

The Book World of Early Modern Europe

Essays in Honour of Andrew Pettegree

VOLUME 2

Edited by

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Maps and the Market: The Amsterdam Book Trade and the Rise of the Pocket Atlas

Michiel van Groesen

Maps and atlases play a crucial role in our collective understanding of the world, and have arguably done so at least since 1570, when the Antwerp cartographer Abraham Ortelius revolutionised early modern Europe's worldview by publishing the very first atlas, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.¹ After the Fall of Antwerp (1585), when mercantile knowledge and investments from the Southern Netherlands migrated to the north, Amsterdam quickly established its position as Europe's leading centre of geography – and of books on geography. The explosive rise of Dutch global shipping and trade in the early seventeenth century went accompanied by an increasing specialisation in the book market at home, with a proliferation of different print genres and target audiences. As publishers almost effortlessly transformed accounts of Dutch maritime expeditions into bestselling publications, readers discovered the appeal of, quite literally, having the world in their pocket: affordable atlases became extremely popular. Two leading Amsterdam publishers around 1600, both with a keen eye for commercial opportunity, ventured into the market for pocket atlases at exactly the same time. This chapter will explore their initiatives at the crossroads of late sixteenth-century geographical knowledge, the rapidly professionalising book trade in Amsterdam and Dutch global commerce.

Early modern pocket atlases have traditionally been the scholarly fare of historians of cartography rather than book historians. Not even Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, in their recent comprehensive account of the printed book in the Dutch Golden Age, examine the pocket atlas as a proper subcategory in the early modern book market.² Moreover, when discussing pocket atlases as a genre, scholars of cartography have had the tendency to

1 On Ortelius, see Marcel van den Broecke, et al. (eds.), *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death, 1598–1998* (Houten: HES, 1998); on his circle of learned friends, see Tine L. Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

2 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (London: Yale University Press, 2019).

examine the various titles together.³ At first glance, the different atlases are very similar: they are conveniently small – published in oblong – yet fashionable enough for the owner to engage in ostentatious display. As this chapter will demonstrate, however, there is good reason to differentiate between pocket atlases in order to increase our understanding of not just this genre, but also of the Amsterdam book market at the time when it began to evolve into the *magasin de l'univers*. For this reason, this chapter will focus on the first three pocket atlases that were produced in rapid succession in Amsterdam at the turn of the seventeenth century: Zacharias Heyns's *Le Miroir du Monde* (1598), based on the collaborative work of his father Peeter Heyns, the artist and bookseller Filips Galle and Abraham Ortelius himself; the *Nederlandtsche Landtspiegel*, also published by Heyns in 1599; and the *Caert-Thresoor* (1598), a pocket atlas initiated in Middelburg, but quickly hijacked and repackaged by Heyns's main competitor in the Amsterdam book market, Cornelis Claesz.⁴ Discussed together, the three pocket atlases emphasise the different editorial strategies that these two leading publishers employed to sell this new genre to local and international customers.

The Sixteenth-Century Worldview of Zacharias Heyns

When we think of innovations in early modern cartographical publishing, two significant milestones in as many years stand out.⁵ In 1569, Gerhard Mercator produced a world map, *Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio ad Usus Navigantium Emendate Accommodata*, that revolutionised early modern Europe's worldview because it represented sailing courses on a sphere as straight lines on a map, thus facilitating long-distance navigation that would accelerate the process of globalisation. His 'Mercator projection' would remain the standard map projection for navigation until well into the twentieth

3 Peter van der Krogt, et al., 'Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500–ca. 1672', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography III: Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1330–1333.

4 It is important to note that Van der Krogt, et al., 'Commercial Cartography', p. 1332 mention the publication of a pocket atlas entitled *Spiegel der Werelt* by Peeter and Zacharias Heyns in 1596, of which *Le Miroir du Monde* was a translation. See Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici vol. III A* ('t-Goy Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2003), pp. 278–79. Van der Krogt mentions here that 'it is nothing more than a re-edition' of the Antwerp edition of 1583.

5 The term 'significant milestones' in relation to early modern cartographical publication is borrowed from Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 289.

century.⁶ The next year, Ortelius's successful marketing of the world in the shape of an atlas was just as momentous, because it enabled investors in global trade to gather the required knowledge of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and reflect on designs to increase their own riches in the tranquility of their study. In the private libraries of the upper middle classes in early seventeenth-century Amsterdam, an edition of Ortelius's *Theatrum* almost invariably featured on the shelf.⁷

