

Western Representations of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in the Fifteenth – First Half of the Sixteenth Centuries.

A Comparative Approach Using Visual Text Analysis.

by

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Introduction

1.1 From Middle Ages to Renaissance

Perceiving, constructing, transmitting and using the images of other people and of other lands in different historical periods has been a hot topic in humanities. It is also one of the challenges in contemporary societies. Massive internal and external migrations in all parts of the world, the globalization and urbanization processes require understanding and knowledge about the other at personal as well as at intergovernmental levels.

The Renaissance and Early Modern Period was an extremely fruitful period in this respect. New peoples and new lands were being discovered and incorporated into the world picture, economy, cultural geography and ethnology of that period. The old picture of the world, the conceptions about its size and its inhabitants had been challenged. These changes were interconnected with the new tendencies in the intellectual sphere, like the Renaissance culture and the ideas of Humanism, the rediscovery and translations of the works of Ptolemy, Pliny the Elder and other ancient authorities in geography and ethnology, dissemination of the university education, etc. All these processes stimulated and influenced each other and, finally, led to the formation of new ethnological languages, crucial to the Enlightenment and to modern anthropology.¹ That was the period when the

1 Joan-Pau Rubies, "New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology," *History and Anthropology*, 6 (1993): 157-197.

world became globalized for the first time through contacts, exploration, trade, colonization and intellectual comprehension as a whole. Thus, travel and exploration comprise major defining components of the Renaissance itself. In this work I will refer to Renaissance mostly as a historical period, covering the 15th - 16th centuries.

While dealing with geographical and ethnological conceptions in the Middle Ages one should keep in mind that we are often speaking about "imagined" conceptions. Imagined does not mean wrong or false, but perceived or interpreted. This perception was built upon the contemporary cultural convictions of authors, the existing textual tradition and often not that much upon the physical objectivity of the described phenomena.²

What was new about the depicted historical period is that it was marked by a number of significant achievements related to an expansion of the geographical borders of the "known" world. The geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries opened up windows into previously unknown lands and continents. The contribution of exploration was crucial, not only for expanding knowledge about the surrounding world, but also for notions and concepts about the world in general.³

The Renaissance with the rediscovery of Classical writings in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries together with the ideas of European Humanism created a new intellectual climate in Europe. These new trends evoked an interest in human diversity, its nature, and the history of different peoples.⁴ Analytic discourse, emphasized in this period, provided a methodology for writing about these new experiences. This was expressed through a combination of interpretation through

2 Ruth Morse, *Truth and Conventions in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 106.

3 John H. Elliot, *The Old World and the New, 1492 – 1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Karl W. Butzer, "From Columbus to Acosta: Science, Geography, and the New World," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82 (1992): 543-565; W.R. Jones. "The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (1971): 376-407 (esp.387-407).

4 Antony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

reasoning and use of empirical evidence.⁵ Ancient techniques of exploration, inspection, travel and interrogation were adapted to the contemporary needs. The classical system of exploration in all possible applications was revived and developed during the Renaissance.⁶ In the sixteenth century, Humanist ideas and approaches concerning travel and exploration had already been expressed theoretically and were starting to be taught as an art. These were theoretical works, namely, collections of instructions which informed those who traveled about the purposes of travel, how to prepare for the travel, what to learn and to look for while traveling, whom to ask and what to ask, finally, what to do with the gathered information. Hundreds of such works in the "art of travel" (*ars apodemica*) were published in Latin, as well as in main European languages from the middle of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

During the Renaissance, the main challenge for the ethnography scholars, map-makers and geographers were the attempts to reconcile the classical, Biblical and medieval sources to the information, gathered from the voyages and exploration expeditions. Travel and exploration played a transformative role in this process. Namely, they inspired development of analytical discourse while writing about other peoples.⁷

The most influential and significant ancient intellectual authorities, whose ideas and approaches to world representation were followed and developed at this period were Ptolemy and Strabo. Ptolemy offered a set of mathematical principles for mapping a spherical world in two dimensions. For Ptolemy, the descriptive product of geographical knowledge was the map.⁸ The legacy of Strabo was also

5 Joan-Pau Rubies, "New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology," *History and Anthropology*, 6 (1993): 157-197; idem, "Instructions for Travelers: Teaching the Eye to See," *History and Anthropology* 9 (1996): 139-190.

6 Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952).

7 Joan-Pau Rubies, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes 1250-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

8 Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 6.

a *Geography* or *Geographica*, a multi-volume work, that did not contain maps, no mathematical calculations to represent the world. This was an encyclopedic description of all parts of the world known to Greeks and Romans. The work contained structured information on geography, flora and fauna, ethnology, peoples, their social organization, history, habits and culture, strange, marvellous and unusual things in different places.

Thus, the main forms for geographical representations of distant lands and peoples at the depicted period were the descriptions in text and images. What was new at the investigated period is that these two streams of representation started intervene each other: illustrated accounts and encyclopedias, illustrated maps with historical and interpretive inscriptions, travel notes with maps etc. The "old world picture" needed rethinking, renewal, rebirth. The production of textual and cartographic sources about distant people and lands reached its widest extent in this period. The main centers for this activity were the Low Countries, France, Iberia, Italy and the German lands.

The invention of printing made the information easier to circulate and available to a wider audience. It reduced the cost of book production and book prices. The technology of the printing press had spread quickly throughout Catholic Europe. As a result, new information reached readers faster and made faster impact upon individuals as well as societies in general.⁹ Broader dissemination of knowledge offered also more information about world view and self-identification.¹⁰ These achievements of the period need to be mentioned here as they partly reflect the general historical context under which the depicted sources were created, disseminated and made their impact.

I am interested in keeping the line of connecting the results of my research with

9 Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Chandra Mukerji, "Printing, Cartography and Conceptions of Place in Renaissance Europe," *Media, Culture and Society* 28 (2006): 651-659.

10 Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: the Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), 8.

the general tendencies in the European expansion and its cultural convictions in the period of Renaissance. This is decisive for better understanding of the content of the involved sources, the influences under which they were created, for understanding their context, and for explaining their contradicting information. The present research is, as an example, the attempt to depict and to visually demonstrate the main composite elements in contemporary textual images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, to trace the dynamics of the created images through the fifteenth - first half of the sixteenth centuries. Also, I will involve the images and maps that accompany the textual sources for better understanding of the image-making process for Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in the depicted period.

1.2 Chronological frameworks

In order to better present the reasons why the particular chronological period has been specified for this research, let us consider the main general tendencies of the era, decisive for the issues of expansion, traveling, interest in other lands, contacts and missionary work. This short sight into the history will help us to better contextualize the sources involved into the present investigation. At the same time it will be a helpful background in defining and interpreting the differences in the content of the sources, the authors' rhetoric and finally, the differences in the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia.

There has been an argument in scholarship concerning the European expansion in the Late Middle Ages, namely, that during the fourteenth century Europe became rather isolated from the rest of the world. In some works this century is characterized as a sharp line dividing the medieval and the modern periods in European expansion.¹¹

Such factors like: the Western or the Papal Schism of 1378 - 1417; the Black Death; the decline of the Latin Christian initiatives in the eastern Mediterranean

11 Archibald R. Lewis, "The Closing of the Mediaeval Frontier 1250-1350," *Speculum* 33, no. 4 (Oct., 1958): 475-483.

after the loss of Acre in 1291; then the failure of the Nicopolis crusade in 1396; the Golden Horde's possessions in the East reaching the peak of its military power and adopting of Islam to a big extent reduced European activities in the eastern direction as well as any other expansion activities. The Avignon period of papal history weakened the church and its missionary work among the infidels over the eastern borders of the Christendom. At that time this was the main direction to expand the influence. The Black Death killed about 30 to 60 per cent of the European population in the middle of the fourteenth century. One of its effects was the reduction of pressure for land along the eastern European frontier for decades. The fact that the rulers and the nobility of the Golden Horde started adopting Islam in the fourteenth century and the state itself reached the peak of its military power made the Christian mission to the East hardly possible.

Thus, a number of formidable factors within Europe and outside of its Eastern frontier in the fourteenth century caused a significant drop in its expansion activity, but it would be wrong to say that the contacts in this direction stopped, but traveling eastwards for a European was connected with increasing difficulty at that period. Discussing all the above mentioned events in his book, James Muldoon points out that facing the difficulties and pressures in the eastern direction the European expansion "gradually shifted its emphasis" to the western and southern borders of Christendom.¹² The beginning of the fifteenth century, or more precisely, the conquest of Ceuta by Portugal in North Africa in 1415 is characterized as the starting point for this age of expansion.¹³

I am interested to explore the images of eastern European lands in the fifteenth - first half of the sixteenth centuries, just when this European expansion changed its emphasis and its vector turned from East to West and South.

12 James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: the Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 74.

13 Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion 1400-1668* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 1-11; Peter O.Koch, *To the Ends of the Earth: The Age of the European Explorers* (Jefferson NC: McFarland, 2003); Ronald S. Love, *Maritime Exploration in the Age of Discovery, 1415-1800* (New York: Greenwood Press, 2006), 11-19.

It is always hard to talk about exact historical frameworks. At my research period Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia represented three relatively separate political entities. Between 1385 and 1569 years Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were in dynastic union. Nevertheless, this was still not a unified state, which they formed after, in 1569. At the mentioned period they were also being described separately in the involved sources.

Until the end of the fourteenth century, not that much was known in the Western societies about lands in the east of Europe. By the early fifteenth century, interest in this area, namely, the lands beyond Poland increased. This was the time when the Golden Horde and its heirs start losing their geopolitical positions in the east of Europe. A new state body, namely, the Grand Duchy of Moscovia appeared here and grew in strength and size. These processes called forth interest of economic, political, military and religious nature in these lands. Popes and European rulers were involved in diplomatic and religious missions there, merchants were seeking to open up new markets and trade destinations and mercenaries were leaving for the East to offer their services to new lords. Thus, the fifteenth century was the time of "discovery" of Moscovia by Europeans. Through the sixteenth century, contacts of various kinds became more and more intensive.

Gradually, Moscovia gained significant influence upon the political situation in the East of Europe. The culminating point of my research period is the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1547 Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) changed his title from the "Grand Prince of Moscow" to the title of "Tsar of All the Russians". The new title was also used by his successors. From the middle of the sixteenth century and henceforth Moscovia was transformed in a sense into a new state with a different kind of self-representation. It was declared a "Tsardom" and experienced a tremendous expansion of its territory to the East and South through the following centuries.

Thus, the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries were the time when the Moscovite Rus' or the Moscovite Duchy became an influential player in

the region. It had been more often and more thoroughly described in the western sources under the name of Moscovia. The apogee source within the framework of my research is Sigismund von Herberstein's *Rerum moscoviticarum...*, published in 1549. It represents the most detailed western description of the Moscovite Rus' from the period. He wrote his book in the form of an extended diplomatic report few years after his first diplomatic mission to Moscovia in 1517. However, the treatise was not published until 1549. When it was finally published, it was a sensation. The book represented the most profound monograph of its kind up to that point. It offered the first detailed and systematic presentation of the Moscovite state and its society. It gained immediate and great popularity. From 1549 till 1605, it was translated into 5 languages and re-issued 21 times.¹⁴ It became the archetypal description of Moscovia. Almost all the later treatments of Moscovia used Herberstein's work as a model and borrowed from it. I will limit the period of my investigation up to the time it appeared, namely the middle of the sixteenth century. *Topoi* for the following generations of Early Modern writers about Moscovia were inspired and developed out of his work.

1.3 Geographical frameworks

The geographical edges of the Latin Medieval world were usually associated with the east and north.¹⁵ Thus, the geographical frameworks of the present research including the lands of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia refer to the area towards/in the eastern edge of the Latin Medieval world. The geographical territory of these lands was constantly changing within the chosen period. In this respect it should be noted that this problem will not be central in this research. The textual and visual images of these lands as described in encyclopedic works and travel accounts, as well as maps and illustrations that accompany them will be in our

14 Marshall Poe, *Foreign descriptions of Muscovy: An Analytic Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1995), 12.

15 Gerhard Jaritz, Juhan Kreems, *The Edges of the Medieval World* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009).

focus. Poland, Lithuania, and Moscovia are the source terms and correspond to the contemporary lands of the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Moscovia, respectively (see figure 1.1).

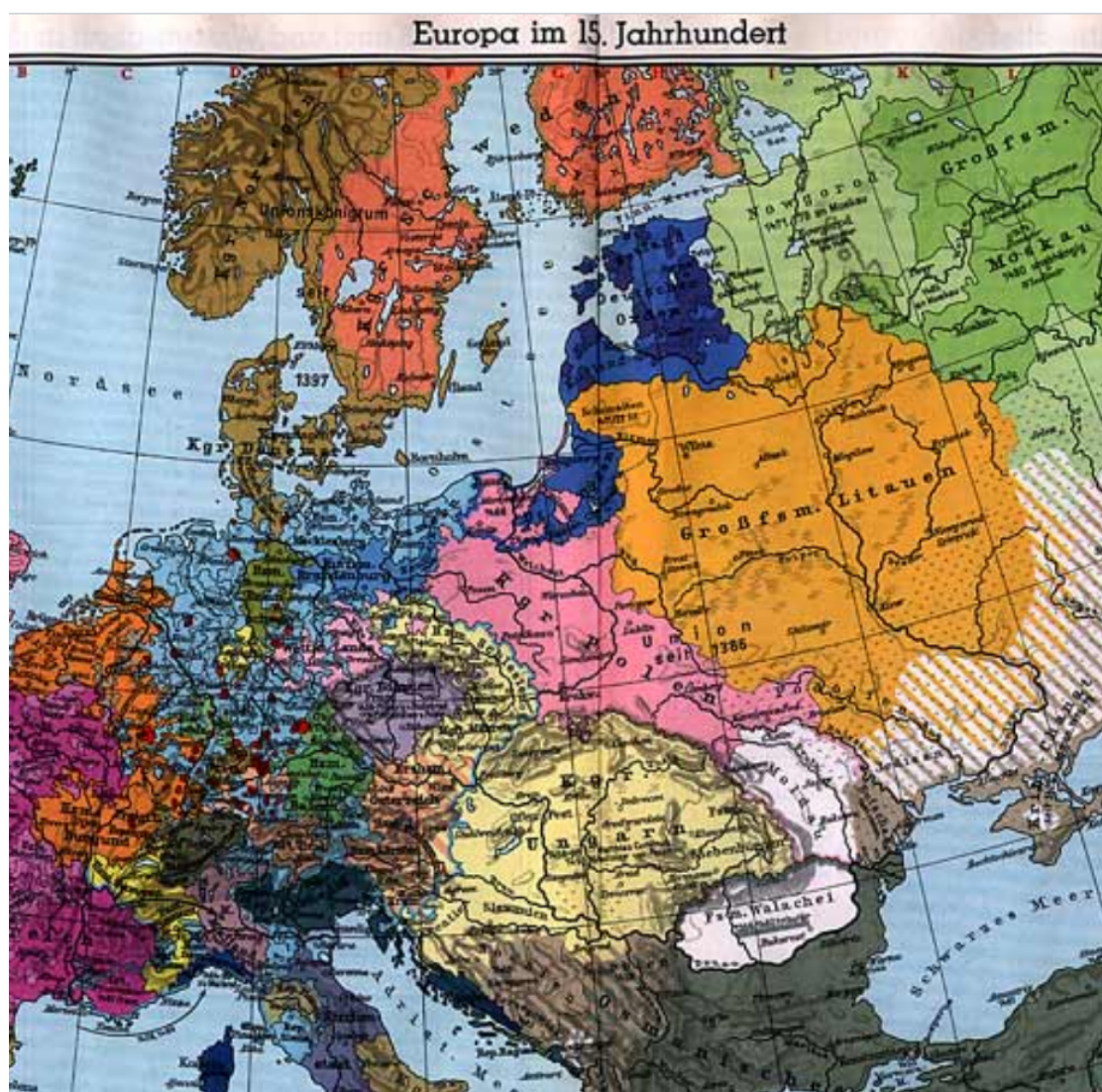


Figure 1.1: Map of Europe 1476. Westermann's *Großer Atlas von Weltgeschichte*, p. 92-93.

By Western representations I define images of these lands as created by authors coming from Western Europe mainly. These authors had much in common: most of them received university education; they followed the same authorities in their field of writing; their works were translated into the main European languages within short period of time and went through many editions. Their works also quickly disseminated throughout Western Europe, were understood and accepted

by the readers. This makes possible talking about a kind of common perception of the "Other" among the representatives of different Western European societies.

It should be mentioned that the depicted lands represent different cases in the context of this research. By the fifteenth century, Poland had already been in close diplomatic, economic, etc. relations and contact with European courts for centuries. Ecclesiastically it was in the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, it was to some extent "familiar" to western society. It also represented a western European type of society in terms of its political and institutional infrastructures, culture, etc.

Lithuania or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was also familiar in the west by the fifteenth century. The emergence of its image and descriptions goes back to the thirteenth century mainly, the time when the Lithuanian pagans became familiar to Europeans through the expansion of the crusades and missionary work to the eastern Baltic region.¹⁶ Lithuania had contacts with its western neighbors: Poland,¹⁷ Livonia, and also with other European courts.¹⁸ In cultural and religious terms it was, however, rather different. Lithuania was a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional state with Orthodox, Catholic, Muslim, Jewish populations, as well as the remnants of paganism in some regions of the country. Thus, it can be considered a borderland between the different types of European civilization, namely, those shaped by the influence of the different religious, political and cultural impulses.

As for Moscovia, it was actually discovered by the Western Europeans in the fifteenth century. Before the Tartars and Mongols came to the area, the state of Kievan Rus' existed to the east of Poland. It was in contact with Byzantium in particular, as well as with other neighbors. From the beginning of the thirteenth

16 S. C. Rowell, "Unexpected Contacts: Lithuanians at Western Courts." *The English Historical Review* 111 (1996): 557-559; Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (A.D. 1075–1225)* (Boston: Brill, 2005).

17 Under the Jagiellon dynasty (1385-1572), founded by the Lithuanian Grand Duke Jogaila, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania formed a union.

18 Rowell, "Unexpected Contacts," 557-577.

until the end of the fourteenth centuries, it was a rather isolated area because of the Tartar and Mongol invasion and dominion. When the Golden Horde started falling apart and losing its power and influence in the region by the end of the fourteenth century, a new state with its center in Moscow appeared in the East. It possessed different political and institutional structures in comparison to those, existing in the West and it also had a different religion. As a result, its culture also differed a lot from any other that could be found in the better known parts of Europe. Starting from the fifteenth century, Moscovia constantly grew in its power and influence in the region. After the fall of the Byzantine empire in 1453 the duchy of Moscovia acquired the leadership of the Orthodox Christian church.

The highlighted factors explain the differing intensities in the interest and quantity of such sources as travel accounts, reports, and compilations about these lands.

Many of the things that travelers saw and described, or copied, or invented were difficult to understand. On the one hand, there could be "fantastic" descriptions. On the other hand, they resulted in various generalizations and stereotypes. A further general feature of the accounts and various descriptions of these lands is that the farther the land was situated from the lands of origin of the authors or from western centers of civilization, the more detailed the descriptions were. This is particularly obvious, if one takes into consideration the quantity of sources on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia comparatively. In case of Poland the information on its political culture and history is mostly presented; as for Lithuania, the main focus falls on the idolatry and the rulers in this country. Though, in case of Moscovia, one finds attempts to describe all aspects of life, customs, traditions, and the appearance of people, the nature, the climate, and so on.

Thus, the eastern lands of Europe have been chosen for the investigation mainly for the following reasons:

- The lands of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia comprise a contiguous and continuous area in the context of the research. They represent a gradual shift

from familiar to unfamiliar not only for those who traveled themselves, but also for those who gathered information about these lands in order to put it in a cosmography, chronicle, or treatise, as well for those who would read them.

- For many sojourners from Western Europe, the destination point was Moscovia, thus, travelers would have had to pass through all these countries along the way. As far as the depicted lands represented different cultures, I would expect that the same author would display different attitudes to each of them. An attempt to trace this shift and demonstrate it visually will be made in the present research.
- Traveling eastwards through these lands called forth feelings of "them", as being increasingly different from "us", a constantly recurring theme in European mentalities at that period.¹⁹ However, this kind of dualism was not as intensively applied to each of these lands. Poland would have been less strange for the western travelers because the gap in culture, religion, etc. was not that big. Lithuania was already different, and Moscovia was totally different. Thus, this gradual transition from "us" to "them" was partly connected to ideas about moving and about space and distance. The lands of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia represented to authors growing distances and growing differences in culture, something which I am also planning to trace.

Distance was usually connected with danger and the unknown. Partly because of these ideas, Moscovia was associated with Asia in written and cartographic sources from the beginning of the sixteenth century.²⁰ Asia historically called

19 Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 3-4.

20 Ekkehard Klug, "Das "asiatische" Russland. Über die Entstehung eines europäischen Vorurteils." *Historische Zeitschrift* 245 (1987): 265-289; Alexander Filiushkin. "Kak Rossiya stala dlya Evropy Aziej?" [How Russia became Asia for Europe?], *Ab Imperio* 1 (2004): 191-228; Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

forth feelings of danger, disgust, dread, distrust and even hatred in contemporary European mentalities. The contemporary mental constructs for Europe and Asia were built around the ideas of shared religion, morals, politics, etc. Moscovia did not correspond to the European "requirements;" it was partly European, partly Asian.

1.4 Sources

The main sources involved in present research are the textual descriptions, containing pictorial images and maps depicting the investigated area. These are contemporary representations, reflecting active, constitutive elements of socially constructed images.

The main principle for the choice of the involved sources is that they should contain the description of at least two depicted lands, ideally three of them. This approach facilitates one of the main targets of the present work, namely, the comparison. This selection principle also corresponds to the intention to trace how the growing distance and, in some cases, time affected the authors and were communicated through their works. The selected sources represent the richest descriptive textual materials, providing diverse information about the mentioned societies, especially Moscovia and Lithuania. The value of these sources is in the richness of their thematic content. The selected societies at that period were not being described by their own members in the detailed way the foreign visitors did it. Of course, many factors impacted the authors and, finally, the texts; a lack of knowledge of local languages; cultural, religious, political prejudices; borrowings and copying from earlier texts; the purpose of writing and the intellectual, social and economic background of the authors. All these factors will be taken into considerations.

I will be using the following types of sources:

- **Diplomatic reports.** I am particularly interested in the documents generated by members of diplomatic missions that contain "exploration reports."

In these writings the authors touch upon various aspects of the described societies, outline new discoveries and tell about "strange and exotic" things one may find there.

- **Travel accounts** of merchants, missionaries, mercenaries, etc. These are sources produced by their authors during or soon after visiting these lands.
- **World chronicles, geographies and cosmographies.** These works contain contemporary "encyclopedic" information about the "known" world in general, or about a particular region. These were synthesized, reasoned descriptions of the universe and written by authors who did not travel themselves into the region under consideration, but collected and compiled their information from a variety of sources (written as well as oral). They offer the possibility to compare and trace patterns used by the authors as they constructed their images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. Such sources have a single author, but provide information on multiple countries, facilitating comparisons.
- **Cartographic data.** Maps from the textual sources.
- **Pictorial images and illustrations.** Images and woodcuts from the textual sources will be commented along with the considered texts.

My analysis will focus on the works which disseminated and, especially, were published within the framework of the specified period. The fact that the work was published may indicate that it was of contemporary interest, that it was read and was "popular," and that it also was actively used to "participate" in the formation of the images and often of stereotypes about the depicted lands. Those works which were not published during the investigated period will form a group of sources which, probably, provided information for the published ones, namely, for those writings which were popular and published. They will not be involved into a more detailed analysis, but will be read and consulted in terms of being "information providers."

1.5 Secondary literature

The sources that will be involved in this investigation have long been considered subjects for historical analysis. Moscovia has been investigated in these terms since the nineteenth century. Scholarly literature on or about foreign descriptions of different kinds on Moscovia can be classified into several types. These are the bibliographic editions or catalogs of foreign accounts on Moscovia,²¹ thematic monographs, editions and translations of the texts themselves, individual studies of one or several accounts, often calling into doubt the validity or accuracy of their factual information. The literature is vast and it can hardly be discussed in several pages. I will therefore refer to the analytic bibliography of primary sources and secondary literature on Moscovia compiled by Marshall Poe and published in 1995.²² This is probably the most detailed reference book on the subject. Poland²³ has also been investigated in terms of western European accounts and descriptions in regional historiography.

Not so much research has been carried out on contemporary views of medieval Lithuania. In Belorussian historiography, for instance, the topic of the image of Lithuania in the Middle Ages has not been much studied. The only and most recent work is a review by Valiantsin Grytskevich and Adam Maldis.²⁴ In spite of the fact that the interest in this topic has not yet revived in Belorussian historiography, the sources which will be used in this investigation have been known and collected for other studies.²⁵ Also, just several works on the subject come

21 The earliest and still authoritative one is by Friedrich von Adelung, *Kritisch-Literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700*, 2 vols. (St Petersburg, 1846).

22 Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy*.

23 Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) (cases related to Poland are placed in a broader European context); Jan Antoni Wilder, *Okiem cudzoziemca. Ze wspomnień cudzoziemców o dawnej Polsce* [With the eyes of a foreigner. Memoirs of foreigners about Old Poland] (Warsaw: Arkady, 1959); William Coxe, *Travels into Poland* (New York: Arno Press, 1971).

24 Valiantsin Grytskevich and Adam Maldis, *Shliahi viali praz Belarus* [The routes led through Belarus] (Minsk: Mastatskaja Litaratura, 1980).

25 Paula Urban, *Da pytannia etnichnaj prynaleznastsy starazytnykh Litsvinow* [On the matter of ethnicity of the Old Lithuanians] (Minsk: Batskaushchyna, 1994); eadem, *Starazytnyja Litsviny*:

from Lithuanian historiography. These are compilations of sources, organized on thematic basis.²⁶ The source edition by Norbertas Velius may be mentioned too.²⁷

As a general note, it should be mentioned, that the vast majority of the works on the image of the eastern European lands belong to the local historiographies. They are written in local languages. Most probably, because of these factors the above mentioned literature is not referred to in the international reviews.

One of the specialists working with history of conceptualization of Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages is Paul Milliman. He delivered a number of conference papers on the topic which are close to the ones discussed in the present research.²⁸ It is hard to make a more specific reference to them, as I was not able to trace them published.

1.6 Research aims

The major interest and research aim of this project is to analyze in what ways and with what means the western European authors represented Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia and composed their images. In other words, what themes/topics were considered important for creating the textual images of our lands, how the

Mova, paphodzanne, etnichnaja prynaleznast [The Old Lithuanians: language, origins, ethnicity] (Minsk: Tehnologija, 2003).

26 Petras Klimas, *Gillebert de Lannoy in Medieval Lithuania* (New York: The Lithuanian-American Information Center, 1945); *Kraštas ir žmonės. Lietuvos geografiniai ir etnografiniai aprašymai (XIV-XIX a.)* [Land and people. Geographical and ethnographical descriptions of Lithuania (fourteenth-nineteenth century)], ed. Juozas Jurginis and Algirdas Šidlauskas (Vilnius: Mokslo, 1983); Angelė Vyšniauskaitė, *Lietuviai IX a.- XIX a. vidurio istoriniuose šaltiniuose* [Lithuanians in the historical sources of the ninth – mid-nineteenth centuries] (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1994).

27 *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai. Nuo seniausių laikų iki XV amžiaus pabaigos* [Sources of Baltic religion and mythology. From the oldest times to the end of the XV century], ed. Norbertas Velius (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1996).

28 Paul Milliman, "Inventing Eastern Europe in the Late Middle Ages." Paper presented at the 21st International Medieval Congress, Institute for Medieval Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds, UK, July 2014; or "The First Invention of Eastern Europe: Sclavia, Scythia, and the East in the Medieval Map of Civilization." Paper presented at the Ralph and Ruth Fisher Forum: Central and Eastern Europe in the Global Middle Ages, the Russian East European, Eurasian Center (REEEC) at the University of Illinois, June 2017; or "Sauerkraut, Beer, and Crusading: Medieval Western European Views on Eastern Europe's Place in the World." Paper presented at the 94th Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, Philadelphia, PA, March 2019. [Paul Milliman, online CV, accessed 11 May, 2020.](#)

authors played with the vocabulary and the thematic range.

One of the main challenges of the present research is in applying visual text analysis methods to the textual entries in general works on world geography, cosmography, history and ethnology as well as in the travel accounts from the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century in order to extract the main contemporary thematic and terminological components of their images. I will argue that the thematic and terminological components of the entries reflect the authors' textual strategies while creating the images of the lands in the eastern edge of Europe. Namely, the topics, discussed in the entries about each of these lands, the number of themes, their length, the vocabulary used while speaking about the same phenomena in different lands were important for the authors and their audiences. I will try to prove that these were the strategies to textually map the diversities, and also to communicate the motion towards the edges of the continent. Basically, there is a structural idea behind this statement, meaning that the entries on each of the lands, mainly in the general works, are parts of a larger structure, they have their own function, their own utility and place in the universal picture of the world. As a result, the images of the parts of the whole should bear and reflect the elements of its structure. Besides, I will seek to demonstrate that this structure of general works affected the content of the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, as its component elements.

It was mentioned that the selected sources are well known to scholars, but it is the first time when methods of general visual text analysis and computational text deconstruction will be applied to them.

Applying computational tools like Word Cloud, quantification, or Voyant text analysis tools, for example, helps to analyze and visually demonstrate certain tendencies in the dynamics of the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia.

The computational visualizations will be a nicely manageable tool to demonstrate how the gradual shift from familiar to unfamiliar based on the example of these lands was communicated in the sources. No studies of such comparative

character and methodological approach have been attempted until now in application to these sources.

The examination of the criteria, common patterns and differences in textual practice used by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century authors and tracing the evolution of the created images may introduce new reading of these sources. Tracing certain patterns in the images through the investigated period may also indicate developing stereotypes in the writings about these lands. Sometimes such stereotypes survived for centuries and shaped general ideas and concepts about other peoples, nations, cultures, and countries. Thus, the proposed investigation also aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the historical roots of prejudice and estrangement at the outlined period.

1.7 Research questions

The main research question of this project is:

Which textual strategies concerning the thematic and terminological content in the images of the eastern lands of Europe in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries were decisive while creating their images?

I will also look to answer:

- What are the main themes or topics the authors discuss in their writings?
- How do the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia differ from each other?
- What is the utility of the component parts of the images in the context of structure of general collections?
- Did the images of these lands change over the investigated period?
- What are the differences in the descriptions of the specified lands concerning genre, who wrote the texts and the reasons the texts were written?
- What information can images and cartographic data provide?

- In what terms did the authors communicate geographical, political, social, religious and other kinds of borders?
- What is the context of the illustrations and woodcuts in the texts?
- Can we talk about pre-existing patterns of thought, common among contemporary writers, while writing about other lands?

In order to give an answer to the research question I will undertake the following steps:

Converting digital texts from the scanned old prints into txt format with the help of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) tools. This allows the researcher to apply digital text utilities and methods upon the text rather than just reading it from the image.

Translating the Latin texts into English. This is done for one practical reason, namely, certain digital tools are better developed for English and not the same well developed for Latin. Word Cloud is one of them. The "problem" with Latin is that it is highly inflected: Latin words are modified depending on tense, case, aspect, person, number, gender and the computer specifies them as different words, not as modifications of the same word. As a result, the word Cloud analysis of a Latin text needs additional skills, manual processing and more time.

Close text reading and defining the component parts/themes of the textual images of Lithuania, Poland and Moscovia.

Applying computational quantification and tracing the thematic distribution in the images of the three countries; for example, what kind of discourse is prevailing: political, economic, religious, or social.

Defining the distribution of space dedicated to the description of component topics within the texts.

Applying visual text analysis to the texts and defining the main terminological content of the entries about the specified lands. It will be done to whole entries, as well as to the component parts of the texts. This way the analysis of the ter-

minology will not suffer the loss of the context, and will better facilitate the final comparison. Word Cloud is a fast and efficient method to explore terms used in the text or to categorize a text.

Finally, I am interested to compare the written images of the specified countries in the eastern edges of the medieval world and see what they have in common and in what terms they differ from each other. What themes or topics were considered to be important while writing about the lands in the edges of the continent for the European authors? What role did the author's manipulating with the thematic content and the length of the topics play while constructing the images of "other" lands in the periphery of Europe considering space, time and motion?

To answer these questions I will:

- analyze the above-mentioned textual sources about Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia comparatively; ascertain the cultural models of "otherness" for each country and how it was perceived and communicated, depending on the genre of the source, on who the authors were and what the aim of their visit and/or description was;
- study the impact of discourse patterns and *topoi* on the descriptions of these lands, the "reliability" of information they offer, and the applied stereotypes;
- include available maps of the chosen area within the analysis in order to see where and how western European cartographers located and presented these lands, namely, to what extent they tried to show visually that these lands were close to or far away from western civilization, etc.;
- analyze available visual images in terms of their content and context, whether they may be considered "positive" or "negative," trace changes in the content of the sources and find the relationships between images and texts.

1.8 Expected results

The proposed research aims to contribute to the study of contextualizing of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in the geographical and ethnological writings and cartography of the Latin learned world in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. I am not that much looking for what was "true" or "untrue" in the descriptions of these medieval countries, but what were their constructed images like and what influenced the authors while creating their images. A comparative approach will help to identify criteria, common patterns, rhetorical tools used by the authors and trace the evolution of the images. Another interesting aspect to be investigated is how the authors handled the problem of cultural diversity, marked it, and defined its borders.

