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CONFESSION AND CARTOGRAPHY:

RELIGION AND THE MAPPING OF POLAND-LITHUANIA

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Thesis for the Degree of DPhil History

University of Oxford

Trinity Term, 2021

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SHORT ABSTRACT

The religious aspect of early modern cartography remains under-appreciated, and little-understood. It has been overlooked, above all, because of a tenacious assumption, that cartography was secularised by the Ptolemaic revolution. In recent years, this assumption has been challenged, but our knowledge remains severely limited; this is particularly true with regard to the great religious changes of the period: the Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and confessionalisation – a gap which this thesis is intended to fill. It approaches this issue through the lens of a case study, the cartography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, from the later-16th to the early-18th century, and is guided by the question: 'how did cartography respond to the religious changes within early modern Europe?'. In five chapters, it approaches this question from different angles: (1) the changing border of Europe (and continuing fear of paganism), (2) the idealised purification of Christendom in Georg Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572-1617), (3) the struggle to map confessional diversity (approached through a deconstruction of the mapping of the bishop) (4) the response to confessionalisation in the cartography of the Deluge (1655-60), (5) the place of cartography within Counter-Reformation Marian devotion.

Cartography proved highly responsive to the religious changes of the age, responding in a multiplicity of ways, that were much more diverse and complex than the Catholic/Protestant binary that has often defined our understanding. It was much more sensitive to changes in people's minds, however, to their beliefs, fears and agendas, than to changes on the ground – and its response was also limited by the nature and deficiencies of the cartographic medium, which inhibited, in particular, its ability to depict religious diversity. It was an important cultural space where these religious issues were engaged with, and it is argued that cartography could, therefore, serve as a unique and valuable source for historians of religion.

LONG ABSTRACT

Our understanding of the role of religion in early modern cartography is, undoubtedly, deficient. Before the dawn of the 'new cartographic history', inspired by JB Harley, it was long-assumed religion had little-to-no bearing on cartography, it was an irrelevance, or at worst an obstacle, to cartography's scientific development. Thanks to the insights offered by this historiographical sea change, religion is, today, commonly recognised as an essential element of medieval cartography – its relevance to early modern cartography, however, in the words of Zur Shalev, 'still lags behind', and leaves 'a lot to be desired'.[1] This has been overlooked primarily because of a still-tenacious assumption among map historians, that the Renaissance rediscovery of Ptolemy, and the rise of scientific mapmaking, brought about the rejection of religion and the secularisation of the early modern map (the exception being a small minority of unambiguously religious maps, of biblical history for example, or of the Holy Land). In recent years, this assumption has increasingly been challenged, but our knowledge remains severely limited; this is particularly true when it comes to the great religious changes of the period: the Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and confessionalisation. Indeed, in her overview of Renaissance religious mapmaking, Pauline Moffitt Watts highlights that 'there has been no comprehensive study of the relationship of cartography to the Protestant and Catholic reform movements of early modern Europe', and she argues that the limited number of studies there have been serve as 'indicators that such a study might well prove fruitful'.[2] This is where the present thesis intends to make its contribution, as it seeks to answer the question: 'how did cartography respond to the religious changes within early modern Europe?'.

This question is approached through the lens of a case study: the cartography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, from the late-16th to the early-18th centuries. This presents an

[1] Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550-1700* (Leiden, 2012), 15
[2] Pauline Moffitt Watts, 'The European Religious Worldview and its Influence on Mapping', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3 (Chicago, 2007), 387

ideal subject, for it opens up the project to the full spectrum of religious belief found across early modern Europe (encompassing Catholics, Orthodox, Uniates, Armenians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arians and many others of the Radical Reformation, as well as Jews and Muslims), allowing it to look beyond the Catholic/Protestant binary seen further west, while also offering conclusions that are of relevance to anywhere else in Europe, and significant to the history of cartography as a whole. Examining the key documents of Polish-Lithuanian cartography, the thesis makes use of a wide cross-section of images, ranging from small to large-scale, maps to views (even delving into what will be termed 'caricatured cartography'), covering a wide range of media, from print and paint to manuscript and even images embossed in silver. The images are found in a diverse array of contexts, not only in atlases, but in prayerbooks, and in the built environment, and they were made all over Europe, appearing in many different languages (primarily in Latin, but also in German, Italian, French, English, Greek, Polish and even Ruthenian).

The thesis is divided into five chapters, each designed to approach the same question, but from a different angle, and so demonstrate the many different and distinct cartographic responses to the Reformations. Chapter One begins with the bigger picture, and is a study of the boundaries of early modern Europe, an inherently religious question because, at the time, Europe was virtually synonymous with Christendom. It is found that the continent's north-eastern border, though commonly assumed to be defined by the border with Orthodoxy, Muscovy in particular, in fact continued to be defined by the spectre of paganism, long after it had disappeared. This was propagated most notably in the image of a wooded, barbaric Lithuania, established by the Grodecki map (1562), and it took over two hundred years, after the Lithuanians' conversion, for this spectre to be dispelled, belatedly, by the Radziwiłł map (1613). Though this might seem to suggest cartography was highly unresponsive to religious changes, it was merely mirroring a belated shift in the imagining of Europe itself. For, throughout the thesis, it is found that cartography was far more sensitive to what was happening in people's minds, their thoughts, agendas, fears and beliefs, than to the practical religious situation on the ground. Moreover, it demonstrates that, even in the age of confessionalisation, cartography did not turn inwards, into a purely Catholic-Protestant dialogue,

and that paganism (or at least its imagined presence) remained an important element within the complex religious landscape of early modern Europe.

In Chapter Two, we encounter a peculiar mode of response to religious change, bringing a new perspective to a well-known source, Georg Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572-1617). For, though it has been imagined as a secular-minded work, promoting the ideal of religious tolerance, it was, in fact, a highly confessionalised Counter-Reformation document. Its response to the Reformation was to deny its reality, manipulating the built environment of the city to offer an idealised, purified image of Christendom, free not only of Protestants, but Jews too (in this way, it was responding not only to religious changes, but also to one of the inexorable continuities of Christian history, antisemitism). Though it has similarities with other idealised visions of Christendom, such as those of Ortelius and Mercator, it certainly did not espouse their neo-Stoic outlook; and though born of Catholic/Protestant polarisation, much like the 'Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique', it was a far cry from that kind of confessional invective – it stands as a testament to the complexity within the cartographic response to these religious changes.

Chapter Three examines how, in topographical mapping, cartographers strove, not to hide, but to depict the new confessional diversity of the post-Reformation period. We find they were stifled in this effort, however, by the limits of their medium, forcing us to ask not only *how* cartography responded to religious change, but how much it was even *able* to. This issue is explored through a focus on one of the most common, yet most overlooked, features of the early modern map – the bishop. The bishop was *the* way of mapping the early modern Church, but this collided with the changing ecclesiologies of the Reformation, many of which abolished the episcopate. It is argued that this collision was responsible, in large part, for one of the great mysteries of early modern cartography: that of why, in an age of extreme confessionalisation, confessional difference appears so rarely on the map. But, despite their seeming absence, confessional issues were unavoidable – so long as the Church was depicted on the map, it was a space where cartographers had to confront the changes of the Reformation, together with its new ecclesiologies; and so long as the Church was defined by the bishop, there was no neutral way of depicting confessional space.

The Fourth Chapter is concerned, above all, with how cartographers responded to confessionalisation, examining it through the cartography of a highly confessionalised conflict, the Deluge (1655-1660). It explores how cartographers responded (a) to the confessionalisation of conflict, (b) to the confessionalisation of theology (with insight provided by a new concept, 'cartographic hierophany'), (c) to different forms of confessionalisation (while offering the opportunity to disentangle its various meanings), and (d) how cartography was not only affected by confessionalisation, but even effected it. It reveals a cartographic response that is nuanced and multi-layered, more complex than simple Catholic/Protestant hatred, and, indeed, where responses could cut across confessional lines. It also demonstrates, like the chapter following, that early modern cartography was not simply concerned with religion's physical and spatial manifestations, but offers insight into the inner world of faith, and, as such, demonstrates that the science of cartography could inspire the enchantment of the world as much as its disenchantment.

The Fifth, and final, Chapter looks into a very different realm: the response to Counter-Reformation devotion, Marian devotion in particular. It explores how cartography adapted to this new devotional reality, and also shaped it, in three separate areas. It examines (a) how cartography was put to use in a newly competitive pilgrim marketplace, attracting pilgrims to a site (and away from competitors), the discussion revolving around how maps and views could express, enhance, and even create sacred space (a nascent subject in map history); (b) how cartography adapted to the clash between universal and local (which had taken on a devotional twist in the Counter-Reformation); and (c) how it was used as a tool in personal devotion, in mental pilgrimage and Marian prayer in particular. Cartography is found to be a space where Marian spirituality was explored, visualised, and, even more, performed, and a medium that was intimately tied up with the numinous, able to do more than merely depict an earthly connection to heaven, for it partake in such a connection, and even effect it for the viewer.

Given the undeniable significance of the Reformation, Counter-Reformation and confessionalisation, it would seem highly unusual for any cultural product of the period to be unaffected by them. And, though it has widely been assumed that early modern cartography largely

'switched off' to religion, it becomes clear that cartography, far from being unaffected, responded to these religious changes in a multiplicity of ways. It was an innovative space, where cartographers remained very much alive to religious issues, highly responsive to the religious developments of their age. These responses, moreover, could be found not only in self-consciously 'religious' mapping, but even written into the majority of early modern cartographic output, long-presumed to be religion-free – and even if religion did retreat from the map's 'first text', that did not mean it disappeared altogether, for it remained very present in the map's 'second text', leaving rich deposits of evidence for the historian to unearth. Indeed, though JB Harley rightly noted that cartography was fundamentally 'a form of political discourse'[3], it might also be said that early modern cartography remained, unavoidably, a form of religious, confessional discourse, a realm where the religious issues of the day were engaged with. Indeed, issues of confession and faith were often unavoidable, and that even those who seemingly had no interest in confessional issues inadvertently, or even inescapably, found themselves wound up in them.

A fundamental aim of this thesis is to demonstrate the real diversity within this response to religious change. Such variety stems from the fact that cartography, through its very nature, touches on so many different elements of religion. But beyond that, we also find nuance and complexity within those responses, and a narrative far more subtle and wide-ranging than the Catholic/Protestant binary and confessional invective (issues which have dominated our understanding till now). For we find that cartography could, and did, give voice to different sides within each confession – just as there was no singular Anglican, Catholic, Calvinist identity, no singular agenda, so there was no single cartographic response within each confession, and responses could even cut across confessional boundaries. This is clearest in the case of Counter-Reformation cartography, where we see: the polemical alongside the subtle; intra-confessional discourse alongside the inter-confessional; the focus on the fundamentals of faith, alongside the politics of space; the spreading of post-Tridentine doctrine, together with cartography's role in personal devotion; the belief in the absolute permanence of the episcopate, alongside an acceptance

[3] JB Harley, 'Silences and secrecy: The hidden agenda of cartography in early modern Europe', *Imago Mundi*, 40.1 (1988), 57

of its secularisation; the idealised purification of Christendom and dismissal of Protestantism, balanced by the outright demonisation of the heretical 'other'. A shared theme appears out of all this variation, however, that cartography was naturally more sensitive, more responsive, to the changes in people's minds, to the makers' beliefs, fears, agendas, than to changes on the ground – a perhaps surprising realisation, given cartography's ostensible purpose to map out physical reality.

It is also a story, however, of how much cartographers were even *able* to adapt to this new reality, their response limited by the nature and deficiencies of their own medium. And this is but one sign of the importance of integrating the traditional and 'new' cartographic histories, a theme that crops up throughout the thesis. For we find that progress (or stalling) in 'traditional' cartographic development, could enable (or restrict) cartographic responses to religious change. Elsewhere, we see the importance of scientific accuracy from a cultural perspective, how accuracy (or at least its perceived existence) could act as a Trojan Horse, smuggling in religious messages unnoticed, and how it could be orchestrated and exploited by 'paltering' cartographers to get their messages across. On the flip side, the need to rethink our understanding of early modern cartographic science is also stressed; for it is not enough to see religion and science as separate concerns, operating alongside each other – we have to recognise how they could be intimately connected.

It also explores how this cartographic response (together with the ways it was limited) shaped the image of Poland-Lithuania, depicting it, not as a religious melting-pot, but as a near-homogenously Catholic state. To a certain extent, Polish-Lithuanian diversity asked too much of the cartographic medium, which simply was not able to depict religious diversity, or respond properly to the complexities of the post-Reformation world. This Catholic image, however, though it had little bearing on the diverse reality on the ground, acted as a catalyst for the growth of the idea of a Catholic Poland that would predominate in the 18th century. It also stands as an important foil to the revisionist historiographical narrative put forward by Norman Davies and Magda Teter, revealing that, even if the Polish Counter-Reformation did not triumph, and the Catholic Church

remained a beleaguered minority in the Commonwealth, this was, nevertheless, not how it was envisioned by cartographers, or, consequently, how people were led to see it.

Ultimately, however, the thesis aims not only to demonstrate the continuing importance of religion to the early modern map, but the importance of cartography to religion, and thus the value of cartography as a source for historians more generally. For cartography is shown to be a multivalent genre that naturally touches on so many different aspects of religious history (without it needing to be intended). It was innovative and intellectually fertile, a space where cartographers grappled with issues in new, inventive ways, and that was highly sensitive to developments in the early modern mind. It was, moreover, quite peculiar as a genre, offering different challenges, and forcing people to confront, think through, and find solutions for problems which, in other genres, could easily be avoided. It was an important cultural space, where confession and confessional identities were formulated, where the new post-Reformation world was absorbed, confronted and negotiated – it was, in a way, a space where the Reformation happened, and thus could serve as a unique and valuable source for it.

INTRODUCTION

'Venite benedicti – Discedite a me maledicti'

'Come to me, you who are blessed – Depart from me, you who are cursed'

Matthew 25:34, 25:41

It is a map of two halves. Some of world is shown decked in light – but the rest, the larger part, is cast in darkness (Figure 0.1). The meaning of this stark division is revealed in the map's title: 'A representation of the whole terraqueous globe – those Parts of it which are free from shadow are imbued with the Catholic faith, all the other parts, lying in shadow, are devoid of the Catholic religion'.[1] It is a map that documents religious belief, separating the world and its people into Roman Catholics and the misguided 'other', showing us the extent of the Catholic Church across the globe. We see the majority of continental Europe bathed in light, surrounded by shadow on all sides, likewise the Iberian colonies in the Americas, also joined by smaller pockets in Africa and Asia, including, surprisingly, the entirety of China.[2] All others, heathens and heretics together, are cast into shadow. Adorned with the quote above, it is a map that divides the world into the blessed, and the cursed.

The map was first published in 1703, and was the creation of Heinrich Scherer (1628-1704), a Jesuit cartographer and educator.[3] It was included in his *Atlas Novus* (Munich, 1702-10, reprinted 1730-7), a multi-volume work, in seven parts, that explores natural, political and ecclesiastical geography, the science of cartography, and what Scherer terms Marian geography.

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[1] 'Repraesentatio totius orbis terraquei cuius partes, quae umbra carent, fide catholica imbutae sunt, reliquae omnes inumbratae religionis catholicae expertes sunt'

[2] The Jesuits had been performing missionary work in China since the 16th century, and with significant success (Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit mission to China, 1579-1724* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007)), something this Jesuit cartographer was keen to make known.

[3] Scherer taught Hebrew and Mathematics at the University of Dillingen, and subsequently was official tutor to the princes of Mantua and Bavaria (Johannes Dörflinger, 'Scherer, Heinrich' in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 22 (2005), 690-1).

Figure 0.1 – 'Repraesentatio totius orbis terraquei…' – Heinrich Scherer, *Atlas Novus* (Munich, 1702-10)



Along with a number of Scherer's other maps, this image has been lauded for its early, 'revolutionary' use of thematic mapping techniques.[4] This is not all that makes it remarkable, however. It is much more than a document that simply depicts religious loyalty, as thematic maps do today. The map is accompanied by imagery and quotes from the Parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matthew 25:31-46), which fundamentally reshape its meaning. In the parable, quoted to the right of the map, Jesus says how, on the Last Day, he will come again and separate the world's people as a shepherd separates sheep from the goats. And at the bottom right corner we see this separation, as the sheep are led to the left, where their souls are shown rising up to heaven, and goats to the right, straight into the flaming jaws of hell – and above we read: 'The righteous will inherit eternal life, while the others will go away to eternal punishment'.[5] Covered in light and darkness, it is not merely a representation of people's beliefs – it is a map that separates the sheep

[4] Rainald Becker, 'Catholic Print Cultures', in Oliver Scheiding and Anja-Maria Bassimir (eds), *Religious Periodicals and Publishing in Transnational Contexts* (Newcastle, 2017) 38-42; Jim Siebold (ed.), 'Scherer', in *Cartographic Monographs*, Book IV (n.p., n.d.)

[5] 'Iusti autem in vitam aeternam, ibunt hi in suplicium aeternum'

from the goats: the Catholics, destined for heaven, from all others, destined for hell.[6] It is, at its heart, an eschatological map, rooted in the deep-seated expectation and anticipation of the End of the World. It is not merely a depiction of the world around us, but offers us a vision of the future.

Figure 0.2 – 'Repraesentatio Americae Borealis…' – *Atlas Novus*

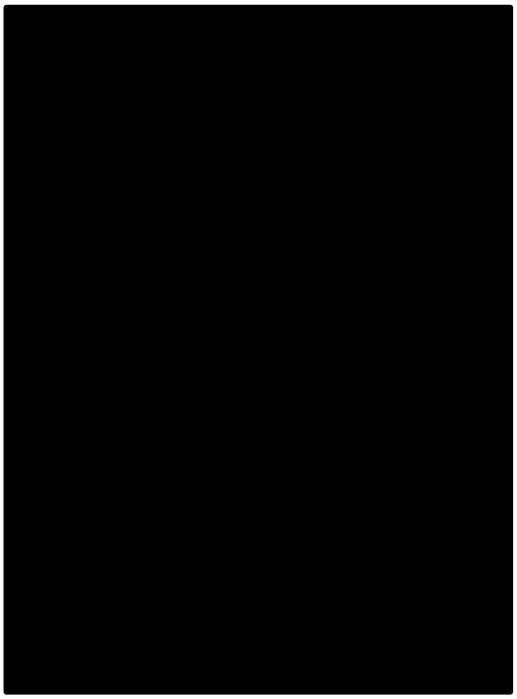


This is but one of the c. 180 maps contained in Scherer's Atlas, maps which exhibit a sustained, sophisticated interaction between religion and cartography. Some maps are infused with evangelical flavour, such as his thematic map of North America (Figure 0.2). Here, the darkness is not so much a judgement upon the native peoples, but rather a spur for Catholics to convert them and save them from damnation. It takes as a basis Jesus' theme of the harvest, a metaphor for the salvation of souls. On the right we see a ship of missionaries, sailing towards the New World, and on the left we see them, sickle in hand, ready to reap the harvest, accompanied by quotes from Scripture: 'Lift up your eyes and look at the fields, for they are now ripe for harvest', 'The harvest is

[6] The theme of light and darkness is embellished further in the thematic map of Africa. Either side of a continent almost entirely shrouded in darkness, we see an illustration, on one side, of a shadowed people, unaware of Death about to ambush them with his scythe, and on the other, those bathed in the light of God. The images are accompanied by quotes on the same theme, taken from the Psalms and the Song of Zechariah.

plentiful, but the workers are few'.[7] The map shows the Catholic Church performing Christ's saving work, and can even be considered a bugle-call, summoning more workers to this divine harvest. It does not bask in the salvation of the chosen few, but shows that there is still hope for the 'goats' of the world, that their damnation is not inevitable, if only Catholics would fulfil their evangelical duty. Some images declare the spiritual authority of the Papacy, proclaiming its Petrine foundation and the authority of the Roman Catholic Church as a whole, tying it cartographically to the institution of the Early Church. Similarly, a frontispiece (Figure 0.3) acts as a visual manifesto for the Church's clerical hierarchy, containing biblical quotes that offer theological justification for priests' spiritual authority, as shepherds of the flock, anointed by the Holy Spirit. It depicts six members of the clergy, attended to by cherubs, bearing the globe upon their shoulders. That motif is repeated, but with the world's secular rulers, in another of Scherer's frontispieces (Figure 0.4), an image that asserts the divine right of all rulers, even non-Christian ones, who rule over the people according to God's favour, with the quote from Proverbs 8:15: 'By me kings reign, and princes decree justice'.[8] Yet another frontispiece declares God's sustaining love for the world

Figure 0.3 – Frontispiece for 'Geographia Hierarchica' – *Atlas Novus*



[7] 'Levate oculos vestros et videte regiones, quia albae iam sunt ad messem'
[8] 'Per me reges regnant et legum conditores iusta decernunt'

Figure 0.4 – Frontispiece for 'Geographia Politica' – *Atlas Novus*

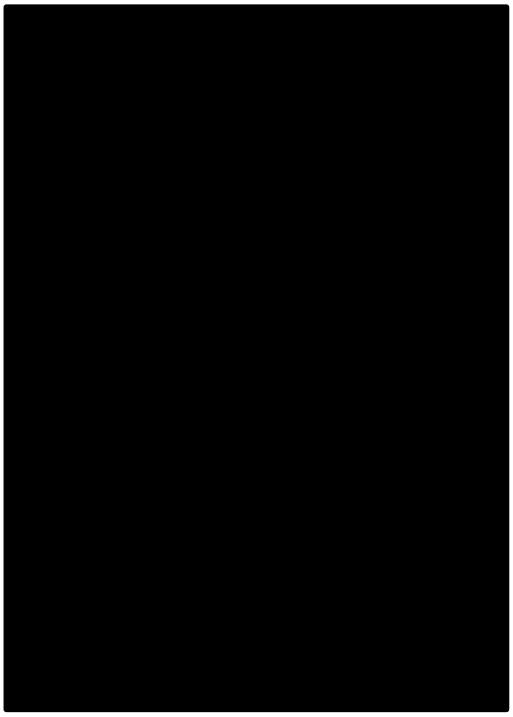
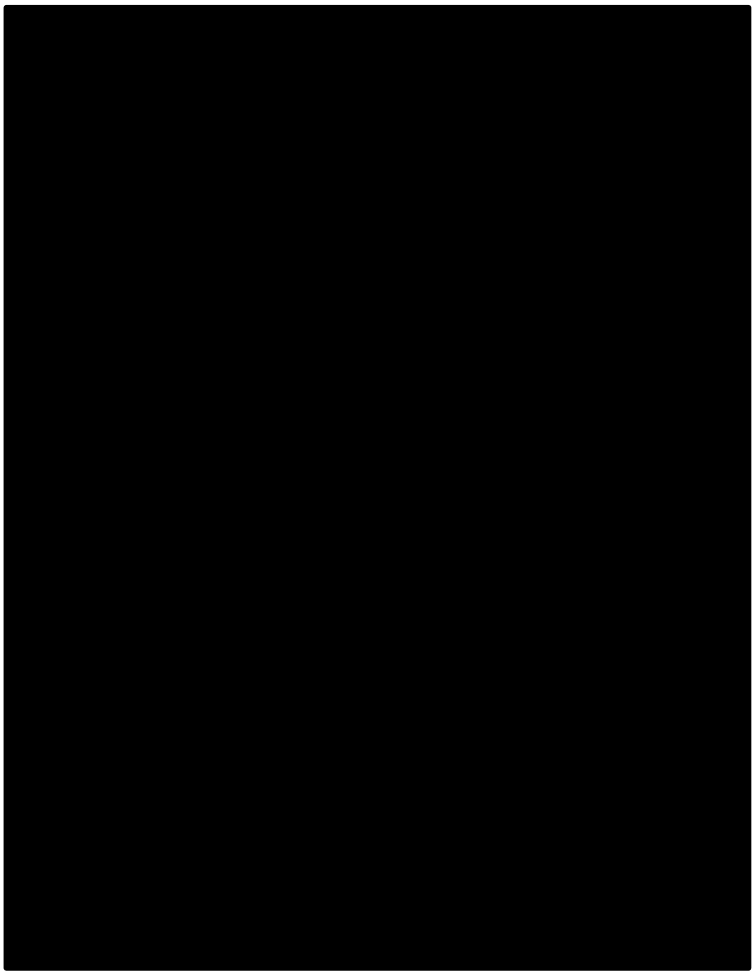


Figure 0.5 – Frontispiece for 'Geographia Naturalis' – Heinrich Scherer, *Atlas Novus*



(Figure 0.5). It depicts the natural world brimming with life, filled with an array of diverse species, surrounded by the stars and constellations, all of which, the Psalm verses surrounding it declare, was created by God, is held in His power, and continues to be sustained by Him. Above, we see a dove, representing the Holy Spirit, shining down light upon the earth, the sustaining force of the whole natural world. One map commemorates the victory of the Catholic Church over superstition and idolatry, while another locates Eden, the terrestrial paradise, on earth. A number of maps, such as Figure 0.6, mark out the Jesuit Order as God's tool in the world, spreading the Gospel to every part of the globe. We see Jesuit missions across every continent on the map, accompanied by portraits of Jesuits who evangelised each continent: Francis Xavier, Apostle of the Indies, Andreas Oviedus, Patriarch of Ethiopia, Joseph of Anchieta, the Apostle of Brazil, and Ignatius Loyola, belonging to Europe. Each is surrounded by students of different races, together with quotations from Scripture, demonstrating how these men were fulfilling the Word of God. And this is not even to mention the *Atlas Marianus*, a whole volume dedicated to Marian geography, with dozens of maps that document the presence, power, and veneration of the Virgin Mary throughout the world.

Figure 0.6 – 'Societas Iesu per universum mundum…' – *Atlas Novus*



Though far from unheard-of today, Scherer's *Atlas Novus* has not received the historiographical attention it deserves. Not subject to an in-depth study for more than a century,[9] the intimate, complex relationship it exhibits between cartography and religion (even deeper than outlined here) is inadequately understood – though, indeed, that is not a great surprise. For, as we will see, the relationship between religion and early modern cartography remains regrettably under-studied.

The fundamental purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to explore that relationship more deeply, and to uncover the complex and varied interaction between them, of which Scherer's *Atlas Novus* was but one manifestation. It will focus above all on the impact of the major religious developments of the age, the Reformation, Counter-Reformation and confessionalisation, and will be guided by the question: 'how did cartography respond to the religious changes within early modern Europe?'. This will be answered with the aid of a case study: the cartography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, from the late-16th to the early-18th centuries, a body of sources little-studied in Western historiography. It offers an ideal subject for a study of this kind. For, firstly, maps of the Commonwealth, its regions and towns, are numerous in this period, but not overwhelming, offering a suitable scale for a study; and, secondly, the Commonwealth was a veritable melting pot of different faiths, possessing a complex religious landscape, thus opening our project up to the full spectrum of religious belief found across early modern Europe, beyond the Catholic/Protestant binary seen further west. But the Commonwealth and its cartography were certainly not so different to elsewhere in Europe as to render our conclusions *sui generis* – they will, we hope, be of relevance to the cartography of anywhere else in Europe, and of significance to the history of cartography as a whole.

[9] Most of the work on Scherer is found in short overviews: Becker, 'Catholic Print Cultures', in *Religious Periodicals*, 38-42; John Greene, 'Maps with a message: Categorizing the works of Heinrich Scherer', *The Portolan, Journal of the Washington Map Society*, 52 (2001-2), 34-44; Adolf Layer, 'P. Heinrich Scherer SJ (1628-1704)', *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen*, 86 (1984), 145-48; Franz Wawrik, *Berühmte Atlanten. Kartographische Kunst aus fünf Jahrhunderten* (Dortmund, 1982), 172-5. The only work to deal with Scherer in more than a cursory fashion was printed over a century ago: Christian Sandler, 'Ein bayerischer Jesuitengeograph', *Mitteilungen Der Geographischen Gesellschaft in München*, 2 (1907), 1-40. I am grateful to Wulf Bodenstein for directing me to Scherer's work.

Historiography

To traditional cartographic history, a positivist discipline that concentrated above all on the development of cartographic accuracy and the teleological idea of cartographic progress,[10] religion seemed at best irrelevant, and at worst an obstacle, to the evolution of the modern, scientific, 'objective' map. Accuracy was the measure of whether maps were 'good' or 'bad', leading to the neglect of those images deemed of no cartographic value. Religious maps, like the medieval *mappaemundi*, were often dismissed (with a certain amount of scientific chauvinism) for their distinct lack of scientific accuracy. A 20th-century Jesuit academic, François de Dainville, had cut a solitary figure in studying religious cartography, French ecclesiastical mapping in particular.[11] The study of maps, however, underwent a 'seismic transformation'[12] in the 1980s, inspired by the work of JB Harley, who brought the insights of the 'cultural turn' to the history of cartography. Drawing on the work of art historians,[13] Foucault's theories of power,[14] and Derrida's deconstructionist methodology,[15] Harley argued that maps are not neutral, value-free products of the scientific process, but are enmeshed in discourses of power, and should be studied for their hidden, semantic meanings. Together with David Woodward, Harley edited the first volume of the famous *History of Cartography*,[16] a momentous (and still-ongoing) project that has redefined the field, establishing what we now call the 'new' cartographic history.[17] The project committed itself to exploring, among other things, the religious dimensions of mapping, and ushered in a change of attitude among map historians.

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[10] In the words of Gerald Crone, 'the history of cartography is largely that of the increase in the accuracy with which elements of distance and direction are determined and the comprehensiveness of the maps' content' (Gerald Crone, *Maps and their Makers* (London, 1953), xi); RA Skelton considered it the study of 'the rate of cartographic progress' (RA Skelton, *Maps: A Historical Survey of Their Study and Collecting* (Chicago, 1972), 106)
[11] François de Dainville, *Cartes anciennes de l'Église de France* (Paris, 1956); idem, 'Problèmes de cartographie historique des Églises', *Cahiers d'Histoire*, 9 (1964), 23-47; idem, 'Cartes des places protestantes en 1620', *Journal des Savants* (Oct-Dec, 1968), 214-43
[12] Peter Barber, "Context is everything…': Ruminations on Developments in the History of Cartography', *Imago Mundi*, 72.2 (2020), 134
[13] JB Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography', in Sarah Tyacke (ed.), *English Mapmaking 1500-1650* (London, 1983), 22-45
[14] JB Harley, 'Silences and secrecy: The hidden agenda of cartography in early modern Europe', *Imago Mundi*, 40.1 (1988), 57-76
[15] JB Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map', *Cartographica*, 26.2 (1989), 1-20
[16] JB Harley and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1987)
[17] For more on JB Harley's work, see Matthew Edney, 'The Origins and Development of J.B. Harley's Cartographic Theories', *Cartographica*, 40.1-2 (2005)

As Peter Barber has recently pointed out, though we might think the 'new' has swept all before it, such dominance is illusory – the traditional 'remains very much alive'. This is undoubtedly positive, as it offers an essential alternative interpretation of cartographic sources, also the prospect of fruitful cross-pollination between them, and Barber salutes the increasing synthesis between the two approaches. Though he draws particular attention to Dutch and German 'traditionalists',[18] Polish cartographic history is likewise firmly traditional, remaining true to the intellectual inheritance left by Karol Buczek (1902-83), whose works remain standards of the discipline.[19] It remains a self-consciously scientific discipline (indeed, since 1975 cartographic historians have officially been part of the Institute of the History of Science, itself part of PAN, the Polish Academy of Sciences), focussed on technological and mathematical analysis, carto-bibliography, and the use of the map as documentary evidence for the past.[20] Teresa Bogacz's recent 40-year overview of Polish historians' cultural approaches to maps[21] reveals the paucity of studies of this kind (though she strangely describes it as an 'avalanche'). It also demonstrates a certain insularity, which has rendered Polish historiography unaware of developments beyond the Polish sphere. No knowledge of the 'new' cartographic history, JB Harley, or the *History of Cartography* project is demonstrated, despite their titanic influence on the wider discipline. Such insularity is, perhaps, the natural result of a near-complete focus on Polish maps on the part of Polish historians, and the neglect of these same images by foreign historians. We hope to remedy this situation, bringing the approach of the 'new' cartographic history to these Polish images, and helping effect the cross-pollination found elsewhere.

Then again, simply applying approaches used elsewhere is not enough, for, in Western historiography, the relationship between religion and early modern cartography remains under-studied and misunderstood. Though the *History of Cartography* project opened the door to the

[18] Barber, "Context is everything…" 131-47
[19] For a complete bibliography of his work, see Karol Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1982)
[20] This can be seen clearly in the volumes of *Z Dziejów Kartografii* (1979-present), the publication linked to the annual Polish Conference of Cartographic Historians
[21] Teresa Bogacz, 'Treści kulturowe w polskich publikacjach z zakresu historii kartografii z lat 1975–2015', *Z Dziejów Kartografii*, 21 (2017), 203-33

religious dimension of mapping, change has nevertheless been slow,[22] and also limited. Historians' attention has been lavished on medieval cartography – whose religious dimensions have been explored in real depth[23] – but withheld from its early modern counterpart. Though Catherine Delano-Smith wrote in 2001 of the 'establishment of religion as an integral aspect of map history',[24] Zur Shalev rightly notes that 'the religious aspect of early modern cartography… still lags behind', and leaves 'a lot to be desired'.[25]

But why have early modernists lagged behind? In essence, it is because it remains a widely held assumption that the 'religious map' was above all a medieval phenomenon, replaced by the secular mapping of the early moderns. Indeed, religion does become less visible on the majority of early modern maps (world maps were no longer centred on Jerusalem and oriented around biblical history, for example), and historians have seen this as an effective secularisation of the map, a secularisation triggered by the rise of scientific mapping, the Renaissance re-discovery of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, in particular. In this way, theology was displaced by geometry. This belief can be seen in the work of older cartographic historians, like RV Tooley, who saw early modern scientific mapping as the antithesis to medieval religiosity;[26] but it is still commonly repeated by historians of the 21st century, who assert that the Ptolemaic revolution 'led mapmakers to turn…away from theology',[27] and led to the 'secularisation of geography',[28] as maps were 'stripped of all elements of fantasy and religious belief', becoming 'abstract and strictly functional systems for the factual

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[22] Catherine Delano-Smith noted that map historians were only 'slowly… learning to reread those maps' from a religious perspective (Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Maps and Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in David Woodward et al. (eds), *Approaches and Challenges in a Worldwide History of Cartography* (Barcelona, 2001), 179-80)

[23] Jon Stone, 'The Medieval Mappaemundi: toward an archaeology of sacred cartography', *Religion*, 23.3 (1993), 197-216; Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers View Their World* (London, 1997); Scott Westrem, *The Hereford Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary* (Turnhout, 2001); Alessandro Scafi, 'Mapping the End: The Apocalypse in Medieval Cartography', *Literature and Theology*, 26.4 (2012), 400-16; Chet van Duzer and Ilya Dines, *Apocalyptic Cartography: Thematic Maps and the End of the World in a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript* (Leiden, 2015); Simone Pinet, *The Task of the Cleric: Cartography, Translation, and Economics in Thirteenth-Century Iberia* (Toronto, 2017); Mordechay Lewy, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 2018); PDA Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London, 2012); Thomas O'Loughlin, 'Map and Text: A Mid Ninth-Century Map for the Book of Joshua', *Imago Mundi*, 57.1 (2005), 7-22; Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise* (London, 2006)

[24] Delano-Smith, 'Maps and Religion', 180

[25] Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550-1700* (Leiden, 2012), 15

[26] RV Tooley, *A History of Cartography* (London, 1969), 22-4, 144

[27] Jerry Brotton, *Great Maps: The World's Masterpieces Explored and Explained* (London, 2014), 13

[28] Jamal Benhayoun, *Narration, Navigation, and Colonialism* (Brussels, 2006), 169

ordering of phenomena in space'.[29] Even David Woodward, editor of the *History of Cartography*, draws a direct contrast between the 'allegorical', religious maps of the Middle Ages and the 'secular, measured, projected, scaled maps' of the Ptolemaic school.[30] If religion does appear, it is often dismissed as a tenacious survivor from the middle ages, intruding on a secular age, rather than a feature of the early modern worldview in and of itself, with images disparaged as 'neo-medieval' for privileging spiritual values over mathematical principles,[31] or accounted merely part of the 'long Middle Ages',[32] with religion and early modern cartography being often considered incompatible.[33] Though Pauline Moffitt Watts argued, in the lone chapter on religious mapping in the *History of Cartography*'s third volume ('Cartography in the European Renaissance'), that we should not dismiss early modern religious maps as 'curious residues of a vanished tradition',[34] the editor of the forward-thinking project, David Woodward, remained unconvinced, only conceding that 'the usual dichotomy between religious maps as belonging to the Middle Ages and secular ones as belonging to the Renaissance *may* be misleading' (our emphasis), later doubling down on the dichotomy, saying: 'One could maintain that the use of maps to plot observations lagged as much as the sacred uses of maps persisted'.[35] At the heart of this narrative lies a more deep-rooted assumption, that of the incompatibility between science and religion – that there is a zero-sum game within the map, the rise of Ptolemaic measurement necessitating the retreat of religion. Such an assumption has, of course, been thoroughly debunked by historians of science,[36] but it seemingly still holds true for historians of cartography.[37]

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[29] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford, 2000) 245-9
[30] David Woodward, 'Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change' in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3 (Chicago, 2007), 6
[31] Simonetta Rodinò, 'L'immagine degli anni santi nelle stampe', in *La regola e la fama* (Milan 1995), 287
[32] Margriet Hoogvliet, *Pictura et Scriptura: textes, images, et herméneutique des mappae mundi* (Turnhout, 2007)
[33] Katharina Piechocki says as much when she claims to privilege 'cartographic over religious thinking' (Katharina Piechocki, *Cartographic Humanism: The Making of Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 2019), 12)
[34] Pauline Moffitt Watts, 'The European Religious Worldview and its Influence on Mapping', in Woodward (ed.), *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, 382
[35] Woodward, 'Cartography and the Renaissance', 10, 23
[36] Gary Ferngren (ed.), *Science and Religion: A Historical Introduction* (Baltimore, 2017); John Brooke and Ian Maclean, *Heterodoxy in Early Modern Science and Religion* (Oxford, 2005)
[37] This perhaps also explains why map historians have proved much more sensitive to the religious aspects of non-European mapping traditions (David Woodward et al., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, books 1, 2 and 3 (Chicago, 1992-8); Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India* (Durham, NC, 2010); Jörg Gengnagel, *Visualized Texts: Sacred Spaces, Spatial Texts and the Religious Cartography of Banaras* (Wiesbaden, 2011); Eric Huntington, *Creating the Universe: Depictions of the Cosmos in Himalayan Buddhism* (Seattle, 2018))

The perseverance of this assumption has heavily blinkered our historical purview, and is inauspicious for more than cartographic history alone. It has closed the eyes not only of map historians, but other historians too, for whom cartography could prove a valuable source. Thus, though medievalists are turning to cartography as an inter-disciplinary source for religious issues,[38] early modern historians, whether of the religious landscape like Alexandra Walsham,[39] or of religious visual culture like Bridget Heal,[40] even historians of sacred space,[41] make use of wide varieties of imagery, but no use of cartography.[42]

This is not to say there have not been exceptions to this disregarding of religion. The main exception would be the phenomenon of 'sacred cartography', early modern maps of the Holy Land[43] and biblical history[44], which, of course, are undeniably religious. Likewise, other unambiguously religious maps have drawn attention, such as missionary maps,[45] or the 'Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique'.[46] But such images represent but a fraction of early modern cartographic output, leaving the 'secular' majority of maps unstudied. Meanwhile, a number of museum exhibitions have displayed an admirably wide understanding of religious mapping (though necessarily they cannot analyse their images in any real depth).[47] Only a few historians have delved

[38] Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (eds), *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2012)
[39] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape* (Oxford, 2011)
[40] Bridget Heal, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (Oxford, 2017)
[41] Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (eds), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2005)
[42] A recent and notable exception to this is Kat Hill's study of Mellinger and Stella's map of Mansfeld, which, though the study of just one map, neatly demonstrates the potential of cartography to contribute to our understanding of early modern space and its confessional characteristics (Kat Hill, 'Mapping the Memory of Luther: Place and Confessional Identity in the Later Reformation', *German History*, 38.2 (2020), 187-210)
[43] Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Bible Lands* (London, 1986); Eva Wajntraub and Gimpel Wajntraub, *Hebrew Maps of the Holy Land* (Vienna, 1992); Ariel Tishby, *Holy Land in Maps* (New York, 2001); Pnina Arad, 'Memory, Identity and Aspiration: Early Modern Jewish Maps of the Promised Land', *Imago Mundi*, 69.1 (2017), 52-71; Rehav Rubin, *Portraying the Land* (Berlin, 2018)
[44] Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Maps as Art and Science: Maps in Sixteenth-Century Bibles', *Imago Mundi*, 42.1 (1990), 65-83; Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Ingram, *Maps in Bibles* (Geneva, 1991); Julius Oswald, 'Zur Geschichte biblischer Atlanten', in Hans Wolff (ed.), *Vierhundert Jahre Mercator* (Vienna, 1995); Shalev, *Sacred Words*; Renate Dürr, 'Mapping the Miracle: Empirical Approaches in the Exodus Debate of the 18th Century', *Past and Present*, 237 (2017), 93-113
[45] Mark Dizon, 'Cartographic Ethnography: Missionary Maps of an Eighteenth-Century Spanish Imperial Frontier', *Imago Mundi*, 73.1 (2021), 73-81; Noël Golvers, 'Jesuit Cartographers in China: Francesco Brancati, S.J.', *Imago Mundi*, 52.1 (2000), 30-42
[46] Frank Lestringant and Alessandra Preda (eds), *Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique* (Geneva, 2009)
[47] Török Zsolt (ed.), *Sacred Places on Maps* (Pannonhalma, 2005); Ben Huseman, *Mapping the Sacred: Belief and Religion in the History of Cartography* (Arlington, 2006); Jerry Brotton and Nick Millea, *Talking Maps* (Oxford, 2019), 'Sacred Topographies'

into the religious dimensions of 'secular' maps, such as those of Mercator[48] and Ortelius.[49] Recently, however, the persistent assumption of cartography's secularisation has begun to be broken down, primarily thanks to the work of art historians. Sean Roberts, for example, has railed against the 'persistent historiographical myth' of Ptolemaic secularisation, demonstrating how the Ptolemaic revival was in fact performed by clerics, or scholars under Church patronage, and arguing that there was no contradiction between sacred and secular in cartography, but rather a 'harmonious synthesis'.[50] (This same symbiosis is made clear in Figure 0.7, where Scherer depicts 'Scientia Sacra' and 'Scientia Profana', theology and cartography, as equal partners). Boudewijn

Figure 0.7 – 'Scientia Sacra' and 'Scientia Profana', in 'Provincia superior germaniae societatis' – *Atlas Novus*



[48] Jerry Brotton, 'A 'Devious Course': Projecting Toleration on Mercator's 'Map of the World', 1569', *The Cartographic Journal*, 49.2 (2012), 101-6; Marcel Niden, 'Gerhard Mercator als Theologe', *Lectiones inaugurales*, vol. 9 (Berlin, 2014)

[49] Giorgio Mangani, 'Abraham Ortelius and the Hermetic Meaning of the Cordiform Projection', *Imago Mundi*, 50.1 (1998), 59-83; Denis Cosgrove, 'Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93.4 (2003), 852-70; Lucia Nuti, 'The world map as an emblem: Abraham Ortelius and the Stoic Contemplation', *Imago Mundi*, 55 (2003), pp. 38–55

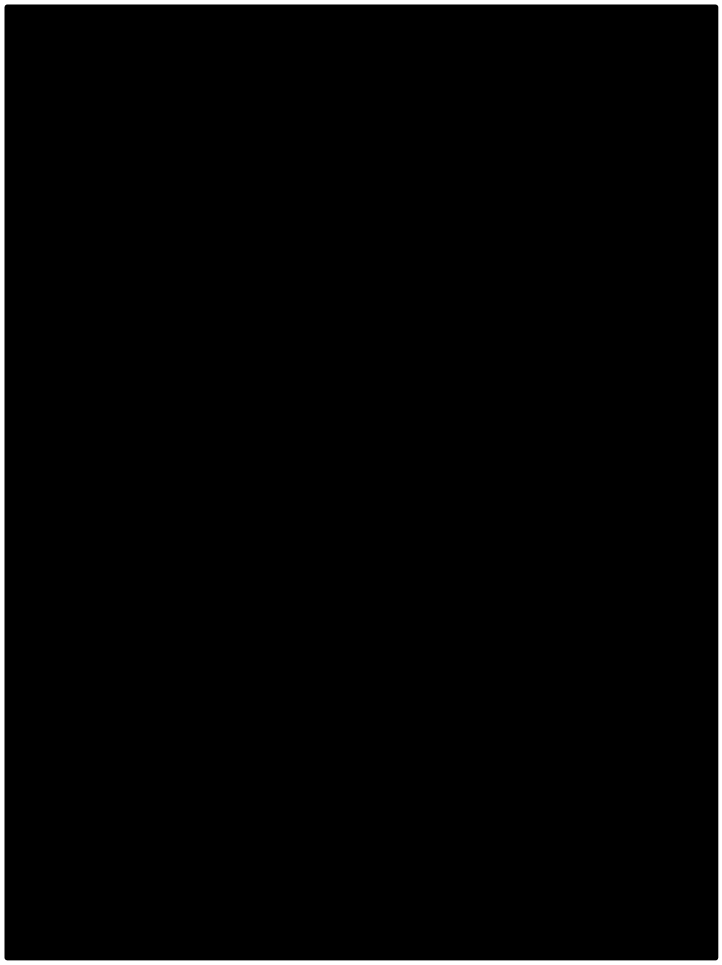
[50] Sean Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, Ma., 2013); also see Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 7, 207-8

Bakker, meanwhile, has made it clear that, just as with Dutch landscape painting (another genre traditionally characterised as modern, accurate and secular), the science of cartography could be a religious enterprise in its very nature. He notes how, well into the 17th century, people continued to believe that visible creation, the Book of Nature, naturally complemented the Book of Scripture, the bible. It was an essential part of divine revelation, possessing intrinsic meaning for mankind, whose duty was to study and contemplate it, so elevating one's mind to the Creator; and cartography could serve as a representation of this Book of Nature, a means of understanding it. Much like Rembrandt's landscapes, maps could be a 'visual hymn' to the magnificence of God's creation, and offer the reader a means of contemplating it. Thus a reader of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* urged the rapid publication of a Dutch translation so that more people 'will exalt the great deeds of God… with amazement! And lift up His Holy Name in praise', and when Peeter Heyns published a Dutch pocket edition of the atlas in 1577, he chose Psalm 46:8 as a motto: 'Come, behold the works of the Lord'. (Likewise, in Figure 0.5, the frontispiece to the very first volume of Scherer's *Atlas Novus* sets the tone for the entire work, its maps shown not to be merely scientific depictions of the world, but depictions of God's wondrous creation, and his endless care for it). Moreover, Bakker argues that even the supposed death-knell of the religious map, the rise of cartographic accuracy, can be considered as religious in its very essence. For the belief that God created the universe as an image of his own beauty and perfection accorded to mankind a duty to imitate nature as closely as possible – the imperative of *imitatio naturae*. The rise in accuracy, in mapmaking as in painting, was not a simple pursuit of value-free geographical truths. The faithful portrayal of nature was in itself an act of piety, and a means of approaching the creator.[51] As much is clear in Jodocus Hondius' map of Europe from 1602. In the top-right corner we see a woman with the scientific tools of the cartographer (Figure 0.8), we might call her 'Cartographia', the personification of cartography. In one hand she holds a pair of compasses, in the other, Moses-like, a tablet, bearing the words 'Lex Dei'. Above lies the quote: 'Gloria tibi Deus in eternum, quoniam a te omnia procedunt'.[52] The meaning is clear: the act of scientific mapmaking, producing ever-more accurate depictions of God's wondrous creation, reveals to mankind the Law of God itself.

[51] Boudewijn Bakker, *Landscape and Religion from Van Eyck to Rembrandt* (Farnham, 2012), esp. 1-4, 115-24
[52] 'Glory to you, O Lord, forever, for everything proceeds from you'

(Ironically, this image was included as an illustration in RV Tooley's *A History of Cartography*, a work that assumes a contradiction between scientific and religious motivations).[53] Cartographic accuracy did not have to represent a move away from religious mapping, but rather a new attempt at attaining a divinely-ordained truth.

Figure 0.8 – "Cartographia", in Jodocus Hondius, 'Europa' (s.l., 1602)



A number of these works have offered their own answers to the question that frames this thesis, of how cartography responds to early modern religious change, the majority analysing it in terms of the Catholic/Protestant dichotomy and confessional polarisation. Early work on biblical mapping by Ingram and Delano-Smith noted how 'the history of maps in Bibles is part of the history of the Reformation', noting how biblical mapping was, initially, an almost overwhelmingly Protestant endeavour, a tool in Protestant exegesis.[54] Similarly, maps have been studied as tools of

[53] Tooley, *History of Cartography*, 22-4, 74, 144
[54] Delano-Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, xvi

Reformation-era propaganda,[55] an element of confessional polemics, whether in the case of the anti-Catholic 'Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique',[56] or the anti-Protestant Vatican Gallery of Maps.[57] Zur Shalev has, likewise, focussed on the 'confessional battle over sacred geography', but does offer a more nuanced picture, challenging the strict confessional dichotomy by noting their shared foundation in antiquarian scholarship.[58] Kat Hill, looking beyond inter-confessional conflict, has noted how cartography was used to layer the landscape with the memory of Luther, and establish the Lutheran confession more deeply within early modern Europe.[59] A few, however, have looked outside the confessional divide, studying the neo-stoic, irenic mapping of Mercator[60] and Ortelius,[61] which sought to rise above the confessional conflicts of their day. (Though it should also be noted that, Shalev excepted, these works are almost entirely focussed on the 16th century). Many of these isolated, discrete conclusions were brought together by Pauline Moffitt Watts in her overview of Renaissance religious mapmaking. She highlights that 'there has been no comprehensive study of the relationship of cartography to the Protestant and Catholic reform movements of early modern Europe', but considers that such conclusions serve as 'indicators that such a study might well prove fruitful'.[62]

Poland-Lithuania

This being a study of Polish-Lithuanian cartography, it will be necessary to offer an overview of the Commonwealth's religious landscape, and how it changed over time, beginning with the pre-Reformation period. Poland-Lithuania was, *de jure*, a Catholic nation, each partner having converted to Latin Christianity in the 10th and 14th centuries respectively. But the state also straddled the ancient schism with Greek Christianity, a result of its occupation of the Ruthenian

[55] Delano-Smith, 'Maps and Religion', 197-200
[56] Lestringant and Preda, *Mappe-Monde*
[57] Francesca Fiorani, 'Post-Tridentine 'Geographia Sacra': The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace' *Imago Mundi*, 48 (1996), 124-48
[58] Shalev, *Sacred Words*
[59] Hill, 'Mapping the Memory', 187-210
[60] Brotton, 'A 'Devious Course", 101-6; Niden, 'Gerhard Mercator als Theologe'
[61] Mangani, 'Abraham Ortelius and the Hermetic Meaning'; Cosgrove, 'Globalism and Tolerance'; Nuti, 'The world map as an emblem'
[62] Moffitt Watts, 'The European Religious Worldview', 387

lands of the old Kievan Rus', and thus was home to a large Orthodox population[63] – in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the Orthodox constituted the majority – and besides the Orthodox, there was also a significant community of Armenian Christians, particularly in the city of Lviv, where they had their own bishop.[64] The Commonwealth moreover became known as a 'Paradisus Iudaeorum', and was home to the world's largest Jewish population, which could claim significant legal privileges and autonomy, and encompassed Karaite, Ashkenazi, Sephardi and, later, Sabbatean communities.[65] And it should not be forgotten that there was a small, but significant, Muslim presence in the Commonwealth, the Lipka Tatars, descendants of those invited to settle in Lithuania by Grand Duke Vytautas in the 14th century.[66] On top of this, there even remained fears of a lingering paganism in the forests of Lithuania.[67] Such diversity was only multiplied by the onset of the Reformation.[68] As a general rule, Lutheranism made the greatest gains amongst townspeople, particularly in Royal and Ducal Prussia, while Calvinism found success amongst the *szlachta* (the Polish-Lithuanian nobility), and these confessions were joined by, amongst others, the Bohemian Brethren, Schwenkfeldians, Anabaptists, and Anti-trinitarians, whose Academy and printing press at Raków exerted influence across Europe. Religious freedom was assured by the 1573 Confederation of Warsaw, which epitomised a tradition of toleration that pre-dated the Reformation (a result of the long Polish-Lithuanian experience of ruling over a religiously diverse population), and it was a tradition that, furthermore, drew displaced heretics from all over the continent.[69] Such confessional complexity was virtually unmatched in Europe.

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[63] Oskar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439-1596)* (Rome, 1958); Antoni Mironowicz, 'Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th-18th Century', *Białostockie Teki Historyczne*, 14 (2016), 41-61

[64] Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce* (Lublin, 1982); Michael Półczyński, 'The Relacyja of Sefer Muratowicz', *Turkish Historical Review*, 5 (2014), 59-93

[65] Gershon Hundert (ed.), *Jews in early modern Poland* (Oxford, 1997); Antony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Volume 1, 1350-1881* (Oxford, 2019); Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (eds), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 7: 'The Early Modern World 1500-1815' (Cambridge, 2017), esp. chapters 8, 21, 22, 30

[66] Michael Półczyński, 'Seljuks on the Baltic', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 19.5 (2015), 409-37

[67] Stephen Rowell, 'Was Fifteenth-Century Lithuanian Catholicism as Lukewarm as Sixteenth-Century Reformers and Later Commentators Would Have Us Believe?' *Central Europe*, 8.2 (2010), 86-106

[68] Janusz Tazbir, *Reformacja w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1993); Piotr Wilczek et al. (eds), *Reformacja w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i jej europiejskie konteksty* (Warsaw, 2010); Piotr Wilczek, *Polonia Reformata* (Göttingen, 2016); Natalia Nowakowska, *King Sigismund of Poland and Martin Luther* (Oxford, 2018); Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock (eds), *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe* (Leiden, 2015)

[69] Janusz Tazbir, *A State Without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1973); Paul Knoll, 'Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland', in Howard Louthan et al. (eds), *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Differences in Central Europe, 1500-1800* (New York, 2011), 30-52; David Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbours: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Ithaca, 2013)

This diversity was seen as a problem, however, by proponents of the Counter-Reformation (the arrival of which is often said to coincide with the arrival of the Jesuits in 1564), who deplored that the Commonwealth had become a 'haven for heretics',[70] and sought to bring everyone into the Catholic fold – with varying degrees of success. It found the greatest success amongst the Protestant *szlachta*, who returned to Catholicism almost uniformly, but had less success in the cities of Royal Prussia, which remained firmly Protestant. A concerted attempt to Catholicise the Commonwealth's Orthodox resulted in the 1596 Union of Brześć, and the creation of the Uniate, or Greek Catholic, Church, which recognised the authority of the Pope, while maintaining its traditional Eastern rites.[71] Rather than resolving a problem, however, it created a new one. A top-down imposition by bishops, the Union was largely rejected by the lower clergy and their congregations, all resulting in a severe triangular tension between Catholics, Uniates and Orthodox, up-ending the long-lasting peaceful co-existence between them. Perhaps more successfully, the Commonwealth's Armenians formed a similar Armenian Catholic Church in the 1630s. The successes (and failures) of the Counter-Reformation undermined the tradition of religious toleration, and this was exacerbated by the disaster of the Deluge (1655-60), when the Commonwealth was overrun and pillaged by its heretical neighbours (Protestant Swedes, Transylvanians, and Brandenburgians, and Orthodox Cossacks and Muscovites), which helped cast non-Catholics as the enemies of a Catholic Polish nation. Anti-trinitarians were expelled from the Commonwealth in 1658; apostacy from Catholicism was made illegal ten years later; and by 1673 the ennoblement of non-Catholics was prohibited.

That said, it remains disputed to what extent the Commonwealth became a Catholic state in the wake of the Counter-Reformation. In the traditional historiographical narrative, the Counter-Reformation was a 'triumph', transforming Poland-Lithuania from a state of extreme diversity into 'an almost religiously homogenous state';[72] the only debate over how quickly it happened,[73] or how

[70] 'asylum hereticorum' (Stanisław Hozjusz, *Opera omnia* (Cologne, 1584), vol. 2, 225)
[71] R Łużny et al. (eds), *Unia brzeska, geneza, dzieje i konsek-wencje w kulturze narodów słowiańskich* (Krakow, 1994); Mikhail Dmitriev, 'Conflict and Concord in Early Modern Poland: Catholics and Orthodox at the Union of Brest', in Louthan et al., *Diversity and Dissent*, 114-36
[72] Waldemar Kowalski, 'From the "Land of Diverse Sects" to National Religion: Converts to Catholicism and Reformed Franciscans in Early Modern Poland', *Church History*, 70.3 (Sep., 2001), 526
[73] Kazimierz Bem, *Calvinism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1548-1648* (Leiden, 2020)

it was accomplished.[74] Norman Davies was the first, however, to question whether it happened at all. He argued that the narrative of Catholic triumph is 'deceptive' and 'illusory', a result of a blinkered focus on the *szlachta* alone, and that Catholicism remained in the minority until the 18th century, when the Partitions finally removed non-Catholic presence from the Commonwealth.[75] His argument has been backed up by Magda Teter, whose study of ecclesiastical documents reveal a Catholic Church still 'beleaguered' by religious enemies into the 18th century.[76] We are left with two antithetical images of the Commonwealth, as near-homogenously Catholic, or still a religious melting pot. This disagreement is not unique to historians, but was mirrored contemporarily as well, as can be seen in the writings of two Englishmen, the cartographer John Speed, and Parliamentarian Oliver Cromwell. 'They have a good minde to Religion, but cannot fasten upon any one to their liking,' wrote Speed of Poland, 'they have scarce slipt any error, schisme, or heresie, which hath crept into the Church… and indeede Poland had the senioritie of Amsterdame for that old saying: that if a man had lost his Religion, here he might find it.'[77] Cromwell, however, saw the Commonwealth, in apocalyptic terms, as part of the 'Papal Empire', a country that needed to be wrested from popery 'as it were a horn from the head of the Beast'.[78]

Exactly how cartography related to these two discordant images will be a major theme of this thesis. For, alongside examining how cartography responded to religious change, we will see how this response, in turn, shaped the mapped image of Poland-Lithuania. We will not seek to wade into the debates raging around the reality of the Commonwealth's religious landscape – we will, instead, seek to establish what people *thought* that reality to be. For it is what people *believe* to be true that shapes their actions, choices and beliefs, far more than what is *actually* true. Though maps can be used as evidence for the historical landscape, they are problematic in this regard. As we will find, they are imperfect, distorted reflections of reality, but can tell us much more about the image of a place. Arguably, they reflect a cartographer's idea of a place, more than the actual place itself

[74] Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594-1648* (Abingdon, 2016)
[75] Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1981), 197
[76] Magda Teter, *Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post-Reformation Era* (Cambridge, 2006)
[77] John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1627), 32
[78] Letter to Charles Gustav of Sweden, 1656, in Guernsey Jones, *The Diplomatic Relations between Cromwell and Charles X Gustavus of Sweden* (Lincoln, Neb., 1897), 38

(and indeed are far more reliable as sources for the former than the latter). But they were not simply reflections of such perceptions, they created them. Maps are not passive objects, but 'agents of change in history',[79] shaping the very world they were born into – or at least people's idea of it. For cartography was fundamental to shaping the image of a country, working alongside texts, like histories and travel writing, to shape a nation's image. If one did not have the opportunity to travel and experience the world in person, it was through word and image that one encountered the wider world. Maps influenced, and to a large extent determined, the image of a country in the eyes of well-read society (on a certain level, the cartographic image *was* the image of the country), as it was used to project one's self-image to the world, or even to promulgate one's own image of a foreign country.

Of late, historians have increasingly been studying this relationship between cartography and image, how maps fashion, and are used to fashion, the image of a nation, place or region,[80] an approach we will apply to a Polish-Lithuanian context. Though historians have studied the textual dimension, how texts, travel accounts in particular, have shaped the image of the early modern Commonwealth,[81] images have been overlooked, cartography included.[82] Though Polish cartographic historians often speak of the development of the image of Poland-Lithuania, they speak in scientific terms, referring to the development of an accurate map, not to the evolving cultural image of the country[83] (though we will find that the two are not unrelated). We hope to fill, at least partially, this gap in the historiography, seeing how maps could act as expressions of the Commonwealth's image, and indeed shape it, both at home and abroad. We will be looking in part at images made by Poles and Lithuanians themselves, but also those made by foreigners in the

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[79] Harley and Woodward (eds), *History of Cartography*, vol. 1, 5

[80] Jasper van Putten, *Networked Nation: Mapping German Cities in Sebastian Münster's 'Cosmographia'* (Leiden, 2017); Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2015)

[81] Gintautas Sliesoriūnas, 'The Image of Lithuania in English Publications in the 17th Century', *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, 16.1 (2011), 95-118; T Chyńczewska-Hennel, *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku w oczach cudzoziemców* (Warsaw, 1994); EA Mierzwa, *Anglia i Polska w epoce Jana III Sobieskiego* (Łódź, 1988), and *Anglia i Polska w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* (Warsaw, 1986); JA Wilder, *Okiem cudzoziemca. Ze wspomnień cudzoziemców o dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw, 1959); Stanisław Kot, *Rzeczpospolita Polska w literaturze politycznej Zachodu* (Cracow, 1919); X Godebski (ed.), *Obraz Polski pod koniec XVII wieku* (Lviv, 1869)

[82] Though Chyńczewska-Hennel's *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku* includes images as illustrations, they are not included in her analysis.

[83] A partial exception can be found in a very short article by Jakub Niedźwiedź, 'Polonia noviter reperta. Mapy: definiowanie siebie i świata w XVI wieku', *Autoportret*, 44.1 (2014), 32-9, which crosses between the two, speaking of the scientific map image and of Poland-Lithuania's place in Europe.

West (almost always copied from Polish-Lithuanian originals), examining the Polish-Lithuanian self-image alongside the Western image of the Commonwealth. We will assess, primarily, the depiction of the country's religious landscape – is it envisioned as a hotbed of heresy, or a Catholic stronghold? – but also broader, connected matters, such as Poland-Lithuania's place in Europe. The Commonwealth did not always have a unitary image, and therefore we will also examine the images of its constituent parts: the Crown of Poland, and Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Definitions, Sources and Methodology

Before we discuss our source-base, it is important that we set out our definition of cartography, and what we mean by the term 'map'. Regarding the latter, we will follow the definition provided by Harley and Woodward in the first volume of the *History of Cartography*, that 'maps are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world'.[84] Their conception, widely accepted today, was deliberately broad, for it aimed to liberate cartographic history from the limitations imposed by overly scientific, Euro-centric definitions. Maps are but one type of cartographic image, however, and our analysis will extend beyond 'top-down' maps, encompassing 'side-on' or oblique views and panoramas, images we likewise consider to be forms of cartography. Indeed, throughout the multi-volume *History*, views, panoramas and cityscapes are studied as 'a genre of cartography'[85] and are considered 'cartographic images'[86] just like traditional top-down maps. That said, though maps and views are studied as common aspects of cartographic history, they are, nevertheless, still divided, studied separately and considered categorically different from one another – but this should not necessarily be the case. In works we will be studying, such as the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* or Pufendorf's *Carolo Gustavo*, views and maps were wholly interchangeable, switched between with little regard for any difference between them. Moreover, historians have pointed out that the conception of the 'map', *sui generis*, is a relatively recent invention. Etymologically, they were not

[84] Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography*, vol. 1, xvi
[85] Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, 931
[86] ibid., 825

marked out as distinct from other kinds of imagery, being described as cloths, tablets, drawings or prints, delineations, descriptions or images, and any distinction 'between views and maps rarely existed until the emergence of subject specialisms in the late eighteenth century'.[87] To separate maps from views as discrete categories would be both artificial and anachronistic, and therefore we will allow them to intermingle in our analysis, just as they were experienced at the time. In fact, though they do not acknowledge it, there is nothing in Harley and Woodward's definition of the map that strictly precludes views. Many of the views that we will study 'facilitate a spatial understanding of things' just as much as traditional top-down maps, and tie a site to its spatial surroundings. Some views we will even define as a kind of 'vertical map', not depicting the horizontal surface of the earth, but mapping out the space between earth and heaven above, and how they are connected.

Perhaps more contentiously, our analysis will occasionally extend further, to encompass what we will describe as 'caricatured cartography'. This is a form of imagery clearly derived from cartographical images, that still ostensibly acts as a map or view, but which, like a caricature, over-simplifies its subject and exaggerates certain features. Often these caricatures are small, forced to simplify and distort by their size, but sometimes are caricatured to assure simplicity and clarity of messaging, unimpeded by detail, or by the demands of scale and perspective. Though they might seem removed from our idea of 'cartography', they still fit into Harley and Woodward's definition. Take, for example, this 1690s view of the monastery of Jasna Góra, with the besieging Swedes driven away by the Virgin Mary (Figure 0.9). The image derives, fundamentally, from Johann Bensheimer's engraving of c. 1657 (Figure 0.10), which depicts the monastery's salvation through Mary's intervention. The two images offer the same essential cartographic composition – a view of Jasna Góra, its besieging, and salvation – but one caricatures the other, simplifying it, and exaggerating certain features (even embellishing Mary's role, lending her a Jovian thunderbolt). A

[87] Peter Barber, Catherine Delano-Smith and Sarah Tyacke, 'Maps and Their Readers Since the Middle Ages', in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (eds), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Hoboken, 2020), 706-7; Peter van der Krogt, 'The Origin of the Word 'Cartography'', *e-Perimetron*, 10.3 (2015), 124-42; Jerry Brotton, *A History of the World in Twelve Maps*, (London, 2013), 5

Figure 0.9 – Caricature of the siege of Jasna Góra, anon., (1690s?) – balustrade of the choir (dismantled c. 1960), Jasna Góra Basilica

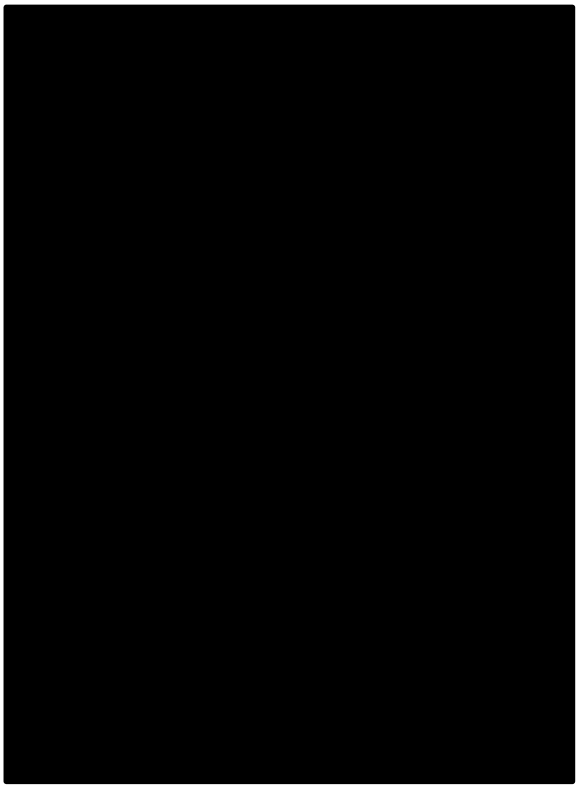


Figure 0.10 – 'Ectypus Obsidionis Clari Montis Częstochoviens[is]…', Johann Bensheimer (Gdańsk, c. 1657)



topographical equivalent can be seen in Casimir Freschot's simplified 'goose game' map of Poland (Figure 3.2).

In preparing the source-base for this thesis, I began by taking a broad overview to establish the contours of the field, drawing up a broad carto-bibliography of several hundred images from the 16th-18th centuries relating to the cartography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, its territories and cities. From this vantage point, I decided to focus my attention on three areas: (a) topographical maps of the Commonwealth, (b) two publications of urban cartography, namely Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572-1617) and Pufendorf's *Carolo Gustavo* (1696), adorned with imagery by Erik Dahlbergh, and (c) the cartography of monastic and pilgrimage sites (of Jasna Góra in particular), all from the later-16th to the early-18th centuries. These were chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, they encompass a wide range of cartographic media, from traditional maps to views and caricatures, from printed to painted (and even embossed) images, offering the opportunity for different methods of analysis, for multiple ways to approach our question, and for conclusions that pertain to all sides of early modern cartographic output. Indeed, besides views and maps, it is also uncommon for cartographic historians to bring together large and small-scale mapping, but we will find ourselves cartographically 'zooming in' and 'out' in this thesis, exploring how these different cartographical genres address the same issues, but in different ways. Moreover, these sources contain a plentiful variety of religious themes for us to explore, allowing each of our chapters to focus on a wholly different subject matter, and enabling our thesis to demonstrate the real diversity of interaction between religion and cartography in the period. Secondly, they give us the opportunity to re-examine some of the key documents of Polish-Lithuanian cartography, and bring new interpretations to images we thought well-understood, whether they be Dahlbergh's imagery, the *Civitates*, the Grodecki map of Poland (1562), or the Radziwiłł map of Lithuania (1613). Though the cartography of Jasna Góra is not of the finest quality, being relatively unimportant from a scientific perspective, it is nevertheless important, not only as a significant cluster point of cartographic production, but also as an icon of Polish national identity, even to this day. Though Ottoman maps were considered for inclusion (for they would have offered an interesting alternative perspective), my linguistic limitations made it unviable.

Topographical sources (a) were gathered from both physical and digital collections. The cartographic collections of the Bodleian and British Library (particularly K.Top, the King's Topographical Collection) were scoured for their cartographic resources, and these were supplemented by images published online in digital libraries and archives, such as the Biblioteka Narodowa's polona.pl, the Bibliothèque Nationale's gallica.bnf.fr, Swedish universities' alvin-portal.org, or the David Rumsey Map Collection; compilations by map enthusiasts, such as lithuanianmaps.com, also proved useful. Over one hundred of these maps have been examined (though this thesis offers a close analysis of a smaller subset, around 50 of them), and while the thesis cannot claim to be a comprehensive study, we can safely claim to have examined the majority of printed topographical maps in the period, the most influential images included amongst them (manuscript maps have eluded us, however). Almost all these images were printed in Western Europe, and were ultimately based on Polish-Lithuanian models, which, too, were often printed in the West (though the Commonwealth had many printing centres, and was a hub of map-making, it lacked the capacity for map-printing, perhaps mainly due to a lack of skilled engravers, Gdańsk's Willem Hondius (c.1597-c.1658) being an honourable exception). The publications of city mapping (b) were more readily available, the Bodleian possessing copies of both the *Civitates* and *Carolo Gustavo*, containing 18 and over 60 Polish-Lithuanian images respectively; and this was supplemented by searches for the work of cartographers influenced by the *Civitates*, or who re-used its plates, in an effort to judge the work's reception – most examples were found in the British Library, the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, or online. Sources for Jasna Góra (c) were gathered mainly from books and articles about its imagery,[88] or about the artistic collections of the monastery itself,[89] aided by a trip to the monastery in 2016. Over 40 images were studied (virtually every recorded image from the period), and are less traditional compared to our other sources, delving into a much wider range of cartographic media and contexts. Just over half of them were engraved, appearing in histories, in pilgrim books, in prayerbooks and on prayersheets; the rest were painted or in manuscript, appearing on the vaulting and walls of the monastery itself, in votive images, in a

[88] Hanna Widacka, 'Ikonografia Częstochowy w grafice XVII i XVIII w.', *Studia Claromontana*, 4 (1983), 289-337

[89] Zofia Rozanow and Ewa Smulikowska, *Zabytki sztuki Jasnej Góry* (Katowice, 2009)

book of miracles, or on the back of sacred icons – one even acts as an altar antependium. All are views of some sort, appearing post-1655, when the monastery was famously besieged by the Swedes. Cartographic images of other monastic and pilgrimage sites were not searched for systematically, but were found by happenchance in reading, or through online searches; 14 of these images are examined, half Polish-Lithuanian, half foreign; all are printed, and serve the purpose of wider comparison. As a whole, our sources come from all over Europe (though the monastic images were mostly produced locally), and appear in many different languages, primarily in Latin, but also in German, Italian, French, English, Greek, Polish and even Ruthenian.

These sources were all studied systematically, analysed in depth, in light of our guiding question – 'how did cartography respond to the religious changes within early modern Europe?' – and their religious themes drawn out, those present on the surface, and those hidden beneath it (with 'religion' being understood in broad terms, ranging from its physical manifestations, such as church buildings, to the immaterial, and the realm of belief, identity, and devotional practice). For most of our images are seemingly 'secular' and religion-free, but we will find that images that might seem secular on the surface can, and often do, speak of religious issues, and we will approach them with an eye on what JB Harley referred to as the map's 'second text'.[90] For maps do not have a single message. Though the cartographer may intend to speak of one issue, he will, invariably, make statements about others. Often, these 'second texts' are more revealing to the historian than the messages deliberately conveyed, as they reveal the unconscious assumptions of the mapmaker, or of society as a whole. By reading these images 'against the grain', or digging deeper into them, we will find that there remain rich religious deposits for the historian, buried under the surface of ostensibly secular imagery. Cartography is not an 'easily readable language' however; it is complex, and full of ambiguity[91] – conclusions are often necessarily hypothetical, difficult to prove or disprove, but here should, we hope, prove valid, credible, and persuasive.

[90] Harley, 'Deconstructing', 9-10.
[91] Harley and Woodward (eds), *History of Cartography*, vol. 1, 3

We should also at this point delve into the matter of early modern cartographic reading practices. Though there is a significant body of work on wider textual reading practices,[92] there have been very few studies exploring the reading of maps, which remains largely shrouded in mystery. The only historian to devote significant attention to it is Catherine Delano-Smith,[93] but no one seems to have since built on her work.[94] She notes how map reading is not an instinctive act, as could easily be assumed in today's map-literate society, but needs to be understood more deeply. The problem for the historian, however, 'is a lack or inadequacy of evidence';[95] thus the historian must fulfil the role of a detective, seeking to extrapolate how maps were read from circumstantial evidence, asking who the readers were, their profession, their place in society – questions 'that encourage one to think of how [a map] would have been read in its day'.[96] As a result of this paucity of evidence, we have to work in ways that are necessarily hypothetical, based on educated assumption, seeking to extrapolate reading practices from what is suggested by the image's content, and informed by its context. But we must also recognise that maps can be read in multiple, often contradictory, ways. As we are remined by postmodern historiography, there is no singular 'reading practice', no single, universal 'reader'.[97] The same image would have been read differently by different people, who would bring their own gaze to bear upon it (and not necessarily one intended by the map's creator) – the same image would even be read differently by the same person, when encountered in a different context. As such, there are a multiplicity of ways for the historian to approach a cartographic image, and this thesis will touch on many different methods and modes of map-reading – indeed, the thesis is concerned not only with cartographic imagery and its interaction with religion, but with matters of reading practice.

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[92] For an overview of the wider literature, see Edith Snook, 'Recent Studies in Early Modern Reading', *English Literary Renaissance*, 43.2 (2013), 343-78

[93] Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Maps and Map Literacy I' and 'Maps and Map Literacy II', in David Woodward et al. (eds), *Approaches and Challenges in a Worldwide History of Cartography* (Barcelona, 2001), 223-40, 241-62; Delano-Smith, 'For Whom the Map Speaks: Recognising the Reader', in Paula van Gestel-van het Schip and Peter van der Krogt (eds), *Mappae Antiquae* ('t Goy-Houten, 2006); Peter Barber, Catherine Delano-Smith, and Sarah Tyacke, 'Maps and Their Readers Since the Middle Ages', in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (eds), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Hoboken, NJ, 2020), 705-26

[94] Though, for research into contemporary map reading, see chapters 2, 3 and 4 in Alexander Kent and Peter Vujakovic (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography* (Abingdon, 2018)

[95] Delano-Smith, 'Maps and Map Literacy I', 225

[96] Barber, Delano-Smith and Tyacke, 'Maps and Their Readers', 707

[97] Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (New York, 1992); Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York, 2010); Jeremy Crampton, 'Maps as social constructions', *Progress in Human Geography*, 25.2 (2001), 235-53; Jeremy Crampton, 'Thinking philosophically in cartography', *Cartographic Perspectives*, 41 (2002), 4-23

Reflecting on what we will encounter throughout this thesis, we have devised a systematisation of map-reading, which we hope might prove useful to other historians when thinking about how maps were, and could be, read. We would suggest that map-reading can be systematised into a framework, made up of three axes. Each axis relates to a different element of reading practice, each offering a different analytical path for the historian to follow. The first axis is concerned with different levels of reading, each dealing with different strata within the map. For one can look at a map from afar, seeing everything at once, taking a holistic view of it (or a 'panoptic view', as Surekha Davies neatly puts it[98]), to obtain an overall impression. But one can also dive into the detail; indeed, sometimes no single feature dominates the map and the image's message cannot be absorbed at a quick glance, meaning it must be scrutinised in depth (as noted by Kat Hill in her study of Mellinger and Stella's map of Mansfeld[99]). The second axis is concerned with different forms of seeing, the different lenses that a map could be seen through. These could take many a form. Maps were often viewed, of course, through scientific eyes, with an eye to cartographic accuracy, but they could also be read with an interest in specific subjects that maps depicted (the structure of the Church, for example, as studied in Chapter 3), they could be viewed with the gaze of an armchair traveller, receptive and responsive to whatever the map throws their way, or viewed through the lens of one's personal identity, such as one's confessional identity, or even read with a devotional gaze. To take an example, the Grodecki map (Figure 1.9), one of the most important early modern maps of Poland-Lithuania, would have been subjected to many different gazes. As we will find, Grodecki's original map invites the viewer to treat the image as a prompt for devotion and prayer, but Ortelius, in deciding whether to include the map in his atlas (which he did, seen in Figure 1.12), would have judged it according to its scientific merit, while many readers of Ortelius' atlas might have approached the same map as a tool to learn the geography of the region (historians, however, have only studied the map through the scientific lens). The third axis is concerned with the contextual reading of a map, and deals with contextual elements that, though not part of the cartographic image, interact with it, and become an intrinsic

[98] Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge, 2016), 7
[99] Hill, 'Mapping the Memory', 187-210

part of the map-reading process. Text is the most obvious of these elements (and in Chapter 3 we will find rare, direct evidence for how text and cartographic image related to one another), but it could also include the spatial context of a map, whether that be the pages of an atlas, a prayerbook, or the space of a church, as well as its temporal context, such as its interaction with the rhythms of the liturgy. Another element would be the general knowledge possessed by the reader, which would shape their interpretation of an image. Sometimes we will bring such contextual knowledge into our analysis, but only when it can safely be relied upon (for example in the case of well-known facts, such as the Calvinist identity of the United Provinces); and for this reason it will not often come into our analysis, as we will generally have to assume that knowledge of the Commonwealth was quite limited amongst European readers – indeed, most often we will be asking how maps would be read in the absence of contextual knowledge (and it is this absence that gave maps of the region their power, shaping the reader's impression almost from scratch). An understanding of these elements allows us to recognise the various textual and contextual readings of a map. But besides understanding these three axes, we need to be aware of some wider considerations. For example, we should be aware that cartographers made maps often with an idea of the message they wanted to convey, and how they intended their creations to be read, deftly shepherding their readers' eyes; but though the reading of a map could be skilfully curated by a cartographer, for reasons beyond his control his reader's approach did not always conform to the authorial intention, and might be read in ways contrary to it. We will need to be aware of matters of trust, for the reader's trust in the map before them, and in its maker, affected how they read the image and received the information it imparted. Finally, we should also keep an eye on things that might not be deliberately 'read', but which might nevertheless be absorbed sub-consciously through the simple act of looking. All of these different methods and modes of reading, together with such wider considerations, will be touched on in this thesis, as we explore the many ways religious issues were absorbed by early modern map readers.

Structure and Argument

Five chapters were ultimately settled upon, each seeking to approach the same question, but from a different angle, in order to demonstrate the many different and distinct cartographic responses to the Reformations and confessionalisation. There will be a sense of chronology as we move through, but one that is in no way strict, for each chapter extends chronologically as it delves into its subject. And it will begin by looking at the broader picture, the Christian mapping of non-Christian groups, pagans and Jews in particular, before delving into the mapping of different Christian confessions, in all its intricacy, and finally focussing on issues of faith and devotion.

Chapter One begins by examining the boundaries of early modern Europe (at the time virtually synonymous with Christendom), and it is in the re-mapping of this boundary that we see the cartographic response to the shifting nature of the continent. We will argue that Europe's north-eastern border, though commonly assumed to be defined by the border with Orthodoxy, Muscovy in particular, in fact continued to be defined by the spectre of paganism, long after it had disappeared. This was propagated most notably in the image of a wooded, barbaric Lithuania, established by the Grodecki map (1562), and it took over two hundred years, post-conversion, for this spectre to be dispelled, belatedly, by the Radziwiłł map of Lithuania (1613). Though this might seem to suggest cartography was highly unresponsive to religious changes, it was, in fact, merely mirroring a belated shift in the imagining of Europe itself. Moreover, it demonstrates that, even in the age of confessionalisation, cartography did not turn inwards, into a purely Catholic-Protestant dialogue, and that paganism (or at least its imagined presence) remained an important element within the complex religious landscape of early modern Europe.

In Chapter Two, we encounter a peculiar mode of response to religious change, bringing a new perspective to a well-known source, Georg Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572-1617). For the *Civitates* was a highly confessionalised Counter-Reformation document, and its response to the Reformation was to deny its reality, manipulating the built environment of the city to offer an idealised, purified image of Christendom, free not only of Protestants, but Jews too (in this way, it

was responding not only to religious changes, but also to one of the inexorable continuities of Christian history, antisemitism). Diverting from other idealised visions of Christendom, and offering an alternative response to confessional polarisation, the *Civitates* stands as a testament to the complexity within the cartographic response to these religious changes.

Chapter Three examines how, in topographical mapping (both of Poland-Lithuania and elsewhere), cartographers strove, not to hide, but to depict the new confessional diversity of the post-Reformation period. We find they were stifled in this effort, however, by the limits of their medium, forcing us to ask not only *how* cartography responded to religious change, but how much it was even *able* to. This issue is explored through a focus on one of the most common, yet most overlooked, features of the early modern map – the bishop – and we will examine the collision between this particular depiction of the Church and the changing ecclesiologies of the Reformation, many of which abolished the episcopate. We will argue that this collision was responsible, in large part, for one of the great mysteries of early modern cartography: that of why, in an age of extreme confessionalisation, confessional difference appears so rarely on the map. But, despite their seeming absence, confessional issues were unavoidable – so long as the Church was depicted on the map, it was a space where cartographers had to confront the changes of the Reformation, together with its new ecclesiologies; and so long as the Church was defined by the bishop, there was no neutral way of depicting confessional space.

The Fourth Chapter is concerned, above all, with how cartographers responded to confessionalisation, examining it through the cartography of a highly confessionalised conflict, the Deluge (1655-1660). Comparing the Polish, Catholic imagery of the siege of Jasna Góra (1655), and the cartographic images made by the Swedish Lutheran, Erik Dahlbergh (1625-1703), it explores how cartographers responded (a) to the confessionalisation of conflict, (b) to the confessionalisation of theology, (c) to different forms of confessionalisation, and (d) how cartography was not only affected by confessionalisation, but even effected it. It reveals a cartographic response that is nuanced and multi-layered, more complex than simple Catholic/Protestant hatred, and, indeed, where responses could cut across confessional lines. It

also demonstrates, like the chapter following, that early modern cartography was not simply concerned with religion's physical and spatial manifestations, but can offer insight into the inner world of faith.

Delving more deeply into the imagery of Jasna Góra, the fifth, and final, Chapter looks into a very different realm: the response to Counter-Reformation devotion, Marian devotion in particular. It explores how cartography adapted to the new devotional reality, and also shaped it, in three separate areas. It examines (a) how cartography was put to use in a newly competitive pilgrim marketplace, attracting pilgrims to a site (and away from competitors), our discussion revolving around how maps and views could express, enhance, and even create sacred space (a nascent subject in map history); (b) how cartography adapted to the clash between universal and local (which had taken on a devotional twist in the Counter-Reformation); and (c) how it was used as a tool in personal devotion, in mental pilgrimage and Marian prayer in particular. We will find cartography to be a realm where Marian spirituality was explored, visualised, and, even more, performed, and thus to be a medium that can offer an alternative insight into many sides of what is already a well-researched topic. Moreover, we will find maps and views to be intimately tied up with the numinous, able to do more than merely depict an earthly connection to heaven – for they could partake in such a connection, and even effect it for the viewer.

On a base level, we hope to add our voice to those who have demonstrated the continuing importance of religion to early modern cartography (outside of sacred cartography, a small subsection of mapping), and put to bed the assumption that mapmakers 'switched off' to religion. For we will see that they remained very much alive to it, and that, to an extent, religion was an unavoidable element of their work. Even if religion did retreat from the surface, the 'first text', of the map, it did not disappear, but remained very present in its 'second text' – indeed, as Alessandro Scafi has argued in realm of biblical mapping, the disappearance of locations like Eden from the world map was not an excision of religion, but more a redefinition of its relationship with

cartography.[100] Scherer's *Atlas Novus* was no anomaly, but part of a continuous and unbroken interaction between cartography and religion.

More specifically, however, we hope to deepen our understanding of mapmakers' response to the Reformations and confessionalisation, building and elaborating on the insights offered by other historians. Above all, we wish to demonstrate the real *diversity* within this response, the depth, variety and complexity of which previous studies have only begun to understand. As others have already hinted at, it goes much deeper than Catholic/Protestant duality and polarisation, far beyond confessional invective. For we will find cartography to be a genre that naturally touches on so many aspects of religion, even a space where mapmakers were forced to confront them – and cartographers reacted to these changes, and innovated, in many different ways and in many different contexts. We will see how maps not only reflected these religious changes, but shaped them too. Moreover, though historians have focussed almost exclusively on the 16th-century response to these religious changes, we will delve into how it continued and developed in the 17th century and beyond.

We also intend to bring a new dimension to the study of these maps, that of confessionalisation. For though some historians have looked into the intersection between cartography and confession, no one has examined the link with the process of confessionalisation itself – surprising given its dominance within historical discourse over the past few decades. First developed by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard in the 1980s, it was conceived of as an element of the all-important process of state-formation, a tool wielded by princes to enhance state power.[101] This was problematic, however, as it effectively subordinated religion to the power of the state. Over time, and especially with the rise of the cultural turn, historians have brought more

[100] Alessandro Scafi, 'After Ptolemy: The Mapping of Eden', in Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett (eds), *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance* (London, 2011), 187-206

[101] Heinz Schilling, 'Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 246 (1988), 1-45; idem, 'Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft', in Reinhard and Schilling (eds), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Münster, 1995), 1–49; Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa', in Reinhard (ed.), *Bekenntnis und Geschichte* (Munich, 1981), 165-89; idem, 'Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?', in *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, 419–52

nuance to the concept, coming to see it as a bottom-up, not simply a top-down, process,[102] and as an essential element of early modern identity-formation.[103] We will see how cartography was not only impacted by confessionalisation, but drove it forward, studying not only confessionalised, but confessionalising, cartography, and its different manifestations. Besides offering a cartographic window into the paradigm, we will also aim to fine-tune our understanding of the concept as a whole. For, as the paradigm has evolved alongside the changing zeitgeist, it has accrued a number of different meanings, becoming a somewhat amorphous, even contradictory, concept, and we will use maps as a foil to deconstruct the term and disentangle its various meanings, old and new. We will also explore a new idea, that these different forms of confessionalisation could engender different, discordant forms of confessional identity.

As well as exploring the cartographic response to these religious changes, we will examine how these responses, in turn, shaped the image of Poland-Lithuania. For the nature of these responses (along with the limitations of the cartographic medium, and its shaping by outside forces) fashioned a surprisingly unified image, of a near-homogenously Catholic nation. This highly Catholicised portrayal monopolised the visual image of the Commonwealth; this was the image presented to the early modern reader, native or foreign, shaping their image of the country. While it has little bearing on the diverse reality on the ground, it stands as an important foil to the historiographical narrative put forward by Davies and Teter, revealing that, even if the Catholic Church did remain a beleaguered minority, even if the Counter-Reformation did not triumph as imagined, this was, nevertheless, not how it was envisioned by cartographers (or, consequently, how people were led to see it). It is not just that cartographers did not depict its diverse reality, however – it is that they seemingly *could not* depict it. Polish-Lithuanian diversity seemingly asked too much of the cartographic medium and overwhelmed what it was able to depict. We will find hints that this was true not only for places of extreme diversity like Poland-Lithuania (though it does demonstrate it most clearly), but for other diverse societies too, leading us to conclude that

[102] For example, Burkhard Dietz and Stefan Ehrenpreis (eds), *Drei Konfessionen in einer Region* (Bonn, 1999); Randolph Head, 'Catholics and Protestants in Graubünden: Confessional Discipline and Confessional Identities without an Early Modern State?', *German History*, 17 (1999), 321-345

[103] See, for example, Philip Benedict's study of 'weak' confessionalisation in his 'Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections and New Evidence', in Raymond Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685* (Cambridge, 2002), 44-61

early modern cartography was virtually incapable of offering an accurate, objective depiction of confessional diversity. It was unable to respond properly to this complex aspect of the post-Reformation world.

Though Pauline Moffitt Watts has called for a 'comprehensive study' of cartography's relationship to the religious changes within early modern Europe, this thesis cannot claim to fulfil that demand. Even in 100,000 words much is left unsaid, but we hope to offer as rich, detailed, and rounded a study as possible, to fill, as best we can, the historiographical shortfall she identified.

Ultimately, however, the thesis will have succeeded, not only if it can demonstrate the continuing importance of religion to early modern cartography, but the importance of cartography to religion, and thus the value of cartography as a source for historians more generally. For we will find cartography to be a multivalent genre that naturally touches on so many different aspects of religious history (without it needing to be intended). It was a space that was innovative and intellectually fertile, where cartographers grappled with issues in new, inventive ways, that was highly sensitive to developments in the early modern mind, that forced people to confront and think through issues which, in other genres, could be easily avoided, and that did not merely reflect changes, but helped shape them. It was an important cultural space, where confession and confessional identities were formulated, where the new post-Reformation world was absorbed, confronted and negotiated – it was, in a way, a space where the Reformation happened. It could, therefore, be a unique and valuable source for the religious historian, and offer a fresh and distinctive contribution to our historical understanding. Accordingly, we hope that this thesis not only gives an account of cartography's response to early modern religious change, but offers a unique window into those very changes themselves, and into the history of the Reformation as a whole.

CHAPTER I

Piena di bosci, e di barbarie:[1]

The Pagan Spectre on Europe's Doorstep

Thinking as we are about cartography's response to the religious changes within early modern Europe, it seems sensible to start with the big picture, of how Europe itself was formulated, and where its border lay. For this, as we will see, was an inherently religious question, tied up in the concept of Christendom. In the re-mapping of Europe's north-eastern boundary, we can see the cartographic response to the shifting nature of the continent. But, in amongst this change, we encounter a strange and unexpected continuity – the fear of the pagan – which continued to serve as a foil for early modern concerns; and it becomes clear that paganism (or at least its imagined presence) remained an important element within the complex religious landscape of early modern Europe.

