THE MATERIAL CULTURE REVIEW

REVUE DE LA CULTURE MATÉRIELLE

Volume 95
Thematic Issue: *The Social Lives of Maps*, vol. 3
Guest Editor: Dr. Lauren Beck

SUMMER 2023 / L'ÉTÉ 2023

Material Culture Review

Revue de la culture matérielle

Web Site / Site Internet
www.materialculturereview.com

Material Culture Review gratefully acknowledges the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Cape Breton University Press.

La *Revue de la culture matérielle* est reconnaissante de l'appui qui lui est offert par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines et le Cape Breton University Press.

Material Culture Review

Revue de la culture matérielle

Table of Contents/Tables des matières

Special Issue: The Social Lives of Maps, Volume 3

Guest Editorial/Éditorial Invité

The Social Lives of Maps, Volume 3

LAUREN BECK
Mount Allison University, Canada

Introduction to *The Social Lives of Maps*, Volume 3

Initiated in 2021, this three-volume thematic issue brings together 16 scholars from around the world to explore the many ways that maps lead and impact our own social lives. The project grew out of Martin Brückner's *The Social Lives of Maps in America, 1750-1860* (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute/University of North Carolina Press, 2017). The purpose of this three-volume series of the *Material Culture Review/Revue de la culture matérielle* is to expand upon Brückner's insightful approach to understanding the lives of maps and to consider other geographies and temporalities.

This thematic issue explores maps of all sorts—such as GIS maps, paper-based maps, antiquated maps, artistic maps, and wayfinding tools accessed through mobile telephony. This means that for our purposes, and from a physical perspective, the map is defined by its materiality: whether in digital or spatial form, whether understood as a dataset or art-object, maps commonly transition during the course of their lives from one modality to another.

A twenty-year-old road map provides data on the roads and obstacles with which drivers might meet while in transit from one place to another. In the year in which it was first published, that map offered an up-to-date picture of transportation networks. Decades later, however, it may be viewed as outdated in that newer roads will be absent, on the one hand, whereas newer technologies now allow us to wayfind using mobile devices, on the other. As maps age, they become rarified and imbued with value as collector's items or as research specimens, and in that way, old maps can be considered akin to community elders sought after for their currency as informants of political, social, cultural, and geographical change.

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the preponderance of digital platforms means that maps today thrive as living organisms informed by the latest traffic patterns, place name updates, placement of signage, and so on: their online biographies demonstrate incredible resilience and a capacity to become intergenerational. Unlike you and I, the map's demise may be difficult to effectuate, precisely because the fallibility of material maps, which could be burned, torn, or lost, are nearly impossible to lose within the digital realm. Once scanned and made available online, digitized maps become immortal because metadata, data repositories, and the seemingly impermeable memory of the internet collude to perpetuate the lives of maps forever.

The introduction of mass-produced maps in the late medieval period has ensured that we often have more than one and sometimes thousands of copies of

historical maps, and each of these—along with their digital lifespans—lead their own lives. Each map individual may have drastically different experiences than others in her peer group published on the same day on the same printing press by the same technician. Similarly, there is stark variation in the quality of life of copies of the same map held by different institutions: maps, whether in the physical or digital worlds, are never the same and they undergo distinct experiences depending on where they live, how they survive exposure to the elements, who their neighbours are, and what accidents they might suffer. Each must be studied as individuals, but the possibility that individuals live double lives in the physical and material realms calls our attention to the complex possibilities for theorizing about their social lives.

Maps also help us understand our own lives. As Brückner establishes at the outset of his book, the map "acts as the material, visual, and emotive horizon binding multiple means of mass communication, structures of feeling, and everyday social habits" (1). During the period in which the United States both won its independence from Britain and engaged afterward in a destructive civil war, maps defined the social fabric of the young nation, inscribing within them our lives as citizens of whatever nation we call home. In this way, we belong to them much as they belong to us, being not just physical possessions, but also expressions of our identities alongside those of the people who created maps.

Maps as entities are often living in that they change from one edition to the next, undergoing a chrysalis or transiting through various stages of life: the road map published 20 years ago has been updated and re-released each year thereafter by the publisher, who offers a more updated map as an inducement for the traveler to purchase it. As documents, maps are created; our interaction with them results in them aging; and at some point, the map may be discarded or destroyed. As commodities, maps experience a lifespan no differently than sentient beings—even in the digital realm where we, too, are immortalized through our interactions with the internet and with social media in particular. As Brückner points out, we often think about maps as being right or wrong, good or bad, or beautiful or ugly, qualities that mirror the sorts of judgements or assessments that we make of each other (4). At the same time, viewers make meaning, and a map's value will be influenced by "the viewer's class, gender, age, education, economic power, and ethnic origin" (9).

Brückner proposes four methodologies with which the social lives of maps can be viewed and analysed, and through these I will introduce the 14 articles included in this thematic issue. The first of these methodologies involves viewing the map as an environment or ecosystem whose inhabitants are images, personas, and avatars with relationships among themselves. The figural components of the map function as individuals within the map itself. Because all ecosystems interact with exogenous environments as well, the porosity of the interstitial zone between the map and that which surrounds or interacts with it also requires us to think about the map's interior and exterior environments.

The interaction of map components is the subject of the article contributed by Virginija Popovaitė (Nord University,

Norway), titled "Maps in Translation: Following Maps Through Maritime Search and Rescue Operations in Northern Norway." Popovaitė considers how digital maps and the data that they rely upon have social lives while they are being used and created in the field during Search and Rescue Operations. By viewing maps as more-than-human actors, she considers how maps in the digital world are constituted by elements such as the compass, gyroscope, radar, and an array of data; they also generate data and therefore are in constant flux. The concept of translation allows her to explore the fluctuating state of materiality as maps of this nature transit between the physical and non-physical worlds.

Heather Rogers and Kelly Chang (McGill University, Canada) also demonstrate this methodology in their article, titled "Mapping Ecological Imperialism: A Digital Environmental Humanities Approach to Japan's Colonisation of Taiwan." The authors assess the role of cinchona—a tree whose bark yields quinine alkaloids key to the treatment of malaria—in Japan's imperialist expansion through both historical maps and digital mapping tools. They seek to provide the first detailed historicization of the intertwinement of nature, people, and nation building using maps as a platform for this knowledge, showing how historical maps and digital mapping tools can elucidate complex rooted networks within colonial societies.

The second methodology sees the materiality of maps interacting with the materiality of what surrounds them. These social entanglements connect that map to the broader world—in the hands of children, maps offer a picture of the world around them while serving a didactic purpose and providing a wayfinding tool. Their production points to layers of materiality that stretch from the printing press and the brand of ink used to colour the map to the printing plates upon which it was etched and then to the paper upon which it is superimposed. The map finds itself sequestered within a book, placed into a student's backpack, transported from the public realm of the classroom, where the child has doodled on its surface and circled their favourite places with pencil, to the intimate setting of a family home and child's bedroom. There it may rest beside their favourite doll or sit abandoned on a basement bookshelf years later.

This is the methodology used by Cortney Berg (CUNY, USA), in her article, titled "Sanudo's Vision, Vesconte's Expertise, and the Ghost Hand: Reception of the Maps in the MS Additional 27376." In the fourteenth century, Marino Sanudo authored his lengthy work, *The Book of Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, or *Secreta*, and commissioned sets of maps to accompany the text, and dozens of copies of this work wound up as gifts that have since come to reside in the national libraries of various countries, including England and the Vatican. This article considers two such copies from the workshop of the influential cartographer, Pietro Vesconte, the MS Additional 27376 in the British Library with the MS Tanner 190 in the Bodleian Library, in order to compare the images and maps, and posit what the differences between the two illustrate about Sanudo as an author and a statesman. The author also turns from what the maps tell us about their creators to consider what experiences they have had themselves. Berg works to uncover a ghost hand that has intervened in these manuscripts in order to meditate on how

medieval maps become reinscribed as political documents about the state of the world.

Another approach to a map's materiality influencing that of its environs is taken by Adam McKeown (Tulane University, USA) in his article, titled "Mapping Ideas in the Fortress-Cities of *Civitates orbis terrarum*." Using maps from the influential sixteenth-century *Civitates orbis terrarum* series, this article considers how the two-dimensional ichnographic city plan, which emerged in the late fifteenth century, developed rapidly during the military crisis of the sixteenth century when many European cities scrambled to rebuild walls in response to new fire weapons. The two-dimensional city plan was instrumental in this sweeping and costly reconfiguration of the European built environment in that it allowed architects and civic leaders to see the urban complex as a continuous system. The new urban plans also had the effect of transforming the city into militarized space, however, with vectors of gunfire and lines of communication driving planning considerations. The city plans that survive in manuscripts and printed books testify to the enthusiasm for militarizing the human environment throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they also reveal how artists explored and developed aesthetic ideals under the auspices of military optimization. The new designs tended to subordinate military considerations to Vitruvian ideals, to the extent that geometric regularity became for no practical reason an ideal of military design. Fortification designs in this way often possessed lives well in advance of any real-world manifestation of the infrastructure itself.

Marco Fratini (Fondation Centre Culturel Vaudois, Italy) also explores this approach in his article, titled "Les cartes comme instrument d'affirmation confessionnelle. La création de «Vallées vaudoises» entre XVIIe et XIXe siècle." Fratini undertakes an analysis of maps of the west Piedmont region and how events over the last several centuries have shaped them from both an endogenous and exogenous view, particularly when their creators hail from different parts of the world. He notes that maps are manifestations of power in a period in which cultural divisions among Protestants and Catholics became projected and reenacted by maps of the region through the appearance of religious infrastructure that underlined the area's complex spiritual identity. Maps could also serve as a source of propaganda, inciting disagreement within the user-viewer, who might wish to reach for a representation that better aligned with their socio-political and religious worldview.

With the third methodology, we examine map interactions between people of varying backgrounds to understand how maps impact their lives and how they respond to maps. These might include how we read maps by unfolding them, creasing them, downloading them, or swiping them out of the way. By thinking about our sensory experience of maps, we can illuminate entirely new dimensions of both our and their social lives.

Karen Rose Mathews (University of Miami, USA) explores this methodology in her article, titled "Mapping, Materiality, and Merchant Culture in Medieval Italy (12^{th}-14^{th} Century)." Over the course of the twelfth century, Pisan merchants formulated cognitive skills that fostered a perception and assessment of the world

through the lens of cartographic knowledge and inventories of commodities, places, and trade routes. The development of a "mapping eye" among the mercantile elite of this maritime republic combined two complementary visual systems. The production and distribution of Mediterranean luxury goods encouraged the development of cartographic tools to facilitate navigation and maritime commerce. In turn, the creation of portolan charts and texts, with their diagrammatic format and conceptualization of space into interconnected but distinct ports of call, determined the arrangement of goods acquired through Mediterranean trade in a series of heterogeneous visual ensembles that juxtaposed material objects of various media, origin, and signification. Maps, then, were products of human ingenuity and necessity that in turn transformed the ways of seeing of those who created and used them, formulating a visual matrix through which information was processed and defining social relationships between people but also between people and things.

Steffen Wöll (Leipzig University, Germany) also explores human-map interactions in his article, 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.

Elitza Kotzeva (American University of Armenia) also explores this methodology in her article, titled "Counter-Mapping for Resistance and Cultivation of Counter-Memory: Contemporary Social Life of Historical Nagorno Karabakh Maps." She looks at the shifting borders of Armenia and Azerbaijan on twentieth- and twenty-first-century maps following political and military conflicts in the region to consider the ways that maps can be a source of comfort against the background of war and upheaval. In parallel, maps can also be source of provocation when they depict territorial rifts and changes in boundaries that incite emotional responses from their viewers and users. The region of Nagorno Karabakh has a vibrant cartographic history imbued with captivating storytelling abilities that describe and contextualize how conflict has impacted the area.

Social interactions between users and maps are also explored by Martin Vailly (European University Institute, Italy) in his article, titled "Poring Over the World at the Court: Coronelli's Globes and the Social Lives of Maps in France (1680-1715)." Vailly examines the how maps structured both social relationships and the exercise of power at the court of Louis XIV to show that engaging with maps was a central way of negotiating social status and asserting one's power at court. The agency of maps, given that their contents and materiality shaped the socio-political interactions they were part of, was made manifest through their varied purposes: to teach the shape of the Earth to children using printed maps and

globes; to discuss the latest victory of the royal armies using plans and atlases; or to entertain courtiers with an astonishingly decorated map. Vailly considers how Coronelli's terrestrial globe was used by the king for these purposes while meditating on the object's material live and interactions with different cohorts of user-viewers.

Johanna Skurnik (University of Helsinki, Finland) also investigates human-map relations in her article, titled "From Everyday Map-Things to Oblivion? The Social Lives of the Finnish Missionary World Maps." Skurnik investigates the social lives of the nineteenth-century mass-produced missionary world maps published in Finnish and Swedish in the Grand Duchy of Finland, at the time an autonomous part of the Russian Empire. The maps were produced to build broader support for missionary work. By analyzing the worldly experiences that the maps generated in their different users, Skurnik examines their *thingness* in Finnish society. She also studies the life cycles of these maps to theorize the continuities and changes in their relations to human subjects.

The last article that deals with this subject is authored by Bram Vannieuwenhuyze (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands), and titled "The Social Life, Death, and Rebirth of Jacob van Deventer's City and Town Maps of the Low Countries." Vannieuwenhuyze observes that most scholarship on Low Lands cartography concentrates on its extant products (maps, atlases, globes), their makers (surveyors, cartographers, publishers), and their production process (surveys, printing, objectives). Little scholarship has considered how sixteenth-century maps of the region were used. He identifies and explores the sources we have at our disposal to reveal more about how the social lives of maps impact map viewers and users.

A fourth methodology considers the biography of the map as it transits through its life off the printing press to the trash bin. Graciela Favelukes (CONICET/Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina) demonstrates this methodology through her exploration of the process of reincarnating a map over several editions. In her article, titled "Voyages of a 17th Century Map of Buenos Aires: From Spies and Sailors to Printers and Scholars," Favelukes undertakes an exploration of the long and rich life span of a city map of Buenos Aires and its changing settings by following more than 15 versions of Barthelemy de Massiac's 1669 map of the city produced between 1669 and 1981 while shining light on the map's different uses and purposes over the centuries. Her analysis makes plain the political and social ideologies that influence the map and its contents. At the same time, she traces the complex lifespan of a map that, like the cat, has more than 15 lives.

The second article that explores a map's biography is by Sean Roberts (University of Tennessee, Knoxville, USA), 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 upon 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 third and final article that traces a map's chrysalis over time is contributed by Lynette Russell (Monash University, Australia) and Leonie Stevens (Monash University, Australia), 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.

As guest editor of this thematic issue devoted to the social lives of maps, I observe that these important contributions to the subject emphasise the potential for future scholarship to uncover how modalities in particular—printed maps, material maps, mental maps, digital maps—give these objects an intransience or immortality. What does this ability to outlive one's biological or physical lifespan reveal about humanity's struggle to do the same, and how might it foreshadow human futurity as we realize the multiplicity of our own lives, whether online, on earth, and even after death?

ELITZA KOTZEVA
American University of Armenia

Counter-Mapping for Resistance and Cultivation of Counter-Memory: Contemporary Social Life of Some Historical Nagorno Karabakh Maps

"Gradually [Richard] realized that the Tube map was a handy fiction that made life easier, but bore no resemblance to the reality of the city above, like belonging to a political party..."

—Neil Gaiman, *Neverwhere*

"One way of seeing 'places' is as on the surface of maps … But to escape from an imagination of space as a surface is to abandon also that view of place. If space is rather a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space."

—Doreen Massey, *For Space*

On September 27, 2020, fighting broke out between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the territory of the de facto independent state of Nagorno Karabakh, a mountainous area landlocked between the two former Soviet republics. When the 1988-94 war for the same region ended, the conflict was often dubbed "frozen[i]" for the following twenty-six years in media and public discourse. In 2008, gradual hostilities and flare-ups resumed to escalate into the Four-Day April War in 2016. The most recent military conflict, the 45-day War, or the 2020 Autumn War dramatically redrew the national borders of both Azerbaijan and Armenia. Cartographic representations of Nagorno Karabakh therefore differ based on the year they are issued and on the country in which they are published and distributed. Maps of the disputed region, however, not only preserve historical moments and tell stories of the political events shaping these boundaries, but they also serve specific cultural, social, and sometimes political purposes.

Many of these cartographic artifacts advance even stronger arguments. Since they do not necessarily reflect accurately the current political borders of the disputed territory, they seem to make political claims based on the region's historical and cultural heritage relevant to one side of the conflict. These maps often serve as symbolic devices that can offer comfort and compensation in response to tragedy or loss (Wallach 2011). Outside history textbooks, however, the life of such maps bears traits of nationalistic rhetoric, and when exhibited in public places or posted in social media, they become highly provocative. In this essay, I explore the social lives of several historical maps of Nagorno Karabakh, which incorporate the region into the territory of the country that claims it. Maps of the disputed region in these cases preserve historical moments and tell stories of the particular events that shape these boundaries, but

most importantly they serve specific cultural and social purposes in relation to the material place they are depicting. They present the way the land is remembered and celebrated as an inseparable part of the respective culture and their national identity and thus prolong the life of this memory into the present.

In what follows, I look at several historical cartographic depictions of Nagorno Karabakh and the way they have enjoyed a prolonged life in public spaces and social media, specifically in relation to the 2020 war. These historical maps show the region as part of either Greater Hayk[ii]—a kingdom that existed from 321 BC to 428 AD—or of the newly-established republic of Azerbaijan in the beginning of the 20th century. The choice of maps is based on three criteria, the first being the physical access to public and media spaces that display these artifacts. For example, I explore a map displayed in public space—a central metro station in the Armenian capital city, Yerevan (figure 5)—and later investigate its revived social life via social media during the 2020 war (figure 6). The limitation of my choices is due to lack of access to public spaces in Azerbaijan. To achieve balance in my analysis, I explore maps circulated by Azerbaijani social media users or their responses to the Armenian historical map in the metro station. The social life of these maps, as a focus of my study, defines the second selection criterion. I chose maps that had an opportunity to engage with their viewers in either the physical space where they are exhibited or in social media. In the latter case, Armenian and Azerbaijani users equally prolonged the social life of these maps since both sides had access to the social platform and were able to express their views. I include three separate historical maps of Nagorno Karabakh that were electronically circulated: the map of Greater Hayk in the metro station, a wall-size map that was displayed by a French politician during an event in France designed to collect medical aid for Armenia during the war (figure 8 and 9), and a 1919 map of Nagorno Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan (figure 10). All of these historical maps enjoyed a renewed life in social media during the 2020 war, which is the third criterion for my map selection.

Because of the discussed limitations, my study claims no comprehensiveness vis-a-vis public representations of historical maps of Nagorno Karabakh. To achieve a more rounded view, further research has to be done including historical maps of the region displayed in physical public spaces in Azerbaijan. I also need to explicitly underscore that my analysis does not purport any political agenda. I do not side with, advocate for, or promote any position that advances political claims based on the territorial rhetoric of the examined maps. In fact, I try to turn the attention away from the political, if and as much as it is possible in the case of this conflict, and direct it to the philosophical. The intended shift, I hope, will broaden the audience beyond those interested in the specific regional conflict as my inquiry tackles a question important to all: how do we remember our lived past in a land through historical visual representations of the material place? I will answer this question by exploring the social life of maps which emerges at the encounter of rhetoric of cartographic representation, place, and viewers.

To contextualize the analysis of the selected maps, I first offer a brief historical review of the events that prompted Nagorno Karabakh's border changes and

defined its territorial outline in the 20th century. I then build a framework using Paul Ricoeur's reading of the Platonic *eikôn* and *phantasma* in his phenomenological study dedicated to *art memoriae* in relation to places and sites (2004). I utilize the notion and method of counter-mapping to reveal inequitable power relations in the way place is used, remembered, and communicated, in the words of rhetorical scholar April O'Brien (2020). Afterward, I discuss the way counter-mapping offers an opportunity for rhetorical invention through the interaction with the material space and suggest that the social life of these maps enacts a rhetoric of resistance. Later in the essay, I engage in the scholarly discussion in rhetoric studies on electronic circulation of images as I explore the online social life of some counter-maps of Nagorno Karabakh—one Armenian, one French, and one Azerbaijani map. I end the essay with a discussion of counter-mapping as a useful technique for cultivation of counter-memory for communities to resist dominant narratives, even political geography, in order to preserve their cultural identity.

Historical Events, Territorial Claims, and National Identity

My analysis of Nagorno Karabakh maps requires at least a brief description of the complex historical events that have led to the contemporary cartographic representations of the region. A few political maps from the end of the 19th century and the beginning and late 20th century tell the story of how this land was viewed as central to the history, to the lived past, and to the development of national identity for both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Following the Bolshevik Revolution in the years 1917-1920, Azerbaijan and Armenia both laid claims to the region of Nagorno Karabakh. After the two republics gained independence in 1918, the Azerbaijani government announced their intention to delimit its borders and demanded that the Armenians living in the region recognize the sovereignty of Azerbaijan with Nagorno Karabakh within its territory (Saparov 2014, 91). The Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh rejected the request. In 1918, Nagorno Karabakh established its first democratic government, the Council of Commissioners, which in the period 1918-1920 organized nine congresses. All of them rejected the inclusion of Nagorno Karabakh into Azerbaijan, except for the seventh, which decided to temporarily place Artsakh, the Armenian name of the region, into Azerbaijan until the final decision was made at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference (Hakobyan 2011, 357). The Azerbaijani map presented at the conference incorporated the territory of Nagorno Karabakh into the boundaries of Azerbaijan (figure 1). The Armenian delegation in turn prepared their map with the purpose to show the borders of the First Republic of Armenia (1918-1920) where the majority of the population was ethnically Armenian (Galichian 2014, 220). The map included the territory of Nagorno Karabakh into the borders of the Republic of Armenia (figure 2).

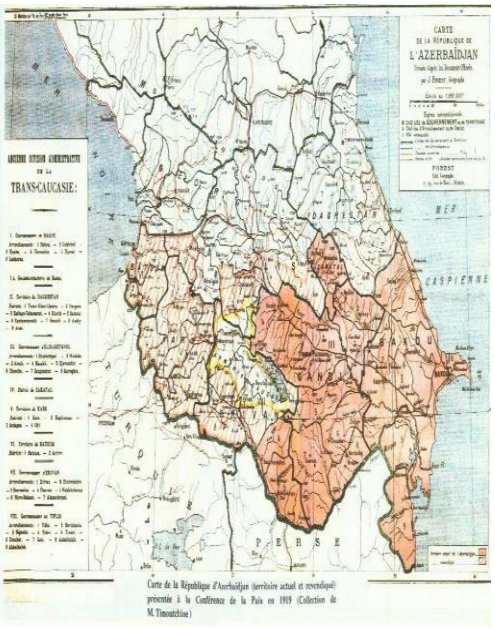


Figure 1
Map of Azerbaijan presented at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919. Published in *Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 1918-1920: The Difficult Road to Western Integration.* (Hasanli 2015, 424).

Figure 2
Map prepared for the negotiations and finalization of the territorial question of Armenia at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919. Published in *Historic Maps of Armenia: The Cartographic Heritage.* (Galichian 2014, 220).

After the established Soviet rule over the territory of Azerbaijan in April 1920, the Red Army occupied Karabakh and declared it disputed territory. Later in 1920, the government of Soviet Azerbaijan issued a statement announcing that the territorial disputes with Armenia were abrogated, and as a result, Nagorno Karabakh, Zangezur, and Nakhichevan were recognized as integral parts of Soviet Armenia (Krüger 2010, 15). On June 3rd, 1921, the Caucasus Bureau of the Russian Communist Party unanimously adopted a decision that Nagorno Karabakh belongs to Armenia, following up with a decree to grant legal status to the territory as part of Soviet Armenia. However, on July 5th, 1921, Stalin gave the disputed region to Soviet Azerbaijan (NKAO; Krüger 2010, 16).

In the early 1920s, there were very few maps showing Karabakh's borders, and whenever the region appeared on Soviet maps, the boundaries seemed to differ significantly (Saparov 2014). In 1923, Nagorno Karabakh was proclaimed as an autonomous region within Soviet Azerbaijan and yet its boundaries were still not delimited. The first border project was proposed in late 1923 based on tsarist military and administrative maps while the first official map of the region appeared in a supplement of *Bakinskii Rabochi* on November 26th, 1924 with detailed description of its administrative composition and an outline of its territory (*Pravitel'stvennyi Vestnik*). That map was changed again in 1925 to include some 223 more villages and the town of Shoushi into the territory of the region (figure 3).

Figure 3
Map of Nagorno Karabakh presenting the tsarist administrative divisions and Soviet boundary projects. Published in *From Conflict to Autonomy in the Caucasus: The Soviet Union and the Making of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno Karabakh.* (Saparov 2014, 119).

Davies and Kent, authors of *The Red Atlas: How the Soviets Mapped the World* (2017), explain that most of the Soviet maps present very detailed accounts of the landscape but were highly classified, and ordinary people did not have access to accurate cartographic documents. Moreover, the ones for public consumption were intentionally distorted by the government. Davies and Kent assert that Soviet maps show that the meaning of maps is never constant, and that there are always new ways that a map can change the world (2017, 29). So do the Soviet maps of Nagorno Karabakh—they change the world with every map created for the political project of the respective republic fighting over the disputed region. In 1928, in the first *Atlas of the USSR*, the maps of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR show different borders of Nagorno Karabakh (Enukidze 1928, 89;93). Saparov, for instance, writes about the absence of Bolshevik blueprints not only of Nagorno Karabakh but also of the other two disputed South Caucasian regions, South Ossetia and Abkhazia (2014). The lack of proper border delimitation by the Soviets could be attributed to what Western writers like Davies and Kent describe as a secret global topographic enterprise meant to be used as a Cold War military inventory. This view fits well the myth propelled by non-Soviet scholars that the Soviets retained control over the population by depriving it of information and limiting its access to specific knowledge. Russian historian Alexey Golubev dispels these ideas by showing that, opposite to popular belief, the Soviets engaged in massive educational initiatives that reached every corner of the union (2021). The limited access to maps of the disputed regions defies Davies and Kents' argument and does not qualify as a good explanation for the lack of formal delimitation of the territories in question. Saparov explains the phenomenon mostly with political and ethnographic reasons. Certain places entered the autonomous region of Nagorno Karabakh because of prevailing political considerations—an example is the town of Shoushi and the surrounding Turkic populated villages. But for the most part, Saparov argues, the boundaries of Nagorno Karabakh were drawn based on an ethnographic principle—the border was meant to separate the two ethnic groups (2014, 118; 132).

In the military conflict of 1988-1994, the borders of Nagorno Karabakh were again redrawn. The war that was fueled additionally by the disintegration of the Soviet

Union ended with a ceasefire and Armenian military control over the region, including the adjacent seven provinces. In September 1991, the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh was declared. By the end of the war, its territory expanded three times and until 2020 it comprised of 12,500 km^2.

No country, including Armenia, has recognized the de facto state, although several US states and one Australian state have recognized its independence (Ter-Matevosyan and Ghazaryan 2019, 1). Similarly, an area to the North of the de facto Republic of Artsakh, Shahumyan, which declared independence together with Nagorno Karabakh, remained under Azerbaijani control.

The renewed military engagements over the region in the early 2000s and the 45-day war in 2020 clearly show that the political interventions and formal delimitations of the disputed region do not suffice. Armenia lost the 2020 war, and as a result, a big portion of Nagorno Karabakh was conquered by Azerbaijan (figure 4). The question of delimitation, however, persists. There are places along the border where Azerbaijan has made military advances and annexed the sovereign Armenian territory. According to the PM of Armenia, Azerbaijan controls 41 km^2 of Armenia's territory (Pashinyan 2021). A formal delimitation and demarcation process was allegedly initiated on November 26th, 2021, with a tripartite declaration between Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Russian Federation, more than a year after the trilateral ceasefire agreement was signed to end the war on November 9th, 2020.

Figure 4
Map of current territorial control in Nagorno Karabakh. By Evan Centanni and Djordje Djukic. Published in *Political Geography Now*. December 1, 2020.

The brief historical overview covering some of the major events of the 20th and 21st century shaping the boundaries of Nagorno Karabakh reveals the immense significance of cartographic representation of the land to the people who feel connected to it through history and their lived experience. In terms of visualization of the territory of Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh, Broers and Toal have used the notion "cartographic exhibitionism" to explain the desire within the Armenian geopolitical culture to project and display enlarged national territorial images (2013, 17). The Armenian geopolitical culture, they remind us, is a "product of the geopolitical condition of the lands claimed as homelands by Armenians and the experiences of Armenian communities there and elsewhere" (Broers and Toal 2013, 18). Cartography, then, becomes a powerful tool to express the link between territory and identity, an "iconographical solution" to seeing the country united and whole again (Marutyan 2009, 17). Broers and Toal give several examples of counter-maps as forms of cartographic exhibitionism. Some of them, like the maps selected for my analysis, are displayed in

public places. Two examples stand out as an expression of "individualistic cartography" which reflect Armenian geopolitical sensibilities that are far from standardized (Broers and Toal 2013, 29). A large three-dimensional map displayed on the school wall in Vank, Nagorno Karabakh, depicts Armenia as a large geographic space defined by terrain and not by political and administrative boundaries. Another map graces the facade of the Armenia sanatorium in Jermuk and shows the boundaries of Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh omitting political borders of the surrounding countries. Most recently, in the beginning of 2022 a series of billboards emerged in Yerevan with a picture of Woodrow Wilson standing in front of a map and pointing to the historical territory of Western Armenia, currently in Turkey, with a running title "These lands belong to Armenia." While the image refers to a historical event, the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, the proposed boundaries of Armenia were never implemented since the treaty was only signed but not ratified. This map, too, remains in the realm of cartographic exhibitionism. A form of individualistic cartography, as Broers and Toal call the phenomenon, the listed examples did not get public attention during the 2020 war, unlike the maps that I have selected to explore in this paper. The prolonged public life of the analyzed maps is a product of memory of the lived past through the cartographic representations of the land. I dedicate the rest of this article to the question of memory and the record of remembered past and view it as central to the development of contemporary understanding of national identity and belonging to a place.

Maps and the Rhetorical Art of Memory

Plato's most important dialogue on epistemology *Theaetetus* makes a strong case for the phenomenological nature of knowledge and its relation to the record of memory. Since in this essay I am concerned with the prolonged life of maps as records of specific moments in history, Plato's dialogue provides a useful framework for our analysis of maps. The presented debate on how we record knowledge can help us conceptualize maps as vehicles of perceptions and memories that present a perceived version of the reality strictly for rhetorical purposes. Socrates begins the dialogue by asking his interlocutor "What is knowledge?" (Plato 2015, 145d) and first navigates Theaetetus to the Protagoras' argument that man is the measure of all things, therefore "knowledge is simply perception" (Plato 2015, 151d-e). Throughout the rest of the dialogue, the interlocutors consider two other possible definitions to reach in the end an *impasse* typical for Plato's aporetic dialogues: we do not know what knowledge is.

The epistemological inquiry of *Theaetetus* meanders through the paradox of recollection of past knowledge, all the while we do not have a definition on the nature of knowledge. The memory of what we do not know is problematic unless we have a record of it. A record of memory of the past—my working definition of maps in this essay—makes remembering less ephemeral as it gives maps a social life in the present. In the dialogue, Socrates asks Theaetetus, "Can a man who has learned something not know when he is remembering it?" (Plato 2015, 163d). Paul Ricoeur articulates the essence of this phenomenological problem: it is "the

presence of the absent, an enigma common to imagination and memory" (2004, 8). Socrates proposes a solution to the paradox by offering the metaphor of the block of wax—each person has in her soul a block of wax with different consistency which, he suggests, is similar to the way memory works.

> We make impressions upon this of everything we wish to remember [*mnêmoneusai*] among the things we have seen or heard or thought of ourselves; we hold the wax under our perceptions and thoughts and take a stamp from them, in the way in which we take the imprints [*tupos*] of signet rings [marks, *sêmeia*]. Whatever is impressed upon the wax we remember and know so long as the image [*eikôn*] remains in the wax; whatever is obliterated or cannot be impressed, we forget [*epilelêsthai*] and do not know. (Plato 2015, 191d)

The image, *eikôn*, therefore is associated with the imprint, *tupos*, through the metaphor of the slab of wax. Ricoeur suggests that "error is [already] assimilated [in this image] either to an erasing of marks, *sêmeia*, or to a mistake akin to that of someone placing his feet in the wrong footprints" (2004, 8). If we look at a map as an image, *eikôn*, a product of an imprint, *tupos*, we can assume that there could be an error associated with forgetting, erasure of traces or interference into the process of printing. Ricoeur concludes by stating that memory and imagination share the same fate in the Platonic dialogues. In fact, a major argument of Ricoeur's work supports the view of both empirical philosophers and Cartesian disciples—memory is the province of the imagination. Maps then, which represent images of imprints from the past, records of knowledge from the past, are inevitably products of both memory and imagination.

In one of the most central subway stations of the Armenian capital city Yerevan, bearing the name of the adjacent Republic Square, travelers pass underneath a map of Greater Hayk (321 BC to 428 AD) both as they enter and leave the underground (figure 5). One can see the region of Nagorno Karabakh in bright yellow among the fifteen regions of the kingdom all painted in different colors. Enwrapped by other Armenian regions, Artsakh, as the Armenians prefer to call Nagorno Karabakh in reference to its historical name, is in the heart of the historical past of Armenia. Artsakh marries history to land, myth to reality and takes precedence in the formation of Armenian national identity. Although the current borders of the Republic of Armenia encompass only a very small portion of the map of Greater Hayk, and Artsakh has been claimed many a time since the day of the kingdom, the map in metro station "Republic Square" (figure 5) continues to live a celebrated life in the underground of the city. The walk of the citizen underneath the map is a symbolical passage—when one goes underneath it and sees it, the image (*eikôn*) of an imprint (both *tupos* and *sêmeia*, mark) from the distant past unites memory and imagination to seal it in the everyday life of the citizen.

Michel de Certeau observes that the urban walker actualizes some of the possibilities of the spatial order of the city (2002, 93-103). The city thus allows the walker to build her agency. Rhetorical scholar R. J. Topinka takes de Certeau's idea further to suggest that the walker as

a rhetorical figure "spatializes the city"—the city does not simply contain walkers but is being produced by walking (2012, 80). The walker writes and rewrites the city; her embodied location in a material space allows for agency and invention, writes Topinka (2012, 68). The walker's embodied contact with the material space is guided by her choices of movement (Solnit 2014, 26-7). With these choices, she has an opportunity for a rhetorical invention. Topinka sees the walker's agency in that she also has possibilities for resisting, altering, and extending the rhetorical choices of her embodied interaction with the material space (2012, 67). Walking, therefore, can be rhetorical because it can resist the power structures, and in the case of map-viewing, can question the politically endorsed cartographic representation.

The map gives agency to the passerby, regardless of their status, to remember the past through the specific territorial depiction and to imagine their land as it once was. As such, the map creates and builds the world as imagined, uncovers previously unseen realities, and projects a "mental image into the spatial imagination," as James Corner observes in his study on the agency of maps (2011, 90). It also empowers the viewer to endorse the map's suggested representation of reality. The function of the map, in Corner's words, "is not to depict but to enable, to precipitate a set of effects in time" (2011, 93). In the case of subway passengers at station "Republic Square," every time they walk underneath the map of Greater Hayk with Artsakh into its borders, they agree to the version of reality presented by it, actualize it, and perpetuate its existence in the present. Viewing the map tacitly signifies their acceptance of it. Walkers actualize the possibility of both agreeing to the map as they pass under it and reproducing it as they view it. The multiplicity of walking under/viewing the map proliferates the agreements and, in Judith Butler's social constructivist language, performs the bond between memory and imagination for the whole community of metro passengers. The metro passengers collectively make a rhetorical choice to view an alternative map of Armenia when they walk under it, and it is a type of collective resistance to a politically and internationally authorized cartography. The map thus enjoys a life of a political spectacle.

In his detailed analysis of the social life of maps in early American history, Martin Brückner dubs wall maps "public giants" predicating the name on their function to become "multimedia spectacles" in the lived environment in which they are strategically placed (2017, 126). Brückner associates the publicly displayed map with the materiality and performance of the spectacle which he deems responsible for injecting "cartographic sensibility into American notions of publicity and interiority, social decorum and personal memory" (123-4). In the early American context, he traces the way large maps configure the public sphere as a social space in which the cartographic representation both serve ritual needs and at the same time invite, dictate, and support the rhetorical expression of their viewers. Brückner gives as an early example of public giant a map ordered by Benjamin Franklin to decorate the Old State House, today's Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Henry Popple's *Map of the British Empire in America* (1733) was one of the biggest maps (consisting of twenty sheets and needing a wooden frame suspended by a pulley system for display) printed in

18th-century England, and when it was ordered, its content was already repudiated by the Board of Trade for misrepresenting British territorial claims. Nevertheless, the map decorated the space in Boston's State House and up to this day enjoys a social life.

Similar to Popple's public giant, the map of Greater Hayk looms large above the passerby as it is situated strategically in the high traffic area of the metro station's entrance. It performs a political spectacle as it configures the social space of "Republic Square" underground and proposes an argument that counters the officially approved territory of the Republic of Armenia. Another similarity between the two maps, even more important in relation to the potential political nature of the argument, is that both Franklin's map order and that of Greater Hayk in the subway are paid by the taxpayer and that also happens to be the common viewer.

Figure 5
Map of the Kingdom of Greater Hayk (321 BC to 428 AD) at the entrance of Yerevan metro station "Republic Square" [iii]

The Greater Hayk map, ordered and displayed by the government, offers a critical performance meant to counter the dominant narrative. The map and its communal acceptance through the embodied rhetorical engagement of the subway passengers allows for practices of resistance because it does not simply celebrate the historical past. It advances a different argument, allegedly of political nature. Like the Platonic phenomenological inquiry into memory and knowledge, the map claims validity today because a major cartographic element is missing: there are no dates on it to indicate that it represents an image (*eikôn*) of an imprint (*tupos*) from the past. Therefore, Greater Hayk as presented on the wall of metro station "Republic Square," with Artsakh within its borders, is the imprint (*tupos*) preserved on the slab of wax for walkers/viewers today. Or, some speculate, the map argues that Nagorno Karabakh belongs to Armenia.

Social media users have changed the public life of the map at the Yerevan metro station (figure 5) to give voice to others who claim Nagorno Karabakh as part of their historical past. Azerbaijanis on social media have interpreted the presence of this map without date in the city life as the Armenian justification for their claim over Nagorno Karabakh in line with Broers and Toal's argument about Armenian cartographic exhibitionism (figure 6). To Azerbaijanis, the historical map celebrates the bond between memory and imagination in the contemporary daily lives of citizens and advances the argument that Armenians have the right to the land today because of their history. Contemporary politics deems such argumentative strategy unacceptable.

Figure 6
Social Media Reaction to the photo of Greater Hayk map during the 2020 Nagorno Karabakh War. 6b provides a close-up of the text.

Azerbaijani-born political scientist Aytan Gahramanova writes that political mythology in the South Caucasus is made up of various historical fables, which are seen not so much as the past but as a way to shape the future (2010, 137). She substantiates her argument by pointing to the USSR-born tactics of complicating the interpretation of the past whereas history becomes an instrument for advancing political claims, thus legitimizing them as "historical justice" (Gahramanova 2010, 137). Social media interpretations of the metro station map of Greater Hayk therefore fall into a category that Gahramanova calls "transformation of history into political mythology" (2010, 137).

The map in the subway, however, does not make any political arguments. When studying the social life of American wall maps, Brückner emphasizes the importance of public space in relation to the intended viewers and visitors in the places where the maps were displayed (2017). Since Azerbaijanis are not common visitors in Armenia, the metro map does not have an audience outside of the subway passengers and cannot be considered to evoke in its audience a territorial claim or rhetorically advance political mythology. The map in question is simply a representation of mythology born out of the same bond that creates its own imprint—the marriage between memory and imagination.

The Yerevan metro network in a way forges a narrative of national mythology uniting folklore and history, imagination, and memory. One subway station is named after the national epic hero David of Sassoun (Սասունցի Դավիթ), the protagonist in one of the most important works of Armenian folklore, *Daredevils of Sassoun*. Another metro station boasts the name of General Hovhannes Baghramyan, who was the second non-Slavic officer to become a front commander during World War II and is much celebrated national hero in Armenia (Jukes 2001, 25). Greater Hayk map at "Republic Square" simply joins a series of tropes that curate the pantheon of Armenian na-

tional identity. Residing in the underground of the city, they only speak to the locals, the citizens of Yerevan and occasional visitors; they do not have any political rhetorical purpose. Among these tropes, only the map is an imprint (*tupos*) preserved on a slab of wax—a memory of an image—as Socrates notes in *Theaetetus*, and therefore is an imitation of reality.

Ricoeur's analysis of the Platonic metaphor brings him to the conclusion that the sophist is principally an imitator of being and of truth, "someone who manufactures 'imitations' (*mimêmata*) and 'homonyms' (*homônuma*) of beings" (2004, 11) (Plato 2015, 234b). At this point, the philosopher argues the metaphor has extended from the graphic arts to language arts where imitation and magic are indistinguishable. Within this framework, Plato practices his method of *division*—on one side we have *tekhnê eikastikê*—"the art of likeliness-making" (2015, 235d-e), and on the other side we have the appearance—*phantasma.* The map of Greater Hayk belongs to the *tekhnê eikastikê* when it is first recorded but when reproduced later in time it becomes a *phantasma. Eikôn* is thus opposed to *phantasma*—copying and likeliness-making is opposed to making of appearances. The first relates to the more primitive imprint (*tupos*): "suppose for the sake of the argument that we have in our souls a block of wax" (Plato 2015, 191c); *phantasma* already enacts a more sophisticated art—that of mimesis, crafting of appearances (Ricoeur 2004, 11).

