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The first large scale Geological map of Belgium
Maps of Malta in Baudoin and Naberat's History

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Cover :

Statue of André Dumont by Eugène Simonis in front of Liège University (Place du Vingt- Août)

For twenty years he worked on a geological map of Belgium. He is generally considered as the country's most important geologist ever.

In 1840 the Geological Society of London awarded Dumont the Wollaston medal - the highest honour awarded by the Geological Society of London.

André Dumont died in Liège, aged 48, in 1857.

Intro

Dear Map Circle Members,

The Circle's annual conference, held at the KBR last December, was once again a delightful occasion to connect with so many of our members. A full report on the event will be featured in the May 2025 issue of the magazine. I was honoured to present a talk during the conference, drawing on insights from my recently completed doctoral thesis. For those interested, a summary of the thesis is included in this issue.

Wouter Bracke brings us the result of a year-long research effort on the first project for a large-scale geological map of Belgium, based on a hand-coloured sheet now kept at the KBR. Meanwhile, Emanuel Chetcuti takes us on a journey through the maps of Malta contained in a history of the Knights of Saint John and, staying in Malta, Wulf Bodenstein provides a report on the IMCoS symposium recently held there.

I am also thrilled to introduce a new series of articles dedicated to map collectors and their collections. Kicking off this series is a portrait of Carl Dierickx, whose passion for nautical charts and instruments is brought to life by Marijn van Zundert.

Looking ahead, the Circle's programme for 2025 is taking shape. Mark your calendars for the Annual General Meeting and Map Afternoon, which will be held at the KBR on 29 March. At least two talks are already in the works, with more details to come. For the latest updates, be sure to follow our monthly electronic newsletter, WhatsMap?

Enjoy your read!

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Fig. 1. Carte topographique de la Belgique XV/7, Dépôt de la Guerre, 1871 (KBR – XXXVII Cartes géologiques - 1878 - O. Van Ertborn - IV 801)

Reading the Margins

The History of the First Large Scale Geological Map of Belgium

The Royal Library preserves a richly annotated hand-colored map sheet of the topographical map of Belgium on scale 1:20 000 published in 1871 by the Dépôt de la Guerre , later the Institut Cartographique Militaire (ICM) today the National Geographic Institute (fig. 1). It was acquired by the Royal Library of Belgium together with other maps and books at the public auction of the library of Paul Cogels in 1912, but has not been studied until recently. Indeed, it is in the framework of the writing of a story map by Nathalie Liart on the collections of geological maps of Belgium kept at the Royal Library that this sheet finally received the attention it deserves[1]. What follows is the result of a year-long research effort into the complex history of the first geological map of Belgium on a large scale.

Map sheet XV/7

Let us start with a short description of the map sheet. As its title 'Hoboken' indicates, the map shows the area around that city near Antwerp, and is plate 7 of sheet XV of the topographical map of Belgium on scale 1:20 000 that is composed of 430 plates in total. The sheet is hand-colored; in the lower margin of the map, at the bottom of the sheet, a handwritten key informs us about the colors that have been used. First, there are the plain colors; they refer to the different rocks that have been found in the area of Hoboken and to their age. Then, the yellow, brown and blue lines are itineraries with comments on the rocks, while the purple, red and blue faded lines represent the supposed limits of the subsoil in the same area. So the topographical map sheet was used to copy geological information by hand, identifying the subsoil through coloring and the use of colored lines. What's more, in the lower right-hand corner we read that the copying was finished by 7 December 1878, that the notes were originally made by a certain Dumont and that the whole process was seen the same day by someone who signed EH. Even more mysterious are the series of numbers in blue and in red at the bottom left of the map sheet which are said to refer to observations by A. Dumont, probably the same Dumont whose name already appears in the right-hand corner. A closer look tells us that the numbers can also be found on the map itself, and that they have kept their color, blue or red accordingly. Similar annotations can be found on other map sheets which were part of the same lot bought at the Cogels auction. Lot no. 619 of the catalogue reads as follows: '*Levé géologique des différentes planchettes de la carte topographique de la Belgique. Par van Ertborn et Cogels* (Publié par le ministère de l'Intérieur). 20 feuilles in-fol., color.' Sixteen of them are described in the online catalogue of the Royal Library of Belgium where they can all be viewed.

1 The story map is available at https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/85dd2b0fd7584c86b7d6cd9ae0ea59c3.

Paul Cogels

Paul- Marie Cogels (1845-1912)

What to make of all this? A first step towards understanding the annotated map was the identification of its owner, Paul Cogels, before it joined the collections of the Royal Library. The title page of the catalogue for the auction of his library tells us he was President of the Society of Antwerp bibliophiles, a member of several learned societies, amongst which the Royal Geographical Society of Belgium. Furthermore, from the catalogue preface we also learn that Paul-Marie Cogels, who died on 12 March 1912 at Kapellen, had studied geology, paleontology and malacology and published about twenty studies, either as sole author or in collaboration with Van den Broeck and van Ertborn, on the subsoil of Antwerp and the Campine. The first of Cogels' co-authors must be the geologist, paleontologist and botanist Ernest Van den Broeck (1851-1932), founder in 1887 of the Société belge de Géologie, de Paléontologie et d'Hydrologie and curator at the Musée royal d'Histoire Naturelle de Belgique, today the Royal Belgian Institute of Natural Sciences (1879-1919). In fact, we didn't find any publication co-authored by Van den Broeck and Cogels, but we do know of critical studies by Van den Broeck on the works of Cogels and Baron van Ertborn, the second of Cogels' co-authors mentioned in the preface of the auction catalogue. The latter is Octave Baron van Ertborn (1839-1909), a geologist engaged in surveying the Antwerp region in the framework of the geological map of Belgium on scale 1:20 000. He is the author of several map sheets of this map published by the Dépôt de la Guerre, from 1878 onwards the Institut Cartographique Militaire (ICM). On some of them,

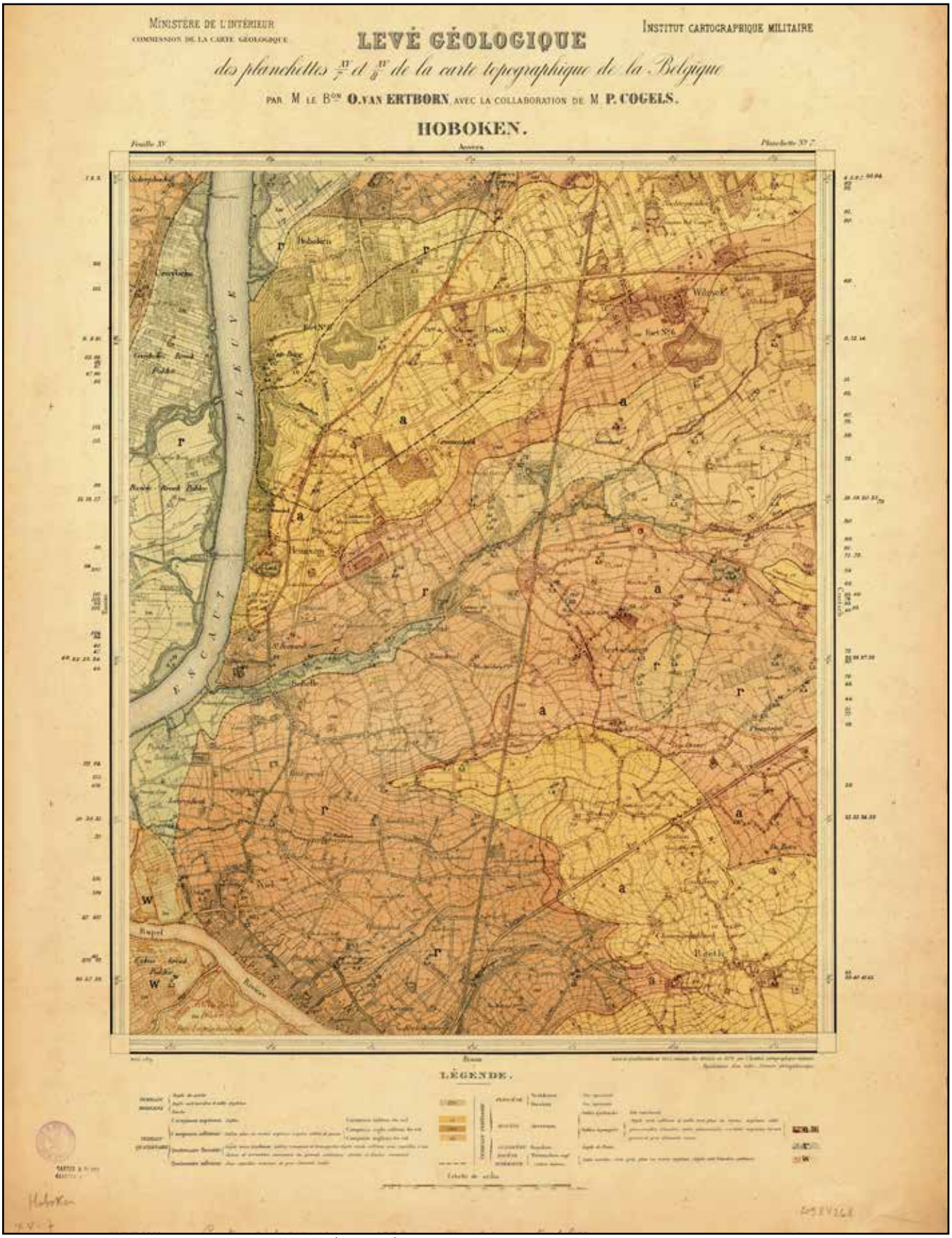

Fig. 2. Levé géologique des planchettes XV/7 et XV/8 de la carte topographique de la Belgique, Institut Cartographique Militaire, 1879 (KBR – XXXVII Cartes géologiques - 1879 - O. Van Ertborn – III 15.013)

like the sheet of Hoboken, Paul Cogels' collaboration is mentioned. If we compare the sheet of Hoboken of this map to our sheet, their relationship becomes clear: our sheet was intended as preparation for the geological map of Belgium on scale 1:20 000 (fig. 2). What do we know about this project that can help us to understand the annotations on our map sheet?

The Geological Map of Belgium on scale 1:20 000

Going through different library catalogues, 18 map sheets are found that are authored by van Ertborn; they were all published between 1878 and 1880 by the Dépôt de la guerre or the ICM[2]. To these can be added two more map sheets published by the same institution but authored by Emile Delvaux (1882) and by Gustave Velge (1879) respectively[3]. Another 19 sheets of the same map were published between 1882 and 1885 by Edouard Dupont (1841–1911), director of the Royal Museum for Natural History, and other members of its scientific staff (fig. 3). The sheets were no longer printed by the ICM, but by the Leipzig firm Giesecke & Devrient[4]. So in 1882 the printer as well as editor-in-chief changed, and in total only 39 map sheets of the 430 that make up the map were published between 1878 and 1885, after which date no new map sheets were produced. What is the story behind the project's abrupt ending and why did editor and printer change in the course of time?

Frédéric Boulvain in his study *Un historique de la carte géologique de Belgique (1993)* dedicates a chapter to the story of what looks like a failed map project. His account will help us to understand the reason behind the existence of the two groups of map sheets we have just described. Important additional information to his narrative has been found in the scientific and administrative archives of the map project put together by Edouard Dupont himself. These archives were given by the current Geological Survey of Belgium in 2004–2005 to the Map room of the Royal Library, together with 38 manuscript and printed documents that the Royal Museum for Natural History had bought in 1879 from Joseph Vandermaelen, son of

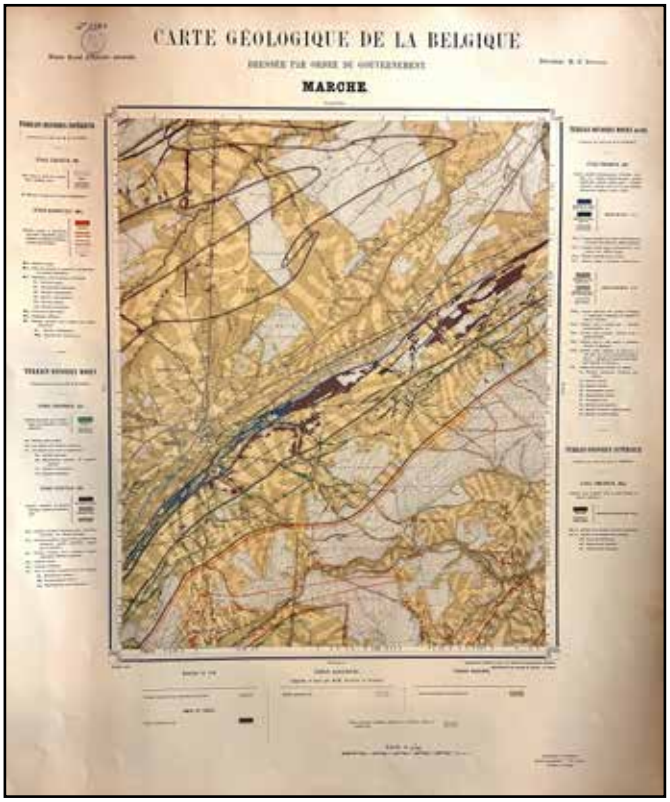

Fig. 3. Carte géologique de la Belgique: Marche, Giesecke - Devrient, 1885 (Royal Belgian Institute of Natural Sciences, Z 2583)

the well-known cartographer[5]. In short the story runs as follows.

In 1878 the government agreed to draw up and publish a large-scale geological map of the country at the Belgian state's expense. The underlying idea of this decision was to finish the project started by the geologist André Dumont (1809–1857), professor at Liège university, who had published the first geological map of Belgium on scale 1:160 000. The project was halted in 1885 when the Minister of Agriculture, then responsible for the official Service of the geological map of Belgium, under enormous political pressure, refused the budget put forward by the Service for 1886. From its conception the project opposed two parties that had different views on how the new geological map should be made. On the one side, there was André Dumont's successor at Liège university, Gustave Dewalque (1826–1905), one of the founders of the Société géologique de Belgique and at the time its secretary. He had made it clear in his *Prodrome d'une description géologique de la Belgique* (1868) that he wanted to continue his predecessor's project and he defended the publication of a map on scale 1:40 000 by a commission of geologists under the scientific and administrative direction of its president. On the other side, there was Edouard Dupont, already mentioned. He supported a project that was proposed by Emile Hennequin (1838–1902), then professor at the École de guerre and later director of the ICM, who

2 XIV 1 Putte, XIV 2 Heyst-op-den-Berg, XV 2 Beveren, XV 3 Anvers, XV 5 St. Nicolas, XV 6 Tamise, XV 7 Hoboken (our map), XV 8 Contich, XVI 3 Lille, XVI 5 Lierre, XVI 4 Casterlé, XVI 7 Hérenthals, XXIII 3 Boom, XXIII 4 Malines, XXIV 3 Boisschot, XXIV 7 Aerschot, XXV 7 Kermpt, XXXII 3 Lubbeek. Sheet XXV 7 was published on scale 1:80 000.

