

THE HISTORY OF CARTOGRAPHY

VOLUME FOUR

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2.1

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Cartography in the European Renaissance

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Cartography in the European Enlightenment

5

Cartography in the Nineteenth Century

6

Cartography in the Twentieth Century

THE HISTORY OF CARTOGRAPHY

VOLUME FOUR

Cartography in the European Enlightenment

Edited by

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and

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| HC 1 | <i>The History of Cartography</i> , vol. 1, <i>Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean</i> , ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) | HC 2.3 | <i>The History of Cartography</i> , vol. 2, bk. 3, <i>Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies</i> , ed. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) |
| HC 2.1 | <i>The History of Cartography</i> , vol. 2, bk. 1, <i>Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies</i> , ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) | HC 3 | <i>The History of Cartography</i> , vol. 3, <i>Cartography in the European Renaissance</i> , ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) |
| HC 2.2 | <i>The History of Cartography</i> , vol. 2, bk. 2, <i>Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies</i> , ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) | HC 6 | <i>The History of Cartography</i> , vol. 6, <i>Cartography in the Twentieth Century</i> , ed. Mark Monmonier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015) |

Geographical Mapping in the Italian States. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, geographical mapping of Italy remained largely restricted to printed images, generally included in large atlases such as Giovanni Antonio Magini's, published in Italy or by printers elsewhere in Europe (initially Flemish and Dutch and subsequently French). Magini's map of Italy (1609) was followed by his atlas of regional maps, *Italia*, published posthumously in 1620 (Sereni 2007, 843; Woodward 2007, 791–92); thereafter, Italian cartographers did not construct any more innovative depictions of the peninsula. Only in the early decades of the eighteenth century were astronomical observations and geodetic measurements made by French and Italian scientists used to update existing cartography. Surprisingly, this task did not fall to the most prolific Italian cartographer of the day, the Venetian Vincenzo Coronelli, nor to Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola (*L'Italia con le sue poste e strade principali*, 1695). Rather, French geographers used the scant documentary sources and newly available geodetic and astronomic data to construct images that achieved a level of accuracy immediately hailed as innovative. In 1720 Guillaume Delisle produced *L'Italie dressée sur les observations de M^{rs}: de l'Académie royale des sciences*. Then Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville produced an even more influential work: *L'Italie publiée sous les auspices de Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans premier prince du Sang* (1743), which established the model for the remaining century (see fig. 64). More precise in measurement and content with increasingly accurate depiction of borders and other topographical features, these French images of the peninsula and its regions enjoyed great commercial success. Even in Italy, enterprising printers and booksellers in Venice and Bassano, such as Paolo Santini and Francesco Santini, Antonio Zatta, and the Remondini family, published editions of these maps.

The slow development of small-scale cartography in Italy may be easily explained: prior to unification, the various individual states made no public investment in commissioning a comprehensive geographical image of the peninsula based on geodetic surveying and celestial observations. In fact, there were hardly any astronomical observatories that could be put to such use; the observatory in Pisa was founded in 1739, followed by establishments in Florence (1750 and 1775), Milan (1760–64), and Padua (ca. 1777). In each case it took years for the observatory to become fully operational. Thus cartographers compiling medium- to small-scale maps faced insurmountable difficulties. Practices in the seventeenth century had changed little from the sixteenth: “the cartographer was fortunate, of course, if he could get access to more refined and detailed information, to restricted government documents such as those that [at the end of

the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century] the dukes of Mantua probably made available to Italy's greatest cartographer, Giovanni Antonio Magini, when he was working on his atlas of Italy.” Furthermore, such “state maps—intended for military or political/administrative use—were primarily geographical in nature and had been compiled from partial surveys carried out without the systematic application of criteria. This meant that any attempt to combine them to form a small-scale cartographic image of more extensive areas of territory ran the risk of falling into substantial approximations” (Mangani 2001, 364–65). In effect, the numerous cartographic depictions of the regions of Italy that appeared in the map collections printed in Italy and abroad during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued to rely on works produced in the sixteenth century or slightly later, explaining their mediocre achievement in topographical detail and metric accuracy.

