

**THE IMAGE OF LIVONIA BY HUMANISTS:  
RULING MOTIVES AND DEVELOPMENTS  
IN GENERAL LITERATURE  
FROM AENEAS SILVIUS TO SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER**

by

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**abstract**

This thesis is mostly based on the analysis of information on Livonia found in general works on Germany and the rest of the world, from the fifteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. The survey of the material show the unrivalled authority of Aeneas Silvius' passage in the Humanists' writings about Livonia. Also, various experiments were conducted with the antique authorities, e.g. Tacitus and Ptolemy, proving that the influence of the latter on the cartography of Livonia has been especially long-lasting. However the authors of the sixteenth century: Albertus Krantz, Olaus Magnus and Sebastian Münster, were breaking the old tradition with new information gained from the primary sources.

Livonia seemed to be in the general disposition of the lands on the very edge of the then known world. This liminal position was strengthened by the crusading order's image of *propugnaculum*. Consequently, the Tartars and the local pagans were presented as the threats of the world outside.

The unsolved problem that emerges from the work is the role and development of the scholarly image in a wider context. The world of literate people was furnished with the texts in circulation and thus their influence, especially by the creation of the new text, has proved to have been very important. But the world outside the texts? Problem of this communication can be solved in the future, using various types of sources more extensively.

**Declaration:**

I, the undersigned candidate for the M. A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others and no part of the theses does infringe on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been in this form submitted to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Tallinn, 8.8.1994.

(Signature)

/Juhan Kreem/

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## Introduction

The following work is dealing with information about Livonia as found in the general geographic and historical writings of humanists. The main interest lays in the printed works of wider influence, as the writings of both authors, mentioned in the title, certainly are. Specific information and the experts of Livonian matters have always been present in the very heart of Europe, but the treatises and the maps of the whole World or Germany contain references to Livonia only in a marginal context, and the picture we get from them is not elaborated until the closing of the period under consideration.

In this sense the majority of the sources to be analysed form the top of an iceberg. We could ask different questions about the role of the image scholarly tops had in the wider context. On the one hand, there is the problem of creation: what kind of data became information entering the volumes of the leading humanists? On the other hand, how wide was the impact of these works later, and when were the facts established? An interaction between the scholarly and the non-scholarly world has always existed, but it is very hard to establish the level of interest or ignorance from case to case, and it is too large a task for the scope of this paper.

Therefore, one could put as a feasible goal the establishing of the inner dynamics of the image of Livonia. The internal borrowings of the scholarly community revealed to us by textual analysis and rare direct quotes, expose the most important authorities on the topic. Furthermore, a deeper analysis of some more popular topoi would disclose their place in the world of the writers' ideas. Thus some conjectures could be made for the reasons of an image is appearing in a particular way or about the route information reached an author. In most of the cases the exact source remains unknown, but the detecting of its nature can be conceived of as a partial result.

As the starting point of the my work is the land, and its aim is to find out the patterns of its representation in humanist culture, a quantitative assessment of the material is necessary. Consequently, the amount of material to be used becomes very large causing difficulties. I have tried to solve these problems with the help of the secondary literature, adding my own inquiry only regarding the creation of the most important texts. Relying on the results of earlier scholars is necessary in the attempt to cover so wide a field of writings.

Earlier source criticism has pointed out the weakness of these texts as a document for the history of the people they describe.<sup>1</sup> The reports of foreign travellers have long been recognised as sources of history of some lands.<sup>2</sup> This study is, however, not trying to establish what the case really was, but rather what it was thought to be. Brief statements about Livonia and its people in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries do not give much information about the land itself but rather reveal the way of thinking of their authors. I would not like to deny any connection between the thing itself and its description, but at an early stage we cannot advance in the inquiry from the latter to the former. We must be very precise about the information hidden in the text and about the extent we may interpret it.

Using material from the representations in mathematic cartography to chronicles may give rise to doubt, since the material seems incomparable. But the syncretism of representation of time and space (history and geography respectively), is a phenomenon already occurring in Herodotos. In the medieval tradition both the *mappae mundi* and the *chronographia* present the world in the totality of time and space.<sup>3</sup> Later the *chronicle* of

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<sup>1</sup> The discussion about the sources of the cultural history of Livonia: **L.Arbusow**, "Zur Würdigung der Kultur Altlivlands im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert." In: *Historische Zeitschrift* Bd. 151, 1935. S. 18-47.

<sup>2</sup> **J.M.Lotman**, "K voprosu ob istotnikovedceskom znatenii vyskazyvanii inostrancev o Rossii" [To the Question of the Significance of the Expressions of the Foreigners About Russia] In: *Izbrannye statji*. Tallinn, 1993. T. III. st. 138-145.

<sup>3</sup> **A.-D. v. d.Brincken**, "Mappa Mundi und Chronographia. Studien zur *imago mundi* des abendländischen Mittelalters." In: *Deutsches Archiv*. 1968, 24. S. 118-186.

Hartman Schedel and the *cosmography* of Sebastian Münster contain, despite the different structuring of the material, the same type of universal information. Of course, in Renaissance geography there were followers of different fashions introduced by the mathematical approach of Ptolemy and the more historical Strabo. This can be observed in the schools of Nürnberg and Lothring respectively,<sup>4</sup> but in the general literature, under consideration here, a strict line of demarcation is not necessary.

The belief that these materials form some kind of a corpus that could be subjected to the same analysis, is based on the fact that they very often use each other. This leads us to the even vaguer concept of the humanist paradigm, which in itself cannot be the object of a detailed study in this work. The mere fact of loaning and exchanging references, the sporadic but extant data about a correspondence between our authors, support the working hypothesis about the existence of such paradigm. The homogeneity suggested by this statement could not, however, be more than a working tool for establishing the boundaries of this inquiry. After all, every text is in some way individual and does not necessarily reflect adequately the ruling ideas of the time. The term Humanist<sup>5</sup> is used here because of the need for a common denominator regarding the authors. Although most of the authors to be discussed, are classified as historians by P.Joachimsen,<sup>6</sup> I am of the opinion that this must not be taken very strictly.

The material here examined has been known for a long time. The general study of foreign writings on Livonia has, however, not yet been written.<sup>7</sup> In the 1930s, a Latvian

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<sup>4</sup> **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 111.

<sup>5</sup> For the term humanism see: **P.O.Kristeller**, *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*. (Martin Classical Lectures. Vol. XV.) Cambridge, Mass., 1955. pp. 3-23.

<sup>6</sup> **P.Joachimsen**, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus*. (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Hg. von W.Goetz Bd 6.) Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>7</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Die mittelalterliche Schriftsüberlieferung als Quelle für die Frühgeschichte der ostbaltischen Völker." In: *Baltische Lande*, Bd. I. (Ostbaltische Frühzeit.) Hrsg. v. A.Brackmann und C.Engel. Leipzig, S.Hirzel, 1939. dedicates only three introductory pages to the foreign materials.

professor, A.Spekke dedicated some of his research to the humanist culture<sup>8</sup> and development of the cartographic representation<sup>9</sup> of Livonia. Early cartography of Livonia has been also studied by another great Baltic scholar, L.Arbusow Jr.<sup>10</sup> But no survey of the image of Livonia as it appeared in the early writings of German humanists — starting with Aeneas Silvius — has been conducted. Although imagology has been popular in historiography for a long time, the closest analogy regarding space is the book of L.De Anna about the image of Finland in medieval culture.<sup>11</sup>

As Livonia meant different geographical units during different periods, some clarification is necessary. The name itself derives from the Finno-Ugric tribe of Livs, who inhabited the shores of the Gulf of Riga, and are — by now — almost extinct. As they were the first to be converted to Christianity in the course of the thirteenth-century Crusades,<sup>12</sup> the name was frequently extended also to cover Curonia and Estonia, which together formed a medieval political unit under the rule of the Archbishop of Riga and the Teutonic Order. After the dissolution of this state in the wars of the late sixteenth century, the Baltic provinces emerged, two of which: Estonia (the northern part of today's Estonia) and Livonia (the southern parts of today's Estonia and northern Latvia) fell under Swedish rule. In Curonia, the last master of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order established a dependent duchy. In order to differentiate between the different sizes of the historical Livonia, in scholarship the medieval state was called Old Livonia (*Alt-Livland*), in

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<sup>8</sup> **A.Spekke**, "Die Kultur Livoniens (nach ausländischen Zeugnissen) von der Mitte des 16. bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts." In: *Die Letten*. Riga, 1930. S. 333-357. **A.Spekke**, *Alt-Riga im Lichte eines humanistischen Lobgedichts von 1595*. Riga, 1927. (This work has not been available for me.)

<sup>9</sup> **A.Spekke**, "A Brief Cartographic-Iconographic View of the Eastern Baltic Coast up to the 16th Century." In: *Imago Mundi* V.1948. **A.Spekke**, *The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps*. Stockholm, 1961.

<sup>10</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altlivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 33-119. **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.

<sup>11</sup> **L. de Anna**, *Conoszenza e imagine della Finlandia e del settentrione nella cultura classico-medievale*. (Turun Yliopiston Julkaisusarja. B. Vol. 180.) Turku, 1988.

<sup>12</sup> **E.Christiansen**, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*. London 1980. pp. 89-109.



contrast to the smaller Livonia of later times. However, for the purposes of this work no distinction is necessary, because only the medieval unit will be investigated.

For the disposition of the present work I have found some analogies in German imagologic literature.<sup>13</sup> The first part will concentrate on the story of the texts: narrating their origin, development, reception, and later influence. In the second part some of the most important features of the Livonian image, as revealed in the sources will be sketched. The theoretical basis relies on the temporal difference between structures and events, as developed and treated in the work of Koselleck.<sup>14</sup> I have found it efficient to deal with these different temporal characters in different chapters: analysing the texts as events in the first chapter, and treating the image as a structure in the second.

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<sup>13</sup> **D.Gebel**, *Nicolaus Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Bilder der außereuropäischen Welt als Spiegelung europaisäischer Sozialverhältnisse im 15. Jh.* Diss. Hamburg, 1977. **F.Schmieder**, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes von 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 16.) Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1994.

<sup>14</sup> **R.Koselleck**, "Representation, Event and Structure." In: *Futures Past*. London, 1985.

## The Story of the Texts.

### Medieval Preconditions

The roots of the information about Livonia in the European scholarly literature are older than the medieval province itself. The first use of the name is, in fact, found in Scandinavian Runic inscriptions.<sup>15</sup> One of the first attempts to extend the European horizon beyond the known lands was made on the map of al Idrisi,<sup>16</sup> the Arabian cartographer of the Sicilian king Roger II, and in the chronicle of the Adam of Bremen.<sup>17</sup> Both authors record names from the eastern Baltic, but their neighbouring the islands of Amazons indicate the highly liminal character of these remarks. The actual discovery of the region started in the thirteenth century with the northern Crusades<sup>18</sup> and the integration of the province into the trade-structure of the Hanse.

In the Bartholomeus Anglicus' encyclopaedia, *De proprietatibus rerum*,<sup>19</sup> we can find a few paragraphs dealing with the different lands of eastern Baltic: *Liunia*, *Rivalia*, *Sambia*, *Semigallia*, *Uironia*. The texts are organised in alphabetical order in different chapters, sometimes (in case of *Rivalia* and *Uironia*) there are cross references. Besides

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<sup>15</sup> **A.Spekke**, "A Brief Cartographic-Iconographic View of the Eastern Baltic Coast up to the 16th Century." In: *Imago Mundi* V.1948. p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> The basic treatment of these matters may be found in **O.I.Tuulio (Tallgren)**, "Idrisi. La Finlande et les autres pays Baltiques Orientaux." In: *Studia Orientalia*. III, Helsingforsiae, 1930.; **R.Ekblom**. "Idrisi und die Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer." In: *Namn och Bygd. Tidskrift för Nordisk Ortsnamnforskning*. 1931. I-II

<sup>17</sup> See **S.Günther**, *Adam von Bremen der erste deutsche Geograph*. Prag, 1894.; **O.Schlüter**, "Adams von Bremen geographische Vorstellungen vom Norden." In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XVI, 1910.

<sup>18</sup> **E.Christiansen**, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*. London 1980.

<sup>19</sup> Written ca. 1240. Edition of the text used here: **Bartholomeus Anglicus**, *Liber de proprietatibus rerum*. Lib. XV Nürnberg, 1483. **R.Steele**, **W.Morris**, *Medieval Lore from Bartholomew Anglicus*, London, 1905. pp 181-182. The excerpts on the Livonian provinces also in: "Siebenzenh Capitel aus Bartholomäus Anglicus Werke *de proprietatibus rerum*" In: *Verhandlungen der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat* VII, H. 3. S. 78-105. Dorpat, 1873.

general notes about nature and vague remarks on the location of the land,<sup>20</sup> Bartholomeus also integrated a more precise information about the subordination of *Rivalia* and *Uironia* to the Danes.

The work of Anglicus was still respected also in the fifteenth century, as it was many times republished.<sup>21</sup> It was used in the geographical part of the famous incunabulum *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, published in Lübeck.<sup>22</sup> The description of the lands is inserted in the first part of the chronicle which was, presumably, compiled as a textbook for mendicant orders.<sup>23</sup> It is curious why the outdated material rendered by Bartholomeus Anglicus had been copied, since Lübeck, a town in close connection with the Hanseatic towns of Livonia, must have had more up-to-date information. Bartholomeus mentions that *Vironia* and *Rivalia* are subjected to the king of Denmark, which was the case during his time, but not longer by the end of the fifteenth century.

The text of Bartholomeus was not only re-edited but also incorporated into the new, general works. The descriptions of *Livonia*, *Vironia* and *Rivalia* were rewritten and combined in the *Weltbuch*<sup>24</sup> of Sebastian Franck (See p. 29). The more indirect influence, as the descriptions of the pagan rites and the nature of these lands could not be excluded either in the other cases. The schemes established, seem to have a very long afterlife.

The scholarly cartography of the high Middle Ages, the round world maps, *mappae mundi*,<sup>25</sup> treat northern Europe only marginally. The earliest of them had no place for the

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<sup>20</sup> **Bartholomeus Anglicus**, Liber de proprietatibus rerum. Nürnberg 1483. *Sambia: Est terra palustris et nemorosa. multis fluminibus et lacubus circumullata. Liuania: Liuania scitie regionis est prouincia specialis. que longo maris oceam interiectu a finibus germanie est diuisa cuius in cole liuones antiquitus vocabantur.*

<sup>21</sup> **R.Steele, W.Morris**, *Medieval Lore...* pp. 181-182. Bibliography (1480-1609) names 49 editions, 21 of them incunabulas.

<sup>22</sup> **Rudimentum Novitiorum**. Lübeck, 1475. by Lucas Brandis. Reproductions of the illustrations: **H.Kunze**, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 15. Jh.* Leipzig, 1975. Bildband, 194-199.

<sup>23</sup> **H.Kunze**, *Geschichte der Buchillustration...* Textband, 285-286.

<sup>24</sup> **Sebastian Franck**, *Weltbuch*. Tübingen, 1534. Fol. 29v-30; 82.

<sup>25</sup> **A.-D. v. d.Brincken**, "Mappa Mundi und Chronographia. Studien zur *imago mundi* des abendländischen Mittelalters." In: *Deutsches Archiv*. 1968, 24. S. 118-186. (Overview); **K.Miller**, *Mappae Mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*. H.I-VI. Stuttgart, 1898. (Well-commented collection of reproductions and

Baltic world.<sup>26</sup> Through its hypothetical location run the coast of the world ocean. The body of the Baltic sea with some Livonian toponymes (*Duna, Riga Livonie civitas hic, Semigallia, Curlant, Memela fluvius*), appears on the biggest *mappa mundi* of Ebstorf, from the late thirteenth century.<sup>27</sup> This is the most detailed picture that we can get from this tradition. Another of the large thirteenth century *mappa mundis* from Hereford,<sup>28</sup> depicts the Baltic world without such exact place names. Looking from the perspective of the Christian world of the thirteenth century, the entire north is a frontier region of pagans, or newly converted people.<sup>29</sup> So, it is no wonder, that on that type of total diagram of the world and its history as the *mappa mundi*,<sup>30</sup> there was not much place left for such marginal areas.

As the result of the use of compass and coastal descriptions from the thirteenth century on the *portolanos* developed in the Mediterranean world. They were designed without any system of projection, and were covered with compass roses and lines for finding the right course. Originally, the *portolanos* only concentrated on the coastline, but later also information about the inland was introduced.<sup>31</sup> Although the focus of their interest lay in the Mediterranean, the representation of the *portolanos* extended also to the north. The subsequent development of the cartographic presentation of the Baltic<sup>32</sup> is closely connected with these maps.

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text-editions); **M.Destombes**, *Mappemondes* (Monumenta cartographica vetustioris aevi. 1200-1500. Bd. I. ) Amsterdam, 1964. (Extensive catalogue.)

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Commentary of the Apocalypse of Beatus of Liébana (between 776 and 786) **K.Miller**, *Mappae Mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*. H.I. Stuttgart, 1898.

<sup>27</sup> **K.Miller**, *Mappae Mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*. H.V. Stuttgart, 1896.

<sup>28</sup> **K.Miller**, *Mappae Mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*. H. IV. Stuttgart, 1896.

<sup>29</sup> **E.Christiansen**, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*. London 1980.

<sup>30</sup> **A.-D. v. d.Brincken**, "Mappa Mundi und Chronographia. Studien zur *imago mundi* des abendländischen Mittelalters." In: *Deutsches Archiv*. 1968, 24. S. 124-125.

<sup>31</sup> **H.-C.Freiesleben**, *Geschichte der Navigation*. Wiesbaden, 1976. S.10.

<sup>32</sup> **A.-D. v. d.Brincken**, "Die kartographische Darstellung Nordeuropas durch Italienische und Mallorquinische Portolanzeichner im 14. und in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts." In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 92. Jg., 1974. S. 45-58.

