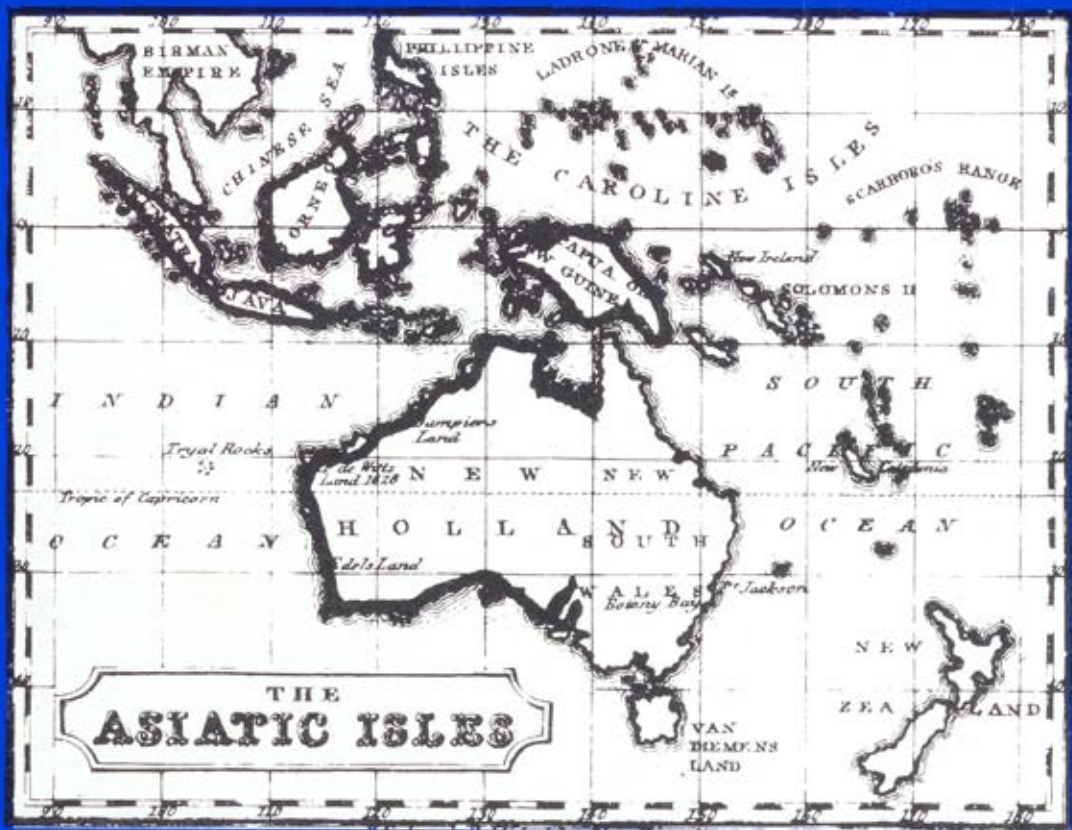




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Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society

WINTER 1991 ISSUE No. 47

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Cover maps: Above, Detail from Jacobo Gastaldi's map of South-East Asia from La Geografia, Venice, 1548

*Below: 'The Asiatic Isles' drawn and engraved by W. Murphy for Alexander Macredie's Atlas Minima, published in Edinburgh (c.1815-1830)
Both maps courtesy Graham Franks*

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Guest Editorial

Around 1850 Walt Whitman started work on a poem about the pictures and maps in his house: "And here, see you, my own States — and here the world itself, rolling through the air". A century and a half ago, the world — or at least Walt Whitman's world — was exuberant, for he altered 'rolling' to 'bowling'. Oddly enough, something of that exuberance resonates for us today. I say oddly, for on the face of it there seems little indeed to be joyful or optimistic about in these dreary decades of anti-intellectualism capped by economic recession. Yet consider, not so much the position of the history of cartography, but rather its spirit.

For, notwithstanding the virtual demise of the formal study of early maps and of the history of cartographic thought in British (? and American) universities, it seems to me there is a quickening and a promise in the air. It is true I have just returned, reinvigorated as always, from two months of study-leave in the States (like IMCoS members from their avowedly successful trip to Singapore and Sydney), and yesterday (as I write) saw the inauguration of the 'London Seminar in the History of Cartography', all reasons enough to feel a lift of Spring rather than the gloom of early Winter. But there is more to it than that, I am sure. Shall we not all soon be looking back on the last ten or twelve years and recognising in them a period of outstandingly exciting and stimulating change in the history of cartography? A period which saw a renewed dynamism in our subject, when old links were reaffirmed and new links forged with students com-

ing to the study of early maps from a diversity of directions. A period when new challenges were met and new targets set . . .

Change has to be catalysed or fuelled by something. In the case of the history of cartography, the stimulus has surely been that euponymous enterprise, *The History of Cartography*. This, "the first comprehensive history of maps in world cultures [and] synthesis of existing and new research in a new approach" (to quote the current publicity folder), has been galvanising authors and readers for precisely the last ten to twelve years. (Volume 1 has of course been out since 1987. In case you are wondering, Book 1 of Volume 2 is scheduled to appear in May 1992 and Book 2 should follow hard on its heels in 1993.) Both Editors of the *History*, Brian Harley and David Woodward — and increasingly many of their authors — have not ceased to challenge, provoke, reassure, urge and cajole, but always in the interests of self-critical free-thinking, always with the map and the perplexities of its history in mind, and always seeking both to draw inspiration and knowledge from all sources as well as to share it in all directions.

This matter of drawing in and sharing out is one of the most important issues facing us today. Unlike the archaeological artefact, which in some measure has been 'created' by its excavator and tends to be jealously guarded, maps 'belong' to no one: they are there for all to reach out and pick up. So, on the one hand, there is an untapped potential of all sorts of people who 'love maps' and who would like to discover more about them.

And, on the other, there are all sorts of people who already know much about maps — people in art history, in the history of architecture, of science, of religion, or in literature, for instance — and with whom we need to connect.

Thus I see bridge-building as something to be encouraged and actively pursued. That is our task, collectively and individually. One of the objectives of the London Seminar, which got off to such an auspicious start with Paul Harvey's masterly sweep of medieval world, regional, local, domestic maps and plans from England and Italy, is precisely that. Rumours reach me of a similar venture being planned in the Mid-West, where four out of the six speakers at the Nebenzahl Lectures this year were relatively unfamiliar faces. The scope of the next issue of the *Directory* is to be broadened to a similar end. The warmth and sincerity of the welcome we receive from places hitherto not specially associated with the history of cartography, like the Warburg

Institute (host to the London Seminar), or the Beinecke Library, Yale University (where Walt Whitman's draft poem now is and where I spent the month of October as effectively the first Alexander O. Viector Research Fellow in the History of Cartography), remind us of the universality of interest in the history of maps and of map-making. And I know IMCoS members have their own tales to tell of similar enthusiasms in yet more distant places as well as at home. From such experiences springs my optimism for the future of the history of cartography. At the same time, I am reminded that an interdisciplinary subject bears interdisciplinary responsibilities. We need not only to research but also to talk and to publish widely, 'outside' (to adopt the theme of one of this year's Nebenzahl lectures) as well as 'inside'. Let the world of the history of cartography *bow!* on merrily, from strength to strength!

CATHERINE DELANO SMITH

From the Chairman's Desk

IMCoS has just returned from two very exciting international symposia. The numbers of participants at both venues, Singapore and Sydney, were much higher than had at first been expected, and this shows great promise for the future. At Singapore the emphasis was entirely on maps of Asia, if not Asian mapping as the Director of Singapore's National Museum made a plea for, but at Sydney, though the majority of the papers were about historical cartography and the problems of conservation, many of the participants are occupied full-time with modern maps in one way or another.

I would like to thank the organisers of both symposia for their excellent arrangements and warm hospitality. In Singapore Mike Sweet and his business partner Julie Yeo had thought of every little detail in their preparation, even to the extent of inviting the speakers to lunch the day before, followed by a session where we met the presenter, so that she could be sure to pronounce our names correctly, and discussed with the projectionist how best the slides should be displayed. As a result, throughout the meeting not a single slide was projected upside down or back to front, a rare event!

Mike even gave titles to the speakers in his summing-up, so that we realised we had been listening to Fay of Arabia, Cyrus the Great, the Empress of India, Rajah Singa of Ceylon, Ptolemy of Leeds, Captain Cook, the Sultan of Ternate, Queen Dawn of Siam, the Empress Dowager of China, and the Mikado of Japan, and it had all been directed by that arch spy, Marco Sweet of Singapore.

On a more serious note, Rodney Shirley pointed out three aspects of the symposium which had particularly struck him: the variety of slides, but also the different emphasis placed by speakers on several that occurred in more than one presentation; the importance of colouring, which as one speaker had pointed out, may alter the import of the map and its political shape; and the need for search for more indigenous material, which is often not catalogued as cartographic.

Readers will find this issue full of news about Singapore, and strangely lacking about Sydney. The reason is simple: lack of space in our small format. So rather than reduce the texts even further, it was decided to hold over all the material from Sydney until the Spring issue. However, let me here extend our thanks to Robert Clancy and his team who did such a splendid job. It was made harder by having participants scattered over a wide area of town, and the diverse interests of modern surveyors and cartographers mingling with collectors and students of early material.

But they made us all welcome, and provided food for thought as well as body, stimulating many discussions and evening programmes. A full report will be in the next issue.

A reminder to members now: the year is ending and those who pay their sub-

scription annually are requested to send it in without waiting for a reminder. This keeps down our costs, so that we do not at present contemplate raising the rates again. For those who prefer to pay every three years, but cannot remember when they last did so, the date on the envelope label shows how far ahead their subscription is valid.

IMCoS has a busy programme ahead for 1992. The informal meeting at the Farmers' Club has now become an annual tradition, and as a contributor has pointed out in this issue, you don't have to be an expert to tell us why you like a favourite map. Later comes a visit to Winchester. Those who attended the meetings in Hatfield House and Ingatestone know how lucky we are to be admitted behind the doors, and shown treasures rarely on view to the public. In the summer the Society returns to Greenwich, and we hope many participants will make a weekend of it and stay out there rather than in central London. Then in October we will be in Madrid, the second IMCoS visit to Spain, but at a new venue. Further programmes are being arranged, and news about them will be in future issues.

We would welcome more contact with other map societies, and news about cartographic activities over a wider area. If you know of a large private or public collection that we might visit, either in UK or abroad, do write in so that we can expand our travels, and perhaps enlarge our interests to further cartographic fields. Alternatively, have you any ideas about themes for meetings, or articles for the Journal? Do keep in touch.

May I close by wishing all our members 'Seasons Greetings', and a good year ahead in their map activities.