3 XXIX 8 Renaix and XXXI 5 Lennick-St-Quentin respectively.

4 XXIX 7 Avelghem, XXXI 3 Bruxelles, XXXIII 5 Landen, XXXIII 6 St-Trond, XXXIII 7 Heers, XXXIV 1 Bilsen, XLVIII 7 Modave, XLVIII 8 Clavier, LIII 7 Hastière, LIII 8 Dinant, LIV 1 Natoye, LIV 2 Ciney, LIV 8 Marche, LV 1 Durbuy, LVIII 1 Sautour, LXXI 2 Virton, LXXI 5 Lamorteau, LXXI 6 Ruette.

5 References to the archives will be abridged as follows: ADupont, no. box, no. document.

advocated the publication of a map on scale 1:20 000 by an administrative geological service working under the auspices of his Museum and governed by a commission composed of geologists and civil servants. Geologists external to the commission, so-called free geologists, could collaborate on the geological survey under specific conditions; the publication of the map would be in the hands of the Dépôt de la Guerre. It is the latter project that provided the content for the royal decree of 16 July 1878 regarding the execution and publication of the large-scale geological map of Belgium. Edouard Dupont was appointed head of the project; a geological service was created within the Museum. Dupont would adopt the monographic study of Belgium's soil and sub-soil: one geologist would be responsible for a specific stratigraphic unit and establish his own stratigraphic key. The geologists working at the survey of the different units were free geologists as well as members of the scientific staff of the Royal Museum for Natural History.

The first group of 20 maps printed by the Dépôt de la Guerre/ICM are the result of surveys by the free geologists. They had signed a personal convention with the commission who monitored their work and decided if it could be published. Boulvain published in annex the convention between the commission and van Ertborn, dated 1879. It mentions the drafting of a soil and a sub-soil map as well as a minute for publication merging both maps. In 1881 Dupont left the commission as he disagreed with its other members regarding the quality of the scientific output by the free geologists, in particular the work by van Ertborn. Disappointed by the printing quality offered by the ICM, he had since 1878 looked for private partners and obtained, also in 1881, from his minister, permission to work with the Leipzig printing house Giesecke & Devrient, well-known at the time for the quality of its engravings. In 1882 the commission was replaced by a new one composed not of geologists but of members of the Royal Academy of sciences, and collaboration with the Leipzig printers was formalised. Dupont's archives kept in the Royal Library contain Dupont's extensive correspondence with Giesecke & Devrient. This allows us to follow, day by day, the engraving and printing process of every single map that came out under their name, 19 in total. This second group of maps was printed by Giesecke & Devrient first in Leipzig, then, in 1885, in Brussels, in the atelier of the Institut National de Géographie, a private company founded in 1882 by Henry Merzbach (1837-1903) and Théodore Falk-Fabian (1845-1928), whose address was used by the Leipzig printing house to establish a branch for copper engraving. The establishment of such an atelier in Brussels was one of the conditions formulated by the Belgian government in awarding the contract to the Leipzig printing house.

We now know to which map project our map sheet belongs and who were the main actors in what can be called a '*Chronicle of a death foretold*'. What else did we learn from the project's history that can help us to understand the marginal annotations on our map sheet?

Two names

André Dumont (1809--1857)

In the history of the map project we just briefly recalled two names that may have rung a bell with regard to our reading of map sheet XV 7, the first more obvious than the second. André Dumont was professor of geology and mineralogy at the University of Liège and has today his statue in the middle of the square in front of the University's main entrance. He is generally considered the country's most important geologist ever. He published the country's first geological map in 1849/1853 which he continued updating until the end of his life. With this objective in mind he had travelled for 20 years all over the country looking for outcrops and noting down all his observations in small note- and travel books that are still preserved today in the library of the University of Liège. Dumont used to number all his observations; there are thousands of them spread over note- and travel books. Together with these manuscripts the university library also keeps two topographical maps by Philippe Vandermaelen that Dumont used to transcribe his geological information onto: on the map on scale 1:20 000 he indicated the numbers referring to his numbered observations in his note- and travel books and colored his different itineraries; on the map on scale 1:80 000 he colored the different stratigraphic units he had discovered and the supposed limits of the subsoil. On the latter he also added some itineraries and a series of numbers referring to his observations, although far fewer than on the first map. It is clear that these maps together with the manuscript notes are the key to our understanding of the marginal notes on our map sheet. Therefore, the Dumont mentioned on our map has to be identified with the great André Dumont.
The second name in our story is that of Emile Hennequin, the author of the map project. His name could well be the one hidden behind the signature EH on our map, as the letters correspond to the first letters of his name and surname. What remains unanswered, though, is what his responsibility was in checking the copying of Dumont's notes on our map sheet and why or with what purpose they were copied onto the

topographical map of the ICM. We therefore have to dive once more into the archives of Edouard Dupont kept in the Royal Library.

The personal archives of Edouard Dupont

Box number XXVIII of the 37 boxes that constitute the personal archives of Edouard Dupont related to the geological map of Belgium on scale 1:20 000 contains the correspondence between Dupont as director of the Geological survey and the Dépôt de la Guerre/ ICM from 1877 to 1884. Most letters are addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Emile Adan (1830-1882), acting director of the Dépôt de la Guerre and from 1878 director of the ICM. Adan was Dupont's principal correspondent in all matters related to the geological map. He coordinated the reproduction of the geological maps by André Dumont as well as the printing proofs for the new geological map, amongst which we find the specimen of Hastière-Lavaux that was to be sent to the 1878 Paris Exposition. Furthermore, he procured the Geological survey of the Museum with all the necessary maps for its survey of the country. Many letters thus accompany deliveries of printouts in black and white, in bistre (light brown) or in color, of the various map sheets of the topographical map of Belgium on scale 1:20 000 the production of which was then in its final stage. Other letters, and this is of great interest for what concerns us here, accompany the sending of autographed copies of Dumont's notes made during his explorations of the country. The notes are copied by the ICM per map sheet of its new topographical map and for every single map sheet several exemplars (12) are made and sent to the Museum. On the other hand, Adan regularly asks Dupont for Dumont's documents in the possession of the Museum: map sheets of the topographical map by Philippe Vandermaelen on scale 1:20 000 containing Dumont's annotations, Dumont's travel journals of which the Museum clearly possessed a copy, and sheets of his exemplar of Vandermaelen's map on scale 1:80 000. A name that appears in their letters about Dumont's documents is that of captain Hennequin, then head of the newly created geological survey of the ICM. Hennequin coordinated the collation of Dumont's geological observations from his maps and from his note- and travel books onto the ICM's new topographical map. The annotated map sheets were then sent to the Geological survey that gave it to the geologists in preparation of their proper survey in the field. The archives conserve the letter by Adan asking for Dumont's notes for the map sheets concerning the Antwerp region, amongst which Hoboken[6].

Fig. 4. Carte topographique de la Belgique XV/7, Dépôt de la Guerre, 1871 (detail) (KBR – XXXVII Cartes géologiques - 1878 - O. Van Ertborn - IV 801)

Let us now go back one last time to our map sheet and see how the information gathered can help us read the margins of the map.

Reading the margins of map sheet XV/7

We now know that the annotations in the lower margin are taken from the maps and note- and travel books of André Dumont. The person who copied them was sous-lieutenant (second lieutenant) Kerremans, draughtsman at the ICM, probably to be identified with the entomologist Charles Kerremans (1847-1915)[7]. He must also have been responsible for the coloring of the maps, the tracing of Dumont's itineraries and the

6 The letter is dated 3 December 1878 (ADupont XXVIII no. 5316). Dupont's answer of 9 December (ADupont XXVIII no. 5317) contains per map sheet the series of numbers in blue and red. For Hoboken these numbers are exactly the same as those on our map sheet. Two more letters, of 11 and 17 December respectively, concern interpretation problems of Dumont's notes for these map sheets. In annex to the first of these letters a list of these notes is signed by Hennequin (ADupont XXVIII no. 5320- 5321).

7 He is mentioned in the correspondence between colonel Adan and E. Dupont, dated 3 May 1878 (ADupont XXVIII nos. 5260-5261).

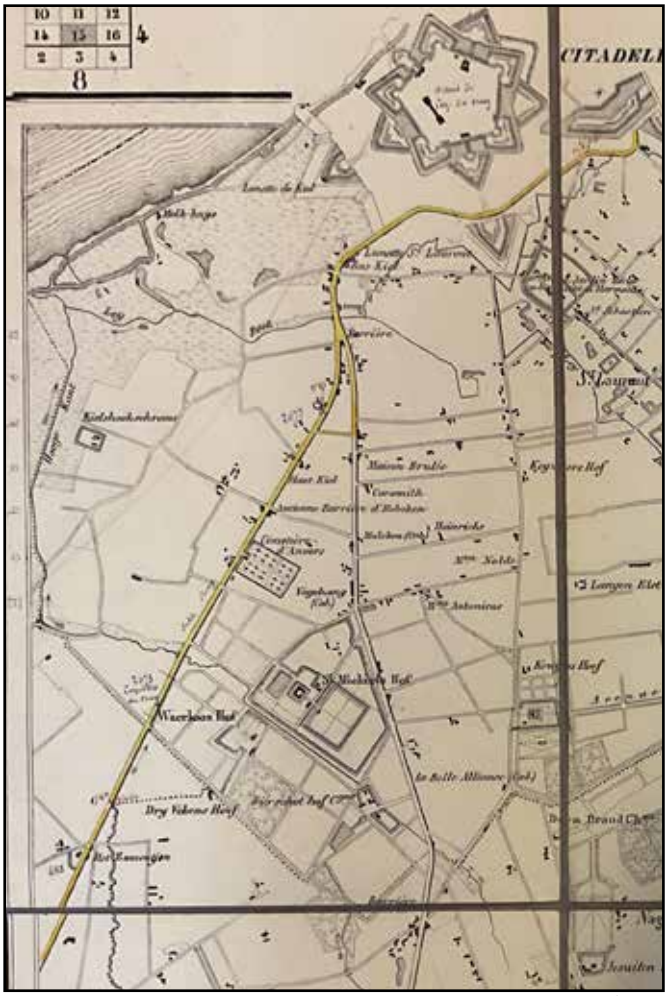

Fig. 5. Carte topographique de la Belgique (1:20 000) 3/15, Etablissement géographique de Bruxelles, 1847/1848 (Ph. Vandermaelen), (ULiège Library, ms 567)

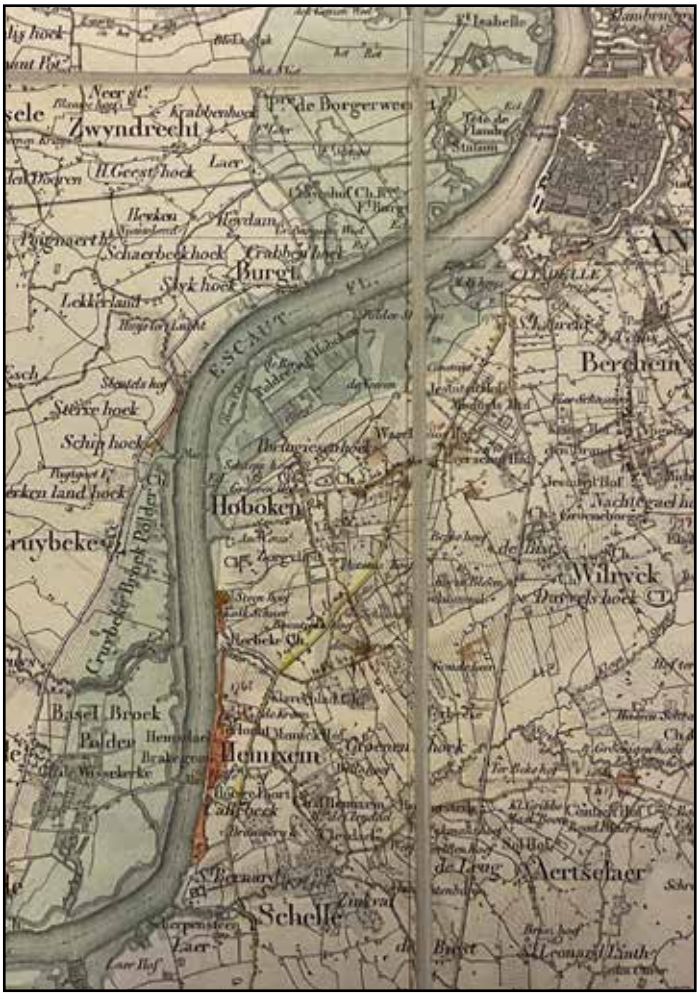

Fig. 6. Carte topographique de la Belgique (1:80 000) 3, Etablissement géographique de Bruxelles (Ph. Vandermaelen, 1850 ca (ULiège Library, ms 568)

location of the numbers in blue and red that refer to Dumont's observations. The work by Kerremans was verified by Hennequin and then sent to the Museum. How did the geologist in the field read the annotations on the map? If the coloring is explained by the key, what about the numbers? Why two series and two colors? The only way to find out is to put it to the test, choose one or two numbers, of a different color, and look for them in Dumont's note- and travel books. They are accessible online, but if you go to the university library in Liège, you can at the same time have a look at both Vandermaelen maps owned by Dumont and see how the information they contain are reflected on the map sheet.

We start with the two series of blue and red numbers found in the lower left corner of the map sheet. They are copied on the map along the yellow-colored itinerary that starts from the very south at Noeveren (northwest of Boom) and follows grosso modo the river Scheldt up north to Antwerp. Along the road going from Hemiksem to Antwerp the numbers 2076 to 2078 are plotted in blue, and in red the numbers 1781 to 1787 accompanied by the handwritten annotation 'clayey sand' (fig. 4). The yellow itinerary, both series of numbers as well as the annotation can be found on both Vandermaelen maps of Dumont today kept in Liège (fig. 5 and 6).

Observations related to the series of blue numbers were found on p. 130 of MS 607 of Dumont's notes related to his field trips in the summer of the 1838 campaign (fig. 7). They offer detailed information on the soil found along that road, which is composed mainly of sand and clayey sand.

