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# *Rotterodamum*:
# Romeyn de Hooghe's Rejected Map of Rotterdam Rediscovered

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Since 2007 the Print Room's huge collection has been catalogued and digitized as part of the Print Room Online project, usually abbreviated to PK Online. As a result, the collection is more easily searchable and accessible. Unexpected objects have sometimes been rediscovered and new discoveries made. During the cataloguing of the Ottens Atlas, a collection of topographical prints and drawings, for example, a unique, large, printed four-part map of Rotterdam came to light, its existence having been long forgotten. The map, titled *Rotterodamum*, is dated 1691 and is unsigned, but the style of the famous printmaker Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) is unmistakable in the beautifully executed figures (fig. 1).[1] It is not, though, the well-known, like-wise large, map of Rotterdam by De Hooghe and Johannes de Vouw (c. 1660-1707) of 1695, titled *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* (Rotterdam with All Its Buildings, fig. 2).[2] Nor does it feature in reference books on De Hooghe's print oeuvre.[3] Literature about the 1695 map does, though, state that an earlier design was rejected.[4] This is based on transcripts of documents relating to the map in Rotterdam City Archives, which were included in an 1868 publication by Johannes Hendrikus Scheffer.[5] In that work we also find the last trace of the existence of an impression of the rejected map;

< Detail of fig. 1

in a footnote we can see that a 'unique, excellently preserved copy' was held in the Archives of the Ministry of War.[6]

This is interesting, because at that time – before the collection was transferred to the Print Room – the Ottens Atlas was actually in the keeping of those archives. The collection takes its name from Reinier Ottens II (1729-1793), a member of a well-known Amsterdam family of publishers and printers. This was his personal collection – inherited in part from his uncle Reinier I (1698-1750) – which he had sold to the military cabinet of Stadtholder William V in 1772-73. In 1795 the French took it to Paris after the Batavian Revolution, and it was returned to the Netherlands in 1815 or 1816 and placed in the war archives.[7] The four sheets of the map all have a blind stamp with the words 'Archief Ministerie van Oorlog Afdeeling Genie' (fig. 3). There is absolutely no doubt that this is the map from the war archives referred to by Scheffer. The blind stamp also indicates that the map was probably added to the collection in the nineteenth century.[8] But why was this map rejected and what was its place in the production process of what would eventually become *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen*? And can it tell us more about that production process? Before we investigate this aspect, we will examine the commission for the map

Fig. 1
ROMEYN DE HOOGHE,
*Rotterodamum*, 1691.
Etching and engraving
with brush and grey ink,
approx. 1050 x 1165 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. nos. RP-P-AO-13-75-1
(upper left),
RP-P-AO-13-75-2
(upper right),
RP-P-AO-13-75-3
(lower left) and
RP-P-AO-13-75-4
(lower right).

*Fig. 3*
Blind stamp from
the *Archief van het
Ministerie van
Oorlog,* detail from
Rotterodamum (fig. 1,
RP-P-AO-13-75-4).

in the context of urban pride and rivalry, and discuss why De Hooghe, rather than anyone else, was asked to make it.

### Urban Pride and Rivalry

It was at a meeting on 25 September 1690 that the Rotterdam burgomasters announced that they wanted to have a 'flat map' of their city made 'after the example of other cities'.[9] They were undoubtedly referring to the impressive wall maps – also called figurative maps – that had been made of Amsterdam (1664), The Hague (1665-67), Leiden (1675), Delft (1678) and Haarlem (1689) in the preceding years. With the exception of Amsterdam, they had all been commissioned by the city councils or made in consultation with them.[10] Making this sort of map was expensive and time-consuming. They consisted of a large street plan, surrounded by an elaborate decorative border, often with a skyline, views of the city and other elements such as the city council's coat of arms. They were printed from several copper plates and could then be assembled into one unit.[11] Maps like these, and Rotterdam's desire for one after the example of other cities, should be seen in the context of urban pride and rivalry.[12] They were luxury items, made to depict and enhance the fame and prestige of a city, and Rotterdam did not want to be left behind. That rivalry played a role in the production of these maps is evident in the case of the *Kaerte figuratyf* of Delft. In part

that map was a response to the so-called *Maas-kaart*, published in 1666, in which the influence of Rotterdam on surrounding cities was exaggerated and Delft was shown as subordinate to the city on the Maas. A number of records in the archives also tell us that Delft attached great importance to the new map's being at least as big as the one of Leiden published shortly before.[13]

It is not surprising that Rotterdam city council chose Romeyn de Hooghe. For a prestigious project like this it was important to approach a well-known artist and De Hooghe was not only one of the most sought-after printmakers of his time, he also had experience with cartography. His figurative map of Haarlem had shown him to be very skilful in making the kind of map the burgomasters had in mind.[14] Not long before that, moreover, he had designed a city medal for Rotterdam, which had proved to be a successful collaboration. This commission had come about after the burgomasters had indicated at a meeting on 6 September 1688 that they wanted to have a medal that could be given to the members of the council instead of attendance fees.[15] In this case, too, it had to be made 'after the example of other cities'[16] – Leiden (1671) and Haarlem (1688) had already done this. Giving council members medals instead of money for attending meetings was not new, but it seems that in the second half of the seventeenth century more and more Dutch cities switched to this system, which also seems to have been linked to the appearance of finer examples.[17]

In a letter dated 4 January 1689, De Hooghe drew five 'small sketches', designs for the medal, all conveying the specified subjects 'Principi patriaeq[ue] fideles' and 'crescit ab invidiâ' (fig. 4).[18] The final design was not yet among them, but the idea for it can already be seen in the first, third and fourth sketches. The medallist Daniel Drappentier (1643-1714) made two pairs of stamps from the final

Fig. 4
Letter from
De Hooghe to
the burgomasters,
with designs for the
city council medal,
4 January 1689.
Pen and ink on paper.
Rotterdam, Rotterdam
City Archives, archive
no. 1.01, inv. no. 381.

design, one slightly larger than the other,[19] and the minting of the medals was outsourced to the Dordrecht mint master Mattheus Sonnemans (c. 1650-1715). The first medals were ready to be presented on 26 September 1689 (fig. 5).[20] The element of urban pride and rivalry is implied in the second subject – prosper through envy – possibly conveyed in the shape of the palm tree.[21] With the first subject – faithful to prince and fatherland – Rotterdam clearly wanted to express its support for Stadholder-King William III. On the medal this can be seen in the words 'Principi patriae que' on the triumphal arch with above it the crowned portrait of the Prince of Orange, who had by then become king of England, Scotland and Ireland.