Yet Dutch global trade attracted investors large and small: shoemakers, brewers, bakers and housewives all eagerly invested in the Dutch East India Company when it was established in 1602, and this collective spirit had not changed significantly twenty years later when the West India Company was belatedly founded to attack Habsburg Spain in the Americas.⁸ Not everyone who wanted to view the world, however, could afford the worldview in folio that Ortelius's *Theatrum* offered. Connoisseurs of the European book market quickly understood the commercial potential of a third milestone of cartographical innovation, the pocket atlas. As early as 1577, an Antwerp consortium led by Christopher Plantin took the initiative to produce a pocket edition of Ortelius's masterpiece. The geographer himself was involved in its conception, but the key contributor was the local French schoolmaster Peeter Heyns, who added text in verse to Ortelius's seventy maps which were included at a size about five times smaller than in the original atlas, at roughly one-sixth of the price. Colloquially referred to as the *Epitome* – a name that continued to pop up in the genre without always making it to the title-page – the atlas was officially named *Spieghel der Werelt* (Mirror of the World). In 1579, two years later, a first French-language edition appeared, *Le Miroir du Monde*. Both versions rapidly became bestsellers, and went through at least one reprint each in 1583.⁹

6 Mark Monmonier, *Rhumb Lines and Map Wars: A Social History of the Mercator Projection* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

7 This somewhat impressionistic observation is based on my examination of early seventeenth-century auction catalogues from the comprehensive database *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800*, edited by H.W. de Kooker and Bert van Selm.

8 Henk den Heijer, *De geotrooieerde compagnie: de VOC en de WIC als voorlopers van de naamloze vennootschap* (Deventer: Kluwer, 2005). For the initial shareholders in the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC, see J.G. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1958). Evidence for the West India Company is more scant due to the decimation of the Company archives in the nineteenth century.

9 Peter van der Krogt, 'Wereldatlasjes', *Kartografisch tijdschrift*, 21 (1995), p. 33. The initial edition of 1577 also included six fold-out maps. Regular maps were 9.5 × 11 cm on average. See also Van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici III A*, pp. 275–78, 284–88.

Peeter Heyns's fate, and that of his family, was intimately connected to religious and political events in the Low Countries. After the Fall of Antwerp, he fled to Cologne, leaving only his son Zacharias behind as an apprentice to Jan (I) Moretus, Plantin's son-in-law and successor.¹⁰ Zacharias Heyns regularly travelled to the Frankfurt book fair on Moretus's behalf, and within five years he had learned enough to start his own business, initially under the wings of his father in Cologne, but from 1592 onwards in the emerging capital of the printed book in Northern Europe, Amsterdam. After two years, his first title appeared, and from this moment onwards both his imprint and his bookshop would go by the name of 'The Three Cardinal Virtues'. In 1597, Zacharias and his wife Anne Hureau – daughter of a wealthy merchant family – relocated to the Warmoesstraat, Amsterdam's main shopping street connecting the city's political, religious and economic centre at Dam Square to the waterfront. In the decade that followed, his education and training in the Moretus workshop enabled Heyns to become one of the three leading booksellers in Amsterdam.¹¹

Zacharias Heyns was very productive in the early years of his career as a publisher. The first titles he published in his new domicile in the Northern Netherlands reveal his initial reliance on the work of his father. Several related books stand out in this respect: in 1595, a new edition appeared of Peeter Heyns's 'honest' comedy, *Le miroir des mesnageres*, perhaps an early indication of Zacharias's desire to rub shoulders with Amsterdam's literary elite. Three years later, he would be one of the founders of *'t Wit Lavendel* (The White Lavender), the Chamber of Rhetoric in which immigrants from the Southern Netherlands convened. Also in 1595, Heyns published *Le miroir des escoliers*, a collection of extensive moralistic poems about the problems of adolescence, which sported on the title-page a woodcut of a schoolmaster. The following year, Zacharias issued a new edition of his father's *Le miroir des vefues*, a tragedy inspired by the Biblical story of Judith and Holofernes. And in 1597, he published another play his father had written, *Iokebed: Le miroir des vrayes meres*, a tragi-comedy on the childhood of Moses as told in the Book of Exodus. For

10 On Peeter Heyns and his connections to the Plantin circle, see Alisa van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages: Forging Dutch and French in the Early Modern Low Countries (1540–1620)* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

11 Hubert Meeus, 'Zacharias Heyns, Sometime Apprentice to Moretus, Becomes the First Merchant/Publisher in Amsterdam', *Quaerendo*, 38 (2008), pp. 381–97; idem, 'Zacharias Heyns, een leerjongen van Jan Moretus', in Marcus De Schepper and Francine de Nave (eds.), *Ex Officina Plantiniana: Studia in Memoriam Christophori Plantin [= De Gulden Passer, 66–67 (1988–1989)]* (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1989), pp. 599–612.

all these early works, Heyns cooperated with the established Haarlem printer Gillis Roman, as he did not own a printing press himself.¹²

