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Biblical Geography

Maps in Sixteenth-Century Printed Bibles from the Low Countries

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Abstract

Maps in Dutch printed Bibles made their debut when the Bible was first printed in large folio format in the Low Countries. The first complete Dutch Bible in the folio format that appeared on the market, by Jacob van Liesvelt in 1526, already included a map. This was a map of the Exodus, the Israelites' journey through the desert from the land of Egypt to the promised land of Canaan. In the course of the second half of the sixteenth century, additional maps appeared in Bibles published in the Low Countries. In the sixteenth century, maps are found in both Catholic and Protestant Bibles.

Keywords

Dutch printed Bibles – biblical geography – maps in Bibles

1 How It Began

The history of maps in Bibles published in the Low Countries begins in the early part of the third decade of the sixteenth century.¹ It was probably in the

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- ¹ Maps in Bibles are maps that were intended by a publisher to be bound in (at least some of) the copies of his/her Bible edition. Besides maps in Bibles, all kinds of biblical maps circulated, in manuscript and printed form. For (an overview of) maps in Bibles from the Low Countries, I refer the reader to the survey works of C. Delano-Smith & E. Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles 1500–1600. An Illustrated Catalogue* (Genève, 1991) and W.C. Poortman & J. Augusteijn, *Kaarten in Bijbels (16^e–18^e eeuw)* (Zoetermeer, 1995). In addition, articles have been published in various cartographical journals on individual Bible maps, mapmakers, and/or series from the Low Countries, such as C. Delano-Smith, “Maps in Bibles in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Map Collector* 39 (1987), 2–14.

years 1522/1523 that the famous engraver Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), drew a map of the Holy Land (see figure 1).² The map was published, at the earliest, in the second half of 1523. It was a large map that was divided into six woodcuts, with two woodcuts taking up one printed sheet.³ Printed, the complete map consisted of six fitted half landscape pages, three rows deep and two wide. The map was almost square in shape and measured in its entirety 60 cm by 60 cm. The most important arguments for dating the printed map are based on a watermark in the paper on which the map was printed and on the appearance of the word “Blachfeld” (surface) on the map. That word, as a translation of *planities*, was documented for the first time in Luther’s translation of the Pentateuch in the Old Testament, which appeared in print in the middle of 1523.⁴

Cranach based the design of his map almost certainly on existing printed geographical works that contained (adaptations of) Ptolemy’s maps, including those of Asia (*Quarta Asiae Tabula*) in which the characteristic coastline of the Mediterranean Sea also found in Cranach’s maps appears, running from the bottom left to the above right.⁵ Maps other than Ptolemy’s were also included, such as the map of the Holy Land, *Palestina Moderna et Terra Sancta*. Both maps

- 2 For an extensive discussion of this map, see A. Kuntz, “Cranach as Cartographer: The Rediscovered Map of the Holy Land,” *Print Quarterly* 12 (1995), 123–144, and idem, “Zur Wiederauffindung der beiden verschollenen Fragmente aus der ehemaligen Hauslab-Liechtensteinischen Graphik Sammlung,” *Cartographica Helvetica* 9 (1994), 42. See also A. Dürst, “Zur Wiederauffindung der Heiligland-Karte van ca. 1515 von Lucas Cranach dem Älteren,” *Cartographica Helvetica* 3 (1991), 22–27; idem, “Die digitale Umformung von Karten als Forschungshilfe gezeigt am Beispiel der Heiligland-Karte von Lucas Cranach und der entsprechenden Karte in der Zürcher Froschauer-Bibel,” *Cartographica Helvetica* 9 (1994), 43–44; L. Ruitinga, “Die Heiligland-Karte von Lucas Cranach dem Älteren: Das älteste Kartenfragment aus der Kartensammlung der Bibliothek der Freien Universität in Amsterdam,” *Cartographica Helvetica* 9 (1994), 40–41.
- 3 Only a few, incomplete examples of this map are known: 1) Houghton Library, Harvard University (Cambridge/MA, USA), has the top two partial maps (each 30.3 × 19.7 cm; printed together on one sheet); 2. The university library of the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, has the bottom two partial maps (each 30.0 × 19.5 cm); 3. The Hebrew National Library, Eran Laor Map Collection, Jerusalem, has the top four parts and only the top half of the bottom two. For the latter, see: ubvu.vu.nl (s.v. ‘Cranach’).
- 4 The word appears in the 1553 edition in Deuteronomy 4,49—“und alles Blachfeld jenseits des Jordans, gegen den Aufgang (Luther Bible 1545: + der Sonne), bis an das Meer im Blachfelde, unten am Berge Pisga”, and in Deuteronomium 11,30—“welche sind jenseits des Jordans, der Straße nach von (Luther Bible 1545: gegen) der Sonnen Niedergang, im Lande der Kanaaniter, die auf dem Blachfelde wohnen gegen Gilgal über, bei dem Hain More”. In the other parts of Luther’s translation of the Old Testament, which appeared in phases in the years following, the word also appears in 2 Samuel 2,29 and 4,7; Ezekiel 47,8.
- 5 See A. Kuntz, “Cranach as Cartographer: The Rediscovered Map of the Holy Land” (see above, n. 2) 131–134.

