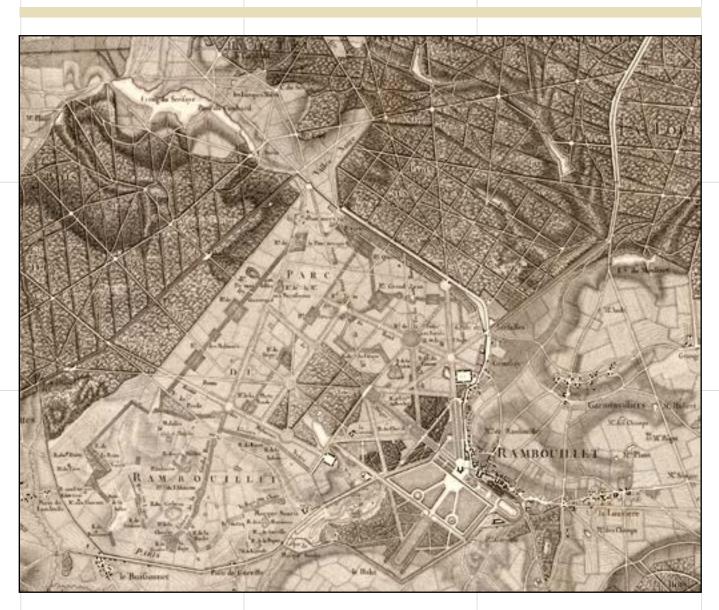
# MAPS IN HISTORY



JANUARY 2023 Newsletter No

**75** 

French maps of Malta 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries Berthier's Carte des chasses du roi Mapping Ukraine - Conference report



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### Intro

Dear Map Circle Members,

For our first 2023 issue of Maps in History I am very pleased to welcome not one, not two but three first-ever contributors.

Imke Hansen, from the Royal Library of Belgium, offers us a superbly researched article on one of her institution's cartographic jewels: the *Carte des chasses du roi*. Emanuel Chetcuti gives a detailed view of Frenchmade maps of his home country, Malta, spanning four centuries and multiple different types. And Marijn Van Zundert shares a brief report of a thrilling event – to which he cordially invited all Circle members – in which maps intertwined with international politics and strategy.

Many thanks to all three for this first step, which will hopefully be only the first of a long series.

Articles by more usual suspects devoted to new books, exhibitions, conferences and trips complete this issue. Taken together, these reports attest that the map scene has fully recovered from the Covid-19 hiatus and is now as vibrant as before.

Finally, I would like to remind you that the Brussels Map Circle still has an opening for a webmaster and that, as announced by our president Wouter Bracke earlier this month, we are also looking for a new president. Candidates for these entirely unremunerated but exceedingly satisfying jobs are invited to contact Wouter or any other member of the Executive Committee.

Enjoy your read.

**Cover:** Extract of the map

Rodríguez Wittmann

Detail of the village and castle of Rambouillet, Carte des chasses du roi, f. 10, by Berthier - [1807] KBR map collection, ref. XXXIX IGN

Obituary - Marcel Van Brussel



Luis A. Robles Macías editor@bimcc.org

### Bari e il suo mare dal Rinascimento al Novecento. La rappresentazione cartografica e le vedute della Terra di Bari.

# [Bari and its sea from the Renaissance to the twentieth century. The cartographic representation and views of the Land of Bari.]



Bari is a coastal city in Apulia, the southeastern region of Italy that forms the heel of the boot. Its Museo Civico held, for a bit more than one month, an exhibition of old maps of Bari and its region co-organised by our sister organisation, the Associazione Culturale Roberto Almagià. Works of a great variety of types, purposes and eras were on display. The visitor could enjoy regional maps, atlases, city plans and views made for purposes as diverse as navigation, military defence, civilian and religious administrations and urban planning, spanning from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries.

Nautical cartography definitely was one of the strong points, with an impressive lineup of charts and atlases. Charts of the Adriatic from different early modern atlases could be compared side-by-side, particularly those by Willem Barentsz (Caertboeck van de Midlandtsche Zee, Amsterdam, 1595); Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (Atlante veneto, Venice, 1688 and later), and Johannes van Keulen (De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-Fakkel, Amsterdam, 1697 and later). In contrast with these luxurious and relatively small-scale (i.e. low-resolution) items, a much more detailed view of Apulia's coasts was provided by four sheets of the Carta

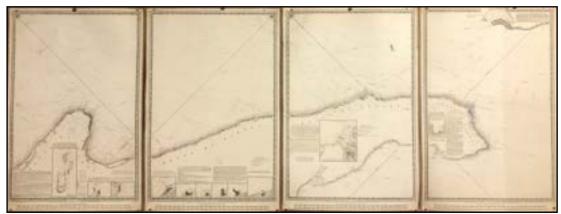


Fig. 1. Sheets XII, XIV, XVI and XVIII of the Carta di cabotaggio del Mare Adriatico (Milan: Istituto Geografico Militare, 1822—1824).

Each exhibit was identified by a label that contained essential information only; QR codes in each room gave access to more detailed oral explanations. An attractive printed catalogue was available for sale at the Museum. All texts and audios were in Italian only.

di cabotaggio del Mare Adriatico published in the 1820s by the Istituto Geografico Militare (Fig. 1).

My favourite piece of the entire exhibition was a large, manuscript nautical chart of 1810 entitled Carta generale ridotta del Mare Adriatico (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Ferdinando Visconti's manuscript Carta generale ridotta del Mare Adriatico (Milan, 1810), with enlarged details.

Called 'a true unicum' by the curators, it was compiled by Ferdinando Visconti — a captain in the corps of Ingenieri Geografi — for the Napoleonic Viceroy of Italy. Visconti's detailed chart includes instructions about routes, currents and winds, as well as geographical coordinates of key cities. Our readers surely remember that maps from Napoleonic Italy were the subject of another recent exhibition and book by the Associazione Almagià. Several maps from this period were displayed at Bari, and they were all eye-catching for their fine detail and technical perfection.

The numerous city views provided a valuable counterpoint to the succession of 'normal' maps, which otherwise might have become monotonous. In addition to Bari nearby towns of historical importance were also depicted. Of particular interest were two sets of views of Bari, Trani, Andria and Bitonto by Franciscus Cassianus de Silva of around 1700 as part of a broader description of the Kingdom of Naples. One of the sets was manuscript, from a single surviving exemplar preserved at the National Library of Austria (ÖNB). The other was from a printed book posthumously published by Battista Pacichelli. The visitor can play the game of spotting the differences, and even risk a guess at which version was the source and which the copy (Fig. 4).

The exhibition's stated goal was a 're-appropriation and re-evaluation of a past on which our present is grafted'. I would say it has been fully achieved. After the Habsburg, Bourbon and Napoleonic periods, several maps showed Apulia entering modernity within the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. There followed, after 1860, maps issued by the unified Kingdom of Italy, for instance of a new postal network. At the same time, plans of Bari allow the visitor to grasp its quick urban expansion throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to World War II, which is represented by a plan of the city produced by the U.S. Army Map Service.

The exhibition gave me the impression that its curators had intended to be as comprehensive as possible.

Aside from the works already cited, it included maps by well-known early modern authors such as

Sebastian Münster, Giacomo Gastaldi, Paolo Forlani, Abraham Ortelius and Willem Blaeu. Perhaps a visitor with only a casual interest in old maps might have felt overwhelmed, but I definitely did not complain! Actually, I could even suggest adding to the exhibition two types of maps that were seemingly absent. One would be manuscript portolan charts or atlases, which would have provided an interesting comparison both with contemporary printed charts and with later more 'utilitarian' navigational charts. Another type would be fortifications plans, which are a key feature of the Apulian coast, always exposed to attacks and invasions.





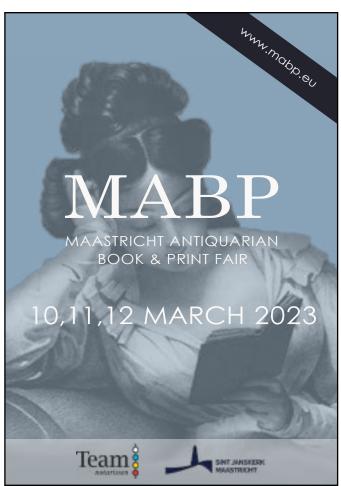
Fig. 3. Views of the city of Trani by F. Cassianus de Silva. Above: printed version from Battista Pacichelli, Il Regno di Napoli in prospettiva... (Napoli: nella stamperia di Antonio Parrino, 1700—1703).

Below: manuscript from Regno Napolitano Anotomizzato dalla Penna, 1708, ÖNB ALB qeb 161a.

Luis A. Robles Macías luis.a.robles.macias@gmail.com



Portolan chart of the Mediterranean by the Oliva family, most probably of Placido Caloiro e Oliva, 1620 (NavigArte Collection)





Portuguese maritime astrolabe, dated 1550-1600 (NavigArte Collection).



Jesse Ramsden sextant, signed 'Ramsden London nr. 1093' Radius 10 inch, 1791 (NavigArte Collection).



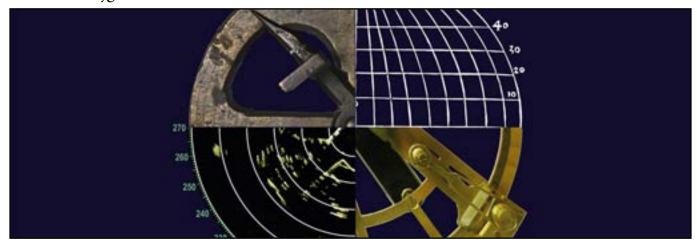
Carl Dierickx, curator of the NavigArte Collection

# Recht door zee. Navigeren van 1500 tot vandaag.

# [Straightforward. Navigating at sea from 1500 to the 21st century]

## 4 June — 11 September 2022.

SteM, Zwijgershoek 14 and Mercatormuseum, Zamanstraat 49D, 9100 Sint-Niklaas.



On 3 September 2022, at 14.00, about twenty members and friends of the Brussels Map Circle met at the entrance of the Mercatormuseum for a two hour course on the history of navigation from 1500 to the 21st century. On the basis of an impressive collection of scientific measuring instruments, most of which had never been on show before, the exhibition offered a diverse and interactive programme that allowed the visitor to understand the key moments in determining a course at sea.

We witnessed a highly visual story, depicting navigation at sea and the evolution of cartographic and astronomical knowledge since Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century CE). This was the result of collaboration between the SteM (Sint-Niklaas City Museum), the Belgian Navy, the Antwerp Maritime Academy, Ghent University, the Society of Antiquaries of the Land van Waas, the Phoebus Foundation, and above all the NavigArte Collection. The latter was the most important of the private and institutional lenders to the exhibition.

We were overwhelmed by the richness and variety of the objects: manuscripts, portolan charts, handmade curiosa, depthloads, compasses, hourglasses, globes, astrolabes, ringdials, quadrants, octants, sextants, Jacob's staffs, telescopes, nocturnals, anemometers, modern satellites, and so much more. I personally think ancient scientific instruments have a charm of their own; they are beautiful objects in their own right. You can imagine the genius of their construction, just by looking at them. But to understand how they actually work is a completely different story. But in any case, the curators found a creative way to help the visitors searching for explanations: the curators transformed

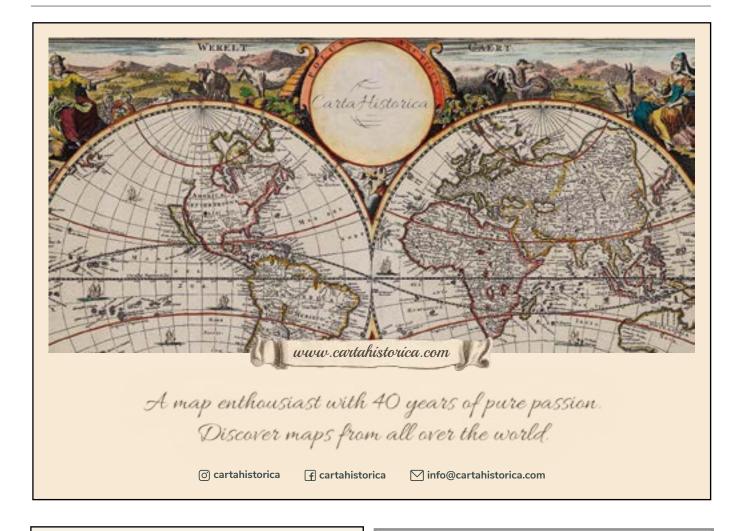
the museum into a micro-universe with an artificial Sun and Polaris. They built a ship's bridge where (reproductions of) ancient measuring instruments were shown and video presentations explained how these instruments had to be used at sea. But what could be better than having an experienced sailor guiding you through the exhibition, one who not only has experience of sailing at sea, but is also able to answer all the questions you always wanted to ask, but never dared to. And we were lucky to have such a guide. We even had two guides in fact, both members of our Map Circle.

Jan de Graeve, well-known Mercator specialist — amongst many other things — showed us around the historical maps and precious books by cartographers and mathematicians from the Low Countries who have played a role in developing navigation instruments: Gemma Frisius (triangulation), Lucas Waghenaer (sea-atlases), Michiel Coignet (nautical hemisphere), Petrus Plancius (Crux constellation in the southern sky), Gerard Mercator (projection), etc.

Carl Dierickx, curator of the NavigArte Collection, guided us through the second and largest part of the exhibition. He is a passionate guide who patiently explained, to a devotedly listening audience, the workings of, as well as the story behind, the instruments on display.

Allow me to finish this all too short report by mentioning two particular episodes of our Belgian navigation history to which the curators duly paid tribute, the Belgica expedition to Antarctica led by Adrien de Gerlache 1897—1899 and the maiden voyage of training ship Comte De Smet De Naeyer in 1905.

Wouter Bracke wouterbracke@kbr.be



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### **Making Maps in History**

This issue of Maps in History was edited by Luis Robbles.

Paul De Candt did the lay-out.

Contents have been checked by the Editorial Committee comprising Jean-Louis Renteux, Nicola Boothby, Wouter Bracke, Francis Herbert, Pierre Parmentier, Soetkin Vervust and Luis Robles.

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# 500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the Globe

On 6 September 1522, a leaky ship dropped anchor off the beach of Sanlùcar de Barrameda, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River in southern Spain. Its captain, Juan Sebastian Elcano, had thus completed the first navigation around the world, three years after leaving Spain as part of the five-ship convoy led by Ferdinand Magellan.

This extraordinary voyage marked a turning point in the history of humanity: the opening of new trade routes between Europe and the Far East.

The celebrations of its 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary began three years ago in Spain (for the anniversary of Magellan's departure), with various exhibitions having high cartographic content. In issue No 66 (January 2020), Maps in History reported on two major ones, at the Museo Naval in Madrid and at the Archivo de Indias in Seville.

The anniversary of Elcano's return voyage triggered more celebrations in 2022.

