



De Eoelste Grefsteden, wijsen, voor
 sienigen Heeren, den Heeren Staete
 van Noordhollant, ende west-vriesslant,
 werd dese hare lantcaerte met alle behoer-
 lijcke eerbiedinge toegeengent ede gedediceert
 Door mij Haerman Dierckx
 van Maerhuysen.

Caerte Van noorthollant Beghinende van Nooſtendt,
 Zuytwards up tot om Leyden toe, Voorts streckende Oostwaerts tot om
 Vrecht, weder Noortwärts up inde Zuyder Zee, met alle sijn Steden, dorpen
 Dijkē, Weghē, Waterē, en Vaertē, daer inne begrept elcx na sijnē rechte ghelegheths.
 Namen Van eenighe quartierē des Noorderlandts.
 Die vier Noorder koggen slaen onder Nuē 4. 5. 6. 7.

Deese navolghende groote cijseren gheuen kenisse van enijghe percelen
 landts, en vande plaessen daer inne gheleghesijnde.
 1. Itemindenaersse gheestmerabacht. 2. Scagher kogge. 3. Nierper kogge.
 4. Hoochtwouder kogge. 5. Spabroker kogge. 6. Twisker kogge.
 7. Medenblicher kogge. 8. Enckwijser kogge. 9. Hoornier kogge.

Voorts sallmē eensdeels des lants elcx name op sijn enijghen perceel moghen leesen.

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. De leyck | 42. Durker meerken | 91. De mijert | 134. Ijsel hof |
| 2. Caluerdyck | 43. Oosanerouertoom | 92. De cromme mijert | 135. Stoppeburgh |
| 3. Thledyk | 44. Den boeren | 93. De oude harn | 136. De vartna hagen |



On the Thresholds of an Old Map: A Paracartographic Approach to Joost Jansz Bilhamer's *Caerte van Noorthollant*

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The Rijksmuseum's Print Room collection holds more than 14,000 old maps.¹ Many users – historians, archaeologists, art historians, archivists, curators, collectors, map lovers and more – are curious about what these old maps show ('what was where?') and how accurately that information is depicted. They are usually looking for quite specific information, for example where a particular house was located, how a road ran previously, or where a particular place-name was situated. The old map is then consulted because of its documentary value and it effectively tells the researcher what the landscape and society looked like in the past, at least insofar as it is accurate and reliable. Depending on this, the old map is seen as *proof à charge* or *à décharge*.² For this reason scholars frequently question and study the accuracy, reliability and evidential value of old maps.³ Old maps also often serve as illustrations in books, magazines, exhibitions, websites, presentations and the like. Their illustrative and aesthetic values are paramount, other aspects are usually ignored. Viewers do sometimes get some metadata – in a caption or on a wall text in an exhibition – but otherwise they are presented in a vacuum.

The documentary and illustrative values of an old map are important, but not in themselves sufficient if we want to determine a map's importance.

< detail fig. 1

Other aspects and questions are at least as interesting or relevant: What was the production process? What were the intentions of the clients, cartographers and map publishers? How was the map used in the past, by whom and why? And what values did people attach to it, both in their own time and afterwards? These are questions about the socio-cultural significance and reception of old maps that cannot be easily or directly 'read' from a map. Some creativity is consequently needed to answer them. In this article we propose to adopt the 'paracartographic approach', which provides tools to better place an old map in its historical context and focus on less obvious aspects and questions in the research of historical cartography.⁴

In what follows we begin by explaining the principles of the paracartographic approach. We then demonstrate how this approach can be put into practice by applying it to a specific map: the *Caerte van Noorthollant*, made by Joost Jansz Bilhamer (c. 1521-1590) in 1575 and republished in 1608 by Herman Allertsz Koster (c. 1573-after 1646), part of the Rijksmuseum's Print Room collection (fig. 1). This choice was carefully considered: it concerns a well-known, fairly complex and sufficiently studied map.⁵ Moreover, Bilhamer's map is a typical product of the commercial cartography that



Fig. 1

JOOST JANSZ
BILHAMER, *Caerte
van Noorthollant ...*,
(Amsterdam),
HERMAN ALLERTSZ
KOSTER, 1608,
six-sheet wall map
in three sections.
Etching and
engraving, approx.
942 x 705 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-AO-7-2.

flourished in the early modern Low Countries.⁶ The physical condition of the document and the state of the contextual sources are far from ideal, which is a typical situation for many old maps. Finally, we hope that this case will inspire improvements in the frequent practice where a map user focuses on one particular old map. By translating the – sometimes rather abstract – formulation of a theory about the ‘paramap’ into practice, we hope to inspire a wide range of map users and encourage specialists to further reflect on methodological and theoretical aspects of research into old maps.⁷

The Thresholds of Map-Reading

How do you ‘read’ an old map? ‘Map-reading’ is a well-established metaphor, but primarily means to orient oneself or find the way with the aid of a map. Map historians make regular use of this metaphor, albeit in different ways. They point to the analogies between reading texts and maps, even to such an extent that we might speak of a ‘linguistic’ or ‘textualist’ turn.⁸ Eileen Reeves, for example, argued that maps in the Renaissance had a textual character because learning and literacy were expected of the ‘map reader’.⁹ Advocates of ‘critical cartography’ start from the principle that maps, like texts, are never value-free or neutral.¹⁰ John Brian Harley, for instance, saw a map not as an accurate reflection of reality, but as a collection of symbols that were arranged according to a conventional system. For that reason, maps, again like texts, can be deconstructed in a Derridean way.¹¹

In any case, a map is far more than just the representation and distribution of spatial objects (roads, buildings, rivers, trees etc.) on a flat surface, as many dictionaries and manuals would have us believe.¹² They are peppered with compositional tricks and visions about landscapes, people and societies, which guide our ‘reading’.

To put it simply: never blindly trust what a map tells you. Just like a text or an artwork, a map is a social construct that, for example, represents and confirms mechanisms of exclusion or power relations, or even an instrument that in an active way gives shape to specific values and world views imposed by the map producer.¹³ As we will see, Bilhamer also imposed certain ideas on the viewers of his map. On the other hand his *Caerte van Noorthollant* can be read in various ways. The reading of a map differs from person to person and is dependent on the socio-cultural context of the readers, their prior knowledge and previous experiences with maps and comparable material.

The question remains as to how all this can be put into practice when studying a particular old map or set of old maps. Literature on the history of the book provides a concept that can help us to discern guiding elements in maps and interpret them more thoroughly: the ‘paratext’. The concept was introduced in 1987 by the French literary theorist Gérard Genette in his book *Seuils* (Thresholds). By paratext he meant everything that surrounds the actual text of a book and presents it to the reader in a certain way.¹⁴ This paratext can be subdivided into ‘peritext’ and ‘epitext’. For Genette, the elements immediately surrounding the text, such as the title page, foreword, footnotes, typography, illustrations, index or acknowledgements are the peritext; anything that is not immediately surrounding the texts, like reviews, correspondence and advertisements, he termed the epitext.¹⁵ All these border elements frame the content of the text in a liminal way: they form a threshold for the reader, an undefined transition zone between the inside and the outside of the book.¹⁶ The paratext, though, does not necessarily have to be textual or tangible; it can also be of a factual or event-based nature, e.g. the age or origin of the author, or the fact that she/he had won

a prize.¹⁷ In short, the definition and delineation of paratext is anything but clear-cut.

Where the reader needs to step over the thresholds of a book in order to appropriate its contents, the map user has to do likewise with a map. Inspired by Genette, Denis Wood and John Fels proposed the concept of the 'paramap', although they did not define it very sharply: they regarded the paramap as a kind of 'advertisement' that a map uses to demonstrate its authority.¹⁸ They also introduced the terms 'perimap' and 'epimap', by analogy with Genette's peritext and epitext. Wood and Fels grouped titles, legends, scale bars, compass roses, blurbs, acknowledgments, frames, decorations, photographs, illustrations, graphics, diagrams and timelines under the term perimap; examples of epimaps are the accompanying articles, advertisements, promotional material, letters etc.

Wood and Fels's proposal to adopt the paratextual approach in the research of old maps has yet to gain much following.¹⁹ There are many who have not been won over. Matthew Edney, for instance, finds the approach useless because it would treat the map as a self-contained, clear-cut, finished product and would stand in the way of the 'processual approach' he advocates, which focuses on the broad mapping process, rather than on individual maps.²⁰ In our view, however, the paracartographic approach makes it possible to get a glimpse of the mapping process as well. At the same time, it bridges the painstaking work of two groups of specialists, cataloguers and cartobibliographers. The first group frequently relies on the perimap for recording cartographic metadata in library and archive catalogues, e.g. the web catalogue of the Rijksmuseum (fig. 2). Pericartographic information is crucial for the second group in compiling detailed cartobibliographies, in which individual printed maps are distinguished from one another.²¹ But the work of the cataloguers as well as

that of the cartobibliographers is highly descriptive and specialist in nature. Map users draw factual information from it, but otherwise usually take little notice of it.

