

Henry Reed's Poetic Map of Verona: (Di)versifying the Teaching of Geography, IV

Adele J. Haft
Department of Classical
and Oriental Studies
Hunter College
The City Univ. of New York
695 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021
ahaft@hunter.cuny.edu

Henry Reed's "A Map of Verona" became the title piece of the only poetry collection published by this multi-talented Englishman (1946). By recalling his trip to Naples and prophesying his devotion to Verona, the poem foreshadows Reed's lifelong passion for Italy. In "A Map of Verona," Reed is unique among map-poets in presenting himself as the star-crossed lover of a place, whose mapped image he eroticizes into the beloved's body. Because Reed ultimately rejects his map as illusory, the poem invites us to consider the type of map he was gazing at while composing "A Map of Verona." This paper, the fourth in a series about the use of poetry in the teaching of geography, argues that Reed might have used the 1928 edition of *Italy from the Alps to Naples*, one of the popular Baedeker travel guides esteemed for their accurate maps and plans. Yet a gulf separates the Baedeker map of Verona from earlier, more romantic depictions of the city. Perhaps no image comes closer to sharing Reed's sensibility than the complementary views of Verona displayed in Braun and Hogenberg's magnificent *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1581).

Keywords: Poetry about Maps, Travel Guides, Baedeker, Blue Guides, Braun and Hogenberg, Map/Geography Education, Maps of Verona

Phillip and Juliana Muehrcke would call this a story of an "imaginative map reader" (Muehrcke 1974, 323). In it, the English poet Henry Reed contemplates an apparently ordinary map of Verona, a place he has never seen. Gazing at its austere lines and simple palette, he transforms the mapped city into an object of desire, and himself into seducer. For twelve stanzas he ponders his plight. Should he risk the same disappointment he felt with Naples, whose map once had seemed as "open"? Can he trust any map, having experienced both the charms and imperfections of one? Will he ever visit Verona or just savor its image on a map?

How Reed answered these questions is the subject of this paper, the fourth in a series advocating the use of poetry in the teaching of geography (see Haft 1999, 2000, 2001b). It begins with his poem "A Map of Verona" and the complex relationships between the verses, Reed's life, and the elusive Italian city. It argues that his obsession with the poet/novelist Thomas Hardy inspired Reed not only to travel but to create his own poem about a map. It examines the contemporary travel guides Reed might have used, details how he attempted to improve upon their maps, then considers other types of cartographic images Reed would have enjoyed had he known about them. While focusing on a 1928 Baedeker guide, it looks back at Braun and Hogenberg's views of Verona and at a few of the idiosyncratic maps that appeared shortly before their groundbreaking *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. Finally, after a glance at an erotic emblem-map of Verona and its obvious debt to Braun and Hogenberg, this paper offers some thoughts about what these poetic maps of Verona may contribute to students of geography and cartography.

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HENRY REED'S "A MAP OF VERONA" (1942/1946)

*Quelle belle heure, quels bons bras me
rendront ces régions d'où viennent mes
sommeils et mes moindres mouvements?*

A map of Verona is open, the small strange city;
With its river running round and through, it is river-embraced,
And over this city for a whole long winter season,
Through streets on a map, my thoughts have hovered and paced.

Across the river there is a wandering suburb,
An unsolved smile on a now familiar mouth;
Some enchantments of earlier towns are about you:
Once I was drawn to Naples in the south.

Naples I know now, street and hovel and garden,
The look of the islands from the avenue,
Capri and Ischia, like approaching drum-beats—
My youthful Naples, how I remember you!

You were an early chapter, a practice in sorrow,
Your shadows fell, but were only a token of pain,
A sketch in tenderness, lust, and sudden parting,
And I shall not need to trouble with you again.

But I remember, once your map lay open,
As now Verona's, under the still lamp-light.
I thought, are these the streets to walk in in the mornings,
Are these the gardens to linger in at night?

And all was useless that I thought I learned:
Maps are of place, not time, nor can they say
The surprising height and colour of a building,
Nor where the groups of people bar the way.

It is strange to remember those thoughts and to try to catch
The underground whispers of music beneath the years,
The forgotten conjectures, the clouded, forgotten vision,
Which only in vanishing phrases reappears.

Again, it is strange to lead a conversation
Round to a name, to a cautious questioning
Of travellers, who talk of Juliet's tomb and fountains
And a shining smile of snowfall, late in Spring.

Their memories calm this winter of expectation,
Their talk restrains me, for I cannot flow
Like your impetuous river to embrace you;
Yet you are there, and one day I shall go.

The train will bring me perhaps in utter darkness
And drop me where you are blooming, unaware
That a stranger has entered your gates, and a new devotion
Is about to attend and haunt you everywhere.

The flutes are warm: in tomorrow's cave the music
Trembles and forms inside the musician's mind,
The lights begin, and the shifting crowds in the causeways
Are discerned through the dusk, and the rolling river behind.

And in what hour of beauty, in what good arms,
Shall I those regions and that city attain
From whence my dreams and slightest movements rise?
And what good Arms shall take them away again?

"A Map of Verona" is the title poem of the only volume of poetry Henry Reed produced during his lifetime (1914-1986). Although it had appeared in *The Listener* originally (Reed 1942, 343), Reed revised the poem to open his 1946 collection *A Map of Verona* (Reed 1946, 9-10). After his death, this later version retained its prominent place in the definitive *Henry Reed: Collected Poems*, from which our text derives (Reed 1991, 3-4. Courtesy of Oxford University Press.).

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It is hard to overstate the poem's significance for this man of many talents—poet, teacher, journalist, cryptographer, broadcaster, writer of radio plays, book reviewer, translator, and professor of English. Of all the places he lived, two imprinted themselves indelibly on his memory. One was a house in Dorset, England called Gable Court, where he lived in 1949-1950 with Michael Ramsbotham, to whom he dedicated *A Map of Verona*. The other was Italy, a country he first visited in 1934 and to which he returned again and again. Written in 1942, the year he met Ramsbotham, "A Map of Verona" is an autobiographical poem that nostalgically recalls his initial trip to Naples and prophesies his return to Italy, this time to Verona. Yet it would be almost a decade before Reed, alone after his breakup with Ramsbotham, made his journey to Verona.

