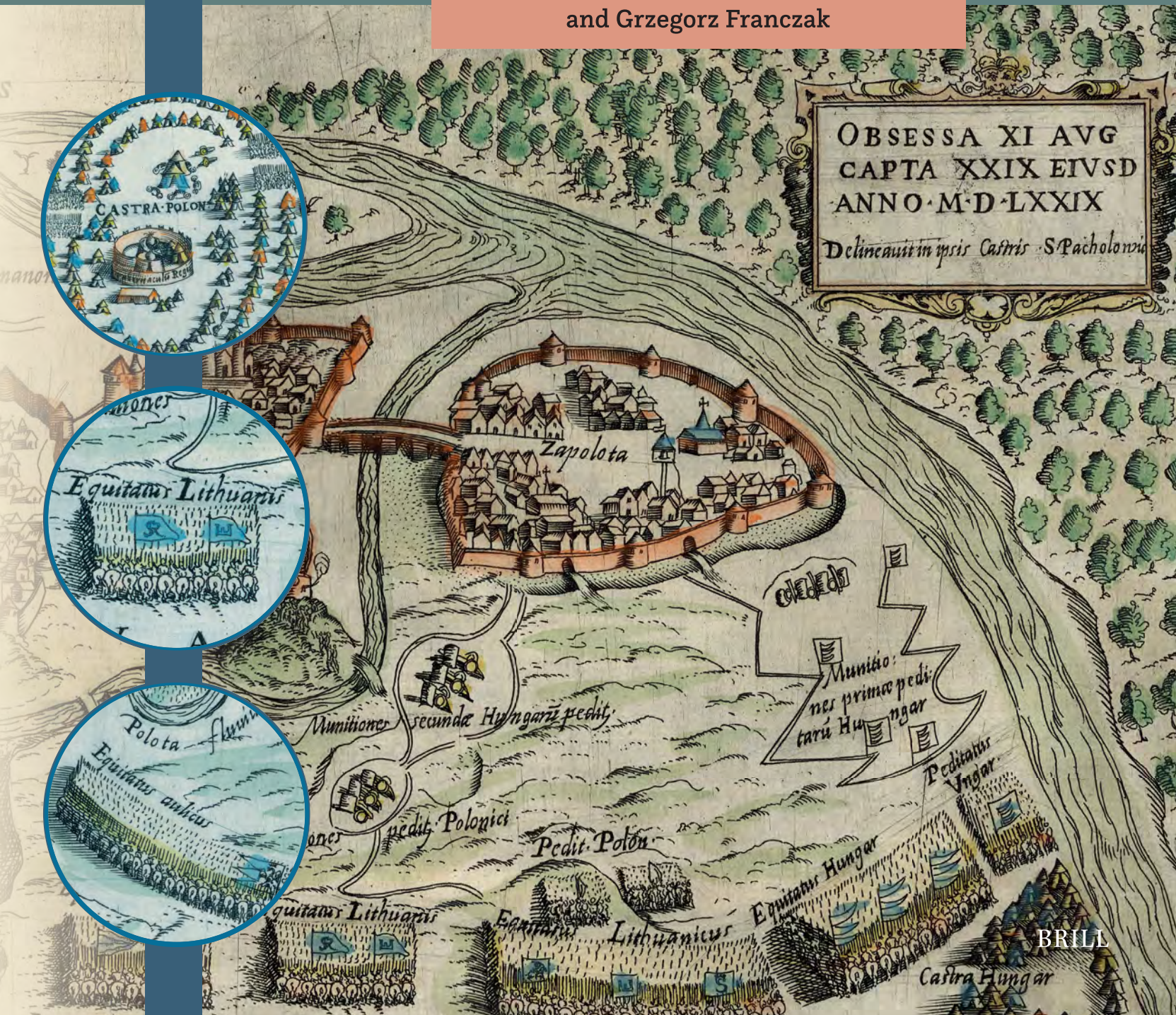# The Mapping of a Russian War

*The Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk by Stanisław Pachołowiecki (1580)*

Jakub Niedźwiedź, Karol Łopatecki, and Grzegorz Franczak

CASTRA POLON

Equitatus Lithuanus

Polota fluuius

Equitatus aulicus

OBSESSA XI AVG
CAPTA XXIX EIVSD
ANNO · M · D · LXXIX
Delineauit in ipsis Castris S Pacholouie

Zapolota

Munitio:
nes prime pedi
taru Hu ngar

Munitiones secunda Hungar pedit

Peditatus
Ungar

ones pedit Polopict

Pedit. Polon

quitatus Lithuanius

Equitatus Lithuanicus Equitatus Hungar

Castra Hungar

BRILL

The Mapping of a Russian War

# Mapping the Past

# The Mapping of a Russian War

*The Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk by Stanisław Pachołowiecki (1580)*

*by*

Jakub Niedźwiedź
Karol Łopatecki
Grzegorz Franczak

Cover illustration: Fragment of the *Obsidio et expugnatio munitissimae arcis Polocensis* by Stanisław Pachołowiecki, Rome 1580; Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Département des Estampes et de la Photographie) in Paris (the Lallemant de Betz collection, shelfmark 7454, VX-48-FOL 202-203)

# Contents

# Preface

The vast majority of this book was presented earlier as Polish-language papers by J. Niedźwiedź, K. Łopatecki, and G. Franczak, published in the journal *Terminus* in 2017 and 2021 by the Jagiellonian University Press (we present the full list of the papers below). Most of the papers were translated by *Connectome-Kaja Szymańska* (CKS). This first translation was modified, shortened, or expanded where necessary, and thoroughly edited to compose a new book.

The book is a result of two research projects, financed by the National Science Centre (Poland): *The Relationships between Polish Literature and Cartography in the 16th—First Half of the 17th Centuries*, NCN 2014/15/B/HS2/01104; *Polyphony of the Map: Mapping of Muscovy in the 16th Century and the Map of Anton Wied (1542, 1555)*, nr NCN 2020/39/B/HS2/01755.

We would not have been able to complete the projects and the book without the help and assistance of many people and institutions. First of all we express our gratitude to our late colleague, Dr Kazimierz Kozica (1965–2019), who was a participant in our first project. We could always rely on his expertise as a renowned historian of cartography. As the curator of the Department of Cartography in the Royal Castle in Warsaw—Museum, he gave us access to the Tomasz Niewodniczański Map Collection and drew our attention to Pachołowiecki's maps.

We would like to express our gratitude to those who helped us in our research on Pachołowiecki's maps. They shared with us their expertise and knowledge, gave us valuable advice, and encouraged us in our work. Among them are Hlieb Bierastavy (Глеб Бераставы), Paweł Bukowiec, Catherine Delano-Smith, Wojciech Fałkowski, Anna Graff, Timothy Hampton, Aliaksandr Hruša (Аляксандр И. Груша), Maria Juran, Maria Łada-Palusińska, Lidia Mafrica, Dominika Niedźwiedź, Agnieszka Perzanowska, Marta Piłaszewicz-Łopatecka, Maria Szajna, Grażyna Urban-Godziek, Vasiliy Alekseevič Voronin (Василий Алексеевич Воронин). We are also grateful to the Brill editors for their commitment to the production and editing of our book: Alessandra Giliberto, Melissa Allieri, Pieter te Velde, and Tim Barnwell.

We started our research on the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* in 2015. Our aim was to recall this rare set of maps. Historians—mainly from central and eastern Europe—often referred to the Pachołowiecki maps, but had neither decent reproductions nor a comprehensive description and interpretation of them. That is why we wanted to create a useful tool for researchers. Of course, we were aware that in the 19th century and later, Pachołowiecki's maps were used in the politics of memory. However, we never thought that researching these maps could be more than an archival adventure for us.

Two years ago, we were reminded that historical events and sources, even as distant as medieval ones, are used as arguments in contemporary conflicts. The Russia–Ukraine war might serve as a good example. One of the reasons for the Russian aggression in 2022 was the historical role of Kyiv as the former capital of the Kyivan Rus' and the cradle of three eastern Slavic states and nations: Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine.[1] Since the

---

1  The 12th century saw the break-up of the Kyivan Rus' into smaller principalities. Still, the main reference point was Kyiv: "Historians look to those principality-based identities for the origins of the modern East Slavic nations. The Vladimir-Suzdal principality served as a forerunner of early modern Muscovy and, eventually, of modern Russia. Belarusian historians look to the Polatsk principality for their roots. And Ukrainian historians study the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia to uncover the foundations of Ukrainian nation-building projects. But all those identities ultimately lead back to Kyiv, which gives Ukrainians a singular advantage: they can search for their origins without ever leaving their capital." S. Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*, New York 2015, p. 69 (epub).

capital of Ukraine plays an important role in Russian imperial historiography,[2] from the mid-17th century, the Russian state has attempted to take control over Kyiv.[3] In this instance, capturing the city also means capturing its historical and symbolic role.

The results of our research, which we present in chapter 11 and the conclusion, show that the early modern rivalry between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Muscovy over the past of Polatsk, to some extent, resembles a contemporary conflict over Kyiv and Ukraine. What is more, as Russia is seeking to subjugate Belarus, the history of Belarus (and by extension, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) is part of the contemporary political game. Belarusian historians presented the Principality of Polatsk as a medieval source of their nation and identity. Consequently, Polatsk is an important fragment of Belarusian collective memory. However, as early as the 19th century, Russian historians presented this principality as always having been a Russian one.[4] It is only a matter of time before this imperial discourse returns to the official Russian historiography. Thus, the story of the capture of Polatsk in 1579, shown on Pachołowiecki's map, will certainly return too, as one of the historical arguments in political disputes.

Saying that, we are aware that our book is not only an antiquarian reconstruction of past events and does not belong only to the world of academia.

---

2  See E.L. Keenan, "On Certain Mythical Beliefs and Russian Behaviors", in: *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, ed. S.F. Starr, Armonk NY and London 1994, pp. 19–40.

3  See S. Plokhy, *The Russo-Ukrainian War*, London 2023, pp. 4–9.

4  Until 1917, the Russian tsars bore the title of the Polatsk princes. They took it after Ivan IV the Terrible conquered the Polatsk voivodeship in 1563. See chapter 11.

# Abbreviations

1580 PACHOŁOWIECKI-CAVALIERI MAPS:

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*    S. Pachołowiecki, *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1580.

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Kaziany*    S. Pachołowiecki, *Cossianum arx*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1580.

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Krasny*    S. Pachołowiecki, *Crasna arx*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1580.

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*    S. Pachołowiecki, *Obsidio et expugnatio munitissimae arcis Polocensis*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1580; 2nd edition (state):[1] Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia (Italy), shelfmark 2c St serie I 63.

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Sitna*    S. Pachołowiecki, *Sitna arx*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1580.

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Sokol*    S. Pachołowiecki, *Socolum arx*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1580.

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Suša*    S. Pachołowiecki, *Sussa arx*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1580.

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Turoŭlia*    S. Pachołowiecki, *Turovlia arx*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1580.

AGAD    The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (Poland; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych)

ALEXANDROWICZ, *Kartografia*    S. Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2012.

ANK    The National Archives in Cracow (Poland; Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie)

ASV    Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato

Bel.    Belarusian

BIELSKI, *Kronika*    M. Bielski, J. Bielski, *Kronika polska*, Cracow 1597.

BUCZEK, *Dorobek*    K. Buczek, "Dorobek kartograficzny wojen Stefana Batorego", *Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej* 8 (1934), 3, pp. 3–15.

BUCZEK, *Kartografia*    K. Buczek, "Kartografia polska w czasach Stefana Batorego", *Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej* 7 (1933), 2, pp. 69–121.

BUCZEK, *The History*    K. Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to the 18th Century*, transl. A. Potocki, Wrocław 1966.

CKS    *Connectome-Kaja Szymańska*

Czart    The MNK Czartoryski Library, Cracow (Poland; Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie—Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Cracow)

*EDICTUM SVIRENSE*    *Edictum regium Svirense ad milites, ex quo causae suscepti in magnum Moscoviae ducem belli cognoscentur. Edictum regium de supplicationibus ob captam Polociam. Rerum post captam Polotiam contra Moscum gestarum narratio*, Warsaw 1579.

G.F.    Grzegorz Franczak

Ger.    German

HOC    *The History of Cartography*

   – vol. 2: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J.B. Harley and D. Woodward, Chicago—London 1992.

   – vol. 3: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. D. Woodward, Chicago 2007.

J.N.    Jakub Niedźwiedź

K.Ł.    Karol Łopatecki

---

1   In some references and auction catalogues, the term "state" is used to make the terminology more precise. The state of the map not only indicates a new edition, but also any changes made to the map or to the metal plate or wooden block from which the map was printed. See Z. Paprotny, "Termin *stan mapy* w piśmiennictwie kartograficznym: przykład map Jonasa Scultetusa", *Polish Cartographical Review. Suplement w języku polskim* 5 (2020), 1, pp. 27–41.

| | |
|---|---|
| KUPISZ, *Połock* | D. Kupisz, *Połock 1579*, Warsaw 2003. |
| Lat. | Latin |
| MERCATOR, *Lithuania* | G. Mercator, *Lithuania*, in: *idem, Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura*, Duisburg 1595, tab. XXVII. We use the copy kept in the NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 1127. |
| MS | manuscript |
| NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION | the Tomasz Niewodniczański Collection, the Royal Castle in Warsaw—the Museum, Warsaw (Poland) |
| Pol. | Polish |
| PSB | *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vols 1–52, Cracow 1935–2019. |
| RADZIWIŁŁ MAP | *Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae caeterarumque regionum illi adiacentium exacta descriptio*, Amsterdam: Willem Janszoon Blaeu, 1613. We use a reprint from 1631 kept in the NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 1141. |
| SCHILDER, *Monumenta 9* | G. Schilder, *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica*, vol. 9: *Hessel Gerritsz. (1580/81–1632): Master Engraver and Map Maker, Who "Ruled" the Seas*, Houten 2013. |
| STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* | M. Strubicz, *Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, Livoniae et Moscoviae descriptio*, Cologne 1589. We use the copy kept in the NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 2456. |
| SULIMOWSKI MAP | Map of the Velikiye Luki Campaign, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, MS, catalogue number 15A, f. 88. |
| ZUM THURN MAP | Paulus zum Thurn, *A Map of the Siege of Polatsk*, Staatsarchiv Dresden (Germany), MS, shelfmark R. Schrank VII, Fach 90, nr 17a. |

# Maps



MAP 1 Territories involved in the war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, 1579–1580



MAP 2 Contemporary borders (2024)

# Chronological Table

| Date | Events | Texts and their distribution |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 30 January–15 February 1563 | The siege of Polatsk and taking of the town by the Muscovite army of Ivan IV the Terrible; the conquest of the Polatsk voivodeship | |
| 1563 | | Pamphlets about Muscovite atrocities in Polatsk (in Latin, Italian, and German) |
| Spring 1564 | The construction of the castle of Dzisna by Lithuanians | |
| 26 January 1564 | Battle of Ula (Čašniki). The victory of Lithuanians over the Muscovite army | |
| 6 September 1564 | The Muscovite army takes Jeziaryšča | |
| July 1566 | Muscovites build the fortresses Usviaty and Meževa | |
| October 1566 | The construction of Ula Castle by Muscovites | |
| December 1566 | The construction of Sokol Castle by Muscovites | |
| 27 August 1568 | The Lithuania army takes Ula Castle | |
| 1 July 1569 | The Union of Lublin between Poland and Lithuania. The beginning of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth | |
| 3 August 1569 | The incorporation of Livonia into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a condominium | |
| End of September 1569 | The Muscovite army burns down Vitsyebsk (Vitebsk) | |
| 1570 | | A copperplate plan of Ula Castle printed in Italy |
| 1569/1570 | The Muscovites build fortresses Kaziany, Krasny, Nieščarda, and Sitna | |
| 13 December 1570 | The Szczecin Treaty. The end of the war. Livonia divided between Muscovy, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Sweden, and Denmark | |

(*cont.*)

| Date | Events | Texts and their distribution |
|---|---|---|
| 1570–1573 | Truce between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy | |
| 1571 | | Albert Schlichting's account about the atrocities of Ivan IV the Terrible (*De moribus et imperandi crudelitate Basilii Moscoviae tyranni brevis enarratio*, Pol.: *Sprawa wielkiego kniazia moskiewskiego*) |
| 7 July 1572 | Death of King Sigismund II Augustus | |
| 28 January 1573 | The Warsaw Confederation Act introducing religious toleration in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth | |
| 9–11 May 1573 | The election of Henry III of France as the king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania | |
| 1574 | The Muscovites invade Livonia. The occupation of most of the country | Alessandro Guagnini's *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio* published in Cracow |
| 18/19 June 1574 | Henry III flees to France | |
| 15 December 1575 | The election of Anna Jagiellon as king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania | |
| 1 May 1576 | The marriage of Anna Jagiellon and Stephen Báthory and the coronation of the couple | |
| June—December 1577 | The war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Gdańsk ends with an agreement between the king and the city | |
| 15 October 1578 | The beginning of the siege of Wenden | |
| 2 March 1579 | King Stephen Báthory arrives in Vilnius and establishes his staff there | The students of the Jesuit College in Vilnius perform a play about the king and the state. They present the king with a printed panegyric (*Gratulationes … Stephani I*) |
| 3 March 1579 | The Polish-Lithuanian army recaptures Kirumpää (Kierepeć) | |

(*cont.*)

| Date | Events | Texts and their distribution |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 12 July 1579 | | Walenty Łapka publishes *Edictum Svirense*—the official royal explanation of the causes of war |
| 23 July 1579 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Kaziany | |
| 31 July 1579 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Krasny | |
| 4 August 1579 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Sitna | |
| 5 August 1579 | The inspection of the Polish-Lithuanian army by Stephen Báthory in Dzisna. The army enters the territories occupied by the Muscovites | |
| 11 August 1579 | The beginning of the siege of Polatsk by Báthory's army | |
| August 1579 | | **Stanisław Pachołowiecki draws the map of the siege of Polatsk** |
| 31 August 1579 | Polatsk falls | Writing of the official royal report |
| early September 1579 | | Walenty Łapka prints the official royal report about taking the town in Polatsk (*Edictum regium de supplicationibus*) |
| 4 September 1579 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Turoŭlia | |
| 11 September 1579 | The Polish-Lithuanian army destroys Sokol | |
| 19 September 1579 | | The royal privilege for cartographer Petrus Francus who intended to publish maps of the Polatsk campaign |
| autumn 1579 | | Antonio Martinelli's account about taking Polatsk (in Italian) |
| 6 October 1579 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Suša | |
| 6 October–13 December 1579 | | **Zamoyski and the king select Pachołowiecki's maps for publication;** Walenty Łapka publishes the official royal narration about the course of the war after recapturing Polatsk in Warsaw (*Rerum post captam Polotiam …*) |