SUSAN GOLE

A Newcomer's View of IMCoS

I joined IMCoS a mere 18 months ago as an amateur with little knowledge of maps but with a love of history and travel. So I was a novice in more ways than one: being a new member of a specialist society, and at the same time having to learn the subject from the beginning. I am gradually acquiring knowledge, thanks almost entirely to the tolerance and patience of well established members, who do not seem to object to answering the most elementary, and sometimes stupid questions.

On the face of it the study of maps is not too daunting; after all, it is limited to the extent of the world. That is perhaps why, as a newcomer, one can contemplate joining in with the experts, and once in, the subject becomes so fascinating that the idea of abandoning it is quite impossible, although the realisation that the subject is virtually limitless soon dawns.

In the space of so short a time I have already enjoyed two UK symposia, one in London and the other in Edinburgh; an international symposium in Washington, D.C., and am at present anticipating a trip to the Far East for this year's international symposium in Singapore, to be followed by a further few days in Australia. In this country there have been visits to Windsor Castle, the Royal Library and the Chapter Library, and to Hatfield House. The treasures that have been presented for our delectation have been priceless, so that a newcomer, at least, has been left in a state of breathless wonder! Coming down to earth a little, there have also been during this time a couple of map fairs, successfully organised by

IMCoS, as well as an informal evening when members were invited to bring along their own choice exhibits and give short talks about them. It must be some sort of a recommendation for a society when I can admit that even I participated, and was given a most generous reception by those who probably knew far more about what I was talking about than I did myself.

Obviously, then, this is a 'friendly' society. Each edition of the quarterly journal is eagerly awaited, for its interesting and informative articles, and to see what other delights are in the pipeline. As for whether one actually collects maps or not, that is left entirely to the individual. I was initially assured that I would, inevitably, get hooked on some theme, and that has proved all too true, which makes being a member of IMCoS all that much more enjoyable. If you have not already, I would advise, "Don't delay. Join now."

ROSEMARY VRACAS

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Members who pay annually, or those whose 3-year subscription is completed, are requested to send their renewal to the Membership Secretary, either by cheque made out to IMCoS, or giving details of credit card, number and expiry date, in £ sterling or US \$. Rates are unaltered: £16 (US\$32) for 1 yr, £45 (US\$90) for 3 yrs, and £8 (US\$16) for 1 yr for Juniors/Students. Check the date on the envelope if you can't remember.

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The Visit to Ingatestone

Twenty-three members of the Society came together at Ingatestone Hall, near Chelmsford, by courtesy of Lord Petre whose family had been in full, or part, occupation for over four and a half centuries.

Proceedings opened with two talks given in the panelled entrance hall temporarily transformed for the occasion into a lecture theatre with the 16th century brick mullioned windows ingeniously darkened with 20th century plastic bin-liners. The first, on the history of the Essex Record Office and its collection of maps, was by the County Archivist, Victor Gray. Among much else we found out that until recently Ingatestone Hall had been the official repository for the map collection, and that compared with many counties Essex was particularly well endowed with estate and tithe maps.

The second talk, on *The 18th century Land Surveyors of Essex* was given by Dr Stuart Mason, a local enthusiast who has also recently published a very attractive book on the subject [reviewed in this Journal, Spring 1991]. His excellent delivery and skilfully chosen illustrations brought to life these more obscure cartographers; practical technicians, many with alternative occupations, few of whom achieved the fame of having their labours printed.

Following this we were taken on a tour of the house by Lord Petre (pronounced 'peter') who proved a most accomplished guide, every other portrait cuing an entertaining family anecdote. Originally part of the lands of Barking Abbey, the estate was bought in 1539 by a young Devon lawyer, William Petre, an assistant to Henry VIII's Chief Sec-



Our host, Lord Petre (centre), with Dr Stuart Mason (left) and Victor Gray (right).

retary Thomas Cromwell and involved in the redistribution of monastic lands. The house he built on the site, still substantially the same today, was described then as 'very fair, large and stately, made of brick and embattled'; it was also of advanced design being one of the earliest buildings in the country to be fitted with a piped water supply and flushing drains. A Roman Catholic household, the chapel had remained a centre of worship for the surrounding district through easy years and difficult right up until 1932 when a new Catholic church was built in Ingatestone itself. As evidence of the difficult years the house boasted two 'priest holes', one of which was accidentally re-discovered only in recent times. Looking not uninviting now, brightly lit for the tourists, they must have been noisome prisons in their day without the benefit of piped water or flushing drains.

We are most grateful to Lord Petre and the two speakers for the effort they made to make this such a very enjoyable day.

CHRISTOPHER TERRELL

Persian Lecture in London

On the invitation of the Persian Cultural Society in GB (*Kanoon Iran*), on 18th October 91, Dr Cyrus Ala'i, IMCoS treasurer, delivered a one and a half hour talk on 'The Mapping of Persia'. Showing some 80 slides, he began with the oriental medieval maps of Istakhri and Tusi, and went on through Ptolemaic and other European maps of Persia (Iran) to the late 19th century.

The venue was the Library in Kensington Town Hall, and the meeting was well attended. Dr Ghassemi, President of

the Society, introduced the speaker, mentioning his link with IMCoS. The audience was enthusiastic, and many questions were posed. During the discussion which followed it was revealed that the original map used by the Portuguese conqueror Albuquerque, who captured the island of Hurmuz in 1507, is preserved in the library of the Armed Forces in Teheran.

IMCoS-Tooley Award

Nominations are invited for this prestigious Award for 1992. All members are welcome to put forward their suggestions in writing to the President, Dr Helen Wallis, OBE (c/o Harry Pearce, Hon Sec.), before the end of March, 1992.

The Award will be presented to the individual who, in the opinion of the Selection Committee, has been responsible for the cartographic contribution of great merit and widest interest to map collectors world-wide. Though the Award is intended to recognise individual merit, in special circumstances a group of people or an organisation could be eligible.

Earlier recipients include Dr Helen Wallis, Rodney Shirley, Valerie Scott, Kenneth Nebenzahl, Malcolm Young, Dr Mireille Pastoureau, Dr Eila Campbell, the Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus, and Margaret Wilkes. Members of the Selection Committee (two nominated by IMCoS and two from Tooley Adams & Co.) are ineligible for the Award.

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



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Forthcoming events in UK

London Evening at the Farmers' Club

Members are invited to bring a favourite map to an informal evening at the Farmers' Club, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 1EL, and to explain in a few words why they like it, or point out any interesting details. This will take place on Tuesday 28 January 1992 at 6.00 pm. A small charge will be made to cover refreshments.

Regional Meeting in Winchester

Members are invited to visit the Record Office and the Cathedral Library on Saturday 11 April 1992. There will be a display of maps and a talk on the type of maps you might expect to find in a County Record Office.

Numbers are limited. Those wishing to attend should send a cheque for £4 made out to IMCoS to the Secretary, Harry Pearce. Further details will be sent to those who have registered, nearer the time.

Committee Meetings

These will be held at the Farmers' Club, 3 Whitehall Court on 8 January, 12 February and 11 March, at 5.30 pm.

12th Annual IMCoS Symposium

Greenwich is the venue for the 12th Annual Symposium, on 20 June 1992. Registration forms are included with this issue, and should be returned to the Secretary, Harry Pearce as soon as possible. The theme will be 'Memorable Mariners', and in this year of anniversaries, when thoughts turn to Columbus, IMCoS is celebrating other voyages that took

place 200, 250 and 300 years ago.

The speakers will be Derek Howse, Dr Helen Wallis OBE, Andrew David and Andrew Cook. The National Maritime Museum is arranging a special exhibition of material relevant to the morning's programme.

The Annual Dinner will also be held at Greenwich, at the Ibis Hotel.

Annual Map Fair

The IMCoS Map Fair will take place as usual at the New Connaught Rooms, Holborn, London WC2, on Sunday 21 June, 10.30 am to 5.30 pm.

The London Seminar

Meetings in this seminar, 'Maps and Society' are held at The Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London WC1H 0AB at 5.00 pm. Admission is free and the meetings are open to anyone who is interested. The next four meetings are:

- 16 Jan Graham Clarke (*University of Kent*): The cartouche as cultural icon: the American experience
- 30 Jan William Ravenhill (*University of Exeter*): Early town mapping and the Exeter experience
- 27 Feb Richard Oliver (*University of Exeter*): Base and superstructure: the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey and the recording of the landscape
- 12 Mar Denis Cosgrove (*Loughborough University of Technology*): Mapping new worlds: culture and cartography in sixteenth century Venice

International News and Events

- 1992 11th International Symposium
Madrid, 7–10 October
- 1993 12th International Symposium
Mainz, Bonn and Cologne
10–13 September
- 1994 13th International Symposium
Lisbon (dates to be decided)
- 1995 14th International Symposium
San Francisco (dates to be decided)

Madrid 1992

Visits to the Library and Map Collections of the Monastery of the Escorial, Royal Palace, National Library, and Geographical Service of the Army.

Expo Seville closes on 14 October, so members may like to arrange a visit there before the Symposium, or just as it closes. More information and registration form will be given in the Spring issue.

Contact: Jaime Armero, Frame,
General Pardiñas 69, 28006 Madrid
Tel: (34 1) 411 3362
Fax: (34 1) 564 1520

IMCoS in Thailand

Members of IMCoS in Thailand held their second meeting this year on 29 September 1991. The venue was the beautiful Thai-style home of Khun Kasidis and Lalita Rochanakorn who invited members to view their prints and maps. Eleven people representing four nationalities attended. It was a special opportunity to see a collection rich in both quality and quantity. It focuses on material relevant to Thailand and includes a grouping of important and unique pieces. The collec-

tion clearly reflects the interests of the owners and is a tribute to their knowledge and appreciation of prints and maps.

Mike Sweet, Chairman of the Ninth Annual International IMCoS Symposium in Singapore, gave an illustrated talk on 'Rediscovering the Isles of Spice'. He related the history of the region from early Ptolemaic printed maps to a modern satellite map of the island of Singapore. Mike reviewed the complex topic of the mapping of South-East Asia in the same friendly, informal manner that he deals with customers in his shop, *Antiques of the Orient*, in Singapore. Afterwards, he skilfully handled a broad range of questions on the pitfalls and rewards of map collecting.

The morning ended with a discussion amongst members of plans for future IMCoS functions and ways to expose more people to the diverse range of printed visual records of Thailand's history.

DAWN ROONEY

A lecture on Thai mapping was given by Dawn Rooney, author of the books *Khmer Ceramics* and *Folk Pottery in Southeast Asia*, at the Siam Society on 1 October 1991. Dawn traced the development of Thai mapping from early Thai sources based on Buddhist traditions and cosmology, through the Chinese maps of the Ming dynasty, and on to European map-making from the 16th century onwards, concluding with modern cartography by the Thai government since 1875.

