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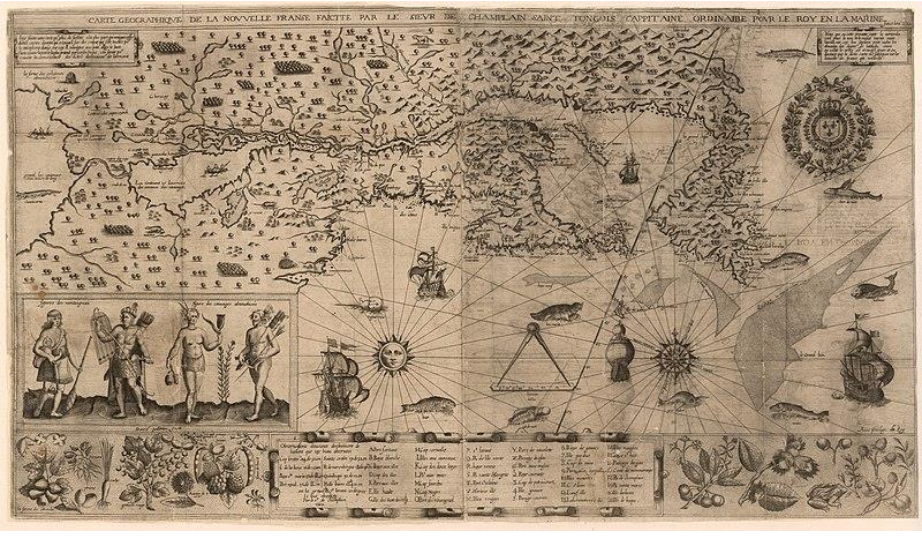

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The Social Lives of Maps, Volume 1

Lauren Beck
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Introduction to the Social Lives of Maps Volume 1

As Bill Brown and Arjun Appadurai have observed, the biographical lives of things inform us about not only a thing's existence, from its creation until its demise, but of how it has been used, valued, and commoditized. They also inform us about human interaction with things in ways that can allow us to understand the experiences of marginalized and unexpected interlocutors of a thing's existence. Maps as documents have complex lives. In some ways, maps might be considered eternal in that they are subject to revision and these updates comprise moments or stages of their life spans as living documents. In others, maps live short lives when inserted into books that get destroyed, deemed out of date, grow ragged, or end up torn out of the book altogether and introduced into entirely new vertical contexts as wall maps.

Maps are everyday objects, but they are also highly esteemed and valued as antiques, rarified and conserved in the special collections of archives, libraries, and museums who catalogue their lives or provenance. In this sense, maps experience class and privilege similarly to humans, which gives us pause to consider whether other areas of identity are experienced by maps as well. Contemporary mapping platforms such as Google Maps offer entanglements with our own lives; they collect data about our movements, desires, and interactions, and attempt to interact with us through these connected nodes. Artificial intelligence, machine learning, and responsive software designed to interact with humans increasingly make maps living interactions that adapt to and engage directly with us. Finding ourselves on an analogue, paper map offers a similar function in that humans consistently consult the map to both find and see themselves through it. This thematic series of issues of the *Material Culture Review/Revue de la culture matérielle* engages with all aspects of the social lives of maps in any way that underlines this material object's lifespan. *The Social Lives of Maps* highlights and explores signature areas of a map's biography as an object, as a living entity subject to being updated and transformed for new audiences, and as a container of knowledge and wisdom capable of influencing human activity.

As the project's guest editor, I will reserve an analytical introduction for the third and final volume of the series, and take the opportunity here to introduce the essays contained in *The Social Lives of Maps*, vol. 1. The first of these essays is contributed by Steffen Wöll, postdoctoral researcher at Leipzig University, titled "Beyond the Artifact: Unfolding Medieval, Algorithmic, and Unruly Lives of Maps."

Wöll explores the social agency that maps have and exert among humans in different periods and geographical contexts by reflecting on medieval mappamundi and their influence on human decision making; the power of hand-drawn maps that graft human experience and witnessing upon the document's biography; and the sometimes-fleeting materiality undergirding maps such as those of the Gaza Strip and that iterate the past existence of Chinese temples. By looking at different types of maps in interdisciplinary, transhistorical and global fashions, the essay also considers how peoples' lives become transformed and even defined by cartography.

The second essay in this volume is by Sean Roberts, a lecturer of art and architecture at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, titled "World Views: Cartographers, Artisanship and Epistemology in Early Modern Italy." In it, Roberts considers how human experience enrobes the map with almost physical features – such as "eyewitness" experience and "hand-written" information, endowing maps with a sense of physicality and thus humanity. At the same time, the copy practices of the period mean that past maps become entangled and involved in the biography of new maps, making many cartographic creations complex from a biographical perspective because these entanglements also point to the human intervenors, copyists, cartographers, scholars, and publishers who grafted past maps upon newer ones, as well as to other visual contexts, such as paintings and book illustrations, that subsequently made their way onto maps. As a result, the role of the cartographer and their craft is inherently interdependent upon the livingness of the map as a document with the capacity to broadly project the human experience.

The final essay in this thematic volume, contributed by Lynette Russell – an Indigenous historian at Monash University – and Leonie Stevens – a research fellow at Monash University – is titled "The Dutch East India Company (VOC) Tasman Map and Australia: Competing Interests, Myth Making, and an Australian Icon." Known as the Tasman Map, this document traces the voyages of Dutch navigator, Abel Tasman, in the South Pacific. The authors unpack the map's biography, from its origins to its transformation into a symbol of imperialism and power at the Mitchell Library at Monash University, Australia, which acquired the map in the twentieth century. Its presence there has given birth to new mythologies and legends about both the map, the man who inspired it, and the various constituencies that possessed or held the map over the centuries, as well as new modalities of the map's existence once it was transubstantiated from paper into the form of a mosaic for the Mitchell Library's vestibule. In today's world, the map and its discursive veins chafe against shifting social attitudes toward colonization and its impacts on the country's Indigenous people, making it a contested emblem of both violence and nationhood.

These three essays offer a taste of what will come in subsequent volumes of *The Social Lives of Maps*. In this issue, we also include a non-thematic article by Laura E. Ruberto, titled "Creative Expression and the Material Culture of Italian POWs in the United States During World War II," as well as several book and exhibition reviews.

LAURA E. RUBERTO
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Creative Expression and the Material Culture of Italian POWs in the United States During World War II

> On weekends, my grandmother
> signed prisoners out to milk cows,
> prune fruit trees, work in her vineyards,
> young Italians captured in Africa
> who spoke her dialect,
> came from her village.
> Jennifer Lagier[i]

When the *New York Times* reporter, Meyer Berger, visited Italian prisoners of war at the Pine Camp in upstate New York in December 1943 he was part of a larger U.S. campaign to assuage any misgivings Americans still had about Italians as potential enemies, barely three months after Italy's surrender to the Allies. His characterizations of life at the camp resembles similar news pieces written in local press outlets across the United States which told readers that while Italian military prisoners were safely guarded behind barbed wire, they were also friendly, happy to be in the United States, concerned about their family back in Italy, hard-working and had somewhat peculiar inclinations. Among the peculiarities Berger describes is one that captures the basic topic of my research. He reports:

> noncoms and officers assigned to look after the Italians were enthusiastic over what these prisoners achieved with native stone and rock—little shrines, statuettes. These were buried under the snow on the little lawns outside the barracks. (Berger 1943, 3)

This brief aside highlights some of the ways Italian prisoners of war (POWs) shaped the physical spaces of their detainment: alluding to detail work, aesthetic choices, religious belief, and use of found materials. In this essay I consider some of these factors as I study examples of material culture crafted by Italian POWs in the United States during World War II.[ii] Such constructed objects, sites, and activities speak to ways Italian culture was transported and reshaped during the war and suggest broader ways we might consider Italian diasporic culture as well as wartime experiences.

In study after study of Italian POWs passing references are made to them as "gifted artists" (Fielder 2003, 20) who have a "keen artistic drive" (Keefer 1992, 148), including in "music, theater…. chorus groups, orchestras, and theater

troupes" (Fielder 2003, 20-21) as well as "artists, sculptors, wood carvers, painters, stained glass workers and other kinds of skilled craftsmen" (Keefer 1992, 148; see also Ferroni 2013, 157, 254, and 337).[iii] Some scholarship focuses on specific case studies involving creativity among Italian POWs (Williams 2017 and Conti 2021 on Texas; Barnes 2018 on Arkansas) but no study has comprehensively analyzed Italian POW artistry.[iv]

This study builds off of research in material culture, folklife, and ethnic studies in order to add to the growing body of what Gillian Carr and H.C. Mytum have called "POW cultural studies" (Carr and Mytum 2012, 1). As a cultural studies scholar engaging with Italian transnational concerns, my approach emerges from an interdisciplinary interest in the use of space, place-making, and the ways value and meaning are ascribed to the material world; that is, how objects communicate overtime and how individuals and communities use objects to mediate their lives and place, informing the present, past, and future. Influenced by a multitude of perspectives, including Michel de Certeau's focus on the everyday and Arjun Appadurai's narrativization of objects, I begin with the perspective that revealing creative acts and unpacking the relationships between individuals and objects can be a strategy for recovering stories otherwise not well documented (de Certeau 2011; Appadurai 1998). As such, through detailing and organizing the constructed material culture of Italian POWs, I consider how such examples demonstrate what Simone Bronner has described as the "human need for material means of capturing experience" (2004, 12). Bronner's concern with the "symbolic dimensions of material life" (2004, 15) helps highlight the way these prisoner-made structures become kinds of material culture synecdoches for the makers' war experiences, including possible senses of displacement, loss, reinvention, and belonging. In so doing, my project pushes material culture studies to a more inclusive perspective by broadening its application to expansive notions of internment as well as by furthering the discipline's connection to Italian migration studies.[v]

Included herein are creative expressions which are to some extent vernacular in conception and construction. My use of *vernacular* refers to structures (e.g., buildings, small objects, built environments, landscapes) that are not part of a formal, institutional system although some aspects of said structures might be (i.e., skilled work) and that can be understood as stemming from a set of community-specific interests and experiences (Vellinga 2006).[vi] For Henry Glassie, naming something as vernacular "highlights the cultural and contingent nature" of that object (2000, 21), a perspective that facilitates a recognition of the specificity of time, place, and people without which otherwise there would be no creation. Such a fluid definition of vernacular unifies many of the POWs' productions given the similarly shared sets of experiences they had even as it cannot comprehensively capture the nuances within each deliberate creation.

Their shared experiences as Enemy War Prisoners (or EPWs—one of their formal, albeit less frequently used, classifications) in the United States is compounded by their shared associations with Italy. An Italian sense of cultural identity has been collectively and profoundly developed outside of Italy, as immigration scholars have noted (Choate

2008). The art and architecture made by these men illustrates resourcefulness, adaptability, and other characteristics associated broadly with an Italian cultural ethos, including knowledge of and valuing of the decorative arts as well as experience and labor practices with skilled crafts. These characteristics around an ethnic work ethic and aesthetic are often also associated with Italian migrant culture and the Italian diaspora. In their reliance on salvaged materials, recycling, and an overall inventive approach to construction the men practiced "l'arte d'arrangiarsi" ('the art of making do'), a phrase first applied to Italian American culture by Pellegrino D'Acierno (1999) but more recently developed by Joseph Sciorra to characterize the folklife, material culture, and lived experiences he has researched (Sciorra 2011, 2014, and 2015). Sciorra's studies of expressive and vernacular culture among Italian Americans repeatedly calls "attention to artistry in everyday life," including the "admiration and pleasure in craft within Italian American cultural contexts" and he connects such perspectives to "Italian American place-making" (Sciorra 2014, 192-193; Sciorra 2015, xxiv, xxvii). His critical approaches to and theorizations of Italian American culture and history deeply resonate with and inform my project here.

This article offers an analysis of tangible and intangible creative objects, sites, and experiences. I introduce and contextualize this creativity by first laying out the historical context of Italian EPWs in the United States alongside that of other Italian identities in the United States during the war years. With that foundation, I critically categorize numerous examples of creative products and actions, concluding that POWs built a sense of self and place, an alternative or re-imagined Italian ethnic space within their confinement. These directed, creative actions reinforced cultural heritage, mediated personal and community identities, shaped evolving notions of self, and ultimately helped make sense of some of the trauma of their displacement and atrocities of war.

Such creative outpour while incarcerated is by no means unique to Italians nor to wartime or military-related captivity.[vii] A sense of endless time, coupled by infinite restrictions on liberties (to space, to movement, to activities, to oral expression) and minimal access to materials fosters imagination and creative actions: "creativity was practiced by nearly all POWs (to varying degrees of competency) and was a therapeutic outlet which enabled them to survive emotionally, psychologically, and in some cases, physically" (Carr and Mytum 2012, 2). The Italian case is not unique but illustrative of the roll of creativity during wartime, the effects POWs had on localized American landscapes and communities, and the dynamic possibilities of individuals and groups under restrictive lives. Their experiences expand our understanding of the Italian diaspora, Italian migration, and concepts of transnationalism, asking us to consider shape-shifting ways Italian identities on American soil were lived in the 1940s.[viii]

Historical Context

The history of Italian POWs is often confused with other stories about interned Italians on U.S. soil. During my research I have had to repeatedly clarify, sometimes even to World War II historians, that my focus is on military Axis soldiers taken prisoner in Europe, North Africa, or Asia and brought to the United States

as military prisoners of war.[ix] The confusion seems to lie in the multiple groups the United States targeted for (potential) detainment leading up to and during World War II. At one time or another, they arrested and/or restricted the activities of various groups of people associated with Germany, Italy, and Japan. These groups included: members of the military, civilians (e.g., foreigners found on U.S. soil or waters, such as cruise ship workers, as well as foreign-born legal U.S. residents), and U.S. citizens who were ethnically German, Italian, or Japanese.[x] Adding to the confusion is that the World War II Italian POW case is not a clear-cut case of EPWs given Italy's changing political relationship to the Allies. Indeed, the Allies did not treat all Axis POWs similarly (Krammer 1983, 1997, and 2020; Doyle 2010). In September 1943 General Pietro Badoglio of Italy signed the Cassibile Armistice with the Allied Forces, leading to, as we will see, a confusing status for Italian POWs. To muddle further, not all Italian POWs were Italian-born Italians: some were U.S.-born ethnic Italians and others were Slovenians who were conscripted into the Italian army.[xi]

Figure 1
American-born Italian POW, band leader, Nov. 24, 1943. Author's Collection

During World War II, the Allies held over half a million POWs; of these, over 480,000 were imprisoned in the United States (Moore 2015, 181; Conti 2012, 7; Doyle 2010, 179). Between 1942 and 1946 the United States held on American soil over 425,000 Germans, 5,400 Japanese and 51,000 Italians (Doyle 2010, 179; Conti 2012, 7).[xii] The United States held about 125,000 Italians in total, but only 51,500 were brought to the United States.[xiii] Italian POWs began arriving on American soil in December 1942, and by early fall 1943 they were scattered across at least 28 camps in 22 states (Keefer 1992, 41; Conti 2012, 506, 512).

By the time Italians arrived in the United States they would have already been under Allied custody for at least a month's time and in most cases for much longer. They were mostly captured in the African and Sicilian combat zones—some directly by Americans, others first by British soldiers and then passed to the United States.[xiv] After waiting days or weeks at or near the location of their capture, POWs were relocated to temporary camps, mainly in Algiers, Oran, or Casablanca (Keefer 1992, 32; Barbieri 1998). From there they were transferred again across the globe to India, South Africa, Scotland, and elsewhere. Those who ended up in the United States arrived by sea to one of a number of port cities and then were moved usually two or three more times throughout their stay on American soil.

Figure 2
Italian Prisoners of War, September 30, 1941. Author's Collection

Their movement even before arriving to a U.S. POW camp is important to recall as they help illustrate some of the constant uncertainties around place for prisoners. The tenuousness of their sense of place becomes clearer in juxtaposition especially to the permanent structures some of them later helped build. Gianinino Gherardi, Italian POW (first in Douglas, WY and later Camp Kilmer, NJ) explained imprisonment this way: it is "sicuramente la piu male condizione a cui si possa ridurre un uomo che è privato completamente della libertà ed è sballotato da un posto all'altro sempre e in ogni momento come un oggetto qualunque" ("certainly the worst condition a man can be reduced to, deprived completely of liberty and thrown around from place to place always and in every moment like some object") (in Della Torre 1997, 69).[xv] They did not know when the war would end nor how Italy's fluctuating political circumstance might affect them. They had limited, heavily censored news about Italy and communication with their families. Their livelihood was as precarious as their sense of place: many were captured already weak, and the United States and Britain did not always have consistent sanitation measures. Even their trip by sea to the United States was dangerous and they had to practice "fire drills, and what to do if [they] were torpedoed" (Keefer 1992, 44).[xvi] Oral histories and military documents again and again comment on their trauma—caused by fear of death, instability of place, and concern for their loved ones.

Even with such precariousness while living behind armed guards and barbed wire, most POW recollections describe a comfortable life once in the United States (Keefer 1992, 45)[xvii]. Mainstream American newspaper stories from the era back up this perspective as well as the fact that there were relatively few attempts at escape or revolt (Keefer 1992, 42–47). Italian American media suggests a slightly different perspective, one of overall concern for the POWs' well-being.[xviii] Italian American communities tried to improve POWs' general welfare. For example, the anti-Fascist Mazzini Society used their weekly *Nazione unite* to publish updates about Italian prisoners of war, especially with an interest in connecting them to possible American relatives ("Italians and Italian Americans political attitudes…").

Italian POWs had a unique relationship to their captors given the quasi-mythical position the United States had for many. Many POWs had relatives in the United States and thus held real, lived knowledge of transnational lives between the two countries.[xix] For many POWs reaching the United States was an event that matched those of their immigrant cousins who arrived previously through Ellis Island (Keefer 1992, 41). Take one POW's description: "Our arrival in the port of New York, a place that in our eyes was more like the center of the universe, is an indelible memory" (Keefer 1992, 41). Such descriptions of an idealized America

help clarify the symbolic position the United States held for many Italians. At the same time, such words also illustrate the stark differences in realities between the men's lives in battle versus in captivity, everyday differences that became even more pronounced for many POWs within less than a year of arriving in the United States due to the effects of the Armistice.

One of the negotiating details of the Armistice was the status of prisoners of war: All Allied POWs had to be released but it did not clarify what happened to Italian POWs (Moore 2015, 179).[xx] By December 1943 General Badoglio called for Italian POWs to collaborate with their new allies and by early 1944 the United States began to implement a plan (Conti 2012, 39–50). They screened each POW, offering them the opportunity to renounce Fascism and volunteer for noncombatant service, although they would remain under restricted custody until the war ended. The first such noncombatant Italian Service Units (ISUs) of collaborating Italians were formed in March 1944 (see Keefer 1992, 75). Ultimately over 32,000 became collaborators, were moved to one of 70 newly-formed ISU camps, and lived out the rest of the war with this vague prisoner status that included increased liberties and access beyond the camp (Conti 2012, 508–509).

Non-collaborating POWs, placed in one of 15 camps maintained for this group, remained under stricter control, with far fewer interactions with civilians and less freedom to move outside the camps. Their living conditions in those camps were comparable to the ISUs however their treatment worsened after news about Auschwitz and other Nazi concentration camps circulated widely—a detail we know from the most well-documented of the non-collaborating camps at Hereford, Texas (Williams 2017; Conti 2012, 510–511; Busco 1967, 63).

In comparison to the experiences of other detained and incarcerated peoples in the U.S. during the war, the Italian POW case gets recalled as mostly a harmonious affair, perhaps in part as a way to make sense of America's changing political relationship to Italy. My research around creativity likewise suggests a mostly positive experience. And yet we need to be mindful of other possibilities and readings: Italian POWs suffered from depression, feelings of isolation, and of guilt towards their families' and their fellow soldiers' wellbeing. Some became ill and at least 170 Italians died, mostly of natural causes, while in U.S. camps; some are still buried in United States military cemeteries.[xxi] Creativity and the everyday practices of a lived cultural heritage are some ways we might imagine they mitigated emotional vulnerability and physical suffering (see Jones 2001).

Figure 3
Tortisio Morretti Pvt. Italian June 21 1944, Benicia Military Cemetery

Photograph by Laura E. Ruberto, 2019

Even with, or perhaps in part because of, Italy's new relationship to the United States, the attitude towards Italian POWs remained mixed throughout the remainder of the war. The U.S. military received almost constant criticism from the general public (both before and after the Armistice) that Italian POWs were being "coddled".[xxii] This criticism sometimes led to tragic realities, such as when twenty-eight African American soldiers were unfairly convicted of lynching an Italian POW, Guglielmo Olivotto, near Tacoma, WA. The case around Olivotto's death demonstrates some of the racial inequities in twentieth century America and especially speaks to the complicated connections scholars have begun to unravel between African American and Italian/Italian American identities.[xxiii]

Competing Italian Identities in the United States

From the moment Italians ended up in American hands, even before they arrived in the United States, they were often met with Italian American GIs, many who acted as formal or informal translators—so much so that the oral histories of POWs are speckled with references to encounters with friendly Italian Americans (see Doyle 2010; Ferroni 2013; Keefer 1992). These interactions with Italian Americans only increased in the U.S. where Italian American GIs continued to be a part of their daily lives.[xxiv] In addition, especially as the war progressed, POWs had opportunities to interact with civilian Italian Americans. Italian EPWs upon arriving to the United States were met with what was at the time the largest, foreign-born American population,1.6 million Italian resident aliens (Keefer 1992, 41). Italian Americans frequently visited the camps, often with the hope of connecting with families or *paesani* (townspeople); ISU men were permitted to attend outside dinners and other outings hosted by Italian American families, social clubs, and parishes. These interactions also sometimes led to romances, the birth of children, postwar courtships, and marriages.[xxv] Family reunification stories highlight the contradictions of war as with the 1943 Ruberto family story covered in *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* where brothers were reunited after 32 years, when Italian American Pittsburgher, Pietro Ruberto, visited his younger brother, Donato, in the Camp Clark (Missouri) POW camp and then stopped to visit his son, Fortunato, in the U.S. Air Force in Alabama on the same trip.[xxvi]


SECOND NEWS SECTION

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1943

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

Son Fights for, Brother Against U. S.

Family Divided in World Conflict

Son in Air Corps, Brother War Prisoner in U. S.

Veteran of World War I on Way to Visit Maxwell Field and New Prison Camp

Figure 4
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette **clipping, July 3, 1943 (Bottom left portrait is**

wrongly described as Donato Ruberto; it is Pietro Ruberto from World War I). Courtesy of the Detre Library & Archives, Heinz History Center

The millions of Italian Americans had their own complicated relationship to the war. On the one hand, over 850,000 Italian Americans served in the U.S. Armed forces, with an unknown number fighting specifically in Italy (Pretelli and Fusi 2018, 302). But yet, when Italian prisoners first arrived on American soil in late 1942 restrictions for over 700,000 Italian resident aliens had only just been lifted on October 12, 1942.[xxvii] Those regulated constraints against Italian Americans pale in comparison to what happened to the over 110,000 Japanese American men, women, and children (Ng 2002). Nevertheless, they also impact and reflect the inconsistent racial and cultural biases in the United States.[xxviii] Overlapping this same era was the imprisonment, mostly in Missoula, MT, of about 1,500 non-U.S. resident, non-military Italian citizens (mostly merchant marines and World's Fair workers), who were found on American soil when World War II started but before the United States entered the conflict (Chopas 2017, xvi). These various trajectories of Italian identities on American soil all inform and reflect one another in immeasurable ways—from prisoner to enemy alien, from immigrant to war hero (Ruberto 2021a).

Creativity Behind Barbed Wire

Both non-collaborating and collaborating Italian POWs filled all kinds of labor needs. In their spare time, and with the skills and artistry they brought with them from home or took on while detained, they created a world for themselves where disparate traditions were confronted with new realities and restrictions. I suggest here sometimes overlapping categories through which we might better recognize the role vernacular culture and the aesthetics of everyday life played in constructing a productive and expressive sense of self, often in the service of community. Singularly or collectively, they crafted objects and built structures from found, borrowed, salvaged, or donated materials—everything from individual men making small secular items such as jewelry from toothbrushes, or shaping toys from wooden crates, to large-scale collectively made ventures, many religious focused. These constructions reflect POWs' personal experiences and cultural distinctiveness as well as their differing degrees of confinement, ambiguous political circumstances, and relationships to communities beyond the borders of the camps.

The reasons why such items, sites, and experiences were created vary. Some were made by request of American military personnel or civilians who came into contact with the Italians or were made by encouragement by organizations such as the YWCA.[xxix] Some were made with a sense of community in mind, e.g., invitations for outside guests to celebrate a holiday meal. Sometimes they were explicitly meant as gifts, other times to be sold or exchanged (Conti 2012, 265). Although some are personalized some, most are anonymous examples of creativity, resilience, and emotion.

I have documented countless examples of Italian POW creativity through online and in-person archival and library work, oral histories, field research, and collecting via eBay. My primary sources include period-specific photographs, samples of

the constructed objects themselves, military documents, newspaper stories, and oral history descriptions as well as contemporary photographs of still-existing sites I have taken during research field visits or that others have visually documented.[xxx] My research and collecting is comprehensive although not exhaustive given the lack of any institutional compilation or formal organization of this creative material.

The categorizations below help make sense of the overwhelming number of examples I have located but they are not intended to be a final guide for analysis. Grouping such creative examples inevitably favors certain perspectives over others: for instance, focusing on skilled labor and use value while making less visible the gendered conventions or realities around these products in their practice and use.[xxxi] The examples here are representative of the artistic work of thousands of men—for each documented example we can only imagine all those examples lost to us. When possible, I note if the creation occurred at a POW camp (meaning, before March 1944), a non-collaborating POW camp, or an ISU Camp.

As a way to demonstrate the creative work and offer a broader critical analysis, I have organized my examples around three general categories, each one overlapping with the other: 1. Tangible items, individually created; 2. Tangible items, collectively created; and 3. Intangible items, individually or collectively created/experienced. Regardless of such distinctions, these cases all share that they were created during detainment.[xxxii] A dedication to craft and an application of skilled labor went into all aspects of their lived experiences. Embedded within the tangible and intangible categories is a kind of a scholarly slipperiness that I embrace rather than ignore.[xxxiii] Tangible objects exist within intangible creations: i.e., an instrument for a song played, a cake baked for a meal eaten, a costume sewn for a theater performance. Similarly, the temporary embellishment of an altar with a candle or what is conventionally understood as a yearly creation of Christmas creche, or *presepe,*[xxxiv] suggests interpreting such sites as intangible given their fluidity and changing nature: to some extent they are ephemeral and thus intangible. Yet, when considering the insecure, transitory lives of the POWs, even such impermanent structures become forms of stability and place-making, and I have thus categorized them under tangible items.

Tangible, Individually Created

Italian POWs made countless small items, including toys, jewelry, paintings, and other crafted objects. Sometimes these were religious-based but often they were not. Similar to most of the larger tangible items, the makers' identities are by and large unknown to us. Such items were mainly made from salvaged materials—wood, metal, or paper—and they demonstrate a wide array of styles and creative approaches. For example, aluminum finger rings were fashioned by Italian POWs housed at the ISU camp on Governor's Island in New York City and given as gifts to an Italian American family. The family also had a ring made from plastic toothbrushes in the Italian tricolore colors of red, white, and green (Manna 1981; Ruberto and Sciorra 2018). Such personal items suggest a level of intimacy and friendship between civilians and the ISU men.

Sometimes the objects themselves tell us more of the story of its construction or

intentionality of the builder through imagery and inscriptions. Many tin cigarette holders, small wooden boxes and other mementos have images that appear to be reminiscent of the North African desert—were they made while men were in North Africa or were they souvenirs of their time there? Other items have inscriptions simply of P.W. (prisoner of war) or a short phrase, such as "Con affetto sempre vi ricordo" (I remember you both always with affection) on a metal picture frame. Given the lack of an institutional practice of collecting, documenting, or preserving such items it is near-impossible to track the histories of such suggestively marked items.

