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83

STANISŁAW LESZCZYCKI

**LINKS BETWEEN ITALIAN  
AND POLISH CARTOGRAPHY  
IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES**

OSSOLINEUM

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WROCLAW · WARSZAWA · KRAKÓW · GDAŃSK · ŁÓDŹ  
ZAKŁAD NARODOWY IMIENIA OSSOLIŃSKICH  
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### REDATTORE

Bronisław Biliński

**The first contacts.** Contacts between Italian and Polish cartography can be traced back as far as the early 15th century. Documents have survived to show that in 1421 a Polish delegation to Rome presented a hand-drawn map to Pope Martin V in an effort to clarify Poland's position in her dispute with the Teutonic Knights. The Poles used probably a large colour map to show that the Teutonic Knights were unlawfully holding lands that belonged to Poland and that had never been granted to them. The map itself is unfortunately no longer extant. An analysis of the available documentation made by Professor Bożena Strzelecka has led her to believe that the map could not have been made in Poland as cartography in fact did not exist there at that time yet. It must have probably been drawn in Rome with the participation of Poles, for instance, members of the delegation such as the Rector of Cracow University Paweł Włodkowic and Jacopo Paravesino, an Italian resident at Cracow. As maps were at that time often used to resolve frontier problems or for military purposes we can safely assume that the map mentioned above had a similar character. It means that the map showed the river network (with names of individual rivers), mountainous areas, the coast-line, and names of localities. How the map may have looked can be also surmised from the sketches of two maps that have survived, in the Codex of Sędziwój of Czechła (Sondek de Czechlo), which represent Western Pomerania and the lands occupied by the Teutonic Order. The first map shows the lands of the Teutonic Order, while the other, which is more detailed, depicts a fragment of the Baltic Coast (Map 1). It shows the network of rivers, marks the names of the rivers Vistula, Pregoła, Ossa and Drwęca, lists the Polish names of towns and castles, and marks the coast of the Sarmatian Sea (that is, of the Baltic) by a double line.

**The manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography*.** In the 15th century, at the beginning of the renaissance of classical works in Italy, various works by Greek philosophers began to be translated into Latin and, since the 16th century, into Italian too. The wave of the classical renaissance carried



with it Ptolemy's *Geography* too. Toward the end of the 14th century, Palla di Strozzi had brought a Greek copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* to Florence. The translation into Latin was done by Manuel Chryzoloras and Jacopo d'Angelo da Scarperia. The Latin manuscript was completed at Rome in 1406 and handed to Pope Gregory XII. Another copy, known as the Codex Urbinas, was presented by Angelus to Pope Alexander V in 1415. More and more copies of the *Geography*, which was often referred to as *Cosmography*, were made at Florence and in Rome. The maps appended to these versions were often latinized so that about the mid-fifteenth century Ptolemy's *Geography* could be obtained with maps in Latin.