1.9 Importance

The main innovation of the proposed research is in its methodological approach. This project is an attempt to apply computational tools to the textual entries on eastern European lands in general works on world geography and ethnology and travel accounts from the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries in order to open new aspects about their images as well as about their image making strategies. This is the first time when methods of visual text analysis and computational text deconstruction will be applied to these sources.

The expected contribution of the work is that this approach will explore a technical aspect in the image building strategies in the depicted sources, namely, manipulating with the thematic range and space dedicated to the topics within the text. I argue that such textual strategies were used by the authors in order to communicate the motion towards the edges of the world. This agenda influenced the images of the depicted lands and could have been transmitted and borrowed further.

Computational tools can be effectively used for such kinds of investigations

and the results may be better introduced and demonstrated with the help of different kinds of visualizations. The innovation of the proposed investigation is also in its comparative approach where the images of the three countries will be considered comparatively through the research period.

The innovation of the present investigation is also in its interdisciplinary nature expressed not only in its methodology, but also in the diversity of the involved sources: encyclopedic entries, travel accounts, illustrations, and maps.

Methodology

2.1 Travel accounts and land descriptions as narratives

In order to apply similar methods of investigation to different textual sources at present work I will consider these sources as narratives. Basically, narrative can be defined as a story of connected events and comes from Latin "narrare", which literally means "to tell". New experiences about life and the world are incorporated into the previous paradigms through narratives. In this respect, travel accounts and the descriptions of other lands reflect both: the existing paradigms about the world as well as new knowledge about it. Narratives were a powerful and the main means of transmitting, sharing and receiving knowledge at the research period.

Narrative analysis as approach within the social sciences has increased considerably since the 1990s. This is a widely interdisciplinary field, as a lot of tools are used here.¹ There is no unified method or way for conducting narrative analysis. Nevertheless, there are several important aspects, common characteristics which are decisive for it:

First, narrative analysts are always interested in social origins of narratives. A particular individual narrative is considered as a part of broader context, common culture, views, etc. This may shed light on why people from the same society

1 Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*, 1st edition, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2008).

broadcast similar ideas, use the same genre, rhetoric, etc. These will be the characteristics not just for individuals, but also for societies.

Second, the narrative analysts see the language as a cultural tool, it reflects the socio-cultural context of the person or the narrative itself, it connects the individual and the story with the society, but not necessarily gives direct information about what "really" happened.

Third, for narrative analysis the context is of great importance and it is in the focus of interest: who told the story, what were the conditions, who were the audience, etc.?

When considering mainly the groups of sources for the present study, I could characterize the general writings on world geography and ethnology as narratives, bearing information on how western societies made sense of the world. Behind the themes of the entries comprising the images of the described lands, behind the vocabulary and rhetoric one may read the cultural code of perceiving and representing the "other."

The entries on different lands and countries in World Geographies and Cosmographies may be read as narratives of peoples or nations, if I may apply this term to the period of study. These are the "stories" on who the people in different lands were, what the depicted lands looked like and how they were understood and described.

Visual sources, like illustrations and maps which complement the selected texts, are also narratives. They tell their own stories through other than textual means.

As for travel accounts, these are sources providing information on how individuals made sense of their experiences of visiting the study geographical area. So, it is possible to construct the narrative identity of the individual authors.

Thus, different kinds of narrative sources about Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia will be investigated in this work for the subject of their thematic and terminological content. This content will offer the picture of contemporary cultural markers

while speaking about other lands. In cases of individual travel narratives this approach will shed light upon the ways of expressing personal cultural perception and representation of these lands.

The methods of text visualization will be used extensively for this purpose. The visual as a tool of textual analysis has a characteristic of being an eloquent representation of the involved data. It's popularity is constantly growing in social sciences.²

The present investigation will focus on:

- What is said: themes, topics, words.
- How it is said: comparisons, links, parallels.
- Which frameworks are used.
- Case studies, comparison and parallels between different descriptions and different groups of sources.

2.2 Maps and visual images as narratives

Academic community is used to consider maps and visual images as narratives too.³ In this perspective maps are the representations of compressed knowledge about space through the language of signs. In this sense a map presupposes a narrative. The spatial turn in the arts, humanities, social and cultural studies also brought to life new perspectives in approaching the issues of space in textual sources. Such terms and fields of spatial studies like "literary mapping," "narrative cartography," "literary geography," "geocriticism" were introduced. Spatial textual and visual narratives are a social product, they provide humans with meaningful images of the surrounding world. As far as the maps and other visual materials,

2 Nan Cao and Weiwei Cui, *Introduction to Text Visualization*. (Paris: Atlantis Press, 2016); Markus Hofmann and Andrew Chisholm, *Text Mining and Visualization: Case Studies Using Open-Source Tools*. (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2016).

3 Dawn Mannay, *Visual, narrative and creative research methods: application, reflection and ethics*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

involved into the present research, depict in their own way the above mentioned fusion of contemporary knowledge and beliefs on geography, history, and ethnology, I find the approaching them from their narrative meaning pretty well applicable. This approach offers a way to consider the visual sources in context with the textual ones. This approach also offers a common base in order to see how western mentalities located themselves and others in their visual world picture, how different notions about space were being transmitted. Lately, a new perspective of considering spatial narratives as "textual maps" has been introduced.⁴ In this sense maps, geographic texts, exploration accounts, and etc., are vitally interconnected, they influence and stimulate each other and represent different modes of telling spatiality.⁵

Thus, spatial descriptions, historical and ethnological references, settlement insights, and many other aspects which are merging in textual images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, can be seen as components of a broader concept of literary or narrative geography, literary or narrative cartography. Through these components, which are socially colored and produced, places and spaces were being interpreted.⁶

As further developments, computational methods for literary or narrative cartography have been suggested and continue to be developed⁷

2.3 Computer and humanities

Modern computational developments offer new possibilities for analysis of historical texts. Two new terms were introduced in historians' usage to describe this evolution of research methods: Digital Humanities (DH) to describe "creation,

4 Robert J. Tally, *Literary Cartographies: Spatiality, Representation, and Narrative (Geocriticism and Spatial Literary Studies)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

5 Robert J. Tally, *Spatiality* (London: Routledge, 2013).

6 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

7 David Cooper, Christopher Donaldson and Patricia Murrieta-Flores, eds., *Literary mapping in the digital age* (London: Routledge, 2016).

dissemination and use" of resources of humanities data and Computational Humanities (CH) to describe the exploratory and mainly semi-automatic analysis of the historical data. Digital humanities and computational methods of text analysis as its part are a rapidly developing field. Although, there is a number of ongoing debates concerning different aspects in this area.⁸ At the same time the clear message behind all the discussions is that the academic and general audiences nowadays think, perceive and communicate in digital/computational terms.⁹ Besides, these approaches have proved to be effective, prompted and precise. They open new perspectives for humanities scholars, and offer possibilities to work with huge amounts of data, which was simply impossible to do before. William G. Thomas in his contribution to *A New Companion to Digital Humanities* discusses the way made by the humanities scholarship towards the digital turn. The author proposes solutions on further move of humanities to the open digital environment.¹⁰

As it was pointed out in the introduction to the present research, one of the main challenges of this work is in applying particular computational methods/tools of visual text analysis. For humanities scholars it is important to approach the objects of study from as many different and multiple perspectives as it is possible. Thus, I intend to use certain computational tools mostly for automatic text content analysis, namely: word clouds, word counts, sorting words, generating term-frequency visualizations, drawing term-frequency distribution lines, etc. The selected computational tools will be used for the purpose of extracting the main terminological content of the entries on the three defined eastern European lands,

8 Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein, eds., *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).

9 Ian Anderson, "History and Computing," in *Making History: The Changing Face of the Profession in Britain* (London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2008); Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Roy Rosenzweig, "Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past in a Digital Era," *American Historical Review* 108, no.3 (2003): 735-762.

10 William G. Thomas, "The Promise of the Digital Humanities and the Contested Nature of Digital Scholarship," in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, eds. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, John Unsworth. 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 2016): 524-537.

tracing the evolution of the vocabulary and thematic usage through the period and for visualization of the results. Another utility of the selected methods is depicting the thematic content of the descriptions, their thematic richness and variety.

A brief description of these methods and of their utility is presented in this chapter. Only open sources are being involved in this project, as well as only free software and tools will be used for formal text analysis.

Together with the computational approaches, I am using several traditional methods, applicable for such kind of investigations. I analyze comparatively the above-mentioned textual images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia and ascertain the cultural models of "otherness" for each country and the ways they were perceived and communicated (constitutive topics and the main vocabulary content), depending on the genre of the source, on who the authors were, etc.

2.4 Word Clouds

Information visualization and automatic text analysis have increasingly become standard tools in the humanities.¹¹ Let us consider the most common and user friendly tools for formal automatic text analysis and text visualization available on-line.

Word cloud (also tag cloud or text cloud) is a graphical representation of text data. Word clouds belong to the so called static visualizations. Their aim is generating a view of a document, usually with single perspective on available data. The user can modify its layout and different styling parameters depending on the purposes. Among other static visualizations available at most of word cloud tool bars are: bar charts, pie charts, graphs. They are handy and precise instruments to present, display and understand information. They also accommodate various interpretations of visually presented data.

11 Isabel Meirelles, *Design for Information An Introduction to the Histories, Theories, and Best Practices Behind Effective Information Visualizations* (Osceola, WI: Rockport Publishers, 2013); Riccardo Mazza, *Introduction to Information Visualization*, 1st edition (London: Springer, 2009).

The most common word cloud visualization for a general reader is a cluster of the most frequently used words in which the size of each word corresponds to its frequency in the text. The main vocabulary content is easily captured by eye: the more frequent the occurrence of a word in the text, the larger is its drawing in the plot. I will not focus on the quantitative aspect of term frequencies, namely on how many times this or that term was used in the text. This information is not much helpful for this particular research, partly, because the texts are very different in size. What is really important in the context of this investigation are the relative frequencies in each text. They are clearly expressed in word cloud visualizations by the size of the most frequent words.

Most of times it is desirable to exclude from the analysis the function words, or sometimes other categories of words in order not to overload the plot.

Wordle¹² is probably the most popular word cloud tool generator. It was created by Jonathan Feinberg, and it has many contributors.¹³ It is very user friendly: basically one can just paste a text sample into its input area and create a word cloud.

TagCrowd¹⁴ is also a web-based word cloud generator created by Daniel Steinbock.¹⁵ The software is run free of charge for any academic or even commercial use. It can accept as input raw text (copy/paste or typed), URLs, or file upload.

2.5 Basic text analysis with Voyant

The Voyant was chosen among other computational tools. Voyant is a powerful text analysis instrument with numerous functions and applications, proposed by Rockwell and Sinclair. Many of the Voyant tools are interactive. The user can just paste a piece of text for analysis, or insert a URL of a web-page that contains the

12 <http://www.wordle.net>

13 <http://www.wordle.net/credits>

14 <http://tagcrowd.com>

15 <http://tagcrowd.com/patrons.html>

desirable text. Alternatively, a digitally stored file can be uploaded and used as input for the analysis.

Voyant tools offer much more analytic insight than a common word cloud. Among the options are:

- Visual aggregation of the most frequent words displayed as word cloud, called *Cirrus*.
- Besides, the trends for the most frequent words are displayed. By default, the software splits the text into 10 equivalent pieces and generates the word frequencies in each part separately. The trends plot reveals the frequency variation of the most commonly found words within the text. It should be noted that the word trends can be generated for any term used in the text and for any focus terms according to the researcher's interest.
- The *Context* tool, shows the keywords within the phrase (the "context"). It can be used for studying of how the specific terms behave within a certain part of the text, as well as in tracing their context.

Another methodological tool which I consider useful at this research is quantification¹⁶ or quantitative history. These methods come in many shapes and forms, but generally they refer to the analysis and presentation of data in numerical rather than narrative form. These approaches may be successfully applied for content analysis. I will apply the basic quantification while dealing with "nature" and "culture" descriptions, for example. I find it important to analyze why the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia are significantly different in size. I want to illustrate this with the help of numbers and graphics.

16 Pat Hudson, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (Hodder Arnold Publication: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000)

2.6 Optical Character Recognition

In order to apply the computational text analysis tools to the sources that do not exist in txt format, it was necessary to convert them with the help of OCR. Optical Character Recognition (OCR) programs are software tools developed to convert text images to text documents which can be easily searched, copied, edited, and used for computational text analysis. There are several software tools for OCR. The most well-known are the following:

- **Adobe Acrobat Pro.**¹⁷
- **ABBYY Finereader.**¹⁸
- **Tesseract**¹⁹ can be applied for many languages, even for less common, like Arabic or Vietnamese, and also Latin.²⁰
- Google drive also offers OCR capabilities.
- Rescribe's Latin Optical Character Recognition can be particularly recommended for those who are working with the early Latin prints. This software provides a free and open tool to enable individual researchers and libraries to convert scanned images of early modern printed books into txt files. The Latin OCR's page provides links and instructions for installing the package for Windows, Linux and Mac. Non-experienced users can successfully use this tool thanks to the guided instructions.²¹ The Latin Optical Character Recognition is specifically developed to decode the peculiarities of historic fonts and characters used in printing from 1500 to 1800.

17 <https://acrobat.adobe.com/us/en/acrobat.html>

18 <https://www.abbyy.com/en-apac/finereader/>

19 <https://github.com/tesseract-ocr>

20 <https://ryanfb.github.io/latinocr/>; Improving Osudo apt-get install gim-agereader tesseract-ocrd Technology for Digital Libraries: 13th European Conference, ECDL 2009, Corfu, Greece, September 27 - October 2, 2009. Proceedings.

21 <https://latinocr.org/>

Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in *Imago Mundi*

3.1 The Genre

Dealing with the European Late Medieval and Early Modern conceptions of the known world in the western European encyclopedic works is a rather challenging issue, meaning that one cannot speak in clear geographic, historical or ethnological terms at the depicted period. These spheres were closely linked with each other and with further areas of belief and knowledge which comprised the contemporary world view. Writing about other lands and about the world had been developed in Late Antiquity.¹ The tradition was followed in the Middle Ages. In my research I am dealing not so much with the contemporary scope of geographical or ethnological knowledge about the depicted area during the Late Middle Ages and not with the history of the discoveries in the region, but mostly with contemporary cultural and geographic perception or, in many cases, symbolic geographic and ethnological views about the eastern European region in the European west. I will be tracing how this area was incorporated into the contemporary Western picture of the inhabited world. This part of the study also attempts to analyze the annotations about the area into the context of general intellectual trends

1 Andrew H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-34.

of the Age of European expansion, of Great Discoveries and of the Renaissance.

As the encyclopedic collections represent a fusion of contemporary knowledge and beliefs on world geography, cosmology, history, cartography, ethnology, flora and fauna, I find the concept of the *imago mundi* quite applicable. The genre of medieval world cosmography, world geography, or world chronicle from the period is not easy to define in a better way, also it is often hard to draw clear differences between them. These works, in other words, are the representations of the *imago mundi* in written and illustrated form. The authors of these encyclopedias synthesized in them Christian cosmology, Aristotelian natural philosophy, astrology, Ptolemy's *Geographia*, Strabo's *Geographia*, historical treatises, accounts by the voyages of missionaries, pilgrims, diplomats, merchant travelers, mariners, and other sources of information.

The fourteenth, fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were the period of re-defining the ecumenical space by the European intellectual culture. This process started in the pioneering exploration centers of that period, namely, Spain, Portugal, Florence, Venice and the papal court. In the fifteenth century German² and French intellectual centers joined. In this chapter I will trace this continuity in the works of the Italian author Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini and, later, the German authors Hartmann Schedel and Sebastian Münster. On the one hand, the continuity found its expression in numerous borrowings and copying from earlier authors, but at the same time the "old" image was being gradually improved and challenged by the later authors who added more recent data to it. The trend of composing a contemporary image of the world, which counted upon the traditional authorities in the field, but also incorporated the newest discoveries went beyond the Western European civilization. The name of the Ottoman cartographer Piri Reis (1465/70–1553) can be mentioned here. The author of numerous maps, collected in his *Book of Navigation*, Piri Reis considered the newest discov-

2 Christine R. Johnson, "Renaissance German Cosmographers and the naming of America," *Past and Present* 191 (2006): 3-43.

eries in his works. He is famous for producing two world maps, dated by 1513³ and 1528. The first one is the oldest Turkish map depicting the New World and one of the oldest maps of America ever known. In the second one he incorporated more fresh data received from available sources. According to his own testimony in one of the imprinting notes, he had composed his maps using about twenty foreign charts and *mappae mundi* of Arab, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Indian and Greek origin, including one by Christopher Columbus.⁴ With this note he reveals the scope of the sources the cartographer could find, use and rely on, but also he points at other authoritative centers where the *imago mundi* was produced.

Angelo Cattaneo in his essay on the European Medieval and Renaissance Cosmography⁵ refers to main historical processes that inspired the design of the *mappae mundi* and further developments in the *imago mundi* at the depicted period. Among them were "the development of long-distance networks of knowledge; the foundation of a world capitalist economy within a context that Fernand Braudel, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho and Emmanuel Wallerstein have defined as a "world economy"; and, finally, the expansion and mental opening towards lands and seas previously considered inaccessible to humans."⁶

I will also attempt to look behind the mentioned impulses of the contemporary European civilizational agenda. This agenda should have found its expression in the texts and the images of the *imago mundi* works. I will trace the networks of knowledge in the selected group of sources. Besides, I will try to find out in what ways the texts tell us about the existing search for new markets by Western societies, which is one of the basics for the emerging world market economy.

Visualizations for constitutive topics, which were important for the authors

3 Paul Kahle, *Die verschollene Kolumbuskarte von 1498 in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1513* (Berlin, Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter 1933).

4 Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 108.

5 Angelo Cattaneo, "European Medieval and Renaissance Cosmography: A Story of Multiple Voices," *Asian Review of World Histories* 4, no.1 (2016): 35- 81.

6 *Ibid.*, 54.

while writing about the depicted lands offer wide possibilities for tracing different kinds of information, topics, patterns, and networks. I expect that the computational tool will offer a handy technical illustration on what was the most important to talk about, how much to say, what characteristics to use in order to create an image of "the Other" at our period. The amount of text, dedicated to this or that topic may also be an indicator of "unfamiliar", unusual or new, an indicator of importance. Thus, this approach provides new results concerning the image making strategies of "other" countries in this group of sources.

A comparative approach is used in order to trace how the conceptions about Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were similar or different, how they were changing while moving through time and space, through the period and from the West to the East.

3.2 The Sources and Their Authors

The following encyclopedic collections were selected for the present investigation:

- *De Europa* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, 1458⁷
- *Liber Chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel, 1493⁸
- *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster, 1544⁹

7 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *De Europa*, ed. Adrianus van Heck (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2001).

8 Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg: A. Koberger, 1493, reprint Munich: Konrad Kölbl, 1975).

9 Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis Lib(ri) VI. in quibus, iuxta certioris fidei scriptorum traditionem describuntur, Omniu(m) habitabilis orbis partiu(m) situs, propriaeq(ue) dotes. Regionum Topographicae effigies. Terrae ingenia, quibus fit ut tam differentes et uarias species res, et animatas et inanimatas, ferat. Animalium peregrinorum naturae et picturae. Nobiliorum ciuitatum icones et descriptiones. Regnorum initia, incrementa et translationes. Omnium gentium mores, leges, religio, res gestae, mutationes : Item regum et principum genealogiae.* (Basel: Henrich Petri, 1552), <https://daten.digital-e-samm-lungen.de/0007/bsb00078496/images/index.html?id=00078496&groesser=&fi p=xdsydeayaxseayasdasyztseayafsdqrqrsxdsydeawqxs&no=10&seite=1>

3.2.1 Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini

The author of the earliest analyzed world descriptions, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, is well-known to researchers of the Renaissance culture, but also to those who deal with Church history. He was a distinguished Italian humanist, politician, writer, and historian, who became Pope Pius II in 1458.¹⁰ He was born in Corrsignano, near Siena in 1405. When he was eighteen he entered the University of Siena and then studied classics and poetry in Florence. He excelled in humanities and poetry. He got the reputation of being a good orator, but also became known for his dissolute lifestyle. Piccolomini served as a secretary to several bishops, cardinals, even to the Emperor Frederick III and the Antipope Felix V. He went on diplomatic missions with some of them to different European countries. This helped him a great deal in his career. Through his trips he gained much personal experience and his career opened him access to any possible writings and materials, necessary for his work as a cosmographer. This resulted in his geographic and ethnographic descriptions of Asia and Europe. Both books remained unfinished and they are often referred together as the *Cosmographia*, or more properly, *Historia rerum ubique gestarum locorumque descriptio*.¹¹ *De Europa*, which is important for the present investigation, was first published in 1458. In this work he recorded his personal impressions about visiting different countries, but it was also extended to narration about many other lands of Europe. Information about them was partly taken from earlier sources and in case of Lithuania, for example, he also used the oral information provided by Jerome of Prague. Piccolomini wrote about the Czech lands, Poland, Livonia, Prussia, Lithuania, and other contemporary European lands. To most of the Eastern European lands he did not travel personally. Among earlier authors, he relied upon, were also

10 John Julius Norwich, *Absolute Monarchs: A History of the Papacy* (New York: Random House, 2011), 209-212; Michael de la Bedoyere, *The Meddlesome Friar and the Wayward Pope* (Garden City, NY: Hanover House, 1958), 59-208.

11 John Block Friedman, Kristen Mossler Figg, eds., *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: an encyclopedia* (New York and London: Garland, 2000), 493.

ancient Greeks and Romans: Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, Pompeius Trogus, and Apollodorus.¹²

3.2.2 Hartmann Schedel

The author of a famous World Chronicle, Hartmann Schedel,¹³ was born in 1440 in Nuremberg. He got his bachelor degree in 1457 in Leipzig, and his master in 1460. After that he dedicated himself to jurisprudence. Soon after he decided to follow the calling for humanistic learning and in 1463 he left for Padua. There he studied medicine and received his doctorate in 1466. Schedel became a physician in 1472 and lived at different places, but in 1481 he returned to Nuremberg, where he spent the rest of his life. Schedel was famous for his good library, where he collected manuscripts, early printed books and pieces of art. As an author he became famous to a big extent thanks to printing. He was one of the first cartographers to use the print machine. The main work of his life is the *Liber Chronicarum* richly illustrated with maps and images.¹⁴ He is mostly known for this work. It contributed a lot to the spread of geographic, ethnographic, and historical knowledge in Europe.¹⁵ It was first published in 1493 in Latin in Nuremberg; the same year a German translation by Georg Alt¹⁶ appeared.¹⁷ The main characteristic of the work is that it is a compilation of earlier chronicles. The author mostly took the information from other sources, often word by word, and he practically did not express his own thoughts in it. On the other hand, many pieces of information and images survived only in his copy. The chronicle gained popularity partly

12 *Ibid.*, 494.

13 *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol.12 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), 1122.

14 Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg: A. Koberger, 1493, reprint Burgos: Siloé, 2002).

15 Jonathan P. Green, "The Nuremberg Chronicle and Its Readers: The Reception of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Cronicarum*" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2003).

16 Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg: A. Koberger, 1493, reprint Munich: Konrad Kölbl, 1975).

17 Adrian Wilson, Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1976).

thanks to more than 1800 woodcuts¹⁸ done by two artists, Michael Wolgemuth and William Pleydenwurff, and to printing that made it widely available.

3.2.3 Sebastian Münster

Sebastian Münster (1488-1552),¹⁹ one of the most famous cartographers of the sixteenth century, was born in Nieder-Ingelheim, a small town on the Rhine between Mainz and Bingen. From 1503 until 1508 he studied arts and theology in Heidelberg, where he entered the Franciscan Order in 1505. The formative period for his personality was from 1509 to 1518, when he was sent to the Franciscan monastery of Ruffach. There he studied Hebrew, Greek, mathematics, cosmography and later, astronomy, under the humanist Konrad Pellikan and subsequently under the Swabian mathematician Johann Stoffler. After 1514, Münster's interest particularly in cartography began to develop. He became a professor of Hebrew, first at Heidelberg University. Later, Münster accepted an invitation to be the chair of Hebrew at the University of Basel, where he moved to in 1529. He spent the rest of his life in Basel until his death from plague in 1552. In 1540, Münster's edition of Ptolemy appeared. It was illustrated with 48 woodcut maps. In 1544, the first edition of the *Cosmographia* was published. It was a summary of Münster's geographical research and of what was known about the world at his time. It contains a huge amount of detailed textual information together with several hundred woodcuts and town prospects.²⁰ One of its parts is dedicated to the area, which is being investigated here, namely Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. In 1552, Münster died of plague. The *Cosmographia* continued to be published long after its author's death. 46 editions of it were produced in German, Latin, Italian, Czech and French between 1544 and 1628. It was one of the most popular and

18 Carol Belanger Grafton, *Medieval Woodcut Illustrations: City Views and Decorations from the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1998).

19 Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster – Eine Bibliographie* (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1964); *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol.10 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 78.

20 Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).

influential books on geography and ethnology in the sixteenth century.

3.2.4 Chronology of entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia

None of these authors traveled himself into the region under consideration. They collected and compiled information from a variety of written sources as well as oral ones. While analyzing the descriptions of the selected lands in these sources we should keep in mind that Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia are presented in the context of contemporary world cosmography, namely in relation to the rest of the inhabited world. They have their own place in the ordered description of the world. All three authors were learned, famous and distinguished authorities of their time in geography, history and cartography. Table 2.1 reflects the source and the time when the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia appeared, as well as the tendencies on how they developed. Piccolomini’s *De Europa* is the earliest source from this group, in which we may find entries on Poland and Lithuania. The entry on Moscovia first appeared in the *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster.

Table 3.1: Descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in encyclopedic works

	Piccolomini (1458)	Schedel (1493)	Münster (1544)
Poland	Image created	Image copied from Piccolomini, shortened	New image
Lithuania	Image created	Image copied from Piccolomini, shortened	Image influenced by Piccolomini, extended
Moscovia	No reference	No reference	Image created

3.3 Nature and Culture

While analyzing the selected documents the main focus was made on the constitutive topics used and/or repeated by the authors when they created the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. I also searched whether it is possible to depict

references to any kinds of borders between these lands based on the language or word usage of the authors. I searched to what extent the images of these lands are similar or different. Dealing with representations means looking not so much for what is false or what is true about this or that land in its description, but mainly what was the contemporary cultural image of the selected lands, in which things the authors wanted to elicit belief in their readers and why.

The first thing I want to pay attention to while analyzing the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in encyclopedic collections is how much attention the authors paid to the descriptions of "nature" or natural environment in these lands and to the descriptions of "culture" or "human civilization" there. At close reading of the sources one can notice that there is certain dynamics of these themes concerning time and space. If moving through the research area from Poland to Lithuania and then to Moscovia as described in the encyclopedic collections, it is noticeable that the authors provide the reader with more and more information on "nature" and less on "culture".

The theme of "culture" is larger in Poland than the theme of "nature." In Moscovia the picture is opposite. Based on the considered sources I suppose that this has its meaning and can be explained from the perspective of the general structure of these works and of the genre. The description of the world can be seen in these collections as a world textual map. Thus, the phenomena, which were known and considered as "natural" for some parts of the world may not be described (like climate, nature, landscape in western lands), but for those places which were not well known it would be important to speak in more detail about their climate, nature, or landscape, for example. On the other hand, the natural environment could be really different, as a result discussed in more detail.

I am interested in better understanding the authors' playing with these two components of the images. I also want to see what other kind of agenda, besides the requirements of the genre and the structure of the selected sources are behind this "culture" - "nature" distribution in the texts. Focusing on the "nature" compo-

ment in the descriptions of the eastern regions would indicate a kind of cultural pointing to the potential resource destinations for colonization. That was the tendency of the period: to find new markets, new places to go and bring something, to move and settle down.

3.3.1 Defining the notions of "nature" and "culture"

Before I approach the sources, let us define what will be meant by "nature" and "culture" below. There are plenty of definitions for the term "nature" in dictionaries.²¹ Based on several of them and having in mind the specifics of the research I will be calling by "nature" the following: any references to the material world surrounding humankind and existing independently of human activities. These may include the phenomena and forces of the physical world collectively (weather and climate), descriptions of wild nature, plants and animals, the landscape (rivers, seas, lakes, hills, mountains, forests, swamps), and other features and products of the earth (natural goods, like honey, wood, furs, etc.), as opposed to or existing independently of humans or human activity / civilization. I will count as "nature" the references about the pagan cults. One may object that the pagan religion is already "culture," but from the contemporary European civilizational perspective venerating the natural forces and objects was not a sign of "culture."

By "culture" I understand textual references about any products of human activity/cultivation. These may include the way of life, customs, traditions, beliefs and religion, agriculture and breeding, production of goods, arts, architecture, social, administrative and political organization, any other manifestations of human achievement or process of cultivating.²²

21 *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 6th ed., s.v. "nature;" *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, 3rd revised ed., s.v. "nature;" *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*, new revised edition, s.v. "nature;" *Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd revised ed., s.v. "nature."

22 *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 6th ed., s.v. "culture;" *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, 3rd revised ed., s.v. "culture;" *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*, New Revised Edition, s.v. "culture;" *Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd revised ed., s.v. "culture."

Everything which is referred to be cultivated, built up, settled, ordered, ruled, Christian, urbanized in the descriptions corresponds to "culture," everything which is wild, uncultivated, poorly settled up, pagan and so on refers to "nature."

3.4 Poland in the Encyclopedic References

3.4.1 Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini

In Piccolomini's *Cosmographia* one finds less than a folio or one and a half-page description of Poland. Among the main constitutive topics which comprise the images of this country one is informed that it is huge, located next to Silesia in the west, and it is bordering to Hungary, Lithuania and Prussia. The main city is Krakow, where a school of liberal arts is flourishing. Actually, this was the only University in Poland and the most eastern located one in Europe.

Mentioning the University of Krakow is rather important for the image of Poland. The university culture in Europe was an important structure and attribute for the Western European civilization.²³ Indicating that there was a university in Poland would mean that it belonged to the sphere of influence of this civilization. At the same time this would indicate that in this sense Poland was at the edge of the European civilization, as there were no other universities to the east of it.

Then he says that the towns of Poland except of Krakow were not splendid enough; almost all the houses there were built of wood and covered with mud (clay). Thus, the contemporary Western opinion about towns in Poland was not favorable. Except for the architecture one does not find other characteristics for Polish towns. Prevailing wooden architecture may be interpreted as an indication of lacking stone buildings, which were common attributes of urban status in European centers. The country is plain and rich in forests. The drink of people is (a kind of) beer, made of wheat and hops. Wine is very rare and vineyard cultivation is unknown. The soil is fertile for wheat. Many people breed cattle, many

23 Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe. Vol. I: Universities in the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

hunt wild animals. They eat wild horses which are very similar to deer apart of horns. They even hunt wild oxen, which resemble sea monster oxen. They have fish as well as birds in large numbers. The country is poor in silver and gold. After this there is information about the tax system in the country and about the king and the senate spending each year three months in each of the four parts of the country. Then, there is an extended reference to the political history of Poland, namely, the story of Vladislav, (Jogaila), grand duke of Lithuania, his baptism and coming to power as Polish King Valdislav II, and his Christian mission among the Lithuanians. This baptism of the ruler and his Christian mission was an important symbolical act of space appropriation by western European civilization. For the investigated period it was important to tell about this. It indicated the possibility of further ecclesiastical and political integration of the particular state into the Western European civilization.²⁴ This was also a kind of guarantee for future dialogue, for common language and for common interests. An extended reference to the fact that Poland wanted a Christian king, and made Jogaila, who was a pagan to accept baptism as a condition for becoming its king, indicated the country's faithfulness to the values of the European Christian community and culture.

The fact that Jogaila chose to marry Queen Jadwiga of Poland and to become a king and a Catholic Christian was an important and decisive step for him as a ruler, but also for Lithuania. He had also an option to marry Sofia, a daughter of the prince of Moscow. In that case he was required to convert to Orthodoxy and to make Lithuania a fief of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. That would literally have meant an open provocation against the Teutonic Order, and in that respect, was unrealistic. Thus, by this step of marrying Jadwiga and by baptism

24 Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c.900-c.1300* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 110-164; Nora Berend, *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-56; Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Christianity and Paganism, 350-750: The Conversion of Western Europe Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 89-204.

of his pagan subjects Jogaila tried to neutralize the official ambitions of the Teutonic Order.²⁵ Piccolomini found this historical event important to mention while describing Poland. Schedel and Münster did it too.

This passage is followed by the story of his sons Casimir and Vladislav, the division of power between them, the hardships of Casimir in Lithuania and the wars with the Teutonic Order. If one takes the whole text for hundred per cent, then about five per cent are dedicated to the description of the land, its nature and natural sources, and its people's interactions with the nature (hunting, fishing). The rest of the text is dedicated to the discussion of politics and the recent (fifteenth-century) political history of the country. Thus, the text itself and its computational visualization provide us with the information that Poland is mostly represented in terms of "culture" in Piccolomini's work.

3.4.2 Hartmann Schedel

Hartmann Schedel copied from Piccolomini the text on Poland into the second part of his *World Chronicle*. He shortened Piccolomini's entry a little bit, and the part which was cut is the one on the description of the land and its nature, as well as the short reference about the food, drinks, activities of people and the natural goods in this land. After the reference about the location of the country and its capital he continues with the passage on its recent political history, which is copied from Piccolomini without changes. Thus, this text is dedicated to Poland's political history. Again the central topic in this entry is the Christian baptism of the pagan Lithuanian ruler Jogaila (Vladislav) and the formation of the Polish-Lithuanian alliance under his rule.