While at first *tupos* is seen as rudimentary, the imprint is later treated as a signifying mark (*sêmeion*), and more importantly it resides in the soul, which is the seal on that "block of wax." The signifying mark as first imprinted on the map is lodged deep into the soul of those who reproduce it or who accept its validity even simply by viewing it. The division between *tupos* and *sêmeion* is important when we think about the map as a product of the art of likeliness-making and the signifying mark having resulted in *phantasma*, making of an appearance in the soul. The distinction describes the way the Armenians see the territorial representation in cartography versus the *phantasma* that lives within their imagination, or rather is deeply marked into their souls. Artsakh is integral part of their national identity as memory and imagination get sealed into the mimetic art of crafting of appearances. Similarly, for the Azerbaijanis, the map of Azerbaijan presented at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 (figure 1; figure 10) still lives in the bond between their memory and imagination[iv]. The resulting *phantasmas* outlive the maps that give birth to them, but they also live in the soul of the respective people. Greater Hayk map at one of Yerevan's metro stations, too, reflects a *phantasma* that resides in the Armenian soul.

***Chora*, Affect, and Resistance: Rhetorical Invention and Counter-Mapping Practices**

Maps can live in public both in real life and in the electronic space of the web. April O'Brien proposes a "method-methodology" of spatialized invention to resist controlling space/place narratives and refigures the connection between place and public memory (2020). She calls the method *chora/graphy*, an extension of Gregory Ulmer's choragraphy, which focuses on invention in spaces and places (1994). O'Brien uses *chora/graphy* to argue for alternative explorations of place and public memory in relation to race. She ap-

plies her method to reveal dominant cultural narratives and replace them with community stories that have been marginalized (2020).

O'Brien's *chora/graphy* is born at the intersection and derived from scholarship in cultural and Black feminist geography and therefore is predominantly concerned with the relationship between race, place, and public memory. In the case of the Nagorno Karabakh maps that record a memory of the region as part of a particular nation, public memory of a place intersects with cultural mythology of a national ethnic group. But central to the creation of Platonic *phantasma* is affect. The *chora/graphy* method of O'Brien can contribute to the analysis of Nagorno-Karabakh maps when we consider the affective and inventive capacities of the *chora,* or the place. In relation to these capacities, rhetorical scholar Sarah Arroyo reminds us of the most important translation of the Greek word *chora* as opposed to *topos* — *chora* being holy or sacred space while *topos* referencing merely the location of the place (2013, 62). She sees *chora* as a "generative space where inventions appear and disappear, leaving only traces, without becoming grounded" (Arroyo 2013, 62).

The sacred meaning which the notion of *chora* dons on a place (*topos,* a mere location*)* explains and justifies the affective nature of the phenomenon of map-creation as represented by making of appearances, *phantasma*. This process involves affective invention that comes along with "what the body knows intuitively into awareness" (Arroyo 2013, 65). Therefore, practice within the *chora* works "in the order of making, of generating" (Ulmer qtd. in Arroyo 2013, 65). Ultimately, the order of making or generating is connected to the affective and inventive capacities of bodies as they engage with material space. In the case of the subway map of Greater Hayk, the invention happens with passengers walking underneath it, passengers viewing it multiple times a day. The social life of the map is evoked and enacted in the interaction between the map on the wall and the walkers who, as rhetorical scholar Topinka puts it, have agency to write and rewrite the city. The rhetorical opportunity for invention is accompanied by the affect of *chora* and allows for the development of rhetoric of resistance. *Phantasma,* the making of appearances, with its recurrent engagement with an embodied audience in a *chora* becomes resistance.

The social life of the Greater Hayk map in the metro station enacts a rhetoric of resistance to the politically authorized cartographic representation of the disputed region. Resisting the dominant narratives through counter-mapping is a well-known practice in marginalized communities in the West. Indigenous North American people, like the Zuni for example, have created ways to connect memory and cultural history to land representations. In the case of the Zuni people, the map also reflects the way their culture views the structure of the world. It bears mythological qualities: home is in the middle where the community lives, the map has no borders. "Zuni world is not limited by any kind of boundaries. Not on a piece of paper, and not in our minds," explains Jim Enote, a traditional Zuni farmer (Steinauer-Scudder 2018).

Counter-cartography can help communities resist neo-colonial discourses and protect their cultural memory, but it can also facilitate land claims for indigenous people as shown, for example, by the

Canlubang counter-mapping project in the Philippines (Ortega et al.). Moreover, counter-maps can provide us with a glimpse of non-Western experiences in the past as demonstrated by Lauren Beck's recent exploration of the visual material culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish Americas (2019b). The sixteenth century maps, for instance, Beck explains, not only re-centered on Europe and the Atlantic Ocean but also detailed the newest knowledge about the rest of the world, which resulted in creating new past and "generated an entire industry around the enterprise of constructing a new worldview in an era of European imperialism (2019a, 3). From a more practical perspective, counter-cartography could be utilized as a technique to protect the rights of indigenous communities. *Projeto Nova Cartografia Social da Amazônia*, for example, has employed social mapping techniques to help the emergence and strengthen local collective identities for the purposes of promoting the groups' territorial and cultural rights (Almeida et. al. 2018). Finally, counter-maps do not need to be recorded (printed on paper) to work against dominant narratives. *WalkingLab*, a Canadian-funded international research-creation project offers walking as a counter-mapping practice to reveal and contest dominant power structures, to "question the assumptions produced by conventional maps," and "recognize… different knowledge systems" (Conroy). The material experience of the walkers in Conroy's experiment resembles in a sense the rhetorical performance of the passengers at Yerevan's subway station with the map of Greater Hayk. The *WalkingLab* participants, however, are conscious of the counter-mapping goals of their experience—to remap the city and reimagine the integration of disenfranchised populations. In the case of their particular project, *To the Landless, The Red Line Archive and Labyrinth*, the participants of the walk "question… North American narratives of progress and capitalism" and reclaim spaces within the red line for the community of Black people, communities of color, and working-class populations (Conroy). The remapping walk places them in the center rather than in the margins of society.

Counter-cartography helps communities reimagine empire and in a historical perspective facilitates the emergence of *phantasma,* the making of appearances, promoting the bond between memory and imagination. One of the most revered and celebrated Armenian artists, film director Sergei Parajanov (1924-1990), still lives in the contemporary cultural scene of Armenia with and through the art collection at his house-museum. In addition to his iconic movies, Parajanov created numerous drawings and collages, many of which carry a strong political message (one of the reasons why he was not favored by the Soviets and spent many years in prison). A Parajanov collage on display in his house-museum represents a map of the Soviet Union—an empire whose influence is far-reaching. To show the imperial impact on Europe from a Soviet perspective, Parajanov flipped a geographic map of the USSR and Europe upside down—North appears on the bottom and South on the top. Then he populated it with pictures of Soviet dancers in red and Russian church domes (figure 7). Major European cities are represented by big red dots. The artist named his work "Invasion"—a work from the late 1980 strangely reminiscent and foreboding the political world order in 2022/23. Parajanov's map sees the world from

above, from up North, organized around Moscow as its center (although the Soviet capital is technically in the middle and on the left).

Figure 7
Sergey Parajanov's collage "Invasion" (1988). Author's photograph at Parajanov's House-Museum, 2021.

The imperial invasion has a cultural and ideological character—the dancers act as metonymy of Russian art, and the church domes of religion, or rather of communist ideology. The reversed directions of the conventional map invite the viewer to rethink their geopolitical perspective. Ultimately, the map presents counter-mapping as a mechanism to evoke critical thinking. Parajanov's message to his contemporaries is clear: the empire has overturned our understanding of directions, or what is left and what is right, what is wrong and what is right. It has also imposed a center beseeching the whole Europe to metaphorically dance to the rhythm and pray to the ideological principles of the Soviet Union. The reversed order of directions asks the viewer to ponder the nature of truthful geographical representation of a place and question the standardized rules in cartography as representational of world order. Parajanov's map is an appeal to decolonization and a call for rights of the colonized, in this case the European nations. The counter-mapping collage attempts to prick the consciousness of the viewers and evoke critical thinking on the way empire operates. But in the end, we need to mind what Phil Cohen and Mike Duggan remind us—no matter how inclusive of knowledge systems maps are, they are already and always situated in wider power-knowledge assemblages that dictate how, and if at all, they are used and seen as legitimate objects of representation (2021, xxvii). With that in mind, it is important to remember that Parajanov spent several years in a Soviet prison, and his films were banned for a certain period of time. Cohen and Duggan conclude their recent review of counter-mapping scholarship and practices by alerting us to the fact that counter-cartography on its own cannot be a successful decolonial practice unless it is part of true decolonization, which requires more than "acts of representational resistance" (2021, xxviii).

Keeping in mind Cohen and Duggan's warning, we can still look at counter-cartography as a powerful act of representational resistance and as a tool to prick the consciousness on colonial matters in the digital age through the use of social media. During the 2020 war over Nagorno Karabakh, a French politician used a map of what looks like Greater Hayk at one of his campaigns (figure 8). The image went viral and was seen as "provocation" by non-Armenian viewers (*Daily Sabah*).

Figure 8
A map showing parts of Eastern Turkey and Artsakh as Armenian territory on a wall behind boxes of medical supplies at an event in the Auvergne-Rhone-Alpes region of France, in a photo shared Oct. 6, 2020. (Photo from Twitter @laurentwauquiez).

Rhetorical scholar Laurie Gries observes that in the Internet age images "circulate and acquire power to co-constitute collective life as they enter into divergent associations, undergo change, and spark a wide range of consequences" (2015, 85-6). The map used for the campaign by Laurent Wauquiez acquires the power to incite collective public reproach by those nations whose territories the map claims to be Armenian. Lester Olson reminds us that even before the Internet, seemingly stable surface imagery can change its effectiveness based on the composition's migration across place, time, and medium —a phenomenon he calls "re-circulation" (2009, 1-3). Re-circulation of images, like the example of the map at the French political campaign when republished by the Turkish newspaper (*Daily Sabah*), becomes rhetorical because it both responds to an earlier circulation of the map and it is "reshaped for another audience" (Olson 2009, 2). In the Internet age characterized by "algorithmic culture"—a term coined by Striphas to explain how computers replace the traditional work of culture to organize populations and ideas—the travel of an image across the Internet finds much faster the audience for which it has been reshaped (qtd. in Gries and Gifford Brooke 2018, 11-12). To use Gries and Brooke's language, these images, maps in this case, become persuasive as they "move through the world and enter into various associations" (2018, 12). As we are discussing specifically counter-maps, the various associations in which these images get re-circulated and change their initial rhetorical purpose are online audiences assembled and produced by the algorithmic culture as a result of the dominant narratives. Thus, the counter-map posted on social media by the French politician finds a response in groups who are opposed to this *phantasma*.

The networked society of the Internet operates using communication practices new in the way in which they use the technological infrastructure to safeguard online communities. Dale M. Smith and James J. Brown Jr. argue that in a highly networked society content is not circulated via centralized or decentralized networks (2018, 215). Instead, "it is *distributed*… through networks in which each node is both sender and receiver" (2018, 215). The suggested model differs dra-

matically from the civil society communication practices outside the digital space. Becoming simultaneously an author and a receiver of an argument that has been distributed, redistributed, or reshaped from its original context is both advantageous and dangerous, especially when we discuss practices related to counter-cartography. Counter-cartography, as we reviewed earlier, reflects on the social position of audiences of marginalized groups as it questions the existing power structures. Therefore, when such maps in the digital space get distributed (recirculated) to audiences who reside in the center of the power structure, the response can only be one: rejection of the counter narrative, rejection of the *phantasma,* and potential condemnation of the original sender/receiver. In the screenshot of the social media recirculation of Laurent Wauquiez' Twitter counter-map post in figure 9a, one can see how the author of the newspaper article chooses to focus on the response by the French government as represented by the French ambassador to Georgia, Armenia's Northern neighbor (figure 9b). The counter-map narrative questioning the power structure and resisting the dominant narratives has been normalized by the center, thus condemning the attempts to reimagine the politically recognized borders. Because of the significant influence of the Armenian diaspora and its huge outcry to the 2020 Artsakh war, this counter-map narrative was seen as particularly dangerous, especially given that France was one of the three chairs of the OSCE Minsk group designed to oversee security issues in the South Caucasus.

Figure 9 a & b
Screenshot of a Twitter post published in an online article on Agenda.ge, an English-language news platform focusing on Georgia.

Similarly, the Greater Hayk map at one of Yerevan's metro stations is interpreted and distributed as a political argument for territorial claims on the side of the Armenian government (figure 6) when circulated in social media. Its social life in the underground of the capital city does not explicitly question the dominant narrative, that is politically recognized borders of contemporary Armenia, and therefore does not get corrected. In a recent conversation with Armenian academics about the map, I was surprised to hear that none of them supported its display at the metro station and wondered about the reasons it has not been taken down.

Phantasma as Cultivation of Counter-Memory

Counter-mapping practices work to create critical cartographical representations for the sake of protecting the rights of communities to their own memory of homeland in the past. Preserving public memory of a place often means keeping a *phantasma* alive. Ricoeur's reading of *Theaetetus* guides us to see the important division in Plato in terms of memory, that is the difference between the *tupos* and *sêmeion,* or the moment the imprint of the past is created and the moment when it becomes a signifying mark, which makes an appearance in the soul as Socrates explains in *Theaetetus*. The art of copy-making, the rudimentary stage of remembering, can also be viewed as the production of simulacrum. In Baudrillard's work on simulacra and simulation, he makes an important distinction between the two: while simulacrum offers a false representation of reality, the question regarding simulation "no longer [concerns] a false representation of reality… but … concealing [of] the fact the real is no longer real" (1994, 13). In Plato, *tekhnê eikastikê* is "the craft of copy-making," while on the other side of the division we have *phantasma,* the art of appearance-making, or simulation (2015, 235b; 236c). The division in Plato, writes Foucault in "Theatrum Philosophicum," is between essence and appearance where the authentic and false is not represented by the binary true-false since truth is not opposed to error but rather to false appearances (Foucault 1977b, 167). He observes that "[t]he actual semblance of the simulacrum will support the falseness of false appearances"—that is, often ideologically prompted and perpetuated representation of reality, a phantasm of sorts (1977b, 168). As we saw by the responses to Greater Hayk map in the two cases discussed earlier, a counter-map can be seen as falseness of false appearances, in the words of Foucault. Therefore, counter-cartography does not represent a version of reality but rather of false representation of reality. A simulation.

Remembering false representations of reality through the use of counter-maps produces a historical narrative different from that approved by the dominant ideology, both national and colonial. Foucault calls for this type of remembering because he sees the need to dismantle systematically "the traditional devices for constructing a comprehensive view of history and for retracting the past as a patient and continuous development" (1977a, 153). He dubs the potential result "'effective' history" which differs from traditional history in "being without constants" and in introducing "discontinuity in our very being" (Foucault 1977a, 153; 154). Foucault's definition of effective history includes two important traits to our discussion of memory—it affirms knowledge as perspective, and it is affective (1977a, 155-6). The recognition that remembering the past is driven by affect and experience brings it closer to the phenomenon of the *phantasma*—the art of making appearances as they are imprinted in the soul. Foucault's effective history is his proposal for counter-memory practices to confirm the aporetic nature of Plato's dialogue: in the end we cannot reach a definition of knowledge. What is more: "knowledge is not made for understanding, it is made for cutting," declares Foucault (1977a, 154). By "cutting" he refers to the Platonic notion of division to explain that it is not meant to cut off, separate, and divide, but rather to designate

and acknowledge the existence of difference (1977a; see also *The Archeology of Knowledge,* 130-131).

Counter-memory practices allow for the different perspectives on history to coexist. Yet, the contemporary networked society presents unlimited opportunities to condemn the difference and sabotage the Platonic idea of division as theorized by Foucault. The algorithmic culture organizes audiences in online communities with firm epistemological beliefs and claims grounded in their own counter-memory practices. In the case of maps, counter-memory can work to reconstruct how cartographic representations looked at a particular moment in the past, but it can also be seen as speculative. For example, a speculative rhetorical use of counter-memory is presenting historical maps to be valid today (similar to the case of social media Azerbaijani misinterpretation of the subway map of Greater Hayk). To allow for their *phantasma* to live longer, online communities speculate about the endorsement of such cartographic images by major political players and therefore argue that they belong to dominant narratives. A great example is a map that circulated the Internet space during the 2020 Nagorno Karabakh war (figure 10), shared and redistributed by Azerbaijani social media users. It is a historical map of the People's Republic of Azerbaijan presented at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and discussed earlier in this article (figure 1). The map incorporates the territory of Nagorno Karabakh into Azerbaijani borders, and its title boasts that France has approved of this agreement. The social media post by an Azerbaijani user in figure 10 speculates that the French government's approval of the nation's territory in 1919 justifies Azerbaijan's claim to the region today and affirms their rights to it. In Gahramanova's words, the phenomenon can be described as transformation of history into political mythology.

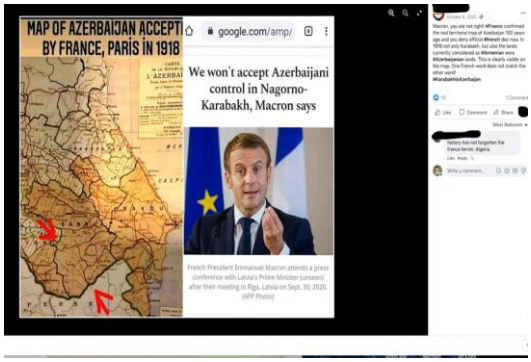


Figure 10
Screenshot of a Facebook post showing that France agreed to the territory of Azerbaijan in 1919 when the region of Nagorno Karabakh was within its borders (red arrows point to the region) with a picture of Emmanuel Macron, current President of France with a statement that he does not approve of this territorial division in 2020.

Counter-memory practices often result in public arguments that are actively interfering with the current power structures on a local and global level, like in the case of advanced political mythology in the social media post in figure 10. The Internet space provides an opportunity for counter-memory arguments to turn into a speculation—that is, to use the *phantasma* of counter-mapping to appeal to change the current political map claiming lands which historically belonged to a nation. Counter-memory cultivation is functional and effective to help bolster cultural identity and incite political activism but not to advance political arguments and agendas.

(Counter) Conclusion

Counter-mapping is one way to enact what Foucault calls effective history, that is remembering the past without constants and not retracting it as a patient and continuous development. Counter-cartography practices embrace and reconcile different perspectives and experiences of the past and simultaneously acknowledge the affective nature of the process. Yet this type of history remains in the realm of the Platonic *phantasma*—a bond between memory and imagination—and as such can live in the present only as an appearance of a false representation of reality, a simulation. The art of appearance-making when applied to cartographic presentations of the homeland, however, is important to the development of cultural identity for the respective community because it often uses counter-memory practices to privilege the community's own experience of the past and to also question dominant narratives and power structures.

In the case of the analyzed maps of Nagorno Karabakh, counter-mapping creates an opportunity for collective remembering of the community's lived experiences and perception of identity through the land over time. These counter-memories can co-exist no matter how disparate they seem to be in relation to contemporary political cartographies. Ultimately, as Plato's metaphor in his dialogue on epistemology *Theaetetus* suggests, these memories are imprinted on the soul, and therefore their enactment in the present—through counter-mapping and counter-memory—can generate a rhetoric of resistance. Practices that promote the notion of effective history help preserve the cultural identity of communities, no matter how politically and geographically controversial their *phantasmas* appear to be.

References

Almeida, A. W. B. de, Dourado, S., & Bertolini, C. (2018). "A New Social Cartography: Defending Traditional Territories by Mapping in the Amazon." In *This Is Not an Atlas*, 46–49. https://notan-atlas.org/book/. Organgotango.

Arroyo, S. J. 2013. *Participatory Composition: Video Culture, Writing, and Electracy*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Baudrillard, J. 1994. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Beck, L. 2019a. "Introduction: Firsting and the Architecture of Decolonizing Scholarship on the Early-Modern Atlantic World." In *Firsting in the Early-Modern Atlantic World*, 1–22. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

---. 2019b. "Unsettling Spanish Atlantic History: Experiences of the Colonized Through Visual and Material Culture." In *Firsting in the Early-Modern Atlantic World*, 193–217. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Broers, Laurence. 2015. "From 'Frozen Conflict' to Enduring Rivalry: Reassessing the Nagorny Karabakh Conflict." *Nationalities Papers* 43 (4): 556–76.

Broers, Laurence, and Gerard Toal. 2013. "Cartographic Exhibitionism? Visualizing the Territory of Armenia and Karabakh." *Problems of Post-Communism* 60 (3): 16–35.

Brückner, M. 2017. *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860*. Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press.

Cohen, P., & Duggan, M. 2021. "Introduction: Why the Map Is Not the Territory." In *New Directions in Radical Cartography: Why the Map is Never the Territory*. Edited by P. Cohen & M. Duggan, xi–xli. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Conroy, R. (n.d.). *Walking as Counter-Mapping*. WalkingLab. Podcast, episode 2. https://walkinglab.org/podcast/walking-as-counter-mapping/.

Corner, J. 2011. "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention." In *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*. Edited by Martin Dodge, Chris Perkins, and Rob Kitchen, 89–101. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Davies, J., Alexander J. Kent, and James Risen. 2017. *The Red Atlas How the Soviet Union Secretly Mapped the World*. Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.

De Certeau, Michel. 2002. *Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Djukic, D. (2020). *Nagorno-Karabakh Control Map & Timeline: Artsakh Withdrawals—December 1, 2020*. Political Geography Now. https://www.polgeonow.com/2020/12/nagorno-karabakh-control-map-after-ceasefire-withdrawals.html.

Enukidze, A. S. Ed. 1928. *Atlas Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik*. Izdanie TsIK SSR.

Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock Publications.

---. 1977a. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History". In *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*,139–164. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

---. 1977b. "Theatrum Philosophicum". In *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, 165–198. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

French Politician Publishes Armenian Map with Georgian Territories, Official France Distances Itself "From the View." (6, October 2020). https://agenda.ge/en/news/2020/3109.

Gahramanova, A. 2010. "Paradigms of Political Mythologies and Perspectives of Reconciliation in the Case of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict." *International Negotiation*, 15 (1): 133–152.

Gaiman, N. 2021. *Neverwhere: Author's preferred text*. New York: William Morrow.

Galichian, R. 2014. *Historic Maps of Armenia: The Cartographic Heritage*. London: Bennett & Bloom.

Golubev, A. 2021. "The Popularization of Doubt." YouTube. https://youtu.be/KIHBXxTnHs4.

Gries, L. E. 2015. *Still Life with Rhetoric: A New Materialist Approach for Visual Rhetorics*. Logan: Utah State University Press.

Gries, L. E., and Colin Gifford Brooke 2018. "Introduction: Circulation as an

Emerging Threshold Concept." In *Circulation, Writing, and Rhetoric*, 3–24. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Hakobyan, T. 2011. *Kanach yev sev: Artsakhyan Oragir [Green and Black: The Artsakh Diary]*. Antares.

Hasanli, J. 2015. *Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 1918-1920: The Difficult Road to Western Integration*. London: Routledge.

Jukes, G. 2001. Ivan Khristoferovich Bagramyan. In *Stalin's Generals*. Edited by Harold Shukman, 25. New Haven: Phoenix Press.

Krüger, H. 2010. *The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Legal Analysis*. New York: Springer.

Marutyan, H. 2009. *Iconography of Armenian Identity: The Memory of Genocide and the Karabakh Movement*. Yerevan: Gitutyun.

Massey, D. 1995. "Places and Their Pasts." *History Workshop Journal*, 39: 182–192.

O'Brien, A. 2020. "Mapping as/and Remembering: Chora/graphy as a Critical Spatial Method-Methodology." *Enculturation*. http://enculturation.net/mapping_as/and_remembering.

Olson, L. C. 2009. "Pictorial Representations of British America Resisting Rape: Rhetorical Re-Circulation of a Print Series Portraying the Boston Port Bill of 1774." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 12 (1): 1–35.

Ortega, A., Martinez, Ma. S., Dayrit, C., & Saguin, K. (n.d.). "Counter-Mapping for Resistance and Solidarity in the Philippines: Between Art, Pedagogy and Community." In *This Is Not an Atlas*. Edited by Kollektiv Orangotango, 144–148. https://notanatlas.org/book/. Orangotango.

Pashinyan, N. 2021. "There Are Territories Controlled by Azerbaijan." *Haykakan Zhamanak*. https://www.armtimes.com/hy/article/225526.

Plato. 2015. *Plato: Complete Works*. Edited by J. M. Cooper. Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.

Pravitel'svenyi Vestnik, supplement to Bakinskii Rabochii. Azerbaijan, 1924. 2.

"Provocative Map Shared by French Politician Shows Eastern Turkey as Armenia." 2020. *Daily Sabah*. https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/diplomacy/provocative-map-shared-by-french-politician-shows-eastern-turkey-as-armenia.

Ricœur, Paul. 2004. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Saparov, A. 2014. *From Conflict to Autonomy in the Caucasus: The Soviet Union and the Making of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno Karabakh*. London: Routledge.

Smith, D. M., & Brown Jr., J. J. 2018. "For Public Circulation." In *Circulation, Writing, and Rhetoric*. Edited by Laurie E. Gries and Collin Gifford Brooke, 208–224. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Solnit, Rebecca. 2014. *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*. New York: Penguin Books. http://rbdigital.oneclickdigital.com.

Steinauer-Scudder, C. 2018). *Counter Mapping*. https://emergencemagazine.org/feature/counter-mapping/.

Ter-Matevosyan, V., and E. Ghazaryan. 2019. "Navigating Between International Recognition Paradigms: Prospects and Challenges for Nagorno Karabakh." *Caucasus Survey*, 7 (3): 181–196.

Topinka, R. J. 2012. "Resisting the Fixity of Suburban Space: The Walker as Rhetorician." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 42 (1): 65–84.

Ulmer, G. L. 1994. *Heuretics: The Logic of Invention*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wallach, Y. 2011. "Trapped in Mirror-Images: The Rhetoric of Maps in Israel/Palestine." *Political Geography*, 30, no. 7: 358–369. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.07.004.

[i] Laurence Broers explains in detail the inadequacy of the notion "frozen conflict" that has been popularized through media, policy makers, and even some scholars in relation to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in Nagorno Karabakh. He suggests instead the term "enduring rivalry" which describes better a conflict of this kind known for its longevity and stability. See Broers' "From 'frozen conflict' to enduring rivalry: reassessing the Nagorny Karabakh conflict," 2015.

[ii] The name used for the state which emerged at the turn of the second century BC was actually Մեծ Հայք, *Mets Hayk* (Greater Hayk) in opposition to another region called Փոքր Հայք, Pokhr Hayk (Lesser *Hayk*). The literal translation Greater Armenia therefore is inadequate because it compromises the original toponymic intention to name a region in relation to another. To avoid confusion within the contemporary toponymic system, I refer to the kingdom as Greater Hayk in my text.

[iii] Picture-taking in the Armenian subway is prohibited. Police often approach tourists to notify them of the rules. The restriction has to do with the fact that the Armenian subway system serves also as a bomb shelter. The picture-taking ban bolsters my argument that Yerevan's metro network represents a narrative of national mythology, merging folklore and history to produce another *phantasma*. The state safeguards this sacred social space as it makes sure that all sacrilegious acts, like taking photos, are prohibited.

[iv] The social media reproduction of the map on figure 10 features a wrong year, 1919.

VIRGINIJA POPOVAITĖ
Nord University

Maps in Translation: Following Maps Through Maritime Search and Rescue Operations in Northern Norway

"…Before Christmas we had problems with a satellite compass. Map or the radar also uses data from the compass, and the compass was not good. <...> 5 or 6 or 7 times we had two headings, and one time in the night, we got into <a city port> and it was snowing, so I could not see the lighthouse. It was bad weather, so the radar wasn't very good, and the map then was unreliable. But that was not because of the map, it was because the satellite compass…"

[B1, 2021][i]

I start my exploration of maps with this account, where digital maps onboard a rescue cutter became useless due to an overflow of incoming information. It was dark, thus the navigator had to rely on lights from a lighthouse, dampened by the falling snow. The weather was poor, making the radar suboptimal. In harsh weather, the radar can capture and visualise weather effects, clustering its display. With other navigation tools unable to aid, the error on the map display became a concerning issue. The two-headed representation of the ship's heading rendered the map "unreliable," even though it is supposed to be a navigational aid. Later it was concluded that interference between the antenna and other equipment onboard caused the compass to provide faulty readings.

This anecdote immerses us into the complexity of digital maps. On this particular rescue cutter, they are visualised through an in-built system, ECDIS[ii], connecting information from numerous tools onboard and beyond. Usually, information for these maps is collected through a satellite compass, gyroscope-based compass, radar, and other sensors [B1, T2[iii]]. All in addition to encoded data provided by the Norwegian Mapping Authority (NMA) – "the only authorised producer" of sea charts for Norway's sea territories (NMA 2021a). For Search and Rescue operations (SAR) additional input regarding a search area can also be provided by the Joint Rescue Coordination Centre (JRCC). Therefore, maps used for navigation by the crew entail a network of actors, some of which are in the perimeter, onboard the vessel, and others are remote, dispersed throughout different spatio-temporalities of production.

It also shows how a map can fail, putting a navigator in a dangerous situation. Changes in entanglements or additional data inflow can render maps unreliable or dysfunctional. This could complicate time-sensitive maritime Search and Rescue efforts. With this article, I explore how digital maps gain functionality within SAR context by interrogating maps as processes. I start with a brief introduction on how SAR operations are organised in Norway, followed by an overview of research design choices. I use

the concept of *translation* as an analytical tool to discuss my findings, focusing on processes allowing sea charts to obtain certain functions necessary for SAR responders. The discussion of findings is divided into sections analysing how the seabed of Norwegian waters is mapped out; how drifting entities help define search areas; and how a real-time movement is translated onto maps. I finalise with a discussion about mapping processes and conclude with how the concept of translation can contribute to analysing maps.

Search and Rescue in Northern Norway and Maps

There are two Joint Rescue Coordination Centres in Norway, in Bodø in the North and Sola in the South, which coordinate SAR efforts (SAR Cooperation Plan 2019, 3). Along with police districts, JRCCs are the main organisations of the SAR management system in Norway (Andreassen et al. 2019, 15). The JRCC is mainly concerned with air and sea incidents [JRCC1, 2021[iv]], while local centres overtake land rescue missions (Andreassen et al. 2019, 17). The JRCC's operations are divided by 65^{0} N, resulting in about 80 per cent of Norway's search and rescue region falling under the responsibility of the Northern centre (Elgsaas and Offerdal 2018, 9). Despite this, the JRCC in Bodø deals with fewer incidents per year than in Sola, respectively 2795 (943 in the sea) and 5359 (1796 in the sea) in 2021 (HRS 2022).

Depending on the incident, the JRCC is authorised to use all available public and/or private resources and utilise health, meteorological, map, and volunteer services, as well as the Fire department, Civil defence, Armed forces, Coastal Administration, Police, and Coastal Radio (Organisation plan for the Rescue Service 2019, 2-3). In maritime operations, this would be the Norwegian Sea Rescue Society (RS), a humanitarian association [B1, 2021]. In this article, I focus on the mapping practices within the JRCC in Northern Norway, the RS, the Norwegian Mapping Authority, and the Norwegian Meteorological Institute (MET).

Research Design: Maps – What Do They Do?

There is no one agreed perception of what a map is or how it should be interrogated. For centuries maps were perceived as "objective, truthful representations of the spatial relations of the world" (Kitchin et al. 2011, 3). In recent decades cartography started asking about the role of maps in shaping the world with power-knowledge production and their objectivity, calling to look into maps as an intricate process, where a map is only "one stage" (Cosgrove 2008, 155-156). Kitchin and Dodge expand this by suggesting inquiring about the process of creating maps *and* how the maps are practised further by users (2007). They criticize perceiving maps as ontologically secure representations. Instead, the scholars suggest investigating their ontogenesis – how maps become (Kitchin and Dodge 2007, 335). Thus, instead of asking, what maps are, it is worth it to investigate *what they do*.

When taken for their functionality, maps are informing, shaping, re-shaping, and suggestive. They can still act as representations; however, current studies are more interested in their ability to depict different realities (Awan 2016, 116) or embody situated knowledges (Propen

2009, 115). Maps can perform, for example, shaping a state (Wood 2012, 298) or biopolitics through enacting borders (Barua 2014). Maps bring out a connection between what is symbolised and territorial happenings, thus acting as propositions (Wood, Fels, and Krygier 2010, 52-53). The functionality of digital maps can be examined through their navigational capabilities, shifting their interpretation from mimetic to navigational, emphasising that "everything is on the move" (November et al. 2010, 596). Thus, there are numerous ways of investigating the roles of maps. Yet the common denominator is that maps are not to be perceived as mirrors, detached and external from the very thing they are mirroring. Maps are to be analysed together with what they depict, including how they depict.

There is a significant body of critical cartography and critical GIS literature turning its focus onto mapping practices, investigating how maps are made, their role, and what power dynamics are at play (see Crampton and Krygier 2006; Wood, Fels and Krygier 2010). It is not my intention to focus on power dynamics in this article. Therefore, I take from critical cartography its attention to mapping processes from creating a map to its use. To study them means to follow mapping practices, without focusing on the "end product" of what a map is or is not. In this article, I investigate digital maps as a series of processes, entanglements of heterogeneous actors, which involve depths of the seas, winds, waves, and navigational practices. I employ the concept of *translation*, which draws attention to interactions. Focusing on these processes reveals how certain functions of maps are enabled and what can affect their differences.

Entanglements

My research is situated within New Materialism, which suggests viewing humans as fluid beings continuously becoming due to their relations to other entities. As Braidotti wrote, a subject is not something or someone static, it is rather "constituted in and by multiplicity" (2013, 49). This is the relentless "becoming with" that Haraway talks about: the material-semiotic world in becoming, where subjects, objects, natures, and cultures "do not pre-exist their intertwined worldings," rather – they are constantly *becoming with* each other (Haraway 2016, 13). Hence the attention is put on dynamic entanglements, where human and more-than-human actors are entangled in messy ways. Because entanglements are the constitutive force, it means that entities gain their characteristics through interactions ("intra-actions") (Barad 2007, 128). This makes discourse and materiality ontologically inseparable, instead of being external to each other (Barad 2007, 128). Thus, it allows for heterogeneous entanglements to interact on the same ontological plane.

I find the posthuman approach fitting because to simplify a map into a dichotomic reference of object-subject, or matter-mind would be to cut short the processes of mapping. Maps heavily affect decision making when planning and carrying out SAR operations. They provide (or not) certain information and visualisation, carefully navigated through numerous processes of knowledge production and translation. Therefore, to emphasise the processual happenings of maps, my point of departure is looking into maps as entanglements, networks, and assemblages. These terms emphasise heterogeneous relations between entities, stemming

from different branches of posthuman thought. In this article, I will use the term "entanglement" when referring to entanglements and interactions in general, whilst assemblage is to specify structured entanglements for a purposeful outcome.

Actor-Network Theory

To investigate the interactional capabilities of maps, I lean on Actor-Network Theory (ANT) for methodological inspiration. The approach urges the inclusion of more-than-human actors without focusing on the intentionality of actions. Attention here is focused on actor-networks – entanglements, where actors, whichever entity they might be, are enabled to act through interactions (Law & Mol, 2008, 74). In the same manner as in Barad's works, here networks are not the same as context; they are in the same "flat" dimension as actors (Latour 2005, 180).

In the introduction, I demonstrated how a map can interact with actors from various places. Thus, exploring practices of maps within SAR operations means looking into different sites where they are "in becoming with" through a series of transformations – translations. In this article, I analyse perspectives from maritime activities where sea charts are employed. When focusing on entanglements, it is possible to attend to differences, making maps function one way or another. Thus, following the posthuman approach in my project, I can practice the art of noticing, as Tsing puts it: "to appreciate the multiple temporal rhythms and trajectories of the assemblage" (2015, 24).

Translation

In this article, I use *translation* as a lens to comprehend transformations within entanglements. My angle of inquiry draws inspiration from explorations like Latour's examination of soil sampling in the Amazon Forest (1999) or Mol's study about how atherosclerosis is defined (2002). The concept is connected to ANT, previously called "the sociology of translation" (Law 1992, 380). For Law, this is a core term in understanding actor-network interactions, implying transformation and "the possibility that one thing (for example, an actor) may stand for another (for instance, a network)" (1992, 386).

However, translation *per se* neither provides answers to how links between actors are made nor assumes the links to be similar (Law 1999, 8). This term in ANT is used as a lens for exploration, not as a tool for explanation (see also Latour 1999). Latour emphasises the lack of causality in the process of translation – it allows for "traceable associations" between actors rather than transporting causality (2005, 108). Hence the term can be used when emphasising a happening, for example, when Mol invoked it to analyse a laboratory technician's actions: "The technician translates a velocity increase into a loss of vessel lumen with a pen" (2002, 80). In this case, translation appeals to other human senses rather than linguistic abilities. The term "translation" refers to relational outcomes between actors, whether it is a process of displacement, modification, negotiation, ordering configurations, or any other action arising from interactions (Callon 1984, 19). Thus, it entails actions of transformations.

A translation is not bound to (only) linguistic properties of transformation and does not offer an explanation or

causation. Thus, I use this term as a *mean of inquiring*. What translation offers is an invitation to the art of noticing, exploring entanglements and assemblages through interactions, scrutinising differences, and allowing for critical inquiries. Inquiry into the ontogenesis of maps in this case means following data inflow into maps, from mapping out the seabed to confining a search area to adding visualisations of real-time movement, and how these features are practised.

Data

Looking for mapping practices within Search and Rescue operations means looking into how maps are used for everyday navigation. Many involved professionals, for example, pilots on board ships or helicopters, have to navigate in the surroundings not only when responding to a distress call. Thus, I start exploring mapping from everyday practices and move to their use in SAR efforts. In this article, I am only referring to mapping practices where digital maps – sea charts – are included, due to their overwhelming presence in maritime SAR operations.

I base my analysis on interviews with professionals and volunteers who are involved in map modelling/mapping processes, complemented by observations and document analysis. At the time of writing, I have conducted 27 semi-structured interviews (and follow-ups) with professionals and volunteers from various sites, related to SAR response and mapping: rescue cutters, firefighters, volunteers, map modelling institutions, coordinators, and police. Of them, 12 are with those involved as responders, 10 with map production, and 2 with teaching. While the interviews informed my research and helped articulate the mapping practices, this article is based mainly on interactions with participants involved with maritime incidents and navigation. This includes six people working at the Joint Rescue Coordination Centre, a rescue cutter operated by the RS, Norwegian Mapping Authority, Norwegian Coastal Radio, a Maritime School, and the Norwegian Meteorological Institute. This selection was based on data saturation.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, most of the interviews were conducted remotely, in English, except for specific terms in Norwegian. Participants were recruited through referrals and purposive sampling. Observations were carried out on separate occasions in a maritime school and onboard the mentioned rescue cutter. The former provided me with insights into how ECDIS works as a system and the use of simulators by future seafarers in training, while during the latter I could observe live navigation practices (diurnal and nocturnal). Complementary document analysis includes mapping standards for sea charts, standards for navigational aid, and yearly reports by the JRCC.

Findings

In the following sections, I discuss my findings, focusing on processes allowing sea charts to obtain certain functions. I analyse the revelation of the seabed, the delineation of a search area for responders, and the depiction of a real-time movement. Thus, I start by inquiring how the general information about contours and depth points, essential for safe navigation, is mapped. I continue with an analysis of how possible drift areas, helping to narrow down and save time in future search operations, are defined. I finish by exploring how the movement of

other vessels or navigational lights, essential for situational awareness and communication, is translated onto a map. These processes stood out the most from interviews and could be connected through different perspectives.

Measuring the Invisible

For safe navigation, seafarers must have an idea of what lies hidden underneath their vessel. Mapping out the intricate coastline with accurate depth points is a long and challenging process, entailing chains of translations from various spatio-temporalities. From the 1970s, when attention was first brought towards mapping Norwegian shorelines, to the year 2020, only around 27.3 % of the Norwegian Exclusive Economic Zone was mapped out (Thorsnes et al. 2020, 103, 114). Even with the capacity of private organisations, the navy, and large-scale government-funded projects, it might still take up to "20-30 years to complete the whole coast" [MM5, 2021][v]. For mapping out the Exclusive Economic Zone and the international waters which are a part of the Norwegian Continental Shelf, it might take up to 80 years (Thorsnes et al. 2020, 114). Here I discuss how the seabed comes to be enacted through points and lines in digital sea charts.

Mapping out the seabed requires specific technology and detailed regulations. The Norwegian Mapping Authority is responsible for official map production for Norway's territorial waters. Its role is to gather depth information of the bottom – a process called bathymetry – with the help of multibeam echo sounders [MM5, 2021]. NMA have specialised ships for surveying in addition to hired vessels from other governmental institutions or private companies. Echo sounders enable the creation of high-resolution terrain models (Thorsnes et al. 2020, 108). In addition to echo sounders, vessels need to monitor their position and movement and "the velocity of sound in the water, both close to the sonar transducer and through the water column" (mareano.no, 2022). The process of collecting soundings is highly regulated, providing, for example, specifications of how the sensors should be aligned or calibrated, allowances for data gaps or resolution of acquired data (NMA 2017).