route starts on the lower left with the crossing of the Red Sea (in which we also see the Pharaoh arriving with his army) and winds its way through the Sinai mountains. The map depicts various scenes along the route, such as Moses' striking the rock with his staff, the stone tablets, the scene of the golden calf, and Moses and the bronze serpent. From the mountains, the route ultimately leads to the banks of the Jordan. It is striking how precisely Cranach follows the biblical text.

The question arises, of course, as to why Cranach drew this map and why it was then published in such a large and thus expensive format. The ships that can be seen in the upper left corner of the map and the coat-of-arms of the elector Frederick the Wise, have indeed led to the supposition that Cranach drew the map as a tribute to him. The elector, in whose service Cranach had been since 1505, went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1493. Nevertheless, that fact is not or hardly represented in the map itself. It is also possible that Cranach drew his map, which has a strongly biblical character, for Luther's translation work of the Bible. He was friends with Luther and worked with him a great deal. For instance, Cranach made a beautiful series of woodcuts for the biblical book of Revelation for Luther's New Testament in 1522. Luther also had a certain interest in having a map. On 6 March 1522, shortly after Luther's return from the Wartburg in Wittenberg, Philip Melancthon, who assisted Luther in his translation work, wrote to his friend the theologian Caspar Cruciger in Leipzig that Luther wanted to include a map of the Holy Land (*τοπογραφίαν terrae sanctae*) in his forthcoming edition of the New Testament to allow a better understanding of the text (*quo planior lectio sit*). Because he had heard that Reinecke in Leipzig had a beautiful and improved map of Judea (*πίνακα Iudaeae egregium et emendatum*), he therefore asked Cruciger to try to borrow or buy the map.⁷ Cruciger was, apparently, not successful, for there was no map of the Holy Land in Luther's 1522 editions of the New Testament.

Cranach's map of the Holy Land with its clear focus on the route that the people of Israel followed to the Promised Land is linked, as far as content is concerned, primarily to the Old Testament, more than the New. Research into the watermarks has also shown that the same paper was used for a part of the print

and Ideology: Essays on the History of Ancient Israel read at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and the Oud Testamentisch Werkgezelschap, Lincoln 2009, ed. B. Becking & L.L. Grabbe [Old Testament Studies 59] (Leiden, 2011), 31–40, especially 33.

7 *Corpus Reformatorum* 1, ed. C.G. Bretschneider (Halle, 1834), 583, letter 219, and for a short German summary of the content, see H. Scheible, ed., *Melancthon's Briefwechsel 1, Regesten 1–1109 (1514–1530)* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1977), no. 219. See also C. Delano-Smith, "Maps in Bibles in the Sixteenth Century," *The Map Collector* 39 (1987), 3–4, for an almost integral translation of the letter in English.

run of both Cranach's map and Luther's edition of the Pentateuch in 1523. Nevertheless, this large map was not intended to be included nor was it suited for inclusion in Luther's edition of the Bible. Whom or what did the publisher have in view when he had the six woodcuts and the prints prepared? Once again, Philip Melanchthon provides a possible answer.⁸ Melanchthon was very interested in geography and believed strongly in its importance for religion.⁹ For him, a map was indispensable for understanding Holy Scripture, and it could help locate God's activities geographically and the biblical places that played such an important role in faith life, such as daily prayer.¹⁰ Cranach's map of the Holy Land possibly functioned as an aid for those engaged in the study of the Bible, such as those attending classes on (biblical) geography at the University of Wittenberg for example. The study of (biblical) geography was also important for elucidating the doctrine of divine *providentia*. In that view, the world was a succession of divine revelations (or geographical phenomena). God's revelation began in Palestine, thus underscoring the importance of the geographical study of this region, and then spread over the world. For Melanchthon and other Reformed theologians, the Bible was important as the source of knowledge about God's revelation.¹¹

