TERMINUS

t. 19 (2017), z. 1 (42), s. 19–36 doi:10.4467/20843844TE.17.008.8266 www.ejournals.eu/Terminus

Jakub Niedźwiedź

Jagiellonian University, Kraków jakub.niedzwiedz@uj.edu.pl

The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk – an Introduction¹

Abstract

The paper is divided into two parts. In the first one the author discusses a discovery and reception of *The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk* in the 19th–21st centuries. In the other the content of six papers about the *Atlas* is commented.

Key words: *Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk*, Stanisław Pachołowiecki, Renaissance cartography, Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, Livonian War, Polish Renaissance literature, Jan Matejko

1.

In 2015, The Military Centre for Civil Education (Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej) published a graphic novel entitled *The*

¹ The paper was written as part of a research project founded by National Science Centre within the Opus program (nr 2014/15/B/HS2/01104) *Związki literatury polskiej i kartografii w XVI – I poł. XVII w.* [The Relations between Polish literature and cartography in the 16th and the 1st half of the 17th century]. The original version of this paper is published in Polish in *Terminus* 19, issue 1(42) (2017), pp. 1–18.



Fig. 1. A portrait of Ivan the Terrible. Oblężenie Połocka 1579..., p. 7

1579 Siege of Polotsk (Oblężenie Połocka 1579)². The story begins in 1577, when demoniac Ivan the Terrible, resembling the evil sorcerer from Disney's cartoons, invades Livland, then a territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and perpetrates unprecedented atrocities (Fig. 1.) The news of this treacherous attack reaches Polish King Stephen Báthory at the revolting Gdańsk. Only after suppressing the burghers' rebellion, does the ruler convene a sejm in Warsaw in order to gather funds for the war. Next, the book tells the story of the campaign and the siege. The graphic novel ends with the recovery of Polotsk and the ennoblement by Báthory of a heroic coppersmith who set the fortress on fire and contributed to its capture.

² Oblężenie Połocka 1579, content editing and introd. P. Przeździecki, pictures R. Gajewski, Warszawa 2015. I am greatly thankful to Dr. Grzegorz Franczak, who drew my attention to this comic book. He also delivered me pictures of two Belorussian coins and a special issue of the *Gazeta Wyborcza*, where Pachołowiecki's view of Polotsk is shown.



Fig. 2. The allocation of military forces around the besieged Polotsk. *Oblęże-nie Połocka 1579...*, p. 12

The scenario of the graphic novel is not sophisticated. Prefaced with historic introduction for the general public, *The 1579 Siege of Polotsk* essentially focuses on the chronological representation of key events and historical figures, although it is not free from contemporary, purely humorous elements. However, what makes this graphic novel different from boring school textbooks is chiefly its graphic design.

The authors draw not only on historical studies and written resources, but also from visual relics: woodcuts from the 16th-century pamphlets, portraits, city views, and possibly also sculptures and medals. They managed to translate the language of Renaissance iconography into the visual language of the contemporary graphic novel in a very interesting way. A particularly amusing example of such a translation can be found on page 12. It depicts the map of the siege of the city. Its archetype was a deployment plan of the military forces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at Polotsk in 1579, made by the royal cartographer and secretary Stanisław Pachołowiecki (Fig. 2).

The graphic novel from 2015 is, undoubtedly, an element of the state's historical policy developed for several years now. It is a part



Fig. 3. A Belarusian coin of 20 roubles, *Skaryna's Route. Połock (Шлях Скарыны. Полацк*), issued on 31 Dec. 2015 in 2000 pieces

of a cycle of graphic novels depicting important but largely unrecognized battles fought by the Polish military from the 16th to the 21st century.³ The book is, therefore, partly educational and partly propagandistic in character.