Reed had gone to Naples to write a biography of Thomas Hardy, the subject of his master's thesis at University of Birmingham. Although he never completed the work, he fell in love with the warmth of the city and its people: "My youthful Naples, how I remember you!" Then came Italy's involvement in the Spanish Civil War and World War II. In 1942, after a year in the Royal Army Ordnance Corps, Reed was transferred to the Italian Section of the Government Code and Cypher School at Bletchley Park, forty miles northwest of London. While at work, he helped decipher coded messages from his adopted country. In his spare time, he composed "A Map of Verona" and many of the other poems that eventually appeared in his collection. When Reed finally saw Verona in 1951, he described his joy in a letter to his parents (Reed 1991, xv):

"In 1942, after a year in the Royal Army Ordnance Corps, Reed was transferred to the Italian Section of the Government Code and Cypher School at Bletchley Park . . ."

It is a most lovely city, small enough for me to walk right across it in less than an hour; I had a letter of introduction to a friend of a friend & was in consequence well looked after & made much fuss of. My arrival was even announced on the radio, I learned with much delight later on.

Reed's obsession with Thomas Hardy continued until he scrapped the biography in the mid-1950s. In the meantime, it brought him to the places later memorialized in his writings and helps account for the importance of the map in "A Map of Verona." Reed's beloved Gable Court, for example, was located in Dorset, the English county where Hardy lived most of his life. Hardy made Dorset the setting—as "South Wessex"—of several of his masterpieces. One of the most celebrated maps in fiction is the "Map of Wessex," illustrated by Emery Walker to accompany Hardy's *The Life and Death of the Mayor of Casterbridge* (Hardy 1912, 388-389). In that novel, made-up names of actual places (e.g. Casterbridge for Dorchester, Dead-

man's Bay for Lyme Bay) appear beside identifiable names (e.g. Stonehenge, Southampton), thus allowing the reader to recognize England's south coast immediately (Pinion 1968; Zanger 1982, 789-90). Hardy even prepared a map for his *The Return of the Native* (Hardy 1878, vol.1, frontispiece; cf. O'Sullivan 1975, 66-68) and another in 1895 for a collected edition of his works (Hardy 1991, xx). After abandoning novels, Hardy envisaged another map while composing his poem "The Place on the Map." Here a "hanging map [that] depicts the coast and place" recalls a critical moment in an affair. The final stanzas of Hardy's elaborately rhymed poem describe how the narrator reacts to his lover's secret (Hardy 1914, 37-38; 1976, 321-22):

v

For the wonder and the wormwood of the whole
Was that what in realms of reason would have joyed our double soul
Wore a torrid tragic light
Under order-keeping's rigorous control.

vi

So, the map revives her words, the spot, the time,
And the thing we found we had to face before the next year's prime;
The charted coast stares bright,
And its episode comes back in pantomime.

These verses, coupled with Hardy's interest in mapping his novels, may have inspired Reed's map-poem about the tragic consequences of a love-affair. "A Map of Verona," however, is not only finer poetry but its specificity and complexity set it apart from "A Place on the Map." Reed's work is autobiographical, while the relationship between Hardy's poem and his own life is open to debate. "A Poor Schoolmaster's Story" was Hardy's manuscript title as well as the poem's subtitle when first published in *The English Review* in September 1913 (Hardy 1913, 161-62). Such slim evidence has led scholars to suggest that "A Place on the Map" is fictional (Bailey 1970, 280-81) or that it was based on the story of a teacher friend, Horace Moule, who had fathered an illegitimate child (Pinion 1989, 213). But it may refer to Hardy's 1867 affair with Tryphena Sparks (Deacon and Coleman, in Bailey 1970, 281). Or, because "A Map of the Place" was one of many he penned after the death of his wife Emma Gifford in 1912, it may recall her father's objection to their courtship in 1873 (Weber, in Bailey 1970, 281; Johnson 1991, 102); or it may refer, in some way, to Emma's own death (Zietlow 1974, 194). Nor is the setting of Hardy's poem any less speculative: since the poem doesn't name the place on the map, the location of the "jutting height . . . with a margin of blue sea" must depend on the characters involved.

Like Hardy, Reed contemplates a map that transports him back to a pivotal place and time where love and pain interlace. Reed's study of maps, however, is far more developed than Hardy's. In the five central stanzas of "A Map of Verona," Reed presents himself as the star-crossed lover not of a woman but of a *place*. Commenting on the Italian radio plays that Reed wrote after *A Map of Verona*, James Beggs observes (Beggs 1995, 9):

In a life which included only one sustained romantic relationship, with a young writer named Michael Ramsbotham in the late 1940s, Italy was Reed's enduring passion, and these six plays, collected and published in 1971, he said "constitute memorials, however ephemeral, to the love I have always felt for her" (Reed 1971, foreword).

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Reed's love is passionate, at least on paper, where reading maps becomes poetic foreplay. First, it is Naples' mapped gardens he imagines "linger[ing] in at night." Once Reed transfers his desire to a map of Verona, he describes "the small strange city" as "river-embraced." Toying with the meaning of "map" as "face" or "portrait,"² he lists among her "enchantments" an "unsolved smile on a now familiar mouth"—certainly an allusion to that most enigmatic of Italian portraits, the Mona Lisa, whose artist, Leonardo da Vinci, also designed maps and architectural plans (see Harvey 1980, 154-55 and figs. VIII and 89). As Reed projects himself into the map, the sexual excitement of the penultimate stanza becomes unmistakable with its "warm" flutes, caves, and "shifting crowds [at] dusk." Curiosity and expectation lead to arousal as he anticipates entering Verona's "gates" at last "in utter darkness. . . where you are blooming." There is no mention of Catullus, yet Reed is writing erotic love poetry, the genre of that Veronese poet (Catullus 35.3, 67.34; Ovid *Amores* 3.15.7; Martial 14.195.1). And while other poets like Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 1162-69, 411 BC), John Donne ("Love's Progress," ca.1590s), or Louise Bogan ("Cartography," 1938) have read the beloved's body like/as a map, Reed eroticizes a map into the beloved's body.