The oldest extant *portolano* with the picture of the Baltic world designed by Genoese Giovanni da Carignano (+ 1344),<sup>33</sup> 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 staple station of the trade with the north and, consequently, the last station for the Mediterranean ships.<sup>34</sup> The main stops, connected with the trade and navigation (*Oxilia*, *Gothlandia*, *Riga*, *Nogardia*)<sup>35</sup> are marked on the map of Carignano, but the entire sea is left out of the net of compass lines and the coastline became more conjectural east of Denmark. The shape of the sea on the map of Carignano's map suggests, that even if the Baltic was sailed by the Italians, that did not happen frequently. The most plausible explanation is that knowledge about the north, as represented by the *portolanos*, was received randomly from the big transit ports of Flanders.

The highest quality of the *portolanos* was achieved by the Catalan school.<sup>36</sup> The *portolano* of Angelino Dalorto (1325)<sup>37</sup> did not make much progress in the depiction of the coast of the eastern Baltic. Still, it mentions a few new locations *Vironja* (Wirland), *Rivalia* (Reval?), and *Ungardia* (Ingermanland?).<sup>38</sup> In general, the image of the *portolanos* remained conservative because of the Hanseatic monopoly in the North. In the Baltic, sailing directions<sup>39</sup> were in use for practical navigation, instead of the maps. Later, however, the tradition of place-names, created by the *portolanos*, was more easily

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<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, S. 50. Abb. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, S. 54.

<sup>35</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 42.

<sup>36</sup> **A.-D. v. d.Brincken**, "Die kartographische Darstellung Nordeuropas durch Italienische und Mallorquinische Portolanzeichner im 14. und in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts." In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 92. Jg., 1974. S. 52.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, Abb. 3., S. 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.

<sup>38</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 42.

<sup>39</sup> **K.Koppmann**, *Seebuch*, 1876. (publication of the earliest manuscripts) **W.Behrmann**, *Über die niederdeutschen Seebücher des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1906.

available for the drawers of the new Ptolemaic maps (see p. 15) than information of the Nordic sailing directions.

### Translation of Ptolemy

The translation of the Geography of Ptolemy into Latin by Jacobus Angelus in 1406 and the first supplement of 27 maps,<sup>40</sup> marks the establishment of Ptolemy's authority in map-making. The influence of his principles of systematisation has profoundly effected Renaissance culture.<sup>41</sup> Geographers of Western Europe started to address the problems of map projection, and this spurred the appearance of new maps.<sup>42</sup> Although all theory of mapping was available in scholastic philosophy,<sup>43</sup> the making of the maps according to rules of projection did not start in Europe before the early fifteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

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 (*Sarmatico oceano*). Sarmatia was divided between Europe and Asia and populated with tribes (*Carothae, Pagirithae*) whose names by then were not in use. 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 fabulous but, at the same time, it is impossible to find correct equivalents for them. Already Renaissance cartographers attempted it, 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.

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<sup>40</sup> **L.Bagrow**, R.A.Skelton, *Meister der Kartographie*. Berlin, 1973. S. 92.

<sup>41</sup> **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.

<sup>42</sup> **M.Boas**, *The Scientific Renaissance*. London, 1962. p. 33.

<sup>43</sup> **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.

<sup>44</sup> **J.Keuning**, "The history of geographical map projections until 1600" In: *Imago mundi*. XII 1970. p. 2-3.

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 named *Tabulae Modernae extra Ptolemaeum*. The first of this kind was the map of Northern countries, by the Dane Claudius Clavus.<sup>45</sup> The Clavus map has a special place among the other *Tabulae Modernae*, because it was not merely adding information into 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,<sup>46</sup> made for Guillaume Fillastre, canon of Rheims. As this is first of all the map of Scandinavia, the Baltic is marginalised. The sea was given more upper direction than on the *portolanos* 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 Vienna MS<sup>47</sup> which contains a list of co-ordinates. Clavus mentions Livonia, but the rivers (4), and bays (7), are only numbered.<sup>48</sup>

Editions of Claudius Clavus' map made by Henricus Martellus and Nicolaus Germanus have initiated a whole series of variants.<sup>49</sup> The map edited by Nicolaus Germanus was finally printed in the first trans-Alpine edition of Ptolemy, in Ulm in 1482.<sup>50</sup> On this map we can find place-names (*liuonia, roderin flautena, uironia, Riga*) originating from the *portolanos*. The scheme of Clavus' cartographic representation has

<sup>45</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> A.E.Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*. Stockholm, 1889. (Reprint: New York, 1973.) Fig. 27.

<sup>47</sup> 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. S. 130-152.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, S. 138.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem. S. 13-64.

<sup>50</sup> Claudius Ptolemaios, *Geographia*. Ulm, 1482. (Reprint: Amsterdam, 1963.)

remained the same. Characteristic of this edition of Ptolemy is 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, bares in Sarmatia the Ptolemaic place and tribe-names. Clavus' map, supplemented by modern place names, provided by Nicolaus Germanus, is presented separately.

From the early fifteenth century on the tradition of co-ordinated tables and maps can be observed. This is referred to by D.B.Durand, the "Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus."<sup>51</sup> 1425 to 1450 were the most productive years of the centres of mathematic geography in Vienna and at the monastery at Klosterneuburg.<sup>52</sup> The roots of this scholarship reached back into the medieval mathematic astronomy,<sup>53</sup> but later also the work of Ptolemy was used.<sup>54</sup> Much of the cartographic tradition, practised in the Vienna-Klosterneuburg school, came from the medieval *portolanos* and *mappamundis*. This kind of synthesis is also characteristic of the two fifteenth century *mappamundis* of Andrea Walsperger (1448)<sup>55</sup> and Fra Mauro (1459), respectively.<sup>56</sup> The first is considered to be in direct connection with the Vienna-Klosterneuburg tradition,<sup>57</sup> the second clearly displays the influences of the *portolanos*.

On the co-ordinate tables and reconstructed maps, published by Durand, we can find their characteristic selection of Livonian place names: Riga, Dorpat, Reval and Narva.<sup>58</sup> It is difficult to establish the reason for this selection or the person's identity by whom the co-ordinates were measured. It probably marks the main trading centres with

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<sup>51</sup> **D.B.Durand**, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus of the fifteenth century: A study in transition from medieval to modern science*. Leiden, 1952.

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, p. 29.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, p. 102.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, p. 124-125.

<sup>55</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 37.

<sup>56</sup> **A.Spekke**, *The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps*. Stockholm, 1961. Plate IV. pp. 26-30.

<sup>57</sup> **D.B.Durand**, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus of the fifteenth century: A study in transition from medieval to modern science*. Leiden, 1952. p. 209-211.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, appendices: 7. p. 347; 12. p. 378; 13. p. 389; 14. pp. 391-392, 445-447; 15. pp. 458-459; 16. p. 479.



the Russians. In the legends of the largest map of the Vienna-Klosterneuburg collection, in the *Nova Cosmographia*, most of the Livonian towns are claimed to be Russian.<sup>59</sup> 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.

As the next step in the development of Livonian cartographic image Nicolaus Cusanus' map of central Europe<sup>60</sup> 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 *portolanos* the Baltic Sea extends from east to west. In the north, the shore of the Baltic is drawn together so that Lake Mälär (*Melar aqua*) and the Narva River (*Narba fl.*) are pictured side by side. Novgorod is placed near Livonia. It seems that the knowledge of Cusanus about 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*).<sup>61</sup> 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,<sup>62</sup> and that might have been one of the reasons for his competence.

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<sup>59</sup> 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 hauptstat in stat Eyffenlant [...]* 3 15.20 46.20 *Narbo ein gut stat in Blesgan*.

<sup>60</sup> A.Spekke, *The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps*. Stockholm, 1961. Plate VI.

<sup>61</sup> Comparative table of the toponymes of the versions of Cusanus' map can be found in: L.Arbusow, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altlivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 60-61.

<sup>62</sup> K.Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography*. Warszawa, 1966. p. 29.

As one of the possible sources for the map, K.Buczek has named the sketch map of Peter von Wormditt,<sup>63</sup> the one he drew in 1413 for the Pope to demonstrate that the diocese of Dorpat was not situated in Sweden.<sup>64</sup> Although the question whether the map was the source is hypothetical, its existence gives us an idea about the level of information Papal court had in the early fifteenth century about the North.

### Aeneas Silvius

The fifteenth century, which we now pathetically call the age of discoveries, witnesses in addition to the discoveries of the new territories, also the attempts to integrate and treat systematically the ones already known. It was made in the works of different amount and system, the genre of which is somewhat difficult to establish. The mixing of geography with history, already used by Strabo, can be pointed out as the main characteristics of this development. The first fundamental humanist text on Europe, written by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius II, is exactly this type of treatment of the cosmos in space and time.

The person of Aeneas Silvius has been much admired by the scholars of the Renaissance. In the works of J. Burckhardt he appears as the "mirror of his surroundings"<sup>65</sup> and in one of his letters J. Burckhardt also calls him *mein Liebling*.<sup>66</sup> Another great student of the Renaissance, G.Voigt, despite his different approach towards the person of Aeneas Silvius,<sup>67</sup> is investigating the entire epoch through this humanist. Whatever was so fascinating about Aeneas, to make his biographers use such beautiful

<sup>63</sup> P.Nieborowski, *Peter von Wormditt*, Breslau, 1915. p. 114.

<sup>64</sup> K.Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography*. Warszawa, 1966. p. 26.

<sup>65</sup> J.Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Berlin, Safari Verlag, 1941. S. 130. (*Die Entdeckung der Welt und des Menschen*.)

<sup>66</sup> B.Widmer, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini in der sittlichen und politischen Entscheidung*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 88) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 2.

<sup>67</sup> G.Voigt, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. Bd I-III, 1856-1863. One more example of the biographies is W.Boulting, *Aeneas Silvius (Enea Silvio de Piccolomini – Pius II). Orator, man of letters, statesman and pope*. London, 1908.

words about him? His unrivalled ability to describe the things he had seen,<sup>68</sup> must be one aspect in his production. His writings give information about these parts of Europe which had been poorly or not at all covered by earlier scholars. This leaves a lot of material for German humanists to follow and makes him in term the "Apostle of the Humanism".<sup>69</sup> But no less attractive is the lure of life itself, this *varia vivendi cupidus*,<sup>70</sup> by what he and his writings are led.

In the literary activities of Aeneas Silvius the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* (known also as *Cosmographia*), containing the page<sup>71</sup> relevant to the present topic, was an undertaking of his later years. He originally planned to cover the whole world and treat its history in brief in the cosmographical approach. The two pieces, preserved under the name *Europa* and *Asia*, were not considered by him as final versions. The first notes about *De Europa* are from March 1458, but he died before realising his entire plan.<sup>72</sup>

Despite its incompleteness, the *Cosmographia* reveals some of the intentions of its author. Its lively style in introducing interesting stories, immediately catches the reader's attention, while the quest for conciseness is also evident. Although Aeneas has included by-passages and in some cases plunged into details, his goal does not seem to have been an exhausting encyclopaedia, covering the sum available knowledge. The page about Livonia represents a compromise between those two claims.

Diverging from the Ptolemaic system which starts from the West Aeneas' description of Europe begins with Hungary, Turkey, the Balkans and Austria. On the one

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<sup>68</sup> **B. Widmer**, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini in der sittlichen und politischen Entscheidung*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 88) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 10.

<sup>69</sup> **G. Voigt**, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. Bd I, S. 351.

<sup>70</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)** *Commentarii rerum memorabilium*. II, 398. (quoted after **B. Widmer**, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini in der sittlichen und politischen Entscheidung*. Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 24.).

<sup>71</sup> **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 nouveaux matériaux pour l'histoire de la cartographie et de l'iconographie de l'Ancienne Livonie" In: *Acta Universitatis Latvienensis Phil. Serie II*, 2. Riga, 1932. was not at my disposal.

<sup>72</sup> **G. Voigt**, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. Bd II, S. 333.

hand, it could be the reflection of Aeneas' own experience of the time of his service in the chancellery of Frederick III, on the other hand, it was also the result of the preoccupation of Aeneas Silvius: the organisation of a crusade against the advancing Turks, whose history and customs he also describes in detail.<sup>73</sup> For Aeneas East was the place of the crucial fights of his times. Generally his concern about the struggle against the infidels left indelible marks in many places of the work. One of the most famous passages contains the description of the pagan rites of the Lithuanians.<sup>74</sup> This leitmotif can also be observed in the text on Livonia .

G.Voigt noted that in this work Silvius mostly repeated what he had written in his earlier texts.<sup>75</sup> This can be held true for some cases, but the text on Livonia seems to have been prepared only during the writing of *Cosmographia*. In the letters of Silvius we can find references to Livonia, and to the Baltic Sea. These will be the main components of the future paragraph, but in his correspondence they appear as sub-clauses in the discussion about the Teutonic Order.<sup>76</sup> Half of the paragraph of twenty lines on Livonia, in *De Europa*, deals with the actual province,<sup>77</sup> the rest is dedicated to the Baltic Sea and the neighbours of Livonia.

The exact source of the description of Livonia is unclear. I have already quoted the letters of Aeneas Silvius, but there is a reason to believe that his competence on the

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<sup>73</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis. Francofurti, 1707.:Asia, c.100.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem, *De Europa*, c. 26.

<sup>75</sup> **G.Voigt**, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. Bd II, S. 334.

<sup>76</sup> The letter to Johann Vitez, Bishop of Großwardein, from Wiener-Neustadt Summer, 1454. In: Der briefwechsel des **Eneas Silvius Piccolomini**. (Hg. Rudolf Wolk.) Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Abt. II, Bd. 68. Wien, 1918. Nr. 291. S. 515-516.

<sup>77</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis. Francofurti, 1707. *De Europa*, c. 28: *Liunia deinde cristianorum ultima prouintiarum ad septentrione Ruthenis iungitur. Tartari eam saepe incurrunt. In qua nostra aetate magnas acceperunt strages fratres theutonici qui beatae Mariae uocantur: hanc armis quaesiuerunt & christi sacra suscipere coegerunt: cum esset antea gentilis & idola coleret. Eam alluit ab occidenti mare balthicum, quod plerique veter oceanum esse putauerunt. Nondum septentrio, ut hodie cognitus graecis atque italica fuit. Cristiana religio hanc orbis partem nostro generi aperuit quae fortissimis gentibus detersa, barbaris mitioris uitae cultum ostendit.*

subject was greater than the above excerpt suggests. In 1457 Piccolomini was made Bishop of Ermland, in Prussia. This led to his involvement in the conflicts between the Teutonic Order, the Polish king, and the Prussian towns.<sup>78</sup> Aeneas' main goal may have been to establish peace and unify the forces against the Turks, but having been elected pope, he had little time to concern himself with Prussian affairs. The whole episode suggests that at some point Aeneas Silvius was actively involved in the politics of the eastern Baltic and could have possessed some information even about Livonia.

There is also a possibility, that Aeneas Silvius heard something about Livonia from Jerome of Prague, in Basel. Along with the description of the pagan rites of the Lithuanians, the meeting between Jerome and Silvius is reported in *De Europa*, in detail.<sup>79</sup> But the description of Livonia in another general chapter,<sup>80</sup> integrating the placement of the Baltic Sea and the advent of the Order into the story, have been rendered by anyone with experience regarding the Hanseatic region. Therefore only the emphasis on pagan rites, could be connected with the experiences of Jerome.

The profound influence of Aeneas Silvius on German humanism was already noted by the scholarship of the last century.<sup>81</sup> Clearly besides his personal contacts and his

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<sup>78</sup> The political history of the time is described in detail by: **W.Urban**, "Renaissance Humanism in Prussia: Early Humanism in Prussia." In: *Journal of Baltic Studies*. Vol. XXII, 1. (Spring 1991.) pp. 29-72. pp. 54-58.

<sup>79</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis. Francofurti, 1707. *De Europa*, c. 26.

<sup>80</sup> The chapter of Silvius is according to **L.Arbusow**, "Die mittelalterliche Schriftsüberlieferung als Quelle für die Frühgeschichte der ostbaltischen Völker." In: *Baltische Lande*, Bd. I. (Ostbaltische Frühzeit.) Hrsg. v. A.Brackmann und C.Engel. Leipzig, S.Hirzel, 1939. hollow (*inhaltsleer*).

<sup>81</sup> **G.Voigt**, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. Bd I, S. 351. **A.Weiss**, *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. Sein Leben und Einfluss auf die literarische Cultur Deutschlands*. (Rede. Mit 149 Bisher ungedruckten Briefen.) Graz, 1897.

correspondence, especially during his stay in the service of Frederick III,<sup>82</sup> the manuscripts of his writings were widely spread, even before their printing.<sup>83</sup>

*Europa* and *Asia* originally circulated in manuscripts and in early prints separately. Among the incunabula editions we can also find a smaller selection — containing among the descriptions of Prussia and Lithuania — the passage *De Livonia*,<sup>84</sup> which matches the chapter in the later editions of *De Europa*.<sup>85</sup> *Asia* and *Europa* were brought together under the name *Cosmographia* in the sixteenth century editions only.<sup>86</sup>

Advancing along these lines, we find the text of Aeneas Silvius added to the *Liber Chronicarum* of Hartman Schedel.<sup>87</sup> This chronicle, in fact the sum of the efforts of the Nürnberg humanist circle, was richly illustrated and is most renown because of its town scapes.<sup>88</sup> In his compilation, Hartman Schedel, the physician of Nürnberg, used the chronicle of the Italian Jacobus Philippus Foresta da Bergamo, and medieval German chronicles as well.<sup>89</sup> The extensive library of the older cousin of Hartman, Herman Schedel, by containing several works of Aeneas Silvius,<sup>90</sup> must have been used as an additional source.

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<sup>82</sup> **A.Weiss**, *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. Sein Leben und Einfluss auf die literarische Cultur Deutschlands*. (Rede. Mit 149 Bisher ungedruckten Briefen.) Graz, 1897. S. 65- 80. **B.Widmer**, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Papst Pius II. Biographie und ausgewählte Texte aus seinem Schriften*. Basel- Stuttgart, 1960. S. 86-87.

<sup>83</sup> **B.Widmer**, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Papst Pius II. Biographie und ausgewählte Texte aus seinem Schriften*. Basel- Stuttgart, 1960. S. 85.