Belarussian authorities also used Pachołowiecki's map in a similar way for the purposes of propaganda. A fragment of it depicting Polotsk was featured on commemorative coins. In 1998, the National Bank of Belarus issued a coin featuring a view of 16th-century Polotsk. The coin with a denomination per unit of 1 or 20 roubles (the latter was made of silver), and was produced as part of a series representing Belarusian historical *gords*. An almost identical view of Polotsk occurred on a silver Belarusian coin from 2015 with a denomination per unit of 20 roubles. The aim of this edition was to commemorate the famous Belarussian humanist Franciszek Skaryna (Skoryna, before 1490–after 1540), who came from Polotsk (Fig. 3).

The original map of Pachołowiecki, printed in Rome in 1580, was also used as one means of the royal chancellery's propaganda. Included in a contemporary Polish graphic novel or featured on Bela-

³ The last part of the cycle *Real warrior* depicts struggles of Polish soldiers in Afghanistan in 2011.



Fig. 4. Jan Matejko, *Batory pod Pskowem*, 1872, a detail: Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski examining the Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum, photo J. Niedźwiedź

russian coins, it again fulfils the same function for which it was cut four hundred years ago. It concreates the official, propagandistic narrative about the history of Poland and Belarus (incidentally, omitting Lithuania).

Additional research shows that these are not the only texts of popular history, popular culture or political propaganda, where one can find traces of the reception of Pachołowiecki's map. A collection of postcards entitled *Polotsk on the early 20th-century postcards* was issued in 2001. Among the hundred-year-old photographs, there is also a large fragment of *Obsidio*. ⁴ The supplement to *Gazeta Wyborcza*

⁴ See *Полацк на поштаўках пачатку XX стагоддзя*, тэкст Ю. Цісленка, афармленне В. Рагалевіч, А. Пятроў, Мінск 2001.

from August 2016 included "a calendar page" commemorating the recovery of Polotsk, again with Pachołowiecki's plan.⁵

But such a use of Pachołowiecki's map probably began much earlier. The actual map of the Principality of Polotsk was depicted on a well-known historical painting by Jan Matejko: Batory pod Pskowem (Báthory at Pskov) (1872) (Fig. 4). As usual in case of Matejko, the painting is a symbolic interpretation of the past, not an account of historical facts. The Cracow painter represented the last stage of the Livonian War: the fictitious homage of Russian boyars paid to Polish King Stephen Báthory in 1582 at the city walls of Pskov, which was not, in actual fact, conquered by Báthory. On the left side of the painting, between the standing Chancellor, Jan Zamoyski and the King sitting on the throne, sits a grey-bearded man with his profile turned on the spectators. This is Prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (1526-1608), a politician, commander and patron, founder of the Orthodox Ostroh Academy, and sponsor of the Church Slavonic Bible, among other publications. The Prince is not interested in the event he is participating in, and pays no attention to the King or the Muscovian boyars. Neither is he partaking in the disputes between Polish politicians standing nearby. He is absorbed by a map that he is holding in his hands. Closer examination reveals that it is Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis by Stanisław Pachołowiecki.6 It appears that for Duke Ostrogski the map is more important then the

⁵ "29.08.1579. Odbicie Połocka," *Ale Historia*, a supplement to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, issue 35(241), 29 August 2016, p. 2. The author of the note gave the wrong date of the capture of the city, which surrendered on 30 August 1579. He was probably inspired by the wrong date stated on Pachołowiecki's *Obsidio*. The circumstances of putting this date on the map are discussed by K. Łopatecki, "*Oblężenie i zdobycie warownej twierdzy połockiej przez Najjaśniejszego Króla Polski Stefana* – analiza założeń taktycznych w świetle źródeł kartograficznych," *Terminus* 19, issue 4(45) (2017), (in print).

⁶ Supposedly, Matejko was not familiar with manuscript maps from the time of the Livonian war. Historians in the 19th century did not write about them, while Pachołowiecki's atlas was reissued some 30 years before the painting, which is discussed below.

territory. Maybe this is the message that the 19th-century painter wished to convey in this part of his painting. Not only is it the events themselves that are important, but also their later representation: historical narratives, paintings, and maps are of significance.

