Preface

Background

My objective in *Printed Maps of Scandinavia and the Arctic* is to present a complete, thorough, and systematic survey of the subject. Each separately fabricated woodblock or copperplate map of the region is illustrated and discussed in an individual entry, with every state and distinguishable printing considered and identified.[1] The accompanying essay often touches on both related contemporary maps and later derivatives. The prolific use of images complements and clarifies the discussion.

Notwithstanding the title of this book, its roots lie in my fascination with maps of Norway, the result of my being married to a Norwegian. The catalyst was a few visits to an antiquarian dealer in Oslo more than twenty years ago. Conversations in which he shared his knowledge, experience, and enthusiasm transformed a casual interest in these objects into a serious quest for knowledge about the cartography of Scandinavia.

In common with many nascent map collectors, I decided to concentrate on a specific geographic region. I chose Norway, and more particularly the area surrounding Kragerø from which my wife, Inger, comes. My first three purchases over a six-month period established the outline of the future collection. Specifically, I bought exemplars of the first folio-size map of Norway from Blaeu's *Atlas Major,* the first sea chart depicting the coast around Kragerø from Waghenaer's *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt*, and the map of Scandinavia by Ortelius from the first modern atlas (Entry 24).

After these initial acquisitions, I didn't buy another map for more than a year. During that period, I visited dealers and read books to learn more about cartography, with emphasis on Norway, which usually was subsumed under Scandinavia. I quickly realized there was a practical problem in focusing strictly on maps of Norway because the first map of the country alone was not printed until 1602, fully 120 years after its inclusion on the first map of Scandinavia dating from 1482. Although sea charts pertaining to Norway appeared earlier, in 1585, this was still 103 years later than the initial printed depiction of Scandinavia.

I therefore decided to expand the scope of my investigations and collecting to include early Scandinavia. In this way, I could follow the development of the cartographic delineation of Norway prior to its appearance on a separate map.[2] From 1602, my attention reverted to the individual country rather than the region.

Thus, my research/collecting interest determined the 120-year time frame of this book. However, there are additional substantive justifications for the end date. First, a blossoming of maps of Scandinavia and the Arctic occurred in the years before 1602. Of the fifty entries in this cartobibliography, eighteen are dated between 1595 and

1601; a majority of these (ten entries) appeared in 1598 or later.[3] Two publications dated 1601 include noteworthy maps of Scandinavia. Second, after 1601, there was a gap of six years until *Norwegia et Svecia* and *Polus Arcticus* were printed in the first of the Mercator–Hondius series of miniature atlases.[4]

At the beginning of my learning process, I was amazed to find so much literature about antique maps in general and on the mapping of Scandinavia and its constituent countries in particular.[5] As my own research accumulated and my knowledge increased, I realized that much remained unknown—or at least unrecorded—and in any case unorganized.

The idea of creating a cartobibliography to remedy this situation germinated as I continued to admire, collect, and study the maps of Scandinavia and Norway. Although, as discussed below, the definition and composition of Scandinavia had been stable for almost two thousand years, I found that I still had to make some judgment calls in deciding what to include.

Since my principal purpose was to illustrate the evolution of the mapping of Scandinavia by identifying all the printed maps of the region in the 1482–1601 period, I eliminated maps of Europe[6] and the individual constituent nations as a first step. However, the area depicted on a few maps lies somewhere in between, that is, more than Scandinavia but not all of Europe, or only part of Scandinavia but more than a single country.

The only entries with a focus greater than that of Scandinavia are the map of north and central Europe by Schedel from the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Entry 2) and a derivative copy (Entry 3). The viewer's eye falls immediately on the roughly drawn, barely peninsular, Scandinavia. The early date and importance of the work in which the map appears weigh in favor of its inclusion.

The other situation applies to seven maps that fall into three sets, each of which provides an illuminating contemporary view of the cartography of the region. The maps from the *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani* (Entries 29 and 30) and by Botero (Entries 35 and 36) were innovative at the time; today, they are scarce and relatively unknown. Barent Langenes's pioneering miniature atlas included an expanded number of maps covering Scandinavia (Entries 43, 44, and 45).