It is worth lingering over the paracartographic information on old maps, provided that a step is taken beyond the mere collection and recording of metadata. We will try to make this clear in the following paragraphs on the basis of Bilhamer's *Caerte van Noorthollant*, starting by identifying and interpreting the perimap and then going on to discuss some forms of epimap.

Perimap: The Importance of the Margin

Joost Jansz Bilhamer or Beeldsnijder made his *Caerte van Noorthollant* in 1575. As far as we know, no example of the original hand-drawn map or of the first printed edition has survived and – as is true of a great many old maps – the preparatory notes and sketches for them have also disappeared without trace. They may have been lost or destroyed, or still be somewhere waiting to be discovered. In 1608 a new edition followed as a six-sheet wall map by Herman Allertsz Koster, which unmistakably contains a number of post-1575 alterations. We know of several copies of this edition.²² The one in the Rijksmuseum's collection measures approximately 94.2 x 70.5 cm and consists of three separate sections: the six sheets are stuck together in pairs.

Bilhamer's map forms a suitable basis for explaining the first step of the paracartographic approach: shifting the focus from the content of the map to marginal sections regarded as less relevant. In principle, after all, the perimap surrounds the map image which we can define as that 'part of a map, or map sheet, that is taken up by the mapped area'.²³ But the border between the map image and the perimap cannot always be sharply drawn. There are, though, lots of maps, including Bilhamer's, demarcated by means of

- Objectgegevens		
Identificatie	Titel(s)	Kaart van Noord-Holland, bestaande uit drie delen Caerte van Noorthollant beghinende van Noortendt, Zuytwards up tot om Leijden toe; voorts streckende Oostwaerts tot om Utrecht, weder Noortwärts up inde Zuyder Zee, met alle sijn steden, dorpen, dijcken, weggen, wateren, en vaerten, daer inne begrepen elcx na sijne rechte ghelegheth (titel op object)
	Objecttype	prent, kaart
	Objectnummer	RP-P-A0-7-2
	Catalogusreferentie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aantal staten bekend-2(2) FMH 454-Fa
	Opschriften / Merken	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> verzamelaarsmerk, recto, gestempeld: (4x)Lugt 195
	Omschrijving	Rechts een cartouche met de titel en de legenda in het Nederlands. Links hiervan een staande visser met passer en schietlood. Boven de cartouche de opdracht en een staande boerin bij het provinciewapen, met een scheepsmodel, kazen, groenten en producten van het land. Onderaan in het midden een cartouche met de octrooiverlening van de eerste staat van de kaart. De passer hierop dient tevens als schaalstok: Deze passer bespant een mijle.
Vervaardiging	Vervaardiger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> prentmaker: Joost Jansz. Bilhamer (toegeschreven aan) uitgever: Joost Jansz. Bilhamer (verworpen toeschrijving) uitgever: Herman Allertsz. Koster verliener van privilege: Luis de Zúñiga y Requesens (verworpen toeschrijving) opgedragen door: Herman Allertsz. Koster (vermeld op object) opgedragen aan: Staten van Holland en West-Friesland (vermeld op object)
	Plaats vervaardiging	prentmaker: Nederland uitgever: Nederland uitgever: Amsterdam opgedragen door: Amsterdam

Fig. 2
Object data of
the *Caerte van
Noorthollant* (fig. 1)
in de Rijksstudio
web catalogue,
<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.622354>
(consulted
28 April 2023).

a frame, which in any event we may consider as being part of the perimap. In this specific case it is a frame with a floral motif. The frame has more than a merely decorative function, because it also contributes to the interpretation of the map: on the left, at the bottom and on the right small cartouches show the wind directions. Map users not familiar with North Holland can orient themselves by means of these inscriptions, so paying attention to this small part of the perimap helps in reading the map. Interestingly, there is no decoration at the top of the map (here the frame of the map is limited to a simple line), nor is there a cartouche with an indication of north. Was the map deliberately cut off there and has a piece of the map and/or perimap disappeared, as some have suggested?²⁴ This is unlikely: just outside the frame of the map at the top, there is still a very thin strip of blank paper, which proves that there were certainly no decorations present.

When studying a printed map it is always a good idea to look for other copies and compare them in order to avoid drawing conclusions on the basis of one document. Comparison with a copy in Allard Pierson, the Special Collections Library of the University of Amsterdam, shows that on this copy an extra title strip was added to the top of the map (fig. 3). In addition, on the left, at the bottom and on the right, there are extra strips of paper around the decorated map frame, on which can be found a 'thorough description' of North Holland, a series of etchings by Claes Jansz Visscher, an inset map of 'de resterende noorderhoek' (the remaining northern corner), a poem in praise of North Holland by Hadriaan de Jong van Hoorn and a colophon by the publisher Herman Allertsz Koster. The decorative borders contain a laudatory description of the history, economy and culture of North Holland, covering the textile industry, agriculture, trade and the fisheries, and also



Fig. 3
 JOOST JANSZ
 BILHAMER, *Caerte
 van Noorthollant ...*,
 (Amsterdam),
 HERMAN ALLERTSZ
 KOSTER, 1608,
 mounted six-sheet
 wall map with title
 strip and side strips.

Etching and
 engraving,
 1160 x 1050 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Allard Pierson,
 University of
 Amsterdam, sign.
 OTM: HB-KZL W.X. 014.

emphasizing the important role of the water in this region. Water helped the inhabitants to resist 'de hovaerdighe plompicheyt der Spaenjaerden' (the haughty plumpness of the Spanish).²⁵ In turn, these elaborate decorative borders and title strip are placed within a frame with a motif of precious stones. Although both copies of the map are



Fig. 4
Perimap (light) and map image (dark) of the *Caerte van Noorthollant*. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, sign. OTM: HB-KZL o.k. 13. Treatment by the authors.

part of the same edition of 1608, the pericartographic elements are only partially comparable. In other words: the perimap of an old map can differ from copy to copy. It can even be argued that one copy is a form of the epimap of the other. Confusingly, the perimap is not only surrounding the map image: sometimes certain parts of the perimap are placed

in the map image and take space away from it. This is the case in the *Caerte van Noorthollant* (fig. 4). As far as Bilhamer was concerned, the margins and the seas in particular were suitable locations for the pericartographic elements: a large compass rose is placed on the left in the North Sea, and on the right in the Zuiderzee is

a beautifully decorated emblem, with below it a large three-part cartouche containing the dedication, the publisher's name, the title, various explanatory notes, an extensive index, a short legend, a date and the name of the mapmaker with his logo (a hatchet, which is 'bilhamer' in Dutch). The man on the left of the cartouche is pictured with some measuring instruments and personifies navigation at sea. Above it we see a range of local products and a female personification of the region. She wears local traditional dress and holds an escutcheon, with the coat of arms of West Friesland in the centre, and around it, clockwise from the top, the coats of arms of the towns of Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, Monnickendam, Purmerend, Medemblik, Edam and Hoorn.²⁶ Interestingly, the mapmaker only depicted the coats of arms of the seven towns of the Northern Quarter, the part of Holland to the north of the River IJ. This is in line with the title of the map, *Caerte van Noorthollant*, but not with the map image: it also contains a large part of the Southern Quarter, with towns like Haarlem, Amsterdam and Leiden.

Less striking is the image of a pair of compasses to indicate the scale, which is integrated at the bottom of the map image. Part of the Sticht Utrecht was sacrificed for this: that area was of course less important than the main subject, (North) Holland. The two cartouches between and below the points of the pair of compasses contain an explanatory note about the granting of a printer's privilege by Governor Luis de Zúñiga y Requesens (1528-1576), a reference to a piece of the epimap which we discuss below.

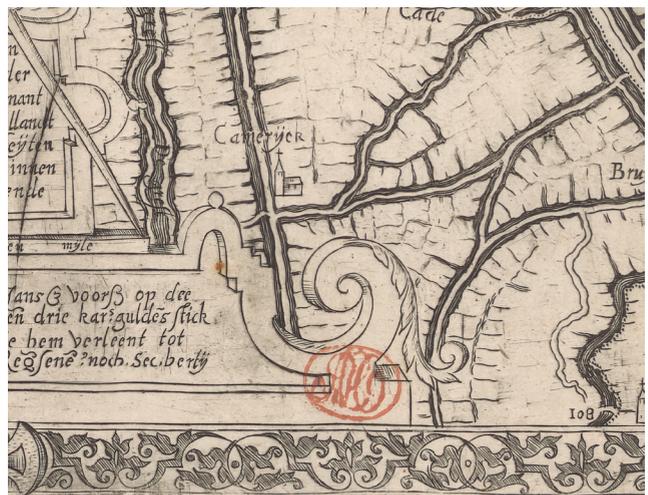
A final element of the perimap was not added until much later: the red oval collector's mark stamped on the three parts of the map, each at lower centre (fig. 5). The Rijksmuseum's web catalogue refers to a number in Frits Lugt's index of owners and collectors' marks, so we can quite simply establish that

this is the mark of the Archief van Oorlog (Archive of War).²⁷ This is why studying the perimap provides insight into a part of the provenance history (see the description of the epimap further on in this article).