Revealed here is the importance of maps per se, not only this particular one, to which this issue of Terminus is dedicated. Even today, a map is one of the most efficient carriers of propagandistic and informative content, and their persuasive qualities are exceptionally powerful and long-lasting. The message inscribed in a map may be attractive and valuable for a user even a long time after its authors' intentions become lost in time, and the map becomes outdated. The example of Pachołowiecki's map, as well as other maps from the 16th century proves that they still retain their rhetorical potential. It can be activated and used quickly, if need be. This is possible not only because a map itself has such wonderful qualities, the activation of its message is feasible mostly because contemporary users read a map in a similar (although not identical) way as its original users. Cartographic language evolves, but it is still based on rules drawn from Ptolemy. These rules may be referred to as cartographic topoi. They cover scaling, zooming, placing important elements in the centre and the less important ones on the peripheries, the use of colour and shape, prioritising elements with different size of symbols and lettering, and lastly the view from God's perspective, so characteristic of Renaissance humanism (poeta-quasi alter Deus, as put by J.C. Scaliger). The rhetoric of a map⁷ established in the 16th century is, therefore, still comprehensible for us. This is why Renaissance maps are more understandable to us than the literature.

⁷ J.B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy. The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," in: *idem, The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by P. Laxton, introd. J.H. Andrews, Baltimore–London 2001, p. 107.

2.

The plan of the Siege of Polotsk, discussed here, is part of a larger cycle. In 1580, eight copperplates were printed in Rome. Two larger ones depict the siege of this city in August 1579 (Obsidio et expugnatio munitissimae arcis Polocensis, or The Siege and Capture of the Fortress o Polotsk) and a map of the Principality of Polotsk (Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis, or The Description of the Principality of Polotsk); and six smaller ones represent six fortresses conquered by Stephen Báthory's divisions during the Polotsk campaign: Kazyany, Krasne, Sitno, Sokil, Susza, and Turovla. The two larger maps were authored by the royal secretary and cartographer, Stanisław Pachołowiecki. Supposedly, he also co-authored the remaining six depictions.8 The copperplates were published in a renowned Roman printing house of Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, who also engraved them.9 Two Polish Catholic clergymen and humanists, Tomasz Treter and Piotr Wolski, were also engaged in their printing. 10 This publication that we refer to as The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk of Stanisław Pachołowiecki is one of the most fascinating and very rare works of Polish Renaissance cartography.

Already in the early 19th century it was known that the cycle is a very rare and valuable relic. Feliks Bentkowski, a literary historian (1781–1852), who was the first to describe this source in the second

⁸ See K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)," *Terminus* 19, issue 1(42) (2017), p. 42; K. Łopatecki, "Ryciny prezentujące kampanię połocką 1579 roku jako jednolita kompozycja kartograficzna," *Terminus* 19, issue 1(42) (2017), pp. 160–161.

⁹ See K. Łopatecki, "Ryciny prezentujące kampanię połocką...," pp. 164–165; G. Franczak, "Filologia mapy. Badanie dawnej kartografii metodą krytyki tekstu na przykładzie toponimii mapy Księstwa Połockiego S. Pachołowieckiego z 1580 roku," *Terminus* 19, issue 1(42) (2017), pp. 195–196.

¹⁰ See J. Niedźwiedź, "Polska szesnastowieczna propaganda wojenna w działaniu: przypadek Atlasu Księstwa Połockiego (1580)," *Terminus* 19, issue 3(44) (2017), (in print).

volume of The History of Polish Literature [Historia literatury polskiej] (1814), decided that it is "a rare [...] collection of useful and beautiful work of our fellow countryman".11 A copy he had at his disposal belonged in those days to Count Jan Suchodolski, the Head of the II Department of War in the Duchy of Warsaw. A Russian historian, Mikhail Andreyevich Korkunov (1806-1858), also used the same maps as a historical source. In 1837 in Petersburg, he published reprints of all eight engravings from 1580 and provided them with an introduction.¹² Jan Mitkiewicz prepared tracings for the purposes of the Petersburg edition. The edition itself is important for several reasons. Firstly, for the next 150 years, it was the only source of knowledge about what Pachołowiecki's maps looked like. Secondly, Korkunov was the first to recognize the propagandistic character of these maps. Thirdly, he referred to them as "the old atlas of the Principality of Polotsk". This name appears in the running headline in his publication.

