Exhibition catalog, Part II, Harvard Map Collection: "The lands of the Sophi: Iran in early modern European maps (1550–1700)"

Exhibition Catalog

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The world is a great book, which, when perused attentively, proffers teaching and delights with its variety. True, one must tolerate expense, discomfort, and danger, but the effort, if blessed by fortune, brings its reward. Idleness eats away at all virtue and is the worst companion for youth.

Ambrosio Bembo (1652–1705)
Venetian traveler to Iran and India, 1671–1675.[1]

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1 The epigraph to this section is drawn from *Ambrosio Bembo, The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo*, trans. Clara Bargellini; ed. and ann. Anthony Welch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 5.

Part II: Harvard Map Collection

The Lands of the Sophi: Iran in Early Modern European Maps (1550–1700)

As Constantijn and Christiaan were now competent in the Latin language, they began to long for the use of it, and in particular for its history; I intended to lead them there along the right path by a general introduction into geography, so I read to them from *Introductionem Cluverij*[61] . . . I started the lessons from Cluverius in December of this year, and with the first book I taught the children something of the important *Circulos Sphaerae* and their use, so that they daily looked at the terrestrial globe with great enthusiasm, zest and speculation, trying to establish the sunrises and sunsets at different times of the year. Then followed a general division of the world, and later a more specified one, which they more or less understood, remembered, and knew how to tell me about, while very well reciting both the old names and the new ones. To encourage them even more, I had the four parts of the world by Willem Blaeuw mounted in my entrance hall, where they often played, in order to provide them with a fixed image of the world and its division.

Constantijn Huyghens
Dutch humanist, 1638[62]

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61 Philippus Cluverius, *Introductio in universam geographicam tam veterem quam novam* (Leiden: Elzevir, 1624).

62 Leiden University, Universiteetsbibliotheek. Cod. Hug. 30, nos. 1 and 2; quoted in Günter Schilder, *Tien Wandkaarten van Blaeu en Visscher = Ten wall maps by Blaeu and Visscher,* vol. 5, Monumenta Cartografica Neerlandica (Alphen an den Rijn: Canaletto, 1996), 101–102.

As early as 1519, the emergence of the new Safavid dynasty was relayed by the Portuguese portolan[63] chart maker Jorge Reinel (ca. 1502–after 1572) in his atlas that aimed to show the entire world, both Old and New. In his map of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, Jorge Reinel filled the little part indicating Iran densely, with one of the two major new components that attracted the attention of mapmakers and customers in the early sixteenth century: *Nature* with a capital N and *conquest*. *Nature* symbolized the potential profits of *conquest* as well as the otherness of the outside world that had been found through naval expeditions. Iran and even the Persian Gulf appear as regions that one passed by, en route from Portugal to India around the African continent.

A new view emerged in the middle of the sixteenth century. Giacomo Gastaldi created a series of new maps that reintroduced an idea that portolan chart makers had adhered to in the fourteenth century: the idea that local knowledge, even if not true, was better for mapping the present. This meant a preference for local languages in naming physical and cultural objects. Gastaldi's cartographic representation of Iran evolved in several contexts: the redecoration of rooms in the palace of the Venetian doge; the Italian translation of a slightly modernized edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*; the edition of travel accounts by Giovan Baptista Ramusio (1485–1557), the secretary of the *Signoria*, the Venetian government; and Gastaldi's new world maps and maps of Asia. The latter began to appear from 1559 onward and showed how dramatically Gastaldi's perception of Iran had changed. They combine information from letters by Giosafat Barbaro (1413–1494), the Venetian envoy to the Ak Koyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (1423–1478), with material received from merchants from Iran trading in Venice, from Michele Membrè (1505–1595), one of Venice's translators of Ottoman Turkish, and from the *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Survey of the countries) of Abu l-Fida' (see Part II, entries 10, 11).

Gastaldi's maps of Asia were highly successful. All major and many minor cartographers and map printers copied, extracted, and edited them, among them Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) (see Part II, entry 16) and Willem J. Blaeu (1571–1638) (Part II, entry 17). Portolan chart makers of the sixteenth century such as Battista Agnese (1514–1564) and Antonio Millo (d. after 1591) also relied on Gastaldi's continental maps for information. Even after 1650, European cartographic representations of Iran continued to follow Gastaldi's lead. The study of Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman-Turkish geographical, historical, and cartographic sources became a major component both of cartographic research and cartographic commerce.

The cartographic activities undertaken during the seventeenth century led to maps of Iran that contained more authentic and correct knowledge of its cultural and physical spaces. But this better knowledge was also literary, old-fashioned, and even outdated. It

63 See Part I, entry 4, note 4.

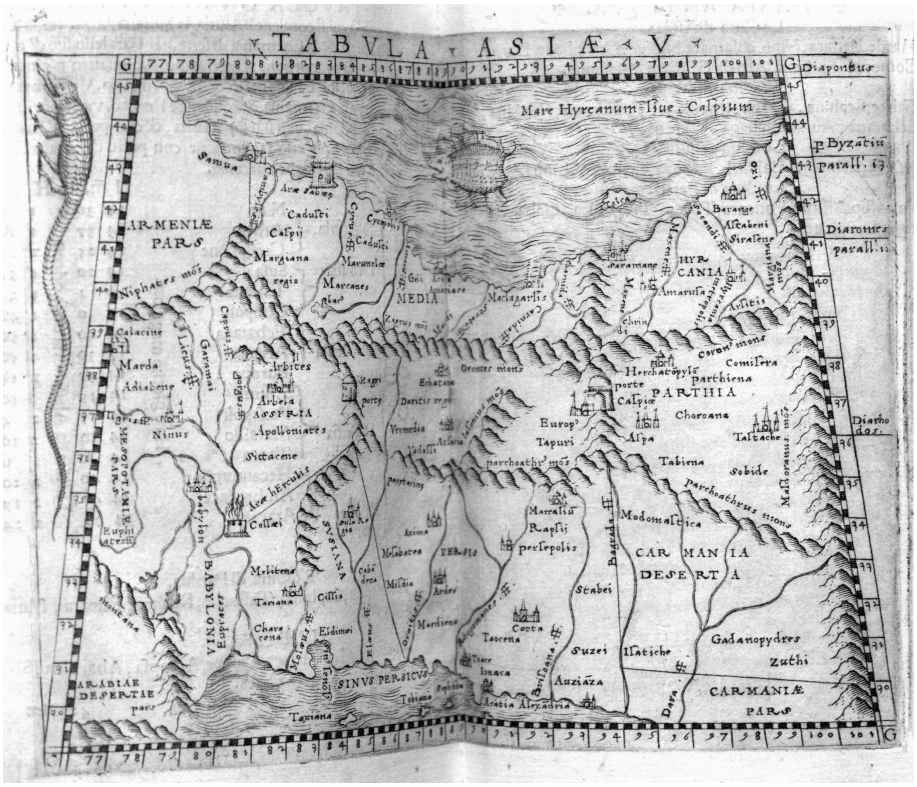

Figure 4.14. Giacomo Gastaldi, "Tabula Asiae V" in Ptolemy, *La Geografia* . . . (Venice, 1548) (Part I, entry 46), Harvard Map Collection, G87.P92.1548*.

did not have much in common with the administrative structure of the Safavid Empire and the empire's major cities in the seventeenth century. Knowledge taken from travel accounts was squeezed into this bookish portrait of Iran: it was regarded and presented as modern and based on (newly) measured geographical coordinates. As a result, knowledge derived from contemporary travel accounts, as well as local knowledge taken from Arabic and Persian manuscripts, was not only considered trustworthy, it was also seen above all as certain or true knowledge.

Case 1

1. Ptolemeo. *La Geografia* . . . Venice: Giovanni Baptista Pedrezano, 1548. 22 x 17 cm.[64]

   Giacomo Gastaldi (d. 1566) was born in Villafranca in Piemonte. Nothing is known about him before 1539, when his name was first mentioned in the documents of the senate of the Republic of Venice in an application to publish a perpetual calendar. In his lifetime Gastaldi created more than one hundred maps and was recognized as a leading cosmographer and mapmaker in Venice and beyond. In addition, he worked in various official positions for the Council of Ten and other offices of the *Signoria*. He may also have participated in a famous forgery, the so-called Hajji Ahmed map, a world map in a cordiform projection written in (bad) Ottoman Turkish. Furthermore, Gastaldi painted maps of Africa, Asia, and Italy on the walls of two rooms in the palace of the doge (1549 and 1553). He created world maps for Ottoman princes and mapped the Lido, the waterways, and other local properties of the Republic. In the late 1540s he cooperated with the physician Pietro Mattioli in publishing the first Italian version of Ptolemy's *Geography* (see Part I, entries 46, 48). The subtitle of their book proudly claims that an infinite number of modern names of cities, provinces, castles, and other localities (compiled with great diligence by Gastaldi) had been added to the ancient work. Since no other edition of Ptolemy's book contained all of these names, the two partners could claim that their product was "verily not less useful than necessary." "Tabula Asiae V" covers most of early modern Iranian territory according to Ptolemy's conception of the region and its parts (see figure 4.14).

   G87.P92.1548*

2. Sebastian Münster (1488–1552). *Cosmographiae uniuersalis Lib. VI* . . . Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1554. 42 x 31 cm.

   The humanist, Hebraist, and cosmographer Sebastian Münster was born in Nieder-Ingelheim on the Rhine and died in Basel. After studying Hebrew, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, and geography with the Franciscan Order in Heidelberg, he left the order, accepted a post at the University of Basel, and converted to Protestantism. In 1530 he married the widow of a Basel printer; his stepson later published his *Cosmography* (1544). In 1547, Münster was appointed rector of the University of Basel. He held the position for five years, before falling victim to the plague.

64 If not stated otherwise, the items are found in the Harvard Map Collection.

The *Cosmography* is one of Münster's most important works. He extracted knowledge from all major ancient authors such as Ptolemy, Herodotus (ca. 484–ca. 430 BCE), Strabo (63 BCE–23 CE), Pliny (23–79), and others. He also cooperated with many contemporary scholars and artists in order to obtain information about the entire globe and to depict this information in woodcuts and texts. The many images and extensive textual descriptions set a new standard in the period.