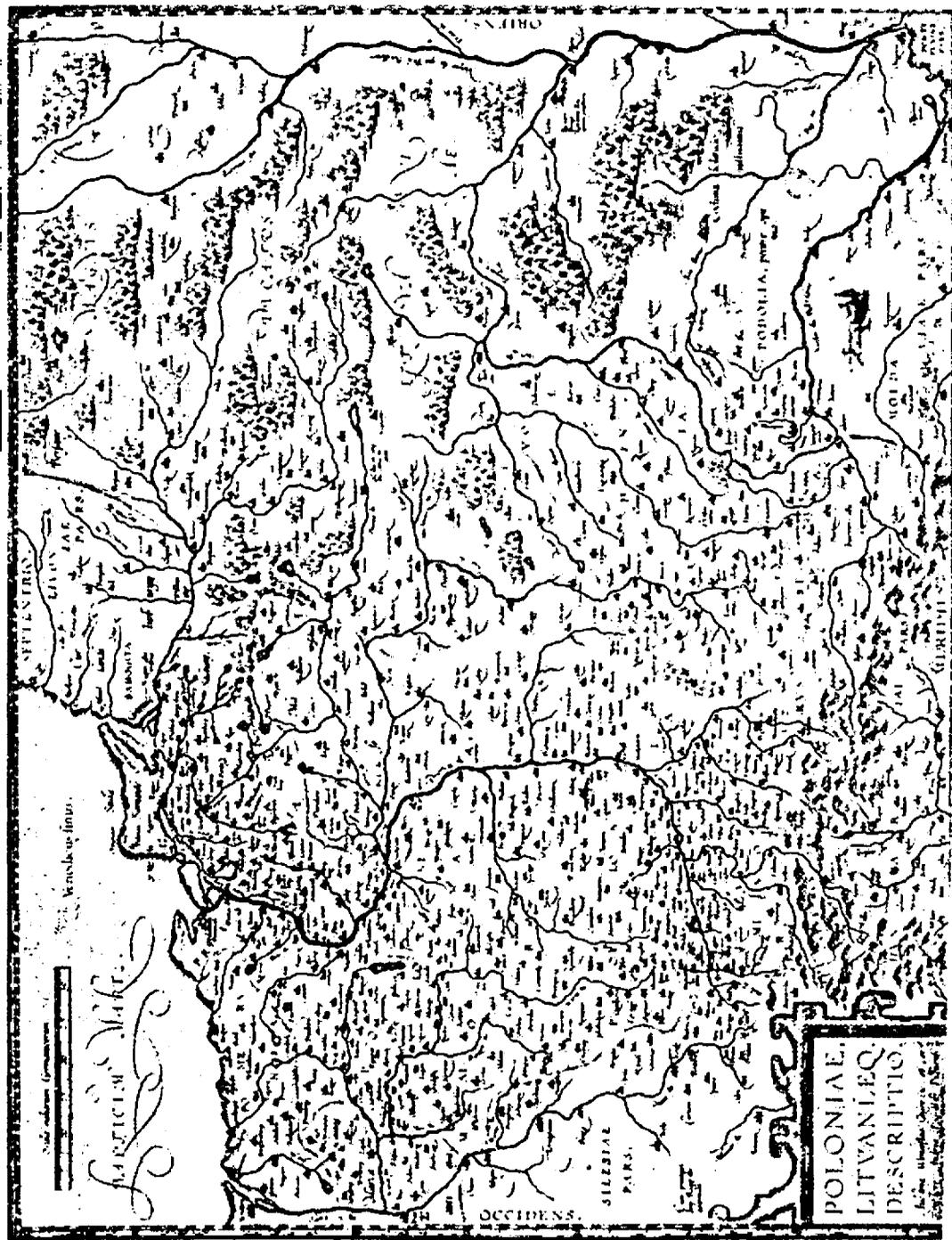
The work of Ptolemy attracted the attention of Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre (1347-1428), an expert at the Vatican in the Polish-Teutonic dispute in 1421. He bought a Latin copy of the work without maps and sent it as a gift to the cathedral at Reims. As one of the oldest manuscripts in Latin it is known as the Codex Vaticanus Latinus 5698, and it was made to the model of the Codex Urbinas Graecus 82. Several years later, in 1427, Cardinal Fillastre came into the possession of another Latin copy of Ptolemy's work which included 27 maps and the text by Jacobo d'Angelo. It is kept right to this day at the Municipal Library at Nancy. That copy already included new maps (*tabula moderna*); the fourth of them was a map of Europe entitled „Germania Magna” and the eight one depicted the European Sarmatia, roughly comprising the lands inhabited by Poles. Attention must also be paid to the map on which its Danish author Claudius Clavus Swart showed the northern territories. His map was probably prepared during his stay in Italy on the commission of Eric the Pomeranian, then king of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Copies of Ptolemy's *Geography* wandered all over Europe and reached Poland too. Jan Długosz, the canon of Cracow, a historian and author of a detailed geographic description of Polish territories, brought a copy of Ptolemy with him from Rome to Cracow about the middle of the 15th century. That copy is kept at the Jagiellonian Library at Cracow. It contains 27 old maps, including one of the world and another of Sarmatia. This latter lists 12 names of localities on the Polish area, but unfortunately only one could be identified (Calissia is today's Kalisz, a province centre with a history going back almost 2000 years).