In their September 2022 issue, our American colleagues at the National Geographic magazine published a three-page article and a nice infographic double page summarising the story of the expedition initiated by Magellan: his five ships setting out from Seville on 10 August 1519; the sinking of a first ship in May 1520; the return of the flagship to Spain and the discovery of the strait which was named after Magellan in November 1520; the fights with natives in the Philippines and the death of Magellan in April 1521; the abandon of a third ship in May 1521; exploring the Moluccas (Spice Islands) and loss of a fourth ship at the end of 1521; the return of Elcano with the last surviving ship, loaded with spices; his arrival in Sanlúcar with 18 hungry survivors (out of a total original expedition crew of some 250).

Of course, more celebrations are also taking place in Seville and in Sanlùcar.

#### NAO VICTORIA

In 2019, Seville dedicated a new exhibition centre to the first sailing around the world (www.espacioprimerovueltaalmundo. org). It is at the foot of the Torre del Oro which, for centuries, watched over the ships sailing up the Guadalquivir, loaded with luxury fabrics from Italy or silver and gold from the Americas. The exhibits focus on the Victoria, the ship that Elcano brought back to Spain, with models, videos, explanatory panels on the preparation of the expedition, technical aspects of navigation in the sixteenth century, the discovery of the Spice Islands, and the important consequences of this first circumnavigation. It also presents the more recent adventure of constructing an exact replica of the Victoria.



Fig. 1. The nao Victoria, Juan Sebastián de Elcano's ship, and *Torre del Oro* in 1519 (according to Arturo Redondo see https://arturoredondo.blogspot.com/)

This full-scale replica is moored on the river, in front of the exhibition centre, where it can be visited. This is the opportunity to imagine how harsh the life for the some 50 crew members must have been aboard this narrow ship and how tricky it must have been for its captain to confront the hazards of this voyage.

Elcano's ship was the first but also the last to bring spices from the Moluccas to Seville. Emperor Charles V moved the monopoly of this trade to another city, La Coruña. This did not last long anyway because none of the Spanish follow-up expeditions to the Moluccas managed to return to Spain, and the Treaty of Saragossa of 1529 recognised Portuguese sovereignty over the archipelago in exchange for the substantial sum of 350 000 gold ducats.



Fig. 2. The Victoria replica and Torre de Oro in 2022 in Sevilla

#### LOS MAPAS Y LA PRIMERA VUELTA AL MUNDO

More interesting for map lovers, another exhibition opened in February 2022 at the *Museo Casa de la Ciencia*, dedicated to 'Maps and the first round-the-world voyage'. It starts with the pre- columbian visions of the world, illustrated by maps such as the Fra Mauro planisphere, and continues with maps incorporating the first results of the discovery of the American continent: Juan de la Cosa's 1500 map first to show the New World, Cantino's 1502 world map first to show the American continents, Waldseemüller's 1507 map with the invention of the name 'America' and his 1516 *Carta Marina*, etc. Of course these unique, priceless maps are shown only through faithful reproductions.

The exhibition also evokes the main characters involved: Magellan and Elcano, of course, but also Rui Faleiro. This Portuguese cosmographer had befriended Magellan in their youth at the Portuguese Court; they later got together to try (in vain) to convince King Manuel I to set up an expedition to the Spice Islands. In 1517, they settled in Seville and presented their project to the Casa de Contratación, which managed such expeditions on behalf of the Spanish crown. Faleiro was

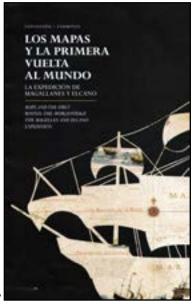


Fig. 3. Poster of the exhibition

convinced, like others before him<sup>2</sup>, that there was a passage between the Atlantic and the South Seas, to the south of Brazil; and, crucially, that the Spice Islands were on the Spanish side of the line of the Treaty of Tordesillas whereby Spain and Portugal had divided the world in 1494. In 1518, King Charles I of Spain (who later became Emperor Charles V) approved the expedition and named Magellan and Faleiro as co-captains. At the last minute, Faleiro was ordered not to embark, but he provided maps and navigation instruments for the expedition (see Box).

The exhibition evokes the journey through ship models and animations, and it shows the first maps of the Strait of Magellan and the Moluccas islands.



Fig. 4. Rui Faleiro in the exhibition.

The reason why Rui Faleiro did not embark was that the Crown ordered him not to, on the grounds that he was mad. Whether this was sincere or someone's stratagem could be debated. Faleiro was treated as any mentally ill person was treated at the time: locked up in the Casa de la Contratación's jail, and taken care of humanely. It is certain from contemporary documents that, a few years after 1519, Faleiro was clearly mad, but one may wonder whether this was not caused by his imprisonment, or at least worsened by it. Paradoxically, Faleiro outlived all the protagonists of the expedition.

#### SANLÙCAR DE BARRAMEDA

After Seville, it is quite natural to turn to the place where the first world circumnavigation was actually completed, i.e. Sanlúcar and, more precisely, the beach at which the Guadalquivir enters the ocean (see Fig. 5).

We were surprised not to see any monument or sign of commemoration of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary on the beach itself; it could only be found in town or, better, in the *Castillo de Santiago*.

Nevertheless, the city has set up a commemorative website presenting comprehensive information (in Spanish):

http://sanlucarprimeravueltaalmundo.c om.



Fig. 5. The beach on Guadalquivir in Sanlùcar in 2022

<sup>1</sup> The exhibition is planned to last until 11 July 2023, at Casa de la Ciencia, Av. María Luisa, 41013, Sevilla (http://www.ign.es/web/ign/portal/ic-salas-exposiciones).

<sup>2</sup> Pilot major Juan Díaz de Solís had been sent by King Ferdinand in search of that very same strait in 1515. However the anticipated strait turned out to be the broad mouth of the River Plate, where Solís was killed by locals.

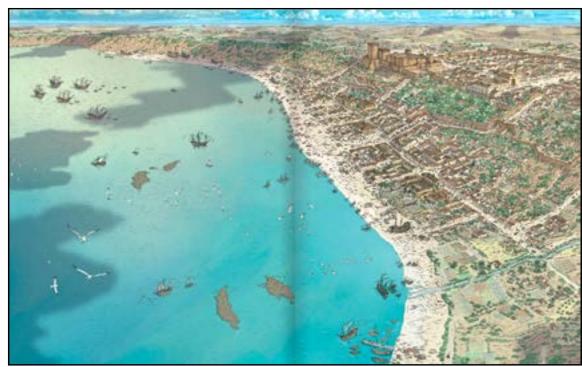


Fig. 6. The Guadalquivir estuary in Sanlùcar in 1519 (according to A. Redundo)

#### **CASTILLO DE SANTIAGO**

This castle has been dominating the estuary and the city of Sanlùcar since the 15th century.

An exhibition was held there in 2020 – 2022 to commemorate "The Spice Voyage of Magellan and Elcano".

The exhibition consisted of a series of explanatory panels similar to those in Seville. The panels were complemented by navigation instruments such as astrolabes (and an anachronistic eighteenth-century quadrant!), a logbook and facsimiles of the original documents that contained important data from the expedition (including letters from Elcano), nautical charts, old maps and an audiovisual presentation of the events and consequences of the return of the so-called *Armada de la Especiería* (Spice Armada).



Fig. 7. Castillo de Santiago



Fig. 8. Exhibition poster

In addition – this is an unexpected bonus! – there is a permanent exhibition of reproductions of maps and plans in a tower of the castle. Unfortunately, there is no explanation or introduction whatsoever to this collection!

It is a pity since it looked quite comprehensive and included some interesting documents...

The Casa de la Contratación – the Spanish agency that controlled trade with the Indies - was moved from Seville to Cádiz in 1717. One of the reasons was that sailing ships took around seven days to travel between Seville and Sanlúcar. Furthermore, Sanlúcar itself was a significant navigational hazard, with a sandbar right in front of the river mouth that had caused a record number of shipwrecks. Cádiz, on the other hand, was far more exposed to enemy attacks and its merchant community initially was a tiny fraction of that in Seville. The balance changed only after Cádiz's defences were adequately strengthened following its sacking by Anglo-Dutch forces in 1596, and after Seville's population dwindled due to plague epidemics in the mid-seventeenth century.



Fig. 10. Anonymous map of the coast between Sanlùcar de Barrameda and Cadiz, which later took over from Seville as hub of Spain's colonial trade when the Guadalquivir silted up.

Fig. 9. Letter of Elcano to King Charles announcing the completion of the first world circumnavigation, written on 6 September 1522 on board the Victoria, in Sanlùcar; it is accompanied by a drawing of Sanlùcar at the time.



Fig. 11. Unsigned map of the River Guadalquivir from Seville to Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 1760. Collections of the City Council of Seville. 44 × 110 cm. Elcano's Victoria arrived in Sanlúcar on 6 September 1522. When news reached the Casa de la Contratación's officials in Seville the following day, they immediately dispatched a small river ship to service the Victoria.

The two ships met near the place called 'punta de la horcada' on this map. On 8 September, Elcano and his crew disembarked in Seville.



Jean-Louis Renteux jl.renteux@gmail.com

with contributions by Luis A. Robles Macías

### A Masterclass in Geopolitics

On 14 December 2022, Econopolis hosted a lecture by Tim Marshall, author of *The Power of Geography and Prisoners of Geography* at BMW Benelux in Bornem, Belgium for 200 people.

Being an active member of the Brussels Map Circle and a partner at Econopolis, it was my pleasure to invite all interested members of the Brussels Map Circle to this event. Around ten of them attended.

During his introduction, Geert Noels, CEO of Econopolis, stressed the importance of our region in the history of mapmaking. He himself originates from Lier, which in the 15th century was an important city that rivaled Leuven. When the city had the choice between a cattle market and a university, it chose the former so Leuven got the university. Lier's choice was probably the best decision for the following 100 years, but not for the present day!

Geert Noels also showed Mercator's world map in order to emphasise the importance of our region to the history of cartography.



Tim Marshall delivering his talk.

Tim Marshall focused more on current geopolitical issues, with a focus on Ukraine, China and even space. He combined history and geography to explain why, according to him, the 'buffer state' of Ukraine is crucial to Russia. He also showed a map of China, oriented to the east. This view shows, again according to Marshall, how China feels 'surrounded' by

US-friendly nations and explains why it feels the need to enhance its presence and power in the South China Sea. Marshall's presentation ended with a map of space and the different orbits around Earth. In his view the battle for space is already ongoing, since whoever controls it has enormous power. This also introduced his next book *The Future of Geography*.

Tim Marshall's presentation was followed by a debate moderated by Stephanie De Smedt (Editor of De Tijd, the Belgian economic newspaper) with four panelists: Tim Marshall, Steven Van Hecke



From left to right: Stephanie De Smedt, Frans Van Daele, David Criekemans, Steven Van Hecke, Tim Marshall

(Professor of Comparative and EU Politics, KU Leuven), David Criekemans (Professor of International Relations, Antwerp University) and Frans Van Daele (diplomat and former Secretary of His Majesty's Cabinet). The debate focused mainly on Ukraine and Taiwan and offered insights into diplomacy and strategy. The debate also included the geography and history of Ukraine. The panelists did not always agree, which made it all the more interesting. Cyprus was highlighted as a potential future geopolitical hotspot, where Turkey and Greece are opponents, and where the stakes have gone up after recent discoveries of gas under the seabed.

The lecture and debate were followed by closing words by myself, where I had the challenging task of standing between the audience and the reception that followed. I shared my view that every map is a piece of a huge puzzle, yet every map is by itself a multi-layered puzzle. After attending the BIMCC conference on the mapping of Ukraine (see pages XX-XX), I also shared my view that maps are rarely objective, but that they are instead created by someone for a particular reason, often with an underlying subjective goal.

During the reception that followed, everyone had the opportunity to buy Tim Marshall's and Steven Van Hecke's books. We also enjoyed finger food and drinks.

We all benefitted from our evening's immersion in the interaction of geography, cartography and geopolitics.



Marijn van Zundert marijn.van.zundert@econopolis.be

# Kaarten die geschiedenis schreven. 1000 jaar wereldgeschiedenis

# ... in 100 oude kaarten

# [Maps That Made History - 1000 Years of World History in 100 Old Maps]

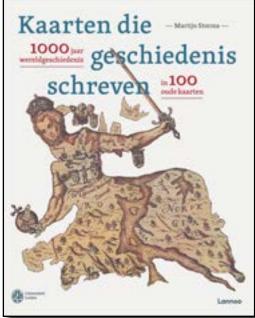
BY MARTIJN STORMS AND MICHIEL VAN GROESEN, ANNE-ISABELLE RICHARD, ALICIA SCHRIKKER, KASPER VAN OMMEN, GARRELT VERHOEVEN (ED.)

Tielt (B): Lannoo, 2022

- 432 pages, 35 × 29 cm
- ISBN 9789401485296, 79.00 EUR

The Publisher Lannoo clearly struck gold when in 2019 it started what would become the concept of a kind of series of, so far, three books that tell history through maps. First there was De geschiedenis van Nederland in 100 oude kaarten [The history of the Netherlands in 100 old maps] (2019), then came De geschiedenis van België in 100 oude kaarten [The history of Belgium in 100 old maps] (2021) and now we have Kaarten die geschiedenis schreven.

All these visually very appealing books, aimed at a broad audience and not necessarily map connoisseurs, are written in very accessible language and are sold for a very accessible price. The format is the same for all these bulky books: a convenient timeline at the beginning and one pictured map at a time together with comments, following a chronological order. They measure around  $35 \times 29$ cm, which allows reproduction of the said maps in a large size (or indeed even larger when using two pages), and they display the work of numerous academics from various fields who teamed up to select and comment on maps that tell (national) history. Publish them towards the end of the year and these books make the perfect gift.



#### **PREDECESSORS**

Not that the idea is new, of course, I hasten to add. There are many international publications based on the idea of commenting on maps that illustrate (world) history. Indeed, in 2015 your very own Brussels Map Circle published *Vlaanderen in 100 kaarten [Flanders in 100 maps*] under the direction of Wouter Bracke and with the cooperation of many of our members and in much the same format. *We were trendsetters*!

Sadly, the language in which these books were published – Dutch – is not understood by many and so these books suffer from this handicap. So I was happy that the book about Belgium had a counterpart publisher – Racine – for the French language version. And I'm as happy that this book, Kaarten die geschiedenis schreven, has been published by Lannoo simultaneously in English.

It's strange, but both the French book on Belgium and the English translation of Kaarten die geschiedenis schreven, have a cover that slightly differs from the Dutch one. In the latter case, I am told, this is for layout reasons. However, readers of the Dutch version shouldn't worry: they are compensated by an image of the complete map inside the book.