Figure 5
Italian POW-made photo frame, artist unknown. Author's Collection/Photograph by Laura E. Ruberto 2019

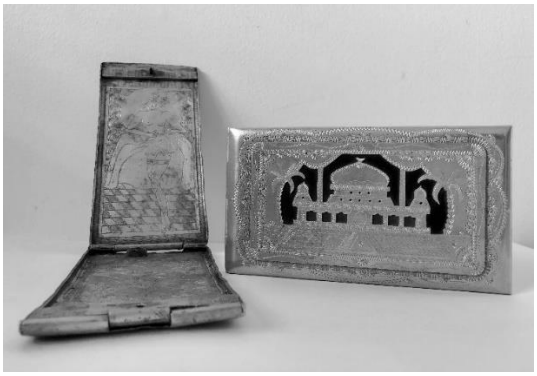

Figure 6
Italian POW-made cigarette cases, artist(s) unknown. Author's Collection/Photograph by Laura E. Ruberto, 2021

In rare occasions the maker himself offered more details built into the object proper. For example, my own grandfather's miniature tank inscribed to one of his Italian American nephews, i.e., "UN RICORDO LO ZIO RUBERTO DONATO P.O.W. AL NIPOTE FORTUNATO" (A MEMENTO UNCLE RUBERTO DONATO P.O.W. TO MY NEPHEW FORTUNATO) (Marinaro 2016). He was held in POW camps at Camp Clark, MO and Pine Camp, NY and later, at the ISU camp in Benicia, CA. At some point during his captivity he built this tank out of wood he salvaged from "dissamb[led] shell cradles" (Marinaro 2016, 20). The uniqueness of this piece lies less with the object itself than with the specificity of identification that the object tells us, which thus helps narrate a history of the POW.

Figure 7
Model replica of the Italian Army's Fiat tank, made by Donato Ruberto Courtesy of the Italian American Collection, Heinz History Center

In this instance I have more context to the piece in question. My familial insight

into Donato Ruberto's life before and after the war facilitates my consideration of how his time as a conscripted soldier and later POW might have affected his life after the war, including as an immigrant in both Caracas, Venezuela and Pittsburgh, PA. While I missed the opportunity to ask him directly about his wartime experiences he openly spoke about his time as a prisoner, recalling the great distances he traveled and the variety of places he visited. Curiously, he rarely if ever built such small, playful structures even though he had the skills to do so. He had been apprenticed as a cabinet maker in his native southern Italian village of Cairano (Avellino province), where he mainly built furniture and coffins before the war. After his postwar repatriation to Italy he continued this work until he left for Venezuela (July 1949) where he worked as a day laborer until he immigrated to the United States (December 1953). In the United States he eventually joined a local union and worked as a carpenter on large buildings as well as building houses, additions, and miscellaneous household items for his extended family. But he rarely, if ever, built other primarily impractical small structures, even though he kept a full garage-woodshop with his handmade wood-working tools throughout his life. At the same time, I know (from first-hand experience and by tracking the movement of the gifted tank itself) the effect this object had on supporting kinship across thousands of miles and multi-generations of his family.[xxxv]

The example of another prisoner of war in the United States, Alberto Burri, offers us other kinds of insight into an individual's relationship to his creative efforts. Born in Città di Castello (Perugia province), Burri volunteered for Mussolini's Fascist invasion of Ethiopia and later Yugoslavia. By 1942 he was a second lieutenant in the medical corps and was captured in May 1943 by the British while in Tunisia (Braun 2015, 26). He was eventually sent to the United States and later refused to sign allegiance to the United States, spending upwards of three years in the non-collaborating POW Camp at Hereford. Trained as a medical doctor but encouraged by his disposition and the resources the YMCA donated, he took up a paintbrush at the camp and learned to mix his own paint, using materials he found around the camp—egg whites, coffee grounds, herbs, and other natural objects. Instead of canvas, he used empty food sacks and burlap bags. After the war, living between Italy, California, and France he would go on to make numerous sculptures and installations and become a leader in the Italian postwar *arte povera* movement.[xxxvi] His identity as an artist as well as his most famous sutured-sack series, signatures of his art, emerged to some extent from his experiences in West Texas. Burri is remembered as having remained "impatient with the trauma interpretations that have accompanied the critical appreciation of his art" and yet it is hard to reject a correlation if not an emotional response (Braun 2015, 33). Informed by his culture of wartime quotidian experience and experimentation with found, material objects, Burri's life work, like that of many other unidentified Italian POWs, expresses the complexity of war on the development of self-expression.

Today pieces, such as those by Ruberto and Burri, that are easy to identify the maker or that are otherwise personalized, are difficult to come by.[xxxvii] Have they not survived or are they simply not in public circulation today? Perhaps more

personalized, signed items were less likely to be discarded, donated, or sold? The personal, individualizing of such objects are particularly difficult to understand today without the deep knowledge of family and context. As Carr and Mytum explain: "to us as researchers, the items of creativity that have survived into the present are not easy to understand individually, even at fixed points in their lives such as at the moment of creation" (2012, 14). Too often these smaller, tangible items, are only known to us today through photographs and written descriptions of group art shows and unidentified artists.[xxxviii]

Figure 8
Italian Service Unit soldier painting, Benicia, California, artist/year unknown. Author's Collection

The limited circulation and public presence today of such items begs the question of how and when they were transported from the camps.[xxxix] POWs were restricted in the mail they could send during the war as well as limited in how much weight they were permitted to carry with them upon repatriation at the war's end (see Keefer 1992, 149–150). Many had worked while in the United States and used the money earned to purchase American goods to bring back to their families. We can assume that large, cumbersome or weighty created pieces would not have been prioritized against American goods, especially considering Italy's realities of postwar destruction. In addition, the trip back to their hometowns was long and difficult, involving weeks of travel by train and sea before returning to an Italy whose transportation infrastructure had been destroyed—many men would have had to simply walk long distances in order to reach isolated villages and towns that had become inaccessible (see Ruberto 2010, 81). Such a scenario would have been impractical at best for carrying such crafted objects.

Tangible, Collectively Created

The most well-known creative products of Italian POWs are the tangible, generally vernacular, architecture collectively built across the United States. These are overwhelmingly part of the Catholic sacred arts: chapels, shrines, and altars. Many examples no longer exist but the few that do shape to a great extent how we understand the experiences of U.S.-incarcerated Italian POWs simply because their existence seems to have led to scholarly attention on those camps. Most of that attention has been on two main chapels and the experiences of those POWs: the small Camp Chapel in Hereford, TX and the Letterkenny Chapel in Chamberburg, PA. The histories of these two sites highlight some of the major distinctions between collaborating ISUs (Letterkenny) and non-collaborating (Hereford) camps (i.e., access beyond the camps; relationships with civilians), while at the same time illustrate that many of the same experiences occurred in both groups (Ferroni 2013, 305–320; Conti 2012, 284–328; Conti and

Perry 2016; Williams 2017; Conti 2021). A third, lesser-known chapel, Chapel-in-the-Meadow, also still stands at Camp Atterbury, in Ninevah, IN.[xl]

Religious and devotional spaces for prisoner use was a common element at the camps, reflecting certain standards taken from Geneva Convention guidelines of the camps but also the assumed Catholicism of the Italians. Some POW-built chapels no longer exist, including a Mother Cabrini Chapel near Honolulu, HI and a Chapel to the "Madonna del Prigioniero" (Madonna of the Prisoner) at the former Camp Monticello, AR. In the case of the Arkansas chapel, it was built by POWs sometime between 1943 and Spring 1944 using "packing boxes, asbestos tiles, and scrap lumber" (Barnes 2018, 561). The material used for the statue of the Madonna was, according to archaeologist Jodi A. Barnes, "crafted from Arkansas clay and painted a pink-tinted ivory," (Barnes 2018, 561) and according to historian Flavio Conti was made using "il gesso del reparto ortopedia dell'ospedale" ('the plaster from the hospital's orthopedic department') (Conti 2012, 266). Such scholarly discrepancies illustrate the great loss of information. For Barnes, the chapel suggests the "POWs' creative use of everyday items and the rituals of cooperation required to maintain their cultural traditions" (Barnes 2018, 575) a point Conti would no-doubt agree with given he notes that for the POWs at Camp Monticello "la religione era per molti la principe fonte di conforto spirituale" ('religion was for many the main outlet for spiritual comfort') (Conti 2012, 266). Also demolished, is the Cabrini Chapel in Hawaii, which was built using salvaged construction materials by non-collaborating POWs beginning some time in 1945, with a dedication on July 7, 1946:

> The public opening coincided with the canonization of Maria Francesca Cabrini by Pope Pius XII in Rome. The Bishop of Honolulu gave the sermon, and two brigadier generals, including the commander of Schofield Barracks, attended the mass. (Raduenzel 2015, 22)

The chapel, "with a beautiful altar and decorated with two large, magnificent oil paintings of Mother Cabrini, painted by the prisoners themselves" was razed within a few years and by 1976 a highway stood in its place (Raduenzel 2015, 23).

In some cases, Italians built or decorated altars inside or outside of the camps, including in Umbarger TX (where non-collaborating POWs from the Hereford Camp painted murals), Ogden, UT, and Benicia, CA (where ISU men decorated indoor devotional altars in pre-existing chapels within both of those camps) (Ferroni 2013, 335–353; Barbieri 1998). Outdoor altars or shrines, mostly built out of stone and salvaged materials, also existed although today they are mostly somewhat neglected, have deteriorated, or were purposely razed: an altar at Camp Raritan, NJ is now gone while shrines near Camp Lockett, Campo, CA and near Taunton, MA[xli] remain to different degrees of disregard.

Figure 9
Altar, built by Italian Service Unit members, near Taunton, MA. Photograph by Laura E. Ruberto, 2018

Christmas afforded a heightened opportunity for creative expressions around religious traditions more commonly associated with Italian families; actions that were adapted for the entire camp and even the community beyond the camp. Such adaptations to the dislocated space of the POW camp places them in line with Italian diasporic traditions, a point well illustrated through the bricolage and hybrid creations by POWs of *presepi*. The uniqueness of Italian POW nativity scenes aligns them very much with the ways Joseph Sciorra discusses the miniature Christmas landscapes found in Italian New Yorkers' homes, noting them as an ephemeral "fantasyscape ... enlivened by narrative and performance in the service of Christian pedagogy, autobiography, and family history, and the engendering and strengthening of community affiliation" (2015, 63). The POW-*presepi* illustrate some of the ways that craft and design helped men express their faith, share in cultural traditions, abate nostalgia or loss for home and family, and at the same time bear witness to the unique moment they were living. In 1943, in the POW camp in Douglas, WY, prisoner and sculptor Giannino Gherardi worked on the creche in his barracks which in his diary he distinguishes from a second one that his peers created in the main camp chapel:

> Nella chiesetta è stato preparato il presepe all'italiana, e anche nella mia camerata ne è stato fatto uno piccolino in cui anch'io ho lavorato con tanta passione perché riuscisse il meglio possibile. Fuori dalla grotta ho messo un prigioniero inginocchiato che prega fervorosamente a Gesù Bambino, mentre in piedi impalata vi è la immancabile sentinella col fucile. (Gherardi 2020, 374)
>
> A *presepe* was made in the chapel and even in my little room a small little one was made and even I worked passionately so that it would be the best possible. Outside the manger I put a kneeling prisoner feverishly praying to Baby Jesus while standing resolute was the inevitable sentry guard with his rifle.[xlii]

Such complex personal meaning for these Christmas creations were not easily accessible to Americans even when they were seen by them. They were commonly perceived as highly foreign and exotic expressions of Italian culture and Catholicism. Take this description of a POW at Camp Weingarten near St. Louis:

> The Italians went wild with creativity and effort at Christmas and were especially elaborate in constructing miniature scenes from Bethlehem, fashioning statues from clay as well as creating other lifelike figures by draping burlap bags over roughly human-shaped

> wooden frames and then covering the material with a thin layer of paint or cement. One of the scenes included a complete cityscape, with hotel, village, and manger, complemented by a sky made of backlit cardboard with holes cut out for stars. (In Fielder 2003, 97)

Similarly, at the Benicia ISU Camp in 1944, the men put up a 45-foot-high Christmas tree and built a *presepe*, or what local press called a "Holy Land Christmas diorama" on display for locals to visit. The *presepe* was twenty feet by twenty feet, with timed lighting, a host of animated statuettes, and running water was "built from salvaged material" and covered by Bay Area Italian-and English-language press, which noted the steady stream of visitors who came throughout the season ("Bethlehem Lives Anew in Miniature," "Miniature of Holy Land is Built By Arsenal Italians," and "La vita al campo italiano di Benicia"). Together, these sacred spaces and structures help illustrate the camps as sites of refugee, reprieve, and solace; by sacralizing their space the men created a sense of community that reaches beyond the mundane, beyond the war, beyond the earthly.

Figure 10
***Presepe*, created by Italian Service Unit members, Presidio of San Francisco, date unknown. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library**

Collectively made secular spaces and structures were also common. Italians shaped much of the general landscape of the camps and in some cases even constructed camp buildings. A handful of hardscape work, sometimes decorative, other times practical, is still in existence and mark those local territories by the historical realities of the people who were there before them, becoming a quiet but visible cultural heritage presence of the POWs. These structurers include a fountain and a sculpture near Honolulu, HI, a sculpture at Camp San Luis Obispo, CA, a fountain at Camp Roberts, CA, a brick wall near the former camp in Benicia, CA, and a now-dismantled "Star of Hope" fountain at Fort Benning, GA (Coker and Wetzel 2019, 100).

Figure 11
Stone and concrete retaining wall (detail), built by Italian Service Unit men, Benicia, California. Photograph by Laura E. Ruberto, 2021

In addition, vegetable and flower gardens are commonly noted in descriptions of

the camps and the items grown were dictated by seasonal constraints and cultural penchants of the POWs: former POW, Tom Barbieri recounts that in the ISU camp in Benicia, CA, the men requested seeds for growing basil and fresh tomatoes in the summer months (1998; see also "La vita al campo italiano di Benicia"). Most observations around such horticulture work connect it to an Italian cultural proclivity for agricultural labor: Sergeant Quinton Bianco at Camp Weingarten, MO described the Italians as having a "passion for plants," noting that "Many of the PWs are marvelous gardeners, and they have started numerous flower beds in the space between barracks buildings. The flower gardens are in all designs, one being a map of Italy" (Fielder 2003, 97).[xliii]

Italians also altered the camps' forms in significant ways through the construction of specific buildings. At the Letterkenny ISU Camp they built an "outdoor theater with Greek-Roman arches" (Conti and Perry 2016, 44), at an ISU camp near Baltimore, MD they built a dance pavilion, and in Benicia, a full dance hall. The dance hall was built mainly with ammunition crates which the men had taken apart at the nearby military arsenal. Everything, except for the floor and structural 2x4s (which were donated from locals) came from these crates (Barbieri 1998).[xliv] The hall also included a basement workshop the men dug out for use on personal projects (Barbieri 1998). Barbieri speaks to the precision and care in this construction, connecting it specifically to the Italian concept of "un lavoro ben fatto," (a job well done): "Italians…always being proud… *l'artiginato* [the artisan] … ah you know…being proud…for the job they do with their hands…so we was pretty particular and we did a beautiful job" (1998).[xlv]

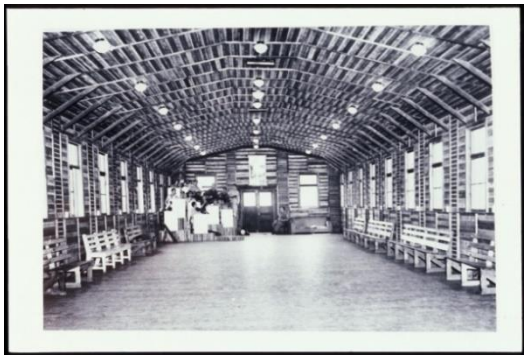

Figure 12
Dance Hall, built by Italian Service Unit members, Benicia, California (note inclusion of bandstand with musicians), circa 1944. Author's Collection

The outdoor structures they built also included numerous sports-related spaces, given the POWs "razioni abondanti" ('abundant rationing'), as Conti puts it, which led to them having time, space, and materials for such landscape modifications as bocce courts and soccer fields (Conti 2012, 223; see also Busco 1967, 66).[xlvi] In describing the tenor at the ISU Camp Letterkenny, Conti and Perry note that "in order to keep morale high," prisoners worked with the American military personnel and Corps of Engineers to eventually build courts and fields for soccer, bocce, volleyball and basketball (2016, 110). At the ISU Camp Benicia the San Francisco-based Italian-language paper, *La Voce del Popolo* noted the "elegante palestra all'aperto opera pure questa degli ingegnosi soldati italiani" (elegant sports field also built by these ingenious Italian soldiers) ("La vita al campo italiano di Benicia"). In camp after camp such moments can be documented

and represent the enactment of an Italian lived cultural heritage and the networks of influence on communities outside the borders of the camps.

Figure 13
Bocce court within the Italian Service Unit camp, Benicia, California, circa 1944. Author's Collection

Less visible parts of the camps were also decorated by POWs at times. At the POW camp in Douglas, WY, a group of artists were asked by their captors to paint murals in the American Officer's Club on site. The result was a striking set of seventeen Western-themed murals riffing off of the work of artists such as Charles Russell and William Henry Jackson. The identities of the muralists are mostly unknown but one of them, Enzo Tarquinio, was a trained artist and returned to Italy where he continued his painting and restoration work until he died (Ruberto 2020). Ten of the seventeen murals at Camp Douglas are signed by three different artists (L. De Rossi, V. Finotti, E. Tarquinio), suggesting possibly multiple hands at work on the remaining unsigned seven panels.

Figure 14
"Horse Round Up," by Enzo Tarquinio, Camp Douglas, Wyoming, 1943. Photograph by Laura E. Ruberto, 2020

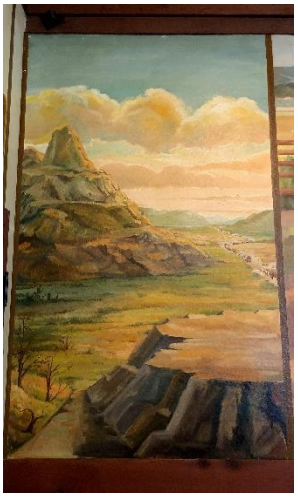

Figure 15
"Wagon Train and Mountain," artist unknown, Camp Douglas, Wyoming, 1943. Photograph by Laura E. Ruberto, 2020

Other kinds of creative products also exist that (similar to the Camp Douglas murals) balance individual craft and collective imagination: including Italian-language camp newspapers (e.g., *Domani* at ISU Camp Ogden, UT; *Noi* at non-collaborating POW Camp Schofield, Honolulu, HW) and a bound artistic volume (e.g., *Il Guado* at non-collaborating POW Camp Hereford, TX).[xlvii]

The bound collection of paintings, drawings, poems, songs, and stories, *Il Guado,* includes poetic and visual imagery evoking the men's longing for home as well as personal portraits and a few still-life images of barbed-wire camps (Valdettaro and Barocci).[xlviii] The volume also includes memoir-like stories about Italy's colonial mission and thus could be read with a pro- or sympathetic Fascist perspective, perhaps understandable given the non-collaborating status of those prisoners.

We might like to assume that since the majority of POWs eventually signed an allegiance to the United States and were deemed not to be a threat to national security that a pro-Fascist perspective was absent in their creative actions. In fact, few Fascist examples seem to exist. On June 1943 the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was asked by the Provost Marshall General to censor a news report that showed Italian POWs near the Fort Leonard Wood and Wiengarten Camps with pro-Fascist imagery: "Italian prisoners had decorated the walls of their quarters with pictures of Mussolini, King Victor Emmanuel and with posters, and that outside the quarters the prisoners had used small pebbles to form fascist emblems, the letter M and a star and crescent." ("Office of War Information Correspondence"). Such examples suggest that Fascist-leaning creative efforts may have been otherwise squelched or censored.

The Intangible

Italian prisoners of war also expressed themselves through a number of less concrete pursuits, developed at times in conjunction with some of the structures and sites discussed above. These included foodways, sporting events, theatrical productions, music performances, tonsorial arts, and other activities ("Italian Prisoners in the United States"). Such often leisure-focused actions built and sustained community, highlighted their culture and personalities and comprise some of the "intangible heritage of prisoners of war" (Carr and Mytum 2012, 1).

POWs were in charge of preparing and serving their own food, including rationing the food they were given, items that were to some extent determined by their requests and assumed tastes (i.e., more rice to the Japanese, more wheat to the Italians). Similar to the artisan work, primary and secondary sources commonly refer to the Italian POWs "gift for creating wonderful dishes" as Fielder puts it, as they regularly prepared Italian-style breads, various pastas, and even on occasion sweets and homemade wine (2003, 18). Curiously, the differing regional culinary habits within Italy seems never to have been documented within the camps. Did the camps further the kind of nationalizing of Italians from different regions and class backgrounds that the Italian military would have already encouraged? Did the homogenization of food and the need to adapt to local ingredients mimic what occurred with respect to foodways within the Italian diaspora (Cinotto 2013)?

Not only did they cook for themselves but in the ISU camps U.S. military and civilians alike would sometimes join them at meals, as Barbieri recalls:

> we used to invite everyone we knew, people on the job...Italian families...they used to come up and we'd have spaghetti, meatballs...our allowance for food was

> the same as for American soldiers but the way we were cooking and what we were cooking...oh we had everybody...we didn't have too much butter, didn't have sweet stuff...it cost too much...just spaghetti and meat…oh we had a lot of people come up there...a lot of people. (1998)

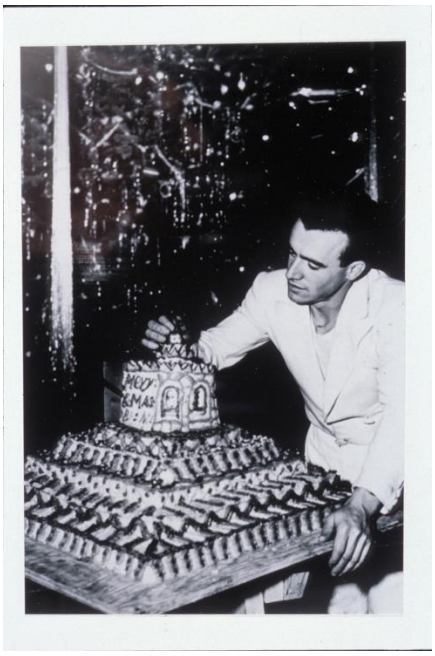

Figure 16
Merry Xmas/Buon Natale cake and ISU member, Italian Service Unit camp, Benicia, 1944. Author's Collection

ISU men also invited locals to watch sporting events, theatrical productions, musical performances and—especially civilian women—to take part in weekend dances. In Ogden, for instance, there were multiple musical ensembles, including a dance orchestra called Orchestrina Patrizia (Bruce 1943c).[xlix] In the San Francisco Bay Area a three-month long soccer championship was held including a number of ISU teams. The championship games, played at the Benicia camp, were attended by civilians from all over the region and covered by the *Voce del Popolo/L'Italia* who described the spectators as "un pubblico foltissimo e entusiasta" ('a crowded and enthusiastic public') ("La vita al campo italiano di Benicia"), once again evoking the idea that the POWs' actions connected them deeply to local communities.

Expanding the Italian Diaspora

The existence of POW-made objects, structures, and a host of lived experiences, sometimes known to us only in the form of an old photograph, remains one of a few ways to understand their lives, emotions, relationships, and values. In most cases the maker or makers in question are unknown, the specifics of their lives are also unknown. And so the material culture itself, or a faded image of it, becomes our key to understanding this cultural heritage. Such decontextualized ephemera becomes to some extent a fossil, a fragment of a cultural landscape of a singular moment and place as well as the people whose lives touched it. This material culture sustained a sense of identity, social cohesion, and continuity in the face of much instability and fragility of existence.

At the end of the war, POWs had to be repatriated to Italy as per the Geneva Convention. Some unknown number, though, left Italy again as emigrants as part of the country's massive post-World War II migratory flows (see Gabaccia 2000; De Clementi 2010; Tirabassi 2014; Ruberto and Sciorra 2017a). But an Italian immigrant veneer had been part of the POWs' experiences in the United States.

Take J. Campbell Bruce's 1943 multi-part *San Francisco Chronicle* series about Italian POWs in Ogden, UT. Bruce, a longtime news reporter, best known as the author of *Escape from Alcatraz*, uses the recognizable Italian ethnic San Francisco neighborhood of North Beach to describe the POWs themselves. For Bruce they literally embody the ethnic urban space: "Except for 'P.W.' stencils on their backs, they looked like a North Beach tableau" (Bruce 1943a, 9). He imagines the POWs in Utah as versions of Italian ethnics: "Drop them into the Little Italy of any American city and they would instantly become absorbed" (Bruce 1943a, 9). Importantly, his characterization of their seemingly self-sufficient collective prisoner community, evokes a tinge of xenophobia towards Italians who were often associated with anti-democratic movements (and who had only three months prior been an enemy) when he says that they "behave and work like colonist in some socialist project" (Bruce 1943a, 9).

The POWs themselves also embraced this immigrant persona to some extent. Gherardi's description of his New York City trip is reminiscent of the wonder and awe many immigrants have held:

> 18.6.44. Gita a New York. Dal giorno che giunsi in America prigioniero, ho sempre sognato, contro tutte le impossibilità, data la mia condizione di segregato, di vedere le grandi metropoli dei grattacieli e la statua famosa della Libertà. Il mio desiderio insperato si è invece compiuto oggi …. Passando da un'isola all'altra col 'Ferryboat' ho scorto la grandiosa statua della Libertà e l'ho guardata con una certa meraviglia questa Libertà che da oltre un anno non vedo più. (2020, 378)
>
> 18 June 1944. Trip to New York. From the day I arrived to America as a prisoner I have always dreamed, against all possibilities given my segregated condition, to see the big metropolis of skyscrapers and the famous statue of Liberty. My hopeless desire instead today became a reality…Passing from one island to another with the 'Ferryboat' (sic) I was accompanied by the grand statue of Liberty and I looked at it with a certain marvel, this Liberty which for more than a year I have no longer seen.

Gherardi's conflicted reaction to seeing the Statue of Liberty also echoes an immigrant's realization of the imagined construction of the so-called American Dream.

Studying the cultural outpouring by this group of Italian men outside of Italy helps redirect standard notions of a transnational Italy and the Italian diaspora. Their experiences as uprooted Italians with unstable, temporary relationships to the spaces they called home for the years they were in camps defines them as part of the Italian diaspora. As Carlo Ferroni has put it: "Now, for these soldiers of modern Italy, the war had led them into an unimagined and frightening Italian diaspora"; they became "an Italian diaspora beyond anyone's imagination" (2013, 149; 148). The creative outpourings and lived expressions of cultural heritage among POWS were not unlike what Paolo Bartolini has described as the "expressive processes and practices enacted

by migrants as they confronted an unfamiliar place" (Bartolini 2016, 13). Italian prisoners of war in the United States built a kind of Italian hybrid ethnic identity and a reimagined sense of their space and home within the confines of their camps, and in certain moments beyond those spaces as well.

Within the material and expressive culture I have documented here are what I have elsewhere called "edges of ethnicity" or "intermittent ethnic edges" that are not always visible or easily recognizable but that allude to an Italian cultural heritage (Ruberto 2019, 117). These "expressions of identities…can be seen as useful links between varying diasporic communities, cultures, and experience" (Ruberto 2019, 117). The experiences of Italian POWs in the United States—as well as those of Italian military internees and prisoners elsewhere—ask us to be mindful of the continual movement of Italians over generations and the notion that migration has never been unidirectional and finite but always have been consistent, porous, and dynamic. Doing so asks us to understand the role and influence of Italian ethnic identities both for the receiving country, in this case, the United States, and Italy. These 50,000 plus Italians materially altered the American cultural landscape in evolving and lasting ways. Recognizing the POWs experiences as part of a larger diasporic process pushes a re-evaluation of the concept of nation, home, and migrant and asks us to consider the role of creativity during wartime as central to the formation of a cultural ethos.

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This essay is dedicated to the memory of Richard Vannucci (1937-2017).

[i] From "Guest of Honor," in Jennifer Lagier's poetry collection, *Second-Class Citizen* (Bordighera Press, 2000).

[ii] I focus on Italian POWs detained on American soil; the United States also held Italian POWs in North Africa. Italian POWs were also detained by the British throughout the Commonwealth and Italian Military Internees were held by Germany after September 1943. Countless creative constructions exist in these contexts but are outside the scope of this article.

[iii] Felice Benuzzi, in his astonishing memoir about three Italian POWs who temporarily escaped in order to climb Mount Kenya, offers a summary of Italian POW creativity, referencing their "prestige" and "ingenuity" across an overwhelming array of media (2016, 23).

