"...ultima germanorum & christianorum prouintia..."
Outlines of the Image of Livonia on Maps from the Thirteenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century

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Introduction

The following paper deals with geographical ideas and the appearance of the first cartographic images of Livonia. The literature on this problem consists mostly of survey articles.[1] The writings of L. Arbusow jr. from the middle of the 1930s[2] are of great value even today, for his treatment of source materials is so exhaustive, that later authors have rarely brought new materials into circulation. "The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps", a book by A. Spekke,[3] is the best illustrated work about the evolution of the cartographic image of Livonia.

The first maps were made in Western or Southern Europe, far away from Livonian shores, and information was received through the very complicated process of communication. In the geographic texts of the late Middle Ages mainly antique authorities were quoted. The mentioning of other sources is the exception rather than the rule. Thus, the identification of the source of every separate feature is extremely difficult. It is almost impossible to reconstruct the exact sources of cartographers. Normally we may only guess the nature of those sources or of the tradition from whence they emerged. The theme to be discussed regards the general ideas and images of the European scholarly perceptions of Livonia.

The following will attempt to extract outlines of the image of Livonia from selected examples of cartographic material. The main task of this paper is to present some possibilities

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1 E. Jäger, "Zur Entwicklung der Kartographie in der Hansezeit." In: *Die Hanse und der deutsche Osten.* Lüneburg, 1990; K. Inno, "Ajaloolis-geograafiline ülevaade Baltikumist, eriti Eestist." [Historical-geographical overview of the Baltics, especially Estonia.] In: *Tulimuld.* 1977. Nr. 3-4. 1978. Nr. 3-4.; O. Bong, "Das Baltische Kartenbild." In: *Baltische Hefte.* 1961. Jg. 7. H. 2, pp.83-91.; H. Winter, "The changing face of Scandinavia and the Baltic in cartography up to 1532." In: *Imago Mundi* XII. 1955; A. Spekke, "A Brief Cartographic-Iconographic View of the Eastern Baltic Coast up to the 16th Century." In: *Imago Mundi* V. 1948.; E. Varep, *Joonl Eesti kartograafia ajaloost.* [Outlines of the history of Estonian Cartography.] Tallinn, 1960.

2 L. Arbusow, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altlivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga.* Riga, 1935. L. Arbusow, "Die Hauptrichtungen in der Entwicklung des Baltischen Kartenbildes bis gegen 1600." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga.* Riga. 1936.

3 A. Spekke, *The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps.* Stockholm, 1961.

for reading given texts. The constructing of new text from preserved sources and translating from old sign-systems into our own language is always to some extent speculative. Theoretical justification for this aspiration is J.Lotman's theory about the existence of the semiosphere,[4] an entity where the texts are mediated and new meanings are created. Some methodological hints and courage for the present paper was also found by the author in the works of L. de Anna[5] on image-research.

Medieval maps

Medieval cartographic heritage can be roughly divided into two main groups: *Mappae mundi* and *portolani*.[6] The former were circle-shaped world maps with Jerusalem at their centre and with the Garden of Eden at the top. The maps of the latter type were drawn for practical use in Mediterranean shipping.

From the large amount of preserved *mappae mundi*[7] only few contain more details than a basic draft. It is necessary to take into account that the medieval round map was drawn to picture the world in its divine order. The moral and aesthetic values of representation were pursued much more than the preciseness of detail. The Mediterranean, Red and Black Sea with Dnepr divided the three continents known by Europeans, and formed a T-shaped water system. Typically, little attention was paid to the peripheries of the maps. For example the British Isles on Hereford *mappae mundi*[8] are badly deformed to fit the round form of the map, compared with the relatively adequate contemporary image by Matthew of Paris.[9]

Two of the most famous examples of *mappae mundi*, the Ebsdorf and Hereford maps from the thirteenth century have given us a pretext to speak about the depiction of the Baltic coast. On the former Duna and Riga are drawn. The latter shows three deep gulfs and Jutland. A.Spekke has made an attempt to interpret the aforementioned gulfs as three gulfs of the Baltic Sea.[10] However, the nature of *mappae mundi* inclines us to doubt that we can define the images of peripheral zones so exactly. These gulfs are only presented occasionally.

As the result of the use of the compass and coastal descriptions the *portolani* developed in the Mediterranean world from the thirteenth century onwards. These maps were designed without any system of projection, and were covered with compass roses and lines for finding the right course. Originally, the *portolani* only concentrated on the coastline, but later on information about the inland was also introduced.[11] Although the focus of their interest lay

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[4] J.M.Lotman. "O Semiosfere."[On Semiosphere] In: *Izbrannye statji*. Tallinn. 1993. T. I. st. 11-24.

[5] L. de Anna. "Vieraiden kansojen kirjallisesta kuvasta." [On the literary image of the foreign people] In: *Medievalia Fennica*. C.Krötzl (ed.). Historiallinen arkisto 96. Suomen Historiallinen Seura. Helsinki. 1991. pp. 21-33.; L. de Anna. "The Peoples of Finland and Early Medieval Sources." In: *Suomen varhaishistoria*. Jyväskylä. 1992.

[6] R.V.Tooley. *Maps and Map-makers*. New York. 1961. p. 12.

[7] M.Destombes. *Mappemondes* (Monumenta cartographica vetustioris aevi. 1200-1500. Bd. I.) Amsterdam. 1964. (Extensive catalogue.) A.-D. v. d.Brincken. "Mappa Mundi und Chronographia. Studien zum *imago mundi* des abendländischen Mittelalters." In: *Deutsches Archiv*. 1968. 24. pp. 118-186.