To the middle of the eighteenth century, in all the small states of preunification Italy, “even the most expert and skilled cartographers [produced] an account of geographical reality in which there are clear, macroscopic geometrical distortions that are the result of the ad hoc methods adopted when taking on-site surveys of terrain; surveys of the countryside were based on direct or reported observations that, however careful or painstaking, totally failed to meet the necessary methodological criteria” (Arca 2004, 103). Only at the height of the Enlightenment would these criteria be applied with the necessary mathematical rigor.

Defects and distortions are clear even in those regional cartographic products considered the best of their day, such as the *Carta generale de stati di sua altezza reale*, commissioned in the early 1670s by Carlo Emanuele II of Savoy, which provided an exceptional account of Savoyard Piedmont for the seventeenth century. Constructed by the military engineer Giovanni Tommaso Borghio, engraved by Giovanni Maria Belgrano, and published in Amsterdam in 1680 by the heirs of the printer Joan Blaeu, it is sometimes referred to as the “Carta di Madama Reale” because it was published at the behest of the duke's widow, Maria Giovanna Battista (Sereni 2007, 851–52) (see fig. 108). Significantly, the original manuscript is preserved in the classified portion of the state archive of Savoy (Turin, Archivio di Stato, Carte topografiche segrete, 18 A III rosso). Drawing on many large-scale official cartographic images available within the state administration, the map was also the fruit of actual on-site surveying carried out from 1675 onward using compass and *traguardo* (sighting vane), though not from the application of trigonometric measuring techniques. The scale (ca. 1:192,000) is large enough to allow substantial topographical detail, while

the mountains are rendered in perspective view with lateral shading.

While Borgonio's map was immediately adopted as an instrument of state administration, it also expressed the prestige of the ruling dynasty. It was reengraved as late as 1772 by Giacomo Stagnone and published, with some necessary updates, under the title *Carta corografica degli Stati di S. M. il Re di Sardegna data in luce dall'ingegnere Borgonio in 1683 [sic] corretta ed accresciuta nell'anno 1772* (Sereni 2007, 852, fig. 33.11). This revised version, recognized as the best available account of the chorography of Piedmont, functioned as an instrument of political administration throughout the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods until the first years of the Restoration; it played a role in the large *Carte générale du théâtre de la guerre en Italie* prepared by Louis Albert Guislain Bacler d'Albe in two parts, 1798–1802 (Pelletier 2001, 89, 114; Massabò Ricci and Carassi 1987, 277n15).

Two other contemporary regional geographies also reflect Borgonio's work in certain ways, being based on the original (though partial) on-site surveying and using strikingly modern systems of representation. Produced by José Chafrión, a Catalan military engineer employed by the Milanese government, these maps were published in Milan as *Mappa geografica esattissima delle Provincie del Tortonese, Pauese, Alessandrino* (ca. 1680) and *Carta de la Rivera de Genova con sus verdaderos confines y caminos* (1685) (Quaini 2007, 859–65, fig. 34.7). Compared to contemporary cartographic depictions, the maps display a greater degree of accuracy and unusually modern techniques for rendering topographical features, such as the quasi-realistic depiction of the orography (Barozzi 1981; Quaini 2007, 863–64).

It could be argued that until the second half of the eighteenth century, Borgonio and Chafrión were the only mapmakers who gave a sufficiently detailed account of the areas they mapped (Piedmont and Liguria respectively), doing some justice to the complex array of numerous river basins and valleys of both regions. "Due to the stimulus to further knowledge exerted by the needs of war, the language of cartography was becoming not only more precise but also was adopting more complex symbolism: each inhabited center is classified according to size and military role; the navigability and fords of each watercourse are identified; woodlands as well as 'main roads' are indicated" (Quaini 1994b, unpaginated [4]).

The *Stati del serenissimo signor duca di Modena in Italia* (1746, ca. 1:200,000), prepared by Domenico Vandelli and engraved by Andrea Bolzoni, "both in terms of completeness of information and technical skill, [is] the best and most detailed account of the Este duchy . . . produced since Marco Antonio Pasi's manuscript map

of 1571" (Federzoni 2006, 186). The *Corso del Po per la Lombardia* (1703), prepared by Agostino Cerruti, a sergeant major in the papal guard, has been described as "the first modern chorographical map of the Po valley identified as both a geographical and human entity, . . . [a river] navigable from Piedmont to the sea, it constitutes the axis of political and economic life" (Milanesi 1990, 102).