The next step is filtering through the many pings – points of sound wave disturbances. From the echo sounders NMA gets pings, "millions of small points" [MM5, 2021], also called soundings. With the help of algorithms, the point clouds must be "cleaned" from "noise" as whales or other entities can be recorded through echo sounders [MM5, 2021]. After the filtering process, the raw data is uploaded to the database, ready for "moulding" [MM5, 2021]. Thus, translation in this case entails shedding information about sea creatures to isolate pings referring to the seabed.

The creation of a terrain model entails georeferencing of the soundings. It is achieved by utilising "squares," each of which pinpoints a geographical reference [MM5, 2021]. These squares are matched with one specific sounding. Depending on a mapping model, it can be a sounding referring to the shallowest or the medium point. Selection of the data relies on specifications telling the purpose of the map, its scale and form (paper or digital) [MM5, 2021]. With provided instructions, an algorithm goes through the points again, minimising the number of pings to one per square. This stage of translation allows for the readability of

data. With geographic references, the points now carry meaning within the geographical positioning systems and can be read accordingly.

When contours are drawn, map producers need to merge the depth information with the land information, so the coastline would not have missing gaps [MM5, 2021]. MM5 simplified their work in the department and expressed that the main task "is to reduce the data" [2021]. The data they get from echo sounders are too detailed, thus for safe navigation purposes NMA needs to generalise and smoothen the contours, so the seafarers would not get the impression that it is deeper than in real life [MM5, 2021]. While this is a process of perfecting a line, it also influences navigators' decisions. Each depth point delineates the possibilities of movement for vessels. Sometimes these points can lead to unfit route choices for one's ship – for example, there was a case when a ship hit something where the path was virtually clear, since "the map said it should be ok" [B1, 2021].

Translation of the Norwegian seabed depends on multiple interactions of different scales. Seafarers occasionally ask for more data, especially in areas where they must navigate on small margins [MM5, 2021]. However, access to denser data depends on governmental regulations and is also a matter of national security [MM5, 2021]. If maps convey authority (Wood, Fels and Krygier 2010, 52), then in this case, they relay dynamics between whose security is to be exposed through the number of depth points. Furthermore, it is also a matter of organisational capacity, funding and other factors interfering with mapping assemblages. In addition, the seabed is too diverse, not allowing itself to be translated through automatic processing.

Following the chain of translations reveals a series of decisions in a mapping process. Information about the seabed changes its form from material to semiotic, until finalising it as a proposition for material movements in the sea. Mutability is the core of translations since information is collected and transformed through interactions. For example, depth points refer to where sound waves bounced off. Seabed enactment changes its form to become a mapped proposition, arising from a set of decisions and controlled assemblages.

On the other side of mapping, onboard the rescue cutter, depth points are taking part in decision making. "I have to see, maybe like in an area there are four numbers, four numbers telling the depth, but I have to know, where is the bank, or where is a knob or something" [B1, 2021]. The points provide crucial information about what to expect while navigating the seas. B1 mentioned that they use maps every time they go out, especially in lesser-known areas with small margins of error – as a vital part of navigation, informing where to steer the vessel.

Sea charts are also employed when planning possible routes. "When I come to a new place like this, the first thing I do, I make routes in the map" [B1, 2021]. The map then is used to decide where the undersea is crossable and design possible ways for safe navigation with the RS cutter. In this case, it is also about being able to respond to a call as fast as possible, because "sometimes we don't have so much time, of course. In rescue operations" [B1, 2021]. The navigator assesses

provided information and steers the ship with due diligence to avoid certain points. Thus, the soundings translated into depth points are capable to participate in a decision-making process, as notifiers of risk or a borderline, where one should go or avoid.

I have noticed a similar route "control" via depth points when observing future seafarers learning how to use the navigation system, ECDIS. It is a widely used intricate system, regulated via international standards – "all navigational officers must now have thorough knowledge of and ability to use ECDIS" (STCW 2017, 23). The seafarers are taught to be aware of diverse inputs that go into the system. When students plan for a route, they read maps and plan in points with coordinates. These points can be entered into ECDIS, which automatically lays out the route, assessing its compatibility with certain parameters of the ship. ECDIS translates given coordinates, pairs them with the ship's capacities and provides a warning if the route is incompatible with the vessel's measurements. Here the soundings, translated into contours and depth points, function as compatibility measurements which could result in a warning or a failure to compute the route. With additional interaction from another data source – the vessel's technical information – points and contours are capable to regulate possible routes.

Essentially, the sea charts used by seafarers gain functionality through entanglements between heterogeneous actors. When developing readable, user-friendly, and otherwise usable data sets for sea charts, NMA uses modes of measurements to capture a piece of information crucial for further transformation. The final visualisation of undersea terrain only gains its functionality through contact with a seafarer and the vessel where it is used. Sea charts, when employed for decision making, can become propositions, suggesting how to navigate, and perform as a safety regulator, automatically cross-referencing provided data points.

When soundings interact with decision making for planning possible routes, they are entangled into another actor-network. Callon wrote that translations are where "the identity of actors, the possibility of interaction and the margins of manoeuvre are negotiated and delimited" (Callon 1984, 6). In this case, possible manoeuvres of a ship are negotiated through readings of soundings. Pathways are in the making in accordance with compatibility with written numbers on a map display, tackling possibilities of routes, a movement reduced into lines or numerical meanings. When revealing the invisible, the chain of translation also allows for a delineation of risks.

The Floating

Here I discuss a specific tool used for SAR operations, concerned with what is happening on a sea surface – a leeway model. The term means calculations of an object's drift trajectories, where leeway is a drift of an object exposed to wind above water (Breivik 2008, 100). Knowing a probable location of a missing person or an object helps delineate a search area, suggesting where responders should focus to save time. It is calculated through leeway models, which are produced by MET and used by the JRCC. JRCC's responders – controllers – calculate leeway straight at MET's website [JRCC1, 2021], where they can choose the object's properties, start and end time, last known position, radius and the

length of the search. Calculations get visualised when downloaded into a Search and Rescue application (SARA) used by the controllers.

The challenge of a leeway model is that the feedback system is not in place. People from MET cannot learn in practice how the drift calculation works in real situations: "in short I would say there are very few observations of how people have drifted" [MM2, 2021[vi]]. And from the JRCC perspective, controllers would contact MET when they "experience a lot of differences between where the objects were found and the drift simulation" [JRCC1, 2021]. Hence the feedback is provided mostly due to a significant lack of efficiency.

For these calculations to work, people from MET must resort to actual fieldwork [MM2, 2021]. Researchers release various entities to float on a sea surface (e.g., Allen et al. 2010). In the 2009 experiment, three objects, a sailboat, a container, and a manikin were released to drift in Andfjord – Northern Norway (Allen et al. 2010, 17). All floating parcels were equipped with tracking devices – AIS[vii] transponders, providing information on movement (Allen et al. 2010, 13). The number of signals referring to distinct locations helped track the displacement of the objects in the water and recreate movement trajectories. All floaters were equipped with anemometers – wind speed measuring devices – and current measuring devices for measuring the sea currents. Both measuring devices use the deviation of sound waves as a tool for measurement, translating it into numerical meanings. Collected data provided affordance to modify a drift trajectory model and make it more precise at predictions. The experiment's temporal assemblages enabled movements of the parcels, wind, and waves to be translated into a readable form for algorithms, improving their capability to predict drift trajectories.

The leeway model is also used for accident prevention. Among other information, controllers at the JRCC must plot in their system search areas and leeway [JRCC1, 2021]. They calculate the risk of ships running aground and inform responding vessels accordingly. As the responder from the RS cutter commented, with leeway calculations provided by the JRCC, they get more insight into how dangerous the situation is: "of course, we respond as quick as we can, but then we know, that time is an issue" [B1, 2021]. Interestingly, this type of leeway model use initially was unplanned by the developers: "we never really thought about that as a possibility that they would use it pre-emptively" [MM2, 2021]. The leeway model was aimed towards being able to say something about a search area *after* the fact. But with the experience of controllers, it gained another use – to make risk assessments. Thus, the pre-emptive use of drift calculations enables maps to also visualise risk, while delineating the time of response.

Capturing moments of movement in a continuous flow of signals is a method of translation of what is otherwise uncontrollable – one could take water from the storming sea, but taken out of context, it would lose the momentary features. Measuring the velocity of things affords translation of an effect that wind and water have on an entity in water. Even with meticulous computations, the information does not allow for generalisation or external truth. When modelled into calculations, measurements can, at most,

provide *probable* trajectories of a drifting object [MM2, 2021]. For JRCC1 this is "just a tool to help us make a search area. This isn't the truth."

The leeway model calculates possible movement and delineates it following a given time frame, providing multiple enactments of a drifting object. Translations of real-time movements also provide affordance of time and its assessment. Calculations are used to foretell a drift trajectory and speed, providing responders with an idea of how much time they have on their hands. Additionally, having a mapped-out search area when searching for the missing can help save time, which is essential in search efforts.

Translating Movement

One evening I joined a rescue team onboard an RS rescue cutter. When we were out at sea, the vessel was rocking from side to side, making it difficult to read signs and symbols on a map display. Echoes from waves cluttered the radar and because it was dark, one could not see much through the window, except for lights from lighthouses and buoys – navigational aids. It is an old system established centuries ago, where lighthouses' white means a clear path, while green and red lights can refer to which side should a seafarer stay on [observations at RS, 2021]. Navigation was based also on *when* the lights changed. This was reflected in the map display – whenever we would sail into the pathway signalled by the white light, white-coloured lines would light up in the ECDI system. They would convey a message – stay between these lines to sail safely. When we would sail out, lines disappeared from ECDIS, depicting the change of the light in real time. These changes helped the navigator to confirm our location.

The navigational aid system is an important part of the charts [MM5, 2021], and is entangled with local and international standards. In sea charts one can read about lighthouses in each location, how they flash, in what colour(s) and in what length, width and height they can be seen (NMA 2020, 55-62). Currently, this system is being changed following standards defined by the International Association of Lighthouse Authorities (NMA 2021b, 35). Whenever anything changes in navigational aids, NMA includes it in the Notice for Mariners, released twice a month for paper charts, while digital charts are updated daily [MM5, 2021]. NMA takes care of the accuracy of navigational aid on sea charts, whilst its visualisation is regulated internationally. The way lighthouses appear in maps, along with other visualisation, is not NMA's choice – International Hydrographic Organisation (IHO) has released standardized specifications to ensure safety for operating ECDIS (IHO 2014, 1). Among other symbols and features, standards refer to the way lighthouses have to be coloured, how and at what rate buoys flash the lights, and how sections of alternating lights should be drawn and named (IHO 2018, B-400). ECDIS contains a symbols library, thus, when NMA provides seafarers with files containing sea chart information, a map is formed. Digital sea charts gain their visualisation only when processed in a machine with preinstalled symbols, heavily regulated by international standards.

Translation of navigational aid adds to seafarers' situational awareness. The capability to integrate it into the display and visualise its movement eases navigation,

for a seafarer can confirm their location when cross-referencing what they see outside and on maps, especially at night or low visibility. When interacting with international regulations, maps acquire readability for a wider audience. This can provide for better information communication regarding location. As well, continuous mapping updates of navigational aids add to the map's participatory and performativity capabilities.

Digital maps onboard the RS were capable to depict the movement and trajectories of other vessels in the area. Maps with the ability to integrate the movement of other vessels contribute to the navigator's situational awareness, while the lack of it can provide difficulties for rescuers. Usually, the vessels are tracked through AIS, which provides details about the ship – their whereabouts, trajectory, and speed, among others, and can be seen on the ECDIS display. However, some boats are too small to be required to have the tracker. Other vessels, such as the Coast Guard, can switch off their AIS due to security reasons [JRCC1, 2021]. Lack of a possibility to translate movement can hinder planning and executing a SAR operation.

An example could be an incident in the High North, where the Governor of Svalbard, the Norwegian Coast Guard and the JRCC were involved in the response. When the controllers at the JRCC usually deploy a vessel to an incident, they initially provide a position and a course [JRCC1, 2021]. If a search is due, controllers estimate a search area for responding vessels and provide it either through positions or via screenshots [JRCC1, 2021]. This is because the JRCC and the Coastal Radio use a stand-alone mapping platform for situational awareness, which does not communicate with other platforms [JRCC1, 2021; R1, 2021[viii]].

While several vessels and helicopters were sweeping the accident area, responders encountered difficulties with sharing geographical information. During the search, dozens of emails "were sent between the Governor of Svalbard, the JRCC and the Coast Guard. All containing different screenshots" [JRCC1, 2021]. Screenshots would contain information which had to be mapped out manually as the responding institutions at the time did not have interoperable mapping platforms. JRCC1 commented on this issue that in the end "we don't have the time, we don't have the accuracy to plot all this information. That means that we don't have shared situation awareness during the incident" [2021]. With more agencies involved in a response, maps are not always able to communicate with each other. Thus, translation is hindered. If one map provides the capability to integrate the search area and current oversight of vessels in one location, the other might not have the same level of data translation.

Sending screenshots was a way to share changes in movements, yet it had its downsides, as it added additional layers of translation. When sending a screenshot to a vessel in the sea, one must be aware of signal limitations and that the picture could take time to be uploaded and downloaded [JRCC1, 2021]. Additionally, manual plotting takes time and lacks accuracy. This type of translation between different mapping platforms does not provide the same functionality for maps. Even though assemblages of maps provided the affordability to plan and carry out a search operation, and communicate the information, they did so at the

expense of time – and time in SAR efforts is crucial.

Maps in Translation

In the mentioned cases, sea charts are assembled throughout various sites. If an RS cutter is responding to a search effort, then its map display on ECDIS is at least connected to datasets acquired and processed by the NMA. If a search area is dictated or sent, then navigation within the given perimeter entails connections with the experiments about drift trajectories. Albeit actors are interacting through different spatialities and temporalities, when immersing maps into complicated series of events, translations allow for simplified entanglements between these events.

Translations entail a chain of decision making, where what remains visible or invisible is adjusted step by step. The seascape, under and above the sea, deconstructed into millions of points, measured through glimpses into events, becomes portable entanglements of algorithms, symbols, standards, decisions, risk, computers, compasses, and other actors. The same goes for navigational aid, the search area, and real-time movement. Mapping out these processes requires ordering translations between various material-semiotic forms. Visualisations of a map are enactments of interactions between, among others, decisions, regulations, filtering processes, national and international standards, navigational needs, the question of national security, and weather conditions.

These heterogeneous interactions are where digital maps gain functionalities. Bouncing waves from objects do not immediately become representations of the sea bottom, nor does the tracking signal of a floating object. It is through the interaction of expected elements and purposely placed tools that the information on certain spatial and temporal characteristics can be collected and later processed. Because maps are designed with the possibility for the end user to add more information to the platform, mapping is not over with the production line. Maps are not external to the material world they are enacted through, rather, they are embedded in entanglements, through which actions such as representation or negotiation of possible routes are afforded.

Translations within digital maps entail a provision of meaning. For example, visualisation. Soundings neither possess information about the contour of the seabed, nor their colour. Meaning is negotiated through a string of interactions – from recognising underwater features to encoding them in a manner suitable for local and international regulations, to visualising them through globally recognised signs and symbols. In the case of navigational aid, international standards negotiate the meaning of symbols in sea charts. Colours, lines, symbols, and measurements are integrated into one assemblage from elsewhere when it comes to the map display through ECDIS. The same goes for geographical reference. For vessels, pings, and floating objects, it is negotiated by taking them out of their local context, estimating position in accordance with global units of reference to places such as the North Pole and Greenwich, and putting them back to their now-referenced *locale*. Sea charts are the place where these negotiations happen.

Digital maps can provide affordability of time and risk mitigation. They provide information for planning safe routes before

responding to a call. They can delineate movement for search operations, allow for estimation of risk, and ease communication of information regarding situational awareness. However, mapping platforms can also disrupt communication when they do not allow translations between separate assemblages. Thus, depending on entanglements, translation may both enhance digital maps' functionality as well as render them "lost in translation."

Conclusions

With this article, I presented a series of processes or chains of translations that happen when sea charts are employed during maritime SAR operations. I inquired into seabed mapping, the creation of calculation models for possible drift trajectories defining a search area and mapping the movement of other vessels and the navigational aid. Throughout, I braided map production and its use in the navigation into one narrative to emphasise that mapping does not stop with producing a map. In each case of map employment, assemblages were unique to the event, granting maps with capabilities to represent, assess, propose, perform, and (mis)inform. Within them, maps could provide affordability (or not) of time and spatial accuracy when responding to a call – crucial elements for a successful SAR operation. Using translations as a mode of inquiry, it was possible to see alternative assemblages entangled in the mapping process.

Maps employed during maritime SAR operations in Northern Norway are dynamic and enacted through different spatio-temporalities, including actors of different scales. Some translations, such as contour lines, happen in more stable assemblages than others, for example, when relaying a situational picture from one mapping platform onto another. Stability allows for less time consumption while navigating and for risk assessments for possible routes. However, because the assemblages are in flux, it is not "a given" that a map will represent what is outside, provide accurate means for planning, or relay movement, leading to an unexpected mutability of maps. In maritime SAR operations, where location and time are paramount, a lack of functionality can be fatal. Therefore, it is crucial to focus on maps as ongoing practices and explore how certain features arise while others can be lacking.

Visualisation of undersea, estimation of probable drift trajectories, and translation of movement are only a few processes that allow digital maps to gain their functionality. A depth point on a map, then, is a filtered reference of where rock-sound wave interaction took place, enacting intricate navigation between civil and national risks and securities. Maps are entangled in a constant mapping and depend on interactions with international standards, and national regulations, including questions of national security, funding, weather conditions, personnel capacity, and dialogue between NMA and seafarers. Analysed examples reveal several actors influencing what will be visible and what is to remain invisible within the sea charts. Knowing more about these interactions can provide a better understanding of what one can expect from digital maps.

Structured mapping entanglements can interact unexpectedly with alternative assemblages, resulting in deviating maps. Following translations helps to maintain a focus on more-than-human interactions

within mapping practices without simplifying them and to spot their differences. Furthermore, analysing maps through translation processes allows inquiring into the ontogenesis of maps – the "unfolding practices" – and to question the ontological security of maps (as in Kitchin and Dodge 2007). They are not connected to objective truth, nor do they exist independently of the process of becoming. Exploring digital maps within their entanglements reveals their capability to calculate and delineate risks, enact securities and diverge worldings – world-making practices.

References

Allen, Arthur, Jens-Christian Roth, Christophe Maisondieu, Øyvind Breivik, Bertrand Forest. 2010. "Field Determination of the Leeway of Drifting Objects." *Norwegian Meteorological Institute Report* 17: 1-43.

Andreassen, Natalia, Odd Jarl Borch, Emmi Ikonen. 2019. "Organizing emergency response in the European Arctic: a comparative study of Norway, Russia, Iceland and Greenland: MARPART Project Report 5." Nord University. http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2611539.

Awan, N. 2016. *Diasporic Agencies: Mapping the City Otherwise*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315577029.

Barad, Karen. 2007. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Barua, M., 2014. "Bio-geo-graphy: Landscape, dwelling, and the political ecology of human-elephant relations." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 32(5): 915-934. https://doi.org/10.1068/d4213.

Braidotti, Rosi. 2013. *The Posthuman*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Breivik, Øyvind, Arthur Allen. 2008. "An operational search and rescue model for the Norwegian Sea and the North Sea." *J Marine Syst*, 69 (1-2), 99-113. Doi: 10.1016/j.jmarsys.2007.02.010.

Callon, Michel. 1984. "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay." *The Sociological Review*, 32 (1_suppl), 196–233. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1984.tb00113.x.

Cosgrove, Denis E. 2008. *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Crampton, Jeremy, and John Krygier. 2006. "An Introduction to Critical Cartography." *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 4 (1): 11-33. https://www.acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/723.

Elgsaas, Ingvill, and Offerdal, Kristine. 2018. "Maritime Preparedness Systems in the Arctic: Institutional Arrangements and Potential for Collaboration: MARPART Project Report 3." Nord University. http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2501164.

Haraway, Donna. 2016. *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mareano.no 2022 – Hodnesdal, Hanne. "Bathymetric Mapping." Updated 2019-09-30. https://mareano.no/en/topics/bathymetric_mapping (accessed on 2022-09-02).

Hovedredningssentralen. 2022. "HRS Statistikk 2021." https://www.hovedredningssentralen.no/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/HRS-S-N-og-Samlet-2021-ver4.pdf (accessed on 2022-09-02).

NMA 2020 – *INT1 2020. Symboler og forkortelser i norske sjøkart. Symbols – Abbreviations – Terms used on Charts.* International Hydrographic Organisation. Kartverket. 2020. https://www.kartverket.no/globalassets/til-sjos/nautiske-publikasjoner/symboler-og-forkortelser-i-norske-sjokart.pdf (accessed on 2022-09-02).

Kitchin, Rob, Martin Dodge, Chris Perkins. 2011. "Introductory Essay: Power and Politics of Mapping." In *The Map Reader*: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation, edited by M. Dodge, R. Kitchin and C. Perkins, 2-7. Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470979587.ch50.

Kitchin, Rob, and Martin, Dodge. "Rethinking Maps." 2007. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31 (3): 331–344. Doi:10.1177/0309132507077082.

Latour, Bruno. 1999. "Circulating Reference: Sampling the Soil in the Amazon Forest." In B. Latour. *Pandora's hope. Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*, 24-79. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

---. 2005. *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory.* New York: Oxford University press.

Law, John, and Annemarie Mol. 2008. "The Actor-Enacted: Cumbrian Sheep in 2001." In *Material Agency. Towards a non-Anthropocentric Approach*, edited by C. Knappet, L. Malafouris, 57-77. Springer.

Law, John. 1992. "Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy, and Heterogeneity." *Systems Practice* 5, 379–393. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01059830 .

---. 1999. "After Ant: Complexity, Naming and Topology." *The Sociological Review, 47(1_suppl), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1999.tb03479.x*

NMA 2021b - *Miscellaneous Notices to Mariners.* The Norwegian Mapping Authority Hydrographic Service. N.d. https://www.kartverket.no/en/at-sea/efs/miscellaneous-notices-to-mariners (accessed on 2022-09-02).

Mol, Annemarie. 2002. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice*. Durham: Duke University Press.

NMA 2017 - Norwegian Mapping Authority Hydrographic Service. 2017. Appendix B. Technical Specifications. MAREANO Programme. https://mareano.no/resources/files/om_mareano/arbeidsmater/standarder/Appendix-B-Technical-Specifications-1.pdf (accessed on 2022-09-02).

NMA 2021a - Norwegian Mapping Authority. 2021. "From outer space to the

deepest ocean floors." https://www.kartverket.no/en/about-kartverket/what-we-do (accessed on 2022-09-02).

November, Valérie, Eduardo Camacho-Hübner, Bruno Latour. 2010. "Entering a Risky Territory: Space in the Age of Digital Navigation." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *28* (4): 581-599. https://doi.org/10.1068/d10409.

Propen, Amy D. 2009. "Cartographic Representation and the Construction of Live Worlds: Understanding Cartographic Practice as Embodied Knowledge." In *Rethinking Maps: New Frontiers in Cartographic Theory,* edited by M. Dodge, R. Kitchin and C. Perkins, 113-130. London: Routledge.

IHO 2018 – *Regulations of the IHO for International (INT) Charts and Chart Specifications of the IHO*. 2018. International Hydrographic Organisation. Edition 4.8.0, Monaco. https://iho.int/iho_pubs/standard/S-4/S4_V4-8-0_Oct_2018_EN.pdf (accessed on 2022-05-04).

SAR Cooperation Plan. 2019. Part III, IV, V and VI, Plans for Co-Operation Between Sar-Services and Passengers Ships in an Emergency. (Sar Co-Operation Plan) (in accordance with SOLAS regulation V/7.3). Bodø. https://www.hovedredningssentralen.no/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/SAR-Cooperation-Plan_2019.pdf (accessed on 2022-04-22).

IHO 2014 - *Specifications for Chart Content and Display Aspects of ECDIS*. 2014. International Hydrographic Organisation. Publications S-52, Edition 6.1(.1), Monaco. https://iho.int/uploads/user/pubs/standards/s-52/S-52%20Edition%206.1.1%20-%20June%202015.pdf (accessed on 2022-05-04).

STCW. A Guide for Seafarers: Taking into Account the 2010 Manila Amendments. Revised 2017. International Transport Worker's Federation. https://www.itfglobal.org/sites/default/files/resources-files/stcw_revised_rk-bb_small.pdf (accessed on 2022-09-02).

Thorsnes, Terje, Ole Arve Misund, and Morten Smelror. 2020. "Seabed Mapping in Norwegian Waters: Programmes, Technologies and Future Advances." *Geological Society, London, Special Publications* 499 (1): 99-118.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 2015. *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wood, Denis, John Fels, and John Krygier. 2010. *Rethinking the Power of Maps*. New York: Guilford Press.

Wood, Denis. 2012. "The Anthropology of Cartography." In *Mapping Cultures: Place, Practice, Performance,* edited by Les Roberts, 280-303. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[i] The seafarer, B1, works on a rescue cutter in Northern Norway with the Norwegian Sea Rescue Society (RS), interviewed on 2021-03-23.
[ii] ECDIS stands for Electronic Chart Display System; more about this is written further in the text.
[iii] T2 is a research participant, who works with training seafarers, interviewed on 2021-09-17.
[iv] JRCC1 – research participant, working with Joint Rescue Coordination Centre, interviewed on 2021-07-13.
[v] MM5 is a research participant, working with the modelling of sea charts at the NMA, interviewed on 2021-05-06.
[vi] MM2 – research participant, working at the Norwegian Meteorological Institute, interviewed on 2021-03-10.
[vii] AIS stands for Automatic Identification System.
[viii] R1 – a research participant, working at the Norwegian Coastal Radio North Norway, interviewed on 2021-12-03.

JOHANNA SKURNIK
University of Helsinki

From Everyday Map-Things to Oblivion? The Social Lives of Finnish Missionary World Maps

In 1909, the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS, known in Finnish as Suomen Lähetysseura) celebrated its fiftieth anniversary.[i] For the festivities, the current mission director of the society, Jooseppi Mustakallio, authored articles in which he outlined the impact that the FMS had generated since its establishment in 1859. As an example of its broad societal significance, Mustakallio mentioned the missionary map of the world that the society had published from 1859 until the 1890s, which had consequently "spread even to the humblest of houses" across Finland, at the time of the Russian Empire (Mustakallio 1909). The map visualized the global missionary field by depicting the extent of different religions with white (Christians), grey (Muslims), and black ("heathens"), in addition to sharing geographical information. According to Mustakallio, who had also worked as a teacher, the "humble" world map had been "an important vehicle of civilization among our people," as it had, he maintained, together with the periodicals, effectively communicated geographical knowledge about different lands and their inhabitants. As Mustakallio phrased it, upon publication the world map had entered a largely unploughed terrain:

> It must be remembered that around that time when the missionary society was established, the elementary school did not yet exist. People's geographical knowledge was limited; it barely existed. This world map was one of the first to spread among ordinary people. It opened a completely new view and expanded people's ideas about the world and religions and the level of civilization because the map was accompanied by a short and factual explanation. This map has therefore taught the first things about geographical and such knowledge to countless households and individuals. (1909)[ii]

Figure 1
A copy of the Finnish edition of the Finnish Missionary Society's missionary world map. This is likely an exemplar of the second issue of the map, published in 1860. The hemispheric

map shows the world from the viewpoint of the Western missionary enterprise. The illustrations on the sides depict scenes of idolatry and "heathen" practices from Asia. *Maailman Kartta Lähetys-Toimesta*, c. 1860, Map collection of the National Library of Finland.

Missionary maps of the world, like the one published by the FMS (figure 1), were a transnational phenomenon that most Western missionary societies utilized to promote their work and to gather financial support for the missionary cause (Kark 1993; "Missionskartographie" 2019). They were published and sold alongside periodicals, books, pamphlets, and images, all of which popularized racialized ideas concerning the different peoples of the world, their "savagery" and uncivilized cultures and religious practices, while simultaneously seeking to evoke compassion towards the "distant other." This was a well-versed strategy within the transnational field of missionary societies (Vallgårda 2016). Through such materials, missionary societies materialized to their audiences their ideas of the expanding "Christian empire" (Nielssen, Okkenhaug, and Hestad Skeie 2011). Like their counterparts, the Finnish maps were meant for home audiences: they were marketed in Finland for Finnish consumers to gather financial and spiritual support for Finnish missionary work.

Scholars writing the history of the FMS have often referred to the arguments concerning the significance of the Finnish map and detailed their status as one of the bestsellers of the FMS's publications (Paunu 1909, 14; Väkeväinen 1988; Remes 1993, 33, 35, 252; Löytty 2006, 42; Merivirta, Koivunen, and Särkkä 2021, 10; Skurnik 2021). However, the social relationships that the maps entered into remain unexplored. Thus, we lack an understanding of what Mustakallio's words meant in practice: How were the maps read, by whom, and where? What type of knowledge did these people infer from the maps? What did the maps mean for their makers and their users? How did these meanings change as the decades passed? In this article, I examine these questions by investigating the social lives of the affordable mass-produced missionary world maps, which were published in 1859–1894 both in Finnish and Swedish. I analyze the worldly experiences that the maps generated for their different users by reconstructing their *lifecycles* in Finnish society: their social—and often affective—lives and the work that the maps did for both their makers and users. I argue that the Finnish case exemplifies how these "humble" maps, which were part of the everyday material culture of the transnational missionary project, forged specific cognitive relationships with people that reveal the development of spatial thinking. Exploring their lifecycles makes it possible to contemplate the maps' position in the process of shaping Finns' global consciousness during a period when this type of knowledge was not accessible to many.

In what follows, I approach the social lives of these maps from three critical perspectives. First, I examine how the FMS produced the maps to gather support for missionary work and to popularize the idea of the global missionary field and its geography. I do this by analyzing how, as the publisher, the FMS purported that people use them. Second, I examine what we can know of people's engagements with the maps—that is, how they

used the maps. When seeking to understand what the missionary world maps meant in the context of Finnish society, where access to global knowledge was limited and organizations like the FMS were primary channels for its distribution, especially in the 1860s, it is crucial to understand just what the maps meant to those who studied them. Third, I examine the meanings of the maps in the 20th century, during a period when they were no longer produced, yet during which time they still had a place in public discourse and later became a part of public archives. In pulling these three phases together—the produced, the mobilized, the archived—this article questions how maps changed from everyday map-things with 78,000 copies in circulation over a nearly forty-year period to things of the past in the twentieth century. In addition to examining the maps in question, my analysis relies on archival material and accounts in periodicals, newspapers, and books that contain information about how the FMS intended the map to be used and describe people's encounters with the maps. Taken together, these materials make it possible to contemplate the meanings that the map had in the hands of its publisher and those it generated once mobilized.

By investigating the meanings of the maps in the hands of their makers and users, this article contributes to the scholarly debates that are at the core of the thematic issue of the *Material Culture Review* that focuses on the social lives of maps. Scholars of material culture have long noted the biographical aspect of objects and things: the need to consider the different events that objects are a part of from their production until they are either destroyed or placed in collections. They have thus been interested in an object's lifecycles and its social lives (e.g., Appadurai 1986, 3–4; Vesterinen 2001, 26–29, 33–35). This interest in objects as ontologically insecure and in a constant state of "becoming" is similarly the focus of processual and post-representational approaches to maps and cartography (Kitchin, Gleeson, and Dodge 2013; Caquard 2015). Attention to the shifting meanings of maps in the hands of their makers, publishers, and users—the study of mapping as a process—is burgeoning in the field of map history (Edney 2011, 2014; Prior 2012; Brückner 2017; Koot 2018; Lobo-Guerro, Lo Presti, and dos Reis 2021). At the core of such tasks, where the agency of maps is best highlighted, is the need to consider their coming into being as people use them and thus engage in different parts of their lifecycles. Examining this phenomenon means restoring the social relatedness of maps: to acknowledge the diverse ways that people have lived with what may be called map "stuff" (in the terminology of Miller 2010).

As Arjun Appadurai puts it, following the "things-in motion" illuminates "their human and social context" (1986, 5). People engage with maps in versatile ways—they engage with what Matthew Edney calls "mappy acts" as they make maps and mobilize, use, and discard them (2019, 48). As noted by historian of science Kapil Raj in the context of mapping colonial South Asia, following the trajectories of practices and artefacts reveals how historical actors attempted "to make a place for themselves in their world by reconfiguring it, changing its ingredients, introducing new objects and engendering a recomposition of the relationship between them and the social fabric" (2007, 92–93). The lifecycles of the FMS's missionary

map make it possible to identify its changing meanings and the agency it had in changing how people understood and viewed the world and their own position in it.

"Dear Reader, Please Take the Missionary Map in Your Hand"

The double roles of the missionary world maps in Finland as promotional material for missionary work as well as educational tools, provides a unique perspective for assessing how a map could "change the ingredients" of the world (in the terminology of Raj 2007, 92–93). This refers to the epistemological and ontological effects that material maps can have on people and cultures and the worldviews that they help shape—that is, to the map's agency. James Corner (2011 [1999]) has suggested that thinking about the agency of mapping should focus on an understanding that "mappings do not represent geographies or ideas; rather they effect their actualization" (89). Indeed, as the FMS map entered into Finnish society, it extended a transnationally shared visual economy of the world to Finland. Thus, it contributed to a process whereby certain areas on the world map were represented and marketed as "heathen" and in need of transformation. In doing so, it tapped into local (here meaning Finnish) spatial knowledge about the wider world, which in the 1850s and 1860s was quite limited amongst ordinary Finns.

At the time the first edition of the FMS world map was published, commercially sold Finnish-language world maps were a rarity. The first Finnish-language map of the world had been published in 1845 in a series of readers called *Lukemisia Kansan hyödyksi* ([Itäinen maan puolisko] 1845), edited by journalist Paavo Tikkanen. This map included a double-hemisphere world map with a smaller map of Europe tucked below the two hemispheres. The world map shows the names of countries on other continents, whereas the map of Europe details its political divisions. The map was accompanied by a description of global geography that served as an introductory text to general geographical knowledge about the world and the universe ("Johdatus yleiseen maa-tietoon" 1845, 59–97). Another printer, Johan Karsten from Kuopio in eastern Finland, published a similar world map the same year in a periodical called *Maamiehen ystävä* together with a short descriptive article explaining the map ("Tämän Lehden Mukana" 1845, 1–2). However, the precise layout of the map is currently unknown as I have not been able to locate a single copy of it in the archives. To the best of my knowledge, no other Finnish-language world maps entered circulation prior to the publication of the FMS map in the spring of 1859. Later in the same year, bookseller Johan Wilhelm Lillja, based in south-west Finland, published another Finnish world map. The map had been produced in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, by L. Halle. It was intended for schools, and only 500 copies were printed (Autero 1993, 197). This is in stark contrast to the 15,000 copies that the FMS printed in the first edition of its map. Additionally, the price of the map published by Johan Lillja was also 20 times higher than that of the FMS map, making it an unlikely purchase for people in the lower classes. Indeed, Lillja's map was primarily meant to be used in schools, not private homes ("Maailmankarttaa lähetystoimesta" 1859, 16; "Maamme kirjapainoissa" 1859, 166–167).

From the 1860s onwards, the market for Finnish-language maps started to grow, largely due to the demands of the expanding network of primary schools as well as the rise of popular education.[iii] Consequently, the availability of different types of maps, geographical texts, and other prints in Finnish grew steadily as the century advanced: many were translated, copied, or adapted from foreign originals (Strang 2020, 214–17). In this context, the wide circulation of the missionary world map already in the 1860s likely generated encounters between the maps and people who had possibly never studied a world map closely or familiarized themselves with global geographical nomenclature.

The FMS maps were, however, never intended to be studied alone: rather, they were designed to be read together with the missionary periodicals and accompanying pamphlets. The pamphlets published to accompany the map consisted of *Selitys Lähetys-toimen kartalle* [Explanation to the map of missionary work] (1859), with fourteen editions being published between 1859 and 1895, and *Evankelinen lähetys, huutava ääni kristikunnalle* [Evangelical mission, the voice of Christianity] (1861), which was a translation of a German publication. All these texts included detailed instructions that helped readers locate the places and the peoples discussed via different methods. The texts explained how and in what ways different peoples in different parts of the world lived in ignorance of Christianity. At times, the texts included images of the areas and the peoples being discussed. In this section, I examine the different instructions for reading the map and argue that they reveal how the FMS presented the role of the map as mimetic and disembodied. The reading instructions given in the FMS's periodicals and pamphlets were designed to condition people's engagement with the maps, and thus, shape their spatial thinking. Before analyzing the FMS's instructions to readers, I will briefly detail the publication history of the missionary world map in the Grand Duchy of Finland.

The missionary world map began circulating within Finnish society almost immediately after the FMS was established, in the beginning of 1859. The secretary of the society, K. J. G. Sirelius, suggested at a board meeting in March 1859 that the world map should be printed and published based on a map already published by the Basel Missionary Society in the 1840s. The board deemed the map essential to "make the missionary cause better known across the country" ("Johtokunnan kokouksen pöytäkirja" 1859, 13). In April 1859, Fredrik Polén (also at times spelled Rietrikki Polén), at that time in charge of the Helsinki printing house of the Finnish Literary Society, made an offer to the FMS to produce the map based on the German-language original (Polén 1859). The map was designed to be larger than the German version, and it incorporated vignettes depicting religious and cultural practices in Asia—showing, for instance, Chinese men burying a child alive as well as an African man kneeling and asking for salvation ("Maailman kartta lähetys-toimesta" 1860; Skurnik 2021).

The Basel Missionary Society's map, utilized as the model for the Finnish map, would have easily been available to members of the FMS because of their connections to the central European missionary societies and because it had been published as an addendum to *Missions-Tidning*, a Stockholm-based periodical published

by the Swedish Missionary Society (Svenska Missions Sällsskapet) in 1846. The map was published with a four-page, Swedish-language description of the map. It offered readers a guided tour of the world depicted on the map ("Beskrifning öfver den bifogade missions-werlds-chartan" 1846). Many in Finland also subscribed to the Swedish periodical, and it was one of the numerous sources of information about the missionary cause prior to the establishment of the FMS. The availability of the Basel Mission's map via the Swedish periodical signifies that the general design of a missionary world map would have been familiar to at least some Finnish audiences prior to the publication of the FMS maps. Indeed, individuals supportive of the missionary cause utilized this type of map to raise awareness about missionary work already in the 1840s ("Suomen Pakanalähetystoimi" 1909; "Lähetysharrastuksen ensiajalta Tampereella II" 1909; Väkeväinen 1988, 2–20).

For the FMS, the map was a tool by which to visualize the global missionary field for Finnish- and Swedish-speaking audiences. Its strategy relied on arguments of mimesis (that the map showed what the world was like) as well as advancing the idea of a disembodied global gaze (that the map and the texts offered the same view to all users when read as instructed). The accompanying pamphlets, which were sold separately but in close association with the maps, focused on explaining the map and teaching its users how to read it. The *Selitys* pamphlet instructed readers to first identify the two hemispheres, "the two sides of the globe," and then explained what could be seen on each side: for example, "the right-hand side," "where we find more land … is the mostly white, complex continent of Europe" (*Selitys lähetys-toimen kartalle* 1878, 4). It focused on shipping routes, marked with a thin black line, and directed readers to follow them to the different continents and islands and to notice the color of each: black, white, or grey. The overview was followed by a detailed "journey around the globe, that with its countries and continents is spread before us" (*Selitys lähetys-toimen kartalle* 1878, 6). The *Evankelinen lähetys* pamphlet approached the map similarly to traveling around the world, instructing readers on how to "walk across the lands of the earth," with explanations of how people lived and their beliefs in different parts of the world (1861, 14). The "walk" ended with the question, "what should be done?" Essentially, then, the pamphlet sought to direct readers to an understanding that the goal was to transform the black areas into white areas (*Evankelinen lähetys* 1861).

The articles published in the FMS periodicals during the 1860s and 1870s, both in the Swedish (*Missions-Tidning i Finland)* and Finnish (*Suomen Lähetyssanomia)* editions, echoed the approach taken in the pamphlets. It is noteworthy that throughout the 1860s, many of the articles were translated and adapted from publications in foreign periodicals, especially from the German missionary periodicals, yet the exact sources cannot always be identified (Remes 1993, 27–28). This means that some references to the maps may derive from the original articles, even though their inclusion was ultimately decided by the editors of the periodicals, K. J. G Sirelius and Gustaf Dahlberg. The instructions usually guided readers to a visual and tactile encounter with the map. For example, an article on Africa published in 1861 in *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* began with a detailed instruction to readers on how

to position oneself in relation to the map:

> If the reader now places the missionary map in front of them on the table and finds in the Eastern Hemisphere the great continent that is called **Africa**, and then starts to sail from its southern tip towards its western edge, that is the coast on the left, and stops where the coastline curves towards them, so they, above the equator or below the folding, can read the word Niger. This is where the Niger River, of which I talk about, flows to the sea. ("Ensimmäinen koulu Niger-joella" 1861, 61, boldface text in the original)

Here, the reader is directed to place the map on a table and use their hands to locate the outlet of the river. The description details the bodily aspects that reading the map invites: placing the map in front of the reader, stretching out one's hand, visually scanning the map, and combining the text with the map. Following these instructions would allow readers to locate the first school established by a missionary on the Niger River.