[8] K.Miller. *Die ältesten Weltkarten*. H.IV. Stuttgart. 1898.

[9] Ibidem. H. III. p. 77. fig. 23.

[10] A.Spekke. *The Baltic Sea*, p. 24.

[11] H-C.Freiesleben. *Geschichte der Navigation*. Wiesbaden. 1976. p. 10.

in the Mediterranean, the representation of the *portolani* extended to the north as well. The subsequent development of the cartographic presentation of the Baltic[12] is closely connected with these maps.

The oldest existing *portolan* with a picture of the Baltic world designed by the Genoese Giovanni da Carignano (+ 1344),[13] is from ca. 1310. There, the Baltic Sea is depicted as a long sack, stretching from west to east. By then the Italian navigators may have reached the Baltic. Later, the privileges of the Hanse made Flanders the usual station for trade with the north and, consequently, the last station for the Mediterranean ships.[14] The main stops, connected with trade and navigation (*Oxilia, Gothlandia, Riga, Nogardia*),[15] are marked on the map of Carignano, but the entire sea is left out of the network of compass lines and the coastline becomes more conjectural east of Denmark. The shape of the sea on Carignano's map suggests that if the Baltic was sailed by the Italians, it did not happen frequently. The most plausible explanation is that knowledge of the north, as represented by the *portolani*, was received randomly from the big transit ports of Flanders.

The highest quality of the *portolani* was achieved by the Catalan school.[16] The *portolan* of Angelino Dalorto (1325)[17] did not make much progress in the depiction of the coast of the eastern Baltic (see fig.1). Still, it mentions a few new locations like *Vironja* (Wirland), *Rivalia* (Reval?), and *Ungardia* (Novgorod?).[18] In general, the image of the *portolani* remained conservative and impractical because of the Hanseatic monopoly in the north. In the Baltic, sailing directions[19] were in use for practical navigation, instead of the maps, and their information remained isolated. Later, however, the tradition of place-names, created by the *portolani*, was more easily available for the cartographers drawing the new Ptolemaic maps than information regarding Nordic sailing directions.

Concluding the developments of the cartographic image during the high Middle Ages we must point out the marginality of representations of north-eastern Europe. The Baltic/Scandinavian area was too far from the intellectually or strategically important regions of medieval map-makers. The cartographic discovery of the North in fact begins only with the appearance of the first new Ptolemaic map by Claudius Clavus.

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12 A.-D. v. d.Brincken, "Die kartographische Darstellung Nordeuropas durch italienische und Mallorquinische Portolanzeichner im 14. und der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts." In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 92 Jg., 1974, pp. 45-58.

13 Ibidem, p. 50, fig. 2.

14 Ibidem, p. 54.

15 L.Arbusow, "Vorläufige Übersicht," p. 42.

16 A.-D. v. d.Brincken, "Die kartographische Darstellung Nordeuropas," p. 52.

17 Ibidem, Abb. 3., p. 53. The Baltic part reproduced also in: A.E.Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*, Stockholm, 1889. (Reprint: New York, 1973.), fig. 26.

18 L.Arbusow, "Vorläufige Übersicht," p. 42. For the name *ungardia* on the *portolanos* Björnbo and Petersen (see below) have given possible interpretations such as Ivangorod or Novgorod. (p. 168.) The first of them is however possible to drop, because the castle was built only in 1492. As Novgorod was fixed on the *portolanos* in a form of *nogardia*, and *portolanos* give often the name of the lands (e.g. *Roderim, Vironia*), I suggest that *ungardia* meant Ingermanland, on the southern coast of the end of the Finnish Gulf.

19 *Seebuch*, ed. K.Koppmann, 1876. (publication of the earliest manuscripts) W.Behrmann, *Über die niederdeutschen Seebücher des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1906.

Renaissance

The translation of the Geography of Ptolemy into Latin by Jacobus Angelus in 1406 and the first supplement of 27 maps,[20] mark the establishment of Ptolemy's authority in map-making. The influence of his principles of systematisation has profoundly affected Renaissance culture.[21] Geographers of Western Europe started to address the problems of map projection, and this spurred the appearance of new maps.[22] Although all the theory of mapping was available in scholastic philosophy,[23] the making of the maps according to the rules of projection did not start in Europe before the early fifteenth century.[24]

On Ptolemy's map collection, the eastern Baltic was depicted on the fourth and eighth map of Europe, and on the second map of Asia, as a coast of the Sarmatian Ocean (*Sarmaticus oceanus*). Sarmatia was divided between Europe and Asia and populated with tribes whose names by then were not in use (e.g. *Carothae, Pagirithae*). Great confusion was created because of the following river-names used by Ptolemy: *Chronon, Rubon, Thuruntes, Chesios*. Owing to the big westward flowing rivers on the east coast of the Baltic Sea we cannot disregard them as entirely fantastical but, at the same time, it is impossible to find correct equivalents for them. Already Renaissance cartographers had attempted to do so, and ever since then, there have been a variety of possible interpretations. The same also happened to the tribe names found in the Geography of Ptolemy.

As it derives from Ptolemy's division of maps, Baltoscandia too was a region at the very boundary of the known world. Ptolemy had no special map of the region. Fifteenth century Europe, however, had more information than Ptolemy, and this created the demand for improved maps. As the art of map-making was only connected with Ptolemy, the new maps were called *Tabulae Modernae extra Ptolemaeum*. The first of this kind was the map of Northern countries, by the Dane Claudius Clavus.[25] The Clavus map has a special place among the other *Tabulae Modernae*, because it was not merely adding information to the old scheme, but by the extension of the Ptolemaic grid. Clavus drew a map of a new region and added it to Ptolemy's ten maps of Europe as the eleventh.