When Münster reissued Willibald Pirckheimer's Latin translation of Ptolemy's work in 1540, it provided the basis for Gastaldi's efforts to modernize Ptolemy's *Geography* (see Part I, entries 46, 48; Part II, entry 1). Münster added to the Ptolemaic toponyms variants or alternative names from other ancient authors, Hebrew texts, medieval travel accounts, portolan charts, and contemporary sources. In a sense it was his edition of Ptolemy's work that started the "name game" which continued for almost two hundred years. Remnants of these efforts to equate ancient and contemporary geography hover like shadows over even today's history books, dictionaries, and newspapers where Iraq is discussed as though it were ancient Mesopotamia, and Palestine, as if it were biblical Judaea and Samaria.

In the *Cosmographia*, Münster's description of Iran follows Ptolemaic divisions and concepts. The region is composed of Persia, Susiana, Media, Hyrcania, Parthia, Carmania, Margiana, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Saca, Aria, Paropanisada, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Gedrosia. This uniform Ptolemaic surface is broken once, at the beginning of the section that deals with "Persia," when the city of Ormus (Hurmuz) is given a separate heading. Münster combines the Ptolemaic geographical scheme with information found in Strabo, Pliny, and others about ancient histories, peoples, and monuments. Occasionally he intersperses his excursus into Iran's long-gone past with some information about Islamic history, the arrival of the Mongols in Iran in 1250 (Münster, 1554, 1043), and the rise of the Safavid dynasty (Münster, 1554, 1042).

MA 16.54.2

3. John Speed (1552–1629). *The Kingdome of Persia with the cheef Citties and Habites* . . . London, 1631. 60 x 42 cm.

John Speed was the son of a tailor who displayed the desire—as well as the talent—to study. At first Speed followed his father's trade, but eventually he found a patron in Sir Fulke Greville (1554–1628), who procured a post for him with the custom services. This position allowed Speed to devote time to his studies of history, antiquities, and geography. He became the most important

English mapmaker of the early modern period. Sir Greville introduced Speed to the Society of Antiquaries where he met many of Britain's leading scholars who later contributed to his cartographic enterprises. Speed's most important work, *History of Great Britaine* (1611), also included a volume of maps entitled *The Theater of the Empire of Great Britaine*. In 1623, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* was added to a new edition of *The Theater*. Although ascribed to John Speed, the volume contains mostly maps from Dutch printers that were adapted for the English public.

The map *The Kingdome of Persia* is one such adaptation, derived from maps by Abraham Ortelius and Willem Blaeu. The representation of Iran shows the Caspian Sea in its "Ptolemaic" form, as found in Gastaldi's maps, and a toponymy that is also closely linked to Gastaldi's work (see Part II, entry 1). The inscription in the Caspian Sea links Speed's edition to Abraham Ortelius's map of Iran (see Part II, entry 16). The placement of Corassan (Khurasan) almost in the center of Iran confirms the poor understanding of Iranian geography in early seventeenth-century London.

MAP-LC G120.S74.1631 pf* copy 2

4. Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville (1600–1667). *L'Empire du Sophy des Perses* . . . Paris, 1652. 35 x 25 cm.

Nicolas Sanson was born in Abbeville in 1600 into a merchant family of Scottish descent. He studied with the Jesuits at Amiens. Already as a young man, his particular interest was directed towards ancient history, motivating him to read for information that could be incorporated into his maps. Destitute at twenty-seven, he decided to travel to Paris in order to make his fortune. With his only possession, his new map of Gaul, he was able to win Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) as a patron. Melchior Tavernier (ca. 1594–1655), an uncle of the traveler Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (see Part I, entry 9), encouraged Sanson to spend more time producing maps, since he was as impressed by the map of Gaul as Richelieu was. The cardinal proved a reliable patron. He recommended Sanson to the king, Louis XIII (r. 1610–1643), to whom he began to teach geography. Later, he also taught Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715). As a reward, Sanson was appointed engineer-geographer and received a yearly pension which, however, did not suffice for his needs.

Sanson, therefore, entered into a kind of business partnership with Tavernier (until 1644). The relationship between the two men became strained, however, since Tavernier signed some of Sanson's maps in his own name (between

1638 and 1639).[65] When the death of Sanson's eldest son in the rebellion of Paris in 1648 robbed him of his main collaborator, the mapmaker decided to join forces with the publisher and print seller Pierre Marriette (1603–1657). The two published about one hundred seventy maps, booklets about the four continents, and, finally, a complete atlas (1658). The maps as well as the atlas were very successful. Nicolas Sanson became the leading French mapmaker of the time, received the title "ordinary geographer of the king," and was appointed counselor of state. Sanson introduced a less decorative style into cartography, designed a new didactic approach to presenting geographical knowledge, and taught several geographers and mapmakers of the next generation.

Sanson acquired as much contemporary and ancient information about Iran as possible, including travel accounts and translations of Arabic geographical works. He continued the tradition of presenting Iran's geography primarily via contemporary concepts and names. Only rarely, as the map under discussion illustrates, did he use the ancient terms or forms of place names. The basis for Sanson's map of Safavid Iran was the depiction found in Gastaldi's map of Asia, part 1 (see Part II, entry 10). Sanson did not, however, work directly with Gastaldi's map, but used a map by one of the major Dutch mapmakers—Mercator, Hondius, Jansson, Blaeu, and Visscher—on whom he relied in creating his maps of Asia. Other sources of Sanson included Ptolemy, Pliny, the Bible, and travel accounts, to which he added information from Latin translations of parts of al-Sharif al-Idrisi's geographical and cartographic work as well as Ulugh Beg's astronomical tables. In a later version of the map of Iran (published in 1658), Sanson referred to al-Idrisi as the only explicitly named source of his map, as well as to several unnamed travel accounts and reports.[66]

The text that Sanson attached to his map first describes the country's extent and position. Then it compares the country's size with that of the ancient empire of the Achaemenid kings and summarizes its ancient and medieval history until the rise of the Safavid dynasty. Finally, it discusses the correspondences between the ancient division of Iran and its contemporary provinces as found on Sanson's map. Sanson prudently attempts to fit Safavid Iran into the worldview of ancient Greek and Latin sources that was also adhered to by the educated elites in Catholic and Protestant Europe. This is

65 Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville, *Atlas du Monde: 1665, présentée par Mireille Pastoureau* (Paris: Sand & Conti, 1988), 13–20.

66 Mireille Pastoureau, *Les atlas français XVI^e – XVII^e siècles: Répertoire bibliographique et étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984), 395, 402.

illustrated by the following remark: "I do not wish to say that all these regions correspond each one to the other so precisely that nothing else can be said; I only wish to say that they correspond to each other for the most part" (34).

The remaining text is devoted to cultural, economic, and political geography. It discusses the major cities, customs, architecture, agricultural products, political relationships with Iran's neighbors, and similar items. It is here that Sanson relied on information found in travel accounts. About Herat, for instance, he reports that it is the city which grows the most roses in the world, rhubarb and wine are grown there, and silk is produced in such huge quantities that sometimes three to four thousand camels are loaded with silk per day (37). This kind of information he took either directly from the travel account by Marco Polo (d. 1324) entitled *Divisament dou monde* or from one of its reprints in travel collections, perhaps for instance from Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi*. Sanson reprinted his booklet of maps of Asia, which included the map of Iran, three times (1658, 1662, and without a date). However, with the exception of Japan, the text and maps were not changed (Pastoureau, 395). The work was translated into German (1679) and Dutch (1683) as well as reprinted in French in Amsterdam (1700).

G 2200.S3 1662*. Gift of Samuel A. Elect, Boston. 1823.

Case 2

5. Gvillelmus Blaeuw (1571-1638). *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica Ac Hydrographica Tabula, sive, Novvs Atlas . . .* Amsterdam, 1649. 60 x 52.5 cm.

Willem Janszoon Blaeu was born in Uitgeest/Alkmaar in 1571 to a well-off herring salesman. He did not wish to follow in his father's footsteps, but preferred to study mathematics and astronomy, which he did from 1594 to 1596 with the prominent Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601). He became a skilled and highly reputed maker of instruments, globes, maps, and prints. In 1603 Blaeu moved to Amsterdam, where he was appointed mapmaker of the VOC in 1633, five years before his death in 1638.

Blaeu produced a series of wall maps of the continents and the world (1605–1608), an atlas of maritime maps (1612), single-sheet maps of various countries, and two atlases, the *Atlas Appendix* (1630) and the *Atlas Novus* (1635). The *Atlas Novus* is a continuation of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, which had been published since 1570 in Antwerp (see Part II, entry 16). Blaeu

added reprints of maps from the Mercator-Hondius atlas (see Part II, entry 12), which he acquired in 1630. He is also usually named as the author of the *Atlas Maior*, which appeared in eleven volumes, beginning in 1662, and which contains several of his maps. This atlas, however, was compiled by his oldest son and successor, Joan Blaeu (1596–1672), who also produced modified versions of the *Atlas Novus*, such as the German edition exhibited here.

Joan Blaeu dedicated his world map of 1649 to Cornelius Pieter F. Hoost, consul of Amsterdam. In the cartouche in the left upper corner he informs the viewer about European voyages to the New World that are concerned with "discovery and naming." In the lower right corner, Blaeu speaks about territories still unknown to people in Catholic and Protestant Europe. The mapmaker's focus was evidently on the New World and the boundaries of the Old World. New geographical knowledge and commercial possibilities were not, however, the only points of interest to buyers of maps. They also were curious about scientific theories, history, peoples, customs, and living conditions. The mapmaker responded to this demand by framing his world map in a narrative about natural philosophy (the four elements), medicine (the four seasons), astronomy (the seven planets), and history (the seven wonders of the world).

With regard to Iran, the map has several points in common with the Asia maps of his predecessors Ortelius and Gastaldi. The geographical terminology for Iran mixes ancient and Oriental concepts which it tries to equate with each other, for example Hyrcania Corasan. It also contains Portuguese names or their variants, such as Lasques (Jasques) or Goadel, in particular in the region of the Persian Gulf. The country as a whole is named Persia, even though Fars was only one of the provinces of Safavid Iran and contemporary inhabitants called their own country Iran as Pietro Della Valle, for example, had already reported (see Part I, entry 50). Numerous printing errors (Casein for Qazvin, usually spelled Casbin in the seventeenth century) and errors of geographical position (Chilan = Gilan is at the southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea) demonstrate the lack of familiarity in Blaeu's printing house with the land, its provinces, and cities.