It is not unlikely that Rotterdam's pro-Orange sympathies, whether driven by commerce or not (the trade with England was of great importance to the city), had been the reason De Hooghe was asked to design the medal; in 1688 and 1689 he was the foremost maker of prints that supported the propaganda campaign of William's Glorious Revolution.[22]

Fig. 5
ROMEYN DE HOOGHE
(designer), DANIEL
DRAPPENTIER
(medallist), MATTHEUS
SONNEMANS (mint
master), *Rotterdam City
Council Medal*, 1689.
Silver, diam. 32 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. NG-VG-5-III.

## Design and Execution of
## *Rotterodamum*

Returning to *Rotterodamum*. The design is very fine and shows the street map of Rotterdam with a scale bar of 50 Rhineland rods (1:1.810 scale). The scene upper left – with Mercury seated on ledgers and a bale of goods surrounded by three satyrs and figures and objects that refer to the trade with America, Africa and Asia – represents the wealth that overseas trade brings the city. Upper right, among other things, a river god with a catch of fish, Ceres, cattle and a stack of turf show three other, more regional sources of income: fishing, farming and peat extraction. Beneath that is a compass rose. At the bottom, the personification of the River Maas wears a crown of ships. Europe, astride a bull with a horn of plenty in her hand, brings the city prosperity, followed by mermen with fish and a fishing net. The legend can be seen lower left.

There must have been detailed correspondence about the map. Only three letters to De Hooghe about it have been found in the register of the burgomasters' outgoing missives, but in all these letters there are references to further correspondence that has not been found. Part of the written contact must have gone directly through the burgomaster Herman van Zoelen (1636-1702).[23] It is not clear exactly when the burgomasters approached De Hooghe, but it would have been soon after their decision on 25 September 1690. It is evident from a letter dated 23 April 1691 that by then ideas had already been exchanged about the lay-out of the decorative border; in response to a letter from De Hooghe to Van Zoelen, the burgomasters asked the artist to place their coats of arms above the 'outline' of the city.[24] As in the case of the medal, sketches giving a general idea of the layout of the whole map probably accompanied the letters.

De Hooghe must have sent his principals an impression of the street plan of the city, the main body of the
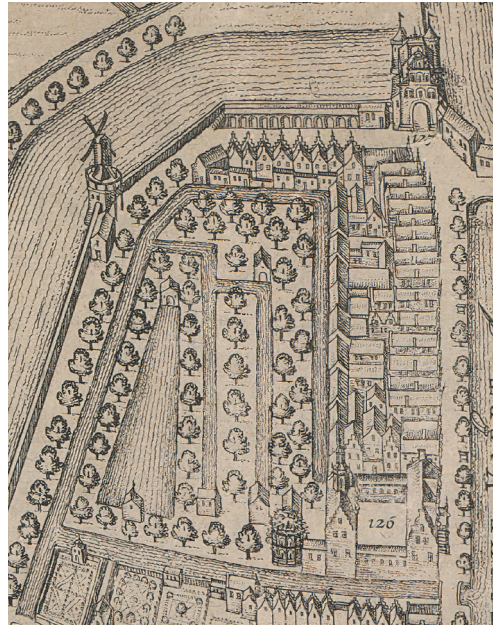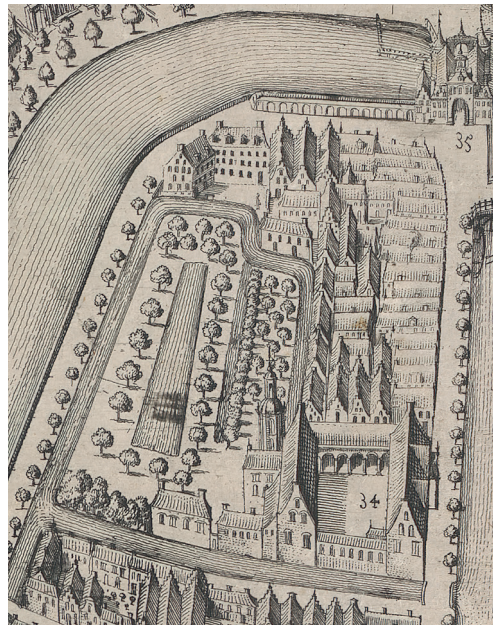


*Fig. 6*
BALTHASAR FLORISZ VAN BERCKENRODE and
EVERT SIMONSZ HAMERSVELT (printmakers and publishers),
*Caarte van Rotterdam …*, 1626, detail.
Etching and engraving, 730 x 820 mm.
Rotterdam, Rotterdam City Archives,
archive no. 4001, inv. no. RI-20.

*Fig. 8*
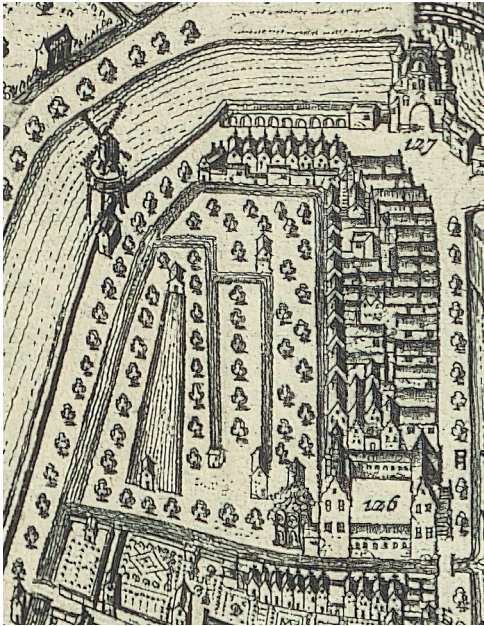Detail from *Rotterodamum* (fig. 1, RP-P-AO-13-75-1).

Fig. 7
ANONYMOUS (printmaker),
JOHANNES WILLEMSZ BLAEU (publisher),
*Rotterdam*, 1652, detail.
Etching and engraving, 420 x 535 mm.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-AO-13-10-1.