The decision to include maps of the Arctic represents a judgment call, one strongly supported by several considerations. The polar regions have long been associated with Scandinavia on the basis of geography and history. The inhabitants of the north journeyed to and within this territory and settled parts of it. Even today, the Nordic coun-

tries account for most of the principal communities in the northernmost parts of the globe. In modern times, Scandinavian explorers and scientists have initiated and undertaken many of the major polar expeditions. Many of the maps of Scandinavia allude to lands lying even farther north, even if this results from ignorance and represents speculation. Conversely, depictions of the Arctic and far north typically incorporate a significant part of Scandinavia, an observation that perhaps is not so surprising when recalling that the first map of the Arctic did not appear until 1595, 113 years after the publication of the map of Scandinavia in the Ulm Ptolemy.[7]

Each entry discusses the background of the cartographer and the publication of the map under consideration. It goes beyond basic information in a manner that is discursive without being too digressive; it does not attempt to recapitulate existing scholarship. Perhaps the essays are best summarized as encompassing "what I wish I had known as I was collecting." I hope this subjective criterion has resulted in a combination of content and organization that is original, stimulating, and useful.[8]

As the reader will quickly discover, I have not limited myself to the fifty specific entries. Discussions and illustrations of other maps abound. They fall into three broad categories. One comprises maps evolved subsequent to 1601 from a particular entry, either direct descendents (figs. 15.1, 38.1, 39.1 and associated text) or later allusions (figs. 10.2, 44.2, 45.2 and corresponding text). Denmark, which unlike Norway or Sweden was portrayed separately on maps within the period under investigation, constitutes a second. Commenting on the history of the cartography of Denmark nicely complements the major thrust of the book (Entries 24 and 28) and incorporates maps that are rare and have not been reproduced before (particularly fig. 37.2). The third category includes maps that make useful contributions to the main story (Entries 1, 24, 33, 34, and the "Depictions of Scandinavia" essay).

Overview of the History and Cartography of Scandinavia

Implicit in my study of maps of Scandinavia is a definition of the area under consideration, historical and political as well as cartographical. Fortunately, this is reasonably well defined under any of these categories.

In modern usage, Scandinavia refers to the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The Nordic countries additionally include the republics of Iceland and Finland. As discussed in "Depictions of Scandinavia in Early Editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*," page 1, the first mentions of Scandinavia (A.D. 77) and of the northern

peoples (A.D. 98) are attributed to Pliny the Elder in *Historia Naturalis* and Tacitus in *Germania*, respectively. Their knowledge was secondhand and probably encompassed only the southern part of the region.

For hundreds of years into the Christian era, numerous local tribes, often in conflict with one another and generally isolated from the rest of Europe, populated Scandinavia. The Viking Age, 800–1100, "witnessed the continued coalescence of the early Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish monarchies from the cauldrons of tribal localisms, as well as the founding of the Icelandic, Faeroese, and Greenland republics."[9] In the next four centuries, 1100–1500, the region's history "is increasingly . . . tied to events, institutions, and patterns of development in Europe. Politically, the area came to be dominated by three medieval, monarchist states: Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The Faeroe Islands, Greenland, and Iceland lost their independence in the mid-thirteenth century."[10]

About three-quarters of the way through this four-hundred-year period, the unification of the three kingdoms was formalized in the Kalmar Union of 1397.[11] Whether this was a true merger or a confederation—and contemporary interpretations differed according to self-interest—the three constituent entities retained a significant degree of national and territorial identity. Although there was almost continual internal fighting, the union lasted until 1523, when Gustav I Vasa reestablished Sweden as an independent kingdom. Norway remained in the union until 1814, but by 1536 had effectively been made little more than a province of Denmark.[12]

Thus, for the 1482–1601 period of this cartobibliography, as well as for centuries before and after, the historical and political dimensions of Scandinavia and its three kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were unambiguous. The cartographic representation of the region reflects this reality, with the area designated as Scandinavia in maps and atlases exhibiting a consistency throughout these years.[13]

Because most of the cartographers and publishers who compiled books of maps and atlases included Scandinavia in their inventory, the development of the mapping of the area generally follows that of printed cartography. Consequently, a review of early printed cartography will include most of the relevant maps. However, a few individuals such as Jacob Ziegler (Entry 8), Olaus Magnus (Entries 9, 14, 22, and 23), and Nicolo Zeno (Entry 17), made important contributions to the mapping of Scandinavia, but fall outside the cartographic mainstream.[14]

The first printed maps date from the 1470s, only two decades after Gutenberg's Bible. They are based on the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy, a Greek scientist and

geographer living in Alexandria who died in A.D. 168 These fifteenth-century reconstructions of the *Geography* contained twenty-seven maps (one world map and twenty-six regional maps). Since Ptolemy had almost no knowledge of the northern regions, Scandinavia is not one of the regional maps, nor does it even appear on the world maps of the very earliest editions.

