

A Delta of Time: Claes Jansz Visscher's Updated News Maps of Spanish-Dutch Battles in the Scheldt River Area, 1627-1640

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Abstract

In the early modern Low Countries, narrative cartography was a thriving new medium aimed at disseminating information about events concerning the Dutch Revolt. News maps combined spatial and narrative information in order to tell the story of a recent event to a large audience, representing actions, moments, and (spatial) change. They were in essence temporal products. To keep the maps topical, map publishers released new map states by modifying their copperplates and adding the latest news, sometimes multiple times. This article analyses the 'updated' map series by the Amsterdam publisher Claes Jansz Visscher that reported on events in the Scheldt river area between Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp (such as the 1631 Battle of the Slaak). The central question is how and why Visscher incorporated temporal information into his news maps. First, it shows the tools and strategies how Visscher, in comparison to other Northern and Southern Netherlandish news map publishers, added temporal information to his maps. Then, the rhythm of mapping and the map narratives are put in the context of real-time events and news culture, and the circulation and use of the maps are

interpreted in the context of memory culture and historical consciousness. The article shows how news maps imply specific narratives of events and invite contemporary and later users to engage with and 'navigate' the past, present, and future in ways that transcend the limiting idea of time as a linear progress.

Keywords: cartography, story maps, news, Dutch Revolt, temporality, Claes Jansz Visscher

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Maps are able to represent spatial change, telling us stories of 'what has been and what might be, to see what changes can and do occur'.¹ For the Low Countries, the early modern period was a period of major change: the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish Habsburg regime was raging and the international hub of knowledge and exchange shifted from Antwerp to Amsterdam, where the presence of numerous printers and publishers made a vibrant information and (transnational) news society possible. The Dutch needed to adapt to these political, societal, and cultural transformations. As news culture emerged and map-making became commercialised, news maps (a type of story map) evolved as a genre of news publishing, combining spatial and narrative information to report stories and depict recent events in their geographical context, such as sieges, military campaigns, expeditions, naval battles, fires, and floods.² Focusing on topical events, news maps communicated time, process, and change to a growing audience and were often mass-produced and widely distributed, contributing to the thriving awareness of 'contemporaneity', what Brendan Dooley has conceptualised as 'the perception, shared by a number of human beings, of experiencing a particular event at more or less the same time'.³ However, these sources are still barely integrated in the main studies on European early modern news culture.⁴

1 Vasiliev, 'Mapping Time', 1. My thanks to the editors Marije Osnabrugge, Brecht Deseure, and Gerrit Verhoeven, and to my supervisors Bram Vannieuwenhuyze and Elmer Kolfin (and Djoeko van Netten) for commenting on drafts and earlier versions; to The Phoebus Foundation in Antwerp for hosting me as a research fellow; to Han Leune for sharing his knowledge of the region's history and exchanging ideas with me; and to the anonymous reviewer for their feedback. Some of the results presented in this article were part of a paper I presented at the Historians of Netherlandish Art Conference in June 2022, and of an online lecture I gave for the Maps & Society lecture series in January 2023.

2 On early modern story maps, see: Vannieuwenhuyze, 'Entangled Maps'; Van Schaik, 'Not the End of the Story'.

3 Dooley (ed.), *The Dissemination of News*, xiii; Maier, 'Cartography and Breaking News', 502.

4 On early modern news reporting in the Low Countries and Europe in general, see: Pettegree, *The Invention of News*; Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers*; Koopmans, *Early Modern Media and the News in Europe*; Dooley (ed.), *The Dissemination of News*; Raymond and Moxham, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*; Kuijpers and Verhoeven (eds.), *Makelaars in Kennis*. The only publications that profoundly analyse early modern European news maps are Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*; Dillen and Vannieuwenhuyze, 'Bedrieglijke eenvoud'; Maier, 'Cartography and Breaking News'; Helmers, 'Cartography'.

The engagement of early modern European societies with a ‘shared present’ implies an engagement with a ‘shared past’ as well. That early modern societies were capable of sharing a sense of change and a collective past is not self-evident, however. Since the German historian Reinhart Koselleck and his followers theorised that in pre-modern times historical consciousness only existed in terms of either a Christian belief in the ‘end of times’ or of anachronism and analogy, memory culture, historical consciousness, and a ‘sense of change’ were mostly ascribed to modern times.⁵ Recent studies of the history of temporalities and early modern memory have made great strides in challenging this limiting viewpoint, demonstrating ‘how much richer and more complex were forms of engagement with the past before 1800’.⁶ Marianne Eekhout has shown that memories of the Dutch Revolt lingered on in a wide range of material and non-material memorabilia, including paintings, gable stones, medals, prints, plays, processions, and places of memory.⁷ Although Judith Pollmann has pointed at the participation of Dutch news maps in the ‘ever-growing market for news and commemorative publications’, mapping has (so far) not thoroughly been studied in terms of such practices.⁸

This article also contributes to recent debates in the history of cartography. First, it will address a gap in the historiography by studying temporality in early modern maps, which have thus far been underrepresented in favour of medieval and modern, post 1750 maps.⁹ The recent assumption that ‘all maps tell time’ will be critically assessed.¹⁰ Second, my analysis moves beyond the representation of temporal information on the maps – as other map historians have mainly focused on – by also considering the stages of production, circulation, and use.¹¹ Third, this article contributes to the relatively small number of studies on early modern narrative cartography by examining the various manifestations and dimensions of time and temporality in maps and mappings, thus offering methodological concepts and principles which allow historians to interpret story maps more profoundly. My methodology first of all draws on Irina Ren Vasiliev’s framework of time in maps, which distinguishes five categories of temporal information represented on maps: moments (the dating of an event in space); duration (the continuance of an occurrence in space); structured time (the organization or standardization of space by time);

5 Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft*; Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity*. For recent critiques and a discussion of Koselleck’s theories, see Champion, ‘The History of Temporalities’, Hanß, ‘The Fetish of Accuracy’; Baker, *In Fortune’s Theatre*, esp. the introduction, and the other contributions to this special issue. For a summary of the history of historical consciousness, see Adriaansen, ‘Historical Consciousness’.

6 Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity*, 5.

7 Eekhout, *Material Memories*; Eekhout, *Memorabilia*.

8 Pollmann, ‘The Cult and Memory of War and Violence’, 97. A few authors have discussed the commemorative qualities of maps: Vannieuwenhuyze, ‘Reading History Maps’; Van Schaik, ‘Not the End of the Story’.

9 Time in Western European maps is primarily a phenomenon ascribed to either medieval times or the modern age, presumably starting around 1750, or with the rise of thematic cartography in the nineteenth century: Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*; Vasiliev, ‘Mapping Time’, 2; Harrower, ‘Time’, 1529. Although the binary, traditional view that space belongs to the domain of geography, and time to history, is no longer tenable thanks to the arrival of spatial history, digital mapping, GIS, and the range of post-representational approaches within critical cartography, most research still focuses on modern maps: Perkins, ‘Critical cartography’.

10 Wigen and Winterer, *Time in Maps*, 7; Segal and Vannieuwenhuyze, *Motion in Maps*.

11 Vasiliev, ‘Mapping Time’, 44; Harrower, ‘Time’, 1530.

time as distance (the use of time as a measure of distance); and space as clock (spatial relations as a measure of time).¹² In addition to the representation of time, I follow Matthey Edney's processual approach by also studying the role of temporality in the phases of production, circulation, and use of maps.¹³

In sum, this article contributes to the history of early modern news culture, memory culture, the history of cartography, and the history of temporalities, by considering story maps as entangled in the Dutch early modern media and memory landscape, and by showing how those maps invited contemporary users to engage with both past and present. A series of 'updated' news maps by the Amsterdam-based mapmaker and publisher Claes Jansz Visscher (c. 1587-1652) will be taken as the central research case. With his story map series, he reported on the Spanish-Dutch confrontations in the Scheldt river area between 1627 and 1640 that were part of the Dutch Revolt. Both parties attempted to control trade in the river delta, which linked Antwerp to the North Sea. In 1627, Spanish troops began building fortifications in this strategic area, especially in the town of Zandvliet, and prepared an assault on Dutch forces that culminated in the Battle of the Slaak, in Zeeland, on 12 and 13 September 1631, which was won by the States' fleet. Following this loss, the Spanish made no attempts in this region for a while. The Dutch seized the opportunity to expand their dominance, capturing the Spanish forts and flooding the polders near Antwerp in 1632. The States' army also tried to besiege Antwerp, but it was defeated by the Flemish-Spanish army during the 1638 Battle of Kallo.¹⁴

From 1627 onwards, Visscher gave updates about the events by modifying the copperplate of his original 1627 map of the new Spanish fortifications near Zandvliet (fig. 1). It was a common practice for early modern print- and mapmakers, when they wished to correct or amend their products, to hammer the copperplate from behind, burnish the surface, re-engrave certain parts, and print new copies. In print history and cartobibliography, this variant of the original is called a new 'map state'.¹⁵ In addition to his subsequent map states, Visscher (or later owners of the copperplate) also added extra map and text sheets – at least to some of the extant copies. I have found over forty copies of the six different states of Visscher's map in various collections that comprise the main corpus for this article.