A certain interest in the relationship between the Safavid and the Ottoman dynasties and their wars is indicated by the presence of the name Caldaran (southwest of the Caspian Sea) that stands for the battle of Čaldiran, in which Selim I defeated Ismaʿil on August 23, 1514. This reference is not a new element that Blaeu incorporated into the map. It is ultimately derived from Gastaldi's map of Asia, part 1 (see Part II, entry 10). Blaeu did, however, add the site of a more recent battle between the Ottomans and the Safavids—namely the battle

of Shanb Ghazan near Tabriz in 1585—to the map, and referred to it explicitly in the text about the Safavid Empire, located in the frame of the map (see below, introduction to the maps of Persia).[67] The fact that he chose a battle that the Ottomans lost, and not the final defeat of the Safavid troops, without making this clear to his readership, confirms that the Protestant as well as the Catholic public in Europe at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries favored the Safavid Empire.

MA 17.46.2 pf*

6. Nicolaas Witsen (1641–1717). *Asia accuratissime descripta*. 60 x 52.5 cm.

Nicolaas Witsen was an influential and wealthy merchant, diplomat, thirteen-time mayor of Amsterdam (1682–1706), writer, map collector, and mapmaker. He served the United Provinces of the Netherlands as ambassador to England, took part in an embassy to Russia in 1664–1665, and negotiated a trade contract with Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725). In 1693, he was administrator of the VOC. He was a fellow of the Royal Society and wrote extensively about shipbuilding. Although he studied law at the University of Leiden, he soon became interested in cartography and other related subjects. His particular cartographic interest was in maps of Asia and the Arabian Peninsula.[68] Witsen supported Peter the Great during the latter's stay in the Netherlands and introduced him to Dutch scholars. He discussed routes to Iran via the Caspian Sea with the Tsar, as well as trading possibilities with the Safavid Empire. For his treatise on northern and eastern "Tartary" (i.e., Asia north and east of the Caspian Sea), Witsen acquired information from ancient Greek and Latin as well as medieval Arabic geographical sources. Witsen patronized botany, the painting of plants across the world, the botanical garden of Amsterdam, and De Bruyn's travels in the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran (see Part I, entry 38). De Bruyn gave some of the objects that he had cut from the monuments at Persepolis to his patron Witsen.

Mt 18.6

67 Joseph, Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Campaigns of Osman Sultans, Chiefly in Western Asia: From Bāyezyd Ildirim to the Death of Murad the Fourth (1389–1640)*, trans. Thomas Aquila Dale, 2 vols. (London: William Straker, 1835), 1:271.

68 *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers*, ed. Josephine French, rev. ed., 4 vols. (Tring, Herts, England: Map Collector Publications in Association with Richard Arkway, 1999–2004), 4:403.

Case 3

7. Johann Baptist Homann (1664–1724). *Imperii Persici In Omnes suas Provincias (tum veteribus quàm modernis earundem nominibus signatus) Exacte Divisi Nova Tabula Geographica* . . . Nuremberg, 1723. 60 x 51 cm.

Johann Baptist Homann was born in Oberkammlach near Mindelheim in Swabia. He taught himself the art of engraving and then worked for other publishers from the early 1690s until 1702. In 1702 he opened his own print workshop in Nuremburg and became the most successful German publisher of atlases in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1715, he was named geographer to Emperor Charles VI (r. 1685–1740). He also was elected to the Prussian Royal Academy of Science (*Tooley's Dictionary*, 2:361).

Homann's map of Iran claims to derive its knowledge of the country from accounts of famous travelers such as Olearius and Tavernier (see Part I, entries 9, 30) and from the university scholar Adrian Reland's work on Arabic and Persian texts (see Part II, entry 19). The use of these various sources forced Homann to confront the—by then—traditional question of the correspondence of modern geographical names to ancient ones. He also needed to understand which Arabic or Persian names signified the same or partly overlapping regions. Uncertainties could not be satisfactorily resolved. As a result, Homann's map is inconsistent in its efforts to identify relationships between names and places. To this usage of contemporary geographic terminology was added a new depiction of the form of the Caspian Sea designed by Guillaume Delisle in 1723.

The emphasis on the interests of contemporary customers is also reflected in Homann's inclusion of travel routes linking, for instance, Bandar 'Abbas with Isfahan via Shiraz, or Baghdad with Isfahan via Nihavand. There are a few references to political changes in the larger region (such as the false claim that Herat was one of the four royal seats of the Uzbeks, together with Balkh, Nishapur, and Merv). Occasionally, the mapmaker included a piece of information about a center of religious pilgrimage (for example, Tus/Mashhad, the place of Imam Reza's sepulcher—one of the twelve Imams—and the locus where people celebrated his alleged miracles [which, Homann hastened to assure his readers, were false]).

Mt 18.50 (113)

8. Guillaume de l'Isle (1675–1726). *Nova et Accurata Imperii Persici Delineatio* . . . Amsterdam, 1733. 65 x 54 cm.

Guillaume Delisle was a student of Nicolas Sanson and the Italian astronomer, mathematician, astrologer, and engineer Jean Dominique Cassini (1625–1712), who had been appointed director of the Astronomical Observatory in Paris in 1671. In 1702, Delisle became a member of the French Académie Royale des Sciences, and in 1718 he was appointed the "first geographer of the king" with a fixed salary. Delisle published his two first maps, a world map and a map of the continents, in 1700. By introducing new principles to mapmaking and integrating the results derived from observations made mainly by astronomers in France in the last decades of the seventeenth century, Delisle became one of the key figures in the development of French cartography in the first third of the eighteenth century. Like his predecessor Sanson (see Part II, entry 4) he paid a great deal of attention to information collected by travelers as well as to translations of Arabic geographical sources into Latin and other languages. He created more than one hundred maps, many of which were reproduced by mapmakers in different European countries. His wife Marie Angélique (d. 1745) was a daughter of Pierre Duval (see Part II, entry 28). After Delisle's death, his workshop was headed first by his widow and then by his pupil and son-in-law, the geographer and mapmaker Philippe Buache (1700–1773) (*Tooley's Dictionary*, 1:353–356).

Delisle's map of Safavid Iran depicts his new form of the Caspian Sea and mentions the Baluchis in southeastern Iran, who are described as "a ferocious and bellicose nation." He apparently learned this piece of information from one of Nicolas Sanson's maps. The boundaries of Iran, as drawn in this map, reach far into Ottoman territory in the west despite the fact that the author has declared the region as the province of Diarbakr and as part of "Turkey." They also continue beyond the northwestern boundaries of Iran, deep into the northern Caucasus.

MAP-LC G1015.L5 1733 pf*

Wall Panels

The World

9. Giacomo Gastaldi (ca. 1500–1566). [World map]. Venice, 1546. 38 x 54 cm.

Gastaldi (see Part II, entry 1) produced three world maps between 1546 and 1561. They were repeatedly reprinted by major publishers in Venice and Rome, as well as in Amsterdam (at the end of the sixteenth century). These maps show the changes in Gastaldi's knowledge of Iran's territory and its rivers, mountains, deserts, lakes, and localities. The oval world map of 1546 does not delimit Iranian territory by borders, but names a few provinces in capital letters (for example, IEX, GESTIA, and LAR). Cities and towns are marked by small architectural icons. It seems that Gastaldi primarily used local names such as Sumachia, Tauris, Casmin, Com, Casan, Spaam, Curch, Siras, Iex, Gesti, and Maru. Some names such as Dulcinda point to a usage of Portuguese material. Others such as Saura come from the Ptolemaic tradition. The Caspian Sea appears in a "Ptolemaic" form, i.e., as an oval, stretching from west to east, but is called Mar de Bachau, a slightly misspelled form of Baku (today the capital of the Republic of Azerbaijan) found in medieval travel accounts since Marco Polo (d. 1324) and in a world map produced by Fra Mauro (d. 1459) between ca. 1457 and 1459 in the Venetian monestary of San Michele. Iran is full of unnamed mountain ranges and rivers. As in other maps that Gastaldi produced in this period he combined Ptolemy's *Geography* with portolan charts and travel accounts.

An undated woodcut of an elliptical projection of the world ascribed to Gastaldi was printed in the 1550s by the Venetian publisher Matheo Pagano (d. after 1562). In terms of natural geography such as mountains and rivers or lakes and deserts, this new world map does not differ greatly from the earlier one. Cultural geography, i.e., the knowledge of localities and names, was modified, but only slightly. The Caspian Sea is now called Mare Derbent, Hircano, Caspio, Bachau indicating a renewed effort to integrate ancient geographical perspectives on the region. This can also be seen in the newly added province of Persia. Another new provincial name is Azimia, an Italian rendering of the Arabo-Persian term *'Ajamiyya* which—in Arabic, Turkic, and Persian sources—refers to a part, or occasionally to all, of Iran. Some new city names have been added, such as Coy (Khoy), Orpha (Urfa), Oilan [Gilan], Cics (Kish?), Camaran (Kiyaram?), and Ciraso (Shiraz). These new names and

their spellings indicate that in those years Gastaldi had read letters of Venetian envoys about "Persia," in particular those of Giosafat Barbaro (1413–1494).

A woodcut map printed in 1562 continued this trend of including more local provincial and place names. New provinces that appear on this map, again in capital letters, were CILAN [Gilan], CUSISTAN, FARS, ARAC, and ORMUS. They reproduce Persian names and indicate a move away from ancient geographical tradition. There is a remarkable increase in the number of place names. Their spelling is neither a transliteration nor a clear rendering of Iranian types of pronunciation. Some forms come close to pronunciations used in regions of the Ottoman Empire: for example, Noin (Na'in), Ebadan (Abadan), Amadon (Hamadan), or Mesdaron (Mazandaran). This could suggest oral sources—perhaps, for instance, Syriac, Armenian, or Turkish merchants trading in Venice—for some of the new knowledge displayed in the map. In the 1550s merchants from Iranian cities (for instance, from the southern shores of the Caspian Sea) traveled to Venice for business. This lively trade provided Gastaldi with new information not available from the sources he had used previously (see Part II, entries 10, 11). The motivation for a new approach to the geographical representation of the Old World probably came from the Venetian government. Between 1545 and 1553, the ducal palace was renovated, including the room where the heraldic shields were ceremonially presented. In 1549, the Council of Ten ordered "Master Jacopo of Piedmont" to paint a map of Africa in this specific room. When Gastaldi presented his draft the Council was not satisfied. Its members explicitly asked the master to revise his map so that it would include the new knowledge gained by the Portuguese in their voyages of exploration and their appropriation of new territories and trading stations. The Council of Ten told Gastaldi to include all the names of islands, ports, and towns on the Mediterranean coast, alongside the newly discovered coasts of west and south Africa, and in the "Lands of Prester John," which were once believed to be in East Asia, but now assumed to be Ethiopia. Gastaldi presented a revised version of the map of Africa to the *Signoria* in 1550, the same year in which he first asked for permission to produce a new map of Asia. The official demand for mapping newly acquired information probably motivated Gastaldi's efforts to revise his older portrayals of Asia and to create new maps of these regions in the 1550s and 1560s.