In February 1598, Peeter Heyns unexpectedly died after visiting the beach to see a stranded whale, merely days before his son completed the preface to the final title from his father's back catalogue, the pocket atlas *Le Miroir du Monde*. Although the atlas's title closely resembled the titles of Zacharias's previous publications – perhaps as part of an elementary marketing strategy – the contents reflected a decisive shift from literary texts to geography. It must have been an obvious decision from a commercial perspective after a year, 1597, in which both the first Dutch expedition around the Cape of Good Hope to the Spice Islands, under Cornelis de Houtman, and the aborted attempt to reach Asia that ended with Willem Barentsz's and Jacob van Heemskerck's heroic wintering at Nova Zembla returned to Amsterdam. The descriptions of these two voyages, by Willem Lodewijksz and Gerrit de Veer respectively, were the opening gambit to the rise of the illustrated travel account, a genre that flourished for about fifteen years, until the Dutch East India Company had firmly established itself as the leading European trading power in the Indian Ocean world. Heyns jumped on the bandwagon in 1600 by publishing the travel account of the first unsuccessful Dutch attempt to circumnavigate the globe, written by the ship's surgeon Barent Jansz Potgieter, and a popular costume book, the *Dracht-thoneel* (1601), that presented a selection of non-European men and women alongside the regular parade of European habits and cultures.¹³

Le Miroir du Monde (Figure 7.1) had initiated Zacharias Heyns's turn towards geography. The book expanded the boundaries of the genre: it contained eighty maps, thirteen more than the first pocket atlas from Antwerp, and in his dedication to the Cologne merchant Gualteri del Prato – his wife's former guardian – Heyns explained that his father's textual additions to the original *Theatrum* had been so well received that he had now added improvements of his own.¹⁴

12 Hubert Meeus, 'Zacharias Heyns: een "drucker" die nooit drukte', *De Gulden Passer*, 73 (1995), p. 114.

13 On Barent Jansz's travel account, see my 'Patagonian Giants in West Africa? Two Versions of the First Dutch Attempt to Circumnavigate the World', in Michiel van Groesen, *Imagining the Americas in Print: Books, Maps, and Encounters in the Atlantic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 32–52. On Heyns's interest in the non-European world more generally, see Michiel van Groesen, *Amsterdam's Atlantic: Print Culture and the Making of Dutch Brazil* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), pp. 14–19.

14 *Le Miroir du Monde* (Amsterdam: for Zacharias Heyns, 1598), USTC 4349, 'A Monsieur Gualtere del Prato': '... le petit Miroir du Monde, que feu mon Pere M.P. Heyns avoit, il y a quelques années, mis en lumiere, tant en Rithme qu'en Prose, au grand contentement des bons esprits, tesmoin la louange qu'ils en chantent, & m'assurant que ceste mienne Augmentation ne seroit, pour sa grandeur & clarté, moins, ains plustost plus agreable'.



FIGURE 7.1 Zacharias Heyns, *Le Miroir du Monde* (Amsterdam, 1598), title-page
COURTESY OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, 1804 E 11

Which improvements Heyns had in mind exactly is unclear. One option is that he referred to the size of the woodcuts, which had substantially increased in size from 8×11 centimetres in the *Spiegel der Werelt* to around 13.5×17 centimetres in *Le Miroir du Monde*. Another option is that he alluded to his own editorship, which ventured from curiously charming – Heyns admitted that he ‘had no idea’ why the city of Cádiz in Dutch was called Calis Malis – to uncompromisingly commercial, such as when he included a description of a very recent military campaign of the Dutch stadtholder Maurits alongside a map of Twente and Bentheim, effectively turning it into a patriotic news map.¹⁵ The selection of maps reveals a clear, somewhat insular focus on the Low Countries,

Ortelius’s *Theatrum* had contained 70 maps, three more than the *Spiegel der Werelt* but ten fewer than Heyns’s *Le Miroir du Monde*.

15 *Le Miroir du Monde*, p. 23: ‘Ceux de nostre pais l’appellent, je ne sçay pourquoy, Calis Malis’; p. 49: ‘... jusques en l’an 1597. que toute la Twente ... a esté entierement expugnée, nonobstant la resistance des Espagnols & Espagnolisez, par la vaillance du Tres-illustre Prince Maurice de Nassau ... (graces à Dieu)’. On the rise of news maps in the 1590s, see Christi M. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws: nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590–1600* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005).

with specific maps devoted to the Roman ruins at Brittenburg, off the coast at Katwijk, and the fortress at Gives near Huy, conventional choices which must probably be understood as both practically and commercially inspired.