2 The First Bible Map in the Low Countries

Cranach's map was quickly imitated, in the Bible that was published in (1524/1525) by the Zürich printer/publisher Christopher Froschauer. This Bible includes a smaller version in reverse of Cranach's Exodus map, in which East and West have been turned around.¹² Froschauer's map took over Cranach's depiction of the route the people of Israel followed to the Promised Land

8 A. Kuntz, "Cranach as Cartographer: The Rediscovered Map of the Holy Land" (see above, n. 2), 143–144.

9 See, for example, *Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies*, vol. 3 (London, 1979), 93–98 (s.v. Philipp Melanchthon); U. Lindgren, "Philipp Melanchthon und die Geographie," in: *Melanchthon und die Naturwissenschaften seiner Zeit*, ed. G. Frank and S. Rhein [Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten 4] (Sigmaringen, 1998), 239–252.

10 A. Kuntz, "Cranach as Cartographer: The Rediscovered Map of the Holy Land" (see above, n. 2), 144, especially notes 87–89.

11 See, for example, M. Büttner, "The Significance of the Reformation for the Reorientation of Geography in Lutheran Germany," in: *History of Science* 17 (1979), 151–169. See also W. Maurer, *Der junge Melanchthon* 1, 166–170.

12 A. Dürst, "Die digitale Umformung von Karten als Forschungshilfe" (see note 2), p. 44. In total, the map takes up precisely one printed sheet, allowing the map to fit into a folio Bible when folded.

in every detail. Other details were adjusted: the elector's coat-of-arms was replaced by the coat-of-arms of the city of Zürich. It is this Swiss map that was included in reverse in the first complete, printed Dutch Bible—the Liesvelt Bible from 1526.¹³ East and West are now in the correct place so that the coastline again runs in the right direction.

There can be no doubt that the Antwerp printer/publisher Jacob van Liesvelt wanted to include this map in all copies of his 1526 Bible editions.¹⁴ For the binder, it was also clearly indicated where the map had to be placed in the Bible.¹⁵ Unfortunately, only one of the ten copies of this 1526 edition we know of has preserved this map. This map also appears in the later Bible editions in folio format that were published by Van Liesvelt and his successors.¹⁶ Faithful copies of Van Liesvelt's map were included in all Bible editions in folio format published by the Antwerp printer/publisher Willem Vorsterman¹⁷ and also in all Bible editions in that large format by the Antwerp printer/publisher Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch.¹⁸

- 13 On this Bible see A. den Hollander, "De Liesveltbijbel (1526 e.v.): naar een protestantse bijbel", chapter 15, in: *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. P. Gillaerts, Y. Desplenter, W. François, A. den Hollander & H. Bloemen (Heerenveen, 2015), 226–236.
- 14 The printer/publisher had thus planned to include a map in the Bible and had printed it himself. This was not always the case, for a publisher sometimes planned one or more maps for a Bible but had them produced by someone else (clearly indicated, for example, by a map imprint, "gedrukt voor ..." [printed by ...]); sometimes a publisher had, for market reasons, planned to publish part of the edition with and part of it without a map or maps, and it was up to the buyer whether or not he wanted to have one or more separately printed maps or a map series included in the volume.
- 15 At the end of quire f (fol. f8v), the words "Hier na volcht die Charte" (the map follows hereafter) at the bottom of the page can be found, and the binding register includes instructions to the binder that the Bible does not have a quire g but that the map has to be placed in place of that quire ("... inden eersten a.b. en vindy gheen .g. want in die pleetse behoort die Carte te staen" [in the first a.b. (series of quire signatures) no g. is found, for the map takes its place]).
- 16 This map is found in copies of Bible editions published by Jacob van Liesvelt from 1526 (1 copy), 1532, 1534, 1535, the two editions from 1542, the edition by Hansken van Liesvelt from 1538, the two editions by Marie Ancxt, Jacob van Liesvelt's widow, from 1560. See www.bibliasacra.nl for an overview.
- 17 Editions of the Vorsterman Bible appeared in 1528, 1531, 1532, 1534 and 1544; see www.bibliasacra.nl. Minor improvements were made in the map; for example, the "6 Noorden" in the upper margin of the Liesvelt map was changed into "60 Noorden."
- 18 This concerns the Bible editions of Peetersen van Middelburch from 1535, 1541, and 1560. In this version as well, there are minor changes. For example, the degree "70" is missing in the lower right corner. On the verso side of the map, it is reported that "Dese Caerte behoort ghestelt te worden voor het xxxiii. (33.) Capit. Numeri. Ende is dit: Die Beschrijvinghe des