(*cont.*)

| Date | Events | Texts and their distribution |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 21 October 1579 | The Battle of Wenden. The combined Polish-Lithuanian-Swedish army defeats the Muscovite army | |
| October–November | | In Warsaw, Walenty Łapka issues a book with all three royal narrations about the war |
| 21 November 1579 | | Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki's panegyric speeches in Warsaw, published in Cracow in December as *Orationes III* |
| 23 November 1579– 4 January 1580 | Sessions of the Parliament (*Sejm*) in Warsaw | |
| 13 December 1579 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Nieščarda | |
| December 1579– January 1580 | | **Delivery of Pachołowiecki's drawings to Rome** |
| End of 1579 or 1580 | | Paulus zum Thurn paints (in Cracow?) a plan of the siege of Polatsk; Georg Mack prints a woodcut with the siege in Nuremberg |
| 1579/1580 | The modernization of the fortifications of Polatsk | Reprints and translations of the royal report (*Edictum regium*) in Cologne, Gdańsk, London, Nuremberg, Prague, Rostock, and Speyer |
| 1580 | | In Padua, publication of Basilius Hyacinthius's panegyric about taking Polatsk (*Panegyricus in excidium Polocense*) |
| Between 14 and 21 January 1580 | | Publication of Polish and Latin poems by Jan Kochanowski about capturing Polatsk: *O wzięciu Połocka* and *Ode de expugnatione Polottei* |
| Spring–early Autumn 1580 | | **Publication of *The Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* in Rome** |
| June–November 1580 | | A manuscript map of the Velikiye Luki campaign by Stanisław Sulimowski |
| 7 August 1580 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Velizh | |

*(cont.)*

| Date | Events | Texts and their distribution |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 15 August 1580 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Usviaty | |
| 1–5 September 1580 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Velikiye Luki | |
| 30 September 1580 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Nevel | |
| 11 December 1580 | | **In his letter, Hetman Jan Zamoyski mentions the printed version of the *Atlas*** |
| 12 October 1580 | The recapture of Jeziaryšča by the Polish-Lithuanian army | |
| 22 January– 8 March 1581 | Sessions of the Parliament (*Sejm*) in Warsaw | |
| 23 October 1580 | The Polish-Lithuanian army takes Zavolochye | |
| 24 August 1581– 4 February 1582 | The siege of Pskov by the Polish-Lithuanian army led by Stephen Báthory. The Lithuanian raid into Muscovy led by Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Thunderbolt" | |
| 1581 | | A map of the Lithuanian raid into Muscovy by Maciej Strubicz (Mercator's *Russiae pars amplificata*) |
| 1582 | | The *Chronicle* by Maciej Stryjkowski published in Königsberg |
| 15 January 1582 | Truce of Yam-Zapolsky between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy. The Commonwealth regains control of Livonia | |
| 1582 | | Publication of Jan Kochanowski's *Raid to Muscovy* (*Jezda do Moskwy*) and Daniel Hermann's *Stephaneis Moschovitica* |
| 1584 | | Publication of Reinhold Heidenstein's *De Bello Moscovitico commentariorum libri sex* |

# Notes on Transcription and Spelling

Transcriptions of Cyrillic names and words are based on standard English rules of the transcription.

In our book we decided to use the names of places in the official language of the country they belong to today (e.g. Kyiv not Kiev; Polatsk, not Połock/Polotsk; Vilnius not Vilna/Wilno etc.). The exceptions are Cologne, Cracow, Königsberg, Moscow, Nuremberg, Prague, Rome, Venice, and Warsaw, whose English names were established in the early modern times and still are in use.

Transcriptions of the Polish-language historic sources are based on rules proposed in *Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich: Projekt* (*The Rules of Editing Old-Polish Texts*), ed. K. Górski and J. Woronczak, Wrocław, 1955.

We have decided to leave the titles of Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian books and articles in their original Cyrillic versions to make them easier to find on the internet. In the bibliography, however, we have included their transcription into the Latin alphabet.

Polish phonetics and orthography differ significantly from English. Thus, we include some simplified rules of spelling Polish words below. In almost all Polish words the stress is placed on the last but one syllable, e.g. *Warszawa*, *pierogi* (dumplings),

ą /*on*/ like c**on**tinued; e.g. kąt /*kont*/—angle.
c /*ts*/ like **ts**ar; e.g. ulica /*ulitsa*/—street.
ć /ts'/ like tse**ts**e fly; e.g. pracować /*pratsovats'*/—to work.
ch /*h*/ like **h**ome, e.g. chować /*howats'*/—to hide.
cz /*tsh*/ like bu**tch**er; e.g. czarny /*tsharny*/—black.
dż /*j*/ like **J**ames; e.g. dżdżysty /*jjisti*/—rainy.
e /*e:*/ like **el**ectricity; e.g. elekcja /*e:le:ktsya*/—election.
ę /*en*/ like **ten**dency; e.g. wędka /*ventka*/—fishing rod.
j /*y*/ like **y**et; e.g. wojewoda /*voyevoda*/—voivode.
ł /w/ like **w**oman; e.g. łowić /*wovitsh'*/—to fish.
ń /*n'*/ like **n**ickname; e.g. wileński /*vilen'sky*/—of Vilnius.
ó /*oo*/ like pr**oof**; e.g. królewski /*kroolefsky*/—royal.
rz / / like me**s**ure; e.g. rzeka /*sheka*/—river; *rz* sounds the same as *ż*.
sz /sh/ like **sh**adow; e.g. Warszawa /*varha:va*/—Warsaw.
ś /sh'/ like **s**ure; e.g. śnieg /*sh'niek*/—snow.
w /v/ like **v**ampire; e.g. Pachołowiecki /*pahowovyetsky*/—Pachołowiecki.
y /i/ like m**i**ss; e.g. wysoki /*visoky*/—high (an exception is the name Zamoyski /*zamoysky*/).
ż /ʒ/ like mea**s**ure; e.g. chorąży /*horonshy*/—a standard bearer; ż sounds the same as *rz*.
ź /ʒ'/ like mea**s**ure, e.g. źródło /*ʒ'roodwo:*/—a source.

# Figures

---

1  See satellite image at https://earth.google.com/web/@55.563488 65,28.23214086,106.83197493a,5976.1518 9897d,35y,0h,0t,0r (accessed 14.05.2017).

---

2  For more information on Jan (Janosz) Bornemissa (Bornemisz), see J. Reychman, *Studia z dziejów polsko-
   węgierskich stosunków literackich i kulturalnych*, Wrocław 1969, p. 176; *Monumenta Hungarorum in Polonia
   (1575–1668)*, vol. 1: *Rationes curiae Stephani Báthory regis Poloniae historiam Hungariae et Transylvaniae
   illustrantes (1576–1586)*, ed. E. Veress, Budapest 1918, pp. 36, 41, 66, 70–71, 92–93, 106, 120, 123, 126.

# Polish Papers

Chapter 2: part of a paper: J. Niedźwiedź, "The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk—an Introduction", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 19–36; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.008.8266

Chapter 3: G. Franczak, "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego Stanisława Pachołowieckiego z 1580 roku—transkrypcja i przekład", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 61–74; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.002.7891

Chapter 4: K. Łopatecki, "Ocena wiarygodności źródeł kartograficznych prezentujących oblężenie Połocka z 1579 roku", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 4(45), pp. 759–795; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.020.9347

Chapter 5: G. Franczak, "Filologia mapy. Badanie dawnej kartografii metodą krytyki tekstu na przykładzie toponimii mapy Księstwa Połockiego S. Pachołowieckiego z 1580 roku", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 193–252; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.006.7895

Chapter 6: K. Łopatecki, "Okoliczności powstania i przydatność wojskowa mapy Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 75–126; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.003.7892

Chapter 7: K. Łopatecki, "Ryciny prezentujące kampanię połocką 1579 r. jako jednolita kompozycja kartograficzna", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 157–191; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.005.7894

Chapter 8: K. Łopatecki, "*Oblężenie i zdobycie warownej twierdzy połockiej przez najjaśniejszego króla Polski Stefana*—wykorzystanie kartografii podczas planowania taktycznego", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 4(45), pp. 705–758; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.019.9346

Chapter 9: J. Niedźwiedź, "Polska szesnastowieczna propaganda wojenna w działaniu: przypadek Atlasu Księstwa Połockiego (1580)", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3(44), pp. 477–510; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.014.8881

Chapter 10: J. Niedźwiedź, "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580): propaganda, genologia i tworzenie wiedzy geograficznej", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 127–155; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.004.7893

Chapter 11: G. Franczak, "*Polotia recepta*. Mapa Księstwa Połockiego—teksty i preteksty sporu o władzę", *Terminus* 23 (2021), 2(59), pp. 97–133; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.21.005.13439

Chapter 12: "*Polotia recepta*. Mapa Księstwa Połockiego—teksty i preteksty sporu o władzę", *Terminus* 23 (2021), 2(59), pp. 97–133; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.21.005.13439

Conclusion: part of a paper: J. Niedźwiedź, "The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk—an Introduction", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 19–36; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.008.8266

# Pachołowiecki's Maps

**1** **Stanisław Pachołowiecki,** *The Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk—scans*

Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Département des Estampes et de la Photographie) in Paris (the Lallemant de Betz collection, shelfmark 7454).

The editors would like to express their gratitude to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for making available for the authors the scans of the maps.

1. *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis*, BNF, VX-48-FOL 198–199 (p. XXV)
2. *Obsidio et expugnatio... arcis Polocensis*, BNF, VX-48-FOL 202–203 (p. XXVI)
3. *Socolum arx*, BNF, VX-48-FOL 205 A (p. XXVII)
4. *Sussa arx*, BNF, VX-48-FOL 205 B (p. XXVIII)
5. *Cossianum arx*, BNF, VX-48-FOL 207 A (p. XXIX)
6. *Crasna arx*, BNF, VX-48-FOL 207 B (p. XXX)
7. *Turovlia arx*, BNF, VX-48-FOL 209 A (p. XXXI)
8. *Sitna arx*, BNF, VX-48-FOL 209 B (p. XXXII)

**2** **Stanisław Pachołowiecki,** *Obsidio et expugnatio munitissimae arcis Polocensis*—**Second Edition (p. XXXIII)**

Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia, Italy (2c St serie I 63)

The editors would like to express their gratitude to the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia (Italy) for their kind permission for publication of the map.

**3** **Stanisław Pachołowiecki,** *The Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk—scans*

Scans of the maps from Tomasz Niewodniczański Collection kept at the Royal Castle-Museum in Warsaw. The editors would like to express their gratitude to the Director of the museum for his kind permission for publication of the maps.

3.1a, 3.1b *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* (pp. XXXIV–XXXV)
3.2 *Obsidio et expugnatio munitissimae arcis Polocensis* (p. XXXVI)

MAP 1.1

OBSIDIO ET EXPVGNATIO MVNITISS ARCIS POLOCENSIS PER SERENISS STEPHANVM POLONIAE REGEM

OBSESSA XI AVG
CAPTA XXIX EIVSD
ANNO · M·D·LXXIX

Delineauit in mesi Castris S.Pacholowski

Zapolota

Munitiones Germanorü

Peditatus Germanicus

Castra Germanü

Equitat Polonicus

Equitatus Polonicus

Equitatus Polonicus

CASTRA POLON:

D V N A   F L V V I V S

Polota fluuius

Mola

Drisiadopoliensis

Polota fluuius

Equitatus auxiliar

C A S S T R A   L I T H V A N O R V M

Pons naturalis

Castra Lithuano:

Pons in templis

POLOTIA · EX DVABVS ARCIBVS SVPERIORE AC SCLOPETARIORVM OPPIDOQ̄ ZAPOLOTA CONSTANS ITA SITV LOCI MV-
PROPVGNACVLIS AC INPRIMIS · BOMBARDARVM APPARATV PVLVERE GLOBIS COMMEATV MILITVM PRAE SIDIO MV-
NITA ET INSTRVCTA VT MERITO NON SOLVM MOSCHOVIAE SED TOTIVS SEPTĒMTRIONIS FIRMISSIMVM PROPVGNACVLVM
EXISTIMARETVR OBSESSA · A SERENISS · POLONIÆ REGE STEPHANO XI AVGVSTI ET MOSCHIS STRENVE DEFENDENTIBVS EREPTA · XXIX · EIVSD · ANNO DOMINI M · D · LXXIX
                                                                              Ioannes Baptista de Cauallerijs Romae huic aeuetii incidebat Anno Domini 1580

MAP 1.2

MAP 1.3

*Munitissimo loco posita, et per Sere-
niss. Stephanum Poloniæ Regem
Moschis erepta Die 6. Octob.
Anno D. 1579*

*Joa. Baptista de Caualleryis
Romæ typis æneis incidebat
Anno Domini 1580.*

SVSSA ARX

MAP 1.4

MAP 1.5

MAP 1.6

TVROVLIA·ARX

D HVNA FLVVIVS

TVROWKA·FLV·

LACVS

Per sereniss·Stephanum Poloniæ
Regem, Moschis erepta Die 4
Septemb· Anno 1579·

Jo·baptista de Caualerijs incidebat
Romæ 1580·

MAP 1.7

MAP 1.8

MAP 2

MAP 3.1

IN ARMA VICTRICIA
SERENISS STEPHANI
POLONIAE REGIS FELICIS

Arcibus inclusus latuit eum milite Moschus,
Alei eum, STEPHANI Principis, hinc populit.
Prosilit in campos; fugat hunc mucrone (crnore
Barbaricum docuit fundere) Regis eques.
Si tentabit aquas; Vncum REX ecce tridentem
Fert Moschum ex omni sic mala parte premunt
Proterē, Maxime REX, Romani nominis hostem
Quodque facis, CHRISTI spargere pergit fide.

THO·TRE·Polonus

DESCRIPTIO
DVCATVS
POLOCENSIS
S. Pacholovic

Joa Baptista de Cauallerijs Romæ typis æneis incidebat Anno Domini. 15 80.

MAP 3.2

# Introduction

In August 1579, intensive work was underway in Vilnius to publish a book that was to become one of the greatest bestsellers of early modern Polish literature: *Lives of the Saints of Our Lord*.[1] Its author, the Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), dedicated his work to Anna Jagiellon (1523–1596), queen of Poland and grand duchess of Lithuania. In the concluding paragraph of his letter, dated 16 August 1579, Skarga wrote:

"You will find here, Your Majesty, things that will give you comfort in various terrible times, but especially now, when the king has left you in solitude and fear of imminent danger. In the course of a war expedition he risks his sanity for the Commonwealth and for the defence of his subjects; he puts his blood and life at risk and this for the Church of God and for his people".[2]

The expedition against Muscovy mentioned by the Jesuit had only just begun. Its commander was Stephen Báthory (1533–1586), the husband of Anna Jagiellon and co-ruler of Poland and Lithuania.[3] Skarga witnessed the preparations for this campaign, as Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was where Báthory's staff had been operating since the spring.

The king set off from Vilnius at the end of July towards the Lithuanian stronghold of Polatsk (today Belarus), 300 km away, conquered sixteen years earlier by Muscovite troops. But what was at stake in this campaign was not only this border town, but the future of the entire region, i.e. today's northeastern Europe. Should the Báthory expedition fail, Muscovite troops would threaten Vilnius, Riga, and Reval (today's Tallinn). Thus, the fear of which Skarga wrote in his letter was not just a rhetorical figure. Two years earlier, Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible (1530–1584) had conquered most of Livonia (the territories of today's Latvia and Estonia), where Muscovite troops committed atrocities widely reported in the news flooding Europe at the time. Vilnius residents feared that a similar fate might befall them too.

Throughout August, disturbing news about the course of the siege of Polatsk reached Vilnius and Warsaw, where the queen was staying at the time. It might have seemed that it would be another defeat. Only at the beginning of September did good news arrive: on 30 August 1579, a combined Polish-Lithuanian-Hungarian-German forces recaptured the stronghold. Since the Lithuanians had unsuccessfully tried to regain control of the Polatsk region several times, the final success of the Polish-Lithuanian ruler was considered an impressive achievement.

We do not know how Piotr Skarga reacted to the news of the victory. Being the rector of the Academy of Vilnius, he probably also sent a copy of the reports to the Jesuit general in Rome.[4] However, news of the success was also sent to the Eternal City and other capitals through other channels. As a well-trained humanist, Báthory and his staff understood that a complete victory required good publicity. It is why Latin reports about capturing Polatsk were distributed all over Europe.

The political and military events that took place on the borderlands between Muscovy, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,[5] and Sweden drew special attention not only from the inhabitants of Vilnius or Warsaw but also of western and southern European rulers and politicians. Among them were the pope and his cardinals, the doge and senators of the Republic of Venice, the Habsburgs, the king of France (who was also the former king of Poland), and the public opinion of their countries. The news reached London too, probably not later than autumn 1579.[6]

---

1   *Editio princeps*: P. Skarga, *Żywoty świętych Pańskich*, Vilnius 1579. During his lifetime, Skarga published his *Lives of the Saints* seven times. See M. Komorowska, *Prolegomena do edycji dzieł Piotra Skargi*, Cracow 2012, pp. 11–12, 71, 76.

2   "Najdziejsz tu, Wasza Królewska Mość, czym się ucieszyć będziesz mogła i w innych wszystkich przypadkach troskliwych i w tym osieroceniu a bojaźni niebezpieczeńswa, w której Król Jegomość, małżonek Waszej Królewskiej Mości, zostawił, gdy zdrowie swoje na potrzebę Rzeczypospolitej i na obronę poddanych swoich w wojennej wyprawie poniósł, a krew i gardło swoje za Kościół Boży i lud swój waży." (transl. J.N.). P. Skarga, *Żywotych świętych Pańskich*, 4th edition, Cracow 1598, pp. A2v–A3r. In four editions (1585, 1592–1593, 1598, and 1601), Skarga reprinted his letter to Queen Anna. See M. Komorowska, *Prolegomena ...*, p. 76.

3   Anna Jagiellon was the last ruler from the dynasty of the Jagiellons. She was elected the king of Poland on 14 December 1575. On 1 May 1576, in Cracow she married Stephen Báthory and they were crowned as co-rulers of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

4   See L. Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, vol. 1: *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej, 1570–1599*, p. 67.

5   Since the end of the 14th century, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were ruled by the Jagiellonian dynasty. As the result of the Lublin Union in 1569, a personal union was replaced by a real union and a new composite state the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was established. See R. Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania*, vol. 1: *The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569*, Oxford 2015.