25 Jerzy Kloczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Daniel Z. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

3.4.3 Sebastian Münster

Let us consider now the entry on Poland in *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster. The text occupies ten and a half folios or 21 pages. It starts with the chapter on the administrative division of the country with a map (see figure 3.1).

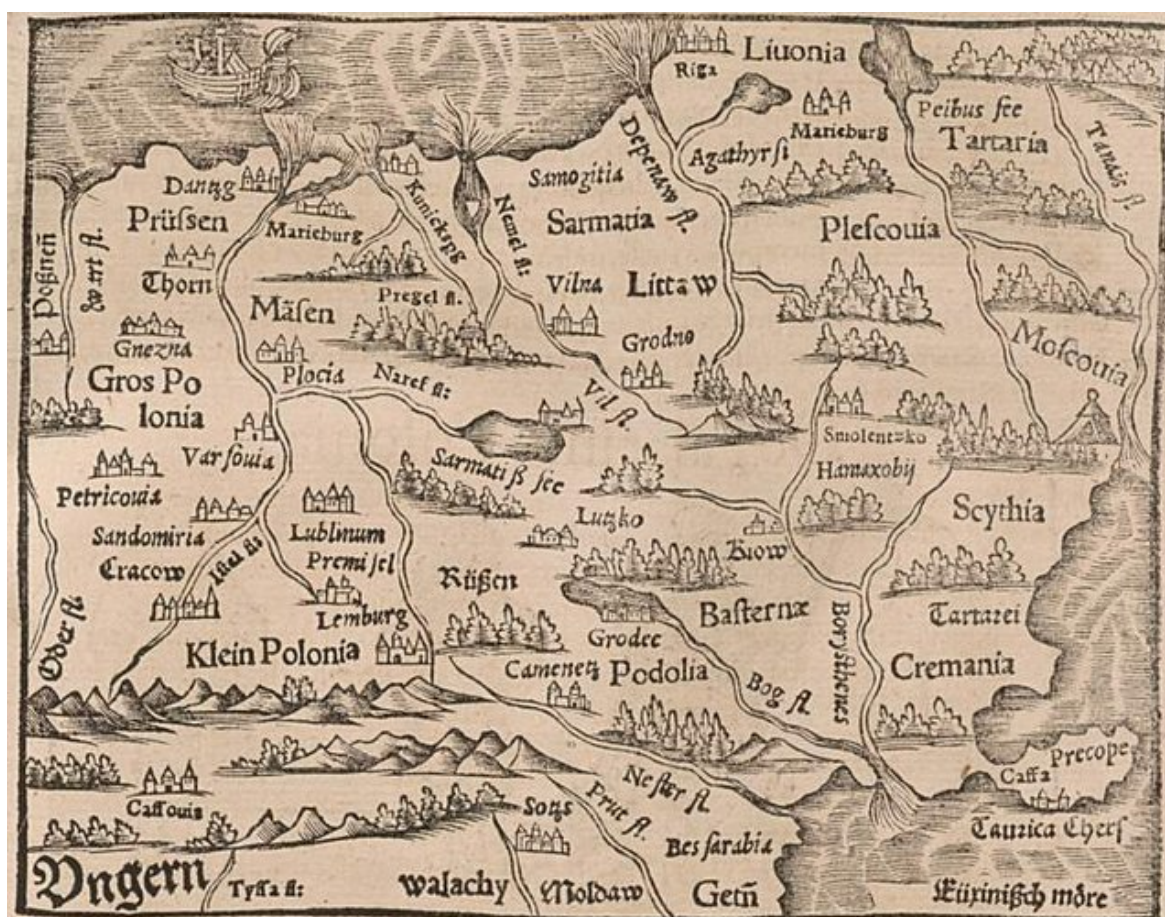


Figure 3.1: Münster, map of Poland

The description is structured and divided into a number of chapters as follows:

- The legend about Lech, Czech and Rus
- Lech settled Gniezno
- The election of Krakus
- Krakus' descendants
- The administration of Poland after Krakus

- About Lesko
- Leaders and kings after prince Piast
- The genealogy of the dukes and kings of Poland, beginning with Piast
- Extension of the history of Piast leadership to his successors and further generations
- How and when did Poland became the kingdom of dignity.
- About Casimir the third king of Poland and his sons.
- Kingdom of Poland reduced to Duchy.
- Bolesław the Curly the Grand Duke of Poland.
- The Polish campaign against Prussians.
- Remarkable Polish cities after Krakow.
- How and when the salt was discovered in the kingdom of Poland.
- The Duchy of Krakow is the subject of tossing between the leaders of Poland.
- Duchy of Poland is again raised to kingdom.
- Poland and Hungary under one rule.
- The ruler of Lithuania arrived to Poland and became the King and a Christian.
- Polish kings of our time who rule the kingdom.
- The names of bishoprics and other provinces in Poland.

As one may see from the list of the division headings hundred per cent of the text are dedicated to the political history of Poland from the beginnings of the state till the latest events, known to Münster. Thus, one finds a totally new image

of Poland here. We do not find in it any information on its geography, climate, how the buildings look like, what goods are found here and so on. This is a short chronicle of Poland based on the works of Polish chroniclers. The main source for Münster's entry on Poland was the Polish chronicler and humanist Jan Długosz.²⁶ His *Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland* in 12 volumes, written in style of humanistic historiography, were the best reference book for Münster. Individuals and their influence on history, political events and problems in secular manner break with the Christian view of history and characterize the humanistic historiography and this entry on Poland.

3.4.4 Image of Poland in *Imago Mundi* at close reading

Thus, the main observation for the image of Poland in the encyclopedic notes from the period is that the descriptions of the land, its nature and everything related to that had vanished. Poland is gradually being constructed as "culture" and gradually said to be established, organized, ruled, Christianized (see figure 3.2), and civilized through the period.



Figure 3.2: The Polish baptism in Münster

There was some information about customs and everyday life in Poland in

26 Jan Długosz, *The Annals of Jan Długosz: An English Abridgement*, trans. by Maurice Michael (Chichester: IM, 1997).

Piccolomini's and Schedel's entries in the beginning of our period. Namely, "The drink of people is (a kind of) beer, made of wheat and hops. Wine is very rare and vineyard cultivation is unknown," or "they eat wild horses, which are very similar to deer apart of horns. They hunt even wild oxen, which resemble sea monster oxen..." The descriptions of nature and of people disappeared in the entry on Poland in Schedel's description.

In Münster's *Cosmographia* the text became absolutely political and historical. One finds two woodcuts which keep us remembering that Poland is (or very recently was) exotic anyway. These are the depictions of a monster which was killed by the legendary Prince Krakus before he founded Krakow (see figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3: Münster, Krakow monster

Still more intriguing is the picture of a monstrous baby, which is reported to be born in Krakow in February 1547 and had lived three years (see figure 3.4).

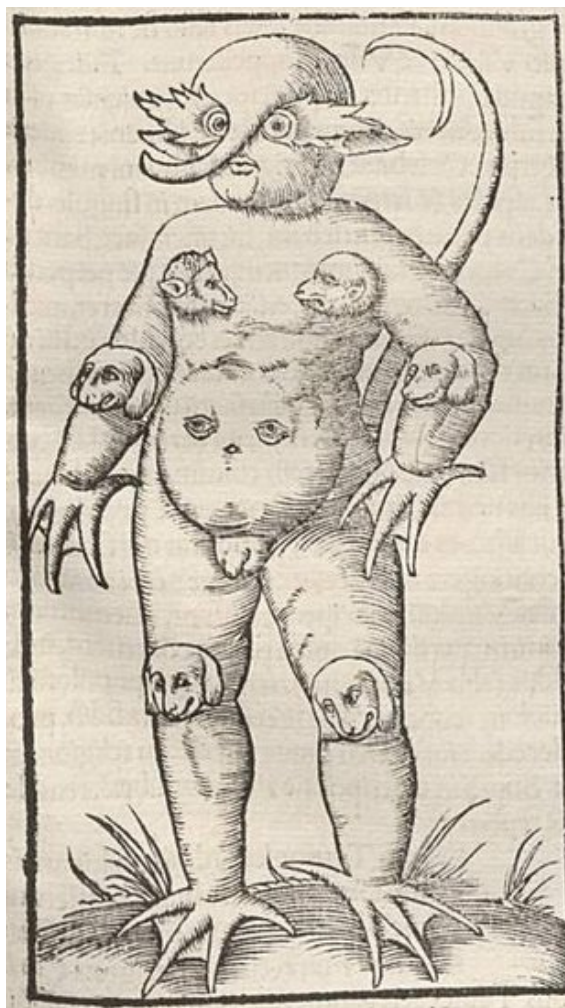


Figure 3.4: Münster's monstrous Krakow child

The latter image is totally out of the content of the description, Münster puts it at the end of the entry on Poland. By doing this he might have wanted to say that Poland was still located at the eastern edge of Europe, thus, it was already possible to meet there monstrous and strange creatures. They are rare, but present in this land. On the other hand, since the beginning of the sixteenth century a trend to present and to discuss the monstrous births generally appeared in European printed sources. Alan W. Bates monograph²⁷ specifies theological, scientific, medical and philosophical impulses for this interest in Early Modern Europe. This was the period when the monstrous human beings, traditionally put behind the geographical borders of the known world, were conceptualized as present within

27 Alan W. Bates, *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005).

its borders, close to home. Münster was following the trend. Monstrosity could be interpreted through the connection with faith and lifestyle, the result of influence of extreme climates, a method to depict or communicate the strangeness of neighbors.²⁸

Except of the above presented images of Poland, the Latin edition of Münster's *Cosmographia* contains a few more images, like the Polish costume, the senate, a monk, the coat of arms, the duke of Mazovia (with a devil on his shoulder), and King Sigismund. As one may see, three of the images have exotic content, the rest of them communicate "cultural" messages.

3.4.5 Text Visualizations for Entries on Poland

As a following step the computational methods of general text analysis will be applied to these texts. I will compile two kinds of visualizations with the help of Voyant tools, namely the Word cloud and the word trends.

The word cloud will demonstrate which words are the most frequent in the texts, helping to depict the strong topics in the entries. The word trends will demonstrate the usage trend of the most frequent words in the text. It will show in what part of the text body the main terms are used more frequently, or whether they are used through the whole text with the same frequency. This visualization helps to locate the main terms and topics within the text body and also show to what extent the text is homogeneous.

In some cases, the automatically generated samples will be manually processed. Namely, I will sum up such words like "king" and "kings," for example. This is one word and it is important to count all cases where it occurs in the text. Otherwise, the two forms of the same word would be automatically recognized as two different words, which is literary wrong.

The word cloud for the entry on Poland in Piccolomini's *Cosmographia* demon-

28 Lorrain Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

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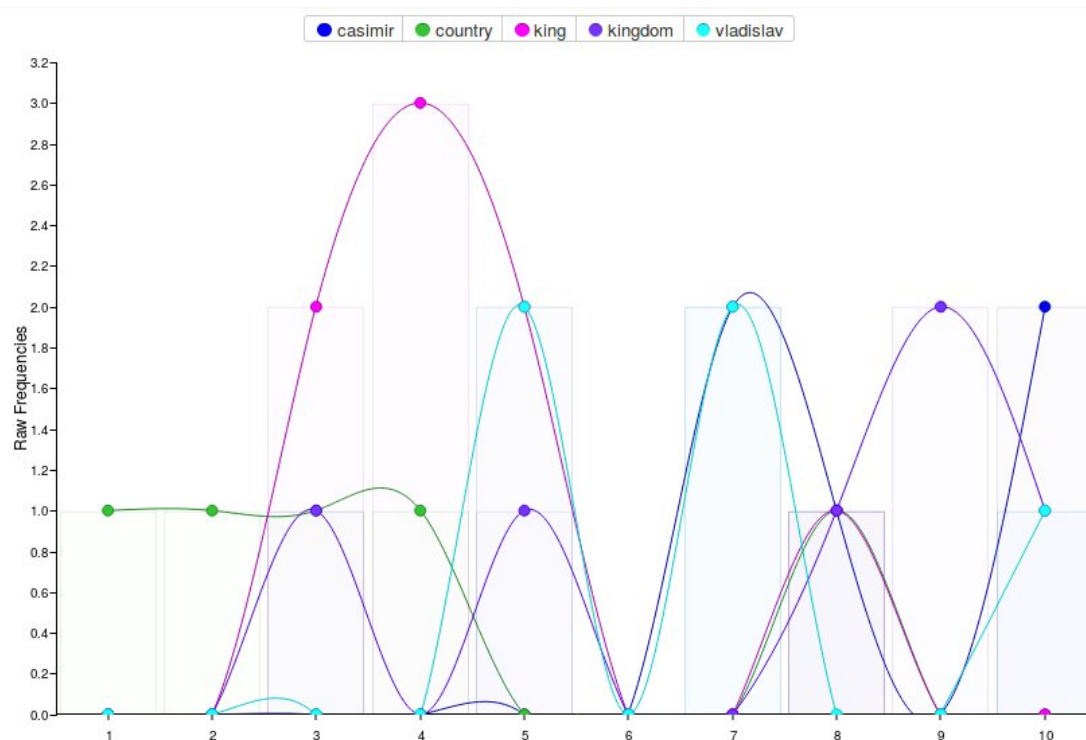


Figure 3.6: Word trends for Piccolomini's text on Poland

mini, except of a passage in the beginning of the text, the visualization does not offer a much different image. It just becomes clearer that the text is about the Polish kingdom and the Polish kings and its "cultural" and political content get more emphasized (see figures 3.5 and 3.7).

The distribution of the "strong" terms in the word trends visualization depicts a rather homogeneous text. One may see slight differences in the beginning of the two word trends graphs by Piccolomini and by Schedel. It is explained by Piccolomini offering some general information on Poland in the beginning, as already mentioned. Schedel did not copy it into his reference, which becomes visible in the visualizations (see figures 3.6 and 3.8).

The visualizations of Sebastian Münster's description of Poland became the most challenging and time consuming case in the entire study in sense of the variety of applied methods and computational tools. The text exists only in old prints, it had not been edited or translated before. It is a rather long composition consisting of more than 9.500 words. Thus, in order to make the visual analysis possible it was necessary either to translate the text into English, or to decode the



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images of the old print text with the help of OCR in order to have it in text format. The second option was chosen in order to be closer to the source language.

As already said, the visual text analysis tool are much better developed for modern languages, the best for English, probably. For Latin texts still additional manual interaction is necessary in order to receive a reliable result. Latin is a highly inflected language, as a result the same word with different endings will be counted as different word cases by the Voyant tools. Here, it was necessary to manually sum up the words with the same meaning. Among all 9.500 words comprising the description the most frequently used were identified. The most of these words were nouns, with very few exceptions of pronouns and verbs. English is not an inflected language and in such expressions like "son," "with the son," "by the son," "to the son" the form of the noun remains unchanged. It is not the case in Latin and each time it will be a different form of the noun. After the most frequent terms were translated into English, the Voyant tools would recognize them as one word form for each case, and not as several different forms of the same word. The most frequent Latin terms were replaced with their English meanings and this made it possible to obtain the final result in form of word cloud and word trends. This is one of the possible solutions on how to approach rather big Latin texts.

Thus, also the visualizations of Münster's description of Poland present us its terminological and meaning essence. As it was said before, his text is totally dedicated to the political history of the country. We see in which terms this was done and what topics were important (see figure 3.9). The most frequent words describing Poland in this text in their vast majority represent the attributes of the state and its political ranking. They are "Poland," "kingdom," "king," "duke," "Krakow," the names of the kings "Vladislav", "Casimir," duke "Boleslaus," the names of the neighboring states "Lithuania," "Bohemia," "Prussia" and other. The term "year" shows that there are many references to the dates within the story, which is typical for texts on history. The names of the states correspond to Poland's neighbors

and the names of the kings indicate the most influential figures in Polish history. Thus, the word cloud offers the possibility to get the scope of the main content in a compressed image. The words "daughter," "son," and "brother" refer to the dynastic matters of the kingdom.



Figure 3.9: Word cloud for Münster's text on Poland

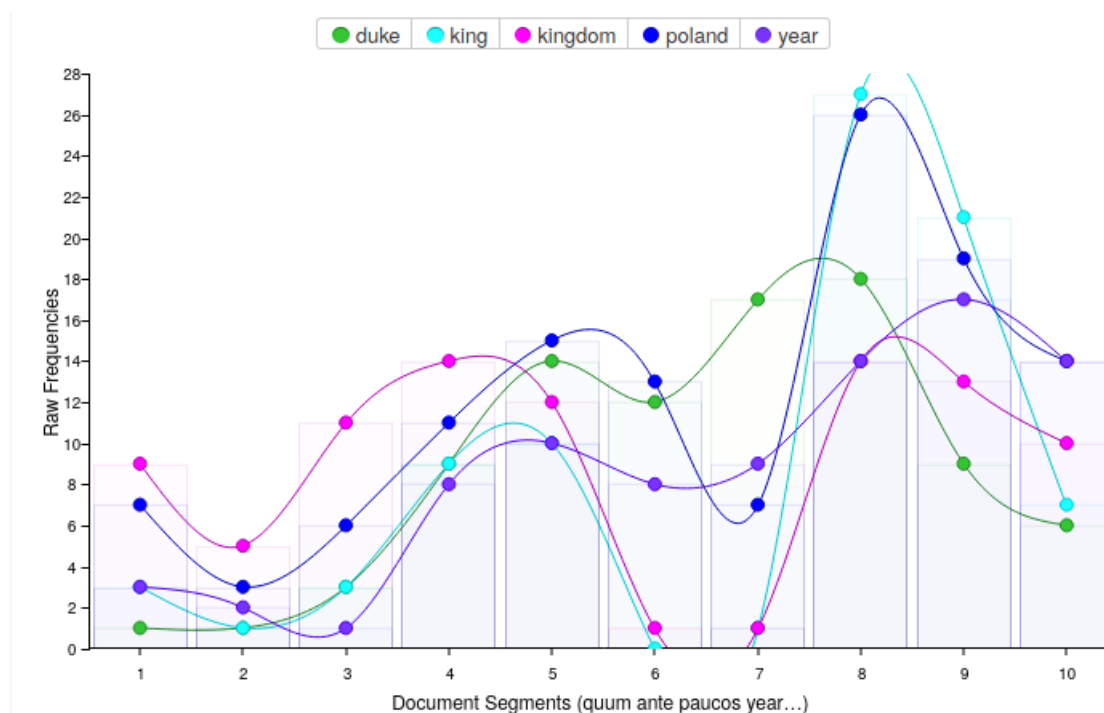


Figure 3.10: Word trends for Münster's text on Poland

3.5 Lithuania in the Encyclopedic References

3.5.1 The Origins of the Image of Lithuania in *Imago Mundi*

The first general descriptions of Lithuania, known in Western Europe at the depicted period, appeared as a result of contacts in the frameworks of the so-called "Northern Crusades." Those were the crusades of Western European knights to the pagan lands of the eastern Baltic region with the official aim of converting them to Christianity.²⁹ Until this period some Baltic pagan peoples were separated from the rest of Europe by natural borders, like thick forests and swamps. They were able to preserve their traditional way of life with their own religious beliefs handed over from previous generations. Officially, the call for a new crusade against the pagan Balts and Finns was made by Pope Celestine III in 1193. The Baltic Crusades³⁰ started and their impulses lasted until the fifteenth century,

29 Erik Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 1997); Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254* (Leiden: Brill 2007).

30 Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky, *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, rev. ed. (Budapest: Central European University Press.

when the Teutonic Order was defeated at the Battle of Grunwald (also known as Battle of Žalgiris or Battle of Tannenberg) in 1410.

In the thirteenth century the beachhead for the mission became the lands of Prussia and Livonia which by that time belonged to the Teutonic Order. Prussia particularly was devastated and deprived from the local population as a result of the crusades. Besides the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who came to fight the pagans that refused to convert, many settlers of Germanic origins, but also from all over the Christian Europe came to that region. As it was mentioned above, the mission and conversion were the official, but not the only reason for going there.³¹

The impressions by one of the missionaries, Jerome of Prague (c.1369-c.1440),³² became the source of information for Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. In his description of Lithuania Piccolomini presented Jerome's story of preaching there told to him personally. This story occupies the largest part of the reference on Lithuania, and becomes a central topic in the image of this land. It offers the description of local pagan cults and the ways Jerome tried to fight them.

At the same time it should be pointed out that the content of the part on religion in Lithuania and the mission of Jerome is very similar to what Henry of Livonia wrote in his *Chronicon Livoniae* (1224-27) concerning the mission in the eastern-Baltic region at the beginning of the thirteenth century.³³ The main attributes and scenes with which the missionaries were confronted in Henry's *Chronicle* are identical to those described by Jerome, namely, the worshiping of snakes and burning them by missionaries, and the presence of a very big one among others, which was very hard to burn; sacred forests with one very big tree among others and the scene of cutting that tree by a missionary, and so on. Based on research investigations and references from the secondary literature dedicated to the conversion

2001).

31 Alan V. Murray, *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, rev.ed. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate. 2001).

32 Jan Stejskal, "De Lituania," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 31 (1994): 45-58.

33 James A. Brundage, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. and ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961).

and history of the eastern Baltic region, one observes a connection between these sources.³⁴ It is possible that Piccolomini read the *Chronicle* and used the scenes from it as a rhetorical tool and put them to the mouth of Jerome of Prague. It may also mean that Jerome himself read Henry's work and used the rhetorical images from there in order to make an impression of a truthful story.

The motif of pagan religion was incorporated into the description of Lithuania by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and became the central topos of its image for the western Christianized audience.

3.5.2 Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Hartmann Schedel

The entries on Lithuania are present in all three mentioned sources by Piccolomini, Schedel and Münster. The text by Piccolomini was copied by Hartmann Schedel word by word except one paragraph. Sebastian Münster was also influenced by Piccolomini's description and used it as a main source, but he involved several pieces of new information and tried to explain the administrative divisions of this state.

Thus, the entries on Lithuania by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Hartmann Schedel will be analyzed together, as their content is almost identical. From the range of the topics it is possible to see what interested both the authors and the readers about other countries at that period. The text starts from the note on the location of the country with regard to its neighbors. It is said that it was very hard to access Lithuania during summer, as the land was mostly covered with marshes, waters and thick forests. Merchants could go there mostly in winter when everything was covered with ice and snow. It was poorly populated and the houses were poor, made of mud, straw, and wood. The main wealth of people were livestock. The country was rich in honey, wax, wild animals, furs and fish. The rulers in Lithuania were cruel towards their subjects, particularly, Duke Vitovt, a cousin

34 Alan V. Murray, *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, rev. ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 141-168.

of Jogaila/Vladislav, who had stopped worshipping the pagan gods and accepted baptism. Two Lithuanian dukes, Vitovt and then Svidrigal, are referred to have pet bears. The author refers to the morals in Lithuania as common, but strange and exotic at the same time. Piccolomini says that women in Lithuania were allowed by their husbands to have lovers, who were called marriage aides. At the same time, men were only allowed to have one legitimate wife. It was different and exotic for the author and his audiences to learn that marriages in Lithuania were broken easily on mutual agreement, that it was possible to get married again as many times as people wanted. The language is said to be Slavic, but it was mentioned that they also had their own language. The longest part of the text conveying Jerome's of Prague witness about his fighting the pagan cults in Lithuania follows at the end, with a colorful reference to the worshipping snakes, the sacred fire and sun, the sacred trees and the sacred forests.

The word count for Piccolomini's/Schedel's description of Lithuania showed about forty five per cent of the text were dedicated to "culture" and about fifty five per cent to "nature." The extended description of the pagan cults was included to the "nature" category. I suppose that people worshipping objects of the natural world would be considered by the western European culture as "uncivilized." Thus, in comparison to Poland, a larger part in Piccolomini's/Schedel's descriptions of Lithuania was dedicated to "nature" and this did not change decisively through the time span under consideration.

The most exotic was certainly the pagan religion. Probably because of that the largest part of the description is occupied by information on different forms of idolatry. Part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Samogitia, remained pagan longer than any other. Officially, Lithuania became Christianized in 1387, when Grand Duke Jogaila, after becoming king of Poland (1386, the union of Krevo), was baptized, and then Grand Duke Vitovt baptized the country according to the Roman rite. Before that time, all attempts to convert the pagan population of Samogitia, the Northern part of the Grand Duchy, to Christianity had ended in

killings of missionaries or recalling them from the country, as in case of Jerome of Prague.

In the fourteenth century the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was a large state, which reached from Zemaitia/Samogitia in the north to the Black Sea in the south after the battle at the river of Sinie Vody (Blue Waters) in 1363. In fact, only the ethnic Lithuanian lands (Zemaitia/Samogitia) were the object for Christian mission since 1387, as most of the lands in the Duchy were already Christian from the times of Kievan Rus'. The Polotsk duchy, located close to Zemaitia was, for example, a famous Christian center as early as the twelfth century. The same counts for Grodno (Harodnja). The earliest surviving Boris and Gleb Church there dates back to the twelfth century. Thus, when Piccolomini and Schedel wrote that in Lithuania they worshiped grass snakes, the sun, the fire or anything else, this could be true in application to the past of the ethnic Lithuanian lands which comprised a small north-western part of the country's territory.

In the monograph by Mecislovas Jucas³⁵ the ideological disputes between the Teutonic Order and Polish jurists during the war and soon after the battle of Grunewald in 1410 are discussed. The dispute was a topic at the Council of Constance. Its central point was the struggle between the Order on the one hand and Lithuania and Poland on the other with regard to the lands of Samogitia, which were captured by the Knights under the pretext of converting them to Christianity. The Council accepted the idea by Polish jurists that the pagan population in this region should not be converted with the help of arms. Thus, paganism in this area was probably still present in the beginning of the fifteenth century, but this cannot be applied to the whole state of Lithuania. The text although provided such an impression.

How could the extended information about paganism in Lithuania affect the Western European readers' image of Lithuania when reading Piccolomini and Schedel? Probably the message would be applied to Lithuania in general, and the

35 Mecislovas Jucas, *Žalgirio mūšis* (The Battle of Grunewald) (Vilnius: Mosklas, 1990).

country could be perceived to be a pagan state. Everything that was said about Lithuania in the text would be applied to *Littav* in the map (see figure 3.11). The colorful detailed portrayal of pagan cults and traditions which comprised a solid part of the description of the country and the general impression about religion there could produce an impression that it was not Christian as a whole.



Figure 3.11: Schedel's map of Europe, fragment

As for the description of the pagan Lithuanian cults, it is interesting to point out some details with regard to the image of venerated snakes as reported in the story. For example, their bodies were described as rather exotic, being fat, black and having four short legs. Based on the Biblical story about the fall of Adam and Eve, particularly Genesis 3:14, *So the Lord God said to the serpent, "Because you have done this, cursed are you above all livestock and all wild animals! You will crawl on your belly and you will eat dust all the days of your life,"* there is a tradition among Christian interpreters of the Genesis to believe that before the serpent was cursed it had legs. Thus, Christian missionaries could interpret this image of the serpent

as the Biblical one that had legs and was used by the Devil to seduce Adam and Eve. In the eyes of Christians, particularly the learned Christians, this kind of worshipping would look really bad.

3.5.3 Sebastian Münster

Sebastian Münster extended the amount of information on Lithuania, provided by Piccolomini and Schedel. He structured his entry dividing the information on Lithuania into three sections: *Lithuania*, *Samogitia*, *About some cities in Lithuania*, *Ruthenia*. Nevertheless, he did not specify that all three regions belonged to the state of Lithuania. The entries follow the areas as following: Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia, About some cities in Lithuania, Ruthenia, Moscovia. From the text content it is possible to understand that the entries on *Lithuania*, *Samogitia*, *About some cities in Lithuania* represent the same state. Samogitia is said to be a northern part of Lithuania. The two first related entries mostly repeat the information known from Piccolomini and Schedel. The entries *About some cities in Lithuania* and *Ruthenia* were added by Münster. The first one gives information on the main cities and the distances between them in miles, but also the distances from these cities to some other cities outside Lithuania, like Krakow, for example.

As for Ruthenia, it is not clear from the description where it belonged to. In the part on *Lithuania* it is mentioned that at some point Lithuanians conquered some Ruthinian lands and made them pay tribute. They also disturbed Livonians, Prussians, Poles and Moscovites. Thus, Konrad of Mazovia invited the German Brothers of the Cross from Prussia to protect them from Lithuanians and their raids which was finally done. So, nothing particularly clear is seen from this story about Ruthenia. Münster informs about its location, but not about its political jurisdiction. At the same time, it did not become clear for the reader that Ruthenia was a part of the Polish-Lithuanian union as well. Probably, only the learned part of the audience could know that. Nevertheless, this entry on *Ruthenia* will be considered as a part of the representation of Lithuania in Münster's *Cosmographia*.

Ruthenia is presented as an exceptionally fertile area, where it is very easy to receive rich harvests with very little attempt. Honey is gathered by bees in huge amounts and left at river banks, in the holes of trees and caves. Commerce is well developed and safe in Lemberg. The bishopric in Lemberg is reported to take care of the safety of the foreign merchants and their goods, giving them shelter and protection. People speak Slavic language and they are Christians. Some other nations are also represented in Ruthenia, like Tartars, Jews, Germans, and Armenians. Münster mentions the main rivers of Ruthenia and the main cities with distances between them in miles.

Thus, Münster's image of Ruthenia is very attractive, positive and promising. The goods and the fertility of the soil communicate a rich land in terms of natural resources where many things are literally produced by themselves. It is also involved into international commerce and market. The author represented Ruthenia as a separate unit without giving a reference to its political belonging. If Münster had demarcated this land as belonging to Lithuania as well, its general stereotypical picture would change. It is possible that this area was hardly associated with Lithuania historically and in terms of religion. Since the fourteenth century, when the Grand Duchy of Lithuania adopted this name and grew in its size, it included the lands of Lithuania, Samogitia and Ruthenia and other smaller regions. Lithuania kept most of those territorial possessions throughout the fifteenth century and was the largest one in Europe. In the sixteenth century it went through a number of wars with Moscovia and had to make large territorial concessions to it. So, Münster presented Samogitia as a region in Lithuania, but Ruthenia is described as a separate unit.

Münster's *map of Poland* depicts most of the cities, rivers and other toponyms mentioned in his entries concerning Lithuania (see figure 3.12). At the same time, *Littaw*, as it is visually perceived, does not correspond to its size. Again it gives an impression of a small area in the eastern Baltic region. Ruthenia is not depicted in it. Thus, on the one hand, Münster contributed and developed the previously

existing image of the area in his work. On the other hand, most probably this development would not decisively alter the old beliefs concerning Lithuania.



Figure 3.12: Münster's map of Poland

3.5.4 Image of Lithuania in *Imago Mundi* at close reading

The analysis of the references on Lithuania shows that the writings by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini were extremely influential and remained the source for the later authors until the end of the research period, when the main topoi of this image did not correspond to the state of things any more. On the one hand, this illustrates the existing tradition of copying while writing about distant lands, following the earlier authorities, relying upon them, using them in order to sound truthful and knowledgeable. On the other hand, it may witness to what extent the authors wanted to change this image and to what extent the audiences might have wanted to learn new things.

A stereotypical picture of Lithuania survived through the whole observed period thanks to copying, also thanks to being exotic since it was first introduced. Possibly, it was useful for some reason to preserve this image. It is possible that being a part of the Polish-Lithuanian union in political terms the Grand Duchy of Lithuania could be perceived by the western audiences and authors as one with Poland. Speaking about Lithuania they would then mean the north-eastern ethnic Lithuanian area of Zemaitia/Samogitia. With this it is also possible to explain the fact that the, at this period, large state of Lithuania was not properly depicted in maps, but as a small segment north-east of Poland (see figures 3.11 and 3.12). In spite of the fact that the borders between the states were not depicted in maps one observes that Poland looks larger in this particular case. Its name is depicted twice in the maps both by Schedel and by Münster. In Schedel's map one of the depictions of the name of Poland was put very close to Moscovia. It is hard to talk in terms of accuracy here in any case, but this eastern depiction of the term of Polonia would better fit for the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Thus, the western authors as well as their audiences most probably perceived Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as one state. As the main story from the description of Poland says that the Grand Duke of Lithuania Jogaila had married the Queen of Poland Jadwiga, was baptized to Christianity and became king of the Polish-Lithuanian union with the name Vladislav, it would be natural for western Europeans to perceive these two states as one. In this case, by Lithuania they would understand the ethnic Lithuanian lands, not the state of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This situation most probably affected the stereotypical image of Lithuania and made it that stable throughout the period. This will be further discussed in the chapter dedicated to the cartography of the region.

In the entries on Lithuania, one can trace playing with notions about something close and at the same time strange in the habits of "us" and "them." For instance, they marry and have families. But what terrible things their women do having lovers and calling them "helpers of marriage?" The husbands are aware

of that! They marry, but break those marriages easily and marry again as many times as they want. This is partly close, but so strange at the same time. This way, "they" differ from "us." "They" also do not have money as "we" do. "They" are so much different to "us" by being partly "pagans," and look how strange and terrible their paganism is.

As said, these descriptions were a contribution by those who had never visited the country. The image was rather firm and survived throughout the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. The main constitutive topics about Lithuania were copied from author to author and continued making impact on its image, supporting the stereotype about the pagan religious beliefs and idolatry there. The only illustration in the entry on Lithuania in Münster's *Cosmographia* is a collected depiction of pagan cults there: sacred fire, sacred tree and a snake. This is a generalized pictorial representation for the country (see figure 3.13).



