“Carte-á-figure” maps of Poland: dates, states, and provenances

Abstract. After short introduction to carte-á-figure genre of maps discussed are three maps of Poland belonging to this category: the first state of Hondius’ *Nova POLONIAE delineatio*, Visscher’s “Haec Tabula nova POLONIAE et SILESIAE*, and Speed’s *A NEWE MAPE OF POLAND*. For the origin of the Hondius’ map a more precise range of dates is proposed. Question of the Visscher map’s order of states is clarified, supported by evidence from the author’s research. Finally, line of reasoning is presented and arguments quoted disproving widely held belief in priority of the Speed’s map over the Visscher’s. Also, dissimilarities between images of Silesia on Hondius’ and Visscher’s maps together with possible reasons of these are considered.

Keywords: carte-á-figure maps, maps of Poland

1. Introduction

Maps called “carte-á-figure”, surrounded by a border composed of panels with Vedutes of towns portraits of rulers, battle plans, costumes characteristic for the mapped lands, etc., are possibly the most eye-catching works from the cartographical past. Seen on the walls of the state buildings or law firms they emphasize prestige and historical tradition of the decorated institutions. A prosaic consequence of their visual appeal are high market prices, far exceeding those of equally rare but less attractive maps.

Carte-á-figure maps appeared in the Netherlands at the turn of the 16th and 17th century. Jodocus Hondius (father), author of the earliest map of this kind *NOVA TOTIUS EUROPAE DESCRIPTIO* (1595, wall map), is widely recognized as inventor of this cartographical genre (G. Schilder 1985). Until the end of the 16th century, cartographers and engravers, perhaps motivated by some kind of the "fear of vacuum", used to fill empty spaces within map frames with purely graphic or fantastic elements, such as sea monsters or personifications of winds. Panels containing illustrative material seen on the first carte-á-figure wall maps were also located within the frames. As the new style spread to smaller format maps, the panels, probably due to lack of enough free space within frames, were moved beyond the map area. After some time, specific ways of arranging them into logical and usually symmetrical sequences were developed. Due to the differing content (and sometimes originating workshops) the decorative borders were often printed from separate plate(s) than the map itself (J.A. Welu 1987). Fantastic images of anthropophagi or one-eyed monsters present on earlier maps soon gave way to the views of distant towns and images of exotic people, not only raising the visual charm (and commercial value) of the maps, but also enriching them with aspects which they alone could not provide.

Another reason making the carte-á-figure maps attractive is their rarity. They were printed from copper plates which originated, and in principle were used, only in the first half of the 17th century. Cartobibliography of the Dutch single-sheet folio maps lists only 107 “prototypes” (including two with the map of Poland which are discussed below), known in several hundred states, the latest one being dated for 1660 (G. Schilder and K. Stopp 2000). Out of...
this group (smaller than the average number of sheets in the atlases issued at that time) most maps are signed by Jodocus Hondius father and son (25 in total), Claes Janszoon Visscher (24), Petrus Kaerius (16), Guilielmus Blaeu (12), Joannes Janssonius (7), Frederik de Wit (7) and several other authors. Apart from the works of the Dutch artists, the bibliography lists 33 maps created outside the Netherlands between 1633 and 1670, all being copies of the Amsterdam originals. Migration of the centre of European cartography from Amsterdam to Paris in the second half of the 17th century, signalled the end of the “golden age” of the Dutch cartography together with its most appealing product: carte-à-figure maps. Few examples of original production which appeared later outside the Netherlands did not aesthetically match their Dutch predecessors. The last maps of this kind were issued in the second half of the 19th century. Instead of decorative elements they usually display more or less extensive geographic, statistical or iconographic information.

2. Poland (and Silesia) on carte-à-figure maps

Three maps belonging to the discussed category are devoted to Poland. Two were published in Amsterdam, the third in London. These are:

- The first state of *Nova POLONIAE delineatio* by Jodocus Hondius (the father), hereinafter referred to as the “Hondius map”,
- *Haec Tabula nova POLONIAE et SILESIAE* by Claes Janszoon Visscher (the “Visscher map”),
- *A NEWE MAPE OF POLAND* by John Speed (the “Speed map”).

