

Wenceslaus Hollar's Maps of Oxford

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SUMMARY

This article examines the authorship, basis and significance of the three major seventeenth-century maps of Oxford – the scenographic plans of Ralph Agas, Wenceslaus Hollar and David Loggan. It finds that Hollar's cartographic contribution was much more limited than usually thought. Agas's 1578 survey of Oxford formed the basis of a copper engraving on six sheets drawn (and probably engraved) by Augustine Ryther and published in 1588. Only a single, much-damaged copy of this map survives. Despite being described as 'Nova et Accuratissima', David Loggan's map of 1675 was based on the Agas survey, but with careful attention paid to the changes to the streets and buildings that had occurred during the intervening century. Between these dates, Hollar actually published two maps of Oxford, of which one is dated 1643 and the other, embellished with the arms of the colleges and a new prospect of the city, is undated, but probably later. It has long been assumed that the publication of the 1643 map was opportunistic, given Oxford's new importance following the outbreak of the English Civil War. This may have been the case, but examination of the map provides no evidence of the fortifications of the city that would have been in place by 1643 and several other contemporary features are absent. In fact, it is no more than a poorly updated copy of the Agas map. Hollar's later version of his Oxford map, like the 1643 version, bears his signature. However, the etching style is much less precise than in the earlier version and, if it was his work, it is not of his best quality.

EARLY MAPS OF OXFORD

The treasury accounts of the University of Oxford reveal that in 1578 an experienced land surveyor, Ralph Agas, was paid £20 to undertake a survey of the city.¹ The motivation generally ascribed to the university is that it was responding to the appearance in 1574 of a map of the University of Cambridge by Richard Lyne, but this seems unlikely.² The Cambridge map was probably drawn and engraved at the instigation of Archbishop Matthew Parker and can be found bound into later editions of the *History of Cambridge* by John Caius, whereas the Oxford map remained unpublished for another decade.³ Although the original Oxford survey has not survived, which is itself surprising, other contemporary surveys by Agas are extant and, although highly detailed, they were mainly utilitarian in nature, with a minimum of three dimensional embellishments.⁴ Agas was a very competent cartographic draftsman, but he was not an engraver and there is little evidence that he

¹ Bodleian, MS WPbeta/21/4, vice-chancellor's accounts for 1621–66, plus some earlier years.

² A. Baggs and P. Bryan (eds.), *Cambridge 1574–1904* (2012).

³ John Caius, *Historiae Canterbrigiensis Academiae* and *De Antiquitate Cantebriensis Academiae* (both 1574).

⁴ See, for example, BL, Add MS 38065, the Agas survey of Toddington Manor, 1581; and P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp. 88–9. The Toddington map, drawn three years after the Oxford survey, has only two small groups of three dimensional buildings. Since the early eighteenth century, Agas's name has also been associated with a large woodblock map of London dating from c.1561, but the balance of scholarly opinion now rejects this attribution. See also S.P. Marks, 'Dating the Copperplate Map and its First Derivatives', in A. Saunders and J. Schofield (eds.), *Tudor London: A Map and a View* (2001), pp. 7–15.

had the artistic capability necessary to draw large building groups in perspective, as was necessary in a scenographic city map.⁵ Ten years were to pass before he arranged for the survey to be turned into what was almost certainly a far more elaborate piece of work suitable for engraving. The person he employed was a London instrument maker and engraver, Augustine Ryther, who was responsible for over twenty maps, including the Hamond map of Cambridge, which he engraved in 1592 with Peter Muser.⁶ Curiously, in Ryther's claim on the Oxford map, 'Augustinus Ryther Anglus Deliniavit 1588'; his name is accompanied only by the word 'Deliniavit' (more commonly 'Delineavit', in Latin literally 'he drew it'), which signifies responsibility for the drawing or design, rather than 'Sculpsit' or 'Fecit', which would signify responsibility for the engraving. Agas was hardly a shrinking violet and would not have allowed Ryther to claim the drawing of the map had he done so himself. The city was viewed from the north and its principal buildings shown with a high level of detail and, apparently, accuracy. Printed on six copper plates it was designed to be wall-mounted, which probably explains why only a single copy, in extremely poor condition, has survived. Fortunately a facsimile on a reduced scale was made in 1728, when its condition was not quite so dire. This facsimile is associated with the name of Robert Whittlesey, which is itself curious. Although his name appears on the map, he, like Agas, was a land surveyor, who worked for a number of the Oxford colleges, including Brasenose.⁷ With no artistic or engraving skills, he almost certainly had to subcontract the engraving. There is a common assumption that the university sponsored the publication of the facsimile, not least because the map incorporates a dedication to the vice-chancellor. There is, however, no evidence in its accounts of any financial involvement by the university.

