Cartographic Society will hold its **annual conference** on 9 September. More details will be published shortly.
Information: https://www.cartography.org.uk

1–3 October 2026, Arlington, Texas
The 15th biennial ***Virginia Garrett Lectures on the History of Cartography*** will be conjoined with the Texas Map Society's annual meeting. Both events will take place in the Central Library at the University of Texas at Arlington. The lectures will take place on Thursday and Friday and will focus on the ***Cartography of Antarctica: Frozen Frontiers: 500 Years of Mapping Antarctica***. The Texas Map Society's meeting will take place on Saturday. Additional details and registration at https://libraries.uta.edu/news-events/annual/virginia-garrett-lectures

7–10 October 2026, Denver
The Western Association of Map Libraries ***annual conference*** will be held at Denver Public Library.
Information: www.waml.org

9–13 November 2026, Tokyo and Kyoto
The **43rd International Map Collectors' Society Symposium** takes place in Japan, split between Tokyo and Kyoto. A pre-symposium tour is planned on 8 November to Nikko and a post-symposium tour is planned for 14-15 September to Kyushu; Japan's most southerly island. More information on pp 46–51.

18–21 November 2026, Istanbul
In commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the Kitāb-ı Bahriye, the ***International Piri Reis and Maritime History Symposium*** will be held at Piri Reis University. The symposium aims to address the life and works of Piri Reis within their historical context through a multilayered perspective. The symposium will address, through an interdisciplinary approach, topics such as the reflections of Mediterranean-centered maritime experience in the Kitāb-ı Bahriye, Ottoman cartography, the circulation of knowledge during the Age of Geographical Discoveries,

maritime strategies in the Mediterranean, and global maritime activities in the Black Sea, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean.
Information: https://denzicoliktarihi.pirireis.edu.tr/en

Map Fairs

6–7 June 2026, London
The **London Map Fair**, will be held at the Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, SW7 2AR. It is open on Saturday from 12 noon to 19.00 and on Sunday from 10.00 to 18.00.
The fair is free to all visitors.
Information: www.londonmapfair.com

12 September 2026, Amsterdam
The third **Amsterdam Map Fair** will be held at the National Maritime Museum. Entry is free. Thirty-three national and international antiquarian map dealers will be attending.
Email: amsterdam@map-fair.com

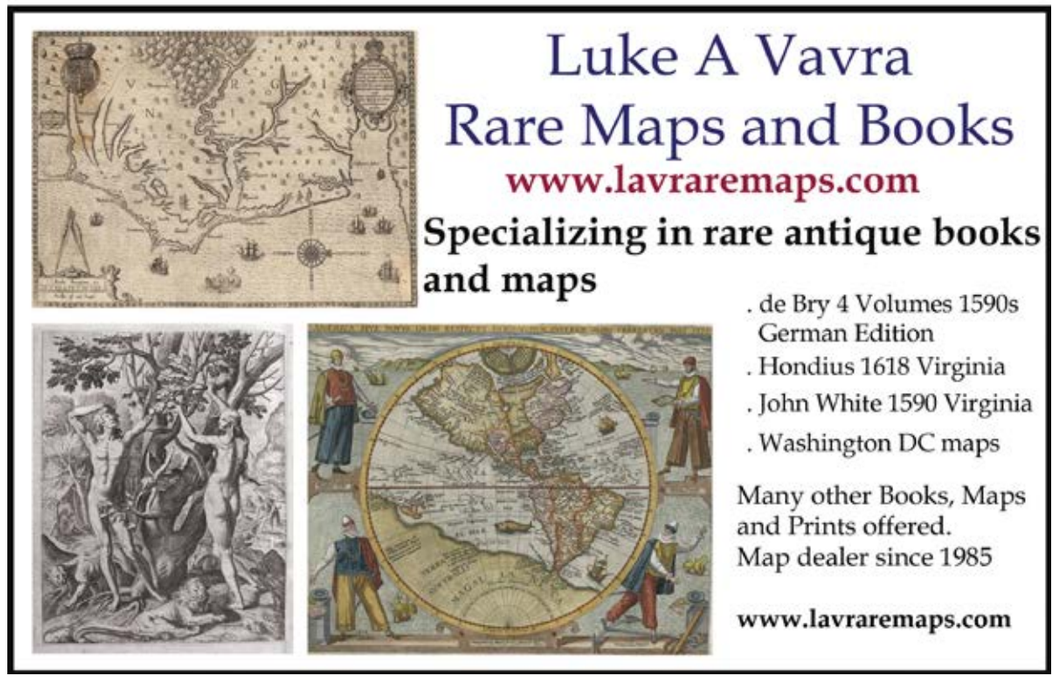
21 November 2026, Paris
The 25th Paris Map Fair takes place in Espace Cléry, a short walk from the Pompidou Centre.
Information Librairie Loeb-Laroque, email paris@map-fair.com