<sup>84</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, *De situ et origine Pruthenorum. De Livonia. De bello Turcorum et Hungarorum. De officio et origine heraldorum*. Köln, 1472.

<sup>85</sup> E.g. **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, *Europa*. Venetia, 1501.

<sup>86</sup> **D.Gebel**, *Nicolaus Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Bilder der außereuropäischen Welt als Spiegelung europäischer Sozialverhältnisse im 15. Jh.* Diss. Hamburg, 1977. S. 68.

<sup>87</sup> **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. S. 368-381.

<sup>88</sup> Full catalogue and reproductions in **E.Rücker**, *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik. Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit*. Prestel-Verlag, München, 1973. S. 85-135.

<sup>89</sup> The overview of other sources is given by: **E.Rücker**, *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik. Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit*. Prestel-Verlag, München, 1973. 36-42.

<sup>90</sup> **B.Widmer**, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Papst Pius II. Biographie und ausgewählte Texte aus seinem Schriften*. Basel- Stuttgart, 1960. S. 89.

In the medieval arrangement of the *Liber Chronicarum*, in seven periods of world history, the compilation from the works of Silvius, describing Europe, was added after the Apocalypse; thus it does not belong organically in the structure of the book. Concerning the paragraph on Livonia:<sup>91</sup> it has been shortened by the omission of the description of the Baltic Sea. The cheap, pirate edition of Augsburg<sup>92</sup> contains the same, short format.

Livonia appears also in two maps of the Schedel's Chronicle. The Map of Central Europe, a version of the map of Nicolaus Cusanus (see p. 17), completed by the Nürnberg physician Hieronymus Münzer,<sup>93</sup> only marks the name of the land, near the right margin. The appearance of Livonia in the world map<sup>94</sup> is more surprising. Compared with the other parts of Europe, the southern and eastern parts of the Baltic Sea region seem to be over-represented on this map. In the Augsburg edition this was changed: those details of the original can no longer be found.

The original edition of Schedel's chronicle was not a great financial success. The pirate edition of Augsburg seems to have been fared better, as there were made even some reprints of it. Although Schedel's chronicle was criticised as mere compilation and outdated,<sup>95</sup> still it was the first step on the way to such works as Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography*. In form and layout the *Liber Chronicarum* remained the model for a long time.

The long-term impact of Aeneas Silvius upon humanist writings on Livonia will be analysed later in this study. Regarding the long-lasting effect of his text, his authority

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<sup>91</sup> **Hartman Schedel**, Das buch der Chroniken. Nürnberg, 1493. Fol. 278.

<sup>92</sup> **Hartman Schedel**, Liber Chronicarum. Augsburg, 1496.

<sup>93</sup> Unnumbered page at the end of the chronicle, reproduced in: **A.E.Nordenskiöld**, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*. Stockholm, 1889. (Reprint: New York, 1973.) Fig. 5. **E.P.Goldschmidt**, *Hieronymus Münzer und seine Bibliothek*. (Studies of the Warburg Institute. 4.) London, 1938.

<sup>94</sup> **Hartman Schedel**, Liber Chronicarum. Nürnberg, 1493. Fol. 12v-13. Good reproduction can be found in: **Fr.G.Schultheiss**, "Das geographische in Hartman Schedels Liber Chronicarum 1493." In: *Globus, Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder und Völkerkunde*. 1894. LXV, S. 9.

<sup>95</sup> **P.Joachimsen**, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus*. (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Hg. von W.Goetz Bd 6.) Leipzig, 1910. S. 90.

among the humanists, and the concise form of his writing must be considered. The text on Livonia, although written in the lively style of Silvius, gives the basic facts, thus making it suitable for later use. Of course Hanseats could have added to it, and would have written the story differently, but they never wrote it, and for the purposes of humanist scholars, the paragraph of Silvius was exact enough.

### ***Germania Illustrata.***

A deeper reading of the classics, and especially the revival of Tacitus,<sup>96</sup> brought along into humanism, north of the Alps, a fashion of associating old texts with contemporary situation. The changing of the names of tribes, and places, and the appearing of the new units after the end of Antiquity, were not the only problem in this venture. There was a lack of comprehensive and up-to-date works on the German lands, in general.

The work of the Italian historian Flavio Biondo *Italia Illustrata*, which addressed the problem of the topography in the antique and in the new Italy,<sup>97</sup> was adopted as model by the German arch-humanist, Conrad Celtis.<sup>98</sup> The description of Nürnberg (1495) of Celtis, was planned only as a part of his future project: *Germania Illustrata*.<sup>99</sup> In addition to cosmographic attempts, the idea to cover the geography and history of Germany in a type of *Germania Illustrata*, became one of the central efforts of the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century German humanism. The *Germania* of Tacitus formed one of the bases of the project, but the attempts vary from plain commentaries of his text to works which had Germany as a starting point for their historico-geographical investigations.

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<sup>96</sup> **P.Joachimsen**, "Tacitus im Deutschen Humanismus" In: **P.Joachimsen**, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Aalen, 1970. S. 275-295.

<sup>97</sup> **P.Joachimsen**, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung ...* S. 23-25.

<sup>98</sup> Ibidem, S. 155ff.; **L.Spitz**, *Conrad Celtis. The German Arch-Humanist*. Cambridge. Mass., 1957.

<sup>99</sup> **P.Joachimsen**, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung ...* S. 157.: *praeludium quoddam Germaniae illustratae, quae in manibus est*.



One of the earliest efforts made in the direction of *Germania Illustrata*, was patronised by Wilibald Pirckheimer<sup>100</sup> who later composed his own geographical work (see p. 27), was Johannes Cohlæus' *Brevis Germaniae Descriptio*.<sup>101</sup> This work was planned as a textbook, serving the Humanists' educational reforms.<sup>102</sup>

As an experienced author of Latin textbook, Cohlæus tried from the very beginning to make his book also into a pleasant reading.<sup>103</sup> Presumably Aeneas Silvius' writings had been used for the passages about Livonia,<sup>104</sup> but it is also easy to observe Cohlæus' creative attitude towards his source. He slightly rewrites the sentences, makes new divisions between the paragraphs, and also introduces classical sources, such as Tacitus and Strabo. Nevertheless, alltoo rich and complicated language of the book and the fact that it was the first attempt at a textbook on the subject, without a working prototype, had made it a failure.

In 1518, *Germania exegesis* by Franz Irenicus was published in Nürnberg.<sup>105</sup> He had gathered a remarkable number of sources, but was unable to treat them critically.<sup>106</sup> The points where Irenicus refers to Livonia are in the first place, connected with the appearance of the *Lemovii* by Tacitus,<sup>107</sup> including his discussion of the German origin of Livonians. Exceptionally the name of Aeneas Silvius is, often mentioned in the text, but Irenicus never uses direct transcription. It is remarkable how he rewrote the chapter about the Conversion of Livonia,<sup>108</sup> making reference to his favourite topics: the wars of

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<sup>100</sup> Ibidem, S. 168.

<sup>101</sup> **Johannes Cohlæus**, *Brevis Germaniae Descriptio*. Nürnberg, 1512. (Hg. K.Langosch) Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte der Neuzeit. Bd. I, Darmstadt, 1960.

<sup>102</sup> **J.Overfield**, "Germany," In: *The Renaissance in the National Context*, ed. R.Porter and M.Teich. Cambridge, 1992. p. 103-106.

<sup>103</sup> **Johannes Cohlæus**, *Brevis Germaniae Descriptio*. Nürnberg, 1512. (Hg. K.Langosch) Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte der Neuzeit. Bd. I, Darmstadt, 1960. Einleitung von K.Langosch, S. 14.

<sup>104</sup> Ibidem, lib. VI c.26-27.; lib. VII, 17.

<sup>105</sup> **Franz Irenicus**, *Germaniae exegesis*. Nürnberg, 1518.

<sup>106</sup> **P.Joachimssen**, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus*. (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Hg. von W.Goetz Bd 6.) Leipzig, 1910. S.173.

<sup>107</sup> **Franz Irenicus**, *Germaniae exegesis*. Nürnberg, 1518. Lib. I c. xlii

<sup>108</sup> Ibidem, Lib. V c. xlviii (ultimum): *De captione Liunoniae*.

Antiquity, comparing the Teutonic Order with Hannibal's army. At the end of the chapter the author notes, that he had read everything in Aeneas Silvius. This is only correct to a limits: the style of the passage is the creation of Irenicus' own.

Irenicus has also used Ptolemy, and in his description of Denmark he repeats with variations, the gulfs and islands of Claudius Clavus' *Tabula moderna* (see p. 15).<sup>109</sup> He, however, left out the toponyms of the *portolanos*. Instead, at another place he listed the three episcopal towns: Riga, Reval and Hapsal.<sup>110</sup> As is evident, the historical and geographical information of Irenicus is spread in the whole work in a confusing way. This large book, with its ambition to treat most of the available sources, was already criticised by the contemporaries,<sup>111</sup> and remained the last such undertaking of its author.<sup>112</sup>

In the special commentaries of Tacitus, the notes about Livonia are more concise, but also out of the contents of his original text. For example, Andreas Althamer in his book *Commentaria Germaniae*,<sup>113</sup> undertakes some etymological analysis of Tacitus' passages about *Lemovii*, *Aestii* and *Oxoinas*.<sup>114</sup> In those peoples he identifies the Livonians, Estonians and Osilians.<sup>115</sup> His sources for Livonia were, according to his own statement, the respective passages in works of Ptolemy and Raphael Volaterranus.<sup>116</sup> The latter author, whose encyclopaedic work was published in 1530 also in Basel,<sup>117</sup> however, used the writings of Aeneas Silvius. Perhaps Althamer has also studied the work of Silvius in the original, but a number of his sentences<sup>118</sup> clearly originate from

<sup>109</sup> Ibidem, Lib. X c. xx: *Descriptio Daniae*.

<sup>110</sup> Ibidem, Lib. IX c. xx: *De ciuitatibus nationum & gentium Germaniae*.

<sup>111</sup> **P.Joachimsen**, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus*. (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Hg. von W.Goetz Bd 6.) Leipzig, 1910. S. 181.

<sup>112</sup> Ibidem, S. 183.

<sup>113</sup> Published first time 1529, Here the second edition is used: **Andreas Althamer**, *Commentaria Germaniae*. Nürnberg, 1536.

<sup>114</sup> **Andreas Althamer**, *Commentaria Germaniae*. Nürnberg, 1536. Fol. 313, 323, 336-337.

<sup>115</sup> The Estonian inhabitants of the island Ösel (*Saaremaa*) near the coast of Estonia.

<sup>116</sup> **Andreas Althamer**, *Commentaria Germaniae*. Nürnberg, 1536. fol. 313.

<sup>117</sup> **Raphael Volaterranus**, *Commentariorum Urbanorum*. Basel, 1530.

<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, fol. 80v, lib. VII: *Leuonij postremi Germanorum ad littus Venedicum ad paralellum fere Scandinaviae insulae*,

Volaterranus. As far as Ptolemy is concerned, Althamer probably refers to the third book of Ptolemy's *Geography*, dealing with the region, but not mentioning Livonia. In some printed editions of *Geographia*, the information of *Tabula Moderna* is inserted into the text,<sup>119</sup> thus it is plausible, that certain parts of Althamer's information came from that source.

Wilibald Pirckheimer<sup>120</sup> appears as an initiator of the projects of Cohlæus and Irenicus in the circle of the humanists in Nürnberg. His interest in geography is displayed in his various letters to his friends, especially to Johannes Schöner and Veit Bild.<sup>121</sup> Even in his younger years he was connected with the venture of Hartman Schedel.<sup>122</sup> His personal achievements in the field yielded the new translation of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, and a short, critical survey: *Germania*.

The first-mentioned work was an attempt to replace the old translation of Jacobus Angelus. Pirckheimer worked from the manuscript of Regiomontanus, also attempting to improve on the original maps.<sup>123</sup> His translation is dated to 1525.<sup>124</sup> It was, however, never completed during Pirckheimer's lifetime. Later, Michael Servetus worked on it, with the intention of publishing it, as the manuscript was found among his materials after his death.<sup>125</sup> This version of Servetus was the basic source for Sebastian Münster's Ptolemy edition in 1540.<sup>126</sup> Pirckheimer's work on the co-ordinate tables, which he made

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<sup>119</sup> E.g. **Claudius Ptolemaeus**, *Cosmographia*. (ed. Nicolaus Germanus) Ulm, 1486. (Reprint Amsterdam, 1963)

<sup>120</sup> **N.Holtzberg**, *Wilibald Pirckheimer. Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland*. Wilhelm Finck Verlag, München, 1981.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 266.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 54.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. The dedication to *Germania*, **N.Holtzberg**, *Wilibald Pirckheimer. Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland*. Wilhelm Finck Verlag, München, 1981. S. 330.

<sup>124</sup> **N.Holtzberg**, *Wilibald Pirckheimer. Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland*. Wilhelm Finck Verlag, München, 1981. S. 321.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 328.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 328.; **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 118.

in connection of his translation of Ptolemy, later served as model to Johannes Schöner and Petrus Apianus.<sup>127</sup>

Pirckheimer's work on Ptolemy developed his last writing, *Germania*.<sup>128</sup> In this treatise Pirckheimer covers the territories of the German people, referring in every possible case to the antique tradition. N.Holtzberg counted 1601 antique and modern toponyms in the work.<sup>129</sup> Also in case of Livonia,<sup>130</sup> Pirckheimer did not confine himself to the identification of antique names, but impressively enlarged his representation. The influence of Claudius Clavus' *Tabula moderna* can be noticed, especially in Pirckheimer's treatment of rivers of the region.<sup>131</sup> But his information goes beyond the four Ptolemaic ones.<sup>132</sup> Pirckheimer's listing of castles and cities also suggests more than merely Ptolemaic material. Some of his toponyms can be identified with the ones, appearing on the map of Nicolaus Cusanus.<sup>133</sup>

It is difficult to say anything exact about Pirckheimer's other sources. He treats Prussia and Livonia in one common paragraph, and where he also describes the coast of the Baltic Sea (*Sinus Venedicus*), in the vein of Aeneas Silvius, nonetheless this is the only feature which connects the two texts. Regarding the rest the sequence in his text is

<sup>127</sup> N.Holtzberg, *Wilibald Pirckheimer*. S. 336. The aforementioned tables, what bring the checked coordinates of 114 cities of Europe and Africa, were not available to me.

<sup>128</sup> First edition in 1530. Here **Wilibald Pirckheimer**, *Germaniae ex variis Scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio*. Nürnberg, 1532., is used.

<sup>129</sup> N.Holtzberg, *Wilibald Pirckheimer*. S. 272.

<sup>130</sup> **Wilibald Pirckheimer**, *Germaniae ex variis Scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio*. Nürnberg, 1532. fol. 536.

<sup>131</sup> **Wilibald Pirckheimer**, *Germaniae ex variis Scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio*. Nürnberg, 1532, fol. 536: *Inde iuxta Riualiam Anna fluuius exit: demum autem Narua fluuius magnus & ipse ex Moscouia fluens.*

<sup>132</sup> Ibidem, fol. 554: *Inde Pregora fluuius, post quem amnis magnus, qui & Niemen uocantur, in Lithuania oriens in mare erumpit Prutenicum, Postea Hillige fluuius deinde Poler fluuius Sequitur hunc Duna, quae & Zuina ac Binda, ingens fluuius, qui & ipse in Lithuania oritur, ac iuxta Rigam ciuitatem in mare erumpit. Fore apud Ptolemaeum est Chersinus. Inde Anne fluuius, tandem Narua supra ciuitatem Reualiensem iuxta Flautennam in mare exonerat.*

<sup>133</sup> Ibidem, fol. 536: *Ciuitates uero Elbing, Armel castrum, Marie borgeus, Mons Regalis, Riga ciuitas, Pornau, Hapsel ciuitas & demum ciuitas Reualia...* Compare: **L.Arbusow**, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altlivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S.60-61.

very different. The entire work suggests his use of various sources. Pirckheimer's father collected medieval chronicles on Germany,<sup>134</sup> these may have been used by Wilibald Pirckheimer. In conclusion, I would like to note that, despite his using the same traditional sources as his contemporaries had, Pirckheimer achieved a new synthesis, his work yielding one of the widest selections of early Livonian toponyms.

It was my goal to show the kind of traditional information that was gained from antique authorities, medieval texts, and new authors, and what was established in the writings of humanists. Before going to the new sources, one more book should be mentioned, a vernacular compendium of earlier Latin writings, the *Weltbuch* of Sebastian Franck.<sup>135</sup> This book is in fact the continuation of his world chronicle, *Zeitbuch*, but *Weltbuch* is more focused on geographical descriptions, while *Zeitbuch* is meant to be a chronicle.

The writings of Sebastian Franck have a moral goal. For him history was not an escape from this world, but a battlefield.<sup>136</sup> He viewed history as a battle between God and the Devil. His popular way of presentation, shows that Franck did not hesitate to collect curiosities. The structure of his work lacks a system, hence also the passages about Livonia can be found in different places. The *Weltbuch* was popular literature at its best, but it was overshadowed by the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster, published a decade later.

Franck's first passage, the general description of the eastern Baltic,<sup>137</sup> can be identified as a loan text from the book of Pirckheimer, while the description of Livonia<sup>138</sup> is compiled from Aeneas Silvius and Bartholomeus Anglicus. It starts with the already

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<sup>134</sup> **N.Holtzberg**, *Wilibald Pirckheimer*. S. 40.

<sup>135</sup> **Sebastian Franck**, *Weltbuch*. Tübingen, 1534.

<sup>136</sup> **P.Joachimsen**, "Zur inneren entwicklung Sebastian Francks." In: *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Aalen, 1970. S. 303.

<sup>137</sup> **Sebastian Franck**, *Weltbuch*. Tübingen, 1534. fol. 29.v-30.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 55.v.

familiar remarks of Aeneas Silvius.<sup>139</sup> As Livonia is called *Eifland* in this passage, there is reason to believe that the passage is from the German translation of Hartman Schedel's chronicle, where the name of the land is spelled in the same way. Anglicus' note about the burning of the deceased is inserted in the middle, but it is exaggerated by claiming that cattle, wife, and children were also cremated at these occasions.<sup>140</sup> An account of *Riualia* and *Vironia* also appears in the *Weltbuch*.<sup>141</sup> Here Franck combined two different passages of Anglicus.

