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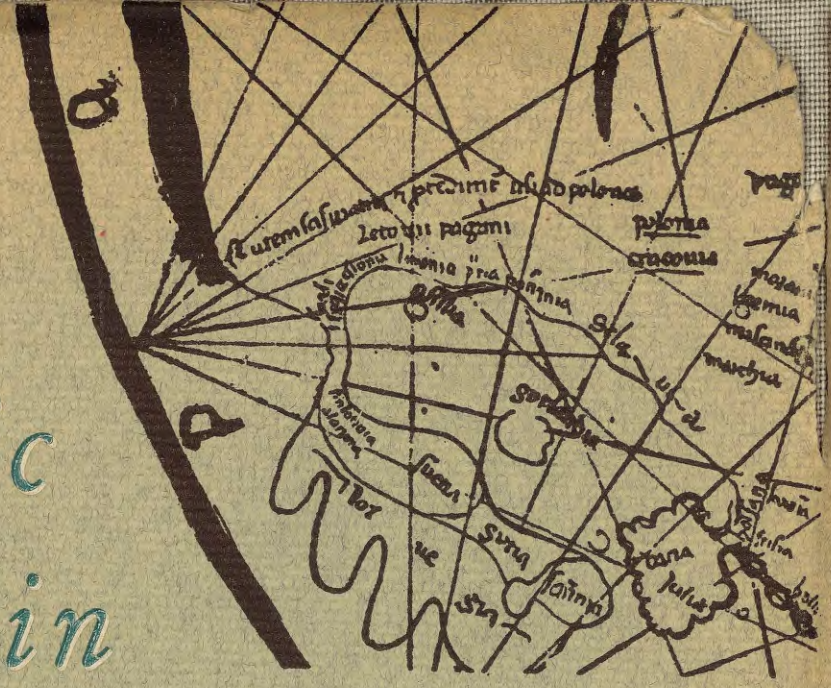

The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps

BY
ARNOLDS SPEKKE
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FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

Published by M. GOPPERS . Zelta Ābele — The Golden Appletree . Stockholm MCMLXI

ARNOLDS SPEKKE'S interest in cartography developed during his student years before the First World War, and has remained active ever since. He devoted many years to research among the archives of Europe, both as a stipendiary of the Rockerfeller Fund and later as professor and vice-president of the University of Latvia, as well as during his assignment as Latvian Minister to Italy.

Professor Spekke's work in this field brought him into contact with a great deal of important material and many valuable cartographic documents. His historical and philological analyses and evaluations of this material brought forth new aspects of the historical background of the Baltic countries and the history of Eastern Europe. (See his principal work **History of Latvia — an Outline,** 2nd printing 1957).

Some of the ancient maps were reproduced in Professor Spekke's earlier work **The Latvians and Livonia During the Sixteenth Century** (1935), and it was from this work that the idea for the present book developed. His latest book, **The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps,** is a sequel to **The Ancient Amber Routes and the Geographical Discovery of the Eastern Baltic** (1957). These two volumes have much to offer, not only to scholars of Eastern European history, but to anyone who is concerned with developing a deeper and more serious insight into the thousand year old conflicts surrounding the Baltic Sea.

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THE BALTIC SEA IN ANCIENT MAPS

ARNOLDS SPEKKE


ΣΑΡΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ
ΥΕΝΕΑΙΚΟΣ ΚΟΛΠΟΣ
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Atvase

Frontispiece: The Eastern Baltic coast of Ptolemy's Greek map — the oldest map in the world. For details see page VIII.

Translated from the Latvian by A. J. Grinbergs *et alia*. Stylistic revision: L. L.
This edition is limited to one thousand copies.

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Contents

List of maps and illustrations

Frontispiece

The oldest copy of Ptolemy's Greek map — the Sarmatian coast of the Unknown Ocean. This map by the distinguished Alexandrian astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus (87—150 A. D.) was drawn from older copies during the 12th—13th centuries. The dimensions of the map are 73 by 49,5 centimetres. The tribal names of the *Galinds* and the *Sudens* appear in the centre rectangle of the map. The river *Rudon*, often, though without proof, identified with the river Daugava, crosses the upper right-hand corner of the same rectangle. The *Velts* are put on the sea-shores, the *Borusks* in the last rectangle of the second division.

After Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae codex Urbinas Graecus 82 phototypice depictus... Tomus prodromus Josephi Fischer S. J. Pars altera Tabulae geographicae. Lipsiae MCMXXXII.

Errata

Plate III, line 8 and 9 of text to lower picture — for *in in* read *in*
Page 26, line 5 of text to Plate IV — for *Pietro Quirino* read *Piero Querini*
" 47, line 12 from below — for *Quirini* read *Querini*
" 60, line 14 from below — for *traictez* read *traictez*
" 75, line 8 from below — for *kraie* read *kraje*

Addendum

Page 6, line 15 from bottom:

In the works of linguists of the last decades the name Venedi-Veneti, as used by the classical authors to designate the old Slavonic tribes, is no longer accepted — at least not for the beginning of our era. This designation, with certain reservations, seems to be valid only from the 6th century A.D. onwards (Jordanes, Procopius and others). As an example we may quote W. J. Entwistle's *Aspects of Language* (London 1953, p. 340): "When the Baltic is called the Wendish Gulf (Ptolemy), it means presumably that Slavs occupied, or had occupied, part of its southern shore, but the reference might have been to Illyrian Veneti". Still more categorically it is emphasized in the book of the well known German linguist H. Krahe, *Sprache und Vorzeit*, Heidelberg 1954, p. 44 sq. The introduction of the Illyrian element in Ptolemy's nomenclature with regard to the Baltic, makes the task of unravelling all the ethnical complex of the area certainly more exciting, but also more difficult.

*

The author deeply regrets that in the present edition use could not be made of the two following publications: E. Bratt, *En Krönika om Kartor över Sverige*, Stockholm 1958, and Maciej z Miechova, *1457—1523. History, Geograf, Lekarz, Organizator Nauki.* Polska Akademia Nauk, 1960.

Preface to the English Edition

This edition has been prepared for a wide circle of readers. I do not pretend to offer new cartographic data, nor do I claim to be a specialist in this particular field of geographical knowledge. The object of the book is to present to the reader interested in ancient Baltic history an individual historic-cartographic picture of the Baltic Sea, and its eastern shores in particular, up to the threshold of modern times.

Generally speaking this area, with the exception of Nordenskiöld's two atlases, is sorely in need of attention, since it has been to a great extent overlooked by historians of general cartography. What information is available has to be very carefully sought after and can usually only be found on the last pages of the larger atlases. And yet the Baltic Sea, with its intricate cartographic history, is a remarkable geographic or rather geopolitical area.

We Baltic peoples whose home has been these shores since time immemorial know it and feel it and try always to remember that this was the land of our origins. It is in this spirit that I have carried out this work and it is in this spirit that it should be interpreted. To emphasize my point I should like to remind the reader that all the so-called inland seas of the European continent have their own particular and personal human backgrounds. Either this is not realized or else it is deliberately misunderstood by those historians who are so anxious to identify these waters with the large mainland of Eastern Europe — the historical and geographical developments of which are far removed from those of Europe's inland seas.

I feel that in the present circumstances of international stress and danger it is well worth our while to look back over the history of the Baltic and its eastern shores. It will perhaps illuminate the future for us to some extent. As Aristotle once said, those events are best understood, the development of which have been observed historically.

Two of the centres of Eastern European culture, Vilnius and Helsinki, both of which are fairly close to Latvia, possess rich sources of cartographic material. The university libraries in both cities own a considerable number of rare atlases and cartographic documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards. The originals of these rare medieval portolanos belong, in their turn, to precious collec-

tions in various world-famous museums and are to be found principally in the countries of their origins. The existence of the atlases and documents in question, however, does a great deal to stimulate and facilitate the work of Latvian researchers. Their presence in the university libraries is a direct result of the work of two famous collectors and researchers whose names are well-known to all those who are in any way concerned with geographical history. The first of them is J. Lelewel, Polish patriot and emigrant, and the other the renowned Baron A. E. Nordenskiöld, Arctic explorer and cartographer.

Due chiefly to her geographical position and her strategic importance in relation to power politics, Latvia has had but little chance to build up any sort of historic collections and the persistent scorched earth policy of successive invaders has robbed her of much of her finest material. The library of the *Gymnasium illustre* of the Dukes of Jelgava was burned down after the first world war and with it went a small, but exceedingly valuable, collection of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish first editions. During the second world war the church of St Peter and the buildings around the Town Hall in Riga were also destroyed by fire. These buildings included the city library, which although it was not one of the great libraries of the world, nevertheless contained books from the Livonian humanists (including the personal books and papers of Daniel Herman) and manuscripts in general dating from the Middle Ages and Renaissance and was indispensable in relation to local history.

As we shall see later on the great centres of cartographic culture developed far away, down in various districts of the Mediterranean and shifted slowly northwest to Germany and Holland so that it took a long time before the Baltic appeared in the pages of ancient texts and drawings. I have undertaken the difficult task of trying to survey these early cartographic sources in a series of short sketches and have tried to trace their emergence up to my own distant corner of the old world.

But despite all the conflicting forces that have done their worst to tear the Baltic countries to pieces the ambitions and the aspirations of the people there are still progressively modern.

I remember that after I had decided upon the title of this book I encountered with both surprise and delight an article by the well-know German geographer H. Winter entitled *The Changing Face of Scandinavia and the Baltic in Cartography up to 1532* in the publication *Imago Mundi, A Review of Early Cartography*, XII, 1955.

This short article contained many schematic sketches and although the bulk of the work was devoted to Scandinavia the Baltic was, nevertheless, given a good deal of attention.

Thus we must endeavour to keep abreast of the current trends because this will not only give us a better all-round insight but will also help us to deepen our understanding of the peculiarities of existence with which we are surrounded.

*

In conclusion I should like to express my most sincere thanks to the staff of the Map Division of the Library of Congress for their kindness and helpfullness. I should also like most sincerely to thank Dr. J. Haglund of the Royal Library in Stockholm for the generous assistance which he has accorded me.

Ptolemy and the Baltic

As always when discussing cartography, one must begin with Ptolemy. Ptolemy's name signifies the summit of achievement in classical or, to be exact, Greek geography. This does not necessarily imply that the data of the Alexandrian are altogether richer or more accurate than the data and observations of quite a few of his predecessors. The text of Ptolemy is given in my *Amber Routes* and there is thus no need to repeat it here. But it should be pointed out that only a few of his proper names (tribes, rivers, etc.) have remained recognizable throughout the centuries, the names of the Baltic tribes being among these few, and the majority of the names which are encountered in the various later editions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are thus meaningless. It is interesting to note, for example, that the German Emperor's ambassador, Baron Herberstein, a brilliant and observant man, was confused during his travels in Muscovy in 1549 by the contradictory nature of Ptolemy's nomenclature on and around the shores of the Baltic.

On the other hand there is no doubt that quite a number of the Baltic tribes to which Ptolemy refers are long since extinct, for instance the *Galindai* and the *Sudenoi*. They disappeared in the same manner as the various Gothic tribes which migrated through the whole of Europe; to Sarmathia and Scythia and onwards into Asia Minor, finishing in Italy in the sixth century, in Spain in the seventh century and finally in the Crimea where they are last mentioned by historians in the sixteenth century.

There have been a few lesser-known efforts to interpret some of the other Baltic tribal names, the *Velts*, for example, are supposed to be Lithuanians and in this respect it is difficult to understand why the *Borusks* have not been mentioned, since they have always been accepted as early Prussians. It is true at the same time that both in his maps and texts Ptolemy has pushed them too far northwards, although in view of the vague geographical knowledge of the area at this period this can hardly be regarded as a serious error.

These few Baltic tribal names stand then like monuments to an era which has long since passed on the tides of progress. Meanwhile there are a number of geographical scholars who maintain that the maps in question were not by Ptolemy at

all, but were in fact drawn many centuries later. There is not room here to enter into the controversy and all I can do is to refer to the comments of Professor S. J. Fischer, an authority on Ptolemy. He points out that Ptolemy himself clearly expressed his intention to describe the inhabited world as closely to reality as possible by means of maps, and that on the whole the handwritten text of Ptolemy corresponds to the details given on the maps.

I feel then that we can safely dispense with the various polemics relating to the authenticity of Ptolemy's cartographic work, particularly since the dispositions of his maps can be checked quite adequately by the geographical distances he uses. It need only be remembered that the Greek map used in Professor Fischer's publication is dated about the twelfth to thirteenth century and belonged to the Duke of Urbino's famous library. The large numbers of Latin copies of Ptolemy began to appear from the fifteenth century onwards.

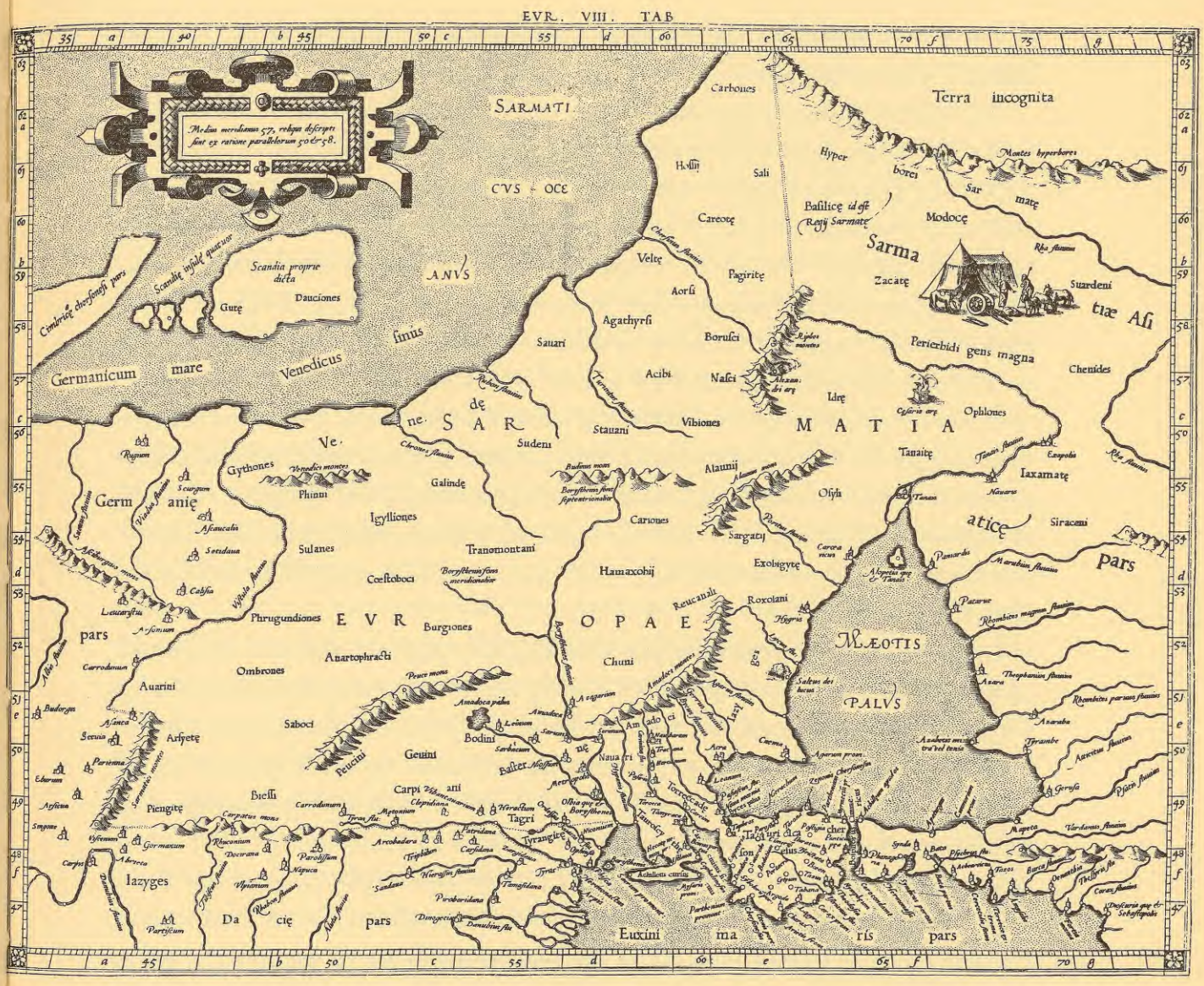
These monuments, i.e. the still comprehensible Baltic tribal names, are spread out along the sides of the amber trade routes. I have tried in my book *Amber Routes* to describe what this trade meant to the ancient world and all I need to do here is repeat the point that it was thanks to the rôle of the ancient Balts in the amber trade that the names of some of the tribes in the maps of Ptolemy and his successors can be interpreted by us today.

It is interesting to note in Ptolemy's text the manifest difference between the major and the minor tribes in the Baltic region.

Among the former Ptolemy reckons the *Venedes*, i.e. the Slavonic tribes, among the latter the Balts, i.e. the ancient Prussians and various tribes that are now extinct. Thus it is evident that even then there loomed the fundamental problem of the Baltic nations' unhappy history: the numerical inferiority of the Balts compared with the Slavs as expressed in a few Greek words: *ta elattona ethne — ta megista.* And yet despite what might be described as the demographic exhuberance of the Slavs they have never succeeded entirely in inundating the Baltic lands and even to this day the two groups of peoples live side by side in a somewhat unique co-existence.

The unnatural straightness of the Baltic coast line in the Ptolemy map ought perhaps to be commented upon. The most likely explanation for this is pure lack of knowledge. To the people of that time the Baltic was the Unknown Ocean on the edge of the world, or as Ptolemy puts it "the seashore of the last known country".

Finally some methodological remarks which are to be found in recent works on the type and scope of Ptolemy's material relating to the unknown regions of eastern Europe.



Copy of Ptolemy's map from 1605 (After Claudii Ptolemaei ... *per Gerardum Mercatorem* ... *Jodocus Hondius excudit* (1605). I chose the copy by Mercator because the place names and tribes are more legible here than in the original. The Galinds and Sudins can be seen in the SAR region, west of the river of Rudon, which is supposed to be the Daugava. The Velts are farther up to the east with the Borusks more inland below them.
There is one characteristic which is common to all Ptolemy's maps of this area: the exaggeratedly short distance between the coast of Latvia and the Meotid Marshes, i. e. the Sea of Asov.

First of all, however, there are certain passages in the introduction to his Geography in which he refers to his information sources (I have used Firmin Didot's edition, 1883). In chapter IV of the Prolegomena he emphasizes the importance of travellers in foreign countries and in chapter V — this quotation is of particular interest to us — he stresses the importance of the most recent information about

lesser-known regions and suggests that such information should be carefully checked against earlier information.

The famous Russian orientalist, V. V. Bartold, has shown how far-reaching and at the same time how precise Ptolemy's information may have been. He writes, (*Arabskije izvestija o Rusakh. Sovetskoje Vostokovedenije* I, 1940, pp. 17—18) "The authors of classical times who wrote at the beginning of our era, knew nothing about the existence of the river Volga, and they believed that the Caspian Sea was a shore of the Northern Ocean. Only in the second century is the Volga mentioned by her Finnish name *Ra;* Ptolemy also knew the river Ural by her Turkish name of *Yaïk* . . . The later known name of the Volga, i.e. *Itil* is of Chuwash origin."

In his work *Wenedowie na wschódnich wybrzeżach Bałtyku* (1948), Professor Fr. Bujak, on a basis of the recently investigated proper names of places and rivers and certain sixteenth century manuscripts, suggests that the Latvian river Daugava (German: Düna) may be identified with Ptolemy's Turuntes; Baron Herberstein claimed, too, that "some people (in Livonia) believe that the name of the river Düna corresponds to (Ptolemy's) Turanta."

Some months after the publication of the English version of my book, *The Ancient Amber Routes and the Geographical Discovery of the Eastern Baltic* (Stockholm 1957), I happened to come across a symposium devoted to the noted Czech Slavist, Lubor Niederle, and my attention was particularly attracted by E. Kletnova's article *Velikij Gnezdovskij Mogilnik* (The Great Burial Field of Gnezdovo, pp. 309—322). The importance of Gnezdovo-Smolensk as an overland haul (volok) in the system of inner waterways on which commercial and cultural traffic between the Baltic and the south-eastern seas was moving in the first millenium A. D. has been stressed by many writers, including G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (p. 231 sq.). References to this subject also abound in Soviet publications, for instance in the 2nd edition of the *Soviet Encyclopedia*. But since the present masters of the eastern Baltic prevail on their historians to produce only such theses as correspond to the general line of the Communist Party (see *Archeology in the USSR* by M. Miller, London 1956), it is not advisable to rely upon their often odd conclusions and we must be content with those sources that are available in the free world, among which the findings of E. Kletnova concerning the ancient East European river lanes are of great value. But before I turn to this I should like to present a few excerpts from Volume IV of the *Historical Library* by Diodorus of Sicily (1st century A. D.) concerning *Argonautes*, the oldest of the Greek geographical legends, to which I failed to pay due attention when I prepared the text of my book. Diodorus comments on the

numerous tales concerning the Argonauts as follows, "Speaking generally, it is because of the desire of the tragic poets for the marvellous that so varied and inconsistent accounts of Medea have been given out."

On the subject of our particular interest he has the following to say, "But since in our judgement it is unnecessary and would be tedious to record all the assertions which the writers of myths have made about Medea, we shall add here only those items which have been passed over concerning the history of the Argonauts. Not a few, both the ancient historians and the later ones as well, one of whom is Timaeus (cf. p. 412. Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily was born about 350 B. C. His major work was a history of Sicily and the West from the early times to 264 B. C.), say that the Argonauts, after the seizure of the Fleece, learning that the mouth of the Pontus (Black Sea) had already been blockaded by the fleet of the Aeetes, performed an amazing exploit which is worthy of mention. They sailed, that is to say, up the Tanais (Don) river as far as its sources and at a certain place they hauled the ship overland and following in turn another river which flows into the ocean they sailed down it to the sea. They then made their course from the north to the west, keeping the land on the left, and when they arrived near Gadeira (Cadiz) they sailed into our sea (Mediterranean). And the writers even offer proof of these things, pointing out that the Celts who dwell along the ocean venerate the Dioscori above any of the gods, since they have a tradition handed down from ancient times that these gods appeared among them from the sea. Moreover the country which skirts the ocean bears they say not a few names, which are derived from the Argonauts and the Dioscori. And likewise the continent this side of Gadeira contains visible tokens of the return voyage of the Argonauts."

Having indicated a number of places in the Mediterranean which support his point Diodorus continues, "We must not leave unrefuted the account of those who state that the Argonauts sailed up the Ister (Danube) river as far as its sources and then, by its arm which flows in the opposite direction, descended to the Adriatic Gulf. For time has refuted those who assumed that the Ister which empties by several mouths into the Pontus, and the Ister which issues into the Adriatic, flow from the same regions. As a matter of fact when the Romans subdued the nation of the Istrians it was discovered that the latter river had its sources only forty stades from the (Adriatic) sea. But the cause of the error on the part of the historians was, they say, the sameness in name of the two rivers."

Diodorus's search for the historical facts which lay behind the myths of antiquity, is fairly typical of the classical and even of some of the Medieval writers. Reading

Diodorus's comments on the journey of the Argonauts we are reminded of a visionary tale by Pliny the Elder, a contemporary of Diodorus, concerning a north-west circumnavigation of the European continent up to the port of Cadiz. Reference to distant navigations in the "Seas of the West" may also be found in the accounts of Ibn Khordadhbeh, a Persian-Arabic traveller of the ninth century A. D. (cf. the latest T. Lewicki, *Zrodla Arabskie do Dziejow Slowianszczyzny*, I, 1956, pp. 66, 157) and others. It might not, however, be prudent to link the myth of the Argonauts, considered to be a legendary account of the first Greek venture into geographic exploration, with the origin of the ancient amber trade on the basis of such scanty and unverifiable facts as the classical authors present. For surer ground, therefore, we should turn to the explorations and excavations of the archeologists who lately have unearthed much valuable evidence, and are at present the only people who can help in clarifying the many obscurities which still prevail in the pre-history of the Eastern Baltic region.

The Russian archeologist, E. Kletnova, claims in her above-mentioned article on Gnezdovo, on the basis of archeological excavations, that the oldest settlements in that area date back to the neolithic period and she adds (p. 319), "This proves that the great transit centre of this locality, which links the Black and Baltic seas, and via the Volga also the Caspian, was densely populated and already flourishing many centuries prior to our own era."

Referring to the passages from Diodorus which I have quoted above, she identifies the river on which the Argonauts were supposed to have sailed into the Atlantic as the Rudon, or Zapadnaja Dvina (Daugava), and continues (Rem. 3, p. 319) "There is no doubt that a direct route between the Don and the Dnjepr (and thence to the Zapadnaja Dvina through Smolensk-Gnezdovo) existed." Having presented a detailed list of localities along the "volok" route she goes on, "This was, in all probability, one of the oldest amber routes to the south-east, in later times known as the Khazaro-Baltic route which implies the simultaneous existence of Gnezdovo on one bank of the Dnjepr and Smolensk on the other." (Rem. 1, p. 220). "There is a curious legend alive among the peasants of Gnezdovo, according to which a golden ram lies buried in one of the kurgans (buriel mounds)."

In conclusion I should like to quote the noted Latvian archeologist, V. Ginters, who has been kind enough to supply the illustrations and explanatory remarks for my book. Regarding the pictures of amber finds on plate VII (p. 60) which the Latvian historian Dr. M. Rasupe, accidentally discovered in the Museum of Ferrara, he comments, "Amber necklaces and a pendant (ram's head) found in the tombs

of the Trebba valley, in the locality of the ancient town of Spina. Approximately 450 B. C. . . . Photographs from the Archeological Museum of Ferrara. Spina was an important trade centre, situated in the region of the Po estuary, from the fifth to the second century B. C. The amber finds in the Necropolis of Spina belong to the pale and transparent Baltic type of amber. The finds consist mainly of necklaces and pendants. Only one plastic carving has been found there — the ram's head reproduced here *(The Ancient Amber Routes . . .p. 60)*."

Based on the evidence which I have produced here from various sources I see no real reason for rejecting the suggestion that the Spina image of a ram's head, carved from Baltic amber, may have some relationship to the original bearer of the famous golden fleece (Diodorus, op. cit., p. 471), buried, according to the Kletnova legend, in the vicinity of Gnezdovo-Smolensk.

The existence of a link between the Argonaut myth and the ancient amber trade has, indeed, been recognized by some scholars as an historical possibility, even though not much evidence has been collected so far. In his recent book *Apollonius of Rhodes. The Voyage of Argo* (The Penguin Classics, 1959) E. V. Rieu makes a general survey of the subject and also refers to an earlier work by Miss J. R. Bacon, *The Voyage of the Argonauts* (1925). This concise and excellent essay contains a thorough and convincing analysis of ancient texts in reference to the Argonaut myth. In two short passages the author mentions "a narrative of a real voyage in the Euxine (Black Sea) by some Thessalian navigators of the 14th or 13th century B. C." (p. 168) and that, "during the Homeric age vague reminiscences of the amber routes from the Baltic connected themselves with the Argonauts."

