YSLANDIA
OCEANVS SEPTENTRIONALIS
CIRCVLVS ARCTICVS
OCEANVS DEVCALEDONIVS
MORE
BELLA MORE
ALBVMARE
SINVS GRANDVICVS
NORVEGIA
MARE BALTICVM
De Oost Zee
MARE GERMANICVM
de Noord Zee
OCEANVS BRITANNICVS
OCEANVS AQVITANICVS
GALICVM MARE
MARE LIGVSTICVM
MARE ADRIATICVM
MARE IONIVM
MARE SARDOVM
MARE AFRICVM
MARE MEDITERRANEVM
BARBARIA

The Myth of the European Nation State

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By Professor Colin Crouch

Introduction: Maps and the European Nation State / 20
By Daniel Crouch

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"That primary and sacred fidelity which everyone owes his own country is not difficult to reconcile with th[e] broader feeling of European camaraderie. On the contrary, it will be found that all legitimate interests tally harmoniously, and that each of us will serve our countries' real interest and security better if we broaden our feeling of common citizenship and sovereignty. And if we encapsulate in that feeling the whole of this continent of states and nations which share the same way of living".

(Winston Churchill, Strasbourg, 12 August 1949.)

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The Myth of the European Nation State

DANIEL CROUCH RARE BOOKS

The Myth of the European Nation State

As the world enters a new period of strengthening national frontiers and weakening international institutions, we can look back on the slowly moving but profound changes that have affected the importance of state boundaries over the centuries. The current president of the United States, Donald Trump, has strongly asserted a determination to control the movement of people, goods and services into his country, and has made clear his dislike of organisations like the European Union (EU) and the United Nations that try to bring countries together. The United Kingdom is beginning its own process of withdrawing from the EU, and similar movements for reasserting national separateness and sealing borders against immigrants have acquired importance in France, the Nordic countries, Austria, the Netherlands and several other parts of Europe.

An immediate spur to these developments has been the rise of terrorist movements related to radical Islam, though these movements are themselves a reaction against some of the deeper processes causing the yearning for isolation from foreign influences growing rapidly in Europe, the USA and elsewhere. These are all connected to the highly complex set of economic, cultural, political and social changes covered by the portmanteau term 'globalisation'.

The new nationalism seems to be marking, at least temporarily, a close to a period, under which most of us have lived all our lives until now, of drives to reduce the significance of national boundaries to human exchanges and to erect a host of international organisations to regulate life on the planet. This period was in turn a reaction against the period of intense nationalism, economic protectionism and military aggression that marked the first half of the twentieth century. Enfolded within that process had been a separate movement for national independence, not from global organisations, but from the empires of Great Britain, France, Austro-Hungary, the Netherlands and, much later, Portugal. The European empires themselves had a complex relationship to nationhood, being the basis of intense national pride in the core nation of the empire, but also becoming multicultural and extending a kind of shared identity to subject peoples. These empires were transnational states, and their rulers opposed the concept of 'nation state', which implied that an identifiable nation should have its own state.

The Treaties of Westphalia (at Münster and Osnabrück) in 1648 are usually credited with founding the modern European state system, a concept of the sovereign state that was eventually exported to the rest of world. It is not a claim that bears much examination – especially if state is then understood to mean 'nation state'. The treaties, which formally ended the Thirty Years War, did end the claim of the Vienna-based Holy Roman Empire to exercise power over most of the German-speaking world, and in that sense put paid to the idea of a sovereign authority over a large part of Europe, or what we would today anachronistically call a super-state.

But the main victor was not a German nation state but the mass of territorial principalities, dukedoms, prince-bishoprics and city-states that then dominated German territory until the 1860s, each erecting its border controls and limited trade with each other.[1] Meanwhile the German population had been devastated by the war itself and the rapine, disease and impoverishment that it brought. Many of the great German cities were considerably reduced, demographically and commercially.

[1] See C.V. Wedgwood's classic study The Thirty Years War (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938 and 1957).

Above: Germany after the Treaties of Westphalia. Johannes Blaeu, Germania vulgo Deutschlandt. Amsterdam, 1665.
Right: Central Europe at the time of Charles V's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. Georg Erlinger, Gelegenhait Teutscher lannd. Bamberg, 1530.

Other major western European political formations outside Germany had already established their autonomy from the empire: France, England, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Poland. Spain was too, but was linked to Austria through the Habsburg family. None of these entities constituted states with boundaries that can be truly called 'national'. The territory governed by the French kings had boundaries to the east and south that varied over time. The English crown ruled over the Irish and Welsh nations with difficulty. The border between Denmark and Sweden, and their relationship to Norway, changed several times. Poland was at that period the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a highly variable geography that was to disappear altogether from the late nineteenth century until 1918.

Nevertheless, the monarchs of these countries had been busy since the sixteenth century claiming territorial and even national identity for whatever happened to be at any particular time the contours of the lands over which they more or less successfully asserted rule. And they used maps to assert the reality of those claims. Maps partly had an urgent military purpose, outlining features of strategic importance. But they were also ideological and symbolic, giving an area of dominion a recognizable, if often rather arbitrary and later changing shape.

None of these seventeenth century political formations constituted what we would today regard as a people. They were the properties of rulers, and the identity of the populations being ruled over would change as military encounters came and went. At times of war kings and their aides would incite something recognisable as national fervour in the troops they were expecting to die for them, but otherwise all that rulers wanted from their populations was obedience and taxes. They did not even care what languages they spoke.

The idea that all people constitute nations that ought in turn to correspond to state boundaries did not gather pace until the late eighteenth century, and especially after the French Revolution had planted the idea that states comprised populations of citizens and not just rulers. The Habsburgs were again the targets for this liberation movement, now a more recognisably modern kind than that of the German princes. Defeated to the north and west, the empire had established rule over various Slav lands, Hungary and northern Italy. Campaigns for liberation from this rule were based on the argument that Europe was peopled by many nations, and that these nations ought to have coterminous sovereign political boundaries. It is from this point that we can start to speak of 'nation states', though still with considerable reservations.

Above: The balance of power in Europe. Fred W. Rose, Angling in Troubled Waters. London, 1899. Right: The highly variable geography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Augustinus Gudicanus, Nova Descriptio Totius Regni Polonici. Cologne, 1658.

The first problem is how to define a nation. Etymologically it refers to people who share a birth place, and it made sense when the Romans used *natio* (or its near synonym *gens*) to describe the various peoples they encountered during their conquests, peoples who would rarely travel much outside a local area bounded by rivers, marshes and mountain ranges. They would therefore have very distinctive ways of life, religions and languages. In medieval Europe the term 'nation' was mainly used to describe groups of university students from different regions – universities being then as now places of people from unusually heterogeneous origins, providing otherwise rare occasions for different peoples to come together – not always in friendly circumstances. Thus the medieval University of Paris recognised four nations: French, Norman, Picard and English. Later there was some extension of recruitment into German lands, and the Alemanians were added. 'French' here would refer to people from Île de France region around Paris. Students from further south either did not go to Paris or were not recognised as nations.

As transport networks improved and people started moving around wider territories, truly historic nations would have become far less distinct. Paradoxically therefore the idea of nationhood grew across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries precisely as its clarity declined. Living as we do in a period of simultaneous globalisation and revival of nationalism, twenty-first century people should not find that paradox hard to understand.

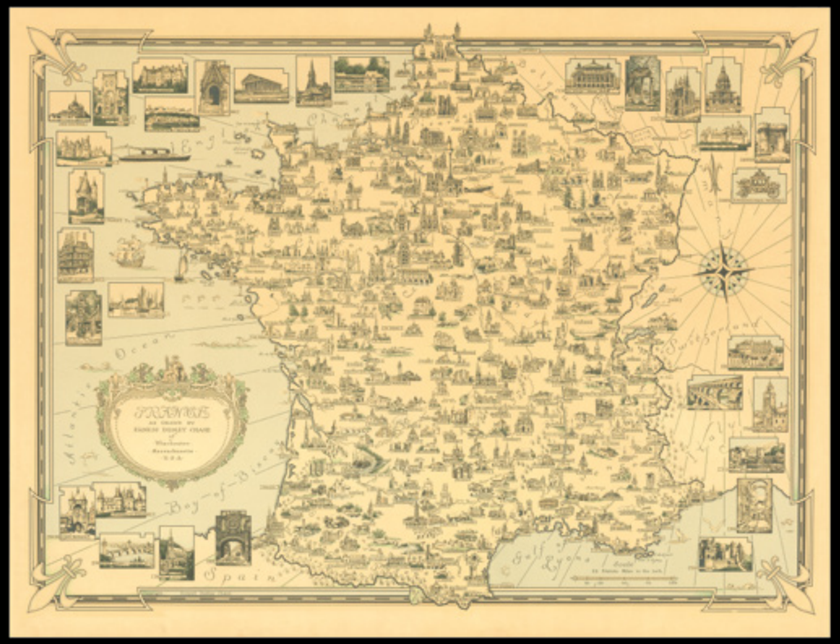
For people seeking liberation from Habsburg rule, or seeking to unite all German-speaking people within a single state formation, it seemed logical to start with the idea of nation and then to demand that nations should be states. A major step in the definition of nation as language – especially as liberation movements were usually led by bourgeois cultural and intellectual groups who would be highly literate. Johann Gottfried Herder, who is usually credited with founding German nationalism in the late eighteenth century, was primarily a theorist of language. Italians, Hungarians, Poles and Czechs could define themselves as language nations, and in those names several of these movements were successful. The multicultural, polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire (as it had been rebranded in the latter nineteenth century) had not tried (or bothered?) to interfere with the linguistic complexity of the territories over which it ruled. In any case, its elite spoke French rather than German.

The more successful states of the west, especially France and England were less accommodating. A standard French was eventually imposed on other languages, like Basque and Breton, within the territory conquered by the French state – though even by the First World War French officers found communications with their dialect-speaking troops difficult. The English education system similarly drove out Gaelic, Welsh and Irish. At the same time, the English continued to recognise Scots, Welsh and Irish as separate 'nations', mainly for sporting purposes.

Strictly speaking, therefore, the United Kingdom is not a 'nation state' at all, but a plurinational state. From the Union of England and Scotland in 1707 until Irish independence in 1922 it comprised four nations; since 1922 it has been three and a half: England, Wales, Scotland and only Northern Ireland. This continues to provide considerable complexity in sport – and when it comes to national identity, sport is no trivial pursuit, probably second only to war in its capacity to stir nations' passions and identities. For association football England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland constitute rival nations. For rugby union football, there is still a united Ireland; for cricket members of all parts of the UK are expected to identify with England, though Scotland has something of a separate identity. England's current one-day cricket captain was born in the Republic of Ireland.

Despite the beliefs of romantic nationalists, languages did not define nations, which in turn needed to realise their destinies as states; it was far more common for states to impose languages, which were then characteristics that defined nations, which in turn legitimated a state's boundaries. Language is here the clearest example of a more general point: *states more often made nations than nations made states*. Initially, as noted, rulers bothered with this project only when stirring the passions of armies. The Reformation had made national religious unity highly important at a time when churches rather than governments were the main guarantors of behaviour among ordinary people. The Treaty of Osnabrück formalised this in the doctrine of *cuius regio, eius religio*. For predominantly Catholic countries this was still (at least in principle) a matter of accepting a transnational authority. Protestants, however, – and in the east the Greek and Russian Orthodox churches - established national churches, albeit within wider communities, such as the Lutherans. Significantly, only the English kings insisted on a totally separate national church, subordinate to the monarch alone. We can perhaps see a secular continuation of this today, with (at least in western Europe) the countries most at ease with integrating their nation states within a wider European entity being those with strong Catholic legacies. The Nordic

An early view of France, with emphasis on dividing geographical features. Claudius Ptolemaeus, Tertia Europe Tabula. Ulm, 1482.



France in its modern day form. Ernest Dudley Chase, France. [Winchester, c1940].

Lutheran countries are rather less enthusiastic, while a majority of the English have finally decided they cannot tolerate the idea at all.

Matters became more serious once the French Revolution had revealed the potential political importance of the masses, the standing armies of nineteenth century warfare made military mobilization more or less permanent, and industrialization required the organization and education of whole populations. National identity and mass patriotism become highly useful, perhaps essential, to successful rule.

One finds this process at work even in those nations that did have a consciousness before they were able to form states. One of the first tasks of the rulers of united Italy was to establish the grammar and a standard vocabulary for an Italian language in a country of a mass of sometimes barely mutually comprehensible dialects. The Czech, Moravian and Slovak people sought the nation state that was eventually established in 1918 as Czechoslovakia. But in 1993 Slovakia split off as a separate state; Czech and Slovak are similar languages, but they are not the same, and since 1993 the differences between them have grown.

The languages spoken by the people of what used to be known as the Low Countries were diverse: mainly various dialects of Dutch, French and some German. Part of the region used to belong to the geographically separate Duchy of Burgundy, but passed to the Spanish Habsburgs. During the seventeenth century the northern, Dutch-speaking part, successfully separated itself after a prolonged war to found what was known as the United Provinces, eventually becoming more or less the territory of the modern Netherlands. Spanish rule continued in the south until war in the early eighteenth century led to it passing to Austria until (along with the United Provinces) being conquered by France in 1795. There was then a combined independence struggle of all parts of the region, which led to the temporary founding of a united state. However, the primarily Catholic population of the south resented rule by the dominant Calvinist Protestants, and by 1839 had established Belgium. The Duchy of Luxembourg remained under Dutch control until 1892, when it passed to a junior line of the Nassau family under Salic law after Wilhelmina became Queen of the Netherlands. The outcome of the struggles left no neatly defined homogenous entities. The Netherlands remained Dutch-speaking, but mixed among Catholics, Calvinists and (later) secularists through elaborately structured co-operation. Belgium was overwhelmingly Catholic, but divided into French, Flemish (a variant of Dutch) and a small German language groups. The difficulties that Belgians continue to have in accepting equal status for French and Flemish demonstrates the importance of national linguistic unity to nation building, even though it is found in perfect form in only a few cases.

Hungary, whose language is completely different from its neighbours and is not even part of the enormous Indo-European language group, could be more confident of its linguistic particularity – except that the boundaries of modern Hungary do not correspond to the language boundary. There are minorities in Hungary speaking the languages of all its neighbouring countries, and vice versa.

Finnish, which is remotely related to Hungarian, is similarly associated with strong national symbolism. However, at the time of Finland's nationalist surge against Russian rule in the late nineteenth century the majority of educated Finns, and therefore of its nationalist leaders, were Swedish-speakers, though most of the leaders eagerly learned Finnish as part of the national struggle. To this day Finns have never been able to win back from Russia the region that they regard as their heartland, Karelia.