Ninth International Symposium: Opening Address

A plea for Asian cartography

Mr Kwa Chong Guan, *Director, National Museum, Singapore*

I must confess to feeling slightly unqualified to address this 9th Annual Symposium of your Society. I am neither a map collector, nor a geographer, much less a cartographer. My interest in early maps stems from an occasional interest in the early history in SE Asia where I had to go through the *de rigueur* ritual of working through Ptolemy's map of trans-Gangetic India and review the arguments for whether Sabara Emporium was near the mouth of the Bernam River as Gerini once argued or south of Malaka as Berthelot proposed or the south Johor hill of Sabana which Douglas calculated it to be. Or was it the old island of Temasek?

This continuing preoccupation with Ptolemy raises some unease in my mind. Why are we still so concerned with the text of an obscure 2nd century astronomer which Leo Bagrow had in 1943 shown to have been largely drafted by the 12th century Byzantine monks? Why are we not studying the early Indian maps of Asia? After all, early Southeast Asia impinged large on the Indian imagination. Our world is referred to in the classical literature as *Suvarnabhumi*, a Land of Gold, in the *Jataka* stories and the *Ramayana*. According to the *Vayu Purana*, our region is one of the six provinces of the Indian continent of *Jambudvipa* in the centre of which is the world mountain of the Meru. I believe conventional wisdom states that if we are not looking at early Indian maps of SE Asia, it is simply because there are no Indian maps.

I find it hard to believe that there are

no early Indian maps of the 'Land of Gold' over the horizon of the ocean bordering their eastern shores. Your chairperson Susan Gole has produced a pioneering volume documenting the existence of a variety of Indian maps before the advent of European surveys. I also find it difficult to accept that there are so few Arab maps of the world they knew lay between the Indian sub-continent they described as *al-Hind* and *Cbina* they knew as *as-Sin*. Why are there so few Arab maps of this world of *al-Zabaj* which lay between *al-Hind* and *as-Sin*, and was reported to be a rich land, a land of gold? Also, why is it that the earliest Chinese map of Southeast Asia we refer to is invariably the Mao Kun nautical chart of the Three-Jewel Eunuch's voyages in the *Wu Bei Zhi* or 'Treatise on Armament Technology'? After all, the Chinese scholar-officials by the time of the Tang dynasty were propounding the unity of the Indian Ocean and the South China Seas as one ocean, the *Nau Yang*.

I suspect the answers to some of these questions I raise may lie in our perception of Asian cartography, which I venture to suggest may parallel the situation in earlier years of Southeast historiography. For a long time the conventional wisdom was that the only reliable sources for the history of our region were contained in the records locked up in the archives in Lisbon, 's-Gravenhage, or London. In contrast, the royal court records of the Sultans of Jogjakarta, Surakarta or Malaya were evaluated to be unreliable, ex-

cept where they corresponded to the European records, and could then be incorporated as supplementary material. For example, the Melaka court record of its founding contained in the *Sejarah Melayu* that their founder, Sultan Iskander Shah was the fifth descendant of a line of rulers of old Singapura or Temasek was considered to contain a high percentage of myth and therefore disregarded. None other than the late Sir Richard Winstedt has dismissed this *Sejarah Melayu* account as a "hotchpotch of Chola and Palembang folk-lore, [out of which] little can be made." The Portuguese identification of the founder of Melaka as a renegade Palembang prince who had fled to Singapore, murdered his Singapore host and was forced to flee again north to establish a new settlement at Melaka is believed to be more reliable and accepted as the standard reconstruction of early Singapore and Melaka history.

It was the Dutch economic historian, Jacob Cornelis van Leur who raised the spectre of a Eurocentric history of Southeast Asia "observed from the deck of the ship, the ramparts of the fortress, the high gallery of the trading-house." As van Leur went on to comment, "there lingers something highly unsatisfactory here." Unfortunately van Leur did not live to fully develop his ideas or see them recognised as he was killed in the 1942 Battle of the Java Sea. It fell to others like W.F. Wertheim and G.J. Resink to call attention to and further develop van Leur's ideas.

H.J. de Graff and Theodore Pigeaud combed the Javanese court chronicles for the Indonesian facts for the histories of Java they were writing. In this they were challenged by C.C. Berg who argued that

the Javanese chronicles do not contain the kinds of historical facts envisaged by von Ranke and earlier, Thucydides. The Javanese chronicles and texts, Berg argued, are describing a very different historical reality for a quite different objective from that prescribed by Thucydides for the writing of history. We must, Berg proposed, enter the mind of our Javanese scribe and try to understand why he drafted his text in the manner he did. For the *Sejarah Melayu* account of the founding of Melaka, O.W. Wolters has proposed that the scribe was writing a historical narrative which would provide his Sultan with the moral authority and legitimacy to rule.

A new generation of scholars like O.W. Wolters, Anthony H. Johns, M.C. Ricklefs are today developing a new understanding of the local literatures and their relevance for our reconstruction of Southeast Asian history. Today we are seeking modes of structuring the past in the texts. We are defining the Arabo-Islamic concepts of history underlying the Malay texts. We are identifying perceptions of order and moral authority in the texts. We are searching for variant versions of the known texts and new texts to test new interpretations and develop new approaches to local literatures.

At the risk of being turfed out of your conference, I venture to suggest that the state of scholarship on Asian cartography, if compared to Southeast Asian historiography, may be described as being in a pre-van Leur stage. Scholarship on Asian cartography I suggest is rather Eurocentric. What qualified to be considered a map must have been drawn according to guidelines first propounded by Ptolemy in chapter 4 of Book I of the *Geographia*

that all localities should be mapped according to a series of longitude and latitude coordinates oriented to the stars. This system, based upon a vision of the world as a sphere around which the sun and stars revolved which was first propounded by Plato, should produce a series of realistic maps accurately representing the landscape. By this criterion, the early Indian maps produced according to different concepts of space and cosmologies are unfamiliar, unrealistic and as such disregarded. The Chinese maps, produced according to a different grid system, are also difficult to interpret and understand. The Arab maps, produced according to the Ptolemaic guidelines which the Arabs translated and assimilated, have enjoyed a slightly better fate.

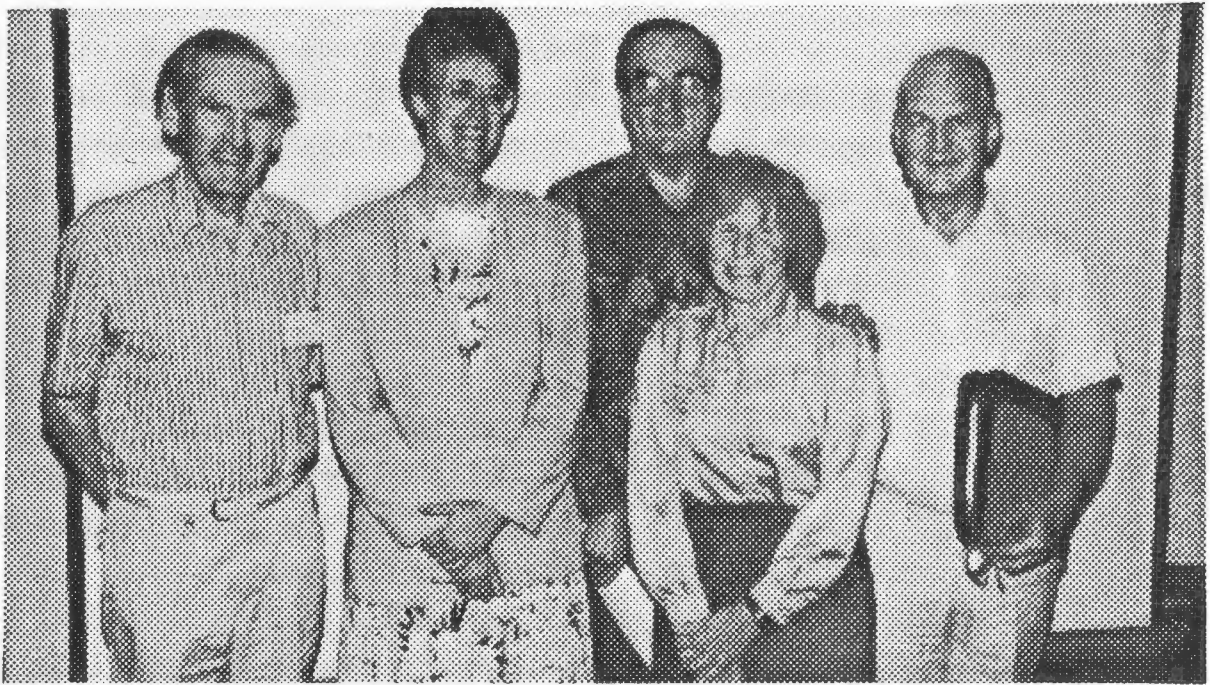
This Eurocentric bias in scholarship in the history of cartography is, I recall, evident in the pages of the journal *Imago Mundi*. The majority of articles I remember from a cursory survey of the contents are about European map makers and how their work on European maps was transformed from the 15th century under the impact of Gutenberg's invention of movable type and the data brought back by explorers and navigators. The unstated assumption underlying many of the articles I thought to be that it is to the European map makers, printers and explorers that we owe the breakthroughs and advances in cartography which made possible the mapping of the world today. Studies of Asian cartography were conspicuously small in number.

Historians of Asia now realise that they cannot afford to ignore local literatures and are searching for the texts and seeking to understand the historical visions and realities contained therein.

Can we afford to ignore Asian maps? After all, if we accept that maps are basically a system of signs and symbols conveying information about landscapes and ultimately space, then Asian maps are an Asian system of signs and symbols conveying information about landscapes and space from an Asian perspective. More important, as a body and system of information, maps show how their users view the world captured in them.

For example, the 1842 Chinese 'Treatise on the Sea Kingdoms' or *Hai guo Tu zhi* by the scholar-activist Wei Yuan contains a series of classical Chinese maps of the world and regions of the world with an accompanying text that is more than a summary of world geography. It is a policy text using geography to recommend how the Qing government should respond to increasing Western pressure and regain traditional Chinese influence in the 'South Seas'. The maps project a very Chinese perception of the South Seas and provide a basis for proposals on what China should be doing in that South Seas world. It was a text which continued to be read and acted on in China right up to 1949 and even beyond. My plea to you is to help us understand and appreciate the early Asian maps better. More important, help us search for and recover the early Asian maps. For, I am suggesting, contained in these maps may be the key to a better understanding of Asia today.

The ABSTRACTS which follow were submitted in advance by speakers, and are here further reduced. The full texts, with illustrations, are to be published by Antiques of the Orient, Singapore, edited by Victor Savage.



In the centre, Mike Sweet, Symposium Chairman, with Nancy Penrose, Moderator (left), and Mickey Reed, Projectionist (right), flanked by Malcolm Young, IMCoS International Chairman, and Rodney Shirley, IMCoS Past President.