Fig. 9
Detail from *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* (fig. 2).



future wall map, in late 1691 or early 1692. However, a letter dated 11 January 1692 tells us that the burgomasters were extremely unhappy with his design – the map contained 'manifold errors' and it appeared to have been based on old maps rather than correspond to the 'true form' of their city.[25] They mentioned an attached list of the errors detected so far and told him that they would send him even more in a fortnight's time. Sadly, neither that list nor the promised supplement to it has been found, but they would not have concerned trivialities. The burgomasters went on to say that they agreed to De Hooghe's terms, apart from the sum of 1,800 guilders. In his estimate he had quoted 1,400 to 1,500 guilders, which they accepted and were still in agreement with on condition that the map would be 'well executed' and show their city 'well, and properly'.[26]

What was going on here? In itself the use of old maps is not strange, but the letter makes it clear that the map image did not correspond to reality and so was not up to date enough – and that is odd. When maps were made, old maps were generally used as a starting point for the new one and, depending on the objective of the map and the need and willingness to spend money on it that went with it, they were either updated on the basis of a new survey or just based on other available information.[27] As we shall see, it was extremely important that this map should be accurate and a new survey would be inevitable.

The last time a map of Rotterdam based on a valid survey had been published was in 1626. This large and topographically detailed map is seen as very reliable. The measurements used, possibly made by Dirk Davidsz Versyden (?-1667), were taken around 1623 and also used for a smaller and less accurate map of 1623. It is assumed that Rotterdam city council commissioned these two maps.[28]

Only commercial maps of Rotterdam were made in the decades that followed, when the city expanded and changed.[29] The topicality and accuracy of such maps, where the city council was not involved, were not of the utmost importance. This is why expensive surveyors were rarely used; as a rule, existing maps were reworked on the basis of information already available.[30] All those maps hark back directly or indirectly to the maps made in 1623 and 1626 and were brought up to date to a greater or lesser degree, but not on the basis of new surveys.[31] For the prestigious wall map the burgomasters wanted, by contrast, it was important that the image was up to date and accurate; it had to be representative. An out-of-date view would negate the objective – to show the city at its best. In the figurative maps of The Hague, Leiden, Delft and Haarlem we can see that this was deemed important and that no expense was spared; in all these cases surveyors were employed to take the necessary measurements.[32]

Rotterdam city council probably did not have the necessary up-to-date survey; had it had one, it would have been given to De Hooghe and he would have been unlikely to make a map that contained as many errors as the letter suggests. In short, when De Hooghe was commissioned to make the map it must have been clear that it was necessary and desirable to have a new survey done – in any case for the parts of the city that had changed after 1623. The fact that he is accused in the letter of supplying an outdated and incorrect map, implies that he was responsible for the content of the map. All this suggests that De Hooghe himself was probably initially responsible for having the necessary survey done. It may have been agreed, that he would employ a surveyor and would design the new map on the basis of his report, as he had done for his map of Haarlem (*Harlemum*), probably in combination with existing maps.[33]



Fig. 10
Detail from *Caarte van Rotterdam* (see fig. 6).

Fig. 11
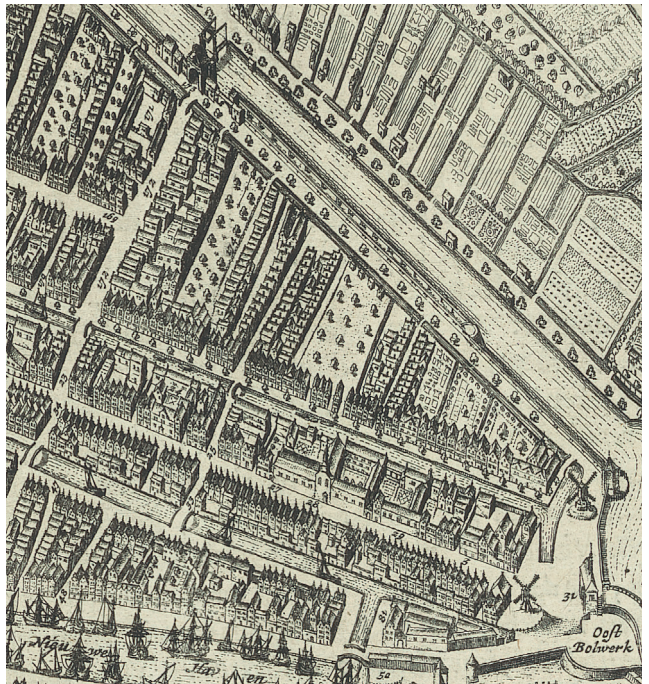Detail from *Rotterdam* (see fig. 7).

Fig. 12
Detail from
*Rotterodamum*
(fig. 1,
RP-P-AO-13-75-2).

Fig. 13
Detail from
*Rotterodamum*
(fig. 1,
RP-P-AO-13-75-4).



Fig. 14
Detail from *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* (fig. 2).



**A Map with 'manifold errors'?**
We will now study *Rotterodamum* in depth and compare it with *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* and older maps. In making these comparisons, we assume that the map in *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* is correct; this map is known as a cartographical highpoint, based on excellent surveying work, and as the most reliable map of Rotterdam from before 1800.[34] This will prove that the burgomasters' criticism was justified and also show that the map in the Ottens Atlas is probably not the map the burgomasters found fault with in their letter, but a later version, or later 'state' of it. This sheds more light on the working method and the further course of the creation of *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen*.

At first glance, it seems noteworthy that recent developments in the city, which do not feature in earlier maps, appear on *Rotterodamum*. The Ooster-kerk, built in 1682, is among them, as are the 1686-87 extension to the Walloon Church, the new Admiralty Wharf (1689), lower right near the Boerengat, and facing it the East India Wharf, which was moved there in 1685. All kinds of new buildings and alterations to existing buildings from the sixteen-sixties are also shown.[35] In *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* there are also a number of buildings that were not finished at the time that map was completed but were under construction or were planned, like the East India House in the Boompjes and the new Scottish Church in the Vasteland.[36] They are not present on *Rotterodamum*, but did not exist then either.