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the concept of Europe first appeared, its borders have been in a constant state of flux. Even today, there is no consensus within the EU on the limits of its future expansion – does an authoritarian Turkey, for example, belong in the European community, or, indeed, can a Muslim nation ever be considered truly 'European'?[2] It boils down to an uncertainty over what Europe actually *is*, and this is an uncertainty that was shared by our early modern forbears. An 'imagined community', like any nation within it, the identity of Europe has been formulated in many different ways, cast in many different moulds, those of language, culture, political systems, economics, physical geography and, importantly for us, religion. Anthony Pagden likens Europe to an 'elaborate

[1] 'Full of forests and barbarism', Giovanni Botero, *Relationi Universali* (Brescia, 1599), Book 1, 208-9
[2] Talal Asad, 'Muslims and European Identity', in Anthony Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe* (Cambridge, 2002)

palimpsest',[3] a region with many overlapping layers of identity, each of which includes and excludes different groups of people from the European whole. Where this uncertainty manifested itself most clearly was on Europe's eastern frontier. Unlike North, West and South, here there is no certain body of water, whether ocean, sea or strait, to delimit its boundary – in fact, from the standpoint of physical geography, there is very little justification for a separate European continent at all, and it could just as easily be considered a peninsula of a single Eurasian continent.[4] It remains, however, that we believe Europe to exist, and have believed it to exist, necessitating some sort of boundary across these eastern borderlands, these 'blurry margins',[5] a boundary that is 'forever undecided',[6] and that embodies 'the great indeterminacy of Europe'.[7]

When establishing this boundary, and the general identity of Europe as a whole, it is almost universally accepted by historians that religion was essential, both to the formation and definition of the continent. The term 'Europe', at least in the early modern period, was tightly intertwined with *Christianitas*, Christendom, in this case meaning the realm of the Latin, or Western, Church. Denys Hay, for example, has claimed that 'Christendom was virtually interchangeable with Europe for all the sixteenth century and for much of the seventeenth',[8] and Michael Wintle, among many others, still invokes Hay's argument, almost word for word.[9] Though of course, it was never quite so simple, with many other ideas muddying the waters of what it meant to be European. These are issues that were grappled with in works of literature, such as geographical treatises,[10] travel writing,[11] Papal

[3] Anthony Pagden, 'Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent', in Pagden (ed.), *Idea of Europe*, 33
[4] JGA Pocock, 'Some Europes in Their History', in Pagden (ed.), *Idea of Europe*, 58; MW Lewis and KE Wigen, *The Myth of the Continents* (Berkeley, 1997)
[5] Valerie Kivelson, 'The Cartographic Emergence of Europe?', in Hamish Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2015), 38
[6] Pagden 'Europe', 46
[7] Pocock, 'Some Europes', 60; for a detailed discussion of Europe's eastern border, see Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe* (Cambridge, 2009), 36-52
[8] Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh, 1968), 115
[9] Wintle, *Image of Europe*, 33; Pagden, less stridently, notes how Christianity provided Europe with much of its internal cohesion, and shaped its relationship with the rest of the world (Pagden 'Europe', 35)
[10] e.g. Maciej Miechowita's 1517 *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis*, for a discussion of this work, see Piechocki, *Cartographic Humanism*, 68ff.
[11] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford, 1994), passim

missives,[12] but also through the image, in costume books[13] and iconography.[14] Cartographers, too, could hardly avoid getting caught up in these questions, in the centuries-long debate about the nature of Europe and the definition of its boundaries.[15]

According to orthodox historiographical opinion, this eastern boundary was defined, in the early modern period, with reference to two religious 'others': Islam and Orthodoxy. Whereas the former was definitively 'un-European', with the latter it was more dubious – as such, the 'Russian Question' has dominated historiographical debate: were the 'schismatics' in or out, civilised or barbaric, European or Asian? How exactly did the Greek Church fit into a Europe whose identity was predicated on membership of the Latin Church? This idea is practically universal amongst historians,[16] and is summed up neatly in the words of Norman Davies: 'for more than five hundred years the cardinal problem in defining Europe has centred on the inclusion or exclusion of Russia'.[17] The question has prevailed among cartographic historians as well. Valerie Kivelson has noted that, though Muscovy was often considered antithetical to 'Europe', exemplified by Jenkinson's 1562 map of Muscovy and Tartaria, its western portion was often included, nominally, as part of Europe;[18] while Michael Wintle claims that Muscovy was generally, but not universally, excluded from the map of Europe, at least until the reign of Peter the Great.[19] It was Orthodox Muscovy, whether included or excluded, that defined the border of Europe. In this chapter, however, we will argue that, at least until the early-17th century, it was not Orthodoxy that demarcated this cartographic boundary, but another religious 'other', one unrecognised by historians of early modern Europe, and altogether more surprising – the spectre of *paganism*. This might seem somewhat fanciful, given Europe's last pagan state converted in 1387; but, as Lithuanian historians well know, allegations of paganism did

[12] e.g. the works of Pope Pius II, see Hay, *Europe*, 83-7
[13] Michelle Moseley-Christian, 'Confluence of Costume, Cartography and Early Modern European Chorography', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 9 (2013), 1-22
[14] Michael Wintle, 'The Early Modern Iconography of Europe', in Nicolas Detering et al. (eds), *Contesting Europe* (Leiden, 2019), 54-76
[15] Kivelson, 'Cartographic Emergence'; Wintle, *Image of Europe*; Michael Wintle, 'Renaissance maps and the construction of the idea of Europe', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25.2 (1999), 137–165; Katharina Piechocki, 'Cartographic Manipulations: Framing the Centre of Europe in ca. 1500', in Detering et al., *Contesting Europe*, 149-173
[16] See Hay, *Europe*, 123ff.; Pocock, 'Some Europes', 61; Pagden 'Europe', 35
[17] Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford, 1996), 10-11
[18] Kivelson, 'Cartographic Emergence', 54-60
[19] Michael Wintle, *Culture and Identity in Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), 61-2

not abate after Lithuania's conversion, and we will find that such allegations occurred not only in texts, but also through the map, creating a visible fault line across the map of Europe, a fault line imposed *on* and *through* cartography. Indeed, we will find that paganism still held considerable cultural capital within the European mind long after it had disappeared, its imagined presence still determining Europe's frontier. It was only after the spectre had been dispelled that Catholic Europe came face-to-face, on the map, with Orthodoxy.

To challenge this long-standing historiographical paradigm, we will be looking at topographical maps of the Commonwealth, its constituent parts, and its continental context, framing the chapter around two famous maps, the Grodecki (1562) and Radziwiłł (1613), which fundamentally shaped the cartographic image of the region. Our first section will focus on the tenacious spectre of paganism, approaching it through the study of a single, simple cartographic feature – the tree. We will find that, centuries after its conversion to Catholicism in 1387, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania continued to be cast as a semi-pagan state on the edge of Europe, covered in forests that conjured up its pagan past – an image inspired by the Grodecki map – and could even be considered the 'original' Muscovy for the West. As a result, the Commonwealth straddled the border of Europe, half-in, half-out, an image far-removed from that of the 'union of equals' found in Polonocentric historiography. But a further twist emerges when we look to the architects of this cartographic image of Lithuania: not the Grand Duchy's enemies, but its closest friends, the Poles. This cartographic image was the outcome of the Polish attempt to prove their own civilised nature, juxtaposing it with the barbarism of their neighbours – itself a response to the Germanic barbarisation of the Poles, and part of a continuous domino-process of barbarisation. In this way, the Lithuanian border was just one inscribed on the palimpsest that was the map of Europe; it deserves our attention, however, because it proved the most successful border of all – at least until it was successfully discredited, and superseded, by the Radziwiłł map of Lithuania, the theme of our second section. Published in 1613, this was a cartographic riposte to the prevailing barbaric image of Lithuania, and finally dispelled this pagan spectre from the map. Though the question remained: what Grand Duchy would emerge from the woods, one Catholic or Orthodox? Choosing the latter would have kept Lithuania as a closer Muscovy, a liminal 'other' on the edge of Europe; but Radziwiłł went

for the former, allowing the Grand Duchy to be integrated more readily into Latin Europe. Alongside this, we will also discuss the importance of studying cartographic accuracy (the touchstone of traditional cartographic history) from a cultural perspective, while also touching upon the idea that there can be different kinds of cartographic accuracy, one that is true to physical reality, another true to cultural reality. We will conclude by asking what this all means with regard to our guiding question, and what light it lends to our understanding of cartography's response to religious change.

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THE SPECTRE HAUNTING EUROPE

Until the conversion of Lithuania in the 14th century, paganism had been a ceaseless presence on the north-eastern border of Christendom.[20] The Lithuanians were the last manifestation of a group that had long been the foremost 'other' in the Christian imagination, a group that had defined Christendom, its limits, its identity, and its evangelical purpose from the very beginning. It also helped fashion the medieval idea of Europe. According to Robert Bartlett, it was this conflict with, and conversion of, the pagan world that helped foment the 'Europeanization of Europe'.[21] In 1387, however, the Lithuanians were baptised into the Roman Catholic Church, led by Grand Duke Jogaila (becoming Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland). Thus the last pagan state in Europe had fallen, though paganism held out in the region of Samogitia until its conversion in 1416-17. Paganism, a threat that had menaced Christian Europe for a millennium, was now no more than a memory. But the question remained: had it really disappeared?

[20] The term 'pagan' is a highly problematic one for historians. It represents a gross simplification of the amazing variety of different faiths and rituals practiced in the past, and indeed today, but which we lump under a single term. It would be fair to say that Abrahamic religions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism, etc) have far more in common with each other than many 'pagan' cultures do, yet are not treated as a singular religion. That said, we will perform the same simplification in this chapter, only because this is how these non-Christian peoples were envisioned by the Christian world, and shaped the sources we will be studying.
[21] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (London, 1994)

Indeed it had, according to Lithuanian historians. Rowell and Baronas argue that the conversion of Lithuania, aided by the experience and tools of the late medieval Church, was effected much more efficiently than earlier conversions, and, within an extraordinarily short period of time, created a 'vibrantly Catholic' populace that embraced all the paraphernalia of Catholic spirituality. It was the failure of the Catholic Church to fulfil these spiritual needs that in fact assured the success of the Reformation in Lithuania.[22] Though some practices and traditions did continue after conversion, that in itself does not necessarily constitute continuing paganism. As Baronas has argued, such practices can just as readily be considered examples of religious syncretism, a marrying of different traditions, and the incorporation of old beliefs into the new[23] – a characteristic of Christianity ever since its inception. Nevertheless, in the years after Lithuania's conversion, doubts continued to be cast on the people's rejection of their old pagan ways. Stories abounded, tales of tree and snake-worship, divination and the veneration of old gods, practices which, it was alleged, had not ceased with the supposed end of paganism, but were still practiced today, particularly in the region of Samogitia.[24] And these stories did not disappear. For example, centuries later, in 1698, an Irish physician, Bernard Connor, wrote how 'there are yet some Idolaters among them of different Beliefs towards the Frontiers of Moscovy and Samogitia, in the great Woods, who still worship Serpents, etc. as they used to do'.[25]

The spectre of paganism still haunted Europe, and, indeed, haunted the *map* of Europe, too. Lithuanians' tenacious adherence to paganism had been highlighted on maps in the years prior to their conversion, for example in Pietro Vesconte's 1321 world map, included in Marino Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, which marks the 'Letvini pagani' (Figure 1.1), or Abraham Cresques' 1375 *Catalan Atlas*, labelling 'Litefania paganis' (Figure 1.2). But allusions to Lithuanian paganism continued to appear on the map long after their conversion. This can be seen clearly on a map published in Venice in 1539 (and republished in Rome in 1572), the *Carta Marina* of the Swedish

[22] Darius Baronas and Stephen Rowell, *The Conversion of Lithuania* (Vilnius, 2015), 1-20
[23] Darius Baronas, 'Christians in late Pagan, and Pagans in early Christian Lithuania', *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, 19 (2014), 51-81
[24] Norbertas Vėlius (ed.), *Sources of Baltic Religion and Mythology* (Vilnius, 1996-2005)
[25] Bernard Connor, *The History of Poland*, vol. 1 (London, 1698), 341-2

Figure 1.1 – "Letvini pagani", in Pietro Vesconte's world map – Marino Sanudo, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (1321)



Figure 1.2 – "Litefania paganis", in Abraham Cresques' *Catalan Atlas* (1375)



ecclesiastic Olaus Magnus.[26] The map is large, 125 centimetres by 170, and is centred on the Scandinavian peninsula, though Lithuania occupies a significant place in the map's bottom corner (Figure 1.3). The composition is covered in symbols and images, of ships, people, wild animals, monsters, and in Lithuania we have a depiction of what Magnus calls 'Numina Veteru[m] Paganor[um]', the gods of the ancient pagans (Figure 1.4). These gods are three in number: fire, snake, and forest grove, and they are presented as Lithuania's defining feature – the old faith still shaping present identity. By referring to the 'ancient' pagans, Magnus implies that these gods are no longer worshipped, but, even so, it is worth noting that the idols are not depicted cast down from their pedestals; the fire and snake both still sit upon their altars, while the trees have not been cut down. Magnus could have depicted the Lithuanians' rejection of their old beliefs, and defined them by their conversion; but instead they are defined by the pagan faith they had rejected over 150 years before – and perhaps the insinuation is that they had not fully done so. Indeed, Magnus complemented his map, sixteen years later, with the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, which includes a book on 'the superstitious worship of demons by the peoples of the north'[27] and 'the gross errors of the northern people in their worthless veneration of idols'.[28] He, however, considered it 'particularly important' to begin with a discussion of Lithuanian paganism, how 'the malignity and craft of the Devil have for so many past centuries held that country imprisoned in frightful delusions, until in recent years it has been summoned to the communion of the Catholic faith by the praiseworthy devotion and activity of the Polish kings; and we must incessantly beseech the good Lord that it may perpetually remain there'.[29] This was accompanied by a woodcut, again depicting the three idols, and Lithuanians in the foreground reverencing them (Figure 1.5). The text gives

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[26] The map has religion at its heart. Magnus himself, in his autobiographical notes, states that it has a distinctly religious purpose, to be of use to the Catholic Church in its struggle with the Reformation, Magnus having become a religious exile from Protestant Sweden (John Granlund, 'The Carta Marina of Olaus Magnus', *Imago Mundi*, 8.1 (1951), 41)

[27] 'De superstitiosa cultura daemonum populorum aquilonarium', Book 3 of Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Rome, 1555)

[28] 'septentrionalis populi maximos errores circa inanem idolorum cultum'

[29] 'invidia, & astutia diaboli tot retroactis seculis in horrendis erroribus tenuerit captivatam, donec recentioribus annis laudabili Polonorum Regum devotione, ac industria, ad communionem Catholicae fidei fuerat advocata; in qua ut iugiter perseveret, incessabiliter ab optimo Deo est petendum.' Magnus, *Historia*, 96-7; this Latin text was also translated into German and Italian in the 1560s, and English and Dutch by the mid-17th century

Figure 1.3 – Bottom-right corner, Olaus Magnus' *Carta Marina* (Venice, 1539)



Figure 1.4 – "Numina Veteru[m] Paganoru[m]" (1.3)



Figure 1.5 – Pagan worship in Lithuania – Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Rome, 1555)



clearer voice to the doubt present in the map. Though the craft of the Devil had been overcome, there was no guarantee it would not return; it was dormant, bubbling away beneath the surface, and was only kept at bay through the power of prayer; and it was not long ago in 1387, but only in 'recent years' that paganism was driven back – it had survived Lithuania's supposed conversion. To hammer this message home, the Polish king Magnus highlights is not Władysław Jagiełło, but the present-day king, Zygmunt I Stary. Zygmunt appears on the map himself (Figure 1.6), enthroned with orb and sceptre, accompanied by a quote from Scripture: 'non fuit rex similis ei', taken from 2 Kings 18, an account of the reign of King Hezekiah of Judah. He was a king who 'did what was right in the eyes of the Lord', 'He trusted in the Lord God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him' (2 Kings 18:3-5). Zygmunt is here cast in his likeness, a king renowned for his piety and virtue. But Hezekiah was not just accounted a pious king – he was a breaker of pagan idols: 'He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense unto it' (2 Kings 18:4). These idols of the ancient Israelites are echoed in the map, in the snake, fire, and sacred grove of the pagan Lithuanians. The role of Hezekiah, cracking down on Israelite idolatry, is taken up by Zygmunt,[30] who rights the wayward ways of the pagan Lithuanians, a people reverting to idolatry as readily as the Israelites of the Old Testament.



Figure 1.6 – Zygmunt I (1.3)

[30] Zygmunt was also known for quashing the early Lutheran Reformation in Gdańsk in 1526, but this story does not fit well with Magnus' invocation of Hezekiah, for those Lutherans were iconoclasts, destroying idolatry, just like Hezekiah.

After Magnus, the allusions to Lithuanian paganism were never quite so explicit, but cartographers continued to ply the same narrative, marking Lithuania as a pagan 'other'. They did so through the use of a symbol seemingly so neutral and natural – the humble *tree*. For the map of the Grand Duchy came to be covered in dense forest, from Baltic Sea to Black, which, we will argue, served as a symbol evoking the memory of Lithuanian paganism, and even implying its continuing existence – and this will be the central theme of our chapter. Historians have become increasingly interested in the natural environment, and mankind's physical interaction with it;[31] we, however, will take the approach of cultural history, examining how the natural environment is suffused with symbolic meaning. For the cartographer's Lithuanian forest was no mere geographical symbol, but something replete with intimation and insinuation (indeed, the link between forest grove and pagan practice has already been clearly demonstrated by Olaus Magnus). We will begin by exploring the long cultural history of trees and forests, long-identified with the conflict between civilisation and barbarism, Christianity and paganism.

Today, the trope of the sinister, fearsome forest is widely recognised – one only needs to look as far as Tolkien's Fangorn Forest, or Rowling's Forbidden Forest, to see it – but the beginning of the forest has long been equated with the end of civilisation.[32] From the Epic of Gilgamesh onwards, 'classical civilisation has always defined itself against the primeval woods'.[33] The Romans believed that the borders of their empire, and thus the civilised world, were defined by the great Germanic Hercynian Forest.[34] The famous Roman road map, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, shows 'Alamannia' likewise hidden behind a wall of trees (Figure 1.7). Tacitus characterised the forests of Germania as sites of barbaric religious practice, such as human sacrifice, while Lucan, describing a grove near Marseilles, tells of 'a place for barbarous rites to gods. Altars were built from bestial offerings and every tree was purified with human gore'.[35] Christians likewise perpetuated this

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[31] Andrew Isenberg (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental History* (Oxford, 2014)
[32] Robert Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago, 1992); for a wide-ranging account of the various meanings of forests in different European cultures, see Simon Schama, *Landscape & Memory* (London, 2004), 23-244
[33] Schama, *Landscape*, 82
[34] Hester Schadee, 'Caesar's Construction of Northern Europe', *The Classical Quarterly*, 58.1 (2008), 178-9
[35] Ken Dowden, *European Paganism* (London, 2000), 102-3; for Tacitus' influence on the early modern period, see Schama, *Landscape*, 77ff

Figure 1.7 – "Alamannia", *Tabula Peutingeriana*



association of forest with barbarian. Worship amid nature was rejected as pagan, for Christians worshipped amid artifice, in buildings of human making.[36] Trees and woods were foremost in the Christian imagination, the target of their assault on pagan practice. Synods of the Early Church made frequent denunciations of worship at trees and within forests, as did Church Fathers. Gregory the Great had to write to the Bishop of Lazio: 'It has reached our ears that certain people there – an evil thing to report – are worshipping trees and perpetrating many other illicit practices contrary to the Christian faith. And we wonder why your brotherliness is too busy to set this right and punish it.'[37] Christians were fascinated by stories of great pagan sacred trees and groves, such as at Uppsala, which Adam of Bremen described in the 11th century, a grove 'so sacred to the pagans that individual trees in it are believed divine as a result of the death or gore of the sacrificed. There, dogs and horses hang together with men'.[38] 'Chop down sacrilegious trees to the roots; pulverise the altars of the devil' cried Caesarius of Arles from the pulpit, seeking to quash the last remnants of paganism in his community.[39] Indeed, the felling of sacred trees became an established trope in hagiography and conversion narratives, such as in Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St Martin*, or Wilibald's *Life of St Boniface*, in which Boniface fells Donar's Oak, a tree sacred to the Germanic people, and uses its timber to build a church.[40]

[36] Dowden, *European Paganism*, 76
[37] ibid., 35-6, 77
[38] ibid., 75
[39] ibid., 145
[40] ibid., 70-1, 76; Schama notes the irony of this opposition to tree-worship, given Christians absorbed a significant part of this arboreal tradition in images like the Tree of Life, or the verdant crosses that became popular among both Protestants and Catholics (Schama, *Landscape*, 214-26).

This cultural inheritance shaped the perception of the Lithuanian forest, too.[41] Thanks to the writings of Aeneas Sylvius (the future Pius II), Jerome of Prague became a well-known missionary to post-conversion Lithuania. While awaiting execution for heresy, Jerome related his story, full of established hagiographical tropes, including that of felling sacred trees, in an effort to prove his contribution to the Church, and save himself from the stake (though he was not successful, and was executed in 1416). Even after their supposed conversion, the Lithuanians, Jerome claimed, continued to worship forests that they had 'consecrated to demons'. He preached to them for many days, and ordered them to destroy the forest; they, however, were afraid of touching the trees for fear of divine reprisal. Jerome thus proceeded to fell a tree with a two-headed axe, before turning to a large old oak in the centre of the grove, the sanctum sanctorum, felling it along with the others. He would have felled more such holy groves across Lithuania had he not been exiled by the Grand Duke, turned against Jerome by the Lithuanians, who could not bear the destruction of their holy places.[42] In the famous Annals of Jan Długosz (1415-80), King Władysław Jagiełło fulfils this missionary role. He is fashioned into the Apostle of the Lithuanians, ordering the sacred groves of Lithuania be cut down, turning woods into fertile fields. Despite this fact, Długosz continues to portray post-conversion Lithuania as a land covered in forests, which had not been cut down due to the irresoluteness of the Lithuanians in their new faith. The woods continued to stand as a testament to the uncertainty of their conversion.[43] The same unease around the forest was still very present in the 17th century. Though not referring to Lithuania directly, but to neighbouring Livonia (an area nevertheless under Polish-Lithuanian rule), George Barkley's travel account demonstrates this clearly: the Momeses, native Livonians, 'are almost Salvadoes, retaining still their old superstitions, as to worship the Sun, or the first Beast they meet with, and especially they have in religious reckoning their Leave. This

[41] In his study of the various cultural meanings of woods, Schama also turns to the Lithuanian forest, but does not touch on it as a symbol of paganism, as we do here. Through analysing Hussowski's poem *De Bisonte*, he highlights other layers of meaning as embodied in the forest-dwelling bison, a symbol of freedom, Sarmatian heritage, and the culture of the hunt (Schama, *Landscape*, 23-74). Surprisingly, Schama never explores the woods as a symbol of paganism, though does explore the allusions to barbarism held by the image of the German forest (Schama, *Landscape*, 77-91)

[42] Aeneas Sylvius, 'Europa, in qua sui temporis varias historias complectitur', in *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel, 1551), 417-9

[43] Marian Dygo, "Rudis illa nacio et pannosa': Concerning Jan Długosz's Description of Lithuania's 1387 Conversion', in Marius Ščavinskas and Vasilijus Safronovas (eds), *Verbum movet, exemplum trahit: The Emerging Christian Community in the Eastern Baltic* (Klaipėda, 2016), 96–116

which they call Se-leave, or the Groves, is a company of Trees, which it is religious to touch; and [Barkley] knew a Dutchman, Martin Yekell of Derpt, who breaking a bough was swelled a yeere together as big as his skinne would hold. Heere at Marriages and Burialls they pray, but without Image… When the Momeses die, they are buried in their Leaves… The Momeses are very ignorant, and aske who learne the Hares in the woods their prayers.'[44] Incidentally, immediately opposite this description the editor placed a map, depicting thick Lithuanian forests (Figure 1.8). Speaking of

Figure 1.8 – 'Lithuania' – Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Postumus* (London, 1624)



Lithuania directly, Matthäus Merian, in his *Archontologia Cosmica*, notes how the ancient Lithuanians used to worship snakes, fire, and indeed trees, paying the deepest respect to the tallest amongst them, and how they protected the holy forests that the gods lived within – not just the trees, but the animals too – and if someone were to harm a tree or animal of the forest, the devil was said to contort their hands and feet. But these beliefs did not belong purely to the past. Merian goes on to say that, in many places, pagan idols have remained, with people worshipping lightning, the sun and moon, the gods Ziemin and Dinstipan, as well as the tall trees of the forests.[45] At the end of the century, Bernard

[44] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Postumus*, vol. 3, (London, 1624), ch. 20
[45] Matthäus Merian, *Neuwe Archontologia Cosmica* (Frankfurt, 1638), 327-8, 334-5

Connor stated that 'No part of the King of Poland's Dominions abounds more in Woods and Deserts than Lithuania, and there is one Forest of above a hundred Miles long, in which People are very wild and ignorant'. It was in these 'great Woods', as we have already heard, that the 'Idolaters' still performed their pagan rites 'as they used to do'.[46] Accounts like these are far from unique, and they demonstrate the real unease the image of the Lithuanian forest instilled in contemporary observers. Long after conversion, the Lithuanian forest continued to be intimately connected with paganism, a hotbed of pagan worship in need of destruction, its survival a symbol of paganism's continuing existence, a testament to the semi-barbaric nature of the Lithuanian people.

It is far from inconsequential, therefore, that the forest, with all the undertones it carried, came to be *the* defining feature of the Lithuanian landscape. For, indeed, from the mid-16th to the early-17th centuries, the map of Lithuania was defined, almost purely, by the forest, a theme that originated in the famous and influential map of Waclaw Grodecki (c.1535-1591). Grodecki, a Catholic priest and canon of Wroclaw Cathedral in Silesia,[47] first drew up his map in 1557 (an adaptation of that of Bernard Wapowski (1475-1535), the Father of Polish Cartography[48]), and it was published in Basel by Johannes Oporinus in 1562. In Figure 1.9 we see the second edition of Grodecki's map (Basel, 1570), which offers up a marked contrast. In the west we see Poland, a region densely populated, full of towns and cities; in the east we see Lithuania, where this network of settlement evaporates. Of the 724 settlements depicted, but a fraction are Lithuanian. Instead, we see a landscape dominated by great forests, punctuated by depictions of wild animals, and the occasional outpost of urban civilisation. This thick forest was a new feature on the map of Lithuania. As far as we can tell from the surviving fragments of his map, Wapowski depicted forests evenly across both Poland and Lithuania (Figures 1.10 and 1.11); Grodecki, however, does not. Wapowski's Polish forests are, by and large, removed by Grodecki, while his Lithuanian forests are enhanced, thanks, in part, to the adoption of a new method of depicting woodlands. The thin strips of forest used in

[46] Connor, *History of Poland*, vol. 1, 341-2
[47] Karol Buczek, 'Wacław Grodecki (Studjum biograficzne)', *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny*, 43 (July, 1933), 69-86
[48] Wapowski's influential map of Poland was largely lost in a fire at a Kraków printworks in the 1520s. Though some fragments were found in old book-binding in the 20th century, these were subsequently destroyed in the Second World War. Today we only have facsimile copies of a few of these fragments.

Figure 1.9 – 'Poloniae, Lituaniae... Chorographia', Wacław Grodecki (Basel, 1570)



Figure 1.10 – Greater Poland fragment, Wapowski map of Poland (Kraków, c. 1526)

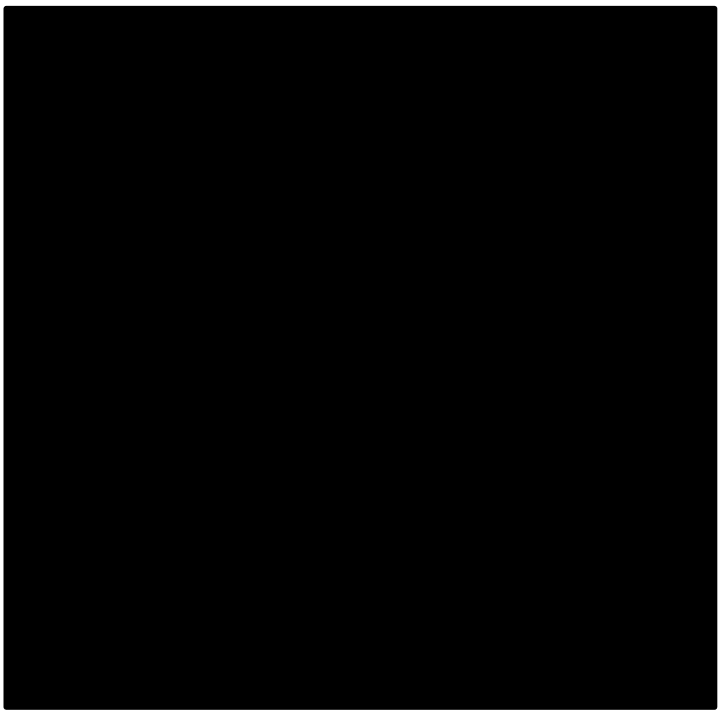


Figure 1.11 – Samogitian fragment, Wapowski map of Poland (Kraków, c. 1526)



Wapowski's map are unfurled by Grodecki, and stretched across the landscape – the *Lithuanian* landscape. In so doing, Grodecki created a new, bisected image of Poland-Lithuania, one that juxtaposed a densely wooded Lithuania with an urban Poland. The map echoes an idea we encountered earlier, that of the Hercynian Forest, the natural boundary at the edge of the Roman Empire, of Civilisation itself. And that is no coincidence – from the late-15th century cartographers had identified this very region with the ancient idea of the Hercynian Forest.[49] It also resonates closely with the old Polish concept of the *puszcza*, the 'wilderness', 'primeval forest' or 'uncultivated wasteland' (though today the word signifies merely a forest). In the Polish cultural imagination the *puszcza*, a vast tract of woods, represented a border, whether between old tribal territories, or on the margins of the realm.[50] In covering the entire Grand Duchy in woods – and, indeed, interspersing the letters of its very name, 'Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae', in amongst the trees, so that you cannot but associate one with the other – Grodecki effectively casts it as a *puszcza*, a wilderness marking the

[49] Nicholas of Cusa's 'Quod picta est parva Germania tota tabella' (1491); Marco Beneventano's 'Tabula Moderna Polonie, Ungarie, Boemi, Germanie, Russie, Lithuanie' (1507); Martin Waldseemüller's 'Tabula Moderna Sarmatie Eur[opaeae]' (1513); Giovanni Andrea Vavassore's 'Quot picta est parva Germania tota tabella' (c. 1530); Lorenz Fries' 'Tabula nova Poloniae, Ungariae et Russiae' (1541); Giacomo Gastaldi's 'Tavola Nuova di Prussia et di Livonia' (1548); Antonio Salamanca's 'Tabula Moderna Poloniae, Ungariae, Boemiae, Germaniae, Russiae, Lithu[ani]ae' (1548); Girolamo Ruscelli's, 'Tavola Nuova di Prussia et di Livonia' (1561); Ferrando Bertelli's 'Germaniae omniumque eius provinciarum… aliarumque regionum, nova et exacta descriptio' (1562) – all these maps depict the Hercynian Forest stretching through the region, transferring it east from Germania, where the Romans had considered it to lie.

[50] Anna Majchrowska, 'The History of State Forests and Forestry in Poland', in Jan Oosthoek and Richard Hölzl (eds), *Managing Northern Europe's Forests* (Oxford, 2018), 320

border of Europe, an area beyond civilisation.[51] And, indeed, to a European reader, Grodecki's image of Poland would have looked familiar, no different to the way his own country appeared on the map, a familiarity born out of a shared cartographic vocabulary. Lithuania, however, was indisputably different.

Grodecki's map went on to exert a significant influence over wider European cartography, and came to define the cartographic image of Poland, and of course Lithuania, in the eyes of the whole continent, thanks above all to its inclusion in Abraham Ortelius' hugely influential *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. It appeared in the very first volume, in 1570, with the impression of Lithuania as a wooded wilderness little-changed (Figure 1.12). If anything, Ortelius accentuated it, removing the small pockets of forest that Grodecki had scattered over Poland (and it was made yet more prominent, in this case, by the paints of the colourist). Grodecki's map was repeatedly included in subsequent editions, 41 times in all, until 1612, inspiring myriad copies and reproductions by other cartographers – aided by Ortelius, Grodecki established a convention in mapping the region, one that was followed by cartographers for nigh half a century. Another Pole, Andrzej Pograbka (c.1540-1602), a medical doctor and cartographer, produced his own copy of Grodecki's map, also in 1570 (Figure 1.13). Though Pograbka allows the forests to extend into Little Poland, and adds to the number of Lithuanian towns, the Grand Duchy is nevertheless even more distinctly cast as an empty, wooded region, in stark contrast to what lies to the west. Delano-Smith notes how he demarcates the outer edge of forests with a continuous line, as if to emphasise the darkness of the forest interior, and its contrast with the open regions of the map.[52] Later iterations of Ortelius' *Theatrum*, from 1595, were based on 'Pograbka's Grodecki', and included Pograbka's additional settlements – but, remarkably, not his Polish forests (Figure 1.14). Ortelius deliberately maintained the cartographic dichotomy between Poland and Lithuania. The anonymous *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani* (1579-80)

[51] Teutonic polemicists had a similar view of the border, which they called 'die Wildnis', 'the wilderness', and ascribed the same character to the Grand Duchy's capital, Vilnius, through naming it 'Wilde', a pun on the word for 'savage', or 'wild'. This toponym deliberately positioned the Lithuanians outside of civilised Europe, and had a significant effect, being found continually in 15th and 16th-century German-language descriptions of the country, and even in 17th-century French geographical records (Laimonas Briedis, 'Vilnius on the Map of Sarmatia: I', *Lituanus*, 53.4 (2007)).

[52] Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Signs on Printed Topographical Maps', in Woodward (ed.), *History of Cartography*, vol. 3 (Chicago, 2007), 552

offered its own version (Figure 1.15), as did Gerardus Mercator in 1595 (Figure 1.16), while another copy appeared in Marcin Kromer's famous *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* (1589) (Figure 1.17). In 1592 Matthias Quad and Johann Bussemacher began publishing their pocket atlases in Cologne, beginning with *Europae totius orbis terrarum descriptio* (1st ed. 1592, 2nd 1594, 3rd 1596), then their *Geographisch Hantbuch* (1600), and *Fasciculus Geographicus* (1608), all of which contained the same variation on the Grodecki map (Figure 1.18). Giovanni Antonio Magini, the Paduan astronomer, published his own version of Ptolemy's *Geographia* in 1596, printed five further times by 1621, with another variation on Grodecki's theme (Figure 1.19).[53] Around the same time, Giovanni Botero was publishing his *Relationi Universali*, a work that would remain, for nearly a century, 'the true and proper geopolitical manual of the whole European governing class'.[54] Though the first editions (1591-8) did not contain maps, his revised Brescia edition of 1599 did. Though the distinction between Poland and Lithuania is not quite as sharp as in other maps, the idea is nevertheless still distinguishable (Figure 1.20). Philips Galle meanwhile published a highly successful pocket version of the *Theatrum*, beginning in 1577, which was republished, reworked and translated over the course of many subsequent editions;[55] Figure 1.21 appeared in his final 1598 edition. After acquiring Galle's plates, Jan Baptista Vrients continued to publish Ortelian pocket atlases in Latin, Dutch, French, Italian and English, containing this, and another similar map (Figure 1.22).[56] The Flemish polymath Petrus Bertius produced his own miniature atlas around the same time, first appearing as his *Caert-thresoor* in 1598, later as *Tabularum geographicarum contractarum* (1600, 1602, 1603, 1606, 1609, 1616, 1618), which contained yet more iterations of Grodecki's map (Figures 1.23 and 1.24). It should be noted that this image also appeared independently of Grodecki, and was widespread – Figures 1.25 and 1.26, from the 1550 and 1578 editions of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, correspond closely with Grodecki's depiction of a wooded Lithuania – but it was Grodecki's map that inspired this wider convention.

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[53] The same map was in fact published again a century later in Alphonso Lasor a Varea's *Universus Terrarum Orbis Scriptorum Calamo Delineatus* (Padua, 1713)

[54] Luigi Firpo, quoted in John Headley, 'Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53.4 (2000), 1134

[55] *Spieghel der werelt* (Antwerp, 1577, 1583), *Le Miroir du monde* (Antwerp, 1583), *Theatri orbis terrarum enchiridon* (Antwerp, 1585), *Epitome du théâtre* (Antwerp, 1588, 1590, 1598), *Epitome theatri Orteliani* (Antwerp, 1589, 1595), *Theatro del mondo* (Antwerp, 1593)

[56] *Epitome Theatri Orteliani* (Antwerp, 1601), *Abrégé du théâtre* (Antwerp, 1602), *Breve compendio dal theatro* (Antwerp, 1602), *An Epitome of Ortelius* (London, 1603), *Epitome theatri orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1609), *L'Epitome du théâtre* (Antwerp, 1609), *Compendio dal theatro* (Antwerp, 1612)

Though all these mapmakers lived and worked in diverse regions of Europe, their maps are united by this common theme, which can safely be termed a cartographic convention of the period.

Figure 1.12 – 'Poloniae finitimarumque locorum descriptio' – Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1572)



Figure 1.13 – 'Partis Sarmatiae Europeae…nova descriptio', Andrzej Pograbka (Venice, 1570)



Figure 1.14 – 'Poloniae Lituaniaeq[ue] descriptio' – *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1595)



Figure 1.15 – 'Polonia, Polen, Pologne' – anon., *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani* (s.l., 1579-90)



Figure 1.16 – 'Lithuania' – Gerardus Mercator, *Atlantis pars altera* (Duisburg, 1595)



Figure 1.17 – 'Poloniae locorumque viciniorum descriptio' – Marcin Kromer, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* (Cologne, 1589)



Figure 1.18 – 'Poloniae finitimarumque locorum descriptio' – i.a. Matthias Quad and Johann Bussemacher, *Europae totius orbis terrarum… descriptio* (Cologne, 1592)



Figure 1.19 – 'Poloniae Regnum' – Giovanni Antonio Magini, *Geographiae universae…opus* (Cologne, 1608)



Figure 1.20 – 'Poloniae descriptio' – Giovanni Botero, *Relationi Universali* (Brescia, 1599)



Figure 1.21 – 'Polonia' – Philips Galle, *Epitome du théâtre* (Antwerp, 1598)



Figure 1.22 – 'Polonia' – Jan-Baptista Vrients, *Epitome theatri orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1609)



Figure 1.23 – 'Polonia' – Petrus Bertius, *Tabularum geographicarum contractarum* (Amsterdam, 1606)



Figure 1.24 – 'Polonia' – Bertius, *Tabularum* (Amsterdam, 1616)



Figure 1.25 – 'Regni Polonici contracta descriptio' – Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1550)



Figure 1.26 – 'Landtafel des Ungerlands/Polands/Reussen/Littaw/Walachey und Bulgarey' – Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1578)



Figure 1.27 – 'Europa' – Botero, *Relationi Universali* (Brescia, 1596)



We even see Grodecki's influence on maps of the continent, such as those by Botero and Münster (Figures 1.27 and 1.28). We see Poland treated in the same fashion as other European states to the west, with a dense urban network and a cultivated landscape. Forests like those covering Lithuania are not only absent from Poland, but from everywhere else in Europe (save Muscovy, which finds itself depicted similarly to Lithuania, just not at the front line). Images like this make it clear that Lithuania is not only being differentiated from Poland, but from the rest of Europe to boot.

Figure 1.28 – 'Europa, das ein Drittheil der Erden…' – Sebastian Münster (Basel, 1592)



The forest can be said to have become, in effect, a cartographic leitmotif for the Grand Duchy, and it was, of course, full of latent meaning for contemporary observers. As we have seen, the idea of the forest had long been linked to that of the pagan and barbarian. The vision of these great woodlands evoked the memory of Lithuania's pagan past, were even embodiments of it. And

this is not simple conjecture. The texts that accompanied these maps ensured they would be read in this way. The authors, with few exceptions, give undue focus to Lithuanian paganism – in fact, it is quite remarkable when one does not make reference to it – including pagans' relationship to the trees. Most often, authors give an account of Lithuanians' old beliefs, highlighting their 'sacred groves', and how they worshipped 'special sacrosanct trees within the woods',[57] or how 'they devoted themselves to the woods' along with everything that lived within them, and 'venerated them as holy, as the dwelling places of their gods',[58] even including images of pagan tree-worship (Figure 1.29); but they conclude with a reference to the 1387 conversion. Or rather seem to conclude, for the common inclusion of the lumberjack-missionary Jerome of Prague's account of continuing tree-worship, once again brings the sincerity of these converts into doubt – likewise, on the map, the sacred forests have still not been felled, but continue to stand as an echo of the old faith, or perhaps even a sign of unbroken pagan practice. Such texts add a layer of colour onto the forests of the map, much like the paints of a colourist, turning them into symbols of Lithuania's religious 'otherness'. The map acts as a dog-whistle – although it speaks in a geographical vocabulary that appears neutral, inconsequential, it is suggestive of something much deeper.

Figure 1.29 – "Idola Lithuanorum" – Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1559)



[57] 'Lucos et eximias quasdam arbores in sylvis sacrasanctas habebat', Marcin Kromer, *Polonia: sive de Origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* (Cologne, 1589), 245

[58] 'colebant…sylvas', 'sylvas, quas…sanctas et deorum suorum habitacula venerabantur', Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (Basel, 1559), 906-7

Such dog-whistles were only aided by descriptions of wider barbarity. For we should not forget that paganism was not the only allegation of barbarism brought to bear upon Lithuanian people, whether it be their uncivilised lifestyle, or lack of an urban culture (for, though the vast majority of Europe's population was rural and agricultural in this period, its political culture and identity was centred upon the city, and Europe was conceived of, overwhelmingly, as an urban society).[59] 'There are hardly any towns in Lithuania', Münster tells us, 'and hardly any people live in the villages' – a claim seemingly backed up by his and other maps – also offering a description of the 'barbaric and uncultivated' Samogitians, a polygamous people, living in poverty, with 'no knowledge of gold and silver, bronze, iron or wine'.[60] Indeed, the absence of civilised lifestyle could, in itself, be yet another sign of the absence of Christianity. In his *De inventoribus rerum* (1521), Polydore Vergil identified civilisation with evangelisation, noting that conversion replaced savagery with social virtues[61] – where barbarity continued, Christianity had clearly not taken root. This connection is made explicit by John Speed, alongside his map of Poland (Figure 1.31), when speaking of Samogitia:

> 'Her principall Towne is Carnia: But not that nor any other is very famous for lordly buildings: the fairest are but sheddes in respect of other Countries: The Peasants are truly so indeede. For they reckon themselves but little better than their Cattell: live under the same roofe with them, without any partition or nice loathing of their nastiness: a life fit enough for such a people; for they are yet most of them grosse Idolaters: and are oftimes met in their Woods with horrid visions: and are strangely cozened by the Divell with a belief that they can Prophesy. The silly blasphemers nourish in their house a poor snake (like themselves) gathered out of some ditch, and call it their God'.[62]

We should note, in the spirit of Marxist historiography, the common focus on class, the lower-class in particular. For Lithuanians are not defined by the lifestyle of their nobility, as with other realms, but by that of the peasantry (and a caricature of it at that). They could be considered *pagani* three-times over: they were rude and unlearned, they were non-urban countryside-dwellers, and, of course, they were pagan.[63]

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[59] Pagden, 'Europe', 39-40
[60] 'Rara in Lithuania oppida, [vi]llarum incolatus infrequens', 'agrestes tamen et incultis moribus', 'Auri et argenti, aeries, ferri, vini…expertes fuere et ignarae' Münster, *Cosmographiae*, 906-7
[61] Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil* (Oxford, 1952), 77-8
[62] John Speed, *A Prospect of the most famous Parts of the World* (London, 1627), 32
[63] The etymology of our word 'pagan' comes from the Latin *paganus*, meaning 'of the countryside', a word which accrued many connotations

But, like Speed, not all spoke in a dog-whistle. Some claimed, without reservation, that pagan practices were still ongoing. 'They still have idolaters there today,' claimed Petrus Bertius, 'who worship the god Ziemiennik, and make sacrifices to him at the Kalends of October'.[64] Magini tells us that 'Today there remain some idol-worshipping peasants amongst the Samogitians, who nurse black, four-legged serpents, similar to lizards, in their home, like household gods, and worship them in fear'.[65] Drawing an explicit correlation between the forests of the map, and the barbarism of the people, Giovanni Botero claims Samogitia was still a land 'piena di bosci, e di barbarie', 'full of forests and barbarism'; 'Indeed, idolatry has not been removed at all, especially that of serpents, which is cultivated and venerated with great superstition by the peasants'.[66] But this was not limited to Samogitia – it could be found across the Grand Duchy:

> 'But whether there was a lack of diligence and care in the teaching of doctrine, nevertheless the immense size and the wildness of the country, the mixing with Ruthenians (besides their heresy and schism, they are shrouded in superstitions, such that cannot be numbered), the poverty of the labourers, the disturbance of Lutheranism and of other modern heresies have been the causes of this vineyard not having had due cultivation. Indeed, in Lithuania and Samogitia you can discover many relics of idolatry, in many places.'[67]

For Botero, the blame lay particularly with the perversions of Luther, Calvin, of the Anabaptists, Arians and Zwinglians, and their miseducation of the youth (thankfully the work of the Jesuits had largely rectified this). Because of these disturbances, the people still devoted themselves to fire, the lightning bolt, the sun and moon, serpents and four-legged snakes, and moreover they still worshipped the forests and the largest, most ancient trees.[68] Besides the brazen confessionalisation of the issue by the Catholic Botero, mobilising the spectre of Lithuanian paganism against both

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[64] 'Habent tamen etiam nunc idololatras, qui Deum colunt Ziemiennik cui Kal. Octobris sacrificant', Petrus Bertius, *Tabularum geographicarum contractarum* (Amsterdam, 1600), 324
[65] 'Sunt tamen et nunc inter Samogitas aliqui rustici idololatrae, qui tanquam penates domi suae serpentes quosdam quatuor pedes habentes ad instar lacertarum nigro colore nutrient, et timore quodam venerantur', Giovanni Antonio Magini, *Geographiae Universae* (Cologne, 1608), 153
[66] 'Conciosia, che non n'è sterpata affatto l'Idolatria, massime de' serpenti: che si pascono, e si venerano con gran superstitione da i villani', Botero, *Relationi Universali*, Book 1, 209
[67] 'Mà se bene si mancò di diligenza, e di cura in ammaestrarli nella dottrina: nondimeno la grandezza, e la salvatichezza del paese, la mescolanza de' Russi (che oltra all'heresie, e al scisma, sono avviluppati in tante superstitioni, che non hanno numero) la penuria de gli operarii, il disturbo del Luteranesmo, e dell'altre heresie moderne, sono state cagioni, che questa vigna non habbia havuto la debita coltura. Conciosia che in Lituania e in Samogitia si scuoprono in più luoghi molte reliquie d'idolatria', ibid., Book 3, 129-30
[68] ibid., Book 3, 129-30

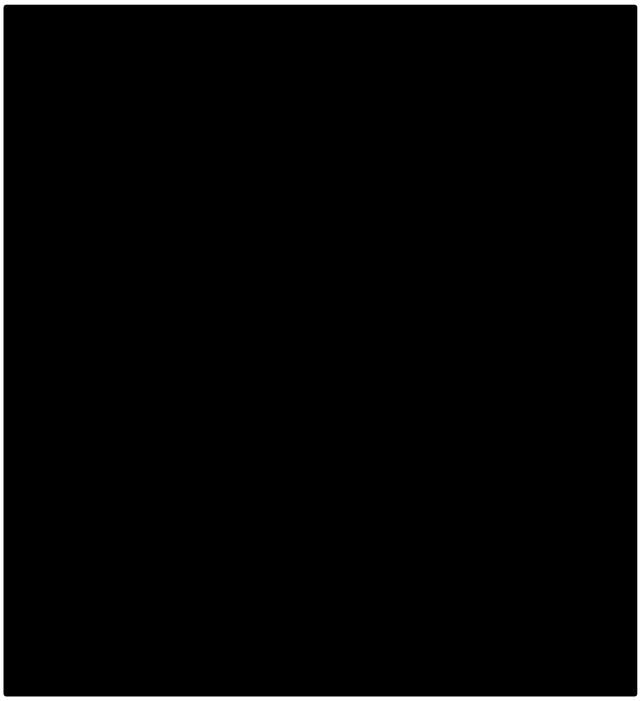
Protestant and Orthodox opponents, texts like these imbued their maps, and the forests within them, with a much greater immediacy. The biblical metaphor of the uncultivated vineyard neatly ties the text to the map. His analogy links the apparent lack of cultivation of the physical landscape, the forests that have not been felled to make room for fields, to the lack of cultivation of the spiritual landscape, that remains full of idolatry.

Speaking of Orthodoxy, it is noteworthy that this image of pagan barbarism is made to apply not simply to those areas that had remained pagan until the 14th century, but to the Grand Duchy's Orthodox lands, too – not only 'Lithuania Proper' (roughly coterminous with the Lithuanian state today), but the whole Grand Duchy. Though we might not guess it from map or text, pagans had been the minority within the Grand Duchy, and Orthodox Ruthenians the majority, meaning that the conversion of 1387 'was not so much the Christianization of a pagan country as the introduction of Roman Catholicism into a largely Orthodox country'.[69] By covering the whole Grand Duchy in forests, however, that essential division within the Grand Duchy, between Lithuania Proper and Ruthenia, is forgotten (a grave mischaracterisation of the state's nature), and, consequently, the Orthodox are tarred with the same barbaric brush. Stories of tree-worship that might come from one area, such as Samogitia, are universalised, and come to apply to the whole Grand Duchy along with all its Ruthenian inhabitants, or, at the very least, prompt that question in the mind of the reader. Such ideas are given substance by accounts like Botero's, which blame the Orthodox Ruthenians for the perpetuation of pagan ideas, and who, themselves, are polluted by pagan superstitions, 'such that cannot be numbered'. When the Orthodox are not simply forgotten beneath the veil of Lithuanian paganism, they are shown to be an elemental part of it. Such association of Orthodoxy with paganism in Western thought was far from unique. Orthodox Muscovites were likewise tarred with the brush of paganism, seen most clearly in the trope of the *Złota Baba*, the Golden Old Woman (Figure 1.30), a pagan idol venerated in northern Muscovy, first mentioned in Maciej Miechowita's *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatis* (1517), and which became a common feature on maps Muscovy, such as those of Anton Wied (1542), Sebastian Münster (1544), Sigismund Herberstein (1546), Anthony Jenkinson

[69] Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations* (New Haven, 2003), 17-18

(1562), Abraham Ortelius (1570), and on Gerardus Mercator's map of the North Pole (1569).[70] One might have expected Orthodoxy to be seen as an ally in the struggle against paganism, to see a united Christian front against the pagan threat; such an idea would indeed seem natural and reasonable. This is not what we see here, however, as Orthodoxy is cast under the shadow of paganism, cast as the abettor of pagan idolatry, perhaps more similar to the pagans than to their fellow Christians. Pagans were not an 'other' that united Catholic and Orthodox together against a common foe – it was rather used, in some cases, to separate them yet further. And, as a result, Orthodoxy was excluded from the European community by association, the forested boundary serving a double purpose, to exclude both pagans and Orthodox from the European whole.

Figure 1.30 – *Złota Baba*, in Anthony Jenkinson's Map of Muscovy (1562)



We might ask ourselves, however, whether we are overcomplicating something that is in fact very simple. Are these forests not simply accurate geographical depictions, reflections of ecological reality, and no more? It is true, the lands of the Grand Duchy were, on average, more wooded in this period than other areas of Europe,[71] but that does not, in itself, mean that these maps were accurate depictions of reality. We should be wary of speaking of 'accuracy' when it comes to these woods, for

[70] Piechocki, *Cartographic Humanism*, 102-6
[71] Józef Śliwiński (ed.), *Puszcze wielkoksiążęce na północnym Podlasiu i zachodniej Grodzieńszczyźnie w XV-XVI wieku* (Olsztyn, 2007)

these maps were not the products of geographical surveys, or anything remotely like it. There is no evidence that Wacław Grodecki, the originator of the convention, ever visited the Grand Duchy, let alone surveyed it. These maps would be of no use to environmental historians, for example, desirous of studying the location and size of woods in 16th-century Lithuania (they all depict the forests in different places for starters). They are placed on the map to give an *impression* of the region, rather than offer an accurate depiction of its forest cover. And while this impression may have an element of truth to it, it is also highly problematic, even from an ecological point of view. Though Lithuania may well have been more forested than Poland, that fact in itself does not validate the image we see here, of a great forest beginning at the border of the Grand Duchy. The extreme duality between Poland and Lithuania seen in some of these maps is in fact a highly exaggerated *caricature* of reality, a contrast that was far more stark than it ever truly was. Let us not forget that Wapowski's more balanced image of Polish-Lithuanian forest cover was modified by Grodecki, to become highly lop-sided, along national lines. Nature, therefore, was seemingly forced to conform to a political boundary (and not for the only time in this chapter, NB the use of the *Złota Baba* as a boundary-marker,[72] and also Figures 1.32 and 1.48), in a way that simply could not have been the case – which begs the question of whether they were really making an ecological statement, or rather a political one (more on that below). After all, these maps fail even to conform to the cartographers' own terms of reference. In the mapmakers' textual accounts of Lithuania, we are continually told how it is a region 'silvosa et nemorosa', 'wooded and forested',[73] a 'tree-clad'[74] landscape, a country 'in large part covered with forests'.[75] Poland, however, the area depicted on the map as the urban antithesis to the sylvan Lithuania, is described in exactly the same terms. Magini, Bertius and Ortelius, quoted above, describe Poland similarly as 'regio… multis cooperta sylvis', 'a region overwhelmed with many forests',[76] 'almost completely covered in woodlands and forests',[77] the countryside 'marshy and wooded'[78] – in other words, these cartographers actively misrepresented reality (or what they believed

[72] Piechocki has noted the use of the *Złota Baba* as a border post on the edge of Europe (*Cartographic Humanism*, 102-6)
[73] Magini, *Geographiae Universae*, 152
[74] 'silvis operta', Bertius, *Tabularum*, 323
[75] 'plurimumque nemorosa', Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), 44
[76] Magini, *Geographiae Universae*, 150
[77] 'nemoribus et silvis tecta magna ex parte', Bertius, *Tabularum*, 320
[78] 'palustris est, et nemorosa', Ortelius, *Theatrum*, 44

to be reality), in order to make a statement about Lithuania. Indeed, we should remember that Ortelius even removed the small patches of Polish forest offered by Grodecki and Pograbka, creating a yet starker contrast. It should also be remembered that woods do not even have to be depicted on maps. Ptolemy, the muse of early modern cartography, thought that maps should show landmass and settlement location, but had no business depicting vegetation. It was a *choice* of cartographers to draw attention to Lithuania's wooded nature on their maps (or to unfurl Wapowski's lines of forest, stretching them across the map, as did Grodecki), when they could have focussed on other, equally relevant details – to say they were merely 'depicting reality' is to overlook this important fact. All this being said, even if we were to accept that these forests were accurate geographical depictions, it would in no way preclude them from being imbued with cultural meaning, turned into symbols of pagan barbarism that define the inhabitants of Lithuania as much as its landscape, and press home a dichotomy, that of the essential difference between Lithuania and the rest of Europe.

Quite where this leaves our view of the 16th-century Commonwealth needs discussion. Increasingly, in recent historiography of the Polish-Lithuanian Union (influenced by the traditional Polish interpretation of the Union), the narrative of a strong, successful political relationship has been adopted. The Union, its genesis in the Act of Krewo 1385, and consummated in the 1569 Union of Lublin, created a Polish-Lithuanian state that was 'one people, one political community, one brotherhood', one indivisible and uniform commonwealth, a union of equals, *aeque principaliter*.[79] Though our study here has no impact whatsoever on the legal intricacies of the Union examined by Robert Frost, it does speak of the *image* of that same Union. As much as the legal documents and political discussion were founded upon this idea of a uniform, equal partnership, documents like these maps tell a different story. Admittedly, the Commonwealth is shown in these maps as a single political unit – we are not speaking of separate maps of separate states – but it is nevertheless presented as a polity of two halves, split down the middle; a state that straddles the boundary between civilisation and barbarism – a far cry from the current historiographical narrative. Yet, irrespective of its truth, this was the image that was being presented to the world, even in the wake of the success

[79] Robert Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2015)

of the Lublin Union. Though it may have been a union of legal equals, the Commonwealth of Two Nations was not, at least in Polish, or foreign, eyes, presented as a union of cultural equals.

This takes on added significance when we consider where this image, this alternative narrative, came from. It is commonly recognised that such an image of a still-pagan Lithuania was advanced by the Teutonic Knights, justifying their continuing existence as a crusading Order.[80] But though it was arguably building off Teutonic propaganda, this cartographic narrative was a *Polish* creation, coming not from Lithuania's enemies, but from its supposed friends. The image originated in the work of a Pole, Wacław Grodecki (although a Silesian, Grodecki undoubtedly identified as a Pole, describing himself in his map cartouches as *Venceslao Grodecio Polono*), and was elaborated by another, Andrzej Pograbka. As an aside, Olaus Magnus' *Carta Marina* contained a strongly pro-Polish narrative (NB the Hezekiahn role ascribed to the Polish king, the breaker of pagan idols), which could well have originated in the work of his friend, Bernard Wapowski, the Father of Polish cartography.[81] Furthermore, this 'othering' of Lithuania (or, to use a less apt but more salient term, 'orientalising') was not merely a feature of cartography, it pervaded wider Polish culture. The most significant and influential example can be found in the Annals of the great historian Jan Długosz (1415-1480), which present the world as a dichotomy, sharply contrasting civilised Poland with barbaric, pagan Lithuania (employing tropes we are familiar with, such as the forested landscape).[82] But not Długosz alone, for it has been claimed 'There is no doubt that the [barbaric] image of Lithuania and of Lithuanians is one of the most stable and canonical in Polish literary and cultural consciousness'.[83]

The Teutonic 'othering' of Lithuania is understandable, but why would Poles seek to demean their political partners? In short, to attest to their own civilised nature. Długosz, it has been said,

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[80] Baronas and Rowell, *Conversion*, 146, 335-6; also see footnote 51 above
[81] Olaus Magnus lived in Gdańsk 1527-37, where he started drawing up his *Carta Marina*, and corresponded with his friend, Bernard Wapowski (Thomas Berg, *Theatre of the World* (London, 2018), 108-9). Wapowski, who was employed as Secretary to the Polish King, Zygmunt I, was producing his own map of Northern Europe at the time, left uncompleted at his death in 1535. It seems implausible that Magnus would not have made use of Wapowski's knowledge, or his unfinished map, in creating his *Carta Marina*, a borrowing that would also help explain Magnus' glorification of Wapowski's royal employer, Zygmunt I.
[82] Urszula Borkowska, *Treści ideowe w dziełach Jana Długosza* (Lublin, 1983)
[83] Algis Kalėda, 'The Lithuanian in Polish Literature', in *Barbarian in European Literature and Culture* (Vilnius, 2008), 148-158

painted a picture of a primitive, pagan Lithuania in order to highlight Polish civilisation and Poland's salvific, civilising role towards Lithuania, singling out the Polish king as the instrument of God, the apostle to the barbarians (a narrative repeated in Magnus' map); 'against the background of the "pagan darkness" cloaking Lithuania, Poland's role shone all the brighter'.[84] Indeed, this 'civilising role', this duty to spread civilisation to the peoples of the *Kresy*, the Commonwealth's eastern borderlands, is a recurrent feature of Polish history, and, even today, remains an element of the Polish self-image, and Poles' image of their neighbours.[85] It is an image that twins the idea of Polish greatness with Lithuanian, Belarusian, Ukrainian backwardness, peoples who are cast as the beneficiaries of Polish civilisation. It is a contrast that can be seen clearly in our maps, but it goes deeper than that – this 'civilising mission' is at the very heart of these images, and makes itself known in the very origin of the cartographic convention, in the first, 1562 edition of the Grodecki map. This map was accompanied by a poem, presumably written by Grodecki himself:

In Poloniae laudem, et tabulae huius commendationem, Carmen νεκτάρεον

Amplissimae munitione & civibus,
Nec non opibus urbes, & armis inclytae,
Iucunda libertas, opum vis maxima,
Solum ferax, rerum affluentia omnium,
Prudenter instituta Resq[ue] publica,
Viri politi moribus, prudentia
Et eruditione summa praediti,
POLONIAE variarum dominae gentium
Non vana laudis afferunt praeconia.
Et merito: Sunt enim Dei ista munera,
Regnare qui Reges iubens prudentia,
Tranquillitatem Rebus & dans publicis,
Largitur unus omnia necessaria.

Sed nunc in hac mundi senecta perditi,
Benignus in Poloniam sua Pater
Effudit alma charitatis viscera,
VERBUM salutis praedicari libere
Sinens, idolorum remotis cultibus.
Hunc ergo Lector cum Poloniae typum
Mirare, tantis expolitae dotibus:
Primum Deo grates habeto maximas,
Donis in illam pro suis: in posterum
Et adde vota, pergat ut benefacere.
Polonio congratulare, & admone
Sit grata tantorum datori munerum,
Ne regnum ab ipsa iratus auferat suum.

[84] Borkowska, *Treści ideowe*, 132-3; Dygo, 'Rudis', 100-106
[85] For a medieval example, see Tomasz Graff, 'Servants of the devil or protectors of Christianity and apostles among pagans?', *Folia Historica Cracoviensia*, 23.1 (2017), 143-76; for a 20th-century example, see Olga Mastianica and Darius Staliūnas, "Lithuania – An Extension of Poland': The Territorial Image of Lithuania in the Polish Discourse' in Staliūnas (ed.), *Spatial Concepts of Lithuania in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Boston, 2016), 239-78. It remains a part of Polish discourse even today (Tomasz Zarycki, *Ideologies of Eastness in Central and Eastern Europe* (2014, London)).

A Poem, Sweet as Nectar,[86] *in Praise of Poland and in Commendation of this Map*[87]

Her cities, renowned for their fortifications and citizens,
Celebrated for their defences and no little wealth,
Her delightful liberty, her great abundance of riches,
Her bountiful land, and affluence in all things,
Her wisely governed affairs, and her republic,
Her men polished with morals and
possessed of utmost prudence and erudition,
these occasion, for POLAND, the ruler of diverse peoples,
declarations of praise which are far from boastful.
And deservedly so; for those are the gifts of God,
the one who, appointing kings with prudence
And granting republics their tranquillity,
Lavishes all things necessary for governance.
But today, in this late age of the incorrigible world,
The benevolent Father pours forth
Into Poland his bountiful heart of charity,
Allowing the WORD of salvation to be proclaimed
Freely among the remote cults of idols.
Therefore, reader, when you marvel at this image
Of Poland, a country embellished with such gifts:
First, render the greatest thanks to God
For the favours he has given to her: and add to this
The prayers that she may continue to prosper into the future.
Poland, rejoice, and be mindful
To be thankful to the giver of such great kindnesses,
Lest, angered by her, he sweeps away her kingdom.

The poem ends with a veiled warning; an allusion, we presume, to the Reformation, coming from a priest who would become a central figure within the Moravian Counter-Reformation:[88] Poland's greatness depends upon its faithfulness to the Roman Church; heresy would lead to ruin. The main thrust, however, is concerned with Polish civilisation, enumerating the nation's many qualities, gifts that are given by God himself, and that make the country shine brightly in a benighted world. The map serves as an illustration of these God-given qualities, and calls on the reader, as they 'marvel' at it, to pray and give thanks to God – Grodecki made this map not simply as a scientific depiction of the Commonwealth's territories, but as a prompt for *devotion* (remarkable, particularly given it is not a map of a sacred or biblical subject, but this is something to be discussed in a later chapter). Besides celebrating Polish civilisation, Grodecki notes that God's purpose in championing Poland was to spread Christianity amongst the heathen, to allow 'the word of salvation to be proclaimed freely among the remote cults of idols'. Poland was God's evangelist, divinely ordained to spread the Christian faith amongst the pagans before the coming end of the world (his reference to 'this late age' of the world lends the Polish duty a distinctly eschatological twist). The 'remote cults

[86] 'Sweet as nectar' is the translation of a lone Greek word that is difficult to make out (and has been ignored by other historians), but which we have assumed to read νεκτάρεον (nektareon), an adjective agreeing with *carmen*, 'poem'.
[87] Trans. Andrew Doll
[88] Karol Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography* (Warsaw, 1966), 41

of idols' can only be an allusion to Lithuanian paganism,[89] a trope still being circulated in the 16th century, to stress Poland's civilising role towards the east – a mission still ongoing, still shaping Polish identity 'today', in 1562. This civilising purpose is translated onto the map. The urban civilisation of Poland is contrasted sharply with the uncivilised wilderness, the *puszcza*, of the Grand Duchy, a state in need of Polish civilising paternalism, the forests hiding within them those remote cults still in need of evangelisation.[90] Grodecki's poem has seemingly not been translated or studied before, and though it infuses the image with so much meaning, the map has only been studied from the standpoint of traditional cartographic history[91] – only now has its full meaning and purpose come to light. To drive the message of Poland's civilising purpose home, when Grodecki's map was presented to Zygmunt II August, it was accompanied by a copy of Melanchthon's *On the Origin of the Slavs*, a work that raises up the Polish kingdom as the glory of the Slavic peoples, lending it a civilising role among the Slavic realms.[92]

Though Grodecki seemingly addresses his map to a Polish audience, it ended up defining the European image of the region, and every copy of his map embodied and disseminated this 'orientalist' Polish discourse. This Polish 'othering' of Lithuania defined the Grand Duchy's image for over half a century (in fact, Polish influence over Western maps went beyond the depiction of the Crown and Grand Duchy, also shaping the cartographic image of Muscovy[93]). The influence of Polish cartography on European maps of the Commonwealth is commonly acknowledged by

[89] Though such language was used by Protestants in their attacks on idolatrous Catholics, this is not its use here, given Grodecki's firm adherence to the Counter-Reformation.
[90] In 1568, Grodecki drew a reduced version of this map to accompany Marcin Kromer's *Polonia*, including the depiction of the Commonwealth's bishops, but it was never printed (Zsolt Török, 'Renaissance Cartography in East-Central Europe', in Woodward (ed.), *History of Cartography*, vol. 3, 1833). We will discuss the importance of bishops in maps in more detail in chapter 3, but we can say here that such an addition would have changed the tone of Grodecki's map completely, depicting the presence and power of the Church across Lithuania, subverting the impression of it as a pagan hotbed. Lithuania's image could have been very different, but as this version was never printed, the earlier, bishop-free map was able to become the archetypal image of the country.
[91] Roman Marchwiński, *Geografia Polski Marcina Kromera* (Bydgoszcz, 1997), 26-45; Buczek, *History of Polish Cartography*, 41-9
[92] Janusz Tazbir, 'Philip Melanchthon in the Writings of his Polish Contemporaries', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 61.2 (2017), 90-1
[93] Jakub Niedźwiedź, 'Mercator's Lithuanian–Russian Borderlands: Russiae pars amplificata (1595) and Its Polish Sources', *Imago Mundi*, 71.2 (2019), 151-72

historians,[94] but its cynical motivations, and its deleterious effects on Lithuania have not been recognised. Michael Wintle has argued that it was thanks, in part, to Polish maps that 'the European East ceased to be *terra incognita*'.[95] But, on the contrary, it seems that such maps served to keep Lithuania in the shadows, maintaining a sense of the unknown over the Lithuanian landscape. This was not a narrative dreamt up in the West, but one devised by Lithuania's own political partner – Lithuania was sacrificed to assure Poland's own accession into the sphere of civilised Europe.

The Poles were far from the only ones to define themselves against a barbaric 'other' on their border, however – Germans had long done the same towards their Slavic neighbours. Conrad Celtis, the humanist scholar, gave a speech at the University of Ingolstadt in 1492, offering his view of Polish barbarity. He sought to differentiate the German people as sharply as possible from the Sarmatians, 'as uncivilised and brutal as beasts of prey wandering over wild untrodden deserts like cattle'.[96] And we find these views likewise reflected in maps. The 1627 atlas of the tailor-turned-cartographer, John Speed (1551-1629), *A Prospect of the most famous Parts of the World*, contains a map of Poland (Figure 1.31), but his impression of it was clearly derived from German sources. Speed tells us how the Polish lands, depicted in the map, are in fact split in two. He tells us, erroneously, that western Poland, 'as farre as the River Vistula, it is accompted a part of the Empire: and useth the same speech, religions and customes as the other territories'.[97] This is an important point, because he goes on to say that 'Beyond the River as it shrinkes from the seate of Christianitie, so it begins to degenerate into a kinde of Heathenish rudenesse, which savours of their predecessors.'[98] The river Vistula, which we see running through the centre of the map, has become, like the Hercynian forest, a symbolic boundary, where true religion degenerates into heathenism. It cuts the map in half, but this time it does not mark the contrast between Poland and Lithuania; it marks the difference between

[94] Stanisław Alexandrowicz, 'Kartografia ziem Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce panowania Jagiellonów', *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny*, 46.1 (2014), 62–76; Jakub Niedźwiedź, 'Polonia noviter reperta. Mapy: definiowanie siebie i świata w XVI wieku', *Autoportret*, 44.1 (2014), 32-9

[95] Michael Wintle, 'Europe's eastern border: Arbitrary beyond description?', in M Spiering et al. (eds), *De weerspannigheid van de feiten* (Hilversum, 2000), 258

[96] Celtis had spent the past 3 years (1489-91) studying in Poland, at the University of Kraków – some attribute his bitterness, in part, to his spurning by his Polish lover (Schama, *Landscape*, 91-3)

[97] Speed was not the only cartographer to make this mistake. A 1525 edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, for example, states that Germania was bounded on the east by the Vistula (Piechocki, *Cartographic Humanism*, 48)

[98] John Speed, *Prospect*, 31

those Poles under German rule (living in what he terms 'Polonia Germanica') and Poles left to their own devices, who waste away in 'Heathenish rudenesse'. By implication, the Poles have a natural tendency towards paganism, which can only be forestalled by the civilising influence of the Germans – quite the familiar narrative – and it is the frontier of Germany, not that of Poland, that marks the boundary of Europe. The same message is contained, in a more familiar guise, in George Lily's 1553 map of Germany and surrounding provinces (Figure 1.32), Poland acting as the sylvan foil to the urban Germany – another example of a cartographer spuriously aligning ecological and political boundaries.

Figure 1.31 – 'A Newe Mape of Poland' – John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1627)



In light of images like these, one can get a sense of why the Poles pushed their own narrative[99] – in them, we see the fate from which the Poles sought to save themselves. And for this

[99] Tomasz Graff's 'Servants of the Devil' likewise demonstrates how acutely aware Poles were of the need for image-management and self-promotion on the European stage.

purpose, in some sort of Faustian bargain, they consigned their political spouse to that same fate. Ironically, Celtis himself was only trying to extricate Germans from the Italian image of them as a still semi-barbarous people. Aeneas Sylvius (who spread Jerome of Prague's story) said of Tacitus' *Germania* that, though it showed how far the Germans had come since their rude beginnings, they still had some way to go before being properly integrated into Roman Christendom.[100] Juxtaposing themselves with the barbaric Poles was one way of asserting their civilised credentials.

Figure 1.32 – 'Nova Germaniae Descriptio…', George Lily (Venice, 1553)



Such examples make it blindingly clear that we cannot speak of a single boundary of European civilisation. The idea of where 'barbarism' began depended largely on where one was looking from. We would propose that this is not simply a matter of multiple boundaries, however. It is a *series* or *succession* of boundaries, perhaps a rolling boundary across the continent, contributing to the palimpsest that was the map of early modern Europe. We are witnessing a continuous domino-process of self-definition, where one proposed boundary of civilisation provokes a reaction amongst those accused of barbarism, and the creation of another boundary, pushed beyond their own

[100] Schama, *Landscape*, 91

frontiers.[101] It is a model example of how the 'other' is created and used to define the self, performed over and over again. These images, of course, were not really reflections of the true nature of the 'other'; they were far more reflections of the insecurity of the 'civilised' nations themselves. Maps were but one part of this wider process – though one where it can be seen most palpably – and Grodecki's map is but one domino within it. Within the realm of cartography, however, Grodecki's map won out. His image of a civilised Poland and a pagan, barbaric Lithuania became a cartographic convention, built on and enhanced by others, while an image like Lily's, of a wooded Poland, did not. It successfully dominated the mapped image for 50 years, offering a singular boundary of European civilisation, right through the centre of the Commonwealth. And though Jakub Niedźwiedź has argued that Poland-Lithuania was welcomed onto the map of Europe during the years 1515-45, thanks to Wapowski's maps and the humanist texts of Korwin and Hussowski,[102] it has become clear that this had not yet been fully accomplished.

*

THE SPECTRE DISPELLED

One more domino was yet to fall, however – one that would supersede the Grodecki map, and fundamentally reshape the image of the Grand Duchy in the European mind – the Radziwiłł map of Lithuania. Though long tied to the name of Tomasz Makowski, whose name appears below the map, it is now accepted that the map was most likely produced by others, such as Maciej Strubicz. Its production was directed by the eponymous Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 'the Orphan' (1549-1616), one of the foremost Lithuanian magnates who, as Grand Marshal of Lithuania and subsequently Wojewoda of Trakai and of Vilnius, filled the highest-ranking positions within the Grand Duchy. Work had started on the map by 1597, and the first edition (which no longer survives)

[101] The same process could surely be seen elsewhere, for example with French aspersions on the English, and English on the Welsh, Scottish and Irish; a study of 17th-century English mapping of Scotland could prove an interesting comparison to the Polish mapping of Lithuania, as a parallel union story.
[102] Niedźwiedź, 'Polonia noviter reperta'

was published within a decade. The earliest edition that survives is the second, from 1613, published by Willem Blaeu in Amsterdam (Figure 1.33), and this map, according to Karol Buczek, 'remained for a century and a half the last word in the mapping of the lands of Lithuania' (even the map of Jan Nieprzecki, published in 1749, was only an altered version of it).[103]

Figure 1.33 – 'Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae…exacta descriptio', the Radziwill map, (Amsterdam, 1613)



What becomes manifestly clear is that Radziwill took offence at the way Lithuania had been presented to the world, in both map and text. It seems that, for the Lithuanian magnate,[104] this was the prime motivation in producing the map, to offer an alternative, and accurate, image of his country, counter to the Polish image that had thus-far defined it – another illustration of the imperative to save one's nation from the slur of barbarism. The text, written by Makowski, is

[103] Buczek, *History of Polish Cartography*, 63; Stanisław Alexandrowicz, 'Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Tomasza Makowskiego', *Studia źródłoznawcze*, 10 (1965), 33-67

[104] Though we speak of Radziwill as 'Lithuanian', he, like his fellow magnates in the Grand Duchy, would have spoken Polish, the language of high culture in the Commonwealth. This, however, would not preclude them, nor Ruthenian speakers for that matter, from identifying as Lithuanian, a political identity, rather than one linguistic or ethnic.

effectively an exercise in countering the lies and falsities that had formed the basis of our image of Lithuania:[105] 'It seems to us worthwhile, drawing up as we are this map of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the utmost diligence, to add to it a few things regarding the lie of the land and the mores of the people. By doing this we will, above all, remedy the writings and opinions of various authors, who have related numerous ill-informed stories about this region in their books'.[106] Lithuania, Makowski informs us, is not sparsely settled, but 'is today most crowded with cities, towns and villages'.[107] The cities are not miserable and wooden, but Vilnius, in particular, and the magnatial estates were home to grand architectural structures. It is not a land beset with poverty, where the use of currency was still unknown, but a land highly prosperous; moreover, far from being a non-agricultural landscape where grains refuse to grow, Lithuania is fruitful and fertile, as shown by the wealth of the ports of Riga and Königsberg, cities grown rich from the export of Lithuanian goods. It is not cut off from the world, but linked to the outside world by trade, and is easily traversable throughout the year. He finally challenges the utter fiction around Lithuanian paganism, in particular the story of Jerome of Prague, and the allegations that Lithuanians still clung to the tree-worship of their pagan ancestors: 'the mores of the ancient Lithuanians, which Aeneas Sylvius writes about, have been so utterly cast off, that either it must be believed that they did renounce them, or you must suppose that it is more in accordance with the truth that their ancestors never even followed them'.[108] Not only were such allegations no longer true, but in fact *never were* to begin with. The Lithuanians in reality 'live in a Christian way in all things, like other Catholic peoples',[109] and 'if you wish to know

[105] Jan Jakubowski, 'W sprawie mapy Litwy Tomasza Makowskiego (1613)', *Przegląd Geograficzny* 1.3-4 (1919), 297-306; Jakubowski recognises the role of the text in challenging misconceptions, but we will examine how the map works to the same purpose.
[106] 'Describentibus nobis ea cum diligentia qua potuimus tabulam hanc Geographicam M. Duca. Lithuaniae operae pretium visum est de plaga regionis ac moribus hominum pauca huic tabulae adjicere, quo potissimum occurramus scriptis ac sententiis variorum authorum, qui nonnulla incerta de hac regione libris suis tradiderunt'
[107] 'Civitatibus, opidis et pagis haec regio nunc est frequentissima'
[108] 'antiquorum Lithuanorum mores, de quibus Aeneas Sylvius scribit, ita prorsus abiecerunt, ut vel iam degenerasse ab illis credendi sint, vel iis nunquam maiores illorum praeditos fuisse, id quod magis veritati consentaneum est, existimes'
[109] 'Christiano tamen more in omnibus ut caeterae gentes Catholicae vivunt'

more about these things, consult the historians, for we here have only briefly related to you those things necessary for making known the truth, to refute the lies written by some historians'.[110]

Together with the text, the map challenges long-held assumptions about the Lithuanian landscape. Comparing it to the maps we have studied so far, the difference is dramatic. Whereas before the landscape had been dotted with a few, or at most a few dozen, settlements, scattered around the margins of the great forests, here we see a veritable multitude of cities, towns and villages – 1,020 in all – each one a testament to the urban nature of the Grand Duchy. Far from a land of latent paganism, we are presented with a state firmly under the thumb the Church, with episcopal sees, Catholic and Greek, depicted across the country, and we are assured in the text of the Lithuanians' Christian way of life. And, counter to the hitherto unchanging focus on the Lithuanian peasantry, the map is focussed on the Lithuanian nobility, depicting a noble hierarchy of palatines, dukes and nobles, with the symbols of their exalted status, their headwear, resting over their seats of power. No longer was Lithuania defined by the ignorance, poverty and barbarity of the lowly in society, but by the civilised nature of the nobility.

Most striking of all, however, is the vanishing of the Lithuanian forest.[111] The woods were an organic embodiment of people's fear of the unknown, and maps had given readers' imagination the space to thrive, the forest canopy hiding beneath it all manner of sorcery and sin that the reader cared to imagine (often spurred on by the text). But those vast swathes of forest that had dominated the landscape, those embodiments of Lithuania's pagan past, have been felled, Jerome of Prague-style, by the cartographer; and, with it, any suggestion that those beliefs lived on. The limited knowledge of Lithuanian geography seen in older maps had left, in effect, a cartographic vacuum over the Grand Duchy, a vacuum that these forests had filled. This forest came to act as a sort of 'fog of war', shrouding the country from the reader's view, an embodiment of the Lithuanian *terra*

[110] 'Quibus de rebus si plura cognoscere velis, historicos consule, nos enim hic nisi ea quae ad veritatem ostendendam et quorundam Historicorum falso scripta refutanda pertinebant, breviter tibi exposuimus'
[111] Stanisław Alexandrowicz aired the possibility, in passing, that the map's removal of forests was an attempt to counter the image of Lithuania as a semi-barbaric country, but did not take the supposition any further, or expand on it in any way. He rather saw it primarily as an artistic return to the Wapowskian convention of mapping forests as lines, which allowed more details to be included on the map, and made it more readable (Alexandrowicz, 'Mapa…Tomasza Makowskiego', 50)

incognita. This fog the Radziwiłł map utterly dispelled, revealing all that lay beneath it, all that had remained hidden from view, leaving no space to be filled by the imagination. No longer was it a state uncharted, unknown, undiscovered, no longer subjected to suggestions of barbarism or 'otherness' – the Grand Duchy, now depicted through a shared cartographic vocabulary, was a land little different to the rest of Latin Europe. Such a destructive approach to the forest, however, is a drastic contrast to Conrad Celtis' approach to the German woods. Celtis sought, with the help of cartographic imagery, to de-fang the Tacitean view of the barbaric forest. Rather than getting rid of it, he decided to 'own it', casting the forest instead as an essential, positive feature of the German landscape and character.[112] The Radziwiłł map, however, did not seek to offer a re-interpretation of the Lithuanian forest, shearing it of its pagan connotations (perhaps such connotations were considered just too deeply engrained) – it was, instead, virtually eliminated.

To do this, however, required a certain amount of cartographic falsification. Though earlier we questioned the accuracy of previous depictions of the Lithuanian forests, the Radziwiłł map was no less inaccurate, misleadingly creating the illusion of a country free from woods, even in places where, to this day, there remain primeval forests, such as Białowieża (Figure 1.34).[113] Though forest-cover did gradually decrease throughout our period,[114] the Radziwiłł map goes far beyond this ecological reality. That being said, it is a paradox that this de-forestation simultaneously shifts the image of Lithuania both *further away from*, and *closer to*, its reality. Ecologically, the map is deceptive – but the way it expunges the insinuations of paganism renders the map, in another manner, much more true-to-life. It should lead us to ask a question that, seemingly, has not been asked before, whether we can, in fact, talk of different kinds of cartographic accuracy: an accuracy that is true to *physical* reality (the traditional sort), and one true to *cultural* reality. For the physical landscape cannot be separated from the cultural meanings it is imbued with. This connection is inescapable, and unavoidably shapes the message of a map, so that a map that is physically accurate can, nevertheless, offer a false image of a place. The Radziwiłł map is a response to this fact, and it is the reason why

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[112] Schama, *Landscape*, 95-100; Christopher Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (Chicago, 1993), 128ff

[113] Alexandrowicz, 'Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego', 50

[114] Anna Pytasz-Kołodziejczyk, 'The evolution of the laws regulating access to forests and aquatic resources of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania', *Przegląd Wschodnioeuropejski*, 11.1 (2020), 13-22

this map, famous for its physical accuracy in all other respects, should now diverge so drastically from physical reality. It seems that, when it came to the forests, it was not physical accuracy, but the map's cultural accuracy that was paramount. This cultural accuracy helped create an image of Lithuania (or rather helped reflect its true image) which served to integrate the Grand Duchy into the European whole.

Figure 1.34 – The non-existent forest of Białowieża (1.33)



That said, it was not simply the map's cultural accuracy that marked Lithuania out as European. Its accuracy in the more traditional sense was also essential, not just from a scientific, but from a cultural perspective. Indeed, the map's high level of accuracy was essential to how the map was being marketed, titled as it was an 'exacta descriptio', with Makowski's text immediately highlighting their 'utmost diligence' in drawing up this map.[115] On one level, the accuracy of the map lends its arguments, and those of the text, the veneer of scientific truth, reinforcing Makowski's assault on the myths of Lithuanian barbarism. But, more than that, its accuracy is an essential part of that very message. Yes, the map establishes, *visually*, how Lithuania is little different to the rest of Europe. But it also demonstrates the same idea through its very nature. The high level of accuracy of the map, and the scientific prowess that that requires, is indicative of a civilised Lithuanian society,

[115] 'Describentibus nobis ea cum diligentia qua potuimus tabluam hanc Geographicam M. Duca. Lithuaniae operae pretium visum est'

able to work to the highest scientific standards. Certainly, the map shows Lithuania to be an urban, cultivated place, but the very process of mapping it, and to such a high standard, demonstrates, beyond shadow of a doubt, the people's mastery over their landscape. Lithuania could hardly be further from the image of a wild, untamed place we had been led to believe it to be. And the accuracy of the map is in itself *proof* of the message put across in map and text, integrating Lithuania into European civilisation on a deeper level. Furthermore, it was this accuracy that ensured the map's message would be carried further than it ever could have been on its own. Its accuracy gave it legitimacy and authority in the eyes of other cartographers, who would use it as the cartographic basis of maps of the region for more than a century, and with it, the messages it contained. It is clear that cartographic accuracy, and the study of it, is not antithetical to the cultural history of maps, as it has often been judged. It can rather be considered an integral part of it.

Now the spectre of paganism had been dispelled, and Lithuania shown to be an unambiguously Christian state, one question remained – was it a Catholic or an Orthodox Grand Duchy that would emerge from behind the woods? For, as we noted earlier, though nominally Catholic, the Grand Duchy was in fact majority-Orthodox. The Radziwiłł map, however, depicts a nation uniformly Catholic. Though we see Roman and Greek bishops across the map, these Greek bishops were not Orthodox hierarchs, but those of the *Uniate* Church (something that will be properly explained in Chapter 3), Greek bishops who have submitted themselves to Rome. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Radziwiłł, a man deeply invested in the success of the Catholic Church,[116] began work on this map in 1597, just a year after the Union of Brześć. Only now, for the first time in the Grand Duchy's history, could one justifiably argue that this Orthodox-majority state was in fact Catholic, and Radziwiłł jumped at the opportunity to do just that. This was, of course, an image that was not wholly faithful to the truth – in Chapter 3 we will discuss the cartographic fate of those Orthodox who refused to join the Uniate Church, and indeed of the Grand Duchy's Protestants – but it is an image that mirrors Makowski's text, which states that Lithuanians are no

[116] Radziwiłł, a convert from Calvinism to Catholicism, strove to roll back the Reformation in Lithuania, giving his patronage to Jesuit, Benedictine and Franciscan institutions, reclaiming Protestant churches for Catholicism, and closing Reformed printing houses (Janusz Szteinke, 'Radziwiłł, Nikolaus Christoph', *Biographisch-Bibliographiches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 7 (Herzberg, 1994), 1237-9)

different to 'other Catholic peoples'. The question of what confessional form the Grand Duchy would take is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it was a turning point that would decide whether Lithuania, even with paganism set aside, would continue to be cast as different to the rest of Catholic Europe; indeed, it would decide whether the Orthodox 'other' on the edge of Europe would not be Muscovy, but *Lithuania*. But, as it is, the Radziwiłł map proclaimed Lithuania a Catholic country, incorporating it into Latin Christendom, allowing for Muscovy to take up the role as Europe's Orthodox bogeyman. Secondly, it is important from a historiographical perspective, as there is ongoing debate over the nature of the Grand Duchy. To Lithuanian historians, it was, first and foremost, a Baltic, ex-pagan, Catholic realm.[117] Belarusian historians, however, have cast it as a Slavic, Orthodox (and hence proto-Belarusian) state,[118] a re-creation of Kievan Rus', constituted of Ruthenian principalities, and adopting Chancery Slavonic as the language of law and government.[119] Of course, our maps cannot be expected to contribute directly to the debate, for they cannot be relied upon as sources for establishing the confessional reality on the ground; but they can speak to us of the Grand Duchy's image, how it was presented to, and absorbed by, European readers, and what contemporaries believed (or were led to believe) was true. And, when it comes to how the Grand Duchy was portrayed in the map, we can say that it is not an Orthodox, Ruthenian state that we have seen, but one that accords with Lithuanian historiography, and twice-over: firstly a pagan, and then a Catholic state – though with a significant delay of a few hundred years, it should be noted. Though an Orthodox-majority state in reality, we see a Grand Duchy defined by its Baltic, pagan-then-Catholic core, rather than its vast Ruthenian territories. (Though, ironically, we will see in Chapter Three how the Radziwiłł map accidentally opened the door to the depiction of Lithuania's Orthodox for the first time).

The Radziwiłł map, thanks to its accuracy, won the approval of other cartographers, and went on to reshape the cartographic image of Lithuania as a whole. Perhaps the clearest evidence of

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[117] Rowell and Baronas, *Conversion*

[118] Mikola Yermalovich, Беларуская дзяржава Вялікае Княства Літоўскае (Minsk, 2000)

[119] Timothy Snyder also subscribes to this view, claiming 'Lithuania was in religion and in language rather an Orthodox Slavic than a pagan Baltic country'. The Lithuanian language became practically irrelevant, as the Grand Duchy became a 'Ruthenian realm', and its capital, Vilnius, becoming a centre of Orthodox, Slavic civilisation (Snyder, *Reconstruction*, 17-24)

Figure 1.35 – 'Lithuania' – Hondius-Mercator, *Atlas Minor* (Amsterdam, 1607)



Figure 1.36 – 'Lithuania' – Hondius-Mercator, *Atlas Minor* (Amsterdam, 1620)



Figure 1.37 – 'Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae…exacta descript[tio]', Henricus Hondius (Amsterdam, 1636)



Figure 1.38 – 'Nova totius Regni Poloniae…', Hugo Allard (Amsterdam, 1657)



Figure 1.39 – 'Nova totius Regni Poloniae…', Aegidius Valkenier – Andreas Cellarius, *Regni Poloniae…Descriptio* (Amsterdam, 1659)



Figure 1.40 – 'Nova totius Regni Poloniae…', Dancker Danckerts (Amsterdam, c. 1675)



Figure 1.41 – 'Regni Poloniae…', Nicolas Chevalier (Utrecht, n.d.)



Figure 1.42 – 'Regni Poloniae…', Johannes de Ram (s.l., n.d.)



Figure 1.43 – 'Polonia & Lithuania…', anon. (s.l., n.d.)



Figure 1.44 – 'Les Estats de la Couronne de Pologne' – Nicolas de Fer, *Petit et Nouveau Atlas* (Paris, 1697)



Figure 1.45 – 'Lithuania', Pieter van den Keere – Philipp Clüver, *Introductio in Universam Geographiam* (Wolfenbüttel, 1661)



Figure 1.46 – 'Estats de la Couronne de Pologne…', Nicolas Sanson (s.l., 1655)



Figure 1.47 – 'Estats de Pologne…', Alexis-Hubert Jaillot (Paris, 1675)



its influence can be seen in the development of the Hondius-Mercator *Atlas Minor*. The 1607 edition contained a map of Lithuania in a style that will be very familiar to us (Figure 1.35), but by 1620, the image had changed completely, under the influence of the Radziwiłł map (Figure 1.36).[120] Hondius in fact published his own version of the map in 1636 (Figure 1.37), and, before that, the Radziwiłł map had been included in the hugely influential atlases of Willem and Joan Blaeu, starting with Willem's *Appendix Theatri A Ortelii et Atlantis G Mercatoris* (1631). Perhaps its most salient impact can be seen in the depiction of Lithuania's forests. Thanks to the Radziwiłł map, the old convention of mapping Lithuania (save for the occasional re-use of old plates by cash-strapped editors) became practically extinct. Those forests that had previously covered the Grand Duchy, the cartographic emblem of Lithuanian barbarity, were no more. This can be seen clearly in six similar maps of Poland-Lithuania by Hugo Allard (Figure 1.38), Aegidius Valkenier (Figure 1.39), Dancker Danckerts (Figure 1.40), Nicolas Chevalier (Figure 1.41), Johannes de Ram (Figure 1.42), and this anonymous, undated map (Figure 1.43), all based upon an influential map by Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan. The same

[120] This influence is made immediately apparent by the emphasis this map gives to locations highlighted by the Radziwiłł map, such as Nieśwież and Birze, homes of two branches of the Radziwiłł family.

is visible in de Fer's map of 1697 (Figure 1.44), and in Pieter van den Keere's re-engraving of the Hondius-Mercator image (Figure 1.45) and while Nicolas Sanson drastically reduced the Lithuanian forests (Figure 1.46), his copyist, Alexis Hubert Jaillot, removed the rest (Figure 1.47). The hold of the Grodecki map over the Grand Duchy was well and truly broken.

The Radziwiłł map was an attempt to push over the next domino, and secure Lithuania's accession to European civilisation – the map's reception shows that, to a large extent, he succeeded. What we are seeing here, therefore, is not evidence of rampant deforestation of the Lithuanian landscape. We are rather witnessing a cultural shift in the European imagination around Lithuania, a revision of the mental picture of Europe, and where the presence of the 'other' is imagined to begin, as Lithuania is welcomed, cartographically, into union with the rest of Europe. The Radziwiłł map, along with Makowski's text, did not manage to quash stories of Lithuanian paganism completely (nor could we truly expect it to). Bernard Connor, as we heard earlier, was still in 1698 talking of the 'Idolaters… in the great Woods, who still worship Serpents, etc. as they used to do.'[121] It did ensure, however, that the spectre of paganism was at least erased from the map, along with the image of Lithuanian barbarism.