Michael J. Sweet, Singapore
Rediscovering the Isles of Spice

This introductory paper summarises the theme of the symposium with an overview of the general mapping of Asia. Starting with the Ptolemaic and Marco Polo concepts of Asia, the progress of the mapping of Asia by 16th and 17th century cartographers is described. The maps used illustrate the major discoveries: how they occurred and whether deliberately or accidentally.

Their importance relative to trade patterns, the role of the spice trade, and how European colonisation and rivalries affected exploration are discussed. The early mapping of Singapore Island up until the founding of Singapore by Raffles in 1819 is emphasised.

Fay Huidekoper-Cope, Saudi Arabia
Arabia Felix

D.G. Hogarth's statement in *History of Arabia* (1922) that "... the unknown history of the [Arabian] Peninsula is out

of all proportion to the known . . ." was valid till about twenty years ago. Arabia has had trading relations with the east for 3,500 years, but much of the information given here is less than three and a half decades old. On a modern map are found the rock-hewn tombs of Medain Salah, Egra of Ptolemy, dated to AD 1. This was an important post in the trading kingdom of the Nabateans. Archaeologists have found many Nabatean sites which, later, were part of the famous spice-trade routes of inland Arabia.

By the 2nd century the Nabatean empire withered as overland trade gave way to the Greeks and then the Romans sailing (in large strong ships) directly from Egypt to India. The rise of Islam in the 7th century brought dazzling geographical expansion, and mathematical and scientific advances. Archaeology is now redressing Hogarth's imbalance, which will make any history on the maps of Arabia much fuller and richer.

Cyrus Ala'i, *UK*

Persia or Iran? What do the maps say?

In 1934 the government of Persia asked the Western world to replace 'Persia' with 'Iran'. Although all editions of Ptolemaic Geography include a 'Fifth Map of Asia', which represents Persia, Ptolemy never used the name for the whole region, but applied it, very correctly, to the southern province only. The reason may have been because, at that particular period, the Persian empire had been dissolved into several small states, comprising Assyria, Susiana, Media, Hyrcania, Parthia, Carmania and Persidis (or Persis, as Herodotus called it). The Greeks first encountered the Achemenids from Persis (Persia), and hence extended this name to the whole country, ignoring 'Iran', the native name of the empire. This name first appeared on Western maps in the mid-16th century.

The ancient names of the provinces were gradually replaced by new ones.

Persis, for example, became Fars or Farsistan. Nevertheless 'Iran', derived from 'Aryan', also appeared as the name of the whole country on some maps as early as the first half of the 18th century. Because of the linkage of 'Persia' with the glorious past of the Persians, scholars did not approve of its replacement by Iran, and both names were pronounced official in 1949. Therefore, it is quite correct, and even desirable, to talk about Persia when referring to Iran.

Susan Gole, *UK*

The idea of India in 16th century maps

Ptolemy had miscalculated the latitudes of towns in India so that in maps based on his coordinates the coastline appeared to run almost parallel to the equator. After the Portuguese sailed into the Indian Ocean the triangular shape was quickly recognised, though several cartographers added an extra peninsula to the west of the Ptolemaic shape to ac-



Speakers on the first day, from the left: Rod Barron (how did he get into this picture too?), Cyrus Ala'i, Susan Gole, Rodney Shirley (who summed up the proceedings), Fay Huidekoper-Cope, Michael Sweet, and Alan Bartlett.

commodate the names reported by the Portuguese. And places reported without proper references turn up in the most surprising locations.

The triangular shape varied widely, and within it the location of towns, one major kingdom moving from the north-east to the tip of the peninsula in maps by the same cartographer. The term India was used not only for the whole of Asia, but for part of Africa too, and it was not until European colonies had been established throughout the East that the separate parts of Asia assumed their own identity in European maps.

Alan Bartlett, *UK*

“And the peculiar commodity of the island” (Sri Lanka)

So wrote Robert Knox, who lived in Ceylon for 18 years in the 17th century of cinnamon, the spice which was the prime motivation for the western discovery and exploitation of Ceylon. It was imported by the Egyptians, valued highly by the Romans, traded by the Arabs, and fought over by the Portuguese, Dutch and British for three centuries. Columbus and his successors sought it as vigorously as gold in the New World, but to no avail. The geography of the island has been described by all early writers of the area, and the cartography followed their theories. The Ptolemaic Taprobane raises issues of size and position that have led to a complex debate as to whether Taprobane was really Sumatra. Western mapping of the island reflects both the general development of European cartography and the dominant colonial power of the time. The maps of eastern cartographers are necessarily few.

Coffee, then tea, supplanted cinna-

mon as “the peculiar commodity of the Island”. Today Sri Lanka is torn by civil strife and the rediscovery of peace and prosperity is desperately needed in this isle of spice.

Professor O.A.W. Dilke, *UK*

Graeco-Roman concepts of South and South-East Asia

In the 350 years between Eratosthenes and Ptolemy, both working in Alexandria, information coming through on South-East Asia was constantly increasing. Eratosthenes, following up his measurement of the circumference of the earth, put the Himalayas on the same parallel as Gibraltar, and thought of India, to him the furthest country south-east, as a rhomboid, Ariana (Iran-Pakistan) as a parallelogram. Writers under the early Roman empire drew on sea voyages as far as Sri Lanka. Marinus of Tyre and Ptolemy included data on all mainland Asia, the one with partial, the other with complete coordinates of latitude and longitude. Ptolemy criticised Marinus' figure of 225° for the west-east extent of the inhabited world, preferring one of 180° to cover Chinese offshore islands.

Such ventures have been studied by modern researchers. Sabana was thought to be Singapore, while the general view is that Ptolemy's Kattigara, contrary to his relative orientation, is Hanoi. Some doubts have been voiced as to whether Ptolemy intended a terra incognita, as placed on most maps, to encircle the Indian Ocean. Marinus, Ptolemy and Marco Polo were among the sources used by Columbus and his successors. Some Renaissance Ptolemy atlases contain 'modern' maps which attempt to correct the Ptolemaic picture.



Speakers on the 2nd day, from the left: Prof. OAW Dilke, Dr Helen Wallis, Geoffrey Edwards, Dawn Rooney, Capt. JDA Kok, Rod Barron.

Geoffrey Edwards, *Indonesia*
The real spice islands

The spice islands are synonymous with the history of exploration and trading in the East Indies. These isles of spice, embracing two tiny clusters of islands, Ternate-Tidore in the northern Moluccas of present-day Indonesia, and the Banda archipelago in the southern Moluccas, were the focus of trading intrigue from earliest times. Spice trading was initially exploited by Arab traders via overland routes to Europe, and in medieval times these spices, comprising cloves, nutmeg and mace, became literally worth their weight in gold.

During the 16th and early 17th centuries, rival European powers competed bitterly for these tiny islands and their precious harvest of spices. The first, the Portuguese, were supplanted by the Dutch with their successful establishment of a monopoly through the VOC, the Dutch East India Company.

With the onset of European expan-

sion, mapping of the East Indies improved rapidly from the Ptolemaic representations, though trade rivalries inhibited early publication of many of the detailed charts. Spice island vignettes were documented by many artists, most notably in lavish Dutch and French publications which have now become collectors' items. Today, few vestiges of past glories remain, save at Banda where decayed remnants of Perkenier mansions stand as a stark reminder of an exotic past.

Dawn Rooney, *Thailand*
The mapping of Thailand: an introduction

This paper traces the chronological development of the mapping of Siam (Thailand) using Asian and European sources and examines the inter-relationships between the two groups.

The major Thai source is the *Traiphum*, a treatise which may date to the 14th century. It describes the universe

based on Theravada Buddhist traditions and cosmological principles and includes early maps with identifiable place-names on the Gulf of Thailand. The Chinese first used the name 'Siam' (Hsien Lo) on a map in the 15th century. Europe is the primary source of cartographic material for Siam beginning in the 16th century. Maritime exploration in SE Asia began with the Portuguese, then the Dutch, English, and French. Increased knowledge of the region in the 17th and 18th centuries resulted in maps for navigation, river access to the ancient capital of Ayutthaya, and town plans. Two curiosities on European maps are considered: Ayutthaya depicted as an island, and Chiamay, a mythical lake and the source of four major rivers.

In the last half of the 19th century, the English introduced scientific principles of mapping and surveying to the Siamese. Establishment of The Royal Thai Survey Department followed in 1875, and marked the beginning of modern cartography in Siam. Development in technique and design in this century is traced through topographic surveys, large-scale aerial maps for military purposes, and satellite pictures.

Dr Helen Wallis, *UK*

How Jesuit cartographers in China depicted the Orient

When Jesuit missionaries from Europe introduced the geographical knowledge of the 'west' into China, the result was a special kind of mapping, unique to the Orient. The Italian Father Matteo Ricci, who established the Chinese mission in 1583, was the pioneer. He made four world maps, printed from wood blocks, all with the central meridian

in the Pacific, to give China pride of place.

The world map of Liang Chou published in Nanking in 1593 shows how the Chinese adapted their work to the new knowledge. Liang's 'Comprehensive Map Delineating Heaven and Earth' is essentially an administrative map of China. The 'western' countries of Europe and America are depicted as islands along the edge, a model followed in later maps.

Ricci's successors Nicolo Longobardi and Manuel Dias the Younger in 1623 made a large wooden painted terrestrial globe on which the delineation of eastern Asia and the western Pacific shows various improvements in comparison with European maps and globes. The Polish Jesuit and sinologue Michael Boym reversed the flow of information, revealing how much Europe could learn from the Orient. Of his three MS maps of China, that from the Phillipps collection, drawn about 1652, is probably the earliest. It depicts the flora, fauna, and mineral resources of China, and is one of the first thematic maps of the Orient.

Roderick M. Barron, *UK*

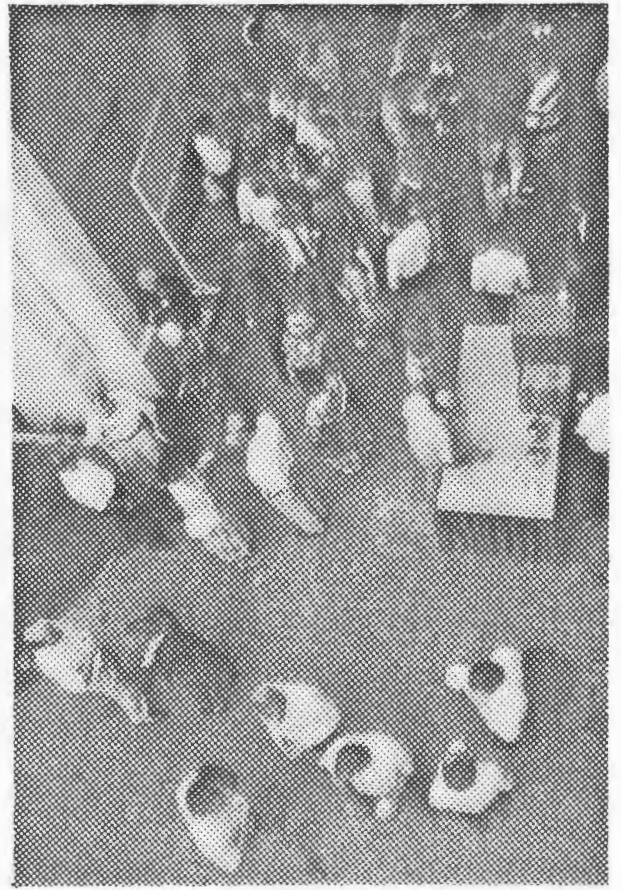
The many faces of European maps of Japan

Over the 500 years in which exploration and cartography have gone hand in hand, few areas of the world have undergone so many transmutations in the shape and form in which they are depicted on European maps, charts and globes as Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun. Japan is a fascinating country to look at on European maps because the traditional beliefs of increasing European knowledge and progress do not apply.