Figure 3.13: Münster's idols in Lithuania

I also tend to suppose that this image could have inspired Olaus Magnus, the Swedish author of *Carta Marina*, while he was creating his illustrated map. He worked at the map in Italy and had possibility to consult the present sources.

Above the country name of *Litvanie Pars* in his map one may see symbols of Lithuanian pagan cults: sacred fire, trees and a snake. (see figure 3.14) Thus, this is one more example of intellectual contacts and exchange in Western Europe. It also demonstrates the narrative connections between the visual and textual sources.



Figure 3.14: Olaus Magnus *Carta Marina*, detail

3.5.5 Text Visualizations for Entries on Lithuania

The computational visualization of the text by Piccolomini/Schedel provides us with the following terminological content: "people," "Jerome," "sacred," "sun," "bear," "tree," "god," "prince," "cut," "used," "worshiped," "ordered," etc. The strongest term in this image is "people." It demonstrates a clearly different tendency in com-

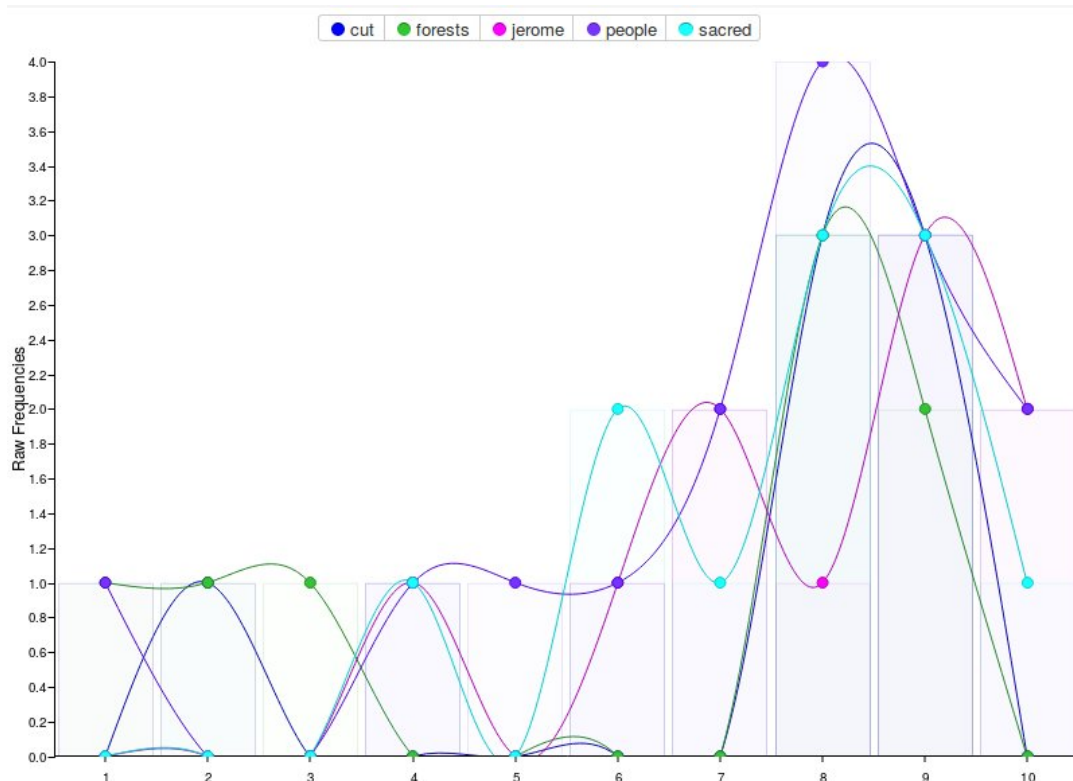


Figure 3.16: Word trends for Lithuania in Piccolomini's text

terms on "nature" and on "culture" in its visualization. The strongest terms are "Lithuania," "people," "city," "miles," "land," etc. It is clear that the text is about Lithuania which was not that well defined in the previous terminological image of the text by Piccolomini. Thus, the most frequent and strong terms here belong to "culture" and this category is visually prevailing (see figure 3.17). The terms of "nature" like "river," "honey," "forests," "animals," "sea," "water," and other are present in the image of Lithuania, but they are less in comparison to Piccolomini. A rather strong presence of a new term "city" is observed in Münster's text. Previously visible representation of religious terms in the word cloud visualization of the entry by Piccolomini is not observed in case of Münster's description. The term "miles" is among the most frequent in the text as well. It is present in the Münster's discussion of the cities in Lithuania where he reports the distances between them in miles. It is very possible that the author obtained this information from travel accounts, or other sources. It may also be interpreted as an attempt to describe a not that well known area through introducing its distances.

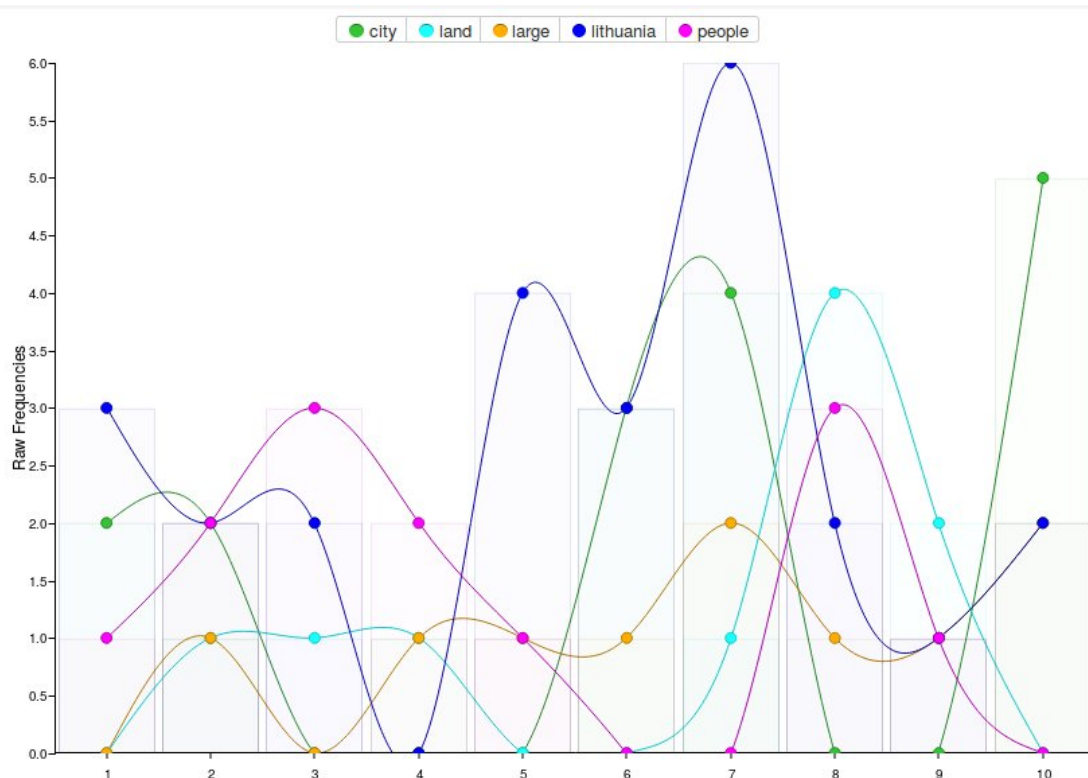


Figure 3.18: Word trends for Lithuania in Münster's text

3.6.1 The origins of the image of Moscovia in *Imago Mundi*

As for Moscovia, the works by Piccolomini and Schedel do not contain entries on it in their descriptions of the world. One finds short references to Novgorod, which was a famous commercial city in the East of Europe and became a part of Moscovia only in 1478. The description of Novgorod contains some pretty exotic details. One can see that the text on Novgorod by Piccolomini was copied by Schedel and later incorporated by Münster into his description of Moscovia among the important regions of this land. A description of Moscovia itself appeared in the textual image of the world only in Münster's *Cosmographia*. By the time of Münster it had become a strong player in the eastern edge of Europe. The origins of this description partly go back to the source, which appeared as a result of contacts between Pope Clement VII and the prince of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. Pope Clement VII was looking for alliances against Luther's movement and sent an embassy to Moscow. The embassy turned back without

a result. Together with it, the Russian embassy of Dmitry Gerasimov came to Rome. Moscow avoided discussing the matter of religious union. Paolo Giovio, a contemporary historian, talked to Dmitry Gerasimov and made a detailed geographical account of Moscovia³⁶ based on the letter's description. A large part of Münster's entry on Moscovia in *Cosmographia* was borrowed from this source. Among other main sources, from which Münster borrowed information was also Maciej Miechowita.³⁷ The interesting point about Münster is that, in comparison to Piccolomini and Schedel, he had a few already existing, printed pieces of information on Moscovia at his disposal. The origins of Münster's text on Moscovia were rather well investigated in scholarship, thus just his main sources are being mentioned here. One may notice that Sebastian Münster composed his entry from pieces of information of different origin. He did not write his own text based on obtained knowledge. He made a kind of collage containing parts of different texts and did not structure them. The same topics were sometimes repeated and the given facts at times contradicted each other.

3.6.2 Münster about Moscovia

Coming to our point of interest concerning the distribution of "culture" and "nature" in this entry, the calculations show that about fifty-eight per cent of the text are dedicated to the description of "nature" and forty two per cent to "culture". The text contains information about the location of the land, its climate, its natural goods, numerous rivers and lakes, which abound in fish, forests, which abound in wild animals, bears in particular, honey, produced by bees in huge quantities (one can find lakes of honey in the woods), the fertility of the land, food and drinks of the people, and so on. A smaller part of the description is occupied by the "culture" topics, like the state power, the capital city of Moscow and its view,

36 Paolo Giovio, *Libellus de legatione Basilii magni principis Moschoviae ad Clementem VII* (Basel, 1527).

37 Maciej Miechowita, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis, Asiana et Europiana, et de contentis in eis* (Cracow: Jo. Haller, 1517).

agriculture, products, language and religion.

Generally, Moscovia in Münster's description provides an impression of a land rich in natural resources. At the same time, at some points the description also calls forth the images of new promised lands or contains the features of a terrestrial paradise. The search and the descriptions of remote lands as a kind of terrestrial Paradise were a spread practice already among the medieval authors.³⁸ These places were drawn to have everything necessary for good living. The local people there were often depicted as not able to use all the generous gifts of nature and to cultivate the land in an appropriate way. Among Paradise-like motifs in the image of Moscovia the following can be cited: "The wild bees gather so much honey that sometimes there is no space in the holes of the trees to store it and they leave the honey on the banks of rivers. Sometimes peasants find far in the forests lakes of honey. Bears search for honey, ..."

That the terrestrial Paradise, created by the hands of God, still existed somewhere in the East was widely spread in the European Middle Ages. Nobody knew where it was located, but the research into the contemporary cartography, particularly, demonstrates the attempts to locate the Garden of Eden in the eastern, not well-known parts of the world.³⁹ It was believed that the terrestrial Paradise would look like a place still untouched by humans, a place that provided everything necessary for living in abundance. During the Renaissance and in Early Modern time the identification of Earthly Paradise was transformed. Gradually, a new idea that the terrestrial Garden of Eden disappeared because of the human sin became prevailing and the search for its location stopped. In my opinion, the traces of the terrestrial Paradise motifs are still to be found in some way in Münster's description of Moscovia. The more to the East, the higher the possibilities

38 Arthur Percival Newton, *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1926): 163-164; Sabine Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London: Rivingtons, 1868), 250-265, chapter on "The Terrestrial Paradise."

39 Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); idem, *Maps of Paradise* (London: The British Library; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

were to find the remnants of an untouched Paradise-like nature.

It looks like Münster on purpose constructed such image of Moscovia. He was rather well informed about the things in the region, his detailed entry on Poland shows this. It is also known that he interrogated people coming from Moscovia. Moreover, Münster met Sigmund von Herberstein in person and one may just suppose that he hardly could withstand asking and discussing about this country with the contemporary expert on Moscovite matters. Thus, we may suppose that he obtained different kinds of information on this duchy, but for some reason he wrote in his description mostly about its nature, natural resources, the goods people got from nature and how they interacted with their natural environment. One of the reasons here could have been his intention to fit to the requirements of the genre: namely, that such a remote and not well known area at the edge of the Europe needed to be drawn like that, like something wild and fertile. Quite often Münster compared Moscovia to other lands of the north, most probably because of the climate and difficult living conditions.

In comparison to Poland in Münster's *Cosmographia* Moscovia provides a totally different image. Poland is presented as a centralized political body, its dynasty has a legitimate nature and history, it is "understandable" and looks familiar to the western reader. As for Moscovia, more than half of the text offers information on its natural environment and its natural products that can be gathered, hunted, obtained, or produced. Namely, the text is more focused on the modes of subsistence and human interactions with the nature.

In terms of political organization Moscovia definitely sounds as being a centralized state, but the nature of its central power is not "understandable" or even not "acceptable" for a representative of a western "political culture". The unlimited power of the Moscovite rulers over their subjects of all ranks made the western authors as well as the readers terrified. This feature of the Moscovite political culture became an obligatory theme/motif in all descriptions of this land in the following centuries.

The images accompanying the text depict animals and the peoples' relations/interaction with nature (see figures 3.19, 3.20, 3.21, 3.22 and 3.23).

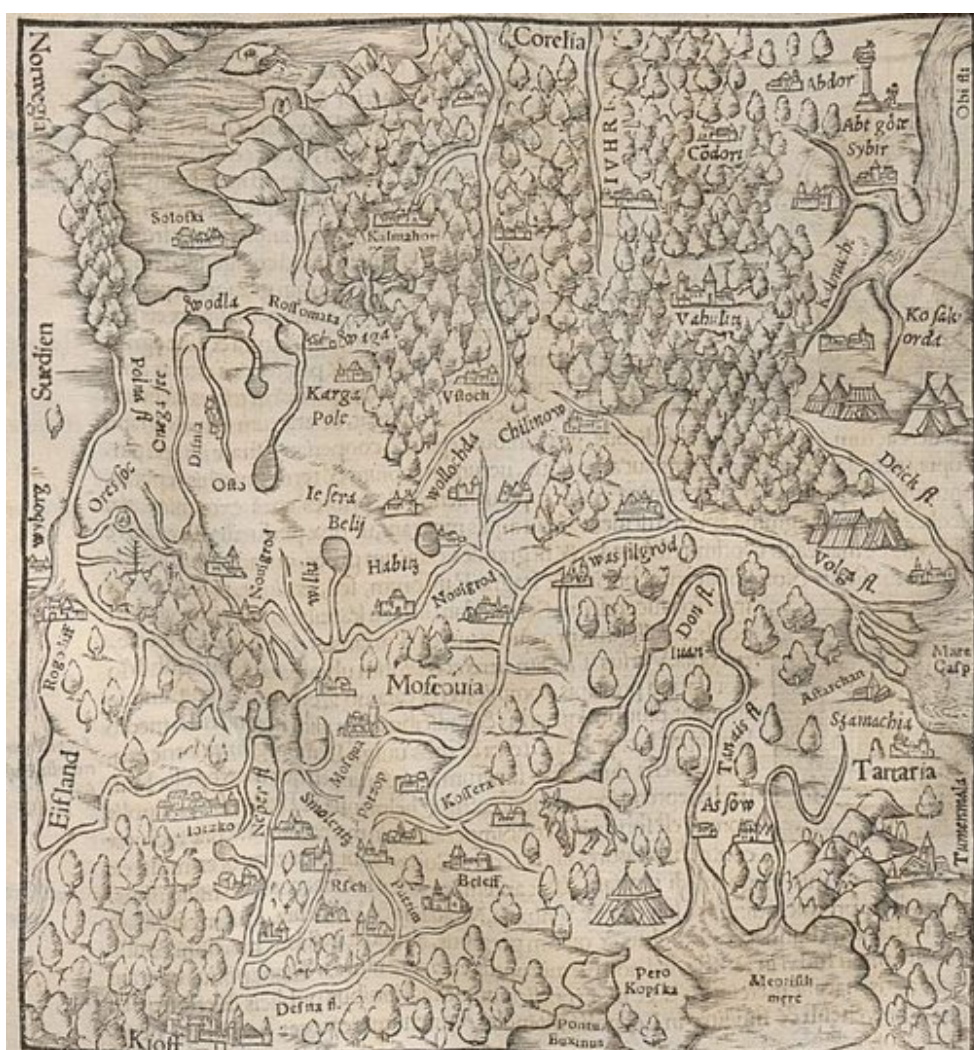


Figure 3.19: Münster's map of Moscovia



Figure 3.20: Münster's bull in Moscovia



Figure 3.21: Münster's bees in Moscovia



Figure 3.22: Münster's bear in Moscovia



Figure 3.23: Münster, depiction of pagan cults in the remote parts of Moscovia

3.6.3 Text Visualizations for the Entry on Moscovia

Interesting enough is the word cloud visualization for Münster's entry on Moscovia. It is well stated that the central notion in this text are the words "Moscovia" and "duke." Then, different terms related to nature are met: "honey," "river," "trees," "forests," "region," "town," "animals," "bees," "bear," "north," etc. (see figure 3.24). Thus, the word cloud is a good visual representation of the textual image, conveying its essence. It transmits a strong idea of a centralized state power in this country and of its being a land of "nature," not that much of "culture" and civilization.



Figure 3.24: Word cloud for Münster's entry on Moscovia

The term bear is among the frequently used terms in Münster's Moscovia according to the word cloud visualization. The term is not among the strongest at computational visualizations because in many cases the pronoun is used instead of the noun, but the bear topic occupies probably the largest space in the description of Moscovia in comparison to other topics. The quantitative calculations showed that about seventeen per cent of the text on Moscovia are given to the discussion of this topic/story. Bears are mentioned at several points of the text, as these references were taken by Münster from different sources he used. This was a topic touched by different authors while talking about Moscovia at that period. As a result, the repetition of a bear theme through the text body emphasized its importance in the image of this land. Here one may also observe the emerging stereotype of the Russian bear.

Several authors in Russian scholarship investigated the origins of the main stereotypes associated with Moscovia, namely bear, cruel rulers or its collective

image.⁴⁰ The article by Denis Hrustaliiov particularly traced its formation through the sources. The first half of the sixteenth century was the time when the descriptions of Moscovia start to appear in the West. Bears were mentioned practically in all of them, but those references did not have any political, stereotypic or stigmatic character for the country. Inside of Moscovia such an attributive perception of bears did not exist as well. The bear topic while talking about Moscovia and later about Russia was a product of Western perception. In the beginning it was purely an attribute of northern nature, an animal that inhabited those regions and was often met there. Later, it obtained emotional, political and social dimensions characterizing Moscovite civilization.

Münster's text being partly a compilation of the previously existing sources and oral interrogation would largely contribute to the formation of a bear topoi concerning Moscovia. The popularity of *Cosmographia* and its scholastic authority all around Europe would definitely help in circulating and in fixation of the bear stereotype for Moscovia.

The term "like" needs paying a comment. It is well defined in the word cloud and is used as a preposition in the text. Thus, this term is a sign that the author is talking about something new and not well-known in the text. In order to make things clearer for the reader he uses a lot of comparisons. For example, "their drink is like...", "the buildings are like in ..." and so on.

The term "miles" is present in Münster's entry on Moscovia, just like in his entry on Lithuania. It is not observed in case of other authors and not observed in Münster's entry on Poland. As I have already mentioned, by giving distances between the described settlements in Moscovia and Lithuania Münster introduces unknown or not well known places in his work. This also indicates him using the eyewitness sources. He reports rather long distances in case of Moscovia, for example, the city of Ustyug is 600 miles far from Moscow.

40 Alexander Filiushkin, "Kak Rossiya stala dlja Evropy Asiej?" (How Russia Became Asia for Europe?), *Ab Imperio* 1 (2004): 191-228; Denis Hrustaliiov, "Proishozhdenie "russkogo medvedia"" (The Origins Of The "Russian Bear"), *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* 107, (2011): 137-152.

The word trends specify the terms "Moscovia," "duke," "big," "honey," and "river" (see figure 3.25). Big rivers, big amounts of honey, big trees, big lakes, big mountains are the context combinations for the term "big." Moscovia sounds the land of big things and resources in a number of cases in Münster's description. The topics of honey and duke demonstrate high intensity at the central and the ending parts of the text. The strong terms also demonstrate that the notions of "culture" and of "nature" are equally present among the main topics comprising the entry on Moscovia. Among the physical features of the country, rivers are being mentioned and discussed the most.

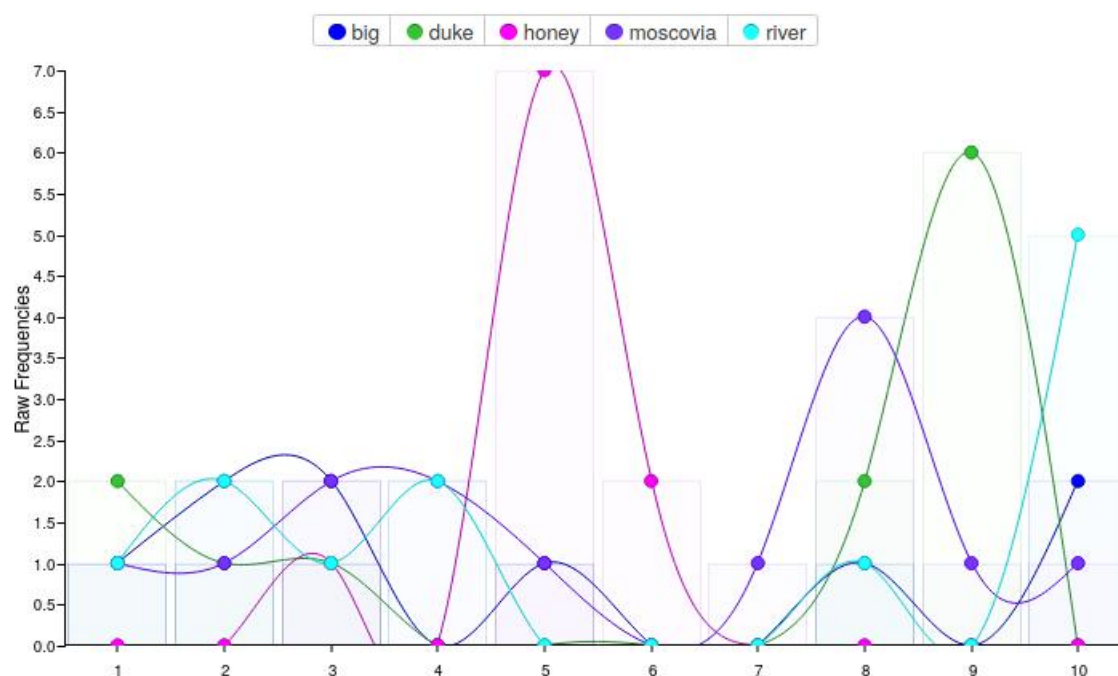


Figure 3.25: Word trends for Münster's Moscovia

3.7 Findings and Observations.

The study of the content of the three sources containing entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia showed that these lands represent regions of gradually growing reference to uncultivated nature regarding time and space. When textually proceeding from Poland to Lithuania and at last to Moscovia, the feelings of moving towards the more and more uncultivated, wild, exotic and poorly inhabited edges of the continent are getting stronger and stronger. Compared to France, for

example, there is no description of nature and settlements there, the authors talk about rulers of the country, politics and such. The countries in the west of Europe were presented as being organized spheres of order and political "culture," but the countries in the East of Europe are still close to "nature," or they are at least preserving some space of nature, which needs to be cultivated, or is waiting for those who can come and cultivate it. Lithuania and Moscovia in this respect represent different cases of being uncultivated: the first one needed to be cultivated in religious meaning mostly, the second one less, but mainly its nature sounded like unappropriated and uncultivated.

Another characteristic feature for the genre of *Cosmographies* was a special discourse for the edges or margins of the inhabited world, which was borrowed by the Renaissance authors from the ancient Greek tradition. One of the attributes of this discourse is the presence of something exotic, unbelievable about the lands or people who lived in the edges, or close to the edges of the world. It is hard to definitely say how far the geographical knowledge of the Europeans reached to the East of Europe, but it was pretty limited and there was no certain opinion where the eastern border of Europe was located. The considered descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia demonstrated that the created images were getting more and more strange, exotic and different while moving towards the edges. Thus, the comparative analysis showed that the three lands represented gradual shifting towards the eastern edge of the continent and their images corresponded to the existing beliefs concerning the edges. I also suggest that the content of the descriptions was influenced and determined by the location of each country in the larger image of the world, *Imago Mundi*. The main observations and conclusions to support this general observation are the following:

- The borrowings among the authors and the communication of sources while creating the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were observed through the study period. This witnesses long-distance networking of knowledge in western Europe and the still present tradition of following the authorities.

- The main topics that comprised images of the depicted eastern lands are: rulers and political culture, religion, nature, climate, goods, food and drinks, people and their traditions, descriptions of settlements, natural resources, exotic things. These were the main criteria of that historical period and they demonstrate what was important while writing about the "other" lands.
- The interplay with the topics, focused on "culture" or "nature," resulted in different representations of the depicted lands.
- Poland is gradually being described as "culture," the motif of "nature" totally disappeared by the end of the period in its image. Nevertheless, an exotic element remained in it. It was expressed through the images of the Krakow monster and the Krakow monster child in Münster's *Cosmographia*.
- Lithuania as well as Moscovia are depicted as large, uncultivated, wooded, wild, poorly inhabited places. In medieval geographical culture, this kind of uncultivated and wooded landscape is opposed by cultivated, built, inhabited and urbanized landscape, the world of people who lived in large groups and populated areas is opposed to the world of those who lived in "solitude." The opposition is expressed by the contrasting notions of "culture" and "nature."
- The descriptions of Lithuania did not demonstrate much dynamics of its image. Through the period, it was mainly associated with its pagan religion. A slight tendency towards the terms of "culture" was observed in the word cloud visualization by Sebastian Münster.
- Moscovia is described mostly as "nature" with a Paradise-like motif and a strong emphasis on centralized power at the same time. The Paradise-like motif and the extended references to its natural goods and resources may also demonstrate attempts to textually incorporate Moscovia into the emerging world market economy context.

- This motif is to some extent present in the texts about Lithuania as well. It also seems to have awaited better domestication and cultivation. There, however, it was the hostile, pagan space existing to be converted into a safe and Christianized land.
- The entries on Lithuania also demonstrate that the knowledge about the country was limited in the West and the texts did not give understandable information on its ethnic, religious, linguistic diversity. The larger part of the description of Lithuania was dedicated to the pagan religion and the mission of Jerome of Prague to Lithuania. This meaningful and strong message for a western reader was attributed to the whole country. At the same time the size of the country was not communicated well.
- There are reasons to suppose that the main topoi for Lithuania find their roots in the rhetoric of the period of Christianization in the eastern Baltic region, namely, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.
- Forests and marshes to which the authors refer in all sources about Lithuania and particularly about Moscovia are not just the signs of wild and uncultivated landscape. In the Middle Ages they were significant physical internal frontiers also inside Europe. They kept the depicted region difficult to access and to contact with, as well as difficult to capture.
- The observed presence of the term "miles" in visualizations for Münster's entries on Lithuania and Moscovia indicates that the author is describing the places which were not well described before. The usage of this term can also be seen as a sign that demarcates the border between the known and not that well known countries in the east of Europe. In this particular case, the border went between Poland, on the one hand, and Lithuania and Moscovia, on the other.
- Sebastian Münster employs different narration techniques in his work, namely:

textual narration, maps and images. In this respect his source is more informative and expressive.

Travelers' Accounts

4.1 Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in Travel Narratives

Before talking about the travel accounts involved in this part of the work, let us mention why people traveled and what the travel purposes and travel conditions were like at that period. First, travel was not recreation. As a rule, travel was done for a certain professional or religious purpose: may it be commerce, military campaign, diplomatic mission or pilgrimage, and not for pleasure. Often, it was arduous and dangerous, the conditions were extremely uncomfortable at times. Besides, it was costly, risky for sickness and hostility.

Leaving for a distant trip, travelers were usually isolated from their home communities, from their common lifestyle during long periods. They could communicate with the homeland with the help of letters, sent with strangers. Those letters were often lost on the way and in many cases would never reach the recipient. These conditions would probably contribute to the travelers' sense of otherness and foreignness in places they were visiting. Thus, a travel was an emotional experience and travelers always were bringing stories back home. There was a tradition of keeping travel notes too. Those writings offer a context of the travelers' own language, notions, topics, expectations and focus with the exploration of the "other."

What distinguishes the travel accounts at the depicted period of the Renaissance and the sixteenth century from the ones from before is that more and more

factual data and elements were entering the texts. The texts of this period still contained references on exotic marvels and monsters, but the authors were turning away from those motives more and more. Practical geographical information, climate conditions, survival tips, travel instructions, listings of local goods, descriptions of foreign religions and traditions, politics, morals, personal feelings, emotions, etc. comprised these writings and occupied the authors and their audiences.

The travel narratives on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia will be examined in this part of the work. While speaking about travel literature, travel accounts or travel memoirs it is not easy to define clear features of this genres. The most important criterion about this kinds of writings is an eye-witness story.

Three of the sources considered here are diaries. One of them, namely by Sigismund Herberstein, is an extended report on his diplomatic visits to Moscovia in which together with notes of his personal experiences many other sources of information were used. Thus, I prefer using the term of "travel narratives" about Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. This term unites in itself these different kinds of travel accounts. It is helpful for the present research, as the images of the above mentioned lands are in its focus rather than the particularities of the genre.

Each of the selected sources contains descriptions of the two or the three depicted lands. As it was observed while analyzing the entries on the depicted lands in the *Imago Mundi* general works, the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia differ from each other to a large extent. Those were the "scientific" descriptions of the lands, located in the east and in the eastern edge of the European continent. The representations of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia comprised parts of an image of the world in those sources. The requirements of the genre and the location of those lands affected their images. In this part of my study I am interested to see which images of these lands the eye-witnesses created and in what way they differ from each other. I will also try to depict possible references to any kinds of borders which are demarcated by language or directly described by the authors. I

am interested to see to what extent these borders demarcate coming to a different reality, to a different culture. I will also try to find out what was important for the authors to tell about and if the thematic range in the stories is similar or different. Are the images "positive" or "negative"? Can we find references to emotions of people and what they are?

The Authors

Among the authors, who left accounts of their visiting the research area were a Flemish military man and diplomat Gilbert de Lannoy; the Italian diplomat Ambrogio Contarini and the Italian merchant and diplomat Giosafa Barbaro; and finally a diplomat and historian of the Holy Roman Empire, Sigismund von Herberstein. Chronologically their visits are dated as following:

- Gilbert de Lannoy, diary of his first trip to the eastern lands of Europe, 1413-1414;
- Josafa Barbaro, diary of his diplomatic mission to Persia, 1473;
- Ambrogio Contarini, diary of his diplomatic mission to Persia 1474-1477;
- Sigismund von Herberstein, an extended diplomatic report on Moscovia, visited in 1517 and 1526.

Let us briefly mention who the authors were by their origin, occupation and purpose of their visit. Gilbert de Lannoy was chronologically the first from the period who traveled to Lithuania, Poland and as far as Novgorod and left a diary of his trip. In the thirteenth century, the lands of Prussia and Livonia became the beachhead for the Christian mission in the eastern Baltic region that belonged by that time to the Teutonic Order. Besides the Knights of the Teutonic Order, many others from all over Christian Europe came to that region to fight the pagans. One such "adventurous" knight was Gilbert de Lannoy. He was born in 1386 to a noble Flemish family. From the age of thirteen he led a knight's life. He

took part in tournaments, fought the pagans during the crusades and traveled a lot. Besides for his warrior's skills he was recognized as a diplomat and different European rulers sent him with missions to other countries. He visited France, Spain, England, Prussia, Livonia, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Palestine. His two trips to the lands of Rus', Lithuania and Poland are of particular interest for this investigation. The first time he went there in 1413 to participate in the campaign by Grandmaster Henry von Plauen on the seaboard of Poland. The campaign was not successful, however, because of problems with the Holy See; Henry von Plauen was dismissed from his post and de Lannoy went on to Livonia. He did not find the opportunity to fight there and the trip turned out to be more a kind of an adventurous journey. His route led through Novgorod, Pskov, Duneburg (Nevhin/Nevgin – a town in Livonia at the Western Dvina River), Vilna (Vilnius), Troki (Trakai), Kovno (Kaunas), and Mamel (Memmel; modern Klaipėda). He also met the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vitovt. Because of his experiences and for the reason that he met the grand duke personally, the French King Charles IV and the English King Henry V sent him with missions to eastern rulers: to the Polish King Jogailo, the Lithuanian Duke Vitovt and the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II in 1421. The aim of the mission was the idea of creating a strong and wide coalition with England at the head for a crusade against the Ottomans. Thanks to his accounts we have a chance to learn about the details of that trip. He created his accounts probably after his return home using the notes he had made while traveling. His notes became well-known in Western Europe and were cited in parts or as a whole in various manuscripts.¹ The diary itself was first published in 1840.² In spite of the fact that these accounts were not that extensive, they communicated a lot about what was new for the author and about his attitude to the things he saw and experienced while traveling. As it was one of the rare writings of this

1 Petras Klimas, *Gillebert de Lannoy in Medieval Lithuania* (New York: The Lithuanian-American Information Center, 1945), 20-24.