While "A Place on the Map" reflects the narrator's past, "A Map of Verona" presages its author's future as well. The poet's reference to "Juliet's tomb and fountains" is more than an a passing allusion to one of Verona's tourist attractions (cf. Perbellini 1972/3). Only in the revised poem do Reed's travellers mention Juliet at all (Reed 1946, 9-10; 1991, 3-4); in the original version, they spoke merely "of parasols and fountains" (Reed 1942, 343). Guide books may warn that Juliet's tomb, however evocatively set, is every bit as counterfeit as Juliet's house (Bertarelli 1924, 157 and 159). Yet reference to the site identifies Verona just as Reed's naming Capri and Ischia identifies Naples. And his mention of this most famous of star-crossed lovers reminds us that Reed has already lost Naples, even as it foreshadows his inevitable loss of Verona as well.

Which brings us to the last stanza of "A Map of Verona":

And in what hour of beauty, in what good arms,
Shall I those regions and that city attain
From whence my dreams and slightest movements rise?
And what good Arms shall take them away again?

Those conversant in French, like Reed, will recognize that the first three lines translate the epigraph he added to his revised poem. The lines are adaptations of those ending Arthur Rimbaud's prose-poem "Villes I," a rapturous and nostalgic dream-vision of cities from *Les Illuminations*, written during and shortly after his relationship with fellow poet Paul Verlaine (ca. 1872-75).³ Reed inserted the phrase "and that city" to highlight his preoccupation with Naples and, later, Verona. But the phrase also alludes to Rimbaud's fascination with "the city" generally, a theme supremely expressed in *Les Illuminations* (Hackett 1981, 62). Reed also created the final line, originally separated from the rest of the stanza in his 1942 version: "And what good Arms shall take them away again?" This second reference to "arms," now capitalized, suggests that war—at least in Reed's experience—is as likely as another lover's arms to separate him from his passion. The once "open" map of infinite possibilities and wonder closes on this fatalistic note.

"Maps are of place, not time." Or, at least, that is what Reed thought he had learned from his experience with Naples. But as he pores over the map of Verona years later, he discovers that maps can recall the past,

"War—at least in Reed's experience—is as likely as another lover's arms to separate him from his passion."

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just as “the charted coast” in “A Place on the Map” revives memories of the spot where Hardy’s narrator dallied with his lover one “hot and dry” summer. It was to be Reed’s fate to pursue and lose his beloved again and again, to feel always the “stranger” who first “entered your gates.” In 1974, over two decades after first visiting Verona, Reed penned another tribute in “The Town Itself.” But though he calls Verona “my love” and “city of a long-held dream,” Reed acknowledges in the final stanza that the romance is over (Reed 1991, 78)⁴:

. . . By now I know
I shall never be accepted as a citizen:
I am still, and shall always be, a stranger here. . . .
And on some day, not long to be postponed,
The police will knock at the door, and I shall be told to go.

In the end, maps give Reed no more than an imperfect image onto which to project his desires. They have nothing to say about “where the groups of people bar the way.”

BAEDEKER’S ITALY FROM THE ALPS TO NAPLES (1928)

To compose his poem, Reed was staring at a map—most likely one in a travel book. Although a number of guides were published between the World Wars, two seem particularly appropriate: the German Baedekers and the British Blue Guides. The Blue Guides were the brainchild in 1918 of Findlay Muirhead. With his brother James, Findlay Muirhead had been joint editor of the Baedeker English editions until the war with Germany ended their association in 1914 (Robertson 1994, 1-3). Not surprisingly, Muirhead modeled the Blue Guides, at least in part, on the venerable guidebooks produced by the firm of Karl Baedeker, who had published his first travel guide in 1828 (*Baedeker’s Handbook* 1975, preface). During the 19th century, celebrated writers and artists had been among the European and American travelers who toured Europe with their Baedekers in hand.

Reed would have been interested in the Italian guides. From the 1860s until 1932, Baedeker published a series of three volumes on Italy—one each for the northern, central, and southern regions. Written in French and English as well as in German, the Baedeker guides catered to travelers from France, Great Britain, and North America. As a result, they “became more popular with these tourists than any guide-book published in their own countries” (Bruce Peel 1998, 3). In 1890, the three regional guides were combined to create a single “abridged” version, *Italien von den Alpen bis Neapel*, whose 8th and final edition was printed in 1931. *L’Italie des Alpes à Naples* appeared in 1901, and *Italy From the Alps to Naples*, in 1904. World War I delayed publication of new editions: the 1908 German edition was not updated until 1926 (7th edition); the 1909 French edition, not until 1926 (4th edition); and the 1909 English edition, not until its final incarnation in 1928 (3rd revised edition). During the 1920s, the travel guides overcame lingering anti-German sentiment so successfully that “Baedeker” became synonymous with “guidebook” (Hinrichsen 1989, 31). But the following decade was bleak. Baedeker’s financial difficulties in the early 1930s, coupled with the take-over of the tourist industry by the Third Reich and the tensions leading to World War II, permanently ended both the regional and abridged guides to Italy (*ibid.*, 32; Bruce Peel 1998, 21-22). So when Reed composed “A Map of Verona” in 1942, the editions published between 1926 and 1932 would have been the most recent available (see Hinrichsen 1981; Robertson 1994, 7-8).