These three maps were given enough attention in the cartographic literature (see e.g. J. Łuczyński 2011) so it is unnecessary to describe them in detail. However, some issues like dates of their origin or relation between the Visscher and Speed maps still remain unclear.

Dating of carte-à-figure maps is facilitated by vedutes and city plans placed on them, most often modelled after those published in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg. Images of the cities located within present borders of the state of Poland were included into four of six volumes of this monumental work, mostly into vol. VI published for the first time in 1617.

As far as dating of the maps is concerned figures in outfits typical of Poland, Gdańsk and Silesia seen on the maps’ border panels are of little help. Models for these engravings were available already in the second half of the 16th century1 while doubts regarding dating of the maps concern the first decades of the 17th century.

One more element that enables dating of the map is date of its publication in the atlas (if any), provided the map was a genuine part of the atlas, not a later addition (what used to happen quite often).

Publication date of the source atlas may then be considered, after adequate scrutiny, as terminus ante quem of the map’s origin.

2.1. The Hondius map

This undated map with empty verso is recorded in two states of which the second, with its decorative borders removed, does not belong to carte-à-figure category. The first state of the Hondius map was part of two atlases: *Atlantis Maioris Appendix* issued in Amsterdam by Joannes Janssonius in 1630 (P. van der Krogt 1997, 1:202, map no. 9 in the “Tabularum Appendicis Index”), and *Theatrum Imperii Germanici* published also by Janssonius in 1632 (P. van der Krogt 1997, 1:221, map no. 82 in “Catalog Tabularum”).

Though the map is signed by Jodocus Hondius it is not clear whether its author was the father or the son of the same name. Basing on the analysis of the engraving style G. Schilder suggested hand of Jodocus father and years 1606-1607 as the time of the map’s origin (G. Schilder and K. Stopp 2000, 97.1). However, this dating is in obvious contradiction with the date of publication of the sixth volume of *Civitates* (1617), the source of Cracow, Sandomierz, Krosno and Biecz vedutes and of Poznań map, unquestionable prototypes of engravings.

---


on the Hondius map. Two other views from its decorative border are irrelevant: the axonometric plan of Wrocław and the vedute of Gdańsk appeared in the earlier volumes of “Civitatiæ” (Wrocław in the 1588 fourth volume, Gdańsk in the 1575 second). Trying to resolve this contradiction Schilder speculates that several years before publication of the sixth volume (1617) the older Jodocus (died 1612) “may have acquired copies of the unpublished original drawings”, serving later as models for vedutes in Civitates. Equally unprovable is Schilder’s alternative hypothesis, that Jodocus father’s work on the map, interrupted by his death, was finished by Jodocus son “in his father’s engraving style” (explanation supported later by Kozica, see K. Kozica and J. Pezda 2004, G74.1).

An example of the Hondius map preserved in the collection of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski of Czartoryski National Museum in Cracow displays date “1606”, however, added by hand (T. Paćko et al. 1992, p. 15). Copy of the map in the Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum is dated in the museum’s catalogue as published before 1612, date stemming most probably from the year of Jodocus Hondius father death (U. Timman and H. Kott 1988, 540a). In summary, the Hondius map appeared most probably between 1617 (publication of the sixth volume of Civitates) and 1629 (death of Jodocus Hondius son).

2.2. The Visscher map

The Visscher map, single and with empty verso, was published in Amsterdam by Claes Janszoon Visscher and later by his son Nicolaes I Visscher. It was engraved by Abraham Goos and printed from two plates: one for the map itself together with the side and bottom borders, the other for the upper border with the map’s title cartouche, vedutes of Cracow and Gdańsk, and portraits of two kings in the corners. Seven states of the Visscher map are recorded: the first six have the same title Haec Tabula nova POLONIAE et SILESIAE, title of the undated seventh state, last in order, is shortened to TABULA NOVA POLONIAE et SILESIAE. The first six states differ only by the presence or absence of the engraved date: one is not dated, other display dates 1630, 1633, 1650, 1653 and 1657. Literature sources differ as to the location of the non-dated edition on the list of states. Kozica recognized this edition as the sixth state (“without a date, with traces of scratches”), adopting as the first state the 1630 edition (K. Kozica and J. Pezda 2002, K79/5; also K. Kozica and J. Pezda 2004, G76/5); Schilder maintains that the undated edition is the first state and dates it before 1630 (G. Schilder and K. Stopp 2000, 97.1). While there seems to be no argument for the first opinion, a few unobvious and indirect arguments can be presented in favour of the second:

(A) Of 24 known carte-à-figure maps by Claes Janszoon Visscher half (12) is dated. The first regional map of this author is dated 1621 (Germania). Only three of the Visscher’s maps are dated later than 1630, two of which are no more than the subsequent versions of his world map, engraved before 1620. Moreover, after 1627 (the second map of Moravia), the only dated Visscher’s maps are those of the Dutch provinces and the aforementioned maps of the world.

(B) The British Library’s copy of 1623 Hondius edition of Mercator’s Atlas (P. van der Krogt 1997, 1:105, London BL), contains 27 added maps, none of which is dated after 1623. Among them are Visscher’s carte-à-figure maps (including the undated Haec Tabula nova POLONIAE et SILESIAE), and the most recent of his maps is Spain from 1623.

(C) Atlantis maioris appendix published by Henricus Hondius in 1631 (P. van der Krogt 1997, 1:203) contains twelve Visscher’s maps, including Haec Tabula nova POLONIAE et SILESIAE dated 1630 (map no. 9 in the Tabularum Appendicis Index). If the 1630 edition of the Visscher map is its first state (as claimed by Kozica) then it would be more difficult to explain presence of an undated copy in the atlas issued in 1623, even if only as an attachment (argument B).

(D) Finally: the Speed map discussed later, dated in the first state for 1626 and in 1627 published in the atlas is, with all probability, later than the Visscher map and modelled after it – contrary to the widespread opinion. Rationale for the reversal of this precedence is presented in point 2.3.

Visscher map displays an additional element, missing on the Hondius map and potentially

---

useful for dating: a list of Polish kings (and portraits of a few). Date of accession to the throne of the first ruler missing on the list could have been terminus ante quem for the map’s origin. Unfortunately, in the first six states of the Visscher map the last king listed is the same Zygmunt III Waza, ruling from 1587 to 1632. The list was updated only once, on the map in the last and undated 7th state, with portrait of Jan Kazimierz (1648–1668). This allows to date this state for the period between 1657 (date of the previous state of the map) and 1668 (end of Jan Kazimierz’s kingship). It should be noticed that this much-too-late updating of the list of Polish rulers was actually done only because the plate from which the upper border of the map was printed got broken and had to be replaced.

In the light of presented arguments, the first undated state of the Visscher map was probably created between 1621 (map of Germania) and 1626 (date of the Speed map being copy of the Visscher’s), possibly even before 1623 (argument B). Analysis of the vedutes on the Visscher map does not provide conclusions that would undermine the proposed date of its first state. For the most part, they are copies of engravings from Braun and Hogenberg’s Civitates. Its last volume appeared in 1617, well before the earliest estimated date of the Visscher’s map first state appearance. With one exception: vedute of Gdańsk authored by Visscher himself and based on the 1617 work of Aegidius Dickmann, was published around 1620 (T. Pačko et al. 1992, p. 62), so also ahead of the proposed 1621–1626 range. Sources of views of Poznań and Wrocław remain unidentified. Pačko describes these two vedutes as “modelled on prospective plans” from the fourth (Wrocław) and sixth (Poznań) volumes of Civitates (T. Pačko et al. 1992, p. 55). Even if true (what for some other reasons is difficult to accept), then dates of both volumes (1588 and 1617) still would conform to the proposed dating of the first state of the map.