Major differences in the layout of the streets, blocks of houses and plots of land, such as those in the centre and right-hand points of the city triangle on *Rotterodamum*, were clearly borrowed from older maps and augmented (figs. 6-9, 10-14). The most striking difference is the absence of the Zalmhaven lower left on *Rotterodamum* (figs. 1, 2).
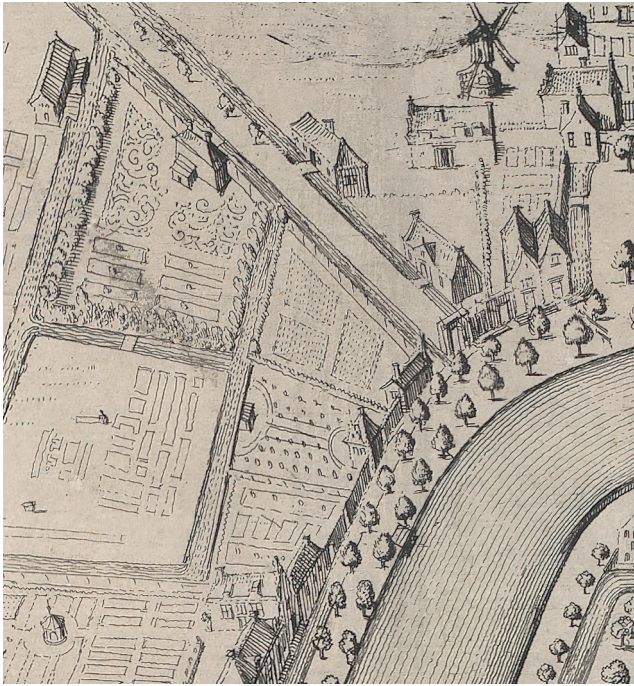
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Fig. 15
Detail from *Rotterodamum* (fig. 1, RP-P-AO-13-75-1).

Fig. 16
Detail from *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* (fig. 2).



The excavation of this dock apparently started around 1690, but it is unclear exactly when. It is possible that at that time the inner dock had not been excavated, or not entirely.[37] The area outside the city is different too; the buildings and cultivated land extend further and are shown in more detail on the 1695 map. The rendition of the Kruiskade is significant; this country road upper left outside the city is shown in a north-westerly direction on *Rotterodamum* (fig. 15). This is an error that first occurred on the 1623 printed map and was then copied repeatedly. It is, moreover, an indication that De Hooghe did indeed call on old printed maps. On *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen*, however, the Kruiskade – for the first time on a printed map – was shown running in the correct, westerly direction (fig. 16).[38]

Closer study of *Rotterodamum* reveals traces of alterations to the copper plates. When the plates were reworked, parts of the earlier etching and/or engraving lines were not properly erased. This is evident on the left, for example, in the second bulwark from the bottom. A number of small trees had to make way for the mill there (fig. 17). Similar traces are also visible near the Vlasmarkt (fig. 18) and by the lift bridge lower right (fig. 19). But the most important example is the stretch of street above the row of houses to the left of the town hall. There are clear traces of the canal and the right-hand parapet of the bridge that were located there prior to 1677, when it was decided to fill in the canal in order to extend the Kaasmarkt (figs. 20, 21).[39] Here we have yet another indication of the use of old maps, but also of the fact that this error was remedied. Three etched scratches beside numbers are also interesting; it appears that another number has been scratched out (fig. 22).[40] There are also quite a few lines, dots and blotchy areas that appear to be the result of damage to the etching ground or even to the copper plates themselves.[41] In some
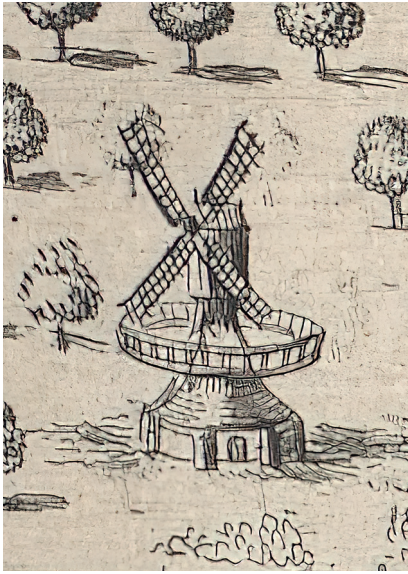
*Fig. 17*
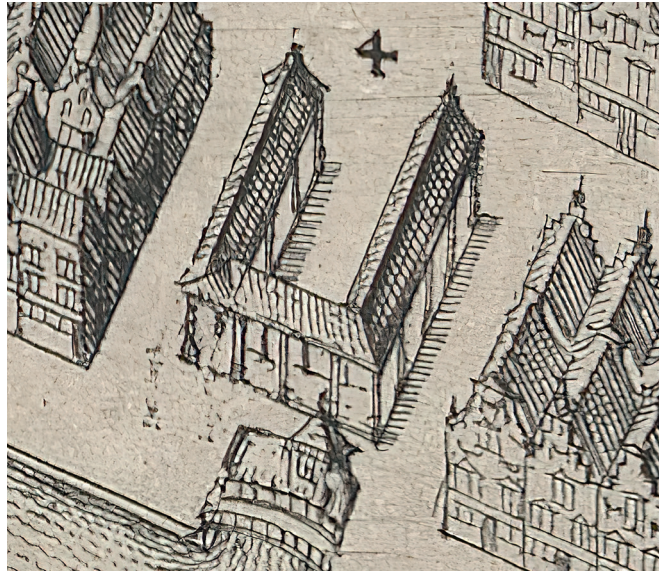Detail from *Rotterodamum*
(fig. 1, RP-P-AO-13-75-3).



*Fig. 18*
Detail from *Rotterodamum*
(fig. 1, RP-P-AO-13-75-1).



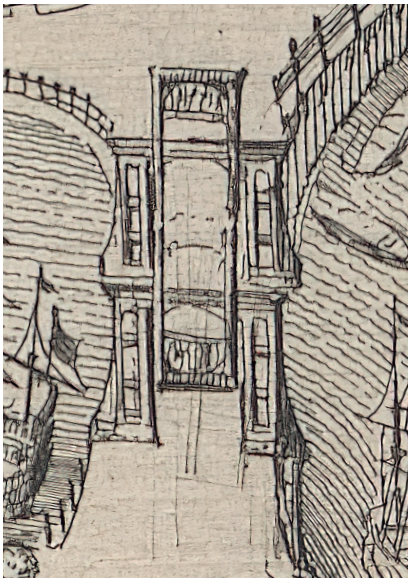*Fig. 19*
Detail from *Rotterodamum*
(fig. 1, RP-P-AO-13-75-4).