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The attraction of Baedeker’s 1928 *Italy from the Alps to Naples* is that Reed could have purchased this guide for his trip to Naples, then perused it years later when imagining his trip to Verona. The book is small, perfect for a pocket or the palm (4 1/2" x 6 3/8" x 1"). It is easy to imagine Reed staring at the foldout map of Naples and remembering a garden he might have “linger[ed] in at night”—the Villa Comunale, otherwise known as La Villa, filled with people promenading in the evenings along the waterside (Baedeker 1928, between 386 and 387). He could then unfold the map of Verona to find the Giardino Guisti, the garden that “affords a superb view (best in the evening) of Verona, the distant Apennines, . . . and the Brescian Alps” (Baedeker 1928, 78; H,3 on map opposite 73). The 1928 guide is also beautiful. The edges of its delicate “Bible” paper are marbled with a comb pattern in blue, red, black, white, and gold. A ribbon bookmark issues from its binding. The back endplates feature a map of the railroad lines that would bring Reed to Verona. Its cover and spine are red, stamped in gilt, and reminiscent of a prayer book.

The fold-out map of Verona reveals some of the city’s allure even as it attests to Reed’s description (Figure 1, p. 72). The old town center is indeed “river-embraced.” Reed conveys the rapid waters of the Adige with his adjectives “running,” “impetuous,” and “rolling”; the cartographers, by their use of long, closely spaced parallel lines. With a population of 87,000 inhabitants (Baedeker 1928, 74), Verona is indeed “small.” The scale of distance (1 inch = 400 meters) indicates that the mapped area measures only 1.8 x 1.3 miles (about 3 x 2 kilometers). Capital letters on the top and bottom margins combine with numbers along the right and left to create a grid, allowing the reader to quickly identify sites mentioned in the guide (Baedeker 1928, 73-78). Labels and relative widths distinguish causeways (*strade*) and major roads (*corsi*) from streets (*vie*) and alleys (*vicoli*). A “wandering suburb” appears outside the eastern ring road (*circonvallazione esterna*) in the area of Borgo Venezia (I,5). “Rondella alla Grotta” in the map’s upper-right corner recalls the caves found in that hilly part of Verona (I,1). At bottom center, Juliet’s Tomb (*Tomba di Guilietta*) is visible just west of the Adige in a cloister by the Campo di Fiera (D,6-E,6). The lower left corner features the main train station, Stazioni Porta Nuova, where travelers—like Reed—debark before passing through the Porta Nuova or some other gate through the city’s sixteenth-century walls. An inset details the Piazza Erbe, located on the site of the ancient forum (E,3-F,3), then guides the reader to the entrance of the 272-foot-tall Torre del Comune, towering above the courtyard of the Palazzo della Ragione (*Palazzo del Comune*).

As a poet, tourist and cryptographer, Reed would have appreciated the accuracy of Baedeker maps. Reputedly “made as if by spies for spies,” these maps were often used for military purposes during World War II (Eric Newby, quoted by Wind 1975, 49).⁵ In terms of aesthetic appeal, however, the Baedeker map of Verona is rather plain when compared to its rival in a contemporary Blue Guide (Bertarelli 1924). First published in 1924, *Northern Italy: From the Alps to Rome* was essentially an English translation of a guide produced by the Touring Club Italiano (Otness 1978, xvi). This Blue Guide competed directly with the abridged Baedeker guide to Italy, and ultimately won. The 1928 edition of *Italy from the Alps to Naples* was the last of the Baedeker series in English, the firm’s map archives and lithographic stones having been destroyed in the RAF raids over Leipzig on December 3, 1943 (Wind 1975, 77).⁶ By contrast, the 1924 Blue Guide spawned numerous volumes, including Paul Blanchard’s 2001 *Blue Guide Northern Italy: From the Alps to Bologna* (11th edition). More important, the Muirhead-Blue Guide maps of Italy rivaled Baedeker’s, since some of the

Wagner & Debes cartographers who had made maps for the German firm prior to the first World War went to work for the Touring Club Italiano afterward (*ibid.*, 74; Otness 1978, xvi). The Blue Guide map of Verona is not only larger in size and scale than the Baedeker map, but its topography is clearer and its colors more tastefully varied: red for train and tram lines, pale blue for the Adige, a more vibrant orange for buildings, olive for churches and relief (Figure 2, p. 73). While lacking an inset, the map has on its reverse a detailed index of names, a feature absent from the Baedeker. Both maps, however, succumb to Reed's complaints. Not only do they fail to convey any sense of the "surprising height" or spectacular views of the Torre del Comune, but their limited palate cannot hint at the wealth of colors on the frescoed house-fronts or marble palaces surrounding the Piazza Erbe (Bertarelli 1924, 153).

Reed might have been charmed had a traveler responded to his "cautious questioning" by producing the 1936 brochure map for one of Verona's premier hotels, the Hotel Milano (Figure 3, p. 73). Aside from its pleasing colors (pale green, turquoise, peach, black, and white), this map beckons the tourist with its oblique views, photographs, and numerical identification of important monuments, including Juliet's Tomb and the spectacular Roman amphitheater (*L'Arena*). On the other side, a simple map advertises what Reed's map and poem ignore: the city's proximity to neighboring mountains and Lake Garda, that fertile region long praised for its wines (Vergil, *Georgics* 2.95-96). But though the New York Public Library acquired its copy during World War II, at a time when Walter Ristow was not only Chief of its Map Division but also head of the Geography and Map Section in the New York Office of Military Intelligence (Hudson 1995, 146-47; and see 126), the Hotel Milano map of Verona sacrifices accuracy and other types of detail—most evident in its simplified street plan and absence of scale.

Yet one of Reed's generalizations about maps is certainly inaccurate. Despite his distinction, maps are of time *and* place. They have dates of publication; they depict a world that is past, present, or future; and they cover a specific duration of time. The 1928 Baedeker guide, for instance, informs us that its 93 maps and 49 plans include several not in earlier English editions. Among these are the map of central Naples and the map of Italy that serves as frontispiece (Baedeker 1928, preface; Hinrichsen 1981, 59). The map of Verona is a revision of one of 26 maps and 44 plans in the 1904 Baedeker edition. But the 1928 map identifies the "Torre" on its inset and updates the location of the Stazione Porta Nuova, which with its "fine new building" had become the main station following World War I (Baedeker 1928, 73 and A,6). (Today, these maps made before World War II remind us of the devastation that bombs and retreating German troops wrought on Verona due to her strategic location at the foot of the Brenner Pass [Richmond and Holford 1935, 69; *Columbia Encyclopedia*, 5th ed., 1993, 2877].)