For the engraving of the Agas/Ryther map to have been commercially successful, several hundred copies would have had to have been sold, notwithstanding that the original survey costs were reimbursed separately by the university. By the late seventeenth century it was considered rare. Thomas Hearne was aware of the existence of only three or four copies, so for whatever reason the map seems not to have been bought widely by the colleges and its size would always have limited its appeal to the general collector.⁸ Its scarcity may have been apparent fifty years or more before this. As the middle of the seventeenth century approached a 'new' map of Oxford, probably on a reduced scale, would have had an obvious market. This was recognised by Wenceslaus Hollar.

WENCESLAUS HOLLAR (1607–77)

A brief bibliography of early sources with biographical material on Hollar has been published by Griffiths.⁹ In addition to Hollar providing some autobiographical notes on one of his etchings, sketches of his life were provided by two contemporaries: the antiquary and natural philosopher John Aubrey (1626–97), and the multi-talented Francis Place (1647–1728).¹⁰ The

⁵ A scenographic map of a city is one that is properly scaled, but where buildings and other features are drawn on it as though viewed by a bird flying across the city at a constant height in a particular direction. In all of the early maps of Oxford the flight of the bird is from north to south. Although such maps do not benefit from an overall perspective, drawings of individual buildings can do so, requiring a high level of skill from the artist and a keen eye for architectural detail.

⁶ The Hamond map has sometimes been attributed to Agas on stylistic grounds, but the stylistic similarity is more likely to have arisen due to the involvement of Ryther in the engraving of both.

⁷ See, for example, Brasenose College Library, Clennell B14.1/30c, an estate map of Grandpont, 1726.

⁸ C.E. Doble et al. (eds.), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, 11 vols. OHS os (1884–1918), vol. 3, p. 485.

⁹ A. Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain* (1998), p. 90.

¹⁰ E. Mackenzie and M. Ross, *A Historical, Topographical and Descriptive View of the County Palatine of Durham ...* 2 vols. (1834), vol. 2, p. 85.

catalogue of his work by Pennington incorporates a chronology of his life that has largely been agreed by Griffiths and Kesnerová.¹¹

The earliest attempt at compiling a *catalogue raisonné* of the works of Hollar was by Parthey in 1853, which was partially updated by Borovský in 1898.¹² A major revision was undertaken by Pennington in 1982, retaining the original Parthey 'P' numbers even where he disagreed with the chronological sequence. The more recent New Hollstein catalogue of Turner and Bartrum has introduced a completely new 'NH' chronological numbering sequence.¹³ Both forms of numbering will be referred to in this paper.

Born in Prague, by 1627 Hollar lived in Frankfurt before moving to Strasburg and then, in 1633, to Cologne. One of the engravers with whom he studied in Frankfurt and who influenced his style was the Swiss Matthäus Merian the elder (1593–1650). It was in Cologne in 1636 that he attracted the notice of Thomas, earl of Arundel. Employed as a draftsman, he travelled with Arundel to Vienna and Prague and, in 1637, returned with him to England. Arundel left England in 1642 and Hollar passed briefly into the service of the Duke of York, until he left England for Antwerp in 1644. Hollar was an etcher of enormous ability and would turn his hand to almost any subject matter, being one of few to use etching techniques in maps. He had begun to produce highly detailed scenographic maps as early as 1635, in which year he published a fine map of Cologne. Probably a little later he produced a map of Hull, for which the original copper plate also survives (in the British Library).