My central question is how and why Visscher applied various strategies to incorporate (a particular selection of) temporal information in his maps. In order to answer this question, the article's first two sections analyse Visscher's various representations of time and compare them to maps depicting similar events by the Antwerp map publishers Pieter II Verbiest (1605/1607-1693) and Abraham Verhoeven (1575-1652), in order to demonstrate that mapmakers applied the same tools and strategies for different narratives. In the third section, I reconstruct the context of production, analysing the frequency of the updates in relation to the events in real-time, and discussing Visscher's possible sources. The fourth and final section outlines the circulation and (intended) use of the maps for

12 Vasiliev, 'Mapping Time'; Harrower, 'Time'.

13 Edney, *Cartography*.

14 Van Beylen, 'Een zeventiende-eeuwse "nieuwskaat"', 3-9; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 171-184; Van Moer, *De Slag van Kallo*.

15 When the copperplate is completely substituted, it is called a new 'plate' instead of a 'state'. For more on map states, see: Verner, 'The Identification and Designation of Variants'.



Fig. 1 Map state 1: Josua van den Ende (designer) and Claes Jansz Visscher (publisher), Pas-caert vande ghelegenheit vande schans te Santvliet; vertoonende de verdroncken overwaterde landen, nieuw aangewassen gorsingen, ende kreeken oft killen in ende door de selve tusschen Bergen op Zoom en Antwerpen, 1627, etching and letterpress text, 36,4 × 43 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

which I have collected a corpus of copies and imitations of Visscher’s map in atlases and books, in order to evaluate its (intended) audiences, uses, and reception. Drawing on these societal and cultural aspects, I finally interpret Visscher’s choices to represent and omit certain pieces of temporal information, by reflecting on the notions of contemporaneity and historical consciousness in the Dutch seventeenth century.

Representation: Claes Jansz Visscher Gives Updates

The Amsterdam printmaker and publisher Claes Jansz Visscher produced and sold a wide range of prints, maps, and books, skewing his products towards a local market.¹⁶

16 On Claes Jansz Visscher’s life and production, see Simon, *Claes Jansz. Visscher*; Orenstein et al., ‘Print Publishers’; Koeman, *Atlantes Neerlandici*, III, 150-155; Van Eeghen, ‘De familie’; Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, xxxviii; Campbell, *Claes Jansz. Visscher*; Van Groesen, *Imagining the Americas*, 121-143.

The arrival of several competitors from the Southern Netherlands after the Fall of Antwerp in 1585 made quantity and speed of production in the Amsterdam print market more significant. Visscher played this game well: he was a well-organized, all-round print publisher, who distinguished himself by a 'journalistic approach' and by fostering his own personal contacts for news sources amongst the members of the Amsterdam urban elite.¹⁷ He had an eye for the latest news and was particularly strong at following and publishing the activities of the States' army and the Dutch in Europe and overseas.¹⁸

By adding decorative side borders, allegorical cartouches, textual explanations, and vivid depictions of figures and scenes to his maps, Visscher established himself as a storyteller with words and images. He often modified or 'updated' his copperplates to offer the most accurate and topical products, explicitly inviting the audience to send him corrections and improvements.¹⁹ His firm was so successful that he had to hire a large number of mostly unidentified assistant engravers and etchers for his workshop, especially from 1625 onwards, which, incidentally, was also the period during which he primarily focused on topical prints and maps.²⁰ We should therefore presume that Claes Jansz Visscher probably did not etch all the maps himself but rather acted as a supervising editor.²¹

At the end of the summer of 1627, Visscher published a news map reporting on the construction of Spanish forts on the Scheldt river banks near Antwerp (fig. 1). The imprint indicates that the original plate was drawn by Josua van den Ende (c. 1584-after 1648).²² The title, 'Chart of the location of the redoubt at Zandvliet, showing the flooded lands, new accretions and alluvial lands, creeks or channels between Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp', suggests a traditional, hydrographic river map rather than a story.²³ The word *pas-caert*, a term usually used for sea charts, remains a mysterious choice.²⁴ The accompanying text sheets narrate events until at least 4 August 1627, when the Spaniards started to build a new fort (St. Martijn) on the salt marsh of Hogenwerf, mentioning the Spanish activities around the village of Zandvliet, including the build-up of troops, ships, and war materials in this area and their failed night-time attack on Zuid-Beveland. All these events are depicted on the map as well.

A few months later, Visscher published a modified version of this map 'improved with the latest news', containing the new Dutch fortifications near Lillo built in response to the Spanish presence in this area (fig. 2).²⁵ The accompanying text is expanded with the story

17 Helmers, 'Cartography', 357; Van der Maas, 'De Staatse oorlogsmachinerie', 50.

18 For an overview of his oeuvre, see: Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, xxxviii; Campbell, *Claes Jansz. Visscher*; Simon, *Claes Jansz. Visscher*.

19 Orenstein et al., 'Print Publishers', 191; Van der Maas, 'De Staatse oorlogsmachinerie', 50; Kolfin, 'Amsterdam, stad van prenten', 40-41.

20 Some of the draughtsmen and etchers/engravers who were active after 1625 are known: Orenstein et al., 'Print Publishers', 194, n. 217.

21 For the sake of convenience, however, I will refer to Visscher as the maker of these prints throughout this article.

22 Maria Simon has suggested that the map of Santvliet was an existing map re-engraved in Visscher's workshop: Simon, *Claes Jansz. Visscher*, no. 263.

23 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

24 From the fourth map state on, the title word 'Pas-caert' was altered to 'Caerte'.

25 In the imprint, the name of Josua van den Ende is removed and replaced by 'Van nieuw verbeterd door Claes Jansz Visscher'.

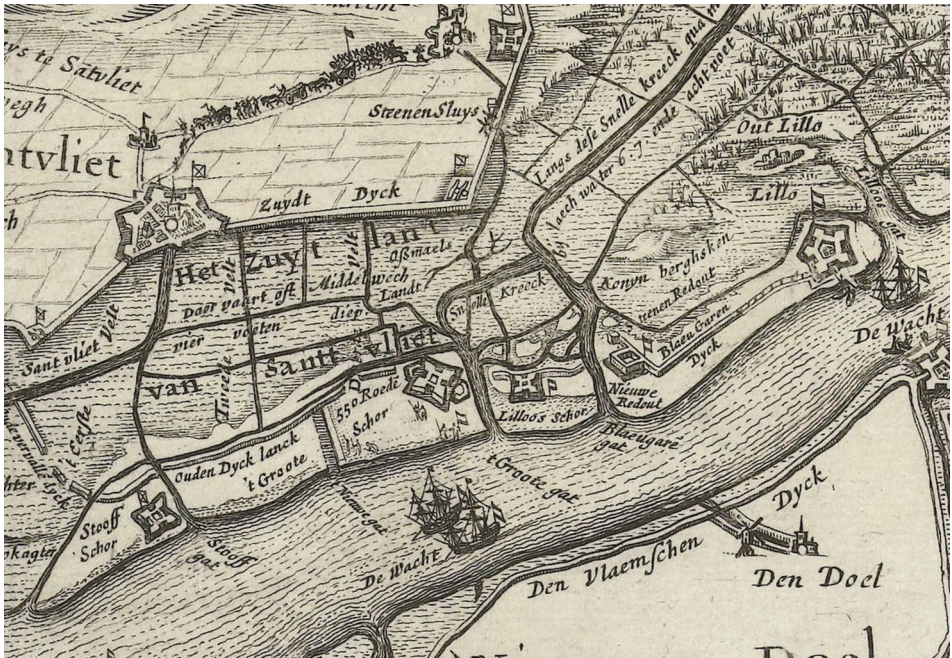


Fig. 2 Detail of map state 2: Claes Jansz Visscher (publisher), *Pas-caert vande gheleghenthey vande schans te Santvliet*, 1627, etching and letterpress text, 37,1 × 42,8 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