6   Information about the war was particularly interesting for some Londoners, then the pamphlet was translated into English and printed as *A True reporte of the taking of the great towne and castell of Polotzko by the King of Polonia with the manner of the*

The news printed in Latin and translated into other languages was the work of the Polish royal chancery. Their most common way of spreading information was letters, prose narrations, and poetry. However, in the second half of the 16th century, written narrations in propaganda warfare were no longer sufficient. In that time, the importance of visual information had increased. Thus, the king and the chancellor, Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), decided to use mapmaking to visualize their military successes over the Muscovite tsar.[7] The map was a cutting-edge device in the political propaganda of the time.[8] Zamoyski and Báthory knew about it, and made every effort to make it useful for their purposes, i.e. to gain the support of European public opinion in their struggle against Muscovy.

For their propaganda goals, they decided to adjust the military maps of the campaign, charted in 1579 by royal cartographer Stanisław Pachołowiecki and probably other mapmakers.[9] They were printed in Rome in 1580[10] as a coherent set of eight copperplates depicting the military action of the Polish-Lithuanian army. In our book, we present this set of maps, which we call *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*, and place it in the political, military, and cultural context of the time. Thus, starting our research, we hoped to answer the question of what this set of eight maps tells us about warfare, the production and dissemination of information, and the relationship between space, politics, and knowledge in 16th-century central and eastern Europe.

There are several reasons why we decided to research Pachołowiecki's atlas. First of all, these are the first maps

representing a war between Muscovy and their western neighbours. The maps initiated the process of mapping dozens of consequent conflicts in eastern Europe that have lasted until today. Secondly, the set of maps is the first attempt to make a coherent, atlas-like cartographic representation of an administrative and political unit in eastern Europe, i.e. the Voivodeship (Principality) of Polatsk.[11] This attempt, inspired by Ortelius's work, is an example of the transfer of knowledge and technology in Renaissance Europe. Thirdly, the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* influenced later cartography of Muscovy and eastern Europe, at least for the next hundred years. Its influence is visible, e.g. in Mercator's map of this region. Fourthly, existing sources allow us to trace the process of making the publication of the *Atlas*: from the field sketches to the printed version, delivered to the patron of the publication. Fifthly, Pachołowiecki's maps are a valuable historical source. It might be useful for historians of various fields, from military and political history through the history of cartography,[12] literature, print, science, and art to the history of such countries as Poland, Lithuania, Latvia,

---

*assaults, batteries, underminges, skirmishes and fyreworkes, that were there vsed from the 11 of August to the 30 of the same month 1579*, [London] 1579. Modern edition: "The Taking of Polack—1579. Elizabethan Newssheet", *The Journal of Belarusian Studies* 1, 1965 (1), pp. 16–22. This pamphlet will be discussed in chapter 9.

7   In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the new title of *tsar* (the emperor) introduced in 1547 by Ivan IV the Terrible, was not acknowledged. Until 1764, the Russian rulers were titled the grand dukes of Muscovy.

8   A good example of such propaganda endeavours is a multipartite woodcut view of the siege of Frankfurt am Main in 1552 by forces of Elector Moritz of Saxony or dozens of copperplate views of the great siege of Malta by the Ottomans in 1565. See H. Graav, K. Faber, *Francofordiae ac emporii Germaniae celeberrimi effigatio*, *c.*1555; A. Ganado, M. Agius-Vadalà, *A Study in Depth of 143 Maps Representing the Great Siege of Malta of 1565*, Foreword D. Woodward, San Gwann 1994.

9   See English simplified spelling: "*pahowovyetsky*". For the rules of spelling other Polish names, see *Transcriptions and Spelling Rules*.

10  See Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 80–82.

11  The Principality of Polatsk existed from the 10th century. From the end of the 14th century, it consisted of a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Since 1504 it was called voivodeship, just like most administrative units in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Crown: the Polatsk voivodeship (Bel. *Полацкае ваяводства*; Pol. *województwo połockie*). See: *Urzędnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego: Spisy*, vol. 5: *Ziemia połocka i województwo połockie, XIV–XVIII wiek*, ed. H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, A. Haratym, A. Macuk i A. Radaman, Warsaw 2018, pp. 5–7. The term principality was restored for a short time in the 1560s and 1570s, during the Lithuanian–Muscovite conflict over the region. It will be discussed in detail in chapter 11.

12  Particularly noteworthy is the work of Stanisław Alexandrowicz, who in his numerous studies showed the methodological potential of research on military history using cartographic and iconographic sources: S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne do oblężenia Połocka w 1579 r.", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 1(19) (1971), pp. 3–29; *idem*, "Dziedzictwo kartografii wojskowej ziem Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Jej funkcje źródłowe i praktyczne na tle kartografii krajów Europy Wschodniej XVI i XVII wieku", in: *Środowisko kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne na tle Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku*, ed. U. Augustyniak, Warsaw 2009, pp. 191–204; *idem*, "Kartografia wojskowa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego do połowy XVII wieku", in: *Kartografia wojskowa krajów strefy bałtyckiej XVI–XX w. Materiały konferencji naukowej, Toruń, 20–22 października 1994 r.*, ed. S. Alexandrowicz, Z. Karpus, W. Rezmer, Toruń 1996, pp. 11–22; *idem*, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej Stefana Batorego roku 1579", in: *Od armii komputowej do narodowej (XVI–XX w.)*, ed. Z. Karpus, W. Rezmer, Toruń 1998, pp. 17–43; Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 173–178; Alexandrowicz's research achievements were fully utilized and applied to the overall analysis of the 1579 campaign by Dariusz Kupisz. See Kupisz, *Połock*.

Belarus, and Russia. Finally, in the history of Renaissance cartography, most researchers focus on mapmaking in six western and southern European countries/areas, namely Italy, the Netherlands, England, Spain, France, and, to some degree, Germany. Over the past two to three decades, there have been many attempts to overcome this *longue-durée* trend in the history of cartography.[13] Through our book we are going to contribute to the process of redesigning the western European orientated research.[14]

## 1 The Lithuanian–Muscovite Wars and the Siege of Polatsk in 1579

Although the wars between Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were decisive political and military events in Renaissance Europe, they are not as commonly known as, e.g. the Italian wars or the conflict between Spain and England in the 1580s. Most contemporary publications about this conflict are in Polish or Russian, which drastically reduces its accessibility for those readers who do not know Slavonic languages. This is why it is necessary to present the broader historical context of the events presented in this book.

In the second half of the 15th century, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[15] and the Grand Duchy of Moscow were the biggest monarchies in eastern Europe.[16] Lithuania covered roughly most of the territory of contemporary Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine, a part of Russia and Poland. Muscovy dramatically expanded its territory, which led to an inevitable conflict between the two states. Tensions quickly escalated and resulted in a series of wars between Muscovy and Lithuania from 1492. As a result, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania lost a large part of its territories. The capture of Smolensk by Muscovite troops in 1514 was a catastrophe for Lithuanians because the city was the gate to Vilnius.[17] Even the victory of Lithuanians and Poles over the Muscovites in September 1514 in the

major Battle of Orsha,[18] did not change Lithuania's difficult geostrategic situation. The Muscovite army was defeated at the Battle of Orsha, in the same year, Lithuania lost one of its major cities—Smolensk. In the following decades, the Polish-Lithuanian rulers unsuccessfully tried to regain the lost territories. In the late 1550s, the situation became even more complex when all the local powers, including Lithuania, Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmark, started a rivalry over Livonia (territories of contemporary Latvia and Estonia). The Muscovite ruler Ivan IV attacked Livonia and took over its northern parts with the towns Dorpat (today Tartu) and Narva.

Another source of the conflict that arose between Lithuania and Muscovy was the collapse of the Livonian Confederation, in which the Livonian Brothers of the Sword played a dominant role. In 1557, King Sigismund II Augustus conducted the so-called Pozvol campaign when he forced the confederation into an alliance. Ivan the Terrible could not agree to this and, a year later, invaded Livonia. This step forced Master of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword Gotthard Kettler and the archbishop of Riga to sign an agreement in Vilnius in 1559. In exchange for seven castles, the Lithuanians were to help Livonia militarily. The collapsing confederation also prompted Duke Magnus of Denmark to seize the bishopric of Piltin (1560), while Reval and the Estonian nobility surrendered to King Eric XIV of Sweden. The rest of Livonia was to become part of Lithuania. In 1561, Gotthard Kettler converted to Lutheranism and became a fief of Sigismund II Augustus. Four states, namely Denmark, Lithuania, Muscovy, and Sweden, laid claim to the lands of the collapsing confederation, which triggered a long war until 1570. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania, unable to cope militarily from 1561, accepted the military assistance of the Kingdom of Poland. Despite some successes in Livonia, the Lithuanians suffered a disaster on 15 February 1563 when the Muscovite army captured Polatsk. Ivan the Terrible's army began to directly threaten Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, as his troops took a fortress 200 km west of Smolensk, conquered forty years earlier. In 1570, the parties signed a truce which divided Livonia and the Polatsk region (Riga was an independent city).[19]

---

13    A good example is the publication of HOC, vol. 2.
14    For a long time, historians from eastern Europe rarely published their works in languages other than their mother tongues. This situation has changed during the last twenty years.
15    In our book, the name *Lithuania* is always synonymous with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. When we write about the contemporary Lithuanian state, we always use the term the Republic of Lithuania.
16    See Map 1.
17    Despite many efforts, only in 1611 did the Polish-Lithuanian army recapture Smolensk.

---

18    See P. Dróżdż, *Orsza 1514*, Warsaw 2014. This battle was marked on the famous map by Bernard Wapowski in 1526 and became a cartographic topos for over a hundred years. Cf. J. Niedźwiedź, "The Battle of Orsha (1514) on Maps: Mapping the Muscovian War as Renaissance Politics of Memory", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 66 (2022), pp. 60–103.
19    See А. Янушкевіч, *Вялікае Княства Літоўскае і Інфлянцкая вайна 1558–1570 гг. Манаграфія*, Мінск 2007; P. Guzowski,

In 1572, King Sigismund II Augustus, the last male Jagiellon to sit on the throne of Poland and Lithuania, died. His place on the throne was to be taken by his younger sister Anna Jagiellon and her future spouse. As the result, until 1576, various candidates competed for the Polish-Lithuanian throne. One of them was Tsar Ivan the Terrible, thanks to which the Livonian-Polatsk borderland was relatively peaceful at that time.[20] However, since in 1576 Anna Jagiellon married Stephen Báthory, who became the king, the war commenced in 1577.

The Muscovite army attacked Livonia and conquered most of it, apart from Riga and Reval. This caused Stephen Báthory to react. In 1578, the Lithuanian forces regained control over several towns and fortresses in Livonia.[21] However, it was three campaigns against Muscovy, which took place in 1579, 1580, and 1581/1582, which allowed the king to liberate most of the lost territories.[22] In the summer and autumn of 1579, the Polish-Lithuanian army was most successful. The royal troops regained control of Polatsk and the entire voivodeship. In the subsequent year, the king attacked Muscovite territories and took the stronghold Velikiye Luki. In 1581, the royal army began the siege of Pskov, a major commercial and military centre. At the same time, a strong cavalry unit of the Lithuanian field hetman (the field commander-in-chief) Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Thunderbolt" attacked the enemy's

hinterland.[23] Although Báthory did not take Pskov, the tsar was forced to negotiate. On 15 January 1582, the Truce of Yam-Zapolsky was signed. The Muscovites withdrew their forces from Livonia, and the Poles and Lithuanians returned to the tsar the Muscovite towns and strongholds taken during the campaigns. Polatsk and the whole voivodeship returned to Lithuania. The truce ended the Lithuanian—Muscovite rivalry in the 16th century. Until 1654, there was a balance of power, although sometimes the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland had the upper hand[24] (see Maps 1 and 2).

In our book, we will focus on the campaign of 1579, depicted by Pachołowiecki. The first preparations for the war were made in 1578 when the Parliament (*Sejm*) imposed extraordinary taxes. Stephen Báthory chose Vilnius, the capital of the grand duchy, as his headquarters.[25] He ceremonially entered the city on 2 March 1579. Piotr Skarga, whose excerpt from the letter we quote above, was a witness and to some extent a participant in these events. As rector of a Jesuit college, he received the king within the walls of his university.[26]

During the next three months, Báthory and his staff planned the attack. They knew that the crucial element of the campaign would be artillery. In the wild territories of the Muscovite borderlands, it could cause many logistical issues. Probably, this is why Báthory and Zamoyski decided to use maps in their planning. As it happened, mapmaking significantly contributed to the future success of the war.

The multiethnic royal army consisted of Lithuanian, Polish, and Hungarian troops supported by German mercenaries. In July 1579, the army left the town Svir (Pol. *Świr*, 80 km east of Vilnius, now Belarus), and headed towards Polatsk. By the end of July, the troops had reached the town and on 11 August, the main royal forces began the siege. Polatsk was located on the hill on the right bank of the Daugava (Western Dvina) River, where the Palata River flowed into the Daugava. The town was divided into three parts: the medieval town, called the Upper Castle with the Byzantine St Sophia Cathedral (*Saftysky sabor*) from the 12th century, the Streletsky Zamok (the

K. Łopatecki, R. Poniat, "Rewolucja militarna jako czynnik modernizacyjny skarbowości w Królestwie Polskim i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim—przykład wojny inflanckiej (1557–1570)", *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 83 (2022), pp. 99–149.

20    See E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *Koronne zjazdy szlacheckie w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewiach po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta*, Białystok 1998; H. Lulewicz, *Gniewów o unię ciąg dalszy: stosunki polsko-litewskie w latach 1569–1588*, Warsaw 2002.

21    Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 78.

22    It is therefore understandable that the Polatsk campaign has been subjected to numerous and significant studies. Among them are: В.В. Новодворский, *Борьба за Ливонию между Москвою и Речью Посполитою (1570–1582). Историко-критическое изследование*, Санкт-Петербург 1904; H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582", part 2, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 1 (17) (1971), pp. 51–124; R. Przybyliński, *Hetman wielki koronny Mikołaj Mielecki (ok. 1540–1585)*, Toruń 2002, pp. 165–182; Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 122–157; M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy" (ok. 1515–1584). Działalność polityczna i wojskowa*, Cracow 2008, pp. 581–584; В.В. Пенской, "Героическая оборона Полоцка в августе 1579 года", *Военно-исторический журнал* 6 (2013), pp. 65–71; А.И. Филюшкин, *Изобретая первую войну России и Европы: Балтийские войны второй половины XVI в. глазами современников и потомков*, Санкт-Петербург 2013. In the following reconstruction of the course of the war, we rely on these publications.

23    See J. Niedźwiedź, "Mercator's Lithuanian-Russian Borderlands: *Russiae pars amplificata* (1595) and Its Polish Sources", *Imago mundi*, 2019, 2, pp. 151–172.

24    H. Grala, "Vom 'bellum defensivum' zum 'bellum externum'. Die Auffassung des polnischlitauischen Adels von den Gründen des Livländischen Krieges 1558–1582", in: *Die Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Kriegen im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. H. Brunner, Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 255–269.

25    Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 93–96.

26    See L. Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100.

Shooters' Castle), and the main town called Zapalotye (Bel. *Запалоцце*, Pol. *Zapołocie*, located on the other side of the Palata River). All three parts were surrounded by timber-earth fortifications with towers. A strong garrison consisting of six thousand soldiers with thirty-eight guns defended the fortress. Its commander was Prince Vasily Ivanovich Telatevsky.[27]

The royal forces were significantly larger. It is estimated that they numbered thirty-five thousand people with a couple of dozen guns.[28] PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* shows the deployment of military camps of the main royal forces. On 12 August, Zapalotye was burnt down and taken by the Hungarian troops. In the following days, the royal artillery, in vain, tried to destroy the Polatsk fortifications. The attempts to set fire to the walls were also unsuccessful because of the constant rain, which lasted for almost two weeks. Only on 29 August, when the weather improved, did volunteers from the royal army succeed in approaching the walls of the Upper Castle and setting the fire. It caused significant damage, but the Hungarian and Polish infantry which took part in the attack on the fortifications was repelled. The next afternoon, i.e. 30 August, the Muscovites surrendered. The Muscovite commanders were sent to Vilnius, while the common soldiers and inhabitants were allowed to freely go away or stay in Polatsk as new subjects of King Báthory.

The siege of Polatsk was the main part of the campaign but not the only one. In July–August, some royal units operated on the Muscovite territories to distract the tsar's forces. To secure the siege, Polish and Lithuanian troops took the fortresses Kaziany (Pol. *Koziany*; 23 July), Krasny (Pol. *Krasne*; 31 July), and Sitna (Pol. *Sitno*; 4 August) east, south, and northeast of Polatsk, respectively. The next towns were conquered after the surrender of Polatsk. On 4 September, the royal forces captured Turoŭlia (Pol. *Turowla*) and on 6 October, Suša (Pol. *Susza*; both south of Polatsk) and on 11 September Sokol (Pol. *Sokół*; north of Polatsk). Finally, on 13 December Nieščarda (Pol. *Nieszczerda*; northeast of Polatsk) was taken. It was the only conquered fortress which was not depicted by Pachołowiecki. The result of the campaign was the recuperation of the entire Polatsk voivodeship lost by Lithuania in 1563.

## 2        Polatsk in Early Modern Cartography

In the 16th century, the Principality of Polatsk was the end of the civilized world. The geographers of that time agreed that its territory lay on the peripheries of Europe. Although the city appeared on the *mappa mundi* of Ebsdorf (around 1300) under the name of Plosceke,[29] it was not necessarily marked on any maps until the beginning of the 16th century. Polatsk was permanently introduced onto the map of Europe by Marco Beneventano (Rome 1507), a version of the map of central Europe by Nicholas of Cusa. Polatsk was most probably marked there by Bernard Wapowski (1450–1535), a famous Polish cartographer and Beneventano's associate. In the first half of the 16th century, the name of this town always appeared in its Polish version as Poloczko or Plotzko, for example on the maps of Martin Waldseemüller (*Tabula moderna Sarmatie Europee*, 1513), Battista Agnese ([*Moscovia*], 1525), Anton Wied ([*Tabula moderna Sarmatiae Asiaticae*],[30] 1542/1555), and Siegmund von Herberstein (*Moscovia*, 1546). Despite its presence on the maps, hardly anyone from other parts of Europe had heard of Polatsk in those days. If we take a look at the famous image of *Europa Regina* (Queen Europe) in Münster's *Cosmography*, we can see that the place where Polatsk should be is at the very edge of the bottom of the queen's dress. It is covered by dense forest separating Lithuania from Muscovy.