Even more to the point is the observation made by Robert Downs and David Stea in their groundbreaking work on cognitive maps (Downs and Stea 1977, 27):

We can organize personal experience along the twin dimensions of space and time. But the dimensions are inseparable—there can be no personal biography of "what" things happened "when" without a sense of the place in which they happened. Cognitive maps serve as coathangers for assorted memories. They provide a vehicle for recall—an image of "where" brings back a recollection of "who" and "what." This sense of place is essential to any ordering of our lives.

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Another of Reed’s poems reveals that he did understand the inseparability of place and time on maps. Consider what the instructor says in Reed’s 1943 “Judging Distances,” part of his humorous *Lessons of War*—one of the most acclaimed and anthologized British war-poems of World War II (Reed 1943 and 1991, 50-51). Although “Judging Distances” mentions maps only once, the entire poem describes how soldiers are to interpret them. As in other parts of *Lessons of War*, the soldier-speaker uses two competing voices—the instructor’s and his own—to describe what he has learned. “Maps are of time, not place” is among the instructor’s pat expressions. The antithesis of the opinion given in “A Map of Verona,” the instructor’s words exemplify for the recruit how bizarre and implausible his military education really is. Far from being unaware of the partnership between space and time, Reed uses inadequate generalizations about maps to contrast the instructor in “Judging Distances” not only with his day-dreaming recruit but with the narrator of “A Map of Verona.” In so doing, Reed also reveals the limitations of each speaker. The instructor can’t say *why* the army teaches that “maps are of time, not place. . . the reason being, / is one which need not delay us.” While the narrator of “A Map of Verona” wrestles with his own naiveté and romanticism:

And all was useless that I thought I learned:
Maps are of place, not time. . .

BRAUN AND HOGENBERG’S *CIVITATES ORBIS TERRARUM* (1581)

Whatever limitations Reed claimed to have discovered did not prevent him from using his experience in Naples or his map of Verona to imagine journeying to northern Italy in the second half of the poem. His memory of Naples enabled him to imbue his verbal map with sensory images: sounds (whispers of music, vanishing phrases, flutes), touch (river-embraced), and movements (snowfall, shifting crowds, rolling river, thoughts that hover and pace⁷). By describing such images and his pain at losing Naples, Reed showed what static visual maps omit. Yet a gulf still separates the Baedeker map from Reed’s characterization of Verona. For more romantic depictions of Verona, we need to be as nostalgic as Reed and look back to a time long before inexpensive paper and lithography combined with the development of mass literacy to revolutionize cartography.

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Cartographers themselves recognize the problems associated with the kind of map Reed was using (Hodgkiss 1981, 133: emphasis mine):

Modern town plans are primarily clear and functional and convey to the user a considerable amount of information about the urban scene. Rarely, however, are they visually stimulating and rarely do they communicate much feeling of a town’s individual character. Indeed the presentation of the complex make-up of a town on a manageably sized sheet of paper has been, and still is, a teasing problem to the most ingenious of mapmakers. There is such a variety of information to convey and so many different user-needs to satisfy. . . . If a street layout only is required with an indication of the ground plan to buildings in order that the user may quickly find his way from A to B, then the plan view seen from directly overhead is the answer. *It will tell nothing, however, of building heights, architectural styles or the building materials used.*

The two-dimensional plan that focuses on the layout of streets and the ground plan of buildings is not, however, the only type of city map

available historically (Buisseret 1998, x-xii). Models, profile views, and bird's-eye views offer their own advantages and constraints. Outstanding for their clarity and accuracy in three dimensions, models are still ideal for public display and military strategy. But they are expensive, unwieldy, and difficult to reproduce. Profiles present a horizontal panorama, giving the traveler who arrives on foot an appreciation of the height and form of a town's monuments and topography. But the concealment of smaller buildings and street patterns made the profile view or "prospect" unpopular as early as the sixteenth century. The bird's-eye view, a genre that thrives to this day, combines the strengths of all other maps. Developed in Italy as a result of advances in projective geometry and perspective drawing during the first half of the fifteenth century, the bird's-eye view envisions the city obliquely from on high and offers the urban landscape the appearance of three-dimensionality. Despite errors in scale created by foreshortening of the orthogonals (Rees 1980, 69), the bird's eye view could be combined with the plan "to form the map-view or plan-view, in which the true ground plan was preserved, but which featured some or all of the buildings in elevation. By depicting a city in these ways, the cartographer's intention was clearly to impress and inspire the reader with the grandeur, power and wealth his works displayed. Urban cartography thus possessed a quality which sought a fundamentally emotional response, one which reflected the pride, dignity and sense of importance the city-dweller felt for his community." (Elliot 1987, 9)

Over its long history, Verona has been delineated on many plans and views.⁸ But if ever a map succeeded in conveying Verona's character and celebrated beauty, it is Plate 49 in Book III of Braun and Hogenberg's urban atlas, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published in 1581 (Figure 4, p. 74). Like Karl Baedeker centuries later, editor Georg Braun and engraver Franz Hogenberg responded to "a great upsurge of interest in the city" (Pagani 1990, 1:v; Popham 1936, 183). They also created a niche among the books and geographical guides that had proliferated because of changes in printing techniques. And they attracted the increasingly large numbers of people who were traveling to cities in Italy and other parts of Europe (Pagani 1990, 1:v; cf. Miller 2000, 15). *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* became one of the world's great books, expanding to six volumes over the period 1572-1617 and containing 363 plates with 546 plans and views of towns throughout the globe (Skelton 1966, x, xx, xxviii).