of a devastating fire on 2 October which is not depicted on the map. It ends with a cliff-hanger: ‘This what we currently are aware of. Time will tell how this story continues.’²⁶ This designation of time as the driving force behind news events was a common statement adopted by news authors and publishers, comparable to the general claim or rhetorical topos *ad vivum* (‘from life’, lifelikeness) used by printmakers that does not necessarily imply a direct act of eye-witnessing.²⁷ Visscher’s references to time and progress were probably primarily part of a broader marketing strategy to tease and nurture consumer hunger for news so that people would buy subsequent editions. Nevertheless, it reminded readers that the information was topical, and it anticipated a continuation – a phenomenon interpreted by Michiel van Groesen as a ‘culture of anticipation’ that shaped the rhythm and the circulation of news in the early modern Low Countries.²⁸

In early 1628, a new map was published, although it was not a new map state because only the letterpress text was updated while the copperplate was left untouched. The added text contains the story of a devastating flood on 9 December 1627 that completely ruined

²⁶ ‘Dit is int kort het gene ons noch ter tijt bewest is. Het vervolch sal den tijt openbaren.’

²⁷ Visscher used similar phrases for his three map states of the Siege of Breda (1624): Kolfin, ‘Amsterdam, stad van prenten’, 40–41. The newspaper *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, 4 December 1627, used a similar phrase: ‘Time will tell what they are up to’ (‘Watse hier mede voor hebben, sal den tijt leeren’). On the term *ad vivum*, see Martens, ‘Cities under Siege’.

²⁸ Van Groesen, ‘(No) News from the Western Front’.



Fig. 3 Map state 3: Claes Jansz Visscher (publisher), *Pas-caert vande ghelegentheyte vande schans te Santvliet*, 1631, etching, 40 × 65,8 cm, Antwerp, The Phoebus Foundation.

both the fortifications and the plans of the Spanish. The flood itself appears on the map much later, in the next map state from 1631 (fig. 3). Visscher, possibly in a hurry to be the first to publish this event, chose to only adapt the text sheets.

It was not until the Battle of the Slaak that Visscher published another update, the third map state (figs. 3-5). On 10 September 1631, the Spanish governess of the Southern Netherlands, Archduchess Isabella, and Marie de' Medici sent off the Spanish armada. The fleet, comprising some eighty ships and commanded by the Marquis of Aytona and Jan of Nassau-Siegen, sailed from Antwerp toward Bergen op Zoom. The route is marked by a dotted line in Visscher's map, following three major successive confrontations between the Dutch and the Spanish. At the point in the Westerschelde indicated with an 'A', the Spanish armada was attacked by some States' warships on 11 September. Several Spanish ships ran aground and were left behind. Dutch reinforcements approached the Spanish ships the next day again at 'B', southwest of Tholen, where the final Battle of the Slaak continued for three hours until the morning. It ended at 'C', just north of Philipsland, where the States' fleet drove their enemies into the Slaak, forcing them into a dense fog. In terror and panic, the Spanish soldiers jumped into the water and tried to get ashore (fig. 6), where the Dutch were waiting to kill them. This decisive final scene is portrayed by the print at the top.

To be able to tell the full story, Visscher added extra map sheets printed from new copperplates on the left side of the original map, effectively adding the Slaak waterway to the map. Also, a French translation was added to the text sheets, targeting an international audience (fig. 5). Strikingly, Visscher chose not to remove old events. Instead,

Kort en bondigh berhaal vanne spanische sjeepre Arande: tot Antwerpen toegerid ende Wander gebraden den 20. Septemb. 1671.

Die in sijnen veldt ontrent 1. of twee luyden Oedelghe
... (text continues with a detailed account of a Spanish fleet's arrival in Antwerp in September 1671)

... (text continues with a detailed account of the Spanish fleet's arrival in Antwerp in September 1671)

Van't volck te Waeren.

Bevallen te Waeren	10	4
Quaetere te Waeren	17	8
Quaetere te Waeren	17	8
Quaetere te Waeren	17	8

... (text continues with a list of names and amounts)

Fig. 4 Accompanying Dutch text to fig. 3.

intend a préparer quelque Flotte de Navires, pour
... (text continues with a detailed account of the French fleet's preparation for an expedition)

... (text continues with a detailed account of the French fleet's preparation for an expedition)

Bref & vray recit de l'Armée Espagnole,
équipée en Anvers, & partie de
la, le 10 de Septembre, l'An 1671.

Le Gouverneur a propos le jour de la guerre,
... (text continues with a detailed account of the Spanish fleet's departure from Antwerp in September 1671)

Fig. 5 Accompanying French text to fig. 3.

the flood of 9 December 1672 (fig. 77) was added and the newly etched words 'anno 1627' next to the Spanish version on Zuid-Belvand clarified the chronology of the two separate routes. Vischer carefully layered his map by assembling and composing various moments and narratives from the present and recent past. The news map not only represented the recent stories from present time but provided insights into the 'background stories' as well.



Fig. 6 Detail of fig. 3.



Fig. 7 Detail of fig. 3.



Fig. 8 Map state 4: Claes Jansz Visscher (publisher), *Caerte van 't Scheldt ende Santvliet, vertoonende de verdroncken overwaterde landen, nieuw aangewassen gorsingen, ende kreeken oft killen in ende door de selve tuschen Bergen op Zoom en Antwerpen, 1632, etching, 40,5 × 67 cm, Antwerp, The Phoebus Foundation. New events are indicated with red circles; the shaded areas indicate the additional map sheets.*

This narrative-cartographical strategy of layering and assembling old and new events was continued in the following three map states of 1632, 1638, and 1640. The fourth map state (1632) (fig. 8) shows how the States' army captured Spanish forts and inundated the polders near Antwerp (fig. 9). Again, elements belonging to older events were added: when re-etching the Flemish polders and waterways below the Nieuwen Doel polder, the dotted line marking the 1631 Spanish route is accentuated by a new procession of ships bearing crossed Spanish flags (fig. 10). Some of the 1632 copies have map sheets printed from new copperplates attached at the top and the right, extending the map image to a larger geographical area including the towns of Roosendaal and Mechelen. Strikingly, no events are represented on these new sheets. They seem to have been a compositional addition designed to shift the events toward the centre of the map image (fig. 8).

The fifth map state (fig. 11) was probably issued on the occasion of the Battle of Kallo (13-21 June 1638) but shows merely minor adaptations: the Land of Waas, around fort Kallo, is mapped in more detail, and the names of some forts that played a key role in this event are added (Steenschans, Kalloschans, and Beverbroeck) (fig. 12). The Battle of Kallo had possibly led to new, more accurate maps of that area that Visscher could use to improve his own, existing map. Yet it lacks the depiction of scenes of the battle while – once again – a new scene belonging to an older event is added elsewhere, namely the several Spanish ships that were stranded on their way to the Slaak in 1631 (fig. 13). Finally, in 1640, Visscher published his last map state (fig. 14). The fighting ships at Kruisschans



Fig. 9 Detail of fig. 8.



Fig. 10 Detail of fig. 8.



Fig. 11 Map state 5: detail of Claes Jansz Visscher (publisher), Caerte van 't Scheldt ende Santvliet, 1638, etching, 40,5 × 67 cm, Leiden, University Libraries.



Fig. 12 Detail of fig. 11.



Fig. 13 Detail of fig. 11.