At the end of 19th century the whereabouts of the originals no longer known, so historians relied on on Korkunov's edition. In 1909, the publishers of Pachołowiecki's ennoblement privilege in *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego* admitted that it was probable that the maps were irretrievably lost, so they decided to reprint them from the 1837 edi-

¹¹ See F. Bentkowski, *Historia literatury polskiej wystawiona w spisie dzieł dru-kiem ogłoszonych*, vol. 2, Vilnius 1814, pp. 625–626.

¹² See M.A. Коркунов, "Карта военных действий между русскими и поляками в 1579 г. и тогдашние планы г. Полоцка и его окрестностей," Журнал Министерства народного просвещения 15, по. 8 (1837), pp. 235–249. The Polish translation was issued three years later in Wrocław by Zygmunt Schletter in the printing house of M. Frydlender: [M.A. Korkunow], Karta operacyj wojennych w wyprawie Polaków przeciw Rossyjanom w roku 1579 i plany ówczesne miasta Połocka z przyległemi twierdzami. Wyjątek z Dziennika Ministerstwa Oświecenia narodowego r. 1837, Sierpień, numer VIII, Wrocław 1840, https://polona.pl/item/42216769/1/ (access: 12.12.2017). In the 1940s, Edward Rastawiecki mentions only its reprint, see E. Rastawiecki, Mappografia dawnej Polski, Warszawa 1846, pp. 123–125.

tion.¹³ The same reprints were reissued by A.P. Sapunov three years later.¹⁴ They were also known to historians of cartography, Bolesław Olszewicz and Karol Buczek, who before World War Two, studied the output of Pachołowiecki, and after the war, apart from Buczek, also to Stanisław Alexandrowicz¹⁵ and to historians studying Báthory's war with Moscow. Until the 1980s, they did not know any original copy. They based their research either on Konkunov's edition or on later reprints from *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego* and a reedition of A.P. Sapunov. Not before 1983 did Tadeusz Chrzanowski announce that he found a description of Pachołowiecki's maps in the catalogue of the National Library in Paris, but he did not see them at the time.¹⁶ Several years later, at the 12th All-Poland Conference of Cartography Historians in 1987, Dr. Tomasz Niewodniczański (1933–2010) announced that since 1985 he possessed a complete collection of en-

¹³ See Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego, vol. 2: 1580–1582, ed. by J. Siemieński, Warsaw 1909. Illustrations between pp. 422 and 423 constitute and illustration to Pachołowiecki's ennoblement privilege (p. 423, item 38).

¹⁴ See А.П. Сапунов, "Рисунки крепостей, построенных по повелению Царя Ивана Грозного после завоевания Полоцка, в 1563 году," in: *Полоцко-Витебская старина*, vol. 2, Витебск 1912, pp. 299–313.

Kartograficzny 4, no. 31 (1929/1930), pp. 163–164; idem, "Kartografia polska XVII wieku," Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny 5, no. 36 (1931/1932), p. 136; K. Buczek, "Dorobek kartograficzny wojen Stefana Batorego," Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej 8, issue 3 (1934), pp. 3–15; idem, "Kartografia polska w czasach Stefana Batorego," Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej 7, issue 2 (1933), pp. 69–121; idem, Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku. Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny, Wrocław 1963, pp. 45–46; S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne do oblężenia Połocka w 1579 r.," Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej 19, no. 1 (1971), p. 4; idem, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej Stefana Batorego roku 1579," in: Od armii komputowej do narodowej (XVI–XX w.), ed. by Z. Karpus, W. Rezmer, Toruń 1998, pp. 17–43; S. Alexandrowicz, Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku, Warszawa 2012, p. 59.