In a fascinating study of how states made nations in nineteenth century Europe, Susan Cotts Watkins demonstrated how, for the majority of ordinary working people and peasants, effective cultural boundaries had once been restricted to areas within a day's easy

Left: The first national atlas. Christopher Saxton, [Atlas of England and Wales]. [London, 1579].

travelling distance.[2] She looked in particular at women's lives, and how ideas about how many children to have, and at what intervals, seemed to spread among family and friendship groups, with important changes at geographical boundaries that made conversational encounters difficult. Then, from the 1840s governments started to construct railway networks that linked together formerly distant areas, facilitating social bonds across wider areas, but stopping at national borders, and so cementing various national limitations to such bonds. Growing literacy brought mass-circulation newspapers and magazines, which again usually addressed national audiences.

Modern mass media have changed this again, as global cultural conglomerates have broken down much national distinctiveness. This has often, though not always, been a case of the spread of a specifically American culture through Hollywood films and global food chains. Some years ago French judges complained that defendants and witnesses were addressing them as *votre honneur* (a translation of the 'your honour' familiar from US courtroom dramas) rather than the correct *monsieur le président.* Ask a British person what a sheriff is, and (s) he is far more likely to refer to the Wild West than to medieval England. Most English and Italian children probably recognise the Disney portrayals of, respectively, Winnie the Pooh and Pinocchio rather than the original drawings. Pizza and hamburgers may have started life as Italian and German foods, but they became global only after American transformations.

States have certainly been highly successful in their nation-building project, but they remain essentially artificial constructs, with their claims to be 'sovereign' challenged by trade relations and membership of a range of international institutions and long-term collaborations. And yet politicians continue to imbue them with an almost sacred meaning. To cite a recent example, the leader of the French Front National, Marine Le Pen, considered it outrageous that a terrorist suspect could travel from Berlin to Milan without needing to show a passport, because Germany, Italy, Austria and Switzerland are all part of the Schengen Agreement. One might well be surprised at the distance involved – 1035 km. But that was not her point. The distance between Lille and Perpignan is slightly greater than that between Berlin and Milan – 1064 km – but that is all within France, and would presumably therefore not be shocking. Within Canada or the USA far greater distances can of course be travelled all within the same jurisdiction. A French suspect has a 643,800 sq km space to run around in before scandalising national sentiment, while a Belgian counterpart has only 30,530 sq km. Le Pen's concern was that sacred national borders had been crossed.

Within modern Europe, only Portugal has national borders dating back to the fifteenth century, and only Spain to the seventeenth. Apart from Spain, the biggest European states all had major adjustments to their boundaries during the twentieth century: Italy in 1919, the UK in 1922, Poland in 1945, France in 1947, and Germany in 1990.

As people increasingly travel around the world with different levels of passport and visa requirements, buy goods and services across great distances, enjoy each others' food, music, art, literature and fashions, and learn each others' languages, strict definitions of national belonging and limitation become increasingly artificial. But for that very reason, many people cling to them ever more tenaciously; and many politicians, whose careers have largely been shaped around particular states, have a strong interest in keeping them that way.

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[2] Susan Cott Watkins, From Provinces into Nations: Demographic Integration in Western Europe 1870-1960 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

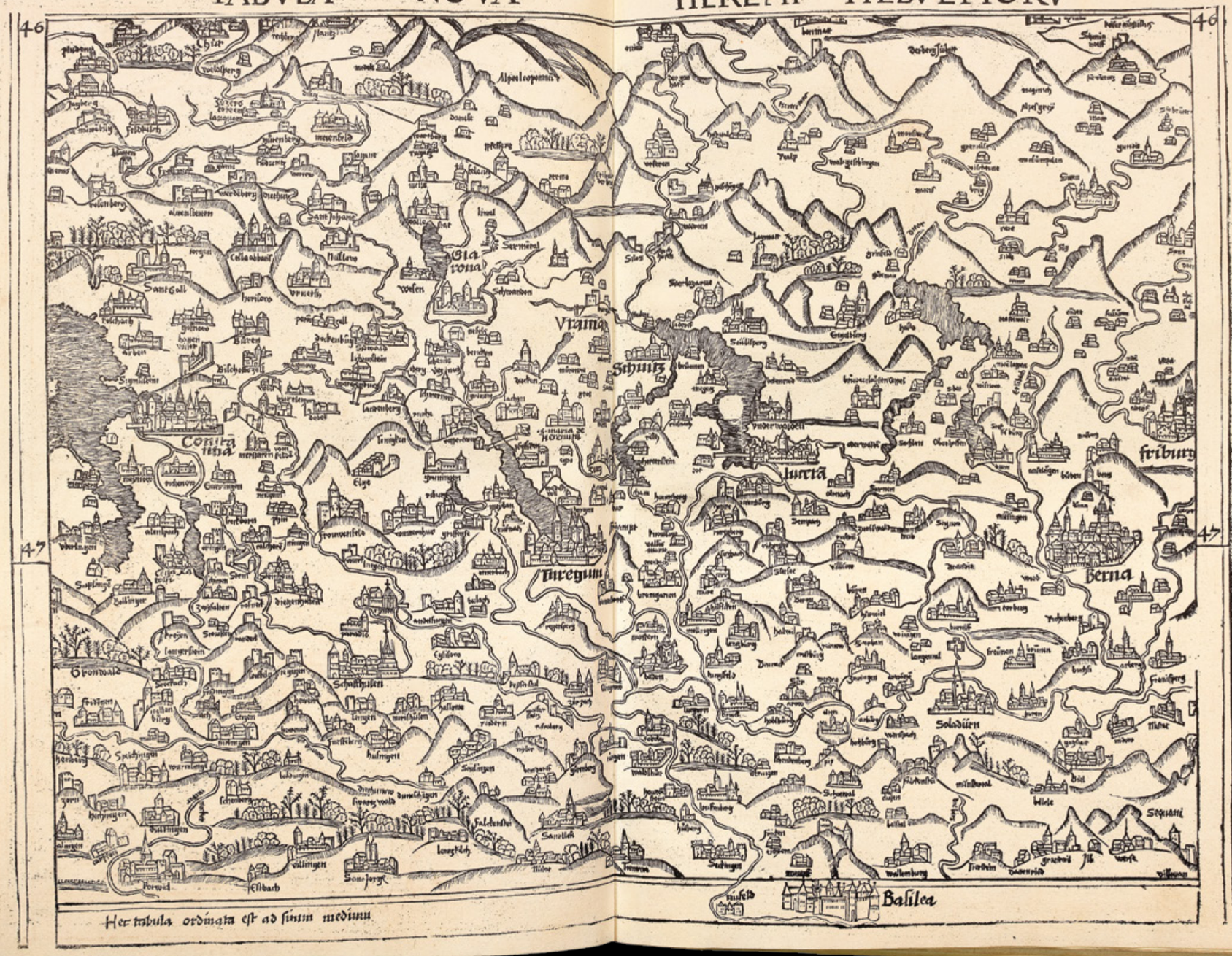
Left: National borders become a point of pride. Claes Jansz Visscher, Novissima et Accuratissima Leonis Belgici. Amsterdam, [1611-21]

Furthermore, early in 1507, a book titled 'Speculi Orbis … Declaratio' by Gaultier Lud, canon of Saint Dié, was published in Strasbourg. That work states:

"1. that a figure of the unknown country recently discovered by the King of Portugal has been hurriedly prepared; 2. that a more detailed and exact representation of that coast would be seen in the new edition of Ptolemy; 3. that the new edition of Ptolemy would soon be prepared" (Stevens).

The new Latin translation of the text by Mathias Ringman was based on d'Angelo's text, and appears to have been completed somewhat after the maps. In 1508 Waldseemüller and Ringmann's patron died. In the same year, all of the materials for the atlas passed into the hands of two Strassburg citizens, Jacob Aeschler and George Uebelin, who edited the text and at whose expense the work was, finally, completed in 1513 with Johann Schott as printer.

TABVLA NOVA HEREMI HELVETIORV



“Give me a map. Then let me see how much is left for me to conquer all the world.” Christopher Marlowe, ‘Tamburlaine’.

2 **ERLINGER, Georg**

Gelegenhait Teutscher lannd unnd aller anstos Das man mithilff eins Compas gewislich von einem ortt zu dem andern ziehenn mag [The location of all German and neighbouring countries, so that with the help of a compass one may with certainty travel from one place to another] [Title to border:] Romischer und Hyschpanischer Küniglicher Maiestat Künigreich und Lender Wappen [The Roman and Hispanic royal Majesty’s Kingdoms’ and Countries’ Coats-of-Arms].

Publication
Bamberg, Georg Erlinger of Augsburg, 1530.

Description
Woodcut map, printed in red and black, fine original hand colour, with a heraldic border detailing the possessions of Charles V Holy Roman Emperor, a few old tears skilfully repaired.

Dimensions
720 by 550mm (28.25 by 21.75 inches).

References
BL Cartographic Items Maps C.2.cc.6 for 1524 edition. Leo Bagrow and R.A. Skelton, History of Cartography (London: C.A. Wattis & Co. Ltd., 1964), pl.LXXX; Tony Campbell, The Earliest Printed Maps 1472-1500, (The British Library, 1987); Susan Dackerman, Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe, (Yale: New Haven and London, 2011), pp.318-320; F. Grenacher, ‘The “Universae Germaniae Descriptio” Map of Jermone de Gourmont’, Imago Mundi 14 (1959), p.55-63; A. Herman, Die altesten Karten Deutschlands bis Gerard Mercator, (Leipzig: Koehler, 1940); Herbert Kruger, ‘Erhard Etzlaub’s “Romweg” Map and Its Dating in the Holy Year of 1500’, Imago Mundi 8 (1951), pp.17-26; Wilhelm Lang, ‘The Augsburg Travel Guide of 1563 and the Erlinger Road Map of 1524’, Imago Mundi 7 (1950), pp.84-88; David Woodward, The History of Cartography, vol.3, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp.559, 565, 1195, 1597.

The only known surviving example of Georg Erlinger’s map of central Europe. The map is not only one of the earliest published to specifically aid travel through Europe, but also the first separately published map to celebrate Charles V’s coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, in 1530. With the additional lands, Charles became the ruler of the largest European empire since classical times; an empire on which, it was said at the time, the sun would never set.

The Map’s Genesis

The map extends north to south from Edinburgh to Naples, and west to east from Paris to Krakow. In look and extent the map bears a striking resemblance to Erlinger’s route map of 1515, titled ‘Das heylig Romisch reich’. The 1515 map was a copy of Erhard Etzlaub’s seminal ‘Rom Weg’ map of 1499, which was the first portable road or route map. Etzlaub published the map to cater for the large number of pilgrims who were to travel to Rome in order to celebrate the Christian Jubilee year of 1500. The map would not only prove to be hugely popular - with a subsequent edition printed in 1501 - but also have a profound influence on German cartography for the next 40 years.

Erlinger’s map of 1515 bore many of the features of the 1501 ‘Rom Weg’ map: the map is orientated with south at the top; towns are marked by a circle; routes are marked by a series of dotted lines, with each dot representing one German mile (approximately 7.5 km); major cities are marked with a pictorial representation of the city. Bohemia is surrounded by large green forests, and mountains are depicted as “caterpillars”. On the left hand side are degrees of latitude, and to the right the daylight hours on the summer solstice - from 18 hours in Edinburgh to 15 hours in Rome.

Despite borrowing from Etzlaub, Erlinger also introduced his own innovations, the most striking of which was that the map was printed in both red and black. It was the earliest separately issued map to be printed in two colours. All the settlement signs, routes, names of countries, seas, rivers, and islands are printed in red. He also used a small line to link a settlement and its place name where the relationship might not be obvious, a feature later used by Gerard Mercator, and capitalized the first letter of settlement names to denote bishoprics.

The Map

The present map incorporates many of the features outlined above. It was first published in 1524, and then again in 1530. This is an example of the 1530 edition. Erlinger has made some notable changes, however, the most obvious being that the map is orientated with north at the top. He also dispensed with the pictorial icon to illustrate large cities, using a larger font size instead, and rendered mountain ranges more realistically.

Territorial sovereignty in the classical world

3 **LAZIUS, Wolfgang**

Comment[arium] rerum Graecarum libri II In quibus tam Helladis quam Peloponnesi, quae in lucem antea non venerunt, explicantur.

Publication
[Vienna?], [Raphael Hoffhalter?], 1558.

Description
Small folio (370 by 255mm), woodblock title in red and black, three woodcut plates, note to the reader, two large folding etched maps, the first map printed on three irregularly sized plates, the second on one plate with pasted border to upper and left margin, both with etched title cartouche with letterpress text pasted to verso, margins of title lightly soiled, first map with discolouration from the pasted slip, light worming in inner gutter of a few leaves at beginning, a few margins lightly waterstained, last gathering browned, light spotting, contemporary limp vellum, manuscript title on spine, a few light stains, remnants of ties.

References
Graesse IV, 130; Karrow 49/G; Petra Svatek, 'The 'Typi Chorographici Provinciarum Austriae', in Gerhard Holzer, Valerie Newby and Petra Svatek (eds.), A World of Innovation: Cartography in the Time of Gerard Mercator, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp.40-62.

Wolfgang Lazius (1514-1565) was an Austrian scholar who worked in cartography, history, and science. He became a professor in the medical faculty at the University of Vienna, where he was a student, and later became the curator of the collections of the Holy Roman Empire and official historian to Emperor Ferdinand I. His varied interests are shown by the title-page, where the border features his books on Austrian history and other works. Lazius learnt cartography at some point (possibly from Petrus Apianus) and was one of the most important mapmakers in Austria in the sixteenth century: Gerard Mercator recommended his work to Abraham Ortelius (Svatek).

The book is a history of Greece, an area in which Lazius was particularly interested. He was keen for the Holy Roman Emperors to liberate Greece from Ottoman rule and incorporate it into their empire, possibly because he had been taken captive by Turkish forces near Budapest in his youth (Svatek). It includes two detailed maps, drawn by Lazius himself.

Giuseppe Arcimboldo, 'The Librarian', c1566, Skokloster Castle, Sweden. Wolfgang Lazius is thought to be the subject of Arcimboldo's famous anthropomorphic painting – the image of a scholar literally made from the classical texts of his studies is echoed one hundred years later in Abraham Bosse's frontispiece for Thomas Hobbe's 'Leviathan' with the books replaced by people: a graphic representation of the study of classics giving rise to the shape of the nation state.