Before its 'discovery' by the Por-

tuguese in the mid-16th century it was a land of myth and fable where much was drawn from the fantastical reports of Marco Polo. Later it enjoyed nearly a century of European 'civilisation' and culture with Jesuits, Portuguese, Dutch and English all reaching its shores in search of souls and profit. The cartography of the Islands improved as merchants and missionaries travelled more widely throughout the country.

However, from the closure of its borders in the 1630s, for over 300 years Japan endured almost total isolation from European culture as all Europeans, excluding the Dutch, were banished and all foreign influences were regarded with extreme suspicion. This era of isolation or 'Sakkoku' in the Tokugawa Shogunate, had a profound influence on European maps of the Islands.



Balcony view of participants enjoying the hospitality of the National Museum.

Singapore Symposium 1991

Not having visited Singapore for ten years, it was with both excitement and curiosity that I set out to attend the Ninth International Symposium. From the moment of arrival at the splendid new Changi airport, and subsequent registration at the ultra-modern Boulevard Hotel where we were looked after so well, I knew that both feelings were justified. Singapore has changed, new buildings and roads abound, efficiency aided by modern technology is everywhere apparent, and the cheerful friendliness of the people all served to reinforce my initial impressions of a vibrant society which has created a stimulating environment for itself.

Michael Sweet had kindly organised a welcome cocktail reception for us at his map and antiques gallery nearby. This was indeed a splendid occasion, as we were not only treated to an exhibition of fine Speed maps and other rare treasures from his collection, but were free to browse amongst his books, greet old friends and meet new members, being plied all the while with fine Franken wine and delicious refreshments, served with great charm by Michael's friendly staff. An exciting first day was happily rounded off when a group of us enjoyed an excellent Chinese meal in traditional style down at Newton Circus.

Next morning, having been congr-



The ice-breaker — getting off to a good start at Mike's gallery, Antiques of the Orient.

tulated by Michael Sweet on arriving at the right place despite being map enthusiasts (a reference to his introduction to Singapore at the Washington symposium last year), participants were welcomed to the symposium by Mr Kwa Chong Guan, director of Singapore's National Museum. He sought to persuade us that it is time to investigate the work of Asian cartographers, who used their own system of signs and symbols to convey information about Asian landscapes, using their own perspectives, and to question our bias towards Eurocentric cartography as defined by Ptolemy.

After a battle with the lights, Nancy Penrose introduced the speakers for the day. Michael Sweet was the first, and his informative material on the Spice Islands, peppered with allusions to spies, spices and treasure, was delivered in humorous and light-hearted fashion. He was followed by Fay Huidekoper, whose talk was entitled 'Arabia Felix', which means 'Fortunate Arabia'. We too were fortu-

nate in being presented with a fascinating glimpse of a different side of the picture from that commonly painted by the media.

After a splendid lunch we settled down to listen to Dr Cyrus Ala'i, who guided us through the sometimes controversial history of the naming of his country, to the stage when the statement "Iranair — the Airline of Persia", became acceptable to all.

I was intrigued by Susan Gole's interesting collection of early maps of India — the whole of SE Asia seemed to have been 'Indianised' — did I really see two, even four, Indias on certain maps?

From Alan Bartlett I learnt much about the aromatic and medicinal qualities of cinnamon, and was glad to learn that we in Britain are still provided with the purer variety grown in Sri Lanka.

Another pleasant and informative social occasion had been laid on for us in the early evening by Mr Kwa Chong Guan at the National Museum. Here an



Hilarity at the banquet! Geoff Edwards giving Mike a new set of glasses.

exhibition of early maps and charts of the Malay Archipelago leading up to the precise charting of the Singapore Straits had been assembled for our benefit. To it had been added an interesting display of photographs and prints which illustrated the primitive nature of both ships and navigational aids in the early days, and the kind of hazards early mariners faced.

I enjoyed an evening meal with friends at the famous Raffles Hotel, newly restored to its former colonial-type splendour — an experience not to be missed.

Tuesday's programme opened with a talk by Professor Dilke about early concepts of SE Asia. Helpful hand-outs, well chosen slides, and the giving out of an enormous amount of information served to make this a most worthwhile session. I especially liked the idea, prevalent in Graeco-Roman times, that the great rivers originated in Paradise!

Next came 'Captain Cook' — not the original, but a navigator of a 'ship of the air'. He and his colleagues are users, and, alas, often destroyers of modern maps.

However, as he was quick to point out, they were really doing us a service in not allowing thousands of maps to survive to become collectors' items. Having humorously challenged conventional theories about the shape of the world and the origin of the spices, he retired to fly his aeroplane to foreign parts, leaving behind a greatly amused audience. Rumour has it that he had adapted his flight schedule to ensure that he was in Singapore for our symposium.

From Geoff Edwards I learnt that some spices contain hitherto unsuspected properties. For instance, nutmeg not only restores the brain, but cures all kinds of evils, and is an excellent tonic; and cloves are considered to be an aphrodisiac — no wonder the spice trade flourished!

Dawn Rooney gave an excellent introduction to the mapping of Thailand (which is the only country in SE Asia never to have been occupied or colonised), and was the only speaker to show us an indigenous Asian map.

Whilst appreciating the serious content of Dr Helen Wallis' talk on "How Jesuit cartographers depicted the Orient",

I was amused to learn that a very special 1623 globe once travelled with her to Berlin, designated as 'Mr Globe' and issued with his own airline ticket — British Airways or Lufthansa I wonder. I was also interested to learn that the rhubarb grown many years ago in Tibet was the source of all rhubarb in the world today.

Rod Barron, the final speaker, treated us to a splendid display of maps of Japan — a country described by Marco Polo as "a big island yielding endless supplies of gold", a description directly responsible for Columbus' voyage.

Sadly the symposium was now coming to an end, and after the usual votes of thanks we adjourned to the Equatorial Hotel for the last event of the day, an eleven course banquet Chinese-style.

The symposium had been attended by 118 members from 18 different countries, and we had enjoyed maps, maptalk, excellent speakers, and super food. The enthusiasm of everyone concerned was infectious, and I came away feeling that I had learnt a lot — and also learnt that



Julie Yeo, partner at Antiques of the Orient, presented with a bouquet by IMCoS President Helen Wallis.

there is a lot more to learn, and I look forward eagerly to the next symposium.

JO DUGGAN

IMCoS Bookplate

The date for entries to the Competition for the IMCoS Bookplate has been extended to mid-1992.

The winning design will be printed for use in IMCoS Library books, and possibly in a different colour for members to purchase for their own books. The printed size will be approximately 6.5 x 4.0 cm, to fit onto even the smallest folded maps, may be vertical or horizontal, and should include the IMCoS logo. The winning design may be adapted to provide room for owners to write their own name, if the plates are printed for sale. Designs should be in one colour, and if submitted larger than the finished plate, should be suitable for reduction. Postcard size would be a convenient format for the competition entry.

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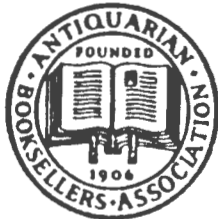
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'Road Map Confusion' Revisited

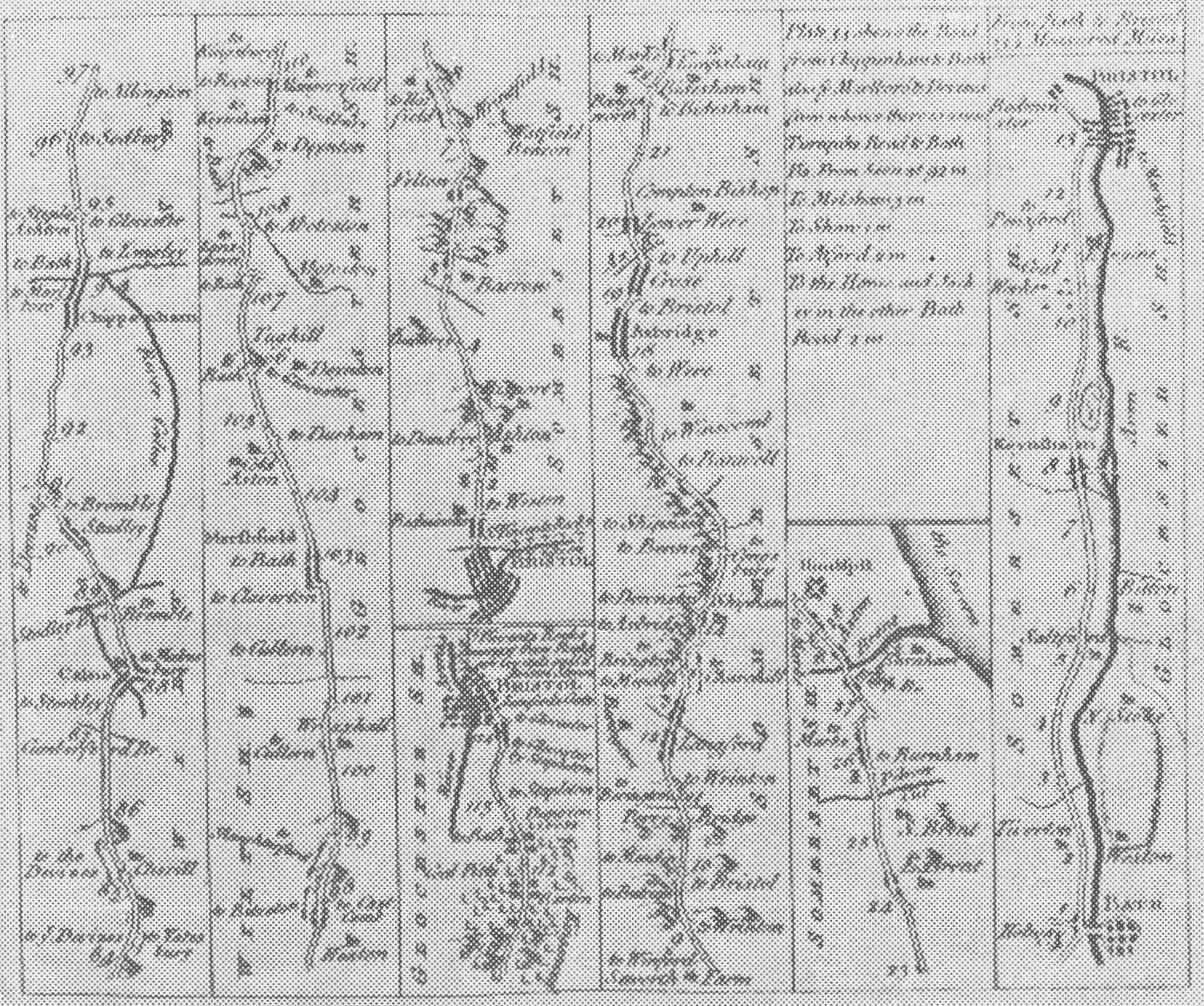
Part II

The carto-bibliographical analysis in the first part of this paper (*IMCoS Journal* No. 45) is certain. In contrast, what follows is speculation, concerning dates of issue within the context of the competitive situation in the map trade.³³