The original of Claudius Clavus' map has not survived but we have a copy of it in the codex of Ptolemy of Nancy,[26] made for Guillaume Fillastre, canon of Reims. As this is primarily a map of Scandinavia, the Baltic is marginalised. The sea was given more upper direction than on the *portolani* but the gulfs are missing. So are the place names from the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. The extent of Clavus' knowledge is also displayed in the

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[20] L.Bagrow, R.A.Skelton. *Meister der Kartographie*. Berlin, 1973. p. 92.

[21] S.Y.Edgerton jr., "From Mental Matrix to *Mappamundi* to Christian Empire: The Heritage of Ptolemaic Cartography in the Renaissance." In: *Art and Cartography. Six historical essays*. ed. David Woodward. Chicago 1987. pp. 10-51.

[22] M.Boas. *The Scientific Renaissance*. London, 1962. p. 33.

[23] D.B.Durand. *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus of the fifteenth century: A study in transition from medieval to modern science*. Leiden, 1952. p. 99. She suggests that the first maps were made in Europe independently from the tradition of Ptolemy.

[24] J.Keuning. "The history of geographical map projections until 1600." In: *Imago mundi*. XII 1970. p. 2-3.

[25] A.Björnbo und C.Petersen. *Der Däne Claudius Clausson Swart (Claudius Clavus), der älteste Kartograph des Nordens, der erste Ptolemäus-Epigon der Renaissance*. Innsbruck, 1909.

[26] A.E.Nordenskiöld. *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*. Stockholm, 1889. (Reprint: New York, 1973.) Fig. 27.

Vienna MS[27] which contains a list of co-ordinates. Clavus mentions Livonia, but the rivers (4), and bays (7), are only numbered.[28] All this suggests that Clavus has been critical of the Ptolemaic concept of the Eastern Baltic, with the introduction of the idea about the gulfs and the omission of the names of the rivers. On the other hand the general outline of the coast follows the curve drawn by Ptolemy.

Editions of Claudius Clavus' map made by Henricus Martellus and Nicolaus Germanus have initiated a whole series of variants.[29] The map edited by Nicolaus Germanus was finally printed in the first trans-Alpine edition of Ptolemy, in Ulm in 1482.[30] On this map we can find place-names (*liuonia, roderin flautena, uironia, Riga*) originating from the *portolani*. The use of the medieval map is a remarkable phenomenon also on a more general level: it is always easier to manipulate information of the same type. The maps tend to use maps, and the books are inclined to deal with other books, scholars trust scholars etc.

In the Ulm edition of Ptolemy the scheme of Clavus' cartographic representation of the North has remained the same. Characteristic of this edition of Ptolemy is also the coexistence of old and new information. Ptolemy's eighth map of Europe, although re-edited in cartographic presentation in order to correspond to the map of Clavus, uses the Ptolemaic place and tribe-names in Sarmatia. Clavus' map, supplemented by more modern place names from *portolani*, provided by Nicolaus Germanus, is presented separately.

In the fifteenth century we can find many interesting examples of the syntheses of old and new traditions of mathematical geography. From the early fifteenth century onwards the tradition of co-ordinate tables and maps can be observed, what is referred to by D.B.Durand, the "Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus."[31] The roots of this scholarship dated back to medieval mathematical astronomy,[32] but later the work of Ptolemy was also used.[33] Much of the cartographic tradition, practised in the Vienna-Klosterneuburg school, came from the medieval *portolani* and *mappae mundi*.

On the co-ordinate tables and reconstructed maps of the Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus, published by D.B.Durand, we can find their characteristic selection of Livonian place names: Riga, Dorpat, Reval and Narva.[34] It is difficult to establish the reason for this selection or the person's identity by whom the co-ordinates were measured or introduced. It probably marks the main trading centres with the Russians.[35] In the legends of the largest map of the Vienna-Klosterneuburg collection, in *Nova Cosmographia*, most of the Livonian towns are

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27 A.Björnbo und C.Petersen, *Der Däne Claudius Claussan Swart*, pp. 130-152.

28 Ibidem, p. 138.

29 Ibidem, pp. 13-64.

30 Claudius Ptolemaios, *Geographia*, Ulm, 1482. (Reprint: Amsterdam, 1963.)

31 D.B.Durand, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus of the fifteenth century: A study in transition from medieval to modern science*. Leiden, 1952.

32 Ibidem, p. 102.

33 Ibidem, pp. 124-125.

34 Ibidem, appendices: 7. p. 347; 12. p. 378; 13. p. 389; 14. pp. 391-392, 445-447; 15. pp. 458-459; 16. p. 479.

35 In this context Narva seems to be out of the scheme, because at that time its commercial functions were restricted by the staple right of Reval, and it was never taken to the Hanseatic league.

claimed to be Russian[36] Observing the transit ports between the west and Novgorod from the south-German perspective, they could have been conceived of as located in northern Russia.

The attempts to synthesise all of the information available also brought about some round maps in the fifteenth century. The map of Andreas Walsperger (1448),[37] closely related to the traditions of the Vienna-Klosterneuburg school,[38] depicted the Baltic Sea in the manner of *portolani*. Gotland is placed at the centre of the sea. As the capital of Livonia (*Yflandia*) Riga (*Rieg*) is mentioned.

The second example of the round maps was made by Fra Mauro in 1459[39] with a very detailed cartographic image of the Baltic (see fig. 2). The shape of Scandinavia originates from *portolani* but in the picturing of the Eastern Baltic coast some new information was used.