It is remarkable that both the Russian archeologist E. Kletnova and the English mythologist J. R. Bacon have arrived independently and at the same time at more or less identical conclusions regarding ancient amber routes linking the Baltic and the Black Sea.

The Contours of Western Europe in the Tenth Century (Cottoniana)

The date of the so-called Anglo-Saxon Map, or *Cottoniana*, has been placed at sometime between the close of the tenth and the beginning of the twelfth century. At this rate it may have been contemporary with Adam of Bremen's account of the Baltic or might have appeared only a short time before Edrisi's work (b. 1099). Adam of Bremen was the first chronicler to call these northern waters the Baltic Sea (he finished his chronicle c. 1076 and completed the scholia to it c. 1085). Adam of Bremen's knowledge of the dimensions of the Baltic were extremely vague and he refers to it in different places both as the Baltic Sea and as the Baltic Gulf and also as the Barbarian Sea, the Scythian Sea and the Gethian "desert". In book IV, chapter X he claims that "the local inhabitants call this gulf the Baltic Sea because it stretches like a belt . . .", but this proposal is very suspect and is strongly suggestive of etymological humbug.

Certain researchers in recent years have been quite categoric concerning the date of the *Cottoniana*, although in the accepted works on this subject I have found no support for their assertions. R. V. Tooley (*Maps and Map-Makers*, 2nd edition, pp. 13 and 47) quite definitely places it at the end of the tenth century and adds that it is "far superior to any other map of the time, and even those of a later period." He continues, "Though inferior to Ptolemy . . . it is nevertheless recognizable and far superior to much later medieval work. It is also the first map so far as is known to add to the knowledge of Ptolemy as regards northwest Europe." Ptolemy was chiefly active towards the middle of the second century A.D., so that some 800 years separates the Anglo-Saxon map from that of Ptolemy, while the period between Ptolemy and Edrisi is probably about 1000 years.

It would be quite wrong to assume that nothing was achieved in the realm of geography and map-making in the period between Ptolemy and the *Cottoniana*. The learned men of the time began to interest themselves in the legends, many of which were primitive geographical tales and numerous of which originated from the fifth century story-teller Solin. In the eighth century St. Beatus produced his mapamond and in the ninth century the so-called round or TO maps began to appear.

An Anglo-Saxon world map. Roughly original size (according to a facsimile in the Royal Library, Stockholm). The map should be studied with the left hand side at the top. England and Ireland are then quite clearly visible in the upper left hand corner. To the east Denmark is discernible in the form of a sort of bush and above Denmark there are several islands, the largest of which is intended to be Iceland. Still farther east there is a mountain range, the Rhipaean mountains and source of the river Tanais (Don). In the top right hand corner the Arctic Ocean forms a large gulf — it was generally believed among ancient geographers that the Caspian Sea was a gulf. This map is also known as the Cottoniana, since it is part of the volume which was collected and bound by a certain Cotton in 1598. The map itself is thought to have originated around 992 A. D.

To the modern observer these stories and cartographic descriptions appear hopelessly naive and iconographically childish when compared with the achievements of the ancient Greeks and the development of modern cartography. Kimble, the well-known authority on medieval cartography, was quite entitled to call them dogmatically-conceived illustrations rather than maps containing geographic data. But probably these generations, coming between the decay of antique civilization and the dawn of the modern era were satisfied with their knowledge of the world and content to fill in the gaps with imagination and legend. R. V. Tooley observes (op. cit., p. 12.), "It is unwise to assume that mediaeval scholars were as ignorant as their maps would imply. Their aim might be, and probably was, symbolic and moral rather than utilitarian. Ecclesiatics showed their mappaemundi or world maps for the edification of the pious, usually to illustrate an historical or encyclopaedic work, or as a pictural representation of Church dogma. These mappaemundi were scholastic conceptions of a theoretical universe, and were not intended for, or used by, travellers and traders, who had their own guides and charts, the last being remarkably accurate in the latter part of the period."

Nevertheless both in the maps of Ptolemy and in the *Cottoniana*, the shore of the Baltic reveals the beginnings of individual contours, even though it was still at that time the Unknown Ocean. The *Cottoniana* does not contain a large number of inscriptions, but it nevertheless shows considerable geographical progress for the period. In the section of the map with which we are concerned the following names are discernible: *Slesvia*, *Sclavi*, *Dacia ubi et Gothia*, *Bulgarii*, *Scithia*, *Naper fluv* (Dnieper); *fluvius Ipanis* (Bug or Kuban), *Montes Riphei*, *Tanais Fluvius* (Don), *Meotides paludes* (Sea of Asov), *Griphorum gens*, *Turchi* and *Island*, *Scridefinnas*.

It would be unfair to suggest that during the period in question narrow-minded dogmatism limited the development of geography. Here and there great minds were at work, grappling with problems and ideas relating to the shape and form of Europe and the world. Marcus Aurelius is known to have written one of the books of Meditations in the region of the Carpathian Mountains and he had in mind the creation of new Roman provinces, each of which would contain a small number of Slavic tribes. Charlemagne, encamped during his long wars with the Saxons (742—814) expressed quite modern ideas in various of his letters. Alfred the Great was anxious to learn more about these parts of Europe which had bred the tribes that had brought so much strife and suffering to his own kingdom, Wessex. These men were only three of many who were anxious to learn more about the lands and tribes of northern Europe.

Ravennat, an extremely learned man for his time, made use of as many of the available sources as possible for his research, for instance the chronicles of the Goths. His material also included the work of Orosius, who was later translated into Anglo-Saxon by Alfred the Great, and, of course, Ptolemy whom Ravennat mentions as having read. In his work which was written about 680 A. D. Ravennat produces more facts relating to the southern shore of the Baltic and also gives a fairly detailed report of the districts conquered by the Slavs in central and southern Europe. This work should be, although in fact it is little used, an important source for the determination and evaluation of the great Slav expansion in the early Middle Ages.

Contemporary with Ravennat was Ethic of Istria who tells a long, vague and fantastic story of "unknown tribes and islands in the north, such as we cannot find and read of in other books." He mentions the "tribe of Greifs", "successors of the Saxons of fierce battles . . . foolish tribe . . . robbing other peoples . . . Hyperborean mountains, Hyrcanian birds . . . whose wonderful great feathers shine, land which creates much crystal, and splendid amber which is as durable as stone and very beautiful." He gives descriptions, too, of how to build "boats with the sharp beak" and so on.

The tales of the time are altogether enticing, but because of their general vagueness and confusion no clear geographic pattern emerged from them and the cartographic scheme of the early Middle Ages, particularly respecting northern Europe, remains sparse and unenlightened.

Edrisi

Edrisi was born in 1099 and was a close friend of the famous Norman king Roger II of Sicily. The work of this brilliant Arabian scientist is still highly esteemed today and K. Miller edited Edrisi's cartographic work in his *Mappae Arabicae*, Vol. III. (Stuttgart 1926—31), while Edrisi's description of the world was translated into French by A. Jaubert and published in two volumes in 1836. There also exist several editions of the regional sections of Edrisi's map which include those covering Italy and the Baltic. The first translation of the whole of Edrisi's text was published in Paris in 1619: *Geographia nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septem climata divisi descriptio . . . Recens ex arabico in latino versa a G. Sionita et J. Hesronita.*

It was Roger II who requested his Arabian friend to make a description of the earth, based on direct observation rather than upon what could be found in the books of the time. Edrisi proceeded to do this and the results were rewarding. Of the 8000 names on the Ptolemy map only a fraction can now be identified, but most of the proper names on Edrisi's map are recognizable, with the exception, understandably enough, of some of the more obscure parts of central Asia to which it was so difficult to gain access at that time. Edrisi established, for example, that the story of Alexander's great wall to keep out the "dirty peoples" was more factual than legendary. He writes of mountain ranges which are difficult to penetrate and of how Alexander had the passes through them walled up. Elsewhere in his work he examines various of the accepted geographical legends and points out that many of these are far too well established to be based entirely upon myth.

Although on examination it may appear that the cartographical concept of the Edrisi map is influenced by that of Ptolemy there is, nevertheless, a considerable difference especially in the Baltic area, both in the projection and in the proper names.

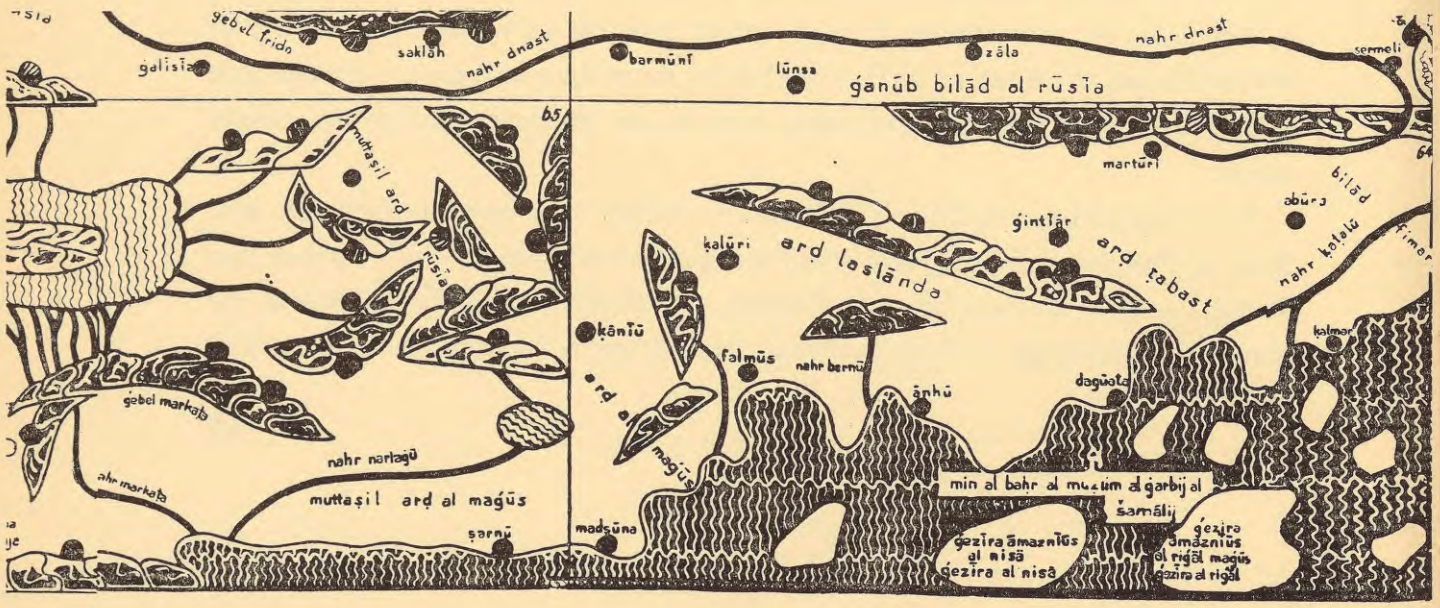
The proper names in Edrisi's Baltic have nothing whatsoever in common with those of Ptolemy and this leaves room for speculation as to how these names and the facts relating to them came to Palermo, capital of far-off Sicily and one of the centres of world trade and culture at that time. We know very little about the routes

of the Vikings and Norsemen across Europe, or of their kinsmen the Varangians on the east coast of the Baltic. The Finnish Arabist Tuulio-Tallgren has tried to gather information regarding Edrisi's sources of information, but owing to the paucity of historical material he has not been particularly successful, although his methodical approach to the problem deserves notice.

Politically Roger II was one of the most powerful of the Norman kings and his authority, supported by the Pope, extended not only over a great part of the Appenine peninsula (Calabria, Apulia, Naples) which together with Sicily made up the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, but also over part of the North African coast. The maritime forces of Roger combined with the navies of the trading republics of Pisa, Genoa and Venice ruled the seas of the world at that time and this led to the end of the Viking expansion.

Western section of Edrisi's world map (1154. According to K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*). As in all Arabian maps the south here is shown at the top and the north at the bottom of the drawing. Consequently if the map is turned the profile of Europe emerges quite clearly. The farther north one goes the more difficult it is to interpret the map as a whole. Instead of Scandinavia there is a group of islands and not far east of these the coast of Latvia can be seen. Both Professor A. M. Tallgren (*Studia Orientalia*, III, 1930 and IV, 1936) and Professor R. Ekblom (*Idrisi und die Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer*, Lund 1931) have gone to great pains to try to interpret the northern parts of the Edrisi map.

This fragment of the Edrisi map includes the Baltic section. K. Miller, who published the entire map in 1926—31 transcribed all the inscriptions into Roman letters. Due to the greater number of letters in the Arabian alphabet, however, he was forced to use diacritical marks and this makes the final interpretation of the various names very difficult. The reader may find it interesting to examine the map and attempt to recognize some of the names in the east Baltic sector. So much has emerged, meanwhile, concerning the common nouns. Reading across from the left *gebel* means mountain, *nahr* — river, *muttasil ard al maǵūs* — border of the country of magicians or idol worshippers, *muttasil ard al rūssīa* — border of Russia, *ard laslānda* — is believed to be Estonia, *ard tabast* — part of Finland, *bilād fimar* — districts of Finland. Beyond the range of mountains *ganūb bilād al rūsīa* means southern parts of Russia. It is difficult to define the difference between the Arabian words *ard* and *bilād*, the former is a geographic term while the latter has administrative connotations. The inscriptions on the two islands in the bottom right hand corner correspond to the text of the Amazon legend which I have quoted from Edrisi. One reads *gesīra al nisā*, meaning the island of female Amazons, the other — the island of male Amazons, worshippers of idols. The inscription between the islands and the coast is not clear, but it seems to imply that the sea *(bahr)* moves towards west and north.




VI.
V.
IV.
III.
II.
I.
bahr al bozat
min al bahr al sam
bahr nilus
Charta Rogeriana WELTKARTE DES IDRISI vom Jahr 1154 n.Ch.

The fact that Roger was able to discard "books" on geography undoubtedly proves that he was seeking his facts about the world at large through a medium of travel and personal experience. In the text for the Baltic sector of his map Edrisi devoted more care to the description of the coasts of Finland and Estonia than he did to Latvia, for which he uses the expression *ard al magus*, i.e. country of idol worshippers. The renowned Arabist C. A. Nallino claims that Edrisi's work is admirable and that it contains not only the synthesis of Arabian geographical knowledge, but also furnishes information about countries which were quite unknown at that time, e.g. Estonia and Finland. The reason for this may have been that Finland was the object of Swedish expansion beyond the Baltic while Estonia with its islands was closer to the former Great Waterway from the estuary of the Neva to the Volga and the Dnieper.

Finally something about the making of the Edrisi map. It is known that Edrisi was compelled to leave his country and that he travelled widely before he was received into the court of Roger II. We know that these two men became firm friends and that the result of this friendship was a map of the world as they knew it. It is said that the king gave Edrisi such a quantity of silver for making a silver table, which Edrisi himself describes in his text, that only one-third of it was used. But the king not only allowed him to keep the remaining two thirds as a present, he also added 100,000 silver coins and the entire cargo of precious goods which had just been brought in by ship from Barcelona.

The following is an extract from the preface to Edrisi's book wherein he describes the methods and difficulties involved in creating empiric geography at that time. The preface opens with an exquisite Oriental type prayer to the Almighty asking His blessing on the enterprise. This is followed by homage to Roger II and then the text which is reproduced here.

> "Lorsque l'étendue de ses possessions se fut agrandie, que le respect qu'on portait à ses sujets se fut partout accru, et qu'il eut soumis à sa puissance des domaines conquis sur des princes chrétiens, ce prince, par suite de l'intérêt qu'il portait aux études nobles et curieuses, s'occupa de la statistique de ses vastes états. Il voulut non seulement connaître d'une manière positive les limites dans lesquelles ils étaient circonscrits, les routes de terre et de mer qui les traversaient, les climats dans lesquels ils se trouvaient situés; les mers qui baignaient leur rivages, les canaux et les fleuves qui les arrosaient; mais encore ajouter à cette connaissance celle des pays autres que ceux qui dépendaient de son autorité, dans tout l'espace qu'on s'est accordé à diviser en sept

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climats, en s'appuyant sur l'autorité des écrivains qui avaient traité de géographie et qui avaient cherché à déterminer l'étendue, les subdivisions et les dépendances de chaque climat; à cet effet il fit consulter les ouvrages suivants (12 in all):

Le livre des Merveilles de Mas' oudi;

. . .

Le livre d'Abou'l-Cassem Abdallah-ibn-Khordadhbeh;

. . .

Le livre de Ptolémée de Claudias;

. . .

Au lieu de trouver dans ces ouvrages des renseignements clairs, précis et détaillés, n'ayant rencontré que des obscurités et des motifs de doute, il fit venir auprès de lui des personnes spécialement au fait de ces matières, et leur proposa des questions qu'il discuta avec elles; mais il n'en obtint pas plus de lumière. Voyant qu'il en était ainsi, il prit la détermination de faire rechercher dans tous ses états des voyageurs instruits; il les fit appeller en sa présence et les interrogea par le moyen d'interprètes, soit ensemble, soit séparément. Toutes les fois qu'ils tombaient d'accord, et que leur rapport était unanime sur un point, ce point était admis et considéré comme certain. Quand il en était autrement, leur avis était rejeté et mis de côté.

Il s'occupa de ce travail pendant plus de quinze ans, sans relâche, sans cesser d'examiner par lui même toutes les questions géographiques, d'en chercher la solution et de vérifier l'exactitude des faits, afin d'obtenir complétement la connaissance qu'il désirait.

Ensuite il voulut savoir d'une manière positive les longitudes, les latitudes des lieux et les distances respectives des points sur lesquels les personnes susdites étaient tombées d'accord. A cet effet, il fit préparer une planche à dessiner; il y fit tracer un à un, au moyen de compas en fer, les points indiqués dans les ouvrages consultés et ceux sur lesquels on s'était fixé d'après les assertions diverses de leurs auteurs, et dont la confrontation générale avait prouvé la parfaite exactitude. Enfin, il ordonna qu'on coulât en argent pur et sans alliage un planisphère d'une grandeur énorme et du pois de quatre cent cinquante livres romaines, chaque livre pesant cent douze drachmes. Il y fit graver, par des ouvriers habiles, la configuration des sept climats avec celle des régions, des pays, des rivages voisins ou éloignés de la mer, des bras de mer, des mers et des cours d'eau; l'indication des pays déserts et des pays

cultivés, de leur distances respectives par les routes fréquentées, soit en milles déterminés, soit en (autres) mesures connues, et la désignation des ports, en prescrivant à ces ouvriers de se conformer scrupuleusement au modèle tracé sur la planche à dessiner, sans s'écarter en aucune manière des configurations qui s'y trouvaient indiquées.

Il fit composer, pour l'intelligence de ce planisphère, un livre contenant la description complète des villes et des territoires, de la nature des cultures et des habitations, de l'étendue des mers, des montagnes, des fleuves, des plaines et des bas-fonds. Ce livre devrait traiter en outre des espèces de grains, de fruits, de plantes que produit chaque pays, des propriétés de ses plantes, des arts et des métiers dans lesquels excellent les habitants, de leur commerce d'exportation et d'importation, des objets curieux qu'on remarque ou qui ont de la célébrité dans les sept climats, de l'état des populations, de leurs formes extérieures, de leurs moeurs, de leurs coutumes, de leurs religions, de leurs habillements et de leurs idiomes.

J'ai donné à cet ouvrage le titre de: *Délassements de l'homme désireux de connaître à fond les diverses contrées du monde.*

Cet ouvrage a été terminé dans les derniers jours du mois de chewâl, le 548 de l'hégire (correspondant à la mi-janvier de l'an 1154 de J. C.)."

This is a masterpiece of twelfth century empiric geography. But the world was still far behind such exact methods and knowledge and by no means ready to accept it. Of the cultural creations of the time only Edrisi's book was preserved, while the silver table, together with a great many other things was destroyed to satisfy the greed and caprices of the people. Edrisi's book was completed in the year that Roger II died and this good king was succeeded by his son William, known as "the Evil". Revolts broke out in the kingdom and in 1160 the mob stormed the royal castle and plundered everything that they could lay their hands upon. It is said that the silver table was torn into pieces and divided up among those who found it.

The following is a literal translation of the description of the eastern shore of the Baltic by Edrisi, taken from Tuulio-Tallgren's *Du nouveau sur Idrisi* (pp. 17 ff).

"Finlande, Estonie, Maǵus; Smolensk et Snovsk

. . .

Ces pays, pour la plupart, sont déserts et sont des campagnes. Villages depeuplés, neiges de longue durée; territoires (habités?) peu étendus (ou: peu en nombre).

Pour ce qui est du pays *Finmārk*, c'est un pays riche en villages, en cultures et en troupeaux; il n'y a (cependant) pas de terrains peuplés . . . excepté la ville *Aboa* et la ville *Qalamārk*. Ce sont deux grandes villes, mais leur banlieue reste sujette au nomadisme . . .; et la misère accable la population des deux (villes), (car) on n'y trouve les denrées alimentaires nécessaires à l'homme que dans une quantité inférieure à leurs besoins . . . Les pluies accablent les deux (en tombant) dru et sans trève.

p. 19.

Ragwalda est une ville grande et florissante . . . (située) à l'approche de la mer . . . C'est une ville attribuée au pays *Tavast*.

Ce pays est riche en villages et en cultures (ou: fermes); seulement ses territoires (habités?) sont peu étendus . . . Ce pays est plus froid que le pays de *Finmārk*, et pas un instant pour ainsi dire on n'y est quitte de la gelée et de la pluie . . .

. . .

Anhel est une ville belle, remarquable, florissante . . .; elle (est) des territoires d'*Estlānda*.

p. 21.

Parmi les villes d'*Estlānda* (est) la ville *Qolūwany;* c'est une ville petite, telle une forteresse grande. Ses habitants sont des laboureurs, qui gagnent peu . . ., excepté que leurs troupeaux sont nombreux.

. . .

Est une forteresse (qui reste) abandonnée pendant le temps de l'hiver; ses habitants, s'en (allant alors, se) réfugient dans des cavernes éloignées de la mer, pour s'y abriter; ils brûlent des feux tant que durent les jours de l'hiver et le temps est froid; et ils necessent de brûler (ces) feux. Mais lorsque c'est l'époque du printemps et le brouillard s'est dissipé sur la côte et les pluies se sont haussées (ont cessé), ils retournent à leur forteresse.

De cette forteresse à la ville *mdswna*, 300 milles. La ville *mdswna* est une ville grande, capitale, florissante . . . très peuplée. Ses habitants sont des *Maǵūs*, qui adorent les feux.

p. 23.

. . .

De la ville *Qolūwany* dans la direction de l'Ouest (?) à la ville Holmgardr (?), 7 journées. C'est une ville grande, florissante . . . au haut d'une montagne dont l'ascension est impossible. Ses habitants se fortifient dans cette (ville)

contre les (agresseurs) nocturnes (venant) de Russie. Cette ville n'est sous l'obéissance d'aucun des rois.

. . . Smolensk . . . Snovsk . . .

Dans la Mer Ténébreuse (il existe) quantité d'îles (qui sont) désertes. En fait d'îles habitées on y (trouve) deux îles nommées les deux îles d'*Amazones;* (ces gens sont) des *Maǵūs*. Des deux, l'occidentale est peuplée d'hommes seulement; il n'y a pas une femme. (C'est) dans l'autre île (que vivent) les femmes,

p. 25.

et pas un homme n'est avec elles. Eux ils traversent tous les ans, sur des canots qu'ils possèdent, un canal qui les sépare; cela (se passe) à l'époque du printemps. Puis chaque homme va trouver sa femme, cohabite avec elle et reste auprès d'elle un certain nombre de jours, environ un mois; ensuite les hommes s'en retournent dans leur île. Ils y restent jusqu'à l'année suivante, (ce séjour se prolongeant) jusqu'à ladite époque. Puis ils se rendent dans l'île où sont les femmes, font avec elles ce qu'ils avaient fait l'année précédente, c'est à dire que l'homme reste avec son épouse un mois entier; ensuite ils s'en reviennent dans leur île. C'est ce que fait chacun d'eux; c'est, chez eux, une coutume toute faite et une usance invétérée parmi eux.

Pour se rendre chez eux (du port) le plus proche, (on partira) de la ville *Anhel;* la distance entre ces deux (points) est de 3 cinglages. Quelquefois, on est parti pour chez eux de la ville *Qalāmárk*, de la ville *Ragwalda*. Or ces îles, c'est à peine si un (seul) des (navigateurs) partis pour elles les a (jamais) atteintes; (c'est ce qui tient) à la fréquence de la brume sur cette mer, à l'intensité de ses ténèbres (pendant certaines nuits), et au peu (proprement: à l'absence) de lumière qui (l'éclaire le jour même?).

La section quatrième du Climat VII touche à sa fin. Louange à Allah . . ."

I have quoted these excerpts while still searching for cultural-historical material that might help to indicate how the Arabian geographer in Sicily could comprehend and evaluate the pattern of life on the shores of the remote Baltic. I have only quoted the main points of Tuulio-Tallgren's translation, leaving his observations and remarks aside.

Finally a few remarks concerning the place names. In Lithuania Edrisi mentions the ancient settlement which later became the city of Kaunas on the shores of the river Nemunas. In Finland and Estonia he identifies quite a number of place names, including *Qolūwany*, i.e. *Tallinn* (compare with the Russian *Kolivan)*, *Hanila (Abho*,

Anhel) and *Pernava (Barnu)*. There are various opinions concerning the place names so that, for example Tuulio-Tallgren puts the river *Qotelw* in Sweden while the Polish Arabist Lewicki in his work *Polska i kraje sasiednie*, 1954, supports the old version about Visla or Pregel (the river Guthalus mentioned by Pliny). The solution to this depends principally upon one diacritical point on the first letter.

In the Jaubert edition, following the description of the Latvian coast there are a few pages about the Komans, the Bulgarians and the Bashkirians living on the Russian plains. There is a certain amount of sparse information about the Far East, beyond which lies the "Ocean of Darkness" where there are no inhabited places. In Edrisi's small maps there is more information about the Russian plains.

The Crusades and the Mapamonds

The crusades were launched in the Mediterranean basin and reached their peak there in the twelfth century. At the beginning of the thirteenth century they began to decline and by the fall of Constantinople, the foundation of the Latin empire in 1204 and the Albigenes wars in Provence in 1208, the crusades no longer upheld the doctrines of Peter the Hermit and Pope Urban II. On the other hand the thirteenth century was the classical period of the crusades in the European peripheries such as Prussia and Livonia.

It has long been recognized that in their temporal capacity the crusades were of greater economic and cultural significance than the authorities of the time were prepared to admit and also that they did much to further the development of trade in the Mediterranean countries. In *Gesta Dei per francos*, for instance, there is evidence that the temporal motives of the crusades were much more prominent than some would like to admit. Innocent III, too, condemned fiercely the Venetian fourth crusade which was directed against Dalmatia purely for the sake of economic gain.

The crusades produced chroniclers and the chroniclers produced chronicles or *lore*, as Wright calls it in his *Geographical lore at the time of the Crusades*. To begin with not much was written about Livonia, but by and by attention was turned in this direction as the slow development of cartographical projection began to emerge.