And yet, over twenty years, starting in 1563, the capital of the Principality of Polatsk, as well as other cities on the Muscovite–Lithuanian border, not previously marked by cartographers, became known in various parts of the continent (at least for this short period). They were most frequently mentioned in the last stage of the Livonian

---

27    Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 127.

28    Before the beginning of the campaign, the royal army had ninety-seven guns, but it is unknown if all of them were taken to Polatsk. See: H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582. Sprawy organizacyjne", part 2, pp. 54–57.

29    See J. Wilke, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, Text und Tafelband, Bielefeld 2001.

30    Anton Wied's map has no title, so from the end of the 19th century it was historians who gave it its name. Most often they referred to it as a map of Russia or a map of Muscovy (Moscovia). However, on his map, Wied depicted an area much vaster than just the Russian state. Apart from Muscovy, the map shows a part of Finland, Livonia, the eastern territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Crimean Khanate, Astrakhan Khanate, Nogai Horde, Khanate of Kazan, and the Sibir Khanate. This area coincides with Claudius Ptolemy's second map of Asia. For this reason, we have chosen to use a name that is more appropriate to the nomenclature of the first half of the 16th century: the New Map of Asiatic Sarmatia (*Tabula moderna Sarmatiae Asiaticae*). Early 16th-century cartographers named areas of central Europe in a similar way, e.g. M. Waldseemüller, *Tabula moderna Sarmatie Eurorpee sive Hungarie, Polonie, Russie, Prussie et Valachie*, in: *Geographie opus novissima tradutione e Grecorum archetypis castigatissme pressum, ceteris ante lucubrantorum multo prestantius*, Strassburg 1513.

War and just after their conclusion, from 1579 to 1583. The Polish royal chancery played a key role in this process of producing knowledge about the events of that period. Its employees, as well as hired artists and scribes, created a large group of texts whose main purpose was to present the war from the Polish-Lithuanian perspective. This information and propaganda campaign was conducted on a scale unprecedented in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and largely contributed to its full victory, both in the military and symbolic spheres. For the first time in Poland, literature and iconography were used to such a large extent to obtain supporters for the king and his war. These actions counteracted the diplomatic and propaganda efforts of Ivan IV the Terrible[31] and ended in an unequivocal success, and King Stephen Báthory gained great popularity both at home and abroad. This success had an unexpected side effect, namely the creation of new geographical knowledge that covered the areas where the war was waged. The propaganda and geographical publications under discussion include eight maps and views of Polatsk cities, which we call the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*.

## 3 Why Atlas?

As an experienced commander,[32] Báthory attached particular importance to logistics. Part of the preparations was mapping the future theatre of military operations.[33] The king's right hand, Chancellor Zamoyski, engaged several mapmakers who worked for him.[34] Today, we know the names of some of them: Maciej Strubicz, Stanisław Pachołowiecki, and Petrus Francus. The best known is Strubicz (*c.*1530–1604), whose maps of Livonia, Lithuania, and a part of Muscovy were published between 1589 and 1613.[35] We know very little about the other two mapmakers.[36]

Pachołowiecki was active at the turn of the 1570s and 1580s. We know almost nothing about his social background, education, and life. He was mentioned in a couple of chancery documents. The last known information about his life is the nobility charter, granted to him by the king on 10 September 1581 during the siege of Pskov. The mapmaker got the coat of arms *Jelita*, which belonged to Zamoyski. This means that Pachołowiecki's direct patron must have been the chancellor.[37] The document listed Pachołowiecki's merits, especially "charting and picturing the enemy's castles".[38] Although he had to draw many maps, his only known cartographical works remain those he charted in 1579. They survived because they were later printed in Rome.

The *Atlas* consists of eight parts: two *folio* maps and six smaller views of the castles.[39] The main map represents the entire Polatsk voivodeship. It is entitled *The Description of the Principality of Polatsk* (*Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis*—PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*). The author used the old term *Principality* instead of voivodeship for political and propaganda reasons, which will be discussed below in chapter 11. The map was provided with three cartouches with texts: the history of Polatsk and the principality, the dedicatory poem for King Báthory, and the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[40] The second large map shows Polatsk and is entitled *The Siege and Conquest of the Most Secure Fortress of Polatsk* (PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*). We can see the deployment of the royal forces on the decisive day of the siege. On the bottom of the map is a description of the fortress and information about Báthory's taking of it on 29 August 1579.[41] Both maps are signed as works of Stanisław Pachołowiecki.

The other six smaller engravings show castles Kaziany, Krasny, Sitna, Sokol, Suša, and Turoŭlia, captured by the

---

31  See А.И. Филюшкин, *Изобретая первую войну России и Европы …*, pp. 98–101, 178–191.

32  See Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 88.

33  In chapters 4, 6, 7, and 8, we discuss mapping of the Muscovite borderland and the use of military maps by the Lithuanian and Polish commanders.

34  In the correspondence of Zamoyski, there are several references to hiring the cartographers (especially Maciej Strubicz) and making the maps. See K. Buczek, "Dorobek kartograficzny wojen Stefana Batorego …", pp. 62–63 and chapter 4, 6, and 9 in this book.

35  See Buczek, *The History*, pp. 49–57; Schilder, *Monumenta 9*, pp. 199–201; J. Niedźwiedź, "Mercator's Lithuanian-Russian Borderlands", pp. 151–172.

36  For Francus (Franco) see chapter 7, footnote 14.

37  In the procedure of granting nobility (ennoblement), a nobleman had to adopt or invite a nobleman-to-be to his coat of arms. In this instance, it was probably Zamoyski who adopted Pachołowiecki.

38  *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, vol. 2, ed. J. Siemieński, Warsaw 1909, p. 423.

39  The measurement of the maps is provided in chapter 1.

40  For the definition of the cartouche see recent study by Chat Van Duzer, *Frames that Speak: Cartouches on Early Modern Maps*, Leiden and Boston 2023, pp. 2–3.

41  The discrepancies in the dates are explained in chapter 4.

royal forces between 23 July and 6 October 1579. Each view is accompanied by information about the day the fortress was conquered. These views do not include Pachołowiecki's name, but the manner of drawing is similar to that on the larger maps. It can help to make a supposition that Pachołowiecki at least made copies of maps drawn earlier by someone else.[42]

The maps were published in a printing house of Giovanni Battista Cavalieri (de' Cavalleriis, 1525–1601) in Rome. Cavalieri was known for his engravings representing historical events (especially from the history of ancient Rome), emperors, popes, saints, works of art, and monuments of Rome. He published copies of works of renowned Renaissance painters (among others, Michelangelo, Raphael, and del Sarto).[43] In his portfolio there were also maps.[44] For many years, he maintained relationships with Poles who lived in Rome. He was friends with a Pole, Tomasz Treter (1547–1610),[45] a canon of the Basilica Santa Maria in Trastevere, scholar, and engraver. As a secretary of prominent Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, he also played an important role as a political figure. It is almost certain that he acted as a go-between in the publication of maps. What is more, he was the author of the poem on the map of the Principality of Polatsk. The result of cooperation between Cavalieri and Treter was a publication of our *Atlas*.

Some objections could be raised against the use of the term atlas in this instance. The atlas proper was only invented later by Mercator. On the other hand, the term is widely used to describe earlier collections of the maps.[46] Secondly, Cavalieri's publication was not sold as a separate book.

Taking into account all the objections, we decided to call Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri's maps the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*, not the *Set of Maps Presenting the Principality of Polatsk*. There are several reasons why we did so. Firstly, the maps were conceived and produced as a coherent set.[47] They were distributed in sets, and this is the most common form in which they have survived to our times.[48] They are often bound together in composite atlases. Secondly, they represent the whole of a territory in several parts. They also show this territory from different perspectives. The set contains a map of the entire Principality of Polatsk, a map of its capital town, and, on smaller sheets, views of the castles taken by the army of King Stephen. In this respect, it is not only a regional atlas, but also a thematic one. Its authors were most interested in the hydrology of the Polatsk region and its military advantages. Thirdly, although the set does not contain a front page, it does have introductory information, such as the title, an inset with the history of Polatsk, and the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth accompanied by Treter's poem. All this might serve as the paratexts for the entire cycle. What is more, the publication of the maps as a coherent set could be inspired by the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 10. Apart from that, in Rome, where Pachołowiecki's maps were published, early composite atlases were produced, e.g. by Antonio Lafreri. Knowledge about them could also contribute to shaping Cavalieri's publication from 1580. Finally, the maps had the potential to be a book. In the 16th century, it was common practice for printers to sell printed sheets of papers of quires, and the customer handed them over to the bookbinder. Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri's maps could be virtually bound in an atlas-like book, as an addition to the official royal report about the recapture of the Polatsk Principality.[49]

In our research on the *Atlas*, we focused on six main tasks, which are reflected in the structure of the book. 1. We got access to the originals. Then, we described the maps and their content. 2. We examined the circumstances of

---

42 About the authorship of the maps see chapter 7. The *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*—like most Renaissance maps—can be called polyphonic. The concept of the polyphony of the map is taken from Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of the polyphony of a novel (see: M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, Austin 1981; *idem, Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. and transl. C. Emerson, intr. W.C. Booth, Minneapolis 1984). In such a text several distinct and independent voices can be found which constitute a dialogic and polyphonic message. A separate study about the polyphonic nature of Pachołowiecki's maps will be published.

43 B. Passamani, "Cavalieri, Giovanni Battista", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 22 (1979) https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-cavalieri_(Dizionario-Biografico) (accessed 23.08.2023); *Giovanni Battista Cavalieri: un incisore trentino nella Roma dei Papi del Cinquecento*, ed. Paola Pizzamano, Rovereto 2001.

44 See S. Bifolco, F. Ronca, *Cartografia e topografia italiana del XVI secolo: Catalogo ragionato delle oper a stampa*, vol. 3, Rome 2018, p. 2549 (*Index*).

45 See T. Chrzanowski, *Działalność artystyczna Tomasza Tretera*, Warsaw 1984; G. Jurkowlaniec, *Sprawczość rycin. Rzymska twórczość graficzna Tomasza Tretera i jej europejskie oddziaływanie*, Cracow 2017.

46 The term "atlas" was introduced only by Gerardus Mercator but for a long time this term, as a name for jointly bound maps, has also referred to books of this type created before the publication of Mercator's *Atlas* (see numerous examples in HOC, vol. 3).

47 For the consistency of the cycle of the maps, see chapter 7.

48 See chapters 1, 2, and 9.

49 On the report see chapter 9.

their drawing and publishing. 3. We established their reliability as military maps and put them in the context of Renaissance military cartography. 4. We researched the propaganda purposes of the publication of the *Atlas*. To do so, we put it into the context of other publications, whose patron was Chancellor Zamoyski. 5. We examined the *Atlas* as a 16th-century source of geographical knowledge. We established its impact on later maps; this is why we decided to add vast indices to the publication. 6. We tested how we can apply philological methods to the history of cartography. The lists of toponyms were of great use in this last task.

As specialists in different research fields, we aimed to look at the *Atlas* from different perspectives. Thanks to the use of diverse research approaches, we gained a thorough insight into late Renaissance warfare, politics, literature, information exchange, and art. Now, we present these discoveries in a tripartite publication.[50]

---

# PART 1

## *The Atlas*

∵

# Description of the *Atlas*

There is one preliminary attempt to describe Pachołowiecki's maps and plans, made in 2017 by Kazimierz Kozica. However, Kozica did not have access to all the copies of the maps known today. What is more, he did not undertake to make the distortion grid, nor did he calculate the scales of the maps and the areas presented on them. We provide these two parameters here in addition to Kozica's verified and corrected findings.

The *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* consists of eight maps and plans printed in Rome by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri. They are presented here according to the following scheme:
– a description of the print with transliterated inscriptions,
– the author,
– the publisher,
– the size of the work.

The artefacts in question are provided with information on their existing copies, as well as the scale and orientation we determined. As for the map of the Polatsk region and the map of Polatsk itself, we present distortion grids made for them. With regard to the plans of the other strongholds, it is not possible to make distortion grids without extensive archaeological research. We believe that such research is most likely to be conducted in the foreseeable future in the Sokol and Suša strongholds.

## 1 Stanisław Pachołowiecki, the Map of the Principality of Polatsk, 1580[1]

### 1.1 *Description of the Map*

An unoriented map with four frames, a bar scale, and King Stephen Báthory's coat of arms. The title is placed in a double-line frame adjacent to the border of the map and located in the bottom right corner of the map. It also contains the name of its author:

"DESCRIPTIO | DVCATVS | POLOCENSIS | S. Pacholowic"

---

1 Cf. K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017), pp. 38–43.

Below the frame is the engraver's signature: *Joa. Baptista de Cauallerijs Romæ tipis æneis incidebat Anno Domini. 1580.*

In the upper left corner of the map, there is a rectangular double-line frame, which contains the history of the Principality of Polatsk. It was printed in two different font sizes, the first eleven lines in a bigger one and the next five lines in a smaller one. The last word printed in a different typeface is particularly interesting: "ꝗ *abundantiſsima*". It complements the sentence in which the engraver omitted this word.

"Polotia priscis temporibus ſub annum ſcilicet Christi 980, uel ut Ruſsi ſupputant á | creato mundo 6488. fuú peculiarem Ducem habuit Rochuoldú Qui á Wlodimiro magno | ob negatá in matrimoniú filiam Rochnedam, (ut annales Moſcorú perhibent) bello uictus | uitam pariter cú duobus filijs ac imperio amisit. Inde Monarchis Ruſsiæ paruit, quorú ſub= | lata ſtirpe ea quæ in Anſtrali Ruſsia regnabat, Lituanis cum quibusdam ditionibus Ruſsicis | conceſsit. Iagiellone apud Lituànos primú, inde apud Polonos regnante Andreas fŕ ipsius | Polotiæ dńatú arripuerat, ferè cú ipse Iagello Cracouiæ Coronaretur ſed mox missis copijs | cú arce in ptēm regis uenit, inde eius dominatus a Magnis Lituaniæ Ducibus et Regibus | Poloniæ continuatus eſt ad annū 1563. Quo a Ioanne Baſilij. F. Duce Moſcouiæ capta eſt eiusq3 | ditionis ager aliquot nouis excitatis arcibus firmatus. Nunc uero demú anno 1579 et ipsa | Polotia et arces reliquæ per Seren: Polon: Regé Stephanú partim captæ partim deletæ | uniuerfusq3 ille Ducatus receptus. Ditio hæc ad 30 milliaria in longitudiné in latitudiné uix minus | patet, ac propter ubertaté glebæ ac fluminú aliquot, imprimis uero Dunæ omnium prope Europæ flu= | uioꭓ pulcherrimi amoenissimi et ad nauigandú accomó- datiſsimi opportunitatè Rigenfisq3 portus propinqui= | tatè, ꝗ Polotia dú à Mosco caperetur diuitijs incolaꭓ ipsam Vilnam ſuperabat. Regius præfectus Poloce= | nsis cú ordine Senatorio Palatini titulum et dignitatem habet. ꝗ abundantiſsima"

At the top right of the map there is a stemma, that is, a kind of emblem which consists of a coat of arms and an epigram. In the upper part of the map, there is the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the times of King Stephen Báthory, with a closed royal crown at the top. The inescutcheon, that is, the fifth,

middle field, contains Wolf's Teeth, Báthory's coat of arms.[2] The remaining fields present coats of arms of the Polish Crown (Crowned Eagle) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Pogoń) in a chequy arrangement. The coats of arms on the map were modelled on woodcuts from books published by Mikołaj Szarffenberg and Walenty Łapka (Łapczyński), which show greater accuracy than the images depicted on the royal seal.[3]

Below the coat of arms, there is a double-line frame with the title of the stemma and a poem with the signature of its author, Tomasz Treter.

"IN ARMA VICTRICIA | SERENISS STEPHANI | POLONIAE REGIS FELICIS
Arcibus inclufus latuit cum milite Mofchus;
    Ales eum, STEPHANI Principis, hinc pepulit.
Profilit in campos: fugat hunc mucrone (cruorē
    Barbaricum doctus fundere) Regis eques.
Si tentabit aquas; Vncum REX ecce tridentem
    Fert. Moschum ex omni fic mala parte premunt.
Protere, Maxime REX, Romani nominis hostem
    Quodque facis, CHRISTI fpargere perge Fidé.
THO. TRE Polonus"

The whole map is surrounded by a simple single-line border; it has no compass rose, graticule, or geographical coordinates. The map shows the Daugava River from Druja to Suraž with its tributaries. The southern part of the map shows the water divide of the Baltic Sea and Black Sea drainage basins. The Rivers Čarnica and Biarezina are shown. The former is a left tributary of the latter. The Biarezina, in turn, is a right tributary of the Dnieper River, which empties into the Black Sea.[4]

The map also shows lakes, forests, and settlements (towns and villages), as well as castles or strongholds. A total of eighty-five toponyms are presented, including eighteen hydronyms. The remaining sixty-seven names refer to settlements, although not all place symbols are accompanied by a toponym. The latter refers to eight places: around Jeziaryšča, Siebież, Hlybokaje, at the inflow of the Sviača River to the Ula River, and two settlements on the Biarezina and Usysa Rivers near Haradok (Horodek).

We have identified some of these places and we would now like to describe our methodological approach to this issue. Based on the distortion grid, we estimated the approximate location of the towns. Then, using the SULIMOWSKI MAP of 1580,[5] the historical atlas of Belarus until the 16th century,[6] and the review of the Polatsk voivodeship of 1552,[7] we analysed the possible options. This allowed us to determine the probable locations of four more places. In the case of the other settlements, there are too few reference points to allow reliable identification.

