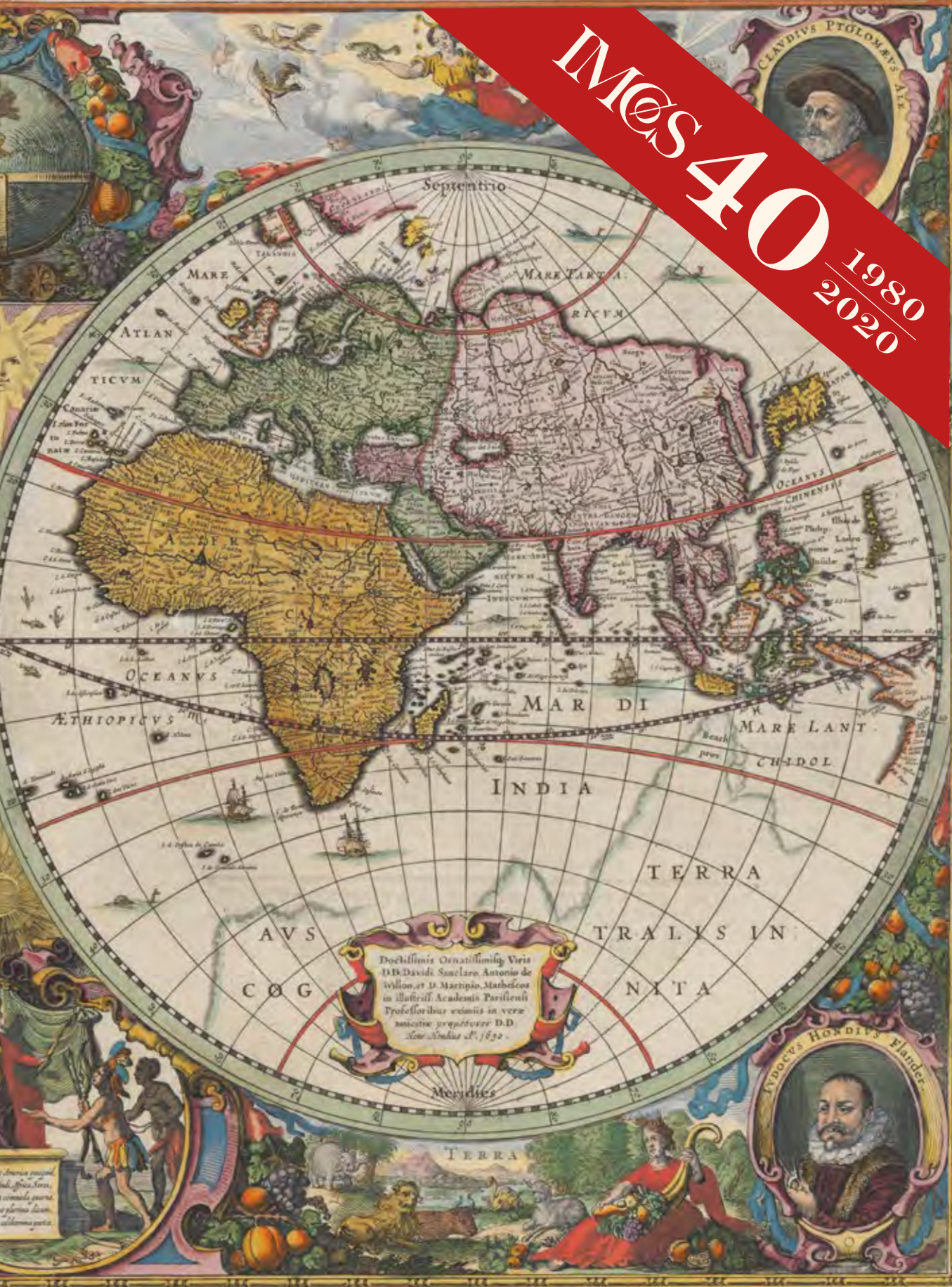


IMES 40  $\frac{1980}{2020}$





# IMCoS 1980 2020

IMCoS was the brainchild of Yasha Beresiner who, together with several enthusiastic supporters, convened in London on 13 September 1980 to formally elect a committee, nominate officers and draft the Society's objectives and activities. Rodney Shirley was elected its first President. IMCoS has remained steadfast to its early aims 'to promote, foster and encourage the activity of map collecting and the study of cartography and its history', and the activities proposed then to enable the Society's objectives have, more or less, persisted.

Key to IMCoS is the annual symposium which is designed to take place over several days at a different location each year. They provide a focal point for making new contacts and renewing friendships while discovering the collections and map heritage of the organising country. Talks given by Brian Harley, Susanna Fisher, Ralph Hyde and Bob Akers at the first Annual Meeting in 1981 sowed the seeds for an international symposium. Malcolm Young, then IMCoS Chairman, realised early that to earn the title 'international' the Society would need to travel further afield and membership be sought worldwide. Amsterdam hosted the first symposium in 1982. Since then destinations have included Iceland, South Africa, Japan, the USA and Turkey, to mention a few of the thirty-six visited. Essentially, the planning of symposia locations has been to rotate between Asia, Australasia, Europe and the Americas depending on the availability of local organisers. This year should have been our 37th, planned to take place in Sydney, a destination already visited, but with the world in lockdown dealing with the pandemic, the event was sadly shelved. Nevertheless, plans are afoot to resume in 2021.

In 1983 the Society launched the IMCoS-Tooley award to recognise an individual or institution who has made a valuable contribution to map history and, in particular, to map collectors. The award underwent a name change in 1995 to reflect Helen Wallis's dynamic role as the Society's President (1986–95) and, more generally, her work in advancing the study of map history in her position as the first woman Superintendent of the Map Room at the British Museum (afterwards the British Library). Recipients of the award have included academics and independent scholars, dealers, map librarians, collectors, and publishers throughout the world.



# JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

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Front & back cover Henricus Hondius, 'Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica Ac Hydrographica Tabula', 1630, 1st state, Amsterdam. Private collection. Details of the map are on the back flap.



# IMCoS is looking for a NEW HONORARY TREASURER

Jeremy Edwards has been IMCoS treasurer for ten years and will be retiring with effect from 31 December 2020.

The Executive committee would like to hear from a member who would be willing to take up this post and join the committee. An accountancy qualification is not necessary, just an ability to be careful with money.

The regular duties involve paying the Society's suppliers and expenses, by cheque or transfer as appropriate. The treasurer prepares financial reports for the Executive Committee, which meets four times per year, and the annual accounts to 31 December. Draft figures are supplied by Peter Walker, who is Membership Secretary and Financial Administrator. His duties include collection of subscriptions, advertising revenue and ad hoc receipts for Dinners and Members' events.

Jeremy will be happy to discuss the position with anyone interested; please contact him in the first instance on [jcerooksmead@gmail.com](mailto:jcerooksmead@gmail.com).

In any event, please contact our Chairman Hans Kok at [Hekholland@gmail.com](mailto:Hekholland@gmail.com).



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# A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

**Hans Kok**

IMCoS was founded in 1980; the appearance of the journal, now in your hands, reflects the Society marking its 40th anniversary. It is a year that we had looked forward to, to celebrate and be proud of, but it is also a year that has presented us all with a most unwelcome surprise.

After addressing the COVID-19 pandemic consequences in the journal in June, the expectation was that its effects might have normalised by this issue. Although optimism is certainly part of your Chairman's mental make-up, in certain cases, such as these, it seems that realism is a more called for response. At this moment, it is difficult to speak wise words on the subject, not only because the pandemic was new to all of us, including our medical and care professionals, and even our politicians were hard put to come up with sensible comments and regulations. Complicating the situation, already both volatile and phase-lagging over nations, the leap-frogging numbers contributed to the confusion worldwide. Travel has been seriously curtailed which must be reason for cursing and blessing as the case might be. The cancellation of regular fixtures on our calendar has added to the sense of confusion and insecurity. IMCoS has decided to continue 'business as usual', running the Society and producing our much-loved journal. The Malcolm Young Lecture, scheduled for June 2020 has been carried over to 2021, the Helen Wallis Award winner had been selected, but remains under wraps until next June also. No news as yet on the cancelled local event. We do not know whether it can be revived next year; we may need to arrange for something new altogether.

The Annual General Meeting, initially scheduled for early June, was cancelled and will take place later in the year. Voting for agenda items will be by email. This will be sent out to all members well in advance and include the Chairman's 2019 report, the agenda, and a returnable ballot page for electing new or retaining current committee members whose term is coming to an end, and holding the current membership fee. The advance notice will honour the IMCoS Constitution. Voting will start on 9 November and will remain open until 21 November inclusive, with results becoming available in time for our next Committee meeting for follow-up as required. The Executive Committee currently operates under Corona restrictions; a Constitution change to align future AGM procedures electronically may be required as the Constitution was last update in 2017 when such methods were not available.

For now, stay safe and away from creepy Corona things; those of you with a map collection may conclude that this pursuit sometimes has unexpected benefits – it makes staying indoors much more palatable.





Iconic and exquisitely engraved map of the World by Philippe Eckebrecht, published circa 1658, in Nuremberg.

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## WELCOME TO OUR NEW MEMBERS

**Quinn Buchwald**, USA

Coll. interests: Maps of the early modern period, the Age of Imperialism, World War I

**Ho Ching Kam**, Germany

Coll. interests: East & Southeast Asia

**Elton Kerr**, USA

Coll. interests: 16th-century cartography, American Revolutionary War maps

**Edgar Pang**, Thailand

Coll. interests: Southeast Asia

**Karl Solchenbach**, Germany

Coll. interests: Trier, Luxembourg, Mosel, Rhine

**Marvin Woolf**, USA

Coll. interests: Historical & Nth American maps

---

## BECOME A MEMBER

**International Map Collectors' Society (IMCoS)** is made up of an informal group of map enthusiasts from all parts of the globe.

It is an interesting mix of map collectors, dealers in maps and books, archivists and librarians, academics and writers.

### Membership benefits:

- **The IMCoS Journal** – a highly respected quarterly publication.
- **International map symposium.**
- **An annual dinner in London** and presentation of IMCoS–Helen Wallis award.
- **Collectors' evening** to discuss one or two of your maps and get members' feedback.
- **A visit** to a well-known map collection.

### Membership rates

Annual: £55      Three years: £150  
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## GUEST EDITORIAL

**Yasha Beresiner**

Dear IMCoS Member,

My heartiest congratulations on the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of this wonderful and very dynamic organisation, if I may say so myself!

The opportunity given to me to write the Guest Editorial for this commemorative edition of the journal, for which I am most grateful, feels personally fortuitous, almost a natural evolution, a full circle now completed. In September 1980 I edited Volume I, Number 1 of the newsletter of the newly founded International Map Collectors' Society, and here I am again, with the editorial pen in hand.

I recall the options open to me when considering the officers needed to form a new society. As a professional map dealer, director of Stanley Gibbons Ltd at the time, I felt it would be inappropriate to hold high office and chose, instead, to take on the responsibilities of Editor. Thereafter, once Malcolm Young volunteered to be Chairman at the Birmingham inaugural meeting on 5 June 1980, there was no looking back. Other posts were soon filled by volunteers in the room and we were fortunate to recruit the late Rodney Shirley, as our respected President.

In the editorial of that very first newsletter mentioned above, I wrote:

*...Success or failure will finally be dictated by those involved in running the organization ... The new officers of the society look well qualified and are greatly enthusiastic to ensure success. Time will tell.*

Time has indeed spoken. Since those early days, we have had the good fortune of having a plethora of highly esteemed and very hard working, imaginative leaders, taking IMCoS forward and from strength to strength. The momentum that the Society gained at its birth has not been lost to this day.

Although my founding of IMCoS was only a matter of being *the right person, in the right place, at the right time*, nonetheless I am exceedingly proud of what you, officers and members over the years, have done to the Society. Long may you prosper and continue.

I end with another unavoidable cliché . . . doesn't time fly?

Yasha

*PS In the friendly and family environment of IMCoS, I can share with you that in June I celebrated my 80th birthday and four years ago I was diagnosed with Parkinson's Disease. My neurologist gave me 20 to 25 years of reasonably good quality life, so I'm not complaining. I am reminded of a colleague who was given only six months to live. He didn't even have time to pay his medical bills ... so the doctors gave him another six months!*



# THE FIRST PRINTED MISSIONARY MAP OF CHINA:

*Sinarum Regni aliorumque regnorum et insularum illi  
adiacentium descriptio* (1585/1588)

**Marco Caboara**

The most valuable map in the collection of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) is ‘*Sinarum Regni aliorumque regnorum et insularum illi adiacentium descriptio*’ (Fig. 1). Its presence in an undated sixteenth-century report on Jesuit mission activities links it to Father Michele Ruggieri. This article will examine this link, the map’s legacy in later maps of China and the networks that enabled the production of a map with an accuracy of East Asia unmatched until the eighteenth century.

In 2000 the HKUST library acquired, through map dealer Roderick Barron, a previously unknown map, titled ‘*Sinarum Regni alioru[m]q[ue] regnoru[m] et insularu[m] illi adiacentium descriptio*’ (Map of the Kingdom of the Sinae [China] and of some other neighbouring kingdoms and islands).

The map, a copperplate engraving with etched components, represents East Asia from the Great Wall to Indonesia. China is subdivided into its provinces, with the capital of each marked with an image of a castle. A cartouche at the right edge provides detailed information, derived from Chinese printed sources, about the administrative subdivisions of the country. Three blocks of text marked by large capital letters give information about i) the source of the Yellow River, Lake Sin Siu Hai (*Lacus Stellatus*);<sup>1</sup> ii) the Great Wall; iii) Korea, depicted for the first time as a peninsula. The map depicts, also for the first time, the first Christian church in China, Zhaoqing<sup>2</sup> 肇慶 shown in profile and annotated as *ecclesia patrum societatis* (the Church of the Fathers of the Society [of Jesus]).

The map combines information from late sixteenth-century Portuguese and Jesuit sources. The Portuguese sources provide the outline of the coasts (see, for example, the 1591 manuscript chart by Joan Martines (Fig. 2)<sup>3</sup> and the 1595 map of Southeast Asia by Linschoten (Fig. 3)),<sup>4</sup> and probably represents the extent of Portuguese knowledge of the region at the time. The Jesuit sources, derived from the Chinese,

supply, in addition to information about the Yellow River and other geographical data described in the map’s cartouche, a peninsular depiction of Korea.

This representation of Korea as a peninsula and some other details (such as the Jesuit Church in Zhaoqing) were incorporated by Petrus Plancius in his 1594 world map ‘*Orbis Terrarum Typus De Integro Multis in Locis Emendatus*’.

In a 2003 article Barron connected ‘*Sinarum Regni aliorumque regnorum*’ with a manuscript atlas composed at the end of the sixteenth century by the Jesuit missionary Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607)<sup>5</sup> which was first published in Rome in only 1993.<sup>6</sup> Ruggieri, who arrived in China in 1579, was the first Jesuit to master spoken and written Chinese and he is often referred to as a predecessor of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). Ricci’s mastery of both the Chinese language and cartography was more advanced than Ruggieri’s, and his work is much better known. Yet when Ruggieri was sent back from Macau in 1588, arriving in Rome in 1589 to appeal to the Pope for an embassy to China, he was still regarded as the main figure of the mission and an authority on China in general.<sup>7</sup>

He brought with him to Rome Chinese printed books on geography and the draft manuscripts of his atlas, on which he continued to work for the next fifteen years. Barron hypothesized that the map was produced at the time of Ruggieri’s return to Rome in 1589, possibly by Ruggieri himself or with his direct input, as part of an up-to-the-minute report on China for the Jesuit authorities in Rome.

Unknown to Barron at the time of writing his article was that in the Jesuit Archives in Rome (ARSI), there is a report in Ruggieri’s handwriting which includes the map (Fig. 4).

Fig.1 ‘*Sinarum Regni alioru[m]q[ue] regnoru[m] et insularu[m] illi adiacentium descriptio*’, 1590, 47 x 35 cm, copperplate printing, HKUST Library, G7400 1590.S54.





DESERTVARENOSV







While the ARSI map was first mentioned by the Jesuit historian Pasquale D'Elia in a 1935 published note, it was only properly described in the last few years by Hsu Kuang-tai, Fung Kam-wing and Song Liming.<sup>8</sup> In fact, a few Chinese scholars (Hsu Kuang-tai, Fung Kam-wing and Jin Guoping) describe the ARSI map as a manuscript.<sup>9</sup> It does differ in appearance from the HKUST exemplar, due, in part, to two pages of the report being written on the back of the map causing the ink from the text to show through. Additionally, to prevent further damage, the 'manuscript' was restored in the early twentieth century with a protective glaze which has slightly altered its colour, texture and shape. Nevertheless, the ARSI exemplar is a print and not a manuscript as had been suggested. This was confirmed after an

Fig. 3 Arnold van Langren, 'Exacta et accurata delineatio cum orarum maritimarum tum etiam locorum terrestrium quae in regionibus China [...]', Amsterdam, 1596, 40 x 53 cm, copperplate printing, HKUST Library, G8001.P5 1596 .L55.

inspection was carried out in July 2019 by the author of this article and a paper and print specialist under the supervision of Mauro Brunello, the ARSI archivist.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, a careful comparison of the two maps shows them to be undoubtedly printed from the same, unchanged copperplate.<sup>11</sup>

This being the case, 'Sinarum Regni aliorumque regnorum' must have been printed before the report was completed, and its dating is therefore connected with the dating of the report, which serves as *terminus ante quem*. This conclusion was established after an examination of the material conditions of the manuscript and confirmed by the text of the report which refers to the map in more than one instance, for example when mentioning Lake Sin Siu Hai as the source of all major rivers as shown by the map.<sup>12</sup>

Fig. 2 Joan Martines, Portulan-Atlas, East and South East Asia, 1591, 60 x 40 cm. Drawn on vellum, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Manuscript Department, Ms. Ham. 430 (map 12).