Fig. 14 Map state 6: Claes Jansz Visscher (publisher), Caerte van 't Scheldt ende Santvliet, 1640, etching, 41 x 68 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Tab. 1 *Map states produced by Claes Jansz Visscher.*

State	Figure	Date of publication	Modifications	Additional text sheets
1	1	1627	None	Vertooninghe ... 4 Aug 1627
2	2	1627	Fortifications of States' Army Flemish polders (Waas, Nieuwen Doel)	Cort verhael ... 2 Oct 1627
2		1628	None [only in letterpress text]	Cort verhael ... 9 Dec 1627
3	3-6	1631	Events of the Battle of the Slaak, 1631 Flood of 9 December 1627 'Anno 1627' added to Land van Goes	Kort en bondigh verhael ... 13 Sep 1631
4	7-9	1632	Naval battle near Kruisschans Dutch capturing forts of Kruisschans, Pekgat, St. Jacob, St. Martijn, St. Ambrosius, and St. Anna Flooded polder near Antwerp Ships added along the 1631 route States' army attacking St. Anna (Polder van Namen) New ships added at Keijzershoofd	
5	10	1638	Place names Steenschans, Kalloschans, Beverbroeck Stranded Spanish ships added at Mosselkreek	
6	11	1640	Battling ships removed	

(1632) are removed. The narrative elements from 1627, 1631, and 1638, such as the routes and stranded ships belonging to the Battle of the Slaak, remain on the map. Of the fourth, fifth, and sixth map states, there are no accompanying text sheets known.

Visscher's Strategies for Representing Temporal Information

Looking at the six different map states Visscher published (tab. 1), we can recognize five different ways in which Visscher represented temporal information on his maps: marking moments; marking duration; adding accompanying letterpress texts; temporal generalization; and the layering of time. The first two strategies are those that Vasiliev also distinguished as two of the five time-on-maps categories. The first is 'marking moments' using time labels.²⁹ Visscher stressed some of the narrative elements on the map by adding labels next to points in geographic space, indicating the date and explaining what happened there, such as 'according to this dotted line the sloops came to the Lant van der Goes' (first map state), 'according to this dotted line the fleet of Her Highness came on 12 September 1631' (third map state), and 'anno 1627' (fourth map state).³⁰ As Vasiliev notes, time labels 'provide the starting and ending times of the event and allow the viewer to judge its duration in time, while the dotted line portrays the location and duration of the event in space'.³¹

²⁹ Vasiliev, 'Mapping Time'.

³⁰ 'Volgens 't wijzen van dese stippen quamen de chaloupen naer het Lant van der Goes' (state 1); 'Volgens dese stippen quam de vloot van Hare Hoocheden op den 12 september 1631' (state 3).

³¹ Vasiliev, 'Mapping Time', 22.

Tab. 2 Map states produced by Pieter Verbiest.

State	Date of publication	Date represented	Modifications in map narrative
1	1631	Before 7 June 1632	None
2	1631 [1632]	June/July 1632	Before inundation: no shading Double dike breaches
3	1631 [1632]	June/July 1632	After inundation: shading of polder States' fleet in Scheldt
4	1633		Islands Ordre and Wilmerdonck in flooded polder Names of polders
5	1636		Date only
6	1638	June 1638	Battle of Kallo added
7	1638	After June 1638	Battle of Kallo removed
8	1656	After 1651	Remains of battles removed Polders drained

Vasiliev's second strategy applied by Visscher is the dotted line portraying the spatial duration of an event. The beginning and end are indicated by the use of consecutive letters added to the map image (A, B, and C). The letters are elucidated by the accompanying text – the third strategy, which is much more explicit and elaborate than the map itself regarding time and chronology. It contains indications of the moments of the day ('in the morning', 'at eight o'clock'), simultaneity ('meanwhile'), the order of events, and tempo (actions happening with speed, delay, or haste). The viewer has to closely read the map in conjunction with the text to be able to interpret the events that are not explained by time labels.

By adding time labels, dotted lines, and text to the map, Visscher allowed viewers to judge the duration and chronology of *some* of the events. In doing so, he was inevitably guilty of 'temporal generalization', the fourth – rather implicit – strategy.³² By selecting which moments to include and which ones to disregard, he simplified the map narrative. A comparison of Visscher's series of maps with a series of 'updated' maps by his Antwerp colleague Pieter II Verbiest helps demonstrate how such a selection of events is a conscious choice and a highly partial practice.³³ In Verbiest's seven subsequent map states, published between 1631 and 1638 (tab. 2), no attention is paid to the 1631 Battle of the Slaak, a serious loss for the southern provinces, although the 1638 Battle of Kallo, won by the Flemish-Habsburg army, is vividly and elaborately portrayed on the sixth map state from 1638 (fig. 15). Strikingly, that same year Verbiest published a successive map state in which nearly all the events pertaining to the Battle of Kallo are removed (fig. 16).³⁴ The ships heading towards Kallo remain on the map and the tangle of ships near Lillo remain there as well, but they lack context and meaning.

³² Vasiliev, 'Mapping Time', 21.

³³ It should be noted that the access to certain (partial) information sources, the personal perspectives and preferences of the mapmakers, and the demands of the news audiences are factors that strongly influenced this selective reporting of news events.

³⁴ Danckaert, 'Een kaart van het Antwerpse', 414-415, suggests that this new state might have been intended for an atlas or a more 'neutral' historical or geographic book that preferred not to commemorate the Spanish victory, but I have been unable to locate such a publication.

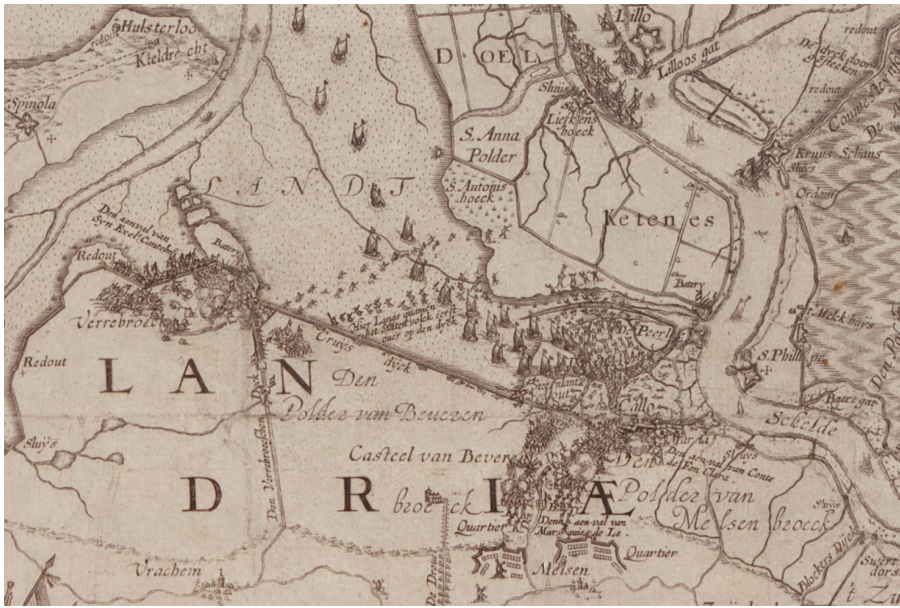


Fig. 15 Detail of map state 6: Pieter Verbiest, *Nieuwe caert vande ghelegentheit vande Ooster en Wester Schelde vertoonende ock de verdroncken overwaterde landen nieu aengewasfen schoren, ende kreeken oft killen in ende door de selve tusschen Bergen en Antwerpen soo het nu is*, 1638, etching and engraving, 53,5 × 39,5 cm, Brussels, Royal Library.



Fig. 16 Detail of map state 7: Pieter Verbiest, *Nieuwe caert vande ghelegentheit vande Ooster en Wester Schelde*, 1638, etching and engraving, 53,2 × 39,7 cm, Brussels, Royal Library.



Fig. 17 Abraham Verhoeven, *Oprechte ende waerachtighe afbeeldinghe van de stad Santvliet, met allen de forten ende redouten soo die nu tegenwoordich sijn, met allen de gheleghentheit van s'coninckx legher die aldaer present is liggende*, 1628, *etching and letterpress text*, 45,9 × 65 cm, *Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk*.