2 Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et ambassades de messire Guillebert de Lannoy, 1399-1450* (Mons: Hoyois, 1840).

kind at the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was full of new information for a contemporary reader. De Lannoy passed through Lithuania. He met Vitovt in Kamenets and became a witness of the latter receiving missions from Pskov and Novgorod. Then, after getting precious gifts, safety conducts, and some errands to the Tartar khan, who was Vitovt's protégé, he continued on his way to Constantinople through Moldavia and the Crimea.

Another fifteenth-century author who wrote about Lithuania in his accounts was Ambrogio Contarini, a representative of one of the oldest noble families in Venice.³ He was sent with a diplomatic mission to Persia and returned back from that trip through Moscow, Lithuania and Poland in April 1477. In 1487, his accounts were published under the title: *Questo e el Viazo di misier Ambrosio Contarin, ambador de la Illustrissima Signoria de Venesia al signer Uxuncassam re de Persia*.⁴

Josafa Barbaro was a Venetian merchant, diplomat, and statesman. In the early period of his career, in 1436, he came to the Venetian colony of Tana and spent there sixteen years.⁵ He had a long political career and served Venice in different positions in Dalmatia, Albania, made numerous trips and diplomatic missions. In the 1480s, he arranged his accounts of travels to Tana and Persia. They were published in 1543.⁶

Sigmund von Herberstein⁷ was born 1486 in Vipava (German: Wippach) in the region of Carniola (Krain), modern Slovenia, to a wealthy German family.

3 Nicolò di Lenna, *Ambrogio Contarini, Politico e Viaggiatore Veneziano del Secolo XV* (Padova: Luigi Penada, 1921); Marica Milanesi, "Contarini, Ambrogio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol.28 (Rome: Treccani, 1983), 97-100.

4 Ambrogio Contarini, *Viaggio al signor Usun Hassan re di Persia* (Venice: Annibale Fossi, 1487).

5 Angelo Ventura, "Giosafat Barbaro," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 6 (Rome: Treccani, 1964), 106-13; Ugo Tucci, "I viaggi di Giosafat Barbaro mercante e uomo politico," in *Una famiglia veneziana nella storia: I Barbaro*, ed. Michela Marangoni and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1996), 117-32.

6 Giosafat Barbaro, *Viaggi fatti da Venezia, alla Tana, in Persia, India, e Costantinopoli,...* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1543-1545).

7 For recent research on Sigmund von Herberstein's personality and his contribution to the knowledge about Moscovia and the image of Moscovia at his time see: Frank Kämpfer, Reinhard Frötschner, eds., *450 Jahre Sigismunds von Herbersteins «Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii», 1549-1999*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa, Band 24 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

Not much is known from his early life, but one thing was important for his future that from childhood he became familiar with the Slovene language spoken in the region. In 1499 he entered the University of Vienna to study philosophy and law and at the age of 16 he got his bachelor's degree. In 1506, he entered the army and started his service for the Habsburgs. He took part in a number of military campaigns and in 1508 was knighted by Emperor Maximilian I. Maximilian perceived in him not only a good warrior, but also a clever and prudent politician. Thus, in 1515, he became a member of the imperial council and changed from a soldier to a diplomat. Between 1515 and 1553, Herberstein undertook about 69 missions abroad, traveling throughout much of Europe. He even went to Turkey, where he talked to Suleiman the Great. His trips to Russia as an Austrian ambassador were one of the most important experiences for him and brought him great fame. He undertook two diplomatic journeys to Russia – in 1517 and in 1526. The first one was an attempt to arrange a truce between Russia and Lithuania, the second one was to renew a treaty between those countries signed in 1522. The visits were long and provided him with the chance to study a society relatively unknown for Western Europeans. Herberstein's knowledge of Slovene allowed him to communicate easily with the Russians and other Slav peoples. That was an advantage, which let him penetrate into many aspects of life there not only through questioning locals, but also through examining the existing literature on Russia. The result were his *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*, published in 1549. But the first edition was not a successful enterprise, Herberstein corrected it and the following Latin edition appeared in 1551.⁸ It became the main early source of information about history, geography, religion, customs, administration and other things in Russia for Western Europe. One of the chapters in this writing is dedicated to Lithuania and called "About Lithuania."

8 Sigmund Freiherr von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii* (Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1551.)

4.2 Gilbert de Lannoy in the Eastern Lands of Europe

One of the first descriptions of the depicted region from the research period was composed by Gilbert de Lannoy. He wrote a diary of his visits to the eastern parts of Europe, namely, the lands of the Russian duchies of Novgorod and Pskov, northern regions of Lithuania and Poland. These were areas not equally known for the western traveler. Poland had been officially converted to the Christian faith in 966 and was in constant political and ecclesiastical contact with the Western European courts. It was more familiar in this respect. As for Lithuania, it was a more unknown region. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the lands of the Polish kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were joined first in political union (1386) and later in a commonwealth (1569). The fact that by the time of formation of the Polish-Lithuanian union the Lithuanian ruler and population in some areas of the country remained pagan also witnesses the lack of contact with and influence from the rest of Europe. At the same time, one should remember that the major part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania adopted Eastern Orthodoxy since the times of Kievan Rus'. The formation of the dynastic union and the Christian baptism of Jogaila in 1386, was one of the central topics in the entries about Poland and Lithuania in world geographies and cosmographies. This event attracted interest of all authors. When Gilbert de Lannoy visited these lands he was one of the first eye-witnesses who made notes of visiting them.

As Oscar Halecki demonstrated in his article, Gilbert de Lannoy's contribution to the discovery and introduction of Lithuania and Poland in the examined period was not that much thanks to his diary, but to his personal opinion dispatched to the Western European rulers during his diplomatic missions.⁹

Particularly interesting for the present work are his trip descriptions made in 1413 as a crusader and private traveler. All travel accounts describing the trips to our region start from a narration on how hard the travel conditions were. De

9 Oscar Halecki, "Gilbert de Lannoy and his discovery of East Central Europe," *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* 2, no.2 (1944): 314-331.

Lannoy's first journey is of particular interest, he undertook it by his own curiosity and desire to see new things, a pretty rare motive for that period. His diary on the first trip to the lands of Poland, Lithuania and Russian duchies of Pskov and Novgorod contains his personal observations. The second trip to Lithuania and Poland, in 1421, he made as a diplomat sent by the courts of France and England. The diary of this mission is telling mostly about where and when he met this or that ruler, what gifts and what papers were dispatched, and so on. In this respect, that part of the diary will not provide us with images of the depicted lands.

In March 1412, as he wrote in his diary, he left Flanders and went to Prussia, from there he went to Novgorod and on his way back he passed through Lithuania. As he mentioned in his diary, he was travelling to those lands as a merchant, most probably in a company of other merchants. The route of his trip in 1413 is depicted in figure 4.1.¹⁰

10 Out of Guillebert de Lannoy, *Cesty a Poselstva* [Journeys and messages]. Trans. Jaroslav Svátek, ed. idem, Martin Nejedlý, Olivier Marin and Pavel Soukup. (Prague: Scriporium, 2009).

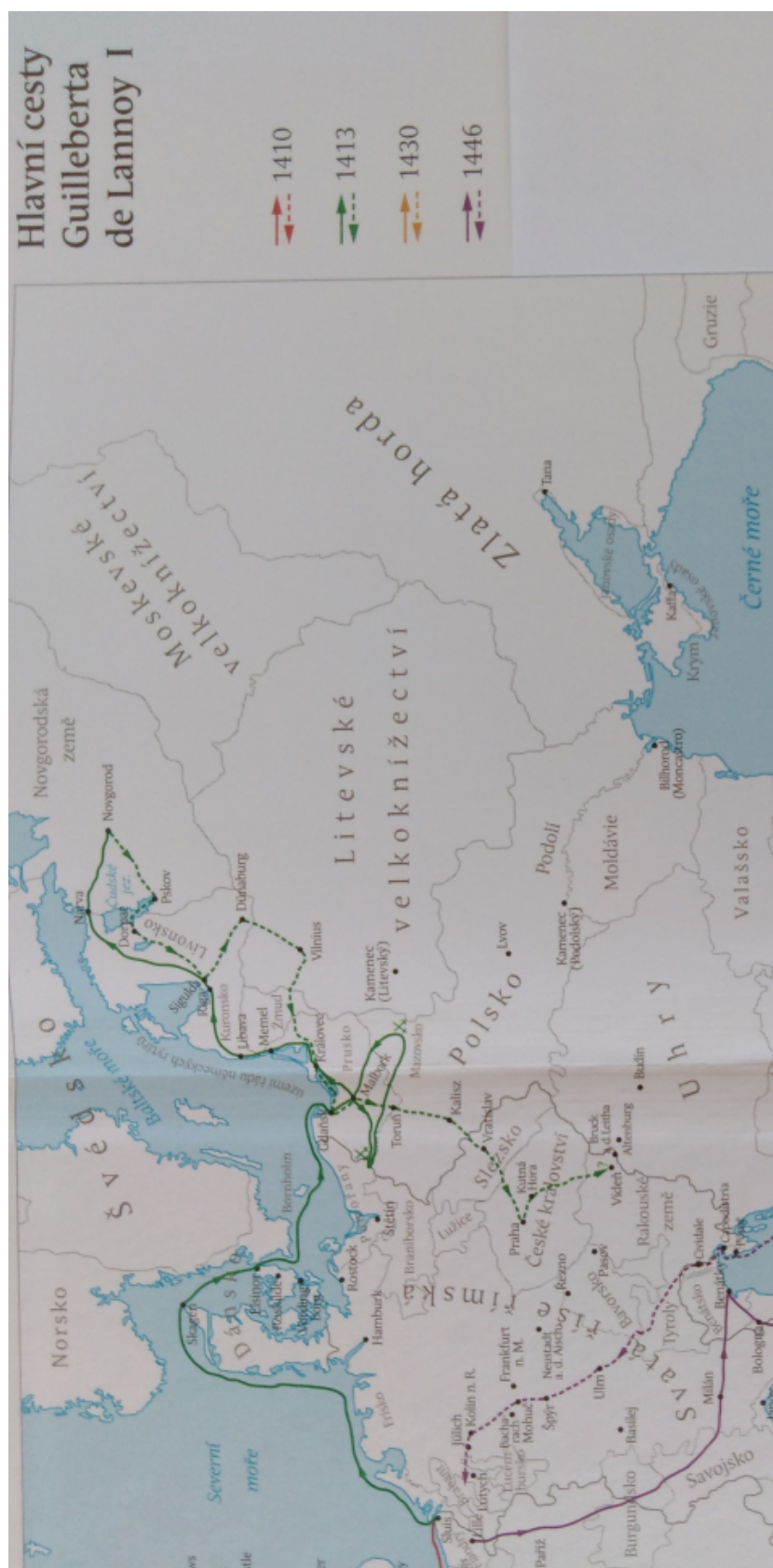


Figure 4.1: Gilbert de Lannoy's travels

His vocabulary and the content of the notes vividly reflect his predisposition to certain topics and themes in the description. This can be well observed while following him through the narration about passing through the different countries. Being a knight he mostly paid attention to how well fortified the towns were, how strong the walls, what the building materials were, etc.

His way from Flanders first led through Denmark, where he saw among others the "very beautiful castle of Helsembourg."¹¹ He went through Roskilde "from there to Rainsted, a good town...; from there to Nestwed, a good town..." Then he visited Danzig, "Melunghe, a very beautiful town ... From Melunghe, having passed through a splendid land I came to Keuniczeberghe..."¹² From Prussia he went to Samogitia. As soon as he had left Prussia and started talking about Samogitia, the tone of his expressions changed from admiration for the landscape and places to more restricted expressions and even very negative ones. He writes: "...then one enters the land of Samogitia; but one can travel for as long as 12 leagues in deserted area, without meeting a single sign of human settlement ...". From Samogitia he went to Riga and from there to Novgorod. The trip was hard and it was winter, which was the best time to travel there, because all the waters were frozen and this way it was possible to move rather quickly. According to his witness, Novgorod was a very large city surrounded by vast forests. The city walls were bad, made of wattle and clay. People were Christians and they followed the Greek rite.

He spent nine days in Novgorod, met with the officials there, who accepted him for dinner. Thus, he could receive some basic information about life there. He wrote that the city had its own elected government, its bishop and many noble men called boyars. The money used in Novgorod were pieces of silver, no minted coins and no golden coins were used there. He mentioned also that they were

11 V. Emelyanov, "Puteshestvija Gillbera de Lannoa v vostochnye zemli Evropy v 1413-14 i 1421 godah" (Travels by Gilbert de Lannoy to the Eastern Lands of Europe in the years 1413-14 and 1421), *Universitetskie izvestija* (Kiev, 1873): 17.

12 Ibid., 19.

selling frozen meat and fish in winter at the Novgorod market.

De Lannoy also reported that they had a market in Novgorod, where they sold and bought wives for themselves, and they bought them one after the other for a piece of silver or two. This statement does not have proof in local historical sources from the period. At the same time there was a tradition of paying dumplings for a bride. De Lannoy could have heard of something like this most probably, but interpreted it in his own way. Besides, very often they called a young man, who wanted to get married a "merchant" ("kupiets" in Russian) and the bride before she accepted to get married a "merchandise" ("tovar"). These local marriage traditions were pretty exotic for him in the way he understood them. It is hard to know what kind of translation he had at his conversations in Novgorod. Thus, the perception of the things was affected.

He made a note about an extremely cold weather in winter there. While writing about it he mentioned a few examples that he called wonders. Once he tried to boil water at a stop in forests. So, a pot filled with snow was put in fire and the water started boiling from one side of the pot, but on the other side it was frozen, meaning that because of extreme cold one part of water was boiling and another part got frozen in the same pot. Another wonder was that if they happened to sleep outside, the travelers could not open their eyes in the morning because their eyelashes, eyebrows and beard were covered by ice produced by breathing.

After Novgorod he visited another large city, Pskov. In order to go there he travelled through huge forests for thirty German miles. It is reported to be fortified by stone walls and towers. There was a large castle in the city and the strangers were not allowed to get in it. The city is said to have an elected government, but being a vassal of Moscovia.

He then left Pskov and traveled for four days and nights without seeing a sign of human settlement. Finally, he came to Derpt, "a very beautiful and a well-fortified city." As soon as he had left the lands of Rus' and entered Livonia his tone changed and again he started speaking in favourable manner. From there

he decided to visit Lithuania and meet Duke Vitovt. According to de Lannoy, from the very beginning when he entered Lithuania, it was "...mostly desolate and had many lakes and large rivers... I entered a large and uninhabited wood in the Lithuanian state, I traveled for two days and two nights without finding a single settlement, I also crossed seven or eight large frozen lakes on ice."¹³

While staying in Lithuania, he pointed out that the main town there was Vilna, "where there is a castle, situated high up the sand hill with a fence made of stone, soil, and bricks, but inside it is all built of wood... The town (itself) is not surrounded by walls... very poorly settled with wooden houses. There is not a single stone church in it."¹⁴ He mentions that people in that land were Christians and were baptized by the sword of Prussian and Livonian Knights. They built many churches in good towns and they forced people to build churches in villages as well; they also had 12 bishops in their country.

Thus, de Lannoy pointed out that Lithuania was a Christian land. He had his own opinion concerning the way it was baptized, but the fact that he did not mention anything about the pagan population and religion in Lithuania is also important. Of course, his visit was short, he could not get much information, but being a knight he could have heard of such an important issue in Prussia or in Livonia at least. It looks like the topic of pagan religion was not discussed in his circles and he did not ask about this issue when he went there.

From Vilna he went to Troki. The town of Troki is also "... poorly settled with houses and is not walled at all. There are two castles there, one of which is very bad Another one ... is new and made of stone bricks according to the French style."¹⁵ He characterized Troki as a place where many Tartar, German, Ruthenian, Jewish and Lithuanian people lived together and everybody spoke their own language. He also wrote about a fenced park in Troki, where all possible kinds of wild animals and beasts were gathered.

¹³ Ibid., 28.

¹⁴ Ibid., 29.

¹⁵ Ibid., 29.

He praised Vitovt for not taking fees from foreign visitors and for providing them all with everything necessary while traveling through his land. De Lannoy did not write much about people and the everyday life in Lithuania, Rus' or Poland. He just described what he saw while passing through these lands: towns, villages, and landscape. His numerous negative characteristics and comparative parallels address the cities, towns and their fortifications mostly. The author considered these lands as underdeveloped in this sense in comparison to its neighbors of Prussia or Bohemia. His usage of vocabulary and terms demonstrates this vividly. The towns and castles in Prussia, for example, are good, and the land is beautiful and splendid. Novgorod and Pskov are very large. Pskov had better fortifications than Novgorod and both were surrounded by huge forests and rather isolated. Lithuania is desolate, and the towns, castles and other settlements are bad, poorly settled, do not have walls or the walls are bad and made of wood and soil, stone buildings are few, and so on. The only admirable stone castle he found was built in Troki according to the French style. He came back to favorable expressions, when he left Lithuania and entered Prussia. He writes: "Then I was going for long through Prussia up to a very beautiful, rich, and fortified town, a castle, monastery..., Torn by name."¹⁶

From Torn he moved to see Poland. In Poland he went to the fortified town of Kallish (Kalisz), where he met the king of Poland, stayed for some days with him and a splendid dinner was given in his honor. From there he went to Bohemia. The king of Poland sent men to guide de Lannoy and they went with him till Silesia, to the very beautiful, rich and very commercial city of Breslau (Wrocław) at the western border of Poland. Thus, as he was approaching the western border of Poland, his tone was getting more favourable again. He characterized Kalicz as fortified and Breslau is said to be very beautiful, very rich and very commercial. When he came to Prague the admirable characteristics became more numerous. Prague is said to be very large and very rich, it had many most

16 Ibid., 31.

venerated relics/treasures, such as the spearhead and a nail of Our Lord's passion and several heads of saints.

As one may see, towns and cities were the main focus at de Lannoy's diary. Being a military man, he had certain criteria concerning the looks and the beauty of settlements. Strong city walls, a stone castle and buildings were the main attributes of a good city. He also paid attention to markets and commerce.

The word cloud for the diary text, describing his trip in 1413 vividly demonstrates the high frequency of the term "town" in it (see figures 4.2, and 4.3). This is the most frequent word in the text. The result was obtained by summing up all word variations, like: town, towns, town's, towns'. As for de Lannoy's personal perception, one may see that he kept his eye primarily on the military-topographic characteristics of the places he traveled to, namely, roads, fortifications around settlements, castles, fortresses and things like that. He hardly mentioned people and their customs, etc. What attracted his attention is, how strong, protected, and fortified the country was. His preoccupation about this topic also reveals the perception by a representative of the Western European urbanized society. What he saw in the eastern lands of Europe should have been quite different. But he did not use analogies and parallels with other European towns while speaking about the looks of towns in this region.

The most frequent words in the diary of his voyage in 1413 are the following: "town," "league," "very," "castle," and "river." On the one hand, de Lannoy's description is expressive and at times emotional. Rather often he uses the word "very": very beautiful, very commercial, very large, etc. On the other hand, his narration represents a line of repeated patterns. The most frequent pattern looks like: "After that I came to a fortified town of N. This town is 9 leagues away from... I stayed there for 3 days and went to B. B. is a nice and commercial town..." This way of presentation facilitates well the comparison, namely, it is quite easy to trace how the traveler's impressions about towns would change, as soon as he crossed the borders between countries. Lannoy always reports distances be-

municates the word trends visualization. In order to trace the differences between de Lannoy's representation of towns in Lithuania, the Russian duchies and Poland I used the Voyant Contexts extraction tool. The word town was targeted for the context analysis (see table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Word context for the term town /towns in Lannoy's diary, 1413.

Left	Term	Right
near to which there is a	town	named Escaigne. From Ecluse
to the Danish kingdom, to the port	town	called Elzengueule. In this place
fish, namely herring. These are such	towns	as in Scoene: Vaeltrenone, Dracul
and at the same time a fortified	town	called Danzig, through which
Vistula, which flows into the sea. This	town	is actually called the Vistula port, on the
till Rainstede, which is a great	town	and a bishoprics: the third town in Denmark
big town and a bishoprics: the third	town	in Denmark. From here to Rainstede, a good
Denmark. From here to Rainstede, a good	town	, 4 leagues; then to Naestved
leagues; thence to Naestved, a good	town	, 5 leagues; then to Werdinghebourgh
in Werdinghebourgh, which is a fortified	town	and a castle, 6 leagues
I forwarded them to the above-mentioned port	town	of Danzig, Prussia. From Danzig
in Keuninczeberghe, which is a big	town	, which lies on the river; in him
Two fortress and a castle. This	town	belongs to Marshal of Prussia. In him
by force of arms two of the three gates of the	town	were taken; but the residents
our people to leave, not having taken the	town	. During this siege, I
several clashes near another fortified	town	, and from there, having achieved nothing
seniors, and arrived in a	town	called Live, which lies on the river
Riga in Livonia, through many	towns	, castles and commanderies, also owned
through Guldinghe, which is a fortified	town	, then through the castle of Cando
through Cando Castle and other	towns	and castles in the country of
representing a port, a castle and a fortified	town	, the capital of the country and the residence of Livonian
seven miles away, near the	town	called Segewold, and from there I
went further in Livonia, from town to	town	, through castles, courtyards and commanderies

Continued on next page

Table 4.1 – Continued from previous page

passed through the fortified	town	of Winde, a commandery and a castle
the castle, through Weldemaer, also a fortified	town	and through Wisteen, which is
a village, and from there to the fortified	town	, castle and commandery, located at
which is very large; from her the	town	got its name. This river
and rivers, and then I arrived in the	town	of Veliky Novgorod. And from it
leagues. Novgorod - a surprisingly large	town	; it is located on a large plain
waters and wetlands. In the middle of the said	town	a great river flows named
great river named Volkhov. The	town	is surrounded by bad walls made of
whereas the towers are stone. This	town	is independent and has a board of community
Many great lords live in the said	town	, who
like merchants in one fortified	town	of Russian state, on the
without danger of death. This	town	lies on the mouth of two
in Novgorod. The Russians in this	town	have long hair, loose on
from Pskov. Drapt - a very beautiful	town	and strongly fortified ; in it
the security letter. I passed through the	town	of Winde, Weldemaer, which are fortified
Winde, Weldemaer, which are fortified	towns	, and through many villages of
and arrived to a fortified	town	and castle, called Cocquenhouse, that
forests and arrived in the main	town	of Lithuania, called Vilna, in
and its waters through down–	town.	This river is called Vilna. The town
the city. This river is called Vilna. This	town	is not walled at all ; it is long
rivers. I found in the said	town	of Vilna two sisters of the mentioned duke's wife
following roads: first I came to the	town	of Trancquenne, the town is poorly settled down
first came to the town of Trancquenne, the	town	is poorly settled down and not walled at all
everyone speaks in its own language. This	town	belongs to the mentioned duke Witold
It arrived to a large fortified	town	called Cauve. There is
a big castle and a small	town	, enclosed in wooden walls , which belongs
a very beautiful, rich and fortified	town	, encompassing a castle, a monastery
leagues. I moved out of the said	town	and went, wishing to have some fun
fun, in another Prussian fortified	town	, named Columiene, which lyes on
have fun in many castles and	towns	that are located around and belonging

Continued on next page

Table 4.1 – Continued from previous page

I came to a fortified	town	, called Kalisch, which
a very rich and very commercial	town	, situated in the said land and
From the above-mentioned	town	to Bresseloen, 18 leagues. Of
I came to a fortified	town	, located in Silesia mentioned at
Bohemian kingdom, drove through many	towns	and castles, which I
Prague, which is the main	town	of Bohemia, situated on the river. At
26 leagues. In Prague, there are two	towns	: the old and the new; Prague - very
Prague - a very large and wealthy	town	. The new city has a tower
and arrived at a fortified	town	named Berg, in Bohemia

As it is demonstrated in the table, the general condition of towns, their wealth and the prevailing building material were the main criteria for de Lannoy to judge about the country. Most cities he passed on his way from Denmark to Livonia are said to be nice, good, great, fortified. As soon as he entered the lands of Lithuania and the Russian duchies, the cities are described as fortified by bad walls, not walled at all or with wooden walls. When he left these regions, the Polish town of Kalisz is said to be fortified and Wrocław was already very beautiful, very rich and very commercial. As he moved to Bohemia and further, he used only favorable expressions while speaking about towns and cities.

De Lannoy made his second trip to the eastern lands of Europe in 1421 as an ambassador representing the interests of the English and French courts. This time he produced a totally different kind of accounts, telling mainly about his mission, not about the impressions with regard to the visited lands and their towns. For this reason it is hardly possible to speak about the images of Poland and Lithuania, as this was not the topic in the diary. It is a pure report on when and where de Lannoy met this or that king, duke or other official, which papers were dispatched, what gifts were given and received or the hardships of the trip.

4.3 Ambrogio Contarini and Josafa Barbaro traveling eastwards

In 1453, Constantinople was conquered by the Ottoman Turks. After that, their target was to move further to the West. In this situation the European rulers undertook attempts to find alliances in the East, particularly with Persia. Thus, the Venetians Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini were among those who were sent to Persia with diplomatic missions from European rulers in order to persuade the Persians to attack the Ottomans in the East. This way it would be easier to fight them from the West. These were two separate journeys.

Both, Contarini and Barbaro, left accounts of their trips and missions undertaken in 1473/79 and 1474/77 respectively. The two diaries are often referred and edited together,¹⁷ as the journeys were made chronologically close to each other, both travelers were Venetians and they had similar diplomatic missions. The accounts are original writings, depicting the eye-witness experiences of their authors. Although, the last part of their diaries, namely the description of the route back from Persia through Moscovia, Lithuania, Poland and Germany are rather similar, even identical. Because of this closing part many references and investigations conclude that both Barbaro and Contarini returned from their missions to Persia by similar route. Both are referred to have visited Moscovia, Lithuania and Poland, the focus area of the present research. I will support Elena Skrzhinskaya's opinion¹⁸ who made a preliminary comparative analysis of the final parts in both diaries. She demonstrated that these parts telling about the return from Persia to Italy through Moscovia, Lithuania and Poland are almost identical in their content. Contarini as well as Barbaro composed their narrations in the first person. In his closing part, Barbaro changed from the first person and started

17 *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, translated from the Italian by William Thomas and S.A. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley (London, 1873; reprint New York: Franklin, 1968).

18 *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii. K Istorii Italo Russkih Svyazej v XVv.* [Barbaro and Contarini about Russia. On the history of Italian-Russian connections in the 15th century], trans. and ed. Elena Skrzhinskaya (Leningrad: Nauka, 1971).

using expressions like "it is known that Moscovia...", "if one follows this route, then... ." He did not anymore use expressions like "I saw...", "I came..." in this part of his diary. Thus, Skrzhinskaya argues that Barbaro did not travel on the same route as Contarini and that it looks like he copied this part from Contarini, whose diary was published earlier. The content of the text, the order of facts and topics, the distances between settlements and the market prices in Barbaro's diary are the same with what Contarini wrote in his accounts. Thus, I will focus on the content of Contarini's diary, where the depicted region is originally described.

On his way to Persia he traveled from Florence through Germany, Poland, Lower Rus', Kiev to Caffa (modern Feodosia in Crimea). On the way back he returned via Moscow, Lithuania, and Poland. On his way he had companions, that is why he often uses the pronoun "we" while telling about his trip. According to his accounts, they made stops in Germany and lodged mostly in very good towns and fortresses, which were numerous in that country and many of which were very nice and strong and worthy of being remembered. In the lands of the Marquis of Branderburg they visited a very nice city fortified with fine walls, called Frankfurt, close to the border with Poland.

Poznan, the first town belonging to the king of Poland was small, but handsome and there was a small castle. The town had beautiful streets and houses. On the way further through Poland he said that they found neither towns nor castles worth mentioning. With regard both to lodgings and other aspects the country was very different from Germany. For Contarini, Poland made the general impression of not being a rich country. He met the king of Poland, Casimir, and handed in letters from his lords. The king accepted him for dinner twice and offered him two guides, who would accompany him to Kiev. The last town in Poland was Lublin, a rather beautiful place with a castle. Then, they left Poland and entered Lower Russia, the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Here, Contarini started complaining about long traveling through forests, stopping for rest in small villages and sleeping sometimes in small castles with great discom-

fort... After several days, they came to the town of Lutsk. There was a wooden, but rather good castle. They stayed there for a few days, but had anxiety all the time. The reason was a wedding. Because of that all the population of the town was drunk and on that account very dangerous. Then they passed the town of Zhytomyr where all the buildings were built of wood. From there they travelled through forests for two days, had no place to sleep and had to spend night outdoors without food and kept guards. When they reached Kiev, the governor provided them with very bad quarters. On the other hand, Contarini noticed that the house was as bad as all the other ones in the city. Kiev is depicted as an important commercial center, where merchants from all Russian lands, Tartary and many other places were bringing their goods, particularly furs and silks, grains and meat. People usually did their business till the late afternoons and then gathered in taverns, drank a lot and fought often between themselves. In Kiev, Contarini joined a Lithuanian ambassador to the Tartar Khan. He traveled with the embassy to the borders of Tartary, where a Tartar escort came to meet them.

These were the general impressions about the lands of Poland and Ruthenia on his way to Caffa. The lodging conditions at the stops along the trip sound to have been an important criterion of a good trip for Contarini. In this respect, his expressions change from satisfaction with conditions in Germany and some places in Poland to sincere complaints in Lower Rus', where they had to sleep in bad conditions and often outdoors with great discomfort. He was, however, nicely accepted in the lands of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The king's guides made his trip to Kiev safer and he was provided with all necessary provisions while staying there. At some points, Contarini wrote about his feelings and emotions. For example, he was happy and thankful to King Casimir, to the governor of Kiev, he was scared and anxious while seeing drunk people fighting, had fear to sleep in the forests and so on.¹⁹

In 1475–1477, Ambrogio Contarini traveled back from Persia to Venice, but

19 *Travels to Tana and Persia*, 108-14.

this time his way led through Moscow, the northern regions of Lithuania and Poland. He was well accepted in Persia by Shah Uzun Hassan, but the mission was not successful. On his way back he joined the ambassador of the grand duke of Moscow, Marco by name. They went through many hardships and Contarini's life was in danger several times before they reached Moscow.

Their journey from Astrakhan, from August 10 to September 22, 1476, when they entered the lands belonging to the Duke of Moscovia was particularly difficult. The accounts report that this part of the journey was scary and risky from the very beginning till the moment they entered Moscovia. They were imperiled by being captured by the Tartars, to die while crossing the Volga, of food shortage, of a cold in bad weather conditions, and so on.

The first town on their way in Moscovia was Ryazan. All buildings and the town Kremlin were built of wood. There, they found bread and meat in abundance as well as the beverage of apples. Then, after few days of traveling in huge and endless forests they came to the town of Kolomna. On September 26, 1476, they entered Moscow praising and thanking God. Contarini was happy and satisfied with the lodgings provided by Marco. The small and cheerless premises seemed to him a grand palace in comparison to all the extremities of the last month he had gone through.

Contarini met the Grand Duke Ivan III. But he wanted to leave as soon as possible from Moscow and return back to Venice. However, he owed a big sum of money to Marco, who had given a guarantee to pay ransom to Tartars and also to some Russians during their journey from Astrakhan to Moscow in order to save Contarini's life. Marco said that the money should be paid and did not agree that Ambrogio could leave. Thus, Contarini had to stay in Moscow, and dispatched his companion priest Stephano and Nicolo from Lviv, who knew the road very well.

Thus, Contarini stayed in Moscow and finally spent there four months waiting for the money from Venice. During this time he had a good chance to see the

city and the everyday life there. He describes it as a big city, but built entirely of wood, surrounded by forests which, indeed, cover the greater part of the country. The country abounds in all kinds of grain, meat, poultry, wildfowl, but fruits are rare. All products were cheap in his opinion. The climate was so excessively cold that people stay indoors nine months a year. Winter was the best time for transportation in Moscovia, because in summer there were no good roads, but much water and mud around. He noticed that people boasted of being great drunkards and would often fight being drunk. He gave also a picturesque description of Moscow's winter market. It was organized on the frozen Moscow river. People were selling whole animal bodies without skins and it was strange to see so many skinned animals standing upright on their feet. He says that Moscovia was an important fur market. Many merchants came there from Poland, Prussia and Flanders for furs.

The grand duke returned to Moscow at the end of December and Contarini asked from noble people he had made friends during his stay to help him persuade the duke to let him go home. Finally, the duke gave his permission and paid for him the ransom he owed. He gave two dinners in Contarini's honor, gave him money for the journey, a fur coat and thousand squirrel furs.

On January 21, 1477, Contarini and his people left for home. He wrote in the accounts that he knew about the hardships of winter travel in forests, but he did not pay attention to it. The only thing he was thinking of was to leave those places and ways of living. This intention is observed in his text, as he did not say a word about the towns of Vyazma and Smolensk which he passed.

After Smolensk they entered Lithuania, which belonged to the king of Poland, Casimir. In the town of Troki they met the king. He writes that from January 21, when they had left Moscow, until February 12, 1477, when they came to Troki, they traveled through the woods all the time. Sometimes, they would find villages and had rest there, but usually they had to sleep in the forests. King Casimir was glad to see Contarini. He gave a dinner in his honor and asked him about his trip

with much interest. In the end, he gave him a guide who should also take care of his safety in all places they were going to pass in the king's lands.