2.3 The Speed map

A NEWE MAPE OF POLAND was engraved by Dirk Grijp for John Speed’s atlas A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World published in London since 1627 (hereafter referred to as the “Speed atlas”). Two-column text entitled The Description of Poland was printed on verso. Three states of the map, differing in editor’s imprint and dating are recorded (1st state: G. Humble, dated 1626, 2nd state: Roger Rea “the Elder and Younger”, dated 1662, 3rd state: Basset and Chiswell, undated map published for the first time in 1676 edition of the Speed atlas).

All consulted reference sources agree that the Visscher map (discussed in p. 2.2) was modelled after the 1626 Speed map7, in other words, that the Visscher map is later than the Speed’s. One exception from this prevailing belief is a neutral opinion on 1630 edition of the Visscher map: “In terms of the cartographic content [the Visscher map] is identical with map of J. Speed (...), except that it covers the whole of Gdańsk Pomerania including Hel” (T. Pačko et al. 1992, 108). Notion on “seniority” of the Speed map (1626) expressed in K. Kozica and J. Pezda (2002) is understandable in light of their view that the 1st state of the Visscher map appeared in 1630 (see p. 2.2). It is difficult to understand, however, why the same view is shared by Schilder for whom the Visscher map’s 1st state is the undated release from before 1630 – unless he dates if for the period between 1626 and 1630. Even so, the notion of the Speed map’s priority is not supported by any argument.

The most important feature of the Speed and Visscher maps is their striking similarity, leaving no doubt that one is copy of the other. This applies in particular to the identical cartographic content (leaving aside language differences and slightly differing northern range). Different shape of “trees” and “hills” symbolizing forest complexes and mountainous areas

---


7 “The map is based on Dirk Grijp’s map of Poland for John Speed” (G. Schiller and K. Stopp 2000, p. 393); “John Speed’s map of Poland from 1626 was nearly exactly copied by Claes Janszoon Visscher in [his map from] 1630” (J. Łuczynski 2011, p. 270).

---

4 Dr. Kazimierz Kozica is to be thanked for the image of the map’s broken border (map in the 6th state dated 1657).

5 Year 1623 is even more probable since the Speed’s atlas contains map of Spain dated 1626 (SPAIN), copied from the 1st state of the Visscher’s Nova et accurata Tabula HISPANIAE dated 1623.
(nb. most often imaginary) is nothing strange, as these are individual elements of the map engraver’s style. Engravers of both maps worked at the same time in Amsterdam, often for the same clients, including John Speed. Abraham Goos, signed on the Visscher map, engraved several maps for the Speed atlas (four continents and Persia). At the same time a few maps for this atlas were engraved by Dirk Grijp (map of Poland discussed here, France, and Tartary, part of Central Asia). All plates for the Speed atlas originated in Amsterdam with Goos, Grijp and several other Dutch engravers participating in the project. Maps were later printed from these plates in London.

The side panels of both maps contain the same set of characters in typical Polish, Silesian and Gdańsk outfits – not without differences: panels with characters on the left border of the Visscher map were moved to the right border of the Speed’s and vice versa. Moreover, all characters from the Visscher map are mirror reversed on Speed’s (exact copying of an image onto the printing plate results in mirror reversed printouts). The same left / right change of locations and mirror reversing of images happened to the coats of arms of Poland and Silesia placed in the middle of the side borders. It may be imagined that the copyist (Grijp in author’s opinion) strived to create a map cartographically close to the original, but slightly differing in other elements – if not in the content, then at least in form. The upper and lower borders of the Visscher map were treated differently. Two upper vedutes from his map (Cracow and Gdańsk) and four lower ones (Poznań, Krosno, Sandomierz and Wroclaw) were transferred onto the Speed map – but all to the upper border. It was possible at the expense of trimmed peripheries of the Cracow and Gdańsk vedutes (what made their size equal to those of the others vedutes) and removal of the title carton occupying central place of Visscher map’s upper border. Grijp located an unsigned portrait of Zygmunt III Waza in this place, copied exactly from the Visscher map (in a mirror image, though). Lack of space forced Grijp to abandon list of kings present on the Visscher map and portraits of a few in his map’s corners. For the same reason title cartouche of the Speed map was transferred to the upper right corner of the map’s field.