A slightly expanded *Geography* was published in Ulm in 1482. It contained the first separate printed map of Scandinavia (Entry 1). Editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* continued to be published for almost 150 years. The Ulm map was the prototype for the map of Scandinavia in the earlier printings (Entries 4, 5, and 6), while updated versions were included in later editions (Entries 10, 12, 13, 18, 38, and 39). In addition, other representations of Scandinavia developed independently of the Ptolemaic tradition. Two of the best-known examples are the portrayal of the northern regions in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Entries 2 and 3) and in the *Isolario* of Benedetto Bordone (Entry 7).

For several years in the mid-1500s, Italy was a center of cartographic activity. A small group of mapmakers, engravers, and publishers working in Rome and Venice produced several hundred maps, most of which are distinguished by their elegant, artistic style. Only a few of these maps, including those by Michele Tramezini (Entry 16) and Giovanni Camocio (Entry 20), portray Scandinavia.

With the publication of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius in 1570, the world center for cartography began to shift to the Netherlands, where it was to remain for the next hundred years. The *Theatrum*, the first atlas in the modern sense of the word, included a map of Scandinavia (Entry 24). The popularity of this volume led to the publication of four series of derivative miniature atlases, each with a miniature map of Scandinavia (Entries 27, 41, 42, and 50).

In the later 1500s, Cologne became the center of a flurry of German mapmaking and publishing activity. The resultant books and atlases drew on contemporary cartographic sources but reinterpreted them in a distinctive style. The few maps of Scandinavia in these works are uncommon and not widely known (Entries 29, 30, 35, 36, and 37).

At the end of the century, in 1595, the word "atlas" was actually used in the title of a book of maps published by the son of Gerard Mercator. The work of Mercator, one of the giants in the history of cartography, included a map of Scandinavia (Entry 34). It also contained the first map devoted to the Arctic (Entry 33), which was quickly copied (Entries 40 and 48).

Practical Notes

Each entry begins with summary information followed by an essay, a list of references when warranted, and a "Collectors' Note." The summary specifies the cartographer, place and date of publication, map title, medium, size, and source. In titles and when they appear in the body of text, vertical lines ("|") denote line breaks.[15] I have attempted to replicate titles with respect to case, italicization, and special characters, though not different type sizes. However, I generally use "s" instead of its archaic forms unless the distinction is important. The dimensions of the image, height by width, are given in centimeters; if the map has a trapezoidal shape, top and bottom measurements are indicated. Note that chemical, physical, and environmental factors acting over hundreds of years on paper result in variations of as much as 5 percent.[16]

An entry represents a distinct woodblock or copperplate of the subject map. Modifications or revisions using the same physical piece of wood or copper give rise to a new state of the same map or entry. A new block or plate, even if the later image is a close copy of the precursor, is assigned a different entry number. The entries are numbered chronologically.

Seventeen entries are combined into seven groups of related maps for exposition. This arrangement improves clarity, comparison, and comprehension, while reducing repetition and the need to flip back and forth between entries. In three cases—Entries 16/20, 19/26, and 27/41/42/50—the maps are separated by date, but their close similarities are best elucidated when considered jointly. In each of the other four groups—Entries 29/30, 33/34, 35/36, and 43/44/45—the maps are from the same publication.

The maps in this cartobibliography are ordered chronologically in Entries 1 through 50. In each entry, images are numbered consecutively beginning with fig. n.0, which is the main map illustration for Entry n. Ample use of photographs shows differences between states or variants.

