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

A Comparative Approach Using Visual Text Analysis

by

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C H A P T E R 1

Introduction

Perceiving, constructing, transmitting and using the images of other people and of other lands in different historical periods has been a hot topic in the 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, international as well as at intergovernmental levels.

Every historical period and production center had their own criteria and components while talking or writing about other lands. The Renaissance and Early Modern Period in Europe was an extremely fruitful time in this respect. New peoples and new lands were being discovered and incorporated into its world picture, economy, cultural geography and ethnology of that period. The old picture of the world, known to Europeans, the conceptions about its size and its inhabitants had been challenged. 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 geographical knowledge, but also for notions and concepts about the world in general.[1]

These changes were interconnected with the new tendencies in the intellectual

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1 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).

sphere, like the Renaissance culture and the ideas of Humanism, the rediscovery and translations of the works by Ptolemy, Pliny the Elder and other ancient authorities in geography and ethnology, dissemination of the university education, printing, 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.[2] That was the period when the 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.

The Renaissance with the rediscovery of Classical writings together with the ideas of European Humanism created new trends evoking an interest in human diversity, its nature, and the history of different peoples.[3] Analytic discourse, emphasized in this period, provided a methodology for writing about these new experiences. This was expressed by a combination of interpretation through reasoning and use of empirical evidence.[4] Ancient techniques of exploration, inspection, travel and interrogation were adapted to the contemporary needs.[5] 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 collected information. Hundreds of such works in the "art of travel" (*ars apodemica*) were published in Latin, as well as in main European

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

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

4   Rubies, "New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology"; idem, "Instructions for Travelers: Teaching the Eye to See," *History and Anthropology* 9 (1996): 139-190.

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

languages from the middle of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.[6]

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 new information, gathered from the voyages and exploration expeditions. The "old world picture" needed rethinking, renewal, rebirth. Thus, travel and exploration inspired development of analytical discourse while writing about other lands and peoples.[7]

The main forms for geographical representations in the depicted period were the descriptions in text and images. These two forms of representation complemented each other in such sources like: illustrated accounts and encyclopedias, illustrated maps with historical and interpretive inscriptions, travel notes with maps and drawings, etc. 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.[8]

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 quicker

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6   Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel: Including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions* (Seattle and New York: University of Washington and Greenwood Press, 1935); Justin Stagl, Klaus Orda, und Christel Kämpfer, *Apodemiken: Eine räsonnierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. Und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1983); Luigi Monga, "A Bibliography of Renaissance Hodoeporics (1500-1700)," *Annali d'italianistica* 14 (1996): 645-662.

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

8   Cornelis Koeman and Marco van Egmond, "Surveying and Official Mapping in the Low Countries, 1500 – ca. 1670," in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1246-95; Jordan Branch, "Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change." *International Organization* 65, no.1 (2011): 1-36; Monique Pelletier, "The Cordiform World Maps by Oronce Fine," *Cartographica Helvetica* 12 (1995): 27–37; David Buisseret, "Spanish Peninsular Cartography, 1500 –1700," in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1069–94; Christine R. Johnson, "Renaissance German Cosmographers and the naming of America," *Past and Present* 191 (2006): 3-43.

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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 in which the depicted sources were created, disseminated and made their impact.

While dealing with geographical and ethnological conceptions one should also 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, political situation, religious agenda and often not that much upon the physical objectivity of the described phenomena.[11]

The formation of strong imagined conceptions, cultural prejudice and mental constructs in Western Europe during the period of Enlightenment that finally led to the contemporary idea of Eastern and Western Europe has been analyzed by Larry Wolff, for example.[12] The role of mental constructs dating back to the period of Enlightenment and crucial for the ideas of nationalism and the national state building were discussed by Benedict Anderson.[13] In this respect, it is quite interesting to analyze a number of available sources from previous periods and see what kind of ideas were expressed by Western European authors concerning other, less familiar areas of the known world. It is quite possible that the roots of the ideas that are believed to be born during the Enlightenment go deeper to the

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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.

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

12 Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

13 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991); See also the "imaginative geography" in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), passim.

previous historical periods.

The present research is an attempt to depict and visually present the main composite elements in contemporary textual images of Eastern Europe, that is, Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy, to trace the dynamics of the created images through the fifteenth - first half of the sixteenth centuries. I will also involve illustrations and maps that accompany the textual sources for a better understanding of the image-making process for these lands.

1.1   Chronological and geographical frameworks

Before discussing the chronological limits of the present research, let us consider the main tendencies of the era, decisive for the issues of European expansion, traveling, interest in other lands, contacts and missionary work. 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 its expansion activity and interest in other lands.[14]

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 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 affected European exploration activities in the eastern direction and caused their significant drop. Although, 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

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

shifted its emphasis" to West and South.[15] 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 the new age of expansion and discovery.[16]

Taking into consideration the above mentioned processes of the preceding period, I am interested to explore the images of the depicted lands in the eastern part of the European continent as created in the fifteenth - first half of the sixteenth centuries, the period when the European exploration activity experienced a new period of activation and started turning its emphasis and its vector from East to West and South.

In any case, it is always hard to talk about strict historical frameworks. The chosen period was the time when Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy represented three relatively separate political entities. Between 1385 and 1569 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. In the mentioned period they were also being described separately in the involved sources.

As for the lands beyond Poland and Lithuania, this was the period when the Golden Horde and its heirs start losing their geopolitical positions in the east of Europe.[17] A new state body, namely, the Grand Duchy of Moscow grew there 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 contacts 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 an increasing interest to Muscovy from Europeans. Through the sixteenth

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

16 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.

17 Christopher Pratt Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), 480.

century, contacts of various kinds became more and more intensive.

Muscovy gained significant influence upon the political situation in the East of Europe and became the main player in the region through the research period. The end point of my research period is the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1547 Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) adopted the title of the "Tsar of All the Russians". The new title was also used by his successors. From mid-sixteenth century and henceforth Muscovy 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.

The chronological framework of the research, that is, from fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century, was chosen for the following main reasons:

> ➢ In this period the lands of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy existed and were described as three separate entities. After 1569 Poland and Lithuania formed one state. Respectively, one would talk not about three, but about two state bodies since then.

> ➢ The fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century were the time when the Muscovite Duchy became the main power in its area and started being "discovered" by Western Europeans. From mid-sixteenth century it changed its political status from Duchy to Tsardom. Thus, mid-sixteenth century is considered a closing chronological limit for Muscovy in the context of the present research as well.

The geographical edges of the Latin Medieval world were usually associated with the east and north.[18] The geographical frameworks of the present research refer to the area towards the eastern edge of the Latin Medieval world and beyond. The textual images of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy as described in encyclopedic works and travel accounts, as well as maps and illustrations that accompany

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18   Gerhard Jaritz and Juhan Kreem (eds.), *The Edges of the Medieval World* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009), passim.

them will be in our focus. Poland, Lithuania, and Muscovy (Moscovia when citing the sources) are the source terms and correspond to the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Moscow, respectively (see figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in 1472 https://imgur.com/gallery/tcoEv detail; accessed November 10, 2020)

By Western representations I define images of these lands as created by authors coming from France, Italy, and the German lands mainly. These authors had much in common: most of them received university education; they followed the same authorities in their field of writing; most of 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 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.[19] Ecclesiastically, it was in the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church.[20] 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.

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was also familiar in the west by the fifteenth century. The emergence of its image and descriptions mainly goes back to the thirteenth century, the time when the Lithuanian pagans became familiar to Europeans through the expansion of the crusades and missionary work in the eastern Baltic region.[21] Lithuania had contacts with its Western neighbors: Poland,[22] Livonia, and also with other European courts.[23] 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 distinct religious, political and cultural impulses.

The Grand Duchy of Moscow in the east of Europe and its center in Moscow, possessed different political and institutional structures in comparison to those existing in the West. It also had a different religion. As a result, also its culture differed a lot from the ones to be found in other parts of Europe. Starting from the fifteenth century, Muscovy constantly grew in its power and influence. Af-

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19   Patrice M. Dabrowski, *The First Thousand Years* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014).

20   Jerzy Kloczowski, *History of Polish Christianity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 1-84.

21   Stephen Christopher 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).

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

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

ter the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453 the duchy of Muscovy acquired the leadership of the Orthodox Christian church. The highlighted factors impacted the number, content and quantity of such sources like travel accounts, reports, and encyclopedic compilations about these lands. In spite of the fact that Western societies possessed information about this area from the times of the Kievan Rus' and the Tartar and Mongol domination in the region thanks to diplomatic affairs, economic contacts, dynastic marriages, and political relations,[24] the depicted period was the time when new information about these remote eastern peripheries of Europe was introduced in large amount.

Many of the things that authors saw and described, or copied, or interpreted were out of their previous experiences and were difficult to understand. This could result in "fantastic" descriptions, in various generalizations and stereotypes. It is also expected that the farther the described land was situated from the places of origin of the authors or from Western centers, the more detailed descriptions would be produced. Thus, speaking in terms of the geographical limits, the eastern lands of Europe have been chosen for the present investigation mainly for the following reasons:

➢ The lands of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy comprise a contiguous and continuous area in the context of the research. They may represent a gradual shift from familiar to less familiar and 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 some considered sojourners from Western Europe, the destination point

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24 See: Donald Ostrowski, Christian Raffensperger eds., *Portraits of Medieval Eastern Europe, 900–1400* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Raffensperger "Reimagining Europe: An Outsider Looks at the Medieval East-West Divide" in *Medieval Networks in East Central Europe: Commerce, Contacts, Communication,* eds. Balázs Nagy, Felicitas Schmieder and András Vadas (New York: Routledge, 2018), 9-24; Vera I. Matuzova *Anglijskie srednevekovye istochniki IX-XII vv.: Teksty, perevod, kommentarii* [English Medieval Sources of the IX-XII Centuries: Texts, Translation, Comments] (Moscow: Nauka, 1979); Friedrich von Adelung, *Kritisch-Literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700,* 2 vols. (St Petersburg, 1846).

was Muscovy or the lands beyond it. Those travelers would have had to pass through all the three countries along the way. As far as the depicted lands represented different cultures, one 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 as well.

➢ 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.[25] However, this kind of dualism may not have been as intensively applied to each of these lands. Poland may have been less strange for the Western travelers because the gap in culture, politics, religion, etc. was not that big. Lithuania was already different, and Muscovy was totally different. This gradual transition from "us" to "them" was partly connected to ideas about moving, about space and distance. The lands of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy represented to authors growing distances and, by that, might have implied growing differences in culture, something which I am also planning to analyse.

Distance was usually connected with danger and the unknown. Partly because of these ideas, Muscovy was often associated with Asia in written and cartographic sources from the beginning of the sixteenth century.[26] Asia historically called forth feelings of danger, disgust, dread, distrust and even hatred in contemporary European mentalities. The mental constructs for Europe and Asia were built around the ideas of shared religion, morals, politics, etc. Muscovy did not correspond to the European "requirements;" it looked partly European, partly

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

26 Ekkehard Klug, "Das "asiatische" Russland. Über die Entstehung eines europäischen Vorurteils." *Historische Zeitschrift* 245 (1987): 265-289; Alexander Filiushkin, "Kak Rossiya stala dlya Europy 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).

Asian. This was not the case in the previous periods of history, although. The lands of Rus' did not call forth such strong associations of being unknown and separate for Europeans before.[27] Muscovy was different in this respect.

1.2   Secondary literature

The sources that will be involved in this investigation have long been considered as subjects for historical analysis. Out of the three lands in this study, Muscovy, has been investigated in terms of foreign descriptions the most intensively since the nineteenth century. Scholarly literature on or about its foreign descriptions of different kinds can be classified into several types. These are the bibliographic editions or catalogs of foreign accounts, thematic monographs, editions and translations of the texts themselves, and individual studies of one or several accounts. The literature is vast and it can hardly be discussed in several pages. I will refer to the analytic bibliography collections of primary sources and secondary literature on them which offer solid knowledge on the subject.[28] Poland has also been investigated in terms of Western European accounts and descriptions in regional historiography.[29]

Not so much research has been carried out on foreign descriptions 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 short review by Valiantsin Grytskevich and Adam Maldis.[30] In

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27   Christian Raffensperger, "The Place of Rus' in Medieval Europe." *History Compass* 12/11 (2014): 853-865.

28   The earliest and still authoritative one is by Adelung, *Kritisch-Literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700*; Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy*; the most recent and one of the most detailed reference books on the subject is by Piotr D. Malygin, *Zapadnoevropeiskie avtory XV - XVII vv. o Rossii* [Western European Authors of the XV-XVII Centuries about Russia] (Moscow: IA RAN, 2018).

29   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).

30   Valiantsin Grytskevich and Adam Maldis, *Shliahi viali praz Belarus* [The routes led through

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.[31]

Also, just several works on the subject come from Lithuanian historiography. These are compilations of sources, organized on thematic basis.[32] The source edition by Norbertas Velius may be mentioned too.[33]

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 local historiographies. They are also written in the 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.[34] It is hard to make a more specific reference to them, as I was not able to trace them published.

Belarus] (Minsk: Mastatskaja Litaratura, 1980).

31 Paula Urban, *Da pytannia etnichnaj prynaleznastsi starazytnyh Litsvinow* [On the matter of ethnicity of the Old Lithuanians] (Minsk: Batskaushchyna, 1994); eadem, *Starazytnyja Litsviny: Mova, pahodzanne, etnichnaja prynaleznast* [The Old Lithuanians: language, origins, ethnicity] (Minsk: Tehnalogija, 2003).

32 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: Mokslas, 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).

33 *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).

34 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 https://history.arizona.edu/sites/history.arizona.edu/files/CV%20Brief%202011-2019%20Milliman%20UA%20Form.pdf (accessed 11 May, 2020).

1.3   Research aims

The major interest and research aim of this project is to analyze in what ways and with which means the consulted authors represented Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy and composed their images, in other words, what themes/topics were considered important for creating the textual images of our lands, how the 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 that 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 on world geography and cosmography, are parts of a larger structure, they have their own function, their own utility and place in the universal picture of the world. Meaning, it is expected that the images of the parts should carry and reflect the elements of a larger structure. Besides, I will seek to demonstrate that this structure of general works affected the content of the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy, as its component elements and, in some cases, it found its reflection in travel accounts and visual representations of some learned authors.

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 Muscovy that, most probably, were not observed before.

The computational visualizations are expected to be a handy tool to demonstrate the gradual shift from familiar to unfamiliar based on the example of the selected lands. The obtained topics and the main terms are supposed to show the ways this shifting was communicated in the sources. No studies of such comparative character and methodological approach have been attempted until now in application to the selected 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, to better understand the existing cultural convictions. Tracing certain patterns and the main composite elements 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 in the outlined period. Analyzing the images and maps that accompany the textual sources aims to observe the variety of visual image-making strategies for Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy.

1.4   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?

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

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

➤ Using existing translations and translating the Latin texts into English where necessary. This is done for one practical reason, namely, certain digital tools are better developed for English and not so 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 Muscovy.

➤ Applying computational quantification and tracing the thematic distribution in the images of the three countries; for example, what kind of representation 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. This will give visual ground for the final comparison.

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?

I will also concentrate on the questions:

➢ What is the utility of the component parts in the textual images of the depicted lands concerning structure of the selected works on world geography and cosmography?

➢ 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?

➢ In what terms did the authors communicate geographical, political, social, religious and other kinds of borders?

➢ Can we talk about pre-existing patterns of thought, common for common for the considered authors?

➢ What information can images and cartographic data provide?

➢ What is the context and the utility of the illustrations and woodcuts in the texts?

To answer these more specific questions I will:

➢ analyze the above-mentioned textual sources about Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy 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;

➤ trace 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 area within the analysis in order to see where
and how 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.

1.5   Expected results and importance

The proposed research aims to contribute to the study of contextualizing of Poland,
Lithuania and Muscovy in the geographical and ethnological writings and cartog-
raphy of the Latin learned world in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth
centuries. As it was mentioned before, 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.

The main innovation of the proposed research is in its methodological ap-
proach. This project is an attempt to apply computational tools to the textual
entries on eastern European lands in general works on world geography and cos-
mography and travel accounts from the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth
centuries in order to open new aspects with regard to their images as well as their
image making strategies. This is the first time when methods of visual text analy-
sis 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 known world. This agenda influenced the images of the depicted lands and could have been transmitted and borrowed further.

Computational tools are expected to be rather effective for such kind of investigations and the results may be better introduced and demonstrated with the help of different types of visualizations. The innovation of the proposed investigation is also in its approach where the images of the three countries will be considered comparatively through the research period. This has not been previously done.

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.

Sources and methodology

2.1 Sources

The main sources involved in the present research are the textual descriptions, containing pictorial images and maps of the investigated area. These representations reflect contemporary constitutive elements of socially constructed ideas about Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy. As it was mentioned above, most of the authors considered in this work were influenced by previous tradition of geographical representation of the world.[35] At the same time they provided their readers with new information about the area. It is worth to mention two significant ancient authorities, whose ideas and approaches to world representation were followed and developed in the defined research period. Those were Ptolemy and Strabo. Ptolemy offered a set of mathematical principles for mapping a spherical world in two dimensions. For him, the descriptive product of geographical knowledge was the map.[36] The legacy of Strabo, *Geography* or *Geographica*, was a multi-volume work that did not contain maps and 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 informa-

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35 For developing tradition of geographic representations of the world and history of geographic ideas see, Geoffrey J. Martin, *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

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

tion on geography, flora and fauna, ethnology, peoples, their social organization, history, habits and culture, strange, marvellous and unusual things in different places.

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 rich descriptive material, providing diverse information about the mentioned societies. 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, particularly, in such a detailed way as the foreign visitors did it. Of course, many factors impacted the authors and, finally, their texts: a lack of knowledge of local languages; cultural, religious, political prejudices; borrowings and copying from earlier texts; the purpose of writing and, not to forget, the intellectual, social and economic background of the authors. All these factors will be taken into consideration.

I am interested in the following types of sources:

➢ **World chronicles, geographies and cosmographies.** These works contain contemporary "encyclopedic" information about the "known" world in general, or about a particular region. They are synthesized, reasoned descriptions of the universe 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 Muscovy. Such sources have a single author, but provide information on multiple countries, facilitating comparisons.

➢ **Diplomatic reports**. I am particularly interested in the documents gener-

ated 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.

➢ **Cartographic data:** maps from the textual sources.

➢ **Pictorial images and illustrations:** illustrations and woodcuts that accom-
pany the textual sources.

Most of the sources that finally formed the bases of this research were pub-
lished within the framework of the specified period. The fact that the work was
published may indicate that it was of contemporary interest, widely dissemi-
nated, read and became "popular," 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 appeared, but were not published during the investigated
period will not be considered as "less important." Probably, they were less influ-
ential, but they are equally valuable in the context of the present research and will
equally be used for the critical and comparative analysis.

The following **encyclopedic collections** describing the known world and the
depicted area as its part were selected for the present investigation:

➢ *De Europa* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, 1458 [37]

➢ *Liber Chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel, 1493 [38]

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37 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Cosmographia Pii papae in Asiae et Europae eleganti descriptione ...*, ed.
Geoffroy Tory (Paris: Apud Collegium Plesseiacum, 1509); Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *De Eu-
ropa*, ed. Adrianus van Heck (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2001); Enea Silvio Pic-
colomini, *Europe (c. 1400-1458)*, trans. Robert Brown, introd. Nancy Bisaha (Washington: The
Catholic University of America Press, 2013).

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

➤ *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster, 1544 [39]

As a short introduction to this group of sources it is worth mentioning a few general things. The genre of medieval world cosmography, world geography, or world chronicle from the period is not easy to define, it is often hard to draw clear differences between them as well. These encyclopedic collections are fascinating sources that represent a fusion of contemporary knowledge and beliefs on world geography, cosmology, history, cartography, ethnology, flora and fauna, etc. These are the representations of the world and its parts 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. Schedel's and Münster's encyclopedic collections were lavishly decorated with images and maps. Those will be considered for discussing and analyzing the visual representations of the area.

The **diplomatic reports** are represented by the work of Sigismund von Herberstein.[40] This report was published in 1549, it represents a treatise on his diplomatic visits to Muscovy. Along with the notes of his personal experiences, he used many other sources of information concerning history, geography, politics, religion, trade and goods, morals and everyday life in Muscovy. This is the apogee

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39 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 principium genealogiae.* (Basel: Henrich Petri, 1552), https://daten.digitale- samm-lungen.de/0007/bsb00078496/images/index.html?id=00078496&groesser=&fip=xdsydeayaxseayasdasyztseayafsdrqrsxdsydewqxs&no=10&seite=1 (accessed 11 November, 2020).

40 Sigmund Freiherr von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii...* (Vienna: Aegidius Adler and Hans Kohl, 1549); Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii. Synoptische Edition der lateinischen und der deutschen Fassung letzter Hand Basel 1556 und Wien 1557*, ed. Hermann Beyer-Thoma (München: Osteuropa-Institut Regensburg, 2007); 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 Istoricheskoj Mysli, 2008).

source within the framework of the present research. It represents the most detailed Western description of the Muscovite Rus' from the selected period. When the work was published, it became a sensation. It represented the most profound monograph of its kind up to that point. It offered the first detailed and systematic presentation of the Muscovite 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.[41] It became the archetypal description of Muscovy. Almost all the later treatments of Muscovy 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. This work also contains a number of illustrations and maps that will be discussed along with the text.

The following **travel accounts** were selected and will be analysed in the present work:

➢ Gilbert de Lannoy, diary of his first trip to the eastern lands of Europe, 1413-1414.[42]

➢ Josafa Barbaro, diary of his diplomatic mission to Persia, 1473.[43]

➢ Ambrogio Contarini, diary of his diplomatic mission to Persia 1474-1477.[44]

The writings of these authors contain descriptions of their personal experiences. In this respect, they provide a different perspective and different represen-

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

42 Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et ambassades de messire Guillebert de Lannoy, 1399-1450* (Mons: Hoyois, 1840); Emelyanov V. "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.* 8/V. Kiev, 1873: 1-45.

43 Giosafat Barbaro, *Viaggi fatti da Venezia, alla Tana, in Persia, India, e Costantinopoli,...* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1543-1545); *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini,* trans. from the Italian by William Thomas and S.A. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873, reprint New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 1-103.

44 Ambrogio Contarini, *Viaggio al signor Usun Hassan re di Persia* (Venice: Annibale Fossi, 1487); *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini,* trans. from the Italian by William Thomas and S.A. Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873, reprint New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 106-173.

tations of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in comparison to the "bookish" encyclopedic images, for instance.

2.2   Encyclopedic descriptions and travel accounts as narratives

In order to apply similar methods of investigation to different textual sources in the present work I will consider these sources as narratives. Basically, a narrative can be defined as a story of connected events. New experiences about life and society are incorporated into the previous paradigms through such narratives. In this respect, the considered descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy reflect both: the existing paradigms about the world as well as new knowledge about it. Narratives were a powerful and one of the main means of transmitting, sharing and receiving knowledge.

Narrative analysis as approach within the social sciences has increased considerably since the 1990s. This is a widely interdisciplinary field, as a lot of different tools are applied.[45] There is no unified method or way for conducting narrative analysis. Nevertheless, there are several important aspects and 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 part of broader context, common culture, views, etc. This may shed light on why people from the same society broadcast similar ideas, use the same genre, rhetoric, etc. These will be the characteristics not just for individuals, but also for societies.

Second, 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 in the fo-

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

cus of interest are: who told the story, what were the conditions, who were the audience, etc.?

When considering the main 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 about peoples and regions. These are "stories" on who the people in different lands were, what the depicted lands looked like and how they were understood and described.

As for travel accounts, they are sources providing information on how individuals made sense of their experiences of visiting the studied geographical area. With the help of them, it is often possible to construct the narrative identity of the individual authors.

Thus, different kinds of narrative sources about Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy will be investigated to study their thematic, terminological and visual content. This content will offer the picture of contemporary cultural markers when 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. The visual as a tool of textual analysis has a characteristic of being an eloquent representation of the involved data. Its popularity is constantly growing in the social sciences.[46]

Based on narrative perspective, particular attention will be paid to:

➢ What is said: themes, topics, words.

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46 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).

➣ How it is said: comparisons, links, parallels.

➣ Case studies, comparison of and parallels between different descriptions and different groups of sources.

2.3 Maps and visual images as narratives

Maps and visual images are being considered as narratives too.[47] In this perspective maps are 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. 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, 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 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.[48] In this sense maps, geographic texts, exploration accounts, etc., are vitally interconnected; they influence and stimulate each other and represent different modes of telling spatiality.[49]

Thus, spatial descriptions, historical and ethnological references, settlement

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

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

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

insights, and many other aspects which are merging in textual images of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy, 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.[50]

As further developments, computational methods for literary or narrative cartography have been suggested and continue to be developed.[51]

2.4   Computer and the 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, 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 the methods of Computational Humanities for text analysis as its part are a rapidly developing field. However, there is a number of ongoing debates concerning different aspects in this area.[52] 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.[53] Besides, these approaches have proved to be effective, prompted and precise. They open new perspectives for humanities scholars, and

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

51   David Cooper, Christopher Donaldson and Patricia Murrieta-Flores, eds., *Literary Mapping in the Digital Age* (London: Routledge, 2016).

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

53   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.

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 gone by the humanities scholarship towards the digital turn. The author proposes solutions on further move of humanities to the open digital environment.[54]

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 termfrequency 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, tracing the evolution of the vocabulary and its 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 Muscovy 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.

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54   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.

2.5   Word clouds

Information visualization and automatic text analysis have increasingly become standard tools in the humanities.[55] 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 in 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.

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

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55   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* (London: Springer, 2009).

Wordle[56] is probably the most popular word cloud tool generator. It was created by Jonathan Feinberg, and it has many contributors.[57] It is very user friendly: basically one can just paste a text sample into its input area and create a word cloud.

TagCrowd[58] is also a web-based word cloud generator created by Daniel Steinbock.[59] 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.

2.6   Basic text analysis with Voyant

Voyant was chosen among other computational tools. It 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 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

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56 http://www.wordle.net (This page as well as the following ones in this chapter were accessed 11 November, 2020).

57 http://www.wordle.net/credits

58 http://tagcrowd.com

59 http://tagcrowd.com/patrons.html

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 in this research is quantification[60] 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, as I find it important to analyze why the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in this respect are often different in size. I want to illustrate this with the help of numbers and graphics.