The same mild parochialism speaks from the organisation of geographical knowledge in *Le Miroir du Monde* – which was somewhat of a misnomer, because Heyns's worldview hardly included Africa, Asia and the Americas. Each of these three landmasses was confined to a single continental map on an extremely small scale with little to no room for cartographical detail. The captions relied on traditional cosmographical scholarship by the likes of Sebastian Münster and André Thevet.¹⁶ The former in particular, in his *Cosmographia* (1550), did not transcend classical thought in his descriptions of the non-European world – putting his faith in Plinian monsters and Ptolemean maps for a volume that was so popular that it continued to be reprinted for nearly a century.¹⁷ Heyns echoed Münster's cosmographical wisdom: the Americas abounded in gold, which in places was more common than sand; Africa was the domain of Prester John, located beyond Egypt to the south and the east towards the source of the river Nile; and Asia was essentially still the world of the Persians, the Assyrians and the Babylonians – with fresh areas of interest only in the form of Muscovy and the lands of the 'great Turk'.¹⁸ *Le Miroir du Monde* concluded with a map of the Holy Land – leaving readers to mull over a destination whose relevance, one might argue, was rooted in the past.¹⁹

In 1599, remarkably enough, Heyns's world became even smaller. With the *Nederlandsche Landtspiegel* (Figure 7.2), he opted to focus exclusively on the Low Countries. Dedicated to Jan Hendriksz Oetgens, captain of the Warmoesstraat militia of which Heyns himself was a member, the second pocket atlas consisted of a mere thirty-six woodcuts. To explain 'the nature and the character of the people', he stated in the dedicatory letter to Oetgens, Heyns this time added descriptions of the different regions in verse, thus combining societal interest in geography with his literary aspirations.²⁰ Like for many

16 Frank Lestringant, *L'Atelier du cosmographe ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance* (Paris: Michel, 1991).

17 Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

18 *Le Miroir du Monde*, pp. 19–21.

19 *Le Miroir du Monde*, p. 97: '... ce païs peut bien estre nommé Terre-saincte: & les histoires aduenûes en iceluy doivent estre bien leues & contemplées en grande reverence & devotion, pour pouvoir posseder le Celeste sejour sans fin'.

20 Lenny Veltman, 'Een atlas in pocketformaat: Den Nederlandschen landtspiegel van Zacharias Heyns', *Caert-Thresoor*, 17 (1998), pp. 5–8. See also Boudewijn Bakker, *Landscape and Religion from Van Eyck to Rembrandt* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 232–35.

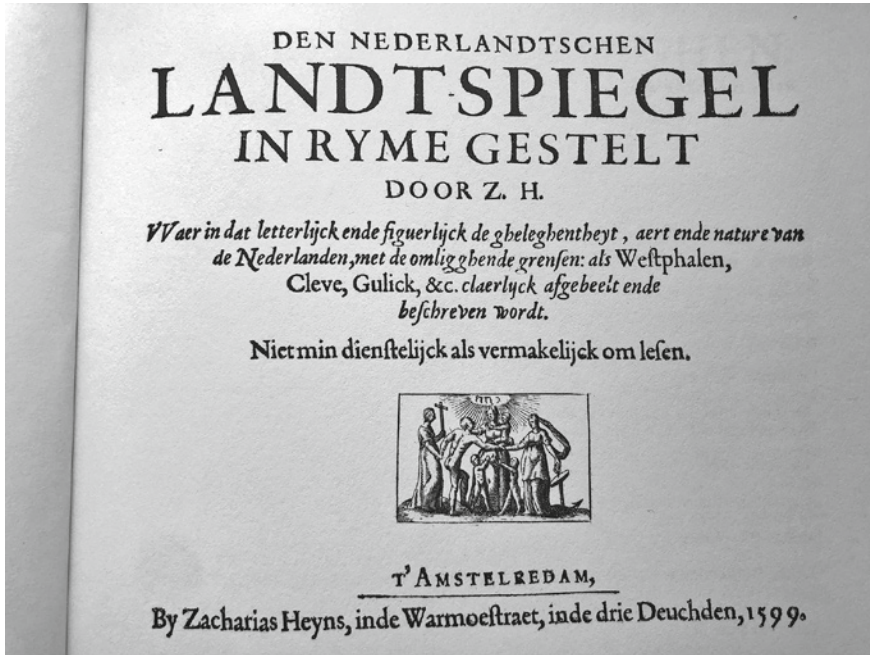


FIGURE 7.2 Zacharias Heyns, *Den Nederlandschen Landtspiegel* (Amsterdam, 1599), title-page

COURTESY OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, 1802 F 14

other rhetoricians, it was Heyns's objective to educate his fellow countrymen in general knowledge, virtue and tolerance, but in the captions, his resentment of Catholicism also occasionally appears. The pocket atlas led to public praise from the publisher's circle of friends, including the painter Cornelis Ketel and the famous Karel van Mander, who lauded Heyns for making something so far-reaching that could easily be tucked away.²¹ Yet truly far-reaching it was not. For financial purposes, Heyns re-used the Netherlandish maps from *Le Miroir du Monde* for the *Nederlandtsche Landtspiegel*, but in order to make sure that every province of the Low Countries was properly represented, Heyns designed three additional maps, of Artois (Figure 7.3), Limburg, and the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, that are of such low quality – artistically and cartographically – that the *Nederlandtsche Landtspiegel* can be regarded only as a

21 *Nederlandtsche Landtspiegel* (Amsterdam: Zacharias Heyns, 1599), USTC 424377, 'Den eerwaardighen, wysen vromen heere Ian Hendrix Oetkens': '... maer oock tot verclaringhe van de natuere en de aert des volcks'. Karel van Mander's acclaim for Heyns' atlas went: 'Dit datmen wel als cleen in cleene plaets can berghen / Begrijpt al 'tNederlandt 'tconstarich duechtsaem deel / Doch door dy dit nu groot dy maeckt soo groot gheheel / Dat faem dijn naem (o Heyns) sal connen berghen nerghen'.