¹⁶ See T. Chrzanowski, *Działalność artystyczna Tomasza Tretera*, Warszawa 1984, p. 37 (footnote no. 60), 72, 82–83 (footnote no. 90); A. Flandrin, *Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz*, Paris 1903, p. 342, items 7456–7461.

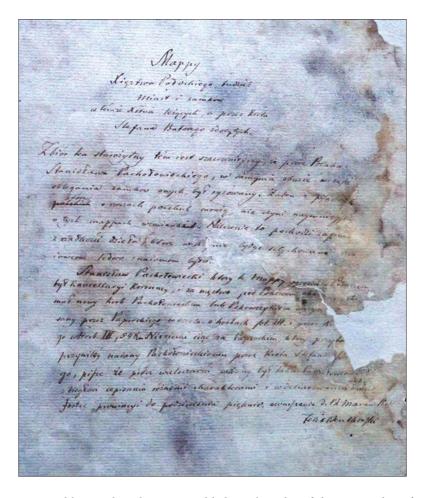


Fig. 5. Feliks Bentkowski, a note added to *The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk*, 1817, Collection of dr. Tomasz Niewodniczański, dep. Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum

gravings. These copies are today kept as a deposit in the Royal Castle in Warsaw.¹⁷ These are most probably the same maps that at the beginning of the 19th century belonged to count Suchodolski, as they are accompanied by a manuscript note made and signed by Feliks Bentkowski. The content of this note – a commentary to the maps – is almost identical with the information provided in *The History of Polish Literature* by the same author (Fig. 5).

Eleven years after the communiqué given by Dr. Niewodniczański, Stanisław Alexandrowicz provided a detailed characteristic of these maps, although the transcription of Latin inscriptions contains numerous mistakes. Small-scale reproductions of two copies of the map of the Principality of Polotsk or the Siege of Polotsk from Niewodniczański's collection were reprinted at various times, e.g. in the catalogue from the *Imago Poloniae* exhibition, a paper by A.M. Kobos commemorating Niewodniczański, in Alexandrowicz's book and in the 9th volume of *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica*. A small-scale coloured copy of the map was published by Mieczysław Grydzewski in *Zwoje* and Marek Wrede on the cover of his book.

Niewodniczański's collection also contained a coloured map of the Principality of Polotsk. By way of collectors' exchange, it happened to appear in Peter Gałęzowski's collection, where it is today. Gałęzowski is also in possession of six views of fortresses that he purchased in Rome on the antiquarian market, see K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych…," p. 42.

¹⁸ See S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej...," pp. 17–43.

¹⁹ The coloured copy of the map of the Principality of Polotsk: M. Grydzewski, "Nad Tamizą o Połocku," Zwoje. Periodyk Kulturalny no. 4(37) 2003, http://www.zwoje-scrolls.com/zwoje37/text28p.htm (access: 13.09.2017); K. Kozica, J. Pezda, Imago Poloniae. Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego, vol. 1, Warszawa 2002, p. 55; the cover of the book: M. Wrede, Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576–1586, Warszawa 2010. The non-coloured copy of the map of the Principality of Polotsk: A.M. Kobos, "Tomasz Niewodniczański (1933–2010) i jego zbiory. In memoriam. Kolekcja Marie-Luise Niewodniczańskiej – kontynuacja," Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU 11 (2012), pp. 169, 170, Fig. 48; S. Alexandrowicz, Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego..., Fig. 43; G. Schilder, Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica, vol. 9:

The intended reprint of these maps in the Cartographica Rarissima series has probably never been accomplished.