2.7   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.**[61]

➤ **ABBYY Finereader.**[62]

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

61 https://acrobat.adobe.com/us/en/acrobat.html

62 https://www.abbyy.com/en-apac/finereader/

➤ **Tesseract**[63] that can be applied for many languages, even for less common, like Arabic or Vietnamese, and also Latin.[64]

➤ Google drive also offers OCR capabilities.[65]

➤ 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.[66] The Latin Optical Character Recognition is specifically developed to decode the peculiarities of historic fonts and characters used in printing from 1500 to 1800.

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63 https://github.com/tesseract-ocr

64 https://ryanfb.github.io/latinocr/

65 https://support.google.com/drive/answer/176692?co=GENIE.Platform%
    3DDesktop&hl=en

66 https://latinocr.org/

<div style="text-align:center">C H A P T E R   3</div>

Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in encyclopedias

3.1   The genre

Dealing with the European Late Medieval and Early Modern conceptions of the known world in the encyclopedic works is a rather challenging issue, meaning that one cannot speak in clear geographic, historical or ethnological terms while reading them. In these works, the above mentioned spheres were closely linked with each other and with further areas of belief and knowledge comprising the contemporary world view. As it was briefly mentioned before, the roots of the European Renaissance tradition of writing about other lands and about the world in general go back to the previous historical periods.[67] The main topographical data and the theoretical structure in the field of geography formulated by the ancient Greeks and Romans were thoroughly followed through the Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Renaissance. In the depicted research period, though, some of those ideas start to be questioned, argued and "corrected."

Angelo Cattaneo in his essay on the European Medieval and Renaissance Cosmography refers to main historical processes that inspired further developments

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[67] Duane W. Roller, *Ancient Geography: The Discovery of the World in Classical Greece and Rome* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015); Colin Adams, Ray Laurence, eds., *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001); Andrew H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-34.

in the image of the world and and in cartography in the depicted period.[68] 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.[69]

Analyzing these sources, I will be dealing not that much with the contemporary scope of geographical or ethnological knowledge about the depicted area 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 in what way this area was incorporated into the contemporary Western picture of the inhabited world.

I will pay attention to possible continuity and developments concerning the images of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy 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 in this period 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. This investigation will help to trace possible networks of knowledge as well.

I will also attempt to look after the mentioned impulses of the contemporary European agenda in the texts and the images of different lands in encyclopedias. I will try to find out whether the texts tell us about the existing search for new markets while speaking about Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy, which is one of the basic indicators for the emerging world market economy.[70]

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

69   *Ibid.*, 54.

70   Concerning trade and developing knowledge about the world see the work by Jerry Brot-

I expect that the computational visualizations for constitutive topics and frequent terms, which were important for the authors while writing about the depicted lands will offer wide possibilities to comparatively trace different kinds of information, patterns, characteristics, and networks. 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 is a way to find new insights concerning the images of the depicted lands, as well as concerning the image-making strategies in this group of sources.

A comparative approach is also used in order to trace how the conceptions about Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy 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 authors

Speaking about encyclopedias from the depicted period containing such a wide range of knowledge let us pay some attention to their learned authors.

The author of the earliest analyzed world descriptions, **Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini**, is well-known to researchers of 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.[71] He was born in Corsignano, 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 Emperor Frederick III and the Antipope Felix V. He went

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

71   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.

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[72] and Europe. Both books remained unfinished and they are often referred together as the *Cosmographia*, or more properly, *Historia rerum ubique gestarum locorumque descriptio*.[73] *De Europa*, which is important for the present investigation, remained uncompleted and was first published long after his death in 1509. 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 reference provided by Jerome of Prague. Piccolomini wrote about the Czech lands, Poland, Livonia, Prussia, Lithuania, and other contemporary European lands. Most of the Eastern European lands that he described he never visited in person. Among earlier authors, he relied upon, were also ancient Greeks and Romans: Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, Pompeius Trogus, and Apollodorus.[74]

The author of a famous World Chronicle, **Hartmann Schedel**, was born in 1440 in Nuremberg.[75] 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. He studied there medicine and received his doctorate in 1466. Schedel became a physician in 1472 and lived in 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 col-

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72   See the bibliographical review on editions of this work by Benedict Konrad Vollmann, "Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini as a Historiographer: Asia," in *Pius II — 'El Pìu Expeditivo Pontifice'*, ed. Z.R.W.M. von Martels and Arjo J. Vanderjagt (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 41-54.

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

74   *Ibid.*, 494.

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

lected manuscripts, early printed books and pieces of art. As an author he became famous to a big extent thanks to printing. He also 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.[76] He is mostly known for this work. It contributed a lot to the spread of geographic, ethnographic, and historical knowledge in Europe. [77] It was first published in 1493 in Latin in Nuremberg;[78] the same year a German translation by Georg Alt[79] appeared.[80] 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 thanks to more than 1800 woodcuts[81] done by two artists, Michael Wolgemuth and William Pleydenwurff, and to printing that made it widely available.

Sebastian Münster (1488-1552),[82] 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

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

77 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).

78 Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg: A. Koberger, 1493).

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

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

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

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

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 in his time. It contains a huge amount of detailed textual information together with several hundreds of woodcuts and town prospects.[83] One of its parts is dedicated to the area which is being investigated here, namely Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy. 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 influential books on geography and ethnology in the sixteenth century.

None of these authors traveled himself into the region under consideration, but the short references about their lives allow us to see that they were among the most learned representatives of their societies and time, experts in different fields like: geography, history, theology, cartography, and other. In order to create their descriptions of the world, they collected and compiled information from a variety of written sources as well as oral ones available to them thanks to their position and status. Their works gained wide popularity all around Europe and are still known as the most influential in the selected research period.

I argue that while approaching and analyzing the descriptions of the selected lands in these sources one should keep in mind that Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy are presented in them in the context of contemporary world cosmography, namely in relation to the rest of the inhabited world. This is applied to the references on their geography, history, politics, religion, climate, etc. They have their own place in the ordered description of the world. Piccolomini's *De Europa*

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

is the earliest source from this group, in which we may find entries on Poland and Lithuania. One also finds the descriptions of these two lands in Hartmann Schedel's work. The entry on Muscovy first appeared in the *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster along with neighboring Poland and Lithuania.

3.3 The issue of nature and culture

An important aspect I will be discussing while analyzing the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in encyclopedic collections, and also later with regard to other source corpora, is how much attention and space the authors paid to the descriptions of "nature" or natural environment in these lands in comparison to the themes of human culture there. This aspect that attracted my attention at first sight.

There are plenty of definitions for the term of "nature" in dictionaries.[84] Based on several of them and having in mind the specifics of the research, by "nature" I will be meaning 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, climate, etc.), 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.

The set of topics different to those dealing with nature I will unite under the notion of "culture." By "culture" I will understand textual references to 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, and any other manifestations of

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84 Based on *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."

human achievement or process of cultivating.[85]

At close reading of the sources one can immediately notice that there is certain dynamics of these themes concerning time and space. 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 "nature" and "culture" distribution in the texts. Focusing on the "nature" component in the descriptions of the eastern regions would indicate a kind of cultural pointing to the potential resource destinations or even colonization: to find new markets, new places to go and bring something from there, to move and settle down.

3.4 Poland in the encyclopedic references

While analyzing the selected documents on Poland in this part of the work the main focus will be put on their constitutive topics. The attention will also be paid to the frequent terms and the characteristics of the described phenomena, objects and personalities. It is interesting to see whether they are positive, or negative, and what developments can be observed in the image of Poland based on the selected sources.

3.4.1 Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini on Poland

Let us consider which information Piccolomini provided in his *Europe* for Poland.[86] First, he describes its location, saying that it is a "vast region, next to Silesia in the west and borders with the Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Prussians. The capital city of the kingdom is Krakow. It has a flourishing school of fine arts. Its bishop Zbigniew is notable for his literary erudition and charming personality. Piccolo-

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85 Based on *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."

86 Piccolomini, *Europe*, 138-141.

mini exchanged with him letters and in recognition of his singular merits, the Roman Church sent him a cardinal's red hat."[87]

The beginning of Piccolomini's entry on Poland concerning its location, its capital, the "flourishing" school of fine arts, the local bishop make it possible to assume the first lines as providing quite a positive image of Poland for Piccolomini's audiences. Such image sounded familiar to them: the capital of Poland had a university and its bishop corresponded to high standards being a learned and nice person.

Mentioning the University of Krakow is rather important for the image of the country. The university culture was an important element and attribute of the European societies.[88] Indicating it meant that Krakow belonged to the sphere of influence of European standards and values. At the same time this would indicate that in this sense Poland was at the edge of such culture, as there were no other universities to the east of it.

"Apart from Krakow, the cities of Poland are less than elegant. They build most of their houses out of wood and smear the majority with mud. The region is flat and forested. The national drink is beer, which is made of wheat and hops; the use of wine is very rare, and the cultivation of the vine is unknown. The land is fertile in grain. The people own much livestock and also devote much time to hunting wild animals. They eat a woodland horse which is similar to deer except for the horns. They also hunt wild cattle, which the ancients called aurochs. They abound in fish and fowl, but the land is lacking in silver and gold."[89]

Several topics can be defined here: towns, building materials, landscape, drinks, food, activities of people, animals and other natural goods. The reference about towns in Poland does not present them in favorable terms. Except for the architecture one does not find other characteristics for urban settlements there. The

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87 ibid., 138.

88 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).

89 ibid., 138.

reference about prevailing wooden architecture in polish cities other than Krakow may be interpreted as an indication of lacking stone buildings, which were common attributes of urban status in Europe.

The description of the country being rich in different natural goods, wild animals, cattle, fertile for wheat and so on is quite attractive. People in Poland had beer to cheer up their mood, but they did not have wine which was familiar for an European reader. Such information also provided a positive and a kind of safe image for Poland as a place for living. The statement that Poland was poor in silver and gold indicates the limitations of its richness and resources.

Then he says that the Kingdom of Poland was divided into four parts and the king with his court was spending three months per year in each of them. During this period they were provided with everything necessary in each region. The rest is dedicated to the story of Grand Duke Jogaila of Lithuania (Wladyslaw) taking the throne by accepting Christian baptism, marrying Jadwiga, the queen of Poland, establishing the Jagiellonian dynasty and a short reference to his two sons who became kings after him.[90]

An extended reference to the political history of Poland is the largest topic in Piccolomini's description occupying about two thirds of the text. It is quite expected for a man of Church, who Piccolomini was, to pay attention to the particular figure of a Polish ruler, who came to power in that country more than half a century ago. Jogaila had been a heathen, a worshiper of idols before receiving the rule of the kingdom, but he agreed to accept baptism as a requirement for becoming king. It is remarkable how Piccolomini described Jogaila (Wladyslaw). "After his conversion to Christ, he proved himself a pious leader, attracting many Lithuanians to the Gospel, founding several pontifical churches, and treating the bishops with considerable honor. While he was out riding, he took off his cap and lowered his head whenever he saw church towers, in homage to the God who was worshiped within. He fought successfully against the Tartars who were harassing

90   Ibid., 139-141.

the frontiers of his kingdom. He defeated the Prussians in a great war..."[91]

Thereby, Piccolomini provided quite a positive image of a Christian ruler. Jogaila's baptism and his Christian mission was an important symbolical act of space appropriation from the European perspective. It indicated the possibility of further ecclesiastical and political integration of another country into European matters.[92] This was also considered as a kind of guarantee for future dialogue, for common language, common values and interests. An extended reference to the fact that Poland wanted a Christian king, and made Jogaila, who was a heathen 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 Jadwiga, the queen of Poland, to become king and a Catholic Christian was an important and decisive step for him as a ruler, but also for Lithuania.[93] 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. That would literary 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 of his pagan subjects Jogaila tried to neutralize the official ambitions of the Teutonic Order.[94]

In the end of the Piccolomini's text about Poland one finds the story of Jogaila's/Vladislav's II sons Wladyslaw and Casimir. After their father's death the power was divided between them: Wladyslaw received the throne of Poland and

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91   Piccolomini, *Europe*, 139.

92   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.

93   See the analytical article on the historical sources of the event by Stephen C. Rowell, "1386: The Marriage of Jogaila and Jadwiga Embodies the Union of Lithuania and Poland," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 11 (2006): 137–144.

94   Daniel Z. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 3-21.

Casimir obtained the dukedom of Lithuania. When Wladyslaw fell in combat with Turks, the Polish nobility tried to invite Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg, to become the new king. Frederick refused, because Casimir was the eligible heir to the throne. Piccolomini gives examples of two more similar cases when "duke Albert of Bavaria showed equal restraint with regard to Ladislas, the son of Albert, in refusing the kingdom of Bohemia when it was offered to him. Emperor Frederick, too, when he was invited by the Hungarians and Bohemians to succeed Ladislas, could never bring himself to listen, since it would jeopardize his cousin's rights."[95] Piccolomini concludes with the following statement: "This is a great glory of our age and a great credit to the German nation, though doubtless some attribute it less to fair mindedness than to indolence that anyone should eschew another's kingdom. For my part, I can only praise something that has all the appearance of rectitude."[96] The author praises the political dignity and nobleness of rules coming from Germany. Finally, Casimir was called to Krakow and peacefully took control of the kingdom.

If one takes the considered text for hundred per cent, then about five per cent of it are dedicated to the description of the land, its nature and natural resources, and its people's interactions with nature (hunting, fishing). The rest of the text is dedicated to the discussion of personalities, mentioning towns, building methods, and, finally, the political history of the country. Thus, in case of Poland, Piccolomini provided information that mainly represents the topics of "culture," like: social, political, economic, etc.

3.4.2   Hartmann Schedel's description of Poland

Hartmann Schedel copied large parts of Piccolomini's description of Poland. He shortened Piccolomini's entry, and cut off the references to nature in Poland, as well as the information about the food, drinks, activities of people and the nat-

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95   Piccolomini, *Europe*, 140.

96   Ibid., 140.

ural goods. Just the title to the entry is what he provided himself.[97] He calls Poland Sarmatia, using an ancient naming of the area. After the reference about the location of the country and its capital he continues with the passage on its political history, which is copied from Piccolomini without changes. Thus, this text is more or less exclusively dedicated to Poland's political history. It is not easy to interpret why he cut off Piccolomini's introductory part and kept only the information about the political culture in Poland, the story about the establishment of the Jagiellonian dynasty. It may look fine for an author who wrote a world chronicle to concentrate on political events. On the other hand, he provided information on nature in case of Lithuania as we will see later. It is also not easy to say why Hartmann Schedel did not refer to more recent historical events of his period concerning Poland in his description, but to those that started a century old. The text on Poland in Schedel's *Chronicle* lost its component on nature and became a hundred percent dedicated to the topics of culture.

3.4.3   Sebastian Münster on Poland

Sebastian Münster's text on Poland has a totally different content in comparison to the previous authors. 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).

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97   Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, folio CCLXXIX. `https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-INC-00000-A-00007-00002-00888/604` (Accessed 11 November, 2020).

Figure 3.1: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 887. Map of Poland

The text is structured and divided into a number of sections. The following main thematic components may be defined in this entry:

➢ 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's leadership to his successors and further generations

- ➤ How and when Poland became kingdom.

- ➤ About Casimir, the third king of Poland and his sons.

- ➤ The Kingdom of Poland reduced to a duchy.

- ➤ Bolesław the Curly, the Grand Duke of Poland.

- ➤ The Polish campaign against Prussians.

- ➤ The Duchy of Krakow as a subject of tossing between the leaders of Poland.

- ➤ The Duchy of Poland again raised to kingdom.

- ➤ Poland and Hungary under one rule.

- ➤ The infidel ruler of Lithuania arrived at Poland and became 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, the entry is dedicated to the political history of Poland starting from the legends about the very beginnings of the state till the latest events known to Münster. One finds a totally new image of Poland here in comparison to the previously considered cases. This is a short chronicle of Poland. One of the main sources for Münster was the chronicler and humanist Jan Długosz.[98] His *Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland* in 12 volumes were written in 1455–80 and first published in 1711–12 in style of humanistic historiography. Individuals and their influence on history, political events and problems described in

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[98] Ioannis Długossi, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII* (Leipzig: Gleditsch / Weidmann, 1712); Jan Długosz, *The Annals of Jan Długosz: An English Abridgement,* trans. Maurice Michael (Chichester: IM, 1997).

secular manner break with the Christian view of history and characterize the humanistic historiography and this entry on Poland. Data from the *History of Poland* by Wincenty Kadłubek, written between 1190 and 1208 and published in 1612 was also involved by Münster.[99]

Münster starts his description of Poland with a version of the founding myth for the Czechs, the Poles and the peoples of Rus'. This is a story about Lech, Czech and Rus. The Poles are descendants of legendary Lech. He founded the first Polish settlement and called it Gniezno, which means "nest." As for the name of the country, Münster says the following: "Alii uero dicunt Pole in Poloica lingua sonare planum, quia tota regio ipsa vasta et plana est..."[100] They have common language with the Slavs, Vandals, Bulgarians, Serbs, Dalmatians, Croats, Bosnians, Bohemians, Ruthenians, Lithuanians and Muscovites which is spoken in dialects. The country is cold and on that reason there is no wine and oil in it. This is compensated with good production and price for wheat, barley, and peas. It is abundant in livestock, meat, honey, milk, butter, wax, birds, fish and fruits. They bring aurochs, bisons, bulls, horses, and skins of every kind of living creatures to Gdansk port and sell and send to the westerners oxen, wax, oak wood, resin of various kinds, lead in the best of its kind, and salt of remarkable quality. There is iron and copper in some areas. They extract copper from stones in large amounts in the high Sarmatian mountains, which the locals call Tatra. They also have a lot of silver and gold found in mountains and rivers, but they are not easy to reach. Poland has amber at the shores of the Sarmatian sea. Pottery is made of soil. They have no sulfur mines and no natural baths in Poland.[101]

After few lines about the beginnings of Poland, the author discusses it from the point of view of economy, commerce and market ties mostly. There are no descriptions of its nature, landscape or climate as such. Mentioning that it is cold

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99 Vincentii Kadłubconis, *Historia Polonica* (Dobromyl: Ioannis Szelig, 1612).

100 "They say that "pole" in Polish means the plane, because the entire country is vast and flat." Münster *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 887.

101 Ibid., 887-888.

there, the Sarmatian mountains and the Sarmatian sea is done in the context of production, natural resources, and goods.

Münster continues his description with a story about another legendary leader of the Poles named Krakus, the story of his ingenious defeating a monster in the area of the Wawel Hill and the Vistula river, his building the Wawel castle and founding the city of Krakow named after him. Little by little it grew in size and was fortified with high walls, battlements and towers. Nowadays, it is surrounded by earthworks and ditches with water. The whole city is supplied with water. Other cities of the kingdom are not built of stone, big part of the country are swamps and forests. The country produces a lot of wheat and has good pastures for cattle and wild animals. It produces lead, salt and has honey in large amounts.[102]

Krakus left after him two sons, Krakus and Lech, and a daughter, Wanda. The two brothers died in result of a conflict concerning the throne, and Wanda became the queen. She did not have good fortune as well. She sacrificed herself to gods throwing herself from the bridge to the waters of Vistula. Since then, the river was often called after her name and the people who lived there Vandals. Vistula flows to the Baltic sea. There are other important rivers here, like the Chronus or Neman, Viadrus or Oder, Tyras or Dniester, Bug, Borysthenes or Dnieper.[103]

The considered opening sections of the entry on Poland contain references to its remote legendary history. At the same time, Münster added elements representing a contemporary description of this land, facts known at his time. Some pieces of information were repeated. This is a sign that he was using different sources, and those sources had common pieces of information about Poland. It looks like the country was known for certain goods to different providers of information used by Münster. Copying them resulted in repeating of information.

The following part of the entry is an overview of political history of the land.

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102 Ibid., 888-889.

103 Ibid., 889-890.

The legendary part of Polish history finishes by reference to the period when Poland's numerous duchies were not consolidated into one state and the rule of three more figures: Leszko I, Leszko II, and Leszko III is mentioned. After that, Sebastian Münster continues with the Piast dynasty. He discussed the rule of the first duke of the dynasty Mieszko and his alliance with the Bohemian Prince Boleslaus, his marriage with the Bohemian Princess Dobrawa in 965, his baptism, and his building churches. Bolesław, Mieszko's son, is referred to have been active in politics and ecclesiastical issues. He was crowned as first king of Poland, consolidated the country, and undertook successful military campaigns. Then one finds the story of the ecclesiastical and political conflict in Poland that finally let to its partition in to duchies. Consolidation of the duchies and restoration of the kingdom became possible in front of the threat to be conquered by different external powers. The last king of the Piast dynasty Casimir died and left his throne to his nephew Louis of Hungary. Louis tried to rule Poland with the help of his patrons, but the nobility of Poland did not really accept them. After Louis death his youngest daughter Jadwiga was crowned to the Polish thrown. The heathen duke of Lithuania Jogaila married Jadwiga, became king of Poland and was baptised with the name of Wladyslaw. He turned his people to Christian faith as well and built many churches in Lithuania and a cathedral in Vilno. He left two sons after him: Wladyslaw and Casimir. After his death his elder son Wladyslaw received the throne, but soon after he was killed in a battle against the Turks. His brother Casimir, who ruled Lithuania at that period, was invited to Krakow to succeed his brother in 1445. He had long rule, until 1492. Casimir's son and successor was John Albert who tried to military resist the Turks and Tartars. After his death in 1501, his brother, the Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander was elected king of Poland. He was succeeded by king Sigismund in 1506.

Thus, the main observation for the textual image of Poland in Münster's entry is that the descriptions of the land, its nature and everything related to that occupy minor space in it. Such mentioning corresponds to approximately 1.6 percent of

the text. They are also referred to connection with production or the usage of natural products, their commercial value and trade. For this reason, they can not be considered as being purely topics of nature, but also partly as topics of culture.

The various topics of human culture comprise the largest part of the entry. Poland is communicated to be gradually established, organized, ruled (see figures 3.2 and 3.3), Christianized (see figures 3.4 and 3.5), and integrated to European matters through the text and in its illustrations.

Figure 3.2: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 903. Polish nobles

Figure 3.3: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 904. King Sigismund

If considering the images of Poland in the three general encyclopedic works comparatively, it is possible to observe several common, but also different charac-

Figure 3.4: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 895. A monk

Figure 3.5: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 902. Baptism

teristics and tendencies. There was some general information about the country, peoples' customs and everyday life in Poland in Piccolomini's entry in the beginning of our period. These elements disappeared in the entry on Poland in Schedel's entry. In Münster's *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...* the text became of political, historical, and with some elements of economic content. But one finds two

woodcuts which keep remind the reader that Poland is (or at least was) exotic in some way. This is, on the one hand, the depiction of a monster which was killed by the legendary Prince Krakus before he founded Krakow (see figure 3.6).
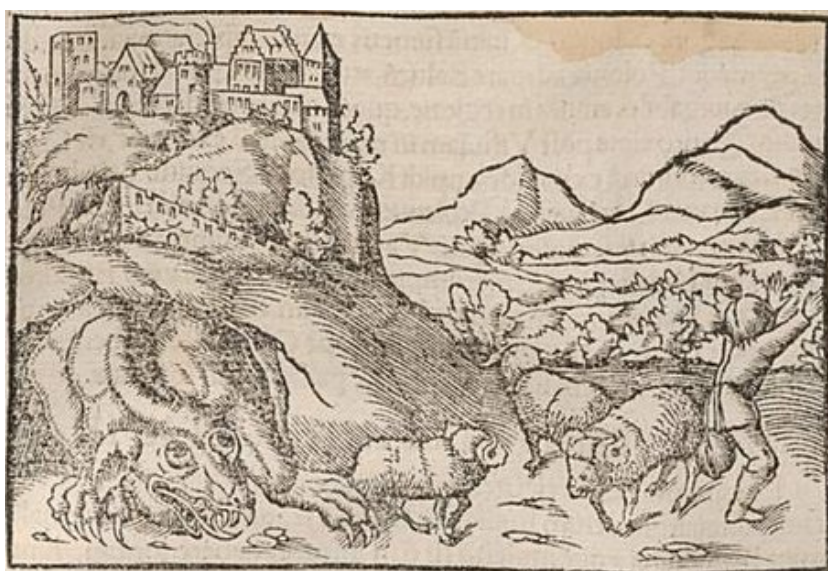
Figure 3.6: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 889. Krakow monster

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 3.7).
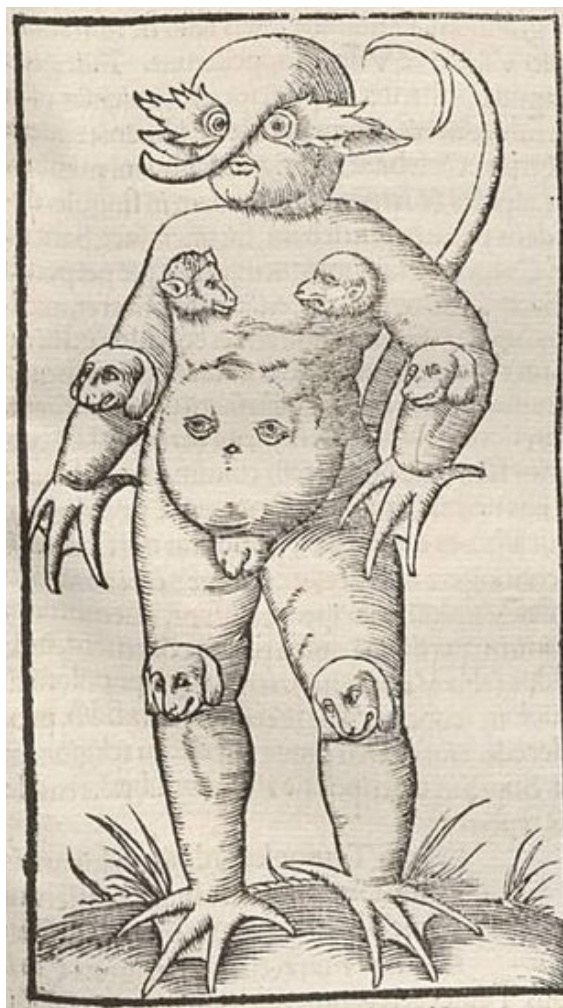
Figure 3.7: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 905. Monstrous Krakow child

The second image is totally out of the content of the description, Münster puts it in 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 possible to meet there monstrous and strange creatures. They are rare, but present in this land. However, from the beginning of the sixteenth century a trend to present and to discuss monstrous births generally appeared in European printed sources. Alan W. Bates monograph specifies theological, scientific, medical and philosophical impulses for this interest in Early Modern Europe.[104] This was the period when monstrous human beings, traditionally put behind the geographical borders of the known world, were conceptualized as present within its borders,

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

close to home. Münster was following the trend. Monstrosity could be interpreted through the connection with faith and lifestyle, as the result of influence of extreme climate, but also as a method to depict or communicate the strangeness of neighbors.[105]

Except of the above presented images of Poland, the Latin edition of Münster's *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...* 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, some of the images have exotic content, the rest of them communicate messages of "culture."