Book), along the main nexus between the waterfront and the city centre that developed into Amsterdam's main book alley and ran parallel to the more upmarket Warmoesstraat where Zacharias Heyns's shop was located. As far as we know, Claesz did not have the same intellectual aspirations as Heyns: he appears to have been a businessman first and foremost. But he did display a strong interest in geography, co-operating for example with the renowned Amsterdam cartographer Petrus Plancius. Starting with the groundbreaking publication of his fellow townsman Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* in 1596, which pointed the way to the lucrative Asian markets, Claesz made a name for himself in subsequent years by publishing the eyewitness accounts of the early Dutch maritime expeditions to the Indian Ocean.²⁴ Earlier he had published the navigational treatises of Lucas Jansz Wagenaer, also from Enkhuizen – first his *Spieghel der Zeevaert* (1588) and then his *Thresoor der Zeevaert* (1592) in multiple editions and translations.

In terms of nomenclature, it is interesting to note that whereas Zacharias Heyns had decided to stick with the reflective metaphor of the mirror (*miroir/spieghel*) for his two pocket atlases, Claesz had followed into Wagenaer's footsteps by moving on to the notion of the treasury (*thresoor*) that was connected to potential commercial gains.²⁵ This distinction can also be observed when the three pocket atlases are examined side by side. With 169 maps, Claesz's *Caert-Thresoor* more than doubled the number of maps in *Le Miroir du Monde*, and contained almost five times as many as the *Nederlandtsche Landtspiegel*. The size of the maps, at 8.5 × 12 centimetres, was a little smaller than in *Le Miroir du Monde*, but the quality was much higher because the *Caert-Thresoor* included refined copper engravings rather than crude woodcuts. Although including copper engravings into printed books, a relatively new technique, meant a more costly production process because two different presses had to be used, the eventual result was worth the investment, especially for a cartographical publication, because many more details could be included in the maps. The turn of the century witnessed the beginning of the gradual

24 The relationship between Claesz and Van Linschoten quickly deteriorated because of a disagreement over copyright, see Vibeke Roeper, 'd'Hollandtsche Magellaen: de wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten', in: Idem, Roelof van Gelder and Jan Parmentier (eds.), *Souffrir pour Parvenir: De wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Haarlem: Arcadia, 1998), pp. 26–27.

25 The metaphor of the mirror, however, was not entirely abandoned, see *Caert-Thresoor* [(?.)4^r]: '... daer mede de selve eenen jegelijcken als eenen Spiegel werdt voorgesteld'. On the relationship between Wagenaer and Claesz, see Günter Schilder, *Early Dutch Maritime Cartography: The North Holland School of Cartography (c. 1580–c. 1620)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 76–85.