The second series, in red, was found in another of Dumont's manuscripts, MS 615, on non-paginated leaves (fig. 8). The information on the soil encountered along the road is basically the same, but the notes date back to the late 1840s, more precisely from a trip going from Kontich to Antwerp over Hemiksem on 9 September 1848, ten years after his first field trip in the area. Dumont distinguished his field trips on his maps using a different ink which corresponded to the color in which his observations in his note- and travel books were numbered.

The numbers on the map are put exactly there where Dumont located his observations in his notes: for instance, notes 2076-2077 say the soil is clayey sand up to the height of Wilrijk after which it becomes merely sand as far as Antwerp. On our map sheet, 2077 is

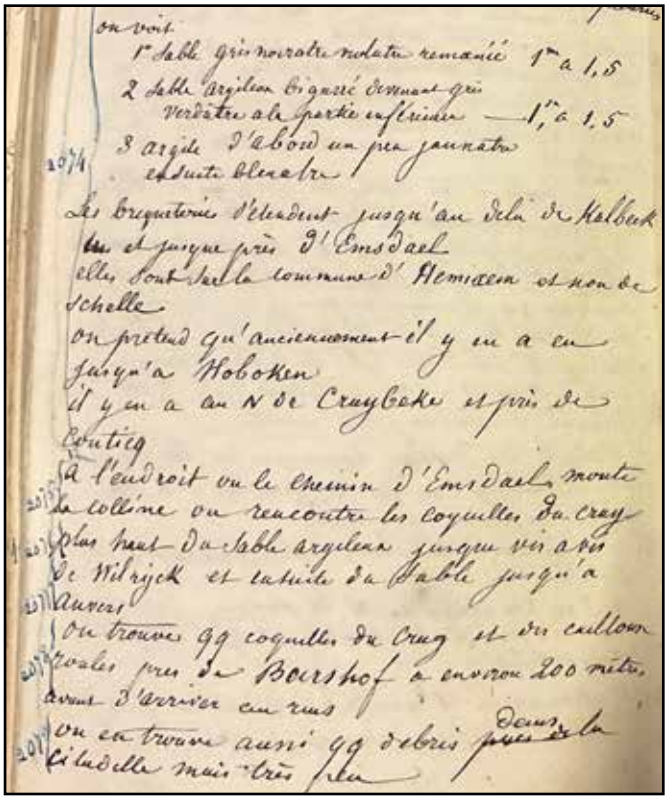

Fig. 7. A. Dumont, Travel notes (ULiège Library, ms 607, p.130)

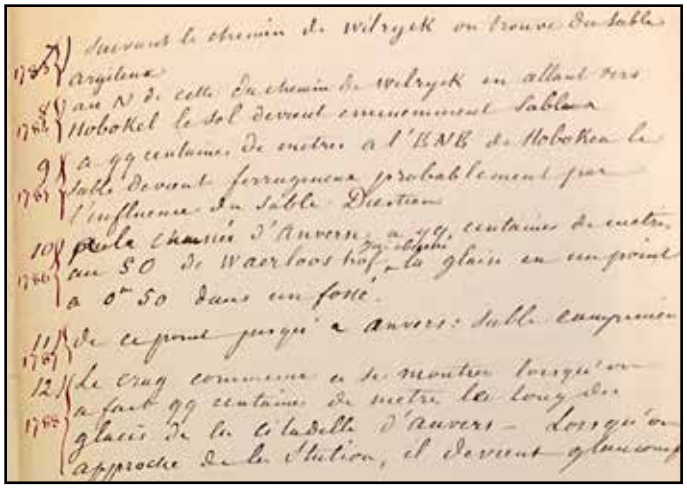

Fig. 8. A. Dumont, Travel notes (ULiège Library, ms 615)

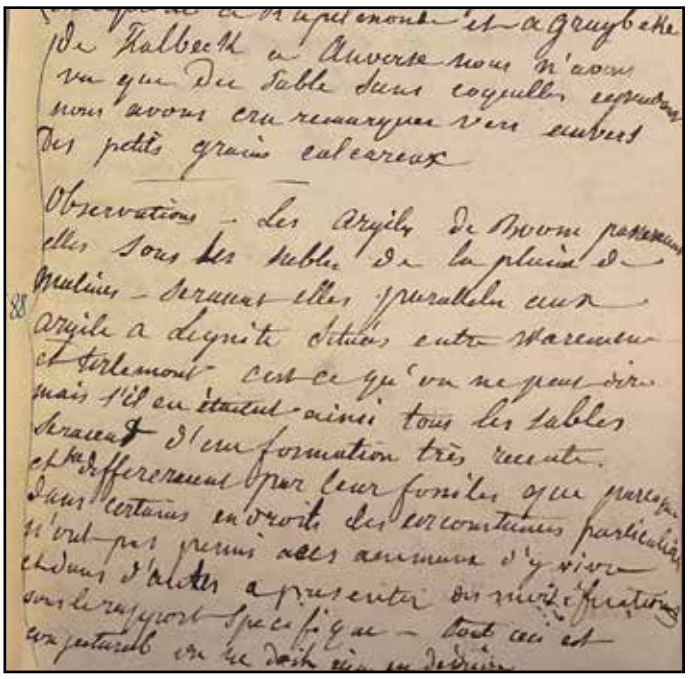

Fig. 9.. A. Dumont, Travel notes (ULiège Library, ms 606, p. 37)

written at the exact height of Wilrijk. The same can be said of the other series: number 1786 is put on the exact spot indicated by Dumont, namely along the Chaussée d'Anvers at a few hundred metres south-west of Waarlooshof (not on the map sheet).

A last point: on our map sheet there is the number 688 written in blue ink at the northern limit of the yellow itinerary, northeast of Hoboken, that is not repeated with the other numbers in the lower left corner of the map sheet and does not appear on any of the Vandermaelen maps. It refers to another of Dumont's observations, which we could trace back on page 37 of MS 606 of Dumont's travel books and has to be dated 2 May 1837, where he hypothesises about the relationship between the sand and clay layers in the area roughly between Boom and Antwerp, suggesting that the first could be of very recent date (fig. 9).

With this last identification, we have finished the reading of the margins of our map sheet. Together with the key on the use of colors on the map, the numbers tell us the story of the aborted project on the geological map of Belgium on scale 1:20 000. The sheet contains the preparatory work by the Dépôt de la Guerre/ICM for the geologists engaged in this project who planned to go surveying the area represented on the map sheet, in casu Octave van Ertborn and Paul Cogels for the Hoboken area. Instead of starting the survey all over again from scratch, the Geological survey under the direction of Edouard Dupont decided to rely on the information gained from Dumont's geological observations during his travels through the country in the 1830s and 1840s that themselves had formed the basis for his geological map on scale 1:160 000. Not only did Dumont's maps and notes contain in Dupont's time the most updated information on Belgium's soil and subsoil; in basing the survey on his work, the Geological survey respected the underlying idea of the whole project to continue the work of Belgium's most illustrious geologist.

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Fig. 1.. Special Malta cancellation stamp

Fig. 2. Participants at the National Library;

On the first step, second from left: IMCoS chairman Mike Sweeting, and second from right: MMS president Joseph Schirò.

Imago Melitae 2024 41st IMCoS International Symposium in Malta.

In 2011 the London-based International Map Collectors' Society (IMCoS) staged its first Malta Symposium, a lucky last-minute replacement for another IMCoS Symposium in Tokyo that had to be cancelled at the time. Just a year earlier, the Malta Map Society (MMS) had been founded by Albert Ganado, known for his outstanding research and authoritative documentation on maps of Malta. In 2024 the then secretary and now president of the MMS, Joseph Schirò, had agreed to organise this second major map event in Malta. It happened to coincide not only with the former President's 100th birthday but also with the fifteenth anniversary of the MMS, a society set up under the Distinguished Patronage of the President of Malta.

Malta's eminent place in the history of cartography has been established largely thanks to the untiring commitment of members of the MMS and Heritage Malta. It has been the subject of numerous articles and reviews not only in our Journal, but also in other cartographic publications in Europe and beyond. It was not surprising, therefore, that so many participants travelled from abroad to join a large group of Maltese map enthusiasts, over eighty all in all. Gathered around IMCoS chairman Mike Sweeting, his committee members and former chairman Hans Kok from the Netherlands, there were leading personalities, past or current presidents, of map societies of the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, the Rocky Mountains, California, Washington and New York – and Brussels.

We registered for the event at the National Library, located in a splendid neo-classical late-eighteenth century building in the heart of Valletta. Every participant received a bag containing cartographical souvenirs of Malta, prepared by the MMS for the occasion. There was a special philatelic folder with a cancellation stamp issued by MaltaPost on 16 October 2024, commemorating both the IMCoS Symposium and the fifteenth anniversary of the MMS (fig. 1). Also included was an envelope with four earlier cancellation stamps, all five stamps showing different maps of Malta. A postcard of a 1615 map of Malta by Aloisio Gili, the first Maltese cartographer, completed this folder, each copy numbered and signed by Joseph Schirò.
It came with a large brochure with reproductions from a 2016 exhibition of the four states of the Great Siege map by Camocio (1565), since then inscribed in UNESCO's International Memory of the World Register. Then there was an 80-page full colour publication containing a catalogue of 50 maps from the exhibition Cartographia – Map Treasures of the National Library of Malta we were to visit later, plus an article by Albert Ganado on that Library's collection of 950 maps and views from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (fig. 2).
After the welcome address by the MMS president, Glorianne Mizzi gave us an introduction to the Maltese islands, followed by an exposé by William Zammit on the National Library and its holdings. The Bibliotheca, as it is commonly known, has become the final depository of books in the possession of the Knights of the Order of Saint John, and with its large manuscript, incunabula and other Melitensia collections preserves an important part of Malta's cultural heritage.
Bernadine Scicluna's talk on the mapping of the Great Siege concluded that morning's presentations. We had about one hour for a guided tour of the mentioned exhibition to admire not only ancient maps of Malta's early history but also those of other parts of the world, bearing witness to the rich diversity of the Library's holdings. I found particularly interesting the first known separate map of Malta by Johannes Quintinus dating from 1536, just six years after the Knights became established in Malta. Clodio's 1589 map of the British Isles, a Mediterranean portolan of 1728 and a section with maps by Maltese mapmakers, including Saliba's most unusual circular world map of 1638, were highlights of this exhibition.

The group then moved on to be introduced to the national cartographic collection at the MUZA, the National Museum of Fine Arts in the former Auberge

Fig. 3. At the Maritime Museum: senior curator Liam Gauci presenting a Roman anchor, ca 60 AD, found near St Paul's Bay.

d'Italie, the historic seat of the Italian Knights. The afternoon was free.
On the second day, Thursday, transport by bus was provided to Rabat, in the centre of the island, for a series of talks at the National Archives. The bus tour offered ample opportunity to observe the rural areas on the way. Melvin Caruana gave an introduction to the archives, Catherine Parker then talked about London's Royal Geographical Society's holdings of views and maps of Malta and Gozo, whilst Emanuel Chetcuti addressed decorative signs and conventions in maps of Malta. The local sound system did not really want to cooperate, but the information came across regardless. After a tour of the National Archives, we were treated to a most enjoyable lunch by the MMS. In nearby Mdina, the island's former capital, we toured the Cathedral Museum under the guidance of Raymond Saliba. Mario Gauci then gave an introduction to the Mdina Metropolitan Archives, currently closed due to works. The visit to the Mdina cathedral was impressive, as was the explanation provided in one of the adjoining rooms. Attendees suffering from jetlag or other sleep deficits got a chance to recover during the bus trip back to Valletta.

The next morning, Friday, started off with a walk for an early boat crossing of the Grand Harbour from Valletta to Vittoriosa. On the way, we had a chance to admire the battery area where quite a number of cannons was positioned, some of them put on rails to expand their field of fire directionally. The ferry brought us to the Maritime Museum, where Chief Curator Liam Gauci gave us a guided tour of the temporary exhibition An Island at the Crossroads. Although currently undergoing some major renovation works, there was an impressive display of antiques of naval history, ship models and historical documents, enough to bring across Malta's unique maritime position in the middle of the Mediterranean (fig. 3).
Next on the programme was a visit of the nearby Inquisitor's Palace, the former headquarters of the Holy Roman Inquisition that watched over the Maltese for more than two centuries, until it was abolished by the French in 1798. Kenneth Cassar, the senior curator, was our guide through the domestic quarters on the ground floor, the official halls and private rooms on the floors above, and the Holy Office part of the building, with its tribunal chamber, the torture chamber and the prison complex. An intimate inner court served as an enjoyable backdrop for our coffee-break. On reflection, a really awe-inspiring place, but beautifully preserved as an ecclesiastical witness of times past.
To bring us back to cartography, Liam Gauci talked about a portolan of Tunis by the eighteenth century Malta cartographer Antonio Borg, whilst Bernadine Scicluna and Joseph Schirò made a presentation on the San Salvatore Promontory. This ended our fascinating excursion.

On Saturday morning, officially the last day of the Symposium, we were offered a tour of Saint John's Co-Cathedral with the Caravaggio Museum, built by the Order of the Knights of Saint John in 1577, shortly after the Great Siege. This cathedral is really magnificent, in particular its interior. It is an admirably large building — high and deep — which must have been difficult to accommodate on Malta, an island where surface space has always been at a premium. It comes heavily decorated in gold with amazing tombstones in colour covering the wide floors. None are showing signs of wear, notwithstanding the thousands of visitors who walk on them every day.
Moving on to the MUŻA, we were highly privileged to be invited to the opening of an exhibition especially

Fig. 4. Opening of the exhibition British Maps of Malta, with (from left to right) Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird, editor of the IMCoS Map Journal, Joseph Schirò , Bernadine Scicluna, principal curator at the MUZA and Kenneth Gambin, chief operations officer, Heritage Malta.

Fig. 5. Farewell dinner at the Maritime Museum.

arranged for the occasion, British Maps of Malta. Each participant was handed a free copy of an impressive catalogue prepared by the curators Emanuel Chetcuti and Joseph Schirò. It documents the entire corpus of such maps as are currently known, 123 maps dating from 1615 to 1901. About one half of these were on display, grouped into thematic sections covering administrative and propaganda maps, some sea charts and those documenting French and British domination (fig. 4). Our visit ended with a generous reception offered by the MMS. An optional tour was then proposed to the nearby Lascaris War Rooms, consisting of a surprisingly large network of underground tunnels and quarters that served as Britain's WWII headquarters and later as a NATO intelligence base.