This example leads us to the final strategy that Visscher applied in his series of ‘updated’ maps, the layering of time. With each updated map state, he removed certain parts, added new parts, and left other elements unmodified. The juxtaposition of past narratives with present ones enabled the viewers to track changes over time, especially when they compared copies of various states.³⁵ They were reminded of the successive, progressive character of the maps by such phrases as ‘time will tell how this story continues’. Visscher’s fellow mapmakers in Amsterdam adopted similar techniques, such as Baptista van Doetecum, who produced a series of updated map states of the siege of Ostend.³⁶ Colleagues in Antwerp used the same strategy for maps about the same events. Courantier Abraham Verhoeven, for instance, who worked for the Spaniards, published a news map of the surroundings of Zandvliet on 24 March 1628 (fig. 17), including a legend noting that the ‘enemy [the States’ army] is currently busy building a new fort near Lillo’.³⁷ In 1632,

³⁵ The question remains to what extent these layers were understood by contemporaries who were only looking at this specific map state. We do not have evidence that indicates to what extent readers actually read the maps in sequence. However, there are many examples of multiple states of the same news maps of the siege of Malta (1565) found in Italian composite atlases, so it is not impossible this also happened with regards to Dutch news maps: Maier, ‘Cartography and Breaking News’, 481.

³⁶ Van der Krogt and Vannieuwenhuyze, ‘Oostende belegerd, koperplaat hersneden.’

³⁷ ‘Op de hooche van oudt Lillo, daer is den vyandt besich met een nieu fort te maecken.’



Fig. 18 Detail of Abraham Verhoeven, *Af-beeldinghe van Santvliet, noch hoe den vyandt is ghecomen voor de Cruysschansse, ende is te lande ghesedt in Brabant teghen over de Peerle Schansse, heeft het Melckhuys in ghenomen ende hem daer beschanst, den 7. Junij 1632*, etching and letterpress text, 46 × 65 cm, Antwerp, Felixarchief.

Verhoeven published an updated map state, adding a second ‘layer’ of events from 1632 (fig. 18).³⁸ None of the narrative elements from 1628 were removed, but new events were added to the map image and the legend: the Dutch capture of the Kruisschans, fort St. Philippe, and fort St. Jacobs in June 1632, portrayed by a battle scene in the polders near Antwerp (not yet flooded).³⁹ Although the legend (fig. 19) describes these forts being taken by the Dutch, the map only portrays the fight, disregarding the outcome: the forts still bear their Spanish crossed flags.

Comparing Verbiest’s and Verhoeven’s maps with Visscher’s maps on the same events reveals how they applied the same narrative-cartographical strategies differently: Verbiest’s series disregards the lost Battle of the Slaak and celebrates the won Battle of Kallo, while Verhoeven seems reluctant to portray the Dutch capture of Spanish forts on his map. Northern and Southern map publishers were clearly aware of all these events, but did not pay them equal attention. Visscher in turn paid barely any attention to the lost Battle of Kallo. Visscher, Verbiest, and Verhoeven certainly had a sense of momentum, of what news their audience was willing to consume, and shared an unwillingness to eliminate

³⁸ Hollstein does not record this as a second state, but it should be considered as such since the copperplate was modified: Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, xxxv, no. 18, 226.

³⁹ ‘Den 7. junij is den vyandt met veel schepen van Lillo voorby de Cruys-schansse gevaren, ende den 9. ditto op den noen is de schasse [sic] over ghegaen met appointment. Den selven ditto was de bataille by S. Philippe. Den 11. deser is S. Jacobs schansse over ghegaen met appointment.’

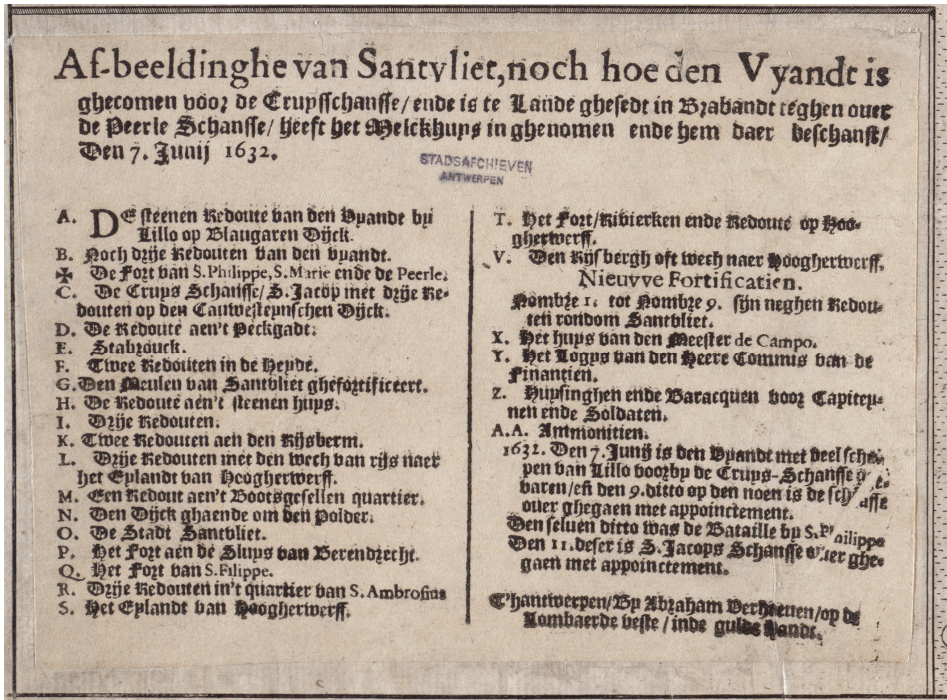


Fig. 19 Legend of fig. 18.

history completely. They either consciously left narrative elements of past events behind on the map (considering that they possibly did this for the sake of convenience), or – in the case of Visscher – stressed ‘old news’ by consciously highlighting old parts with textual or pictorial details.

Production Context: Time Is Money

Between 1627 and 1640, Visscher’s copperplate was altered five times (tab. 1). The main reason for these new map states was the incoming news of developments in the southwestern delta, as well as the demand for information on past events or ‘background stories’.⁴⁰ This information would eventually reach people through various media, such as newspapers, pamphlets, periodicals, letters, almanacs, and oral communication. Historians agree that many early modern European cities witnessed an information and communication revolution in which knowledge was anything but scarce.⁴¹ Competing with all these other

⁴⁰ Another possible factor could be that Visscher ran out of his stock of copies and had to make new ones, although the number of six different states is still a remarkably high number even for Visscher’s standards. See Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, xxix.

⁴¹ Kuijpers and Verhoeven (eds.), *Makelaars in kennis*.

news sources, mapmakers toiled under great time pressure, as ‘accurate, up-to-date maps simply were the most sensational form of war news available, and the quickest ones to appear were sure to be distributed widely’.⁴² Map publishers had to balance being the first to publish the latest information with the need to produce high-quality products. In this context, Visscher’s practices of recycling available cartographic materials and modifying existing copperplates were necessary to keep his business vital.⁴³ Temporality was not only represented *on* his maps but was also a driving force *behind* his maps. This was a reciprocal affair, as Visscher in his turn also provided the market with information, shaping the rhythm of news (the frequency in which information concerning recent events was available) and stimulating the demand for topical stories.

Because of convenience and time pressure, most news map publishers based their designs on existing maps. The designer of Visscher’s first state from 1627, Josua van den Ende, was born in Antwerp and active as a printmaker in Amsterdam in the period 1604-1643, working for the Blaeu family and for Claes Jansz Visscher.⁴⁴ He was more an engraver than a land surveyor or mapmaker, and probably worked from one or more existing maps himself. There are several maps made by other mapmakers in the same period which exhibit storytelling elements similar to Van den Ende’s design.