The theme of the Exodus had already assumed an important place in piety for centuries. For example, the narrative had an important place in the liturgy: in the preparation for baptism and for Easter (through water/death to new life).¹⁹ But the story functioned more broadly as a symbol for the life, with all its difficulties, of every person on the way to salvation and redemption. The theme of the Exodus also appealed to the imagination of Reformed Protestants—I am using the term here to distinguish them from other Protestant groups in this period, such as the Lutherans and the Anabaptists—in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, whereby people identified easily with the people of Israel. Just as the people of God had once been liberated from the yoke of Egypt, so these Protestants had also been liberated from Catholic domination and had arrived at their own Promised Land.

3 New Maps in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century

Since the middle of the sixteenth century, there were, in addition to maps of the Exodus, other maps included in Bibles: maps of (earthly) paradise, of the twelve tribes in the land of Canaan, of the Holy Land during the time of Jesus, and of the (missionary) journeys of Paul and the other apostles. The interest in Bible maps not only increased in the second half of the sixteenth century, but Bible maps were also viewed as a separate genre, which came to expression in, among other things, the fact that, from 1571 on, maps were given their own section in the Frankfurt Book Fair catalogue. In the Low Countries, it was often Swiss examples that were copied by the mapmakers.

One example of the Swiss influence is the map of Paradise that was published for the first time in the French edition of John Calvin's commentary on the biblical book of Genesis in 1554.²⁰ In his commentary, Calvin comments

Lants van Beloften" (This map should be placed before (33.) Capit. Numeri. And this is: The Description of the Promised Land).

- 19 We also sometimes find Exodus maps in works for the Jewish observance of Pesach (Passover), in which the exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land is central. See, for example, the (nicely coloured) Exodus map printed in 1695 in Amsterdam by Abraham Bar Jacob (Ets Haim Library, Amsterdam). This map is found in *Heilige Plaatsen: Pelgrimages in jodendom, christendom en islam* [exhibition catalogue] (Antwerp, 2014), 25, derived from a *hagada*.
- 20 C. Delano-Smith & E. Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles 1500–1600* (see above, n. 1), 4–9. On Calvin's commentary, see, for example R.C. Zachmann, "Calvin as commentator on Genesis", in *Calvin and the Bible*, ed. D.K. McKim (Cambridge, 2006), 1–29. The immediate predecessor of the map in Canin's Bible is one of a set of four biblical maps in the 1559

extensively on Genesis 2,10, which refers to the river in the Garden of Eden that splits into four different rivers. This verse raised considerable difficulties for exegetes and, following them, cartographers.²¹ Where were the four rivers that were mentioned to be placed? And could those four rivers also be identified in the present? The Euphrates and the Tigris could be clearly identified, but that was not the case for the Pishon and the Gihon. There was clearly a difference of opinion among exegetes about the interpretation of this verse. The Roman-Jewish historiographer Josephus held that the latter two rivers were referring to the Ganges and the Nile. This view remained current throughout the Middle Ages. Thomas Aquinas had surmised in his *Summa* that they were underground rivers. Others pointed to the Danube and the Indus as possibilities. Martin Luther had no use for speculating on the possible location of Paradise—after all, the Flood had completely washed everything away, which meant that the course of rivers could also have changed completely.²²