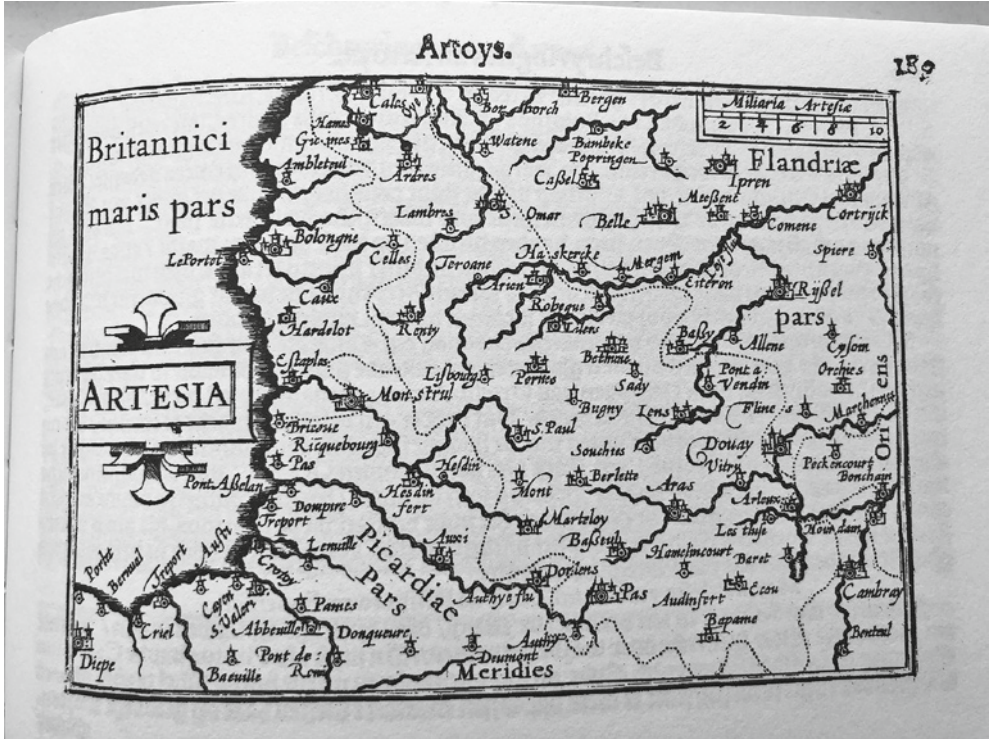


FIGURE 7.4 [Cornelis Claesz], *Caert-Thresoor* (Amsterdam, 1598), p. 189
 COURTESY OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, 1802 G 6

transition from woodcuts to copper engravings as illustrations in printed books, and unlike Heyns, Claesz was ahead of the curve. True to the notion of a ‘treasury’, moreover, the *Caert-Thresoor* contained very elaborate vernacular descriptions of the regions depicted in the atlas, most likely the work of the publisher’s regular associate Cornelis Taemisz van Hoorn, leading to a booklet of nearly 700 pages that – in spite of its pocket-size – dwarfed both of Heyns’s publications.

The difference in quality between the two pocket atlases must have been crystal clear to contemporary customers with an interest in geography; it certainly was to Zacharias Heyns. When we compare his woodcut of Artois in the *Nederlandtsche Landtspiegel* to Cornelis Claesz’s engraving of the same province in the *Caert-Thresoor*, it becomes evident that Heyns had not done much geographical research of his own, but had preferred to trust the representations in his main rival’s pocket atlas instead (Figure 7.4). Minor differences can be pointed out between the two maps, but that Claesz’s engraving served as the model for Heyns’s woodcut is unmistakable, and the same is true for Heyns’s



FIGURE 7.5 [Cornelis Claesz], *Caert-Thresoor* (Amsterdam, 1598), title-page
 COURTESY OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, 1802 G 6

map of the Prince-Bishopric of Liège.²⁶ Even though modern insistence on geographical accuracy cannot be projected too lightly on early modern cartographical perceptions – of which as yet we know very little, the difference in the eye for cartographical detail, and more generally in the care which had been applied to the image, is clear.

Arguably the most meaningful difference between the pocket atlases of the two booksellers, however, lies in the understanding of the world they attempted to distribute. That Claesz's mindset was different, more seventeenth-century than sixteenth-century so to speak, becomes clear from the first pages that should be read as an opening statement. The title-page itself, unlike the exclusively textual title-pages of the two Heyns atlases, was testimony to a dynamic moment in Dutch history – when learned men with nautical, navigational and cartographical skills joined forces to learn about the world, and apply their knowledge immediately (Figure 7.5). Two globes, an hourglass, an astrolabe, a

26 For Artois, see *Le Miroir du Monde*, [13^r] and *Caert-Thresoor*, p. 189; for Liège, see [14^r] and p. 173 respectively. I have not been able to find a straightforward copy-and-paste connection for Heyns's third new map of Limburg, but one possibility is that he used Claesz's map of Luxembourg on which the Limburg region featured at the top of the engraving, and used that as his template.



FIGURE 7.6 [Cornelis Claesz], *Caert-Thresoor* (Amsterdam, 1598), [(?.)2^r]

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Jacob's staff and a not-so-pocket-sized atlas were the tools of a group of eight white-collar and blue-collar men sitting around a table, plotting a course – both literally and metaphorically – to the non-European world. The outsized books on the right-hand side of the image stressed the value of geographical learning, while a peek out of the window revealed one of the desired destinations, America, and the wooden vessel that would bring this New World within reach. When turning the page, readers were treated not to the traditional cosmographical vantage point – the small-scale map of the world that had adorned the opening pages of all atlases since Ortelius's *Theatrum* – but to an engraving of the ship *Victoria* of Ferdinand Magellan, the Portuguese seafarer who had been the first to connect the seven seas. This, Claesz's image implied, was what his atlas was really for: to showcase destinations rather than mere regions, to argue rather than to describe (Figure 7.6). Appealing to the required political endeavour, the *Caert-Thresoor* was then dedicated to the States of Zeeland.