The village marked near the springs of the Biarezina River is the village of Berezino (Bel: Беразіно).[8] The other settlement shown on this river at the edge of the map is probably the village of Brody (Броды), which had military-strategic importance.[9] Above the inflow of the River Sviača to the River Ula, there is Sviača (nowadays Svecha, Свяча), where at least from 1552 there was an Orthodox church.[10] The village located near Jeziaryšča

---

2    We discuss the similarities between these coats of arms in chapter 10 of this book.

3    See http://www.poczet.com/app2.htm (accessed 20.02.2020).

4    It was not just an insignificant detail. This phenomenon was described by the official chronicler of the campaign against Muscovy, Reinhold Heidenstein: "As I reached this land, it will not be out of place to say something about the natural and geographical features of this area. Two rivers flow through this part of Lithuania, both navigable, only 1000 steps away from each other, and both of them empty to distant seas. Liepieĺ first, falls into Ula, also navigable, and with it into Daugava, which empties into the Baltic Sea near Riga. The other one, Biarezina, flows in the opposite direction, and having fallen into the Dnieper River, empties with it into the Black Sea. If there was peace between people who rule the course of both rivers, thanks to their proximity and close distance, they could easily connect by trade the North with the entire West and East. However, the Daugava is troubled by the Muscovites, and the Dnieper by the same Muscovites and Tartars, of which it was narrated above." ("Quoniam autem ad hunc locum ventum est, non alienum videtur, pauca de natura situque eius narrare. Tendunt per eam Lithuaniae partem duo diversa flumina, quorum utrunque

navigabile est; ita inter se coniuncta, ut non plus millium passuum quinque intervallo distent; eademque in duo maxima ac longissime distantia maria exitum habent. Lepel, de quo diximus, in Ulam fluvium itidem navigabilem influens, cum eo in Dunam indeque ad Rigam in Mare Balthicum effunditur; alter Beresina in diversam partem raptus cum Borysthene in Pontum Euxinum deinde erumpit. Ita ut si pacatae gentes essent, in quarum potestate fluminum horum cursus sunt, in tanta eorum propinquitate, transportandarumque ex uno in alterum mercium, coniungendorum denique eorundem facultate, Septentrio universusque Occidens facillime cum Oriente commerciis iungi posset. Sed Dunam Mosci antehac, Borysthenem iidem Mosci ac Tartari caeterique de quibus supra supradictum est infestum nunc faciunt.") R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum ab excessu Sigismundi Augusti libri XII*, Frankfurt am Main 1678, p. 130 (transl. J.N.).

5    SULIMOWSKI MAP.

6    *Вялікі гістарычны атлас Беларусі. У 3 тамах*, vol. 1, Мінск 2009, pp. 108–109.

7    "Rewizja województwa połockiego z roku 1552", ed. J. Szujski, in: *Archiwum Komisyi Historycznej*, vol. 2, Cracow 1880, pp. 175–247.

8    At present, it is a village located in Belarus, in the Dokshitsky District, in the Vitebsk Oblast; geographical coordinates: 54° 54′25.8″N 28° 11′40.3″E.

9    Currently, it is a village is located in Belarus, in Minsk Oblast, in the Maladzyechna District; geographical coordinates: 54° 38′54.1″N 28° 13′52.9″E.

10   Geographical coordinates: 55° 1′47.39″N 29° 16′39.44″E.
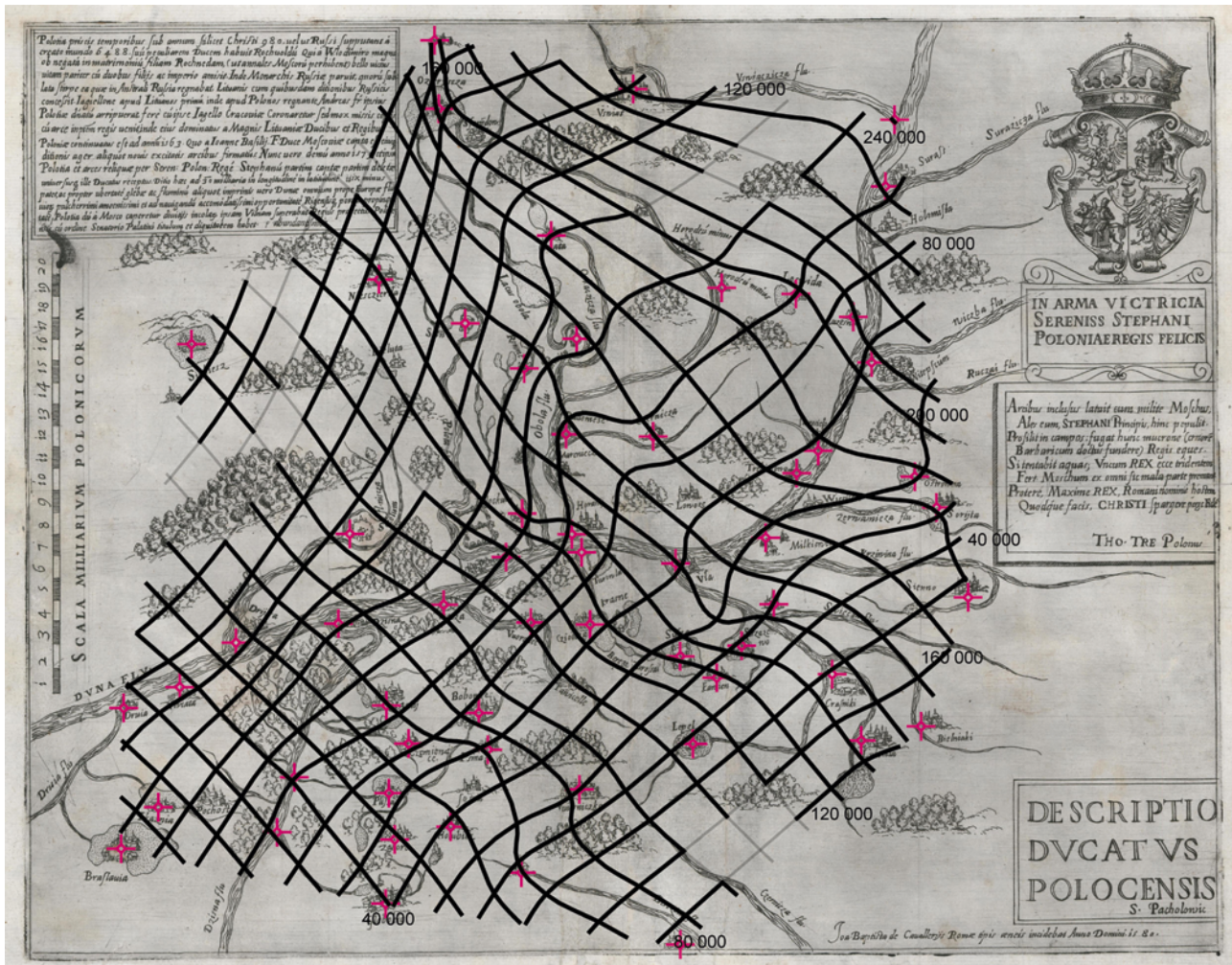
FIGURE 1.1    The distortion grid with a side of 10,000 m
MADE BY K. ŁOPATECKI USING THE MAPANALYST PROGRAMME; BASED ON PACHOŁOWIECKI, *DUCATUS*

is undoubtedly the castle and town of Nevel (Невель) located on the lake of the same name.[11]

Author/drafter: Stanisław Pachołowiecki
Publisher: Giovanni Battista Cavalieri
Size of the copperplate: 32.3 cm × 41.3 cm.[12]

### 1.2    *Distortion Grid*

Based on the identified fifty-nine control points, a distortion grid of the map was created. Methodologically, this was not an easy task. This is due to the fact that the locations of settlements are not marked precisely on the map (e.g. with a dot). Control points could be placed differently

within the overscaled pictorial symbols of towns and the choice of a particular place can vastly change the distortion grid.[13] Fortunately, Reinhold Heidenstein came to the rescue. He stressed that there are many towns and castles along the Daugava River in the Polatsk region, "especially at the estuaries of the smaller rivers, which gave names to the castles built upon them".[14] This is why we placed the location marks at the estuaries or close to the rivers, and not in the middle of the pictorial symbols. This allows for much more precise calculations. This phenomenon also shows that using a map required cartographic literacy.

---

11    Currently a city located on the territory of the Russian Federation in the Pskov Oblast; geographical coordinates: $56°$ $00'48.3''$N $29°$ $54'54.7''$E.

12    The dimensions of the engraving were measured along the outer frame. In the literature, the larger dimensions of $32.5 × 42$ cm are usually given.

13    The fact that pictorial symbols of towns were large in relation to the scale of the map was discussed in Buczek, *Dorobek*, p. 8; Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 80–81.

14    "Plerorumque Lithuanicorum et Russicorum castellorum is fere positus est, ut ad ostium aliquod humilioris fluminis, quo cum maiori coniungitur, sita sint, quae ita sita sunt, quod maioris fluminis propinquitas pluribus communis est, a minoribus fluminibus fere omnia nomina indita habent." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* ..., p. 130 (transl. J.N.).
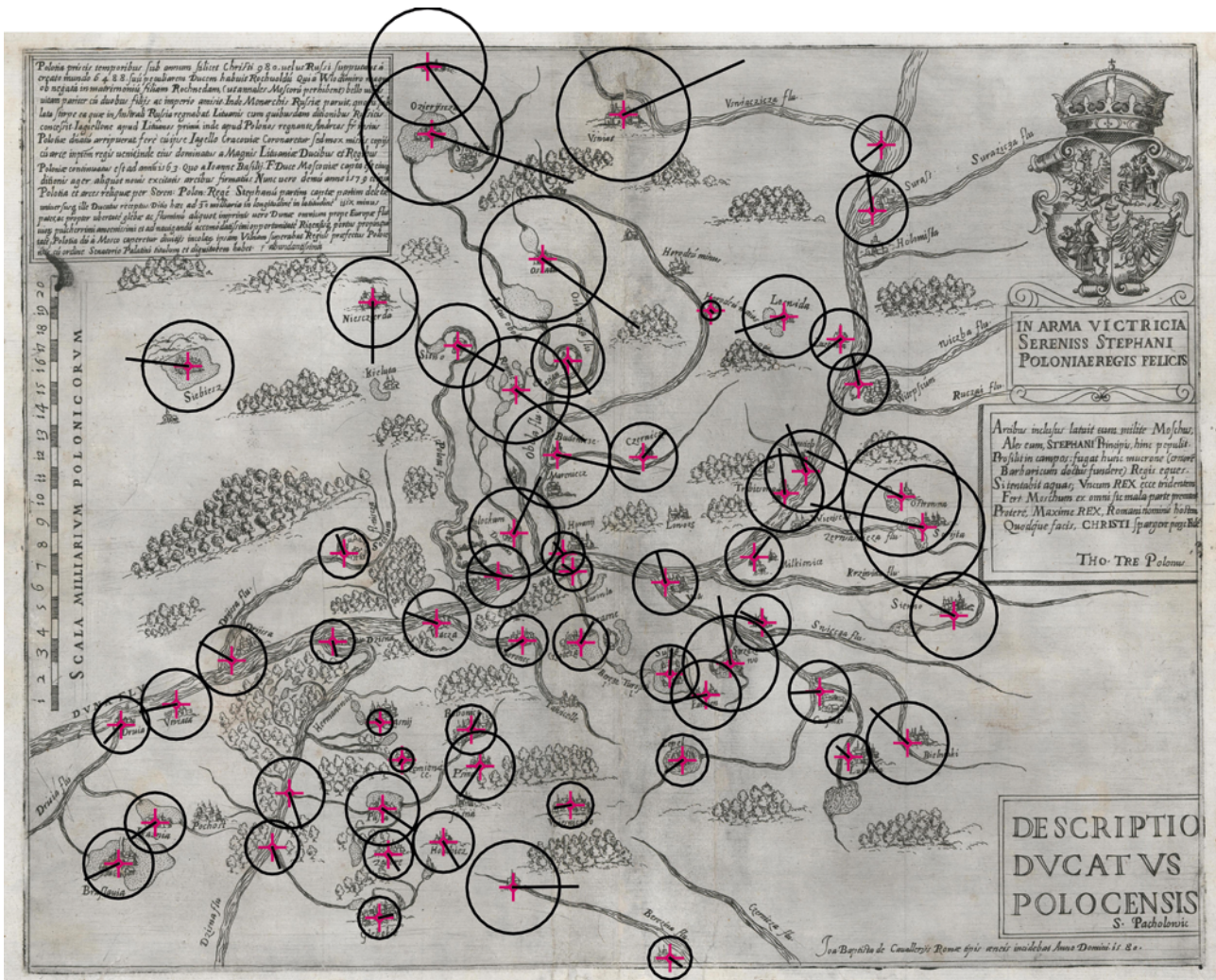
FIGURE 1.2    The extent and direction of the transposition of control points on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*
MADE BY K. ŁOPATECKI USING THE MAPANALYST PROGRAMME

The distortion grid confirms the thesis that the Map of the Principality of Polatsk was most probably drawn by Pachołowiecki in the first half of 1579, even before the military campaign started. Therefore, it was impossible for Pachołowiecki to have surveyed the area—he relied on descriptive and cartographic materials obtained otherwise.[15] The southwestern part of the map, south of the Daugava River and west of the Ula River, is definitely the most accurate. The southern part east of Ula and northwest of Daugava and Palata are less faithful to the actual territory. Distortions in the northeastern part of the map, on the other hand, are more than significant. The region along the Daugava River is represented quite accurately. The further away from it (except, of course, in the southwestern section), the greater the measurement errors. This is undoubtedly due to the different extents

of reconnaissance conducted. More than half of the presented area was controlled by the hostile Muscovy, which conquered Polatsk and the surrounding area during the 1563 campaign.

Not only the geopolitical factor, but also natural conditions made it difficult to map the area well. The hydrological conditions, including numerous rivers, lakes, and marshes, as well as forests were in the way. On the other hand, the long-lasting wars with Muscovy allowed for very good exploration of the Lithuanian borderland, which is reflected in the distortion grid.[16]

### 1.3    *Scale and Orientation of the Map*
Information about the scale of the map is given along the left-hand arm of the border (SCALA MILLIARIVM

---

15    See chapter 6 of this book.

16    The distortion grid confirms the conjecture of Karol Buczek, who believed that Pachołowiecki did not explore the whole area but only its southern part. Buczek, *Kartografia,* p. 81.
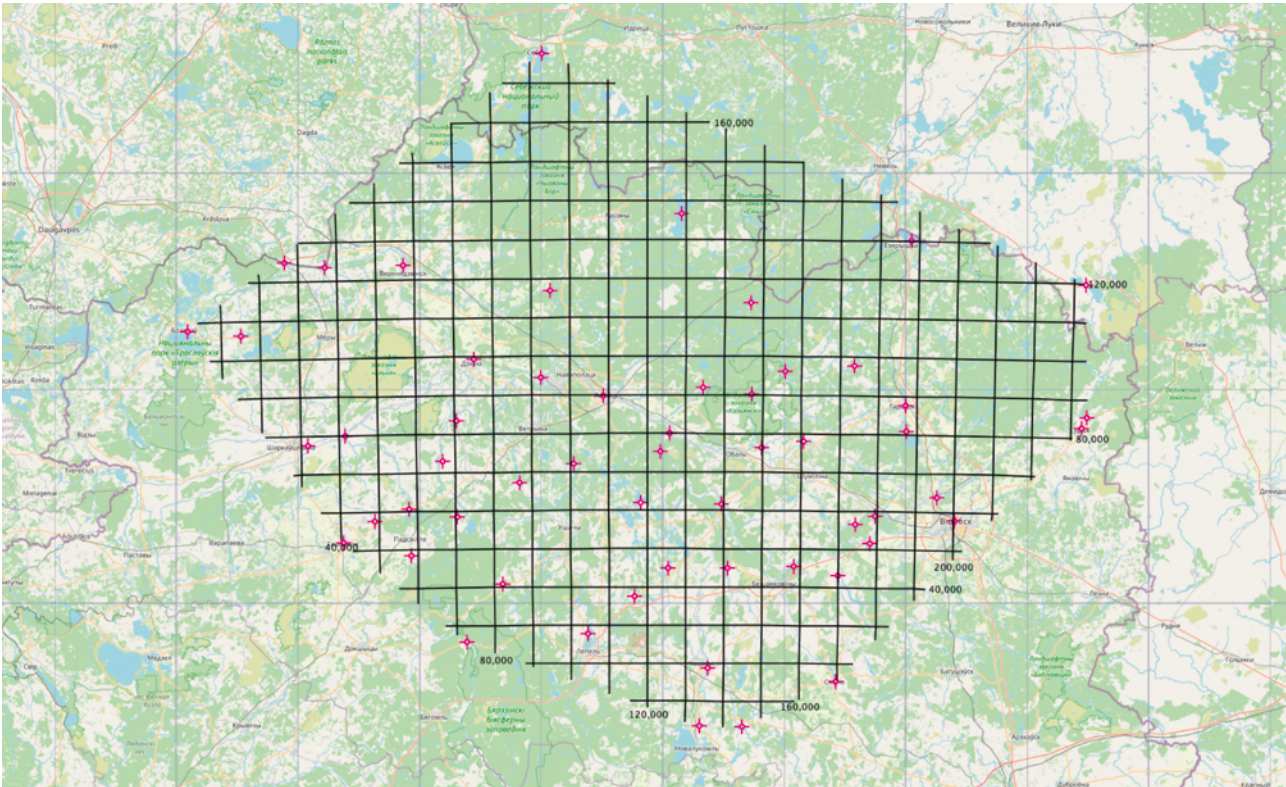
FIGURE 1.3   The area depicted on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* placed on the contemporary map of northeastern Belarus and Russian
borderlands
MADE BY KAROL ŁOPATECKI USING THE MAPANALYST PROGRAMME

*POLONICORVM*). It shows a 15.3 cm long bar scale that represents 20 miles, which means that 1 mile corresponds to 0.765 cm on the map. According to my calculations the average mileage is about 4.99 km, which means that the scale of the map is 1:653,464 (approximately 1:655,000).[17] Based on real reference points, the map shows an area of approximately 30,000 km² (see Fig. 1.3).[18] No geographical directions are marked on it; the analysis of the distortion grid indicates that the map is oriented to the northeast (rotated by about 48.45 ° clockwise). This disproves the assumption of Karol Buczek that the map is north orientated, which was the basis for his criticism of

the cartographic competence of its creator.[19] Stanisław Alexandrowicz was also mistaken in his conviction that the map was oriented to the north-northeast.[20]

### 1.4   *Copies*

It is a rare map—only four copies of it are known:[21]

A.   Tomasz Niewodniczański Collection. The Royal Castle in Warsaw—the Museum (deposit), shelfmark TN 2464, uncoloured, after conservation. This copy probably belonged to Count Suchodolski and was the basis for Mikhail A. Korkunov's reprint.[22] Reduced reproductions: Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, Fig. 43; A.M. Kobos, "Tomasz

---

17   The scale given by Karol Buczek was 1:700,000, by Stanisław Alexandrowicz—1:540,000, and by Kazimierz Kozica—1:545,000. Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 80; Buczek, *Dorobek*, p. 6; Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 60; K. Kozica, *Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych ...*, p. 42.

18   This is the area covered by the distortion grid. It seems wrong to take into account the nominal area of the map, which includes numerous boxes, coats of arms, etc. This is how Stanisław Alexandrowicz calculated the area. He decided that it is a rectangle with sides of 165 km (between the northernmost Siebież and the southern towns of Lukomĺ and Bieĺniaki) and 230 km (between Suraž in the east and Braslaŭ in the west), which amounts to about 38,000 km². Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 60.