The placement of Reval and Riga on the shore of one bay not far from Novgorod is an evidence that Fra Mauro knew the basic relations between centres of the area. The way Fra Mauro draws the eastern coast of the Baltics is problematical. A.Spekke[40] found an explanation for the peninsula next to the island *grano lante*.[41] It is, he contends, an early form of the Courland peninsula. However, it seems that simple answer here contains flaw rather than solution. Although the position of Riga, the island (*grano lante*) and peninsula resemble quite closely the surroundings of the Gulf of Riga, the placement of Reval (*revele*) on the shore of the same gulf suggests other possible explanations. Maybe we must confine ourselves to saying that this gulf meant both the Riga and Finnish gulfs. This kind of syncretistic meaning is one of the inherent characteristics of early cartographic images.

Walsperger and Fra Mauro made similar comments on north-European navigation on their maps. A legend is placed on the North Sea of Walsperger's map that says that the magnetic needle is not used in navigation on these seas.[42] The same kind of statement, with addition that local seamen used only lead and line, is written on the Baltic Sea of Fra Mauro's map. W.Vogel has demonstrated, however, that the compass was used at that time on the northern seas,[43] but rudimentary methods like caping had still been practised there for a relatively long time, giving no impetus to chart production. Anyway it seems that south-European map-makers received their information from maritime sources, for example *portolani*, or some oral tradition, that have expressed the different methods of navigation in the North.

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[36] Ibidem. appendix 14. pp. 391-392. 445-447: *3 12.35 63.28 Tarbot eyn stat in Willen Rüssen. 3 12.0 54.0 Reffel eyn gut stat in Reussen daz gros habe von Nogarten* [...]*3 7.0 73. Nargardia di gross Norgen dy haupstat in stat Eyffenlant* [...]*3 15.20 46.20 Narbo ein gut stat in Blesgan.*

[37] E.Bratt. *En krönika om kartor över Sverige.* [The chronicle of the maps on Sweden] Stockholm. 1958, fig. 7.

[38] D.B.Durand. *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus.* pp. 209-211.

[39] A.Spekke. *The Baltic Sea.* plate IV.

[40] A.Spekke. *The Baltic Sea.* p. 30.

[41] Plausibly Ösel, despite of name that referes to Gotland. Gotland is pictured on this map as *Gothia.*

[42] W.Schlüter. "Der Norden Europas in der mittelalterlichen Kartographie." In: *Sitzungsberichte d. Gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft 1905.* Dorpat. 1906, p. 18.

[43] W.Vogel. "Die Einführung des Kompasses in die nordwesteuropäische Nautik." In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter.* 1911. p. 29.

As the next step in the development of the Livonian cartographic image Nicolaus Cusanus' map of central Europe[44] should be considered. It was drawn in the middle of the fifteenth century and no originals of this map have survived. Modifications of the map were reproduced in the manuscripts of Ptolemy edited by Nicolaus Germanus, in the Chronicle of Hartman Schedel, by Martin Waldseemüller etc.

On this map, as on the *portolani*, the Baltic Sea extends from east to west. In the north, the shore of the Baltic is drawn together so that Lake Mälar (*Melar aqua*) and the Narva River (*Narba fl.*) are pictured side by side. Novgorod is placed near Livonia. It seems that Cusanus' knowledge of the lands to the north of the parallel of the Gulf of Finland was incidental.

Despite the peripheral position of Livonia on the map, there is much new information. Cusanus mentioned Livonian bishoprics (*Tarba ecclesia, Hapsel ibi est ecclesia Osiliensis*) and the port of Pernau (*Pornow, Portus porvov*).[45] His source of information is unclear. The mentioning of the bishoprics suggests that he received data from the clerical hierarchy. K.Buczek accentuated Cusanus' sympathy for the Teutonic Order, whose lands in Prussia he visited in 1452,[46] and that might have been one of the reasons for his competence.

As one of the possible sources for the map, K.Buczek has named the sketch map of Peter von Wormditt,[47] the one he drew in 1413 for the Pope to demonstrate that the diocese of Dorpat was not situated in Sweden.[48] Although the question of whether the map was the source is hypothetical, its existence gives us an idea about the level of information the Papal court had in the early fifteenth century about the North.

The edition of Cusanus' map by Hieronymos Münzer was published in Hartman Schedel's *"Liber Chronicarum"* (Nuremberg, 1493).[49] This book was appended with parts of the book *De Europa* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini[50] with a chapter over twenty-lines long: *De liuonia nunc germanie prouincia.*[51] The land is said to be the last province of Christians. In the neighbourhood is Russia and the land is often devastated by the Tartars. Livonia was forced to Christianity by the Teutonic Knights and belongs to Germany. This passage of Aeneas Silvius appears to be one of the most influential texts on Livonia by Humanists, and was repeated over

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44 A.Spekke, *The Baltic Sea*, plate VI.

45 Comparative table of the toponymy of the versions of Cusanus' map can be found in: L.Arbusow, "Vorläufige Übersicht." pp. 60-61.

46 K.Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography*. Warszawa, 1966. p. 29.

47 P.Nieborowski, *Peter von Wormditt*, Breslau, 1915. p. 114.

48 K.Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography*. p. 26.

49 Hartman Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*. (also in German: Das buch der Chroniken) Nürnberg, 1493. (Reprint: 1976, 1978, Antiqua-Verlag, 1988.) Literature on this enterprise: E.Rücker, *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik. Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit*. Prestel-Verlag, München. 1973. H.Kunze, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 15. Jh.* Textband. Leipzig, 1975, pp. 368-381.