The farewell dinner was organised that evening at the Maritime Museum. A number of nicely spaced tables provided access to excellent Maltese cuisine in a first-rate historical environment. The convivial atmosphere facilitated the 'Thank yous' from Mike Sweeting, IMCoS chairman, and the words of appreciation from Joseph Schirò, his counterpart at the MMS and chief organiser of the Symposium (fig. 5)

The post-symposium tour to the sister island of Gozo on Sunday was not attended by all participants, but still, a bus full of carto-addicts joined the ride to the departure point of the ferry, again giving us an opportunity to view Malta's interior, as an enjoyable fringe benefit of the tour. The ferry took a relaxing 30 minutes to get across to Gozo, passing abeam of Comino on the way. The visit to the huge archaeological site of Ggantija Park was impressive. It is a UNESCO World Heritage site, which is reported to pre-date even the Egyptian pyramids. The ensuing visit to the Citadel required a steep uphill stretch on foot, but was well worth the effort. A more than wonderful late lunch in a magnificent location with a sea view from up-high in equally wonderful weather preceded our return to the ferry. A pleasant boat tour followed by a bus-ride mostly in the dark across the island back to Valletta served to conclude our IMCoS Malta visit.

Joseph Schirò and his large team from the MMS, supported by a number of Maltese institutions and their distinguished leaders, spared no effort in making this symposium such a huge success. The intelligent combination of cartographic events and historical sights filled a programme highly appreciated by all.

Wulf Bodenstein

With thanks to Tom Sander, past president of the Washington Map Society and long-time editor of The Portolan, for completing the list of overseas societies, and in particular to Hans Kok for help in covering those parts of the Symposium I unfortunately had to miss.

Wulf Bodenstein
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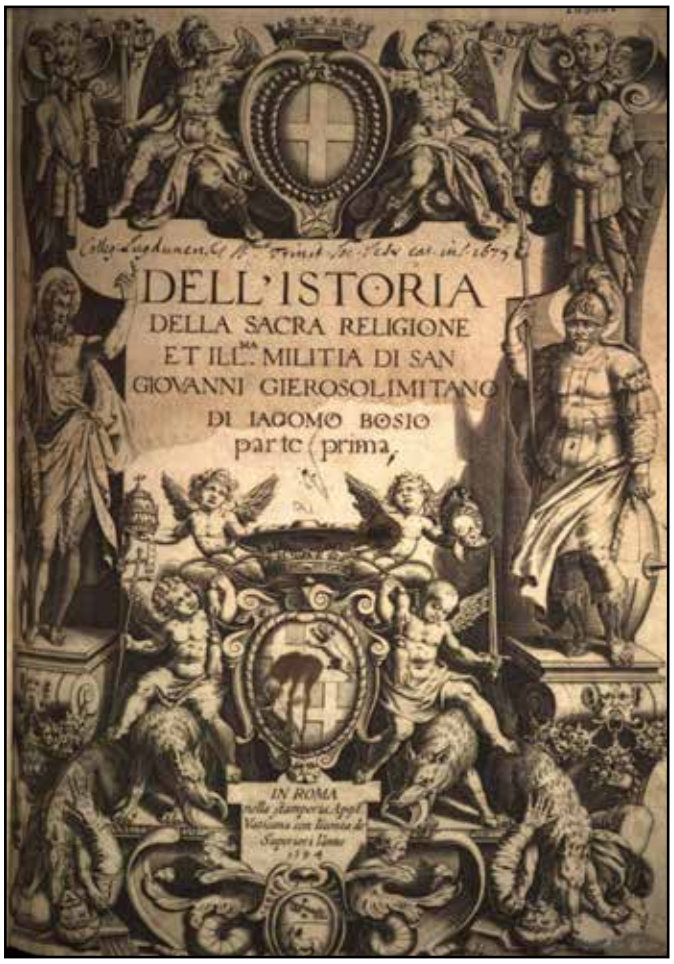
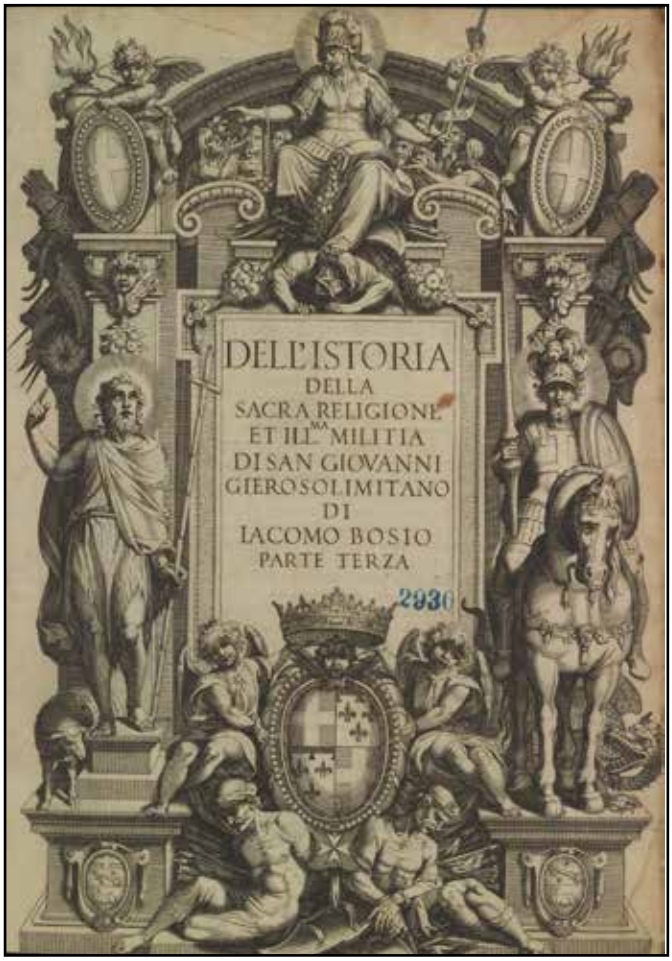
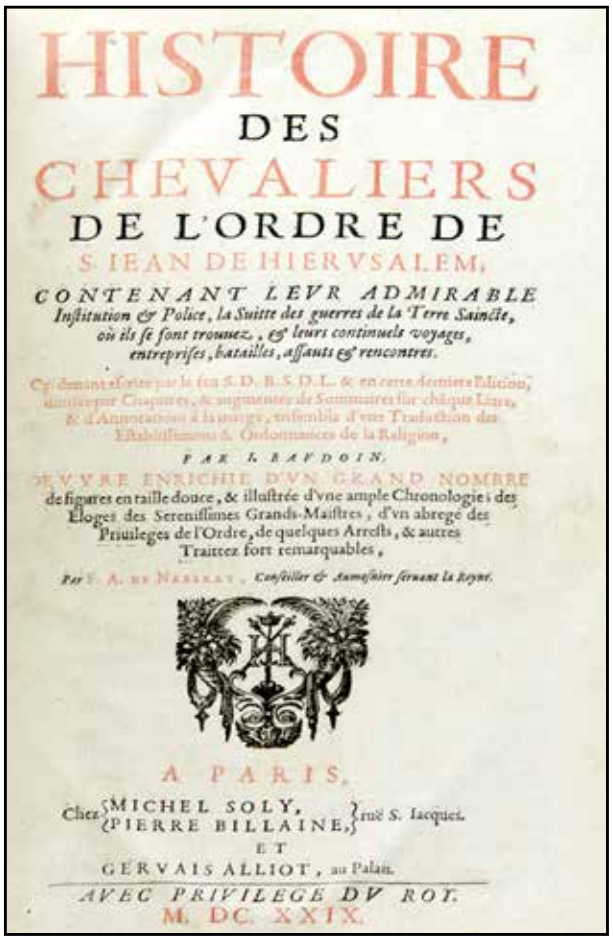


History of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem by Jacomo Bosio - part one of 1594



History of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem by Jacomo Bosio - part three of 1602



Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de Jean de Jerusalem.- by Jean Baudoin - 1629

The maps of Malta in the history of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem by Jean Baudoin and Fra Anne de Naberat

In 1629 Jean Baudoin published an augmented edition of the History of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem which Pierre de Boissat (1556-1613)[1] had written in 1612 in two volumes. It was a translation of *Dell'istoria della sacra Religione, dell'illustrissima milizia di Santo Giovanni Gierosolimitano* (History of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem) by Giacomo Bosio (1544-1627) who, on 8 March 1589, had been commissioned by Grand Master Hughes Loubens de Verdale (1581-1595) to write the history of the Order. Parts 1 and 2 were published in 1594 whilst part 3, dealing with Malta, came out in 1602.

The authors

Jean Baudoin (ca 1590-1650) was a translator and writer of a prolific number of publications. In 1634, he became one of the first members of the *Académie française*. He began his career in the service of Queen Marguerite de Valois in 1605. Although very little is known about his education, he seems to have specialised in foreign languages and is known to have travelled around Europe in his youth. According to his contemporaries, his greatest success was the translation of *Civil Wars of France*, by Enrico Caterino Davila, published in 1644. He died of hunger and cold in 1650.

Fra Anne de Naberat (ca. 1566-1630) was a conventual priest of the Auvergne langue of the Order of St John of Jerusalem who, owing to his literary achievements, was granted the honorary title of "adviser and chaplain in ordinary to the King". He was also the counsellor and chaplain serving Queen Anne of Austria.

The book

The book was first published in two volumes in Paris in 1629 by Michel Soly, Pierre Billaine and Gervais Alliot. Its title was *Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de S. Iean de Hierusalem...* par I. Baudoin, *œuvre enrichie ... des Eloges des Serenissimes Grands-Maistres, d'un abregé des Privileges de l'Ordre, de quelques Arrests, et autres Traittez fort remarquables,* par F. A. de Naberat.

1 Pierre de Boissat (1556-1613), the elder and Pierre de Boissat (1603-1662), the younger. Both could possibly have been associated with the publication.

This was followed by a second edition in 1643, also published in Paris, by Jacques d'Allin. In 1659 a third edition came out in Paris in one volume published by Thomas Ioly.

Part 1 of the book was written by Jean Baudoin. It narrates the history of the Order commencing with the establishment of the hospital in Jerusalem[2] by the Blessed Gerard Sasso (ca. 1040-1120) and ends when Grand Master Pietro del Monte (1499-1572) decided that the Order was to move from Vittoriosa to Valletta in March 1571 and there establish its permanent quarters[3]. Baudoin dedicated the 1629 and 1643 editions to Amador de la Porte (1566-1644) who was Vice-Admiral of France, Marshal of the camps and armies of His Majesty Louis XIII, governor of Aunis and Saintonge, authority over the ports of La Rochelle and Brouage and the uncle and mentor of Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642). The 1659 edition was dedicated to Jacques de Souvré (1600-1670), prior of France of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, ambassador of the Order and commander of the galleys of France.

Part 2 was written by Fra Anne Naberat. It comprises *Les Statuts de l'Ordre de Sainct Iean de Hierusalem and Les Ordonnances du chapitre general tenu en l'annee M.DC.III.* These are followed by *Sommaire des privileges octroyez à l'Ordre de Sainct Iean de Hierusalem* in three chapters to which are added the dissertations captioned *Malthe suppliante aux pieds du Roy [...], La Response à la Declaration de Messieurs les Prelats de l'Assemblée Generale de France, tenuë à Paris, l'an 1625 and L'Instruction pour faire les preuves de Noblesse des Chevaliers de Malthe, la forme de leur donner l'habit, et autres particuliers Traictez.* Naberat dedicated his work to Queen Anne of Austria.

Naberat's treatise on the privileges granted to the Order of St John by Popes, Kings, Emperors and Princes throughout its course of history in Jerusalem, Margat, Saint John of Acre, Cyprus, Rhodes and Malta, is in three chapters. This section of the

2 Charles Savona-Ventura, The first hospital of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (Journal of the Malta College of Family Doctors, 17, 1999), 17-21.

3 Roger de Giorgio, *A City by an Order* (Progress Press, 1985), 127.

book is complemented with 56 portraits of Grand Masters within the text and four large maps engraved in copper. The privileges are interspersed with descriptions of Cyprus, Rhodes and Malta including a reference note to the Great Siege of 1565.

In 1627 Naberat published *Malthe suppliante aux Pieds du Roy: contre l'Autheur del'Abbregé des Mémoires presenté à S. Majesté pour la Reunion de la grand' Maistrise de l'Ordre Sainct Jean de Hierusalem à sa Couronne* which found its place in Baudoin's *Histoire*. In his dissertation, Naberat confuted the memorial by the Chevalier de Moncal, who in 1611 was imprisoned for insubordination, suggesting that since the Order of St John had done its work, it should be united to the Crown of France by the simple process of the king becoming Grand Master of the Order[4]. 'Inevitably the day was Naberat's' (Schermerhorn 1929).

Fig. 1. Title page showing the miniature map of Malta (1659 Edition)

The frontispiece with the book's title (fig. 1) shows two knights kneeling in front of a sacred personification. The knight holding the banner on the left with the inscription *hac itur ad Astra*, which can be read as 'this is the way to Astra' (a city in Turkey) or 'this is the way to the stars'. The knight on the right with the shield bearing the eight-pointed cross on which is inscribed *qvas Africa nvtrit* (that which Africa nourishes). It also displays a miniature map of Malta engraved by Crispijn van de Passe (ca 1564–1637), who was a Dutch publisher and engraver. It is oriented north to the top and measures 40 × 55 mm. This map was described by Albert Ganado, who wrote: 'This tiny map has no place names but shows roughly the buildings and some of the fortifications, namely of Valletta. It is printed in an oval cartouche around which this motto is inscribed in Latin: *Erat Haec mihi debita fatis,* meaning 'This has been due to my destiny'.[5]'


A TRES NOBLE,
ET TRES-VERTVEVX
SEIGNEVR, MESSIRE AMADOR
DE LA PORTE, CHEVALIER DE L'ORDRE
de Sainct Iean de Hierusalem, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils
d'Eſtat & Priué, Bailly de la Morée, Commandeur de la Bracque,
Ambaſſadeur ordinaire dudit Ordre prés ſa Majeſté, Gouuerneur
de la Ville & Chaſteau d'Angers, &c.