With the *Weltbuch* we may close the survey of the treatment of Livonia in the earlier works related to the project of *Gemania Illustrata*. Despite the wide spectrum of these genres, the information rendered based on the few works of authorities, primarily on Aeneas Silvius. His relevant passage was used, by means of exact quote, or rewritten in the style of the particular author. Ptolemy's systematics, and the information found in the *Tabulae Modernae* seems to be another popular source. Also, the medieval image of paganism is always present in these texts, either as a direct influence of Silvius or as a new reading of Bartholomeus Anglicus. In the following I shall discuss information from the early sixteenth century which give birth to descriptions of Livonia in a new light.

### **The Early Sixteenth Century Specialised Materials.**

The sources of cosmographic treatments become more varied in the sixteenth century. Information from the Hanseatic region, the Baltics, and Scandinavia, entered into European scholarly texts. Albertus Krantz (+1517) emerged as one of the authorities. We

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<sup>139</sup> Ibidem: *Eyfland die letst gegene und prouintz der Rhömischen Christen stossst gegen mitnacht an di Reüssen, die Tarter überlauffen oft dise gegene, die Teütschen Herren haben diss land mit dem schwerdt gesucht und zum Christlichen glauben gezwungen,*

<sup>140</sup> Ibidem: *das yhr todten zu puluer verbrennt, mit sammt all seinem haussgesind, vihe, weib, kind, knecht etc.*

<sup>141</sup> Ibidem, fol. 82.

shall examine *Wandalia*, published after his death in Cologne,<sup>142</sup> because of its competence and later influence regarding Livonian matters.

Albertus Krantz' main aim was to write the history of the Wendish lands.<sup>143</sup> Since he compiled his books about the Nordic countries at the same time, cross quotations appear in his writings.<sup>144</sup> The information about Livonia is mainly concentrated in the *Wandalia*. Krantz had evidently written the book in the chronological order, but did not revised it later, in order to assimilate the information or to correct the outdated material.<sup>145</sup>

Albertus Krantz' sympathies lie primarily with the Hanseatic towns and the Wendish princes,<sup>146</sup> and he used medieval chronicles as his main sources for the telling of their history. In addition he also dealt with the critical and etymological treatment of the antique authorities.<sup>147</sup> The role of Ptolemy, among his sources, becomes evident in his systematisation principles. On the other hand, Krantz did not only praise<sup>148</sup> but also criticised such authorities as Aeneas Silvius.<sup>149</sup>

Krantz' political activities as *syndicus* in Lübeck, also brought him to Livonia. During 1490-1491 he was in the province to mediate in the conflict between the Archbishop of Riga and the Teutonic Order.<sup>150</sup> Krantz' competence in those affairs, and regarding the origins of that conflict can be broached from *Wandalia*.<sup>151</sup> In the description

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<sup>142</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1519.

<sup>143</sup> **V.A.Nordman**, *Die Wandalia des Albert Krantz. Eine Untersuchung*. (Suomalaisen Tiedeakademian Toimituksia. Sarja B. XXIX. 3.) Helsinki, 1934.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 34-43.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 264.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 75-76.

<sup>147</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1519. II, 17.

<sup>148</sup> **V.A.Nordman**, *Die Wandalia*, S. 91, (**Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1519. XI, 24.)

<sup>149</sup> **V.A.Nordman**, *Die Wandalia*, S. 246.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibidem*, 18-19.

<sup>151</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1519. XIII, 41; XIV, 5; XIV, 15.

of Livonia,<sup>152</sup> the flavour of personal experience is clearly felt.<sup>153</sup> Noting the miserable state of the local people,<sup>154</sup> he reveals the outlook of a humanist cleric.

For the older history of Livonia, Krantz used the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, describing the Christianisation of Livonia,<sup>155</sup> and the *Chronica Novella* of Hermann Korner for the time up to 1435.<sup>156</sup> The latter is among the main sources of Krantz, being the basis for one third of *Wandalia*. Manuscript chronicles, included and printed in the *Wandalia* became more easily available. The last point is one of the most important achievements of Krantz — the sources that give much valuable information on the events in the Hanseatic space, have become a valuable scholarly reference.

The maritime experience from Baltic also began to emerge in the cartography. On the *Carta Marina* (1516)<sup>157</sup> of Martin Waldseemüller (1470-1518),<sup>158</sup> the Baltic is still depicted without its gulfs, thus following the coast as drawn by Cusanus. Waldseemüller mentions the Gulf of Riga (*Rigensis poden*), but it is drawn like the *sinus Venedicus* on the older Ptolemaic maps,<sup>159</sup> just a name is given along the curve of the coast-line. A further influence of the Ptolemaic maps is the mountain range, dividing Livonia from the eastern territories. However, Waldseemüller depicts the Prussian peninsulas of the south-eastern Baltic in a more modern way. It is also more original in the case of toponyms giving an amazingly rich selection from the coast of Courland.<sup>160</sup> We have road

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<sup>152</sup> Ibidem, VI c. 9.

<sup>153</sup> E.g. his treatement of the languages ibidem: *nunc Liuones, Estonos, Letti, Curoni, nihil habent in lingua commune. Ille enim quatuor Liunioniam tenent linguae per rura: Nam arces & oppida tota sunt Saxonica.*

<sup>154</sup> Ibidem, VIII, 28; XIII, 21.

<sup>155</sup> **V.A.Nordman**, *Die Wandalia*, S. 124. **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1519. VI c. 10-11.

<sup>156</sup> **V.A.Nordman**, *Die Wandalia*, S. 126-150.

<sup>157</sup> Reproduction of the Baltic part: **A.Spekke**, *The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps*. Stockholm, 1961. Plate VII.

<sup>158</sup> **L.Bagrow**, R.A.Skelton, *Meister der Kartographie*. Berlin, 1973. S. 157-158. The godfather of America.

<sup>159</sup> **Claudius Ptolemaeus**, *Cosmographia*. (ed. Nicolaus Germanus) Ulm, 1482. (Reprint: Amsterdam 1963). *Octava Europe Tabula*.

<sup>160</sup> **A.Spekke**, *The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps*. Stockholm, 1961. p.44.: *memel, liua, grebin hasenpot goldingen*, etc.



descriptions from Königsberg to Riga from the fifteenth century,<sup>161</sup> which can be disputed as source but because of the relative discrepancy (for example the absence of Windau on the map), arises the suspicion that they were not used in completing the map. There may have been other, similar materials, or even maritime sources. The central position of Gothland seems to indicate this, but it is odd that Ösel is missing. Despite all its achievements, Waldseemüller's map, in the case of Livonia, preserves the Ptolemaic outlook.

The map of the Northern countries by Jacob Ziegler<sup>162</sup> is the first one to represent Scandinavia in its right position on the north-south axis, and clearly depict the Finnish and Botnian gulfs of the Baltic Sea. Ziegler was a well-travelled Bavarian scholar,<sup>163</sup> whose work, concerning mainly the history of the Holy Land, also contains a chapter about the Northern countries with the co-ordinates of over one hundred geographic points.<sup>164</sup> Ziegler got part of his information from the archbishops of Trondheim and Uppsala, whom he met during his stay in Rome.<sup>165</sup> Some of the co-ordinates seem to be the result of his own calculations though, there is no evidence of measuring.<sup>166</sup> The problem with them is, that he had drawn his map according to some other information, and therefore the co-ordinates in the map do not match with the ones in the text.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> **F.Bruns, H.Weczerka**, *Hansische Handelstrassen*, Weimar, 1967. Textband S. 712-718.

<sup>162</sup> First published in the book: **Jacob Ziegler**, *Terrae Sanctae, quam palestinam nominant...* Vienna, 1532. Octava Tabula. The edition from the year 1536, Argentorati, was available for me. Many useful reproductions of the exist in **A.Spekke**, *The Baltic Sea in Ancient Maps*. Stockholm, 1961.

<sup>163</sup> **L.Bagrow**, *A History of the Cartography in Russia up to 1600*. Ed. by H.W.Castner. Ontario, 1975. p. 74.

<sup>164</sup> **Jacob Ziegler**, *Terrae Sanctae, quam palestinam nominant...* Argentorati, 1532. Cap. VII. Schondia. fol. lxxxv-cx

<sup>165</sup> **L.Bagrow**, R.A.Skelton, *Meister der Kartographie*. Berlin, 1973. p. 213.

<sup>166</sup> **C.Enckell**, "Aegidius Tschudi's hand-drawn map of Northern Europe." In: *Imago Mundi* X. 1953. p. 62.

<sup>167</sup> Ibidem.

There have been references regarding the other sources of J.Ziegler,<sup>168</sup> but they all concern his creation of the picture of Scandinavia, which is clearly the focus of his map. The image of the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea is still drawn in the tradition of Ptolemy. The islands near this coast may remind one even of the island of *Scandia* in the early versions of Ptolemy's atlas. There are four rivers with the Ptolemaic names, but Ziegler omitted the names of the tribes. Instead he depicted Danzig, Riga, Reval, and Novgorod, on the same coast-line of Sarmatia. There are also many Russian towns represented in Sarmatia, therefore, it is possible that Ziegler attempted to render information about the above places and fit it into the Ptolemaic setting of Sarmatia.

The breakthrough in the cartography of the north was the *Carta Marina* (Venice, 1539)<sup>169</sup> of Olaus Magnus. His map and his book, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555),<sup>170</sup> were to influence the picture of the north deep into the seventeenth century.<sup>171</sup> Olaus Magnus (1490-1557), was exiled from Sweden by the Protestants and spent the rest of his life in various countries of Europe being later the last catholic Archbishop of Uppsala. He had great experience in nordic affairs, but he never visited Livonia. During his exile, he and his brother Johannes, spent ten years in Danzig. That was probably the place and time where he started working on his map,<sup>172</sup> and drawing the sketch of the southern Baltic coast from Lübeck to Reval.<sup>173</sup> Although the goal of this undertaking was to show the lands lost for Catholicism,<sup>174</sup> and thus part of his religious nostalgia, his results have not been profoundly influenced by his sentiments. Owing the rich, and partly

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<sup>168</sup> **C.Enckell**, "Aegidius Tschudi's hand-drawn map of Northern Europe." In: *Imago Mundi* X. 1953. **K.Nissen**, "Jacob Ziegler's Palestine Schondia manuscript Univeristy Library, Oslo." In: *Imago Mundi* XIII 1965.

<sup>169</sup> Several modern reprints exist, published with the clarifying texts in **O.Brenner**, *Die ächte Karte des Olaus Magnus vom Jahre 1539*. Cristiania, 1886.

<sup>170</sup> **Olaus Magnus**, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, Venetiis, 1555.

<sup>171</sup> For an overview of the later developments in the cartography of Scandinavia, see: **L.Bagrow**, R.A.Skelton, *Meister der Kartographie*. Berlin, 1973. S. 213-215.

<sup>172</sup> **L.Bagrow**, *A History of the Cartography in Russia up to 1600*. Ed. by H.W.Castner. Ontario, 1975. p. 79.

<sup>173</sup> Ibidem. p. 76.

<sup>174</sup> **J.Granlund**, "The Charta Marina of Olaus Magnus." In: *Imago Mundi*. VIII, 1951. p. 42.

fantastic iconography of the map, it has been accused of being a mere wonder-collection.<sup>175</sup> Nevertheless it has remained one of the best visual sources of the early history of the Nordic peoples.

The material for the map originates from Olaus Magnus' travels in the north. The use of secondary literature can also be detected, especially in case of the Eastern Baltic, as he had never been in the eastern end of the Finnish Gulf, or Livonia.<sup>176</sup> For example, in the descriptions of the paganism of the Lithuanians, the traditional "trinity" of Aeneas Silvius (i.e. fire, tree, and snake) are represented on the map. From the antique authorities the author used Ptolemy, from whom, he took in addition to the projection, also the idea of Scandinavia's, stretching up to the North Pole.<sup>177</sup> The tree of the Gothic tribes refers to Jordanis.

J.Granlund has an opinion, that Olaus Magnus did not use the innovations of sixteenth-century geodesy, and from his works it was possible to deduce that he had used no other instruments than the chronometer and the compass.<sup>178</sup> Comparing Olaus Magnus to Jacob Ziegler, we may state that the latter, while more skilled in mathematic cartography, did not possess sufficiently detailed information, which led him to compilation.<sup>179</sup>

One of the hypotheses is that Olaus Magnus might have used Alexander Sculteti's special map of Livonia by (1529).<sup>180</sup> All we know about that map are scattered remarks in the letters of the Polish cartographer, B.Wapowski. Alexander Sculteti (+1570), was canon of Ermland, but, at the same time, also the canon in the Livonian dioceses of Ösel-

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<sup>175</sup> **M.Boas**, *The Scientific Renaissance*. London, 1962. p.189.

<sup>176</sup> **L.Bagrow**, *A History of the Cartography in Russia up to 1600*. Ed. by H.W.Castner. Ontario, 1975. p. 77.

<sup>177</sup> **J.Granlund**, "The Charta Marina of Olaus Magnus." In: *Imago Mundi*. VIII, 1951. p. 36.

<sup>178</sup> Ibidem, p. 35.

<sup>179</sup> Ibidem, p. 38.

<sup>180</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altlivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 69.

Wiek, Reval and Dorpat.<sup>181</sup> He too, completed a chronicle, which contains only one sentence about the Christianisation of Livonia.<sup>182</sup> Although the map of Sculteti is lost, and there is no firm evidence about its contents, or whether Magnus had used it, that is not the only information about the cartographic material on Livonia, circulating in Poland and Prussia at that time.<sup>183</sup> Thus we may argue that Olaus Magnus may have got something out of this fraction in his hands during his Danzig years.

The *Carta Marina* also reveals the maritime character of Olaus Magnus' sources. He also paid much attention to seafaring conditions in his later history book.<sup>184</sup> For example, drawing too big islands, and marking of lighthouses, are clear signs of his using material of maritime origin in his map. In the commentaries of the map, "*Opera brevis*," he tells in greater detail of the tower, erected by Dutch seafarers on Ösel.<sup>185</sup> It is probably the lighthouse of Dagerort on Dagö, built at that time on the lands of the diocese of Ösel-Wiek. On the map it is named *Turris hollandorum*.

These maritime references have initiated the discussion on the early cartography of the Northern sailors. The practical maritime experience yielded the map of Cornelis Anthonisz (1543),<sup>186</sup> and the existence of some earlier northern cartographic material has been shown in the works of A.W.Lang.<sup>187</sup> The methods of navigation,<sup>188</sup> imposed upon by the nature of the Baltic Sea, and the relatively late introduction of the compass in the

<sup>181</sup> Ibidem, S. 62. gives short biography dating also some visits to Livonia.

<sup>182</sup> Ibidem,; *anno 1187 Livonia fit christiana*.

<sup>183</sup> **L.Arbusow**, Zur Würdigung der Kultur Altivlands im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert. In: Historische Zeitschrift Bd. 151, 1935. S. 37.-39.

<sup>184</sup> **Olaus Magnus** Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus. Venetiis, 1555. II, 27; IV, 10; X; XI; XX, etc.

<sup>185</sup> **L.Arbusow**, Vorläufige Übersicht..., S. 68. (*Bey dem land haben die hollendischen schiffer gebäut ain hoechen spizigen turn*). **O.Brenner**, Die ächte Karte des Olaus Magnus vom Jahre 1539. Cristiania, 1886. S. 13.

<sup>186</sup> **A.W.Lang**, Die "Caerte van oostlant" des Cornelis Anthonisz 1543. Hamburg/Bremenhaven, 1986.

<sup>187</sup> **A.W.Lang**, "Traces of lost North European Sea Charts of the 15th Century." In: *Imago Mundi* XII. 1955.

<sup>188</sup> Good overview on the topic: **U.Schnall**, "Zur Navigation in hansischer Zeit." In: *Die Hanse. Lebenswirklichkeit und Mithos*. Hamburg, 1989. S. 578-580.

North,<sup>189</sup> were, however, not favourable to the development of cartography. Therefore it is obvious that before the sixteenth century there was no tradition of drawing such general maps of the northern seas that could be compared with the *portolanos* of the Mediterranean. The same result is evident when comparing the picture<sup>190</sup> rendered in the most important sixteenth-century sea charts: their common features are insufficient to suggest a prevailing tradition. The importance of maritime experience in map-making comes forth in the second half of the sixteenth century, with the rise of Dutch cartography. The maps of Olaus Magnus and Cornelis Anthonisz are the first signs of the ascent of this kind of information.

### Sebastian Münster.

The perfection of the text on Livonia in the different works of Sebastian Münster is the last example to be discussed here. K.Burmeister has pointed out that Münster's efforts in the field of geography had one goal only: the completing of the *Cosmography*.<sup>191</sup> This work has also been seen as a part of the humanist project of *Germania Illustrata*,<sup>192</sup> consequently even the cosmography of Münster was ironically called Germanographia. In this context it is evident that the development of the description of German-ruled Livonia shows constant work and improvement, from text to text.

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<sup>189</sup> **W.Vogel**, "Die Einführung des Kompasses in die nordwesteuropäische Nautik." In: *Hansische Geschichtsbätter*. 1911. S. 1-33.

<sup>190</sup> The comparison of the toponymes of the Eastern Baltic has been made by **L.Arbusow**, **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. S. 30-31.

<sup>191</sup> **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 110.

<sup>192</sup> **P.Joachimssen**, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß de Humanismus*. (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Hg. von W.Goetz Bd 6.) Leipzig, 1910. S. 193.