From the late fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries, books containing urban views often reused an image to illustrate more than one city and combined imaginary scenes with actual ones (Talbot 1982, 106). For example, the small woodcut of Verona in *Supplementum Supplementi Chronicarum* by Jacobus Philippus (Foresti), Bergomensis depicts the upper and lower town as river-embraced and crowned with towers and an amphitheater (Figure 5: 1513 edition, p. 75). But just as we are scrambling to relate this early profile with the Baedeker map, we discover that the same wood-cut represents Damascus as well. Even more startling is Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* or *Weltchronik*, commonly known as the Nuremberg Chronicle (1493). The most profusely illustrated book of its time, the Nuremberg Chronicle boasted 2000 woodcuts, including accurate portrayals of Rome, Florence, and Venice (Pagani 1990, 1:iii). But charming as Schedel's profile of Verona is, he reduces the Adige to a trickle and omits the amphitheater entirely (Figure 6, p. 75). Worse still, the view is shared by *nine* other cities and countries besides Verona and Damascus (Rücker 1988, 222). Had Reed perused the Nuremberg Chronicles while composing "A Map of Verona," the poem would have been as humorous as those in his *Lessons of War*. For Schedel's woodcut of Naples is identical to that of

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“Braun and Hogenberg’s ‘Verona’ is a gem, comprising two complementary views of the city, one above the other.”

“To further emphasize the city’s importance in antiquity, a profile of its first-century amphitheater appears in the lower right of the plan view.”

Verona!

The creators of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* were more ambitious. Braun requested that contributors submit “portraits” of their native cities for his atlas (Rees 1980, 65). He then selected the best pieces available and, with Hogenberg, standardized their presentation before assembling them in order. In his preface to Book I, Braun emphasized that the images in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* were based on precise observation (Braun 1581-82, “Praefatio,” second page from the last; see Pagani 1990, 2:iii). Although the quality differs with each view, Braun and Hogenberg succeeded brilliantly in producing an atlas of city views that complemented Abraham Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the first modern atlas (1570).

Braun and Hogenberg’s “Verona” is a gem, comprising two complementary views of the city, one above the other. While neither is signed, the upper image may be the work of Joris Hoefnagel, a landscape artist from Antwerp whose travels throughout Italy in 1577-78 provided so many of the other Italian town plans (Skelton 1966, xli, xlv). Entitled *Magnifica Illa Civitas Verona* (“That Magnificent City, Verona”), the upper image is a profile view offering a panorama of the city from a low hill to the northwest (see Figure 4). In left center rises the Castel San Pietro (*Castellum S. Petri*), a medieval fortress built into the rocky heights in the northern part of the city. (*Castellum S. Petri* is identified by the number 3, written on the top of the view and in the upper-right box.) The Ponte Pietra bridges the river and leads (right) to the lower part of the walled town, whose colorful rooftops and church spires cannot compete with the Torre del Comune in their midst. Circling the town is the pale-green Adige, which continues south (upper right). The foreground pictures the pastoral setting from which the view derives. A road descending to the valley below cuts this scene in two. On the left, two shepherds converse while their sheep pasture between a steading and a house. On the right, a shepherd gazes over the shoulder of an artist—maybe Hoefnagel himself—who is sketching the view before him (Barron 2000). Between them and the walls are trees (left) and people on their way to the fields or town (right).

The lower image, divided from the upper by an elegantly painted gold cord, offers a plan-view of Verona (see Figure 4). On the top right a plaque summarizes the town’s early history: *Verona celeberrima, amplissimae Cenomanorum urbs*. . . In antiquity, this “very populous and spacious city” was associated with tribes called the Cenomani (Ptolemy, *Geography* 3.1; cf. Livy 5.35) and the Euganei (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 3.130-34; Livy 1.1.3). Then, in the sixth century, it became residence to the Ostrogoth king Theodoric (d.526), the prototype for Dietrich von Bern in the medieval German epic *Nibelungenlied* (Baedeker 1928, 74). To the left, women emerging from cornucopias surround the words *Colonia Augusta Verona Nova Gallieniana*, reminding us that Verona was once an important colony of Rome (Tacitus, *Historiae* 3.8). The text on the previous page informs us that the Latin phrase was inscribed on the Roman gate that bestrides Verona’s Corso Cavour (see Figure 3: Porta dei Borsari). According to the inscription, the Emperor Gallienus placed it there when rewalling the city in 265 (Marconi 1937, 20, 84, 87).

To further emphasize the city’s importance in antiquity, a profile of its first-century amphitheater appears in the lower right. Above the ruins, the words “*Amphitheatrum in Foro Boario situm*” indicate its actual location, also evident from the bird’s-eye view of the arena on the town plan (left). Able to hold 25,000 bloodthirsty spectators in its prime, the amphitheater was much restored by Reed’s time. Instead of carnage, L’Arena showcased opera, one of the poet’s favorite pastimes (Bertarelli 1924, 157; Beggs 1995, 9, 39).

With its northern orientation and detailed layout, the plan-view looks familiar. But countless details separate the Braun and Hogenberg views from the Baedeker ground plan. First the views display the heights and forms of Verona's architectural splendors. Then there are the colors, exquisitely applied by some late sixteenth-century hand. Water is pale-green; fields, pale yellow-green. Trees, grass, and some rooftops appear in blue-green. Brown accents cliff-faces and monuments, like the fortress and amphitheater. The sky is a rainbow of lavender, blue, peach, and pale yellow. Red highlights roofs and articles of clothing. Which brings up another difference in these idealized images: the importance of people—their occupations and dress. Braun hoped that these figures, so prominently displayed in the foreground, would prevent his maps from being used by the "infidel" Turks, who found any portrayal of the human form offensive to their faith (Skelton 1966, xiii). In fact, were the Braun and Hogenberg maps not replete with courting couples, the lovers in the lower left—a well-dressed gentleman offering a rose to his lady—might be thought an allusion to Romeo and Juliet; their names and Veronese setting having been familiar to Italians for over half a century before Shakespeare immortalized their story in the mid-1590s (Evans 1998, 7). Most intriguing of all, the artist self-consciously inserted into his own panorama is more reminiscent of Reed's own musings over a map than the disembodied and "objective" Baedeker map ever could be.