[iv] David A. Ensminger (2019) offers a useful compendium to my study from the perspective mostly of German POWs in the United States.
[v] See Ruberto and Sciorra (2021) for a review of the field of material culture studies within Italian American studies.
[vi] See Vellinga (2011) for a critique of the concept and use of vernacular as potentially reinforcing reductionist and essentialist trends; on the problematics of the term, see also Klaus Zwerger (2019).
[vii] See, for instance, Hirasuna (2013); Cooke (2005); Buchanan (2007); Bui (2018); Browning (2018); Thompson, Shields, and Laino (2018).
[viii] Italian diaspora and transnational studies is an expansive field; for some recent interdisciplinary overview essays on the topic see the introductions to: Burdett, Polezzi and Santello (2020); Fogu, Hom and Ruberto (2019); Pretelli (2019); Ben-Ghiat and Hom (2016); and Lombard-Diop and Romeo (2012).
[ix]Since 1998 I have presented on Italian POWs at academic conferences and community events where I repeatedly witnessed Italian American community members recall the experience from first- or second-hand stories while academics were incredulous at the mere fact that there were enemy Nazis, Fascists, and Japanese soldiers housed on U.S. soil and/or they confused the POW case with the case of enemy alien internment and/or Italian civilian internment.
[x] See Chopas (2017); Schenderlein, (2017); Ng (2002); Doyle (2010); DiStasi (2001); and Krammer (1983).
[xi] Military records note at least forty "American born" Italian Service Unit members ("Italian POWs: Provost Marshall General"). For Slovenian soldiers characterized as Italian, see "Italians and Italian Americans political attitudes and viewpoints on wartime developments and for postwar Italy" and "Yugoslavian American Partisan Strife and Ethnic Feuding".
[xii] The Japanese case remains under-studied, but a Japanese military culture that dissuaded capture in part accounts for the limited number of Japanese POWs held by the U.S.; see Doyle (2010, 202–222) and Krammer (1983).
[xiii] The others were eventually scattered throughout the Mediterranean, including about 15,000 who remained in North Africa (Keefer 1992, 28–29; Moore 2015, 181).
[xiv] For the agreement around POW custody between Britain and the United States see Conti (2012); Doyle (2010); and Keefer (1992).
[xv] Unless otherwise noted all translations are my own.
[xvi] Their safety was threatened in different ways even after arriving on American soil; for example, the POW camp near Schofield Barracks on O'ahu, Hawaii was constructed on what was considered a Japanese target (Raduenzel 2015).
[xvii] Some of the more intimate nuances of this sense of, or lack of, said comfort is explored by Reiss (2018) in his study of sex and sexual desire among POWs.
[xviii] On *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*'s involvement after 1943 see Conti's Chapter Nine (2012).
[xix] This sense of cross-Atlantic connection between Italy and the USA existed even among American POWs in Europe (see Denny 1942, 200)
[xx] Italian American community members' lobbying efforts helped clarify the position of POWs. See, for instance, the work of the People and Freedom committee of the Americans of Italian Descent Group ("Italians and Italian Americans political attitudes…"). For Catholic parish initiatives and other community-led projects see Conti (2012,158). See also the FBI's tracking of "Italian American Communist infiltration" of the ISU camps ("Federal Bureau of Investigation report on general U.S. intelligence situation").
[xxi] The more traumatic cases were sometimes documented in the press, such as the *New York Times* on August 11, 1944, notes the death by hanging of Domenico Sagrini in Belle Mead, NJ and the *San Francisco Chronicle* on July 27, 1944, notes that an unnamed Italian POW was killed during a POW worker's strike in Yuma, AZ. Conti (2012), Appendix 7, lists the cause of death for 134 of these deaths.
[xxii]For a comprehensive study of the topic of coddling, see Lee (2010).
[xxiii] On Olivotto's case, see Haman (2007). For scholarship specifically on Italians/Italian Americans and African Americans during the 1930s and 1940s see Venturini (1990); Meyer (2003); or Grilli (2020).
[xxiv] For instance, Corporal Dino Borella, from Oakland, CA, worked as an interpreter in the Ogden, Utah ISU camp (Bruce, 1943a, 9).
[xxv] See Calamandrei (2003); Conti and Perry (2016, 89–91); and Reiss (2018, 87–92). Such connections also became part of Italian American literary and popular culture through the character of Enzo Aguello, the baker's daughter's lover in Mario Puzo's *The Godfather* (see Ruberto and Sciorra 2017b, 1–2). Aguello was

actually an ISU member, based on the description of the "green-lettered armband" that he wore (Puzo, 10).

[xxvi] Donato Ruberto is my paternal grandfather; see Marinaro 2016 and Leonilde Frieri Ruberto 2010. For similar stories see Conti (2012, 172–173).

[xxvii] By early 1940 all German, Italian, and Japanese citizens legally residing in the United States, had to register at local post offices under their new official designation of "alien enemies" (Chopas 2017, 41). Later, different restrictions, and in some cases incarceration, for each group came with that designation. No mass incarceration occurred for Italians or Germans. For Italians, especially on the West Coast, travel restrictions and a curfew were instituted; firearms, shortwave radios, cameras, and flashlights were confiscated. Prohibited zones were demarcated along the West Coast and about 10,000 Italian families, especially those who worked in the fishing industry, were forced to relocate. Fewer than 4,000 were at one point arrested, and fewer than 400 were incarcerated (DiStasi 2001; Chopas 2017).

[xxviii] Oral histories document the impact of Italian enemy alien restrictions on families (DiStasi 2001).

[xxix] The YWCA, YMCA, and the Red Cross hosted POW art shows, organized art sales, and/or donated materials to prisoners. These organizations recognized the benefits of the supplies they provided; as the YMCA noted: "Athletics are Safety Valves," "Hobbies Chase the Blues," "Music Brings a Touch of Home," "Studies Keep Minds Alert," and "Religion Gives Men Courage" ("War Prisoners Aid Helps Men Fill Vital Hours with Sports and Studies"). See examples of such involvement in the Douglas, WY POW Folders.

[xxx] Beyond standard Internet- and library-based research, interviews with POWs or their family in Italy and the United States, research for this project has included the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) as well as historical sites, military bases, local archives, and other site-specific field areas throughout California as well in Massachusetts, Montana, and Wyoming.

[xxxi] See Reiss (2018) for an analysis of the role of sexual desire in the USA camps. See Bellina (2018) for a gendered reading of POWs in East Africa.

[xxxii] Another category might be those postwar creations which explicitly represent or harken back to the period of incarceration. See, for example, Lorenzon (2018) for a critical analysis of such POW memoir.

[xxxiii] I borrow liberally from the Unesco distinctions between tangible and intangible cultural objects. See, for instance, https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003.

[xxxiv] Also *presepio* (singular) or the plural *presepi*.

[xxxv]See Marinaro 2016. The tank remained in possession of the giftee until many decades later when Fortunato's widow, Pat Ruberto, gifted it to my brother, Fabio Ruberto, Donato's only grandson. Fabio donated it to the Senator John Heinz History Center's Italian American Collection in 2014.

[xxxvi] Meaning "poor" or "impoverished" art, the *arte povera* movement critiqued Italy's postwar industrialization by emphasizing an exploration of space and nature through the use of simple tools and everyday objects, including natural ones and those that evoked a pre-industrial state.

[xxxvii] See Ruberto 2020 for the life story around creativity and another Italian POW, Enzo Tarquinio.

[xxxviii] For such general descriptions and photographs see, for instance, Fielder (2003, 97) and Conti (2012, 223). See also the "Italian Book" (of arts and crafts) and "Scrap Book," both housed at NARA. It is impossible to quantify the number of individually created, small, tangible objects made by Italian EPWs while held in the United States.

[xxxix] Braun observes that Burri, aided by the Red Cross, sent only one of the paintings he made in Texas to Italy (2015, 31).

[xl] See the Indiana Historical Society's 2018 exhibit "You Are There 1943: Italian POWs at Atterbury".

[xli] The date 1943 is engraved on the Taunton shrine but ISU men did not arrive there until March 1944. Perhaps the date commemorates the Armistice, but I have found no documented evidence of this or any other explanation of the date discrepancy.

[xlii] For more on Gherardi and his religious creations while a POW see Ruberto, 2021b.

[xliii] On Italian diasporic gardens and landscapes see Inguanti 2011.

[xliv] See a photo of POWs in the act of salvaging wood from crates: https://benicia.pastperfectonline.com/photo/99B9BA94-013A-4970-BBEB-217941005054, accessed November 1, 2020.

[xlv] On "un lavoro ben fatto," see Sciorra (2015, xxiii).

[xlvi] We can only assume that the Americans had no sense of how bocce specifically had been encouraged by Mussolini in an attempt to nurture a nationalizing "classless" past-time for Italians (De Grazia 2012, 169–176).

[xlvii] See Busco on some of the Utah newspapers, including published poetry (1967, 78–80).

[xlviii] I own a bound facsimile produced by offset lithography of *Il Guado*, gifted to me by Camilla Calamandrei, who received it directly from Armando Gnisci, a former non-collaborating POW at Hereford. I do not know of other copies or the whereabouts of the original.

[xlix] Bruce's description plays into the notion of swarthy Italians and Italian Americans: "Swing music with a garlic flavor…the musicians black-haired and dark-eyed" (1943c).

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Review of
Robertson, Kirsty. 2019. *Tear Gas Epiphanies: Protest, Culture, Museums.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Part of the McGill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History Series. Pp. 432, 51 photos, colour section. ISBN 9780773557017.

Tear Gas Epiphanies: Protest, Culture, Museums is an extensively researched, compelling, and incredibly timely book. While protest movements, such as Liberate Tate and Occupy Museums, have garnered international attention, museums and art galleries in Canada, Robertson argues, have had "an uneven relationship with protest," (Robertson 2019, 10) at times actively resisting the presence, voices, and calls of activists. Accordingly, *Tear Gas Epiphanies* explores how protest movements and activist demonstrations in Canada from the 1900s through to the present engage with museums and art galleries. The author goes on to call for cultural institutions to forge and maintain relationships with oppositional movements so that such sites might simultaneously acknowledge and engage with their "compromised position[s]" (Robertson 2019, xvi). From the outset, Robertson effectively sets up her study by pointing out that art galleries and museums, like archives, are not and cannot be neutral; they are never complete but operate in a perpetual state of becoming, of evolving, of change (2019, 11). More specifically, she characterizes museums as "key institutions that occupy the uncomfortable space between the state, the private sector, the arts, and the economy, while also being both targets of, and occasionally providing engagement for, contentious politics" (Robertson 2019, 5). Through an examination of protest movements both outside and inside museums with a concentrated focus on the 1990s up to 2017, this book analyses the tensions generated at the junctures of protest, museums, culture, and cities. *Tear Gas Epiphanies* therefore expands understandings and studies of histories of protest against cultural institutions in Canada, placing arguably some of the most well-known demonstrations outside the *Spirit Sings* and *Into the Heart of Africa* into to a larger trajectory.

Two widely protested exhibitions, *Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary in 1988 and *Into the Heart of Africa* at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto in 1989, have become widely acknowledged by scholars as "part of the series of upheavals in museums in the 1990s" that led to "deep changes to Canadian museum operations" (Robertson 2019, 10), such as the 1994 Task Force on

Museums and First Peoples. *Into the Heart of Africa* featured select African material culture, part of the ROM's permanent collection, that had been assembled in the 19th century. The curatorial approach attempted to acknowledge the colonialist – and racist – assumptions of missionaries to Africa, owing to their lack of understanding of the complexities of African culture. Framing these objects with missionaries' commentaries attempted to convey subtle irony to visitors, but visitors perceived themselves to be immersed in intensely problematic imperial and missionary ideologies.[i] Protests against the exhibition grew in intensity over its four-month run, but the ROM steadfastly "denied the show was racist and downplayed the 'fuss'" (Robertson 2019, 65). Over two decades later, in November 2016, the ROM formally apologised for the exhibition. As a result, Robertson examines the periods before and after these two publicly contested exhibitions, arguing that "the slow work that has taken place in Canada has had a deep impact on museum operations in a way that other movements might do well to note" (2019, 11).

The book is divided into two parts. Part 1 provides the larger socio-political context for the case studies analysed. Here the chapters focus on protest, cultural policy, and museums. For example, Chapter 2 lays out a history of protest "in, outside, and against Canadian museums" (Robertson 2019, 25) to provide a larger context and understanding of "contentious politics at museums" (Robertson 2019, 11). Chapter 3 examines how museum architecture and renovation projects connect with gentrification processes. In Part 2, Robertson brings her contextual analyses to bear on institutional case studies; each chapter examines a particular protest movement and cultural institution, including two provincial art galleries and a number of thematic museums. As contested and contestable spaces embedded in particular socio-political networks, Chapter 4 considers connections between anti-war protest, military investment, veteran activism, and the 2005 opening of the Canadian War Museum building in Ottawa. Chapter 5 looks at the formation of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg, and how the Idle No More movement and Shoal Lake 40 First Nation's calls for access to clean water as a human right motivated museum staff to foreground Indigenous knowledges and interpretations. Chapter 6 explores what the author refers to as a "missing" protest, focusing on the extensive corporate sponsorship of the arts in Canada by energy companies, more specifically the 2012 rebranding of the Canadian Museum of Civilization as the Canadian Museum of History under the Harper government with additional funds provided by the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP). Ultimately, this chapter calls attention to greenwashing. Museums, Robertson writes adroitly, "remain effective greenwashing laundromats…In Canada, this performance often attempts to reconcile the paradox of a fear of environmental disaster and oil as national culture" (2019, 210). Chapter 7 explores connections between real estate development, homelessness, Indigenous rights and land claims, and Vancouver's art scene through the lens of Occupy Vancouver and organizers' encampment located in the courtyard of the Vancouver Art Gallery.

Situated between all of the chapters are a succession of "short interstices" introducing interventions that represent, in Robertson's words, "textual curatorial undertaking[s]" (2019, 28) such as sit-ins,

protests, and demonstrative actions. Cumulatively, they operate as a timeline of activist actions at galleries and museums not commonly acknowledged in accounts of Canadian visual and material culture. They can also be read, according to Robertson, "separately or alongside the chapters" (2019, 28).

Robertson concludes her book by reminding readers that museums do have a role to play in imagining new futures, in opposing climate change, and supporting land claims. These institutions also have responsibilities to both acknowledge and repair broken relationships with communities, particularly marginalized ones. She advocates that such work can be fostered by "deep" collecting, more specifically through "activist-led collecting" (Robertson 2019, 268). She goes on to explain, "as with Occupy Wall Street, activists need to start thinking about archiving as a way to materially halt the process of erasure and resistance and that museums need to help by creating the time and space for these acquisitions" (Robertson 2019, 271). What is more, she writes, "when galleries and museums organize exhibitions about protest or celebrating activist art, the context in which those artworks were made could and should be foregrounded" (Robertson 2019, 271). In June 2020, digital demonstrations by cultural institutions around the world have encouraged (and, in many cases, called for) the implementation of what Robertson refers to as "slow work" to bring about change in museum operations.

In the wake of the police killings of Breonna Taylor (March 13, 2020 in Louisville, Kentucky), George Floyd (May 25, 2020 in Minneapolis, Minnesota), and Regis Korchinski-Paquet (May 27, 2020, while in the presence of Toronto police officers), cultural producers, workers, and institutions around the world posted public statements of solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) (Shaw and Harris 2020). Significantly, many of these statements galvanized museum workers, curators, artists, and communities to call out the respective institutions and share individual experiences of workplace racism, homophobia, transphobia, sexism, and other forms of oppression in multiple public forums (Perla 2020a). In June 2020, *Canadian Art Magazine* published a feature article by artist, activist, and Black Lives Matter core team member Syrus Marcus Ware. In it, Ware recounts his experiences of anti-Black racism when he worked for the Art Gallery of Ontario. He goes on to challenge art institutions in Canada to allocate exhibition spaces in permanent and meaningful ways to Black artists, curators, and programmers; to pay them accordingly; and to hire BIPOC leaders (Ware 2020). Expanding on these calls to action, Armando Perla, Head of Human Rights at the Montreal Holocaust Museum, recommends that museums and art galleries prioritize addressing institutional racism and develop ethical guidelines in partnership with BIPOC communities (Perla 2020b). He argues for anti-oppression and human rights training for current staff, and points out the need to collaborate with, empower, and promote in sustainable ways the work of BIPOC colleagues. Seemingly echoing Robertson, Perla states: "expertise in different areas, such as community organizing, human rights, and activism must become some of the sought-after skills in the recruitment process. The lived experiences that BIPOC individuals bring to the table must be valued as much as museums value academic expertise or corporate acumen" (Perla 2020b). Archives, art galleries, and museums hold objects of value, but, as *Tear*

Gas Epiphanies argues, value is determined and assigned by people in different times and places. Concepts of value shift over time, often slowly. But as 2020 has demonstrated in Canada and beyond, crises and conflict in museums and galleries need to be foregrounded.

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TIM COOK
Canadian War Museum

Review of
Lemire, Beverly, Laura Peers, and Anne Whitelaw, eds. 2021. *Object Lives and Global Histories in Northern North America: Material Culture in Motion, c. 1780-1980.* Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Part of the McGill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History Series. Pp. 506, 105 images, 10 maps. ISBN 9780228003991.

Objects in museums, archives, and other places of history are usually seen by the public behind glass, where they are inert, static, and of the past. In this challenging book, a team of historians, ethnologists, and anthropologists, along with other academics and Indigenous scholars and stakeholders, have come together in a remarkable project to explore the complex and intertwined history of Northern North American material culture. These are *active* objects, in motion and taking on new meanings as old stories and connections are revealed. Through both theoretical and hands-on methodological approaches, and supported by archival research and visual culture, the rich narratives of Indigenous artifacts emerge.

Object Lives and Global Histories in Northern North America consists of ten scholarly articles and a number of sidebars that are framed by an excellent introduction and a methodological chapter. Both introductory chapters offer insight into material culture theories applied in several workshops and meetings that were part of this project. Embroidered moose-hide jackets from Rupert's Land, the Red River coat, toboggan suits, works of art, wampum, Arctic sweaters, Métis dolls, dew claw bags, and Indigenous art made in tubercular sanatoriums, are the core objects around which authors provide original ways to understand cross-cultural interactions, Indigenous agency, ways of conceiving of space and place, and how the material world affects northern history and global culture. The authors unravel the entangled stories around objects, often employing supporting images, maps, and oral history to better appreciate the contexts of creation, use, and movement. The methodological chapter also introduces readers to the concept of "close looking" and "slow looking," which involves the intense observation of objects through which all the parts are examined by multi-disciplinary teams who work together, handling objects, offering theories and observations–all through a collective approach. With objects at the heart of this story, the intense study of them has, according to the authors, "found ways to release knowledge within and beyond those objects" (2021, 50).

Laura Peers' study of moose-hide coats, intricately decorated and preserved in several museums, explores their creation by Indigenous women in the northern Plains and Subarctic. She documents how these objects moved in kinship networks, and how they reveal the cultural transference between Indigenous, Metis, and white traders. A complementing article by Cynthia Cooper on the Red River coat, with its iconic navy-blue colour and red piping, examines another wearable object. Asking similar questions, she furthers her augments - with additional visual culture that better situates how these coats were worn through time and across societies.

Many of the objects studied here shaped fashion, sporting, or social trends within and outside of Canada. Julie-Ann Mercer investigates the legacy of artist Peter Rindisbacher and Sarah Carter examines Clare Sheridan, a British writer and collector in Blackfoot Country. Beverly Lemire's analysis of tobogganing and the "colonizing of winter" presents how Indigenous technology was repurposed by others outside of their society to be used in sport, leisure, and competition. In the late nineteenth century, tobogganing became a popular fad and leisure activity in northern nations, often linked to ideas of taming winter through pleasure. While Lemire ultimately positions this as taking Indigenous technology and changing it into something more frivolous, the author misses the opportunity to draw out how this technology has had a profound impact on many cultures as it was reworked, reused, and repurposed, which would have more strongly revealed the power of Indigenous influence across many societies in Canada and Europe.

In the limited space of this review, not all authors or their articles can be addressed, but each offers new ways of seeing through a close reading of objects. A study of wampum explores the multiple uses and meanings of these objects as gifts, in diplomacy, and through the intermingling of cultures. Wampum, like so many of the objects investigated (including even seemingly ephemeral objects that wear out through use), have all had "long histories" (2021, 190–91). It is against the odds that any survived, and while most authors provide a glimpse of how these objects came to find their way to museums or archival repositories, more could have been said of the motivations to save, keep, store, and make accessible these objects to allow for innovative studies like this.

Object Lives and Global Histories in Northern North America is part of the McGill-Queen's Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History Series, which produces lavishly illustrated and high-quality books. Too often, the exploration of objects is done through limited black and white images. In contrast, this book is a feast for the eyes, with full-scale colour reproductions and maps. It is an important study for material culture scholars, public historians, museum specialists and others who seek to understand the complex lives and afterlives of objects: how they were used, how they moved across communities and impacted social interactions, and how they continue to have and acquire multiple meanings long after those who created them are no longer with us to share their own stories.

LANISA S. KITCHINER
Library of Congress

Review of
African Metropolis: Una cittá immaginaria /An Imaginary City
Organization Institution: MAXXI – National Museum of 21st Century Art
Venue: MAXXI – National Museum of 21st Century Art
Curators: Elena Motisi and Simon Njami

Curator extraordinaire, Simon Njami, envisions the African city as an organic site of radical articulation, a speakerly space with its own tenor, its own language, and its own aesthetic vocabularies. As he puts it, the city is an iterative "labyrinth wherein multiple lives can express themselves…," either as distant and indirect or, coquettishly, "…like a lady who says no while spreading her legs" (Njami 1999, 20). It is, for him, "both polysemy and symphony" (Njami 1999, 20). Njami writes: "Everywhere, the traffic noise, the places where people meet and exchange are peppered with voices and exclamations that give each city its own distinctive tone" (2018, 26). For nearly two decades, the curator has envisioned the city as a place where "home is an illusion that we rebuild from one day to the next" (Njami 1999, 26). It bestows no fixity, affords no sure future. The full force of these sensibilities bleed into Njami's 2018 exhibition, *African Metropolis: Una cittá immaginaria /An Imaginary City*, co-curated with Elena Motisi.

The sprawling survey of more than 100 works by 34 contemporary African artists is framed by sounds of modernity that blend, overlap, and intertwine to create a cacophony of spell-binding noise. Rumbling thunder, amplified music, and rickety rollercoasters spill from Simon Gush's showcase of South African work habits, Lazy Nigel (2016), to collide with the blaring car horns, whistling brake hydraulics, and discursive chatter in Amina Zoubir's neighboring video installation Take the Bus and Look (2016). Zoubir's disruptive commuter scenes are, in turn, punctuated by well-paced shuttering camera clicks echoing from *Debris de Justice 2016*, Antoine Tempe's photo slideshow compilation of wreckage from Dakar's long discarded first Supreme Courthouse. The video installations each capture and reflect myriad ambiguities of city life—how it simultaneously pushes and pulls at the boundary conditions of human experience; how it necessitates engagement, envelopment, and exposure; how it excites all senses as it collapses into a monotonous abyss of buildings, buzzes, beeps, bangs, bustling passersby, and, too, the fitful, haunting silences of abandoned spaces.

The entire show is ensconced in a riotous soundscape so consuming that even serene artworks like Nicholas Hlobo's morbid, slithering sculpture, Waxhot-yiswa Engekakhawula, and Delio Jasse's ghostly cyanotypes *Cidade Em Movimento* (2016) pulsate to the rhythm and rhetorical strategies of Njami's and Motisi's bold imaginary. The soundtrack to this fictitious third space is a well-choreographed mixtape of urban utterances locatable in any major African city. In fact, in any major city—anywhere. Its lyrical language is deliberately ambiguous Orwellian doublespeak.

The curators' spatial design and artist selections foster a sense of familiarity. Spread across multiple rooms and levels connected by climbing pathways, along and through which vibrant displays like fashion designer Lamine Badiane Kouyate's dresses from the Xuly Bët collections of 2016 and 2018 and Abdoulrazaq Awofeso's *Behind This Ambiguity* (2015-2018) articulate the incongruencies of presence and absence, ambition and apathy pervading Africa's complex matrix of human identities. Crevices, ceilings, and walk-throughs are lined with artworks by Bili Bidjocka, Kiluanji Kia Henda, Maurice Pefura, Abdoulaye Konate, Franck Abd-Bakar Fanny, Hassan Musa among several others who frequently appear in Njami's shows. Pascale Marthine Tayou's *The Falling Houses* (2014) descends from the roof. Youssef Limoud's *Labyrinth* (2018) towers above all else and creates a space within a space. Samson Kambalu's video installation, *Nyah Cinema: Ghost Dance* (2015-2017), consumes an easily missed corner. This constellation of organized chaos, of unwavering instability, of intentional incomprehension is the materialization of Njami's long-held desire to construct the biblical city of Babel, "a non-place that would bring together all the sounds, smells and music of the world" (Njami 2018, 22).

The works on view certainly bespeak the exhibition's five major themes: wandering, belonging, recognizing, imagining, and reconstructing. However, if it all somehow seems stale or plain underwhelming, then it might be because the total exhibition reads as a replay or at best as a continuation of styles and subjects repeatedly seen in Njami's expanding canon of curatorial projects. More than half of the thirty-five artists in *African Metropolis* were also featured in Njami's 2017 exhibition, *Afriques Capitales*, shown as two episodes in Paris and Lille, France. In fact, most of the artworks shown are the same. Each of Njami's other recent shows advance the notion of the African city as a non-space, and, in so doing, inadvertently perpetuate dystopian stereotypes of African city life. His most recent exhibitions include *African Remix: Contemporary Art of a Continent* (2005), *The Divine Comedy: Heaven, Purgatory and Hell Revisited by Contemporary African Artists* (2014), *Reenchantments: The City in Blue Daylight and The Red Hour* for the 2016 and 2018 Dak'Art Biennales, respectively. Seeing one recent Njami exhibition, it seems, is as good as seeing them all.

Consequently, new commissions for *African Metropolis*, for example, Hassan Hajjaj's *Le salon bibliothèque*, well thought out as it is, seems not so new at all but rather as a second-hand showing of the 'same old, same old' consumerist scene. Similarly, powerful simplicity and provocative subtleties in works like Francois-Xavier Gbre's *Wo shi feizhou/Je suis africain 2016* or Abdoulaye Konate's textiles, *Calao 2016* and *Ayep 2017*, slip into the shadows of more pronounced pieces like El

Anatsui's shimmering woven sculpture, *Stressed World 2011*. These unfortunate outcomes result from Njami's continuous shuffling and recycling of content far more so than the quality of the artworks themselves. Given Njami's depth of knowledge, including his literary background, his range of experience, and his ready access to fresh material, *African Metropolis*, as one artist friend put it, could, and really should, be better.

Perhaps the disconnect has something to do with the fact that, despite its expansiveness, the exhibition largely fails to exact a site-specific viewing experience. For example, Lavar Munroe's *Gun Dogs* comments upon American police authority. Andrew Tshabangu's photographic series, *City in Transition*, documents rituals and materiality in apartheid South Africa. Other works, like Joel Andriannomearisoa's two-toned triptych *Chanson de ma terre lointaine* and Outtara Watts' mixed-media painting *Vertigo #2*, project abstract variations on themes of musicality, opposition, and otherness, as well as distance and desire in Mali and Paris. However, direct reference to historical connections between Africa and Italy or to the swelling presence of new African immigrants in Rome are virtually nil. One exception is Kiluanji Kia Henda's popular photograph, *Merchant of Venice 2010*, which simultaneously signals William Shakespeare's play of the of same name, Europe's appalling colonial past, and the current precarious existence of African immigrants born or newly arrived on Italian soil. Kia Henda's photograph depicts a black street vendor in colorful West African regalia holding several counterfeit European handbags. The subject's positioning atop a pedestal, within a monochrome marble niche, elevates the notion of the African immigrant from unwanted foreign other to dynamic facet of Italy's complex socio-cultural landscape. Merchant of Venice certainly reveals the complexity of the African presence in Italian city centers, but, aside from Kia Henda's work, the curators seem to aggregate their selections under the rubric of belonging in a kind of shorthand that presupposes the social relevance of the works on view in relation to the local surroundings.

The artwork bundled together under the banner of "Belonging" share single narratives of dissonance and defeat. This is notwithstanding Sharma Shuma's astute acknowledgment in the exhibition catalog that African identity is hybrid and multifarious. Shuma writes:

> This is particularly true in Europe where immigrants not only encounter racial, economic and social-cultural demands for integration and assimilation, but also occupy a proximate past with colonization, which is a constant memory on the boulevards, and in the statues that adorn squares. It is in the streets named in memory of Viceroys and Colonial Vassals, in Museums filled with the loot of previously colonized lands, cuisines enriched with exotica and flavor, residency permits, political slandering, and celebrated tokenism (2018, 87).