Robert Wilkinson took over the business of John Bowles in 1779 and, as has been seen, promptly re-issued the later-1757 state of Senex's maps on 1st May 1780. It is known that Carington Bowles published his own *Post-Chaise Companion* in 1782. However, it was the second edition of *Bowles's Post-Chaise Companion* which appeared in 1782 with the maps dated 2nd January 1782. This 'Second Edition, corrected, and greatly improved; with Additions' was still being advertised c.1785. In the undated first edition the maps are without the date. This first edition could not, therefore, have appeared later than 1781.³⁴ Since Carington Bowles's re-issue of the maps from Kitchin's *Ogilby's Survey Improv'd* of 1771 involved extensive modification of the plates,³⁵ it is safe to assume that Bowles's work was conceived as, to all intents and purposes, a new product rather than a mere re-issue. It could not have been prepared quickly in response to the appearance of a competing work. Thus, Wilkinson's re-issue of the old Senex plates under the old title in 1780 was probably mainly a response to the earlier appearance of the Bowles' work, which was, thus, almost certainly published in 1779 at the latest.

Kitchin's copies of the Senex maps appeared in his *Post-Chaise Companion*,

apparently first published in 1767 jointly by John Bowles, Carington Bowles and Robert Sayer. This work was, however, advertised as 'fitted up in a portable Manner for the Conveniency of Travellers' in *Robert Sayer's New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year 1766* and may have been available at that earlier date or even earlier. The work was re-issued without change by Carington Bowles at an unknown date.³⁶ *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion* was advertised for sale in Sayer & Bennett's catalogue of 1775. It may well be that this 'would be unsold copies of the 1767 edition . . . in which Sayer had a share'.³⁷ However, there is no evidence to support or deny this and it is possible that what was being offered for sale was the newer Carington Bowles' edition. Copies of the new edition may have been supplied by Bowles to Sayer as part of an on-going partnership in the work at any time before 1775. Alternatively, Sayer may have bought in the work from Bowles in order to keep it on offer to his customers. If the latter is the case, since Sayer & Bennett were promoting the appearance of the 'new' Jefferys' work in 1775, it would seem probable that the Kitchin material being advertised was stock that had been in hand for some time rather than newly bought in recently-printed material. Certainly it is unlikely that Sayer alone or with Bennett (from 1774) would have bought in Kitchin's work after 1771 when Sayer had probably acquired the materials for *Jefferys's Itinerary* (on Jefferys' death) and before 1775 when it was published. Thus, if a new

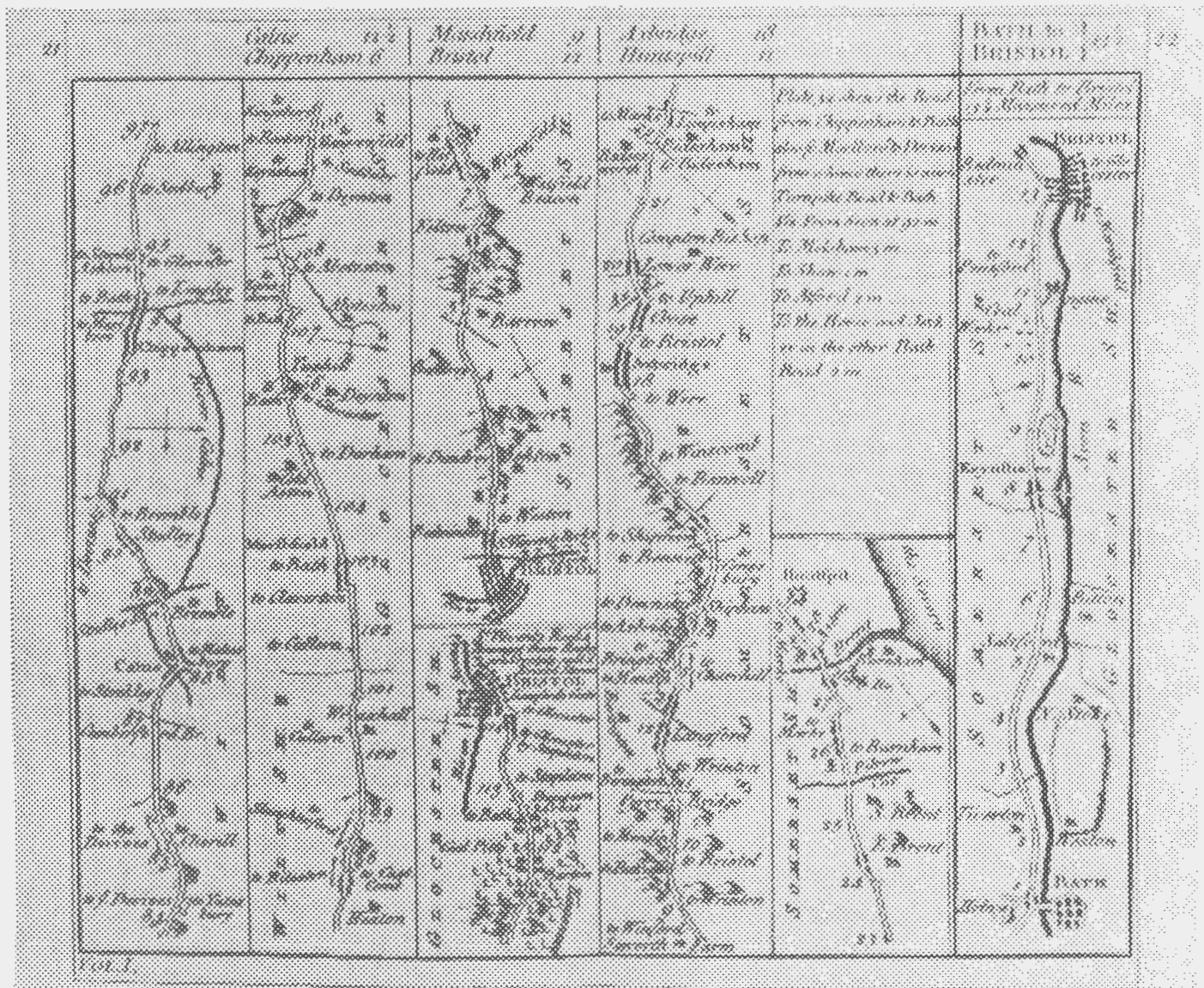


Kitchin published his *Ogilby's SURVEY Improv'd* in 1771 (A). The plates were then extensively modified by Carington Bowles to create *Bowles's Post-Chaise Companion* which appeared before 2nd January 1782 (B). Subsequently a second edition was issued with maps dated 'London: Published 2 Jan.^y 1782' (C).

edition of Kitchin's work was bought in from Carington Bowles it would probably have been purchased before 1771 and it follows that the Kitchin' strip maps being offered for sale by Sayer & Bennett in 1775 may well have been unsold impressions of the undated Bowles' edition rather than the 1767 edition.

In the meantime, Carington Bowles seems to have held the plates of the work. His edition has a completely new title-page which although adopting the same

wording, now omits 'By Thomas Kitchin' and names Carington as publisher. A pagination mistake which occurred in the 1767 edition, whereby plate 44 was backed by 51 and plate 50 by 45, was corrected. This probably indicates that Carington reprinted the maps from plates in his possession. The two editions are printed on paper with the same watermark. Consequently, alternative possibilities are that the corrected pagination sequence had been printed during or



shortly after the first appearance of the maps c.1767 and that Carington was simply using existing corrected printed stock to construct his edition, or Carington's re-printing was close in time to the original printing, using the same stocks of paper. In the absence of any internal evidence whatsoever suggesting a publication date, there are clearly a number of possible explanations of what is known. Most likely, though, since there is no evidence that any of the other partners in the 1767 publication inherited the plates, Carington reprinted from the original map plates for his new undated edition and the plates then remained in the possession of the Bowles' firm as it passed on Carington's death in 1793 to his son

Henry Carington who was partnered by Samuel Carver until 1832. Such an interpretation would certainly accord with what is known of Carington's business style and practices.

As has been seen, Carington had totally revamped the 1771 Kitchin' plates from *Ogilby's Survey Improv'd* by c.1779. Whilst this revamping process was taking place, it may have been necessary for Carington to try to protect his market share in the face of the competition from *Jefferys's Itinerary* from 1775 by the issue of a stop-gap publication. This defensive market strategy might have been further imposed on Carington by the appearance and popularity of Mostyn John Armstrong's *An Actual*