The big world maps of the second half of the thirteenth century continued to maintain the conventional form of the period and so far as is known these were modelled on the famous Agrippa mapamond. Nothing now remains of this work which was made for the Emperor Augustus for the purpose of revealing to his peoples the exact dimensions and contents of the newly-founded empire.

It is generally supposed among cartographic experts that the Agrippa mapamond was of an iconographic nature and that the two big world maps from the thirteenth century, the Hereford and the Ebstorf, imitated, to a great extent, the Roman model.

Shown here is a section of the first of the above-mentioned mapamonds, the Hereford. The form of this map does not suggest that it is particularly influenced by other cartographic patterns, but at the same time it is clear that the originator is fascinated by all the legendary motifs and he depicts them with considerable vivid-

ness: the altars of Alexander the Great, the Rhipaean mountains and the savage rituals of the tribes there, the skulls used as drinking vessels, the beast-like creatures, the bird with the head of a goose, body of a crane and legs of a calf, which eats iron. Notwithstanding all this, however, several geographical terms can be traced; *Wisara* (Weser), *Cidera* (Oder), *Albana* (Elba), *Fistula* (Visla), *Danubius* and *Danaper* (Dnieper). Slavs are mentioned, though geographically still confused with the Sarmatians and there is an inscription referring to the myth of the seven sleepers, "The German Gulf where seven men are said to have been sleeping throughout all time, although judging from their dress we imagine them to be Romans." The Baltic itself is shown as an oblong on the top side of which there are three roundish indentations and it is perhaps reasonable to assume that these are the first indications of the three gulfs which run into the east side of the Baltic.

So far as the Baltic is concerned this is about all that can be derived from the two thirteenth century world maps. But it is nevertheless sufficient to refute Wright's assertion that little more was known about this area than was known about the interior of Africa. It all shows that the crusaders who came north were prepared to give at least some attention to this "new vineyard of the Lord" as Livonia was occasionally called in the papal bulls. Bartholomaeus Anglicus was able to gather a good deal of information about the Baltic through the brethren of his order. Likewise the official writings of the popes, the *Regesta*, disclose that certain authorities in Rome were well informed as to the geographical disposition of Livonia and finally in the famous *Rime Chronicle* we learn that Pope Innocent III was directly interested in Livonia. Thus when he receives Kaupo in audience he questions him about the district (lines 319—321):

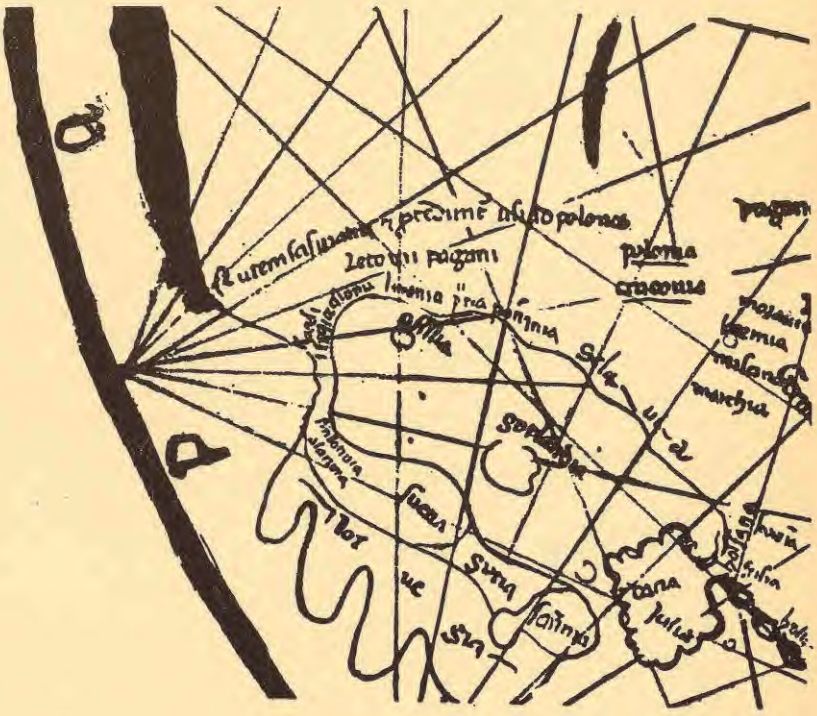
He was diligently questioned
To tell them exactly
How everything was in that country . . .

Below the section of the Hereford map there is a fragment from a map made by Petrus Vesconte at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This is part of one of the earliest portolanos in which the Baltic and the Scandinavian peninsula reveal a tendency towards accuracy. The proper names, too, although few in number are relatively modern and free from earlier influences. There is *Letovii pagani*, *estonia*, *Liuonia pria*, *osilia*, etc. and the Poles and Russians are also mentioned. This map belongs to Sanudo's grand chronicle, *Secreta fidelium crucis*, 1306—1321. Neither is this map the sole work of its kind. A Venetian patrician called Sanudo il Vecchio recorded his extensive travels in Europe which were made while seeking recruits

Excerpt from the Hereford world map (c. 1280). Drawn on parchment. Approximately half the original size. The map should be studied with the left hand side at the top. For the purposes of this work the most interesting part is the central area around the River Vistula *(fl. fistula)*. This map is one of the medieval round world types with a diameter of 132,9 inches. It is preserved in Hereford Cathedral, England.

Fragment of the Vesconte world map showing the Baltic countries, c. 1320. (L. Bagrow in *Norden i den äldsta kartografien*, 1951, puts this map at about 1320.) The well-known Italian cartographer Petrus Vesconte prepared this map for the Marino Sanudo chronicle and it is thus generally known as the Vesconte—Sanudo world map. Scandinavia is shown in in the form of a serrated leaf-like peninsula. The south shore of the Baltic bears the inscriptions *liuonia pria*, *Letovii pagani*. In the Baltic itself, drawn in the form of a sack, there are two islands, *osillia* (Oesel) and *gotlandia*. The bush-like shape at the entrance of the sea is Denmark.

In December 1959 I found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, another manuscript — a map by P. Vesconte (MS Tanner. CXC. f. 203v). The map is in colour, the proper names are generally the same but their disposition is different. The text around the map is one of the typical standard descriptions from this time. I should like to extend my sincere thanks to Mr E. T. S. Parsons, the head of the Bodleian Map Department for his kind assistance here.



for his great crusade to renew the struggle against the Infidels. He mentions quite a number of German cities on the south Baltic coast and writes: "In Holstein and the Slav districts I saw many remarkable countries by rivers and marshes. The cities were teeming with well-to-do people from which it would be possible to recruit a large number of suitable men." He goes on to say that he visited Stettin and mentions other peoples living up towards the east Baltic coast.

So far as everyday life in the Baltic countries is concerned, however, very little information emerges during the thirteenth century and the coast line forms were to remain ragged and incomplete for more than 300 years before the great cartographers of the second half of the sixteenth century came along to establish them properly.

The Masterpiece of the Monk of Murano

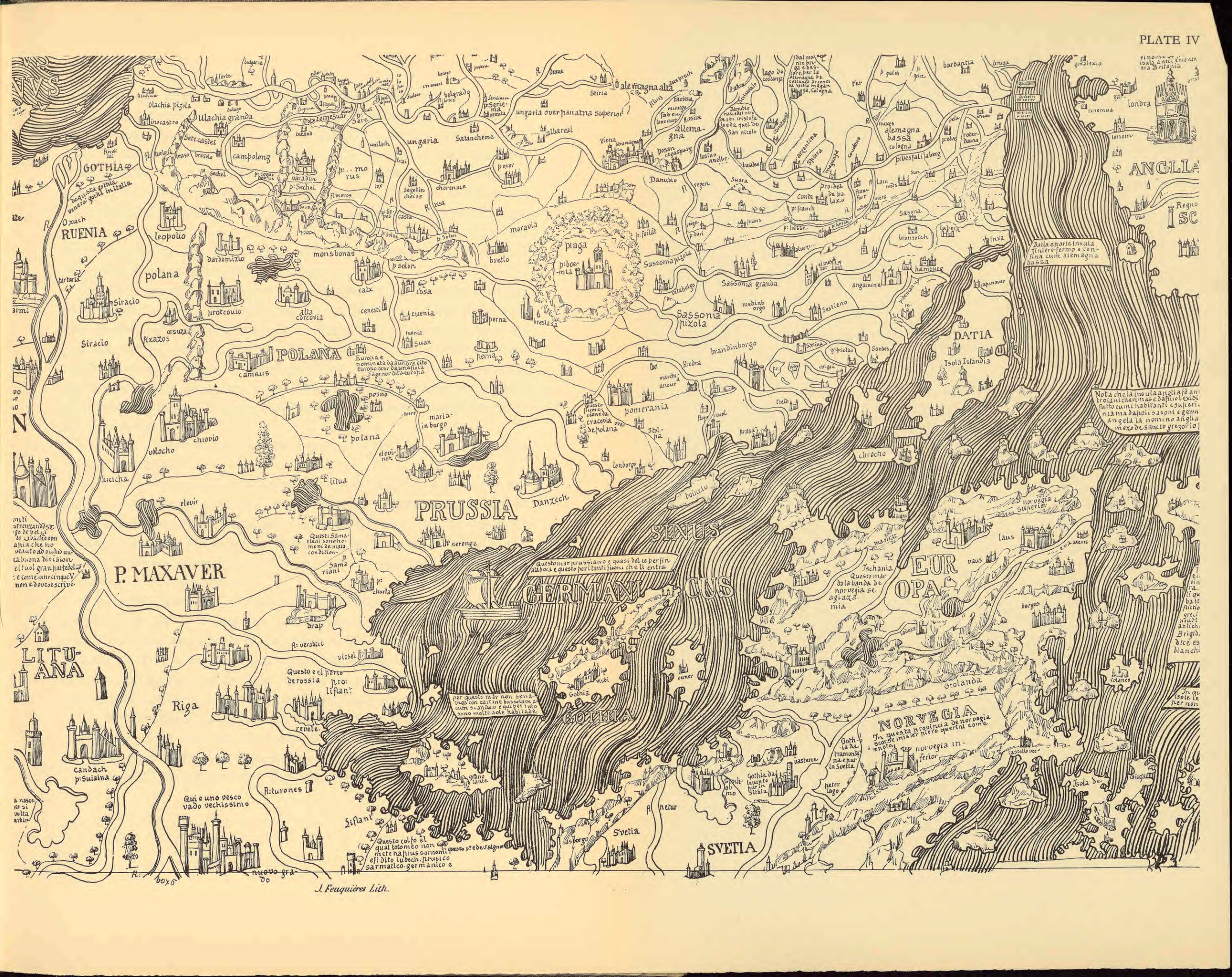
Following the tradition of the round world maps and the portolanos which first appeared around the beginning of the fourteenth century we come upon one of the true marvels of Venice, the round world map of Fra Mauro, a monk of the Camaldoli Order. This map which is in the Library of San Marco, is the result of a lifetime of patient and devoted effort and is justly considered to be one of the most precious works in the history of cartography. Studying the large, coloured map one realizes that here is the supreme achievement of medieval cartographic enterprise, standing at the threshold of the new conceptions of the Renaissance.

Little is known about the life of Fra Mauro. We are aware that he prepared at least two world maps, the first of which was ordered by and delivered to the King of Portugal. In this map, which was subsequently lost, Fra Mauro introduced fresh geographical material, furnished by the King, concerning newly-discovered regions.

The second map, i.e. the second original, which is now the property of the San Marco Library in Venice, was made for the Signoria of Venice and Fra Mauro spent the remainder of his life until his death in 1459 working on it.

Compared with the works of his predecessors this map reveals a great deal of new material, most of which was derived from the famous traveller Marco Polo who was also a native of Venice. Marco Polo's reports were largely used by Fra Mauro in his description of China and he was thus able to break away from the ancient legends in which Asia was depicted as a land of dreams and fabulous riches. But despite his critical empiricism Fra Mauro's "geographical poem of the world", as I would like to call it, leaves the onlooker with a feeling that the old monk had been in some way inspired, there is a feeling of spiritual dedication about the work.

The Baltic section of the round world map by Fra Mauro (1459) (Vicomte de Santarem, *Atlas composé*...). The profile of the Baltic Sea should be studied in reverse with the north to the south, etc. Denmark is thus seen as an island in the lower left-hand corner. The Baltic profile here is remarkably modern for the period. Compare, for example, the sharp contours of the Courland peninsula. It is very probable that Fra Mauro came into contact with the Venetian Pietro Quirino who landed in Norway after a shipwreck in 1432 and who, on his way back, crossed the whole of Scandinavia. During this journey he collected new data on the North. It is possible that the Italian cartographer also derived geographical information from pilgrims who came to Rome from northern Europe.
At any rate it is very probable that in Venice he met the Russian Metropolitan who came there in 1436 via the Baltic and then crossed Germany to the Council of Florence. (see text.)



J. Feuguières Lith.

But the pious approach of Fra Mauro is nevertheless mingled with fresh and invigorating expression so that even the Baltic regions here seem to be infused with a modern quality which is far removed from the narrow horizons within which the author had grown up. In this respect, too, it should be remembered that at about the time of the monk's death a whole series of Ptolemy atlases began to appear and in each one the Baltic coastline continued to maintain the same characterless contours. Fra Mauro alone endeavoured to modify this tendency. I might add here that so far as I know the most vivid and convincing description of the impact of Ptolemy's ideas on the minds of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is to be found in the eloquent writings of Lelewel.

Fra Mauro himself was quite aware of the importance of Ptolemy's doctrines and he admits as much in all fairness and honesty *(Gasp.-Lep.*, f. 63). At the same time, however, he is not fully prepared to accept Ptolemy's projections since the great man himself confessed that he was unable to describe too perfectly "those regions of the world which are visited by but few observers". "In my time", says Fra Mauro, "I have taken great care to verify the writings through the evidence of persons to be trusted, i.e. those who observed with proper eyes what I am faithfully writing here."

It is difficult today to discover who these persons were, but a few facts have emerged meanwhile.

Fra Mauro's first witness is mentioned on the map itself, "As is known, in this province of Norway there travelled Misier Piero Querini." After losing his ship in 1432 Querini is known to have landed in Norway and then made his way home through Scandinavia. The account of this remarkable journey can be found among the great collections of descriptions of travels and discoveries which were published as early as the sixteenth century.

There is little doubt that the sources of information of Fra Mauro, who was known in his day as *Cosmographus incomparabilis*, were excellent. This is quite evident even from his accounts of the peoples of the Caucasian mountains and in his treatment of the ominous and dreadful Gog and Magog legends. In the same way he writes with authority on the river Tanais (Don) which since classical times had been regarded as the frontier between Europe and Asia (*Gasp.-Lep.*, ff 56, 57, 58, 61):

> The river Tanais has its source in Russia, not in the Rhipaean Mountains, but far away from them (for Fra Mauro these mythical mountains were still a geographical reality) . . . If anyone would contradict me I would have them know that I have derived this information from persons who are to be trusted

and who have seen all this with their own eyes. Furthermore it may be said that the Tanais does not constitute a good frontier between Europe and Asia, first because it takes a considerable part away from Europe, second because its course slants like the side of a (Roman) five (V) and third because its source is not where it is reputed to be.

So far as the Baltic coast is concerned Fra Mauro's principal adviser seems to have been a Russian senior ecclesiastic who is mentioned in D. M. Lebedev's recent book *Očerki po istoryi geografiyi v Rossiyi* (1956). In a rare and ancient volume in the Library of Congress, *Drevnjaya Rossiskaya Vifliofika*, 2nd edition, Moscow, 1788, I discovered the description of the journey of the Metropolitan Isidore to the Church Council of Florence in 1436. This runs as follows:

> The Metropolitan Isidore and his companions started their travels (from Moscow) in 1436, going via Tver, Torzhok, Vishnij Volochok, and then continuing by boat on the river Msta to Novgorod. From Novgorod they journied to Pskov-Iouriev and thence to Riga. From Riga they sailed in the customary manner down the Western Dvina (Latvian Daugava) and via the Baltic to Lübeck. The travellers now made their way overland, southwards through Germany . . . passing numerous cities . . . They struggled over the Alps and reached Padova and afterwards Florence. After participating in the Church Council Isidore and his attendants returned to Russia. On their way they passed through Bologna and Venice and remained for a while in the latter city. From Venice they crossed the Adriatic by ship and made their way homewards, climbing forest-clad mountains, passing the lands of the Czar of the Hungarian Empire and the lands of Poland.

The Russians were extremely impressed by Venice and they described the city as follows:

> This city stands in the sea and there is no overland way into it, it is 13 miles from the shore, and it stands in the middle of the sea; between the houses of the city ships and large vessels pass and all the streets are water and the people travel in boats. It is marvellously large and the palaces in it are wonderful; some are gilded. There is a great variety of commodities because ships come here from different countries: from Jerusalem, from Constantinople, from Azov, from Turkish lands, from (?) and from German lands.

The proper names and the longer inscriptions on the eastern Baltic section of the Fra Mauro map have never been subjected to any special investigation and for that reason I shall conclude by quoting some of them here:

Questo fiume viene da corcovia ouer de polana	This river comes from Cracovia or from Poland
Maria in Borgo	Marienburg.
litua	Lithuania.
nerenge	Kurische Nehrung.
P. Samariani	Samogitians, i.e. West Lithuanians (?).
Questi Samariani sono homeni de mala condition	These Samogitians are ill-intentioned people (cf. Pius II, De Europa).
P. chula (or churla)	Courland
drap	Tartu, Dorpat
fl venedici	Venedian river (Ptolemy).
viosel	Is this the island of Oesel?
Questo e el porto de rossia	This is the port of Russia. (This would seem to be the estuary of Daugava, but the river is un-named.)
P. liflant	Province of Livonia.
reuele	Reval
Riga	Riga
fl turones	River Turunt (Ptolemy)
nuovo grado	Novgorod
Questo colfo el qual tolomeo non mete ha piusor nomi e fi dito lubech, prusico, sarmatico, germanico, e perche questo ultimo nome e piu chiaro, percio ho notato colfo germanico	This gulf is not mentioned by Ptolemy, it has many names; it is called the gulf of Lübeck, Prussia, Sarmatia, Germania and since the latter is the most clear I have called it the German Gulf.
SINUS GERMANICUS	
per questo mar non se nauega cum carta ni bussola ma cum scandaio e qui per tuto sono molte isole habitade	On this sea sailing is not carried on by means of maps or compass but by lead. Here there are many inhabited islands.
Gothia Gothia visbi	Gotland Visby
Questo mar prussiano e quasi dolce perfine ala boca e questo per le tante fiumere che li entra da ogni parte	The Prussian sea is sweet, even when tasted, this is because of the many rivers which flow into that sea from all sides.

(The Danish peninsula which the author calls DATIA and Isola islandia is shown as an island here.)

Before bringing this chapter to a close I should like to make a comment of a general nature. The time during which Fra Mauro lived and worked was one of the great periods in Eastern Europe, so that it is not surprising that much and varied information reached Venice, at that time one of the most important centres of geography in the world. The "Battle of the Nations" at Tannenberg (1410) was still little more than a generation old and in 1429 at the Court of Lithuania's famous ruler, Vitold the Great, nearly all the rulers of Central and Eastern Europe congregated with their representatives. Furthermore the repercussions of a series of church councils in different Italian and Swiss cities were wide and intense during the first half of the 15th century. Almost at the same time as Fra Mauro's map was completed, appeared the famous work *De Europa* (1458) written by the humanist-pope Pius II *(Enea Silvio Piccolomini)*. We are well aware today that many of the sources for this important volume were of questionable authority, so that certain aspects of it, as for example the part concerning Lithuania, are somewhat absurd. But we cannot overlook the far-reaching influence that it had upon later works and even upon the inscriptions of maps, among others, for example, that of the wall map of the Signoria of Florence. In conclusion too it should be remembered that this period also embraced the life time of the great Polish chronicler J. Dlugosz (1415—1480).

Slowly but surely the geographic and historic curtain was being raised in the direction of the Baltic too.

Catalan

To some extent the wealth and culture of certain Mediaeval European cities developed parallel with the expansion of the feudal system. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century cities sprang up at such a rate that whole regions in Europe were transformed demographically. These cities represented crafts and trade but they also represented freedom from the authority of the feudal lord. It was in Italy that the first independent trading republics emerged and the political and economic activities of these small states exercised a very positive influence on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea areas. This commercial expansion began in Amalfi, Salerno, Naples, Bari, and Pisa, but all of these gave way in due course to Genoa *(Superba)* and Venice *(Serenissima)*. These two cities pursued a sharply competitive policy of commerce combined with colonialism in the Adriatic, Grecian waters and the Black Sea.

At the time of this commercial expansion Mediterranean trade was chiefly characterized by the import of luxury goods from the Near and Far East. Gold, precious stones, perfumes, silks, spices in particular, leather, glass, and ivory goods were, as they always had been, the traditional cargoes.

Maritime trade in northern Europe at this time, however, was mainly based upon consumer goods and raw materials. The volume of this trade exceeded that of the Mediterranean, but the value of it was considerably less. English and Flemish woollens, fish (Hansa's great item was the herring), wax to meet the extensive requirements of the Church, pitch, tar and grain were all among the most usual commodities.

For some time these two spheres of trade, the Mediterranean and northern Europe, remained isolated from each other. The Mediterranean ships were reluctant to pass the straits of Gibraltar and the Hanse *Coggs* and other northern shipping remained in their own waters. But as time went by Champagne and its renowned produce and famous annual market became incorporated into the kingdom of France, the importance of Flanders and Bruges increased rapidly and the two big Mediterranean republics, Genoa and Venice, began to extend their feelers northwards towards the shores of Holland.

Genoa first sent her ships towards northern ports in 1277 and Venice followed her example in 1315. On the other hand the Hanseatic League began to extend its economic power around the beginning of the fourteenth century and having suppressed Denmark it played the unique role of mediator between Eastern and Western Europe. The natural meeting point of these two conflicting commercial spheres, both of which were mature in power and thoroughly resolved to preserve their own trading grounds, was Holland. Included here is an interesting map and notes by a French historian (*Le Moyen Age . . . Histoire Générale des Civilisations.* T. III 1955. pp. 560—561) which admirably illustrates the state of affairs which then existed in relation to East and West Maritime trade. Cartography, this excellent apparatus for registering human progress in the realms of travel and discovery, also made a very sound contribution.

"Towards the end of the thirteenth century" writes G. R. Crone in his *Maps and their makers*, "there came into use in Western Europe a type of chart which was a great advance upon any other product of mediaeval cartography so far considered. In their essentials these charts marked a complete break with tradition: their fundamental feature was that they were based on direct observation by means of a new instrument, the mariner's compass."

With the advent of this compass new forms of navigation based upon portolano charts, shore maps and loxodromic charts emerged. The oldest recorded example of a portolano was the Carte Pisane (which is thought to have originated in Genoa) but this did not extend beyond the Mediterranean. The Genoese cartographer Giovanni de Carignano in c. 1300 produced a map, however, which included northern Europe. This map names only a few places on the shores of the Baltic and the spelling of these is reasonably accurate. But the manner in which the Scandinavian peninsula is shown and the vastness of the Baltic, the "Unknown Ocean" seems to reflect the words of Adam of Bremen, "A Gulf stretching east of the Western Ocean . . . stretching eastwards and of undefinable length." Nevertheless the endless gulf is given an end here in the shape of the sickle-formed east Baltic coast and this particular contour was to be retained for a long time to come. Thus while there was a fair degree of accuracy and precision in the famous portolanos of

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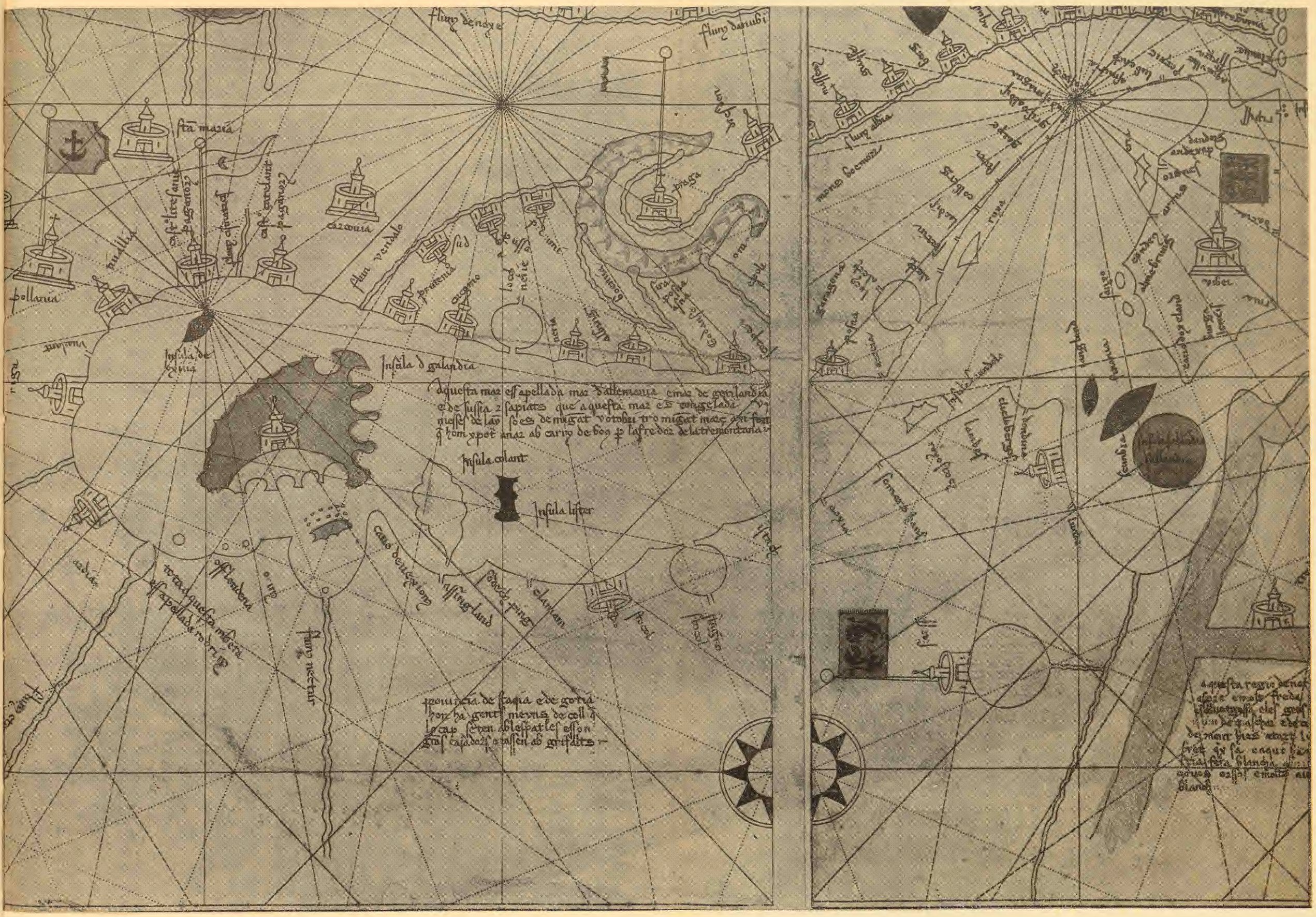
Fragment of the XIV century Catalan world map. (Taken from an anonymous XIX copy of a XIV Catalan world map.) This copy is preserved in the map division of the Congress Library in Washington and is entered with a chronological error as a Catalan World Chart, 1375. Again on this map the Baltic Sea should be studied in an upsidedown position. The coastline is sharply delineated with place names written at right-angles. The large dark spot is Gotland. Riga can be seen east of Gotland on the same level. There are numerous Catalan maps, but their relationship to each other has not been properly established. I have used this copy because it clearly indicates the geographic rather than the iconographic values.