#### THE LEIDEN MAP COLLECTION

Kaarten die geschiedenis schreven /
Maps That Made History is based on
the map collections of the Leiden
University Libraries, of which Martijn
Storms is the curator. Veteran Brussels
Map Circle members will remember
our visit to these libraries some years
ago where Martijn introduced us to the
extensive Bodel Nijenhuis collection, a
pars pro toto for the entire collection.
Although Martijn is the only author
mentioned on the cover and indeed
wrote most of the comments, the
editorial staff consisted of five more
members. They were supplied with



Nova Totius Africae Tabula - Africa COLLBN Port 179 N 25 Bormeester, J .- Leiden University Libraries.

material by a broad range of 44 authors and one renowned Dutch writer for the introduction, using again the same model as in the above-mentioned books on the Netherlands and Belgium.

Both in the Dutch and in the English title the word old is used for the maps. Although many of the selected maps are indeed ancient, some of them are very recent, up to the 21st century. This is easy to explain. As recently as 2021 Leiden University received a bequest in the form of the Steegh-Teunissen map collection. Harrie Teunissen, an active member of our Circle, has already shown us exemplars from this vast collection that mainly contains nineteenth and twentieth century maps. To give just one example, the collection has enabled the book to include Chinese maps as recent as 2013, maps that underline China's current ambitions on the world stage. There is also a gruesome map of 1940 showing the Nazi planning of the Warsaw ghetto. World history indeed.

Other fairly recent transfers of several map collections, such as those of the now-abolished Ministry of the Colonies or the Royal Institute for the Tropics for instance, also help complete the span of the impressive Leiden map collection.

And, for the record: certainly not all maps in the book are of Dutch making. Besides the Chinese example above, many maps originating in different geographies are included. This holds true both for the cartographers and for the place of publication.

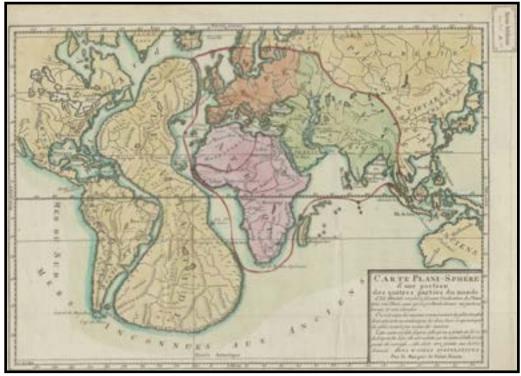
#### **BALANCING ACT**

A big dilemma with a book like this is: history or cartography? As with all the above-mentioned predecessors of this book you hear two reactions: it is not cartographic enough or it is not historical enough. Let this be a consolation for the authors: you can never get it right. And I think that a lot of readers don't really care as long as the book is worth their while. They can rest assured: this book guarantees them many an hour of interesting, high quality and instructive reading. Preferably accompanied by a good drink.

Both aspects, the cartographical and the historical, are well addressed here. This is no doubt due to the major contribution of Martijn Storms and to the choice of co-authors. Besides Martijn himself, over 10 of the 44 authors have a degree or training in a cartography-related field. And several articles written by authors from a very different domain also feature Martijn's initials, indicating that he is clearly responsible for the more 'cartographical' part of the commentary.

#### A MAP FOR ALL SEASONS

Maps have often been used for purposes other than the representation of the earth's surface, or at least that was not their sole use or intention. This book contains many examples: maps for war propaganda (see the cover of the book), maps for commercial purposes ('look what a great fleet our company manages'), maps to boast military victories (preferably over 'heathens'), maps for gloating over the loss of territory by the adversary, maps depicting social upheaval, maps of the spreading of



Carte Plani-Sphére d'une portion des quatres parties du monde 1856 - COLLBN Port 144 N 188 The map shows the imaginary island *Atlantis* covering nearly the whole Atlantic Ocean...

pandemics, cartoon maps, lying maps, missionary maps, scientific maps, etc etc. Their range, diversity and beauty are staggering.

The only question I found no answer for in the book is what the significance of the two maps at the end (p. 408 – The Pacific and p. 410 – London) is. Maybe I missed some reference to them in some article?

#### THE USUAL INGREDIENTS

Every map has its pedigree concisely and precisely spelled out: maker, official name, place of publication, date, technique, dimensions, scale, orientation, place of conservation. Furthermore, there is the traditional list of names of persons and places and the much-appreciated bibliography with every map.

Something I had particularly appreciated in the book on Belgian history was the little icon indicating if the map has been scanned and is available on the Internet. Such an icon is missing here but that certainly doesn't mean the maps in this book are not digitally available: a great many in the core collections of the Leiden

University are indeed, under the reference COLLBN... But you have to try your luck on the Internet and check every time.

#### **SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL**

The book is true to its claim to span '1000 years of world history': the first map shown dates from 800 CE, the last from 2014. So even better than a thousand years. The claim to picture world history is maybe a little less well-founded. Calling the construction of the Scheveningen road, the draining of the Haarlem Lake or the urban planning of The Hague of historic importance on a world scale is perhaps stretching it a bit. On the other hand, it is perfectly understandable that the map collection of Leiden contains many 'local' maps and when this 'local' also means 'made in a region of the world - the Low Countries - that was so instrumental in the history of cartography', one can understand these choices. The authors of the comments clearly were aware of this caveat - see also the preface - and always tried to use the map in question to zoom out to a larger (or should we say in cartographic terms smaller?) global scale. But of course, the choice

of topics to be treated in a thousand years of world history is a daunting task. Probably it is simply impossible. Moreover, let us be honest: most of the readers of this book will be either from the Netherlands or the Flemish region of Belgium and will be pleased with the choice of these beautiful maps.

#### BACK TO THE FUTURE

In a last comment, Martijn Storms reflects on the future of maps. He is convinced cartography will continue to exist, even though 'everything has been mapped.' The world is still continuously changing, he writes, so this requires constant mapping and he also points at the mapping of the universe, referring to the images made using the James Webb telescope. Of course, maps are becoming increasingly digital instead of paper objects, but the concept 'map' persists.

Maps are simply beautiful to look at

and they fascinate many people, Martijn writes. No reader of *Maps in History* will contradict that.



Caroline De Candt carolinedecandt@gmail.com

# French maps of Malta, sixteenth to nineteenth centuries

#### INTRODUCTION

Maps have always fascinated me — particularly those printed before the nineteenth century. I never cease to study them. During my research I was thrilled to discover the predominance of French cartography relating to Malta. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, maps of Malta were published not only by leading French cartographers but featured in historical literature, travel narratives, guidebooks, nautical pilots, and treatises relating to the Napoleonic era. The list includes broadsheets depicting the progress of the Great Siege of 1565 as well as several unidentified manuscript maps.

This demonstrates the importance which France has always attached to the island, not only during the days of the Knights of Malta but also after Malta was taken over by Napoleon in 1798. I have therefore attempted to compile a carto-bibliographical study of this corpus, the maps which I have so far been able to identify and which are now being presented here.

#### SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The earliest French map of Malta in the sixteenth century features in a manuscript attributed to François de Valois, future king of France. It is held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Fig.1). The manuscript gives a description of the coasts, islands and ports of the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Its date is presumed between 1504 and 1515. It is complemented by an assembly of manuscript maps based on those of Claudius Ptolemy (C100 or 87-C170). There are two folios showing the map of Malta, one titled 'Malte' and the other 'Malta'. Both have a striking resemblance to

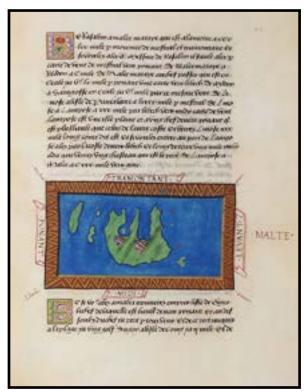


Fig. 1. Folio with map of Malta from the anonymous manuscript *Description des côtes, des îles et des ports de l'Océan atlantique et de la Mer Méditerranée,* ca 1504-1515. BnF, Manuscrits, français 2794.

the map drawn by Cristoforo Buondelmonti (c1385-post 1430), which survives in a copy from about 1470¹. In 1575 and 1598, François de Belleforest (1530-1583)², a historian and prolific writer, and Johannes Matalius Metellus (c1517-1597)³, whose wide knowledge of learning covered cartography, geography, law and palaeography, both published a map of Malta which was similar to the miniature map by Abraham Ortelius published by Philip Galle (1537-1612) in 1577. A singular map of Malta was drawn by André Thevet (1516-1590) in 1586 which formed part of his manuscript *Le Grand* 

<sup>1</sup> Cristoforo Buondelmonti was an Italian Franciscan priest and traveller who produced a manuscript island book, *Cristophori de Bondelmontibus liber insularum Cicladum ad Jordanem cardinalem*, now held at the Royal Library of El Escorial in Spain and which contains a sketch map of the island of Malta. It is the first known separate map of Malta, measuring 130 × 120 mm, having the title 'Melita insula in qua civitas nominis est. Unde catellos mellitus appelari Callimachus auctor.' See: William Soler and Albert Ganado, *The Charting of Maltese Waters*, 9-11 (Malta: BDL Publishing, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> François de Belleforest, *La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* in 2 volumes. The description of Malta titled 'L'Isle de Malthe & sa description' is found in volume 2. He inserted the Malta map titled 'Malta olim Melita Insula' within the text which he copied from the map captioned 'Insularum Aliquot Maris Mediterranei Descriptio' that featured in the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) by Abraham Ortelius. The map, 100 × 160 mm, a woodcut engraving, is oriented north to the top. See: Albert Ganado, *Miniature Maps of Malta*, 19 (Malta: Heritage Malta, Midsea Books, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> The map collection of Metellus was posthumously published in 1602 at Oberursel (north of Frankfurt-am-Main), Germany by Cornelius Sutor (active 1596-1606) with the title Speculum Orbis Terrae. It consisted of five volumes in one, folio size 279 × 196 mm. The exemplar examined is located at Stanford University (California) and is dated 1600. It consists of 182 double-page maps, but with missing title pages. Malta, oriented to the north, is numbered '77' in ink. The same map had also featured in Italia, Hispania, Francia, Austrasia, Helvetia Tabulis Aeneis Incisae, et secundum rationes Geographicas delineatae authored by Conrad Loew (Matthias Quad) and published in 1598 by Bertramus Buchholtz, German printer who flourished between 1572 and 1599 in Cologne. The title of the map 'Malta olim Melita Insula' in both editions is placed in a rectangular cartouche at the bottom left.



Fig. 2. André Thevet, Le vray portraict de LIsle, & des forts de Malte Asiegee Ian.M.D.LXV. PAR· LES·TVRCS. Unknown source.

#### Insulaire 4.

In 1565 Malta was invaded by the Turkish fleet and the invasion immediately captivated the attention of European states. News about the siege was disseminated through broadsheet copper-plate maps which were published in Italy, Germany, France and the Netherlands.

The exceedingly rare French maps recording the progress of the Great Siege were prepared by André Thevet (Fig.2)<sup>5</sup>, Pierre Woeiriot de Bouzey (1532–1596?, Fig.3)<sup>6</sup>, and Nicolas Béatrizet (1520?–1560, Fig.4)<sup>7</sup>.

#### FRENCH CARTOGRAPHERS - SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

A map of Malta engraved by Jean Boulanger (1608–c1680), a French line-engraver, was published in 1645. It depicts the island of Malta and its fortifications accompanied by a description of Malta and a key of 72 place-names, two of which refer to the bastions and works of the Marquis S. Ange and the new fortifications by Cardinal Firenzuola. There are

two states known. The same map was printed again in 1645 on a much larger sheet to include a depiction of the battle of Lepanto<sup>8</sup>.

In 1648 Jean Boisseau (fl.1631-1658), who produced several important maps and atlases, published a collection of views

<sup>4</sup> Thevet map entitled 'Malte' on the face of the map, 150 × 180 mm. It is in the manuscript Le Grand Insulaire, et Pilotage d'André Thevet, Angoumoisin, cosmographe du Roy, dans lequel sont contenus plusieurs plants d'isles habitées et deshabitées, et description d'icelles. The only known copy is at BNF. See: Albert Ganado, 'André Thevet's Malta map in Le Grand Insulaire (1586-1590)', 2-8, Malta Map Society Journal, Volume 1, issue 2, February 2017.

<sup>5</sup> André Thevet. Le vray portraict de L'Isle, & des forts de Malte, Asiege lan.M.D.LXV.PAR.LES.TVRCS (1565). See: Albert Ganado and Maurice Agius-Vadalà, A Study in Depth of 143 Maps Representing the Great Siege of Malta of 1565 (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group (PEG) Ltd, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Woeiriot de Bouzey, *L'Isle de Malta et la Victoire des Chrestiens contre le Turc* (Lione [Lyon]: 10. Nonembre [!], 1565), 260 × 193 mm. See: Albert Ganado, Valletta Città Nuova, a map history (1566-1600), 374/5, (Malta: PEG Ltd., 2003).

<sup>7 [</sup>Nicolas Béatrizet], *Melita Nvnc Malta*, state 2, 298 × 395 mm. This is really a pre-siege map. See: Albert Ganado and Joseph Schirò, *The Pre-Siege Maps of Malta*, 140-146 (Malta: BDL Publishing, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> Jean Boulanger's maps of Malta were printed as broadsheets of which three states have been identified. Two were printed in 1645 with the title *Plan des fortresse de Vallete, Bovrg et Sangle de Malte*, 397 × 509 mm. *The third state Plan des fortresse de Vallete, Bovrg et Sangle de Malte and La Des Faicte de l'Armee des Tvrcs par les Chevaliers*, 1645, 494 × 382 mm.

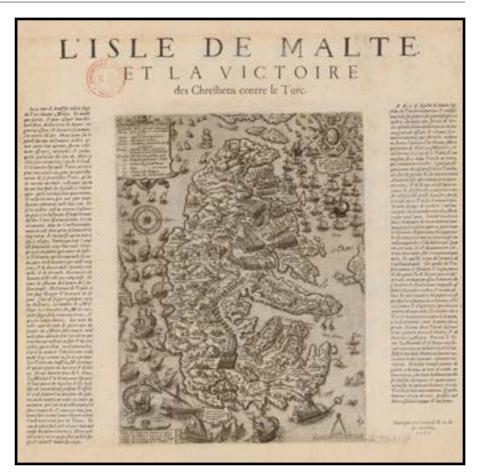


Fig. 3. Pierre Woeiriot de Bouzey, L'isle de Malte et la victoire des chrétiens contre le turc (Lyon, 1565). 490 × 360 mm. BnF, Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (5744)

of European and Asian cities. The collection included a map illustrating the new city and fortress of Malta, named Valletta, and it seems that his map had been adapted from an earlier one of 1582 by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio (1547–1616). Boisseau also produced a map of Malta divided into eight parishes, or administrative districts, and a plan of the harbour showing the projected Floriana fortifications, the Marsa fountain, the gallows at the harbour mouth and a church on Manoel Island9.