B



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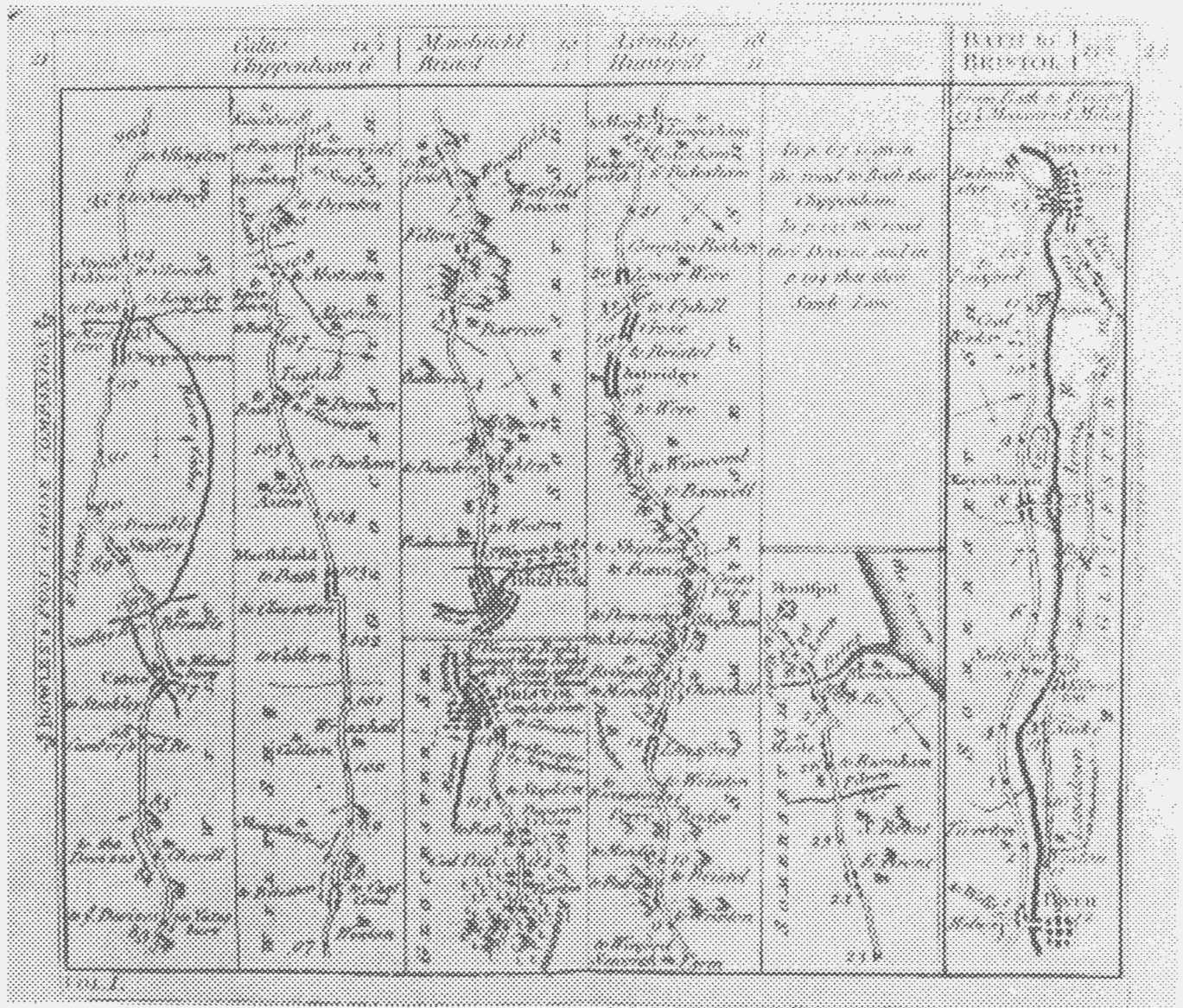


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Survey of the Great Post-Roads between London and Edinburgh (1776; 1777; 1783). It is, thus, arguable that Carington might have re-issued *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion* between 1775 and 1779. Certainly both sets of Kitchin's strip maps were advertised in Carington's catalogue of January 1782, along with his issue of *Britannia Depicta*. All three works were still available along with *Paterson's British Itinerary* in Bowles & Carver's catalogue of 1795.

However, in the later 1770s and early 1780s the competitive situation in the market for road books was becoming increasingly severe, particularly as the off-loading of increasingly out-dated stock in the hands of a number of publishers

became more urgent. Carington issued the first edition of his own *Post-Chaise Companion* c.1779, followed by a second edition in 1782 (with a final edition published c.1793 by Bowles & Carver). He also published a final edition of *Britannia Depicta* before c.1782 and the first edition of *Paterson's British Itinerary* in 1785. During the same period, Sayer & Bennett were offering *Jefferys's Itinerary* and *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion* certainly from 1775; and Robert Wilkinson responded with a last issue of Senex's maps in 1780. The most serious long-term threat was represented by the appearance of Paterson's totally new works from 1771.

It seems difficult to believe that Car-

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ington could have perceived a market for a re-issue of a second set of Kitchin's strip maps in the old-style *Post-Chaise Companion* in such an increasingly saturated situation, particularly when he also possessed the provenly popular *Britannia Depicta* materials. It seems more likely that the *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion* being offered for sale in 1782 and 1795 was old stock already on hand, printed at an earlier date, rather than a new printing. In fact, after its early days *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion* bears all the hall-marks of a slow seller. It lingered on in the stocks of both the Bowles' firm and Sayer & Bennett, reflecting its decreasing commercial viability as the market became more competitive and better supplied with superior, more up-to-date, and/or more popular road books. All the evidence suggests that *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion* did not have the selling power of *Britannia Depicta* and other works. In such circumstances, a new edition of the work at this late date would not have presented an attractive proposition to the owner of the plates. Thus, the final re-issue of *Britannia Depicta* is far more likely to have been Carington Bowles's stop-gap effort to hold on to his market whilst he carried out his adaptation of the Kitchin's plates of 1771 than a re-issue of the Kitchin's maps of 1766/67, if, indeed, there was any such effort.

In contrast, in 1767 and the years immediately following, the market situation was somewhat easier with competition coming only from John Bowles's 1762 issue of the Senex maps, Carington's own 1764 re-issue of *Britannia Depicta*, and the slowly appearing strip maps published in the *Universal Magazine* (1765–1773)

and the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1765–1775). In such easier competitive circumstances, Carington Bowles may well have seen a market opportunity for a reprint of *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion* even if the Sayer firm still had previously-published stock on hand. There are many instances of atlases selling out quickly or performing sufficiently well after publication to warrant early re-issue and Carington may well have viewed the market potential of the work optimistically in the years immediately following 1767. An early re-issue of Kitchin's work by Carington seems more likely than a later re-print in much altered and tougher commercial circumstances. Once Kitchin's *Ogilby's Survey Improv'd* appeared in 1771, published initially by Kitchin himself (with whom Carington already had an established business relationship), Carington would have surely discarded any notions of re-printing or revamping the older plates and would have turned his attention to the new Kitchin's material, simply selling off existing printed stocks of the earlier work over the years as the opportunity arose.

Hence, two strands of the argument lead to a publication date of pre-1771 and another to an early re-issue for Bowles's edition of *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion*.³⁸

In the case of *The Roads of England delineated*, issue dates of between 1780 and 1786 have been suggested, with the later date being held more probable on the grounds that it was 'an attempt to stem the popularity of the new surveys of Paterson and Cary, by trading on the good name of Senex.'³⁹ In the first place, Cary can be eliminated from consideration since *Cary's Actual Survey of the*

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Great Roads between London & Falmouth (1784), which could hardly be seen as competition for any national atlas, was the only one of his road books to appear before 1790. Subsequently his *Traveler's Companion* appeared from 1790, his *Survey of the High Roads from London* also from 1790, and his important *New Itinerary* from 1798. Hence, the new threat was represented initially by Daniel Paterson's traditional, mainly descriptive, road book, *A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Britain*, which appeared from 1771 and must have represented severe competition for the now ageing sets of Senex-related strip maps. This work proved enormously popular, being re-issued in 1772, 1773, 1776, 1778, 1781, 1784, 1786, 1789, 1792 and many times afterwards. Subsequently, Paterson

produced his own superior set of strip maps — *Paterson's British Itinerary* — published by Carington Bowles in 1785 and re-issued by Bowles & Carver in 1796 and later. This, along with Cary's publications from 1790 must virtually have killed off the market for the old material.

The engraved titlepage of *The Roads of England delineated*, which has caused much puzzlement in the past, is a newly engraved titlepage based very closely on the titles of the issues of Senex's maps between 1757 and 1780. This deliberate imitation of the Senex' title is an obvious attempt to cover up the plagiarised origins of the maps and to cash in on Senex's long-standing good reputation. In any analysis of likely competitive response, the work must, therefore, be seen as belonging to that group of closely connected

SENE X PLATES	KITCHIN PLATES	FRENCH COPIES
1719 John Senex		
1742, 1744, 1748		
Mary Senex		
1748?, 1757, 1759, 1762		1759 le Rouge
John Bowles & Son		
1762 John Bowles		
	1767 John Bowles, Carington Bowles & Robert Sayer	1766/1767 Desnos
	c.1770 Carington Bowles (advertised for sale by Sayer & Bennett in 1775, by Carington Bowles in 1782, by Bowles & Carver in 1795, and probably at other times in the interim by the Bowles' firm)	
		1775 Sayer & Bennett c.1780 probably Sayer & Bennett post c.1780 ?
1780 Robert Wilkinson		

strip maps which happily competed against each other in the 1760s, '70s and early '80s, rather than something re-issued to face the new age of road book production which was getting under way. It is difficult to conceive of Senex's 1719 topography (as copied and adapted for *Jefferys's Itinerary*) being issued in competition to Paterson's strip maps after 1785, no matter how optimistic the publisher.

Why change the titlepage and revert to such a blatant imitation of the genuine title of the Senex maps? Perhaps *Jefferys's Itinerary* had proved unsuccessful and Sayer & Bennett hoped to change failure to success by sleight of hand, or rather titlepage. This would certainly be good reason for the unusual omission of the publisher from the titlepage. Perhaps it was a response to the appearance of Wilkinson's *The Roads through England delineated* in 1780, or possibly vice versa. Alternatively, perhaps Sayer & Bennett had simply sold on the Jefferys' materials to some anonymous publisher who had a new titlepage engraved but failed or was unable to remove the Sayer & Bennett imprints from the maps (possibly suggesting that it was old stock rather than the plates that had been sold). However, as has been shown, later states of some maps are known with the imprint erased so the plates were certainly still in existence at about this time. Thus, the best evidence we have is the continued appearance of the imprints on the maps and we should take it at face value and assume that they were still being issued by Sayer & Bennett prior to Bennett's retirement from the partnership c.1784 (he had certainly retired by April 1786), although with the imprint date un-

changed. In view of the obvious relationship between the titlepages, there must, surely, be a connection with the 1780 Wilkinson's publication and, therefore, a dating of c.1780 seems favourite with Sayer & Bennett the most likely publishers.

Of course, all of the above analysis concerning the publication dates of the various works is as equally speculative as other suggestions. History is, after all, concerned with judgement, argument and debate based on available evidence; conclusions are provisional; and there are different interpretations of what is known.

Unfortunately the most hopeful avenue of research has failed to reveal actual dates of publication. In his on-going study of map-sellers' advertisements, Donald Hodson has not come across any newspaper advertisements for the undated works here discussed. His research shows that cartographic advertising in the 1770s and 1780s was minimal in a market in which 'Sayer & Bowles were entrenched and, until Cary stirred things up, there was little need to advertise.'⁴⁰

This view could accord with the contention that the old Senex-related plates were issued sooner rather than later. Hence until further information emerges, the speculation continues to exercise both logic and imagination.

However, as detailed in the first part of this article, much is known for sure and it is clear that the recently postulated 'true line'⁴¹ of the Senex-related plates is not correct. The true 'true line' consists of three separate strands as shown in the table (some of the dating is admittedly speculative).