The exhibition's accompanying public program agenda works to compensate for the universal nature of the show. *Authors at MAXXI: How to Tell Africa* featured Afro-Italian writers Cristina Ali Farah, Gabriella Ghermandi, Igiaba Scego and Brhan Tesfay. Still, it would have been fresh and relevant if Njami and Motisi had also tapped local talent like Jebila

Okongwu, whose 2015 installation *The Economics of Reality is My Nationality* immediately resonates with the exhibition's central themes. Comprised of forty monumental cardboard bananas imprinted with the logos of European fruit importers, Okongwu's work reflects the co-dependence of African and European socioeconomic identities in the aftermath of colonialism; the work represents how each relies upon the other for sustenance in ways that supersede space and place. The cardboard bananas—with their not-so-subtle references to boats, exotica, branding, and exaggerated black male body parts—are a cunning critique of both the location of culture and the economies upon which local cultures depend, particularly in places like Italy where city life shapes and is shaped by burgeoning African communities. The curatorial choice to overlook local talent in favor of far-flung artists results in a generic, all-encompassing yet somewhat socially disconnected compilation of African artworks.

Neglecting Rome's unique history and current social reality is a missed opportunity. After all, many consider Rome the eternal city, caput mundi (capital of the world) the heart-blood of Western civilization from which notions of time vis-à-vis the Gregorian civil calendar, modern imperialism, democratic governance, colonial architecture, and dominant lingua franca emerge. It is the place that accorded the continent its singular name, and, in so doing, constricted its vast geographies, histories, peoples, and cultures into an imaginary monolith that is now readily mistaken for a single country. These are the conditions and organizing principles to which the postcolonial African city respond and contest. From the piazzas with their hieroglyphs and Egyptian obelisks to the street vendors, panhandlers, and service workers shuffling through cobbled-stone streets, Rome is replete with ripened fodder for probing the past while pushing us all to rethink how we think about Africa.

Admittedly, the issue with African Metropolis is not so much a matter of who or what has been omitted in as much as it is the specific lens through which the objects on view are shown. The true challenge is audience. For whom are Njami and Motisi imagining a fictitious, newfangled urban Africa with its own distinct gibberish? Have not Europeans already thoroughly traveled and documented this terrain —each time doubling back to the same 19th century 'Dark Continent' trope? Why must canonical European texts, in this case the Bible and Fritz Lang's film adaptation of *Metropolis* function as the organizing principles for how we must imagine yet another futuristic African dystopia? In fact, why must it be a dystopia at all? Given the myriad, pervasive, and readily accessible narratives and images of African dysfunction, is it really all that futuristic anyway? Isn't this the Africa that we are each already, always forced to consume—an Africa comprised of what disgraced former American president Donald Trump reportedly described as "shithole nations," where the only certainty is uncertainty? Sadly, it seems that Njami and Motisi have imagined yet another Africa not for Africans, though it is about them, but for non-Africans whose sensitive palates can only stomach little by way of African progress.

To the thematic groupings I would add two interconnected, underlying themes that reverberate through much of the objects on view: Spectacle and Surveillance.

Here the lines between visibility and invisibility, presence and absence, the observer and the observed blur like sfumato lines. Zoubir's *Take the Bus and Look* is exemplary. Positioned across four single file screens cordoned off by blackout carpet and curtains, the documentary short co-opts the viewer as a voyeur, a complicit actor to an invasive, private look into the everyday lives of Algerian bus passengers. The viewer witnesses agitated subjects squirm in discomfort as Zoubir's camera forcingly zooms and refocuses its lens in effort to display social inequities and negotiations of territory, time, and overcrowding in public space. One passenger suggests slapping Zoubir for violating unspoken societal norms. Another suggests that she should be ashamed. Zoubir's taboo acts of watching and openly recording holds subjects hostage while affording outsiders a window-seat view to scrutinize their struggles.

The tension heightens the viewing experience and intensifies the desire to gawk at the ensuing conflict between the camerawoman and the captured, but it also calls into question the bigger issues of witness responsibility and the ever-thorny politics of the gaze. Should the viewer turn away in resistance? Should the viewer give more credence to the subject's devalued but no less responsive counter-gaze? Who is looking at whom in *Take the Bus and Look*, and who is looking at the film? Consistent with the exhibition in full, Zoubir seemingly assumes a particular type of viewer: one versed in ways of seeing African otherness and superimposing upon it Eurocentric normative values. For the exhibition as for *Take the Bus and Look*, legacies of colonialism continue to govern how we see and imagine Africa.

Survey shows often begin with bold, ambitious visions that inevitably result in jumbled signifiers, mixed messages, and lost symbolism. Unintentionally or otherwise, *African Metropolis* overwrites the chaos of urban Africa such that it traffics in ruin porn. The exhibition inadvertently romanticizes an aesthetics of atrocity as it strives and fails to achieve alterity. It shackles Africa to European values of orderliness by casually insisting upon a singular definition of dystopia, and, in so doing, tragically reinforces and replicates abuses of the colonial past. The unknowing visitor succumbs to this faulty but familiar script, and sadly suffers the potential to see tomorrow's Africa just as it has always existed in the misguided popular imagination: dark and disorderly, if not deadly.

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Review of
Iris Häussler, *Archivio Milano 1991*
April 10-July 31, 2021
Daniel Faria Gallery, Toronto

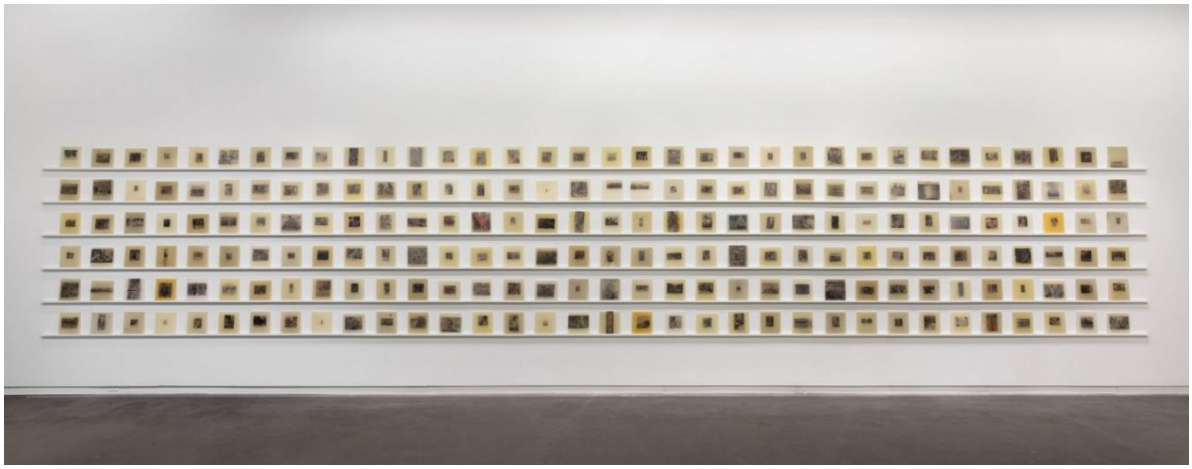

Figure 1
Installation view of Iris Häussler, Archivio Milano, 1991, 2021. Daniel Faria Gallery, Toronto. Image source: https://danielfariagallery.com/exhibitions/archivio-milano-1991?id=04_Archivio-Milano-1991-at-Daniel-Faria-Gallery-crop-3 (accessed May 25, 2021).

It takes a few moments to realize that what seem like rows of neatly arranged books are, in fact, newspaper clippings encased in square slabs of wax (figure 1). The viewer's resulting disorientation is compounded by the fact that the current COVID-19 pandemic has confined Iris Häussler's *Archivio Milano 1991* exhibition at Daniel Faria Gallery to an entirely online existence. The slightest cracks and textured imprints on the surface of some of the pieces, the air bubbles or bits of debris, trapped like dead insects—all of these details have been muted in the photographic documentation, the only way to experience Häussler's work for the time being. Yet while this reliance on digital mediation might initially simply seem necessary only for the purpose of bringing the exhibition to viewers, it plays an

arguably more important role by underscoring Häussler's interest in documentation as a highly personal, in an idiosyncratic sense, act that is also fundamental to her art practice.

Häussler's archive is both eminently material and materially inaccessible, obscured through layers of wax and the viewer's physical removal from it. Some scholars regard "the archive" as a body of historical data that is to be engaged through interrogation and curation, waiting for a framework to be imposed onto it (Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever*, Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge*). Häussler has already subverted the more familiar definition of the archive by blurring the boundary between fact and fiction in her past works. In *He Named Her Amber* (Art Gallery of Ontario, November 2008-May 2010), the Grange mansion adjacent to the gallery was transformed into a quasi-archaeological site that contained documents and personal belongings of a young Irish maid named Amber. Neither Häussler nor the AGO immediately revealed that the exhibition was actually a commissioned work of art rather than a genuine historical find. Similarly, the numerous iterations of the *Sophie La Rosière Project* (Art Gallery of York University, 2016; Scrap Metal Gallery 2016; Daniel Faria Gallery 2017; PSM Berlin, 2019) construct the identity of the (fictional) French artist Sophie (1867-1948), whose corpus of paintings was discovered after purportedly laying abandoned for over ninety years. What makes *Sophie La Rosière Project* arguable more unnerving than *He Named Her Amber* is the series "Blood Cloths"—nine pieces of fabric soaked in blood—which gives Sophie a sense of corporeality that Amber seemed to lack. *Archivio Milano 1991* may be a more literal archive in that it is a work that has been preserved and brought out thirty years later. When talking about how the exhibition came into being during an artist talk with art critic Sky Gooden on June 16, 2021, Häussler notes the element of serendipitous discovery when she unearthed the boxes with the wax slabs in her studio with Faria, describing him as the "final editor" (Häussler and Sky Gooden 2021).

The "archival" in *Archivio* serves as an entry point, moving away from the equation of the archive with stagnation. Hal Foster puts it differently, distinguishing between archival art as "construction site" instead of as "excavation site," a "utopian ambition" that "suggests a shift away from a melancholic culture that views the historical as little more than the traumatic" (2004: 22). The original manifestation of *Archivio Milano* coincided with the "archival turn" of the 1990s and early 2000s, in which "visual materials from extra-artistic contexts [were moved] into the field of art" as part of "a late-stage manifestation of post-modernist appropriational practices," according to Cheryl Simon (2002: 102). Yet neither iteration of *Archivio Milano* seems to be characterized by the anxiety over the transition from physical to digital documentation that was also prevalent during this period. The wax preserves the newspaper clippings, as well as the objects and the dead bodies depicted on them, recalling the medium's role as an embalming agent in many cultures. At the same time, the wax also preserves the memory of tactility — Häussler collecting wax church candles and melting them, the turning of newspaper pages and the tearing or cutting when a fitting example was chosen, dropping the clipping into the wax and watching the transition between states as the wax's solidification also crystalizes the present

for posterity. *Archivio Milano 1991* is a living document to a past that is still being added to, a conceptual work in which "the concept is not a template for execution but rather [a way] to silence too much thinking," the artist states in the accompanying video on the gallery website (Häussler 2021). Similarly, the archival nature of the exhibition heightens the visitor's awareness of that fact that their experience of the work is subjective and temporary, replaced the moment someone else engages with it.

Like the soft wax that can easily retain the form of objects that have been pressed into it, *Archivio Milano 1991* participates in the unprecedented circumstances of the pandemic. That the exhibition existed largely in an online format is reflective of Häussler's initial intention to preserve "reports of natural disasters, political strife, and local news items likely not important enough to be remembered" (Daniel Faria Gallery 2021). Unlike Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* (1962-2013) and Aby Warburg's *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (1927-1929), which the online exhibition text names as artistic precedents of *Achivio Milano 1991*, Häussler's work is less concerned with trying to interrogate social and political memory or charting visual themes and patterns across time. Instead, the monumentality of history gives way to something smaller and more intimate, an element of emotional connection that is facilitated by the fact that newspapers are themselves part of a community, one rooted in a preoccupation with informing and sharing, of ensuring that readers remain "in the loop." The days of clipping newspaper ads and pasting them in a scrapbook are largely behind us, yet there is still a touch of the personal that comes to mind when seeing the newspaper fragments, even if through a screen. The close-up photographs of some of Häussler's pieces bring to mind a variety of affects: the satisfying crinkling of newspaper as it is being cut; the smell of the ink and the stained fingertips that darken the more one fumbles with the newsprint; the soft *snip* of the scissors as they glide through paper. The physical process of art making may be part of the past, but *Archivio Milano 1991* is by no means a passive exhibition, its ability to speak volumes manifesting instead through the spectrum of affect that the work invokes.

The conceptual subversion of the archive continues in the curatorial side of *Archivio Milano 1991*. In the original 1991 exhibition, visitors were invited to reach out and rearrange the tablets to their liking until eventually, the tablets were "organized by human interaction — past dates jumping ahead of later ones according to the whims of hands" (Daniel Faria Gallery 2021). This was not the case in the 2021 exhibition, where the artwork was placed out in the open yet there was no explicit invitation for a similar sort of visitor engagement. This willing surrender to illegibility is inherent, given that the newspaper articles encased in the wax are themselves largely illegible, "opaque," as Häussler describes it (Iris Häussler 2021). If the purpose of the archival material is two-fold—to serve as a document by nature of its very existence while also holding historical value by virtue of the information it could impart to viewers—then *Archivio Milano 1991* subverts the archive on a level of materiality. There is little factual information to be gained from the wax slabs — the faces of people are largely obscured, text smaller than headline-size is difficult to make out, at least through the computer screen (figure 2, 3).

This only adds to the works' role as facilitators of personal inquiry and speculation while simultaneously reminding viewers that as easily as history is constructed, it is just as easily lost or forgotten, rewritten as it is recalled and lost once more.

Figure 2
Untitled piece from Iris Häussler, Archivio Milano, 1991, 2021. Installation view. Daniel Faria Gallery, Toronto. Image source: https://danielfariagallery.com/exhibitions/archivio-milano-1991?id=04_Archivio-Milano-1991-at-Daniel-Faria-Gallery-crop-3 (accessed May 25, 2021).

Tactility—or rather, the absence thereof in light of COVID-19—plays a prominent role in this "active" form of archiving, recalling curator Xiaoyu Weng's argument that the "curatorial grammar" of an "active archive" is one where "the exhibition themes and the meanings of artworks [are] not delivered through di dactic statements; instead, interactions between archive materials and artworks turn[…] the process of interpretation into one that [is] constantly evolving" (Weng 2013: 87). There are no wall labels to be seen. There is no label ascribed to each individual square in a way that typically roots a work of art to a specific location and orientation within an art gallery, suggesting that it belongs here until another curator comes by and decides otherwise. Hearing Häussler describe the casting process, "pushing them [the newspapers]" out and watching them "emerge" (Iris Häussler 2021), makes it sounds like she birthed the work from her own body no differently than her own human child, whom she also briefly speaks to in the video. Like a child, the wax slabs become beyond Häussler's reach the moment they appear in the world, left to grow in meaning and significance in the eyes of the visitor, who creates meaning without permanently grafting it onto the individual pieces. After all, this honorary role was already given to the wax, in which the slivers of newspaper were suspended thirty years ago.

Figure 3
Untitled piece from Iris Häussler, Archivio Milano, 1991, 2021. Installation view. Daniel Faria Gallery, Toronto. Image source: https://danielfariagallery.com/exhibitions/archivio-milano-1991?id=04_Archivio-Milano-

1991-at-Daniel-Faria-Gallery-crop-3 **(accessed May 25, 2021).**

Originally scheduled to close May 22, the exhibition was extended to July 31, 2021, with the gallery reopening its doors on June 11. *Archivio Milano 1991* thus spent the majority of its duration in the form of an online exhibition. Even in its digital manifestation, Häussler's work does not fail to snare the imagination, making the mind participate in the construction of narrative either through recollection or fictional fabrication, as is characteristic of Häussler. To me, the sight of the six long horizontal shelves recalls the satisfying intimacy elicited from viewing or engaging in various forms of collecting, from the *Kunstkammer* to modern-day scrapbooking, long before I even begin to consider the construction of memory or the themes of visibility and concealment. I am reminded of Edmund De Waal's fascination with materiality in his memoir *The Hare with Amber Eyes*, of the way he "remember[s] if something invited touch with the whole hand or just the finders, or was an object that asked you to stay away" (2010: 16). I assume that Häussler's *Archivio Milano 1991* would be the former sort, try to imagine the texture and weight of picking a square off one shelf and moving it to another, and hope that circumstances allow me to discover this information for myself.

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Review of
Mariam Ghani and Erin Ellen Kelly: When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved.
August 21, 2020 – April 4, 2021, at the Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, United States.

Mariam Ghani and Erin Ellen Kelly's videos and photographs, taken at the Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, occupied two gallery spaces on the second floor of the Speed Museum in Louisville, Kentucky. Pleasant Hill, located an hour and twenty minutes southeast of Louisville, is one of four Shaker Villages designated as National Historic Sites in the United States (Morrow 2019, 55). The Shakers were a Christian sect that emerged in England in the middle of the eighteenth century and found success in the United States during the social and religious fervour of the nineteenth century. The sect sought to bring "heaven on earth" through their commitment to sustainability, celibacy, and equality of gender and race (Morrow 2019, 55). Dance and physical movement played a central role in Shaker communalism and worship, leading outsiders to deride the believers for the way their bodies convulsed when the spirits moved them. For these physical manifestations and their communal focus, early members were ridiculed as "Shaking Quakers," from which the name Shakers derives (Morrow 2019, 50). At the height of their influence, nineteen Shaker settlements spanned New England to Kentucky. Today, there are only two remaining Shaker members, both residing at Sabbathday Shaker Village in New Gloucester, Maine.

Ghani and Kelly's exhibition – realized through the support of the Pleasant Hill Shaker Village, donors, and Shaker scholars – presents photographs and a three-channel video of a site-responsive performance that took place at the Shaker Village Meeting House in the summer of 2018 (Speed 2020, 0:28). The 22-minute looped-video sequence condenses a day-long performance by dancers from the Louisville Ballet and Moving Collective and pairs that footage with scenes from the historically preserved Shaker Village, the most recent site in Ghani and Kelly's ongoing collaborative series *Performed Places*. Each work in the *Performed Places* series responds creatively to the history and configuration of a specific space (Ghani 2019). Rather than reproducing a historical Shaker dance, *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved* engages the legacy of Shaker worship through a play of movement, space, and time. Gallery wall text frames the work as a "meditation on Shaker landscaping, architecture, song and dance as ways of organizing being-in-common" (Speed Art Museum 2020).

Figure 1
Mariam Ghani and Erin Ellen Kelly, *Jump* from the series *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved*, 2019. Dye transfer print on dibond. (c) Mariam Ghani & Erin Ellen Kelly; Courtesy of the artists.

As I entered the dark gallery displaying the artists' three-channel video, I also encountered three wooden benches set up on the gallery floor. The benches provide a physical counter to the three, two-dimensional projections illuminating the wall opposite the entrance. The video's horizontal arrangement evokes a triptych, accentuated by the artists' decision to project the same footage, flipped horizontally, on each of the two outside channels. "The symmetrical format of the 3-channel installation," Ghani explains on her website, "refers to the highly symmetrical gift drawings produced by Shakers as depictions of the visions received during these meetings" (2019).

Figure 2
Hannah Cohoon, *Tree of Life*, 1854. Ink and tempera on paper. From The Andrews Collection at Hancock Shaker Village. This work is in the public domain in its country of origin and other countries and areas where the copyright term is the author's life plus 100 years or fewer.

Rather than deploying these visual frames as three independent vignettes or as a narrative arc, the three-channel video acts as a moving-image ensemble bringing movement, light, color, sound, and image together. The center channel shows dancers entering the Shaker Village Meeting House, where they proceed to stomp, twirl, sway, clap, shake, sweat, step, and jump, until finally everything is still. The outside channels present footage of spaces beyond the Meeting House walls: a sea of trees, rectangular buildings, serpentine rock walls, measured white fences, tended pastures, and undulating hills. These outside channels buttress the movement of bodies in the center channel and offer glimpses of the environment the Pleasant Hill Shakers inhabited and the orderly world they constructed. Arthur E. McLendon writes that "Shaker landscapes and building interiors expressed extreme order and neatness, a well-known attribute designed to stress that Shaker villages were an earthly analog to the divine order of heaven" (2013, 49). Seated on the center bench, with projections pushing beyond my vision's peripheries, I was brought into the ordering of the space and the play of balance, repetition, and movement.

While retaining traces of the material conditions of the historical site, the creative liberties that Ghani and Kelly took in

executing and presenting their work frees the piece from the knowability and finality often associated with the archive. The three-channel video installation situates the videos within a geographic and historical place while simultaneously pushing the footage beyond the function of documentary record. Even in the confines of the gallery, the work is lively and active in a performative sense. The performative – as J.L. Austin first and then Judith Butler have articulated – entails *doing* or *constituting* something. Rather than simply documenting the performance at the Shaker Village, Ghani and Kelly's videos performatively link the installation to the performance and site through a combination of sound, light, image, and rhythm. Performance scholar Baz Kershaw offers the biological concept of homology as a way of thinking about the status of a document in relation to an original live performance. "In biology," Kershaw writes, "homologies occur when a diverse species share similar structural factors, such as the five digits of a human hand and a bat's wing. I search for homologies that link performance effects and spectator responses in and between live events and their traces" (2008, 27).

One such homological structure in *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved* is gesture. A shared set of movements operate like a canon: a series of movements repeated by one dancer after another creates a link between video, performance, and the historical site. Through the presentation of the videos, Ghani and Kelly stretch the canon beyond its traditional boundaries, beyond the confines of the dancers' bodies to create links across bodies, structures, and the land: the dancers shake, the trees shake outside; feet pointed toward the ceiling shake, leaves shake in the light; spider webs tremble along the rock wall, bodies tremble on the wood floor; the woods sway, bodies sway; shadows stretch up along the yellow paneled house, bodies stretch across the planks of the Meeting House floor. The Shakers themselves shook: their bodies trembled when the spirits moved them. Ghani and Kelly's intervention into the space calls attention to an embodied communion that manifests through bodies situated in the world. *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved* draws upon Shaker spiritual practices and emanates from the surrounding landscape—phenomenologically connecting and situating the body within a particular community and environment.

Figure 3
Mariam Ghani and Erin Ellen Kelly, *Meeting House, Morning* from the series *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved*, 2019. Dye transfer print on dibond. (c) Mariam Ghani & Erin Ellen Kelly; Courtesy of the artists.

Though it included expressions of Shaker religion, *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved* is not presented as a history lesson, period reenactment, or cultural pageantry. The three-channel video does not recount Shaker worship through a set choreography. Instead, it opens a space for viewers to be present with the piece and affected by the rhythms of the video

installation. In a reenactment, one is positioned either inside or outside of the performance, but in performative works such distinctions become prickly. The inclusion of audience members in the video footage from the live performance, as well as an occasional visitor wandering the grounds at Shaker Village, contextualizes the conditions of the performance to highlight its production, and ultimately, extend its effect. Seeing visitors sitting on wooden benches in the Meeting House as they watch the dancers bend, twist, squat, and roll reflected my own position as an audience member sitting on a wooden bench inside the Speed Museum watching the dancers bend, twist, squat, and roll. No one is outside of the artwork. Acknowledging the production of the performance, the presence of an audience, and the transformation of the site into a visitor destination, *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved* closes the space between the "object" of viewership and the viewer, opening instead a space for being-in-common. Ghani and Kelly's collaborations also offer a model for being-in-common where ideas, practices, and bodies come together to produce something new, something shared. This collaborative approach is multiplied in *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved*; artists, dancers, a singer, the production crew, and the liveliness of the material environment enter into the collaborative process, a process that offers a mode of being-in-common in which one's actions, thoughts, and feelings move beyond the singular "I." Reflecting on the collaborative nature of the project, Kelly has said, "it's not my aesthetic, it's not Mariam's aesthetic, it's not [even] the aesthetic we've made as our collaboration. It looks like nothing I would ever make as a dance piece. It looks somewhere out there [outside of us] as opposed to something I would hold so close in my idea of what choreography should look like from an aesthetic point of view" (Speed 2021, 4:25). Ghani and Kelly's collaborative approach to the site and the performance – combining artists and practitioners, human and non-human aspects, past influences and present conditions – produces an exhilarating exercise in being-in-common; one that invites the viewer to be present with the installation, the performance, the world outside, and that which exceeds us.

Figure 4
Mariam Ghani and Erin Ellen Kelly, *Two Houses, Ashley on the Floor, & Last Cow in the Field* from the series *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved*, 2019. Dye transfer print on dibond. (c) Mariam Ghani & Erin Ellen Kelly; Courtesy of the artists.

One could spend hours gazing at all of the beautiful things the Shakers made: weavings, bonnets, drawings, hymns, tools, furniture. Viewing the museum's

joint exhibition, *Careful, Neat & Decent: Arts of the Kentucky Shakers*, I was struck by the simplicity of design and deft execution on display in the Shaker chairs arranged in front of me. But unlike Ghani and Kelly's videos and photographs, these chairs were not made to be stared at, catalogued, or displayed in a museum; they were made for sitting. Ghani and Kelly offer a counterpoint to engaging the past as a set of fixed objects that one looks at, learns from, and then knows. *When the Spirits Moved Them, They Moved* creates a space for museum visitors to sit in relation to a work meant to be engaged as an embodied viewer. Through a set of shared effects that breach representation, we begin to think critically about what being-in-common means and how we ourselves might practice being-in-common. After a year of social distancing, loss, violence, and protests against systemic racism, sitting in the dark space with one other viewer as the light, sounds, and colors reverberate and move through us, I think: this is my practice.

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Beyond the Artifact: Unfolding Medieval, Algorithmic, and Unruly Lives of Maps

Living in Maps and Living Maps: An Introduction

> *Most of us, I suppose, have a secret country, but for most of us it is only an imaginary country.*
> — C.S. Lewis, 1952[i]

The places we love and fear, the ones that we associate with past experiences, and those evoking hopes for the future, coalesce and engender affective human geographies. I remember noticing a row of colorful book spines that lined some shelves in my father's study. Scaling the desk and yanking one free, I spent the afternoon slouched on the floor browsing through maps and atlases. I gazed at continents, fractal coastlines, and vast oceans that seemed to defy gravity by clinging to a ball-shaped earth. Topographic maps of the terrestrial surface exposed a primordial biosphere ostensibly devoid of human civilization. Other illustrations showed a more comprehensible spatial order partitioned into colored shapes and neatly divided boundaries. Since this occurred in the 1980s, these boundaries included the Iron Curtain that divided both my native Germany and the western and eastern blocs. Admittedly, browsing through my old atlases and dog-eared stamp collection today makes me slightly embarrassed of my younger self's spatial illiteracy. While my efforts of sorting stamps by their issuing country appear commendable, they were undermined by critical gaps in knowledge that, however, did not prevent me from fabricating my own idiosyncratic view of the world.[ii] For instance, I apparently believed Berlin to be an independent nation. Flawed as it might have been, this palimpsestic Frankenstein geography stitched together from atlases and stamps had assumed a life of its own.

Maps, as this childhood episode intimates, have never existed within a scientific black box solely determined by data, expert knowledges, and mapmakers' intent—despite "'scientific' cartography's efforts to convert culture into nature, and to 'naturalize' social reality" (Harley 1989, 4-5; 11). Conversely, they "attain 'real' existence by virtue of networks and pathways, by virtue of bunches or clusters of relationships" (Lefebvre 2011, 86). Maps thus become systems of signification and visual assemblages of signs that connect with other (social, cultural, historical, political, economic, racial, etc.) signifiers to create "model[s] of knowledge and cognition" (Harley 1989, 4). Cartographers encode information and users decode it by aligning cognitive processes, environmental, and psychosocial vectors. Roland Barthes proposed that "the substance of the signifier is always material (sounds, objects, images)," hence making maps into signifiers of material culture (1983, 47). It is at the meeting points, overlaps,

fault lines, and sites of material and mental mappings where human geographies and a sense of place emerge.

While acknowledging the impact of material and mental maps on human lives, this paper aims to explore the social and biographical vectors of maps themselves. On the one hand, this implies an object-oriented decentering of mapping as a primarily anthropocentric exercise by retracing, as Tania Rossetto put it, "a piece of an object's autobiography in which a map tells its own story" (2019, 8). On the other hand, the following makes clear that "[b]iographies of inanimate things constantly intertwine with human biographies generating new meanings" (Dora 2009, 348). This approach is also indebted to J. Brian Harley's proposition that maps "can be regarded as agents of change in history" that prompt us to go beyond "a technical and practical history of the artifact [and] also [consider] the social significance of cartographic innovation and the way maps have impinged on the many other facets of human history they touch" (1987, 5).[iii] More than being material artifacts analytically caught between their creators' intent and recipients' perception, I suggest that maps regularly exceed the perimeters of temporally and spatially distant human experiences and themselves generate an "ever-changing outcome of complex sets of [social] relations" (Massey 1993, 67). Appreciating the social lives of maps then means undoing the "normative models of cartography" and breaking the "mimetic bondage" of objective representation (Harley 1989, 2; 4). Exemplifying these dynamics, the following (re)appraises a synchronous spectrum of historical and contemporary maps, among them medieval projections, hand-drawn maps of Manhattan, a soluble rendition of the Gaza Strip, and a map crafted from the wood of demolished Chinese temples. Unfolding the social lives of these maps, I propose, affords valuable insights into the often-neglected interplays of material culture and human placemaking.