INFLUENCE AND AFTERMATH

In Braun's preface to Book 3 of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the proud editor anticipated his readers' pleasure at being able to travel vicariously (Braun 1581-82, second page top):

For what could be said or regarded as more delightful than—in some safe place, away from harmful fear of dangers, in one's own home—to contemplate, with the aid of these volumes, the entire form of the earth in which we live, distinguished by diverse regions, rivers, and seas, and decorated by the splendor of cities and towns? And, by examining the pictures and perusing the adjacent text, to come to know what others hardly ever have been able to achieve by long and difficult travels?

Quid etenim dici poterit, aut fingi iucundius, quam in loco aliquo tuto, et a periculorum metu alieno, apud penates domesticos, universam terrae, qua inhabitamus, formam regionibus diversis, fluminibus, et aquis discretam, urbium et oppidorum nitore ornatam, librorum istororum praesidio intueri, illudque inspectione picturae, et adiunctarum enarrationum lectione cognoscere, quod alii longis et difficillimis itineribus vix unquam consequi poterunt?

One of those impressed by *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* was Robert Burton. Author of *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Burton advised his own readers to ease their depression by "perus[ing] those bookes of Citties [sic], put out by Braunus, and Hogenbergius" (Burton 1632/1997, 2:86-87; cf. 1:22). Braun and Hogenberg's plates continued to be used into the eighteenth century (Bachmann 1965, 246-47; Moreland and Bannister 1993, 82-83). And imitators abounded. Joan Blaeu's map of Verona in his *Nieuw vermeerderd en verbeterd groot stedeboek van geheel Italie* ["Town Books of Italy"], for example, looks like an updated version of their plan-view with the Tomb of Juliet now included (Figure 7, p. 76). But the elegant couple is missing and a Venetian lion has replaced the profile of the amphitheater.

"Countless details separate the Braun and Hogenberg views from the Baedeker ground plan."

"Braun hoped that these figures, so prominently displayed in the foreground, would prevent his maps from being used by the 'infidel' Turks, who found any portrayal of the human form offensive to their faith."

"Author of 'Anatomy of Melancholy', Burton advised his own readers to ease their depression by 'perus[ing] those bookes of Citties [sic], put out by Braunus, and Hogenbergius'."

“Compatible with Reed’s erotic focus is the unusual emblem-map in Daniel Meisner’s Thesaurus Philopoliticus or Politisches Schatzkästlein of 1623-31.”

More compatible with Reed’s erotic focus is the unusual emblem-map in Daniel Meisner’s *Thesaurus Philopoliticus* or *Politisches Schatzkästlein* of 1623-31 (Figure 8, p. 76). Immediately recognizable is Braun and Hogenberg’s profile view of Verona. But in the foreground, at separate tables, sit a man reading (left) and a couple carousing (right). The studious man wears a hat and crushes a quiver of arrows under his right foot. His table is strewn with books; that of the couple, with food and wine. To the couple’s left, a winged cupid takes aim, presumably at the bald man, who is being pushed away by the young woman he seeks to kiss. To clarify this *pictura*, we consult the other two parts common to all emblems of the 16th or 17th century. The German *inscriptio* offers the motto or proverb that the picture illustrates: “Better in youth than age” (*Besser in der Jugend dann im Alter*). Below the picture is the *subscriptio*, the poetic and scholarly quotations that give further information (Daly 1979, 6-7). Here we learn that “no one will escape the arrows of the wanton boy” (*Nemo tuis immunis erit, puer improbe, telis*). “Isocrates,” so the Latin continues, “studied when young and loved when old” (*Isocrates juvenis studuit, grandaevo amavit*). The German couplets enforce Meisner’s theme:

Isocrates studies diligently
In his youth. But in the end,
He becomes a lover by force.
Cupid strikes young and old.

*Isocrates fleissig studirt
In seiner Jugendt, letztlich wirt
Aus ihm ein Buhler mit gewalt
Cupido trifft Jung oder Alt.*

“Meisner’s emblem-map would have delighted Reed with its whimsical earnestness and its interweaving of various arts to please his readers and illustrate the discomfitures of love.”

Perhaps the men in the picture are one and the same: Isocrates as the young man spurning love for knowledge, then as the old man struck by cupid’s barb.⁹ Although the message is universal, what better setting can there be for a ill-fated love than Verona?

Meisner’s emblem-map would have delighted Reed with its whimsical earnestness and its interweaving of various arts to please his readers and illustrate the discomfitures of love (Praz 1975, 49). But it cannot compete with Braun and Hogenberg’s Verona. Nostalgic and romantic, their plans of the city seem closer in tone to Reed’s verses than any map before or since.¹⁰ When Reed conceived his own “Map of Verona” three-and-a-half centuries later, he created—as if by some miracle of chance—a poetic counterpart to the breathtaking town plans in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

CONCLUSION

What does this unabashed romp through poetic maps of Verona have to teach the aspiring geography or cartography student? First, cities can be mapped in all sorts of ways. Models, profile views, and bird’s-eye views offer alternatives to the ubiquitous two-dimensional plans and elicit different responses in us even as they reveal different aspects of a town. Second, the age of a map is only one indicator of its (in)accuracy or (un)trustworthiness. Because Verona is such an old town, the Braun and Hogenberg plan-view is surprisingly similar to the 1928 Baedeker map in its street layout and ground plan of many buildings. Also recognizable is the picture-map of Verona created during the mid-fifteenth century when the town and its district were under the sway of Venice (Harvey 1980, fig. IV). Yet the unsuspecting reader of the Nuremberg Chronicle, printed a few decades later in 1493, is likely to think Verona looks just like Naples.

Perhaps the simplest lesson of all is that maps are enthralling. And not just the maps, but the “package” surrounding so many early maps as well as the plans found in travel guides—the detail of their covers, the choice of paper, their physical dimensions, the text surrounding them. The 1928 Baedeker Guide may be recent compared to Braun and Hogenberg’s views, yet it too belongs to a bygone era. On its delicate plan, Verona remains oblivious to World War II even as our last veterans fade from view. To touch these books, to leaf through their pages is a sensuous and nostalgic experience, one that a fine research library can offer our students. When cartographer Keith Clarke and I teamed up a decade ago to teach “Maps in History, Art, and Literature” at Hunter College, he insisted on bringing our students to the Map Division of the New York Public Library. Since then my “maps” class regularly visits Alice Hudson and her incomparable staff, then marvels as maps and books of various periods appear before our eyes. For some, this visit has proved life-altering (see Ludmer-Gliebe 1999).