flum de noye
flum danubi
sta maria
pollania
flum vendale
sud
prussia
insula d galandria
aquesta mar ess apellada mar d'allemania e mar de gotlandia
e de russia z sapiats que aquesta mar es congelada
insula de cipria
insula colant
insula lister
cabo de finisterre
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ess apellada mar de
flandria
provincia de saxia e de gotia
hon ha gent menys de coll
le cap seven ab les pates
gras cada dos e vassen ab gruffets
flum albia
mons bohemie
saragossa
pasca
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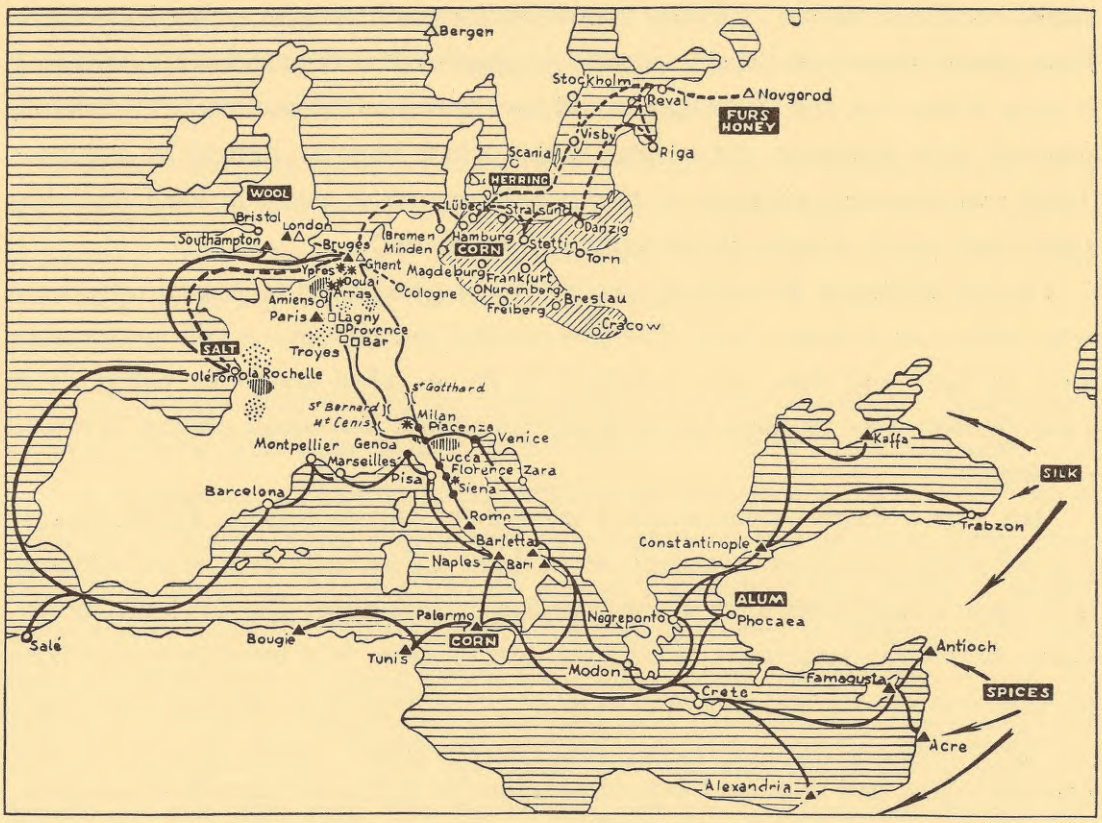

ITALY

- ● Main centres of economy (trade and industry)
- ▲ Main banks
- Main trade routes

HANSA-DOMINATED PROVINCES

- ○ Main Hansa cities
- △ Main banks
- Main trade routes
- Zone of German agrarian colonization

- Markets in the Champagne province
- Major wine export regions
- Major pastel colour export regions
- ✱ Main centres of textile industry

EUROPEAN ECONOMICS AT THE END OF THE XIII CENTURY

(After Ed. Perroy: *Le Moyen Age... Histoire Générale des Civilisations*, T. III, 1955, pp. 560—561.)

the Mediterranean and the surrounding countries they were nevertheless still very vague in their presentation of the Baltic. The contours are reminiscent of ancient mythological illustrations and the names of places, etc., are generally such that only a few of them can be deciphered. The more remote the place of origin of the map, the more hopeless it is to understand them.

In this connection Th. Fischer writes in his *Sammlung Mittel-alterlicher Welt - und Seekarten italienischen Ursprungs* . . . Venedig 1886, p. 40, "We are quite satisfied that the art of drawing loxodromic maps belonged to the Mediterranean, the Han-

seatics could not do it . . . It was impossible for the Italians to gather information from places beyond the Schelde estuary (Holland) and if they had tried to do so it is quite certain that the Hanseatics would have prevented them, since they jealously guarded from foreigners their home waters which were so difficult to navigate. Their own incorrect charting of their coastal waters is proof in itself that they sailed their coasts without the assistance of sea charts."

The late Professor Arbuzov wrote, "So far as possible Baltic coastal navigation was carried out without charts. The first nautical instructions, or sailing directions were in Latin and these were followed by the so-called sea-books published in Low German. One of these books is mentioned in a fourteenth century Livonian document."

Map V is a Catalan chart which I selected for various reasons. Firstly because it is one of the most exotic portrayals of the Baltic and secondly because its technique is to some extent reminiscent of the later Renaissance maps. The Catalonian portolanos, despite the uncertainty of their intrinsic filiation, were based upon data from geographical sources and also from descriptions derived from renowned thirteenth and fourteenth century travellers. This was cartography based on genuine geographical ideas, and no longer dependent upon the myths and legends of antiquity. In his article entitled *Catalan Portolan Maps and their place in the Total View of Cartographic Development, (Imago Mundi,* 1954) H. Winter observes that the mere fact that there was a numerical predominance of Italian portolanos resulted in the belief that these were of greater value than the Catalan portolanos. He states: "Should we try to form an opinion of the share which the Catalans played, as opposed to the Italians, in the development of the portolano maps and hence in that of cartography in general, we must arrive at the following conclusion: the earliest extant, undoubtedly Italian maps prior to Perrinus Vesconte 1327 were purely sea-charts, the land areas being left blank. Unless they were cut off by the margin of the map, Scotland's coasts continued freely north, that is, their end was not known. The Dutch Jutlandic coast runs north in a straight line, and the Baltic Sea and Scandinavia are lacking. Carignano, however waveringly eliminates these shortcomings, fills the inland, also in a hesitating manner. This highly important map has had no followers, except for the shape of the Baltic Sea and South Norway.

Then, about 1320—1339 appear three similar maps which fill the continents with a richer topographical content, which, in the trans-Alpine region, is cartographically even better than that in Carignano. These maps are: 1) the anonymous map Add. 25691 in London, 2) Dalorto 1330, 3) Dulcert 1339, drawn in Mallorca.

The importance of the Catalan maps, briefly speaking, is their influence on the portolano maps in general in developing geographically the hinterland of the coastal lines, and this particularly in Europe's northern regions."

If we now compare the above three maps with the famous Catalan map of 1375, we can guess precisely what could be called the "Catalan type" or "the pattern created by these three maps". Winter concludes: "Nothing was opposed to these new elements and as a result the Catalan type dominated all map-making for two centuries."

It will be opportune here to say some words about the magnificent Catalan map of 1375, which even today is used by historians as a direct historical source. The map is at present the property of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, at one time it belonged to King Charles V of France who received it as a gift from King Peter of Aragon, in 1381. The author of the map is "Cresques le juif, master of *mappae mundi* and of compasses" (Crone, 40). This map originated in Mallorca which was then a famous centre of geographical knowledge and of map-making. It was the period of Catalonia's prosperity when the Aragonese Confederation (1229) developed an extensive commercial activity, particularly with the coastland of Africa, including Egypt, and also with Syria. The Jewish émigrées who had fled from the persecutions of the cruel and intolerant Almohade dynasty in Spain, found here a new home, — a curious parallel with Edrisi's destinies!

Regarding the general shape of our map, it will be noticed that the "sickle" or "bag bottom" is retained. The shores of Northern Germany are straight, as in Ptolemy's maps. In the sea itself there are several islands, one of which is of large proportions; in some manuscripts it has a golden colour (probably indicating the island's exceptional wealth). The author of the map calls this island *Insula de galandia* (Gotland). Nearby there is another island with the name: *Insula colant*, and this indicates how precise the author's knowledge of Gotland must have been, "the eye of the sea of the east," as the Nordic sagas call it. There is no doubt about the meaning of *Insula de oxilia* (Oesel) but it is difficult to say what is meant by *Insula lister*. There are also two longer inscriptions which are of interest:

> aquesta mar ess apellada mar d'allemania e mar de gotilanda e de sussia e sapiats que aquesta mar es congelada VI messes de lany so es de migant votobri tro migat marc, axi fort q hom y pot anar ab carros de boy p la fredor de la tremontana (the sea is called the German, the Gotland, the Swedish sea, and you (have) to know that she is frozen six months of the year, i.e. from the

middle of October to the middle of March, and is frozen so hard that people can travel on her in carts driven by oxen).

prouincia de staqia e de gotia hon ha gent meyns de coll q lo cap se ten ab lespatles esson gras casadors e cassen ab grifalts.

(this is the province of Sweden (?) and the land of Goths, where people are without necks who (hold) their heads directly on their shoulders; they are great hunters and they hunt with the help of falcons).

Finally a few comments on the proper names on the Baltic shores. *Fluu vendalo* must be the Vistula, *cast. carelant* or *catelant paganor* is Courland, as *cast. litefanu paganor* — Lithuania. Some of the proper names elude interpretation, for instance: *fluv cisviatic*, *vuarlant*, while *riualia*, *pollania*, *riga* are evident.

The threshold of a new era, the end of the Fifteenth Century

The latter half of the fifteenth century was full of great "geographical unrest". In practical navigation it found expression in the voyages of the Portuguese down the coast of Africa, in the theoretical field there were the volumes of Ptolemy editions which followed one another in rapid sequence, particularly after the renowned Ulm edition of 1482. In the previous sketches we have seen the gradual growth of knowledge concerning the Baltic, both in the portolanos and in the round maps of the world. Although this information was at times confused and inaccurate it nevertheless indicates quite clearly the increased geographical interest and knowledge of that period.

According to Crone (op. cit. p. 74) there is included in the 1507 Rome edition of Ptolemy the first modern map of Central Europe. This was the work of Cardinal Nicolas Cusanus or Chryfftz, i.e. Krebs, (1401—1464). A facsimile of this map exists in the chronicle by Schedel (1493), the original of which is reputed to be in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana in Florence. It is not surprising that the cardinal, a highly-educated traveller and philosopher, who was inspired by the new ideas of the time, should have turned to cartography and become interested in particular in Central Europe. While engaged in this subject he throws new light on the countries on the southern shore of the Baltic. I do not possess a copy of the above-mentioned Rome edition of Ptolemy but I have written on the Schedel chronicle and its map in the *Latv. Univ. Raksti Fil. Fak. Sērija II.* This chronicle, Aetis Mundi, was published in Nuremberg where I studied it and the information in it on Livonia is well worth quoting here. Schedel wrote as follows.

> "Concerning Livonia which is now a German province. Livonia is the most northerly Christian province, it borders the land of the Russians (ruthenis). It is often invaded by the Tartars and great battles are being fought out there even in our time. The German brothers who call themselves Brethren of the Order of St. Mary went there with arms and compelled the people to accept the Christian faith. Prior to that they were heathen and worshipped idols. In the west it is washed by the Baltic Sea which most of the ancients thought to be an ocean. The Greeks and the Italians (Italis) did not know the North

(of Europe) as it is today. Christianity opened this part of the world to our generation and created there better ways of life . . . among the most savage of tribes. The gulf of the Baltic (Baltheus sinus) is so large that some call it immense. It begins at the British Sea, which can also be called the German Sea since it washes a large part (of the coast) of Germany. The estuary of the gulf borders the Cymbrian Chersones (Denmark) which is now called Dacia. The gulf widens to the east and to the north and embraces big islands. On the western shore live the Norwegians. It is said that in the north here there are half-savage men. Seamen cannot speak with them and they buy their goods from them by means of signs and nods of the head. The south coast of the gulf is occupied by Saxons and Prussians, but the Eastern shore, as stated, is the home of the Livonians".

The Cusanus map introduces many proper names which have not previously been encountered, though at the same time many of the traditional inaccuracies are still present. In Prussia and farther inland in Lithuania there is a good deal of confused terminology which I shall overlook here. But further east the *Duna flv.* is shown and by the side of this there is another river which is unnamed. A big city, *Dimenborch* (probably Daugavpils), is also shown in the vicinity of these rivers. Further on in Livonia there are three large lakes, one of which, *Lacus Pelas* is close to the city of *Terlatev*. Near *Riga* are the words *Portv. Salti* (sea port), higher up in the mountains is *Pornow* while on the shore is *Portus Porvov*. Farther inland to the east is *Narba*, and the river Narba, *Narba fly* flows northwards, passing *Revalien Ecclesia* and then turning northeast and flowing into the Swedish Sea (Mare Svetie) near a city called Flautena. On the extreme eastern edge of the map there is a city called Novagardia close to a lake the name of which is undecipherable.

Central European section of the map by Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus, (1491). Copper engraving, slightly enlarged. The dimensions of the map are 39 by 55.7 cms (after the facsimile in the Royal Library,Stockholm). The original map was made in 1439 and the copper engraving in 1491. The coastal gulfs of the Baltic Sea (*Mare Svetie*) are poorly drawn. Several later maps reveal the same difficulty in presenting the eastern gulfs of the Baltic.


NORVEGIE
SVETIAE MAIORIS
MARE SVEVICVM
DACIA
SCANIA
ANDIA
TEVTONES
SAXONIA
ANTIQVA MARCHIA
NOVA MARCHIA
POLONIA MAGNA
POLONIA IN TOTO
POLONIA MINOR
PRVSSIA
POMERANIA
SARMATIA
RVBEA RVSSIA
LIVONIA
ESTONIA
VALACHIA
MISNA

Modern geography is born in a quiet valley of the Vosges

In the ex-Duchy of Lorraine there is a small provincial town called Saint-Dié. This town grew up around the monastery which had been founded in the seventh century A. D. by S. Deodatus. There, beginning with the year of 1911, on the wall of one of the monasterial buildings the following inscription, carved on a marble plaque, can be read:

> Here, in the reign of René II, on April 25, 1507, the *Cosmographiae Introductio* was printed in which the name of AMERICA was given to the New World. It was printed and published by the members of the Gymnase Vosgien, Vautrin Lud, Nicholas Lud, Jean Basin, Matthias Ringmann, and Martin Waldseemüller.
>
> (Translation quoted from the book of G. Arciniegas, *Amerigo and the New World*, New York, 1955, p. 287).

Why so much honor for those men of the *Gymnasium Vosagense*, "a kind of literary salon devoted to the study of philosophy, cosmography and cartography", as Lloyd A. Brown, author of the known book *The Story of Maps*, Boston, 1949, puts it (cf. p. 156)? Particularly for the last one, often called the beginner of modern cartography? Besides the story about the name America to which we shall return immediately, there exists a generally recognized approach to cartographic development just at the beginning of the classical century of modern geography, namely the sixteenth century which can be defined with the help of quotations like the following:

> Waldseemüller's great map of the world (meaning the map of the year 1507. A. Sp.) produced a profound and lasting impression on cartography; it was a map of wholly new type and represented the earth with a grandeur never before attempted.
>
> (United States Cath. Hist. Society, Monographi IV, 1907, p. 21.)

The famous maps of 1507 and 1516 are reproduced in the edition of J. Fischer, S. J. and Fr. R. von Wieser: *Die älteste Karte mit dem Namen Amerika aus dem Jahre 1507 und die Carta Marina aus dem Jahre 1516 des Waldseemüllers* (Ilacomilus), Innsbruck, 1903. It is almost exciting to compare the treatment of the Eastern Baltic

in both maps: the rhythm of the times, if we consider the respective changes, especially regarding the inscriptions, is put in evidence, and all this within a period of only a decade! As concerns the *Introductio*, it can be said that "the old routine facts" introduction to new ideas about the world is being demonstrated, in other words, — "Waldseemüller's outline of the principles of cosmography according to the best tradition dealing with geometrical theorems, definitions of the globes, circles, axis, climata; the division of the earth, the principal winds, the seas and islands and the various distances from place to place" (L. A. Brown, op. cit., 157).

The name of America appears on page 25 of the booklet. The quotation runs as follows: *Quarta orbis pars, quam quia Americus invenit, Amerigen quasi Americi terram sive Americam nuncupare licet* (The fourth part of the world has to be called Amerige, *id est* the land of Amerigo, or America, because he, i.e. Amerigo Vespucci, discovered it). As clear and as simple as the whole story may seem, we must state however that the name of the "fourth part" of the world has gone through different stages of doubts, polemics, decisions changed over and over, until it could be fixed as permanent for the New World, Columbus' dreamland — the Indias. The chronologically last statement of R. A. Skelton (*Explorer's Maps* . . ., New York, 1958, p. 68) sounds like a definite formula:

> The history of the name America on maps deserves a final note. After its introduction by Waldseemüller in 1507, he himself discarded it, probably because he came to ascribe the discovery of the New World to Columbus rather than Vespucci (Fig. 40); but other cartographers, following his lead, continued to apply it to South America (Fig. 42, 44, 45). The name was for the first time placed on both halves of the American continent by Mercator in his world map of 1538. This was in fact a recognition of the unity and continuity of the New World.

If we ask now why was there such an insecurity, fluctuation in the minds of the people of those times, the answer we may find in the simple fact that Vespucci's name was far better known to them than that of Columbus. The above quoted Arciniegas explains it in the following words (op. cit., p. VII):

> Two of Vespucci's letters — the *Mundus Novus* addressed to Pier Francesco de' Medici and the one to Piero Soderini containing the account of his four

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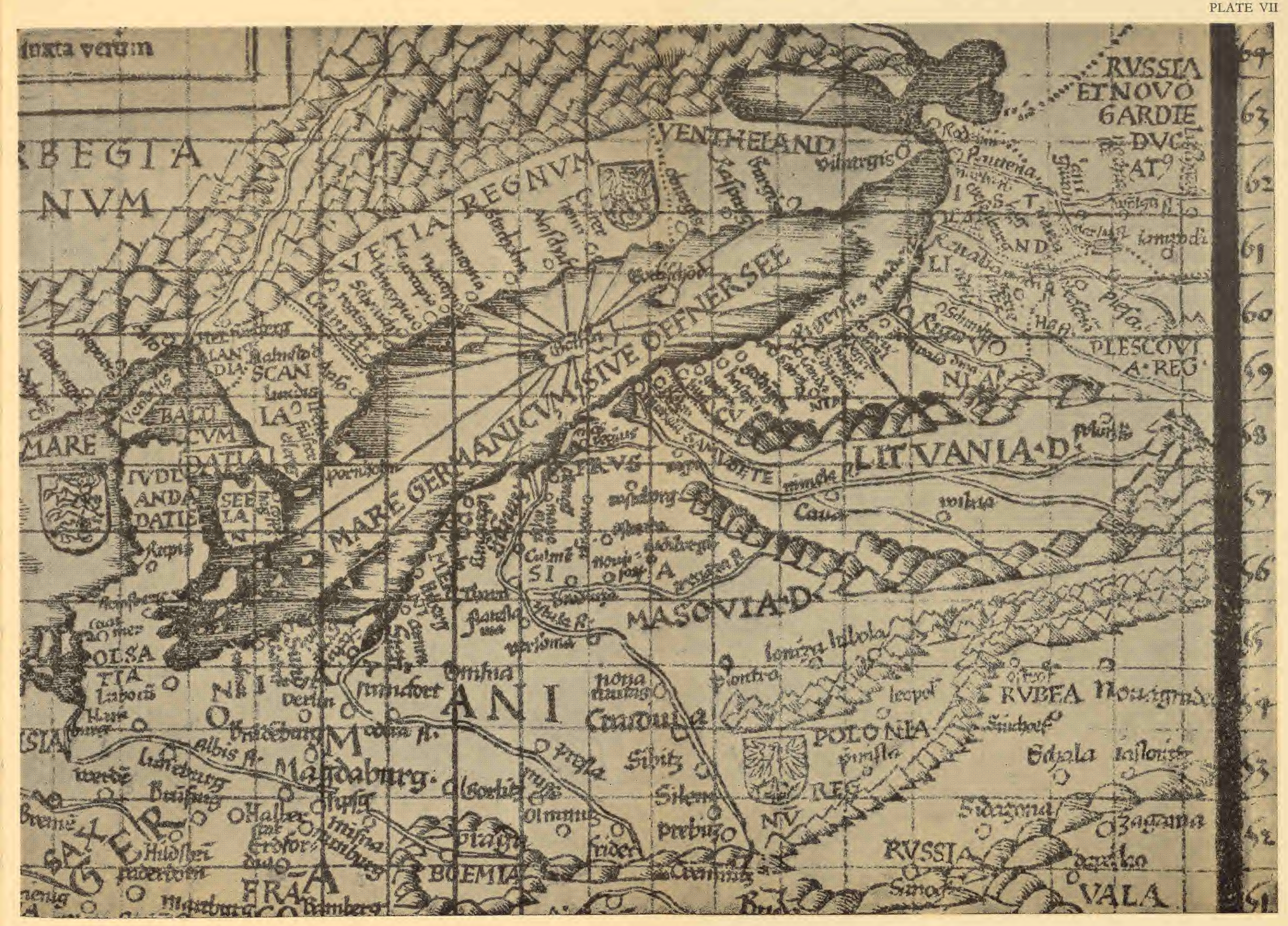
Fragment of the world map (*Carta Marina Navigatoria*, 12 pages of woodcuts) by Martin Waldseemüller (1516). Despite the fact that the profiles of Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea are much more modern here, the gulfs in the eastern part are just as inaccurate as in the Cusanus map. On the other hand there are a lot of Latvian place names which are legible. Waldseemüller's three editions of world maps are mentioned in the text.


RVSSIA
ET NOVO
GARDIE
DVC
AT
VENTHELAND
REGNVM
LIVONIA
PLESCOVI
A·REG
LITVANIA·D
MASOVIA·D
POLONIA
RVSSIA
BOEMIA
MARE
VALA

voyages — were the greatest literary successes of the sixteenth century. Within a few years they had been translated into nearly every tongue and published in the leading countries of Europe, and had wrought a profound change in the geographical sciences. Whereas Columbus's letter telling of his discovery, which was published in Rome in 1493, caused hardly a ripple in scientific circles, those letters of Amerigo had a decisive influence on the earliest maps, and so aroused the enthiusasm of a group of geographers and poets of Lorraine that they launched the idea, which immediately caught on, of giving the name America to the New World. There is no comparable example in the history of European literature.

To add a *titolo di curiosità:* our *Encomium Rigae* of 1595 shows also some stylistic influences coming from Vespucci's text (cf. *Alt-Riga*, for instance, p. 118—121).

The so-called Vespucci problem, as we know – meaning the problem of America's early names —, has created century-long and passionate polemics in which the role of the Florentine explorer became one of the worst, at least from the part of some biased scholars. Today, according to newly obtained material, things begin to get clearer and opinions more balanced. Thus also poor Vespucci comes into a just and more sympathetic light.

It should be remembered that Waldseemüller wrote this name only on the southern part of America's continent, and that on his large map of 1507 there is an inscription indicating that America was discovered by "Columbus, the admiral of the King of Castilla, and by Amerigo Vespucci, both men of great and excellent spirit".

All this is a matter of different investigations however, as for the subject to be dealt with at present time, we have to return to our Livonian shores.

How could Waldseemüller's Baltic Sea possibly be presented in the frame of the above mentioned general remarks, that is to say — in the light of its cartographic tradition until the beginning of the sixteenth century? We must confess that this map is somehow, or rather to a certain extent, a revolutionary one. The author could not acquiesce to the usual "dead" line of our shores which is to be found in the many Ptolemies of his time; he tried also to decipher the many riddles of names proper on those shores, new names of cities, rivers which however could not rid themselves of the old Ptolemaic directions of their courses; furthermore, he tried, but with not too much success, to delineate the three deep beaches which the Baltic cuts into the Eurasian continent; neither was he able to free himself from some fancy mountains of the ages-old cartographic tradition regarding the Baltic shores or their neighbouring regions, and so on.

If we look around in order to find some sources or even prototypes of all these Waldseemüller's "novelties", immediately the map of Cusanus comes to our mind. It seems to be clear that this map exercised a strong influence upon the Waldseemüller map, and we must admit that the map of Cusanus — so far as we know — was the only map of a modern cartographic approach to the regions of Central Europe, including some part of the Livonian shores, consequently the naturally given source of the chronologically more recent one. There are even some scholars who try to ascribe almost all the merits to Cusanus, leaving only a few new elements to his successor.

A careful comparison of both maps however will emphasize also the elements which are really new and modern in the Waldseemüller map. In this writer's opinion, it is just the eastern section of the map where, as mentioned before, new ways and new data are to be sought and discovered. It seems that there manifest themselves geographical approaches quite new, as well as the modern spirit of times just on the threshold of the sixteenth century which had to bring to the Eastern shores of the Baltic Sea so many changes.

Evaluating the elements of our purpose from a general point of view, it is to be stated that the cartographic discovery of the Baltic Sea is a very individualistic and a singular one, one can say, even an odd chapter in the history of world's cartography, individualistic and unique, like the destiny of the nations dwelling on the eastern shores of the sea, on the northern part of Ptolemy's isthmus, i.e. the zone connecting Europe's "peninsula" with the Eurasian mainland (*Ptol. Geogr.*, VII 5). Fra Mauro, the perspicuous monk of Murano, said these already quoted simple words: *questo colfo el qual tolomeo non mete ha piusor nomi* (see above). He is not too precise, because Ptolemy gives the first denomination of this beach *(Venedikos kolpos)* on the background of the *Sarmatikos okeanos* (although the map does not contain this beach), but he is quite right about the many names of this "beach". No sea on the globe has ever had such a number and such a variety of names as the Baltic sea, historically going through a real euphoria of denominations. But what else can all those denominations mean if not a very complicated and multifarious historic destiny for all the nations dwelling around it? Nobody has ever counted them, but beginning with the period of the Goths it has showed in the changing destinies of history the names of almost all the nations of its shores (Gothic, German, Swedish, Prussian, Livonian, and many others), and only once, as if in despair, it bears the name of *Fabulosus pontus* (in a Mss. of the Archives of the Zamoiskis, in Warsaw). Waldseemüller, as if showing it his esteem, calls it *Offener See*. We may

conclude saying that this sea, during the known centuries of history, is seeking its true human or historic role. To the respective nations all this can mean nothing less than very complicated and changing destinies.