*Fig. 20*
Detail from *Rotterdam*
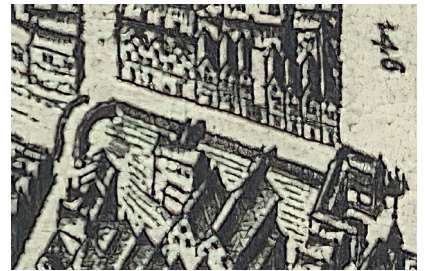(see fig. 7).





*Fig. 21*
Detail from *Rotterodamum*
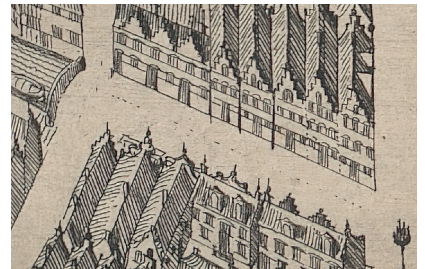(fig. 1, RP-P-AO-13-75-2).



*Fig. 22*
Detail from *Rotterodamum*
(fig. 1, RP-P-AO-13-75-2).

spots it appears that the ink was not properly wiped off before printing, or the paper was still too wet so the ink bled from the lines.[42] Here and there a particular area had been made darker with a brush and ink – possibly to indicate that more hatching was wanted there.[43]

We can conclude from all this that the direction of the Kruiskade, the middle and right-hand points of the city triangle and the traces of the canal and the bridge parapet near the Kaasmarkt are clear evidence that old maps were used in making *Rotterodamum*. How, then, can the presence on the map of recent developments in the city be explained? Were no measurements needed for them? There would have been no problem as far as the buildings and modifications to existing buildings were concerned: they could easily have been incorporated in the map without prior surveying work, simply based on existing prints, drawings, descriptions or individual observations of those buildings. However, the result was not necessarily accurate. The representation of the Oosterkerk illustrates this; on *Rotterodamum* the building is shown next to the Old Men's Home, as was the case, but the location of the whole thing is incorrect (fig. 13). For example, Goudsewagenstraat was not situated to the right of the Oosterkerk, but to the left of the row of houses on the left-hand side of the church, as it appears on *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* (fig. 14).

The situation is different for the docks area lower right, with the Admiralty Wharf on the left and the East India Wharf diagonally opposite. Its shape corresponds almost exactly to its representation on *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* and is therefore already reasonably accurate, but the buildings are not (figs. 23, 24). It is one thing to add a few buildings, but an entirely new area cannot be shown correctly on a map without having



*Fig. 23*
Detail from *Rotterodamum* (fig. 1, RP-P-AO-13-75-4).

had an up-to-date survey. De Hooghe must therefore either already have had access to an existing survey, or had one done for that area.[44] This raises the question as to whether this area already featured on the map that he first sent to the burgomasters. The traces of alterations near the lift bridge lower right, coupled with the fact that the East India Wharf is not numbered and does not appear in the key, is a strong indication of the possibility that this area was not added to the plate until later, after the rejection.

*Fig. 24*
Detail from *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* (fig. 2).

### After the Rejection

As we saw earlier, the presence of traces of reworkings on the plates implies that the impression in the Ottens Atlas is not the first state of *Rotterodamum*. This means that it is probably not the map that the burgomasters saw first and rejected in January 1692. Reworking copper plates is laborious and time-consuming and often leaves traces.[45] The map would therefore not have been put on the copper plates until De Hooghe was satisfied with the drawn design, the intention being that no or minimal alterations would be needed. It makes sense to assume that the burgomasters would initially have received the first state, printed after the entire map had been put on the copper plates for the first time and before many alterations had been made. Presumably De Hooghe did not show the burgomasters a detailed drawn design for the map, because they would have rejected it and it would have never reached the copper plate. This implies that they fully trusted in his ability.

It is difficult to say how things progressed after the rejection in early 1692 and what the exact place of the impression in the Ottens Atlas in the production process is. This is simply because there is not enough documentary evidence available; the correspondence between De Hooghe and the Rotterdam burgomasters is very fragmentary and there is no other relevant source material. A letter dated 14 August 1692 does, though, contain important clues. In reply to a letter from De Hooghe written four days earlier, the burgomasters informed him that it certainly was not their intention to 'dispense with' his map.[46] What follows is significant, as it proves that they took on the responsibility for the improvement of the map themselves and that they wanted to deal with it thoroughly. The accuracy that they 'wished to see observed in it'[47] is very time-consuming. An additional hindrance was that the city architect Jan Persoons (?-1692) – who contributed to the improvement of the map and would have been employed to carry out the surveying work needed[48] – had had to deal with matters arising out of the death of his father. They estimated that at that time the map was one third 'perfected' and considered it worth the time and money. They also asked De Hooghe to come to Rotterdam during the week commencing Sunday 7 September to talk about the map in greater detail.[49] So it seems that the drawing of the new map took place

under the auspices of the burgomasters, but that De Hooghe was actually involved in it.

Regrettably, we do not know when the city decided to take over the responsibility for the map. It may have been quite soon after 11 January 1692, but it could also be that De Hooghe tried (and/or it was expected of him) to find the solution himself first. The impression in the Ottens Atlas could be the result of that last scenario, but it is also possible that this state was printed after the inclusion of some of the surveying work carried out by order of the city. The fact that in terms of layout the harbour area lower right in *Rotterodamum* and *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* is almost identical could point to that. It is also possible that there had been even more states and that not all the changes were made at the same time. In any event, it must have become obvious at some point that it was no longer possible to use the *Rotterodamum* plates for the improved version of the map and so new (expensive) copper plates were needed.