MONSEIGNEVR,

Ceux-là me ſemblent auoir raiſon, qui pour nous apprendre que la vraye vertu n'a point de fard, ny la mort aucun Empire ſur elle, & que ſes naturelles beautez ne peuuent eſtre cachées, nous peignent la Verité toute nuë, aupres de laquelle ſe voit à main gauche l'Immortalité qui la couronne, & à la droite, la Renommée qui la regarde fixement, ayant vne robbe toute ſemée de Langues, & vne trompette dont elle ſonne. Puis qu'il eſt donc vray que ce n'eſt pas vn moindre defaut, de ne pouuoir ſupporter l'eſclat des actions vertueuſes, que de les priuer ingrattement des iuſtes loüanges qui leur ſont deuës, il eſt bien raiſonnable, Monſeigneur, que la Poſterité ſçache, à quel poinct de gloire & d'admiration voſtre Valeur eſt montée, & ce que la

Fig. 2. The dedication page with the historiated letter 'M'

The miniature map in the historiated letter 'M' at the beginning of the dedication (fig. 2) is oriented south to the top and measures 10 × 37 mm. Quoting Ganado again, 'The islands are named Malthe, Comin, Goze, on the body of each respective island. Beneath the map, in the centre of the engraving, a compass rose with the eight-pointed cross of the Order may be seen. The outline of the Maltese islands, their position in a horizontal line and their names correspond exactly to the very small image engraved by I. Picart for the Memorial published by Fra Anne de Naberat'.[6]

4 Elizabeth W. Schermerhorn, *Malta of the Knights* (Heinemann, 1929), 154: 'In the opinion of the Chevalier de Moncal, fighting the infidels had gone out of fashion…and the Knights fought only for booty; although, he said, it was a crime to even whisper this in Malta'.

5 Albert Ganado, *Miniature maps of Malta* (Heritage Malta, Midsea Books, 2009), 85.

6 Ganado (2009). Op. cit., 18.

The frontispiece to the dissertation *Malthe suppliante aux pieds du Roy...* (fig. 3) incorporates seven cartographic insets which are of 'Ptolomaide' (Saint John of Acre), Margat (Qalaat al-Marqab), Jerusalem, Cyprus, Rhodes, an untitled map of Malta, Comino and Gozo and an untitled map of Valletta harbour. The page was engraved by Jean Picart, active in Paris between the years 1620 and 1670, who also engraved the map Notitia chorographica episcopatuum Galliae by Petrus Bertius (1565-1629) in 1625.

The map of Malta is oriented south to the top measuring 10 × 39 mm. 'The map shows in a horizontal line three islands marked Malthe, Comin, Goze, with a compass rose underneath, flaunting in its centre the eight-pointed cross of the Order of Saint John. Filfla is not depicted but Comino strangely enough is surrounded by seven islets'.[7]
The map of Valletta and the two cities is oriented south to the top and measures 55 × 75 mm. 'Although the title is of the island of Malta, this is a plan of the harbour area, naming *Cité Valete and S Herme* (Fort St Elmo), Bourg and S Ange (Fort St Angelo), and S Michel (Senglea). Malta's name is inscribed on Gallows Point, where Fort Ricasoli was later built, while at the bottom left corner of the map, the escutcheon of Fra Anne de Naberat is depicted'.[8]

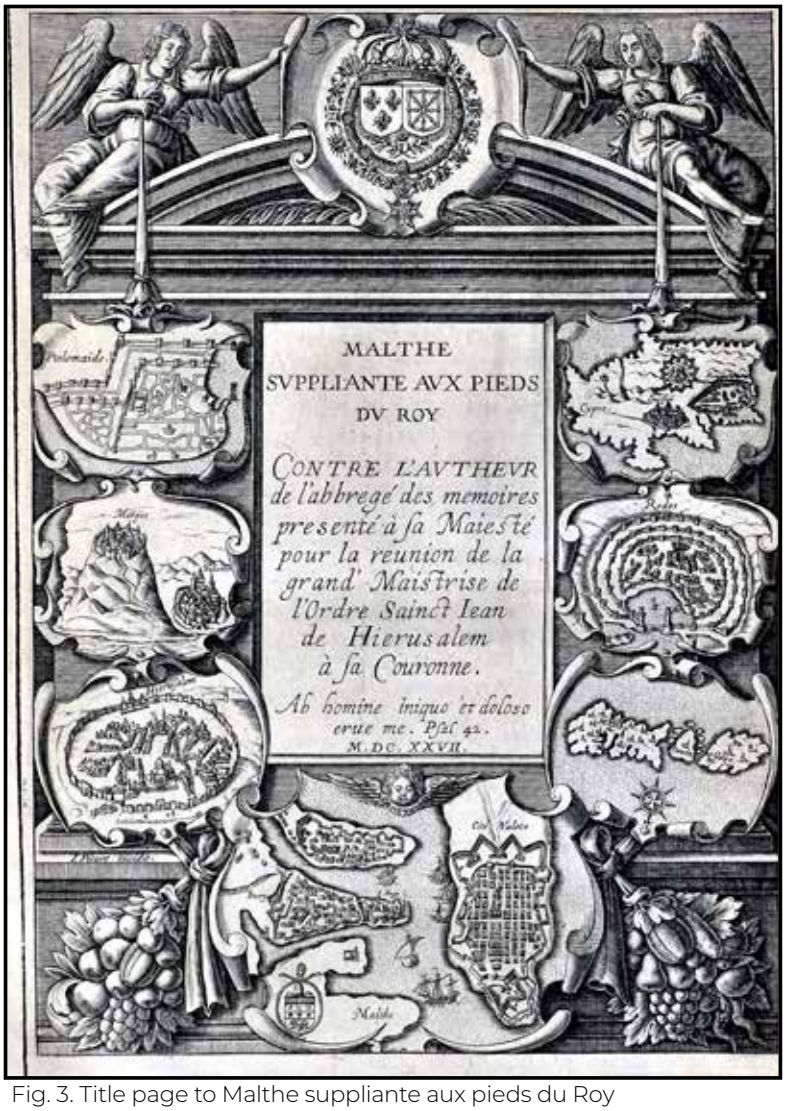


Fig. 3. Title page to Malthe suppliante aux pieds du Roy

Baudoin's *Histoire* includes four maps of Malta which featured in part two by Fra Anne de Naberat.

- VALLETTA CITTA NOVA DI MALTA by Daniel Rabel and Isaac Briot (see fig. 4)
- VALLETTA CITTA NOVA DI MALTA by Jean Douillier and Henry Raigniauld (see fig. 5)
- ISLE ET SIEGE DE MALTE by Jean Douillier and Henry Raigniauld (see fig. 6)
- Cité de Valete de Malthe by I. Blanchin (see fig.7)

The maps are variations derived from contemporary cartographic works. They are all found in the three editions of 1629, 1643 and 1659 of Baudoin's *Histoire*.

7 Ganado (2009). Op. cit., 98.

8 Ganado (2009). Op. cit., 98

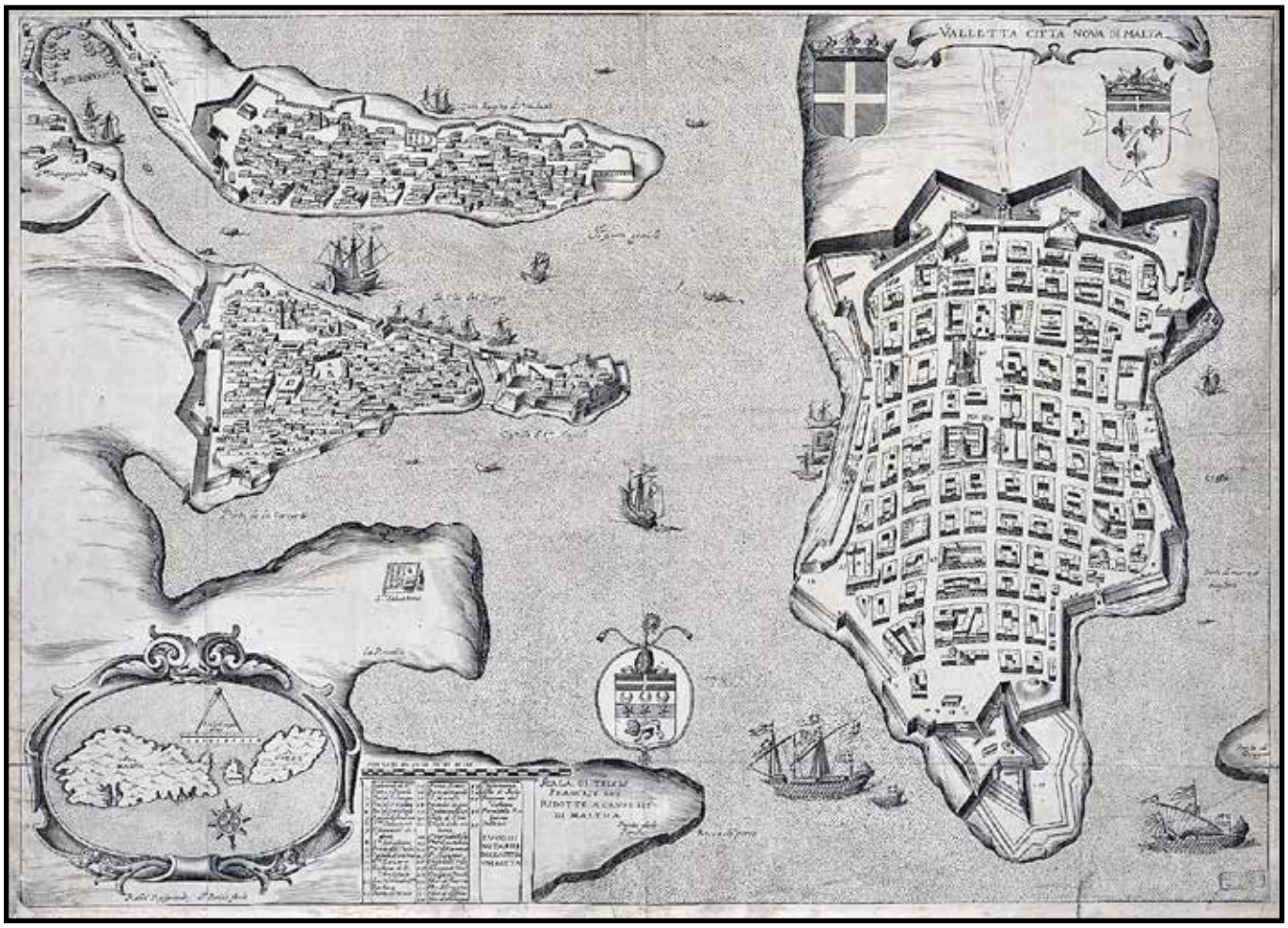


Fig. 4. VALLETTA CITTA NOVA DI MALTA by Daniel Rabel and Isaac Briot. Source: BnF.

The first map (fig. 4), titled VALLETTA CITTA NOVA DI MALTA, was designed by Daniel Rabel (1578–1637) and engraved by Isaac Briot (1585–1670). It is a copper engraving measuring 386 × 544 mm and oriented south to the top. Daniel Rabel was a French painter, engraver and a natural history illustrator. He served as an engineer in Ordinary for the King of France for the provinces of Brie and Champagne. Isaac Briot was a French engraver and draughtsman renowned for his neatly executed engravings.

The map is based on the one engraved by Francesco Villamena (1600–1602) for Bosio's *Dell'istoria della sacra Religione* [...], which had been drawn by the Italian knight Francesco dell'Antella (1567–1624) towards the end of the sixteenth century and sent to Bosio in Rome on 1 September 1600. It includes detailed plans of the fortifications, coats of arms, an explanation of the scale of the map, decorative embellishments and a key identifying important places with an inset map of Malta and Gozo near bottom left. At the top right-hand corner there are the coats of arms of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem and that of Alexandre de Vendôme (1598–1629) who was the natural son of King Henry IV of France nominated Captain of the Maltese galleys in 1612 and Grand Prior of France in 1619. In the lower part, there is a second coat of arms belonging to Fra Anne de Naberat with three crescents and a lion passant surmounted by a mitre and a Maltese cross.

The map shows the cities of Valletta, Borgo (Birgu) and Senglea, and the church of Santo Salvatore (Our Saviour). The map includes a detailed plan of the fortifications, descriptions of the scale and a key to the points of interest in Valletta. A baroque cartouche encloses an inset of the islands of Malta and Gozo at lower left. The map is decorated with many sailing ships. The imprints of Rabel and Briot are given beneath the cartouche.

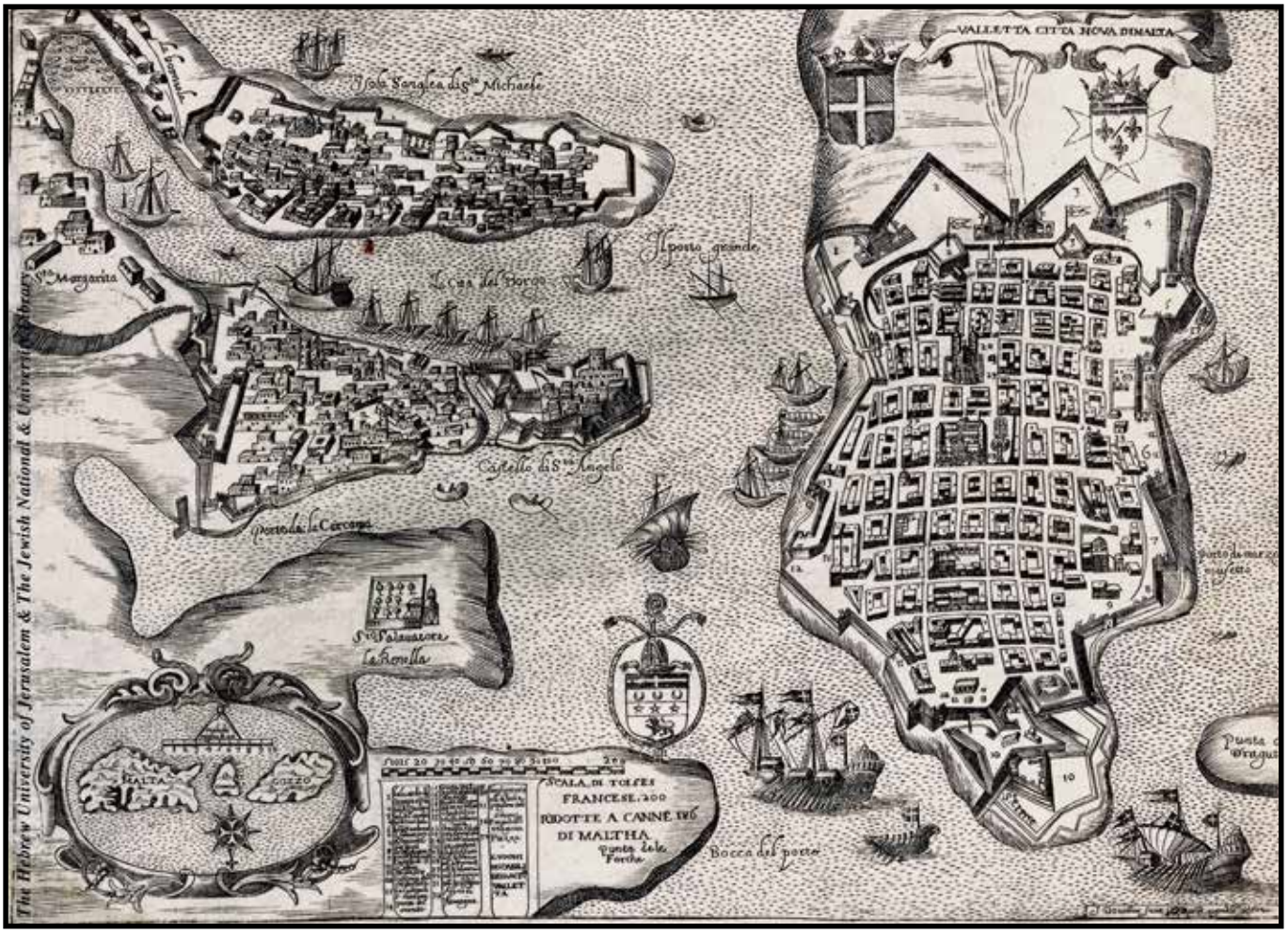


Fig. 5. VALLETTA CITTA NOVA DI MALTA by by Jean Douillier and Henry Raigniauld.
Source: National Library of Israel.