50 Pius II (Aeneas Silvius), Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis. Francofurti, 1707. Cosmographia. De Europa, c. 28. f. 278. Although we lack the modern edition of *De Europa*, the parts concerning the Eastern Baltic are reprinted in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, IV f. 212-253. The publication of A.Spekke, "Quelques noveaux matériaux pour l'histoire de la cartographie et de l'iconographie de l'Ancienne Livonie" In: *Acta Universitatis Latvienensis* Phil. Série II, 2. Riga, 1932. was not at my disposal.

51 Hartman Schedel, *Das buch der Chroniken*. Nürnberg, 1493. fol. 278.

and over again in the general geographic treatments up to the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster.

The last great epigon of Ptolemy was Martin Waldseemüller. His world map *"Carta marina navigatoria"* (1516)[52] contains many radical improvements concerning also the Baltic region. The gulf of Riga (*Rigensis poden*) is mentioned for the first time, but its shape is simplified, with a straight coast from Grobin to Reval. Thus it is more likely the late reflection of the Ptolemaic *Sinus venedicus*.

The most striking change are, however, the numerous toponyms placed on the coast of Courland. It is easy to identify these names, and a line reflects the most important medieval road from Memel to Riga.[53] So it seems that Waldseemüller used some itineraries when completing his map, but has not dared to change the Ptolemaic scheme. The central position of Gotland seems to indicate the use of some maritime source, but on the other hand it is odd, that Ösel is missing.

In the northern part of the map nameless gulfs are depicted that obviously originate from the map of Nicolaus Cusanus. Although they reflect the idea of gulfs in the Northern Baltic (what appears already in Claudus Clavus, and was explicated by Cusanus), it is not yet possible to identify them. The eastern one of them reminds us of the *Melar aqua* of Cusanus, although it is situated north of Finland (*Venthland*) and can therefore be the gulf of Vyborg or the basin of Saimaa, but from its proportion it can be deduced that it should be identified as the gulf of Botnia.

The beginning of a new century

From the beginning of the sixteenth century we have further proof of the appearance of an improved cartographic image of Livonia. In the letters of the Polish cartographer B.Wapowski there are some notes about the map of Livonia (1529) by Alexander Sculteti (+ 1570).[54] He was a canon of Ermland, but, at the same time, also canon of the Livonian dioceses of Ösel-Wiek, Reval and Dorpat,[55] which could be the reason for his knowledge. Although this map has been lost, it is not the only evidence of cartographic material on Livonia circulating in Poland and Prussia.[56]

On the map of Nordic countries by Jacob Ziegler (1532)[57] the eastern part of the Baltic Sea is still depicted in the tradition of Ptolemy. This map is, however, quite rich in toponyms. The cities of the area are displaced so that Lübeck, Riga and Reval appear equidistant. The reason for such errors and the straight line of the coast show most probably that the attention of Ziegler was concentrated on Scandinavia.

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52 A.Spekke, *The Baltic Sea*, plate VII.

53 F.Bruns, H.Weczerka, *Hansische Handelstrassen*, Weimar, 1967, Textband pp. 707-712.

54 L.Arbusow, "Vorläufige Übersicht", p. 69.

55 Ibidem, p. 62, gives short biography dating also some visits to Livonia.

56 L.Arbusow, "Zur Würdigung der Kultur Altlivlands im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert." In: *Historische Zeitschrift* Bd. 151, 1935, pp. 37-39.

57 A.Spekke, *The Baltic Sea*, plate VIII.

An interesting addition to the materials about Livonia is the sketch map of Aegidius Tschudi.[58] This map is generally taken to be a copy of Ziegler's, but in the case of Livonia new materials are used. On the map the first attempt of Tschudi to follow the example of Ziegler is clearly seen. Tschudi's final picture shows more rivers and places on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. The coast line is drawn so that we can even talk about the depiction of the Courland peninsula. The missing of Reval from the map is odd but there are some maps of Russia that also mention only Riga and Narva.[59] Another hint of the influence of Russian sources is that there are some Russian place names in Finland (*Kaienska Semla*). On the other hand the diocese centres refer to Cusanus, whose map can be also taken to have been a hypothetical source. But these sources alone cannot completely explain Tschudi's depiction of the eastern coast of the Baltics.

The first map with a radically reformed depiction of the coast-line of Livonia is the *Carta Marina* (1539) by Olaus Magnus (see fig 3).[60] Besides this map, the commentaries to the map *"Opera breve..."*[61] and his major work *"Historia de gentium septentrionalium"* (1555) are also important.

Olaus Magnus (1490-1557) was exiled from Sweden in the days of the Reformation, and was later the last catholic bishop of Uppsala. Some facts are known about his cartographic interests. He had travelled in the far north of Scandinavia, and had drawn in Danzig one sketch of the southern coast of the Baltic Sea[62] On the other hand it is known that he had never been to Livonia. J.Granlund contends[63] that Olaus Magnus did not use the innovations of sixteenth century geodesy and from his works it is possible to deduce that he used no other instruments than chronometer and compass.

The general disposition of the *"Historia ... "* does not treat Livonia as a Nordic country. Although Olaus mentions Livonia several times[64] his attention is concentrated on the events in Sweden. Livonia, Russia and Lithuania are treated marginally. On the map Livonia is pictured with the inscription: *catholice ecclesie propugnaculum*. It is difficult to say what Olaus had meant because of the advance of the Reformation in Livonia at that time, but it seems more plausible that he referred to the mission of the Teutonic Order against paganism and the Russians. This view is supported by remarks in *"Opera breve..."* about the Muscovites.[65] The Russian threat is an important theme in the history of the Nordic countries by Olaus Magnus as well.

The confrontation with Moscovy is also illustrated by the placing of several armoured knights on the map of Livonia. According to L.Bagrow, they are there in the memory of the

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58 W.Blumer. "The map drawings of Aegidius Tschudi (1505-1572)." In: *Imago Mundi* X. 1953. C.Enckell, "Aegidius Tschudi's hand-drawn map of Northern Europe." In: *Imago Mundi* X. 1953.