Nicolas Sanson (1600–1667), known as the father of French cartography, was a prolific cartographer who produced many atlases during his lifetime. The first edition of his quarto atlas *L'Europe, l'Asie, l'Afrique & l'Amérique*, a geographical description of the four continents of the world in separate volumes, was published in 1656. His map of Malta, with detailed place–names, featured in the third

volume *L'Afrique*. The publication achieved great popularity and was copied several times by various map publishers <sup>10</sup>. His nephew, Pierre Du Val (1619–1683), produced a miniature map of Malta which was based on that of his uncle and was probably first published in *La Géographie Universelle* in 1660; it also featured in several publications including German editions of 1679 and 1690 published in Nürnberg by Johann Hoffman. Piere Du Val's large folio map of Malta, Gozo, Comino and Cominetto, with an inset plan of Valletta, appeared in 1667 and 1677; three states have been recorded. In 1661 he republished the map by engraver Estienne Vouillemont (fl c1650–c1670) with the title *Le Théatre des Belles Actions des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jerusalem dite de Malte*. Pierre Du Val created *Le jeu du Monde* in 1645 which he dedicated to the Count of Vivonne<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Boisseau, *Theatre des Citez, ou Recueil de plusieurs villes, dont les noms suivent par ordre alphabetique; Selon qu'ils sont continues en ce present volume,* atlas with 56 plates (Paris, 1648), 35 × 46 cm. The plan of Valletta titled '*Description de la nouvelle cite et fortresse de Malte nommee Vallette*', with lettered key A-Z, 1-20 in eleven columns along the bottom inside neat line. The Malta map, 'NOUVELLE | description de l'Isle de MALTE jadis | MELITA, et des lles de COMIN et COMINOT' and 'Dessain ov Plan dv Gran Port...' featured in Jean Boisseau, *La clef de la geographie generale.* (Paris?, 1645). Size 357 × 550 mm. Orientation north at the top. See: Joseph Schirò and Claude Micallef Attard, '*The extremely scarce Boisseau map of Valletta*', 13-19, Malta Map Society Journal, Volume 1, Issue 3, February 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Nicolas Sanson's map of Malta featured in at least eleven publications. The first state, with the title 'Les Isles de Malte, Goze, &c. Par N. Sanson d'Abbeville Geographe ordinaire du Roy. Avec Privilege pour 20 Ans' appeared in 1656. The size of the map tends to vary in each publication. The orientation of the map is north. See: Emanuel Chetcuti, 'The Sanson Map of Malta', Malta Map Society, Show and Tell, 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Pierre Du Val's miniature map of Malta, titled 'Isle de Malthe', is believed to have first been published in 1660. Measuring 101 × 122 mm, north at the top, it is featured in several publications. See: Ganado, *Miniature Maps of Malta*, 26-28; Geoffrey L. King, *Miniature antique maps: an illustrated guide for the collector*, 2nd edn (Wallingford, Oxfordshire: Tooley Adams & Co., 2003). There are three states of Du Val's folio map of Malta, titled '*Les Isles de Malthe,Goze, Comin, Cominotae...*', which include an inset of Valletta and surroundings. State 1 is in the atlas *Cartes | de | géographie | les plus fideles, avecque leurs | division reguliers, suivant | les memoires de | P. Du Val geographe | ordinaire du Roy* (Paris, 1667). The second state has the same date, the third is dated 1677, orientation north at top, 395 × 530 mm. See: Claude Micallef Attard, '*The different states of the folio edition of the Du Val map of* 

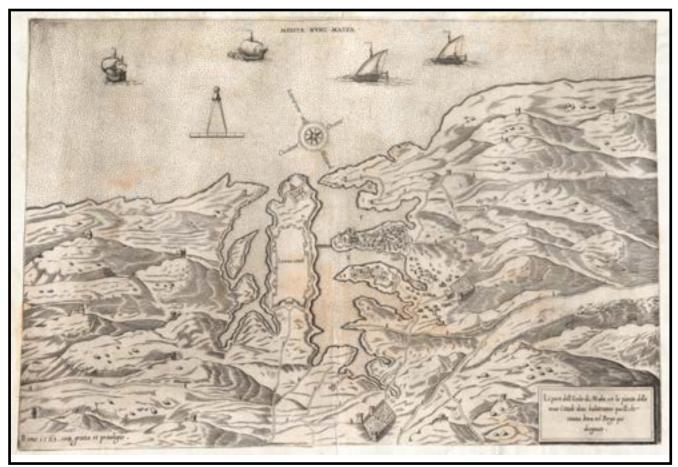


Fig. 4. Nicolas Béatrizet, MELITA NVNC MALTA, state 2. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, bsb00106732.

When Nicolas Sanson (senior) died in 1667, Alexis-Hubert Jaillot (1632–1712) negotiated with his heirs to re-engrave, enlarge and republish his maps in loose sheets and atlases. Jaillot published a map of Malta, entitled 'Carte Particuliere des Isles de Malta du Goze et du Cuming' which featured in volume 3 of the *Atlas François*, dated 1734; a second edition came out in 1781. The map was based on Guillaume de l'Isle map engraved by C[laude]. A[uguste]. Berey for Abbé Vertot's history of the Knights (Fig. 5).

During the eighteenth century, maps by Nicolas de Fer (1646–1720), a French cartographer and publisher, were highly esteemed. A map of Malta and a plan of the towns and fortifications featured in the *Atlas Curieux*, extant in various editions between 1694 and 1757<sup>13</sup>. His plan of Valletta and the harbour and the surrounding area showing the

latest fortifications of the period was later updated and reissued in 1723 by his successor and son-in-law, Guillaume Danet (1670–1732)<sup>14</sup>. The plan seems to have been based on an earlier similar version attributed to Sieur de Langres of 1640 or 1645<sup>15</sup>. The same plan was published between 1680 and 1694 by Sébastien Pontault de Beaulieu (1612–1674).<sup>16</sup>

In 1709, Nicolas de Fer brought out an updated and revised map of Malta and its adjacent island which was originally drawn in 1662 by Estienne Vouillemont. It is embellished with exceptional details. At the foot are three lines of images of the armonial crests of the Grand Masters of the Order of St John of the Knights Hospitaller. De Fer updated the map which he republished in 1720 and 1722.17

Malta', 9-12, Malta Map Society Newsletter, volume 2, issue 1, January 2013.

<sup>12</sup> Jaillot's Carte des Isles de Malte du Goze et du Cuming has detailed place names. The orientation is towards southwest. It has a large inset showing the harbour. Size  $430 \times 725$  mm.

<sup>13</sup> Nicolas de Fer's map, *L'isle de Malthe Possedée par les Chevaliers...* (1695), first state, oriented south at the top, measures 142 × 280 mm; plan of Malta *Plans des veilles | et Nouvelles fortif. | de Malthe...* (1695), first state, south at top, 150 × 290 mm. See: Claude Micallef Attard, 'A catalogue of the De Fer maps of Malta and their derivatives', 16-27, *Malta Map Society Newslette*r, volume 1, issue 3, special edition, September 2011.

<sup>14</sup> Guillaume Danet, Plan de la Ville de Malthe se Forts, ses Nouvelles Fortiffications Ainsy q'elles sont a present Levée [sic] sur les Lieux (1723), orientation south at top,  $397 \times 487$  mm. The map is a faithful copy of that by Sieur de Langres of 1640 or 1645, the only apparent change being on the inscription within the cartouche beneath the main title.

<sup>15</sup> Sieur de Langres, Plan de l'Isle de Malte levée sur les lieux... (c1640), south at the top,  $395 \times 380$  mm; of which at least three states have been identified.

<sup>16</sup> Sébastien Pontault de Beaulieu, *Plan de l'Isle de Malte levée sur les lieux...* (1680-1694), south at the top, 445 × 535 mm.

<sup>17</sup> Nicolas de Fer, L'Isle de Malte/Et cettes de GOZE et de COMINGO... (1709), south at the top, 375 × 517 mm. The map was printed



Fig. 5. Claude Auguste Berey, 'Carte des Isles de Malte du Goze et du Cuming avec la position des batteries et des redoutes faites pour la deffence de la Coste', 336 × 220 mm, from René Aubert de Vertot, Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem... (1726). Author's collection.

Another miniature map of Malta was published by Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (1688–1766) who, together with his son, Didier Robert de Vaugondy (1723–1786 or 1796), were the direct descendants of Nicolas Sanson. Gilles commenced his business in cartography in 1731 after inheriting the map business from Pierre Moullart–Sanson. These resources were augmented when Alexis–Hubert Jaillot died in 1712. Gilles Robert de Vaugondy's map featured in several editions of Atlas Portatif, Universel et Militaire, Atlas Portatif Universel and Nouvel Atlas Portatif which included maps by son Didier; it ran into several editions between 1748 and 1799. The map is evidently based on that of Nicolas Sanson 18.

Two other French maps of Malta from the eighteenth century were engraved by Pierre Aveline (c1656–1722): a print-publisher and print-seller specialising in topographical representations. He engraved the bird's-eye view of Malta with the title 'Les Villes forts et chateaux de Malte capital de l'isle de ce nom' which was not published by Jacques Chereau (1688–1776) at Paris until 1750<sup>19</sup>. He also published 'La Nouvelle Ville de Malte nommée Vallette Capitale de l'Isle de Malte, fait par Aveline avec Privilege du Roy'. The plan contains a key to place–names in six

columns along the foot as well as an asterisk indicating the Mediterranean Sea. There is some uncertainty about the date of this map as to whether it was published in 1665 or 1720<sup>20</sup>.

In 1740 Peter Chassereau (c1711-c1760), an exiled French Huguenot who professed himself as an architect and land surveyor, published a map of Malta entitled 'A new and correct Map of the Island of Malta, Goze & Cuming situated in the Mediterranean Sea 14 Deg. East... Shewing the forts and batteries for the defence of the coasts' which he dedicated to Sir Robert Walpole. Below the map Chassereau placed a plan of the city of Valletta with all its fortifications. The plan is flanked on both sides with descriptive notes<sup>21</sup>.

Furthermore, several manuscript maps have been identified but it has not been possible to discover who they were made by. One such, however, is attributed to Philippe Nicolas Milcent which is titled 'Carte des isles de Malte, du Goze, et du Cuming avec les nouvelles Redoutes & Batteries faites en 1715 pour la Deffence des Marines / Dessiné, et levé sur les lieux en 1715'. <sup>22</sup>

from the same plate used by Estienne Vouillemont in Paris in 1662 and again in 1672 titled *Representation des ISLES de MALTE, GOZE, et COMINO.*.. See: Attard, 'The De Fer Large Maps'.

<sup>18</sup> The map of Malta by Gilles Robert de Vaugondy, 'Carte des Isles de Malte et de Goze. Par le Sr. Robert Geog. Ord. du Roi' first featured in the *Atlas Universel, Portatif et Militaire,* published in two volumes at Paris by Durand in 1748 (though some maps are dated 1749). It includes maps signed by Didier as Robert de Vaugondy. According to Pedley it also appeared in the *Atlas Universel* (1757) and Nouvel Atlas Portatif (1762). It is oriented north-east at the top, 155 × 210 mm.

<sup>19</sup> The same map was published by Pierre Aveline, Jacques Chereau, and Etienne Charpentier (1707-1792). Size  $490 \times 645$  mm, south at top.

<sup>20</sup> Size 210 × 320 mm.

<sup>21</sup> Size 470 × 660 mm

<sup>22</sup> The map is oriented south at the top, size 285 × 500 mm.



Fig. 6. A. F. Gervais de Palmeus, Carte générale de la principauté souveraine des isles de Malte et du Goze (Paris, 1752). One map on two sheets, 590 × 1350 mm, sheets 590 × 940 mm and 590 × 410 mm. British Library, Maps K. Top.84.94.

#### THE MAPS BY DE PALMEUS

The three large maps of Malta by A. F. Gervais de Palmeus (? – 1776?) are considered the most detailed printed maps of Malta. De Palmeus was an engineer and geographer to King Louis XV of France. Together with his son, he was the inventor of several small allegorical subjects in praise of his sovereign and the Archbishop of Paris. It is said that neither father nor son knew how to draw, and therefore had their subjects drawn and engraved, according to their ideas, by leading engravers. De Palmeus's three productions relating to Malta consist of a large-scale map of the archipelago, a large plan of Valletta and its surroundings and a plan of Fort Chambray on Gozo.

The title of the first is 'Carte Générale de la Principauté Souveraine des Isles de Malte et du Goze' (Fig.6). De Palmeus declares that the map was drawn up from the memoirs of the Grand Officers of the Order of St John. It was presented and dedicated to His Serene Highness M. Gr. Le Prince de Conti, a prince by royal blood and a Grand Prior of France. Prince of Conti was a French noble title, assumed by a cadet branch of the princely house of Bourbon-Condé. At the time when de Palmeus first published this map in 1752, Louis François Joseph de Bourbon or Louis François II (1734–1814)

held the title of Prince of Conti. The map was probably dedicated to him. It is very detailed and includes even the position of various shoals. At top right there is a view of Malta titled 'Vue des Isles de Malte et du Goze'. Four states of the Malta map have been recorded.<sup>23</sup>

The plan of Valletta is titled 'Plan Général de la Ville Capitale de Malte'. This, too, is dedicated to the Prince of Conti, and was first published in 1751. At the bottom on the right-hand side there are the coats of arms of Vittoriosa, Senglea, Floriana, Valletta and Grand Master Emanuel Pinto de Fonseca. On both sides there are detailed place-names. There are five states of the plan<sup>24</sup>.

The third plan is 'Plan de la Cité Neuve de Chambray dans l'Isle du Goze' first published in 1751, also dedicated to the Prince of Conti. It shows on the left Fort Chambray with the road flanking it which leads to the Castello and Rabat. To the right there is the proposed bastioned enceinte which encloses Garzes Tower. Inside a sectioned-off area along the bottom is a key to place-names. Six states have been recorded.<sup>25</sup>

#### MAPS FROM NAPOLEONIC FRANCE

Bacler d'Albe, Louis Albert Ghislain was instructed by General Napoleon Bonaparte to compile a map of the Italian states. Bacler d'Albe divided his work in two sections. The first section shows the seat of war in Italy and the Alps. The second section illustrates the Kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia and Malta and Gozo. The map of Malta has detailed place names also displaying the road network and the various fortifications of the island<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> The map measures  $582 \times 1350$  mm with an elaborate cartouche displaying the map's title and dedication and which is flanked by two male figures holding flags of the Order of St John. Another cartouche holds the scale bars.

<sup>24</sup> The plan measures 585 × 885 mm. It is complemented with two panels giving detailed place-names.

<sup>25</sup> The plan of Chambray measures 520  $\times$  786 mm.