Unlike the Grodecki map, the Radziwiłł map did not rest on the 'othering' of a neighbour. It sought to counter disinformation about Lithuania, and prove its civilised nature, without resorting to a demonisation of the Muscovites to the east. Though it removes the Lithuanian woods, it does not leave Muscovy shrouded in the same darkness. The domino-process continued by default, however. Though the European frontier had been shifted eastwards, beyond the boundary of the Grand Duchy, the shadow of the forest had not been lifted from the lands of Muscovy. In all the maps above (Figures 1.38-45), forests remain over Muscovy, together with its barbaric associations – a new sylvan border, perhaps exhibited most clearly in Jaillot's 1698 map of Muscovy (Figure 1.48) (a *third* example of the spurious alignment of ecological and political boundaries). Until this point, Lithuania had been the more immediate 'other' on the cartographic edge of Europe. Only now, after the remoulding of the region by the Radziwiłł map, can we say that Catholic Europe truly came face-

[121] Connor, *History of Poland*, vol. 1, 341-2

to-face, cartographically, with Muscovy and with Orthodoxy. It is also here that the domino-process ended. For the Muscovites had a different conception of civilisation and where it stemmed from: Moscow was envisaged as the 'Third Rome', the last bastion of pure Orthodox Christianity, and, as such, Muscovites felt no need to justify themselves in the eyes of the West, or free themselves from its image of Muscovite barbarity – it was the Catholics, after all, who were the barbarians. The domino-process would, however, take hold in the time of Peter the Great, who sought to realign Russian culture along Western lines and liberate his country from the Western allegations of barbarism – indeed, Larry Wolff has noted the Petrine attempt to 'put Russia on the map',[122] and Steven Seegel that one of the fundamental purposes of Russian cartography from the 18th-20th centuries was 'the fantasy of proving membership in Europe'[123] – but such an exploration is beyond our remit.

Figure 1.48 – 'La Russie Blanche ou Moscovie…' – Alexis-Hubert Jaillot, *Atlas Nouveau* (Amsterdam, 1698)



[122] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 145ff
[123] Steven Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire* (Chicago, 2012), 4

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CONCLUSION

Though it had vanished long ago from the shores of Europe, paganism retained its power over the European imagination. Whether it be the Lithuanian forest, evoking the old pagan faith (or even embodying its survival), the Muscovite *Złota Baba*, or the river Vistula, beyond which Poles were said to 'degenerate into a kinde of Heathenish rudenesse, which savours of their predecessors', the early modern borders of the continent continued to be defined by an ongoing fear of paganism. And the Lithuanian forest offered an eastern border to the continent, a fault line, that real geography could never provide. Nevertheless, paganism has been largely forgotten by historians of post-medieval Europe, except for historians of Lithuania themselves – it has been seen, instead, as a feature of Europeans' interaction with the New World,[124] rather than something they still envisaged on their own threshold. There is, of course, the question of how serious these commentators and cartographers were in their belief in this pagan survival. Some surely gave it credence, but others would have invoked the pagan threat merely as a rhetorical, cultural trope, a tool in their attempt to demarcate the edge of European civilisation – but the essential point is that it was still used. It remained an important element in the European cultural imagination, and in the early modern envisioning of Europe. Valerie Kivelson has claimed that early modern Europeans saw and defined themselves in two mirrors: the Turkish mirror and the Muscovite mirror, Islam and Orthodoxy.[125] Indeed, Muscovy has been treated by historians as *the* threat on Europe's north-eastern doorstep, but it had not yet fulfilled that role – an anachronism that we should be wary of. It seems that, even into the 17th century, we should continue to speak of the Pagan, or even Lithuanian, mirror. Islam was not seen as the only non-Christian 'other' on the edge of Europe.

How does this effect our understanding of the cartographic response to early modern religious change? To start, it shows that, even in a time of extreme confessionalisation, when we

[124] Laruen Beck, 'Sixteenth-Century Religious Cartographic Signs throughout the Lands of Spain', *Imago Mundi*, 60.1 (2008), 118-9
[125] Kivelson, 'Cartographic Emergence', 54

might expect cartographers to be focussed on confessional struggles, they did not turn inwards, but remained sensitive to issues well beyond the confessional divide. Even cartographers ostensibly worried about the Reformation, like Grodecki, still operated outside Catholic/Protestant discourse. It serves as a reminder to take a broad view of the early modern religious landscape, a landscape in which paganism (or rather its imagined presence) retained a real significance. Moreover, it demonstrates clearly how cartography could respond to religious issues in veiled ways, and that religiously 'blank' maps could be replete with meaning – the Lithuanian woods, though seemingly neutral, were no simple depiction of Lithuanian ecology – a point of importance to the thesis as a whole.

But, then again, we might ask whether cartography was responding to religious changes at all, and whether those very woods in fact embodied a refusal to respond to early modern reality. After all, why do we find Europe defined more by an imaginary border with paganism, rather than a real one with Orthodoxy? After all, it was only with the Radziwiłł map that we could see an exceedingly belated cartographic response to the Lithuanians' 14th-century conversion. On one level, this conclusion is correct, for cartography undoubtedly fails to respond to these changes on the ground; but, on another level, it is mistaken, for cartographers were not merely perpetuating a medieval phenomenon, but responding to early modern concerns. Lithuanian historians have argued that allegations of paganism continued not only because of Teutonic machinations, but because it became a tool in the hands of Protestant and Catholic polemicists, each wielding it as a stick to beat the other, either as a symbol of Catholic neglect, or a repercussion of Protestant heretical teaching[126] – and indeed, we saw Botero blaming Protestants for continuing pagan beliefs, while also using it to barbarise Orthodoxy. Moreover, we have found it used as a tool by early modern Poles to stress their own civilised nature, and proclaim their evangelical role towards Lithuania. But it also has to be considered that this trope was only *used* as a tool, and was only *successful* as one, so long after paganism's disappearance, because a fundamental anxiety still existed – these cartographers were

[126] Stephen Rowell, 'Was Fifteenth-Century Lithuanian Catholicism as Lukewarm as Sixteenth-Century Reformers and Later Commentators Would Have Us Believe?' *Central Europe*, 8.2 (2010), 86-106; Baronas and Rowell, *Conversion*, 3-4

responding to, and appealing to, an early modern fear of (or even perverse fascination with) paganism. Indeed, the mapping of the Lithuanian woods was a *new* phenomenon, added in by early modern cartographers responding to early modern concerns. Far from being unresponsive to religious change, the belated cartographic shift away from paganism to Orthodoxy was, in fact, mirroring a belated shift in the imagining of Europe itself. In this way, we realise that cartography, as a medium, was much more sensitive to changes (and continuity) in religious thought, than to changes 'on the ground' – something we will continue to see throughout this thesis.

These responses to religious change had an inevitable and profound effect on the images of Lithuania, Poland, and the Commonwealth as a whole, let alone the nature of Europe and its boundaries. By and large, Poland is presented on maps as no different from the rest of the continent, a result of the Poles' undoubted success in propagating their cartographic designs. The maps reflect, visually, the opinion of men like Erasmus, who wrote in 1523 that the Poles were 'a people who, though formerly ill regarded as barbarian, now so blossoms in letters, laws, customs, religion, and in whatever else may spare it the reproach of uncouthness, that it can vie with the most distinguished and praised of nations'.[127] The flip side of this image (and at the root of its success), was the image of Lithuania. For the Grand Duchy was cast as undeniably different to the rest of the continent. Rowell and Baronas have claimed that 'by the early sixteenth century Lithuanian society was essentially the same as the rest of Latin Europe', 'becoming a recognizably European nation';[128] indeed, it seems to be universally accepted by historians that Lithuania had become very much a part of Europe by the 16th century, by 1569 at the very latest, with the Union of Lublin.[129] Though this may very well be true, the cartographic image voices a different narrative, a narrative that undermines Niedźwiedź's claim that Lithuania had been welcomed onto the map of Europe by 1515-45. Indeed, though he notes that 16th-century Muscovy was presented as an un-European, wooded wasteland,[130] he forgets that Lithuania, too, came to be presented as such – an uncultivated, uncivilised, sylvan foil

[127] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 10
[128] Baronas and Rowell, *Conversion*, x, blurb
[129] e.g. Jūratė Kiaupienė, 'The Grand Duchy of Lithuania in East Central Europe or once again about the Lithuanian-Polish Union', *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, 2 (1997), 56-71; G Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens* (Cologne, 1955), 340, 361; Niedźwiedź, 'Polonia noviter reperta'
[130] Niedźwiedź, 'Polonia noviter reperta'

to European civilisation – and that it would take another century for Lithuania to be properly integrated into the map of Europe. It is an image comparable to cartographic depictions of the New World, which contrasted the landed, agricultural, 'civilised' European societies with the 'barbaric rootlessness' of the Native Americans, living in the forests, devoid of agriculture and urban life.[131] For Lithuania, as for the Americas, the primeval forests symbolised the inhabitants' barbaric, un-European nature. As such, the cartographic barbarisation of Lithuania should be seen as part of a wider, global history of European barbarisation of the 'other' in maps, and should be seen, for example, in conjunction with the depiction of Amerindian 'monsters' in the New World, studied by Surekha Davies.[132] Resulting from these maps, the Commonwealth was cartographically split in two, straddling the European frontier, an image that clashes with the historiographical paradigm of the state as a successful union of equals. We have found, moreover, that this image of the Commonwealth was, at root, a Polish creation: Wacław Grodecki devised this image of a barbarous, wooded Lithuania in order to highlight the Polish civilising mission towards the East. Of course, it speaks less of Lithuanian civilisation, and more of Polish insecurity, but it nevertheless was an image that shaped wider European attitudes towards the Grand Duchy. The Radziwiłł map finally broke Grodecki's stranglehold over the Grand Duchy, allowing Lithuanians to define their own country, and establish its European nature. Some historians have argued, explicitly or implicitly, that Lithuania became European through its union with Poland, highlighting the initial union of 1385, or, later, its consummation in 1569[133] – it is most ironic therefore that, cartographically, Lithuania became part of Europe not through its connection to Poland, but by breaking free from the Polish image foisted upon it.

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[131] Kivelson, 'Cartographic Emergence', 47; Jakub Niedźwiedź argues that the main difference between them was that Lithuanians at least had some influence over how their lands would be described, (Niedźwiedź, 'Polonia noviter reperta')

[132] Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge, 2016)

[133] Kiaupienė, 'The Grand Duchy'

CHAPTER II

Georg Braun and the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*: a Catholic Prayer for Unity

If the previous was focussed on the threat of paganism, the current chapter returns to a more familiar context of confessional rivalry. It focusses on a famous work of cartographic history, the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, and its response to the urban diversity left in the wake of the Reformation. Though it is often accounted a secular work, we will find that the *Civitates* offers a unique response to the Reformation, one that has been left unrecognised, or misinterpreted, by historians until now. At the same time, we will draw attention not only to its response to religious change, but to one of the inexorable continuities of Christian history, the hatred of the Jews.

INTRODUCTION

Braun and Hogenberg's 'Cities of the World' has been lauded by generations of historians. It was 'one of the great books of the world',[1] 'one of the… greatest cartographic achievements of the sixteenth-century',[2] 'the greatest undertaking that has ever been attempted in its field',[3] 'truly unprecedented',[4] and 'widely regarded as one of the greatest achievements in European cartography of the age'.[5] Published in six volumes from 1572-1617, the *Civitates* presents 543 copperplate maps and views of 475 towns and cities from all across Europe, including a number from Africa, Asia and the Americas, many of them drawn and engraved by Frans Hogenberg (1535-1590). These images are accompanied by texts written by the editor, Georg Braun (1541-1622), which deal with a

[1] John Goss, *Braun & Hogenberg's The City Maps of Europe* (London, 1991), 5
[2] RA Skelton (ed.), *Civitates Orbis Terrarum 1572-1618* (Amsterdam, 1965), v
[3] Margaret Fead, 'Notes on the Development of the Cartographic Representation of Cities', *Geographical Review*, 23.3 (1933), 447
[4] Lucia Nuti, 'The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth-Century', *The Art Bulletin*, 76.1 (March, 1994), 105
[5] Jeremy Black, *Metropolis: Mapping the City* (London, 2015), 33

vast array of information, ranging from toponymy, trade and travel, to architecture, governance, and military history. In this way it copies the systematic atlas-form of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), a work that the *Civitates* was designed to complement. Each volume is an entity in itself, published as and when sources became available, comprising towns from all over the world, set out, like Ortelius' *Theatrum*, in Ptolemaic order (the British Isles, followed by Iberia, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, Italy, Asia, Africa, and America). The work struck a chord with contemporary audiences, and, along with Ortelius' atlas, became 'one of the best-selling works of the last quarter of the sixteenth-century'.[6] It went through numerous editions, being translated from its original Latin into both French and German. Whether the first volume went through two dozen editions, as Bachmann claims,[7] or van der Krogt's more wary eleven,[8] it is nevertheless clear that the collection was hugely successful. It was a huge commercial venture, which tried to appeal to the widest possible audience: lettered and unlettered, local and foreign, the historian, geographer, folklorist, traveller, and aesthete. Copies were sold in black and white, or colour, in folio, or in loose sheets, and now appear in libraries all over the world. The *Civitates* had predecessors: Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486), Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493), and Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544), among others, which all incorporated town plans in some fashion, but all focussed on the text over the images (many of which were purely fictional) and could not claim to offer the wide-ranging scope of the *Civitates*, which was in a class of its own.[9]

The maps and views of the *Civitates* also claimed to offer a new level of cartographic accuracy that set it apart from its competitors. In the opening sentence of his preface to the very first volume, Georg Braun hailed these 'topographical depictions, drawn up with the utmost

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[6] Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici*, Vol IV-1 (Houten, 2010), 35
[7] Friedrich Bachmann, *Die Alten Städtebilder* (Leipzig, 1939), 8
[8] van der Krogt, *Koeman's*, 42
[9] Johannes Keuning, 'The "Civitates" of Braun and Hogenberg', *Imago Mundi*, 17 (1963), 41; Ferdinand Geldner, 'Braun, Georg', *Neue Detsche Biographie*, 2 (Berlin, 1955), 550; Peter van der Krogt, 'Mapping the Towns of Europe: The European Towns in Braun & Hogenberg's Town Atlas, 1572-1617', *Belgeo* 3.3-4 (2008), 371-7; Heinrich Lempertz, 'Das Städte-Buch von G Braun und Franz Hogenberg', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 36 (1881), 179-86; Skelton, *Civitates*, v-xix; Stephan Füssel, *Cities of the World* (London, 2008), 8-11; van der Krogt, *Koeman's*, 35-8

accuracy',[10] 'with as much regard for geometry as perspective, with an authentic observation of situation, localities, fortifications, public and private edifices, and with the assistance and singular diligence of craftsmanship.'[11] The engravers portrayed their subjects 'so accurately, with the proportion of their separate parts and the arrangement of their neighbourhoods exact and true to life, that, subjected to the reader's gaze, these depictions, engraved with wonderful artifice, appear not so much as images and figures of cities, but as the cities themselves.'[12] Nothing in Italy, France, or anywhere else, could compete, so Braun claimed, with the ingenuity and truthfulness of the *Civitates*.[13] The point was hammered home in a letter, written by Remaglus Lymburgus, eulogising the work, which Braun published in the introduction to the second volume: 'with diligence and dexterity, you join historical expositions of these cities to their most accurate depictions, with the result that it appears they are not so much the work of Braun and of artists, as much as showing the living cities themselves'.[14] Such talk was, of course, a central feature of Braun's marketing strategy, but, save for the occasional gilding of the lily, it had a certain truth to it. For this reason, the images have regularly been used by historians as detailed, authoritative visual sources for the early modern city.[15]

There is, however, an important qualification to Braun's claim to complete accuracy, one that has not yet been recognised by historians – one that concerns the depiction of the religious landscape. When it comes to the portrayal of confessional diversity, and of non-Catholic faiths in general, the *Civitates* can, indeed, hardly be considered a model of fidelity to the truth. In fact, as we will discover throughout this chapter, it was a work that deliberately manipulated reality. It distorts

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[10] 'topographicae descriptiones accuratissime delineatae' (Georg Braun, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. 1 (Cologne, 1572), preface)

[11] 'topographicae urbium oppidorumque descriptiones tam geometrica, quam perspectiva pingendi ratione, cum genuina situs, locorum, moeniorum, publicorum et privatorum aedificorum observatione, singulari artis industria atque praesidio sunt deliniatae.' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 1, preface)

[12] 'tam accurate et ad vivum partium singularum proportione, et vicorum ordine ad amussim observato, expresserunt, ut non icones et typi urbium, sed urbes ipsae, admirabili caelaturae artificio, spectantium oculis subiectae appareant.' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 1, preface)

[13] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 1, preface

[14] 'historicas urbium enarrationes, accuratissimis earundem picturis, ea industria et dexteritate subiungis, ut non tam artificum, et Braunii ope delineatas, sed vivas exhiberi urbes, appareat' (*Civitates*, vol. 2 (Cologne, 1575), Letter of Remaglus Lymburgus)

[15] Antonio Gordo and Tomás Zamudio, 'Sevilla extramuros en el siglo XVI: tres vistas del Civitates Orbis Terrarum', *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 80 (2019), 1-28; Waldemar Komorowski, 'Widoki portretowe Krakowa czasów staropolskich w badaniach historii miasta', *Zapiski Historyczne*, 84.1 (2019), 135-67

the physical environment, drawing attention to some elements, while ignoring the existence of others, and exaggerates and diminishes features, irrespective of material reality. It offers a distorted image of the confessional dynamics of the early modern city, even whitewashing the existence of entire religious groups, as religious concerns won out over the demand for cartographic accuracy.

We attribute this process to Georg Braun, who, as editor of the *Civitates*, was one of the only people in a position to effect it,[16] and to whom we can ascribe a clear motivation. It is often claimed that we know little about Braun, beyond the fact that he was a cleric in Cologne.[17] This is not true, however. As other historians tell us, he was first a canon of the collegiate church of St George, before spending the rest of his life as Dean of St Maria ad Gradus,[18] but they rarely go into any more detail – detail that is expounded in a century-old article by Eduard Wiepen.[19] Wiepen paints a picture of a man deeply invested in Roman Catholicism and the Counter-Reformation. He was an author of several theological treatises, and was rooted in Catholic theological circles, being present, for example, at the deathbed of the theologian George Cassander; he performed services for the papal curia on numerous occasions; and he vehemently opposed the influence of Luther and Calvin, as shown by his treatise of 1605, *Catholicorum tremoniensium adversus lutheranicae ibidem factionis praedicantes defensio* ('A Defence of the Catholics of Dortmund against those of the Lutheran Sect who preach in that City'). These facts are rarely judged worthy of mention by historians today – afforded a passing statement, at most – and historians do not consider the impact this aspect of Braun's life might have had on the *Civitates*. The implicit assumption is that this was of no consequence to the town atlas; and it follows on from the very same point made, this time explicitly, by Wiepen, who asserted that Braun's religious life indeed had no bearing on the *Civitates*. His life had two aspects: the free, humanistic direction, expressed through the *Civitates*, and the

[16] The other figure most able to effect it, Frans Hogenberg, died 27 years before the publication of the images we will be studying, and so cannot be considered the driving force behind it. It should be noted that there are questions regarding Braun's authorship of the final volume, as his name is replaced by that of Anton Hierat in the dedication. It is possible he had stepped back in his old age, but few historians doubt his continued involvement, with some claiming that he hid his name in response to complaints that his editorial work distracted him from his priestly duties (Füssel, *Cities*, 12).
[17] Goss, *City Maps*, 6; Arthur Hibbert and Ruthardt Oehme, *Old European Cities* (London, 1955), 35
[18] Skelton, *Civitates*, viii-x; Josephine French et al. (eds), *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers Revised Edition A-D* (Tring, 1999), 185; Peter Meurer, *Atlantes Colonienses* (Bad Neustadt, 1988), 84ff., 243
[19] Eduard Wiepen, 'Bartholomäus Bruyn der Ältere und Georg Braun', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 3 (1916), 95-153

strict, religious direction, expressed through service of the Roman Curia, which were completely detached from one another.[20] This is the argument, endorsed for over a century, and typical of the broader excision of religion from cartographic history, that we are seeking to dismantle.

This is not to say there have been no exceptions, and that the religious element of the *Civitates* has been ignored completely. It is often noted that, in his preface to volume I, Braun hopes that the presence of costumed figures in his images would deter the 'bloodthirsty' Muslim Turks from gaining military information from them, as he claimed their religion forbade them looking upon representations of the human form. He also hoped that depictions of cities fallen into infidel hands could be used by Christians in their efforts to regain them,[21] using symbolism that justified Christian reconquest,[22] the *Civitates* being, effectively, 'a call for an anti-Ottoman crusade'.[23] Braun, however, concerns himself with far more than conflict with the Turk. He was deeply concerned by affairs closer to home. 'The worst evil that can infect a land or city,' as he states in the preface to the fifth volume, 'is that she does not carry out God's service as one, and that within a country or city there is opposition in matters of religion and faith.' This would 'damage, divide and destroy civil harmony'.[24] Not the Turk, but heresy and religious division were the ultimate threats to Christendom. As we will see, he discusses such issues at length in his prefaces, an unmistakeable sign of Braun's intention *not* to keep his two worlds distinct, that his beliefs as a Catholic clergyman would not be kept separate from his work as an editor – and, as we will see, it makes its way into his images, too. Though Stephan Füssel has noted this anti-Protestant tone in Braun's text, he reckons that the tone is not reflected in the images, expressing his surprise at the absence of any mention of Martin Luther in Braun's text on Wittenberg[25] – but, as we will find, this silence was in fact a direct result of Braun's anti-Protestant outlook. Jessica Robey is the other historian to have noted the 'puzzling' absence of Protestants. Ignoring Braun's anti-Protestant tone, she explains it as a manifestation of the 'Erasmian attitudes' which she claims permeated the work, a work full of the

[20] Wiepen, 'Bartholomäus', 153
[21] Skelton, *Civitates*, xiii; David Buisseret, *The Mapmakers' Quest* (Oxford, 2003), 171-4
[22] Lauren Beck, 'Sixteenth-Century Religious Cartographic Signs throughout the Lands of Spain', *Imago Mundi*, 60.1 (2008), 118-9
[23] James Krokar, 'New Means to an Old End: Early Modern Maps in the Service of an Anti-Ottoman Crusade', *Imago Mundi*, 60.1 (2008), 34
[24] Braun, *Civitates*, Vol. 5 (Cologne, 1598), preface, (trans. Füssel, *Cities*, 18)
[25] Füssel, *Cities*, 18

'language of conciliation and mutual understanding', depicting a 'multicultural model of European community', also asserting that the *Civitates* 'refuses to take sides in the conflicts of its day', offering an irenic perspective on the world, rising above religious conflict, and promoting the secularisation of Europe,[26] as if it were a manifestation, in town-mapping, of the neo-stoic tolerance espoused in Mercator's world map.[27] It is true, the *Civitates* depicts Europe free from religious strife, but the idea that it arose from some Erasmian agenda, or prefigured modern European multiculturalism, could hardly be more mistaken. Far from rising above the religious struggles of its day, the *Civitates* took part in them, depicting not the absence of confession, but the victory of one confession, the Catholic Church, and the silencing and demeaning of all others; a depiction that arose, in fact, from a highly confessionalised agenda.

In this chapter we will examine Braun's religious philosophy, as presented in the text of the *Civitates*, and how he translated these ideas, or rather imposed them, onto the map. We will do this through a close analysis of the Polish-Lithuanian subjects depicted within the *Civitates*, 18 images in all. The majority of the Polish subjects appear in the sixth and final volume (1617), each with their own image and text (Kraków, though, is provided with two images). Depictions of the Baltic cities of Gdańsk, Königsberg and Riga appear in volumes two (1575) and three (1581), as do the two Lithuanian subjects, Grodno and Vilnius. We will begin with an exposition of Braun's religious worldview, before examining the treatment of Jews and Protestants on the map, witnessing how these groups were excised from it. We will then turn to Orthodox and Armenian Christians, confessions which Braun allowed to be depicted, but in a qualified fashion, and thoroughly subordinated to the Catholic Church in a 'Hierarchy of Rites'. Altogether, these combine to produce a picture of a near-homogenous, Catholic Poland, one far removed from its true reality. We will conclude with a discussion of the *Civitates*' reception, finding that, like historians, contemporaries failed to recognise Braun's agenda (a fact that had profound influence over the image of Poland), before examining its place within a wider tradition of cartographic antisemitism.

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[26] Jessica Robey, 'From the City Witnessed to the Community Dreamed: The *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*', PhD Thesis (University of California, 2006), 15, 299-304, 327, 349-50

[27] Jerry Brotton, 'A 'Devious Course': Projecting Toleration on Mercator's 'Map of the World', 1569', *The Cartographic Journal*, 49.2 (2012), 101-6

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BRAUN'S RELIGIOUS WORLDVIEW

Though historians have focussed on Georg Braun's attitude towards the Turk, the greatest external threat to Christendom, the editor of the *Civitates* devotes far more space and ink to the internal threat that menaced the early modern city – the religious dissident. In his prefaces to volumes 2 and 5, Braun explicates the perils of religious change and division, making use of old, pre-Reformation tropes. In texts that put paid to the idea that the *Civitates* rose above religious conflict and promoted diverse multi-culturalism, he discusses the threat such division poses to the social fabric of the city, to civil harmony, and indeed to the state itself.

For, according to Braun, the fortunes of state and religion are tightly intertwined. Following Eusebius, he notes, over and again, that the weakening of religion brings great danger to the state, but its defence brings great prosperity.[28] Religion – a singular, unified religion – holds popular ferocity in check, securing stability and order for the state, and Christianity would continue to do so, but only so long as it remained unified in doctrine.[29] New doctrines, religious change and division were thus pernicious not only to the Church, but also to the state:

> 'With the superstitious notions of now dogma introduced into the Church of God, and with the vigour of pristine, ancestral religion languishing, citizens' sloth and pernicious factions rise up, which then beget partisanship, and those who undertake the defence of these factions undermine the political form of the state with infinite calamities, internal strife and civil war; they eject reverence for the ruler from the minds of citizens; they throw everything into confusion with satirical and slanderous pamphlets; they heap ugly cart-loads of abuse upon those who do not immediately swear loyalty to their new-fangled maxims of belief; they do this heinously, so that they seem more like abusive, scurrilous web-weavers, than the defenders of any religion.'[30]

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[28] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, preface
[29] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 5, preface
[30] 'invectis in Ecclesiam Dei, superstitiosis novorum dogmatum sententiis, pristinae et avitae religionis marcescente vigore, civium desidia, et perniciosae factiones nascuntur, quae partium deinde studia gignunt,

> 'Assuredly, the most immediate and exceedingly contagious plague for both states and cities is that there be not one understanding of God and piety… [for religious dissidents] corrupt the soul of cities with lies and false beliefs… and at last compel the ignorant and wretched common people, like the Cyclops deprived of thought and reason,… to attack the ruler that is ordained by God, and thus, God himself, just like the Nimrodian Giants. Hence the wild beast of terrible discord rises up, whose one part devours another, until flourishing cities, realms and empires finally fall, and are utterly ruined.'[31]

Braun explains that religious change, and the discord it provokes, is the true source of the collapse of empires and cities throughout history. The Byzantine Empire was polluted by Arianism, Donatism and Circumcellionism, and, divided, it fell.[32] He asks where today are the great cities of Ephesus, Antioch, Jerusalem and Carthage? 'These cities came to naught for this reason above all, because the citizens listened to the new doctrines of Paul of Samosata, Nestorius and Arius, and, split by reciprocal internal divisions, fell to the power of barbarians, in whose servitude they are kept today.'[33] He finds further concordances in Scripture, noting how King Ahab brought calamity on himself and his realm by allowing 'contempt for Religion, for true piety and for the greatest prophets, to creep into his kingdom'.[34] And likewise, the Greeks and Hungarians fell to the Turk because of religious dissent.[35] Far from being the ultimate threat to Christendom, the Turk becomes somewhat a passive threat, whose only power to expand derives from Christian disunity – it was, instead, the religious dissident, the fifth columnist, who presented the greatest threat. Rulers must, therefore, stand strong against religious change and division, lest they suffer the same fate as those before them. And though he spends pages of text alluding to it, Braun declares 'I will say

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quarum qui defensiones suscipiant, infinitis calamitatibus politicam Reipublicae formam, seditionibus intestinis, et domesticis bellis evertunt; Magistratus reverentiam civium animis aximunt; dicacibus famosisque libellis omnia miscent; turpissima convitiorum plaustra, in eos, qui in nuper inventas opinionum sententias non statim iurant; nefarie ingerunt, ut maledici potius, et contumeliosi filatores, quam alicuius religionis defensores esse videantur.' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, preface)

[31] 'vero, et ea quidem praesentissima ac valde contagiosa Rerumpub. ac urbium pestis est, non una numinis, ac pietatis ratio…mendacibus et falsis opinionibus urbium animam…inficiunt…ac tandem eo impellunt, ut imperitum ac miserum vulgus, velut Cyclopes, mentis ac rationis oculo destitutus…Potestatem, hoc est, Dei ordinationem, atque ita, Deum ipsum, quemadmodum Nembrodi Gigantes, oppugnet. Hinc seditionum formidabilis oritur belva, cuius pars una devorat alteram, donec florentes urbes, Regna, et Imperia tandem corruant, ac funditus pereant' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 5, preface)

[32] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, preface

[33] 'Hae autem urbes hanc potissimum ob causam perierunt, quia cives novae doctrinae Pauli Samosateni, Nestorii, Arrii aurem praebentes, mutuis et domesticis dissidiis divisi, in barbarorum potestatem pervenerunt, quorum nunc servitute premuntur' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 5, preface)

[34] 'Religionis, veraeque pietatis, et optimorum prophetarum contemptum,… in eius regni politiam permisit irrepere' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, preface)

[35] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 5, preface

nothing of the great and horrendous calamity which, born out of religious change, has been observed in the states of our own Germany, then in prosperous France, and finally in Belgium'.[36]

It is not only Protestants who irk him, however, and present a threat to the early modern city. He also rails against all other 'foreign rites and beliefs' (in other words, non-Catholic faiths), which corrupt and intoxicate the mind, and disturb the religion and piety that binds cities together. 'The worshippers of these other faiths, thanks to their native custom and serpentine cunning, like a cancer, crawl snake-like right through the many members of the community, then stir up factious troubles for the ruler.'[37] Besides religious change, it was tolerance of the religious 'other' that brought about the state's decline, for these aliens had a noxious and corrupting influence on the common people, stirred up trouble for magistrates, and gave rise to tumults, factions, and even revolution.[38]

'Though these matters might seem quite far-removed from the purpose of this work, quite irrelevant to these topographical depictions of towns and cities, we judged that they had to be set out briefly'. For we have to understand what it is that 'keeps the towns and cities, whose descriptions and topographical pictures we exhibit in this work, in a flourishing state, and what it is that, for the most part, stirs up sedition within them, upturning the most well-constituted states.'[39] And, indeed, we will find that these convictions are far from irrelevant to the maps and views of the *Civitates*. His desire for Church unity, and aversion to the religious 'other', determine Braun's depiction of the religious landscape of the early modern city. For, from a glance at these cartographic images, we do not see a Europe beset by the schism of the Reformation, nor do we see the presence of 'others' like the Jews. We see an image of Christendom with unity reimposed,

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[36] 'Taceo nunc de maxima et horrenda calamitate, quam ex alterata Religione nostrae Germaniae, deinde florentissimae Galliae, ac demum Belgicae politia percepit.' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, preface)
[37] 'Quarum professores, domestica consuetudine, et serpentina calliditate, ut cancer, per multa communitatis membra longius pro serpentes, turbulenta negocia ipsi deinde magistratui movent' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 5, preface)
[38] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 5, preface
[39] 'Haec, etsi fortasse pro ratione huius loci, prolixiora, et topographicis urbium oppidorumque descriptionibus, remotiora esse videantur, paucis tamen praemittenda esse putavimus, quidnam potissimum urbes et oppida, quorum hoc opere descriptiones, et topographicas exhibemus picturas, florenti in statu conservare, quid seditiones etiam in iis plerumque ciere, et politias quam optime constitutas, invertere putemus' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, preface)

division forgotten, 'others' banished or, where they remained, fully subordinate to the Catholic Church.

Braun ends his preface to the fifth volume with a prayer. He prays that citizens' minds may be kept free from noxious beliefs, and their cities may be kept stable and firm, not by the strength of their walls, but by the unanimity of mind amongst their citizens. The cartographic images before us can, in effect, be considered an embodiment of that very prayer – a cartographic prayer for confessional unity.

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WHITEWASHING JEWISH PRESENCE

'There are also Jews, far too excessive in number, as in almost all of Poland,
who, like swallows, feed off the blood and sweat of others.'[40]

We have just heard of the corrupting influence 'foreign rites and beliefs' had on Catholic society, and of Braun's hostility towards tolerance and cohabitation. Though he does not explicitly mention any particular group, perhaps the foremost 'other' to a Catholic Church blighted by antisemitism was the Jew. And from the quote above, taken from the text for Lviv, we get the sense that Braun was no exception, noting, perhaps ruefully, the toleration of the Jews by both Poles and Lithuanians alike.[41] It is clear that he was fully aware of the sizeable Jewish presence across Poland. When one searches for the significant section of Polish society in his maps and views, however, it is nowhere to be found. Almost every trace of Jewish society, its landscape, history and culture, has been excised, while the scraps left hardly testify to the community's true significance.

[40] 'Sunt etiam Iudaei, ut in tota fere Polonia, nimis magno numero, qui velut hirundines, alienum sudorem, et sanguinem exsugunt' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49)
[41] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 3, 59; Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49

For the Commonwealth was indeed home to countless vibrant Jewish communities. Known as a '*Paradisus Iudaeorum*', for centuries the Commonwealth had provided refuge for Jews fleeing from persecution all over Europe. The 1264 Statute of Kalisz granted Jews freedom of worship, trade and travel, which was guaranteed by Kazimierz III in the fourteenth-century, and by the sixteenth-century the Council of Four Lands was established as an autonomous unit of Jewish self-government within Poland-Lithuania. Thanks to such a tolerant attitude, it has been claimed that as much as 75% of the world's Jewry was found in Poland in the mid-seventeenth-century,[42] forming communities which were not only numerous, but also leaders of Jewish intellectual and cultural life.[43] This is not to say Christian-Jewish relations were perfect – Magda Teter, in her study of sacrilege trials against Jews, has shown as much[44] – but it should not be forgotten that the Commonwealth's Jews were granted privileges that were withheld to their co-religionists elsewhere in Europe.

One of the most prominent of the Commonwealth's Jewish communities was found in Lublin, known as the 'Jewish Oxford', though one would not know it from a glance at the view. Having arrived in 1316, their numbers had swelled to 2,000 by 1602, a substantial share of the city's population. They erected the large, Renaissance-style Maharshal Shul Synagogue in 1567. The Jeshybot Yeshiva, founded in 1515, was the world's largest Talmudic school, as well as a centre for Kabbalistic mysticism, and possessed a status equal to that of Poland's universities. As host of the Council of Four Lands, Lublin was effectively the governmental centre of the Commonwealth's Jews. The community wielded such influence that they were even granted the royal privilege *De Non Tolerandis Christianis*, which forbade Christian habitation within the Jewish quarter (a twist on the legal privilege which forbade Jewish settlement).[45] Put simply, Lublin was one of the most important centres of Jewish life, commerce, culture, and scholarship throughout all Europe. But, if

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[42] George Sanford and Adriana Gozdecka-Sanford, *Historical Dictionary of Poland* (London, 1994), 88
[43] Antony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Volume 1, 1350-1881* (Oxford, 2019); Magda Teter, *Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland* (Cambridge, 2006)
[44] Magda Teter, *Sinners on Trial* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011)
[45] Michael Swift and Angus Konstam, *Cities of the Renaissance World* (Edison, 2008), 120; Polonsky, *Jews in Poland and Russia*, vol 1., 59, 83, 124-5; Majer Bałaban, *Żydowskie miasto w Lublinie* (Lublin, 1991); Rebecca Weiner, 'Virtual Jewish World: Lublin, Poland', www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/Lublin.html (29/10/2021) (the Jewish Virtual Library is an online encyclopaedia run by the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, and claims to be the 'most comprehensive online resource on Jewish history'; while partisan when it comes to modern Israeli history, it is more reliable for earlier history)

we cast our eye over the city-view, we find nothing. Braun tells us in the text that Poland's most important synagogue could be found in this city. But neither the synagogue, nor any other signal of Jewish presence, was judged important enough to include in the image – its presence has been wiped off the face of the map (Figure 2.1). A visitor to Lublin would have found the Jewish quarter, Podzamcze, lying in the area of lower ground between city and castle. But all that can be found in this seemingly unimportant, diminutive area is the church of St Adalbert and the Lazarus Hospital – no Jews. In Braun's accompanying text we are told that 'far too great a number of Jews can be found living in Lublin's suburbs'[46] – not too many to avoid depicting them, it should be noted – while a (perhaps purposely) misleading identification of '20. Suburbium' far to the right of the view leads us to assume that the Jews were far more removed from the centre of Lublin than was actually the case. It would be all-too-easy to conclude that the Jewish community, although numerous, had precious little to say for itself, or, whether consciously or not, that there was not even a Jew to mention.

Figure 2.1 – Lublin – *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne, 1572-1617)



[46] 'Iudaeorum nimis quam magnus reperitur numerus, in suburbiis fere habitantium' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 48)

This is a method Braun follows throughout his Polish-Lithuanian city-images. Despite the fact that Braun knew of their existence, mentioning the presence of two synagogues in his text, the Jews of Lviv (Figure 2.2) are given no space in the city's view. An indication of the size of these communities is revealed by the fact that there were 70 Jewish butchers living and working in Lviv in 1610. These communities were not only large, but varied: there were the Sephardi expelled from Spain, Ashkenazi Jews, and even Karaites, who had their own synagogue, separate from the larger Golden Rose synagogue. The property rights to the latter was the cause of violent conflict between Jews and Jesuits at the beginning of the seventeenth-century. In 1609 this was settled in the Jews' favour,[47] but it seems that Braun and his engraver took executive action, removing it from the cartographic space of the city, even if it could not be from its physical space. The edifice of the Catholic Cathedral has been bloated to such a monstrous size that it hides the synagogue from view, which ought to be visible behind it. This is a reminder that it is not unimportant how a cartographer seeks to display his subject. With a bird's-eye-view, the synagogue could not be hidden without more imaginative (and fraudulent) craftsmanship; whereas, with a landscape view, the cartographer is able to maintain the policy of whitewashing in good conscience, and without

Figure 2.2 – Lviv – *Civitates*



[47] Majer Balaban, *Żydzi Lwowscy* (Kraków, 1905); 'Virtual Jewish World: Lvov, Ukraine', www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/Lvov.html (29/10/2021)

tainting his scientific integrity. When it comes to the Jewish community outside of the walls, it seems the engraver paid far more attention to depicting the flora around the city and the clouds in the sky.

Boleslaw the Pious likely welcomed the first Jews to Poznań in the thirteenth-century. They settled north-east of the city, and, according to tradition, built their first synagogue in 1367. By 1619 their numbers had swelled to at least 3,000,[48] but it should now come as no surprise that this old Jewish community makes no appearance on the city's map (Figure 2.3). Facing south, we ought to find the Jewish quarter in the central foreground, within the walls of the city. We are presented with nothing distinctive, an area completely unlabelled (like the rest of the map), and with absolutely no sign or semblance of the Jews.

Figure 2.3 – Poznań – *Civitates*



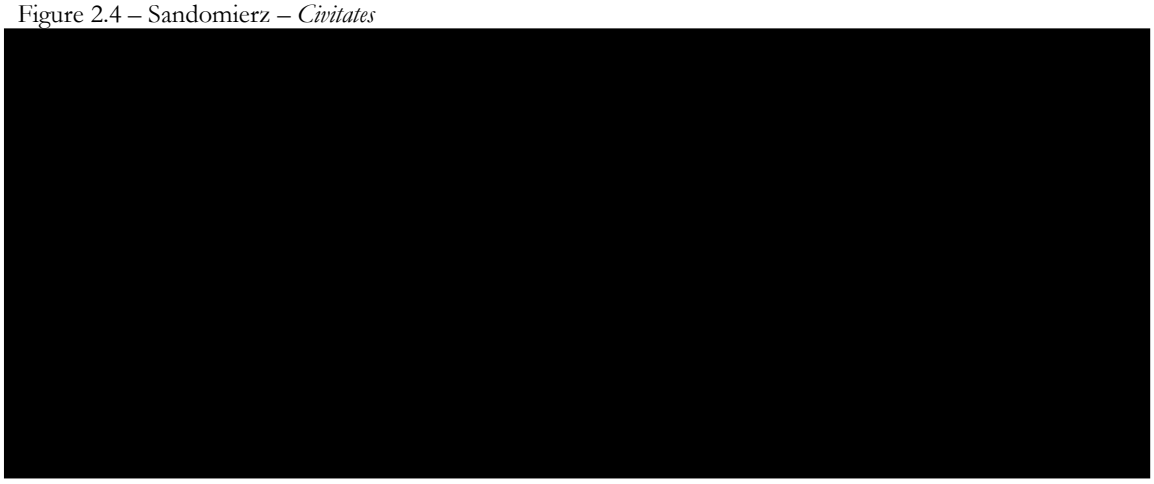
Happily situated on the land and water routes between Kraków and Vilnius, Sandomierz became an important centre of trade and settlement for Jewish merchants. According to tax records, in 1507 the Jews of Sandomierz were some of the wealthiest and most numerous in the kingdom,[49] which would have been reflected in the size and opulence of the quarter they inhabited,

[48] Zbigniew Pakuła, *The Jews of Poznań* (London, 2003), 2-4; Anna Michałowska-Mycielska, 'Poznań', www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/poznan (29/10/2021) (the YIVO Encyclopaedia of Jews in Eastern Europe (ed. Gershon David Hundert) was published by Yale University Press in 2008, and a free-to-access version was published online in 2010)

[49] Zenon Guldon and Karol Krzystanek, 'The Jewish Population in…Sandomierz Province…', in Antony Polonsky et al. (eds), *The Jews in Old Poland* (London, 1993), 322-39; Hanna Węgrzynek, 'Sandomierz', www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Sandomierz (29/10/2021)

a quarter which, again, cannot be found in the image. We are offered a perspective of the town from the east (Figure 2.4). It so happens that the Jewish quarter was found all along the far, west-side of the hill, and so, whether by design or not, is completely hidden from our view. Again we are reminded of the inherent power found in the cartographer's choice of vantage point, and that the typology of an image, whether it is a 'map' or a 'view', can have import beyond the considerations of carto-bibliography – it really is all a matter of perspective. We are also reminded of the paradox that, though a view may be completely accurate in its depiction, accuracy does not equal objectivity. Meanwhile, Braun makes no attempt to inform us of the hidden community in his accompanying text.

Figure 2.4 – Sandomierz – *Civitates*



We find in the earlier Lithuanian images also that Jews are given no recognition whatsoever. Vilnius and Grodno (Figures 2.5, 2.7) both hosted considerable Jewish communities during the seventeenth-century. Jews made up about a fifth of Vilnius' population,[50] at least a sixth in Grodno. Also a centre of Jewish learning, Grodno (or Horodno) was known to Jews as '*Har-Adonai*', The Holy Mount in Hebrew.[51] Both possessed wooden synagogues, and Vilnius' ought to appear as part of the block below the Greek Church (No. 17) (Figure 2.6), but does not. Similarly, the synagogue that in reality existed between Grodno's castle and city just does not exist in the image (Figure 2.8).

[50] David Frick, *Kith, Kin, & Neighbours: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-century Wilno* (Ithaca, 2013), passim; Polonsky, *Jews in Poland and Russia*, vol. 1, 76-7
[51] Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1946), 59, 73; 'Grodno', www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/grodno (29/10/2021)

Figure 2.5 – Vilnius – *Civitates*



Figure 2.6 – Vilnius' synagogue? (2.5)

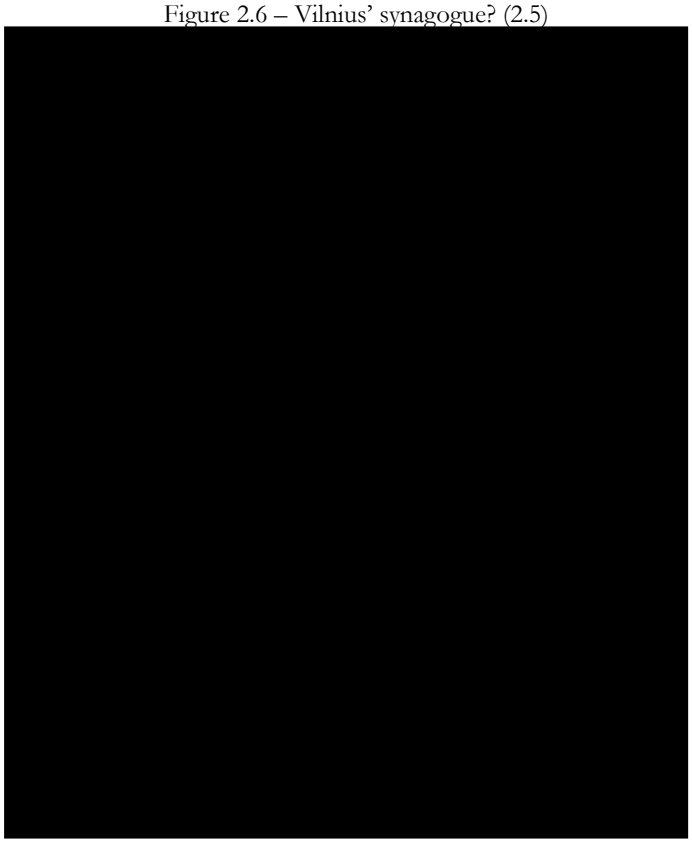


Figure 2.7 – Grodno – *Civitates*



Figure 2.8 – Grodno's synagogue? (2.7)



It ought to be noted, however, that a lot of Braun's work was done for him by the Poles themselves. Although known as a '*Paradisus Iudaeorum*' (as indeed it seemed in comparison to elsewhere in Europe), we are reminded that Poland did not offer wholehearted tolerance to its Jewish inhabitants. Economic competition and anti-Semitic attitudes drove Christians to demand that Jews be barred from their towns, which was often granted by the king in the form of the legal privilege *De Non Tolerandis Iudaeis*. These towns included Krosno (Figure 2.9), Biecz (Figure 2.10),

Łowicz (Figure 2.11), and even Warsaw (Figure 2.12). No cartographic gymnastics were required to excise the Jews from these places. These stand not so much as a testament to Braun's intolerance, as to that of the Poles themselves.

Figure 2.9 – Krosno – *Civitates*



Figure 2.10 – Biecz – *Civitates*



Figure 2.11 – Łowicz – *Civitates*



Figure 2.12 – Warsaw – *Civitates*



There are exceptions to the silencing of Jewish presence. Interestingly, the map of Zamość does not hide all that is Jewish (Figure 2.13). The synagogue is in fact depicted – and accurately too, in both form and location (Figure 2.14). An exception indeed – but its lack of a label proves the rule. It is the only religious building in the town without a label, and despite being one of the most accurate architectural depictions within the map, it would mean nothing to the reader without any personal knowledge of the town. Braun's text also tries to put us off the scent. He states that 'men of various nations, Poles, Greeks, Armenians, Spanish and Germans, have flocked here in great numbers'.[52] It would be natural for us to assume that *Hispani* refers to Spanish merchants active in the city, but we would be mistaken, for *Hispani* serves as an alias for the Sephardi Jews living in the city, a deception that hides their presence from the reader. Zamość in fact sustained the northernmost community of that sect in Eastern Europe, Jews who had arrived from the Ottoman

[52] 'allecti variarum nationum homines, Poloni, Graeci, Armenii, Hispani, Germani, magno numero eo confluxerunt' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 53)

Empire and Venice, perhaps descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492,[53] but we are kept in the dark of this fact.

Figure 2.13 – Zamość – *Civitates*



Figure 2.14 – Zamość synagogue (2.13)

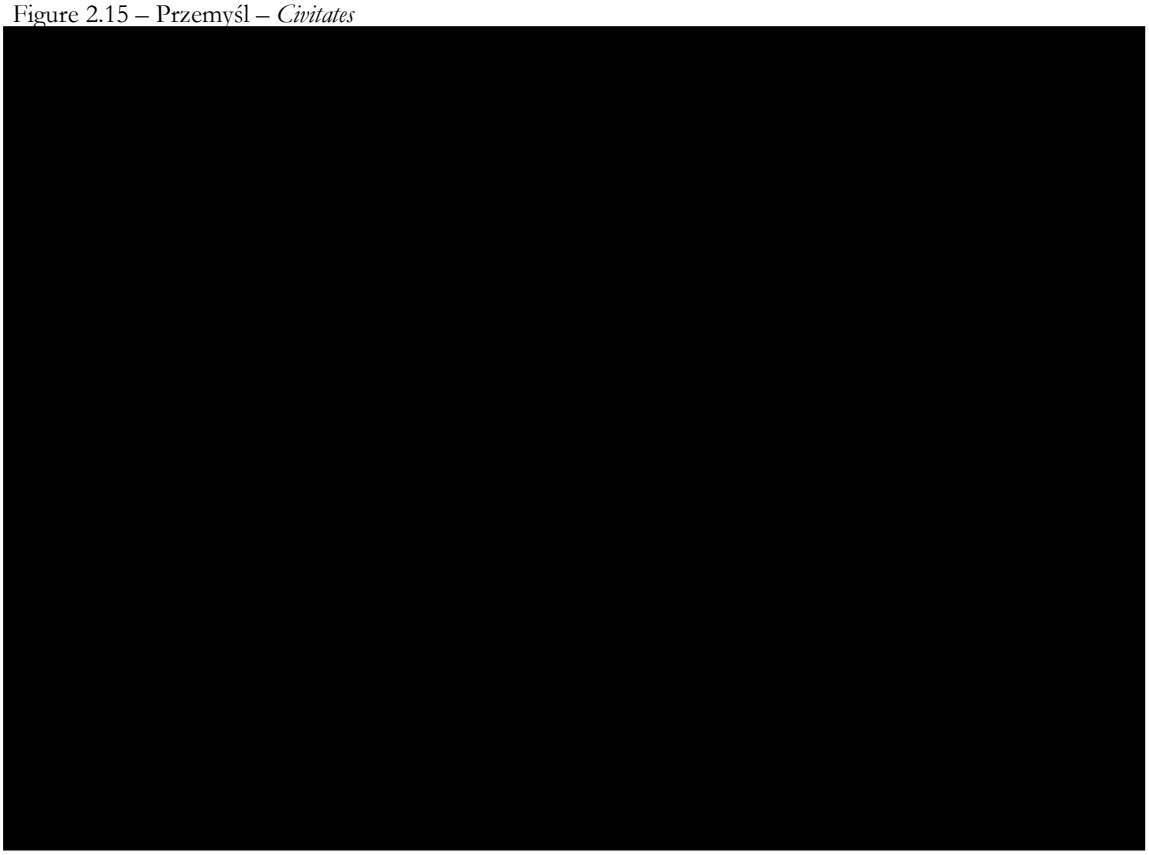


The view of Przemyśl presents a similar case (Figure 2.15). The Jewish quarter was found within the north-eastern walls,[54] at the bottom-left of the view. Here we notice two large crenelated

[53] Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, 'Handel ze wschodem w Zamościu', in Kazimierz Myśliński (ed.), *Zamość i Zamojszczyzna* (Zamość, 1969), 176

edifices. The one to the left is likely a depiction of the city's Old Synagogue. Rebuilt in stone 1592-4, probably by Bononi, an Italian fortification engineer,[55] this building was known as a 'Fortress Synagogue', forming part of the city's defensive structures. We then notice the (by now, not so curious) absence of identification. Not only are the buildings not labelled, but two blank banderoles flutter above them, ready to identify, but left completely unused. If we had any doubts over Braun's intentions, these are now banished. When presented with a clear, easy opportunity, he prefers to leave an unseemly hole in the image rather than recognise the presence of Jews. This is no passive disregard; it is an active agenda of concealment.

Figure 2.15 – Przemyśl – *Civitates*



Finally we come to Kraków, by 1617 home to no fewer than three synagogues in its southern district, Kazimierz.[56] The first view of the city (Figure 2.16) does something not encountered in any other of our images: it notes the 'Oppidum Iudeorum', the Jewish Town

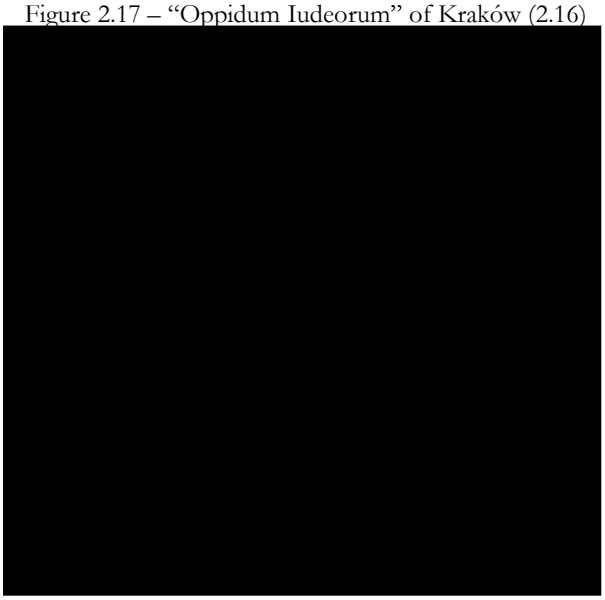
[54] Polonsky, *Jews in Poland and Russia*, vol. 1, 46; Wacław Wierzbieniec, 'Przemyśl', www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/przemysl (29/10/2021)
[55] Sergey Kravtsov, 'Juan Bautista Villalpando and Sacred Architecture in the Seventeenth-Century', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 64.3, (September, 2005), 318
[56] Michał Gałas and Antony Polonsky (eds), *Jews in Kraków* (Oxford, 2011), 6

(Figure 2.17). Below this we also see the label 'Porta Iudeorum', the Jewish Gate, and the small numerical label (01) for the 'Schola Iudeorum', the Jewish School. A veritable feast of Jewish insignia, if only in comparison to everything else presented to us. The fact that these somewhat trifling notes are so surprising really hammers home the extent of whitewashing throughout the collection. Moreover, these trifling notes still provide a thoroughly deficient depiction of the Jewish community. It is true, the Old Synagogue seems to be depicted above the school, sporting pinnacles on each of its four corners, but like in Zamość and Przemyśl we have no means of recognising it (just like in Przemyśl, an empty circle is provided for a numerical label, like the school's, but is left blank). Though visible, the synagogue nevertheless remains wholly obscure. And let us not forget the fact that the other two synagogues remain completely invisible, while Catholic churches can be counted by the dozen.

Figure 2.16 – Kraków I – *Civitates*



Figure 2.17 – "Oppidum Iudeorum" of Kraków (2.16)



A plausible explanation for this accentuation of Jewish presence, seemingly so out of character, would be that Braun was happy to depict Jews, so long as they were clearly ghettoised. Braun tells us about the expulsion of the Jews from Kraków proper, across the river to Kazimierz, into a space encircled by its own walls,[57] and happily notes the re-appropriation of ex-Jewish space in the city for Christianity: what was once known as the Jewish Street is now named St Anna's, and the Theology Academy built in its place.[58] In the view, he makes every effort to emphasise this ghettoisation. The reference to the Jewish Gate reminds us of this very physical separation, and we can see the walls surrounding the town. Less noticeable, but nevertheless notable, is the inconsistency in the view's projection. On the left, we see the city side-on, but on the right, where the Jewish town is located, we are offered an oblique projection, viewing our subject from a higher vantage point. This renders the image somewhat crooked, but allows us to see the course of the Vistula river as it flows through the southern portions of the city, consequently emphasising the separation of the Jewish district from the rest of the city. Indeed, the Jewish Town is displayed to the extreme right of the view, almost a backwater, far removed from what is shown to be the centre of the city. This is emphasised by the banderole ('Cracovia Metropolis Regni Poloniae') designating the centre, and by the lines that draw our eye towards it, away from the Jewish quarter: the roads, the river, and the lines of the castle which lowers itself towards the centre, turning its back on Kazimierz.

This is not how Kraków is depicted in its second view (Figure 2.18). Here we view the city from the south, with Kazimierz stretched out in the foreground, much more an essential part of the city. Despite this promising fact, here the collection returns to type, erasing all that is Jewish, foregoing mention even of a gate, let alone a synagogue. We ought from here to have the ideal view of the Jewish Town. All we see is an indistinct mass of houses, with nothing worthy of note. Christianity and Catholicism dominate.

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[57] This expulsion was on the order of King Jan Olbracht in 1495, the walls were constructed by the Jews themselves in 1553.
[58] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 43

Figure 2.18 – Kraków II – *Civitates*



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SILENCING THE REFORMATION

We do not need to rehearse Braun's opinions regarding the 'great and horrendous calamity' that was the Protestant Reformation, and its destructive effects on the social fabric of the city, for he made these crystal clear in his prefaces. These opinions are not translated onto the map in images of Protestant ruin and vilification, but, as with the Jews, by the subtle excision of their very presence from the world. Stephan Füssel seemed to expect the former, expressing his surprise at the absence of any mention of Luther in the text on Wittenberg, as if this was not consonant with Braun's hostility towards him,[59] but it conforms exactly to the method he adopts towards the Jews. In fact, Braun deals even more callously with the Protestants than he does with the Jews. The Jews indeed appear exceedingly rarely in the images, and only a little more often in the text, but the Protestants are given nothing. Their existence is never acknowledged, and even their name is carefully evaded. George Dousa, a Protestant traveller whose writings Braun uses as a source, is

[59] Füssel, *Cities*, 18

referred to as 'a learned man, but one of deviant religion'.[60] We only hear Braun utter the word 'Reformed' once, in order to proclaim its absence in the city of Lviv: 'There are in this city four sects, namely, the Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Jewish: however they admirably resist the Reformed Religion (as [Dousa] calls it) with the utmost zeal and vigilance'.[61] Though Braun is indeed ruthless in his excision of Protestantism from the map, such silence was not simply the result of cartographic choice, but also influenced by realities on the ground and the limitations of the cartographic medium.

Nevertheless, we will begin by examining the depictions of those cities where, like the Jews, Protestants were indeed erased from the map of the city. We will do so briefly, to avoid a cumbersome repetition of the previous section, which would add little to our understanding of Braun's method. Three of the Commonwealth towns appearing in the *Civitates* were indisputably Protestant: the Baltic cities of Gdańsk, Riga and Königsberg. We need say little more than the simple fact that, in text or image, nothing whatsoever testifies to their Protestant nature. This is particularly remarkable in the case of Königsberg, the capital of the first Protestant state in Europe, and home to the Albertina University, Europe's second-oldest Protestant academy. If anything, the only confessional hints we do gain from the city-views are Catholic: in Gdańsk, labels signifying the existence of the 'Grawe Munchen' and 'Grawe Nunnen' (Figures 2.19 and 2.20), seemingly referring to the city's Franciscan and Bridgettine communities (in fact, no more than two Franciscans remained in the city by the time this view was published, their church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, had been handed over to Protestants, and a Protestant Academy had been set up in the monastery[62]), and in Königsberg, 'Das Kloster' (Figure 2.21). The closest we get to any hint of the existence of Protestants in the Commonwealth is when Braun, talking about Königsberg's monastery, mentions that there used to be two more, but they had been converted into granaries.[63]

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[60] 'docti hominis, et quidem diversae religionis' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 53)
[61] 'Sunt in hac urbe quatuor secta, nimirum, Latina, Graeca, Armenica, Iudaica: Reformatae tamen Religioni (sic ille suam appellat) summo studio ac vigilantia mirifice obsistunt' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49)
[62] Paul Schmidt, *Die St. Trinitatis-Kirche zu Danzig nach Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Danzig, 1901), 14-16
[63] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 3, 43

Figure 2.19 – "Grawe Munchen", Gdańsk – *Civitates*

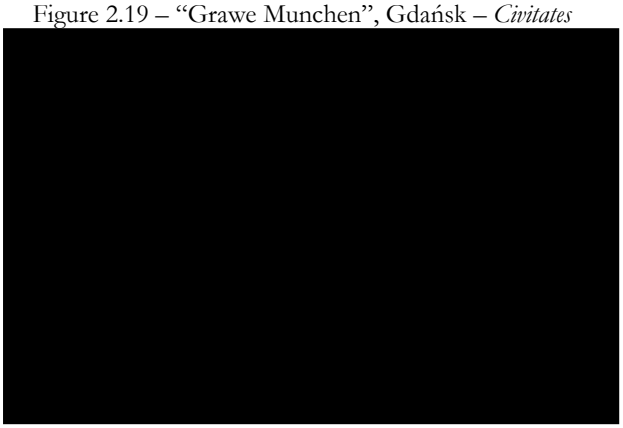


Figure 2.20 – "Grawe Nunnen", Gdańsk – *Civitates*

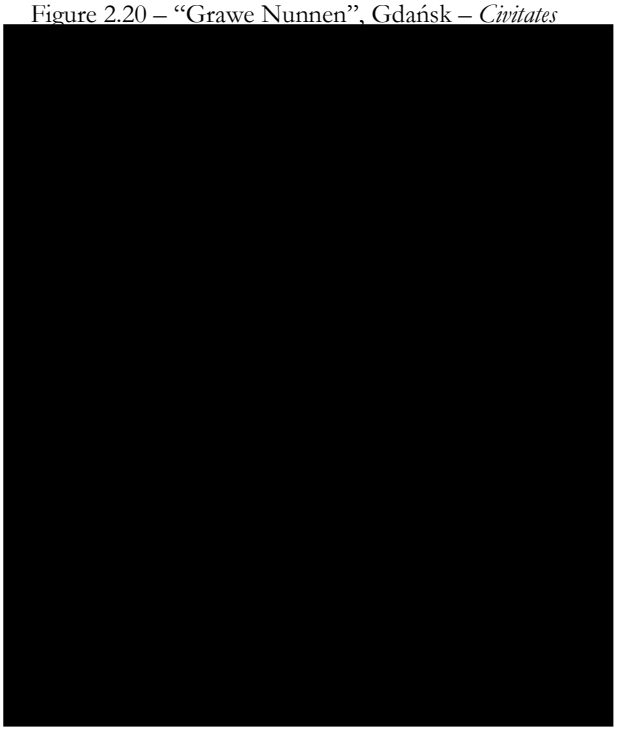
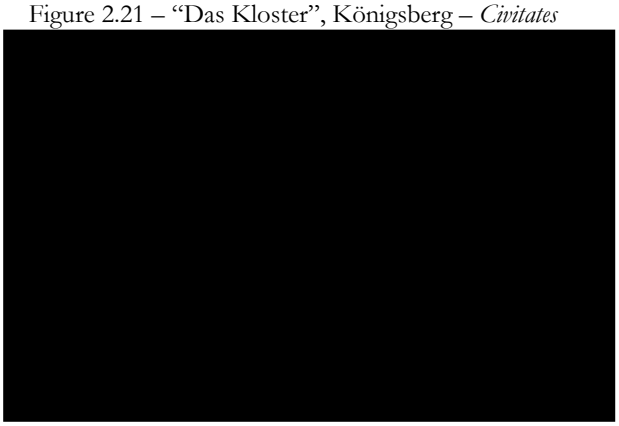


Figure 2.21 – "Das Kloster", Königsberg – *Civitates*



Such an absence was not all Braun's doing, however. In a number of the cities depicted, there simply were no Protestants to depict, for example, Zamość (Figure 2.13) was founded by Jan

Zamoyski in 1580 as an outpost of the Catholic-Reformation, at first only allowing Catholic settlers; although Jews, Armenians and Greeks were eventually welcomed, Protestants never were. In other cities the Protestants were driven out, for example in Poznań (Figure 2.3), where almost annual attacks on the city's Protestants between 1600-18 led to their 'gradual elimination',[64] or Kraków, where riots in 1574, 1587 and 1591 had forced Protestants to relocate to the countryside around the city.[65] Thus, the images can be said to offer a true depiction of these cities[66] (much like, in the Jewish case, those cities granted the privilege *De Non Tolerandis Iudaeis*), though certain circumstances often made it harder to map Protestant communities. Their congregations often worshipped in private homes, their presence hidden by a domestic façade, or in churches ascribed primarily to Catholics (in Gdańsk, churches could be officially Catholic, but *de facto* run by Protestant clergy); their churches were often destroyed by Catholics, and when they moved out of town for safety, their communities disappeared from the map. Indeed, the main centres of Polish-Lithuanian Protestantism could often be found, not in the major cities, but in minor towns on noble estates, which, naturally, were not the prime focus of the *Civitates*.

Such cartographic limitations can help explain such a skewed picture, but they can only explain so much. Braun does in fact make an exception to this focus on cities, but only to the benefit of Catholics, seen in his inclusion of 'Mons Calvariae' (Figure 2.22), Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, a pilgrimage site not far from Kraków. Even if Protestant congregations were difficult to map, they were not so difficult to describe, and yet they do not appear in his texts. And though their meeting houses could be hidden to the naked eye, when they should have been mappable, Braun made sure to render them invisible. Though the Calvinists of Vilnius (with Polish and German congregations) had worshipped in private houses until 1577, that year they began building their own church in the city, with a spire and bells, a school and a hospital, remaining

[64] Teter, *Sinners*, 94
[65] Darius Petkūnas, *Holy Communion Rites in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Agendas* (Klaipėda, 2007), 48
[66] The inclusion, however, of the *Biscione*, the crest of Polish queen Bona Sforza (1494-1557), on the fold-out view of Kraków (Figure 2.16), seemingly dates the image's source to 1572 (at the very latest) – the year of the death of her son, Zygmunt II August, the last ruler would could be presumed to have retained this insignia – *before* the anti-Protestant riots, and when Lutherans, Calvinists and Antitrinitarians still worshipped in the city.

theirs until 1640 – yet they do not appear on Braun's map of the city, nor does the Lutheran Church on German Street, built in 1555.[67]

Figure 2.22 – Kalwaria Zebrzydowska – *Civitates*



Though an appreciation of the changes 'on the ground' and the limitations of cartography might have lent nuance to our understanding of this Protestant-free image, they are in fact of no real significance – they change nothing. Even if the Reformation had held firm in the Commonwealth, and cartographers had easy ways of mapping the actions of church-less religious congregations, the Protestants would still have remained hidden. For Braun would have followed the same heavy-handed approach that we saw in the Protestant cities of Gdańsk, Riga and Königsberg. Though convenient for Braun, they made no substantial difference to the map. It does, however, provide a useful introduction to the limitations of cartography, which, as we will find out in following chapters, could indeed have a significant impact on the mapped image of Poland and Europe.

[67] Frick, *Kith,* 6-7

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THE HIERARCHY OF RITES:

CATHOLIC, ARMENIAN, AND ORTHODOX

Let us now turn to the confessions that Braun did in fact allow to appear in his images: the Orthodox and Armenians. Though these were 'foreign rites' which had a negative influence on society, Braun nevertheless suffers their presence. But, although they appear frequently, they do not appear nearly as frequently as they should. Some places of worship are depicted, many more are hidden. Moreover, Braun and his cartographers often do all in their power to demean what they do depict, lest it should ever outshine the Catholic Church. They strive to establish the primacy of Roman Catholicism over other branches of the Christian faith, creating a definitive Hierarchy of Rites.[68] When JB Harley discussed what he termed 'hierarchicalization', or hierarchy creation, he understood there to be one, singular, hierarchy of power within maps, for example of ecclesiastical or noble power within society.[69] However, we intend here, through a close study of the depiction of Catholic, Orthodox and Armenian rites in the Commonwealth, to add further nuance to his theory. Besides adding extra sects into the mix, we will break Harley's single hierarchy down into its smaller, constituent parts, or secondary hierarchies. These might give us a clearer, more meticulous idea of how pyramids of power are created within maps. In this case it will be broken down into a) the hierarchy of space, b) of visual distinction, c) the devotional hierarchy, d) the historical, and e) the political and military hierarchies.

The first hierarchy concerns itself with the space allotted to different denominations, within both image and text. In large part this deals with the space apportioned to church edifices, as Orthodox and Armenian buildings are hidden, and even the most minor Catholic churches find

[68] Braun makes no reference to the Uniate Church, surprising given its connotations of Catholic supremacy over Orthodoxy. It would have been interesting to see how he integrated that confession into his hierarchy.
[69] JB Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map', *Cartographica*, 26.2 (1989), 6-7

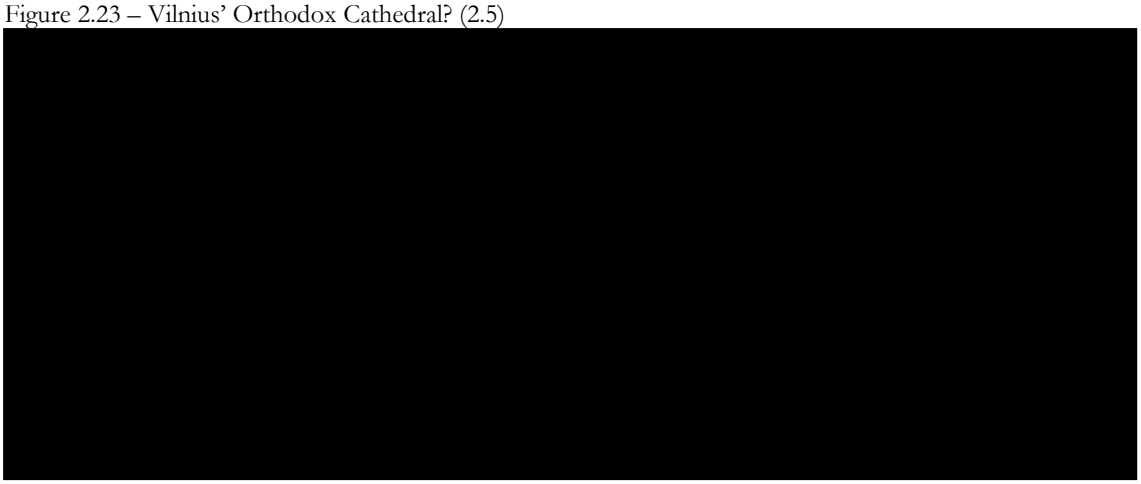
mention. Of the five churches labelled on the map of Vilnius (Figure 2.5), four are Catholic. The other is referred to as 'Der Griechen Kirche', the Greek Church, and it is given no recognition in Braun's text. We are allowed, in fact encouraged, to assume that there were no other Orthodox churches in the city, which could not be further from the truth.[70] We are likely shown the Church of the Resurrection, and just above is probably the Orthodox Church of St Nicholas, but there is no way to know, as, much like the synagogues, it is left label-less, and its architectural style, familiar to a West European reader with its long nave and steeple, encourages us to assume it Catholic. The Orthodox Church of the Holy Spirit, which was found just inside the German Gate in reality, makes no appearance – nor does St Paraskeva's – while, most astonishingly of all, the Orthodox Cathedral of the Theotokos, which was located just south of the Bernardine Church (to its right on the map, since we are observing the city from the west), has somehow disappeared, lost in a jumble of small wooden houses (Figure 2.23). We can clearly see something akin to Braun's treatment of the Jews, if a little less ruthless, as Orthodox presence is hugely diminished. Przemyśl (Figure 2.15) is wholly dominated by the Franciscan, Dominican, and parish churches, while even the diminutive St Peter's and the distant St Leonard's achieve recognition. The only possible hint of the ancient Orthodox Episcopal See of Przemyśl and Sambor (whose existence is noted by Braun in the text) is the hexagonal dome dwarfed by the parish church, which might have belonged to the Orthodox Cathedral of John the Baptist. Most startling of all is Lviv, a city with a minority Catholic population, and home to three bishoprics (Armenian, Orthodox, and a Catholic archbishopric) – facts its view (Figure 2.2) seems to pay no attention to. Of the three Cathedrals, only the Catholic Metropolitan Church is noted. Without any insider knowledge, the Orthodox and Armenian Cathedrals could be *any* of the various buildings that make up the city. The multitude of Orthodox and Armenian churches that littered the suburbs likewise find no recognition in image or text beyond the rather feeble statement: 'There are in the suburbs no few churches of diverse religions'[71]. The only non-Catholic church noted is the far-off Orthodox Holy Cross Church, and

[70] Lukas Rekevičius, 'Vilniaus tapatumo sluoksniai Brauno ir Hogenbergo Atlase', *Urbanistika ir Architektūra* 34.1 (2010), 22

[71] 'in quibus [suburbiis] etiam non pauca diversarum religionum templa' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49)

this is but little compensation for the space confiscated by the cartographer. The Armenians meanwhile are given nothing. The city's space is claimed for Catholicism alone.

Figure 2.23 – Vilnius' Orthodox Cathedral? (2.5)

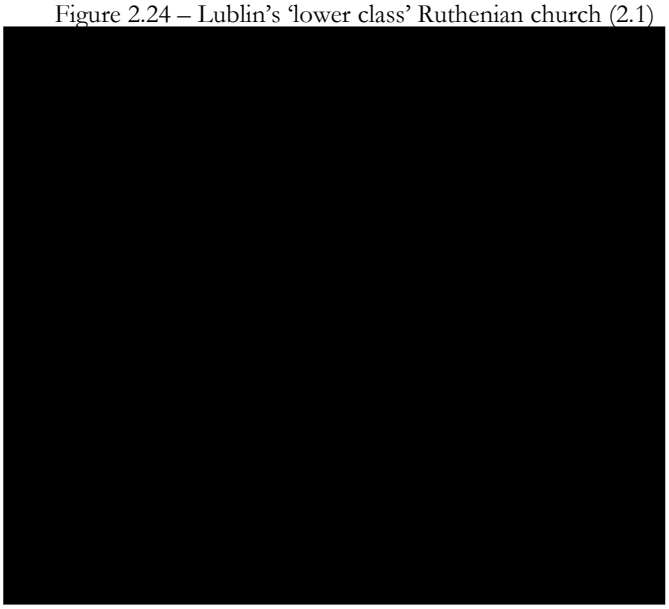


Beyond its apportionment, *how* the cartographer depicts space is of real consequence. The size, style, positioning of buildings, the artist's reticence and extravagance, can all offer a sense of authority and abasement that goes far beyond mere numbers. Cartographers can use their artistry to express, or emphasise, a hierarchy that was present in the world, or even to create one that was not – a hierarchy of visual distinction. In this hierarchy, non-Catholics rarely came off well. Let us first look for Lublin's Orthodox Church (Figure 2.1). In the first instance, it is not easy to find. Our eyes are immediately drawn to the titanic (and needless to say Catholic) churches that, swelled far beyond their true proportions, so visibly dominate the city's skyline. We eventually find a small, insignificant structure at the foot of the castle hill, festooned with the number 19, signifying it as the 'Ruthenian Church', its steeple like a blade of grass to the tree trunk towers of the church of John the Baptist. Beside it are two other churches, one on the hill's height, another on its slope, both of which look down on the Ruthenian church like the upper and middle classes in *The Frost Report*'s famous class sketch (Figure 2.24). The upper class Holy Trinity, housed within the castle with its 'splendid and truly regal magnificence',[72] looks down on the middle class St Nicholas, which in turn looks down on the lower class Ruthenian church, the dirty suburban rascal, deprived even of the honour of a dedication. As we move down the social system, the edifices lose not only their height, but also architectural grace: as the pinnacles of the spires retreat, likewise the pitch of

[72] 'Arx splendido et vere Regali apparatu'

the roofs and the height of the gables are depressed, so that the Ruthenian church at the bottom becomes almost indistinguishable from the houses around it. The Ruthenian church knows its place – we surely know it too. This hierarchy of distinction is further accentuated by the text. Braun systematically goes through the 'magnificent sacred buildings' that adorn the city of Lublin in a eulogy that spans most of the page, beginning with the Bridgettine church, the Bernardine, the 'splendid' Jesuit church that 'strikes the eye with wonder', St Michael's, St Stanisław's, and the Dominican church, before ending: 'Then there is one other, timeworn wooden church, where the rites of the Ruthenians, or Greeks, are performed'.[73] Tacked on to the end, and given little more than a mention, the Orthodox are made to seem last, and indeed least.

Figure 2.24 – Lublin's 'lower class' Ruthenian church (2.1)



Catholic supremacy over Lviv likewise is assured through methods of visual distinction (Figure 2.2). The fact that only one Orthodox church is labelled is not the only point of significance. It verges on mockery that, while the Cathedral is forgotten, the church the cartographer chooses to draw attention to can only be seen poking its spire over the other side of a hill, trying its best to be seen, far removed as it is from the city, as if this is the Orthodox edifice most worthy of mention (Figure 2.25). It gives an impression of the spatial exclusion of the Orthodox, and a contemptible insignificance that was manifestly not the case. Indeed, the Korniakt

[73] 'Tum alia lignea [ecclesia], per antiqua, in qua Ruthenorum seu Graecorum more sacra fiunt' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 48)

bell tower, attached to the Orthodox Dormition Cathedral, could claim to be the highest pinnacle of the city, dominating the city's skyline – though one could not tell from the image. Located immediately to the left of the Catholic Cathedral, it has been shrunk to a not insignificant size, but it simply cannot challenge the blown up dimensions of its Catholic neighbour, whose spire pierces the horizon (Figure 2.26). It is worth noting this small fact, as the sky is often the preserve of labelling for cartographers. Words in the landscape can be illegible and cluttered, unless intrusive banderoles are inserted, whereas the heavens provide a clean template for the naming of any building that reaches up to it. But this is not solely an artistic decision. It can be meddled with, and used as a tool to help establish the Hierarchy of Rites. It is no surprise that the only church building in the city to be allowed to pass the horizon is the Catholic cathedral (and that it required a fair amount of cartographic gymnastics to do so). This also requires the labelling of the Holy Cross Church (Figure 2.25), but we have seen that this does the Orthodox community few favours. Meanwhile, every other church in the city, the few Catholic, few Armenian, and many Orthodox, can be left unlabelled for 'artistic reasons'. The whole tenor of the view can be altered, seemingly impartially, by the perspective the cartographer chooses to depict the city, giving select buildings access to the sky, while keeping others cartographically land-locked. Indeed, cartographic perspective can betray the cartographer's perspective. And, even if a map were truly accurate, that truth can always be manipulated.

Figure 2.25 – Lviv's only Orthodox church (2.2)

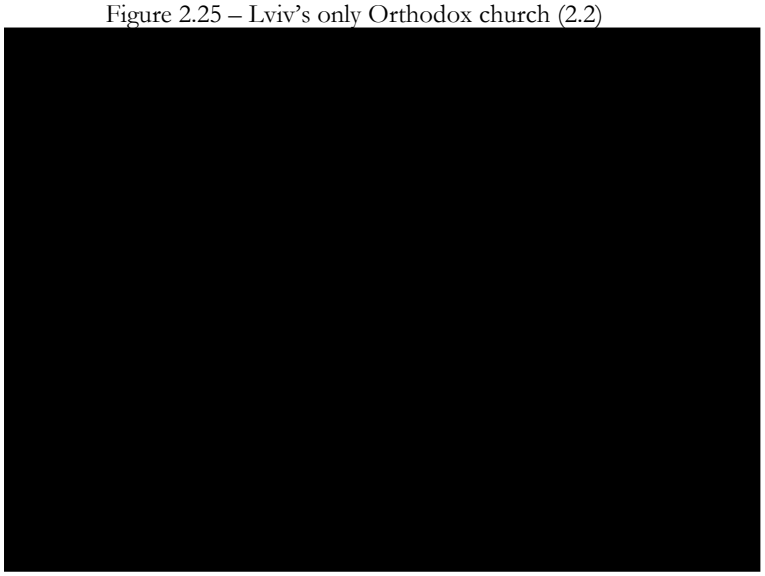
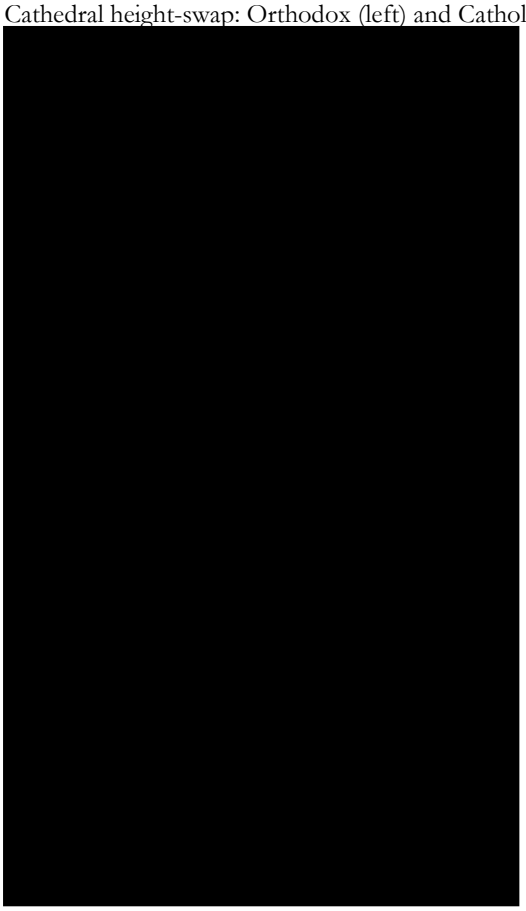


Figure 2.26 – Lviv's Cathedral height-swap: Orthodox (left) and Catholic (right) (2.2)

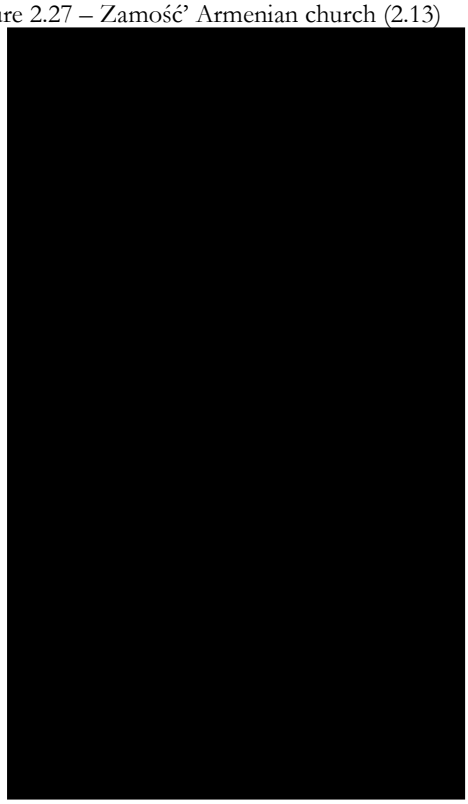


Compared to the magnificent Catholic Church of St Thomas in Zamość (Figure 2.13) the Ruthenian church pales into insignificance. The small wooden nave and chancel, spire-less and tower-less, is little distinguished from the houses around it, and crammed into a far corner of the city's fortifications. We could conclude that the cartographer is simply depicting the world as it was (for pre-1617 the Orthodox still worshipped in a wooden church, while St Thomas' was completed in stone in 1598), but this conclusion becomes untenable when we examine the Armenian church. In 1617 the Armenians also had a small wooden church,[74] but this is not how it appears on the map (Figure 2.27). The church's architecture is a figment of the cartographer's imagination. And it is significant that, in using his imagination, he allowed the Armenian church to rival the Catholic. When was the last time a reader had seen a tower topped by a triangulated set of three spires! Equal in height to St Thomas', the nave with apse, tower and side chapel, all housed within a walled-quarter equal in size to the main market square, challenges the prominence of the Catholic church like nothing else. For the Catholic Church, Armenian Christianity always loomed less of a threat

[74] Sławomir Leśniewski, *Jan Zamoyski* (Warsaw, 2008), 150

than Orthodoxy, with which it had a long history of animosity. And so we see the Ruthenian church treated with no such munificence. It is kept as a small wooden church, the junior of both its Catholic and Armenian sisters. A partiality for Armenian over Orthodox also comes across in the text for Lviv. Braun describes the Armenians' history in the city (something we will see he never does for the Orthodox), invited as they were by Prince Daniel, then granted citizenship by Kazimierz. He describes the vast extent of their diaspora, stretching from Kaffa to Constantinople, Alexandria, Cairo, and all the way to India, through which they imported the most wonderful merchandise to the city and thence to the rest of Poland. They competed with native merchants with 'all mutual benevolence and love',[75] and with their profits they built some of the most important public structures in the city.[76] Again, such largesse is rarely extended to the Orthodox. We can only assume that the land-locking of the Armenian Cathedral, and thus the loss of its label, was considered by Braun an unavoidable sacrifice, of secondary importance to the imperative to demean the Orthodox of Lviv. The establishment of Catholic primacy was always the prime consideration.

Figure 2.27 – Zamość' Armenian church (2.13)



[75] 'mutuaque omnes benevolentia et amore'
[76] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49

The only exception to these secondary hierarchies is the view of Grodno, in Lithuania (Figure 2.7). Here we see four churches labelled, only one of which is Catholic, or 'Polish'. The other three are all Orthodox, or 'Ruthenian'. A number of churches of each kind have been omitted: in total there were nine Orthodox and three Catholic churches in sixteenth-century Grodno,[77] so if anything this provides a fair depiction of the relative size of the communities, a proportion mirrored in the space given to each in the text. There is moreover nothing that raises Catholic above Orthodox. There is no especial differentiation in the size or style of churches beyond the depiction and description of the bell towers that called Orthodox believers to worship, surrendering to them the control of the city's soundscape. It is an image of an ascendant Orthodoxy.[78] This backfires, however, in a manner reminiscent of the previous chapter, when it is seen with the text: 'It is astonishing', writes Braun, 'how many superstitions regarding false gods the townsfolk, and the whole entirety Lithuania, were contaminated with, before they surrendered to the faith and name of Christ.'[79] The majority of Braun's text on Grodno is given over to a lengthy narration of the missionary work of Jerome of Prague, which we will remember clearly from the previous chapter, and the pagan practices that the Lithuanians clung to. Incidentally, he gives the most space to a discussion of the forests, together with the Lithuanian's refusal to renounce their tree-worship and allow the felling of their sacred groves, the pretext for Jerome's exile, and which also keeps the question of the continuation of such practices alive in the mind of the reader.[80] Such a continuation would much more readily be linked to the predominant Orthodox, who either failed to eradicate them, or were complicit in them. And we will remember the allegations of Giovanni Botero in the last chapter, who claimed that their 'mixing with Ruthenians', who, 'besides their heresy and schism, are shrouded in superstitions, such that cannot be numbered', that was in part to blame for the continuation of Lithuanian paganism.[81]

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[77] AV Kuzmin and LE Kulazhenko, 'ГРОДНЕНСКАЯ И ВОЛКОВЫССКАЯ ЕПАРХИЯ' ('The Diocese of Grodno and Volkovysk'), *Православную энциклопедию* (*Orthodox Encyclopaedia*), vol. 13 (Moscow, 2006), 151-66 (www.pravenc.ru/text/168161.html (03/11/2021))

[78] It is, in fact, a close copy of Matthias Zündt's original view of the city, from 1568 ('Vera designatio urbis in Littavia Grodnae')

[79] 'Mirabile dictu, quantis falsorum deorum superstitionibus oppidani, ac tota passim Lituania contaminata fuerit, antequam Christo fidem nomenque dedit'

[80] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, 48

[81] Giovanni Botero, *Relationi Universali* (Brescia, 1599), Book 3, 129-30

As an aside, this also offers further insight into the contemporary image of Lithuania. For, indeed, he uses the text for Grodno to comment upon the whole Grand Duchy, and, it being the only Lithuanian image until that point, it constituted the entire image of the country. Much like the influential map of Grodecki discussed in Chapter One, here Lithuania is yet again treated as an 'other', defined by the memory of paganism, and as a land 'little-cultivated,… almost entirely marshy and wooded', with a dearth of fine, stone architecture.[82] It was also, however, an Orthodox country – an image that, unlike those we came across previously, accords with the 'Belarusian' historical narrative, of a Ruthenian, Orthodox Grand Duchy (and indeed, the city is populated with 'Ruthenian' churches, while Catholic churches are not described as 'Lithuanian', but 'Polish'). Perhaps this is because we now are looking at the actual fabric of the town, not the abstracted representation of a topographical map, thus revealing the true preponderance of Orthodox believers. Though it is, nevertheless, an Orthodoxy tied up with pagan barbarism. As we have seen, this image of an Orthodox-majority state does not continue in the later map of Vilnius (Figure 2.5), but it is still kept at arm's length. About half Braun's text for 'Die Wilde',[83] the Lithuanian capital, is concerned with allegations of Lithuanian barbarity, the drunkenness and pugnaciousness of the people, their mistreatment of women in labour, their worthless clothing, bizarre legal system, and poor, wooden housing (the only fine houses were built by foreigners), their brutish, servile nature (they are said to desert masters who beat them too lightly), their ignorance of learning, their idleness, sloth and lack of craftsmanship, and their observance of countless superstitions, despite their profession of Christianity. Ultimately, Braun turns the map of the city itself into a symbol of this barbarity. Better-managed cities, Braun says, have various separate suburbs, each with their own name, but Vilnius has but one, single, perpetual suburb with an infinite number of buildings, with no distinction between them and no street order, but rather arranged as if by happenchance, 'in accordance with the brutish disposition of barbarians'.[84] We can see this haphazard, sprawling suburb stretching around the city, a cartographic metaphor of Lithuanian barbarity, a mirror of their brutish character. Besides this, the curious crowning of the map's cartouche with fire and

[82] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, 48 ('minusque culta regio…palustris ferme omnis, et nemorosa est')
[83] See footnote 51, Chapter One, on the barbarous connotations of this name.
[84] 'pro agresti barbarorum voluntate' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 3, 59)

snakes could be yet another veiled reference to their veneration by pagan Lithuanians, mentioned again by Braun at the end of his text. Together, Grodno and Vilnius account for the *Civitates*' entire image of Lithuania, and this image of an ex-pagan, yet still barbaric, state offers quite a contrast to the image of a Catholic Poland. And, indeed, these images should be seen in the same context as those maps of Grodecki and his copyists from the previous chapter. They should be seen as further evidence that this attitude towards Lithuania as an 'other' continued, even into the later sixteenth century, and that Grodecki's map was not an exception. Not simply that of Grodecki, it was works like the *Civitates*, hugely popular and influential, that the Radziwiłł map sought to confront.

In tying Lithuanian paganism and Orthodoxy together, Braun also undermines the theological credibility of the Orthodox Church. And it is not the only such attempt, as he neglects the spiritual life of the Commonwealth's Orthodox communities, while, again, highlighting that of the Catholics, in this way establishing a Catholic-led devotional hierarchy. In Lviv, Braun highlights the zeal and vivacity of the city's Catholics through relating the story of the Venerable John of Duola, a Bernardine monk of Lviv who died in 1483, and whose tomb became a site of miracles, and thus of a saintly cult.[85] Catholic monastic orders also feature prominently throughout the images and texts of the *Civitates*. We have seen numerous depictions of Franciscan, Dominican, Jesuit, Bernardine, Carmelite, and Bridgettine churches. Moreover we have many descriptions of their wonderful work. In Lublin, for example, Braun notes the Bernardines' singular devotion and piety, which light up the way of virtue for the citizens, how the Jesuits excite and inflame the mind with their services, while Dominican friars 'shine with sanctity and erudition', and perform good works for their fellow citizens.[86] The existence of Orthodox Brotherhoods, *Bratstva*, however, is never voiced or illustrated. Following the example of the *Bratstvo* in Lviv, brotherhoods in Lublin, Vilnius, Grodno and Przemyśl ran Greco-Slavonic schools, poorhouses, hospitals, and printing houses in an effort to oppose Catholicisation and Polonisation, and to show Christian charity.[87] This example of the active, spiritual vivacity of the Orthodox Church is swept under the carpet, as it is instead cast in a passive role.