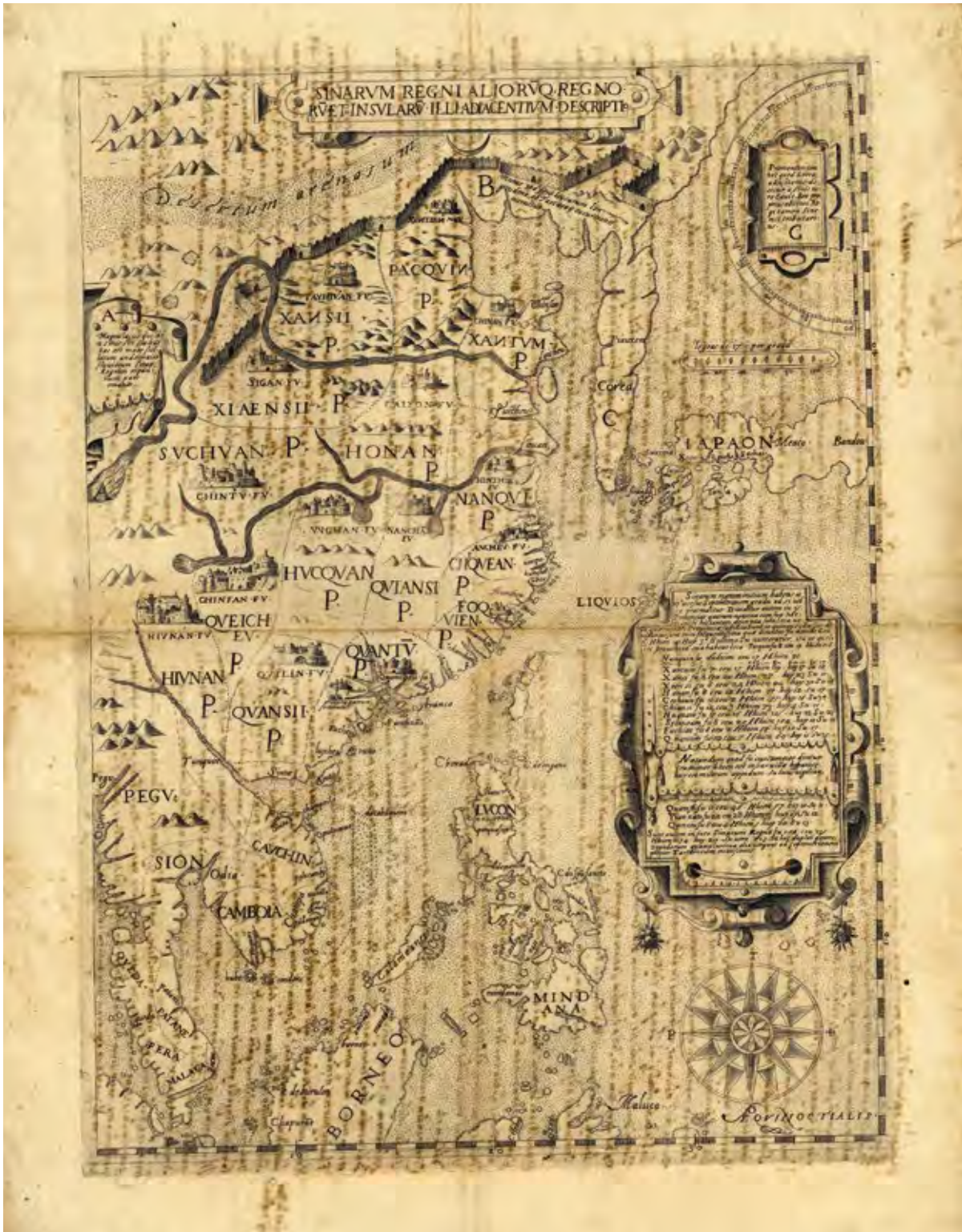


Fig. 4 'Sinarum Regni aliorumque regnorum et insulrum illi adiacentium descriptio' in Jesuit report. 47 x 35 cm, copperplate printing, attached to a handwritten report held at the Jesuit Archives in Rome (ARSI), Jap. Sin. 111 14r (N.7).

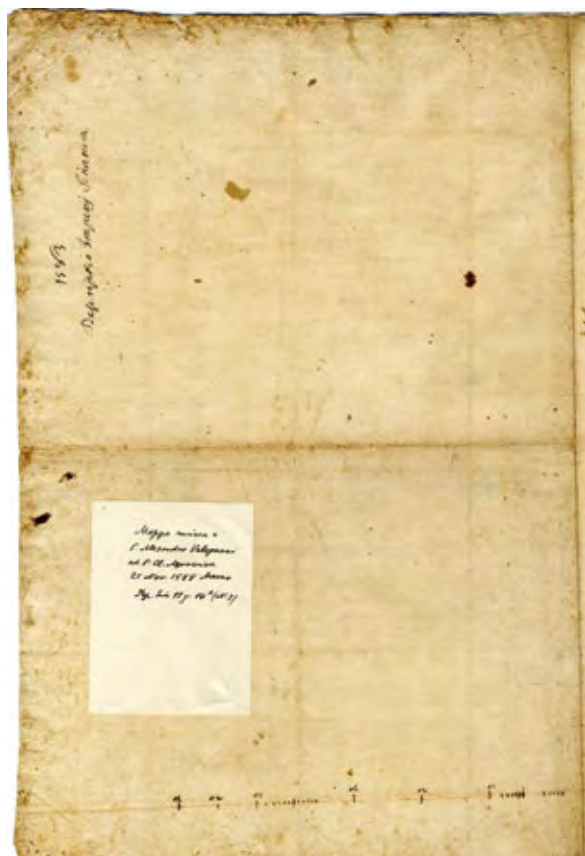


Fig. 5 Front and back cover of Jesuit report which contains Ruggieri's map 'Sinarum Regni aliorumque regnorum' ARSI, Jap. Sin. 11I 14r (N.7).

Although the report is undoubtedly in Ruggieri's handwriting, it is unsigned (Fig. 5). Another hand has dated it 1583 which is problematic, as the report mentions that the Jesuit fathers first entered Zhaoqing, where they built a church in 1582, shortly after Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615) was elected Superior General of the Society of Jesus on 7 February 1581, adding that 'he has now been in that position for many years'.<sup>13</sup> A more likely date of 1588 is given in a modern hand, probably by D'Elia with the addition: 'sent from Macau by Valignano to Acquaviva in Rome in November 1588'.

Ruggieri left Macau for Rome in November 1588, and a letter in the Archives from Jesuit missionary Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) to Acquaviva mentions that ‘unas mapas’ were to be sent to Rome via Ruggieri.<sup>14</sup> If the report predates Ruggieri’s departure from China, as the map must have been printed before the report was completed, one must conclude that either the map was printed in Italy and

arrived in Macau before Ruggieri left the city in 1588, or that it was printed in Macau before his departure. The first hypothesis requires the map to have been printed in Europe around 1584–86, after news of the establishment of the Zhaoqing church reached Rome and early enough to allow for the map to reach Ruggieri in Macau. This is logistically complex but not impossible. Engraving and etching on copperplate for printing a map of this quality in Macau or even in Goa, would not have been possible, as these skills were extremely rare even in Europe and not present, to our knowledge, anywhere in Portuguese Asia. On the other hand, dismissing a 1588 date for the report, one might suppose it was completed after Ruggieri returned to Rome, thereby moving the time by which the map must have been printed to 1590 or after.

A further piece of the dating puzzle is the presence of an English manuscript copy of the map kept at the British Library (B.L. Cotton Ms. Aug I ii.45),<sup>15</sup> which was first identified by Barron (Fig. 6). In the cartouche of this considerably simplified map is written: 'From Madrid A°. 1609' demonstrating that the printed copy of the map was still circulating in Spanish cartographic circles by the early seventeenth century, where an English agent copied it, probably covertly.

Another trace of the Ruggieri map is evident in a 1656 map titled 'La Chine Royaume' (The Kingdom of China) published by Nicolas Sanson (1600–1667) in his atlas *Cartes generales de toutes les parties du monde, ou les empires, monarchies, republiques, estats, peuples, &c. de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, de l'Europe, & de l'Amerique*, Paris 1656 (but published in 1658, Mariette) (Fig. 7).

In the cartouche Sanson explains how his map was based on Ruggieri's:<sup>16</sup> 'This map is just a reduced version of a very beautiful, large and detailed map by Neroni held in the cabinet of the Duke of Orleans'.<sup>17</sup> According to Sanson, Matteo Neroni,<sup>18</sup> the original map's author, stated that the map had been drawn in Rome in 1590, and derived from four different books, printed in China, and explained to Neroni by Father Michele Ruggieri, of the Company of Jesus. In this reduced version Sanson explained in the cartouche that he could only show the biggest and second biggest cities, not having enough space for the rest.

Ruggieri's map demonstrates the network of knowledge necessary to generate such a map:

1) An earlier layer of cartographic knowledge available to Portuguese mapmakers for the coasts of southern China and, to a certain extent, for all the





The Kingdom of China  
The Kingdom of China is the largest  
Empire in the world, and is the  
most populous. It is the seat of  
the most powerful and ancient  
civilization in the world. It is the  
center of the world, and the  
source of all wisdom and  
virtue. It is the seat of the  
most powerful and ancient  
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most powerful and ancient  
civilization in the world. It is the  
center of the world, and the  
source of all wisdom and  
virtue.





Fig. 7 Nicolas Sanson, 'La Chine Royaume', 1656, 42 x 54 cm, copperplate printing, HKUST Library, G7820 1656. S35.

coasts of the South China Seas from Malacca to Japan, with certain areas left uncharted (the North China Sea in general and especially Korea and Hokkaido).

2) Geographic knowledge about China, its provinces and its administration, based on Chinese informants and written sources interpreted by such informants, available (to a certain degree) to historians and cosmographers in Portugal and in Rome.

3) Information coming from Jesuit missionaries in China, Macau and Zhaoqing in the early 1580s, reading (or being helped to read) Chinese sources and giving updated information about the progress of the Christian missions.

4) Information about East Asia (Korea as a peninsula, more accurate coasts for Japan) gathered either in China or in Japan.

Fig. 6 Anonymous manuscript map of 'China and of the adjacent islands, southward to the Island of Sumatra'; drawn on vellum, 60 x 45 cm. © British Library Board: Cotton Aug I.ii.45.

5) Drawings, possibly made in China, and engraving skills. This expertise was only available in a few European cities such as Antwerp, Venice and Rome. They served as centres for information gathering and dissemination of that information through printed books and maps.<sup>19</sup>

The first commercially printed European map of China 'Chinae, olim Sinarum regionis, nova descriptio', created by the Portuguese cartographer Luiz Jorge de Barbuda (known under the Latinised name Ludovicus Georgius) but published by Ortelius in 1584 was made possible from the information sources mentioned in the first two knowledge layers (Fig. 8).

Unlike Ortelius's map, the publication reach of Ruggieri's remained very limited. While the Antwerp-based geographer published his map of China in an atlas – *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (the first of its kind) – meant for the commercial market, Ruggieri's map,









was probably printed in Rome,<sup>20</sup> most likely intended for propaganda or for intelligence reasons for internal circulation within a narrow circle.

### Related maps

This same kind of network is equally apparent in the case of two other maps which also had limited exposure: the 1642 map by Italian cartographer Carlo Giangolini (1598–Messina, 1652) and its manuscript counterpart.

The map, titled ‘Nova et exactissima sinarum monarchiae descriptio ab indigenis Ta-min appellata’ (New and precise map of the Kingdom of the *Sinae*, called *Daming* by the natives), was printed in Rome and bears the name of Carlo Giangolini. The only known exemplar is held at the Niedersächsische Staats und Universitätsbibliothek of Göttingen, bound as Map 2 of Magini’s *Atlas of Italy*, which was published in Bologna in 1620 (Fig. 9).<sup>21</sup>

Giangolini, now almost forgotten, was in his time widely known and well connected with the King of Spain, the Pope and the Jesuit Order. Born in Fano, Marche, Central Italy, of a noble family, he was lecturer of cosmography for the Senate of Messina, Sicily. He authored three brief treatises on the defence of Christianity against the Ottoman Empire. Two manuscript treatises of cosmography by him are held, respectively, at the Vatican Library in Rome (Manuscript Barb.lat.5652) and at the National Library of Spain (MSS/9108). He also wrote an unpublished reworking (with maps), now lost, of Ortelius’s *Theatrum*.<sup>22</sup> A cartouche at the top right corner bears a dedication to Count Ugo Sanvitale (1617–1648), a papal dignitary and a noble from Central Italy like Giangolini, but it offers no further explanation of the map’s purpose.<sup>23</sup>

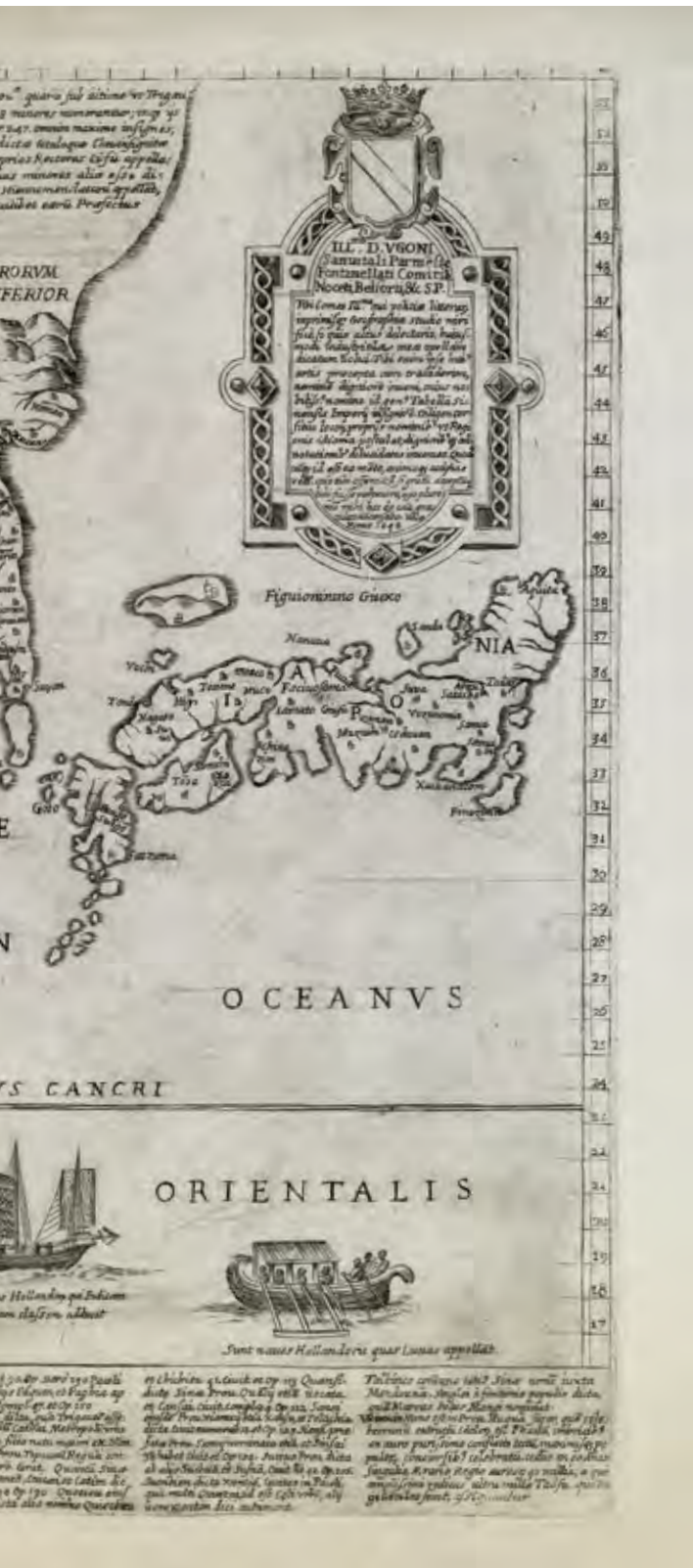
Even though his map does not mention the Jesuit missions or even Christianity, it is likely through his contacts with the papal court and the Jesuit order that an armchair geographer such as Giangolini had access to the source of cartographic information about East Asia, which we have been able to identify in a manuscript map at the ARSI, provisionally titled ‘Descriptio geographica Sinici, Coraisi et Japonici regni’ (Map of the kingdoms of China, Korea and Japan), measuring 82 x 126 cm. The only information about its origin is given in the

Fig. 8 Ortelius, ‘Chinae, olim Sinarum regionis, nova descriptio’, 1584, 38 x 48 cm. HKUST Library.









long Latin text at the bottom, stating that it was drawn in 1651 and is a faithful reduced version of a much larger manuscript map sent to the Jesuit General in Rome in 1593 based on Chinese sources. Even a cursory glance at the two maps leaves no doubt that they share a common source, most likely the lost 1593 manuscript map mentioned in the cartouche of 'Descriptio geographica Sinici, Coraisi et Japonici regni'. (Fig. 10).

Below is the first part of the text from the cartouche of the 1651 map; it has been dedicated to *geographiae amatoribus* (the lovers of geography):

*If you want to know how much trust should I want you to have in this map of the kingdoms of China, Korea and Japan,<sup>24</sup> it should be no other than that due to the map drawn with extreme diligence in his own hands on Chinese paper by an expert in the field [of geography], and sent in the year 1593 to the Reverend Claudio Acquaviva, then General Provost of the Society of Jesus, as it is shown in the headquarter of the order in this year 1651, when that map has been faithfully converted into this smaller shape. Many locations, especially at the borders of the Kingdom [of China?], are missing in the original map, which the author justifies with the sudden departure the Portuguese ships [which forced him to hasten the completion of the map so that it could be sent out in time]. And even though this is a defect, one must admit that there is no more precise map of China, and especially of Korea and Japan, at least among the ones that came to us here in Europe. Even though the author of the map added certain information related both to the geography as well as to the habits and laws of those nations, we left the latter aside and decided to only transcribe the former, adding a few things which might provide clarification.<sup>25</sup>*

As the cartouche states, the map was the best representation of China, Japan and, most of all, Korea available in Europe at the time of its creation in 1593.