19   Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 80–81.

20   Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 60.

21   K. Kozica, J. Pezda, *Imago Poloniae: Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego; Imago Poloniae; Das Polnisch-Litauische Reich in Karten, Dokumenten und alten Drucken in der Sammlung von Tomasz Niewodniczański*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2002, p. 55 and A.M. Kobos, "Tomasz Niewodniczański (1933–2010) i jego zbiory. In memoriam. Kolekcja Marie-Luise Niewodniczańskiej—kontynuacja", *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU* 11 (2012), p. 169, only listed three copies.

22   J. Niedźwiedź, "The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk—an Introduction", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 26–28; M. Baliński,

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; M.J. Mikoś, "Monarchs and Magnates: Maps of Poland in the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in: *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. D. Buisseret, Chicago—London 1992, p. 172; Schilder, *Monumenta 9*, p. 211; K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017), p. 40.

B.  Private collection of Piotr Gałęzowski, Brussels (coloured in the early modern era). Previously, this copy was in the collection of Tomasz Niewodniczański and changed ownership through a collector's exchange. Reduced reproductions: M. Grydzewski, "Nad Tamizą o Połocku", *Zwoje: Periodyk Kulturalny* 2003, 4(37), http://www.zwojescrolls.com/zwoje37/text28p.htm (accessed 13.09.2017); K. Kozica, J. Pezda, *Imago Poloniae: Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego. Imago Poloniae; Das Polnisch-Litauische Reich in Karten, Dokumenten und alten Drucken in der Sammlung von Tomasz Niewodniczański*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2002, p. 55 (item H9/2); Marek Wrede's book cover, *Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, Warsaw 2010; K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017), p. 41.

C.  Bibliothèque nationale de France (Département des Estampes et de la Photographie) in Paris (the Lallemant de Betz collection, shelfmark 7454, contemporary colour, each copy has a brown oval stamp with a crown and initials *B.R.* in the bottom-middle part of the plan body).[23] Reproductions in original sizes: "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego (1580) 1", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017).

D.  British Library in London, shelfmark Maps *33825 (1), uncoloured, trimmed to the frame and backed with fabric, damaged upper left corner without damage to the map content, marked with a red stamp: *British Museum 16 Jul 1872*.

---

T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym i statystycznym opisana*, Warsaw 1846, pp. 598–599.

23  *Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz*, ed. A. Flandrin, Paris 1903, p. 342.

## 2  Stanisław Pachołowiecki, the Plan of the Siege of Polatsk Conducted by the Army of Stephen Báthory, 1580[24]

### 2.1  *Description of the Map*

An inscription engraved along the top edge of the border in the plan body: OBSIDIO ET EXPVGNATIO MVNITISS ARCIS POLOCENSIS PER SERENISS STEPHANVM POLONIAE REGEM. The signature of the drafter Stanisław Pachołowiecki is placed at the top right, in a rectangular double-line frame, which is a part of a strapwork cartouche with elements of scrollwork and a mascaron in its upper-central part.

"OBSESSA XI AVG | CAPTA XXIX EIVSD | ANNO. M.D.LXXIX | *Delineauit in ipsis Castris S. Pacholowic*"

Below the plan, in a rectangular, double- (and at the top single-) line frame, which is part of the whole composition, there is a historical note:

"POLOTIA. EX DVABVS ARCIBVS SVPERIORE AC SCLOPETARIORVM OPPIDOQ. ZAPOLOTA CONSTANS ITA SITV LOCI | PROPVGNACVLIS AC INPRIMIS BOMBARDARVM APPARATV PVLVERE GLOBIS COMMEATV MILITVM PRAESIDIO MV= | NITA ET INSTRVCTA VT MERITO NON SOLVM MOSCHOVIAE SED TOTIVS SEPTEMTRIONIS FIRMISSIMVM PROPVGNACVLVM | EXISTIMARETVR OBSESSA. A. SERENISS. POLONIÆ REGE STEPHANO. XI. AVGVSTI ET MOSCHIS STRENVE DEFENDENTIBVS EREPTA. XXIX. EIVSD. ANNO DOMINI M D LXXIX"

Underneath this note, in the middle of its width, the publisher's signature is placed: *Ioannes Baptista de Cauallerijs Romæ tipis æneis incidebat Anno Domini is80*

Author/drafter: Stanisław Pachołowiecki
Publisher: Giovanni Battista Cavalieri
Size of the copperplate: 28.1 × 39.1 cm.[25]

### 2.2  *Scale and Orientation*

No bar scale or orientation is given. The insufficient number of control points makes it impossible to assess

---

24  Cf. K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych" ..., pp. 43–46.

25  The dimensions of the engraving were measured along the outer frame. Different values are most often quoted in the literature: 32.5 × 42 cm.

FIGURE 1.4   A distortion grid with sides of 100 m covering two castles and the city of Polatsk
MADE BY K. ŁOPATECKI USING THE MAPANALYST PROGRAMME. STUDY BASED ON PACHOŁOWIECKI, *POLATSK*

the scale or calculate the area represented on the whole map. The isometric projection of the plan of the castle and town makes it even more difficult. Only at the estuary of the Palata to the Daugava and in the vicinity of the Polatsk fortress does the terrain and river network allow for approximate calculations. The only surviving building we can identify on current maps is St Sophia Cathedral.[26]

Due to the isometric projection, the presented area has two scales, namely a horizontal and vertical one. They are about 1:10,200 and 1:7950.[27] The area covered by the

distortion grid is a rectangle with sides of 1500 × 900 m. The map has a south-southeast orientation rotated by 164 ° clockwise.

### 2.3   *Distortion Grid*

Thirteen control points have been established, with the location being only probable, particularly with regard to the western part of the defensive complex (Zapalotye). Therefore, it was possible to make a distortion grid of the fortress. It confirms that the fortifications of both castles were drawn in detail by military engineers. There are considerable distortions along the last section of the Palata River, close to its estuary into the Daugava. This may indicate that the plan was created before the fall of the city (Zapalotye), and therefore the fragment that separated

---

26    Despite numerous reconstructions and the damage suffered, it can still serve as a control point. S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne …", pp. 15–29.

27    Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 174, assumed that the scale of the print is non-uniform and varies from 1:18,700 to about 1:24,000. We do not completely deny this calculation as it may be an attempt to assess the scale of the whole map. However, we believe that it is impossible to examine the scale and surface of the entire map due to the lack of confirmed reference points. A

---

similar but unambiguous scale of about 1:20,000 was proposed by K. Kozica in "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych …", p. 44.

the Upper Castle from Zapalotye was inaccessible and poorly visible.

## 2.4    *Copies*

It is likely that this plan was more widely distributed than other cartographic works by Stanisław Pachołowiecki as there are two editions ("states") of the print.

### 2.4.1    Stanisław Pachołowiecki, the Plan of the Siege of Polatsk by Stephen Báthory's Army, First Edition, 1580

There are three surviving copies of this print in its first edition:

A.    Tomasz Niewodniczański Collection, dep. in the Royal Castle in Warsaw—the Museum, shelfmark TN 2826, uncoloured, after conservation. This copy probably belonged to Count Suchodolski and was the basis for Mikhail A. Korkunov's reprint.[28] Reduced reproduction: K. Łopatecki, "Oblężenie i zdobycie warownej twierdzy połockiej przez najjaśniejszego króla Polski Stefana—analiza założeń taktycznych w świetle źródeł kartograficznych", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017), p. 710.

B.    Bibliothèque nationale de France (Département des Estampes et de la Photographie) in Paris (the Lallemant de Betz collection, shelfmark 7455), contemporary colour, marked with a brown oval seal with a crown and initials *B.R.* placed in the middle of the box with the historical note.[29] Reproductions in original size: "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego (1580) I", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017).

C.    British Library in London, shelfmark Maps *33825 (2), uncoloured, trimmed to a frame and backed with fabric, marked with a red stamp that reads: *British Museum 16 Jul 1872*.

### 2.4.2    Stanisław Pachołowiecki, the Plan of the Siege of Polatsk by Stefan Báthory's Army, 1580, Second Edition, 1580

The publisher's signature is below the historical note, in the middle of its width; it is partly effaced (the part in square brackets): [*Ioannes Baptista de Cauallerijs Rom&aelig; tipis*] *&aelig;neis incidebat Anno Domini is80*

So far, in the literature on the subject, this print was known only in its first edition, but thanks to a search of the archives conducted by Jakub Niedźwiedź, Grzegorz Franczak, and Karol Łopatecki, three copies of the second edition were found with the publisher's signature partially effaced. These copies are kept in:

A.    British Library in London, shelfmark Maps C.7.e.4.(54), uncoloured, cut to a frame and backed with fabric, in a collection (as the fifty-fourth map) from the 19th century entitled *Towns in Europe. Sixteenth Century*, which contains seventy-seven plans and views of cities, depicting mostly the cities of Italy, as well as France, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, and the Mediterranean. Eastern Europe is represented by Polatsk and Moscow.

B.    Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia (shelfmark 2c St series I 63), uncoloured. Reduced reproduction: J. Niedźwiedź, "Źródła, konteksty i okoliczności powstania Ody o zdobyciu Połocka Jana Kochanowskiego", *Terminus* 4(41)(18) (2016), p. 399.

C.    Royal Collection Trust (shelfmark RCIN 721074), uncoloured. We know the exact history of this copy. It was originally in the collection of the famous collector Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–22 October 1657). It was then inherited by his brother, Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo (1606–1689). In 1703, the grandson of the latter sold it to Pope Clement XI (born Giovanni Francesco Albani; 23 July 1649–19 March 1721). From 1714, the plan was in the possession of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, from whom it was purchased by George III in 1762, and it has been owned by British monarchs since.[30]

## 3    The Six Plans of Castles (3–8) in the Polatsk Region Captured by Stephen Báthory's Army, 1580[31]

These plans show castles erected in Polatsk Voivodeship by the army of Tsar Ivan the Terrible after its capture in 1563.[32] All of them were captured by Stephen Báthory during the Polatsk campaign of 1579. They are presented in the chronological order of their conquest by the Polish-Lithuanian army.[33] The documentation of

---

28    K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych ...", p. 44.

29    *Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz ...*, p. 342.

30    See https://militarymaps.rct.uk/other-16th-century-conflicts /siege-of-polotsk-1579-obsidio-et-expvgnatio-mvnitiss (accessed 19.07.2024).

31    Cf. K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych ...", pp. 46–50.

32    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.

33    For more on the authorship of the plans of castles, see chapter 7.

research expeditions and archaeological excavations was a considerable help in estimating the scale, determining the orientation of the maps, and making the distortion grids. The first survey of the strongholds depicted on Pachołowiecki's plans was carried out by archaeologist M.G. Rabinovich in 1948. Rabinovich inspected the sites where the castles were probably only visually located.[34] The first proper archaeological work was carried out by M.A. Tkatchov in the 1960s. The research covered the castle in Sitna and Sokol (in the case of the latter the excavations were conducted in the wrong location, which will be elaborated upon later).[35] Wooden structures were found in the Sitna site and human remains in the alleged Sokol site. The documentation of the research expedition conducted on 18–25 June 2015 by the Institute of History of Saint Petersburg University (SPBGU) was also important. Without the work carried out under the supervision of, among others, Professor Alexander Filyushkin, the following analyses could not have been carried out. Finally, the archaeological research of Marat Klimov, conducted from 2014 to the present day, has been of the utmost importance for this book. In the years 2014–2015, Klimov investigated the remains of the Turoŭlia Castle during development-led excavations conducted in connection with the construction of a hydroelectric power plant near Polatsk. Then, from 2016, he undertook excavations in the Sokol stronghold and discovered that it lay in a completely different location than the one so far assumed by scholars.[36] This stronghold is currently the best-investigated one. When it comes to Krasny, on the other hand, even the precise location has not yet been established.

Author/drafter: Stanisław Pachołowiecki (?), Petrus Francus (?), and six military engineers (?)[37]
Publisher: Giovanni Battista Cavalieri

The dimensions of the individual prints are given in their respective descriptions.

The sets of these six engravings can be found in the following collections:[38]

A.   Tomasz Niewodniczański Collection, dep. in the Royal Castle in Warsaw (uncoloured copies, loose sheets, after conservation). These copies presumably belonged to Count Suchodolski and were the basis for Mikhail A. Korkunov's reprint.
B.   The private collection of Piotr Gałęzowski, Brussels (uncoloured copies, glued together in pairs. Acquired on the antiquarian market).
C.   Bibliothèque nationale de France (Département des Estampes et de la Photographie) in Paris (Lallemant de Betz collection, shelfmarks 7456–7461).[39] Contemporary colour, glued together in pairs; each copy has a brown oval seal with a crown and initials *B.R.* (in the bottom-middle part of the plan body). Reproductions in original sizes: "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego (1580) I", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017).
D.   British Library in London, shelfmark Maps 34139.(1), uncoloured, backed with carton in sets of three in alphabetical order and marked with a red stamp which reads: *British Museum 16 Jul 1872.*

34   М.Г. Рабинович, "Археологическая разведка в Полоцкой земле", *Краткие сообщения института истории материальной культуры* 33 (1950), pp. 81–88.

35   The only thing left of this expedition is a doctoral student's paper delivered from his participation in the excavations in 1969, which is kept in the archives of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus. See М.В. Клімаў, "Новыя археалагічныя даследаванні фартэцый перыяду Інфлянцкай вайны на Полаччыне" in: *Гісторыя і археалогія Полацка і Полацкай зямлі: матэрыялы VII Міжнароднай навуковай канферэнцыі (Полацк, 1–2 лістапада 2017 г.)*, Полацк 2019, pp. 130–131.

36   М.В. Клімаў, "Фартэцыя Туроўля: новыя звесткі паводле археалагічных даследаванняў", in: *Беларускае Падзвінне: вопыт, методыка і вынікі палявых і міждысцыплінарных даследаванняў*, Наваполацк 2018, pp. 30–39; М.В. Клімаў, "Новыя археалагічныя даследаванні фартэцый Полацк" 2019, pp. 129–142; М.В. Клімаў, "Вызначэнне дакладнага месцазнаходжання фартэцыі Сокал (па выніках археалагічных прац 2016 г.)", *Матэрыялы па археалогіі Беларусі* 30 (2019), pp. 191–205.

37   As for the authorship of the plans of the castles (except for Polatsk), it should be assumed that the original archetypes (ω) were made by military engineers or the royal cartographer (geographer) Petrus Francus, who accompanied the Polish-Lithuanian army. Three engineers came from Germany and the others came from Italy. We know three of them, all Italians, by Latinized names: Jakub Morsaleus, Hercules Rosetti, and Helvetius Cusimo. It is almost certain that the plan of Sokol in the ω version was made by Piotr Francus. The original plans were considerably changed for propaganda purposes. The castles were given the character of strong, brick fortresses and even fortified towns. Secondary manuscript plans (a), were made by Stanisław Pachołowiecki. See chapter 7.

38   Single copies of these castles appear in circulation among collectors. Most recently, two engravings depicting the castle at Sitna and Turoŭlia were put up for sale in 2021. See W. Lizak, *XXIX Aukcja. 25 lat antykwariatu Wu-El*, Szczecin 2021, pp. 105–106, Figs 326 and 327; http://antykwariat-wuel.pl/Aukcje-katalogi/29%20aukcja%20Antykwariat%20Wu-eL.pdf (accessed 04.09.2023).

39   *Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz ...*, p. 342; T. Chrzanowski, *Działalność artystyczna ...*, p. 37, note 60.

## 4        The Plan of the Kaziany Castle, 1580

The title of the map is in the top-middle part of the plan body, in a double-line frame placed in a horizontal rectangular box decorated with scrollwork; it reads: COSSIANVM. ARX. The publisher's signature is in the bottom left part of the plan body: *Joa. Baptista de Cauallerys | Romæ tipis æneis incidebat | Anno Domini. is80.* In a double-line frame in the bottom-middle part there is a horizontal rectangular plate decorated with strapwork and scrollwork; it contains the following note: *Per Serenisſ. Stephanum Poloniæ | Regem Moschox Principi erepta. | et expugnata. Die 23. Iulij. Anno | Domini. is79.* Two rivers, OBOLIA FLVMEN and *Oskaczicza flumen*, are named in the plan body.

Copperplate: 22.5 × 25.7 cm

Aleksey Parfenovich Sapunov was unsure as to the location of the stronghold and indicated that there are many mounds near the Obol River that may indicate the existence of castles in former days.[40] Currently, the most likely location is the former bend of the Obaĺ River, now an old riverbed[41] or another place nearby.[42] If the Kaziany stronghold was located in the former and the dimensions of the castle fitted in the shape of the bend of the river, its sides should be about 90 × 110 × 120 m. The literature, however, gives different dimensions, namely 50 × 110 × 120 m. Finally, the proportions of the stronghold depicted on the print do not correspond to either of these two sizes.[43] Therefore, the scale of the plan could have been about 1:1180 and the orientation is north-northwest.[44] Naturally, without archaeological research, both the orientation and the scale of the plan are hypothetical.

## 5        The Plan of the Krasny Castle, 1580

The title is placed in a double-framed box placed in the top-middle part of the plan body; it reads: CRASNA. ARX. The publisher's signature is at the top left of the plan body: *Joa. baptista de Cauallerijs incidebat | Romæ Anno Domini. is80.* In a double-line frame decorated with strapwork and scrollwork elements, placed in the top-right part of the plan body, there is the following note: *Per Serenisſimum Stephanum Poloniæ | Regem Moschis erepta die XXXI. Mensis | Julij Anno Dńi. M. D. LXXIX.* Lake CIOTHCZA LACVS is named in the plan body.

Copperplate, 22.5 × 25.7 cm

Currently, three locations are considered plausible for the castle. The lack of certain data makes it impossible to calculate the plan's scale and orientation.[45] According to Marat Klimov's observation, the remains of the stronghold were destroyed by road construction.

## 6        The Plan of Sitna Castle, 1580

The title of the plan is in the top-middle part of the plan body, placed in a double-line frame decorated with strapwork and scrollwork; it reads: SITNA. ARX. The publisher's signature is at the top left of the plan body: *Joa. baptista de Caualleris incidebat Romæ is80.* In the bottom-right part, placed in a double-line rectangular frame decorated with strapwork and scrollwork, there is another inscription: *Per Serenisſimum Stephanum | Poloniæ Regem Moschis | erepta; ac deleta Die 4. Aug. | Anno. is79.* River POLOTA FLVVIVS and a lake are named in the plan body, the latter only with the word *lacus*.