The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk is an excellent source of the history of Polish-Lithuanian-Muscovian relations in the 16th century and the history of Polish and European cartography in the 16th century, so it must be taken into account by contemporary historians. The scarce number of extant copies, and, above all, the lack of their modern re-edition forces Belarusian, Lithuanian, Polish and Russian historians to use reprints from the early 20th century.²⁰ A study of the capture of Polotsk published in 2003 is an exemplary illustration of this situation.²¹ This is why we decided to issue a critical edition of Stanisław Pachołowiecki's maps.

3.

Three thematic issues of *Terminus* in 2017 (42, 44 and 45) are dedicated to these fascinating maps. The papers are authored by four scholars of different specializations, focused on studying the past: literary historians, a military historian and a cartography historian. We prepared reprints, a professional description and over a dozen studies that constitute the context for the *Atlas*. In the course of our 18-month-long studies we understood how important and interesting this source is and what a beautiful piece of art it is, particularly the coloured copies of the map of the Principality of Polotsk. This enabled us to look at the Renaissance culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Europe from a new perspective.

Hessel Gerritsz (1580/81–1632). *Master Engraver and Map Maker, Who 'Ruled' the Seas*, Houten 2013, p. 211.

²⁰ Even Korkunov's edition is a rarity today, and the scans of this publication available on the Internet do not contain good quality reproductions.

²¹ See D. Kupisz, *Połock 1579*, Warsaw 2003.

We studied Pachołowiecki's *Atlas* from different points of view. First of all, we approached it as a material object that has a specific physical size and is extant in specific copies. Therefore, the opening paper by Kazimierz Kozica contains the first precise description of maps included in the atlas together with a list of all extant copies. Today, we know that there are three complete sets of maps and views, and one incomplete set (without *Obsidio*). Apart from that, there are three copies of *Obsidio* that survived. In line with the findings of Niedźwiedź and Franczak, these three copies were published later, independently from the cycle, probably not by Cavalieri, as someone undertook an inept attempt to remove the surname of the first publisher in the new edition. The 16th-century re-edition of this one map may be evidence of the readers' interest in the siege tactics in Central-Eastern Europe.²²

The second study is a critical edition and a Polish translation from Latin of all transcriptions to be found on maps printed in 1580. It is authored by Grzegorz Franczak.

The next paper, by Karol Łopatecki, analyses *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* as a military map. The author argues that the archetype for *Descriptio* was a map prepared even before the 1579 campaign, supposedly in spring or summer. It was based on military knowledge, itineraries, intelligence, etc. The author, therefore, analysed how the map was created. He also compared it with copies of military maps used during Báthory's subsequent campaigns. According to Łopatecki, Pachołowiecki's *Descriptio* is evidence of a change in the way military operations were planned by the commanders of the Commonwealth's military forces. This change was brought about by the spreading familiarity with and knowledge of maps, as well as cartographic literacy. Not only did they use maps, but also – aided by cartographic thinking – could define themselves and their troops in the surrounding space.

 $^{^{\}rm 22}~$ See J. Niedźwiedź, "Polska szesnastowieczna propaganda wojenna..." (in print).

In the fourth paper, Jakub Niedźwiedź elaborates on some of the themes mentioned by Łopatecki, mainly the dissemination of maps as a modern means of the creation of knowledge. The author demonstrates that maps printed by Cavalieri in 1580 were syncretic texts that combined qualities of several literary genres and book forms popular in the 16th century. Above all, Niedźwiedź proves that Pachołowiecki's maps were published as a cycle and should therefore be regarded as the first thematic atlas in the history of Polish cartography. We should remember that King Stephen Báthory, the sponsor of the Roman edition, was interested in maps, including Ortelius' atlas. Another genre that had a significant effect on this cycle was emblem. An emblem (stemma) by Tomasz Treter appers in Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis. However, individual maps that constitute the atlas also have a form reminiscent of emblem. Yet another genre whose impact on the maps is discernible is panegyric and particularly its variant referred to as epinikion (a panegyric in honour of a victor). The author compared Pachołowiecki's maps with poems written by the leading Polish poets (e.g. Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584) and Mikołaj Sep Szarzyński (ca. 1548/1550-1581), who commemorated the victories of Stephen Báthory. All these propagandistic works contained common motives: first of all, a new tactic in war - that of besieging fortresses.