Interpretations of the Perimap: Map Producers and their Choices

Maps are not mirrors of reality. Quite the reverse: all the elements of a map are the result of the choices and views of the map producer(s). Unfortunately they have seldom left us an explanation for them, and in some cases they may not even have been aware of them themselves. Examination of the perimap can reveal the motives behind the mapmakers' and publishers' choices and views, or clarify the political, cultural, scientific and/or social contexts in which they operated. This is what Matthew Edney terms a 'mode of mapping', 'an integrated assemblage of: a distinct, scale-dependent archive of spatial knowledge; the technologies used to create and represent that knowledge; and the social institutions that require and consume that knowledge'.²⁸ According to Edney, in the history of cartography it certainly does not revolve solely around the study of map objects (contained in the map image) and metadata (itemized in catalogues

Fig. 5
Stamp of the Archive of War on the *Caerte van Noorthollant* (fig. 1), detail from the bottom section (inv. no. RP-P-AO-7-2-3).



and cartobibliographies), but above all around the context in which maps are produced and used. Knowledge, technology and social institutions are of overriding importance in this respect.²⁹

A map user must therefore be aware of the ways in which and reasons why map producers present their maps (and elements of their maps) to us.³⁰ The different perimaps of the copies of the *Caerte van Noorthollant* in the Rijksmuseum and Allard Pierson, for example, influence our reading of both documents. In the Rijksmuseum copy, the reader's eyes are more directly drawn to the map image and the objects contained in it, whereas in the Allard Pierson copy there is a greater chance that her/his attention will be drawn to the abundant information in the decorative borders, which therefore function either as an aid or as a threshold. A user who is interested in the landscape patterns of North Holland around 1600 would benefit most from studying the first copy; anyone curious about the production or design of the document would do better to examine the second.

A different production motive and intended use explain the difference in perimap between the two copies. It is likely that Herman Allertsz Koster marketed two versions of the wall map, one without and one with decorative borders and a title strip. The latter edition was of course more expensive, and we can assume that the buyers were willing to pay a lot more for it and may have wanted to show off their wealth and status through their purchase. Both copies are in good condition, which implies that they have been extremely well cared for over time and may hardly have been used. We can rule out any possibility that they were ever hung as wall maps for any length of time – they would have been exposed to light, damp and other possible damage. Sadly there is no surviving documentation about Allertsz Koster's intentions and about the actual use(s)

of the maps, and in this respect we cannot get much further than formulating hypotheses, a situation that applies to many old maps.

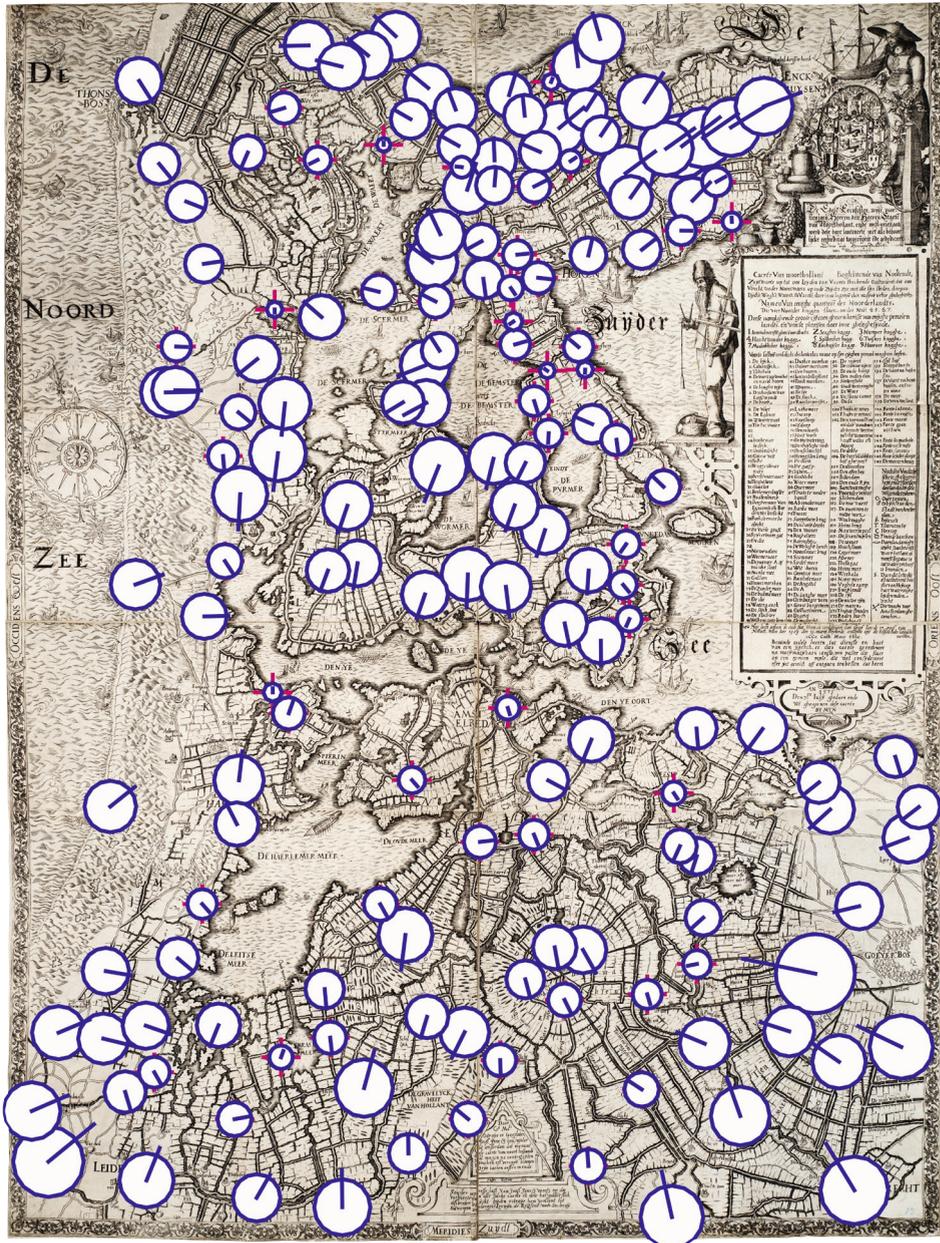
Might Allertsz Koster have wanted to be a trendsetter? According to Dirk Blonk, his *Caerte van Noorthollant* was a 'trailblazer' for later wall maps because of the nature of the decorative borders.³¹ Günter Schilder, however, regarded Jodocus I Hondius (1563-1612) as an important founding father and innovator with regard to the addition of decorative borders on maps.³² Hondius and his brother-in-law Pieter van den Keere (1571-c. 1646) are said to have introduced decorations of this kind into the Amsterdam map-making process in the early seventeenth century. Such statements only stand up to scrutiny when they are placed in a broader context, in this case by way of comparative research into decorative borders around early modern (wall) maps. Thanks to the strong cartobibliographical tradition in the Netherlands, study material is readily available.³³ Hence there is a solid basis for conducting more in-depth research, to discover trends and conventions and to test hypotheses.

One standard practice was that mapmakers and publishers usually emphasized that their products were good, accurate and reliable, and that they therefore showed real geographical contours, through all kinds of rhetorical tricks.³⁴ Close reading of the perimap shows that Bilhamer and Allertsz Koster also played this game and actively promoted their *Caerte van Noorthollant*. In the elaborate title in the cartouche – in the perimap – Bilhamer explains that he showed every town, village, dyke, water feature and canal 'na syne rechte gheleghe[nhey]t' – that is to say, where they were supposed to be. The mapmaker praised his product as an accurate and hence reliable map. Whether that is actually correct cannot simply be read from the map image.³⁵ It has recently been stated

that the southwestern part of North Holland is distorted on the map and that the mapmaker may have drawn this region 'with the naked eye'.³⁶ Elsewhere we read that the *Caerte van Noorthollant* was made according to the most modern geometric insights, which led to a map of exceptionally high quality.³⁷

An analysis of the planimetric accuracy of the map using *MapAnalyst* gives a nuanced image (fig. 6).³⁸ The largest distortions (see the circles with the largest radiuses) by far can be found in the margins of the map image, e.g. at the top and at the bottom of the map. There are two possible explanations for this. Along the coastline and the

Fig. 6
Results of the analysis of the planimetric accuracy by using *MapAnalyst*. More than 150 points have been selected. The larger the radius of the circle, the less accurate is the map in those places.



border area between Holland and Utrecht many places ought to have been depicted further inland. So it would appear that Bilhamer stretched the map image a little there. At the top of the map we see the opposite phenomenon. Here Bilhamer may have presented the map image in a more compact way, because he wanted enough space for the perimap (the cartouche and decorations) – or because the size of the printing sheets dictated this.