The dedication, however, was not signed by Cornelis Claesz, but by the Middelburg publisher Barent Langenes. The nature of the relationship between Langenes and Claesz has never been entirely cleared up.²⁷ At first glance, the

27 Van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici III A*, p. 374.

two men appear to have been fierce rivals. When the first Dutch expedition to the Indonesian archipelago returned to the United Provinces, and the demand for information was at a premium, Langenes and Claesz published competing accounts of the voyage. Although Langenes's relation appeared before Claesz's book, it was that of Claesz – written by Willem Lodewijcksz – which became one of the highlights of the travel account genre. That Claesz was involved in the making of the *Caert-Thresoor* from the very start can be gauged from the mention of his name in one of the two anonymous laudatory poems; no such praise was reserved for Langenes. According to the pocket atlas's title-page, the book was available in Middelburg from Langenes, and 'one finds it for sale from Cornelis Claesz' whose location needed no further explanation.²⁸ Generations of historians of cartography have argued for Claesz's central role in the making of the *Caert-Thresoor*. The book featured prominently in the Amsterdam publisher's sales catalogues, at least one of which included engravings from the atlas on its title-page. Several of the illustrations in the first edition of *Caert-Thresoor* had in fact been used before by Claesz in other publications.²⁹ For the second edition of 1599, the name of Langenes disappeared from the title-page.³⁰

Claesz's worldview was designed (and occasionally signed) by the respected Amsterdam engravers Jodocus Hondius and Pieter van der Keere.³¹ After the front matter, the *Caert-Thresoor* opened with maps of the world, the heavens and the four continents. True to the hierarchy of civilisations that informed early modern Europe's ethnographical attitude, Claesz then commenced with the nations and regions of Europe, albeit in much more detail than in Heyns's *Le Miroir du Monde* of the same year, filling 462 pages altogether. After the section on Europe concluded with the words 'End of the first Book', the pagination

28 For Langenes's perspective, see Ronald Rijkse, 'Het Caert-Thresoor van Barent Langenes (1598)', *Nehalennia*, 124 (1996), pp. 2–6. It is reasonable to expect that the Leiden humanist Paulus Merula contributed in some form to the initial edition of *Caert-Thresoor*: he stated in 1605 that he had cooperated with Claesz eight years before, see Van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici III A*, p. 374.

29 Schilder, *Early Dutch Maritime Cartography*, p. 178 n. 12, points out that Claesz's widow used the image of large crabs in Mozambique for the title-page of the auction of his books and copper plates. See also Koeman and Van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici vol. III A*, pp. 374–75. For the earlier use of images included in the first edition of *Caert-Thresoor*, see Burger, 'Het Caert-Thresoor', pp. 293, 321–26.

30 Van der Krogt, et al. 'Commercial Cartography', p. 1332. On the differences between the first and second editions of the *Caert-Thresoor*, see Burger, 'Het Caert-Thresoor', pp. 328–31.

31 On these two related cartographers and engravers, see Günter Schilder, *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica VIII: Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612) and Petrus Kaerius (1571–after 1646)* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 2007).

started anew for the section on Asia. Claesz explained the separation of the two parts of *Caert-Thresoor* in a statement to his readers: 'Because of its excellence, Asia deserves to be treated extensively'. But he realised that this might make the pocket atlas 'too heavy, and less pleasant for some', and explicitly invited readers to suit their own needs, either by separating the two continents, or by placing them in the same binding – a smart strategy of differentiation for different segments of his Amsterdam readership.³²

Unlike in *Le Miroir du Monde*, Claesz's Asia extended far beyond the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land to China, Japan and the Philippines, and paid considerable attention to the Indonesian archipelago that at the time of the *Caert-Thresoor*'s appearance attracted the interest of Dutch merchants, with five specific maps of the Moluccas, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and Malacca. The Indian subcontinent and Ceylon, which would become the second important area of operations of the Dutch East India Company as the seventeenth century unfolded, were equally generously represented.³³ The section on Asia was wrapped up by a white page that contained only a single word in a large font, 'Africa', announcing the maps of the third of the four continents. Here the pagination did not start anew, suggesting that customers did not have the choice to purchase only one or two of the non-European landmasses on display. Claesz's cartographic view of Africa began, predictably, with Egypt and Abyssinia, but extended to Manicongo, Mozambique and Madagascar – lands that Dutch navigators were likely to pass on their way to Southeast Asia – and concluded with the West African regions that Dutch merchants had been exploring since the early 1590s, and that vessels of the West India Company were later to visit by the time they entered the transatlantic slave trade. The fourth section, on America, was a little less elaborate, but did include maps of various Caribbean islands, as well as of Brazil, Peru and Chile, and a drawing of the mountain at Potosí where the Spanish obtained their silver. Finally, the fifth segment brought the pocket atlas full circle to 'Magellanica', which included engraved maps of the Strait of Magellan, the eastern tip of New Guinea, and the strait which Dutch ships had used the year before to enter the Kara Sea off Nova Zembla – the third one probably added only at the final stages of production.³⁴

32 *Caert-Thresoor*, [Aa1^v]: 'Aenden leser': 'Asia, dat verdient redelijcken, om des ver-naemtheys wille, een wyder beschryvinghe: Om dat sulcks desen Boeck niet te grof maecken soude, ende daerom voor eenighen ongherijflijcker, so heeft ons goet ghedacht, met Asiam een tweeden-deel van dit Caert-Thresoor te beginnen.'