Speed’s orders placed with Amsterdam engravers must have defined the required format of the prints. This is evidenced by sizes of 21 maps from the first edition of the Speed atlas (1627) which all fit relatively narrow ranges. Measured together with the decorative borders they equal 510–540 mm (width) and 390–425 mm (height)\(^6\). In order to adapt the copied Visscher map to these dimensions Grijp had to flatten it as it was too “high” (\(W \times H\) size with borders is about 530 × 465 mm). He achieved this by removing the lower border (forcing transfer of its content to the upper border, described earlier), and by reducing the map’s latitudinal range by about 10 minutes. For the latter the only reasonable choice was to sacrifice the narrow strip of the uppermost part of the Visscher map. It was done at little cost: sea areas, northernmost part of the Gdańsk coast and small area of Lithuania along the 55th parallel were trimmed off.

Presented steps of Grijp’s revisions and the reasons for which they were made are of course only author’s reconstruction. However, its logic supports and justifies the basic thesis: the Speed map of Poland is a copy of the Visscher map, not vice versa as widely believed. You may try an opposite line of reasoning: imagine Visscher copying the Speed map, adding peripheries to the vedutes of Cracow and Gdańsk to fill the upper border, next supplementing map with the northern part of the coast (still without cape of Rozewie!), and finally adding the bottom border with the list of kings.

Thesis on the priority of the Visscher map, advanced in this paper also finds external support. History of cartography textbooks and Speed’s biographers agree that maps in his atlas are not original works. According to Barber\(^9\), “maps in Speed’s ’Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World’ (1627) [were] engraved in Amsterdam and derived from older Dutch maps”. Baynton-Williams in his biographical sketch writes\(^10\): “Although attributed to Speed in the title, in the main the maps are anglicized copies

---

\(^6\) Dimensions of 21 maps in the first edition of the Speed atlas (1627) were taken from the collation of the 1676 edition, see A. Baynton-Williams, The ‘Complete’ Prospect – 1676, MapForum, issue 3 http://www.mapforum.com/03/speedlis.htm (access 06.02.2019).


of examples current in Amsterdam at the time, from the stocks of Willem Blaeu, Pieter van den Keere, Claes Jansz Visscher, and the Hondius-Jansson family*. Indeed, next to the titles of 19 of 21 maps in the first edition of the Speed atlas his name or initials appear, usually preceded by modest addition “described by” or “[newly] augmented by”. On the map of Poland (and only on it) the phrase goes “done into English by I. Speede”. This wording in the then and nowadays English means the same: “translated into English”, corresponding quite well with reality as a change from Latin on the Visscher map to English on the Speed’s is one of the very few differences between them.

3. Provenances and (dis)similarities

The common feature of the Hondius and the Visscher maps is presentation of the two separate political entities on one map: the Kingdom of Poland and Silesia, then part of the Crown of Bohemia. Side by side imaging of both should be seen as continuation of the tradition begun by Gerard Mercator’s map POLONIA ET SILESIA (1585). It is also evidence of the latter’s impact on cartographers of the period mapping this part of the Central Europe*. Proof that the Mercator’s map served as the main model for both Hondius and Visscher can be found in their works, to mention Opole written after Mercator as Opplen or double name for Bydgoszcz (Bromberg, Bidgostia). Besides mentioned, three other Mercator’s works were models for Hondius and Visscher: MARCA BRANDENBURGENSIS & POMERANIA (1585) from which the image of the western edge of both maps and of the coastal areas from the island of Usedom to Koszalin was borrowed; PRUS-SIA (1595) which was a source of information about areas from Grudziądz to the Vistula Spit and Prussia, as well as place names seen on Hel peninsula; finally LITHUANIA (1595) which served both authors to increase eastern range of their maps (Hondius’ by about half a degree more than Visscher’s). The Baltic Sea coastline, the image of coastal lakes, the sequence of rivers flowing into the sea and some other elements like the shape and location of the isle of Bornholm indicate that Visscher additionally used maps from “Het Licht der Zee-vaert” (1608)14, the sea atlas of Willem Janszoon (since ca. 1621 known as Willem Blaeu).