In another of his papers, Karol Łopatecki discussed the whole cycle. The author observed, in the first place, that on *Descriptio* there are two small-scale miniatures of captured fortresses, transferred from larger prints. According to further analysis, Pachołowiecki's map is one of the earliest maps of this scale on which such a procedure was performed. Later maps with two-dimensional city views appeared in European cartography at the beginning of the 17th century. Karol Łopatecki also researched the attribution of the prints and presented the circumstances and chronology of the development of the drawings used later by Cavalieri.

The last, seventh paper in this issue of *Terminus* is a methodological proposal. Grzegorz Franczak suggests the application of textual criticism (the stemma method or Lachmann's method), used in liter-

ary source editing, to study the way in which individual copies of the texts affected each other. When it comes to cartography, this method requires an analysis of the notation of toponyms and hydronyms (their orthographic form, among other things) in order to discriminate between signifying, connecting and dividing mistakes. This should enable us to establish which maps were used by, for example, Gerard Mercator. To demonstrate the possible application of this method, the author analysed all names featured on Pachołowiecki's map and other maps depicting the territory of the Polotsk voivodeship in the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th century. The paper is provided with extensive indices of *Descriptio* and a historical dictionary of the names appearing on this map.

In addition, a reprint of the whole *Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk* is an integral part of this issue. The reproduction is based on colour copies kept in the National Library in Paris.²³ Their descriptions can be found in Kazimierz Kozica's opening paper.

As mentioned already, this is the first of the three monographic issues of *Terminus* dedicated to Pachołowiecki's maps. Our objective is to present the fundamental facts relating to the origins and publication of the *Atlas* in the year 1579–1580, establish the names of the persons engaged in its production, and show its significance in the history of Polish and European cartography. The next two issues will develop some of the themes, such as questions concerning the publication of the *Atlas* (the roles of Cavalieri and Treter), the development of military cartography in the 16th century in Poland

²³ Shelf marks of the original copies: VX-48-FOL 198-199: VX-48-FOL 198-199: Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis; VX-48-FOL 202-203: Obsidio et expugnatio... arcis Polocensis; VX-48-FOL 205 A: Socolum arx; VX-48-FOL 205 B: Sussa arx; VX-48-FOL 207 A: Cossianum arx; VX-48-FOL 207 B: Crasna arx; VX-48-FOL 209 A: Turovlia arx; VX-48-FOL 209 B: Sitna arx. I would like to express my cordial thanks to the National Library in Paris for the provision of scans of the maps and consent to reproduce them. I would also like to extend a special thanks to Ms. Vanessa Selbach, who helped us obtain the scans.

and Lithuania, the mapping of Russia in the 16th century, and the propagandistic function of cartography in those days.

If this wets your appetite, then to read on! And enjoy!

Translated by Kaja Szymańska

Literature

- "29.08.1579. Odbicie Połocka," *Ale Historia*, a supplement to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, issue 35(241), 29 August 2016, p. 2.
- Alexandrowicz S., Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku, Warszawa 2012.
- Alexandrowicz S., "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne do oblężenia Połocka w 1579 r.," Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej 19, no. 1 (1971), pp. 3–29.
- Alexandrowicz S., "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej Stefana Batorego roku 1579," in: *Od armii komputowej do narodowej (XVI–XX w.)*, ed. by Z. Karpus, W. Rezmer, Toruń 1998, pp. 17–43.
- Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego, ed. by J. Siemieński, vol. 2: 1580–1582, Warszawa 1909.
- Bentkowski F., Historia literatury polskiej wystawiona w spisie dzieł drukiem ogłoszonych, vol. 2, Vilnius 1814.
- Buczek K., "Dorobek kartograficzny wojen Stefana Batorego," Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej 8, issue 3 (1934), pp. 3–15.
- Buczek K., Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku. Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny, Wrocław 1963.
- Buczek K., "Kartografia polska w czasach Stefana Batorego," Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej 7, issue 2 (1933), pp. 69–121.
- Chrzanowski T., Działalność artystyczna Tomasza Tretera, Warszawa 1984.
- Flandrin A., Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz, Paris 1903.
- Franczak G., "Filologia mapy. Badanie dawnej kartografii metodą krytyki tekstu na przykładzie toponimii mapy Księstwa Połockiego S. Pachołowieckiego z 1580 roku," *Terminus* 19, issue 1(42) (2017), pp. 193–252.
- Grydzewski M., "Nad Tamizą o Połocku," *Zwoje. Periodyk Kulturalny* no. 4(37) (2003), http://www.zwoje-scrolls.com/zwoje37/text28p.htm (access: 13.09.2017).
- Harley J.B., "Silences and Secrecy. The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," in: *idem*, *The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by P. Laxton, introd. J.H. Andrews, Baltimore–London 2001, pp. 83–107.