Poland is presented mostly in positive terms in Piccolomini's *Europe*. This positive message was transmitted to the later period through Schedel's *Lieber Chronicarum*. As for Münster's description, the country is referred to be rich in natural products and resources which are being sent and sold to Western countries. While speaking about the rulers he does not use direct characteristics, but emphasizes that they created the country, made it Christian, built churches, established bishoprics, made dynastic marriages, became recognized kings, and so on. Such stories are understandable and familiar for European readers.

3.4.4   Text visualizations for entries on Poland

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

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

helps to locate the main terms and topics within the text body and also shows to what extent the text is homogeneous.

In some cases, the automatically generated samples will be manually processed. Namely, I will sum up singulars and plurals of the same words, like king and kings, for example. They are one term and it is important to count them that way. Otherwise, the two forms of the same term would be automatically recognized as two different words, which is literary wrong.

The word cloud for the entry on Poland in Piccolomini's *Cosmographia* demonstrates that the main terminological content of the text includes the words: "king," "kingdom," "country," "Poland," "church," "duke," "Lithuania," "power," "people," "Casimir," the names of the kings and of the neighboring countries, etc. (see figure 3.8). This is the terminological image of Poland according Piccolomini. It is rather expressive and the country is recognizable in it through its main characteristics: Poland is a kingdom, having king and church and Lithuania as its closest neighbor and partner. The obtained text visualization reveals the story of a kingdom with its numerous attributes in other words. Most terms belong to the topics of culture, politics and social order or organization. The story of Polish-Lithuanian relations is also visible in terms like: "Poland," "Lithuania," "king," "duke," "Vladislav" and so on. At the same time, there are several, less frequent, terms depicting the nature part in the image of Piccolomini's Poland like: "oxen," "wheat," "hunt," "animals," and "wild."

Figure 3.8: Word cloud for Piccolomini's entry on Poland

The word trends visually show the usage of the most frequent terms through the text body and their location in it (see figure 3.9). As one may observe, the most frequent words: "king," "kingdom," "Vladislav," "Casimir," and "country" are distributed through the larger part of the text body. Just in the beginning of the text, where Piccolomini focused more on general information about the country: its nature, buildings, food, drinks, and other the mentioned trend is not observed. The central topic of state and the state power in this entry is reflected in the word trend visualization.

As far as Hartmann Schedel copied the description of Poland from Piccolomini, 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 topics of culture and politics got
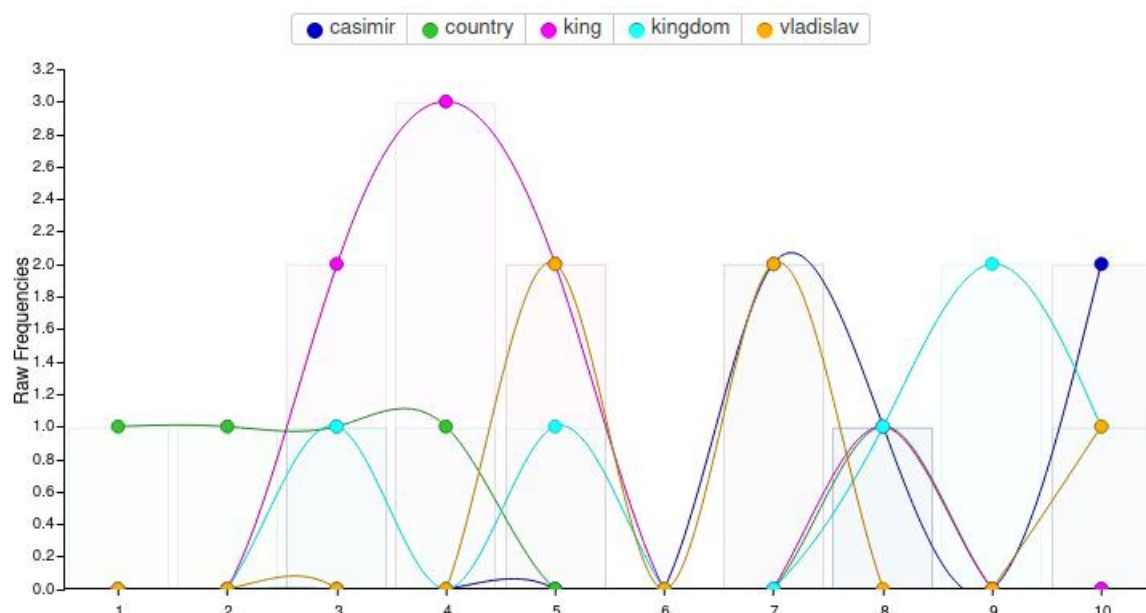
Figure 3.9: Word trends for Piccolomini's entry on Poland

stronger emphasis (see figures 3.8 and 3.10). The terms of nature are not present in the word cloud visualization of this entry. The state names demonstrate Poland's wide involvement into international political issues.

The distribution of the "strong" terms in the word trends visualization depicts a rather homogeneous text about the Polish kingdom and its Kings Vladislav II, Vladislav III and Casimir. The slight difference in the beginning of the two word trend visualizations by Piccolomini and by Schedel. It is explained by Piccolomini offering some general information on Poland in the beginning. Schedel did not copy it into his reference, which became noticeable in the word visualizations (see figures 3.9 and 3.11).

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 containing about 13,000 words. Thus, in order to make the visual analysis possible it was necessary either to translate the text into English, or to decode the 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.

Figure 3.10: Word cloud for Schedel's entry on Poland

Figure 3.11: Word trends for Schedel's entry on Poland
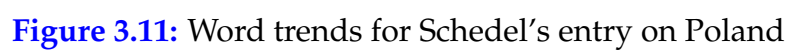
As already said, the visual text analysis tools are much better developed for modern languages, the best for English, probably. For Latin texts still additional manual interaction is necessary in order to receive a reliable result. Latin is a highly inflected language, as a result the same word with 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 words comprising the description the most frequently used were identified. 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 recognized them as the same 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 to approach rather big Latin texts for such kind of textual analysis.

As it was said before, Münster's text is almost totally dedicated to the political history of the country. The word cloud demonstrates the prevailing terminological content of the entry and highlights its important topics (see figure 3.12). The most frequent words describing Poland in this text in their vast majority represent the attributes of state and its political ranking. Among the most frequent are the following terms: "Poland," "kingdom," "king," "duke," "Krakow;" the names of the kings and dukes: Wladyslaw, Casimir, Boleslav; and the names of the neighboring states Lithuania, Bohemia, Prussia. The term "year" shows that there are many references to dates within the story, which is typical for texts on history, like this one by Münster. 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," "wife," and "brother" refer to the dynastic matters of the kingdom.

The visualization depicts the presence of both terms, "king" and "duke," in Münster's discussion of Poland. They refer to the history of development of the Polish state itself, its evolution from duchy to kingdom. At the same time, these terms belong to the vocabulary in the story of relations between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland, the story of their dynastic union, and the history of Jagiellonian dynasty. This is common for the entries on Poland in Piccolomini's and Schedel's works too.

Figure 3.12: Word cloud for Münster's entry on Poland

The word trends in this case show that the five strongest terms "duke," "king," "kingdom," "Poland," and "year" are used from the beginning to the end of the text (see figure 3.13). There is a short gap in the text body where the terms "kingdom" and "king" disappear for a while. This is the point where the story about Poland's losing its status of kingdom, descending to duchy and restoring that status again is located. In the last third of the text they all demonstrate growing intensity.

The terminological content word trends visualization reflects what was earlier said about the entry's content, which represents an extensive reference into the political history of Poland.
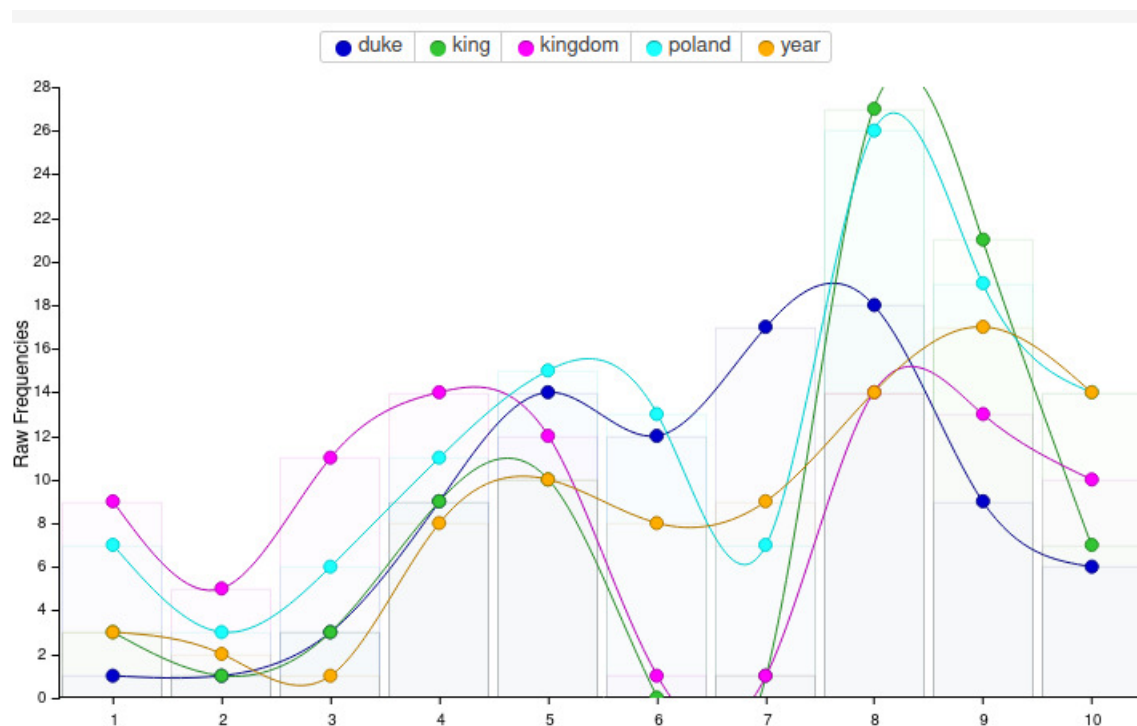
Figure 3.13: Word trends for Münster's entry on Poland

3.5   Lithuania in the encyclopedic references

General descriptions of Lithuania, known in Western Europe in 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.[106]   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

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

Baltic Crusades started and their impulses lasted until the fifteenth century, when the Teutonic Order was defeated in the Battle of Grunwald (also known as Battle of Žalgiris or Battle of Tannenberg) in 1410.[107] Besides the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who came to fight the pagans that refused to convert, many settlers of Germanic origin, 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.

The impressions by one of the missionaries, Jerome of Prague (c.1369-c.1440),[108] 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 larger 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 in the beginning of the thirteenth century.[109] 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 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 and history of the eastern Baltic region, one observes a connection between these sources.[110]

107 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. 2001); Alan V. Murray, *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, rev.ed. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate. 2001).

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

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

110 Alan V. Murray, *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, rev. ed. (Farnham: Ash-

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 Christian audience.

3.5.1 Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Hartmann Schedel on Lithuania

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 except for some parts. the extended descriptions of each cult. In Schedel's entry all Lithuanian cults are listed in the end of the text and it is said that "they were converted to Christianity by Jerome, a native of Prague, who at the time that the Hussite heresy originated fled from Bohemia to Poland, and received from Wladislaus, the Polish king, a letter of recommendation to Vitoldus, the Lithuanian prince, and rooted out the aforesaid heresies among the people."[111] This omission did not affect the general content of the entry in Schedel's *Chronicle*, but it moved its emphasis the cult descriptions. The two entries will be considered in parallel when dealing with the content of the entries, but text visualizations for these two entries will be generated separately. Let us consider the content of the entry by Piccolomini and pick up the descriptions of nature in Lithuania first. The text starts from the note on the location of the country concerning the neighboring Poland. It is said that "it adjoins Poland in the east and is almost entirely covered in bogs and forests."[112]

It is difficult to reach Lithuania in summertime, when almost the whole area is

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gate, 2009), 141-168.

111 Schedel *Liber chronicarum*, folio CCLXXX verso.

112 Piccolomini, *Europe*, 141.

surrounded with marshy waters. Winter provides access across the frozen lakes. Merchants travel over the ice and snow carrying several days' provisions in their vehicles. There is no well-defined road, and, as at sea, one steers one's way by the course of the stars. Towns are scarce among the Lithuanians, and farms not numerous.[113]

The following topic in Piccolomini's description is dedicated to the images of two rulers in Lithuania. To site this reference is the best way to communicate the author's style and concerns. "The leader of this land was Vytautus, the brother of Wladyslaw II, who abandoned the cult of many gods and received the sacrament of Christ along with the throne of Poland. The name of Vytautus was great in his own time. His subjects feared him so much that, if ordered to hang themselves, they would rather obey than incur their ruler's wrath. Those who resisted his rule he sewed inside a bear skin and threw to living bears, which were kept for this very purpose, to be torn to pieces; he also inflicted other cruel tortures. While riding on horseback, he always kept his bow drawn. If he saw anyone walking in a way that displeased him, he shot him down then and there. This bloodthirsty butcher also destroyed many men for amusement. In order that there should be a clear facial distinction between the people and their ruler, he ordered everyone to shave their beards. When that was unsuccessful (for a Lithuanian would more readily endure the loss of his neck than his beard), he himself appeared in public with a shaven chin and head and threatened capital punishment for any of his subjects who removed the hair from his face or head. Named king of the Lithuanians by Emperor Sigismund, he died before the ambassadors who were bringing the crown arrived to meet him.

His successor, Svitrigaila, kept a bear which used to take bread from his hands and often wandered into the woods; when it re- turned, all the doors leading to the prince's inner chamber were left open for it. There it would rub against the door and kick it when it was hungry, whereupon the prince would open the

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113 Ibid., 142.

door and offer it food. Some young nobles conspired against the prince and, after arming themselves, rubbed against the door of his bedchamber in imitation of the bear. Svitrigaila thought it was the bear and opened the door, whereupon he was stabbed on the spot by the ambushers and killed." The governance of the country then passed to Casimir."[114]

As one may see, the description of Lithuania both as a place for living, but also as a ruled state does not produce a nice and positive picture. It is hard to travel there. The offered images of two Lithuanian rulers sound more than terrifying. It may be supposed that such an image would make an impression of a rather different, hostile and not friendly remote land according to European standards. To be more precise, Vitovt was Wladyslaw's II/Jogaila's cousin, not brother.

Then one finds that their wealth consists chiefly of the skins of animals known as "sable" and "ermine." The use of money is unknown, its place being taken by skins. The country is rich in honey, wax, wild animals, furs and fish. The use of wine is very rare and their bread is deep black. Cattle provide their sustenance, and they consume an abundance of milk.[115]

The author refers to the morals in Lithuania as common on the one hand, but strange and exotic on the other. Piccolomini says that women in Lithuania are allowed by their husbands to have lovers, who were called "matrimonial assistants." At the same time, for men, it is shameful to take a mistress in addition to one's legitimate spouse. However, marriages are easily dissolved by mutual consent, and they marry again and again.[116] 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 and that wives were allowed to have lovers. The language is said to be Slavic, but it is mentioned that they also had their own language.

The statement concerning the language demonstrates that Piccolomini is writ-

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114 Ibid., 141-142.

115 Ibid., 143.

116 Ibid.

ing about Lithuania as a state, not an ethnic Lithuanian area, where they spoke Lithuanian. Slavic was the official language in the Great Duchy of Lithuania.

The longest part of the text that follows conveys Jerome's of Prague witness about his preaching and fighting those who venerated idols in Lithuania follows after. The story represents a colorful reference to the traditions of worshiping snakes, sacred fire and sun, sacred trees and forests found among the Lithuanians. It describes Jerome's attempts to preach and destroy those "sacred places and objects" and, finally, his leaving the country without success to convert those people to Christianity.

Let us shortly consider these references. He says that the first Lithuanians whom he encountered worshiped snakes. Each head of the household kept his own snake, lying on hay in a corner of the house, to which he gave food and offered sacrifice. Jerome ordered all these to be killed, brought to the marketplace, and burned in public.[117]

Next, he discovered a tribe which worshiped a sacred fire... After convincing the populace, Jerome destroyed the temple, scattered the fire, and introduced Christian ways.[118]

Going further inland, he found another tribe which worshiped the sun and venerated, with remarkable devotion, an iron hammer of extraordinary size. When the priests were asked about the meaning of this cult, they replied that once upon a time the sun disappeared for several months because a mighty king had captured it and confined it in the dungeon of a strongly fortified tower. A giant had then come to the help of the sun and smashed the tower with a huge hammer, releasing the sun and restoring it to humanity... He explained that the sun and moon and stars are actually creations of almighty God, with which he adorned the heavens, bidding them shine with everlasting light for the benefit of mankind.[119]

Finally, he visited other people who worshiped a sacred wood; the taller a tree,

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117 Ibid., 144.

118 Ibid., 145.

119 Ibid.

the worthier of reverence they regarded it. He preached to this tribe for several days, revealing the sacraments of our faith, and finally ordered them to cut down the wood... Nobody wanted to do this, but after a while one man decided to cut the highest tree. Raising his ax, he aimed a great blow at the tree but struck his own shin and fell to the ground in a faint. Stunned by this, the surrounding throng began to weep and lament and to denounce Jerome for persuading them to violate the sacred dwelling of a god. Not a soul now dared to wield his blade. In response, Jerome asserted that illusions are conjured up by devils to bewitch the eyes of ordinary people and deceive them. He then ordered the man who had fallen wounded, in the way I described, to arise and showed that no part of his body had been injured. Whereupon he drove his blade into the tree and, with the help of the crowd, brought down its massive bulk with a great crash and leveled the whole grove.[120]

After all these thing, people addressed their Duke and asked him to protect their beliefs. They told him that they could not abandon their religion that they received from their forefathers. Vitovt feared his people's uprising. He ordered Jerome to stop his activity and leave the country. This way the description of Lithuania stops. The story about religious life in Lithuania was the most exotic element in its image. Probably because of that, the detailed description of different forms of idolatry is the longest topic in this entry.

The following historical reference may help to better understand the impact this entry was making upon the image of Lithuania among its readers. Part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Samogitia, remained non-Christian 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. Soon after, he initiated a campaign through Grand Duke Vitovt and baptized the remaining unchristian population of the country according to the Roman rite. Before that time, all attempts to convert the population of Samogitia in the Northern

120 Ibid., 145-146.

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.

By the fifteenth 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.

How could the extended information about venerating different objects of nature in Lithuania affect the European readers' image of Lithuania when reading Piccolomini and Schedel? Probably the message would be applied to Lithuania in general, and the 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 3.14). The colorful, detailed and extended portrayal of numerous cults and traditions could produce an impression that the country was not Christian as a whole.

As for the description of the 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

Figure 3.14: Schedel *Liber chronicarum*, folio CCC. Map of Europe, detail

Christian interpreters of the Genesis to understand that the author wanted to say 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.

The word count for Piccolomini's description of Lithuania showed about three and a half percent of the text dedicated to the topics of nature and the rest to different aspects of human activity, practice and culture. Nevertheless, the extended description of different cults in Lithuania centered on the objects of nature make it possible to consider the nature topic as being actually larger. I suppose that people worshiping objects of the natural world would be considered by the Western Europeans as lacking culture. Thus, in comparison to Poland, a larger part in Piccolomini's descriptions of Lithuania was dedicated to discussing the topics of nature.

As noted before, Hartmann Schedel shortened the entry by Piccolomini and copied it into his *Chronicle*. He omitted the reference concerning the travel conditions in Lithuania and the extended description of each traditional cult. In his entry, all Lithuanian cults are listed in the end of the text, just as in Piccolomini's text, but without their detail descriptions. Schedel called them heresies. The omissions did not affect the general content of the entry in Schedel's *Chronicle* in comparison to Piccolomini's text, but the emphasis in the image of Lithuania will supposedly be affected in text visualizations for Schedel's entry.

Schedel finalized his description of Lithuania by saying that "they were converted to Christianity by Jerome, a native of Prague, who at the time that the Hussite heresy originated fled from Bohemia to Poland. He received from Wladislaus, the Polish king, a letter of recommendation to Vitoldus, the Lithuanian prince, and rooted out the aforesaid heresies among the people."[121] The meaning of the ending sentences is also changed by Schedel. Piccolomini wrote that Jerome fought against different cults around Lithuania, but people required from their duke to stop Jerome and send him out of their country in the end, because they could not abandon their religion that they received from their forefathers. Schedel did not say in the end that Jerome had to leave Lithuania, because its people wanted to keep their old religion.

3.5.2   Lithuania by Sebastian Münster

Münster's description of Lithuania starts with an image of coat of arms of the Grand Duchy (see figure 3.15).

He was also influenced by Piccolomini's description, but he involved several pieces of new information, tried to explain the administrative division of this state, told about the main cities and rivers there, made comments concerning the languages spoken in Lithuania, about its religions, and so on. He structured his entry dividing the information into four sections:

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121 Schedel *Liber chronicarum*, folio CCLXXX.

Figure 3.15: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 906. Coat of arms in Lithuania

➢ 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 concerning the researched area are listed in his work as following: Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia, About some cities in Lithuania, Ruthenia, Muscovy. From the text content it is possible to understand that the entries on *Lithuania*, *Samogitia*, *About some cities in Lithuania* and *Ruthenia* represent the same state.

The entry starts from general information on the location of Lithuania, its climate, wild nature and hardships of travelling there because it is covered with swamps and forests. Merchants travel there by compass or navigate by stars, as there are no roads. Lithuania has few cities and villages. The main wealth among the locals are livestock as well as skins of different animals, which are remarkably

abundant in the region. It is rich in wax and honey. The use of money is unknown among these people. Men allow their wives to have lovers, whom they call marriage aides. However, if a man has another woman besides his legal wife, this is considered reprehensible. They very easily break up the marriage with the consent of both and marry others. So, one nation lives in different fashion of morals than other. Wine is used very rare, their bread is very dark made from coarse flour...[122]

This introductory part of Münster's description of Lithuania has much in common in its content and in order of offered information with the above considered description by Piccolomini and Schedel. The country has numerous natural goods, but sounds rather wild, uncultivated and is hard to be accessed. It is also different in morals concerning the marriage. As in Poland, they do not have wine in Lithuania.

The capital of this country is Vilna, and there is also a bishopric there, and this city is as big as Krakow with its suburbs. However, not a single house stands next to the others, but all the houses have a garden and a courtyard between themselves, like in the villages.[123] Thus, the looks of the capital city does not differ from the one the villages have according to Sebastian Münster.

The text informs the reader that some part of the population in Lithuania conducts worship in Greek manner and speak the Slavic language. There is also a Tartar minority who follow the Mohammedan faith and speak the Tartar language. After that, Münster gives a short introduction to the political history and mentions several dukes of Lithuania. The central figure among them is of Jogaila, his becoming the king of Poland, his campaign among the infidels of Lithuania, his fighting and destroying the traditional cults and objects of veneration, converting the population to Christianity and founding a cathedral in Vilna in the place where the eternal venerated fire was burning previously.

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122 Münster *Cosmographia universalis...*, 906.

123 Ibid.

Then he continues with Samogitia. The land of Samogitia lies in the north, adjoins Lithuania, Prussia and Livonia, it is surrounded by forests and rivers and is a cold land. The people there are pretty and tall, but rude and fierce in their temper. They eat a small amount of food, drink water, occasionally beer or also a honey beverage "mead." Some time ago they did not know gold, silver, iron, or even wine. A man can have many wives, and if the father dies, then the son can take his step-mother, or the wife of his brother. They have poor, miserable houses made of wood, straw and dung, in the shape of an iron heap, and they have on top one large, wide window that gives light to the whole house. In the house there is the father of the family, his wife, children, servants, maids, livestock, grain and all home appliances. There they also maintain a fire, they sit around it and not only cook on it, but also defend themselves from the fierce cold, which reigns there for almost the whole year. The people there are inclined to magic, and among other things, they worship fire. After all, they believe that it is a sacred and eternal thing. It was kept on a high tower up the hill by a priest who constantly throws firewood in it. King Vladislav galloped to the tower in which the fire was kept, and extinguished it, and he ordered to cut down those trees in the forests that they worshiped. Because they believed that forest birds and wild animals were sacred there too.[124]

Thus, being a country in the north, Lithuania has difficult climate and natural conditions, people are not kind, houses are not comfortable. As for the worshiping fire, one may see that this is what was said generally for Lithuania as well and in more detail. Münster informs about other traditions in Samogitia as well. He says that they also had fire stoves in the forests, for each gender separately, on which they burned the dead with horses, saddles and with better clothes. They also put chairs there and put baked goods and cheese on them and poured mead into the oven, in their faith and stupidity, that the souls of the dead come at night and eat there. If King Vladislav subjugated the Samogitians regarding faith, he

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124 Ibid., 907.

ordered to baptize them all and founded a bishopric in Medniki.[125]

The chapter on cities in Lithuania does not offer descriptions of the towns. This is a kind of a textual map, where one finds information on distances between Vilna and such cities like: Novgorod, Pskov, Kiev, Krakow, Smolensk and some other in miles. The mentioned cities are reported together with their rivers. Short descriptions are provided for some cities. He repeats information on goods in Lithuania in the end of this chapter and tells about some strange habits there. He also provided an image for Lithuanian cities in the beginning of this chapter (see figure 3.16). The illustration does not have title, it is hard to know what city is depicted in it. One may just suppose that this is a capital of Lithuania Vilna/Vilno (Vilnius). Vilna is discussed in the beginning of the chapter, where the image is located. Münster says that Vilna is as big as Krakow with its suburbs. However, not a single house stands next to the others, but all the houses have a garden and a courtyard between themselves, like in the villages.[126]

Figure 3.16: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 908. A city in Lithuania

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125 Ibid.