The first bit of information Münster had about Livonia he added to the commentary of the map of Nicolaus Cusanus.<sup>193</sup> The general structure, including the Order, the Tartars and the pagan past, may have originated from the note of Aeneas Silvius. But the vocabulary is not at all similar to the one of Silvius. Münster starts with more general remarks. The structure of the text and the proportions are also different, and the dating of the Christianisation of Livonia, is a basic deviation. Half of a paragraph here is devoted to the Order, narrating the earlier history of the Swordbrothers.<sup>194</sup> From where that intelligence may have come, is difficult to say. On the basis of the phrase *palustris et nemorosa*, and the date MCC, it is doubtful, that Münster used Bartholomeus Anglicus or Albertus Krantz, but the text confirms that Münster has not limited himself to the use of only one source, i.e. Aeneas Silvius. A popular version of this commentary was later completed by the description of Tartaria and published under the name *Mappa Europae*.<sup>195</sup>

In his edition of Solinus (1538) Münster published a sketch map of Russia based on the information of Ivan Ljatzki.<sup>196</sup> The completed version, using information found in Anton Wiedas' map (1542), was later published in the *Cosmography*.<sup>197</sup> The picture of Livonia on the left side of that map is sketchy. On the banks of the border river there are four pairs of castles. This kind of confrontation can also be seen on the banks of the

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<sup>193</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Germaniae Descriptio* [xxx] pro tabula Nicolai Cusae intelligenda excerpta. Basel, 1530. Between Lithuania and Russia. (Reprint: Schardius, *Historicum opus*. Basel 1574. Bd.I, S. 467-500.)

<sup>194</sup> *Ibidem*: *Ordinem & uestium suum gladio signantes: mode & ensiferi dicti sun: uerum quum parum proficerant, adiunxerunt se Teutonicis Fratribus in Prussia morantibus: & facile quod cupiebant,perfecerunt.*

<sup>195</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Katalog zur Ausstellung aus der anlaß des 500. Geburtstages 20. Januar 1988, im Museum – Altes Rathaus Ingelheim am Rhein*. (Hg. v. K.H.Burmeister) Ingelheim, Rhein, 1988. S. 115. The reprint of *Mappa Europae*, published by Klaus Stopp in Wiesbaden, 1965 was not available to me.

<sup>196</sup> **L.Bagrow**, *A History of the Cartography in Russia up to 1600*. Ed. by H.W.Castner. Ontario, 1975. p. 48.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 84.

Narva River, by the castles of Narva and Ivangorod. Of course, there were many pairs of castles along the border, but they were not situated along the river.

In 1540, Sebastian Münster published the *Geography of Ptolemy*.<sup>198</sup> He put great stress on the improvement of the translation,<sup>199</sup> but he also appended the original text and maps of Ptolemy by a collection of modern maps and account of the lands, not mentioned in Ptolemy's work. The description of Livonia,<sup>200</sup> is also longer, than in the commentary of Cusanus' map. Münster added the names of significant towns of the province.<sup>201</sup> The note on the neighbours of Livonia,<sup>202</sup> suggests that he had used Aeneas Silvius.

The modern map of Scandinavia in this edition derives from the map of Jacob Ziegler, but the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea leaves out the places, named in the original. In the first edition of the *Cosmography* (1544), Münster already used Olaus Magnus' map of northern countries.<sup>203</sup> Despite the omission of many details and iconographic material of Magnus' original, the basic characteristics of Livonian coast are still clearly discernible.

The description of Livonia, published in the *Cosmography*, is more advanced.<sup>204</sup> It is placed in the book on Germany (III), right after the treatment of Prussia. The final note states that a preacher coming from Livonia to participate at the Worms Diet of 1541, had rendered the report.<sup>205</sup> L.Arbusow identified the man as Nicolaus Glossenus,

<sup>198</sup> **Claudius Ptolemaeus**, *Geographia*. Basel, 1540. (Reprint: Amsterdam, 1966)

<sup>199</sup> **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S.118. shows the extensive usage of all texts of Ptolemy available at that time.

<sup>200</sup> **Claudius Ptolemaeus**, *Geographia*. Basel, 1540. (Reprint: Amsterdam, 1966) Appendix *Geographica*, Fol. 178.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibidem*: *Riga uulgo Rig, Reuela uulgo Reuel, Derb & Narff*. The selection remains the cities listed in the Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus, also the variations of the forms suggest the use of that material.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibidem*: *A septentrione habent uicinam gentem semiferam, cum nullum est linguae commercium, sed nutu & signo permutant merces*.

<sup>203</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544.: *Gemeinsame beschreibung aller mittnächtigen lenden Sweden, Gothen, Nordwegien, Denmark etc*.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibidem*, Das dritt buch. Von dem Teutsch land. Lyfland oder Eifland. fol. 501-502.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 502: *Disen bericht hat mir zu geschriben ein gesandter Predicant auss Liffland, der ausssher kommen ist anno Christi 1541 auff die disputantz zu Worms*.

superintendent of Reval (1533-1539).<sup>206</sup> The views of Glossenus have been formed by his holding of the above-mentioned office; his negative remarks could be due to the conflicts, that resulted in his leaving of Reval.<sup>207</sup> The passionate description of the religious ignorance of the people is, as I have shown, a general tendency in the literature, although the form of the text suggests that it rests on the personal experience of an active reformer. It is clear that a man of letters from Hamburg viewed the province of Livonia as the land of barbarians.

The subsequent use of Aeneas Silvius refers explicitly to the causal connections between the raids of the Tartars and the liminal position of the land in the Christian world.<sup>208</sup> In the introduction Münster also mentions Albertus Krantz among his sources. The influence of the text of the *Wandalia* upon the treatment of Livonia can also be assumed, although it cannot be compared to the longer quotes found in the later editions of the *Cosmography*.

The amount of new information in the note, does point at Glossenus, but as I have argued above, some of the characteristic features of the earlier authors are also discernible. Thus the question arises: who had been the source of these influences? The second-hand reports, arriving in Basel, could have - as also observed by K.Burmeister<sup>209</sup> - contained some references to the traditional works, but it is difficult to believe that the informants of Münster would merely compile their stories and disregard their own experiences. It is more likely that the influence of other authorities is the result of Münster's editorial work. If this is true, then one may assume that the particular part that

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<sup>206</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Zur Würdigung der Kultur Altlivlands im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert." In: *Historische Zeitschrift* Bd. 151, 1935. S. 44. See also **L.Arbusow**, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altlivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 72-73.

<sup>207</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Zur Würdigung der Kultur Altlivlands im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert." In: *Historische Zeitschrift* Bd. 151, 1935. S. 45.

<sup>208</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544.: *Die Lyflender werden vil von den Tartaren überfallen unnd angefochten, dan sie ligen am end der Christen*.

<sup>209</sup> **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 150.



is based on the letter of Glossenus, starts after the general historical lines with the sentence: *Jetzt zu unsern zeitenn wirt das Euangelium frey unnd offentlichen in Lyffland gelert.*<sup>210</sup> That would also fit the image of Glossenus as a Protestant cleric.

In the edition of *Cosmography* of 1550, the description of Livonia becomes more complicated. At the end of his work, Münster pays tribute to a certain Johannes Hasentödter<sup>211</sup> who presumably had served as a scribe, somewhere in Latvia.<sup>212</sup> The presentation of the political relations and the position of the Order<sup>213</sup> suggests a connection between Hasentödter and the authorities of the Order.

The description is divided into three subchapters, the first of which is the compilation from the *Wandalia* of Albertus Krantz, treating the earlier history of the province.<sup>214</sup> Two rest<sup>215</sup> are probably by Hasentödter. The similarity between this one and the edition of 1544, lies in the fact that in both cases the use of earlier authorities are detectable, primarily in the historical introduction. Regarding the description of contemporary settings, Münster obviously relied on his informants.

Two subdivisions of Hasentödter treat roughly the same topics of Glossenus' earlier version, but the wording is different and it is much richer in details.<sup>216</sup> Consequently, the character of the description is more secular. The reformed church is only mentioned in a marginal context,<sup>217</sup> more space is given to the descriptions of nature, the cities, the

<sup>210</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544. fol. 501.

<sup>211</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. Fol. 789.: *Haec pro bona parte habeo a Iohanne Leporicida, homine multarum regnum & regionum expertissimo.* The article of **O. Günther** In: *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereines*, H. 55. (Danzig, 1913) S. 3-48; 182-183. has been not available to me.

<sup>212</sup> **L. Arbusow** sen., *Livlands Geistlichkeit vom ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*. Dritter Nachtrag. Mitau, 1913. S. 71. gives also the years [1540-55?] and the possible serving by the archbishop. The later edition of *Cosmography* (1588) states that Hasentödter worked in Livonia in some chancery: *...So manich jar in Lyfflandt an den herren höfen unn canzleyen gewesen unn viel erfahren hat.*

<sup>213</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*, 1550. fol. 787.

<sup>214</sup> Ibidem: fol. 786: *Liunia*

<sup>215</sup> Ibidem: fol. 787-789: *De fertilitate Liuniaie & de moribus incolarum. De ciuitatibus Liuniaie & earum consuetudinibus.*

<sup>216</sup> E.g. the description of the pagans, and their burial customs. Ibidem: 787: *De fertilitate Liuniaie & de moribus incolarum*

<sup>217</sup> Ibidem: fol. 787: *Habet regio ista tres insignes ciuitates, quae priori religioni subscripserunt,*

language and the customs of the local people. In case of the living conditions and religious practices of the rural folk, both authors have the same evaluation. Both were humanists and Protestants after all.

The publication of the Hasentödter's report prompts the question about the standards and examples displayed in his work. Although, from the very early stage of his work Münster has given instructions and models to his eventual correspondents,<sup>218</sup> the appearance of each description vary conditioned by his possibilities. The systematic descriptions of lands and the peoples appeared, in fact, only in the late sixteenth century, and was elaborated later.<sup>219</sup> The similarity of the patterns gives us reason to believe that Hasentödter was acquainted with at least some of the earlier editions of the *Cosmography*, and used its descriptions. Unless the structure of the earlier description of Livonia was the prototype, the idea of including the *Pater Noster* in Latvian<sup>220</sup> must originate from the *Cosmography*. This prayer already appears in the first edition in Finnish.<sup>221</sup>

Finally I must point to the single evidence for a direct connection with the Livonians, preserved in the letters of Münster, published by K.H.Burmeister.<sup>222</sup> On the 5th of July, 1550, Münster wrote to Konrad Pellikan in Zurich, mainly about the advance of his work: the *Cosmography*. At the end, he notes that of the two men bringing him the

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<sup>218</sup> He is asking for the descriptions of the landscapes of the readers already in the *Erklärung des neuen Instruments der Sonnen* (1528). Extensive quotes by **V.Hantzsch**, "Sebastian Münster, Leben, Werk, wissenschaftliche Bedeutung." In: *Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-Histor. Klasse, XLI, 18, Nr. 3, Leipzig, 1898. S.35-36.

<sup>219</sup> **J.Stagl**, "Die Methodisierung des Reisens im 16.Jahrhundert." In: *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*. Hg. P.J.Brenner. Suhrkamp, Bonn, 1988. S. 140-177.

<sup>220</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*, 1550 fol. 789

<sup>221</sup> Reprinted by **C.Krötzel**, "Zur Darstellung Finnlands in der "Cosmographia" Sebastian Münsters von 1544." In: *Bausteine. Die Schweiz und Finnland im Spiegel ihrer Begegnungen*. (Jahrbuch für finnisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen Nr. 23/1991. Hg. I.Schellbach-Kopra, M.v.Grüningen.) Verlag Neue Züricher Zeitung, Zürich, 1991. S. 65.

<sup>222</sup> **Briefe Sebastian Münsters**. Lateinisch und Deutsch. Hg. und übersetzt von Karl Heinz Burmeister. Frankfurt am Main, Insel-Verlag, 1964. Nr. 84.

letter, one was from Prussia, the other from Livonia.<sup>223</sup> In a commentary Burmeister tried to identify the Prussian with the help of the roster (*matrikel*) of the university of Basel, but that has nothing to say about the Livonian.<sup>224</sup> The interest of the Livonian in the learned people of Germany, as mentioned by Münster, and the phrase *hominus expertissimus* used in case of Hasentödter suggests to a similarity in the personalities of these men. Still, it were too much to assume that Hasentödter and the mysterious Livonian were one and the same person. The latter also called *dominus nobilis* by Münster, was moving around in the company of an active reformer, which would not fit the image of Hasentödter, as a secular chancellor. After all, had Münster mentioned the name of the person in the *Cosmography*, why would he not repeat it in a letter to a friend, written about the same famous book. However, the Livonian was there, in Basel, and could have had some influence on the creating of the text. I cannot exclude the possibility that he was the very person who had brought the description of Hasentödter to Münster.<sup>225</sup>

The note of 1550 was probably the last one in the preparation of which Münster himself could have taken part. But the development of the *Cosmography* did not stop with his death in 1552: it was continued by the family of the publisher Petri, and by others.<sup>226</sup> However, the situation in the late sixteenth century became different because of the Livonian war and the new kind of information that was added gradually to the later editions of the *Cosmography*. This, however, should be the subject of a separate study.

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<sup>223</sup> Ibidem,: *Viri isti harum latores sunt domini nobiles, unus ex Prussia, qui magnificium a Philippo Melanchtone habet testimonium, alius ex Livonia, qui cupiunt videre urbes et viros doctos, quos habet Germania.*

<sup>224</sup> Ibidem, S. 180.

<sup>225</sup> The exact date of the 1550 edition is unknown to me.

<sup>226</sup> **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 182. **Sebastian Münster. Katalog zur Ausstellung aus der Anlaß des 500. Geburtstages 20. Januar 1988, im Museum – Altes Rathaus Ingelheim am Rhein. (Hg. v. K.H.Burmeister) Ingelheim, Rhein, 1988. S. 4.**

The texts analysed here cover a long time span. Also, the change in the depiction of details is remarkable. A long road leads from the generalisation of Aeneas Silvius to the huge collection of Münster. Different, more exact sources have appeared, old texts and constructions were recompiled. But how much have the main themes of the texts, or the image that emerged changed? That will be the concern of the next chapter.

## The Image

### Land, its name and location

I noted in my introduction the different uses of the term, Livonia. In this section I shall investigate how the land was perceived in the fifteenth and early sixteenth-century scholarly literature. The notion of Livonia being one province is medieval one, and it originates from the claims of the archbishop of Riga and the Teutonic Order. After the Danes sold Estonia to the Order in 1347, Estonia became a part of the same structure. The Livonian bishoprics were subjected to the archbishop of Riga, and the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order (also formally subjected to the Archbishop), formed the general political structure of the land.<sup>227</sup>

By the example of Bartholomeus Anglicus, who treats the lands of the medieval province (*Liuonia*, *Rivalia*, *Sambia*, *Semigallia*, and *Uironia*) in different subdivisions, we may claim, however, that the term Livonia was not so fixed as to also cover other lands. The *portolano*, although they also attempt to depict cities,<sup>228</sup> in case of the Eastern Baltic use also the names of the lands (i.e. *Ungardia*, *Vironia*). Thus in the medieval texts, we can detect the enduring tradition of a not unified Livonia.

In the fifteenth century it seems to be clear that when Livonia is mentioned, it is meant to cover the entire province. This occurs, for example, in the roster of towns in the Ulm edition of Ptolemy (1482),<sup>229</sup> where five places are listed under the title of Livonia,

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<sup>227</sup> E.Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*. London 1980. pp.192-209.

<sup>228</sup> This is at least suggested by the pictures of the cities beside their names along the coast.

<sup>229</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia*. (ed. Nicolaus Germanus), Ulm, 1482. (Reprint: Amsterdam 1963). Liber III.

and Riga is mentioned among them as the *metropolis*.<sup>230</sup> Further evidences of the same type are found in the co-ordinate tables of the sixteenth century.<sup>231</sup>

The paradigm, where Livonia enters, wants the antique equivalents to its name. The *Lemovii* of Tacitus have frequently been treated as Livonians by the commentators of his *Germania*.<sup>232</sup> Among the names of the tribes given by Ptolemy, and still appearing on the maps of the late fifteenth century, there are no easy answers for the philological inquiries of the Renaissance scholars. *Carothae* and *Pagirithae*, marked on the maps near the Sarmatian coast of the northern ocean,<sup>233</sup> are sometimes mentioned in references to Livonia.<sup>234</sup>

One of the recurring synonyms of Livonia is Ostrogothia. It is not used to mark Livonia alone, but its appearance together with the name Livonia, is quite frequent.<sup>235</sup> Among the humanist authors it first appears probably in the list of the co-ordinates of Claudius Clavus in Vienna manuscript.<sup>236</sup> L.Arbusow claimed, that it had been invented<sup>237</sup> and, in fact, it sounds more like Östergötland, a region in Sweden.<sup>238</sup> Whatever Clavus has meant, it is reasonable that the Renaissance scholar saw more lands of the Goths around their ancient home, Gothland. In the Ulm edition of Ptolemy's

<sup>230</sup> Ibidem: *Roderim Reualia Nirona Nugardia, Riga metropolis*.

<sup>231</sup> **Johannes Schöner**, *Luculentissima quodam terre totius descriptio*. Nürnberg, 1515. fol. 33v.; **Petrus Apianus**, *Cosmographicus Liber*. 1524. fol. 78.; **Johannes Stöfler**, *Calendarium Romanum*. Nürnberg, 1518.

<sup>232</sup> **Andreas Althamer**, *Commentaria Germaniae*. Nürnberg, 1536. fol. 313.

<sup>233</sup> **Claudius Ptolemaeus**, *Cosmographia*. (ed. Nicolaus Germanus) Ulm, 1482. (Reprint: Amsterdam 1963). *Octava Europe Tabula*.

<sup>234</sup> E.g. **Johannes Schöner**, *Luculentissima quodam terre totius descriptio*. Nürnberg, 1515. fol. 22.

<sup>235</sup> **Bartholomeus Anglicus**, *Liber de proprietatibus rerum*. Nürnberg 1483. He uses it in the case of Sambia: *Sambianesie est prouincia in europa inferiori scithia ibi locata quasi media inter pratens estenes osilianes liuones et turones qui omnes antiquitatus gothorum erant subditi potestati*.