- Kobos A.M., "Tomasz Niewodniczański (1933–2010) i jego zbiory. In memoriam. Kolekcja Marie-Luise Niewodniczańskiej kontynuacja," *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU* 11 (2012).
- Когкипоv М.А., "Карта военных действий между русскими и поляками в 1579 г. и тогдашние планы г. Полоцка и его окрестностей," Журнал Министерства народного просвещения 15, по. 8 (1837), pp. 235–249.
- [Korkunov M.A.], Karta operacyj wojennych w wyprawie Polaków przeciw Rossyjanom w roku 1579 i plany ówczesne miasta Połocka z przyległemi twierdzami. Wyjątek z Dziennika Ministerstwa Oświecenia narodowego r. 1837, Sierpień, numer VIII, Wrocław 1840, https://polona.pl/item/42216769/1/ (access: 12.12.2017).
- Kozica K., "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)," *Terminus* 19, issue 1(42) (2017), pp. 37–59.
- Kozica K., Pezda J., Imago Poloniae. Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego, vol. 1, Warszawa 2002. Kupisz D., Połock 1579, Warszawa 2003.
- Łopatecki K., "Oblężenie i zdobycie warownej twierdzy połockiej przez Najjaśniejszego Króla Polski Stefana analiza założeń taktycznych w świetle źródeł kartograficznych," Terminus 19, issue 4(45) (2017), (in print).
- Łopatecki K., "Ryciny prezentujące kampanię połocką 1579 roku jako jednolita kompozycja kartograficzna," *Terminus* 19, issue 1(42) (2017), pp. 157–191.
- Niedźwiedź J., "Polska szesnastowieczna propaganda wojenna w działaniu: przypadek *Atlasu Księstwa Połockiego* (1580)," *Terminus* 19, issue 3(44) (2017), (in print).
- Oblężenie Połocka 1579, content editing and introd. P. Przeździecki, pictures R. Gajewski, Warszawa 2015.
- Olszewicz B., "Kartografia polska XV i XVI wieku," *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 4, no. 31 (1929/1930), pp. 147–168.
- Olszewicz B., "Kartografia polska XVII wieku," *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 5, no. 36 (1931/1932), pp. 109–138.
- Полацк на поштаўках пачатку XX стагоддзя, тэкст Ю. Цісленка, афармленне В. Рагалевіч, А. Пятроў, Мінск 2001.
- Rastawiecki E., Mappografia dawnej Polski, Warszawa 1846.
- Сапунов А.П., "Рисунки крепостей, построенных по повелению Царя Ивана Грозного после завоевания Полоцка, в 1563 году," in: *Полоцко-Витебская старина*, vol. 2, Витебск 1912, pp. 299–313.
- Schilder G., Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica, vol. 9: Hessel Gerritsz (1580/81-1632). Master Engraver and Map Maker, Who 'Ruled' the Seas, Houten 2013.
- Wrede M., Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576–1586, Warszawa 2010.