The first map, in book I, covers all of Greece including the Peloponnese and coast of Asia Minor, drawing on the works of Ptolemy. It has a large and elaborate title cartouche, surrounded by classical deities representing the areas in Greece to which they are linked. On either side are the figures of Hercules (Thebes) and Hermes (Kyllini), with four portrait medallions showing Minerva (Attica, or Athens), Jupiter (Olympus), Ceres, and Neptune (Corinth). The map's border is composed of medallions with the names of Greek cities and small pieces of information, separated by region. The map itself is crammed with detail: place names, snippets of history, and small shields or medallions referencing Greek mythology. Ariadne reclines near the island of Naxos, waiting to become the bride of Dionysus after being abandoned by Theseus; the crippled Philoctetes appears near the island of Lemnos, left there with an injured leg by the Greek army on their way to Troy.

The second map, in book II, only covers the Peloponnese, based on Italian sources. It has a similar border of medallions with geographical information on the right hand side, with a pasted border of shields containing the names and biographies of famous rulers of Elis, the site of the first Olympic games. A charming strip of etchings showing the Labours of Hercules has been pasted at the upper edge (six of his labours were completed in the area shown). Theseus kills the Minotaur next to a tiny representation of the labyrinth at the lower edge; to his left, Paris sails towards Troy, his arm around the stolen Helen; the combined Greek forces sail after them to recover her. To the north we find Perseus with the head of Medusa on his shield, and above him Poseidon and Athena fight to become the patron deity of Athens.

There is no mention of a place of publication or publisher in the work. It has been suggested that it was published by Andreas Wechel in Frankfurt am Main but that seems unlikely as Wechel was still printing in Paris until 1572. Graesse lists Vienna as the place of publication which is supported by Karrow, who lists Raphael Hoffhalter as the publisher.

The first edition is the only one to contain maps, and is thus very scarce. We have only been able to trace two institutional copies: those in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Provenance

1. Bookplate and manuscript inscription at foot of title from Bibliothek Oberherrlingen, the collection of Eugene von Maucler (1783-1859), German politician and bibliophile.

The rebirth of classical geography: the first extant geographical work in Latin, from the library of Abraham Ortelius

4 **MELA, Pomponius; SOLINUS, Julius; POSTELLO, Guglielmo**

De Situ Orbis; Polyhistoria; De Magistratibus Atheniensium.

Publication
Basel, Henric. Petrina [Henricus Petrus], 1576.

Description
Octavo, traces of red colour on edges, contemporary vellum, spine in four sections, manuscript title, nineteenth century navy half morocco cover with blue marbled paper, blue marbled slipcase. Engraved title with manuscript ownership inscription of Abraham Ortelius, three works in one volume: preliminaries a8, *8; Pomponius Mela, Cosmographia de Situ Orbis, A8-J8; Julius Solinus, Polyhistoria, engraved title, K8-Y8; Guglielmo Postello, De Magistratibus Atheniensium, engraved title, A8-L8; index, M8-N8. 20 folding maps and 11 full page maps. Annotations in Ortelius' hand throughout.

References
Marcel van den Broecke, 'Sources and Friends', via www.orteliusmaps.com; 'Pomponius Mela', Dictionary of Scientific Biography, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Scribner, 1970-80).

Abraham Ortelius's copy of an important classical geographical text, which was referenced 144 times in the text of the first true atlas (van den Broecke).

Ortelius has made annotations throughout the text, underlining and adding comments, and he listed Pomponius amongst the authorities that he had consulted in the revolutionary list of sources included in his atlas. Ortelius referenced Pomponius's work 740 times in the 'Thesaurus Geographicus' and 277 times in the 'Synonymia'.

The volume contains three works bound together. The first, 'De Situ Orbis' by Pomponius Mela, was "the first extant geographical work in Latin and the only Roman treatise of the classical period devoted exclusively to that subject" (DSB). It was written around 43 AD, with each of its three books dealing with a different classical continent, dividing the earth into five zones. His work contained the first recorded reference to the Orkneys. "Pomponius exerted a considerable influence on early medieval authors, both on his own account, and because Pliny used and cited his work", surpassing other ancient geographers such as Strabo in his knowledge of the British Isles and the coasts of France and Germany (DSB). Opinion is still divided as to whether Pomponius's original text would have contained maps, but the new editions published in the fifteenth and sixteenth century during the Renaissance rediscovery of classical texts often contained maps drawn according to Pomponius's principles. This edition contains 20 maps, all folding, covering areas of Europe, Africa and Asia.

The second text, 'Polyhistoria' by Julius Solinus (also known as 'Collectanea rerum memorabilium'), is a compilation of historical, geographical and social information. Solinus drew on Mela's work for his text, particularly the description of the classical world. It has been supplemented with 11 single page maps.

The third text is a treatise on political structures in ancient Greece, by the sixteenth century scholar Guglielmo Postello, a mysterious figure who spent much of his life confined to a monastery for his unorthodox theology.

The first national atlas

5 **[SAXTON, Christopher]**

[An Atlas of England and Wales].

Publication
[London, Christopher Saxton, 1579].

Description
First edition, folio (415 by 300mm), engraved title-page showing Queen Elizabeth as patroness of Astronomy and Geography, attributed to Remy Hogenberg, double-page engraved plate showing coats-of-arms and table of counties, 45 engraved maps (all double-page, except the map of Yorkshire on two sheets and folding), after Saxton by Hogenberg, Lanaert Terwoot, Cornelius de Hooghe, Augustine Ryther, Francis Scatter, and Nicolas Reynolds, all maps and plates with fine original full-wash colour, with title heightened in gold, map of Wiltshire trimmed to the neatline along the top edge, map of Essex trimmed to upper and lower neatline, with slight loss skilfully backed with japan paper, several other marginal repairs, some with loss at foot, some light marginal soiling, original mottled calf with fillet border, rebacked.

References
Chubb I; Ifor M. Evans and Heather Lawrence, Christopher Saxton, Elizabethan map maker (London: Holland Press, 1979), 9-43; Skelton 1; Shirley BL T.SAX-1b.

One of the earliest national surveys of any kind and the first uniformly conceived cartographic survey of England and Wales.

Dubbed "the father of English cartography" (Skelton), little is known about Saxton's personal life. Born in Yorkshire between 1542 and 1544, his yeoman family were probably clothiers and farmers. It is likely that Saxton was apprenticed in cartographic draughtsmanship and surveying to John Rudd, Vicar of Dewsbury (1554-1570) and Rector of Thornhill (1558-1570/78). Rudd had a passion for maps, and was engaged at some time in the 1550s in making a 'platt' of England; in 1561 he was granted leave from his duties to travel further to map the country. It is suggested that Saxton accompanied him on these travels, at which time he would have been about 17 years old. Records show that Saxton was employed by Rudd by 1570.

The idea of making a survey of the kingdom and its parts in a consistent format developed in the mid sixteenth century. Although the first English map of Britain by Matthew Paris had appeared in about 1250, it was not until the mid fifteenth century that the principles of mapping were fully understood. Estate surveys also became increasingly popular as the replacement of open fields with enclosures meant that land boundaries had to be defined. Thus, a large number of treatises on surveying appeared, while military textbooks were published explaining the use of the cross-staff for surveying lengths and distances as well as heights. Such interest led to the construction of increasingly sophisticated surveying instruments resulting in a new accuracy in mapping.

Saxton came to London at an unknown date and was chosen by Thomas Seckford to survey and map the counties of England and Wales. A court official, Seckford worked closely with William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who was possibly behind both Rudd's and Saxton's mapping projects. He certainly had a keen appreciation of the political value of maps, making his own sketches of politically sensitive areas such as the Anglo-Scottish borders. Cecil took a keen interest in Saxton's work as it progressed: the maps were sent to him as each plate was engraved, and once the survey was complete he bound up these early proofs with other relevant maps and plans. This volume still exists and is in the keeping of the British Library.

It is Seckford, however, who is generally thought to have financed the undertaking. His involvement is reflected in the appearance of his mottos and coats-of-arms on every map in Saxton's atlas. The project was further authorized by Queen Elizabeth I, to whom both the atlas and the wall map was dedicated. As a result of this backing, Saxton received a considerable amount of administrative assistance and financial reward: on 11 March 1574, he was granted a lease of land at Grigston Manor in Suffolk in consideration of his expenses "in the survey of divers parts of England". Moreover, on 20 July 1577 Elizabeth granted Saxton a licence for the exclusive publication of the maps for a ten year period.

The maps that would constitute the atlas were available singly or, after the last one was completed in 1578, bound up as here. Accordingly, the maps and other leaves are found in various states, depending on when they were printed. In the present example, 12 maps bear Seckford's pre-1576 motto ("Pestis patriae prigricies"), and 23 his later motto ("Industria naturam ornate"). The index is in the fourth setting with a four-line heading and three columns, 83 coats-of-arms and one blank; the title-page bears shield and fleur-de-lys watermark, and all the maps bear the 'grapes' watermark.

Provenance

1. Book plate of Charles, 1st Viscount Maynard (1690-1775).
2. William Adlington Cadbury (1867-1957), second son of Richard Cadbury, one of the two brothers who started the manufacture of chocolate under the Cadbury name.

A celebration of the city state in a contemporary Plantijn binding

6 **BRAUN, Georg, HOGENBERG, Franz**

Civitates Orbis Terrarum.

Publication
Cologne, Apud Petrum A Brachel, [1575-1588].

Description
Folio (385 by 280mm), Latin text, four volumes, engraved title-pages and 236 double-page engraved maps, plans, and bird's-eye views, all with fine original hand-colour, occasional stains consistent with age, title and preliminary pages to volume IV with some damage at sheet edge, and worming, fine contemporary blind calf, title within lozenge surrounded by central arabesque, spine in six compartments, recornered, repairs to head and foot of spine, a few volumes with remains of gilt.

References
Koeman II, pp.10-13; van der Krogt 41:1.1 (1577), 41.1.2 (1593), 41.1.3 (1588), 41.1.4 (1588); Phillips 59.

A fine copy of "the earliest systematic city atlas" (Koeman). The 'Civitates' attempts to present, for the first time, an account of all the major settlements and cities of the world known to Europeans, using a combination of two-dimensional plans, three-dimensional views, and bird's-eye perspectives. The subsequent atlas proved hugely popular with the new urban mercantile elite, who were hungry for information on foreign places. It was intended for the educated reader: far more copies survive in Latin than in the vernacular.

In order to obtain accurate representations of the cities illustrated in the 'Civitates', Georg Braun (1541-1622), the canon of Cologne Cathedral, established a network of correspondents and artists across Europe who contributed to the project. These included Georg Hoefnagel, Heinrich Rantzau, Jacob van Deventer, and Abraham Ortelius. In fact, Hoefnagel and Ortelius were close friends, travelling extensively throughout Europe, and are often depicted in the foreground of the engraved views. The engravings were executed by Franz Hogenberg and Simon Novellanus. Hogenberg was a close friend of the greatest cartographers of the age, Gerard Mercator and Ortelius, and he was employed by Ortelius to engrave maps for his atlas 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum'.

The plates are brought alive with their depiction of the individual citizens in the foreground, from the rich merchants of London, and the wild Cossacks of Moscow, to the refined townsfolk of Maastricht. However, Braun's motives for adding figures to the views, went further: as stated in his introduction to the first book, he believed, perhaps optimistically, that his plans would not in consequence be scrutinized for military secrets by the Turks, as their religion forbade them from looking on representations of the human form.

LONDINVM FERACISSIMI ANGLIAE REGNI METROPOLIS
THE TOWRE

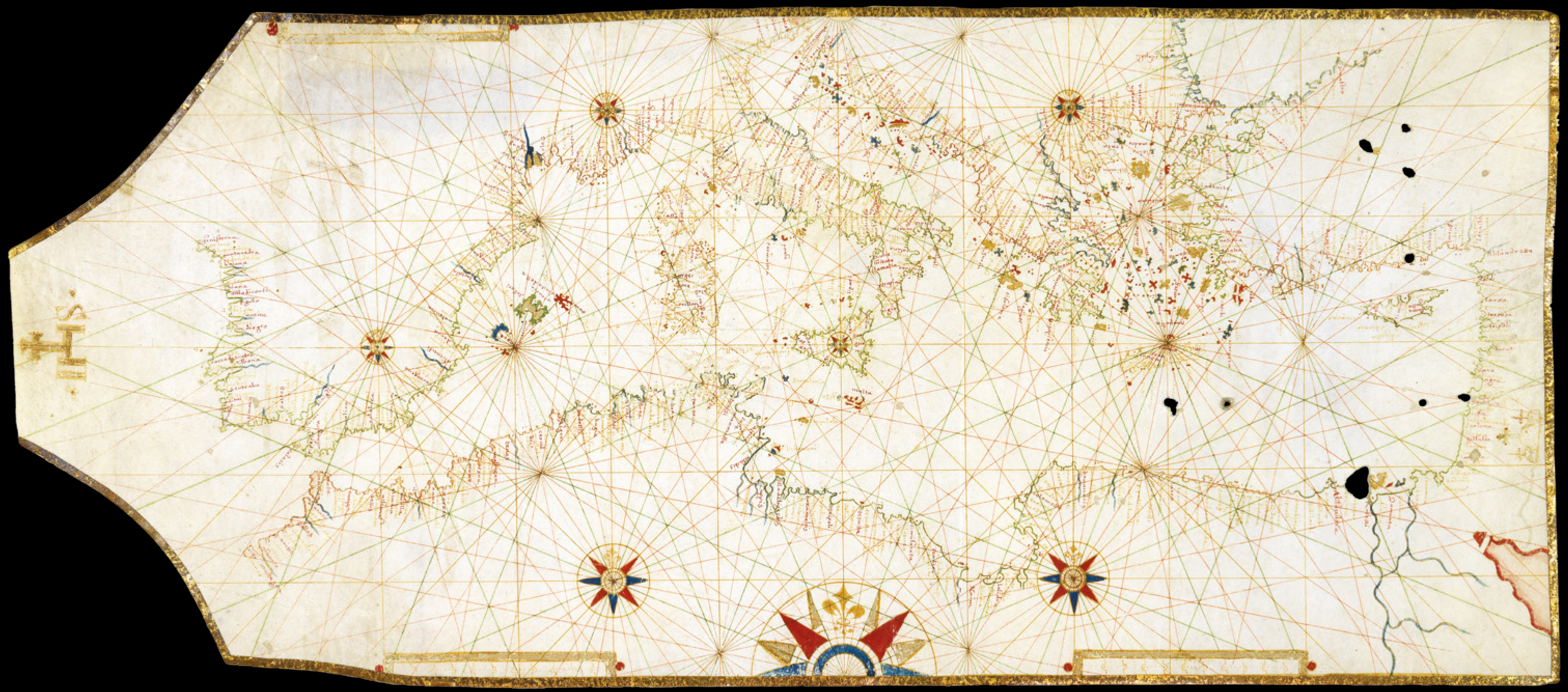
There are also striking similarities of colour and design: comparing, for example, the sea monster on the chart of western Europe in the present example and on the map of northern Europe in the Greenwich example. The cartouche in the Greenwich example carries the inscription "IACQVES DOUSAIGO A NAPOLI 1590"; the cartouche on the present example reads "IAIMES DOSSAIGA FECIT 1590". It seems probable that the difference in the names can be attributed to Dossaiga changing his name to adapt to the Italian and French speaking customer base in Naples.