Tradition has it that with other royalist artists he withstood the Civil War siege of Basing House (1643–5), during which period he was certainly very productive, but this has now been discounted. He is most likely to have been in London between 1642 and early 1644 and whether he ever visited Oxford during this period is unknown. Hollar was a seasoned traveller and, despite the exigencies of the time, it would not have been a difficult journey.

OXFORD AND THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

The first pitched battle of the English Civil War was fought at Edgehill in Warwickshire on 23 October 1642. King Charles entered Oxford, to popular acclaim, a few days later and made his base there after the indecisive action at Turnham Green on 13 November. The construction of earthwork fortifications seems to have begun almost immediately and continued for at least two years. Various contemporary plans of the city's fortifications have been analysed at length by Lattey et al,¹⁴ of which the most important is Bernard de Gomme's hand-drawn plan of 1644.¹⁵ Kemp and Munby have commented on a painting of 1689 in part derived from de Gomme's plan.¹⁶ It is clear that any map or plan of Oxford drawn after the end of 1642 with pretensions of accuracy would have had to have included such fortifications, or their remains, as did David Loggan's map of the city published in 1675. This would have been particularly the case at and near to Magdalen College, where the Royal ordnance was parked in the Walkes and there was a substantial star-shaped battery immediately across the old bridge over the Cherwell. It is just about conceivable that the fortifications were excluded from the edition

¹¹ R. Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677* (2002), pp. xxix–xxx, 186; A. Griffiths and G. Kesnerová, *Wenceslaus Hollar, Prints and Drawings* (1983).

¹² G. Parthey, *Wenzel Hollar, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche* [Wenzel Hollar, *The Descriptive Directory of his Etchings*] (1853), p. 223; F.A. Borovský, *Wenzel Hollar, Ergänzungen zu G. Parthey's Beschreibendem Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche* [Wenzel Hollar, *Additions to G. Parthey's Descriptive Directory of his Engravings*] (1898), p. 35.

¹³ S. Turner (compiler) and G. Bartrum (ed.), *The New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400–1700 – Wenceslaus Hollar*, 9 vols. (2009–12).

¹⁴ R.T. Lattey et al., 'A Contemporary Map of the Defences of Oxford in 1644', *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1936), pp. 161–72.

¹⁵ Bodleian, MS Top. Oxon. b. 167, Bernard de Gomme's plan of Oxford defences.

¹⁶ A. Kemp, 'The Fortifications of Oxford during the Civil War', *Oxoniensia*, 42 (1977), pp. 237–46; J. Munby, 'The Siege of Oxford and the Revolution of 1688', *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988), pp. 346–7.

of Hollar's map published during the Civil War for 'security' reasons, but such an excuse cannot be put forward for the later edition and the ignorance of the engraver seems an equally plausible explanation.

HOLLAR'S FIRST MAP OF OXFORD (P1055; NH436)

Description

Like that of Agas/Ryther, Hollar's first map of Oxford (Fig. 1) is a scenographic view of the city, viewed from the north. It is drawn to a scale of c.1:6,000 (compared to c.1:1,650 for Agas/Ryther) and measures 22.3 by 32 cm. A distant prospect of the city from the east is inset at the top left corner (5.4 by 13.5 cm). Its greatest extent is Shire (then Sheer) Lake (south); St Clement's Church (east); St Giles' Church (north); and Osney Abbey (west). At bottom left corner is inset a map of the country between Oxford, Cambridge and London. At bottom centre is a compartment containing the key to 48 references marked on the map. A scale, with the distances unmarked, but evidently in perches, is towards the lower right and a compass circle towards the upper right. The arms of the university and city appear below the prospect towards top left. Both the map and the prospect are titled 'Oxforde'. Hollar's signature is etched at bottom right of map: 'W. Hollar Bohem fecit 1643'.

A second state of this plate has a few mainly minor differences as follows:

- (1) At top centre of the map is added, under 'Sheere Lake', 'Frier Bacons | studie'.
- (2) A 'Scala Perticarū' (Scale of Perches) is added within the arms of the compasses.



Fig. 1. Hollar's first map of Oxford P1055; NH436 state 2.