On February 16, they left Troki and came to a town called Slonim. Then they entered the lands of Poland. He says that Poland was a beautiful country, rich in food and other provisions, but also not in fruits. They saw castles and villages, but not worth mentioning. It was said to be a safe country. The last city in Poland described by Contarini was Poznan. He writes that they finally had good housing in a beautiful city, where they could find everything necessary. Thus, they decided to spend a few days there and make provisions for the further trip.

He writes that as they travelled through Germany a continual improvement was observed, in the villages and castles as well as in the towns and lodgings. In one of the towns in Germany he met the priest Stephano, who was sent by him to bring the money to Moscow. The priest Stephano was now traveling back to Moscow. It is hard to describe how happy both of them were to see each other, wrote Contarini. He noted that every further day they stayed in most beautiful and worthy cities and also passed many other beautiful ones.²⁰

The word cloud for Contarini's accouts of Poland, Moscovia and Lithuania demonstrates a similar tendency to the previous author. The word "town" is the central term and topic in Contarini's narration as well (see figure 4.4). Most probably, Contarini was not able to read de Lannoy's accounts, because they were not published yet, but kept in manuscript in his family for several centuries. What is important here is that the authors from the fifteenth century, whose accounts were considered until now changed the tone of their expressions from favorable to unfavorable and vice versa as soon as they would leave or enter the "Germanic" realm, may it be Germany itself, Bohemia, Livonia, or Prussia. The level of development of urban settlements, urban fortifications behind this border was among the main criteria for the authors. By following the term "town" in the diaries one observes the gradual change of characteristics in sense of beauty, fortifications,

²⁰ Ibid., 151-170.

architecture, building materials, accessibility, comfort, safety and other.

In case of Contarini's diary it is also possible to observe how the author's trip experiences affected his judgement about the same lands. Ambrogio made a long journey both in terms of time and distance. His impressions of towns when he was moving through Germany, Poland and Low Russia (Ruthenia) on his way to Persia in the beginning of his mission got gradually unfavorable. On his way back he passed through numerous hardships, dangerous situations, and hard conditions. Thus, when he reached Moscovia he immediately felt better, safer and wrote that. Besides Moscow, he did not make comments concerning other towns in Moscovia and Lithuania which he passed on his way back home. Only in Poland he started speaking again about the beauty and richness of Poznan. The text again communicates his admiration about the looks and comforts of towns in Germany and further on while moving westwards.

Another theme, that is reflected in the terminological depiction of his account is the diplomatic component of the story. The terms like "king," "duke," "ambassador," "majesty," "highness," "dinner" are the essential vocabulary with the help of which he described his mission, his experiences and his ambassador's status. Nature and landscape, markets, commerce and local goods, the way he was accepted and treated by the rulers are the other frequent themes in his diary. Traveling through huge and endless forests is reported for the lands of Lithuania and Moscovia. As for the hospitality of the local rulers he met in different lands, he noted of being well treated, and often above his expectations.

In spite of the references to multiple things and events in Contarini's diary, the topic of his mission is visualized in word trends as central. The five strongest terms belong to this theme. Meeting dukes and kings and visiting different towns were in essence of his ambassador's duties. The term "town" is the most stable and frequently present through the whole text body.

Contarini's accounts are the source, which helps us better understand how the representatives of western societies perceived the union between Poland and the



Figure 4.4: Word cloud for Contarini's diary

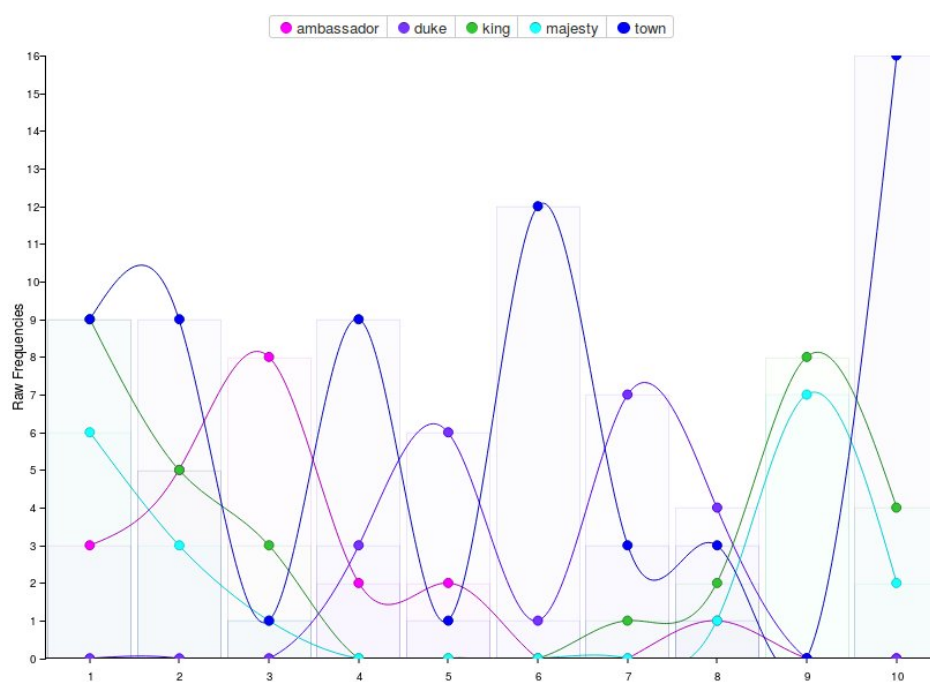


Figure 4.5: Trends for Contarini's diary

Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This issue turned to be important and decisive for the image of Lithuania in general works on *Imago Mundi* as well as in cartography. On his way to Persia Contarini wrote that from Poland they entered the lands of

Lower Russia, which belonged to the king of Poland. On his way back from Persia, after he had left Moscovia and entered Lithuania he wrote again that Lithuania belongs to the king of Poland. For this particular period that was not exactly correct. The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania formed a political union after Grand Duke Jogaila of Lithuania had been baptized with the name Vladislav, married Jadwiga and became king of Poland in 1386. The kings of Jagiellonian dynasty in most cases were at the same time grand dukes of the Lithuanian Duchy. It was specified in their titles. King's Sigismund I (1506-1548) title was, for example: *Sigismundus Dei gratia rex Poloniae, magnus dux Lituaniae, Russiae, Prussiae Samogitiaeque dominus et haeres*.²¹ The dual state was ruled by a common monarch, but Lithuania retained its sovereignty, had its own *sejm* (parliament), conducted independent internal and foreign affairs until 1569. It looks that for western Europeans both states were perceived as one, the larger part of the Grand Duchy was attributed to the kingdom of Poland, and the term name Lithuania was most probably attributed to the ethnic Lithuanian lands.

4.4 Sigismund von Herberstein on Lithuania and Moscovia

4.4.1 Lithuania by Herberstein

The apogee source in this group for the investigated period is *Rerum Moscoviticarum* by Sigismund von Herberstein. This description is very different from the previous ones. If the previous travel accounts are diaries, depicting dates of the trip, places the authors passed and things they saw, *Rerum Moscoviticarum* by Herberstein is a structured description, telling about many aspects of life in Moscovia, about its history, religious traditions, everyday life, politics, army, the size of the country, its legends and myths, and so on. He traveled there personally, spoke Russian, stayed in Moscovia for quite long, talked to local people and interrogated them. He read documents and chronicles. From this perspective, his accounts are

21 *Lietuvos Metrika: Užrašymų knyga 22* [Lithuanian Metrica: Book of Inscriptions 22]. Eds. Andrij Blanutsa, Dmitro Vashchuk, and Darius Antanavičius. (Vilnius: LII Leidykla, 2010), 13.

seen as a new kind of study about the region. In spite of the fact that he also traveled both to Poland and Lithuania, the largest part of this work was dedicated to Moscovia. He just mentions that he met the king of Poland and completed his mission there. No description of the country is offered. As for Lithuania, he wrote a chapter called "On Lithuania" while telling about the neighbors of Moscovia.

Among the consulted source editions the one by R.H. Major is not complete. Some chapters on Moscovia are missing in it, but the chapter on Lithuania is present. For the convenience of the reader I will refer to it only while speaking about the Herberstein's description of Lithuania.²²

It should be pointed out that in the sixteenth century Moscovia attracted much attention, the writings on it became more and more numerous.²³ The western border of Poland and the north-western border of Lithuania had mattered for the travelers in the fifteenth century; but for Herberstein it was the border with Moscovia which was significant. Moscovia was the land having, probably, stronger signs of "otherness" and the unknown in this region for him and for the representatives of western societies. On that account it was the land which deserved a more detailed description. Herberstein did not limit himself in using the previous travel accounts and the *Cosmography* by Münster while creating his work.

The influence of information from the general works on *Imago Mundi* is noticeable in Herberstein's chapter "On Lithuania."²⁴ He discusses many common things about Lithuania that are found in the *Imago Mundi* texts, but he did not copy from them. Herberstein comments on the previous and widely spread knowledge and tries to explain or clarify the things which were misleading or those of a generalized nature.

He starts the description of Lithuania with specifying what it was like at that

22 Sigmund Freiherr von Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia, being a Translation of the Earliest Account of that Country, Entitled Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, trans. and ed. R.H. Major, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1851-1852).

23 Marshall Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy: An Analytic Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*. (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1995).

24 Sigmund Freiherr von Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia*, 82-100.

time and where it was located, but he does it from a different perspective, looking from Moscovia and saying that the closest land to Moscovia is Lithuania. He explains that he means not only Lithuania itself, but the lands attached to it, which are understood under a common name of Lithuania. So, Lithuania is not a homogeneous state in his account. He lists the main regions of this country, along with the names of the bishoprics, biggest towns, rivers, etc. As for the landscape, the land has a great number of large forests, marshes, rivers, and lakes. According to him people in Lithuania were in real slavery. The rulers were very cruel to their subjects. He mentions that from the times of Vitovt/Vytautas (c. 1350–1430) until now they were under terrible slavery to their rulers. Somebody who was sentenced to death was forced to hang himself. If he did not obey, he was cruelly tortured and after that hanged. As a result of such violence it was sometimes enough to say to a person that the lord was angry about his being slow, and, out of fear to be tortured cruelly, he hanged himself.²⁵ This motif is identical to what Piccolomini wrote about Vitovt/Vytautas. Thus, the earlier sources made an impact on Herberstein and he borrowed information for his own description. However, in most cases Herberstein makes explanations and comments to the previously known facts about Lithuania. The above mentioned attempt to clarify the previous information concerning the territory of Lithuania originated from the uncertainty that existed about this issue. Piccolomini, Schedel and Münster did not clarify it. Another issue that was important, but unclear as well in the previous descriptions of Lithuania was the language and the ethnic groups living in Lithuania. Piccolomini wrote that the population was of Slavic origin and spoke a Slavic language, but also had a language of their own. By the "language of their own" he meant the language of ethnic Lithuanians, which is not Slavic. Münster wrote of multiple languages used in Lithuania: Slavic, Lithuanian, Latvian, Tartar, Jewish, German and Polish. In the first lines of his text on Lithuania Herberstein explains that this country along with the Lithuanian region itself also

25 Ibid., 94.

included other lands. He listed them and made the issue of the languages and religion in Lithuania more understandable for the reader. He wrote that all the nations that spoke Slavic languages and confessed the Christian religion according to the Greek rite are called Russians. In Samogitia and Lithuania, Russians are mixed with alien tribes, speaking different languages and having different religions; but Ruthenians are in majority. Politically this territory of the Russian nation belongs to two different states: the larger part to the State of Moscow, the smaller one to Poland and Lithuania. Thus, in Herberstein's narration the nations inhabiting Lithuania were put into geographical context. He also filled the gap concerning the regions comprising it.

The theme of morals raised in the previously mentioned sources was also touched by Herberstein. He wrote that from people deserving trust he heard that girls in Lithuania rarely preserve their virginity after the age of seven. Those interlocutors of his give different reasons for that, but none of them satisfied Herberstein.²⁶ Thus, he was not able to confirm or to prove this opinion concerning the state of morals there. From his words it is clear that he tried to check this information. Although, it depends on who those people were. If he had discussed this issue with the Moscovites, they would probably have confirmed the information that the women in Lithuania were dissolute, because the countries were enemies at that time.

The narration about the wild animals in Lithuania is followed in Herberstein's accounts by the description of Samogitia. The story about the pagan cults of the sacred fire, the sun, the moon, trees and snakes was separated from the rest of Lithuania and clearly attributed to Samogitia (Zemaitia),²⁷ which was not the case in the previously mentioned sources. The story about worshipping snakes is very similar to what Piccolomini wrote concerning this phenomenon. The story does not sound real even for Herberstein, but he tells it, probably, in order to follow

26 Ibid., 84

27 Ibid., 97-99.

the pattern of writing about Lithuania and creating an image not that different to what was known long before him. He wrote that in Samogitia there are still many idolaters, who feed in their homes particular snakes which have four short legs and look like lizards with black fat bodies. After that he added a story told by a Lithuanian from Troki (Trakai) about a man whose face was disfigured after he denied idolatry and adopted Christianity. That person was sure that this happened to him as a result of killing the deity-snake and he was also sure that in case he did not return to his faith he would suffer even more horrible misfortunes. Thus, idolatry and paganism was still part of the image of Lithuania by the first half of the sixteenth century according to Herberstein's accounts.

Herberstein's notes on venerating snakes is followed by a few more facts about Samogitia. It is said to be rich in forests, where even now one can meet ghosts. Mentioning exotic things was an integral part of travel accounts to a distant land. At the same time, it was always a sign of something unknown. It looks like searching for exotic things in areas that were previously known to be exotic was also a desire of travelers.

The above discussed issues from Herberstein's description of Lithuania demonstrate his literacy in western knowledge concerning this land. In many parts of his account on it he follows the line of already known facts and either copies that information or provides explanations and clarifications to it. His contribution was that he textually demarcated the size of this state, by listing its areas, its numerous towns and distances between them. He also defined the area of Samogitia, where the pagan religion existed, separating this stereotype from the rest of the GDL territory. At the same time, he kept this historical stereotype alive and actual for his period, which was not the case anymore.

Among the topics included to his description of Lithuania are the following: the Lithuanian army; the capital city of Vilna; three Roman-Catholic and seven Russian bishoprics with their city centers; the stories about two most famous military figures of that period, Konstantyn Ostrozky and Mikhail Glinsky; the main

rivers with their names; corruption of the officials of all ranks; wild animals and beasts named "zubr"; the houses in Samogitia; agriculture and the pagan cults in Samogitia.

From the word cloud visualization of the description of Lithuania it is visible that Herberstein's extended entry about Mikhail Glinsky and his conflict, first with the king of Poland and then with the prince of Moscovia affected the terminological image of Lithuania. The words "king," "prince," "Moscovites" are the strong terms of the story about Glinsky (see figure 4.6). Having this in mind one may have a better understanding of the image. It is noticeable that the terms of nature are widely represented in the image of Lithuania. It was still important for Herberstein to talk about the pagan religion in Lithuania, about its animals, and about the rivers and forests. These aspects were still reported, and the main stereotypes continued to be present in Lithuania's image and are also particularly represented in the visualization of the term "snake." The term "miles" is among the most frequent according to the visualization in Herberstein's image of Lithuania as well.



Figure 4.6: Word cloud for Herberstein's text "On Lithuania"

The same influence of the story of Glinsky is observed in the word trends vi-

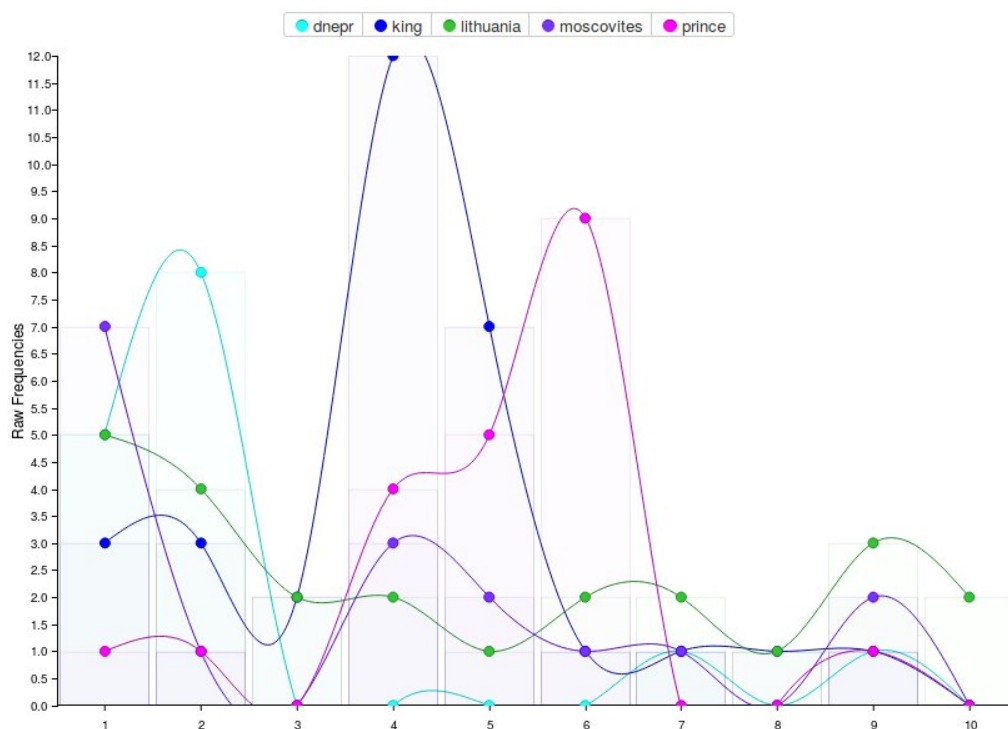


Figure 4.7: Trends for Herberstein's text "On Lithuania"

sualization. The strong terms "king" and "sovereign" clearly indicate the location of the Glinzky story in the text, namely between the 3/10 and the 7/10 parts. They reflect the story of his conflict first with the King of Poland, then with the Sovereign of Moscovia. The strong term "Dnepr" and its presence through the whole text body pays attention to the importance of this river for Lithuania.

4.4.2 Moscovia by Herberstein

The accounts on Moscovia by Sigismund von Herberstein are a rather different example of a travel account. The previous cases were chronologically structured, showed the itinerary and contained the authors' experiences. Only in the final parts of his work Herberstein notated his route to Moscovia and back listing the names of the places he passed in chronological order and thoroughly registered the distances between them.

In order to create his image of Moscovia along to his own observations he involved numerous historical, written and oral sources. As a result, this work combined features of travel notes, treaties on geography, topography, ethnology,

religion, social structure and everyday life in Moscovia. In this respect the present description combines the features of all sources involved in my investigation in the most explicit way. The chapters on the neighbors of Moscovia will not be dealt with, but the parts about Moscovite matters will be in the focus. As some chapters of the accounts are missing in the edition by R.H. Major I will also refer to the edition by Khoroshkevich.²⁸ This work presents parallel texts of the Latin edition (1556) and of the German edition (1557) along with their Russian translations.

Herberstein starts his description of Moscovia from the etymology of the name Russia. He writes that some believe, that the word comes from the legendary Rus, brother of Lech and Czech. He probably learned this legend from western chronicles. The Moscovites themselves do not believe this story and say that the name of their land comes from the word "rasseyanie," which means "scattering," namely, the peoples who were scattered and are still scattered in huge territories. Then, he pays attention to the usage of the Slavic languages and their distribution among the nations of Europe.²⁹

He retells the story of the Rurick dynasty in Rus' as it is presented in Russian chronicles and traces the political history of the Moscovite state until his visit there. Thus, he introduced the genealogy of the Russian state and its political power to the western readers. He noticed that all the rulers there had the title of duke. Only the present Grand Prince of Moscow, Vasili (1505–1533) started calling himself a sovereign and tsar.³⁰

Two separate chapters are dedicated to the account on the coronation customs of the grand dukes. The description was obtained by him from some official on his request and was a kind of protocol from one of the previous coronations. The coronations were held in the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, mostly conducted by the metropolitan, archbishops and other church officials.

28 Herberstein S., *Zapiski o Moskovii*, [Notes on Muscovy], in 2 vols, vol. 1: *Latin and German texts*, trans. from Latin A.I. Malein and A.V. Nazarenko, trans. from early modern high German A.V. Nazarenko, ed. A.L. Khoroshkevich (Moscow: Pamiatniki Istoricheskoi Mysli, 2008).

29 Ibid., 34-35.

30 Ibid., 44-111.

Thus, the newly crowned duke was receiving his legitimacy with the holy blessing of the church. The main attribute of the prince's power in Moscovia was the Vladimir Monomakh's Cap, following the legend that it had been owned by the Kievan prince Vladimir Monomakh (1053-1125). After the ceremony the grand duke passed through a number of other rituals, an official dinner and was ornamented with precious elements of clothing. As the lands inhabited by Russians belonged to three rulers: the grand duke of Moscow, the grand duke of Lithuania and the king of Poland who were connected by relative bonds, Herberstein decided to write about the genealogy of the dukes of Lithuania. With this he demonstrated that the Polish crown was taken by the grand duke of Lithuania Jogailo, and a daughter Anastasia (Sofia) of Grand Duke Vitovt became wife to the grand duke of Moscow, Vasili I. She became mother to the following prince of Moscovia, Vasili II the Blind, grandmother of Ivan III and great-grandmother of Vasili III to whom Herberstein was sent with diplomatic mission.³¹

Heberstein writes a lot about the religion in Moscovia. He begins with the jurisdiction of the Moscovite metropolitan and points out that originally his jurisdiction spread to the lands of Lithuania, where the churches of eastern rite were in majority to those of the Roman Catholic rite. Vitovt was the one who rejected to pay church taxes to the metropolitan of Moscow and appointed his own metropolitan, who was approved by Constantinople. As for the origins of the Christian faith, Herberstein cited the Russian chronicles, saying that the apostle Andrew travelled as north as Novgorod and the first Christians in these lands were baptized by him. Herberstein expressed his scepticism concerning this information. He also gave a rather detailed description of the church hierarchy in Moscovia. The author concludes, although, that the lay people know nothing about the essence of their faith. They could not talk about their beliefs, but at the same time they demonstrated great dedication to church services and all the attributes of religious life; he never saw something like this in any other places in

31 Ibid., 111-145.

his life. Religious life in Moscovia is described in much detail and the following matters are discussed: tithing, some aspects of canon law, baptism, confession, communion, church feasts, the purgatory, veneration of saints, fasting, and marriage.³²

Herberstein wrote that all people in Moscovia considered themselves slaves of the prince and they find more pleasure in slavery than in freedom. He also gives a list of public laws according to which the society was functioning. With big curiosity he described the Moscovite clothing and houses. He was also surprised to learn that the Moscovites had special rituals on how to enter a house as a visitor and described those rituals.³³ His accounts became a unique source on many aspects of everyday life in Moscovia. The dress, rituals, etiquette, the way people spent their feasts and many other aspects of everyday life were not documented by the local contemporaries, because they were common, usual and natural. Only a visitor, a representative of a very different culture could think of making notes on what he saw. The visitor was judging from a different perspective and had a different background. His eyes were watching a different picture.

Money and coins that were used in Moscovia are discussed in Herberstein's accounts along with those used in Lithuania and Poland. He makes a detailed account of money used in these lands, costs and rates in relation to other European currencies. The discussion on the coinage is followed by the reference on commerce. He says that only the merchants from Lithuania and Poland can visit Moscow without any obstacles for commercial reasons. The merchants from Sweden, Livonia and Germany were allowed in Novgorod and the merchants from Turkey and Tartary were bringing their goods to Chlopigorod. He tells an interesting fact that when the merchants from places which were not allowed to enter Moscovia would learn about a foreign embassy to the Moscovite ruler, they would ask the embassy to join and being protected by a diplomatic status they

32 Ibid., 146-254.

33 Ibid., 164-169.

would come to Moscow.³⁴

A separate chapter is dedicated to the description of the way and the protocol according to which the foreign diplomats and ambassadors entered the country and were accepted in Moscow. Herberstein describes his own experiences of being accepted as well as how several other missions were accepted while he was staying there. This was a detailed practical guide on how to get prepared for a diplomatic visit to Moscovia.³⁵

He pays much attention to tell about the local goods in Moscow and its principalities' markets, as well as the goods which were imported. Their amounts, quality and prices give a rich picture of what was going on there. This was the data he obtained as a result of his fieldwork, his personal observation and from other sources. The description of Moscow itself is followed by a topographical account of Moscovite principalities.³⁶ Along to the names of towns and other settlements he provides information on rivers at which they are located. He follows the pattern of Münster's depiction of Moscovia with a paradise-like motif. The soil in some principalities is referred to be extremely fertile, forests and rivers in other areas abound in wild animals, fish and honey.

In many places of his account Herberstein sounds exotic, but rational. He described what he saw and copied information from the local documents. Although, he remained faithful to the still existing tradition while writing about the remote edges of the known world. Namely, he could not stand telling a story that some reliable people told him that monstrous people and creatures can be met in the most remote eastern regions of Moscovia. He puts these oral stories to the description of Pechora and Ugra, which he took from the local documents. Thus, he writes that they say that monstrous people live in those regions. Some of them have hairy bodies, some do not have heads and have their faces on the chest, some look like fish, but have a human face, hands and legs. He tells as well about some

34 Ibid., 268-285.

35 Ibid., 522-592.

36 Ibid., 286-363, 376-389.

strange animals that grow like plants.³⁷

As it was said above, the closing chapters of the account represent notes on Herberstein's itineraries to Moscovia and back in chronological order and with the distances between the places he passed in miles.³⁸

The word cloud visualization for Herberstein's account of Moscovia depicts among the most frequent terms the following: "prince," "duke," "town," "river," "Moscow," and other (see figure 4.8). The central terms represent well the textual image of the country for the period. The figure of the Moscovite ruler impressed all the visitors and they were trying to describe his personality and his power. Such terms like "town" and "river" turn to be among the top important characteristics of a remote state and of any state at the research period. A strong presence of the term "town" in all considered travel accounts indicates the importance the urban settlements played for a traveler and for the society. At the same time, the authors pay particular attention to the looks of the cities in the eastern part of Europe. All of them reported the gradually growing disadvantageous features about the towns while moving eastwards. Among the most important features of towns according to the travelers' opinion were fortifications, castles, stone buildings, markets. This is what they were used to see in the western parts of Europe. Herberstein make numerous references to distances in Moscovia as well and the term "miles" is among the strongest in the image of this country.

Another strong term being present in this visualization as well as in the visualizations of other considered travelers is "river," which comes together with the visualization of towns. The main towns and cities were located on river banks. The transportation function played by rivers was intensified in Lithuania and Moscovia in winter. Winter was the best season for traveling there.

As for the word trends visualization one may observe the intensity and the distribution of the strong terms within the text body (see figure 4.9). The term

37 Ibid., 364-377.

38 Ibid., 592-703.

lel with respectful topics in Lithuania and Poland is rather interesting. It gives a kind of additional justification for the present investigation, for the choice of the geographical area particularly. The representatives of the western societies saw differences between these three states, but at the same time they were giving explanations for the three. Probably, it was necessary to do so, because some things about all the three were still not well known in the West.

Besides the above discussed cartographic images, Herberstein presented several illustrations for Moscovia in his *Notes*.³⁹ Most of them communicate oriental motives in their ornaments and style. The looks of the Moscovite ruler (see figures 4.10 and 4.11), people (see figures 4.12 and 4.14) and objects (see figure 4.13) in the images and in Herberstein's descriptions contrasted to those which were common in western Europe (see figure 4.15). It is visible particularly in his depiction of the three rulers he visited during his mission. He did not specify their names in his text. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognize the figures of the grand duke of Moscow, the Roman emperor and, most probably, the king of Poland. The figure of the Moscovite ruler is contrasting to the other two (see figure 4.10).

39 Ibid., 706, 711, 720, 721, 722, and 730.



Figure 4.10: Herberstein's depiction of the three rulers he met during his mission



Figure 4.11: Moscovite Tsar



Figure 4.12: Moscovite warriors

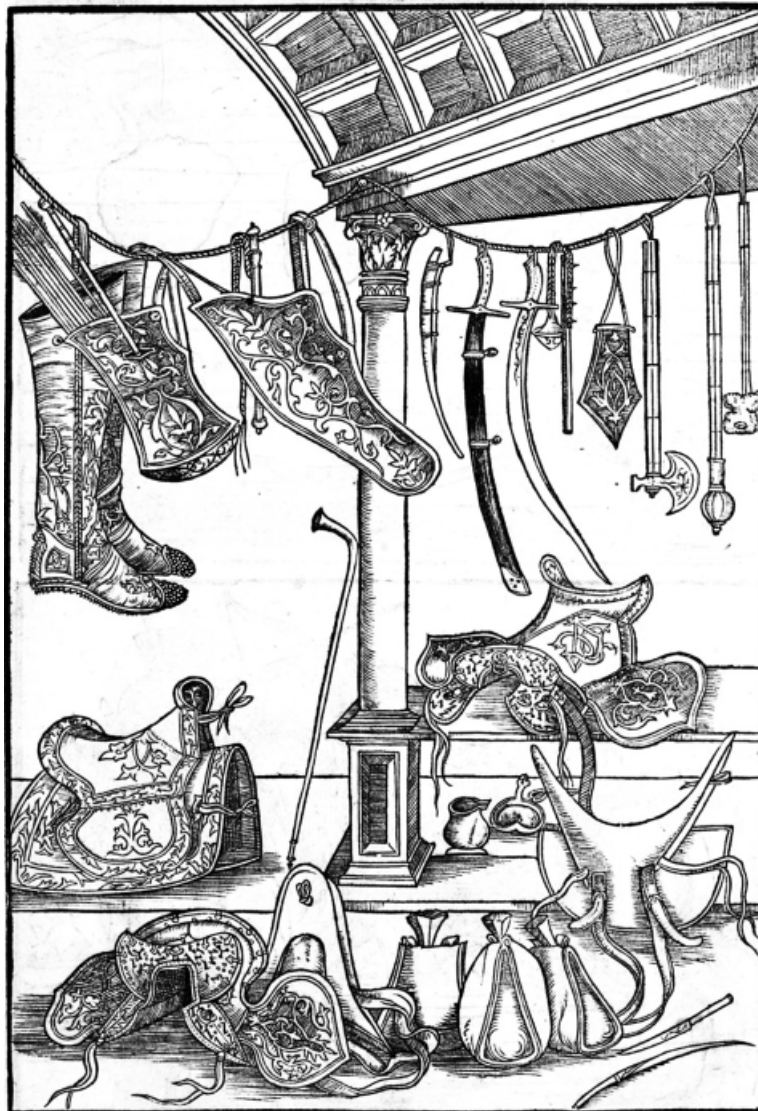


Figure 4.13: Moscovite weapons

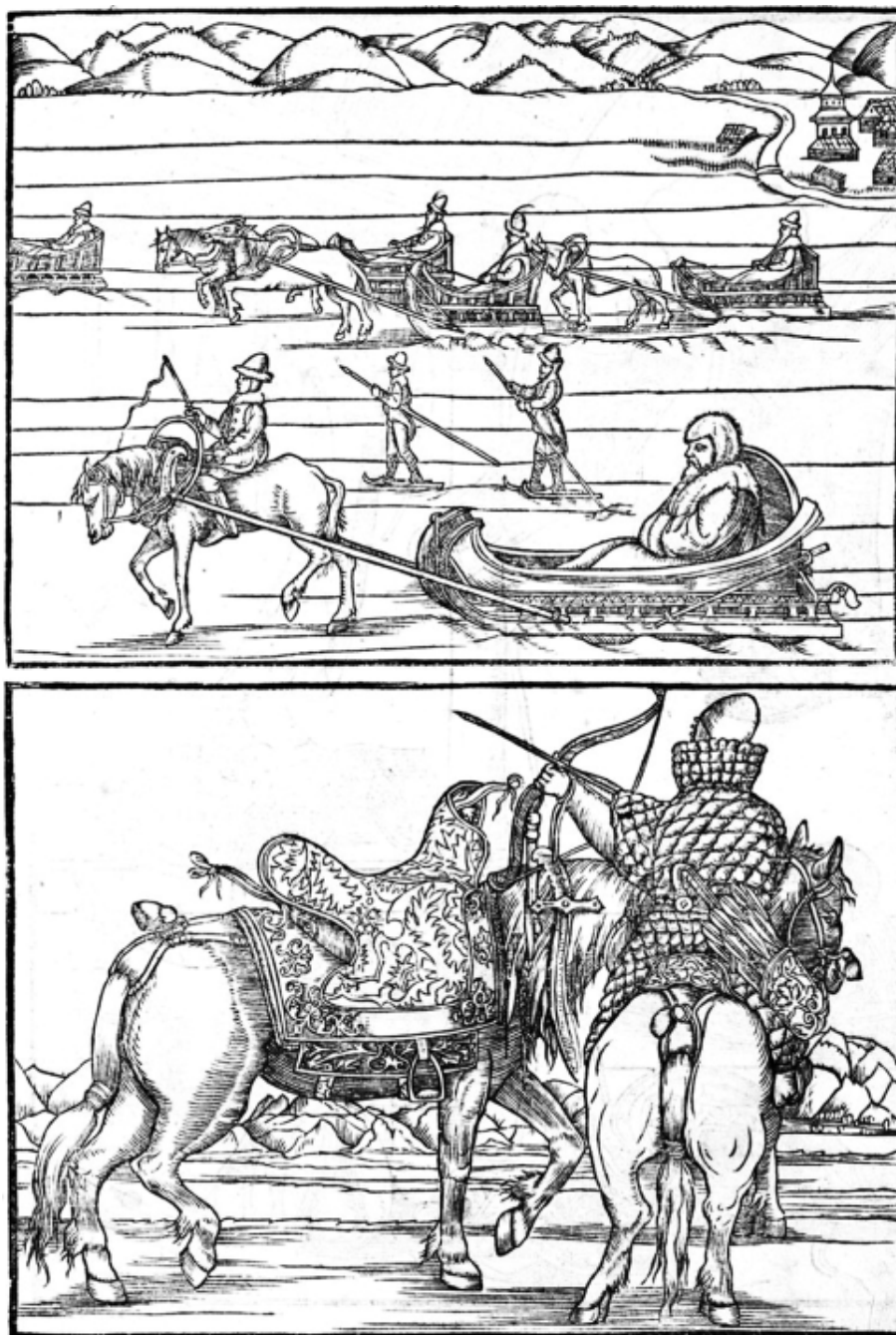


Figure 4.14: Winter travel in Moscovia and a Moscovite warrior



Figure 4.15: Herberstein ordained knight

4.5 Findings and Observations

The sources involved to this part of investigation represent narratives grounded in personal, lived experience. Their authors were representatives of different European societies and they lived in the beginning (de Lannoy), in the middle (Conatarini) and in the end (Herberstein) of the research period. Nevertheless, the main topics and opinions in these texts have much in common.