126 Ibid., 908.

They have various mead in Lithuania, from which they even become drunk, but ordinary people drink water. The region has much different livestock and a lot of wild animals from large uninhabited places, and many forests where you can also find huge wild animals, such as ancient buffaloes and wild bulls, which they call bison, wild donkeys and horses, deers (see figure 3.17), goats, badgers, bears and others. In Lithuania there is even a bad habit among the strong, when they gather together in a tavern, they sit from morning to night and fill themselves more and more until they feel sick, and then they again start to eat. This habit is also common in the land of Muscovites and among the Tatars. Also in these parts there is an old custom that people are sold as livestock, and free people among the poor sell their children from poverty so that they receive enough food from their masters, no matter how rough it is.[127]

Figure 3.17: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 909. Deers in Lithuania

He continues with Ruthenia stating that Ruthenia, also named Podolia, was called Roxolania in the past. It lies behind Poland and adjoins to Moldavia and Wallachia in the south and has Muscovy in the east. This is a very fertile land and has a lot of honey. Therefore, here they only work the ground a little with a

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127 Ibid., 908.

plow and throw grain in it, and it gives a three-year harvest, but if you leave a little grain on the ground during grain harvesting, it will grow without any other cultivation. Bees collect their honey not only in their hives and empty hollow trees, but everywhere in rock caves, holes in the ground from which people make tasty mead and large wax circles.[128]

It is not clear from the description of Ruthenia in this chapter where it belonged to. It is mentioned in the part on *Lithuania* that at some point the Lithuanians conquered some Ruthenian lands and made them pay tribute. Actually, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania included the lands of Lithuania, Samogitia and Ruthenia in Münster's time. Lithuania kept most of those territorial possessions throughout the fifteenth century and possessed the largest territory in Europe. In the sixteenth century, it went through a number of wars with Muscovy and had to make large territorial concessions to it.

Münster writes that commerce is well developed and safe in Lemberg (Lviv). The bishopric there is reported to take care of the safety of the foreign merchants and their goods, giving them shelter and protection. People speak a 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 or with very little attempt. It is also involved into international commerce and market.

Münster's *map of Poland* depicts most of the cities, rivers and other toponyms mentioned in his entry concerning Lithuania (see figure 3.18). At the same time, *Littaw*, as it is visually perceived, does not correspond to its actual size in the considered period. Again, it gives an impression of a small area in the eastern Baltic region. The name of Ruthenia is not depicted in it. Thus, on the one hand,

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128 Ibid., 909.

Münster contributed and developed the previously existing image of Lithuania and the area in his work. On the other hand, his representation contained the old beliefs concerning Lithuania as well.

Figure 3.18: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 887. Map of Poland

The analysis of the references on Lithuania shows that the writings by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini were 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. This partly demonstrates 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 show that the authors did not want to change this image and the audiences might have wanted to continue reading about exotic things there.

A stereotypical picture of Lithuania concerning its religion 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 partner in 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 often mean the north-eastern ethnic Lithuanian area. With this, it is also possible to explain why the, in this period, large state of Lithuania was not properly depicted in maps, but as a small segment north-east of Poland (see figures 3.14 and 3.18). 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. The name of Poland 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 Muscovy. 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, its part Ruthenia particularly.

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-Lithianian union with the name Wladyslaw, 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.

As said, the considered 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 century. The main constitutive topics about Lithuania were copied from author to author and continued making im-

pact on its image, supporting the stereotype about the pagan religious beliefs and idolatry there. The second illustration in the entry on Lithuania in Münster's *Cosmographia* is a collective depiction of Lithuanian idols with an inscription "Idola Lithuanorum": sacred fire, sacred tree and a snake. This is a generalized pictorial representation for the country (see figure 3.19).

Figure 3.19: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 906. Idols in Lithuania

3.5.3 Text visualizations for entries on Lithuania

The computational visualization of the text by Piccolomini offers the following terminological content: "people," "Jerome," "sacred," "sun," "bear," "tree," "forests," "god," "prince," "cut," "used," "worshiped," "ordered," "Lithuanians," etc. The strongest term in this image is "people." It demonstrates a clearly different representation in comparison to Poland. The central term in this text is "people." The main story is about people, something is done by people and to people, something is happening with them. The word cloud offers a mixture of terms, belonging both to "nature" and "culture". The terms of nature are numerous. The main topic of idol-

atry and cults in Lithuania described in the text is visually present and important in the word cloud. It is visible in terms like "sacred," "worshiped," "god," "tree," "forest," "sun," "priests" (see figure 3.20). The terminological visualization of the text on Lithuania is probably not that "powerful" as the text itself, where the part on pagan cults comprised the central and larger exotic theme of the description. Nevertheless, frequent religious terms indicate that the main topic in its image was the one of religion. The verbs like "ordered," "cut," "worshiped," "called," "used" indicate activity and actions, not that much the descriptions of objects or things. The name of Jerome was repeated through the text more often than any other name. Thus, his mission was one of the most important and discussed topics in the text, it is visible in the visualization as well. The term "bear" is also a rather strong notion in the word cloud and it contributes to wilderness in the representation of Lithuania.

Figure 3.20: Word cloud for Piccolomini's entry on Lithuania

The word trends visualization indicates intensive dynamics of the main terms in the second part of the text. The words are repeated again and again. From the image one may see that the strong topic, involving the most frequent terms

and indicating the main story is intensified in the second part of the story. This is where the main discussion of the Lithuanian cults and Jerome's mission are located in the text body. This story is the most discussed, Jerome's actions are repeated concerning different cults in the description and it is reflected in the visualization (see figure 3.21).

In comparison to Poland, the word trends depict a totally different image in case of Lithuania. Its visual representation has different terminological and thematic content and emphasis. The main terms are not homogeneously distributed through the text body. An exotic representation of Lithuanian dukes and their power in these entries was shadowed by a more exotic topic of idolatry and traditional cults. Only the term "bear" in the word cloud visualization depicts the traces of the state power story in Lithuania.

Working with text visualizations is always more informative and convenient when this is done online. Each term trend can be inspected individually for all possible tendencies. A static screenshot of the visualization is not easy to be read at times, particularly when the strong terms are concentrated in the same parts of the text. This is the case with the present visualization of Piccolomini's entry on Lithuania.

The word cloud and the word trend visualizations for Schedel's entry on Lithuania (see figures 3.22 and 3.23) offer rather different terminological images for this land compared to Piccolomini, from whom the text was copied. Lithuania is recognizable in the visualizations in such strong terms like: "Lithuanians," "Lithuania," "heresy," "worshipped," "converted," "Vitovt," and other. In spite of the fact that the detailed descriptions of the heresies were not copied by Schedel from Piccolomini, the topic of religion is declared in it. After the above mentioned descriptions were dropped out by Schedel from the text, the following most important topic of bears was emphasized in both text visualizations. The term "bear" is repeated in the text and it is visually prevailing in this story. This exotic element is connected with the textual images of Lithuanian rulers. Cruel rulers, bears and
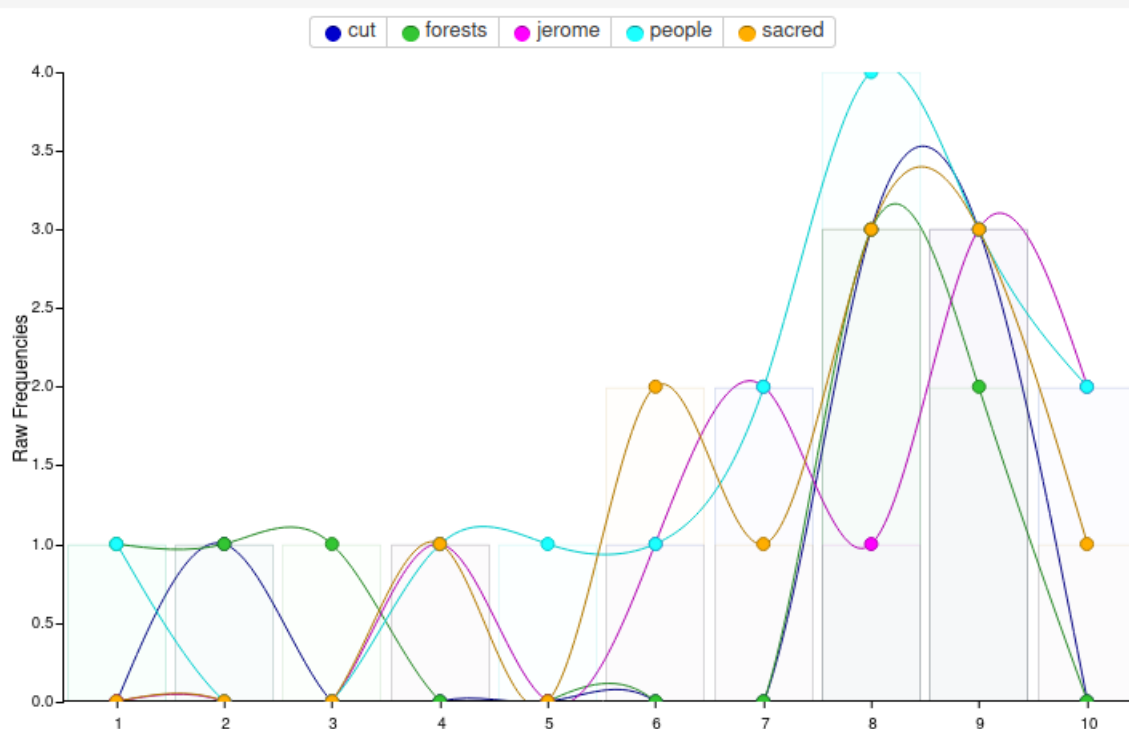
Figure 3.21: Word trends for Piccolomini's entry on Lithuania

heresy are the main topics in Schedel's description that would impress his readers, be memorized and characterize Lithuania. The same is attributed to Piccolomini's entry, but in that case, the topic of religion is much more emphasized thanks to its numerous details. The term "forests" is equally important for both authors. The terms "Lithuanians" and "people" important in the visualizations for Piccolomini's entry remain the same important in Schedel's version. The text speaks a lot about the Lithuanians and people in this country and less about its dukes and princes, which was not the case for Poland.

Münster's description of Lithuania demonstrates again the presence of both 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 the topics of "culture" and this category is visually prevailing here (see figure 3.24). The terms of "nature" like "river," "honey," "forests," "animals," "sea," "water," "wild," "livestock," and other are present in the image of Lithuania, but they

Figure 3.22: Word cloud for Schedel's entry on Lithuania

Figure 3.23: Word trends for Schedel's entry on Lithuania

are less in comparison to Piccolomini's text. A rather strong presence of a new

term "city" is observed in Münster's text. Previously observed presence of terms

belonging to the topic of religious practices 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 3.24: Word cloud for Münster's entry on Lithuania

The word trends visualization for this text shows, for example, that the term "Lithuania" is present in most parts of the text. Its intensity is visibly lower in the end, where the entry on Ruthenia is located, but it is present there as well (see figure 3.25). The different intensity of word trends shows that the text is not homogeneous and has different topics. The main terms are depicted, but at those points where the frequent terms become weaker, other topics are discussed. Quite

interesting is that the topic of state power does not appear in text visualizations for Lithuania in encyclopedias.
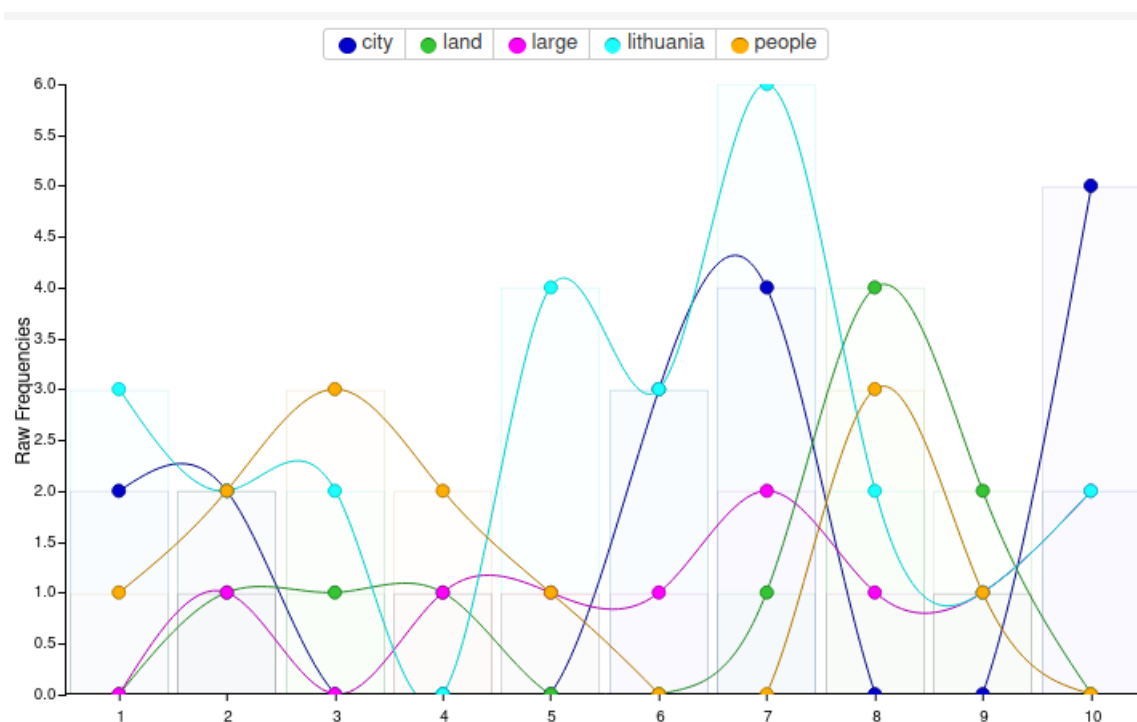
Figure 3.25: Word trends for Münster's entry on Lithuania

Frequent religious terms indicating the main topic in the entries by Piccolomini and Schedel are less observed in the text by Münster. This happened because Münster involved a larger number of themes into his description of Lithuania.

3.6   Muscovy in the Encyclopedic Works

As for Muscovy, 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 Muscovy 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 Muscovy among the important regions of this land. A description of Muscovy itself appeared in the textual image of the world 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 descrip-

tion 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 Muscovy[129] based on the letter's description. A large part of Münster's entry on Muscovy in *Cosmographia* was borrowed from this source. Among other main sources, from which Münster borrowed information was also Maciej Miechowita.[130] The interesting point about Münster is that, in comparison to Piccolomini and Schedel, he had a few already existing, printed pieces of information on Muscovy at his disposal. The origins of Münster's text on Muscovy 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 in his text.

3.6.1 Münster about Muscovy

In the first lines of his entry on Muscovy Münster says that this is a large country, in which the royal town is called Moscow. It is situated at the river having the same name. No one here uses silver. The title of king is hateful to people, therefore their ruler more willingly accepts the title of duke, which is more popular. The one who is ruling is called duke, he has power over all people of the country...

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

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

People are prone to lust as well as drinking, the last they consider worth to praise, the first is allowed unless it happens without any offense against the marriage. As for the utmost of the faith they are following the Greeks, by ceremony in worship and veneration of the saints. They practice agriculture in the town, plow with horses, the soil is extremely fertile except for wine. They drink beer boiled from millet, barley and hops, like almost all the north. This region raises different kinds of animals, big part of them is famous for the value of the skins, fish is also in big abundance there.[131]

From the depicted lines in the beginning of the entry one may see that Münster introduced Muscovy as a large and rich country, but its people do not follow good morals and the duke has power over all people there.

Now Muscovy is four hundred miles wide, rich in silver, strongly protected from everywhere, that not only foreigners but also indigenous can not enter or leave without a permission from the duke. The country is completely flat, not mountainous, yet woody, and for the most part marshy, watered by many notable rivers, like Occa, Volga, Dvina, Don and Dnieper, and for this reason it has very much fish as well as many different wild animals, like Lithuania, from which it does not differ that much, except that it is colder, because it is more to the North.[132]

As for the previously considered cases of Poland and Lithuania, one did not read anything about crossing there borders. In case of Muscovy, the reference is pretty clear and strong: there is a guided border around Muscovy and it is impossible to just cross it without a permission. This is a totally new element in the image of a considered area, it makes Muscovy different from the beginning. Besides, in case of Poland and Lithuania the title of king was present in their representations, but in case of Muscovy it is said that this title is hateful in that country. This is another element that makes this land different to European readers.

Moscow is the chief town of the region, twice as large as Prague in Bohemia, all

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131 Münster *Cosmographia universalis...*, 910-911.

132 Ibid., 911.

houses are built of wood, as well as other cities, has a lot of streets, but scattered with vast plains of land, lying in between, and the river Moscow divides it. A castle is located in the center of the town on the highest place. It has three defense walls and seventeen towers, so beautiful and strong that one can hardly find such elsewhere. At this place there are sixteen churches and three huge court buildings where the court nobles live. The palace, where the duke lives, is built in the Italian style, it is extremely beautiful, but not big. The wine and the olive oil are lacking. The leader of the country does not allow them to get drunk, he prohibited any kind of spirits under the punishment of being beheaded, with exception of two or three times a year when he permits them to consume such drink. They have now silver moneta (name of the coins), big and small, not round, but of the square shape and oblong. They speak Slavic language, although there are blends of foreign languages, so that one Slav and one Muscovite do not understand each other.[133]

Thus, the capital city is said to be beautiful. Münster again repeats about the habit of drinking in Muscovy. It is also seen as a problem by the rulers of the state, and it became necessary to prohibit it under the threat of persecution. After that, Münster continues his story with telling about the climate, products of agriculture, discusses numerous rivers and lakes which abound in fish, forests which abound in wild animals, bears in particular. He also tells about difficulties of travelling there as well as inside the country in winter, but also in other seasons.

A rather extended topic in his description is the one about bees, honey and bears. It is said that their largest income consists of honey and wax. The country abounds in bees that store honey in large amounts in their hives, but also in the holes of trees in forests. Very often they find hollow trees full of old honey abandoned by bees who found a new place to live and store their honey. Thus, people are not able to find all honey in forests. Sometimes, it is possible to find lakes of honey in dense woods. This prolific land really produces a lot of honey.

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133 Ibid.

The theme of honey is connected to the stories about bears. The bears of Muscovy are referred as being of extraordinary size, of dark color. He retells the story by Dmitry Gerasimov, a Russian ambassador to Rome about a bear who came to a tree to eat some honey. Before that a peasant fell into that tree hole and got stuck to his chest in honey. He could not get out from there for long. When a bear climbed down into the tree hole the peasant grabbed it and cried out loudly. The bear got scared and rushed out the tree hole pulling out the man.[134] After that he presented a long story by Pliny and Aristotle on bears giving birth to their babies and growing them during long cold winter. This story is followed with information about precious furs, as object of commerce, Furs are discussed at several points of the text.

Generally, Muscovy 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, like the story about honey abundance, honey lakes, hollow trees full of honey. The search and the descriptions of remote lands as a kind of terrestrial Paradise were a spread practice already among the medieval authors.[135] 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.

The idea 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.[136] It was believed that the ter-

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134 Ibid., 912

135 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."

136 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: Univer-

restrial 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 Muscovy. The more to the East, the higher the possibilities were to find the remnants of an untouched Paradise-like nature.

It looks like Münster on purpose constructed such image of Muscovy. 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 Muscovy. 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 Muscovite 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 Muscovy to other lands of the north, most probably because of the climate and difficult living conditions.

In comparison to Poland in Münster's *Cosmographia* Muscovy 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 Muscovy, more than a half of the text offers information on its natural environment, its natural products that can be gathered, hunted, obtained, or produced, people trying to cope with nature. Namely, the text is more

sity of Chicago Press, 2013).

focused on the modes of subsistence and human interactions with the nature.

In terms of political organization Muscovy sounds as being different as well. The nature of its central power is not quite "understandable" for a representative of a Western "political culture". The unlimited power of the Muscovite rulers over their subjects, well watched and guided borders of the state, the possibility to come to Muscovy or leaving it only with personal permission issued by the duke, all these along with wild nature made the Western authors as well as the readers feel in a way unsafe. This feature of the Muscovite political culture, present in Münster's entry, will become a must theme/motif in all descriptions of this land in the following centuries and a subject for more detailed and deliberate discussion.

Coming to our point of interest concerning the distribution of "culture" and "nature" in this entry, the calculations show that almost half of the text is dedicated to the description of "nature" and a half to "culture".

The images accompanying the text depict animals and the peoples' relations/interaction with nature (see figures 3.26, 3.27, 3.28, 3.29 and 3.30).
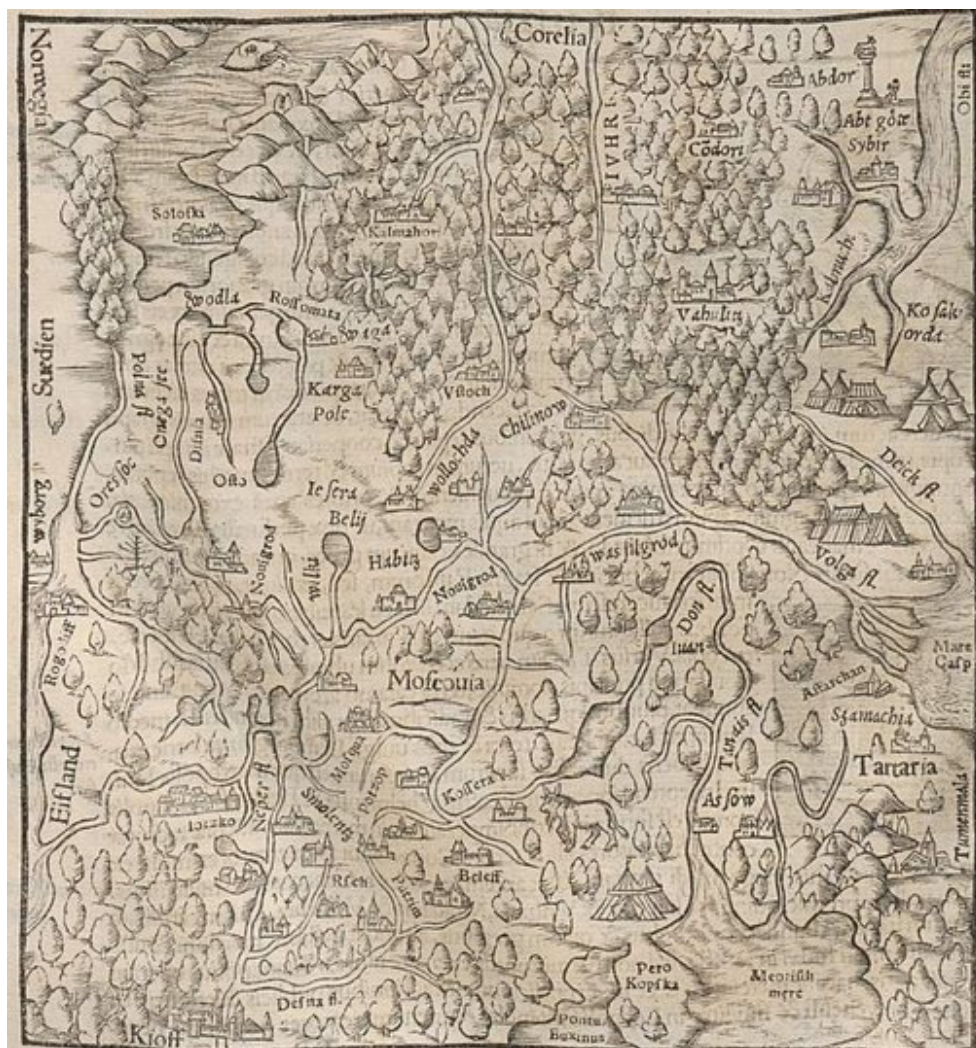
Figure 3.26: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 910. Map of Muscovy

Figure 3.27: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 911. A bull in Muscovy

Figure 3.28: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 912. Bees in Muscovy

Figure 3.29: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 912. A bear in Muscovy

The illustrations correspond to the main topics: animals, bees, honey and bears.

Figure 3.30: Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis...*, 913. Depiction of pagan cults in the remote parts of Muscovy

Münster says that 500 years ago people in these lands worshiped idols, sun, moon and stars. They were converted to Christianity according to Greek tradition, but it is still possible to find those who follow idolatry in the remote areas of Muscovy.

It is also said that Muscovy is not rich in gold and silver, it does not have pearls and precious stones at all. All these they buy and bring from other places, but they are really famous for their furs.

3.6.2   Text visualizations for the entry on Muscovy

Interesting enough is the word cloud visualization for Münster's entry on Muscovy. It is well stated that the central notion in this text are the words "Moscovia" and "duke." Then, different terms related to nature are depicted: "honey," "river," "trees," "forests," "region," "animals," "bees," "bear," "skins," "cold," "north," etc. (see figure 3.31). Thus, the word cloud is a good visual representation of the textual image, conveying its essence. It transmits a strong idea of state power in this country and of its being a land of "nature," not that much of "culture." The term "town" is one of those belonging to culture.

Figure 3.31: Word cloud for Münster's entry on Muscovy

The above mentioned topic of "honey" is quite visible. The term "bear" is also among the frequently used terms in Münster's Muscovy according to the word cloud visualization and is present in it. The term is not among the strongest in computational visualizations because in many cases the pronoun is used in the text instead of the noun, but the bear topic is probably the longest in comparison to other topics in the textual description. The quantitative calculations show that about seventeen percent of the text on Muscovy are given to the discussion of this topic/story. Bears and honey are mentioned at several points in the text. Münster himself names his sources. As a result, the repetition of a bear theme through the text body emphasized its importance in the image of this land. Possibly, the emerging stereotype of the Russian bear can be observed here.