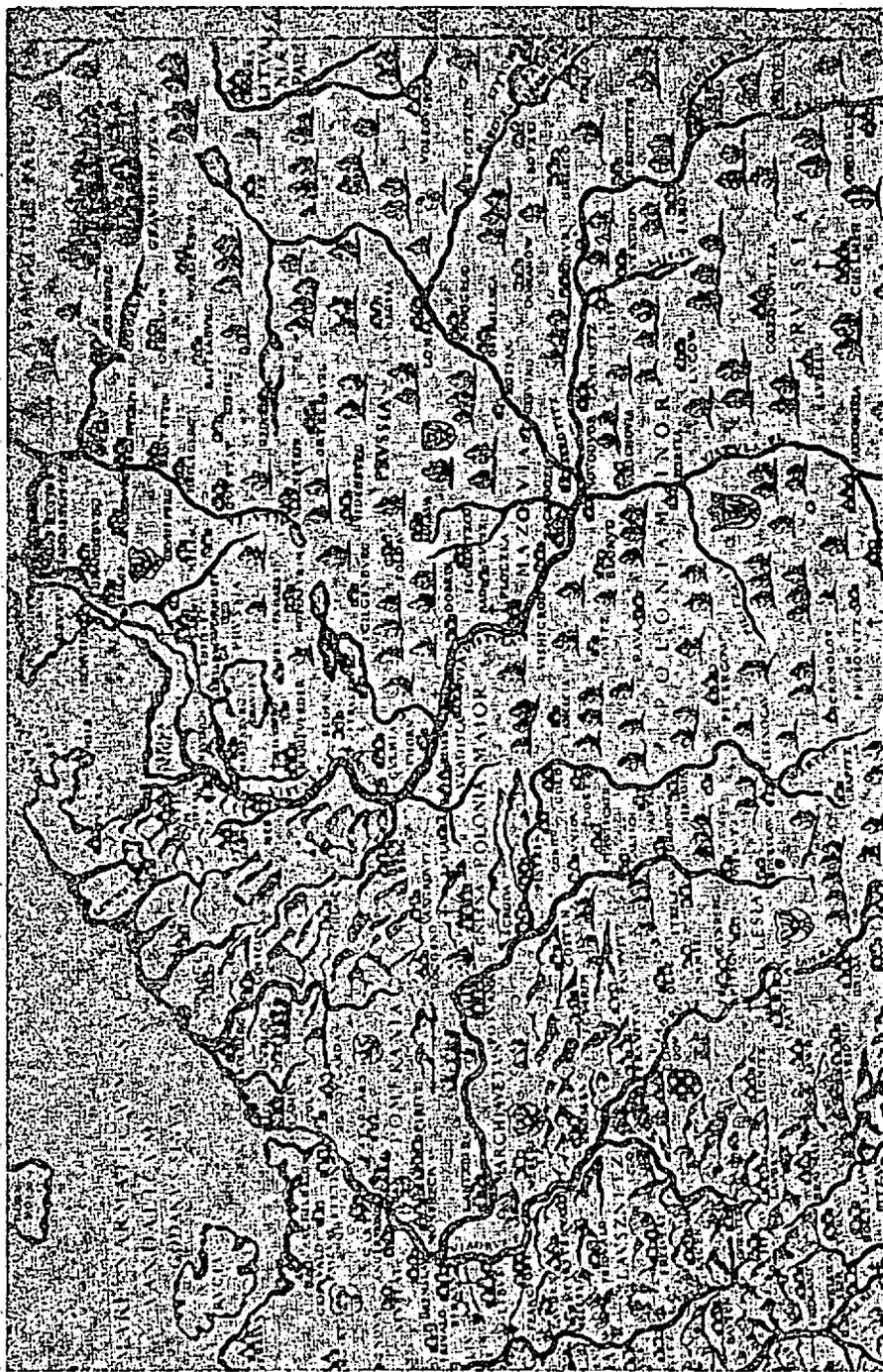
The comparison of the Cracow manuscript with the copy at Reims shows that the former derives from the latter, as evidenced by the similarity of the maps, among them the map of Europe (No. IV).



2. A map of Central Europe after Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus (15th c.). The names for the Polish territories come from Jan Dlugosz.



3. Map of the Polish lands by W. Groddecki and A. Pograbek, published in Venice in 1569.





4. Map of Central Europe by C. Lily and M. Trainezini (Rome 1553). The authors used the Polish maps of B. Wapowski and W. Grodecki.

Another finely wrought copy of Ptolemy's work was brought to Poland by Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605) in the 16th century. The dedication folio addressed to Pope Paul II bears the signature of Nicolaus Germanus. This copy of Ptolemy's atlas which was made in the 16th century, is now kept at the National Library in Warsaw and has been described by A. E. Nordenskjöld. The atlas contains among others two maps: „Magna Germania” and „Sarmatia Europea”.

Thus, out of the 54 manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* which Marcel Destombes lists in his work *Mappe Mondes A. D. 1200–1500* (published in Paris in 1964), two have survived in Poland — at Cracow and in Warsaw.