Astengo gives the place of production for the atlas as Naples on the basis of Uzielli and Amat di S. Filippo: however, on the first map there is an area of discolouration around the coast of Portugal, suggesting the chart was frequently touched there, giving a possible place of production or sale.

The binding is by Marcelin Lortic (1852-1928), the son of a Parisian binder, Pierre-Marcelin Lortic, a friend of Baudelaire who bound copies of 'Les Fleurs du Mal' for the author.

Provenance

1. Bookplate of Luigi Arrigoni, Milanese book dealer and bon vivant.
2. Pierre S. DuPont III Collection of Navigation, Christie's New York, 8 October 1991, Lot 211.



"the first true atlas" in a contemporary Plantijn binding

9 **ORTELIUS, Abraham**

Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.

Publication
Antwerp, Jan Baptist Vrients, 1603.

Description
Folio, (450 by 310mm) three parts in one volume, title, with full-page engraving of the arms of Philip II of Spain on the verso, memorial to Ortelius incorporating a small circular portrait, portrait of Ortelius by Phillip Galle, section-title to the Parergon with architectural surround, uncoloured vignette on letterpress section title to the Nomenclator, 156 double-page hand-coloured engravings on 151 mapsheets (including 38 in the Parergon, two costume plates, three views), numerous woodcut initials, fine original hand colour throughout, contemporary brown calf Plantijn binding, gilt and blind tooled panels and borders, spine in seven compartments divided by raised bands, gilt, title and date lettered in gilt to spine.

References
Marcel van den Broecke, Ortelius Atlas Maps: An Illustrated Guide (Netherlands: HES, 1996); van der Krogt 31:053.

A fine example of one of the most complete versions of the first printed atlas to be so called, sumptuously bound in a contemporary Plantijn binding.

Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) took an active interest in cartography from an early age. He began his career as a "kaarten afzetter" (illuminator of maps) purchasing maps from booksellers and colouring them for resale. He travelled extensively in his search for new material and was a well-known face at the Frankfurt book fairs. It was whilst travelling that Ortelius built up his unrivalled web of contacts, which included many of the leading historians, scientists, and cartographers of the day.

These contacts would prove invaluable in the compiling and completion of his 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum', first published in 1570. The work was "the first true atlas" (van den Broecke): all the maps were of a uniform size and style, with an engraved title, accompanying text, and – hitherto unheard of in cartographic publications – a list of the source material. With its comprehensive scope, the atlas was a huge step forward compared with the contemporary 'Lafreri' atlases, which were bound up to order and so reflected the whims of the customer. Even though it was the most expensive work published at the time, it proved an instant success with four versions of the first edition being printed in 1570 alone. The work would go on to be published for 42 years, with some 31 editions being produced.

The present work was issued by Jan Baptist Vrients (1552-1612), another Dutch cartographer and publisher. He had acquired the stock printed by Christoffel Plantijn from Ortelius' heirs in 1602. Vrients expanded the edition to include a number of new maps after Hessel Gerritsz, and he also added an introduction to cosmography written by Michel Coignet. One further Latin edition was issued in 1608 and an Italian edition was issued in 1612 when Vrients sold the plates to the Officina Plantiniana shortly before his death.

MARIS PACIFICI,
(quod vulgò Mar del Zur)
cum regionibus circumiacentibus, insulisque in eodem passim sparsis, novissima descriptio.
SEPTEMTRIO.
AMERICAE SEPTEMTRIONALIOR PARS.
Tartariæ limites.
ORIENT.
ASIAE PARS.
CHINAE REGNI PARS.
Xanton
Cequij.
Foquiem
Isla de Plata.
Iapan ins.
Circulus Cancri.
Islas de Lucois.
Philippinas.
Mal luc
Nova Guinea, quibusdam Terra de Piccinacoli.
Insulæ Salomonis.
Circulus Capricorni.
Circulus Aequinoctialis.
MARIS ATLANTICI, SIVE MAR DEL NORT PARS.
Noua Hispania.
Cuba
Spagnola
Caribana.
Quito.
Peru.
Charcas.
Chili.
Patagones.
Archipelagus insularum.
Fretum Magellanicum.
Mar del Nort.
Tierra del Fuego.
AMERICAE MERIDIONALIOR PARS.
MARE PACIFICUM, QVOD VVLGO NOMINANT MAR DEL ZVR.
Prima ego velivolis ambivi cursibus Orbem,
Magellane novo te duce ducta freto.
Ambivi, meritoq; vocor VICTORIA: sunt mi
Vela, alæ, precium, gloria, pugna, mare.
SPE ET METV.
GENIO ET INGENIO NOBILI DN. NICOLAO ROCCOXIO, PATRICIO ANTVERPIENSI, EIVSDEMQVE VRBIS SENATORI,
Abrahamus Ortelius Regiæ Mtis geographus lub. merito dedicabat.
1589
TERRA AVSTRALIS, SIVE MAGELLANICA, NONDUM DETECTA.
Cum privilegijs Imp. & Reg. Maiestatum, nec non Cancellariæ Brabantiæ, ad decennium.
MERIDIES.

The first ‘atlas’

10 **MERCATOR, Gerard; Jodocus HONDIUS**

L’Atlas ou Meditations cosmographiques de la Fabrique du Monde

Publication
Amsterodami, Judoci Hondij, 1613.

Description
Folio (480 by 330 mm), engraved title heightened in gold, (3) pp, engraved portrait of Mercator and Hondius, (9) pp., 374 pp., 45 double-page engraved maps, engraved half title (Galliae) heightened in gold, 30 double-page and one single-page engraved maps, engraved half title (Germaniae) heightened in gold, 29 double-page engraved maps, engraved half title (Italiae, Slavoniae et Graeciae) heightened in gold, 45 double-page engraved maps, 18 ff, full original hand-colour throughout, 150 maps in total, contemporary mottled calf, spine divided into seven compartments separated by raised bands, gilt, restoration to capitals and lower back.

References
Collation as in Koeman II 23A, but title page as in Koeman II 23B; van der Krogt I 1:112; Shirley (2004) T-MER 2g (Latin 1613).

A fine example of a great atlas.

Gerard Mercator (1512-1594) would not begin his great ‘Atlas’ or ‘Cosmography’ until relatively late in life. The impetus for this came when he was employed as cosmographer to Duke William IV of Kleve, in 1563. Mercator’s intention was to produce a work that consisted of five books and covered the whole world. The first book would cover the creation; the second the heavens; the third geography; the fourth history; and the fifth chronology. He intended to draw all the maps, write all the text, and cut all the plates himself. Unsurprisingly, the ambitious project would require more time than he could afford to give it, and he was only able to complete a few of the parts: the creation; the maps for Ptolemy’s ‘Geographia’ - part of the geographical section - in 1578; and four of the modern parts. The first three were published together in 1585 and covered France, the Low Countries, and Germany. The fourth part, covering Italy, the Balkans, and Greece, appeared in 1589. Mercator died on December 2, 1594, leaving the responsibility for completion of the cosmography to his son Rumold.

Mercator’s work is referred to as the first atlas, because he was the first to give a collection of curated maps this name, reflected in the famous engraved title-page showing King Atlas measuring the world with a pair of dividers. It is often wrongly thought that the word ‘atlas’ refers to the Titan of the same name, whose punishment for fighting against the Olympian gods was to hold the heavens on his shoulders. King Atlas was a mythical ruler of Mauritania, a mathematician and philosopher who supposedly made the first celestial globe.

There was one further edition in 1602 before the plates were acquired by Jodocus Hondius (1563-1612). This is the second French edition printed by Hondius, both times adding groups of new maps to the book. Together with the 1613 Latin edition, it is the first to contain the famous double portrait of Mercator and Hondius engraved by Hondius’ widow Colletta van den Keere, a successful publisher in her own right who continued the business after her husband’s death.

The title-page of this copy states “Editio Quarta” (i.e., the fourth Latin edition), but it is in fact a variant of the 1613 French edition, with the Latin title-page but French text (as in Koeman). There are examples of the 1613 French edition at the Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam, and the Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana, and an example with a Latin title in the University Library, Leiden.

A terrestrial globe by the greatest globemaker of his age published in the year of the creation of the Dutch West India Company

11 **BLAEU, Willem**

[Terrestrial globe].

Publication
[Amsterdam, Gulhielmus Janssonius Blaeu, 1599 [but after 1621].

Description
Globe, diameter 340mm (13.5 inches), plaster ball, 12 hand-coloured engraved full gores, brass meridian ring, original wooden base, hand-coloured engraved horizon ring, turned legs supporting horizon ring, circular base plate with central support for meridian ring.

References
Dekker GLB0100; van der Krogt BLA 1.4.

Willem Blaeu (1571-1638) started "one of the most successful publishing houses of the seventeenth century" (Dekker). Originally trained in astronomy, he quickly became a leading maker of maps, atlases and instruments. At the time the Low Countries hosted the best cartographers in Europe, and Blaeu produced ever more accurate and more beautiful globes, spurred by his rivalry with fellow Dutch cartographer and publisher Jodocus Hondius.

Blaeu's globes were luxury items for wealthy and intellectual merchants and nobility, and benefited from Blaeu's access, as official cartographer to the Dutch East India Company, to the latest navigational discoveries and geographical information. As van der Krogt observes, "During the preceding century, more than half of the known world, including the entire western hemisphere, had been charted and, more recently, during Blaeu's own time, large portions of the Pacific were being explored." Dutch explorers had played a key role in the expanding European worldview: from Olivier van der Noort's circumnavigation of the earth, to Willem Barentsz's attempts to find the Northeast Passage. Blaeu also had the advantage of considerable personal technical skill: he studied under the astronomer Tycho Brahe to create a star catalogue for his first celestial globe.

The cartography of the globe reflects the rapid advances in European exploration. The cartouche decorated with a bear's head and skin in North America records the discovery of the New World, detailing the voyages of Columbus, Vespucci, and Magellan, and quoting the Aeneid. The voyage of Ferdinand Magellan earlier in the century had established that there was a route around the tip of South America through the Strait named after him, and Blaeu shows the channel between the continent and Tierra del Fuego. Magellan's voyage is also commemorated with a vignette of giants in Patagonia, which the chronicler of the voyage, Antonio Pigafetta, claimed to have met. Further north, a group of cannibals is shown in Brazil. Blaeu also shows Tierra del Fuego as an island, incorporating the discoveries of the voyage sponsored by Isaac de la Maire five years before this edition of the globe was published. The indefatigable de la Maire had been determined to find an alternative route around South America to Asia to evade the monopoly of the Dutch East India Company on the Strait of Magellan, and succeeded when the voyage found the Le Maire Strait.

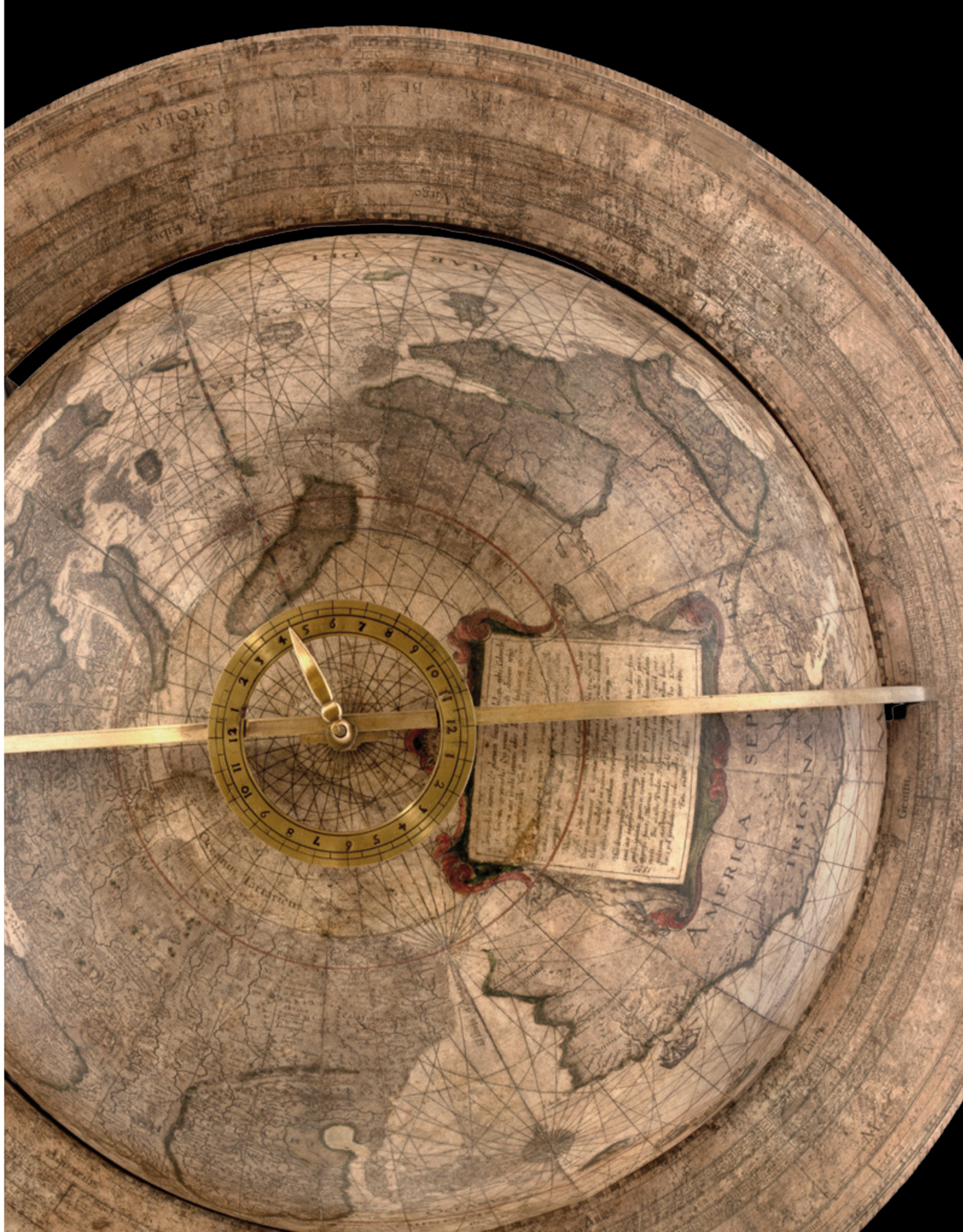
The question of whether Tierra del Fuego was an island was crucial because it was thought to indicate the existence of the mythical southern continent, Terra Australis, also marked here as 'Magallani'. Blaeu shows it as a huge featureless landmass, connected to New Guinea, with a gap in the coastline around South America to indicate a possible join with Tierra del Fuego. It is decorated with a pair of parrots.