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

age.[137] The article by Denis Hrustaliov particularly traced its formation through the sources. The first half of the sixteenth century was the time when the descriptions of Muscovy 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 Muscovy such an attributive perception of bears did not exist. The bear topic while talking about Muscovy 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, social and cultural dimensions characterizing Muscovite civilization.

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

The term "like" needs paying a comment. It is well defined in the word cloud and is used as a preposition in the text. 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 Muscovy, 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 Muscovy and Lithuania Münster introduced unknown or not well known places in his work. This also indicates him using eyewitness sources. He reports rather long distances in case of Muscovy, for example, the city of Ustyug is 600 miles far from Moscow.

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137 Alexander Filiushkin, "Kak Rossija stala dlja Evropy Asiej?" (How Russia Became Asia for Europe?), *Ab Imperio* 1 (2004): 191-228; Denis Hrustaliov, "Proishozdenie "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 3.32). Big rivers, big amounts of honey, big trees, big animals, big lakes, big mountains are the context combinations for the term "big." Muscovy seems to sound the land of big things and resources in Münster's description. The topics of honey and duke demonstrate high intensity in 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 Muscovy. Among the physical features of the country, rivers are being mentioned, listed and discussed the most.
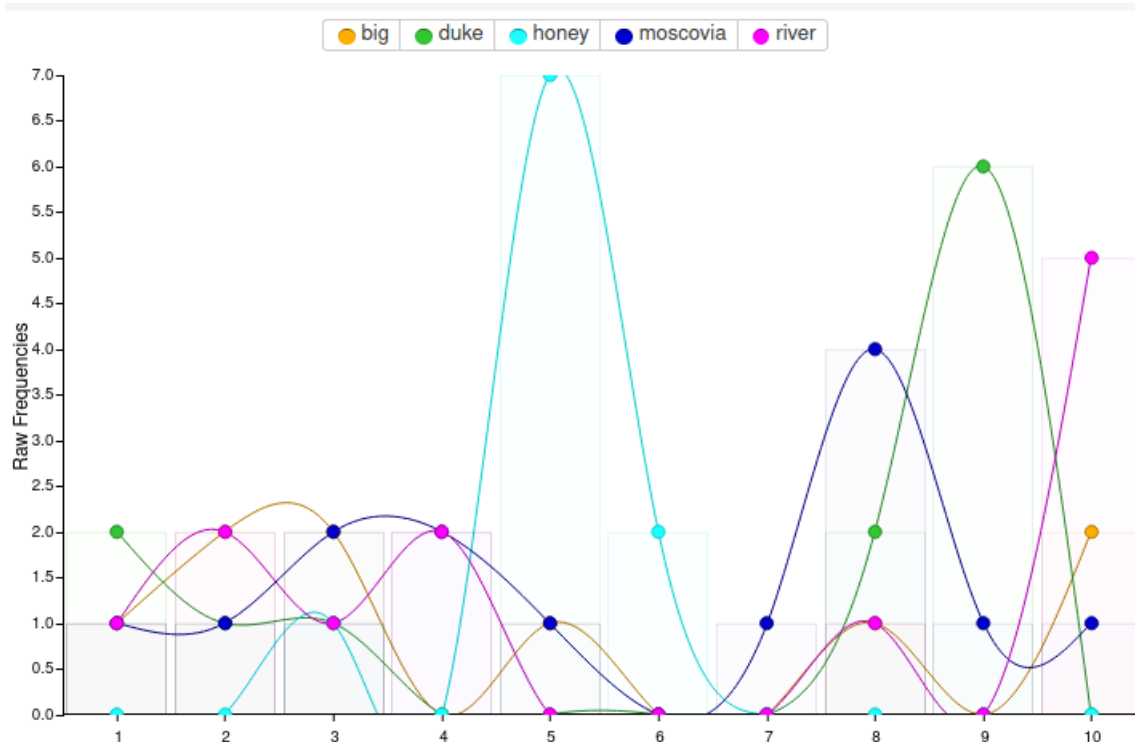
Figure 3.32: Word trends for Münster's entry on Muscovy

3.7 Findings and observations

An attempt to analyse the entries on the depicted lands, to explore their thematic components, trace references to any kinds of borders between these lands based on the language or word usage of the authors, the range of the themes comprising the images, positive or negative characteristics and other made it possible to make a number of observations.

When moving through the research area from Poland to Lithuania and then to Muscovy 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 Muscovy the picture is opposite. Based on the considered sources it is possible to 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 familiar, like: climate, nature, landscape, in some parts of the world may not be paid attention to and not described. To the contrary, 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.

The study of the content of the three sources containing entries on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy shows 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 Muscovy, the feelings of moving towards the more and more uncultivated, wild, exotic and sparsely populated edges of the continent are getting stronger and stronger. The countries in the East of Europe are gradually presented as still being 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 Muscovy, however, 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, uncultivated, and offering many natural goods.

Another characteristic feature for the genre of encyclopedias was a special discourse on 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 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 Muscovy thus demonstrate that the created images were getting more and more strange, exotic and different while moving towards the edges. The comparative analysis shows that content of the entries on the three depicted 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 constructed by authors image of the world. The main observations and conclusions to support this general statement are the following:

➢ The borrowings among the authors and the communication of sources while creating the images of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy. This witnesses long-distance networking of knowledge in Western Europe and the still present tradition of following authorities.

➢ The main topics that comprised images of the depicted eastern lands are, in different degrees: 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 evaluating "other" lands in that historical period and they demonstrate what was important while writing about them.

➢ The interplay of the topics, focused on "culture" or "nature," resulted in different representations of the depicted lands. This also found its expression in illustrations to the texts on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in Münster's

Cosmographia. Poland has more illustrations that are not "nature." More illustrations of "nature" are found in the entry on Lithuania. All the visual images in the entry for Muscovy belong to "nature" and its map has a strong message of a country covered by forests.

➤ Poland is gradually being described as "culture," the motif of "nature" totally disappeared by the end of the period in its image. Nevertheless, some 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 Muscovy are depicted as large, uncultivated, wooded, wild, sparsely populated 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 do not demonstrate much dynamics of its image concerning religion through the period. It was mainly associated with its pagan cults. This topic is emphasised in Piccolomini's entry particularly. The theme of cruel rulers and their pet bears is emphasised in Schedel's entry on Lithuania thanks to his shortenings of Piccolomini's text as well. Sebastian Münster offered new information on Lithuania, its administrative division, towns, rivers, ethnic groups, languages, and other. This found its reflection in slight growing tendency towards the terms of "culture" observed both in the text and in text visualizations for his entry.

➤ Muscovy is described mostly as "nature" with a Paradise-like motif and indication to 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 Muscovy 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 that wanted 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 Muscovy are not just the signs of wild and unculti-vated landscape. In the Middle Ages they were significant physical internal frontiers or borders inside Europe. They kept the depicted region difficult to access and to contact with, as well as difficult to capture.

➤ The word cloud visualizations of the considered entries on Poland, Lithua-nia and Muscovy allowed to generate their terminological images. The ob-tained visualizations for entries on Poland depicted terms that character-ize culture as prevailing in the text, namely, political culture and history. As for Lithuania, the central topics in its early description by Piccolomini and Schedel depicted by the word clouds are its people, their religion and Jerome's of Prague mission. Both terms of culture and nature are present

in visualization. In case of Münster's entry, its word cloud demonstrates again presence of both groups of terms, but the terms of culture get stronger and the terms of nature are less than in visualizations of earlier descriptions. The word cloud for Münster's entry on Muscovy depicted among the strong terms those of culture as well as of nature. The terms of state and of state power: "duke" and "Moscovia" are dominating on numerous terms of nature in this visualization.

➤ In spite of the fact that observed comprising topics for Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in encyclopedias are similar: state power, religion, goods, people and their activities, nature and natural products, the word trends visualizations provided different accents for the considered entries and countries. In case of Poland, the terms of political power and political content are the strongest in this kind of visualizations. As for Lithuania, the term "people" along with the terms of religious cults are among the strongest in early entries. In Münster's entry on Lithuania one observes the terms like: "Lithuania," "people," "large," and "land." At the same time, a strong element of culture is entering its image with a term "city." Word trends for the entries on Lithuania do not depict political content as in case of Poland. Finally, the word cloud for Münster's entry on Muscovy demonstrates mixture of terms belonging to political content: "Moscovia" and "duke," but also belonging to nature: "honey" and "river."

➤ The observed presence of the term "miles" in visualizations for Münster's entries on Lithuania and Muscovy indicates that the author is describing 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 places in the east of Europe. In this particular case, the border went between Poland, on the one hand, and Lithuania and Muscovy, on the other.

➢ The available descriptions of rulers and references to political power in the considered cases made it possible to see that they are referred in positive and advantageous terms in Poland. As for Lithuania, its rulers in Piccolomini's work are rather terrifying. In Muscovy, few references to the duke's power convey messages of a strong centralized authority. In this sense, it is possible to say that Poland was more friendly to the European audiences than the other two. The nature of state powers in the considered region may also demarcate, characterize a kind of division, a border. The guided border of the Muscovite state is another frontier observed.

➢ Sebastian Münster employs different narration techniques in his work, namely: textual, maps and images. In this respect his source is more informative and expressive.

Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in travelers' accounts

4.1 Travel narratives

At the depicted period, 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.

Three of the selected travel narratives on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy are diaries. The most important criterion about this kinds of writings is an eye-witness story. One of them, namely by Sigismund Herberstein, is an extended report on his diplomatic visits to Muscovy in which together with notes of his personal experiences many other sources of information were incorporated. The term of "travel narratives" unites these sources.

Each of the selected sources contains descriptions of two or all the three lands. As it was already observed while analyzing the entries in the encyclopedic collections, the images of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy differ from each other to a large extent. Those were the "scientific" descriptions of the lands affected by the requirements of the genre. In this part of my study, I am interested to see which images eye-witnesses created of these lands and in what way they differ from each other. I will also try to depict possible references to any kinds of borders demarcated by language or 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 whether 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 Muscovy, visited in 1517 and 1526.

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, and 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. De Lannoy 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, he continued on his way to Constantinople through Moldavia and the Crimea.

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 one has a chance to learn about the details of that trip. He created his accounts probably after returning home and 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.[138] The diary itself was first published in 1840.[139] In spite of the fact that his 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 kind at the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was full of new information for a contemporary reader. De Lannoy passed through Lithuania.

Another fifteenth-century author who wrote about Lithuania in his accounts

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

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

was **Ambrogio Contarini**, a representative of one of the oldest noble families in Venice.[140] 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, ambasador de la Illustrissima Signoria de Venesia al signer Uxuncassam re de Persia*.[141]

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.[142] 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.[143]

Sigmund von Herberstein[144] was born 1486 in Vipava (German: Wippach) in the region of Carniola (Krain), modern Slovenia, to a wealthy German family. Not much is known from his early life, but it 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

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

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

142 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.

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

144 For recent research on Sigmund von Herberstein's personality and his contribution to the knowledge about Muscovy and the image of Muscovy 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, vol. 24 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

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 communicating with locals, but also through examining the existing literature on Russia. The result was 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.[145] 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 also dedicated to Lithuania and called "About Lithuania."

4.2 Gilbert de Lannoy in the eastern lands of Europe

One of the first descriptions of the depicted region by a traveler 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, the northern regions of Lithuania and Poland. These were areas not equally known for Western travelers. Poland had been officially converted to

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

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 as a result of his diplomatic missions.[146]

Particularly interesting for the present work are his 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 Lannoy's first journey is of particular importance, as 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 the 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. There is just a short note concerning where and when he met this or that ruler and what gifts and which papers were dispatched. In this respect, that note in the

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146 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.

diary does not provide information for analysing images of the depicted lands.

In March 1412, as he wrote in his diary, he left Flanders and went to Prussia, from there 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.[147]

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147 Inner side of the book cover Guillebert de Lannoy, *Cesty a Poselstva* [Journeys and messages]. Trans. Jaroslav Svátek, ed. idem, Martin Nejedlý, Olivier Marin and Pavel Soukup. (Prague: Scriptorium, 2009).
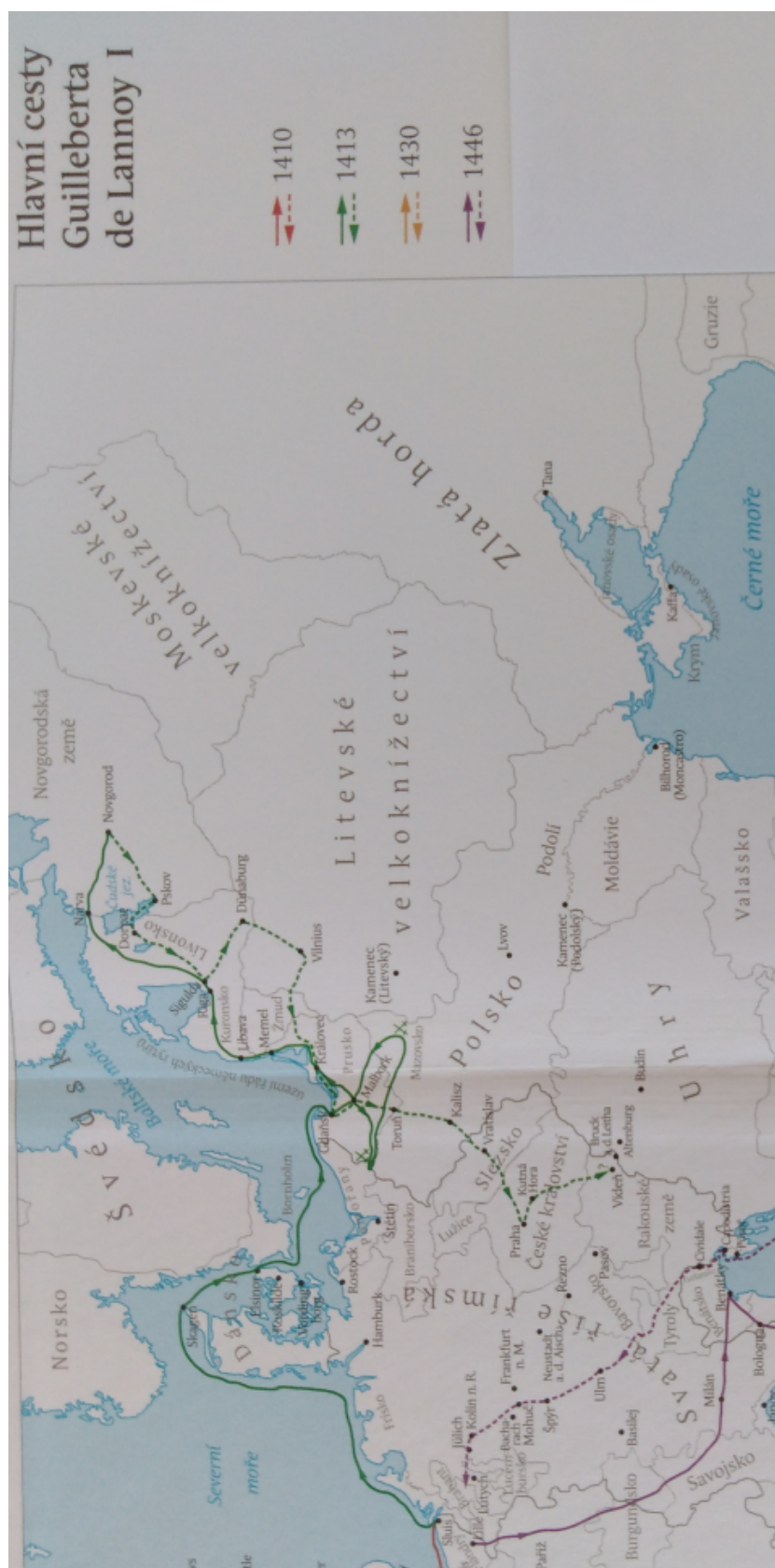
Figure 4.1: Gilbert de Lannoy's travels

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, were he saw among others the "very beautiful castle of Helsembourg."[148] He went through Roskilde "from there to Rainsted, a good town...; from there to Nestwed, a good town..." Then he visited Danzig, "Melumghe, a very beautiful town ... From Melumghe, having passed through a splendid land I came to Keuniczeberghe... "[149] 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 stopped using expressions like: "a good...," or "a very beautiful... " Instead, he wrote: "...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 report, 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.[150]

He spent nine days in Novgorod, met with the officials there, who invited 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

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148 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.

149 Ibid., 19.

150 Ibid., 21-23.

coins or golden coins were used there. He mentioned also that they were selling frozen meat and fish in winter in the Novgorod market.[151]

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.[152] This statement does not have proof in local historical sources from the period. At the same time, there was a tradition of paying for a bride. De Lannoy could most probably have heard of something like this, 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.

He made a note about 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. 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 remained frozen. One of the wonders produced by the cold was that, as they moved through the forests, it was possible to hear the trees crack and split from top to bottom because of the frost. 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.[153]

After Novgorod he visited another large city, Pskov. In order to go there he travelled through huge forests for thirty German miles. The city is reported to be fortified by stone walls and towers. There was a large castle and strangers were not allowed to get in it. The city is said to have an elected government, but being a vassal of Muscovy.[154]

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151 Ibid., 24.

152 Ibid.

153 Ibid., 26

154 Ibid., 27

Then he 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 favorable manner using characteristics like "a very beautiful." 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."[155]

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."[156] 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 forced people to build churches in villages as well. They also had twelve bishops in their country.

Thus, de Lannoy pointed out that Lithuania was a Christian land. He had his own opinion concerning the way one was baptized there, 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, one of which is very bad ... .

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155 Ibid., 28.

156 Ibid., 29.

Another one . . . is new and made of stone bricks according to the French style."[157]
He characterized Troki as a place where many Tartar, German, Ruthenian, Jewish
and Lithuanian people lived together and everybody spoke his own language. He
also wrote about a fenced park in Troki, where all possible kinds of wild animals
and beasts were gathered.

He praised Vitovt for not taking fees from foreign visitors and for providing
them all with everything necessary while traveling through his land. De Lan-
noy 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 con-
sidered these lands as underdeveloped in this sense in comparison to their neigh-
bors 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 bet-
ter 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."[158]

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 Sile-
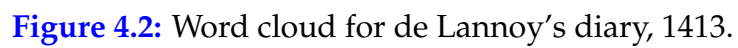
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157 Ibid., 29.

158 Ibid., 31.

sia, to the very beautiful, rich and very commercial city of Breslau (Wrocław) at the western border of Poland. As he was approaching the western border of Poland, his tone was getting more favorable 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 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 in 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 stone 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 was, how strong, protected, and fortified the country was. His preoccupation about this topic also reveals the perception by a representative of 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" (see figure 4.3). These terms indicate the main topics of this diary: castles, towns, rivers, distances which are pretty homogeneously present and discussed through the text body. In many cases the term "town" demonstrates higher frequency in the first half of the text. De Lannoy

Figure 4.2: Word cloud for de Lannoy's diary, 1413.

Figure 4.3: Word trends for de Lannoy's diary, 1413.

just discussed the towns in more details in the first half of his diary, mentioning their castles and rivers, but making emphasis on other elements of their images as well. 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 nine leagues away from... I stayed there for three 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 between the towns he visited when he speaks about Lithuania, Novgorod, Pskov and Poland. He does not do this when he is in Denmark or Prussia, for example. Thus, the term "league" is the indicator of an unknown area where it was necessary to report distances in order to produce a better image of it.

Towns and castles are the central topic for the traveling knight and this communicates 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

Table 4.1 – Continued from previous page

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
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

Continued on next page

Table 4.1 – Continued from previous page

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 Cocquenhause, 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 mantioned 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
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 in few lines about his mission and dispatching documents. It contains no information about his impressions with regard to the visited places. 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.

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, in two different journeys, 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.

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,[159] as the journeys were made chronologically close to each

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

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 Muscovy, Lithuania, Poland and Germany are rather similar, even identical. Because of this closing part, both Barbaro and Contarini are often referred as travelers who visited Moscow and the focus area of the present research. I will support Elena Skrzhinskaya's opinion[160] 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 Muscovy, 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 using expressions like "it is known that Muscovy...," "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 by 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, in spite of the fact that both authors are often reported as travelers who left descriptions of Muscovy, Lithuania and Poland, both names are listed in related bibliography, both accounts are edited, I will focus on the content of Contarini's diary, where the depicted region is originally described by an eyewitness.

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

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160 *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).

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 there. 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 invited 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 discomfort... 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 the night outdoors without food and kept guards. When they reached Kiev, the governor provided them with very bad quarters. But 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 late afternoons and then gathered in tav-

erns, 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.[161]

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.

In 1475–1477, Ambrogio Contarini traveled back from Persia to Venice, but 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 Muscovy 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 Muscovy. 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.[162]

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

162 Ibid., 151-157.

The first town on their way in Muscovy 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.[163]

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, who was from Lviv and knew the road very well.[164]

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 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 Muscovy, 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

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163 Ibid., 158-159

164 Ibid., 159-160.

whole animal bodies without skins and it was strange to see so many skinned animals standing upright on their feet. He says that Muscovy was an important fur market. Many merchants came there from Poland, Prussia and Flanders for furs.[165]

The grand duke returned to Moscow at the end of December and Contarini asked from noble people he had made friends with 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.[166]

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.[167]

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 and underwent great suffering. 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.[168]

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 not in fruits. They saw castles and villages, but

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165 Ibid., 161-162.

166 Ibid., 163-164.

167 Ibid., 165-166.

168 Ibid., 166-168.

not worth mentioning. It was said to be a safe country. The last city in Poland mentioned by Contarini was Warsaw. He writes that they finally had good housing in that beautiful city, where they could find everything necessary. He and his people were much fatigued, both on account of the great cold and the other hardships they had endured. Thus, they decided to spend a few days there and make provisions for the further trip.[169]

He writes that as they traveled 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, important and worthy cities and also passed many other beautiful ones.[170]

The word cloud for Contarini's accouts of Poland, Muscovy 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 and urban fortifications behind this border were 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, 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

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169 Ibid.

170 Ibid., 169-171.

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 Muscovy he immediately felt better, safer and wrote that. Besides Moscow, he did not make detailed comments concerning other towns in Muscovy and Lithuania which he passed on his way back home, in most cases he just mentioned their names. Only in Poland he started speaking again about the beauty and richness of Warsaw. The text again communicates his admiration about the looks and comforts of towns in Germany and further on while moving westwards.

Text visualizations depict the term "town" as the most frequent and strong in Contarini's diary (see figures 4.4 and 4.5). 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" 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 Muscovy. 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 (see figure 4.5). 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 as Contarini all the time kept notes about the places he visited. In the end of his mission, the diary contains notes about cities he passed or made stops on his way back home. After

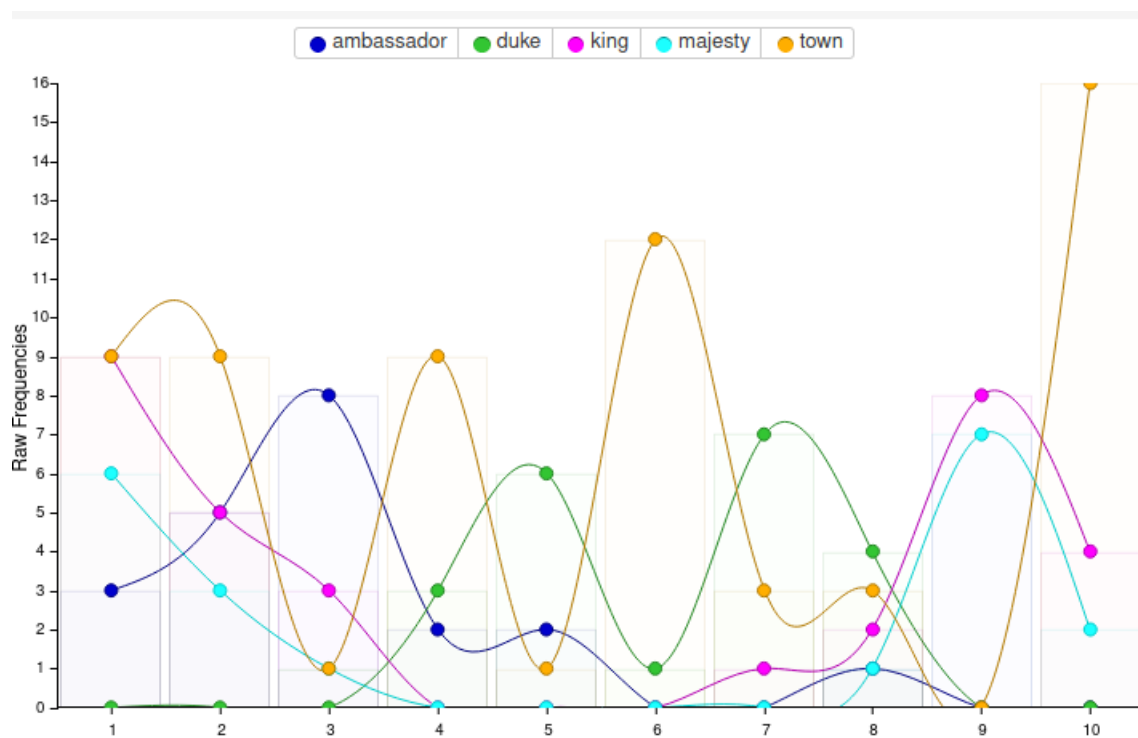**Figure 4.4:** Word cloud for Contarini's diary

Figure 4.5: Word trends for Contarini's diary

he met the King of Poland in Troki, he did not have other significant meetings, thus, the diary contains information on his route mostly.

The terms "king" and "majesty" are connected in the text and in the visualization. They correspond to the story of Contarini's meeting the King of Poland in the beginning of his trip and on his way beck. In the middle of the story, on his way back home, he met the Grand Duke of Moscow and spent several months in this city. The trends correspond to the story. Thus, three main topics found their reflection in the word trends for Contarini's diary: meeting the King of Poland, meeting the Grand Duke of Moscow and the towns he visited.

Contarini's accounts are the source, which helps us better understand how the representatives of Western societies perceived the union between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This issue turned to be also important and decisive for the image of Lithuania in general encyclopedic works 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 Muscovy 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 Sigismund's I (1506-1548) title was, for example: *Sigismundus Dei gratia rex Poloniae, magnus dux Lituaniae, Russiae, Prussiae Samogitiaeque dominus et haeres.*[171] 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

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

Lithuania was most probably attributed to the ethnic Lithuanian lands.