Ptolemy's works were printed for the first time in Bologna in 1477, and since then they were becoming more common in the form of printed atlases. There were several printings in the 15th century alone, and in the next century there were several score of them already. The Polish territories and the amber roads were analysed by Professor Bronisław Biliński, who published his findings in the paper entitled „La vie dell'Ambra, la Vistola e la Carte Geografiche di Tolomeo” published in Rome in 1962.

Ptolemy's works were used at Cracow University since the 15th century. Jan Długosz, Jan of Głogów, Laurentius Corvinus, Jan of Stopnica, Marcin Bylica, and other scholars used Ptolemy's atlases in their lectures in cosmography.

The Florentine scholar Filippo Buonacorsi called Callimachus, who was the tutor of the sons of the Polish king Kazimierz the Jagiellonian at Cracow, also used Ptolemy's atlas. He gave a concise description of Polish and Hungarian territories over which king Władysław led his raids against the Turks, and in doing so he used the map of Central Europe drawn by Nicolaus Germanus.

Altogether some 100 copies of Ptolemy's *Geography* are now extant in Poland, most of them including maps. Out of the 15th-century Italian editions, only three copies of the 1490 Rome edition still exist. They are kept at the university libraries in Cracow, Poznań and Wrocław. Of the later editions, there still exist two copies of Ptolemy's „Geography” edited by Marco Beneventano and Joannis Cotta and published in Rome in 1508. What also have survived are the Venetian edition of 1511 prepared by Jacobus Pentius de Leucho, an Italian edition prepared by Sebastiano Münsterus edited at Venice in 1548, three copies of the Venetian editions of 1561 and 1562 edited in Italian by Vincenzo Valgrisi, and four copies

of Italian editions of 1564 and 1574 as well as three copies of 1596 and 1599 edited by Giordano Ziletti, each containing some old and new maps.

The remaining copies of Ptolemy surviving in Poland were printed outside Italy, for instance at Ulm, Strassbourg, Antwerp, Basle, Lyon, Vienna and others.

Nicolaus Cusanus' map of Central Europe. I call your attention to the Nicolaus Cusanus map of Central Europe, „Germania et Sarmatia”, which was the best and most famous map of Central Europe at that time. It was produced in the latter half of the 15th century, and though its original has perished, quite a few adaptations of it are still available.

The correspondence that has survived down to our times suggests that Jan Długosz took part in work on the eastern part of the map, which showed the territories of Poland. Długosz supplied Cusanus with about 100 names of localities, rivers, lakes and mountains on Poland's territories which were then used in preparing the map. The little village Brzeźnica, Długosz's birthplace, was included in the list of localities. We know of an unfinished map by Nicolaus Cusanus dating back to the end of the 15th century, which contains many names in the eastern part and very few in the western part of Europe.

Cusanus' map of Central Europe owes its popularity to the fact that it was used by Hartmann Schedel in his „Liber Chronicarum” of 1493. The Chronicle had several editions with Cusanus' map included. The part of it that is of interest to us is enclosed. An edition prepared by Hieronymus Münzer contains a similar map, which gives particular distinction to the mountains in the area.

Cusanus' map was also used by Erhard Etzlaub in his work of 1501, which presented the network of the main roads from Central Europe to Rome.

Some of the 15th-century adaptations of Cusanus' map of Central Europe were done by Henricus Martellus (1487), Nicolaus Germanus (1491), Francesco Roselli (16th c.), Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (1464-1491) and Sebastianus Münster (1589-1552).

In this way, the fourth and the eight maps of Europe from Ptolemy's old version were getting more and more improved forms, and new maps were introduced beside them, thus for instance „Tabula moderna Polonia, Ungariae, Boemiae, Germaniae, Russiae, Lithuaniae...”, or „Polonia et Hungaria nuova tavola...”, or „Tavola nuova di Prussia et Livonia” as well as others.



**Marco Beneventano's map of Central Europe.** The map entitled „*Tabula moderna Poloniae, Ungariae, Boemiae, Germaniae, Russiae, Lituaniae*” by Marco Beneventano derives from Nicolaus Cusanus' map of Central Europe. It was published in Rome in 1507 and 1508. Bernard Wapowski, a canon of Cracow and a cartographer of some fame in 16th-century Europe, participated in its preparation. This is evidenced by the great number of Polish names on the map in their Polish forms, such as the rivers Odra, Vistula, Narew, Bug, San and others. The names of localities include well-known cities such as Cracow or Poznań but also the villages Radochoniza, Wapowski's birthplace, and Wapowicze, a family property of the Wapowskis.