59 Namely the map of Sigismund Herberstein from 1546.

60 The reproduction of the Livonian part of the map see in: O.Bong, "Das Baltische Kartenbild." In: *Baltische Hefte*. 1961. Jg. 7. H. 2. fig.1.

61 Also in German translation: *"Ain kvrze avslegvng"*. Olaus Magnus Gothus. *Beskrivning till Carta Marina*. [Description to the Carta Marina] Stockholm. 1960.

62 L.Bagrow. *A History of the Cartography in Russia up to 1600*. Ed. by H.W.Castner. Ontario. 1975. p. 76.

63 J.Granlund. "The Charta Marina of Olaus Magnus." In: *Imago Mundi*. VIII. 1951. p. 35.

64 Olaus Magnus. *Historia de gentium septentrionalium*. XI, C. 1; XVIII, C.45-46; XX. C. 3

65 Olaus Magnus Gothus. *Beskrivning*, p. 29.

battle on ice in 1242,[66] and, indeed, Olaus devotes much space to the riding and battles on ice. In my view, closer to truth is A.Rybakov's position[67] that Olaus Magnus pictured the events of the war between Russia and Sweden in 1495-97. This view is also supported by Olaus' descripitions of this war in *"Historia..."*[68] and the depiction of "The Bang of Vyborg" on his map. Most important here, though, is the expression of the idea of confrontation of Livonia with the Muscovites.

The cartographic picture gives some 80 place names. One interesting feature is the connecting of the rivers Pernau and Embach into one water-system. This water way was apparently used in the earlier centuries and is marked very often on the later maps, although the sixteenth century has been generally accepted as the time of the decline of the connection between the two rivers.

In his *"Opera breve"* Olaus Magnus made some remarks about seafaring that suggest the maritime nature of his source. One of the passages refers to the tower erected by Dutch seafarers on Ösel.[69] With that, he probably means the lighthouse of Dagerort on Dagö that was built on the lands of the diocese of Ösel. Although Dagö is pictured on the map as a separate island, Olaus has not mentioned it by name. In the edition of Olaus Magnus' map by Sebastian Münster the island is called *Skiolle,* the name used for the strait Soela (*Skiollesund*) between the two islands on the map of Olaus. The weak idea of the separate island is also seen where Olaus mentions Courland, Ösel (*Osilia*) and Hango in the same connection. It is obvious that Ösel of older maps can mean also the other island Dagö at the same time, because of the narrow strait between them and the important reefs on the shore of the latter.

In discussing the sources of the map of Olaus Magnus a hypothetical lost sea chart of Northern Europe is often mentioned.[70] Besides Olaus' general interest in seafaring,[71] illustrated by his descriptions of sea monsters and an entire book in *"Historia..."* about sea battles,[72] the drawing of oversized islands and the marking of lighthouses are clear signs that he used some material of maritime nature in his map. The hypothesis of the archetype of the nordic sea charts is discussed below. L.Arbusow holds the view that one of the sources of Olaus Magnus could have been also the map of A Sculteti.[73] During the years in Danzig, Sculteti's map could have been at his disposal, but we have no concrete evidence to support this connection, although it is likely that in his depiction of Livonia Olaus may have used some materials of Prussian or Polish origin.

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66 L.Bagrow. *A History of the Cartography in Russia*, p. 76.

67 A.Rybakov. *Russkie karty Moskovii XV-natshala XVI veka.* [The Russian Maps of Muscovy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth century.] Moskva. 1974. st. 36.

68 Olaus Magnus. *Historia de gentium septentrionalium*. XI. C. 1-4.

69 L.Arbusow. *"Vorläufige Übersicht,"* p. 68. (*Bey dem land haben die hollendischen schiffer gebäut ain hoechen spizigen turn*).

70 Ibidem.

71 The topic is treated by J.Granlund. "Sjöfart, skepp och båtar hos Olaus Magnus" [Sailing, ships and boats by Olaus Magnus.] In: *Sjöhistorisk Årsbok*. 1947, pp. 9-41.

72 Olaus Magnus. *Historia de gentium septentrionalium*. X.

73 L.Arbusow. "Vorläufige Übersicht." p. 69.

The rise of Dutch cartography

Dutch cartography was very closely connected with seafaring. Therefore, researchers of this topic have often tried to find the traces of early north-European sea charts.[74] It is quite obvious that a lot of information in the sixteenth century maps came from practical navigation experience. But the use of maps in navigation in the north in the early sixteenth century was still quite rare. The use of the course descriptions of the traditional type as given in the *Seebuch*[75] was common even when the first maps appeared. In the following passage I will make a survey of only some of the aspects of Dutch cartography having a straightforward connection with the cartographic image of Livonia.[76]

One of the oldest printed sea charts was drawn by Cornelis Anthonisz in 1543.[77] Anthonisz used in the compilation of the map his wide experience as a navigator and also sailing directions published in Antwerp in 1541. The image of Livonia on this chart contains some differences to Olaus Magnus' map. Dagö is drawn very close to the continent, and Ösel stands separately. The form of the Courland peninsula is more slender than Olaus' version. Also, place-names differ so that the proof of a common source in this case is insufficient.

The chart of Anthonisz constituted an image of Livonia very common in sixteenth century cartography. It was reprinted several times in Italy by J.Camocius. The influence of Anthonisz is seen also on Mercator's map of Europe (1554). The maps by L.Algoet and G.Gastaldi use the pattern of Anthonisz' coast line as well. To Olaus Magnus' *"Historia..."* published in Basel (1567) also the map edited by J.B.Fickler was added.[78] It was greatly simplified and the method of projection was altered. The image of Livonia, however, has been changed by Fickler, resembling now Anthonisz's version.