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[85] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49
[86] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 48; Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier* (Abingdon, 2016)
[87] LR Lewitter, 'Poland, the Ukraine and Russia in the 17th Century' *SEER*, 27 (December, 1948), 170-1

Though the Orthodox are seemingly implicated in pagan superstition, Braun gives no hint regarding their ancient presence in Lithuania, which long prefigured the conversion to Catholicism in 1387. The missionary role to the Lithuanians is given to Jerome of Prague, with Catholics seemingly the first to proselytise the heathen, and able to claim historical precedence. By the same token we have seen the ancient Orthodox churches of Vilnius hidden: St Nicholas' Church, built, according to legend, in 1340, was the burial place of the Orthodox Vilnius Martyrs; the Cathedral of the Theotokos, built in 1346; St Paraskeva's, built pre-1349. All these testify to a concrete Orthodox presence in the Lithuanian capital long before Jogaila's conversion. Grodno's Kalozha Church of SS Boris and Gleb was built before 1183. Its age attests to Lithuania's adopted Orthodox heritage, as does its architecture – a rare example of Black Ruthenian architecture, known for its use of polychrome stone. However its age is disregarded by Braun, and its impressive architectural pedigree cheapened by the description, the 'brick' Ruthenian church.[88] Orthodoxy's historical primacy is stolen from her, and we are left with no idea that the first Catholic church in Grodno was built 200 years later. It is easy to forget that even parts of today's Poland were evangelised first by the Orthodox. Przemyśl, for example, was both an Orthodox and Catholic See, but the former far preceded the latter. Cyril and Methodius were said to have preached there in the ninth-century, meaning that Przemyśl received Christianity even before the Christianisation of Poland. Being the oldest of the Ruthenian dioceses,[89] Orthodoxy had flourished there for almost 500 years when Kazimierz III conquered the city in 1340, a Catholic bishopric established 35 years later. Such historical primacy is however silenced by the absence of a single Orthodox Church on the city's view. Only in Lviv does Braun concede to Orthodox and Armenians that they got there first. However, this wrong is righted by the appropriation of their history by the Catholic conquerors. The city was sacked, and Braun tells us that some of the Orthodox Church's most precious items, two bejewelled golden crosses, precious vestments, and a piece of the True Cross, were seized and sent to Kraków's Basilica.[90]

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[88] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 2, 48 ('lateritium')
[89] Andrew Shipman, 'Diocese of Przemysl, Sambor, and Sanok', in Charles Herbermann (ed.), *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (NY, 1913)
[90] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49

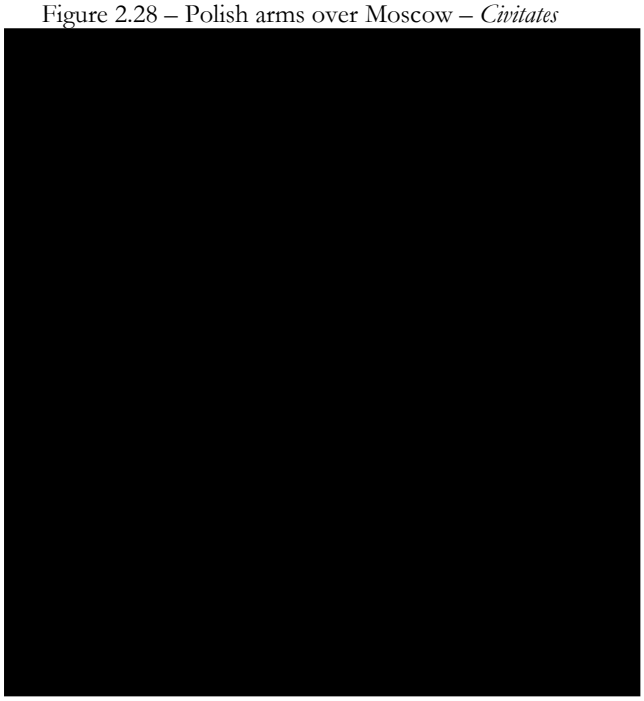
Not only an appropriation of history, this is also an assertion of military and political dominance – the final aspect of Braun's programme of hierarchy creation. The Catholic Church is purposely and continuously linked to royalty and papacy, symbolising their powerful political standing: the creation of the Bishopric of Przemyśl by Louis of Hungary, who sent a legate to Pope Gregory XI for his blessing;[91] the support of Kazimierz III and Władysław II for the construction of Lviv's Catholic Cathedral, and the funds sent by Avignon Pope Urban V; the translation of the archbishopric from Halych to Lviv by the antipope John XXIII; the Papal Bull ordering the re-founding of John of Duola's tomb; the awards given to Lviv on repelling the Turkish invasion in 1524, by King Stefan Bathory, Zygmunt I, and Pope Sixtus V. Help was similarly offered to the Armenian community of Lviv by Kazimierz III and Władysław II for the completion of their Cathedral, but Braun offers nothing comparable to the Orthodox Church. The construction of their Cathedral in Lviv relied on the generosity of Orthodox magnates, and had seemingly no royal support – when in fact it had the support of Tsar Feodor I of Muscovy, as well as a number of Moldavian Hospodars. Precious little information is given on the Orthodox founder of Lviv, Daniel of Galicia, first King of Rus', let alone his support for the Orthodox Church. Nor do any Orthodox high churchmen appear in Braun's texts: the Oecumenical Patriarch, the Metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus', the Patriarch of Moscow, let alone mention of SS Cyril and Methodius. The only interaction the Orthodox are allowed with royalty is as a conquered people.[92]

Not only were the Orthodox out of political favour, but were moreover out of divine favour. The military tide was against them; battles fought between Catholic and Orthodox turn out one way, and they cannot seem to be able to hold the tide of the Catholic advance. The conquests of Kazimierz III in Red Ruthenia are hailed,[93] as is the victory of Leszek the Black over Ruthenians, Lithuanians and Tatars at the Battle of Goźlice in 1280, routing 'a huge army of barbarian nations with paltry Polish forces.'[94] Leszek's victory was not assured by human skill, but by divine favour. The Archangel Michael had appeared to him in a dream promising victory over the enemies of the

[91] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 52
[92] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49
[93] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49, 52
[94] 'ingentem barbararum Nationum exercitum paucis Polonorum copiis fudisset' (Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 48)

faith.[95] The crowning glory, however, is found immediately after the Polish images in volume VI: a map commemorating the Polish capture of Moscow in 1610, crowned not only by the Muscovite double-headed eagle, but also by the coat-of-arms of Zygmunt III Waza, a symbol of the Polish, and Catholic, triumph over Muscovy and Orthodoxy (Figure 2.28). Though, by 1617, the Poles had not been in control of Moscow for five years.

Figure 2.28 – Polish arms over Moscow – *Civitates*



Honouring Lviv's victories over Turks and Tartars, Pope Sixtus V sent a letter donating his paternal insignia to the city: a lion, three hills, and a star, appropriate for a place known as Leopolis in Latin. Using examples of scripture he compares the lion to Christ, the three hills to the Catholic Church, founded on the firm rock of faith in the Holy Trinity, and the star to the Blessed Virgin Mary. These biblical blessings of the insignia were to become a blessing of the city, and of assistance in its wars against barbarous peoples. Such blessings would assure that victory over the enemy in this world would obtain rewards of heavenly glory in the other.[96] By including this letter in his text on Lviv, Braun appropriates her victories to Catholicism, despite its minority status in the city. He also turns their efforts into a Holy War, a Catholic-led Crusade against the infidel. It is moreover the cherry that tops his tiered cake, his Hierarchy of Rites in the Polish-Lithuanian

[95] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 48
[96] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49

Commonwealth. We see the new, Catholic symbols of Lviv reflected in the city-view, and thus we are shown the true, Catholic essence of the city (Figure 2.2). Christ crowns the image as the lion, present in insignia that stretch along its top, including Sixtus' own bequest in the top right-hand corner. The Virgin Mary, the star, reigns over the whole city, as the Metropolitan Church of the Virgin Mother of God. The Catholic Church is expressed by three seemingly inconsequential labels, hitherto overlooked: Mons Calvus, Mons Stephani, and the hill-top Arx superior, which overlook the city – the three hills of Sixtus' crest. No longer was Leopolis the Orthodox city of Leo I, it was now the Catholic city of Christ the Lion. This view is no simple depiction. It is a document, deep with semiotic meaning, that strives to rework Lviv, and the whole of Poland, into a Catholic, Papal realm.

Though an image of dominant Catholicism, we should consider the fact that the Orthodox are permitted to remain, when Jews and Protestants are not. Not only is their presence suffered, but sometimes even approved. Braun glories in the beauty of Lviv's architecture, the prosperity of the city, its industry, and the merchants' wares on offer, from the world over, all of which he directly links to the presence of Armenians, Greeks, and Ruthenians, among others. To those who say that their differences present a threat to society, he replies that even the German immigrants slowly took on Polish mores, assimilating into Polish society, and the Ruthenians have likewise begun to do the same. To those who fear their economic competition, Braun explains that such competition has not weakened trade, but rather caused it to flourish, and is pursued with 'all mutual benevolence and love'. To those who claim these divisions to be a danger in war, he retorts that, though Lviv be full of different peoples, 'you will not find any citizens braver or more disposed to withstanding enemy assaults' on their city.[97] How do we square such a circle, aligning such statements with his fulminations against the toleration of foreign beliefs and the factious divisions they inflicted upon society? Though elsewhere he claims the Hungarians had fallen to the Turk because of their divisions, here the people of Lviv stand strong despite it. This was, of course, no sudden irenic realisation, for he does not offer the same olive branch to Protestants or Jews. It

[97] 'Vix certe ullos cives reperias, qui ad hostiles sustinendos insultus Leopolitanis promptiores fuerint ac fortiores'

seems rather that these eastern rite Christians, though certainly different (and by no means equal) to Catholics, were not considered a threat to society in the same manner as Jews and Protestants – they could live alongside Catholics in harmony. When Braun spoke of seditious 'foreign rites and beliefs' that should not be tolerated, the Orthodox and Armenians were not among them. For indeed, he extols Kazimierz III's tolerance towards the Ruthenians, for it helped ensure a peaceful Catholic victory, given that cities are happy to submit to tolerant conquerors.[98] And the very fact that they are even depicted on the map, not simply erased from it, is perhaps most revealing of all.

Though, as we have found, these confessions remain subordinate to the Catholic Church, firmly embedded in Braun's Hierarchy of Rites within the *Civitates*. The methodology we have pursued, breaking this hierarchy down into its secondary parts, deepens our understanding of Harley's 'hierarchicalization' and the construction and expression of power within the map; it is moreover a template that is universally applicable, though the secondary hierarchies will naturally take different forms in different contexts. Here, they combine to lift the Catholic Church above its rivals: the Armenian Church, followed by the Orthodox.

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CONCLUSION

> 'In addition to the Martinists [Lutherans], the city has also many sorts of religions and sects, all of which have their churches and public *exercitia*, such as papists, Calvinists, Jesuits, Ruthenians or Muscovites, Anabaptists, Zwinglians, and Jews, who also have their synagogue and place of gathering. Then there are also the heathens, or Tatars, and all the religions, companies, and sects have *libertatem conscientiae*, in which no one is hindered.'[99]

These words, written of Vilnius by a German merchant in 1586, just five years after Braun's map of the city was published, offer an image of Polish diversity that is silenced, almost completely, by the *Civitates*. For the Crown of Poland is presented to us, unambiguously, as a

[98] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 6, 49
[99] Frick, *Kith,* 1

Catholic nation, free of the affliction of the Jews, where a waning Orthodox Church was entirely subjugated to Catholicism, and the Roman Church was not tormented by the Protestant Reformation (though the Grand Duchy is framed, again, as a barbaric 'other', defined by a mix of Orthodoxy and paganism). For, though it purports to depict reality, the *Civitates* in fact offers a purified, idealised version of it, a corrective to what was happening on the ground. It could be seen as a visual embodiment of Braun's prayer for civic unanimity, and salvation from the perils of religious change and division – or even, effectively, as an exorcising of the early modern city.

And this was not limited to Poland alone. The motifs we have identified here are universal to the *Civitates*, and to Braun's image of Europe. The whitewashing of Judaism seemingly permeates the whole work. The only exception, as we found in Kraków, was when he could clearly confine the Jews to a ghetto, which we see again in the case of Venice (Figure 2.29) and Frankfurt (Figure 2.30), home to two of the largest ghettos in Europe. Only when it was tightly controlled, carefully segregated, with Christian society protected from its polluting influence, was Jewishness safe to appear on the map – perhaps Braun intended such images to serve as examples to the world of how Jews should be treated. Moreover, it was not only the Protestants of the Commonwealth that are silenced – in Wittenberg, there is no mention of Martin Luther;[100] in Zürich, no Zwingli;[101] no Melchior Hoffman or Martin Bucer in Strasbourg (the closest he gets to the Reformation in that city is the influx of Arianism in the 4th century);[102] in Augsburg, not even a hint of its eponymous confession.[103] Our study of the Polish-Lithuanian images have, however, revealed *how* Braun went about realising these universal motifs in the map. The treatment of the Orthodox presumably changes with context however, whether found in a Catholic-led state like Poland, whether under Islamic rule, or in an Orthodox state like Muscovy, something which cannot be further explored here.

[100] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 1, 27
[101] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 1, 32 and vol. 3, 44
[102] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 1, 33
[103] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 1, 39

Figure 2.29 – The Venetian Ghetto ('144 Ghetto dove stano li hebrei') – *Civitates*

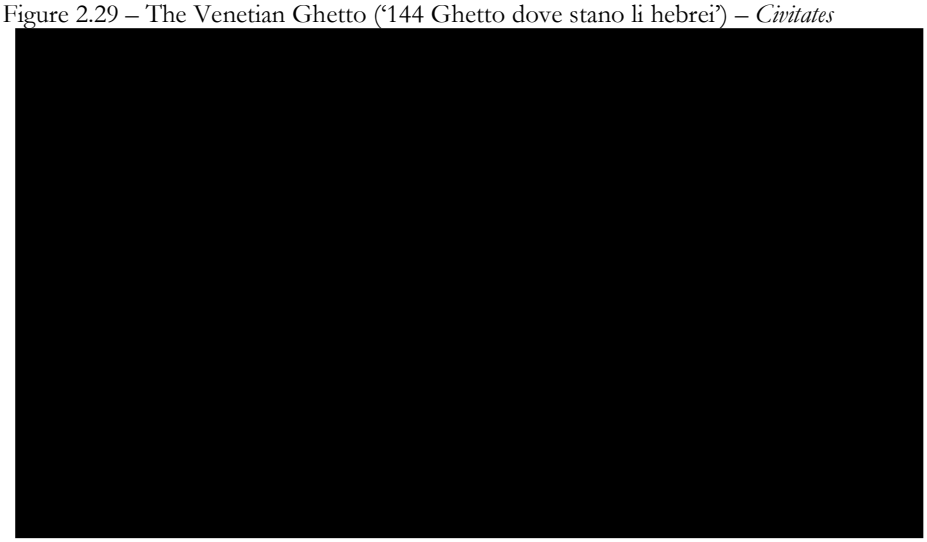
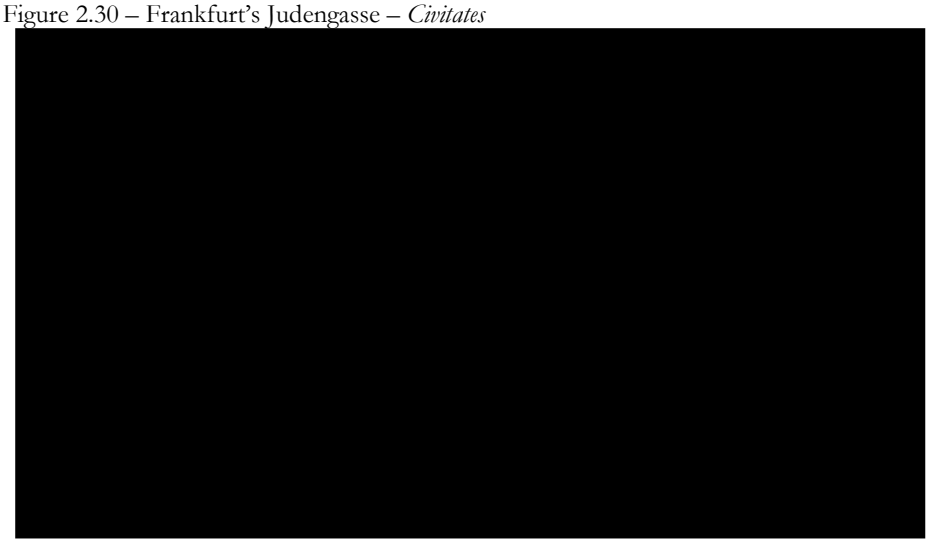


Figure 2.30 – Frankfurt's Judengasse – *Civitates*



But besides bringing new insight to such a famous source, we must ask what this adds to our understanding of the cartographic response to the Reformation. For the *Civitates* offers a unique mode of response, not identified in any other work of cartography. Indeed, other cartographers, like Mercator[104] and Ortelius,[105] offered idealised views of Christendom, and though Robey saw the *Civitates* in the same mould, a symbol of Braun's 'irenic neutrality',[106] it is in fact of a very different sort. They differ significantly in method, one responding through the lens of neo-Stoicism, seeking to observe the world from a distance and transcend its futile conflicts, the other zoomed-in on the level of the city, concerned with bread-and-butter details and the nitty-gritty of

[104] Brotton, 'A 'Devious Course"
[105] Denis Cosgrove, 'Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93.4 (2003), 852-70
[106] Robey, 'From the City' 299

urban space. And though they both offer a vision of Christendom freed from confessional conflict, one envisions its emancipation from confession, the other its unity under a single confession. It is true, we have found the occasional extolling of diversity and toleration, but this was rare, and only extended to Eastern rite Christians (and only in a qualified fashion) – never to Protestants or Jews, the main threats to the Catholic sensibility. Indeed, the *Civitates* is undoubtedly a cartographic expression of Catholic/Protestant polarisation, but, again, of a different mode to that recognised before, very different to the confessional invective of the 'Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique', for example. The *Civitates* thus stands as a testament to the complexity within the cartographic response to the Reformation.

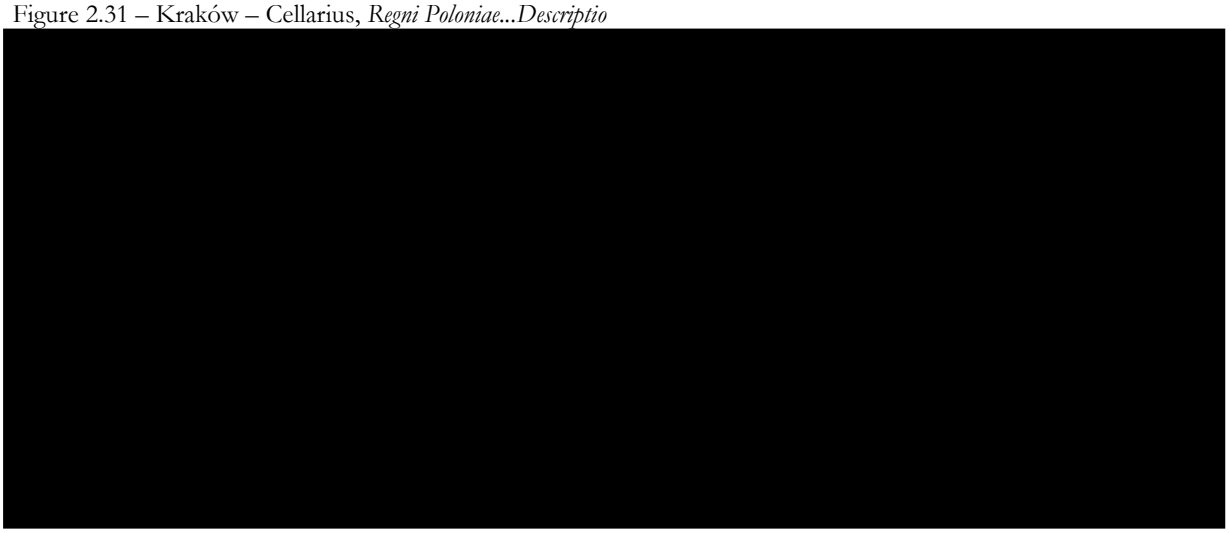
Likewise, though the *Civitates* is very much a piece of confessionalised, Counter-Reformation cartography, we will find it is but one manifestation of what is a hugely diverse subject. Though so tightly wound up in the Reformation, the *Civitates* acts like it does not exist, seemingly ignoring the reality of religious change (in this way, we see a real crossover with other Counter-Reformation documents, such as polemic and historiography, which, likewise, strove to ignore the Reformation[107]). It is not ignoring reality in the same way as in Chapter One – Braun is hiding things that were there, Grodecki imagining things that were not – but it concords closely with our previous findings, that cartography proves more sensitive to (and thus can tell us more about) religious thought, agendas and fears – what is going on in people's minds – than about the reality on the ground. A perhaps surprising realisation, given cartography's very purpose is to depict physical reality.

Alongside studying Braun's response to religious change, we have also examined his response to the historical constant that is antisemitism. For he uses the same tactic for each, in response to threats both new and old. These were, of course, not the first maps not to depict Jews. Just as Braun was not the only person to be influenced by antisemitic attitudes, so was he not alone in excising Jewish presence from the map – Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544) seemingly does the same, in a similarly systematic fashion, and indeed the absence of the Jews is one of the most

[107] Natalia Nowakowska, 'Rioting Blacksmiths and Jewish Women', in Alexandra Walsham et al. (eds), *Remembering the Reformation* (Abingdon, 2020)

consistent aspects of this thesis. Of course, we cannot here properly explore the wider picture, but we can get a hint of it from Braun's copyists, who, in their views of Kraków, completed his incomplete whitewashing. For though Braun was happy to depict Jews when safely in a ghetto (something that perhaps sets his work apart from that of other cartographers), many of his copyists were not. Cellarius' view (Figure 2.31), removes all reference to the Jewish town and its school (which had been highlighted by Braun), and with it all cartographic reference to the Jews in the Commonwealth. Corpus Christi Church alone is highlighted in the district of Kazimierz. Probst's copy (Figure 2.32) cleverly alters the projection of the original engraving, not only removing the label of the Jewish town, but hiding it behind that same church. Another anonymous copy (Figure 2.33) cuts out Kazimierz altogether, leaving the bulk of it out of the image. The little we can see is but a loose scattering of houses. We have no proof, of course, but such treatment of one of Kraków's richest districts could easily be considered a reaction against Braun's classification of it as Jewish. Such cartographic silence, though useful as a source for antisemitic attitudes, renders the vast majority of early modern cartography a fruitless source for wider Jewish history[108] – an enduring impact of historical prejudice. If it was not unique in its treatment of the Jews, the *Civitates* nevertheless gives us insight into a much wider, even near-universal, phenomenon, one seemingly not raised by historians before.

Figure 2.31 – Kraków – Cellarius, *Regni Poloniae...Descriptio*



[108] As much is clear in Harrie Teunissen's lecture 'From Mauritstad to New Amsterdam: Mapping Early Jewish Presence in the Americas', part of the Mapping Jewish History project, which tries in vain to use maps (which make no mention of Jews) to explicate Jewish history.

Figure 2.32 – Kraków – Georg Balthasar Probst (Augsburg, pre-1750)

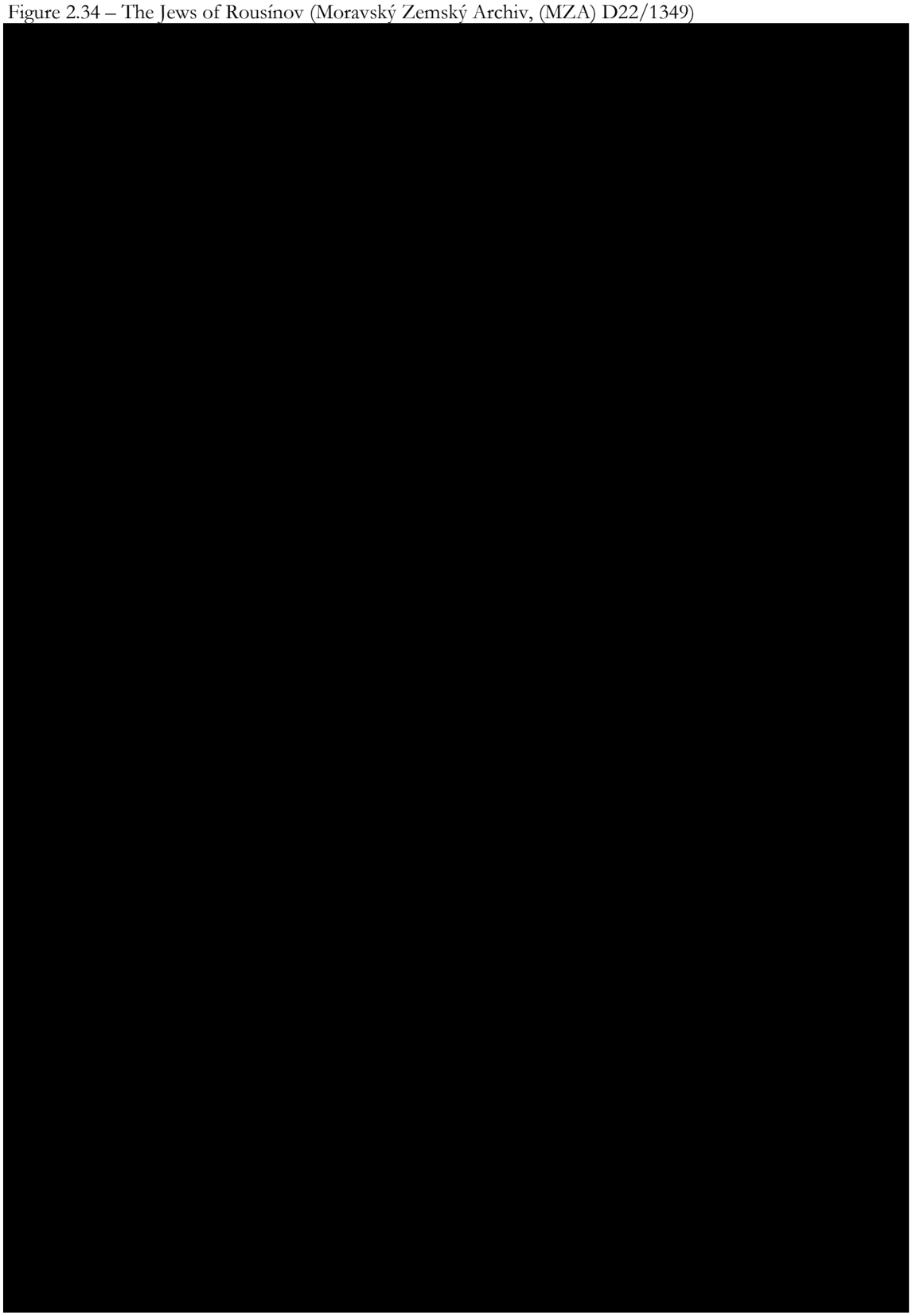


Figure 2.33 – Kraków – anon., c. 1620 (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Y59149)



But, as an aside, it should be noted that, though such silencing was the most common expression of cartographic antisemitism, it was not the only one. Peter Barber and Daniel Soukoup have recently drawn attention to a collection of Moravian manuscript town-plans from 1727-8, drawn up in response to Emperor Charles VI's anti-Jewish legislation, to identify Jewish-occupied houses near churches, processional routes and the roads to Christian cemeteries (threatening the profanation of Christian sacraments), so that, once identified, the Jews might be relocated elsewhere (see Figure 2.34, which highlights in black the Jewish houses surrounding the church of

Figure 2.34 – The Jews of Rousínov (Moravský Zemský Archiv, (MZA) D22/1349)



Rousínov; the Jews in these houses were subsequently evicted and forced into a ghetto).[109] Though in the *Civitates* the Jews were deliberately wiped off the face of the map, here they were deliberately mapped – the purpose was not to merely exclude them from the mapped-city, but from the very space of the city itself. Braun's exclusion can be considered a cartographic expression of ani-Jewish feeling, but here, far more than that, cartography is used as a medium for enacting antisemitic legislation in the space of the city, a tool in the day-to-day persecution of Jews. The prefiguring of the Holocaust cannot be ignored. The Nazis, aided by local officials, mapped the Jews in order to ghettoise them and, ultimately, exterminate them,[110] though they were merely using tools first used in the early modern period. Whether it be Braun's imagining of a Jew-free society, or the Moravian aids to ghettoisation, in these images we can perhaps see the germ of the Holocaust that was to come, and the methods used to enact it. In the early modern context, however, we can say that both act as manifestations of the antisemitism that permeated Christian society, and offer a cartographic insight into it. More specifically, they could provide a fresh new dimension to studies of Christian-Jewish conflict within urban space.[111] Braun's whitewashing was merely a symptom of a wider disease that infected early modern cartography.

*

Braun's response to the Reformation, and to the constant of antisemitism, would go on to have a life of its own, however, beyond the bindings of the *Civitates*, and to have an inescapable impact on the image of the Polish-Lithuanian city. For Braun's subtle manipulations of reality would be repeated many times over, unknowingly perpetuated by later cartographers, even Protestant ones, because it seems that contemporaries, just as much as historians today, failed to

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[109] Peter Barber and Daniel Soukoup, 'Mapping Prejudice: the Moravian Segregation Plans of 1727-1728', *IMCOS Journal*, 160 (2020), 22-32

[110] Tim Cole, 'Holocaust Landscapes: Mapping Ghettoization in Hungary', *S.I.M.O.N.*, 2 (2014), 92-104; "The Holocaust is Largely a Spatial History': Interview with Harrie Teunissen, Map Collector', www.ehri-project.eu/interview-harrie-teunissen-map-collector (11/11/2021)

[111] e.g. Daniel Jütte, "They Shall Not Keep Their Doors or Windows Open': Urban Space and the Dynamics of Conflict and Contact in Premodern Jewish–Christian Relations', *European History Quarterly*, 46.2 (2016), 209-37

recognise Braun's confessionalised agenda. To understand this, we need to examine, briefly, the work's reception, and the way in which Braun's maps were read. In Chapter 1, we became acquainted with the power a single map (whether the Grodecki or Radziwiłł map) could exert over wider cartographic output, and effectively create a universal image of a place, and we see the same process here. The Polish-Lithuanian copperplates of the *Civitates* were reused by cartographers, with many derivatives made, for well over a century. They virtually monopolised the image of the Polish-Lithuanian city, with Braun's confessionalised vision of reality reproduced unchanged.

The 363 plates of the *Civitates* were, first of all, acquired by Johannes Janssonius of Amsterdam, a Protestant map-publisher, in 1653. He used them as a foundation for his own town atlas, *Theatrum Praecipuarum Urbium* (1657), redistributing the images into more geographically unified volumes, eight of them, with the Polish-Lithuanian images appearing in the third volume, dealing with Northern Europe.[112] Janssonius set out his stall in this volume with a frontispiece that he takes directly from volume 6 of the *Civitates*. Although immediately familiar, Janssonius makes slight but significant changes to Braun's image, above all doing away with Braun's Catholic symbolism – in Figures 2.35 and 2.36, we see *Religio* deprived of her crucifix and papal keys, while the sacred host that floats over her chalice has been removed. Janssonius seems to be making his intentions clear, that he would neuter the Catholic character of the *Civitates*, remedying its manifestations wherever they might appear. We might therefore expect a similar treatment of the maps and views Janssonius acquired – yet we see no such thing. They are left exactly as Janssonius found them: no Jews, few Orthodox, and, astonishingly, still no Protestants. Whether he approved of Braun's depiction of Jews or eastern Christians, he would surely detest complicity in the cartographic extinction of Poland's Protestants. Nevertheless, he perpetuated and propagated Braun's confessionalised agenda, even reproducing his text *verbatim*.

[112] Skelton, *Civitates*, xx-xxi

Figure 2.35 – *Before*: "Religio", frontispiece for *Civitates*, vol. 6

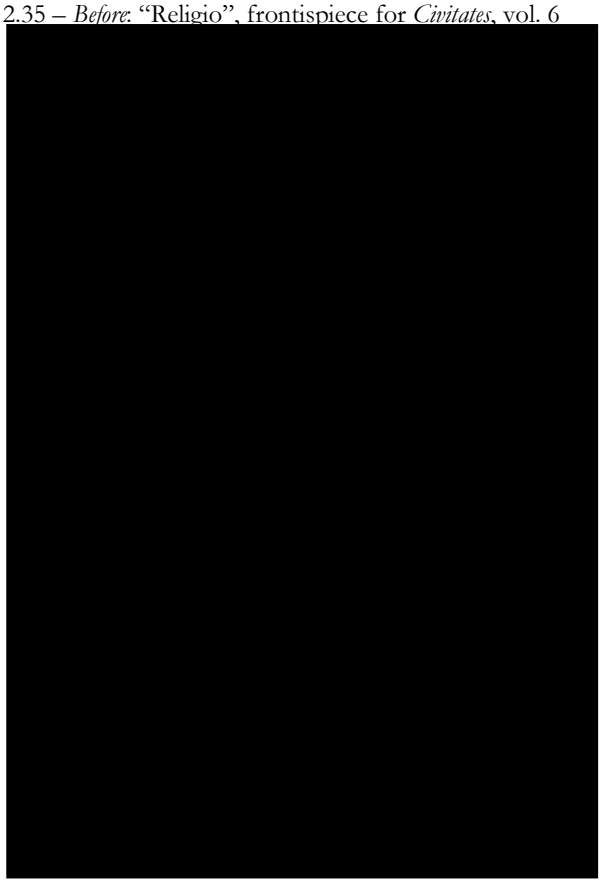
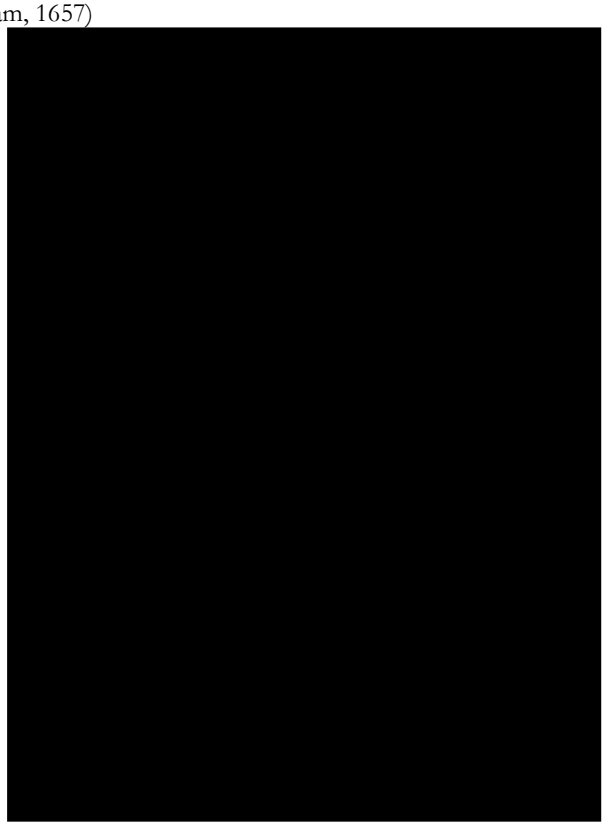


Figure 2.36 – *After*: "Religio", frontispiece for Johannes Janssonius' *Theatrum Praecipuarum Urbium*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1657)



How could this happen, that a Protestant would happily partake in the silencing of his own faith? Why would he recognise and remove the Catholic symbolism in a frontispiece, but not in a map? It might be that he had his doubts about Braun's images, but was constrained by production practices, by the difficulty and cost of re-engraving these images (an aspect we will explore further in the next chapter). But the fact that he did not even change Braun's text (which he had to type-set anew anyway, offering ample opportunity to adapt it) seems to demonstrate that he had few reservations about Braun's work. It seems, therefore, that, in his exact reproduction of both his images and texts, Janssonius was expressing a certain trust in Braun's depiction of reality. After all, besides being advertised as 'accuratissimas urbium icones', 'the most accurate city-images', that appear not so much as images, but as the cities themselves,[113] these images were highly accurate in many ways. And this sense was only bolstered by the use of the new technology of copperplate engraving, which added to the illusion of pinpoint accuracy, and by the great learning exhibited by Braun in his texts. We will remember how belief in the accuracy of the Radziwiłł map persuaded cartographers to accept its depiction of the Grand Duchy as a land free from forests (and from the pagan memory they embodied), and we see the same thing happening here. Once again, we can see the power of cartographic accuracy (or, at least, its perceived existence), and its importance from a cultural perspective. For it acts as a Trojan horse, smuggling messages unnoticed into the cartographic mainstream, and into the minds of readers – in this case, Braun's purified vision of reality – and it demonstrates cartography's special potency, for maps and views can claim a certain authority that other images do not, and cannot, possess. Despite being so readily manipulated, maps and views can nevertheless present a façade of scientific objectivity, present falsity as fact, and create a reality all of their own, independent of the physical world, while appearing to be wholly dependent on it. (This moreover reveals the uniqueness of cartography as a confessional tool, able to hide its partiality behind a façade of cartographic accuracy – a device not available to authors of confessionalised pamphlets, for example). As a result, we witness the irony of a Protestant map-publisher happily propagating a narrative of the Counter-Reformation.

[113] Braun, *Civitates*, vol. 1, preface

But Janssonius was not the only one to propagate and perpetuate, unknowingly, Braun's religious agenda. The copperplates were employed in van Waesberghe's *Tooneel der Vermaarste Koop-Steden* (1682), before passing into the hands of Frederik de Wit, who used them in his atlases, printed c. 1700. Van der Aa used 196 of the *Civitates*' plates in his monumental 66-part *La Galérie Agréable du Monde* (1729), and after that they were acquired by Mortier c. 1750, who continued to use them until they wore out.[114] The fact they continued to be used for approaching 200 years is a sign of more than the search for a quick and easy profit – it demonstrates a willingness to tie one's reputation to them, and, therefore, betrays a fundamental trust in them as images. If some readers had suspected his agenda when reading the *Civitates*, once Braun began to ventriloquise through other, Protestant cartographers, he was able to communicate his Catholic, confessionalised world-view to a wholly unsuspecting audience, who simply did not know what they were being made to swallow. And with time, the cartographic erasure became yet more potent and efficacious, as the silenced communities grew in size. Forty years after Braun, Janssonius was no longer hiding three synagogues in Kraków, but *six*.[115]

Then again, irrespective of the trust placed in his images, Braun's silences would stymie the cartography of the Polish city for centuries. His whitewashing of the Jews, for example, was maintained long after publication of the *Civitates*, seen clearly in the cartography of Zamość, which could not escape from its influence, so that, even if his successors had wanted to highlight Jewish presence, they simply could not. The exact same copperplate was used by Janssonius (1657), van Waesberghe (1682), de Wit (c. 1700), and van der Aa (1729) (Figure 2.13). They indeed depict the synagogue, as Braun did, but they provide no label, and likely do not know what they are depicting. A number of derivatives were also made of the Braun map. Cellarius in 1659 (Figure 2.37) and Bodenehr around 1730 (Figure 2.38) both derived their maps from Braun's, and the synagogue stills lies unrecognised. In the Duc de Chaulnes Atlas (c. 1650) Zamość appears with just its fortifications, town hall, and religious buildings depicted (Figure 2.39). The only religious building omitted is the synagogue, the only one unlabelled by Braun. This demonstrates the real effect of

[114] Skelton, *Civitates*, xxi
[115] Galas and Polonsky, *Jews in Kraków*, 6

labelling, and of its deletion. Plainly, despite being depicted in the *Civitates*, the reader could not be aware of the synagogue as a religious building. Braun's whitewashing works, and here, we not only see it perpetuated, but unwittingly deepened as a result. Likewise, Sandrart (1687) (Figure 2.40) does not even give the synagogue its own outline on his map, let alone the darker, double lines provided for all the other religious buildings. The first map of Zamość not based on the *Civitates* was produced by the Swedish army in 1704 (Figure 2.41). This *does* note the existence of the synagogue, for the first time, but, as a manuscript military map, its influence was limited by the requirements of military secrecy. It was not until 1774 that Jonsac produced a printed map, available to the public, that finally admitted the existence of Zamość's Jews (Figure 2.42) – the only caveat is that he put the synagogue in completely the wrong place. Even after 150 years, cartographers could not quite escape the *Civitates*' inheritance, as the Jews remained excluded from the map, or misrepresented on it.

Figure 2.37 – Zamość – Andreas Cellarius, *Regni Poloniae…Descriptio* (Amsterdam, 1659)



Figure 2.38 – Zamość – Gabriel Bodenehr, *Plans and Views of Towns and Fortresses in Europe* (Augsburg, c. 1730) (BL, Maps, C.24.aa.20.)



Figure 2.39 – Zamość – *Duc de Chaulnes Atlas* (c. 1650) (BL, MS.11,564.art.105.)



Figure 2.40 – Zamość – Jakob von Sandrart, *Des Königreichs Pohlen* (Sulzbach, 1687)



Figure 2.41 – Zamość – Swedish army (1704) (KrA: Sveriges Krig. 11:52)

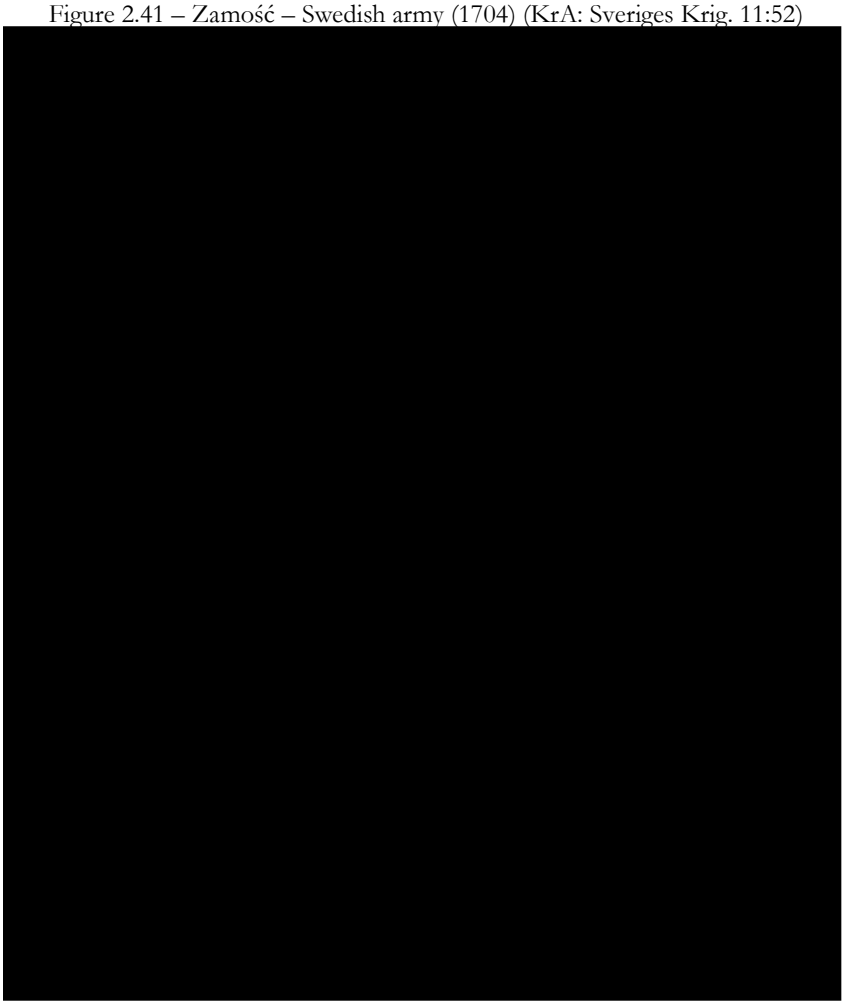


Figure 2.42 – Zamość – GF de Jonsac, *Histoire de Stanislas Jablonowski* (Leipzig, 1774)



Braun did not shape *an* image, but *the* image of the Polish-Lithuanian city. It is thus difficult to overstate Braun's influence on the early modern image of the Commonwealth. For this study not only helps us establish Braun's own agenda, but also the information that was available to the general public, in the *Civitates* and far beyond – for he was not simply closing his own eyes to its religious diversity, but also the eyes of his readership (and indeed the readerships of all the *Civitates*' successors), who were left in the cartographic equivalent of Plato's Cave. What he chose to show, or refused to, became fundamental to how Poland was depicted, and therefore seen, for generations to come. The myths he created were continuously perpetuated, until they seemingly became fact, and shaped not only the cartographic image of the country, but its wider image too – in particular, the image of a confessionally homogenous, Catholic Poland, an image that, despite being far removed from reality, will become very familiar over the course of this thesis.

CHAPTER III

The Bishop's Mitre:

Mapping the Episcopate and Religious Diversity

In this chapter we will be revisiting an issue central to the previous chapter – that of how cartographers were to depict the new confessional diversity of the post-Reformation period. Here, however, we will be approaching it through the lens of topographical mapping, and we find that, unlike Georg Braun, cartographers did indeed try to map this new diversity, but were stifled by the limits of their medium. It forces us to ask, not only how cartography responded to religious change, but how much it was even *able* to. To answer this question, we will be focussing on one of the most common, yet most overlooked, features of the early modern map – the bishop.

INTRODUCTION

How does one map the Church? This has been, and will remain, a fundamental question for cartographers. It has been discussed by a handful of historians, but only within the context of ecclesiastical cartography, Church-mapping proper,[1] and not in relation to wider cartographic practice. Yet, this was not simply a question for ecclesiastical cartographers – we will find that it was a concern of virtually all early modern cartographers, whether they were attuned to it or not. How one maps the Church depends, largely, on what you believe the Church to *be*, in other words, on questions of ecclesiology. Was it the community of believers, was it the institution, or was it something more metaphysical, impossible to depict cartographically? One 17th-century French ecclesiastical cartographer, Augustin Lubin (1624-1695), mused that 'The Church's commonly and rightly accepted title 'Catholic,' that is to say, universal, clearly shows that it has no other boundaries

[1] François de Dainville, *Cartes anciennes de l'Église de France* (Paris, 1956); idem, *Le Langage des géographes* (Paris, 1964); Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds* (Leiden, 2012), chapter 5

than those of the Earth itself, the Gospels having been preached in all the Earth's corners.'[2] In other words, we cannot set cartographical limits on the Church, for it is present everywhere – Zur Shalev sums it up neatly: 'a map of the Church was a map of the globe, and vice versa'.[3] But although there were many different routes that could be taken, early modern cartographers settled, collectively, on one particular mapping of the Church, one oriented around the *bishop*.

This choice reflected a traditional ecclesiological idea, that the Church is founded, above all, on the apostolic succession. This is the idea that the spiritual authority of bishops, and of the Church as a whole, derives from the apostles themselves, who had passed down their authority to successors, who, in turn, passed it on in an unbroken succession, ultimately resting with the bishops of the present day. This is what is meant in the Nicene Creed when it says: 'We believe… in one, holy, catholic, and *apostolic* Church'. It was the *institution* of the Church, its episcopal hierarchy, that justified it, that assured it as the means of salvation on earth. In essence, the Church was the shepherd, not the flock, and we see this ecclesiological belief translated onto the map, and eventually crystallised into cartographic convention.[4] The choice also, however, reflected power. For JB Harley, 'cartography was primarily a form of political discourse concerned with the acquisition and maintenance of power',[5] and he saw the focus on the bishop, and the concomitant disregard for those lower down, as a reflection of the 'spatial hierarchies' within the Church, and the power of the Church in society.[6] It also cannot be ignored that, compared to other ways of mapping the Church, the bishop was amongst the most simple – all that was required was a few points on the map (cartographers rarely marked diocesan boundaries), points that were, necessarily, not overly numerous.

For these reasons, the bishop became *the* way the Church was envisioned on the map, and became an essential feature on topographical maps all across early modern Europe. By far and away

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[2] Augustin Lubin, *Mercure géographique* (1678), (trans. Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 206)
[3] Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 206
[4] We came across something similar, though speaking of the spiritual authority of the priesthood as a whole, in Heinrich Scherer's frontispiece to the 'Geographia Hierarchica' of his *Atlas Novus* (Figure 0.3)
[5] JB Harley, 'Silences and secrecy: The hidden agenda of cartography in early modern Europe', *Imago Mundi*, 40.1 (1988), 57
[6] JB Harley, 'Maps, knowledge, and power', in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge, 1988), 294

they are *the* most common religious symbol in these maps, and indeed are one of the most recurrent cartographic symbols of all.[7] They appeared early on in Polish maps, being central to Bernard Wapowski's 1526 map of Poland, as seen in this surviving fragment depicting the mitre and crozier of the bishop of Poznań and archbishop of Gniezno (Figure 3.1), and they continued to be used well beyond the end of our period. Marked by a cross, or by a mitre, the episcopal see was a symbol that connected many European maps of the period, if not the majority of them, and should be considered a conventional cartographic feature of the period.

Figure 3.1 – Greater Poland fragment, Wapowski map of Poland (Kraków, c. 1526)



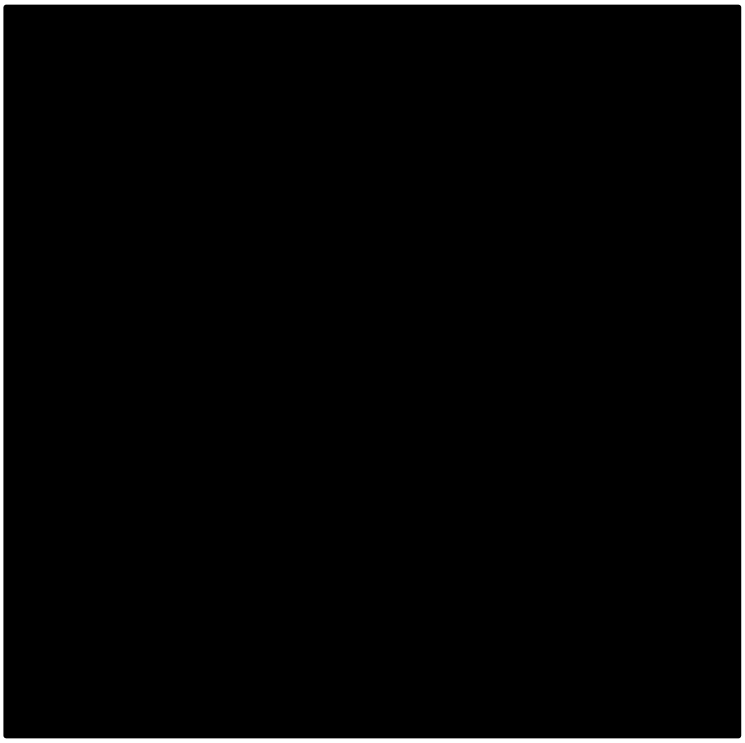
This collective decision in favour of the bishop would, however, have a significant effect on the mapping of the post-Reformation world. Like many cartographic symbols, that of the bishopric might seem quite simple and self-explanatory, that all it is doing is merely marking out for us the location of diocesan centres – but, when it comes to the mapping of religious diversity, it could be highly problematic. For, though the office of bishop continued to be championed by some confessions, it was rejected by others, and, surprisingly, cartography did not evolve in accordance with these developments, remaining firmly tied to the episcopal convention. The reasons for this will be explored later on, but what is important is that it resulted in a collision between cartographic convention and the changing ecclesiologies of the Reformation.

In this chapter, therefore, we will examine how this episcopal convention determined cartography's ability to map religious diversity, and respond to the new confessional landscape. We

[7] In a study of signs on maps up to the mid-17th century, Catherine Delano-Smith notes that bishoprics were the third most common aspect of a settlement, after location and secular rank, and that they are signalled on well over half the maps in her sample (Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Signs on Printed Topographical Maps, ca. 1470–ca. 1640', in David Woodward (ed.), *History of Cartography*, Vol. 3 (Chicago, 2007), 565)

will explore its effects on the mapping of *Greek*, *Calvinist*, and *Lutheran* denominations, and how the focus on the bishopric could be deceptive, corrupting the depiction of the confessional landscape. But another narrative develops alongside, one of innovation and creativity. Throughout the chapter, we will explore how cartographers, of all confessions, sought to innovate, and adapt to this new confessional reality in different ways, within the limitations of this cartographic convention, some cartographers even using the convention as a tool in their pursuit of a confessional agenda. This creativity culminates in the efforts of some cartographers to bypass the limitations of convention, through reliance on contemporary reading practices (a subject so often shrouded in mystery for the historian, but which we hope to shed some light on). But overall, despite such innovation, cartographers remained in thrall to convention, unable to depict diversity on the topographical map.

Figure 3.2 – 'Polonia' – Casimir Freschot 'Geografia ridotta a giuoco…' (Venice, c. 1680)



Our analysis in this chapter will, therefore, be focussed on the limitations of cartography. Cartography has, of course, been saddled with various limitations. An example would be its materiality, whether that be the inability of woodcuts or engravings to mirror 'reality', or the spatial limits imposed on the map by its frame, which admit but a finite amount of information. The limits of space are demonstrated *ad absurdum* by a small, 5x5cm map of Poland by Casimir Freschot, made

as part of a 17th-century board game (Figure 3.2), on which, naturally, very little can be depicted. Though an extreme example, it neatly illustrates a limitation that affects all maps, big or small, to a greater or lesser degree – and it is the cartographer's choice how he negotiates such limitations: what information he chooses to depict (or forget), and how he chooses to depict it. In the previous chapter, we saw the limitations that could influence city-mapping (though they had little effect on Braun's final image), but here we will be studying the effect of another limitation, that of cartographic convention, uncovering not only the choices made *by* cartographers, but also those made *for* them.

This touches on what is, or should be, one of the big questions of early modern cartography – why, in an age of extreme confessionalisation, should confession, and confessional difference, appear so rarely on maps? Some might think it merely a symptom of cartographic secularisation and cartographers' disinterest in religion. Catherine Delano-Smith, noting this surprising absence, offers a more considered answer, attributing it to cartographers' fear of revealing their personal convictions, given the risks involved in doing so.[8] But while this was undoubtedly true in some cases, it surely was not universally so. By examining this episcopal convention, we hope to provide a more comprehensive solution to this unanswered question, and deconstruct exactly how it happened. Connectedly, we will find that, even if maps neglected to depict confession, this did not mean they did not speak of confessional issues. Indeed, as we found in the last chapter, a map that shows little or no confessional diversity can be a confessional statement in itself; and we should remind ourselves of JB Harley's exhortation, that 'the absence of something must be seen to be as worthy of historical investigation as is its presence'.[9]

Poland-Lithuania provides an interesting context for such an exploration, for its episcopal landscape was totally unique. Throughout much of the 17th century, it presided over four different, parallel episcopal hierarchies: Catholic, Orthodox, Uniate, and Armenian. The city of Lviv alone was home to a bishop, or archbishop, of each of these denominations in this period.[10] And this is not to

[8] Delano-Smith, 'Signs', 565
[9] JB Harley, 'Silences', 70
[10] Within the walls of Lviv you could find a Catholic cathedral (the home of an archbishop), an Armenian cathedral (whose bishop joined the Armenian Catholic Church in 1630), and an Orthodox cathedral, loyal to Constantinople until 1700, when the bishop submitted to the Pope, becoming part of the Uniate Church.

mention the numerous other, non-episcopal confessions who would be affected by the cartographic focus on the bishop. Alongside taking a panoramic view of maps of the Commonwealth (placing considerable emphasis, once again, on the Radziwiłł map, though seeing it through a very different lens), we will keep an eye on maps of the wider European theatre, so as to gain a proper understanding of this phenomenon. As noted above, these were not pieces of ecclesiastical cartography. They were made for a variety of purposes, none of which was primarily to depict the Church – yet the Church appears. It is a stark reminder of one of the central arguments of this thesis, that religious issues were present not simply in a minority of 'religious' maps, but also in ostensibly 'secular' imagery – for here we find complex religious issues written into the 'second text' of these maps, into perhaps the majority of maps made at the time.

*

CONFESSION

If the cartographic focus on the bishop emerged, as Harley argues, to reflect and maintain Church power, it became more complex than he might have realised. For the new ecclesiologies of the Reformation lent it many more layers of meaning. The idea of the Church as an institution, and the belief in the apostolic succession, were challenged by Reformers as they set out their own ideas of nature of the Church. Luther claimed that the 'true' Church did not derive its authority from apostolic continuity, but had to be based rather on theological continuity, on the word of God. The Catholic Church had deviated from the true doctrine, and thus no longer represented the true Church. Though he did not call for their dissolution, bishops, for Luther, were no longer the embodiment of the true Church. John Calvin went further, of course, teaching that the Church was not defined by its hierarchy, but by the community of believers (along with the saints and the elect).[11] He claimed that the idea of bishops' apostolic inheritance was 'frivolous and plainly ridiculous', and

[11] Alister McGrath, *Historical Theology* (Chichester, 2012), 171-6

his followers sought to throw off the episcopal yoke.[12] The episcopate was likewise rejected by proponents of the Radical Reformation.[13] Yet, despite the successes of the Reformers in changing attitudes towards bishops, or getting rid of them entirely, mapmakers did not adapt to these changing ecclesiological ideas, and continued to depict the Church as they always had – holding true to convention, bishops remained the embodiment of the Church on the map. As we will see, this created more silences on the map than merely the absence of the lower clergy, particularly in a state like Poland-Lithuania, with its many and varied Protestant confessions. But the Commonwealth was not home to a singular episcopal hierarchy, but to multiple, and we first need to understand how these other hierarchies fitted into, and were affected by, this convention. Thus we will look first to the Greek Churches, Orthodox and Uniate, whose episcopal lines, like the Catholic, also ran back to the apostles, serving as the source of their legitimacy.

Greeks

Ever since Kazimierz III annexed Red Ruthenia to Poland in 1349, and until its demise in 1795, Orthodoxy had an unbroken presence in the Kingdom of Poland. And in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the history of the Orthodox Church stretched back even further than that of the Catholic Church,[14] and commanded the loyalty of its majority-Ruthenian population. The presence of these 'schismatics' was seen as a problem by many in the Catholic Church, one that was seemingly fixed in 1596 with the Union of Brześć.[15] By this agreement, the Orthodox bishops of the Commonwealth were to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, so becoming part of the Catholic Communion, while also retaining their traditional rites. It created a new Church, the Uniate or Greek Catholic, which survives to this day. Not all the Commonwealth's Orthodox accepted the Union, however, and remained loyal to Constantinople. At first they were suppressed, and though an Orthodox hierarchy was re-established in 1620, it was necessarily clandestine; it was only legally recognised by

[12] Marcus Harmes, 'Calvin and the English Episcopate', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 81.1 (2012), 22
[13] George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Kirksville, Mo., 2000)
[14] The Lithuanian words for 'church' and 'baptism', for example, are derived from Russian rather than Polish (Stephen Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending* (Cambridge, 1994), 149
[15] Oskar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest* (Rome, 1958)

the Commonwealth in 1632. This double fracture between Catholic, Uniate and Orthodox, though born of a desire to unite Christians, ultimately caused immense friction within the Commonwealth. As one might expect, it was also problematic to map, and this section will explore how different cartographers chose to depict this complex religious picture. And the prime means at their disposal was, of course, the bishop.

Figure 3.3 – 'Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae…exacta descriptio', the Radziwill map, (Amsterdam, 1613)



The map we will first turn to is the ever-important Radziwill map (Figure 3.3). We will not be analysing its efforts to de-paganise the Grand Duchy here, but another important aspect of its agenda, to present Lithuania, not as an Orthodox, but as a Catholic country. In spite of this, it is seemingly the first topographical map to highlight the presence of the Greek Church within the Commonwealth,[16] its bishops, as we mentioned above, marked out by their own distinctive

[16] It has been suggested Wapowski included Greek bishops in his map of Poland (Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Signs', 565), but this does not seem to be true

Figure 3.4 – Radziwill map legend (3.3)

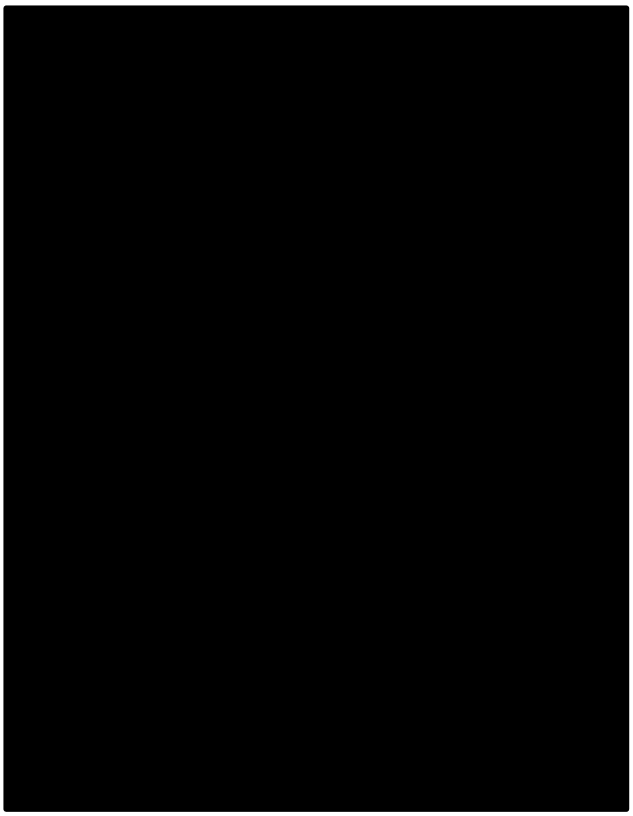
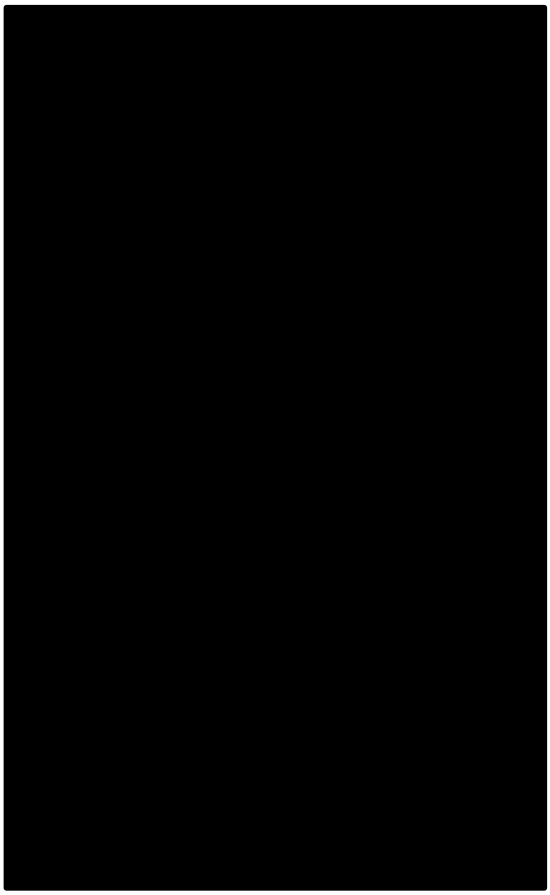


Figure 3.5 – 'Gentilhomme Grec' – Nicolas de Nicolay, *Navigations et Pérégrinations Orientales* (Lyon, 1567)



headpiece, contrasting with the Catholic mitre (Figure 3.4). The same, or similar, headpiece can be seen in Nicolas de Nicolay's image of the 'Gentil-homme Grec' (Figure 3.5) in his *Navigations et Pérégrinations Orientales* (1567), and it bears some resemblance to the modern-day klobuk. One of the few original copies of the 1613 edition lies in the Uppsala University Library. If we cast our eye over this copy, looking at the capital of Lithuania, Vilnius, we see, though significantly damaged, two dominant headpieces: a Catholic mitre and, at the centre, an even larger headpiece, that of a Greek bishop (Figure 3.6). What this seems to declare is the pre-eminence of the Orthodox in the Grand Duchy's capital, taking precedence even over the Catholic Church – though this could hardly be further from the original message of the map. If we take a look at the image of Vilnius before the map was restored in 2016[17] (and damage done to it), we see the map's true message (Figure 3.7). What we in fact see is, of course, Vilnius dominated by a Catholic mitre and a ducal crown, which was subsequently mauled into something representing a klobuk. Though there is a klobuk-like headpiece depicted, it is smaller and shunted to the side, clearly in the shadow of its Catholic cousin. Whenever the two appear alongside each other in the map, the same image is repeated, the Catholic mitre bigger, higher, and more central, demonstrating the hierarchy between these Churches. Catholic bishoprics are also shown as dominant in number, as half the Greek bishoprics are inexplicably left off the map; the text even mentions a bishop that does not appear on the map, that of Polotsk. Despite its majority Orthodox population, Lithuania is shown to be a land dominated by the Catholic Church, and this idea is consummated in Makowski's text, when we are told that these Greek bishops 'are subject to the Church of Rome',[18] having given their obedience at Brześć in 1596. These bishops we see on the map, therefore, are bishops of the Uniate Church. They do not represent an independent, defiant Church, but one loyal to Rome; not the pagan-riddled confession of previous chapters, but something much less 'other'. As mentioned in Chapter 1, it is perhaps no coincidence that Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł began work on his creation in 1597, just a year after the Brześć Union, the first time the Orthodox-majority Grand Duchy could claim, with any real justification, to be a Catholic country. For the map, like its originator, a Calvinist convert to Catholicism, is tied up

[17] Algirdas Gliožaitis, 'Švedijoje, Upsalos universiteto bibliotekoje, saugomas LDK sieninio žemėlapio egzempliorius', *Gimtasai kraštas*, 18 (2020), 25-29
[18] 'qui subsunt Ecclesiae Romanae'

in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, and, in that spirit, the whole of the Grand Duchy is shown as wholly subordinated to Rome. By the same token, later on we will see how Protestants are likewise absent from the map, unable to challenge this image.

Figure 3.6 – Vilnius post-'restoration', Radziwill map (3.3)



Figure 3.7 – Vilnius pre-'restoration', Radziwill map (3.3)



Such a claim to Lithuanian Catholicism was, however, quite tenuous, and it could only be made through reference to the *bishop*. For the majority of Lithuania's Orthodox did not subscribe to the Union. It was, in essence, a top-down, magisterial process. The negotiations, beginning in Belz in 1590, were performed in secret, and only involved the bishops, without the knowledge or input of laymen and lower clergy. It was an agreement made between bishops alone, reflecting that same episcopal ecclesiology, that an agreement between bishops was an agreement between Churches – but the flock did not follow the shepherd. When the agreement was announced and ratified by the bishops in 1596, it was, by and large, rejected by the Orthodox faithful, by parish priests and the laity. An alternate, Anti-Union synod was set up to anathematise the Uniate bishops, who in turn anathematised their opponents. 'The Uniate Church was virtually a hierarchy without a laity,' Liudas

Jovaiša tells us, 'and the Anti-Unionists were the faithful without a hierarchy'.[19] Here we see a fundamental flaw of bishop-centred ecclesiology – and, resulting from it, we end up with a deeply distorted cartographic image. For the hierarchy was supposedly the representative of the faithful on the map, yet here it is no such thing, and fundamentally skews our image of reality. The Uniate bishops we see on the Radziwiłł map were flockless, hardly representative of a wider Church; meanwhile the sheep, the parish priests and local congregations that refused to submit to Rome, shepherdless, were rendered invisible, hidden beneath the surface of the map.

It was the episcopal nature of the Union, tied to this cartographic convention, that resulted in this image of complete victory for the Union, a false vision of success. Of course, the map is not a *lie*, it depicts the reality of the episcopal situation in the Grand Duchy, but it is undoubtedly misleading. Psychologists have recently coined a new term for this kind of deception, 'paltering', which they define as 'the active use of truthful statements to convey a misleading impression'.[20] In light of this, the Radziwiłł map can, as an historiographical first, be termed a 'paltering map', a map that lies by telling the truth[21] – and, without a doubt, it will not be the only map to fall under this rubric. Recognising this style of cartographic deception could be of real value to cartographic historians in our effort to deconstruct the map. That aside, this is an early signal of the problems presented by the cartographic focus on the episcopate – or perhaps the opportunities presented by it, depending on your standpoint – for, whether by design or not, it has offered up the patron's desired image, an image of Catholic triumph.

Though we speak of Catholic victory, it is notable that, within the map, the Uniates are not wholly subsumed into the Roman Church. They are recognised to have a Greek rite, separate from the Roman, they are given their own hierarchy, and their own individual symbol, affording them a separate identity from the Catholic whole. The cartographer does not force the bishops to wear the Catholic mitre, but allows them to continue to wear what seems to be their own traditional mitre.

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[19] Liudas Jovaiša, 'The Age of Church Reforms', in Darius Baronas (ed.), *Christianity in Lithuania* (Vilnius, 2002), 84

[20] T Rogers et al., 'Artful Paltering', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 112.3 (2017), 456-73

[21] Ironically, we found the opposite in Chapter One, finding how the map told the truth by lying, offering a culturally accurate image of Lithuania through a false depiction of its forests – both these points stand as a testament to the complexity of the Radziwiłł map.

The symbol expresses the unique nature of the Uniate condition both clearly and succinctly. Beyond costume, they are referred to as either *Episcopi Graecorum* or *Wladicas*. Guillaume de Beauplan, the cartographer, tells us in his *Description d'Ukraine* that Władyka was an honourary title given to Orthodox bishops by the Ruthenians themselves;[22] this is not a term imposed by Catholics, we are hearing the Ruthenians' own confessional nomenclature, which is allowed to speak through the map. While shown to be accepting papal supremacy, the Uniates are nevertheless afforded their own confessional identity. They are not shown as part of a monolithic Catholicism, but give some form and definition to the complex religious landscape of the Commonwealth, and the diversity within Catholicism itself. The post-Tridentine Church strove for universality and the ironing out of idiosyncratic local traditions, whether that be in liturgy, music, or dress. But this map, depicting an alien rite operating within the Roman sphere, stands as a testament to a more complex picture. Though it certainly proclaims the victorious expansion of the post-Tridentine Church, it also shows a Church far from unified, at a time when it was striving for that very end.

That being said, the Grand Duchy is nevertheless cast, not as a pagan country, nor an Orthodox one, but one definitively Catholic. The map casts these alternative images aside, not only through its treatment of Lithuania's forests, but through the depiction of its bishops. Ironically, however, though it sought to undermine the idea of an Orthodox Grand Duchy, it ultimately had an opposite effect. Its depiction of Greek bishops, designed to illustrate the Catholic triumph, in fact opened the door to the depiction of Orthodoxy, and an image of the country the makers of the Radziwiłł map would not have intended. For the map's sensitive depiction of the Uniate Church, of its unique identity beneath the Roman umbrella, would not be repeated. It would be copied, but lost in translation. Interestingly, although the copying of the *Civitates* resulted in the perpetuation of Braun's agenda, the copying of the Radziwiłł map resulted, unexpectedly, in the transformation of its message, revealing those things that the map had originally sought to hide. Indeed, we can see the klobuk-like symbol reused in a number of the map's copies, most notably in the maps of the hugely

[22] Guillaume de Beauplan, (Andrew Pernal and Dennis Essar (eds)), *A Description of Ukraine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 78

Figure 3.8 – 'Estats de la Couronne de Pologne…', Nicolas Sanson (s.l., 1655)



influential French cartographer, Nicolas Sanson, the *geographe du roi* to both Louis XIII and Louis XIV. In 1655 he produced his map of Poland (Figure 3.8), which, like many of his maps, was influential all over Europe, and was copied by cartographers for over a century (though it was in fact of poor quality, according to Karol Buczek).[23] Though Sanson jettisons the Catholic mitre in favour of a cross, he retains the Radziwiłł symbol for Greek bishops, and this is repeated in the map's second and third editions of 1663 and 1703. He also increases the number of these Greek bishops to nine. By 1655 the Orthodox hierarchy had been re-established, leading to the existence of both Uniate and Orthodox hierarchies within the Commonwealth, and we might ask whether Sanson sought to highlight both hierarchies. He depicts bishops of both, all seven Uniate sees (Kiev, Polotsk, Przemyśl, Chełm, Volodymyr, Pinsk and Smolensk), and four of the six Orthodox sees (Kiev, Lviv, Lutsk and Przemyśl), but marks no difference between them. They wear the same headwear, and where they overlap, in Kiev and Przemyśl, only one see is depicted. Together, they form one unified

[23] Karol Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography* (Warsaw, 1966), 83

Greek Church, but was it Uniate or Orthodox? Nothing in the space of the map indicates the existence of the Union and, importantly, the map was not published with a text (we will remember that it was Makowski's text that established these bishops' subordination to Rome). The separate identity their headwear afforded the Uniates in the Radziwiłł map now demonstrated the otherness and difference of these Greeks from the Catholic Church. As far as the reader is concerned, they stood as the embodiment of an independent Orthodox Church, as the Uniate Church, in one fell swoop, is reabsorbed into Orthodoxy, and the Commonwealth transformed from a picture of Catholic unity to one of division and disunity. And it is an image made possible by the innovations of the Radziwiłł map, and its depiction, for the first time, of Greek Christians on the map of the Commonwealth. This new image was not the result of a deliberate policy on the part of Sanson – it was simply his desire to produce a standalone map that brought about this outcome, a result of the breaking of the all-important relationship between text and image by a nescient cartographer, unaware of the effect such a change would have. This, in itself, can be considered a cartographic symptom of a general Western ignorance around the complexities of the Eastern Church, and the same point applies to the maps that follow, which offer different, but equally false, pictures of Orthodoxy in the Commonwealth.

This would be a suitable place to delve into the importance of costume on the map. On one level, we need to understand costume, and the hat in particular, as a signifier of authority. 'For the apparel oft proclaims the man', wrote Shakespeare, through the aptly named Polonius;[24] it is a well-known adage, and as true for the early moderns as it is for us today.[25] Clothing has ever been a symbol of rank and power, the hat its crowning glory. Headwear is something intrinsically linked with positions of authority, perhaps more than any other item of clothing, the distilled essence of their holders' status and authority. This can be seen clearly in heraldry, for example, where the escutcheon, signifying the holder's ancestry and heritage, is topped by headwear, a helmet, a noble, ducal or royal crown, a mitre, a galero, or even a Papal tiara, defining their status in society. And it was no accident

[24] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 3, Line 72
[25] Erasmus included it in his *Collectanea Adagiorum Veterum*, 3.1.60 (Paris, 1500): 'vestis virum facit', and quotes Quintilian, that 'to dress within the formal limits and with an air gives men authority'. Mark Twain gave the saying his own twist: 'Clothes make the man. Naked people have little or no influence on society' (Merle Johnson (ed.), *More Maxims of Mark* (New York, 1927))

that cartographers chose headwear to represent these offices on the map. But costume is much more than a communicator of power – it also serves as an expression of identity and difference. Clothing is 'the primary visual indicator of cultural difference' in society, on both an individual and collective level, and this was acutely understood in early modern Europe.[26] It was a marker of identity, imbued with meaning at every walk of life, 'a rich symbolic world capable of transmitting compact information'. This became more deeply embedded with the rise of printing and the growing interest in costume books, as costume ever more became the embodiment of one's sense of self and vision of the 'other'.[27] Historians have studied costume's role in establishing cultural and national divides, but its relationship with confession is less well understood. Costume was, and still is, one of the ways people most readily see difference in their daily lives, and it seems obvious that the development of confessional identities, so crucial to our period, would find expression in costume. The only historian to explore this in any depth is Ulinka Rublack, who examines the confessionalisation of fashion in early modern Germany, and how Catholic and Protestant identities were articulated through the ways they dressed, developing 'vestiary codes that displayed who was on the side of salvation or damnation'.[28] It also seems obvious that this would not have been limited to the Protestant-Catholic divide, but surely would have applied equally to that much older division, between Latin and Greek Christianity, especially where they overlapped within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This could be a subject for another historian to explore further, for we find a flavour of it in these maps.[29] The difference between Catholic and Greek is expressed through the universal medium of costume, the materiality of this medium, so closely connected to the human person, expressing it with vividity and concision. Costume, however, is a medium that can hide as much as it reveals – though it speaks of certain elements of identity, it remains silent on others. For this reason, the differences that existed between Catholic and Uniate find expression here, but not their similarities. The klobuk-like

[26] Heather Hughes, 'Clothing as Culture: Delineating National Character in Costume Prints, c. 1600-1650', PhD thesis, (University of Pennsylvania, 2017)
[27] Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010), 1-31
[28] Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 81-123
[29] Moseley-Christian has written on the interaction between maps and costume, and how they both serve to define 'place' (Michelle Mosely-Christian, 'Confluence of Costume, Cartography and Early Modern European Chorography', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 9 (2013), 1-22); she studies the costumed figures in the margins and cartouches of maps, but here costume is integrated into the fabric of the map itself, shaping the very landscape of the Commonwealth.

headpiece speaks to us of the differences in rite that continued between them, but says nothing of Uniates' adherence to Roman doctrine.[30] And though it rightly marks out their identity, separate from the rest of the Catholic Church, it cannot offer an identity separate from the Orthodox Church, with whom they shared their rites. Without another means of separation, their costume draws them back, cartographically, into the Orthodox fold.

It was far more common, however, not to depict Greek bishops at all. The majority of the maps that depicted the Commonwealth's bishops showed only one hierarchy, the Roman Catholic. This is especially clear in the many copies made of Sanson's map. Copies were made by Hugo Allard,[31] Clement de Jonghe,[32] Nicolaes Visscher,[33] Johann Hofmann,[34] Richard Blome,[35] William Berry,[36] Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi,[37] Pieter Schenck,[38] and Alexis-Hubert Jaillot.[39] Though Sanson offered an image of a strong Orthodox Church, these cartographers, without exception, went to the other extreme, removing Greek presence entirely from the map. Even the Uniates, despite their recognition of the Pope, are cast off. Given the unlikelihood of each cartographer making the same decision individually, it is most likely that one of these copies acted as the source for the others. The Commonwealth, riven by schism in Sanson's map, is now reunited under one Church; the city of Lviv, previously shared by Greek and Catholic (Figure 3.9), is now home to Catholics alone (Figure 3.10). And aside from the silencing of Greeks within the Commonwealth, the maps also depict the extension of Catholicism into Orthodox territories, marking out the bishopric of Smolensk[40] (Figure

[30] In fact, it could be argued that it speaks of independence from Rome. The first mention we have of the Roman mitre is when the Archbishop of Trier was invested with one by Pope Leo IX in 1049, in order to remind him that he was a disciple of the *Roman* see (Philipp Jaffe (ed.), *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Leipzig, 1888), no. 4158). It was used as a tool, it seems, to differentiate the Roman Church from the Greek, at the time of the Great Schism, or at the very least to help form a Roman identity for the Church. The differences we see here, between Roman and Greek mitres, arguably stems from that policy, standing as a symbol of confessional difference.
[31] 'Tabula nova totius Regni Poloniae...' (s.l., undated)
[32] 'Tabula nova totius Regni Poloniae...' (Amsterdam, 1670)
[33] 'Tabula nova totius Regni Poloniae...' (Amsterdam, undated)
[34] 'Status Regni Poloniae…' (Nuremberg, 1677)
[35] 'A Mapp of the Estates of the Crowne of Poland…' (London, 1669)
[36] 'The Territories of the Crown of Poland…' (London, 1680)
[37] 'Stati della Corona di Polonia...' (Rome, 1678)
[38] 'Estats de Pologne…' (Amsterdam, undated)
[39] 'Estats de Pologne…' (Paris, 1675)
[40] A diocese which, in 1772, only contained three parishes (Richard Butterwick, 'How Catholic was the Grand Duchy of Lithuania', *Central Europe*, 8.2 (2010), 132

Figure 3.9 – Sanson's Lviv (3.8)



Figure 3.10 – Jaillot's Lviv, from 'Estats de Pologne…', Alexis-Hubert Jaillot (Paris, 1675)



Figure 3.11 – Jaillot's Smolensk



Figure 3.12 – 'Le Royaume de Pologne…', Jean-Baptiste Nolin, (Paris, 1697)



Figure 3.13 – 'Estats de la Couronne de Pologne' – Nicolas de Fer, *L'Atlas Curieux* (Paris, 1717)



3.11), which had fallen to Muscovy in 1654. It is one-way traffic only in these maps, with Catholic presence allowed in Orthodox states, but not vice versa. Even the cartographer who offers us the most detailed depiction of the episcopal hierarchy in Poland, Jean-Baptiste Nolin, completely ignores the Uniate and Orthodox hierarchies. His map of 1697 (Figure 3.12) demonstrates, in both image and text, intimate knowledge of the Catholic hierarchy in Poland and its suffragan structure, such that it is hard to believe he had no knowledge of the country's other hierarchies. Two decades later, in 1717, Nicolas de Fer added a map of Poland to his *L'Atlas Curieux* (Figure 3.13). This map displays none of the detailed knowledge of Nolin. It is riddled with mistakes, for example depicting the same bishopric, that of Culm, twice over in different towns, as if they were separate sees. This map too only gives voice to the Catholic, and the text proclaims that 'La Religion Dominante est la Catholique Romaine',[41] making no mention of any other faiths. Though it is commonly claimed that, by the 18th century, Poland was once again majority Catholic, in reality, even in 1772, Roman Catholics still made up less than half the Commonwealth's population (43%), and were equalled in number by those of the Greek rite.[42] Though we might have thought there was some truth to these depictions of an increasingly Catholic Poland, they are in fact a gross manipulation of the truth, a manipulation that nevertheless shaped the image of Poland. Moreover, we might have assumed that maps like these, which do not highlight confessional differences, were not concerned with confessional issues – but that could not be further from the truth. The depiction of a singular hierarchy, a singular Church, omitting all others, offers a confessional perspective, whether intended as such or not. And though they are marked in these maps simply as 'bishops', something seemingly innocuous and innocent, the fact that these bishops are Roman Catholic, and never Greek, reveals the confessional value judgement that has been made.

Frederik de Wit (c.1629-1706), a Protestant cartographer in Amsterdam, was another to offer such a confessionally sanitised picture of the Commonwealth, at least initially. He created his own map of Poland-Lithuania that, like the copies of the Sanson map, omitted any Greek presence from

[41] Nicolas de Fer, *L'Atlas Curieux ou Le Monde Réprésenté* (Paris, 1717?), 96
[42] Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol 1 (Oxford, 1981), 162, 197. Catholicism could only claim majority status in Poland after the First Partition, with the loss of Greek Christians to Muscovy, and Lutherans to Prussia.

the map. Over the years this map went through continual reworking – five versions of the plate have been identified – and in its third state, from c. 1700 (Figure 3.14),[43] de Wit decided to reintroduce Greek Christians into the Commonwealth's landscape. This change can be seen most clearly in the alteration of the map's legend, which shows the Greeks not represented by headgear, but by a lopsided cross; moreover, those hierarchs that had been referred to simply as 'bishops' were now properly referred to as Roman. This map would have been included in de Wit's 'concise reference atlases', a form he was the first to use on a grand scale. Unlike the huge tomes of Joan Blaeu, de Wit's slimline atlases had no text, were much more affordable, and could be formulated according to the

Figure 3.14 – 'Reipublicae et Status Generalis Poloniae…', Frederik de Wit (Amsterdam, c. 1700)



[43] It is notoriously difficult to date de Wit's maps. He includes no dates in them, and often used the same plate continuously over many years (even when he created new title pages, he continued to use old ones). His atlases, moreover, were individualised collections of maps, leaving us with no publication structure to work from.

desires of the patron, ranging in size from 17-151 maps.[44] Without any textual context, or any sign on the map, de Wit's map falls into the same trap as Sanson's. Like every other map, it does not differentiate between Uniate and Orthodox, and without any mention of the Union of Brześć, the Uniates are subsumed into a singular Orthodox Church. Ironically, the exact opposite was occurring on the ground. At this time, the stalwart opponents of the Union were finally giving in and joining the Uniate Church: the bishop of Przemyśl in 1693, Lviv in 1700, and Lutsk in 1702; only the bishop of Mohylew remained, the sole Orthodox hierarch in the entire Commonwealth.[45] But this is not clear in the map, yet its message, thanks to the affordability of de Wit's work and its increased circulation, reached ever more readers' eyes. And its message was still propagated after de Wit's death, as this plate was acquired by the printers Covens and Mortier, who continued to print it into the mid-18th century, along with its message of an independent Orthodox hierarchy stretching across the Commonwealth, which, to all intents and purposes, no longer existed.

In de Wit's maps we see a changing picture of Poland-Lithuania in the evolution of a single copperplate. It shifts from one problematic image to another, in contrary motion to Sanson's map and its legacy; neither of them accurately reflected the condition of Greek Christians, both distorted the Commonwealth's religious landscape in various ways, as different images, of a Commonwealth unified and a Commonwealth split in two, circulated simultaneously around Europe. Despite being well within the bounds of convention, we never see Catholic, Uniate, and Orthodox bishops marked out on a single map (let alone Armenians) – instead, the Greeks are forgotten, and if depicted, are falsely conflated into a singular Church. Though shaped by the limitations of cartographic convention, this above all betrays a fundamental lack of understanding around the Greek Church, and the Uniate Church in particular (the same would seemingly apply to Armenians, whose bishop at Lviv never makes an appearance). The only map to offer a fair depiction of these Greek Catholics was the Radziwiłł map, its subtlety neglected by later cartographers. Even the Radziwiłł map, however, thanks to the cartographic reliance on the bishop, misrepresented its true nature and the

[44] De Wit's atlases cost between 7-20 guilders; a hand-coloured copy of Blaeu's *Atlas Maior*, on the other hand, could cost 450 guilders (George Carhart, *Frederick de Wit* (Leiden, 2016), 53); Jerry Brotton, *A History of the World in Twelve Maps* (London, 2013), 286)
[45] Barbara Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church* (DeKalb, 2009), 94

condition of the Commonwealth's Orthodox. We will now move on, to examine the effects of this episcopal focus on another religious group, the Commonwealth's Protestants.

Calvinists

A safe haven for religious dissidents from across Europe, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been home to many branches of the Protestant Reformation. Lutherans predominated in the urban communities of Royal Prussia, Calvinism became highly popular amongst the *szlachta*, while Antitrinitarians, Anabaptists and the Bohemian Brethren were also numerous. While the Counter-Reformation won over the Calvinists through the course of the 17th century, and the more radical reformers were expelled (like the Antitrinitarians in 1658), the Catholic victory was not complete, as Royal Prussian Lutheranism survived longer than the Commonwealth itself. Exactly how these communities were depicted on the map, if at all, will now be our focus. The dilemma, of course, is that the cartographic tool for depicting Christian communities was the bishop, and the office of bishop had been cast off by the majority of these Protestant denominations. Our attention will be focussed first on Calvinists, before turning to the Lutherans of the Commonwealth, while simultaneously keeping an eye on other national contexts. We will ultimately find, however, that though they find limited representation in other realms, the Protestants of the Commonwealth never find recognition on the map (at least not until the development of new cartographic methods at the turn of the 18th century).

Calvinists, of course, rejected the episcopate as an institution. But, as we know, the cartographic convention for mapping the Church was through its bishops. This was the predicament that shaped the depiction of Calvinists in this period, as they no longer fitted into the conventional cartographic projection. Thanks to the divergence of their belief from accepted cartographic conventions, they unconsciously made themselves unmappable – an accidental side effect of confessional change. Their existence on the map is whitewashed-over, like the medieval paintings of their church interiors. But how did cartographers react to this confessional exclusion? It seems that

they hardly reacted at all. Strangely, it seems that no one in this period, not even Calvinist cartographers, tried to adapt to this new reality, or to find a way around this predicament. Cartographers still clung to the bishop as the symbol of the Church, even though it had turned into quite a limited medium. Furthermore, they did not develop alternative forms of representation marking out Calvinist presence, whether in maps of the Commonwealth or elsewhere. Though there were no bishops to point out, cartographers could certainly have considered mapping their pseudo-successors, such as the Superintendents, Consistories or Presbyteries – but if this were ever done, it seems never to have caught on.

Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 'the Orphan',[46] was born into the Calvinist faith. His family was known as one of the most important protectors of the Reformed Chuch in the Commonwealth, and his father was responsible for the translation of the Brześć Bible (1563), also known as the Pińczów or Radziwiłł Bible. Mikołaj Krzysztof, however, was convinced by Stanisław Hozjusz and Piotr Skarga (two of the most famous proponents of the Polish Counter-Reformation) to return to the Catholic fold. He exiled all Calvinist ministers from his estates, ordered the public burning of the Brześć Bible, and went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, publishing an account of it in his *Hierosolymitana Peregrinatio* (Braniewo, 1601). For this reason the Radziwiłł map, commissioned by Mikołaj Krzysztof, is particularly interesting for the way it seeks to depict his recent co-religionists. For there were still many Calvinists in the Grand Duchy, particularly amongst the nobility – at the time the map was produced, there were between 150-200 Reformed churches throughout Lithuania, a significant presence[47] – but, unlike Catholics and Uniates, who had an episcopal hierarchy, the Calvinists are of course nowhere to be seen. Or so we might think. Though it is not made plain to us, the Calvinists and their religious centres *are* indeed depicted. Though it seems that, like the Orthodox, the Reformed are hidden, we find instead that they are depicted in great numbers. We noted in the previous chapter how the Radziwiłł map sought to disentangle Lithuania's image from that of its lower classes. It shifted its focus towards the nobility, and away from allegations of

[46] Tomasz Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka* (Warsaw, 2000)
[47] Piotr Birecki, 'Reformed Church Buildings in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 17.1 (2015), 32-3

paganism and other forms of barbarity that had beset the Lithuanian peasantry. As we mentioned before, it is the ducal and manorial estates, and the nobles who owned them, that are the central focus of this map, the loci of authority and power within the Lithuanian landscape. These same noble estates, however, were also the source and lifeblood of Lithuanian Calvinism.[48] A form of *cuius regio, eius religio* had developed on the demesnes of the nobility of the Grand Duchy[49] – on an estate- rather than state-level, one could say. It was on the estates of the many Calvinist landowners, under their protection and patronage, that the Reformed faith flourished, just as it had once on Mikołaj Krzysztof's estate of Nieśwież, and still did on the latifundia of, for example, the Chodkiewicz and Sapieha families, or on the estates of many lesser landowners. The irony lies in the fact that it was the peasantry that cleaved most closely to the Catholic faith in this period, not the nobility[50] – in moving away from the peasantry, and from allusions of paganism, the map in fact undermines the Catholic image of Lithuanian it seeks to depict. Mikołaj Krzysztof's cousins, the Birże Radziwiłls, also remained staunch supporters of Calvinism well into the second half of the 17th century. The Princes Janusz and Bogusław Radziwiłł,[51] two of the most powerful figures in the Commonwealth of their day, continued to sponsor many Reformed schools and churches on their Birże estate,[52] which we can see clearly marked by a ducal crown on the map (Figure 3.15). These centres of Calvinism are everywhere on the Radziwiłł map, we can see them, but their true nature is not revealed



Figure 3.15 – (Calvinist) Ducal Birże, (3.3)

[48] Though it could be argued that, in the case of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, which we encountered in Chapter Two, one of the reasons Protestants do not appear in the town maps is that they congregated primarily on noble estates, not in the towns. Here, however, those estates are the focus of the map.
[49] Jovaiša, 'The Age of Church Reforms', 68
[50] 'Polish Calvinism was associated from the start with feudal privilege, and never penetrated the peasantry' (Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. 1, 198)
[51] Karin Friedrich, *The Loyalties of a Borderland Prince: Bogusław Radziwiłł* (Abingdon, 2021)
[52] Birecki, 'Reformed Church Buildings', 28

to us. No cartographic symbol existed for the Calvinists of course, but it is worth noting that one was not created. The Radziwiłł map contains at least two symbols that it seems had never been used before: the Greek headpiece, and the symbol for the noble manor. These were created especially for this map, but the same favour was not extended to the Calvinists. This is more than a passive exclusion, nor can it be attributed to ignorance (Mikołaj Krzysztof after all grew up in this world, and had insider-knowledge of it) – there was an element of choice as well. For this is, in essence, a Catholic map. Not just headed by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, the map also had the involvement of the Catholic bishop of Kiev, Józef Wereszczyński, and of the Jesuits, who supplied accurate location data for the map from their Colleges across the Grand Duchy.[53] As we discovered earlier, it depicts a Grand Duchy that is loyal to the Pope, whether the inhabitants were Catholic or Uniate. And when Makowski refers to the Reformation in the map's text, though he does not deny its presence in Lithuania, he describes its 'assault' on Poland and its 'infection' of Lithuania.[54] This was a Catholic, Counter-Reformation document in both production and message. Seen in this light, it is no surprise that no new Calvinist symbols were created to illustrate their presence in Lithuania.