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- (3) To the right of Hollar's signature and the date 1643 is added (engraved, probably not by Hollar), 'Are to be sold by Francis Constable, at y^e | Goat in Kings Street, or at his Shop in | Westminster Hall.'

Francis Constable died in 1647, the year after the third and final siege of Oxford was raised, so this must have been an early variant.¹⁷ It is known that when Hollar left Britain in 1644 he sold some of his plates to the print dealer, Peter Stent, and it may well be that he sold the Oxford plate to Constable at the same time.¹⁸

A possible third state of P1055 has been described, sometimes referred to as 'state 3/Merian', but close examination show this to be a different plate. Neither the map nor the prospect is signed and the main changes may be summarised as follows:

- (1) The lettering is altered.
- (2) Hollar's signature is not present and there is no date.
- (3) The map in the lower left corner has been replaced by a compartment of references (1–12), which has been taken from the central panel and now has only three columns (13–48).
- (4) 'Balcke Friars' is given in error for 'Blacke Friars' and Scheere Lake' for 'Sheere Lake'.

Plates could sometimes be 'reworked' in the sense that fading lines could be re-engraved with a burin, inevitably leading to wider lines than in early impressions. Reworking was always more difficult in the case of etchings, where lines tended to be far more freely drawn, and it does not seem to be the case here. Lacking Friar Bacon's study and the Scale of Perches, it seems to have been copied from P1055 state 1, rather than P1055 state 2, or either state of P1054, thus weighing against Pennington's opinion that it must have post-dated Hollar's death. Turner and Bartrum, like Pennington, reject this as an additional state, attributing it instead to Matthäus Merian and noting that the plate is in the Royal Collection in Windsor. If Turner and Bartrum are correct in attributing 'state 3' to Merian, who died in 1650, then it must necessarily have been an early copy (unless undertaken later by one of his sons, who etched in a similar style). However, the Merian attribution, whether to father or sons, should probably be treated as tentative.

Basis and Accuracy

Hollar's map of Oxford is clearly derived from that of Ralph Agas and Augustine Ryther. The area depicted is almost exactly the same and, as in the original, north is at the bottom of the map. Hurst's essay on Oxford topography includes an analysis of the accuracy of Agas/Ryther, comparing it specifically with Robert Hoggar's ichnographic map of 1850.¹⁹ His methodology involved estimating four distances from north to south, four from east to west, six diagonally and eight for the lengths of large buildings. The same methodology can be applied to Hollar's map and in the table below the results are shown alongside those of Hurst for Agas/Ryther.

The averages shown for Agas/Ryther and Hollar conceal wide variations between the samples in each of the four directions he sampled. Nevertheless, the overall underestimation of distances by both can be clearly seen, supporting the conclusion that Hollar based his map on that of Agas/Ryther. The similarity would be even closer were it not for one outlier in the diagonal samples.

Oxford had changed significantly since 1588 and some, but not all, of these changes are incorporated in Hollar's map. Examples are the replacement of the old Public Schools by the Schools Quadrangle, completed in 1624, the construction of the Convocation House at the

¹⁷ H.R. Plomer (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (1907).

¹⁸ A. Globe, *Peter Stent, London Printseller: Circa 1642–1665* (1985), p. 33.

¹⁹ H. Hurst, *Oxford Topography: An Essay*, OHS, os, 39 (1900), pp. 7–8.

Table 1. Relative accuracy of Agas and Hollar maps

Direction	Agas	Hollar
North to south	-11%	-7%
East to West	- 1%	-1%
Diagonal	- 8%	1%
Buildings	-11%	-6%

western end of the Divinity School, completed in 1637, and the construction of Wadham College, completed in 1613, all of which are clearly present in P1055. Someone, perhaps Hollar himself, had gone to the trouble of checking some of the depictions in the Agas/Ryther map, but the resurvey was far from complete.

The absence of the New College mound in Hollar's map is one of the real clues that in at least some respects it is little more than a partially updated copy of Agas/Ryther. The records of New College reveal that the creation of the mound commenced no later than 1594 and although the steps were not finally added until 1648/9 it would have been substantially complete by 1643.²⁰ The garden layout depicted by Hollar is, however, more complex than that shown in Agas/Ryther. The mound, absent in Agas/Ryther (Fig. 2), can be clearly seen in Loggan's map of 1675 (Fig. 3).