The second map (fig. 5) is also titled VALLETTA CITTA NOVA DI MALTA. It is by Jean Douillier and Henry Raigniauld, a copper engraving, 192 × 268 mm, oriented south to the top. The map is similar to the one executed by Daniel Rabel and engraved by Isaac Briot with some additional sea vessels. The names of Douillier and Raigniauld are inserted in a rectangular cartouche at the right bottom of the map.

Fig. 6. The title and index pages. - Source: BnF, bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40647652x

An earlier state of this map, in which the coat of arms of Alexandre de Vendôme at the top corner of the map is missing, is found in a copy of *Geografia, Tavole moderne di geografia de la maggior parte del mondo di diversi autori raccolte et messe secondo l'ordine di Tolomeo con idisegni di molte citta et fortezze di diverse provintie stampate in rame con studio et diligenza in Roma* held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (see fig. 6 and 7). It is attributed to the period 1600-1609. The volume is a collection said to contain 145 Italian maps, with tables of different formats, many of which were edited by Lafreri, to which have been attached some Flemish and French maps of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries including two manuscript maps. The Malta map is numbered 113.

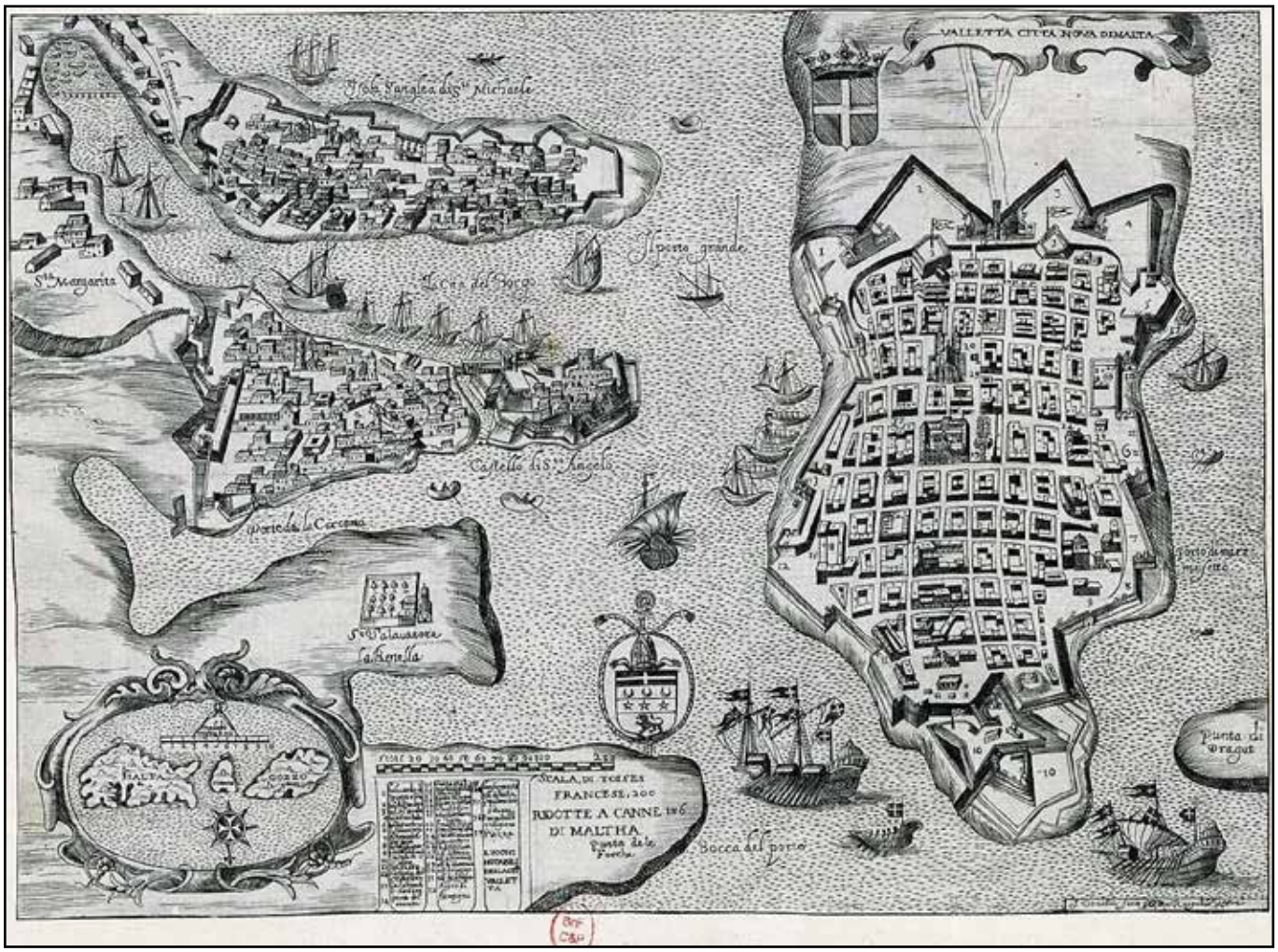


Fig. 7. The first state of the map VALLETTA CITTA NOVA DI MALTA, 265 × 190 mm, J. Douillier fecit; Henry Raigniauld engraver. Source: BnF.

The third map (fig. 8) is captioned ISLE ET SIEGE DE MALTE. It was also prepared by Jean Douillier and engraved by Henry Raigniauld with their names shown in a rectangular frame at the right bottom of the map. It is oriented south to the top measuring 195 × 270 mm.

The map depicts the main episodes of the Siege of Malta of 1565. It is designed on the one made in 1582 by Mattero Perez d'Aleccio (1547-1616) who was the official painter of the Great Siege. It includes a profusion of vessels approaching the island and a key to locations, numbered 1 to 14. The places mostly depicted are small town views, numerous fortified towers, the southern tip of Sicily, and to the right Gozo, Comino and Filfla. The coats of arms of Alexandre de Vendôme and Fra Anne de Naberat are also displayed.

Finally, the fourth map of Baudoin's Histoire is Cité de Valete de Malthe inserted within the text on page 106 of *Les Privileges de l'Ordre* [...], under the sub-title DESCRIPTION DE LA CITÉ DE VALLETTE, / de Malte (fig. 9). A copper engraving by Jean Blanchin (1597?-16..) measuring 141 × 205 mm, the map shows Valletta with harbour shipping.

There are numbers inserted but there is no key. Scale bar at left bottom corner of the plan. It is in the Italian style copied from Matteo Perez d'Aleccio's engraving of 1582..

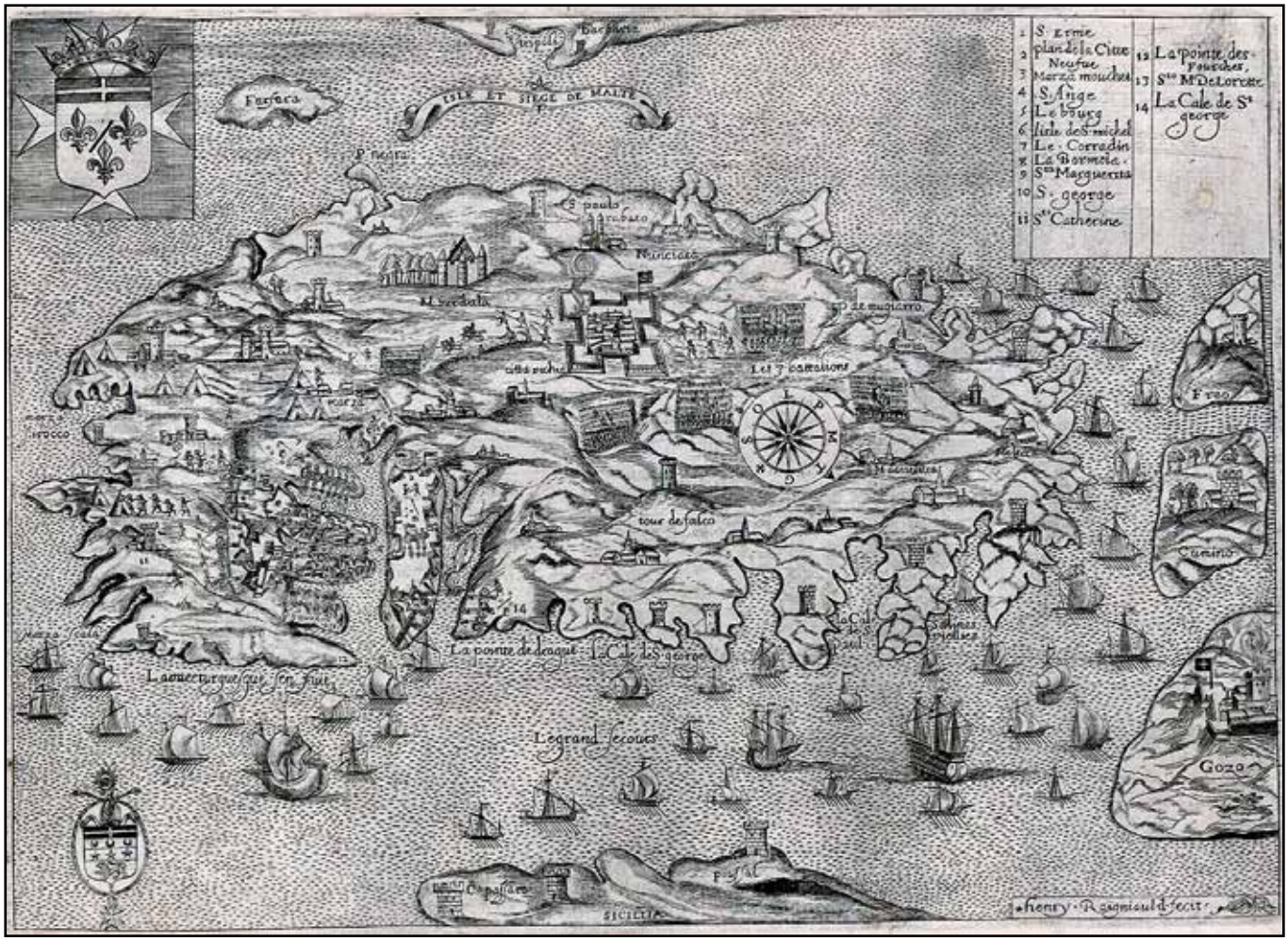


Fig. 8. Isle et Siege de Malta by J . Douillier et Henry Raigniauld engraver. Source: Private Collection.

Fig. 9. Description de la Cité de Valetta/de Malta by Jean Blanchin

This article is intended to provide an overall coverage of the cartographic representations which are found in in the History of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem written by Jean Baudoin and Fra Anne de Naberat. Whilst the map by Daniel Rabel and Isaac Briot and the ones by Jean Douillier and Henry Raigniauld often appear in the map trade, the miniature maps in the title pages are rarely offered for sale as single items and are less well-known to map enthusiasts. I have therefore endeavoured to provide a comprehensive coverage of all the cartographic features in all the editions of Baudoin's Histoire for those who may wish to pursue the study of the maps in further detail.

Emanuel Chetcuti
linoc @ onvol.net

Fig. 1 a - Portolan chart signed by Juan Vespucci in Seville in 1520, 67 × 89 cm; now kept at the Archivo General de Indias, M. y P. Europa y África, 125.

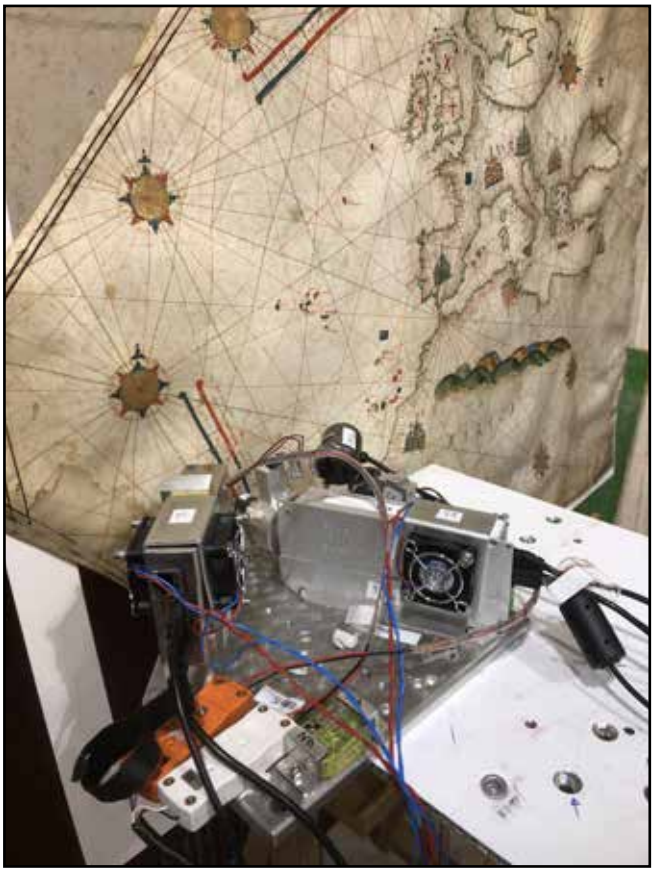


Fig. 1.b - Applying chemical analysis by X-ray fluorescence to the chart signed by Juan Vespucci in Seville in 1520.
The map was analysed by different non-invasive techniques: infra-red and ultraviolet light, digital microscope and X-ray fluorescence (XRF).
The main goals of this study were to identify the materials used, as well as to detect retouching or restoration work.