4.4 Sigismund von Herberstein on Lithuania and Muscovy

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 Muscovy, 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 Muscovy for quite long, talked to local people and interrogated them. He read documents and chronicles. From this perspective, his accounts are 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 Muscovy. He just mentions that he met the king of Poland and completed his mission there. No description of the country is offered as a separate chapter. He will discuss some issues on Poland while writing on Muscovy: the money in both states, distances between some cities in Poland and Muscovy, and some common political matters. Most probably, Poland was not that unknown both to Herberstein and to his audience. As for Lithuania, he wrote a chapter called "On Lithuania" while telling about the neighbors of Muscovy.

Among the consulted source editions the one by R.H. Major is not complete. Some chapters on Muscovy 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 Herberstein's description of Lithuania.[172]

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172 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).

It should be pointed out that in the sixteenth century Muscovy attracted much attention, the writings on it became more and more numerous.[173] 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 Muscovy which was significant. Muscovy 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 encyclopedic works is noticeable in Herberstein's chapter "On Lithuania."[174] He discusses many common things about Lithuania that can be found in the encyclopedias, but he did not really 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 time and where it was located, but he does it from a different perspective, looking from Muscovy which was in focus of his work, saying that the closest land to Muscovy 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

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

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

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.[175] 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 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 Muscovy, 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

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175 Ibid., 94.

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.[176] From his words it is clear that he tried to check this information, but he was not able to confirm or to prove it.

The narration about 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),[177] which was not the case in the previously mentioned sources. The story about worshiping snakes is very similar to what Piccolomini wrote concerning this phenomenon. The story does not sound real for Herberstein, but he tells it, probably, in order to follow 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 were 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 could meet ghosts. Mentioning exotic things, therefore, was also an integral part of his travel accounts to a distant land.

The above discussed issues from Herberstein's description of Lithuania demon-

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176 Ibid., 84

177 Ibid., 97-99.

strate 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 provides explanations and clarifications to them. His contribution was that he textually demarcated the size of Lithuania, by listing its areas, its numerous towns and distances between them. He also referred to 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 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; agriculture and 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 Muscovy 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 also 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, for instance, represented in the visualization of the term "snake." The term "miles" is also among the most frequent according to the visualization of Herberstein's image of Lithuania.

The influence of the story of Glinsky is observed in the word trends visualization as well. The strong terms "king" and "prince" clearly indicate the location of

Figure 4.6: Word cloud for Herberstein's text "On Lithuania"
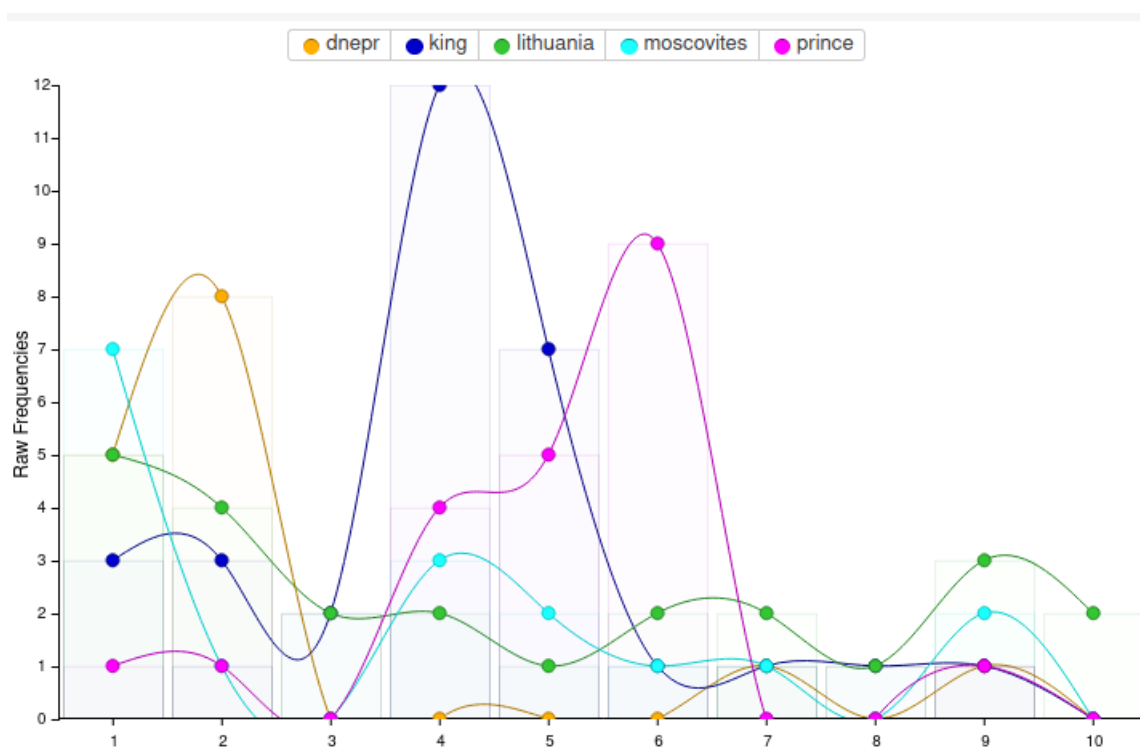
Figure 4.7: Word trends for Herberstein's text "On Lithuania"

the Glinsky story in the text, namely between the 3/10 and the 7/10 parts (see figure 4.7). They reflect the story of his conflict first with the King of Poland, then with the Prince of Muscovy. The strong term "Dnepr" and its presence through the whole text body pays attention to the importance of this river for Lithuania. It connected the larger part of the country with the Black Sea and was one of the most important routes of transportation. The important and strong terms indicating Lithuanian neighbors the Muscovites and the Prince of Moscow in this visualization witness about their intensive contacts of different nature.

4.4.2   Muscovy by Herberstein

The accounts on Muscovy 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 Muscovy 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 Muscovy along to his own observations he involved numerous historical, written and oral sources which he listed in the introductory part. As a result, this work combined features of travel notes, chronicles, treaties on geography, topography, ethnology, religion, observations on social structure and everyday life in Muscovy. In this respect, the present description combines the features of all sources involved to the present investigation in the most explicit way. As some chapters of the accounts are missing in the edition by R.H. Major I will also refer to the edition by Khoroshkevich.[178] 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 Muscovy from the etymology of the name

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178 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 Istoricheskoj Mysli, 2008).

Russia. He writes that some people believe that the word comes from the legendary Rus, brother of Lech and Czech. He probably learned this legend from Western chronicles. The Muscovites themselves do not believe this story and say that the name of their land comes from the word "rasseyanie," which means "scattering," referring to their 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.[179]

He retells the story of the Rurick dynasty in Rus' as it is presented in Russian chronicles and traces the political history of the Muscovite 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 tsar.[180]

Herberstein provided stories about rulers from recent past as well. A pretty colorful detail of Ivan's III (1462–1505) portrait. He writes that Ivan "was so formidable towards women that if any of them came across by chance in his eyes, then at the sight of him she would almost lose her life... During meals, he mostly indulged in such drunkenness that he would fell asleep, and all the invitees were sitting stricken with fear and silent as long as he was sleeping. On waking he usually rubbed his eyes and then he would begin joking and be cheerful."[181]

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. 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 Muscovy was the

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179 Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii,* vol. 1., 34-35.

180 Ibid., 44-111.

181 Ibid., 76-77.

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 Anastasia (Sofia), a daughter of Grand Duke Vitovt, became wife to the grand duke of Moscow, Vasili I. She became mother to the following prince of Muscovy, Vasily II the Blind, grandmother of Ivan III and great-grandmother of Vasili III to whom Herberstein was sent with his diplomatic mission.[182]

Herberstein writes a lot about the religion in Muscovy. He begins with the jurisdiction of the Muscovite 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 traveled 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 Muscovy. The author concludes, however, that the lay people knew nothing about the essence of their faith. They could not talk about their creed and beliefs. At the same time they demonstrated great dedication to church services, rituals, fasting and all the attributes of religious life. He concludes that he never saw something like this in any other places in his life. Religious life in Muscovy is described in much detail and the following matters are discussed: tithing, some

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182 Ibid., 111-145.

aspects of canon law, baptism, confession, communion, church feasts, attitude to the purgatory, veneration of saints, fasting, and marriage. [183]

Herberstein wrote that all people in Muscovy considered themselves slaves of the prince and that they find more pleasure in slavery than in freedom. He also gave a list of public laws according to which the society was functioning. With big curiosity he described the Muscovite clothing and houses. He was also surprised to learn that the Muscovites had special rituals on how to enter a house as a visitor and described those rituals.[184] His accounts became a unique source on many aspects of everyday life in Muscovy. 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 Muscovy 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 Muscovy learned about a foreign embassy to the Muscovite ruler, they would ask the embassy to allow them to join and being protected by diplomatic status they would come to Moscow.[185]

A separate chapter is dedicated to the description of the way and the protocol

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183 Ibid., 146-254.

184 Ibid., 164-169.

185 Ibid., 268-285.

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 Muscovy.[186]

He pays much attention to the local goods in Moscow's and its principalities' markets, as well as the goods which were imported, their amounts, quality and prices. This gives a rich picture of what was going on there. This was the data he obtained as a result of his personal observation and from numerous sources. The description of Moscow itself is followed by a topographical account of the Muscovite principalities.[187] Along with 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 Muscovy 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 parts of his account Herberstein sounds exotic, but rational. He described what he saw and copied information from local documents. Although, he remained faithful to the still existing tradition when writing about the remote edges of the known world. Namely, he could not stand telling a story which some reliable people told him that monstrous people and creatures can be met in the most remote eastern regions of Muscovy. He puts these oral stories to the description of the eastern regions of Pechora and Ugra, which he took from local documents. 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 strange animals that grow like plants.[188]

As it was said above, the closing chapters of the account represent notes on

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186 Ibid., 522-592.

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

188 Ibid., 364-377.

Herberstein's itineraries to Muscovy and back in chronological order and with the distances between the places he passed in miles.[189]

The word cloud visualization for Herberstein's account of Muscovy depicts among the most frequent terms the following: "prince," "duke," "town," "river," "Moscow," and others (see figure 4.8). The central terms represent well the textual image of the country for the period. The figure of the Muscovite 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 payed 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' and also Herberstein's 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 Muscovy 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 Muscovy in winter. Winter was the best season for traveling there.

As for the word trends visualization, one may observe that the intensity and the distribution of the strong terms within the text body demonstrates fluctuations (see figure 4.9). The term "prince," which stands for the Prince of Moscow, is used through the text with steady frequency except for the end. The figure of

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189 Ibid., 592-703.

Figure 4.8: Word cloud for Herberstein's Muscovy

the ruler is present in all aspects of Muscovite matters described in *Notes*. The frequency of the term is intensified in the closing chapter of Herberstein's *Notes* on how they accepted and treated ambassadors in Muscovy.[190] Meeting the Grand Prince, giving gifts and letters to Prince, dining, hunting, negotiating with Prince, receiving gifts and papers from him are the topics that comprise this chapter and the central figure here is the Muscovite ruler. The term "duke" is connected to the word "grand" in the text. The same connection is traced in the word trends visualization.

The discussion on towns and rivers becomes a hot topic in the second part of *Notes*. In the first half of the text the two terms follow each other. This is where the author mentions cities with their rivers mostly. In the second part of the text put several chapters describing the country, its regions and physical features. The titles of these chapters are the following: "Now I will tell about the chorography of the state and the dominion of the great Prince of Moscow, starting with the main

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190 Ibid., 523-592.

city of Moscow. I will describe adjacent to it and only famous principalities, for I couldn't find out the names of all areas in such a vast space with certainty. So let the reader content himself with the names of only the most wonderful cities, rivers, mountains and some localities;"[191] "The way to Pechora and Ugra, and up to the Ob river;"[192] and "Coming back to the principalities of Muscovy."[193] Based on chapter titles, it is possible to explain the trend showing the separation of the two terms. Rivers are discussed as independent features of the Muscovite possessions' landscape. Many times the author writes about large rivers and lists their tributaries which affected the trend for the term "river."
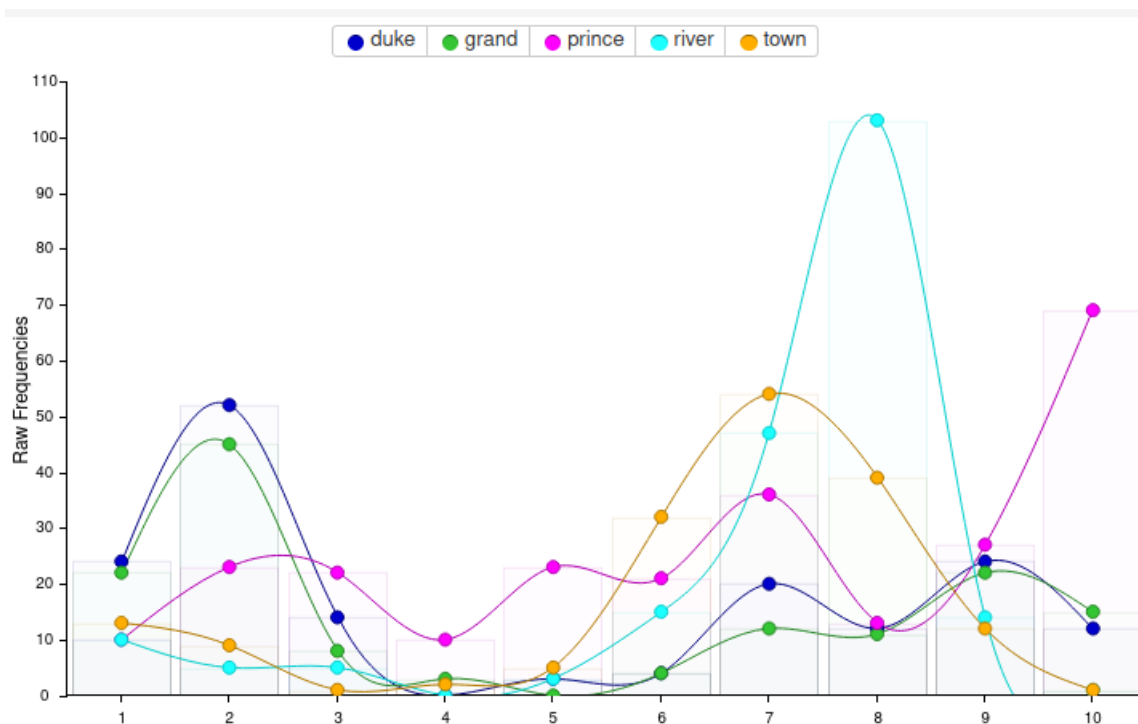

Figure 4.9: Word trends for Herberstein's Muscovy

The fact that Herberstein discussed several topics about Muscovy in parallel 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

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191 Ibid., 287-364.

192 Ibid., 365-377.

193 Ibid., 377-388.

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 cartographic images that will be discussed in the following part of this work, Herberstein presented several illustrations for Muscovy in his *Notes*.[194] Most of them communicate oriental motives in their ornaments and style. The looks of the Muscovite 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 4.17, 4.18, 4.19, and 4.20). It is visible in his depiction of the three rulers he visited during his mission (see figure 4.10). He did not specify their names. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognize the figures of the grand duke of Moscow at the right, the Roman emperor in the middle and, most probably, the king of Poland at the left. The figure of the Muscovite ruler is contrasting to the other two. The contrast is also obvious when comparing the images of Herberstein's previous life experiences and those of Muscovy in his accounts: interior, clothing, ornaments, weapons, military armor, style and materials.

The two images of a bison and an aurochs are the only images by Herberstein dedicated purely to animals. He demonstrates the difference between the two kinds of bulls found in Muscovy (see figures 4.15 and 4.16). These images resemble the one by Sebastian Münster who also discussed this topic in his description of Muscovy in *Cosmographia* (see figure 3.27). This may indicate that Herberstein was influenced by Münster in depicting this animal.

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

Figure 4.10: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii,* in 2 vols, vol. 1: *Latin and German texts*, 706. The three rulers Herberstein met during his mission

Figure 4.11: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii,* 711. The Muscovite Tsar

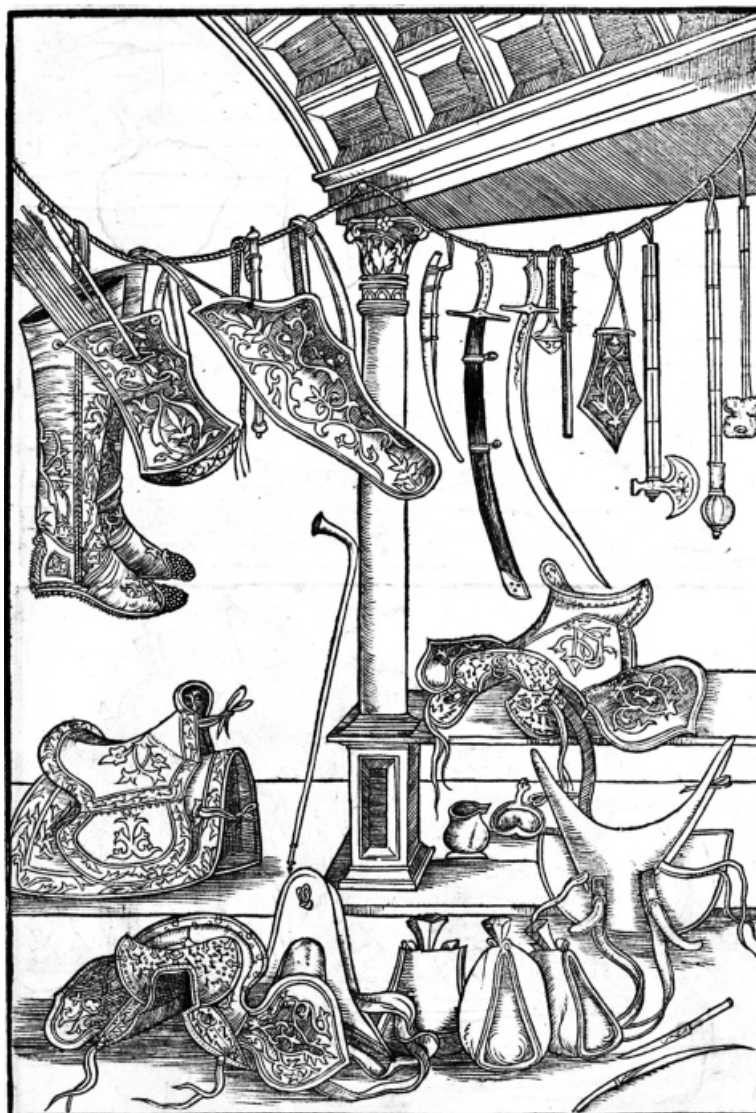**Figure 4.12:** Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii,* 720. Muscovite warriors

Figure 4.13: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii*, 722. Muscovite weapons
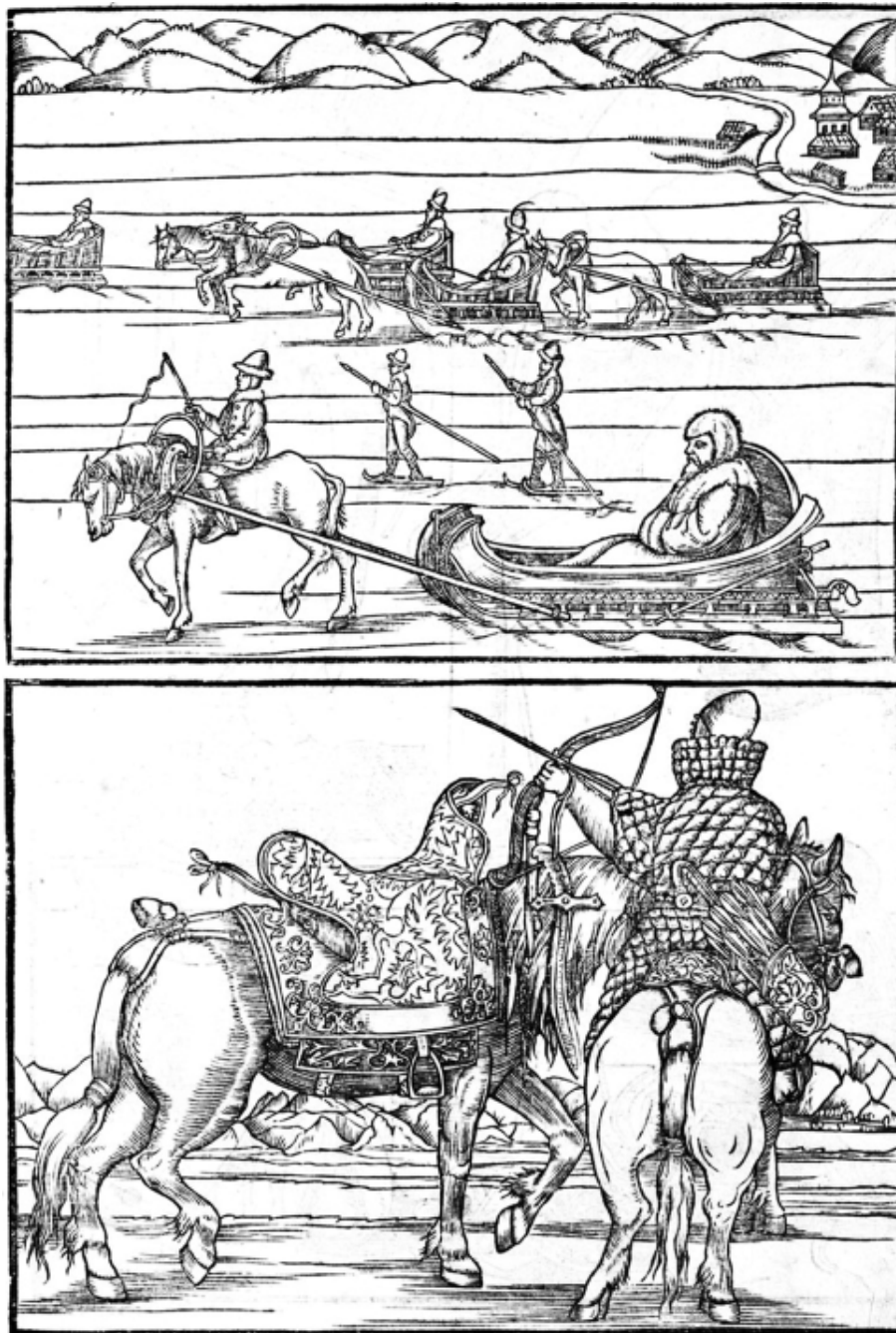
Figure 4.14: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii*, 721. Winter travel in Muscovy and a Muscovite warrior
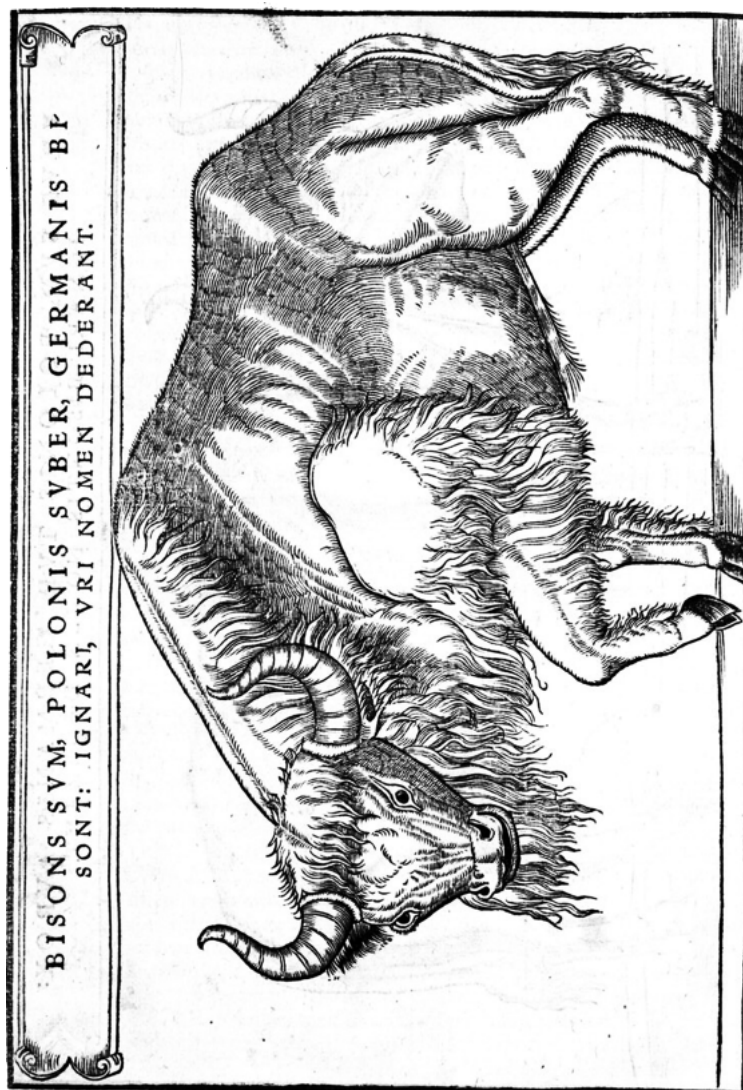
Figure 4.15: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii*, 718. Bison or zubr in Muscovy
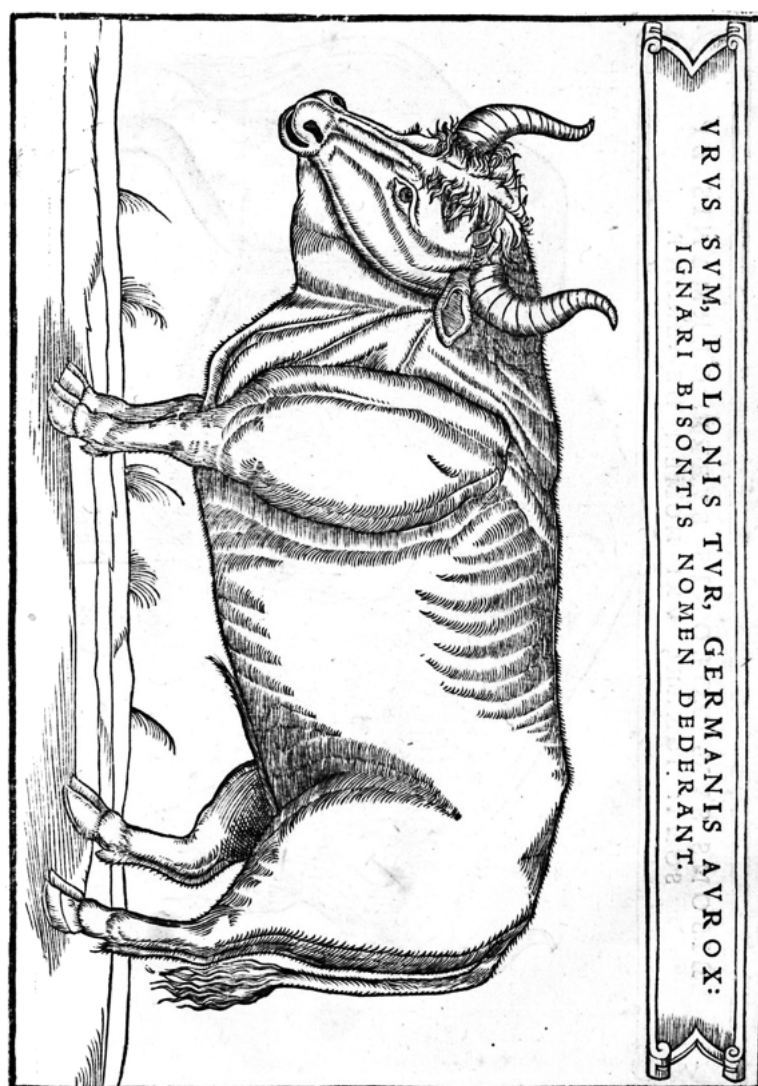
Figure 4.16: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii,* 719. Urus (aurox or tur) in Muscovy