The continents of America and Asia are separated by the mythical Strait of Anian, although the American coastline tails off towards the North Pole to leave the question open to debate. In Asia, China is truncated and Korea is shown as an island. A reduction of Dürer's print of a rhinoceros appears roughly in the area of modern day Nepal. A cartouche in Africa surmounted by an angel's head records the voyage of Vasco di Gama, who discovered the sea route from Europe to Asia around the Cape of Good Hope.

The seas are decorated with ships and sea monsters, including a turtle near South America and a procession of water deities escorting Neptune in the Atlantic.

The globe is dedicated to the States-General of the Netherlands, and the dedication cartouche carries the arms of the seven independent provinces.

This is the third edition of this globe as identified by Peter van der Krogt, after the signature of the dedication and advice to the reader has been changed from "Alcmarianus" to "Blaeu".



Leo Belgicus

12 A collection of five maps, catalogued individually as items A-E in the following pages.

The "Leo Belgicus" is one of the most famous of all cartographic curiosities. The format depicts the seventh Provinces of the Low Countries in the form of a lion. The first Leo was produced by the Austrian Michael von Aitzing (item A) who, in 1583, included an example in his work 'De Leone Belgico', a chronicle of the Netherlands' war of independence against Hapsburg rule. In the introduction he gives his reasons for choosing the lion:

"Considering wise King Solomon's saying that the lion shuns confrontation with none but the strongest of animals, and reading in Julius Caesar's 'Commentaries' that the 'Belgae' were the strongest of all tribes, I decided – and not without reason – to introduce the Netherlands in the shape of a lion. Moreover Charles V – blessed be his memory – thought of calling it the lion country, either because he wanted the Netherlands in future to be considered the prime of his realm, or perhaps because virtually all provinces carry a lion in their coat of arms. I took every care that you should see at a glance not only the whole of the Netherlands in the shape of a lion, but also the various provinces as part of its limbs and body."

Aitzing's Leo is a lion rampant facing east, with the lion's back following the coastline. The image proved so popular that it was soon copied. The first do to so was Johan van Doetecum, who, in 1598, added a series of portraits (item E).

In 1608, the cartographer Hessel Gerritsz published a new version, also with the lion's back following the coastline. This time, however, he is shown walking on all fours (passant), with his head facing south towards the Spanish threat. Although no example of Gerritsz' original survives, the map was reprinted by, among others, Jodocus Hondius (item B).

The signing of the Twelve Year Truce in 1609, by the Dutch Republic, the Southern Netherlands, and Hapsburg Spain, proved a catalyst for another version of the Leo Belgicus.

In around 1611, Claes Jansz. Visscher published his 'Bestandskaart' or 'Truce Map' (item C) – a lion at rest in a sitting position; his right paw on the hilt of a lowered sword. At the end of the 12 Year Truce, Visscher published his 'Leo Hollandicus' (item D). Whereas Visscher's 'Truce Map' celebrated the fruits of peace that came with the cessation of hostilities; the 'Hollandicus' highlighted the Dutch Republic's determination to defend its new-found independence.

The first Leo Belgicus

A AITZING, Michael von

Leo Belgicus.

Publication
[Cologne, Gerardus Campensis, 1583].

Description
Engraved map, hand-coloured in outline, two shields cut out and replaced with blanks.

Dimensions
370 by 455mm (14.5 by 18 inches).

References
H.A.M. van der Heijden, Leo Belgicus: An illustrated and annotated cartobibliography, 2nd ed., (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 2006), 1.1.

The first Leo Belgicus was published by Michael von Aitzing (1530-1598) in his work 'De Leone Belgico' of 1583. Here the lion rampant, with right paw raised, faces right, with the lion's back following the coastline.

The text to the far right is both an introduction to the lion and an apologia. The lion is introduced "in such a form as it has never been seen before, in order that you will better understand the description of the various parts it comprises". The text goes on to affirm Aitzing's and the lion's neutrality in the ongoing war, and reassures the reader that "you will find everything more truthful and acceptable since we personally observed and verified all the facts on both sides". He finishes with a plea that his Leo Belgicus will not be studied "for the purpose of calumniation but to find out the truth".

To the far left, in England, is Aitzing's monogram; and next to it a table with a list of the Stadtholders of the Seventeen Provinces, together with each province's coat-of-arms, and the number of towns and villages within each province. The upper part of the table bears the acronym M.A.R.I.A., which stands for the names of the five governors of the Provinces between 1559 and 1579. Between the lion's feet is text relating to the wars between France and Spain; most notably that between Henry II and Philip II from 1558 to 1559, in which Aitzing himself fought.

The separation of the Low Countries

E **DOETECUM, Johan van**

Leo Belgicus.

Publication
[Amsterdam], C. J. Visscher, 1650.

Description
Hand-coloured separately issued engraved map, some loss to borders skilfully repaired.

Dimensions
430 by 550mm (17 by 21.75 inches).

References
H.A.M. van der Heijden, Leo Belgicus: An illustrated and annotated cartobibliography, 2nd ed., (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 2006), 3.3; Schilder, Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica, I, p.31 (note 95), and p.37.

The map was first published by Johan van Doetecum in 1598. We know the plate was still in van Doetecum's possession in 1626, as an inventory was made of his stock after the death of his wife Magdalena. The plate then passed into the hands of Henricus Hondius when, in 1630, van Doetecum's stock was auctioned off following his death. Hondius made some minor changes and reissued the plate in 1630. The plate was then acquired by Claes Janzsoon Visscher in 1650.

For the new edition Visscher has added portraits of Archduke Ferdinand (Governor of the Spanish Netherlands 1634-1641) and Prince Frederick Hendrik of Orange (Stadtholder 1625-1647) to the upper left-hand corner. To accommodate the new portraits the lion's tail has been shortened, and the title moved, with new configuration of text and images to the sea. There has been a slight amendment to the Dutch and French text to the lower left and right. Doetecum's imprint has been amended, Hondius' erased and Visscher's added below the legs of the lion. The lion itself stands upon a hatched base, with the text below the portraits of Prince Maurice and Archduke Albert having been altered.

With its explicit distinction between the rulers of the northern and the southern provinces, and with the two pictures of the Court of Holland and one of the Court of Brussels, and by using the term 'utrinque Belgium' ('the two Belgiums'), this is the first general map of the Netherlands to emphasize the separation of the northern and southern parts of the country.

The Low Countries divided

13 **BLAEU, Willem and Joan**

Novum ac magnum theatrum urbium Belgicae.

Publication
Amsterdam, Johannes Blaeu, 1649.

Description
Latin text, two volumes, folio atlas (545 by 355 mm), engraved title-pages with fine contemporary hand-colour and heightened in gold, 227 engraved maps (the majority double-page) incorporating over 300 maps and views, publisher's vellum gilt, covers panelled with stylised foliate roll, and large centre and corner arabesques, with armillary sphere to centre, spine divided into eight compartments by horizontal rolls, decorated with foliate corner pieces around a central rose tool.

References
Koeman I BL 68A and 68B; van der Krogt 43:112.

The second Latin text edition, with very fine contemporary colouring, of Blaeu's great work on the towns of the Low Countries.

"Of all the Blaeu atlases, the townbooks of the Netherlands are held in the highest esteem in the Netherlands. This is partly due to the fact that their composition is linked up with the struggle for independence from Spain of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. Bound up, by sentiment, with the most dramatic and heroic period of the shaping of the Dutch State it shows the proud and industrious cities of the North in their full splendour. Before the end of the battle with Spain, Joan Blaeu planned his town books which were to contain maps, evenly distributed over two volumes: the towns of the Republic in Volume I, the towns belonging to Spain in Volume II. In the planning stage of the atlas, some years before 1648, while the text had been printed and also most of the plates, Joan Blaeu could not know how the Peace treaty would turn out. In the last decades of the war, several towns and fortresses in the south had been or were besieged by the army of the Republic and Blaeu had to take a decision as to inclusion of these disputed towns into the two volumes of his atlas. The very first [Latin text] edition of his town atlas reflects the situation during the last years of the war: 26 maps of towns and fortresses are incorporated in the "Spanish" volume, but had to be transferred to the "Dutch" side. Consequently, apart from the very rare first edition, the volumes I and II are uneven in the number of maps, the first volume being the larger. At the end of the Index of the first edition, printed in 1649 after the Treaty of Westphalia, Joan Blaeu [gives a] notice to the reader explaining the arrangement of the maps" (Koeman).

The Blaeu family firm was founded by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638) in 1596. He was eventually joined by his sons, Cornelius (1616-1648) and Joan (1596-1673). The firm became the most productive cartographic establishment in the Netherlands until it was destroyed by fire in 1672. The elder Blaeu initiated the great series of atlases that culminated in the 'Atlas Maior', in which Joan Blaeu incorporated much of the geographical knowledge bequeathed him by his father. The present example collates with Blaeu's second edition of the work, with 26 maps having been moved from the "Spanish" volume to the "Dutch" volume.

LEGIA, sive LEODIUM; vulgo, LIEGE.

Fine manuscript plan of seventeenth century Maastricht

14 *Plan de Mastricht.*

Publication
[c1655].

Description
Manuscript plan in pen and ink, with wash colour, watermark of bunch of grapes in a double circle with letters.

Dimensions
(image) 355 by 455mm (14 by 18 inches).

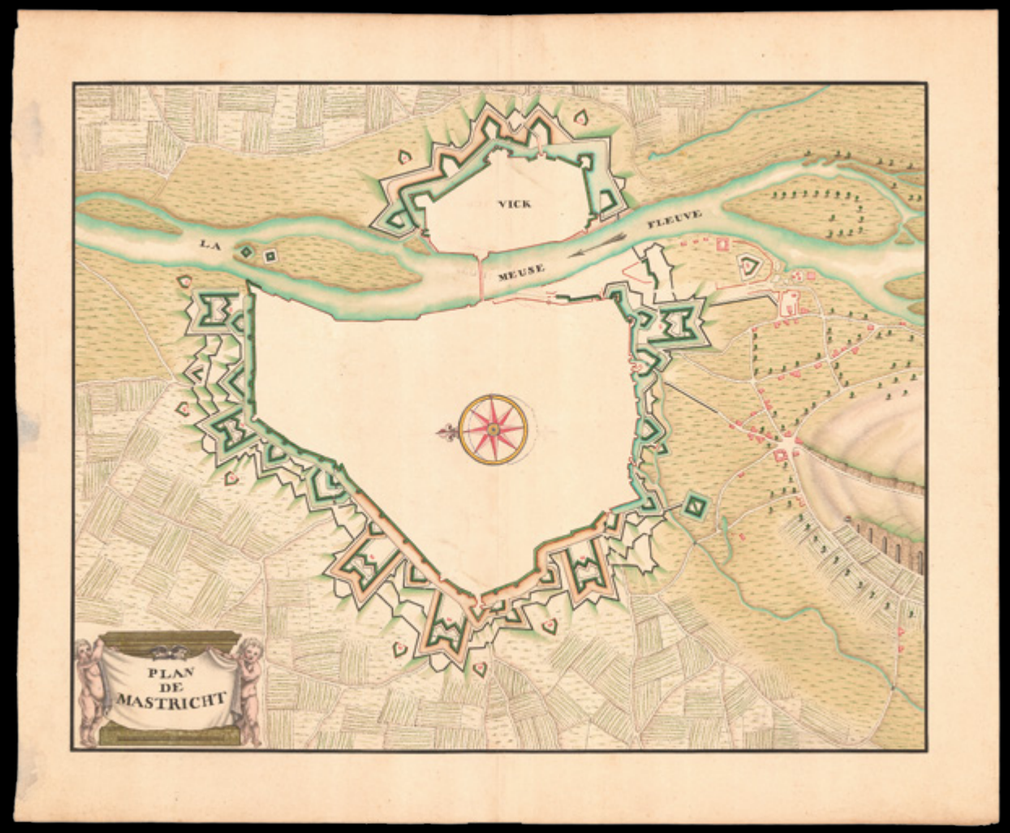
References
Heawood 2428–29.

The present and succeeding map show the Limburg town of Maastricht, where the Treaty of European Union was signed on 7 February 1992.

Due to the town's strategic position straddling the river Maas, it has been under the control of not only the Dutch, but also the Spanish (1579-1632), and the French (1673-1678; 1748; and 1794-1815). Each subsequent conquest led to the construction of ever greater fortifications. This turbulent history, together with its close proximity to both Germany and Belgium, amply demonstrates the fluid nature of the nation state within Europe. Even after the French occupation ended in 1815, when Limburg and Maastricht were integrated into the Netherlands, Maastricht retained a distinctly non-Dutch appearance and outlook, a flavour it keeps to this day. In fact it was only the presence of the Dutch garrison stationed in Maastricht, who remained loyal to the Dutch crown during the Belgium Revolution of 1830, that the city did not secede along with the other southern states to form the independent Kingdom of Belgium.

Maastricht's final occupation came at the hands of the Nazis, who controlled the town between 1940 and 1944. The horrors of that conflict would become the catalyst for the forming of the European Economic Community in 1957, and hence the European Union, when the then member states signed the Maastricht Treaty.

This French plan depicts the battlements and ramparts of mid seventeenth century Maastricht. Although the plan is not dated, the paper does bear a watermark of a bunch of grapes surrounded by a double circle with letters, which can be dated to around 1655.