Copperplate, 22.5 × 25.7 cm

The remains of the castle are located near the village of Maloje Sitna, on the left bank of the Palata River, right next to its outflow from Lake Izmok.[46] At present, this place is marked with a symbol of remembrance (a monument) on an oval hill overgrown with a pine forest measuring about 80–90 m. Was it part of a larger whole? It is currently hard to imagine that this hill would house

---

40    А.П. Сапунов, "Рисунки крепостей …", p. 309.

41    Coordinates: 55 ° 32′32.81″N 29 ° 30′0.93″E.

42    Coordinates: 55 ° 32′32.0″N 29 ° 30′19.6″E. See https://history.spbu .ru/nauka/nauchnye-tsentry/285-rgnf-pogranichie-2015/ekspe ditsii/910-polotskaya-zemlya-kak-kontaktnaya-zona-pri-ivane -groznom-1563-1579-gg-ekspeditsiya-18-25-iyulya-2015-g.html (accessed 19.07.2024).

43    *Города, местечки и замки Великого Княжества Литовского. Энциклопедия*, председ. Т.В. Белова, гл. ed. В.П. Саламаха, Минск 2009, p. 176.

44    Triangular castles in Toky and Zinkov had similar dimensions. These strongholds are built on the plan of an isosceles triangle, the longer sides about 100 m long and the shortest ones about 70 m. B. Guerquin, "Zamki na planie trójkąta z XVI w.", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury* 6 (1938), pp. 305–306.

45    The location was quite clearly indicated by Bohdan Guerquin, but the 2015 expedition noted that the castle might have been sited in at least two other places. B. Guerquin, "Zamki na planie trójkąta z XVI w." …, pp. 303–304.

46    Coordinates: 55 ° 42′5″N 29 ° 21′45″E.

a garrison of three hundred strong. Nonetheless, archaeological research conducted in Turoŭlia has shown that this is very likely. A settlement of Muscovite riflemen, who were stationed at the stronghold, was discovered near this castle.[47] It could have been the same for Sitna. The map's adjustment to the existing hydrological conditions and the field research carried out in 2015 suggest that the stronghold had the shape of a trapezoid with two sides of about 160 m each, and two sides of 200 m and 70 m, respectively.[48] If the latter concept is correct, the scale of the plan is about 1:1860 and the plan is oriented to the southeast (the plan is rotated by 162 ° clockwise). It should be stressed that these measurements are hypothetical and need to be verified.

## 7      The Plan of the Turoŭlia Castle, 1580

The title of the plan is in the top-middle part of the body plan, in a double-line frame ornamented with strapwork and scrollwork; it reads: TVROVLIA. ARX. At the bottom right, in a double-line frame with strapwork and scrollwork ornament, there is another note: *Per ſereniss. Stephanum Poloniæ | Regem, Moschis erepta Die 4 | Septemb. Anno. is79*. Below this frame, in the plan body, the publisher's signature is placed: *Jo. baptista de Cauallerijs incidebat | Romæ is80*. Two rivers, DHVNA FLVVIVS and TVROWKA FLV, as well as a lake described simply as a LACVS.

Copperplate, 22.5 × 25.7 cm

The stronghold was built at the estuary of the Turoŭlianka to the Daugava, by a lake. The expedition of 2015 recorded traces of ramparts. It should be noted, however, that there is no lake in this area today or on other contemporary maps.[49] This makes it impossible to propose a hypothetical size for the stronghold. Archaeological research revealed the settlement of riflemen near the castle, but did not assess the size and shape of the defensive complex itself.[50] The terrain suggests that the stronghold was rhombus-shaped more clearly than the plan suggests. The dimensions remain unknown, but the orientation is certain: southeast (the plan is rotated by 147 ° clockwise).

In 1784, when describing the Polatsk deanery, it was noted that the castle in Turoŭlia was located in the Turoŭlian Forest, where trenches and ramparts were supposed to have been found. However, they were probably remains of some other settlement, perhaps a medieval one.[51]

## 8      The Plan of the Sokol Castle, 1580

The title of the plan is in the top-middle part of the body plan, in a double-framed box; it reads: SOCOLVM. ARX. At the bottom right, in a double-line frame, there is another note: *Per Sereniſſ. Stephanum Poloniæ Re | gem, cæsis multis Prætorianis Moschi | militibus, expugnata et deleta dié ii. | Septemb. Anno. is79*. In the bottom-left part of the plan body there is the publisher's signature: *Ioa baptista de Cauallerijs incidebat Romæ is80*. Two rivers are named in the plan body: *Niſcza fluuius.* and *Dryſſza fluuius*, as well as a FOSSA.

Copperplate, 22.5 × 25.7 cm

The remains of fortifications were visible as late as 1912, when they were described by Sapunov.[52] The Russian-Belarusian expedition from 2015 also found traces of it. Since 2016, archaeological research has been conducted in the area by Marat Klimov.[53] It turned out that the location of the stronghold reported until recently by residents of the nearby village of Kulnevo and given in guidebooks was incorrect and the castle actually lay 450 m to the southwest.[54] Thus, the print does not correspond to reality. It is likely that the original drawing (ω) of the fortification was significantly modified for propaganda purposes, and the settlement was overscaled to fill the whole space formed by the estuary of the River Nišča to the Drysa. Unfortunately, without archaeological research resulting in a detailed reconstruction of the shape of the stronghold it is impossible to determine the scale of the plan or orientation of the complex. The preliminary research suggests that the shorter side was about 135 and the longer 235 m long. However, these are only

47    М.В. Клімаў, "Фартэцыя Туроўля …", pp. 30–39.

48    We accepted the size of the castle proposed by the Russian-Belarusian expedition. See https://history.spbu.ru/nauka/nauchnye-tsentry/285-rgnf-pogranichie-2015/ekspeditsii/910-polotskaya-zemlya-kak-kontaktnaya-zona-pri-ivane-groznom-1563-1579-gg-ekspeditsiya-18-25-iyulya-2015-g.html (accessed 19.07.2024).

49    Coordinates: 55 ° 21′25″N 28 ° 59′27.3″E.

50    М.В. Клімаў, "Фартэцыя Туроўля …", pp. 30–39.

51    *Dekanat połocki w świetle opisów parafii z 1784 roku*, ed. B. Gawrylczyk, Białystok 2005, p. 88 (digital version: http://pbc.biaman.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=13819&from=publication, accessed 11.03.2018).

52    А.П. Сапунов, "Рисунки крепостей …", pp. 312–313.

53    М.В. Клімаў, "Новыя археалагічныя даследаванні фартэцый …", pp. 129–142; М.В. Клімаў, "Вызначэнне дакладнага месцазнаходжання …", pp. 191–205.

54    Coordinates: 55 ° 43′50.1″N 28 ° 32′20.7″E; present coordinates: 55 ° 44′2.44″N 28 ° 32′37.26″E.

speculations. Archaeological research confirmed that the castle had no walls and was only protected by wooden palisades. The remains of towers and a moat have survived. A gate secured by a portcullis and flanked by two small towers was also discovered. Inside the complex, there were buildings equipped with masonry ovens and cellars. Numerous ceramics, locks, keys, knives, metal heel taps, nails, mugs, decorative crosses, buttons, belt buckles, horse harnesses, needles, coins, bullets, and arrows were also discovered. The whole complex bears traces of fire, and numerous human bones and skulls chaotically scattered around confirm the account of the bloody capture of this stronghold.

## 9          The Plan of the Suša Castle, 1580

The title of the plan is in the top-middle part of the body plan, in a double-line frame; it reads: svssa. arx. Also at the top but on the left side, in a double-line parallelogram-shaped frame (its left side is a single edge of the plan border) decorated with strapwork and scrollwork, there is the following note: *Munitiſsimo loco posita, et per Sere= | niſſ. Stephanum Poloniæ Regem | Moschis erepta Die 6. Octob | Anno D. is79.* Below this box, in the plan body, the publisher's signature is placed: *Joa. Baptista de Cauallerys | Romæ tipis æneis incidebat | Anno. Domini. is80.* Lake svssa lacvs is named in the plan body.

Copperplate, 22.5 × 25.7 cm

The stronghold probably covered almost the entire island between the Lakes Ostrovki and Temenitsa.[55] The 2015 expedition took into account that the stronghold could be of different sizes: a smaller one, covering a small part of the island in the shape of a cape measuring 40 × 60 m, or a larger one that would have occupied the entire island. The latter was assumed to be correct because the former seemed too small. This hypothesis is confirmed by the description of the Polatsk deanery of 1784, when the whole island was still remembered as a fortress, "surrounded by the lake, but currently it can be considered a simple village".[56] It had a shape similar to a rectangle, perhaps slightly rhomboid. Its sides could be between 220 and 250 m. Therefore, the scale of the plan was probably about 1:2670 and it was oriented to the north-northwest (the plan is rotated by 53 ° anticlockwise). The distortion grid made for this print shows that this plan was very accurate. The oblique character of the grid results from the isometric projection (bird's eye view). Of course, it should be emphasized that this particular plan was extremely simple to make. Accurate evaluation of credibility would require verification of the location of two or three recorded Orthodox churches and a tower that served as an arsenal. Unfortunately, this is impossible.

---

55      Coordinates: 55 ° 05′06.7″N 29 ° 01′23.9″E.

56      *Dekanat połocki w świetle opisów parafii z 1784 roku*, ed. B. Gawrylczyk, Białystok 2005, p. 88 (digital version: http://pbc.biaman.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=13819&from=publication, access: 11.03.2018).
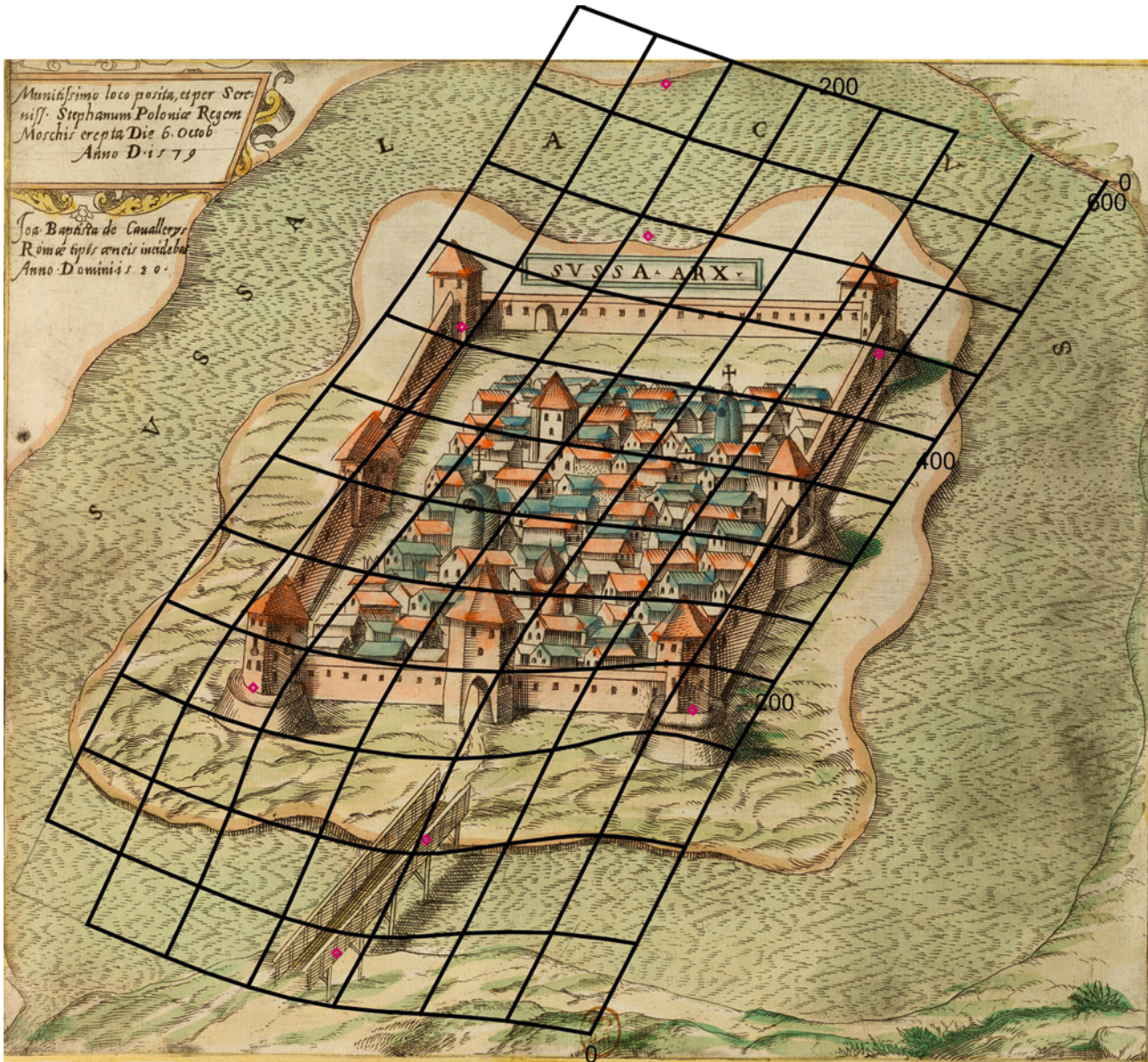
FIGURE 1.5 A distortion grid with a side of 50 m on a drawing depicting Suša Castle. Made by K. Łopatecki using the MapAnalyst programme. The map used in the study is kept in Bibliothèque nationale de France (Département des Estampes et de la Photographie) in Paris (Lallemant de Betz collection, shelfmark 7457)

# State of Research

The research on the maps made by Stanisław Pachołowiecki has a relatively long history.[1] As early as in the 19th century this cycle was considered a very rare and valuable cartographic artefact. Feliks Bentkowski, a literary historian (1781–1852), who was the first to discuss this source in the second volume of his *Historia literatury polskiej* (*The History of Polish Literature*) (1814), described it as "a rare [...] collection of useful and beautiful work of our fellow countryman".[2] The copy he had at his disposal belonged in those days to Count Jan Suchodolski, head of the II Department of War in the Duchy of Warsaw.

However it was a Russian historian Mikhail Andreevich Korkunov (1806–1858) who was the first to draw attention to the importance of these cartographic works. In 1837 in St Petersburg, he published reprints of all eight engravings from 1580 and provided them with an introduction.[3] Tracings of the maps for this edition were prepared by Jan Mitkiewicz.

This edition itself is important for several reasons. Firstly, for the next 150 years, it was the only source of knowledge on 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 Polatsk". This name appears in the running head in his publication.

Three years after Korkunov's publication, its Polish translation was released together with the engravings. It was published in Wrocław (then Breslau) by Zygmunt Schletter in M. Frydlender's printing house.[4]

The originals were lost before the mid-19th century and were therefore unknown to scholars. Edward Rastawiecki, the author of the first Polish history of cartography in the 1840s, only mentioned the reprints.[5] Thus, Korkunov's edition was the only one available to historians in the 19th and most of the 20th century.[6] Despite its obvious advantages, this work caused significant research problems. For more than 150 years, the 19th-century engravings became the basis for all the studies. One cannot deny the good intentions of their lithographer Jean François Davignon and publisher Jan Mitkiewicz, but in many places they were simplified and details were modified. This led to incorrect opinions and interpretations.

In 1909, the publishers of Pachołowiecki's diploma of nobility admitted that in all likelihood the maps had been irretrievably lost, so they decided to reprint them from Korkunov's 1837 edition.[7] The same reprints were republished by Aleksei Parfenovich Sapunov three years later and by Polish authors, namely Jan Giergielewicz, Mieczysław Gębarowicz, and Karol Buczek.[8] They were used by historians of cartography who investigated the works of Pachołowiecki before World War II, that is by Bolesław Olszewicz and Karol Buczek, and after the war by Karol Buczek and Stanisław Alexandrowicz,[9] as well as

---

1 Originally published as J. Niedźwiedź, "The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk—an Introduction", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 19–36; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.008.8266.

2 "rzadki (...) zbiór użytecznej i pięknej pracy ziomka naszego." F. Bentkowski, *Historia literatury polskiej wystawiona w spisie dzieł drukiem ogłoszonych*, vol. 2, Vilnius 1814, pp. 625–626.

3 See М.А. Коркунов, "Карта военных действий между русскими и поляками в 1579 г. и тогдашние планы г. Полоцка и его окрестностей", *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения*, 8 (15) (1837), pp. 235–249. https://polona.pl/preview/3763bea7-b9ff-4e3d-96f3-a008a1387d10 (accessed 18.07.2024).

4 *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-view/bb875c40-95b2-4b7f-9f98-58fea634568d?page=1 (accessed 18.07.2024). Apart from fifteen pages of text, the volume contains reproductions of the *Map of the Principality of Polatsk*, a bird's-eye view of Polatsk besieged in 1579, and six plans of nearby strongholds. They were

pressed from lithographic plates prepared for Korkunov's work mentioned above.

5 See E. Rastawiecki, *Mappografia dawnej Polski*, Warsaw 1846, pp. 123–125.

6 For example: B. Kalicki, "Nobilitacje króla Stefana na wyprawie moskiewskiej 1579–1581", in: *Album lwowskie*, ed. H. Nowakowski, Lviv 1862, pp. 91–93; M. Dubiecki, *Historyja literatury polskiej na tle dziejów narodu skreślona*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1889, p. 324.

7 *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego ...*, vol. 2, p. 423.