<sup>236</sup> **A.Björnbo und C.Petersen**, *Der Däne Claudius Claussøn Swart (Claudius Clavus), der älteste Kartograph des Nordens, der erste Ptolemäus-Epigon der Renaissance*. Innsbruck, 1909. S.138: *Österghødheng*.

<sup>237</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altlivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 48.

<sup>238</sup> **A.Björnbo und C.Petersen**, *Der Däne Claudius Claussøn Swart (Claudius Clavus), der älteste Kartograph des Nordens, der erste Ptolemäus-Epigon der Renaissance*. Innsbruck, 1909. S. 95.

Geography, the register entry *Gottia* already gives as equivalent: *moderna liuonia et prussia*.<sup>239</sup>

The gulf of Ostrogothia is newly described in the treatment of Claudius Clavus's map by Franz Irenicus.<sup>240</sup> Andreas Althamer, in the comment of the *Lemovii* of Tacitus, follows almost the same line, but he merely claims that Livonia is situated on the same latitude as the Scandinavian island of Gothland.<sup>241</sup> Johannes Schöner's way of thinking may have originated, in the map of Clavus. He contends that the island of Gothland is situated near Livonia.<sup>242</sup> Finally, even Wilibald Pirckheimer cannot avoid the remark, that Livonia once was *Gotia orientalis*.<sup>243</sup> From the work of Pirckheimer, Ostrogothia is translated in the *Weltbuch* of Sebastian Franck, in to *Gotthia im auffgang*.<sup>244</sup>

The close connection between Gothland and Livonia, in the cartographic picture of Clavus, is more than just a coincidence. When we consider Gothland as the meeting point of the trade routes on the Baltic<sup>245</sup> and, before the Livonian crusade the centre of trade with the East, it becomes clear how easy it is to treat the last stop before Livonia as an area close to it.

The description of the Livonians as Gothlanders is, however, based on more than the map of Clavus. Paulus Jovius discusses the Goths with Dimitry Gerassimov,<sup>246</sup> a member of the delegation of the Grand duke of Moscow to Pope Clement VII, claiming that not only the Muscovites but also the Livonians and the Volga Tartars, who

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<sup>239</sup> **Claudius Ptolemaeus**, *Cosmographia*. (ed. Nicolaus Germanus) Ulm, 1482. (Reprint: Amsterdam 1963).

<sup>240</sup> **Franz Irenicus**, *Germaniae exegesis*. Nürnberg, 1518. Fol. 200.

<sup>241</sup> **Andreas Althamer**, *Commentaria Germaniae*. Nürnberg, 1536. fol. 313. The same remark appears also in: **Raphael Volaterranus**, *Commentariorum Urbanorum*. Basel, 1530. Lib. VII, fol. 80v.

<sup>242</sup> **Johannes Schöner**, *Luculentissima quodam terre totius descriptio*. Nürnberg, 1515. Fol. 23v.

<sup>243</sup> **Wilibald Pirckheimer**, *Germaniae ex variis Scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio*. Nürnberg, 1532. fol. 536: *Liunia universa quae olim fuit Gotia orientalis*.

<sup>244</sup> **Sebastian Franck**, *Weltbuch*. Tübingen, 1534. fol. 29v.

<sup>245</sup> **J.Goetze**, "Hansische Schiffahrtswege in der Ostsee." In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. 1975. S.71-88.

<sup>246</sup> The information of Dmitri Gerassimov and the map of Battista Agnese are analysed in: **L.Bagrow**, *A History of the Cartography in Russia up to 1600*. Ed. by H.W.Castner. Ontario, 1975. pp. 61-64.

participated in the army of Totila, had been called Goths.<sup>247</sup> The Gothic past of the Livonians is not mentioned in the paragraph on Livonia in the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster. But when he refers to Jordanes, in the description of Finland,<sup>248</sup> and reproduces the list of the nations originating from the Goths (from the map of Olaus Magnus), the *Livoni* too appear there.<sup>249</sup> *Ostrogothi* are mentioned in the table as well, but there it means probably something else than the Livonians. Lastly, I want to point out that Thomas Horner, the Livonian historian, in his "*Livoniae Historiae*" (1551)<sup>250</sup> continued the tradition by naming Livonia *Gotia orientalis*.<sup>251</sup>

The larger unit where Livonia has been inserted, is Sarmatia. This is thanks to the system of Ptolemy who divided Sarmatia with the *Tanais* (Don), to the European, and the Asian part. The European Sarmatia of Ptolemy was then filled with modern lands, such as Poland, Prussia, Lithuania, and Russia.<sup>252</sup> Livonia was placed near the northern limit of European Sarmatia.<sup>253</sup> The principles of division of these maps, established by the authority of Ptolemy, influenced the disposition that was reflected in the major geographic treatments of the World in the sixteenth century and even later.

On the other hand, Livonia with its half-German identity does not fit well into the framework of the other Sarmatian lands. Franz Irenicus, in his retelling of the history of

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<sup>247</sup> **Paulus Jovius**, *De Moschovitarum legatione liber*. Basel, 1527. fol. 19-20.

<sup>248</sup> This historian of the sixth century has been probably the main source for the idea of the Gothic origin of the Livonians.

<sup>249</sup> Reprint by: **C.Krötzel**, "Zur Darstellung Finnlands in der "Cosmographia" Sebastian Münsters von 1544." In: *Bausteine. Die Schweiz und Finnland im Spiegel ihrer Begegnungen*. (Jahrbuch für finnisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen Nr. 23/1991. Hg. I.Schellbach-Kopra, M.v.Grüningen.) Verlag Neue Züricher Zeitung, Zürich, 1991. S. 64.

<sup>250</sup> He was born in Bohemia, and arrived to Livonia in the 1540s, where he served the master of the Order. The introduction of his chronicle is dated to 1551. It was also published in Wittemberg. A modern edition is available in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*. Bd. II, Riga/ Leipzig, 1848.

<sup>251</sup> *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*. Bd. II, Riga/ Leipzig, 1848. S. 379.

<sup>252</sup> **Claudius Ptolemaeus**, *Cosmographia*. (ed. Nicolaus Germanus) Ulm, 1482. (Reprint: Amsterdam 1963). Lib. VIII: *Sarmatia in Europa nunc Polonia, Masouia, Prussia, Littonia, Curlandia, Samethia, Liuonia, Russia et Gotica*.

<sup>253</sup> E. g. **Johannes Schöner**, *De usu globi astriferi opusculum*. Antwerpen, 1548. Tertia pars, c. vi, fol. 38v: *Liuonia ultima Sarmatiae regio maximeque in septentrionem extenta Hyperboreis coniuncta est.*; **Johannes Honterus**, *Rudimentorum Cosmographiae libri duo*. Cracow, 1534. Liber II: *quorum [Sarmatia] regiones Occidentales nunc dicitur Polonia Maior et minor. Boreales Cuiaua, Samogitia, Liuonia*.



the Teutonic Order (following Aeneas Silvius), confronts the Order to the other hostile Sarmatians.<sup>254</sup> This kind of political division also appears in the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster, where he treats Livonia in the third book, which is devoted to Germany, while the other lands are described in the fourth.

### Co-ordinates and Topography of Livonia

The aspect, clearly fundamental in the early mapping of Livonia, and connected with the introduction of new place names, is the measuring of the geographic co-ordinates. The ways of computing the co-ordinates of a particular point were known in the Middle Ages from the astronomic observations,<sup>255</sup> but the results were mostly used for telling time, in addition, there was a lack of sufficient number of determined points.<sup>256</sup> The uses of the astronomic co-ordinate tables in map-making was introduced in the early fifteenth century only.

The difficulties of getting correct results, especially for longitudes, were finally surmounted in the eighteenth century, with the introduction of the exact chronometer. In the period under consideration, longitudes were often calculated on the basis of the distances between the points.<sup>257</sup> Comparing the general placement of the Livonian towns in the fifteenth and early sixteenth-century maps, and co-ordinate tables (see appendix 1.), it is easy to observe that longitudes vary more and are generally larger than in reality. This misplacement to the east is probably due to the method of determining longitudes as described above. Although the convergence of the meridians was discovered by Pedro

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<sup>254</sup> **Franz Irenicus**, *Germaniae exegesis*. Nürnberg, 1518. fol.140.v Liber V ca. xlviii: *Pauco.n. tpere Liuoniam totam armis occupauerunt, ac eam in fide recta instuxerunt. Tantumque terrorem Sarmatis caeteris icusserunt.*

<sup>255</sup> **D.B.Durand**, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg map corpus of the fiveteenth century: A study in transition from medieval to modern science*. Leiden, 1952. p. 95, 102.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 119.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 105.

Nuñez,<sup>258</sup> geographers had trouble determining the value of the degree of longitude in miles on the certain parallel, and have mostly underestimated it.

As I have mentioned in the pervious chapter (see p. 16), in the Vienna-Klosterneuburg collection of co-ordinates, the following selection of Livonian towns appear: Narva, Reval, Dorpat, and Riga. Evidently, they have been considered the most important locations of the province. The latter three were members of the Hanseatic League and show up in the *Cosmography* of Münster as the most noteworthy among the Livonian towns.<sup>259</sup> The mentioning of Narva is more problematic since its importance was restricted by the staple right of Reval. Still, it remained one of the important stops on the way to Novgorod.

The places which were mentioned in the *portolanos*, at the eastern end of the Baltic coast, later were marked on the new maps of Ptolemy (see p. 15). Although this picture is conjectural and the reasons for its drawing were hardly practical, the selection of the represented places suggests its maritime origin. Finland is not depicted, the names of *rivalia*, *vironja* and *ungaria*,<sup>260</sup> all of which lay to the south of the Gulf of Finland, mark the sailing route along the coast. Although the route from the southern part of the Baltic touched the Finnish coast between Hanko and Porkkala,<sup>261</sup> a further route was taken probably on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland, to avoid the dangerous shores of the Finnish coast.

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<sup>258</sup> **M.Boas**, *The Scientific Renaissance*. London, 1962. p. 205-206. **D.Howse, M.Sanderson**, *The Sea Chart. An Historical Survey Based on the Collections in the National Maritime Museum*. New York, 1973. p. 10.

<sup>259</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. fol. 787: *Habet regio ista tres insignes ciuitates, quae priori religioni subscripserunt, nempe Riga, Tarbata, uulgo Derpt & Tart, & Reualia*.

<sup>260</sup> For the name *ungardia* on the *portolanos* Björnbo and Petersen (Op. cit.) have given possible interpretations as Ivangorod or Novgorod. (S.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 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.

<sup>261</sup> **C.Westerdahl**, "The Maritime Itinerary of the Tax Register of King Valdemar Sejr of Denmark." In: *Deutsches Schifffahrtsarchiv*. 1990. Jg. 13. p. 325-376.

The coast line of Ptolemy remained a framework for the new information on Livonia. This can be exemplified by comparing them to the co-ordinates used for Riga in the fifteenth and early sixteenth-centuries (see appendix 1.). Yet, dissatisfaction with the "dead curve" (A. Spekke)<sup>262</sup> of the Baltic coast can be seen as early as in the Vienna MS of Claudius Clavus, where he introduces seven Livonian bays.<sup>263</sup> We might interpret Clavus' concept of the eastern Baltic as criticism of Ptolemy. Although the four Ptolemaic rivers persist, he has in addition to the bays, replaced the river names with the Danish ordinals: *Forste, Annen, Threde* and *Fierdhe*.<sup>264</sup>

On the Ptolemaic maps, the northern toponyms of the *portolanos* also have their co-ordinates. In the Ulm edition of Ptolemy, the towns are listed along the coast,<sup>265</sup> but under the name of Livonia, Novgorod (*Nugardia*) too appears. This can be considered the result of the close relations the Livonian towns, with their trade with Novgorod, maintained. As one of the reflections of the same relation, the *Nova Cosmographia* can be mentioned, in which the Livonian towns are said to be Russian (see p. 17).

The trend of marking the Livonian bishoprics of Riga, Reval, Hapsal, and Dorpat derives from Nicolaus Cusanus' map of Central Europe.<sup>266</sup> Of the sixteenth century co-ordinate tables of J. Schöner and J. Stöffler, three of them Riga, Reval, Hapsal, have survived.<sup>267</sup> The same selection is found in the writers of the *Germania Illustrata* of

<sup>262</sup> A. Spekke, "A Brief Cartographic-Iconographic View of the Eastern Baltic Coast up to the 16th Century." In: *Imago Mundi* V.1948. p. 39.

<sup>263</sup> A. Björnbo und C. Petersen, *Der Däne Claudius Claussøn Swart (Claudius Clavus), der älteste Kartograph des Nordens, der erste Ptolemäus-Epigon der Renaissance*. Innsbruck, 1909. S. 138.

<sup>264</sup> Ibidem. Some of the place names given by Clavus are fictional (for example in case of Greenland).

<sup>265</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia*. (ed. Nicolaus Germanus) Ulm, 1482. (Reprint: Amsterdam 1963). Liber III: *Liuvonia: Roderim* 60. 65; *Reualia* 62. 64.30; *Nirona* 63. 63.50; *Nugardia* 63. 62.30; *Riga Metropolis* 61.30 61.

<sup>266</sup> For comparative table of the toponymes of the different versions of Cusanus-map see L. Arbusow, "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Kartographie Altlivlands bis 1595." In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*. Riga, 1935. S. 59-61.

<sup>267</sup> Johannes Schöner, *Luculentissima quodam terre totius descriptio*. Nürnberg, 1515. Fol. 33v. Johannes Stöffler, *Calendarium Romanum*. Nürnberg, 1518. Stett in Lyffland.

Irenicus,<sup>268</sup> and Pirckheimer,<sup>269</sup> and in the commentary of Tacitus, by Althamer.<sup>270</sup> It is surprising and unclear, why these later authors omitted Dorpat.

In his *Cosmography* Sebastian Münster gives no co-ordinates. Following the sketch of Johan Hasentödter,<sup>271</sup> he publishes the view of Riga, which is the first of its kind for Livonia.<sup>272</sup> When he lists the most important towns, he also gives the distances between them.<sup>273</sup> This marks the introduction of a new quality in the description of Livonian localities.

### Nature

By Bartholomeus Anglicus, Revalia is said to be grassy land, grovy, with the waters full of fish. These groves (*nemorosa*) accompanied by marshes (*palustris*) also appear in Bartholomeus' descriptions of other Livonian landscapes,<sup>274</sup> and later in the first writings of Sebastian Münster.<sup>275</sup> As far as Livonia is concerned, Münster is the humanist to bring also more detailed description of its nature; the earlier authors have confined themselves to commentaries on Livonia's rivers proving the enduring influence of Ptolemy.

The influence of Ptolemy can also be dedicated in the depiction of the coastline. The conception of a separate sea (*Venedico seno*)<sup>276</sup> already exists on his maps, but there Scandinavia is pictured as an island in the Sarmatian ocean (*Sarmatico oceano*). A

<sup>268</sup> **Franz Irenicus**, *Germaniae exegesis*. Nürnberg, 1518. Fol. 192v.

<sup>269</sup> **Wilibald Pirckheimer**, *Germaniae ex variis Scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio*. Nürnberg, 1532. Fol. 535.

<sup>270</sup> **Andreas Althamer**, *Commentaria Germaniae*. Nürnberg, 1536. Fol. 313.

<sup>271</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. Fol. 788: *Designauimus autem hic ex traditione Iohannis Leporicidae faciem urbis Rigensis*,

<sup>272</sup> **F. Bachmann**, *Die alten Städtebilder, ein Verzeichnis der graphischen Ortsangaben von Schedel bis Merian*. Leipzig, 1939. S. 208.

<sup>273</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. Fol. 787: *Distat Riga a Riualia 50 a Tarbata 30 & a Vilana Lithuaniae 40 a Kunisbergo uero Prussiae sexaginta Germanicis miliaribus*.

<sup>274</sup> **Bartholomeus Anglicus**, *Liber de proprietatibus rerum*. Nürnberg 1483. *Revalia, Sambia, Vironia. (palustris et nemorosa)*

<sup>275</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Germaniae Descriptio* [xxx] pro tabula Nicolai Cusae intelligenda excerpta. Basel, 1530. *Livonia* (Reprint: Schardius, *Historicum opus*. Basel 1574. Bd.I, S. 467-500.)

<sup>276</sup> *Octava Europe Tabula*.

separate Baltic Sea and the Scandinavian Peninsula appear in the *Tabula Moderna* of Claudius Clavus, but the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea is depicted as a straight line, without the gulfs, until the publication of Olaus Magnus' *Carta Marina* (1539). Olaus Magnus introduces the islands Ösel, and Dagö, and the Gulf of Riga.

The first edition of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography* contains remarks on the nature of the province in two different parts of the text. In the beginning, Münster states that the land is partly marshy.<sup>277</sup> In the second part of the text, originating presumably from Glossenus, but the mentioning of the big lakes with lot of fish in them, and the general note claiming the land to be good and fruitful<sup>278</sup> contradict the first part. This, too, supports the hypothesis (see p. 40), that the two parts had different authors. Although the *Cosmography* contains details about the beasts, and amber, in the chapter about Prussia,<sup>279</sup> the flora and fauna of Livonia remains marginalised.

A note of Johann Hasentödter in the title of the subdivision, also reports about the fertility of the land.<sup>280</sup> Livonia is said to be full of groves, flat, without mountains, irrigated by rivers, with rich resources of fish. The fertility of the land is especially noted, disrespective of the large, uncultivated areas.<sup>281</sup> Having mentioned the abundance of cattle and game, Hasentödter turns to his speciality, the wild animals.<sup>282</sup> His long list ends with the description of a special type of Livonian hare, which turns white in winter. At that point also the skin of the polar bear, brought by the Russians from the north, enters into the narrative. A familiarity with the natural conditions of Livonia is displayed in these descriptions, but the author's praise is also part of the rhetorical model regarding the

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<sup>277</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544. Fol. 501.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibidem*, Fol. 502: *Es ist gut land, hat frucht gnug, vil wäid, weld, fischreich wässer, und vil grosser seen.*

<sup>279</sup> *Ibidem*, Fol. 498-499.