Other ways of directing readers included pointing out easily identifiable lettering, specific lines, or the images of ships on the map. For example, one article noted that near the North Pole, readers could find the peninsula "Gröönlanti" [Greenland], with its name written askew, while another article noted that readers could find the Fiji Islands by locating a line drawn across the Pacific, or more precisely by locating the name "Australia," and then by looking slightly below the large letters of "s" and "t" ("Kristillisyyden levittämisestä Gröönlannissa" 1860, 81; "Fegee luodot" 1860, 118). Jamaica could be found by identifying a ship located between North and South America ("Herätys Jamaikassa" 1861, 66). These instructions were thus based on easily identifiable elements, thereby ensuring that the map could easily be read even by children.

The articles often made use of Finland's location on the map to help readers comprehend the relative sizes of the islands being discussed or to find their location on the map "by leaving from Finland" and taking this or that route (e.g., "Nestorianeista" 1873, 53). For instance, an article noted that the island of Borneo was four times the size of Finland ("Borneo" 1860, 10). The inclusion of such direct references served as a primary means of engaging readers with places of interest through their own, more immediate spheres of life by educating them on how to relate Finland to more distant regions. By 1873, many articles no longer took it for granted that readers would not know the locations of the places being discussed. This can be seen, for example, in an article dealing with the Fiji Islands:

> The Fiji Islands are, as the reader might know, in the Western Hemisphere, in the Wide or Still Sea. They are part of the Australian archipelago, and the reader can find them on the world map in the far south-west of the Western Hemisphere, east of the New Hebrides ("Kuningas Thakomban ja lähetys Fissin saarilla" 1873, 24).

Consequently, what emerges here, via the pamphlets and the periodicals, are the concerted efforts of the FMS to translate specific geo-spatial knowledges into their

appropriate operational context and associate them with recognizable geographical features and other symbols. Moreover, once the FMS had sent out missionaries of its own or established its own workstations, the world map was then updated to include the new locations, thereby allowing readers to locate the sites of activity. This occurred when the FMS sponsored a German missionary, Herman Onasch, associated with the Berlin-based Gossner Missionary Society, to undertake work in India. Sometime during the 1860s, the name "Suomi" (Finland) was imprinted in central Asia to mark the location of the missionary station where Onasch worked.[iv] Similarly, the world map was updated once the FMS's own missionaries had established their workstations in present-day northern Namibia, in southwest Africa, in the 1870s ("Maailman kartta lähetystoimesta" 1871). The publication of large-scale maps and practice of referring to them in the periodicals further enabled readers to learn about these distant places ("Selitys kartalle" 1862, 56–57; *Missionskarta öfwer Afrika och Owambolandet jemte besrifning* 1879).

Linking the texts to the map was an efficient way to enhance the FMS's "pedagogy of space" (in the terminology of Paasi 1998). Describing the otherness of the inhabitants of the regions colored black on the map was a prevailing feature of the articles: in effect, the FMS was teaching its audiences how to conceptualize global human difference. This approach became further highlighted when the map was linked to images depicting human individuals of the regions in question. One example is an illustration of a man from New Guinea, which was published both in *Missions-Tidning för Finland* and *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* in 1862. Interestingly, the editors of the two periodicals, K. J. G. Sirelius for the Swedish periodical and Gustaf Dahlberg for the Finnish issue, utilized the illustration to make differing arguments. Dahlberg's description captured "the ultimate other," as he proceeded to instruct readers on where to locate the island and how to understand its relative position on the globe: "New Guinea (read: ginea) is in the Eastern Hemisphere north of New Holland. It is closest to Borneo and the largest island on earth" ("Uusi Guinea (selitys kuvalle)" 1862, 125). He then continued by describing the man in the image as follows: he was a specimen of the "gloomy, cruel, and wild people who also eat humans and hate Europeans. They don't cultivate the lands. … The bow is their weapon, as they know nothing of guns" ("Uusi Guinea (selitys kuvalle)" 1862, 125). Sirelius was more sympathetic in his description, even though *Missions-Tidning* also presented the illustration as an image of "a wild man from the big island of New Guinea," which readers can find on the missionary map. However, he did not claim that the people were cannibals and simply noted that only a few of them had become Christians ("Här se [sic] vi" 1862, 92).

These examples illustrate how the reading of the map was designed to be a multisensory event: the conceptualization of the world was designed to unfold as a visual and tactile process as readers gazed at the map and followed its symbols with their hands. It was also a multi-modal event where the moments of consumption were intended to include engaging with the symbolics of the map, the different texts, and the various images, all of which worked towards the same goal: popularizing ideas about the "heathens"

and their whereabouts in the world. The reading of the map together with the texts showed how the map's symbolics corresponded with the world out there. Next, I examine the types of encounters that people had with the map and their inferred meanings.

Encountering the Maps

As David N. Livingstone has summarized regarding the reading of scientific texts, there is always a sited engagement with the reader and the text. As the "where" affects the "how" of reading, the meanings and knowledge inferred while reading a text are not fixed. Rather, it is possible to decipher processes of domestication as people engage with texts (Livingstone 2005, 391, 399). The same can be observed from people's engagement with the missionary world maps. Indeed, as Kitchin, Perkins, and Dodge argue, "[m]aps do not then emerge in the same way for all individuals" (2011, 21). Consequently, maps and the world have a coconstitutive relationship wherein the "inscription, individual and world" emerge and remake each other "through mutually constituted practices that unite map and space" (Kitchin, Perkins, & Dodge 2011, 21–22). Moreover, the spatial work done by maps should not be taken for granted or uncritically linked with their intended uses. Laura Lo Presti stresses this point by talking about maps that "fail." Lo Presti notes that through empirical examination, it becomes possible to identify "moments when maps are useless, do not do their job, are impotent, or work differently than expected" (2021, 196). These moments of encounter demonstrate the potential agency of maps in shaping people's understanding of the world. In this section, I examine how the reception of the maps differed according to the context of their readers, their preconceptions, and relationship with the knowledges that the map communicated.

The likely places where adults encountered the maps for the first time were missionary events: during sermons or at other gatherings organized by the FMS's agents across the country, where the map would have been studied as a "collaborative artefact." This means that the mapping would have unfolded in collaboration with the other information available in its context of use (in the terminology of Kitchin, Gleeson, and Dodge 2013, 483). The FMS used the post office, its network of agents, and traveling salespeople to distribute its publications effectively throughout Finland (Remes 1993, 29–32). As well, the FMS sold and displayed the map at its events, such as public sermons. Vicars involved with mission work also provided copies of the map to peoples in different parts of the country ("Kotomaalta" 1871, 117; Halpanen sanankuulija 1876). The society's voluntary agents distributed the maps in rural locations like Tammela, a small village in southern Finland, and Munsala, on the western coast of Finland in the region of Ostrobothnia, where a factory worker and a teacher, respectively, sold the maps ("Tilinteko Suomen Lähetysseuralle tulleista rahoista" 1860, 26; "Myydyistä lähetyskirjasista ja sanomista" 1871, 80). Due to the effective work of the agents, the FMS reported glowingly already in its second annual report that the maps were being consumed across the country, even in the distant north at the borders of Lapland ("Suomen Lähetysseuran toinen vuosi-kertomus" 1860, 125). Copies were also made available to the common people via loaning libraries (*Luettelo Rauman*

Lainakirjaston kirjoista, alkukirjainten johdolla 1873, 17).

Considering the size of the printings, several thousand copies at a time, which, for example, totaled 78,000 by 1894, as well as the different channels of distribution, the FMS was able to put its map in the hands of a diverse audience. It thus transformed the map into a recognizable and popular commodity. Unfortunately, though, the FMS archive contains no detailed information on just who purchased the maps. The printing sizes for the Swedish issue were always smaller than those for the Finnish issue, which reflects the relative sizes of the two groups in the population. It is likely that many people consulted the map when reading the FMS's periodicals as they often read—and purchased copies of earlier volumes—for a long time after their initial publication (Remes 1993, 29). In addition, the map was most likely utilized at the Helsinki-based missionary school, where the FMS started to train missionaries in 1862: since the curricula included some geography lessons (called "maan oppi" [knowledge of the Earth] in 1864), the map likely featured as an educational tool alongside the imported maps ("Lähetyskoulumme" 1864, 188–90; Remes 1993, 115).

All these various mobilities of the maps—published in two languages and encountered by people from different social contexts—generated new lifecycles for them as they intersected with different people's lives. It is noteworthy that as they arrived in different locations, their social lives may have changed accordingly. Indeed, their material form allowed them to cross the distances of what Bruno Latour (1987) calls "immutable mobiles," yet simultaneously they could become mutable mobiles since the meanings inferred from them could differ (dos Reis 2021, 111; Law and Mol 2001, 619–20). In addition to generating different meanings, users may have annotated their contents, as is known to have occurred with some of the missionary world maps produced by the Basel mission (e.g., "Weltkarte der Mission" 1845). Thus far, I have not come across any FMS maps annotated by one or more users. However, through the different accounts circulating in the public sphere, we can access some of the meanings generated by the maps at the time.

For some of those aspiring to become missionaries, the maps were affective materials. One such person was Tobias Reijonen, who served as one of the FMS's first missionaries in Africa. An account of Reijonen's life, published in 1905, notes that the map impacted him while growing up in northern Karelia, in the eastern part of the Grand Duchy: "When Tobias was young, the missionary map was published, where the heathen lands were colored black and the Christian lands [shown] in white. …When Tobias gazed upon the map, he wept and hoped that he could do something for the beloved Savior. Thus, he gained the desire to work as a missionary" (Rahikainen 1905, 3). In Tobias's case, he encountered the map at home, where his parents, although leading a humble life, may have acquired it to advance the Christian education of their nine children. Although Rahikainen's biography provides a retrospective description of Reijonen's engagement with the map, it is illustrative of how the map may have been an affective object of indirect agency for those aspiring to become missionaries. The visual symbolics of the map demanded action and pushed people to enter the missionary field.

In addition to stimulating missionary action in the world, the maps provided their users with a means of self-reflection and raised awareness about the missionary geography of the world. An illustrative example is the work done by the vicar and agent of the FMS, Nils Gabriel Arppe. As an agent of the FMS from the time of its establishment, Arppe dealt with the missionary maps regularly, as he, for instance, ordered them from Helsinki to distribute locally in Juuka, a municipality in northern Karelia, where Arppe worked during the early days of his ministerial career (Arppe 1860). Additionally, an article published in one of the FMS periodicals in 1871 documents Arppe's account of the effects that missionary work and the maps had on the congregations he had worked with in eastern Finland. Without detailing the exact place of occurrence, Arppe described how he had given a man a copy of the map to take home with him. After a while, the man had returned and confessed that the map had revealed to him that in his heart he was a "heathen" ("Hemlandet" 1871, 108–9; "Kotomaalta" 1871, 117). The anonymous man was not alone in describing how the FMS map had led people to question their devotion to God. Indeed, in 1876 an author using the penname "Halpanen sanankuulija" [humble listener of the Word] contemplated the effects that the maps should have for their readers. The comment appeared in *Karjalatar,* a newspaper published in North Karelia. The author wrote of a local sermon and how people had afterwards enthusiastically purchased copies of the map, stressing that in addition to making it easier to comprehend human variety across the world, people should also consider the "color" of their own hearts:

> These maps show the extent of the heathen lands and those enlightened by the Gospel: they also show the different religions and the sites of missionary work, etc. But dear friends, those who gaze upon the maps, you should also look at your own heart: is it white or black? Have you ever thanked the Lord for the abundance of the light of the Word that the Lord has allowed to shine in our Finland like the Sun? Have you made use of this abundant gift? (Halpanen sanankuulija 1876, 2)

Both instances showcase how, for people identifying with the lower classes, the reading of the map and reflecting on its symbolic meanings could evoke pity for oneself: revelations that not all those inhabiting the white-colored Finland were "white" at heart.

In contrast, a letter sent to the FMS council and subsequently published in condensed form in *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* emphasized that the map primarily impacted people's geographical knowledge of the world. In the letter, a teacher named Porttila describes how his father, "who did not have the chance of going to school, got his first information of foreign lands from *Suomen Lähetyssanomat* and by examining the missionary map of the world" ("Mitä ystävämme kirjoittavat" 1922). Testimonials such as this are revealing in that they point to the enlightening effect that the map had more broadly: in addition to being used for religious purposes, the map and periodicals were used to learn about the world. The educating aspect of the map was, in fact, an argument that the FMS itself had made early on when advertising the map after its first publication ("Lähetys-kirjallisuutta"

1860). As mentioned in the beginning of this article, this was also the argument that the FMS president made about the impact of the map in 1909, fifty years after its first edition had been published.

The importance of the map as a means of understanding world geography was also mentioned in fiction writing as one the objects of everyday life readily available in people's homes. For instance, in a short story published in 1914 in the newspaper *Kokkola*, the missionary world map was noted to be "at home on the wall of the guest room" and highlighted as a means for a relative in Finland to comprehend the journey undertaken by a settler migrating from Finland to the United States ("Amerikan kirjeitä" 1914).

These examples, although mediated through the FMS periodical and newspapers and at times mentioned in fiction writing, can be read as indicative of the diversity of uses and responses that the maps and their accompanying texts generated. They show how, for some, the maps were a source of geographical knowledge, a means of positioning oneself in relation to others in the world. Simultaneously, they reveal that people also questioned how the map corresponded with the rest of the world, as viewing the white-colored Finland on the map led people to reflect on their own convictions. When peering beyond the Finnish peninsula and across the seas, map users would have been able to connect the map with the narratives and images of "distant others" and ideas of civility given in the missionary periodicals as well as the information they gathered via discussions and at missionary gatherings. Certainly, these notions highlight how the map's "pedagogy of space" impacted individuals differently.

The Archived Map

The symbolics of darkness and the association of black with uncivil spaces outlasted the publication cycle of the map. After the turn of the twentieth century, references to the missionary map become more sporadic, although the idea communicated by the map concerning the extent of the heathen lands was often still mentioned in public discourse. I consider this to be an indication of the influence that the FMS maps and its missionary worldviews as well as other print products, such as the missionary periodicals, atlases, and other maps, had in Finland over the years. They showcase how the process of mapping, which the circulation of the material map had begun, could continue in this mental form. For instance, in 1901 "a missionary map" was referenced in a column related to the county elections in Kotka, a city on the Gulf of Finland. Here, a person with the penname Kaukomieli noted that people's levels of interest in the elections resembled the reactions caused by the missionary maps:

> The county elections, well, they are coming closer. But they seem to affect our esteemed inhabitants as much as if one was to unfold some missionary map depicting one of the sinful heathen places on the continent of the blacks – "it's so dark! But it does not get lighter just by looking at it" – they would think. (1901, 2)

Similarly, another author in 1911, supportive of the Christian temperance movement, referred to the symbolics of the missionary map when discussing the declining level of civilization caused by the consumption of alcohol in the Grand Duchy: "We must be living in a heathen

society? We must be one of the 'black lands' on the missionary map? Maybe missionaries from Owamboland will come here to preach the Gospel" (Tähystelijä 1911, 38). Certainly, the missionary map was very much in the minds of different people and its symbolics had become a shared language, even though fresh copies of it no longer entered circulation. Indeed, in the 1920s the FMS contemplated publishing a new, large missionary map for subscribers to complement the foreign maps available ("Tiedonantoja" 1921, 16). However, it appears that these plans did not transpire, and the map was not revived.

These references to the symbolics of the map even at a time when the material map was disappearing from everyday use are indicative of the symbolic and concrete processes of "archivization" that had begun. The FMS retained some copies of the maps in its archive. Many privately owned copies were thrown away as their users no longer attached value to them, while others were stored in private collections and may have been passed down to descendants after their owners passed away.

As objects are archived and placed in collections, such events alter their identities and allow them to enter another phase in their lifecycles: in this sense, archives are dynamic places that constantly produce meanings for objects and things, be they artefacts, texts, or maps. As researchers become interested in different objects, they exert a power that can affect the future lives of objects (Lehto-Vahtera 2018, 13). Presently, I am aware of eleven surviving copies of the world map in Finnish public archives. Ten copies are part of the map collection of the FMS, housed at the National Library of Finland, where the FMS donated them in 2006. Six of them are Finnish and four Swedish issues of the map. They are in relatively good condition; some are torn, however, showing that they have been repeatedly folded and unfolded. Some contain physical markings that show they had been hung on a wall at some point.

One copy, printed in 1877, is in the collection of the Satakunta Museum, in Pori, western Finland. It is on display at an open-air museum in the nearby town of Lavia that exhibits the local way of life in different centuries. Unfortunately, the museum does not have much information about the provenance of the map, simply that it was donated to the museum by a local man, Mauno Venesmäki, son of a farmer, who passed away in 1977. Consequently, we have limited access to information concerning the map's lifecycle or its shifting social meanings as it passed between different actors and places during the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, some clues as to its lifecycle can be inferred from the material map. Notably, it had been framed. This hints at the fact that the map had been valued by its owners, likely hung on a wall or otherwise displayed. It had been mounted on a piece of paper containing the statute by the Russian Tsar concerning the rural fire insurance company, Suomen Maalaisten Paloapuyhtiö, established in 1857 ("Maailman-kartta lähetys toimesta" 1877). The use of this decades-old paper to support the map hints at the valued status of paper in its owner's household. The household in question may well have been the home of Venesmäki's grandparents, but no source exists that would prove that Venesmäki inherited the map from his family.

The dearth of the missionary maps in the archive hints at the lifecycles of the other copies. Indeed, I consider their scarcity in the public archive an indication that most of the maps consumed by ordinary Finns may have been thrown away as objects no longer useful in everyday life. They became trash, thus entering an additional lifecycle as their materiality decomposed in various ways. Consequently, their popularity in the nineteenth century contrasts with their marginal position in the present-day archive, where only limited contextual information is available. However, by writing about the prevailing copies—by noticing them (Lehto-Vahtera 2018, 14)—researchers, the author included, are again able to alter the directions of their lifecycles.

Conclusion

The FMS's missionary maps of the world were immersive and affective map-things that materialized the world to its makers and users. By reconstructing their lifecycles in Finland, I have identified practices of mobilizing global geographical knowledge via the maps and texts and analyzed the encounters that some individuals had with these material carriers. I have also contemplated their status in the public archive. Upon publication, the map entered a clear void in the availability of world maps for wider audiences. The FMS map was a mass-produced product that remained in circulation for decades. Its relatively low price made it available for many. For its makers, the map was a means to communicate ideas about human difference and the global transformation that missionary work, including the work done by Finnish missionaries, could affect in the world as part of a larger effort to turn the black areas on the map white. For the FMS, the map was also a vehicle to advance Finnish people's geographical literacy: this is visible in the way that the articles in the periodicals helped people read the map and understand the relative positions of different places in the world. People's encounters with the map show that when mobilized, the copies of the map became versatile artefacts that could prompt concern for distant others as well as reflection on one's own convictions. Moreover, the map was a tool of geographical enlightenment. Considering the evidence that I have been able to locate, it is credible to argue that during the decades that it was in active circulation, the map had a particularly powerful social life that contributed to the shaping of ordinary Finns' understanding of the world.

My analysis of the maps' lifecycles leads to three main conclusions. The first is methodological and highlights the challenges of identifying the meanings of maps in people's lives. Indeed, it is much easier to analyze how the maps were designed to be used than it is to examine people's encounters with them. Placing the maps in their historical contexts has allowed for an analysis of specific moments of their consumption and the meanings that they were given. As designed by its publisher, the map was a vehicle for promoting the importance of missionary work in converting, civilizing, and thus saving the distant "heathen" souls. Their conceptualization of the global missionary field inherently emphasized the otherness and uncivility of non-Christian populations. The references in published materials warrant arguing that the maps could have indirect agency in initiating people's engagement with the world as well as influencing their self-understandings.

Furthermore, the symbolics of the map developed into a rhetorical tool, thus informing the second conclusion: that the acts of reading the map familiarized many people with the idea of expanding the Christian empire and that the iconography of the map, with the world divided into white, grey, and black areas, was internalized by many and helped shape everyday parlance, thus influencing how people conceptualized and knew the world. However, and coming back to the methodological conclusion, undoubtedly this was not all the spatial work that the maps did. Indeed, there were most likely moments when the map "failed."

Third—and despite the methodological challenges noted above—my analysis of the FMS's maps demonstrates that analyzing the maps' social lives by reconstructing their lifecycles offers an effective methodology for understanding what different types of maps have been able to accomplish in past societies. By re-establishing the social relatedness of map-things in the past, researchers can think with maps to reveal the multifaceted spatial work done by maps. In doing so—and by publishing such research—they contribute to making and keeping the archived maps in different collections visible in the present, thus preventing them from falling into oblivion.

References

"Amerikan kirjeitä." 1914. *Kokkola,* March 21, 1914.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value." In *The Social Life of Things Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, 3–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arppe, Nils Gabriel. 1860. "Letter from Nils Gabriel Arppe to the President of the Finnish Missionary Society." Archive of the Finnish Missionary Society. National Archives of Finland.

Autero, Olavi 1993. *J. W. Lillja 1817–1878: Kirjamiehestä poliittiseksi taistelijaksi*. Historiallisia Tutkimuksia 172. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura.

"Beskrifning öfver den bifogade missions-werlds-chartan." 1846. *Bihang till No 12 Missions-Tidningen*, 1–4.

"Borneo." 1860. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 1: 10–11.

Brückner, Martin. 2017. *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860*. Williamsburg & Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press.

Caquard, Sébastien. 2015. "Cartography III: A Post-Representational Perspective on Cognitive Cartography." *Progress in Human Geography* 39 (2): 225–35.

Corner, James. 2011 (1999). "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention." In *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*, edited by Martin Dodge, Rob Kitchin and Chris Perkins, 89-101. Chichester: Wiley John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

dos Reis, Filipe. 2021. "Empires of Science, Science of Empires: Mapping, Centres of Calculation and the Making of Imperial Spaces in Nineteenth Century Germany." In *Mapping, Connectivity and the Making of European Empires*, edited by Luis Lobo-Guerro, Laura Lo Presti,

and Filipe dos Reis, 105-38. Global Epistemics. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Edney, Matthew. 2011. "Reflection Essay: Progress and the Nature of 'cartography'." In *Classics in Cartography*, 331–42. New York: Wiley.

---. 2014. "Academic Cartography, Internal Map History, and the Critical Study of Mapping Processes." *Imago Mundi: International Journal for the History of Cartography* 66 (supplement): 83–106.

---. 2019. *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

"Ensimmäinen koulu Niger-joella." 1861. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 4: 61–64.

Evankelinen lähetys: huutava ääni kristikunnalle (Luettava maailman kartan kanssa lähetystoimesta). 1861. 2nd ed. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.

"Fegee luodot." 1860. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia, Lisälehti* 5: 118–19.

Halpanen sanankuulija. 1876. "Sananen lähetyssaarnaajan käynnistä täällä." *Karjalatar*, September 15, 1876.

"Här se [sic] vi." 1862. *Missions-Tidning i Finland* 6: 92–93.

"Hemlandet." 1871. *Missions-Tidning i Finland* 7: 105–12.

"Herätys Jamaikassa." 1861. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 5: 66–69.

"Itäinen maan puolisko." 1845. In *Lukemisia Suomen Kansan Hyödyksi*. Helsinki: J. G. Simeliuksen perilliset.

"Johdatus yleiseen maa-tietoon." 1845, In *Lukemisia Suomen Kansan Hyödyksi*, 59–97. Helsinki: J. G. Simeliuksen perilliset.

"Johtokunnan kokouksen pöytäkirja." 1859. Archive of the Finnish Missionary Society. National Archives of Finland.

Kark, Ruth. 1993. "The Contribution of Nineteenth Century Protestant Missionary Societies to Historical Cartography." *Imago Mundi: International Journal for the History of Cartography* 45: 112–19.

Kaukomieli. 1901. "Kotkan kirje." *Kotkan Sanomat* 142 A (November): 2–3.

Kitchin, Rob, Justin Gleeson, and Martin Dodge. 2013. "Unfolding Mapping Practices: A New Epistemology for Cartography." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38: 480–96.

Kitchin, Rob, Chris Perkins, and Martin Dodge. 2011. "Thinking about maps." In *Rethinking maps: New frontiers in cartographic theory*, edited by Martin Dodge, Rob Kitchin and Chris Perkins, 1-25. London: Routledge.

Koot, Christian J. 2018. *A Biography of a Map in Motion: Augustine Herrman's Chesapeake*. New York: New York University Press.

"Kotomaalta." 1871. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 8: 113–20.

"Kristillisyyden levittämisestä Grööonlannissa." 1860. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 6: 81–87.

"Kuningas Thakomban ja lähetys Fissin saarilla." 1873. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 2: 24–31.

"Lähetys-kirjallisuutta." 1860. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia, Lisälehti* 1: 15.

"Lähetyskoulumme." 1864. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 12: 188–90.

Latour, Bruno. 1987. *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society*. Harvard University Press.

Law, John, and Annemarie Mol. 2001. "Situating Technoscience: An Inquiry into Spatialities." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 19 (5): 609–21.

Lehto-Vahtera, Johanna. 2018. "Monta tietä merkityksiin: avainobjektit museokokoelmissa." In *Kokoelmien avaimet: museokokoelmien tunnisteobjekteja*, edited by Johanna Lehto-Vahtera, 4–28. Turku: Aboa Vetus & Ars Nova.

Livingstone, David N. 2005. "Science, Text and Space: Thoughts on the Geography of Reading." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30 (4): 391–401.

Lo Presti, Laura. 2021. "The Cartographic Lives of the Italian Fascist Empire." In *Mapping, Connectivity and the Making of European Empires*, edited by Luis Lobo-Guerro, Laura Lo Presti, and Filipe dos Reis, 175–200. Global Epistemics. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Lobo-Guerro, Luis, Laura Lo Presti, and Filipe dos Reis, eds. 2021. *Mapping, Connectivity and the Making of European Empires*. Global Epistemics. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
Luettelo Rauman Lainakirjaston kirjoista, alkukirjainten johdolla. 1873. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

"Lähetysharrastuksen ensiajalta Tampereella II." 1909. *Tampereen Kaupunkilähetys*, November 20, 1909.

Löytty, Olli. 2006. *Ambomaamme: suomalaisen lähetyskirjallisuuden me ja muut*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

"Maailman kartta lähetys-toimesta." 1860. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura. Map collection of the National Library of Finland. National Library of Finland.

"---." 1871. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura. Map collection of the National Library of Finland. National Library of Finland.

"Maailman-kartta lähetys toimesta." 1877. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura. Lavian kotiseutumuseon kokoelma. Satakunta Museum.

"Maailmankarttaa lähetystoimesta." 1859. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 1: 16.

"Maamme kirjapainoissa." 1859. *Mehiläinen* 7: 166–167.

Merivirta, Raita, Leila Koivunen, and Timo Särkkä. 2021. "Finns in the Colonial World." In *Finnish Colonial Encounters: From Anti-Imperialism to Cultural Colonialism and Complicity*, 1–38. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Miller, Daniel. 2010. *Stuff*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Missionskarta öfwer Afrika och Owambolandet jemte besrifning. 1879. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.

"Missionskartographie." 2019. Cartographica Helvetica, 58.

"Mitä ystävämme kirjoittavat." 1922. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 6: 116.

Mustakallio, Jooseppi. 1909. "Suomen Lähetysseuran 50-vuotinen vaikutus kansamme sivistystyössä." *Suomalainen Kansa*, January 16, 1909.

"Myydyistä lähetyskirjasista ja sanomista." 1871. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia, Lisälehti* 4: 80.

"Nestorianeista." 1873. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 4: 53–61.

Nielssen, Hilde, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie. 2011. "Introduction." In *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World*, edited by Hilde Nielssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie, 1–22. Leiden: Brill.

Paasi, Anssi. 1998. "The Changing Pedagogies of Space: Representation of the Other in Finnish School Geography Textbooks." In *Text and Image. Constructing Geographical Knowledge*, edited by Anne Buttimer and Stan Brunn, 226–237 Leipzig: Institut für Länderkunde, Beiträge zum Regionalen Geographie.

Paunu, Uno. 1909. *Suomen Pakanalähetystoimi II: Suomen Lähetysseura vuosina 1859–1876*. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.

Polén, Fredrik. 1859. "Letter from Fredrik Polén to the President of the Finnish Missionary Society." Archive of the Finnish Missionary Society. National Archives of Finland.

Prior, Amy. 2012. "British Mapping of Africa: Publishing Histories of Imperial Cartography, c.1880 – c.1915." Doctoral thesis, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

Rahikainen, Kaarlo. 1905. "Lähetyssaarnaaja Tobias Reijonen." *Kotilähetys* 0: 2–4.

Raj, Kapil. 2007. *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900*. Springer.

Remes, Viljo. 1993. *Sata vuotta suomalaista lähetystyötä I:2: Siemen kasvaa puuksi 1859–1895*. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.

"Selitys kartalle." 1862. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia, Lisälehti* 5: 56–57.

Selitys lähetys-toimen kartalle. 1859. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.

Selitys lähetys-toimen kartalle. 1878. 11th ed. Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura.

Skurnik, Johanna. 2021. "Encountering Colonial Worlds Through Missionary Maps in the Late-Nineteenth-Century Grand Duchy of Finland." In *Finnish Colonial Encounters: From Anti-Imperialism to Cultural Colonialism and Complicity*, edited by Raita Merivirta, Leila Koivunen, and Timo Särkkä, 199–222. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Strang, Jan. 2020. *Suomen kartan historia 1532–2005*. Helsinki: Antiikki-Kirja.

"Suomen Lähetysseuran toinen vuosikertomus." 1860. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 8: 122–27.

"Suomen Pakanalähetystoimi." 1909. *Lahti*, February 16, 1909.

Tähystelijä. 1911. "Onko Kristillinen Raittiusliitto ja sen julkaisema raittiuslehti tarpeeton?" *Suomen Kristillinen Raittiuslehti: Suomen Kristillisen Raittiusliiton Äänenkannattaja* 7–8 (August): 37–40.

"Tämän Lehden Mukana." 1845. *Maamiehen Ystävä*, 37, September 13, 1845: 1–2.

"Tiedonantoja." 1921. *Kotia kohti: Suomen N. N. K. Y:N Äänenkannattaja*, 16.

"Tilinteko Suomen Lähetysseuralle tulleista rahoista." 1860. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia, Lisälehti* 2: 17–29.

"Uusi Guinea (selitys kuvalle)." 1862. *Suomen Lähetyssanomia* 8: 125–27.

Väkeväinen, Raija. 1988. *Suomenkielinen lähetyskirjallisuus 1850–1869*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Faculty of Theology. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Vallgårda, Karen. 2016. "Were Christian Missionaries Colonizers? Reorienting the Debate and Exploring New Research Trajectories." *Interventions* 18 (6): 865–86.

Vesterinen, Ilmari. 2001. "Esinepeli." In *Pandoran lipas: virvatulia esineiden maailmasta*, 13–62. Tietolipas 179. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

"Weltkarte der Mission." 1845. Paris: Basel in der evangelischen Missions. BMArchives. https://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100204633.

[i] The research for this contribution has been carried out with the generous support of the Academy of Finland, grant number 331899.

[ii] All translations from Finnish and Swedish are by the author.

[iii] In 1866, the senate passed the bill obliging towns in the Grand Duchy of Finland to organize primary education for all children.

[iv] Identifying the exact year is challenging due to the lack of copies of each issue of the map.

BRAM VANNIEUWENHUYZE
University of Amsterdam

The Social Life, Death, and Rebirth of Jacob van Deventer's City and Town Maps of the Low Countries[i]

The history of cartography is often presented to the public as a succession of highlights accomplished by a handful of heroes. Take, for instance, the cartographic history of the Low Countries, i.e. present-day Belgium and The Netherlands. Almost every overview cites the famous Mercator projection, the first printed world atlas published in Antwerp by Abraham Ortelius, Joan Blaeu's splendid *Atlas Maior*, the Ferraris map of the Austrian Netherlands, Philippe Vandermaelen and his *Établissement géographique de Bruxelles,* and the Dutch Bos atlas. Studies of this glorious cartographic past mostly focus on the output (maps, atlases, and globes), the makers (surveyors, mapmakers, engravers, and publishers) and/or the production process (surveys, measurements, drawing, etching, engraving, printing, the purposes of map making).

By contrast, (map) historians have paid much less attention to the usage of maps, atlases, and other cartographic products. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that map use and map users are widely accepted to play a significant role in the so-called communication models of cartography (for an overview, see Board 2018). More recently, the emerging processual approaches to mapping also emphasize map usage (see especially Edney 2018 and 2019). Both the communication models and the processual approach place map use on an equal footing with map production in the sense that map users' actions are likewise an important aspect of mapping practices, and hence of the history of cartography (Delano-Smith 2001a and 2001b). In other words, the history of cartography is more than just the history of map production and producers. Map use and map users should be taken into account when assessing what maps and mapping actually meant to past individuals and societies.

Yet, how do we study, understand and interpret the history of an ephemeral and thus elusive activity like map use? Locating the extant output of surveying and map making practices in the past is fairly simple—indeed, millions of maps and atlases have been preserved worldwide, and they are also being catalogued and published online in growing numbers. By contrast, discovering direct and unambiguous traces of map use and users is a complicated process at best, and often it is impossible. It seems two factors are largely responsible for this major heuristic problem. On the one hand, public libraries and archives as well as private map aficionados prefer to collect and preserve "clean," "untouched" maps, i.e. beautiful, pristine maps showing few traces of use. On the other hand, many of

these maps are part of collections, where they are separated from the contextual information once associated with them. It is therefore hardly surprising that map historians were (and are) neither temped nor inclined to embark on a scavenger hunt to trace contextual documentation about maps, mapmakers, and mapping activities, but prefer to focus on the analysis of the maps themselves.

An approach proposed by Martin Brückner (2017) in his seminal book *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860* might offer a possible solution to partially overcome these heuristic problems. Borrowing concepts from material culture studies and social theory, especially the work of Arjun Appadurai (1986), Ian Hodder (2012), and Henri Lefebvre (1974), Brückner tries to understand what he terms the "material and cultural utility and value" of maps, by viewing them as "things"—i.e. subjects, active agents—with social lives rather than as passive images or representations (Brückner 2017, 3). According to Brückner, "the maps' mostly under-reported materiality and status as commodity" is what bridges the gap between maps and people, or—to use Lefebvre's terms—between on the one hand the maps' linguistic and imaginative spaces, and on the other hand their material base and the social arena in which their language turns into practice (Brückner 2017, 9-10 resp. 6; Lefebvre 1974). Brückner utilizes four methods to accomplish his goal. First, he approaches maps "from the outside" by regarding them as "environments where images live," or as "personas and avatars that address us and can be addressed in turn" (Brückner 2017, 10). Second, he studies the materiality of maps and the material culture surrounding them so as to understand their social life. Third, he turns to "records of personal experience in order to reveal some of the less tangible ways in which maps came alive" (Brückner 2017, 11). And finally, he places the issue in a broader context by proposing a "popular history" of American cartography between 1750 and 1860, defining "popular" as "those commercially printed maps for which there is strong evidence documenting a pervasive and persistent social engagement" (Brückner 2017, 12).

As such, Brückner's approach corresponds to Denis Wood's ideas on the "power of maps." According to Wood, maps are "engines that convert social energy to social work," especially by "linking things in space" and/or by "bringing together onto a common presentational plane propositions about territory" (Wood 2010, 1-2). In Wood's view, a map is a "discourse function" —i.e. "a way a person has to affect the behavior [sic] of another in a communication situation" — which means that it plays a regular role in the discourse. Moreover, "the role a map plays in this discourse is generally descriptive. This is to say that it's rarely narrative or interrogative, not much interpellative or imperative (though it can be all these things). The descriptions maps effect, affect behavior [sic] by binding people to each other through the territory they mutually inhabit" (Wood 2010, 2).

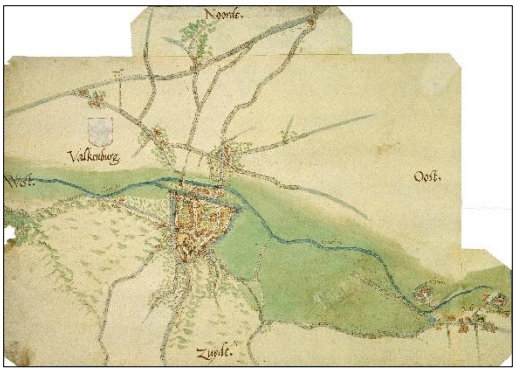


Figure 1
Jacob van Deventer's loose map of the town of Valkenburg (Maastricht, Regionaal Historisch Centrum Limburg, Tekeningen, prenten en fotocollectie RAL, RAL_K_098).

The present article applies aspects of Brückner's and Wood's approaches to a much smaller and rather different case study, the sixteenth-century manuscript city and town maps of the Low Countries produced by Jacob van Deventer (figure 1). Van Deventer may undoubtedly be considered one of those heroes of the history of cartography of the Low Countries. Sometimes he is even called the "father of Netherlandish cartography" (Wieder 1915, 75), and map historians have devoted many studies to his life and work. Van Deventer's maps have been widely praised for their incredibly high level of accuracy and their "modern" look, a value judgement which however is restricted to modern scholars. The maps themselves have never been approached as objects in their own right, and as a result their relevance to and impact on their contemporaries remain uncertain.

It would obviously be unfair to compare Jacob van Deventer's manuscript maps to the large corpus of eighteenth and nineteenth century printed American maps studied by Brückner. Nonetheless his new and fresh approach invites us to reconsider the relevance of Van Deventer's work and to adjust some of the assumptions regarding the pervasiveness of maps put forward by Wood. We will demonstrate that for a long time the discourse function of Van Deventer's town maps was emphatically not descriptive, and that these maps probably did not "affect behavior [sic] by binding people to each other through the territory they mutually inhabit" (as Wood phrased it). We will begin by briefly discussing Van Deventer's town and city maps before engaging in an exploration of the available sources to write the biography of the map series. On this basis, and by considering the maps as objects, we will then reconstruct their social life/lives and explain how these maps have affected and influenced their users' actions and ideas.


Dokkum
Appingedam
Groningen
Harlingen
Franeker
Leeuwarden
Groningen
Bolsward
Sneek
Friesland
Workum
IJlst
Hindeloopen
Stavoren
Sloten
Drenthe
Kuinre
Steenwijk
Medemblik
Enkhuizen
Vollenhove
Coevorden
Alkmaar
Grootebroek
Genemuiden
Hasselt
Hardenberg
Hoorn
Kampen
Zwolle
Lingen
Purmerend
Edam
Bentheim
Beverwijk
Monnickendam
Hattem
Elburg
Oversticht
Ootmarsum
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Muiden
Naarden
Harderwijk
Almelo
Oldenzaal
Delden
Weesp
Deventer
Goor
Enschede
Lochem
Leiden
Holland
Amersfoort
Gelre
Zutphen
Den Haag
Woerden
Utrecht
Sticht
Groenlo
Münster
Oudewater
IJsselstein
Doesburg
Delft
Gouda
Montfoort
Vianen
Utrecht
Arnhem
Rhenen
Wijk bij
Doetinchem
Bredevoort
Schoonhoven
Duurstede
Culemborg
Wageningen
Vlaardingen
Schiedam
Nieuwpoort
Buren
's-Heerenberg
Rotterdam
Leerdam
Brielle
Geervliet
Asperen
Tiel
Megen
Goedereede
Gorinchem
Heukelum
Nijmegen
Dordrecht
Woudrichem
Zaltbommel
Brouwershaven
Heusden
Kleef
Zeeland
s-Hertogenbosch
Zierikzee
Geertruidenberg
Zevenbergen
Westkapelle
Veere
Sint-Maartensdijk
Geldern
Goes
Tholen
Helmond
Middelburg
Arnemuiden
Bergen op Zoom
Straelen
Reimerswaal
Vlissingen
Brabant
Eindhoven
Venlo
Wachtendonk
Sint-Anna-
ter-Muiden
Oostburg
Sluis
Hulst
Axel
Oostende
Damme
Weert
Brugge
Aardenburg
Middelburg
Nieuwpoort
Oudenburg
Herentals
Roermond
Gistel
Lier
Montfort
Dunkerque
Veurne
Echt
Mechelen
Keulen
Gravelines
Diksmuide
Vlaanderen
Gent
Dendermonde
Mechelen
Erkelenz
Bergues
Zichem
Hondschoote
Vilvoorde
Aarschot
Bourbourg
Aalst
Leuven
Landen van Overmaas
Poperinge
Haretbeke
Zoutleeuw
Valkenburg
Herzogenrath
Ninove
Tienen
Menen
Oudenaarde
Brussel
Saint-Omer
Cassel
Wervik
Kortrijk
Mesen
Halluin
Landen
Comines
Warneton
Geraardsbergen
Gulik
Therouanne
Lessines
Enghien
Halle
Wavre
Bailleul
Liège
Armentières
Aire-sur-la-Lys
Ath
Limbourg
Herve
Limbourg
Lille
Tournai
Braine-le-Comte
Leuze
Lillers
Chièvres
Tournaisis
Soignies
Béthune
La Bassée
Gembloux
Mons
Le Roeulx
Pernes
Condé-sur-
l'Escaut
Artois
Lens
Orchies
Saint-Ghislain
Namur
Hesdin
Binche
Vieil-Hesdin
Douai
Valenciennes
Hainaut
Saint-Pol-sur-Ternoise
Arras
Bouchain
Bavay
Bouvignes
Dinant
Trier
Maubeuge
Le Quesnoy
Beaumont
Marche-en-Famenne
Cambrai
Avesnes-sur-Helpe
Cambrésis
Landrecies
Mariembourg
Bapaume
Le Cateau-Cambrésis
Chimay
Bastogne
Bitburg
Frankrijk
Luxembourg
Echternach
Chiny
Arlon
Carignan
Luxemburg
Montmédy
Damvillers
Lorraine
Thionville
Bar

Figure 2
Overview of the cities and towns mapped by Jacob van Deventer in the mid-sixteenth century (map by Yvonne van Mil, see Rutte and Vannieuwenhuyze 2018, 37).