No author is declared, but two names are mentioned in further sections of the cartouche, both Jesuits involved with East Asian cartography. The first is Ignacio Moreira, who was born in

Fig. 9 Carlo Giannolini, 'Nova et Exactissima Sinarum Monarchiae Descriptio: ab Indigenis Ta-min Appellata', Rome, 1642, 31 x 42 cm, copperplate printing. Niedersächsische Staats und Universitätsbibliothek of Göttingen, *Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 2 H ITAL I, 62/63.





Fig. 10 A manuscript map of China and East Asia, provisionally titled 'Descriptio geographica Sinici, Coraisi et Japonici regni' (Map of the kingdoms of China, Korea and Japan), 1651, 82 x 126 cm. Jesuit Archives in Rome (ARSI), no collocation given.

Lisbon in 1538 or 1539 and lived for a number of years in Macao. In 1590–1592 he accompanied Valignano to Japan, as mentioned in the cartouche for Japan:

*When the Viceroy of India sent the Reverend Father Alessandro Valignano to the Kanpaku<sup>26</sup> as his*

*ambassador, many Portuguese came with him and among them Ignacio Moreira from Lisbon,<sup>27</sup> who drew [a map of] the site of the whole country by means of astronomical observations and thanks to information from the best Japanese informants.<sup>28</sup>*

The second cartographer is Alexander de Rhodes (1591–1660), whose work on Vietnam is cited as an authority by the author of the 1651 cartouche:

*At the border of the southern part there is the Kingdom of Ngannam or Annam 安南 or*



*Tunchinum* 東京 or *Cauci* 交趾 or *Cocincina* 交趾支那, on which (one can now) consult the report of the Reverend Father Alexander de Rhodes [published in Rome in 1650].<sup>29</sup>

In 1651 as neither of the two Jesuits engaged in the mapping of China – Martino Martini (1614–1661) and Michał Boym (c. 1612–1659) – had returned from China to Rome,<sup>30</sup> where the map was most likely redrawn, the mention of de Rhodes, who reached Rome in 1649 to ask the Propaganda Fide (Sacred



Fig. 11 Detail of 'Descriptio geographica Sinici, Coraisi et Japonici regni'. Jesuit Archives in Rome (ARSI), no collocation given.

Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) for a relaunch of the missionary enterprise to East Asia, might point to the rationale that a new drawing was made of the map from its 1593 (probably already decaying and now lost) original. Unlike Giangolini's map which did not acknowledge a Christian presence in China, the 1653 manuscript mentions the two churches established there by 1593, namely the church of Zhaoqing (depicted just with a cross) as well as the one of Shaozhou (depicted as a church with a steeple topped with a cross) (Fig. 11).<sup>31</sup>

The anonymous 'Descriptio geographica Sinici, Coraisi et Japonici regni' deserves a detailed study of its own, in all its components, and most of all for its fusion of the three main traditions of East Asian cartography (Chinese, Korean and Japanese) into a single format, as the map clearly shows Chinese origins for the map of China, Korean origins (through Japan) for the map of Korea and Japanese origins (with further Jesuit elaboration) for the map of Japan.

The two Jesuit maps described, the first related to Michele Ruggieri, the second to Moreira, remind us of the degree to which cartographic knowledge of East Asia has been reliant on East Asian cartographic



sources, how essential was the Jesuit mediation, how quickly the relevant information was available to them, and how long it took to get that knowledge more widely disseminated.

## Notes

- 1 From the Chinese Xingxiuhai 星宿海 'Star Lodge(s) Lake'. It will become Lake Cincuhay in Hondius's map of China, published in Amsterdam in 1606.
- 2 *Seuchin* on the map. The first mass was said there in December 1582, the construction of the building started in 1583 and was finished in 1585. See Matteo Ricci and Pasquale M. d'Elia. *Storia Dell'Introduzione Del Cristianesimo in Cina* (1-3), 1942, Roma: La Libreria dello Stato I, pp. 184–88.
- 3 Joan Martines, *Portulan-Atlas*: Ms. Ham. 430, map 12, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Manuscript Department, <http://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=816091021>
4. The map appears in the account of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's travels and is the first published map of the Far East to be prepared primarily from Portuguese sources (Vaz Dourado, Barbuda and Lasso). See Thomas Suarez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Periplus Editions, 1999, pp. 178–79.
- 5 Roderick M. Barron, 'Sinarum Regni Aliorumq. – an Unrecorded Map' in *China in European Maps: A Library Special Collection*, ed. by Min-min Chang, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University of Science and Technology Library, 2003, pp. 15–18.
- 6 Michele Ruggieri and Eugenio Lo Sardo, *Atlante Della Cina Di Michele Ruggieri, S.I.* Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1993.
- 7 Michela Catto, 'Pompilio Ruggeri' in *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, 2017, vol. 89, pp. 191–95. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pompilio-in-religione-michele-nome-cinese-luo-mingjian-ruggeri\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pompilio-in-religione-michele-nome-cinese-luo-mingjian-ruggeri_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)
- 8 For the most recent (though derivative) overview see Stefano Bifulco (ed.), *Cartografia e topografia italiana del XVI secolo : catalogo ragionato delle*, 2018, pp. 2558–60
- 9 Hsu, Kuang-Tai. 2018. 'A Sixteenth-Century Jesuit Map: Sinarum Regni Aliorumque Regnorum Et Insularum Illi Adiacentium Description' in *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia V*, pp. 81–98: World Scientific. See also Fung Kam-wing, 2014. "耶穌會科學與16世紀晚期意大利天文, 計時及測繪儀器 兼論羅明堅地圖及佚名之中華帝國及其周邊王國及島嶼" 若干問題 Yesu Hui Ke Xue Yu 16 Shi Ji Wan Qi Yi-Da-Li Tian Wen, Ji Shi Ji Ce Hui Yi Qi: Jian Lun Luo Mingjian Di Tu Ji Yi Ming Zhi 'Zhonghua Di, Guo Ji Qi Zhou Bian Wang Guo Ji Dao Yu' Ruo Gan Wen Ti."澳門特別行政區政府文化局, [Aomen]: Aomen Tebie Xingzhengqu zheng fu wen hua ju, 2014.
- 10 The specialist is Maria Speranza Storace who is in charge of the laboratory for the restoration of paper and parchment of the Higher Institute for Conservation and Restoration under the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities, Rome.
- 11 A more extended discussion will be given in the author's upcoming *Carto-bibliography of Western Printed Maps of China (1584-1735)* due to be published by Brill in late 2021.
- 12 *Ipsis Sin Siu Hai, id est stellarum et costellationum mare appellatur, quod undae ebullientes velut stellarum splendorem referant. Hinc etiam testantur Sinae magnam fluviorum partem derivari quibus eorum regnum alluitur, quod et tabella nostra ... ostendit* (page 3 II 7b verso of the manuscript, following the page notation in the report).
- 13 *per urbem Sciau chin [...] ubi patres Societatis Iesu domicilium ac templum cum primum eo penitrarunt habuerunt anno 1582 in illustrissimi Patris*

*generalis Claudii Acquaevivae Societatis Iesu procreatione; qui nunc etiam multorum et foelicium annorum decursu regit* (page 3 II 7b v).

14 Jap Sin 11 I 14r.

15 A Map of China and of the Adjacent Islands, Southward to the Island of Sumatra; Drawn on Vellum, Probably about 1609'. British Library, <http://explore.bl.uk/BLVU1:LSCOP-ALL:BLL01004985599>

16 'La Chine Royavme: Ceste Carte n'este qu'un abregé d'une autre tres belle, fort grande, et fort particuliere; qui est dans le Cabinet de S.A.R. Monseignr. le Duc d'Orleans: la ou Matheo Neronj son Auteur assure quelle a esté dressée dans Rome en 1590, et tirée de quatre divers Livres, imprimes dans le Chine; et dont le P. Michel Ruggieri Iesuite donna l'explication a ce Neronj. Il nay peu mettre dans cet abregé que le Villes du premier et du second rang; n'ayant eu assez de place pour tout le reste'.

17 Gaston, Duke of Orléans (1608–1660), uncle of Louis XIV, the Sun King, was an extraordinary collector of books, plants, coins and maps. Most of his maps are now in the map collections of the National Library of France, but there is no trace of the map by Neroni mentioned by Sanson.

18 Matteo Neroni (1550?–1634) was a cosmographer from Pisa who moved to Rome around 1570 and worked on topics connected with the Missions to the East and with the Jesuits. See the biographical entry by Daniela Lamberini, 'Matteo Neroni' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 78, 2013. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-neroni\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-neroni_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

19 Well into the 18th century no printed maps of China were produced either in Spain or in Portugal.

20 Certain features of the print, such as the cartouches, might as well point to a Flemish production. An analysis based purely on printing techniques is limited by the fact that late 16th-century map engraving was an international industry and shared features across national borders. An analysis of the paper on which the two exemplars of the map have been printed, which might give a stronger tie to a specific locality, is planned for the near future and the results will hopefully soon be made available.

21 Carolo Iangolino, *Nova et Exactissima Sinar Monarchiae Descriptio: ab Indigenis Ta-min Appellata*, 1642, 42 x 31 cm, Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek / Universität / AdW <7> Call number: 2 H ITAL I, 62/63 <https://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.68/PPNSET?PPN=000360287>. *Atlas factices* (or made up atlases) are often the form in which uncommon or unique maps are preserved.

22 The best treatment of Giangolini is in Giorgio Mangani and Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Pesaro, *La Collezione Cartografica*, Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale, 2008.

23 Count Ugo Sanvitale di Fontanellato di Belforte e di Noceto, (1617–1648 Rome) became a high official (protonotario) at the Papal court shortly before his early death. See the 18th-century reference work about Papal dignitaries by G.V. Marchesi Buonaccorsi (1707–), a noble from Forlì, *Antichità ed eccellenza del Protonotariato apostolico (sic) partecipante colle più scelte notizie de' santi, sommi pontefici, cardinali e prelati che ne sono stati insigniti fino al presente*, per Benedetti Impressore vescovile, Faenza, 1751, pp. 444–45. Available on Google books [https://books.google.com.hk/books?id=iatEAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb\\_g\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com.hk/books?id=iatEAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_g_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

24 I use the first few words as the title of the map itself. A *descriptio geographica* (geographic description) could refer to both a textual description or graphic visualisation (a map) of a geographical topic, but it mostly refers to the latter, as it seems to be the case here.

25 *Quam fidem adhiberi velim huic descriptioni geographicae Sinici, Coraisi et Japonici regni si scire desideras non aliam, postulo quam quae suo debetur autographo in ipso Sinarum et Iaponiae regno a perito in arte summa cum diligentia in charta Sinica elaborato, anno vero 1593 ad reverendum adm Claudium Aquaviva hinc societatis Iesu praepositum Generalem misso; prout extat in domo professa hoc anno 1651 quo illud exemplar in hac minori forma fideliter est expressum. Quod plura loca, praecipue in finibus regni in archetypo desiderari*

*videantur, excusat author acceleratam nimis Lusitanarum navium discessionem. Et quamvis hoc dolendum sit, fatendum est tamen nullam esset Sinici, et praecipue Coraci tum Iaponici regni, expressiorem descriptionem: saltem quae in Europam pervenerit. Cum vero tabulae author adiunxerit quaedam quae tum ad geographicam illius notitiam pertineant tum ad nationum illarum mores legesque percurrant, istis retictis, illa tantum hic apponenda censuimus, additis nonnullis quae lucem afferre possint.*

**26** The regent (*kanji* 関白, 'Cambacudono' in the Jesuit source), a title referring to Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣 秀吉, then the effective ruler of Japan.

**27** According to Jos. Fr. Schütte in 'Ignacio Moreira of Lisbon, Cartographer in Japan 1590-1592', *Imago Mundi*, vol. 16 (1962), pp. 118-19: 'When the *Visitor* left Macao for Japan on 23 June 1590, Ignacio Moreira was one of his travelling-companions. They arrived in Japan on 21 July 1590. The Visitor went on this, his second, journey to Japan as Ambassador of the Viceroy of India to Toyotomi Hideyoshi. After the usual preparatory correspondence, he started on his journey to Miyako (Kyoto) in the beginning of December 1590. Ignacio Moreira was one of the twelve "Portugueses", who formed the Ambassadorial retinue'. Moreira might have been to Japan already in 1584-5 and have drawn a previous map, the source of the map of Japan later published by Ortelius in 1595 (see Jason Hubbard, *Japonia Insula: The Mapping of Japan; Historical Introduction and Introduction and Cartobibliography of European Printed Maps of Japan to 1800*, Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2012, p. 167).

**28** *Cum ad Cambacudonum R. P. Alexandrum Valignanum visitatorem tamquam legatum misisset hunc .. lusitani comitati sunt et inter eos Ignatius Moreira ulisipponensis qui diligenter totum Iaponiae situm ex astrologicis instrumentis descripsit ... diligenter edoctus.*

**29** *In confinibus partis meridionalis videre est regnum Ngannam sive Annam sive Tunchinum et Cauçi sive Cocineina, de quo consulatur relator patris Alexandri Rhodes.*

**30** Boym arrived in Rome from Venice in late 1652, having left China in 1651. Martini also left China in 1651 and reached Rome in 1655, after a period in Amsterdam (1653-54) dedicated to the printing of his Atlas of China.

**31** The Jesuit fathers stayed in Zhaoqing 肇慶 from September 1583 to August 1589, and in Shaozhou 韶州 (now Shaoguan 韶關) from August 1589 to April 1595 (see Matteo Ricci, Piero Corradini, and Maddalena Del Gatto, *Della Entrata Della Compagnia Di Giesù E Christianità Nella Cina*, Macerata: Quodlibet. 2006: xiv.

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# THE WIND DIALS OF MACDONALD GILL (1884–1947)

*Reviving a lost art*

**Caroline Walker**

In 1909 the architect Edwin Lutyens was just completing Nashdom,<sup>1</sup> a neo-classical villa in Buckinghamshire designed for entertaining exiled Russian royalty and the wealthy friends of HRH Princess Dolgorouki and her husband Prince Alexis. Inspired perhaps by Robert Morden's 1694 wind-dial made for William III at Kensington Palace,<sup>2</sup> Lutyens asked twenty-four-year-old MacDonald 'Max' Gill to design a similar panel for Nashdom. This was a pivotal commission which would lead to this young architect and letterer becoming one of the foremost mapmakers of his time (Fig. 1).

A wall-mounted wind dial (also called a wind-indicator) is connected to a mechanism in the chimney flue leading to a weather-vane on the roof. Such devices were popular centuries ago in the homes of Dutch shipowners who used the information to predict the movement of their vessels. At Nashdom, however, the panel appears to be a status symbol, placing the Princess – born plain Frances 'Fanny' Wilson – amongst the upper echelons of English society. Neighbouring the villa, shown on the map regally flying its heraldic coat of arms, are several notable houses including Cliveden, and just a few miles away lies Windsor, prominently marked with the Royal Standard.

The following year Lutyens requested a dial for Walton Manor in Morpeth, Northumberland, home of Mrs Eustace Smith, widow of a Newcastle shipping magnate. This shows the roads, rivers and settlements within an 8-mile radius of Belsay, a village near Smith's manor. Like the Nashdom panel it too is rendered in a naïve picturesque style but with the signature wit associated with Gill's work: there is a broken-down car with its chauffeur underneath its chassis trying to free a tree branch (Fig. 2).

Originally taught by the renowned calligrapher

Edward Johnston (1872–1944),<sup>3</sup> Max was by 1910 an accomplished inscriptional designer and calligrapher, and his wind dials with their beautifully-lettered compass roses are testament to his creed that 'if lettering be both comely and graceful ... [it] is in itself "decoration"'.<sup>4</sup>

Geographical accuracy was of paramount importance. Max wrote in the art magazine *The Studio*: 'the Ordnance Survey ... should be the frame around which we build. ... an enforced discipline is good'.<sup>5</sup> After the design was approved by the client, full-size drawings would be made on tracing paper and the principal features transferred to a pre-sized mahogany, teak or oak board.

The map at Howth Castle near Dublin was the only one to be painted directly on plaster (Fig. 3). In this the Howth promontory, where the Castle is situated, has been accommodated only by interrupting the compass rose border, and in reference to the



Fig. 2 A detail from Gill's 1910 Walton Manor dial showing a broken-down car. The figure in the back may be the lady of the manor herself. Two grandsons (?) watch as the chauffeur beneath the vehicle attempts a repair.

Fig. 1 Max Gill's first wind dial panel was commissioned by Edwin Lutyens in 1909 for Nashdom, the white villa located in the northwest quadrant of the map. The metal pointer is now lost.







Gaisford St Lawrence family's history, a fleet of gilded galleons is depicted — each bearing the name of one of the owner's children. The castle is reputedly haunted and the 'ghostly' creaking noises made by the dial led to the mechanism being disconnected.

Galleons are much in evidence in Max Gill's next major commission for Lutyens. This was a magnificent wind dial for Lindisfarne Castle on the tidal island commonly known as Holy Island where in 635 AD St Aidan founded a monastery. The client was Edward Hudson, owner of the quintessential English magazine for the landowning gentry, *Country Life*. Hudson had bought the Northumberland landmark as a summer home.

On 12 November 1912 Max and his assistant Francis Grissell arrived at the castle in a somewhat bedraggled state having misjudged the distance to the island and the speed of the incoming tides. Despite this unfortunate start, the map progressed well until the third week when Hudson changed his mind about the dial's content and declared that he now wanted the map to look 'all ancient'. Work then ceased and the 3-metre-wide panel was completed at Max's studio the following summer.

Now considered 'the most valuable item in the castle' this grand painting presents a dramatic

Fig. 4 The Lindisfarne Castle wind dial illustrates the defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English. In the foreground lie the ships of the fleet commander Lord Howard of Effingham and his deputy Sir Francis Drake. A major restoration of the dial in 2006 revealed the map's vibrant colours.

panorama of the Spanish Armada being routed by the English Navy off the coast of Northumberland.<sup>6</sup> The ships were meticulously drawn – the result of hours spent sketching at the Greenwich Maritime Museum – but Max's knowledge of the battle formation probably derived from John Pine's 1730 engravings of the destroyed Armada tapestries which once hung in the Palace of Westminster. Drawing on features commonly found on sixteenth-century maps and sea charts Max includes a wind god in the northwest corner of the dial. The cherub head blows a favourable wind for the success of the English fleet (Fig. 4).