A principal purpose of the cartobibliography is to enable identification of all distinguishable printings of each entry. I have tried to exercise care and consistency in the use of the terms "state," "variant," "anomaly," "edition," "printing," and "issue." I apologize for any failures in this regard, but hope that in such instances the context will make the meaning clear. A new or different state of a map results when the plate is intentionally altered.[17]

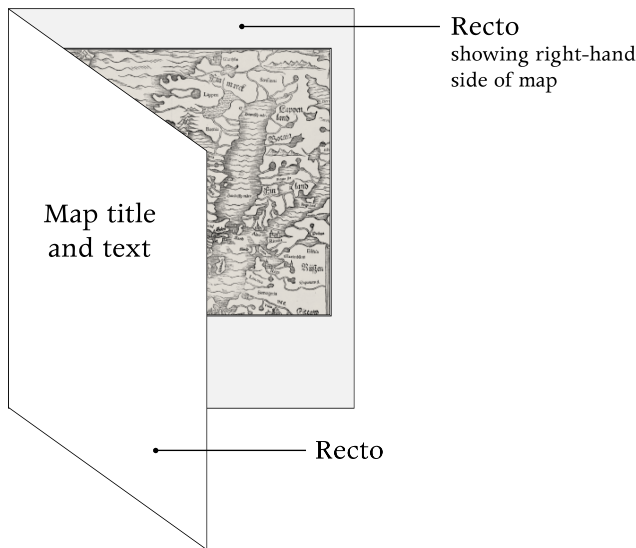
The previous sentence applies to copperplates. For woodblocks, I have utilized an alternative standard. In most of the cases covered in *Printed Maps of Scandinavia and the Arctic*, the basic woodblock of the map remained unchanged during its printing history. However, type insets and typeset were commonly used, the former to print place-names and the latter for blocks of text on the map or the title above it. My convention distinguishes differences in the type either as variants (typically, when the insets fell out) or as anomalies (typically, when a change in a title appears to have been an error) of a single state of the map. This applies primarily to the maps of Sebastian Münster, Entries 10, 12, and 31.

"Edition," "printing," and "issue" are used fairly interchangeably to denote a specific publication of a book or atlas or map. Thus, multiple editions of an atlas or various printings of a book might contain the same state of a map. Conversely, some copies of the same edition or printing may contain a different state of the map from the one that is usually present. Nonetheless, in such cases it may still be possible to assign a map to a specific edition or issue, typically by means of typographical distinctions on the reverse of the map.

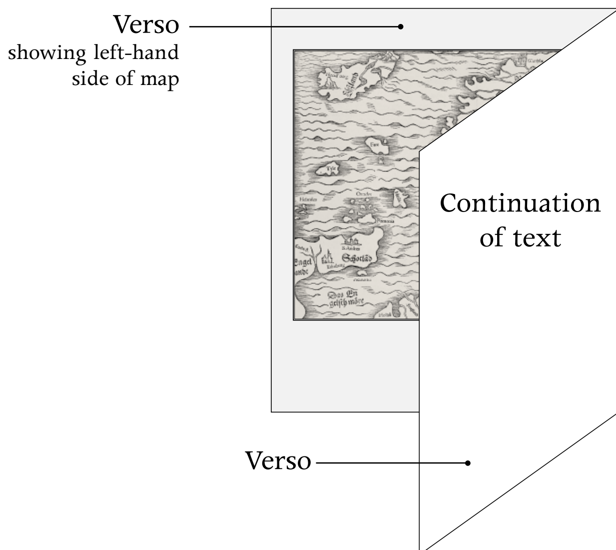
I adhere to a commonly used convention for designating the date of a map. The notation "1570 (1579)" means that the map was first published in 1570, but the exemplar illustrated dates from 1579.

I frequently refer to the "reverse of the map." Although the context is usually clear, the formal parlance of book professionals avoids ambiguity. In an open book, the face of the right-hand page is the recto of that sheet, and the other side is the verso of the sheet. Thus, for the com-

mon case of a map printed across two pages, the layout is as follows:



As indicated by the diagrams, the right-hand side of the map is the recto of the sheet it is printed on (see above), and the left-hand side of the map is the verso, that is, reverse, of the sheet it is printed on (see below). Any title or descriptive text for the map begins on the recto of the left-hand side of the map sheet. If the text runs beyond the end of the page, it continues on the verso of the right-hand map sheet.



A list of selected references following an essay furnishes sources—often with an academic orientation—for further elaboration of that entry. In contrast to specific points cited in notes, they explore more broadly the historical background and context of the map (see n. 8).

A concluding "Collectors' Note" offers my assessment of the difficulty in finding an exemplar of the subject map for purchase. Without regard to specific edition, state, variant, or printing, I have assigned each map to one of five categories, with the following practical definitions:

Common—give me a month, and I'll find the map
Uncommon—one will probably turn up in six to twelve months
Scarce—one every couple of years
Rare—five years between copies
Unobtainable—just what it says; or, more politely, recorded in very few copies and/or most of the known copies are in institutions

NOTES

1. This clause indicates my intent. In fact, it is highly probable that other variations of these maps exist. I hope that publication of this volume will facilitate and stimulate their being recognized, and I solicit feedback from interested readers.