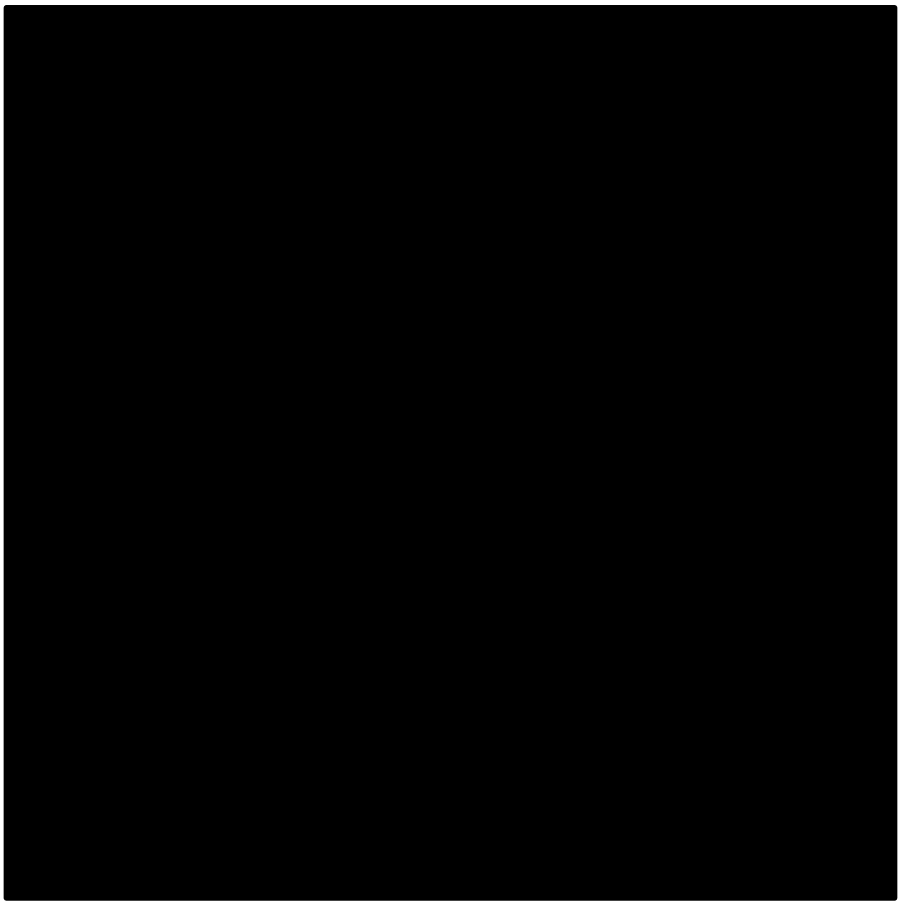
As we have noted, Calvinists never do appear on a map of the Commonwealth. But we will now examine two more maps that exemplify two typical approaches to mapping Calvinists in the rest of Europe, within the constraints of cartographic convention. The first approach involved the wholesale removal of bishops in Calvinist realms, and the second, a far more qualified recognition of their secularisation (or even the ignoring of it altogether). We will find that Calvinists could still find a voice in bishop-orientated maps, and were rendered visible, not despite the focus on bishops, but because of it. The first approach can be seen in a map of 1705 (Figure 3.16) by Nicolas de Fer (1646-1720), Geographer to the Dauphin. It is map of Northern Europe, including the Commonwealth, dedicated to the 'Enfans de France', in this case probably the children of the Dauphin, and produced 'pour servir a l'Intilligence des affaires des Couronnes du Nord', with the

[53] Buczek, *History of Polish Cartography*, 60
[54] 'invectae', 'infecerunt'

Figure 3.16 – 'Estats des Couronnes de Dannemark, Suede, et Pologne…', Nicolas de Fer (Paris, 1705)



Figure 3.17 – 'Silent treatment' for the Calvinist Seventeen Provinces (3.16)



addition of road networks connecting these states to Paris. What interests us, however, is de Fer's depiction of Northern Europe's bishoprics. A snapshot of the Seventeen Provinces exemplifies what we might call the 'silent treatment' (Figure 3.17). Across the French Low Countries we see the crosses of bishops and archbishops, at Ypres, Tournai, Arras, Cambrai, and the same in the Spanish territories, at Namur and Malines. To the north, however, in the United Provinces, we see nothing. None of the cities are topped with crosses, as any Christian presence is silenced, with no sign of the existence of the Dutch Calvinists. It is a silence that, on the surface, hides their presence. That same silence, however, simultaneously, and paradoxically, reveals their existence. The bishops that had previously presided over the Dutch lands had of course been secularised by the Calvinist authorities, and, to a knowledgeable reader, this silence spoke of that very fact. It is their elimination of the episcopate, ironically, and the silence it leaves, that makes Calvinists visible. The suppression of one bishopric would, admittedly, be hardly noticeable, but when it covers an entire state, it is impossible not to notice (that said, the same clarity was, necessarily, harder to come by in the patchwork of states that made up the Holy Roman Empire). The silence is glaring, and it speaks to the reader, without need for text or symbol. For a Catholic mapmaker, it could represent the absence of the true Church, but, for a Calvinist, it could be a symbol of its existence. Compared to the silencing of the Jews in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the silence we see here is of a qualitatively different sort. In both, of course, neither group is explicitly pointed out, but the former denies a group's existence, the latter, meanwhile, affirms it – the former is a simple rejection of reality, the latter a reflection of reality, and, indeed, quite a neat expression of Calvinist ecclesiology in practice. While the map imposes silence on the Jews, here the Calvinists effectively impose it on the map.

We should not mistake such silencing as a reflection of a Calvinist populace, however; it was purely a reflection of Calvinist *rule* – not the faith of the people, but the faith of the state. It was the state who had the power to secularise the episcopate; whether the episcopal institution survived was, ultimately, down to the policy of the state. We have already noted how the bishops we can see on the map did not necessarily represent the faith of the people, but more the Church as an institution. Once we realise this institution was governed by the affairs of state, however, these bishops were not simply cartographic representations of the Church – they are symbols of the religion of the state.

Though they were initially included in maps as a declaration of episcopal and ecclesiastical power, these bishops ultimately became reflections of the power of the state. In essence, what we are seeing is a cartographic reflection of the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*. Such cartographic silence was only possible when Reformers acquired the power of the state. Where they did not, the bishops remained in post, both in reality and cartographically, with no silence to announce the presence of Calvinists. Even a region that was populated entirely by Calvinists, but ruled by Catholics, would appear Catholic on the map. So, for the Calvinists of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who were never in a position to impose their beliefs through the state, and only had the power to secure themselves freedom of worship, through the Warsaw Confederation of 1573, there was never any prospect of finding recognition on the map, at least not in this fashion.[55] They were left in silence, but of a wholly different sort to that of the Dutch Calvinists. Wherever they were, their freedom of worship, their numbers, even their power (if it was not the power of the state), were not enough for Polish-Lithuanian Calvinists to make themselves heard through the silence of the map.

The cartographic removal of secularised bishoprics, in the manner of de Fer's map,[56] demonstrated a tacit acceptance that this was the reality on the ground, and not just that, but also an acceptance of the legitimacy of that secularisation. Not all cartographers felt the same way, however, and if they could not accept this reality, they could follow an alternative approach. One of these was Jean-Baptiste Nolin (c.1657-1708), Geographer to the Duke of Orléans, whose 1697 map of Poland (Figure 3.12) illustrates an alternative approach to mapping these dead bishoprics. Dedicated to Michel le Peletier, Conseiller Ordinaire to Louis XIV, the map divides the Commonwealth into its political and ecclesiastical provinces. Focussing solely on the Catholic hierarchy, Nolin depicts three archbishops of the region, along with their suffragan bishops, each of which is marked with a cross and a figure 1, 2 or 3, to demarcate their subordination to the archbishops of Gniezno, Lviv and Riga respectively. The map is accompanied by a text, written by Jean-Nicolas de Tralage, here known as

[55] By the time de Fer made his map, Calvinism had practically disappeared from the Commonwealth, so although this point does not apply to his map directly, it still stands when it comes to maps of an earlier period.

[56] Though we are using de Fer's map to exemplify this approach, we should note it is not one he follows in all his maps. His 1717 map of Poland in his *L'Atlas Curieux*, for example, depicts the bishoprics of Cammin, Riga and Königsberg, all beyond the boundaries of the Commonwealth, with no respect for the fact of their secularisation.

Tillemont, which elucidates this episcopal structure for the reader. A relic of previous Polish rule, we are told that the archbishop of Gniezno has suffragans beyond the boundaries of the Commonwealth, such as the bishops of Cammin in Pomerania, and Lebus in Brandenburg. We can see the former on the map (Figure 3.18), marked with a 1 to denote its suffragan status to Gniezno;

Figure 3.18 – Nolin's Cammin (3.12)



the latter we are told can be seen on Nolin's map of Germany. Tillemont tells us, however, that 'One should no longer count among the bishoprics those of Lebus and Cammin, for the prince that possesses them follows the so-called Reformed Religion of Calvin'.[57] Though we can see it on the map, as if it were real, the bishopric of Cammin had in fact been dissolved by Calvinists nearly half a century before, in 1650. Like in the map of de Fer, we find Calvinists can still make their presence known, even in a bishop-focussed map. But though there is recognition of Calvinist rule, Nolin does not allow the Reformers the last word. He refuses to accept the finality of the suppression of the bishopric of Cammin, as de Fer does. He does not allow the see to fall silent. This is a clear statement, a statement that, on some level, these bishoprics still exist, even if they do not exist on the ground. There is a long tradition within the Catholic Church of clinging on to such 'dead bishoprics', or titular sees. Over previous centuries, many bishoprics had been lost to Muslim conquest. The titles of many of these were continued, particularly ones from the Holy Land, and became known as bishops i.p.i., *in partibus infidelium*, there to preserve the memory and maintain the apostolic succession of sees, in the hope of their eventual reconquest.[58] Here, the sees have been lost not to Islam, but to the Reformation, but the principle is unchanged, declaring that the Church lives on, irrespective of the

[57] 'On ne doit plus compter parmi les Evechez ceux de Lebus et de Camin, parceque le Prince qui les possede suit la Religion pretendue Reformeé [sic] de Calvin'
[58] PMJ Rock, 'Auxiliary Bishop', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol 2 (New York, 1907); Konrad Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* (Regensberg, 1913-67) shows this process in practice.

power of a heretical state. On a meta-level the bishoprics live on, in spite of their supposed dissolution by the Reformers – and the map gives expression to this higher plane of existence. It is not expressing what exists on the ground, as we might expect a map to do. It is operating simultaneously on another plane, one that asserts the irrevocable permanence and truth of the episcopate, and the ephemeral nature of the Calvinist Church. These bishoprics simply lie dormant, ready to bloom again after the winter of Calvinist rule has passed. If we look to Nolin's associated map of Germany from 1691 (Figure 3.19), the method is changed slightly, but the essential point remains the same. The map uses a different symbol for secularised bishoprics, a half-cross, with the left bar missing (note that a new symbol is used for the bishoprics secularised by the Reformers, not to depict the Reformers themselves). We can see it in use for the sees of Lebus and Cammin (Figures 3.20 and 3.21), and it is repeated across the map of Germany. A secularised bishopric is, to all intents and purposes, no bishopric – it is non-existent – and yet they are depicted as existent entities, all across the map, not simply giving insight into this Catholic mentality, but also marking Reformed presence and success more clearly than even silence could.

Figure 3.19 – 'L'Allemagne…', Jean-Baptiste Nolin (Paris, 1691)



Figure 3.20 – Nolin's Lebus (3.19)



Figure 3.21 – Nolin's Cammin (3.19)



Figure 3.22 – Berry's Cammin, from 'Poland…', William Berry (London, c. 1680)



Of course, there were other cartographers who did not even recognise the titular nature of these dead bishoprics, but present them in the map as fully functioning sees. William Berry, in a map of Poland from c.1680, depicts the bishopric of Cammin without proviso (Figure 3.22). Even given the fact that the map, along with many others, was dedicated to Charles II, a supporter of the episcopate in England, it would be highly surprising if this was a deliberate, anti-Calvinist choice on the part of Berry. He most likely had little knowledge of the episcopal situation in this part of the world, and most likely copied what he had seen elsewhere. The effect is independent of the intention,

however, as the Reformed Church in Brandenburg-Pomerania is rendered as silent and invisible as the Calvinists of Poland-Lithuania before.

The maps of de Fer and Nolin reveal how, paradoxically, Calvinist presence could be highlighted, not just in spite of, but through the cartographic focus on bishops. They could, of course, just as easily be hidden by that same focus, by the incompatibility of Calvinist and cartographic ecclesiologies. Both these points would be frankly irrelevant, however, if a symbol for Calvinist presence had been created to highlight their presence; if their existence could be made known not simply by virtue of the absence of another. It begs the question of how, or if, Calvinists developed their own cartographic language, something we can only explore briefly, lest we stray too far from our Polish-Lithuanian subject.[59] And, if we see no cartographic alternative to the bishop, we might ask whether such silence was evidence of a Protestant secularisation of the map, a cartographic 'disenchantment of the world'. Let us take the Dutch cartographer Nicolaes Visscher (1618-79) as an example. Visscher was a strict and loyal Calvinist, opposed to Arminians as much as Catholics, and indeed published propaganda prints against both parties. And when he purchased older plates adorned with an image of God, he burnished it out as an example of idolatry (just like Janssonius' treatment of Georg Braun's frontispiece, seen in Figures 2.35 and 2.36). Likewise, we see no bishops in his maps. That is not to say he removed all religious imagery from his maps, however. His monogram was tied to the words 'Van Godt alleen', 'from God alone'.[60] The cartouche of his map of the *Leo Belgicus* of 1630, a copy of a map by Hessel Gerritsz, is topped by a personification of Religion, holding a cross in one hand, and closely studying the bible in another (Figure 3.23), the embodiment of two pillars of Calvinist thought, Grace and Scripture, which shape our vision of the land we see depicted. In another of Visscher's maps, from 1648, this time of the Lion of Holland, the sun, with 'Jehovah' spelt out in Hebrew lettering at its centre (Figure 3.24), shines down on the

[59] Perhaps surprisingly, given the power and wealth of Poland-Lithuania's Calvinist nobility, we have not found any examples of 'Calvinist' mapping within the Commonwealth, and will look at wider European examples. If any Polish-Lithuanian tradition did exist, it may have appeared in manuscript rather than printed sources.

[60] Huigen Leeflang, 'The Sign of Claes Jansz Visscher and his Progeny', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin*, 62.3 (2014), 261

Figure 3.23 – Religio atop the cartouche of Nicolaes Visscher's 'Leo Belgicus' (Amsterdam, 1630)



Figure 3.24 – "Jehovah" shining down on Visscher's 'Comitatus Hollandiae denuo forma Leonis' (s.l., 1648)



lands of Holland. Though images of God were forbidden, a pictorial expression like this allowed religious ideas to continue to shape his maps, but in a way that was acceptable to Calvinist sensibilities. Though clearly examples of what we might term Calvinist cartography, Visscher's maps offer no alternative to the bishop, no symbol to mark out Calvinist presence in the space of the map. Some kind of alternative, it could be argued, was provided by another Calvinist cartographer, the Englishman John Norden (c.1547 – 1625). His maps of English Counties focussed not on bishoprics, but on the humble parish, up-ending not only the episcopal convention, but the near-universal cartographic focus on the powerful. Only one of his maps, the 1593 map of Middlesex, mentions bishops in its key, but depicts none on the map, nor are any depicted in any other of his maps. Instead, on every map he marks out the 'parishes', those localities with a parish church, and also 'chapels-of-ease' on all but one of them (Figure 3.25).[61] Moving away from Church's hierarchy, Norden focusses on its grassroots, on the local church, the home of the Presbyter. Such a method is clearly not viable for smaller scale, national maps, but it nevertheless can be seen as a cartographic expression of the Calvinist intuition, emblematic of Calvinist ecclesiology. Finally, in discussing Calvinist cartography we cannot neglect to mention Trento and Eskrich's *Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique* (1567), a dramatic cartographic invective against Catholic perversion and idolatry.[62] It operates on a cartographic plane different to ours, however, concerned primarily with offering an imaginary topography of Roman degeneracy, and the Reformation's assault upon it (Figures 3.26, 3.27), rather than locating Calvinists across the surface of the globe. That said, it yet again gives cartographic voice to another side of the Calvinist spirit. These offer but a taste of Calvinist cartography, which appears to be highly variegated, giving expression to the Calvinist intuition, and to Calvinist ecclesiology – something another historian could explore further. They demonstrate that we can in no way argue for any kind of Calvinist 'disenchantment' or secularisation, and the silencing of religion within the map. At the same time, however, none of these maps provide a means of marking Calvinist presence. Without it, Calvinists minorities, sometimes even majorities, were consigned to permanent obscurity.

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[61] Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Signs', 565-6
[62] Frank Lestringant and Alessandra Preda, *Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique* (Geneva, 2009)

Figure 3.25 – Legend from John Norden's 'Hampshire' (London, 1610)



Figure 3.26 – Sebastian Fröschel, armed and armoured with the Word of God – Jean-Baptiste Trento and Pierre Eskrich, 'Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique' (Geneva, 1566)



Figure 3.27 – Truth murdered by cardinal, abbot and bishop – 'Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique'



Lutherans

Thus far, we have seen a relatively neat picture, characterised by a clarity between episcopal and non-episcopal confessions. This image was rendered much more complex, however, by the presence of Lutherans, who had their own variegated relationship with the episcopate, not as straightforward as the Calvinist. There was no singular, unified approach towards it; it depended on the nature of the Reformation in each state. In some Lutheran states, like in Saxony, bishoprics were secularised; in others, like in Sweden, they were maintained. As a result, both the absence or presence of a bishop on the map could equally reveal or hide Lutheran presence. A bishop depicted in Saxony, or the absence of one in Sweden, would refuse recognition to the Lutheran Church; whereas episcopal silence in Saxony, or the presence of bishops in Sweden, would acknowledge it. It is a cartographic contradiction, that, again, makes Protestant communities both difficult to map, and difficult to recognise on the map. And, whether they were depicted or hidden, their presence remained full of ambiguity (rendered yet more ambiguous by the mapping of other confessions), and also served to problematise the somewhat neat picture we have drawn up so far, split between episcopal and non-episcopal confessions.

For instance, given that Lutherans secularised their fair share of episcopal sees, we cannot assume that the removal of a bishopric from the map simply signified the presence of Calvinism. This problem is exemplified by the bishoprics of Cammin and Lebus, erstwhile suffragans to the Polish Archbishop of Gniezno. Nolin's maps of Poland and Germany depicted both but marked them out as secularised; de Fer left both silent. At the time both these maps were produced, both sees were part of Brandenburg, ruled by the Calvinist Hohenzollerns. We might readily see the secularisation of these bishoprics as a symbol of Calvinist rule, but we would be mistaken. The see of Lebus had been suppressed in 1598;[63] the Hohenzollerns, however, did not convert to Calvinism until 1613. It had been secularised by Lutherans, and its situation on the map stands as a testament to Lutheran power and presence, to a *Lutheran* act of dissolution, rather than a Calvinist one. The see

[63] Heinz Teichmann, *Von Lebus nach Fürstenwalde* (Leipzig, 1991)

of Cammin, however, tells a different story. Though it found itself within Brandenburg at the time of de Fer and Nolin's maps, Cammin had been part of the independent Duchy of Pomerania until the mid-17th century. The Dukes had been Lutheran, but, unlike the Hohenzollerns, they had not fully suppressed their bishoprics (the elected bishops of Cammin were, in fact, the Dukes). Cammin was only formally dissolved in 1650, when it was inherited by the Elector of Brandenburg, who, of course, was now a Calvinist.[64] We see two empty husks on the map, which appear no different to each other. Though they appear to be saying the same thing, they hide their confessional subtleties, and demonstrate that this cartographic treatment of bishops, which might have seemed straightforward enough before, can be full of ambiguity.

Conversely, the presence of a bishop can be just as ambiguous. One could not be certain whether a bishop was Catholic or Lutheran, for the cartographic difference between them was non-existent. On de Fer's map of Northern Europe (Figure 3.16), for example, one cannot tell the difference between the Lutheran bishops of Sweden and the Catholic bishops of Poland, and this was the norm. Some cartographers did search for clarity, however – usually Catholics who rejected any such equivalence – but only within the confines of the episcopal convention. In his episcopal map of Europe (Figure 3.28), Heinrich Scherer refuses to acknowledge the legitimacy of non-Catholic bishops. The Lutheran bishoprics of Sweden are depicted as secularised, though they never were, as are the Anglican bishops of England – a clear value judgement made by the Jesuit cartographer. George Lily, an English Catholic refugee, offered a slightly different perspective. His map of the British Isles (1546) details all the old Catholic sees in both map and text, but refuses to recognise the bishoprics newly created by Henry VIII, a silent statement on the legitimacy of traditional Catholic and new-fangled Protestant sees.[65] Nolin's map of Germany (Figure 3.19) offers a rare case of clarity. He created a new symbol for his map, not simply depicting bishops and secularised bishoprics, but also the 'Protestant Bishopric' (Figure 3.29), which effectively marks out Lutheran sees, saving the Catholic Church from their polluting influence. What this shows is that there is a way of depicting Lutherans within the episcopal convention, but one still thoroughly

[64] Hellmuth Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte Pommerns*, vol. 1 (Cologne, 1957)
[65] Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 214

imperfect, for it forgets those who suppressed their bishops, maintaining their ambiguity with Calvinism. Even in this exceptional case, Protestants still struggle to find proper depiction on the bishop-oriented map. And let us not forget that such a symbol was meaningless to those Lutherans who did not wield the power of the state.

Figure 3.28 – 'Status Religionis Catholicae in Europa…' – Heinrich Scherer, *Atlas Novus* (Munich, 1702-10)



Figure 3.29 – Legend from Nolin's 'L'Allemagne…' (3.19)



Such was the fate of the Lutherans in the Commonwealth, who were subject to very different cartographic pressures. The towns of Royal Prussia, such as Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń, some of the largest and most prosperous towns in the Commonwealth, were, by the 17th century, overwhelmingly Lutheran.[66] The status of Lutheranism within these towns was not straightforward, however. Certainly, the majority of their inhabitants followed the Augsburg Confession, but, speaking purely in legal terms, their place in Royal Prussia was never properly formalised – it was limited to a simple toleration of the Protestant Eucharist on the part of the Polish king, giving the burghers the freedom to take communion in both kinds. Nevertheless, dominated as they were by Protestants at all levels, the towns set up their own autonomous church organisations. Not the bishops, but the secular authorities had control over ecclesiastical life: over the appointment of ministers, church discipline, and the enforcement of theological consensus. Some ministers saw this as 'tyrannic', as infringing on ecclesiastical autonomy, on Luther's doctrine of the Two Kingdoms.[67] The Councils' control over the Church was tacitly accepted, if never openly condoned, by the Polish state. Though such a *modus operandi* worked relatively well on the ground, giving Protestants control over their own affairs, it remained that they had not, legally, been released from the jurisdiction of Catholic bishops. Even if they had a *de facto* independence and effectively performed the duties of a bishop, the bishops of Culm and Ermland still remained, bishops who still, theoretically, had *de jure* jurisdiction over these towns. The bishop of Culm still claimed the rights to the parish churches and old monasteries of Gdańsk,[68] which were pressed more and more throughout the 17th century.[69] Moreover, despite the *ius indigenatus*, the rule that only native Prussians could occupy the offices of state (which included the episcopate), the bishoprics were often occupied by Poles. These foreign bishops were seen by some as the tools of Catholic tyranny.[70] This complex picture is made simple in the map, however. We are not presented with the *de facto* reality. The Lutheran character and identity of these towns is

[66] At first, the town authorities had striven for a supra-confessional church structure, uniting the Calvinist patricians with the Lutheran burghers, but this had broken down by 1600, with the Lutherans dominating (Michael Müller, 'Protestant confessionalisation in the towns of Royal Prussia', in Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 2009), 262-81)
[67] Müller, 'Protestant confessionalisation', 262-81
[68] Though the city of Gdańsk itself was seemingly under the bishop of Włocławek (Karol Radonski, 'A Polish Diocese', *Blackfriars*, 25 (1944), 250)
[69] Hans Neumeyer, *Kirchengeschichte von Danzig und Westpreussen in evangelischer Sicht*, vol. 1 (Leer, 1971), 109ff.
[70] Karin Friedrich, *The Other Prussia* (Cambridge, 2009), 34, 39, 119

consigned to obscurity by the cartographic focus on the office of bishop. In Nolin's map, for example, all we can see of Royal Prussia's religious landscape are its two bishops, located in the towns of Culmsee and Heilsberg, suffragans of Gniezno (Figure 3.30), a symbol of Polish Catholic rule over the towns of the region. The Lutherans of Royal Prussia, or at least some of them, could have been represented on the map by a Lutheran bishop, had it not been for diocesan reorganisation forced through by the Polish state. The diocese of Pomesania, set up by the Teutonic Knights in the 13th

Figure 3.30 – Prussian bishops (bottom-left, top-right) in Nolin's 'Le Royaume de Pologne…' (3.12)



century, had its see in Ducal Prussia, but also incorporated parts Royal Prussia, after the separation of the two regions. When the Duchy of Prussia became the first Lutheran state in Europe in 1525, King Zygmunt I successfully lobbied the papacy to transfer the Royal Prussian parishes of Pomesania to the see of Culm, for fear the bishop would spread the 'infection' of Lutheranism throughout his entire diocese.[71] As a result, the Lutherans of Royal Prussia had no Lutheran bishop to represent them on the map, and, thanks to the particular context they found themselves in, their identity was hidden behind the façade of a Catholic episcopate. Again, we can consider this a reflection, not of

[71] Natalia Nowakowska, *King Sigismund of Poland and Martin Luther* (Oxford, 2018), 104

religious identity, but political power, *state* power in particular. Even though Protestants were in full control in these towns, even in control of the local Church, this was not enough, just as in the case of the Commonwealth's Calvinist magnates. It is not local power, but state power that ultimately matters, that is able to make itself heard through the map.

There is one exception, one variation on this episcopal theme, whereby Lutheran Prussians did find representation on the map, and that was through the peculiar perspective of an Anglican scholar in Christ Church, Oxford – Edward Wells. Wells published an atlas in 1701, *A New Sett of Maps, both of Antient and Present Geography*, together with a treatise[72] 'particularly adapted to the Use and Design of these Maps'. Though primarily made to aid the comparison of past and present, they serve as a window into a quintessentially Anglican view of the world.[73] His map of present-day Europe (Figure 3.31) might, on the surface, look little different to any other map we have been studying, just a little more plain; but it in fact contains and expresses an essential theological argument. The map roughly divides the continent into its polities, and identifies the capital of each, marking with a cross those that were seats of bishops, archbishops, or patriarchs, whether Anglican, Catholic, or Lutheran. London (Anglican), Copenhagen (Lutheran) and Vienna (Catholic), to take but three examples, are all topped with a cross, with absolutely no difference marked between them, a confessional equivalence that pervades every map in the volume, and the treatise, too. For it contains 'A Catalogue of Archbishopricks and Bishopricks', establishing the episcopal structure and hierarchy of each country, and within it Wells makes no mention of confessional difference whatsoever. He does not differentiate between Lutheran, Anglican and Roman Catholic. In fact, he does not acknowledge the existence of these different confessions at all. For Wells, they do not exist. All that exists is a single Church. This is a Church unified by a shared apostolic hierarchy – and he terms it the 'Western Church'.[74] This might seem vaguely farcical, as if Wells is turning back the clock on hundreds of years of confessional conflict and schism, but from Wells' perspective, firmly rooted

[72] Edward Wells, *A Treatise of Antient and Present Geography* (Oxford, 1701)
[73] Of course, there was no singular Anglican worldview in 1701, any more than there is one today. What we see in Wells' work is part of what we might call the High Church, or Anglo-Catholic, tradition today, but at the time would have been considered to be part of the mould of the Caroline Divines – compare this to Ephraim Pagitt's puritan *Christianography*, studied in the conclusion.
[74] Wells, *Treatise*, 157-65

Figure 3.31 – 'A New Map of Europe…' – Edward Wells, *A New Sett of Maps* (Oxford, 1701)



Figure 3.32 – 'A New Map of Present Poland…' – *A New Sett*



in Anglican ecclesiology, he is doing no such thing. It is a perspective centred around the episcopate, and the all-important idea of the apostolic succession. For Wells, it was the presence of bishops, the successors to the apostles, which confirmed the true nature of the Church. Though the Church of England had split from Rome, it had maintained its episcopal hierarchy, and its claim to be part of the 'one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church' confessed in the Nicene Creed, along with Roman Catholics and Lutherans (at least those who retained their bishops). Together, they embody the true 'Catholic' Church (as opposed to the Roman Catholic) – their shared episcopate a bond stronger than the divisions that had kept them apart.[75] When Wells marks no difference between the bishops of different confessions around Europe, that was because, for him, there was no difference. For Wells there was no problem with ambiguity around Lutheran and Catholic episcopates – they all were representatives of one, singular Western Church, united by its shared episcopal hierarchy.[76]

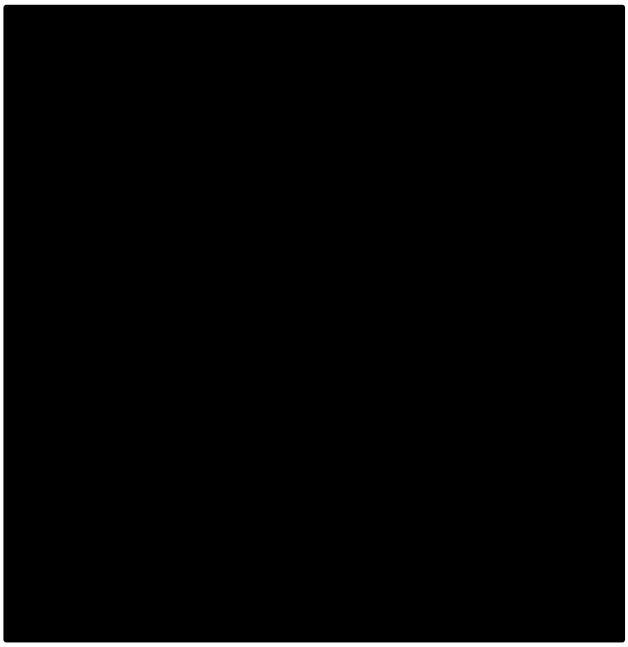
How did such an outlook affect the mapping of the Commonwealth? Wells' map of Poland, Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia and Little Tartary (Figure 3.32) looks much like any other, the Polish-Lithuanian landscape dotted with its Roman Catholic hierarchy. But, of course, these are not bishops of a Roman sect, but of a united Western Church stretching across Europe. The questions that concerned us before, regarding the Lutherans of Royal Prussia, invisible to us behind the façade of a Catholic episcopate, are now immaterial. Though their presence is not made explicit on the map, it now does not need to be, for they now are represented by a bishop of their own Church. The bishopric of Culm, which we still see, defining the religious landscape of Royal Prussia (Figure 3.33), had served to suppress the region's Lutheran character, but can now embody it. (Calvinists, however, having rejected the episcopate, were naturally not included in this Western Church, and remain hidden behind this hierarchy). Though Poland-Lithuania is undoubtedly presented as 'Catholic', it is of a completely different sort to before – not Roman, but Apostolic. And it is not united simply

[75] For a contemporary expounding of this idea, see the work of Edward Welchman, one of Wells' contemporaries at Oxford, *A dialogue betwixt a protestant minister and a Romish priest: wherein is shew'd, that the Church of Rome is not the only true church; and that the Church of England is a sound Part of the Catholick Church of Christ* (London, 1716)

[76] It almost goes without saying, how different such a perspective was to the Roman Catholic view, which considered those schismatics who split from Rome to have reneged on the true Church – a view embodied in the Jesuit Heinrich Scherer's episcopal map of Europe (Figure 3.28), which depicts the bishoprics of Sweden and England, of the Lutheran and Anglican Churches respectively, as secularised, despite their continuing existence. He, for one, would give no credence to the Anglican claim to a shared apostolic hierarchy.

through the cartographic suppression and silencing of minorities (though that does remain), but through their inclusion and integration. Of course, the idea that they were united with the hated Lutheran Swedes as part of the same universal Church would have seemed ludicrous to Poles; but it nevertheless reveals an important, if peculiar, exception to our understanding on the role of bishops on the map, which become symbols not only of division, but also of confessional unity.

Figure 3.33 – The "Catholic" bishop of Culm (3.32)



Besides this Anglican exception, it was only through ditching the episcopate, and breaking free of cartographic convention, that maps could finally reveal the Lutherans of Royal Prussia. Scherer's thematic map of Europe, which divides Catholic from non-Catholic, for the first time brings to light the religious otherness of the Prussians, by casting them in shadow (Figure 3.34) (though even then, this does not mark them out as Lutherans, just as non-Catholics, no different to Calvinists, Orthodox, and even Muslims – still, they remain shrouded in a confessional haze). The impact of cartographic convention is made absolutely clear in Scherer's other, episcopal map of Europe. In this map, which returns to the traditional focus on the bishop, the Lutherans of Royal Prussia are once again hidden behind the bishopric of Culm (Figures 3.35, 3.36). This was not because Scherer sought to hide their presence (or else he would not have depicted them elsewhere); it was the result of forces that were beyond his control. For indeed, putting Wells and Scherer aside, we have found that Protestant presence within the Commonwealth, whether Calvinist, Lutheran, or

Radical, is never depicted on the map. Instead, we are presented with an image of a Catholic Commonwealth, with one hierarchy, one Church, unblemished by Protestant anomalies. This was not the result of a deliberate choice on the part of mapmakers. It was a passive, unconscious process, a result of the limitations of cartographic convention, and the way it mixed with the particular local context of Poland-Lithuania.

Figure 3.34 – 'Exhibitio totius Europae…' – Scherer, *Atlas Novus*



Figure 3.35 – Now you seen them… (Prussia in Scherer's thematic map, 3.34)





Figure 3.36 – Now you don't… (Prussia in Scherer's episcopal map 3.28)

*

READING MAP AND TEXT

Cartographers came up with one further innovation in their effort to depict religious diversity, finding a way to *bypass* the limitations imposed by the episcopal convention – and they did so through the use of text, and reliance on early modern reading practices. The relationship between map and text is commonly recognised by historians, taken for granted even, but the specifics of this relationship have not been properly explored. Indeed, as discussed in the thesis introduction, cartographic reading practices have been little-studied (Catherine Delano-Smith's work excepted), and are notoriously hard to reconstruct, given that direct evidence is rare, leaving us to rely most often on sporadic, or indirect, clues, to 'encourage one to think of how [a map] would have been read in its day'.[77] In the previous chapter, we dealt with such indirect methods, looking into the copying of Braun's maps by later cartographers as evidence for how they were absorbed, and trusted, by readers. Here, however, we hope to get much closer to early modern methods of reading. We will do so through the use of *direct* evidence, evidence that has not been noted before, or been thought likely to exist. It will allow us to make solid conclusions (so rare in this field) about early modern map-reading, specifically concerning the relationship of map and text, and make a valuable contribution to the historiography more widely. Of course, we recognise that maps can be interpreted in multiple, often contradictory ways, that there is no singular 'reading practice', no single, universal 'reader', as has been pointed out by postmodern historians.[78] But, though there are multiple truths, it remains that there are truths to be found, even if they have no claim to universality.

We will thus explore the reading practices that linked map and text together, how these practices were identified by cartographers, and how they sought to orient their creations towards such praxis. For it is clear that cartographers had an idea of how their maps were, or would be, read

[77] Peter Barber, Catherine Delano-Smith and Sarah Tyacke, 'Maps and Their Readers Since the Middle Ages', in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (eds), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Hoboken, NJ, 2020), 707
[78] Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (New York, 1992); Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York, 2010); Jeremy Crampton, 'Maps as social constructions', *Progress in Human Geography*, 25.2 (2001), 235-53; Jeremy Crampton, 'Thinking philosophically in cartography', *Cartographic Perspectives*, 41 (2002), 4-23

– perhaps also how they wanted them to be read – and designed their work accordingly. In doing so, cartographers opened up an alternative method of mapping, one not purely based on cartographic depiction, but one shaped fundamentally by the text, a method which allowed maps to speak in ways we might not expect – for it is, in fact, perfectly possible for a map, bereft of any religious symbol, to allow a reader to see a country full of religious diversity.

In many of the atlases we have been studying, the map and the text were designed for each other. One was made for the other, could not be fully understood without it, was incomplete without it. Texts were written to inform our reading of the map, and to enhance our knowledge of the places and regions depicted within it. Bernard Connor, an Irish physician to Jan Sobieski, whom we encountered in Chapter One, wrote a History of Poland for an English audience, and included within it a map together with a section on Polish geography, which his publisher had had enlarged 'to make the Relation of them more exact, and more satisfactory to such as are desirous to compare the Towns and Provinces with the Map'.[79] The section worked through the Commonwealth one town at a time, palatinate by palatinate, with information on each, and though it included little information of a religious bent, despite being almost 140 pages long, it serves as a window into contemporary cartographic reading practices. From the quote above, we can see not only how the author intended map and text to be experienced in tandem, but that he knew his readers did in fact desire to read volumes in this way, and designed his work accordingly. The text is not a standalone feature, any more than the map is. It becomes a map-reading aid, almost like a very detailed legend, expressing the nature of each place depicted on the map.

We find that this was used as an alternative means of mapping the episcopate. It seemingly allowed cartographers to depict the full panoply of Polish-Lithuanian episcopal hierarchies more readily, even mapping a bishop we have not seen until now, the Armenian see of Lviv. The *Parallela Geographiae Veteris et Novae* (1649) of Philippe Briet is a case in point. Though his map of Poland is seemingly blank, with a dearth of religious detail or interest, Briet, a Jesuit historian and cartographer, supplemented it with a geographical table of the most important cities of the Commonwealth.

[79] Bernard Connor, *The History of Poland*, vol. 1 (London, 1698), ix, 212-350

Through it, we are told of the locations of the episcopal sees, Catholic, Greek, and even Armenian. Though these bishoprics cannot be seen in the physical ink of the map, they are depicted through the medium of the text. The city of Lviv, or Limburg on this map (Figure 3.37), seems on the surface to communicate little of interest to us, save for the absence of its bishops. Seen with the text, however, it contains within it three separate sees, a Catholic archbishopric, and bishoprics both Greek and Armenian, just as truly as if it were topped by three different symbols. Though it certainly relies

Figure 3.37 – Lviv, barren and bishopless? – Philippe Briet, *Parallela Geographiae Veteris et Novae* (Paris, 1649)



on the agency of the reader, superimposing that data onto the map, we can nevertheless see that some cartographers chose to map details through text, rather than through direct depiction, even when such forms of direct depiction were well within cartographic convention. The same can be seen in Samuel Purchas' *Hakluytus Posthumus* (1625), a collection of travel writings, containing separate maps of Lithuania, Poland, Livonia and Prussia, accompanied by an account of the Commonwealth's Catholic episcopal hierarchy, its Greek bishops, received into the Latin Communion (i.e. the Uniate Church), and, again, the Armenian bishop of Lviv.[80] Matthäus Merian's *Archontologia Cosmica* (1638) informs us of the locations of the Commonwealth's Catholic, Greek and Armenian bishops,[81] while Johann Baptist Homann's *Atlas Novus* also provides episcopal information, both Greek and Catholic, in its text for the reader to transfer onto to the map.[82]

[80] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, vol. 1 (London, 1625), 173
[81] Matthäus Merian, *Archontologia Cosmica* (Frankfurt, 1638), 334-5
[82] Johann Baptist Homann, *Atlas Novus* (Nuremberg, 1716?), 30

It also provided a means of depicting diversity *beyond* the bishop, however, bypassing the limits imposed on the map. For the act of writing was not bound by the conventions that bound mapmaking, and, through the medium of text, cartographers could at last break free from the episcopal convention, explore freely the extra-episcopal features of the religious landscape, and express the religious diversity of the Commonwealth in its fullest form (and, indeed, do so in a way a map never could alone, not without risking becoming an unintelligible mess). A perfect example of this would be the *New General Atlas* (1721) by John Senex,[83] a scientific publisher, but also a cartographer and globemaker. If it had been hinted at in the works above, Senex' atlas gives us direct insight into cartographic reading practices. Importantly, Senex was convinced of the utility of an atlas for understanding the spread of religions throughout the world. Geographical maps are useful, he claims, to 'all Ranks of Men, from the Prince to the Peasant', including to 'Divines [who] find it no

Figure 3.38 – 'Poland…' – John Senex, *A New General Atlas* (London, 1721)



[83] Laurence Worms, 'Senex, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

less necessary, for understanding the several Religions of the World, and the Way how they are manag'd by those whose Province it is to take care of them'.[84] And it is clear that he sought to offer a full picture of the religious landscape of the Commonwealth. His map of Poland (Figure 3.38), seen alone, might be considered a typical example of those images of a Catholic Commonwealth, dominated solely by its Catholic hierarchy. When seen together with its text, however, such an idea could not be further from the truth. Each map of Senex' atlas was complemented by a significant amount of text, in Poland's case, thirteen pages in folio, written with extreme care, to be of as much use to the map-reader as possible. In the text, Senex moves through the Commonwealth systematically, region by region, with an account of the 'remarkable' settlements in each, one-by-one, often on subjects of religion. Poznań, he tells us, is the see of a bishop, it has a fine Jesuit college and monastery, and he tells us how most of the inhabitants are Papist, but that there are also many Jews who have privileges greater even than the citizens. We are told of the early successes of the Lutheran Reformation in Kraków, whence it spread to other parts of the nation, but that today it is Catholic, with over 50 churches in the city, including fine Jesuit and Dominican monasteries. He highlights Raków as 'the chief Place where the Socinians, Photinians, and Arrians had their residence, and from whence they spread their Opinions', telling us how its academy was suppressed to prevent this, and how the town had been left in ruins by 1688. Lutsk, he tells us, has a greater number of Protestants, Greeks and Jews than Papists, and that its trade is managed mostly by Jews and Armenians; the inhabitants of Pinsk, however, are majority Greek. We are told how Lutheranism has been the religion of the city of Gdańsk since 1525, and how the city revolted in defence of the Augsburg Confession in 1577, but that Calvinists, who include some of its senators, are numerous and have freedom of worship, and even Anabaptists and Papists have that same freedom.[85] Senex does not only tell us about episcopal sees. He informs us of the confessional make-up of urban populations, tells us of the fine religious edifices, offers insights into the lifestyles of different religious groups, and even lends a chronology to these simple dots on the map, exploring how these points in space have changed over time. We receive a truly colourful picture of Poland's varied religious landscape.

[84] John Senex, *A New General Atlas* (London, 1721), 1-2
[85] ibid., 40-52

This is made more colourful by the common anti-Catholic jibes made by the Anglican Senex. He, for example, pours scorn on Catholic superstition, how, in Częstochowa, 'they pretend to have a Picture of the Virgin drawn by St Luke', and elsewhere 'they pretend to Relicks preserv'd by Miracle', and how the 'ignorant Inhabitants' of one region believe that the serpents and insects around them 'have no power to do any Hurt, because interdicted by the See of Rome'. The Papists in Poland are, he claims, 'very great Bigots', and though he mentions the great cruelties shown to the Jews by the Swedish king, Charles XII, he somehow manages to lay the blame for it at the door of the Jesuits. The clergy, moreover, are openly debauched, neglect their churchly duties, and are 'absolute Strangers' to the Scriptures, Church History, and Practical Divinity. The people, meanwhile, at the Elevation of the Host, 'knock their Heads against the Pavement or Benches with such Violence, as is heard at a considerable distance'.[86]

Such stories aside, however, what is particularly important to us is how this text is linked so intimately to the map. 'We have also taken care', Senex states in the preface to his atlas, 'to make our Descriptions agree with our Maps, which not being duly observed by former Authors, perplexes and disappoints the Reader; whereas we have always begun our Descriptions at the Top, or North Part, of the Map, and go on from West to East, according to our natural way of Reading, so that the Peruser finds every thing described in its proper Situation; which instructs as well as pleases him.'[87] To Senex' mind, we read a map in the same way we read text, with the same movement across the page, from left to right, and top to bottom. He mirrors this in the way he constructs his texts, following this natural movement, so as to match the reader's natural inclination, and to ensure that the relationship between maps and text was as easy and intuitive as possible. Moreover, so that we can follow our journey around the map without mishap, the location of each place is identified relative to the location of the settlement previously described, or the location of the main town of the region. The text guides our eye around the map. After describing Poznań, for example, we turn to 'Lissa, 33 Miles North-West from Posnania Town…', and then to 'Frawenstad, or Fraustad, on

[86] ibid., 40-52
[87] ibid., preface

the Frontiers of Silesia, about 10 Miles South-West from Lissa…',[88] and so it continues, leading us on a journey around the map. And if we are ever unsure of the location of these settlements, he provides their latitude and longitude, so that we may find them readily on the map, criss-crossed with a lattice of meridians and parallels. The atlas is designed for a particular way of reading, a continual back and forth between map and text, which are in explicit dialogue with each other. The reader is equipped, and encouraged, to keep his attention on both simultaneously, to tie them together, and ultimately to map the information of the text onto the cartographical markings on the page. The map is an essential element in the depiction of this diversity, a template to visualise, to organise, to locate the information offered in the text. It was a device that a reader could, in a manner, overlay with their own transparency, layering the map with extra information as they saw fit. In this way, the map, however plain it might seem on the surface, serves as a blank canvas for the reader to paint, the colours being provided by the text. To be sure, it has been coloured in countless times by readers, and though such an action leaves no physical mark, no annotations, no marginalia that we can see and interpret as historians, it is just as real as the ink and paper of the map itself.

Though it is common for modern cartographers to spell out their thoughts, Delano-Smith has lamented that 'an equivalent explanation from a medieval or early modern mapmaker has yet to be found to give the historian even a rough idea of what was in an artist's mind as he compiled, drafted, cut, or engraved (or had cut or engraved for him) his map.'[89] In John Senex, however, it seems we do – his atlas a rare example of direct evidence into cartographic reading practices. With it, we can get much closer to them, reconstructing how this particular work was read, or at least how the reader was encouraged to read it. But it can do more, and can shed light on broader reading practices. For, though he was a mapmaker, we should not forget that Senex was also a map-user. At the very least, we have insight into how he himself read maps, and could readily assume him to be a representative example of wider practice. But, more than that, it is clear that he was consciously moulding his creation to the demands of his readers, and to their reading practices. And though he felt himself to be unique in doing so, claiming on his title-page that the connection between

[88] ibid., 40
[89] Delano-Smith, 'Maps and Map Literacy I', 225-6

descriptions and maps 'has not been observ'd in any other Atlas',[90] this was not true, for his atlas was part of a wider praxis. Besides the works we have already looked at, the *Thesaurus Geographicus* (1695) by Abel Swall and Timothy Child was of a similar style, though somewhat less detailed and developed, though it would certainly be fair to say that no one had realised this method quite as effectively and systematically as Senex himself.

It was, indeed, an effective means of bypassing the limits posed by cartographic convention and responding properly to the diversity left by the Reformation. But it had its own shortcomings. Even when maps were supplemented by texts, which diligently inform the reader about the diversity of the Commonwealth's religious landscape, there was a an inevitable snag. There was no guarantee the reader would go to the intellectual effort of tying the two together. The existence of the complete cartographic picture, produced through the union of text and image, is wholly dependent on the agency, on the whims, of the reader. For each reader who mentally coloured in these maps with the information provided by the text (and there would have been many), another left them blank. Though a map could express wonderful diversity through its relationship with the text, this was worthless if the reader did not tie them together. John Senex knew this, and strove to remove every obstacle in the reader's path, and to make the interaction between map and text as easy as humanly possible. But even so, without the continual cooperation of the reader, the efforts of the cartographer are rendered irrelevant, and the limitations of cartography are able to reassert themselves. And in Senex' case, this meant an image of Poland dominated, once again, by a Catholic hierarchy. For it remains that this was but a way *around* cartographic convention. It did not directly challenge it, nor did it change the visuals of the map – it did not fix the fundamental problem. Bishops therefore continued to dominate, and manipulate, the mapped image across the board, disguising the diversity that cartographers knew was there, but remained unable to depict.

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[90] Senex, *New General Atlas*, title page

THE POWER OF CONVENTION

Before we conclude, we might ask why the episcopal convention, with its inherent limitations, was allowed to remain. For these limitations were not insurmountable, nor were they inevitable. The occasional cartographer did break free from this convention and depict an alternative religious landscape. Ephraim Pagitt's *Christianography* (London, 1640), a work that sought to undermine the presumption of Catholic supremacy across the world, highlighted the many denominations that, like the Church of England, were not subject to the Pope (a traditional Protestant trope, originating in Luther's polemic). Thus his map of Europe (Figure 3.39) highlights, not bishops, but the presence of Papists, Protestants, Muscovites and Greeks, of whom the latter two 'agree with the Protestants'. Freed from episcopal limitations, Poland is depicted as a land of Papists, Protestants and Greeks (Figure 3.40); not simply a land dominated by a Catholic hierarchy, it is populated by many who, like Anglicans, reject papal supremacy (though the colourist seemingly overrides this message, colouring it red like other papist countries). The map could be considered an

Figure 3.39 – 'Europa' – Ephraim Pagitt, *Christianography* (London, 1640)



Figure 3.40 – "Polonia" (3.39)



expression of his own Presbyterianism,[91] and of a very different worldview to his fellow Anglican, Edward Wells. There are a small number of maps, identified by de Dainville, that highlight the presence of Huguenots, who were otherwise forgotten, cartographically speaking, beneath the structure of France's Catholic bishops.[92] We saw Heinrich Scherer's new shaded thematic maps; and though we noted cartographers did not draw attention to the new hierarchies of non-episcopal confessions, Homann's Heirs did – their map of Saxony marks out the 'Superindentur', 'Pastorat', 'Diaconat' – yet this image only appeared in 1752, well over two centuries after the Saxon Reformation.[93] These were the exceptions, however – for each cartographer who actively broke with convention, there were many more who passively persisted with it. Such rare exceptions did not challenge the predominance of the episcopal convention. So why did it persist?

In part, it is because cartography, as a medium, is particularly susceptible to the power of convention. More than the mere pressure of tradition, for cartographers it was exceedingly difficult to escape the influence of their predecessors, thanks to the nature of cartographic production practice. A map, arguably more than any other kind of image, is so rarely a self-sufficient document. Particularly when it comes to small-scale maps like these, given the huge amount of information that needs to be gathered, mapmakers are almost completely reliant on the work of their predecessors,

[91] Alexander Gordon, 'Pagit, Ephraim', *DNB*, 43 (London, 1885-1900)
[92] de Dainville, *Cartes anciennes*, 184-5
[93] 'Besondere Land Karte des Herzogth. od. Churkreises Sachsen…' (Nuremberg, 1752)

and are limited to recycling and revising the images they are given. In this context, it becomes exceedingly difficult to break free from the methods of one's precursors, even more so when one factors in financial considerations. Ian Maclean has explored the financially risky business of early modern printing,[94] and mapmaking was equally, if not more, demanding. The expense and effort required to make anything 'new' (requiring costly surveys, along with the tasks of drafting and engraving) was arguably much greater for cartography than other creative genres; as a result, commercial publishers had to economise to keep their businesses profitable. Indeed, Delano-Smith has identified a general trend in 17th-century mapmaking, a tendency towards minimalism, whereby cartographers rationalised, simplified their maps to make them as financially efficient as possible, removing any information not deemed 'essential' (though it is worth pointing out that the bishop remained very much 'essential'). In fact, even essential geographical information 'was more likely to be omitted than added', as cartographers did not take advantage of the benefits of new copperplate technology, which theoretically allowed them to create far more detailed maps.[95] In other words, just because it was possible to offer more detailed alternatives to bishops, it was not necessarily worth the financial investment. Such considerations might help explain the common recognition of cartography as a conservative genre, not particularly adaptable to new realities. JB Harley spoke of 'the slowness with which cartographers revised their maps to accord with the realities of the world',[96] and of maps as 'a socially conservative vocabulary', 'legitimising the hierarchies established on earlier maps'.[97] An appreciation of these production practices, and their impact on cartography, has relevance not only for the mapping of bishops, but for the issues discussed in previous chapters, too, whether understanding the inescapable influence of Grodecki's Lithuanian woods (and Radziwiłł's removal of them), or of Braun's depiction of the Polish-Lithuanian city.

Alternatively, Valerie Kivelson has intimated that this could be explained as a product of a Western mapping tradition that naturally tends towards homogeneity, the flip-side of which can be seen in Muscovite mapping, for example Semyon Remezov's ethnographic map of Siberia (1699-

[94] Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012), Chapter 4
[95] Delano-Smith, 'Signs', 531, 579
[96] Harley, 'Silences', 70
[97] Harley, 'Maps', 294

1701), a map which does not eliminate, but celebrates diversity, depicting a patchwork of different cultures and faiths.[98]

But if such reasons explain the draw towards maintaining the bishop, the answer also lies in the fact that an ideological alternative was not forthcoming. In his study of Catholic ecclesiastical cartography, Zur Shalev sought an explanation for the absence of any Protestant equivalent, and offered a conclusion that seems pertinent to wider mapmaking too: 'for Protestants, once the traditional ecclesiastical hierarchy had collapsed, the very notion of positive ecclesiastical geography became, as it were, theologically meaningless: the true church was spiritual and un-mappable by definition'. Instead of mapping an unmappable Church, they sought other ways of sacralising their landscapes;[99] (indeed, we found as much with Visscher's maps of the Netherlands). In other words, there was no need for a new convention, and, as a result, no Protestant alternative entered the mainstream as one might have expected, through the many centres of Protestant mapmaking and printing, like Amsterdam. And in its place was left a vacuum, which was filled only by the bishop.

The episcopal ascendancy over the mapped Church only ended with the rise of thematic mapping in the 19th century (which Scherer's work prefigured). This finally allowed cartographers to give expression to a different ecclesiology, one not based on the Church as an institution, but as a community of believers, to depict the people beneath the hierarchy, and give voice to confessions that had previously been silenced – finally enabling a full response to the Reformation landscape (but one even more delayed, it must be said, than the cartographic response to Lithuania's conversion from paganism).

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[98] Valerie Kivelson, "Between All Parts of the Universe': Russian Cosmographies and Imperial Strategies in Early Modern Siberia and Ukraine', *Imago Mundi*, 60.2 (2008), 166-81; Valerie Kivelson, 'Celebrating Religious Diversity: Early Modern Russia and the power of typological thinking' (unpublished paper, delivered Oct 2018, Early Modern World Seminar, University of Oxford)
[99] Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 212-4, 256

CONCLUSION

Over the course of this chapter, we have seen a wide range of responses to the post-Reformation landscape, and from across the confessional spectrum, as cartographers grappled with problems both ideological and practical, seeking to find a visual idiom for a divided Christendom, beholden to different ecclesiologies, and to map confessions that did not exist before. We have seen variability in response within confessions, too: different modes of Calvinist cartography, distinct Catholic responses to the secularisation of sees, and two sides of the Anglican spirit expressed cartographically. Such innovations, however, were (almost) always limited, either pursued within the bounds of the episcopal convention, or finding a way around it – the fundamental problem was not confronted, and thus remained in place, continuing to obstruct the depiction of Europe's religious diversity.

The ultimate result can be seen clearly in atlases from the period. 'In matters of Religion', Richard Blome says of Poland, in his *Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World* (1670), 'they are said to embrace all, so they have any thing of Christianity in them; some following the Reformed Churches, some embracing the Doctrine of Calvin, others of Luther, and some of Augustine, Bohemian, and Helvetian Confessions; and again, others are of the Church of Rome, so that there is a saying, That if any man hath lost his Religion, let him seek it at Poland'.[100] John Speed, in his *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (1627), which we encountered Chapter One, not only speaks of the Polish tendency towards heathenism, but says how:

> 'Their Religion is promiscuous of all kindes from the true worship, to the very Atheist, which acknowledgeth no God', [and that] 'They have a good minde to Religion, but cannot fasten upon any one to their liking; and therefore they will try all Christians, they have beene ever since the yeare 965. But from that time, they have scarce slipt any error, schisme, or heresie, which hath crept into the Church. There are Jesuites, and other of the Romish sects. Here are Lutherans and Calvinists, and Arians, and Anabaptists, and Antitrinitarians: none allowed, but all tolerated: and indeede Poland had the senioritie of Amsterdame for that old saying: that if a man had lost his Religion, here he might find it.'[101]

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[100] Richard Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World* (London, 1670), 75-83
[101] John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1627), 8, 32

Their maps of the country, however, are unable to depict the diversity that they know is there. And though in his *Atlas Nouveau* (1708 edition) Alexis-Hubert Jaillot speaks of the significant presence of Lutherans, Calvinists, Socinians, Jews, Armenians, Ruthenians and Anabaptists in the Commonwealth,[102] his map is dominated solely by a Catholic episcopate. (It should be noted, however, that the episcopal convention did not limit all cartographers – de Fer's 1717 map of Poland in his *L'Atlas Curieux* (Figure 3.13), a classic image of a Catholic Commonwealth, is accompanied by a page of text, in which he states 'La Religion Dominante est la Catholique Romaine', with no other reference to the religious landscape of the country.[103])

The episcopal convention had an undeniable impact on the depiction of religious diversity, and it can, therefore, offer an explanation to the long-unanswered question, of why confession appears so rarely on early modern topographical maps. We find that it most certainly was not because of any disinterest on the part of cartographers, or secularisation of their medium, for we can see their efforts to innovate, nor was it purely due to a fear of revealing their personal convictions – it was largely down to the limitations of their medium. Cartographic historians have often striven to highlight the importance of *choice*, the decisions that individual cartographers make, which fundamentally shape our image of the world.[104] While this is undeniably important, we also need to recognise that these choices, still, are shaped by forces and limitations beyond the cartographer's control. Choices were often made *for* cartographers, not always *by* them, and passive, impersonal processes could be just as influential over the mapped image – in this case, not the limitations of scale and materiality, but the power of convention. We must therefore recognise that cartography's response to early modern religious change was not simply dictated by cartographers themselves, but by the deficiencies of their medium – reality simply could not be translated onto the map. Though, once again, we see a seeming disregard of religious developments on the ground, this time it was the result of cartography's enthralment to convention. Such a process was, in fact, not unique to cartography, but can be found mirrored in Polish history-writing of the period, where, again, the

[102] Alexis Hubert Jaillot, *Atlas Nouveau* (Paris, 1708), 15
[103] Nicolas de Fer, *L'Atlas Curieux*, 96
[104] Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London, 1997); Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (Chicago, 2018)

Reformation could be hidden, not only deliberately, but by the constraints of one's medium. Natalia Nowakowska has noted how chroniclers were limited in their ability to speak about the Reformation at all, as its events did not naturally fit into humanist conventions of history-writing.[105] The effect, of presenting a Commonwealth untouched by the Reformation, was analogous to what we have seen in cartography.

Such limitations, as we have seen, had inevitable repercussions on the depiction of diverse places all over Europe. This was manifested differently in different contexts, but was particularly severe in the case of Poland-Lithuania. With the unusual case of Edward Wells excepted, no map of the Commonwealth displayed any more than the presence of Catholics and Greeks, and the latter only rarely (and in ways variously divorced from the truth). This remained the case until 1710, with the publication of Heinrich Scherer's new thematic maps, which, finally breaking free from the episcopal impediment, revealed the Protestant character of Royal Prussia for the first time, two centuries after it first appeared. As a result, the 17th-century Commonwealth was presented, not as a patchwork of faiths, but a monolith, deprived of nuance, and united under a single, Catholic episcopal hierarchy (an image only occasionally, and contingently, overcome by maps' relationship with text). We could note that, in all the maps we have studied, these Catholic bishoprics are in fact very rarely depicted accurately. More often than not, some bishops were forgotten while others were invented, archbishops were demoted to bishops and vice versa (and this is not even to mention the treatment of Greek hierarchies). Yet, so long as Catholic bishops continued to dominate the landscape, however falsely located, the essential message remained unaffected. In this case, cartographic accuracy was quite irrelevant. Moreover, the similarities of this image to that in the *Civitates* cannot be ignored. Though one is artful and deliberate and the other wholly unintended, though they come from completely different cartographic genres, and focus on completely different aspects of the Church, whether its built presence or its hierarchy, we see the same image espoused, and over the course of more than a century – and with consequence for the wider image of Poland-Lithuania. Here, however, Lithuania now became defined, thanks to the Radziwiłł map, not by its woods and the

[105] Natalia Nowakowska, 'Rioting Blacksmiths and Jewish Women', in Alexandra Walsham et al. (eds), *Remembering the Reformation* (Abingdon, 2020)

memory of paganism, but by a Catholic episcopal hierarchy (and only rarely by Orthodoxy, an accidental ramification of the Radziwiłł map), as part of a united Commonwealth, with no significant division between its Polish and Lithuanian halves – nor, indeed, between Lithuania and the rest of Europe.

Finally, beyond finding an explanation for the absence of confession on the map, it is equally important to recognise that this absence did not entail an exclusion of confessional issues altogether. If anything, confessional issues were unavoidable. So long as the Church was depicted on the map, it was a space where cartographers had to confront the changes of the Reformation, and its new ecclesiologies; and so long as the Church was defined by the bishop, there was no neutral way of depicting confessional space. Every statement was a loaded statement, whether intended as such or not. And in the case of Poland-Lithuania, we see the same, Catholicised image put forward not only by those with an agenda, but those without, in what we might call an unconscious Catholicisation of the country – one did not have to have a Catholic purpose to further a Catholic narrative.

CHAPTER IV
Confessionalisation and Conflict: The Cartography of the Deluge

This chapter is concerned, above all, with how cartographers responded to confessionalisation, examining it through the cartography of a highly confessionalised conflict, the Deluge (1655-60). Here, we will finally see the classic paradigm of confessional polarisation, and demonisation of the confessional 'other', which we might have expected to dominate the thesis, but has not yet been seen. It will be a story more complex than simple Catholic/Protestant hatred, however, as we uncover a nuanced and multi-layered cartographic response, exploring how cartographers responded (a) to the confessionalisation of conflict, (b) to the confessionalisation of theology, (c) to different forms of confessionalisation (offering us the opportunity to disentangle its various meanings), and finally exploring (d) how cartography was not only affected by confessionalisation, but even effected it.

INTRODUCTION

In 1655 the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was in dire straits. For the past seven years its armies had been attempting to suppress Chmielnicki's Cossack Uprising, destabilising the country and crippling its military forces. Just the year before, the Muscovites had intervened on behalf of the Orthodox Cossacks, overrunning the country from the east; and in July 1655, smelling blood, Charles X Gustav of Sweden invaded, joined eventually by Brandenburg, Transylvania, and by many disenchanted members of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. Poland-Lithuania collapsed under this new onslaught, known as the Deluge, as almost the entire country fell under foreign control. Ultimately, the Commonwealth's enemies were, almost miraculously, driven back. The turning point has been considered to be the failed Swedish attack on Jasna Góra, a fortified Pauline monastery in Częstochowa, 18th November-26th December 1655. 'Charles

Gustav's good fortune was turned around in this moment, when he started bombarding this place',[1] claimed Bengt Oxenstierna, one of Charles Gustav's Governors in the Commonwealth. Jasna Góra was believed to have been saved from the Protestant forces by none other than the Virgin Mary herself, through the mediation of the monastery's miraculous icon, the Black Madonna of Częstochowa – a legend popularised in the *Nova Gigantomachia* (Kraków, 1658), an account of the siege written by the monastery's prior, Augustyn Kordecki – and its deliverance served as a spark to ignite widespread resistance against the invader.[2] It was a conflict that, thanks to the hugely influential *Nova Gigantomachia*, was cast as a defence of the Catholic homeland against Protestant and Orthodox heretics, and catalysed the conflation of Polishness with Catholicism.

The cartography of this conflict is dominated by two sets of images. The first of these, coming from the Polish side, was the cartography of the siege of Jasna Góra, which naturally were of a Catholic bent. Images started to appear within a few years of the siege itself, from 1656/7 onwards, and continued to be produced and reworked for centuries after, though we will naturally focus on those produced in the 17th and early-18th centuries. These images gained wide popularity, appearing in both paint and print, ranging in size from the monumental to the pocket-sized, being found in diverse contexts, from history books to holy shrines, being made for different audiences, for pilgrims and for scholars, and though most examples were created within Poland, several were made beyond its borders. They therefore reached a very wide audience, geographically and socially, across many different contexts. On the other, Lutheran/Swedish, side, we see the imagery of Erik Dahlbergh, a military engineer in the service of Charles Gustav, published only in 1696, as illustrations for Samuel Pufendorf's history of Charles Gustav (*De Rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sveciae Rege Gestis*), depicting the most glorious moments of Charles Gustav's campaigns in Poland and Denmark. The historiography around both can fairly be described as a 'value historiography', focussing almost solely on their documentary value, not only as evidence for the events depicted,

[1] Zygmunt Łakociński, 'Oblężenie Klasztoru na Jasnej Górze w tradycji i historiografii szwedzkiej', *Studia Claromontana*, 1 (1981), 264-5

[2] The significance of the siege is commonly recognised today, but some historians have doubted its importance, such as Adam Kersten (*Pierwszy opis obrony Jasnej Góry w 1655 r.* (Warsaw, 1959)), Wojciech Krawczuk (*Samuel Pufendorf and some stories of the Northern War 1655-1660* (Kraków, 2014), 22), and Robert Frost, who makes no mention of the siege in his history of the Deluge (*After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War, 1655-1660* (Cambridge, 1993))

but also for 17th-century life and warfare more generally, giving insight into social, military, urban, architectural and costume history.[3] Otherwise, they have been judged according to their artistic or cartographic value.[4] Their religious themes are little-studied, however, most often considered irrelevant to what historians have sought to gain from these images. Though, in a number of these images, religion is not hidden away in the map's 'second text', something peripheral, or something abstruse to be uncovered. It is fundamental to the purpose and the messages they conveyed – very much in the 'first text' of the map.

These are the sources we will use to explore the cartographic response to confessionalisation. And they offer the opportunity to explore four very different areas of response, from the confessionalisation of conflict and of theology, to cartography's response to different forms of confessionalisation and how it was not only shaped by, but itself shaped the process of confessionalisation. At the same time, they will allow us to delve, for the first time, into another side of religion, that of faith – for early modern cartography was not simply concerned with the earthly manifestations of religion (such as church buildings, episcopal hierarchies, or even trees), but also with issues of doctrine and belief. We will begin by discussing how cartographers responded to the confessionalisation of conflict, looking first at the siege of Jasna Góra, and how it was characterised as a confessional conflict, not merely between Poles and Swedes, but Catholics and Protestants, even between the powers of heaven and hell – our first insight into this more familiar world of confessional invective. But we find this did not have a Protestant equivalent – Dahlbergh's images, if anything, offer the inverse. His depiction is of a thoroughly un-confessionalised conflict, an invasion that had no confessional motivation, not to free Polish

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[3] For Dahlbergh, see: Bronisław Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce* (Wrocław, 1971), passim; Krawczuk, *Samuel Pufendorf*, 132; Ryszard Mączyński, 'Zarys dziejów badań nad zabytkami Warszawy', in Jerzy Łoziński and Andrzej Rottermund (eds), *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki, Miasto Warszawa*, part 1 (Warsaw, 1993), 3, 30.
For Jasna Góra, see: Stanisław Szymański, 'Fortalitium jasnogórskiej w Częstochowie', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 8.2 (1963), 136-48; Władysław Tatarkiewicz, *O sztuce polskiej XVII i XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1966), 'Architektura Jasnej Góry w XVII i XVIII wieku'; Zofia Rozanow and Ewa Smulikowska, *The Cultural Heritage of Jasna Góra* (Warsaw, 1974), 66; Jan Samek and Janusz Zbudniewek, *Klejnoty Jasnej Góry* (Warsaw, 1983), 73.

[4] For Dahlbergh, see: Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce*, 15, 89ff; Michael Mikoś, 'Erik Dahlbergh and his Views of Polish Towns', *The Polish Review*, 33.2 (1988), 154; Börje Magnusson, *Att illustrera fäderneslandet* (Uppsala, 1986), passim.
For Jasna Góra, see: Hanna Widacka, 'Ikonografia Częstochowy w grafice XVII I XVIII w.' *Studia Claromontana*, 4 (1983), 289-337; Samek and Zbudniewek, *Klejnoty*, 68.

Protestants, nor to strike at the Catholic Church (though many imagined it sought to do so). His depiction might even be considered de-confessionalised, as Dahlbergh carefully removed any reference that might hint at a wider confessionalised purpose, presenting instead a conflict that was purely political – a clash of kings, not of faiths. (We will, at the same time, explore how these different responses shaped their depictions of Poland). In seeking to understand this dichotomy, we will consider these two sets of images not as representative of separate Catholic/Protestant or Polish/Swedish outlooks on the conflict, but as works coming from opposite ends of the moderate-militant spectrum, a construct developed by Peter Wilson in his quest to understand the different attitudes towards the confessionalisation of the 30 Years' War, from those who saw war as a means of advancing their confessional cause to those who did not. We will then move on to how these images responded to the confessionalisation of theology. For though both sets express a shared faith in miracles and divine intervention, they give voice to very different understandings of it, whether that be the invisible hand of Providence, or an interaction more palpable to the senses. Alongside these questions, we will bring to light a new concept, that of 'cartographic hierophany', inspired by Mircea Eliade's idea of 'hierophany', the breakthrough of the sacred into the profane world – but here, into the profane space of the map. Studying cartographic hierophany will help us to answer these questions, while also showing how cartography can even give historians special insight into the world of belief. We will then proceed to explore how cartography responds to different forms of confessionalisation, 'old' and 'new' (for the paradigm has undergone significant shifts in meaning over the years), which also presents us with an opportunity to disentangle these various meanings. Finally, we will examine how some of these images were not only confessionalised, but were confessionalising documents, not only affected by confessionalisation, but effecting it, looking at how they could act as didactic images, fostering true faith amongst the faithful, and teaching the new doctrines of the Counter-Reformation.

Before we jump in, however, it would be wise to rehearse our definition of 'cartography', for many of the images studied in these final two chapters may diverge from our instinctive assumption of what a map or a view is. Maps, according to Harley and Woodward, 'are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or

events in the human world'.[5] Views, which can be described as 'side-on' perspectives – as opposed to the 'top-down' map – are also accounted a type of cartographic image (though it should be noted that there is nothing in Harley and Woodward's definition that strictly precludes views from being accounted a 'map'). Perhaps contentiously, we will here look a little further, incorporating what we will call 'caricatured cartography'. This is a form of imagery clearly derived from cartographical images, that still ostensibly acts as a map or view, but which, like a caricature, over-simplifies its subject and exaggerates certain features. Often these caricatures are small, forced to simplify and distort by their size, but sometimes are caricatured to assure simplicity and clarity of messaging, unimpeded by detail, or by the demands of scale and perspective. We have already seen an example from topographical mapping, in Casimir Freschot's simplified 'goose game' map of Poland (Figure 3.2), and it happened with views as well. In the thesis introduction we drew attention to two images (Figures 0.9, 0.10), which we will be examining in this chapter. The former, a 1690s painted view of Jasna Góra, is fundamentally derived from the latter, Johann Bensheimer's engraving of c. 1657; the two images offer the same essential composition – a view of Jasna Góra, its besieging, and salvation – but one caricatures the other, simplifying it, and exaggerating certain features (even embellishing Mary's role, lending her a Jovian thunderbolt). There will be a number of other examples like this, where the cartographic medium has been caricatured; they are derivatives of more traditional cartographic images, and thus can be considered a distinct form of cartographic image, or, at the very least, a closely related, cartographically inspired image. And, indeed, though these images might appear crude and simplistic, Harley and Woodward make it expressly clear that the quality, or crudeness, of a map does not make that image any less a 'map', and nor should it with a view; for, whatever their quality, their essential composition remains the same. Moreover, we should note how these images, and views more generally, naturally merge with 'landscape' images, and there is no strict way of dividing them, nor should there be, for such an effort would be artificial. We might instinctively be tempted to divide them on the basis of their medium, that painted images are landscapes, and printed images are views. But we should be wary of this arbitrary assumption, because if we follow this way of thinking to its natural conclusion, it

[5] JB Harley and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1987), xvi

should be impossible to have an engraved landscape image, a painted view, or perhaps even a painted map – we should not confuse medium for genre. Rather, we have to accept that view and landscape naturally shade into one another, and that they cannot neatly be separated.

*

CONFESSIONALISED CARTOGRAPHY

> '[Charles Gustav] stormed into the Polish Kingdom, which was flourishing in the Catholic faith, with a monstrous multitude of peoples polluted with the faults of many heresies: Swedes, Finns, Germans, Pomeranians, Scots, Cassubians, Gypsies, Silesians, Hungarians, Bohemians, Jews, Prussians… Citadels were demolished, cities cleared out, temples tainted with sacrilege, sacred vessels were broken in pieces, altars overturned, sacred images thrown out, slashed and given to the fire, the most holy Body of Christ was strewn on the ground and trampled, tombs were opened and the bodies thrown out, priests tortured, slaughtered, and mounted on crosses… [They were] an enemy inimical to the name of Mary…'[6]
>
> Augustyn Kordecki, *Nova Gigantomachia* (Kraków, 1658), preface

The Deluge, for Kordecki, was an indisputably confessional conflict, and the siege of Jasna Góra an essential element of it. The *Nova Gigantomachia* almost singlehandedly defined the image of the siege of Jasna Góra in Poland, shaping national memory. The account of the siege in every Polish historical work of the 17th century was based upon it (i.a. works by Kobierzycki, Nieszporkowicz, Rudawski, Bogdański, Wierzbowski, Wydźga, Goliński, and Odymalski), as were memoirs of aristocrats, gentry and townsmen, polemical literature and religious songs.[7] It defined the siege, and the wider war, as a defence of Catholicism against heresy, a struggle aided by divine intervention.

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[6] 'Infudit se in Regnum Catholica Religione florentissimum, multitudo gentium monstrosa, variarum Haeresum labe contaminatarum. Suecorum, Finnorum, Germanorum, Pomeranorum, Scotorum, Cassubiorum, Zingarorum, Silesiorum, Ungarorum, Bohemorum, Iudaeorum, Pruthenorum… Dirutae Arces, eversae Urbes, Nobiles compedibus adstricti, imbellis aetas et sexus, ferro, carceribus, vel faeda servitute absumpti. Templa sacrilegiis contaminata, confracta sacrae supellectilis vasa, arae subrutae, Sacrae Imagines eiectae, confossae, igni datae; Corpus Christi Domini Sacratissimum terra disiectum et conculcatum, monumenta mortuorum reserata, excussa cadavera, Ministri altaris torti, trucidati, patibulis affixi… hostem nomini Mariano infensissimum…'

[7] Kersten, *Pierwszy opis*

The *Nova Gigantomachia* did not create this narrative alone, however, for it appeared in cartography before the book was even published, and was further embellished in later maps and views. Indeed, it can be seen in the very first view of the siege (Figure 4.1) – but not at first sight. It is a large painting, 7.45 x 7.5 metres, probably created 1656/7,[8] of oil on canvas, within the Chapel of the Miraculous Image itself, in the spiritual centre of the monastic complex. It occupies the space above the arch that divides the nave from the chapel's presbytery, known in Polish as the rainbow arch (*łuk tęczowy*). The artist (probably Felicjan Ratyński, a monk who took part in the defence)[9] depicts the Swedish army laying siege to the monastery, with the Virgin Mary appearing above Jasna Góra, accompanied by Paul the First Hermit, patron of the Pauline Order (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.1 – The Rainbow Arch siege view (Felicjan Ratyński, 1656/7) – Chapel of the Miraculous Image, Jasna Góra



[8] Widacka, 'Ikonografia', 290; Jan Golonka, 'Dekoracja malarska kaplicy jasnogórskiej z XVII wieku', in Bohdan Bejze (ed.), *W kierunku chrześciańskiej kultury* (Warsaw, 1978), 694; Zofia Rozanow and Ewa Smulikowska, *Zabytki sztuki Jasnej Góry* (Katowice, 2009), 80

[9] Samek and Zbudniewek, *Klejnoty*, 34; Golonka, 'Dekoracja malarska', 695; Rozanow and Smulikowska, *Zabytki*, 80

Figure 4.2 – Mary and Paul the Hermit over Jasna Góra (4.1)



The Latin text in the bottom left corner of the image, addressing the pilgrims who had come to venerate the Black Madonna, relates how Jasna Góra was attacked by the Swedish army for forty days, yet was not captured, and should be called 'the burning bush that was unburnt in the flames, unharmed by the fire of the heated shot'. It beseeches the pilgrim to 'give thanks to God, who granted us glorious victory through Jesus Christ and His Mother, and remember to tell posterity what gifts God granted then to Poland.'[10] It seemingly depicts a conflict, not between Catholic and Protestant, but Poles and Swedes, with the former protected by the providential power of God – a religious interpretation, to be sure, but seemingly not confessional. When seen alone, this is indeed the impression we are given – the caveat, however, is the simple fact that this view was never meant to be seen alone. It shares the rainbow arch with another large image, immediately above, from 1656, and named after its subject matter: *The Virgin Mary, Slayer of Heresy* (Figure 4.3). It shows the Madonna and Child floating on clouds, surrounded by angels and Archangels, flanked by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Below them, under the Virgin's feet, lies a dragon, holding in its grasp numerous heretics, books in hand: his claws rest on the heads of Luther and Zwingli, while Calvin and Melanchthon are caught entwined in his tail, and Johann Friedrich, Elector of

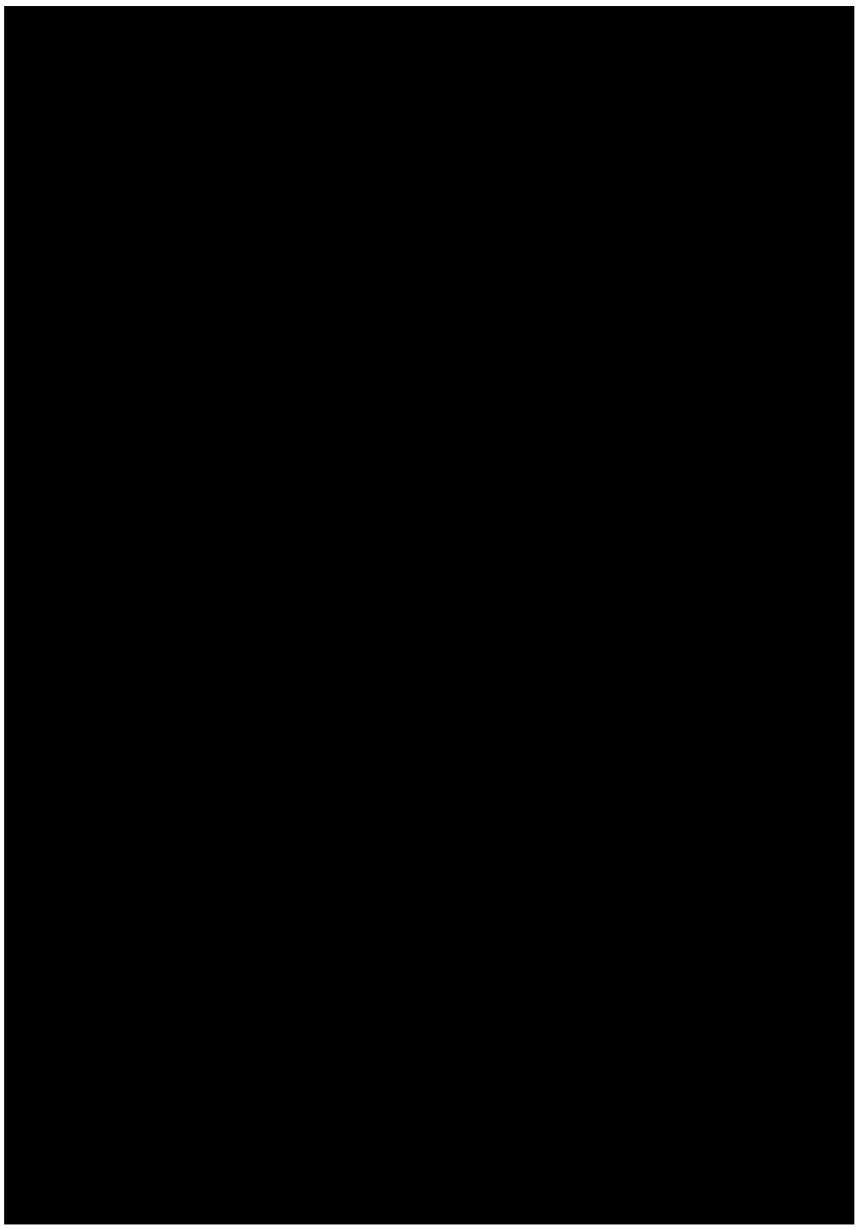
[10] 'Hospes/Montem Clarum anno Matris Virginis MDCLV/ab exercitu Suecorum quadraginta diebus/oppugnatum et non expugnatum/quem/Principibus in Polonia viris dici placuit/Montem victoriae/Dic/rubum ardentem incombustum/Inter ignitorum globorum incendia illaesum/Deo/Dic gratias, qui dedit nobis victoriam per Dominum Jesum Christum et Matrem Eius gloriosam/Et/Quanta tunc fecit Deus Poloniae bona/Posteris narrare/Memento'

Figure 4.3 – 'The Virgin Mary, Slayer of Heresy' (anon., 1656) – Chapel of the Miraculous Image



Saxony and protector of Luther, kneels beside them. Behind these lie views of three places central to the Reformation: Wittenberg, Wartburg, and Geneva, and Isaiah stands to the side, with the quote 'Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer' (Is 14:12, 'How you have fallen, Lucifer'), and above everything, angels carry ribbons with the words 'Cunctas Haereses' 'Sola Interemisti', taken from the antiphon to Psalm 95, 'Gaude Maria Virgo, cunctas haereses sola interemisti in universe mundo', 'Rejoice, o Virgin Mary, for thou alone hast slain all heresies throughout the world'. Seen in this context, the meaning of our original image changes completely – the siege becoming a victory of Catholic orthodoxy over heresy. For these images mirror one another, offering parallel narratives that should be read as one. The Swedes, at the bottom of the siege image, are identified undoubtedly with the heretics at the bottom of the image above, and indeed demonised with them, as servants of Satan, performing his work. The Polish defenders are on the side of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, the angelic host of heaven, and of course the Virgin Mary, who, when she appears above Jasna Góra, is not simply aiding the Polish cause, but arrives *as* the Slayer of Heresy, there to defeat the Protestant Swedish invaders. Meanwhile, the view of Jasna Góra is juxtaposed with those of Wittenberg, Wartburg and Geneva, the former tied to Mary, the latter to Satan. The siege is shown to be part of the Counter-Reformation struggle against Protestantism, and even the perpetual struggle of the Church against heresy.

Figure 4.4 – The Rainbow Arch in full



This demonstrates, in a nutshell, the importance of studying an image in context – for no map is an island. Without context, our understanding is stymied, and, indeed, this confessional narrative has not been recognised before simply because cartographic elements have been studied in isolation.[11] But the link between the two images is inextricable: they were made within months of each other, were intended to be seen together, and indeed have been seen together by generation upon generation of pilgrims (Figure 4.4) – to sever the view from its context, as it has been, is

[11] Only Golonka, not a cartographic but an art historian, has studied the two images in context, as part of the same decorative scheme, but even so, he does not recognise the confessional implications on the view (Golonka, 'Dekoracja malarska', 707)

historiographical self-sabotage. It is incomplete without it. Indeed, our analysis in this chapter will often seem less focussed on the map itself, on the placement of features within it (the natural domain of cartographic historians), and more on the placement of a map within its wider environment. We will look much further than the juxtaposition seen here, exploring the wider space of the monastery, how that space was used across time, and even a map's theological milieu. We will uncover not only the meanings the context can impart to a map (which can be more important than anything the map itself depicts), but also, just as significant, the meanings a map imparts to its context. The message of the rainbow arch images, for example, are lent further power when we understand how they were experienced as part of the liturgy held within the Chapel. Psalm 95, whose antiphon is proffered by the angels in the painting, of course would have been sung frequently throughout the liturgical cycle. The same words were also used as the tract, or Alleluia verse, for the votive mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary sung for nine weeks before Easter.[12] Moreover, the image of the Virgin Mary trampling the dragon underfoot, while appearing in imagery all over the monastery, even appears on liturgical vestments, such as the Krassowski Apparatus (1720-8),[13] which would likely have been worn in these same services. Viewers often interacted with the rainbow arch within the context of the liturgy, which naturally shaped the reception of these images, resonating with and enhancing their messages. Every time those words were sung in the chapel, each time those vestments worn, the images engaged in the liturgy, the siege fashioned ever more deeply into a confessional battle, a symbol of Mary's victorious struggle against heresy.

In another pair of images, two map-views, depicting 'Mary as the Fortified Camp' (Figure 4.5) and 'Mary as the Fortified Town' (Figure 4.6), we once again see the influence changing contexts can have on the confessional message of a map. These are quite similar images, each depicting the defence of a fortified place against aggressors, presided over by the Virgin Mary, hovering in the sky. There is little agreement over when they were painted, except that it was

[12] Robert Miola (ed.), *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Oxford, 2007), 313f
[13] Rozanow and Smulikowska, *Cultural Heritage*, 168

Figure 4.5 – ‘Mary as the Fortified Camp’ (anon., c. 1655) – refectory corridor, Jasna Góra

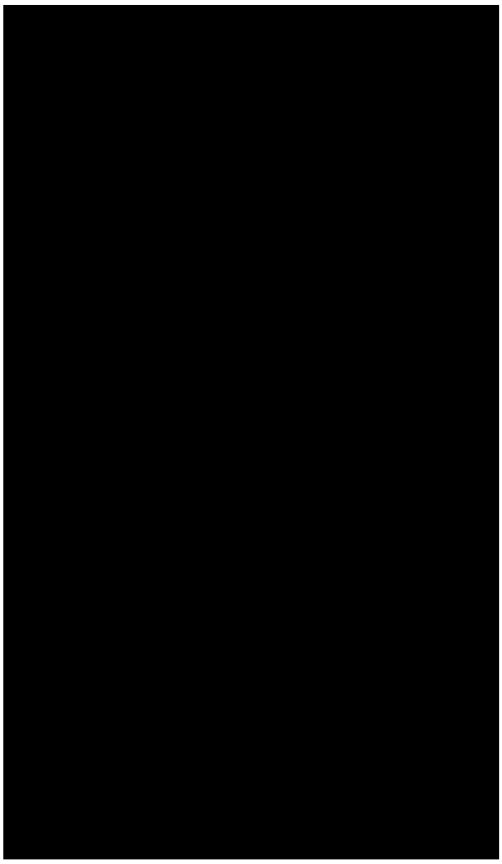


Figure 4.6 – ‘Mary as the Fortified Town’ (anon., c. 1655) – refectory corridor

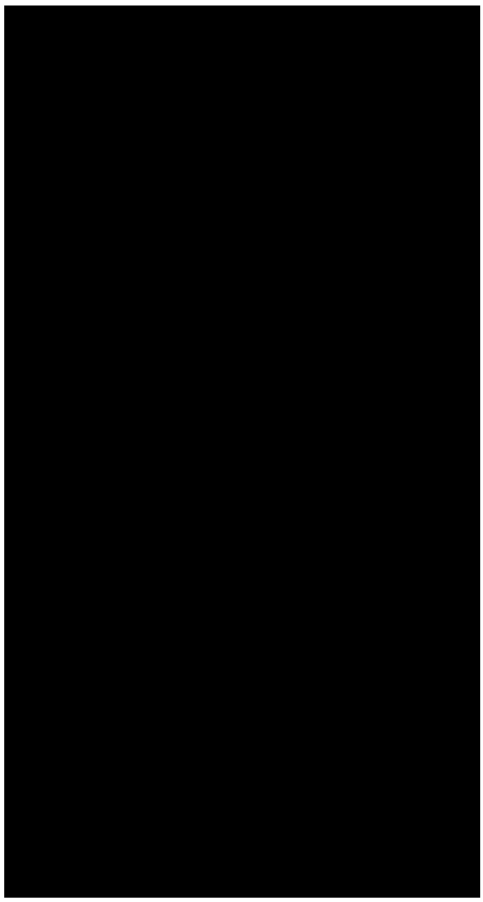


Figure 4.7 – Theodore Galle's Fortified Camp – Jan David, *Pancarpium Marianum* (Antwerp, 1607)

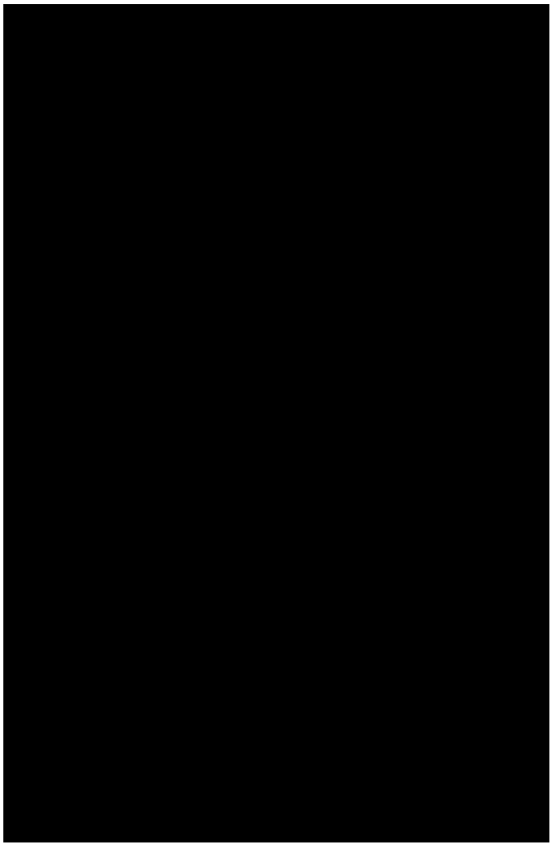
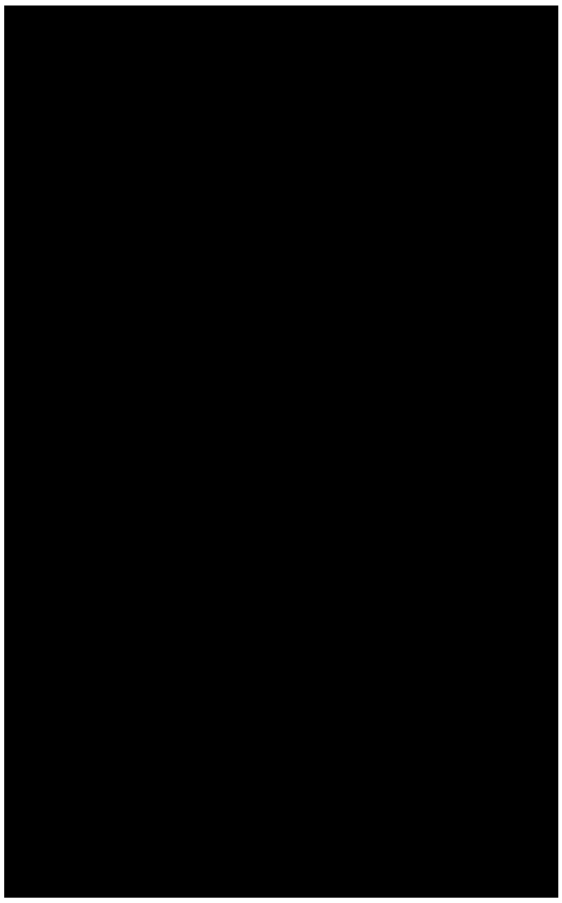


Figure 4.8 – Galle's Fortified Town – *Pancarpium Marianum*



around the time of the siege.[14] They formed part of a series of around 20 images, painted on wooden cupboards originally in the monastery treasury, but which were transferred to the corridor leading to the refectory in 1922, and they are copies of engravings made by Theodore Galle (Figures 4.7, 4.8),[15] found in the *Pancarpium Marianum*, itself part of *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae*, a theological treatise by Jan David. Galle made fifty engravings, abstract pieces of Mariology, illustrating Mary's qualities as described in David's text. In it, David proclaims how the Virgin defended the baby Jesus with strong walls and bulwarks (the fortified city being a reference to her protective womb), and how she will thus protect all those who flee to her, their 'defensatrix' against the enemies of Christ, their safe refuge as a fortified city in war. Though they may be faced by innumerable foes, they are the stronger through their faith in God and the Blessed Virgin, who is the fortified camp against three terrible adversaries: the Devil, heretics, and those who slander the Virgin's humility.[16] David's plainly confessionalised metaphors are mapped out in cartographic form by Galle, in an effort to make these abstract ideas understandable in earthly terms. The function of Galle's original cartographical images was not to map out physical space, but to map out Mariological concepts – we might call them pieces of 'theological cartography'. When painted onto the treasury cupboards in Jasna Góra, however, these images became more than abstract representations. Their imagery and symbolism resonated so closely with that of the siege that these images took on an earthly meaning, and a specific location, becoming, in effect, depictions of the siege of Jasna Góra itself (despite the fact that they look nothing like the monastery at all), when the monastery was saved from the satanic Protestants by the Virgin Mary. Indeed, their Mariological messages were highly pertinent to a monastery known as the 'Fortalitium Marianum', the Marian Fortress, and the connection was all the more natural, given that the images were part of the fabric of the monastery itself. But we have proof that this association was made, found in a feature of the Fortified Town: the Virgin Mary herself. While the painting is a close, if simplified, copy of Galle's engraving, the copyist made one important change. He adapts the image of the

[14] Janusz Pasierb opts for 1649-51 (*The Shrine of the Black Madonna* (Warsaw, 1985), Figures 52-5), Samek and Zbudniewek post-1655 (*Klejnoty*, 35), while Rozanow and Smulikowska opt for three different dates: the first half of the 17th century, the mid-17th century, and post-1651 (*Cultural Heritage*, 85, 87; *Zabytki*, 128)
[15] A connection first recognised by Pasierb (*Shrine*, 26)
[16] Jan David, *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae* (Antwerp, 1607), pt. 2 *Pancarpium Marianum*, no. 24 'Urbs Fortitudinis', and no. 28 'Castrorum Acies Ordinata'

Virgin Mary: the infant Jesus is transferred from her right arm to her left, and both of their right arms are raised higher to make a different gesture (Figures 4.9, 4.10) – a change seemingly of little consequence, until we realise that this new Madonna and Child now imitates exactly the miraculous icon of the Black Madonna, in gesture and arrangement (Figure 4.11). This was an active choice by

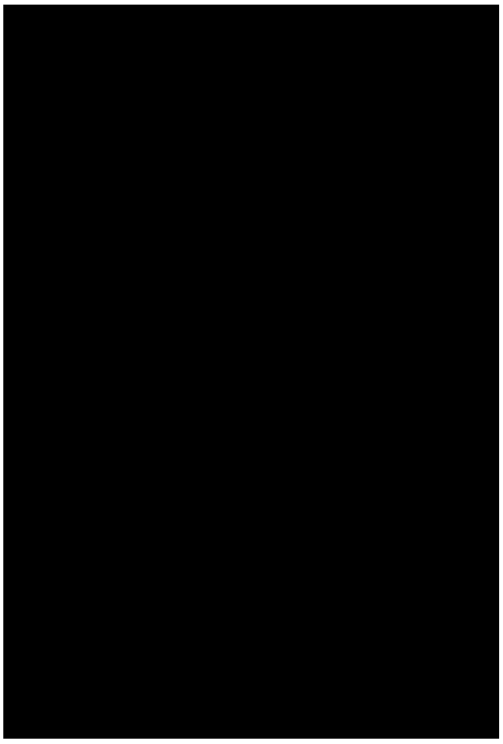
Figure 4.9 – Galle's Virgin Mary (4.8)



Figure 4.10 – Copyist's Virgin Mary (4.6)



Figure 4.11 – The Black Madonna of Częstochowa



the copyist, and is evidence of the reception of the image in the monastery, and how the copyist intended it to be read. As a result, the Mariological concepts of Galle's original engravings are brought to bear on the siege of 1655. Indeed, the hybrid nature of these map-views, both theological image and siege image, places the siege within a greater Mariological narrative, of Mary as the 'defensatrix', who will keep safe all those who believe in her. In fact, it even lends theological justification to the legend around the siege, demonstrating the firm theological foundations underpinning the monastery's Marian salvation, as the siege is turned into an earthly manifestation of a heavenly truth. With quotes underneath adapted from David's text, these map-views are pregnant with confessional meaning, fashioning the siege into a story of Mary's protection of the Catholic faithful against the assaults of heresy.