The city accounts show that De Hooghe was finally paid 550 guilders for 'making a certain map showing the plan of this city' and 1,500 guilders for etching 'two distinct maps': 2,050 guilders in total.[50] It is not clear whether the first payment only refers to his work for *Rotterodamum*. As can be seen in the resolutions of the city council, it would still take until May 1695 before the final map with all the border decorations was finished.[51] It is not entirely clear how the work was divided up between De Hooghe and De Vouw. As Piet Ratsma has already demonstrated, it is quite likely that De Vouw designed the views of the city and possibly also the skyline, but it was De Hooghe who etched them on the copper plates. In other words, the signature 'JD Vou f' on the views of the city refers to De Vouw not as the print-

maker but as the designer.[52] However, this does not make him the designer of the other parts of the map.

## Why Did De Hooghe Fail to Supply a Good Product?

Although the *Rotterodamum* in the Ottens Atlas is a later state and we do not know exactly what the burgomasters saw in the first state, studying it has shown that in the first instance De Hooghe based his design mostly on old maps, which he had augmented to look more up to date, and he had probably neglected to have the necessary survey done. It goes without saying that the burgomasters, who wanted a map that would showcase the city's prestige and were prepared to pay a considerable amount of money for it, found it unacceptable. But how can this be explained? Why did he not supply a good product to begin with? We can only speculate.

In their letter the burgomasters observe that the situation is undoubtedly due to De Hooghe's 'lengthy illness' which had prevented him from 'looking at it himself'.[53] It is possible that De Hooghe had been ill and that this had affected the making of the map, but in this letter – in which he is roundly criticized – it seems rather to be a polite convention in line with the social mores of the time. Furthermore, the fact that he may have been ill and might have sub-contracted the work, or part of it, to his workshop, does not explain why a proper survey was not undertaken. Notably, when he was making the map of Haarlem some years before, he had employed a surveyor and the map on it was accurate and up to date. It has even been demonstrated that this is the most reliable map of that city dating from before the nineteenth century. One important difference, however, is that he had floated the idea for *Harlemum* himself and self-interest was involved. He had already had an extensive survey done and had made a design based on it

when he informed the burgomasters about it and asked their permission to dedicate the map he intended to make to them. The production process was given a boost after the burgomasters had accepted the dedication in August 1688 and agreed with De Hooghe that they would purchase a hundred copies on condition that he would take care of the publication. The map was consequently completed quickly over the course of 1689.[54]

As Henk van Nierop has demonstrated, the making of this map was part of one of the favours that De Hooghe did Haarlem city council in exchange for advantages and positions that chimed with his ambition to become a member of Haarlem's regent class. Personal gain thus played a major role in *Harlemum* and it was important to De Hooghe to supply a good map straight away.[55] The map of Rotterdam, on the other hand, was a strictly business deal in which he had nothing to gain personally. It is consequently tempting to think, but impossible to prove, that De Hooghe – who had a reputation for being tight-fisted and was not always honest in his dealings[56] – had initially thought that he could save money and effort by not involving a surveyor and using and supplementing old maps instead. Or did he opt for an easy way out because he was preoccupied with other works in 1691, such as the triumphal arches for the triumphal entry of the Stadholder-King into The Hague, the prints depicting that event and other prints championing the Prince of Orange?[57] Had he simply misjudged what was involved and truly believed that he could come up with a sufficiently accurate map on the basis of old maps? This cannot be ruled out, but it is very unlikely. Firstly, as we have shown, it had been clear from the outset that it would be necessary to make a new survey. Secondly, from his experience with *Harlemum* and his earlier involvement with two other

large maps in which surveyors had played a part, De Hooghe must have known that taking new measurements was of great importance for an up-to-date and accurate map.[58]

It is remarkable that he took the risk of sending the burgomasters a map he must have known was not the best. Remarkable, but certainly in line with his character. Time after time, throughout his life, De Hooghe took huge risks that endangered his career and reputation.[59] In this case it had been a risk he could apparently afford. Although the Rotterdam burgomasters clearly indicated that they were not happy with the course of events, they did not want to forego the collaboration. It also had no financial consequences for De Hooghe; in the end he was actually paid more than was originally agreed.[60] So did he really have a good reason for doing what he did? Or was it thanks to his fame as a printmaker that the burgomasters overlooked the initial lapse and wanted to link his name to their wall map regardless? When it comes down to it, it may have been thanks to that mistake that *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* became a cartographical highlight.

The fact that *Rotterodamum* was found thanks to Print Room Online demonstrates the importance of projects like this for opening up a collection and improving the traceability of objects. Without it, the map would probably have remained unnoticed in the museum's depot for a lot longer. As far as we know, the map in the Ottens Atlas is the only existing impression of *Rotterodamum* and this makes it unique. Although there are still many unanswered questions, *Rotterodamum* provides new insight into how De Hooghe worked and how *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen* was eventually created.

ABSTRACT

Having been asked by the burgomasters of Rotterdam to make a prestigious wall map of their city, the famous printmaker Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) initially supplied a disappointing product that the burgomasters rejected. It was known that this had happened, but what was not known is that a unique impression of the rejected map, titled *Rotterodamum*, survives in the Print Room's collection. The discovery of *Rotterodamum* provided the opportunity to shed more light on De Hooghe's commission, the production process and his working methods. *Rotterodamum* is thus an important link in the creation of the eventual, well-known map *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen*, by De Hooghe and Johannes de Vouw (c. 1660-1707).

NOTES

1 The map was printed from four plates and thus consists of four sheets that could be assembled as a whole: RP-P-AO-13-75-1, RP-P-AO-13-75-2, RP-P-AO-13-75-3 and RP-P-AO-13-75-4.

2 Here and in the rest of this article it was decided to use the first year of publication for dating maps. This does not always correspond to the date shown on the map. There are various spellings of the surname De Vouw, but here we are using the version preferred by the RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History. In order to differentiate between the two maps, we will use their printed titles. For RP-P-AO-13-75 this is *Rotterodamum*, for the 1695 map *Rotterdam met al syn gebouwen*. The skyline of the city which was printed separately, belongs with the latter map and could be mounted underneath the street map, also bears the title *Rotterodamum*, but is not referred to in this article.

3 Friedrich Wilhelm Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 9: *Heer-Kuyl*, Amsterdam 1953, pp. 118-32; John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe, the Etcher: Contemporary Portrayal of Europe 1622-1707*, Leiden 1973.