The influence of the sea charts can be seen also on the later maps of Livonia. The first preserved map of Livonia by Johannes Portantius was printed in the supplementary volume of the atlas of Abraham Ortelius in 1573.[79] From the five legends written on the map, two gave information about the difficult sailing on the Gulf of Riga and near *Domesnest*. At the end of the sixteenth century Lucas Waghenaer published his paradigmatic pilot book and atlas *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt*. Then, the position of islands and the shape of Moonsund on the west coast of Livonia drawn by Waghenaer dominated in the seventeenth century Dutch maps.

To return to the question of the sources of the maps of the early sixteenth century, L.Arbusow compared the place-names of the maps of Cornelis Anthonisz, Olaus Magnus and Lucas Waghenaer and found their correspondence not sufficient to prove the common source.[80] This is also supported by the discrepancy of the coast-lines on these maps. The maps

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[74] A.W.Lang, "Traces of lost North European Sea Charts of the 15th Century." In: *Imago Mundi* XII.1955.

[75] Courses are treated in detail by J.Goetze, "Hansische Schiffahrtswege in der Ostsee." In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. 1975. pp.71-88.

[76] The most recent overview: E.Okhuizen, "Dutch Maritime Cartography of the Baltic in the 16th Century." In: *Baltic Affairs. Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500-1800. Essays.* Ed. J.Ph.S.Lemmnik, J.S.A.M. van Konigsbrugge. Nijmegen, 1990, pp. 287-314.

[77] A.W.Lang. *Die "Caerte van oostlant" des Cornelis Anthonisz 1543.* Hamburg/Bremenhaven. 1986.

[78] E. van Bingroot: E. van Ermen. *Suomen ja Skandinavian vanhoja karttoja.* [The Old Maps of Finland and Scandinavia] Helsinki. 1988. p. 21, fig. 8.

[79] Abraham Ortelius. *Ein Zusatz bei dass Theatrum...* Antwerpiae, 1573.

[80] L.Arbusow. "Die Hauptrichtungen.," pp. 30-31.

of the sixteenth century contain many elements originating from shipping experience, and these maritime sources play the decisive role in the break with the Ptolemaic tradition, but the existence of some general lost sea chart of northern Europe is doubtful. This latent infiltration of information from practical nautic experience is the crucial and most fascinating aspect in the history of the maps of the North.

The outbreak of the Livonian War brought new material about Livonia into European circulation. The events of war and the political rearrangement of the region led to the disappearing of Livonia in the medieval sense and is not discussed in the present paper. Although the medieval stereotypes lasted a very long time, the studying of their later influences is a matter for further research.

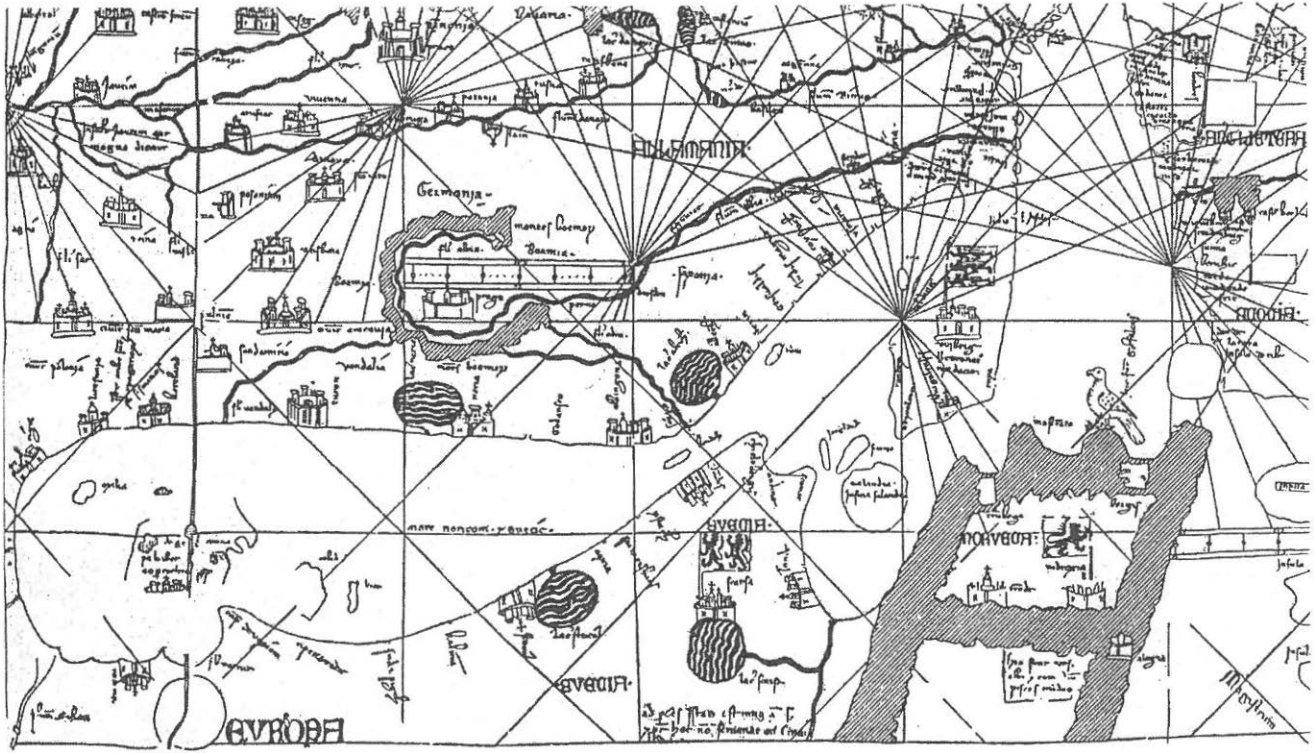

Fig.1: The Baltic Sea on the *portalon* of Angelino Dalorto (1325)