The Physick Garden was founded by the earl of Danby. The five acre site that had once been used as the Jews' burial ground was first leased from Magdalen College in 1621. During the next decade the level of the ground in the Cherwell flood plain was raised, the garden was laid out and the impressive gates were erected in 1632. The garden layout, albeit shown much smaller than its true extent, and the gates are clearly visible in the main part of the map in both states of P1055, but not in the prospect.

Concern as to the accuracy of Hollar's map has been expressed by others:

There are grave doubts, however, about Hollar's accuracy: a map of c.1617 shows that the castle area was already fully developed, as it was in 1675, and there is no evidence of disaster or heavy rebuilding in that area between those dates; there is no sign in Hollar's map of houses known to have been built in the early seventeenth century in the middle of Broad Street, in Ship Street, and in the city ditch west of North Gate. It would be unsafe to regard the map of 1643 as more than an impressionistic picture of housing changes since 1578.²¹

The map of c.1617 referred to here is that of the castle area in the Christ Church archive, drawn in connection with a dispute between the college and the city.

The Prospect

The prospect in P1055 may well have been based on a specially commissioned sketch, whether drawn by Hollar or someone else. Only two prospects of Oxford are known to predate this. The earlier, drawn by Georg (or Joris) Hoefnagel, was published in 1575 in the second volume of Braun and Hogenburg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* [*Cities of the World*].²² It also showed Oxford from the east, but in far less detail. A later prospect of 1588, drawn by the herald William Smith for his work *Particular Description of England*, showed Oxford from the south, but existed as a manuscript drawing only, until its publication in facsimile in the nineteenth

²⁰ C. Bell, 'New College Mound, Oxford: An Archaeological Investigation', *Garden History*, 22.1 (1994), pp. 115–19.

²¹ *VCH Oxon.* 4, pp. 74–180.

²² J. Keuning, 'The "Civitates" of Braun and Hogenburg', *Imago Mundi*, 17.1 (1963), pp. 41–4.



Fig. 2. Detail from Agas/Ryther 1578/88 (Whittlesey, 1728): New College Garden.

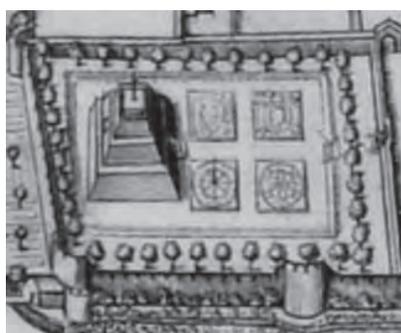


Fig. 3. Detail from Loggan 1675: New College Garden.

century.²³ Although there is no key to the buildings depicted in the prospect, they are mostly readily identifiable.

HOLLAR'S SECOND MAP OF OXFORD (P1054; NH2523)

Description

This is again a scenographic map of the city, viewed from the north (Fig. 4). Although it is drawn to the same scale as P1055, the incorporation of additional material necessitated the use of a larger plate (30 by 36 cm). A compartment at top left again contains the key to 48 references marked on the map. The area covered is the same as in P1055. At bottom left is inset a map of Oxfordshire. A scale in perches is towards the lower right and a compass circle at bottom centre. The arms of the city appear below the key towards top left. The arms of the university and seventeen colleges appear in two vertical panels to the left and right of the map. Above the map is a distant prospect of the city from the east (6.4 by 23 cm), flanked by two panels to left and right containing respectively nine and seven references marked on the prospect. Hollar's signature is etched at bottom centre of map: 'W. Hollar sculpt'; it is also etched at bottom left of prospect: 'D Gage delin W Hollar fe'. The map is titled 'Oxforde' and the prospect 'Prospect of Oxforde from the East'.

²³ BL, Sloane MS 2596.