The German-Balt historiographic school in the period of the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century preferred to use a special term describing the discovery of Old-Livonia, discovery for traffic purposes with Eastern Europe, particularly by the Düna (Daugava) waterway, and this term meant in German *Aufsegelung*, i.e. discovery by sailing. This term seems to date back to a literary conception of the times of the humanistic literature in Livonia. The chronology of the development of this conception is not easy to ascertain, but without possibility of error we can say that it happened in the second half of the sixteenth century. Livonia's humanistic literature has it as a major item in speeches, poems and the like. Even B. Rüssow*) (1577), author of the century's most interesting chronicle, uses this term as a basis of the beginning of the German influence and rule in Livonia, at the end of the twelfth century (*SS rer. livon.* II 7): "those were the merchants from Bremen who with many dangers discovered first the Province of Livonia *(erstlick vpgesegelt)*" . . .

All this is naturally a typical look in retrospective at the things past, and there is no need to discuss its value here; what seems to be very interesting however, in our connection, is the fact that the learned men of our country of the 16th century tried to understand their coming and their "mission" (as another standard term of the German-Balt historical school sounds) on the Baltic Sea's eastern shores, with the help of concepts and visions taken directly from the world explorers' dictionaries. And there is one more proof to our guessing. The militant Jesuit Order of those times developed a truly admirable activity in various parts of the newly discovered world, and in the programs of their schools from this point of view there was no distinction between the languages of the "natives" of ancient Peru, for instance, and the no less ancient non-Germans *(Undeutsche)* of our homeland. The *Fondo Gesuitico* of the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele of Rome (Mss. Nr. 241 and 1141—1145) has the respective school programs. Moreover, in the same order of ideas we may quote the words of a letter of the well known Polish Jesuit P. Skarga who writes from Riga talking about Livonia as of *hisce Indiis* (i.e. Americas) *(cf. Alt-Riga*, p. 261—263). A wonderful spiritual "colonialism", is it not?

Finally, concerning the names proper on our shores in Waldseemüller's respective map, we are able to give them from a new photograph made of the only remaining

*) A Germanized Estonian, as recently established by Prof. P. Johansen.

original which presently is in the possession of Prince Franz zu Waldburg-Wolfegg (Würtemberg): these names are clearly visible on the design reproduced here.

The interpretation of those names proper is mostly easy, but the instances where some doubt may rise are, as follows:

liua Liepaja (German Libau), *Ducan* Tukums, *Degerhaupt* a locality uninhabited in recent centuries, *Neumul* Bukulti, *Moda fl.?*, *Wesenburg* Rakvere, *Hag* Hegeri, *Flautena?*, *Roderim?*, to be seen already on the Catalan map, *Ha fl.* Gauja, *Adsel* Gaujiena, *Marie castr* Aluksne, what *poden* means in connection: *Rigensis poden* is not clear.

The Baltic and its proper projection

In order to illustrate the intensive search that was going on at the beginning of the sixteenth century for new geographical profiles I shall mention here the Bavarian humanist and geographer J. Ziegler, from whose book *Schondia* I have reproduced a map of northern Europe. Even though this possesses the somewhat heavy qualities which are inevitably characteristic of the woodcut, the interpretation of the Baltic coasts are nevertheless typical of the quest for new horizons.

Ziegler made contact with the various Swedish men of letters who were to be met in Rome where they had been driven in exile as a result of their opposition to the Reformation. Ziegler himself had no first-hand experience of northern Europe and he derived his facts from descriptions and statements made by those who knew the area personally.

Ziegler also wrote descriptions of the Near East countries and these are included in the above-mentioned book. He is said later to have written an account of Sarmatia but this does not seem to be extant.

There is one outstanding feature of Ziegler's map of northern Europe; he has misplaced the Gulf of Finland so that it has the appearance of a direct continuation of the Baltic itself. But at the same time, however, he was the first cartographer to put Scandinavia in its proper position, i.e. running longitudinally from north to south and he was also the first to give actual recognition to the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, thus preparing the way for his successors, including Olaus Magnus.

The proper names along the south Baltic coast were apparently selected at random from other people's reports.

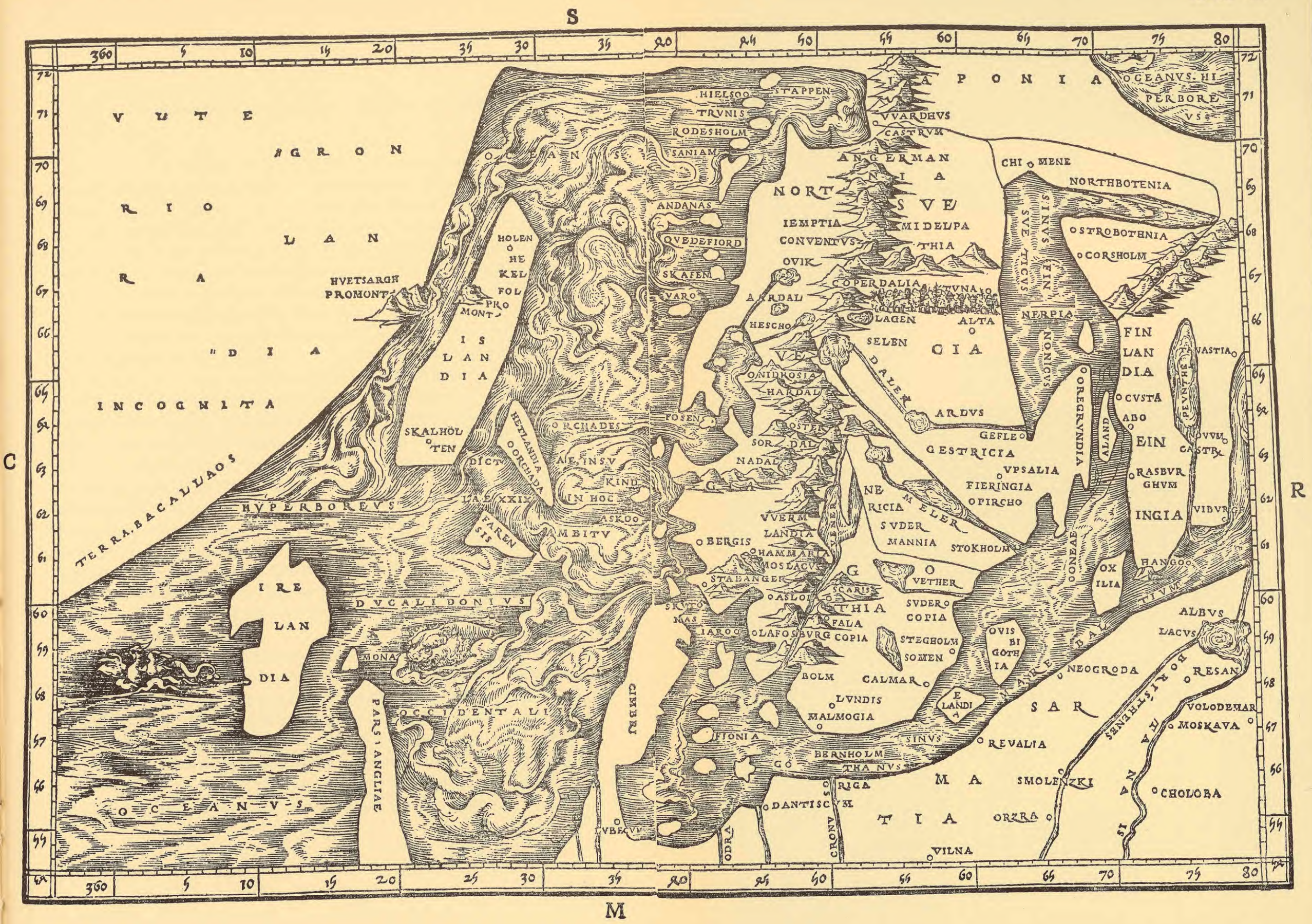
Ziegler's immediate successor was the Swiss cartographer Aeg. Tschudi, whose recently discovered hand-drawn map of the Baltic was published in Imago Mundi X, 1953.

Another name from this period which should not be overlooked is that of Sebastian Münster. His great Cosmographia which has been published in innumerable

editions since the middle of the sixteenth century offers a wide variety of interesting facts relating to conditions on the Livonian coast at that time.

Finally the Polish geographer Miechow deserves a mention. He did not produce any maps but he is well-known for his descriptions of eastern Europe, and these earned much approval in his time. His *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* was translated from Latin into both Italian and German. Concerning the geographical history of the Baltic coast his refusal to accept the existence of the Rhipaean Mountains is particularly interesting.

Sea chart of the Scandinavian and Baltic waters by Ziegler (1532). Wood-cut. (After A. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, 1897). Jacob Ziegler met Bishop E. Walkendorf of Trondheim in Rome where the Bishop gave him detailed information about Norway. This induced Ziegler to add a section on Scandinavia to his book on Syria and Palestine. It has been repeatedly said of Ziegler's Scandinavian map that it was the first to produce a correct projection of the Scandinavian peninsula. But here again the Latvian coast is a mere line, stiff and formless. The Baltic countries have been pushed down opposite Skania on the south coast of Sweden. In the original, drawn map (Oslo University Library) the position of the Baltic towns is even more incorrect with Riga placed north of Tallinn (Reval).


S
C
R
M
LAPONIA
OCEANUS HIPERBOREUS
VVARDHVS CASTRVM
ANGERMANNIA
CHIOMENE
NORTHBOTENIA
SINVS BOTHNICVS
OSTROBOTHNIA
CORSHOLM
NORTSVEMIDELPATHIA
IEMPTIA
CONVENTVS
OVIK
COPERDALIA
TVNA
ALTA
LAGEN
SELEN
HESCHO
ARDAL
DALER
ARDVS
GEFLE
GESTRICIA
VPSALIA
FIERINGIA
FIRCHO
STOKHOLM
NERICIA
SVDERMANNIA
OREGRVNDIA
ALAND
FINLANDIA
CVSTA
ABO
EINGIA
RASBVRGHVM
VIBVRG
HANGOO
OXILIA
ONEGA
PEVNTHE
VASTIA
VVM CASTR
ALBVS LACVS
RESAN
VOLODEMAR
MOSKAVA
CHOLOBA
SARMATIA
NEOGRODA
REVALIA
SMOLENZKI
ORZRA
VILNA
SINVS BERNHOLMTHANVS
RIGA
DANTISCVM
ODRA
CRONVS
VVISTVLA
GOTHIA
SVDERCOPIA
STEGHOLM
SOMEN
CALMAR
OVIS BIGOTHIA
ELANDIA
LVNDIS
MALMOGIA
BOLM
SCARIS
FALA
COPIA
LAFOSBVRG
ASLOI
STADANGER
BERGIS
HAMMARIA
MOSLACVS
VVERMLANDIA
NADAL
SOR DAL
OSTER
ONIDROSIA
HARDAL
FOSEN
SKAFEN
VARO
QVEDEFIORD
ANDANAS
SANIAM
RODESHOLM
TRVNIS
HIELSOO
STAPPEN
OCEANUS
VVTE
AGRONRIO
LANRA
DIA
INCOGNITA
HVETSARGH PROMONT
HOLEN HEKELFOL PROMONT
ISLANDIA
SKALHOLTEN
HETLANDIA
ORCHADES
ORCHADA
DICT
LAE XXIX
FARENSIS
AE INSV
KIND
IN HOC
ASKOO
MBITV
TERRA BACALVAOS
HYPERBOREVS
IRELANDIA
DVCALIDONIVS
MONA
OCCIDENTALIS
PARS ANGLIAE
OCEANVS
CIMBRI
SKVTONAS
IAROO
FIONIA
GÖ
VBECVM

Scandinavia and the Carta Marina by Olaus Magnus

Olaus Magnus's *Carta Marina* is a unique example of sixteenth century cartography and it includes a reasonably accurate projection of northern Europe. The one thing that both Edrisi and Olaus Magnus have in common is that they produced their projections and descriptions, not on a basis of the traditional data which had been accepted since the time of Ptolemy, but from first-hand reports and experience. The *Carta Marina* projection is the most modern of its day and it is particularly intriguing on account of its outstanding iconographic material.

A few facts relating to the life of Olaus Magnus will make it easier for us to understand how he was able to make his map. According to a Swedish encyclopedia Olaus Magnus is the Latinized form of the Swedish name Olof Månsson. He was born in 1490 and while he himself later became an archbishop he was the younger brother of Sweden's last catholic archbishop, Johannes Magnus. As early as 1524 he was in Rome seeking preferment for his brother from the pope. During subsequent years King Gustav I entrusted him with various diplomatic missions but, following a dispute over the Swedish Reformation, he was obliged to live abroad. He then lived part of the time in Poland and spent the last years of his life in Italy. From the dedication in his *Opera Breve* which I quote below it can be seen that he had excellent connections in Venice, one of the great geographical centres of the time. Besides the ruling house he makes special mention of the patrician family Quirini whose museum is today still an important source for researchers. Of all places Venice was the one spot where he was able to find people who were willing to listen to his remarkable stories about the north of Europe; "Tales which neither Greeks nor Romans knew".

The large map which had long been considered lost for good was discovered in Munich in 1886. The full title of this map is *Carta marina et descriptio septentrionalium terrarum ac mirabilium rerum eis contentarum diligentissime elaborata*, Venice 1539. A copy of this map was made by the Italian cartographer A. Lafreri in 1572. At the same time as the actual map was produced in 1539 the above-mentioned Opera breve appeared. The text is merely a repetition of the inscriptions which are to be found on the map. In the preface to the *Opera Breve*, however, Olaus Magnus mentions another major work on the northern countries and this was completed under the

title *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus . . . libri XXII* and appeared in Latin, Italian and German in 1555, 1565 and 1567 respectively.

The *Carta Marina* includes projections of the east and south coasts of the Baltic Sea and gives some indications of Sweden's opportunities of becoming a major power in these waters in the latter half of the sixteenth century and through the seventeenth century.

The following is the extract from the *Opera Breve* followed by some comments of mine:

> "A brief work setting not only a simple key to the map, but also describing the cold Northern lands beyond the German sea, in which lands are marvels heretofore unknown, either to Greeks or Romans.
>
> By a solemn decree of the Supreme Pontif and the Venetian Senate, all are warned against the presumption of printing, within a decade, the Geography of the Northern lands, or the books which describe it, or of selling copies printed by others, without the permission of Olaus, called Gothus. (Olai videlicet Gothi) June 21, 1539.
>
> To His Serene highness, Messer Pietro Lando, Doge of Venice and to the illustrious Rectors of that State, Olaus Magnus sends greetings and felicitations.
>
> . . .
>
> D. Copious supplies of amber are gathered on the shores of the Prutenic Sea, and merchants amass great wealth thereby. E. The royal city of Gedana, an emporium of great renown, inhabited by rich and honest burghers, and rich dealers from the far ends of the earth.
>
> H. The large island of Gothlandia — or the land of the Goths — is eight Italian miles long, and Visbii, once the most famous mart in all Europe, is situated on it, and even today she requires obedience to her maritime law, not only from the neighbouring districts, but even from cities subject to the Emperor.
>
> In this last part of the table, under letter A are the two parts of Livonia, North and South — both powerful defenders of the Catholic Church, under a powerful master, and a German order of the Blessed Virgin, against the insults of the Muscovites and the Russians. B. Here is the land of the Cureti, on

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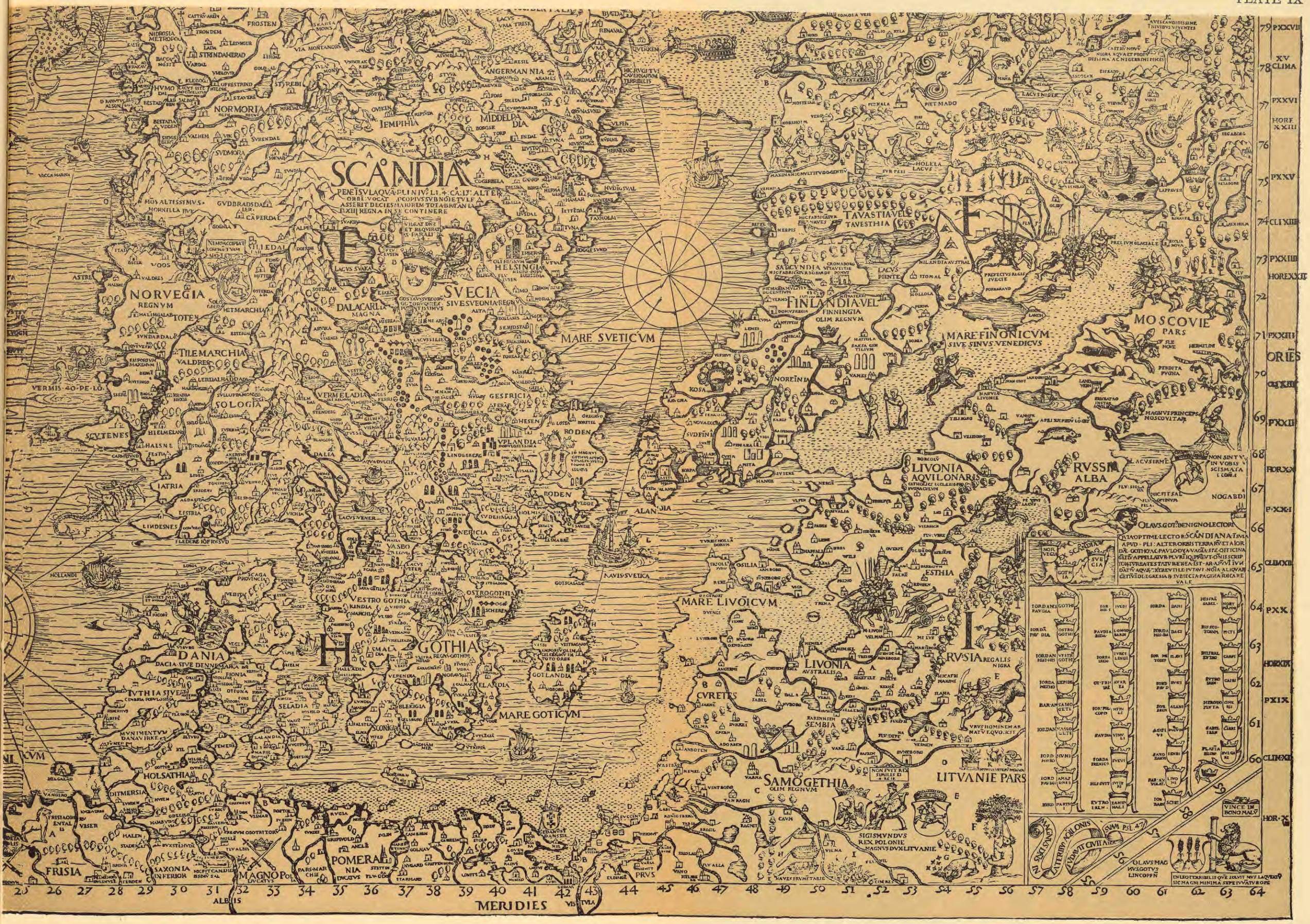
Fragment of the iconographic map by Olaus Magnus (1539). Wood-cut. One third of the original size (According to a facsimile at the Royal Library, Stockholm). This map by the great Swedish explorer is one of the most valuable of the ancient cartographic works, in respect of northern Europe. The iconographic elements are especially significant here insomuch that they give a vivid insight into the conditions and attitudes of the time.


SCANDIA
NORVEGIA REGNVM
SVECIA SIVE SVEONIA REGNVM
MARE SVETICVM
FINLANDIA VEL FINNINGIA OLIM REGNVM
MARE FINONICVM SIVE SINVS VENEDICVS
MOSCOVIE PARS
RVSSIA ALBA
LIVONIA AQVILONARIS
LIVONIA AVSTRALIS
RVSSIA REGALIS NIGRA
MARE LIVONICVM
MARE GOTICVM
DANIA
GOTHIA
SAMOGETHIA OLIM REGNVM
LITVANIE PARS
POMERANIA
SAXONIA INFERIOR
FRISIA
MERIDIES
ORIES
OLAVS.GOT.BENIGNO LECTORI

whose shores many ships are wrecked, and no mercy is given to the ship-wrecked sailors. Across the intervening Livonian sea, are the Island and Bishopric of Osilia, upon whose northern shore stands a certain lofty tower, built at the expense of the Dutch as a warning against the perils of the sea. In the northern part, across the Venedic sea into Finland, and under the rule of the King of Sweden and Goth land, is the fine port of Hange, completely surrounded by hills, on whose sides are inscribed the arms of ancient Princes. Among these are still to be seen the arms of the Most Serene Prince Lando, a modern Doge of Venice, and of other famous Venetians and Barons of Italy, such as Donati, here commemorated for their virtue. C. The Province of Samogethia is so called from the original sojourn in it of the Goths, who were at that time beginning to leave their own lands, on their way to that war which is famous in all the world. D. Lithuania, a large and powerful dukedom, ruled by the powerful King of Poland, Sigismond. E. A wild beast known as an aurochs lifts without difficulty a fully-armed man, and tosses him easily. Here is also shown the River Dividna, which rises in the great swamps above Moscow and flows over a large area; one of its branches shown here flows through Livonia, and into the Sinus Venedicus near Riga, the See of the Archbishop. The second branch flows into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Caspian Sea, these names varying with the district. F. Bears gathering honey from trees are driven off with an iron club fixed to the branches, and are killed. Thus they are driven to sacrifice their life and their skin for the sake of honey. G. Since there is a surfeit of honey, and they follow it anywhere, bears are often suffocated in holes in the ground. H. Large numbers of grain ships are built here without difficulty, and then by a long round-about journey on the River Vistula and the River Agedano are transported to the West, to Spain, France, England, Scotland and other countries, wither they carry great cargoes of grain. I. These are woods where pitch and wood-ash are made, and then exported to remote districts, for various uses and at enormous cost. K. Shows three Gods of the old Lithuanian pagans, before they were baptised: these are Fire, placed before every sacrifice; Wood, the seat of the Gods; and the Serpent, considered a familiar God. Finally, since many writers have maintained that to the Scandinavian Islands came more nations and peoples than to any other part of the world, I have thought it useful to write down some of their names, that the ancient writers may be better understood than heretofore."

Concerning the amber deposits on the Prussian coast it is interesting to read that Armenian merchants bought the amber and took it to India where it was used for making statues of Indian gods (Alfred von Rhode, *Bernstein, ein Deutscher Werkstoff. Seine künstlerische Verarbeitung vom Mittelalter bis zum 18. Jahrhundert.* Berlin 1937, p. 13):

> Amber trade with the East over Lemberg, which had been still flourishing in the 14th century, declined in the 15th century because of insecure trading conditions. But it picked up again in later times. Thus it is known that Armenian merchants had come repeatedly to Königsberg, bringing with them silken rugs interwoven with gold, for which they were paid with amber. In 1545 for instance, four such rugs, valued at 4,860 Marks, were paid for, according to court accounts (Czihak, *Der Bernstein als Stoff des Kunstgewerbes*), with nine barrels of amber. J. B. Tavernier relates in his book *Les Six Voyages* (1676), vol. II, p. 417, (it was director Sloman, Copenhagen, who drew my attention to it) that during his visit to Patna at the Ganges in Bengal (in 1640 or 1665—66) he met four Armenian merchants who had come from Danzig with a number of figures in yellow amber, made to order for the King of Buthan who intended to place them in his pagodas. The King had also ordered an idol in yellow amber, which was to represent a fanciful figure with six horns on the head, four ears, four arms, and six fingers on each hand. The Armenian merchants, however, could not obtain a piece of amber large enough to carry out this order.

In addition to the above quote it is worthwhile mentioning here what is probably, with the exception of Tacitus, the oldest known description of amber gathering. This can be found in the large work *Germaniae Antiquae libri tres* (second edition 1631, Lib. III, cap. XLIV, p. 690) by the Danzig geographer Ph. Klüwer and runs as follows:

> Amber is found in the immense zone of the Swedish Sea, on the shores of Pomerania, Prussia and Livonia. The greater part is gathered on the Prussian shore, chiefly in that district known by the local people as 'die Sudaw', in the vicinity of Königsberg. The amber is gathered by three different methods, two of which are described by Tacitus, who states that 'it is gathered in the sea and on the shores'. In the sea the amber is found in the shallow places where the shore extends, or in the channels where it is washed by the larger waves. Fishermen who know the winds that push these waves and who are familiar with the seabed leap naked into the water and bring up the amber skilfully with the aid of baskets on poles. Neither do they do this only in the

spring as ancient writers believed, but at all times of the year, during the severe winter and the beautiful summer. On shore the amber is gathered by hand and without difficulty since the waves throw it up on to the open sands. The third method is that by which men dig for the amber on the shores where it is often buried to the depth of a man's two arms extended. The experts here can tell where the amber is hidden and they bring it up deftly and with skill . . .

Concerning the island of Gotland we can refer to the data in the Catalan atlas. The stories of the cruelty of the *Cureti* are reminiscent of Adam of Bremen's reports on the Baltic tribes. At the same time, however, the opposite behaviour of the Prussians towards shipwrecked sailors is often emphasized in the same chronicle. (See my *History of Latvia*, p. 41—43, 158—159).

The high tower on the island of Oesel is reminiscent of the Henry Chronicle (*SS. rer. liv.* I 266), although by this observation I do not intend to imply that there is necessarily any direct connection between the two texts.

It is impossible to explain the presence of Italian warriors here. Did Olaus Magnus intend, perhaps, to flatter his Venetian friends by their inclusion?

The Goths in Samogitia, i.e. Zhemaitia. This is a result possibly of the sixth century reminiscences of Jordan, but at the same time it may be typical Humanist etymology, connecting events through the interpretation of place names, i.e. Samo-Gothia.

There is ample information about aurochs to be found in the writings from that time, lengthy accounts of the method of hunting them, etc.

Olaus Magnus's account of the River Dividna (Daugava) is of considerable value. It is evident that his knowledge here was lacking concerning Russia, however, since he does not know the names of either the Dnieper or the Volga. On the other hand his story reflects a notion of the great east European waterway from the estuary of the Neva to the Caspian and Black Seas.

There are many accounts referring both to the abundance of honey and to the presence of bears. At that time the tale told by the Italian humanist Jovio was extremely popular. It is reputed to have come from a Muscovite ambassador and tells of a man who fell into a honey "pond" in the hole of a tree and was hooked out by a bear out in search of his favourite food. The object of the story was to deride former exaggerated reports on the subject of honey and bears.

Concerning the export of grain, cobbler's wax and ash see my *Alt Riga*, p. 225—242.

The illustration of the large barges is illuminating and it is interesting to compare them with the Russian barges on the Daugava in the 1612 *View of Riga*.