The rural scene depicted in the dial Max created in early 1913 for Kelling Hall in Norfolk was in stark contrast (Fig. 5) to that painted on the Lindisfarne dial. The house was designed by Edward Maufe as a hunting lodge for the Shell-Mex oil tycoon Henri Deterding, who would consult the dial to make certain of being upwind of the partridge before a shoot. Max personalised this dial adding two details of his own: a boat called *Esther*, named after his sweetheart, and a small girl by the railway line marked with a 'P' who is his god-daughter Priscilla Johnston.<sup>7</sup>

On my visit to the Hall I noticed small holes in the panel – perhaps woodworm, I thought, but later I

Fig. 3 Howth Castle wind dial, painted on plaster as part of the stone fireplace surround, 1911. Photography courtesy of Michael Edwards.



discovered that Deterding's son had used the dial as a dartboard.

In 1924 Max completed a wind dial for Sir Raymond Greene's hunting lodge in Leicestershire and two years after, architect Edward Maufe commissioned a circular wind dial for Trinity College, Cambridge, to commemorate the Trinity alumnus Augustus Allhusen, a millionaire Conservative politician. This is a bird's-eye perspective of the college, an image which may have been inspired by a 1690 engraving by David Loggan. However, the accuracy of the architecture and layout of the buildings was almost certainly achieved

by use of aerial photographs, a set of which was recently discovered amongst Max's surviving documents.

Sir Oliver Lyle, director of sugar refiners Tate & Lyle, commissioned a dial for Shore Hill (Fig. 6), his new country house near Kemsing, known locally as 'Treacle Towers'. Max was paid £250 for the work, worth nearly £16,000 today. The 107 x 122 cm map shows a detailed swathe of Kent extending to southeast London including the firm's refinery at Silvertown. Close contours marked within the compass rose emphasise the dramatic location of the house, which perches on the chalk escarpment of the North Downs



Fig. 5 Kelling Hall, built by Edward Maufe, is depicted situated at the centre of the dial (completed 1913).





Fig. 6 Detail of the Shore Hill wind-dial map (1927) at Kemsing in Kent. Based on an unidentified Ordnance Survey map, the dial incorporates a clock and wind-speed gauge in the border of its compass rose.

with breathtaking views across the Weald. Inserted into the panel are two novel features: a small clock and a metal wind speed gauge enlivened with a repoussé wind god. By now Max Gill was renowned as a decorative mapmaker.

Although the Kemsing map was his last wind dial, in the following two decades he would go on to paint many more map panels including ones for the Palace of Westminster, two Cunard liners, town halls, company boardrooms and private homes. Unfortunately, not all of these have survived. The eight wind dials he painted, however, are all to be found in their original homes, where they are now appreciated by their current custodians, each panel a vivid testament to the imagination, artistic talent and technical skill of their creator.

#### Notes

- 1 Nashdom translates from Russian as 'our home'.
- 2 A 1708 replica of the dial is in the boardroom of The Admiralty, Whitehall, London.
- 3 Johnston also taught Max's older brother the sculptor and typographer Eric Gill.
- 4 MacDonald Gill, 'Lettering in Decoration', a paper read to the Society of Calligraphers, 24 October 1908.
- 5 MacDonald Gill, 'Decorative Maps', *The Studio*, December 1944.
- 6 This battle actually took place in the English Channel near Gravelines.
- 7 Priscilla Johnston became Max's second wife.

**Caroline Walker** has been researching the life and work of her great-uncle Max Macdonald Gill since 2006. She has co-curated several exhibitions on his work, including 'Max Gill: Wonderground Man' in 2019; contributed articles to numerous publications; runs his website; and is an accredited lecturer for The Arts Society. Her biography *MacDonald Gill: Charting a Life* was published in June this year.  
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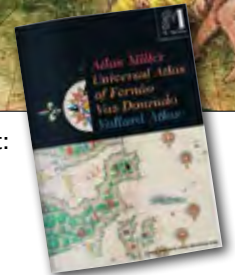
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# HERMAN MOLL & THE LONDON MAP TRADE

## *The business of maps*

Phillip Koyoumjian

While researching my doctoral thesis,<sup>1</sup> I uncovered information about the London mapmaker Herman Moll (?1650s–1732) hitherto absent from accounts of his life and work.<sup>2</sup> Some of these new details shed light on his origins and family, and others on his connections in the print trade. I was also able to piece together a dispute which landed Moll and several other booksellers on trial for printing libellous claims against the House of Lords. Together, these new findings help to form a more complete biography of Moll.

### Origins and early career

Moll was one of the most prolific mapmakers of early eighteenth-century London. At the time of his death, his name was known well enough that three London newsheets – *London Evening Post*, *Daily Journal* and *Grub-street Journal* – printed obituaries, and another – *Read's Weekly Journal* – announced the contents of his will.<sup>3</sup> To this day, his maps abound in map collections and dealer inventories. Despite his fame, very little survives of Moll other than his maps: no letters, no business records, few mentions by contemporaries. His un-English name suggests Continental ancestry. One contemporary referred to him as 'a German', and in his will Moll left his daughter property 'in the Kingdome of Great Brittain and Germany or Elsewhere'.<sup>4</sup> Since 'German' and 'Germany' were more catholic descriptions in Moll's lifetime than now, they help little to trace his origins. There is no evidence that Moll was from Bremen, either the Hanseatic city or the early modern duchy of Bremen-Verden, as is sometimes stated in accounts of his life.<sup>5</sup> Moll married Anna Magdalena Schraders and had at least four children, one of whom was christened in Amsterdam.<sup>6</sup> However, Moll worked for the entirety of his documented life in London.<sup>7</sup>

From the beginning of his career, Moll's principal skill was engraving, and most of his commissions were for works on trade, geography, and natural history. The 1680 probate inventory of the mathematician Sir Jonas Moore (1617–1679), for whose

*A New Systeme of the Mathematics* (1681) Moll engraved maps, records a debt of nearly £60 owed to 'Mr Mold [sic] the graver'.<sup>8</sup> A still earlier reference to Moll locates him with the Royal Society's secretary Robert Hooke in 1678, when Moll assisted Hooke in engraving a 'projection' for Moses Pitt's *English Atlas* (1680–82). Moll himself recalled drawing 'several New Draughts for that work' under the direction of Prince Rupert of the Rhine, who served as one of the atlas' financial backers.<sup>9</sup> The Royal Society used Moll's services again in 1685–86, when Moll was recorded being owed more than £15 for engraving 24 plates for a natural history of fish, the *Historia Piscium* (1686).<sup>10</sup> At around this time, Moll also engraved a view of the Aegean island Tenedos (Bozcaada) for an account of the Greek islands by English merchant Bernard Randolph who traded extensively in the Aegean region of the Ottoman empire.<sup>11</sup>

From the late 1680s to the early 1700s, Moll engraved and sometimes compiled maps for Philip Lea, Robert Morden, and Christopher Browne, then among the dominant commercial mapmakers in London. Many of these were produced to capture interest in the ongoing wars, first the Nine Years' War and then the War of the Spanish Succession, such as 'A New Map of y<sup>e</sup> Seat of War in Italy... By R. Morden & H. Moll' (1701), and 'The Spanish Netherlands, Vulgarly called Flanders Devided into its X Provinces, wherein are Delineated the Fortified Towns Roads &c. ... by P: Lea and H: Moll' (1691) (Fig. 1). Moll also engraved battle plans, such as one of Blenheim, which he later incorporated, along with other plans of English victories during the war, into a single sheet dedicated to England's celebrated general, John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722).<sup>12</sup>

Around 1690, Robert Morden hired Moll and four other engravers 'to Copy several sorts of Maps' for 'a New General *Atlas* in large Folio' to be published by a syndicate of five booksellers (whose identities remain unknown).<sup>13</sup> Moll claimed to have





Fig. 1 Detail of Philip Lea and Herman Moll, 'The Spanish Netherlands, Vulgarly called Flanders', 1691 (full map 49 x 56 cm). For commercial gains mapmakers made capital of current events; in the case of this map, the Nine Years' War. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library.

finished engraving just one of them, a map of France later published by Morden.<sup>14</sup> According to Moll, the booksellers 'about Ten Years after the first Undertaking growing weary of the Design, sold all the Plates to Christopher Brown [sic] ... who got those finish'd he thought fit, and sold them publickly'.<sup>15</sup> Among the latter were maps of Poland, Scotland, and Scandinavia, which carried a note that they were 'begun by Appointm[en]t of Ro. Morden. Finished at the Charge and by Direction of C. Browne'.<sup>16</sup> All three of these were engraved by John Harris, another prominent engraver. After Browne retired around 1712, the plates made their way into other hands, whose plans for them would later provoke Moll's ire.

In addition to stand-alone maps, Moll also engraved maps to illustrate books. Most famous among these were the maps for the circumnavigator William Dampier's (?1651–1715) three memoirs.<sup>17</sup> Moll probably copied these from Dampier's manuscript maps or those made by the chartmaker 'Captain' William Hacke. Several of the maps that Moll engraved for Hacke's *Collection of Original Voyages* (1699) as well as the map of Darién which Moll engraved for both Dampier's *New Voyage Round the World* (1697) and the buccaneer Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699) bear a striking resemblance to the manuscript maps made by Hacke.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence that Moll had any personal connection to Hacke or the two explorers; rather, Moll may have been commissioned to engrave Hacke's manuscript maps by the London bookseller James Knapton, who published all of these books.

### The *Atlas Geographus*

With Lea's death in 1700 and Morden's in 1703, a vacuum opened in the London map trade which Moll soon filled. In 1707 he published a set of small maps of Europe under the title 'Twenty-four New and Accurate Maps of the several Parts of Europe'. Most of these were shortly thereafter republished in the subscription *Atlas Geographus*, issued in one-shilling monthly instalments, initially by seven booksellers, from 1708–1717.<sup>19</sup> Although Moll was not among the publishers, he must have made some kind of arrangement with them, for he went on to engrave nearly all the other maps for this work, which covered the entire world except for the British Isles; these would be treated in a companion series for which Moll only engraved one map.<sup>20</sup> Moll's name was prominently displayed in most of the advertisements for the *Atlas* and on its title pages, and judging from its list of over 800 subscribers from across the British Isles, it probably made Moll's name synonymous with contemporary mapmaking.

The *Atlas Geographus* was not without competitors or detractors. In 1717 the anonymously published *The Construction of Maps and Globes*, attributed to Bradock Mead alias John Green, denigrated the *Atlas* as 'the World in Chaos; there are very good Materials, but they want a Form: And what is very incongruous, there are many supplemental Descriptions of Things and Places, that are much larger than the Accounts that are given first of them; which however, I impute to the Author's being obliged to precipitate its Publication, that a Portion of it might come out Monthly'.<sup>21</sup>

Against this supposed farrago the same author praises 'that which goes by the Name of Moll's Geography' as 'the most perfect Piece that has been writ yet in any Language, and yet it might be much improv'd; so that for all the World abounds with Books of Geography, yet a compleat one is still wanting'.<sup>22</sup> 'Moll's Geography' certainly did not refer to the *Atlas*, but to another book, one with which Moll adamantly disclaimed any involvement: *The Compleat Geographer* (1709). Significantly shorter than the *Atlas*, its contents were nevertheless similar enough for it to be a rival, and 23 of its 40 maps carried Moll's signature. The *Compleat Geographer* had first been published fourteen years earlier as *Thesaurus Geographicus* (1695) and was reissued in 1701 as *A System of Geography* with 'Maps of every Country [...] By Herman Moll' (half of its maps carried Moll's signature). It was republished for a

third time in 1709 as *The Compleat Geographer*. The praise that the author of *Construction of Maps and Globes* offered *Compleat Geographer* may have had more to do with promoting the book than with its merits. Eight of the same booksellers who published *Construction* issued a 'fourth edition' of the *Compleat Geographer* in 1723.

In a broadside from around 1719, Moll complained that he had 'already been very ill used, by having my Name prefix'd to a small Folio Book of Geography, for which I only did a few of the Maps' – the *Compleat Geographer*, or 'Moll's Geography' – of which 'I am made to be the Author'.<sup>23</sup> Moll reiterated in the same broadside that at his shop is sold 'All the Volumes of the *Atlas Geographus*'.

The appearance of Moll's name on the title page of the various iterations of *Compleat Geographer* and his marginal involvement in the work gives the opportunity to clear up a misunderstanding that, because Moll's name sometimes appeared on a book's title page, he authored the text. This was not the case. For example, Moll is sometimes treated as the author of *A View of the Coasts, Countries and Islands within the Limits of the South-Sea-Company* (1711); however, the title page only credits Moll as the author of the 'General Map, and Particular Draughts'. Compare this instance with *The British Empire in America* (London 1708): as with *View of the Coasts*, Moll, but not the author of the text, is mentioned on the title page ('With curious Maps of the several Places, done from the newest Surveys. By Herman Moll, Geographer'). However, in the case of *British Empire* the author of the text is identifiable because he signed his name (J. Oldmixon) to the book's dedication. The same goes, as discussed below, for Moll's role in the making of *A New Description of England and Wales* (1724), which, even though he appeared prominently on the title page, he certainly did not write the book's text. Moll's name served as a selling point rather than as a statement of authorship. The mapmaker's prolific output as well as his own self-publicising probably helped sell books containing his work. Indeed, some booksellers' unauthorised use of his name, such as in the case of *The Compleat Geographer*, underlines how valuable putting 'Herman Moll' on a title page could be.

Fig. 2 Herman Moll, 'Map of Asia', c. 1708–10 (57 x 95 cm). In an attempt to enhance his professional standing Moll attaches the title of 'Geographer' to his name. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library.











## Two-sheet maps

Although Moll produced many maps to illustrate books, he is best known for his series of two-sheet maps of the world issued between 1707 and 1720. They are often collectively titled ‘The World Described’, although Moll himself never used this title. In the broadsheets issued by himself – that is, directing prospective customers to his shop ‘over against Devereux Court, between Temple Bar and St Clements Church in the Strand’ – he called the series ‘a New and Compleat Set of Twenty-five Two-Sheet Maps’ (c. 1717) and ‘a New and Compleat Atlas, or Set of Twenty-Seven Two-Sheet-Maps’ (c. 1720).<sup>24</sup> Moll used the latter title on the final map in the series, ‘A New & Correct Map of the World’ (1719). ‘The World Described’ appears only on the broadsheets issued by John and Thomas Bowles, all of which lack Moll’s address.<sup>25</sup> Since the Bowles brothers continued to print Moll’s two-sheet maps well after the mapmaker’s death, it is probable that the plates passed into their hands either sometime in the 1720s (when their broadsides advertising the two-sheet maps begin) or soon after Moll’s own death in 1732.

Moll first published the maps of the continents or ‘quarters’ of the world, as he had announced in ‘A New and Correct Map of the World’ (dated 1709 but first issued in 1707), the first map in the series: ‘we propose to go on gradually with y<sup>e</sup> four Quarters &c.’ He had finished them in five maps (Europe, Asia, Africa, and North and South America) by early 1710.<sup>26</sup> He seems not to have published the remaining twenty-two maps in any particular order, but rather took advantage of the public’s interest in current events, publishing his two-sheet map of ‘the Coast, Countries and Islands within y<sup>e</sup> Limits of y<sup>e</sup> South Sea Company’ at the beginning of 1712, only months after the Company’s foundation.<sup>27</sup> Moll based the map on one he had engraved for a tract promoting the Company, published in August 1711.<sup>28</sup> In 1714, just two months after Queen Anne’s death that year, Moll announced: ‘There is now in Hand, and will be speedily published, An Exact Two-Sheet Map of the King of Great-Britain’s Dominions in Germany’<sup>29</sup> which he published in March the following year.<sup>30</sup> Even after he had published the twenty-sixth and intended final two-sheet map, he added one more, ‘A New Map of the North Parts of America claimed by France’ (1720), in order to rebut the French claims to British territory set out in ‘Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississipi’ published by Guillaume Delisle in 1718.

Moll drew on a variety of sources for his two-sheet maps, often to the point of simply copying. The annotations on the maps of Asia, Africa, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, the Turkish Empire, and the East Indies were all lifted from entries in the *Atlas Geographus*. Most of the annotations in the map of Scotland were similarly rephrased or repeated from Martin Martin’s *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), for which Moll himself engraved the accompanying map. The ancillary maps on Moll’s two-sheet map of Asia (Fig. 2) exemplify the mapmaker’s dependence on others’ work: Bombay Harbour, Hooghly (‘Hugly’) River, the Chusan Islands, and Amoy Island are all copied from charts published in 1703 by John Thornton; the map of the Dardanelles is from a book of charts published by the Dutch naval officer Cornelis Cruys.<sup>31</sup> In one instance, even the decorative elements are copied: the elaborate cartouche for Moll’s map of Muscovy is copied from a Dutch map published at the end of the previous century.<sup>32</sup>

On all of his two-sheet maps, Moll signed himself ‘Herman Moll, Geographer’. He began consistently calling himself this in 1705, on maps, advertisements, and title pages of books (see cartouche on Fig. 2).<sup>33</sup> This self-assumed title signified no schooling: geography did not become an academic discipline until the late nineteenth century, nor did the words ‘cartographer’ and ‘cartography’ even exist in Moll’s lifetime. Rather, ‘geographer’ was an honorific usually granted to mapmakers by monarchs.<sup>34</sup> Moll received no such appointment, and he was one of few mapmakers to identify himself a ‘Geographer’ without royal sanction. By assuming the title, Moll probably meant to strengthen his reputation among customers, something about which he was fastidious.