33 *Caert-Thresoor*, pp. 40–90 (second pagination).

34 Burger, 'Het Caert-Thresoor', pp. 297–300. For a more detailed description of the *Caert-Thresoor*'s complete contents, see Van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici vol. III A*, pp. 376–81.

These three maps, representing regions at completely different ends of the globe, represented the boundaries of the known world, and may have served as an invitation to Dutch merchants to continue their explorations.

Conclusion

Two publishers of Amsterdam pocket atlases which appeared at the same time, then, distributed two radically different worldviews. Readers of Cornelis Claesz's *Caert-Thresoor* were ultimately left with the impression that the known world was on the verge of expanding further, and that their worldview, accordingly, was still under construction – a decidedly more modern proposition than the cosmographical illusion of completeness that informed Zacharias Heyns's *Le Miroir du Monde*. Amsterdam's knowledgeable readership, in other words, had a genuine choice as to which worldview they wanted to put in their pockets. The longer the two pocket atlases were lying on the shelves of the two bookstores, the greater the appeal of a worldview based on maritime experience rather than bookish authority became.³⁵ Based on the exceptional archival records in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, it is possible to get at least an impression of the success rates of the two worldviews. Between 1598 and 1604 – the last full calendar year in which Heyns was still active as a bookseller in Amsterdam – the *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp purchased 21 copies of *Le Miroir du Monde* and 10 copies of the *Nederlandtsche Landtspiegel*. These figures were very similar to those for Claesz's *Caert-Thresoor*, of which Jan (1) Moretus purchased 36 copies between 1598 and 1609: 24 in Dutch, and 12 in a French translation that had probably seen the light of day in 1599.³⁶

The European book market, of course, catered to different audiences and different tastes, and nobody was more aware of this than an astute bookseller like Cornelis Claesz. On 9 April 1609, more than four years after Zacharias Heyns had given up publishing and selling books and had left Amsterdam for Zwolle, Claesz was one of the principal customers at the belated public auction of Heyns's back catalogue. Records of which books he purchased exactly

35 For the tension between authority and experience that conditioned early modern European ideas about the non-European world, see Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1992).

36 Hubert Meeus, 'Jan Moretus en de Noord-Nederlandse boekhandel, 1590–1610', in Marcus De Schepper and Francine De Nave (eds.), *Ex Officina Plantiniana Moretorum: Studies over het drukkersgeslacht Moretus [= De Gulden Passer, 74]* (Antwerp: Musuem Plantin Moretus, 1996), p. 368.

have not survived, but when Claesz died later that same year, his widow's stock catalogue included copies of *Le Miroir du Monde* among the books in French and Dutch that were sold to schools. Hence it appears that in the final months of his life, Claesz brought two of the three pocket atlases (and perhaps even all three) together under the same roof, and applied further diversification by aiming explicitly for an audience of schoolchildren, just like Heyns – the son of a teacher after all – had probably already done himself before he sold his business.³⁷

By the time Claesz died in 1609, the *Caert-Thresoor* had gone through six editions in Dutch, French and Latin, the Latin edition with translations by the Leiden geographer Petrus Bertius.³⁸ For the Latin edition, Claesz had sought the collaboration of the Arnhem publisher Jan Jansz, father of Johannes Janssonius, who would later become a leading publisher of maps and atlases in Amsterdam. The genre exerted influence beyond the borders of the United Provinces as well, most notably in England where the first pocket atlases appeared around 1602. In Amsterdam, the pocket atlas was gradually pushed out of the market by cartographical books on a somewhat larger scale, like Jodocus Hondius's *Atlas Minor* of 1607 that was based on the maps of Mercator, and to which Claesz also contributed. The genre survived at least until the 1630s—quite a feat in a rapidly changing market for geography.

Claesz's innovations from the very beginning of the century remained influential. His copper plates for the *Caert-Thresoor* were purchased in 1610 by Hendrick Laurensz, who issued a new edition in 1612, and then in turn sold the plates to Claes Jansz Visscher who published an improved version as late as 1649.³⁹ By the time that edition was out of stock, Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* outclassed every previous cartographical publication in the Low Countries, including the maps and atlases by Mercator and Ortelius that had set the genre in motion almost a century before. The only clear disadvantage to Blaeu's maps and their legacy, however, was that maps of the world would no longer fit in the palm of someone's hand. The pocket atlas as a genre, however, shaped by the Antwerp circle around Peeter Heyns, brought to the Northern Netherlands by Zacharias Heyns, and accustomed to seventeenth-century expectations by Cornelis Claesz, continues to live on in the book market today.

37 Van Selm, *Een menighte treffelijcke boecken*, pp. 183 and 239, nr. 60. On the auction of Heyns's back catalogue, see also Meeus, 'Zacharias Heyns: een "drucker" die nooit drukte', pp. 121–22.

38 Van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici vol. III A*, p. 373.

39 Van der Krogt, et al. 'Commercial Cartography', p. 1333.