Herman Allertsz Koster had apparently found fault with Bilhamer's map. Even though it is very likely that he reused Bilhamer's copper plates for his own edition, he made it clear in the title in the decorative borders that the map was 'in vele plaetsen ghebetert' (improved in many places) and moreover was extended with a 'thorough' description of North Holland and West Friesland.³⁹ At the start of this detailed description, top left in the decorative borders, he further stated that 'alles op zijne mate en met groote neersticheyt [was] gheteeckent' (everything was in its measure and drawn with great diligence). In the decorative border on the right side, he added the little inset map of 'de resterende noorderhoek', for which Bilhamer had provided no space. In Allertsz Koster's opinion, Bilhamer's map was thus far from perfect, which justified his improvements to it and at the same time lent his new edition authority.

Map producers were also able to influence the interpretation and perception of maps by way of an index and a legend. Research into indices and legends can provide insight into the ways in which map information was classified, and why that happened. Bilhamer's map and index (fig. 7), for example, contain three different types of numbers and symbols: big numbers, which indicate the large 'quartieren' (districts) of West Friesland, then smaller numbers for the smaller parts

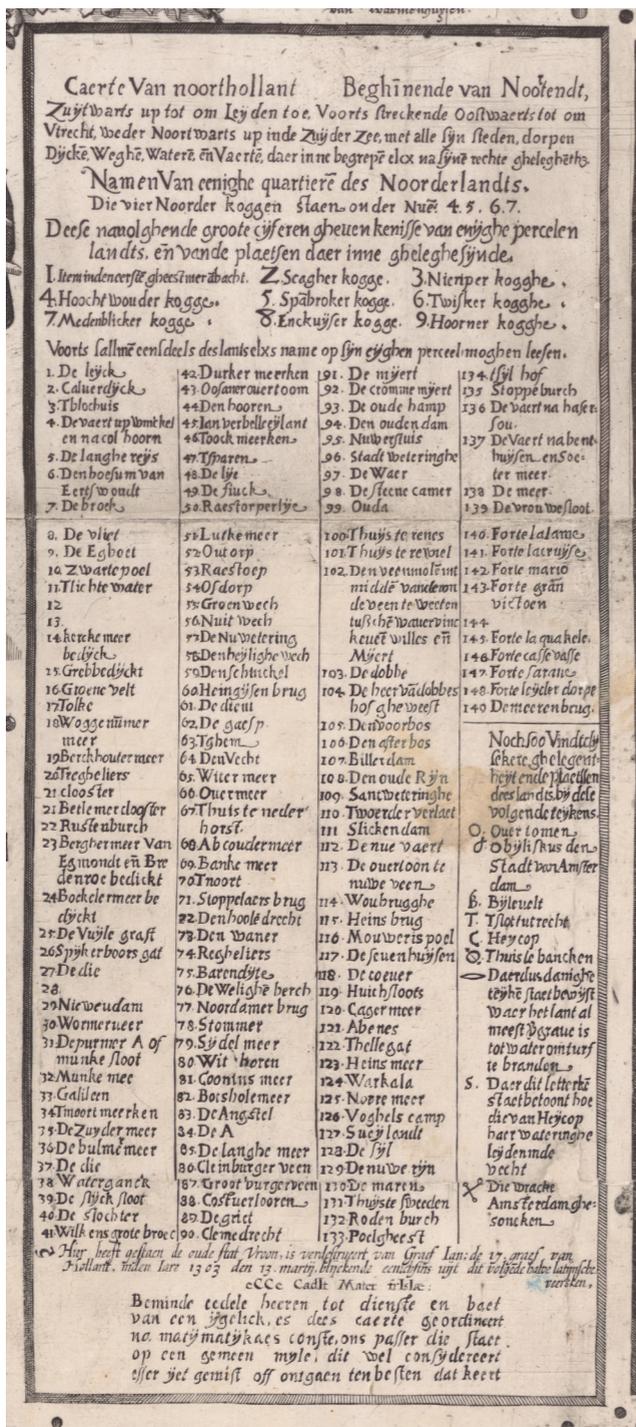


Fig. 7
Index and legend
of the Caerte van
Noorthollant (fig. 1),

detail from the upper
two sections (inv. nos.
RP-P-AO-7-2-1 and 2).

of the country, and finally 'teykens' (symbols) which indicate a dozen special places (among them a portage, a shipwreck and the obelisks of Amsterdam). A structured index and legend of this kind provide a degree of hierarchy in the map image, in the depicted landscape and society, which is then imposed upon the map reader. It is noticeable that the four important districts and their 'koggen' (subdivisions) of West Friesland are literally (in the index) and figuratively (with large numbers) at the top, whereas the map also shows other parts of Holland. Earlier on we pointed out that only the coat of arms of West Friesland was depicted, along with those of the seven towns of the Northern Quarter.

This emphasis on West Friesland and the Northern Quarter is strongly expressed in the decorative borders with the 'thorough' but above all laudatory description of the area, and also in the sentence with the accompanying maxim that Allertsz Koster added below the index of place names: 'here stood the old town of Vronen, destroyed by Count Jan, the seventeenth Count of Holland, on 13 March 1303, somewhat evident from the following half Latin inscription: *ecce Cadit Mater friIsiae*'.⁴⁹ In front of the sentence there is a symbol, which can be found in the map to the northwest of Alkmaar, just below 'Banckeraes', the present-day Sint Pancras; both toponyms are more recent names for the former village of Vronen. Here, on 27 March 1297, a battle was fought between the West Frisians and the Hollanders, under the command of Jan III van Renesse (c. 1268-1304), the chief counsellor of the thirteenth Count of Holland Jan I (1284-1299). The Hollanders were victorious and this put an end to the West Frisian Wars. West Friesland became part of the County of Holland, the village of Vronen was destroyed and many West Frisians were killed. A mass grave was



dug in Vronen and a large wooden cross was placed on it bearing the above-mentioned Latin chronogram. Its precise translation and meaning remain open to discussion: it means either 'Here fell the mother of Friesland' or 'See the mother of Friesland fall'.⁴¹ In spite of the disappearance of Vronen the vague outlines of the old village are nonetheless shown on the map (fig. 8).

Why this focus on the Northern Quarter and on West Frisian history? Unfortunately, the map producers do not give any explanation. The examination and interpretation of the epimap in the following paragraph provide a new hypothesis. But it is also possible that Bilhamer and Allertsz Koster copied the information (and views) from other authors or map producers. Comparative research into the indices, legends, decorations and contents of other maps of North Holland and/or West Friesland should reveal whether the *Caerte van Noorthollant* was unusual or conventional in this respect.

Fig. 8
The village of Vronen (under Banckeraes) on the *Caerte van Noorthollant* (fig. 1), detail from the middle section (inv. no. RP-P-AO-7-2).

Epimap: From Map to Context

Focusing on the paramap not only brings us closer to the map producers and their motives, but also makes it possible to study various kinds of map response. Here we enter the realm of the epimap: the external information that is not or is no longer in the immediate vicinity of the map, but is directly related to it. In our search for external documents relating to Bilhamer's *Caerte van Noorthollant* we encounter an important heuristic problem of map history: the strong decontextualization of the maps. In countless archives and libraries, maps, atlases and globes are held in a separate map collection, away from the archival and spatial contexts to which they once belonged. This also applies to the copies of Bilhamer's map in the Rijksmuseum's Print Room and in Allard Pierson.