2. Of course, Norway appeared on early world and Europe maps. However, the scale on these is too small to make meaningful inferences about the evolving cartography of the country; moreover, the existence of contemporaneous maps of Scandinavia makes it unnecessary to attempt to do so!

3. A histogram of the number of entries per 10-year period reveals just how unusual this cluster is. Beginning with the decade 1482–1491, the list reads 1, 2, 1, 1, 2, 3, 3, 6, 5, 6, 2, 18. A pattern suggesting increasing map production emerges if longer, twenty-year periods are considered. Starting with 1482–1501, the numbers are 3, 2, 5, 9, 11, 20. (Further consolidation into equal 60-year intervals reveals that only 10 entries—20% of the total—appeared in 1482–1541, whereas 80% were issued in the 1542–1601 period.)

4. The second state of Mercator's map of the Arctic actually appeared the previous year, in 1606, in the first issue by Jodocus Hondius of his atlas based on the Mercator plates he had purchased in 1604.

5. In the bibliographical essay, I provide some guidance to those who may wish to explore further.

6. A cartobibliographic treatment of early printed maps of Europe is H. A. M. van der Heijden, *De oudste gedrukte kaarten van Europa* (Alphen aan den Rijn, the Netherlands, 1992). The author comments pertinently in the English summary, "The oldest Europe maps knew two weak points: first of all the North. Before Claudius Clavus (c. 1417) and particularly before Olaus Magnus (1539) [see Entries 1 and 9, respectively] the territories in the north of Europe were mostly terra incognita and therefore rather poorly designed." P. 138.

7. The Arctic was depicted in some detail on Mercator's magnificent 18-sheet wall map of 1569, but this was still 87 years since the publication of the first map of Scandinavia in 1482. (See Entry 33.)

8. I readily acknowledge the greater knowledge and expertise of others in cartography and related fields, such as history, science, and art. Their contributions may be found in the references listed at the end of the entries. My comparative advantage lies in the aggregation and systematization of the relevant information.

9. Byron J. Nordstrom, *Scandinavia since 1500* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2000), pp. 12–13.

10. *Ibid*., p. 14.

11. "In its own day, it constituted the second largest accumulation of European territories under a single sovereign." T. K. Derry, *A History of Scandinavia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1979), p. 69.

12. The accession charter of Christian III of Denmark, Oct. 1536, declared: "Norway shall henceforth be and remain under the Crown of Denmark, the same as any of the other provinces, Jutland, Fünen, Zealand, or Skåne, and it shall henceforth neither be nor be called a kingdom in itself." *Ibid*., p. 89.

13. An element of the religious history of Scandinavia had an important cartographic consequence. Christianity had come to Scandinavia by the end of the Viking period, and the entire region was Catholic by 1500. The rise of Lutheranism began relatively early in the sixteenth century and was complete by 1600. As discussed in Entries 9 and 14, its emergence prevented the return of the Swedish archbishop Olaus Magnus from Rome to his home country. While in de facto exile, Olaus constructed an extraordinary, large-scale map of Scandinavia, subsequently augmented by a book describing the people of the north, in part to convince his religious colleagues of the significance of the region and of its value to the church.

14. These men fall outside the cartographic mainstream because, with the exception of Entry 9, each of their maps was an integral part of a description of Scandinavia in a book, not simply one of a number of maps gathered together in book form. Even in the case of Entry 9, it is closely associated—at least in my mind—with a book (see n. 13 and Entry 14).

15. I find the vertical line "|" preferable to a slash ("/") for denoting line breaks. A "/" is sometimes printed as part of a title, so extra care or explanation is necessary to avoid confusion. The three Münster woodblocks (Entries 10, 12, and 31) include most, but not all, of the instances where this occurs (see also Entries 33 and 34).

16. F. J. Manasek, *Collecting Old Maps* (Norwich, Vt., 1995), p. 55. This book presents a wealth of related information in "Appendix E, The Substance of Maps: Paper and Vellum," pp. 285–293.

17. An exception occurs in Entry 24, where, following existing convention, some states are defined as involuntary changes resulting from physical deterioration of the copperplate.