Jacob van Deventer's City and Town Maps

In the mid-sixteenth century Jacob van Deventer (*c.* 1500-1575) produced maps of at least 226 cities and towns in the Low Countries (figure 2), a unique achievement according to map historian Bert van 't Hoff (1953, 14). The series consists of topographical manuscript maps of cities and towns and their immediate surroundings (further on "town maps" will be used). With one exception (Dinant) the mapped towns were all part of the so-called *Pays de par-deçà*, one of several contemporary names for the Habsburg Low Countries ruled in the sixteenth century by Emperor Charles V and his son, Spanish King Philip II. The collection comprises two elements. On the one hand a series of 135 loose maps on paper, currently curated at several archival institutions and libraries in present-day Belgium and the Netherlands, and on the other hand an atlas containing 179 city and town maps with 165 inserts (for a complete overview, see Rutte and Vannieuwenhuyze 2018, 54). The atlas originally consisted of three volumes, two of which are now in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid (figure 3).[ii] The third volume has been lost but certainly existed at some point, as documents from 1575 and 1577 prove (see below).

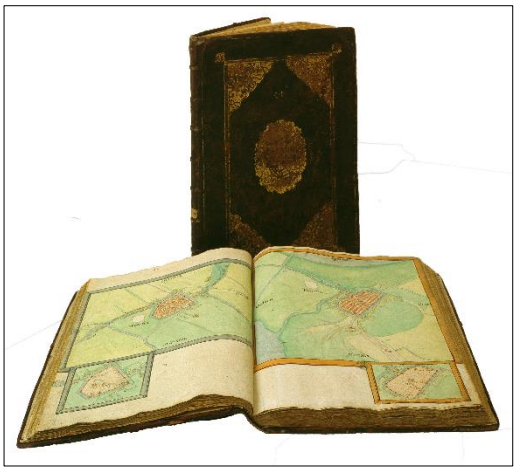


Figure 3
Both atlas volumes kept in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid (Res. 207 and Res. 200—photo by the Stichting tot Bevordering van de Uitgave van de Plattegronden van Jacob van Deventer).

In the past few decades, studies of Jacob van Deventer's town atlas and maps focused almost exclusively on the maps' production context and contents, particularly their appearance, cartographic style, content, and accuracy (see Visser 1965 and 1984; Meurer 1985; Folmer 1988; Deys 1989; Van der Krogt 1992-2001; De Klerk 2002; Vande Winkel 2008; Dupont 2019; Molders 2020). Numerous historians have praised Jacob van Deventer's town maps for their uniformity and planimetric accuracy. Although the mapmaker did not leave behind any map key or explanatory notes, he applied a uniform mapping style to most of his town maps, which suggests that he carried out his surveys and mapping in a highly systematic and rigorous manner (for a reconstruction of Jacob van Deventer's map key, see Rutte and Vannieuwenhuyze 2018, 28-29; Dupont 2019, 75-102). Other issues often raised

in relation to the town maps are their purpose and whether or not Van Deventer's work was military or even classified in nature (Vollenbronck 2009; Heere, Van der Krogt, Ormeling and Storms 2010; Vannieuwenhuyze 2011, 2019 and 2022). Whatever the case may be, his three-part atlas was certainly intended for the Spanish king, Philip II. In 1559 Philip issued a payment order and a letter of safe conduct for Van Deventer (both documents have been published, see Van 't Hoff 1953, 35-36). The latter explicitly stated that the mapmaker was commissioned to visit, survey, and draw all towns and cities as well as rivers, surrounding villages, border crossings, and narrow stretches of border. The results of this survey were to be presented in one book (*en ung livre*), which, in addition to a map of each region, was also to contain a plan of each individual town or city.

More detailed studies of the town maps reveal that Jacob van Deventer began to work on his maps long before 1559. The oldest maps date from the mid-1540s while Van Deventer produced his last maps in the early 1570s (on the chronology of Van Deventer's surveying project and the date of individual town maps, see Vannieuwenhuyze 2021). The project was still far from finished when he left the Low Countries in 1572 and moved to Cologne, where he died in the spring of 1575—Van Deventer's reasons for leaving the Low Countries and settling down in Cologne have been the subject of much debate (see for instance De Smet 1988, 32; Ahlers 2004, 60 and 63; Van der Jeught and De Win 2006, 105). Another salient point is that Van Deventer did not leave a single document or other evidence relating to his surveying activities, maps or atlas. Until the early 1570s the only documents which shed some light on his activities are the abovementioned payment order and safe conduct. Fortunately, an additional source emerges from the early 1570s onwards, in the form of letters between Viglius ab Aytta and Joachim Hopperus. Much of the correspondence between these two gentlemen still exists and has since been published.[iii]

A Spanish-Dutch Correspondence

Figure 4a and 4b
Portraits of Viglius ab Aytta Zuichemus (left) and Joachim Hopperus (right) (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-24.811 and RP-P-OB-24.812).

The correspondence between Viglius and Hopperus is our earliest source on the social life of Jacob van Deventer's town maps (figures 4a and 4b). Many of the letters mention 'his work' (*opus suum*), undoubtedly a reference to Van Deventer's town atlas. The two correspondents were both persons of consequence. Viglius ab Aytta Zuichemus was one of the leading statesmen and councillors of the Spanish king Philip II in Brussels, while in Madrid his friend Joachim Hopperus was advisor to the king regarding the events and affairs of the Low Countries (on Viglius, see Waterbolk 1980; Postma 1983; Postma 2000; Sluys 2018; Heerema and

Postma 2018; Hopperus meanwhile has received only one short and very much dated biography: Von Stintzing 1881). The letters confirm once more that Van Deventer's atlas was intended for Philip II, and they also reveal that Hopperus functioned as the Spanish king's *porte-parole,* and in that capacity conveyed especially the king's impatience. Indeed, Philip repeatedly asked Hopperus to urge Van Deventer to complete his work. On 28 July 1575, for instance, Hopperus wrote to Viglius: 'Once master Jacob van Deventer has completed his work, it would greatly please His Majesty [i.e. Philip II] that the work be sent [to him] as quickly as possible."[iv]

It was through Hopperus and Viglius that Philip's exhortations reached Jacob van Deventer in Cologne. At this time, Viglius presumably resided mostly in Brussels and Ghent.[v] The exact nature of his contact with Van Deventer is unknown but it may likewise have occurred in written form, although not a single letter by Viglius to Van Deventer or *vice versa* has been preserved. Alternatively, Cornelis van der Mijle, viscount of Gouda and husband of Hopperus' daughter Catherine, may have acted as an intermediary (Van 't Hoff 1953, 41).[vi] In his letter on October 3rd, 1574, Viglius wrote to Hopperus about his attempts, through Van der Mijle, to contact Van Deventer in Cologne—at that time Van der Mijle and his wife lived there as well.

Whoever passed on Viglius' messages must have known how to contact Van Deventer in Cologne. That was not common knowledge, for after Van Deventer's death in April or May 1575 the Cologne city council claimed to have been ignorant of the fact that the mapmaker had resided in that city.[vii] The Cologne council protocols do state where Van Deventer died, and therefore perhaps also where he lived. One document mentions a house named Königstein while a second document refers to the house of Andreas von Bercheme (Van 't Hoff 1953, 41-42). More detailed research in the Cologne archives might identify these house(s) and their owner(s).[viii] But for the time being it is impossible to establish who else besides Philip II, Hopperus, Viglius, Van Deventer and perhaps also Van der Mijle knew of the existence of the town maps and the atlas.[ix]

Limiting ourselves to these four (or five) individuals, it is evident that even in its incomplete state the fate of the atlas caused quite a stir in the highest circles of the Habsburg Low Countries. Hopperus, as spokesperson of the Spanish king, kept a low profile. The king himself mostly expressed his impatience regarding the atlas. He may still have been in the dark as to its appearance, for he had not visited the Low Countries since 1559, and it does not seem Philip II met Jacob van Deventer on that occasion. Hopperus' letters offer no clues as to the reasons for the king's eagerness to receive the atlas. No military or administrative arguments are mentioned, and there are no references to specific qualities of the maps or the mapmaker's expertise. The long and short of it was that Philip II just wanted to get his hands on the atlas as soon as possible. His only point of concern was its safe transportation to Madrid.[x] According to Viglius' letters, Van Deventer himself was mainly preoccupied with "practical" matters. In his messages to Viglius he complained about overdue payments and the slow progress of his work, which he ascribed to his own advanced age.[xi]

Of the four men who wrote about the atlas, only Viglius explicitly mentions the contents and significance of the work and its associated maps, although it is unknown whether he based his statements on his own observations or merely paraphrased or modified what Van Deventer himself had told him. A letter by Viglius to Hopperus dated February 7th, 1574, informs us that Van Deventer's work comprised not just one, but three volumes (*opus suum in tria divisum volumina*) (Van 't Hoff 1953, 41). In two other letters, Viglius states that Van Deventer was still 'illuminating' the atlas and/or the maps,[xii] which may refer to the drawings of coats of arms and frames on the maps. In yet another letter, this one dated November 16th, 1573, Viglius wrote that Van Deventer's 'description' [i.e. maps] would provide more information on towns that were 'occupied by enemy troops or besieged by ours' (Van 't Hoff 1953, 40). On July 12th, 1575, shortly after the mapmaker's death, Viglius informed Hopperus that 'in any case it would be [fitting] for this work not to fall into strangers' hands,' and furthermore that he considered it 'a work most certainly worthy of being preserved as well as being shown to and used by His Majesty [Philip II], as has long been his desire' (Van 't Hoff 1953, 45).

Posthumous Shenanigans

Most of the contemporary textual information on the town atlas is contained in documents drafted after Jacob van Deventer's death in Cologne in late April or early May 1575. Shortly after the news of his passing had spread, several parties came forward to assert a claim to his estate, including the unfinished atlas. Van Deventer's life partner Barbara Smets, who had remained in Mechelen, as well as a series of real or alleged descendants in Dordrecht and Kampen claimed Van Deventer's movable property in Cologne. Viglius was the first to respond, mainly due to his eagerness to secure the town atlas. As early as May 13th, 1575 the Cologne city administration informed Viglius that Van Deventer's estate 'included three map books of Belgium' (*undter anderen drei Bucher Mapparum Belgii*) which carried the coats of arms of the Spanish king (Van 't Hoff 1953, 42).[xiii] After a brief exchange of letters, on October 15th, 1575, Viglius paid the Cologne messenger who brought him master Jacob van Deventer's 'map books' (*charte boeken*) (Waterbolk and Bos 1975, 24).

Four days later, Viglius wrote to Hopperus that he was in possession of 'master Jacob van Deventer's three geographical books' (*libros geographicos tres m(agistri) Jacobi Daventriensis*), describing them as 'a work certainly worthy of His Royal Majesty, in which His Majesty will find all the towns and cities of this Netherlandish province [i.e. the Spanish Netherlands] drawn gracefully and in expert fashion' (Van 't Hoff 1953, 46). In other words, Viglius still recommended the town atlas as a product worthy of the monarch, and he praised the deceased mapmaker's style. But perhaps he had not yet had an opportunity to study the volumes in detail, for a few weeks later his judgement was less favourable. On November 7th, 1575, Viglius informed Hopperus that he had sent a 'catalogue of the towns' (*catalogum oppidorum*) surveyed by Van Deventer along with his letter (Pinchart 1860-1881, II, 66; Van 't Hoff 1953, 47—this list, if it still exists, has never been found). Next, Viglius stated that Van Deventer's early death had prevented him from depicting all churches, town gates, and public buildings, as had been agreed,

and noted the absence of a map of the important Flemish city of Ypres.[xiv] Furthermore, Viglius believed that the 'places' [i.e. perhaps the maps] deserved a better-quality embellishment, 'so that [it] would be more pleasing to His Royal Majesty's eye'. He even suggested that the king might make additional funds available to remedy the shortcomings. The remainder of the letter deals with the transfer of the atlas to Spain. Expressing his concern as to the safety of the roads, Viglius proposed to postpone the transport, perhaps even until the king himself would visit the Low Countries.

Then, suddenly and somewhat surprisingly, Viglius changed course. Despite being perfectly aware of Philip II's keen anticipation of the town atlas, he kept the volumes to himself. Three further letters to Hopperus in November and December 1575 imply that Viglius tried to avoid sending the atlas to Spain, or at least to delay doing so. However, fate intervened in his favour. Viglius never received a reply to his last letters, perhaps because Hopperus had fallen ill and died a year later, on December 11th, 1576. In the end, Viglius never sent the atlas to Spain. But he did not long enjoy its presence either, for shortly afterwards, on May 8th, 1577, Viglius himself died in Brussels. The death of the two men obviously terminated their correspondence, and with it our chief source on the social life of Jacob van Deventer's atlas.

History Repeats Itself

After Viglius' death someone else stepped in to take possession of the town atlas. On the 20th of June 1577, Don Juan, governor-general and at the time the main representative of the Spanish king (and as such the highest authority in the Spanish Low Countries), wrote to his half-brother Philip II that he had instructed his secretary Bertry to inspect and seal Viglius' papers to prevent them from getting lost or falling into the wrong hands. Among the items the secretary encountered was Jacob van Deventer's three-part town atlas: *trois livres èsquelz sont pourt[r]aictes au naturel toutes les villes et plus principales bourgades des Pays de par deçà par feu maistre Jacques de Deventer, géographe de Vostre Majesté.*[xv] Bertry had the atlas sent to Don Juan (Gachard 1848-1936, V, 419).

Meanwhile, Philip II reiterated that he wished these volumes to be sent to him. But Don Juan, too, hesitated. In another letter, dated October 31st, 1577, he presented excuses for not immediately providing the atlas to the king stating the volumes were large, and the roads between the Low Countries and Spain were far from safe. Don Juan proposed to keep the atlas until a better opportunity for sending them to Madrid would arrive (Van 't Hoff 1953, 49). Eleven months later, on October 1st, 1578, Don Juan too died under mysterious circumstances in an army camp at Bouge near Namur. Whether Van Deventer's three volumes were still in his possession at that time, had been deposited at some location, passed on to another person, or sent to Spain, remains a mystery.

Don Juan's letter to Philip II on the 31st of October 1577 is the last direct clue to the fate of the town atlas in the sixteenth century. There is one more indirect clue, however. Canon Georg Braun in Cologne must have caught wind of the existence of the town atlas, for he mentions the three-part work in his textual description of the town of Deventer, printed in 1581 to accompany the third volume of

the famous *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. This first printed town atlas in the world was published in Cologne from 1572 onwards by Braun himself (see Skelton 1965; Füssel 2008), together with engraver Frans Hogenberg who hailed from Mechelen and possibly knew Van Deventer from before. Braun refers to Van Deventer's work as a three-part publication offering 'a meticulously surveyed portrait of all towns and cities in the Low Countries'. He praised Van Deventer as a 'widely known cosmographer and geographer' and spoke in glowing terms about the maps, which besides having been surveyed with great accuracy (*accuratissime delineatas*) had also been made carefully and in great detail (*elaborandis perficiendisque*) (Van 't Hoff 1953, 49-50).

Figure 5
Loose map of the town of Lier, which was also included in volume III of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Historic Cities Research project, courtesy of Ozgur Tufekci).

Georg Braun was clearly well-informed and probably had seen the atlas with his own eyes during Jacob van Deventer's stay in the Rhine city. However, by 1581 the atlas had long since left Cologne, and Braun's testimony is therefore *post factum*. Moreover, Braun's lavish praise of Van Deventer's work may not have been completely free of self-interest. Several historians have suggested that Van Deventer's town maps were the source of inspiration for some of the maps in Volumes III and IV of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (figure 5; this hypothesis was first put forward in Ruelens 1887, 4). Whether the numerous buyers of this work actually took notice of Braun's description of the town of Deventer is doubtful. Even less plausible is the supposition that they recognized Van Deventer's hand in the engraved town maps of the *Civitates,* for these had been extensively standardized and none of them mentions Van Deventer. As we saw earlier, the social life of Jacob van Deventer's original, hand-drawn town maps was limited to a small coterie of high-ranking insiders.

The Social Death of Van Deventer's Atlas

After 1577-1581 the trail of Jacob van Deventer's town atlas and his town maps grows completely cold. It would not be until the 1840s that two of the three atlas volumes were "rediscovered" by Belgian archivist Louis-Prosper Gachard in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid. Gachard was in Spain for research from July 1843 to December 1844 and from September to December 1846 (Van Durme 1961, XLI).[xvi] When and to whom Gachard reported his discovery of the town atlas is unknown. His first public announcement, in a hefty tome recounting his explorations in the libraries of Madrid and the Escorial, appears to date from 1875 and reveals that Gachard did not fully realize the exact nature of what he had found. In the section discussing the Biblioteca Nacional de España he lists two volumes with shelf marks CC 19 and CC 20, titled *Planos ó plantas de las ciudades*

de Flándes mandados levantar por el Emperador (Gachard 1875, 421-422). With *el Emperador,* Gachard refers to Habsburg emperor Charles V, having identified—incorrectly—the coat of arms on the covers as belonging to that ruler. He may also have been misled by a jotted note at the top of the atlas map of Vlissingen: *Estas plantas le izo dibujar Carlos V Emperador en Flandres 1545* ('Emperor Charles V commissioned him to draw these maps in the Low Countries 1545'). This note is not by Jacob van Deventer or another sixteenth-century author but was added later by a Spanish speaker.

Both atlas volumes contain additions in Spanish on the first pages: an unknown Spanish librarian or archivist used thick black ink to provide Volumes II and III with an alphabetic index of the names of the surveyed towns (figure 6). These lists were certainly not added by Jacob van Deventer himself; the mapmaker knew no Spanish, and the handwriting is rather seventeenth or eighteenth-century. The index in Volume II contains seventy names, each followed by the number of the corresponding map. The same number, in the same black ink, appears on the maps themselves, often at the top. Below the index the unidentified scholar has added his initials, which with some difficulty can be read as PF. "PF" may have been a Spanish secretary, librarian, or archivist responsible for the collection. For now, all that is known for certain is that the atlas—whether all three volumes or only the last two—at some point in the seventeenth or eighteenth century ended up in Madrid, where they were studied and indexed by at least one person. Identification of this person could give us some insight into the fate of the two atlas volumes after their trail was lost in the final quarter of the sixteenth century.

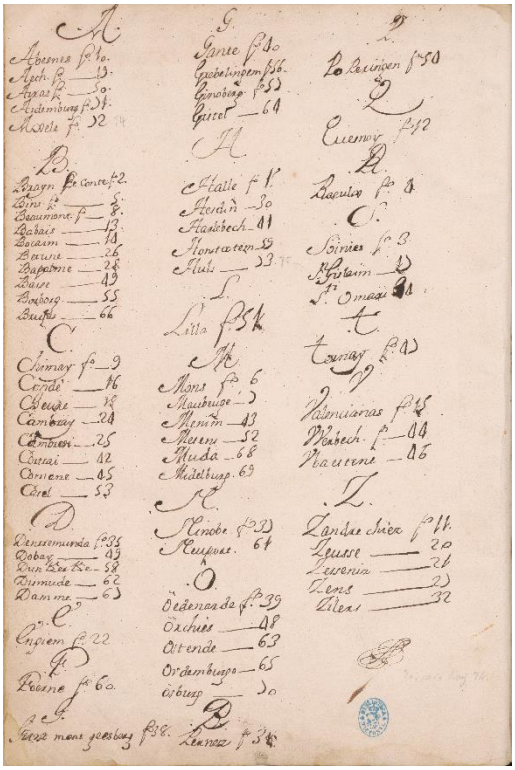


Figure 6
Alphabetic index of the names of the mapped towns, by an unknown Spanish librarian or archivist and added to volume II of Jacob van Deventer's town atlas (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Res. 207).

Unfortunately, the anonymous scholar was not very meticulous, and a series of misreadings and misspellings show that he was also unfamiliar with the towns in the Low Countries. For instance, the letters V and B were at times incorrectly used, as in *Abesnes*, *Babaïs* or *Dobay* (for Avesnes, Bavay and Douai). In a more serious error, the author indexed the tiny town of Sint-Anna-ter-Muiden (*Muda*) but not the much larger and more important port of Sluis. He also spelt the names of several towns with Z instead of L: *Zandrechiez*, *Zeusse*, *Zesseniz*, *Zens* en *Zilers* (instead of the correct spellings Landrecies, Leuze, Lessines, Lens and

Lillers). Interestingly, *Lilla* (Lille) is correctly indexed under the letter L; perhaps our anonymous writer was familiar with that city. There are also many mistakes in the numbering of the maps, even though our mystery author had added those numbers himself.[xvii] Nonetheless, adding an index and numbering the maps suggests that at least one person at some point felt the need to be able to find individual maps in the atlas. After all, Jacob van Deventer had arranged his maps neither alphabetically nor based on the towns' significance but by region, following an imaginary route (figure 7). A seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Spaniard may well have had difficulties grasping those routes. However, the addition of an index does not signify that the atlas was consulted on a regular basis. Both the maps and the bindings show few traces of use.


Dokkum
Appingedam
Harlingen
Franeker
Leeuwarden
Groningen
Groningen
Bolsward
Sneek
Friesland
Workum
IJlst
Hindeloopen
Stavoren
Sloten
Drenthe
Kuinre
Steenwijk
Medemblik
Enkhuizen
Vollenhove
Coevorden
Alkmaar
Grootebroek
Genemuiden
Hardenberg
Hoorn
Hasselt
Kampen
Lingen
Purmerend
Edam
Zuiderzee
Zwolle
Beverwijk
Monnickendam
Hattem
Lingen
Elburg
Ootmarsum
Oversticht
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Muiden
Naarden
Harderwijk
Almelo
Oldenzaal
IJssel
Delden
Weesp
Deventer
Goor
Enschede
Leiden
Holland
Sticht Utrecht
Amersfoort
Gelre
Lochem
Den Haag
Woerden
Utrecht
Zutphen
Groenlo
Oudewater
IJsselstein
Doesburg
Delft
Gouda
Montfoort
Vianen
Wijk bij Duurstede
Rhenen
Arnhem
Doetinchem
Bredevoort
Schoonhoven
Culemborg
Wageningen
Vlaardingen
Schiedam
Nieuwpoort
Buren
Brielle
Rotterdam
Leerdam
Asperen
's-Heerenberg
Noordzee
Geervliet
Gorinchem
Tiel
Megen
Goedereede
Heukelum
Nijmegen
Dordrecht
Woudrichem
Zaltbommel
Brouwershaven
Heusden
Zeeland
s-Hertogenbosch
Zierikzee
Geertruidenberg
Zevenbergen
Westkapelle
Veere
Sint-Maartensdijk
Goes
Tholen
Helmond
Geldern
Middelburg
Arnemuiden
Reimerswaal
Bergen op Zoom
Maas
Straelen
Vlissingen
Eindhoven
Venlo
Wachtendonk
Sint-Anna-ter-Muiden
Oostburg
Brabant
Sluis
Axel
Hulst
Weert
Oostende
Damme
Brugge
Aardenburg
Middelburg
Schelde
Roermond
Nieuwpoort
Oudenburg
Lier
Herentals
Montfort
Veurne
Gistel
Echt
Dunkerque
Diksmuide
Mechelen
Erkelenz
Gravelines
Vlaanderen
Gent
Dendermonde
Zichem
Bergues
IJzer
Leie
Vilvoorde
Aarschot
Hondschoote
Aalst
Leuven
Bourbourg
Poperinge
Schelde
Zenne
Zoutleeuw
Haelbeke
Ninove
Tienen
Valkenburg
Herzogenrath
Aa
Menen
Oudenaarde
Dijle
Brussel
Landen van Overmaas
Cassel
Wervik
Kortrijk
Dender
Saint-Omer
Mesen
Halluin
Geraardsbergen
Landen
Warneton
Comines
Lessines
Enghien
Halle
Wavre
Limbourg
Therouanne
Bailleul
Maas
Airé-sur-la-Lys
Armentières
Lys
Lille
Ath
Senne
Herve
Limbourg
Tournai
Braine-le-Comte
Vesdre
Leuze
Tournaisis
Chièvres
Soignies
Lillers
Béthune
La Bassée
Gembloux
Mons
Le Roeulx
Pernes
Artois
Lens
Scarpe
Condé-sur-l'Escaut
Orchies
Saint-Ghislain
Sambre
Namur
Hesdin
Escaut
Binche
Vieil-Hesdin
Douai
Valenciennes
Hainaut
Saint-Pol-sur-Ternoise
Ourthe
Arras
Bouchain
Bavay
Maubeuge
Bouvignes
Dinant
Le Quesnoy
Beaumont
Marche-en-Famenne
Cambrai
Avesnes-sur-Helpe
Landrecies
Cambrésis
Mariembourg
Bapaume
Le Cateau-Cambrésis
Chimay
Bastogne
Bitburg
Meuse
Luxembourg
Moezel
Sauer
Echternach
Chiny
Arlon
Carignan
Luxemburg
Montmédy
Damvillers
Thionville
Mosel

Figure 7
Map presenting the arrangement of the maps in Jacob van Deventer's town atlas (map by Yvonne van Mil, see Rutte and Vannieuwenhuyze 2018, 25).

Does this mean that the period between 1577 and the 1840s indeed marks the atlas' "social death"? It certainly looks that way, for all our searches for evidence of use or possible users during that lengthy interval have been fruitless. There is virtually no information on the estate of Don Juan. Apparently, no inventory was made, and certainly none has been discovered so far. If ownership of the atlas passed to Don Juan's successor, governor-general Alessandro Farnese, there is the possibility that the latter took the atlas with him to Italy. Alessandro Farnese was the son of Margaret of Parma and Ottavio Farnese and, following the death of his father in 1586, became Duke of Parma and Piacenza. Unfortunately, the fate of Alessandro Farnese's archives and library was equally complicated. Explorations in the Archivio di Stato di Parma and in Naples failed to produce a single clue.[xviii]

When exactly Van Deventer's atlas arrived at the Biblioteca Nacional de España is yet another mystery. Again, a double search on location as well as consultations with local librarians were unsuccessful. Today, both volumes are part of the manuscript collection with shelf marks Res. 207 and Res. 200, respectively. The inside of both bindings shows several older shelf marks, pointing to the volumes' inclusion and classification in a number of earlier collections, either (precursors to) the Biblioteca Nacional or another institution. Shelf marks CC 19 and CC 20 were in use when Louis-Prosper Gachard visited the library in the nineteenth century. They are printed on small paper labels glued onto the back and on the inside of the bindings but are also written directly in black ink in the same places. Other, even older shelf marks, respectively L 28 and L 27, have been crossed out in the same black ink.[xix] More marks are visible to the left, in pencil and again crossed out: V[a]-22-7 and II-8-s in Volume II and V[a]-22-4 in Volume III. The manuscript catalogue contains no information as to the meaning of these shelf marks or what they refer to (Aparicio and Viana s.d.). Their date and the inventory or collection they were associated with remain a mystery.

If the atlas at some point did reach Spanish king Philip II or one of his descendants, as was originally intended, it would be logical to assume that it ended up in the Biblioteca Nacional de España through one of the royal collections. Unfortunately, this line of inquiry too led nowhere. There are no indications that the volumes were ever part of the collections of the Escorial, the royal archives in Simancas, or the library of the present Palacio Real in Madrid.[xx] Nor do the atlas volumes appear in the 1637 inventory of the royal book collection of the Alcazar's Torre Alta in Madrid.[xxi] This is the collection which later was to become the 'old collection' (*fondo antique*) of the *Biblioteca Publica de Palacio*, the Spanish royal library, officially established in 1712 by King Philip V. According to a Spanish exhibition catalogue, Van Deventer's two atlas volumes first entered the royal collection in the eighteenth century (*Reyes Bibliófilos* 1986, 92), but not a single source or argument is quoted in support of this assertion. The volumes may have been privately owned before or purchased at some point at an auction.

The Social Death of Jacob van Deventer's Loose Maps

Even less is known, if that is even possible, about the vicissitudes of Jacob van Deventer's loose town maps between the end of the sixteenth and the mid-nineteenth century. On November 23rd, 1575, Viglius wrote to Hopperus that he had discovered that 'some damsel in Mechelen, the wife or mistress of Van Deventer' possessed a series of 'master copies' of the maps (Van 't Hoff 1953, 47-48). This is undoubtedly a reference to Van Deventer's life partner Barbara Smets (Van Doorslaer 1928; Van der Jeught and De Win 2005). Viglius exerted himself to ensure 'that she would transfer them [i.e. the loose maps] to me, under promise of a reward', and expressed his hope that the Spanish king would have no objections. Despite some claims to the contrary (Van der Jeught and De Win 2006: 104), it seems that Viglius was unsuccessful and failed to acquire the town maps. If he had, the maps would have been included in either his own map collection or that of the Spanish king or another central administrative body.

Equally unknown is what Barbara Smets did with the maps. Did she sell them, give them to somebody else, or keep them? If she kept them, then upon her death the maps would have been part of her estate and as such be passed on to her heirs. Sadly, the inventory of Smets' estate, drawn up on November 18th, 1597, does not mention any movable property.[xxii]

A number of loose maps resurfaced in 1859. On the 8th and 9th of April 1859, the estates of the late François van Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdijk, and his namesake and relative, 'contre-amiral' François van Aerssen, Lord of Chatillon, were sold in a public auction by Martinus Nijhoff in The Hague. The catalogue for this auction contained the following lot:

> 'Fragments of old hand-drawn maps of parts of Zeeland and Flanders, equally N. and Z.-Holland and Friesland, plans of towns there, etc. etc. All drawn and coloured in the sixteenth century.'[xxiii]

The maps were rolled up or folded together, with the map of the town of Monnickendam serving as a wrapper. Opinions varied as to the significance of this lot. Laurens Philippe Charles van den Bergh, then State archivist of the Netherlands, considered them 'junk from 1690 or thereabouts', while according to antique dealer/publisher Frederik Muller, the maps had been 'dug out of some old mess in The Hague' (see respectively Van 't Hoff 1939-1940, 29 and Wieder 1915, 71).

This auction catalogue provides us with a clue for the period 1575-1859: the important Van Aerssen family, which included, among its members, the lawyer Cornelis van Aerssen. Having served as municipal secretary and pensionary of Brussels in the 1570s, Cornelis van Aerssen then turned against the Spanish administration and defected to William of Orange, whose dying words he recorded. In 1584 Van Aerssen became clerk of the States General. Was it Van Aerssen who succeeded in acquiring the loose town maps from Barbara Smets or her heirs, as Wopke Eekhoff (1866: 12) suspected, or were they acquired later, by another Van Aerssen, for instance the well-known seventeenth-century pensionary François van Aerssen? The riddle remains unsolved—another puzzle: the fate of the

other loose maps. For the maps of several towns have disappeared—or did they never exist?

The issue of the scattering of the loose maps following the 1859 auction will be mentioned only briefly here, as many earlier publications have already addressed the topic (Muller 1866; Ruelens 1867; Wieder 1915, 68-72). Despite his disparaging remarks, Muller nonetheless bought the lot, and in his own words for 'a rather steep price' (Wieder, 1915, 69-70). In December 1865 he resold the maps with interest to Frisian archivist and map collector Wopke Eekhoff, who ten years later identified the maps as Jacob van Deventer's town maps (Eekhoff 1866, 225-228). While Muller unsuccessfully attempted to get the maps back, they made their way, through the agency of Eekhoff, to the various Dutch provincial archives and to the Brussels Royal Library, where they remain to the present day (Ruelens 1884, 21-22 and endnote 13).[xxiv]

The Social Rebirth of Van Deventer's City Maps

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, the social life of Jacob van Deventer's town maps gradually entered a new phase. Interestingly, the first stirrings could be felt as early as 1839, when Philipp Christiaan Molhuysen wrote an article on the mapmaker. This first step was followed successively by Louis-Prosper Gachard's discovery in Madrid, the auction of the loose maps in 1859, and Wopke Eekhoff's identification of the maps as the work of Jacob van Deventer. A fourth significant step forward came when Brussels librarian Charles Ruelens and Spanish conservator Genaro Aleuda connected the dots and realized the link between the town atlas in Madrid and the collection of loose maps. Since then, the two atlas volumes in the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional are also considered to be the work of Jacob van Deventer, and more specifically, as representing two of the three atlas volumes which in the mid-1570s were part of Van Deventer's estate in Cologne.

Thus, the foundations for a scientific study of Jacob van Deventer's town maps were laid. Within a century and a half, no fewer than four major editions saw the light of day. Charles Ruelens was the first to attempt a facsimile publication of some of the maps. Between 1884 and 1924 twenty-four *livraisons* appeared containing colour lithographs of about one hundred maps, mostly towns in the Southern Low Countries (figure 8; Ruelens 1884-1924). To each facsimile map was added a second map indicating the most important buildings, places, and landscape elements, and a text on the town's history. In the early twentieth century the need for reproductions of Van Deventer's town maps and their accessibility to scholars and other interested parties was felt in the Netherlands as well. In the period 1916-1923 publisher Martinus Nijhoff produced a facsimile consisting of colour lithographs of the maps of towns situated in Dutch territory as it was then (Fruin 1916-1923). Historian Robert Fruin wrote a general introduction, but texts on the individual towns or maps were not included in this publication.

Figure 8
Colour lithograph of Jacob van Deventer's map of the town of Ninove, included in the facsimile-edition published by Charles Ruelens (Ruelens 1884-1924, livraison 21).

Both facsimile publications saw intensive use, but they were not proper scientific instruments. Elements that were obscure or contradictory on the original maps had been "cleaned up" on the colour lithographs. Scientific study of Jacob van Deventer's work really took off after the Second World War. In 1953, librarian and map historian Bert van 't Hoff compiled all the data he was able to find and, on this basis, wrote a biography of Van Deventer. In this biography he also published a series of original textual sources which had a direct bearing on the town maps and a handful of other survey projects.

A growing interest in and utilization of the town maps in landscape historical, urban historical, and archaeological research in the late 1980s resulted in the foundation of the non-profit organization *Stichting tot bevordering van de uitgave van de plattegronden van Jacob van Deventer* ('Foundation for the promotion of publication of the maps of Jacob van Deventer'). It was the foundation's intention to bring out facsimile reproductions of all town maps, both the loose maps and the atlas maps, according to current scientific standards. The maps were no longer copied by hand but reproduced photographically, which in the words of Cornelis Koeman 'after 130 years finally put an end to the need to visit one of the national archives to study the true appearance of the maps as drawn by Jacob van Deventer' (Koeman 1992-2001, s.p.). Between 1992 and 2001, nine large portfolios appeared. These, in addition to the reproductions, also contained a general introduction and accompanying text for each individual town, mostly written by local specialists (*Stadsplattegronden* 1992-2001). Unfortunately, this publication project was terminated before its completion, leaving the "Belgian" town maps still unpublished. In 2013 this unsatisfactory situation gave rise to a plan to prepare a new edition, this time including all of Van Deventer town maps, and not in facsimile but in one comprehensive volume, thus approaching Philip II's original intention (Rutte and Vannieuwenhuyze 2018).

To date numerous historians, archaeologists, geographers, mapmakers, urbanists, art historians, landscape experts, students, folklore experts, and map aficionados have looked at or studied Jacob van Deventer's town maps. Reproductions of

the original maps (or of the colour lithographs) have been incorporated in numerous books and papers or placed on walls of exhibitions and museums (figure 9). Today, interest in the mapmaker and his work has grown and now extends even to the digital world. The maps can be inspected in minute detail through the online image repositories of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Brussels KBR, and the Nationaal Archief in The Hague, but a host of other websites also contain reproductions albeit of variable quality. All in all, the maps' social life has thus become vastly complex to the point where words fail to do it justice.

Figure 9
A facsimile reproduction of Jacob van Deventer's map of the town of Dendermonde hangs on the wall of the Mercator Museum in Sint-Niklaas, Belgium (photo by Gerald Delvaux, June 2022).

Conclusion

In the last decades, Jacob van Deventer's city and town maps have often been studied or used as a source of illustrations. At the same time, they have become very accessible. As a result, Van Deventer's work continues to reach new audiences and the maps' "social life" has grown exponentially. Or rather, the social life of the maps' printed and—especially—digital reproductions. Paradoxically, Van Deventer's original maps are once again becoming more isolated. The originals are taken out of their present seclusion only in exceptional cases and with the express permission of the responsible curator or librarian. In that respect, the maps' current situation is rather similar to how it was in the past. For centuries, Van Deventer's town maps were wrapped in silence. Hardly anything was written—or perhaps spoken—about them, unless a whole series of documents has somehow escaped our attention or no longer exists. Until evidence to the contrary emerges, it seems that Van Deventer's town maps were rarely used. This begs the question as to whether, and to what extent, the maps ever had a social life at all, and if (and how) they ever made an impact and affected people's behaviour.

It is clear that both sets of Jacob van Deventer's maps—his atlas and his loose maps—followed separate trajectories. The atlas was commissioned by king Philip II and was found in Jacob van Deventer's legacy when he died in Cologne in spring 1575. In the years before his death, the mapmaker was finishing the maps, as the correspondence between Viglius and Hopperus makes clear. Afterwards, the three volumes were subsequently acquired by Viglius and Don Juan. The trail is then lost until two of the three volumes were "rediscovered" in the mid-nineteenth century. The loose maps first resided with Van Deventer's life partner Barbara Smets before falling into the hands of an aristocratic family in the Netherlands. Perhaps a thorough search in this family's archives will one day produce another clue. Or maybe not, for it looks as if the maps were never handled during that period (there would have

been little reason to do so). Their impact was therefore very limited.

For centuries, nobody besides Viglius and Georg Braun spoke about or paid attention to the contents, style, qualities, and accuracy of Jacob van Deventer's maps. Only in these two men's statements is any connection made, however succinctly, between on the one hand "the maps' linguistic and imaginative spaces" and, on the other, their "material and cultural utility and value," to quote again Martin Brückner (2017, 3). However, even there we must remain cautious, for both gentlemen acted—and wrote—with their own interests in mind. Viglius tried to keep the maps to himself, while Braun possibly succeeded in acquiring a few maps for his own *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. Greed and self-interest also seem to have been the main factors motivating Philip II and his half-brother Don Juan, who both speak only of the possession and transportation of the maps. Certainly, Van Deventer's town maps apparently failed to become vehicles for "binding people to each other through the territory they mutually inhabit," as Denis Wood put it (2010, 2).

The silence, the glaring mistakes, and even the disdain of past centuries are equally telling. Nobody seemed to miss the town maps. Socially speaking, Jacob van Deventer's maps were dead and buried. The anonymous Spanish librarian or archivist, the only person after Viglius and Braun to at least write something about the contents of the maps, committed one mistake after another, and his index appears never to have been used. Louis-Prosper Gachard did not recognize what he had found and attached little or no value to the atlas, as is evident from his curt and superficial description. Even experts such as Dutch national archivist Van den Bergh and antique dealer Frederik Muller considered the maps to be rubbish.

Yet, we should not read too much into such statements. Possibly—probably, even—the town maps were the subject of conversations we are ignorant of and will never be able to reconstruct. It is equally possible that the social, political, cultural, economic contexts in which the maps once could or should have played a part had changed to such a considerable extent that they faded from view, both literally and figuratively. These reservations notwithstanding, it seems likely that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the social life of Jacob van Deventer's town maps changed drastically. Firstly, the maps became vastly more accessible. Not only were the original maps finally located, but in the 1920s and 1930s, at the latest, colour lithographs of most of the town maps became available and could be consulted in various public libraries and archives. Secondly, the maps' user profile changed. The high-ranking public administrators of the first phase and the Spanish librarian(s) and the aristocratic family of the second phase were replaced by a much broader group of librarians, archivists, curators, antiquarians, researchers, students, historians and map lovers in the Low Countries. For the first time, the maps and their contents, rather than their possession, really became relevant, and alive.

References

Ahlers, Willy. 2004. "Jacob van Deventer, nieuwe ideeën en nieuwe vragen." *Caert-Thresoor* 23 (3): 59-64.

Aparicio, Pilar Hernández and Lourdes Alonso Viana. S.d. *Catálogo de Manuscritos signaturas Vitr. y Res.* Madrid: Servicio de Manuscritos e Incunables.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. 1986. *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Board, Christopher. 2018. "The Communication Models in Cartography." In *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, edited by Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic, 29-43. London and New York: Routledge.

Bouza, Fernando. 2005. *El libro y el cetro. La Biblioteca de Felipe IV en la Torre Alta del Alcázar de Madrid*. Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura.

Brückner, Martin. 2017. *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860*. Williamsburg and Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and University of North Carolina Press.

Delano-Smith, Catherine. 2001a. "Maps and Map Literacy I: Different Users, Different Maps." In *Plantejaments i objectius d'una història universal de la cartografia. Approaches and challenges in a worldwide history of cartography*, edited by David Woodward, Catherine Delano Smith and Cordell D.K. Yee, 223-239. Barcelona:, Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya.

Delano-Smith, Catherine. 2001b. "Maps and Map Literacy II: Learning, Education, and Training." In *Plantejaments i objectius d'una història universal de la cartografia. Approaches and challenges in a worldwide history of cartography*, edited by David Woodward, Catherine Delano Smith and Cordell D.K. Yee, 241-262. Barcelona:, Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya.