Examination of the provenance of a map is one of the ways to solve this problem. The documents themselves can provide hints about this particular

form of epimap. Earlier in this article, we made reference to the collector's mark of the Archive of War, which proves that this institution once owned the map. In 1887 part of its collection was moved to the Print Room, where it is now known as the Ottens Atlas.⁴² Leendert Aardoom and Jan Frederik Heijbroek made it clear that the core of this historical topographical collection was put together a century earlier by Reinier II Ottens (1729-1793). Bilhamer's map is in any event referred to in the inventory of the collection drawn up by Ottens in January 1773 (fig. 9): '(Kkaart) van Noordholland – in 6 bladen – 1575 – Joost Jansze' ((Map) of North Holland – in 6 sheets – 1575 – Joost Jansze).⁴³ It is the second item in the seventh section of the inventory, which relates to 'North Holland's northern part'.⁴⁴ The title page of this inventory states that 'everything has been brought together for more than fifty years with very great difficulty and expense and arranged in order by

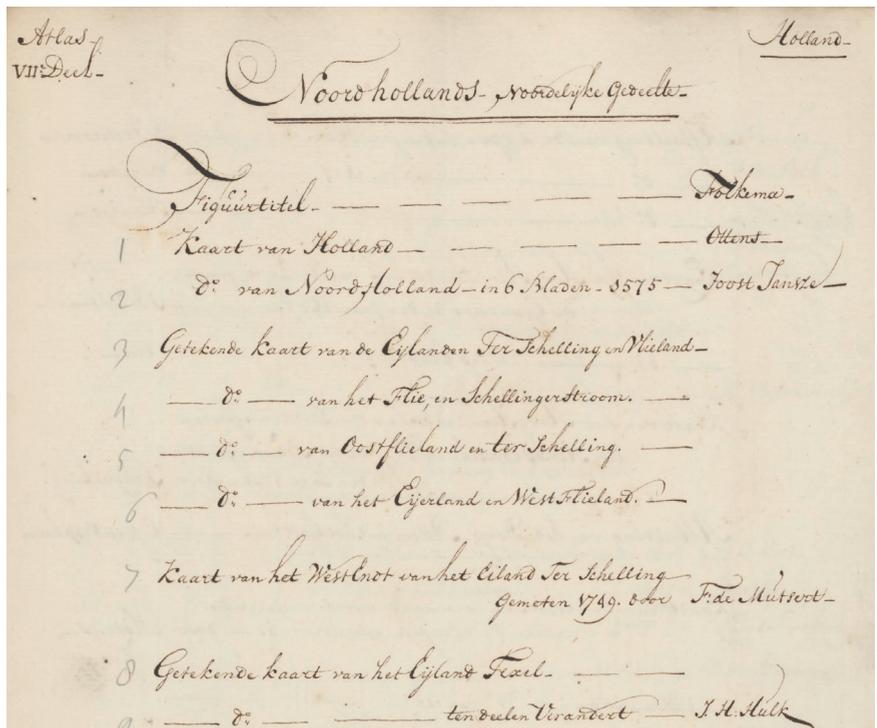


Fig. 9
Mention of the *Caerte van Noorthollant* (second from the top) in an inventory drawn up by Reinier II Ottens in January 1773. The Hague, National Archives of the Netherlands, The Archive of the Stadholders' Secretariat, inv. no. 9.

Reinier Ottens'.⁴⁵ This must be Reinier I Ottens (1698-1750), the uncle of Reinier II, from whom he may have acquired the maps. In 1772 Reinier II sold the collection to Stadholder Willem V (1748-1806) thanks to the intercession of the director of his military cabinet, Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff (1734-1812). After some wanderings, the collection entered the Archive of War and eventually found its way to the Rijksmuseum. This is all we know about when and how Bilhamer's map ended up in the collection. For the time being, therefore, there are no clues that allow us to trace the map back further in time, as is the case with so many old maps.

Elements of the epimap are often found thanks to specific parts of the perimap, such as the collector's mark. The reference to a printer's patent in the text between the points of the pair of compasses and in the cartouche below it is another example. It tells us that in 1575 Joost Jansz Bilhamer in Antwerp was in receipt of a privilege or patent to print the map, granted by Luis de Zúñiga y Requesens. At the end of 1573, Requesens succeeded the Duke of Alva as governor and commander-in-chief of the army of the Spanish Netherlands. In this capacity he was authorized to grant (or refuse) privileges for printed works, approving the production and protecting it from pirated editions.⁴⁶ As Amsterdam was still under Spanish rule in 1575, it made sense for Bilhamer to apply to Requesens for the privilege. Regrettably, we are unable to find the actual patent; it may not have survived.⁴⁷ This patent had nothing to do with Allertsz Koster's new edition of 1608, but related only to Bilhamer's 1575 map.

Biographies of map producers are also considered to be elements of the epimap, because their track record and body of work may have had a great impact on the production of the map. A great deal of information about the

life of Joost Jansz Bilhamer has been collected and documented.⁴⁸ During his life he made a number of maps of the sieges of Leiden and of Haarlem, from which, together with the Spanish printing privilege, some have speculated that he was a mapmaker in the service of the Spanish and identified the *Caerte van Noorthollant* as a military map (see below). We know far less about Herman Allertsz Koster, apart from the fact that – in addition to being sexton of the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam and a 'zealous' Counter Remonstrant – he was active in that city as a printer and publisher of maps, prints and books, in which he clearly presented an anti-Spanish view.⁴⁹ Allertsz Koster came from Warmenhuizen in West Friesland, a village to the north of Alkmaar and not very far from the previously mentioned village of Vronen, which is also shown on his edition of Bilhamer's map.⁵⁰

Actions undertaken with the map also ultimately fall under the epimap, but these ephemeral forms of map use and response seldom leave behind clear traces. The first cartouche shows that Allertsz Koster dedicated his edition to the States of North Holland (*sic*, Holland) and West Friesland. The Westfries Museum in Hoorn has a mounted copy of the *Caerte van Noorthollant*, which may have been gifted to this regional assembly (fig. 10). If that had been the case, then there would have been an act of transfer or gift, but no traces of this have been found to date – research in the archives of the States of Holland and West Friesland may perhaps generate some results.⁵¹ The Westfries Museum's copy is badly damaged, contains nail holes and has been put into a wooden frame, from which it can be deduced that the wall map may have been hung on a wall, for example in the building of the Statencollege in Hoorn (where the museum is now located), but as yet there is no further information.⁵² And here, too, this case is illustrative:

> Fig. 10
 JOOST JANSZ
 BILHAMER, *Caerte
 van Noorthollant ...*,
 (Amsterdam),
 HERMAN ALLERTSZ
 KOSTER, 1608,
 mounted six-sheet
 wall map with title
 strip and side strips.
 Etching and engraving
 on paper, glued on
 to fabric and framed,
 1050 x 1160 mm.
 Hoorn, Westfries
 Museum, inv. no.
 13.271/ Westfries
 Archief, inv. no. 6bi.

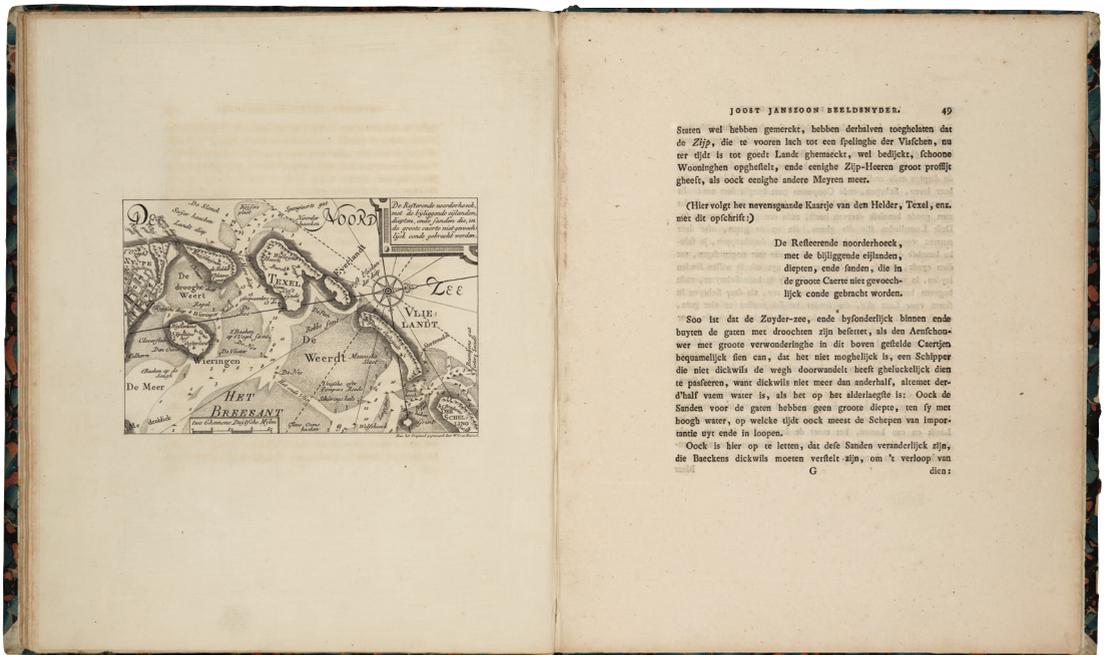
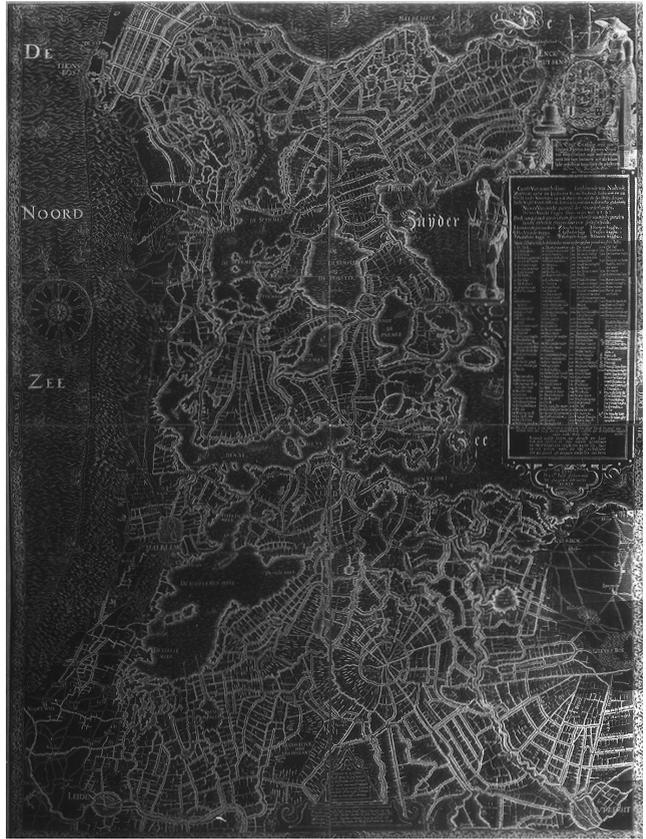