The main differences between P1055 and P1054 may be summarised as follows:

- (1) The prospect at top left is replaced with the key originally in the box below.
- (2) The original box below is erased and the plan underneath 'in-filled'.
- (3) The old map in the lower left corner is replaced by a new map of a different geographical area and moved up slightly.
- (4) The compass circle is moved from top right to lower centre.
- (5) The 'Scala Perticarū' in the second state of P1055 has become a 'Scale of Perches' and the numbers are now over rather than under the scale itself.
- (6) Coats of arms of colleges (and the university) are added in panels on either side.
- (7) The university arms on the left are removed and the city arms increased in size.
- (8) A new, larger prospect flanked by a key on either side is added above.
- (9) The style of lettering for the names of buildings, etc. has changed a little and some of these names are in slightly different positions (for example 'OXFORDE').
- (10) The Botanic (Physick) Garden, shown in P1055, but far smaller than it was in reality, has disappeared in the main map in P1054, but can now clearly be seen in the prospect.
- (11) Hollar's signature has been abbreviated and moved to the left and the date has been erased.

There is also a second state of P1054, differing in only one respect: below the plan in the lower margin are the words (probably not by Hollar) 'Sould by John Overton at the Whitehorse neere the fountain tauern without Newgate'. John Overton (1640–1713) took over the business and shop of Peter Stent on his death from the plague in 1665, but these premises were destroyed in the Great Fire of the following year.²⁴ According to Globe, Overton occupied the address given here (in other words near the Fountain Tavern) from 1668 to 1703.²⁵

Basis and Accuracy

As has been seen, there are no material differences between P1054 and P1055 in the way that buildings have been depicted on the map itself, notwithstanding the absence of the Physick Garden in P1054. It seems probable that the new plate was copied from a print from the earlier plate, very probably without access to the original work of Agas/Ryther and any other material Hollar might have used when he produced his first version. Certainly there is no attempt to correct any of the obvious errors in the earlier version.

The Prospect

Within the prospect, but not the plan itself, the name of the artist is given as D. Gage. Gage's name does not occur in association with any of Hollar's other work, or on any other prints of Oxford, or indeed on any other prints at all in major collections. His identity is a complete mystery. Despite the fact that the prospect in P1054 is almost twice the length and twice the overall size of that in P1055, permitting the inclusion of greater detail of the buildings, the view itself is very little changed in terms of the area of the city depicted. This is achieved by foreshortening the foreground and reducing the amount of sky. Why Hollar needed someone to create a new drawing for him with only minimal differences to P1055 is also a mystery. Whoever he was, it is just possible that Gage may also have been responsible for drawing the original prospect (P1055) and that this was only acknowledged in the presumed later version (P1054).

²⁴ See: T. Clayton, 'Overton Family (*per. c.* 1665–*c.* 1765)', ODNB; *British Printed Images to 1700* http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/resources/directory_publishers_O.html, accessed 7 February 2013. John Overton's second son and successor, Henry (1676–1751), purchased the plates of David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* and published an undated second edition with an English preface, probably around 1710.

²⁵ Globe, *Peter Stent*, pp. 218–19.

DATING HOLLAR'S MAPS OF OXFORD

P1054 & P1055

The first task, which turns out to be non-trivial, is deciding whether P1055 precedes P1054, which has been assumed up to this point. The changing views of Hollar's cataloguers are relevant to this question.

As the chronological numbers assigned by Parthey imply, his view was that P1054 was the earlier. Borovský continued to hold this view, noting of P1055 that: 'Hollar etched this copy of P1054 himself, with changes and less precise workmanship.'²⁶ Pennington was the first to argue that P1054 was later than P1055. He based his argument on evidence from the second state of P1054, the only state listed in his catalogue. He pointed out that John Overton did not commence his business as a print-seller until 1665 and that P1054 could therefore be no earlier than this date. Since P1055 was clearly dated 1643, it had to be the earlier version. However, Pennington seems to have been unaware of the (presumably earlier) state of P1054 that did not have John Overton's address and other details in the bottom margin, or any other clue as to its date.

There are, however, additional arguments to support Pennington's proposed chronology. For example, both states of P1054 have Friar Bacon's Study and the Scale of Perches marked, as in state 2 of P1055, so on balance this order still seems more likely and has also been adopted by Turner and Bartrum.