Fine manuscript plan of the Siege of Maastricht of 1673

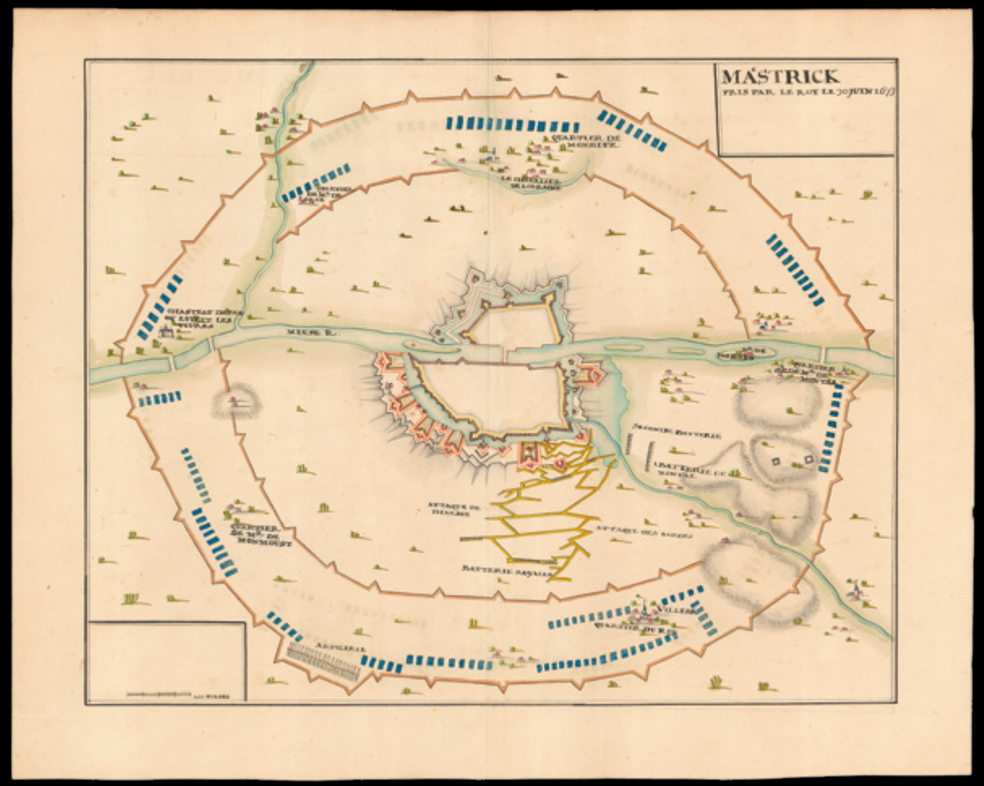
15 *Mastrick pris par Le Royle 30 Juin 1673.*

Publication
1673.

Description
Manuscript plan, pen and ink with water colour, large watermark of a church.

Dimensions
(image) 330 by 420mm (13 by 16.5 inches).

The siege took place during the Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678). During this siege Sebastien le Prestre de Vauban, the famous French military engineer, developed a new strategy in order to break down the strong fortifications surrounding Maastricht. His systematic approach remained the standard method of attacking fortresses until the twentieth century. On 25 June 1673, while preparing to storm the city, captain-lieutenant Charles de Batz de Castelmore, also known as the comte d'Artagnan, was killed by a musket shot outside Tongerse Poort. This event was embellished in Alexandre Dumas' novel 'The Vicomte de Bragelonne', part of the d'Artagnan romances. French troops occupied Maastricht from 1673 to 1678.



Poland during the Deluge

16 **GUDICANUS, Augustinus**

Nova Descriptio Totius Regni Polonici Nec Non Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae cum suis Palatinatibus Castellanis ac Confinis.

Publication
[Cologne, Johann Antonius Kinckius, 1658].

Description
Engraved map with original hand colour.

Dimensions
328 by 305mm (13 by 12 inches).

References
Thomasz Niewodniczanski, Imago Poloniae: Das Polnisch-litauische Reich in Karten, Dokumenten und alten Drucken in der Sammlung von Tomasz Niewodniczanski (Warsaw: Warta, 2002) vol.I, H1/6, pp.40-41.

A rare zoomorphic map showing Poland as an eagle, originally a folding plate bound in to Borussian author Augustinus Gudicanus' description of Poland, 'Polonia, sive nova regni Poloniae', published in Cologne in 1658.

Poland is drawn in the shape of a crowned white eagle, the national symbol. A white eagle supposedly landed in a tree to show Lech, the legendary founder of the country, where he should make his capital. It became the symbol of the royal family of Poland, and still appears on the coat of arms of the country. Gudicanus' decision to show the country as an eagle was probably influenced by contemporary events. Throughout the 1650s the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth was in a state of national collapse, known as 'The Deluge'. The commonwealth was at war with Russia and was occupied by Swedish armies. The beleaguered king, John II Casimir, lost the support of his nobility and his people.

Gudicanus' book would have coincided with the Treaty of Hadiach, which sought to create an alliance between the commonwealth and the Ukrainian Cossacks in the south. The regions of Ukraina and Kosacki clearly fall under the wings of the eagle. The resulting kingdom would be able to repel invading forces. Although the Treaty was never fully implemented, it represents an important point in Polish history.

Scarce; we have only been able to locate two examples of this map (one with the book) for sale in the last ten years.

God made the world. The Dutch made Holland. Maps made government.

17 **STAMPIOEN, Jan Janzoon**

[Rotterdam] Het Hooge Heemraedt Schap van Schielandt.

Publication
Amsterdam, Johan Vingbooms, 1660.

Description
Folio (500 by 340mm), six single page engraved coats-of-arms, and nine double-page engraved maps, all with fine original hand-colour.

Dimensions
2340 by 1470mm (92.25 by 57.75 inches).

This beautiful wall map shows the water board of Schieland en de Krimpenerwaard in southwest Holland, based on surveys initiated by the Dyke Reeves of the Schieland Polder in 1648, as the 1611 map of Balthasar Floris was outdated. The survey was done by Jan Janszoon Stampioen between 1649 and 1654. After a long search, a qualified engraver was found in Johann Vingbooms of Amsterdam, best known for the exquisite manuscript maps and views he produced based on Dutch East and West India Company materials. Johannes van de Vennip was engaged to colour the map. The drawing, engraving and printing cost an astonishing 3,350 guilders.

The map lays out the principal towns, villages, and settlements, differentiating the land ownerships. Also shown are the borders of the polders (tracks of reclaimed lands) together with the names of their owners. It displays drainage canals, windmills, certain cultivated areas, ornamental gardens, some larger buildings, churches, and street or canal plans of the cities of Rotterdam, Delfshaven, Gouda and Schiedam. The map, if mounted, is surrounded by coats-of-arms on three sides.

We have only been able to trace two examples of this edition: Yale University Library, and in the archive of 'Hoogheemraadschap van Schieland en de Krimpenerwaard' in the Netherlands. Both maps are uncoloured. Our copy seems to be the only coloured first edition version of this work which has survived. There were later editions in 1684, 1694, 1710, 1718 and 1765. However, due to the high mortality rate of wall maps, even later editions are scarce.

Playing for peace and territorial sovereignty

18 **DU VAL, Pierre**

Le Jeu des Francois et des pour La Paix Par P.D.V. G.D.R. Avec privil. du Roy pour 20 ans, 1660.

Publication
Paris, Antoine de Fer, 1660.

Description
Engraved map, some light foxing to margins.

Dimensions
400 by 490mm (15.75 by 19.25 inches).

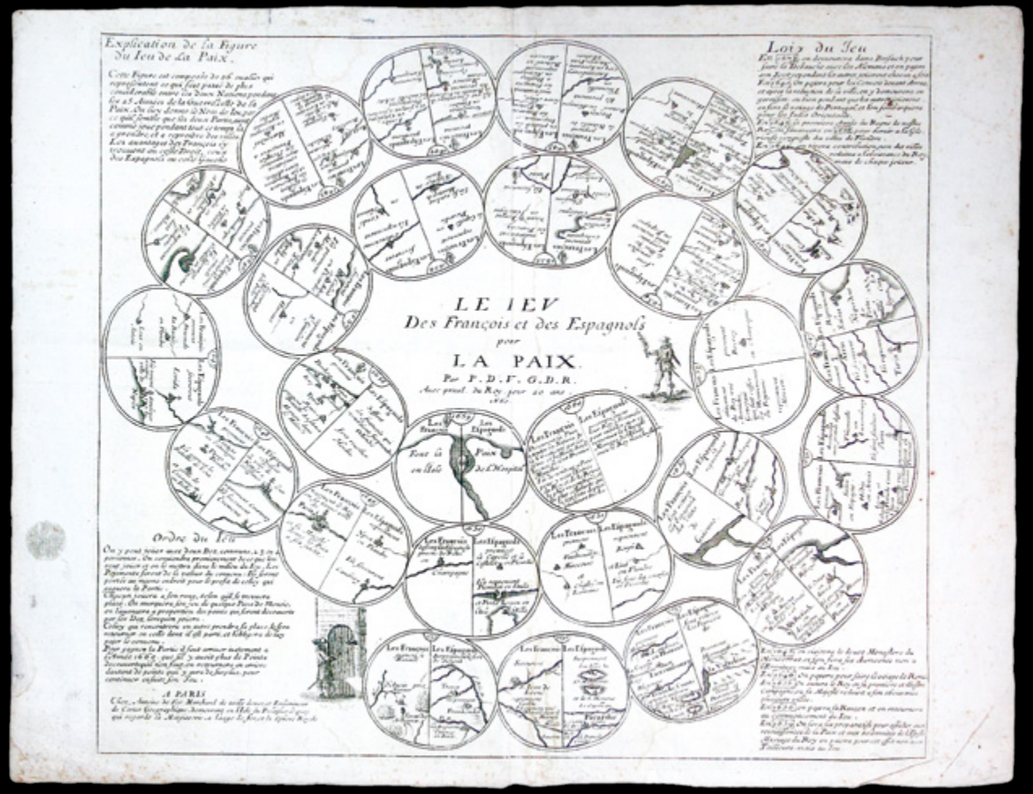
References
BL Maps CC.5.a.86., for 1705 edition.
Adrian Seville, 'Le Jeu de France: Pierre Duval's Map Game', BIMCC Newsletter 21 (2005), pp.24-27; Seville, 'The Game of the Sphere or of the Universe - A Spiral Race Game from 17th Century France', Board Games Studies Journal 10 (2016), pp.1-16.

Rare geographic game of the Franco-Spanish War (1635-1659).

The game consists of 26 ovals, each labelled with a date between 1635 until the peace treaty of 1660. Each oval is divided in half: the left half details the progress made by the French in that year, and the right half details the progress made by the Spanish. On the right hand side of the board is a list of rules, outlining the various penalties or prizes for landing on certain ovals. It is a game for up to four players with two dice, and each player has to put up their stake before joining the game. The object is to be the first to land on the final oval of 1660 with an exact throw of the dice.

Rare. We are able to trace only two institutional examples: in the British Library (a later state dated 1705); and an example in the BNF.

Pierre du Val (1619-1683) was the nephew of the great French geographer Nicolas Sanson. His father was a merchant but he followed in his uncle's footsteps, becoming a mapmaker, and was eventually appointed geographer to the King. He specialised in geographical games, often with this spiral race format, inspired by early board games like the Game of the Goose.



“the greatest and finest atlas ever published”

19 **BLAEU, Joan**

Grooten Atlas, oft werelt-beschryving, in welcke t’aerdryck, de zee, en hemel, wort vertoont en beschreven.

Publication
Amsterdam, Joan Blaeu, 1662-1665.

Description
13 parts in nine volumes, Dutch text edition, folio (560 by 380mm), printed title, engraved allegorical title, nine printed or engraved titles within engraved borders, eight divisional titles, and 600 engraved maps, plans and views (most double-page) in contemporary hand-colour (general and engraved titles heightened in gold), many engraved and woodcut illustrations in text coloured, index leaf at end of each volume, contemporary Dutch vellum, gilt, central arabesques replaced with gilt arms of the van de Werve family, leather labels on spines, gilt edges, occasional light browning on a few maps and some text pages, several maps with small marginal repairs, some light staining at lower corners of volumes I and VIII.

References
Jerry Brotton, A History of the World in Twelve Maps (London: Penguin, 2012), pp.260-293; Koeman BL 57; van der Krogt 2:62.

A Dutch edition of “the greatest and finest atlas ever published” (Koeman).

The ‘Atlas Maior’ in its various editions was the largest atlas ever published. It was justly famed for its production values, its high typographic standard, and the quality of its engraving, ornamentation, binding and colouring. The atlas frequently served as the official gift of the Dutch Republic to princes and other authorities. It is one of the most lavish and highly prized of all seventeenth-century illustrated books. “In its sheer size and scale it surpassed all other atlases then in circulation, including the efforts of his great predecessors Ortelius and Mercator” (Brotton). The work was published simultaneously in five different languages, Latin, French, Dutch, Spanish, and German. What Blaeu managed to achieve was to contain the world in a book - an endeavour that in many respects would never be equalled.

Publication History

The genesis of the ‘Atlas Maior’ began in 1630, when Willem Blaeu published his first atlas, the ‘Atlas Appendix’. The book consisted of 60 maps, and was billed by Blaeu as a supplement to Mercator’s ‘Atlas’, whose work by that time had been expanded and republished by his rivals Henricus Hondius and Johannes Janssonius. Hondius and Janssonius were so perturbed by the Blaeus’ move into the publication of atlases that they published a rival ‘Appendix’ by the end of 1630.

Over the next 30 years this great publishing rivalry would spur the production of ever larger and more lavish atlases. In 1634, Blaeu produced his ‘Atlas Novus’, containing 161 maps. This was expanded in 1635 to two volumes, containing 207 maps. So successful was the house of Blaeu that, in 1637, they moved into larger premises. With its own print foundry and nine letterpresses, the new building was the largest printing house in Europe. Unfortunately, Willem did not long survive the move and he died the following year. He was succeeded in his business by his son Joan, who also inherited the lucrative and influential post of hydrographer to the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

Over the next twenty years Joan expanded the ‘Atlas Novus’: in 1640 he added a third volume, including maps of Italy and Greece; in 1645, he published a fourth volume on the British Isles; and in 1654 he added the Atlas Sinensis, the first western atlas of China, based on the work of the Jesuit Marteo Martini. Janssonius during this time had almost kept pace with his more illustrious rival - in 1646 he published a four volume atlas, adding a fifth - the first folio sea atlas - in 1650, and in 1658 a sixth, which consisted of 450 maps, some 47 more than Blaeu’s similar work.

In 1662, Blaeu announced that he would auction his bookselling business in order to finance the imminent publication of his great atlas. From a brief look at the statistics, it is clear why Blaeu needed the capital. The creation of the five editions took six years (from 1659 to 1665). It is estimated that 1550 copies over all five editions were printed, with Latin the longest print run of 650 copies. The print run came to just over 5.4 million pages of text, and 950,000 copper plate impressions! Such a vast undertaking in capital and man-hours, was reflected in the price. The largest edition (the French version) cost 450 guilders. These prices made the atlas not only the costliest ever sold, but also the most expensive book of its day. To give an idea of comparative value, the average price of a house in Amsterdam at the time of publication was 500 guilders.

The Maps

Each map is illustrated and hand coloured. Of particular note are the side-panelled maps of the continents, the early maps of China in volume IX, and the series of 23 maps of America, including important early maps of Virginia and New England, in volume VIII. It has been suggested that the twin hemisphere world map, drawn especially for the atlas by Joan Blaeu, is the first world map in an atlas to portray the Copernican solar system (Brotton).