The Middelburg printer, engraver, and publisher Samuel de Swaef (1597-1636), who worked in Bergen op Zoom, published two maps in August 1627 for which he was paid six guilders by the city on 27 September.⁴⁵ Each map presents storytelling elements that seem to relate to Visscher’s map. The title of his first map notes that it shows ‘the enemy’s army at Zandvliet, between Bergen op Zoom and Lillo, with the forts and canal made by them in the month of August 1627’ and has an orientation quite similar to Visscher’s: the north is left, Bergen-op-Zoom in the upper left corner, and Antwerp in the lower right (fig. 20). The dotted line with the lettering ‘the route of the enemy’s sloops’ corresponds particularly closely to Visscher’s dotted line portraying the route which the Spanish ships sailed and its explanatory label (fig. 21) ‘along here came the sloops’.⁴⁶ It also portrays the Spanish venture to Zuid-Beveland by a crowd of ‘enemy sloops’ (*viants sloepen*) that corresponds to Visscher’s depiction of this scene. The second map (fig. 22) shows fort Hogenwerf being built by the Spanish (which began on 4 August, according to Visscher), indicated by the legend (A) as the salt marsh of the enemy (*is s’viants schorre*). It has a completely different orientation from that of the first map by De Swaef: the north is right instead of left. Also, the procession of Spanish troops marching from Antwerp in the direction of Zandvliet is clearly shown at the front, just like Visscher’s detailed depiction of this action (fig. 7).

42 Helmers, ‘Cartography’, 359, 363.

43 See for another example: Van der Krogt and Vannieuwenhuyze, ‘Oostende belegerd, koperplaat hersneden’; Dillen and Vannieuwenhuyze, ‘Bedrieglijke eenvoud’.

44 Zandvliet, *De wereld van de familie Blaeu*, 46-47; ‘Josua van den Ende’, <https://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/persons/2773> (Accessed on 29 December 2022); Donkersloot-De Vrij and Van der Krogt, *Repertorium*, 118.

45 Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, xxix, no. 3. See also Pinchart, ‘Archives des Arts’, 185; Croiset Van Uchelen, ‘Samuel de Swaef and Henry Lancel’, 297.

46 ‘Den wech van s’viants sloepen’; ‘volgens t’wijsen van dese stippen quamen de chaloupen near het Lant vander Goes’.



Fig. 20 [Samuel de Swaef], Verthooninge van 's viants leger tot Sandtvliecht, tusschen Bergen op Zoom en Lillo, met de fortē, ende vaert by haer gemaect in de maent August. 1627, [1627], etching, 14 × 20 cm, Leiden, University Library.



Fig. 21 Detail of fig. 1.

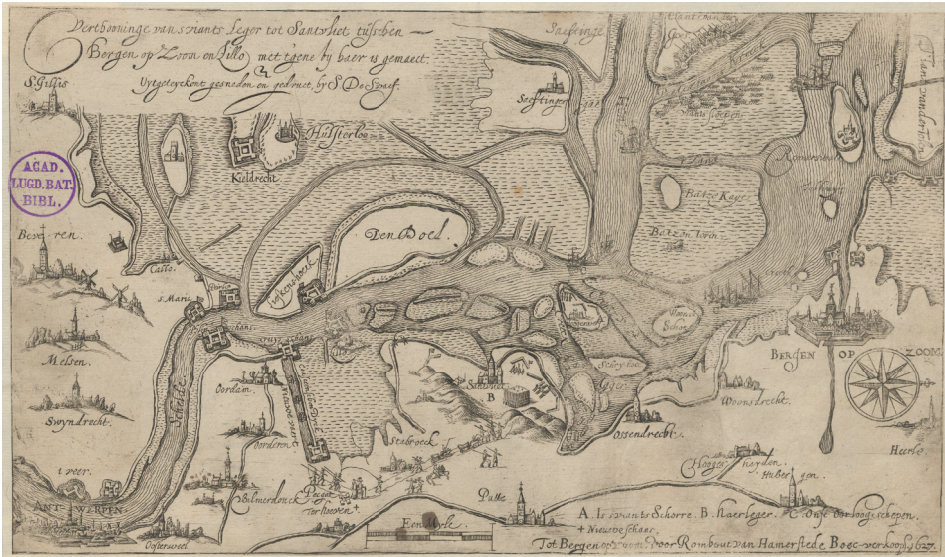


Fig. 22 Samuel de Swaef (designer, engraver, printer) and Rombout van Hamerstede (publisher), *Verthooninge van sviants leger tot Santvliet tusschen Bergen op Zoom en Lillo met t'gene by haer is gemaect, uytgeteekent gesneden en gedruct by S. de Swaef, 1627, etching, 17 × 33 cm, Leiden, University Library.*

The title explicitly states that De Swaef himself was responsible for the drawing, etching, and printing of the map, though the publisher was Rombout van Hamerstede from Bergen op Zoom.

A news map published by Antwerp courantier Abraham Verhoeven has the same orientation as De Swaef's second map and also closely resembles Visscher's maps. Verhoeven held the privilege of publishing (first-hand) news about Habsburg Spanish military events and victories in the Southern Netherlands and distributed highly detailed information about the developments in Zandvliet fortnightly in his *Nieuwe Tijdinge*.⁴⁷ He also produced news maps. In 1627 he published one such map, portraying the construction of Spanish forts around Zandvliet in detail from a Habsburg perspective (fig. 23).⁴⁸ It does not show the Spanish venture to Zuid-Beveland, but the contents of the accompanying texts are almost identical to the ones accompanying Visscher's first state.⁴⁹ Verhoeven's text contains much more detailed spatial information, for example about sheep farming in the area, which suggests that Verhoeven was the first publishing this text. Visscher, while copying the text, might have considered this information irrelevant for his own news map focusing on the events.

Unfortunately, we have too little evidence to draw clear conclusions about which maps were published first and who followed whose example. However, De Swaef and Verhoeven

⁴⁷ Arblaster, 'Abraham Verhoeven'.

⁴⁸ The only known existing copy of the map used to belong to a private collector, but is now lost: Leune, *Fort Sint Martijn*, 33. A fragment of this map appears in Jansen, 'Fort op Hoogerwerf', 49.

⁴⁹ For a transcribed fragment of Verhoeven's text, see: Leune, *Fort Sint Martijn*, 33.



Fig. 23 Abraham Verhoeven, Claere afbeelding van Santvliet ende schanssen daer ontrent met de stelle Hoogherwerff tusschen Cromvliet en d'Agger al waer sConinx volck hen sterck beschanst, 1627, etching and engraving, reproduced in Jansen, 'Fort of Hoogerwerf', 49.

both worked much closer to the location of the events than the Amsterdam-based Visscher and were semi-officially supported by the authorities. It is perhaps safer to assume, therefore, that their maps contained the original information and served as sources for Visscher (and Van den Ende), instead of the other way around.

Besides using existing maps, Visscher's workshop may also have recycled available textual news. Mapmakers could rely on newspapers, such as the Amsterdam *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, which kept a large audience informed about the increasing Spanish presence around Zandvliet from September 1627 onwards. According to the newspaper, the Spanish were clearly 'up to something'.⁵⁰ Visscher possibly used such reports as sources, since his new map states correspond with the updates presented in the newspaper. On 4 December 1627, for instance, the *Courante* reported the big fire of 2 October and the recovery that was needed (represented in the text accompanying the second map state, 1627), and the *Courante* of 22 January 1628 told of the Spanish soldiers that drowned during the flood (represented in the second map state, 1628).⁵¹ The

⁵⁰ *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, 18 September 1627: 'na alle apparentie yets sonderlings voor hebben'.

⁵¹ *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, 4 December 1627 and 22 January 1628.

printed texts accompanying the Battle of the Slaak news map (third map state) refer to a 'longer printed list' of the spoils of war 'that is too long to narrate here'.⁵² Visscher must have meant the almost identical pamphlets published by the widow of Middelburg printer Symon Moulert and by Jan van Hilten (the publisher of the *Courante*) in Amsterdam, including a description of the events, an extensive inventory of the captured ships and goods, and a list of prisoners.⁵³ Furthermore, Visscher may have consulted one of the many other news materials, eye-witness accounts, and oral communications concerning the Battle of the Slaak that were available in the Dutch Republic.