## Competitors

While Moll strove to prove his credibility, he sought to cast his competitors as untrustworthy. In 1702, with Robert Morden, he published a map of the West Indies.<sup>35</sup> No more than a year later the Dutch publisher Pieter Mortier published a nearly identical version, without any acknowledgment to Moll or Morden, and describing it as ‘*Nouvellement mis au jour, Par Pierre Mortier, Geographe*’.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, Pieter’s brother David sold the map at his London shop.<sup>37</sup> This initially provoked Moll and Morden to add a note to their own map, exposing Pieter Mortier for producing ‘an inperfect [*sic*] Coppy’ of their map and chiding him for having ‘therin vainly assumed the title of Geographer, tho he understands nothing of a Map’.

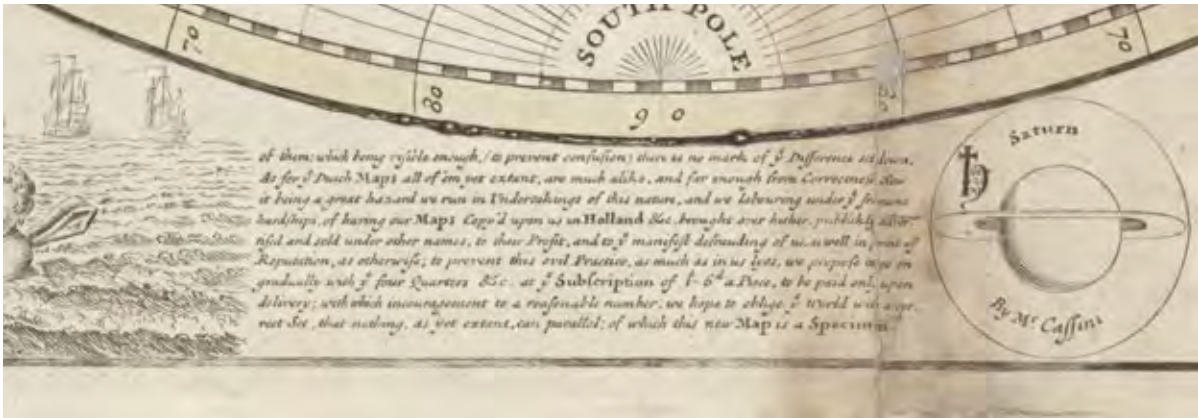


Fig. 3 Detail, Herman Moll, 'A New and Correct Map of the World', first published 1707, this state after 1714 (57 x 98 cm). In this detail Moll vigorously rebukes the dishonourable practices of the Dutch. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library.

But Moll did not end his feud with the Mortiers here. There must have been subsequent acts of plagiarism by the Dutch, for in 1707, on the first instalment to his series of two-sheet maps, Moll complained that Dutch printers were copying his maps 'to their Profit, to y<sup>e</sup> manifest defrauding of us, as well in point of reputation' (Fig. 3).<sup>38</sup> His two-sheet maps were therefore an attempt 'to prevent this evil Practice' and defend his reputation against piracy. Moll demonstrated his own credibility by pledging to take payment for his maps 'only upon delivery': he would trust his customers to pay, and they could trust him to make a quality product. Moll persisted in defending himself from other mapmakers he perceived as harming his business: indeed, a decade later, he condemned 'several ignorant Pretenders' for 'Wild, Confused and Poorly Engraven' maps, which, though advertised as 'Cheap', Moll derided as 'really Dear at any Price'.<sup>39</sup>

Moll did not limit his censure to foreign competitors. Only four months before he began offering his set of two-sheet maps in late 1707, the English mapmaker John Senex, announced his own 'compleat Set of Maps' of '2 Imperial Sheets'.<sup>40</sup> Their cartouches all declare them to have been done 'According to the newest Observations and Discoveries com[m]unicated to the Royal Society at London and the Royal Academy at Paris' (notice the similarity to Moll's statements). Several of the maps contain lines showing the coasts as they appear in older maps, thus demonstrating the authors' attention to the 'newest Observations'. For

example, 'A New Map of Italy' (1708) includes such a line along with a note:

*This faint Line shews wherein we differ from M. Sanson. H. Jalliot [sic]. N. Visscher. F. De Witt. Allard. P. Mortier. Berry &c. Where tis evident they have made Italy above 130 Miles longer than it really is, And about 5 degrees in Longitude, or 240 Miles more Eastward from London than it should be: And even in their Latitudes in som Places they have mistaken above a Degree.*

Among the mapmakers listed, there was one notable omission: Guillaume Delisle, at the time the foremost commercial mapmaker in France. This was because Senex's map of Italy, along with the rest of his two-sheet maps, drew heavily upon Delisle's maps. Delisle even included a similar description of the sources used: 'Dressée sur les Observations de M<sup>rs</sup>. de l'Academie Royale des Sciences'. The English Senex simply added the Royal Society, which incidentally engaged in few geographical endeavours at the time.

Moll exposed Senex's plagiarism again in 1711 when the former included a note on his map of South America warning against 'ignorant Pretenders'.<sup>41</sup> He rightly pointed out that Senex's recently published map of South America was merely a copy of one published in 1703, again by Delisle (Senex even translated Delisle's various explanatory annotations).<sup>42</sup> Moll condemned both maps for misplacing several locations important to sailors, pointing out that such negligence posed a danger to those using it for navigation (it is improbable that anyone would have been able to use such a map for this purpose). Moll used Edmund Halley's observations of locations in his own map, rectifying the mistakes of Delisle and Senex by moving Cape Horn farther south by a degree.<sup>43</sup>









In 1719, nearing the completion of his two-sheet maps, Moll issued a broadsheet warning his customers of a project then underway to complete Morden's aborted project for a 'New General Atlas'.<sup>44</sup> The plates, both finished and unfinished, had passed from Morden to Christopher Browne then on to a group of booksellers, who in 1718 had issued 'Proposals for printing a new General Atlas'.<sup>45</sup> According to Moll, they planned to complete the unfinished plates and print them together with the other plates under Moll's name. Moll wished to absolve himself of any responsibility for the quality of the maps: 'I think my self oblig'd before hand to let the World know, that those Maps which I Copyed only, were by Mr. Morden's Directions, and that I am no Way accountable for their Defects'. He found the whole undertaking 'will be a Piece of manifest Injustice to me and a great imposition upon the Publick, to make me the Author of old Maps, as if they were just done'. Moll included a similar, but more oblique, condemnation of this project on his 1719 world map, by recalling his involvement in Pitt's *English Atlas* forty years earlier, 'which I hope will be a sufficient Caution to every body, not to take any thing of this kind for the future upon Trust and unexamined'.

The nine booksellers went ahead with their project, *A New General Atlas* (1721), although the title page left off Moll's name and declared the maps 'Engraven or Revised by Mr. Senex'. Just as Moll warned, most of the 33 maps were printed from old plates first engraved under Morden and Browne with little 'revision' by Senex, and at least seven of them were copies of works by Delisle, Henry Pratt, J.-B. Nolin, and Frederik de Wit. Only one, the map of Denmark, bore Moll's signature ('H Moll Sc[ulpsit]') and had been first published years earlier by Browne; a map of France and another of Darién, although unsigned, are clearly Moll's work, done decades earlier under Morden's direction.<sup>46</sup>

### Later career

As Moll was completing his set of two-sheet maps, he turned his attention to the British Isles. He began, but did not finish, a project for making John Ogilby's road maps of England in *Britannia* (1675) 'Useful for the Pocket'; the project was subsequently taken up by

Fig. 4 Herman Moll, 'The Roads of ye South Part of Great Britain, Called England and Wales', first published 1717, this state after c. 1727 (28 x 30 cm). Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library.



Emanuel Bowen and published as *Britannia Depicta* (1720).<sup>47</sup> However, Moll did produce three road maps or ‘pocket companions’ of England, Scotland, and Ireland between 1717–20 (Fig. 4).<sup>48</sup> The former two were reprinted in Defoe’s *A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–27); however, there is no evidence that Moll ever knew Defoe.

During this later period of his life, Moll developed a professional relationship with the antiquarian William Stukeley. The latter sketched the only surviving portrait of Moll, and recalled the mapmaker as ‘My old acquaintance’ when he learned of Moll’s death.<sup>49</sup> Moll knew Stukeley as early as 1721, when he published *Thirty Two New and Accurate Maps of the Geography of the Ancients* and dedicated it to the antiquarian. The two may have known each other even earlier, since Stukeley’s friend and fellow antiquarian Roger Gale wrote in 1710 that the plates for the book *Antonini iter britanniarum* (1709) ‘were all done by one Mr. Herman Moll, a German’.<sup>50</sup> Moll engraved Stukeley’s ‘A Map of the Levels in Lincoln Shire Commonly called Holland’ (1723) which, although unsigned, carries Moll’s lettering, and the Drainage Commissioners who were sponsoring Stukeley’s work suggested that copies of the map be sold ‘at Mr Molls shop’.<sup>51</sup>

Moll also appears in an undated entry of Stukeley’s commonplace books as one of twenty members of an unidentified ‘Club’ which included the engravers John Harris, William Hulett, Elisha Kirkall, and Gerard and John Vandergucht, all of whom had contributed illustrations to Stukeley’s book on the ancient monuments of Britain, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1725); the mathematical instrument maker Jonathan Sisson; and the literary hack David Jones, who once described Moll as ‘my good Friend Mr. Herman Moll’ and, as detailed below, would cause Moll great embarrassment.<sup>52</sup> Five of the names listed in this ‘Club’, including Hulett, Sisson, and Gerard Vandergucht (but not Moll), also appear among Stukeley’s ‘Society of Roman Knights’, which he founded ‘to search for & illustrate the Roman Monuments in the Brittanic Isles’.<sup>53</sup> Moll’s association with these men suggests that Stukeley may have considered the mapmaker and engraver useful in his design to procure illustrations of the monuments of ancient Britain.

It may have been Stukeley’s idea for Moll to include illustrations of British antiquities in the margins of the county maps for *New Description of England and Wales*

(1724). The doctor was certainly familiar with Moll’s county maps, as he himself presented ‘some proofs of County Maps now publishing by M<sup>r</sup>. Moll’ at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 8 July 1724, about a month before the publication of *New Description*.<sup>54</sup> Moll’s map of Lincolnshire published in *New Description* is clearly based on Stukeley’s map, and even incorporates a table of tides in the Wash ‘communicated by D<sup>r</sup>. Stukeley’.

## Scandal

It was not the county maps which Moll produced for *New Description* that would land him in trouble, but the mere presence of his name on the title page.<sup>55</sup> During a session of the House of Lords on 19 November 1724, about four months after its publication, an unnamed peer complained of a passage in the book which criticized a judgment made by the Lords the year prior; it was immediately ordered that the publishers – Moll, the brothers John and Thomas Bowles, and Charles Rivington – be summoned to answer for the offending passage.<sup>56</sup> The publishers appeared the following day and named David Jones the author of the book’s text, his name being absent from the title page; this was common of books such as *New Description*, which was a county-by-county history of England compiled from various sources with very little original to the ‘author’ himself. In this case, however, the author’s own small contribution to the work was to cause him considerable trouble. After the publishers gave up Jones’s name, the Lords sent out a search for him; but the man had disappeared – ‘he absconds’, the Lords concluded – and the publishers, including Moll, were taken into custody. An interrogation of Jones’s servants the following week turned up nothing, and the Lords decided to release the publishers from custody. In the meantime, the Lords had seized ‘several Hundred’ unsold copies of *New Description* and tore out the page with the offending passage. The mutilated volumes were returned to the publishers on their way home, and the Lords seem to have given up their search for the elusive Jones. Indeed, any hopes for finding the author would shortly have been rendered fruitless, for Jones died on 5 December at an alehouse near St Paul’s Cathedral, where he was probably hiding, as the publishers had testified that he lived across town in Catherine Street, Westminster. His demise was only brought to the attention of the Lords in January by Jones’s wife.

The paragraph at the centre of this drama had taken the Lords to task for their judgment against a claimant to the barony of Lumley, then held by the Earl of Scarbrough, in 1723. The claim had been pressed by Robert Lumley Lloyd, the rector of Jones's own parish, St Paul Covent Garden. One suspects the hand of the rector himself in the passage, which traces his lineage to the first baron and criticizes the Lords' denial of his petition: 'though his [Lloyd's] Descent was very clear, his Peerage was not allow'd, for Reasons which we do not care to touch upon; only they may be easily guessed: Nay, it is well known from what Corner the grand Opposition came', i.e. the Earl of Scarbrough himself. It is no surprise that such insolence drew their lordships' wrath, and that, when in custody the publishers pleaded that they 'were intirely Ignorant of that scandalous passage'.<sup>57</sup>

Many surviving copies of *New Description* bear the scars of this little scandal with a conspicuously smaller leaf in place of the excised page. This 'corrected' version, in rather smaller type than the rest of the book, establishes the right of the Earl of Scarbrough to the barony of Lumley and ends with an apology for giving so much detail, which 'was occasioned from a Misrepresentation of this Affair, lately inserted and published in part of this first Impression of this Book, which gave such Offence to the House of Lords, as very justly incurred their Censure.'

## Final years

Apart from a few days in custody and a heavy fine, Moll seems to have suffered little in the years following his involvement in the affair emanating from *New Description*, which marked the last eight of his life. He went on to publish county maps of Scotland and Ireland in 1725, and an *Atlas Minor* (1729) of one-sheet maps of various places in the world. Like the rest of Moll's work, these were not ground-breaking works of cartography – a contemporary Irish surveyor described Moll's maps of that country as 'not very correct' – but they seem to have sold well.<sup>58</sup> In 1748, a contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* dismissed the county maps of England in *New Description* as 'Moll's little erroneous trifles, built altogether on copy', but acknowledged that they 'took very well'.<sup>59</sup>

Indeed, during his final years, Moll was probably the best known mapmaker in England: in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) Gulliver, disagreeing with the placement of New Holland in 'the *Maps* and *Charts*', recounts

how he expressed this 'many Years ago to my worthy Friend Mr. *Herman Moll*, and gave him my Reasons for it, although he hath rather chosen to follow other Authors'.<sup>60</sup> The maps for the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* – although not done by Moll himself – were modelled after one of Moll's maps of the world.<sup>61</sup> While there is no evidence that Swift knew Moll, the former probably used the mapmaker's name because he engraved the maps for Dampier's memoirs and because, in the mid-1720s, many readers would have associated Moll's name with maps. It is not difficult to imagine Moll, a businessman above all else, having been quite pleased with this.

The appearance of Moll's name in a book as celebrated as *Gulliver's Travels* speaks not only to his prominence in the map trade, but also his fame among the broader English reading public. Swift assumed his readers would be familiar with 'Mr. *Herman Moll*', whose profession the writer omitted as if a subject of common knowledge. However, Moll's fame, both during his lifetime and now, is superficial: while his name appears on dozens of title pages and hundreds of maps, they reveal little about the man himself. In this respect, Moll is like most of his contemporaries who took advantage of the expanding print trade during the early modern era. Print has guaranteed the survival of their names, and a few other details, while the full richness of their lives remains forever obscured.

## Notes

1 'Maps and the Making of Geographical Knowledge in Britain, 1660–1730', University of Rochester, 2019.

2 For accounts of Moll's life, see his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by Dennis Reinhartz as well as Reinhartz's *The Cartographer and the Literati: Herman Moll and His Intellectual Circle*, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997; Ashley Bayton-Williams, 'The world described: the life and times of Herman Moll, geographer, d. 1732', *MapForum* vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 2004), pp. 14–21; and the entry for Moll in Laurence Worms and Ashley Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers: A Dictionary of Engravers, Lithographers and Their Principal Employers to 1850*, London: Rare Book Society, 2011, pp. 456–58.

3 *London Evening Post*, 21–23 September 1732; *Daily Journal*, September 23, 1732; *Grub-street Journal*, 28 September 1732; and *Read's Weekly Journal*, 30 September 1732.

4 Roger Gale to Ralph Thoresby, December 16, 1710, in *Letters of Eminent Men, Addressed to Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S.*, London, 1832, vol. 2, p. 288; Moll's will: The National Archives, PROB 11/654/86.

5 This was originally conjectured by Ernst Bonacker in *Kartenmacher aller Länder und Zeiten*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966, p. 162 n. 45: 'If we recall correctly, he might have come from Bremen, as we were able to gather some years ago from a note whose origin is no longer traceable' (author's translation). Any such note has yet to be found.

6 Aernout Wilhem was christened on 9 January 1684, at the Nieuwe Kerk (Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 5001, DTB 45, p. 189, digitized at <<https://www.amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/>>). A certain Aletta Moll stood as one of his sponsors, and Herman was godfather to Aletta's daughter Zophia, christened at the Oude Kerk on 26 November 1683 (SA Amsterdam, 5001, DTB 11, p. 236), and an Aernoud Moll was



godfather to Aletta's daughter Helena (SA Amsterdam, 5001, DTB 97, p. 239). What relation these Amsterdam Molls bore to Herman is unknown. Two of Herman Moll's other children were christened in London: Gillis Hendrick on 18 March 1685 and Sofia (?) Elizabeth on 23 November 1688, both in the Parish of St. Ann Blackfriars (St Ann, Blackfriars, Register of Baptisms, 1560–1700, London Metropolitan Archives, P69/ANN/A/001/MS04508/001). William Henry (presumably Gillis Hendrick) was buried in the same parish on 18 April 1688 (St Ann Blackfriars, Register of Burials, 1566–1700, London Metropolitan Archives, P69/ANN/A/008/MS04510/001). The vital dates of Moll's wife and the rest of his children are unknown, although an 'Elizabeth Moll a Gentlemans Daughter' was buried on 9 December 1715 in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, where Moll was living at the time (St. Clement Danes, Burials, 1 August 1700–23 April 1717, Westminster Archives Centre, STC/PR/7/5). Herman's daughter Henderina Amelia only appears in his will and in a subscription list (as 'Mrs. Henderina Emilia Moll') for *Memoirs of Affairs of State* (London, 1733).