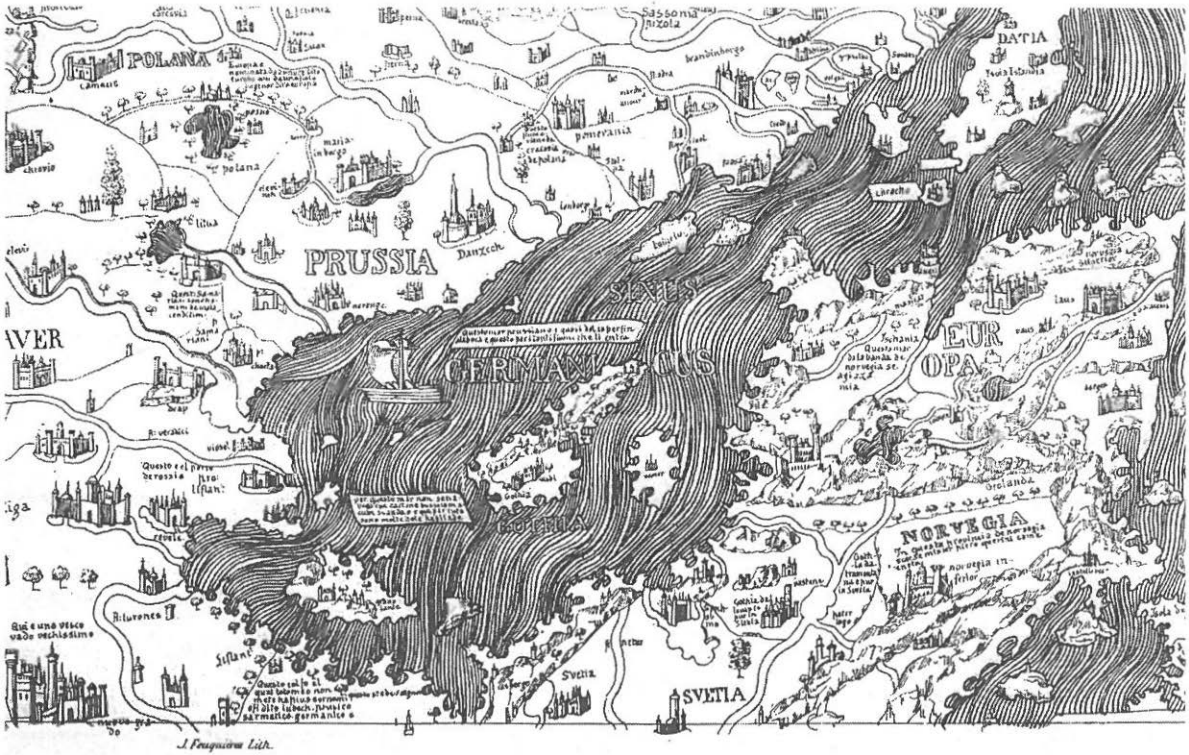

Fig 2: The Baltic Sea on the round map of Frau Mauro (1459)

Fig.3: An excerpt from the *Carta Marina* of Olaus Magnus (1539)

QUOTIDIANUM ESTONICUM

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON GERHARD JARITZ

SONDERBAND V

QUOTIDIANUM ESTONICUM

ASPECTS OF DAILY LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ESTONIA

EDITED BY

JÜRI KIVIMÄE

AND

JUHAN KREEM

KREMS 1996

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER
KULTURABTEILUNG DES AMTES
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Preface

The idea to publish a special Estonian or Baltic issue of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* has been discussed already for a couple of years with Gerhard Jaritz and Christian Krötzl. Initially the idea was based on the first experience of studying medieval everyday life and mentalities in a small seminar-group at Tartu University. This optimistic curiosity of discovering a new history or actually a history forgotten long ago, has been carried on. The research topics of Katrin Kukke, Inna Põltsam and Erik Somelar originate from this seminar. However, all contributions of *Quotidianum Estonicum* were written especially for this issue.

Besides that, this collection of articles needs some comments. First, it must be admitted that the selection of aspects of everyday life published here is casual and represents only marginally the modern situation of historical research and history-writing in Estonia. The older Baltic German and Estonian national scholarship has occasionally referred to the aspects of everyday life. Yet the ideology of '*histoire nouvelle*' has won popularity among the younger generation of Estonian historians only in recent years. These ideas are uniting a small informal circle of historians and archivists around Tallinn City Archives, represented not only by the above mentioned authors but also by the contributions of Tiina Kala, Juhan Kreem, Marek Tamm and Mihkel Tammet. Secondly, we must confess the disputable aspects of the title *Quotidianum Estonicum*. Medieval Europe knew Livonia but not Estonia and Latvia which territories it covered over 350 years. There may be even reproaches towards the actual contents that it is too much centralised on Tallinn/Reval, but it can be explained with the rich late medieval collections available at Tallinn City Archives.

We wish above all to thank Eva Toulouse, Monique von Wistinghausen, Hugo de Chassiron, Tarmo Kotilaine and Urmas Oolup for the editorial assistance. Our greatest debt of gratitude is to Gerhard Jaritz, without whose encouragement and support this issue could not have been completed.

Jüri Kivimäe, Juhan Kreem, editors