De Klerk, A.P. 2002. "Waterstaat bij Van Deventer. Uitwateringssluizen en -duikers op de Zeeuwse stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer." *Tijdschrift voor Waterstaatsgeschiedenis* 11 (5): 1-5.

De Schepper, Hugo. 2014. *"Belgium dat is Nederlandt." Identiteiten en identiteitsbesef in de Lage Landen, 1200 - 1800. Epiloog: Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1815 - 1830*. Breda: Papieren Tijger.

De Smet, Antoine. 1988. "de Deventer." In *Nouvelle Biographie Nationale*, Vol. 1, 30-39. Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et de Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

Deys, Henk P. 1989. "De stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer. Resultaten van recent onderzoek te Madrid." *Caert-Thresoor* 8 (4): 81-95.

Dupont, Colin. 2019. *Cartographie et Pouvoir au XVIe siècle. L'atlas de Jacques de Deventer*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Edney, Matthew H. 2018. "Map History. Discourse and Process." In *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, edited by Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic, 68-79. London and New York: Routledge.

---. 2019. *Cartography. The Ideal and Its History*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Eekhoff, Wopke. 1866. "Jacobus van Deventer, vervaardiger van de oudste kaarten van de nederlandsche en belgische provinciën en steden." *De Navorscher* 16: 225-228.

Folmer, Nicolas. 1988. "Le plan de la ville de Luxembourg, levé vers 1560 par

Jacob van Deventer: un éminent travail de géomètre." *Hémecht* 40: 41-60.

Fruin, R., ed. 1916-1923. *Nederlandsche steden in de 16e eeuw: plattegronden van Jacob van Deventer: 111 teekeningen en 97 Cartons in facsimile uitgegeven*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Füssel, Stephan, ed. 2008. *Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg. Civitates Orbis Terrarum. Cities of the World. 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World. Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*. Cologne: Taschen.

Gachard, L.-P. 1848-1936. *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*. Tongeren: Imprimerie Michiels-Broeders, 6 vols.

---. 1875. *Les bibliothèques de Madrid et de l'Escurial. Notices et extraits des manuscrits qui concernent l'histoire de Belgique*. Brussels: F. Hayez.

Heere, Elger, Peter Van der Krogt, Ferjan Ormeling and Martijn Storms. 2010. "De functie van de stadsplattegronden van Van Deventer." *Historisch-Geografisch Tijdschrift* 28 (4): 140-145.

Heerema, H. and J.-M. Postma, eds. 2018. *Viglius van Aytta 1507-1577. Strateech yn in iuw fan tsjinstellingen. Strateeg in een eeuw vol tegenstrijdigheden*. S.l.: Utjouwerij Afûk, Tresoar and Frysk Histoarysk en Letterkundich Sintrum.

Hodder, Ian. 2012. *Entangled. An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Koeman, Cornelis. 1992-2001. "Voorwoord." In *De stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer*, s.p. Weesp and Alphen aan den Rijn: Robas, Canaletto and Stichting tot Bevordering van de Uitgave van de Plattegronden van Jacob van Deventer.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1974. *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Éditions Anthropos.

Mertens, Jacques. 2007. "Het plan van "Middelburg in Vlaanderen" gemaakt door Jacob van Deventer (1510/15-1575)." *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge* 145: 287-291.

Meurer, Peter H. 1985. "Jacob van Deventer (ca. 1500-1575) und die Frühzeit der zeichnerischen Triangulation." *Nachrichten aus dem karten- und Vermessungswesen* 96: 15-23.

Molders, Kees. 2020. "De stippen van Jacob van Deventer." *Caert-Thresoor* 39 (2): 19-23.

Molhuysen, P.C. 1839. "Over Jacobus van Deventer of Daventriensis." *Overijsselsche Almanak voor Oudheid en Letteren* 5: 55-61.

Muller, Frederik. 1866. "De oorspronkelijke planteekeningen van 152 noord- en zuidnederlandsche steden, omstreeks 1560 door Jacob van Deventer geteekend, teruggevonden." *De Navorscher* 16: 193-196, 225 and 289.

Pinchart, Alexandre. 1860-1881. *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres. Documents inédits publiés et annotés*. Gand: Hebbelynck, 3 vol.

Postma, F. 1983. *Viglius van Aytta als humanist en diplomaat (1507-1549)*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

---. 2000. *Viglius van Aytta. De jaren met Granvelle 1549-1564*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.

Reyes Bibliófilos. 1986. *Los Reyes Bibliófilos. Junio-Septiembre 1986 Biblioteca Nacional Madrid*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Ruelens, Charles. 1867. "Plans topographiques des villes des Pays-Bas

au XVIe siècle." *Le Bibliophile belge* 2: 280-290.

---. 1884. *Atlas topographique des villes des Pays-Bas au XVIe siècle par Jacques de Deventer*. Brussels: Institut National de Géographie.

---, ed. 1884-1924. *Atlas des Villes de la Belgique au XVIe siècle. Cent plans du géographe Jacques de Deventer exécutés sur les ordres de Charles-Quint et de Philippe II reproduits en fac-similé chromographique*. Brussels: Institut National de Géographie, Soc. An. M. Weissenbruch and Librairie Falk Fils, 24 livraisons.

---. 1887. "Jacques de Deventer." In *Atlas des Villes de la Belgique au XVIe siècle. Cent plans du géographe Jacques de Deventer exécutés sur les ordres de Charles-Quint et de Philippe II reproduits en fac-similé chromographique*, edited by Charles Ruelens, livr. 7. Brussels: Institut National de Géographie, Soc. An. M. Weissenbruch and Librairie Falk Fils.

Rutte, Reinout and Bram Vannieuwenhuyze. 2018. *Stedenatlas Jacob van Deventer. 226 Stadsplattegronden uit 1545-1575 - Schakels tussen heden en verleden*. Bussum and Tielt: Uitgeverij Thoth and Uitgeverij Lannoo.

Skelton, R.A., ed. 1965. *Braun & Hogenberg Civitates Orbis Terrarum 1572-1618*. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd.

Sluys, Kees. 2018. *Viglius van Aytta. Friese Europeaan avant la lettre*. Bussum: Uitgeverij Thoth.

Stadsplattegronden 1992-2001. *De stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer*. Landsmeer, Weesp and Alphen aan den Rijn: Robas, Canaletto and Stichting tot Bevordering van de Uitgave van de Plattegronden van Jacob van Deventer, 9 portfolios.

Van der Heijden, H.A.M. 1996. "De minuutkaart van Middelburg in Vlaanderen van Jacob van Deventer teruggevonden." *Caert-Thresoor* 15 (4): 107-108.

Van Der Jeught, François and Paul De Win. 2005. "De relatie tussen de landkaartenmaakster Barbara Smets (ca 1513-ca 1597) en geograaf Jacob van Deventer (ca 1505-1575)." *Handelingen Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* 109 (1): 245-255.

---. 2006. "Ongepubliceerd materiaal uit het Mechelse Stadsarchief betreffende Jacob van Deventer." *Caert-Thresoor* 25 (4): 104-107.

Van der Krogt, Peter. 1992-2001. "Algemene beschrijving van de kaarten." In *De stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer*, s.p. Weesp and Alphen aan den Rijn: Robas, Canaletto and Stichting tot Bevordering van de Uitgave van de Plattegronden van Jacob van Deventer.

Vande Winkel, Georges, ed. 2008. "Gezicht op de steden Aalst, Ninove en Geraardsbergen. Verklarende teksten bij de uitgave van de originele stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer (circa 1565) (Brussels KB; Madrid BN)." *Het Land van Aalst* 40 (4): 223-315.

Van Doorslaer, G. 1928. "Barbara Smets, weduwe Jacop van Deventer." *Mechlinia* 6 (2): 164-165.

Van Durme, Maurice. 1961. "Rapport sur les documents relatifs à l'histoire des anciens Pays-Bas et du comté de Bourgogne, conservés à Simancas." *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire* 127: XXXIX-LXXXIV.

Vannieuwenhuyze, Bram. 2011. "De stadsplannen van Jacob van Deventer:

staatsgeheim, koffietafelboek, handelswaar of beleidsinstrument?" *Historisch-Geografisch Tijdschrift* 29 (3): 130-135.

---. 2019. "Some new ideas about the genesis of Jacob van Deventer's town plans." *Caert-Thresoor* 38 (2): 4-13.

---. 2021. "Dronk Jacob van Deventer wijn in Kortrijk? De whereabouts van een zestiende-eeuwse stadscartograaf." *Revue belge de Phililogie et d'Histoire* 99 (3-4): 845-898.

---. 2022. "Jacob van Deventers stadsplattegronden: militaire kaarten, of toch niet?" In *Het grote kaartenboek. Vijf eeuwen cartografie*, edited by Ron Guleij, 232-237. Zwolle and The Hague: WBOOKS and Nationaal Archief.

Van 't Hoff, B. 1939-1940. "De Nederlandsche gewestelijke kaarten en stedeplattegronden vervaardigd door Jacobus van Deventer." *Nederlandsch Archievenblad* 47: 19-32.

Van 't Hoff, B. 1953. *Jacob van Deventer, keizerlijk-koninklijk geograaf*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Visser, J.C. 1965. "De waarde van de stedenatlas van Jacob van Deventer voor de topografie van de laat-middeleeuwse stad." In *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Stadtgeschichte. Festschrift für Hektor Ammann*, edited by Hermann Aubin, Edith Ennen, Hermann Kellenbenz, Theodor Mayer, Friedrich Metz, Max Miller and Josef Schmithüsen, 116-123. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH.

---. 1984. "De stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer." In *Stad in kaart. Voordrachten gehouden op het congres 'De historische stadsplattegrond - spiegel van wens en werkelijkheid' Groningen 18-19 november 1983*, 29-38. Alphen aan den Rijn: Uitgeverij Canaletto.

Vollenbronck, Laurens. 2009. "De stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer. Geen militaire maar een territoriaal-politieke functie." *Historisch-Geografisch Tijdschrift* 27: 73-83.

Von Stintzing, Roderich. 1881. "Hopper, Joachim." In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 13, 117-120. Leipzig: Verlag von Dunder & Hublot.

Waterbolk, E.H. 1980. *Rond Viglius van Aytta. Enige brieven van zijn hand en enige opstellen*. Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy.

Waterbolk, E.H. and Th.S.H. Bos. 1975. *Vigliana. Bronnen, brieven en rekeningen betreffende Viglius van Aytta*. Groningen: Frysk Ynstitút and Historisch Instituut R.U. Grins.

Wieder, F.C. 1915. *Nederlandsche historisch-geographische documenten in Spanje. Uitkomsten van twee maanden onderzoek*. Leiden: Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap te Amsterdam and Boekhandel en drukkerij voorheen E.J. Brill.

Wood, Denis. 2010. *Rethinking the Power of Maps*. New York and London: The Guilford Press.

[i] I want to express my gratitude to Lauren Beck, Gerald Delvaux, Colin Dupont, Gerre van der Kleij, Peter van der Krogt, Yvonne van Mil, Samantha Ruckenstein, Reinout Rutte and Jolien Van den Bossche for their help and advice.

[ii] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Res. 200 and Res. 207.

[iii] Excerpts from the letters between Viglius and Hopperus which refer to Van Deventer have been published in Van 't Hoff 1953, 37-48. Nealy all these documents are also accessible online

through the database *Maps in Context*, see https://mapsincontext.nl/.

[iv] The original Latin tekst reads: *Si Magister Jacobus Deventrius absolvit suum opus, acceptissimum erit suae Majestati ut quam primum mittatur* […] (see Van 't Hoff 1953, 37).

[v] Viglius was chairman of the Council of State, and between 1573 and 1575 also of the Privy Council. In addition he was provost of the important St. Bavo abbey in Ghent.

[vi] Little is known about the life of Cornelis van der Mijle, and about his contacts with Van Deventer in particular.

[vii] A letter written by the Cologne city council to Viglius on May 13th, 1575, contains the following phrase: *Euer Erwurden sollenn wir guitter Wolmeinung onvermeldt nit laszen, welchermasz einer mit Nhamenn Jacobus de Deventria sic hein Zeitlanck inn dieser des Heilligen Reichs Statt Colnn, gleichwoll unsz ganz unbekandt, verhalten, welcher kurzer Dag inn Gott verscheidenn* […]; (see Van 't Hoff 1953, 42). Earlier, Viglius had written to Hopperus that he had been informed by 'a friend' that Van Deventer was hiding in Cologne: *tandem apud Coloniam eum latere per amicum intellexi* (see Van 't Hoff 1953, 40).

[viii] Relevant documents may also have been lost in the 2009 collapse of the building that housed the Cologne city archives.

[ix] Two exceptions will be discussed below: Van Deventer's life partner Barbara Smets, and canon Georg Braun in Cologne.

[x] E.g. the phrase *quo pacto quam securissime huc apportari possit* in a letter by Hopperus to Viglius dated January 22nd, 1572 (see Van 't Hoff 1953, 39).

[xi] See particularly a letter by Viglius to Hopperus dated 28 August 1570: *M(agister) Jacobus Daventrius opus suum nondum absolvit, et duae res memoram aliquam ei injiciunt, et aetas ejus provecta (cum omnia sua manu delineari cupiat) et sera stipendii solutio, pro curiae nostrae consuetudine* (see Van 't Hoff 1953, 37).

[xii] Particularly Viglius' letters from December 8th, 1570 and December 8th, 1571 (see Van 't Hoff 1953, 37).

[xiii] The term *Belgii* is a reference to the Low Countries; see in this regard De Schepper 2014.

[xiv] In Volume II of Van Deventer's town atlas a double sheet between the maps of Poperinge and Bourbourg has been left empty. This probably marks the intended position of the map of Ypres (see Rutte and Vannieuwenhuyze 2018, 204).

[xv] The fact that Bertry ascribes the atlas to Jacob van Deventer may be an indication that Van Deventer's name was mentioned in the now lost first volume; it is not mentioned in the two extant volumes.

[xvi] Gachard ordered c. 3.500 copies and himself produced c. 2.300 notes, which today are found in the Belgian National Archives in Brussels.

[xvii] Bouchain was assigned number 18 instead of 14, while Lille was erroneously numbered 51 rather than 52 so that the reference to Armentières (the actual number 51) was omitted altogether. Number 49 appears twice (*Dobay* and *Basse*), with the same mistake being repeated on the respective atlas maps of Douai and La Bassée. From La Bassée onwards hardly any number is correct. The numbers 33 and 36, Aire-sur-la-Lys and Aalst respectively, are not in the index, while number 23 is also missing in the atlas itself. Arras and Poperinge both received number 50 instead of the correct numbers 29 and 56, respectively. The atlas map of Arras carries the number 28, but so does the map of Bapaume, just before it.

[xviii] See http://www.archiviodistatoparma.beniculturali.it/ and https://www.archiviodistatonapoli.it/.

[xix] Intriguingly, Volume III (L 27) was assigned a lower shelf mark than Volume II (L 28). This could indicate that Volume III was assumed to be the first of a set of only two volumes. In other words: by the time the shelf marks L 27 and L 28 were in use, Volume I had already disappeared. If this was indeed the case, it stands to reason that this mysterious disappearance occurred before the Biblioteca Nacional de España moved to its current premises in the nineteenth century.

[xx] Personal communications, on location, by the responsible librarians and archivists. With many thanks to Jose Luis del Valle Merino (Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial), Isabel Aguirre Landa (Archivo General de Simancas) and Valentin Moreno Gallego (Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid) for their information.

[xxi] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Espana, Mss. 18791; see also the publication of this inventory in Bouza 2005; and also *Reyes Bibliófilos* 1986, 133-135.

[xxii] Mechelen Municipal Archives, notary section, No. 1213: notary deeds Charles van Meere, died d.d. 18 November 1597.

[xxiii] Copy in the Van Aerssen collection in The Hague, National Archives, 1.10.01, No. 261; see also Wieder 1915, 69. The Dutch lot description was followed by a much shorter translation in French: *Collection importante de 152 cartes et fragmens* [sic] *de cartes, dess[inés] et col[olorés] dans le 16e siècle.*

[xxiv] The loose maps of the Zeeland towns were lost in the destruction of Middelburg during

WWII on 17 May, 1940 (see Visser 1984, 31). Two maps were sold to private persons: the map of Appingedam to Mr. Hooft van Iddekinge, the map of Flemish Middelburg to a certain Flemish individual, through the agency of Zeeuws-Flemish historian H.Q. Janssen (Wieder 1915, 68). This second map resurfaced in the 1990s and is today kept in Ghent in the State Archives (Map Collection No. 2351; see also Van der Heijden 1996; Mertens 2007).

MARTIN VAILLY
Translated from French by Jean-Yves-Bart
European University Institute

Poring Over the World at the Court. Coronelli's Globes and the Social Lives of Maps in France (1680-1715)

In the November 1683 issue of the *Mercure Galant*, Donneau de Vizé's society gazette, a new scientific development made quite a splash. The large cosmographical globes—one terrestrial and the other celestial—that Venetian monk Vincenzo Coronelli (1650-1718) had been making for King Louis XIV were finally "in their state of perfection" (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1683, 273). With this news, these two globes entered the world of the French Court before they were even displayed: this was the beginning of what I call in this paper their social lives. The *Mercure Galant* continued to report on the monk's output, and even publicized the launch of a subscription for the production of miniature versions of the King's globes (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1687b, 17).

This story echoes many similar episodes that took place during the 1680-1715 period, in which remarkably engineered pieces of cartography made waves in high society. These include Castlemaine's 1678 globe and the large Globe of Gottorf, completed by Olearius in 1664 and which was the object of diplomatic negotiations between Frederic IV of Denmark and Peter the Great, the Tsar of Russia, in 1713 (Vailly 2020). Yet it also relates to the broad circulation of less exceptional cartographic objects, printed maps and globes, among the European political, scientific, and economic elites of that time. It is the story of the mobilization of maps in social relations of multiple natures: a map may be used to educate a child, to plan a battle, to administer a territory or simply to show off one's good taste and knowledge to guests.

By focusing on the case of the French circulation of Vincenzo Coronelli's globe production, this paper sets out to examine the idea that maps have social lives; this could be seen as another way of addressing the contextualization of maps, by giving these objects agency. It approaches the concept of social life as a changing, constantly renegotiated set of uses allowed by these objects and of meanings inscribed in them (Appadurai 1988; Mason 2001; Russo 2013). These uses and meanings are jointly constructed by a variety of actors and spaces that need to be identified to propose a "biography of a thing" (Kopytoff 1988, 66), which is not limited to a history of the object but looks at history through the object and with the object (Riello 2009). Therefore, every actor interacting with the object (mapmakers, courtiers, students, administrators, etc.), as well as every space in the object's life (the mapmaker's workshop, the administrator's cabinet, the Court, etc.), should be subject to investigation. For the purpose of this paper, I

have limited myself to actors and places directly linked to Coronelli's case.

In the case of maps, the actors and spaces to be identified are threefold. A first step consists of questioning the nature of maps by observing their theoretical and practical conception process. This requires considering not only the cartographer, his scholarly and social positions, but also the theoretical and material choices made during the making of a map. The cartographer, indeed, has to negotiate with the customers' expectations and resources. In the case of Coronelli's globes, for example, their painting and stand could be adjusted to the buyer's demands and funds, whereas for the making of the Marly globes, Coronelli obviously had to carefully select the data on display to please the King (Vailly 2020, 19). This makes it possible to de-script the object, as Madeleine Akrich (2010) put it, i.e., to understand how the cartographer conceived the map so that it would fulfil specific functions and convey specific meanings. Secondly, it is necessary to observe the human actors who interact with these maps, insofar as they are capable of subverting the cartographer's script and give the object other meanings and make other uses of it. Lastly, globes must be situated within their *living milieus*, i.e., the geographical spaces in which they are located: an exhibition hall, a store, a storehouse, etc. (Vailly 2021). Existing in different places means being endowed with a variety of symbolisms and uses, and dealing with a range of different material conditions that may impact the social lives of maps and globes.

In this article, I accordingly posit that the idea of a social life of cartographic objects encompasses several realities, from their material and symbolic making to their exhibition and uses. Thinking from the basis of the object does not only entail reconstructing a biography, it means situating it within a far denser network of human and non-human actors that impact or intersect with the object's social life (Ingold 2011; 2012). It is precisely the complexity of the social lives of maps in the modern period that is the subject of this paper, which retraces the case of Coronelli's production. I will consider the ways in which these objects shape and are shaped by their social and political *milieus*. To achieve this, I draw primarily on tools from the historical anthropology of knowledge (Adell 2011; Jacob 2014), with a particular attention to places (in this paper, courts, libraries or cabinets) and practices (mostly making, collecting, using and discussing maps). These two notions allow us to get a better understanding of reception, as both places and practices can influence the way one reads or makes a map (Laboulais 2008; De Rugy 2018; Vailly 2021). I also draw on propositions by proponents of material and visual historians of knowledge and consumption with a focus on maps as actors, sources and subjects (Pedley 2005; Riello 2009). Lastly, I approach maps as parts of a social history of sciences and powers, which they equally materialize and contribute to constructing (Biagioli 1995; Castelnau-L'Estoile and Regourd 2005; Van Damme 2015).

To do this, I will mainly focus on the "Coronelli moment" of France's cartographic production (Hofmann and Richard 2012; Milanesi 2016; Vailly 2020), by following Coronelli's globes and their reception as these objects moved through France, starting from the subscription he initiated in 1686. This

moment is characterized by the commercial and critical success of the work of Venetian monk Vincenzo Coronelli in the world of map collectors, a trend resulting from the publicity on the two large cosmographic globes he made for Louis XIV. This is a particularly interesting juncture for the study of the social life of maps. Indeed, Coronelli drew his success from his work for the King: there was hype around his maps, which became a social phenomenon that circulated from Louis XIV to his subjects within a few years. This was a lasting fashion, which only began noticeably declining in 1712. The "Coronelli moment" was particularly timely: his output coincided with renewed imperialist ambitions and was presented as a conquest program. Additionally, the resounding success of Coronelli's maps allowed him to play a role in the "paper wars" that raged across Europe, and to defend Louis XIV against rhetorical attacks from various European nations (Rameix 2014; Claydon and Levillain 2015; Boitel 2016).

Coronelli's maps and globes were thus equally present in the collections of geography lovers and on the national political scene. They were one of the most notable manifestations of the social life of cartographic objects in the modern area, in terms of their echo in French civil society, between the urban worlds of map collectors and the King's Court.

To put this concept of the social life of maps to the test, I focus on Coronelli's globes in their living *milieu*: the French Court. Tracking the social and material lives of the globes helps to frame the complexity of the geographical practice in this specific "place of knowledge" (Jacob 2007, 19). Therefore, I look at the Court not only as a set of geographical places, but also as a network of diverse actors who were connected to royal power to various degrees. Observing this specific place allows me to analyze different contexts in which maps have real agency. Maps and globes played a role in the acquisition of a geographical culture, both utilitarian and driven by curiosity, which was a social and political imperative for many actors of French Court life. What is more, maps and globes were mobilized at the Court as central actors of the political and diplomatic life of the Kingdom of France; these objects became inanimate ambassadors of Louis XIV's imperialism. Finally, the possession, exhibition and use of maps and globes were channels of the dissemination of a social distinction model from the Court to the rest of the Kingdom.

Learning and Knowing about the World at the Court: Maps and Globes as Objects of Education and Entertainment

The Ancien Régime French Court's relationship to knowledge was structured by a double imperative. Court members had to be able to display a sense of curiosity and entertaining knowledge that could help them navigate conversations in Court society. They also needed to possess practical knowledge of territories to be able to wage war or to administer a given territory, and thus learn to read and use cartographical objects. This geographical practice at the Court was no Louis-Quatorzian exception, as several French kings supported cartographical endeavours throughout the centuries (Broc 1986; Pelletier 2001). There were, however, two new developments. First, Coronelli's cartographical production achieved notable commercial success, benefiting from the popularization of the

map-trade in Paris and the local support of the well-known map-seller Jean-Baptiste Nolin (Milanesi 2016; Pedley 2005). Second, cartography was officially integrated in the prince's education (Mormiche 2011, 2014). Coronelli's globes, which depicted the entire world as a place of imperial opportunities, were the perfect tool for Court members to demonstrate these abilities and taste, as well as learn new facts about the French endeavor in exploring and mapping the world. This first section accordingly approaches the social lives of maps from the perspective of the transmission of a corpus of geographical knowledge of the world, whose mechanisms will be analyzed.

Knowing About the World: A Social Imperative

Maps and globes circulated very widely among the historical actors of the French Court. Men of letters, administrators and officers of the crown discussed geography, exchanged maps, and commented on the new publications. The introduction of a new map or globe into Court society was a genuine social event. This was obviously the case when Vincenzo Coronelli's large cosmographic globes were completed and reported upon in the November 1683 issues of Théophraste Renaudot's *Gazette* and Donneau de Vizé's *Mercure Galant*. The latter was far more enthusiastic, pointing out that the globes were "in their state of perfection", and "the most advanced, the most curious and the biggest ever seen in Europe" (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1683, 273–74). While their completion was a landmark society event, globes were not the only ones to play a central role at the Court, and as such to experience a genuine social life. Exploring the landscape of cartographical production (both maps and their advertisements) will help to better understand the *milieu* in which Coronelli's globes lived their social lives.

The *Mercure Galant*, a society magazine that had a dedicated following at the Court, regularly published news related to cartographic objects (Brétéché 2015). It reported, for instance, on ongoing debates in the field, like when two scholars, Mariette and Tralage, clashed over their respective roles in the translation and updating of Coronelli's recent output (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1690, 127–36). It regularly included maps to accompany its reports on expeditions, going along with the tale of one of the most recent French war successes, as in the case of the Gorée and Tabago maps referring to the Maréchal d'Estrées victories in 1679 (more on this later) (figures 7 & 8) (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1678, 153–62). Most of the time, these were cheap and anonymously engraved maps, easy to reproduce and widely circulated They were not detailed enough to provide the reader with a precise geographical account, but rather helped to get a comprehensive snapshot of the battleground.

But the *Mercure Galant* was mainly concerned with advertising new publications by the most famous cartographers of the time. This review of new publications was often very detailed and echoed the most recent geopolitical events. The *Mercure Galant* summarized the distinguishing features of these maps, their novelty and their appeal, introducing the new productions into the social world. It sometimes mentioned technical and material dates and specified their intended use. Some maps were described as the perfect tool for a travelling nobleman, like the maps of Flemish cities issued by Nolin, which could be folded as "pocket books, which

is highly convenient for Officers" (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1692, 239). Other articles praised the ornateness of objects that would be a perfect fit in a cabinet of curiosities, including one advertising Vincenzo Coronelli's replicas of the Sun King's globes produced in the 1680s—these globes would be "more beautiful, more exact, more accurate, and more curious than any of the ones produced until now" (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1687b, 49). Collection methods were also often discussed, with an emphasis on the methods used by the printer or cartographer to make the map. The production of a new map was often clearly related to the outbreak of a conflict in the area being represented, as when Coronelli put out a new map of Hungary in August 1687 (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1687c, 328–29).The production and circulation of maps and globes obviously played a role in the "paper wars" that raged across Europe during Louis XIV's reign, as I will discuss further.

The *Mercure Galant*'s eagerness to report on new maps and to include maps in its issues reflected a broader attachment of many members of the French Court to the collection of cartographic objects. Maps and globes became objects of social distinction, allowing those who possessed them to showcase a sense of belonging to a scholarly and society "culture of curiosity" (Kenny 2004, 160; see also Daston 1995), characterized in part by a "way of knowing" (Pickstone 2000, 2-20) the world based on the practice of collection. These objects indeed symbolized a totalizing quest for knowledge and were closely bound with the very act of collecting curiosities from all over the world, as they allowed collectors to situate the objects on their shelves on a global scale (Vailly 2020). The intersection of the collection of *naturalia* and *artificialia* on the one hand and maps on the others is exemplified by two French officials, Michel Bégon (1632-1710) and Esprit Cabart de Villermont (1628-1707), who I will discuss further below.

Lastly, a more widespread practice deserves mention: the reading of maps among members of the Court. The diaries of Philippe de Courcillon, the Marquis of Dangeau (1636-1720), help the historian to track the uses of maps at Court. We learn for instance that the King's *lever* or *coucher*, that is, the everyday-life Court ceremonial, could include moments of plan- and map-reading. The King's men had to be able to read cartographical objects, not only for literary pleasure, but also for military purposes. However, the divide between these two practices was somewhat unclear. For example, Dangeau mentions a map-reading session held on April 17th,1704 by Louis XIV alongside Madame de Maintenon in his private apartments, where they studied a "beautiful map of Germany and the maps of all Portuguese cities" (Dangeau 1856b, 9: 488). Yet, such studies in which they indulged ostensibly for curiosity and leisure purposes were ambivalent, as they partly concerned maps of the military campaigns in which Dangeau had taken part in the early 1660s. This ambivalence reflects the second meaning of the practice of map-reading at the Court: military planning. Dangeau also evoked that role, reporting a visit from Louis II Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain, the Chancellor of France, with whom Louis XIV studied "a nautical chart of the banks from Oostende to Calais" one evening in August 1702, in an attempt to figure out how to rescue a privateer of the French Crown during the War of the Spanish Succession

(Dangeau 1856a, 8: 465). In these two examples, maps appear to have had an intense social life at Court, especially in times of war. This would partly explain the success of Coronelli's globes both in Marly and in private cabinets: the King and his men needed to know how to use maps.

An Education in Geography

Dangeau's account reflects the importance of a key imperative—that of getting an education in geography. A member of the Court not only had to be familiar with maps and globes, but also had to be able to use them effectively, especially if he was a man of war. Geography was therefore not limited to a general knowledge of the world, of its natural history and of the societies inhabiting it; it had to involve a practical knowledge of the field (Binois and D'Orgeix 2021; Vailly 2020). This ambivalence is characteristic of the social lives of Coronelli's globes at the French Court, which played the role of witnesses to the good taste and education of their owners, but also were crucial tools in planning international actions. It was certainly in part for such educational purposes that Louis XIV decided to exhibit the two giant globes made by Coronelli between 1681 and 1683, which he had received as gifts from Cardinal d'Estrées, at his Marly palace in 1704. He needed his heirs to be trained in geography. The role of globes in tutoring was not self-evident, however: they were first praised for their beauty and precision, not their usefulness for teaching the principles of geography. This role of maps and globes as tutors must accordingly be contextualized and detailed before we return to Marly's case.

Geography was thus cited by several pedagogy books as a central discipline in the education of princes and young noblemen. Princes were expected to possess advanced technical knowledge of geography, since they had to lead armies, guide sieges and administer territories. They also had to display a general knowledge of the world both for geopolitical and diplomatic reasons and to live up to their status of protectors of the arts and sciences (Vailly 2020). This knowledge drew on a dialogue between cabinet geography and actual practice in the field (Cornette 1993; Decalf 2019).

What was true for the prince also was, to a lesser extent, for the rest of the Court. Young noblemen had to prepare for military duties, which involved being able to use maps in the field. They had to understand coordinate systems, scales, and to handle different types of maps, as suggested by the geography manuals of the day. The Court's young women also received an education in geography, and even in astronomy, but it consisted primarily in acquiring a superficial command of the science per se (Deias 2020; Vailly 2020). As Pierre Ortigues de Vaumorière wrote in his *Art de plaire dans la conversation* [The Art of Pleasant Conversation], women were expected to stick to human and natural geography and not to concern themselves with mathematics (1701, 320).

To achieve this mastery of geographical knowledge, cartographic objects were needed—in the words of French geographer Guillaume Delisle, "these globes and these maps place countries before our eyes and represent them for us in a way that approaches what they are in the world; and what we see with our own eyes makes a far greater impression on us than what we hear" (Delisle 1746, 10-11). In

France, during the eighteenth century, many geographers like Delisle advocated for the use of maps in the teaching of geography in the broader sense: the shape of the world, the human societies that inhabit it, and the mathematical operations related to the use of maps. These geographers' approaches often started from the terrestrial globe. The globe's advantage over other cartographic objects, indeed, is that it heavily engages the hand, the touch, the senses of those learning the true forms of the Earth. This process had to be complemented with individual maps, allowing the learner to get closer to the surface of the Earth, and to have a more precise knowledge of its regions, and offering the opportunity to vary scales depending on the needs of the lesson.

Some pedagogues in turn gave cartographic objects a central role in the teaching of geography for young men from good families. Towards the end of the period under study here, in 1716, the scholar Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy (1674-1755) published the first volume of his *Methode pour étudier la geographie* [Method for the study of geography], which presents geography as primarily a "science of the eyes" that can be learned through the joint study of books and maps (Lenglet Du Fresnoy 1716, 1). To Lenglet du Fresnoy, maps had the advantage of simplicity and ease of use, allowing those who read them to quickly acquire knowledge on the shapes of the world and the populations inhabiting it. This would have to be followed up by intensive mathematics drills, pertaining, in particular, to the use of terrestrial globes, for instance to calculate the distance or time difference between two points (figure 1). The frontispiece of Lenglet du Fresnoy's 1716 textbook shows three young people engrossed in the contemplation of two terrestrial globes, reflecting the central role of learning in his vision.

Figure 1
A geography lesson. Frontispiece from Lenglet du Fresnoy's *Méthode pour apprendre la géographie*, 1716, Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k97864140/f9.item.

The success of this approach to learning explains the triumph of maps and globes, which became central actors of social life at the Court, in geography education. Multiple objects could be mobilized and circulated at the Court: atlases, standalone maps, globes, card games and

snakes and ladders boards. Their different forms of materiality induced an array of gestures that shaped and constrained learning practices. World maps allowed people to see the entire world all at once; globes had to be used with a handbook; and the reader of an atlas had to make the effort of connecting its pages (Jacob 1992). Louis XIV had been exposed to such objects since he was a child. Cardinal Mazarin had for instance ordered a geography game from the artist Stefano Della Bella, on which the four parts of the world and their most prominent countries were personified by women donning the attributes of said countries, complete with short explanatory texts (figure 2). The game came with a world map that allowed the King to locate these countries on the global scale, which required going back and forth between the country cards and the map. Subsequently, Louis de France (1661-1711), the Grand Dauphin, was trained in geography using a custom-made collection of maps and globes, a library that mainly included books by Thévenot, and the help of a private tutor (Mormiche 2014). Likewise, upon the death of Louis XIV, the future Louis XV received a geography education under the supervision of the geographer Guillaume Delisle (Mormiche 2011).

Figure 2
The Four parts of the World, in Della Bella's *Jeu de la geographie*, 1644. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105222579.

Coronelli's globes can be seen as precursors of this educational reformation of the French monarchy. The Marly globes were housed in two of the castle's twelve pavilions, which were previously used as accommodations for the King's guests (figure 3). These globes were quite certainly used as tools for the geography and astronomy education of Louis XIV's heirs. In his diaries, Dangeau mentions several visits by the Petit Dauphin, Louis de France, Duke of Bourgogne, at the celestial globe pavilion, where he enjoyed learning about astronomy with the help of scholars from the Royal Academy of the Sciences (Dangeau 1857b, 11: 100). It is very likely that similar visits were made to the terrestrial globe pavilion, since the teaching of geography was considered central to the training of a prince that was slated to succeed a King at war. The materiality of these titanic spheres obviously limited their use: their surfaces were so vast that technical implements were needed to look at them, such as scopes, and their contents had to be transcribed by hand (Bentz 2012; Jacob 1992; Vailly 2020). Still, their gigantic size allowed Coronelli to include a considerable number of texts and images, which made it possible to use them for teaching a variety of disciplines: an ethnography-tinged human geography; a natural geography of rivers, mountains, plants and animals; a historical geography of conquests and battles; and a few fundamentals of navigation (Vailly 2020). The globe also came

with multiple other elements that allowed for deeper geographical work: instruments, wall maps and loose-leaf maps—a genuine geographer's library (Bentz 2012). At a time when France's colonial ambitions were growing, knowledge of the geopolitics of the modern world appeared crucial, and Coronelli's terrestrial globe was an effective way to gain it.

Figure 3
The globes at Marly, in Robert de Cotte's *Plan du pavillon du globe terrestre,* 1704, Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55005614w/f1.item.

The hypothesis positing that the pavilions served as places of training for Crown heirs is also supported by a remarkable fact. Beginning in November 1712, Dangeau reports on the King's sudden disinterest in his globes, until plans to remove them, which would only be implemented two years later, were announced (Dangeau 1858, 14: 267). This disinterest coincided with the successive deaths of most of his direct heirs, including the Petit Dauphin; as if, without any children left to educate, the globes could no longer be of use to the Court.

Maps and Globes as Court Diplomats

The Court of France, especially in Louis XIV's era, was primarily a space where the King exercised his domination, over members of the Court but also over visitors to Versailles and Marly. In this process, maps were objects of social distinction at the intersection of arts and knowledge that signaled the sovereign's wealth and political and scholarly power. In this way, maps and globes at the Court became ambassadors of royal propaganda. This use is particularly interesting in that it allows us to confront the object's script and the environments in which it was exhibited, shedding light on its symbolic and usage values.

The Political Making of Maps

Maps and globes play a role in royal diplomacy especially at two high points in their social life. The first is, of course, their conception and publication. When the cartographer is working on an object, he considers his patron and the place where the object in question will be exhibited. Cartographic objects can be conceived as heralds of royal power, displaying certain facts or elements of knowledge and concealing others (Harley 1988). For instance, when Vincenzo Coronelli worked on his large globes for Louis XIV, he made a number of material and theoretical choices that would impact the social lives of these globes and make them diplomats *by nature*, destined to spend their social lives in close proximity to royal power, at the Court of France.

This was especially the case when he worked on the terrestrial globe, which was meant both to represent Louis XIV's temporal power but also to suggest opportunities of conquest to the King.

To symbolize this grand project, Coronelli represented an allegory of the four parts of the world near the Southern Pole on the globe, where Europe was depicted in regalia, dominating the other continents. This first allegory echoes a second, complementary one: an allegory of the Arts and Sciences personified by their muses, placed under the protection of a bust of Louis XIV crowned with a laurel wreath by a group of *putti* (figures 4 and 5). These muses include Geography, Astronomy and Navigation, working together to devise new ways of exploring and representing the world—a clear reference to the interdependence of the three sciences, which complement and improve one another. By inserting such an allegory, Vincenzo Coronelli emphasized the King's key role in championing the sciences, even though that role may have been largely overstated (Dew 2015). Coronelli's symbolic discourse on the science-power connection comes across clearly: the light of the Sun King's wisdom is what made the map possible. The terrestrial globe itself is the sum of this wisdom, being the material result of advances in navigation, astronomy, geography, mathematics, and history.

Figure 4
Detail from Coronelli's great terrestrial globe, four parts of the world, "de Marly," 1683, Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 5
Detail from Coronelli's great terrestrial globe, the arts and sciences, "de Marly," 1683, Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In addition to this allegory, other features represented on the surface of the terrestrial globe even more directly reflect the connection between science and power. Visual choices and indications informing the public on European colonization efforts are for instance largely informed by Coronelli's goal, which was to please the King. The enemies of the French crown

are thus depicted as bloodthirsty colonists that burn and rampage indiscriminately, whereas Louis XIV's forces bring peace and prosperity (Vailly 2020). Some of the scientific options picked by Coronelli have similar reasons, such as the choice of a prime meridian for the globe, running across El Hierro. Here the Venetian cartographer followed a 1634 ordinance by Louis XIII, and in doing so, adopted a French vision of the geographic coordinate system (Coronelli 1693, 211).

When Coronelli was working on this terrestrial globe, he knew that it would be gifted to the King, and that it should accordingly suit the Court. The cartographer believed that the globe was going to be exhibited at the Court of Versailles, as he hastily assumed in his 1684 *Epitome Cosmografica*. Coronelli even went so far as to insert an engraving representing the King's sphere as he imagined it to be exhibited in Versailles into the printed versions of the large globes he began circulating in 1689 (figure 6). On this engraving, the gestures of the human actors who gravitate around the globe are interesting to observe: a character that can be assumed to be Louis XIV is showing an ecclesiastic, possibly Cardinal d'Estrées, his globe on display. Others are holding instruments allowing them to point and measure. Coronelli clearly expected that the globe would be used for demonstrations, spectacles, revealed to the Court by the King and his scholars as part of a scientific show-and-tell (Saule and Arminjon 2010; Lamy 2017). This is also the role described in the text of the dedication that Cardinal d'Estrées had Coronelli inscribe on the terrestrial globe (figure 6). Thus, already at the development stage, the terrestrial globe was conceived both by its patron and its creator as a tool fulfilling an equally scientific and political role, which was to support the Sun King's discourse on the legitimacy of his territorial claims, at a time when his colonial efforts were ramping up (Pritchard 2004).

