Material Culture Review
Revue de la culture matérielle

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Volume 95, numéro 1, 2023

Thematic Issue: The Social Lives of Maps, Volume 3

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1102342ar
DOI : https://doi.org/10.7202/1102342ar

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Éditeur(s)

Cape Breton University Press

ISSN

1718-1259 (imprimé)
1927-9264 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer ce document

Vannieuwenhuyze, B. (2023). The Social Life, Death, and Rebirth of Jacob van Deventer's City and Town Maps of the Low Countries. *Material Culture Review / Revue de la culture matérielle*, *95*(1), 67–91. https://doi.org/10.7202/1102342ar

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

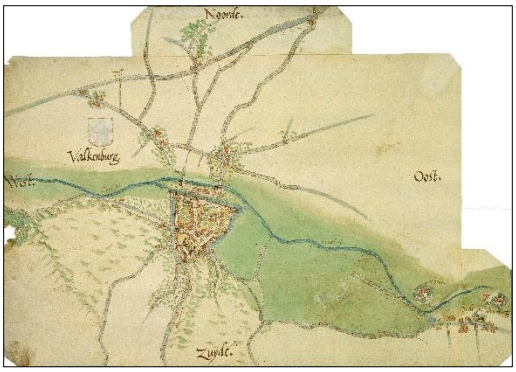

Figure 1
Jacob van Deventer's loose map of the town of Valkenburg (Maastricht, Regionaal Historisch Centrum Limburg, Tekeningen, prenten en fotocollectie RAL, RAL_K_098).

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

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


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

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

Jacob van Deventer's City and Town Maps

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

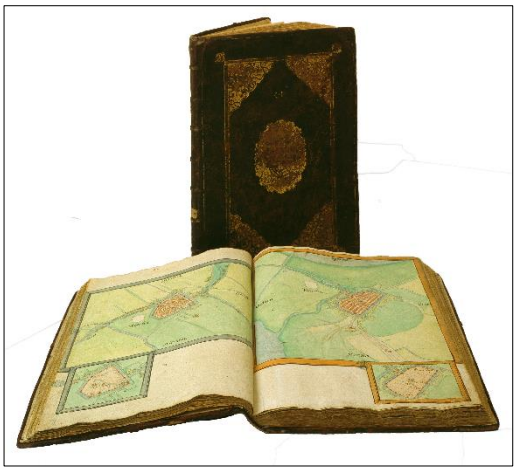

Figure 3
Both atlas volumes kept in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid (Res. 207 and Res. 200—photo by the Stichting tot Bevordering van de Uitgave van de Plattegronden van Jacob van Deventer).

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

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

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

A Spanish-Dutch Correspondence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Posthumous Shenanigans

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

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

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

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

History Repeats Itself

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Social Death of Van Deventer's Atlas

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

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

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

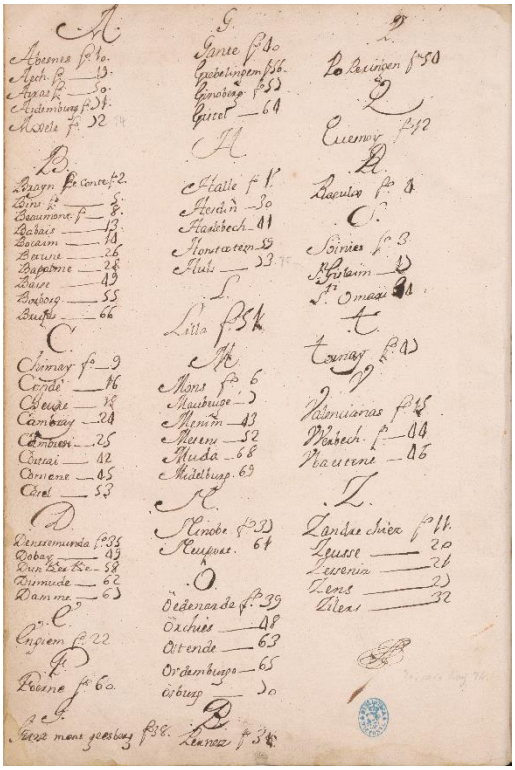

Figure 6
Alphabetic index of the names of the mapped towns, by an unknown Spanish librarian or archivist and added to volume II of Jacob van Deventer's town atlas (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Res. 207).

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

The Social Death of Jacob van Deventer's Loose Maps

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Social Rebirth of Van Deventer's City Maps

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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