4 Piet Ratsma, 'Grootschalige stadsplattegronden van Rotterdam. Zes momenten uit de karteringsgeschiedenis', *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 10 (1994), no. 2, pp. 219-40, esp. pp. 225-29; Piet Ratsma, *Prospecten van Rotterdam. Gezichten op de stad, 1500-2000*, Rotterdam/Alphen aan den Rijn 1997, pp. 90-91; Arie van der Schoor, 'Cartografische geschiedenis van Rotterdam', in Piet Ratsma (ed.), *Historische plattegronden van Nederlandse steden*, vol. 12: *Rotterdam*, Lisse/Rotterdam/Alphen aan den Rijn 2008, pp. 45-81, esp. pp. 61-63.

5 Johannes Hendrikus Scheffer, *Roterodamum illustratum. Beredeneerde beschrijving van den Geschiedkundige Atlas in het archief der Gemeente Rotterdam aanwezig betrekkelijk het Hoogheemraadschap Schieland en de stad Rotterdam*, vol. 1, Rotterdam 1868, appendix D, pp. 20-26.

6 'uniek uitmuntend bewaard exemplaar'. Ibid., p. 21, note 2.

7 Leendert Aardoom and Freek Heijbroek, 'De "Atlas Halma", een verzameling van Reinier Ottens en stadhouder Willem V', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991) no. 3, pp. 263-82, esp. pp. 263-66, 276-78.

8 Freek Heijbroek, 'De Atlas Ottens. Een stadhouderlijke prentcollectie in het Rijksmuseum', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 100 (2013), no. 3/4, pp. 165-75, esp. pp. 166-67.

9 'platte kaert', 'naer exempel van andere steden'. Resolution of the city council, 25 September 1690. Rotterdam City Archives, archive no. 1.01, inv. no. 32; for the transcript, see Scheffer 1868 (note 5), p. 21.

10 Here we are only looking at figurative maps, because these must be the specific examples referred to by the burgomasters. Earlier large city maps, which can be seen as fore-runners of figurative maps, are consequently not being discussed here. Boudewijn Bakker and Erik Schmitz, *Het aanzien van Amsterdam. Panorama's, plattegronden en profielen uit de Gouden Eeuw*, Bussum 2007, pp. 150-53, cat. no. 24; Marc Hameleers, *Kaarten van Amsterdam. 1538-1865*, Bussum 2013, pp. 96-107, cat. nos. 45-46; Charles Dumas and Jim van der Meer Mohr, *Haagse stadsgezichten 1550-1800. Topografische schilderijen van het Haags Historisch Museum*, Zwolle 1991, pp. 223-25, 234 (note 31), 377; E. Pelinck, 'De kaart van Hagen', *Leids Jaarboekje* 46 (1954), pp. 113-27; Wim F. Weve (ed.), *De kaart figuratief van Delft*, Rijswijk 1997; Ab van der Steur, 'De grote kaart van Haarlem van Romeyn de Hooghe uit 1688', *Spiegel Historiael* 29 (1994), pp. 21-25.

11 For a good explanation of figurative maps see Eddy Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving*

*in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek*, Hilversum 2011, pp. 22-25, 222-27.

12  Henk van Nierop, *The Life of Romeyn de Hooghe, 1645-1708: Prints, Pamphlets, and Politics in the Dutch Golden Age*, Amsterdam 2018, pp. 181-82; Van der Steur 1994 (note 10), p. 21.

13  Verbaan 2011 (note 11), p. 223, note 50.

14  Marc Hameleers, 'Kaarten figuratief. Kaarten, atlassen en stadsprofielen', in Henk van Nierop et al. (eds.), *Romeyn de Hooghe. De verbeelding van de late Gouden Eeuw*, Zwolle 2008, pp. 190-203; Van Nierop 2018 (note 12), p. 51; Van der Steur 1994 (note 10), pp. 21-25.

15  Johan Hendrik Willem Unger, 'De vroedschapspenningen van Rotterdam', *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 1 (1888), pp. 169-95, esp. pp. 171-72.

16  'naer het exempel van andere steden'. Resolution of the city council, 6 September 1688. Rotterdam City Archives, archive no. 1.01, inv. no. 32; for the transcript see Unger 1888 (note 15), pp. 171-72.

17  Lambertus Machiel Johannis Boegheim, 'Vroedschapspenningen', *Muntkoerier* 36 (2007) no. 6, pp. 45-46, esp. p. 45; Unger 1888 (note 15), p. 170.

18  'kleyne schetsjens'. Letter from De Hooghe to the burgomasters, 4 January 1689. Rotterdam City Archives, archive no. 1.01, inv. no. 381; for the transcript see Unger 1888 (note 15), p. 172.

19  See NG-VG-5-110 and NG-VG-5-111.

20  Unger 1888 (note 15), pp. 171-75. Another medal for the city of Hamburg was also designed by De Hooghe, cut by Drappentier and minted by Sonnemans. De Hooghe is also seen as the possible designer of the Haarlem city council medal of 1688; the stamp was also cut by Drappentier. See Adolf Octave van Kerkwijk, 'Romeyn de Hooghe als ontwerper van penningen', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 2 (1915), pp. 184-891.

21  This assumption requires further elaboration. There is an ordinary tree with a banner with the motto 'crescit ab invidia' in the sketched design. These two elements would then be combined in the palm tree. A palm tree can be seen as a symbol for something that can flourish in harsh conditions and thus evoke envy. From a biblical perspective this is linked to the concept of the righteous or pious man who will grow like a palm tree. This is clearly reflected in Psalm 92. In a 1687 explanation of this psalm, the palm tree is seen – even in winter – as an always 'green and youthful' plant that has deep roots, unlike a herb or weed ('kruyd') that does not have deep roots and is unable to raise itself up – just like the unbelievers. Where 'kruyd' (the unjust or unbelievers) is concerned, the growth of the palm tree (the just or believers) can therefore also evoke envy. See Henricus Groenewegen, *Davids harpe, ofte, Ontledinge, en verklaringe van alle de psalmen des coninkliken prophete Davids*, 2 vols., Enkhuizen 1687, vol. 1, pp. 141-43.