Exhibitions

24 March–19 July 2026, Paris
The exhibition ***Cartes imaginaires: Inventer des mondes/Imaginary of Maps: Inventing worlds***/ can be seen at the François-Mitterrand site of the BnF. It invites visitors on a journey to discover the links between cartography and imagination.
Information: bnf.fr/fr/agenda/cartes-imaginaires

Until 13 June 2026, Portland, Maine
For America's 250th anniversary, the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine has organised a year-long exhibition ***Founding Memories: America at 250*** that highlights how the iconography of the American Revolution has been incorporated onto a wide variety of maps and cartographic materials from the 1770s to the 1970s.
Information: https://oshermaps.org

Until 2 August 2026, Denver
Expedition 1776: The Journey of Domínguez & Escalante is on show at the History Colorado Center. It traces Spain's growing knowledge of the West with a specially assembled collection of rare archival maps. It will reveal how the cartographic contributions made by the two Franciscan priests, Domínguez and Escalante during their expeditions shaped maps of the region well into the American settlement period.
Information: www.historycolorado.org



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Author Guidelines

IMCoS invites contributions on all areas and periods of map history and map making. Articles normally range between 3,000–6,000 words plus endnotes. As many of the journal's readers will not have English as their first language, the Editor encourages authors to write clearly, with no ambiguities. Also bear in mind that this field of study embraces many disciplines; your area of specialisation must therefore be intelligible to a broad audience. For authors not writing in English as their native language, the Editor will provide assistance.

Conditions of publication

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- The opinions of the author are not necessarily those of the Editor or IMCoS.
- Authors will receive four free copies of the issue of the journal in which their article appears.

Articles

- Articles can range between 3,000–6,000 words plus endnotes. If an article is longer please contact the Editor who will make a final decision on whether it can be included.
- Articles should be emailed to the Editor as a Word document.
- Typescripts should be double-spaced.
- Number all pages.
- **Do not format the article.**
- 4–8 illustrations/photographs. Please read the section below on image size and resolution.
- All illustrations must be cleared for copyright.
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- The author should supply a short profile of themselves of 30–50 words.
- **Shorter articles** of 1,500–2,500 are placed in our 'Worth a Look' section with a maximum of 2–3 images.
- **Book reviews** should be 500–1,000 words long.

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- Digital images can be submitted either as attachments to an email (individually), or preferably via an Internet-based large file transfer site such as WeTransfer or Dropbox.
- We need jpegs or tiffs at a minimum resolution of 300 dpi and at a size no smaller than 20 cms across. The larger the image the better – this gives full flexibility for design and good detail. 5 or 6 MB is more likely to be appropriate. Files should have the quality option set between 8 (high) and 12 (maximum). Good tiff files are larger and are best sent via an Internet-based large file transfer site on a CD-ROM or USB memory stick.
- The source of the illustrations must be fully credited.

For further information contact the Editor,
Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird.
Email: Ljiljana.editor@gmail.com
Mailing address: 14 Hallfield, Quendon, Essex CB11 3XY, UK

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