<sup>26</sup> Bacler d'Albe, Louis-Albert Ghislain, Carte General des Iles de Malte et du Goze (1802), 525 × 970 mm, dissected and mounted on

The unknown author of a book written in 1798 was convinced that the capture of Malta by Napoleon must have caused great joy to all French people who were sincerely interested in the good of their homeland. He believed that the French wanted to know the advantages which the French Republic was to derive from such an important conquest. It was therefore important for them to learn about the situation of the island, its different relations with Europe, its productions, the character of its inhabitants coupled with a sufficient idea of their history. Together with his dissertation on these topics, he inserted a map of Malta and Gozo made by Louis Capitaine (1749-1803), first engineer and an associate in preparation of the general map of France, the map being dedicated to the French Executive Directory. The map explains that it is not possible to anchor along the southern Maltese coast owing to its precipitous approach; however, on the north side it is possible to anchor during the right season when the water is safe. Reference is made to Gozo's sandy shores where sometimes one encounters high rocks where it is not possible to land. The map was also published in vertical form in two sections; the upper portrays the map of Malta and the lower the map of Gozo<sup>27</sup>.

#### NAUTICAL CHARTS

About 1707 Jean Olivier compiled a manuscript portolan entitled Livre de plusieurs plans des ports et rades de la mer Mediteranée et de l'Occeant avec les villes et forts, les sondes marquees par brasses de cinq pieds / Le tout exatement tires par l'observation des Triangles. The portolan includes 100 plans of ports and harbours preceded by anchoring directions. The plan of Malta, 'Plan des villes de Malte e du port' (Fig.7), is preceded by sailing directions towards Malta. In his anchoring directions Olivier recommends mariners to take the southwest route until the port is reached and then to anchor at the depth of 15 fathoms of water. A peculiar feature of the Malta plan is that it does not include any soundings in comparison with the other plans in the manuscript.

Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703-1772) was the first ingénieur de la marine of the French Hydrographical Office and was given the title of Official Hydrographer of the French King. In 1764 he published Le Petit Atlas Maritime contenant

The French Egyptian campaign of 1798 is a favourite topic in the histories of the Napoleonic Era. Invariably, when writing about this expedition, all writers refer to the capture of Malta by Napoleon in the same year. Clément de la Jonquière (1858-1906), Pierre M. Lapie (fl.1779-1850) and Pierre-Jules Baroche (1802-1870) give an extensive coverage to the French landing and provide a map illustrating the approach of the massive fleet of 500 vessels that reached Malta on 9 June, 1798. The maps also depict the landings in Gozo by Reynier, at St Paul's Bay by Baraguay D'Hilliers, at St Julians by Vaubois and at Marsa Sirocco by Desaix<sup>28</sup>.

Volume 3 of the five of Histoire des armées françaises de terre et de mer, de 1792 à 1837, written by Abel Joseph Hugo (1798-1855) and published in 1835-1838, features two maps of Malta on one sheet; the upper part depicting a military plan of the town and port of Malta 'Plan de la Ville et du Port de Malte' and the lower part 'Ile de Malte', showing the island of Malta and Comino with part of Gozo<sup>29</sup>. The Victoires, conquêtes, désastres, revers et guerres civiles des Français de 1792 à 1815, published in 30 volumes by the Société des Militaires et de Gens de Lettres, also includes two maps of Malta, 'Carte topographique de l'Ile de Malte' and 'Ports et Ville de

Malte'30.

l'Europe et les divers etats qu'elle renferme excepté la France in five volumes with 580 finely detailed maps. The 'Carte de l'Isle de Malte' and 'Plan des Ports et Ville de Malthe' featured in volume 4. The map of Malta shows the height of the land above the mean sea level pictorially and by hachures, and the surrounding depths by soundings. The plan has similar cartographic

characteristics31.



Fig. 7. Jean Olivier, 'Plan des villes de Malte e du port'. Folio 26 from the manuscript Livre de plusieurs plans des ports et rades de la mer Mediteranée et de l'Occeant... (1707). BnF, Cartes et plans, GE DD-4829 (RES).

linen. Another version, printed as a whole sheet, 525  $\times$  970 mm.

27 The map is titled 'Carte des isles de Malte et du Goze....' in the anonymous book Recherches sur l'Ordre de Malte, published in 1799. Oriented south at the top, the map measures 730 × 223 mm. It was also published on one sheet in two parts, the upper showing the island of Malta and the lower displaying the island of Gozo, each measures 223 × 380 mm. See: Albert Ganado, 'The George Grognet spy-map of 1800/1801', 3-13, Malta Map Society Newsletter, volume 3, issue 1, January 2015.

28 Clément de la Jonquière published the book L'expedition d'Egypte 1798-1801. It contains a map of the French landing of 1789 titled 'Débarquement de l'Armée Française à Malte' and a plan 'Fortifications de Malte'. See: Joseph Schirò, 'A French map of Malta by Pierre M. Lapie, based on the George Grognet spy-map', 28-32, Malta Map Society Journal, volume 1, issue 1, November 2015.

29 Two maps on one sheet, 225 × 155 mm, orientation south-west at the top. See: Ganado, Miniature maps of Malta.

30 They featured in volume 9.

31 The 'Carte de l'Isle de Malte' is oriented north-west at the top, measuring 215 × 165 mm. The 'Plan des Ports et Ville de Malthe',

A sea chart, 'Nouvelle carte de l'isle de Malthe', was produced by Henri Michelot and Laurent Bremond in 1718, dedicated to Chevalier Jean-Philippe d'Orléans (1702–1748), 'Grand Prieur de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem ou Ordre de Malte en France, Général des Galères'<sup>32</sup>. The chart has an inset '*Plan des Ports de Malte*' and a key at the bottom left-hand corner.

In 1851 Joseph Maistre, a hydrographic publisher, brought out a chart of Malta with the title 'Iles Maltaises' and a plan of Valletta, titled 'Plan du Port de Valetta Ilse de Malte' in a 2-volume atlas Recueil des Plans des Ports & Rades de la Mer Méditerranée de la Mer Noire & de la Mer d'Azof. Both engravings show fathom depth measurements surrounding Malta and the harbour areas. A new edition, with the same engravings, came out in 1859<sup>33</sup>.

Joseph Roux (1725–1793) was a French cartographer and hydrographer. In 1764 he produced a small atlas

containing a collection of port and coastal charts of the Mediterranean Sea. His publication proved very successful in providing navigational assistance to mariners. It was published in several editions between 1764 and 1873. The Malta harbour in his 'Plan du Port de Malte', is crudely represented showing Valletta, Birgu and Senglea and the main fortifications. It provides details of depths around the land area. In the 1800 edition by Joseph Allezard the title changes to 'Malte'; in another edition of 1883 the title now reads 'Plan du Port de Malthe'.'

In January 1895 the Dépôt des Cartes et Plans de la Marine issued a nautical chart of Malta with the title 'Iles de Malte et de Gozo'. The Dépôt was a French hydrographic mapping institution which was founded in 1720 by Charles-Hercule d'Albert de Luynes (1674–1734). The chart was reproduced, but with notable distinctive variations, from that prepared for the British Admiralty by Thomas Graves and T.A.B. Spratt in 1864 and subsequently corrected in 1865 and 1872<sup>35</sup>.

#### HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

When, in 1629, Jean Baudoin (c1590–1650) republished Boissat's history of the Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem he included in his book four key maps of Malta derived from contemporary cartographic sources. Two similar maps displayed the new city of Valletta but were engraved by different hands. They are based on Villamena's map (1600–1602) and include detailed plans of the fortifications, coats of arms, an explanation of the map scale, decorative embellishments and a key identifying important places. Another map showed the Great Siege of 1565 with two coats of arms, and a profusion of vessels approaching the island. The fourth, subtitled 'Description de la cité de Valette de Malte' shows Valletta with harbour shipping. It is in the Italian style copied from Matteo Perez d'Aleccio's engraving of 158236.

René Aubert de Vertot (1655-1735), French clergyman and historian, is renowned for his *Histoire des Chevaliers* Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appellez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte of which several editions and translations were published. A map of Malta and Gozo and a plan of Valletta and adjacent areas were included in the 1726, 1728 and 1732 editions. The map of the islands of Malta and Gozo has excellent details of the towns, fortifications, roads and anchorages; it has a close resemblance to that produced by Phillipe Nicolas Milcent in 1715. The plan is a bird's-eye view showing the organisation of Valetta's defences and the surrounding cities, forts and chateaux<sup>37</sup>. Abridged versions of the history by Vertot were published between 1839 and 1845. They contain a small map of the port of Malta portrayed as it existed in 1565 at the time of the Great Siege<sup>38</sup>.

also north-west at the top, measures 218 × 178 mm. See: Soler and Ganado, The Charting of Maltese Waters, 69-73.

32 The chart, oriented south at the top, measures 470 × 680 mm. See: Albert Ganado 'The Michelot-Bremond atlas of the Mediterranean Sea charts and their Malta map of 1718', 5-14, Malta Map Society Journal, volume 1, issue 1, June 2020.

33 Volume 1 contains the map of Malta and plan of Valletta. The orientation is to the north.

34 The Roux maps of Malta have been the subject of an extensive study by Albert Ganado: 'Joseph Roux – Album of Mediterranean Sea Charts', 20-34, Malta Map Society Journal, volume 1, issue 3, February 2018. Refer also to the appendix to the article quoted in footnote 32.

35 See Soler and Ganado, The Charting of Maltese Waters, 119-124.

36 The four maps are 'Valletta citta nova di Malta' by Daniel Rabel and Isaac Briot; 'Valletta citta nova di Malta' by Henry Raigniauld; 'Isle et siege de Malte' by Henry Raigniauld and 'Description de la cité de Valette de Malte' by I. Blanchin.

37 The Map of Malta 'Carte des Isles de Malte du Goze et du Cuming avec la position des Batteries et de Redoutes faites pour la deffence de la coste' oriented south at the top, 285 × 500 mm; the plan 'Les villes, forts et chateaux de Malte', south at the top, 250 × 355 mm.

38 The book, Abregé de l'histoire des Chevaliers de Malte, par M. l'Abbé de Vertot, in various editions. The page showing the port of Rhodes in the upper part and the port of Malta in the lower part. The Malta part titled 'Port de Malte en 1365' (an obvious error as the date should be 1565), orientated south-west at the top,  $57 \times 65$  mm. See: Ganado, Miniature Maps of Malta, 33.

During the nineteenth century two books were written by Jean Pierre Edmond Jurien de La Gravière (1812-1892) and Paul-Augustin Farochon (1843-1920) dealing with the histories of the Knights of St John, Rhodes and Malta. In 1887 La Gravière brought out the book, in two volumes, entitled Les Chevaliers de Malte et la Marine de Philippe II. Two versions of his book both have engraved maps of Malta: 'Port de Malte en 1570', 'Carte des Iles de Malte et de Gozo en 1686', 'Croquis des Iles de Malte et de Goze' (intended for an understanding of the movement of Turkish and Christian fleets), and 'Croquis du Port et des Fortifications de Malte' (to understand the 1565 siege)39. Farochon, in 1892, published Les Chevaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem appelés ensuite ordre de Rhodes, puis de Malte, followed by another edition Les Chevaliers de Rhodes et de Malte (1893). The maps in these two editions were designed to depict the Great Siege of 1565 and to represent an impression of the island at the end of the sixteenth century<sup>40</sup>.

Two general histories of Malta were published: by Pierre-Marie-Louis de Boisgelin de Kerdu (1758–1816), a French writer and militant monk, in 1805 and 1809; and by Dominique Miège (1778–1859), French Consul in Malta, in 1840 and 1841.

Boisgelin's Ancient and Modern Malta was published in

1804 and 1805 with a French translation *Malte Ancienne et Moderne* in 1805 and 1809. A large and most detailed map of the Maltese archipelago, matching in dimensions and sophistications that made by Gervais de Palmeus in 1752, featured in both editions of *Ancient and Modern Malta*. It illustrates the island's topography, including depth soundings particularly around the harbour. The details are impressive, important buildings and streets in every town and village being displayed<sup>41</sup>. The map from the 1809 French edition was drawn from the large map which had been published in 1804<sup>42</sup>.

The first edition of Miège's *Histoire de Malte* was published in Paris in 1840. Besides the history of Malta, the book provides detailed statistical data and information of the geographical, administrative, economic and social aspects of the island. The second edition came out the following year. Both books contain a map titled 'Isle de Malte et ses Dépendances' and a plan of the harbours, 'Plan de la Valette et de ses Ports'. The map illustrates the topography, roads and main cities on the Maltese archipelago. The plan is a highly detailed bird's-eye view of the important port city of Valletta, Floriana, Birgu, Vittoriosa and the surrounding harbour. A numbered key in the plan identifies numerous locations<sup>43</sup>.

# MAPS OF MALTA ALSO FEATURED IN SEVERAL OTHER FRENCH GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

Philippe Briet SJ (1601–1668), French Jesuit historian and cartographer, is the author of *Parallela geographiae veteris et novae* (1648–49), a geographic and historic treatise about the then known old and new worlds. This was followed by a French edition titled *Théatre Géographique de l'Europe of 1653*. Both publications included a composite map of the islands of western Sicily, the Lipari islands, the Maltese islands and a plan of the Malta harbours. The Malta islands map is placed in the lower section and headed 'L'Isle de Malte avec ses voisines'; the Malta harbours plan captioned 'La Valette forte place de Malte' is placed at the right upper of the composite map<sup>44</sup>.

Allain Manesson Mallet (1630–1706) is best known for his extensive work *Description de l'Univer*s which he started publishing in 1683 in five volumes, a copious publication which included 700 engravings of maps of all parts of the then-known world, star maps, prints of costumes, customs,

cities and religions of many nations as well as astronomical prints. Pierre Bay considered the book as 'a curious pick-up of a thousand things concerning Geography and History'. The section dealing with Malta is in volume 3, De L'Afrique. It gives a description of the island and its surroundings, the city of Malta, the origin of the Knights of Malta and the general state of the island. There is a miniature map of Malta and a plan of the harbour and its surroundings. The distinguishing characteristics of the map are the image of Neptune holding his trident riding a sea monster, a sea battle and a mythological figure with his trumpet. The plan shows the harbour and its surroundings. It depicts the semi-circular enceinte of the Cottonera fortifications. A group of three people are seen looking towards the fortifications. Several vessels are shown at the harbour entrance45.

<sup>39</sup> Two versions of this publication, bearing the same date, have been identified with different engraved maps of Malta.

<sup>40</sup>The maps are 'Siège de Malte en 1565', 'Le groupe de Malte à la fin du XVIe siècle' both oriented to the north and 'Le groupe de Malte (au XVIe siècle)', south at the top.

<sup>41 &#</sup>x27;A New Sea & Land Chart of the Sovereign Principality of MALTA laid down from the best Authorities and the different Manuscript Maps...', oriented north at the top,  $550 \times 1320$  mm.

<sup>42</sup> The French edition 'Carte Nouvelle des lles de Malte et du Goze d'après la grande carte de l'édition anglaise de Malte ancienne et moderne' is oriented north to the top, 310 × 695 mm.

<sup>43 &#</sup>x27;Isle de Malte et ses Dépendances', 270 × 380 mm; 'Plan de la Valette et de ses Ports', 270 × 375 mm.

<sup>44</sup>The composite map measures 140 × 187 mm. See: Ganado, Miniature Maps of Malta, 20.