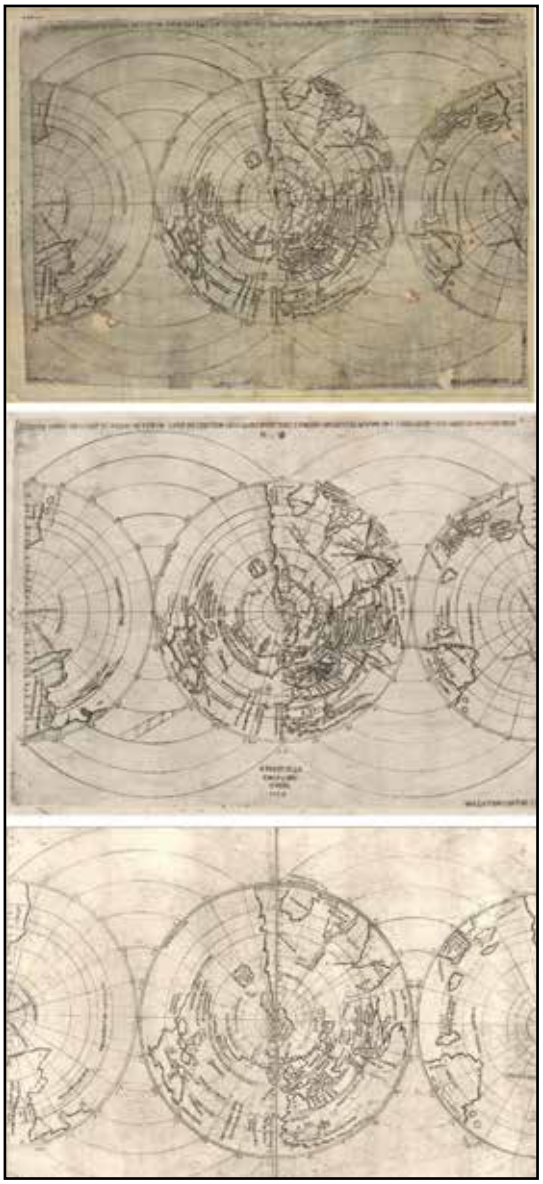


Fig. 3. .The three known exemplars (one dated 1524) of Juan Vespucci's printed world map in polar azimuthal equidistant projection.

Juan Vespucci
A Cosmographer, Seaman and Merchant at the Heart of Spanish Charting of the New World

A summary of the doctoral thesis of Luis A. Robles Macías

In January 2024, at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB), I defended my doctoral thesis in History on the subject of Juan Vespucci (1487 – ca 1527). The thesis was approved by the jury, consisting of professors Wouter Bracke (supervisor), Alexis Wilkin (chair), Marie Kervyn de Meerendré, Henrique Leitão and Manuel Morato Moreno. I was glad that several friends from the Brussels Map Circle attended the presentation. Since then, I have been publishing several sections of the thesis as articles in journals and talks at conferences, often adding a few extra details. Once this task is over, I will release the full dissertation online in free access. In the meantime, I would like to share with Maps in History readers a summary of the main findings.
Juan Vespucci was a pilot, mapmaker and merchant born in Florence in 1487 and active in Seville in the first three decades of the sixteenth century. To historians of cartography, he is known as the author of a portolan chart dated 1520 (fig. 1.a and 1.b) , a nautical planisphere dated 1526 (fig. 2) and a set of world maps in polar azimuthal projection published ca. 1524 (fig.3).

Unlike his famous uncle Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512), Juan Vespucci has been little studied: his only published biography till now was a 22-page monograph written in 1897, before the discovery of his manuscript maps and of many relevant archival documents[1]. Furthermore, the scholars who have studied Vespucci's maps — generally described in isolation — are different from those who have unearthed biographical information about him but ignored his mapmaking[2]. My doctoral thesis connects the various facets of Juan Vespucci's life — pilot, mapmaker, merchant and link between Spain and Italy — to show how each illuminates the others and how, together, they provide new perspectives on four key contemporary historical developments: Spanish overseas exploration, the revolution of mapmaking in the sixteenth century, the beginnings of transatlantic trade, and the flow of information and cultural influences between the Iberian and Italian Peninsulas.

Origins
Even though the Vespuccis are one of the best studied families of Renaissance Florence, my archival research nevertheless yielded hitherto unknown biographical data about Juan Vespucci and his relatives. For instance, I have identified an early connection between Juan's maternal grandfather and the exotic world of Portuguese maritime trade and slavery; however, by 1487 the echoes of that link had almost entirely faded. Juan was also born too late to learn much from his great-uncle, the renowned humanist Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (1434–1514). Plagued by health issues and the turbulences of Savonarola's years, Giorgio Antonio may at most have been able to teach Juan some Latin. The date of Juan's emigration from Florence can now be bracketed to mid-1507. Reaching adulthood, losing his mother and reading the fascinating letters sent by Uncle Amerigo must all have contributed to his decision to relocate to Seville. There, his uncle taught him cosmography, mapmaking and navigation, and introduced him to the city's main Florentine merchants.

It was well known that, following Amerigo's death in 1512, Juan was appointed royal pilot at the Casa de la Contratación de las Indias, the agency of the Crown that supervised exploration and commerce in Spanish America; but only now has it come to light that he was also made a subject of the Kingdom of Castile that year[3]. The nephew seemingly succeeded at presenting himself as Amerigo's natural successor and making a good impression at the Court.

1 Luigi Hugues, Giovanni Vespucci. Note biografiche e storiche (Casale: Cassone, 1897).

2 Juan Vespucci's life in Seville was outlined, without mentioning his maps, by José Pulido Rubio, El piloto mayor de la Casa de la Contratación de Sevilla: pilotos mayores, catedráticos de cosmografía y cosmógrafos (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1950); Consuelo Varela, Colón y los florentinos (Madrid: Alianza, 1988).

3 I located the naturalisation letter, dated 7 September 1512, at the Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello, legajo 151209, 14. This explains why, the following decade, Juan was able to freely trade with the Indies.

Fig. 2 .Nautical-style planisphere signed by Juan Vespucci in Seville in 1526, 85 × 262 cm; now at The Hispanic Society of America, New York NY, K42.

Royal Pilot

Vespucci soon took part in a major transatlantic expedition that carried around 3 000 people to Darién – in modern-day Panama – in 1514, and which I have reconstructed with a focus on nautical matters (see Vespucci's itinerary in fig. 4). The following year, he and other pilots were asked to testify about the latitude of Cape Saint Augustine in modern-day Brazil. A detailed study of those depositions, along with contemporary documents, shows that they fit into the ongoing geopolitical controversy between Portugal and Castile about the demarcation of the Treaty of Tordesillas, even if Vespucci and his colleagues ostensibly discussed latitudes rather than longitudes. The research has also revealed a hitherto unreported Spanish expedition that measured the Cape's latitude in 1517.

The Cape Saint Augustine enquiry has many parallels with the Junta of Badajoz-Elvas of 1524, the conference between Spain and Portugal to establish jurisdiction over the Moluccas [Maluku] Islands, in which Vespucci also took part. Systematic mining of the meeting's proceedings, focusing on its technical aspects, has revealed a dozen overlooked maps and globes as well as new insights into how cosmographers actually interacted with these objects[4].

The study of these controversies has shed light on how geographical information was updated, stored and reused at the Casa de la Contratación. First-hand experience was valued above any other source of knowledge. Uncertainty was dealt with by embracing it, keeping records of diverging geographical data in a variety of formats. I have also proved that, from 1512 to 1525, Vespucci and the pilot major remained the sole authorities in charge of updating the Padrón Real, which was the official repository of all geographical information about Spanish America. Alleged reworks of the Padrón by other mapmakers, hypothesised by past scholars, turn out to be mere historiographic mirages.

In 1525, Vespucci was fired from the Casa de la Contratación. Earlier historians had justified this highly unusual decision on the grounds that Vespucci was a spy, based on a set of allegedly incriminatory

4 Oral presentations at the Rayas symposium in Lisbon, September 2024 and the Brussels Map Circle December 2024 annual conference titled Spanish Cartography – Cartography of Spain.

letters sent from Spain to the Medici rulers of Florence and Rome. My research has shown that these letters were, in fact, written by a homonym who worked as a diplomat for the Medici; there are no grounds whatsoever to accuse Juan Vespucci of having been a spy[5]. His dismissal from the Casa was instead likely due to his refusal to join an upcoming expedition to the Moluccas, at a time when he seems to have prioritised merchant activities over his obligations as royal pilot.

Merchant

Indeed, business was Juan Vespucci's first vocation. Hitherto unpublished documents reveal he had embarked on a commercial trip to Italy in 1522, in the context of a famine. This trip provides a plausible channel by which Vespucci's polar azimuthal maps ended up in the hands of an Italian publisher. It also explains why it was Nuño García, instead of Vespucci, who drew the first map with the information brought by Juan Sebastián de Elcano that year after the first world circumnavigation (this map is now in Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Coll. O XVI/2).

Vespucci's next expedition, to the Caribbean island of Cubagua (Venezuela) in 1525, is reconstructed in the dissertation with a higher level of detail than any other sixteenth-century private merchant expedition to America. The sums involved were of an order of magnitude larger than Vespucci's previous salary as royal pilot, but risks were much higher too. Happily, Vespucci's itinerary on this trip clarifies certain puzzling aspects of his 1526 planisphere.

Likewise I have reconstructed his subsequent merchant trip to New Spain in 1527, albeit with greater uncertainty. My study of the contracts reveals that tricks of dubious legality tested on the 1525 expedition were scaled up to full benefit in this second trip. Vespucci's ship most likely joined a convoy formed to avoid attacks from French corsairs. However, this substantially delayed its departure and resulted in its arrival in the Gulf of Mexico at the most dangerous period of the hurricane season. Everything suggests that, in the end, this trip cost Vespucci his ship, his crew and his own life[6].

5 Luis A. Robles Macías, 'No, mapmaker Juan Vespucci was not a Medici spy', Imago Mundi 72:1 (2020): 41–46.

6 Luis A. Robles Macías, 'Desaparecido de camino a Nueva España: el viaje de Juan Vespucci de 1527', Estudios de Historia Novohispana (in press).

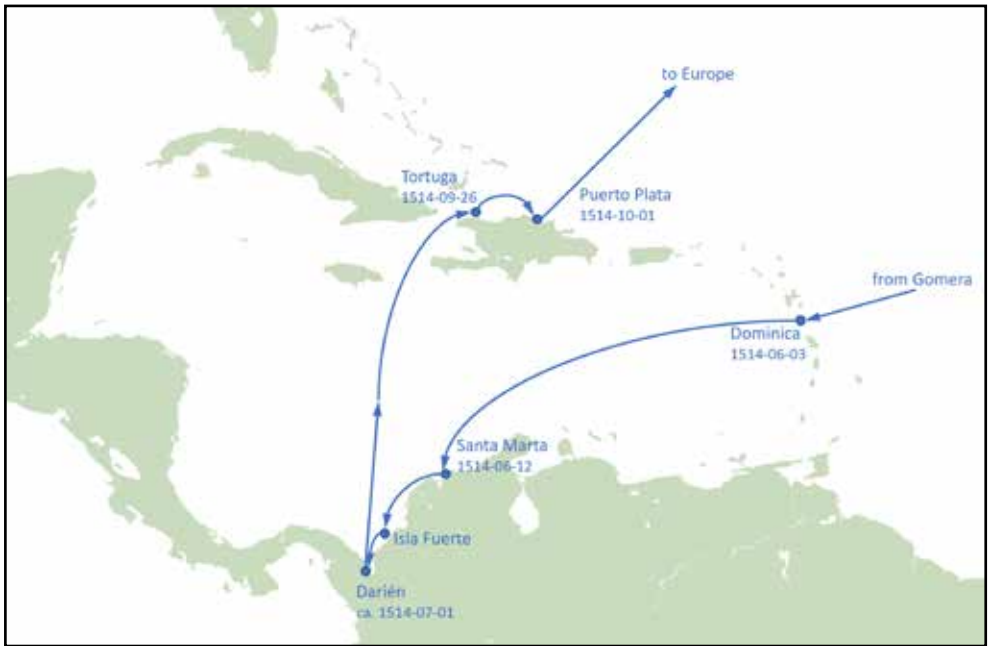


Fig. 4 Luis Robles's reconstruction of Juan Vespucci's itinerary with Pedrarias Dávila's armada of 1514 and return trip.

Mapmaker

Looking at Vespucci's printed world maps, I have come to a revised chronology for the three known exemplars, identified their possible manuscript precursor (a fragment of which survived until the 1920s) and reconstructed the chain of events that led to their publication in Italy[7]. More broadly, I have found out that polar azimuthal maps were more common in sixteenth-century Iberia than formerly thought, even though only one such map (the Portuguese hemisphere at Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, call number Hazine 1825) has survived aside from Vespucci's. Mentions of polar azimuthal maps can be gleaned in Iberian documents between the 1490s and the 1550s, in some cases with enough details to attempt virtual reconstructions. Furthermore, a close reading of a contemporary geographical treatise — Martín Fernández de Enciso's Suma de geographia of 1519 — shows that its author was aware of polar azimuthal world maps, and that in Vespucci's time they were seen as an alternative to nautical-style planispheres[8].

Vespucci's two signed manuscript nautical-style maps are the only survivors of what must have been a large number produced. I have studied them using a variety of techniques, including chemical analysis[9], toponym transcription and a systematic comparison of the maps' geographical and decorative features with the entire corpus of nautical-style or 'portolan' charts. Using toponyms to determine whether Vespucci's maps were closer to the Majorcan, Genoese or Venetian traditions of portolan charting has led to one unexpected result: Vespucci, like all contemporary Castilian and Portuguese mapmakers, actually drew from a separate and hitherto unidentified corpus of toponyms (see example in figure 5)[10]. The origin of this Castilian-Portuguese ('West Iberian' for short) corpus has been probed, but its broader implications for the history of portolan charts remain to be researched. Like toponyms, certain images in Vespucci's nautical-style maps turn out to be similar to those of other charts from West Iberia. Other images such as the city of Tenochtitlan and the imperial shield in his planisphere are less frequent and have deserved an ad hoc study in the thesis. While political messages are certainly discernible in Vespucci's 1526 planisphere, comprehensive research of the circumstances in which the map was drawn has led me to nuance Vespucci's political intentions and to instead propose commercial acumen as his main driver.