- Underdeveloped urban culture in the region was considered to be the main and the most frequently referred sign of backwardness according to the western travelers in the fifteenth century. All authors reported a gradually growing presence of unfavorable features about the urban settlements while they were moving from the western parts of Europe to the eastern. This was observed as soon as the travelers would enter the lands of Poland, intensified when writing about Lithuania and even more often emphasized in case of Moscovia. The criteria for such judgements were the bad wooden town fortifications, no stone buildings and fortifications, poor lodgings and living conditions. The authors pointed out that, in increasing intensity, Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were poorly populated, that villages and towns were rare. This was a big hardship for those who traveled, as often they had to sleep outdoors even in winter time, which was the best season for traveling there. The underdeveloped urban culture in the region in general, poverty, absence of roads were the main criteria for the fifteenth-century travelers to judge about the depicted countries.
- Numerous reports about the hard travel conditions in the region under consideration refer also to the natural obstacles which kept the depicted countries from contacts with the rest of Europe. Among such factors were the natural borders like mountains, swamps and marshes, huge forests, big rivers, extremely cold winters, long distances and rare settlements, etc. These obstacles isolated some parts of Europe from the rest of the continent, com-

plicating communication, trade, as well as conquest. When looking at the physical map of Europe, we may witness that even nowadays many marshes and forests are preserved in the area of Vistula. In the Middle Ages, they were larger and there were no roads to pass them. The rivers to the east of Vistula flow either to north or to south, but not from west to east providing water roots for communication. This did not help traveling eastwards.

- The travel accounts demonstrated that the western border of Poland and the north-western border of Lithuania were referred to be a frontier between the "more developed" and the "less developed" parts of Europe. Thus, Germany, Prussia and Livonia belonged to the more "developed" countries in the region, and Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia to the "less developed" ones. The latest investigated travel account by Sigismund von Herberstein is focused on Moscovia. An interesting observation here is the authors' story about the rules of crossing the Lithuanian-Moscovite border. This is the only significant state border in our region, which is referred to be watched and guarded. It was impossible to cross it without a written permission from the Moscovite duke or other written official document or recommendation. Not all merchants were allowed to cross it as well. This is not the case with Poland and Lithuania, nothing is said about crossing their borders.
- Another theme common to all authors is the highest power in the visited countries: kings, dukes, princes. All authors met with them in Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, were accepted by the rulers, invited by them for dinners, exchanged diplomatic charts and discussed diplomatic issues. The rulers in Lithuania and particularly in Moscovia are described as being more totalitarian and cruel to their subjects than those in Poland.
- Local markets, local goods, local natural resources were another important topic present in all considered travel accounts. The latest work by Herberstein repeated the paradise-like motif for Moscovia, as it was observed in

Münster's *Cosmographia*. The authors also provide information on contemporary commercial connections for each country.

- Thus, the considered travel accounts provide us with textual images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia comprised from similar sets of topics: the looks of the towns, traveling conditions, state power, goods and markets, etc. The differences between them are mostly expressed through the intensity of the described characteristics.
- Travel accounts inform about the roots of communication with Moscovia in the depicted period and they could also serve as itineraries for other travelers. They provided information about distances from one place to another. The distance was reported in leagues, miles, but also in days of travel by horse, that is, by time.
- The terms "league" and "miles" are particularly used in Lannoy's and Herberstein's texts for reporting distances between the visited places. The text visualizations reflected this as well. Herberstein could not read Lannoy's accounts most probably. Thus, it was important for the authors who traveled to these lands with a hundred of years difference to account distances. It is interpreted in this work as a sign of writing about unknown lands and a part of new images. It is also understood as a term defining borders between the known, familiar and the unknown parts of Europe in the context of the present research.
- The obtained text visualizations illustrated that the main terminological content of the travel accounts on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia reflects well the main topics and notions of their images. The looks of towns were the main criteria for the authors to judge about the country. The term "river" is another strong term in all text visualizations in this part of the work. The computational tools emphasize this. All more or less important cities in Europe were situated on river banks. Thus, for a traveler the notion of a town

or a city was closely bound with the one of a river. This is an example where the visual analysis offered new insights in the text analysis.

- Herberstein's illustrations call forth oriental associations and messages. They are contrasting to the ones of Europe.

Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in Maps

5.1 General Tendencies in Cartography of the Period

Analyzing maps can not be accomplished separately from narratives. A number of later narrative sources, discussed in this work, contain maps. Thus, for a better image and a more complete picture of Western representations of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries I consider maps as indispensable part of this work. Besides the maps, presented in the narrative sources considered above, I involved also few examples that do not follow these selection criteria. They were considered in order to trace the contemporary tendencies in cartography of the region.

On the one hand, I search for the relations between the maps and textual narratives. On the other hand, the maps are considered as narratives themselves. Thus, they bear their own messages. I also search to see if travel and travelers influenced the narrative content of maps of the investigated region from the period.

I want to start from a brief historical contextualization of cartographic sources involved into the present research. For our study period, it should be noted that this was a transition era for cartography. From an unknown practice of map usage, map production and thinking in cartographic terms in general, was transformed by the late fifteenth century into the beginnings of map consciousness

as we understand it today. Scholarship on medieval cartography agrees that the medieval spatial consciousness was noncartographic.¹ Geographical information, knowledge, topography, itineraries, spatial relations were fixed, represented and communicated through narratives, by the means of telling stories.²

Such historical processes like overseas travel, the great geographical discoveries, exploration and the following need to accommodate new geographical knowledge in a synthesized visual manner gave particular impulse to cartography during the Renaissance. The practical and theoretical basis for these developments was found in the beginning of the fifteenth century. A new paradigm and mode of spatial representation in the form of visual panoptic cartography appeared in Western Europe thanks to the rediscovery of Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia*. In its essence this was a treatise on cartography. Before him, mankind had been sketching maps for millennia, but Ptolemy was the first to use mathematics and geometry to work out a method for how to map the planet. The author also compiled and analyzed all the geographical knowledge accumulated in the Roman Empire by the second century and developed a method on visual representation of the world and of its regions. The work was written in Alexandria around 150 CE.

Around 1400, Ptolemy's work was brought from Constantinople to Florence and by 1406 it was translated into Latin. In 1477, its first printed edition came out in Bologna. This was the first printed book with engraved maps and illustrations. *Geographia* comprised 3 sections: a cartographic treatise, a gazetteer and an atlas. The first section of the work contained a detailed methodology and instructions on how to make maps based on the system of coordinates: the latitudinal and

1 P.D.A. Harvey, "Medieval Maps: An Introduction", in J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, vol. I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 283-286; Norman Thrower, *Maps and Civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society*, 3rd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 56-57; Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York: Guilford Press, 2010), 23.

2 Trevor J. Barnes, "Spatial Analysis," in John Agnew and David Livingstone, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Geographical Knowledge* (London: Sage, 2011), 231-232; Michael R. Curry, "Toward a Geography of a World without Maps: Lessons from Ptolemy and Postal Codes," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95, no.3 (2005): 680-691.

the longitudinal coordinate system. The gazetteer offered coordinates for more than 8000 geographical places and features in Africa, Europe and Asia that were mentioned in his work. The projection was north-oriented and Mediterranean-focused. The atlas consisted of one general and not detailed world map and a number of separate and detailed regional maps. All these made this work particularly popular and influential for the formation of a new cartographic way of spatial thinking and representation in Renaissance Europe. According to this method the Renaissance map makers were able to place the known information about the world within a two-dimensional grid. The Ptolemaic scientific background made the Renaissance cartographers to seek for accuracy and precision while mapping geographical and administrative features. Since then, Ptolemy has been considered to be the father of cartography, whose influence on cartography remains to present days.

At the same time, the Western common intellectual advances in the field of geography and cartography, on the one hand, and political expansion and colonization interests, on the other hand, stimulated and inspired each other. Ptolemy's treatises were among the most influential that made Columbus believe to undertake a voyage in western direction in order to search for India. What followed after, namely, the dramatically changed perception of the size of the world, the diversity of nature and peoples met overseas, the challenges in understanding of newly obtained information made the Europeans start thinking in categories of "the West" and "the rest", or the "Others".³ Thus, dealing with the visual as well as textual representations of the world and its parts from the depicted period it is necessary to keep in mind this intellectual perspective of Western authors.

Due to the above mentioned historical factors of the period the Renaissance maps got a number of characteristics. Those characteristics were decisive for map production, the ways of representation of the information and its interpretation. It is important to know about them for understanding the intellectual impact they

3 Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

made upon their audiences.

When speaking about the Renaissance maps, representation here does not refer just to techniques, but to the ways of transmitting of abstract ideas and putting them into a visual material product and visual codes. Thus, a new paradigm of spatial thinking was created. First, this paradigm reflected the global spread of Western power. As a result of the discovery of the Americas by Europeans, of the attempts to control and divide those territories, new scientific mapping methods were developed among the map makers of strong exploration powers. The symbolic cartographic language was being unified through contacts and intellectual exchange within Europe. Maps, in turn, enhanced the power and the claims of large kingdoms and nations. Already by the seventeenth century, maps started to be used in order to graphically demarcate the borders of territorial possessions.⁴

This new paradigm gave, therefore, ground to visually represent the picture of the world in a certain structure. One of the characteristic features of the cartography in this period was that this structure accommodated the views about the relationships between geography and the civility of peoples. Since antiquity, geography and the geographical position of a certain land were believed to be influential factors impacting human appearance, culture, temperaments, social and political organization. Through the Renaissance maps and their coordinate system connected with the theory about the relationship between geographical location, climate and the civilization of human societies got a visually persuasive form. This way the maps from the period also depicted one of the debates of the period, namely, the civilization versus/or barbarism of societies depicted on maps in relation to their geographical location.⁵

4 Michael Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no.2 (1999): 374-405; Jordan Branch, "Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change," *International Organization* 65, no.1 (2011): 1-36.

5 John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, 2nd ed. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Patrick Gautier Dalché, "The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 285-364.

The encounter with numerous previously unknown human races in this period fed in travellers the ancient beliefs about the monstrous creatures and races, dwelling at the edges of the world. The following need to connect new information, obtained from travel and exploration made the contemporary scholars, geographers and map producers to rethink those beliefs. The boundaries between humans and monsters also were questioned and this found its reflection on maps. One may see, on the one hand, that they were moved far from the old borders of the previously known world, at the same time we meet them in Europe, close to home (possibly, to depict the hostility of neighbors, or to show that I am not a monster regardless of the fact that my country is on the edge of Europe, like in case of England).

The maps became more informative through the period and as a result they presented highly synthesized codes that needed decoding hints. Among such were the notes on maps. They provided the source of understanding between map makers, illustrators and audiences.⁶

As a result, maps received a number of new functions at this period. They became analytical tools with which Europeans would interpret and make sense of geographical, ethnological, social, cultural diversity of the represented areas. They contributed to the development of comprehension and reasoning about the depicted lands in comparative terms. The visual codes in maps could support or even justify and stimulate colonial claims, "civilizing" and religious missions, expansion, cultural contacts, territorial claims. They symbolized power, represented decorative functions, and also they played an important educational role in that period.

To conclude with the historical note to this chapter it should be said that the maps involved into the present investigation will be examined from the perspective of the global tendencies in cartography of the period. I intend to see the

6 Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography through History*, trans. Tom Conley, ed. Edward H. Dahl (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 167-172.

representation of the depicted regions on maps from the era when modern cartographic paradigm was being formed and try to follow the development of those representations through the period.

5.2 Approaches in Renaissance and Early Modern Cartography

Critical approaches in cartography started being developed since the 1960s. Critical cartography questions the main paradigm of cartography, stating that maps are neutral images of reality. Instead, it approaches and analyzes maps as expressions and also producers of social realities. They are analyzed from the point of view of their genesis, the ways they locate knowledge in time and space, their relationship to power and intellectual trends of their period. In other words, maps are being considered as useful tools for producing and classifying knowledge. An important task in understanding this is placing them in a historical context. By doing this it becomes clear that knowledge has a temporal and a spatial dimension. Geographical knowledge visualized in maps is comprised of a variety of social, economic and historical influences. This chain in its essence is shaped and influenced by political power. In this respect, a map is considered as a fundamentally political product.

The first criticism was addressed against Mercator's projection of the world in maps as Europe centered. It found its expression in works of a German researcher of history, geography, economy and cartography, Arno Peters.⁷ His aspiration was the equal representation of time and space in history and cartography and critics of the historical focus on western civilizations and their politics. He argued that maps and history writings mislead readers in a sense that Europe and Western civilizations were considered as central to the rest of the world.

The works of Brian Harley in the 1980s made further impact on the development of critical cartography. His main argument and focus was considering maps

7 Stefan Müller, "Equal Representation of Time and Space: Arno Peters' Universal History," *History Compass* 8, no.7 (2010): 718-729.

not as pure, objective and neutral representations of the environment. Instead, he argues thin maps should be understood as objects historically reflecting and supporting the interests of power, ideology, control, political claims and agenda, etc.⁸

Following Brian Harley's ideas, Denis Cosgrove investigated a number of other functions maps historically played. He analyzed maps as tools for making and transmitting knowledge, the role of landscape in cultural geography,⁹ the use of visual images in shaping geographical imaginations and cartography.¹⁰ From cultural perspective he spoke about dominant and alternative cultures.¹¹ According to his argument the maps originally reflected the agenda of the dominant culture.

Lately, there is a growing interest in narrative cartography and the relationship between maps and narratives. Extensive use of digital technologies in all spheres of human activity gave impulse to new forms of spatial expressions and representations.¹² This made historians search new perspectives while dealing with maps.

Thus, as a result of a critical turn in cartography scholarship views the relations between maps and narratives in two ways: first, defining, deconstructing and interpreting the meta-narratives embedded in maps; second, approaching maps as form of storytelling.¹³

One of the latest approaches in cartography analysis is the post-representational cartography, founded upon the idea thin maps are never finished. Their work and

8 John Brian Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography Volume 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

9 Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Totawa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1985).

10 Denis Cosgrove, *Geographical Imagination and the Authority of Images* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2006).

11 Denis Cosgrove, "Geography is Everywhere: Culture and Symbolism in Human Landscapes," in *Horizons in Human Geography*, eds. Derek Gregory, and Rex Walford (London: Macmillan, 1989), 118-135.

12 Karel Kriz, William Cartwright and Lorenz Hurni, eds., *Mapping Different Geographies (Lecture Notes in Geoinformation and Cartography)* (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, 2010).

13 Sébastien Caquard, "Cartography I: Mapping narrative cartography," *Progress in Human Geography* 37, no.1 (2013): 135-144.

their message is never complete.¹⁴ The meaning of maps is being conveyed while map production. It is being transmitted and interpreted by the purpose audience. From this perspective a map is always context dependent. Its meaning and interpreting depend on a particular historical period, audience, and way of problem solving. Thus, according to this approach cartography is not representational in its nature. Maps emerge in process through different practices.

5.3 Cartographic Representations of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia

Before discussing each of the selected maps let me mention their main features. The world maps as well as the regional maps from the depicted period give general outlines of the world, of the continents and regions. The regions and states have no borders between them and it is hard to understand what sizes or proportions they had. The subdivision within Europe was also unclear, in spite of the fact that it was familiar and the map makers had detailed information at their disposal. Thus, on first sight these maps are hard to be thought as politically charged. Nevertheless, I will attempt to pick up several of such characteristics that bare or convey political agendas, conceptions and beliefs. Based on the examples of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, I will also trace few cases that demonstrate the beginnings of cartographic political/administrative subdivision and symbolism within Europe in the depicted period.

As the depicted sources show, maps become more and more frequently present in the written sources. The importance of spatiality and visualization of geographical information is growing as well as the cartographic literacy of the audiences. The maps enrich the narrative stories they accompany, the narratives on the other hand enrich the content of the maps. For the reader maps start playing a more and more important role as they reflect spatial dimension and distribution of narratives. For the mapmakers or customers who ordered them, maps start to

14 Rob Kitchin and Martin Dodge, "Rethinking maps," *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no.3 (2007): 331-344.

assist in developing concepts and argument about places, continents and lands. Thus, the maps offer their audiences broad narrative potential.

The maps I consider in this chapter represent the rare examples where our regions were presented. They are the most well-known and influential western visual representations from the period that also depict Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. Being a part of famous geographic treatises that passed through numerous editions during the depicted period and after, these maps conveyed the Western knowledge of the research area, impacted the spread of this knowledge, influenced and preserved the image. They are not that numerous, but each of them presented a decisive step forward in cartography of the region at the moment when they were appearing.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, mapping and cartography were still a not widely spread practice. By the end of our period, on the contrary, they were already considered as a "must" attribute in geographical works as well as independent sources, and gained large popularity thanks to printing. As for the cartography of the depicted region of the first half of the sixteenth century, the attention of geographers and mapmakers was riveted to the discoveries in the west of Europe. They were focused on incorporating vast amounts of new geographical knowledge into their works. As a result, I suggest, the overseas discoveries were the reason why the western representations of the eastern edge of the European continent were not given much attention, were not much improved, and not that numerous.

I will refer and use the map images published at official on-line library catalogues and map databases. This is done in sake of better resolution quality of the images as well as for the readers' convenience, as it is always possible to consult the page with a map and zoom it.

The previous scholarship considered each of the below listed maps concerning their history, origins, and to what extent they are precise and accurate, true or false. The aim of this chapter is to trace the evolution in cartography of the

depicted region, to look at these sources in comparative perspective and to trace the possible influence made upon them by the textual sources.

5.3.1 Hartmann Schedel

Liber Chronicarum or the *Nuremberg Chronicle* by Hartmann Schedel appeared in 1493. That was one of the most remarkable and lavishly illustrated book editions of its time. Among the numerous woodcut illustrations the book contains two maps, the *world map* and the *map of Europe*. The *world map* of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* is considered to be one of the earliest printed world maps.¹⁵ It depicts three known parts of the world, and twelve wind blowers surround the world in its borders. The whole depiction is supported in its corners by the figures of Japhet, Shem and Ham, whose children inhabited the world after the flood. Also, the depictions of seven outlandish creatures and beings that were thought to inhabit the furthestmost edges of the earth are located beside the map. As one may see in figures 5.1 and 5.2,¹⁶ Hartmann Schedel closely followed the Ptolemaic cartographic tradition. He depicts the *world map* as a quarter segment of a flat circle. Both maps typify the old tradition and new data. They follow the Ptolemaic method, the location principles for the continents, but the longitudes and the latitudes are not depicted.

Schedel's maps are pretty simplified and schematic. Even the well-known parts of Europe are presented without great attention to detail. It may be considered as a drawback of the work, but at the same time the author could have had a particular goal. It can be suggested that the author's goal was to put into the map the main distinguishing features in order to orient the reader and to locate the textual information on described places. State and city names, names of rivers and seas as known at Schedel's time are among them (see figures 5.1, 5.3

15 "Nuremberg Chronicle World Map." Cornell University Library. Digital Collections, accessed April 10, 2020. <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:3293718>

16 "Ptolemy's World Map." History Archive. Digital Collections, accessed May 10, 2020. https://www.historyarchive.org/works/image.php/?book_file=cosmographia-1460-66&image_file=02-world-map.jpg



Figure 5.1: Nuremberg Chronicle, World Map



Figure 5.2: Ptolemy's paradigm, World Map

and 5.5).

Let us see a fragment of Schedel's *world map*, depicting our area (see figure 5.3). Out of three eastern lands we are interested in only Poland is presented. Moscovia is shown by its capital Moscow (Mosca). Lithuania is not mentioned. Nevertheless, the map was helpful for a learned reader. The textual description of Lithuania begins with reference about its geographical location. It is said that Lithuania is situated to the east of neighboring Poland. Thus, even in such cases the contribution made by the two sources, the textual and the cartographic ones, would assist in building a more complete picture about the particular region.



Figure 5.3: Nuremberg Chronicle World Map, fragment

Here it is worth mentioning that Lithuania was a state large in its size and power at that period (see figure 1.1). Both Poland and Moscovia were smaller. Maps like Schedel's *world map*, therefore, demonstrate how different factors, may it be the lack of knowledge, of direct political interest or not unified technical approaches in cartography would alter the geographical and political reality in maps and of the readers' imagined visual picture of the world. By unified technical approaches I mean the principles concerning what to put on the map. In our

case Poland is represented by the name of the state, Moscovia by the name of its capital city and Lithuania is not mentioned at all in spite of the fact that it was the largest state in the region. Novgorod Rus' is also depicted in the northern part of the map as an independent duchy.

The information gap concerning the location of Lithuania in Schedel's *world map* was compensated in his *map of Northern and Central Europe* or *map of Europe*¹⁷ (see figures 5.4 and 5.5). It is an example of a regional map that presents a zoomed in part of Northern and Central Europe. Schedel used toponyms of his period and speaks in contemporary geographic terms, although, many other cartographers of this period were still extensively using Ptolemaic toponyms along with the new ones.

17 "[Map of Europe] (from the Nuremberg Chronicle)." Cornell University Library. Digital Collections, accessed April 10, 2020. <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:11177650>



Figure 5.4: Map of Northern and Central Europe by Schedel

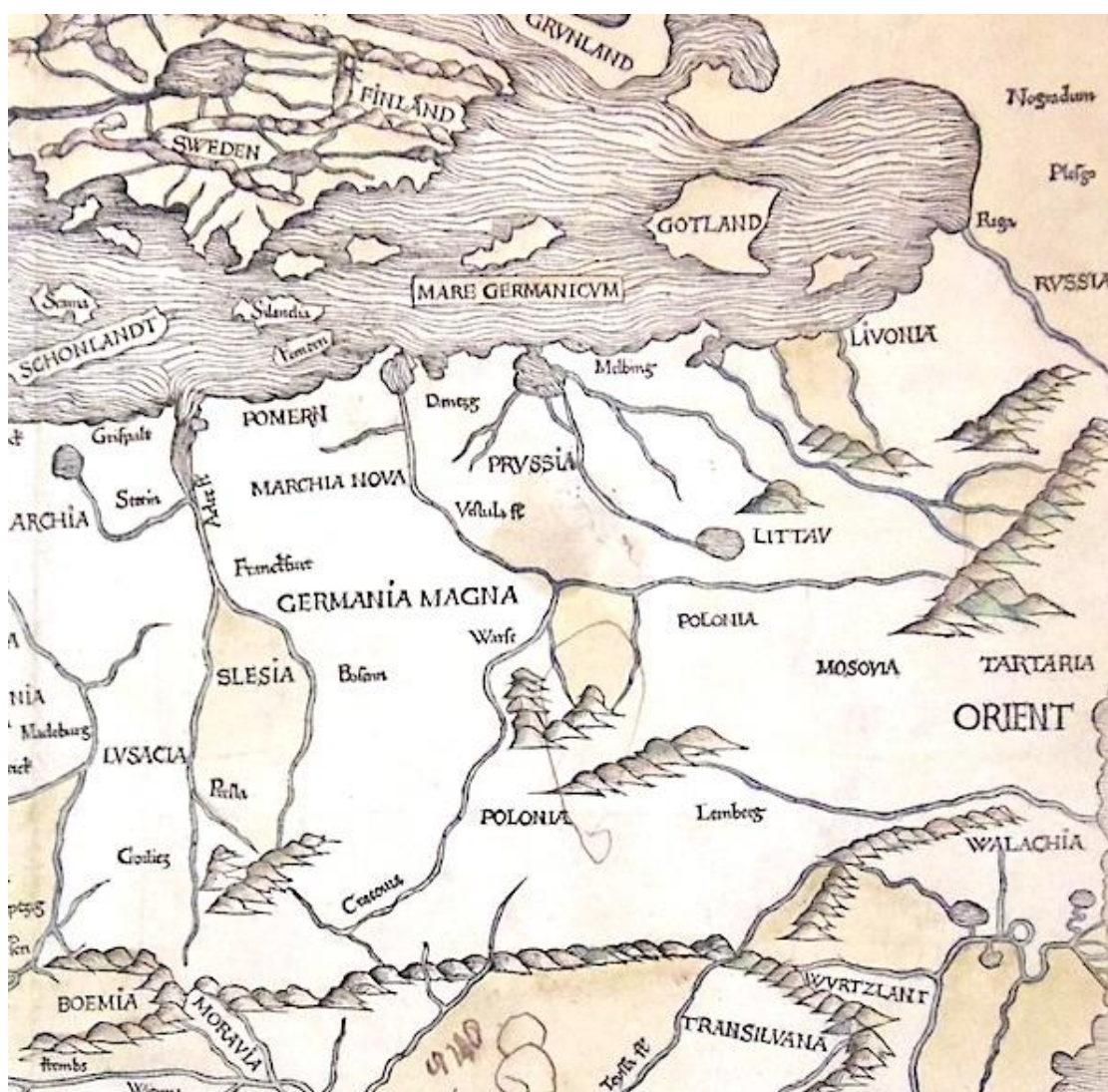


Figure 5.5: Map of Northern and Central Europe by Schedel, detail

Schedel probably had more space in this case and depicted Lithuania. All three states are shown with their state names. The reader of the text and of this map would easily orient him/herself and see where Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were located. Basically, that was the main utility of this map. It does not offer other stories, but helps the reader to geographically position the textual descriptions of the depicted lands. The only difference between the studied lands in Schedel's depiction is that only the capital of Poland is specified at the map. Moscovia is depicted at the map, but its textual description is missing in the encyclopedic part of the work. The author made a mistake in the name of Moscovia and wrote Mosovia. I tend to accept it for Moscovia because of the location to the

east and not for Mazovia, one of the central regions of Poland.

Poland is the only case of the three considered countries, where a few cities were depicted. These are Krakow, Warsaw and Lemberg (Lviv). Most probably Lemberg was depicted in the map, because it had German population and was known in the West. In 1356, the city was granted Magdeburg law, since then it attracted German, Polish and Czech settlers and grew into an important trade center in the region. This was probably the most remote eastern European city in the region where communities of western Europeans were presented.

No cities are depicted in Lithuania and Moscovia. Schedel depicted Novgorod and Plescov in the North-Eastern edge of his map. These cities were known in the West as important trade centers and stops on the way from the Baltics to Byzantium since the times of Kievan Rus'. They remained independent duchies until 1478 and 1510 respectively when they were conquered by Moscovia. Thus, they were traditionally depicted at Schedel's map along with Moscovia as independent duchies.

In his *map of Europe* Hartmann Schedel uses mountains to depict the border and separate Poland from Hungary, Transylvania and Walachia. No physical borders are observed between Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia.

5.3.2 Sebastian Münster

Another source offering a number of maps representing the eastern regions of Europe is the *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster. It appeared in 1544 and was the earliest German description of the world. This was one of the most popular editions of the sixteenth century. The separate maps of the four continents known at that time along with numerous regional maps made the *Cosmographia* one of the most important reference books both on world geography and cartography of its time. Let us consider three detailed regional maps depicting our area. These are: the *map of Poland and Hungary*; the *map of Poland* and the *map of Moscovia*.

The *map of Poland and Hungary* is the first example of a regional topographi-

cal map among the considered. Probably, because of its central focus on Poland and Hungary these lands are more thoroughly documented in it in comparison to other ones (see figure 5.6).¹⁸



Figure 5.6: Münster's map of Poland and Hungary

Numerous settlements of different size and importance with their distinguishing features, like castles and fortifications comprise their visual images. The map also richly depicts geographical features of these countries: rivers, lakes, mountains and forests. The distribution of topographical as well as geographical features varies at different areas presented in the map. Poland and Hungary make an impression of being more populated and documented, richer in geographical features. The lands to the eastern edge of the map, Lithuania and Moscovia particularly, look less populated and covered with forests. Thus, one may argue that,

18 "Poloniae et Vngariae nova descriptio," Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Biblioteca Nacional Digital, accessed April 11, 2020. <http://purl.pt/13845/3/#/58>

on the one hand, this was a real situation, on the other hand, that the western Europeans did not know much about the topography of Lithuania and Moscovia at Münster's time. Therefore, being less known in the West, Lithuania and Moscovia were not equally and as intensively represented in this map. These factors influenced the produced image in a sense that Poland looks larger and "stronger" in comparison to Lithuania and Moscovia.

In this map Münster, in the same way as Schedel, used geographical features, rivers and mountain ranges, to demarcate borders between regions and countries. Often, this was really the case that rivers or mountains separated the territorial possessions between the states. In Münster's map mountain ranges separate Poland from Hungary, mountains circle Transylvania and Mazovia. In the eastern part of the map there is a non-demarcated line, along which the settlements become rare and behind which thick forests cover the possessions of Lithuania and Moscovia and separate them from the rest of the depicted part of Europe. This is a cartographic, visually expressed separation of Lithuania and Moscovia from the rest of Europe.

Thus, if one considers this representation of the area along with the textual descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, some narrative analogies can be observed. For example, the textual reference to Poland in the *Cosmographia* is decisively larger than those to Lithuania and Moscovia. The same is observed in their pictorial depiction in this map, first Poland, then the other two. Poland is described in terms of its history and political life, the descriptions of Lithuania and Moscovia give mostly general information on their location, nature, climate, religion, language, goods and rulership. This analogy is communicated through the map as well. Poland is larger than Lithuania and a more extensive presence of "nature" is to be found in Lithuania and Moscovia. Poland gives the impression of a populated and cultivated land, similar to Hungary, for example.

A general observation for the regional *map of Poland and Hungary* by Münster is that it offers richer topographical information on all three lands in compari-

son to Hartmann Schedel. Nevertheless, there is a visual difference in the thickness and frequency of settlements between Poland on the one hand and Lithuania and Moscovia on the other. Poland occupies a larger spatial segment in this map as well, producing an impression of being larger than Lithuania. The architectural signs, depicting town fortifications and castles, are pretty homogeneous in Poland. The landscape is getting "wilder" as one moves towards Lithuania and Moscovia with more forests and fewer settlements, with more signs of "nature" and less signs of "culture".

The *map of Poland*¹⁹ also presents a rich topography for this country (see figure 5.7). It informed the reader on the location of about ten Polish cities and about the regions' names. Many of the cities are depicted having stone castles or fortifications. The eastern part of Poland has more forests. The map's layout did not suffer many changes since the times of Schedel. What is new about Münster's representations of the region is that his maps got a stronger narrative perspective. Now the reader could find at the maps not just the names of the countries, but also cities and towns, could learn about the main physical features of the depicted lands, like forests, rivers, lakes and mountains. The eastern part of Europe starts to be better visually documented.

The description of Lithuania is not accompanied by a separate map of the region. So, the reader would consult the *map of Poland* (see figure 5.7), or the *map of Poland and Hungary* (see figure 5.6), where it was depicted. In comparison to Poland, Lithuania had fewer cities, fewer castles and occupied a smaller segment at the map. That was not the case at that historical period. Namely, as already mentioned, Lithuania occupied a larger territory in comparison to Poland. The size of the textual description of these two lands in *Cosmographia* gave the same message and emphasised Poland. An extensive textual reference into the political history of Poland, its less exotic image, its larger spatial image at the visual depiction of the region, numerous castles and fortifications, depicted in Münster's

19 "De regno et tota regione Poloniae," Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Biblioteca Nacional Digital, accessed April 11, 2020. <http://purl.pt/13845/3/#/919>

maps, all this would produce the impression of a more familiar entity to the Western reader and a more "important" player in the region. Lithuania is characterized by the short name of the country, the region of Samogitia and a few cities. The textual description, given by Münster, corresponds to this image. It is said that the country has very few towns and villages, but is covered by forests and waters: rivers and marshes. The image corresponds to this information.

Coming to Münster's cartography, let us first consider his *map of Poland* (see figure 5.7). The main visual message when looking at this part of the map is that Moscovia differs from the two previous countries.



Figure 5.7: Münster, *map of Poland*

The more to the East towards Moscovia, the more forests one may observe at the map. The only castle depicted in this map of Moscovia, the Smolensk one, looks like those in Poland and Lithuania. No other castles in Moscovia were depicted in this map. The second architectural image in Moscovia is a kind of

oriental tent just under the name of Moscovia. Thus, the textual references to Moscovite's different nature, abundant forests, rare settlements, and a kind of "oriental" character found their expression in this map.

The following regional map in the *Cosmographia* we are interested in is the *map of Moscovia*²⁰ (see figure 5.8). Forests, rivers, lakes, wild animals were among the most frequent characteristic features of Moscovia in Münster's textual description. These features are also clearly presented in this map, especially the thick and endless forests.