<sup>45</sup> The first edition of Description de l'Univers, in five volumes, was published in 1683. Another edition with French text was published in Frankfurt. A German edition, Beschreibung des gantzen welt-kreises..., was also published followed by another in

The voluminous work by Nicolas-Léger Moutard (1742?–1803), *Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à présent*, came out in 125 volumes during the years 1779–1791. Volume 29, published in Paris in 1784, is entirely devoted to the history of the Order of St John up to 1725. The book comprises 504 pages of text and contains a map of Malta and a map of Rhodes. Malta has excellent detail of the towns, fortifications, roads and anchorages<sup>46</sup>.

L'Univers, histoire et description de toutes les peuples is a world encyclopaedia made up of 67 parts written by various contributors including Eugène de Froberville, Frédéric Lacroix and Ferdinand Hoefer. The Malta section, captioned Malte et le Goze, comprising 192 pages of text and 40 engravings, is in the volume titled Iles de l'Afrique.

The text was written by Frederic Lacroix. There are three engravings of Maltese cartographic interest: a map titled 'Isles de Malte et du Goze' (Fig.8), a plan headed 'Plan Géomètral de la ville et du port de Malte' and a 'Vue Cavalière de la ville de Malte'<sup>47</sup>.

# MAPS IN FRENCH LITERATURE AND TRAVEL GUIDES

It is very unusual for maps of Malta to feature in romantic literature. But when V. Philipon de la Madelaine published the novel *La Grande prieure de Malte 1565* in 1835 he inserted a map of Malta and a composite illustration which included a plan of the harbours. The book recounts the romantic love affairs of the knight Romegas with his Spanish courtesan, Maria, being set prior and during the Great Siege of 1565. The map *'Ile de MALTE en 1565'* is modelled on that produced by Allain Manesson Mallet. The page captioned 'Plan des fortifications autour du port de Malte en 1565' is a composite illustration showing, in the upper part, the coat of arms of



Fig. 8. Frederic Lacroix d'Azevac, 'lles de Malte et du Goze', 170 × 105 mm. Chapter entitled Malte et le Goze from the book *lles de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1848) in the series *L'Univers, ou Histoire et Description de tous les peoples, de leurs réligion, moeurs, industrie, costumes, etc.* Author's collection.

Dieudonné de Gozon, Grand Master of Rhodes between 1346 and 1353 and, in the lower part, a plan of the Malta harbours displaying the fortifications which existed during the Great Siege of 1565<sup>48</sup>.

In 1861 the publishers Hachette in Paris brought out the guidebook by Adolphe-Laurent Joanne and E. Isambert entitled *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l'Orient.* The map 'Archipel de Malte – Plan de la Valette' includes an inset of the Malta harbours. A legend references some of the island's principal locations.

#### CONCLUSION

In this paper I have presented a description of the French maps of Malta which I have been able to identify so far, published from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. From the arrival of the Knights in 1530, Malta experienced strong French influence on its history, culture and art which culminated with the French occupation in 1798. A highly significant contribution can be seen in the valuable cartographic representations of the Islands which were produced as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

I am sure that readers would like to learn more about the

French connection with Malta. Those who are particularly interested in cartography would certainly be enthralled to discover the diversity of maps of Malta produced by

French cartographers, engravers and publishers.

So if you wish to delve further into the subject, may I suggest you start by looking at the additional bibliographical references I have provided.

Enjoy your research!



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1719. The map from the French edition is titled 'Isle de Malthe', orientation north to the top, measuring  $139 \times 97$  mm. The plan of the harbour is titled 'Malte', orientation north-east at the top, measuring  $142 \times 99$  mm. See: Ganado, Miniature Maps of Malta, 36-41.

46The map is captioned 'Carte des Isles de Malte et du Goze', the title being in a rectangular frame at the right bottom of the map. It is oriented southwest at the top and measures  $240 \times 350$  mm.

47 This multi-volume work was published over several years, and translated into Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. The number of volumes depended on the manner of binding.

48 'lle de MALTE en 1565', 140 × 113 mm; 'Plan des fortifications autour de port de Malte, | EN 1565', 123 × 103 mm (map only).

# The mapping of the French king's hunting grounds: Berthier's *Carte des chasses du roi*

In February 2020, a large part of the *cartothèque*, the historical map room of the Belgian National Geographic Institute, was donated to the Map Room of the Royal Library of Belgium. This donation took place when the National Geographic Institute left La Cambre Abbey after 150 years and moved into a new campus in Brussels. The staff of the Map Room together with a volunteer are currently engaged in cataloguing this extensive collection.

The collection houses several remarkable old maps. One of them is a French eighteenth-century printed map, the Carte topographique des environs de Versailles, dite des chasses impériales; it is also called the Carte des chasses du roi. The title page is missing but, apart from that, the map is whole. It is a topographical map of the region around Paris

on a scale of 1:28 800 (see also cover page with a *Detail of the village and castle of Rambouillet...*).

It took 43 years to finish the map. When finally completed, it was soon recognised as a masterpiece of its era, but producing it was such a struggle that the map almost did not see the light of day. This article dives into the making of the map and the people behind it, the *ingénieurs géographes* and their commander, Jean-Baptiste Berthier (Tonnerre, 1721 – Paris, 1804).

Much can be told about the time, place and circumstances during which the map was commissioned. The order for the first sheet came from King Louis XV in 1764. So let us first have a look at eighteenth-century monarchical France.

#### CARTOGRAPHY UNDER LOUIS XV

Louis XV's reign was characterised by expensive wars that were eventually lost, countless clashes between the Court and Parliament, and religious feuds. Louis XV did not favour the ideas of the emerging French philosophical movement later called the Enlightenment. Their ideas were adopted by the revolutionaries who ultimately executed Louis XV's successor, Louis XVI, in 1793¹.

However, cartography in eighteenth-century France fared well under Louis XV.

While nautical charts had diminished in importance by this time, topographical maps had become more important. Topographical mapping on a large scale had started life with the aim of serving military purposes, but later also



Fig. 1. Portrait of Louis XV in royal cloak, after Louis Michel Van Loo, KBR prints collection, ref. S.II 36406

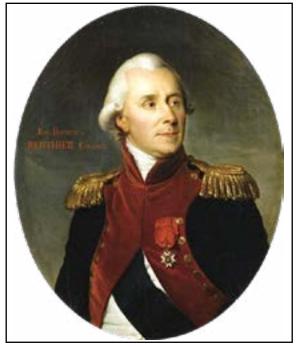


Fig. 2. Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Berthier. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

<sup>1</sup> Anne-Laure Guéganic, *Louis XV: Le règne fastueux* (Paris: Éditions Atlas, 2008), 13

became a tool for a number of civilian activities, such as town-planning, the governing of large areas, and tax collection. Topographical mapping became institutionalised throughout Europe.

The ministries of the French *Ancien Régime* had each developed Archives sections, which were gradually centralised in the eighteenth century. This was also the case for the War Office. The Depository of the War Office, the *Dépôt de la Guerre*, dated back to the end of the seventeenth century<sup>2</sup>.

The corps of military topographers who had prepared maps for the War Office since 1691 were called the *ingénieurs* 

#### THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

The Seven Years War was a global conflict that took place from 1756 to 1763. It began as a conflict between Great Britain and France, which engaged in a global rivalry trying to overtake Spain as the world's leading colonial power. Both sides sought and found allies and started wars on four continents. When the British attempted to expand into French territory in North America, France allied with Native American tribes to fight Britain. In Europe, the French tried to defeat the Prussians with the aid of Austria, Sweden and Russia. The Prussians were backed by the British. In India, the French also took up arms against the British.

As is the case for all wars, the Seven Years War required maps, and recruits that had to be capable of map-making. Under the supervision of Jean-Baptiste Berthier, in the newly built *Hôtel de la Guerre à Versailles* (Fig. 3), the *ingénieurs géographes* were trained to draw maps at a topographic scale<sup>6</sup>.

The numbers of *ingénieurs géographes* rose from 40 to 85. But only a handful stayed behind in Versailles as

*géographes des camps et marches des armées du roi*. In 1745, the Burgundy-born Lieutenant Jean-Baptiste Berthier became one of them<sup>3</sup>.

In 1758, Berthier was promoted to Director of the *ingénieurs géographes* and of the *Dépôt des Cartes et Plans*, a position he would hold for 14 years (1758 - 1772)<sup>4</sup>. The *Dépôt des Cartes et Plans* was officially attached to the *Dépôt de la Guerre* in 1761.

The year he was promoted, the Seven Years War had been raging for two years. This was not good news for the French, but it was for French cartography.



Fig. 3. The War Office in Versailles, Carte des chasses du roi, f. 5

most were travelling with the French troops on their campaigns<sup>7</sup>Berthier himself stated what was to be shown on the maps: the hydrographic network, types of vegetation and land use, types of human habitation, and topographic information including elevation, soil use, and possibilities for roads<sup>8</sup>. Over this seven-year period, more maps were made than in all of the previous campaigns combined<sup>9</sup>.

Despite France's efforts, the war turned out to be a defeat on all fronts. France lost nearly all its land claims in North America, including Canada<sup>10</sup>.

- 2 Patrice Ract, 'Dépot de la Guerre (Depository of the War Office; France)' in Matthey H. Edney and Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The History of Cartography*, Volume 4. Cartography in the European Enlightenment. Part 1 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2019) [henceforth HoC 4, part 1], 346
- 3 Patrice Ract, Les ingénieurs géographes des camps et armées du roi, de la guerre de Sept Ans à la Révolution (1756-1791), Étude institutionnelle, prosopographique et sociale (archivist paleographer thesis), 2001
- 4 Monique Pelletier, 'Military cartography by France', in HoC 4, part 1, 978
- 5 Patrice Bret, Le Dépôt général de la Guerre et la formation scientifique des ingénieurs-géographes militaires en France (1789-1830). 1989. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00002880
- 6 Marie-Anne Corvisier de Villèle, 'De la carte des chasses de Louis XV à la carte d'état-major. Un aperçu insolite sur l'histoire d'un changement de capitale', *Versalia. Revue de la Société des Amis de Versailles*, n°8 (2005): 159
- 7 Henri-Marie-Auguste Berthaut, Les ingénieurs géographes militaires 1624-1831: étude historique. Tome 1 ([Paris]: Service géographique de l'armée, 1902), 31
- 8 Jean-Louis Glénisson, 'Topographical surveying in the French West Indies' in HoC 4, part 2, 1438
- 9 Berthaut, Les ingénieurs géographes militaires, 32
- 10 'Causes and Effects of the Seven Years' in Encyclopedia Britannica, 5 Oct. 2020, https://www.britannica.com/summary/Causes-and-Effects-of-the-Seven-Years, accessed 6 December 2022

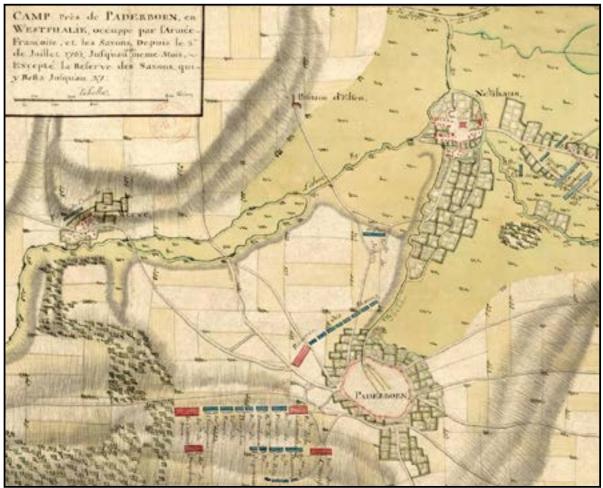


Fig. 4. Manuscript map prepared by the ingénieurs géographes during the Seven Years War: Camp près de Paderborn, en Westphalie, occuppé par l'armée Françoise et les Saxons, depuis le 3e de juillet 1761 jusqu'au 10 du meme mois. 12 days later, the French army, 90 000 strong, would be defeated at the battle of Villinghausen 50 km to the west of Paderborn – ref. BnF GED-7407 ark:/12148/btv1b8446282k

The Seven Years War was then followed by 32 years of peace. However, Berthier reinforced his control over the engineers and kept them occupied. Their survey work of France's coasts and of the West Indies also continued to serve as

training in topographical mapping<sup>11</sup>. However, the numbers of ingénieurs géographes continued to drop<sup>12</sup>.

#### RIVALRY AMONG CARTOGRAPHERS

The reason behind this fall in numbers was the presence of two other engineering corps in France at the time<sup>13</sup>. There was the rival military engineering corps of 400 *ingénieurs du roi*, who trained at the prestigious *École du Génie de Mézières* <sup>14</sup>.

They concentrated on the mapping of fortified places of the provinces of France but also carried out topographical surveys. Then, there were also the civil engineers who worked under Cassini III on the *Carte de France*. Cassini III, or César-François Cassini de Thury, was the third generation of the Cassini family who was working on what would become the first topographic and geometric map of the Kingdom of France. In 1746, Louis XV had ordered him to extend the triangulation operations that had been completed in France into Flanders and Brabant<sup>15</sup>. However, in 1756 the King ended his financial support to Cassini (but this did not discourage him, as we know).

After the Seven Years War fiasco, Louis XV commissioned a new cartographic assignment of a different kind from Jean-Baptiste Berthier and his *ingénieurs géographes*, who were happy to accept it.

<sup>11</sup> Berthaut, Les ingénieurs géographes militaires, 37

<sup>12</sup> Ract, 'Dépôt de la Guerre (Depository of the War Office; France)', 348

<sup>13</sup> Patrice Bret, 'Engineers and Topographical Surveys' in HoC 4, part 2, 385

<sup>14</sup> Pelletier, 'Military cartography by France', 978

<sup>15</sup> Catherine Bousquet-Bressolier and Suzanne Débarbat, 'Geodetic surveying by France' in HoC 4, part 1, 457-458



Fig. 5. Rambouillet's park, castle and lake, Postcard. KBR prints collection, ref. S.IV 36832



Fig. 6. Detail showing the castle and lake of Rambouillet, Carte des chasses du roi, f. 10

#### THE MAPPING OF THE KING'S HUNTING GROUNDS

Louis XV was a regular visitor at the castle of Rambouillet (Fig. 5 & 6), owned by his relative, the Count of Toulouse.

The castle and duchy of Rambouillet are located about 50 kilometres to the southwest of Paris and its forests were among the favourite hunting grounds of the French court. Inside the castle, allegedly, an old oil-painted wall map of the duchy of Rambouillet adorned its walls. The king desired to have a portable copy of the map and commissioned Berthier in 1764 with this task<sup>16</sup>. The work was to be done by eight *ingénieurs géographes*. They drew up a total of 36 minutes on a scale of 1:7 200. The minutes were then reduced to a scale of 1:14 400 and later 1:44 444<sup>17</sup>. They were engraved on two sheets by Guillaume de la Haye, one of the *Dépôt de la Guerre's* famous map engravers<sup>18</sup>. The map would later become the tenth sheet of the final map.