7 The vital records for Moll's children show him living in St Ann Blackfriars in the 1680s, which corresponds to the address given on a few of his early maps, Wanly Court. Sometime in the 1690s or early 1700s he moved, as the assessment books for the Land Tax held by the London Metropolitan Archives show Moll living in the parish of St Sepulchre between 1704 and 1706–1710; he never provided a specific address for the years he lived here. Sometime around 1710 Moll moved 'over against Devereux Court, between Temple Bar and St Clements Church in the Strand', and this is supported by his presence in the poor rate books for the parish of St Clement Danes, Westminster Archives Centre.

8 Frances Willmoth, *Sir Jonas Moore: Practical Mathematics and Restoration Science*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993, p. 154.

9 In 1678, Hooke recorded in his diary 'Drew plate for Projection w<sup>th</sup>. Mole' (9 September) and 'finisht projection. Moll got it printed' (10 September). Robert Hooke, *Diary kept from 10 March 1671/2 to 16 May 1683*, London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/495/MS01758, fol. 64v.

10 In 1685, the Royal Society's account book records £2 5s owed 'To ... M<sup>r</sup> Moll for graueing 12 Fishes' (12 October), £3 'To ... M<sup>r</sup> Moll for graueing 16 Fishes' (6 November) and £6 6s 'To ... M<sup>r</sup> Moll for graueing & Lettering', and in 1685/6, £3 13s 'To ... M<sup>r</sup> Moll for letter graueing'. Account book, 1683–1722, Royal Society, AB/1/1/3.

11 Bernard Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago (Or Arches) Sea of Constantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna; With the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes*, Oxford, 1687.

12 Moll's plan of Blenheim was first issued as 'A Full and Particular Description of the Glorious and Compleat Victory, obtain'd by the Confederate Forces, under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy, over the French and Bavarians, near Hochstet upon the Danube, Aug. 2. 1704.', London, Printed, and Sold by Benj. Braggs, in Avey-Mary-Lane. Moll re-engraved a smaller version of this plan, along with others, on 'To His Grace John Duke of Marlborough, Captain General of Her Majesty's Forces &c. This Map of y<sup>e</sup> English Battles, Sieges &c. Abroad, is humbly Dedicated by H: Moll Geographer'.

13 Moll recounts Morden's project and the fate of the plates in a long paragraph in a broadside, 'A Catalogue of a New and Compleat Atlas, or Set of Twenty-Six Two-Sheet-Maps. All compos'd and done, according to the Newest and most Exact Observations, by Herman Moll, Geographer', c. 1719 (it lists Moll's 1719 Mercator world map but lacks his 1720 'A New Map of the North Parts of America claimed by France'), is reproduced in Worms and Baynton-Williams, p. 457.

14 This is 'To his Highnes William Duke of Gloucester &c This New Map of France According to y<sup>e</sup> Observations & Survey made by the Virtuosi of the Royall Academie at Paris: Shewing the great Errors of Sanson & others: As also w<sup>h</sup> places y<sup>e</sup> French King keeps & w<sup>h</sup> he Surrenders by this present Treaty. And also y<sup>e</sup> Post Roads & Stages from Town to Town. with many other Remarks never before extant. Is Humbly dedicated & Present by Yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes most humble & most obedient Servant Rob<sup>t</sup>. Morden'. Although unsigned by Moll, the style of lettering is clearly his.

15 See note 13.

16 These are 'The Theater of War in Poland and other the Countries belonging to that Crowne', 'A New Map of Scotland, the Western, Orkney, and Shetland, Islands', and 'Scandinavia and it's Confines in which are the Kingdom's of Sweden, Norway &c. Divided into their Principall Provinces'.

17 *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), *Voyages and Descriptions* (1699), and *A Voyage to New-Holland* (1703).

18 Morgan Library, MA 3310. Other manuscript maps done by Hacke also resemble Moll's engravings, as shown by Gillian Hutchinson, 'Herman Moll's view of the South Sea Company', *Journal for Maritime Research*, vol. 6, 2004, pp. 87–112.

19 *Atlas Geographus: Or, A Compleat System of Geography, Ancient and Modern*, and its five volumes were, respectively, 'Europe' (two volumes, both dated 1711 on their title pages), 'Asia' (1712), 'Africa' (1714), and 'America' (1717). For its complicated publication history, see John D. Gordan III, 'John Nutt: trade publisher and printer "In the Savoy"', *The Library*, vol. 15, No. 3, 2014, pp. 243–60.

20 *Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua & Nova. Or, A New Survey of Great Britain*, 6 Vols., London, 1720–1731. This was issued in monthly instalments beginning in 1714, but the title pages for the first and second volumes (published by M. Nutt and J. Morphew) are dated 1720; the other volumes (published by T. Cox) are dated 1724 (vol. 3), 1730 (vol. 4), and 1731 (vol. 5). See R.M. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England before 1750*, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1957, pp. 273–4.

21 *The Construction of Maps and Globes*, London, 1717, p. 163.

22 *Ibid*.

23 This broadside is reproduced in Worms and Baynton-Williams.

24 Almost all are reproduced in Henry Stevens and Henry Robert Peter Stevens, *The World Described in Thirty Large Two-Sheet Maps by Herman Moll Geographer: Being a Collection Exhibiting Many Different Issues of Each Map*, London: Henry Stevens, 1952, except for the one reproduced in Worms and Baynton-Williams (see note 13).

25 The broadsheets issued by the Bowles brothers are reproduced in Stevens.

26 They are advertised in *Daily Courant*, 18 February 1710.

27 'A New & Exact Map of the Coast, Countries and Islands within y<sup>e</sup> Limits of y<sup>e</sup> South Sea Company'. Advertised in *Daily Courant*, 1 Jan 1712.

28 'A View of the Coasts, Countries and Islands within the Limits of the South-Sea-Company', London, 1711. Advertised in *London Gazette*, 2–4 August 1711.

29 *Daily Courant*, 16 October 1714.

30 'A New & Exact Map of the Electorate of Brunswick-Lunenbourg and y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Kings Dominions in Germany'. Advertised in *The Post-Man and The Historical Account*, 3–5 March 1715.

31 John Thornton, *The English Pilot. The Third Book*, London, 1703 (see the facsimile published by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum's Series of Atlases in Facsimile, 5th ser., vol. 3, 1970); *Nieuw Pas-kaart Boek Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don of Tanais*, Amsterdam, [1703].

32 'Invictissimo, Atq Augustissimo Imperatori, Serenissimo, ac Potentissimo Petro Alexievicio utriusq Russiæ Absoluto Domino, in laudem et Immortalem Gloriam, Serenissimæ Ejus Tzaræ Maiestatis Honoris Ergo Tabulam Hanc, ut animi grati Documentum, Quæ Pars Majoris, ac Minoris Russiæ, Poloniæ, Tartariæ, Ponti Euxini, ac Natoliæ, Continetur; offert, dedicat ac Consecrat Humillissimus Yohannes Thesing Amstelodamensis Cum Privilegio, STZM'.

33 Although Moll first referred to himself as a geographer in 'A New Map of the Kingdome of England And Principality of Wales. In w<sup>ch</sup>. are true and remarkable Corrections never before done in any Map by Herman Moll Geographer. 15 Novemb: 1688', he seems not again to have done so for almost two decades.

34 Among Moll's contemporaries, Matthäus Seutter (1678–1757) was 'Sacrae Caesaræ Maiestatis Geographus' ('Geographer to His Sacred Caesarean Majesty [the Holy Roman Emperor]', Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726) was 'Premier Géographe de Sa Majesté [the King of France]', and John Senex (c. 1678–1740), Charles Price, and John Maxwell, 'Geographers to the Queen [of Great Britain]'.

35 Advertised in *Post Man* 19–20 May 1702. The map may originally have been issued with the title given in the advertisement 'A new and exact Map of the Islands of America in the North Sea' but subsequently changed to 'The Seat of War in the West-Indies, or the Islands of America in the North Sea' to take advantage of interest in the newly begun War of the Spanish Succession.

36 'Teâtre de la Guerre en Amerique telle qu'elle est à present Possedée par les Espagnols, Anglois, François, et Hollandois, &c'; undated, but advertised in the *Amsterdamse courant* 17 July 1703 as 'Theatre van den Oorlog in America met de principaelste havens, &c'.

37 *Post Man* 7–9 December 1704: 'The Seat of the War in America, in 4 Sheets. .... Sold by Mr. Mortier, Book and Map-seller, at the sign of Erasmus's Head, near the Fountain Tavern in the Strand'.

38 'A New and Correct Map of the World' (c. 1707); advertised in the *Daily Courant* 19 May 1707.

- 39 'A Catalogue of a New and Compleat Set of Twenty-five Two-Sheet-Maps. All compos'd and done, according to the Newest and most Exact Observations, by Herman Moll, Geographer', reproduced in Stevens and Stevens (see n. 24). One of the 'Ignorant Pretenders' calling their maps 'Cheap, Curious, Useful and Correct' was George Wildey, proprietor of the 'Great Toy and Print Shop' in London, who advertised 'Cheap, curious, useful, and instructive Ornaments ... being 19 new Maps' (*Post-Man and the Historical Account* 20–23 April 1717).
- 40 *Daily Courant*, 25 September 1707. Senex co-published the maps with Charles Price until 1712 and subsequently with John Maxwell.
- 41 'To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Sunderland [...] This Map of South America, According to the Newest and most Exact Observations is most Humbly Dedicated by your Lordship's most Humble Servant Herman Moll Geographer'.
- 42 Delisle's map was in two sheets, 'Carte de la Terre Ferme du Perou, du Bresil, et du Pays des Amazones and Carte du Paraguay du Chili du Detroit de Magellan &c'.
- 43 Cape Horn is at 57 degrees south in Halley, 'New and Correct Chart Shewing the Variations of the Compass in the Western & Southern Oceans as Observed in y<sup>e</sup> Year 1700'.
- 44 Reproduced in Worms and Baynton-Williams.
- 45 *London Gazette* 14–18 October 1718.
- 46 'A Map of Greece, with part of Anatolia' was printed in its earlier state as 'Greece with part of Anatolia in 1687'. Its author, Bernard Randolph, was the same for whose book Moll had engraved a view of the island Tenedos/Bozcaada around the same time.
- 47 J.B. Harley, introduction to *Britannia Depicta or Ogilby Improved by Emanuel Bowen (1720): Facsimile Reprint*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham, 1970, pp. 3–16.
- 48 The 'Pocket Companion' for England was first advertised in *Post Boy* 21–23 February 1716/17; that for Scotland is dated 1718; and that for Ireland first issued c. 1720 and reprinted in *Monasticon Hibernicum: Or, the Monastical History of Ireland, 1722*. See Ronald W. Shirley, *Printed Maps of the British Isles, 1650–1750*, Tring: Map Collector Publications, 1988, p. 91.
- 49 Dennis Reinhartz, 'New information on Herman Moll, geographer', *Imago Mundi*, 1988, vol. 40, pp. 113–14; *The Family Memoirs of the Rev.*

*William Stukeley, M.D. and the Antiquarian and Other Correspondence of William Stukeley, Roger & Samuel Gale, Etc.*, Durham: Surtees Society, 1882, p. 134.

50 *Letters of Eminent Men* (see n.4).

51 Letter from Maurice Johnson to William Stukeley, 3 August 1722, in *The Correspondence of William Stukeley and Maurice Johnson, 1714–1754*, ed. Diana Honeybone and Michael Honeybone, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014, p. 47.

52 *Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley*, p. 98; David Jones, preface to *The History of the Most Serene House of Brunswick-Lunenburgh*, Lond. 1715.

53 Proceedings of the Society of Roman Knights, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. misc. c. 401, fols. 2, 7v.

54 Society of Antiquaries, Minute book, p. 125.

55 Prof. Paul Harvey and I have been researching the sources for the marginal illustrations on Moll's county maps of England and Wales for *New Description* and plan to publish our findings in due course.

56 The episode is detailed in *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 22, 349ff.

57 Petition of Herman Moll et al., 1724, House of Lords Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/6/340, fol. 2266r.

58 J.H. Andrews, 'New light on three eighteenth-century cartographers: Herman Moll, Thomas Moland and Henry Pratt', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol. 35, 1992/1993, pp. 17–24.

59 *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 18, January 1748, p. 3.

60 Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, Oxford: OUP, 2005, p. 266.

61 Frederick Bracher, 'The maps in "Gulliver's Travels"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 8, No. 1 (November 1944), pp. 59–74.

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World Map by Willem Blaeuw / J. Janssonius, 1632



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# THE PRIVATE LIVES OF MAPS

## *A collection of nineteenth-century manuscript maps of northern Algeria*

**Alysha Alloway with Katherine Parker**

Whereas all maps contain information that is useful to those interested in the time and society in which they were made, sometimes the provenance of a map, rather than just its contents, is equally revealing. This is the case for 46 manuscript maps and documents relating to the French invasion of northern Algeria (1830–1847). Though from the collection of Antoine, Duke of Montpensier (1824–1890), the youngest son of the French King Louis Philippe I (r. 1830–48), they most likely originally belonged to his older brother, Prince Ferdinand Philippe, Duke of Orléans (1810–1842), who had spent the best part of his military career in Algeria.<sup>1</sup> The prince died when his sons were too young to benefit from his military library, and the collection passed into Antoine's hands.

The collection includes subsets of maps focused on Algiers and its surroundings, and maps of northeastern Algeria. These areas were the sites of intense fighting between the French army and Algerian resistance forces during the French conquest of Algeria.<sup>2</sup> The maps are mainly written in French, with some items in Arabic.

The bustling port city of Algiers, and what would become the country of Algeria, was an autonomous region of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Relations between France and Algiers had flourished during the Napoleonic Wars with Algiers benefitting from France's large food import demands. Trouble began over the Republic's 28-year old debt for fourteen million pounds of wheat, bought on credit from two traders in Algiers in 1799. The traders, Bacri and Busnach, were in debt to Dey Hussein ben Hassan, the Ottoman ruler in Algiers, and unable to pay until France had honoured their debt led to mounting tensions between the countries.

Frustrated by the French disinclination to pay their longstanding debt and the illegal fortification of French trading posts on the Dey's territory, the Ottoman ruler slapped the French consul Pierre Deval with his fly whisk. Accounts of the 29 April 1827 encounter claim that the two men exchanged insults, leading to the Dey striking Deval. For the French, this diplomatic *faux pas* represented an opportunity: they were concerned about British political and

commercial influence in North Africa, veterans of the Napoleonic Wars needed employment, and the current monarchy could use an overseas entanglement to direct public attention away from issues at home.

After failed negotiations in July of 1829 the King's emissary, Captain de la Bretonnière of the *Provence*, was fired upon by Ottoman Algerian forces; the French then began their invasion of Algeria in 1830. Interestingly, two of the views of Algiers in this collection were drawn by Captain Jean-Baptiste Signoret, who was on the *Provence* with la Bretonnière. Figure 1 shows a complete view of Algiers from its harbour with annotations of military fortifications, including those created after the 1816 bombardment of Algiers by the English and Dutch over the Algerian enslavement of Europeans.

On 4 June 1830 the French army, led by General de Bourmont, landed about 24 kilometres west of Algiers in Sidi-Ferruch (Sidi Fredj) where it was met by opposition from Ottoman Janissary and native Kabyle forces. Fighting lasted for three weeks, with Algerian forces sustaining major losses. Dey Hassan was forced to surrender, and the French took control of Algiers on 5 July.

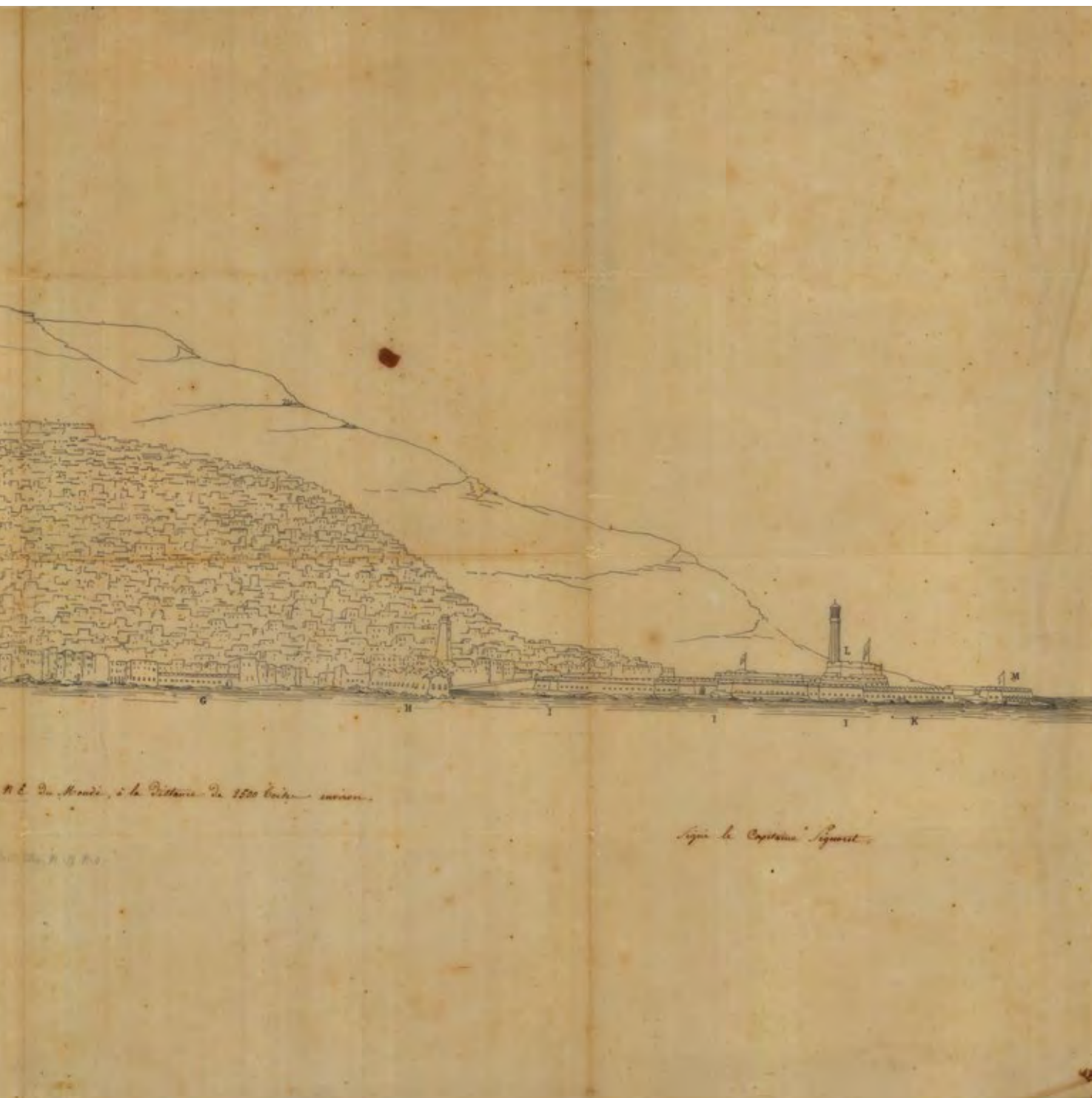
Just two weeks after capturing Algiers, the Bourbon monarchy of Charles X fell to the 'Citizen King' Louis Philippe, who decided to continue the inherited military campaign. Emir Abdelkader was the religious and military leader of the Algerian guerilla resistance and at one point his forces controlled more than two-thirds of Algerian territory. The French military fought a drawn-out, bloody war against Abdelkader and other resistance forces which eventually ended with his surrender in 1847. However, native Algerian resistance to colonisation proved difficult for the French to battle. At the time of formal annexation in 1834, French occupation was still confined mainly to coastal towns and isolated outposts.<sup>3</sup>

As the newly-anointed heir apparent, Ferdinand Philippe dedicated much of his military career to Algerian colonisation, completing three tours: 1835–36, 1839 and 1840. He is perhaps most famous for his efforts in conquering the interior from





Fig. 1 View of Algiers detailing the city's defences from its harbour, authored by French naval officer Jean-Baptiste Signoret. Signoret was present for the failed 1829 French diplomatic mission to the Dey of Algiers that resulted in naval skirmishes, heralding the start of the French conquest of Algeria. Pen on paper, 40.6 x 83.8 cm. © Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc., Algeria Manuscript Map Collection of Prince Ferdinand Philippe, Duke of Orléans.