map historians often do not know where they should start their search for the epimap and are faced with an immense mountain of (often unexplored) archival material and printed matter.⁵³

Delayed Epimap

The epimap is not limited to the contemporary actions and reactions with physical copies of a map. Just as Genette placed the different kinds of paratext in time and made a distinction between 'prior paratexts' (texts that are distributed earlier than the original text, like announcements, for example),

'original paratexts' (paratexts which are created at the same time as the original text), 'later paratexts' (for example, a new foreword for the second edition of the original text) and 'delayed paratexts' (paratexts which appear considerably later than the original text),⁵⁴ we can also differentiate elements of the paramap in time. All the short or longer texts written about Bilhamer's map over the course of the centuries can in principle be regarded as 'delayed epimap'. New epimaps can always be added – the present article is a concrete example of this. Later reproductions, like the negatives made of the Allard Pierson copy in the late twentieth century, are also a form of delayed epimap (fig. 11). Another recent example are the explanations added by Dirk Blonk to the facsimile edition of the map in 2002, which refer to other delayed epimaps.⁵⁵ Blonk, for instance, made reference to secondary, twentieth-century literature which included statements about the quality of Bilhamer's work.⁵⁶



< Fig. 11
Negative on a transparent plastic film of the *Caerte van Noorthollant*, made in the second half of the twentieth century, 13.2 x 10.2 cm. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, sign. OTM: HB-KZL O.K. 13.

An early example of a delayed epimap is the enlarged publication in book form of the decorative borders, printed in Amsterdam in 1620.⁵⁷ In 1831 the text and prints of the decorative borders were also included as an appendix to a 'historical report' by Jacobus Koning (1770-1832) about Joost Jansz Bilhamer and 'the things he made' (fig. 12).⁵⁸ In 1778, Bilhamer's map had been engraved again by Jan van Jagen (1709-1800)

(fig. 13). It is worth noting that Van Jagen marketed his copy as a 'renewed map', which however followed Bilhamer's map 'with all accuracy'. Nevertheless it is also patently obvious that Van Jagen was self-promoting. The new edition of the map was published in response to a booklet about the map by Joannes Le Francq van Berkhey (1729-1812) (fig. 14), in which, among other things, the author stated that Bilhamer was

< Fig. 12
JACOBUS KONING, *Historisch berigt wegens Joost Janszoon Beeldsnyder, en de door hem vervaardigde stukken*, Amsterdam 1831, pp. 48-49. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, sign. UBM: KVB NV 1272:2a.

Fig. 13
JAN VAN JAGEN after JOOST JANSZ BILHAMER, *Caerte van Noorthollant ...*, two sheets stuck together, 1778. Etching and engraving, 970 x 694 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-AO-7-65.





^ Fig. 14

JOANNES
LE FRANCQ
VAN BERKHEY,
*Noodig berigt,
wegens een oude
kaart van
Noordholland,
Amsterdam 1778,
p. 3.
KB - Royal Library
of the Netherlands,
sign. 444 L 62.*

v Fig. 15

Announcement
of the edition of
the *Caerte van
Noorthollant*
(fig. 13) and publica-
tion by Le Francq
van Berkhey (fig. 14),
*Amsterdamsche
Courant*, 11 March 1777,
p. 2.
The Hague,
KB - Royal Library
of the Netherlands,
Delpher.

sympathetic towards the Spanish.⁵⁹ In order to boost sales of the study, an article was published in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of 11 March 1777 (fig. 15) announcing the reissue of 'eene zeer oude en ongemeen raare kaart' (a very old and unusually rare map).⁶⁰ This time no reference was made to innovation and accuracy, only to age and rarity.

By way of Le Francq van Berkhey and Koning we come across even more texts in our search that mention Bilhamer's map. These gentlemen, for example, referred to passages about the map and the mapmaker in the work of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians like Johannes Isacius Pontanus (1571-1639), Hendrick Jacobsz Soeteboom (c. 1614-after 1678) and Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773).⁶¹ It is not our intention here to further discuss and summarize this expanding chain of actions and reactions. Above all it is essential to note that there are potentially many forms of response to be found about every old map, but not every form of response is always relevant to be included in research.

A second, more important conclusion is that the epimap greatly influences our interpretation of an old map. A map is not just a map; the entire discourse around it also plays an important role and often makes itself felt. The aforementioned advertisement in the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, for instance, makes us realize that we have an unusual document here, even though we may not find the map that attractive or accurate.⁶² Le Francq van Berkhey stated that Bilhamer had apparently sympathized with the Spanish at the beginning of the Eighty Years' War, which would imply that we are dealing with a spy, turncoat or traitor here. As far as we have been able to ascertain, this infor-

In den Boekwinkel van YNTEMA en TIEBÖEL is te bekomen: Een berigt wegens eene zeer oude en ongemeene raare Kaart van Noord-Holland en Westvriesland, in 1575 gemaakt door JOOST JANS BEELDSNYDER; om dezelve op nieuw, by Intekening, in 't Koper te laten brengen en uit te geeven, onder opzigt van den Heer J. LE FRANCQ VAN BERKHEY, M. Dr.

mation stems from remarks made by Pontanus in 1614. In his description of the city of Amsterdam (fig. 16) this historian stated that the Duke of Alva wanted to bring the Northern Quarter back 'to obedience and subservience again' and hence in 1571 he directed Bilhamer 'to map the entire region of that quarter with Waterland for him'. And Pontanus added: 't welck oock Joost ghedaen heeft' (which Joost duly did).⁶³ Pontanus wrote this forty years after the events and did not add any source references. We do not know whether he was right, because as yet no confirmation has been found in contemporary sources.

The delayed epimap may continue to spread and keep influencing new map users. Pontanus's story about Alva's commission and the discourse that the 'Dutchman' Bilhamer worked for the 'Spaniards' continues to be repeated. In a very recent book Bilhamer is called 'a cartographer in the service of the Spanish' whose map was made 'for a military purpose'.⁶⁴ Even though Bilhamer's original map has not survived and this interpretation of it is not supported by any contemporary document, this epimap proves to be very persistent. Perhaps even so persistent that map readers become 'blinded' by it and it hinders other readings. However, anyone who takes the trouble to closely examine the perimap and epimap of Allertsz Koster's edition of 1608 may discover other interpretations. Above all, we were struck by the emphasis on the Northern Quarter and West Friesland: see the map titles, the coats of arms, the index and legend and the reference to the battle in Vronen. Add to that the fact that Allertsz Koster came from Warmenhuizen, not that far from the former Vronen. Did he want to emphasize the position and identity of the Northern Quarter and West Friesland in relation to the southern parts of Holland with his edition in 1608? In that case, his map should perhaps be



seen as a means of promotion or status symbol rather than as a military map. Further research into the epimap, for example its distribution or its use as a wall map in the assembly room of the Statencollege in Hoorn, may confirm or refute this hypothesis.