In 1766, Louis XV received the end result, which he was very pleased with. As the map only rendered part of the Court's hunting grounds, he asked Berthier in 1767 to also map the complete grounds around Versailles, on a scale of 1:14 400. This time, all *ingénieurs géographes* were to take part in it. The resulting map, that would become the fifth sheet of the final map, again left the king wanting more. The map grew larger and larger as new additions were ordered by royal decree in 1769; they were to include the forests of Alluets, Marly, Sénart, Bondy, Gonesse, Saint-Germain, Vincennes,

the Bois de Boulogne, as well as the city of Paris<sup>19</sup>. The surveying and copying work occupied the engineers until the year 1773<sup>20</sup>. More than 60 minutes on a scale of 1:7 200 were achieved. They had mapped a region of 3 400 square kilometres.<sup>21</sup>

Next, a copy of the minutes was made. These were hand-coloured and assembled into three wall maps of monumental dimensions  $(205 \times 467 \text{ cm})$ ; see one of the panels in Fig. 7)<sup>22</sup>. They are now kept in the king's apartment in the castle of Vincennes and are currently being restored.<sup>23</sup>

Work on the map – to produce a more compact, practical version – then came to a halt, due to budget cuts and changed priorities at the War Office. In 1772, Jean–Baptiste Berthier was asked to partially step back, as director of the *ingénieurs géographes*<sup>24</sup>. Prior to this, in 1770, Berthier's protector, Étienne François, the Duke of Choiseul<sup>25</sup>, had also been asked to resign as Secretary of State and of War. An additional setback for the Carte des chasses du roi was the death of Louis XV in 1774.

Luckily, the new King Louis XVI also approved of the idea of the map. He ordered the engraving on a reduced scale of 1:28 800 in twelve sheets. Guillaume de la Haye took up his work on the map in 1780. But the next hurdle would be even bigger. As revolution became imminent, the War

<sup>16</sup> Berthaut, Les ingénieurs géographes militaires, 42

<sup>17</sup> The mentioned scale differs depending on the source: according to Marie-Anne de Villèle, it is 1:44 444, according to Jean-Claude Dupuis, it is 1:43 200, according to Pierre Nôtre, it is 1:44 400.

<sup>18</sup> Corvisier de Villèle, 'De la carte des chasses de Louis XV à la carte d'état-major', 159

<sup>19</sup> Pierre Nôtre, "ARCH' ECHOS" et la Carte des chasses du roi in ARCH' ECHOS, Bulletin de l'Association pour la recherche sur Chaville, son histoire et ses environs, n° 12 (décembre 2004): 6

<sup>20</sup> Berthaut, Les ingénieurs géographes militaires, 42

<sup>21</sup> Jean-Claude Dupuis, 'La Carte des Chasses du Roy', in *Trois siècles de cartographie en Ile de France, Cahiers de l'IAURIF*, n° 119 (1997), co-édité avec l'I.G.N. (http://www.cgnorvillois.org/B\_Cartes.htm, consulted 21/11/2022)

<sup>22</sup> Corvisier de Villèle, 'De la carte des chasses de Louis XV à la carte d'état-major', 163

<sup>23</sup> https://www.servicehistorique.sga.defense.gouv.fr/actualites/restauration-de-la-carte-des-chasses-du-roi-1764-1774, accessed 21 November 2022

<sup>24</sup> Corvisier de Villèle, 'De la carte des chasses de Louis XV à la carte d'état-major', 163

<sup>25</sup> Ract, 'Dépot de la Guerre (Depository of the War Office; France)', 348

Office regarded the map as potentially useful in defending the city of Paris so it claimed the plates. The engraving was officially suspended on 10 August 1792. Only five of the twelve plates had been completely finished.<sup>26</sup>

Almost a decade later, in 1801, France was a different nation. It was no longer a kingdom but an empire — still, with an emperor that liked hunting as well. Jean-Baptiste Berthier convinced Napoleon of the map's potential for his administration<sup>27</sup>, and three engravers dedicated themselves to the map once more.

A metric scale was added to every plate. For the intra-muros city plan of Paris, Verniquets's plan of 1791 was used.

Berthier, who was then 78, was reinstated at the Dépôt de la Guerre as the curator of manuscript maps and continued to watch over his life's work.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, in December 1807, the finished map was presented to the Emperor.

Unfortunately, Berthier did not live to see that day. He died in 1804.

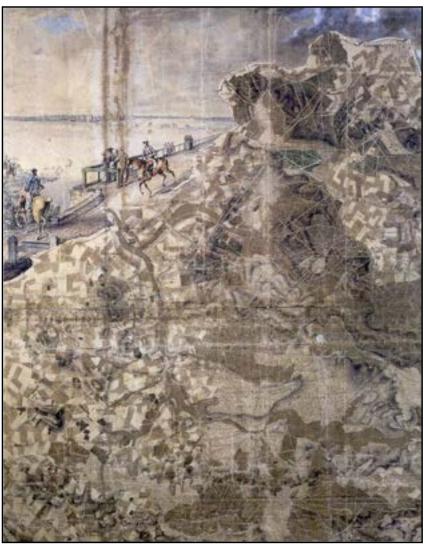


Fig. 7. Manuscript copy of the Carte des chasses du roi, detail of one of the three panels kept in the castle of Vincennes, ref. Marie-Anne Corvisier de Villèle / library of the SHD (Service historique de la Défense), SHAT J 1 OC 1767-3

#### CHEF D'ŒUVRE OF THE INGÉNIEURS GÉOGRAPHES

When the *Carte des chasses du roi* was finished, it was almost immediately labelled as the masterpiece of the *Dépôt de la Guerre*'s ingénieurs géographes; the family of Jean-Baptiste Berthier could take pride in his posthumous fame. This is rather ironic, considering that Jean-Baptiste's own son, Louis-Alexandre Berthier, who became Napoleon's right-hand man and was twice Secretary of War, had himself not been willing to provide the funds to have the map completed<sup>29</sup>.

In the years 1823-1827, several reprints of the map on a much smaller scale were published by Adrien-Hubert Brué: the *Carte topographique des environs de Paris, dressée d'après la Carte des chasses du roi.* 

Berthier's map beautifully illustrates how cartography advanced in the eighteenth century. By then, the art of drawing maps to a precise mathematical scale had been fully mastered. The new goal among cartographers was now to try and standardise the use of symbols and colours, and the techniques that showed land use and heights. Despite the publication of different manuals on the subject, their success was uneven<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Nôtre, "ARCH' ECHOS" et la Caret des chasses du roi', 7

<sup>27</sup> Dupuis, 'La Carte des Chasses du Roy'

<sup>28</sup> Corvisier de Villèle, 'De la carte des chasses de Louis XV à la carte d'état-major', 163 and 165

<sup>29</sup> Berthaut, 159

<sup>30</sup> Bousquet-Bressolier and Débarbat, 'Geodetic surveying by France', 1429 and 1432



Fig. 8. Paris- Dép. Île de France Berthier (1807)IV-13.640 - Dépôt de la Guerre



Carte des Chasses du roi-Réalisée par des ingénieurs géographes sous la direction de l'ingénieur Berthier ... 1764-1807

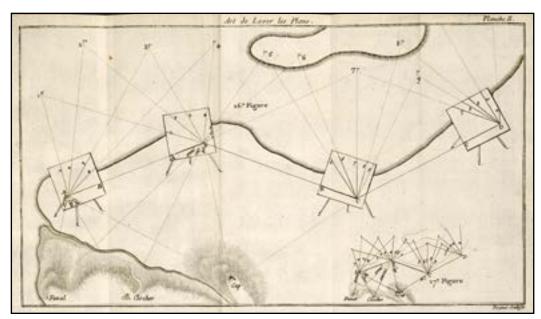


Fig. 9. From Dupain de Montesson's reference work, *L'art de lever les plans de tout ce qui a rapport à la guerre & à l'architecture civile & champêtre* (Paris: Jombert, 1775), KBR map collection, ref. IV 15.123 A

One of the authors of a valued manual was captain Dupain de Montesson, one of the eight *ingénieurs géographes* who had been involved with the Carte des chasses du roi from the very beginning (Fig. 9). He retired in 1767.<sup>31</sup>

As can be seen on his instructional drawing, hachures were still consistently used, even though there was already a theoretical knowledge of contouring that would place elevation values directly on the map. Hachures only gave a general idea of the lie of the land, which was certainly useful, but they were still mostly impressionistic.

Pictorial representation, for example of trees, survived as well, as is also shown on Berthier's map<sup>32</sup>.

Both the *Carte des chasses du roi* and Cassini's *Carte de France* became famous maps, renowned for their level of detail, exquisite engraving and fine use of hachures. Berthier's map, the map destined for respectively two kings and an emperor, is undeniably a map of exceptional quality.

If one wonders about the many years it took to finish the map, the engravers themselves made an estimation of

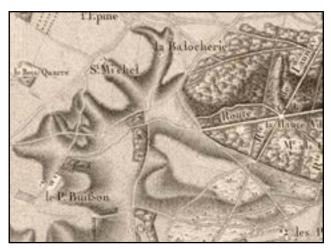


Fig. 10. Detail of the sheet of Montfort L'Amaury, Carte des chasses du roi, f. 7

the time necessary to engrave one plate from scratch: it took them two months to engrave the letters, two months were needed for the lines, one month for the mountains, twenty days for the forests, ten days for the vineyards, and the remaining time was necessary for the rendering of hydrography and for corrections — so, eight months in total<sup>33</sup>.

#### **ONLINE ACCESS**

The copy of the Carte des chasses du roi from the cartothèque of the Belgian National Geographic Institute was digitised at a resolution of 1200 dpi at the Royal Observatory of Belgium, on the initiative of the NGI's expert on old maps, Jean-Luc Parmentier.

It is now available online through the catalogue of the Royal Library of Belgium:

https://uurl.kbr.be/1980635/p1

Bibliographic description: https://opac.kbr.be/LIBRARY/doc/SYRACUSE/21465265

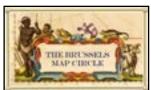
Imke Hansen imke.hansen@kbr.be

<sup>31</sup> Berthaut, Les ingénieurs géographes militaires, 30, 42 and 62

<sup>32</sup> Bousquet-Bressolier and Débarbat, 'Geodetic surveying by France', 1434

<sup>33</sup> Nôtre, '"ARCH' ECHOS" et la Carte des chasses du roi', 7





## 3 December 2022

This year the Brussels Map Circle's international conference was devoted to Ukraine. Around thirty of us gathered at the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR) on the cold morning of 3 December 2022 to listen to three top-notch speakers.



From left to right: Volodymyr Dmyterko, Rick Smit and Harrie Teunissen. Photos courtesy of Rick Smit and Luis Robles.

**Volodymyr Dmyterko** opened the proceedings by presenting a series of early modern maps of Ukraine. He focussed on the work of Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan (ca 1595 – 1685), a Frenchman who fought in southern Ukraine in the service of the Commonwealth of Poland.

One of the highlights was Beauplan's 1613 map of the territories that had belonged to the Duchy of Lithuania before the Union of Lublin with Poland (Fig. 1). The speaker underlined that this map was 'surpassed in some parts only at the end of the eighteenth century'.



Fig. 1. Detail showing the toponym 'Ukraina' and a battle between cavalrymen on a map based on Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan's data. Magni dvcatvs Lithvaniae, caeterarvmqve regionvm illi adiacentivm exacta descriptio (Amsterdam: Willem Janszoon Blaeu, 1613). 93 × 116 cm overall.

Volodymyr presented the maps from the point of view of a collector, which he knows well given that as a bookseller he has sold many a rare map to collectors, some of whom were in the audience. He thus gave detailed accounts of every map's states and re-engravings and tended to emphasise the rarity or aesthetic beauty of particular items.

**Rick Smit** took us to the more recent but not necessarily more familiar period of Ukraine's history immediately before and after World War I. I found this talk particularly helpful to understand current events. For example, a map of 1921 entitled Donbass serdtse Rossii [The Don Basin - the heart of Russia] symbolised how strategic this region was to the economy of what was still Russia and would soon become the USSR.

Rick showed how the Habsburg Empire, the Russian Empire, Poland and Ukrainian nationalists all vied for control of the densely populated and resource-rich regions of today's Ukraine. Nationalism was largely based on ethnography, which was often expressed in the form of potentially controversial maps. A German map of 1917 showed a 'Die Ukraine' – not clear if an ethnographical or geographical entity – that extended well into the Kuban region but did not include Ruthenes i.e. the Ukrainian-speaking inhabitants of Austro-Hungarian Galicia.

One common thread in Rick's presentation was a series of maps from the Stielers Handatlas by German publisher Justus Perthes. They showed how Ukraine's existence as a separate political entity, and its borders, fluctuated every year of this period.



Fig. 2. The emergence of a semi-independent Ukraine after Russia's separate peace with Germany in 1918 did not go down well with Western allies. 'La nouvelle république de l'Ukraine, qui a accepté d'être vassale de l'Allemagne [The new republic of Ukraine, which has accepted to be Germany's vassal]', La Science et la Vie, No 39, July 1918.

The *crescendo* of historical tragedy reached its apogee in Harrie Teunissen's talk. The horror of World War II was embodied in a rare map that showed the buildings of Kyiv destroyed in 1941 by Soviet saboteurs after the city had been taken by the Germans, who retaliated with the extermination in Babi Yar of the city's Jews and other collectives (Fig. 3)

Another series of maps told the sad story of how Lviv / Lwów / Lemberg / Lvov / Leopolis, the multicultural capital city of Galicia, was emptied of each of its communities throughout the war. Germans killed Jews, Ukrainians deported Poles, Soviets expelled the city's Ukrainians... In the end, Lviv's buildings survived almost intact but devoid of their inhabitants.

I would not want to give the impression, though, that Harrie focused exclusively on World War II because his talk actually was the broadest in scope. It started with medieval history and spanned events as varied as the Christianisation of Eastern Europe, Russia's annexation of Crimea in 1783 (Fig. 4), the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of 1918,

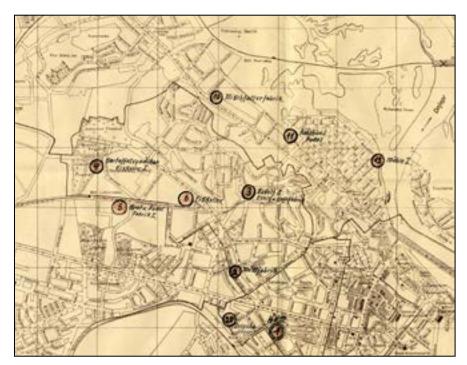


Fig. 3. Detail of a German wartime plan of Kyiv. Shading in the bottom right quarter identifies buildings destroyed by Soviet saboteurs. Babi Yar is found at the top left corner. Stadtplan von Kiew [City plan of Kyiv] (Warsaw: Kriegskarten und Vermessungsamt, 1942).

the infamous 'genocide by hunger' of the 1930s and Ukraine's 1991 independence referendum. The speaker showed items that he had selected, together with Martijn Storms, from the outstanding collection of 600 maps of Ukraine amassed by Leiden University Libraries; one third of these has recently been donated by Harrie and his partner John Steegh. Much of what was shown at the conference is available as an online exhibition at the Libraries' website.