Constantine to Algiers, breaking the Treaty of Tafna between France and Abdelkader and precipitating the complete conquest of Algeria by French forces.

In 1842 he was thrown from an out-of-control carriage and died shortly afterward in Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. His passing was deeply mourned by both the elite and the French populace who had seen the prince as a promising successor to the throne: a charismatic, respected military leader and liberal thinker who would lead France in a new direction. Without the beloved young prince, King Louis Philippe lacked crucial popular support, leading to the regime's downfall in 1848 and the subsequent rise of Napoleon III.

Ferdinand Philippe had spent time compiling a history of the French conquest of Algeria. *Campagnes de l'armée d'Afrique, 1835–1839*<sup>4</sup> was published by his sons in 1870, who were also responsible for reprinting the accounts of his military campaigns which had been published shortly after the prince's death.

This collection of maps, views and documents details the same areas included in Ferdinand Philippe's written works. Some items appear to be from his time in military service, others probably gathered to support his research and writing, and many focus on areas under Emir Abdelkader's control, particularly the stretch from Constantine to Algiers where Ferdinand Philippe led the 1839 expedition to capture Abdelkader's territory. Figure 2 shows the circuitous route west through the mountainous terrain surrounding Constantine taken by Ferdinand Philippe and Marshal Sylvian Charles Valée in order to secure a safe passage for French troops between Algiers and northeastern Algerian strongholds. This pivotal military action led to renewed fighting and the eventual defeat of the Algerian resistance.

The collection survived the Orléans family's exile from France after the Revolution of 1848, making its way with Antoine to his new home in Spain. The history of this collection is not only fascinating, but the collection itself is of substantial historical importance. Its numerous maps and military manuscripts detail the on-the-ground workings of the French military in Algeria, telling the story of French conquest and Algerian resistance.

Fig. 2 Military manuscript map of the city of Constantine and its mountainous environs. Prince Ferdinand Philippe captured territory between Constantine and Algiers, crossing the mountains known as the Iron Gates and formally breaking the Treaty of Tafna. Pen on paper, 43.1 x 58.4 cm. © Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc., Algeria Manuscript Map Collection of Prince Ferdinand Philippe, Duke of Orléans.



## Notes

1 Ferdinand Philippe also fought in Belgium. For more on the Orléans family, see Hervé Robert, *Les princes d'Orléans: une famille en politique au XIXe siècle*, Paris: Economica, 2007.

2 Prominent locations of fighting include the fertile Mitidja Plain and the towns of Medea, Colea, Blida, and Constantine. For an overview of the conflict see Jennifer E. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow: France and the Conquest of Algeria*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2011.

3 As shown in this collection, major French strongholds included Bône (Annaba), Guelma, Constantine, and Algiers.

4 Ferdinand Philippe Louis Charles Henri Orléans, *Campagnes de l'armée d'Afrique, 1835-1839*, Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1870. For Ferdinand Philippe's complete military history see Ferdinand Philippe Louis Charles Henri Orléans, Due D'Orléans, 1810-1842: *Récits de campagne, publiés par ses fils, le comte de Paris et le due de Chartres. Deux cent cinquante gravures sur bois d'après Dauzats, Decamps, Paul Delaroche [etc.]*, Paris: Calmann Levy, 1892.

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# IMC<sup>OS</sup> MATTERS

*continued from the front flap*

Organising a major map fair was an early aim of the Society and the first was held in 1981 at the Grosvenor Hotel in London. It provided an opportunity for members to meet many in the trade socially and the possibility to augment their collections. In the early years it was accompanied by a map exhibition organised by the Society members. The fair moved venue several times, each time to accommodate more much-needed space and better facilities for the dealers. In 1984 there were twenty-seven stands and an exhibition of World Maps, and by 2003 there were over forty stands at Olympia. An 'Identification stand' was run by our President at the time, Rodney Shirley, to which anyone could bring maps for identification and to learn more about them.

Initially the fair was a one-day event but as attendance increased it was extended to two days. Its popularity demonstrated by the queue which lined up at the entrance immediately before opening time and the frenetic activity over the first couple of hours – no collector wanted to miss a trick – or rather a map! When it ran over two days there was a second surge towards closing – the last chance hour and hoped for bargain! No doubt those who had seen something earlier came back to buy having rationalised their reason to do so!

In 2005 it transferred to The Royal Geographical Society under the auspices of The London Map Fair, organised by a dealer partnership. This transfer relieved the Society of both work and responsibility whilst retaining the essential aim of an annual event for members. The London Map Fair has provided IMCoS with a stand, used by many members as a meeting point for their visit. It continues to support this flagship event on the Society's calendar and map enthusiasts generally.

'A regular Newsletter containing articles, news, reviews and advertisements' was number 3 on IMCoS's list of aims. Newsletter No 1 comprised two, folded-in-half duplicated A4 sheets in which the Society's first president – Rodney Shirley – was introduced to IMCoS members. Yasha Beresiner was the Editor. Two years later the newsletter transformed into an A5 12-page journal. Over the years it has

continued to grow in size, extent and readership, and in 1998 colour was introduced to the inside pages. The Society joined the digital revolution when twenty years ago, then Chairman Jenny Harvey announced, 'the time has come for IMCoS to have an internet identity'. Early websites were notoriously awkward and in 2016 a new, user-friendly interactive site, rich in graphics and information was designed for the Society. All 162 issues of the journal have been scanned and are now available to members to read online.

At the end of its first year the Society had gathered 180 members in twenty-one countries, of which nineteen devotees remain. Membership increased rapidly, and IMCoS today is represented in twenty-five countries, but with 195 sovereign states the Society has still plenty of room to grow. There has been, and continues to be, an extremely broad membership base comprising collectors, dealers – both individuals and substantial corporates – academics and independent scholars from across the globe. It would be true to say that over its forty years the Society has achieved its aim of being truly 'international'.

## **2020 Annual General Meeting**

This year the AGM, which is usually held at The Royal Geographic Society in Kensington to coincide with the first day of the London Map Fair in June, will be conducted as a closed session, attended by only the Executive Committee members, either in person or by a Zoom facility if necessary. The agenda will be restricted to essential items only. An email containing the agenda, minutes of the 2019 AGM, reports by the Chairman and Treasurer for 2019, and a voting form will be sent to all members in September, four weeks ahead of a two-week window for voting in November. Voting will only be necessary for the approval of the minutes, renewal of terms for IMCoS Officers and the subscription rates.

Please contact the Honorary Secretary David Dare at [David.dare@btopenworld.com](mailto:David.dare@btopenworld.com) if you have any queries regarding the AGM.



# DOYLE

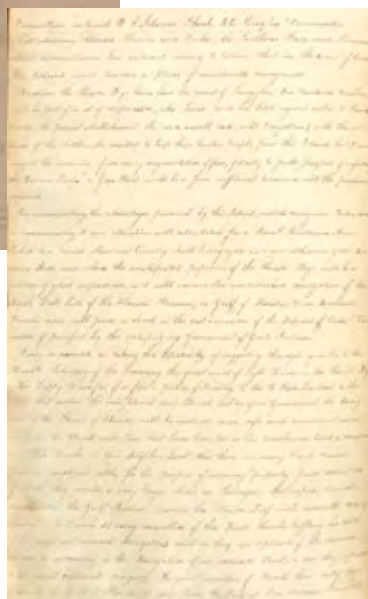
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# IMCS 1980–2020

## DOWN MEMORY LANE

*A picture gallery of the Society's past forty years.*



Past President Sarah Tyacke presenting Jonathan Potter with the 2010 IMCoS–Helen Wallis award with Tony Campbell (l.).



Roger Baskes with Vice-Chairman Valerie Newby at the farewell presentation of his tenure as President in 2007.



TJ Kim representative of the Korean branch of IMCoS and key organiser of the 2014 Seoul Symposium.



Rodney Shirley, the Society's first President at the 'Mapping the Commonwealth' seminar in May 1985 flanked by Dr Helen Wallis (l.) and Caroline Batchelor and Alan Bartlett, International Secretary on the right.



Speakers at the 2010 London Symposium: Peter Barber (current President), Mary Pedley (centre) & Sarah Bendall.





Yasha Beresiner (*l.*), Kazumasa Yamashita (IMCoS representative in Japan) & Malcolm Young (*r.*), the Society's first Chairman (1980–88).

Two members of IMCoS Advisory Council Günter Schilder & Catherine Delano-Smith at the 2014 annual dinner.



*Left to right* IMCoS members Erika Bornholt (organiser of the Guatemala Symposium), Ian Harvey Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird (current Editor), David Wright & Erna Bornholt at the 32nd International Symposium in Korea.



Margaret Wilkes (*l.*), one of the Society's earliest members and host at the Scottish Royal Geographical Society at the UK event in Perth with Valerie Newby.

Chairman Hans Kok with Dr Barbara Thomas after a successful Annual General Meeting at the Royal Geographical Society in 2014.



Terrance Cole (Chief organiser of the 2013 Fairbanks Alaska Symposium) with Wes Brown (*r.*) and, in front, Marvin Falk & Dee Longenbaugh.

Past Editor Susan Gole (1991–2006) (*r.*) and Dawn Rooney (IMCoS representative for Thailand) staffing the IMCoS desk at the 1998 London Map Fair.



Vladimiro Valerio (l.), who joined the Society in its inaugural year, being presented with the 2017 IMCoS–Helen Wallis award by President Peter Barber.



Caroline Batchelor (l.) presents Jenny Harvey with a bouquet of flowers for her service as IMCoS Chairman (1996–2005).



Past President Helen Wallis (l.) with the winner of the 1993 IMCoS–R.V. Tooley award Nico Israel beside her. Sarah Tyacke and Israel's wife are to their right.



IMCoS members at the Israel Symposium in 1987.





Symposium devotee David Webb (*centre*), flanked by long-time IMCoS members Wes Brown (*l.*) and Robert Clancy, displays the tea towel he designed and had printed showing each of the 36 IMCoS Symposium destinations.



Rudolph Lietz (IMCoS representative in the Philippines and organiser of the 2018 Symposium there) with Manosi Lahiri from India at the 2014 annual dinner.



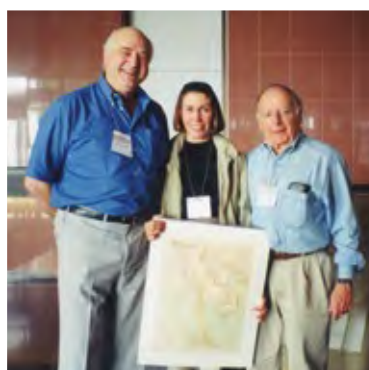
Past President Oswald Dreyer-Eimbeke (*r.*) with his wife Erika and Bob Highbarger, then IMCoS representative for USA East at a reception at Bloomsbury book auction in 2001.



Roger Stewart (*r.*) IMCoS representative for South Africa and host and organiser of the 2015 IMCoS Symposium in Cape Town with speakers Lucia Lovison (*centre*) and Ellen Tise from the University of Stellenbosch who gave the opening address.



Moniker Schmidt, antique map dealer from Kunstantiquariat in Munich with her daughter at their stand at the London Map Fair. Moniker joined IMCoS in its first year in 1980.



Yasha Beresiner (*l.*) with San Francisco members of IMCoS Edith & George Piness at the 1999 Symposium in Istanbul.



Peter Pank (*l.*) and Gunnar Skoog (then IMCoS representative in Sweden) at the 2013 Collectors' Afternoon that took place in Norwich. Standing is Peter Walker, IMCoS Financial & Membership Administrator.



Ian Harvey and Jenny Harvey (current Advertising Manager) staffing the IMCoS stand at the 2017 London Map Fair.



*Left to right* Tony Burgess (IMCoS Chairman, 1998-89) John Docktor, Tom Sander (original member of IMCoS & Editor of *The Portolan* magazine) & Kazumasa Yamashita, at the 1991 joint Singapore/Sydney Symposium.



Paula van Gestel-van het Schip (l.) winner of the 2013 IMCoS-Helen Wallis award and Petra Svatek, member from Austria at the 2014 annual dinner.



Recipient of the 2012 IMCoS-Helen Wallis award, original member Dr Harold Osher with his wife Peggy.



IMCoS International representative Rolph Langlais in 2009 with Béatrice Loeb-Larocque of Loeb-Larocque Rare Maps and Book at the Paris Symposium.



Jonathan Wattis (l.) of Wattis Fine Art who hosted a map exhibition and reception at his Hollywood Rd Gallery for IMCoS attendees at the Hong Kong section of the 2018 Symposium, with Peter Geldart.



The 34th Symposium in Chicago in 2016. Chairman Hans Kok with Kenneth Nebenzahl then IMCoS representative for USA Central.



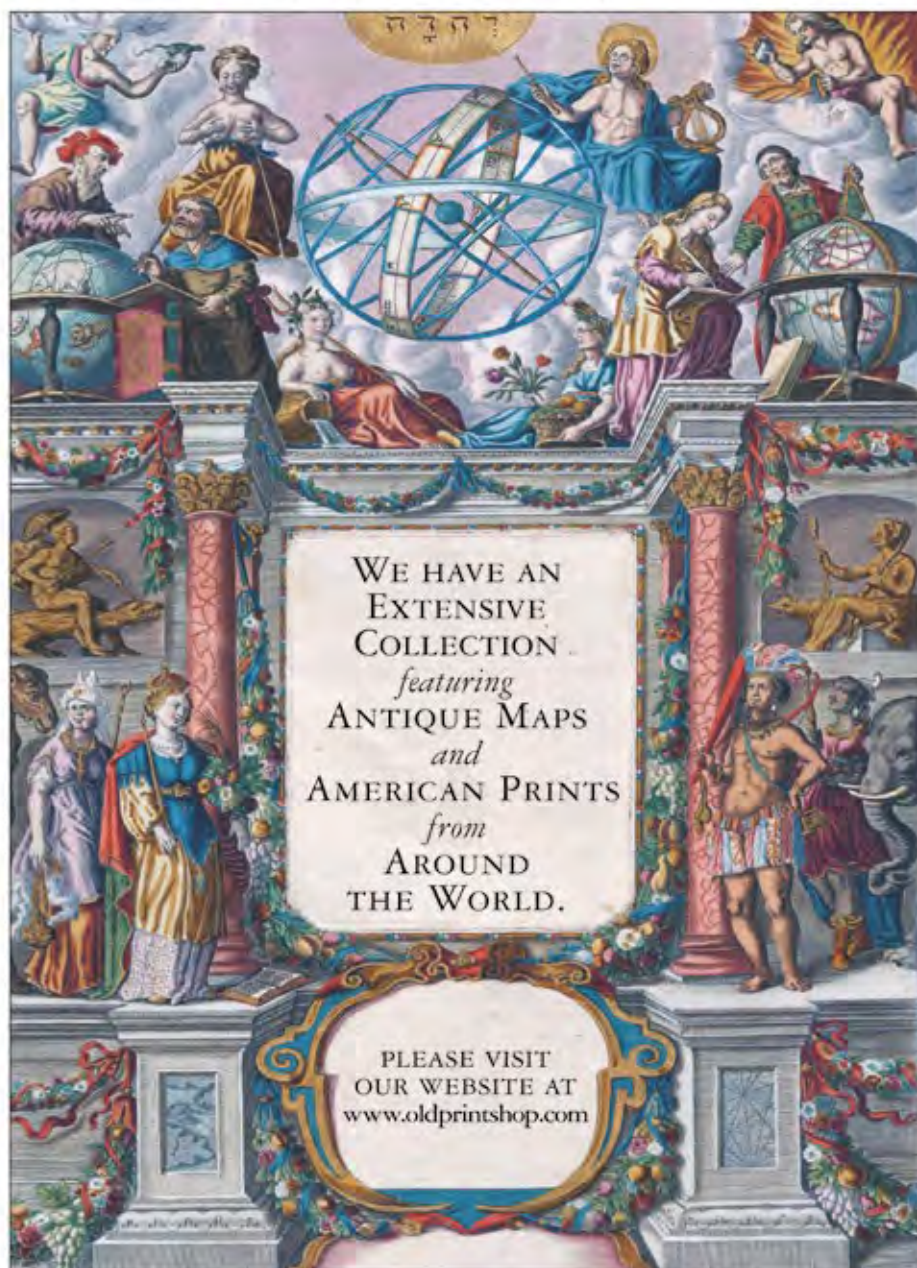
Andrew Cookson (IMCoS representative for France) with Cyrus Al'ai at the gala dinner reception at the 2010 London Symposium.