Calvin also acknowledged that the Flood had washed Paradise away but nevertheless assumed that God had left some signs on earth for humankind. Via an ingenious exegesis of Genesis 2, Calvin concluded that the four rivers, viewed from the perspective of Paradise, had to be the source and mouth of the Euphrates and the Tigris.²³ The two rivers originated as two, merged into one, and then divided again in different directions and ended separately in the sea. That left the historical reliability of the Bible intact, which made it clear that Paradise had once been located in Mesopotamia. Calvin included a map of Paradise in his commentary. Copies of this map appeared in French and English Genevan Bibles in 1559/1560, and the map developed into a standard map, in two different versions, that was included in countless French, Dutch, and English Genevan Bibles from the sixteenth century. We find a version of this map of Paradise for the first time in a Dutch Bible in the *Deux Aes Bible* published by Isaac Canin, in Dordrecht in 1580 (see figure 2). In this version of

French Genevan Bible published by Barbier and Courteau. There were also copies of the other three maps from this set in Canin's Bible (see below).

21 For an extensive treatment, see A. Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago, 2006).

22 M. Luther, *In primum librum Mose enarrationes*, critical edition in: *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 42 (Weimar, 1911), p. 67, l. 7: "Hic disputatur: Ubi sit Paradisus?"; l. 11–14: "Ego breviter sic respondeo: Ociosam esse questionem de re, quae amplius non est. Nam Moses scribit res gestas ante peccatum et diluvium. Nos autem cogimur de rebus loqui, sicut sunt post peccatum et post diluvium"; l. 24–25: "hoc est, locus eius non potest inveniri."

23 J. Calvin, *Commentaire de M. Jean Calvin, sur le premier livre de Moyse, dit Genese* (Genève: Jean Gerard, 1554), 32–35 (on Genesis 2,10), and the map on p. 33.



FIGURE 2 Paradise map in the Deux Aes Bible, published by Isaac Canin, Dordrecht 1580. Reproduction taken from Haarlem, Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, NBG 31 “1580”—Deux 6468 (1 A 9), ZKW Kluis 2.

the map of Paradise, we even find a depiction of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, with Adam and Eve under it.²⁴ This map is also found in other biblical editions published around that time in Dordrecht and Delft.

Maps were included not only in the Old Testament but also in the New. As a rule, there were two maps: a map of the land of Canaan in the time of Jesus

24 The map clearly indicates where this should be placed in the Bible: “tusschen het 3. ende 4. Capittel Genesis, in de letter A” [between the 3rd and the 4th chapter of Genesis in the letter A (= quire signature)].

and a map of the areas the apostles travelled to. The latter map often indicated the route the apostle Paul had followed by sea in the Mediterranean area. In one exceptional case (Samuel Luchtmans, Leiden 1757), the map depicted not only the Mediterranean area but all of Europe and thus also the Netherlands, including the Wadden Islands. It is clear that this was a unique case. What this example of the Bible from the middle of the eighteenth century makes clear is that the printers/publishers sometimes used existing maps, in this case one of Europe, after some minor adjustments, and thus saved on expenses.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, two other maps were added to those usually used: a map of the world and a map of Jerusalem. The former referred to the biblical presentation of the repopulation of the world by the sons of Noah (after the Flood), and the second to the rebuilding of Jerusalem after the Babylonian exile of the people of Israel. There were various types and versions of these maps as well.²⁵

4 Functionality and Popularity

Several reasons can be adduced for the growing popularity of Bible maps from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, reasons that, among other things, cohere with the various functions maps could have in Bibles. I will indicate the most important of these reasons. Bible maps did, of course, have a decorative function that could increase the attractiveness of a Bible. It was not without reason that maps, in addition to other elements, were often lauded emphatically on the title pages of Bibles and in advertisements.²⁶ Especially in the seventeenth century, the offer of maps and prints that the buyer could have bound in the Bible increased, as a consequence of which the variations in price and design of the copies of an edition of the Bible increased considerably. Sometimes, a Bible was already issued with one or several maps. Sometimes, it was up to the buyer himself to decide if he wanted to have the maps included in his copy. A buyer could also choose to have a map coloured, a technique (*afsetten*) that reached great heights in the seventeenth century by masters like Dirck Jansz. van Santen.²⁷

25 R.W. Shirley provides an overview in *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700*, 2nd ed. (London, 1987).

26 Examples in P.C.J. van der Krogt, *Advertenties voor kaarten, atlassen, globes e.d. in Amsterdamse kranten 1621–1811* (Utrecht, 1985), 444, s.v. 'bijbel met kaarten' (Bible with maps).