Figure 4.17: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii*, 727. Herberstein getting the university degree
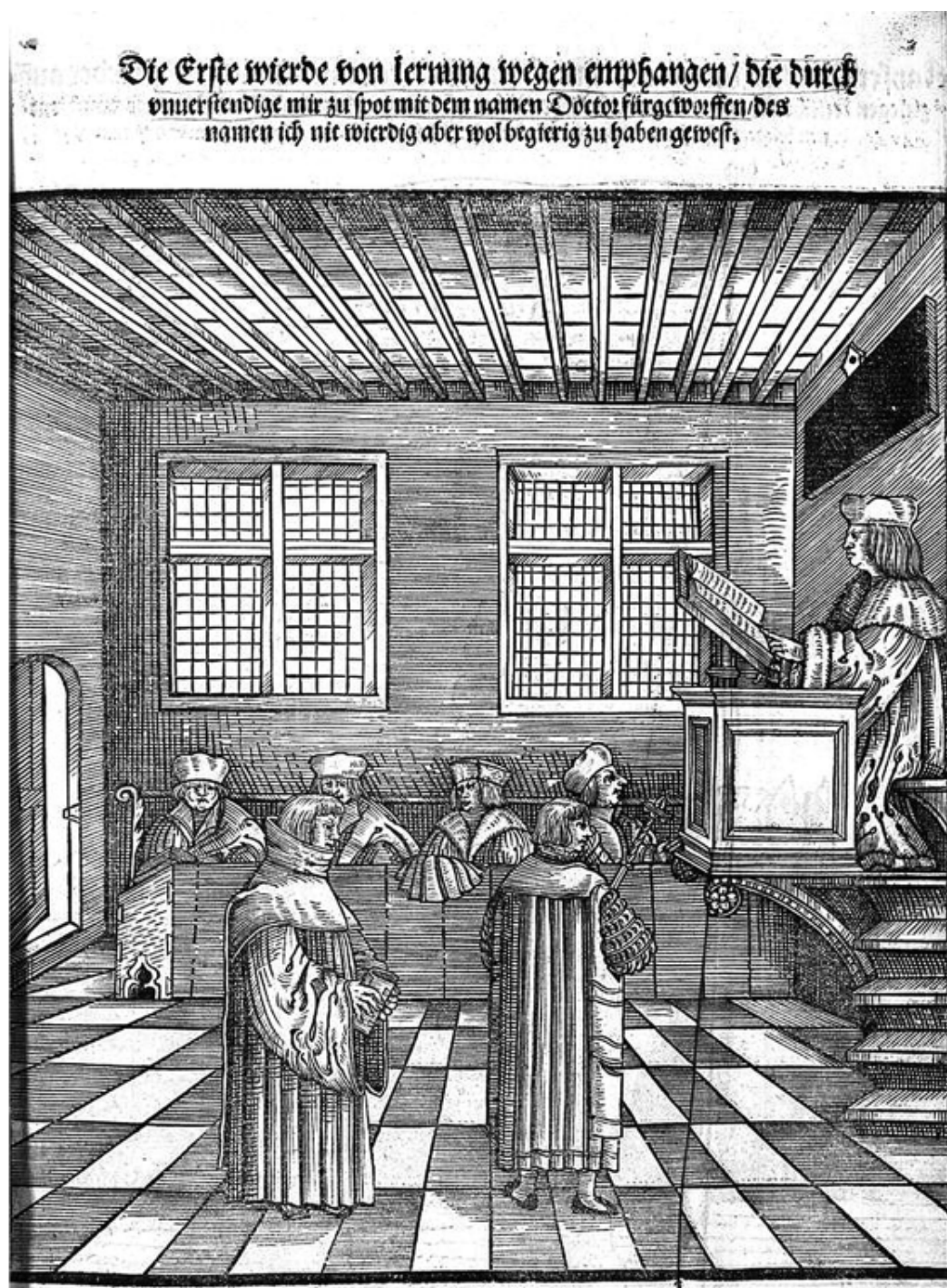
Figure 4.18: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii,* 730. Herberstein ordained as a knight

Figure 4.19: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii,* 728. Herberstein armed in a military campaign
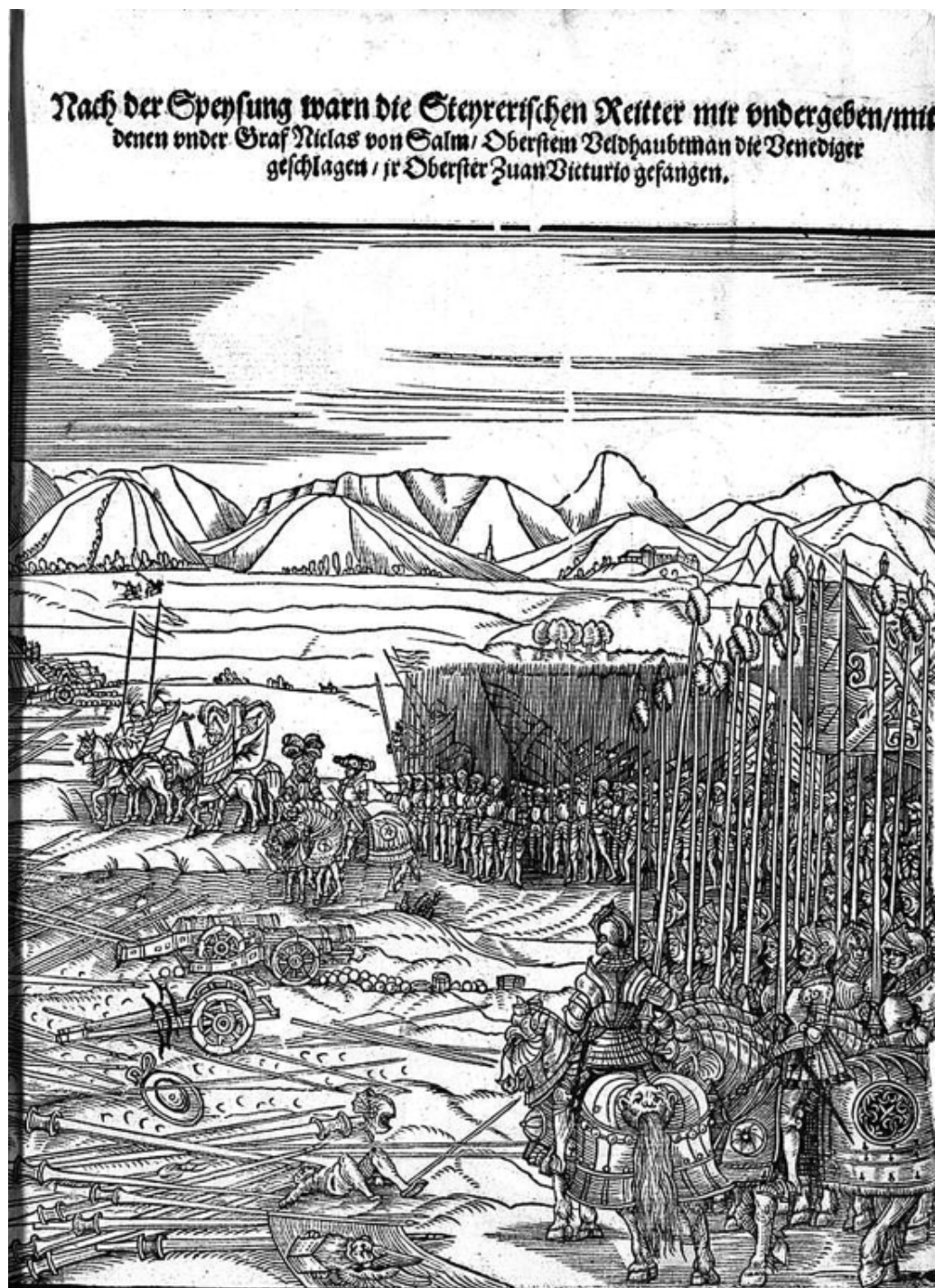
Figure 4.20: Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii,* 729. Herberstein among troops

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 (Contarini) and in the end (Herberstein) of the research period. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that the main topics and opinions in these texts have much in common through the period.

> ➢ The characteristics of urban settlements in the depicted area like: very few or no stone buildings; prevailing wood, clay, mud, straw as building materials; poor lodgings and living conditions; mentioning bad wooden city walls or no walls and fortifications are considered as the main and the most frequently referred signs that made those places different according to European 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, Muscovy and the duchies of Novgorod and Pskov which were included to Muscovite possessions within the investigated period. The authors pointed out that, in increasing intensity, Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy were sparsely 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 nat-

ural borders like mountains, swamps and marshes, huge forests, big rivers, extremely cold winters, long distances and rare settlements. These obstacles isolated some parts of Europe from the rest of the continent, complicating 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 demonstrate that the western border of Poland and the north-western border of Lithuania were a kind of frontier where the authors' tone and their characteristics concerning what they saw would change. Thus, Germany, Prussia and Livonia were described in favorable terms, while Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in less favorable ones. The latest investigated travel account by Sigismund von Herberstein is focused on Muscovy. An interesting observation here is the author's story about the rules of crossing the Lithuanian-Muscovite 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 Muscovite 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. Thus, different frontiers can be observed while reading travel accounts about the area.

➤ 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 Muscovy, were accepted by the rulers, invited by them for dinners, exchanged diplomatic charts and discussed diplomatic issues. The rulers in Muscovy are described as being crueler 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 Muscovy, 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 Muscovy comprising similar sets of topics: the looks of the towns, traveling conditions, state power, goods and markets, everyday life, etc. The more to the East, the more information is provided on these subjects in the travel reports.

➢ Travel accounts inform about the roots of communication with Muscovy 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 appearance of this information in the texts is also understood as a sign defining frontier between the better known, familiar places where the distances are not reported and the unknown parts of Europe which are being introduced. 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. Thus, it was important for the authors who traveled to these lands with a hundred years difference to report distances this way.

➢ The obtained text visualizations illustrate that the main terminological content of the travel accounts on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy reflects well the main topics and comprising elements 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. All more or less important cities in Europe were situated on river banks. Thus, for an European

traveler the notion of a town or a city was closely bound with the one of a river. The images of the remote towns, created by travelers, informed their readers that rivers were important for urban culture in other lands as well.

➢ The word trend visualizations depicting and tracing the most frequent terms through the text body demonstrate presence of common terms in the considered travel accounts like: "town," "river," "duke," "king," and "prince" in different combinations. The term "town" is present in all of them. This visualization tool emphasized the most important topics and elements in the images of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy for travelers who had different diplomatic missions in the area.

➢ Herberstein's illustrations call forth oriental associations and messages. Their content, that is, clothing, weapons, other material objects and motives are expected to be different, but they are actually contrasting to their realization in the home countries of the travelers style.

<div style="text-align:center">C H A P T E R   5</div>

Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in maps

5.1   General tendencies in cartography of the period and new critical approaches

A number of the 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 Muscovy in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries I consider maps as an indispensable part of this study. Besides the maps, presented in the narrative sources considered above, I involved also some examples that do not follow these selection criteria. They were considered in order to trace contemporary patterns and tendencies in cartography of the region.

On the one hand, I am interested in the relations between the maps and textual narratives. On the other hand, the maps are considered as narratives themselves. They contain their own messages. I also aim to find out whether travel and travelers influenced the narrative content of maps of the investigated region from the period.

The study period was a transition era for cartography. Map production and thinking in cartographic terms in general, were transformed by the late fifteenth

century to the beginnings of map consciousness as we understand it today. Scholarship on medieval cartography agrees that the medieval spatial consciousness was non-cartographic.[195] Geographical information, knowledge, topography, itineraries, spatial relations were fixed, represented and communicated through narratives, by the means of telling stories.[196]

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 also appeared in Western Europe thanks to the rediscovery of Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia* with its printed edition published in 1477 in Bologna. This was a treatise on cartography in its essence. 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 earth. 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 Bologna edition 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 the longitudinal coordinate system. The gazetteer offered coordinates for more than 8000 geographical places and features in Africa, Europe and

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195 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.

196 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.

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 in the field remains to present days.

Ptolemy's treatises were among the works that inspired Columbus to undertake a voyage in western direction. What followed after, dramatically changed perception of the world in general. The challenges in understanding of newly obtained information made the Europeans start thinking in categories of "the West" and "the rest", or the "Others".[197]

When speaking about Renaissance maps, their representation does not refer just to techniques, but to the ways of transmitting abstract ideas and putting them into a visual material product and visual codes. The symbolic cartographic language was being unified through contacts and intellectual exchange within Europe. Maps enhanced the power and territorial claims. By the seventeenth century, maps started to be used in order to graphically demarcate the borders of territorial possessions.[198]

This new paradigm gave ground to visually represent the picture of the world in a certain structure. One of the characteristic features of the cartography in this

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

198 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.

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. 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.[199]

In the depicted period, maps already represent 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, religious missions, expansion, cultural contacts, territorial claims. They symbolized power, represented decorative functions, and played an important educational role.

One of the latest developments in critical cartography is a growing interest in narrative cartography and the relationship between maps and narratives. 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.[200]

The post-representational cartography is another contemporary approach, founded upon the idea that maps are never finished. Their work and their message is never

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199 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.

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

complete.[201] 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.

5.2 Cartographic representations of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy

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 maps. 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 carry or convey political agendas, symbolism, conceptions and beliefs with regard to Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy.

Based on the examples of the considered encyclopedias and travel accounts, it is possible to trace that maps are more frequently present in them by the end of the depicted period. The importance of spatial representation 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. Maps start to assist in developing concepts and argument about places, continents and lands, offer their audiences broad narrative potential.

The maps I consider in this chapter are among the most well-known and influential Western visual representations from the period depicting Poland, Lithuania

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

and Muscovy. Being a part of famous geographic treatises that passed through numerous editions during the depicted period and after, these maps impacted the spread of knowledge about the area, influenced and preserved its image. 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.

5.2.1   Hartmann Schedel

The *Liber Chronicarum* or the *Nuremberg Chronicle* by Hartmann Schedel appeared in 1493. It 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.[202] 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 furthermost edges of the earth are located beside the map. As one may see in figures 5.1 and 5.2,[203] 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 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

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

203 Reconstruction of "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: Hartmann Schedel *World Map*

Figure 5.2: Ptolemy's paradigm *World Map*

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 and 5.5).

Let us see a detail of Schedel's *world map*, depicting the considered area (see figure 5.3). Out of three eastern lands we are interested in, only Poland is presented by the state name. Muscovy is depicted 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: Hartmann Schedel *World Map*, detail

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 Muscovy 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, Muscovy by the name of its capital city and Lithuania is not mentioned at all. Novgorod Rus' (Nogardum Russia) , a well known among Europeans commercial center, is depicted in the northern part of the map.

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[204] (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.

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

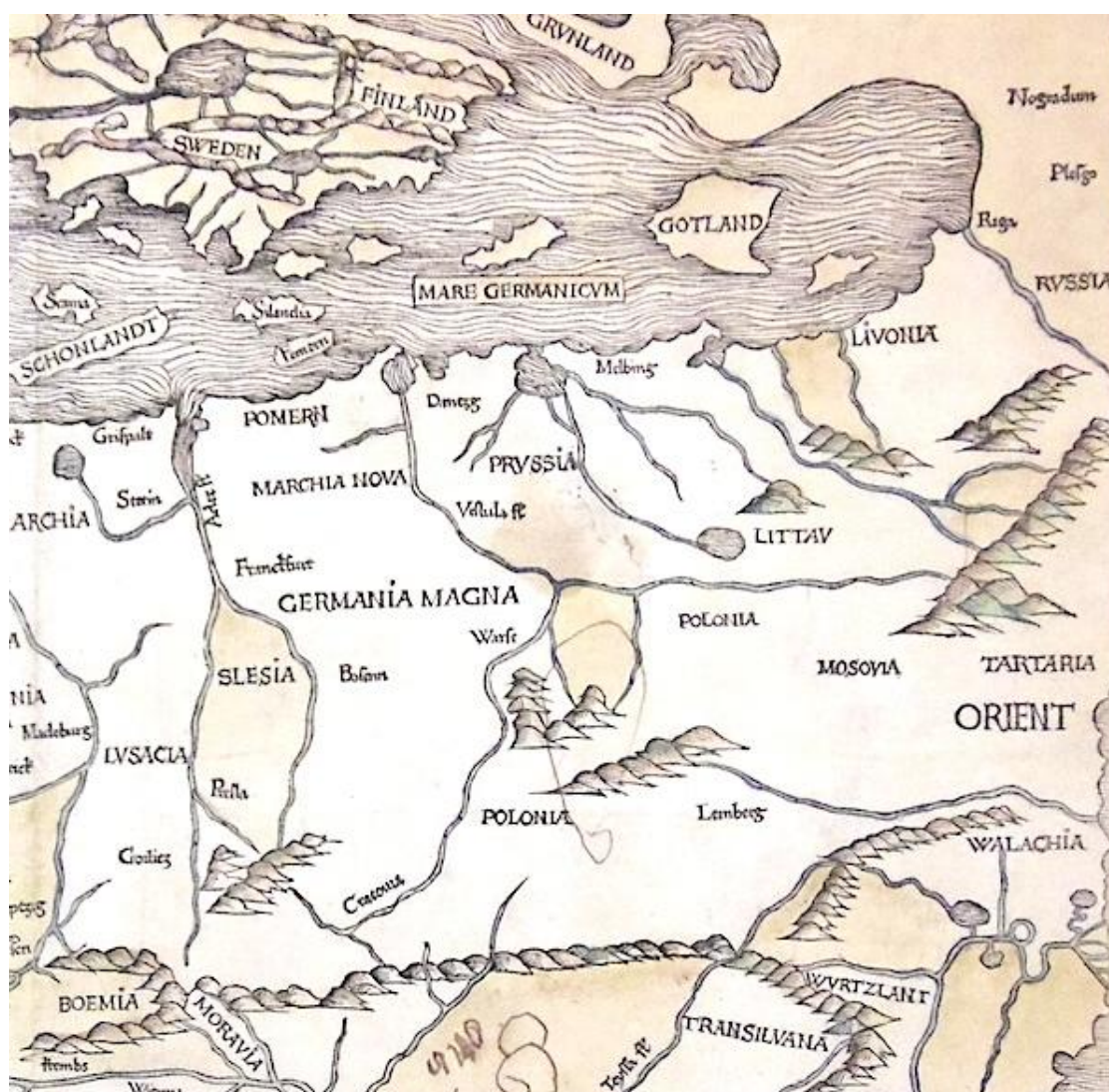**Figure 5.4:** Hartmann Schedel *Map of Northern and Central Europe*

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

Schedel probably had more space in this case and depicted Lithuania. All three states are shown with their names. The reader of the text and of this map would easily orient him/herself and see where Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy were located. Most probably, 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 difference between the studied lands in Schedel's depiction is that Poland looks larger then the other two. Its name is depicted twice, its capital Cracouia (Krakow) is specified in this map as well as Warse (Warsaw) and the Vistula river (Vistula fl.). Muscovy is depicted in the map, but its textual description is missing in the encyclopedic part of the work. The author also made

a mistake in the name of Moscovia and specified it as **Mosovia**. I consider it for Moscovia and not Mazovia, which spelling is also close to the one depicted in the map. First, Mazovia is one of the central regions of Poland located in the Vistula basin and having Warsaw as its central city. Both, Warsaw (Warse) and the Vistula river (Vistula fl.) are depicted in the map. Their location is the location of Mazovia. Second, for Mos**C**ovia there is one spelling mistake here, but for M**AZ**ovia there are two spelling mistakes. Third, it is too far to the East and too close to the Orient for Mazovia. In one of Sebastian Münster's maps it is possible to see the name of the Duchy of Mazovia (Ducatus Mazoviae) in the north-western corner of the map, west of Lithuania (see figures 5.6 and 5.7).

Several cities are depicted in the area under consideration. These are Cracouia (Krakow), Warse (Warsaw), Lemberg (Lviv), Nogardum (Novgorod), and Plesgo (Pskov). Lemberg, Novgorod, Pskov were known as commercial centers in Europe. Lemberg also had German population. 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. It was probably the most remote eastern European city in the region where communities of Western Europeans were present. References to these commercial cities in encyclopedias and travel accounts were discussed in the previous chapters.

Schedel depicted Novgorod and Pskov in the North-Eastern edge of his map. These cities were also known in Europe as 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 Muscovy.

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 Muscovy. The mountain ranges are depicted eastwards of Muscovy. The accent in this map is made on the border of the European continent possibly.

5.2.2   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. It was one of the most popular printed volumes 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 of its time, both on world geography and cartography. It contains a *map of Poland and Hungary*; a *map of Poland* and a *map of Moscovia*.

The *map of Poland and Hungary* is the first example of a regional topographical map of the area (see figures 5.6 and 5.7).[205]

Figure 5.6: Sebastian Münster *Map of Poland and Hungary*

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205 "Poloniae et Vngariae nova descriptio," Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Biblioteca Nacional Digital, accessed April 11, 2020. http://purl.pt/13845/3/#/58
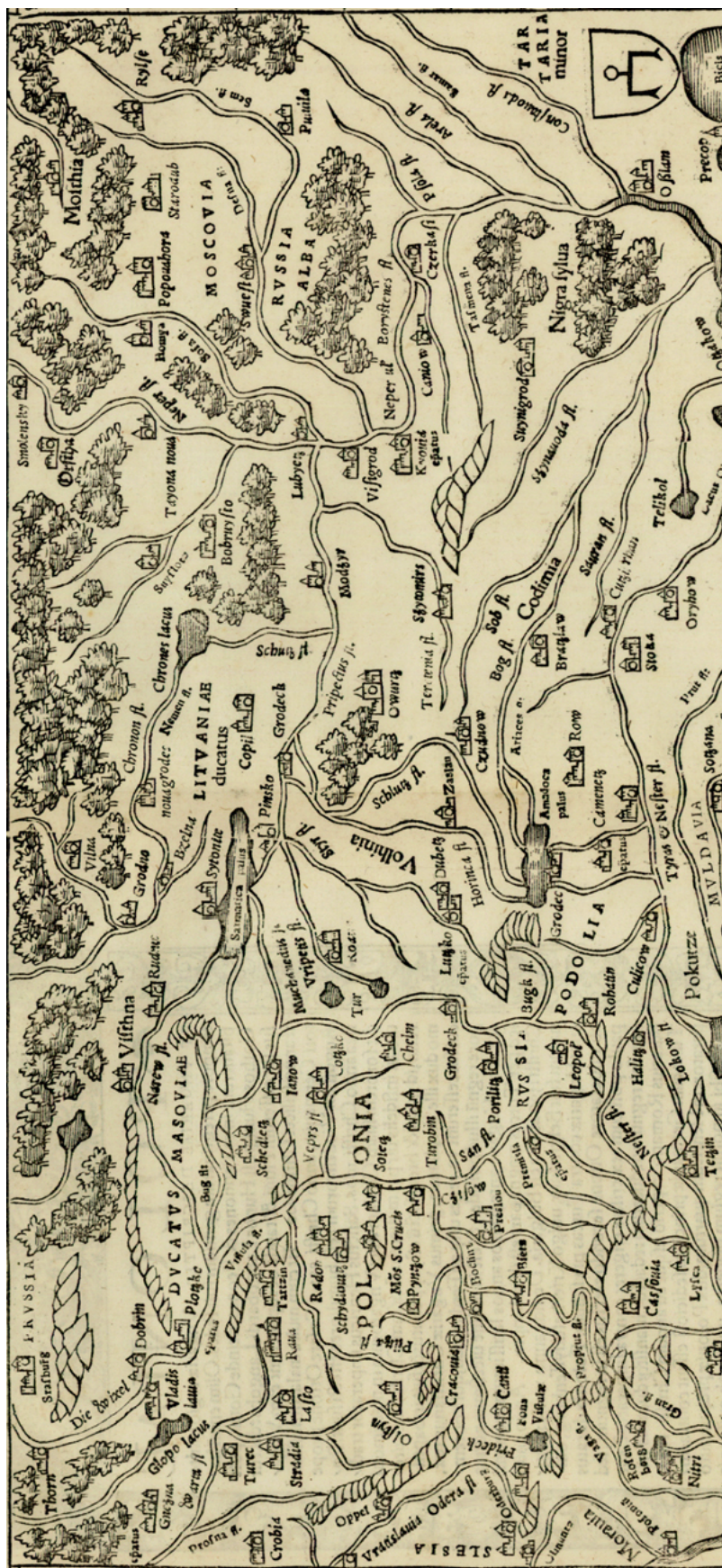
Figure 5.7: Sebastian Münster *Map of Poland and Hungary*, detail

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 (Polonia) and Hungary (Vngaria) make an impression of being more populated and documented, richer in geographical features. The lands to the eastern edge of the map, Lithuania (Litvaniae) and Muscovy (Moscovia) particularly, look less populated and covered with forests. They are not equally and as intensively represented in this map. Thus, one may argue that this was a real situation, that Lithuania and Muscovy did not play an important role in the map of Poland and Hungary, or that Western Europeans did not know much about the topography of Lithuania and Muscovy in Münster's time. These factors influenced the produced image in a sense that Poland occupies a larger territory and looks "stronger" in comparison to Lithuania and Muscovy.