Houghton Library, *51-2492 PF. Liechtenstein Map Collection.

Asia

Asia is one of the three parts of our Continent, & when we consider the advantages that the Author of Nature has given to her; when we consider the actions that have occurred there in the past, & shortly after the Flood; when we consider that the first Monarchies, & all the Religions had their beginnings there; finally when we consider that the principal Mysteries of the ancient & the new Law [the Old and the New Testament] unfolded there, we will clearly give her preference to all the other parts of the one as well as the other Continent.

Nicolas Sanson
L'Asie en Plvsievrs Cartes Novvelles, et Exactes . . . Paris, 1652.[69]

10. Giacomo Gastaldi. *Il Disegno Della Prima Parte Delasia* . . . [Venice ?], 1559. 40.3 x 78.5 cm.

In 1550, Gastaldi and Michele Membré applied for permission to produce a map of Asia beginning "at the Mediterranean Sea and going to the east where Anatolia, Syria and Persia, with the lands of the sufi, are and then towards the northeast where the lands of Cathay are, to the south where India and the spice islands are."[70] Membré, a native of Cyprus, knew the lands of the Sophi through personal experience since he had been sent in 1539 as an emissary of the Republic of Venice to establish trade relations with Shah Tahmasb. He returned in 1542 and produced a report for the Council of Ten which remained unpublished until the twentieth century. Although the two men apparently were granted the privilege they had applied for, they did not create the intended map. Sometime later, though, Gastaldi collaborated with Membré and Ramusio, the compiler of three substantive volumes of medieval and early modern accounts of travels to Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Gastaldi

69 P. 1.

70 Robert W. Karrow Jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570* (Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press for The Newberry Library, 1993), 225.

produced maps of the Nile, Africa, and Asia in different formats, as woodcuts and copperplate engravings for these books.

In the mid-1550s, Gastaldi published his first new map of an Asian territory, focusing on the Ottoman Empire. In 1559, "Of the First Part of Asia," the first of his three large maps of Asia appeared in print together with a list of ancient and modern geographical names of regions, localities, mountains, and peoples. This map covers west, central, and south Asia. Iran is for the first time separated from its neighbor in the west, the Ottoman Empire, by a border comprised of small dots. Towards the east "the lands of the Sophi"[71] stretch endlessly. Other important changes concern the cultural terms used to describe and identify these lands. Hardly any references to ancient geographical literature remain, although the Caspian Sea continues to be portrayed as an almost perfect ellipse stretching from west to east. Gastaldi apparently received some information from Slavic sources since he adds as a new name for the Caspian Sea, the slightly misspelled Chvvalisco Moria. The mountain ranges and their distribution over the Iranian plateau have not changed significantly in comparison to Gastaldi's earlier world maps and the maps of Asia he made for Ramusio. The number of rivers, however, increased dramatically. They are distributed over almost all of Iran except for the deserts in central and eastern Iran which Gastaldi added for the first time. The rivers and deserts are all named, as are a few of the mountains. Some of the names were taken from Marco Polo's travel account, most notably the Diserto de Beabanat (Desert of Biyabanak = Desert of the Little Desert, i.e., the meaning of the Persian word was not understood); others are fair transliterations of Persian words, for example, Imamreza f. for rūd-i Imām-i Rīżā (Imam Reza River). Many of the names remain, for the time being, unidentifiable. Several new provinces, regions, and territories have been included in the map, among them Servan (province; Shirvan), Diargument (province; origin and meaning of the name unclear), Sigistan (province; Sijistan), Ieselbas (province; meaning: the Green Heads),[72] Adelbegian (region; Azerbaijan), Lurestan (region), Gilan (region), Mesat (region; Mashhad), Reyseriar (territory; Ray Shahriyar), and

71 This term reflects Abraham Ortelius's Latin title of his map of Iran and was used by later early modern printers and mapmakers as well.

72 This signifies the Sunni Uzbeks, in opposition to the Safavid Shi'i Qizilbash (Red Heads); the term Yesilbash is a name for the Shaybanid rulers and their troops in Central Asia not known from Arabic, Turkic, and Persian sources, but reported to Ramusio by Muhammad Khwaja, a merchant from Tabas in Gilan (Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi: Venice, 1563–1606, with an Introduction by R.A. Skelton, and an Analysis of the Contents by George B. Parks,* 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm Ltd., 1968), 2:fol. 16b).

Mesandaran (territory; Mazandaran). Locations of historical monuments such as chilminar sepoltura (Čihil Minar Sepulture or Forty Pillars Sepulture, i.e., Persepolis), tactisulimon (Takht-i Sulayman), and chesm dechach (Česhme-yi Shah) are registered for the first time, undoubtedly taken from some European visitor's report (as the interpretation of the palatial buildings at Persepolis as a tomb would suggest). Instead of the approximately twenty localities found in Gastaldi's earlier world maps, "Of the first Part of Asia" includes some three hundred places in Iran, some of them taken from earlier maps, others collected from diverse written and oral sources. In a few cases, the orthography and hence the sources have changed, as Abadan, Nain, and Ispaham indicate. Several names such as Ardouil (Ardabil), Cain (Qa'in), Semnon (Simnan), Sebsoar (Sabzavar), Miana (Miyana), Lahigian (Lahijan), Firusbat (Firuzabad), or Talican (Taliqan) can be easily identified, whereas others such as Pcspibotan, Casemabac, or Nesiauchi are quite distorted. This observation suggests that Gastaldi explored letters and travel accounts of various authors who used different spellings when writing down what they understood to be the names of localities and rivers. He probably also relied on Ramusio, who—with the help of Membré—had talked to foreign merchants in Venice.[73]

It is, however, highly unlikely that Gastaldi worked with a systematic transliteration of the geographical information compiled by Abu l-Fida' in his *Survey*, a claim first introduced by Abraham Ortelius in the cartouche of his map of Asia (1567). Ortelius's source for this claim was the French scholar, traveler, and mystic Guillaume Postel (1510–1581). Postel had purchased a manuscript of this Arabic geography during his stay in the Ottoman Empire in 1550 and took it with him to Venice (where he was in 1551, 1553, and 1555). During his sojourn in the city he transliterated a very small number of place names, most of them outside Iran, and their geographical coordinates for Ramusio, who published them in the second volume of his *Navigationi et viaggi*. Postel's and Ortelius's claim has led to intense debates among historians of cartography about Gastaldi's sources. However, their search has been unsuccessful for the most part, with the exception of Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde*.

A comparison of Postel's manuscript of the *Taqwīm al-buldān*, preserved today in the Vatican Library in Rome, with Ramusio's list of names demonstrates clearly that only two readers left traces in Latin in the margins of the manuscript. One of the two was most likely Postel, who marked exactly those place names that Ramusio included in the list published in the second volume of his book. The other was the Maronite scholar Ibrahim al-Haqilani

73 Ramusio, 2:fols. 14b, 16a.

(= Abraham Ecchellensis) (1605–1664), who translated the work into Latin a century later. In addition to the list, Postel also gave Ramusio some further information about the content of the work of Abu l-Fida'. Ramusio made this clear in the preface to his reprint of Marco Polo's text, when he wrote that Abu l-Fida' talked about Polo's Lake Geluchat in the preface to his book calling it Lake Argis[74] (Ramusio, fol. 14b). Ramusio also inquired about the coordinates of the lake, but Postel gave him values of the eponymous city which he mistook, curiously, for those of the entire lake. This means that Postel looked up the text of Abu l-Fida' some one hundred folios after the preface.[75] While Postel understood most of the text quite well, he had problems deciphering the letters and vowels of several geographical names, as the example of Cunzar for Khazar shows. However, the two men do not seem to have read the entry after Lake Arjish in the *Survey* of Abu l-Fida', in which he describes Lake Urmia, nor did they apparently care much for the location of the two lakes—or if they did, they failed to share this knowledge with Gastaldi. The cosmographer got it all wrong: he placed Lake Arjish (Lake Van) east of Lake Urmia. Surprisingly, the same happened with regard to the Caspian Sea. Ramusio quoted an almost literal, but slightly imprecise, translation from the entry by Abu l-Fida' on Bahr al-Khazar with occasional faulty transliterations of the geographical names (Ramusio, fol. 14a). But Gastaldi obviously refused to follow the Ayyubid prince with regard to the description, coordinates, and naming of the Caspian Sea. He considered the Ptolemaic west-east orientation found in Sebastian Münster's Latin edition more reliable, and refused to accept any of the names used in the Arabic source. Two of Gastaldi's three names for the Caspian Sea—the Slavic and the Persian one—are not found in any of the other travel accounts and letters published by Ramusio. After the edition of 1559, printers in Rome, Venice, and Amsterdam republished Gastaldi's map of the first part of Asia in 1561, 1570, 1573, and 1598.

Houghton Library, *51-2494 PF. Liechtenstein Map Collection.

11. Giacomo Gastaldi. *Il Disegno Della Seconda Parte Dell'Asia . . .* Venetia, 1561. 50 x 81 cm.

Gastaldi's second new map of Asia covers the territories from the Nile to the Indus including all of Iran south of 37°, which in Gastaldi's view of Iran meant south of Yazd, Qa'in, and Nishapur. In the map's title Gastaldi makes an explicit reference to the spice trade that connected India via ship

74 This spelling indicates a small error by Postel, who read the final *shin* as a *sin*.

75 Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī Abū al-Fidā', *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Joseph Toussaint Reinaud and William MacGuckin de Slane (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1840), 42, 394.

with Basra and Aden. This supports the earlier suggestion that the strong shift to "modern," local names in Gastaldi's portrayal of Iranian geography was linked to the commercial interests of the Republic of Venice. In 1564 Gastaldi published a list of ancient and "modern" names together with their geographical coordinates in Venice, compiled for purposes of identification (as he had done with the first part of Asia). In contrast to the map itself, the list privileges the ancient names by placing them first and writing them in capital letters, followed by the "modern equivalents." The coordinates do not agree with those in Mattioli's Italian translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* (1548), and their source has not yet been identified. In several instances, Gastaldi also changed his mind as to which "modern" locality corresponded to which ancient place. These shifts indicate not only the difficulties an early modern mapmaker faced when designing a map of Iran and a list of correspondences, they also provide clues about working practices and preferences. Gastaldi's tables of ancient and "modern" names attracted serious attention from scholars in the seventeenth century. The mathematician, astronomer, and Orientalist John Greaves (see Part I, entry 67), for instance, used the tables for purposes of comparison in his own studies of the Arabic and Persian astronomical and geographical tables by Nasir al-Din Tusi, Abu l-Fida', and Ulugh Beg.[76]

Houghton Library, *51-2494 PF. Liechtenstein Map Collection.

12. Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612). *Asia recens summa cura delineata*. Amsterdam, 1632. 56.5 x 44 cm.

Jodocus Hondius (Joost de Hondt) grew up in Ghent, where he learned how to make instruments, globes, and maps. He became a very gifted artist and skilled engraver who worked with many publishers and cartographers. When the Spanish army conquered Ghent in 1584, De Hondt left for London, where he made the acquaintance of many printers, mapmakers, scholars, and travelers. One of De Hondt's new acquaintances in London was John Speed, who later invited him (1605–1610) to engrave the maps for *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (see Part II, entry 3). Around 1593, De Hondt and his brother-in-law, the mapmaker Pieter van den Keere (1571–1646?), moved to Amsterdam where they opened a family print business. Eleven years later they bought the copperplates of Gerard Mercator's (1512–1594) atlas that had been first published in 1595. This atlas had not been very successful on the market due to the dominance of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (see Part II, entry 16). When De Hondt and his partner decided to republish the work they revised it substantially, adding some forty maps (among them a map

76 Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Savile 47, fols. 161a-163b.

of Iran), and several new texts in Latin, Dutch, French, German, English, and Spanish. The first edition of the so-called Mercator-Hondius atlas appeared in 1606, followed by a pocket version, under the name *Atlas Minor*, a year later.

After De Hondt's death, his widow and two sons, Joost Jr. (1594–1629) and Hendrik (see Part II, entry 13) continued the print business. In 1612, Johannes Janszoon, a book printer in Amsterdam, married Elizabeth de Hondt, Joost's daughter. He joined his father-in-law and brothers-in-law in the mapmaking and printing business. In 1630, he entered into a partnership with Hendrik and became involved in the printing of the atlas. Later, Johannes became the sole publisher of the atlas-series, now called the Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius atlas. The new and enlarged version of the atlas published by Johannes after 1638 was called the *Atlas Novvs* or *Nieuwen Atlas* (New Atlas).

The map of Asia (1632) shown in the exhibition is a newly engraved and reduced copy of an earlier print made in 1623, which in turn was derived from a map made by Joost de Hondt and possibly Pieter van den Keere in 1619. The relationship of this ancestor map of 1619 to Blaeu's 1608 wall map of Asia (see Part II, entry 5) is complex. The ethnographic figures and city views of the map of 1619 are derived from Blaeu's wall map of 1608 and were reprinted with variations by Hendrik in 1624. The images were modified and decreased in number. The figures were reduced to pairs while in Blaeu's map they are often in groups of three (occasionally they include even more people). The choice was arbitrary. Some changes—such as the omission of the "Turkish woman dressed in Syrian fashion" in the image representing Syria and the retention of Blaeu's peasant woman with the goose from Caramania—imply that representing the two regions mattered more than maintaining social and cultural consistency. The two Nordic figures that flank the cartouche in this map replace portraits in Blaeu's map (e.g., the portrait on the left, which was a modified copy of Melchior Lorch's fantasy image of a Safavid ambassador to Istanbul; see Part I, entry 94). Most of the geographical content of the Hondius-Janssonius map of Asia (1632) also comes from Blaeu's wall map.

With regard to Iran, the Hondius-Janssonius map offers an extract from Blaeu's richer toponymy, but is otherwise almost identical.

2195.1632

13. Henricus Hondius (1597–1651). *Asia recens summa cura delineate*. Amsterdam, 1632? 58 x 50 cm.

Henricus Hondius (Hendrik de Hondt) was the younger son of Joost de Hondt (see Part II, entry 12). In 1619 he enrolled at the University of Leiden, where he

studied mathematics, and by 1621 he began publishing maps. When he married in 1625, he left his parents' house and opened a new print shop in Amsterdam. After the death of his mother and older brother Jodocus Jr., Hendrik and his wife returned to his parental home and headed the family workshop with the cooperation of their brother-in-law Johann Jansz. At some point in time, Hendrik bought the copperplates of Willem Blaeu's (see Part II, entry 5) four wall maps of the continents which he then reprinted after 1624. Hendrik also published other world maps (one together with Melchior Tavernier in Paris), a series of atlases in addition to the Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius atlas, appendices to atlases, and several editions of the *Atlas Minor*. In the 1640s he seems to have parted company with his brother-in-law, who continued the family business (*Tooley's Dictionary*, 2:366; Schilder, 96–97).

The exhibited map is identical to the previous map (see Part II, entry 12), except for the border images.

2195.1632.2

14. Sr Sansonium. *Asia divisa in suas Principales Partes, ceu repraesentant Imperia vel Monarchias, aut Regna sive Status et Principatus.* Nürnberg, 1686. 93 x 62 cm.

This map (see figure 4.15) is a slightly modified copy of a map of Asia published in 1669 and ascribed to Nicolas Sanson, the geographer of the king, who had died two years earlier. The author of the map was Sanson's third son, Guillaume Sanson (1633–1703), who had succeeded to the position of the king's geographer. The map he produced differed clearly from all those of his father.[77] The most obvious difference is the shape and position of the Caspian Sea. Here, Guillaume took inspiration from Adam Olearius's map of Iran, published in 1646 (see Part I, entry 30). Yet despite Guillaume's decision to break with his father's adherence to the Ptolemaic form—which all major mapmakers followed since Gastaldi had incorporated it into his world maps, maps of Asia, and maps of Iran (see Part I, entries 46 and 48; Part II, entries 1, 9–11)—he did not adopt the new form of the Caspian Sea exactly. Nor did he copy other elements in Olearius's map such as the mountains.

He also chose a substantially different topography and orthography for representing the country. Although some of the place names in Guillaume's new map of Asia can already be found in earlier maps of Asia as well as of

77 Egon Klemp, ed., *Asien auf Karten: von der Antike bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* = Asia in maps from ancient times to the mid-19th century, (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig; Weinheim: Acta humaniora, 1989), nr. 12.

Figure 4.15. Guillaume Sanson, *Asia divisa in suas Principales Partes* . . . (Nürnberg, 1686) (Part II, entry 14), Harvard Map Collection, 2195.1686.

Safavid Iran made by his father, other place names (and Guillaume's spelling of them) are entirely new in this map. Among the names that derive from earlier maps are those taken from the Latin translation of al-Idrisi's geography by two Maronite scholars from the Lebanon Mountains, Iohannes Hesronita (d. 1626) and Gabriel Sionita (1577–1648), such as Nagiram, Rudhan, Gianaba, Saruan, Rasec, Kia, Harra, or Hauz.[78] But the spelling of the Arabic and Persian letter *jim* as "tz" does not come from this source, which transcribes it as a mere "g" (al-Idrīsī, 1619, 131). Instead, it derives from a Greek source written in *koinē*, as indicated by the Greek translation of Persian astronomical material by the fourteenth-century Byzantine physician, astronomer, and copyist of ancient manuscripts, Georgios Chrysococca. Chrysococca's *Persian Tables* were not, however, Sanson's source.

2195.1686

78 [al-Idrīsī], *Geographia Nvbiensis Id Est Accvratissima Totivs Orbis in Septem Climata Divisi Descriptio, Continens præsertim exactam vniuersæ Asiæ, & Africæ, rerumq; in ijs hactenus incognitarum explicationem. Recens Ex Arabico in Latinum versa A Gabriele Sionita Syriacarum, & Arabicarum literarum Professore, atque Interprete Regio, & Ioanne Hesronita, earundem Regio Interprete, Maronitis* (Paris: Hieronymus Blagaert, 1619), 124–131.

15. Frederik de Wit (1616–1698). *Accuratissima totius Asiae Tabula in Omnes Partes divisa, de novo Correcta* . . . Amsterdam, undated. 60.5 x 52 cm.

De Wit was born in Gouda, but little is known about his childhood and youth. In 1648, he founded a publishing house in Amsterdam. In 1659, he published his first map and in the 1670s he began to publish atlases. De Wit eventually became one of the most prolific engravers, mapmakers, and printers in Amsterdam of the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. His fame rested on his geographical maps, in particular of territories in Europe. After Frederik's death, his widow Maria (d. 1711) continued the business for another three years (*Tooley's Dictionary*, 4:402).

De Wit's map of Asia shown in the exhibition combines older layers of cartographic images of Iran with a preference for provincial divisions that are designated not merely by name, but by dotted lines and, if requested by the customer, by colored lines and surfaces (as in the exhibited copy). This map illustrates some of the changes in the geographical knowledge of Iran that were achieved in the later part of the seventeenth century. In the west, the mistaken placement of Lake Van and Lake Urmia has now been corrected. New localities were added and the border with the Ottoman Empire is by and large acceptable. In the east, the boundaries with Mughal India, while clearly marked, are drawn quite arbitrarily. Within the Iranian territory more provinces are distinguished from each other, often with little or no relationship at all to contemporary Safavid practice. The doubling and tripling of what actually was merely one provincial name highlights a problem that mapmakers faced in the period and that they could not solve or were not interested in solving, namely the multiplication of foreign names due to copying errors. To the old problem of correspondence between ancient and Iranian names, De Wit adds another one: Which of the various Arabic or Persian names available in past travel accounts and translations applies to which contemporary location or region?