I have used toponyms and images, together with insights gained from reconstructing Vespucci's precise whereabouts, to try to determine whether Vespucci really was the author of several unsigned charts that have been attributed to him by various scholars. The Torino planisphere (Biblioteca Reale,

7 Oral presentation at the 30th International Conference on the History of Cartography, Lyon, July 2024.

8 Luis A. Robles Macías, 'Polar Hemispheres: The Overlooked Alternative to Nautical Planispheres in Renaissance Iberia', The Portolan 119 (2024): 7-20.

9 Anabelle Kriznar, Francisco Ager, Luis A. Robles Macías et al., 'Pigments and Inks Applied in Juan Vespucci's Portolan Chart (1520)', Colorants 1, no. 4 (7 December 2022): 411–23, https://doi.org/10.3390/colorants1040026.

10 This method is based on lists of toponyms in Ramon J. Pujades i Bataller, Les cartes portolanes: La representació medieval d'una mar solcada (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 2007); and Tony Campbell, 'Listing and analysis of portolan chart toponyms along the continuous coastline from Dunkirk to Mogador (early 14th to late 17th century)', Map History (blog), December 2016, http://www.maphistory.info/PortolanChartToponymy-FullTableREVISED.xls

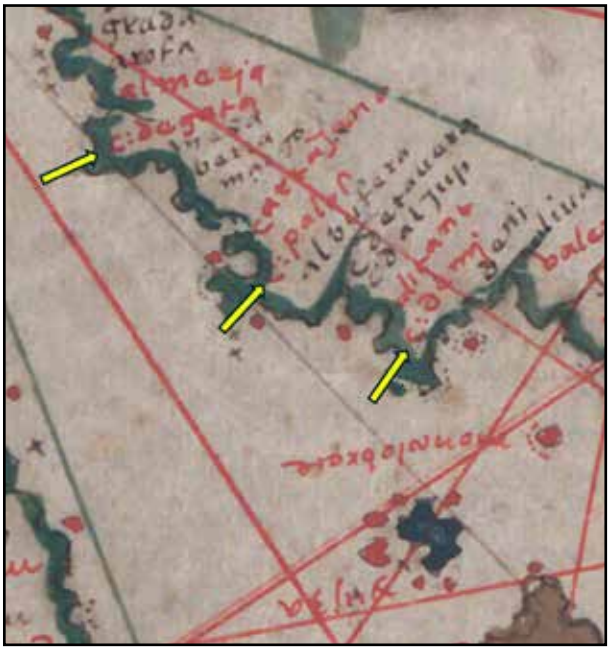


Fig. 5 Examples of West Iberian toponyms: the Spanish Mediterranean capes of Gata, Palos and Martí are written in red ink only in Portuguese and Castilian works, such as Juan Vespucci's 1520 chart; but they are never in red in Catalan, Genoese or Venetian ones.

Mss. Vari III 175) is certainly not in the Florentine's hand but it was definitely derived from a Castilian source map probably authored or co-authored by Vespucci. On the contrary, he was not at all involved in the production of the Castiglione planisphere (Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, C. G. A. 12), which was surely authored by Diogo Ribeiro in Coruña in 1525; or in the production of the anonymous map of America kept at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (Cod. Guelf. 103 Aug. 2°).

Final Thoughts

Before starting my research, one could have ventured — but not without reservations — that Vespucci's mapmaking would be the most important of his facets in terms of historical impact. The reconstruction of his career confirms that his activity as mapmaker and cosmographer is what truly makes Vespucci's biography worthy of in-depth study. As a merchant, Vespucci was modest compared to fellow Florentines in Seville. As a seaman, he engaged in at least four trips — three of which across the Atlantic — and pioneered the direct route to Cubagua, but those achievements pale in comparison with those of other royal pilots such as Vicente Yáñez Pinzón or Estevan Gomes. It is as mapmaker and cosmographer that Vespucci played a distinct and major role. He efficiently performed his duty of updating the Padrón Real with a pragmatic approach that allowed him to accommodate uncertainty. He adopted a particular type of world map in polar azimuthal projection, three versions of which were published in print. He influenced Martín Fernández de Enciso and possibly made the nautical-style planisphere that should have accompanied the Suma, and is described in it[11]. He put his rare combination of practical knowledge of navigation and theoretical knowledge of cosmography at the service of the Spanish Monarchy's maritime expansion, intervening at least twice as an expert in support of diplomatic manoeuvres.

Reconstructing the life and work of a complex individual like Juan Vespucci has forced me to ask precise questions about the causes and nature of the epoch-making events in which he was involved, and has led to fresh perspectives and unexpected findings on the broader topic of Renaissance cartography. This method shows the virtues of the 'biographical turn' in historical studies as well as illuminating the life of Vespucci himself [12].

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11 Luis A. Robles Macías, 'El mapa perdido de la Suma de geographia de Martín Fernández de Enciso (1519)', in 'Toda la redondeza del mundo'. Ciencia y experiencia de la primera circunnavegación, ed. José María García Redondo and Vicente Pajuelo Moreno (Universidad de Barcelona, in press).

12 On the unfair stigma of biography and its usefulness for historical research, see Daniel R. Meister, 'The biographical turn and the case for historical biography', History Compass 16:1 (January 2018): e2436.

Volunteers wanted for unique Mapathon !
Reconnect the coastal landscape of 1571 with today

On Friday 14 March and Saturday 15 March 2025, Ghent University is hosting a unique event at the Bruges City Archives: Mapathon 1571. Volunteers are invited to help digitally reconnect a late sixteenth-century map of the Liberty of Bruges to the present-day landscape.

The map, painted by Antonius Claeissens, is a late sixteenth-century copy of Pieter Pourbus' original 1571 masterpiece. While Pourbus' original map has only been partially preserved, Claeissens' version provides a detailed view of the entire Castelanny, a historic administrative region in the Low Countries. Following its recent digitisation, the map serves as the foundation of an innovative heritage project that bridges the past and the present.

Mapping Hundreds of Reference Points

Participants in the mapathon will use the online platform Allmaps to identify reference points on the Claeissens map that correspond to existing locations in today's landscape. This georeferencing process will allow the historical map to be precisely overlaid on modern maps, unlocking new opportunities for research and public engagement.

'The Liberty of Bruges encompassed much of what is now West Flanders, Zeelandic Flanders, and parts of East Flanders,' explains project coordinator Jan Trachet. 'This map is not just a beautiful work of art; it is also an invaluable resource for understanding the landscape history and archaeology of the Flemish coastal region and its hinterland.'

Open to All Enthusiasts

The event is open to heritage enthusiasts with basic laptop skills. While prior knowledge of the region or experience with historical maps is helpful, it is not required. The day will begin with an introduction to the map and training in the Allmaps platform.

Connecting Heritage and Sustainability

Mapathon 1571 is part of the broader Blue Balance project, which focuses on sustainable economic development in the Flemish coastal region. By engaging the public in the study of historical maps, the project promotes a deeper understanding of long-term landscape changes and fosters awareness of sustainability in a heritage context.

Practical Information

Dates: Friday, 14 March, and Saturday, 15 March 2025 (9:30 AM–5:30 PM)
Location: Bruges City Archives, Burg 11a, Bruges, Belgium
Registration: www.mappingpourbus.ugent.be
Requirements: Bring your own laptop. Coffee, snacks, and lunch are provided.

Want to contribute to uncovering the history of the Liberty of Bruges?
Sign up now and join this unique initiative !

For questions, contact : jan.trachet@ugent.be

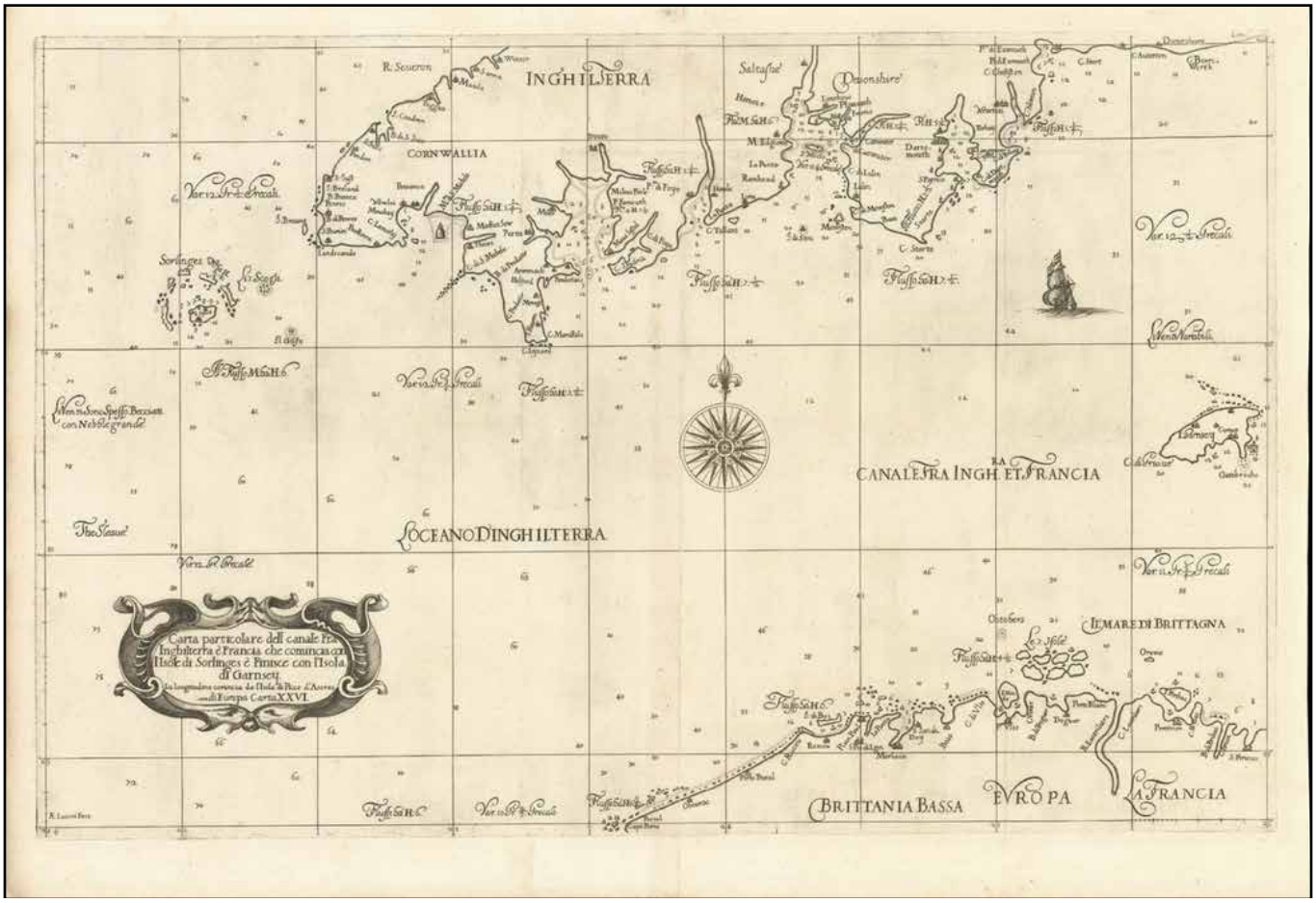

Fig. 2 Map of the English Channel with the Scilly Islands in the top left corner titled 'Carta particolare dell canale fra Inghilterra è Francia che comincia con L'Isole di Sorlinges' in Robert Dudley's *Arcano del Mare* 1661.

MAP COLLECTORS

Carl Dierickx

Fig. 1 Freeze-frame from one of the explanatory videos on the use of nautical instruments at https://www.navigarte.be/media, featuring Carl Dierickx demonstrating the use of an astrolabe.

After attending the *Recht door Zee* exhibition at the Mercatormuseum in Sint-Niklaas with the Map Circle in 2022,[1] I had the pleasure of meeting Carl Dierickx and his wife Angela on a rainy November evening last year. The exhibition in Sint-Niklaas showcased numerous objects from Carl's Navigarte collection, highlighting his passion for navigation. While the exhibition has since ended, the newly launched www.navigarte.be website now showcases many of the collection's key items. Personally, I also very much appreciate the informative videos that explain how navigational instruments are used.

Carl's interest in navigational instruments began on his sailing boat. Sailing sparked a deep fascination with tools such as the sextant, astrolabe (Fig.1), Jacob's staff, octant, and quintant - objects he rightly considers not just instruments of science, but of art. Through these artifacts, Carl has developed a profound respect for the scientists, craftsmen, and explorers who created and used them - individuals whose contributions shaped the history of navigation and made it possible to explore and map the world.

Driven by this passion, Carl has embarked on a quest to assemble a museum-quality collection that tells the rich story of the evolution of navigation. He focusses on Belgian scientists, craftsmen, and adventurers, taking pride in highlighting their significant roles. Figures such as Frisius, Coignet, Lemaire, and others are central to his collection and the history he wishes to preserve.

When examining maps, Carl often points out navigational data such as depths, wind directions, ports and anchorages. He also shares the stories behind these maps, such as how the British naval disaster of 1707 in the Scilly Islands off the tip of Cornwall, England (Fig.2) gave rise to the Act of Longitude of 1714, which offered a monetary prize for a practical and accurate method to determine longitude at sea. (Fig.3). John Harrison dedicated his life to this challenge and ultimately won most of the prize for his invention of the marine chronometer H4.

The detailed maps in the *Navigarte* collection are not the final chapter in this story. Once the problem of longitude was solved, the world was mapped in its entirety, but maps and atlases remain an essential part of that narrative. Carl shows how early atlases included not only maps but also detailed descriptions of navigational instruments and instructions for their use, allowing for the tracking of their evolution and the emergence of innovations.

I have rarely encountered a collector with such focus and clarity of purpose.
Every object in the Navigarte collection serves a specific role in telling the story of navigation. Carl doesn't simply collect; he curates. He carefully preserves these items, with a vision for future exhibitions and, perhaps one day, a museum dedicated to the history of navigation.


Anno Duodecimo
Annæ Reginæ.

Fig. 3 'The Act of Longitude' as published in 1714 for Queen Anne by John Baskett.

More information to be found on www.NavigArte.be

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1 See report in Maps in History 75 (January 2023), 6-7.

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:

1. 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
2. Organise lectures on various aspects of historical cartography, on regions of cartographical interest, on documentation, paper conservation and related subjects
3. 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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