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 of neighboring states. In Münster's map, mountain ranges separate Poland from Hungary, mountains circle Transylvania and Mazovia (Ducatus Mazoviae). 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 Muscovy and separate them from the rest of the depicted part of Europe. This is a cartographic, visually expressed separation of Lithuania and Muscovy from the rest of Europe.

Thus, if one considers this representation of the area along with the textual descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy, some narrative analogies can be observed. For example, the textual reference to Poland in the *Cosmographia* is decisively larger than those to Lithuania and Muscovy. The same is observed in

their pictorial depiction in this map: first Poland, then the other two. Poland is textually described in terms of its history and political life, the descriptions of Lithuania and Muscovy 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 Muscovy. 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 comparison to Hartmann Schedel. There is a visual difference in the frequency of settlements between Poland, on the one hand, and Lithuania and Muscovy, 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 Muscovy with more forests and fewer settlements, with more signs of "nature" and less signs of "culture".

The *map of Poland*[206] also presents a rich topography for this country (see figure 5.8). 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 undergo 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 and content. Now the reader could find in 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 (Littaw) is not accompanied by a separate map of the region. So, the reader would consult the *map of Poland* (see figure 5.8), or

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

Figure 5.8: Sebastian Münster *Map of Poland*

the *map of Poland and Hungary* (see figure 5.6), where it was depicted. In comparison to Poland, Lithuania has fewer cities like: Vilna, Grodno, Kiow (Kiev), fewer castles and occupies a smaller segment in 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 the *Cosmographia* gave the same message and emphasized Poland. An extensive textual reference to the political history of Poland, its less exotic image, its larger spatial image in the visual depiction of the region, numerous castles and fortifications, depicted in Münster's 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 shown by its name Littaw, the region of Samogitia and a few cities. The textual description, given by Münster is shorter than the one of Poland and 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. Its cartographic depiction reflects these features.

The main visual message when looking at it is that Muscovy (Moscouia) differs from the other two countries under consideration. The more to the East towards Muscovy, the more forests one may observe in the map. The closest castle depicted in this map of Muscovy, the Smolensk (Smolensko) one, looks like those in Poland and Lithuania. No other castles closer to Muscovy were depicted in this map. The second architectural image in Muscovy is a kind of oriental tent just under the name of "Moscovia." Thus, the textual references to its nature, abundant forests, rare settlements, and a kind of "oriental" character of its architecture found their expression in this map.

An interesting feature in this map by Sebastian Münster is that he uses here a number of Ptolemaic geographical terms which was not the case in his previous map. Among such terms are Scythia and Sarmatia. It looks like they were still popular among learned geographers and their audiences. Using them in maps and texts in the depicted period helped to connect the previous knowledge about the area under consideration with new facts and information.

The following regional map in the *Cosmographia* we are interested in is the *map of Muscovy*[207] (see figure 5.9). Forests, rivers, lakes, wild animals were among the most frequent characteristic features of Muscovy in Münster's textual description. These features are also clearly presented in this map, especially the thick and endless forests.

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 represent Muscovy. The tent architecture was moved to the east and south-east. The textual description informed the reader that Muscovy was covered by forests abundant in wild animals and bees. Rivers and lakes were abundant in fish. Thus, looking at this image and following the textual description,

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

Figure 5.9: Sebastian Münster *Map of Muscovy (Moscovia)*

the reader would visually perceive Muscovy as rich in any kinds of goods. Its huge forests, numerous rivers and lakes in maps were supposed to have much honey, wax, animals with precious furs, fish, wood and other things. At the same time this land was sparsely populated 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 demonstrate a considerable evolution with regard to the representation of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy. One may assume that he had extensive material on settlements in all three countries. One can also observe that he tried to be close to the textual descriptions of them.

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 5.10[208] and 5.11[209]). The genesis of anthropomorphic maps of *Europa Regina* in Western Europe and in numerous editions of Münster's *Cosmographia* was investigated by Peter Meurer.[210] 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 of self-idea and self-image having been created in the West at the Age of Discovery and the 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. The depiction of the European continent represents a smart visual solution and conveys a strong narrative power. The title in the earlier version conveys the main idea behind this unified image, namely, the idea of the continent united by Christianity (see figure 5.10). 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. This early version also shows Poland (Polonia) and Muscovy (Moscowiten), but not Lithuania.

From the Western European perspective our region in these anthropomorphic maps is located in the "very" periphery of the continent. Particularly in the later editions (see figure 5.11), being put in the gown hem, Muscovy (Moscovia) was a different kind of periphery in comparison to the one where Sicily, England or Spain were positioned. An attempt to separate Muscovy by an additional visual

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

209 "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

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

Figure 5.10: Early Image of Münster's *Europa Regina*

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 a natural border, a thick forest line, in order to separate Muscovy. In may be possible that the mapmaker was influenced by the textual references that this was a forested land, as well as by the textual information that Muscovy had well watched and guarded borders that were hard to pass for anybody. Poland and Lithuania are not separated from each other. The border between Poland and Hungary in *Europa Regina* is demarcated by the Danube, not by a mountain range as it was observed in earlier maps (see figures 5.5, 5.6, and 5.8). Münster uses the ancient term of Scythia in this map as well.

Figure 5.11: *Europa Regina* from Cosmographia, editions after 1588

5.2.3   Olaus Magnus

When creating his map, the Swedish cartographer Olaus Magnus (1490–1557) had a chance to consult a variety of ancient and contemporary geographic sources,

treatises, descriptions of travelers and sailors, as well as oral stories. He stayed in Rome at that period. The result of his work was the famous illustrated map known as *Carta Marina*.[211] 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*. It represented a textual explanation of what was depicted in the map. Thus, the map also became a visual representation of the text. Therefore, 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 Muscovy as well as Samogitia and Lithuania is observed and communicated by the *Carta Marina* (see figures 5.12, and 5.13). The separation of Samogitia, Lithuania and Muscovy, on the one hand, and Livonia and Finland, on the other, is clearly drawn with a line of trees, gulf waters and/or by troops facing each other. 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 Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian union are facing the West.

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

Figure 5.12: Olaus Magnus *Carta Marina*

Figure 5.13: Olaus Magnus *Carta Marina*, detail

Besides the obvious military confrontation in this map, a note referring to the I Corinthians 1:10 is cited *"Non sint in vobis scismata 1 corin: 1"* ("There be no divisions among you") under the seat of the Grand Duke of the Muscovites. It witnesses about the main contemporary religious debate and confrontation between the West and Muscovy, namely, the schism between the Eastern and Western Christianity (see figure 5.14). The image of the Muscovite duke is depicted in

Figure 5.14: Olaus Magnus *Carta Marina*, Grand Prince of the Muscovites, detail

a pretty oriental style.

The symbols above the country name *Litvanie Pars* in this map look very much like Münster's depiction of sacred fire, trees and a snake (see figures 3.19 and 5.15). I tend to suppose that Olaus Magnus borrowed this element/illustration from Münster's entry on Lithuania in *Cosmographia*. The inscription under the image supposedly says: "NUMINA VETERUM ..." The third word in this inscription is not clear.

This phrase is clearer and better readable in the second edition of this map from 1572: "Numina veterum paganorum" ("The powers of old pagans") (see fig-

Figure 5.15: Magnus *Carta Marina*, smaller detail

ures 5.16, 5.17 and 5.18).[212] The color of the fire flames in this edition is not green as in the first edition. It is closer to the depiction in Münster's *Cosmographia*. This is one more example of intellectual contacts, traveling ideas, preserving stereotypes and exchange between the intellectuals in Western Europe. It also demonstrates the narrative connections between the visual and textual sources.

Figure 5.16: Magnus *Map of the Sea*, second edition 1572, smaller detail

The stereotype concerning the old cults in Lithuania present in all its textual descriptions is also present in this map. It is preserved in later edition of *Carta Marina* or the *Map of the Sea* from 1572. The main ecclesiastical challenges for

Figure 5.17: Magnus *Map of the Sea*, second edition 1572, detail

Western Europeans in Muscovy and Lithuania: the Christian schism and the old pagan beliefs, possibly found place in the visual representation of the area in *Carta Marina* because its author was a learned Church man and a bishop. 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 on Renaissance ethnography.[213]

All the 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 borders of confrontation, like in the *Carta Marina*. In other cases, they really depict borders which were hard to

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

Figure 5.18: Magnus *Map of the Sea*, second edition 1572

pass for those who travelled both in terms of geography and politics. With regard to Muscovy, in this sense, it was hard to travel there because of thick forests and marshes, but also because the entrance was restricted and nobody could enter it without a permission. The practice to demarcate states' territorial possessions with linear borders starts being used in cartography later, in the seventeenth century.[214] The beginnings of this technique are observed in the considered maps by authors' drawing borders with the help of natural features: mountain ranges, rivers, lines of trees, and forests. One of the reasons to draw a border in the depicted period could also be the need to demarcate the line between those, who were perceived as being different, strange, "dangerous," aggressive, and so on.

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214 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.

5.2.4   Sigismund von Herberstein

The *topographical map* of Muscovy is one of the illustrations in Herberstein's *Notes.*[215] It was the first Western map concentrating on the topography of this land. The earlier maps by Hartmann Schedel pointed out just the location of Muscovy. 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 Muscovy is also reflected in the map he produced. Before him, Muscovy was almost blank in terms of a topographical area. Only Münster's map of Muscovy 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 Muscovy in his map became a densely populated region as he described it in his *Notes* (see figure 5.19). In this depiction, the land had become occupied by "culture," namely, by urban culture and smaller settlements.

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215 "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 5.19: *Topographical map of Muscovy.* Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii*, 713.

Most of the settlements depicted in this map are also described or mentioned in his textual account of Muscovy. For most of them he provided information on distances from each other. The distances are given 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 Muscovy 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. Muscovy became opened for the Western reader not only thanks to Herberstein's textual description, but also to this visual representation.

Herberstein's second cartographic image of Muscovy is basically the same map as the previous one. The author just covered it with forests, the main distinguishing natural feature of this land (see figure 5.20). Forests were reported for Muscovy 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.
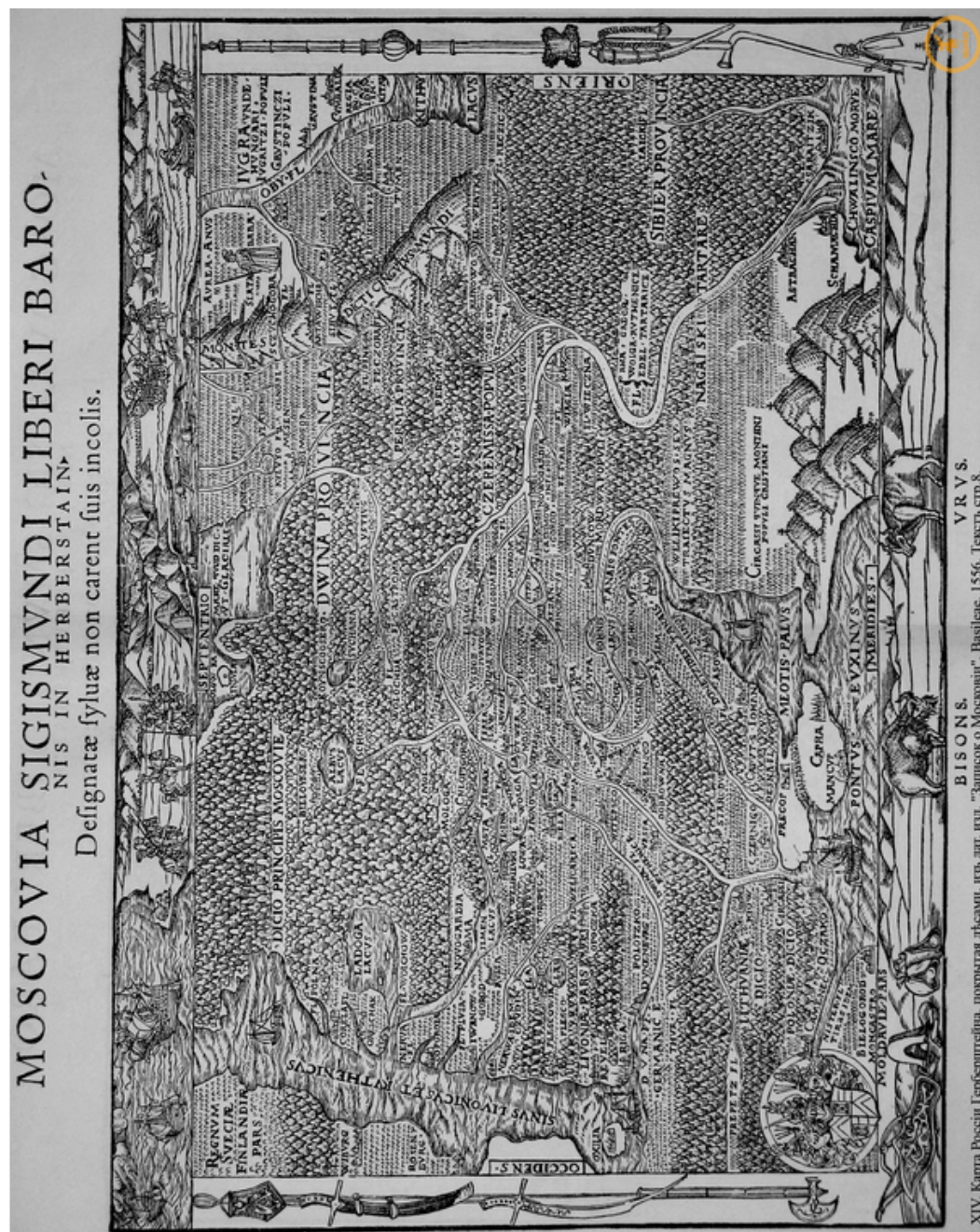
Figure 5.20: *Physical map of Muscovy.* Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii*, 715.

5.3   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 the 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 first *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, in 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. The main aspects observed in this chapter are the following:

➤ The cartographic data accompanies and supplements the textual descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy. By the end of the depicted period, maps became a "must" in encyclopedias containing descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy. 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. The more to the east they got, the less informative the maps became. Among the eastern cities only Lemberg (Lviv), Nogardum (Novgorod), and Plesgo (Pskov) were put in 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 Muscovy were mapped in their topographical depiction and in the two regional maps. Sebastian Münster is the one who keeps using ancient geographic terms in his maps.

➤ A tendency to visually separate the region of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy from the rest of Europe, or Lithuania and Muscovy from the Western neighbors, or finally Muscovy from the rest of Europe is observed in the cartographic depictions through the period. Drawing a border line in maps also 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. As for Muscovy, several references to its well guarded borders that nobody could pass without a permission were identified in the textual sources as well.

➤ Among the most frequently used words in the descriptions of Muscovy according to the textual visualizations was the word "forest" which is also visualized in the maps. Forests are depicted in most of the visual images of Muscovy. It was a forested region, but in the context of the present research and in comparison to Poland and Lithuania it sounded as the land with strong element of "nature" in its image.

➤ 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 undergo 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 and 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 and 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 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 Muscovy among authors, geographers, cartographers, travelers and audiences also would move their discovery efforts to Muscovy. 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. In Schedel's *map of Europe* it is mentioned twice, which emphasizes its size. In Münster's *regional map* its urbanized and cultivated character is visually stronger than for Lithuania and Muscovy. 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 much longer than those of Lithuania and Muscovy, and its image is comprised of political and historical information.

➤ Münster's map *Europa Regina* is the 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 entered the travelers' notes as well. Together with the textual description and drawings, maps comprise an important visual 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 Muscovy for the learned men, but as a practical information guides for travelers, political and military leaders.

➤ Several cases of intellectual exchange, "communication" of visual and textual sources and their impacting each other, cartographic depictions of phenomena described in the previously analysed texts were observed.

➤ 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 Muscovy. 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.

➤ As a general observation it should be pointed out that the above considered maps of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy 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 Muscovy as described and depicted in selected texts, illustrations and cartographic sources from the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. 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 Muscovy in the encyclopedic collections helped to better interpret their cartographic depictions and to better understand the messages 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 show that the authors of the considered encyclopedias assigned different amounts of space to the topics of "culture" and "nature" in their entries on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy. The calculations show 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. and the more is said about the natural environment, climate, natural resources, animals, wilderness, and exotic things. Thus, the considered lands represent areas advancing towards

the eastern edges of Europe geographically, but also their textual representations communicate advancing towards such edges which are less known, less populated, less cultivated, more exotic, more hostile, more wild, difficult to travel to, etc.

Textual references to animals, forests, rivers, exotic things, climate, natural products, as well as visual depictions of such in woodcuts, illustrations and maps become more frequent while moving towards the eastern border of the continent. The created images and representations of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in different groups of the considered sources demonstrate this tendency.

As for the thematic range comprising the images of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy, 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, the religion and the morals. However, when the reader is textually moving eastwards, a larger number of themes or topics will comprise the image of the following land. The farther the described land was situated from the places of origin of the authors or from Western centers, the more detailed descriptions in terms of the variety of constitutive topics would be produced. It seems that the authors' playing with the thematic range, richness, variety, and the size of the comprised themes, as well as gradually growing number of references to nature was the way to textually communicate the motion from the known European centers eastwards, towards the periphery and the less known edges of the continent.

This can be traced when one takes into consideration the content of sources on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy comparatively. In case of Poland the sources present mostly the information on its rulers, political culture and history. As for Lithuania, the main focus falls on its religion, rulers, morals, climate and goods in this country. In case of Muscovy, one finds attempts to describe different aspects of life, activities, customs, traditions, and the appearance of people, the nature, the climate, the goods, animals, landscape, and so on.

Computational text visualizations demonstrate their effective possibilities of presenting "terminological" images of the depicted lands, tracing the main terms through the text body 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 the most frequent common topics and terms are: "king," "duke," "town," "river," "people," and "forest."

The growing tendency of using "nature" terms while moving eastwards is observed with the help of the word clouds for the entries on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in the considered encyclopedias. The textual image of Poland as well as its terminological depiction demonstrate strong political and historical content through the period. It is emphasized in the end of the study period, and expressed by the size of the entry on Poland in Münster's description and its political and historical content. Its image lose topics related to "nature."

The textual representation of Lithuania in the considered encyclopedic works remained rather static concerning its main topic of traditional religious cults. It is emphasized in text visualizations for earlier encyclopedic entries by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Hartmann Schedel. The following strongest theme of Lithuanian cruel rulers and their pet bears is present in the earlier encyclopedic references. It is emphasised in Schedel's entry thanks to his shortenings of Piccolomini's text who he copied. Sebastian Münster offered new information to what was provided before and the visualizations for his entry reflected this and demonstrated a growing tendency towards the terms of "culture." The stories about pet bears, cruelty of rulers and detailed descriptions of Lithuanian old cults are not present in his description, he just point out that in Samogitia they still worship idols. This static motive of idolatry in encyclopedic representations of Lithuania provided ground for creating firm, generalizing stereotypes concerning this country, meaning that it would have been considered by readers as pagan

through the period. According to the obtained text visualizations, a stronger emphasis in these texts is made on Lithuanian people and not on its rulers. The constructed images of Lithuania in encyclopedias were contrasting to those of Poland.

The image of Muscovy in the entry of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, as well as the illustrations 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 features of the image, traced both in the text and the text visualizations of the entry on Muscovy. The text communicated messages of its strong centralized power as well.

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 their settlements, particularly their 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 Muscovy were said to be not splendid enough; having bad walls, or no walls at all; 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, and Warsaw by Contarini, all the other were not nice, not well constructed and not worth mentioning. In contrast, according to Lannoy, the towns in Livonia, Prussia, Bohemia, and Germany were beautiful, nice, very good, and very rich. Contarini starts praising towns on his way back to Italy starting from Warsaw and onward.

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 it was pointed out in the chapter on methodology, the texts on Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy involved into the present research differ in their size a lot

sometimes. For this reason, the applied methods of visual text analysis are not focused on their exact numerical characteristics of their terminological and thematic content. The focus is made on the observed general tendencies, common topics and the variety of the depicted differences in their textual representations. In this respect, the word trend visualizations turned to be a useful computational tool that helped to depict and trace the five main terms/topics in all considered texts and to see in what way the thematic/terminological representations of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in encyclopedias differ from those in travel accounts. It is observed that the main criteria and topics comprising the images of the depicted lands in travel accounts are more homogeneous and common. The three considered authors from the beginning, from the middle and from the end of the depicted period had similar criteria, focused on similar features while speaking about places they visited: rulers, towns, rivers. The tendency is a bit different in case of encyclopedias. The mentioned topics and criteria are present in the descriptions of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy in the considered encyclopedic entries, but the main emphasis and focus is different in each case. Poland is presented in political terms and this feature is getting stronger through the period. The topic of religious cults is central in early descriptions of Lithuania. Its later image receives new elements, particularly, the term "city" appeared among the five strongest. The topic of religion is present, but it loses its positions in the later description from the period. As for the representation of Muscovy in *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster, the word trends depicted two strong terms belonging to state and state power: "Moscovia" and "duke." The other three are "honey," "big," and "river." Thus, encyclopedias offered a wider range of criteria, and demonstrated different accents, that showed to be strong while creating the images of the three depicted lands.

Ambrogio Contarini, together with many complaints concerning accommodation in Poland and Lithuania on his way to Persia, raised the issue of safety, which one does not see in Gilbert de Lannoy's accounts that much. For Ambrogio

Contarini this is a constantly evoking topic. He did not feel safe on his way to Persia from the moment he entered the lands of Poland, felt 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 Muscovy, Lithuania and Poland. As soon as he entered the Muscovite lands he remarked that he immediately felt safer. He referred this feeling of getting safer when he was traveling through Lithuania and Poland towards his homeland. He noted that the accommodations were getting better and better. Probably, the hardships of the trip and the experiences of traveling further to the east, to Persia, had changed Contarini's attitude towards the previously visited lands in the eastern parts of Europe when returning. At last, when he reached Warsaw and then Germany, he could not stop praising the cities telling about the advancing improvement in the looks of their villages, castles and towns and in the living conditions they offered.

The readers find images of cruel rulers in Lithuania and Muscovy, 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 the descriptions of Lithuania and Muscovy, 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 sparsely populated, meaning that settlements were not frequently met while traveling, and these complaints were growing while moving eastwards. The hardships of winter travel in Lithuania and Muscovy are described not only by travelers who went there and often had to make stops for rest under the open sky, but also by writers of encyclopedias.

Sigismund von Herberstein was most diligent, analytic and sober-minded 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. Lithuania also 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, he described the country and its size. He made clear that both Roman and Greek Christian traditions were present in there, with the Greek ones 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 and was still preserved there at his time, as some people were saying.

Cases when the lands of Lithuania were contextually attributed to Poland were observed in all source groups, namely, in encyclopedias, travel accounts and maps. Sigismund von Herberstein's accounts on Lithuania in the end of the depicted research period contributed to better understanding of 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. There, the information on pagan cults was associated with the images of the whole country. It was not clear what language they spoke there. In maps it occupied a smaller segment than Poland, for example. The fact that Herberstein 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 added his own contribution.

It is hard to summarize Sigismund von Herberstein's contribution with regard to the image of Muscovy in a 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 discussed in his report. He introduced the unknown Muscovy to the Western reader. With his account Muscovy was finally integrated into the image of the European continent. He made an at-

tempt to describe its size in his maps and by registering distances between its main cities. He described the Muscovite centers of commercial contact with other parts of Europe and Asia. By describing the dynastic connections of the Lithuanian, Polish and Muscovite 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 Muscovy, namely the regions west of Moscow. As he approached the lands behind Moscow, further to the east, he involved the contemporary cultural predispositions and beliefs into his image. He inhabited the remote eastern principalities of Muscovy with monstrous peoples and beasts. He specified that this information was received from reliable oral sources. He was still influenced by the Western scholastic knowledge, understanding and beliefs concerning the remote edges of the continent and of the known world.

The narrative content of the considered 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 Muscovy experienced more significant developments through the period in comparison to Lithuania.

The analysis of different source groups, namely, encyclopedias, travel accounts and maps provides 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, Muscovy and Russia, the lodgings they offered, the matters of safety, etc. The prevailing wooden architecture, houses made of straw and mud/clay, not that

well fortified urban settlements or absence of fortifications were important signs for the images of Poland, Lithuania and Muscovy.

In the end of the research period, the border of the Muscovite 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 Muscovy 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 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 Muscovy were observed. Olaus Magnus drew a line of trees demarcating a borderline between Poland, on the one hand, and Lithuania and Muscovy, on the other. Numerous images depict the confrontation of military and religious nature from both sides of the borderline. Finally, Sebastian Münster drew a thick forest line and decisively separated Muscovy from the rest of Europe in his map *Europa Regina*. Thus, by the end of the depicted period, the textual references to borders as well as the cartographic depictions of the borderlines follow the common tendency to declare the importance of the border with Muscovy.

The terms "league" and "miles" were observed as frequently used in the visualizations for Sebastian Münster's entries on Lithuania and Muscovy, in Gilbert de Lannoy's travel accounts and Sigismund von Herberstein's descriptions of Lithuania and Muscovy. Distances were also reported in days of travel in travel accounts. The authors' references to the distances between towns in the described countries can be interpreted as a sign of writing about unknown or not well known places. 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 the notion of frontiers between the more 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 Muscovite duke in the *Carta marina* by Olaus Magnus and several depictions of architecture in Sebastian Münster's maps communicate strong oriental elements in the image of Muscovy.

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 word trends can be also incorporated in a map visualization with the final goal to distill the information on a single map. The construction of such maps can be realized with the help of 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 into a web-page for wider public access.

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