Cartographic Lifelines: Portolan Charts, Medieval Big Data, and Butterflies

A new globe has been given us by the navigators of our time.
— Jean Fernel, 1530[iv]

During the early fourteenth century, commercial seafaring began to flourish in the Mediterranean. Medieval maps with their ornate embellishments, however, proved largely insufficient for these new endeavors at the onset of a new era of trade and exploration. Christian doctrine had mostly rejected Ptolemy's scientific worldview, which was preserved only in the Muslim world. Many medieval *mappa mundi* drew from the *Polyhistor*, authored by Gaius Julius Solinus. They mixed anecdotal knowledge with fantastical topographies, populating cartographic spaces with cryptozoological beasts and "monstrous races" (Mittman 2015, 38; see Wilford 2002, 40). These intellectually precarious and superstitious illustrations are the groundwork of today's GPS-based, mathematically precise cartographic techniques.

Figure 1
***Ebstorf Map* with T-O shape, showing East at the top, Jerusalem at the center, and Rome as a lion (c. 1230s; 360 x 360 cm stitched goatskin). Credit: Wikimedia Commons.**

The first professional mapmakers were called cosmographers and set up shop in the prospering Italian port towns of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. Breaking with the clerical conventions of *mappa mundi* by changing orientation from East to North, their maps preserved some decorative elements of T-O maps by including depictions of monstrous creatures and foreign peoples (see figure 1). Contrary to the straightforward narrative of medieval cosmologies being replaced by a commerce-driven scientism, the origins of early modern cartography involve decidedly social dimensions. Instead of going into the field and taking measurements, most cosmographers remained landlocked and relied on social networks that connected them with captains and common mariners of incoming vessels with whom they exchanged observations about coastal geographies orally or through pilot books,[v] from whose Greek (*periplus*) and Italian (*portolano*) names stems the term portolan chart (Wilford 2002, 60). Unlike today, navigation with portolan charts did not work via numerical headings by degrees, but relied on so-called winds that corresponded to compass directions.[vi] As John Noble Wilford explains:

> The most distinctive feature of the charts was the network of rhumb [...] lines that crisscrossed all major bodies of water. These lines radiated from wind roses, placed at intervals over the map. Lines from the primary points, the half-winds, and the quarter-winds were usually drawn in distinguishing colors [...]. [...] A mariner would head his ship on one or several of those lines until he reached the next landfall. (2002, 64)

Although they often omitted inland topographies and toponymies, portolan charts made maritime pathfinding more reliable because they accurately illustrated shorelines and harbors, thus greatly reducing the risks involved in medieval seafaring. This new approach favored a view of the world that was less beholden to religious dogma and accessible to a wider social spectrum than clerics and few other medieval elites—while at the same time constructing the underpinnings of European colonialism overseas. Spain, Portugal, and the Balearics became a cartographic hotspot that fused cartographic traditions of Jewish, Western, and Arab scholars, resulting among others in the Catalan Atlas (see figure 2). With their six colorful maps of the world, Abraham and his son Jehuda Cresques in 1375 promoted a more data-driven cosmology that relied on falsifiable data and contained "almost no mythical creatures" (Wilford 2002, 65; Hessler 2015, 15). In the words of Alfred Crosby, this heralded

a transition "from thinking of the world in terms of qualities to thinking of the world in terms of quantities" (1996, 102). While cosmographers utilized innovative technologies—most importantly the magnetic compass—their charts proved beneficial chiefly for regional navigation within the Mediterranean, Black and Red Seas, Levant, and African Coast. Since portolan charts did not consider the curvature of the earth or show meridian lines, consistent transoceanic journeys during the age of discovery became feasible only after the emergence of Waldseemüller's *Universalis Cosmographia* (1507) and Mercator's revolutionary projection (1569).[vii]

Figure 2
***Catalan Atlas* with rhumb lines and the first-known depiction of a wind rose (1375; six vellum leaves at 64.5 x 50 cm). Credit: Wikimedia Commons.**

Unlike other medieval social traditions, many of which appear removed from contemporary experiences, the allure of portolan charts remains high. They are invaluable collector's items and are replicated *en masse*, adorning the walls of studies and virtual backgrounds of Zoom calls everywhere. Aesthetically, this allure may stem from their synthesis of artisanal hand-drawings superimposed with the mathematical strictness of rhumb lines. On the one hand, these lines materialize the mostly indiscernible, virtual connectivities that shape our own spatial experiences today. They reconnect us with literal and biographical networks of meaningfulness by historicizing the validity of 'our' ways of seeing the physical world. On the other hand, rhumb lines also bear witness to the Western histories of conquest, colonialism, slavery, and exploitation by empires and companies that navigated the globe with their help. But extending their social lives into the present day works not only in theory but also in praxis. For instance, should a ship suffer a breakdown of its modern navigational equipment, the captain could take a decorative portolano chart from the wall of her cabin and, together with a compass, use it to reach the nearest harbor as they are in fact "so accurate that ships today could navigate with it" (Rehmeyer 2018).

What is more, the diverse Christian, Jewish, and Islamic intellectual histories of portolanos extend beyond the scope of Europe. Rhumb lines that indicated viable routes to mariners draw analogies to the stick charts utilized by Micronesian seafarers to navigate the complex topography of the Marshall Island archipelago in the South Pacific in outrigger canoes.[viii] Connected by coconut fiber, on these material maps shells and coral pieces mark the position of islands while leaf-veins of palms indicate directions of ground swells, enabling navigators to find their way in an archipelagic water world of myriad islands (see figure 3). When the Marshall Islands fell under German rule in the late nineteenth century, colonial studies identified three different types of stick charts: *Meddo* and *rebbelib* served navigation and differed only in their degree of accuracy while *mattang* charts were coarser projections used for training and

instruction (Hessler 2015, 63). In contrast to their European counterparts, stick charts are neither fixed nor final but flexible, organically composed, and able to be re-arranged and adapted to new circumstances and discoveries. Still, like portolanos and in an intriguing case of transoceanic cartographic biographies, stick charts visualize maritime routes through complex linear patterns. This parallel emphasizes maps as universal visual texts whose symbolic vocabularies frequently exceed linguistic, cultural, social, and ethnic boundaries, as well as obstacles of literacy and age.[ix]

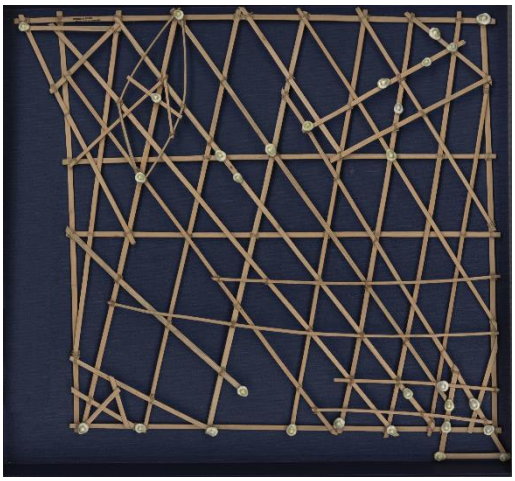

Figure 3
Stick chart of the *rebbelib* type from the Marshall Islands (c. 1920s; 67 x 72 cm bamboo and shells). Credit: Library of Congress.

After the Marshall Islands gained their independence in 1986, stick charts were immortalized, together with a pictogram of a traditional sailing-vessel, in the nation's seal. This decision further underlines the significance of maps as utterly social entities. First, as agents of historical and social cohesion among the diverse cultures of Oceania, connected through mnemonic artifacts and traditions such as stick charts. Second, in relation to individuals and their particular place in the world as "individual charts [were] constructed by a navigator to suit his own particular requirements. Indeed, an entirely competent navigator cannot, under any circumstances, interpret a chart which he himself has not made" (Resture 2012). Like Lukasa remembrance boards in Congolese society, stick charts are not only memory banks that hold personal geographical knowledges but also mnemonics of significant historical events in societies without printing culture (see Hessler 2015, 113). They bridge the *terra nullius* between individual human geographies and the overarching social functions of cartography and illustrate that maps can be at once personal and universal. Putting them in relation to European portolan charts brings into question the "mimetic bondage" of representation and terrain that "look[s] down on the maps of the past (with a dismissive scientific chauvinism) [and] regard[s] the maps of other non-Western or early cultures [...] as inferior" (Hessler 2015, 113). Contrary to technocratic views of maps as "an impersonal type of knowledge [that] tend to 'desocialize' the territory they represent [and] foster the notion of a socially empty space," Micronesian mapping traditions unveil the socially adhesive function of maps (Harley 2002a, 81). Maps, it becomes clear, are material and organic spaces of knowledge that encompass mnemonic social landscapes and thus create a "totemic geography linking together place and people [...] not [as] something 'natural' and opposed to people, but totally socialized" (Tilley 1997, 38).[x]

Present-day cartographers, geographers, and computer scientists—and increas-

ingly the blend of quantitative and qualitative research in the digital humanities—rely on geographic information systems (GIS), machine learning (ML), and computational algorithms that process spatial data to produce "deep," "thick," and "forensic" maps (see Morris and Voyce 2015). Mapmaking today thus is no longer only concerned with questions of scale, distance, and pathfinding but increasingly turns into an interdisciplinary play-lab where scholars and artists experiment with creative ways of visualizing physical and social spaces. Examples are endless and range from brain atlases[xi] to literary geographies[xii] and maps of virtual play-spaces.[xiii] Despite the seemingly insurmountable distance to this interactive mapmaking, tracing the social lives of portolan charts bring to the fore unexpected vectors of agency that reach well into the present. For instance, almost three quarters of a millennium before the rise of Silicon Valley tech companies, late medieval cosmographers accumulated and processed their own version of big data. As critical geographer Sam Hind observed, portolanos "served the same general, navigational purpose as any location-enabled map 'app' does in the 21st Century" (2020, 133). This *longue durée* of the portolanos' biographical lives then asks for a prosopographical perspective that provides insights into the patterns, techniques, and relationships through which these old maps continue to transform present knowledges.

Some of the most fascinating recent probes into these dynamics was not performed by a geographer or historian. In 2000, a burned-out chemical engineer named John Hessler left the US to take a contract job in the French Alps. There, the passionate amateur climber could pursue his interest in lepidopterology—the study of moths and butterflies. Navigating the mountainous terrain, Hessler studied the distribution and genealogy of butterfly species that were isolated on remote mountains by the last ice age. Analyzing the shapes and patterns on the insects' wings to test for possible genetic kinship across the scattered populations, he faced the problem that their distinctive "features take a variety of forms from lines and polygons through more complex curved concave and convex shapes" (Hessler 2010). Much like a cartographer, Hessler had to find a way to project a three-dimensional object onto a two-dimensional surface without warping its actual form beyond recognition. Unlike the medieval cosmographers, however, he employed mathematical algorithms for morphometric analyses of shapes and sizes. A specialized software morphed the patterns and calculated how much energy was needed to transfigure one shape into another; the less energy and computing power it took, the closer the genetic kinship between the species.

Following his alpine stint, Hessler worked as a curator of the archaeological and historical collections at the Library of Congress. Digging through, he eventually came across some of the first-known portolan charts drawn on rolled vellum (calfskin) and was taken aback by their mathematical accuracy. "Where and how did medieval mapmakers, apparently armed with no more than a compass, an hourglass and sets of sailing directions," he pondered, "develop stunningly accurate maps of southern Europe, the Black Sea and North African coastlines, as if they were looking down from a satellite, when no one had been higher than a treetop?" (Tucker 2010). What also amazed him were the portolanos' radical improve-

ments compared to their imprecise precursors as well as their variation from subsequent Mercator projections that project grids of latitudinal and longitudinal lines. In contrast to both, the multidirectional network of rhumb lines of portolanos that radiate from wind roses appears entirely random.

Remembering his time in the French Alps, Hessler wondered if morphometric methods could help decipher the secrets of the rhumb lines' placement. After experimenting with this approach, Hessler realized that "[m]odeling the shape change on a modern and ancient map is not all that different from the butterfly wing problem" (Hessler 2010). In fact, the algorithmic approximation of Mercator projections and portolano charts showed a somewhat consistent 8.5-degree counterclockwise rotation of the latter. This deviation is known as magnetic declination and reflects the disparity between true North and magnetic North, which changes across time and place based on the movements of liquid iron in the Earth's core. Hessler speculated that the cosmographers did not consider these deviations and instead took surprisingly accurate averages from the observations of sailors and pilot books. For Hessler, the significance of interdisciplinary research lies not just in solving historical puzzles with modern technology but also in recovering the social position and importance of maps. This endeavor becomes pivotal for the current coordinate system of society since "[u]nderstanding how the technology was developed gives us insight into how we got here, and perhaps into where we're going" (in Rehmeyer 2018). Present and future mapmaking, the following section shows, is fraught with issues that appear even harder to untangle than the social strands of portolan charts.

Discipline and Visualize: Algocracy, Ego Maps, and Maps of Protest

I am marked like a road map from head to toe with my repressions.
— Philip Roth, 1969[xiv]

Nation-states and powerful corporations have always acted as patrons and gatekeepers of cartographic knowledge used for navigation, diplomacy, warfare, exploration, exploitation, censorship, empire and nation-building. In terms of social and racial hierarchies, their maps project constellations of power or lack thereof, for instance via the segregation of living quarters alongside railroad lines or lacking public transportation infrastructure. Maps are epistemic instruments of authority that make possible control over the mobility of people and goods. They may reveal seeming hotspots of criminality and justify no-go zones or the oppressive policing in areas labeled as deviating from the patterns of a statistical map of 'normal' (i.e., desirable) society. Cartographic power is not only projected through political action but also through social conventions at the core of the cartographic vocabulary, for example technical and aesthetic decisions such as size, scale, typography, color coding, or what to include and omit.

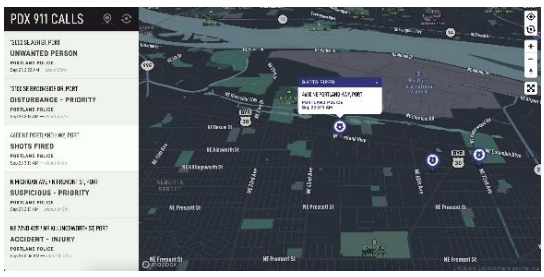

Figure 4

Live map showing 911 calls and police responses in the Portland, Oregon area (2021). Credit: PDX 911, http://pdx911.wtf/

What Ben Williamson called "algorithmic governance" works through the mathematization of social orders as each palpable information is measured, weighted, and mapped (2013, 1). This so-called algocracy permeates almost all aspects of social life, visible in online maps that show 911 calls and the responses of authorities in real time (see figure 4). Unlike portolan charts that held immense material value for their users, many twenty-first century maps are freely available on the internet. Cartographic value thus no longer stems merely from the (immaterial) object of the map itself but from its constituting data and access to its sources, as well as algorithmic methods of collection and visualization. Instead of aggregates used for specific purposes such as navigation and exploration, contemporary maps express ever-growing data pools collected and processed by state agencies and private corporations. In *Social Physics*, Alex Pentland described the resulting cybernetically processed social data as "socioscopes" that "give a view of life in all its complexity—and are the future of social science. Just as the microscope and telescope revolutionized the study of biology and astronomy, socioscopes [...] will revolutionize the study of human behavior" (Pentland 2015, 23). Together, artificial intelligence (AI) routines, and algorithmic mapping reduce the complexities of social issues to the binary logics of computational space. Here, the individual is placed either inside or outside the 'normal' parameters of civil society.[xv]

The resulting map of 'normalcy,' however, hinges less and less on social discourse and interpretation among individuals or groups. Instead, it claims to map facts that are seemingly legitimized by scientifically neutral data sets, for example socioscopes of criminal hotspots or social credit scores in Chinese cities. Harley recognized these issues already in the 1980s. "Much of the power of the map, as a representation of social geography," he noted, "is that it operates behind a mask of a seemingly neutral science. It hides and denies its social dimensions at the same time as it legitimates" (Harley 1989, 7). In a historical reversal of cartographic logic, maps are no longer carefully crafted from a (at least temporally) stable set of numerical values such as distances, wind directions, or elevations. Conversely, the data collectively produced by members of a given social group *becomes* the map. Italian media philosopher Matteo Pasquinelli afforded some profound theoretical insight into these dynamics:

> Data are not numbers but diagrams of surfaces, new landscapes of knowledge that inaugurated a vertiginous perspective over the world and society as a whole: the eye of the algorithm, or algorithmic vision. [...] The accumulation of numbers by the Information Society has reached the point at which numbers themselves turn into space and create a new topology. The digital matrix is eventually morphing into a world of curves and waves rather than bits and quantities: vectors of tendencies, clusters of social patterns, dorsals of anomalies and spikes, concretions of in-

> telligence. A new collective geography opens to colonization. (2016, 250)

The most persistent perils of algorithmic mapping lie in the indiscriminate collection of data and ability to discipline social spheres in the service of governance, regularly under the pretext of crime and terrorism prevention. In Foucault's terms, "[t]he map [is an] instrument of power/knowledge" on various social scales (1980, 74). Its creation and interpretation depend on state or corporate interests, and it illustrates ostensibly incontestable truths that discipline individual and social bodies alike as:

> [t]he map becomes a means of inquiry, of examination and control—electoral maps, maps of ethnic groups, taxation maps, etc. Discipline can only be effective through the control and structuring of space; and hence it is not surprising that prisons resemble hospitals, which resemble schools, and factories, which resemble prisons. (Tilley 1997, 21)

But the disciplining function of big-data mapping also exhibits a penchant for collapse. If every day experiences and cartographic representations can no longer be reconciled into a meaningful relationship, maps turn into hollow simulacra of social power and forfeit authority and discursive weight. Claims of unbiased and objective mapping run the risk of culminating in what Baudrillard described as the "mad project of an ideal coextensivity between the map and the territory" (1988, 166).[xvi] On May 1, 2000, a new law in the United States laid the groundwork for these developments by removing restrictions from the civilian use of GPS navigation devices. While the technology was long-since open to private use, the government had thus far inserted random inaccuracies "in an effort to deny accurate positioning service to U.S. military adversaries" (United States Department of Transportation 2020, 1).

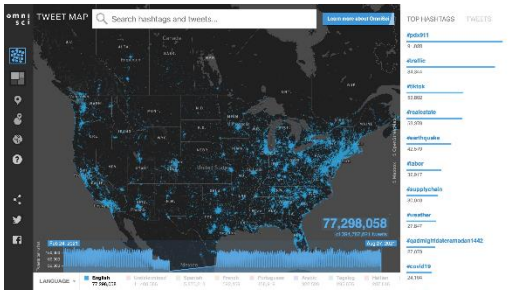

Figure 5
***Tweet Map* picturing global Twitter activity and trending hashtags (2021). Credit: OmniSci, https://www.omnisci.com/demos/tweetmap**

The law removed the artificial deviations which increased the accuracy of GPS by a factor of twenty (or from a hundred to five meters) and therefore paved the way for 'smart' mapping technology driven by AI, ML, and big data. Two decades later, as we commute, walk, or cycle from one place to another, GPS-enabled devices and apps construct maps around us by processing a plethora of information. Some is purely functional and used to avoid traffic jams or road hazards. Other information is used to recommend restaurants or places of interest along the way or allow the sharing of real-time locations with family and friends. Sam Hind described this as the "Russian Doll" effect in which "[r]oad names, retail locations, 3D building models, and other such features present themselves at varying levels; dependent on their perceived relevance to the map reader" (2020, 134).

Interactive maps, it appears, have evolved into distinctly social entities that never cease to cater to our every need and desire. Tireless personal assistants with subservient voices locate the coordinates of our existence within virtual frameworks that range from country roads to urban grids and intercontinental flights. At the same time, the vanishing of standardized physical maps, such as road, undermines the role of maps as social glue that "creat[ed] a common territorial and topographic basis for nationhood" (Schulten 2001, 19).[xvii] Navigating virtual cartographies suggests that instead of the (imagined) community of the nation the individual squarely occupies the semantic center of an 'I-map' that is brought into existence unconsciously via social activities on Twitter, Facebook, or Google Maps (see figure 5).

The subsequent and constant hailing of the 'you are here' paradigm sets in motion the processes of ego-mapping. If everyone perpetually creates their own map, a sense of cartographic narcissism breeds a spatial self that always arrogates a position of centrality. Paradoxically, this kind of mapping is both social and antisocial; it depicts a zoomed-in sector of the world that scrolls with the movements of the user, stripping away as invisible and thus irrelevant social contexts that exist beyond the egocentric map.[xviii] In an interview with *The Verge*, Snapchat CEO Evan Spiegel—perhaps unwittingly—condensed this notion into a statement about a newly introduced "Snap Map" feature, which he described as a way of "personalizing the map, and making it reflect the world the way that you see it" (Newton 2020). Procedurally generated by social media feeds, the world shaped by ego maps is at once intimately personal and facelessly corporate. Anticipating and reinforcing the physical and mental motion of their users, the psychogeography of these maps exemplifies glaring present-day social phenomena that juxtapose feelings of limitless extraversion and cosmopolitanism with the myopic, self-referential parochialism of social echo chambers.

In view of this algocracy, it seems easy to agree with the idea that "the discipline of geography often presents us with an emotionally barren terrain, a world devoid of passion, spaces ordered solely by rational principles and demarcated according to political, economic or technical logics" (Davidson, Bondi, and Smith 2007, 1). Still, few would deny that our surroundings also engage closely in entanglements with our social and emotional sensitivities.

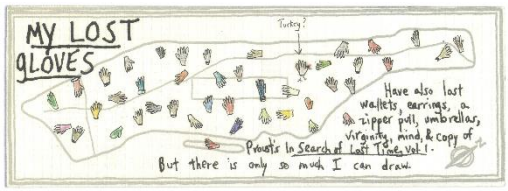

Figure 6
Map of Manhattan showing locations of gloves lost by American humorist Patricia Marx (2013; 8.8 x 24.4 cm crayon). Credit: Cooper, Becky. 2013. *Mapping Manhattan: A Love (and Sometimes Hate) Story in Maps by 75 New Yorkers*. New York: Abrams Image, p. 19.

Brooklyn Bridge, for example, "could be a place for romantic meetings but also the ideal location for suicide: a consummation of the individual's new-found freedom, or of the city's potential for alienation" (Dennis 2008, 7-8; see Wöll 2017). Despite all algorithmic insinuations, cognitive interactions with space via mental

mappings remains a crucial mechanism of placemaking. In what Frederic Jameson called "cognitive mapping," socio-spatial structures connect "the individual subject to that vaster and properly unrepresentable totality which is the ensemble of society's structures as a whole" (1991, 51-54).[xix] As an enduring part of the human condition, the most powerful social maps remain those on which we envision home. Iconic models of how distinct this sense of home can be in terms of scale and perspective are Saul Steinberg's autogeographies *View of the World from 9th Avenue* (1976) and *Zip Code Map* (1994). Both maps externalize skewed distances and warped scales while simultaneously offering a subversive commentary on the myopic worldview of New Yorkers and Americans who see their hometown or nation as the center of the universe. Eccentric Steinbergian geographies are not so much technical instruments as visual ways of thinking about the world that invite comment, evaluation, and pastiche. They reveal that in what Katherine Harmon called "the age of the citizen mapper," cartography is no longer a specialized profession but a part of everyday life, particularly for those living in New York City where one:

> can find maps of [the] most common dog breeds and dog names, by neighborhood, and a map of neighborhoods with the most dog poop. [...] There are New York woodcut maps, knitted maps, embroidered maps framed by doilies, gilded maps, and a map of the boroughs made of honeycomb. [...] There are maps of what New Yorkers complain about (mostly garbage, vermin, noise, graffiti, and blown-out streetlights, the order depending on the neighborhood) and maps of happiness, too. (Harmon 2017, 26-28)

The city's hyper-productive nexus of human geographies forms a tapestry for cognitive maps drawn by belonging and alienation as the metropolis "blends the gift of privacy with the excitement of participation" (White 2011, 23).[xx] For her collection *Mapping Manhattan* (2013), Becky Cooper asked both random people on the streets, but also celebrities like Yoko Ono and Neil deGrasse Tyson, to fill in blank maps of Manhattan. The result is a convolute of personal, emotional, experimental, and experiential maps (see figure 6). Some merely contain typewritten dates while others portray ornate fantasy worlds. The maps are at once a litmus test of the sensitivities of American society and, as Cooper noted, "passports into strangers' worlds" (2013, 10). These worlds are assemblages of somber data, lost objects, and subjective abstractions of the 'real' world whose imaginative topographies defy attempts of 'factual' mapping, instead conveying memories, emotions, and the materialized agency of socio-cartographic lives.

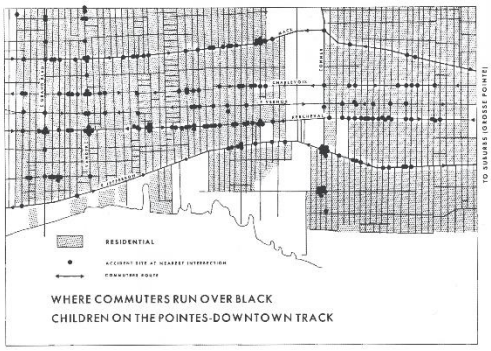

Figure 7
Where Commuters Run Over Black Children on the Pointes-Downtown

***Track* by radical geographer William Bunge (1971; 21.4 x 25.4 cm print). Credit: Hessler, John. 2015. *Map*. Hamburg: Edel, p. 210. [originally published in Bunge, *Field Notes: Discussion Paper No. 3*, 1971]**

While mirroring ideologies, hierarchies, race, class, gender, and other vectors of spatial orders, maps can become powerful instruments of social critique. In the 1970s, radical geographer William Bunge mapped the fatal state of American and Canadian inner cities under such blunt titles as *Where Commuters Run Over Black Children on the Pointes-Downtown Track* (1971; see figure 7) and *Region of Rat-Bitten Babies* (1975).[xxi] At the surface, they offer seemingly neutral figures about traffic flows, accidents, and distribution of diseases in urban environments. Once this information is interpreted, however, the maps reveal the spatial consequences of social and racial discrimination. They make graspable the cartographic marginalization of subaltern people and that "[t]he peasantry, the landless laborers, or the urban poor had no place in the social hierarchy and, equally, as a cartographically disenfranchised group, they had no right no representation on the map" (Harley 2002b, 101). Dennis Wood wrote about *Commuters*:

> Any Detroiter would have known that these commuters were white and on the way between their work downtown and their homes in the exclusive Pointes suburbs to the east. [T]his is a map of [...] white people as they rush to and from work run over black children. [...] It's a map of racist infanticide, a racial child murder map. (2010, 115)

Bunge's map discloses the uneven power relations between infrastructural planning, political governance, and social realities of disadvantaged people by visualizing the fatal privileging of automobile mobility over that of black children who play in the streets due to the lack of municipal playgrounds (see Morris and Voyce 2015). This example of activist mapping expresses a caustic social critique that hits hard because it clads itself in the somber guise of scientific facts and the authoritative visual language of cartography. In doing so, civic mapping demonstrates that social disadvantages and injustices resulting from the methods that undergird capitalist spatial policies can be exposed with the very tools with which they are justified and enforced. In Bunge's own words, in order "to cut all these poisons it is necessary that I passionately dismiss passion" (1979, 172). It also shows that maps are no innocent reflections of reality but assume agency through a social responsibility to disclose injustices and abuse.

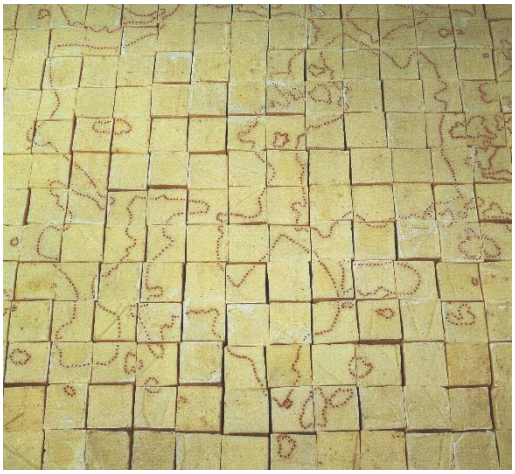

Figure 8
Close-up view of Palestinian artist Mona Hatoum's *Present Tense* (1996; 5.5 × 232.5 × 289 cm soap and glass beads). Credit: Hessler, John.