<sup>280</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. *De fertilitate Liuoniae & de moribus incolarum.*

<sup>281</sup> *Ibidem*, Fol. 787. *Liunia terra est plaustis, nemorosa, arenosa, plana & sine montibus satis piscosa, pro maiori parte inculta, fertilis tamen agris & pascuis abundans.*

<sup>282</sup> *Ibidem*, Fol. 787. *Nam habet ursos, alces, uulpes, lynces, marturos, Zabellos, Hermelinos, uarios pirolos, castores, & c.*

subject of praise of localities, *Städte lob*, a trope already appearing in Antiquity and was fruitfully practised by the humanists.<sup>283</sup> Sebastian Münster used the same pattern describing the fertility of the Spanish soil.<sup>284</sup>

### The Authorities and Their Challenges

The representation of power and rule exposes best the place and significance of Livonia in the world for which it was described. Aeneas Silvius starts it by placing Livonia on the edge of Christendom.<sup>285</sup> The idea is even older originating from the attitudes of the thirteenth century crusaders and their discovery of the land.<sup>286</sup> Silvius stresses this ominous closeness to the edge, by showing that next come the Russians and the Tartars. This disposition, although medieval in its content, became frequent in this form or wording, in the humanist paradigm.

After their first appearance in Eastern Europe the Tartars never disappeared, they remained a considerable power in the conflicts among the political forces of the region.<sup>287</sup> The recruitment and participation of the Tartars in the battle of Tannenberg (1410) on the Polish-Lithuanian side against the Teutonic Order, brought along much criticism — they were accused of being in league with the pagans, bent on defeating Christianity.<sup>288</sup> Later, during the Turkish invasion, especially in Eastern Europe, the idea of a union with the

<sup>283</sup> **J.Stagl**, "Die Methodisierung des Reisens im 16.Jahrhundert." In: *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*. Hg. P.J.Brenner. Suhrkamp, Bonn, 1988. S. 157.

<sup>284</sup> **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 171.

<sup>285</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, *Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis*. Francofurti, 1707. *De Europa: c. 28: Liuonia deinde christianorum ultima prouintiarum ad septentrione Ruthenis iungitur. Tartari eam saepe incurrunt*.

<sup>286</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Zur Würdigung der Kultur Altivlands im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert." In: *Historische Zeitschrift* Bd. 151, 1935. S. 34. Quotes as the official forms: *In extremis finibus christianitatis; ultimum antemurale christianitatis*.

<sup>287</sup> **F.Schmieder**, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes von 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 16.) Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1994. S. 188.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibidem*, S.189-193.

pagan Tartars against the Turks,<sup>289</sup> crops up repeatedly. The hostilities between the Turks and Tartars are remembered in European writings,<sup>290</sup> but, in general, the suspicion of the pagans and too large distances to communicate, hampered a union between the Christians and the Tartars.

For Silvius, the Tartars appear parallel with the Turks, although not as dangerously advancing as the latter. His first concern is to avoid a union between the Turks and the Tartars.<sup>291</sup> When speaking about the Tartars in the political terms of Eastern Europe, his concepts seem to be unclear. In one context he even called Ladislaus Jagiello a Tartar.<sup>292</sup> This may be the effect of the propaganda of the Teutonic Order<sup>293</sup> but, it may also be the typical mixing up of all pagans.

Against this background, Aeneas Silvius' information about the Tartar raids has a number implications. He mentions Tartars on several occasions,<sup>294</sup> but it is unclear whom he meant. D.Gebel contends that by using the ethnonym *Tartari* Aeneas Silvius also means Russians.<sup>295</sup> It is possible in connection with Livonian affairs, because in the raids conducted against Livonia, the Muscovites were accompanied by Tartars. The plotting of Tartars, Russians and Turks against the Christians was repeated in the Livonian literature also later, in the early sixteenth century propaganda piece, *Shonne Hystorie*, published in Cologne, and meant to reactivate the crusade.<sup>296</sup> The Tartars are also present in the later events of the Livonian war, thus the afterlife of the Tartars of Silvius is complex and self-

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<sup>289</sup> Ibidem, S.189-193.

<sup>290</sup> Ibidem, S. 195.

<sup>291</sup> Ibidem, S. 194. Letter 1454, from Wiener Neustadt IV. S. 542. *Quoniam et Tartari et Turci una mente christianorum nomen delere conarentur, fedusque invicem ferocissime illae gentis iniissent. De origine Prutenorum.* In: *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum.* IV S. 227.

<sup>292</sup> **Aeneas Silvius** *De viris illustribus*, In: *Scriptores Rerum. Prussicarum.* IV. S. 239.

<sup>293</sup> **F.Schmieder**, *Europa und die Fremden.* S. 91.

<sup>294</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, *Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis.* Francofurti, 1707. *De Europa*, c. 25; c. 28; c. 29.

<sup>295</sup> **D.Gebel**, *Nicolaus Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Bilder der außereuropäischen Welt als Spiegelung europäischer Sozialverhältnisse im 15. Jh.* Diss. Hamburg, 1977. S. 18.

<sup>296</sup> **F.Benninghoven**, "Russland im Spiegel der Livländischen Schonne Hystorie von 1508." In: *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung.* XI, 1962. S. 601-625. especially S. 612.

generating. On the one hand, they are the image of the enemy par excellence, on the other hand, this bias gets frequently confirmed by the news and threats, coming from Livonia itself.

Immediately after mentioning the Tartars, Aeneas Silvius mentions the Teutonic Order as that opponent of the threatening force.<sup>297</sup> In the mind of the humanists, the image of a crusading order must have been closely related to their own needs in the struggle against the Turks.<sup>298</sup> In the fifteenth century, which was marked by events like the battle of Tannenberg, the role of the Teutonic Order was declining, and later lead to the secularisation of the Prussian state during the Reformation.<sup>299</sup> However, the road to secularisation was very long, and in the images and ideas the Order remained as the main protagonist in the fight against the infidels. Aeneas Silvius proved his concern with the Teutonic Order in a separate work,<sup>300</sup> as well as in the chapter about Prussia in *De Europa*,<sup>301</sup> which fits into his pivotal aim to organise a crusade against the Turks.

In the stories told about Livonia, the role and the rule of the Order is dominating.<sup>302</sup> Later literature also tells about the Order of the Swordbrothers,<sup>303</sup> who having been first

<sup>297</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis. Francofurti, 1707. *De Europa*, c. 28: *In qua nostra aetate magnas acceperunt strages fratres theutonici qui beatae Mariae uocantur: hanc armis quaesiuere & christi sacra suscipere coegerunt: cum esset antea gentilis & idola coleret.*

<sup>298</sup> **L.Smugge**, *Die Kreuzzüge aus der Sicht Humanistischer Geschichtsschreiber*. (Beiträge der Aeneas Silvius Stiftung an der Universität Basel.) Basel, 1987. S. 7.

<sup>299</sup> **E.Christiansen**, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*. London 1980. pp. 233-240.

<sup>300</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, De situ et origine Pruthenorum. De Livonia. De bello Turcorum et Hungarorum. De officio et origine heraldorum. Köln, 1472.

<sup>301</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis. Francofurti, 1707. *De Europa*, c. 18.

<sup>302</sup> **Johannes Cohlæus**, Brevis Germaniae Descriptio. Nürnberg, 1512. (Hg. K.Langosch) Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte der Neuzeit. Bd. I, Darmstadt, 1960. Lib. VI. c. 26-27.; **Franz Irenicus**, Germaniae exegesis. Nürnberg, 1518. Fol. 140v. *De captione Liunioniae*.; **Wilibald Pirckheimer**, Germaniae ex variis Scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio. Nürnberg, 1532. fol. 536.; **Sebastian Münster**, Germaniae Descriptio [xxx] pro tabula Nicolai Cusae intelligenda excerpta. Basel, 1530. (Reprint: Schardius, Historicum opus. Basel 1574. Bd.I, S. 467-500.)

<sup>303</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, Cosmographie. Basel, 1544. Fol. 500: *Es waren dozumal auch ettlich andere geystlichen in Lyfland die hiess man Schwert brüder dan sie hatten ein schwert zeichen an jrem keleyd, und stritten do wider die Heyden unnd beschützen den Christlichen glauben. Und als sie sahen das*



established independently, became the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, substituted to the Grand Master in Prussia. Only through the more detailed description of the forming of the clerical structures by Albertus Krantz,<sup>304</sup> and consequently by Münster<sup>305</sup> the sounds of the peaceful preaching of the Christian faith got through.

The map of Olaus Magnus depicts armoured knights, some of them riding on the ice, and the inscription reads: *catholice ecclesie propugnaculum*. By that time the Reformation had been already introduced in Livonia, therefore this remark refers more likely to the role of the Order during a past crusade. In L.Bagrow's opinion the knights are in the picture commemorating the Battle on the Ice of 1242.<sup>306</sup> In my point of view A.Rybakov's position<sup>307</sup> according to which Olaus Magnus pictured the events of war between Russia and Sweden in 1495-97, which was closer to his time, is more likely. This view is also supported by Olaus' descriptions of that war in "*Historia...*"<sup>308</sup> and the depiction of "The Explosion of Viborg"<sup>309</sup> on his map. But whatever these knights may commemorate, it is significant that they are fixed in the image of Livonia as *propugnaculum*.

In Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography* the Order does not play a primary role in the life of Livonia. Although Glossenus is grateful to the Master of the Order for his allowing the preaching of the Lutheranism,<sup>310</sup> he also blames its commanders (*Commentir*) for the

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die Teütschen brüder gross glück hatten in jren kriegem, schlugen sie sich zu jnen und ward ein orden darauss.

<sup>304</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, Wandalia. Cloloniae Agrippinae, 1519. Lib VI c x-xi.

<sup>305</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, Cosmographia. Basel, 1550. Fol. 786.: *Meinardus uir religiosus terram cum mercatoribus de Lubeco nauigans adijt, paulo ante completum 1200, a Christo annum, casam extruxit, in qua mansit cum famulo, linguam gentis magno labore predidicit, & paulatim instruxit diuina religione, quos potuit.*

<sup>306</sup> **L.Bagrow**, *A History of the Cartography in Russia up to 1600*. Ed. by H.W.Castner. Ontario, 1975. p. 76.

<sup>307</sup> **A.Rybakov**, *Russkie karty Moskoovij XV-natshala XVI veka*. [The Russian Maps of Muscovy] Moskva, 1974. st. 36.

<sup>308</sup> **Olaus Magnus** *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*. Venetiis, 1555., XI, C. 1-4.

<sup>309</sup> The explosion of the main tower of the castle in Viborg during the war.

<sup>310</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544. Fol. 501: *Jetzt zu unseren zeitenn wirt das Euangelium frey unnd offentlichen in Lyffland gelert, besunder in dissenn stätten Riga, Reual, Tarpath, Narnia, Velino und Wenden, do sich der Teütsch meister halt, und lasst das Euangelium predigen.*

lack of religious instruction of the commoners. Johan Hasentödter mentions the leading role of the Order in the ruling of the land, but he is very critical about its military values and labels them gluttons and drunkards.<sup>311</sup> Urban relations and trade are the main topic of both description.

### Locals

As I have shown, the relatively late Christianisation of Livonia is often remembered regarding the role of the Order. In the introduction to the province Albertus Krantz refers to the events of the conversion - three hundred years earlier - as to the near past.<sup>312</sup> Consequently, in the humanist literature Livonians are never described as pious Christians. Of course, three hundred years is not enough to change profoundly the habits and the earlier religious foundation of the neophytes: the religious practices remained old-fashioned for a long time.<sup>313</sup> Yet the humanist attitude is probably also shaped by the contempt of the educated for peasants practices. Later the religious ignorance of the peasants is used in the argument for the Reformation. This circumstance forms the background for the especially successful motive of the paganism of Livonians.

In his description of Livonia, Aeneas Silvius does not mention anything exact about the old religion of the people.<sup>314</sup> From the survey of the surroundings of Livonia we get an impression that Silvius had a general idea about the disposition of the lands, but lacked detailed information. In his scheme the north-east of Europe is a marginal territory of

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<sup>311</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. fol: 787: *Errant igitur, qui asserunt magistrum Liuoniae perpetua militia occupari contra Tartaros semper irruentes. Summam militiam Liiones hodie exercent in comparationibus & commensationibus, pottissimum autem ista fiunt in arcibus & aulis dominorum.*

<sup>312</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Clononiae Agrippinae, 1519. Lib. VI, c. ix: *Anni sunt ab hodierno non plures trecentis: cum primum Liunia credidid, sub I Frederico, ad eius nouissima tempora (qae iam scribentes contigimus) per occasionem mercatorum qui adierant, sacerdotesque inuexerant.*

<sup>313</sup> **E.Christiansen**, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*. London 1980. p. 218 etc.

<sup>314</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, *Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis*. Francofurti, 1707. *De Europa*, c. 28. f. 278. :*cum esset antea gentilis & idola coleret.*

Christianity and its inhabitants are pagans or half-Christianised people,<sup>315</sup> and the people living to the north of Livonia, are half-savages, having no language to communicate.<sup>316</sup> This involvement of language in the determination of the savageness reminds one of the appearance of the term "barbarian", the roots of which also lie - above all - in the unintelligible language of the other. In the description of Livonia itself, I suppose, the fact that it was ruled by the Teutonic Order puts the remains of paganism aside in the generalising approach of Aeneas Silvius.

The Lithuanians, whose conversion was even closer in the memory of the people of that time, received a more detailed treatment.<sup>317</sup> Another reason for concentrating on Lithuanian pagan rites, was probably the availability of firsthand information from Jerome of Prague, who had been preaching among the Lithuanians. Reading the description on veneration of fire, trees and snakes it is justified to ask, how much of it was there because of the stereotypical image of the pagan and what had been really practised? I shall address this question later, but it is significant that disrespective of the text, the judgement that the people were heathen was decided upon.

The medieval stereotypes about the pagan people of Livonia entered the humanistic paradigm via the encyclopaedia of Bartholomeus Anglicus.<sup>318</sup> His story, about the burning of the dead in their best clothes<sup>319</sup> also found its way also to the *Weltbuch* of Sebastian Franck who in his skilful and emotional edition combined it with the passage from Aeneas Silvius.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> **D.Gebel**, *Nicolaus Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Bilder der außereuropäischen Welt als Spiegelung europäischer Sozialverhältnisse im 15. Jh.* Diss. Hamburg, 1977. S. 17.

<sup>316</sup> **Pius II (Aeneas Silvius)**, *Opera Geographica et Historica cum Praefatione de eiusdem vita et Libris tum editis tum manuscriptis.* Francofurti, 1707. *De Europa*, c. 28. f. 278. :*Ad septentrionem semiferos homines esse tradunt: cum quibus nullum linguae comertium, nauigantes habent, signis tantum & nutibus commutare merces fuerunt.*

<sup>317</sup> Ibidem, c. 26.

<sup>318</sup> Many fifteenth century prints, edition used here: **Bartholomeus Anglicus**, *Liber de proprietatibus rerum.* Nürnberg 1483.

<sup>319</sup> Ibidem, *Livonia*

<sup>320</sup> **Sebastian Franck**, *Weltbuch.* Tübingen, 1534. Fol. 55v.

The exclusivist and ignorant attitude towards the ex-pagan tribes, and their miserable habits, changed into humanistic compassion in the course of the sixteenth century. The religious topics in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography* were shaped by many different forces. First Sebastian Münster's own Christian feelings must be considered. He had been a Franciscan who had turned to Protestantism, but he did not participate in the religious strives of his time.<sup>321</sup> The orientation of the *Cosmography* is not so much religious as patriotic.<sup>322</sup> In the description of Münster the stories of pagan rites practised by the local people may, on the one hand, have been a continuation of the history of the crusaders, but on the other, since belong to that part of the text that came directly from his informants, they, more likely, reflect the attitude of their writers.

In the first edition of Münster's *Cosmography* (1544 by Nicolaus Glossenens),<sup>323</sup> the description is focused on religious matters and to Protestant teaching as allowed by the Master of the Order, and the opponents of the Reformation. The religious ignorance of the locals, or the "many among the common people," is mostly due to their lack of German.<sup>324</sup> The story of their veneration of the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Trees, seems to be the conformism with the old schemes, and does not display direct study of the habits of Livonians. A curious fact is also added: people baptising their children many times over, possibly because of the gifts they received every time.<sup>325</sup> Glossenens' conclusion is, that mostly the bishops and the sheriffs are to be blamed for torturing of the poor.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> **V.Hantzsch**, "Sebastian Münster, Leben, Werk, wissenschaftliche Bedeutung." In: *Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-Histor. Klasse, XLI, 18, Nr. 3, Leipzig, 1898. S. 20,22.

<sup>322</sup> **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 159-160.