Southern Italy was described in the less innovative *Carte de' Regni di Napoli e di Sicilia* (1692), an atlas by Antonio Bulifon (republished by his grandson, Luigi, in 1734). The atlas included a general map, *Accuratissima e nuova delineazione del Regno di Napoli*, and various regional maps prepared and engraved by the Milan-born Francesco Cassiano de Silva (Valerio 1993, 67–71, 73n2). Agatino Daidone printed a map of Sicily in 1714–18 based on some partial on-site measurements and original data; Antonio Bova drew upon Daidone's map for his own, published in Palermo in 1745, which included clear improvements and an inset map of the city of Palermo. In Bova's work "there is a detailed and full depiction of the hydrographical networks [while] the account of the orography is rather imprecise, being rendered with groups of hills that do not reflect the real distribution of the mountains. . . . However, the characteristics of the coastline are well rendered, with the mouths of rivers, peninsulas, and islands off the coast, though with just a simple indication of archipelagoes. Great care and attention are paid to the depiction of inhabited centers" (Ioli Gigante 2001, 275–77, quote on 276).

The manuscript depiction of Sicily produced initially at a scale of 1:40,000 by the Austrian baron Samuel von Schmettau, military engineer, has attracted some close study (Dufour 1995, 1999). Schmettau was sent by Prince Eugene of Savoy as quartermaster general to Sicily when the Habsburgs replaced the House of Savoy as rulers of the island. There from 1719 to 1720 he led a group of six topographical engineers to survey the island at a scale of ca. 1:40,000, using triangulation techniques and astronomical observations to establish latitudes of particular places (Dufour 1995, 25–29). Upon returning to Vienna in 1721, Schmettau supervised Lieutenant Michel (Miguel) Angelo de Blasco in the reduction of the original survey drawings to a large manuscript map, ca. 1:80,000, titled "Nova et accurata Siciliae. Regionum, Urbium, Castellorum, Pagorum, Montium, Sylvarum, Planitierum, Viarum, Situum . . . Descriptio universalis," in two copies. One copy was prepared on twenty-eight sheets for the emperor (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, a.B.141, reproduced in Dufour 1995) and the other on thirty sheets for the council of war (Vienna, Kriegsarchiv) (Valerio 1993, 316–18; 2014, 68–70; Valerio and Spagnolo 2014, 2:409–13,

no. 201). Clearly reflecting its military origins but also displaying economic interests, the map shows fortresses, coastal landing points and anchorages, the entire network of roads and inhabited settlements, and strategic woodlands (Ioli Gigante 1999, 20–22; Dufour 1995, 30–43; 1999, 83–85, pl. on 123–28, 131–36). Shortly after its preparation in 1722, the large manuscript map was reduced to ca. 1:312,000 and printed on two large sheets (fig. 305). It displayed the iconography of conquest with the inclusion of images of the fleet of the Austrian alliance, whose attacks seized the island from Spanish control. The plates were reprinted without the battle scenes around 1735; a later version, with additions, was printed on four sheets by Gian Giuseppe Orzel in about 1778 as *Descrizione geografica del Regno di Sicilia e sue isole adiacenti* (Valerio and Spagnolo 2014, 2:435–37, no. 219; 2:483–85, no. 250).

“The eighteenth century marked a clear turning point in the history of Italian cartography, with a move from pregeodetic to geodetic cartography. This shift resulted in a radical change not only in the operative procedures employed in drawing up a map, but also in the theoretical bases for the science of cartography itself.” During the second half of the Enlightenment, “Italy would see the rapid establishment of cartographic procedures based upon application of geometrical frameworks for high-precision surveying. This marked the triumph of the procedure of triangulation, which henceforward would become the principal method for the geometrization of territory within Italy” (Arca 2004, 103).

Aside from Schmettau’s survey in Sicily, the first examples of geodetic cartography are the printed map of the Papal States (*Nuova carta geografica dello Stato Ecclesiastico*, 1755) by the Jesuit Christopher Maire, based on the survey and observations by Maire and Ruggiero Giuseppe Bosovich (see fig. 90), and the body of cartographic depictions drawn up and printed by the Padua scientist Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni from ca. 1770 onward. Working on his own, Maire also prepared the detailed map of the Legazione di Urbino (1757), a treatment noteworthy for its accurate delineation of internal and external boundaries and its detailed depiction of the road network (Mangani and Mariano 1998, 194–95).