2015. *Map*. Hamburg: Edel, p. 143. [originally on display at Tate, London]

As a result of his civic activism, Bunge was branded a radical Marxist by the Un-American Activities Committee and banned from teaching at campuses. He subsequently moved to Canada, drove a cab in Toronto, and worked with underground publishers. Many critical maps of today are indebted to Bunge's groundbreaking research. Of course, they largely use digital tools to establish counter-discourses, resulting in a map of Black Lives Matter protests,[xxii] a Global Protest Tracker,[xxiii] and a city map of Hamburg that shows the hotspots of violence between protestors and police during the G20 meeting in 2017.[xxiv]

Artistic approaches to mapping provide additional venues that allow for nuance and creativity in protest. Palestinian artist Mona Hatoum's installation *Present Tense* (1996; see figure 8) is a floor sculpture made from 2,400 pieces of olive-oil Nablus soap. The soap blocks were locally sourced and form a map of Palestinian territories in Israel with red beads indicating lands that were supposed to be returned according to the Oslo Accords. In the installation, objects "to be found at home and in communal spaces, objects used in the rituals of everyday life" reify the political aloofness of territorial strife (Dimitrakaki 1998, 95). The result is a fragmented social landscape that speaks through the minimalist language of a strict grid broken up by meandering red lines that visualize the polysemous connections among Palestinians and Israelis and transcend the breakages of the region's complicated socio-political history. Finally, the artwork's materiality reminds us that political boundaries are always artificial and borders highly soluble.

Figure 9
***Map of China* sculpture sculpted by dissident Ai Weiwei (2004; 43 x 56 x 400 cm ironwood). Credit: Kunsthalle Bern, https://kunsthalle-bern.ch/en/exhibitions/2004/ai-wei-wei/**

Chinese dissident Ai Weiwei crafted *Map of China* (2004; see figure 9) manually from tieli (ironwood) salvaged from dismantled Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) temples. Four meters long and weighing 635 kilograms, its scale prompts viewers to orbit the sculpture, study it from multiple angles. At first glance, the wooden map seems to be a solid object carved from one single tree. A closer inspection reveals its assemblage from many separate elements, suggesting a twofold awareness. First, that the country's vastness and complexity run counter to the self-promotion of Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity by its ruling political cadres. From the perspective of Western viewers who may kindle a one-dimensional image of China and the monolithic plasticity of all things 'Made in China,' it

signals the multidimensionality of Chinese history and culture.

Second, the map's structured and imperfect surface made from one of the oldest building materials also counterpoints the sterility of disembodied binary abstractions of computer-generated maps and their lacking sensuous dimensions regarding shape, size, texture, and smell. Finally, the map's fragmented monolithity speaks to "China's cultural and ethnic diversity, a sensitive topic that has resulted in violence and civil estrangement in recent years" (Cheung 2015). *Map of China's* skin-deep uniformity and concurrent jigsaw structure embody the contradictions between the nation's specious external power and its internal struggles with ethnic diversity[xxv] and individual rights. Compiled from the remnants of Chinese cultural traditions, Ai Weiwei's map reconstructs social connections with the memories and traumas of its loss that were erased from public memory by the Maoist regime.

Conclusion: Folding and Unfolding Cartographic Biographies

Finally, exploring the social dynamics that surround maps and mapmaking asks us to go beyond the artifact and appreciate its connections with human and material structures of knowledge, meaning, affect, and time. Marcel Duchamp's *Network of Stoppages* (1914) shows that map-like artifacts attach spatiotemporal experiences not only because they "[look] like a 'map"' but also because their social layers of meaning form "part of a 'map' of *time*" (Gell 1998, 249; emphasis in original). By insisting on the interchangeability of human and non-human forms of expression, such meta-cartographic epistemes destabilize anthropocentric worldviews and establish common ground with object-oriented ontology and the rejection of "claims that human experience rests at the center of philosophy, and that things can be understood by how they appear to us" (Bogost 2009). Two obstacles, however, impede the move towards a more socially inclusive conception of maps. First, the strictures linked to scientific literalism and cartographic objectivism. As Graham Harman explained, "no one can tell us the literal meaning of *Hamlet* [...] just as no one can translate the curved three-dimensional Russia into a perfect two-dimensional map of that country. Literalism holds that a thing can be exhausted by a hypothetical perfect description of that thing, whether in prose or in mathematical formalization" (2017, 90). The second obstacle concerns the swift rise of algorithmic methodologies that uphold and enforce the disciplinary functions of maps. A focus on creative resistance against both issues should thus be part of future attempts at tracing and unfolding the social lives of maps.

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[i] In *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader*, p. 5.

[ii] Some specimens, for instance, appear under the country label "Island" (the German term for Iceland), probably because the stamp on them contains the word "island." To resolve the 'mystery' here, the actual writing on the stamps identify their origin as "The Island of Cyprus."

[iii] See also Harley's melancholy reflections in his 1987 article "The Map as Biography: Thoughts on Ordnance Survey Map, Six-Inch Sheet Devonshire CIX, SE, Newton Abbot" in *Map Collector* no. 41, 18-20.

[iv] Qtd. in Lach 2010, 415-16.

[v] Dating back as far as the fourth century BCE, pilot books are still used as supplements to digital navigational aids such as Global Positioning System (GPS) and radar. For a history of early modern navigation see Nordenskiöld's *Periplus:*

An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-Directions (1897).

[vi] The oldest preserved specimen of portolanos and simultaneously the first known nautical chart is the *Carta Pisana*, carbon-dated to around 1290-1350.

[vii] Fritz Connor Kessler explains that "[t]he Mercator projection was designed to permit rhumb lines drawn on the projection to be straight lines. This characteristic was particularly useful to navigators in that they could lay out a rhumb line on the map and then follow its compass direction from the origin to destination" (2020, 51).

[viii] The widespread use of stick charts in Micronesia declined after the arrival of American forces during World War II.

[ix] Carl Sauer observed that "the map speaks across the barriers of language" (1956, 289). For children's perception of space and maps see Piaget and Inhelder 2005.

[x] American essayist Adam Gopnik encapsulated this notion poetically by musing that "[m]aps [...] are the places where memories go *not* to die, or be pinned, but to live forever" (2013, 4).

[xi] See https://portal.brain-map.org/.

[xii] See http://www.literaturatlas.eu/.

[xiii] See https://www.minecraftmaps.com/.

[xiv] In *Portnoy's Complaint*, 124.

[xv] The most prominent and controverse example for the confluence of algorithmic mapping and the regulation of social behavior is China's Social Credit System (社会信用体系) introduced in 2011.

[xvi] Ironically, reality in this instance overtakes poststructuralist critique as there indeed exist cartographic traditions in which territory and map are equivalent, see Hanson 1983. Viewed from this angle, maps exemplify the collision between the modernistic passion for the real and the postmodern emphasis on representations. As Slavoj Žižek cautioned, the advancing replacement of social realties with representational models (such as maps) eventually "culminates in its apparent opposite, in a theatrical spectacle [and] passion for the semblance" (2002, 5-6).

[xvii] This social function of maps regularly acted as a tool of oppression, for instance serving to confirm white supremacy as part of "a metageography where continents correlate to race and physiography" (Schulten 2001, 35).

[xviii] Or, as Becky Cooper put it in *Mapping Manhattan*, "a GPS can't map the cure to all kinds of lostness" (2013, 12).

[xix] Edward C. Tolman coined the term "cognitive map" in the 1948 *Psychological Review* article "Cognitive Maps in Rats and Men."

[xx] In an essay titled "Feeling New York," I have some years ago discussed the emotional geographies in Horatio Alger's *Ragged Dick* and that "authors have regularly likened the metropolis to a living organism that was, starting at the middle of the nineteenth century, increasingly seen as being infected with the disease of poverty caused by the exploitation of the growing ranks of the working classes" (Wöll 2017, 2).

[xxi] In his *Nuclear War Atlas* (1988), Bunge refers to the same map as *Children's Automobile "Accidents" in Detroit*.

[xxii] See https://www.creosotemaps.com/blm2020/?fbclid=IwAR28N-iX_CZZ06JZrR7fd64xp5lfPIYBvLiHb_sB7g1Kb1-z70rCDBnX4qs.

[xxiii] See https://carnegieendowment.org/publications/interactive/protest-tracker.

[xxiv] See https://g20.protestinstitut.eu/.

[xxv] For instance, regarding the sensitive subject of oppressed Uyghur Muslim minorities in some of China's northwestern regions.

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The Dutch East India Company (VOC) Tasman Map and Australia: Competing Interests, Myth Making, and an Australian Icon

The State Library of New South Wales, located in Sydney, Australia, is the oldest major public library in the country. Its historical research wing, the Mitchell Library, reigned for decades as the nation's premier collecting institution, and its vestibule-entrance boasts a spectacular 1941 mosaic reproduction of one of its greatest treasures: a 17th century map recording the voyages of Dutch navigator Abel Tasman. Colloquially known as the Bonaparte-Tasman map, it records Tasman's voyages of 1642 and 1644, charting much of the Australian continent's coast. Yet the coastline is incomplete, thus representing the historical moment between an imagined *Terra Australis Incognita*, and the final survey of the east coast which presaged British invasion and colonization. This paper explores the myths associated with the Bonaparte-Tasman map, named in honour of its penultimate owner, Prince Roland Bonaparte, a nephew of Napoleon. We examine its contested origins and role as an agent of Dutch East India Company imperial ambitions; its relegation to forgotten castoffs when that empire collapsed; Bonaparte's desire to gift it to the nascent Australian Commonwealth as a symbol of new nationhood; and finally, the international subterfuge involved in its acquisition, not by the nation, but the Mitchell Library. Analysis of what was known of the map in the decades prior to its arrival in Australia challenges the conventional narratives and we propose the biography of the Tasman map is a study in imperialism, colonialism, federation, and power.

Terra Australis Incognita and the Two Voyages of Tasman

The prospect of a Southern Land occupied the European imagination for many centuries. Although already continuously occupied for at least 65,000 years (Clarkson et al. 2017, 306-10), *Terra Australis Incognita* – later to be called New Holland, and then Australia – embodied, according to Liam Bennison, "many of the tropes of the ancient Greek antipodes…illustrations evoke the eschatia, the endzones of wonders and the monstrous" (2020, 82). As Bronwen Douglas argues (2010, 181-4), it was a topic of speculation, fear and fantasy since Pythagorean assertions on sphericity of the earth, with later conjecture on the probability of a large southern land mass taking on a new commercial urgency during the 15th century (Hiatt 2008; Stallard 2010, 2016). By the early 17th century, when the Dutch government supported military-commercial enterprise Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (hereafter VOC) had its Asian base in Batavia (now Jakarta, Indonesia), and other bases throughout the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia (Boxer 1965), an imagined southern continent was already appearing

in multiple European maps (Collingridge 1895). Ever alert to new fields of potential profit, VOC's attention turned to *Terra Australis*, which was thought to be south of their Batavian stronghold.

Figure 1
Map of Australia, New Guinea, New Zealand...showing the results of his voyages of 1642-3 and 1644 known as the Tasman map. Image from Alamy Stock images, permission to reproduce granted.

In 1642, Antonio Van Diemen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies and based in Batavia, sent Abel Tasman on the first of two exploratory journeys. The 1642 voyage of the *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen* was highly ambitious and, according to Michael Ross (2002, 2), "probably the most calculated exploration" in VOC history. Their goals were exploration of seas and land, and a search for profitable commodities. Tasman's first voyage mapped parts of what is now known as Tasmania, New Zealand, and Tonga. The second voyage in 1644 charted vast tracts of the northern Australian coastline. Yet in the eyes of the VOC the explorations were unsuccessful as they did not identify sources for commercial exploitation (Sharp 1968, 341). Nevertheless, the various charts produced by Tasman's artists would inform navigators for over 150 years and prove instrumental in the later British surveying of Australia. One particular version of the map synthesising the two journeys (figure 1), now held by the Mitchell Library, would go on to assume the status of founding document for the Commonwealth of Australia. Yet significant as the Bonaparte-Tasman map is, it remains, in many aspects, as mysterious as the unknown southern land it sought to trace.

Birth of a Map

Maps are not just innocent renderings of seas, coasts, geographical features, and human-made infrastructure: they are inescapably political, imperial, colonising and silencing. They establish power and seek to rewrite sovereignty: as Harley suggested. cartography is a process by which power is "enforced, reproduced, reinforced and stereotyped" (Harley 2001, 79). The charting of lands previously unknown to a European imperial centre represents the process described by Fujikane as cartographies of capital, where abundant lands are recast as wastelands ready for exploitation (2021, 3-4). The creation of maps in the Age of Discovery was an inherently political act, but as Pedley (2005, 6-9) illustrated, their consumption – as globes, bound in books or as large sheets for display – formed a buoyant market stretching from the palace to the private home. It was to service the dual roles of declaration and decoration that the Bonaparte-Tasman map was born.

The gestation and creation of the Bonaparte-Tasman map (hereafter Tasman map) is shrouded in uncertainty, with its draftsperson, date, and location of production all disputed. It was routine for all

VOC documents and maps to have multiple copies made for distribution to various Board members and bureaucrats. The map currently held by the Mitchell Library may well be one of these duplicates. The exquisite artistry in its execution indicates that it is no mere reproduction. As Schilder wrote, the Tasman map is "one of the most famous and most beautiful maps ever executed by a Dutch cartographer" (1975, 354). Its role was to act as what Harley (2001, 57) called a communicator of imperial message: an awe-inspiring herald of the achievements of Abel Tasman, his benefactor Antonio Van Diemen, and the imperial strength of the VOC.

The map was most likely created some time in the middle to late 17th century. Commissioned by Batavia's VOC Governor Antonio van Diemen in 1644, work was probably carried out by the office of Supervisor of Navigation, a role occupied by Abel Tasman in 1644-45 (Zandvliet 2007, 1443). The first firm reference to the physical map itself comes two centuries later in 1843, when it is noted among the collection of Jacob Swart, proprietor of the Van Keulen company of Amsterdam (Swart 1843, 239). Swart later mused that it may have been compiled under Tasman's supervision (1860). F C Wieder seemed to take this suggestion as fact, and – seizing on the date of 1644 in the map's legend, referring to the second voyage – confidently asserted that the map "is by Tasman and executed in 1644" (Wieder 1942, in Schilder 1976, 148). Later, writers such as Jones (1948, 15-16) and Burnet (2019, 191) support this early date, but this was rigorously critiqued by Voorbeytel-Cannenburg (1943, 639-42), who saw no evidence of Tasman's hand in what he suggested was a "cartographical monster" – a work cobbled together from multiple sources. In his authoritative volume on Dutch explorations of Australia, Schilder suggests a creation date of approximately 1695 (1976, 354).

The location of the map's production is also unknown. Wieder (1925, 139) claimed it was created in Batavia, due to the use of thick Japanese paper as opposed to parchment, though this same paper was also available in Europe. According to van Breda (2014), the great Dutch artist Rembrandt executed many of his works on "Oriental" papers. The definitive catalogue of Rembrandt's works notes that Japanese and possibly Chinese materials were widely available (Biörklund 1968, 172). Japanese paper was also undoubtedly in the hands of Isaac Gilsemans, Tasman's chief draughtsman, who was stationed in Nagasaki prior to joining the first voyage in 1642 (Anderson 1991, 15). Thus the map, just based on paper alone, could well have been produced in either Europe or Batavia.

The mobility of people and paper between Dutch imperial nodes precludes any definitive finding on the Tasman map's point of creation. Andrew Sharp, after exhaustive research, concluded that the map was probably compiled in Amsterdam late in the 17th century from earlier, imperfect drafts made in Batavia (Sharp 1968, 319), and both Schilder (1976, 148) and Hooker (2015, 7) concur. In contrast, Wieder (1925, 139) and Burnet (2019, 191) confidently assert the map was produced in Batavia in 1644-45. Compelling evidence on either perspective is scarce, and we suggest that identification of a probable author or authors may hold the key.

The identity of the artist has long been debated, with the only certainty being its commissioner, Antonio Van Diemen. Its owner in 1860, Jacob Swart, mused that "Perhaps it was compiled under the very eyes of Tasman" (Burnet 2019, 193). Wieder had no doubt that the map was "a unity, not a mere collection of parts" and "the work of one draughtsman under the direction of one man and none other than Tasman himself" (Henderson 25 May 1933, AT34/1/7) The two draftsmen most associated with Tasman's journeys were Isaac Gilsemans, who served as Supercargo (trademaster or chief merchant, from Spanish *sobrecargo*) on the *Zeehaen* and produced many of that journey's iconic images, and Franz Jacobszoon Visscher, Tasman's chief pilot. Noted scholar P.A. Leupe (1872; 1876, 16-7) argues for Visscher as chief artist, as does Destombes (1941, in Schilder 1976, 190). Wieder was certain that the inscriptions on the map "could not have been written by a Dutchman," due to apparent use of French in some of the lettering, and "inclines to the opinion that the map was drawn by a Frenchman in the service of the Company at Batavia" (Henderson 25 May 1933, AT34/1). The picture is further clouded by speculation of Chinese or Javanese authorship of the map, as reported by Jones (1948, 16).

We suggest that Isaac Gilsemans is the only certainty in this range of possible artists. According to Heeres, Gilsemans was the draughtsman mentioned in the mission's instructions to "make exact drawings of the appearance and shape of the lands, islands, capes, bights, inlets, bays, rivers, shoals, sand-banks, reefs, cliffs and rocks, etc." (1895, 107). Based on a forensic study of Gilsemans' handwriting, Grahame Anderson argues convincingly that the map is the work of at least four people, and Gilsemans was one of that group (1994, 39-40; 2001, 156). Moreover, as the evidence points to Gilsemans having died in Batavia prior to 1647 (Anderson 1994, 43), a Batavia-based creation of the map, some time in 1645-46, appears compelling.

Whilst the date, location, and artist remain open to clarification by future research, one thing about the Tasman-Bonaparte map is certain: it was designed to impress. As Harley noted, political power was effectively "reproduced, communicated and experienced through maps" (2001, 54). The Tasman map's primary intended audience was undoubtedly the VOC Board, but beyond that, its commissioner and artists would expect it to be viewed by members of the public, particularly navigators. This was not the first time the coastline of New Holland was represented, but is without a doubt the most aesthetic rendering to date, created to celebrate the complexity and scale of Tasman's voyages, and through them, the power of the VOC. The Bonaparte-Tasman map was compiled, according to Swart with "almost a kind of luxurious indulgence" (cited in Schilder 1976, 148). This level of artistry suggests it was not designed as a secret map. Although Tasman's journeys were a failure in the pragmatic eyes of VOC Directors, who lost interest in his discoveries in favour of trading in the Indies which was "the real wealth of the Company" (Sharp 1968, 341), the map remained as a bold and attractive assertion of Dutch imperial dominance.

We do not know conclusively where, when, how, or by whom the Tasman map was created, but if its origin *was* in the

East Indies, there were copious opportunities for it to travel to Europe. Batavia was the busiest VOC port in the Asian region, with hundreds of departures per year in the 1640s, most often in December and January (Bruijn 1987, 77-81). The journey commonly involved a stop at Cape Town, before rounding the west side of Africa for the northward journey. This is how the map – or at least, the drafts from which it would emerge – would have made the global crossing.

The Tasman map may well have hung in the Amsterdam headquarters of the VOC, as some writers have suggested, but there is no concrete evidence. Its location remains undocumented for a century and a half. By the time of the VOC's collapse and nationalization in 1797, the map was probably already in the hands of the famed Van Keulen mapmaking and publishing establishment in Amsterdam (Hooker 2015, 2; Burnet 2019, 193). Van Keulen had produced highly valued and extensively used maps and atlases since 1681, and became official mapmakers to the VOC in 1743. This positioned them as active agents of empire: as Harley observed, "the cartographer has never been an independent artist, craftsman or technician. Behind the map maker lies a set of power relations" (2001, 63). The Van Keulen company enjoyed the monopoly on atlases, pilot guides, and charts from the late 17th century. The involvement of mathematician and surveyor Claes Jansz Vooght confirmed their status as prime innovators of Dutch commercial cartography (Schilder and van Egmond 2007, 1402). Although sometimes relegated to one of a procession of official VOC cartographers (Jones 1948, 17; Burnet 2019, 193), the company, handed down through multiple generations of master-cartographer fathers and sons, produced the oceanic guides for imperial expansion for Dutch, British, French and German interests. It was Van Keulen's penultimate proprietor who would thrust the Tasman map into the historical record for the first time.

Emerging from Obscurity

In 1843, Jacob Swart, declared Van Keulen's ownership of the Tasman map in a Dutch-language periodical. This is the first documentation of the map that is known. In a brief note in one of his own firm's publications (Swart 1843, 239) he noted that a manuscript (*geteekende*) map of Tasman's adventures was in his collection, dated 1644. It showed the whole island of New Holland, and Swart remarked on the dotted line representing the hypothetical east coast of Australia, finding it "quite remarkable" that the conjectural line had proven somewhat accurate (Swart 1843, 239). A decade later, Swart again mentioned the map in an article about Tasman's journal (Swart 1854, 75-80). As noted above, Swart documented it a third time in 1860, in an essay and rendering which was to become the blueprint for a century's worth of reproductions.

The Tasman map fully entered society when, in 1885, upon the Van Keulen company's closure, it was acquired by Amsterdam bookseller Frederick Muller and Company. The map was now firmly in the world of documented provenance. In 1891 Muller's new owner, Anton Mensing, listed it as item 2154 in the sales catalogue *Geographie, Cartographie, Voyage* with detailed historical information (Hooker 2015, 3). There was interest in the Australian press: Muller and Company may well have been the parties mentioned in a striking 1893 story about "a

well-known firm of booksellers in Holland" who, after purchasing some books from an "old navigation school," found that the scrap paper they were wrapped in was, in fact, an original 1642 Tasman map of the Australia-New Zealand voyage (*Launceston Examiner*, 23 August 1893, 3). The map offered by Muller in 1891 had likely also come to the attention of J.B. Walker in Hobart, who had spent years "ransacking the archives" and had already procured two facsimile Tasman maps (*Launceston Examiner*, 26 March 1896, 5). When Muller listed the Tasman Map for sale, a group of concerned Australianists headed by historian George Collingridge tried to persuade the New South Wales government to purchase it, but as Collingridge later complained, "those who should be the most interested in matters connected with the early history of Australia have shown hitherto but little interest in the subject" (1895, 238). When listed for sale, the Tasman Map had emerged from relative obscurity into a new cultural role: its original function, as an awe-inspiring emblem of empire and exploration, switched to object of desire for the Gentleman Anthropologist.

Figure 2

Prince Roland Bonaparte, circa 1914. Image from Alamy Stock images, permission to reproduce granted.

In 1891, the Tasman map was purchased by Prince Roland Bonaparte (figure 2.), great-nephew of the emperor, Napoleon. Roland was a committed ethnographer. In the 1880s he had travelled to Lapland to record a powerful photographic collection on Sámi people (Escard 1886), and in 1885 he produced a series of photographs of Manbarra people from Australia's Bwgcolman/Palm Island while they were in Paris (Poignant 2004, 193). Fabulously wealthy, Roland's palace boasted a library spanning multiple levels with a large Australasian division (Thomson 1904, 145), and his life was devoted to his collection. He was active in the world's oldest Geographical Society, the French *Société de Géographie*, and became its president in 1910. It was in his role as gentleman anthropologist that Prince Roland entertained British-born surveyor and explorer of Australia, William Vere Barclay, sometime in late 1898 or early 1899. Although the specifics of Barclay's visit are unknown, the record of his discussion with Prince Roland was to catapult the Tasman map onto the Antipodean stage, and also enmesh it in fraught issues of Australian nationhood and identity.

A New Role: Symbol of Nationhood

The Tasman map's story in 1899 is of a Dutch map, depicting Antipodean coasts, made on Japanese paper, held by a French aristocrat, discussed by a British surveyor, in a talk about outback Australia, to a learned gathering in London. The speaker, Henry Vere Barclay (figure 3) was a complicated man. Born in England, he served in the British Marines as a

Lieutenant, travelled the Pacific and was inspired by the monoliths on Rapa Nui/Easter Island. After illness forced his retirement from the Marines, he worked as a surveyor in South Australia, a bridge-builder in New Zealand, disappeared in Tasmania, was missing presumed dead in 1884, re-emerged in 1887 under an assumed name as a mining speculator, and persisted as an explorer of the outback. He was a failed pastoralist, talented artist, and member of numerous learned societies (Strong 2008, 24-26; Strong 2013, 28-43). On Barclay's resurrection in 1884, he re-joined Adelaide society with the inflated rank of Captain of the Royal Navy, and it was under this identity, and between major explorations of the Australian outback, that he gave a talk at the Imperial Institute in London on 6 March 1899 (*Journal of the Society of Arts* 1899, 338). Barclay touched on Indigenous peoples, climate, geography, and water: yet it was a brief comment near the end of his presentation which would be reported all over Australia within days. According to the *Imperial Institute Journal*:

> Prince Roland Bonaparte had authorised him to state that the unique and extremely valuable map of Australia, made by Tasman and his pilot, would be presented to the Government of the Australian Commonwealth upon the Prince's decease. (1899)

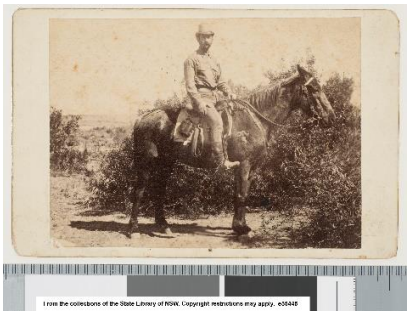

Figure 3
Henry Vere Barclay, explorer, on horseback. State Library of New South Wales. (P1/2048).

Barclay's aside about his conversation with Prince Roland became news across Australia. Within five days, headlines declaring Prince Roland's intent to bequeath the Tasman map to the Commonwealth of Australia had appeared in at least 44 Australian and New Zealand newspapers. While the headlines varied on 8 March 1899 – such as "Tasman's Map, a Present for the Commonwealth" (*Hobart Mercury*, 2), "A gift for Australia" (*Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 5), "Tasman's Map, an Interesting Present" (*Adelaide Advertiser*, 5) – the substance of this short article was the same across the reports. Melbourne's *The Argus* is representative:

> Captain Barclay stated that Prince Roland Bonaparte had promised that on his death he would bequeath to the Australian Commonwealth the original map of Australia, made by Tasman, the famous Dutch navigator, in the seventeenth century. (8 March 1899, 7)

It is reasonable to assume that with such wide coverage from urban and rural newspapers, the members of Australia's own learned societies must have taken notice. Barclay was already a fixture of the various Australian Geographical Societies, and was well known to up-and-coming librarian William Ifould, who would later play a central role in the Tasman Map's story. The Australian academic space was, in 1899, geographically isolated but tightly networked, and the news of Prince Roland's intended bequest of

the Tasman Map must have been the topic of broad speculation.

Prince Roland's intention to bequeath the map to the Commonwealth of Australia was also recorded several years later by James Park Thomson, President of the Royal Geographical Society of Queensland. Thomson's lively travel memoir (1904) includes a detailed description of his visit to Prince Roland's Paris palace. Roland showed him the map – quite an honour, as it was behind a screen and "only raised on very special occasions" (Thomson 1904, 145). Thomson wrote, "His Highness intends that it shall be presented to the Australian people on his death, considering the map would be of the greatest interest and use to the Commonwealth" (Thomson 1904, 145). Years later, when pressed by Mitchell librarian William Ifould about this anecdote, Thomson was "extremely vague," and Ifould suspected that Thomson actually took this statement from the widely reported lecture of Barclay's (Ifould 9 August 1944, AT34/3).

It is particularly significant that Prince Roland wanted to gift the Tasman map to the nascent Commonwealth of Australia. In 1899, that Commonwealth did not yet exist: the complex process of the federation of six individual colonies was near completion, but several key aspects – such as a site for the national capital and its cultural institutions – were still contentious. We might speculate that this bestowing of such a significant historical artefact may have, in Roland's eyes, conferred a deeper, Continental origin to the new, independent nation forming in the Asian geographical space. Though he would never travel to Australia, as he was terrified of snakes and disliked rabbits which "seemed to overrun the place" (Thomson 1904, 143), his gift would ensure that he left an indelible and unifying footprint in national life.