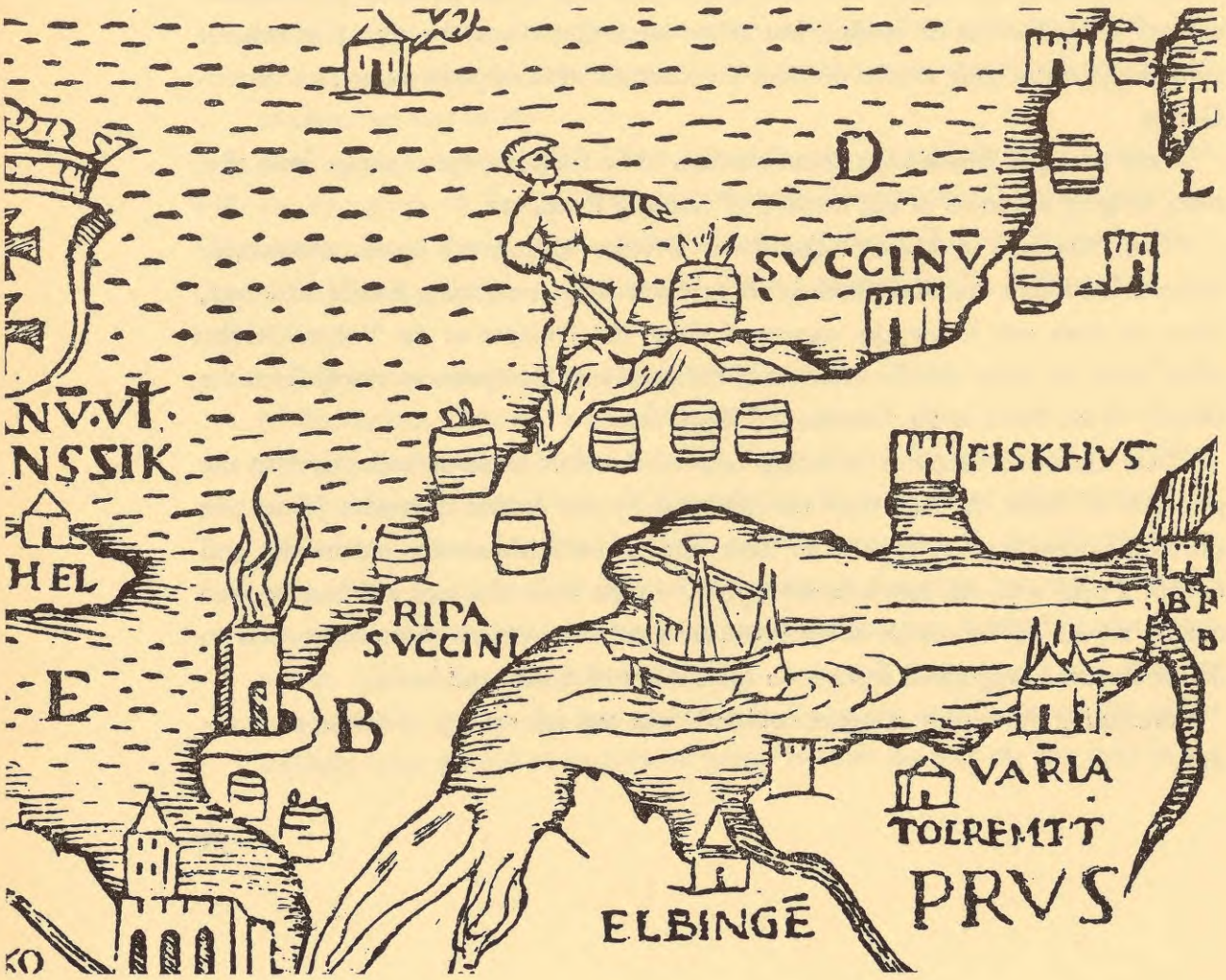
Concerning the mythology of the ancient Balts, see my remarks on Mercator-Hondius.

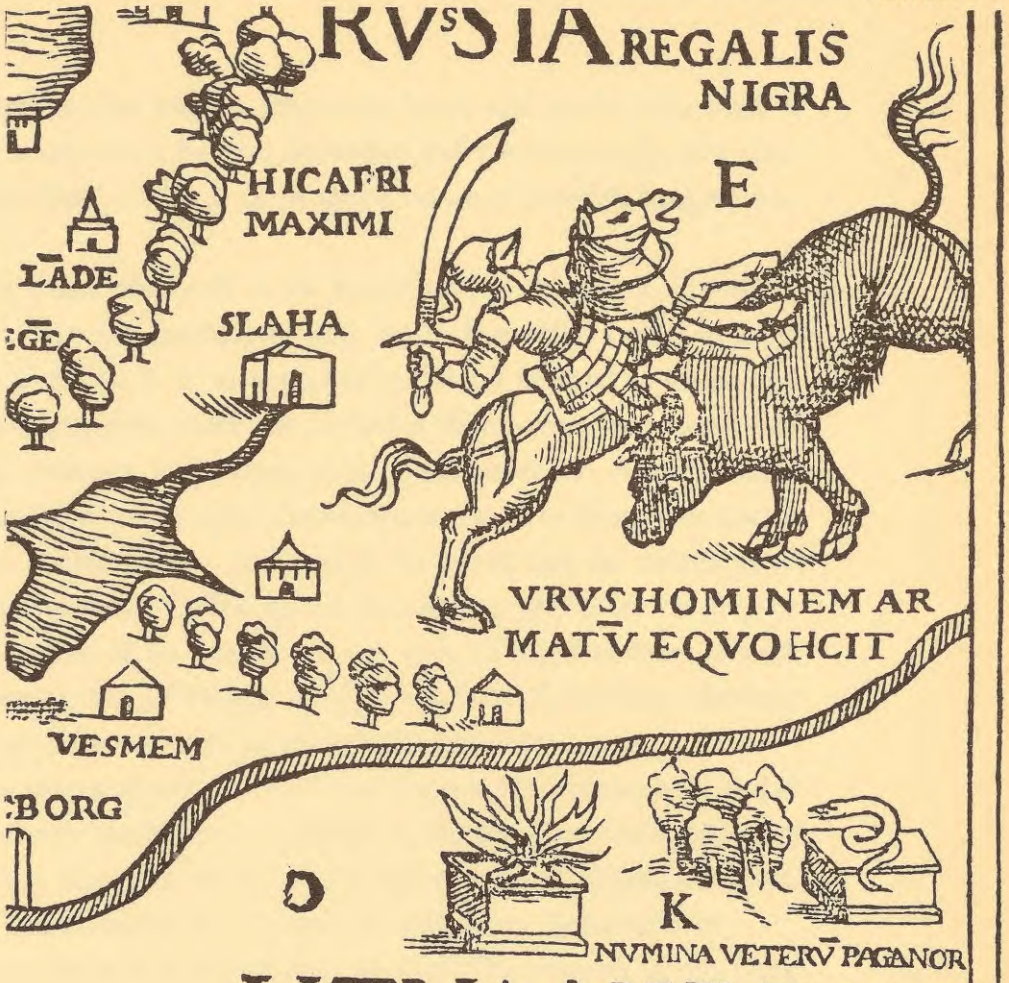
In addition to the iconographic elements mentioned in the text there are a number of others that are not mentioned. In the Courland or Zhemaitia section there is a curious crown over a crossed sceptre and sword. On the righthand side there are scenes showing aurochs hunting.

In the vicinity of Riga there is a lighthouse with the word *memele* nearby. I do not understand the significance of this word.

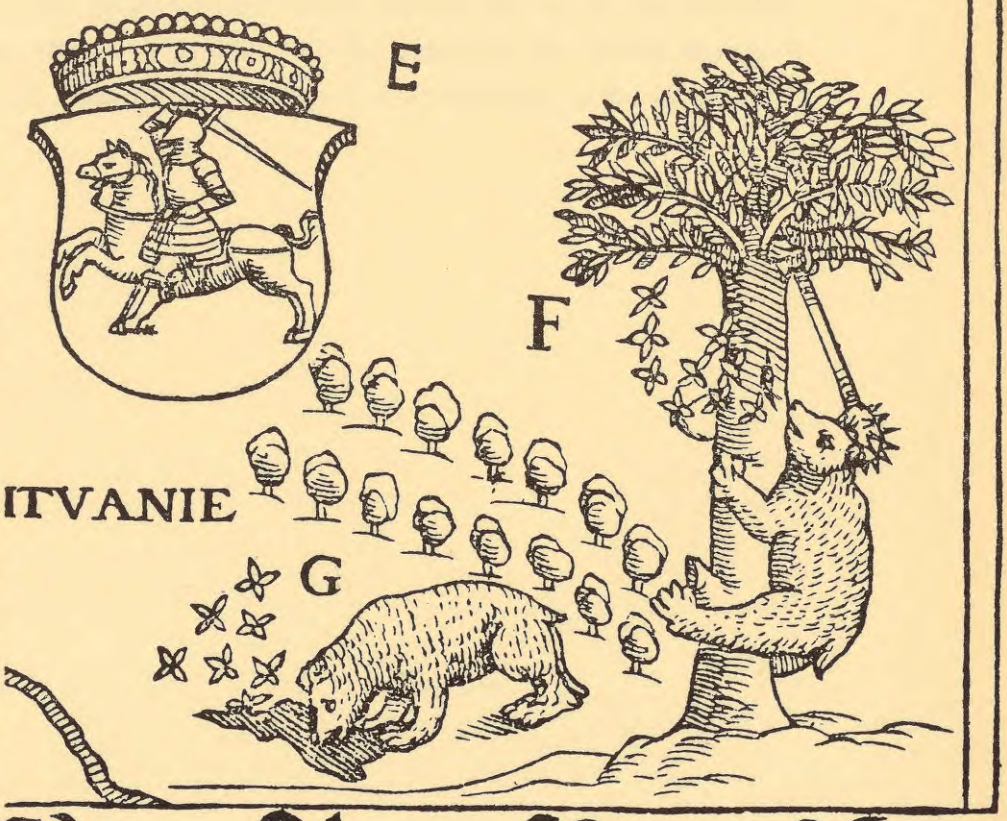
In northern Livonia there is a battle scene where knights are preparing to fight the Russians. They have drawn up three howitzers. The Russian force approaches the frontier which is marked by a belt of trees. One of the Russians is running back, either in flight or carrying a message. A mounted knight can be seen crossing frozen Lake Peipus in the direction of Russia.

On the south shore of the Gulf of Finland, which is inaccurately drawn, various wild animals and birds are visible.





LITVANIE PARS



Fragments of the map by Olaus Magnus, (twice the original size). On the left the Prussian amber shore is characterized by a man collecting amber in barrels along the coast.

At the top of the opposite page (approximately a quarter of the original size) an aurochs attacking a knight. In the centre, cult motifs — a shrine with flames, a grove of holy trees and a snake shrine. These three themes are typical symbols of ancient Baltic cults. At the bottom bears searching for honey.

The ruler of Muscovy is also visible, sceptre in hand, and above him there is an arch with a bundle of arrows, a Russian horseman and a vixen caught in a trap.

At the far end of the Gulf a fight is in progress between Swedish knights and mounted Russians.

The next maps after Olaus Magnus's to be reproduced in this book, in a chronological succession, will be the handdrawn map by A. Possevino (1582) and the map by Mercator-Hondius (1627). It makes a chronological interval of about two or three generations. During those years our Livonian shores were the object of an extensive geographical research and cartographic representation. Authors from different countries, where the cartographic development was at its best, have drawn respective maps of the Eastern Baltic, and it is to be noted that the trends more obvious of those efforts are rather confusing, i.e. they do not yet reveal a lasting or standardized tradition which is so familiar to our eyes. Even Mercator himself, for instance in his general map of Europe (1554), will have to undergo different influences before he may reach the outlines of his map reproduced here.

If we quote only the names of some of the more important cartographers in this respect, we will immediately realize the complexity of the whole problem: Münster, Vopel, Algoet, Camocius, Gastaldo, de Jode, Portantius, Agnese, Ortelius, Lafreri, Strubicz, Waghenaer, and Henneberger, Renner, R. Barberini, Possevino, etc.

But here, in this place, we will have to forego all that. The purpose of this book should not be to describe in great detail the complicated events of Livonia's sixteenth century, its second half, which to her was so fateful and dangerous. Instead, my intention should be only the desire to show to the international reader the particular situation of my native shores as reflected in the cartographic visions during a millenium and a half, i.e. from Ptolemy's times to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Livonia and the Latvians by Dutch artists and engravers

It is a well known fact that during the last three decades of the sixteenth century and on into the seventeenth century there was a remarkable development in the work of Dutch engravers and cartographers. There is no doubt that the roots of this development lay in the rapid growth of the Dutch national movement and the country's wars of liberation with the Spanish oppressors. Last but not least we should not omit to remember the increasing rôle of the Dutch as a sea-faring nation at this time.

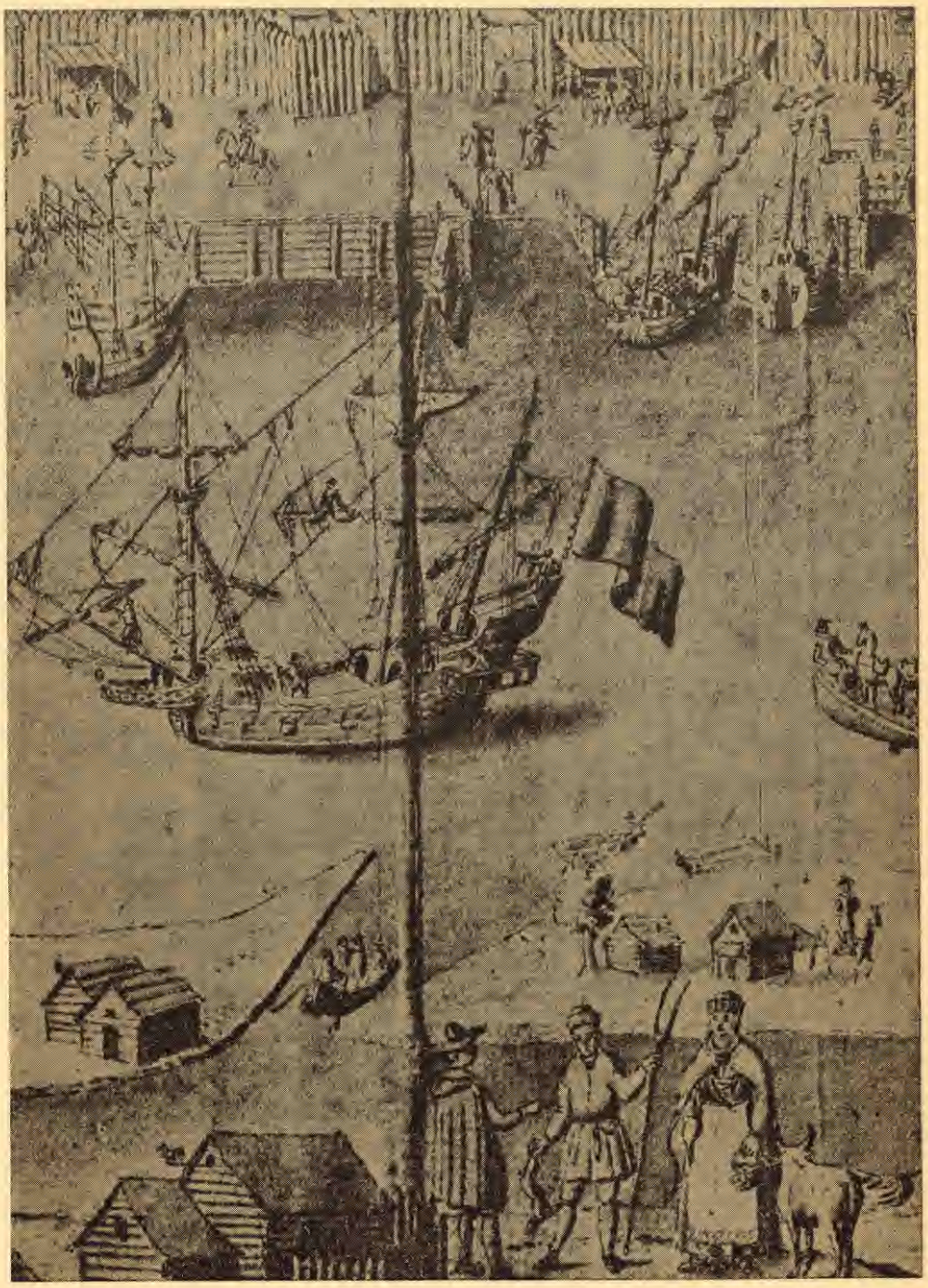
There is no need to comment upon the work of Mercator and Ortelius. Their significance in cartographic history was characterized by a most radical turnabout, where the ancient view of the world was replaced by the lucidity of the modern atlas and mathematical expression.

When discussing the influence of the Netherlands upon the history of Livonia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it should be remembered that the subject has never been approached on broad lines. Msgr. J. Kleijntjens wrote in the *Journal of the Latvian Institute of History*, 1937 and 1939, "The cities of Holland and in particular Amsterdam, carried on a struggle with the Hansa who sought to maintain complete control over the Baltic. When the Hansa lost its power it was Holland that took first place in the Baltic trade. During the sixteenth century grain export dominated Livonian trade and the high quality of this produce was widely acknowledged. The seventeenth century was the golden age of Dutch trade in the Baltic." Elsewhere the same historian complains that no German, Latvian or Estonian historians have ever carried out any research in Dutch archives. But, as he points out, one day when this is done new and important facts will emerge.

I fully agree with the views of my late friend. Personally I have never been to Holland but the data which I managed to gather in Riga and elsewhere suggests that there may well be a great deal of information available in the Netherlands. I shall enumerate the above-mentioned data here since the content is to some extent relevant to our subject.

I. In 1934 when I published my book *Vecākie latvju tautas apģērba zīmējumi*, (Early illustrations of Latvian costumes) no historian seems to have known anything about

Livonian women's costumes, urban and peasant. Copper engraving from the late XVI century, approximately two thirds of the original size (see A. de Bruyn, *Omnium pene...*) The style of dresses and certain divergencies in detail indicate that the sketches are the work of a foreign artist. Other aspects, however, including accessories such as the crown on figure 2 and the hat on the last figure, suggest that the artist must have had proper patterns of the original costumes at his disposal.



Part of a view of Riga published by N. Molin in 1612, copper engraving from a copy drawn by J. K. Brotze (see C. Metting, *Geschichte der Stadt Riga*, 1897.) In the foreground here Latvian peasants are shown in their natural environment. This is one of the oldest existing pictures of Latvian national dress and is very characteristic of the period.

the edition of the popular drawing of six Livonian peasant women. I happened to find the one shown here in the British Museum in 1951. The artist in question was a Dutchman named Bruyn and his work became a sort of stylized pattern for subsequent drawings of the same type.

II. At the exhibition of maps and ancient drawings organized by the Congress of World Historians in Warsaw in 1933 I found the Dutch prototype of the no less renowned 1612 view of Riga. In the foreground of this picture there are two groups of figures and one of these includes a couple of Latvian peasants, most likely man and wife, who have come to Riga to sell their wares — the man a hare, the wife a calf. In the other group more to the left Riga citizens are dressed according to the fashions of the time. They are listening to the performance of a minstrel, singing to his lute which at that time was one the most popular instruments in Europe. Between 1572 and 1618 six folio volumes containing coloured pictures of towns from various parts of the world were published. This splendid series cost a great deal of money to produce and is unique among the documents of the history of the world. In the introduction by Braun the publisher claims that the series shows unforgettable glimpses of the life of various nations at that time and "presents views and types with such a mastery that the very cities themselves seem to emerge before the eyes of the onlooker." The well-known view of Riga is included in this collection, although I have never seen it mentioned that there is a text in latin inscribed on the back of the view. This text discloses, inter alia, that Riga, like Danzig, is a meeting place "for various glorious nations" and goes on to list some of the ports of destination of the Latvian grain export trade, particularly the Dutch ports.

In the foreground or the corners of the pictures in all of the six volumes the artists have depicted either citizens or soldiers of the countries in question. In the introduction to the first volume the publisher gives a colourful explanation for the presence of these figures as follows, "It might happen that the enemy (in this case the Turks) could make use of these drawings when planning his aggression and thus endanger the Christian world. We have ensured ourselves against this considerable danger by placing around the views of the cities pictures of various peoples, their dress, handicrafts and customs . . . Because of this the malicious Turks, who will not tolerate any kind of images, either carved or painted, will never make use of these works, which otherwise might be useful to them." In short, then, it is thanks to the Turks that world history has been enriched by this unique series of drawings and costumes.

III. Because of their trading activities the Dutch needed sea charts covering the

eastern shores of the Baltic. Among the best known of their cartographers are Waghenaer and Portantius. Waghenaer's maps are not particularly rare since they were printed in several editions between 1584 and 1592. Portantius made one map of Livonia with the characteristic curved coastline of Estonia.

IV. I shall finish this short cartographic sketch with a reproduction of a map by Mercator-Hondius and a few comments on the long text which accompanies this map.

"The cartographic achievements of Mercator synthesize this particular aspect of the Renaissance. He not only systematized the vast quantities of materials surrounding him, but he also comprehensively revised it. He endeavoured to re-

Portrait of G. Mercator and J. Hondius, 1614.
(From J. Keuning's *The History of an Atlas. Imago Mundi* IV.)

concile ancient data and modern knowledge and thus he may properly be regarded as the founder of scientific cartography. It was Mercator who created the mathematical basis and liberated cartography from the empirical electicism which had been predominant up to this time." This is how the Italian geographer G. Caraci writes of the merits of Mercator. He is quite right. Since Mercator mathematical measurements and mathematical formulae have replaced sporadic empirical observation. It may be said, too, that Mercator was to Ptolemy in cartography what Copernicus,

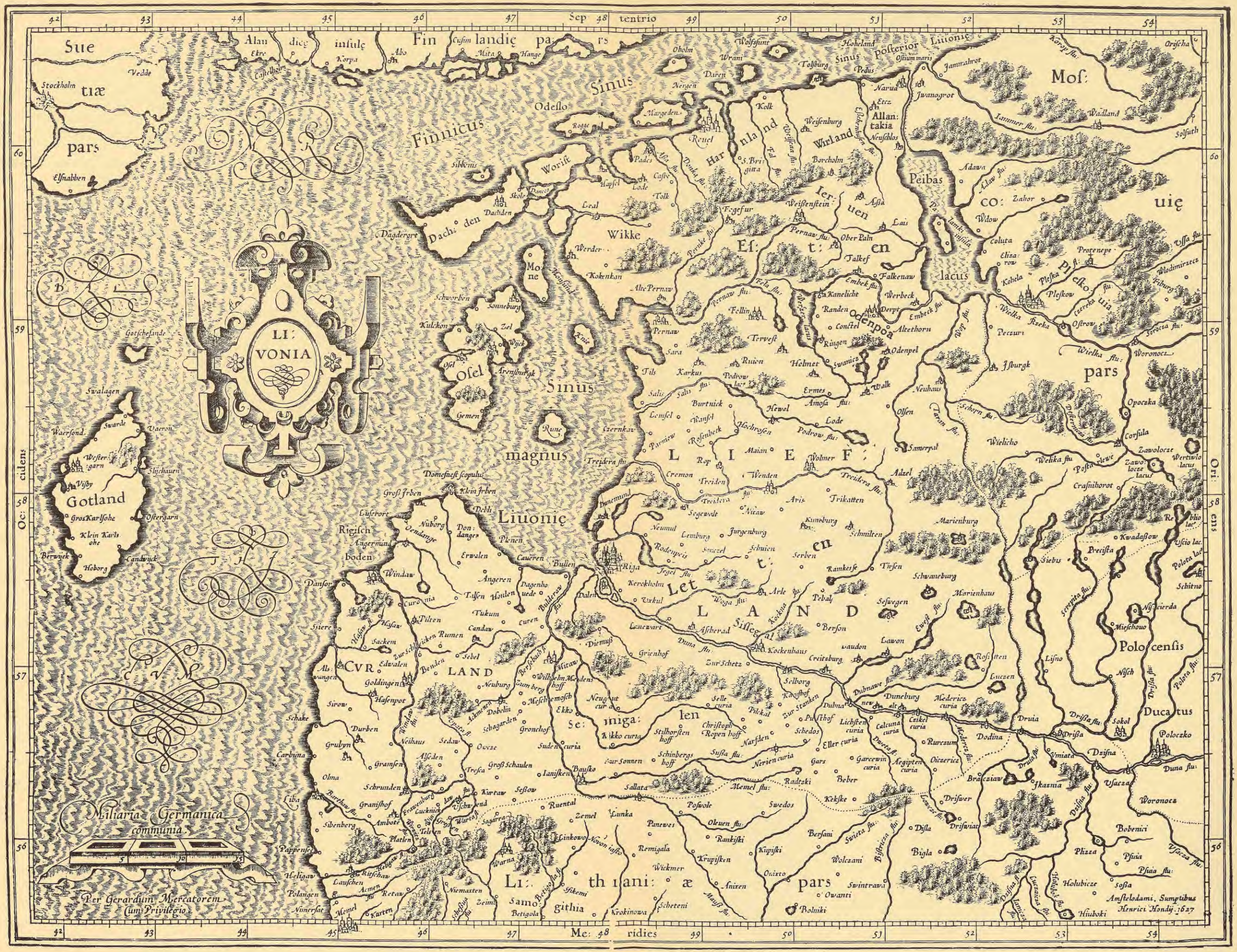
Kepler and Gallileo were to the Alexandrian in terms of science and the universe. In the realm of practical navigation Mercator is well-known as the inventor of the so-called Mercator projection. In the preface to his *Nova et aucta orbis descriptio ad usum navigantium accomodata* (A new and completed description of the globe, adapted for the use of seamen), 1568, he writes, "In sea charts (with straight meridional lines and latitudinal parallels) I have increased the latitudinal degrees in the direction of both poles in equal proportion to the increase of those degrees in the direction of the equator." In other words the basis of his projection is a cylindrical isogonic body of equal dimensions. Oblique lines drawn on this, i.e. loxodromic distances, must be reckoned as straight lines.

But the aims and achievements of Mercator are not limited to his famous grand atlases and his new methods of map-making. His system of world chronology, for example, embraces the conception of an harmonious universal life, something that was motivated by his deeply religious beliefs. He accepts the Old Testament story of the creation and the theory of humanity's fall into sin and ultimate salvation. Mercator's cartographic works are a natural component of his "cosmographical meditations on the structure of the world" (de fabrica mundi) which in themselves are characteristic of the strivings and searchings of this period of the Renaissance.

What remains of the cartographic works of Mercator are widely dispersed throughout the world and thus the allegedly exact dates and figures relating to them should be treated with extreme caution. The first part of his grand atlas appeared in 1585 and the second part, in which he is believed to have been assisted by his son Rumold, in 1590. This atlas enjoyed wide popularity and the engraving plates later became the property of Hondius and then of Janson and his heirs. After Mercator's death two editions were published in 1595 and 1602 respectively and it is believed that the latter of these is the most complete (274 pages containing 111 maps and a text in Latin). These were followed by a long series of combined Mercator-Hondius atlases which have been listed in detail by R. V. Tooley in his *Maps and Map-Makers*, 2nd edition, 1952, p. 31—32.