P1055

With the year 1643 clearly marked next to Hollar's signature, there can be little doubt that this was the year in which it was first published. The conventional explanation is that with the king by then based in Oxford, the city had increased in importance and a new, conveniently sized map would be likely to sell well. Hollar, spotting an opportunity, seized it readily. With the Agas/Ryther map to hand and an incomplete set of sketches of changes to the city drawn by himself or a third party (either deliberately or inadvertently excluding the new defences), it would only have taken Hollar two to three weeks to engrave a plate of this size, so he may well have recovered his costs by the time of his departure from England in 1644 and decided to sell the plate.

P1054

Hollar was back in London at the latest by 1652, after which he was employed mainly by the antiquary Sir William Dugdale (1605–86) and the publisher John Ogilby (1600–76), but these were by no means the only people for whom he worked and his output continued to be highly varied. Realistically, P1054 could have been produced at any time between 1652 and Hollar's death in 1677. If prints from the original copper plate of P1055 had continued to prove popular following his departure, it might well have reached the end of its working life after twenty years or so, leading Hollar to the conclusion that a new version with a larger prospect of the city and the coats of arms of the colleges might find a ready market.²⁷ If this were indeed the case, Pennington's estimated date of c.1665 might not have been wide of the mark, albeit for the wrong reason.

²⁶ Borovský, *Wenzel Hollar*, p. 35; translation by author.

²⁷ There is no evidence to suggest that multiple plates were engraved of either P1055 or P1054, although this was sometimes the case with works that were expected to sell in large numbers, such as the Oxford University Almanacks.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF HOLLAR'S MAPS

In states 1 and 2 of P1055, the words 'W. Hollar Bohem fecit 1643' appear etched at the bottom right of the plan, with no separate name in the prospect. In states 1 and 2 of P1054 the words 'D. Gage delin W. Hollar fe' appear within the prospect and 'W. Hollar sculp' at the bottom centre of the plan, again etched. Probably for this reason a question that has not been explored in detail by any of the main cataloguers is whether Hollar was personally responsible for etching the whole of the plates for both P1055 and P1054.

As we have seen Borovský, in his additional notes to Parthey, suggested that Hollar etched P1055 himself, copying P1054 and noting the less precise workmanship. Apart from the fact that the order of publication now seems more likely to have been reversed, a comparison of the differing engraving styles employed in P1055 and P1054 suggests that they may not have been etched in their entirety by the same person. This can be seen from an examination of the same region in each of the variants.

The area selected (see Figs. 5, 6 and 7) shows the church of St Peter-in-the-East, with St Edmund Hall to the south and part of New College garden to the north. Contrary to Borovský's opinion, the standard of etching in P1054 is much less sophisticated than in P1055, the depiction of trees is cruder and the handling of perspective is inferior (see, especially, the layout of New College garden). North of the church, Queen's Lane seems to come to an abrupt end at its northern extent in P1054, although at this point it actually turns sharply west. The height of St Peter's tower relative to that of the bastions to the city wall has increased and its two distinct sections are more similar in height. The building to the north east of the church has either disappeared or diminished significantly in size (it reappears in the later Loggan and Williams maps).²⁸ The southernmost bastion in the eastern city wall is much closer to its true position in P1055 (that is, closer to the east gate). Elsewhere on the plan there are consistent variations in spelling, for example 'Blacke Friers' and 'Graye Friers' in P1055 and 'Blake Fryers' and 'Graye Fryers' in P1054. One possibility is that even if Hollar retained principal responsibility for the later plate, he may have delegated part of the work to one of his pupils.

The etching style of states 1 and 2 of P1054 differs even more from that of states 1 and 2 of P1055 than that of P1055 'state 3/Merian' and seems to be less trustworthy in its depiction of buildings. Assuming Hollar was indeed the etcher of P1055, as seems certain, he may well not have been the etcher of P1054, or at least not of the whole plate. The corollary to this conclusion is that P1054 may date from even later than 1665.