When Visscher published his map of the Battle of the Slaak, he experienced some competition in the Dutch news market. Another individual news map that was not a direct imitation of Visscher's was engraved by Crispijn van de Queborn and published in The Hague by Barend Langenes (fig. 24). Both text and map narrate the background of the battle, also reflecting on the Dutch activities in towns such as Bergen op Zoom and Waalwijk. The map is oriented with north at the bottom, which made it possible to push the most important scene to the foreground, namely the Spanish ships trapped in the Slaak. The Spanish soldiers drowning while trying to make it ashore in the fog are clearly visible.

When comparing maps and other media of the Battle of the Slaak (such as a satirical print by Crispijn van de Passe and an allegorical print by Daniel van den Bredemden), it becomes clear that the final 'fog scene' is – literally – put in the foreground as a key motif in the storytelling material concerning the Battle of the Slaak.⁵⁴ The scene is also vividly portrayed on some of the – at least six known – triumphal medals that were made of the event, displaying cartographic images of the battle.⁵⁵ One silver medal (fig. 25) directly reflects Visscher's map from 1631 and its depiction of the fog scene (compare with fig. 6). Much effort has been made to include the spatial and cartographical elements, such as the places Nieu Vosmaer and Orangien on the right. The verso side celebrates the Prince of Orange.⁵⁶ Visscher, vividly displaying this moment on his news map, possibly invented the scene as a climax to the narrative, or at least copied it from other printmakers and reinforced it by including it on his map. As such, he played a key role in how various media presented the story of the Battle of the Slaak and which temporal and narrative elements were selected.

52 'Ende meer andere goederen hier te langh te verhalen, als breeder-blijckt inde lyste daer van gedruckt'. See also Van Beylen, 'Een zeventiende-eeuwse "nieuwskaart"', 21.

53 *Warachtigh verhael; Cort ende Gheloofwaerdigh Verhael*.

54 Crispijn van de Passe, *Begin van de expeditie te Antwerpen en ongelukkig eind tijdens de slag op het Slaak*, 1631, engraving, 38 × 30,5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Daniël van den Bemden, *Allegorie op de overwinning op het Slaak*, 1631, engraving, 45 × 64 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

55 Johannes Looff, *Slag op het Slaak*, 1631, silver medal, Ø 5,5 cm, 40 grams, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksmuseum; Aert Verbeeck, *Slag op het Slaak*, 1631, silver medal, Ø 5 cm, 42 grams, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Anthonis Pietersz. van der Willigen, *Slag op het Slaak*, 1631, silver medal, Ø 5,2 cm, 39 grams, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Johannes Looff, *Slag op het Slaak*, 1631, silver medal, Ø 5,5 cm, 40 grams, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Johannes Looff, *Slag op het Slaak*, 1631, silver medal, Ø 5,2 cm, 40 grams, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Anthonis Pietersz. van der Willigen, *Slag op het Slaak*, 1631, silver medal, Ø 5,7 cm, 30 grams, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

56 Van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, II, 197.



Fig. 24 Crispijn van de Queborn (engraver) and Barent Langenes II (publisher), Caerte van de Schelde augmented from land from ter Goes inclus tot Breda toe metgaders Sijn Extie ende s'viands quartieren glijck oock die verovering van s'viands vloot Ao. 1631 geschiet alles na die rechte warheyte ende op een pertinente maet, 1631, engraving and letterpress text, 55,8 x 49,7 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Kort verhael en aenwijzing hoe de Vloet des Konings van Hispanien, die aenwinning van lange tijden nae gevecht tijden van haer ontfangt vanden hof van Prins van Oranien ontrent den 12. September 1631.

A. In den Procent van Oranien overleede inde Lange-dooch, en vromer, d'Inferior van D'Inferior van de Castellor van Wallenick ende Breda, gelyckende v'Vandor Leger van de koren by Jansen v'elke, dat ontfangt hof. B. Quarter van Middelburg, v'indor van Sijn Prins, en een d'Inferior van de Castellor van Wallenick ende Breda, gelyckende v'Vandor Leger van de koren by Jansen v'elke, dat ontfangt hof. C. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. D. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. E. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. F. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. G. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. H. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. I. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. J. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. K. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. L. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. M. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. N. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. O. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. P. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. Q. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. R. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. S. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. T. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. U. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. V. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. W. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. X. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. Y. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton. Z. v'Nouere Port of 'Leys ofte Chelton.



Fig. 25 *Anthonis Pietersz. van der Willigen, Slag op het Slaak, 1631, silver medal, Ø 5,7 cm, 37 grams, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*

Circulation and Use: From Temporal to Timeless?

The various map states (or map updates) provided by Visscher (tab. 1) imply a complex publication history. Things become even more complicated when we consider the various copies of these states that circulated. Many of these copies lack the initial accompanying texts or are attached to the 'wrong' texts (i.e., not the texts that initially accompanied a specific map state).⁵⁷ Apparently, Visscher carefully diversified his products: he sometimes added extra map or text sheets, but not always. It is possible that he asked a higher price for an extended variant, letting consumers decide which version they preferred. In some cases, particularly the self-compiled atlases, it is also possible that later owners of the maps added or removed sheets.

For example, a copy of Visscher's 1640 sixth map state is part of the famous composite atlas *Blaeu-Van der Hem*, produced between 1662 and 1678, of which the unique, extravagantly coloured copy is preserved in Vienna.⁵⁸ This version has the extra map and text sheets of the Battle of the Slaak, belonging to the 1631 third state. The same is true of the copy in the royal collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo, which is the 1632 fourth map state to which the 1631 map and text sheets are also attached.⁵⁹ In both cases, the temporality of the maps regarding their function and use changed: the maps were not consumed as topical prints, because the events were from a more distant past. They were consumed as memorial or history maps, and as collector's items. Such an extended glorious edition of the map was perhaps more likely to be included in a luxurious collector's atlas. It was not an uncommon practice to collect news maps in albums. A well-known Dutch example is the *Kittensteyn album*, part of the *Rotterdam Atlas van Stolk* collection, which has been characterised as a 'pictorial history book'.⁶⁰

57 Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, xxxv, 38-39, lists six different states, attributing the additional text and map sheets to specific individual states. I instead propose to consider each copy individually.

58 Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Kartensammlung, *Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem*, Bd. 17:66, fols. 145-146.

59 McDonald, *The Print Collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo*, II, no. 2933.

60 Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*, 47-48.



Fig. 26 Willem Jansz Blaeu (publisher), *Tabula castelli ad Sandflitam, qua simul inundate agri, alluviones, fossae, alvei, quae Bergas ad Zomam et Antverpiam interjacent, annotantur*, etching and engraving, 38,8 × 50 cm, in: Hugo Grotius, *Grollae obsidio cum annexis anni 1627* (Amsterdam: Willem Blaeu, 1629) 22-23.

News maps could also enjoy a second life when they were incorporated as illustrations in history books or in atlases.⁶¹ Willem Jansz Blaeu made a very similar but latinized version of Visscher's second state, which he included in Hugo Grotius's book *Grollae obsidio* (1629) (fig. 26). This book mainly recounts the siege of Groenlo (20 July-9 August 1627) but also discusses the developments taking place around Zandvliet. It served as a public tribute to Stadtholder Frederick Henry, and Grotius planned to officially present his work to him.⁶² The volume reached a larger audience than just Frederick Henry, if we are to believe the correspondence between Grotius and his brother. Prior to the Battle of Kallo, led by Count William of Nassau-Siegen in June 1638, the maps from *Grollae obsidio* were apparently 'in everybody's hands', as people tried to follow the news about the progress of the States' army.⁶³ Again, the

61 On republishing news maps as illustrations to history books, see: Balkestein, 'Nieuwskaarten en historische prenten'; Van Schaik, 'Not the End of the Story'.

62 Nellen, 'The Significance of Grollae Obsidio', 11.

63 The map even led to a misunderstanding. When people heard that William had captured several forts in Waasland, they thought this was S. Maria Schans, because this redoubt was mapped in *Grollae obsidio*. However, it concerned other forts that were not on the map, namely Steenland, Verrebroeck, and Callo: Nellen, 'The Significance of Grollae Obsidio', 13.



Fig. 27 Johannes Janssonius (publisher), *Tabula Castellae ad Sandflitam, qua simul inundati agri, alluviones, fossae, alvei, quae Bergas ad Zomam et Antverpiam interjacent, annotantur*, 1636, etching and engraving, 33,8 × 49 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

temporality of the maps regarding their function and use changed as they were consumed in a different context relating to different events.