In 1604 the heirs of Mercator sold the original copper engraving plates to the well-known Flemish cartographer J. Hondius. In 1605 Hondius's work *Mercator's Ptolemy* appeared and in 1606 Hondius published the first of his Mercator atlases.

Map of Livonia by Mercator-Hondius, 1627. Copper engraving approx. half the original size. (From a copy in the Royal Library, Stockholm.) The map is signed G. Mercator (Gerard Mercator, 1512—1594).
In 1604, after the death of Mercator, all plates engraved by him became the property of Jodocus Hondius, the elder. The first collection of these maps was published in Amsterdam in 1606. All the publications of this atlas are listed in my text on this map.


LI: VONIA
Miliaria Germanica communia
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10
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Dagdergrt
Gotland
Wisby
Westergarn
Slijchauen
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Klein Karlsohe
Ostergarn
Berwijck
Candwijck
Hoborg
Waersond
Swarde
Vaeron
Swalagen
Gotschesande
Mone
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Sonneburg
Kulckon
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Wijck
Osel
Arensburgk
Gemen
Kine
Sinus magnus
Rune
Domesnes scopulus
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Klein Irben
Liuonię
Lijserort
Rigisch Angermund boden
Nuborg
Oendange
Dondangen
Debli
Plenen
Erwalen
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Dansor
Windaw
Angeren
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Curonia
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Schrunden
Gramsen
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Burthaw
Sibenberg
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Ambote
Platen
Pappensee
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Pernaw
Sara
Tils
Salis
Karkus
Burtnick
Lemsel
Parniew
Rosenbeck
Hochrosen
Maian
Wolmer
Wenden
Treiden
Cremon
Treidera flu.
Dunemund
Riga
Segewalt
Neumul
Lemburg
Rodenpeis
Kerckholm
Dalen
L I E F :
Let t: en LAND
Wolfsund
Oholm
Wrani
Daren
Nergen
Naugeden
Kolk
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Wirland
Weisenborg
Borcholm
Tolsburg
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Zahor
Wdow
Coluta
Protenepe
Plesko uia
Plescow
Ostrow
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Woronocz
pars
Opoczka
Corsula
Zawolocze
Marienburg
Schwaneburg
Marienhaus
Neuhaus
Adzel
Samerpal
Trikatten
Kuneburg
Schnilten
Serben
Ramkesse
Tirsen
Arle
Tebal
Seswegen
Berson
Ascherad
Kockenhaus
Creitsburg
Lawon
Rositten
Lucezen
Selborg
Dubna
Duneburg
Mederic curia
Drissa
Druia
Sokol
Polocensis
Ducatus
Poloczko
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Vsacza
Woronocz
Bobenici
Plizza
Psina
Hiuboki
Holubicze
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Gronchof
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Poswole
Radztki
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Gars
Kekske
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Bigla
Drijswiat
Wolczani
Bersani
Swintrawa
Owanti
Bolniki
Krokinowa
Scheteni
Anixen
Wickmer
Remigala
Panewes
Krupisken
Kupiski
Onixto
Memel flu.
Duna flu.

Here there are 102 maps by Mercator and 5 by his sons while Hondius himself completed the edition with 36 new maps. Detailed analytical statistics can be found in Skelton's *Decorative Printed Maps of the 15th to 18th centuries*, 1952, p. 58. The 1606 edition is the first of a series of atlases by Mercator-Hondius, containing a constantly increasing selection of new maps. Tooley has studied the 40 odd editions and from this it emerges that during the period 1606—1641/42 17 atlases with Latin, 9 with French, 1 with Dutch, 4 with German, 3 with Flemish and 5 with English texts were published (the order given here is chronological). Hondius died in 1612 and his work was carried on by his widow and his son Henry. The Hondius publications kept off of the market the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* atlas published by A. Ortelius, the other great cartographer-publisher of the sixteenth century. His first edition appeared as early as 1570 and the 41st and final edition in 1612.

I have at my disposal one map with Latin and several with French texts. It was not usual for these texts to be dated, but an exception is the map which was kindly sent to me by Mr. K. Dzelzkalns, this carries the date 1627 in the bottom right-hand corner. The map with its Latin text (earlier, chronologically, than the maps with French texts) serves as colourful evidence of the historical events of Latvia in the early part of the present century. This map was bought for a few lire in Florence from an antique book pedlar and as the seals and the inventory register show it had once belonged to the Courland Museum in Jelgava (Mitau) which was looted by the Bermont-Avalov bands before they left the town after an unsuccessful attack against the Latvian army in the autumn of 1919. It must have been bartered or sold then before finally reaching Florence.

The map text which I have reproduced here is typical renaissance French with Latinized spelling and medieval forms. It runs to two full folio pages. Quotations from the text and my comments will, I hope, give the reader some insight into the work and attitudes of sixteenth century writers and scientists respecting Livonia. Not only does it give a broad perspective of Livonia and the life of her people, it also gives an extensive impression of the Baltic in general.

> En ma Methode, la Prusse est suyvie par la *Livonie*, vulgairement appellée *Liefland:* de la source du nom de laquelle, je ne veux rien asseurer. Altamere dit, qu'il s'est peu faire que les Livoniens derniers des peuples Germains, Habitans sur la coste Venedique, sous le parallele de l'Isle Scandinavie, qui s'appelle Gotlãdie, soyent sortis des Lemoviens, que j'aymeroy' mieux toutesfois tirer des Effluins: leur nõ *Eyflander*, y favorisant en quelque sorte. Ptol.

Région. Noms.

mentionne les Levons, liv. II. cha. XI. Et peu apres, ou il est parlé des Aestiens, disant que B. Rhenan a remis Tacite, remplaçant au lieu du terme corrõpu, *Aestiorum gentes*, il est evident, dit Rhenan, qu'il y avoit en l'original *Aestuorum* pour *Aestiorum*, de quoy un autre avoit fait *Estuorum:* car les anciens Libraires, mettoyent u pour ij. Si dit Altamer, l'Original portoit Efluos, j'ose affirmer, qu'ils furent appellez Eyflandies d'un terme un peu destourné. Ces Peuples furent appellez *Sudini*, & leur Pays *Sudina*, touchant la Prusse. Aucuns aussi veulent y remettre Lectunnos, desquels le nom peut estre descendu. La Livonie est une fort grande Province, ayant de longueur pres de la Mer Balthique environ 125 lieuës d'Alemaigne, & sa largeur est pour le moins de 40. Elle a pour sa borne du Levant, la Russie subjecte au Moscovite, separée toutesfois par la riviere de Nerve, & le Lac de Beibas: du Midy la Samogithie, du Couchant la Mer Balthique, & du Septentrion la Finlande, separée par le Golphe Finnique; tout le Pays est plat & bien fertil. Porte du Froment & toute sorte de fruicts en si grande abondance, qu'il en envoye une bonne partie aux Provinces estrangeres. A force bon Lin, & grade quantité de cire, de miel & de poix seiche. Il abonde semblablement en Bestes domestiques, principalemẽt en Chevaux, qui sont asseurez au possible. Outre ce, les Forests ont Ours, Elens, Mulets, Renards, Linx, Martres, Zebellines, Hermelins & Castors. Les Lievres y changent de poil & de couleur selon la saison, comme entre les Suisses es Alpes: L'Hyver ils sont blancs, l'Esté gris, & y est si ordinaire la chasse à toutes grosses Bestes & par tout, qu'elle n'est jamais defenduë, mesmes aux Paysans, biẽ qu'ils soyent cruellement traictez par la Noblesse. Bref, rien de tout le necessaire à la vie humaine ne manque à la Livonie, fors le Vin, l'Huile & quelques autres choses que la grace d'un Ciel plus doux, liberalise à d'autres Pays, qui y sont apportées abondamment d'ailleurs. Y a plus 400 ans que ce Peuple fust faict Chrestien par le commerce des marchands de Breme, & sur tous par le soing des Chevaliers Teutoniques, apres avoir souffert diverses & fort hazardeuses traverses, & Guerres ordinaires, domestiques & estrangeres avec les inconveniens qui en dependent: si qu'elle se voyoit presqu'en proye aux Roys & Princes ses voisins: en fin l'an 1559. elle fust reçeuë en foy & protection par Sigismond Auguste, Roy de Poloigne, comme membre du Royaume & Grand Duché de Lithuanie, sous *Gothard Ketler*, dernier Maistre de l'ordre des Chevaliers Teutoniques. Or le 5 de Mars l'an 62, ce Gothard ayant en la Forteresse de Riga, devant le Commissaire de Poloigne Nicolas Ratzevil Palatin de Vilne, renoncé son ordre & premierement quitté au profit

Le sit.

Fertilité.

Animaux.

Gouvernement.

du Roy de Poloigne la Croix, puis le seau, les lettres & toutes les Patẽtes que l'ordre avoit eu des Papes & Empereurs: en apres les clefs de la Forteresse de Rige & portes de la Ville, l'office de Commandeur, le Droict de faire battre monnoye, la gabelle du poisson, avec tous autres privileges, tant siens qu'appartenans à son ordre: sudain la resignation faicte, Gothard fust publiquement proclamé par le susctdi Palatin au nom de sa Majesté Royale, Duc de Curland & de Semigalle, & aussi tost la Noblesse de ces deux Pays luy presta le serment de fidelité, comme à leur Maistre & Seigneur hereditaire. Le jour suivant le Duc de Curlande reçeu & confirmé en la Cour & pleine audience de Rige Lieutenant General de la Majesté Royale & Gouverneur de Livonie, reçeut les clefs des portes de la Ville. Outre ce tous les Droicts & Privileges furent remis & confermez tant à la Noblesse qu'aux Bourgeois, cõme se peut voir es lettres en David Chytreus. La Livonie est divisée en trois, *Estie*, *Lettée* & *Curland*. Les Contrées *d'Estie* sont *Harrie*, dont la capitale est *Revalie* ou *Revel*, vers le Nord sur la Mer Baltique, qui ne cede en rien à Rige, bastie par Voldemar, renommée pour la commodité de son Havre. Les Habitãs ont un mesme droict que ceux de Lubec, & frappẽt monnoye quarré. *Virie* qui porte *Weisembourg*, *Tolsberg*, *Borcholm*, siege de l'Evesque de Revel; *Allantackie*, où est Nerve sur un Fleuve de mesme nom, & a pour lieu opposite *Ivanowgorod;* ce Fleuve separe la Livonie de l'Empire des Moscovites & *Nischlot; Odempoe*, en laquelle est *Derpt* ou Derpten: Ville Episcopale & metropolitaine: *Wernebec*, *Helmede* & *Ringen: Iervie*, ou est *Wittenstein*, *Lais*, *Overpolen*, *Vellin*, *Wichie* ou est *Abseel*, *Leal*, *Lode* & *Parnovie*. Les Isles d'Estie sont *Osilie*, *Dageden*, *Mone*, *Wormse*, *Wrangen*, *Kien* & plusieurs autres, esquelles les Naturels usent partie de la langue du Pays, partie de la Suevique. Les Villes de *Lettée* sont *Rige*, *Rokëhusen*, *Wenden*, *Walmar* & tout le Diocese de Rige. *Rige* autrement *Rig* est la principale de toute la Livonie, size assez pres de l'embouchure de la Duine. C'est une peuplade de ceux de Breme, pourveuë & renforcée d'une tres-forte muraille, bouleverds, tourions & nombre de pieces d'artillerie contre tous efforts, & outre ce de double fossé, & de gros pieux fort pointus. Au devãt sa forteresse est tres munie, en laquelle autrefois les Maistres de Livonie (de l'ordre des freres Teutonique) faisoyent leur demeure. Gothard dont j'ay parlé, Vassal du Roy de Poloigne, la gouverné en son nom, n'y a pas longues années: mais il ne s'attribua aucun droict sur la Ville: car les Habitãs animeux gardiens de leur liberté, n'y souffrent aucun Gouverneur ni Capitaine: ains leur est assez de payer les devoirs & impositions deuës au Roy de Poloigne avec l'obeissance

Villes.

fidele. Se gouvernent au reste selon leur droict particulier. Outre ce il y a un marché bien pourveu de presque toutes sortes de marchandises & assortimens du Septentrion, de Poix, Lin, Cire, Chanvre, Bois & telles autres choses. Les Villes & Forteresses de *Curland* sont *Goldinge*, *Cande*, *Wende* que les Polonnois appellent *Kies*, & nous *Wenden*, autrefois renomée pour la Cour du Maistre de l'Ordre Teutonic, en laquelle on tenoit ordinairement les Assemblées des Estats generaux, maintenant elle est tenuë de court par les garnisons des Polonnois: *Durben*, *Srunda*, *Crubin*, *Pilten*, *Amboten* & *Hasempot;* celles de *Semigalle* sont *Mitovie*, la Cour & demeure des Ducs de Curland, *Selbourg*, *Bauschembourg*, *Doblen* & *Dalen*. Semigalle & Curland sont separées des Lettes & de Livonie par la Duine. La Livonie comme dict est, obeit pour la pluspart au Roy de Poloigne; mais il y a quelques lieux en petit nõbre, qui recognoissent le Moscovite & le Roy de Dannemarc, & quelques autres obeissent au Roy de Suede, cõme Revel & Nerve & d'autres petites places. La Livonie a plusieurs Lacs, dont le plus notable est *Beibus* de 45 milles Italiques de long, abondant en diversité des poissons. Ses Fleuves sont *Duine*, *Winde*, *Bec* & quelques autres. *Duina* ou *Duine* de Ptol. & *Rubo* à Peucer, sorti de Russie, apres que par un treslong cours, il s'est trainé par Lithuanie & Livonie, en fin à deux milles de Rige il se perd au sein Livonic & Mer Baltique. *Winde* se descharge aussi en mesme Mer, non loing de l'embouchure duquel, la Mer est tres profonde & le lieu fort dangereux. *Beca* ou *Bec*, que les Naturels appellent *Einbeck*, ne se rend en Mer que par une entrée; mais tombant d'un saut precipité, d'entre les raboteux & entre-coupez Rochers, cause aux voisins, la mesme incomodité que le Nil faict aux Habitans pres de ses Cataractes, dict Leunclavius, à sçavoir que peu a peu ils deviennent sourds du grãd bruict de ce Fleuve. Le Pays est uni, sans Montaignes, plein de bois & couvert de Forests. Et s'y voyent les fort grands bras de la Forest Hercynie. A l'entrée de la Duine en Mer est *Dunamunte*, Forteresse tenuë pour imprenable, à deux milles de Rige, où y a garnison des Polonnois, à laquelle tous navires estrangers payent le Tol. A mi-chemin est *Blokaus* Forteresse Royale, à laquelle les navires sont encor recerchez. *Felin* aussi Forteresse bien pourveuë, & ville du Duché Estlandie, que les Germains soldats de ceste garnison avec Guillaume Furstemberg dernier Maistre de Livonie trahirent vilainement, & rendirent par insigne desloyauté au Duc de Moscovie, lequel deteint en prison le Maistre, jusques à la mort, & brusla toute la ville. De ce temps là Felin avec tout le Palatinat voisin a obei au Roy de Moscovie, & Livonie a esté sans Maistre. *Tarnest*

Lacs.
Fleuves.

aussi qu'aucuns appellent *Taur*, fust en son tẽps Forteresse bien munie, prinse par les Moscovites y a quelque temps: & les Lithuaniens sous leur Chef Nicolas Radziwil, Palatin de Vilne l'ayant miné & mis du pouldre dessous l'an 1561, la firent tellement sauter, qu'elle n'en a depuis esté remise. Y en a d'autres. Il y a cinq Eveschez en Livonie, desquels celuy de Rige excelle en dignité; les autres sont *Derpt*, *Revel*, *Oesel*, *Gerlandt*. Au reste plusieurs vivent encor en Livonie sous religion des Gentils, sans cognoissance du vray Dieu; aucuns adorent le Soleil, autres une pierre; y en a qui sacrifient aux Serpens & Buissonnieres; ils ont accoustumé de faire sacrifice au jour de George, comme les Borusses, Samogites & Ruteniens, à *Pergrubius*, lequel ils tiennent pour le Dieu des Fleurs, Plantes & de toutes semences. Voicy la mainere de luy sacrifier. Le Prestre, appellé d'eux *Veurshayte*, tient en la dextre un vaisseau à boire plein de Cervoise, & invoquant le nom du Diable, chante les louanges d'iceluy: Tu, dict-il, chasses l'Hyver, tu ramenes la plaisance du Printemps; par toy les champs & jardins verdoyent, par toy les Forests & Bois produisent de fueilles. Ceste chanson estant finie, prenant le vaisseau aux dents, boit la Biere sans y mettre la main, & le jecte, l'ayant ainsi vuidé en mordant, riere sur sa teste, lequel estant levé de la terre, & rempli derechef, tous tant qu'il y a presens, boivent hors d'iceluy par ordre, & chantent un hymne en la louange de Pergrubius. Apres ils banquettent tout le jour, & dansent. Plusieurs aussi des gens sus-nommez honnorent encore avec singuliere veneration *Putscate*, qui est constitué sur les Arbres sacres & bois espais. Ils croyent qu'iceluy a son domicile sous un Sureau. Les hommes luy sacrifient par tout, Pain, Cervoise & autres viandes mis dessous un Sureau, prians Putscate, qu'il appaise *Marcoppole* le Dieu des grands & Nobles. Ils honnorent aussi quelques Esprits visibles, appellez *Gultky* en langue Prutenique: qu'ils croyent demeurer es lieux interieurs de la maison, ou en tas de bois: & les nourrissent delicatement de toute sorte de viandes, pource qu'ils sont accoustumez d'apporter à leurs nourriciers, Froment prins par larrecin des greniers des autres. Quands ils veulent mettre en terre quelque homme mort, ils se festoyent & font grande chere autour du corps: convient le defunct à boire, versant sa part sur luy: puis le jectent au sepulchre, & mettent pres de luy une coignée, partie du boire & manger, & un peu d'argent pour faire son voyage: & tandis qu'ils estoyent subjects aux Chevaliers Teutoniques, ils disoyent à leur mort: Va t'en en l'autre monde, où tu auras domination sur les Teutoniques, comme ils l'ont euë sur toy en ce Monde. Ils reçeurent premierement la foy Chrestienne sous

Moeurs & Religion.

l'Empereur Frederic, & Meinard homme mené de Religion alla premier en ceste Region avec les marchands de Lubec, l'an 1200, où ayant edifié une maisonnette, en laquelle il habita, apprint le langage du pays avec grand peine, & peu à peu endoctrina ceux qu'il peut en la Religion Chrestienne. Il y a edifia un Temple, & depuis l'Archevesque de Breme le cõsacra Evesque de Livonie. Son successeur fust un Abbé de Cisteux nommé Berthould, lequel s'arma avec les Teutons contre les Payens, & fust au combat mis en pieces par les Barbares. Le troisiesme Evesque fust Albert qui ferma la ville de Rige de murailles. La simplicité de ce Peuple estoit au cõmencement si grande, qu'apres avoir pressé le Miel, ils portoyent hors la Cire comme une ordure & superfluité. Depuis toutes-fois enseignez des Estrangers, l'ont mis à prix. Ils tiennent pour vice & deshonneur de travailler. Les femmes nées en la Region, sont braves & pompeuses, & mesprisent les autres qui viennent d'ailleurs. Ne veulent estre appellées Femmes, ains Dames & sans faire aucun oeuvre de leurs mains, elles ont des Coches ou Chariots branslãs, dans lesquels elles se font proumener l'Hyver, & des naisselles en Esté pour aller s'esbatre sur l'eau. Ils usent d'une boisson qu'ils appellent *Medon*, Cervoise ou Biere, & de Vin, s'il leur est apporté de pays estrange, à sçavoir du Rhin: & n'y a gueres que les plus riches & aisez qui en goustent. Les femmes annullent & deshonnorent leur beauté, par les masques de leurs habits, dont elles se couvrent. Les denrées & marchandises qu'on porte de Livonie en Germanie & autres Pays, sont Cire, Miel, Cendre, Poix seiche & liquide, qu'on appelle *Teer*, Lin, diverses peaux de Bestes & Cuirs. Puis ceste sorte de Froment que les Latins appellent *Secale*, en Hollandois *Rogge*, les François *Seigle:* qu'ils apportent en quantité & annuellement aux Germains & Hollandois. Disons un mot des hommes Loupgaroux, qu'on dict se convertir par grandes troupes en Loups. Les Autheurs qui se mettent au rang de gens de foy, entre lesquels est Olaus le Grand, asseurent, que plusieurs hommes se trans-figurent tous les ans en Loups parmi ce peuple. Ie mettray ses propres mots pour vous lever l'ennuy de si long discours par une courte nouveauté. *En Prusse* dit-il, liv. 18. chap. 45. *Livonie & Lituanie, bien que les Naturels patientent presque tout le cours de l'année, le ravissement que les Loups font de leur Bestail avec merveilleuse perte: pour ce qu'ils l'enlevent à troupes & le celent aux Forests s'ils le trouvent tant soit peu separé du gros & de la garde d'iceluy: ils ne craignent pourtant & ne font tant d'estat de tel dommage, que ce qu'ils sont forcez de souffrir, par les hommes qui sont transmuez en Loups: car sur la nuict de Noël & Feste de la Nativité de Christ, s'assemblent*

Vestemẽs.
Marchãdises.

en certain lieu à ce destiné, si grand nombre de Loups, qui laissée la forme d'Hommes pour prendre celle d'une Beste, y viennent de tant d'endroicts que c'est merveille. Ils se jectent tant sur les hommes que sur les Bestes, avec telle violence & animosité, que les Habitans en reçoivent beaucoup plus de mal & d'incommoditez, qu'ils ne font des Naturels & vrays Loups. Pour ce, que comme il est tout averé, ils attaquent, montent, descouvrent & forcent en diverses sortes les maisons des retirez aux Forests: & s'ils les peuvent ouvrir & s'en rendre Maistres, c'est pitié de la cruauté qu'ils y exercent. Ils ne taschent en somme moins à defaire & perdre les Hommes que les Bestes, qu'ils y recontrent. Ils entrent aux celliers de Biere, boivent hors quelques tonneaux de Cervoise ou Medon, & mettent les vaisseaux vuides, les posant l'un sur l'autre au milieu du cellier: en quoy ils different des naifs & vrays Loups. Et un peu apres: *Entre la Lithuanie, Samogithie & Curionie, est un certain mur, demeuré d'un certain Chasteau qui est demoli; icy en certain temps de l'an s'assemblent quelques milliers d'iceux, & essayent l'agilité d'un chacun en sautant: ceux qui n'ont peu sauter par dessus ce mur, comme il advient quasi aux plus gras, ils sont battus de fouëts par leurs Prefects. Finalement on afferme constamment, qu'entre ceste multitude conversent aussi des Grands de ceste Terre, & des Hommes de la premiere Noblesse:* jusques icy Olaus. Or comment ils parviennent ordinairement à ceste forcenerie, & metamorphose terrible, laquelle ils ne peuvent laisser en certain temps, ledit Olaus enseigne au chapitre suyvant, comme au 47 il racompte quelques exemples de ceux qui ont esté convertis en Loups. Nous toutes-fois avec Pline, comme aussi avons dict en Irlande, renons ces choses pour fables, s'il n'est d'adventure qu'ils sont ravis de ceste malice du fiel noir exuberant, dicte des Medecins, Lycanthropie, laquelle esmeut tels fantosmes, qu'ils s'estiment estre transmuez en Loups: mais cecy suffira de ces Lycaons & de la Livonie mesme. Voyons la Russie.

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. . . My commentary on this text has to be based on two things. First, establishing the chronology of the text, and second, clarifying and defining precisely to what kind of literary production of those times this text may belong, that is to say, considering it as a historical document, we must ask ourselves what degree of credibility should be attributed to the data given in it. These considerations involve many typically and intrinsically Livonian facts and events and, therefore, in some parts of my comments I shall have to be rather explicit. However, this book is not the place for a complete commentary on every line and sentence of the quoted text, particularly since I have already tried to do this with another text of the same period

in my book *Alt-Riga im Lichte eines humanistischen Lobgedichtes vom Jahre 1595. Bas. Plinius, Encomium Rigae.* Riga 1927. Therefore for the benefit of the foreign reader, only specific or should I say exotic facts will be dealt with here.

Chronologically the text belongs to the so-called Polish-Lithuanian period of Livonia's history which can be said to have lasted from the submission of the last Master of the Order to the Polish High Commissioner in 1562 to the fall of Riga into the hands of the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus in 1621, or to the Peace of Altmark, in 1629. The somewhat detailed description in the text of the mentioned act of submission, as well as the explicit statement of the Polish garrison in Riga and its seaport, are sufficiently clear proofs, especially the last one, which evidently had to signify the submission of the City of Riga to the Polish King (1581).

It is interesting to note that at times Mercator is unsure of himself and in these passages he turns to Ptolemy, and reverts to some of the medieval conceptions of the Baltic. The "Venedic Gulf" and the "Rubo River" are Ptolemy's, the "Sea of belt" is a medieval idea put forward, for instance, in the chronicle of Adam of Bremen (eleventh century). — The languages used in the map are characteristic of the period. Latin and German are predominant, but several Latvian names proper had begun to make their appearance: *Bersebach* (the river Berse), *Meschemoch* (the forest manor), et alia. In the eastern part of the map there is a certain amount of Polish nomenclature such as *Wielka Rzeka* (a translation of the Russian *Velikaya* river). Finally it should be observed that the language on the map's *verso* seems to have no direct connection with the languages used on the map itself.

As a literary specimen this text belongs to the descriptive *genre* cultivated and cherished all over Europe, especially during the second half of the 16th century. Descriptions of countries, cities, nations, of their institutions, habits and occupations, even dresses, were one of the characteristics of the period and they appeared, in good Latin, everywhere in Europe where humanism had begun to awaken the spiritual curiosity of the people urging them to seek for new geographical and human horizons. This was all against a background of a discovery of new oceans, new continents, new peoples and fresh ideas.

Comparatively speaking the humanistic or neo-Latin literature of Livonia is fairly rich in descriptive expression and poetry. I have tried to clarify and define this in the introductory chapter of the above quoted book, but here I should like to say something too about the sources of these neo-Latin texts. This new literature developed from a wide range of sources: from classical records, quotations from every attainable chronicle without discrimination concerning the chronology or the

origin, passages from European poetry, especially from the works of great names of that period, and Italian neo-Classics in particular, and finally from personal observations and contemporary local writers.

Here, as I said, we have not to go into details about the problem, how similar texts may be used as sources of objective history, in other words to deal with the particular questions of literary filiation and stylistic influence, questions of primary importance just in sixteenth century, but one special point has to be stressed, however. Our Livonian texts show a special interest in investigations concerning the origin or the very beginnings of the local nations, in this case the Latvians. It is some kind of *colorit local* as felt in those times and the respective ethnical personalities make a part of the general picture, so to say. This type of investigations belongs to the general trends of the humanistic literature and it was particularly cultivated in Italy and in France, from where it spread to other countries. Today, with our knowledge of prehistory all those learned passages are useless, because built up with wrong and insufficient methods, but it would be unfair from our side not to recognize the seriousness of the scholars of those remote times and their profound knowledge of the classical texts used for this purpose. On our Latvian side the most interesting of those investigations belong to the late follower of this humanistic tradition, to P. Einhorn (*Historia Lettica* . . . 1649. See *SS. rerum liv.* II 569 sq.).