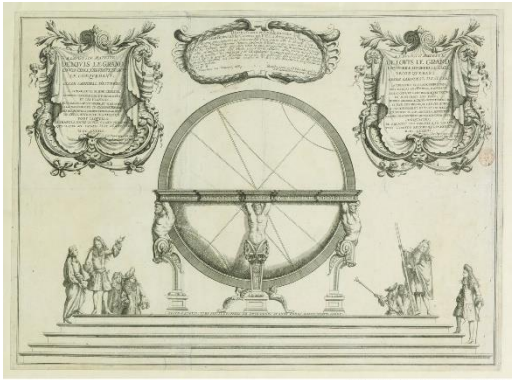


Figure 6
Coronelli's plan for his terrestrial globe, in Coronelli's terrestrial globe from 1689, Venice. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55000009q/f1.item

While Coronelli's large terrestrial globe cannot be ignored by anyone looking at the French case, it should not make us overlook the numerous occurrences of other, more modest maps and globes that played a similar role of ambassadors throughout their conception and circulation process. The *Mercure Galant* again gives us a good indication of this phenomenon. The society gazette indeed notoriously played a social and political role in the circulation of news of the world at the Court of France: its wide circulation helped in the dissemination of royal propaganda, to such an extent that it was even mocked in the Netherlands by critics of French international politics (Brétéché 2015). Its accounts of the royal mil-

itary campaigns are particularly remarkable in this respect: the texts, narrated by an army man to a woman of the Court, came with maps meant to clarify their contents. Take the case of the campaigns of Marschal Jean II d'Estrées, the brother of Cardinal César d'Estrées, who led a royal fleet to conquer the Island of Gorée, and then Tabago in November 1677. The story was the subject of a report in the March 1678 issue of the *Mercure Galant*, complete with two maps that made it easier to grasp for readers (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1678, 138-67). They were engraved with little in the way of detail, and therefore easy to reproduce, which made it possible to make the news of Jean II d'Estrées's resounding victories circulate faster. But these maps also provided the readers with a straightforward narrative of a battle in which every French move was the result of a strategic mastermind who made no mistakes. This can be seen on figures 7 and 8, where the only military actions represented are crucial French actions. Counterattacks and acts of Dutch resistance were erased from the maps, and the description of a ship marked "O" on the Tabago map (figure 8) served to strengthen this narrative of weak and coward Netherlandish leaders and warriors by implying that their only act of war consisted in fleeing. The *Mercure Galant* thus served as one of the key actors of royal propaganda during the paper wars that raged across Europe, and likewise an important part of the social lives of maps whithin the Court of France, taking part in these paper wars in their own ways.

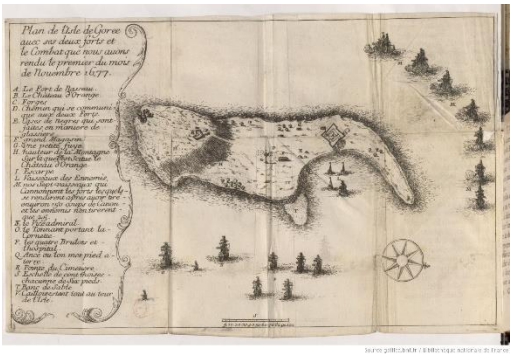


Figure 7
The battle for Gorée, in Donneau de Vizé's *Mercure Galant*, March 1678. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4227089r/f190.item.

Figure 8
The battle for Tabago, in Donneau de Vizé's *Mercure Galant*, March 1678. Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4227089r/f203.item.

It is of little surprise that these two battles were mentioned on the surface of Coronelli's great terrestrial globe, as a testimony of the long-lasting lives of these *Mercure Galant* maps in the Court's geographical cultures. Indeed, as Coronelli was at work on the Marly globes in Paris, he gathered lots of material from the King's library, spoke with courtiers and

exchanged maps and letters with other noblemen of the Kingdom. Coronelli's cartouche describing the battle is surprisingly close to Donneau De Vizé's *Mercure Galant*: One can easily imagine that he came across these *Mercure Galant* maps, or that he at least heard about the battles from his patron Cardinal d'Estrée, the Marshal's brother. The globe appears here as a "centre of calculation" (Latour 1987, 215), gathering various data on the known world and redistributing it among the courtiers, playing the role of an ambassador of plaster and paint for Louis XIV.

The Marly Pavilion or the Centrality of Diplomacy

The second high point of the social lives of maps and globes at the Court of France is their exhibition and use. The intentions of the cartographer or of the editor of the *Mercure Galant* are indeed not enough in of themselves to turn cartographic objects into central actors of royal diplomacy. These maps needed to circulate, to be used, commented on, and displayed to be actors of Louis XIV's policy. This exhibition stage accounts for much of the social lives of maps.

Where the Court is concerned, the example of Coronelli's globes also yields insights into the different junctures of the social lives of maps. After a long preparatory phase, due partly to the technical challenge inherent in exhibiting two globes with a diameter of four meters each, the globes were finally displayed at the palace of Marly in 1704. This was a very deliberate choice: since its completion in late 1683, Marly had gradually become the nerve center of Louis XIV's personal and absolute power (Ringot and Sarmant 2012). Originally a spot for recreation, Marly became the King's main command base, and a small, strategic Court space. Access to Marly was conditional on the King's invitation and was a highly sought-after favor. Thus, opting to display the globes in Marly, by turning two residential pavilions into exhibit halls, sent a strong political signal: the Sun King contemplated and ruled the world from the confines of his palace, and controlled access to this cosmographic knowledge.

The exhibition stage was especially crucial in that it put Coronelli's cosmographic globes at the center of an equally scholarly and political scientific show designed to allow Louis XIV to project his power in front of a selected few members of the Court, granting them with the honor of accessing strategic knowledge on the known world (Bensaude-Vincent and Blondel 2008; Thébaud-Sorger 2015). This apparent paradox of a limited exhibition of royal power sheds light on the value of geographical knowledge in general, and of Coronelli's globes in particular, at the Court. As objects of prestige, they had to be displayed; but as sources of critical knowledge, they also had to be hidden from undesired visitors. Marly was therefore the obvious choice for the King to reconcile the two imperatives.

Everything was arranged so that the pavilion that hosted the globe would become one of the key places of the Court. It was extensively renovated; its structure and decor were refashioned in anticipation of the globe's arrival, and it became a genuine "cabinet of geography" (Bentz 2012, 239). The globe was placed at the center of the pavilion, like a geographic

library around which everything else revolved. The pavilion guard François Le Large himself emphasized the lavishness of this set-up, notifying Coronelli in a 1710 letter that "the entire setting for the globe and the decoration of the room are very rich and in very good taste, and perfectly match the globe's magnificence" (reproduction in Hofmann and Richard 2012, 113-115). A few years later, Coronelli himself had insisted on the remarkable material qualities of his production and engineering, most particularly the Louis XIV globes, which could be "moved with just one finger," in his book *Epitome Cosmografica*. The venue's lavishness was therefore meant to reflect the objects, and to make a show of scientific knowledge for the King's purposes. The globe was the focal point in the room, a spectacular mechanism that allowed the "King machinist" to command the attention and admiration of members of the Court through its technical and aesthetic prowess (Apostolidès 1981, 148). Perched atop a flight of marble stairs, the globe towered over the room on its massive base (figure 3). Here, François Le Large's words also give us a sense of the corporeal, almost humanized dimension of an object becoming an actor. In the detailed report, he wrote to Coronelli on the inscriptions and illustrations featured on the surface of the terrestrial globe. The guard wrote that without this painstaking work, "the globe would be, strictly speaking, a body without a soul" (reproduction in Hofmann and Richard 2012, 113-115). Its exhibition made the globe a genuine character of Court life.

These efforts to feature the terrestrial globe in a scientific show at the service of royal diplomacy were fruitful at least until 1712, as two sources suggest. The first source is the manuscripts by the guard François Le Large. Indeed, when the globes were installed in Marly, Louis XIV faced an unforeseen issue: due to the size of the globes, the inscriptions covering their surface could not be read. He therefore tasked François Le Large with transcribing all inscriptions on the terrestrial globe so that he could read them and present the object to his guests. Le Large's work on the inscriptions was likely completed around 1710, and the King appeared to be satisfied with it, as Le Large wrote Coronelli: "every time the King comes to the Globe, the first thing he asks for is this book, […] which provides fodder for conversation during the time he stays to watch the globe" (reproduction in Hofmann and Richard 2012, 113-115). This is one of the first mentions of the King's frequent visits to the terrestrial globe, made alone or with company, in which case he was able to demonstrate the extent of his knowledge to his guests.

However, Le Large, who came from a modest family, did not participate in all Court activities, and as such was unable to give us more detail on the social lives of the globes. The Marquis de Dangeau's diaries are more informative. In his many notes on his life in Marly with the King, it transpires that the globe pavilions were hotspots of Court life, and that they were sources of aesthetic pleasure and political conversation. The terrestrial globe pavilion especially appears to have become a major center of command when important news, particularly of a military nature, was announced. On August 8th, 1704, as the War of the Spanish Succession raged, the King shared with his Court news of the unsuccessful attempts by prince of the blood Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, Count of Toulouse, to stop the English fleet of George Rooke in the

Mediterranean. The King read the Count of Toulouse's letter at the foot of the terrestrial globe; Dangeau reports that a strategic discussion on follow-up efforts to the attempt ensued (Dangeau 1857a, 10: 90). In these discussions the globe helped in picturing an overview of the situation. The pavilion was also a place to which the King and members of his inner circle brought ambassadors and foreign kings. A few years after the failure of the Count of Toulouse, on August 12th, Louis XIV hosted the King and Queen of England in the globe pavilions (Dangeau 1857a, 10: 94). The King mobilized the spectacle of science to serve his interests and assert his military power in the face of those who his armies would fight the next day at the Battle of Hochstadt. Visits to the pavilions continued at least until 1712, according to Dangeau's writings. The terrestrial globe was one of the actors of Louis XIV's foreign policy: by making the pavilion a central venue for diplomatic visits, the King brought Vincenzo Coronelli's work to the era's paper wars, in which it served as a witness to the expansion of his empire.

From the Court to the Kingdom

The model of the Court was not confined to the palace walls; it influenced and determined other spaces of geographic practice in the Kingdom of France. In this section we shift to the national level, examining spaces that were connected to the Court of France through the cartographic output of Vincenzo Coronelli. In this third context, cartographic objects were plunged in a different *living milieu*, carrying uses and symbolisms shaped at the Court with them (Biagioli 1993; 1995; 2006; Moran 1991). They were actors of the dissemination of the Court model of geographic practice in the Kingdom of France.

Coronelli's Argonauts: An International Trend

The private collections of the networks of well-read administrators and members of the Court in the late years of Louis XIV's reign were indeed other spaces in which maps and globes lived intense social lives. To highlight the ability of cartographic objects to convey models from the Court to the rest of the Kingdom, this part adopts a micro-historical lens to the dissemination of the so-called 110cm globes produced by Coronelli between Paris and Venice after the foundation of his geographical society, the *Accademia degli Argonauti*, in 1684 (Milanesi 2016). Conceived as a subscription network, the Academy allowed Coronelli to market cosmographic globes derived from those he had made for Louis XIV in Paris (Hofmann and Richard 2012). Coronelli's choice was an original one: in the seventeenth century, the subscription model was generally only used for printed books, not maps (Pedley 2005). Also, the large globes, which were completed in 1683, had not yet been shown to the public, even though Coronelli was likely counting on an exhibition in Versailles in the spring. He could, however, draw on the reputation he had acquired during his years in Paris, on a network of friendly scholars, and on the publicity of his work in society publications to ensure that his subscription would be a success, and a driving force of the social lives of Coronelli's globes in the late years of Louis XIV's reign.

These miniature globes served as a fleet of ambassadors of royal policy, as they reused most of the propaganda material Coronelli had carefully selected to please

Louis XIV. Coronelli made sure to mention that these 110cm globes were replicas of the King's globes, which suggested that the same sources and methods would be used in the production process. The worldviews these globes conveyed were in fact the same, although their actual contents differed—what mattered was Coronelli's discourse on the nature of these objects (Török 2012; Vailly 2020). This subscription can effectively be seen as the dissemination of a scientific trend initiated by the Court of France, giving Coronelli's globes a new role to play: spreading royal propaganda in private collections. Owning a pair of Coronelli's globes became a marker of social distinction and of belonging to Court society, witnessing the good taste and education of their owners, members of a community of intellectuals that had formed around the King: the *Accademia degli Argonauti*.

In France, the *Accademia degli Argonauti* had 76 members in 1687, in institutions such as the Sainte-Geneviève library, including both ecclesiastics and secular scholars (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1687b, 17–40). There was a wide array of collectors with different social backgrounds, offering as many possible social lives to Coronelli's globes, extending from the Court of France to the remainder of the Kingdom's administrative elites. Among the secular elites, the phenomenon was particularly noticeable. Dukes and peers of France, such as the Duke of Noailles or the Duke d'Estrées, stood at the top of the social hierarchy of the list of subscribers. The entire administrative structure of the Kingdom was then featured, from advisors working in Paris to members of regional parliaments. A few scholars, including Jean-Dominique Cassini, are also on the list, as well as a bookseller from Aix-en-Provence. This list of subscribers is all the more interesting in that it was reproduced by the *Mercure Galant*, which itself also contributed to this trend by spreading the news. The *Mercure*'s announcement came with a subscription form complete with instructions: paying 16 Louis d'or in eight monthly installments to the Treasurer of Royal Savings (1640-1720), who had developed a friendship with Coronelli when the cartographer worked in Paris (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1687b, 41–45).

Like the globes themselves, this list of Argonauts was effectively a tool of social distinction. Two points of detail in the *Mercure Galant*'s 1687 transcript attest to this. First, some subscribers are mentioned as having paid the entirety of the subscription in a single installment, which makes them stand out from the others in that they were able to pay a high price all at once (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1687b, 30). Secondly, after a long explanation of the subscription process, the editor of the *Mercure Galant* included an addendum to the list of Paris associates, noting that "the Society is growing day by day" (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1687b, 46). The goal here was to showcase the success of Coronelli's undertaking. The monk himself participated in this *mise en scène* by featuring the list in many of the printed books he produced. At a time when the giant spheres still lay dormant in crates at the hôtel particulier of Cardinal d'Estrées, news of their completion had already largely circulated in circles of geography enthusiasts who could now get closer to Louis XIV by imitating his role of champion of the arts and sciences through the subscription.

Lastly, Coronelli's globes also played the role of international ambassadors of

Louis XIV, transporting the Franco-centric model of the world far beyond the Kingdom's borders. The list indeed showed that the globes were sold all over Italy, the cartographer's country of origin, and even in more faraway places. Two pairs of globes were put aside for the Reverend Father Antoine Verjus (1632-1706), a Jesuit, to be taken to China and Siam, which reflected the Society of Jesus's efforts to serve as an actor in the global diplomacy of science and knowledge (Romano 2016). The *Mercure Galant* had actually already reported on the dispatch of geographic instruments, maps, and globes by the 1685 French embassy to Siam, underlining the role of maps and globes in Louis XIV's international diplomacy (Donneau de Vizé et al. 1687a, 192). A later version of the list, published by Coronelli in 1688 in *Impresa dell'Accademia degli Argonauti*, a catalog of the members and studies of his academy, shows that the Coronelli model was also exported to England, Germany, Poland and even Constantinople.

Provincial Social Lives

The Court model was not solely disseminated among the Kingdom's most prominent princes and foreign kings, as the list of the Argonauts shows. Thanks to the list, I was able to retrace one of the richest social lives of a pair of 110cm globes, owned by the intendant of the King's galleys Michel Bégon in Rochefort. The correspondence between Bégon and his friend Villermont, another subscriber of Coronelli's academy, allows us to retrace a highly detailed history of the globes on the move. This history directly connects the Court of France with spaces often considered as peripheral, but which are in fact just as central to this analysis of the social lives of maps.

Bégon and Villermont were geography enthusiasts and exchanged maps along with letters. They also sent each other packages that contained a variety of curiosities from outside of Europe for their respective private collections. Their passion for geography was thus the primary impetus for taking part in the subscription. Villermont, who lived in Paris, acted as an intermediary for Bégon, including taking care of the monthly installments they owed Coronelli for the engraving of the globes. This was a significant expense even for an officer of the Crown like Bégon, who complained to Villermont: "the setting of Father Coronelli's globes [is] exceedingly costly," but "it is a chalice we need to drink, and no expense should be spared to acquire the most perfect ones possible" (Bégon 1925, 310). This suggests that scholarly interest was not their only reason for subscribing. For Bégon, exhibiting a pair of Coronelli's globes in his cabinet of curiosities meant proving that he belonged to the social and cultural elites of the Kingdom of France. Ultimately, it meant that Bégon's name appeared among the "Associates of Paris" among those of princes of the blood, marshals, and cardinals.

This social role played by the globes in the construction of an image is not only a theoretical and symbolic one in the case of Michel Bégon. The intendant valued his globes enormously, especially the terrestrial globe, and they were central features of his cabinet of curiosities. A letter to Villermont, dated July 7th, 1701, gives us a glimpse into the social lives of Coronelli's globes when they were exhibited at Bégon's place (Bégon 1930, 73). In the letter, Bégon mentions a discussion he had with an explorer who was looking to organize a new expedition to the New World, Mathieu Sagean. The latter, who

had recounted a previous expedition to America in his *Relation des Avantures de Mathieu Sagean*, sought favors from Bégon so that he would be able to return to America. The globe played a key role in Bégon's decision, he tells Villermont he "verified the account of this man by the name of Mathurin Sagean, dictated in Brest to the secretary of Mr. Desclouseaux, in the presence of Mr. du Magnou, with before our eyes the globe of Father Coronelli, on which we submitted to him, during four or five sessions, all possible objections," after which he decided to grant Sagean the favors he had asked for (Bégon 1930, 112). The explorer, however, turned out to be a liar, and his deception was revealed in August 1702, after Bégon had allowed him to pass through North America in January (Bégon 1930, 115–28). Thanks to the globe, the intendant had found a few inconsistencies in Sagean's account, but he had chosen to brush them aside. Sagean had indeed corrected these inconsistencies while talking with Bégon and accused the transcriber of his *Relation* of having introduced mistakes into the text. The globe could have helped Bégon in detecting the lie, but Sagean was a skillful impostor, able to play around Bégon's scientific arguments and integrate these arguments in his discourse, as the revealer of another man's failure.

What Michel Bégon's case also shows is that chance events may occur in the social life of a globe or a map and change its uses and meanings. As he was having the globes moved to a different room, the workers carrying the globe scratched it and part of its surface became illegible (Bégon 1930, 187). Bégon thus had to fix the globe—otherwise it would be useless. Yet, since he did not live in Paris, he again had to rely on Villermont to serve as an intermediary. The process was slow and complex, spanning the months of February to May 1703. Bégon first had to secure copies of the damaged plates, and then find workers with skills in the restoration of cartographic objects, which was difficult outside of Paris. He wrote to Villermont that "being reduced to live in a province, in many respects one has to content himself with the workers that one finds there" (Bégon 1930, 195). This episode shows the impact of the *living milieus* of cartographic objects on their social lives: in some cases, they constituted a threat to their very integrity, and accordingly to their roles as actors of history.

Conclusion

The social lives of Coronelli's globes gradually changed until the late years of Louis XIV's reign. Their removal from the pavilions of Marly in 1714, the death of the King in 1715 and that of a disgraced Coronelli in 1718 dampened this success, and this Court fashion eventually ended. One of the landmarks of this decline was the first edition of Lenglet du Fresnoy's 1716 *Méthode pour étudier la géographie*, in which he recommended the globes by Guillaume Delisle, which are "far more accurate than those by Father Coronelli, which caused such a sensation around the world" (3: 439). In the 1736 edition of his *Méthode,* Lenglet even relegated Coronelli's globes, along with most of his maps, to the status of mere curiosities, whose "beauty and agreeableness" remained, but were now considered to be of no scientific value (Lenglet Du Fresnoy 1736, 1: CXLV). The globes entered new social lives. The Marly pieces were lugged from warehouse to warehouse after the death of Cardinal d'Estrées in 1714. Too old to be accurate and too expensive to be updated, they were

slowly forgotten until their rediscovery in 1980 and their final exhibition in Paris in 2005 (Hofmann and Richard 2012). They are now considered as heritage objects, the remnants of an outdated worldview and of a sociopolitical system whose days are now over. The smaller globes met the same fate. As their owners' cabinets were slowly dismantled, and the globes sold to public collections, they ceased to be objects of social distinction and became heritage.

The conclusion to the case of Coronelli sheds light on the perpetually changing, plural, instable quality dimension of the social lives of cartographic objects, here mobilized by different historical actors to fulfil different purposes in geographically remote but socially connected *living milieus*, informed by trends in politics and knowledge as well as chance occurrences. The case of Marly's large cosmographic globes is a paradigmatic one: built by Coronelli to celebrate Louis XIV, they disappeared upon his death and were eventually rediscovered in the 1980s and then restored and exhibited in 2005 at the French National Library (BNF), where they now live new lives as heritage artefacts and national treasures.

As we put the concept of the social life of objects to the test, it is my view that this example shows that the term needs to be used in the plural. Here, by closely examining practices and offering a historical anthropology of knowledge, I hope to have shed light not only on the uses of these objects, but also on how they informed the behaviors of the actors who possessed or used them. In other words, exploring the social lives of objects is a way to avoid the pitfall of describing binary relationships between actors and unchanging objects, and to consider objects as mutable and liable to evolve.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Déborah Dubald for her comments on the first draft of this essay; Jean-Yves Bart for his translation and proofreading work; Lauren Beck for editing the volume, and the three reviewers, whose comments helped to greatly improve this work.

The research leading to this essay was made possible by the European University Institute (Florence), the EHESS (Paris) and the Strasbourg Faculty of Medicine. It also received exceptional funding from Barry Goldberg's donation to the EHESS endowment fund. Support for the translation was provided by the Maison Interuniversitaire des Sciences de l'Homme d'Alsace (MISHA) and the Excellence Initiative of the University of Strasbourg.

References

Adell, Nicolas. 2011. *Anthropologie des savoirs*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Akrich, Madeleine. 2010. "Comment décrire les objets techniques ? " *Techniques & Culture* 54–55 (June): 205–19. https://doi.org/10.4000/tc.4999

Apostolidès, Jean-Marie. 1981. *Le Roi-machine : spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. 1988. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bensaude-Vincent, Bernadette, and Christine Blondel, eds. 2008. *Science and Spectacle in the European Enlightenment*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bentz, Bruno. 2012. "Les globes à Marly : un cabinet de géographie." In *Les globes de Louis XIV : étude artistique, historique et matérielle*, edited by Catherine Hofmann and Hélène Richard, 239–47. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Biagioli, Mario. 1993. *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

---. 1995. "Le prince et les savants : la civilité scientifique au XVIIe siècle." *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 50 (6): 1417–53.

---. 2006. *Galileo's Instruments of Credit: Telescopes, Images, Secrecy*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.

Binois, Grégoire, and Émilie D'Orgeix. 2021. "Entre Terrain et Dépôt : Envisager Les Mi-Lieux de Production Des Ingénieurs Militaires Géographes (XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècle)." *Cahiers François Viète*, Lieux et milieux de savoir, III (10): 87–111.

Boitel, Isaure. 2016. *L'image noire de Louis XIV : Provinces-Unies, Angleterre, 1668-1715*. Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon.

Brétéché, Marion. 2015. *Les compagnons de Mercure : journalisme et politique dans l'Europe de Louis XIV*. Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon.

Broc, Numa. 1986. *La géographie de la Renaissance. 1420-1620*. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques/CTHS.

Castelnau-L'Estoile, Charlotte de, and François Regourd, eds. 2005. *Connaissances et pouvoirs : les espaces impériaux, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles, France, Espagne, Portugal*. Pessac: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.

Claydon, Tony, and Charles-Édouard Levillain, eds. 2015. *Louis XIV Outside in: Images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661-1715*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Cornette, Joël. 1993. *Le roi de guerre : essai sur la souveraineté dans la France du Grand siècle*. Paris: Payot.

Daston, Lorraine. 1995. "Curiosity in Early Modern Science." *Word & Image* 11 (4): 391–404.

Decalf, Guillaume. 2019. "Devenir Roi : Le Voyage de Louis XIV Dans Le Sud de La France, 1659-1660." In *Louis XIV, l'image et Le Mythe*, edited by Alexandre Maral, Mathieu Da Vinha, and Nicolas Milovanovic, 21–31. Histoire. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.

Deias, Dalia. 2020. *Inventer l'observatoire : sciences et politique sous Giovanni Domenico Cassini (1625-1712)*, unpublished PhD thesis. Paris: EHESS - CAK.

De Rugy, Marie. 2018. *Aux confins des empires : cartes et constructions territoriales dans le nord de la péninsule indochinoise, 1885-1914*. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne.

Dew, Nicholas. 2015. "Un colbertisme scientifique ?" In *Histoire des sciences et des savoirs : De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, edited by Stéphane Van Damme, 431–45. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Harley, John B. 1988. "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe." *Imago Mundi* 40: 57–76.

Hofmann, Catherine, and Hélène Richard, eds. 2012. *Les globes de Louis XIV : étude artistique, historique et matérielle*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Ingold, Tim. 2011. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. London: Routledge.

---. 2012. "Toward an Ecology of Materials." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (1): 427–42.

Jacob, Christian. 1992. *L'Empire des cartes : Approche théorique de la cartographie à travers l'histoire*. Paris: Albin Michel.

---, ed. 2007. *Lieux de savoir., Espaces et communautés*. Paris, France: Albin Michel.

---. 2014. *Qu'est-ce qu'un lieu de savoir ?* Marseille: OpenEdition press.

Kenny, Neil. 2004. *The Uses of Curiosity in Early-Modern France and Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kopytoff, Igor. 1988. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as a Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laboulais, Isabelle, ed. 2008. *Les usages des cartes. Pour une approche pragmatique des productions cartographiques*. Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg.

Latour, Bruno, 1987. *Science in Action How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Lamy, Jérôme. 2017. "La science à la cour de Versailles : mise en scène du savoir et démonstration du pouvoir (XVII^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècles)." *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire critique* 136: 71–99.

Mason, Peter. 2001. *The Lives of Images. Picturing History*. London: Reaktion books.

Milanesi, Marica. 2016. *Vincenzo Coronelli Cosmographer, 1650-1718*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Moran, Bruce T., ed. 1991. *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology, and Medicine at the European Court 1500-1750*. Rochester (NY): Boydell press.

Mormiche, Pascale. 2011. "Éduquer un roi ou l'histoire d'une modification progressive du projet pédagogique pour Louis XV (1715-1722)." *Histoire de l'éducation* 132 (October): 17–47. https://doi.org/10.4000/histoire-education.2411.

---. 2014. "Éduquer le Dauphin : exempla, image du père, éducation exemplaire ?" *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles*. https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.12368.

Pedley, Mary. 2005. *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England*. Chigago: University of Chicago Press.

Pelletier, Monique. 2001. *Cartographie de la France et du monde de la Renaissance au siècle des lumières*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Pickstone, John V. 2000. *Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology and Medicine*. Manchester: Manchester University press.

Pritchard, James S. 2004. *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rameix, Solange. 2014. *Justifier la guerre : censure et propagande dans l'Europe du XVIIe siècle, France-Angleterre*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.

Riello, Giorgio. 2009. "Things That Shape History." In *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, edited by Karen Harvey, 27–50. London, New York: Routledge.

Ringot, Benjamin, and Thierry Sarmant. 2012. "« Sire, Marly ? » : usages et étiquette de Marly et de Versailles sous le règne de Louis XIV." *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles*. https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.11920.

Romano, Antonella. 2016. *Impressions de Chine : l'Europe et l'englobement du monde, XVIe-XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Fayard.

Russo, Alessandra. 2013. *L'image intraduisible : une histoire métisse des arts en Nouvelle-Espagne, 1500-1600*. Dijon: les Presses du réel.

Saule, Béatrix, and Catherine Arminjon, eds. 2010. *Sciences & curiosités à la cour de Versailles*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.

Thébaud-Sorger, Marie. 2015. "Spectacles de science." In *Histoire des sciences et des savoirs : De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, edited by Stéphane Van Damme, 133–53. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Török, Zslot Gyözö. 2012. "Réduire des géants. Le grand globe imprimé de « trois pieds et demi » de diamètre." In *Les globes de Louis XIV : étude artistique, historique et matérielle*, edited by Catherine Hofmann and Hélène Richard, 219–37. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Vailly, Martin. 2020. *Le monde au bout des doigts. François Le Large, le globe de Coronelli et les cultures géographiques dans la France de Louis XIV*, unpublished PhD thesis. Florence: European University Institute.

---. 2021. "Le globe synoptique et son vernis craquelé : une histoire matérielle de la production et de l'usage des globes terrestres de Coronelli." *Cahiers François Viète* III-10 (April). Nantes: Centre François Viète.

Van Damme, Stéphane, ed. 2015. *Histoire des sciences et des savoirs : De la Renaissance aux Lumières*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Archives

Accademia degli Argonauti. 1688. *Impresa dell'Accademia Cosmografica degli Argonauti […]*. Venise: Accademia degli Argonauti.

Bégon, Michel. 1925, 1930. *Lettres de Michel Bégon, Tome 1, Tome 2*. Edited by Charles Dangibeaud and Louis Delavaud. Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis. Paris: A. Picard.

Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria. 1693. *Epitome cosmografica […]*. Cologne: Andrei Poletti.

Donneau de Vizé, Jean, Thomas Corneille, and Charles Du Fresny, eds. 1678

(March), 1683 (March), 1687a (April), 1687b (June), 1687c (August), 1690 (May), 1692 (May). *Mercure Galant*. Paris: Michel Brunet.

Dangeau, Philippe de Courcillon, marquis de. 1856a (vol.8), 1856b (vol. 9), 1857a (vol. 10), 1857b (vol. 11), 1858 (vol. 14). *Journal Du Marquis de Dangeau, Avec Les Additions Du Duc de Saint-Simon (1701-1714)*. Edited by Eudore Soulié, Louis Dussieux, Charles-Philippe de Chennevières-Pointel, Paul Mantz, and Anatole de Montaiglon. Paris: Firmin Didot.

Delisle, Guillaume. 1746. *Introduction a la geographie […]*. Paris: Étienne-François Savoye.

Lenglet Du Fresnoy, Nicolas. 1716. *Methode pour étudier la géographie […],* Vol. 1-3. Paris: C.-E. Hochereau.

---. 1736. *Méthode pour étudier la géographie […],* Vol. 1. Paris: Rollin fils.

Ortigue de Vaumorière, Pierre. 1701. *L'art de plaire dans la conversation […]* Paris: J. et M. Guignard.

MARCO FRATINI
Fondation Centre Culturel Vaudois

Les cartes comme instrument d'affirmation confessionnelle. La création de « Vallées vaudoises » entre XVII^e^ et XIX^e^ siècle

Les trois vallées alpines traversées par les torrents Pellice, Chisone et Germanasca se situent dans le Piémont occidental à la frontière avec la France et sont connues aujourd'hui sous le nom des « Vallées vaudoises ». Débouchant vers la plaine, aux alentours de Pinerolo, les trois vallées n'ont jamais constitué ni un district administratif ni une circonscription électorale portant ce nom. En effet, cette appellation a une origine culturelle résultant des événements historiques de ces quatre derniers siècles et elle est bien évidemment liée à la présence des Vaudois, une minorité protestante qui, à partir de la fin du XII^e^ siècle, s'est répandue à travers l'Europe pour enfin atteindre les États-Unis, l'Argentine et l'Uruguay au XIX^e^ siècle. Toutefois, ce n'est que dans ces vallées piémontaises qu'elle a survécu, à travers de nombreux changements culturels et doctrinaux, du Moyen-âge jusqu'à nos jours. Les traits distinctifs de ce phénomène culturel sont étroitement liés aux événements historiques de la deuxième moitié du XVII^e^ siècle, lorsqu'on élabora des cartes géographiques imprimées résumant les différents aspects politiques, culturels et confessionnels à la base de l'actuelle dénomination géographique « Vallées vaudoises » (pour les Vaudois, tout simplement « les Vallées » ; Tourn 2009; Peyrot 2009, 44), ayant donc un impact social dans les siècles suivants.

La carte des « Trois Vallées du Piémont » à l'époque des persécutions

Au printemps 1655, les Vallées furent mises à feu et à sang par les milices piémontaises, sur ordre de la régente Marie Christine de France qui gouvernait le Piémont au nom de son fils, le très jeune Duc de Savoie Charles Emmanuel II.

En effet, les Vaudois avaient bravé l'interdit de pratiquer leur culte réformé au-delà des limites territoriales établies lors du traité de Cavour du 5 juin 1561 (De Simone 1958). À l'époque, le Duc de Savoie avait été contraint de signer cet accord car les habitants des vallées avaient opposé une farouche résistance, aussi bien avec quelques armes qu'avec leurs outils agricoles, à toute tentative d'extirper l'« hérésie » de ces terres (Peyronel Rambaldi 2008). Cette désobéissance fut alors le prétexte pour déclencher les massacres et malgré quelques tentatives de résistance de la part des Vaudois, les tueries se soldèrent avec plus de 1500 victimes. L'épisode sanglant s'acheva temporairement avec les soi-disant *Patentes de Grâce et de pardon* octroyée par le Duc le 18 août de la même année qui néanmoins laissaient présager des nouvelles actions de force à l'encontre de cette petite communauté réformée (Tron 2005). Les massacres suscitèrent beaucoup d'émotion et d'horreur au sein de l'opinion publique

des pays protestants et les autorités mobilisèrent alors la diplomatie dans la tentative d'arrêter le carnage. L'Angleterre envoya un jeune diplomate du département d'État, Samuel Morland, envoyé spécial d'Oliver Cromwell, afin de vérifier les conditions pour un intervention de son *Lord protector* qui ambitionnait à devenir une sorte de guide du protestantisme européen. Morland ne devait pas seulement plaider la cause des Vaudois auprès de la Cour de Turin mais il était aussi chargé de présenter « an exact History [of] all that happened to the poor Protestants in the Valleys of Piedmont » (Morland 1658, frontispice; Pons 1960; Pons 1963). Il exécuta sa tâche grâce aux documents manuscrits et imprimés qui lui firent mis à disposition par les pasteurs vaudois Jean et Antoine Léger. Une fois rentré à Londres, il se consacra à la rédaction de son ouvrage, qui sera publié à Londres en 1658. Ses finalités étaient doubles : d'un côté il voulait défendre la cause des Vaudois en décrivant les vicissitudes de cette année terrible et de l'autre, sur demande explicite du primat de l'église d'Irlande, James Ussher, d'apporter de nouvelles épreuves attestant l'ancienneté des Vaudois, précurseurs des Églises de la Réforme, en opposition à l'Église de Rome (Benedetti 2007). Parmi les documents fournis par le Modérateur des Vaudois Jean Léger, non seulement il y avait des manuscrits de la fin du XIV^{e} siècle et du début du XV^{e} siècle prouvant l'antiquité de la croyance et de l'histoire de ce peuple mais peut-être aussi une carte géographique qui, néanmoins, n'a jamais été retrouvée.

Pliée à l'intérieur de son *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont. Containing a most exact Geographical Description of the Place, and a faithfull Account of the Doctrine, Life, and Persecutions of the Ancient Inhabitants. Together, with a most naked and punctual Relation of the late bloudy Massacre, 1655* (Morland 1658), Morland glissa une carte imprimée des territoires connus aujourd'hui sous le nom de Vallées Vaudoises. En haut à gauche, il y a un encadré avec le titre originel en italien : « CARTA DEL/LE TRE VALLI / DI PIEMONTE » (figure 1), et un titre en anglais « A new & most accurate Mapp of that part of PIEMONT which was anciently inhabited by the WALDENSES, » ainsi qu'un petit cercle montrant la position des Vallées par rapport à la Méditerranée et aux Alpes. Cette information supplémentaire s'adressait, de toute évidence, aux lecteurs n'ayant aucune notion de la géographie du Piémont (Fratini 2007).

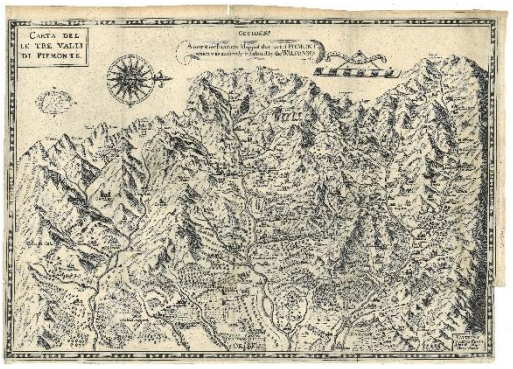


Figure 1
Valerio Grosso, « CARTA DELLE TRE VALLI DI PIEMONTE », dans Morland 1658 (Collection particulière).

Les trois Vallées du titre sont, d'est en ouest, celles des fleuves Po, Pellice et Chisone (dont le Germanasca est affluent). De la chaîne du Mont Viso (3841 mètres d'altitude) au sud, jusqu'au Col de Sestrières (2035 mètres d'altitude) au nord, le territoire s'étend vers la plaine le long des cours d'eau, parsemé de villages, de champs cultivés, de vignobles et de bois jusqu'à la ville de Pinerolo. La description des reliefs montagneux, des

déclivités ainsi que des territoires anthropisés est très minutieuse. La carte mentionne non seulement les villes plus ou moins grandes mais aussi les villages (et même les hameaux de montagne théâtre des événements de l'histoire vaudoise), les fortifications et les remparts entourant les centres urbains, les aires boisées, les ponts, ainsi que les principales voies de communication. Le territoire ainsi décrit est dominé par la présence d'éléments naturels assez contraignants qui exercent une très grande influence sur le processus d'anthropisation. Le territoire est décrit géométriquement (les champs cultivés sont carrés ou rectangulaires ; les arbres disposés en rangées entourent harmonieusement les centres habités et les champs, secondant les déclives, les torrents et les routes) tout en met en évidence les disparités naturelles : la vallée du Pellice est plus vaste et plus cultivée— ainsi que la plaine— tandis que le val Chisone, plus étroit, et le très escarpé val Germanasca laissent peu d'espace à l'intervention humaine. Le pays qui ressort de cette carte est apparemment bien structuré et surtout assez pacifique, contrairement aux images évoquées par les chroniques historiques de l'époque. Nous sommes en présence d'une description qui n'est nullement abstraite mais au contraire très empathique, comme celle qu'aurait pu tracer un habitant de ces lieux : les flancs des montagnes dégradant dans l'ombre, les sommets aux contours nuancés, le point de vue frontal comme dans un portrait, l'aménagement paysager, l'évocation de lieux apparemment secondaires mais aux traits familiers. Vraisemblablement cette carte ne devrait donc pas avoir sa place dans un livre publié en Angleterre pour des lecteurs qui ne connaissent pas ces territoires alpins.
Il apparaît évident que cette représentation remonte à bien avant la publication de l'ouvrage de Morland et qu'elle n'a pas été conçue pour l'occasion. Plusieurs éléments semblent confirmer cette théorie : en plus des détails que nous venons d'évoquer (le titre en italien, les références géographiques sur l'échelle régionale, la description engageante des contrées), dans la partie inférieure droite il y a un petit encadré dans lequel se trouve le nom de l'auteur ainsi qu'une importante référence chronologique « VALERIUS / CRASSUS FECIT / An[n]o D[omi]ni 1640 / Mense Martij ».

Valerio Crassus/Grosso, tout à fait méconnu dans son rôle de cartographe, était un pasteur réformé œuvrant dans les églises des Vallées vaudoises. Originaire de Bobbio Pellice (Val Pellice), fils d'Agostino Grosso, un ancien moine augustinien converti à la Réforme, il était probablement né en 1585. Il exerça son ministère pastoral dans les églises vaudoises de Angrogne, Maniglia-Massello, Villasecca et Villar Pellice et il fut l'un des deux seuls pasteurs survivant à l'épidémie de peste de 1630. Il mourut en 1649. Conformément aux autres pasteurs de l'époque, son activité pastorale fut jalonnée de nombreuses disputes publiques avec les missionnaires catholiques, notamment les frères capucins (Fratini 2001, 48-56).

La date imprimée sur la carte témoigne de son existence bien avant l'édition du livre de Morland et en effet cet écart de vingt ans nous autorise à croire qu'elle se trouvait parmi les documents que Jean Léger confia à l'ambassadeur anglais. Les motivations sous-jacentes à sa création ne sont pas connues, néanmoins nous pouvons affirmer avec certitude qu'elles ne relèvent pas de l'unique ouvrage rédigé par Valerio Grosso, *Lucerna sacra*, un traité

théologique publié à Genève en 1640 (Grosso 1640).

La carte élaborée par le pasteur Grosso est la première représentation géographique connue ayant été conçue par les Vaudois eux-mêmes. Elle décrit une région habitée par les Vaudois depuis le XIV[e] siècle, objet de discorde avec les autorités civiles et ecclésiastiques qui ne toléraient pas la présence d'un culte chrétien autre que celui catholique. Au cours du XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles, les autorités religieuses et ducales avaient utilisé plusieurs moyens pour essayer de l'extirper : des campagnes de conversion à la violence des armées, en passant par la pression fiscale et les limitations juridiques. L'accord de 1561 avait déjà établi très clairement les limites au-delà desquelles les Vaudois n'avaient pas le droit d'exercer leur religion, inaugurant ainsi une longue série de restrictions qui au cours des trois siècles suivants viseront à les renfermer, n'ayant pas pu les anéantir physiquement (Tron 2001). En effet, encore dans la première partie du XVI[e] siècle les lois des Savoie et l'action pastorale de l'Église catholique avaient traité les Vaudois comme un « corps étranger » qu'il fallait éliminer à tout prix (d'autant plus que cette présence allait à l'encontre de la règle du « cuius regio eius et religio » bien établie en Europe depuis la Paix d'Augsbourg en 1555 ; (Zwierlein 2008). Dans ces vallées alpines, habitées majoritairement par des Vaudois (notamment dans les villages les plus élevés), ces restrictions territoriales furent réitérées à plusieurs reprises, et parfois même augmentées, malgré les plaidoyers des représentants des communautés, visant à les faire correspondre aux limitations du culte (Viora 1930, 22-23).