27 On Van Santen see T. Goedings, *Afsetters en meester-afsetters. De kunst van het kleuren 1480–1720* (Amsterdam, 2015), 107–149, see also idem, "Dirk Jansz van Santen 'meester-

In addition to their decorative function, Bible maps also strengthened the reader's personal experience of the Bible in the sense of a meaningful experience of the biblical narrative. The English printer Reyner Wolfe wrote in his preface to the first New Testament with maps, published in 1549, that maps were necessary "to wel rede the Byble". By that he meant that what was at stake was not only the geographical representation of the biblical text but the experience of the biblical story as well. Where the scale of the map was indicated, he explained, for example, that it made it possible for the reader to imagine the enormous effort Paul had to go to ("easyly perceauē what peynfull trauayle saynt Paule toke").²⁸

An important fact is that Bible maps formed an essential part of the Reformed Protestant hermeneutic of that time in which a literal reading of the Bible was presupposed. Historicity and the reliability of the Holy Spirit are inseparably bound up with each other in that view, with biblical geography yielding an exegetical contribution, as, for example, the map of the Exodus in the Bible of Cornelis Claeszoon from 1585 clearly shows. That map not only indicates the route that the people of Israel followed but also marks, with the numbers 1–41, the places that are listed in the book of Numbers. A great deal of supplementary geographical and (landscape) historical information for explaining the text is found on the back of the map.

Maps in sixteenth-century Dutch printed bibles often offered more explanatory information on the verso-side of a map. The number of aids for reading and understanding the Bible would increase over the course of the seventeenth century. With this, these Bibles were far removed from Luther's idea of the immediate accessibility of the Bible for every layperson.²⁹ In general, Bible maps, together with other paratextual aids, reinforced the character of the Bible as requiring study. Bible maps and other explanatory and pedagogical aids in Bibles helped the reader of the Bible to better understand the biblical texts. This purpose was often announced on the title pages of Bibles as "Caerten, dienende den Christelicken Leser tot verclaringhe des Texts" (maps serving the Christian reader to explain the texts). The World map in sixteenth-century Dutch printed Bibles, for example, usually illustrates the spread of the

afsetter;" *De Boekenwereld* 31/3 (2015), 2–7, and J. Tervoort, "Kaert- en konstafsetters" van Amsterdam 1600–1710. Kleuren in de marge van "culturele industrie"? (self-published master's thesis, Amsterdam, 2013, available online at scriptiesonline.uba.uva.nl/document/521121, accessed 16 July 2019).

28 C. Delano-Smith & E. Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles 1500–1600* (see above, n. 1), xxiv–xxv.

29 See also J. Walden, 'Global Calvinism: the Maps in the English Geneva Bible', in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation. Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. B. Gordon & M. McLean (Leiden, 2012), 187–216, especially 194–204.

three sons of Noah over the earth, as also the map maker (and reformed minister) Petrus Plancius stated and further elucidated on the verso-side of his World map (1590), see below.

That Bible maps would appear more often in Bibles in the Protestant world is true in general, even though that started to be the case primarily in the seventeenth century. The situation was somewhat more complex for the sixteenth century for two reasons. First of all, there was no exclusive Catholic and/or Protestant market for Bibles in the first few decades of the sixteenth century. Only with the advancing confessional diversification of the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century did typical Anabaptist, Reformed, Lutheran, and Catholic Bibles start to appear.³⁰ And then maps started to appear in Catholic Bibles as well. The maps in Bibles that were published by the Antwerp printer/publisher Christoffel Plantin are a good example of this. Quite some time already before Isaac Canin put a Bible on the market in 1580 in Dordrecht with maps that went back to the French Bible published in 1559 in Geneva by Barbier and Couteau, Plantin had copies of these maps made already in 1565.³¹ The Dutch Bible that Plantin published that year (1566) contained two of these Antwerp maps—that of the Exodus and that of the Holy Land. These were small maps that were placed in the text itself. But most impressive were the four maps that were drawn by Arias Montanus for the imposing polyglot Bible, the *Biblia Polyglotta*.³² The work, published in large format in eight parts, was completed in the years 1569–1572 and would gain Plantin international fame.³³ The map of the world, from 1571, was included in

30 On the development of the Bible translations in the Low Countries in the second half of the 16th century, see W. François, “Naar een ‘confessionalisering’ van bijbelvertalingen in de zestiende eeuw—Inleiding,” in *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. P. Gillaerts et al. (Heerenveen, 2015), 204–219.