Conclusion

We hope to have shown that the paracartographic approach can be a useful addition to more traditional research, in which old maps are mainly used for their documentary or illustrative values and in which their reliability is often regarded as the most important methodological issue. In this article we have shifted the focus to marginal, sometimes seemingly trivial elements in and around the map: the perimap and the epimap. Anyone only seeking

Fig. 16
Mention of Joost Jansz and his map in JOHANNES ISACIUS PONTANUS, *Historische Beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coopstadt Amsterdam ...*, Amsterdam 1614, p. 287, second column.
KB - Royal Library of the Netherlands, sign. 496 D 11.

spatial information may experience this paramap as an annoying or even unnecessary barrier. On the other hand, those who take the time to pause on this threshold can find the route to contextual information which raises questions about the production process and the map producers' intentions, about the framing and composition of the map's contents, about the underlying views of the world, mankind and society, or about the responses to the map over the course of time. In the absence of efficient search tools and comparative research, however, these questions are not always easy to answer. Nevertheless, they do help to place the map in a broader social and cultural context.

One crucial insight of the paracartographic approach is the rejection of the illusion that a map is no more than an isolated, objective representation of reality, stripped of all context accumulated during its production, consumption and distribution. Focusing on the paramap shows that a map is 'only' a part of the broader mapping process that is constantly moving and never completed. Bilhamer's map, too, continues to fascinate new readers and encourages the production of new ('delayed') epimaps. This article and our new hypothesis are additions

to this process, as are our correspondence with the editors of the *Rijksmuseum Bulletin*, the reviewers' assessment and our readers' reactions.

Perimaps and epimaps have a very strong influence on the interpretations of old maps, although sometimes this influence manifests itself quietly, certainly when a much-delayed epimap has been produced. For this reason the paracartographic approach is not only an intellectual exercise, it is also part of a consciousness-raising process: anyone who takes time to study the paramap closely is able to interpret stubborn and persistent epimaps and open her/himself up for new insights. With regard to the 1608 edition of the *Caerte van Noorthollant*, we came up with a new hypothesis about the context of its production and use. Whereas the arguments in favour of labelling Bilhamer's original map as a military, pro-Spanish map are not strong enough, we actually found a series of clues in the perimap and epimap that lead us to regard Allertsz Koster's reissue as a means of promotion for the Northern Quarter and West Friesland. This is why we did not find the paramap a threshold, but by contrast an important tool that allowed us to gain new insights into the map and the mapping process.

ABSTRACT

In what contexts were old maps made and used? What values did map users attach to documents like these, in their own time and afterwards? In this article we apply the 'paracartographic approach' to the edition of Joost Jansz Bilhamer's *Caerte van Noorthollant* from 1608 to answer questions about the socio-cultural context, meaning and reception of old maps. First, we analyze the perimap (elements in the immediate surroundings of the map, e.g. cartouches, titles, legends) and then search for different forms of the epimap (elements outside the immediate surroundings of the map, e.g. reproductions, provenance notes, patents), among other things by studying contextual documentation about the production and consumption of the map. We explain the merits of the interpretation of the perimap and epimap and, thanks to the analysis, come up with a new hypothesis about the production and use of the map: as a means of promoting the Northern Quarter and West Friesland. With this case study we hope to expand and update knowledge of the Rijksmuseum's cartographic collection and to encourage scholars, curators, collectors and map lovers to look beyond the spatial data old maps provide.

NOTES

- * Our thanks to Ferjan Ormeling, Tim Soens, Anne-Maria van Egmond and the anonymous reviewers of the *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* for their comments on earlier versions of this article. We would also like to thank Chet Van Duzer, Saskia Scheltjens, Marieke de Jong, Erik Hinterding, Nina Geerdink, Alexander Soetaert, Paul Hoftijzer, Alice van der Wiel and Pieter Kuiper for their useful suggestions.
- 1 Laurien van der Werff, 'Kartografische en topografische collecties van het Rijksprentenkabinet', *Caert-Thresoor* 36 (2017), pp. 28-29.
 - 2 Cornelis Koeman, 'Levels of Historical Evidence in Early Maps (with Examples)', *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968), pp. 75-80.
 - 3 Recent examples for the Low Countries are Iason Jongepier et al., 'Assessing the Planimetric Accuracy of Historical Maps (Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries): New Methods and Potential for Coastal Landscape Reconstruction', *The Cartographic Journal* 53 (2016), pp. 114-32; Soetkin Verwust et al., 'A Study of the Local Geometric Accuracy of Count de Ferraris's *Carte de cabinet* (1770s) Using Differential Distortion Analysis', *The Cartographic Journal* 55 (2018), pp. 16-35.
 - 4 The importance of the context in map-historical research has recently been very strongly emphasized in Peter Barber, "'Context is everything ...': Ruminations on Developments in the History of Cartography since the 1970s and Their Consequences', *Imago Mundi* 72 (2020), pp. 131-47.
 - 5 Jan Werner et al. (eds.), *Kaart van Noord-Holland door Joost Jansz. Beeldsnijder 1575|1608*, Alphen aan den Rijn 2002.
 - 6 Cornelis Koeman, Günter Schilder, Marco van Egmond and Peter van der Krogt, 'Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500-ca. 1672', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Chicago/London 2007, vol. II, pp. 1296-1383.
 - 7 Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Why Theory in the History of Cartography?', *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996), pp. 198-203.
 - 8 Cordell D.K. Yee, 'A Reaction to the Reaction against Scientism: On the Power and Limits of the Textual Analysis for Maps', in David Woodward, Catherine Delano-Smith and Cordell D.K. Yee (eds.), *Plantejaments i objectius d'una història universal de la cartografia | Approaches and Challenges in a Worldwide History of Cartography*, Barcelona 2001, pp. 203-22, esp. p. 203.
 - 9 Eileen Reeves, 'Reading Maps', in Martin Dodge Rob Kitchin and Chris Perkins (eds.), *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*, Chichester NJ 2011, pp. 332-38.
 - 10 Chris Perkins, 'Critical Cartography', in Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, London/New York 2018, pp. 80-89, esp. p. 80.
 - 11 John Brian Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map', *Cartographica* 26 (1989), pp. 1-20.
 - 12 The Dutch *Kartografisch Woordenboek*, for example, defines a map as a 'graphical representation, usually on a flat surface, of objects and phenomena on the surface of the Earth or another heavenly body, in their spatial context'; see E.S. Bos et al. (eds.), *Kartografisch woordenboek*, Zwolle 1991, entry 02.01.1.
 - 13 See Rob Kitchin, Justin Gleeson and Martin Dodge, 'Unfolding Mapping Practices: A New Epistemology for Cartography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38 (2013), pp. 480-96.
 - 14 Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Cambridge 1997, p. 5. The original French version was published by Seuil in Paris in 1987.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, 10.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, 1-2.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, 7.
 - 18 Denis Wood and John Fels, *The Natures of Maps: Cartographic Constructions of the Natural World*, Chicago 2008, p. 8.
 - 19 Some exceptions for the Low Countries are James A. Welu, 'The Sources and Development of Cartographic Ornamentation in the Netherlands', in David Woodward (ed.), *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, Chicago/London 1987, pp. 147-73; Jan Frederik Heijbroek and Marijn Schapelhouman (eds.), *Kunst in kaart: Decoratieve aspecten van de cartografie*, Utrecht 1989; Marcel P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570-1641): Characteristics and Development of a Sample of On Verso Map Texts*, Utrecht (diss. University of Utrecht) 2009; Martin Hendriks, *Isaac van Geelkercken (1615-1672): Landmeter, cartograaf en vestingingenieur in Gelderland en Noorwegen*, Heerlen (diss. Open University) 2020.
 - 20 Matthew H. Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, Chicago 2019, p. 37.