La « Carta delle tre Valli » est une représentation efficace des terres peuplées par les Vaudois vers la moitié du XVII[e] siècle lorsque l'isolement fut accru par la disparition progressive des communautés vaudoises de la France méridionale et de Calabre, exterminés *manu militari* vers la moitié du siècle précédent (Audisio 1984 ; Tortora 2004). Au cours des années vingt du XVII[e] siècle, ce fut au tour des réformés du Marquisat de Saluces – annexé aux domaines des Savoie à la suite du traité de Lyon de 1601 – qui furent contraints de choisir entre l'abjuration ou l'exil (*L'annessione sabauda* 2004).

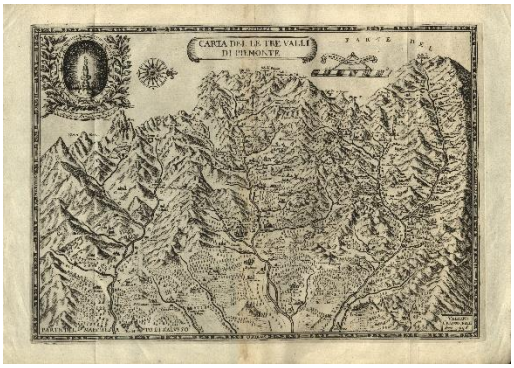
Face à cette situation, l'autoreprésentation conçue par Grosso constitue peut-être, de façon plus ou moins consciente, une réponse à ces mêmes limitations, tout en étant en adéquation avec les contraintes imposées par les Savoie. L'élaboration de cette image cartographique se situe à la même époque où une historiographie vaudoise officielle voit le jour, exprimant la conviction de constituer un seul et unique ensemble, demeurant sur le territoire des Vallées piémontaises.

L'efficacité de l'image proposée – à une époque où les cartes étaient des manifestations évidentes du pouvoir – est prouvée par son succès : elle fut un véritable modèle graphique et une source d'information pour les nombreuses représentations imprimées qui se succédèrent entre le XVII[e] et le XIX[e] siècles (Fratini 2001). En outre, certains aspects descriptifs permettent de deviner comment elle a été perçue, dès les débuts, par les adversaires, parmi la *Topografica descrittione*, du frère capucin Mattia Ferrerio (Ferrerius 1659).
Dans les milieux protestants, et notamment vaudois, la carte fut objet d'importantes modifications à deux reprises au cours des trois décennies.

Un territoire confessionnel ?

Le pasteur Jean Léger, parmi les protagonistes des Pâques Piémontaises de 1655, fut obligé de s'exiler d'abord en Suisse et ensuite aux Pays-Bas, à cause d'une prime sur sa tête. Pasteur auprès de l'Église wallonne de Leyde, il put enfin se consacrer à la rédaction d'une imposante histoire des Vaudois, qu'il envisageait d'écrire depuis vingt ans et qui avait été interrompue par les vicissitudes historiques et les persécutions (Ronchi de Michelis 2005, 297). Il l'acheva en 1668 et la publia l'année suivante, s'inspirant en grande partie des documents qu'il avait offert à Morland. L'*Histoire des eglises evangelique ou vaudoises* (Léger 1669), constitue une étape fondamentale dans la création de l'image des Vaudois et de leurs Vallées (Tron 1993 ; Laurenti 2016). L'ouvrage débute avec une carte, datée de 1668 et dessinée par le peintre hollandais Jan van Somer, qui semble copier celle publiée par Morland onze ans auparavant, avec quelques petites différences graphiques et toponomastiques, tout en conservant le même intitulé « CARTA DELLE TRE VALLI DI PIEMONTE » (figures 2 & 3). Toutefois, par rapport à celle publiée en 1658, elle propose une nouveauté importante et joue un rôle fondamental dans la narration élaborée par le pasteur en exil. En haut de la page, sur le côté gauche, se trouve un ovale contenant un chandelier allumé, entouré de sept étoiles et de la devise « Lux lucet in tenebris » ; tandis qu'en dessous une cartouche renferme l'inscription « Convallium Antiquissima Insigna ». Bien qu'apparemment identique à celles imprimées par Valerio Grosso sur le frontispice de son ouvrage théologique *Lucerna sacra* (« In tenebris lux » ; Isaïe 58 : 10, Jean 1 : 5), ces armoiries présentent quelques différences qu'on retrouve encore aujourd'hui et qui en ont fait, au fil du temps, le blason des Vaudois. Par rapport à la version précédente, le texte fait explicitement référence à l'Apocalypse de Jean (Apocalypse 1 : 16), dans le sens du ton prophétique de l'ensemble de l'ouvrage. Dans cette version, les sept étoiles font allusion aux sept églises d'Asie Mineure persécutées (Fratini & Tron 2022, 19). L'*Histoire* du pasteur Léger visait en effet à démontrer l'ancienneté des Vaudois au sein de la polémique sur l'origine qui depuis le XVI^e^ siècle opposait l'Église de Rome aux Églises Réformées. Le but de l'auteur n'était pas seulement d'apporter des preuves en faveur de la thèse datant l'origine des Vaudois bien avant l'époque de Valdès, fondateur du mouvement (dernier quart du XII^e^), mais aussi de situer leurs vicissitudes dans une vision providentielle de l'histoire humaine et de les enraciner dans un territoire spécifique d'où ils auraient tiré leur nom (*vaudois*, de l'ancienne forme *vaux* = vallée), (Laurenti 2016, 112). Ils auraient donc incarné la « véritable église » du Christ, « que la misericordeuse, & miraculeuse Providence de Dieu, dès le siècle même des Apôtres s'est voulu conserver » (Léger 1669, 1). La première partie de l'ouvrage, consacrée à la description du territoire, de la flore et de la faune, proposait également une lecture providentielle de l'histoire des Vaudois et de leur territoire. Au cours des siècles, l'isolement alpin aurait garanti leur survie sur des terres que Dieu aurait choisi pour son peuple. Cet aspect de l'ouvrage de Léger va bientôt devenir le socle et le fil conducteur de toute narration de ce territoire et de ces habitants, jusqu' au XIX^e^ siècle et même au-delà. La nature de cette région et les montagnes qui l'entourent constituaient une protection que Dieu même aurait voulu : « L'Eternel nostre Dieu, qui avoit destiné ce Païs-là pour en faire particulierement le Theatre de ses merveilles, & l'Azile de

son Arche, l'a naturellement & merveilleusement fortifié » (Léger 1669, 3-4). Non seulement cette chaîne de sommets quasiment inaccessibles s'élevait en guise de protection pour ses habitants mais, du fait de son rôle presque divin, renversait le cliché de marginalité qui, pendant des siècles, avait caractérisé ces lieux, si rudes et sauvages. Pour la culture juridique et cléricale de l'époque il s'agissait en effet de lieux dangereux, d'une frontière difficile à gérer, parsemée d'embûches, d'hérésies et de pratiques rituelles magiques (Ginzburg 1989, 36-61). Il suffit de penser que déjà à la fin du XII[e] siècle, le moine prémontré Bernard de Fontcaude avait motivé le nom « Valdenses » du fait que ces hommes et ces femmes provenaient « a valle densa eo quod profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur » (Paravy 1993, II, 915-916).



Figures 2 & 3
Valerio Grosso, « CARTA DELLE TRE VALLI DI PIEMONTE », dans Léger 1669 (Torre Pellice, Biblioteca della Società di Studi Valdesi).

Bien que réalisée par Valerio Grosso trente ans auparavant et ensuite utilisée par Morland dans son ouvrage, cette carte des « trois Vallées », avec ses montagnes entourant d'un étreinte protectrice un territoire familier et bien cultivé comme un jardin, se prêtait aussi à illustrer parfaitement le message de Léger. En effet, elles semblaient protéger ces vallées non seulement des attaques militaires des oppresseurs mais aussi de la corruption morale du monde extérieur (« Aussi peut-on bien remarquer que les lieux des Vallées qui commencent à s'éloigner le plus de ces bonnes règles, sont soit ceux qui sont plus proches de Turin, et mêlés parmi les catholiques romains, soit ceux qui sont sur le grand passage de France en Italie, comme s'ils prévoient la contagion les uns des nouveaux Cananéens parmi lesquels ils habitent, et les autres des étrangers qu'ils logent ») (Léger 1669, 189 ; Laurenti 2016, 117-122). La menace externe avait corrompu le message originel

et mis en péril l'existence même des Vaudois : « C'est sans doute pour ce que nous commançions par trop à nous éloigner, si non de la pure Doctrine, du moins de la Sainteté des mœurs de nos devanciers, que Dieu nous a si rudement châtiés » (Léger 1669, XXI, *Lettre de l'Autheur à ses Compatriotes des Vallées de Piemont*). Face aux massacres de 1655, le pasteur exhortait ses coreligionnaires à demeurer fermes dans leur foi : « c'est que de vous, après Dieu, & le Prince, de vôtre exemple, et de vôtre conduite, plus que de vôtre doctrine, dépend absolument la ruine ou l'edification & conservation des Eglises des Vallées » (Léger 1669, XXIII). Le blason vaudois, avec le verset tiré de l'Apocalypse, a joué un rôle décisif dans ce processus de consolidation des liens entres les Vaudois et leurs Vallées, aboutissant à une véritable identification mutuelle. Pour la toute première fois, ces armoiries sont rattachées explicitement à un territoire bien précis—entouré par des ennemis et privé de droits civils par les autorités ducales—et cela contribue de manière décisive à la définition d'un lieu géographique en fonction identitaire, voire confessionnelle (Fratini 2001).

L'enracinement solide des Vaudois dans ce territoire alpin n'était pas étranger à la littérature protestante européenne du XVII^{e} siècle, notamment celle britannique. Fortement apologétique, elle considérait les Vaudois comme l'élément clé pour démontrer (ou alors réfuter, dans le cas de leurs adversaires) la thèse de leur ancienneté (Fratini 2022) en fonction de la succession apostolique des églises issues de la Réforme du XVI^{e} siècle, pour lesquelles ce petit peuple alpin du Piémont revêtait le rôle de *mater Reformationis* (Barnett 1999 ; de Lange 2011, 67-69).

Le succès de l'*Histoire des Vaudois* rédigée par le pasteur originaire du Dauphiné, Jean Paul Perrin, commanditée par le Synode reformé d'Embrun en 1603 et publiée entre 1618 et 1619, est attesté par deux éditions, toutes les deux de 1624, affichant des intitulés très explicites : *Luthers Fore-Runners or a Cloud of Witnesses* et en suite *The blovdy rage of that great Antechrist of Rome and his superstitious adherents, against the true Church of Christ* (Fratini à paraître). Les persécutions réitérées que les Vaudois avaient enduré au fil du temps, étaient situées dans un territoire précis et bien circonscrit : « peuplee encor à present des descendans des premiers Vaudois […] ou encor à present il y a des lieux esquels de temps immemoré la croyance des Vaudois a esté receuë de pere en fils […] plusieurs villages qui dependent d'une chacune desdites Eglises, toutes composees des descendans desdits anciens Vaudois. Eglises vrayement reformees de temps inmemoré » (Perrin 1618, 109-111). Dans ce contexte, les Vaudois pouvaient être identifiés non seulement avec les martyrs chrétiens des premiers siècles mais aussi—et surtout—avec les deux témoins de l'Apocalypse tués par la Bête et destinés à ressusciter à la fin des temps (Apocalypse 11 : 3-8 ; Fratini 2021 ; Tron et Fratini 2022). Cette renommée avait même traversé l'Océan, à tel point qu'en 1646 Thomas Parker, pasteur dans le New-England, citait les Vaudois dans son exégèse des prophéties de Daniel en se référant aux Vallées comme « Waldensian Countries » (Parker 1646, 48) et un demi-siècle après pour le ministre puritain Cotton Mather, elles étaient « *the Vallies*, that are ever famous for them » (Mather 1690, 8).

La guerre des cartes : du « martyre » à la « victoire »

Le modèle graphique de Grosso fut si efficace que même les cartographes de la partie adverse, rattachés à la cour des Savoie, l'utilisaient pour tracer des cartes destinées à la propagande à l'encontre des Vaudois. À cette époque, le potentiel des cartes en tant qu'outil de propagande et manifestation du pouvoir et en tant que représentation concrète d'une identité est devenu évident.

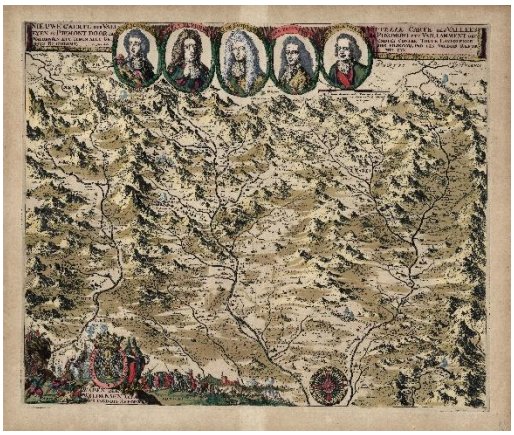
Au cours des quinze ans qui suivirent la publication de l'ouvrage de Léger, les Vaudois furent soumis à de nouvelles discriminations. Avec l'Édit de Fontainebleau du 18 octobre 1685 qui révoquait les conditions octroyées aux sujets reformés par l'Édit de Nantes, les Vaudois des vallées piémontaises, alors sous contrôle du Roi de France et du Duc de Savoie, furent, eux aussi, livrés aux persécutions. Refusant d'abjurer, après quelques tentatives de résistance armée, ils furent emprisonnés par milliers dans les geôles des Savoie. L'intervention diplomatique des représentants des Cantons Suisses, ainsi que les pressions internationales poussèrent le Duc a les laisser partir en exil, d'abord en Suisse et ensuite dans le Brandebourg, le Palatinat et le Württemberg (Pascal 1937-1968 ; *Dall'Europa* 1990). Dans ce contexte historique, deux cartes destinées à l'attention du Duc de Savoie furent exécutées ; réalisé sous forme de manuscrits aquarellées, jamais imprimés, étaient probablement destinés à être accrochés aux murs et exposés comme une forme d'autocélébration du souverain.

La « CARTA GENERALE DELLE VALLI COTTIE, RELIGION VALDESE E CALVINIANA SUDITI DI S.A.R. DI SAVOIA » remonte à 1686 et fut réalisée par « Carolus Johannes Bapt. Formentus » (Turin, Bibliothèque Royale, Dis.II.136). La ressemblance avec celle de Grosso est tout à fait frappante. Dessinée pendant la période des massacres des Vaudois, elle célébrait l'aboutissement des démarches visant l'extermination de ces sujets de « religion valdese e calviniana ». L'année suivante, dans le même esprit de triomphe pour le succès des actions militaires, le prêtre Contini, chapelain du Régiment des Savoie, élabore un « DISEGNO DELLE VALLI DI LUCERNA, ANGROGNA, S. MARTINO ET ALTRE DEDICATO A S.A.R. DI SAVOIA » daté du 20 décembre 1687 (Turin, Bibliothèque Royale, Dis.III.23). Une fois encore le dessin est très clairement inspiré de celui de Valerio Grosso et il est accompagné de deux cartouches très denses. Dans la partie inférieure, il y a un résumé assez original de l'histoire vaudoise ainsi que quelques indications toponomastiques, tandis qu'une longue dédicace au souverain remplit la cartouche en haut de la page. Elle célèbre la reconquête de ces montagnes rebelles et commémore, évoquant des exemples héroïques de l'Antiquité, le succès d'une campagne militaire menée en dépit de l'extrême aspérité des lieux. Les conversions forcées et l'exil des Vallées en 1686-87 furent suivis d'une forte pression diplomatique des pays protestants qui prônaient le retour des Vaudois au Piémont. En 1689, environ mille hommes parvinrent à quitter la Suisse pour rentrer dans leurs vallées natales après une longue marche à travers les montagnes. Au cours des années suivantes, grâce au changement d'alliances du Duc de Savoie et à l'appui des puissances protestantes, les Vaudois recouvrèrent leurs biens et leurs droits. Un important soutien diplomatique, économique et militaire fut également déployé par l'Angleterre et les Provinces Unies

(Viora 1928a ; Viora 1928b ; Storss 1990), où la propagande, non seulement imprimée, fut capillaire et suscita une très grande impression (Vola 1990 ; Minutoli 1998, 51-64 ; Tarantino 2014, 91-105).

La rentrée des Vaudois dans leurs Vallées créa les conditions pour une nouvelle géographie confessionnelle dans cette partie du Piémont, gouvernée par un souverain catholique. L'exploit de 1689 (appelé *Glorieuse Rentrée* à partir de 1710, par un des protagonistes) ainsi que la mutation du contexte politique sont à la base d'une carte géographique élaborée en 1691 aux Pays-Bas par Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708). Elle offre une vue d'ensemble du territoire que nous appelons Vallées vaudoises encore nos jours, avec des scènes de bataille, des références symboliques et des portraits de personnages ayant joué un rôle décisif dans ce moment historique. Le modèle descriptif de la « NIEUWE CAERTE DER VALL/EYEN IN PIEMONT DOOR DE/ WALDENSEN ÆTC. TEGEN ALLE GE/WELT BESCHERMT » (figures 4 & 5), aussi bien pour ce qui concerne la structure de la représentation que pour les informations topographiques, est, une fois de plus, calqué sur la *Carta delle Tre Valli* de Grosso (Fratini 2021). Si cette dernière exprimait pour la première fois une identité territoriale vaudoise dans la conjoncture difficile de la moitié du XVII^{e} siècle, la carte hollandaise tourne autour d'une signification explicitement politique. Conçue après que les Vaudois exilés avaient reconquis leurs terres, elle évoque des faits et des personnages contemporains, employant une symbologie qui réaffirme l'appartenance confessionnelle de ces montagnes. Le titre en néerlandais en haut à gauche fait allusion à la protection accordée aux Vaudois par Guillaume III d'Orange, avec le soutien des autres puissances protestantes, tandis que l'intitulé en langue française (en haut à droite) est plus explicite en attribuant les responsabilités des violences perpétrées : « […] Vaillamment def/endues, contre Toute Laviolenge/ des Francois, Par les Vaudois Refor/mes, etc. ». En bas une figure féminine peut être identifiée avec l'Église du Christ (le flambeau ardant sur la tête, la couronne du martyre, la Bible ouverte dans la main gauche et l'épée levée dans la main droite, alors qu'elle piétine un dragon aux apparences diaboliques) ; elle est accompagnée de deux scènes différentes, au sens opposé. Celle de gauche, avec l'inscription « Martyre », évoque des civils inertes, jetés d'une falaise, pendus, empalés, poignardés et brûlés sur les bûchers par les missionnaires catholiques, alors que celle de droite, avec la légende « Victoire », représente une longue colonne de soldats (« Les armées/ des Vaudois Reformes ») escortant un groupe de prisonniers avec des perruques volumineuses très voyantes et des mulets chargés de butin. Voilà que les différentes, voire contrastantes, expériences vécues par les Vaudois en quelques années sont évoquées ensemble, symbolisant sans aucune ambiguïté la revanche et la reconquête des Vallées, dont le but était le rétablissement de la foi réformée. Cette interprétation historico-politique est entérinée par les images de la partie supérieure. Cinq médaillons ovales formés par des gerbes de laurier encadrent les portraits de cinq personnages de l'époque : Charles Duc de Schomberg, Maximilien Emmanuel II Prince électeur de Bavière, Victor Amédée II Duc de Savoie, Eugène Prince de Savoie-Soissons et, de manière surprenante, Henri Arnaud, « col.[onel] et min.[istre] des Vaudois ». Dans ce cas, les Savoie côtoient les alliés anti-français puisqu'en 1690 Victor Amédée avait brisé l'alliance avec la France et signé un accord avec ses anciens ennemis : l'Angleterre de

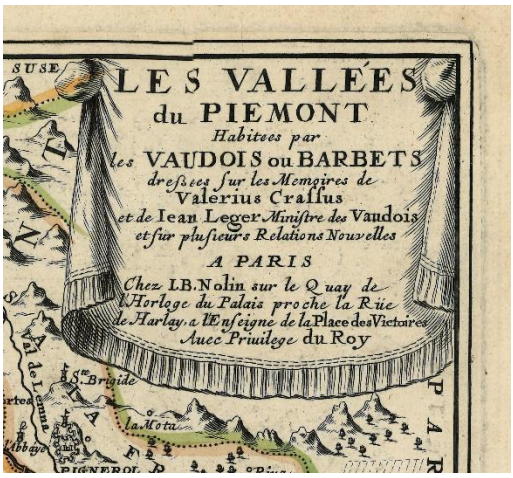
Guillaume d'Orange, l'Empire et l'Espagne. Soulignant le changement politique, et avec lui la nouvelle destinée des Vaudois, la *Nieuwe Caerte* cautionnait la reconquête des Vallées perçue comme un événement victorieux pour tous les pays protestants. Tous les éléments de cette représentation des Vallées vaudoises concourent à appuyer une évidente volonté de propagande ; les visages sévères cernés par les médaillons, les scènes de bataille, le blason vaudois et la vision frontale en font un véritable « placard ».



Figures 4 & 5
[Romeyn de Hooghe], « NIEUWE CAERTE DER VALLEYEN IN PIEMONT DOOR DE/ WALDENSEN ÆTC. TEGEN ALLE GEWELT BESCHERMT » [1691] (Torre Pellice, Archivio della Tavola valdese).

Dans la deuxième partie du XVII[e] siècle, les cartes du territoire des Vallées vaudoises, auparavant inexistants, étaient caractérisée aussi par des changements relevant du domaine de la dénomination. Dans le contexte de la production des années 1689-90, liée aux Savoie, la carte « LE QUATTRO VALLI / di Lucerna, Angrogna / S. Martino, e la Perosa, / già Seggio / delli Calvinisti, detti Barbetti, / cacciati dall'Armi / di S.M. Cristianissima, / e di S.A.R. di Savoia » (le Val Chisone est ici partagé en Val Saint Martin et Val Perosa) est élaborée par Vincenzo Coronelli, avec une dédicace à la République de Venise et au pape Alexandre VIII[e] (*Dal Monviso* 2019, n. 24). Elle ne mentionne pas les « Vaudois » mais introduit l'expression « Calvinistes, dits *Barbets* » (épithété dépréciatif qui leur été attribué) devenant ainsi la référence de nombreuses ouvrages français d'inspiration catholique qui associent le terme « Vaudois » à celui de « Barbets » (Tron 2001, 25-26). La première, en ordre chronologique, remonte à 1690, sans aucun doute copiée de la carte de Valerio Grosso : « DESCRIPTION DES VALLEES DE PIEDMONT, / QU'HABITENT LES VAUDOIS OU BARBETS » (*Dal Monviso* 2019, n. 25 ; figures 6 & 7) et elle a été réalisée par Jean Baptiste Nolin (1648-1708), géographe officiel du roi de France. Ensuite, en 1693, pendant la guerre de la Ligue d'Augsbourg, la carte du géographe royal Nicolas de Fer propose également une assimilation entre les deux appellations : « LE DAUPHINÉ / DISTINGUÉ EN / Principales Parties et Regions / Selon les Memoires les plus recens / Avec les divers Cols ou Passages pratiques dans les Alpes pour / entrer dans les Estats du Duc de Savoye, dans les quels ce trouvent / les Vallées des Vaudois ou Barbets. Dressé sur de Nouveaux Memoires » (*Dal Monviso* 2019, n. 35; figure 8). Ce dernier témoignage introduit une dénomination unitaire du

territoire sous le nom de « Vallées des Vaudois », et plus tard « Vallées vaudoises ».



Figures 6 & 7
Jean Baptiste Nolin, « DESCRIPTION DES VALLEES DE PIEDMONT, QU'HABITENT LES VAUDOIS OU BARBETS » (Collection particulière).

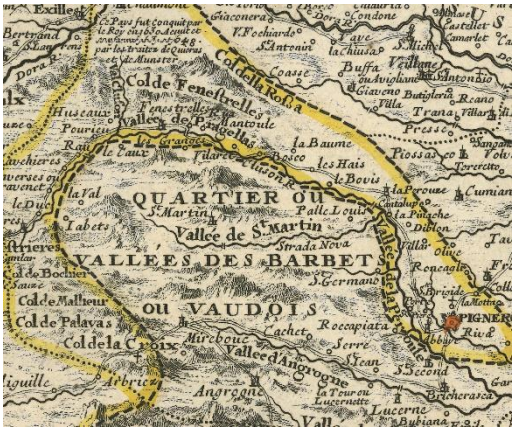


Figure 8
Nicolas de Fer, « LE DAUPHINÉ DISTINGUÉ EN Principales Parties et Regions Selon les Memoires les plus recens Avec les divers Cols ou Passages pratiques dans les Alpes pour entrer dans les Estats du Duc de Savoye, dans les quels ce trouvent les Vallées des Vaudois ou Barbets. Dressé sur de Nouveaux Memoires » (Collection particulière).

Des cartes aux voyageurs.

En Grande Bretagne, au cours du XIX[e] siècle, l'image exemplaire des Vaudois—inlassablement évoquée dans les discours sur la religion au XVII[e] siècle et même au-delà—constitue un ressort fondamental pour l'arrivée de voyageurs dans ces Vallées, pourtant aux marges de l'itinéraire du *Grand Tour*. L'analyse de la littérature de voyage produite par les Anglais au XIX[e] siècle, concernant les Vallées vaudoises (accompagnée de cartes parfois encore inspirées de celle 1640 ; Gilly 1824) révèle clairement que leurs esprits et leurs yeux étaient déjà formés à percevoir ces lieux et leurs habitants. Il est évident que l'image des Vaudois qui s'était formée et répandue au Royaume-Uni était si puissante et efficace que le regard des voyageurs, une fois sur place, était

parfaitement comblé (Fratini 2020). Dans ce contexte, la narration de Jean Léger, remontant à la moitié du XVI[e] siècle, en constitue une première synthèse ainsi qu'une première représentation visuelle (la carte, le blason, les persécutions), néanmoins elle n'aurait pas été si efficace sans l'intérêt porté par les Anglais au « stronger body of Witnesses » (Wylie 1858, 120).

L'accomplissement du processus d'identification confessionnelle de ce territoire, élaboré par le livre de Léger, permit aux Britanniques de passer d'une connaissance purement littéraire des Vaudois à une perception visuelle et physique des hommes et des lieux. En effet, l'histoire des Vaudois et le mythe de leur origine continuaient de jour un rôle très important en faveur de la légitimation de l'Église d'Angleterre au sein des contrastes internes (l'Anglo-catholicisme du mouvement de Oxford) et externes (avec l'Église de Rome qui en 1850 avait rétabli la hiérarchie catholique anglaise, niant de ce fait la succession apostolique anglicane). La force iconique et l'efficacité descriptive des Vallées vaudoises proposées par Léger, qui vantait une riche tradition textuelle aussi Outre-Manche, étaient indissolublement liées aux « ancient Waldenses » que les Britanniques étaient enfin prêts à rencontrer personnellement, utilisant l'ouvrage du pasteur comme un véritable *baedeker*. Le poids de la matrice littéraire dans la mentalité des voyageurs du XIX[e] siècle était si grand que parfois il engendrait une sorte de court-circuit entre la description introjectée et la réalité observée (« [But] the records on this subject are supported by authorities which it would be rash to impugn, and impossible to controvert » ; Beattie 1838, 80).

Bien que les narrations de voyage des Britanniques soient caractérisées par des différences confessionnelles (anglicans et presbytériens), diverses provenances géographiques (Angleterre, Écosse, Irlande), motivations, attitudes et objectifs variés des auteurs (voyage romantique, curiosité historique, élan missionnaire), elles se montrent homogènes lorsqu'il s'agit d'attribuer aux Vaudois le rôle de témoins d'une histoire de foi qu'il fallait défendre, préserver et faire connaître aux compatriotes et à tous ceux qui en Europe prônaient un christianisme différent de celle de l'Église de Rome. Partant d'un intérêt historique pour une minorité protestante dans un pays majoritairement catholique, leur vision généra une activité intense dans un contexte de mission permanente sur le continent (Baral 2016, 69-88). L'histoire exceptionnelle des Vaudois, faite de persécution et résistance, dans un cadre géographique restreint et identifiée confessionnellement, offrait les éléments de continuité nécessaires à une lecture liée à la Providence : un peuple élu de Dieu pour vivre *sur cette terre*. Pour le presbytérien écossais James Aitken Wylie, en visite dans la région en 1852 et 1858, ces montagnes, aux marges entre l'Europe protestante et l'Italie papiste, étaient similaires au pays sur la frontière d'Egypte où s'étaient installés les Hébreux « They were a Goshen of light in the midst of an Egypt of darkness » ; Wylie 1855, 52). Le rôle moral des Vaudois demeurait intact (« There was a time when the Waldensian Church was the one missionary Church in Europe. From her central lamp in the Pra del Tor [valle d'Angrogna] shone rays that radiated to Britain on the one side, and to Calabria on the other » ; Wylie 1855, 266) à tel point qu'un voyageur de la fin du XIX[e] siècle, William Basil Worsfold, avocat d'Oxford et fils d'un vicaire anglican, utilisa l'image de la colombe

persécutée faisant son nid dans les Vallées vaudoises (« The wall of rock where […] the poor persecuted dove, the Church of the Valleys, was driven from the Roman Church »), et était prêt à déployer ses ailes sur toute l'Italie (« she may fly abroad into the plain, and stretch her wings over the whole length of Italy »), dans l'attente d'une saison de renouvellement religieux (Worsfold 1899, 218-119).

La longue durée des rapports entre Anglais et Vaudois, nés au moment des persécutions de la moitié du XVII[e] siècle, se renouvela donc presque deux siècles plus tard, renforçant ainsi l'image confessionnelle du territoire des trois vallées piémontaises, représentés sur des cartes imprimées, contribuant à la création des « lieux historiques vaudois » qui jalonnent aujourd'hui encore ce petit territoire montagnard (Jalla 2010).

Notes

L'auteur tient à remercier Micaela Fenoglio pour la traduction et les propriétaires des images pour avoir permis de les publier.

Références

Audisio, Gabriel. 1984. *Les Vaudois du Luberon. Une minorité en Provence (1460-1560)*. Mérindol : Association d'Études Vaudoises du Luberon.

Baral, Simone. 2016. *Storia delle opere sociali della Chiesa Valdese*, PhD, Università degli studi di Torino – Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, tutors Silvano Montaldo et Yves Krumenacker.

Barnett, S.J. 1999. "Where Was Your Church before Luther? Claims for the Antiquity of Protestantism." *Church History*, 68 (1): 14–41.

Beattie, William. 1838. *The Waldenses or Protestant Valleys of Piedmont, Dauphiny and the Ban de la Roche*, illustrated by William Henry Bartlett and William Brockedon. London : Virtue.

Benedetti, Marina. 2007. *Il « santo bottino ». Circolazione di manoscritti valdesi nell'Europa del Seicento.* II ed. Torino : Claudiana.

Dal Monviso al Moncenisio Cartografia a stampa dal XVI al XVIII secolo. 2019, dir. par Marco Fratini, Enrica Morra, Ettore Peyronel, Domenico Rosselli, Bruno Usseglio. Pinerolo : Alzani.

Dall'Europa alle Valli valdesi. 1990. Atti del XXIX Convegno storico internazionale « Il Glorioso Rimpatrio (1686-1989). Contesto - significato - immagine ». Torre Pellice, 3-7 settembre 1989, dir. par Albert de Lange, Torino : Claudiana.

De Simone, Raffaele. 1958. *Tre anni decisivi di storia valdese. Missioni, repressione e tolleranza nelle valli piemontesi dal 1559 al 1561*. Roma : Pontificia Università Gregoriana.

Ferrerius, Matthias. 1659. *Rationarivm chronographicvm Missionis Euangelicæ ab Apostolicis Operarijs, præsertim Capuccinis pro Ecclesiastico Catholico Regno propagando in quatuor Mundi partibus, signanter in Gallia Cisalpina exercitæ.* Augustæ Taurinorvm : Carolum Ianellum.

Fratini, Marco. 2001. "La « Carta delle Tre Valli di Piemonte » di Valerio Grosso e la sua diffusione europea fra

Sei e Ottocento." *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 189 : 47–73.

---. 2007. "Una *frontiera confessionale*. La territorializzazione dei valdesi del Piemonte nella cartografia del Seicento." Dans *Confini e frontiere nell'età moderna. Un confronto fra discipline*, dir. par Alessandro Pastore, 127–43. Milano : Angeli.

---. 2020. "« This Goshen of the Alps ». Il contributo dei viaggiatori britannici alla creazione dei "luoghi storici" delle Valli valdesi." *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 74 (1): 125–59.

---. 2021. "Les Vaudois dans la propagande visuelle des Provinces-Unies à la fin du XVII[e] siècle. " *Revue d'Histoire du Protestantisme*, 6 (4) : 401–39.

---. à paraître. "« A Stronger Body of Witnesses »: The Waldensian Past Among British Travellers", à paraître.

Fratini, Marco et Tron, Daniele. 2022. "Testimoni dell'Apocalisse. L'iconografia dell'antiporta della Storia dei valdesi di Jean Léger nel protestantesimo europeo del Seicento." *Riforma e movimenti religiosi*, 6 (11), à paraître.

Gilly, William Stephen. 1924. *Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piemont, and Researches Among the Vaudois, or Waldenses, Protestant Inhabitants of the Cottian Alps; with Maps, Plates, and an Appendix containing Copies of Ancient Manuscripts, and other interesting Documents, in illustration of the History and Manners of that extraordinary People*. London: C. and J. Rivington.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 1989. *Storia notturna. Una decifrazione del sabba*. Torino : Einaudi.

Grosso, Valerio. 1640. *Lucerna sacra: cioè, breve sommario di prove della Fede Christiana, per passi espressi della S. Scrittura, per Valerio Grosso Ministro della parola di Dio nella Chiesa del Villaro.* Genève : Jean de Tournes.

Jalla, Daniele. 2010. *I luoghi della storia valdese*. Torino : Claudiana.

L'annessione sabauda del Marchesato di Saluzzo, tra dissidenza religiosa e ortodossia cattolica (secc. XVI-XVIII). Atti del XLI Convegno di studi sulla Riforma e sui movimenti religiosi in Italia (Torre Pellice – Saluzzo, 1-2 settembre 2001), dir. par Marco Fratini. Torino : Claudiana.

Lange de, Albert. 2011. "Dalla Riforma al Valdismo in Val Pragelato : 1555-1564." Dans *Presenze religiose, migrazioni e lingua occitana nell'alta Val Chisone tra il '400 e il '500. Dai conflitti alla convivenza*, dir. par Raimondo Genre, 55–126. Villaretto-Roure : La Valaddo.

Laurenti, Martino. 2015. *I confini della comunità. Conflitto europeo e guerra religiosa nelle comunità valdesi del Seicento*. Torino : Claudiana.

Laurenti, Martino. 2016. "« Les Vrays Vaudois Originaires ». La nascita dell'identità valligiana nelle comunità valdesi del Piemonte seicentesco." Dans *Identità valdesi tra passato e presente*. Atti del LV Convegno di studi sulla Riforma e sui movimenti religiosi in Italia, Torre Pellice, 4-6 settembre 2015, dir. par Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi. *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 219 : 105–32.

Léger, Jean. 1669. *Histoire générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piémont ou Vaudoises. Divisée en deux livres, dont le*

premier fait voir incontestablement quelle a esté de tout tems tant leur discipline, que surtout leur doctrine et de quelle manière elles l'ont si constamment conservée en une si grande pureté, dès que Dieu les a tirèes des ténèbres du paganisme jusq'à present, sans interruprion et necessité de Reformation, et le Second traite généralement de toutes les plus considérables persécutions qu'elle ont souffertes. Leyde : Jean Le Carpentier.

Mather, Cotton. 1690. *The serviceable man. A discourse made unto the General Court of the Massachusetts colony, New-England, at the anniversary election 28d. 3m. 1690*. Boston: Samuel Green.

Minutoli, Vincent. 1998. *Storia del ritorno dei Valdesi nella loro patria dopo un esilio di tre anni e mezzo (1698) con le relazioni dei partecipanti al Rimpatrio*, éd. par Enea Balmas et Albert de Lange. Torino : Claudiana.

Morland, Samuel. 1658. *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont. Containing a most exact Geographical Description of the Place, and a faithfull Account of the Doctrine, Life, and Persecutions of the Ancient Inhabitants. Together, with a most naked and punctual Relation of the late bloudy Massacre, 1655*. London : Henry Hills.

Paravy, Pierrette. 1993. *De la chrétienté romaine à la Riforme en Dauphiné. Évêques, fidèles et déviants (vers 1340-vers 1530)*. Roma : École française de Rome, 2 voll.

Parker, Thomas. 1646. *The visions and prophecies of Daniel expounded: wherein the mistakes of former interpreters are modestly discovered, and the true meaning of the text made plain by the words and circumstances of it*. London: Ruth Raworth and John Field.

Pascal, Arturo. 1937-1968. *Le Valli Valdesi negli anni del martirio e della gloria (1668-1690)*. Torre Pellice : Società di Studi Valdesi, 5 voll.

Perrin, Jean Paul. 1618. *Histoire des Vaudois. Divisee en trois parties. La premiere est de leur origine, pure croyance, & persecutions qu'ils ont souffert par toute l'Europe, par l'espace de plus de quatre cens cinquante ans. La seconde contient l'Histoire des Vaudois appellés Albigeois. La troisiesme est touchant la Doctrine & Discipline qu'ils ont eu commune entre eux, & la refutation de la Doctrine de leurs aduersaires*. Genève : Matthieu Berjon.

Peyronel Rambaldi, Susanna. 2008. "« Morire piuttosto che obbedire ad un principe così perfido ». Resistenza armata e valdesi nel Cinquecento." Dans *Con o senza le armi. Controversistica religiosa e resistenza armata nell'età moderna*. Atti del XLVII Convegno di studi sulla Riforma e sui movimenti religiosi in Italia (Torre Pellice, 8-9 settembre 2007) , dir. par Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi. *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 202 : 31–65.

Peyrot, Bruna. 2009. "Identità valdesi: eredità, confini e scelte." Dans *Héritage(s). Formazione e trasmissione del patrimonio culturale valdese*, dir. par Daniele Jalla, 39–47. Torino : Claudiana.

Pons, Teofilo G. 1960. "L'ultimo decennio della vita di Giovanni Léger e la sua Storia." *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 107 : 37–68

---. 1963. "Giovanni Léger e Samuele Morland." *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 113 : 27–64.

Ronchi de Michelis, Laura. 2005. "Léger, Jean." Dans *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 64, 295–98. Roma : Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana.

Storss, Christopher. 1990. "Thomas Coxe and the Lindau Project." Dans *Dall'Europa alle Valli valdesi.* Atti del XXIX Convegno storico internazionale « Il Glorioso Rimpatrio (1686-1989). Contesto - significato - immagine ». Torre Pellice, 3-7 settembre 1989, dir. par Albert de Lange, 199–214. Torino : Claudiana.

Tarantino, Giovanni. 2014. "Mapping Religion (and Emotions) in the Protestant Valleys of Piedmont." *ASDIWAL. Revue genevoise d'anthropologie et d'histoire des religions*, 9: 91-105.

Thieme, Ulrich et Becker, Felix. 1907-1950. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig : Seeman, 37 voll.

Tortora, Alfonso. 2004. *Presenze valdesi nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia (secoli XV-XVII).* Salerno : Società Storica Salernitana – Laveglia.

Tourn, Giorgio. 2009. "Dai miti al patrimonio. Percorso di una identità." Dans *Héritage(s). Formazione e trasmissione del patrimonio culturale valdese*, dir. par Daniele Jalla, 25–38. Torino : Claudiana.

Tron, Daniele. 1993. "Jean Léger e la storiografia valdese del Seicento." *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 172 : 82–90

---. 2001. "La definizione territoriale delle Valli valdesi dall'adesione alla Riforma alla Rivoluzione francese." *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 189 : 5–26.

---. 2005. *Le « Pasque piemontesi » e l'internazionale protestante*. Torino : Claudiana.

Viora, Mario. 1928[a]. 'Documenti sulle assistenze prestate dall'Olanda ai valdesi durante il regno di Vittorio Amedeo II'. *Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino*, 30, 3-6 : 273–305.

---. 1928[b]. "Notizie e documenti sugli interventi diplomatici dell'Inghilterra in favore dei valdesi durante il regno di Vittorio Amedeo II." *Studi Urbinati*, 2 : 81–135.

---. 1930. *Storia delle leggi sui Valdesi di Vittorio Amedeo II*. Bologna : Zanichelli.
Vola, Giorgio. 1990. 'I valdesi nella stampa inglese attorno al 1689'. Dans *Dall'Europa alle Valli valdesi*, Atti del XXIX Convegno storico internazionale « Il Glorioso Rimpatrio (1686-1989). Contesto - significato - immagine ». Torre Pellice, 3-7 settembre 1989, dir. par Albert de Lange, 409–32. Torino : Claudiana.

Worsfold, William Basil. 1899. *The Valley of Light. Studies with pen and pencil in the Vaudois Valleys of Piedmont*. London-New York: Macmillan and Co. limited.

Wylie, James Aitken. 1855. *Pilgrimage from the Alps to the Tiber Or The Influence of Romanism on Trade, Justice, and Knowledge*. Edinburgh: Shepherd & Elliot.

Wylie, James Aitken. 1858. *Wanderings and Musings in the Valleys of the Waldenses*. London: Nisbet.

Zwierlein, Cornel. 2008. "La Pace di Cavour nel contesto europeo." Dans *Con o senza le armi. Controversistica religiosa e resistenza armata nell'età moderna*. Atti del XLVII Convegno di studi sulla Riforma e sui movimenti religiosi in Italia (Torre Pellice, 8-9 settembre 2007), dir. par

Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi. *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 202 : 67–99.