22  Van Nierop 2018 (note 12), pp. 186, 205-16.

23  Letter from the burgomasters to De Hooghe, 23 April 1691; idem, 11 January 1692; idem, 14 August 1692. Rotterdam City Archives, archive no. 1.01, inv. no. 447. For transcriptions of the second and third letter see Scheffer 1868 (note 5), pp. 21-22.

24  'afteijkeninge'. Letter, 23 April 1691 (note 23). It is not entirely clear whether this refers to the city skyline or to the street map.

25  'menigvuldige fauten', 'ware geschapenheijt'. Letter, 11 January 1692 (note 23).

26  'wel wierde uijtgewerckt', 'wel, ende behoorlijk'. Ibid.

27  Peter Jan Margry, 'Het gebruik van oude stadsplattegronden en prekadastrale kaarten', in Peter Jan Margry, Piet Ratsma and Ben M.J. Speet, *Stadsplattegronden. Werken met kaartmateriaal bij stadshistorisch onderzoek*, Hilversum 1987, pp. 19-38, esp. pp. 32-38.

28  Schoor 2008 (note 4), pp. 54-56; Guus van Veldhuizen, 'De gedrukte plattegronden van de stad Rotterdam; een cartobibliografisch overzicht tot 1903', in Piet Ratsma 2008 (note 4), pp. 82-147, esp. p. 94, cat. nos. RTD 006-007.

29  Ratsma 1997 (note 4), pp. 18-23.

30  We know, for example, that in principle the cartographer and publisher Johannes Willemsz Blaeu used and augmented old maps for his famous *Toonneel der steden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden,* among other things by asking city councils for supplementary material. As far as we know he did not do that in the case of Rotterdam, or else the city council was unable to give him any information. See Schoor 2008 (note 4), pp. 56-58.

31  Schoor 2008 (note 4), pp. 54-61; Van Veldhuizen 2008 (note 28), pp. 95-101, cat. nos. RTD 008-019.

32  See note 10.

33  Van der Steur 1994 (note 10), p. 22.

34  Schoor 2008 (note 4), pp. 61-62.

35  Including the Schielandhuis (1662-65), the Wester Nieuwe Hooftpoort (c. 1665),

Ooster Nieuwe Hooftpoort (c. 1665) and Wester Oude Hooftpoort (c. 1665). Restorations of the Binnenwegsepoort or Coolsepoort (1662) and the Delftsepoort (1664) are also shown. See Ratsma 1997 (note 4), pp. 21-22.

36 The foundation stone of the East India House was laid on 7 September 1695 and that of the Scottish Church on 13 December 1695. See ibid., p. 21.

37 The excavation began around 1690 and in 1693 the excavated inner dock near the already existing Zalmgat was named the 'Salmhaven'. *Straatnamendatabase van Rotterdam* website: https://stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/zoek-en-ontdek/straatnamen/index.xml (accessed 16 July 2020).

38 Schoor 2008 (note 4), pp. 54-56.

39 *Straatnamendatabase van Rotterdam* website (note 37). There are more examples like these. There are also places where I suspect there are traces of alterations, but it is impossible to say with certainty, for instance above the Ooster Nieuwe Hoofdpoort (no. 25) and to the left of the French Church (no. 32).

40 Above St Lawrence's Church, to the left of no. 2 (fig. 22); near the Admiralty Wharf, to the left of no. 13; near the Exchange Bank to the right of no. 20.

41 For example above the Boterhuis (no. 44); below the Hofpoort (no. 38); to the left of the French Church (no. 32); above no. 13.

42 For example in parts of the body of water upper left in the city triangle.

43 For example in the letters on the banderol in the top two sheets and parts of the image on the bottom two sheets.

44 Although the possibility of their existence cannot be ruled out, we know of no earlier printed or drawn maps of this area. There are two designs dating from 1686 and 1688, but they do not correspond enough. See Rotterdam City Archives, archive no. 4014, inv. no. RT-I-46; archive no. 4001, inv. no. VII-141-01.

45 Old etching and/or engraving lines have to be scraped off first and then the back of the copper plate usually has to be beaten in order to make the surface of the front smooth again. Then the plate has to be polished again.

46 'supprimeren'. Letter, 14 August 1692 (note 23).

47 'geerne daer in geobserveert sagen'. Ibid.

48 As Piet Ratsma remarked, Jan Persoons died in October 1692 and someone must have continued his work afterwards; this was possibly the surveyor Pieter Ancelin (?-1720). See Ratsma 1994 (note 4), pp. 227-29.

49 'geperfectioneert'. Letter, 14 August 1692 (note 23).

50 'maeken van seeckere kaerte het plan van dese Stadt verbeeldende', 'twee distincte kaerten'. Scheffer 1868 (note 5), p. 23.

51 Resolution of the city council, 16 May 1695. Rotterdam City Archives, archive no. 1.01, inv. no. 33; for the transcript see Scheffer 1868 (note 5), p. 23.

52 Ratsma 1997 (note 4), p. 91.

53 'langdurige sieckten', 'het oogh daerop selffs te laten gaen'. Letter, 11 January 1692 (note 23).

54 Van der Steur 1994 (note 10), pp. 21-25.

55 Van Nierop 2018 (note 12), pp. 174-84.

56 For example, he committed fraud on a large scale with the invoices he submitted for the triumphal arches that he had designed and had made for the triumphal entry of Stadholder-King William III into The Hague in early February 1691. See ibid., pp. 167, 357, 372-74, 415.

57 Ibid., pp. 364-72; Hollstein 1953 (note 3), p. 125, cat. nos. 168-88; Piet Verkruijsse, '*Short title*-lijst. Door Romeyn de Hooghe geschreven en geïllustreerde boeken', in Van Nierop 2008 (note 14), pp. 258-90, esp. p. 272.

58 De Hooghe had provided a number of border decorations from the *Kaerte figuratyf van Delft* (1678) and for the second state of the map of the Rhineland Water Board (1687), had updated the map on the copper plates based on new drawings by surveyors and made new border decorations. For more about this and other maps De Hooghe worked on, see Hameleers 2008 (note 14), pp. 190-203.

59 This behaviour is discussed in Van Nierop 2018 (note 12), pp. 27-30, 411-16, passim.

60 Although it probably did take him more time than he had anticipated.

Detail of fig. 2