Fig. 4. Cartouche of a map of the European Black Sea region with Empress Catherine II of Russia and Ottoman Sultan Abdul-Hamid. The Sultan carries a map of Crimea, which he demands the Russians evacuate. D.F. Sotzmann, Charte von den oberhalb und seitwärts dem Schwarzen Meere gelegenen Russischen und Türkischen Ländern [Map of the Russian and Turkish lands lying above and to the side of the Black Sea] (Berlin: Konigl. Acad. der Wissenschaften, 1788). Image courtesy of Leiden University Libraries.

On top of the three presentations, the conference's attendees had the opportunity to inspect an outstanding array of 19 maps of Ukraine from the KBR collection. Some of them have been digitised and are displayed and commented in our website 2 (see an example in Fig. 5) whereas others can still only be seen in situ.

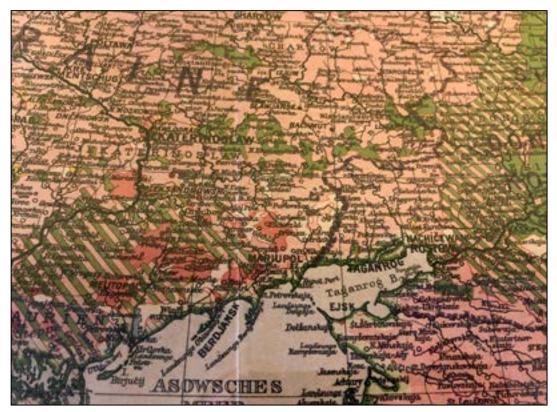


Fig. 5. Detail of Ukraine und Kaukasien: Sprachgebiete... (Berlin and Glogau: Carl Flemming AG, [1918])  $60.0 \times 77.5$  cm. The map, included in the KBR exhibition, shows political borders and linguistic regions after the Treaty of Brest of 1918. This kaleidoscopic image gives an impression of the diversity and complexity of Ukraine's population. A full scan is available at https://uurl.kbr. be/1969047

In addition, two members brought maps from their personal collections that were exhibited along those of the Library.

The event ended with attendees and speakers gathering for lunch at a café nearby (Fig. 6).



 $\textit{Fig. 6.} \ \textit{Maps or food? For some of our members, the choice is clear...}$ 

Luis A. Robles Macías luis.a.robles.macias@gmail.com

# How I got into cartography:

### An interview with Kevin Rodríguez Wittmann



You have an English first name, a Spanish surname (Rodríguez) and a German surname (Wittmann). Is there a geographical story behind that?

Indeed, my mother is German and my father Spanish, from the Canary Islands. I was born in Germany but, a few months later, the Chernobyl nuclear accident occurred. My parents were horrified at the prospect of bringing up a child in a radioactive environment, so they moved to the Canary Islands.

In 2017, we published a review of your book Las islas del fin del mundo.1 What got you interested in medieval mappaemundi?

This book was based on my master's thesis. My work initially focused on textual mentions of the Fortunate Islands in the Middle Ages. Almost by chance, I saw a depiction of the Fortunates in a Beatus2 and this led me to dive into the cartographic representation of the islands. This representation, which is a 'sister' of textual descriptions, gives the reader a different way of viewing space.

How did you build your knowledge of old maps?

It was quite self-taught – actually, entirely self-taught. I initially studied History of Art, so I tended to approach maps from an art historical or iconographic perspective. In History of Art, and also in History, maps are treated as somewhat 'exotic' cultural objects that essentially serve as graphic support for some more 'important' or 'traditional' topic. There is no specific training or degree in History of Cartography; only a few individual courses here and there.

After I obtained my bachelor's degree, I took a job to pay my bills. I worked for seven years at a company doing things entirely unrelated to History. I wanted to do a masters in medieval history but did not have time to go back to class. Fortunately, the first edition of an online masters on this topic was jointly organised by five Spanish universities led by the University of Lleida. I enrolled and very much enjoyed the experience, particularly the top-notch teachers.

In my learning process about old maps, at one point I delved into The History of Cartography. Reading its volumes was a great experience. I also realised how much is still left to develop.

A professor who helped me a lot was Eduardo Aznar, chair of Medieval History at the University of La Laguna (Canary Islands), who has researched the European Atlantic expansion in nautical charts. I also want to thank Chet Van Duzer, who is very open-minded and always willing to help.

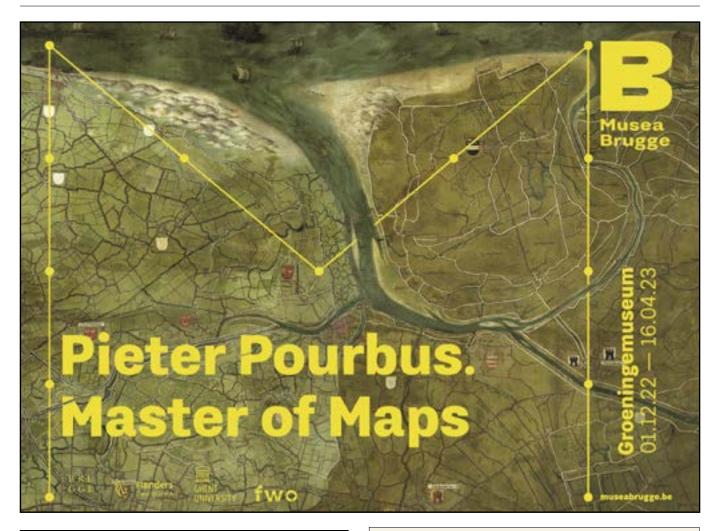
The master's thesis required a lot of work. I barely understand how I coped, getting up early every day for my day job, which was rather physical. It was almost oneiric. I want to thank Flocel Sabaté, from the University of Lleida, who directed it, and specially Maravillas Aguilar, an Arabist from the University of La Laguna, who directed my PhD thesis. Without Maravillas, I would have never dared start my PhD. It was also thanks to her that I managed to get my book published.

Tell me about your PhD.

When I finished my master's thesis, I still spent a couple more years at my day job. After several attempts, I finally obtained a contract as researcher that allowed to me devote myself full time to a PhD.

My initial aim was to expand my master's thesis to all Atlantic islands, including British and northern isles. Eventually I decided to focus just on southern ones: Gades and the Pillars of Hercules, the Fortunates, the Hesperides and the Gorgades.

One peculiar challenge was that my two doctoral advisors held opposite opinions on one of the central questions of my dissertation, namely whether the Fortunates should be identified with the Canary Islands or interpreted as a less precise geographical concept. So, I had to tread carefully on this topic. Fortunately, both advisors are excellent people who never let their disagreement turn into a quarrel.





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What do you do now? And how do you see yourself moving forward?

I am now a post-doc at the University of La Laguna. I work with medieval maps day in and day out, and also teach eighty hours per year in Medieval History. Like 90% of Spanish post-docs, I would like to achieve employment stability. That would allow me to do research in a more serene way. One difficulty is that, in Spain, academic fields are rather compartmentalised, and this makes it difficult to study maps in a transversal way.

My current project deals with nautical charts – a type of map that I had not included in my thesis. I am studying the dialogue between real and imaginary representations in Late Medieval nautical charts. At the time, the line between real and imaginary did not exist in the way we think of it now. Every time I look at a map now, I spot a new detail, some thread which one can pull. Maps are not cartographic objects alone. They do not appear in a vacuum but within a Zeitgeist. They are part of cultural history, of the history of mentalities.

The geographical scope of my project is the Atlantic world, where the western limits of the world were imbued with mythical power; a space for dreaming.

Let's dream then. What would you do if you had unlimited budget?

I would first go visit every archive and library to inspect all the maps I have not been able to see till now. The experience in situ is so different from online images!

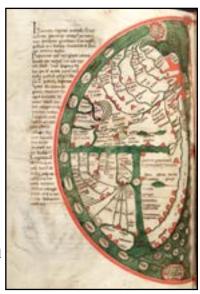
My dream project would be to build a Visual History of the Atlantic, of how it was perceived by societies on its shores and elsewhere. I would organise an international and multidisciplinary network of researchers around this topic, to include points of view from every continent and from every discipline: Anthropology, Literature, History of Art... I like working in collaboration, to learn from each other, rather than in isolation.

The end product of this project would look almost like an encyclopaedia; one of these great generational works such as The History of Cartography. And I would strive to address it to society at large, not to keep it inside the walls of academia.

A first step in this direction was an international seminar we held in June 2022 on the visions of oceans at the beginning of the Early Modern Age. We covered the Atlantic, the Indian, the Pacific, islands... exploring coincidences, synergies...

Talking about networks, you have 35 000 followers in Twitter. That is quite a crowd!

When I took my first steps in Twitter, I was afraid of the toxic atmosphere I had read about. However, I discovered a much more positive face of Twitter, focused on cultural popularisation. At one point, I started to do popularisation



Mappa mundi in the Liber Floridus preserved at Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. Lat. 1, f. 69v.

myself, by means of 'threads' on map topics. The first one was about the Sawley mappa mundi.3 That is when many people started to follow me. I was glad to get readers to realise, for instance, that a mappa mundi is not just a mappa mundi.

Writing threads is a great learning experience too. One has to adapt to a new reality, a new audience. Sometimes it also represents a humbling cure. A thread can take several weeks of work. The secret is to strike a balance between popularisation and academic rigour. Not every reader is used to handling and understanding certain types of sources.

However, I am concerned about how much time I spend in Twitter nowadays, even if it is only scrolling for updates.

Is this activity recognised?

Not economically. Is it academically recognised? Yes and no. Universities in Spain have started to give some career value to popularisation but much less than to academic publications. There has always been some reticence by academics to take popularisation seriously. Fortunately, this is starting to change.

A final word for the readers of Maps in History?

Maps in History has many useful aspects, with a less traditional approach than academic journals. It is great to highlight not only the intrinsic value of a map but also its exogenous values, as a source of history and as a manifestation of culture.

Luis A. Robles Macías luis.a.robles.macias@gmail.com

#### MARCEL VAN BRUSSEL

15 july 1945 - 10 august 2022

Marcel passed away the morning of 10 August 2022 after a long illness.

Many Map Circle members will remember him as a quiet but attentive listener at our map afternoons and Conferences.

Marcel was particularly interested in the history of discoveries of the New World.

He had an impressive collection of books and maps relating to the subject.

He will be remembered in particular for his favourite subject: the discovery of the Magellan Strait...

In 1494, only two years after Colombus reached the Americas, the Treaty of Tordesillas divided the world into two hemispheres: the Spanish and the Portuguese.

The Molucca Islands -the very lucrative source of oriental spices- now seemed impossible to reach for Spanish ships... without trespassing on Portuguese territory...

Magellan, a Portuguese subject, turned to the Spanish king (the future Emperor Charles V) and convinced Spanish authorities to finance an expedition to reach the Molucca Islands via an alternative route... On 20 September 1519, sailing under a Spanish flag, Magellan left Seville with a fleet of five ships to find a new route around South America to reach the Molucca islands.

Magellan's fleet sailed down the South American coastline. In november 1520, after a long and difficult journey, he found a passage through to the Pacific Ocean; this would later be named after him: the '*Strait of Magellan*'.

Marcel Van Brussel studied the records of the expedition and found out that one of the crew members (a gunner) was a Fleming named "*Roldán de Argote*" – his flemish name being Roeland Vergote (who was from Bruges).

The story fascinated Marcel and he researched it in great depth. He found out that Roldán and some other crew members took a sloop to find a way out of the complex labyrinth of the Magellan Strait. Roldán climbed a nearby mountain top and could see an exit<sup>1</sup>.

The location was named *Roldán's Bell , Campana de Roldán* and later *El Morrión*. The mountain even appeared on several maps such as the Mercator's 1569 world map

In 2006 Marcel even went to Patagonia and sailed through the Strait of Magellan to visit Roldáns Bell!

"My intention was to re-assess what actually happened and to give Roldán (Roeland Vergote of Bruges) the place he deserves in maritime history"....

Thank you, Marcel. We will miss you.





<sup>1</sup> Marcel reported his findings in:

<sup>&#</sup>x27;A citizen of Bruges witnesses the first circumnavigation by Magellan', Maps in History No 32 (Sep 2008)

# The Brussels Map Circle

#### AIMS AND FUNCTIONS

The Circle was created, as the Brussels International Map Collectors' Circle (BIMCC), in 1998 by Wulf Bodenstein.

Now known as the Brussels Map Circle, it is a non-profit making association under Belgian law (asbl/vzw 0464 423 627).

Its aims are to:

- Provide an informal and convivial forum for all those with a specialist interest in maps, atlases, town views and books with maps, be they collectors, academics, antiquarians, or simply interested in the subject
- Organise lectures on various aspects of historical cartography, on regions of cartographical interest, on documentation, paper conservation and related subjects
- Organise visits to exhibitions, and to libraries and institutions holding important map and atlas collections.

In order to achieve these aims, the Circle organises the following annual events:

- A MAP-AFTERNOON in March or April, bringing together all those interested in maps and atlases for an informal chat about an item from their collection – an ideal opportunity to get to know the Circle.
- An EXCURSION to a map collection or exhibition.
- An INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE on a specific major topic in December.

The Brussels Map Circle also publishes *Maps in History* (formerly known as *BIMCC Newsletter*), three times a year and a monthly electronic news bulletin *'WhatsMap?'*. It also maintains a website.

Information on events and exhibitions to be placed on the calendar of our website and announced in WhatsMap? should be sent to webmaster@bimcc. org

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# BECOMING (AND STAYING) A MEMBER

Members receive three issues of our magazine 'Maps in History' per annum and have free admission to most of the Circle's events.

Non-Members pay full rates. Annual Membership: EUR 50.00, Students and Juniors under 25: EUR 15.00.

To become (and stay!) a Member, please pay the Membership dues EXCLUSIVELY by bank transfer (no cheques please) to our bank account: IBAN BE52 0682 4754 2209 BIC: GKCCBEBB and notify the Membership Secretary (treasurer@bimcc.org) indicating your name and address.

#### MAPS IN HISTORY

The Brussels Map Circle currently publishes three issues per year. It is distributed, not only to Members of the Circle, but also to key institutions (universities, libraries) and to personalities active in the field of the history of cartography, located in 16 different countries.

Please submit articles and contributions to the editor (e-mail: editor@ bimcc.org) by the following deadlines:

- 15 March for the May edition.
- 15 July for the September edition.
- 15 Nov. for the January edition.

Items presented for publication are submitted to the approval of the Editorial Committee. Signed articles and reviews reflect solely the opinions of the author.





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