Several decades later, the same imitation by Blaeu appears in Isaac Commelin's historical account of Frederick Henry's victories published by Jodocus Janssonius, *Frederick Hendrick van Nassauw Prince van Orangien* (Amsterdam 1651). The map description inserted in the book, however, is not very accurate. It claims to depict the events of 1632, but the last event shown is the flood of 9 December 1627, thus telling readers only half the story.⁶⁴

From 1630 until about 1670, Blaeu's imitation also appeared in the multi-volume atlases of the firm.⁶⁵ The text on the verso side of the atlas map is based on the text from Grotius's *Grollae obsidio*. Blaeu's rivals Janssonius and Hondius, who competed with Blaeu, could not stay behind.⁶⁶ First, they included an original map by Visscher (the 1627 second map state) in the appendix of their atlas.⁶⁷ From 1636, however, Janssonius replaced Visscher's original with his own imitation (fig. 27).⁶⁸ Strikingly, he did not simply copy one of the

⁶⁴ Janssonius, *Frederick Hendrick*, 34: 'Afbeeldende het schansen der Spaenschen en Hollanderen, soo aen de Schelde als tot Bergen op den Zoom; mede der Spaenschen aenslagh op Zeelandt. En 't veroveren van de Couwensteysche dyk, met de daer gelegene schansen, gedaen door Graef Willem van Nassauw inden jaere 1632.'

⁶⁵ Van der Krogt, *Koeman's*, II, no. 3120:2, 527.

⁶⁶ Van der Krogt, *Koeman's*, I, 37.

⁶⁷ Van der Krogt, *Koeman's*, I, no. 1:202.

⁶⁸ Van der Krogt, *Koeman's*, I, no. 3120:1.1, 623.

existing maps by Blaeu or Visscher but composed his own adapted version, assembling elements of Blaeu's map (such as the Latin legend) and elements of Visscher's 1631 and 1632 maps (such as the Battle of the Slaak and the flooded polder next to Antwerp). Like Commelin's book, the story of the battle is only half depicted. The dotted line remains meaningless as it moves toward nothing (the Slaak is not part of the map). From 1636 to 1680 this copy would appear in several Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius world atlases.

In 1634, 1637, and 1645, Visscher published his own atlases of the Netherlands as well.⁶⁹ They mainly consist of his regional maps alternated with news maps. The 1632 fourth state of his Scheldt story map is part of the 1634 and 1637 volumes, and the 1640 sixth state is part of the 1645 edition. Visscher incorporated the latest available state into each of his atlas editions.⁷⁰ In all Visscher's atlases, however, the additional plates – the text sheets as well as the additional map sheets at the left, top or right – were removed, reducing the map's temporal relevance. This practice suggests that these additional sheets were only attached by Visscher to his maps for journalistic and storytelling purposes, contexts in which the temporal aspects were considered more important.

In sum, these circulating copies and imitations show that the ways in which the maps were presented to (and possibly interpreted by) the public varied from copy to copy – and these variations were not always due to interventions by the mapmaker or map publisher, but also by those by the users. Some of the copies were evidently presented as news maps, while some circulated as memorial maps in composite atlases or occurred as geographical maps in atlases. In the case of the latter, we have witnessed that the dynamic, temporal aspects of the story maps were reduced and fragmented. Presented as isolated maps, in the context of other static, regional maps, their narratives have become less meaningful and temporally situated. In historical books such as Commelin's celebration of Frederick Henry's victories, the maps were similarly reduced to static illustrations of a specific historical discourse presented in the book. At the same time, Visscher's temporal information and map narratives became interwoven with geography and history. With each copy that was distributed and consumed, the events became part of the wider geographical and historical landscape, and were carved deeper into the collective memory and historical consciousness of the viewers.

Conclusion

By analysing Visscher's series of updated maps of the surroundings of Zandvliet, as well as the maps produced by the other mapmakers, this article has argued that temporality is key to story mapping and news cartography in terms of representation, production, circulation, and (intended) use. Early modern mapmakers actively searched for ways to add various aspects of time to their maps and invited users to engage with these temporal qualities. However, the comparison of Visscher's practices with those of other mapmakers

⁶⁹ Koeman, *Atlantes Neerlandici*, III, records three atlases titled *Belgium sive Germania Inferior*, published in 1634 (Koeman Vis 1a and 1b, two editions), 1637 (Koeman Vis 2), and 1645 (Koeman Vis 3).

⁷⁰ Koeman, *Atlantes Neerlandici*, III, Vis 1 A (10), Vis 2(10): 1632, and Vis 3(13): 1640.

shows that not every mapmaker handled time and temporality in the same way. Visscher's choices relating to 'temporal generalization' in particular are completely different from Verbiest's and Verhoeven's. Their selection of temporal information implies different narratives, highlighting specific – positive – events and privileging some moments over others. My analysis also confirms the hypothesis that the representation of narrative and temporality is highly partial and political. Further research can help to elucidate whether Visscher's choices should be understood as propagandistic efforts to actively sway public opinion, or whether he simply responded to consumer demand for a pro-Dutch perspective on the events. In doing so, we may also better understand if adding temporality should be considered as a way to increase a map's credibility and authority (as with the phrase *ad vivum*), convincing the readers of their accuracy and faithfulness.

Regarding the production of the maps, the moments of production are defined by events from 'real-time' and the rhythm of the news, in combination with time pressure on the news market and public demand for the latest news. Widely celebrated events were far more likely to be presented on news maps than events that more or less stayed under the radar. We can observe practices similar to those in the 'regular' textual newspapers, such as anticipating a continuation of events. News maps should therefore be considered as news publications, entangled in the early modern Dutch media landscape and contributing to the culture of anticipation, the sense of 'contemporaneity', and a 'shared present' just like other news media did.

In order to understand how temporal information on the map was presented to the audience, the context of circulation and use is also of importance. With his news maps, Visscher published elaborate and topical maps, applying several techniques and strategies to add temporal information, movement, and narratives. His maps seemed to have been quite popular and influential; they circulated widely in the Dutch Republic, and were repeatedly copied or imitated by other publishers, appearing in various history books, commercial atlas editions, and composite atlases. However, when incorporated in books or atlases the temporal information and narratives these maps originally included were presented in a fragmented manner, losing much of the meaning they had when they were part of an elaborate news publication with accompanying texts. The narratives were probably consumed as static, historical, spatial facts rather than as dynamic, topical news stories. As a result, time in story maps was conceived in various ways, depending on the demands, preferences, and questions of publishers and consumers.

Besides depicting the 'now' and the 'present', news maps also commemorated older events. While the Battle of Kallo (1638) was neglected on Visscher's maps, the story of the Battle of the Slaak (1631) was highlighted in his maps until 1640. Visscher's map narratives found their way into atlases, albums, print collections, medals, and history books, turning the battle into a canonical event in Dutch history. These practices of either highlighting or removing events from the landscape, and of juxtaposing 'old' stories with 'new' ones, seems to be specific for early modern story mapping. It also distinguishes news maps from, for instance, the more ephemeral newspapers, and makes these sources particularly interesting for studying the relationship between news and memory.

In sum, studying Visscher's updated news maps offers a vital contribution to the history of temporalities and historical consciousness, as these sources demonstrate that in

premodern times temporality reflected much more than merely an idea of progress, as Koselleck once argued. Instead, time was a highly complex and diverse concept, manifesting itself in multiple temporalities that were sometimes even juxtaposed, similar to how Nicholas Scott Baker has characterized the conception of the time and the future by Renaissance Italians ‘not as a river but as a delta, diverging into many branches and channels.’⁷¹ The metaphor of the delta comes to life in the story maps of Scheldt river delta, where the present similarly coexisted with the past, and news coexisted with history. Visscher anticipated forthcoming events in the area, layered his maps, and transformed them into spatiotemporal patchworks, partially overlapping the landscape and obscuring or highlighting certain historical events. Visscher thus evoked the spatial and narrative imagination of his readers, inviting them to navigate space and time, and to travel between the past, present, and even the future.

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