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# MAPPING MATTERS

## Maps & Society, lectures in the history of cartography Summary of the 29th series 2019–2020

*This final two lectures of this series did not take place due to the restrictions imposed by the pandemic, however, a programme for 2020–2021, commencing December this year, has been drafted but awaits confirmation of dates from the Warburg Institute, which has kindly offered to host the meetings on Zoom as necessary. Please check [www.maphistory.info](http://www.maphistory.info) regularly for further information.*

17 October 2019, Dr James A. Welu (Director Emeritus, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester MA).  
*Vermeer's Mania for Maps*

Vermeer spent his life (1632–1675) in Delft during Holland's Golden Age of painting when middle-class patrons were looking for art that reflected their life and interests. Little is known of this master of the domestic genre until his rediscovery in the mid-nineteenth century by French scholar and collector Thoré-Bürger.

Vermeer has been studied from many different perspectives. Tory Burger was the first to comment on his 'mania for maps'. They appear in a third of his 34 known paintings. He was painting at time when the Dutch commanded the oceans, bringing the 'new' world home to the burghers. Like many of his contemporaries, Vermeer capitalised on the popularity of maps but none rendered them in so much detail or as specifically.

*The Officer and the Laughing Girl* is one of his earliest paintings to include a map. Its inscription reads 'A New and Accurate Map of Holland & West Friesland'. It is a copy of one of the few surviving maps that can be identified in Vermeer's work. He used this map additionally in *A Woman Reading a Letter* and in *The Love Letter*. Although the inventory on his death does not record any cartographic material in his possession, he is known to have run an art shop. A contemporary sketch of the interior of a Dutch art shop reveals that amongst the items sold were globes, maps and instruments, clearly intended for artists to use as props in their paintings.

*Young Woman with a Water Pitcher* also includes an identifiable painting: 'The Netherlands, North and

South' by Jodocus Hondius. A wall map of Europe, also by Hondius, appears in *Woman with a Lute*. Another occupies most the background in Vermeer's most ambitious work, *The Art of Painting*. Günter Schilder was able to locate an exemplar of it at Skolkloster Castle in Sweden. The central part of the map is made up of nine plates and has been identified as the work of Jan van Deutecum from 1594. While the decoration of the cartouche has been 'modernised by Visscher' (which is the map Vermeer copied) none of the geography has been updated. From an X-ray of *Woman with a Pearl Necklace* it can be established that it was in the background of the painting, but Vermeer painted it out at a later date. Included in *The Geographer* are a sea chart, probably by Blaeu, and a terrestrial globe by Hondius and, in what is considered its companion, *The Astronomer*, there is his corresponding celestial globe, along with navigational instruments and an instructional book by by Adrian Metius *Institutiones Astronomicae Geographicae*.

His paintings are more than genre scenes. He was working in the final years of the Dutch Golden Age, yet the cartographical sources he used were all well out of date which begs the question was this deliberate. Was Vermeer reflecting on the glorious past of the new Republic? He certainly captured the spirit of investigation of his time and his paintings have left us a rich record of Holland's navigational history.

5 December 2019, Dr Mordechay Lewy (Ambassador retired, Bonn, Germany). *The Apocalyptic Abyssinian: Transferring an Islamic motif to Europe and giving the Horn of Africa an eschatological meaning after the Fall of Acre*

The lecture presented the Horn of Africa as an apocalyptic region in four *mappae mundi* which were produced after 1291. It expressed a threat to Mecca and Cairo by Abyssinians who had joined the crusaders fighting Islam. The cartographic evidence is based on a similar configuration of the enclosed habitat of Gog and Magog in the northeastern corner with the enclosed region in the southeastern corner of the world. Four maps include in a reconstructed common annotation the term *caspiarum similes* which is an apocalyptic reference since, according to



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legend, the Caspian gate holds back the invasion of Gog and Magog until doomsday.

The literary evidence derives from an early Islamic motif, personalised by the apocalyptic Abyssinian, who will destroy Mecca at doomsday. This motif was integrated by Copts into anti-Islamic prophecies in the *Liber Clementis*, which circulated during the fifth Crusade. As the papal legate Pelagius refused thrice the Sultan's offer to leave Damiette in exchange for receiving Jerusalem, he generated two new prophecies under the name of Hannan and the Son of Agap. His aim was to encourage the crusading army to fight the Muslims in Cairo since Islam was doomed to annihilation according to the prophecy in 1222.

**16 January 2020, Jon Quixley (co-author, with R.C.E. Quixley, of *Antique Maps of Cornwall & the Isles of Scilly*, 1966, 2018). *How Cornwall took shape from Saxton to the Ordnance Survey, with quirks & gaffes on the way***

R.C.E. Quixley published his book on maps of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly in 1966. The 2nd edition of this book was published in 2018, co-authored with his son, Jon. This edition was the basis of the talk given by Jon Quixley.

Saxton surveyed and made the first map of Cornwall at the command of Elizabeth 1 and published it in 1579. These plates were re-used several times until 1770. Norden surveyed and presented a *Description of Cornwall* to James 1 around 1604, but his original maps became separated from the text until 1728 when they were published. Maps of the county were published by Kip in 1607 and Speed in 1610, although neither of them actually surveyed it. A number of extra place-names appeared on these maps which R.C.E. Quixley surmised could only have come from Norden's map. Kip and Speed must therefore have seen it before its rediscovery in 1728. This supposition was later proved to be correct. However, in the engraving of their maps, both Kip and Speed made substantial errors. Many more maps were published with further corruptions. Locating the Scilly Isles in relation to Land's End had remained a problem since Mercator's map of 1595 which used a meridian based on the Azores and placed Land's End 15 minutes too far north. Attempts by other mapmakers were also inaccurate. They confusingly used a mixture of nautical and statute miles. Some had

Greenwich as the meridian, others had London. Capt. Greenville Collins R.N. omitted latitude on some of his large-scale charts of 1693 and Gascoyne's 1699 map omits longitude.

In 1707 the 'Association', together with many ships of Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovell's fleet, foundered near the Scilly Isles through lack of accurate charts. This disaster ultimately led to the establishment of the Board of Longitude in 1714. Throughout the eighteenth century, omissions and mistakes were perpetuated. Cary's *English Atlas* of 1787 repositioned Land's End reasonably accurately, but the Isles of Scilly were still placed too far west. Spence, an Admiralty Surveyor, triangulated the Isles and West Cornwall in 1792, and placed the St Agnes lighthouse to within 3 minutes west of its true site. The Ordnance Survey under Capt. Mudge in 1796, and Baker, who corrected his 1791 map in 1804, refined this earlier data. The position of Land's End and the Isles of Scilly were finally corrected to within 2 miles of their actual location.

**20 February 2020, Philip Curtis (Director, The Map House, London). *When Maps go to War: Pictorial conflict maps 1900–1950***

Political comment by way of cartoons had been used in the UK for many years before Frederick Rose published his 'octopus' map in 1877. This depiction of Russia as a predatory power with tentacles spreading over Europe was very influential. Rose followed with other cartoons including another 'octopus' map in 1900 depicting Tsar Nicholas II on the eve of war. The cephalopod theme was taken up by other political satirists abroad. During the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), Kasaburo Ohara used in his 1904 cartoon the image of an atlas with a Russian octopus stretching a tentacle to Port Arthur. The Japanese were victorious in this conflict; it was a pivotal moment in history, as it was the first time a European power had been defeated by an Asian nation. In 1914 J.H. Amschewitz in Germany published 'Kill that Eagle', which referred to the Italian/German alliance when Italy could not decide which side to back. Cartoonists perpetuated easily recognisable national 'types', for example, German Karl Lehmann (1914) parodied Russians quaffing vodka and the British sitting on money bags with which to pay other countries to fight her war.

*continues on page 64*





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

# BOOK REVIEWS

**Los Mapas de Cipriano Mera. La Cartografía del IV Cuerpo de Ejército** by Ricardo Castellano Ruiz de la Torre, Jorge Morín de Pablos, Miguel Angel Rodríguez Pascual and Luis Antonio Ruiz Casero. Audema: Madrid 2019. ISBN 9788416450404. PB, 200. € 65.00.



This is a very interesting little publication for a highly specialised audience: military historians and archaeologists of the Spanish Civil War (July 1936–March 1939), and focuses on the maps used by Cipriano Mera, an anarchist bricklayer who rose to become a Republican Army coronel.

The study is based on two composite maps of eighteen sheets of the ‘Mapa Topográfico de España’ at a scale of 1: 50000. The largest map covers the area of central Guadalajara (sheets 485–489 and 510–514) and the second parts of Guadalajara, Cuenca and Teruel (sheets 539, 540, 564, 565, 587, 588, 610 and 611). Each sheet has been cut into four sections and mounted on cotton retaining the kilometre numeration and coordinates on the borders. Coloured facsimile copies of each quarter sheet make up 70 percent of the 200–page content of the book.

The interest in these particular maps lies in the additional coloured line drawings traced on them showing routes (roads and paths) suitable for military movement and fortifications in the form of trenches, pillboxes and other defences, as well as additional lines and symbols whose significance are not clear. The book makes no reference to who undertook this superimposed cartographic draughtsmanship but in

the reviewer’s opinion would have been, in all probability, drawn by the corps General Staff on the orders of Mera (whose signature is on the back of one of the maps).

A well-illustrated chapter dedicated to the biography of Cipriano Mera (1897–1975) describes how he was born into a very humble family in Madrid and became a bricklayer. From the very start of his adult working life he was an active trade unionist militating in the anarchist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) which led to his arrest. When war broke out his comrades released him from prison and he created an anarchist militia which played a consistent role in the successful defence of Madrid. Despite traditional anarchist resistance to military hierarchy, in October 1937 he was invited, and accepted, to take command of the IV Corps of the Republican Army and from this moment, until the end of the war, he was responsible for the front between Guadalajara and Teruel. This zone saw only a few actions which had little impact on the final outcome of the conflict. (The important Battle of Guadalajara in which Republican forces repulsed the Nationalist attack on Madrid took place in March 1937, i.e. prior to Mera’s command and the map’s hand-drawn additions). Mera died in exile in France in 1975.

A highly detailed account is given of the two main actions undertaken by the IV Corps under Mera’s command, both being distraction movements to limit the Nationalist advance down the Ebro valley towards Barcelona and obviously related to the two maps. Both actions succeeded in gaining small territorial advances but made little impact on what was to be Franco’s decisive movement.



For the specialist military historians belonging to various wartime study associations existent in Spain, this publication will undoubtedly be a welcome piece of literature and a highly useful field guide. However, for those with a broader interest in cartography the book has little to offer. Because of its highly specialised focus only fleeting references are made to the more usual aspects of Spanish Civil War cartography discourse such as the reasons for the existence in Spain of two national cartographic organisations (the Cartographic Section of the Army’s General Staff and the government’s Instituto



Geográfico (IG), and the often conflictive political background in the way they were related. Commentary on the controversial decision of the Republican Government to adapt the incomplete Mapa Topográfico of the IG to military needs is also extremely limited. There is no reference to the increasing use of aerial photography and publication of meteorological maps or of the cartography used by the Nationalist Army which was cut off from the Madrid-based IG and pre-war General Staff headquarters and depot.

Although the prologue states that the map facsimiles are a 1:1 reproduction of the originals they are in fact at a scale of approximately 1:83000 not 1:50000. The authors do not indicate the size of the two maps, but your reviewer estimates that they must be very approximately 75 x 215 cm and 215 x 75 cm. Although a short bibliography is included, there are no footnotes nor are there any biographical details about the authors. As a paperback in a 15 x 21 cm format the book is expensive at € 65, but probably justified by the quantity of facsimile reproductions.

Richard Smith, Segovia, Spain

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*continued from page 59*

A very rare White Russian propaganda map from the Russian Civil War (1919) pictured all the allies, including a Scotsman in a kilt, threatening Petrograd and pushing back the Revolution.

In 1937 Howard Burke, an isolationist who loathed the British, published anti-British cartoons in *Hurst newspapers*. *Cosmopolitan Magazine* even showed New York being bombed from Canada. Vichy France in 1941, used the 'octopus' theme again to depict Churchill with the caption: 'The amputations are proceeding methodically'. Neutral Portugal's government published 'Mappa de Europe' in 1942, which reflected a secret offer to Churchill to join the allies. This was turned down as it was reasoned that Spain would perhaps join Germany.

By 1944 the British and US Navies were working together for the first time. The U.S. Navy, Bureau of Naval Personnel published 'World War 2 in the North Sea Area' as an educational map for American sailors ignorant of the early years of World War II.

Report by Pamela Purdy



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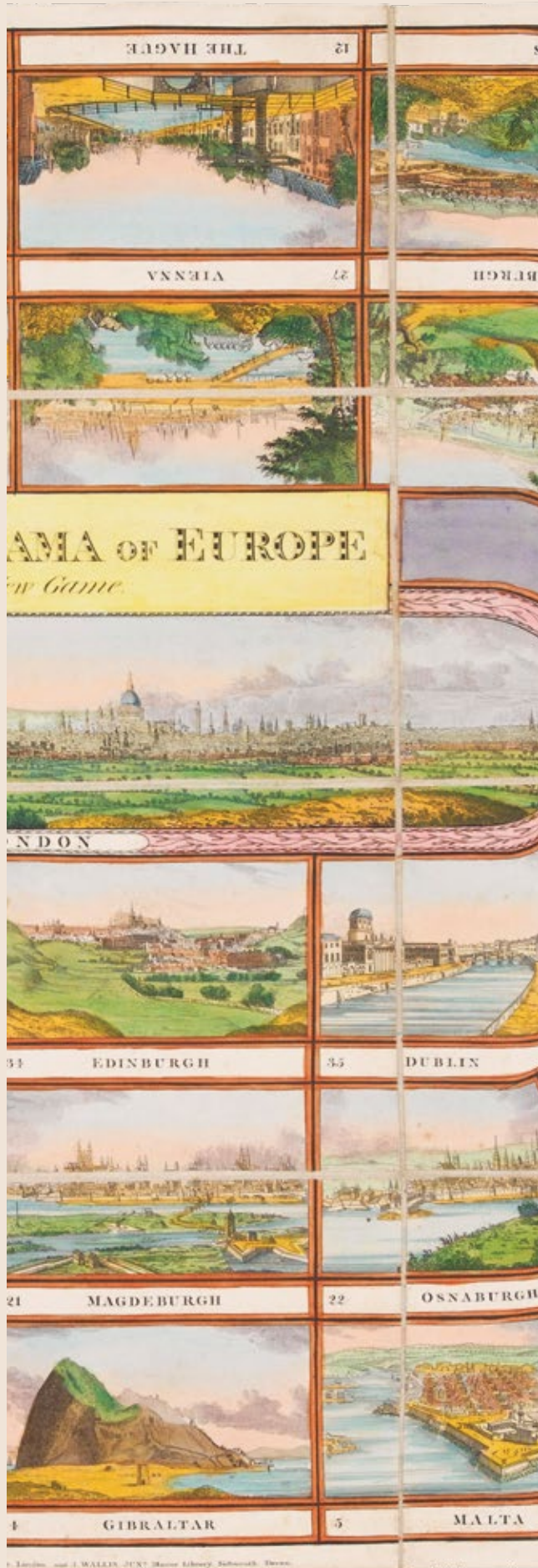
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Cover image

Henricus Hondius, 'Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica Ac Hydrographica Tabula', 1630, Amsterdam. 38 x 54.5 cm.

Henricus Hondius's (1597–1651) decorative double-hemisphere world map is an exuberant expression of the Baroque style that flourished during the Golden Age of Dutch mapmaking. 'Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica Ac Hydrographica Tabula' was created, in partnership with his brother-in-law Jan Jansson, for a 'new' atlas – *Atlas Novus* – a revitalisation and enlargement of Mercator's 1596 atlas, the copperplates of which his father Jodocus had bought in 1604 and continued to publish for a further thirty-five years. This extravagant exercise was largely a response to the rapid expansion and success of Hondius's great rival – the publishing house of the Blaeu family.

Faintly outlined in the southernmost area of the map, expressing the geographic uncertainty of the time, is 'Terra Australis Incognita' with a place-name of the legendary land of 'Beach prov' (a corruption of Marco Polo's Locach). Importantly, this work is the first widely disseminated and dated map to record Dutch explorations along the northwest coast of Australia. Its depiction of California as an island is a move away from earlier representations by Mercator and Ortelius showing Baja California as a peninsula. Japan is mistakenly oriented, but Korea is correctly identified as an isthmus and not as an island as was formerly believed.

Ornately framed portraits pay homage to notable figures in the history of mapmaking: Julius Caesar who allegedly decreed a survey be made of the whole of the Roman World, Ptolemy, Mercator, and Jodocus Hondius, founder of the Hondius publishing house. One cartouche describes the discovery of America; another praises Dutch exploration across the globe; and the third is dedicated to esteemed scholars at the University of Paris. Allegorical figures of the elements – fire, air, water and earth – fill the spandrels. In the centre, where the hemispheres meet, are depictions of a celestial globe, the sun and moon, and a vignette of Asia, Africa and the Americas acclaiming Europa as mistress of the globe.

The map had a long shelf-life and is known in four states, as distinguished by the dates on the map: state 1: 1630; state 2: 1641 (with *Amstelodami Excudit Ioannes Ianssonius* added at the bottom); state 3: 1663 (in Jansson's *Atlas Contractus*); state 4: 1666 (in Jansson's *Atlas Major*).