A. Salamanca published an adapted form of that map in Rome in 1548.

**Bernard Wapowski's maps.** The year 1526, when Bernard Wapowski published three maps of Polish territories, was a turning-point in the development of Polish cartography. In 1529, Florian Ungler's printing-office in Cracow was destroyed by a fire and with it also perished the woodcuts and nearly all printed copies kept there. The maps did not survive, but we do have letters between European cartographers concerning Wapowski's maps. Ortelius mentions the titles of the maps in list of sources he had used in preparing his own atlases.

Till 1932, Wapowski's maps had been entirely unknown. Perhaps, if we consider Wapowski's correspondence with European cartographers, the maps might have survived in some libraries in Europe. Only in 1932 did Dr. K. Piekarski discover eight fragments of those maps in the account book covers of the salt-mine at Bochnia. Professor K. Buczek identified them as fragments of Wapowski's maps. It was fortunate that facsimile pictures of them had been taken because the originals fell victim to fire during the Warsaw uprising in 1944.

Specially important among these maps are three fragments representing the region of Wielkopolska, the vicinities of Poznań, the western coast of the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube, and a fragment of the Kuron Bay.

**Waclaw Grodecki's map of Poland.** Later 16th century cartographers relied on Wapowski's maps in their representations of Polish territories. The same is true of editors of well-known atlases in Europe: Gerhard Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, Gerard de Jode, Joannes Blaeuv and others. Wapowski's maps were moreover used by G. Lily, and in M. Tramezzini map of Central Europe entitled „*Nova Germaniae Descriptio*”, published

in Rome in 1553. It bears some resemblance to the map of Europe made by Heinrich Zell in 1535.

First should be mentioned the map of Poland prepared in 1558 by Waclaw Grodecki (Grodecius) and published three years later by Oporin at Basel. The map was made at the invitation of Marcin Kromer, a renowned Polish historian and chronicler. Grodecki's map was included by Ortelius into the atlases *Theatro Orbis Terrarum* published from 1570 onwards. With time it appeared in adaptations, the best known of which included in Ortelius atlases from 1595 onwards, is the one prepared jointly by Waclaw Grodecki and Andrzej Pograbek. Pograbek's original map was published at Venice in 1569.

Gerard de Jode published an adaptation of Grodecki's map several times in his atlases supplying it with portraits of the Polish kings, e.g. Stefan Batory (1576) or Sigismundus III Waza (1593).

**S. Münster's *Cosmographia*.** Sebastian Münster's cartographic representations of Polish territories constitute a separate group of maps. He published them in his *Cosmography* or they appeared independently, as they did in Italy, for instance at Venice in 1571. Well known is the map entitled „Poloniae et Ungariae nova descriptio” published in the *Cosmography*. It covers the entire basin of the Vistula reaching as far east as the Dniepr river.

Münster's *Cosmography* includes several maps showing Polish territories. One of them is entitled „De Regno et tota regione Poloniae” and covers lands from the river Odra in the west to the river Dniepr (Tanais) in the east. Another map, „Regni Poloniae contracta descriptio”, covers a smaller territory, the basins of the Vistula and Niemen rivers. A more detailed map is the one showing Pomerania and entitled „Tabula Pomeraniae...”; it comprises the southern coast of the Baltic from the Rügen island to the Hel peninsula in the east. It reaches south to Kostrzyń and Chelmno. In addition, there are two small maps: one of the northern part of central Europe between the Wisła and the Łaba (oriented to the south) and the other of the Gdańsk Bay from the Hel Peninsula to the Kuron Bay (oriented toward the east). These maps, together with Münster's *Cosmography* which ran into several score editions including Italian versions, were very well known in the 16th and 17th centuries and were often used in other publications.

**Giacomo Gastaldi's maps.** Special attention should be paid to the maps produced by the Italian cartographer Giacomo Gastaldi. One of them

„Il disegno de geographia moderna del Regno di Polonia” is a map of Poland published in 1562. It is the most magnificent map of the Jagiellonian dynasty in the 16th century. It is partly based on Mercator's map of Europe (1554) and makes use of Wapowski's map of 1526. Its second edition appeared in 1568. In 1546, Gastaldi published also a map of Hungary which comprised the territories of Central and Eastern Europe. Other maps of his showed Europe, Central Europe and Germany. Those maps appeared several times between 1546 and 1585, mostly in the atlases published by Lafreri. The map of Germany, which had several editions between 1559 and 1576, comprises the basin of the Odra river and a considerable part of that of the Vistula. Moreover, in 1548 Gastaldi published Ptolemy's *Geography* adding 33 new maps to the 27 old ones, thus compiling an atlas of 60 maps altogether. Gastaldi's edition of Ptolemy's work had several editions in 1561–1599 as well as in the 17th century.