Contents

Volume I World, Arctic and Scandinavia. 90 maps.
Volume II Germany and Switzerland. 107 maps.
Volume III The Low Countries. 65 maps.
Volume IV England. 58 maps.
Volume V Scotland and Ireland. 55 maps.
Volume VI France. 66 maps.
Volume VII Italy and Greece. 67 maps.
Volume VIII Spain, Africa and America. 64 maps.
Volume IX Asia. 28 maps.

BLAEU
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IX

Vischer's sumptuous wall maps of Upper and Lower Austria, used in the Treaty of Versailles

20 **VISCHER, Georg Matthäus**

Archiducatus Austriae Superioris... [and] Archiducatus Austriae Inferioris...

Publication
Vienna, 1669 [and] 1670.

Description
A pair of engraved wall maps on 12 and 16 sheets respectively, the map on 12 sheets extending north to south from Passau to the Monastery at Admont, and west to east from Mondsee to Seitenstetten, vignette views of mining, lakes, water mills, and castles, key noting cities, castles, market towns, and churches; the map on 16 sheets extending north to south from Moravia to Stiria, and west to east from the town of Steyr to Prespurg (Bratislava), vignette views of the Danube from Vienna looking west, and the royal residence in Vienna, upper right and left respectively, and fine cartouches lower left and right, some minor loss to corners of a few sheets, each housed within modern quarter red morocco solander boxes.

Dimensions
1250 by 1180mm (49.25 by 46.5 inches) and 1220 by 1750mm (48 by 69 inches).

References
BL Maps * 28280.(1.); FR BNF 40741764; Munich University 0001/2 Mapp. 88; UB Augsburg 02/IV.3.2.16; FR BNF40741749. Johann Georg Keyssler, Travels through Germany, (1756); William Warner Bishop and Andrew Keogh, Essays offered to Herbert Putnam by his colleagues and friends on his thirtieth anniversary as Librarian of Congress, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929).

These two wall maps would set the standard for the mapping of Austria until the middle of the next century.

The map of Upper Austria is beautifully engraved by Melchior Küssel. To the corners and sides of the map are topographical vignettes, together with depictions of mines and water mills. Below the plan is a scale bar flanked by two putti, together with surveying tools and globes.

The map of Lower Austria is dedicated to Leopold I (1640-1705), whose cameo, along with that of his royal consort, is depicted above an image of the Imperial Palace in Vienna. The palace would be destroyed during the Turkish siege of 1683. To the upper right corner is a view of the Danube from Vienna looking west, with a key naming the towns and castles. Below the map are two fine cartouches together with a depiction of Vischer surveying using a plane table, with a chain, compass, and notebooks by his feet. Behind him stand three horses, and an assistant who holds up the key to the map.

Georg Matthäus Vischer (1628-1696) was an Austrian cartographer and clergyman. It is unclear how Vischer came to acquire his cartographic training, but by the time he became a parish priest at Leonstein during the 1660s, he was known well enough to be asked to complete a survey of Upper Austria. He was granted leave by his bishop and began in 1667. The following year he submitted the first draft of the map, which was approved, and then engraved by Küssel. The following year the map was published and Vischer began the mapping of Lower Austria, which, in turn, would be published in 1670. He would go on to publish a map of Styria, and topographical books of Lower and Upper Austria. Although his works were well received, he failed to gain all the promised remuneration from the noblemen and gentry of Austria - not an uncommon problem - and was left with a considerable amount of debt. So much so, in fact, that he would die penniless in 1696, having been forced to sell all his books and instruments.

Both maps are mentioned in glowing terms by Johann Georg Keyssler in his work 'Travels Through Germany' (1756):

"George Matthew Vischer, a Tirolese, and a minister of Leonstain [sic] in Upper Austria, assisted by one Russel [sic], an engraver, published in the year 1669 a very beautiful map of Upper Austria in twelve sheets. In 1670 they also published with the same accuracy and beauty a map of Lower Austria in sixteen sheets."

They are also referenced, nearly 250 years later, by Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence Martin who worked on the new borders of Austria and Germany marked out in the Treaty of Versailles. He would later, from 1924-46, be head of the map department at the Library of Congress. He wrote:

"Do you suppose the seventeenth century geographer dreamed that his map would be used by an itinerant twentieth century geographer from the wilderness of North America, doing geographical fieldwork in His Sacred Majesty's Archduchy of Austria, traveling in the uniform of the army of the United States of America, and reporting to a great Peace Conference in Paris about where the boundaries of the proud and venerable Austria might be? I hope maps of mine will live as long!"

He goes on to say, "But this shows what maps can be used for. Maps, multi-shaped, parti-colored, dust gathering objects, the bane of every librarian's existence, which he has to keep - they do have serious use": a sentiment that we would like to endorse.

The first state of a state no more

21 **WIT, Frederick de**

Belgii XVII Provinciarum Tabula
Per F. De Wit.

Publication
Amsterdam, [c1670].

Description
Engraved wall map on nine sheets, fine original hand-colour, joined and mounted on linen, border to left and right of coats of arms of the Seventeen Provinces.

Dimensions
1524 by 1220mm (60 by 48 inches).

References
H.A.M. van der Heijden, Old Maps of the Netherlands, (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1998), pp.478-484; Cornelis Koeman and Marco van Egmond, 'Surveying and Official Mapping in the Low Countries, 1500-ca.1670' in David Woodward (ed.), The History of Cartography, vol.3 part 2, Cartography in the European Renaissance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp.1246-1295; Schilder, Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica I, II.12.

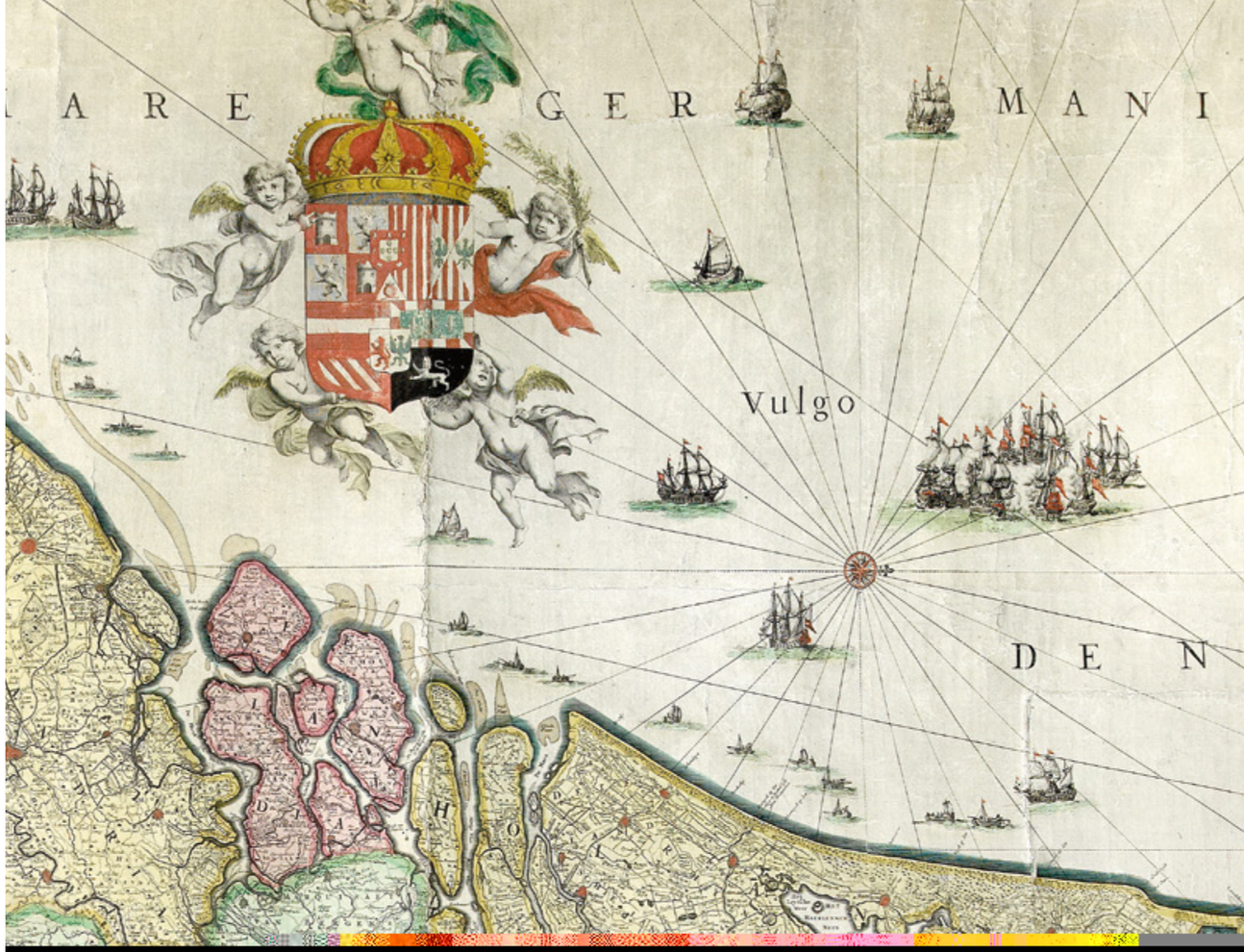
A rare survival from the Dutch Golden Age: the true first state of Frederick de Wit's important nine-sheet wall map of the Seventeen Provinces, reflecting a lost geographical reality.

This map is a piece of cartographical nostalgia. The title of de Wit's work references the "XVII Provinciarum", the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries. By the time this map was published, however, the Seventeen Provinces had long ceased to exist. In 1648 the Republic of the United Provinces and Habsburg Spain signed the Treaty of Münster, which recognised the Republic's independence. The Seventeen Provinces would never be a coherent territory again, but continued to be represented on maps as a single entity well into the eighteenth century (Koeman and van Egmond). For de Wit, printing in independent Amsterdam, this may have reflected a lingering hope that the provinces would be reunited once again in a republic; for those publishers in the Spanish Netherlands, it was politically inexpedient to promote the Spanish loss of territory.

The cartography of the map is particularly meticulous: for Schilder it provides "for the first time a modern and detailed picture of the area of the Seventeen Provinces". It shows the road system, and even the peateries, particularly important in a period when peat was a major fuel source.

The side margins are decorated with putti holding shields showing the coats-of-arms of the Seventeen Provinces, interwoven with a garland. To the upper left of the map there is a vignette of a stone plinth flanked by Teuton and Roman figures, with the legend and list of settlements in each province on it. The plinth is surmounted by a bust of Willem Hendrik, later William III of Orange, with a dedication from de Wit. The text suggests that it was dedicated before Willem Hendrik became Stadtholder in 1672, providing an approximate date (Schilder). At the lower right corner, the scale bar is contained within a plinth surrounded by surveyors.

Previously, only one state of this map has been identified, of which two copies are known: one uncoloured in nine loose sheets in Leiden University Library which lacks the decorative border and text sheets; and a mounted copy at Le Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes. Comparison of the present map with the Leiden copy, however, shows two differences. The Leiden copy has a small scale bar and an engraved compass rose at the middle of the lower edge, absent in this copy, and it contains more detail in the marshes of southern Brabant. These indicate that this is in fact an earlier state, and so the true first state of the map.



The European gaze turns beyond its borders

22 **BLAEU, Willem**

[Set of the maps of the four continents].

Publication
Bologna, Pietro Todeschi, 1673.

Description
Four engraved wall maps, each map four sheets joined, hand-coloured, each with separate decorative border and letterpress text printed separately and joined.

Dimensions
c1206 by 1701mm (47.5 by 67 inches) each.

References
Burden, Mapping of America, p.192; J. Denuce, 'Les sources de la carte murale d'Afrique de Blaeu, de 1644' in 15th International Geographical Congress, vol.2 sect.IV, Geographie historique et histoire de la geographie (Leiden, 1938); Schilder, Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica V, II.3.d.2.

The Blaeu set of four wall maps of the known continents represents the pinnacle of Dutch Golden Age decorative cartography. Wall maps occupied a prominent place in Dutch culture, as indicators of affluence and intellectual curiosity, as demonstrated by their appearance in several of Johannes Vermeer's paintings. The leading scholar and scientist, Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), remarked how he employed his own set of Blaeu's wall maps of the continents as a tool to enlighten his children: "To encourage them even more, I had the four parts of the world by Willem Blaeu mounted in my entrance hall, where they often played, in order to provide them with a fixed image of the world and its division."

America
Blaeu's depiction of the New World was "one of the most influential maps of America ever made" (Burden). He used the voyages of Samuel de Champlain and Pierre Gua de Monts as the basis for the coast of Nova Scotia, while New England is still tentative, presumably reflecting the lack of accurate information from English settlers. The width of South America is exaggerated.

The title cartouche at the lower right is supported by the first Europeans to reach the New World: Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci. Below are portrait medallions of four contemporary circumnavigators: Ferdinand Magellan, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Thomas Cavendish, and Olivier Van Noort. To the left, the King of Spain rides over the Atlantic followed by a procession of marine gods on the way to visit Spanish colonies.

Africa
Blaeu drew on the cartography of Abraham Ortelius for northern Africa, other Dutch sources for regions south of Sierra Leone, and work by the Portuguese cartographer Sebastião Lopes for the rest of the continent. Blaeu's wall map "seems to have been an original work, independent of the maps in [Blaeu's] atlas" (Denuce). The imaginary Lake Niger is shown as the source of the river of the same name, which combines with the River Senegal. The swathes of land unknown to Europeans in the heart of the continent is based on Ptolemaic maps, including the mythical Mountains of the Moon, and Ortelius's maps of the territory of the legendary Christian kingdom of Prester John.

Asia
Blaeu had a distinct advantage when mapping Asia: access to the collections of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and of Petrus Plancius, who, by way of espionage, acquired manuscripts from Bartolemeo de Lasso in Lisbon. Sri Lanka and the Maldives are derived from Linschoten, and Java and Bali show advanced information from

Willem Lodewijksz's map during his recent voyage with de Houtman. Japan is derived from Ortelius' 1595 map. The mythical Strait of Anian, the gateway to the Northwest Passage, appears in the northeast, as does the legendary ruler the Great Cham in his capital in China.

Novaya Zemyla in the Arctic reflects the recent voyages of Willem Barentsz in his attempt to find a Northeast Passage. A diagram accompanied by text on the left side of the Asia map explain how a user would be able to calculate the distance between two points on the map with a compass, demonstrating both its practical use as well as decorative value.