2195.1696

Iran: Persia – Persiæ Regnvm Sive Sophorvm Imperivm

The fourth part of Asia is the Empire of the Persians which is today one of the most powerful of the entire Orient. Although it was oppressed for some time either by the Saracens (Arabs) or by the Turks it has reemerged again under King Ismael. This empire has at its eastern side the Indies, & the Kingdom of Cambaye, from which it is separated by the mountains & deserts. In the north the Tartars (Tatars) adjoin the Oxus River and the remainder has the Caspian Sea as its border. In the west are the Turks along the *Tigris* and Lake *Giocho*. The south is enclosed by the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. This country has few rivers and is only inhabited along these. The rest of the country is completely deserted and abandoned due to the great heat and dryness. The *Taurus Mountain* rises up in the center, and it has different names according to the different people who live there. The locals are of a more effeminate disposition than the Turks, Tartars, or Saracens. They devote themselves to hunting, medicine, poetry, and the sedentary arts, in particular the production of silk cloth. The regions subject to this empire are *Media, Assyria, Susiana, Mesopotamia, Persis, Parthia, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactria, Parapamisus, Aria, Drangiana, Gedrosia*, & *Carmania*. *Media*, now known as *Servan*, is situated between *Persia* & the *Hyrcanian Sea*. It has, among others, the city of *Tauris* (Tabriz), located at the foot of Mount *Oron*—which has a circumference of 16,000 paces—and is said to have 200,000 citizens. This is *Ecbatana* of the Ancients, in which the kings of *Persia* had their summer residence. Even in our times the royal seat of the Sophi is in this city. But having been defeated by the Great Turk (the Ottoman sultan) in the year 1585 [the correct year is 1548], the Sophus Tamases (Tahmasb) transferred it to the city of *Casbin* (Qazvin). In the same region are the territories of the Turcomans, *Saru*, *Sultan* (Soltaniye), *Nassivam* (Nakhichevan), *Ardovit* (Ardovil, i.e., Ardabil), & *Marant* (Marand). Not far away from the Taurus the place called *Sanacazan*[79] rises up, very famous because of the last battle between Amurath[80] and

79 On the map it is called Sancazan; it is located south of Mugan and above the name of the province, i.e., ADILBEGIAN = Azerbaijan.

80 Murad III (r. 1574–1595).

Sophus[81].[82] . . . *Susiana*, today *Chus* or *Chusistan*, has its name from *Susis* (Susa), its main city, which has a circumference of fifteen thousand paces. . . . The boundaries of the Persian Empire in Carmania meet the very powerful *Kingdom of Ormuz*, which is more wealthy than large. Its capital is the Isle of Ormuz, situated in the Persian Gulf. Its circumference is IX thousand paces and its distance from the mainland is some XII thousand paces. The city carries the same name as the island, which means "date" in the Persian language. It is the most mercantile and best known city in these quarters. The Mahumetans (Muslims) have a proverb which says: "If the world were but a Ring, Ormuz the Diamond should bring."[83] Such is the abundance of precious objects in this city. Three days away from this island, they fish for pearls.

Willem Blaeu and Nicolaes Visscher
[Wall map of Asia.] 1606/1665

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16. Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). *Persici sive sophorum regni typus*. Antwerp, 1574. 54 x 41.5 cm.

Abraham Ortelius was born in Antwerp, where he received his training as an engraver, a skill he applied to mapmaking. He acquired his substantial geographical knowledge through reading, through traveling widely in Germany, the Low Countries, France, England, and Italy, and through exchanging letters with many scholars, travelers, and mapmakers of his time. Many of his travels also served his business interests as a publisher. In 1560, Ortelius traveled to Trier, Lorraine, and Poitiers together with Gerard Mercator, who convinced him to expand his professional qualifications and become a geographer. Ortelius then published his first map, an eight-sheet map of the world, in 1564.

81 Muhammad Khudabandah (r. 1577–1587).

82 This Ottoman-Safavid war lasted from 1578 to 1590 with major battles in 1583, 1585, and 1587. The battle referred to here was the one that took place between the Beylerbey of Van and later admiral of the Ottoman fleet as well as Grand Vizier of noble Genoese origin Cigalazadeh (Cağaloğlu) Yusuf Sinan Pasha (d. 1605) and the Safavid prince Hamza Mirza (1566–1586) in September 1585 at Shanb Ghazan near Tabriz (Hammer-Purgstall, 1:271).

83 We use Thomas Herbert's quotation of the Persian proverb for the English rendering of its French form in Blaeu's map. Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile, Begvnne Anno 1626* . . . (London: William Stansby, Jacob Bloome, 1634), 46.

Figure 4.16. Abraham Ortelius, *Persici sive sophorum regni typus* (Antwerp, 1574) (Part II, entry 16), Harvard Map Collection, 2275.1574*.

His most famous work, the atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, appeared in 1570, with many of its maps copied from other mapmakers. Nonetheless, the *Theatrum* was a major financial success and had several reprints in Latin, Dutch, French, German, and also in a pocket format. Ortelius included in the *Theatrum* a variant of his new map of Asia (1567) that he based upon the three single-sheet maps of Asia published by Gastaldi (see Part II, entries 10–12). During Ortelius's lifetime, twenty five editions of the *Theatrum* appeared, as well as five *Additamenta* which contained further maps and a list of synonyma of ancient and modern place names (*Synonymia geographica*, 1578; and an expanded version, *Thesaurus geographicus*, 1587). In 1575, Ortelius was given the rank of royal geographer to the Spanish king Philip II (r. 1556–1598). He produced several other geographical and cartographic works before his death in 1598. His burial took place under the auspices of the city of Antwerp and was attended by many of its citizens (Karrow, 1–31). Recently, Ortelius and his *Theatrum* have been linked to a clandestine religious movement in Antwerp

called "The Family of Love" or "The Family of Charity." Postel considered it a talismanic book that exercised its power through its images.[84]

Ortelius also created a new map of Safavid Iran for the *Theatrum* (see figure 4.16) which by and large is a copy of the part of Gastaldi's map "Parte Prima dell'Asia" that covers Iran and its immediate environment. A new inscription was placed in the Caspian Sea informing the viewer about its various names, its status as the world's (then known) largest lake, the saltiness of its water, and the abundance of its fish populations. Otherwise, Ortelius hardly changed any of Gastaldi's geographical entities like rivers, mountains, lakes, and place names, except for some changes of location and in the spelling of names. Ortelius identified the land as the "Persian kingdom or kingdom of the Sophi," that is, he understood the word *Sophi* as a plural[85] of *Sophus* (*Sophus*, a Latin rendering of the Greek word σοφός). It was identified with the Arabic term *Sufi*, an epithet for men—and in some regions and times also women—who sought the way to God through the heart[86] by following the path of a master and by trance-inducing practices like *dhikr*. The founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shah Isma'il I, was given the surname "the Sufi" since he led the Sufi order that Safi al-Din (fl. 1252–1332) had headed in Ardabil in the late thirteenth century. The epithet was soon picked up by Europeans active in the eastern Mediterranean. It was identified by early modern humanists with the Latin word *Sophus*, which could signify *Magus* in ancient Greek and Latin texts when used in regard to Iran. Several early modern writers in Europe interpreted Isma'il's title within a neo-Platonic and biblical framework, associating it variously with the Achaemenid Great Kings, Zoroastrian priests who were considered to be natural philosophers, and the biblical Magi.[87]

2275.1574*

84 Giorgio Mangani, "Abraham Ortelius and the Hermetic Meaning of the Cordiform Projection," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 50–83, in particular 59–83.

85 See the genitive plural in the Latin title of the map below in figure 4.16.

86 This is in contrast to the way to God by studying Shari'a law and the texts of the legal scholars, i.e., by reason.

87 We thank Kurosh Meshkat, London, for this information and for providing us with a summary of the history of the term *Sophi*. Kurosh Meshkat, 'Preseruing the Memory of so Memorable an Action': Narrative, Example and Politics in Sir Anthony Sherley's Relation of his Travels into Persia (1613). Doctoral dissertation, Queen Mary, University of London, 2011, pp. 88–91.

17. Joan Blaeu (1596–1673). *Persia sive sophorum regnum*. Amsterdam, 1662? 57.5 x 47.5 cm.

Joan Blaeu was the elder of Willem Blaeu's two sons. Born in Alkmaar, he moved with his family to Amsterdam in 1603. Little is known about his training, but by 1620 he had acquired a doctorate in law. Hardly any traces of his life and work exist before 1631, the year in which his name appeared for the first time on a cartographic publication from his father's print workshop. In 1636, the first volume of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus*, a continuation and extension of Ortelius's atlas (see Part II, entry 16), appeared in Amsterdam. This new atlas established Joan Blaeu as a mapmaker and engraver. When Willem Blaeu died in 1638, Joan and his brother Cornelis decided to direct their father's enterprise together. Joan was also appointed as his father's successor as the geographer of the VOC. When his brother Cornelis died in 1642, Joan became the sole owner of the Blaeu printing house. In 1651, Joan was elected to the city council, the first mapmaker who rose to this public, political post.

The *Atlas Novus* (which included a volume on East Asia) appeared in 1655. Seven years later, Joan began compiling and publishing the most extensive and most expensive atlas of the seventeenth century, the *Atlas Maior*. This massive work contained almost 600 maps and 3,000 pages of Latin text. If a customer wished to spend more money he could receive a hand-colored version of the atlas. The atlas was an overwhelming commercial success. Blaeu dedicated the French edition to Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683). A Latin version was sent in 1668 with the new Dutch ambassador Justinus Colyer (1624–1682) as a gift of the Republic of the Netherlands to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet IV (r. 1648–1687). A planned Spanish translation was never completed since a fire destroyed large parts of Amsterdam in 1672. Joan's house and workshop together with his printing presses, copperplates, books, and valuable paper all fell victim to the fire. This misfortune is assumed to have led to Joan's death one year later. The enterprise founded by his father was finally dissolved in 1698.

The map of Safavid Iran shown in the exhibition was struck from the same plate as the map found in Blaeu's *Atlas maior sive cosmographiae Blaviana qua solum salum coelum accuratissime describuntur*, which Blaeu published in Amsterdam in eleven volumes in 1662–1665 (vol. 10, map no. 7). It is a close copy of the map produced in 1634 by Willem Blaeu, who for his part had largely followed Ortelius's map of Iran. Willem modified the inscription in the Caspian Sea without changing its meaning and also altered the lake's form somewhat. Several of the place names and their associated symbols have been

slightly moved, but there is no recognizable pattern to this action. Blaeu added a scale for *farsang* [*farsakh*]—a unit used in Iran and other Islamic societies of the period—and explained that the word and the measurement came originally from ancient Iran, where it was spelled *Parasanga*. The bottom left corner is decorated with three men who are supposed to represent the Safavid dynasty or Iran's population; however, they are dressed like the figures gracing Willem Blaeu's maps of the Ottoman Empire and its various parts.

2275.1662

18. Gerrit van Schagen (ca. 1642–ca. 1690). *Nova Persiae, Armeniae, Natoliae et Arabiae*. Amsterdam, ca. 1690. 63 x 52 cm.

Gerrit van Schagen was an engraver, publisher, and art dealer in Amsterdam. Many of his plates were reprinted in the atlases of other publishers. His map of Iran, Anatolia, and the Arabian Peninsula is seen as his own product (*Tooley's Dictionary*, 4:115). The copperplate of this map was apparently acquired first by Frederik de Wit (see Part II, entry 15), who deleted Van Schagen's name below the scale and added his own on the cartouche, and then by the Ottens family, who added their name below the cartouche.