As is becoming clear in these images, the siege was not merely a battle between earthly powers, but between the powers of heaven and hell – not fought on behalf of the divine, but by the divine itself. This is made abundantly clear on the rainbow arch, not simply through parallels with the *Slayer* image, but through the depiction of miracles, and the apparition of heavenly beings on earth. We are told in Kordecki's *Nova Gigantomachia* how the Virgin Mary, together with Paul the Hermit, appeared to the Swedes during the siege and turned cannonballs mid-flight back onto the besiegers, who, terrified, turned to flight.[17] The view makes direct refence to these beliefs, as, above the monastery, the sky opens up to heaven, with Mary appearing, accompanied by angels, to defend the monastery, and Paul appearing alongside, genuflecting towards her in prayer, interceding on behalf of the defenders. Though we see the flaming course of cannonballs approaching the monastery, Jasna Góra remains untouched by them, miraculously immaculate, and the text tells us how we should refer to it as 'the burning bush that was unburnt in the flames, unharmed by the fire of the heated shot', despite a forty-day siege (itself a number with strong biblical resonances), thanks to the protection of 'Jesus Christ and His Mother'.

Such depictions of miracles, events that defy the laws of nature, of heavenly apparitions on earth, real and tangible, are examples of Mircea Eliade's concept of 'hierophany' – a breakthrough

[17] Augustyn Kordecki, *Nova Gigantomachia* (Kraków, 1658), 103-4

of the sacred or supernatural into the profane world.[18] This influential concept has mostly been taken up by anthropologists and students of religion,[19] and only occasionally by historians,[20] but seemingly never with regard to imagery, let alone cartography. We might have presumed such a concept would have little relevance to the scientific realm of cartography, but, nevertheless, here we see the sacred not only bursting its way into the profane world, but into the supposedly profane space of the map. This should not be surprising. To be sure, mapping the 'sacred', whether that be God, the gods, Nirvana, or whatever else, could be considered unmappable; but when the sacred breaks through into human sensory experience, into the physical world, as people believe it to, in the form of miracles, it becomes a natural subject for cartographic depiction. And we will find that it did become one. For this hierophany is something far from unique to the rainbow arch. It is a feature of every cartographic depiction of the siege, and, as we will see, was certainly not limited to depictions of that event alone. This divine or supernatural presence within early modern cartography is a significant feature in need of recognition, and of a name, which we will term 'cartographic hierophany'.

If we thought such hierophany would be toned down in engraved imagery, we would be mistaken. The first engraved view of the siege, made by Johann Bensheimer c. 1657 (Figure 4.12), alludes to the symbolic help of heaven, depicting, as part of the legend's cartouche, an armed cherub flying down to earth, a heavenly soldier seemingly sent from God (Figure 4.13). It does more than imply divine aid, however. Again, we see Paul and Mary appearing above the monastery, and, for the avoidance of doubt over their true, physical presence, the label states: 'The Most Blessed Virgin and St Paul the First Hermit, appearing to the enemy'.[21] To their right, Bensheimer depicts a miracle only indirectly referenced on the rainbow arch, presented here for the first time, as we see a cannonball which has turned sharply, mid-flight, back onto the Swedish positions, with

[18] Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (New York, 1963), 6
[19] Alejandra Siffredi, 'Hierofanias y concepciones mítico-religiosas de los Teheulches meridionales', *Runa*, 12 (1969-70), 247-71; Winfried Corduan, *A Tapestry of Faiths* (Eugene, 2009), 52, 206ff.; David Bialock, '*Biwa* Masters and Musical Hierophanies', *Journal of Religion in Japan*, 2 (2013), 119-51
[20] Gregory Leighton, 'Did the Teutonic Order create a sacred landscape in thirteenth-century Prussia?', *Journal of Medieval History*, 44.4 (2018), 457-83; Basit Qureshi, 'A Hierophany Emergent: The Discursive Reconquest of the Urban Landscape of Jerusalem', *The Historian*, 76.4 (2014), 725-49
[21] 'Virgo Beatissima et S. Paulus P.E. hosti apparentes'

Figure 4.12 – 'Ectypus Obsidionis Clari Montis Częstochoviens[is]…', Johann Bensheimer (Gdańsk, c. 1657)



Figure 4.13 – A heavenly soldier (4.12)



the label reading: 'The cannonball here turns backwards',[22] a sign of the 'succour of the Most Holy Virgin',[23] referred to in the title. Bensheimer's image became the most popular depiction of the siege, reproduced many times over, along with its hierophanic message. It appeared in the first edition of the *Nova Gigantomachia* (1658), in Stanisław Kobierzycki's *Obsidio Clari Montis Częstochoviensis* (1659), and in Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro's *Militarium seu axiomatum belli* (1668). It was used so intensively that it had to be retouched by Jan Aleksander Gorczyn,[24] when it was included in Ambroży Nieszporkowicz' *Odrobiny stołu krolewskiego/Analecta Mensæ Reginalis* (1681), and it was even printed outside of Poland, in Christian Sorniz' *Scriptores rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1698). It also served as a model for the 18th-century engravers Gabriel Bodenehr (Figure 4.29) and Matthias Fuhrmann (Figure 4.18). We see a very similar, if exaggerated, depiction in the 1720 edition of Nieszporkowicz' *Odrobiny stołu krolewskiego*, in a view by Antoni Agapit Nowakowski, a monk of Jasna Góra, where not one, but every projectile turns violently away from the monastery, thanks to the intercession of Mary and Paul (Figure 4.14)[25], an image repeated in another, anonymous engraving (Figure 4.15) In a map by Gorczyn (Figure 4.16), made no earlier than the 1660s,[26] Mary and Paul are joined by St John the Evangelist (on whose feast day the Swedes broke their siege), a story that is copied in the view of the siege found in the Knights' Hall, Jasna Góra's ceremonial chamber, painted towards the end of the 17th century (Figure 4.17). It offers further manifestations of hierophany, depicting miraculous solar signs either side of the monastery, while the text confirms divine involvement in the siege, stating how 'God chose to confound the Swedish forces, 12,000-strong', how 'He taught the hands of our armies to fight, and our fingers to war', and how 'the miracle-working Mother, together with our Holy Father the First

[22] 'Pyrobolus hinc retro abiens'
[23] 'Ope SS Virginis'
[24] In his retouching, Gorczyn changed the image on the east wall of the Chapel of the Miraculous Image, from a Madonna and Child on a crescent moon to the Virgin Mary atop a dragon, clearly reminiscent of the *Slayer of Heresy* found within the Chapel. Besides casting the siege in a confessional light, this also speaks of an interesting dialogue between our images, across different cartographic media.
[25] Fuhrmann copied this image for Nieszporkowicz' German edition too, *Gnad- und Wunder-volle Brosamen* (Breslau, 1750)
[26] Widacka, 'Ikonografia', 309

Hermit, with St John the Evangelist, and with the whole host of heaven, stood manifest as a sign and portent for our cause'.[27]

Figure 4.14 – Siege view, Antoni Agapit Nowakowski – Ambroży Nieszporkowicz, *Odrobiny stołu krolewskiego* (Częstchowa, 1720)



Figure 4.15 – Anonymous, undated view of the siege (Biblioteka Narodowa, G.28951/II)

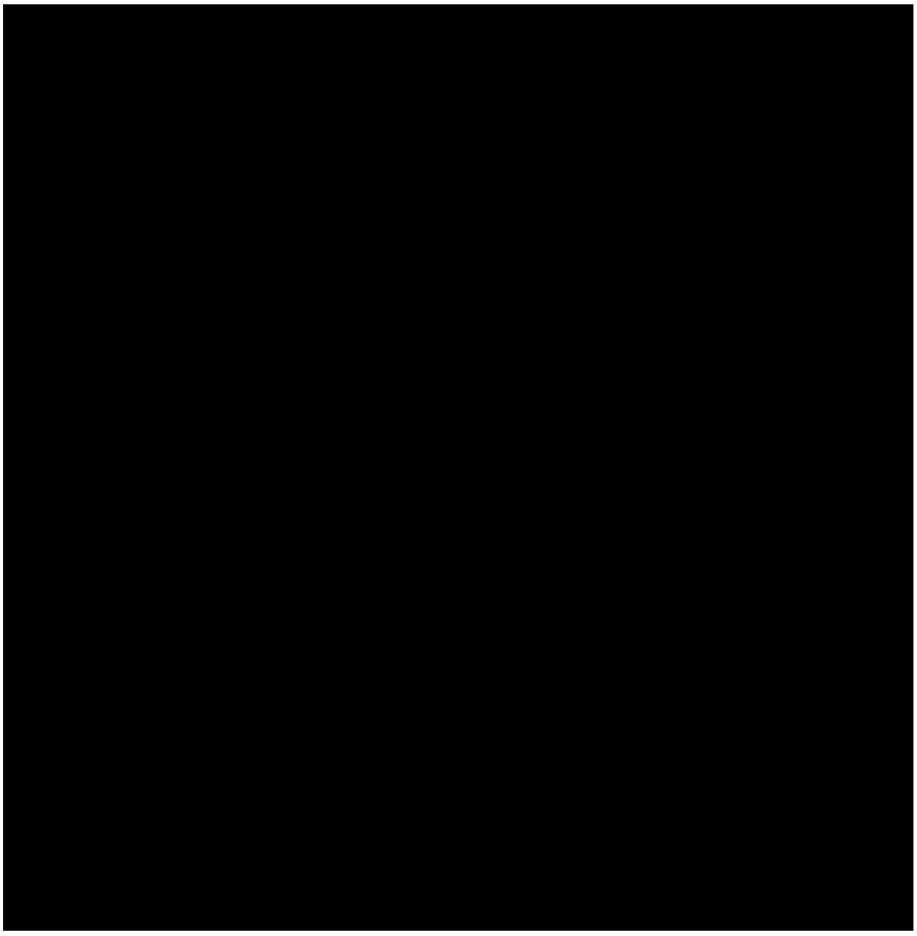


[27] 'elegit Deus ut confundat fortia 12000 suecorum', 'domino deo exercituum manus nostras docente ad praelium et digitos nostr. ad bellum', 'Thaumaturga Matre et S Patre nostro Primo Eremita, S Ioanne Evangelista, totague [sic] caelesti curia pro nobis manifeste stante in signis et portentis'

Figure 4.16 – 'Admirandus divinae protectionis…', Jan Aleksander Gorczyn (post-1660)

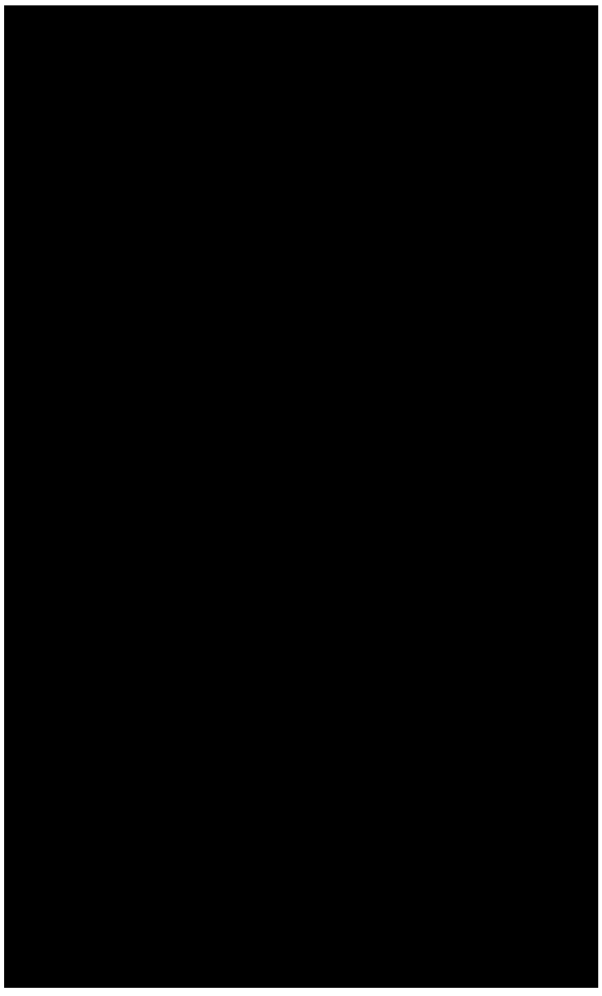


Figure 4.17 – Siege view (anon., late-17th century) – Knights' Hall, Jasna Góra



Clearly, these hierophanies did not remain cartographically static, as it evolved in different directions. One of these was Pauline, and can be seen in Matthias Fuhrmann's copy of the Bensheimer image, illustrating his 2-part work on the life and veneration of St Paul the First Hermit.[28] He himself was a Pauline monk in Austria, and his work sought to raise the profile of his Order's patron, a purpose his view of the siege fulfils (Figure 4.18). Like the Bensheimer original, it depicts Mary and Paul atop clouds above the monastery, but in the text below he gives the image a twist. It says, in Latin and German: 'During the Swedish siege of Jasna Góra, Paul revealed himself miraculously to the enemy, with the Blessed Virgin alongside'. Rather than taking centre stage, Mary rather becomes an accomplice to Paul, as the story of the siege is adapted for a Pauline purpose. Less an image about the Virgin fighting the scourge of heresy, it epitomises St Paul's care for his Order.

Figure 4.18 – 'In Obsidione Suecica Claramontanae…' – Matthias Fuhrmann, *Decus solitudinis sive vita et obitus… Pauli Thebaei* (Vienna, 1732)



[28] Matthias Fuhrmann, *Decus solitudinis sive vita et obitus… Pauli Thebaei* (Vienna, 1732)

In other images, the narrative is taken in a Marian direction. For, though Mary is the constant that unites all these images together, her role is embellished to quite extreme proportions. This can be seen in images around the monastery, which can perhaps best be described as 'cartographic caricatures'. These are images that are clearly derived from the cartographical images we have been studying, still ostensibly act as 'views', but which, like caricatures, over-simplify their subjects and exaggerate certain features. Often these cartographic caricatures are small, forced to simplify and distort by their size, but sometimes caricatured only for ease of messaging. These images offer a view of Jasna Góra at their centre; the Swedes are simplified to a small group of soldiers, or abstracted into a red-hot, hellish heat; it is the hierophanic that is exaggerated and intensified, dominating the view and the narrative it conveys. In these images, Mary assumes complete control over the defence of the monastery, as the defenders, Paul, and even God are side-lined, the victory ascribed entirely to the God-bearer. On the ceiling of the south aisle of the Basilica, we can see an image painted by Karol Dankwart, himself a Swedish convert to Catholicism,[29] in the 1690s (Figure 4.19). Here, Mary is not simply shown as a static apparition, or in prayer, reliant on God's miraculous intervention. She protects the monastery herself from the hellish artillery barrage, casting her cloak about it. This is Mary's Protective Mantle, a trope popular in 17th-century Poland (the *Płaszcz opiekuńczy Maryi*),[30] but also throughout the Catholic and Orthodox worlds, seen in the iconography around Our Lady of Mercy, who gathers the faithful under her mantle for protection (Figure 4.20). This, however, is an unusual cartographic variation on an old trope, where Mary is not protecting people, but an architectural complex, as Dankwart offers another perspective on the legend of the impotent Swedish artillery – a theme repeated on the balcony of the Chapel of the Miraculous Image, painted 1721-4 by an unknown artist (Figure 4.21). Mary's role reaches its height in two other Basilica paintings. On the vaulting of the central nave, Karol Dankwart painted a large image, showing Mary, surrounded by cherubs, flying down from heaven, armed with a sword and shield marked with the Marian monogram, to attack the Swedes before Jasna Góra, who flee in fear before her (Figure 4.22). And on the old balustrade of

[29] Zuzanna Prószyńska, Zofia Rozanow, Ewa Smulikowska, 'Dankwart, Karol', *Słownik Artystów Polskich i obcych w Polsce działających*, vol. 2 (Wrocław, 1975)
[30] Juliusz Chrościcki, 'Gigantomachia, komety i ulotki. Studia nad ikonografią oblężenia Jasnej Góry w roku 1655', *Studia Claromontana*, 7 (1987), 128

Figure 4.19 – Siege caricature, protected by Mary's Protective Mantle (Karol Dankwart, 1690s) – south aisle vaulting, Jasna Góra Basilica



Figure 4.20 – Our Lady of Mercy, (Francisco de Zurbarán, c. 1655) – Monasterio de Santa María de las Cuervas, Seville



Figure 4.21 – Siege caricature, protected by Mary's Protective Mantle (anon., 1721-4) – balcony of the Chapel of the Miraculous Image



Figure 4.22 – Siege caricature, saved by a militant Mary (Karol Dankwart, 1690s) – nave vaulting, Jasna Góra Basilica

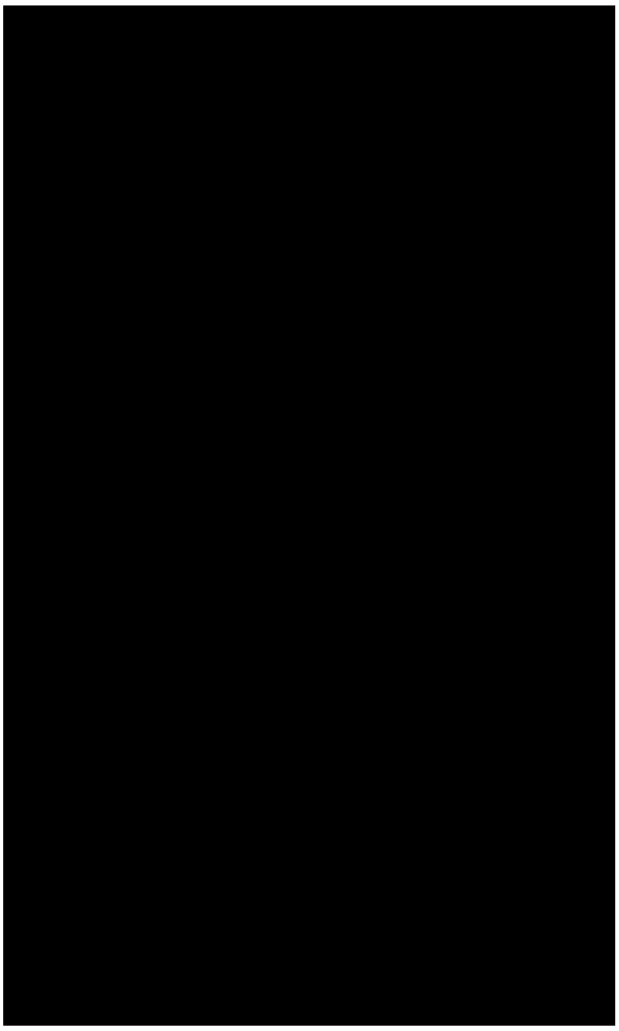
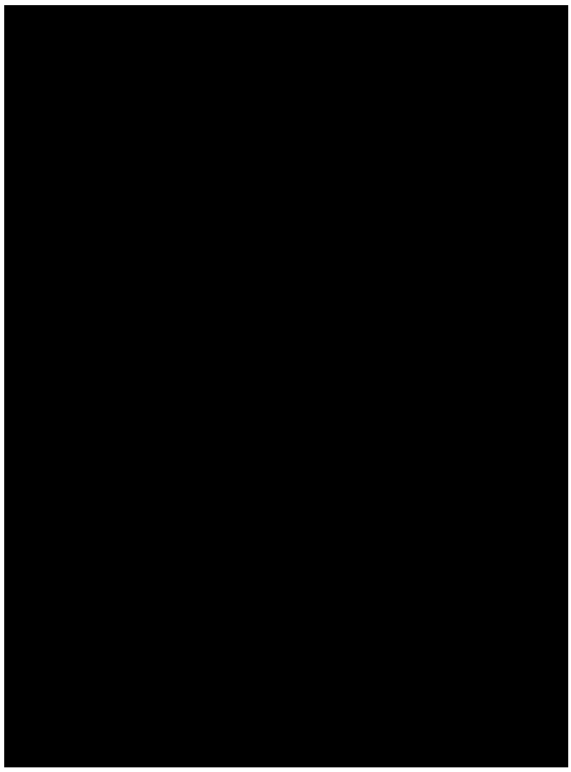


Figure 4.23 – Siege caricature, saved by a Jovian Mary, anon. (1690s)– balustrade of the choir (dismantled c. 1960), Jasna Góra Basilica



the Basilica choir (dismantled c. 1960),[31] we see an image of Mary flying above the monastery, lightning bolts in hand, assaulting the Swedes below (Figure 4.23). These images do not show Mary merely appearing before Swedish eyes, or as an intercessor, or even a protector – they define her as a martial champion,[32] a divine soldier against the enemies of heaven, even armed with Jovian weapons, in a fascinating fusion of pagan mythology and Christian theology. It goes without saying, this is a very different manifestation of cartographic hierophany.

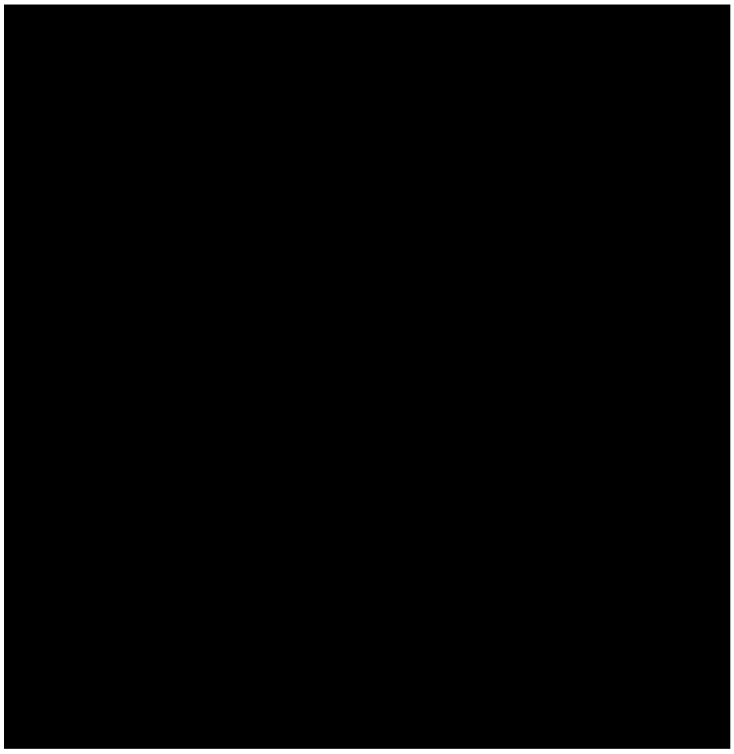
As mentioned before, such cartographic hierophany was not unique to Jasna Góra, and it took different forms in different contexts. On the other side of the country, the Lithuanian fortress of Lachowicze was holding out, not against Protestant Swedes, but Orthodox Muscovites. In 1660 it survived a three-month siege, supposedly saved by the Virgin Mary, through the mediation of its miraculous icon, Our Lady of Białynicze – perhaps unsurprisingly, it became known as the 'Lithuanian Jasna Góra'. A 17th-century map of the siege (Figure 4.24), though undated and unsigned, is dedicated 'to the greater glory of God and honour of the Virgin Mother', and states

[31] Rozanow and Smulikowska, *Zabytki*, 53
[32] This was also an old trope in Spain, used in depictions of the Reconquista and the conquest of Mexico (Linda Hall, *Mary, Mother & Warrior* (Austin, 2004))

Figure 4.24 – The siege of Lachowicze, anon. (s.l., later-17th century)



Figure 4.25 – Our Lady of Białynicze saves Lachowicze (4.24)



that the fortress was saved 'by the singular beneficence of God and the protection of the God-bearer'.[33] Above the fortress, we see depicted, not Mary, but her icon (Figure 4.25), accompanied by the note: 'The Muscovites saw the most blessed Virgin above the citadel, in the manner of an icon',[34] leaving us in no doubt of the real, tangible nature of this iconographical hierophany. In another similar story, the Basilian monastery of Ławra Poczajowska became known as the 'Orthodox Jasna Góra', saved this time from the Turks in 1675, through the icon of Our Lady of Poczajów. Nikodem Zubrzycki's 1704 woodcut of the siege (Figure 4.26) proclaims how the Virgin Mary appeared over the monastery (Figure 4.27), and St Michael and his angels (Figure 4.28) fell upon the Turks, turning them to flight. This latter case demonstrates how such cartographic hierophanies were not limited to Catholic mapmaking, hints at the extensive use of this feature in early modern cartography more widely – for these images were surely not unique, and may well be representatives of a much broader tradition of cartographic hierophany.

Figure 4.26 – The siege of Ławra Poczajowska, facsimile of Nikodem Zubrzycki's engraving (s.l., 1704)



[33] 'Ad Maiorem Dei gloriam et Virginis Deiparae honorem', 'singulari beneficio Dei et protectione Deiparae'
[34] 'Beatissimam virginem supra arcem tali imagine moschi viderunt'

Figure 4.27 – Detail from 4.26



Figure 4.28 – Detail from 4.26



These cartographic hierophanies, if anything, are manifestations of religious belief. They can be considered expressions of faith, faith in the veracity of miracles, faith that the divine does intervene in the world – and they show how cartography can offer a window, not only into the places or events they depict, but into theological beliefs. That said, if cartography can express faith, it can also express doubt. And we see as much in a copy of the Bensheimer view, made by Gabriel Bodenehr the Elder in Augsburg around the 1720s (Figure 4.29). At first sight it seems little different to the original, depicting Mary and Paul floating over the monastery, with a cannonball

turning back on the Swedish positions, but the labels attached to these miraculous occurrences seem to pour cold water on the concept. In both cases, he describes what we see, but adds the proviso that the Swedes did *not* see them. And in the introductory text beside the map, he mentions the how the victory is attributed to a miracle, but that this is disputed. Whether the defence was truly miraculous or not Bodenehr does not say, but, with the hierophany shrouded in ambiguity, he leaves it to the reader to decide.

Figure 4.29 – 'Das Veste Closter Czenstochau…', Gabriel Bodenehr (Augsburg, 1720s)

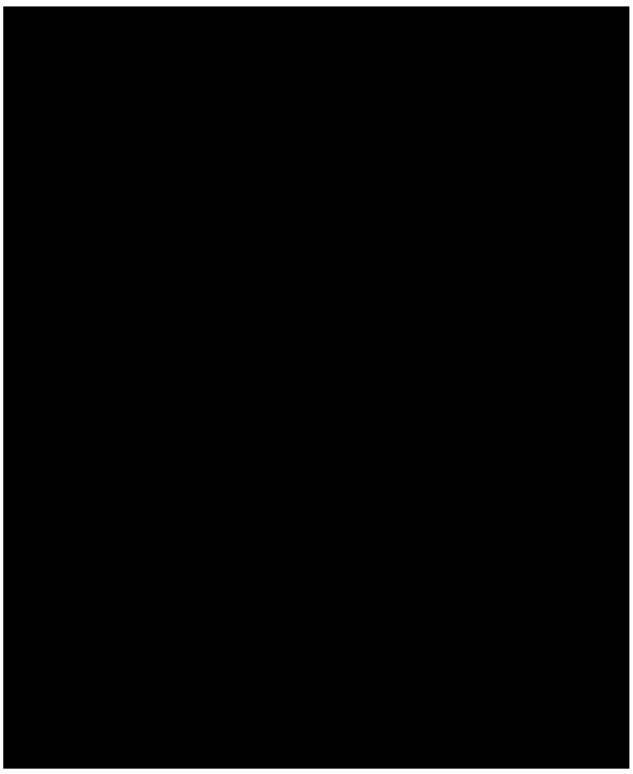


Before we move on to Dahlbergh's imagery, we ought to examine how the confessionalised nature of these images influenced their depiction of the Polish nation. It leads, naturally enough, to the tying of Polishness to Catholicism, an image we have seen many times before. Here, however, it is not an incidental feature, not a side-effect of cartographic convention, as with bishops, nor a result of a holistic confessional agenda like Braun's, but rather a deliberate statement of Poland's religious identity – and expressed through a completely different method. Moreover, this fashioning of Poland was particularly important, for the siege of 1655 was central to the crystallisation of a Polish Catholic identity,[35] and our images participated in that important process. Indeed, though they be depictions of just one small place within it, they nevertheless speak

[35] Oskar Halecki, 'The Place of Czestochowa in Poland's Millennium', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 52.4 (1967), 494-508

about Poland as a whole, demonstrating how cartographical images are not constrained by their own geographical limits, but have the ability to speak of places far beyond what they immediately depict. The rainbow arch, for example ties Polishness into the confessional battle, casting it not just as a struggle between Catholics and heretics, but between Catholic *Poles* and their religious enemies. The view's text considers the miraculous salvation of the monastery as a gift that 'God granted to Poland', while, in the *Slayer* image above, Poles are also accounted part of the Church's perennial struggle against heresy, with Bl. Stanisław Oporowski, a Pole known as 'młot na heretyków' (the hammer of heretics), included amongst the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. The Polish Eagle can be found in Gorczyn's map of the siege (Figure 4.16), atop the left-hand cartouche, and also, more prominently, on the frontispiece of Stanisław Kobierzycki's *Obsidio Clari Montis* (Gdańsk, 1659) (Figure 4.30). Though not depicting Jasna Góra under siege, it appears on the title page of a

Figure 4.30 – Johann Bensheimer's frontispiece for Kobierzycki's *Obsidio Clari Montis* (Gdańsk, 1659)



book named 'The Siege of Jasna Góra', and is clearly making a direct reference to it, placing the Polish nation at the heart of the defence of the monastery, and the defence of Mary herself, depicted above. It was not just the Deluge that was confessionalised by these maps, but the idea of the Polish nation itself. The irony of this should not be missed, however, for, as has been pointed

out by Adam Kersten, the monks of Jasna Góra had already officially subjugated themselves to the Swedes, recognising Charles Gustav as King of Poland, ten days before the siege began, which only transpired after they objected to a Protestant garrison entering into the monastery itself. The siege was not a patriotic defence of the Polish nation, but simply the defence of a monastery against heretics.[36]

*

UN-CONFESSIONALISED CARTOGRAPHY

> 'For we make no question but the wresting of the Kingdom of Poland by your arms from the Papal Empire, as it were a horn from the head of the Beast, and your peace made with the Duke of Brandenburg, to the great satisfaction of all the pious, though with the growls from your adversaries, will be of very great consequence for the peace and profit of the Church'
>
> Oliver Cromwell, letter to Charles Gustav of Sweden, 1656[37]

It was not only Catholic Poles who saw the Deluge in confessional terms. Lord Protector Cromwell, for one, saw it as such, and other Protestants, anticipating the apocalypse, interpreted the year 1655, and Charles Gustav's invasion of Poland, as the beginning of the final, pan-Protestant struggle against popery.[38] If, however, we expected to find a similarly hyper-confessionalised depiction in the maps of Erik Dahlbergh, we would be disappointed. His cartography, far from being a Protestant equivalent of the confessionalised cartography studied above, offers a thoroughly un-confessionalised perspective. Where we might expect to see the invasion characterised as a Protestant crusade against the popish Poles, liberating the Commonwealth's Protestants from the Catholic yoke, as did Gustav Adolph in the 1620s, we instead see a purely political conflict, a war of conquest, kingdom against kingdom, devoid of any confessional motive. (To be clear, we are not arguing that 'confessional' and 'political' are in any

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[36] Kersten, *Pierwszy opis*
[37] Guernsey Jones, *The Diplomatic Relations between Cromwell and Charles X Gustavus of Sweden* (Lincoln, Neb., 1897), 38
[38] Sven Göransson, *Den Europeiska Konfessionspolitikens upplösning 1654-60* (Uppsala, 1956), passim

way mutually exclusive, just that the political is all that is left to define the conflict in light of Dahlbergh's refusal to confessionalise it).

Erik Jönsson Dahlbergh (1625-1703) served as a military engineer in Charles Gustav's army during his invasion of Poland. While on campaign, he was encouraged by the king to draw up images to document the events of the war for an international audience. The initial plan was to have them published by Matthäus Merian in the 1650s, as a contemporary chronicle of Charles Gustav's campaigns, but this plan fell through. His drawings were commandeered by the Swedish State in the 1660s, and were only published decades later, as illustrations for Samuel Pufendorf's official History of Charles Gustav, *De Rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sveciae Rege Gestis Commentariorum Libri Septem* (Nuremberg, 1696; published in French and German in 1697), a work commissioned by Charles Gustav's son, Charles XI. There was, therefore, no real connection between the production of word and image (although Pufendorf continually asked to see Dahlbergh's images, they only arrived when he was on his deathbed, in 1694).[39] Dahlbergh produced almost 130 images for *Carolo Gustavo*, and among them, dozens of maps and views of Polish towns.

The Lutheran cities of Royal Prussia saw a great deal of military action during the war, and thus feature heavily in Dahlbergh's imagery.[40] In the Polish-Swedish War of 1626-9, many Prussian towns had willingly opened their gates to Gustav Adolph as their co-religionist and protector, and it would not have been difficult to shape these images in line with that precedent. In the language in the maps' cartouches, however, describing the fall of these towns into Swedish hands, we can see clearly how Dahlbergh steers well clear of such a narrative. Continually, he uses the language of military 'occupation', of victor and vanquished, never of liberation, nor the deliverance of Protestant cities from Catholic oppression, and never speaks of any common cause between Swedish and Polish Protestant. As a representative example, let us examine Dahlbergh's first map of Toruń (Figure 4.31). We are presented with Charles Gustav's triumphant entry into the town,

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[39] Magnusson, *Att illustrera fäderneslandet*; Börje Magnusson, 'An Amateur Draughtsman and his Engravers: the Case of Erik Dahlbergh', in Peter Fuhring, et al. (eds), *L'Estampe au Grand Siècle* (Paris, 2010), 429-48; Ernst Ericsson, 'Erik J. Dahlbergh' in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 9 (Stockholm, 1931), 615; Mikoś, 'Erik Dahlbergh', 143-55

[40] Neumark/Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, Mewe/Gniew, Marienburg/Malbork, Elbing/Elbląg, Danzig/Gdańsk, Thorn/Toruń, Graudenz/Grudziądz, Strasburg/Brodnica, Dirschau/Tczew

Figure 4.31 – Conquest of Toruń – Erik Dahlbergh, in Samuel Pufendorf, *Carolo Gustavo* (Nuremberg, 1696)



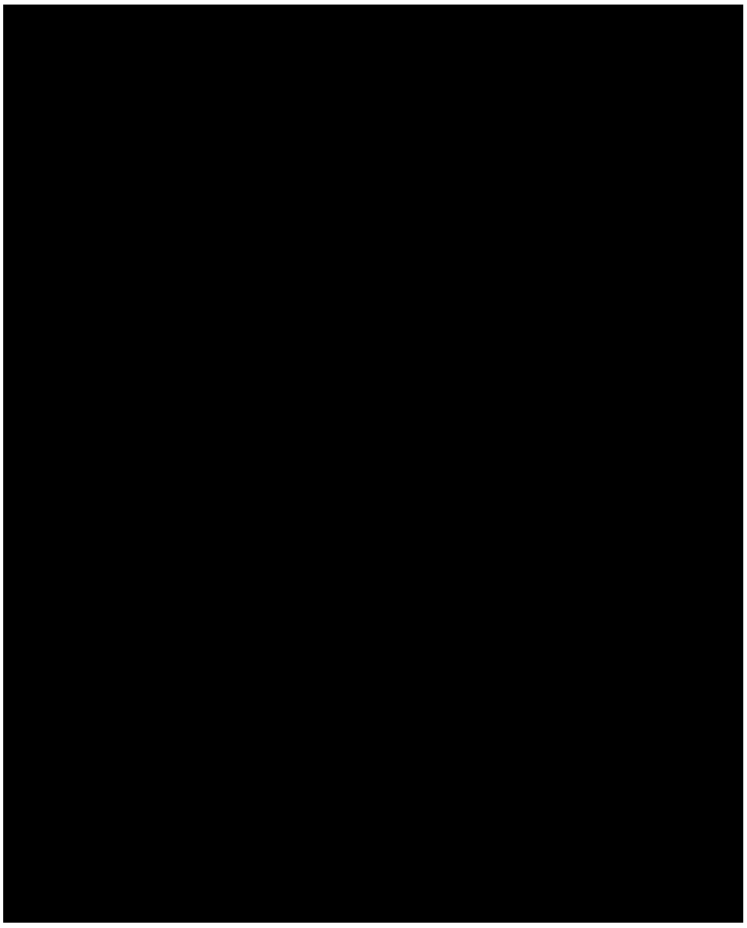
recently captured by the Swedes, the presentation of the keys of the city by Toruń's consuls and senators, the way into the city lined with citizens-at-arms. It is made clear, however, that he enters the town, not as a liberator, but as a conqueror, Dahlbergh's title referring to the 'surrender' and 'capture' of the city.[41] The citizens are not welcoming Charles Gustav as liberated Protestants, they are subordinated to him as a conquered people – defeated enemies, not confessional allies. Indeed, though it was strongly Lutheran, Toruń is not even presented as a Protestant city – if anything, it comes across as Catholic. Dahlbergh highlights six of Toruń's churches, and none are identified as Protestant, yet two are unquestionably Catholic ('Coenob. Virgin. ad S. Spirit' and 'Coenob. Franciscanorum', a convent and Franciscan monastery respectively). More broadly, the Protestant character of Royal Prussia is almost completely ignored by Dahlbergh. Far from a Protestant equivalent to the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, these images do not seek to magnify Protestant presence and silence other confessions. In fact, throughout his Polish images, Dahlbergh only highlights two

[41] 'deditione', 'Capta'

Protestant churches: Gniew (Figure 4.34), and his first map of Malbork. As a result, any claim to the Deluge as a war of confessional liberation was wholly invalidated. While there is no symbolism in the map of Toruń to cast the conflict in confessional terms, the heraldic symbols around the cartouche: the Tre Kronor (Three Crowns) of Sweden, the Lion of the House of Bjelbo (a central feature of Charles Gustav's dynastic crest of Palatinate-Zweibrücken), and the monogram of Charles Gustav himself, offer a political narrative and tone for the image – an impression repeated throughout the entire volume.

If it is not a pro-Protestant conflict, neither is it anti-Catholic. Dahlbergh depicts numerous wayside crosses across the Polish landscape – unequivocally Catholic symbols – and these are never shown defaced, never pulled down, but are always respected by the invaders. In the view of the siege of Kraków, for example, we can see a cross, adorned with the *Arma Christi* (the instruments of Christ's Passion), standing right in the midst of the Swedish camp, with soldiers milling around below, with no intention of doing it harm (Figure 4.32). Likewise, Dahlbergh

Figure 4.32 – Wayside cross, with the *Arma Christi*, unharmed, Kraków – *Carolo Gustavo*



studiously avoids depicting any damage inflicted by the Swedes against ecclesiastical structures, which emerge unscathed from the conflict, cartographically at least (the looting and burning of Catholic churches was, in fact, endemic during the Deluge). He does this, not only through the manipulation of space, cartographically rebuilding churches that had been destroyed,[42] but through the manipulation of time. For maps are not simply depiction of space, but of space in (or sometimes across) time. *When* a cartographer locates his map can be as important as *what* he depicts. More often than not, Dahlbergh chooses to depict his subjects before they had been captured by the Swedes, or at the latest, the day they fell into Swedish hands – pre-occupation, and pre-destruction. Like the *Civitates*, Dahlbergh here manipulates his images, and their messages, seemingly without denting his cartographic integrity.[43] We see a pristineness different to that of Jasna Góra; here, the churches are protected *by* the Swedes, there, the monastery is protected *from* them. If we ever see any kind of indiscriminate destruction, the blame is laid solely at the door of the enemy. In the foreground of the Battle of Żarnów, for example (Figure 4.33), we see a village aflame, labelled 'Pagus a Polonis incensus', 'a village burnt by the Poles'; in the Battle of Filipów, we are told the flaming town was 'burnt by the fleeing Lithuanians';[44] in the view of Złotów, we view the castle from the burnt-out ruins of a village, 'reduced to ashes by the Poles';[45] and though we are shown the Swedish demolition of Sandomierz castle, the fire that we see engulfing the town was, allegedly, started by the Poles. The Swedes were purely concerned with military targets, a depiction that resonates with euphemisms about war today, of 'precision bombing', and 'surgical strikes' (just as untrue then as it is now), and proffers a wholly different view of the conflict to the *Nova Gigantomachia*, which bewails the 'temples tainted with sacrilege' and priests 'mounted on crosses'. And the message is clear: the Swedes were not in Poland to dismantle Catholic idolatry.

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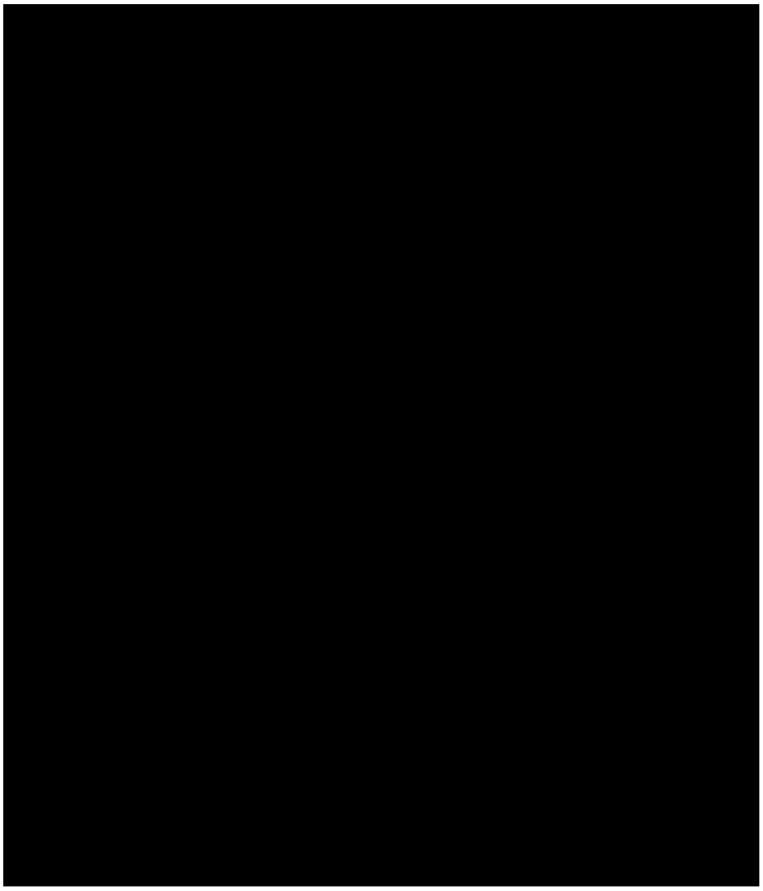
[42] Dahlbergh had form in this respect. His *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, a collection of engravings of his homeland, often 'violently attacked' reality, showing buildings complete that were still under construction, or would never be constructed, and transforming buildings that did exist, whether by substituting stone for wood, adding extra floors onto houses, or changing their architectural styles (Magnusson, *Att illustrera fäderneslandet*, 258). Moreover, we know how carefully Dahlbergh curated the engraving of his images for *Carolo Gustavo*, meticulously checking the proofs that were sent to him, returning incredibly detailed corrections of even the tiniest details, such as the shading of church spires, the form of architectural niches, and the correct shape of crosses on church rooves (Magnusson, 'An Amateur Draughtsman'). These manipulations were, undeniably, Dahlbergh's own.

[43] It is perhaps ironic that, the more Dahlbergh diverted from reality, the more he denied the destruction, the more valuable his images became for historians investigating pre-Deluge Poland.

[44] 'Oppidum Philippova a fugentibus Lithuanis incensum'

[45] 'Vicus Flatou a Polonis in cineres redactus'

Figure 4.33 – "Pagus a Polonis incensus", Battle of Żarnów – *Carolo Gustavo*



Unfortunately, one important image is missing from Dahlbergh's final collection of images – the siege of Jasna Góra. For Dahlbergh *did* produce a drawing of it. In numerous documents, listing the images he was producing for the History, Dahlbergh mentioned his depiction of 'The Siege of Częstochowa by the Swedes under Major-General Müller'. He had made his drawing, and also prepared it for engraving. But in the list of engravings that Dahlbergh presented to Charles XI in 1695, this image mysteriously disappears, and ultimately does not appear in the final publication.[46] The drawing is surely lost, but it would have been fascinating to know whether he relied on an unknown Swedish source, or even adapted an image like Bensheimer's, to know how he responded to those confessionalised images of the siege, and how (or if) he sought to de-fang its confessional connotations, for it would have brought his agenda into much clearer focus. But, as it stands, we will never know.

[46] Łakociński, 'Oblężenie' 264

As before, we should take time to examine how Dahlbergh's un-confessionalised approach to the conflict shaped his depiction of Poland. Dahlbergh, of course, presents a very different case, not only to the images of Jasna Góra, but to all that has come before. He clearly was not beholden to a deeply confessionalised agenda like Georg Braun, and his city maps were, of course, not limited by an episcopal convention that hid Poland's Protestants beneath it – we might therefore hope, finally, for a more accurate cartographical account of the confessional make-up of these cities. We do not receive one, however. As noted above, Dahlbergh, though a Lutheran, only highlights two Protestant Churches in the whole of the Commonwealth, in Gniew and Malbork, and these are overwhelmed by symbols of Catholic identity, producing an image uncannily similar to that of the *Civitates*, of an overwhelmingly Catholic country. Again, we find Protestants silencing Protestantism on the map, and furthering this misleading image of Poland. But this was not analogous to the silencing of Janssonius (the Protestant mapmaker whose images were influenced by Braun's), for the contents of Dahlbergh's work was not dictated by Catholic imagery – he made many of his images first-hand. It was rather due to, or at least enabled by, Dahlbergh's non-confessional outlook.

For his disregard of the Catholic-Protestant dichotomy allowed Protestants to fall into the shadows. It left a confessional vacuum within the map which could readily be filled, even with trifling details. And these details, almost universally, served to emphasise Catholic elements over the Protestant, painting urban space with Catholic colours. We noted above that in Dahlbergh's first map of Toruń (Figure 4.31) none of the city's six churches are given a confessional attribution, yet two are rendered unquestionably Catholic. Meanwhile none are identifiably Protestant. Indeed, throughout his Polish images, the only recognisably Protestant feature is the Gymnasium in Elbląg, associated with Lutheran teaching in Germany, meanwhile other cities are teeming with the edifices of Catholic Orders (though without referring to them explicitly as Catholic), such as the Jesuits, Augustinians, Dominicans, Benedictines, Franciscans, Visitationists, Bernardines, Bennonites, Discalced Carmelites and Poor Clares, and the countryside populated with wayside crosses. As a result, despite minimal direct reference to Catholicism, Poland comes across as a distinctively

Catholic country, without a significant Protestant presence to temper it, regardless of the many Lutheran cities Dahlbergh depicts.

But this diminishment of Protestant presence was only exacerbated by confessional power dynamics, and maps' focus on the built environment (rather than the people that inhabit it). Though we found such external factors and cartographic limitations ultimately had little effect on the *Civitates*, their influence on Dahlbergh's images was pronounced. For even when freed from the power of bishops, cartography cannot escape power dynamics on other levels, this time those exerting an influence over urban space. By this time, Catholics had had significant success in reasserting control over urban space in the Protestant cities of Royal Prussia, supported as they were by the Polish state. The town of Gniew, for example, had converted to Lutheranism in 1538, with the parish church given to Protestants in 1545, recognised in the *privilegia religionis* granted by Zygmunt August in 1570. In 1597, however, under pressure from the state, the Lutherans were forced to give the parish church 'back' to Catholics, who, nevertheless, remained a minority in the town.[47] Dahlbergh's map (Figure 4.34) reflects this spatial reality, depicting two churches, 'E. Templum Pontificiorum' and 'F. Templum Evangelicorum', with Catholics clearly in control of the town's main church, dominating the space of the city. Indeed, the Catholic church is given all the cartographic trappings. Together with its churchyard, the edifice is given a more defined outline, with details of its exterior buttresses and the delineation of its tower, while its interior is highlighted

Figure 4.34 – Gniew – *Carolo Gustavo*



[47] Paul Correns, *Chronik der Stadt Mewe* (Graudenz, 1897), 30-32

with cross-hatching. The Protestant church, however, is almost cartographically non-existent; it is given no defined outline, its label hanging seemingly unattached to anything, surrounded only by blank blocks of housing, suggesting that Protestants were consigned to worship in a townhouse. Meanwhile the 'Caemeterium Evangelicorum', marked outside the city walls, further highlights the spatial exclusion and debasement of Protestants within the city. As a result, instead of seeing a Protestant-majority city, we receive the opposite impression – the implication being that, not only did the Counter-Reformation reclaim the city's space, it also won back the inhabitants' minds, which it did not. Again, we are offered a truth, but a misleading one, and are reminded that accuracy does not necessarily equate to objectivity in a map. For maps are reflections of power rather than of people – often limited to the depiction of bricks and mortar, they forget the people that inhabited these buildings. We see worship buildings, but no worshippers – and, as a result, even when we see Protestants, we find their presence inadvertently demeaned. Yet another reminder that the confessional picture can be manipulated even without the cartographic gymnastics of an editor like Georg Braun.

This image appeared not just despite Dahlbergh's non-confessional outlook, but because of it. For his neglect of confessional issues allowed other cartographic forces to influence the tone of his images. As a result, Dahlbergh's images passively trend towards a Catholic image, towards a one-sided cartographic equilibrium. And this natural Catholicisation of the cartographic image is more than reminiscent of the previous chapter. This passive trend was not inexorable, the power to change it still lay in the cartographer's hands, and Dahlbergh could have consciously removed these indirect references to Catholicism, but he chose not to. But, moreover, that in itself would have been a confessionally weighted decision. Ironically, it seems he could not offer an even-handed confessional picture without making a confessionalised map. And this serves as yet another example of the difficulties around offering a truly impartial cartography of confession. As with bishops, simply depicting 'what is there', no matter how accurately, does not necessarily provide us with an objective confessional image, and even a seemingly impartial agenda, like Dahlbergh's, does not result in a neutral, objective picture – it merely allowed other forces to shape it. (We should also add that this Catholicised image of Poland was not allayed by the presence of Jews, like in the

Civitates. It seems Dahlbergh was as happy as Georg Braun to whitewash Jewish presence from his images. The most telling example would be that of Kraków. Here Braun, as an exception, did highlight the Jewish town, but Dahlbergh turns a blind eye to the city's now seven synagogues,[48] the Jewish district of Kazimierz populated with four churches alone (Figure 4.35). Synagogues only appear in one Dahlbergh image, that of Brześć-Litewski.)

Figure 4.35 – Kraków's Jewish town? – *Carolo Gustavo*



Returning to the matter at hand, of Dahlbergh's un-confessionalised depiction of the Deluge, so different to the images of Jasna Góra – it remains for us to ask, how do we explain such a confessional dichotomy, such contradictory cartographic perspectives of the same conflict? First off, we should make clear that they are not incompatible. Though they are diametrically opposed, it does not follow that one perspective is false, or must by lying (though, of course, we cannot rule out the idea that narratives were manipulated). We have to recognise that there can be more than one confessional reality, that the same conflict can be envisioned differently by different actors and onlookers – there is no singular truth of whether a conflict was confessionalised or not. On the surface it might seem to be split on confessional lines, but we cannot consider Dahlbergh representative of a singular Protestant outlook (Cromwell's attitude makes that clear), nor Jasna Góra of a unified Catholic perspective; neither can we consider them indicative of separate Swedish/Polish national viewpoints, which, again, seems too simplistic – we need to dig under the surface. More viable, however, and not so far removed from it, is the idea that they are representative of the outlooks of the Swedish and Polish *states*. We can consider them products of

[48] 'Virtual Jewish World: Kraków, Poland', www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/krak-oacute-w-poland-jewish-history-tour (3/11/2021)

state propaganda, as states(wo)men fought to shape the image and memory of the Deluge to their own ends. The Polish Queen, Marie Louise Gonzaga, saw the political potential of confessionalising the conflict. Firstly, it could inspire good, Catholic Poles to rise up against the Protestant invaders, and, secondly, it could be used as leverage to turn Louis XIV against his Swedish ally, to cut French financial aid and enforce negotiations. Whereas the French could support Charles Gustav in a dynastic war against the Polish Vasas, the arch-Catholic King of France could not condone a Protestant Crusade against Catholicism. Marie Louise seized on the miraculous defence of Jasna Góra, and its potential to turn the French against their Protestant ally. She was the one who inspired Kordecki to write his *Nova Gigantomachia*, and likely funded it too.[49] She also ordered her secretary, Pierre de Noyers, to keep French public opinion informed about such events. Her efforts bore fruit as the *Gazette de France* published a description of the siege, and, as we are told by Pufendorf, 'It seemed that the French were most worried that damage would be inflicted on the Catholic Church in Poland. Notices with the appeal hung on the corner of each street in Paris: if Poland gets no aid, the Catholic religion will fall there'.[50] As a result, Louis demanded Charles Gustav swear he had no religious ambitions in the Commonwealth, and would protect clergy and places of worship. In short, as Wojciech Krawczuk argues, 'the king of Sweden tried hard to avoid the impression that the invasion of the Commonwealth had something in common with religious matters. Nonetheless, the Polish side, and the royal court in particular, made efforts, not without success, to change the dynastic conflict into the religious war'.[51] As mentioned earlier, Dahlbergh's maps were drawn up at the request of Charles Gustav, presumably with a mind to shape the narrative of the conflict, and were almost published by Merian in the 1650s, though they ultimately appeared in Pufendorf's History. In which case, we would be justified in judging Dahlbergh's maps as not simply non-confessional, but *de*-confessionalised, actively concealing anything that might cast the Swedish invasion in a confessional light – and, on the other side, Polish images actively pushing a confessional agenda. We have no evidence linking Marie Louise to cartographic images, but, given her tireless activity to confessionalise the conflict, it

[49] Kersten, *Pierwszy opis*, 314-5
[50] Samuel Pufendorf, *Carolo Gustavo*, Book 2, §93 (trans. Krawczuk, *Samuel Pufendorf*, 23)
[51] Krawczuk, *Samuel Pufendorf*, 23, 33-9

would not be unreasonable to imagine that she was associated with their production, given they fitted her agenda so closely.

An alternative explanation, and perhaps the most persuasive, is that this was less a case of states fighting over historical memory, and more an accurate reflection of the mapmakers' true attitudes; not shaped by their confession, national identity, or state, but by their 'moderate' or 'militant' approach to religious conflict. Peter Wilson, in his study of confessionalisation in the 30 Years' War, speaks of these two different perspectives, between those who believed God called them to war and those more pragmatic, between those who saw war as a means of advancing their confessional cause and those who did not. He places these militants and moderates at either end of a single spectrum, a spectrum that extended across society, irrespective of the confessional divide – one could find moderates and militants among both Catholics and Protestants – arguing that the presumption of the 30 Years' War as a confessional conflict blurs the distinction between the two, treating everyone as a militant, and that, in reality, the conflict was a holy war only for the militant minority.[52] The Deluge is envisioned in very similar terms to the 30 Years' War, at least by Polish historians, as a deeply confessionalised conflict, a clash between Catholic Poles and Protestant Swedes (and their Protestant allies within the Commonwealth), and it seems not at all unreasonable to suppose that Wilson's argument would hold for this context as well. Therefore, we would like to suggest that our cartographic images, rather than representing different confessional or national perspectives, are instead cartographic manifestations of the two poles on this spectrum, Jasna Góra imagery representing the militant (a position it shares with Oliver Cromwell), and Dahlbergh's the moderate. This offers a credible explanation to this dichotomy, one that becomes yet more compelling with a study of Dahlbergh's diary, which reveals a man with an open mind, sympathetic to the religious 'other'. Though Lutheran, we find out that, as a young man, Dahlbergh had spent time in Rome, where he saw 'many holy shrines and rarities', while part of the entourage of Queen Christina (who subsequently abdicated her crown to convert to Catholicism). Although Swedes had been banned from doing so by their government, it being too 'un-Lutheran', Dahlbergh made no

[52] Peter Wilson, 'Dynasty, constitution, and confession: The role of religion in the thirty years war', *The International History Review*, 30.3 (2008), 482, 513

fewer than three attempts to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, for which he dressed himself in traditional pilgrim costume. Perhaps most revealingly, after the death of his 'most beloved brother' and 'best friend', Aron Jönsson Dahlbergh, Erik asked for Charles Gustav's permission to bury his brother in Marienburg's Jesuit Church (despite the fact we can see a Lutheran church in Dahlbergh's first map of the town).[53] Clearly, Dahlbergh was not one of Wilson's 'militants' – in fact, he could plausibly be considered a crypto-Catholic – a far cry from the undisguised militancy of Kordecki's *Nova Gigantomachia* and the rainbow arch images. This realisation should encourage us to understand not only early modern cartography, but the Deluge too, in more nuanced terms.

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CONFESSIONALISED THEOLOGY

The previous sections gave us insight into the cartographic confessionalisation of conflict, but we will now move on to how these cartographers responded to the confessionalisation of theology, the theology of providence in particular, and how their images might act as a unique window into their respective faiths. This will be explored through the lens of cartographic hierophany, and since we have already studied its manifestations in depictions of Jasna Góra, we will now look to Dahlbergh's images.

As Wilson stresses, both moderates and militants were equally driven by religious concerns – the division between them was certainly not one of secular and religious. For both, faith determined their thoughts and actions, a faith that also finds expression in mapmaking, in Dahlbergh's maps just as in the views of Jasna Góra. In his diary, Dahlbergh shows himself to be a devout Christian, with a real faith in divine providence. Though there have been questions raised as

[53] Herman Lundström (ed.), *Erik Dahlberghs Dagbok (1625-1699)* (Uppsala, 1912); Jakob Christensson, 'In Search of Learning and Holiness', in René Gothóni (ed.), *Pilgrims and Travellers in Search of the Holy* (Oxford, 2010), 58-61

to its factual reliability,[54] that should have no bearing on the representation of his religious beliefs. Throughout the diary, Dahlbergh continuously thanks and praises God for His help, placing his faith in God's Providence.[55] This is especially true when he speaks of his time suffering from the plague:

> 'With great good fortune, seemingly by the simply miraculous grace of the Most High, it happened that, finding ourselves in the swamp, I did not fall into the water and drown. Or rather I did not myself jump into the water, because in my unspeakable agony I now wanted to help nature on its course, especially when I lay alone in the boat for five whole days. God supported me, His angels stayed with me, so that neither Satan nor evil people in day or night could hurt me. So the mighty God showed the visible power and strength of His arm, for which praise and worship be to His Godly Majesty throughout all ages… Honour and praise unto Almighty God, who at this time saved me from doom!'[56]

Dahlbergh moreover attributes his survival through the Polish war to God alone, writing of the day he sailed from Poland: 'we could not thank Most Almighty God enough, who graciously protected us and saved us amidst such great and terrible dangers. And I particularly understood that I had experienced the benevolence, guardianship, and hand of Providence, so clearly and so completely, that nothing of any kind could suffice in my gratitude to God's Majesty.'[57]

If we had thought Dahlbergh's disinterest in confession was the result of a disinterest in religion in general, or a secular mindset, we would have been gravely mistaken. And it is perhaps no surprise that we find this faith reflected in his imagery. In 1658, the Swedish army crossed over the Belts, walking over the sea-ice, to invade the Danish islands. Dahlbergh's depiction of this remarkable feat is accompanied by a poem, written by Johan Bergenhielm, which ends: 'Some men wade through rivers, but for [Charles Gustav], the very sea is a slave/…/Who, after this, will doubt

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[54] 'Even when there is a grain of truth in the 'Journal', it is seldom, if ever, possible to say, where the truth ends and the play of imagination begins' (Arne Stade, *Erik Dahlbergh och Carl X Gustafs Krigshistoria* (Stockoholm, 1967), 422-6)

[55] 'according to the will of the Most High' (58), 'thanks be to God on high' (59), 'it was a complete blessing, or more likely the will of God' (59), 'I was most evidently guarded by the hand of God' (59), 'one could clearly perceive God's benevolent Providence, full of His kindness' (59), 'God restored my health' (60) in Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce*

[56] Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce*, 60-1

[57] Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce*, 71

that he is dear in God's eyes/whose deeds show that he was able to make nature do his bidding?'[58] Cast by the poem as a miraculous occurrence, the crossing becomes a sign of the divine favour bestowed on Charles Gustav, who is seemingly lent supernatural powers through God's blessing; and we are again reminded of God's aid in the crossing in Dahlbergh's depiction of the ensuing Battle of Iversnæs ('copias suas per glaciem Auxilio Divino prorsus singulari… traduxerat', 'he had led his forces across the ice through God's utterly unparalleled succour'). God's providential help is invoked likewise in his Polish maps. During the Battle of Sandomierz (Figure 4.36), the Swedish army, surrounded by three enemy armies, made an extraordinary escape across the river San, and were, according to Dahlbergh, 'rescued from the most immediate danger, not without the singular mercy of God';[59] in the heroic defence of Toruń (Figure 4.37) 'the Swedes endured the siege undauntedly, thanks to the succour of the divine Lord'.[60] Dahlbergh also, quite singularly, highlights the watchwords of the Swedish army in battle, but only when it served as an invocation of divine aid: in the Battle of Gołąb ('Deus Nobiscum'), of Frederiksodde ('Adiuvet Iesus') (Figure 4.38), or that of Gniezno ('Adiuva Iesu'), where the cartouche is also decorated with heavenly beings (Figure 4.39). We see winged cherubs, one with a laurel wreath, the other a palm frond, both symbols of victory, as if to demonstrate (besides the victory depicted in the map itself) that the Swedish prayer was answered, and that victory was granted to them from on high. Indeed, angels and cherubs are found throughout Dahlbergh's imagery, particularly in chapter headings and footers (Figures 4.40-44), where they are shown inseparable from the heraldic symbols of the Swedish Kingdom and the House of Palatinate-Zweibrücken. We see angels presiding over Sweden's and Charles Gustav's victories, glorifying them, as if heaven rejoiced in Swedish military success; angels as celestial protectors of kingdom and dynasty, lording over defeated enemies; the powers of heaven striking down the hydra representing Sweden's earthly foes. Dahlbergh's frontispiece (Figure 4.45), setting the tone for the whole work, shows a bust of Charles Gustav crowned with a crown of stars by an angel, with palms of victory gathered for him by cherubs, as clear an image as any of the divine support offered to the Swedish king. And as we saw with the

[58] trans. Catherine Brice, in J Neumann, 'Great Historical Events that were significantly affected by the Weather: 3', *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society*, 59.11 (1978), 1436
[59] 'praesentissimo periculo non sine singulari Numinis benignitate ereptus'
[60] 'obsidionem Sueones Divini Numinis auxilio… animose pertulerunt'

Figure 4.36 – Battle of Sandomierz – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.37 – Defence of Toruń – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.38 – Cartouche, Battle of Frederiksodde – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.39 – Cartouche, Battle of Gniezno – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.40 – Chapter footer – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.41 – Chapter footer – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.42 – Chapter footer – *Carolo Gustavo*

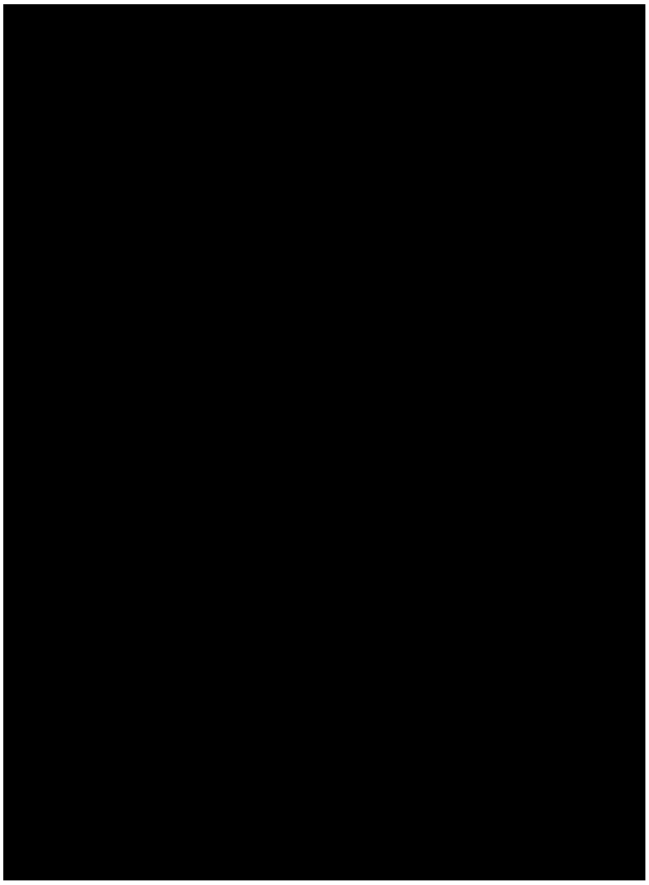


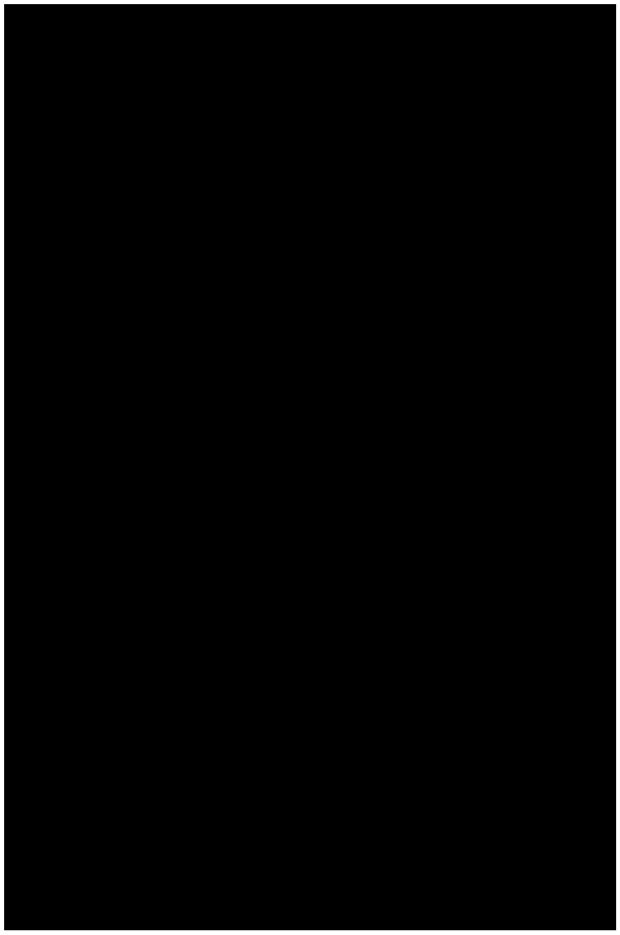
Figure 4.43 – Chapter header – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.44 – Chapter header – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.45 – Frontispiece – *Carolo Gustavo*



Battle of Gniezno (Figure 4.39), the same heavenly beings appear in his maps, not as mere decoration, but bolstering the narrative of divine providence as the source of Sweden and Charles Gustav's triumphs. Helmeted cherubs bear the Tre Kronor above Dahlbergh's cartouche for the view of Zawichost (Figure 4.46); atop the cartouche for the map of the third day of the Battle of Warsaw, angels crown Charles Gustav with a laurel wreath, one blowing a trumpet adorned with his dynastic crest (Figure 4.47); alongside the dynastic lion of Bjelbo, cherubs hold up the cartouche above the view of the solemn pomp at the meeting of the Swedish and Transylvanian armies (Figure 4.48); while in Dahlbergh's portrayal of the meeting between the leaders of these two armies, angels hover in the sky, bearing a monumental coat of arms (the Tre Kronor), as one cherub crowns it, and another, flying beneath, blows a trumpet bedecked with Charles Gustav's monogram (Figure 4.49); the view of Brześć-Litewski speaks of more active involvement on the military front, as three armed cherubs, swords drawn, support the inset map of the town (Figure 4.50), and two more flank the cartouche at the bottom (Figure 4.51). We see similar examples in

Figure 4.46 – Cartouche, Zawichost – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.47 – Cartouche, Battle of Warsaw (Third Day) – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.48 – Cartouche, Meeting of the Swedish and Transylvanian armies – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.49 – Detail from the Meeting of the Swedish and Transylvanian leaders – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.50 – Inset map, Brześć-Litewski – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.51 – Cartouche, Brześć-Litewski – *Carolo Gustavo*



Figure 4.52 – Cartouche, Frideriksborg – *Carolo Gustavo*



Dahlbergh's Danish images too, whether they be trumpet-blowing angels above the crossing of the Belts, that divinely-aided act, or cherubs vanquishing mythical beasts in the cartouche beneath the view of Frideriksborg (Figure 4.52). Of course, we need to recognise the complex nature of these figures. There is a trend amongst historians to see them, not as religious beings, like cherubs and angels, but as decorative devices, as putti and Victories, derived from classical art, with no Christian meaning.[61] To write off their religious connotations altogether, however, seems misguided. Of course, we cannot ignore the classical roots of these figures, but classical motifs can be, and were, overlaid with new, Christian meanings (after all, so much early Christian imagery was based upon pagan tropes, such as Christ the Good Shepherd[62]), and these beings closely match the depiction of cherubs and angels in baroque religious art.[63] Moreover, we have already found out that Dahlbergh believed in angels, and how they protected him from Satan and evil people during his illness. And he encourages us to see these figures as heavenly beings, depicting them alongside texts that declare the divine help lavished on the Swedes, or depicting them in amongst the clouds (which of course have strong heavenly connotations). Clearly, they are ambiguous figures, which can be read in different fashions, but, judging by this particular context, it seems reasonable to consider they had some religious significance, an interpretation that should not be written off without question.

Seen this way, and in light of everything else, Dahlbergh's work can be seen as an invocation of God's special relationship with Sweden, proclaiming that heaven was on the side of Charles Gustav (and, notably, not the other way around). Far from being down to Protestantism

[61] Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (London, 2001); Adam Heinrich, 'Cherubs or Putti?', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 18.1 (2014) 37-64
[62] Jaś Elsner and Stefanie Lenk (eds), *Imagining the Divine* (Oxford, 2017) 55-6
[63] We might question the idea of a bare-breasted angel, but even these are not unheard of, and can be seen, for example, on the 17th-century painted ceiling of St Peter and St Paul Church, Muchelney, UK.

(reference to which remains wholly absent), this divine favour seems to stem from Sweden's status as God's Chosen Nation. This was a significant element of the Swedish self-image in the period,[64] and it is a theme that Dahlbergh's images partake in, and, indeed, his maps offer *evidence* for it, empirical proof. The cartography here demonstrates that the symbolism seen throughout was not just empty rhetoric, but was backed up by evidence. His depictions of the greatest Swedish triumphs, even those with no ostensible religious symbolism, combine to demonstrate that providence was undoubtedly on the side of Charles Gustav, each victory a further sign of the divine favour bestowed upon him (despite the awkward fact that, ultimately, the Swedes lost the war). Interestingly, Samuel Pufendorf's text, which Dahlbergh's images accompany, rarely makes mention of God or providence, and only does so when quoting source material, speaking instead of the more secular concept of 'fatum'.[65] This is a point where image and text are perhaps most discordant, with the text speaking in secular terms, and maps in religious. It seems to indicate these religious elements were Dahlbergh's personal contribution, rather than part of the overall vision for the History; but it is also presents us with a case we might not have imagined to exist before encountering this thesis: that of maps (imagined to be secular documents) that are not only religiously charged, but even more so than their accompanying text (which has, of course, continued to be understood as a vehicle for religious thought).

Here, we should compare Dahlbergh's understanding of divine intervention to that seen in the images of Jasna Góra, for it will reveal to us not only their shared beliefs, but also their confessional differences. Clearly, there are obvious contradictions between them. Firstly, they disagree over which side was the true beneficiary of this intervention; we find depictions of the same event where divine forces are claimed to have aided both sides. Dahlbergh's depiction of the Swedish defence of Toruń (Figure 4.37) claims 'the Swedes endured the siege undauntedly, thanks to the succour of the divine Lord'; yet Polish depictions of the city, post-liberation, ascribe the victory to the Virgin Mary (Figures 4.53, 4.54) – leaving us with the absurd impression of a struggle between God and His Mother. We are also offered polar-opposite depictions of the Swedish

[64] Linas Eriksonas and Leos Müller, *Statehood before and beyond Ethnicity* (Oxford, 2005), 135ff.; Nils Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel: Myt och retorik i Haquin Spegels predikokonst* (Uppsala, 1999)
[65] Krawczuk, *Samuel Pufendorf*, 31

nation, on the one side identified with the powers of hell, on the other, with the powers of heaven (images found, ironically, in the work of two Swedes, Karol Dankwart and Erik Dahlbergh). But, overshadowing such disagreements, both sets of images agree on one fundamental point, that God does intervene in earthly affairs; each of them expresses, and testifies to, a sincere faith in divine providence, and that mystery is present in the world. This, of course, should not be surprising in an early modern context, but it is, at least from the standpoint of early modern cartographic history, where such an idea has seemingly not been raised before.

Figure 4.53 – Liberation of Toruń – 'Mensa Mariana' (4.58)



Figure 4.54 – Liberation of Toruń (anon., late-17th century) – Knights' Hall, Jasna Góra



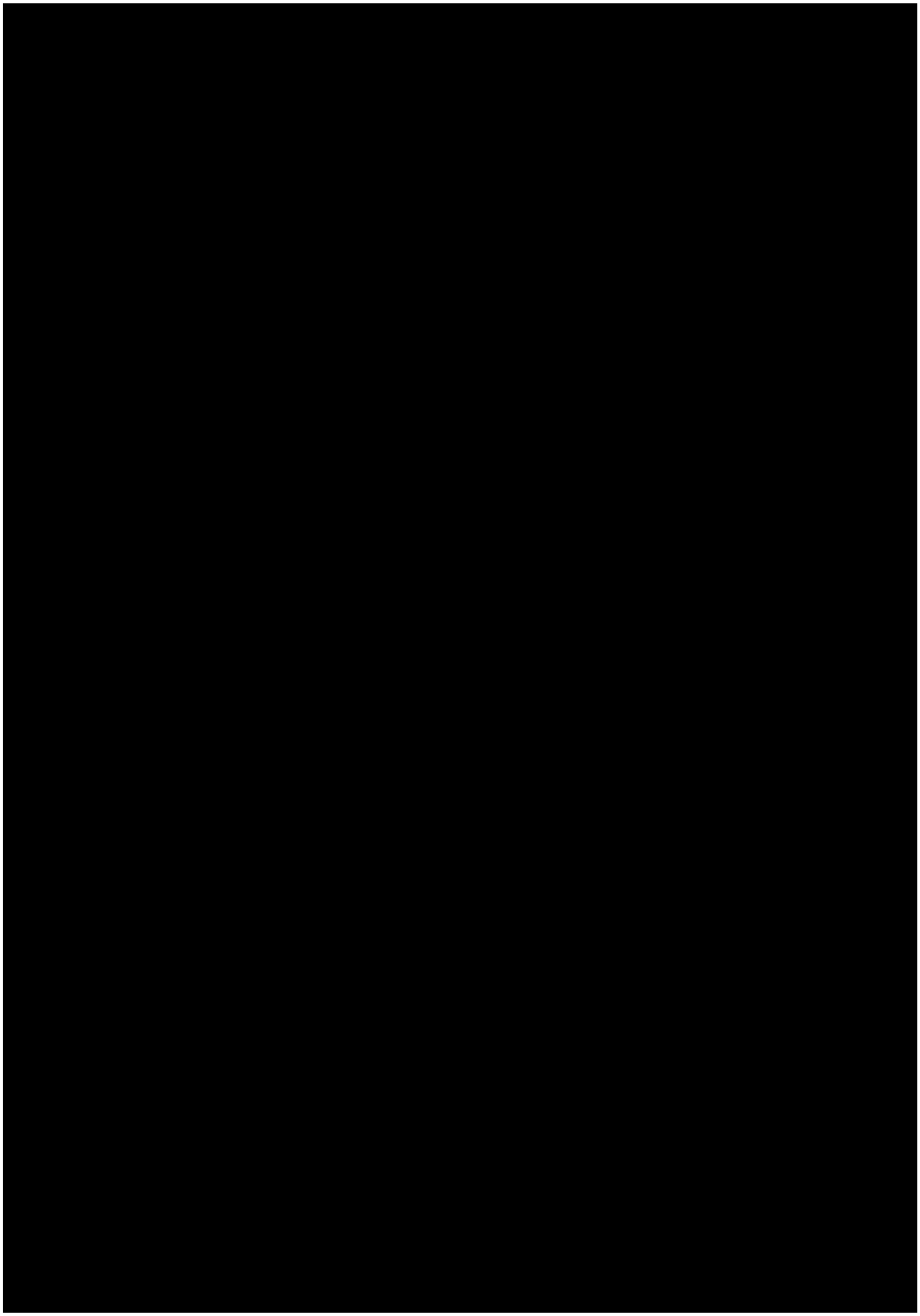
Within this essential similarity, however, differences re-emerge. For though they agree that God does intervene, they are at variance over *how* he does so. They depict a qualitatively different order of cartographic hierophany, and, by extension, offer insight into different, confessionalised understandings of providence. In the images of Jasna Góra, we see interventions that are clearly palpable to the human senses, whether in the apparition of heavenly beings, or the miracles they

performed. The supernatural appears alongside the natural, and this is mapped out for us, fully part of cartographic space, as the divine is shown to cross the boundary between earth and heaven in a very physical way. This can be seen as part of a wider discourse within Counter-Reformation imagery, with its emphasis on the immanence of the divine, interacting on a human plane (seen, for example, in Pietro da Cortona's 'Sant'Alessio morente' (Figure 4.55)). In Dahlbergh's imagery, however, our discussion has been limited to discussion of the text and decoration of cartouches, and wider contextual imagery. For indeed, here the divine is invoked, but never visualised; miracles are implied, but never depicted; and though heavenly beings appear in his imagery, Dahlbergh never allows them into the space of the map.[66] We might think of it as merely symbolic, but Dahlbergh's faith in God's providence was, of course, no less real than that of his Polish peers, and Swedish successes are indubitably attributed to God's help – it is simply less *visible*. Though not visualised, it is still there – the invisible hand of providence. This was an important concept in Lutheran theology, Luther himself writing about 'the concealed action of God' working through mankind as his instrument, and how 'God is ever active in the constant rise and fall of rulers, nations, and kingdoms…Behind the apparent purposelessness of this external turmoil, God works in a concealed way through His masks to effect judgment on the rebellious and to manifest His power to the faithful'.[67] Thus in Dahlbergh's maps we do not see God performing direct, unmediated actions on earth; instead, it could be said that the Swedes, through their own actions, were acting as the instruments of providence, earthly vessels of an unmappable hierophany. Also notable is Dahlbergh's attribution of Swedish success to God directly, testifying to a more theocentric Protestant perspective, bypassing intermediaries such as the Virgin Mary and the Saints, who are at the centre of our Catholic images. Studying these different cartographic hierophanies can thus give us insight into different confessional cartographies. Though these images cannot be considered reflections of Catholic and Protestant attitudes towards confessional war, they still give expression to confessional differences, *theological* differences, offering a window into different conceptions of providence, and of the link between earthly and heavenly planes.

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[66] The only possible exception can be seen in Figure 4.49, but coming from a thoroughly non-cartographic image, depicting the meeting of two leaders, it does not impinge on our argument.
[67] Quoted in John Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven, 1963), 6, 11

Figure 4.55 – 'Sant'Alessio morente', Pietro da Cortona (c. 1638) – Church of the Girolamini, Naples



Indeed, as well as offering special insight into these confessional differences, an understanding of cartographic hierophany renders cartography a highly fruitful, even unique source for historians who wish to understand the intricacies of such beliefs. For cartographic hierophany is different to hierophany in other forms of imagery, and it can, for example, demonstrate the immanence of the sacred in a much more profound manner. Whereas a devotional painting like da Cortona's might be considered symbolic or allegorical, cartography, by contrast, was self-consciously empirical and scientific. Hierophany, when it occurs in the former, could be seen as a symbolic visualisation of a metaphysical concept; in cartography, however, it is inescapably literal and empirical. When hierophany appears in the scientific space of the map, it is not symbolic, but something real, factual, empirically true – something that other forms of imagery convey far less readily. The distinct nature of cartographic hierophany can thus be more revealing, offering historians rock solid evidence for how the mapmaker believed hierophany to manifest itself; in this case, in a manner both visible and tangible (or, in Dahlbergh's, the opposite), and how belief in divine intervention was not merely held as an abstract truth, but as something scientific, highly relevant to the world around us. In this way, we find that a focus on cartography's scientific nature, far from taking us away from religion, can even *enhance* our understanding of it, offering us new and original insights into contemporary belief – indeed, in some cases, cartography can even tell us more than out-and-out religious imagery.

This also should encourage us to think about what we mean by cartographic 'science' in an early modern context. For when we speak about this idea, we naturally think about the development of technology, and the incremental rise of accuracy, matters informed by the positivist approach of traditional cartographic history. These are, of course, central aspects of cartographic science, but a focus on them alone betrays a modernist understanding of science as a purely secular undertaking. From such a perspective, these appearances of hierophany seem quite unexpected, and drastically out of place, clashing with cartography's scientific nature. But the fact is, it is not out of place in the slightest. Early modern science was intimately concerned with

matters of religion, natural philosophy seen as a means of reaching closer to God.[68] Hierophanies like these show that cartographic science was not some outlier, immune to the religious concerns that occupied other sciences, for it, too, was concerned with the relationship between the natural and supernatural. For the early modern cartographer, such hierophanies did not render an image 'unscientific'; their inclusion was not inconsistent with science, but proper scientific practice. Historians like Boudewijn Bakker and Sean Roberts have started to introduce this alternative understanding of cartographic science, one where scientific accuracy was striven for as a means of *imitatio naturae*,[69] where there was a 'harmonious synthesis' between the aims of the Church and the purpose of cartography.[70] But much more is needed to revise our understanding of this idea, which is at the very heart of cartography as a discipline. For, though it is important to recognise that science and religion were not opposing forces (still a tenacious belief in cartographic history today), it is not enough simply to see them as distinct elements that operated alongside each other – for they could be fundamentally related to each other. Indeed, our understanding of cartographic science needs to be informed by the historiography around early modern science more widely, with its deeper understanding of religion's role. The idea of cartographic science, as it stands, is therefore a sacred calf that needs to be slain, if we are to open the eyes of cartographic history fully to the importance of religion.

Relatedly, these hierophanies demonstrate that cartography was not necessarily a catalyst for the disenchantment of the world. Weber's thesis, that the Reformation led to the banishment of supernatural forces from the world, and the victory of rationalism over 'superstition', has since been thoroughly debunked by historians, but remains a resilient influence on our thought.[71] Indeed, cartography, seen through modernist, positivist eyes, is often assumed to offer a scientific, and thus secular and disenchanted, vision of the world. But when we witness such cartographic hierophany, and see maps and views that depict cannonballs making U-turns in mid-air, show long-deceased

[68] Gary Ferngren (ed.), *Science and Religion: A Historical Introduction* (Baltimore, 2017); John Brooke and Ian Maclean, *Heterodoxy in Early Modern Science and Religion* (Oxford, 2005)
[69] Boudewijn Bakker, *Landscape and Religion from Van Eyck to Rembrandt* (Farnham, 2012), esp. 1-4, 115-24
[70] Sean Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, Ma., 2013)
[71] Alexandra Walsham, 'The Reformation and 'the Disenchantment of the World' reassessed', *The Historical Journal*, 51.2 (2008), 497-528

saints appearing in bodily form in the sky, or, more muted (but no less 'enchanted'), attribute military victory to the invisible hand of providence, we realise that cartography can do the exact opposite. Far from being party to the disenchantment of the world, excising the supernatural and the mystical, these images illustrate the mystery present in the world. Depicting the supernatural alongside the natural, they break the boundary between sacred and profane, revealing how the sacred is present in the temporal world, ideas that we might have assumed they would help dispel – Protestant maps included. Cartographic science was not necessarily a harbinger of secularity, but could be an instrument in the hands of whoever wanted to use it, put to purposes secular or religious, and it did not, by some innate nature, fuel the secularisation of the world. It could just as easily be used to fight this process as to stimulate it.

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CONFESSIONALISATION, OLD AND NEW

Returning to the matter of confessionalisation, which has dominated this chapter, there is an important issue that needs to be discussed and disentangled – that of the different definitions of 'confessionalisation'. In the thesis introduction we noted how, as it has adapted to the changing zeitgeist, confessionalisation has become quite an amorphous word. Though at first looking at the process of top-down state-building, more recently historians have been concerned with the process of confessional polarisation and identity-formation. Both of these understandings of the term continue to operate alongside each other, which can be confusing, making it difficult to know exactly what historians mean when they use the term – but here we find that these meanings can even be contradictory, and a work could, quite absurdly, be described as both confessionalised and non-confessionalised at the same time.

This is what we find in the case of Erik Dahlbergh. For though we set confessionalisation aside in our discussion of his maps, describing them as thoroughly non-confessional, or even de-confessionalised, some historians might nevertheless see in them a clear-cut example of

confessionalisation. For, in these images, religion is evidently used as a tool to bolster the power and legitimacy of state and monarchy, as recipients of divine favour. They could be considered a cartographic equivalent of the confessionalised sermons of Charles XI's court chaplain, Haquin Spegel (1645-1714), which, as Nils Ekedahl has found, played into Carolinian political ideology, into the idea of Charles' divinely ordained absolute rule.[72] Just like Spegel's sermons, Dahlbergh's imagery gave support to this political project, hardly a surprise, given Charles XI was the patron of *Carolo Gustavo*. In this way, we are left with a work that could be seen both as confessionalised, and un-confessionalised.