Like glossy photos of exotic places, the overtly artistic plans and views of previous centuries elicit in us an emotional and aesthetic response. But in “A Map of Verona,” Henry Reed imbued a far plainer map with sensuality. As a poet he may be unique in eroticizing a map into the body of the beloved. Admittedly, it is unlikely that the nameless Wagner and Debes cartographer(s) who created Baedeker’s “Verona” intended the plan to be used in such a way (or anticipated, perhaps, how attractive Baedeker plans would be to the military as well as to competitors in the travel guide industry.) But as with all “imaginative map readers,” Reed’s knowledge and desire conditioned his response to the map. His earlier experience of Naples, his longing for the pleasure and warmth of pre-war Italy, his hard-won recognition that “the map is not the territory”—all enriched a static plan designed to guide tourists, as clearly and accurately as possible, from A to B. By filling his poetic map with sensory images like sound, movement, and cycles of day and night, Reed anticipated the animated maps that cartographers create on computers today.

As Braun boasted, travel guides are meant to delight. But even the most utilitarian Ordnance Survey map can hold the key to unlocking memory. Two English poets used these maps to (re)trace youthful journeys in time and space. In her “A Map of the Western Part of the County of Essex in England,” Denise Levertov reminisced over a map of her childhood home even as she recognized how other maps helped feed the wander-lust that led her to emigrate (Levertov 1983, 21-22):

. . .when I was ten burning with desire
for the world’s great splendors, a child who traced voyages
indelibly all over the atlas, who now in a far country
remembers. . .

And Grevel Lindop begins “O.S. Sheet 117: Chester” with the evocative lines: “Spreading it, I uncrease a map of childhood Sundays. . .places I may dream of when I’m dead” (Lindop 2000, 44-45). For our students, the most poignant recollection of all may be “The Map as Biography: Thoughts on Ordnance Survey Map, Six-inch Sheet Devonshire CIX, SE, Newton Abbot.” Written by cartographic historian J.B. Harley for *The Map Collector* a few years before his untimely death, the essay describes his “favourite” map—the one that shows the lane where he met his wife, and the cemetery where she and his son lie buried (Harley 1987). But that is another story (Haft 2001a).

“The 1928 Baedeker Guide may be recent compared to Braun and Hogenberg’s views, yet it too belongs to a bygone era.”

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“Even the most utilitarian Ordnance Survey map can hold the key to unlocking memory.”

NOTES

1. Quoted by Stallworthy in his edition *Henry Reed: Collected Poems* (1991). Stallworthy's remarkable introduction provided much of the background on Reed recounted in the second, third, and final paragraphs of my section on Reed's "A Map of Verona."
2. Eric Partridge suggests that the meaning of "map" as "face, head, or skull" was commonplace among the lower classes and the military in the earlier part of the twentieth century; he compares this use to the Scottish definition of "map" as "portrait" (Partridge 1989, 278).
3. Rimbaud's exact words were: "*Quels bons bras, quelle belle heure me rendront cette région d'où viennent mes sommeils et mes moindres mouvements?*" For the French and facing English translation of "Villes I," see Rimbaud 1991, 132-33.
4. Note that the words "strange/r" recur four times in "A Map of Verona." According to Beggs, "the theme that nearly every late poem of Reed's elaborates is that of exile or intrusion; his characters are outsiders, separated from others or from places of comfort and peace" (Beggs 1995, 237).
5. The successful invasion of Norway by the Nazis in April 1940, for example, was planned with the use of the 1931 Baedeker guide to Norway (Wind 1975, 49). And "Baedeker raids" were carried out in April 1942 by the Luftwaffe, who promised to bomb anything in England that had earned three stars in the Baedeker guide. Baedeker actually gave no more than two stars (*ibid.*, 50).
6. Rosemary Arnold's *Baedeker's Italy* (Arnold [1983?]) differs completely from the earlier Baedekers. Despite its larger size, two-column format, and color plates, this alphabetical guide offers less information on Verona (pp. 315-19) and ignores its geographical context.
7. In the 1942 version of "A Map of Verona," the last line of the first stanza was much more passive: "With streets on the map, my thoughts have been interlaced."
8. A lost tenth-century map of Verona, reproduced in an eighteenth-century manuscript, was perhaps connected with a poem: the panegyric "Versus de Verona" (Biblioteca Capitolare, MS. CXIV, fol. 187; in Cavallari et al. 1964, 2:39-42, 232-33, 481-85; figures opposite 2:192, 193, 485). During the second half of the fifteenth century, Verona—then under the sway of Venice—appears on several district maps that focus on Verona's territory and defenses. (See Harvey 1980, 15, 59-61, 78, 80-81, 146, and figures IV and 30). Verona also appears on "Transpadana Venetorum Ditione," one of the forty large maps of Italian regions that cover the walls of the Vatican's Gallery of Maps. The brainchild of Pope Gregory XIII and cartographer Egnazio Danti in 1580-82, these frescoes harken back to the Roman tradition of placing enormous maps on public buildings to promote the size and scope of the state's power (Dilke 1985, 39-53). The cross above San Zeno Maggiore—one of the most beautiful Romanesque basilicas in Northern Italy—reveals the Church's influence on Verona even as the map's title and coverage emphasizes Venice's control over the area north of the Po and west of the Piave (see Gambi and Pinelli 1994, 1:83-84, 107, 289-94, and 2: Pl.20).
9. Considered by ancient and Renaissance scholars to be "the preminent rhetorician of ancient Athens" (Too 1995, 1), Isocrates was remarkably long-lived (436-338 BC). According to a *Life of Isocrates*, comic poets linked him with the prostitute Lagiske (see Fairweather 1974, 245).
10. For other antique maps of Verona, see Bachmann 1965, 246-47.

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