2275.1690

19. Adriano Relando (1676–1718). *Imperii Persici delineatio ex scriptis potissimum geographicis Arabum et Persarum tentata ab Adriano Relando*. Amsterdam, 1705. 66 x 55 cm.

Adrian Reland was born to a Protestant minister at De Rijp, near Alkmaar. He studied first in Amsterdam and enrolled in 1693 at the University of Utrecht. In 1699 he acquired his doctorate, moved to Leiden, and became professor of Oriental languages at the University of Harderwijk. Two years later he was appointed professor of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht, where he remained until his death. His most important works were the description of biblical Palestine derived from ancient monuments (1714), a book about the sacred antiquities of the old Hebrew tribes (1708), and *De religione mohammedica libri duo* (Two books on the Mohammedan religion) (1705; 2nd edition, 1717). In the latter book he treated Islam for the first time in Christian Europe as a religion in its own right (relying on an anonymous Arabic work on Islamic "theology"). His book was quickly translated into several languages and placed equally quickly on the Index of prohibited books in Rome. The second edition included an image of the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Mecca drawn by a Muslim ca. 1711–1712 and sent to the Dutch scholar by a colleague from Uppsala. Reland also translated two Arabic texts into Latin,

Figure 4.17. Adrian Reland, *Imperii Persici delineatio ex scriptis potissimum geographicis Arabum et Persarum* . . . (Amsterdam, 1705), (Part II, entry 19), Harvard Map Collection, 2275.1705.

one on philosophy and the other on didactic literature, wrote a treatise about Islamic seals, and studied in a comparative manner a broad range of languages in addition to Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian.[88]

Reland was also interested in geography and produced numerous maps, namely of Palestine, Iran, southern India, Śri Lanka, Japan, and Java (*Tooley's Dictionary*, 4:31).[89] His map of Iran (see figure 4.17) declares itself to be based exclusively on Arabic and Persian authors. This is not completely correct, since Reland identified some of its regional names with those from ancient

88 Leiden University, Universiteetsbibliotheek, Oosterse collecties, <http://bc.ub.leidenuniv.nl/bc/olg/portret/content.html> (accessed March 3, 2008).

89 <http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/AMH/detail.aspx?page=dpers&lang=en&id=581> (accessed March 3, 2008).

geography. The most striking aspect of the map is its depiction of the Caspian Sea, which shows a long and relatively thin form extending from north to south. The source for this image has not yet been found. Fuat Sezgin claims that Reland copied it from an Arabic or Persian map, but has not presented any such map.[90] Place names and regional names on Reland's map are overwhelmingly derived from the *Survey* of Abu l-Fida'. The comments that accompany several of them are taken from other, partly later, sources.

2275.1705

20. Carl van Verden (d. 1731). *Reduction der Carte von dem Caspischen Meere . . .* [N.p.], 1721. 42 x 50 cm.

Along with establishing the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in 1724, Peter the Great sent forth expeditions to explore Russia's geography and that of its neighboring countries. One such expedition from 1719 to 1721 was headed by Carl van Verden, a Dutch sailor in Peter's service. It set out to investigate the western and southern coast of the Caspian Sea (i.e., mostly the coastal territories of the Safavid Empire). Van Verden and his adjunct lieutenant Somoinov measured the depth of the lake at several points and depicted its bays and capes. They drew a map that Peter I then sent to Paris to the Académie des Sciences. Van Verden, as the head of the expedition, is often hailed as the author "of what is thought to be the first accurate map of the Caspian Sea" (*Tooley's Dictionary*, 4:318). Sezgin has questioned this claim on the basis of earlier maps and tables of latitude and longitude coordinates of localities on the shores of the Caspian Sea (Sezgin, 481–485). He believes that European visitors to Iran acquired Arabic and Persian maps that depicted the Caspian Sea close to its physical form and that these maps served European cartographers as sources for new views of the lake's position, form, and size (Sezgin, 400–401, 485). Based on older studies of Russian cartography at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, Sezgin refers to an earlier Russian expedition and the maps its members produced. While there is no evidence available at the moment that there were indeed Arabic or Persian maps depicting the Caspian Sea close to its natural form, Van Verden's map indeed needs to be situated in the rich history of the visual representation of the lake. Guillaume Delisle, who received Van Verden's map for evaluation

90 Fuad Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und ihr Fortleben im Abendland*, Historische Darstellung, Teil 1, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Band 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 2000), 407.

(Part II, entry 24), did not think highly of it and praised the coordinates of Abu l-Fida' instead.

2280.1721

21. Guillaume Delisle. *Carte de Perse dressée pour l'usage du roy*. Paris, 1724. 77 x 56 cm.

Delisle designed this map (see figure 4.18) shortly after he had received and commented on the new map of the Caspian Sea made by the Dutch sailor Carl van Verden (see Part II, entry 23), which he included in his own map in a modified form. This was, however, not the only novelty in Delisle's map: it is literally crisscrossed with travel routes, marking a continuation of Duval's work (see Part II, entries 27–30). Many more new names of provinces, regions, localities, rivers, mountains, deserts, and lakes appear in this map than in any seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century map. Delisle thoroughly explored the available translations of the works of al-Idrisi, Nasir al-Din Tusi, Abu l-Fida', Ulugh Beg, and other Arabic and Persian authors as well as travel accounts. The impact of this systematic study of both types of sources can be

Figure 4.18. Guillaume Delisle, *Carte de Perse dressée pour l'usage du roy* (Paris, 1724) (Part II, entry 21), Harvard Map Collection, 2275.1724.

clearly seen. Deslisle may even have had access to Arabic sources available in Paris, either with the help of Arab librarians and scribes working at the Royal Library or perhaps through the efforts of his student and son-in-law Philippe Buache (1700–1773), who, according to extant manuscripts, knew how to write and read Arabic. Delisle also devoted more attention to the Persian Gulf than his predecessors and used Portuguese sources, as some of the newly included islands demonstrate. The orthography of many place names on the map is greatly improved, and the number of new mountain ranges and known peaks is impressive. With Delisle the physical geography of Iran begins to take clearer contours and the country no longer appears primarily as a territory full of cities, towns, and villages. Delisle even had knowledge of the occasional forest (in Luristan, for example). But he also found it impossible to determine which of the various names and spellings in the sources he used were correct.

2275.1724

22. Tiger hide, *Felis tigris virgata*. Shot by William Lord Smith near Bartarush on the Caspian Sea in 1904.

Lions and tigers and bears—as well as panthers and leopards and other dangerous beasts—have roamed the Hyrcanian and Median lands along the Caspian shore and the Caucasus since antiquity.

Above the cartouche of Johann Baptist Homann's *Imperii Persici* of 1723 (Part II, entry 7) are two large felines in front of Mount Ararat, recognizable by Noah's Ark perched atop the peak. The big cats flank a quotation from Ovid: "Armeniae Tygres iracundique Leones . . ." A translation, with more of the passage included, reads: ". . . but those whose nature is savage and untamed, Armenian tigers, raging lions, bears and wolves, all these delight in bloody food."[91]

Münster's description of the province of Hyrcania in a German edition of the *Cosmographia* from 1550 (see Part II, entry 2) also includes a detailed account of the frightening predators to be found in the land. With regard to tigers, he notes their speed and the fact that they have many spots. Citing Pliny, he explains how to steal their young with impunity (namely by setting up mirrors along the escape route, so that the tiger parent will stare at itself, which will allow the thief to get away). In 1634 Thomas Herbert (see Part I, entry 6) described the forests of Gilan as filled with leopards, tigers, wolves, foxes, apes, deer, and other wild animals (Herbert, 95).

91 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, 2nd edition, Loeb Classical Library 42 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 15, line 86.

The Caspian or Persian tiger appears to have become extinct around 1960. It was the second largest of the species and its range included the southern shore of the Caspian Sea as well as Turkey, Northern Iraq, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and parts of Central Asia. The stripes were dark grey or brown, rather than black, and the heaviest confirmed weight of a male was 240 kg. The ancient Romans used the Caspian tiger for their gladiatorial contests, along with the Bengal tiger and the Barbary lion.

Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology. MCZ 42145. Received from William Lord Smith in 1943.

23. Guillaume Delisle. *Carte des Pays Voisins de la Mer Caspiene dreßée pour l'usage du Roy Sur la Carte de cete Mer faite par l'ordre du Czar . . .* Paris, August 15, 1723. 77.5 x 52.5 cm.

Delisle described his new form of the Caspian Sea as resulting from improvements to a map ordered by Peter the Great (see Part II, entry 20), written information given by a Georgian prince and three Swedish ambassadors at the Safavid court, explanations provided by a good number of intelligent persons from Iran, and astronomical observations by unnamed individuals. Delisle even gave his map a precise date of publication, which was highly unusual for mapmakers of his time. The map was apparently particularly important to him. Indeed, Delisle's name and fame are closely linked to his new cartographic representation of the Caspian Sea, which became quickly available to the map print shops of Paris, Nuremberg, Amsterdam, and Rome. Thanks to Homann (see Part II, entry 7), it also reached Istanbul before the end of the decade. Sezgin believes that Delisle corrected Van Verden's map on the basis of "a map of *Persia*" available to him, without specifying though what kind of "map of *Persia*" he meant—a European map (such as those made by Olearius or Reland) or a map made by someone from Iran or another Islamic country (Sezgin, 503). Delisle's manuscripts show that he worked with Ptolemy's *Geography*, a translation of the *Survey* of Abu l-Fida', and Reland's map. There is no evidence in the papers Delisle left behind that he ever encountered a Persian map, be it of Iran or of the Caspian Sea. No serious study exists of the other sources Delisle mentioned in the map's cartouche and their impact on the map.

2280.1723

24. Guillaume Delisle. *Carte Marine de la Mer Caspiene* . . . Amsterdam, [n.d.] 84 x 58 cm.

Delisle copied Van Verden's map of the Caspian Sea (see Part II, entry 20) after reducing its geographical coordinates to the meridian of Paris, introduced as a reference point for astronomical measurements by Delisle's teacher Jean Dominique Cassini in the last third of the seventeenth century. This change is made explicit in the cartouche and by the meridian of Astrakhan. Delisle also refers to his hypotheses concerning the position of the prime meridian. He added eight partial maps showing gulfs, river mouths, and a wharf. All of these items show locations on the Iranian coast. This choice agrees with what Van Verden emphasized on his map—namely the measurements of magnetic declination in waters along only the Iranian shore of the lake.