It is to be hoped that the 'true line' of the Senex and related strip road maps

has now been established once and for all, although some of the dating remains open to argument.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

33. As adopted by Roger Lintott in his letter on 'Road map confusion' in *The Map Collector*, 51; 1990.
34. Smith, D.: *Antique Maps of the British Isles* (1982). No. 63. Lintott (*op cit*) ignores the first edition, stating that 'Carington Bowles ... published his own *Post-Chaise Companion* in 1782 (a re-issue of a different set of Kit-chin's plates, originally published in 1771).'
35. Surprisingly, Kingsley in *Printed Maps of Sussex 1575-1900* (1982) fails to recognise that the same plates were used for both *Ogilby's Survey Improv'd* and for *Bowles's Post-Chaise Companion*. The former work (App. V. No. 9) is described as 'Based on Ogilby maps' and the latter (App.V. No.11) as 'The first series of maps which were not copied from Ogilby', whereas, in fact, of the ten plates noted from the latter work, only two were new plates with the other eight being modifications

of Kitchin's original plates.

36. Lintott (*op cit*) suggests an issue date of c.1776-1780, postulating that the Carington Bowles' issue was made in response to the appearance of Sayer & Bennett's publication of *Jefferys's Itinerary* in 1775.
37. As Lintott (*op cit*) concludes.
38. Accordingly, in 1982 I suggested a publication date of c.1770 which would seem to be per-suasive. This dating agrees with Chubb, T.: *The Printed Maps in the Atlases of Great Bri-tain and Ireland* (1927). No. CXLII.
39. Lintott, *op cit*.
40. Private communication from Donald Hodson.
41. Lintott, *op cit*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Francis Herbert, Donald Hodson and David Webb for their help and for allowing me to call on their experience and knowledge. Thanks are additionally due to David Webb for creating the illustrations.

DAVID SMITH

IMCoS 1991 Accounts

The following is a summary of the audited accounts of the Society as presented in unaudited form to the AGM of members in May.

	12 months to 31/12/90	12 months to 31/12/89
	£	£
Income	8,526	3,908
Net Expenditure	9,889	6,742
Surplus (Deficit)	<u>(1,363)</u>	<u>(2,834)</u>

The deficit was due to the high cost of the Journal. Steps have now been taken to reduce this cost by changing the way in which the Journal is printed and appointing a new Editor. It is confidently expected that the future cost of the Journal will be in line with the income from advertising and subscriptions.

The full audited accounts are available with the Treasurer and may be examined by members on application.

Obituary

Maro Hadjipaschalis

We are very sorry to hear from Cyprus that Maro, wife of Dr Andreas Hadjipaschalis, died on Saturday 7th September 1991 in Nicosia.

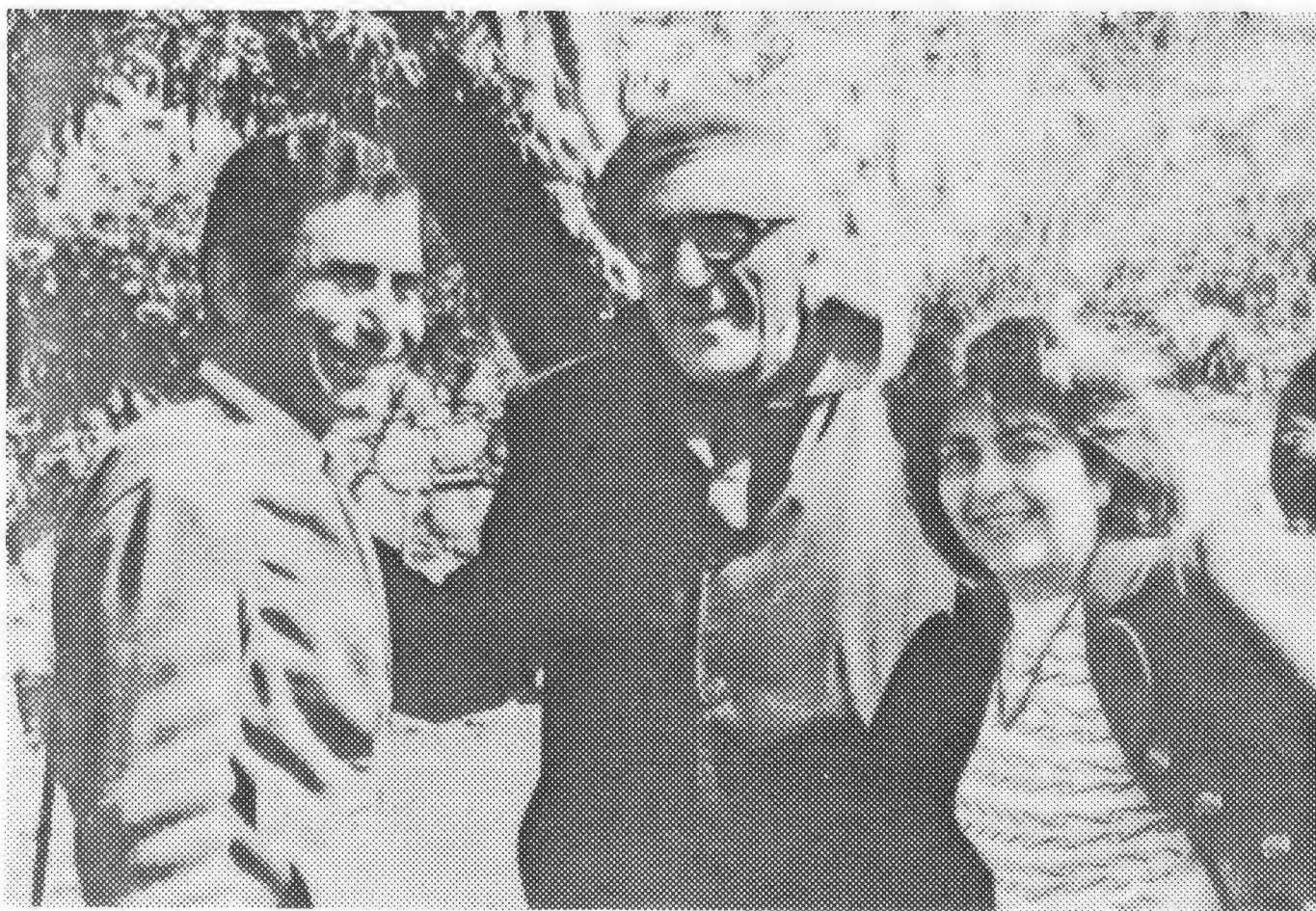
Andreas Hadjipaschalis was responsible for organising the 2nd IMCoS International Symposium in Cyprus in 1984. Maro, who worked for the Government Information department, was actively involved with this successful event. Maro will be well known to many members of IMCoS as she attended with Andreas the annual meetings in London and also overseas symposia in Barcelona and Athens. Map collectors who have visited

Cyprus have enjoyed the warm and friendly welcome at her lovely home.

Maro was an attractive and stimulating person, and knowledgeable about Cyprus. In very many different ways she supported her husband as our IMCoS representative. She was a great help to IMCoS in the early days.

Our special sympathy goes out to Andreas and his two sons at this time. Personally Diana and I will miss her on our frequent trips to Cyprus. She was a lively, intelligent, sparkling person who will be sadly missed by us all.

MALCOLM YOUNG



A recent photograph taken in happier times: Maro on the right, with Andreas Stylianou (centre) and husband Andreas on the left.

Letter to the Editor

The Editor, IMCoS Journal

As convenor of the recent symposium in Singapore besides recording my thanks to the 108 participants, the 10 speakers, the sponsors and the organising committee who made it a success, I would like to single out for special thanks three IMCoS members whose behind-the-scenes contribution guaranteed that success.

They are firstly Susan Gole for her continuous encouragement and perseverance which ensured that we met all the necessary deadlines. Secondly Dr Dawn Rooney whose encouragement, like Su-

san's, ensured that the symposium went ahead. There would have been no printed programme without her editorial assistance.

Thirdly, Julie Yeo who organised everything — the hotel accommodation, conference room, equipment, buses, lunches, banquet and all the myriad details necessary to ensure that everything ran smoothly.

Those three are the ones to whom the credit for a successful symposium rightly belongs.

Yours sincerely
Michael J. Sweet

Book Review

The Scot and his maps, by Margaret Wilkes. Motherwell : Scottish Library Association, 1991. 48 pages, illustrated. ISBN 0 900649 81 X. £4.50

The Scot and his maps is written with local historians and genealogists in mind "as a 'taster', an hors-d'oeuvre to encourage further interest" (p.5). Margaret Wilkes admits, in the preface, to having faced a formidable task in compiling this booklet — to explore the complete spectrum of Scottish mapping within so few pages. It necessarily provides a glimpse at the variety of maps which Scots have generated, produced or been associated with (there is a cut-off point of about 1915). It is a glimpse, however, which is scholarly without being dry, and instructive without being didactic. Margaret's 'grande passion' for maps is very evident.

The introduction illustrates the extent to which maps, unobtrusively, form an intrinsic part of our lives. The main text

takes a thematic rather than a chronological approach. Most of the eight chapters begin with a brief introduction, placing the category of maps to be discussed (road, town, leisure maps, those related to warfare, charts, etc) in a broader historical context. Further exploration centres around the discussion of one of 30 or so selected maps (all excellently illustrated with colour or black and white photographs). Sometimes the chosen maps are described in some detail, e.g. Robert Johnson's plan of Fort William and environs of c.1710. Alternatively they are used to introduce the reader to a type of map — in the section on John Ainslie's 1782 map of Wigton, county maps in general are described. Such discussions may also be used to introduce the reader to other types of material — the section on the Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 first edition sheet of Jedburgh introduces these large scale surveys in general and also the Books of Reference.

Always the map and its origins are placed in context. The section which features a 1915 trench is particularly poignant since the map has been annotated by a known Commander who was later killed. The skills involved in making the map, its beauty and its value to the researcher are all pointed to with enthusiasm.

The text is further enlivened by the inclusion of snippets of general knowledge, insights into Scottish and world history (social and political), tips on the assessment of maps in terms of their likely accuracy and bias, advice on where similar maps can be seen (apart from the National Library of Scotland) and for which areas they may be available, even a plea to map librarians to preserve the provenance of maps where possible.

People are interested in maps. The colourful, light and instructive approach of this booklet will render it of interest to a wide audience — not only Scots and not only genealogists and local historians. It will, I'm sure, inspire many of its readers to take a deeper, or indeed will initiate an interest in and curiosity about maps, their makers and their users.

ANNE TAYLOR

Corrigenda

The editor regrets the following errors which crept into the last issue of the *Journal* in Francis Herbert's article 'A Couple of Cartographic Fantasies'. Near the bottom of p. 2, 'the Earl of Tylney' should read 'the Earl of Tilney'. The first word on p.33 should be 'Antarctica', not America [*Ed*: Oops, my apologies], and in the Notes, the Rocque map may be seen in the British Library Map Library.

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