- 21 Peter van der Krogt, *Het vervaardigen van een Cartobibliografie. Cartobibliografisch werkcollege*, Utrecht 2006, p. 7.
- 22 For an overview of the other copies, see Werner et al. 2002 (note 5), p. 34.
- 23 Bos et al. 1991 (note 12), entry 02.01.13.
- 24 Dirk Blonk, 'De kaart van Joost Jansz. Beeldsnijder in historisch-cartografisch perspectief', in Werner et al. 2002 (note 5), pp. 15-24, esp. p. 15; Frederik Caspar Wieder, 'Merkwaardigheden der oude cartographie van Noord-Holland', *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 35 (1918), p. 503. An imitation decoration with the inscription *SEPTENTRION Noort* was added for the 1971 facsimile edition of the map, see A. J. Kölker, *De kaart van Holland door Joost Jansz, 1575, opnieuw uitgegeven*, Purmerend 1971.
- 25 Frits Horsten, 'Appendix 11: Transcriptie van de randtekst uit 1608', in Werner et al. 2002 (note 5), pp. 35-39, esp. p. 39.
- 26 Ron Guleij (ed.), *Het grote kaartenboek: Vijf eeuwen cartografie*, Zwolle/The Hague, 2022, p. 191.
- 27 See the Fondation Custodia website Frits Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins et d'Estampes*, no. L. 195 <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/5558/total/1> (consulted 15 July 2022).
- 28 Matthew H. Edney, 'Map History: Discourse and Process', in Kent and Vujakovic (eds.) 2018 (note 10), pp. 68-79, esp. p. 72.
- 29 In our opinion, Edney's approach is in line with the technological, compositional and social modalities that art historian Gillian Rose discerned from the critical study and interpretation of images. See Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, London 2001, pp. 16-17.
- 30 Edney 2018 (note 28), p. 78.
- 31 Blonk 2002 (note 24), p. 19.
- 32 Günter G. Schilder and Klaus Stopp, *Monumenta cartographica Neerlandica*, vol. 6: *Dutch folio-sized single sheet maps with decorative borders, 1604-60*, Alphen aan den Rijn 2000, p. 55-81.
- 33 Various cartobibliographical monographs have been published, particularly in the *Explokart Studies in the History of Cartography* (for an overview, see <https://explokart.eu/explokartreeks/>). We also mention Günter Schilder's *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica* (9 vols., 1986-2013), the *Atlantes Neerlandici* by Cornelis Koeman (5 vols., 1967-71), *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici* by Peter van der Krogt (8 vols., 1997-) and various publications by Uitgeverij Canaletto.
- 34 Genevieve Carlton, 'The World Drawn from Nature: Imitation and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Cartography', *Intellectual History Review* 24 (2014), pp. 21-37, esp. 21.
- 35 In principle the reliability of a map can only be determined on the basis of painstaking research into the different kinds of accuracy. See in this regard Michael J. Blakemore and John Brian Harley, *Concepts in the History of Cartography: A Review and Perspective*, Toronto 1980, pp. 54-75.
- 36 Guleij (ed.) 2022 (note 26), p. 190.
- 37 Henk van Nierop, *Het verraad van het Noorderkwartier: Oorlog, terreur en recht in de Nederlandse Opstand*, Amsterdam 1999, p. 24; Gabri van Tussenbroek, *De houten eeuw van Amsterdam: Bouwen, werken en wonen in de middeleeuwse stad 1275-1578*, Amsterdam 2023, pp. 298, 300.
- 38 With regard to the use of *MapAnalyst*, see Bernhard Jenny, Adrian Weber and Lorenz Hurni, 'Visualising the Planimetric Accuracy of Historical Maps with MapAnalyst', *Cartographica* 42 (2007), pp. 89-94; Bernhard Jenny and Elger Heere, 'Visualisering van de planimetrische nauwkeurigheid van oude kaarten met MapAnalyst', *Caert-Thresoor* 27 (2008), pp. 5-10.
- 39 As neither Bilhamer's own hand-drawn and printed maps nor the original copper plates have survived, we cannot evaluate the precise nature and extent of the improvements made by Allertsz Koster. Various lettering though can be determined. Most of the lettering was executed in typical sixteenth-century script and probably points to Bilhamer's hand. The cursive, uniform script indicates another, newer hand, possibly that of Allertsz Koster or his engraver. See Blonk 2002 (note 24), p. 18.
- 40 'Hier heeft gestaen de oude stat Vroon, is verdestruuert van graaf Jan, de 17[de] graef van Hollant, in den jare 1303 den 13 Martii, blijckende eenichsins uijt dit volgende halve Latijnsche veersken: ecce CadIt Mater frIsIae'. This little piece of text is written in italics and is therefore attributed to Allertsz Koster (see note 39).
- 41 Joost Vorst, *De makers van Holland: En hun herkomst ten tijde van de Grote Ontginning tussen 900 en 1300*, Leiden 2023 (MA thesis University of Leiden), p. 50;

- Elizabeth den Hartog, "In wintertijt in Drechterlant ...". About sarcophagus lids, churches and the Holland-Friesian wars', *Holland, Historisch Tijdschrift* 31 (1999), pp. 210-18, esp. p. 218; Bert Buitink, *De geschiedenis van Sint Pancras tot ca. 1900: Opkomst en ondergang van Vronen, ontstaan en ontwikkeling van Sint Pancras*, Sint Pancras 2013, p. 70.
- 42 Leendert Aardoom and Jan Frederik Heijbroek, 'De "Atlas van Halma", een verzameling van Reinier Ottens en stadhouder Willem v', *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 39 (1991), pp. 263-82; Jan Frederik Heijbroek, 'De Atlas Ottens: Een stadhouderlijke prentcollectie "teruggevonden" in het Rijksprentenkabinet', *Antiek* 28 (1993), pp. 134-45.
- 43 The Hague, National Archives of the Netherlands (hereafter NL-HANA), The Archive of the Stadholders' Secretariat (accession no. 1.01.50), inv. no. 9.
- 44 This explains the later signature on the map: RP-P-AO-7-2 stands for Rijksprentenkabinet (Print Room) – Print – Atlas Ottens – folder 7 – map 2. We thank Erik Hinterding for the information.
- 45 'Alles zedert meer dan vijftig jaaren met zeer veel moeite en kosten bij een verzameld en in orde gebracht door Reinier Ottens'. NL-HANA, Secretariat (1.01.50), inv. no. 9; see also Aardoom and Heijbroek 1991 (note 42), p. 268.
- 46 Prosper Verheyden, 'Drukkersoctrooien in de 16e eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* 8 (1910), pp. 203-26, 269-278; Michel Baelde, 'De toekenning van drukkeroctrooien door de Geheime Raad in de zestiende eeuw', *De Gulden Passer* 40 (1962), pp. 19-58.
- 47 A search in the inventory of the archives of the Secret Council was unsuccessful, see Micheline Soenen, *Inventaire analytique des documents relatifs à l'impression et au commerce des livres (1546-1702) contenus dans les cartons 1276 à 1280 du Conseil privé espagnol*, Brussels 1983.
- 48 Bert Kölker, 'De kaartmaker: Joost Jansz. Beeldsnijder (ca. 1521-1590)', in Werner et al. 2002 (note 5), pp. 6-14; see in the last instance also Van Tussenbroek 2023 (note 37), pp. 294-300.
- 49 Pieter A. Tiele, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten verzameling van F. Muller*, Amsterdam 1858, Appendix, p. 5.
- 50 See 'Herman Allertsz Koster', Ecartico: <https://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/persons/53591> (consulted 9 May 2023).
- 51 A quick search in the inventory of the archives of the States of Holland and West Friesland provided no useful leads, see W.E. Meiboom, *Inventaris van het archief van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland, 1572-1795*, The Hague 1991. The Westfries Museum has only been able to tell us that the map was once transferred to the museum by Hoorn City Council; we have yet to discover further information about the provenance. With thanks to Alice van der Wiel for the information.
- 52 As far as we know no thorough examination of the copy in the Westfries Museum has been made to date.
- 53 The ongoing *Maps in Context* project by the Explokart research group of the University of Amsterdam offers a solution for this situation, by unlocking contemporaneous texts about maps, mapmakers and mapping through a searchable web database, see <https://mapsincontext.nl/>.
- 54 Genette 1997 (note 14), pp. 5-6.
- 55 Werner et al. 2002 (note 5).
- 56 Blonk 2002 (note 24), note 152.
- 57 *Grondighe Beschryvinghe van Noort-Hollandt ende West-Vrieslant, met de aenligghende Landen van Aemstellant, Kennemer-lant etc. ...*, Amsterdam 1620.
- 58 Jacobus Koning, *Historisch berigt wegens Joost Janszoon Beeldsnijder, en de door hem vervaardigde stukken*, Amsterdam 1831.
- 59 Joannes Le Francq van Berkhey, *Noodig berigt, wegens een oude kaart van Noord-Holland, enz. in 1575 vervaardigd, door Joost Jansz. Beeldsnijder, op nieuw uitgegeven by Yntema en Tieboel*, Amsterdam 1778.
- 60 *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 11 March 1777, p. 2.
- 61 Respectively: Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Historische Beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde Coop-stadt Amsterdam ...*, Amsterdam 1614, p. 287; Hendrick Jacobsz Soeteboom, *De Nederlandsche Beroerten en Oorlogen ontrent het Ye en aen de Zaen*, Amsterdam 1695, pp. 53-54; Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten ...*, derde stuk, Amsterdam 1767, p. 208.
- 62 For example, we know of few coloured copies and the map style is a little rough. The planimetric accuracy is not that high, and certainly not uniform, as noted above.
- 63 Pontanus 1614 (note 61), p. 287.
- 64 Guleij (ed.) 2022 (note 26), p. 190.