During his long career, Rizzi Zannoni produced many important medium- to small-scale geographical works. The five-sheet *Carta geografica della Sicilia prima o sia Regno di Napoli* (finished by Rizzi Zannoni in 1769, ca. 1:400,000) was a project resolutely promoted by Ferdinando Galiani, an influential figure in the Neapolitan Enlightenment. Compiling a wide range of published and manuscript material, Rizzi Zannoni drew the map in Paris. Engraving began in 1767 and final publication brought great success, due not only to its elegance, leg-

ibility, and convenient multisheet format, but also to its wealth of information and relative precision. Twenty-five years after d’Anville’s *Italie*, “the cartography of southern Italy now took a decisive step forward. It would not have been possible to do better without undertaking direct measurements on the ground” (Valerio 1993, 78–98, quote on 97).

Rizzi Zannoni’s second achievement comprised *La gran carta del Padovano* (see fig. 422) and its companion, the precise *Pianta della città di Padova* (see fig. 908), both prepared between 1778 and 1781. Though the large-scale *Gran carta* (ca. 1:20,000) remained unfinished (in 1780–81, only four of the envisaged twelve sheets were published in Padua, engraved by Antonio Buttafoco [Buttafogo] and Giovanni Valerio Pasquali), it nevertheless exemplifies “truly modern topographical surveying” and must be considered “the first example in Italy of a large-scale topographical operation based on trigonometric procedures” (Valerio 1993, 112–16, quote on 116).

In April 1781 Rizzi Zannoni moved to Naples in the service of the Bourbon monarch Ferdinand IV. There, with the help of a few assistants (including Antonio Moretti and Giovanni Ottone di Berger), he began the demanding project of mapping the entire kingdom at a scale of 1:114,545. The most impressive cartographic undertaking in eighteenth-century Italy, the *Atlante geografico del Regno di Napoli*, necessarily involved astronomical observations and trigonometric measurements. Between 1781 and 1786, Rizzi Zannoni set up an entire triangulation network, which may not have exemplified high-precision criteria but did provide the geometrical basis for the atlas, whose thirty-one plates were published in Naples from 1788 to 1812 (Arca 2004, 104; Cantile 2004, 106) (see fig. 270). Beginning with Calabria, the first plates were engraved primarily by the artist Giuseppe Guerra in 1787–89. However, because the work dragged on with necessary corrections to the original drawings, the publication was only completed in 1812. Nevertheless, the result was especially innovative in the representation of mountains, rendered with hatching and shading (Valerio 1993, 124–211). Thus, in the last two decades of the eighteenth century the Kingdom of Naples produced Italy’s most innovative cartography thanks to Rizzi Zannoni (Manzi 1987, 534).

Although it was the first region in Italy equipped with geometrically based cadastral maps, Lombardy did not benefit from a similarly based geographical map until the end of the eighteenth century. Because the depiction of peripheral areas and especially borders in cadastral maps of Lombardy was so disproportioned, various projects advocating a new geometrical map based on triangulation were proposed to the Austrian



government by Rizzi Zannoni and the astronomers of the Brera Observatory, among others. The project was finally adopted and refined in 1783–86 by the astronomer Barnaba Oriani using the large scale (ca. 1:86,400) of the Cassini *Carte de France*. Geodetic surveys provided results that were combined with astronomical observations by Giovanni Angelo de Cesaris and Francesco Reggio. From these data, the draftsman Giacomo Pinchetti and engraver Benedetto Bordiga began creating the final image in 1792–93. However, the ten-sheet *Carta topografica del Milanese e Mantovano* was not published until 1804–7 by Benedetto Bordiga and his brother Gaudenzio. Complete with refined ornamental scrolls and figures, this map celebrated the state's power with a description of territory more detailed than that of the *Carte de France*; it distinguished four categories of roads and five categories of settlements, as well as land use: rice fields, bare and tree-lined fields of arable land, vineyards, heathland, pastureland, woods, vegetable gardens, the layout of farmland, and systems of terracing. The orography is rendered with shading from an overhead light source (Signori 1990, 43–45) (fig. 306; see also fig. 269).