Thomson worked to keep the Tasman Map and Prince Roland's generosity alive in Australian public memory. Upon returning to Australia after his world tour, Thomson told the press about Prince Roland's determination to donate the map to the Australian Commonwealth, "as he thought that Australia would then have the best right to it" (*Rockhampton Morning Bulletin* 16 September 1903, 6). He then wrote about it in his memoir (Thomson 1904, 144-145). Again, in May 1905, when Capt. W Eaton of the Queensland Maritime Board addressed a Queensland Royal Geographical Society meeting on "Tasman, the Forgotten Explorer," Thomson, who was in attendance, made sure to remind the audience:

> Dr. Thomson … said he had seen Tasman's manuscript map in Prince Bonaparte's library in Paris, and he had been informed by that gentleman that at his death he proposed to devise the map to the Commonwealth. (*Queenslander* 1905, 8)

Yet there is a curious lull in reports of the map in the for almost two decades, and the activities of the map itself remain, like its existence in Prince Roland's mansion, protectively shrouded. In 1910, Prince Roland rose to the position of president of the Société de Géographie, an office he maintained until his death in 1924, at the age of 66. The stage was now set for his clearly expressed wish to be fulfilled: for the Tasman map to be bequeathed to the Commonwealth of Australia. Yet there is little information available on if Roland

had formally documented his verbal promise, and the movements of the map.

At some stage early in the 20th century, the Tasman map went from being carefully preserved behind a screen at Prince Roland's mansion, to enjoying exhibition at the Société de Géographie headquarters at 184 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris. This change in location, and public debut, may have occurred after 1910 when Roland became president of the Société de Géographie. Alternatively, it may have gone on display after Roland's death in 1924, when, as his daughter and heir Princess Marie later told British Ambassador Lord Crewe, "most of her father's collection had gone to the Société de Géographie, but the Tasman map had been only lent to that society, which had it on exhibition" (Bunbabin 1933, 8).

Figure 4
Photograph of Princess Marie Bonaparte (1882-1962) French author and psychoanalyst. Dated 1907. Image from Alamy Stock images, permission to reproduce granted.

Princess Marie Bonaparte was her father's only heir, and a remarkable woman by any standards (figure 4). Inheriting his scientific disposition, she researched and published in the nascent fiend of sexuality in psychoanalysis. She was first a patient and then colleague of Sigmund Freud, and later helped him – and, importantly to her, his research – escape Nazi-controlled Vienna. Following her marriage to Prince George of Greece and Denmark, her property would traditionally transfer to her husband. Yet theirs was an unusual marriage on many fronts, and Prince George had reportedly astonished Marie's father Roland by waiving any rights of inheritance or control over her fortune (Bertin 1982, 88). Princess Marie had nevertheless bestowed some control to George, and this included the Tasman map, for, in many later media reports, he was cited as the owner. Hence, by the mid-1920s the map itself held multiple meanings: a Dutch trophy, on Japanese paper, depicting an Antipodean coast, representing east Asian dominance, displayed in France, and owned by the Prince and Princess of Greece and Denmark. Yet its most complicated episode was yet to begin. For its erstwhile owner, the late Prince Roland Bonaparte, just as snakes prevented him physically visiting Australia himself, so too did metaphorical snakes prevent his gift being bestowed in the way he wanted.

From Gift to Grab: The Mitchell Library's Fight for the Tasman Map

If the Tasman Map's story were a dramatized production, then the star of its all-important third act would be William Ifould, the man who led the operation to bring the Tasman Map to Australia (figure 5). Hailing from a family with extensive outback pastoral holdings, Ifould began a career in librarianship in South Australia. Ifould would feign no knowledge of Prince Roland's intended bequest until

the late 1920s, yet this is almost inconceivable, given his close acquaintance with Captain Barclay in 1899 (Strong 2013, 88), when news of Prince Roland's proposed gift to the Commonwealth circulated the country. In 1912, Ifould left Adelaide for Sydney, becoming Principal Librarian for the Public Library of New South Wales. This would become the Mitchell Library, and despite Ifould's South Australian origins, he would rule as a fiercely loyal and jealous leader for three decades.

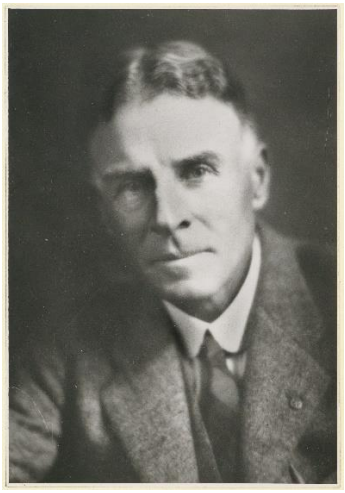

Figure 5
William Herbert Ifould. State Library of South Australia (B15058).

Ifould was no stranger to subterfuge and Machiavellian manoeuvring on behalf of his beloved library. David Jones (1992, 162-4) highlights numerous episodes of manipulation and deception, such as in the process of securing Cook's Endeavour papers at the Sotheby's action in London in 1923. Ifould travelled to London to bid on behalf of the Mitchell and was aghast on arrival to find his own Mitchell Trustees had agreed it would go to the Commonwealth and not his own library. Undeterred, Ifould engaged in a dizzying schedule of misinformation, laying false trails and neutralizing competitors. The experience of "losing" the Cook acquisition to the Commonwealth was a bitter disappointment and perceived threat to the Mitchell's prestige, which, according to politician and Mitchell Trustee T.D. Mulch, "should be maintained as the mecca of the student of Australian history" (1939, in Jones 1992, 165).

William Ifould's chief personal nemesis was Kenneth Binns, who from 1928 was the Librarian of the Commonwealth National Library, but Ifould also held an abiding antipathy for the Commonwealth itself. In the earliest days of the scramble for the Tasman map, the Commonwealth Library's collection was yet to have a permanent home, with the national capital of Canberra still in the early planning stages. Binns was based in Melbourne, then the seat of the national parliament, and this played into a rivalry between Sydney and Melbourne which had been evident since Melbourne's extraordinary gold rush boom of the 1850s (Leone 2014). This Ifould-Binns tension would later develop into an acrimonious Sydney-Commonwealth competitiveness, with numerous instances of contests over acquisitions (Jones 1992, 166-171), leading Jones to conclude that the rivalry sown and nurtured in Ifould's tenure "would affect relations between Australian libraries for many decades" (1992, 173). And it was into this fraught interwar environment of duelling librarians, capital city rivalries and a nation trying to agree on a sense of national identity, that the Tasman Map was to reassert itself with a striking new legend of discovery. But unlike many legends, this one was steeped in factual events.

Figure 6
Daisy Bates, 1936. State Library of South Australia Portrait Collection (B6799).

Anthropologist Daisy Bates (figure 6.) was already well known by the time she entered the Tasman Map's story in 1926. Of Irish birth, genteel upbringing, and thrice married, she was 60 years old and had been living in harsh outback conditions for a quarter of a century (Bates 1940, 168-180). Bates was a complex mix of anthropological field worker and self-appointed saviour of the Indigenous peoples who, in that period, were still seen as a dying race. Her encampment at the permanent waterhole Ooldea Soak was a fixture on the Nullarbor Plain railway line, and she frequently appeared in the media, as a writer and as a topic of interest when visited by dignitaries and concerned citizens (Reece 2007). In 1926, Ooldea was owned by the Ifould family. It was in this isolated locale that Bates read, probably in August or September of 1926, her old acquaintance J.P. Thomson's 1904 book *Round the World*. Noticing his anecdote about the Tasman Map and Prince Roland's intention to bequeath it to the Commonwealth, Bates first consulted another regular correspondent, *Australasian* editor William Hurst (Salter 1972, 220). It is noteworthy that Bates did not contact the South Australian State Library, as she lived in its jurisdiction: she was possibly still angry after being refused funding eight years earlier (Reece 2007, 72). Instead, she wrote to William Ifould on 7 October 1926. She told him about consulting Hurst, who had no knowledge of the map being presented to the Australian Government, and asked Ifould "if it would not be worth the while" of the Mitchell to make enquiries to try and secure the map from Queen Amelia of Portugal, who she thought to have inherited it (Bates 7 October 1926, AT34/3). This letter to Ifould – an acquaintance and regular correspondent, who also held familial ties to the property where Bates lived – is mythologized in the legend which would be built around the Tasman Map as a bolt from the blue.

The Tasman Map's acquisition was historicised in 1948 in the Mitchell Library's official version, with Bates credited as drawing Ifould's attention, via Thomson's reference, to Prince Roland's "expressed wish". In this account by Phyllis Mander Jones, "Enquiries were at once made through the British Consul in Paris and the result was that the Prince's heir, the Princess George of Greece, graciously presented this priceless treasure to the Mitchell Library" (1948, 18). In this Jones narrative, it was a polite and seamless acquisition. More recent publications shed light on the complex nature of the acquisition. In his history of the Mitchell Library, Fletcher highlighted how Ifould "stressed the need to avoid informing the federal government lest the National Library enter the scene" (2007, 118), and Burnet's version of events mentioned

"seven years of secret negotiations" (2019, 154) by Lord Chelmsford, Agent-General of New South Wales in London. In fact, none of these accounts give true justice to the small army of academics, bureaucrats, notable colonial identities, and friends of the Mitchell who took part in the process of keeping the Commonwealth at bay and securing the Tasman map for the State of New South Wales. Rather than a simple matter of individuals making representations, it involved numerous meetings over several years, constant updates, pressure and persuasion, and a race against time to get possession of the map before agents of the Commonwealth – be they librarians, diplomats, High Commissioners, or the Prime Minister himself – could step in.

The acquisition of the Tasman Map proved an anxious time for William Ifould. Within days of receiving Bates's letter, he identified Princess Marie Bonaparte, also known by her married name of Princess George of Greece and Denmark, as the current owner. He wrote to the Under Secretary of the Premier's Department, requesting the New South Wales Agent-General Lord Chelmsford – who had spent time in Australia – be dispatched to approach Princess Marie (Ifould 19 October 1926, AT34/4). This mission had to be kept secret from Australian Prime Minister Stanley Bruce, who was then in London at the Dominions Conference: according to Ifould "this would mean the acquisition of the map by the Federal Government for the Commonwealth Library in Canberra" (Ifould 19 October 1926, AT34/4). To avoid alerting any Commonwealth diplomats, Chelmsford enlisted the British Ambassador in Paris, Lord Crewe, to visit Princess Marie. Fully aware of her father's wishes to bequeath the map to Australia, she was happy to comply (Agent-General 3 January 1927 cited by Ifould, AT34/4). However, there was a hitch: Marie's husband Prince George wanted to travel to Australia and present the map himself. This created concern for Ifould and his Mitchell Library loyalists, who were worried that Prince George might present it to the Prime Minister instead of the Mitchell (Ifould, 12 February 1927, AT34/4).

For the next six years, Ifould, the Mitchell Trustees, and the NSW Government feared the Commonwealth might gain possession of the Tasman Map. In October 1928, William Tyrell, now British Ambassador in Paris, wrote at Ifould's urging to Princess Marie reminding her of her pledge to gift the map to Australia. Not mentioning the Commonwealth, Tyrell told her that the Mitchell Library "…is a state institution and the most important depository in Australia for records of the early history of the Continent" (Tyrell, 12 October 1928 AT34/4). Weeks later, Ifould asked for the Agent-General to again make representations to Princess Marie. Ifould fretted that if the Australian High Commissioner became involved, "the map would doubtless be retained by the Commonwealth authorities for the National Library in Canberra. This is something which I am very anxious should not happen" (Ifould 7 November 1928, AT34/4). In response, George Fuller of the Agent-General's office assured the New South Wales Premier Thomas Bavin, and through him Ifould, that negotiations were continuing, and "the Commonwealth Authorities know nothing about the matter" (Fuller 22 January 1929, AT34/4). Six months later, British Ambassador Tyrell lunched with Princess Marie in Paris, and she held firm to the plan for her husband to travel

to Australia to present the map (Tyrell 16 July 1929, AT34/4). In August, Ifould seemed resigned to waiting for Prince George's visit, but feared "The Prince might easily make a mistake and hand the documents to the Commonwealth authorities for the National Library at Canberra" (Ifould 14 August 1929, AT34/4). Weeks later, Ifould asked that the British Ambassador write to Princess Marie confirming that the map would be presented to the "Mitchell Library," underlining for emphasis (Ifould 20 September 1929, AT34/4).

In early 1930, the Mitchell's plans almost came unstuck, when British scholar Norman Mosley Penzer wrote to Princess Marie, asking for permission to photograph the Tasman Map. It was still on display at the Société de Géographie in Paris, and Marie – now seeing the map as Australian property – forwarded his request to British Ambassador Tyrell in Paris. Tyrell sent it on to Agent-General Fuller, who in turn forwarded it to NSW Premier Bavin. Citing a letter dated 1 February 1930 from Princess Marie, not present in the archive, he quotes Marie as stating that the map belongs "to the Government of Australia". Fuller was quick to claim,

> …it is probable that she does not mean to say the Map will go to the Commonwealth Government, and that the use of the words "Government of Australia" has no particular significance. (Fuller 19 March 1930, AT34/4).

And just like that, Princess Marie's clearly expressed will, similar to that of her father's that the map go to the Commonwealth, was dismissed as insignificant. Penzer was quietly given permission to photograph the map and told to credit Princess Marie and the Trustees of the Mitchell Library. Ever anxious, Ifould advised that the Agent-General make sure all concerned were aware that there was a Mitchell Library in Glasgow, so it should always be referred to as the Mitchell Library, Sydney (Ifould 7 May 1930, AT34/1/10), lest the Map be accidentally sent to Scotland.

In May 1932 came the breakthrough Ifould and his conspirators had been waiting for. After even more presentations to Princess Marie regarding Prince George's plans to travel to Australia to present the map, she advised new Agent-General Albert Willis that, as Prince George needed to postpone the trip yet again, she would turn the map over to Clive Voss, the Paris-based Australian Trade Commissioner (Willis 19 May 1932, AT34/4). It was not to be an instant handover, as the Société de Géographie wanted to keep it for several months to have a copy made, but the coup was almost complete for the Mitchell conspirators.

There were other, less-publicly-credited actors. An old friend of William Ifould from their time together in Adelaide, historian George Cockburn Henderson, was one of the key personnel in the Mitchell acquisition. Henderson was previously based at Sydney University, while working on his trilogy of works on Fiji, but lately had worked as Ifould's representative, researcher, and purchaser in London, scouring for potential acquisitions for the Mitchell Library across Britain and Europe (MLMSS 94, ML AH108/2). Henderson's absence from the Mitchell Library's modern telling of the map's acquisition is particularly jarring, given his

efforts on behalf of Ifould and the Mitchell over many years, and his role in securing a range of rare documents for the Mitchell archives.

Henderson was amongst the first to see the Tasman Map when it finally arrived at the Agent-General's office in London on 9 May 1933. It was dispatched to the British Museum to be photographed, and together with Dutch historian of maps Frederick Caspar Wieder, who rushed to London as soon as it arrived (Wieder 22 May 1933, AT34/4), Henderson produced a detailed report on the map's history and authenticity, which was promptly forwarded to the New South Wales Government (Henderson 25 May 1933, AT34/1). Henderson's research, informed by Wieder's expertise, constituted the Mitchell Library's professional assessment (Brunton 2011, 16) and has underpinned the Mitchell Library's representations of the map ever since.

It is not currently known how the much-prized Tasman Map travelled from London to Sydney. In late May 1933, Agent-General Ferguson wrote that the map was being sent to New South Wales, hermetically sealed, in a metal container "in the next office case to the Treasury" (Ferguson 25 May 1933, AT34/4). Earlier shipments of valuable documents, such as the Huydecoper manuscript acquired in 1927, were sent in waterproof, zinc-lined vessels (Ifould 9 February 1927, AT34/3). The Tasman Map almost certainly went by sea: according to Peter Hobbins of the Australian National Maritime Museum, air transport was, in the early thirties, both newsworthy and perilous, and it was unlikely such a valuable item would have been sent by air until the Empire Air Mail Scheme commenced in late 1938 (Hobbins *pers com*). The map was probably received some time before 31 August 1933, and its arrival was celebrated in Sydney's press with a jubilant headline and a large reproduction of the map (*Sydney Morning Herald,* 2 September 1933, 9). The scene was set for its elevation to national founding document, and a revision of the history of its acquisition.

Constructing a New Legend

The legend-building which took place after the Tasman Map was securely in Mitchell Library hands is entertaining – at times, almost picaresque. In modern versions of the acquisition, Prince Roland is relegated to a supporting role, and the starring troika became white saviour of the outback Daisy Bates, academically trained sexologist and aristocrat Princess Marie, and heroic librarian William Ifould. J.P. Thomson's anecdote of viewing the map in Prince Roland's mansion became a genesis-style founding story. Ifould was assiduous in crediting Thomson for his role in securing the map, and in the weeks following the map's arrival, the Brisbane press quoted Ifould as stating then-79-year-old Thomson was "ultimately responsible for its coming to Australia" (*Brisbane Telegraph*, 5 October 1933, 16). For Daisy Bates, who was enjoying a high-profile visit to Canberra as a special guest of the Commonwealth when the map arrived, publicity around her role was "a very considerable feather" in her cap (Salter 1972, 220). The role of Captain Barclay, and his own widely reported meeting with Roland, was expunged from the official story, even though Ifould knew Barclay well, and had a copy of his Imperial Institute talk in the correspondence file related to the map (AT34/2). In the 1948 official Mitchell Library book on the map, Jones implied that Roland's gift was expressed once only, to Thomson

(Jones 1948, 17). Jones's official story also reduced the years of negotiations and subterfuge to a simple story of the *noblesse oblige* of Princess Marie (Jones 1948, 18).

Figure 7
Tasman Map, vestibule, Mitchell Building, photograph by Ivan Ives, 1943. Image from Alamy Stock images, permission to reproduce granted.

So important was the Tasman Map to the Mitchell Library's sense of itself as the premier public institution of Australia, that simply holding the original was not enough. The crowning glory of the Map's new role was to be its reproduction as a mosaic in the vestibule of the Mitchell Library's £300,000 redevelopment (figure 7). Set in Wombeyan russet marble to resemble the tone of the original map's paper (Jones 1948, 18), the firm chosen in 1939 to create the mosaic, Melocco Brothers of Annandale, were estimated to be responsible for 90% of the marble, scagliola and terrazzo work in Sydney between 1910 and 1965 (Kevin 2005). Jacob Swart's 1860 lithograph was used as the model, as a more detailed copy was not completed until 1945 (Jones 1948, 18-19). William Ifould – depicted in *Smith's Weekly* as the "Man Who Blesses Every Stone In New Library" (7 September 1940) – was involved in every step of the process. His passion was infectious, according to David Jones:

> Ifould had more than a client's customary interest in decorative details, and his staff shared his enthusiasm. Staff scoured the literature for illustrations of watermarks, bindings, symbols, cherubs blowing the winds and pictures of ships for the proposed Tasman Map mosaic for the Vestibule. (1993, 347)

By 1940, as the map was being replicated in marble in the monumental building works at the library, the Bates-Ifould-Princess Marie narrative had taken firm hold. *Smith's Weekly* sidestepped the issue of "Prince Rollo" and his bequest altogether and simply said that Princess Marie "hunted out the map, and handed it over" (7 September 1940, 8).

The redeveloped library quietly reopened in 1942, with wartime austerities delaying an official celebration until 23 November 1943. At this time, Melbourne remained Australia's functional capital, with Canberra still under development, and the magnitude of the improvements to the Mitchell State Library certainly gave it a sense of pre-eminence over the peripatetic Commonwealth Library. The grand re-opening was the soon-to-retire William Ifould's finest hour. New South Wales Governor Lord Wakehurst presided over the festivities, and Federal Attorney General H.V. "Doc" Evatt, later to serve as President of the United Nations, told the crowd that while Hitler was burning and destroying valuable literature, "we were preserving them so that they could remain our strength and our hope" (*National Advocate,* 25 November 1943, 1). The mosaic remained a feature

of the redevelopment, with Ian Burnet quoting one commentator:

> In the years to come a million feet will cross this floor. They who pass this threshold to the sanctum beyond seek knowledge of man and life, past, present and future. May it never escape their attention that here beneath their feet is History. (2019, 197)

Discussion: Meaning of the Tasman Map

The original Tasman Map, being a jealously guarded treasure of the State Library of New South Wales, spent the vast majority of its time in Australia carefully stored away from the dangers of public engagement, before being restored and exhibited for several months in late 2021-22. It remains one of the Mitchell's "most illustrious acquisitions" (Brunton 2011, 15). The mosaic reproduction adorning the front entryway ensures that this significant document plays a central role in the day-to-day operations of the institution. In the corner of the vestibule, a bust of the library's long-serving chief librarian, William Ifould, watches it admiringly, just as he did in 1940 when *Smith's Weekly* wrote, "What he sees pleases him, which is only proper, for he is looking at his 'baby'" (7 September 1940, 8). Ifould's legacy looms large and is perpetuated by the Library which remains proud of his hard work to seize possession of the Tasman Map.

As a document, the Tasman Map occupies a paradoxical place in Australian public life. It represents the imperial ambitions of the VOC, which had given up on exploration of Australia before the ink on the Japanese vellum was even dry. It helped cement the Mitchell Library's status as the preeminent public library in the nation when the Commonwealth (now National) Library emerged in the new capital of Canberra. Its representation is underfoot (or behind ropes) for every visitor to the Mitchell Library, but its original was too precious and delicate to be seen by the public for nine decades. Its 17th century Dutch authorship unsettles the narrative that James Cook "discovered" Australia on behalf of the British in 1770, but nevertheless ensures that Australian "discovery" remains a European prerogative. The Library's story of its coming to Australia, disseminated from 1933 and still perpetuated today, hinges on the interventions of two remarkable women, Daisy Bates and Princess Marie, yet William Ifould and his coterie of male diplomats and academics are credited with doing the hard work. The Library does not obscure in its literature that Ifould and his agents conspired to keep the map out of Commonwealth hands; yet conspicuously absent from any version of the story through its 90 year possession, in media or its sponsored publications, is admission of foreknowledge of Prince Roland's longstanding wish, expressed multiple times, for the map to go to the Commonwealth. The role of Captain Barclay's 1899 anecdote, and its publication around the country, is eradicated. This is a very strategic omission, as it renders the map falling into the Mitchell's hands as a happy coincidence with colourful characters, and not the result of years of scheming and subterfuge. The Map is depicted as a coup for New South Wales, rather than a purloined national gift.

The Tasman Map, as it is commonly viewed today, is a mosaic reproduction, by Italian artisans, of a Dutch map, on

Japanese paper, depicting Antipodean coastlines, representing east Asian dominance, donated by a French aristocrat, intended for the Australian Commonwealth, but wrested by a state institution obsessed with inter-library rivalry.

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World Views: Cartographers, Artisanship and Epistemology in Early Modern Italy

Who made maps in early modern Italy? It has become commonplace to observe that no unified discipline of cartography—and hence no occupation identified as *cartographer*—was familiar to fifteenth-century viewers or makers of maps (Woodward 2007, 22-23). Though by the later sixteenth century a conceptual identity for cartographers had begun to emerge, there was nonetheless little consensus on the attributes that such a designation might entail. On the one hand, the skills needed to produce many sorts of maps frequently combined those of illuminators, scribes, mathematicians, letterpress printers, block cutters, and engravers on copper (to name only a few of the most obvious). On the other, some artisans specialized in quite narrow genres of cartographic images. Thus, while the painter of a world map might well find his next paycheck by providing an elaborate frontispiece for an antiphonary, some of the specialists who produced marine charts in Livorno or Genoa would have found themselves at a loss if asked to provide a comprehensive image of the known world or a city plan.

For the most part, even though men like Egnazio Danti, painter of the extraordinary cycle of world maps in Cosimo de' Medici's *Guardaroba,* might be called "cartografo," or "geografo" the modern appellation of "cartographer" is either too narrow or excessively broad (Fiorani 2005; Rosen 2014). The Florentine team of painter Piero del Massaio and scribe Ugo Comminelli, though famous for their gorgeously illuminated copies of Ptolemy's *Geography* complete with modern maps and city views, produced a wide range of humanist and liturgical manuscripts (Aujac 1995, 187-189). In contrast, the Maggiolo family workshop of Genoa, for almost 150 years, crafted marine charts as official mapmakers to the state but produced few maps of any other sort (Astengo 2007, 177-181).

Cartographic scholars, intellectual historians, and art historians have explored unified author functions for many mapping projects. For atlases and illustrated world descriptions, such investigations have often centered on publishers, poets, and translators. In the fifteenth century, these were frequently humanist scholars or the purveyors of their wares—entrepreneurs whose names were self-servingly emblazoned on title pages and colophons alike. For sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century maps and atlases, attention has often focused on publishers and professional engravers like Jacob van Meurs (Schmidt 2016, 25-30) and Antonio Tempesta (Maier 2015, 167-177; Maier 2020, 79-85). The desire to see maps as expressions of discrete intellects can shed light on the intentionality of writers and printers and their intellectual and ideological relationships with patrons

and sponsors and enjoys a pedigree stretching back to period claims for such singular authority. Florentine poet Ugolino Verino famously described his city's *cosmographi* with particular pride in the *De illustratione Urbis Florentiae* of 1500. These men, we are told, "drew the whole world" (Roberts 2013a, 78-79). Likewise, Conrad Swenheym's prefatory remarks on his early edition of Ptolemy, printed in Rome in 1478, take full and enthusiastic credit for having organized, conceived, and fostered the execution of these important printed maps (Skelton 1966, x-vi). Those who made increasingly popular views and maps of cities like Rome described them—often improbably—as "by their own hand" from new surveys even when, like Mario Cartaro, their products could be wholly dependent on precedent (Maier 2015, 144-145). For portolan charts, the signatures of their makers are often prominently emblazoned across their surfaces throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the fact that such objects routinely drew upon the skills not only of the named master and family apprentices, but often independent scribes as well (Astengo 2007, 190-191).

If it has become increasingly common to speak of maps as offering insight into historical and cultural world views, such views are often assumed to combine those of authors—conceived on intellectual and poetic models—and those of patrons and buyers. The role played by early modern maps in enforcing hegemony and projecting political power is increasingly uncontroversial. Map cycles depicting the known world and its principal cities, like those at the Gonzaga Villa of Marmirolo and the Medici *Guardaroba* staked imaginative claims of dominion for the lords and their entourages who served as their primary viewers (Bourne 1999; Rosen 2014). There can be little doubt that patrons like Cosimo I de' Medici saw in maps a means of fashioning and projecting power through territorial control, real and fictive (Rosen 2009). These broad, cultural histories of maps, their makers and viewers are indispensable parts of a revisionist history of cartography which is today encouragingly orthodox. Yet these readings can also seem frustratingly disembodied, removed from the social lives of artisans. The assumption of a harmonious relationship grounds Francesca Fiorani's claim of maps that "their techniques and conventions of representation emerged in relation to the intentions of their makers and the expectations of their patrons and users" (Fiorani 2015, 59). Missing in this reliance on intentions are the ways in which the artisanal experiences of diverse craftspeople in the workshop informed map making.