**Regional maps of Polish territories.** To conclude this report I wish to mention some maps of various regions of Poland. Most of such maps concern the regions of Silesia and Livonia, areas in which Polish interests were clashing with German interests at that time. Other maps represent the Oświęcim-Zator Duchy, Pomerania, the Poznań Duchy, and the Połock region.

The first of these, entitled „Ducatus Oswienczimien(sis) et Zatoriensis Descriptio” was prepared by Stanisław Porębski and published at Venice in 1563. It is a detailed map made to the scale 1:100 000, representing the upper part of the Vistula basin up to the river Skawinka in the east; it mentions the tributaries to the Vistula, the major forests, mountainous areas and several score names of localities. As that map had several separate editions, and was included in several European atlases, it got extremely popular. Ortelius was the first to use it in his atlas of 1578, next came Gerard de Jode in the first edition of his *Speculum orbis terrarum*, then Matthias Quad in 1592, and others in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Helvig Martin's map of Silesia to the scale of 1:550 000, of 1561, turned out to have been a considerable cartographic accomplishment. It was highly appreciated and therefore had several editions in 1564, 1642 and in following years. It was also used by Ortelius who included it in his atlases since 1570 onwards. This illustration shows a fragment of the map representing the vicinity of Opole. Apart from Helvig's most renowned map, an equally popular map of „Polonia et Silesia” was prepared in 1595 by Mercator and later included in many editions of atlases that appeared after his death.

There are several maps of Livonia. One of those is Olaus Magnus' map of Northern Europe published at Venice in 1539. It is a 9-sheet woodcut

with thick tracings, with a commentary in Italian. The later editions were in Latin or German, and they appeared till 1567. Analyses of the names included in the map suggest that B. Wapowski or even Copernicus may have participated in the preparation of that map.

Another map of the Livonia region was the map of Prussia by Heinrich Zell composed of four woodcut sheets and published in 1542. It was revised many times and published by Ortelius (since 1570), Gerard de Jode (since 1578), Caspar Schütz (in 1592) and Mattias Quad (in 1594). It seems that the map was prepared with some reliance on the works of Rheticus.

Caspar Henneberger's map of Prussia of 1576 is well known. It is a 9-sheet woodcut to the scale of 1:400 000. The map was reissued in 1595 and had several more editions in the 17th century. A number of adaptations of that map were included in the atlases of Ortelius, Gerard de Jode and others.

Mention should be made of Stanisław Pacholowiecki's map entitled „*Descriptio Ducatus Poloniensis*” published in Rome in 1580. The map was intended to serve during the Polish king Stefan Batory's expeditions to the east. It contains 7 plans of the castles at Połock, Turowla, Sitno, Kozian, Krasny, Susza and Sokoliszczce, all of which were taken during the raid to Połock. Pacholowiecki's map resembles in its form the maps by B. Wapowski.

**Conclusion.** This cursory survey of the 15th and 16th-century maps of Polish territories, which furnishes some examples only, indicates that the links between Polish and Italian cartography were quite vivid then. Apart from Spain—Italy was the main cartographic centre of Europe at that time. Flemish cartography, which was to take a leading position in Europe toward the end of the 16th and in the early 17th centuries, developed later. The cartography of Polish territories was developing steadily, as Poland used to be a powerful country then, thus attracting wide interest. Poland's original cartography, too, began to develop in the 16th century, with Bernard Wapowski, Waclaw Grodecki, Andrzej Pograbeek, Stanisław Porębski, Maciej Strubicz and Stanisław Sarnecki as the most famous names.

I have gathered materials to this report from several sources, yet most of them derive from the *Catalogue of Early Maps of the Polish Commonwealth in the Collection of Emeryk Hutten Czapski and in Others*, which was published by the Institute of Geography and Space Economy of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 1978.

Polish—Italian links in cartography were continued throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Recently, they have been revitalized by the satellite-monitoring station Telespatio at Fucino, providing Poland with photos taken by the land-satellites. This authorizes us to state that Polish—Italian cooperation in cartography has had a centuries-long tradition and now has good outlooks for the future.

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