31 The maps of the Exodus and the land of Canaan were engraved by Pieter Huys. Huys was one of the most active woodcutters who worked for Plantin, see K.L. Bowen & D. Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2008), 47–48. He also made woodcuts of one or two maps of Paul's missionary journeys; see W.C. Poortman & J. Augusteijn, *Kaarten in Bijbels* (see above, n. 1), 69–71. Plantin's 1566 Bible was published in two editions: one for Plantin himself and one for his Antwerp colleague Philips Nuyts (Nutius). Nuyts' edition also included these two maps.

32 See A. Hamilton, “Early Modern Polyglot Bibles: Alcalá (1510–1520) to Brian Walton (1654–1658),” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible 3: From 1450–1750*, ed. E. Cameron (Cambridge, 2016), 138–156, there on the Antwerp polyglot Bible, 143–151. The polyglot Bible was, for that matter, more a study Bible than Catholic in nature, with respect to both content and outward experience.

33 The maps were most probably engraved by Pieter van der Heijden, one of Plantin's regular

the eighth part of this polyglot Bible, together with the three other maps, tracts, and sources of archeological information. This map was the first map of the world that was included in a Bible from the Low Countries.

Thus, not only did maps also appear in Catholic Bibles, there were also similarities in the intended functionality between maps in Protestant and Catholic Bibles from the sixteenth century.³⁴ That should not be surprising, given that cartographers at that time were part of one and the same scholarly world. Bible maps offered information closely linked to the biblical text and the interest in archaeology at the time, they visualised and made existing or new exegetical views visible, and they also had a devotional function in helping the reader be drawn into the biblical story. Via the map, each reader could, for example, make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land or Jerusalem.³⁵

Several maps and map series appeared on the market at the end of the sixteenth century that had their origin in the Netherlands. There were clear differences between maps. Thus, the topic, the quality of the printing techniques, the artistic execution, the originality, the workmanship and the functionality could differ widely. An important contribution to the development of Dutch cartography came from Petrus Plancius. This minister in Brussels fled to Amsterdam in 1585, where he continued to work as a minister and as an examiner of, among others, consuls of the sick and ministers of the VOC. But even more important was his role within the VOC as a scientific cartographer, in which capacity he drew many maps. The successor to Montanus' map of the world in the Plantin Bible was a map of the world drawn by Plancius. He took as his example the 1587 map of the world drawn by Rumold Mercator, son of the famous cartographer, Gerard Mercator.³⁶ Plancius had his maps engraved by Johannes van

engravers, see K.L. Bowen & D. Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (see above, n. 31), 101; idem, "Reputation and wage: The case of engravers who worked for the Plantin-Moretus Press," *Simiolus* 30 (2003), 161–195; W.C. Poortman & J. Augustijn, *Kaarten in Bijbels* (see above, n. 1), 72–73, which voiced the suspicion that Montanus was thought to have worked with drawings by Ortelius (see 72, note 1). These maps were also included in Plantin's 1583 Latin Bible.

34 See Z. Shalev, "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible," *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003), 56–80.

35 Z. Shalev, "Sacred Geography" (see above, n. 34), refers (on pp. 67–69 and note 58) to the role of maps in spiritual pilgrimage; see also W. Melion, "Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam: Meditation, vocation, and sacred history in Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon*," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999), 49–72.

36 See R.W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World. Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700* (Riverside, 2001), 194–195 (Map 177), with a reference to G. Schilder, *Australia Unveiled. The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam, 1976), 16–17, 274–275 (Map 16). For the map by Rumold Mercator, see G. Schilder, *Monumenta Cartographica Neer-*

Deutecom and his two sons Baptista and Johannes.³⁷ This Haarlem engraving family was famous because of their beautiful map series, which were copied by several cartographers in the seventeenth century. In this century, cartography in the Republic would continue to develop and flourish.

landica 8 (Alphen aan den Rijn, 2007), 83 (Map 7.2) and the explanation that accompanies it.

37 G. Schilder, *Australia unveiled* (see above, n. 36), 274.