Such a contradiction demands some rumination from us as historians, for it cannot simply be ignored. One radical solution would be to move on from the older, state-centred formulation, and jettison it as an outdated mode of thinking, unhelpful to current academic lines of thought – but that may well be too drastic, and overly irreverent towards a subject that may still have something to offer. If we are to continue to talk of both forms of confessionalisation, however, it is essential that we recalibrate our language – they cannot continue to be referred to by the same interchangeable term. For it is clear that, though our understanding of confessionalisation has progressed, our language has not, which remains completely insufficient for our purposes. We would suggest that these two, very different, processes need to be more strictly defined, perhaps as 'old' and 'new' forms of confessionalisation. Philip Benedict identified the same problem in his study of early modern France, and sought to draw a distinction, as we have, between different types of confessionalisation, between its 'strong' and 'weak' theories (analogous to our 'old' and 'new').[73] Whatever we call it, it is essential that we develop a new terminology, if we are to bring clarity to this significant paradigm. Such clarity is important not only for reasons of precise categorisation, but to allow new ways of thinking, and create new connections. For, firstly, it allows us to see that cartography responded to each of these two forms of confessionalisation, deepening our understanding of the cartographic response to the paradigm. But, more than that, in the final chapter it will be suggested, with the help of this new terminology, that these two forms of

[72] Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel*

[73] Philip Benedict, 'Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections and New Evidence', in Raymond Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559–1685* (Cambridge, 2002), 44–61

confessionalisation, old and new, each could have their own particular effect on confessional identity. Without delving into it too deeply here, we will argue that old, state-centred confessionalisation begets a confessional identity centred on the nation, and new confessionalisation begets a Church-centred confessional identity. In responding to each mode of confessionalisation, cartography could inspire a different kind of confessional identity.

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CONFESSIONALISING CARTOGRAPHY

We have seen the various ways cartography could respond to the confessionalisation of conflict, how it could give voice to alternative confessionalised beliefs, how it could reflect different elements of the confessionalisation paradigm. But now we will think not just about how it responded to confessionalisation, but how it drove it forwards, how it could be used to confessionalise the viewer, and play a role in confessional identity-formation – in other words, we will be looking not just at confessionalised, but confessionalising, cartography.

Arguably, we have already seen this process in action. The confessionalisation of the conflict seen in the rainbow arch view (Figure 4.1) would have served to crystallise confessional identity amongst the pilgrim viewers, through inciting hatred of the confessional 'other'. But we will see this same image also operating on another level, that of faith, fashioning the viewer's beliefs according to a model of post-Tridentine faith and spirituality. For this image was made not simply to document the siege, but to teach proper religious doctrine – in particular the tenets of contemporary Mariology. Though not an abstract visualisation of doctrine like the cupboard images studied above (Figures 4.5, 4.6), it is nevertheless a theological image. It was not only 'theological cartography' that had theology at its heart, but even cartographic depictions of the real world.

We will remember that, to understand this image more fully, we had to draw ourselves away from the view itself, and see it in the context of the image above it, that of *Mary, Slayer of Heresy*. One step back was not enough, however. To understand this view completely, we have to

place it within its full context, within the whole decorative scheme of the Chapel of the Miraculous Image. The walls, ceiling, galleries, pillars and arches of the chapel nave are covered with dozens of paintings, 56 in total, illustrating Mariological themes.[74] Beginning at the west end, the whole west wall is covered with a depiction of the Annunciation. The ceiling, covered in vignettes of the apostles and Polish saints, is decorated at regular intervals with the words of Marian hymns, Old Testament references to the Virgin Mary and Mariological quotes from the Fathers of the Church, all centred around an image of the Madonna and Child. On the galleries there are sequences of Marian allegorical images, and above the galleries, on the north and south walls, we can see a series of paintings exploring Marian theology and dogma, such as the immaculate conception, and her role as heavenly intercessor. And of course on the east wall, above the rainbow arch, we have the depictions of the siege of 1655, and of the *Slayer of Heresy*. All of this imagery offers a true Mariological feast, illustrating the various different qualities, virtues and roles bestowed on the Virgin Mary, focussing on some characteristics more than others. In many images Mary is depicted as a saviour, one who has intervened in earthly affairs. On the north and south walls we see images of Mary as our protector against sin, our saviour from the Flood and from the Day of Judgement. According to the quotes on the ceiling she is said to have led the Israelites on their passage out of Egypt, taking the form of the pillar of cloud by day, of fire by night, described in the book of Exodus (13:21) ('Columna ignis per noctem Maria', 'Columna nubis per diem Maria'). The image of the Annunciation in itself shows Mary as our deliverer from the tribulations of the Old Testament, as the *sine qua non* of the new covenant between God and mankind, the Mother of Jesus, also highlighted on the ceiling, in quotes singling her out as the symbol of this new covenant ('Signum a Domino Maria', 'Signum Foederis Maria'), and her essential role in mankind's salvation, the one who brings humankind out of darkness. And this is not to forget the Slayer image, showing Mary protecting the Church from the errors of heresy. But on another level, these qualities are not merely described, they are also justified. Many Old Testament quotes are found throughout the chapel. These are understood to prefigure Our Lady and her many characteristics, lending them a

[74] For a detailed description of the chapel's painted decoration, see Golonka, 'Dekoracja malarska', 693-707. The original Mariological scheme for the chapel, painted across the years 1642-89, was damaged by smoke during the fire of 1690, and a fair amount had to be replaced by Dankwart in 1693-5, with a similar emblematic Marian scheme.

sound, biblical foundation, and affirming the sure, scriptural justification of the Marian doctrines of the Catholic Church. The image of the Annunciation, for example, is covered with extracts from Scripture: Deuteronomy 18:15, Isaiah 7:14, Psalms 131:11, Song of Songs 5:1, Jeremiah 31:33, and Haggai 2:8. Mary's qualities are not justified solely through reference to the Bible, however, but even with reference to the present day – and this is where cartography comes in.

The view of the siege of 1655 is not merely a depiction of Mary's intervention against the heretic Swedes, as we saw it above. Once we see it as one piece within this Mariological jigsaw puzzle that is the decorative scheme of the chapel, it becomes rather a justification, a tangible, verifiable *proof* of this Mariological doctrine, proof of what these paintings seek to explain. It shows Mary actively intervening in earthly affairs, fulfilling her role as an opponent of heresy, as a protector of the faithful, as a saviour. And in so doing, it is not simply describing these Marian qualities, it is a living example of them. The miraculous siege was itself extra-scriptural evidence of Mariological dogma, and cartographic images are used to communicate it. And though most of the Marian images in the chapel are symbolic or biblical, somewhat removed from our mundane existence, this view is not – it is 'real', depicts the viewer's world in the present-day, and thus adds another dimension to, and justification of the Mariology. The view shows how this dogma around the Holy Virgin is not all abstraction, not merely a symbol, but very much a reality, a reality not confined to the Old and New Testaments, but one for our present-day too. Though a depiction of the world, like any map, its fundamental purpose was to prove a heavenly truth – though ostensibly dealing with this material world, it is, in fact, more concerned with the immaterial. In this way, we see that cartography could not only offer a window inadvertently onto theological beliefs (as in the case of providence), but could even be made for that express purpose.

But, more than that, more than merely expressing a theological truth, this image was made to *teach* that truth to the people. It should be considered, above all, a didactic image, there to teach a pilgrim audience about the Virgin Mary and her qualities. For tens of thousands of pilgrims saw these images every year, and they were made to inform these faithful Catholics who made the journey to the shrine. And they allow the pilgrim to be an 'eyewitness' to the event, to Mary's true intervention in this world. In post-Tridentine Catholicism painting was deemed especially useful in

the diffusion of true doctrine, and Mariology in particular.[75] And this was as true in Poland as anywhere else. Repeating an ancient trope, Fr Fabian Birkowski (1566-1636) claimed that painting 'is to simpletons what writing is to those who can read', it teaches them what to believe, what to do, and 'teaches them more than a preacher's words.'[76] And it is clear that a cartography could be used to fulfil this didactic role as much as any other painted image, teaching Catholics about the tenets of their faith.

But this view does not only reveal the truth behind the chapel's Mariological scheme – it also serves to justify the whole Marian edifice within the Catholic Church, and the centrality of the Virgin Mary to post-Tridentine thought. This view, along with many other cartographic images in the monastery, can be considered illustrations not only of a military struggle against Protestantism, but a theological struggle. For, in Protestant thought, Mary was no longer the Queen of Heaven, but a meek and mild maiden, reduced to an obedient servant of God's will. Her role was drastically diminished, from a position of agency and power to a passive role, merely a representation of true and proper faithfulness.[77] In the Catholic Church, however, Mary was also reimagined, into what Bridget Heal calls the 'Mary of the Counter Reformation', with depiction shifting away from biblical stories to non-biblical, dogmatic representations, such as her Assumption and role as Queen of Heaven, an intercessor and protector, images which highlighted her glory and semi-divinity.[78] This is the image of Mary in our images, presented not only as an intercessor (itself anathema to much Protestant theology), but as a warrior, even bestowing on her the trappings of an ancient god. Mary is presented as strong, powerful, and with a great deal of agency in the world, an image wholly different to the Protestant conception, and a cogent refutation of it, in line with the re-energised Marian cult of the Counter-Reformation. These images therefore do not just signify a *military* victory for the Counter-Reformation, but more importantly a *theological* victory, a victory of one Mariology over the other. The very manner of the victory, won through the power

[75] Carme Calderón, 'A play on emblematics: reworking the Schola Cordis into a Marian Catholic programme of applied emblems', *Word & Image*, 33.2 (2017), 151
[76] Pasierb, *Shrine*, 20
[77] Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 2004)
[78] Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 2007)

of the Virgin Mary, serves as a vindication of the Mariological turn taken by the Counter-Reformation, with the Protestants undone by their own doctrinal faults.

Earlier in the chapter we highlighted the importance of studying an image in context, but, when doing so, it is important that we maintain a true perspective. For, as historians, we are always in danger of manipulating our sources and their context. With the particular focus we place on our sources, it is always a danger that we over-emphasise their significance vis-à-vis their surroundings, and let their context revolve around them, much as we might think the sun revolves around the earth. Thus we have been careful not to assume that everything in the chapel is there to inform our reading of the rainbow arch view, which, though prominent, is not the centrepiece of the chapel, recognising that it is but a component part of a wider scheme, a Mariological scheme. Though undoubtedly shaped by its context, this view was made, primarily, to inform that context. Without this perspective our historical understanding is circumscribed and warped, as we miss out on the true meaning of our subjects.

There is one final contextual element that we cannot neglect, however, one that we have said little about until now: the centrepiece of the whole chapel, the Miraculous Image of Our Lady of Częstochowa – the Black Madonna. Not only a miraculous image, this icon was believed to be a double-relic, an image of the Virgin painted by St Luke himself, and onto the wooden boards of the dining table of the Holy Family in Nazareth. It is thus not only her true image, but a relic intimately connected with her life (as a result of her Assumption into heaven, Mary left no bodily remains on earth; a relic such as her table offers the closest material connection we could have to her person). This is the image that everything in the chapel revolves around, the image to which the whole decorative scheme refers. All that we have said above, about the Virgin Mary, her qualities, virtues, roles, interventions and miracle-working, apply equally and especially to the image of the Black Madonna, her living image. It was (and still is) believed that Mary works her miracles through the icon of the Black Madonna, and the siege of 1655 was no exception (though this is perhaps surprising, given that the icon was not in Jasna Góra at the time of the siege, having been evacuated to Lubliniec castle in Silesia), and the view emphasises this. For the rainbow arch itself represents the dividing line between the nave and presbytery, and its paintings are liminal images. They are

there to prepare the viewer, to shape their thoughts and the way they approach the icon, and, indeed, the view is placed in such a way that both view and icon can be seen together, intimately connected in an architectural sightline down the centre of the nave. Experienced together, both visually, and through one's movement through the architectural space, the two images are closely linked, and the miraculous victory ascribed to the icon.

The rainbow arch is not the only image to attest to the icon's miracle-working powers. On the chapel's choir gallery, one can see an image of a man under Turkish arrow fire, holding an image of the Virgin, and saved by Mary who protects him from the arrows; in another, a Turk holding a flaming torch and crescent shield, attacking Jasna Góra, which is shielded by an angel, with an image of the Black Madonna beside it. The copyist's adaptation of Galle's Virgin Mary above the 'Fortified Town' image (Figures 4.6, 4.9-11) transforms the original message to be not only about Mary's protection of the faithful, but, more specifically, her protection through the Black Madonna. Meanwhile, in the basilica all the images across the nave vaulting proclaim the many and various miracles performed by the miraculous icon. They all derive from the *Liber Miraculorum*, the Book of Miracles kept by the monks of Częstochowa, documenting the miracles and mercies attributed to the icon. Among the dozens of images we can see the miraculous escape of silver miners in Olkusz, a hanged child restored to life, and of course the miraculous victory of 1655, in cartographic caricature (Figure 4.19)[79] – above all, this image testifies to the extraordinary power of the Black Madonna. And this is not limited to cartography within the monastery, but is seen also in engravings of the siege, highlighted even by non-monastic artists. The Bensheimer image (Figure 4.12), although it certainly attributes the victory to the Holy Virgin, does not recognise the intervention of her image, but, in context, its significance is impressed on the image. When it was included in Kobierzycki's *Obsidio Clari Montis* (1659), the editor placed it very carefully, folding out directly opposite a large, full-page image of the Black Madonna (Figure 4.56). It was later included in Nieszporkowicz's *Analecta Mensæ Reginalis* (1681), a work specifically about the history of the icon and the miracles it has performed at Jasna Góra. In both cases both siege and icon are made inseparable, the victory linked clearly to Mary's image, despite the fact that the view

[79] Rozanow and Smulikowska, *Zabytki*, 105-6, 202

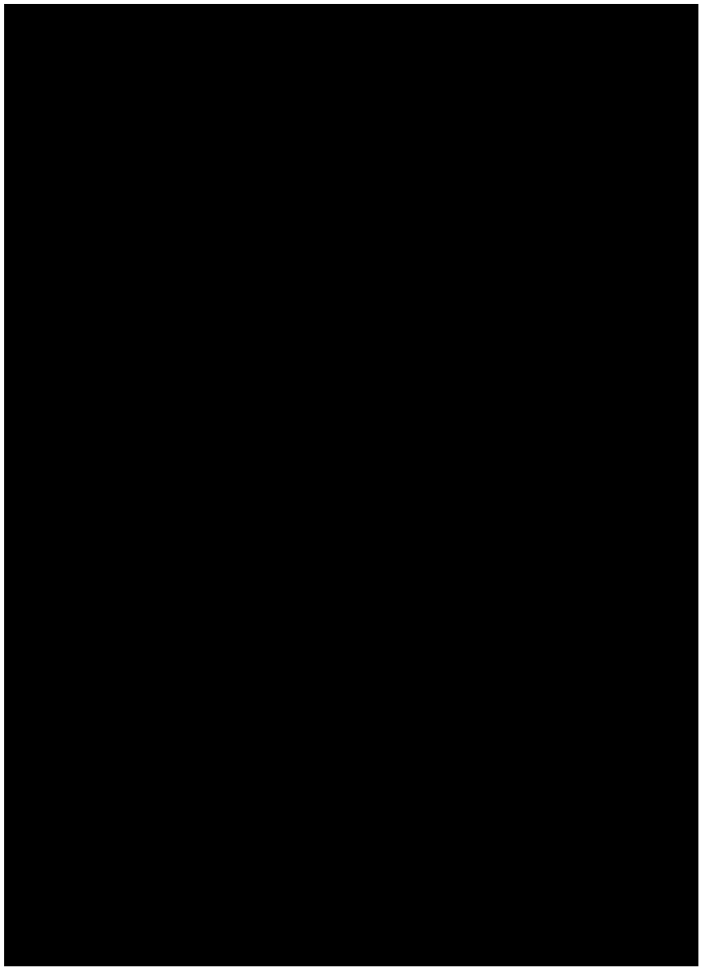
Figure 4.56 – Bensheimer's siege view (4.12) within Stanisław Kobierzycki, *Obsidio Clari Montis* (Gdańsk, 1659)



itself was made largely without the Black Madonna in mind. In a loose sheet engraving, likely from the early 18th century,[80] we see even more clearly the link between the two (Figure 4.57). It shows twelve scenes from the history of the miraculous image, including the miracles attributed to it; in the centre, immediately below the icon, we see a view of the siege. And when Mary appears above Jasna Góra in Gorczyn's image (Figure 4.16), she appears *as* the Black Madonna herself, in her clothing and gesture. The inextricable connection between the icon and the victory of 1655 is most clear on the reverse of the Black Madonna itself, on the *Mensa Mariana*, the 'Marian Table' (Figure 4.58).[81] This is a painting placed back-to-back with the Black Madonna, and that illustrates its history, from its creation by St Luke, its discovery by St Helen in Jerusalem and transfer to Constantinople, how it found its way through Rus' to Jasna Góra, and the many miracles it has performed while in Poland, many illustrated in cartographic caricature: Kraków saved from the Turks, Toruń liberated from the Swedes (Figure 4.53), Gliwice saved from the Danes, Bełz protected from heathen Tatars and Lithuanians, Racibórz saved from fire, and, needless to say,

[80] Eustachy Rakoczy, *Mensa Mariana* (Warsaw, 1989), 48
[81] See Rakoczy, *Mena Mariana*

Figure 4.57 – 'Imago Beatissimae Mariae Virginis…', anon. (s.l., early-18th century)



Jasna Góra (Figure 4.59) – above each town Mary appears, miraculously saving them from peril, and their salvation attributed to the intervention of the Black Madonna. Though the attribution is more than visual, for these cartographic images are connected spatially, tangibly, to the icon, placed back-to-back with the relic alleged to perform these very miracles.

In attributing these miracles to the Black Madonna, and attesting to its miracle-working power, the *Mensa Mariana*, and all these other images, are speaking of a more significant issue – that of the icon-relic's *authenticity*. Proving a relic's authenticity was, indeed, a perennial struggle for churchmen,[82] and here we see cartography put to this very purpose, cartographic images serving as a medium to communicate the Black Madonna's miraculous nature, its miraculous intervention in the world (which cartography is, naturally, well-placed to depict), and to stress its authenticity. The *Mensa Mariana*, for example, was made to testify to the icon's authentic nature, the miracles it

[82] Katrina Olds, 'The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth-Century Spain', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65.1 (2012), 135-84

Figure 4.58 – 'Mensa Mariana' (anon, 1682) – Chapel of the Miraculous Image, Jasna Góra

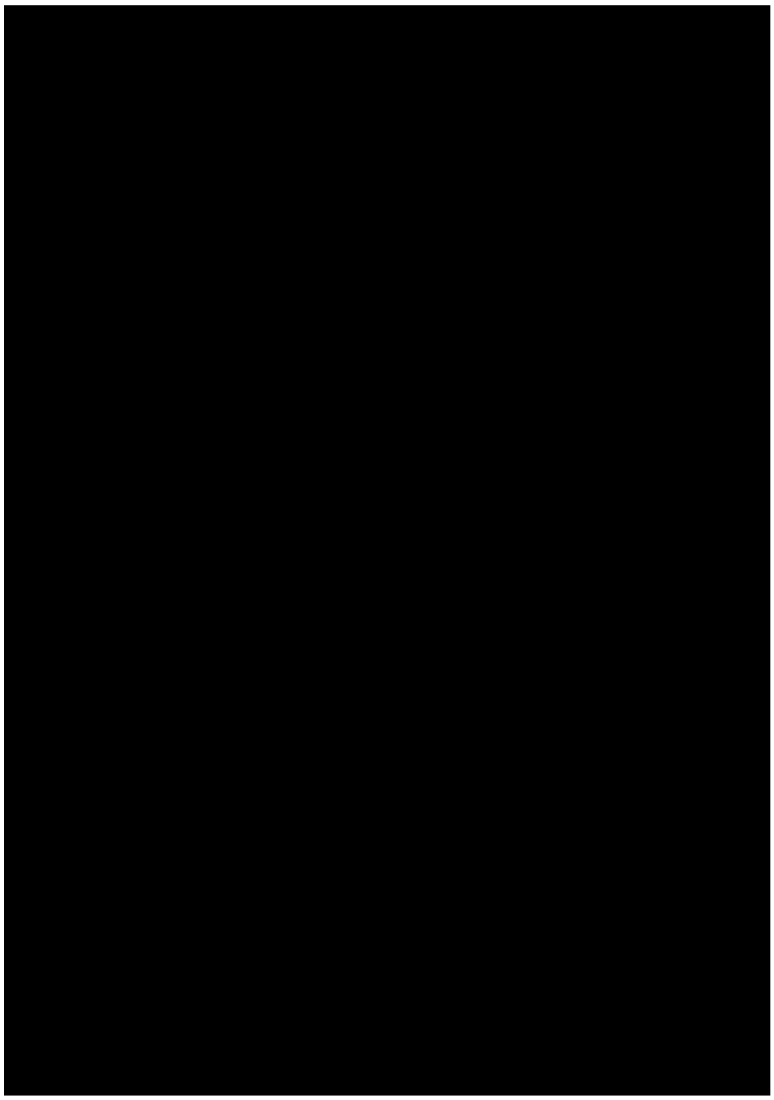
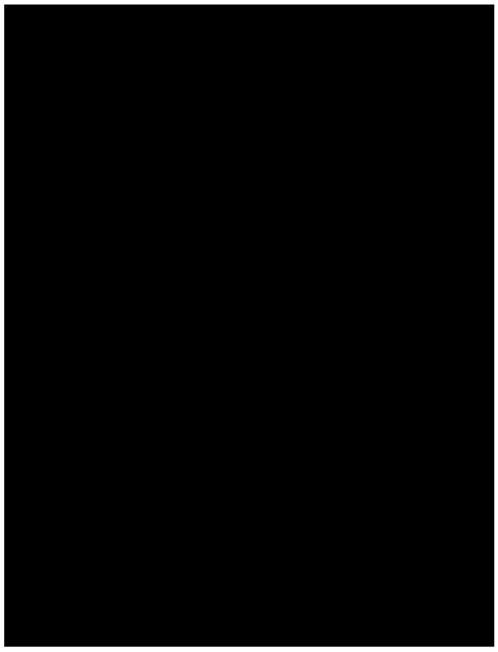


Figure 4.59 – Siege of Jasna Góra (4.58)



attributes to it, illustrated in cartographic form, proving that this is indeed an image of the Holy Virgin painted by Luke, that the boards are indeed from the Nazarene table – and, in so doing, bringing the Black Madonna, and all those who view it, ever closer to the person of Mary. This employment of cartography, though not highlighted before in the historiography, was clearly not limited to the Black Madonna – we may remember the iconographical hierophany above Lachowicze, saved through Our Lady of Białynicze, with Mary appearing before the Muscovites 'in the manner of an icon' (Figure 4.25).

When they were teaching the people about their faith and shoring up the fundamentals of Counter-Reformation doctrine, when they were asserting and accentuating the cult of miraculous images, these cartographic images were playing an important role in identity-formation, and in the catalysation of post-Tridentine spirituality. And they did so with their own particular power, as they demonstrate how these concepts were important, not just on a high theological plane, but also to the real world. Not only shaped by confessionalisation, these images were stimulating it.

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CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this chapter was to explore cartography's response to confessionalisation, one important element within the wider religious changes of the period. It has become clear that this response, far from being a simple story of Catholic/Protestant polarisation and invective, was highly varied and nuanced. Our comparison of Dahlbergh's images with those of Jasna Góra has revealed the many different levels it operated on, from the moderate-militant attitudes to confessional conflict, and the different forms of confessionalisation, old and new, to the phenomenon of confessionalising cartography, and the mapping of different confessionalised theologies (which we explored through the use of a new concept, 'cartographic hierophany'). Within these different modes, the response did not simply pan out along confessional lines, but could cut across them, and, moreover, even if a cartographer carefully avoided one mode of

response, as did Dahlbergh's un-confessionalised depiction of the Deluge, that did not preclude them from responding in another.

At the same time, we have found that early modern cartography was not simply concerned with religion's physical and spatial manifestations, but offers insight into the inner world of faith. It could give voice incidentally to theological beliefs, but also could be made expressly to do so, and even express abstract theological concepts through the language of cartography. It could act as a didactic aid to teach doctrine, or a tool to cultivate proper spirituality, attesting to the authenticity of relics and promoting the cult of miraculous images. In other words, though maps ostensibly describe and illustrate *this* world, they can also have an eye on the *next*.

As with the *Civitates*, we should moreover consider these Jasna Góran images to be documents of the Counter-Reformation. But, while the *Civitates* offered an idealised view of Christendom, a cartographic manifestation of Georg Braun's prayer for unity, and a vision of the Church no longer beleaguered by Protestants and Jews, the views of the siege give voice to an altogether different side of the Counter-Reformation. Taking a very different approach towards the confessional foe, these images do not merely hide Protestants from view, but demonise them, and advocate for their destruction; not a prayer for unity, but an endorsement of military conflict. Though both are anti-Protestant, they channel that hatred in very different ways, and through very different methods. They can be said to reflect different attitudes within the Counter-Reformation movement, but they also speak of its different aims and aspirations, one more concerned with space, manipulating the confessional landscape, the other more concerned with the fundamentals of belief, expressing the immanence of the sacred, teaching proper doctrine, and inculcating Tridentine spirituality. It serves as another reminder that we cannot speak of a singular 'Counter-Reformation' cartography, for it had as many manifestations as there were sides to the Counter-Reformation itself.

Finally, we have explored how these responses to confessionalisation shaped the depiction of Poland. Again, we are left with similar images of an overwhelmingly Catholic state, but, interestingly, they appeared out of wholly different responses. The confessionalised perspective of

the Jasna Góra images naturally led to this image, but, more surprisingly, so did Dahlbergh's un-confessionalised view, which allowed extra-cartographic forces to shape his depictions into a more Catholic image – another example of the incidental, or accidental, Catholicisation of the country. It is something we have now seen in both topographical and city mapping, this natural Catholicisation, and we have seen how it emerges from the interaction between cartographic forces and extra-cartographical forces, such as power dynamics on the ground. In the case of Poland this seems to result universally in a Catholic image, but in other contexts it would likely be different. It of course had a drastic effect on the cartographic image of Poland, but it also demonstrates how difficult it was to depict the confessional landscape, given how easily the map could be manipulated by cartographic and extra-cartographic forces. Indeed, we see that even a non-confessional approach does not result in a confessionally even-handed map, that even the most accurate depiction of cartographic space does not result in an objective confessional picture, that even cartographers who steer well-clear of confessional issues often cannot avoid getting caught up in them.

CHAPTER V
The Cartography of Marian Devotion

In this final chapter we will look into one last field of response – the realm of devotion, Marian devotion in particular – and a very different mode of cartography. We will examine how cartography adapted to this new devotional reality, but also how it shaped it, casting our eye over three areas: the pilgrim marketplace, the clash between universal and particular, and personal devotion. In so doing, we will delve yet deeper into cartography's relationship with the realm of faith and belief, finding that cartography could not only *depict* the sacred, but even *interact* with it.

INTRODUCTION

Though certainly famous for the miraculous victory over the Swedes in 1655, that siege was not the source of Jasna Góra's fame. Home to the Black Madonna, Jasna Góra was the foremost centre of Marian devotion in the Commonwealth, one of the foremost in Christendom, attracting pilgrims from across the region, who sought, through the mediation of the miraculous icon, to come closer to the Virgin Mary herself. The shrine's popularity was enormous: in 1682, 140,000 pilgrims made the trip to Jasna Góra, and in 1717, 200,000[1] – numbers equivalent to those experienced in Altötting, Bavaria.[2] Such pilgrimage was but one aspect, however, of the Marian devotional culture that swept across the post-Tridentine Catholic Church. And it is this culture of Marian devotion that will be the focus of the present chapter.

The phenomenon of Early Modern Marian devotion has garnered a great deal of historiographical attention, and been examined from many different perspectives. Though the

[1] Zbigniew Bania, Jan Golonka, Stanisław Kobielus, *Jasna Góra: A Companion Guide* (Warsaw, 1986), 33-5
[2] 121,000 per year at the end of the 17th century, 200,000 in the early-18th (Walter Pötzl, 'Volksfrömmigkeit', in Walter Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (St. Ottilien, 1993), 939-40)

Catholic approach to the Virgin was long assumed to be monolithic,[3] homogenised by the directives of the Council of Trent, we have had our eyes opened to the diversity present within Catholic Marianism, and to the continuity that existed alongside the changes of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.[4] Similarly, the old assumption that Mary had been jettisoned by Protestants has given way to a recognition of her continued importance to the Reformers,[5] the focus much more on how her image evolved over time.[6] Looking beyond Marian theology and doctrine towards the actual practice of Marian devotion, historians have focussed on the rituals and customs of everyday life,[7] and the performance of pilgrimage.[8] Moreover, the role of gender dynamics, entwined with Marian devotion, has also received much attention.[9] We are left with a nuanced view of early modern Marianism, one that casts aside crude Catholic-Protestant dichotomies, recognises both the continuity and change present across the turning point of the Reformation, with a view as much to highbrow theology as to everyday practice.

Despite this wide-ranging and extensive historiography, there is still more that we can contribute, and we can do so through studying cartographic images, which were intimately tied up in

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[3] Richard von Dülman, *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 1994), 59 'unlike the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church was universally orientated, i.e. not shaped by regions or by territorial churches', and the life of Catholics in northern Germany was not substantially different from the life of Catholics in Tirol.

[4] Marc Forster, 'With and without confessionalisation: varieties of early modern German Catholicism', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 1 (1997), 315-43; Marc Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque* (Cambridge, 2001); Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 2007)

[5] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries* (London, 1996), 157; Walter Tappolet (ed.), *Das Marienlob der Reformatoren* (Tübingen, 1962); Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 2004), 6-11 literature survey

[6] Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary*; Heiko Oberman, 'The Virgin Mary in Evangelical Perspective', in Oberman (ed.), *The Impact of the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1994), 225-52; Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Mary and Sixteenth-Century Protestants', in RN Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary* (Rochester, 2004), 191-217

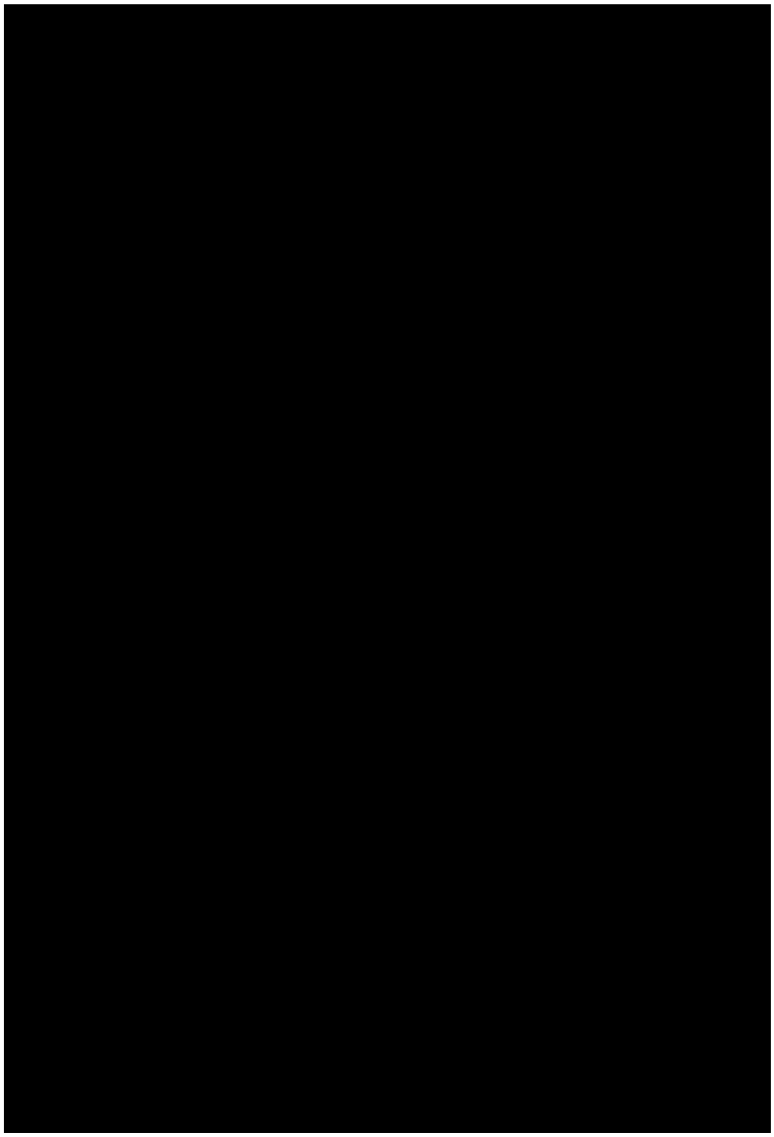
[7] Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual* (London, 1997); Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997)

[8] Ludwig Hütl, *Marianische Wallfahrten im süddeutsch-österreichischen Raum* (Cologne, 1985); Werner Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit* (Paderborn, 1991)

[9] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: the myth and cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1976); Merry Wiesner, 'Luther and Women: the death of two Marys', in J Obelkevich and Lyndal Roper (eds), *Disciplines of Faith* (London, 1987); Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: women, gender and religion* (Cambridge, 2003); Heal, *Cult*, ch 6 'Marian Devotion and Gender', 262-303; Ena Campbell, 'The Virgin of Guadelupe and the female self-image', in James Preston (ed.), *Mother Worship* (Chapel Hill, 1982); Ulrike Zitzlsperger, 'Mother, Martyr and Mary Magdalene: German Female Pamphleteers and their Self-Images', *History*, 88 (2003), 379-392; Duane Corpis, 'Marian Pilgrimage and the Performance of Male Privilege in Eighteenth-Century Augsburg', *Central European History*, 45.3 (2012), 375-406; Mary Dunn, '"But an Echo"? Claude Martin, Marie de l'Incarnation, and Female Religious Identity in Seventeenth-Century New France', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 100.3 (2014), 459-485; Ruben Espinosa, *Masculinity and Marian Efficacy in Shakespeare's England* (Farnham, 2011); Sarah Jane Boss, *Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2000)

this devotional culture. For maps and views became an important site where Marian devotion was expressed, seen most clearly in Heinrich Scherer's *Atlas Marianus* (Munich, 1702) – volume three of his *Atlas Novus* – a work focussed on 'Marian Geography', exploring the presence, power and veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary throughout the world.[10] It opens with a frontispiece that maps the northern celestial and terrestrial hemispheres (Figure 5.1), an object of interest for cartographic historians for its depiction of California as an island, but it has a much more interesting message than

Figure 5.1 – Frontispiece to 'Atlas Marianus' – *Atlas Novus*



[10] Scherer was clearly influenced by the *Atlas Marianus* (Munich, 1672) of his fellow Bavarian Jesuit, Wilhelm Gumppenberg, a work which intended to catalogue every miraculous image of the Virgin Mary in the world, containing an inventory of 1,200 items. Though called an 'atlas', Gumppenberg included no maps, but Scherer does. For Gumppenberg's work, see Olivier Christin, Fabrice Flückiger and Naïma Ghermani (eds), *Marie Mondialisée: L'Atlas Marianus de Wilhelm Gumppenberg* (Neuchâtel, 2014)

that. For this depiction of the globe and skies is given a distinctly Mariological twist, comparing, in both image and poetry, the relationship between Mary and the world to that between sun and earth, her presence as ineluctable, continual and powerful as the sun, so that 'the whole world is full of the kindness of the Mother of God'.[11] Meanwhile, its world map (Figure 5.2) declares the universal nature of Marian veneration, uniting peoples of all races and nations across the globe, as personifications of the continents genuflect before Mary. But it also proclaims how that veneration will save the ship of

Figure 5.2 – Scherer's Marian world map – *Atlas Novus*



the Church from danger: beneath the image Scherer includes a quote from a sermon of St Bernard, calling on the faithful, when they are in times of danger, to think of Mary, to invoke her ('Mariam cogita, Mariam invoca'). And above we see two images, a ship in trouble, sails ripped to shreds, about to be wrecked, the sailors raising their arms to heaven, praying to be saved, and beside it, a ship safe from danger, saved by the intervention of Mary, who is invoked on its sail, bearing her monogram. Not all its images are so symbolic, however. For the rest of the volume is full of detail, documenting

[11] 'Totus Terrarum Orbis Beneficys Deiparae repletus'

the locations of her miraculous images and statues. Indeed, the volume's full title reads: 'The Marian Atlas, or the foremost Images and Statues of the great Mother of God throughout the inhabited World, renowned for their Benefactions and Wonders',[12] and it documents their locations on maps of continents, countries and provinces – Scherer's map of the Commonwealth (Figure 5.3) is, therefore, covered with stars, marking their presence. This is much more than a mere mapping of locations, however; it can speak to us of the nature of Marian devotion in the period. We see how Mary was believed to interact with the world, and how her presence infuses it – through her images – and, indeed, the atlas has the Marian image at its heart. We see its absolute centrality to Marian veneration, while it also testifies to the faith in miraculous images (just like in the previous chapter) as objects that mediate Mary's grace. And it can tell us more about the nature of this faith, for this is, in essence, a map of sacred space, marking out the hotspots, the places on the earth's surface where Mary's grace appears; it maps out hierophanies, where the sacred bursts into the profane world, where heaven comes down to earth. Indeed, the titles of the maps say as much, all declaring, in different wording, how they depict the many places where the Mother of God is venerated, and where here favours and kindnesses are made manifest.[13] But the stars are not all alike; they appear in different sizes. Częstochowa, for example, is marked with a rare symbol, a shining Marian monogram (Figure 5.4), much larger than any other star in Poland, in the world even, equalled only by the other prime Marian sites of Christendom, such as Guadeloupe, Loreto, or Monserrat. It creates a hierarchy of hierophanies in the map, demonstrating how certain images were understood to have a greater power, to mediate her grace more readily, and that Marian presence is not uniform and unvarying, but appears in multiple, discrete apparitions, some stronger than others. We gain insight into how sacred space was imagined, and how divine grace was believed to emanate from certain points in the landscape, but also into how people oriented themselves in the early modern world. Mircea Eliade argued that profane space alone lacked any proper orientation. Its homogeneity and relativity offers mankind no orientation beyond the geometric, with no qualitative differentiation, no possible point of reference. Hierophany, however, provides that qualitative differentiation, a manifestation of the

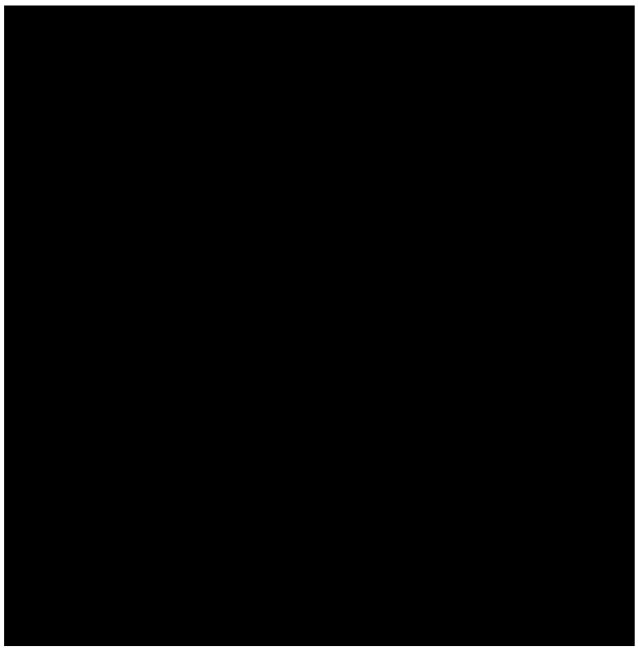
[12] 'Atlas Marianus sive praecipuae totius orbis habitati imagines et statuae magnae dei matris beneficiis ac prodigiis inclytae'
[13] E.g. 'Asia multis in locis Dei Matrem colit, et vicissim multos favores ab Illa accipit'

sacred, around which mankind can orientate itself.[14] These maps do not only offer the reader an orientation beyond the geometric, deeper than the cardinal directions of North-South-East-West – they offer insight into how early modern Catholics oriented themselves, doing so around these sites of Marian hierophany.

Figure 5.3 – 'Poloniae Magn[us] in Deiparam affect[us]…' – Heinrich Scherer, *Atlas Novus* (Munich, 1702-10)



Figure 5.4 – "Zenstokow" (5.3)



[14] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1961), 21-2, 91

In a work like the *Atlas Marianus* we discover that Marian spirituality was explored in cartography, just as in texts and other forms of imagery. But this chapter is not a study of Scherer, for we will be returning to the imagery of Jasna Góra, but encompassing a much broader range of images than the siege alone. After 1655, use of the cartographic image exploded, appearing in diverse contexts and media, and with access to a wide audience, found in prayerbooks, on altar frontals, and on loose-sheet engravings handed out to pilgrims, produced on an almost industrial level of production. Many are traditional, and others are caricatured cartography, or serve as cartographic elements within larger images. Though discussion will revolve primarily around Jasna Góran images, it will not be limited to them, as they will be placed within their wider context, alongside the cartography of other sites of Marian devotion, within the Commonwealth and beyond. From them, we will see how cartography not only adapted to this new devotional reality, but shaped it, and, moreover, we will find that cartography was not only a space where this Marian devotion was visualised (as we found in the previous chapter, and in the *Atlas Marianus*), but, even more, a space where such devotion was performed, the sacred encountered.

The chapter will be divided in three, each section exploring a different feature of Marian devotion. The first will focus on pilgrimage, and how cartography was put to use in a newly competitive pilgrim marketplace, to attract pilgrims to a site (and lure them away from competitors). Our discussion will revolve around the concept of sacred space, and how it can be expressed, enhanced, even created, through the medium of cartography – a nascent subject within the history of cartography. The second will use tensions present within the map as a foil to talk about the clash between universal and local, for we can see it responding to a new mode of tension within Catholic devotion, and fostering different sides of Catholic confessional identity, national and supra-national. The final section will concern itself with personal devotion, and how cartography could act as a tool in the practice of prayer and mental pilgrimage. These were not new phenomena, of course, but the widespread use of cartography within them was, however – a response enabled by the new, localised, mass-production of printed images. We will, therefore, be examining issues both spiritual and mundane, stretching from the micro to the macro, from the local concerns of a pilgrimage site, and

those of the individual devotee, to issues of a national, or even supra-national, character, in this cartographic exploration of early modern Marian devotion.

*

SACRED SPACE AND THE PILGRIM MARKETPLACE

Despite the many criticisms levelled against it during the Reformation, pilgrimage as a phenomenon reached new heights of popularity – in the Catholic world, at least.[15] Pilgrim numbers reached levels never before seen, even in the medieval period; new pilgrimage sites sprang up, old sites were re-established, with Marian holy sites proving particularly popular. In Bavaria alone, no fewer than 17 Loreto chapels were established in the 17th century.[16] Now, though these pilgrimage sites emerged from common roots, and served the same needs, that did not mean they functioned as part of a purely co-operative enterprise – for all these sites, old and new, were in *direct competition* with each other. This is highlighted in Ian Reader's *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, a work which, though focussing on contemporary Japanese pilgrimage, is just as relevant to 17th-century Catholicism. Reader, viewing the world of pilgrimage through the lens of capitalist consumerist culture (a jarring but nevertheless valuable exercise), notes how pilgrimage sites vie for what is necessarily a limited number of prospective pilgrims, 'a relatively finite market'. To flourish, or even survive, these sites must hold on to their own customers, win custom from others, and tap into the cache of new, potential pilgrims; and they do this through skilful marketing and promotion, advertising their own especial sanctity – and it is this marketing alone that guarantees the success of one site over another. In essence, it is not the performance of a miracle that secures a site's success, but rather how that miracle is publicised.[17] Whether or not we believe sites can be inherently sacred (Reader believes they cannot), the importance of such publicity, promoting a site's sanctity, cannot be denied.

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[15] Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia* (Cambridge, 2009), 11, 246
[16] Heal, *Cult*, 157
[17] Ian Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace* (Abingdon, 2014), chapter 2

So what form did this publicity take? How was such sanctity imparted to, and propagated by, 17th-century pilgrimage sites? Historians are well-aware of the importance of text in this regard; take, for example, Philip Soergel's study of early modern Bavarian pilgrimage books, which he considers 'advertisements', works that testify 'to the numinous power of local holy places' and assert their true sacredness.[18] Texts were written likewise for Jasna Góra, testifying to the sacredness of the Black Madonna and its monastic home.[19] But it was not text alone; from 1655 onward, when the first images of Jasna Góra began to appear, cartography, too, came to serve as a marketing tool, asserting the sanctity of shrines. Maps and views were added to these texts, but were also printed and painted independently, as pilgrim souvenirs, and used in ways they had not been used for before.

These texts and images were thus directed at fellow-Catholics, just as much as against the Protestant foe.[20] They were part of an *intra*-confessional discourse, not simply one *inter*-confessional. These images can therefore add texture to our understanding of post-Tridentine Catholicism, an amalgam of countless localities, each with their own aims and ambitions; and though these were usually mutually concordant, directed at a common foe, they were not invariably so, indicating that Counter-Reformation Catholicism was not simplistic singularity, but a combination of individual, moving parts.

But, more importantly, this section will examine how cartography was used to express, enhance, and even create sacred space (as we saw in Scherer's *Atlas Marianus*), and how this served as a tool within this pilgrim marketplace. Such a study maps out largely uncharted territory in cartographic historiography. The role of cartography as a tool for attracting pilgrims has been raised before in passing by Veronica della Dora, in the Orthodox context, but she considers cartography a mundane art, and focusses solely on its worldly concerns, rather than its spiritual concerns, such as

[18] Philip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1993); for the Bohemian context, see Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, 245-76

[19] Piotr Rysiński, *Historia pulchra et stupendis miraculis referta imaginis Mariae* (Kraków, 1523/4), Grzegorz of Sambor, *Censtochova* (Kraków, 1568), Andrzej Gołdonowski, *Diva Claromontana* (Kraków, 1642), Ambroży Nieszporkowicz, *Analecta mensae Reginalis* (Kraków, 1683)

[20] These texts have been seen as weapons, defending pilgrimage from Protestant attacks (Soergel, *Wondrous*, 4), and part of a unified Catholic campaign against heresy (Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, 272)

the articulation of sacred space.[21] This area has been neglected, in part, due to an assumption of cartography's limitations. Jeremy Black notes that 'the map can only communicate so much', and in particular that it struggles to capture the 'spiritual landscape', which exists only in the mental map of the reader.[22] While there is a certain truth to this, it should not be overdrawn. And, though some historians have touched on this topic, they have come up short. Török Zsolt's exhibition catalogue, *Sacred Places on Maps*,[23] though bringing together a promising collection of images, fails to draw out their full potential. Questions of how maps depict these sacred places, how they express that sanctity, are left unanswered in any sophisticated fashion.[24] For it treats a site's sacredness as a given, something extra-cartographical, rather than something that might be granted, or amplified, by cartography. Indeed, one contributor argues that maps do not even convey sacredness – that was the role of the text.[25] Beat Kümin, meanwhile, has used maps as a documentary source to understand the sacred/profane divide, but treats them simply as illustrations of the landscape, rather than images with their own message and power.[26] An important exception, however, is a recent article by Kat Hill on Mellinger and Stella's 1571 map of Mansfeld, identifying how Lutherans mapped out their 'sacred geography', tying the space of the map to the person and life of Martin Luther.[27] As pointed out by Hill, this kind of analysis holds potential for historians of sacred space (for whom cartography is a surprisingly under-used resource), revealing a new means of formulating sacred space, but also of potential value to a wide range of studies, from those examining the boundary between sacred and profane,[28] to those exploring the confessional competition over sacred space within the landscape.[29]

There are many methods of articulating sacred space within, and through, cartographic imagery, some of which have been stumbled upon incidentally by non-cartographic historians. One

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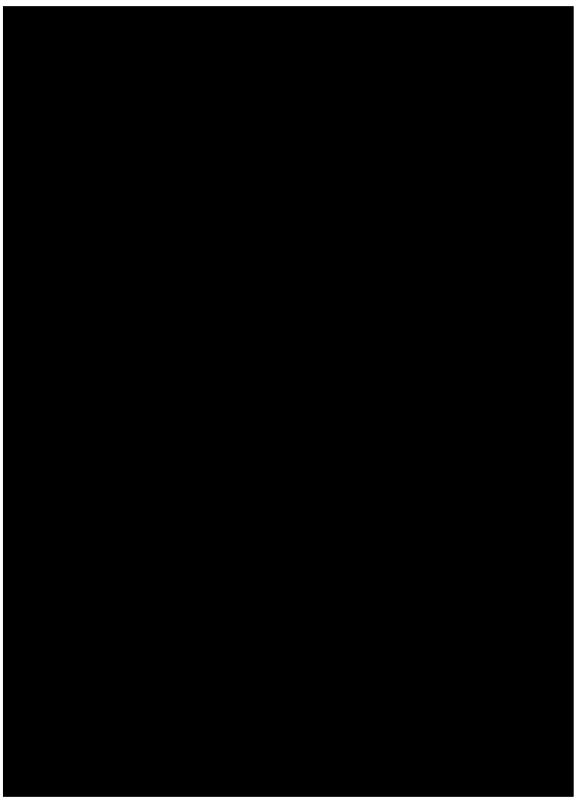
[21] Veronica della Dora, 'Windows on Heaven (and Earth): The Poetics and Politics of Post-Byzantine "Cartographic Icons"', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 38.1 (2012), 108
[22] Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London, 1997), 94-5
[23] Török Zsolt (ed.), *Sacred Places on Maps* (Pannonhalma, 2005)
[24] This is limited to noting the placement of a cross, or inclusion of a city's patron (Delano-Smith and Scafi, 'Sacred Geography', in Zsolt, *Sacred*, 135-6)
[25] PDA Harvey, 'Holy Places on Medieval Maps of Palestine', in Zsolt, *Sacred*, 141-54
[26] Beat Kümin, 'Sacred Church and Worldly Tavern', in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), 17-38
[27] Kat Hill, 'Mapping the Memory of Luther: Place and Confessional Identity in the Later Reformation', *German History*, 38.2 (2020), 187-210
[28] Henry Phillips, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1997)
[29] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape* (Oxford, 2011)

of these might be referred to as *temporal*, tying space to an earlier, holier point in time, to past traditions, or to the Early Church. Lucy Donkin, for example, has studied late medieval church ground plans that tie church edifices back to their miraculous foundation.[30] Another might be termed the *personal*, whereby space is tied to the life and deeds of a saint, or some other holy person, such as the 'biographical sacred geography' of the Mansfeld map, inscribed with memories of Luther, highlighted by Kat Hill.[31] *Geographical* sacralisation, associating a space with another, holier place in the world, would be yet another. Indeed, Henry Maguire has highlighted how images of Holy Land pilgrimage sites were included in Byzantine churches to lend sanctity, by association, to the local pilgrimage site.[32] By the same token, one anonymous 17th-century view of Jasna Góra, a votive painting kept in the monastery's artistic collections (Figure 5.5), ties the monastery to the origins of monasticism, as it is transplanted cartographically (if we can suspend our disbelief) to the Egyptian desert. Though the landscape around it is seemingly green and well-watered, in the foreground we see a palm tree and a spring of water, the two features associated with the cave in the Egyptian wilderness where St Paul the First Hermit (patron of the Pauline Order) lived for almost a hundred years, and where today stands the 5th-century Monastery of St Paul the Anchorite.[33] And above, Paul himself is shown, alongside a Pauline, worshipping the Black Madonna. Jasna Góra is thus tied not only to the home of its monastic patron, but to the fount and origin of Christian monasticism. Both this image and those highlighted by Maguire are examples of geographical sacralisation, but while the 'desert' image lends sacredness to the place it depicts, Jasna Góra, Maguire's transfer sacredness to the space they occupy, the church building. This is an important distinction, and one that neatly demonstrates the power of cartography to impart sacrality to different orders of space, both inside and outside the map; we might tentatively term this 'internal' and 'external' sacralisation. Here, however, we will focus not on temporal, geographical, or personal, but on a fourth form of cartographic sacralisation: the *empyrean*, or *celestial*. For images of Jasna Góra mark out the monastery

[30] Lucy Donkin, 'Santa Maria Maggiore and the Depiction of Holy Ground Plans in Late Medieval Italy', *Gesta*, 57.2 (2018), 225-55
[31] Hill, 'Mapping the Memory', 187-210
[32] Henry Maguire, 'Pilgrimage through Pictures in Medieval Byzantine Churches', in Paul Davies et al. (eds), *Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-1500* (Burlington, 2013), 21-38
[33] Rozanow and Smulikowska mistakenly identify the spot as Mt Kolzim, also in Egypt, where St Anthony the Great lived as a hermit (*Zabytki sztuki Jasnej Góry* (Katowice, 2009), 133)

as a place intimately connected with heaven – a place where heaven comes down to earth, where those on earth can reach up to heaven, where heaven and earth physically meet – all revolving, unsurprisingly, around the monastery's special relationship with the Virgin Mary. And we will find that cartography can tell us more about space than its mere physical properties; for it can depict things that architects cannot build, that nature has not formed, and can reveal space's incorporeal, intangible character.

Figure 5.5 – anonymous votive painting, 17th century – Jasna Góra collection



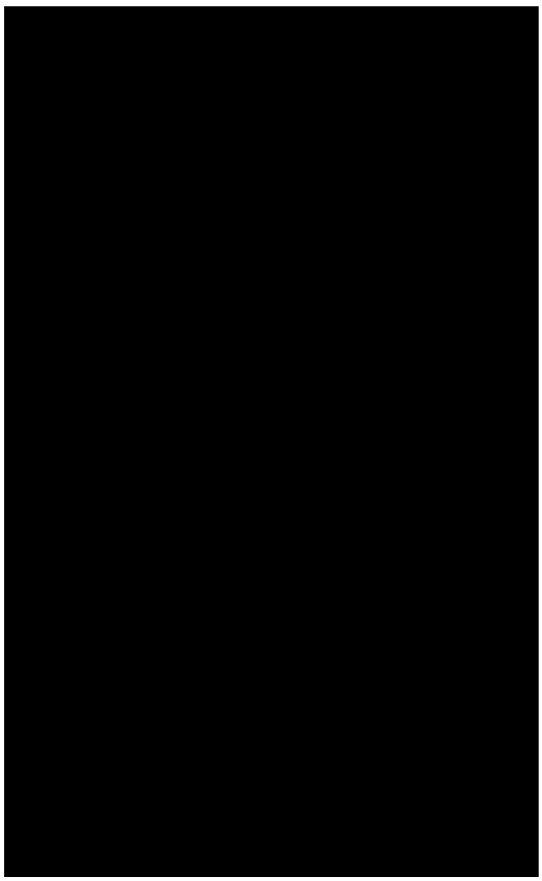
The first element of this empyrean sacralisation is the marking of Jasna Góra as a place where heaven comes down to earth. This is achieved, in part, through a concept discussed in the last chapter: hierophany, the breakthrough of the sacred into human experience, and, here, into the space of the map. Previously, we saw cartographic hierophany as a statement of, and window into, faith, but it also shapes space. Mircea Eliade, who developed the concept, held that hierophany gives space meaning and structure, establishing a sacred point within the meaningless homogeneity of profane space, around which mankind could orient itself,[34] and cartographic hierophanies likewise mark out

[34] Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, 21-2

Jasna Góra as a sacred space, a point where divine grace flows to earth. This was made especially clear in cartography of the siege, where we saw Jasna Góra protected by the intercession and intervention of the saints, the Virgin Mary in particular, appearing in bodily form above the monastery, and by other miraculous occurrences, as the monastery was kept pristine, like the burning bush, throughout the 40-day assault (a number full of biblical flavour), and cannonballs were turned back, 180 degrees, back onto the Swedish lines. But such hierophany was not a single, unrepeated occurrence, Jasna Góra is shown to be a place where such miraculous events occur *continuously*, a place where the divine is permanently present:

> '*I am the work of Luke, Jerusalem for three centuries received my care,*
> *Istanbul for five hundred years, and Bełż for five hundred more:*
> *and for a fourth century Jasna Góra has experienced the same,*
> *a place famed across the world on account of my benefaction*'[35]

Figure 5.6 – Anonymous woodcut – Ambroży Nieszporkowicz, *Odrobiny z stołu królewskiego* (Kraków, 1706)



[35] '*Jestem Dzieło Łukasza, Solyma trzy wieki,*
Stambuł pięć set, Bełż tylesz lat, mojey opieki
Doznały: Jasna Gora na czwarty wiek płyny
Jak mojemi po świecie Dobrodzieystwy słynie.'

These words are found beneath an anonymous woodcut (Figure 5.6), included in the 1706 edition of Nieszporkowicz' *Odrobiny z stołu królewskiego*. They recount the Black Madonna's history, but also glorify Jasna Góra as the beneficiary of her care. The woodcut, depicting the monastery with the icon above, acts as an illustration of this connection, as text and image, together, mark out Jasna Góra as special recipient of the Black Madonna's benefaction, where her grace comes down to earth, and has done for centuries. We saw in the last chapter how cartography was used to establish the holiness and authenticity of the Black Madonna, but here we see how, through cartography, the holy icon sanctifies its monastic home. The numerous miracles attributed to the Black Madonna were recorded in the monastery's *Liber Miraculorum*, three volumes of which survive, from the early-16th to the late-18th century.[36] The title page of the second volume (Figure 5.7), painted by Br Antoni in 1732, of course depicts the miraculous icon, floating on a cloud and shining with heavenly glory, and, directly beneath it, the earthly Jasna Góra, neatly illustrating the very concept of the work. It shows how the 'graces and miracles of the miracle-working image' ('Gratiarum et Miraculorum Thaumaturgae Imaginis'), come down to earth from the heavenly icon, but not to anywhere – to Jasna Góra specifically. It depicts the channel by which God's grace comes to earth, whence it might flow out to the wider world. Occupying the opening page of the volume, it shapes our interpretation of all that follows, as each and every miracle becomes a manifestation of the grace that is bestowed on Jasna Góra through the Black Madonna. The same concept is mirrored in other images throughout the *Liber*, in the small anonymous woodcut appearing later in volume two (Figure 5.8), or the famous Strachowski engraving, glued onto another page (Figure 5.9). The *Liber Miraculorum* was, of course, intended primarily to highlight the holiness and authenticity of the icon, but these images ensured that it did not stress the sanctity of the icon alone, but of the monastery too. And though the book was, admittedly, not visible to pilgrims, the miracles that testified to the monastery's holiness were visible, painted onto the vaulting of the monastery basilica by Karol Dankwart, 1693-5, including the miraculous victory of 1655.[37]

[36] Zofia Rozanow and Ewa Smulikowska, *The Cultural Heritage of Jasna Góra* (Warsaw, 1974), 125
[37] Rozanow and Smulikowska, *Zabytki*, 105-6, 202

Many more images highlight a different empyrean connection, however, and portray Częstochowa as a place where heaven and earth meet. This can be seen in the most popular convention in depictions of the monastery, where the image is typically divided in two: the lower depicting Jasna Góra, the upper the Black Madonna, depicting physical and spiritual space side-by-

Figure 5.7 – Title page for the *Liber Miraculorum*, vol. 2, Br Antoni (1732)

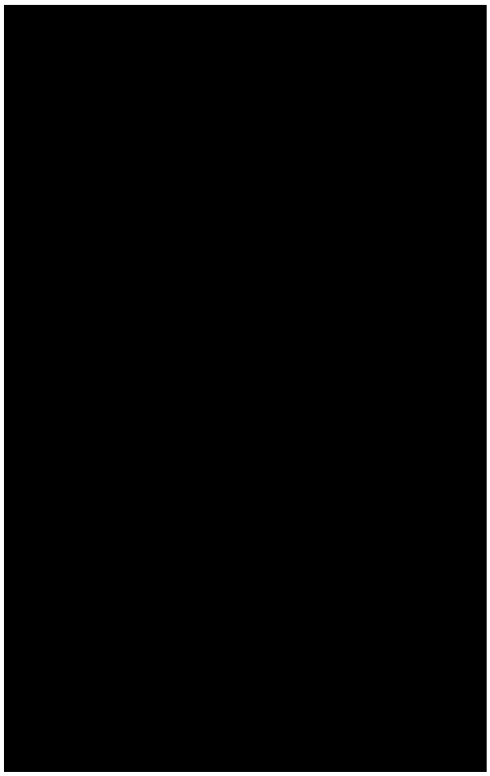


Figure 5.8 – Anonymous woodcut – *Liber Miraculorum*, vol. 2

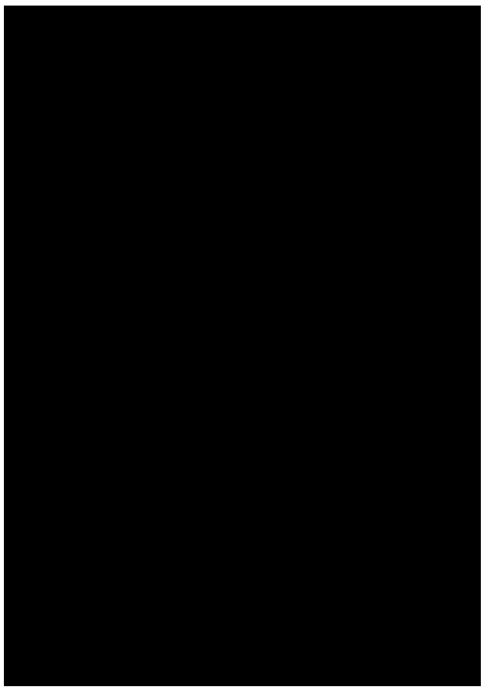
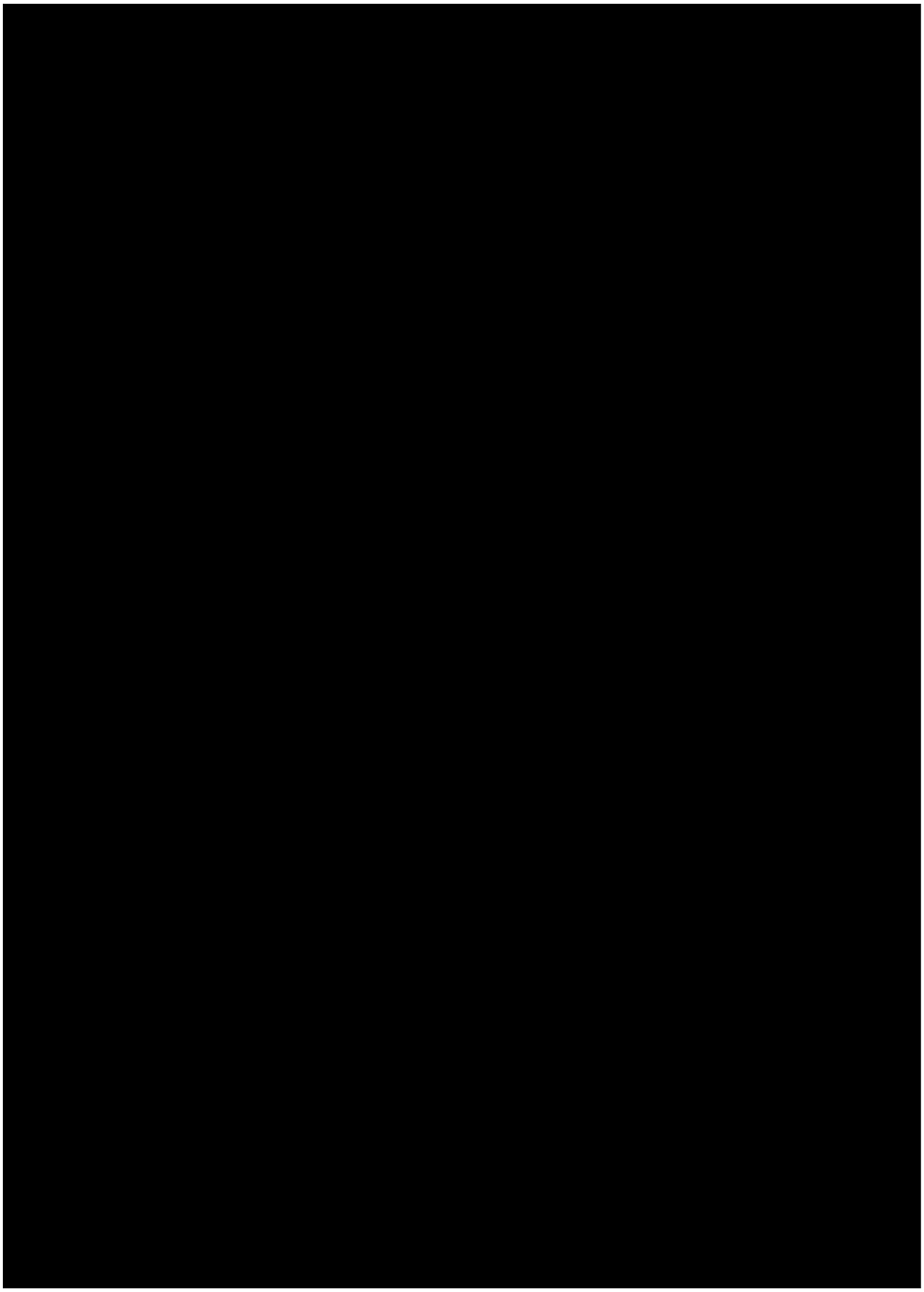


Figure 5.9 – Strachowski engraving (Wroclaw, 1717-20)



side. We have already seen examples in Figures 5.6-9, but the first to develop this iconographic theme was Johann Bensheimer, in his frontispiece to Kobierzycki's *Obsidio Clari Montis* (1659) (Figure 4.30), an example followed by the Pauline engraver, Antoni Agapit Nowakowski (Figures 5.10-12), Anton Birckhart (Figure 5.13), other anonymous engravers (Figures 5.14, 5.15)[38] and creators of *listy z nieba*,

[38] For more (undated) examples of this kind of image, see Anna Kunczyńska-Iracka, *Malarstwo Ludowe Kręgu Częstochowskiego* (Warsaw, 1978), figures 35-68

Figure 5.10 – Engraving by Antoni Agapit Nowakowski – Rudolf Pollacz, *Heroina Chrześcijańska* (Częstochowa, 1710)

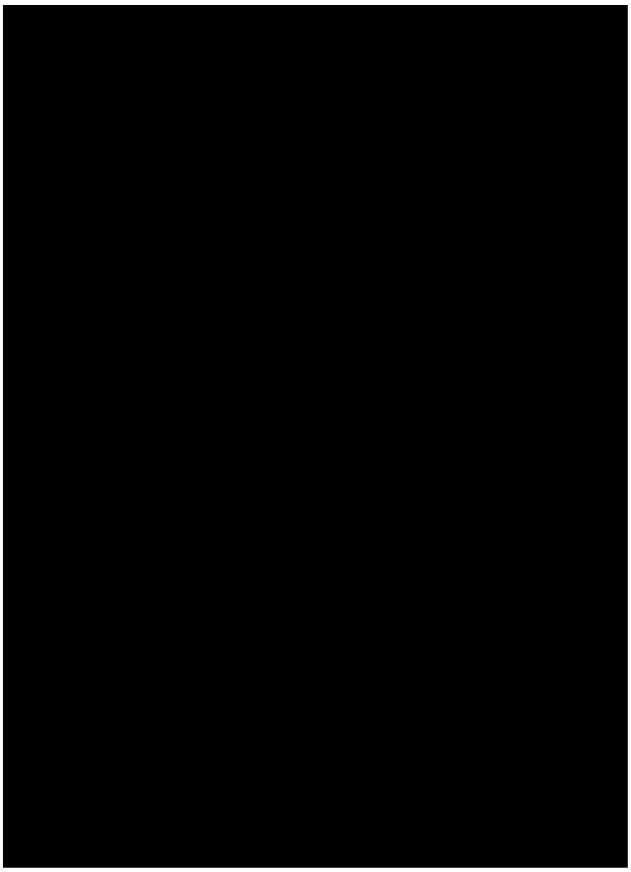


Figure 5.11 – 'Imago D.D. Mariae Częstochowiensis...', Nowakowski (1717)

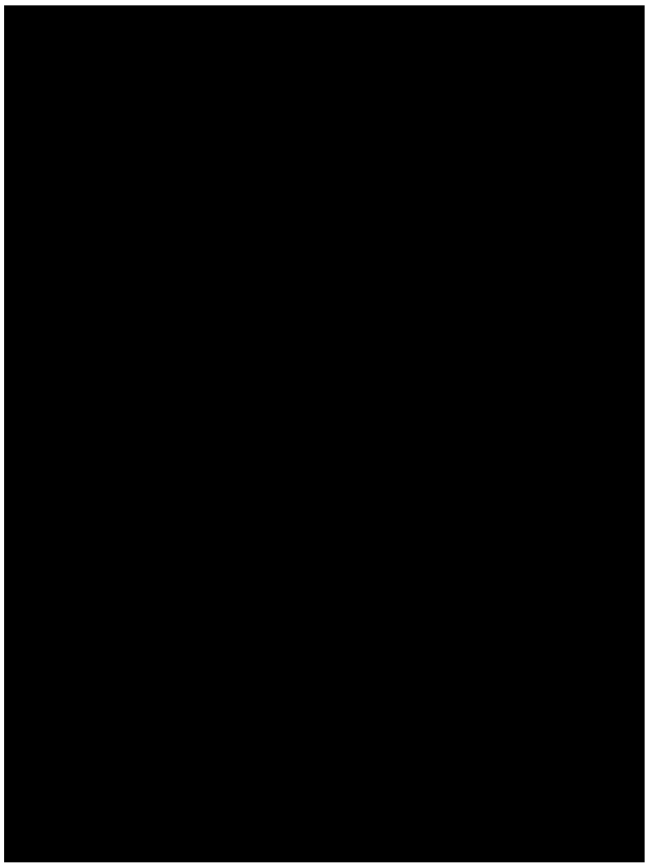


Figure 5.12 – Jasna Góra and the Black Madonna, Nowakowski (1717)

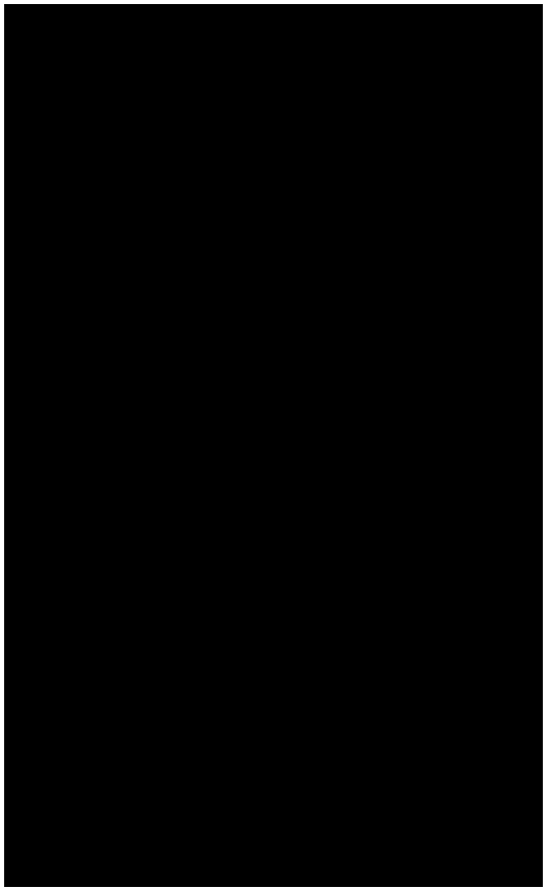


Figure 5.13 – Engraving by Anton Birckhart – Remigiusz Ścisłowski, *Homagium Augustissimae* (Częstochowa, 1717)

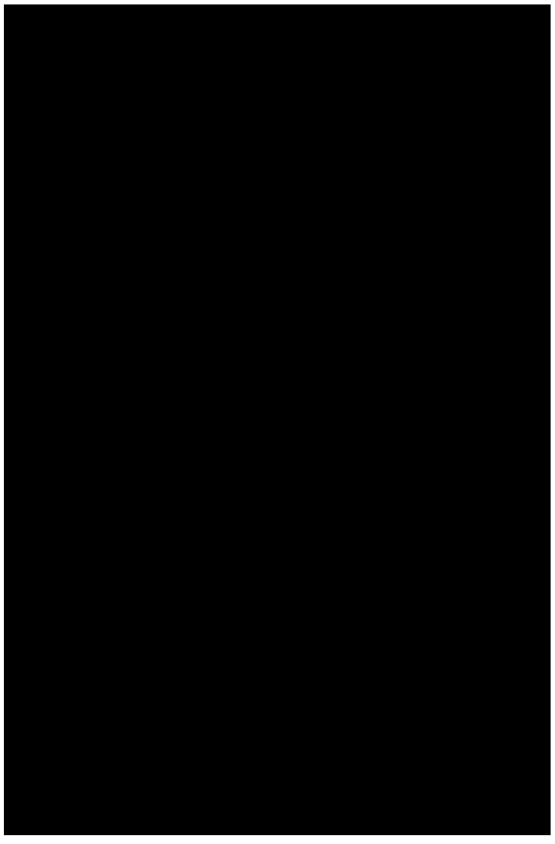


Figure 5.14 – Anonymous engraving, 1st half of 18th century

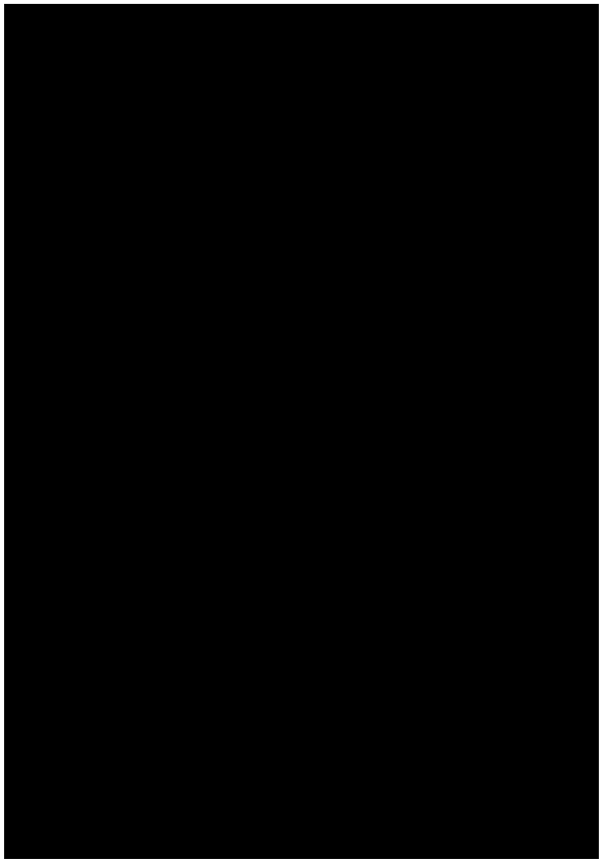


Figure 5.15 – Incomplete, anonymous woodcut (18th century?)

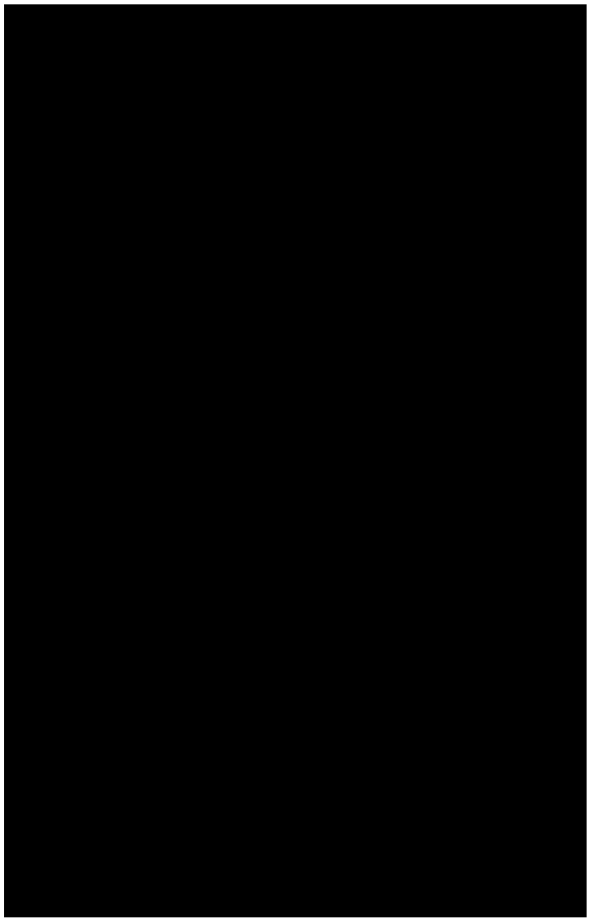


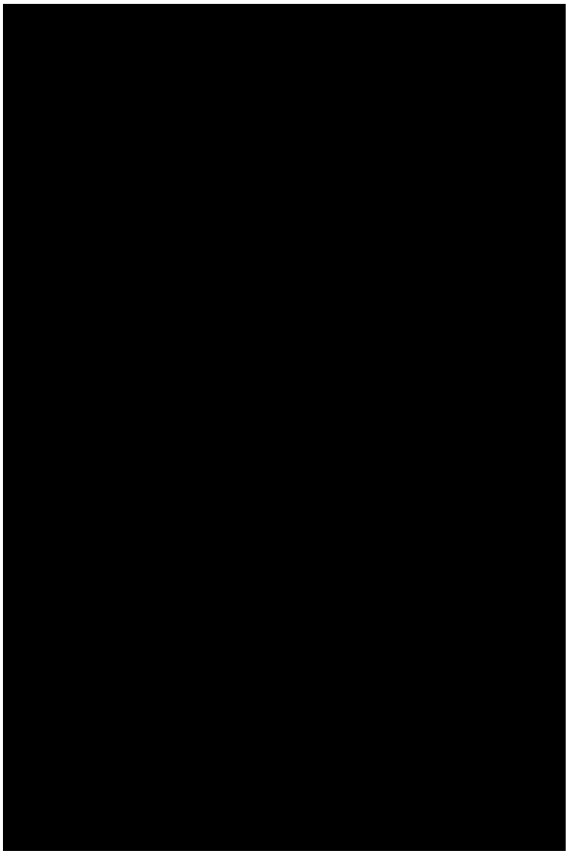
Figure 5.16 – 'Letter from heaven', 18th century



Figure 5.17 – 'Letter from heaven', 18th century



Figure 5.18 – Folk painting, 19th-century – wooden church of Rodaki



'letters from heaven', pilgrim prayer sheets from the same period (Figures 5.16, 5.17), not to forget the nameless members of the Częstochowa painters' guild, who painted images modelled on such engravings (none such image survives from the 17th century, but we do have folk examples from the 19th century (Figure 5.18), working in the same tradition).[39] The existence of this convention has been recognised by a number of historians, but its deeper meanings have been left unexplored.[40] On one level these images emphasise the special relationship between Jasna Góra and its miraculous icon, so much so that you can hardly see the former without the latter, bathing in rays of glory that emanate from it, partaking in its sanctity. But if we look more closely at how the image is divided we see another level at work, for the two halves of the image do not merely represent icon and monastery – they depict the division between *heaven* and *earth*.[41] The two halves are separated by a bank of clouds, the earthly monastery seemingly detached from the heavenly icon above, often carried and adored

[39] Kunczyńska-Iracka, *Malarstwo*, 135, 211-7 (for further examples, see figures 84-94)
[40] Kunczyńska-Iracka, *Malarstwo*, 74-5; Hanna Widacka, 'Ikonografia Częstochowy w grafice XVII i XVIII w.' *Studia Claromontana*, 4 (1983), 289-337
[41] A point raised, but left unexplored, by Widacka ('Ikonografia', 313)

by cherubs and angels. These images emphasise less the *division*, however, and more the *connection* between heaven and earth, through a single feature: the monastery spire. We might remember how Georg Braun used these particular architectural features to further his pro-Catholic agenda, allowing some spires to pass the horizon (with a label) and others not (without one). And here it is likewise allowed to pass a boundary, but for very different purpose; for in most of these images, Jasna Góra's spire touches the clouds that divide the earthly realm from the heavenly, sometimes piercing right through them. This was no accident, or compromise for lack of space, but a convention in itself, proclaiming Jasna Góra a place where earth literally reaches up to heaven, and the two can meet. We should, therefore, think about these images in a different way. It is not necessarily a view, with icon accompaniment, that we see, but a map – a map of earth and heaven. We might call it a *vertical map*, for it does not depict the horizontal surface of the earth, as do most maps, but rather maps out the space between earth and heaven above, and importantly, how they are connected. It is a different kind of map, one that speaks of a different conception of space, connecting earthly space (that is the domain of other maps) to another spatial plane, conveying sacredness in a profound and visceral manner. Only here do we find Harley and Woodward's definition of cartography falling short. They define maps as 'graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events *in the human world* [our emphasis]',[42] but we find they can stretch beyond the human world, connecting earth to heaven.

And this connection could be expressed in other ways, through something as trivial as the colour of robes. In caricatured cartographic images of the siege (Figures 4.19, 4.21-3) Mary is shown, clothed in a red-pink garment, casting her blue protective mantle about the besieged monastery. The covering of holy objects in blue has biblical resonances (in Numbers 4:6-7 the Lord commanded a blue cloth be spread over the most holy Ark of the Covenant, and another over the table of the Presence), but also deep iconographical resonances. According to the traditions of Marian iconography, these colours represent her transformation from human to a celestial being: the red-pink, symbolic of flesh, overlaid with the heavenly blue of the mantle (in contrast, Christ is often

[42] Harley and Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, xvi

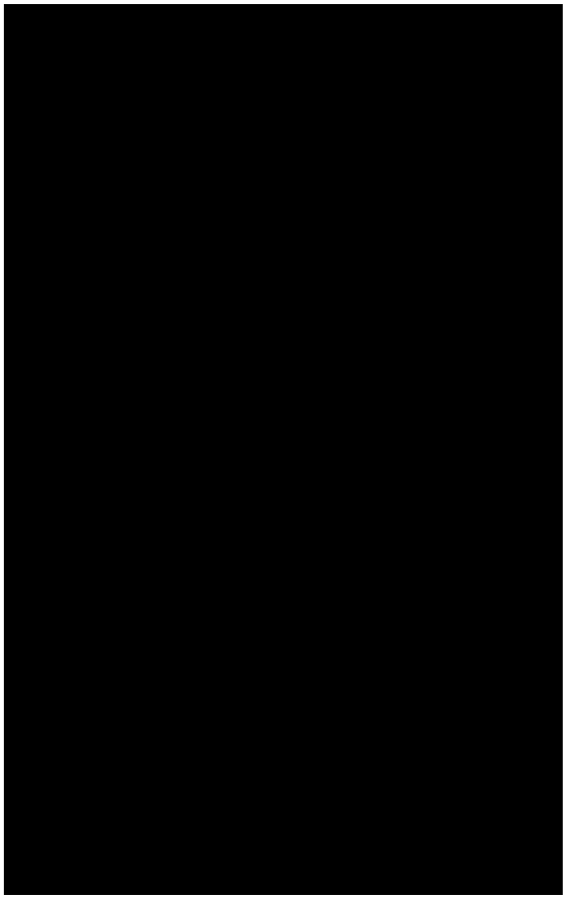
depicted with interchanged colours, representative of his transformation from God to man). And so, as Mary casts her blue, celestial mantle around the monastery, she shares with Jasna Góra not only her loving protection, but even her heavenly nature.

Lastly, within this empyrean sacralisation, is the identification of Jasna Góra as a place where those on earth can reach up to heaven. This is expressed through one further trope, a common feature of the conventional image, that of the prayerful supplicant. An ideal example would be the 'immeasurably popular' Strachowski engraving (Figure 5.9), an image mimicked by at least three other engravers[43] and by countless painter-copyists.[44] On the one side, we see representatives of the Church (Pope, cardinal, bishop, and monks), and on the other, those of secular power (Emperor, king and nobles), petitioning the Black Madonna upon their knees. But this is not only an image depicting prayer to the Virgin through her image, but also through the space of Jasna Góra. For a view of the monastery can be found placed prominently in the centre of the image (here we are perhaps diverting from the natural domain of cartographic history, not analysing the placement of features within a cartographic image, but the placement of cartographic features within a wider image). The supplicants are thus emplaced at Jasna Góra, a place where their prayers will reach up to heaven and the Virgin Mary. It is, moreover, a place that offers access to Mary not only for Pauline monks, not only for Poles, but for all throughout Catholic Christendom, irrespective of station or nation, as ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies are laid flat before the monastery, which serves as a channel to the divine even for the Pope himself. Though other images might highlight the importance of the priesthood as one's means to access the divine (Figure 0.3), here it is the Black Madonna, and, notably, the sacred space of Jasna Góra. Remarkably, it is not only those on earth for whom Jasna Góra serves this purpose, however; most often, these supplicants are none other than the saints in heaven! Most commonly these were St Luke and St Paul the First Hermit, but with time John the Baptist, Joseph, Barbara, John of the Cross, and John of Nepomuk were included. In the Strachowski engraving Luke and Paul are shown petitioning the Black Madonna from their heavenly realm, somewhat surprising in itself, but elsewhere, as in this later version of the same image (Figure 5.19), they are shown as if

[43] Widacka, 'Ikonografia', 317-8
[44] Kunczyńska-Iracka, *Malarstwo*, 78

on earth, emplaced at Jasna Góra, praying at and through the monastery. Jasna Góra is cast as an earthly site used, supposedly, by the saints *in heaven* to communicate more effectively with the Virgin Mary – though how such a message is justified theologically is a mystery of its own.

Figure 5.19 – Later version of the Strachowski engraving (5.9) (Wroclaw, 18th century)



At the root of this empyrean connection, however, was, of course, the monastery's special relationship with the Virgin Mary, a relationship that was at the heart of almost every image of Jasna Góra. This begins with the monastery's connection to its miraculous icon, the Black Madonna. The cartographic image and icon can hardly be separated, not only in the conventional image, but in images like this vignette (Figure 5.20), perhaps by Nowakowski, appearing, from 1717 onwards, on the title pages of the many books emanating from the Częstochowa printing press.[45] It is made clear, however, that this is more than a connection with a mere image – it is a connection to Mary herself. The Black Madonna has a supposed two-fold connection to Mary, visual and material, being her true image, painted onto the boards of her very own table – and this profound connection between person

[45] Widacka, 'Ikonografia', 312

and image is highlighted in imagery. The Black Madonna is often depicted with a certain amount of ambiguity, blurring the lines between icon and subject, so that it is often unclear whether it is the Black Madonna depicted, or the Virgin Mary herself. We see the icon removed from its frame, and placed up in the cloudy heavens, as if it were less a static, earthly painting, and more the living person of Mary, the only indication of its icon-nature being the scars set on her cheek (given to the Black Madonna by Hussite iconoclasts). And though she remains clearly in-frame in the Strachowski engraving, the Black Madonna is nevertheless identified clearly with the Virgin Mary, surrounded as it is by a bright sphere, with the words 'Mulier Amicta Sole', 'The woman clothed with the sun', a reference to the Woman of the Apocalypse, Revelation 12, a figure identified with the Virgin Mary in the Catholic Church. This conflation of icon and subject seeks to demonstrate that, through its miraculous icon, Jasna Góra was connected to the Virgin Mary herself.

Figure 5.20 – Częstochowa Printing House vignette, Nowakowski? (1717)



Such a connection is of course highlighted elsewhere, independently of the Black Madonna. It could be seen in siege imagery, where Mary showed her especial care for the monastery, casting her protective mantle about it, but also in her appearance in person above it, a tangible hierophany creating, not only a spiritual, but a physical, spatial connection between them, as clear as the existence of the monastery itself. But this is perhaps epitomised in an image of Jasna Góra found on the antependium of the high altar of the Chapel of the Miraculous Image itself (Figure 5.21). Wrought from silver, likely in 1717, the piece is attributed to Br Makary Sztyfkowski, a Pauline goldsmith.[46] It

[46] Rozanow and Smulikowska, *Zabytki*, 350

Figure 5.21 – Altar antependium, Br Makary Sztyfkowski (1717) – High altar of the Chapel of the Miraculous Image



offers a view of the monastery, its spire breaking through the clouds that surround a Marian monogram, below which is written 'Sub Tuum Praesidium', words from an ancient Christian hymn, celebrating the safety found under Mary's protection. Of interest to us, however, is not only the monastery view, but four images in cartouches that surround it: the founding of the monastery in 1382, the presentation of the miraculous icon in 1384, an allegory of faith and justice, and an image of cripples praying for help – and, importantly, atop each cartouche appears the same Marian monogram. This point might not seem particularly noteworthy, until we consider an aspect of chronology, for, crucially, even the image depicting the foundation of the monastery, an event two years prior to the arrival of the Black Madonna, is crowned with the Marian monogram. Even before the Black Madonna arrived, Jasna Góra was under the special protection of Mary herself. And the donation of the icon, also depicted beneath the monogram, was made under the guidance and auspices of the Virgin Mother. In other words, the sanctity of Jasna Góra does not derive from the presence of the Black Madonna within its walls; rather, the miraculous relic was brought to Jasna Góra *because* of the special relationship that already existed between Mary and monastery, *because* it was a sacred place that was worthy of such a relic. This fundamental relationship transcends even the presence of the Black Madonna, and that is why it is the Marian monogram that appears above the

monastery, breaking with the conventional Black Madonna (no matter how ambiguous). An even more profound connection, however, could perhaps be found in the 'cupboard' images from the previous chapter, which offered abstract depictions of Mary as a 'Fortified Camp' or 'Fortified Town' protecting the believer from harm (Figures 4.5-6). With changing context, these map-views came to symbolise Jasna Góra itself, under siege by Protestants, but this did more than offer theological colour to that siege, it also offered a symbolic depiction of the monastery that was not just connected to, but even identified with the very person of the Virgin Mary (highly resonant for a place known as the *Fortalitium Marianum*).