Many artisans who made maps relied upon a host of tools and materials that could vary significantly from city to city even within discrete geographic regions like Tuscany or Lombardy. In contrast, some skills and habits of picturing the world were held in common across the entire Mediterranean world. For those who put pen, brush, ink, and countless other media to parchment and paper, one such necessity was what we might describe as pictorial intelligence, but that within a theoretical context was usually described as one of the more pragmatic benefits of *disegno,* both a practical and theoretical command of the hand (Alpers and Baxandall 1994; Bambach 1999; Ames Lewis 2000). So too, these artisanal skills depended upon an uneven distribution of pictorial technologies—of information and of tools. At times, access to

such techniques was predicated upon trade secrecy and even industrial espionage and sabotage (Long 2001). This essay thus touches upon the experiences and know-how of mapmakers as a kind of prolegomena toward reconstructing their distinctive worldview, what Pamela Smith has dubbed their artisanal epistemology (Smith 2004; Long 2011). These ways of knowing were inflected not just by the materials in which mapmakers worked but equally by their social and geographic mobility encompassing, in the examples considered here, not only the peninsula from Florence and Urbino to Milan and Livorno, but also Spain and Hungary. I focus on three groups active in Italy from the end of the fifteenth to the mid seventeenth centuries: copperplate engravers, military architects, and marine chart makers exemplified by Francesco Rosselli, Giovanni Battista Clarici, and Giovanni Battista Cavallini**.**

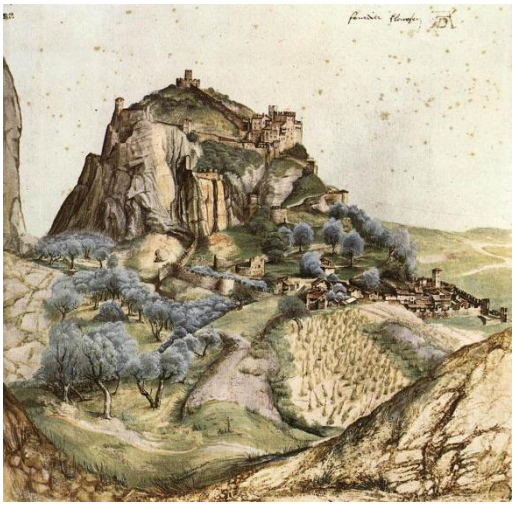

Figure 1
Albrecht Dürer, View of Arco. Watercolor and gouache on paper, 1495. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Printed maps, understandably, have proved appealing for grounding narratives of Renaissance mobility and itinerancy. Engraving's aptitude for reproducing intricate topographic information and dense toponomy gave the technique an advantage over the initially more easily mastered and less costly technology of woodcut (Roberts 2019a, 233-234). Many of those involved in early publishing and book printing in Italy were foreigners, often Germans bearing their new tools and knowledge. Among the most significant for the history of fifteenth-century cartography we can point to Conrad Sweynheym and his partner Arnold Pannartz, the entrepreneurial force behind the Roman Ptolemy. Beginning their careers in the German-speaking lands, Swenheym and Pannartz recognized the eternal city's potential to provide both a ready market and lucrative papal patronage for would-be publishers (Skelton 1966, i-v). So too, Niccolo Tedesco who produced Francesco Berlinghieri's *Seven Days of Geography,* Landino's commentary on Dante, and several other of the most ambitious engraved books of the *Quattrocento* learned the trade in Ulm before banking on a tantalizing, untapped market in Florence (Roberts 2013a; Böninger, 2021). People – rather than just fugitive prints and maps – were on the move, and the early history of engraving was brimming with immigrant and itinerant artisans. Locally specific tools and practices of engraving, in particular, can speak to the importance of distance and geographic movement in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe. Economic historians have long recognized that migrants rather than paper were often conveyors of Renaissance ingenuity and art historians have increasingly emphasized the pivotal role that travelling artists and their works played in such dissemination (Zerner

2003; Kim 2015a; Kim 2015b). For all of Albrecht Dürer's harnessing of print, the painter and printmaker's presence in Venice equally served to shore up his burgeoning reputation in Italy. Crucially, it was the lived experience of his travels that informed the intense naturalism of his work (Foister and van der Brink 2021). His watercolor view of the dramatic topography of the northern Italian fortifications of Arco and its surroundings point to the visceral power of travel to inform image making (figure 1).

Skills, technique and even style took form at the intersection of geographically defined traditions inflected by demands of the fluid economic and technical circumstances that prevailed in early modern Italy. Little serious thought, however, has been given to what this might mean for the engravers of cartographic images. In part, this is because we often have little sure information upon which to rely about who made the earliest Italian engravings. We possess only one signed engraving from the art's earliest decades in Italy, Antonio del Pollaiuolo's exceptional *Battle of the Nudes* (Langdale 2002; Wright 2005, 176-183). The little that we often know about engravers, however, suggests that itinerancy was a fundamental, rather than incidental component of their social and artisanal lives. the Milanese smith Bernardo Prevedari's contract to engrave a plate after Bramante's design in 1481 specified that he was to "work on it day and night according to custom from today until it is finished" (Beltrami, 1917). This is undoubtedly an aspirational turn of phrase, but there is little question that Bernardo engraved his *Ruined Temple*—the largest single plate produced during the fifteenth century—at a breakneck pace (Alberici 1978, 52-54; Alberici 1988, 5-13; Landau and Parshall 1994, 105-106; Kleinbub 2010, 412-414). Yet a second document signed only three weeks later found the master making preparations to depart for Rome where he would begin work in Antonio Meda's foundry by mid-January at the latest (Alberici 1988, 6; Landau and Parshall 1994, 106; Aldovini 2009, 38-40). Andrea Mantegna's attacks on a rival artisan, the engraver Simone Ardizoni, have inadvertently brought to light Ardizoni's travels which took the would-be printmaker from Reggio to Mantua and Verona in search of a market for his skills (Roberts 2013b, 199-202).

There is perhaps no better example of this dependence upon movement than one of the most familiar protagonists of the history of cartographic printmaking, the Florentine engraver Francesco Rosselli. Trained primarily as a manuscript illuminator in the workshop of his older brother, the painter Cosimo, Francesco struggled in his early attempts to carve out a place for himself in a crowded and unpredictable marketplace (Boorsch 2001, 208-214; Gabrielli 2007, 34-39). Finding himself significantly in debt to a range of creditors with a family to support, the younger Rosselli fled his creditors, moving north over the Alps and eventually to Buda where he secured work from King Mathias Corvinus. Over the course of these travels, the illuminator acquired knowledge of techniques—including, importantly, the lozenge section burin—for engraving that were as yet unknown in the city of his birth. Returning to Florence, he established himself not merely as a successful engraver but rapidly as the single most prosperous purveyor of this trade in Tuscany (Boorsch 2004; Roberts 2011; Maier 2012).

Figure 2
Francesco Rosselli, World Map. Hand Colored Engraving, c. 1508. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

At first, Francesco produced a remarkably wide range of images, cornering the Tuscan market with offerings that included devotional prints, games, astrological and festal works, and compositions derived from prominent painters' shops. A great many of these were close recreations of technically less proficient engravings of the previous generation. Beginning in the mid-1480s, however, Rosselli began an apparently lucrative specialization in engraved maps. These came to include some of the most celebrated views of major cities like Rome and Florence, regional maps of Europe, and world maps, including some of the earliest to depict newly contacted lands in the Americas (Friedman 2001; Maier 2012). Francesco was undoubtedly introduced to a range of cartographic images from manuscripts produced and copied in the family shop that his brother oversaw. The young artist would have painted wind heads and other pictorial elements on the Ptolemaic maps that were a significant part of Florentine manuscript makers' stock in trade in the second half of the fifteenth century (Aujac 1995; Elam and Kent 2015). More significantly, he surely took on a range of broadly mimetic epicartographic details including the mountain ranges, rivers, and thickets of trees of a world in miniature, viewed as though seen from a great height. Rosselli translated these mimetic indices into legible and effective graphic icons on his later printed maps. Low survival rates make it difficult to assess the distribution of these images, but carefully and professionally hand-colored examples of works like the 1508 world map (figure 2) suggest that his works documenting the newly contacted lands of the Western hemisphere found an enthusiastic public (Van Duzer 2008, 200-201).

By the time that a shop inventory was written upon his son Alessandro's death in 1527, the family was synonymous with cartographic images in Florence. The inventory, detailing dozens of maps and views, along with their matrices, paints a picture of a bustling *bottega* in which Francesco's plates were still being printed decades after his death. The cartographic character of this family operation was advertised proudly with a painted wooden globe that hung outside (Hind 1938,: 301-309). Both Rosselli's itinerancy and his acquisition of new, specialized trade skills were hardly exceptional either among printmakers or among Florentine craftspeople generally. Indeed, the engraver's ability to slip out of Florence and into the employ of Matthias Corvinus was predicated upon an intensely productive period of artisanal exchange between Buda and Tuscany in which architects, woodworkers, stone carvers, painters, and musicians routinely made the transalpine trek (Farbaky and Waldman 2011).

Figure 3
Francesco Rosselli, World Map. Engraving, 1506. British Library, London

Within the literature on engraved maps the question of responsibility for what we might think of as the intellectual content of Rosselli's images has only been raised obliquely. The engraver, in a problematically modern conception of the painter-printmaker, is often assumed to have served as the designer of the maps that he engraved and that were sold in his shop for decades. This is made on the basis of limited (and late) evidence of an intellectual interest in mathematics, especially that Rosselli was recorded among the audience for lectures on Euclid's *Elements* by the mathematician Luca Pacioli in Venice in 1508. In that document he is called *cosmographus* (Armstrong 1996, 74-76). Remarkable as this document is, its significance for understanding Rosselli's maps is far from clear. Most of the shop's known maps were certainly engraved prior to this, sometimes decades earlier, and are often based on identifiable cartographic models. Those that incorporate new geographical information are often clear examples of collaboration with considerably more mathematically minded peers. His world map of 1506 is a bold image of the expanding globe on a spherical projection which includes Hispanola and Cuba (figure 3). That map, however, was the result of collaboration with the Venetian patrician scholar Giovanni Matteo Contarini and we might reasonably surmise that Rosselli's contributions were those of an artisan translating this world picture into the graphic language of engraving.

This falls squarely in line with what we can confidently say about Rosselli's graphic output. His body of work is characterized by close copies of anonymous engravings of the 1460s and 1470s and by those like his *Annunciation* which are often closely based on designs from workshops like that of Botticelli. Nothing, that is, suggests a distinctive style or visual imagination at work. Divisions of labor between technically skilled engravers and inventive draughtsman were probably common in the later fifteenth century. Andrea Mantegna, long held up as a model of the painter-printmaker is now known to have had his drawings engraved by the smith Gian Marco Cavalli (Canova 2001a; Canova 2001b). So too, there is no evidence that his son Alessandro who continued and perhaps even expanded the family operation, was either an engraver or a cartographer in any meaningful sense.

When Rosselli's engravings are novel in their visual content – like the 1506 Contarini world map – the skills needed are not only mathematics, projective geometry, or knowledge about the world, but equally design, drawing, and an ability to translate new lands into credible lines that give the impression of mimetic transcription without verifiable information (Armstrong 1996, 76-77). The engraver's presence in Venice on several occasions during the first decade of the sixteenth century is significant not only because of his

familiarity with the city's intellectual culture, but also must have been one of the ways in which the savvy entrepreneur networked with the movers and shakers of Italy's most vital printing and publishing centre**.** The 1527 inventory includes an entry for a folia-sized map of Hungary, but unfortunately no impression survives. The first plausibly up-to-date image of that region by an Italian (and one of very few produced anywhere at this early date), this map might have drawn directly upon his own experiences of travel across the Alps and the artisanal epistemology of an itinerant printmaker eager to employ the new technology he had mastered (Campbell 1987, 71, 77). In contrast to most of Rosselli's extant images, no clear source for such a map immediately presents itself. Even if the Florentine did not undertake anything like an original survey in the course of its production, he must have collaborated directly with artisan-intellectuals in Buda or drawn upon distinctive maps unavailable to his counterparts in Florence or Venice. So too, the large format of this map suggests a work that required considerable effort on the engraver's behalf, and which must have stood, over the next decade of his life, as a reminder of these travels.

The specialization in map printing that characterized the later years of the Rosselli shop was not uncommon for an increasingly established group of printers and publishers throughout Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet if map printing became increasingly tied to dedicated, commercial operations, other makers of cartographic images deployed an extraordinarily broad range of skills in their practice. The cartographer Giovanni Battista Clarici (1542–1602) might equally be described as an engineer, surveyor, painter and builder (Mara 2020). It was to this last occupation that Clarici seems to have dedicated the bulk of his efforts in fashioning an identity. Yet like that of cartographer, the profession of an architect was poorly defined and conceptually wide-ranging in early modern Italy, sometimes drawing upon a dazzling range of discrete skills while at others characterized by extraordinary specialization. Like mapmakers, architects were often defined by the particular genre of their works rather than by any set course of training or intellectual background (Merrill 2017, 13-14). Born and trained in Urbino, Clarici's education was conditioned, to a great degree, by an intellectual culture fostered by the Montefeltro (and later della Rovere) dukes since the mid fifteenth-century. In particular, the aspiring architect found a ready model in the figure of Count Giulio da Thiene, a preeminent exemplar of the emerging figure of the gentleman architect whose demonstrated mastery of mathematics grounded an aptitude for military engineering (Marr 2011; Mara 2020, 52-59). Unlike Rosselli, Clarici possessed mathematical training and aptitude from the very start of his career and his fluency in this universal language drew him into the circle of prominent patrons of Urbino's court.

Clarici rose to prominence as a reliable engineer and architect of walls and fortifications across the peninsula. He ultimately maneuvered beyond the confines of localized patronage in Urbino, attracting the attention of the Spanish-Hapsburg lords eager to bolster defensive positions throughout their newly acquired territories. It was in Hapsburg service that he significantly expanded Cremona's city walls. Likewise, Clarici was one of a handful of designers and engineers called upon to renovate and fortify the former

ruling dynasty's Castello Sforzesco in Milan (Viganò 1997a, 44-54; Viganò 1997b, 67-78; Mara 2020, 117-122). These projects – and Clarici's evident skill in publicizing his role in them – brought not just steady employment but a leading place among the artists and intellectuals praised by Lombardy's literary elite. With only a touch of hyperbole, Gasparo Bugatti praised Clarici as the "great surveyor of waterways, rivers and lakes, of fortresses, of mountains and landscape" (Tosini 2002, 102). This distinctive combination of surveying, hydrological expertise, and knowledge of fortifications represents some of the skills most consistently sought in military architects and engineers in the later sixteenth century (Long 2018).

Yet even the developing category of military engineer fails to fully capture the range of Clarici's output and experiences. Bugatti, and likely many Milanese patrons, understood him primarily as an architect, others focused on Clarici's now less-known abilities as a painter. Closely following the chronicler's lead, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, the Lombard art theorist, praised him as "Architect and surveyor of the distances, heights and depths of mountains, hills, and waterways" in his *Trattato* (Lomazzo 1585, 255). In his *Rime,* short epithets dedicated to contemporary artists and intellectuals, Lomazzo provides a rather broader context for understanding Clarici's works. Here, Lomazzo calls him both architect and painter and praises him not only for his architecture – which he writes rivals that of Bramante – but also for his mastery of the proportions of the human body and for the beauty and invention of his art (Lomazzo 1587, 240).

Clarici was a competent if not exceptional figurative painter, judging by his few extant pictorial works. His style can probably best be judged from canvases of the *Annunciation* for Pesaro's church of San Giovanni Battista and *Coronation of the Virgin* for nearby Mercatello sul Metauro's church of San Francesco (Mara 2020, 109-115). Both date from the mid-1570s and are unsurprisingly close in the style to those of Barocci's workshop, which dominated the artistic environment of Urbino and its environs in the late *Cinquecento* (Bohn 2012, 48-53). The relatively poor state of conservation, particularly for the *Coronation* permits little more in the way of definitive stylistic analysis (Mara 2020, 115). Regardless, his reputation as a painter and his engagement with the community of artists was a matter of great importance to Clarici. He developed a friendship with Giorgio Vasari, founder of the most influential, if often misleading narratives of Italian art's history. While visiting Florence, he acquired a copy – perhaps a gift from the artist – of Vasari's *Ritratti*, a limited edition of the portraits intended ultimately for the expanded edition of the *Lives of the Artists* (Moretti and Roberts 2018). For an artist keenly aware of Vasari's Tuscan project, his own inclusion in Lomazzo's emerging Lombard pantheon must have been satisfying.

Clarici wrote from Florence to his younger brother Camillo in 1565, expressing his excitement about the city's vibrant artistic environment. This letter, today in the Uffizi (GDSU 22447F), was penned on the reverse of a sheet with several studies of the Madonna and Child attributed to Federico Barocci and based on one of that painter's compositions. Indeed, this drawing would benefit from closer study given the proximity of

Clarici's own hand to that of Barocci's workshop. Clearly, the architect-painter had a significant interest in artists' drawings as well as access to the most important workshop of his native Urbino. He seems likewise to have had at least some connection to the heirs of Leonardo's bottega in Milan, as Clarici came to own a small drawing of a youth attributed to Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio and today in the collection of the Ambrosiana (Bambach 2019, 322-327). A personal connection between the two artists is tantalizing. Boltraffio was a member of the Milanese minor aristocracy, and like Clarici was able to move among the courtly circles around the city's Sforza and later Hapsburg lords (Pederson 2014).

In his letter from Florence, Clarici observed that Marco da Faenza's paintings for the Palazzo Vecchio were the work of an artist who "seemed to me to paint very skillfully in creating grotesques" (Moretti and Roberts 2018, 119) His judgement that Florence was so pleasing to him that a month was not nearly enough time adequately acquaint himself with "all of its beautiful works, as many paintings as sculptures" all suggests that he was not just a painter himself, but a man deeply interested in the study, display, and theoretical underpinnings of art (Moretti and Roberts 2018, 119). His interest in Marco da Faenza's imaginative creations, for example, must have drawn upon an awareness of Lomazzo's systematic treatment of grotesques in the sixth book of his *Trattato* (Lomazzo 1585, 422-425). Though specific components of the decorative scheme cannot be definitively attributed to Clarici, ducal service found him at work on the *Palazzo Ducale* of Pesaro. He may well have been involved in the production of the impressive grotesques that adorn the ceiling of the so-called sala della Vittoria, frescoes that owe a rather significant debt to Marco da Faenza.

Figure 4
Giovanni Battista Clarici, Plan of Milan. Pen and colored ink on paper, 1584. Accademia di San Luca, Rome

Longstanding ties connected skilled visual artists to the practicalities of military engineering. Though Leonardo da Vinci most immediately comes to mind, his fantastical machines are only the best known of a tradition stretching back to Taccola (Mariano di Jacopo, 1382-c.1453), the so-called Archimedes of Siena (Galluzzi 2020). These ties are everywhere evident in Clarici's prolific output as a maker of maps, plans, and views. His wide range of surviving plans for fortifications and studies of topography suggest an artist equally at home with pictorial and mathematical demands. His plan of Milan (figure 4), created for the Spanish survey of 1587, is the work of a consummate draughtsman**.** Today in the archives of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, the map sprawls across six folio sheets of

paper. In precise red and yellow inks, Clarici provided an exacting scale image of the city's core, emphasizing the relationship between roads and major structures, and especially the positions of the perimeter walls and the Castello Sforzesco, satisfying the objective demands of curious court administrator's while visually anchoring these claims in an accessible and direct visual naturalism (Viganò 1997a; Mara 2020, 116-121). This ability to graphically communicate, to bridge the gap between exacting geographical situation and visual appeal, even delight, characterized Clarici's cartographic *oeuvre,* one which included both true maps, like his surveys of Lombard territory, today collected in Madrid and Pavia, and picturesque vignettes, like the fresco view of Pesaro in the Villa Miralfiore.

Maps and views were fundamentally an extension of painterly practices, not only (or even principally) because they were 'imaginative,' but because the skills, and sometimes travel, necessary to make them were fundamentally acquired in workshop contexts and necessitated by the demands of shifting patronage**.** It is not to Leonardo's uncharacterizable genius but to his considerably more pragmatic connection between mind and hand that his remarkable plan of the town of Imola is owed**.** Clarici's own topographic surveys of Lombard holdings today in the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid, continue and amplify that same tradition, recreating the fortifications of towns like Como and Tortona for their Hapsburg owners. Such sixteenth century-maps were a technology that was at times practical but perhaps equally often, rhetorically pragmatic. In all of these, drawing was the principal technique that activated this rhetoric. Clarici's cartographic imagination was informed by the shifting needs of patrons from Urbino and Pesaro to Milan and Spain and by the experiences of an artist who found himself on the move across the peninsula in their service. That imagination found its clearest expression not in the commercial products that drove Rosselli's change of fortune, but rather in surveys and recordings, tools for limited display and dissemination for lords and their expanding administrative apparatuses.

Marine charts and their makers provide a final case study for cartographic images that bridged many of these diverse conditions of making, display, and use. The developing combination of practical ingenuity and a culture of rhetorical display that animated Clarici's plan of Milan found ready expression in the vibrant painted portolans that remained the stock in trade of mapmakers in coastal cities across the early modern Mediterranean. Rather little is definitively known about Giovanni Battista Cavallini, among the most prolific chart makers active in seventeenth century Livorno, the primary port of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (Guarnieri 1932; Pinna 1977; Astengo 1985; Astengo 2000, 128-135; Astengo 2007, 180). Like Rosselli and Clarici, Cavallini was a man willing and able to relocate when work demanded. He identified himself as Genoese in origin, signing one of his carts as "geographo genoese." If he did indeed hail from Genoa, Cavallini must have been trained in the Maggiolo family's workshop since they controlled the chart trade there by official monopoly. It was the likely the grim prospects for advancement under such conditions that drove him to seek his fortune elsewhere. Settling in Livorno, he seems to have brought the skills he refined in

Genoa to the shop of the Catalan chart maker Joan Oliva, who had relocated there around 1615. Cavallini collaborated on at least one occasion with Oliva since a jointly signed chart by the two survives in the Newberry Library's collection in Chicago (Ayer MS.29).

Far from a unique situation, the chart maker's likely need to move beyond the reach of a local monopoly was an endemic one for early modern artisans. Early modern writers regularly disparaged jealousy and competition among artisans, the sorts of strife that forced craftsmen into itinerancy. Yet they accepted that these conflicts were ubiquitous among craftsmen and perhaps unavoidable. Livorno's novel status as a free port was, unquestionably, partially intended to profit from exactly these sorts of localized artisan rivalries. The relative secrecy of technical skills and tools and the anti-competitive maneuvering that characterized so many trades served to prevent upstarts from entering these industries without significant effort, connections, and often luck. They were also barriers that savvy lords like the Medici grand dukes knew had to be delicately transgressed and relaxed in places like Livorno if vital technologies were to flourish under their patronage.

Like many specialized, skilled trades, the craft of chart making was often learned and handed down within family workshops. Cavallini's own enterprise followed this general course, though the contours of his bottega's practice remain poorly defined. Surviving charts signed by a Pietro Cavallini, a son, nephew, or brother of Giovanni Battista, can be dated until at least 1688 (Astengo 2007, 180-181). Clearly, a storehouse of charts was kept as a model within the workshop, allowing for copies of charts and views to be produced on demand sometimes decades apart, a fact demonstrated by closely related examples of an *isolario* today in New York and Cyprus (Roberts 2019b, 68). If such specialized skills and material models were often passed down in a relatively stable succession within families, their practitioners found themselves routinely on the move. The relative biographical anonymity of the Cavallini is hardly mysterious, then. It is rather a natural consequence of a technical economy that saw artillery casters, engravers, printers, smiths, and mapmakers alike building new lives in cities in which their families, customs, and even native tongues were often unfamiliar. Relocation, rather than just habitual itinerancy or travel, must be added to the conditions which tended to characterize the world view of early modern cartographic artisans.

For Giovanni Battista, the free port of Livorno proved precisely what Genoa had not been, a permanent and steady base for his workshop. Indeed, he would work there for the rest of his life and was active until 1656. For many of those who lived and worked there, trade was the port's lifeblood. Cavallini, though, was principally dependent on a related, but quite distinct, component of the Medici's maritime base. He may, of course, have produced some charts for merchant ships and those that brought pilgrims across the Mediterranean to the levant. Such maps, subject to the perils of storm and wreck, and to the more quotidian erosion at the hands of the waves and winds, rarely survived. Instead, like those of his contemporaries, Cavallini's known charts are lavish, decorated examples designed to invoke a sense of their more pragmatic cousins for usually elite patrons. In seventeenth-century Livorno that public was

overwhelming composed of the grand dukes, their supporters, and especially the military order they had founded, the Knights of Santo Stefano, whose fleet was based in the port. It was the presence of the Knights, above all, that ensured the longevity of the chart making trade in Livorno and Cavallini's place within it.

Cosimo I de' Medici had founded the order in 1561 and served as their first grand master, a role eagerly adopted by each of his successors. The Knights served, in large part, to protect the new shipping and pilgrimage routes that were vital to the Medici's primary goal of using Livorno to expand their influence into the Mediterranean and to bolster the Tuscan economy through maritime trade. Piracy proved a persistent threat to these ambitions and the Knights were the grand duchy's primary deterrent (Hanlon 1998; Angiolini 1999; Gemignani 2003). Yet, in a sea increasingly dominated by the Ottoman navy, the Knights themselves served as a powerful symbol of the continuity of crusader ambitions and as a visible projection of Medici's commitment to such popular, if entirely impractical, goals.

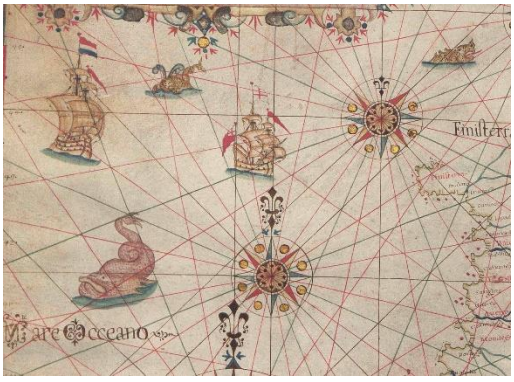

Figure 5
Giovanni Battista Cavallini, Marine Chart (detail). Pen, Ink and Paint on Vellum, 1635. Sylvia Ioannou Foundation, Cyprus

A lavishly decorated atlas today in the collection of the Sylvia Ioannou Foundation on Cyprus (figure 5), provides an example of the charts produced for the Knights that came to define Cavallini's output (Roberts 2019b). As a whole, these charts show a strong sense of stylistic continuity with those of Oliva, and – with relatively minor variations – represent an extremely visually coherent group. The most identifiable feature of Cavallini's maps was a preponderance of land and marine creatures that populate his miniature seas and coastlines. These beasts were based, as was typical in chart painter's workshops, on drawn templates contained within model books. Some of Cavallini's creatures, especially those referencing conventional heraldry, such as his lions and bears, seem indiscriminately and interchangeably placed across the largely blank land masses of his charts. A generic bear, for example, appears in different on several of the maps of this atlas, functioning as an entertaining and conventional means of filling conspicuously empty passages. Others, however, such as a monkey under the shade of a North African tree and a camel placed beneath a banderol for Africa were directly connected to specific places and served as a visual shorthand for geographic information. These exotic animals divide continents and climes and, like the flags flown from ships and cities, help to visualise great distances. For their painter, these beasts might also have served as a maker's mark or calling card; the forms of Cavallini's animals are recognizable and distinctive, appearing on his charts in significantly greater numbers than upon those of his contemporaries.

Cavallini's sea creatures are hardly menacing, though these whales, sharks and serpents dwarf the ships with which they share these waters. They are, like their terrestrial counterparts, highly conventional. Their haphazard positioning is likewise rather different from earlier examples in which such creatures gather in previously unknown, newly discovered, and dangerous waters. Still, one effect of drawing on these partially anachronistic conventions, for the chart maker, might have been a certain comfortable familiarity that they inspired in their patrons and viewers. This would have been especially true for the Knights, in whose collections both in Livorno and at their headquarters in Pisa Cavallini's maps took their place. They stress, and even exaggerate, the dangers of sea voyages and call to mind the distances involved in the pious, militaristic voyages. The apparent anachronism of Cavallini's sea monsters helped to situate the knights and their missions not in a bygone, chivalric past, but in an ongoing present in which crusader exploits continued to resonate.

Cavllini's Livorno was, in many ways, a success story for the Medici dukes. A program of tax protections, guild exemptions, and guarantees of religious tolerance begun during Cosimo I's rule but largely instituted by Ferdinando I, helped establish the port as a maritime base for the Grand Duchy (Danielson 1986; Guarini 1978; Rosen 2015). These policies were instrumental in realizing not just commercial and naval pre-eminence but also an ambitious plan for bringing technologies and skilled artisanship under the auspices of ducal protection, patronage, and surveillance policies promoted forcefully in Florence through those like Giovanni Stradano and Ludovico Buti, whose images of artillery, fireworks, smithing, and casting decorated the walls and ceilings of ducal residences and civic buildings (Markey 2012). Chart making was one of the most important of these forms of ingenuity – even if it needed to be imported in order to take its place among specifically Tuscan trades. Ducal policy and the lure of profit were, in this regard, effective and Livorno attracted talented chart makers from around the Mediterranean.

How we might construct a worldview out of such investigations is a challenge going forward. The problem is not – or at least not principally – that we have not asked what artisans like Rosselli, Clarici, or Cavallini might have thought about the maps that became their stock in trade. More fundamentally, it is instead that we still have thought very little about who someone like Rosselli was – what his experiences were, what his travels entailed, the kinds of knowledge he likely held about the world that he portrayed with his burin. He seems neither armchair traveler nor, can we be sure, that he was truly much of a mathematician. In other words, his theoretical grounding in what we might consider a cartographic world view is uncertain. What is clear is that he was a traveler, an entrepreneur, an inventive adapter to new technologies, whose style, techniques, and tools can only problematically be thought of as Florentine, or even Italian. Uniting the chart painter, military architect, and engraver was a willingness to seek their fortune far from home, and understanding, that is, of the relationship between geographical and social mobility. Whether dodging creditors, currying the favor of foreign lords, or recognizing the opportunity to escape the constraints of longstanding monopolies, cartographers in early modern Italy leveraged practical

skills developed in trades as diverse as manuscript illumination and architecture as demonstrations of ingenuity. Rosselli, Clarici, and Cavallini shared a chameleon nature that embraced specialization and diversification in equal measure, fashioning, rather than adopting, the identity of cartographer.

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