In 1797, the Habsburg rulers of the Republic of Venice “invested great effort in the regular surveying and cartographic depiction of the Veneto and Friuli territories it had recently acquired. The complex operation was . . . entrusted to a colonel (later general) of the Austrian General Staff, Anton von Zach. . . . The *Topographisch-geometrisch[e] Kriegskarte von dem Herzogthum Venedig* was the product of a survey based on a regular geometrical division of territory calculated by Vincenzo Chiminello, a scientist at the Padua astronomical observatory, . . . and comprises 120 small plates (*Sectionen*) each at 1:28,800” (Cantile 2007, 36). For obvious political and military reasons, this large map was a highly classified document but served as the basis for *Il Ducato di Venezia astronomicamente e trigonometricamente delineato* (1806; 1:234,000) (Rossi 2005, 2007).

Maps of Italy that altered the image established by d’Anville did not appear until the last decade of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth. Primary credit for this is due to Rizzi Zannoni for his skills in compilation and use of more recent observations and measurements. For this he may justifiably be ranked

with Delisle and d’Anville. However, credit should also go to the head of Napoleon’s office of cartography, Bacler d’Albe, and to the Bordiga brothers, who worked as engravers and cartographers in the French military mapping service.

In 1795 Rizzi Zannoni published his *Nuova carta della Lombardia* (ca. 1:240,000), an important account of the entire Po River basin, incorporating Liguria and the northern Apennines. The French appreciated the work enough to requisition the copperplates in January 1799 and the extant printed copies in Rizzi Zannoni’s Naples workshop. A reduced-scale version (ca. 1:458,000) was reprinted as *Nuova carta dell’Italia Settentrionale* (1799–1800). Finally, in 1802, Rizzi Zannoni chose the Florentine Giuseppe Molini to publish his two-sheet map of Italy, intended to promote his more demanding project of a map of the peninsula in fifteen sheets at ca. 1:380,000. Ultimately, only sheet 11 (Naples) and sheet 14 (Sicily) were published (Valerio 1993, 179–81, 187–88, 200).

The French Armée d’Italie established a topography department (or Deposito) in Milan in 1797–98 that required *ingénieurs géographes* (initially from France) to survey the whole Italian territory. The most wide-ranging project was for a map covering the entire theater of the Napoleonic Wars in Italy: the *Carte générale du theatre de la guerre en Italie* (1798, ca. 1:259,000) was coordinated by Bacler d’Albe and engraved by the Bordiga brothers. Given the limited time allowed, “the work had to be put together by reworking the already available maps”—for example, the French maps of Delisle and d’Anville, and various other mutually incommensurate cartographical images—“with previously acquired geodetic measurements being used for certain areas” (Signori 1987, 499). The draftsman Pinchetti coordinated the entire scheme, which initially covered only northern Italy in thirty sheets. But in 1802 Bacler d’Albe added a further twenty-two sheets, the *Carte générale des Royaumes de Naples, Sicile & Sardaigne*, to cover the rest of the peninsula, a work largely based on the maps of Rizzi Zannoni. Despite the lack of homogeneity within the final product, this map was long used for military, political, and administrative purposes, thanks primarily to the wealth of its topographical information: settlements, roads, watercourses, state and departmental

(facing page)

FIG. 305. BARON SAMUEL VON SCHMETTAU, *NOVA ET ACCURATA SICILIÆ . . . DESCRIPTIO UNIVERSALIS*, PRESUMED VIENNA, CA. 1722–23. A reduction of the multisheet manuscript map of the island presented to the Holy Roman Emperor based on the strategic survey supervised by Schmettau from 1719 to 1720. The two vignettes show the Austrian-allied British fleet commanded by Admiral George Byng at the landing at Tindari (1719) (top right) and the Span-

ish fleet in retreat in the Battle of Capo Passero (1718) (bottom right), actions that both confirmed Austrian control of the island, further emphasized by the Imperial double-headed eagle in the cartouche.

Size of the original: 90.5 × 122.0 cm (neat line; on 2 sheets). Image courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago (Novacco 6F 34).