Interestingly, both cartographers reduced to the same extent southern range of Mercator’s POLONIA ET SILESIA. Because the Hondius map is possibly a few years older than the Visscher’s it may be more imitation (rather of Hondius by Visscher than vice versa) than independently made decision. A telltale evidence of imitation is the name WARZOVIA seen on their maps in place of the correct MAZOVIA present on the Mercator’s model map.

Unlike Visscher and Speed pair of maps which are merely an example of mutual copying (a common and tolerated practice at that time), comparative analysis of Hondius and Visscher maps excludes such a trivial relationship. Apart from evidently different course of the Baltic coastline, the most pronounced divergence between the two is the way Silesia is presented. On the Hondius map Silesia is just one of several countries neighbouring Kingdom of Poland, a peripheral element of the Kingdom’s sphere of influence that does not deserve a mention in the title of the map. In order to achieve this effect, Hondius selectively generalized Mercator’s POLONIA et SILESIA, reducing density of geographical information in the Silesian part of Mercator’s map to the level corresponding to the density on the Polish part. Although in result Hondius’ Silesia did not become a featureless filling of the bottom left corner of his map (as f.e. on Grodecki’s maps of Poland), the question is still there: why such generalization was done at all, discarding significant part of the model map’s geographical content. One may only speculate that in this

---


12 In this part of text, devoted to relation between contents of the Hondius and the Visscher maps, the Speed map is omitted as we consider it to be no more than a copy of the Visscher’s.


case an information aspect was outweighed by aesthetic reasons: the effect of homogeneity of the map’s image achieved by this generalization remains in a perfect and pleasing harmony with rich embellishments of the title cartouche and a set of widely-drawn panoramas. It seems like for this particular map a cartographer turned artist.

The Visscher map, created almost simultaneously with the Hondius’, presents completely different picture of Silesia. It is not only featured in the map’s title but also shown in “cartographically equal” relation with the Kingdom of Poland\(^\text{15}\). Transferring image of Silesia from the Mercator’s map Visscher did not discard any detail of the rich hydrography and settlement network patterns – borrowed in turn by Mercator from the Martin Helwig’s 1561 map, a cornerstone of cartography of Silesia. Since details of Mercator’s \textit{PRUSSIA} were transferred by Visscher with the same diligence, contrast between overflowing with detail images of Silesia and Prussia and relative emptiness of the central and eastern parts of Poland became striking. Adding mountain areas and forest complexes (mostly imaginary) to the central part of the map compensated to some degree this difference. In the eastern part Visscher left sparsely scattered settlements and the dominating river network, thus repeating image of these areas known from Mercator’s \textit{LITHUANIA} model map. The Visscher’s love of detail is demonstrated also on decorative borders of his map. Not only did he place there more figures in local costumes than Hondius on his own, but also title cartouche with dedication, panoramas of cities, four portraits of Polish kings and even their list. As a result, his map exhibits an impressive abundance of information and plethora of decorations but lacks this elusive and difficult to define quality – revealed on the map of Hondius – which distinguishes the work of an artist from the work of an excellent craftsman.

4. At the end

Carte-à-figure maps of Poland being compilations of the earlier and not always original maps, do not have any particular significance for the history of cartography. Both in times of their origin and nowadays they have been cherished mainly for their aesthetic values. However, this indisputable quality soon became a burden. Carte-à-figure maps could not fully meet expectations as sources of information about the world (especially high in the era of geographical discoveries in which they were devised), and at the same time satisfy aesthetic needs of their owners, as they were not objects of pure art. Such a functional dissonance, making it difficult to balance proportion between the cognitive and decorative components, could have been the reason why this cartographic genre blossomed for a relatively short period of time.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{15} Term introduced by Czechowicz. See: B. Czechowicz: \textit{Visus Silesiae. Treści i funkcje ideowe kartografii Śląska XVI–XVIII wieku}, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2008, p. 75 ff.}

\section*{Literature}