Private Collection

25. [Unknown mapmaker]. *Delineatio regionis Bassora cum pagis fluminibus et insulis quae Christiani sancti Ioannis incolunt.* Nuremberg, 1681? 40.5 x 32 cm.

This map is a modified copy of a map that accompanied a book by Ignazio di Gesù (1596–1667) published in 1652 in Rome. Ignazio was an Italian Carmelite missionary who worked in Isfahan and Shiraz before he was sent to the Carmelite house that opened in Basra in 1623. There he wrote his book about the Mandaeans entitled *Narratio Originis, Rituum, & Errorum Sancti Ioannis* (Narration of the origin, the rituals, and the errors of the Christians of St. John), to which he added a map that was based on an Arabic map of the region around Basra. The book describes in nine chapters what Ignazio considered the beliefs and practices of the Mandaeans, but it focuses on a refutation of the community's alleged errors. As in many apologies, the refutation is set up as a dialogue between a former member of the erring community and the representative of the true belief.

The copy displayed in the exhibition comes from a book by Olfert Dapper (1635–1689) about Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Anatolia or Asia Minor, and Arabia published in Dutch in 1672 and translated into German in 1681.[92] The map shows the Carmelite monastery outside the walls of Basra. It mentions that Kurds are to be found in a location on the Tigris, the Arabic name of which [Al-Akrad] means nothing more than "the Kurds." All traces of the Mandaeans have been eradicated, even though the cartouche still claims that the map depicts the locations where the "Christians of St. John" live.

92 Olfert Dapper, *Umbstaendliche und eigentliche Beschreibung von Asia* . . . (Nuremberg: J. von Meurs, 1681), 117.

For the description of Basra in the text accompanying the map, Dapper relied on Ulugh Beg, Nasir al-Din Tusi, Abu l-Fida', and other Arabic sources, which are difficult to identify because the names of their authors are only given in truncated format like Ahmed or Abu Josef (Dapper, 121). He also used the travel accounts of Della Valle (see Part I, entry 50) and Tavernier (see Part I, entry 9). Dapper supplied geographical coordinates, a (false) etymology of the port's Arabic name ("stony earth"), and the corrupt transliterations used in various European languages. A great part of Dapper's text about Basra informed the reader about political, religious, and architectural history from pre-Islamic times until the death of 'Abbas I. Dapper also discussed the various nations who traded in this town, the local religious communities (Shi'is, Sunnis, Nestorians, Jacobites, Mandaeans), and the presence of two Catholic orders, the Discalced Carmelites and the Augustinians. Like Ignazio di Gesù, Dapper identified the Mandaeans as followers of John the Baptist, as Sabaeans, a community that worshipped the planets, and as Mendays, a transliteration of the Arabic form of their name. In the text Dapper also listed the localities that the Mandaeans inhabited in and around Basra, giving the numbers of their households. He acknowledged his debt to Tavernier and Della Valle, but curiously avoided any mention of Ignazio (Dapper, 121). Apparently he did not appropriate the map directly from the Carmelite's book, but possibly from Melchisedec Thévenot's reprint in his collection of travel accounts, *Relations de divers voyages curieux*, first published from 1666 to 1672. Finally, Dapper entered into a lengthy discourse about the star worship of the Sabaeans for which he used information from various Arabic and Persian writers based on the *Historia Orientalis* (1651) of Johann Heinrich Hottinger the Elder (1620–1667) (Dapper, 121–134).

MAP-LC G7610 1680.D3

26. Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594). *Asiae III Tabula.* In *Tabulae geographicae Cl. Ptolomei ad mentem autoris restitutæ & emendatæ . . .* Cologne, 1578. 35 x 46 cm.

Gerardus Mercator, born in the Flemish town of Rupelmonde, was one of the most celebrated mapmakers of the Renaissance. His friend Abraham Ortelius (see Part II, entry 16) called him the "Ptolemy of his time" for the quality of his maps and globes, and for applying the cylindrical map projection which is still known as the Mercator projection. In this atlas the mapmaker sought to correct the errors found in Ptolemaic maps, but in so doing he introduced a number of new errors. This map, however, is an unaltered copy of a Ptolemaic

map. It contains a very elaborate cartouche and depicts the area between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea.

MP 2.1578 pf*

27. Pietro della Valle (1618–1683). *Carte pour le voiage de Levant de Pietro della Valle* . . . Paris, [n.d.] 16.5 x 23.5 cm.[93]

28. Pietro della Vallé. *Carte du voyage de Levant de Pietro della Vallé* . . . Paris, [n.d.] 16.5 x 23.5 cm.[94]

Pierre Du Val (Duval) was born in Abbeville. He was a nephew of Nicolas Sanson (see Part II, entry 4). His father was a successful merchant who held various offices in his town, but Pierre followed his uncle to Paris where he received his training. In 1646, he published his first maps (copies of Dutch maps) with the printer Pierre Marriette, who was the partner of Duval's uncle. In 1650, Duval received the title of "royal geographer" as an officer of the House of the King, and a modest yearly pension. This position was confirmed twenty three times by the king—but he never received an official order to produce any map. Hence the title may reflect his teaching of geography rather than his cartographic work (Pastoureau, 135). In 1654, Duval married and established himself as an independent publisher in Paris—partly with the dowry of his wife. In the same year, he began publishing his first atlas, which he compiled from some of his own maps, maps of his uncle and other French and Dutch mapmakers. It took him until 1677 to produce an atlas that consisted solely of his own maps.

However, Duval showed a great deal of creativity and commercial sense in other domains. He designed and published card games and other types of games for learning the basics of geography. He included genealogies, chronologies, and tables in his atlases, and cooperated with other printers to bring small format atlases to the public. He was one of the first mapmakers who took the time and the effort to make maps of travel routes that are based on the descriptions of major travelers to Iran and other Asian countries. In 1665, he published the first edition of a work in three parts: *Diverses cartes et tables pour la géographie ancienne, pour la chronologie et pour les itinéraires et voyages modernes*. A second edition of this work appeared in 1677 (Pastoureau,

93 This is a copy of the map found in P. Du Val, *Diverses cartes et tables pour la géographie ancienne pour la chronologie et pour les itinéraires et voyages modernes*, Paris, [1665], part 3, map 8.

94 This is a copy of the map found in P. Du Val, *Diverses cartes et tables pour la géographie ancienne pour la chronologie et pour les itinéraires et voyages modernes*, Paris, [1665], part 3, map 11.

154–156.). In addition to depicting the travel routes of Della Valle (see Part I, entry 50) in five maps, Duval designed maps illustrating the journeys of Thomas Herbert (see Part I, entry 6), Adam Olearius (see Part I, entry 30), Johann Albrecht von Mandelsloh, the bishop of Beirut, and other travelers to the Ottoman Empire, India, East Asia, Italy, France, and the Americas (Pastoureau, 154–155).

2195.1665.2(2)*; 2195.1665.2(1)*

29. Pierre Du Val. *La carte de l'empire des Sarrazins ou des caliphs, sous Vlit, qui regnoit environ l'an 700; tirée d'Abulfeda, de Nassir-Eddin, d'Vlug-Bei, et d'autres autheurs Arabes*. Paris, [n.d.] 16 x 23.5 cm.[95]

This historical map—based on the works of three named (Abu l-Fida', Nasir al-Din Tusi, and Ulugh Beg) and some other unnamed Muslim scholars—opened Duval's tripartite work on history, chronology, and travel. It was followed by a second map on the territories north of the Oxus derived from the *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Survey of the countries) of Abu l-Fida'. An interesting feature of the map shown here is the form of the Caspian Sea: it resembles a form found in some Byzantine copies of Ptolemy's *Geography* and in some copies of al-Sharif al-Idrisi's geographical work. It seems to agree with the description of the lake given by Abu l-Fida', but does not follow the geographical coordinates given by this author. Another interesting feature of the map is the usage of transliterations of Arabic toponyms, even for localities that were well-known to Duval's customers by other names (such as Cordoba, Constantinople, Sicily, or Europe). Duval did not follow this approach in all parts of the map. He mixed the Arabic transliterations with (corrupt) Arabic, Turkish, or Persian names appropriated from maps of Anatolia and Iran in the tradition of Gastaldi. Examples include Mer d'Elcatif (Persian Gulf), Aladvli (a territory in south east Anatolia ruled by the Dhu l-Qadir), and Mesat (Mashhad). A third group includes French adaptations of local place names such as Damas (Damascus), Burse (Bursa), or Balsera (Basra).

2195.1665.8*

95 This is a copy of the map found in P. Du Val, *Diverses cartes et tables pour la géographie ancienne pour la chronologie et pour les itinéraires et voyages modernes*, Paris, [1665], part 3, map 1. The spoken/dialectal form *Vlit* actually stands for "Walid" in literary Arabic.

30. Pierre Du Val. *Carte du Voyage de Mr. l'Evesque de Beryte . . .* Paris, [n.d.] 16.5 x 23.5 cm.[96]

Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624–1679), later the bishop of Beryte [Beirut], was one of the founders of the Société des Missions Étrangères in Paris. He was ordained in 1655 and became one of the earliest apostolic vicars in Southeast Asia together with his colleague and fellow traveler, François Pallu, bishop of Heliopolis. The pope appointed the two men as bishops in Asian cities in July 1658 after much negotiation between the French clerics and the Propaganda Fide in Rome about the necessity of strengthening the missions in East Asia. In 1659, they were given administrative responsibilities over territories in China and Vietnam as apostolic vicars. Lambert de la Motte left Paris in June 1660 and then embarked together with two French missionaries in Marseille for Iskanderun [Syria]. They traversed the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran, walking until they reached Bandar 'Abbas. There they took a ship to Surat where they arrived in December 1661. They crossed India on foot and embarked on a ship with a Muslim captain and crew for Thailand. They finally arrived in August 1662 in the country's capital. Until his death in 1679, Lambert de la Motte traveled between Thailand and Vietnam proselytizing and establishing religious institutions that followed very strict codes, and fighting against Portuguese missionaries in the region and the Inquisition. He also engaged in fruitful negotiations with the local ruler about political and commercial relationships with the French monarchy.[97]

2195.1665.6*

96 This is a copy of a map found in P. Du Val, *Diverses cartes et tables pour la géographie ancienne pour la chronologie et pour les itinéraires et voyages modernes*, Paris, [1665], part 3, map 22.

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