FIG. 306. DETAIL OF THE AREA AROUND MILAN FROM THE CARTA TOPOGRAFICA DEL MILANESE E MANTOVANO ESEGUITA DIETRO LE PIÙ ESATTE DIMENSIONI GEOGRAFICHE ED OSSERVAZIONI ASTRONOMICHE. By the astronomers of Brera Observatory in Milan, engraved (1792–93), printed (1804–7), *foglio* 3. The first large-scale geometrically based map of Lombardy was modeled on the Cassini *Carte de France* but employs more detail in its display of different types of roads, settlements, and land

use. Printed map, engraved in copper in ten *fogli* (nine map sheets plus title sheet); scale 1:86,400. (For a different sheet from this map, see fig. 269.)

Size of the entire sheet: 88 × 87 cm. Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Divieto di Riproduzione/ By courtesy of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism (MiBACT), Central National Library of Florence, Ban of Reproduction (PALAT.Cart.geog.357).

boundaries, and orography (the latter obliquely lit and rendered using hatching) (Signori 1987, 500–501n13).

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SEE ALSO: Italian States; Rizzi Zannoni, Giovanni Antonio

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Geographical Mapping in the Netherlands. Given that the Netherlands was a major center of commercial map production throughout the long eighteenth century, it will not be surprising that most of the general purpose, small- to medium-scale maps of the Netherlands and its provinces were commercial ventures. Indeed, the emphasis of Dutch mapsellers on supplying the European market with affordable atlases meant that none engaged in the costly intellectual effort of compiling new critical regional maps; it was easier to copy the work of French geographers. However, the local Dutch market did sustain an interest in new maps of the Netherlands and of its constituent regions. For general maps of the Republic of the Netherlands as a whole, H. A. M. van der Heijden and Dirk Blonk (2005) provide a comprehensive survey. The following summary of provincial geographical maps available during the period ignores, for the most part, derivative single-sheet maps. Of particular note are the maps engendered by boundary disputes or initiated

by local surveyors who petitioned local governments for support; these maps are detailed elsewhere in this volume.

The most important province of the Republic was Holland. The States of Holland never undertook to map their province, possibly because there were sufficient *waterschappen* (water management board) maps and commercial maps to satisfy any need. The main large overview wall map is the *Nova et accurata totius Hollandiae Westfrisiae topographia* by Balthasar Florisz. van Berckenrode, based on *waterschappen* maps, and published by Willem Jansz. Blaeu in 1621 (22 sheets, ca. 1:110,000). The Blaeu/Van Berckenrode map was reissued four times from the same plates, with changes, before 1682 (Schilder 1986–2013, 5:291–332, with full-size reproduction; Blonk and Blonk-van der Wijst 2000, 36–48, 221–28). An enlarged and improved version, *'t Graefschap Holland* by Jacob Aerts. Colom, was published in 1639 (40 sheets, ca. 1:60,000) and reprinted, with some changes, by Frederick de Wit about 1720 and by Covens & Mortier at least as late as 1737 (Donkersloot-de Vrij 1981, 139, no. 704; Blonk and Blonk-van der Wijst 2000, 276–83, which describes over 100 maps of the province between 1542 and 1815).

Friesland had (and retains) a highly developed sense of independence from the nation as a whole that is reflected in the mapping of the province. On the initiative of Christiaan Schotanus à Sterringa, all rural municipalities (*grietenijen*) were surveyed and mapped in the period 1658–62. These maps were issued from 1664 by Christiaan's son Bernardus Schotanus à Sterringa in Christiaan's book *Beschryvinge van de heerlyckheyt van Frieslandt*. The scales of the maps vary from 1:50,000 to 1:100,000 depending on the size of the respective *grietenij*. The states of the province were not very happy with the maps and in 1682 gave Bernardus a new commission to survey the *grietenijen*. After many years of work the maps were finally published in 1698 in the *Friesche atlas*, of which only 125 copies were printed. The atlas contains maps of the twenty-seven *grietenijen* (scales 1:25,000 to 1:43,000), maps of the three *goën* (districts), and information on occupation and land use and an extensive toponymy. In the well-known edition of 1718, *Uitbeelding der heerlijkheit Friesland*, the original thirty maps were revised and an overview and eight historical maps were added (reproduced at full size in Schotanus à Sterringa 1970) (fig. 307). The most important single-sheet map of Friesland in the eighteenth century was probably Abraham Allard's *Frisiae dominium vernacule Friesland* (ca. 1702, ca. 1:130,000) (De Rijke 2006, 279–83, which describes more than 100 maps of the province between 1545 and 1850).

No official maps of the province of Groningen are known from the period. A commercial wall map was