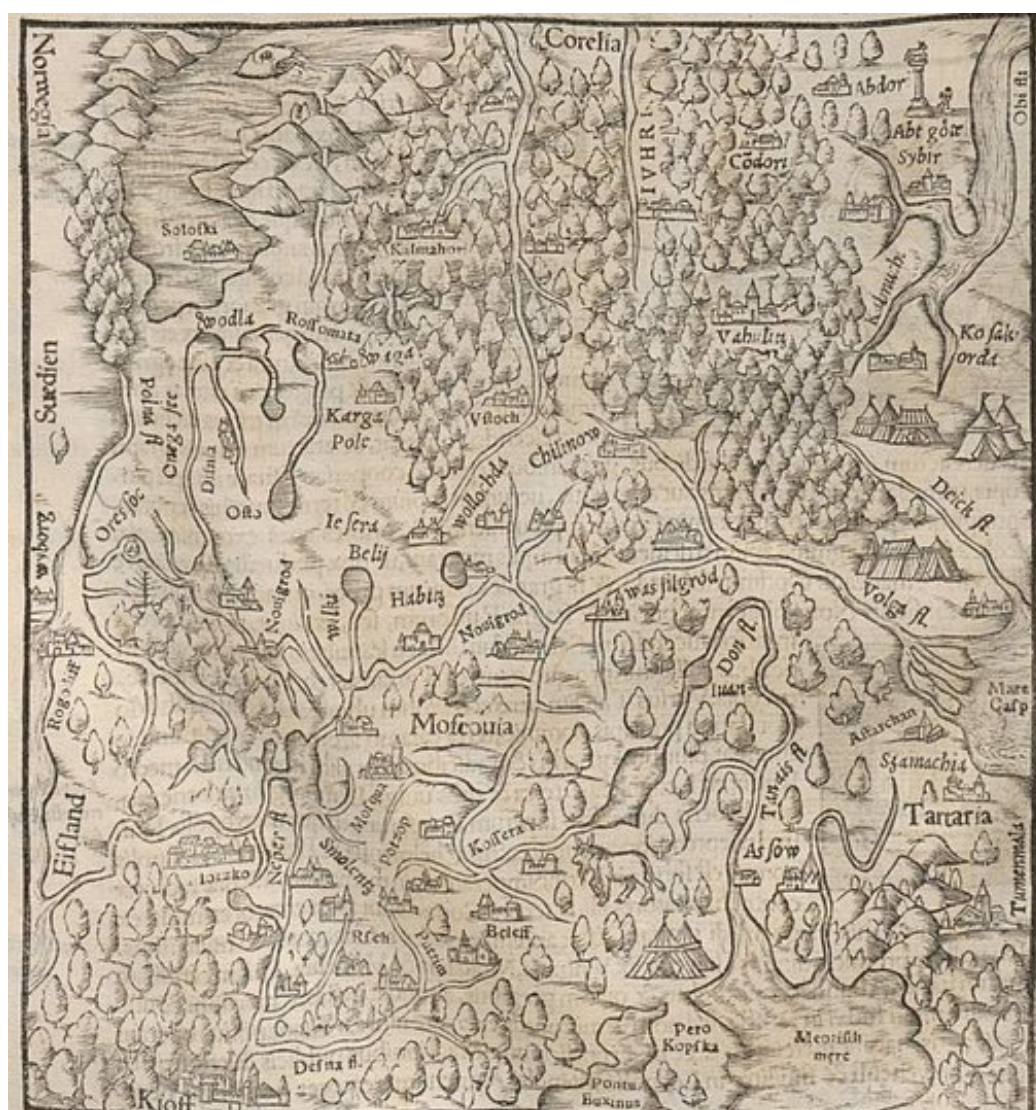


Figure 5.8: Münster, *map of Moscovia*

20 "Moscovia," Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Biblioteca Nacional Digital, accessed April 11, 2020. <http://purl.pt/13845/3/#/942>

Having Moscovia in focus in this map, Münster had the possibility and space to depict more details about it. Besides the geographical and landscape features with their names in many cases, a number of settlements with the depictions of their castles, fortresses and churches represented Moscovia. The tent architecture was moved to the east and south-east. The textual description informed the reader that Moscovia was covered by forests abundant in wild animals and bees. Rivers and lakes were abundant in fish. Thus, looking at this image and adding to the textual description, the reader would visually perceive Moscovia as rich in any kinds of goods landscape. The enormous forests and water resources were rich in honey, wax, furs, meat, fish, wood and other things. At the same time this land was poorly inhabited and uncultivated in comparison to western parts of Europe.

In comparison to Schedel's cartography of the depicted region Münster's topographical and regional maps demonstrated considerable evolution in sense of the representation of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. One may assume that he had extensive material on settlements in all three countries at his disposal. One can also observe that he tried to be close to the textual descriptions of these countries.

Let us now concentrate on the famous *map of Europe* in Münster's *Cosmographia*, where Europe is depicted as a queen, the so-called *Europa Regina* (see figures 5.9²¹ and 5.10²²). The genesis of anthropomorphic maps of *Europa Regina* in Western Europe and in numerous editions of Münster's *Cosmographia* was investigated by Peter Meurer.²³ Not all, but some of the first editions of the *Cosmographia* contained this image of Europe, but, since 1588, the *Europa Regina* was always included into the later editions. This is an example of a "story" map. It is an illustration of mythological, historical, intellectual, political and social processes

21 "L'Europa cosa comprende ai nostri giorni." Fondazione Istituto Internazionale die Storia Economica "F. Datini," Biblioteca in linea, accessed April 11, 2020. <http://www.istitutodatini.it/biblio/images/it/lazzer/munster/dida/dida17.htm>

22 "Anthropomorphic map showing Europe as a queen." The Newberry, accessed April 11, 2020. <http://publications.newberry.org/dig/creating-shakespeare/anthropomorphic-map-showing-europe-as-a-queen>

23 Peter Meurer, "Europa Regina: 16th century Maps of Europe in the Form of a Queen," *Belgeo* 3–4 (2008): 355–370.

of self-idea and self-image having been created in the West at the Age of Discovery and Renaissance. "West" and "Western" are historically self-made constructs and this map is a great expression of the way the Europeans saw and positioned themselves at that period. This depiction of the European continent represents a smart visual solution and conveys a strong narrative power. The title at the earlier version conveys the main idea behind this unified image, namely, the idea of the continent united by Christianity (see figure 5.9). The continent is also presented as the main power in the world. Thus, the map stimulated the readers' imagination and challenged different assumptions about Europe itself, about the Europeans and the rest of the world.



Figure 5.9: Early Image of Münster's *Europa Regina*

From the western European perspective our region in these anthropomorphic maps is located in the "very" periphery of the continent. Put at the gown hem, Moscovia is different to be assumed a periphery than the one where Sicily, England or Spain are positioned. An attempt to separate Moscovia by an additional visual natural border in later versions of *Europa Regina* is obvious. For some reason the later editors of Münster's *Cosmographia* considered it important to depict

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5.3.3 Olaus Magnus

In this respect I the map created by the Swedish cartographer Olaus Magnus (1490–1557) in Rome between 1527–39. He had a chance to consult a variety of ancient and contemporary geographic sources, treatises, descriptions of travelers and sailors, as well as oral stories. The result of his work was the famous illustrated map known as *Carta Marina*.²⁴ The first copies of the map were printed in 1539 in Venice. In 1555, it was published as part of a book named *A Description of the Northern Peoples*. The book represented a textual explanation of what was depicted in the map. Thus, the map also became a visual representation of the text. The cartographic depiction of a part of the research area is again a visual representation of existing Western beliefs, perception, political and ideological confrontation, and agenda towards the considered lands.

Particularly, the visual separation of Moscovia as well as Lithuania is observed and communicated by the *Carta Marina* (see figures 5.11, and 5.12). The separation between Lithuania and Moscovia, on the one hand, and Livonia and Finland, on the other, is clearly drawn with a line of trees. The reader can observe confrontation of different nature from both sides of this border line. The armed troops face each other from both sides, the weapons also look towards the border, the rulers of Moscovia and the Polish-Lithuanian union are facing the West.

24 "Carta marina." World Digital Library, accessed April 10, 2020. <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/3037/#q=olaus+magnus&q1a=en>



Figure 5.11: Magnus, *Carta Marina*



Figure 5.12: Magnus, detail of Figure 5.11

Besides the obvious military confrontation at this map, a short note "*non sint in vobis scismata*" under the seat of the Grand Duke of Moscovia witnesses about the main contemporary religious debate and confrontation between the West and Moscovia, namely, the schism between the eastern and western Christianity. The image of the Moscovite duke is depicted in a pretty oriental style.

The note "*numina veterum paganorum*" and their depictions above the name of

LITVANIE PARS reveals the main characteristic western stereotype from the written descriptions of Lithuania. In the fifteenth century it was still referred to be a state, where the pagan religion existed. Thus, the main challenges the western Europeans saw in Moscovia and Lithuania, the Christian schism and the old pagan beliefs, found place at the visual representation of the area in *Carta Marina*. Such a role of the illustrated maps to simultaneously maintain and challenge the old beliefs and views about nations in the edges of the world was recently well discussed by Surekha Davies in her study.²⁵

All considered cases represent examples to map from an itinerary perspective, as a sequence of places and states from west to east, from north to south and vice versa. In some cases they may show the borders of confrontation, like in the *Carta Marina*. In other cases they really may depict borders, which were hard to pass for those who travelled both in terms of geography and politics. Moscovia, in this sense, was the case. It was hard to travel there because of thick forests and marshes, but also because the entrance was restricted and nobody could enter Moscovia without a permission.

The practice to demarcate states' territorial possessions with linear borders starts being used in cartography in the seventeenth century. Depicting territorial states with their mapped borders was formed as a general practice only by the early nineteenth century. Among the reasons why the linear borders between states start being demarcated in maps, scholarship also points out the need to separate and depict the territorial possessions among the colonial powers, particularly in the New World.²⁶

In this investigation we observe the beginnings of this technique by authors' drawing borders with the help of natural features. We see that one of the impor-

25 Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

26 Michael Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no.2 (1999): 374-405; Jordan Branch, "Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change," *International Organization* 65, no.1 (2011): 1-36.

tant reasons to draw a border was also the need to demarcate the line between areas and between those, who were perceived as being different, strange, "dangerous," aggressive, and so on, within the European community.

5.3.4 Sigismund von Herberstein

At the closing part of this chapter I will consider a map created by Sigismund von Herberstein. The *topographical map* of Moscovia is one of the illustrations in his *Notes*.²⁷ Sigismund von Herberstein's *topographical map* of Moscovia was the first western map concentrating on the topography of this land. The earlier maps by Hartmann Schedel pointed out just the location of Moscovia. Sebastian Münster's maps depicted a number of settlements in it, but mostly it was presented in terms of "nature" with few settlements. Herberstein, however, focused on the missing part of its image, the topography. His effort to produce a detailed textual account of Moscovia is also reflected in the map he produced. Before him, Moscovia was almost blank in terms of a topography area. Only Münster's map of Moscovia depicted a few towns and river names. As for Herberstein, he contributed a lot to a better representation of the country. He did not pay much attention to Lithuania, and did not depict the lands of Poland at all, but Moscovia in his map became a densely populated region as he described it in his "Notes" (see figure 5.13). In this depiction the land had become occupied by "culture," namely, by urban culture and smaller settlements.

27 "Moscovia Sigismundi liberi Baronis in Herberstein, Neiperg, et Gutenhag anno M.D. XLIX." Europeana, accessed April 10, 2020. https://www.europeana.eu/el/item/9200517/ark__12148_btv1b55004862g



Figure 5.13: Herberstein, topographical map of Moscovia

Most of the settlements depicted in this map are also described or mentioned in his textual account of Moscovia. For most of them he provided information on distances from each other. The distances are given in the text of the "Notes" in miles and days of the trip by horse. Besides this, Herberstein provided his map with a scale for calculating the distances. The scale is drawn in the eastern edge of the map. Thus, his map became the first most detailed and "precise" western visual account of Moscovia available at his time. This was an elaborated visual depiction of topography and the water system which represented communication and transportation ways. Thanks to these characteristics this map represented a detailed itinerary for travelers and visitors, who could consult it and make calculations and estimations for their journeys. It also reflects the author's exploration interest and dedication. Moscovia became opened for the western reader not only thanks to Herberstein's textual description, but also to this visual representation.

The second Herberstein's cartographic image of Moscovia is basically the same map with the previous one. The author just covered it with forests, the main distinguishing natural feature of this land (see figure 5.14). Forests were reported for Moscovia in Münster's *Cosmographia*, the same was emphasized in the considered travel accounts. Most probably, it was hard for Herberstein to combine both, the topography and nature, in one map. Thus, he produced two maps with the same background, but the first one was "inhabited" with the depictions of "culture" and the second one with "nature." The title of the map reminds the reader that the depicted forests are inhabited.

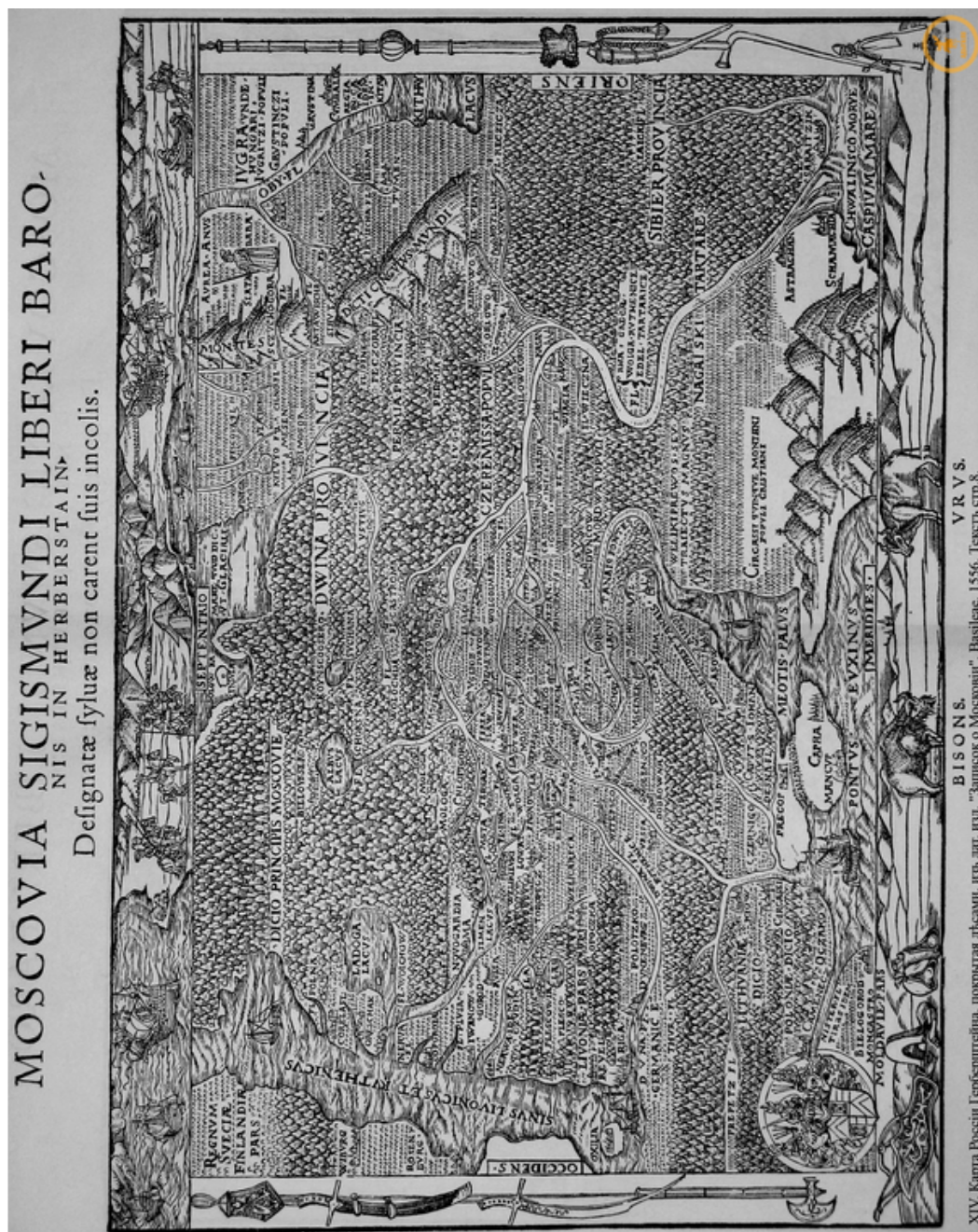


Figure 5.14: Herberstein, physical map of Moscovia

5.4 Findings and Observations

The research period for this investigation embraces 150 years. Nevertheless, the cartographic data discussed in this chapter come from the period of the 1490s to the 1550s. During these a bit more than fifty years a significant evolution in visual representations of the depicted area can be observed. Along with the growing cartographic literacy in the West and with the spread of maps and mapping culture a growing interest for the eastern lands of Europe found its expression in them. All the discussed maps accompanied textual descriptions of the area, with one exception, the *Carta Marina* by Olaus Magnus. This map was first published in 1539 as an independent source and only in 1555 was included into his *A Description of the Northern Peoples*. When the book appeared it explained in words Magnus's visual language, his cartography, his images, his messages. Thus, at the end, all the considered visual sources were created to accompany and enrich the narrative ones.

The first map considered in this chapter, the *World map* by Hartmann Schedel, is an example of following the Ptolemaic techniques in cartography. At the same time, new toponyms were extensively used in this map. All the other considered examples are regional maps, depicting the continent of Europe or its regions. They demonstrated extensive developments in their narrative content and techniques. Let us mention the main aspects observed in this chapter:

- The cartographic data accompanies and supplements the textual descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. By the end of the depicted period, maps became a "must" attribute in encyclopedias containing descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. In case of Schedel's maps, their main function was to locate the textual descriptions of these lands in visual depiction of the world and of Europe (see figures 5.1, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5). The more to the east they got, the less informative the maps became. Among the eastern cities only Lemberg, Novgorod and Plescov were put on the map.

- The maps in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* from 1544 demonstrate significant development in their design, and in narrative content. They reflect the influence of the text and witnesses. New topographical information was thoroughly notated at his regional maps, settlements and natural characteristics of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were mapped in the topographical depiction and in the two regional maps (see figures 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8).
- A tendency to visually separate the region of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia (see figure 5.4) from the rest of Europe, or Lithuania and Moscovia from the western neighbors (see figures 5.6 and 5.12), or finally Moscovia from the rest of Europe (see figure 5.10) is observed in the cartographic depictions through the whole period. Drawing a border line in maps revealed the need to indicate the separation line to those, who were different, strange, "dangerous," aggressive, and so on, within the European community. These are the beginnings of linear border depiction in maps of later periods.
- Among the most frequently used words in the descriptions of Moscovia according to the textual visualizations was the word "forest" which is also visualised in the maps. Forests are depicted at most of the visual images of Moscovia. This is a strong indication that it was the land of "nature."
- During the depicted period the Grand Duchy of Lithuania possessed the largest territory in Europe. Nevertheless, it is underrepresented in the considered maps. Visually, it occupied a small segment in the north-eastern part of Europe with poorly represented topography in all discussed maps. Its cartographic image did not suffer any significant development through the period, similarly to its textual description. Among the reasons for its quite stable and stereotypical image through the whole period one could see the perception of this state as a part of the Polish-Lithuanian union. A bigger credit or focus in the West were given to Poland probably thanks to its longer history of political contact with other European powers. Poland

was better known, it was closer, it was more similar to the rest of Europe. Lithuania, on the contrary, was less familiar and rather exotic.

It looks like Lithuania, as we see it in maps, does not refer to the state of the Grand Duchy, but to the ethnic part of it, which was associated with the exotic pagan religion. The Slavic Christian part of the state could be assumed a closer part to Poland. In this context, depicting Lithuania in maps as a small segment in the north-eastern part of Europe had its logic.

The growing curiosity for Moscovia among authors, geographers, cartographers, travelers and audiences also would move their discovery efforts to Moscovia. And Lithuania was not that new to "pay much attention" to it. This could contribute to preserving a stable image of this land in maps.

- In Schedel's and Münster's regional maps Poland is visually represented as the larger and more important power out of three depicted lands. It is also the most populated country with stronger representation of "culture" in the region (see figures 5.4 and 5.6). In Schedel's *map of Europe* it is mentioned twice, which emphasizes its size. In Münster's *regional map* its urbanised and cultivated character is visually stronger than for Lithuania and Moscovia. Such a disproportion in the amount of provided information is also observed in the textual descriptions in Münster's *Cosmographia*. The description of Poland is many times longer than those of Lithuania and Moscovia and its image is more "similar" to other western European states.
- Münster's map *Europa Regina* is an example of a map with a strong narrative power, expressing and claiming the Western self-positioning among the other European states and the rest of the world, but also the self-assurance within one's own borders.
- The case of Sigismund Herberstein's accounts demonstrates that by the middle of the sixteenth century maps enter the travelers' notes as well. Together with the textual description and drawings, maps comprise an important vi-

sual image and representation of the depicted lands. Herberstein's maps are an example of sophisticated elaboration of newly obtained geographical information. They could serve not only as a source of theoretical knowledge about Moscovia for the learned men, but as a practical information guides for travelers, political and military leaders.

- Thus, a notable development of the narrative content of the maps can be observed through the period. The maps also reflect the growing knowledge about the natural geography of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. The first maps mostly informed their readers about the location of these lands and accommodated their textual images. The later examples offer quite rich material on their topography and natural geography, depict the existing western assumptions about these lands, as well as existing political confrontation.
- In some cases the textual and the visual images do not correspond to each other, containing outdated geographical information on the regions along with new. It shows the authors' attempts to understand the peoples they met and described, partly by attempts to bring together previous authoritative knowledge and new information.
- As a general observation it should be pointed out that the above considered maps of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia still do not demonstrate a linear political division of Europe. The authors of the maps do not draw state borders at their maps yet, but there is a tendency to visually separate the most "different," "unsafe," "not well known" from the "big powers" of the continent. It is done with the help of natural borders: rivers, forests, mountains. It could also be communicated through other symbolical attributes, like the importance of the body parts of *Europa Regina*.

Conclusions

The present research represents a comparative analysis of images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia as described and depicted in selected textual and cartographic sources from the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. The applied quantitative methods and the methods of basic computational textual analysis and visualization helped to define the main component criteria of the images, which enabled the comparison. It should be emphasized that the majority of the obtained results became possible thanks to data provided by different groups of sources. The images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in the *"Imago Mundi"* collections helped to better interpret their cartographic depictions and to better understand the language of the travelers. Considering different source groups made it possible to observe the communication of sources and their impacting each other. The comparative analysis of the considered sources also demonstrated diversity of narrative identities of the authors.

The quantitative methods and close reading applied to the selected textual sources showed that the authors of the general *"Imago Mundi"* works assigned different amounts of space to the topics of "culture" and "nature" in their entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia. The calculations showed a growing dynamics for the topics of "nature" while moving eastwards. The more one moved to the east of Europe in the texts, the less is said about politics, history, dynasties, etc. land and the more is said about the natural environment, climate, natural resources, animals, wilderness, and exotic things. Thus, the considered lands rep-

resent areas advancing towards the eastern edges of Europe geographically, but also as textual images in the descriptions of the world. They have their own position in the believed picture of the known world.

The references to animals, forests, exotic things, monstrosities and such become more frequent while moving towards the eastern border of the continent in the *"Imago Mundi"* texts. Wilderness and exotic motives are the attributes of the remote edges. The entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia communicate this motion with the help of gradually growing number of such references.

As for the thematic range comprising the images of Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia, the dynamics is quite progressive. On the one hand, there is a number of standard topics that are present in the images of all three lands through the research period, like the rulers and state power, the main cities, the markets and goods, and the religion. However, when the reader is textually moving eastwards, the larger number of themes or topics will comprise the image of each of the following lands. It seems that the authors' playing with the thematic range, richness, variety, and the size of the comprised themes was the way to textually communicate the motion from the known centers towards the periphery and the unknown eastern edges of the continent.

Computational text visualizations demonstrated the effective possibilities of presenting "terminological" images of the depicted lands and offering the basis for comparative analysis. The obtained images differ in their terminological content, but the presence of particular terms in all obtained results made it possible to talk about a number of topics or criteria which were a standard set while writing about a country at that period. Among such common topics and terms are: "king," "duke," "town," "river," "people," and some other.

The growing tendency of using "nature" terms while moving eastwards is observed with the help of the word clouds of the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia in the *"Imago Mundi"* sources. The textual image of Poland as well as its terminological depiction gradually received strong political and historical content

by the end of the study period and lost any topics related to "nature."

The textual image of Lithuania in general works on world cosmography and geography remained rather static and did not suffer changes. It is contrasting to the one of Poland. The exotic motive describing the pagan cults in Lithuania is particularly strong. This static motive provided ground for creating firm, generalizing stereotypes concerning Lithuania, meaning that this country would have been considered by readers as pagan in general and that nothing had changed through the period. Both were not true.

The emerging image of Moscovia in the enries of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, as well as the pictures and maps that accompany the description refer strongly to notions of "nature" and to human interaction with nature. A paradise-like motive is one of the main features of the image, traced in the text visualizations of the entry on Moscovia.

Concerning the travelers' accounts about the depicted lands, the main criteria to judge about the visited lands were the looks of and the living conditions in its settlements, particularly its towns. This was a central theme in the writings by Gilbert de Lannoy, Ambrogio Contarini and Sigismund von Herberstein. The towns in Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were said not to be splendid: having bad walls, or no walls at all; having bad castles and fortifications; buildings made of wood and clay, etc. These characteristics had growing intensity in their writing while moving eastwards. Only a few towns in the western part of Poland, like Kalisz and Wrocław are said to be good by Gilbert de Lannoy, all the other were not nice and not well constructed. In contrast, according to his text, the towns in Livonia, Prussia, Bohemia, and Germany were beautiful, nice, very good, and very rich.

The observed strong presence of the two terms "town" and "river" in all word clouds for travel accounts helps to better understand the important role the rivers played for urban settlements and humans at that period. The travel accounts and descriptions by travelers, while talking about a town, regularly refer to its river.

As for Ambrogio Contarini, together with many complaints concerning accommodation in Poland and Lithuania on his way to Persia he raised the issue of safety, which we do not see in Gilbert de Lannoy's accounts that much. For Ambrogio Contarini this is a constantly evoking topic. He did not feel safe while traveling through the lands of Poland and even more anxious in Lithuania and suffered a lot from inconvenient accommodation. The interesting thing is that the tone of his complaints changed, when he traveled back from Persia to Venice and passed through Moscovia, Lithuania and Poland. As soon as he entered the Moscovite lands he remarked that he immediately felt safer. This feeling of being safe was still getting stronger as he was traveling through our regions towards his homeland. He also noted that the accommodations were getting better and better. Thus, the hardships of the trip and experiences of going further to the east, to Persia, had changed Contarini's tone and attitude towards the depicted lands. At last, when he reached Poznan and then Germany, he could not stop praising the cities telling about the advancing improvement in the looks of villages, castles and towns and in the living conditions they offered.

The readers find images of cruel rulers in Lithuania and Moscovia, both in the considered encyclopedic works and in the travelers' accounts. They treated their subjects as they wanted, and several cases of their cruel behavior were described by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Hartmann Schedel, Sebastian Münster and Sigismund von Herberstein.

Another topic common for descriptions of Lithuania and Moscovia, but not for Poland are the travel conditions. The combination of the landscape features and climate made traveling to these regions extremely hard. The best season for traveling was winter when all waters, marshes and swamps were frozen. Winter traveling, however, offered its own challenges. The travelers pointed out that these lands were large and poorly populated, meaning that settlements were not frequently met while traveling, and these complaints were growing while moving eastwards. This was a real hardship for those who traveled there in winter and

had to make stops for rest under the open sky.

Sigismund von Herberstein was the most diligent, analytic and sober in his exploration effort. Discussing Lithuania he elaborated the issue of paganism in this country and specified the region, where the pagan cults were preserved longer. In his work, Lithuania got a new image of being multi-ethnic and multicultural, not just pagan. He was the first to list the main cities and regions that comprised its territory and he described the country and its size. He made clear that both Roman and Greek Christian traditions were present in Lithuania, the Greek ones were in majority. As for the pagan religion for which Lithuania was known, he specified Samogitia as the region where it existed longer than in any other part of Europe. Nevertheless, he continued supporting the opinion that paganism was still preserved there at his time, as some people were saying.

Cases when the lands of Lithuania were attributed to Poland were observed in all source groups, namely, in *Imago Mundi* general works, travel accounts and maps. Sigismund von Herberstein's accounts on Lithuania contributed to better understanding its size, its religious matters and its status. The image of this country created by previous written and cartographic sources was rather stereotypical and not that clear. The information on pagan cults was associated with the images of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in general. It was not clear what language they spoke there. In maps it occupied a smaller segment than Poland, for example. The fact that he tried to clarify these particular issues demonstrates his willingness to better "explain" this territory to his contemporaries. It shows that he studied what was known about Lithuania before him and that he added his own contribution.

It is hard to evaluate Sigismund von Herberstein's contribution with regard to the image of Moscovia in few lines. In his time, probably no other European land was described in such detail. Legends and the history of the state, dynasties, religion, everyday life, local customs, clothing and houses, topography, nature and climate and many other compound topics were described in his report. He really introduced the unknown Moscovia to the western reader. With his account

this country was finally incorporated into the image of the European continent. He made an attempt to describe its size in his maps and by registering distances between its main cities. He described the Moscovite centers of commercial contact with other parts of Europe and Asia. By describing the dynastic connections of the Lithuanian, Polish and Moscovite ruling families he showed their historical bonds. For understandable reasons the image was rather exotic for a western European, but Herberstein kept the rational tone in what he was writing about Moscovia, namely the regions west of Moscow. As he approached the lands behind Moscow, further to the east, he involved into his image the contemporary cultural predispositions and beliefs. He inhabited the remote eastern principalities of Moscovia with monstrous peoples and beasts. He specified that the information was received from reliable oral sources, but he was still influenced by the western scholastic knowledge, understanding and beliefs concerning the remote edges of the known world.

The narrative content of maps depicting the region is significantly growing throughout the period. The main utility of the earlier maps from the period, like those by Hartmann Schedel was to orientate the reader and to locate the story, to point out where the textual image belonged to. Sebastian Münster, Olaus Magnus and Sigismund von Herberstein enriched the maps of the region with more informative content in terms of landscape features, toponyms and illustrations. It was also observed that the cartographic depictions of Poland and particularly of Moscovia experienced more significant developments through the period in comparison to Lithuania.

The analysis of different source groups, namely, the *Imago Mundi* general works, travel accounts and maps provided information on how the borders between countries or larger areas were textually and visually demarcated. The western border of Poland and the north-western border of Lithuania mattered for all considered travelers. This was vividly expressed in their opinions about the towns in Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia or Russia. The less developed and less fortified

urban settlements were an important sign for being in another country. In the end of the research period the border of the Moscovite state is reported to be the most significant, guarded and watched according to Sigismund von Herberstein's travelogue. It is said that it was impossible to enter Moscovia without a proper permission.

Similar tendencies were observed in the analysis of the cartographic sources. Demarcating state borders was not typical for the period. But the depictions of particular features of the landscape like mountain ranges, rivers, forests seem to have been already used to draw division lines between areas and states. Hartmann Schedel, for example, used a depiction of a mountain chain in order to draw a borderline between Poland and Hungary. No such borderlines between Poland, Lithuania and Moscovia were observed. Olaus Magnus drew a line of trees demarcating a borderline between Poland, on the one hand, and Lithuania and Moscovia, on the other. Numerous images depict the confrontation of military and religious nature from both sides of the borderline. Finally, Sebastian Münster in his map *Europa Regina* drew a thick forest line and decisively separated Moscovia from the rest of Europe. Thus, by the end of the depicted period, the textual references to the borders as well as the cartographic depictions of the borderlines follow the common tendency to declare the importance of the border with Moscovia.

The terms "league" and "miles" were observed among strong and frequently used in the visualizations for Sebastian Münster's entries on Lithuania and Moscovia, in Gilbert de Lannoy's travel accounts and Sigismund von Herberstein's descriptions of Lithuania and Moscovia. Thus, the author's references to the distances between towns in the described countries were interpreted as a sign of writing about the unknown or not well known places in the context of this work. This information is not provided for the better known countries in the accounts. Based on this, it is also possible to interpret this pattern as referring to borders between the familiar and not very familiar lands in the east of Europe.

All illustrations from Sigismund von Herberstein's *Notes upon Russia*, the looks of the Moscovite duke in *Carta marina* by Olaus Magnus and several depictions of oriental architecture in Sebastian Münster's maps communicate strong oriental elements in the image of Moscovia.

As a closing note to this research it is worth saying that the project has its further potential. One of the directions could be further computational analysis involving this time not the separate entries, but the whole corpus of the considered texts, playing with the dynamics of the image of each country through the period, or with the image of the whole area. Applying the sentiment analysis computational tools would be another interesting approach to such kinds of textual sources, particularly the travel accounts.

Information obtained by word clouds and frequency tables of terms within a text can be incorporated in a map visualization with the final goal to distill the information on a single map. The construction of such maps can be made with online tools (such as Google maps or Open Street maps). This elaborated technique will greatly facilitate the implementation of the analyzed data and the results can be easily embedded in a web-page for wider public access.

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