<sup>323</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544. Fol. 501-502.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 501: *Es seind auch vil under dem gemainem volck, die der Teütschen sprachen kein bericht haben, und deshalb kein Christlich hyrten haben.*

<sup>325</sup> *Ibidem*, *Sie lassen jre kinder tauffen in den nechsten stätten, unnd so sie anderstwo hin ziehen do man sie nit kennt, lassen sie jre kinder gewinds halb noch ein mal tauffen.*

<sup>326</sup> *Ibidem*, *Unnd daran seind die bischöff zum guten theyl schuldig und die Commentir und andere Landuogt, die doch das arm volck peinigen biss uff des letst.*

As has been noted before, the description of Livonia by Johan Hasentödter<sup>327</sup> is more detailed. Beginning with the gluttonous habits of the Livonian nobles he passes to the condition of the common people.<sup>328</sup> According to his logic, that the happy life of the masters is paid for by the misery of the common people. Hasentödter describes the shoes made of birch bark and the laments of the commoners.<sup>329</sup> Such details render a flavour of authenticity to his description. The name of Jesus is known - that fact was noted by Glossenus<sup>330</sup> - but it is used as an expletive.<sup>331</sup> What concerns the pagan habits of the people, Hasentödter diverges from the list of Glossenus by also mentioning stones as objects of veneration. Since the practice, as well as the venerated stones are still known these could have been reflecting the author's personal experiences. This may be true of the description of funerals, and the text showing the misery of the people in this world, and their hope for the revenge in a future life.<sup>332</sup>

The suffering of the common people also appears in the *Wandalia* of Albertus Krantz.<sup>333</sup> He finishes his short report on the rebellion of St. George's night,<sup>334</sup> with the contention that even dogs live among better conditions than those people.<sup>335</sup> The constant war and the raids of the Russians are given as further cause for the troubles.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. fol 787-789.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 788: *Erga huiusmodi gulones domini & nobiles quidam liberales sunt, & ex miseris usticis omnia cum magna tyrannide emunguntur, quae illi tam predistissime profundunt.*

<sup>329</sup> *Ibidem*, *Deferunt calceos ex corticibus factos, comparantes par unum tribus denarijs. Pro cantu usurpant ululatum luporum, uocem iehu sine intermissione repetentes.*

<sup>330</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544. Fol. 501: *Sie haben den Christen namen, wissen aber nichts von Christo zu sagen.*

<sup>331</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. fol 787. [...] *uocem iehu sine intermissione repetentes. Interrogati autem quid per uocem iehu intelligant, respondent se nescire, obseruare maiorum suorum consuetudinem.*

<sup>332</sup> *Ibidem*, *Quum mortuum aliquem terrae mandare uolunt, potantes circumdant illum, inuitantque ad bibendum, partem eius super illum fundentes. Immittentes autem eum in sepulchrum, apponunt ei securium, cibum & potum parumque pecuniae pro uiatico, allo quunturque eum talibus uerbis: Peregrini alium mundum, ubi dominaberis Teutonibus, sicut illi tibi hic fecerunt.*

<sup>333</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Clononiae Agrippinae, 1519. VII, 48; VIII, 27; XIII, 21.

<sup>334</sup> The biggest Estonian uprising, 1343.

<sup>335</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Clononiae Agrippinae, 1519. VIII, 27: *Canes nostri tolerabilius pascunt illis hominibus: tam misera seruitute premuntur.*

<sup>336</sup> *Ibidem*, XIII, 21. *Liunia uastatur a russis.*

The summary evaluations of the three men, contain a generally negative judgement of the state of the natives of Livonia. Glossenus approaches the problem from the viewpoint of the Reformer, revealing his criticism of the old church hierarchy. Krantz also points out the difficult political situation. Hasentödter blames the intemperance of the masters of the land. Despite different accents, it should be pointed out that none of them was born or had lived in Livonia, and thus they were not used to the complex of the colonial model of Livonian culture.<sup>337</sup> Their criticism of the oppression of the peasants may originate from this strangeness, but also from the system of values of the authors' humanistic education. On the one hand, we are confronted with the memories of the pagan past, on the other, with the scholarly attitude towards the rural folk, who had been known for their superstition and strange religious practices.

The diversity of the languages among the natives in Livonia finds its first detailed treatment in the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster. Albertus Krantz, who brings into the discourse the idea of the different languages of the Livonians, Estonians, Latvians, and Curonians, makes no elaborate comments, but concludes that those people had to be barbarous and unfriendly, when they live in the same small province without a common language.<sup>338</sup> The land was said to be divided among the above languages, but the towns were German speaking.

Among the various informants of Münster, Nicolaus Glossenus had little to say. His concern was, that due to the lack of knowledge of German, the commoners had not understood the message of the Christian religion.<sup>339</sup> Insufficient instruction in the

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<sup>337</sup> **L.Arbusow**, "Zur Würdigung der Kultur Altlivlands im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert." In: *Historische Zeitschrift* Bd. 151, 1935. S. 22-23.

<sup>338</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia. Cloloniae Agrippinae*, 1519. Lib. VI, c ix: *In ea enim non lata prouincia, coangustatae sunt multarum gentium linguae, olim, ut diximus, diffusius habitantum. Barbaratum, & inciuiem, atque liilegalem fuisse omnem illam gentem monstrat linguarum perseuerans uarietas, in nullo incidentium inuicem.*

<sup>339</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544. Fol. 501: *Es seind auch vil under dem gemainem volck, die der Teütschen sprachen kein bericht haben, und deshalb kein Christlich hyrten haben.*

Christian religion could have been vainly a language problem,<sup>340</sup> and therefore Glossenus' criticism was due to his worrying about the spreading of Lutheranism.

Much more interesting is the remark near the text of the *Pater Noster* in Finnish, published in the first edition of *Cosmography*,<sup>341</sup> claiming that some Livonians also used that language.<sup>342</sup> As this *Pater Noster* was also said to be used in the language of the Laplanders (*Pilappener sprach*), one may assume that by these *etliche Lyflender* the Estonians were meant, whose language even today is similar to Finnish.

Johan Hasentödter's expertise, as I have earlier noted, was more bound to Riga and its vicinity. He reports on the native languages and remarks on Reval's and Dorpat's use of Estonian, stating that around Riga the Livonian language is used.<sup>343</sup> In the latter, which appears to be Latvian, he also records the *Pater Noster*.<sup>344</sup> Mistaking Latvian for Livonian, by a man like Hasentödter, may mean that Livonian was no longer used around Riga, while in the thirteenth century it was still inhabited by Livs.<sup>345</sup> But the mix-up with minor languages may happen unintentionally, as we may see in the monograph of

<sup>340</sup> In the late fifteenth century for example there appears in the Accountbook of the St. Nicolaus in Reval, in the several places *undutshe predikstole* (Tallinn City Archives, F. 31, n. 1, s. 216. *Rechnungsbuch der Kirchenvormünder* 1465-1531.) The knowledge of Estonian by the Dominicans in Reval is treated by **P.Johansen**, "Eestikeelsed märkmed kahes dominiiklaste kloostri raamatus." [Estonian Notes in two Books of the Dominicans] In: *Eesti Keel*, 1929. nr. 5-6, lk. 89-97.

<sup>341</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544. Lib. IV. Reprint: **C.Krötzel**, "Zur Darstellung Finnlands in der "Cosmographia" Sebastian Münsters von 1544." In: *Bausteine. Die Schweiz und Finnland im Spiegel ihrer Begegnungen*. (Jahrbuch für finnisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen Nr. 23/1991. Hg. I.Schellbach-Kopra, M.v.Grüningen.) Verlag Neue Züricher Zeitung, Zürich, 1991. S. 65.

<sup>342</sup> Ibidem: *Vatter unser in Finlendischer unnd Pilappener sprach, deren sich auch etliche Lyflender gebrauchen*.

<sup>343</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. fol. 789. *Reualiae & Tarbatae utuntur lingua Esthiaca, & circa Rigam, Lingua Liuonica*.

<sup>344</sup> Ibidem: *Rustici prope hanc urbem habitantes & in uerbo domini instituti, orant dominicam orationem in hunc modum*: Tabes mus kas tu es eckschkan debbasis, schuuettitz touus uaartz, Enack moms touus uualstibe, touus praats bus ka eckschkan debbes ta uuursan semmes, miusse denische maeyse duth mums schodeen, pammat mums musse graeke ka mesis pammat musse parradueken Ne euusdde mums louna badeklepett passarga mums nu uuusse loune Amen.

<sup>345</sup> **E.Christiansen**, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*. London 1980. Map 3.

K.H.Burmeister on Sebastian Münster, where the Latvian *Pater Noster* is erroneously claimed to be in Estonian.<sup>346</sup>

### The Germans

The customs of the German segment of the population received less attention in the fifteenth-century descriptions of Livonia, because the activities of the Order have been described more as political events. Albertus Krantz restricts himself to writing that the towns in Livonia are German.<sup>347</sup> Of course, he does not possess the kind of ethnographic data, which Münster renders in his *Cosmography*, but we may take Krantz' remark, as a direct perception of the ordinary world.

Some reflections on the same can be found in the writings of Glossenus, who starts his description of towns by saying that the people eat, drink, dress, and have other habits like the Germans, surrounding them.<sup>348</sup> Scepticism, and the confrontation of humanist values with the mercantile town's culture are reflected in his remark about the lack of appreciation of scholars there.<sup>349</sup> Despite his negative attitude, Glossenus goes on describing trade relations with *Reussen, Littawer, Schwediern, Denmärckern, Pommern, Lübeckern und andern umbligenden ländern*.<sup>350</sup> He reports on the exports of grain, flax, wax and expensive furs (*köstlich fell*) and on the imports of leather, salt, and smoked fish.<sup>351</sup> He also describes the hierarchy of the towns, where the nobles and the richest

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<sup>346</sup> **K.H.Burmeister**, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*. (Baseler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft. Bd. 91.) Basel und Stuttgart, 1963. S. 160.

<sup>347</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia. Coloniae Agrippinae*, 1519. Lib. VI c. ix: *Nam arces & oppida tota sunt Saxonica*.

<sup>348</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544. Fol. 502: *Sie essen, drincken, klaiden sich und han andere gebräuch gleich wie die andern anstossenden Teütschen*.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibidem*, *Es seind allein die kaufleüt und die reichen bey inen in grosser achtung, aber die gelerten gelten do nichts*.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibidem*, Fol. 502.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibidem*.



burghers are of German origin.<sup>352</sup> The report closes with the claim that they all follow the laws of Lübeck.<sup>353</sup>

Summarising: Glosenus was familiar with urban relations, but had little to say about life in the countryside. His contention about them, following the law of Lübeck, shows that he knew the Revalian situation only, since the law of Riga followed the Magdeburg law. When we consider the proportion given to the trade, in the description of the town life in Glosenus' story, it proves the importance of the trade in the prosperity of the province. This description marks introduction of new emphases on urban themes regarding life in Livonia, pushing the fights of the Order in to the historical part of the narrative.

Johan Hasentödter had a poor opinion about the habits of the Germans. In his view, in contrast of the days of the victorious Order, the soldiers of Livonia were gluttons and drunkards.<sup>354</sup> The women of Riga were lazy and refused to do any kind of work.<sup>355</sup> In the chronicles of the latter part of the sixteenth-century the motive of good and lazy life were frequently repeated in contrast to the tribulations of the war. For example in the chronicle of Balthasar Russow, we find a description, where the author calls Livonia as *Düdeschen Hospital*, and uses the pun *Livland, Blivland* (the land where to stay).<sup>356</sup> The sybaritic life-style also emphasised because of Protestantism, and it should be remembered that both Glosenus and Hasentödter were Protestants, although the latter, probably, not active.

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<sup>352</sup> Ibidem: *Was edelleüt und furnemer burger darin seind, han jren ursprung auss dem Teutschland.*

<sup>353</sup> Ibidem: *Und dise alle seind der Oberkeit underthenig, und wirt do gehalten das recht in form unnd weyss wie zu Lübeck.* This last fact is only partialy correct, because the law of Riga was connected to the Magdeburg law.

<sup>354</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. Fol. 787. *De fertilitate Liuoniae & de moribus incolarum.*

<sup>355</sup> Ibidem, Fol. 788.

<sup>356</sup> **Balthasar Russow**, *Chronica der Prouintz Lyffland* (printed in 1578, 1584). For a modern edition see *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*. Bd. II, Riga/ Leipzig, 1848. S. 9-11. Also see **A. Spekke**, "Die Kultur Livoniens (nach ausländischen Zeugnissen) von der Mitte des 16. bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts." In: *Die Letten*. Riga, 1930. S. 340.

Among the cities there are, according to Hasentödter, three were worthy of mention: Riga, Reval and Dorpat. He also gave the distances between them<sup>357</sup> and, described Riga which was, evidently, better known to him. He started with remarks on the navigability of the Duna,<sup>358</sup> and rendered a detailed description of the recent fire in Riga, which reduced many house to the ashes, among them the residences of the archbishop, and the arsenal as well.<sup>359</sup>

In his list of the exports, Hasentödter dropped grain, and replaced it by the pitch for ships.<sup>360</sup> Also, the list of people trading in Riga, is more exotic than Glossenus': *Moscouitae, Turcae, Hispani, Angli, Scoti, Suedi & Germani*. It should noted that, although Hasentödter and Glossenus attempt to describe province, by-and-large, successfully to boot, their views are also personal, are bound to the local specifics. Hasentödter has less to say about the other cities. For him Reval is not smaller than Riga, or Dorpat, that trades with the Russians.<sup>361</sup> He is more exact about the laws; he knows that Reval follows the laws of Lübeck, while Riga has its own laws.<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographia*. Basel, 1550. Fol. 787. *De ciuitatibus Liuoniae & earum consuetudinibus*.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 787-788.: *Riga metropolitana ciuitas sita in fundo arenso & iuxta nauigabilem fluuium, qui uocatur Duna, uenit ex Russia, duobusque miliaribus infra Rigam miscetur mari, putatur tantae esse magnitudinis quantae est Friburgum in Brisgoia*.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 788.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibidem*, Fol. 789. *Habent ciues eius Lubecense, prouocantque in foro contentioso ad Lubecum. Rigenses uero habent proprium ius scriptum, cui alia quoque oppida parent*.

## Conclusions

Humanistic literature developed considerably during the one and a half century, which was examined here. From the earlier strict adherence to classical authorities to the large collections of authentic information has taken a long time. This was also the case of Livonia, where statements of Aeneas Silvius inform the literature until the works of Albertus Krantz and Sebastian Münster bring more up-to-date and detailed material into the field.

Also the mechanisms of assimilation received knowledge changed remarkably during that period. The Christianisation of the land and its integration into the economic and political structures of the West, may be marked by the vague term: discovery. Nonetheless, more exact information, and details treating life in Livonia, were introduced only slowly. The traditional channels were the rulers of the province, the bishops and especially, the Teutonic Order, which is probably the reason for Livonia's frequent depiction next to Prussia. Hansatic connections affected the image, through the improvements in the cartographic picture, in the early sixteenth century only. The conditions of trade and urban life, as expressions of the Hanseatic world, entered the reports in connection with the writings of Glossenus and Hasentödter.

Livonia's position in the world, described in the works of the humanists, is ambiguous. In the oft-quoted words of Aeneas Silvius, whose text on Livonia was probably one of the most influential ones of the time "*Liunia, deinde cristianorum ultima prouintiarum...*"<sup>363</sup> It is here, that the dual of the image of Livonia is most clearly detectable. On the one hand, the land is seen as belonging to Christendom, to "our side",

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<sup>363</sup> Pius II, *De Europa*. c.28.

but the word *ultima* refers to its marginality. The story of the Teutonic Order and that of Christianisation inform the image of this frontier.

L. De Anna has shown the concept of alienness as it manifested itself in the case of the Finns, who were described as barbarians in the early Middle Ages.<sup>364</sup> This type of otherness is, in some way, also discernible in regard to fifteenth and sixteenth century Livonia. The pagan practices of the Livonian peasants remains in the descriptions throughout the period. It is, however, going through a transition: whereas the peasants were earlier seen as neophytes, later it was the negative views of the Protestants, towards the religious achievements of the Catholic era, which entered into the descriptions. However, compassion, expressed regarding their miserable condition is typical of both Catholic and Protestant humanists.

Summarising the remarks on the similarities and differences of the lands make the image of Livonia particularly transparent. Albertus Krantz starts his description with the sentence: *Liunioniam iungimus prouincijs & regnis memoratis: non quo lingua, uel moribus, Wandalis cohereat: sed quum finibus eius includitur*.<sup>365</sup> Krantz later makes a clear distinction between the narrative of Wendish and Livonian events.<sup>366</sup> Sebastian Münster, however, puts more emphasis on the similarities between Livonian and German: *Sie essen, trincken, klaiden sich und han andere gebräuch gleich wie die andern anstossenden Teütschen*.<sup>367</sup>

The solution, offering a synthesis from the two antitheses, can be found in the theoretical aspects regarding the limits of semiotic systems, as discussed by J.M. Lotman.<sup>368</sup> On the one hand, the limit requires a definition of the "our" and the "their":

<sup>364</sup> **L. De Anna**, "The Peoples of Finland and Early Medieval Sources." In: *Suomen varhaishistoria*, Jyväskylä, 1992. p. 12

<sup>365</sup> **Albertus Krantz**, *Wandalia*. Köln, 1519. Lib. VI, cap. viiii.

<sup>366</sup> Ibidem, Lib. VI cap. xi.; Lib. VII cap. xxii.

<sup>367</sup> **Sebastian Münster**, *Cosmographie*. Basel, 1544.

<sup>368</sup> **J.M. Lotman**, "O Semiosfere." [On Semiosphere] In: *Izbrannye statji*. Tallinn, 1993. T. I. st. 11-24.

this draws the line of demarcation. Therefore, the marking of such lines is a necessary precondition for the forming of a semiosphere. On the other hand, the limit has the function of the membrane. The signals of other semiospheres are received through the translating structures of this limit. In this context the frontiers, or peripheral zones, are the most important communicative structures of the semiosphere. Connection with the outer world (and therefore its translatory function) makes the periphery absorb characteristics of the world beyond the border. As an example for this phenomenon, Lotman discusses the situation in the late Roman Empire, where barbarians lived on both sides of the *limes*.<sup>369</sup>

Thus it is understandable, that the image of Livonia had so many different implications, since it was viewed from the centre, and from an élitist, humanist perspective.

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<sup>369</sup> Ibidem, st. 15.

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## Appendix 1: Reconstructed maps

The coordinates were taken from following sources:

**Petrus Apianus**, *Cosmographicus Liber*. 1524. fol.29.

**Petrus Apianus**, *Cosmographia*. Antwerpen, 1545. fol.78.

**Claudius Clavus**, *Cod. Vindobona* (After **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. S. 138.

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**Johannes Schöner**, *De usu globi astriferi opusculum*. Antwerpen, 1548. 37v, 38v.

**Johannes Stöffler**, *Calendarium Romanum*. Nürnberg, 1518.

**Franz Irenicus**, *Germaniae exegesis*. Nürnberg, 1518. fol. 195v, 200v.

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The maps were created with the program "Kleio." Underlined points mark the true co-ordinates of the places (calculated according to the presumption that the 0° meridian of Ptolemy was 11° west from Toledo). Circles mark the places referred to in the title of the map, triangles are the other co-ordinates of the database.



## **Appendix 2: Map of Livonia**