IMAGE RECYCLING

It was not unusual for engravers to re-use their compositions and Hollar was no exception. A 1654 map of the British Isles published by Robert Walton (P649; NH1330) etched by Hollar includes inset maps of London, Edinburgh, Oxford and Dublin, that of Oxford being a close copy of his 1643 map of the city, albeit on a much reduced scale and with changes to the position of the compass circle, title and so on. A map of England and Wales engraved by Richard Gaywood, a pupil of Hollar, and published by Peter Stent in 1662 (P651A; NH2582) also contained work by Hollar, notably twelve small views of towns (including a version of his prospect of Oxford) and various other decorative elements. A 1667 map of the British Isles published by John Overton (P648; NH2581), although engraved rather than etched and not by Hollar, is nevertheless surrounded by several small inset etched plans and views by Hollar, including his map of Oxford, again on a reduced scale and with various minor changes.

²⁸ W. Williams, *Oxonia Depicta* (1733) contained two maps, one a simple re-engraving of the Agas/Ryther map and the other what purported to be a new ichnographic plan of the city, but which was still based on the Agas survey.



Fig. 5. Detail from Hollar P1055; NH436 state 2: St Peter's.

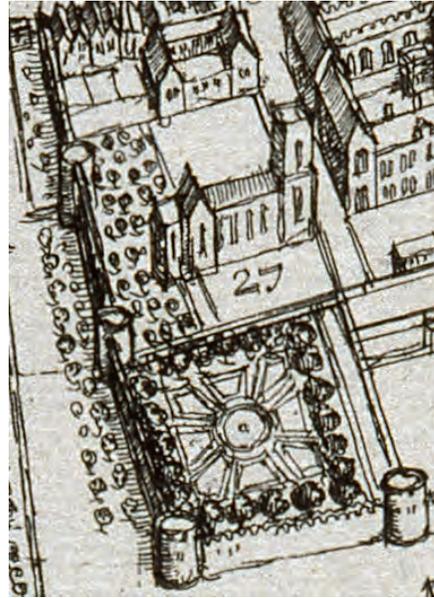


Fig. 6. Detail from P1054; NH2523 state 2: St Peter's.

CONCLUSIONS

Over the years it has become common to refer to the 'Agas' map of Oxford and the 'Hollar' map of Oxford, but both appellations are misleading, for different reasons. In the case of the former, it is simply that the usual omission of Ryther's name leads to a significant exaggeration of the contribution of Agas himself – he was responsible for the ground survey, but not for the engraving and almost certainly not for the depiction of the buildings. Given doubts about the contribution of Agas to the woodblock map of London, his skill as a scenographic cartographer, as opposed to an estate surveyor, may have been significantly overestimated.

With the latter, the main problem is the implication that there was only one map and that it was all Hollar's work, which is simply not the case. Two multi-state versions of Hollar's Oxford map exist, apart from the copy by a third party. Hollar probably engraved (actually etched) the earlier version of his work, P1055, but it was based largely on the Agas/Ryther map and to the extent that changes were shown, he was almost certainly reliant on a third party bringing these to his attention. There was no attempt to undertake a complete resurvey of the city. The prospect in P1055 may have been his own work, but the prospect in P1054 certainly was not, although the identity of 'D. Gage' is a complete mystery.

Hollar was clearly the engraver of the map in P1055, but it is not obvious that the map of P1054 was engraved entirely by the same hand, notwithstanding Hollar's signature on both the map and the prospect. If it was his work, it was executed with far less care than P1055. The plate for what has inelegantly been termed P1055 'state 3/Merian' was almost certainly etched by a different hand to both P1055 and P1054. Although the quality of the etching is not to the same standard as in P1055, it is at least as competent a copy as P1054, notwithstanding the fact that it was based on the first state of P1055.

The contribution of Hollar to the mapping of Oxford cannot be ignored, but it would also be easy to overstate and only to a very limited extent does the detail of the map in its various states represent an intermediate position between those of Agas/Ryther and Loggan. The



Fig. 7. Detail from P1055 'state 3/Merian': St Peter's.

introduction by Hollar of an inset prospect of the city in the 1643 map was an innovation, subsequently to be copied and expanded upon by Loggan and Williams. It was not until 1750 that a complete resurvey of Oxford was undertaken by Isaac Taylor, engraved by George Anderton and published by William Jackson, so the Agas survey retained its importance for over 170 years.

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