In this way, the sacred space of Jasna Góra was mapped out, and its connection to the heavenly realm made known. Such use of cartography was far from unique, however. Reader notes how shrines replicate each other's strategies, unwilling to be out-done by their rivals; and we find cartography likewise spread as a sanctifying tool across early modern pilgrimage sites. Shrines across Catholic Christendom used cartographic images to declare their especial sanctity, and attract pilgrim custom. Take Figure 5.22, depicting the shrine of Altötting, Bavaria, 'typical of a style common in 17th and 18th century Bavaria'.[47] Above the shrine, the Madonna and Child are depicted enthroned in heaven – and above them, God the Father and the Holy Spirit – all surrounded by angels and cherubs. Below, the Virgin Mary stands before a pair of kneeling pilgrims, bestowing her grace, while Philip and James seemingly direct the prayers of another pilgrim towards the Virgin, and groups of pilgrims can be seen in the distance on their way to the shrine. As with Jasna Góra, it depicts a celestial connection, the monastery as a place where pilgrim prayers can reach Mary, and where her grace comes down to earth. The same cartographic sacralisation (and marketing) could be seen at pilgrimage sites across the Commonwealth, such as Berdyczów, particularly after the papal crowning of its miraculous Marian image in 1756 (Figures 5.23-25), Biaroza, founded where a miraculous cross had been found in the forest (Figure 5.26), or Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, depicted in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, tying the Calvary to pontiff and the Archangel Michael (Figure 5.27) (for non-Marian sites were part of the same marketplace). Text was not the only tool in this competitive pilgrim

[47] Soergel, *Wondrous*, 217

Figure 5.22 – Engraving of Altötting, Bavaria, 17th century

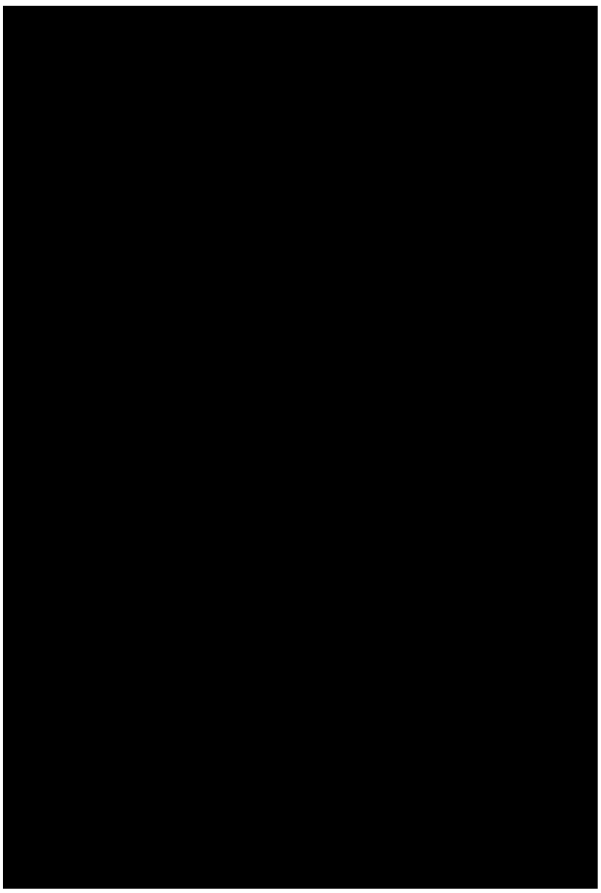


Figure 5.23 – Berdyczów monastery and its miraculous image (c. 1756)

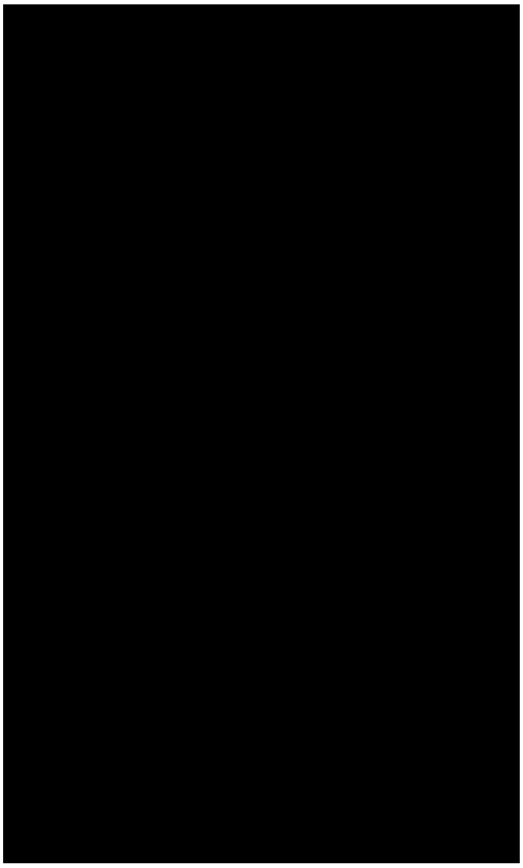


Figure 5.24 – Our Lady of Berdyczów shines down on Berdyczów and her devotees, I Filipowicz – *Ozdoba y obrona ukraińskich krajów* (Berdyczów, 1767)

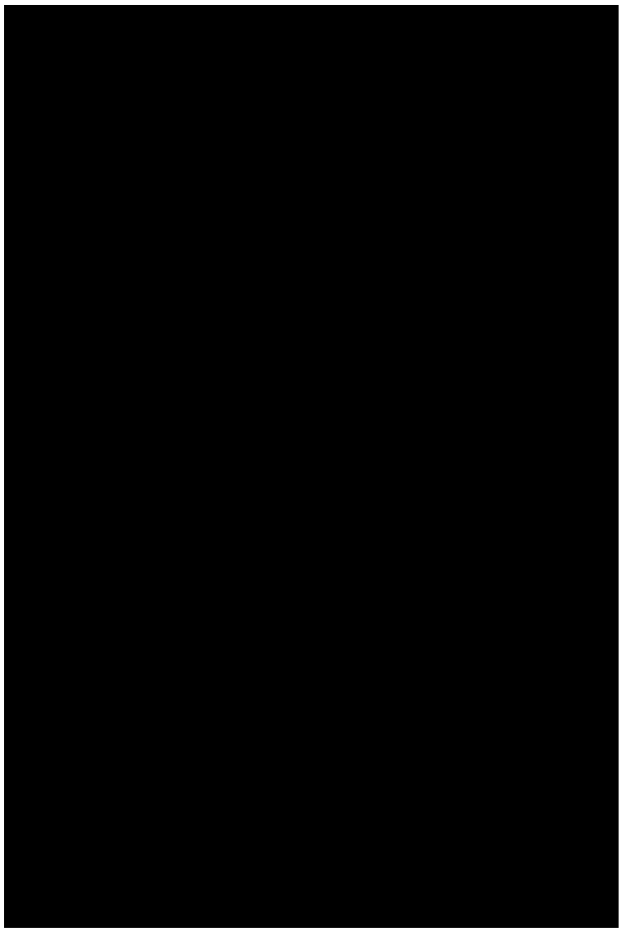


Figure 5.25 – Mary protects Berdyczów from the Russian siege of 1768, Teodor Rakowiecki (s.l., post-1768)



Figure 5.26 – Biaroza and its miraculous cross, anon., (s.l., n.d.)

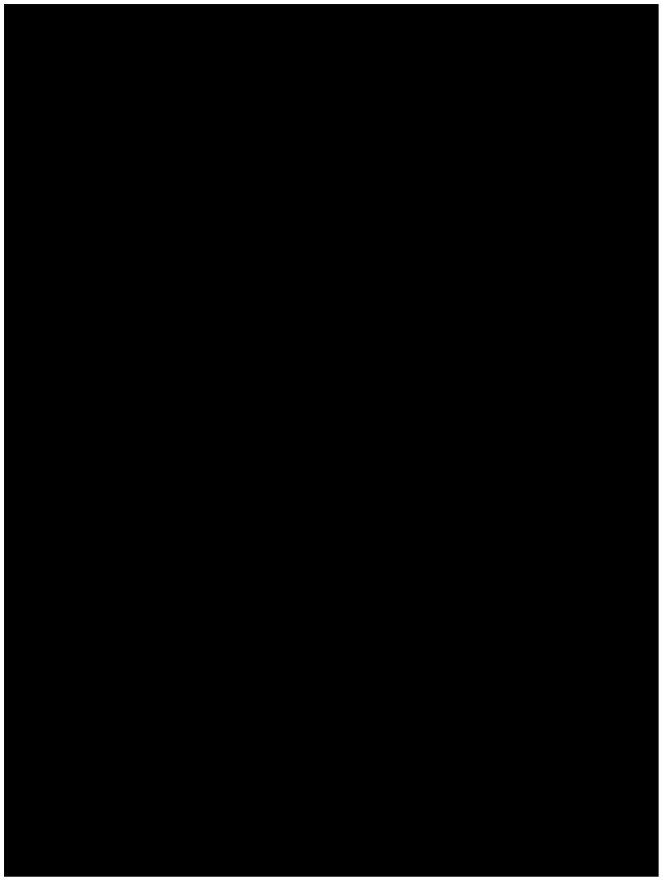


Figure 5.27 – Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, tied to Paul V (top left) and Archangel Michael (top right) – *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572-1617)



Figure 5.28 – Woodcut, Ławra Poczajowska and Our Lady of Poczajów, Manuel Latorowski (s.l., n.d.)

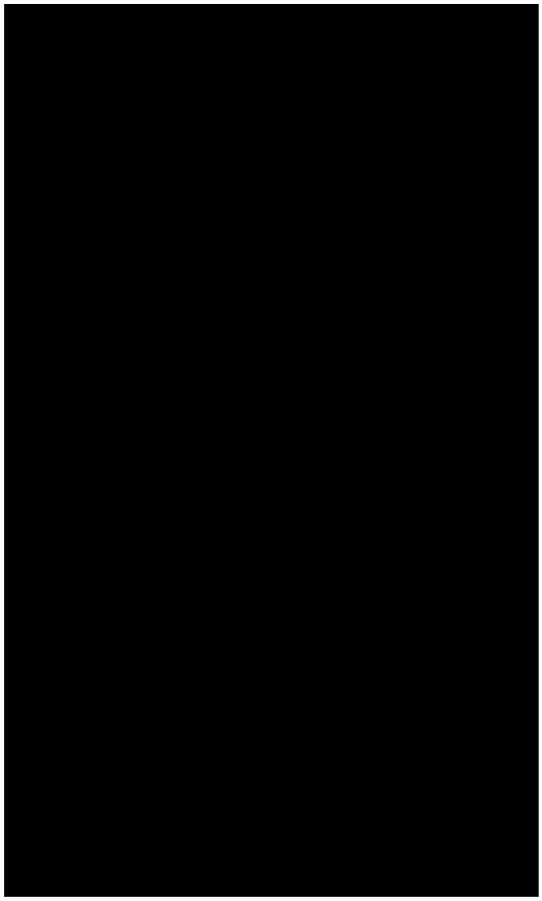


Figure 5.29 – Woodcut, Krechów monastery, Dionizy Sinkiewicz (s.l., 1699)



Figure 5.30 – Woodcut, Krechów monastery, Dionizy Sinkiewicz (s.l., 1703)



Figure 5.31 – Mount Sinai (Venice, 1736)



Figure 5.32 – Mount Athos, Alessandro dalla Via (Venice, 1707)



marketplace – cartography, too, was put into service; unlike pilgrim books, these loose-sheet images were extremely cheap and required no standard of literacy, and so could reach a much wider audience, which goes, in part, to explain their popularity. Cartography's popularity extended beyond the Catholic world, too, as Orthodox sites within the Commonwealth employed it as a tool, such as at Ławra Poczajowska (Figures 4.26, 5.28), and Krechów (Figures 5.29, 5.30), articulating the sacred space of their monastery-subjects. And it is visible far beyond Poland-Lithuania, in images of St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai (Figure 5.31), and of Mt Athos (Figure 5.32), which incorporate St John's Ladder, and mark these pilgrimage sites as places where one can reach the Virgin Mary, floating in clouds above, and get away from the earthly monsters and heretics below.[48] Jasna Góra's images were simply part of this wider cartographic tradition found throughout early modern pilgrimage culture. And, if anything, we find this use of cartography only increasing throughout the 18th century, defying the notion that cartography's religious importance diminished as time went on.

[48] della Dora, 'Windows', 98-100

Can we identify any confessional differences in the mapping of sacred space? There seem no immediate differences between these Catholic and Orthodox images, which similarly highlight a spatial connection to the numinous. Lutheran cartography, however, as far as Mellinger and Stella's map of Mansfeld can tell us, seems to operate on a different plane. Kat Hill tells us how the map offers a historicised landscape, rather than one that focusses on the miraculous, which she argues is representative of the Lutheran attitude towards space, once the Catholic landscape had been de-sacralised. Lutheran sacred space was of a different order to the Catholic, and this was reflected in their cartography.[49] It is difficult to generalise from a single map, but, if the Mansfeld map is representative of wider Lutheran mapping, we might tentatively suggest that what we have encountered here – the focus on a place's empyrean connection as an illustration of sanctity – would therefore seem to be a characteristic of Catholic/Orthodox mapmaking, and a reflection of their perceptions of space. It was not only different orders of hierophany that divided mapmakers by confession, but seemingly their attitudes towards space, too.

Of course, cartographic sacralisation did not revolve purely around issues of local competition. Though undoubtedly important, it was not the only reason or purpose behind the mapping of sacred space (Hill, for example, noted its use in firming up Lutheran identity at a critical point, after the death of Luther[50]). It has, nevertheless, offered a useful lens through which to view the subject, and afforded a first view into a topic full of potential. Before we move on, however, we will conclude by returning to an image that speaks of a relationship, yet more profound, between cartography and sacred space, and very different to what we have studied thus far, offering a small insight into a much bigger realm – a realm where cartography sanctifies space, not through *depiction*, but through *action*, where cartography not only *maps* hierophany, but *partakes* in it – this is the antependium image (Figure 5.21), affixed to the high altar of the Chapel of the Miraculous Image. As stated above, this image attests to the special relationship between Jasna Góra and Mary, but such depictions of sacrality are irrelevant to our discussion now, which concerns the image's relation to the space it inhabits – in this case, that of the altar. The altar, of course, is the holiest place of any

[49] Hill, 'Mapping the Memory', 187-210; though, as Hill notes, Mellinger and Stella's inclusion of the miracle of the papal stone reveals that the natural landscape still contained within it the potential for the miraculous.
[50] ibid. 187-210

chapel, and one might claim the image to be sanctified by that very sacredness. But it is more complex than that, for that sacredness is not fixed, static, immutable, but fluid and changeable, shaped by the rhythms of the liturgy. It is at the altar where the climax of the Mass takes place, when bread and wine are transformed into Christ's body and blood – the hierophany of the Eucharist, when heaven comes down to earth, when temporal and eternal, sacred and profane, meet. It is at this point that the altar, until then just a table, becomes holy; as John Chrysostom tells us: 'the altar should be an object of awe: by nature it is stone, but it is made holy when it receives the body of Christ'.[51] And onto this altar is placed a view of Jasna Góra, the cartographic image becoming part of this liturgical performance. When the altar of stone is transformed into a heavenly table, the view likewise takes on a new nature. Partaking in the Eucharistic mystery, the cartographic space itself, just like the altar on which it is placed, becomes a meeting point between heaven and earth – rather than merely depicting hierophany, we see cartography taking part in its reality, sanctified not only by Mary, but by the Christological presence of the Eucharist. But it is not just the cartographic space that is transformed, but, through it, the physical space of the monastic complex. Acting as a kind of medium, or proxy, the cartographic image translates the heavenly grace that transforms the altar onto the place it depicts, and indeed the very space it occupies (a reminder that cartographic images are not only shaped by the space around them, but can actively shape that space themselves), the monastery itself becoming something both earthly and heavenly. Though, before, we spoke about cartographic images that *depict* a space connected to heaven, this image *performs* it, *realises* it, each and every time the Mass is performed – not through anything it depicts, but through the movement and activity of divine grace. In short, through this image, Jasna Góra is not simply *shown* to be sacred, but, even more, *becomes* sacred.

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[51] John Chrysostom, 'Homilia 20 in 2 Cor', *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 61 (Paris, 1857-66), 540 (trans. International Committee on English in the Liturgy, *Rite of Dedication of a Church and an Altar* (1978), 9, www.liturgyoffice.org.uk/Resources/Rites/RDCA.pdf (10/11/2021))

UNIVERSALISM vs PARTICULARISM

In our first section, we sought to understand our images within the context of a tension, that between local pilgrimage sites. Here, however, we will encounter them through the prism of another, age-old conflict, that between the universal and the particular – but this took on a new form in the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, founded less upon medieval matters of jurisdiction, and more upon those of devotion, and we can see cartographic images responding to it. In one image in particular, the popular Strachowski engraving (Figure 5.9), we can see this tension playing out before us, as the cartographic image of Jasna Góra is pulled in two directions: supranational, and national. And we will see the same tension play out in other cartographic images from across Europe.

Firstly, the supranational. We have seen how Jasna Góra and its icon are shown as a uniting force within the Catholic Church, binding rulers, lay and ecclesiastical, across the map of Europe, united in reverence towards the Black Madonna. The same can be seen on the antependium (Figure 5.21), where the monastery is surrounded by the headwear of these same rulers: crowns, mitres, biretta, galero and tiara. More than that, however, the Church is shown united across time, and with those in heaven; we see the saints of the Early Church, at the top of the engraving, who worshipped the icon before, and continue to do so in heaven, as present and past, earth and heaven are tied together in reverence. The claim to such unity amongst the earthly Church was not entirely unjustified: the Pope depicted is Clement XI, the pontiff who ordered the icon's crowning, while the Emperor is Leopold I, who in fact had an image of the Black Madonna in his palace chapel in Vienna, obtained from the Pauline Superior General, Kasper Malechich,[52] and the moustachioed King is likely Jan Sobieski, a man with an especial dedication to the icon, to which he attributed his many victories over the Turks; beyond these figures, reverence for the Black Madonna could be found across Catholic Europe – in 1708, around 50 copies could be found in churches all across Croatia, for example.[53] The claim to unity across time and with heaven, however, was less justifiable, given that the icon was likely painted in the 14th century, and given the heavenly worship of an earthly

[52] Widacka, 'Ikonografia', 317
[53] Ante Sekulić, 'Bogurodzica w kościołach i klasztorach chorwackich Paulinów', *Studia Claromontana*, 10 (1989), 203-14

image seems somewhat theologically suspect. Both engraving and antependium were made around 1717, the year of the papal coronation of the Black Madonna, the first icon accorded that honour outside of Italy, and they both reflect the new-found belief in Jasna Góra as a site important to all Catholic Christendom (indeed, the antependium does not even depict the Black Madonna; not the icon, but the monastery alone unites the Catholic confession under Mary). The monastery is shown to be the lynchpin of the Catholic Church's relationship with the Virgin Mary – the culmination of the especial connection between Mary and monastery, explored above.

This universalism is tempered, however, by the inclusion of one significant feature – the Polish Eagle. It hovers amongst the clouds, at the centre of the image, immediately between the monastery and the icon, looking up adoringly at the miraculous image. We are reminded that Jasna Góra is a Polish monastery that stands on Polish soil, and of the intimate, empyrean connection between the Polish nation and the Black Madonna. The two, shrine and icon, are effectively 'nationalised', defined by their Polishness. This nationalisation was of course not new, it could be seen in the frontispiece to Kobierzycki's *Obsidio Clari Montis* (Figure 4.30), and Karol Dankwart's basilica frescoes polonicise the Virgin Mary herself as 'Tutrix Poloniae Maria', all following on from the declarations made by King Jan Kazimierz in the Lviv Oath of 1656, when he declared the Virgin Mary 'Queen of Poland'. Above the eagle, there appears a quote, 'Provocans ad volandum pullos suos', taken from the Book of Deuteronomy, 32:11, in which Moses remembers God's care for Jacob: '[10]He shielded him and cared for him; he guarded him as the apple of his eye, [11]like an eagle that stirs up its nest and hovers over its young, that spreads its wings to catch them and carries them aloft.' The allusion to the Polish Eagle is clear, which is reimagined as a symbol of God's care for his people. It is cast as the mother eagle of Catholic Europe, while the figures below, Pope and Emperor included, are cast as 'pullos', young eaglets, to be protected by the Polish nation (an idea that would have resonated with Poland's role as *Antemurale Christianitatis*, Bulwark of Christendom). Placed as it is between the prayerful figures and the object of their veneration, the eagle is cast also as an intermediary, a mediator between Catholics and the Virgin Mary (even for the Pope himself); the bible quote, which translates as 'stirring up its young to fly', could apply equally to this mediating role, aiding and abetting the young below, that their prayers might fly up to the Virgin in heaven. The

eagle is effectively placed at the fulcrum of the Church's relationship with Mary, as the universality of Marian devotion is polonicised, directed through the prism of Poland's special relationship to the Virgin.

It is not only Jasna Góra caught in this tug-of-war between nationalism and internationalism, but the Virgin Mary too, who is cast as a figure of pan-national unity, but also of national particularity. And we find the same tension throughout the Catholic world. For the Poles were not alone in claiming Mary for their own. Marian devotion effectively became a state programme in Bavaria. Albrecht V pledged himself to the Virgin of Altötting in 1571, Maximilian I did the same, signing the document in his own blood. The Dukes promoted Marian pilgrimages, introduced new Marian feast days, required all their subjects own a rosary, and honoured Mary as the 'Patrona Bavariae'. Marian devotion was also at the centre of the *Pietas Austriaca*. In 1647, Ferdinand III entrusted and consecrated himself, his dynasty, his subjects, his armies, and his lands to God and the Virgin Mary, the Ruler and Patroness of Austria.[54] And these claims were established with the aid of cartographic images. The placing of Bavaria under the special protection of the Virgin is expressed clearly in this engraving (Figure 5.33) from Matthäus Rader's *Bavaria Sancta* (1615), as it depicts the Archangel Michael, his breastplate adorned with Bavarian heraldry, presenting a map of Bavaria to Mary and Jesus, along with a view of the city of Munich below. In Habsburg Bohemia we see the same. An engraving by Karel Škréta, adorning a 1661 thesis sheet of JF Waldstein (Figure 5.34), highlights Bohemia's special connection to the Virgin, but, even more, demonstrates how this connection places Bohemia at the spiritual centre of the continent. Prague's Marian column is shown standing on a map of Europe, adored by peoples to the North, South, East and West, as lines radiate from it like a compass, marking it out as the focal point of the continent. Patron saints of the states of Europe are also depicted in the clouds above, paying tribute to the Czech Virgin.[55] The map seeks to re-centre our understanding of the Christian world, and Mary's selective relationship with it.

[54] Heal, *Cult*, 3-4, 189-96
[55] Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, 274

Figure 5.33 – 'Religio principum tutela regnorum', Raphael Sadeler – Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria Sancta* (Munich, 1615)

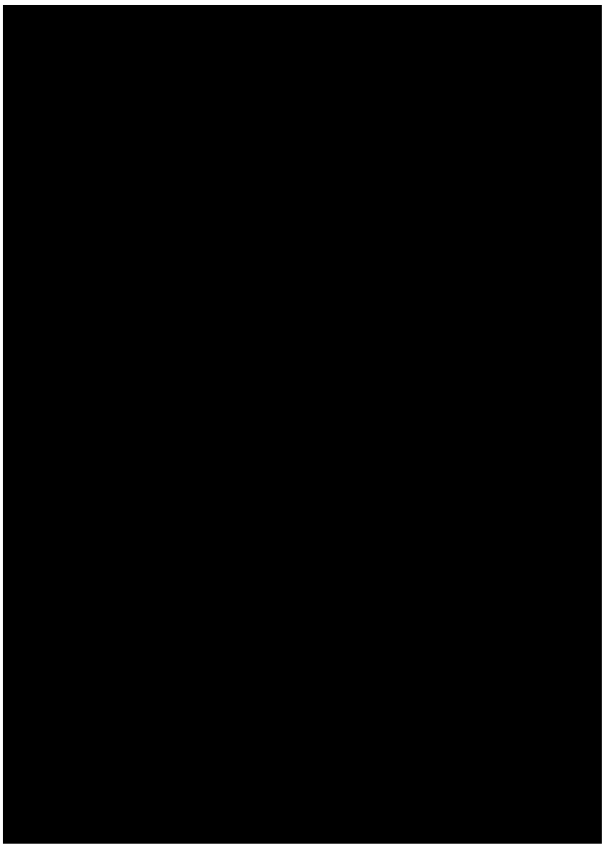


Figure 5.34 – Prague's Marian Column, the spiritual centre of Europe, Karel Škréta – JF Waldstein thesis sheet (1661)



Our understanding of Counter-Reformation Catholicism has evolved over the decades. Traditionally, it was seen as a monolith, the product of the victory of the universal, but this image was undermined by historians like Marc Forster, highlighting the conflict between local and universal, and the successful resistance of local people to the impositions of the Counter-Reformation.[56] Marian devotion, however, seems to offer a compromise between these two understandings, offering a space where both local and universal existed and coalesced, where local traditions were co-opted into a united post-Tridentine Church. This is the argument of Bridget Heal, who argues that 'Marian piety represented a triumphant synthesis… between international Tridentine and local traditional Catholicism'. Mary became a 'key symbol of the universal post-Tridentine Church', the personification of Catholic unity and sovereign of the universal Catholic cause, as her cult bound local cults to the wider Counter-Reformation.[57] This thesis has been taken up by other historians, such as Suzanna Ivanič, who claims that Mary was a universal saint who overcame local differences, but who was nevertheless 'localized' through her shrines and images.[58] This idea of a 'triumphant synthesis', though certainly enticing, and true to a large extent, nevertheless remains problematic. For we cannot always speak of a clean synthesis – a certain tension often remains. Indeed, we have seen how the Virgin Mary, supposedly a figure of pan-national unity, has nevertheless been nationalised. She is at once glorified as the champion of the universal Catholic Church, while she is also claimed to care more deeply for one Catholic nation over others, for some Catholics more than others. While drawing Catholics together, she divides them; while binding devotees to the universal Catholic Church, she also undermines that very concept, being used as a tool to stress not simply international unity, but national particularity. To say that these ideas always coalesce cleanly is to have our cake and eat it – they are two contradictory forces. Ironically, we see the tropes of the Counter-Reformation used against its very purpose. Far from a 'triumphant synthesis', there remains a deep, underlying tension. Marian devotion was not immune to the tensions between universal and particular that afflicted the rest of the post-Tridentine Church, and what we are seeing is merely part

[56] Marc Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany 1550-1750* (Cambridge, 2001); Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages* (Ithaca, 1992), chapter 1
[57] Heal, *Cult*, 148, 203-6
[58] Suzanna Ivanič, 'The construction of identity through visual intertextuality in a Bohemian early modern travelogue', *Visual Communication*, 14.1 (2015), 55-6

of that wider tension, between the universalising impulse of the Counter-Reformation, and imperative to maintain local identity and independence, which became ever more concerned with matters of devotion and piety post-Trent, for example in the replacement of local liturgies with a homogenous Roman rite.[59] These images are part of a negotiation between the contradictory demands of local and international Catholic piety, of national and pan-national identities.

In fact, these images resonate closely with Simon Ditchfield's description of early modern Catholicism as 'a commonwealth of national churches', headed by the Pope. Roman Catholic universalism was, according to Ditchfield, an amazingly successful *idea*, rather than an early modern reality. He questions whether, in our period, we can even speak of a united *Roman* Catholic identity, suggesting that we might speak of national particularities, taking Lusitanian and Hispanic-Catholicisms as his examples. It was 'an age of resurgent national churches', seen particularly in the writing of national church histories.[60] Our images can be considered part of that resurgence, mapping out a space for the national church and national particularity within a pan-national Catholicism. Not a triumphant synthesis, nor a tale of conflict, but a qualified conformity, the local still asserting itself within, and against, the supposed universality of the Counter-Reformation.

It could also be beneficial to view this tension through the lens of confessionalisation. For, more than a tension between universal and local, it can be characterised as a clash of confessional identities. Historians are accustomed to talk about the development and clash of distinct, unitary 'Catholic', 'Lutheran', 'Calvinist' confessional identities; but we ought also to consider the clash between different identities within the *same* confession: one based on a universal, supranational Catholic identity, the other filtered through the prism of national identity; one centred on the Church in and of itself, the other on the nation – two forces, pulling in different directions. This is not merely a historiographical tension, or one of terminology, but something more fundamental, a tension that would have been felt by contemporaries as they sought to make sense of their religious and political identities. We might ask, as an aside, where these two confessional identities, national and universal,

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[59] Natalia Nowakowska, 'From Strassburg to Trent: Bishops, Printing and Liturgical Reform in the Fifteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 213 (2011), 1-31

[60] Simon Ditchfield, 'Catholic Reformation and Renewal', in Peter Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation* (Oxford, 2015), 167, 177-8

came from. At the root of our understanding of confessionalisation today is a simple premise: the process of confessionalisation leads to the formation of confessional identity (whether that be Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, or whatever else). That much is simple. But if we recognise, as we did in last chapter, that there is no single 'confessionalisation', and that we have 'old' and 'new' understandings of it, how does that affect our premise? We would like to suggest something that has not been suggested before, that different forms of confessionalisation lead to different forms of confessional identity. By this reasoning, 'old' confessionalisation, which pursued confession-building towards the end of state-formation, naturally leads to a nation-centred confessional identity; 'new' confessionalisation, however, which effected identity-formation through inter-confessional conflict and an emphasis on belief, leads to a Church-centred confessional identity. The conflict in identity we have identified could be said to arise from the clash between 'old' and 'new' confessionalisations, both working simultaneously, as Catholic identity is pulled in different directions by different confessional forces – two confessionalisations leading to two confessional identities. And this is a realisation enabled by our sharpening of terminology around the paradigm. Historians of the 'new' confessionalisation have been anxious to free themselves from the state-centred origins of the paradigm, but the importance of state and nation in confessional identity-formation should not be forgotten. Alongside this, we can also see these confessional identities as the products, not only of inter-confessional discourse, but intra-confessional too – not just on the local level of pilgrimage competition, but national, as Catholic states sought to establish their Marian credentials, vying for spiritual leadership of Catholic Europe. When defining themselves against the 'other', that 'other' was not always Protestant, but could be a fellow Catholic.

This tension within Catholic identity can be seen starkly in Bavarian pilgrimage policy. It has been pointed out that pilgrimage could serve to foster an international Catholic identity,[61] but it could also do the opposite. The Wittelsbachs put great effort into encouraging *local* Marian pilgrimages among their subjects, such as to Altötting and Tuntenhausen, to persuade them away from international sites like Loreto. They sought to create a national Catholic identity, rather than one that

[61] Suzanna Ivanič, 'Traversing the Local and Universal in the Catholic Renewal: Bedřich z Donín's Pilgrimage to Holy Sites (1607–8)', *Cultural and Social History*, 12.2 (2015), 173

crossed national borders.[62] But it is also visible in the Strachowski engraving, a tension between Catholic universalism and Polish exceptionalism (though, ironically, such exceptionalism was not exceptional – it was somewhat universal), as the cartographic image of Jasna Góra is pulled in two directions: an international Marian shrine, but also a symbol of Poland's special relationship to the Virgin. Similarly, though the purpose of Scherer's *Atlas Marianus* was to highlight the universal veneration of the Virgin Mary across the globe, seemingly encapsulating Bridget Heal's 'triumphant synthesis', his division of maps by nation inadvertently turns international shrines into national ones, as the Black Madonna, depicted in the top corner of his map of Poland (Figure 5.3), is rendered a purely Polish image, and Loreto a purely Italian shrine – the universal undermined by the attempt to involve the nation. But, more than that, on the volume's frontispiece (Figure 5.1), we see the Bavarian Lion bearing the whole world on its back: 'With his sword, crozier and piety, he sustains the Marian world'.[63] Scherer cannot help but succumb to the lure of national particularism, as the paramount role, once again, is given to a single nation. Even within a self-consciously universalist work on Marian devotion, its fundamental tensions were inescapable. Cartographic images like this are of course not central sources to these debates, but they nevertheless give us a window into this confessional tension, being just one battlefield in which this conflict was fought out. They can offer insight into wider, more fundamental tensions within the culture of Marian devotion, and the wider Church, as Mary was caught in a tug-of-war in the creation of two different confessional identities.

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THE PRACTICE OF DEVOTION

As historians, it is important for us to understand not only what a map depicts, but how it was used by its reader. For though these images were made to win pilgrim custom and declare national particularity, they would undoubtedly have been used devotionally, and, indeed, would have

[62] Soergel, *Wondrous*, 159-61
[63] 'Et Gladio atque Pedo Marianum sustinet Orbem et Pietate sua'

been made for that very purpose. In the previous chapter we spoke about how cartography related to post-Tridentine devotion and spirituality, particularly around the cult of miraculous images, but here we see cartography not merely playing into devotional themes, but part of its actual practice, on a deeply personal level. We saw something similar in Chapter 1, in the Grodecki map. Though this map has almost exclusively been studied from the perspective of cartographic science, it was made as a prompt for *devotion*. Its accompanying poem makes it expressly clear that Grodecki's map serves not only as a means to recognise and envision God's goodness to mankind (and to Poland in particular), but even as a spur to contemplation, prayer and thanksgiving, calling on the reader, as they marvel at Poland's God-given prosperity, to 'render the greatest thanks to God' and pray that Poland may continue to thrive. On similar lines, some historians have studied the contemplative purpose of maps by Ortelius and Mercator, which were used as tools to marvel at God's creation, or to meditate upon biblical history.[64] Our focus, however, will be on two other devotional practices in which cartography played a part: mental pilgrimage, and prayer to the Virgin Mary. These, obviously, were not new phenomena in the early modern period, but the widespread use of cartography as part of them was. It is well-known that cartography was used in medieval mental pilgrimage, but in this period it was used more widely than ever before, and the prospect of cartography's use in prayer to the saints has, seemingly, never been explored.

Reading practices are therefore the focus of this section. Early modern reading practices are of course shrouded in mystery, and though in Chapter 3 we happened upon direct evidence, here we are not so fortunate, for such devotion is an intimate, internal activity, hidden from historians. We are, therefore, left to work as other cartographic historians have, in ways necessarily more hypothetical, based on educated assumption, seeking to extrapolate reading practices from what is suggested by the image's content, and informed by its context. For the exact same engraving could be found in different contexts, and thus be read in very different ways; an engraving found in a history book, for example, would be read very differently when sold as a loose sheet to a pilgrim, or

[64] Lucia Nuti, 'The world map as an emblem: Abraham Ortelius and the Stoic Contemplation', *Imago Mundi*, 55 (2003), pp. 38–55; Jerry Brotton, 'A 'Devious Course': Projecting Toleration on Mercator's 'Map of the World', 1569', *The Cartographic Journal*, 49.2 (2012), 101-6; Walter Melion, 'Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendam: Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's Parergon', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 57 (1999), 49-72

appearing in a prayerbook. Of course, devotion is something profoundly personal, and far from homogenous; our conclusions therefore will proffer some ways these images will have been used, but make no claim to universality.

Mental Pilgrimage

Our understanding of medieval mental pilgrimage is well-developed and nuanced – a prime example would be Kathryne Beebe's study of Felix Fabri's *Sionpilger*, which analyses the full context of this textual aid to mental pilgrimage, placing it within the late-medieval German spiritual landscape[65] – and as part of this, the use of cartography as an aid to such devotion is well-understood, seen, for example, in the work of Daniel Connolly,[66] Kathryn Rudy[67] and Pnina Arad.[68] Among early modernists, however, cartography is far more rarely touched upon,[69] another symptom of the historiographical trend away from religion amongst map historians; this is ironic, for it was in this period that it became *more* relevant than it ever had been before – the mass-manufacture of cheap, printed images ensured that the opportunity to meditate upon cartographic images was no longer the preserve of those rich enough to afford illuminated manuscripts, but was available to all. Indeed, printed cartographic images of a pilgrimage site were commonly handed out to pilgrims as a token of their printed journey, the equivalent of the Compostela cockleshell,[70] pilgrims whose numbers exceeded even those seen during the middle ages.[71] The practice of mental pilgrimage through the medium of cartography was, therefore, presumably far more widespread than it ever was in the

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[65] Kathryne Beebe, 'Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context: The Imaginary Pilgrims and Real Travels of Felix Fabri's "Die Sionpilger"', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 25 (2008), 39-70; amongst her arguments is the claim that nuns used this text to resist enclosure, to 'transcend' the walls that bound them, but she dismantles this argument in a more recent article (Beebe, 'The Meaning of Imagined Pilgrimage', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 51.1 (2021), 141-59)

[66] Daniel Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge, 2009)

[67] Kathryn Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent* (Turnhout, 2011); Kathryn Rudy, 'An Illuminated English Guide to Pilgrimage in the Holy Land' in Lucy Donkin, Hanna Vorholt (eds), *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2012)

[68] Pnina Arad, 'Pilgrimage, Cartography and Devotion', *Viator*, 43 (2012), 1-22

[69] Even Shalev's *Sacred Words and Worlds* (Leiden, 2012) makes no mention of it in its chapter on pilgrimage, 73-139

[70] Delano-Smith and Scafi, 'Sacred Geography', 132-3

[71] Heal, *Cult*, 157

medieval period – and yet it is in our period that our historical awareness dissipates. The exceptions, focussing on biblical destinations,[72] are further reflections of the trend identified in our introduction. Occasionally, however, non-biblical destinations have fallen under the historian's purview, and they have been read in different ways, both by contemporary readers and historians. As noted by Suzanna Ivanič, a map of the Bay of Pozzuoli appears in Bedřich z Donín's pilgrim travelogue, which she argues was included not simply to aid visualisation of the area, but to speak of Donín's identity as an educated, humanist traveller who 'viewed and described the world scientifically', something separate to his identity as a Catholic pilgrim.[73] By now, however, we should be wary of assuming cartographic elements to be 'scientific', in a way that fundamentally separates them from a pilgrim travelogue's religious purpose. And indeed, early modern maps could still be viewed with a devotional gaze, as in the case of Antonio Lafreri's 1575 'Le sette chiese di Roma' (Figure 5.35). A hugely popular image, a mainstay of the Lafreri shop for decades,[74] it remembers the hundreds of thousands who made the

Figure 5.35 – 'Le sette chiese di Roma', Antonio Lafreri (Rome, 1575)



[72] Melion, 'Ad ductum', 49-72; Delano-Smith and Scafi, 'Sacred Geography', 127
[73] Ivanič, 'The construction of identity' 67-8
[74] Franz Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V* (Vatican, 1908), 43-66

Figure 5.36 – 'Sancta Roma', Giovanni-Battista de' Cavalieri (1575)



pilgrimage to Rome in the jubilee year of 1575, depicting the procession of pilgrims around the city, and their prayers before the saints at each of the seven churches. The clear religious purpose of this image has rendered it 'neo-medieval' in the eyes of some historians,[75] but it was very much of its period, directed at the needs and desires of the contemporary pilgrim. It was not a route map for pilgrims, however, as some have thought[76] (no roads are depicted for a start, and Lafreri says how some churches have been moved from their true position); rather, as argued by Barbara Wisch, it should be understood as a kind of didactic memory guide, a tool to re-live one's pilgrimage. To aid her point, she points to a similar image by Cavalieri from the same year, 'Sancta Roma' (Figure 5.36), which, in its cartouche, explicitly calls on the reader to meditate and reflect upon the image before them.[77] By contemplating these images, joining the pilgrims winding their way around the map, the reader can mentally re-enact their journey, and, once again, direct their prayers to the saints, Mary included (Figure 5.37).

[75] Simonetta Rodinò, 'L'immagine degli anni santi nelle stampe' in *La regola e la fama* (Milan 1995), 287
[76] Christopher Witcombe, *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (London, 2008), 263
[77] Barbara Wisch, 'The Matrix: Le Sette Chiese di Roma of 1575 and the Image of Pilgrimage', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 56/57 (2011/2012), 271-303

Figure 5.37 – Detail from 5.35



We can see something similar in the Polish context, and in a work familiar to us, the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. Included amongst the Polish images in volume 6 (1617) was a map of Kalwaria Zebrzydowska (Figure 5.27). Besides being a true marketing coup for the shrine, the only site of its kind to appear in the *Civitates*, it could act as more than an advertisement. Early modern historians have long understood Calvaries as surrogate pilgrimage destinations, places close to home that allow one to visit, virtually, the site of Christ's passion;[78] they have even been studied as cartographic features, 'mapped out' onto the landscape;[79] but the maps of Calvaries have not been afforded the same attention – how they themselves can act as surrogates for (surrogate) pilgrimage. The map of Kalwaria Zebrzydowska allows the reader to follow the stations of the cross around the map, making a spiritual pilgrimage around the holy landscape, and contemplate the journey from the comfort of one's home. Indeed, the map is designed to enable the reader to do so. The perspective of the image may feel disconcerting, for it has been manipulated to allow the reader's eye to follow the pilgrim's path across the landscape, and stop at every chapel. In another example, the landscape of Kalwaria Wejherowska is folded towards us, '*Inception*'-style, to allow our tracing of the via crucis (Figure 5.38). Much like Lafreri's, there is a choreography to these images, a ductus, mapped out by the cartographer. And it is important to note that readers of the maps of the *Civitates* (or indeed any others) actively imagined themselves to walk through them. In the preface to volume 1, Georg Braun published a letter from Melchior Hittorpius, which began: 'Vidi et perlustravi urbes', 'I saw and I

[78] Geoffrey Symcox, *Jerusalem in the Alps* (Turnhout, 2019); Alessandro Scafi, 'From Biblical to non-Biblical Holy Places: The Shrine of Subiaco', in Bianca Kühnel et al. (eds), *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem* (Turnhout, 2015), 45-55

[79] Delano-Smith and Scafi, 'Sacred Geography', 134-5

Figure 5.38 – 'Calvaria… prope civitatem Weiheropolim', Johann Bensheimer (Gdańsk, 1665)



wandered all through the cities' depicted in the *Civitates*, declaring how, with his eyes, he traversed and roamed through cities across the whole world[80] (language similar to that used by medieval scholars, who used cartographic images to walk, in their imagination, through the space depicted before them).[81] In his mind, Hittorpius was able to wander, not only around the map, but even around the cities themselves – an action that was no less applicable to a map of a pilgrimage site in Poland. Delano-Smith and Scafi, though talking of Holy Land maps, speak of something similar, how a map not only renders a place visible, but loosens the constraints of geographical location, making it available to anyone anywhere, able to transport the reader in mind and spirit to the place itself.[82] This act of locating oneself within the space of the map, or 'self-situation', is at the heart of maps' use in mental pilgrimage.

Returning to Marian pilgrimage, cartographic images of Jasna Góra, too, would have been used in a similar fashion. The convention images seen above (Figures 5.5-19), depicting Black Madonna above and monastery below, were all printed as loose devotional images, and copied by painters, to be given or sold to pilgrims, souvenirs to take home after their journey.[83] These images

[80] 'oculis… totius universi urbes peragrare, ac perlustrare'
[81] Mary Carruthers, 'The 'Pictures' of Jerusalem in Oxford', in Donkin, Vorholt, *Imagining Jerusalem*
[82] Delano-Smith and Scafi, 'Sacred Geography', 127
[83] Kunczyńska-Iracka, *Malarstwo*, 211-7; Widacka, 'Ikonografia', 310-7

would, naturally, have become objects of private meditation for the ex-pilgrim; and though their thoughts may be well beyond our reach, Mary Carruthers, a medievalist, has suggested how such images may work as contemplative instruments, suggesting that we should see them as mnemonic tools in the hands of the reader, objects that trigger networks of association, and offer cues and clues for recalling memories, even for their re-enaction.[84] These cues may be the buildings of the monastery, particularly when depicted from the east (the direction pilgrims traditionally approach the monastery); the depiction of pilgrims in the foreground (as in Figure 5.14), or of processions, which the viewer himself may have witnessed, or taken part in (as in Figure 5.12); and the icon, too, would most certainly ring with deep meaning and memory. But it was not only the visual element that would prompt such recollection; its very materiality would too. Whether printed on paper in the monastery press, or painted on canvas, wood, or metal sheets by members of the Częstochowa painters' guild, when brought back home these images were a physical memory, intimately linked to one's pilgrimage experience, and were authentic, coming directly from the holy monastery itself. Their materiality not only triggers memories, but also offers a tangible connection to the place, and act, of pilgrimage. These images were made, above all, as mnemonic, rather than mimetic, tools. They were not made to be accurate depictions of space, but as instruments for remembering and re-creating the pilgrimage experience – something to bear in mind for historians who criticise their primitive quality.[85] They were instruments that, through contemplation, offered the opportunity to situate oneself within the cartographic image, and re-live one's pilgrimage – in a different fashion to the maps of Rome or Calvaries, however, for these images of Jasna Góra offer a different kind of mental pilgrimage, one not so much focussed on the journey, as the destination.

Prayer

Finally, we will explore the use of cartography in prayer to the Virgin Mary, a topic seemingly untouched by historians. Though Mary Carruthers has studied the use of maps in personal

[84] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge, 1998), 28-42
[85] e.g. Widacka, 'Ikonografia', 316

contemplation,[86] how they might aid prayer to the saints is yet to be answered. That they had some relevance or utility is made clear in Jasna Góra's *listy z nieba*, 'letters from heaven' (Figures 5.16-17), illustrated prayer-sheets from the first half of the 18th century, adorned with a view of the monastery, where saints are shown to pray to the Black Madonna. Jasna Góra's cartographic image also appeared in a popular prayerbook, however, Rudolf Pollacz' *Heroina Chrześcijańska*, which will be the focus of our analysis. First published in Częstochowa in 1706, it was hugely popular (to 1767 it underwent ten further editions), reaching across social strata, and across the country, not only disseminated by pilgrims, but by hawkers selling door-to-door. The *Heroina* became a common feature of the Polish home, acting as a basis for organising everyday domestic worship and personal prayer, while also exerting an important influence on female piety.[87] It is illustrated by woodcuts by Antoni Agapit Nowakowski, matched to the theological content of the text, such as of Christ crucified, or Our Lady of Sorrows (Figures 5.39, 5.40), which act as prompts for contemplation, or as icons, through which to direct one's prayer. Alongside the Litany for the Dead, we see an engraving of a Requiem Mass, held within the Chapel of the Miraculous Image (Figure 5.41). As souls burn in purgatory in the foreground, four women can be seen kneeling either side of the coffin, praying for the soul of the deceased. It is an image that allows the viewer to locate themselves among those women, or even see themselves as one of them, and pray within the holy confines of that chapel, before the Black Madonna herself. The first image of all, on the frontispiece, is one of our convention images, the Black Madonna atop a view of Jasna Góra (Figure 5.10). If the Black Madonna was an obvious inclusion for a prayerbook, a cartographic image may seem less so – so what was its purpose? In the contemporaneous post-Byzantine context, Veronica della Dora has written about 'cartographic icons', icons that incorporate maps and views. She juxtaposes the two elements, one spiritual, the other rational, arguing that the cartographic adds something 'other' to the space of the icon. She claims they speak on different planes, religious and mundane, the saintly figure offering a 'window on heaven', the map a 'window on earth'.[88] We contend, however, that they do not look in opposite

[86] Carruthers, *Craft*, passim
[87] Mirosław Lenart, "Heroina Chrześcijańska' Rudolfa Pollacza', in Marian Ursel and Olga Taranek-Wolańska (eds), *Śląskie pogranicza kultur*, vol. 3 (Wrocław, 2014), 33-50
[88] della Dora, 'Windows' 84-112

Figure 5.39 – Christ crucified, Nowakowski – Pollacz, *Heroina Chrześcijańska* (Częstochowa, 1740)

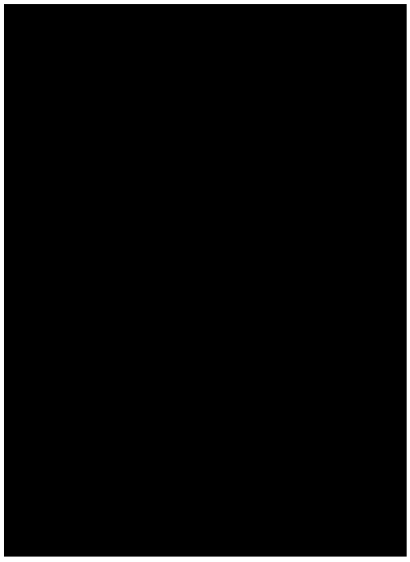


Figure 5.40 – Our Lady of Sorrows, Nowakowski – *Heroina Chrześcijańska*

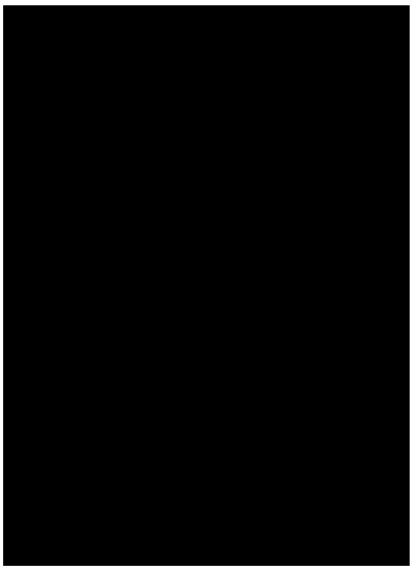
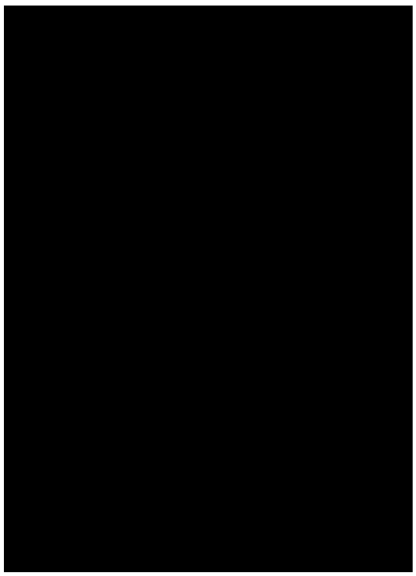


Figure 5.41 – Chapel of the Miraculous Image, Nowakowski – *Heroina Chrześcijańska*



directions, but share the same purpose, both operating on a spiritual plane, both windows on heaven. For this entire image should be thought of as an icon, a means to communicate with a holy person (in this case, Mary). The cartographic element should not be considered a disconnected add-on, but an intrinsic part of the spiritual image, one that enhances its power, and the efficacy of prayer.

We will return to the theme of the empyrean connection, arguing that cartographic images like these not only *depict* a connection with heaven (as explored in section 1), but can even help *effect* it, aiding the devotee to reach up to heaven, and, perhaps, even receive heavenly grace. We established earlier how Jasna Góra was marked as a sacred place where one can get closer to heaven, to the Virgin Mary in particular, and it was this very idea that drove pilgrims to make the journey there, so that they might pray before the Black Madonna. By being in the monastery, their prayers would more readily reach their goal. In line with the idea of 'self-situation' explored throughout this section, it follows that the view affords the reader the means, in their contemplation, to re-situate themselves within the image, to locate themselves within the walls of the monastery. The devotee, making use of the *Heroina*, and meditating upon this image, would thus have their prayers to the Black Madonna abetted and expedited – something that, arguably, an image of the Black Madonna alone might lack. The cartographic image thus acts not only as a liminal space, a gateway between viewer and place, but even between viewer and the divine.

It was not only readers of the *Heroina* for whom a view could serve this purpose. Nowakowski's image appeared in another prayerbook, *Thimiama Devotionis* (Częstochowa, 1731), further evidence that the inclusion of cartographic icons in prayerbooks was not accidental. But even beyond prayerbooks, cartographic images could serve the same purpose, and, indeed, many of our images not only enable, but actively encourage their use in this way, namely images that depict such prayer, prime examples being the Strachowski engraving (Figure 5.9), or *listy z nieba* (Figures 5.16-17), both printed as loose devotional sheets. These images depict supplicants, whether the great and the good of Christendom, or the heavenly saints, who, by and large, had never been to Jasna Góra. Nevertheless, we see them depicted before the monastery, emplaced there, as if to aid their prayer to the Black Madonna. It is not a literal image, of course, but a symbol that, wherever we are, we can situate ourselves at Jasna Góra, and that the Emperor, Pope, and even the saints in heaven, can, and

do, locate themselves there in their adoration of the Black Madonna – and these engravings encourage the reader to do likewise, the view enabling them to do so, to join Pope, Emperor and saints at Jasna Góra.

One final point is worth mentioning – whether the view, besides offering a means for locating oneself, could itself be the focus of devotion. Piotr Rydzyński's *Historia pulchra et stupendis miraculis referta imaginis gloriosae virginis Mariae* (Kraków, 1524) a pamphlet attesting to the miracle-working powers of the Black Madonna, tells of a miracle, where a mother was mourning the death of her son; though she called upon Mary, he would not revive. Thereupon she took his body to Jasna Góra and, three miles out, when in sight of the church, she cried out to the Virgin Mary once again for help – but this time her son was restored to life. The prayer and miracle were prompted not by the sight of the icon, but of its monastic home, as if the entire edifice were permeated by the power of the Black Madonna.[89] A vision of the monastery could, therefore, mediate the power of the Virgin Mary, not only conveying one's prayers to her, but also her grace back onto the supplicant. The question, then, is whether an *engraving* of the monastery could contain that same power – and it is quite possible that it could. A Strachowski engraving of the Black Madonna, for example, became famous in Mstów as a miraculous image, partaking in the miraculous nature of the original,[90] pilgrimages were made to copies of the Black Madonna in churches around Croatia,[91] and copies were also distributed around Poland during a plague in 1707, to aid those suffering.[92] Engravings, clearly, could channel the power of the original. The mass production of such images did not desacralise them, as some have claimed,[93] but rather disseminated their power into far-off churches and homes. The view of the monastery, therefore, could have the potential to mediate heavenly grace, just as the sight of the original helped restore the son to life. We could thus presume that, for some supplicants, the view of Jasna Góra was itself the focus of their prayer – the cartographic image not simply a means to a devotional end, but even an end in itself. But this we cannot say for certain.

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[89] Robert Maniura, 'Image, Space and Holy Place in the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa', in Zoë Opačić and Achim Timmermann (eds), *Image, Memory and Devotion* (Turnhout, 2011), 134
[90] Kunczyńska-Iracka, *Malarstwo*, 74
[91] Sekulić, 'Bogurodzica', 203-14
[92] Widacka, 'Ikonografia', 302
[93] Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York, 1983), chapters 1-2

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CONCLUSION

Through a study of cartographic images like those of Jasna Góra, we find that cartography was a realm where the Marian spirituality of the Counter-Reformation was explored and visualised, and, even more, performed. It took on a significant role in this devotional culture, responding to the new competitiveness in the pilgrim marketplace, to the new mode of tension between universal and particular, and offering new modes of personal devotion to common people, previously only available to the wealthy. Consequently, cartography can offer an alternative insight into many sides of what is already a well-researched topic. Our study has, moreover, allowed us to contribute new insights into devotional reading practices, and into cartography's relationship with sacred space. It has also shown us that cartographic technology could enable cartographers to respond to religious change, as much as it frustrated them. Previously, we have encountered the restrictions it imposed, but here we have found that a development like the rise of printing could allow cartographers to respond in ways they could not before, for example in the mass-use of cartographic images in advertising, as well as in personal devotion.

At the heart of our analysis has been the all-important connection between earth and heaven. Whether for Jasna Góra, for the Polish nation, or for the individual supplicant, cartography depicted this connection, partook in it, even effected it. Indeed, besides depicting this empyrean connection, it shaped the reader's perception of their world. For cartographic images are not simply passive descriptors of the world, reflections of ideas in the mind of the mapmaker; through the act of describing the world, they impose themselves upon it – the numinous connection is projected onto the world, the space tied to heaven not only in the image, but (at least in the mind of the reader) in reality too. Moreover, cartography can act as an aid to that very connection. For the prayerful devotee, it could enable and even effect it; in the case of the antependium, it could also partake in it, translating the hierophany of the eucharist onto the space of the monastery. Though historians have claimed

cartography to be limited in its depiction of the 'spiritual landscape', we have found that, not only can it depict it, but can interact with it on a level much more profound than one might have guessed.

Thinking of the bigger picture, this study also deepens, yet further, our understanding of Counter-Reformation cartography, a genre we have found to be intimately tied up in matters of devotion, and operating within intra-confessional, as much as inter-confessional, discourse – again, it was not simply concerned with the Protestant 'other'. We can also see these images, sacralising places across the landscape, as part of the wider 'revitalization of the geography of the sacred', something highlighted by Alexandra Walsham as 'one of the defining hallmarks of the Catholic Reformation'.[94] And through this same process, we can perceive a much broader image of the Polish Counter-Reformation, and how it was driven. Piotr Stolarski has recently challenged the traditional, Jesuit-centred narrative, highlighting the role played by mendicant Orders, and pointing to a more multifaceted nature of Polish Catholicism.[95] The same diversity is on display here: Carmelites in Berdyczów, Carthusians in Biaroza, Bernardines at Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Franciscans at Kalwaria Wejherowska, and of course Paulines in Jasna Góra – all contributed to this cartographic stimulation of the Counter-Reformation, re-sacralising the landscape, but also promoting pilgrim culture, or, as found in the last chapter, furthering post-Tridentine doctrine and spirituality around Mary and miraculous imagery. Speaking about diversity within Counter-Reformation Catholicism, we should also remember the nuance within Catholic identity, pulled in different directions by different confessional forces, even by different forms of confessionalisation. Indeed, we have seen its effects on the image of Poland, which was cast, once again, as a unquestionably Catholic nation. Even more than that, however, it was cast as the spiritual leader of Catholic Europe, protecting its little eaglets – the Pope and Emperor among them – and is placed at the very axis of the Church's relationship with the Virgin Mary.

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[94] Alexandra Walsham, 'The Sacred Landscape', in Alexandra Bamji et al. (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (London, 2016)
[95] Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier* (Abingdon, 2016)

CONCLUSION

Given the undeniable significance of the Reformation, Counter-Reformation and confessionalisation, it would seem highly unusual for any cultural product of the period to be unaffected by them. And it has become clear that cartography, far from being unaffected, responded to these religious changes in a multiplicity of ways. Across the board, cartographers remained very much alive to religious issues, highly responsive to the religious developments of their age.

This is not how it has been imagined in the historiography, however, where it has widely been assumed that early modern cartography 'switched off' to religion, and that these changes, therefore, had little, if any, impact on it (a small minority of 'religious' maps excepted). But if early modern scholarship (another genre with a claim to a higher intellectual purpose, neutral and truth-driven) could not escape the confessional politics of its age – as demonstrated by Ian Maclean[1] – why should cartography be any different? For, indeed, it was not. Issues of confession and faith were often unavoidable, and even those cartographers who seemingly had no interest in confessional issues, inadvertently, or even inescapably, found themselves wound up in them. There was, for example, no neutral depiction of confessional space – whatever way cartographers chose to depict it, they could not avoid making a loaded statement. The science of cartography could inspire the enchantment of the world as much as its disenchantment, while, in some cases, in the cartographic articulation of sacred space for example, far from declining, the importance of religion continued to increase well into the 18th century (cartography's use in mental pilgrimage, meanwhile, was much more widespread in the early modern period than it ever was in the Middle Ages). We hope the old assumption of cartography's secularisation can finally be put to bed. For, though JB Harley rightly noted that cartography was fundamentally 'a form of political discourse'[2], it might

[1] Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012)
[2] JB Harley, 'Silences and secrecy', *Imago Mundi*, 40.1 (1988), 57

also be said that early modern cartography remained, unavoidably, a form of religious, confessional discourse, a realm where the religious issues of the day were engaged with.

Consequently, we hope that the idea of the 'religious' map, as a discrete sub-genre of early modern cartography, can be laid aside. For we have seen how religion could be found not only in self-consciously 'religious' mapping, but even written into the majority of early modern cartographic output, long-presumed to be religion-free. And although it did retreat from the map's 'first text', that did not mean it disappeared altogether, for it remained very present in the map's 'second text', leaving rich deposits of evidence for the historian to unearth. Such a quarantining of religion to a small sub-section of imagery fundamentally undermines our understanding. Heinrich Scherer's *Atlas Novus*, explored in our introduction, was an anomaly for its raising of religion back into the 'first text', but not for its inclusion of religion – it remained part of a continuous and unbroken interaction between religion and cartography.

Though this thesis cannot claim to offer a 'comprehensive study of the relationship of cartography to the Protestant and Catholic reform movements of early modern Europe', as called for by Pauline Moffit Watts,[3] it has sought to offer novel ways of approaching this question, to bring new insights to it, and to extend our knowledge into the 17th century. But we hope, above all, to have demonstrated the real *diversity* within the cartographic response to these religious changes, much more rich and varied than might have been expected – indeed, previous studies had but scratched the surface. We cannot offer a single, straightforward answer to our foundational question, except that the cartographic response was as diverse and complex as the people who made these images, reflecting the wide reach of religious change in the period, and that affected many sides of life and thought. Cartography was an innovative space, where mapmakers, across different cartographic genres, responded to assorted religious developments: to new religious diversity, to new theologies and devotional cultures, to confessionalisation in its many guises, but also to the inexorable continuity of antisemitism, and, more surprisingly, the continuing fear of paganism. And we explored these responses through the aid of new, untapped concepts and

[3] Pauline Moffitt Watts, 'The European Religious Worldview and its Influence on Mapping', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3 (Chicago, 2007), 387

methods, from cartographic hierophany, and the cartography of sacred space, to cartographic reading practices, and the deconstruction of a common (yet commonly overlooked) map element, the bishop.

Such variation in response stems from the fact that cartography, through its very nature, touches on so many different elements of religion. But, even within these different areas of response, we encountered nuance and complexity, and a narrative far more subtle and wide-ranging than that of a Catholic/Protestant binary and confessional invective. For we found that cartography could, and did, give voice to different sides within each confession – just as there was no singular Anglican, Catholic, Calvinist identity, no singular agenda, so there was no single cartographic response within each confession, and responses could even cut across confessional boundaries. This was clearest in the case of Counter-Reformation cartography, where we have seen: the polemical alongside the subtle; intra-confessional discourse alongside the inter-confessional; the focus on the fundamentals of faith, alongside the politics of space; the spreading of post-Tridentine doctrine, together with cartography's role in personal devotion; the belief in the absolute permanence of the episcopate, alongside an acceptance of its secularisation; the idealised purification of Christendom and dismissal of Protestantism, balanced by the outright demonisation of the heretical 'other'. A shared theme appears out of all this variation, however, that cartography was naturally more sensitive, more responsive, to the changes in people's *minds*, to the makers' beliefs, fears, agendas, than to changes *on the ground* – a perhaps surprising realisation, given cartography's ostensible purpose to map out physical reality. And it brings nuance to JB Harley's argument, when he spoke of 'the slowness with which cartographers revised their maps to accord with the realities of the world',[4] for though this may be true for physical reality, it certainly was not in other areas.

This was also a story, however, of how much cartographers were even *able* to adapt to this new reality, their response limited by the nature and deficiencies of their own medium. In this way, we realise the importance of integrating traditional historiographical approaches into the 'new'

[4] Harley, 'Silences', 70

cartographic history. Cartographic history has traditionally been regarded as the study of 'the rate of cartographic progress',[5] and, far from being unimportant, it was this rate of progress that determined, to an extent, cartographers' ability to respond to events like the Reformation. Its stalling restricted cartographers' ability to respond (as with the delayed uptake of thematic mapping), while its advance enabled new approaches. And the importance of an integrated approach was seen again in our discussion of scientific accuracy, understanding how it (or at least its perceived existence) could act as a Trojan Horse, smuggling in religious messages unnoticed, how it could be orchestrated and exploited by 'paltering' cartographers to get their messages across, and how even the most impartial, 'accurate' maps unavoidably offered a skewed picture of the confessional landscape. And, on the flip side, we have also emphasised the need for us to think of cartographic science in early modern terms, and bring more subtlety to our secularised, modern understanding. For, though we are still fighting against the assumption that cartographic science and religion were naturally opposed, it is still not enough to see them as merely operating alongside each other – we have to recognise how, often, they could be intimately connected.

We have also explored how this cartographic response (together with the ways it was limited) shaped the image of Poland-Lithuania, depicting it, not as a religious melting-pot, but as a near-homogenously Catholic state – an image epitomised in the 1680 'goose game' map of Casimir Freschot, which states, with simplicity and assurance, that the Polish people were a 'Popoli Catholici' (Figure 3.2). Indeed, we have seen the Commonwealth's cities dominated by the edifices of Catholicism, its landscape by the Catholic episcopate, and its purpose tied to the Catholic cause and the Virgin Mary – Polishness itself was confessionalised. And this was an image repeated across cartographic genres, in sources from all over Europe. Of course, sometimes this was a deliberate creation, but just as often, if not more, it was unintended, the result of a concoction of the Commonwealth's peculiar context with the limits of the cartographic medium. In the case of the Commonwealth (and it would not necessarily be the same elsewhere), this led to a natural, passive Catholicisation of the landscape, so that even the most 'accurate' maps ultimately offered a false, Catholicised, image of the country. Impartiality did not result in an impartial image. But, even

[5] RA Skelton, *Maps: A Historical Survey of Their Study and Collecting* (Chicago, 1972), 106

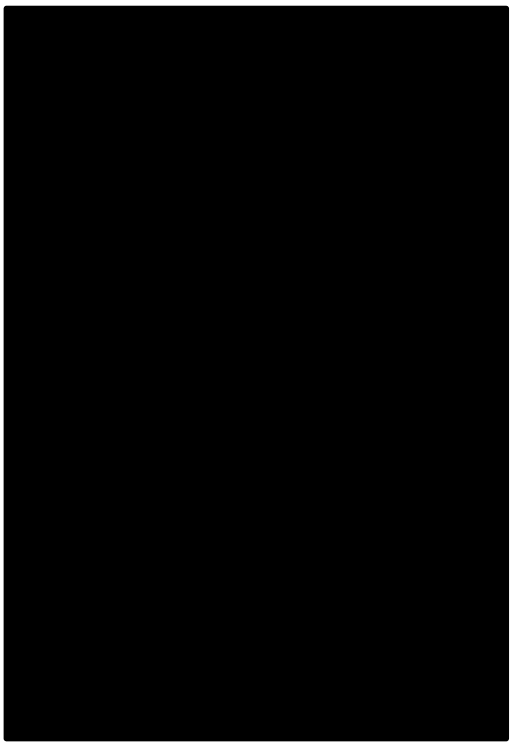
more than that, the case of Poland leads us to the conclusion that, to an extent, early modern cartographers simply *could not* depict religious diversity, let alone offer an accurate, objective depiction of it. Not only were the tools at their disposal insufficient, overstretched by the changes of the Reformation, but those same tools were all-too-easily manipulated by extra-cartographic forces, such as by power dynamics on the ground. As a result, the diversity, not only of the Commonwealth, but of places all over Europe, was hidden from the map. In this way, at least, cartographers were simply unable to respond properly to the complexities of the post-Reformation world.

But, whether intended or not, whether unavoidable or not, it remains that this image monopolised the visual image of Poland-Lithuania. Undoubtedly, this identification, even conflation, of the state with Catholicism would have affected the popular image of the Commonwealth, though to what extent is not clear. What can be said with certainty, however, is that it acted as a catalyst for the growth of the idea of a Catholic Poland, and participated in the crystallisation, and success, of this image, which would predominate in the 18th century and beyond. For maps are not simply passive depictions of reality, or mere reflections of their creators – they are images that actively shape the world, or at least people's idea of it.

This, of course, cannot be considered in any way a confirmation of the traditional narrative of a Counter-Reformation 'triumph' in Poland-Lithuania, and neither does it disprove the revisionist narrative of Davies and Teter, which stresses Catholicism's continuing minority-status. It does bring another layer to the debate, however, revealing how the nation was perceived, irrespective of the confessional reality – one that historians should perhaps be more aware of than they are, a point encapsulated by the front cover of Friedrich and Pendzich's *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth: Poland-Lithuania in Context, 1550-1772* (Leiden, 2009). It is a work that strives to understand the intricacies of 'a Commonwealth of many faiths, cultures and identities', but they chose to front the volume (Figure 6.1) with an image, a map, which proves antithetical not only to this image of a diverse Commonwealth, but to the very message of the book itself. It is Alexis-Hubert Jaillot's rendering of Sanson's map, an image which, as we found earlier,

silences every one of the Commonwealth's faiths, save the Roman Catholic – not the most apt of illustrations. Even if we are to accept that Catholicism remained 'beleaguered' in 17th-century Poland-Lithuania, it is equally important to understand that it was not necessarily perceived as such.

Figure 6.1 – Jaillot's 'Estats de la Couronne de Pologne…' on the front cover of *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth*



The main exception to this image was, of course, the depiction of Lithuania. Though the image of the Crown of Poland was relatively stable, we have seen the Grand Duchy defined by an undying paganism (or at least its memory), or as a barbaric Orthodox 'other' (though still laced with paganism). Again, though historians claim the Grand Duchy was no different to the rest of Europe, it was still cast, cartographically, as an 'other' even into the 17th century. Moreover, it offers a foil to the prevalent narrative of the Polish-Lithuanian Union as a strong, successful partnership of equals, 'one people, one political community, one brotherhood'. It presents, rather, an image of an unequal partnership of civilised and barbaric, even after the supposed consummation of the Union in 1569. It was not until the Radziwiłł map (1613) domesticated the image of Lithuania, successfully integrating this Orthodox-majority state into Catholic Europe, that this separate image of Lithuania faded away, and the Grand Duchy was subsumed into the image of Polish-Lithuanian Catholicism. Though this Catholic image served to integrate early modern Poland-Lithuania into the European

whole, by the 18th century the image of superstitious, fanatical devotion to the Catholic cause would become a sign of its less-than-European nature.

Ultimately, however, this thesis will have succeeded, not only if it can demonstrate the continuing importance of religion to the early modern map, but the importance of cartography to religion, and thus the value of cartography as a source for historians more generally. In the introduction, we noted how medievalists are turning to cartography as an inter-disciplinary source for religious subjects, but early modern historians, though they make use of wide varieties of imagery, make no use of cartography. There has been the occasional exception, some using it in a more limited fashion,[6] others delving deeper into its inherent potential,[7] though they are a firm minority. But, as we have seen, cartography stands out, perhaps more than other kinds of imagery, as a multivalent genre that naturally touches on so many different aspects of religious history (without needing any intention to do so), and can thus offer insights into many sides of early modern religion. It was an innovative, intellectually fertile space where cartographers grappled with issues in new, inventive ways, and thus where historians can see how contemporaries were reacting to the developments around them. For we have not only seen cartographers struggling with practical problems, of how functionally to map this changing world, but with ideological problems too, and how to deal with the changing ecclesiologies of the Reformation, for example. As we have seen, it offers a valuable window into people's minds, their thoughts, agendas, fears and beliefs, and thus into the inner world of the Reformation. Moreover, quite peculiar as a genre, it offers different challenges, forcing people to confront, think through, and find solutions for problems which, in other genres, could easily be avoided. And, not to forget, cartography did not merely reflect these changes, but helped shape them – cartographers were at the (theoretical) coalface, negotiating this new reality, and offering a vision of it for their readers. Though we might expect it to be a marginal, incidental space, we might in fact consider it an important cultural space, where confessionalisation and confessional identities were formulated, where the new post-Reformation world was absorbed,

[6] Beat Kümin has used maps as a documentary source to understand the sacred/profane divide, but treats them simply as illustrations of the landscape, rather than images with their own message and power ('Sacred Church and Worldly Tavern', in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), 17-38)

[7] Kat Hill has, briefly, explored the power of cartography to create a Lutheran landscape, and crystallise Lutheran identity ('Making Lutherans', *Past & Present*, 234 (2017), 9-11)

confronted and negotiated, in all sorts of ways. It was, in a way, a space where the Reformation happened. Though much ink has been spilled over this subject, for all the reasons above we believe that cartography, as a source, can make a fresh and distinctive contribution to our historical understanding. Wherefore, we hope that this thesis has opened up a new perspective on Reformation history as a whole.

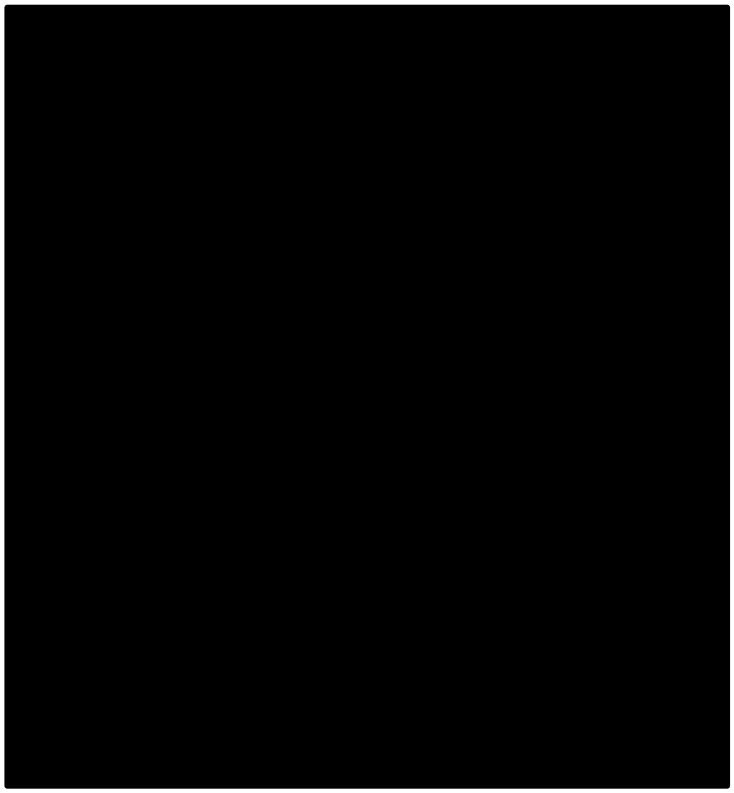
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To wrap up this thesis, we would like to demonstrate that the religious issues we have covered, and indeed some of the images themselves, remain highly relevant, even to our present day. We still see cartographers adapting to new religious contexts, still pursuing new religious agendas, still expressing their thoughts and beliefs through the map – and using the same methods employed by the early moderns. In short, we find that the relationship between cartography and religion remains very much alive.

To begin, we will take a look at tourist maps of the city of Lviv (Figures 6.2-4). Unlike Georg Braun's depiction of the city in the *Civitates*, with its blown-up Catholic cathedral and label-less Orthodox and Armenian cathedrals, these maps highlight all Christian confessions equally. The same equality can be seen in the city's logo (Figure 6.5), depicting the towers of the Armenian, Orthodox, Catholic and Uniate cathedrals, with that of the city hall in the middle. In another fashion, however, these maps are all-too-similar to the *Civitates*, for they, too, are party to the whitewashing of Jewish presence – such whitewashing is not necessarily a thing of the past. Today, the Golden Rose synagogue is a ruin, standing as a witness to its burning by the Nazis, with Lviv's Jews still inside. But just as that synagogue was hidden by Braun, its remains continue to be hidden on maps today. None of these maps highlight it with a label, none of them even depict the ruins, leaving it as a blank space. Figure 6.3 was printed in 1999, and celebrates the designation of Lviv as a UNESCO World Heritage Site the year before. The synagogue was specifically mentioned by UNESCO in its reasoning for the designation, standing as a symbol of the city's different religious

traditions, still visible in the modern townscape,[8] yet the map, astonishingly, deems it of no value. Such cartographic silence can be seen as another element of the contrived forgetting of the Jews in public space and memory, in Ukraine and elsewhere, as studied by Holocaust scholars like Omer Bartov.[9] Indeed, in 2011, the city authorities gave permission to demolish parts of the synagogue complex to build a hotel. 'The Holocaust has not stopped here,' one Jewish resident lamented, 'the destruction goes on'.[10] Since then, the ruins have been incorporated into a memorial, the Space of Synagogues; yet, if one ventures to the Lviv city website today, with its interactive tourist map,[11] neither the Golden Rose, nor the Space of Synagogues, is depicted amongst its assorted attractions, museums and memorials – the silence prevails. Tom Gross' *Guardian* article, exposing the destruction of the synagogue, began by stating: 'It seems parts of Europe are less tolerant now than they were in the 16th century',[12] but, cartographically speaking at least, it is no different, as these images continue a long tradition of excising Jewish presence from the map.

Figure 6.2 – Lviv tourist map (n.d.)



[8] 'L'viv – the Ensemble of the Historic Centre', whc.unesco.org/en/list/865/ (23/9/2021)
[9] Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (Princeton, 2007), he mentions the silence around the Golden Rose Synagogue on page 15.
[10] Tom Gross, 'Goodbye Golden Rose', *The Guardian* (2 Sept, 2011)
[11] 'Map', lviv.travel/en/map (23/9/2021)
[12] Gross, 'Goodbye Golden Rose'

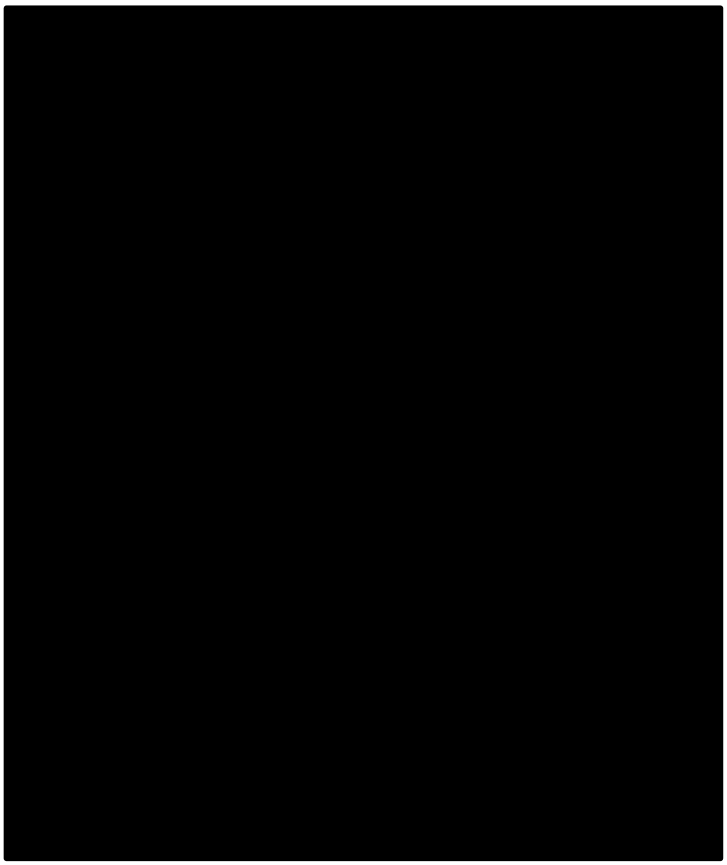
Figure 6.3 – Lviv tourist map, Fund of Tourism Development in Lviv (1999)



Figure 6.4 – Lviv tourist map, InLviv Tourist Information (2007)



Figure 6.5 – Lviv city logo



This is not all one-way traffic, however. A recent official tourist map of Jerusalem (Figure 6.6), produced by Israel's Ministry of Tourism, offers an image of an almost purely Jewish city, erasing non-Jewish holy sites and non-Jewish neighbourhoods. It highlights only one Muslim site, making no mention of the third-holiest site in Islam, the al-Aqsa Mosque, while Palestinian neighbourhoods are ignored, with labels drawing attention only to Jewish-Israeli buildings or settlements within them (of the 57 numbered sites, almost half are Jewish-occupied buildings in the Muslim quarter), places of no relevance to tourists, but included solely to create an image of Jerusalem as a Jewish city, free from Muslims. One could see it as a mirror of the attempts to displace Muslim residents, and, indeed, we can see a connection through the map's deliberate focus on the sites managed by settler organisations, such as Ateret Cohanim, or Elad.[13] The map has been accused of being 'part of a political agenda of ignoring the Palestinian presence in east

[13] 'Israel removes key sites from Jerusalem's Old City Map', www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/6/12/israel-removes-key-sites-from-jerusalems-old-city-map; 'Official Map of Jerusalem's Old City Omits Key non-Jewish Sites', www.haaretz.com/israel-news/map-of-jerusalems-old-city-omits-key-non-jewish-sites-1.5426622 (23/9/2021)

Jerusalem',[14] and it demonstrates, again, that both the religious agenda, and methods, of cartographers like Georg Braun remain very much alive.

Figure 6.6 – Jerusalem Tourist map, Israel Ministry of Tourism (2016)



Likewise, the use of cartography to articulate the sacredness of space lives on. Mormons have long-noted the parallels between the geography of the Great Salt Lake Valley and the Holy Land, as highlighted in this 1891 map of 'The Promised Land!' (Figure 6.7), originally produced by the Rio Grande Western Railway, to advertise to religious settlers, pilgrims and tourists.[15] The image, which became ubiquitous, manipulated the landscape to no small degree in order to get them to match, and so declare the sacrality of the Utahn landscape, and, by extension, the legitimacy of the Mormon Church. And the same message is declared today, this time through the medium of Google Earth (Figure 6.8).[16]

[14] 'Tourism Ministry defends map of Jerusalem's Old City omitting Arab landmarks', www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/tourism-ministry-defends-map-of-jerusalems-old-city-omitting-arab-landmarks-450327 (23/9/2021)
[15] David Walker, 'Railroading Independence', *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 37.1 (2017), 43-5
[16] '5 Incredible "Coincidental" Similarities Between The Holy Land and Utah Valley', thirdhour.org/blog/faith/5-similarities-holy-land-utah/ (23/9/2021)

Figure 6.7 – 'The Promised Land!', Rio Grande Western Railway (1891)

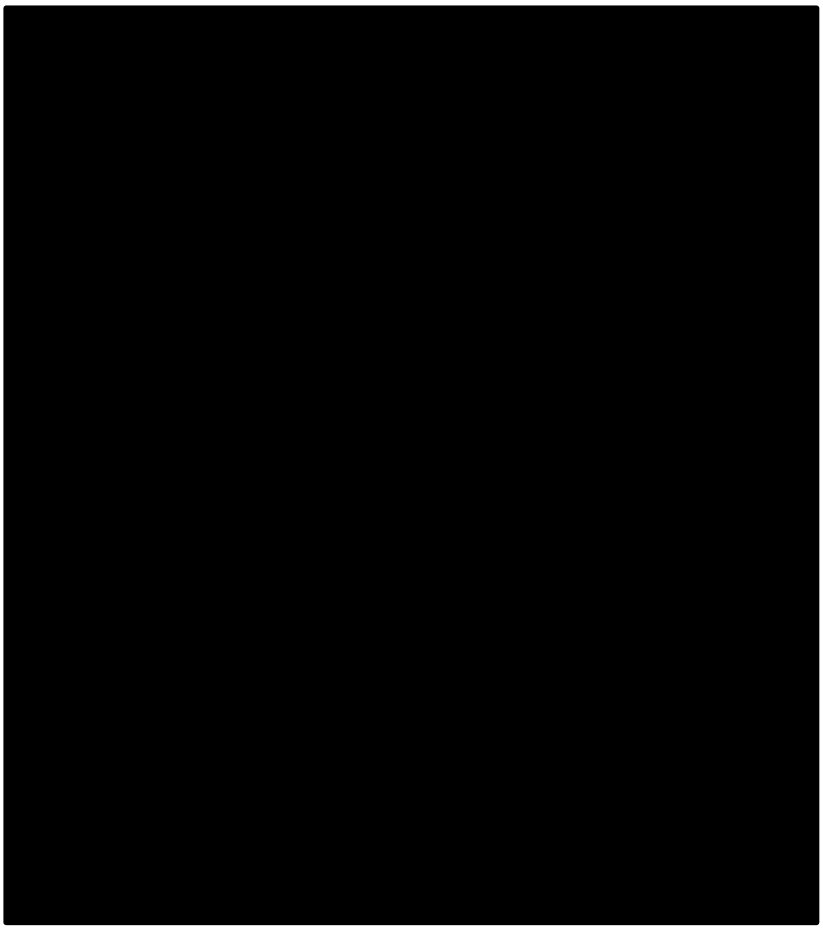
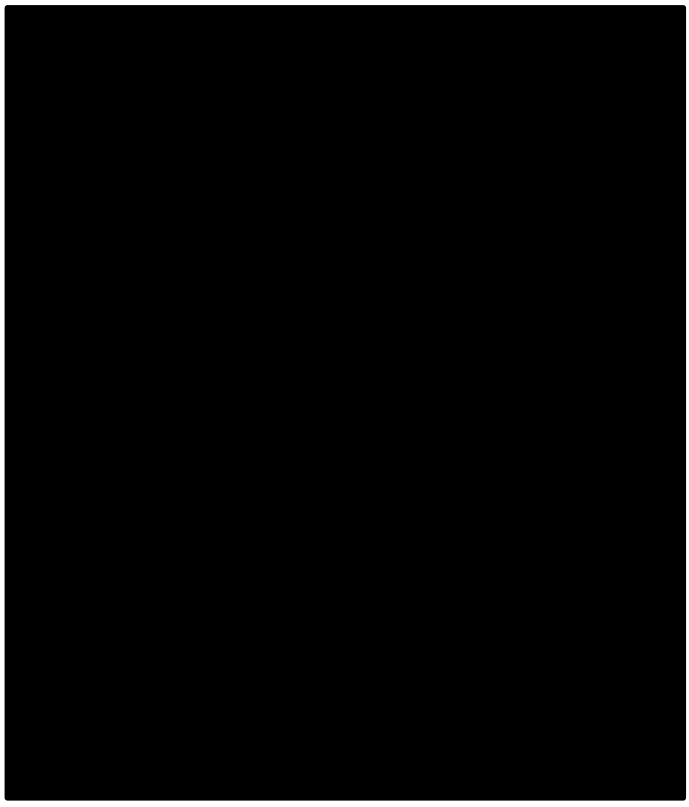


Figure 6.8 – The sacred landscape of the Great Salt Lake Valley (thirdhour.org)



Back in the Polish context, we can witness the struggle between the Communist government and Solidarność to secularise, or re-sacralise, cartography – through the medium of the postage stamp. 1966 was the 1000th anniversary of Poland's baptism. That year, while the Catholic Church celebrated Poland's Christian Millennium, the Communist government, which pursued a policy of atheism, sought to offer an alternative, secular interpretation of the anniversary, as 1000 years of the Polish nation, while refusing a Papal visit to Poland. Two stamps from that millennium year included maps (Figures 6.9, 6.10) one glorifying Polish industry, the other highlighting the country's tourist attractions (none of them religious). EF Schumacher noticed something similar in maps of Leningrad, which did not show the churches he could see in front of him; 'when finally an interpreter came to help me, he said: "We don't show churches on our maps." Contradicting him, I pointed to one that was very clearly marked. "That is a museum," he said, "not what we call a 'living church.' It is only 'living churches' we don't show."[17] Images like these demonstrate the active choices made to exclude religion from the map, in the effort to engender a post-religious society, and show that the absence of religion is no more natural than its presence, that a secular map is no less 'impartial' than one highly religious. The Solidarity movement sought to present an alternative narrative to the government, producing underground stamps[18] that highlighted, through maps (or at least cartographic caricature), the unbreakable links between Poland and the Catholic Church, Pope John-Paul II, and the Virgin Mary, and even the resurrecting the idea of Polish Messianism (Figures 6.11-14) – offering an alternative, re-sacralised cartography. This was a tradition continued by post-Communist governments of Poland, re-purposing 17th-century cartographic images to serve a 21st-century agenda, for example in this 2017 banknote (Figure 6.15), reproducing an Antoni Nowakowski engraving, celebrating the coronation of the Black Madonna in 1717, or this 2005 20 złoty coin (Figure 6.16), replicating Johann Bensheimer's original image of the 1655 siege, hierophany and all. As ever, these images assert the national connection to Jasna Góra, 'the spiritual capital of the Catholic nation',[19] the Black Madonna, and the Virgin Mary. And

[17] Quoted in JB Harley, 'Silences and Secrecy', *Imago Mundi*, 40 (1988), 57
[18] Kristi Evans, 'The Argument of Images: Historical Representation in Solidarity Underground Postage, 1981-87', *American Ethnologist*, 19.4 (1992), 749-67
[19] Cardinal Wyszyński, quoted in Oskar Halecki, 'The Place of Częstochowa in Poland's Millennium', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 52.4 (1967), 504

Poland's deep Catholic identity is declared cartographically on social media, too, where this meme often does the rounds (Figure 6.17).

Figure 6.9 – 'The Polish People's Republic, heir to a thousand years of tradition', S Małecki (1966)



Figure 6.10 – 'Tourist Map', T Michałuk (1966)



Figure 6.11 – Jasna Góra Pilgrimage stamps, the Black Madonna on a map of Poland (1986)

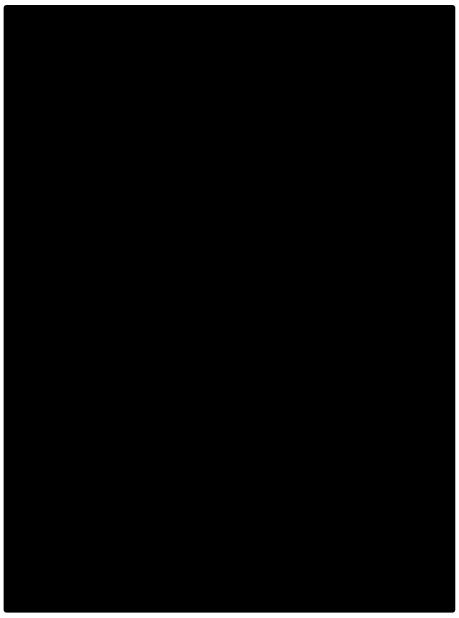


Figure 6.12 – John-Paul II's pilgrimages to Poland, tying map to Pope, Church, Christ and the Eucharist (1987)



Figure 6.13 – John-Paul II's visit to Poland (1987)

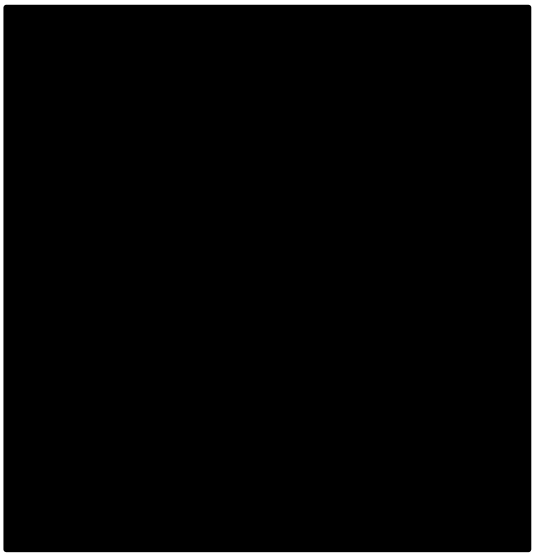


Figure 6.14 – "Christ rose from the dead, alleluia – and we will rise again, alleluia", the risen Christ on the map of Poland (n.d.)



Figure 6.15 – 20zł banknote, with Nowakowski's view of the 1717 coronation celebrations (2017)



Figure 6.16 – 20zl coin, with Bensheimer's view of the siege (4.5) (2005)



Figure 6.17 – Catholic churches in Poland – meme



Figure 6.18 – 'Religion in Europe in 1565' – *Times Atlas of World History*

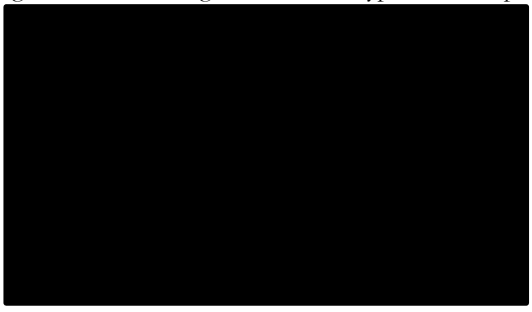


Over the course of the thesis, we found that early modern maps were seemingly unable to express the Commonwealth's religious diversity. Today, cartographers have many more tools at their disposal, developing new symbols for Protestant presence, for example, and new cartographic methods, such as thematic mapping – no longer are cartographers captive to the convention of the bishop – yet problems still arise. For it is not only early modern cartographers who have floundered in depicting the Polish-Lithuanian landscape. This thematic map of the religious landscape of early modern Europe, from the *Times Atlas of World History*, serves as an ideal example (Figure 6.18). It depicts what can only be described as a rainbow mess, a confusing depiction that offers no clarity on the relative size of confessions, where they are located in the country, or their relative power – it shows diversity, but nothing more. The cartographer chose to make a state-oriented map, depicting religion on a state-by-state basis, seemingly predicated on the idea of *cuius regio, eius religio*, and though this might work perfectly well in a west-European context where this predominated, treating this model as normative, as a convention to follow, is quite inadequate for a state like Poland-Lithuania. More widely, Jeremy Black has noted how we still have problems

mapping heterogeneity today, not because of the limitations of cartographic vocabulary, but because cartographers decide not to use this vocabulary, so as not to create too complex an image for the reader.[20] Our desire to distil the world into something simple and easily understood disguises its true complexity – if cartographers before were limited by their tools, now it seems they are constrained by human nature.

Lastly, maps still serve to demonstrate the importance of the Church to society – seen no more clearly than in the ever-popular OS map (Figure 6.19). Ordnance Survey maps depict chapels, churches and Cathedrals across the country, as an essential feature of the British landscape. One might think that, in this secular age, such an emphasis on the Church is just a hangover from the past, or that they are simply included as landmarks for the purpose of orientation. The latter has a certain truth to it – the different symbols for towered and spired churches are, to be sure, not there for religious reasons – but there is more to it, and it is no mere hangover from the past. This is demonstrated, somewhat paradoxically, in a decision made by Ordnance Survey in 2003 – to remove hundreds of churches from their maps. Again, one might think this a sign of the desire to remove religion from the map (and, indeed, it is how the Times saw it, bewailing it as 'an act of cartographic deconsecration'[21]), but it was in fact the opposite. For OS were removing those buildings that were *no longer places of worship*. In other words, the criterion for a church's inclusion on the map is not simply its prominence as a landmark, but its very nature as a church – a 'living church', to take the words of that Leningrad resident. It was a decision that points, not to the deconsecration of the map, but cartographers' respect for the consecration of churches, and the continuing importance of the Church to the map.

Figure 6.19 – A village church on a typical OS map



[20] Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London, 1997), 57-8
[21] Anthony Browne, 'Hundreds of churches to be wiped off the map', *The Times* (9 May, 2003)

We have found in this thesis that the importance of religion to cartography did not wither away with the passing of the Middle Ages. But the secularisation of the map was not simply postponed to the end of the early modern period – it still has not happened, even to this day.

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