All this had to be said about the text itself and about its introductory lines. Specified research might carry us too far.

The next subjects concern the fertility of our Livonia. It is some kind of a *sine qua non* in all neo-Latin speeches and poems about this country. The exotic sounding joke about hares changing colour must be an invention of some foreigner. On the other hand, the writer of our map's text demonstrates good information about the hunting regulations of this country at those times.

In the section *Gouvernement* the author's frank admission to have quoted from the chronicle of D. Chytraeus, well known also in Livonia at that time, is to some extent indicative of the author's method of compiling.

About the *Villes* the author's curious sentence must be reiterated: *Les Villes de Lettun sont Rige, Kokenhusen, Wenden, Walmar, et tout le Diocese de Rige.* Leaving aside the not too happy definition of the "Diocese de Rige", we must ask ourselves what is meant by the name *Lettun.* Not *Livonia* as an administrative term, but the country (at least its southern part, excluding Estonia) of Latvian speaking people. For the later historiographies it may be rather hard to understand, but perhaps it was easier in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the name *Lettun* is not an isolated one,

another variant is *Lettée*. In some Polish texts of this time this writer has found the denomination of Livonia with the same word indicated as the Poles call Latvia today — *Lotwa*.

To the expressive sentence of the text about the abundance of forests in ancient Livonia a colourful *pendant* can be found in the Latvian folksongs (*Dainas*, No. 52003):

However big all other forests are,
Those forests in our land
Not even in seven summers
Were to be passed through by far.

Some remarks about *Moeurs et Religion* would also be helpful. The text as printed on the *verso* of the Mercator-Hondius map is of little importance. It is a repetition and an abbreviation of some local chronicle of that time, perhaps the chronicle of Stryjkowski, for instance. Texts like ours are scattered all over the Livonian texts, the humanistic included, in part they are also to be found in Germany, Poland and elsewhere where some interest for the events of that time Livonia may exist. Its little importance could be ascribed also to the fact that the data about ancient Baltic mythology are used in a very distorted form, particularly regarding the names proper. Interesting however is the fact that the very introduction of some superficial facts of mythology is one of the obligatory elements in the Livonian texts. One might say, it is a demonstration of the desire for exotic moments concerning this subject. This desire persists even in things obviously unfavourable to the representatives of the ruling class from where the writers generally originated. Thus, for instance, the Livonian humanists like to vary on the theme of Latvian funeral songs which are filled with sentiments of revenge toward the oppressors. We do not know how the original songs sounded, but we cannot easily accept and use the humanistic rhetorics as a textual source of those songs.

The Baltic mythology is a very old one and a direct branch of the Indo-European mythology. Even in this country there exists some scientific literature about it. As the newest research material from the Baltic angle, an article (in English) in the most recent Volume of the *Studii Baltici* (IX) deals with the names of the ancient Baltic gods.

The *in margine* marked title of the next section *Vestements Marchandises* does not

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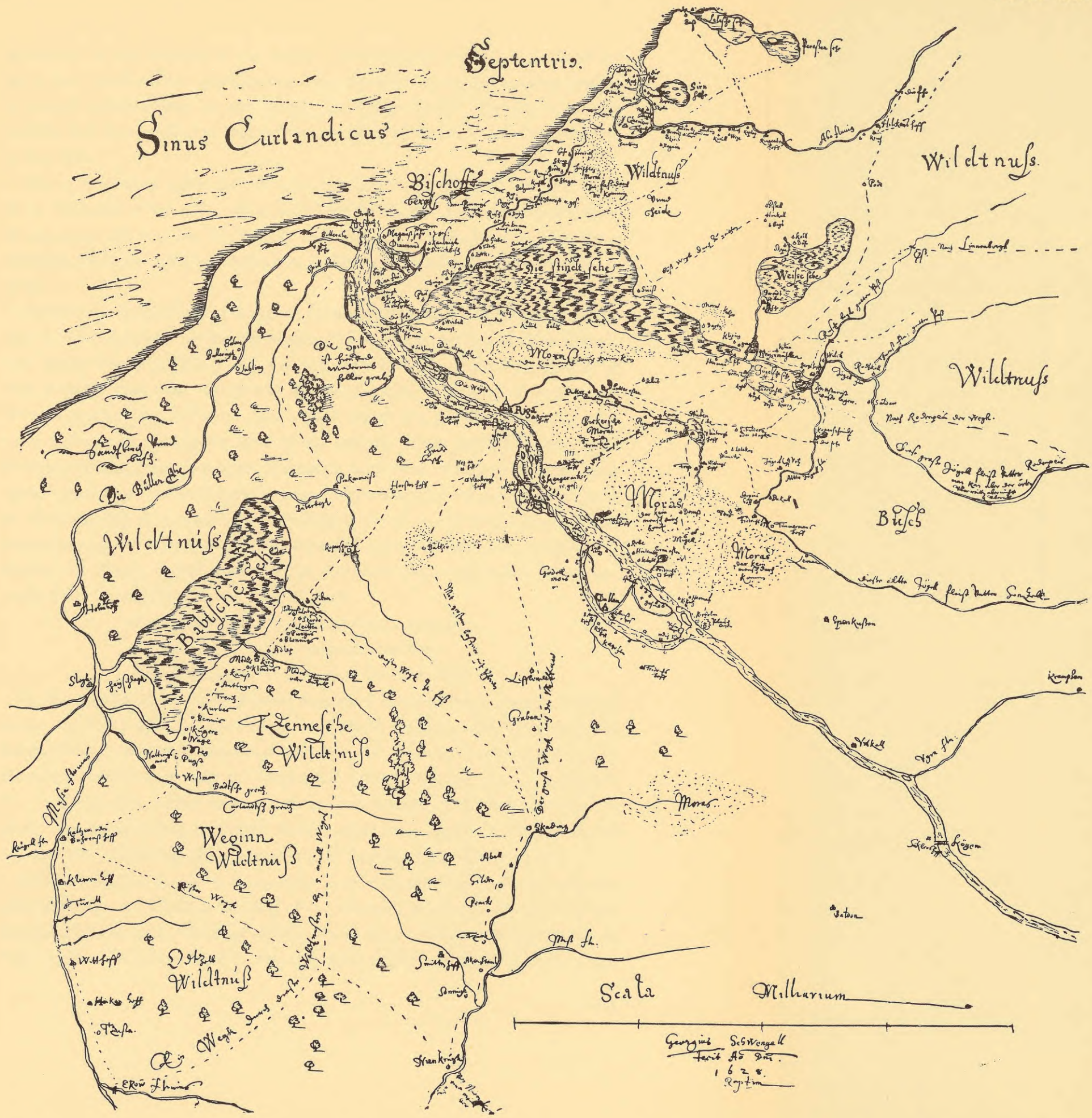
Pen sketch of the environs of Riga by G. von Schwengeln, 1628. (cf. *Imago Mundi* VI 1949). Mr. H. Köhlin, the author of the quoted article, on the basis of his researches is able to state that von Schwengeln was a known government official in the Swedish administration of Livonia, that he had travelled much around the country and that his map sketches were known to be generally drawn on the spot. There exist also different other maps made by him, these are not yet edited however, and are waiting for a special monograph to be written about this interesting matter.


Septentrio.
Sinus Curlandicus
Bischoffs Berg
Wildtnuss
Wildtnuss
Die stinckende
Weisse See
Wildtnuss
Moras
Rigo
Moras
Moras
Busch
Wildtnuss
Babische See
Kennesche Wildtnuss
Weginn Wildtnuss
Holzell Wildtnuss
Moras
Scala Milliarium

correspond to the contents of the section. The problems touched upon there are many, but I shall restrict myself to only a few remarks, asking the interested reader to consult general works on the history of sixteenth century Livonia, tragic and eventful as it is, as well as to look up the quoted book on the Humanist movement in that land.

One of the general topics of the writers, especially foreigners, is in this connection about the ladies of the ruling class, their love for an easy and luxurious life, their strange attire and the like. To be fair, even the Latvian peasant women get some attention, for instance, the well known A. Guagnini (*Sarmatiae Europeae Descriptio . . .*, 1578).

Another dominant theme in the speeches and poems is about export commodities, with a particular stress on the rye export. The Livonian rye had in those times a very special "trade mark": it had a quality to preserve itself for long periods of time, months, even years, which was due to its special processing method: it was dried in specially heated barns. Also lumber export was popular. The author has come across some Portuguese texts of that century, where the high quality of the Livonian wooden wares is praised. Portugal is some kind of *terminus ad quem*, larger quantities of wood material went to nearer markets such as Holland and England (at the beginning of the century when England started to rule over the seas, it was particularly used for its navy). There were still nearer markets, for example, Bas. Plinius, the already quoted author of the *Encomium Rigae*, enumerates (v. 1305—1306) different merchants in the port of Riga:

Gallus, Iberus atrox, argutus Belga, Britannus
Suecus, Saxo, Danus, ponticulaeque vagi.
(the latter from the islands of the Baltic Sea).

In this connection may it be allowed to quote a sentence from a private letter of the late Sir E. H. Minns to the author to whom he has always been very kind and helpful. Had he lived he would most certainly not have objected to quoting these his words which were written October 30, 1950, in relation to later centuries: ". . . the trade (i.e. timber trade) revolutionized the style of English houses from about 1700 as they (the pinewood boards) substituted high and wide panels in deal for the old small panels in oak wood (Cf. Latvian: *dēlis*, *German*: *Diele*)."

And now one last remark to this section. It is as characteristic as any propaganda trick to present the German invaders of the Livonian shores as benefactors of the aborigines of the land. The local inhabitants, so the Humanist story goes, were so "innocent" — meaning stupid — that they even did not appreciate the high value

of wax (a first class commodity during the Middle Ages, used in church ceremonies), that, after sucking out the honeycomb, they simply spat it out. This story reminds us of another one, one millennium and a half earlier, — the story in Tacitus's text about the Ancient Prussians who understood nothing — as he writes — about the value of their most important export commodity, the amber (cf. A. Spekke, *The Ancient Amber Routes* . . ., p. 86).

Those few hints should be sufficient, the author hopes, to stir up any reader's interest in the individualistic and sometimes exotic facts and events of ancient life in the Baltic.

Last remains the werewolves. Some exciting story teller must have awakened the writer's fancy. This ages-old belief or superstition, born in the fearful environment of primitive life in the wilderness of endless forests, can be found, to begin with Herodotus IV 105, along with many other elements in our age-old mythology, but, to this writer's knowledge, it can by no means pretend to possess a place of special importance in those beliefs. At any rate, this record — pretending to be a topic here — is one of the rarest among other texts of this kind.

Finally we must add that the *Neuroi* of Herodotus, where the belief in werewolves is recorded for the first time, are generally considered to be the Old Slavs. The Latvian Sinologue and Baltologue, the late professor P. Šmits (cf. Bibliography), has proved with arguments which can not too easily be ignored that the *Neuroi* could rather have been the Pre-Balts.

It would appear that the information which foreign scholars have been able to collect on Livonia stems chiefly from the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries and it is thus reasonable to assume that a great deal of the facts and data may easily be superficial or inaccurate.

There is, meanwhile, an oppurtunity for checking this to a certain extent through the medium of a map made by someone who was actually living in the country in question at the time.

G. von Schwengeln was a high official in local administration and in 1628 he

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Livonian map by the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, c. 1582. (Photograph of the map in the Vatican archive.) The layout here is unusual insomuch that the north is on the righthand side. Possevino was a mediator in the peace negotiations between Poland and Russia. After the conclusion of the peace treaty he presumably sent the map to Rome where it was deposited together with his papers in the Vatican archives. The map is pen-drawn and contains typical Western features. Possevino travelled widely in Eastern Europe and it is interesting to compare the silhouettes of the Livonian church towers with the cupolas of the Russian churches at Petchora and Plescow (Pietzuri and Opskow). It may be remembered that the particularly prolonged and complicated peace negotiations before the Peace of Zapolye in 1582 arose out of the question of Livonia. The Russians were not at first prepared to cede Livonia to King Stefan of Poland who had fought and taken it from Ivan IV. (the Terrible).

PLATE XIV


Occident
Insula Osel.
Insula Dagden
Insula Con.
Mon
Mitau
Bolera flumus
Riga
Dolen
Kirchholm
Duna flumus
Selborg
Kokenhusen
Ascheraden
Lenneward
Kreutzburg
Ari
Wenden
Segewold
Treiden
Cremon
Wolmer
Wolmar
Trikaten
Serben
Schwanenburg
Marienburg
Kirempe
Alust
Marienhuis
Whiesh.
Rositza.
Ludzen
Dunenborg
Nevegia.
Neuhuis
Nova gradek
Gesbor
Pietruri
Opskow
Viellea Rzeka.
Pebis.
Selow.
Neuschlos
Serener
Narua
Jwanogrod.
Odona.
Oldentorn
Odempe
Dorpt
Falkenau
Mukoj
Lais
Wesenbork
Emba flumus
Embe flu.
Rakabur.
Vesenburg
Porcholm
Tolsburg
Kelke
Brigitta
Visenstein
Piirda
Oberpal
Felin
Wian
Tarwast
Karkus
Pernau
Reual
Lohsen
Nargen.
Wormes
Nukle.
Hapsel
Leal
Lode
Hygelant

produced a map of the country around Riga and this appeared in *Imago Mundi* in 1949. The publisher of this recently-discovered map, H. Köhlin added explanatory notes and also indicated that von Schwengeln's mother may have been of local descent, i.e. Latvian or Estonian.

Some interesting conclusions may be derived from a comparison between this and the Mercator-Hondius map. Probably one of the most striking differences lies in the fact that in the latter map no attempt has been made to connect the population distribution with the irrigation system of the country. In von Schwengeln's map on the other hand one can observe a quite specific approach to this factor, so that it is possible to realize how the countryside was gradually transformed into cultivated farmland by the sturdy and patient efforts of the Latvian peasant as he followed the course of the rivers, marshes and waterways. In my opinion von Schwengeln's map of old Livonia is one of the most important in existence, since it helps to clarify the rôle of the peasant in the development of the country as a whole.

Finally I should like to mention the map of the Jesuit, A. Possevino, which was drawn about 1582 and concentrates on centres of military and administrative importance and also R. Barberini's map (drawn about 1565 and at present in the Barberini section of the Vatican library). This work, which I have reproduced in my book *Latvieši un Livonija*, (1935) is likewise significant from the point of view of the country's administration.

Epilogue

Any observer, be he scholar or amateur, who has spent many years going through the voluminous folio editions of ancient maps, with the object of acquainting himself with the absorbing ways of life of bygone generations, as reflected in the mappaemundi, portolanos, etc., will undoubtedly have acquired a singular impression of how particular has always been the approach and treatment of some mapmakers with regard to the shores of the Eastern Baltic, and he will wonder how these mapmakers had their share of believing readers and even admirers. Moreover, if these shores are his native land so that he is affected in his evaluations by personal feelings and longings, this impression is likely to become more suggestive and convincing. One cannot fail to notice that all the authors of these maps, up to the threshold of modern times, i.e. until the sixteenth century, consider and estimate the Baltic shores as a peripheric line of human existence, as life on the border to the unknown, the dreamland of geographic legends, as it was regarded by the peoples of the remote centuries. One may think also of likening the observer to a stranger who standing on the top of the mountain and looking to the far-off horizon ponders how, in the play of light and shadow, he may unveil the true contours from the overlapping tradition of old prejudices, beliefs and mental constructions.

As we know and as we have seen, the great centres of geographical lore and knowledge developed far away from our Baltic Sea, in the lands of ancient Greek civilization, shifting slowly toward the West, to the seafaring and explorative peoples of Rome and later on of Italy and with the beginnings of the modern world, to Germany, Holland, England and so on. Thus the Baltic shores and their peoples had to wait a long time to be given some space in the pages of ancient geographical folios and map designs.

Thus Ortelius and Mercator, both well known cartographers of the sixteenth century, fixed the geographic profiles of the Baltic Sea into a lasting shape. Their maps close many a very peculiar looking chapter on the ancient and medieval cartography in this sector of Europe. But the Baltic itself did not cease to change, — its *vices*, as Horace said, continue to move on, starting from this chronological point in the field of political geography. And often those changes on the Baltic shores, so

cherished by the god of wars, have been abrupt and violent. But those are chapters for other books, requiring the shift of the cartographic treatment of the subject to other methods and other goals.

Europe, the beautiful and distinguished continent of Strabo and Pliny, the continent-mother of world civilization, as some modern geographers call it, has indeed some very particular qualities. As far back as in the times of Elisée Réclus, known for his good memory, fine pages were written about the unique shape of Europe's coastal profiles, extremely distorted and richly strewn with deep-cut beaches, autonomous inland seas, boldly detached peninsulas, islands of proper destinies, and so on. In some of these geographically captivating situations during the known millenia of human history of those regions, situations which modern anthropogeographers used to call situations of refuge, the old civilizations (now generally in a form of numerically small nations) persisted and continue to persist, despite the different political changes which have deeply affected these nations during their long and difficult existence. Thus we have the Celts and the Basques on the shores of the Atlantic; the Balts and Estonian-Finns on the Baltic, and the Albanians on the Adriatic shores. There are also several exotic units on the Black Sea shores. Furthermore, the Caucasian Mountains, the "mountains of nations", as they were called, reveal a number of national remains of once powerful states, such as the Ossetins, for instance, who are considered to be direct descendants of the Alans. Modern historiographies show much interest in the descriptions and evaluations of these prehistorical-historical national entities, and much light and colour is being added to the already existing picture of humanity's march over our planet.

But one particular observation can contribute a great deal to the understanding and analysis of the individual, ancient civilizations. At the time when for the majority of the primitive societies the sea was a negative geographical element, that is at the time when seafaring cultural groups were an exception, rather than a rule, when places were difficult to reach (because of river zones, marshes, mountains, etc.), or places of a geographical *ne plus ultra*, as seashores, — they were solely places of refuge. With the advent of broader movements of populations and more frequent interchanges among peoples, those refuge places could be *par la force des choses* transformed into crossroads, as the term now goes. We have only to think of the long and changing history of the Balts, the Basques, the Albanians and many others, and we immediately realize the efficiency of this "historical law". To enhance our observations, may I mention only one example from a known source (G. Glotz,

Civilisation Égéenne, 2nd ed., p. 60): "When the Achaians came to Greece, they did not even know what a sea was (as the Arabs of the desert after the conquest of Egypt. A. Sp.), and they gave to this new element a name borrowed from prehellenistic vocabulary *(thalassa)*. Little by little "the Salty *(hals)*" opened to them her ways and so she became "the Passage *(pontos)*." This is a linguistic remark which offers some deep and instructive insight into the broad stage of a people's development as a whole. Our ancient Baltic history may serve as a very eloquent example in this respect.

In conclusion may I say that these cartographic studies do not necessarily prove anything, they are exciting and interesting enough in themselves. However, no harm will be done by suggesting that they very graphically illustrate the age-old Baltic history, as well as the particular, very particular indeed, ways of how the Balts lived and struggled in this eternally changing world.

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IZNĀCIS DR. ARNOLDA SPEKKES GRĀMATAS „BALTIJAS JŪRA SENAJĀS KARTĒS" ANGĻU VALODAS IZDEVUMS

Dažas dienas pirms 18. novembra ar Latvijas sūtni Dr. Arnoldu Spekki man bija telefoniska saruna. „Vai jūs — teica sūtnis, — kādu vakaru neatnāktu pie manis, man jums vēl kas sakāms." — Protams, ar lielāko prieku. Sūtņa mājās esmu allaž juties labi, Dr. Spekkes stāstījumi allaž interesanti un saistīgi. Vienīgi pie sevis nodomāju, kas gan tas varētu būt, kas sūtnim šoreiz sakāms?

Runājām par daudz un dažādām lietām: par jaunākiem notikumiem Sav. Valstīs, par iezīmēm pēdējo dienu Maskavas politikā, par smagumu un atbildību, kas šais neziņas pilnajās dienās gulstas uz Latvijas brīvvalsts pārstāvju pleciem. Pasmējāmies par neveiklo propagandu, kādu mēģina taisīt komūnistu izdevumi, ko izplata rietumu pasaules latviešu vidū. Beidzot sūtnis iegāja savā darba istabā un pēc mirkļa atgriežoties pasniedza man — grāmatu. Tās vāku rotāja sena karte un nosaukums „The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps". Autors Dr. Arnolds Spekke. Izdevējs: M. Goppera „Zelta Ābeles" apgāds Zviedrijā.

„Tikko — —teica vēsturnieks un diplomāts, — saņēmu no Stokholmas pirmos eksemplārus, citi bāšot ap Ziemsvētkiem."

„Vai šis ir pirms divi gadiem iznākušās grāmatas „Baltijas jūra senajās kartēs" angļu valodas tulkojums?"

„Nē, — atbildēja autors, — to nevarētu uzskatīt tikai par tulkojumu. Vairākas nodaļas ir pilnīgi pārstrādātas, nākuši klāt jauni materiāli un jauni pētījumi. Grūti to pavisam izstāstīt, cik viss tas prasījis pūļu. Ļoti pateicīgs esmu arī izdevējam, jo zinu, ko tas prasīja no viņa." —

„Baltijas jūra senajās kartēs" nav pirmā grāmata, ko Dr. A. Spekke laidis klajā angliski, lai tautas brīvajā pasaulē iepazistinātu ar Latvijas un Baltijas problēmu vēstures skatījumā, jo, — kā pats autors saka: „Es uzņēmos grūto uzdevumu sniegt pārskatu par saviem kartografijas avotiem īsu skicējumu veidā un centos noskaidrot to izcelšanos, ejot līdz mūsu pašu tālajai vecās pasaules malai."

Jaunās grāmatas ievadā teikts: „Par spīti visu pretējo spēku sadursmēm, kas darījuši iespējami ļaunāko, lai Baltijas zemes saplēstu gabalos, Baltijas tautu tieksmes un centieni joprojām ir apgaroti iecerēm uz jaunu un modernu attīstību." —

Ja nemaldos, tas bija pirms desmit gadiem, 1951. gadā, kad angļu valodā iznāca Spekkes Latvijas vēsture. Tai sekoja citi izdevumi. 1954. gadā Dr. A. Spekke publicēja „Latvia and the Baltic Problem". Nevar nepieminēt un īpaši izcelt sūtņa vispirms latviski un vēlāk angliski publicēto grāmatu „Senie dzintara ceļi un Austrumbaltijas ģeografiskā atklāšana." Šī ir arī tā Dr. A. Spekkes angliski publicētā grāmata, kas izpelnījusies visplašākās atsauksmes. Par to redzama atsauce arī jaunajā izdevumā, sniedzot atsauksmes no Oksfordas universitātes publikācijas „Griece & Rome", Harvardas „Archaelogy" un „The American Slavic and East European Review."

Kad angļu valodā iznāca A. Spekkes grāmata par senajiem dzintara ceļiem, viens tās eksemplārs aizceļoja arī uz nelaiķa ārlietu ministra Dallesa mājām. Un, cik zinu, tas nepalika bez ietekmes. Esmu lasījis vēstuli, kas par to liecina. Nezinu un ar sūtni par to nerunāju, kur uz šo 18. novembri aizgāja „The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps", bet varētu pieņemt, ka latviešu tautas prasībām uz savu zemi tika pievienotas jaunas vēstures liecības, kur tās kādreiz var izrādīties ļoti svarīgas.

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„Mēs Baltijas tautu piederīgie, — saka pats vēsturnieks savas jaunās grāmatas ievadā, — kuru priekšteči kopš neminamiem laikiem mājojuši Baltijas jūras krastos, allaž apzināmies, sajūtam un atceramies, ka tā ir mūsu izcelsmes zeme. Tādā garā esmu šo darbu veicis un tādā garā tas arī tulkojams." ——

Dr. A. Spekkes jaunā grāmata bagātīgi ilustrēta ar vēsturisko karšu reprodukcijām.

„Ja primitīvās sabiedrībās, — kā vēsturnieks saka —— jūra bija negatīvs ģeografisks elements, kas nosprauda robežu tālākiem ceļiem, tad vēlāk taisni jūra bija tā, kas daudzas zemes pārvērta par kruscelēm. Mums tikai jāatceras ilgā un mainīgā baltu, basku, albāņu un daudzu citu vēsture, lai apzinātos šī vēstures likuma iedarbību." ——

Kā pats autors izteicās, tad jaunās grāmatas avotu sagādē viņam ļoti izpalīdzīga bijusi ASV Kongresa un Zviedrijas karaliskā bibliotēka Stokholmā.

„Ir dažas lietas, pie kā es atkal strādāju," vēl piebilda sūtnis un iespējams, ka tās atkal varētu būt stāsti par to, kā autors par „Baltijas jūru senajās kartēs" saka: „Ir parādīta Baltijas vēsture un it sevišķi tie apstākļi, kā baltieši ir dzīvojuši un cīnījušies šai mūžīgi mainīgajā pasaulē." —— Visbeidzot, atvadoties, sūtnis vēl piebilda: „Ja ko rakstiet, varat pieminēt ka grāmatu esmu izdevis par personīgiem līdzekļiem. Varbūt kādu tas interesē." —

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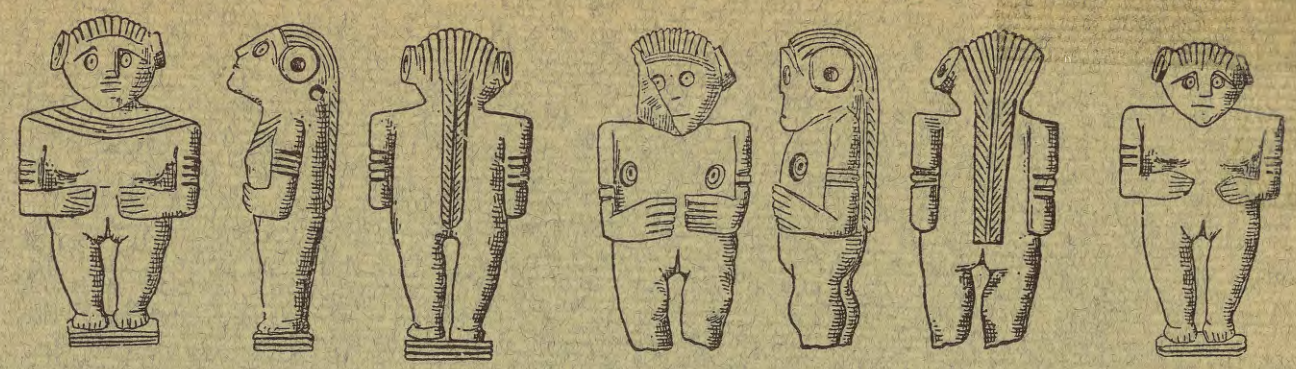

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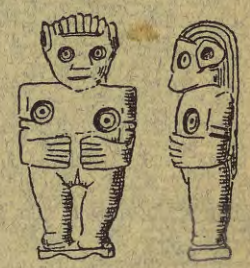

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THE BALTIC SEA IN ANCIENT MAPS

ARNOLDS SPEKKE