Europe

The large cartouche features Hessel Gerritsz's double-hemispheric map, surmounted by the arms of the city of Amsterdam, a reference to Blaeu's official privileges. It explains Blaeu's position on the prime meridian, in which he rejects the magnetic declination method of determining longitude advocated by some of his contemporaries. The continuing difficulties of determining longitude at sea are partly why Blaeu has extended the Mediterranean too far horizontally.

Blaeu mainly draws on the work of Gerard Mercator and Dutch manuscript sources. Blaeu has included the imaginary island Friesland in Scandinavia and misplaced the Frobisher Strait.

Each map is decorated with borders of city views (often based on the views of Braun and Hogenberg) and vignettes showing inhabitants of each continent. They also have an extensive letterpress text attached detailing the geography and history of the areas shown.

Blaeu's maps were very popular, to the extent that they were pirated in Italy and France. This edition of Blaeu's maps was engraved by Pietro Todeschi in Bologna in the early 1670s and published in 1673, probably by Giuseppe Longhi (Schilder). Very little is known about Todeschi, but he is known to have re-engraved several maps of Dutch cartographers; Longhi is known to have published a wall map of Italy so would have had the resources to publish the Blaeus.

It is highly unusual for wall maps of this period to survive, especially a complete set. Without the protection of covers, these maps were mounted on canvas and exposed to light, dirt, and other destructive factors.

Schilder records only four complete institutional sets of this Bologna edition of Blaeu's maps, three of which lack the text: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; Royal Geographical Society, London; Società Geografica Italiana, Rome. The only other complete set with text was formerly in the collection of the Koninklijke Hollandsche Lloyd in Amsterdam, and is now in a private collection.

NOVA ET ACV. RATA TOTIVS EVROPÆ TABVLA. auct: G. I. Blaeu
EVROPA
ASIÆ PARS
OCCIDENTALIS
MARE ATLANTICVM
AFRICÆ PARS

NOVA ET ACV. RATA TOTIVS TABVLA. auct G. I. ASIÆ Blaeu
ASIA
AFRICA
PARS
MARE DI INDIA

NOVA ET ACV. RATA TOTIVS AMERICÆ TABVLA. auct: G. I. Blaeu
MAR DEL NOT
MAR DEL

NOVA ET ACV. RATA TOTIVS AFRICÆ TABVLA. auct: G. I. Blaeu
DELL AFRICA
ASIAE PARS
AFRICA
MARE ARABICUM
INDICUM
OCEANUS AETHIOPICUS
OCEANUS ORIENTALIS

A previously unrecorded state of de Wit's monumental wall map of Europe

23 **WIT, Frederick de**

Nova et Accurata Totius Europae Tabula.

Publication
Amsterdam, Frederick de Wit, 1700 [engraved c1660/63].

Description
Engraved wall map printed on six sheets, joined, letterpress description of Europe in Spanish at foot, incorporating a decorative woodcut initial, xylograph Latin title in a panel on slips at the top decorative border at the sides, fine original hand-colour, some restoration, a few repairs to tears and small holes.

Dimensions
1210 by 1660mm (47.75 by 65.25 inches).

References
Holstein LIII, De Wit 83; J. Werner, Inde Witte Pascaert: Kaarten en Atlassen van Frederick de Wit uitgever te Amsterdam ca. 1630-1706 (Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliothek, 1994) 19 (same copy; see also pp. 22-24 and 66); Frederik Caspar Wieder, ed., Monumenta cartographica (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1925-1933), 73, map 90 [1672 edition].

The third edition of a rare and magnificent wall map of Europe, Turkey, and the entire Mediterranean Sea, at a scale of about 1:5,000,000, beautifully decorated and with 18 smaller views and maps. Madrid and Moscow (at the foot on either side) are plans, while the others are profiles or bird's-eye views.

Hollstein records only one other example of the present edition; a different issue, with the text in Latin and with views of Nürenberg and Vienna instead of the maps of Madrid and Moscow. Hollstein locates two copies of the 1672 edition, but it would appear that no example of the first, 1660/63, has survived. The decorations for the present map have been extensively revised from the 1672 edition, with a different title-strip and drapery instead of garlands for the geodesic cartouche, to which de Wit has added putti, coats-of-arms, and supporting figures below. De Wit's additions also show some revisions to the cartographic content, for example in the eastern Arctic. The other known example of the 1700 edition is rather damaged and is lacking de Wit's signature at the end of the title, and the title to the view of "Cracovia".

Frederick de Wit (1629/30-1706) and Nicolas Visscher took over Blaeu and Jansson's roles as the leading Dutch cartographers in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. De Wit's wall maps in particular have been called "the most beautiful of the seventeenth century" (Bagrow). The present map shows the coats-of-arms of "Germania" (oddly represented by the Imperial eagle with the impaled arms of Austria and Castile), Spain (represented by the arms of the long-dead King Charles I, that is, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V), France, "Anglia" (with the arms of England quartered with those of Scotland and Ireland), Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Portugal. All of these decorative shields were added for this edition.

The map owes its basic concept, approximate format, stereographic projection, and note on geodesy to Willem Janszoon Blaeu's 1608 'Nova et Accurata Totius Europæ', which was published in at least seven editions prior to 1657. However, de Wit's first edition was more directly based on Joan Blaeu's 'Europæ Nova Descriptio', which Blaeu printed from the revised plates of Hondius' map of 1613 or later and which did not copy the cartographic content of the 1608 map. All three show a grid of parallels and meridians, with the prime meridian running through Tenerife. De Wit's map extends further north (to about 75° N latitude) than Blaeu's of 1608, including even Bear Island (Bjornoya) in Svalbard. The city views and maps are not based on Blaeu's. De Wit is believed to have first published his series of four continental maps between 1660 and 1663 to accompany his world map, but revised them in 1672, and again for the present third edition in 1700. De Wit's title cartouche with figures, at the foot of the main map, is wholly independent of his predecessors, and he made other changes in the decoration and cartographic content, as noted above. The present example, and that at the Amsterdam University Library, are both dated 1700 (at the foot of the main map), and we have not noticed any differences in the six map sheets, title strip, or the four half sheets with 16 city views. However, the letterpress description of Europe in Latin in the Amsterdam example is replaced here with a Spanish translation (drop title "Nueva Descripcion de la Europa" and imprint "En Amsterdam, en casa de Frederico de With, vive en el Calver-Straat ... en la emeña del Pascaart Blanco"). Moreover, the letterpress text in the Amsterdam copy is flanked by views of Nürnberg and Vienna (printed on separate pieces of paper mounted below the four half sheets with the other 16 views, eight on each side), while the present copy has instead maps of Madrid and Moscow (all four appeared in at least some copies of the 1672 edition). De Wit printed numerous city maps and views in this style, with six or eight to a sheet, matching egg and dart borders on the sides, and matching corner decorations. However, some of the plates were apparently adapted for use with the present wall map, because the maps of Madrid and Moscow are found at the top of a sheet of six, while their corner decorations in the present map are designed for their position at the foot of the column of views (in both versions, the map of Moscow departs from the style of the others in the placement of its name and panel).

NOVA ET ACCURATA TOTIUS EUROPÆ TABULA emendata a F. de Wit.
OCEANUS SEPTENTRIONALIS
OCEANUS
DEUCALEDONI
US
vulgo

It would not be until 1733 that Philibert Orrey, Louis XV's controller general, would order Jacques Cassini (Cassini II), to resume the triangulation of the entire nation. Jacques was joined in his endeavour by his son Cassini de Thury (Cassini III), and, by 1744, the triangulation of the country was complete.

With the framework complete, in 1746 Louis charged Cassini III with fleshing out the survey's bare bones. Cassini calculated that the survey would take 18 years to complete, and consist of 180 maps at a cost of 4,000 livres each. Unfortunately, Cassini's estimates were woefully optimistic. By 1754, only two maps had been published, and Cassini received the news that Louis was to end the financing of the survey. This forced him to turn to the private sector, and with Louis' backing he set up the 'Société de la Carte de France', which consisted of 50 shareholders, each of whom was asked to contribute 1,600 livres annually. This, combined with a public subscription in 1758, and a royal proclamation of 1764, demanding that unsurveyed regions contribute to the survey's costs, kept the project on a secure financial footing. Although Cassini III had secured the map's future, he would not see its completion. In 1784, at the age of 70, he died of smallpox. The completion of the great project was left to his son Jean-Dominique, Comte de Cassini (Cassini IV).

By 1790 all of France had been surveyed, and only 15 maps were left to be published. However, the shareholders would not see any profit from the enterprise. The National Convention nationalized the survey in September 1793, with the regional maps taken out of circulation and the plates confiscated by the Dépôt de la Guerre. This left the project in limbo, and it was not until the intervention of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1804, that the project was finally resumed. In 1815, the final sheets of Brittany were completed, thus bringing an end to one of the greatest surveys in history. The map would not be superseded until the publication of the military staff map of 1866.

CARTE GEOGRAPH DE LA FRANCE PAR Mr CASSINI
TOM. I.
TOM. II.
TOM. III.
TOM. IV.
TOM. V.
TOM. VI.
TOM. VII.
TOM. VIII.
TOM. IX.
TOM. X.
TOM. XI.
TOM. XII.
TOM. XIII.
TOM. XIV.
TOM. XV.
TOM. XVI.
TOM. XVII.
TOM. XVIII.
TOM. XIX.
TOM. XX.
TOM. XXI.
TOM. XXII.
TOM. XXIII.
TOM. XXIV.
TOM. XXV.
TOM. XXVI.
TOM. XXVII.
TOM. XXVIII.
TOM. XXIX.
TOM. XXX.
TOM. XXXI.
TOM. XXXII.
TOM. XXXIII.
TOM. XXXIV.
TOM. XXXV.
TOM. XXXVI.
TOM. XXXVII.
TOM. XXXVIII.

The English learn about their European neighbours

25 **WALLIS, Edward**

European Travellers an Instructive Game.

Publication
London, Pub[lishe]d By E. Wallis, 42, Skinner Street, [c1845].

Description
Hand-coloured engraving with aquatint, dissected and mounted on linen, folding into original green cloth covers, blind tooled with title gilt, original ties.

Dimensions
500 by 660mm (19.75 by 26 inches).

References
BL Maps 60.b.29.

This scarce and beautiful instructional game was to be played as a lotto, each player moving around the finely detailed map which is crowded with vignettes of European life and wildlife.

The game aimed to teach an English audience about their European neighbours. The game abounds with details of Europe's cultures, industries, topography, and natural history, from paddle steamers plying their trade in the Mediterranean and Atlantic; whales and polar bears in the Arctic sea, to bull fighting in Spain, Russians travelling by horse-drawn troikas, and Germans producing porcelain. Games of this period are rare, particularly in such fine condition.

“The Dogs of War are loose in Europe”

27 [ANONYMOUS]

“Hark! Hark! the Dogs do Bark.” with note by Walter Emanuel.

Publication
London, G.W. Bacon & Co, 1914.

Description
Chromolithographed map, laid on wood, cut into a jigsaw, housed in original box, small piece of box missing upper right.

Dimensions
530 by 705mm. (20.75 by 27.75 inches).

An humorous serio-comic map of Europe in jigsaw form, showing a satirical depiction of the beginning of the First World War.

The principal combatants are portrayed in canine form: a British bulldog, French poodle, German dachshund and an Austro-Hungarian mongrel. The Royal Navy is controlled by John Bull in the costume of a Jack Tar. To the left, Russia is portrayed as a steamroller driven by the Tsar, who has already trapped the tail of the Austrian mongrel, and threatens to crush all before him. The mongrel is also being stung by a Serbian hornet and is leashed to the German dachshund, who is having his nose bitten by the British bulldog. Below the fighting dogs lies Italy as a soldier with gun in hand, deciding which side to join. To the right, Greece stares menacingly with dagger drawn at the Ottoman Empire, who holds the gateway to the Black Sea in one hand and German ships in the other. A German dachshund puppy sits behind him on a leash sporting a fez, a reference to the 1914 Ottoman-German Alliance. There is an extensive note at the bottom, outlining the events leading up to the beginning of the war, and concluding defiantly “Peace has gone to the Dogs for the present - until a satisfactory muzzle has been found for that Dachshund.” The note is by Walter Emanuel (1869-1915), a regular writer for the satirical magazine Punch.

The artist responsible for the piece is unknown. Emanuel was known for his anthropomorphic books about dogs produced in collaboration with the artist Cecil Aldin, including ‘The Dogs of War’ (1906). Although the title is similar to the present work, this was in fact the biography of a Norfolk spaniel.

The despatch box of Winston Churchill, the architect of modern Europe

28 **[CHURCHILL, Winston]**

[Despatch Box No.27].

Publication
Wickwar & Co., [c1911-1915].

Description
A George V diced red ram's leather over pine parliamentary despatch box with brass carry swing handle to rear, and recessed brass swing handle to top, 2 lever brass lock with later key, four black morocco labels bearing royal insignias, and the beveled and roll-tooled top stamped 'The First Lord of the Admiralty' and 'The Rt. Hon. Winston Spencer Churchill', the interior lined in black morocco, with raised walls and locating pins, stamped Wickwar & Co. 11, York St. S.W. [London].

Dimensions
160 by 470 by 310mm
(6.25 by 18.5 by 12.25 inches).

Sir Winston Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty (1911–15).

In October 1911, Churchill was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty and continued in the post into the First World War. While serving in this position, he put strong emphasis on modernisation, including the use of aeroplanes in combat, and even took flying lessons himself. He launched a programme to replace coal power with oil power, and played a central part in the early development of the tank. He was an enthusiastic supporter of offensive naval policy, first against Germany, then against Turkey. As one of the political and military engineers of the disastrous Gallipoli landings in the Dardanelles, Churchill took much of the blame for the fiasco, and when Prime Minister Asquith formed an all-party coalition government, the Conservatives demanded his demotion as the price for entry.

Government Despatch Boxes
The famous red boxes used by royalty and government have transported state documents safely since the 1840s. William Gladstone's battered box is sometimes still, famously, used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and held aloft by him on Budget Day. The red leather reputedly comes from the scarlet used in the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha family armorials and was introduced by Prince Albert as a distinctive colour. They were built to be durable and are still made from ram's leather laid on pine with a handle on top, to ensure they were safely locked when picked up.

A similar despatch box, issued to Churchill as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1921-22, was included in the sale of his daughter Mary's effects (Daughter of History: Mary Soames and the Legacy of Churchill, Sotheby's, London, 17 December 2014, lot 68), and realised £158,500.

Provenance
1. Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill (1874-1965), statesman and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom 1940-1945 and 1951-1955.
2. Randolph Frederick Edward Spencer-Churchill (1911-1968), journalist and Conservative Member of Parliament for Preston from 1940-1945.
3. Sir Martin Gilbert (1936-2015), biographer of Sir Winston Churchill.
4. Private collection, Oxford, UK.

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