8 А.П. Сапунов, "Рисунки крепостей ...", pp. 299–313. *Z okolic Dźwiny: Księga zbiorowa na dochód Czytelni Polskiej w Witebsku*, Vitebsk 1912; J. Giergielewicz, "Przegląd działalności inżynierów wojskowych w epoce królów elekcyjnych", *Saper i Inżynier Wojskowy* 4 (1925), pp. 202 ff.; M. Gębarowicz, *Początki malarstwa historycznego w Polsce*, Wrocław 1981, Fig. 19; Buczek, *Kartografia*, Table VIII; *Вялікі гістарычны атлас Беларусі ...*

9 See B. Olszewicz, "Kartografia polska XV i XVI wieku", *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny*, 31(4) (1929/1930), pp. 163–164; *idem*, "Kartografia polska XVII wieku", *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny*, 36(5) (1931/1932), p. 136; Buczek, *Dorobek*, pp. 3–15; Buczek, *Kartografia*, 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 ...", p. 4; *idem*, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej ...", pp. 17–43; Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 59.

other historians of the reign of King Stephen Báthory.[10] Until the 1980s, none of them knew any of the originals. Only in 1984 did Tadeusz Chrzanowski announce that he had found a description of Pachołowiecki's maps in the catalogue of the National Library in Paris, but he did not see them at that time.[11] However, this information escaped the attention of cartography historians. A few years later, in 1987, at the XII Polish Conference of Cartography Historians, Tomasz Niewodniczański (1933–2010) announced that he was in possession of the entire set of drawings from 1580. Later, Niewodniczański also acquired a coloured copy of the map of the Principality of Polatsk.[12]

It was not until 2016–2017 that more surviving maps by Stanisław Pachołowiecki were discovered. They are kept in libraries in London, Paris, and Perugia, as well as in private collections.[13] Grzegorz Franczak and Jakub Niedźwiedź also established that there were two editions of the map of the 1579 siege of Polatsk. One of the results of this research was a new facsimile edition of the maps and plans in their original size and scale released in 2017.[14]

Basic information about the authorship of these maps was given by Bolesław Olszewicz in 1931.[15] The first

historical and cartographic studies were presented by Karol Buczek as early as in 1933. He took a very critical stance in assessing the level of execution of these cartographic artefacts; we refer to his opinions many times later in this book.[16] Some of his reproofs were to the point, but many were incorrect due to the flawed sources he used, as he examined the 19th-century reprints.[17] This was pointed out by Mieczysław Gębarowicz when he characterized the artistic standard of Stanisław Pachołowiecki's works. Gębarowicz noted that the source base is dubious, and the maps are known "only from tracings from the first half of the 19th century, which raise certain doubts".[18]

The breakthrough came with the work of Stanisław Alexandrowicz, who was the first to use the original engravings, which were then in the collection of Tomasz Niewodniczański.[19] Investigating the originals, Alexandrowicz recalculated the scale of the maps (1:545,000, not 1:700,000), gave a more correct northeastern orientation (but only of the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*), and pointed out the propaganda aspects of the work.[20] Alexandrowicz also wrote Stanisław Pachołowiecki's biography for the Polish Biographical Dictionary (PSB).[21]

According to Alexandrowicz, the details of the map leave much to be desired, but the map itself played an important role in shaping the cartographic image of this part of the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Stanisław Pachołowiecki's works were used by, for example, eminent 16th-century cartographers, such as Maciej Strubicz, Gerardus Mercator, and a group of people who participated in the creation of the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP of the Grand

10 For example: K. Olejnik, *Stefan Batory 1533–1586*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 172–173, 312; H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582. Sprawy organizacyjne", part 2, pp. 81–82, 124; S. Łempicki, *Mecenat wielkiego kanclerza: studia o Janie Zamoyskim*, Warsaw 1980, p. 298; T. Jakimowicz, *Temat historyczny w sztuce epoki ostatnich Jagiellonów*, Warsaw 1985, p. 109.

11 See T. Chrzanowski, *Działalność artystyczna ...*, p. 37 (note 60), 72, 82–83 (note 90); A. Flandrin, *Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz ...*, p. 342, items 7456–7461.

12 Today, the complete atlas from Niewodniczanski's collection is kept in the deposit in the Royal Castle in Warsaw. These are most probably the same maps that belonged to Count Suchodolski at the beginning of the 19th century, as they are accompanied by a manuscript note made and signed by Feliks Bentkowski. The content of this note, which is a commentary to the maps, is almost identical to the information contained in Bentkowski's *Historia literatury polskiej*. The coloured copy is currently kept in a private collection, together with views of six fortresses independently purchased by the same collector. A small reproduction of this map was published in a catalogue *Imago Poloniae ...*, vol. 1, nr H9/2.

13 The list of extant copies is given in K. Kozica's "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych ...", pp. 42–46 and in this publication in the chapter *The Description of the Atlas*.

14 "Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk (1580) I", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017). In 1998, the Uitgeverij Canaletto publishing house, which specializes in, among other things, map reprints, was planning to reprint a map of the Principality of Polatsk. It did not appear, but it is recorded in the online Open Library. See *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis: Reprint of the 1580*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1998 (Series Cartographica Rarissima).

15 The latest edition: B. Olszewicz, *Kartografia polska XV i XVI wieku: Przegląd chronologiczno-bibliograficzny*, ed. J. Ostrowski, Warsaw 2004, pp. 23–24.

16 Buczek argues that the map was badly orientated and meanly executed, so that it looks more like a field sketch whose maker only knew its southern part, and not the whole area, from his own experience. As for its scale, the map has a very modest content, with the Daugava River flowing southward until the mouth of the Krzywica River, while in this area it should flow to the southwest, and further to the southwest instead of northwest. Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 80–82; K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej ...*, pp. 45–47; Buczek, *The History*, pp. 50–51.

17 As early as 1966, Buczek emphasized that he did not know the surviving originals of Pachołowiecki/Cavalieri's prints. Buczek, *The History*, p. 50, note 170.

18 M. Gębarowicz, *Początki malarstwa ...*, p. 17.

19 The first mention of the discovery: S. Alexandrowicz, *Rozwój kartografii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1989, pp. 195–196, note 45. See A.M. Kobos, "Tomasz Niewodniczański ...", pp. 149–197.

20 A summary of numerous references in the literature: Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 60–62, 171–178. The first study entirely devoted to the original engravings by Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri: S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej ...", pp. 18–28.

21 S. Alexandrowicz, "Pachołowiecki Stanisław", in: PSB, vol. 24, Cracow 1979, pp. 761–762.

Duchy of Lithuania (1603/1613/1631). Recently, the Russian historian Alexandr Filyushkin drew attention to the propaganda aspect of the maps and plans, considering them to be a manifestation of wider actions of the royal court.[22]

The degree of interest in particular cartographic works presenting the events of 1579 varies. The *Map of the Principality of Polatsk* has been discussed relatively often, as compared to the print depicting the siege of Polatsk, while the plans of six smaller fortresses have been almost completely ignored in the research to date.[23] However, the set of maps published in Rome in 1580 has not yet been fully analysed. No distortion grids have been made so far, there have been no studies which would comprehensively present the circumstances of the creation of the set.[24]

It was not until 2017 that a series of papers devoted to the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* appeared in Polish. This monograph is an English version of those publications.[25]

---

22   А.И. Филюшкин, *Изобретая первую воину России и Европы. Балтийские войны второй половины XVI в. глазами современников и потомков*, Санкт-Петербург, 2013, pp. 500–504.

23   They are discussed by, among others, Kupisz, *Połock*.

24   K. Buczek pointed out that the most correct model of research on the history of cartography is one in which at least five aspects are considered. These aspects are: purely historical studies (information about the authors and circumstances of the production of the artefact discussed and its publication), technical execution of the map (legend, system of symbols, scale, etc.), mathematical basis of the map and analysis of its accuracy, analysis of topography, physiographic elements, and settlements, attitude to the former maps of a given region, and evaluation of the map in question against the background of contemporary Polish and European cartography. K. Buczek, "Stan i potrzeby badań nad dziejami kartografii polskiej", in: *Problemy nauk pomocniczych historii. Materiały na III Konferencję poświęconą naukom pomocniczym historii Katowice-Wisła, 29–31 V 1974*, Katowice 1974, p. 149.

25   This chapter is a partial result of a research project financed by the National Science Centre (Poland) *Social and economic importance of military camps and garrisons in the Polish-Lithuanian state (16th–18th cc.)*, nr NCN 2018/31/B/HS3/00846.

# Transcriptions and Translations

All Latin texts are provided in transcription,[1] i.e. in a modernized version.[2] The spelling has been modernized in accordance with the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* standard.[3] With regard to punctuation, we decided to follow the standards established currently by the team of scholars from Academia Latinitati Fovendae.[4] Square parentheses were used where abbreviated words were completed according to the context; for example *f*[ilio], *Seren*[issimum], *Polon*[orum], etc.

## 1 The Map of the Principality of Polatsk

**The title cartouche:**
*DESCRIPTIO DUCATUS POLOCENSIS*. *S. Pacholowic*
Description of the Principality of Polatsk. S. Pachołowic

**The signature:**
*Joa*[nnes] *Baptista de Cavalleriis Romae typis aeneis incidebat Anno Domini 1580.*
Engraved in a copper plate by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri in Rome, in the Year of Our Lord 1580.

**Stemma:**
*In arma victricia Sereniss*[imi] *Stephani Poloniae regis felicis*

"*Arcibus inclusus latuit cum milite Moschus:*
   *Ales eum Stephani principis hinc pepulit.*
*Prosilit in campos: fugat hunc mucrone, cruorem*
   *Barbaricum doctus fundere, regis eques.*
*Si tentabit aquas, uncum rex ecce tridentem*
   *Fert—Moschum ex omni sic mala parte premunt.*

---

1  Originally published as G. Franczak, "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego Stanisława Pachołowieckiego z 1580 roku—transkrypcja i przekład", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 61–74; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.002 .7891.
2  All translations CKS and G.F. Transliteration, i.e. the exact rendering of all the letters and diacritical marks that appear on the discussed maps is given in the chapter 2 of this book and in an earlier study by Kazimierz Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych ...", pp. 37–59.
3  *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P.G.W. Glare, 2nd ed., Oxford 2012.
4  See *Normae orthographicae et orthotypicae Latinae*, Academia Latinitati Fovendae, Rome 1990. Latin and Polish version: *Meander* 1992, 9–10, pp. 441–457. See also, on the question of editing standards for neo-Latin texts: E. Rabbie, "Editing Neo-Latin Texts", *Editio* 10 (1996), pp. 25–48.

*Protere, maxime rex, Romani nominis hostem,*
   *Quodque facis, Christi spargere perge Fidem!*"

*Tho*[mas] *Tre*[terus] *Polonus*

On the winning crest of the Most Serene and Fortunate King Stephen of Poland

"The Muscovite was hiding in a tight fortress with his soldiers:
   King Stephen's winged eagle drove him out.
He jumps into the fields: from there, he is chased away by the sword
   Of the royal rider, who knows how to shed barbaric blood.
He's trying to run away by water? Behold the king's trident with curved teeth—Disaster awaits the Muscovite everywhere.
The greatest of kings! Crush the enemy of the Roman name
   And continue spreading the faith in Christ!"

Tomasz Treter, a Pole

**The cartouche—the history of Polatsk:**
*Polotia priscis temporibus, sub annum scilicet Christi 980 vel, ut Russi supputant, a creato mundo 6488 suum peculiarem ducem habuit Rochvoldum. Qui a Wlodimiro Magno ob negatam in matrimonium filiam Rochnedam, ut annales Moscorum perhibent, bello victus vitam pariter cum duobus filiis ac imperio amisit. Inde monarchis Russiae paruit, quorum sublata stirpe ea, quae in australi Russia regnabat, Lituanis cum quibusdam ditionibus Russicis concessit. Iagiellone apud Lituanos primum, inde apud Polonos regnante Andreas frater ipsius Polotiae dominatum arripuerat, fere cum ipse Iagello Cracoviae coronaretur, sed mox missis copiis cum arce in potestatem regis venit. Inde eius dominatus a magnis Lituaniae ducibus et regibus Poloniae continuatus est ad annum 1563, quo a Ioanne Basilii f*[ilio], *duce Moscoviae, capta est eiusqe ditionis ager aliquot novis excitatis arcibus firmatus. Nunc vero demum anno 1579 et ipsa Polotia, et arces reliquae per Seren*[issimum] *Polon*[orum] *Regem Stephanum partim captae, partim deletae universusqe ille Ducatus receptus. Ditio haec ad 30 milliaria in longitudinem, in latitudinem vix minus patet, ac propter ubertatem glebae ac fluminum aliquot, imprimis*

*vero Dunae, omnium prope Europae fluviorum pulcherrimi, amoenissimi et ad navigandum accomodatissimi, opportunitatem Rigensisqe portus propinquitatem [abundantissima]. Polotia dum a Mosco caperetur, divitiis incolarum ipsam Vilnam superabat. Regius praefectus Polocensis cum ordine senatorio palatini titulum et dignitatem habet.*

In the olden times, that is in the Year of Christ 980 or according to the Rus'ian calendar in 6488 since the creation of the world, Polatsk had its own prince, Rogvolod. According to Muscovite chronicles, he refused to marry his daughter Rogneda to Vladimir the Great, and then, defeated by the latter in war, he lost both his two sons, the principality, and his own life. The city was later subordinated to Rus'ian monarchs, and—after the removal of the line that ruled southern Rus'—surrendered to Lithuanians along with some part of Rus'ian lands. When Jagiełło first reigned in Lithuania and later in Poland, his brother Andrei took over Polatsk, almost at the same time as Jagiełło was crowned in Cracow; soon, however, the army was sent there and he was captured by the royal forces together with the fortress. From then on, the city was held by the grand dukes of Lithuania and Polish kings until 1563, when it was conquered by the Duke of Moscow Ivan, son of Vasily, who fortified the Polatsk region by erecting several new fortresses there. Now at last, in 1579, Polatsk and the remaining castles have been captured or destroyed by the Most Serene Polish King Stephen, and the whole principality has been regained. The land stretches for 30 miles in length and slightly less in width, and for the fertility of the soil and the profit of some rivers, especially Daugava, the most beautiful, joyful and suitable for navigation of almost all the rivers of Europe, and finally it provides great opportunities due to the proximity of the port in Riga. When it was conquered by the Muscovite, Polatsk exceeded Vilnius in the wealth of its inhabitants. The Royal Governor of Polatsk together with the senatorial dignity holds the title and office of voivode.

**Caption under the scale:**
*Scala milliarium Polonicorum*
The scale of Polish miles

**2      Plan of the Siege of Polatsk**

**Title:**
*Obsidio et expugnatio munitiss*[imae] *arcis Polocensis per Sereniss*[imum] *Stephanum Poloniae regem*
The Siege and Conquest of the Most Secure Fortress of Polatsk by Stephen, the Most Serene King of Poland

**The cartouche:**
*Obsessa* XI *Aug*[usti], *capta* XXIX *eius*[dem] *anno* MDLXXIX. *Delineavit in ipsis castris S. Pacholowic*
Under siege on 11 August, captured on 29 August 1579. Sketched in the camp by S. Pachołowic

**Subscription:**
*Polotia ex duabus arcibus, superiore ac sclopetariorum oppidoque Zapolota constans, ita situ loci, propugnaculis ac inprimis bombardarum apparatu, pulvere, globis, commeatu, militum praesidio munita et instructa, ut merito non solum Moschoviae, sed totius Septemtrionis firmissimum propugnaculum existimaretur; obsessa a Sereniss*[imo] *Poloniae rege Stephano* XI *Augusti et Moschis strenue defendentibus erepta* XXIX *eiusd*[em] *Anno Domini* MDLXXIX.

Polatsk, consisting of two fortresses—the Upper Castle and the Shooters' Castle—together with the city of Zapalotye, is so fortified and prepared for defence thanks to its location, defences, and above all the supply of guns, gunpowder, bullets, food, and soldiers that it can rightly be considered the most powerful fortress not only in Muscovy, but in the whole North; besieged by the Most Serene King of Poland Stephen on 11 August and conquered despite the fierce defence of the Muscovites on the 29th of the same month, the Year of Our Lord 1579.

**The caption:**
*Ioannes Baptista de Cavalleriis Romae typis aeneis incidebat Anno Domini 1580.*
Engraved in a copper plate by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri in Rome, in the Year of Our Lord 1580.

**The legend:**
*Arx sclopetariorum*
Shooters' Castle

*Arx superior*
Upper Castle

*Castra Germanorum*
German camp

*Castra Hungar*[orum]
Hungarian camp

*Castra Lithuanorum*
Lithuanian camp

*Castra Polon*[orum]
Polish camp

*Duna fluvius*
Daugava (Dzvina) River

*Equitatus aulicus*
Royal cavalry

*Equitatus Hungar*[icus]
Hungarian cavalry

*Equitatus Lithuanicus*
Lithuanian cavalry

*Equitatus Polonicus*
Polish cavalry

*Mola*
Mills

*Munitiones Germanorum*
German ramparts

*Munitiones peditatus Polonici*
Ramparts of the Polish infantry

*Munitiones primae peditarum Hungarorum*
First rampart of the Hungarian infantry

*Munitiones secundae Hungarorum peditarum*
Second rampart of the Hungarian infantry

*Pedit*[atus] *Polon*[icus]
Polish infantry

*Peditatus Germanicus*
German infantry

*Peditatus Ungar*[icus]
Hungarian infantry

*Polota fluvius*
Palata River

*Pons in scaphis*
Bridge on boats

*Tabernaculum Regis*
Royal Tent

*Zapolota*
Zapalotye

## 3 View of Kaziany Castle

**The title cartouche:**
COSSIANUM ARX
Kaziany Castle

**The signature:**
*Joa*[nnes] *Baptista de Cavalleriis Romae typis aeneis incidebat Anno Domini 1580.*
Engraved in a copper plate by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri in Rome, in the Year of Our Lord 1580.

**The cartouche:**
*Per Sereniss*[imum] *Stephanum Poloniae Regem Moschorum Principi erepta et expugnata die 23 Iulii Anno Domini 1579.*
Captured and taken from the Muscovite prince by the Most Serene King of Poland Stephen on 23 July of the Year of Our Lord 1579.

**The legend:**
*Obolia flumen*
Obol River

*Oskaczicza flumen*
River Chernivka (Skacica)

## 4 View of Krasny Castle

**The title cartouche:**
CRASNA ARX
Castle of Krasny

**The caption:**
*Joa*[nnes] *Baptista de Cavalleriis incidebat Romae Anno Domini 1580.*
Engraved in Rome by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, in the Year of Our Lord 1580.

**The cartouche:**
*Per Serenissimum Stephanum Poloniae Regem Moschis erepta die XXXI mensis Iulii Anno D*[omi]*ni MDLXXIX.*
Taken from Muscovites by the Most Serene King of Poland Stephen on 31 July of the Year of Our Lord 1579.

**The legend:**
*Ciothcza lacus*
Ciotča Lake (Paule)

## 5      View of Sitna Castle

**The title cartouche:**
*SITNA ARX*
Sitna Castle

**The caption:**
*Joa*[nnes] *Baptista de Cavalleris incidebat Romae 1580.*
Engraved in Rome by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, 1580.

**The cartouche:**
*Per Serenissimum Stephanum Poloniae Regem Moschis erepta ac deleta die 4 Aug*[usti] *Anno 1579.*
Taken from Muscovites and demolished by the Most Serene King of Poland Stephen on 4 August 1579.

**The legend:**
*Polota fluvius*
Palata River

*Lacus*
Lake

## 6      View of Sokol Castle

**The title cartouche:**
*SOCOLUM ARX*
Sokol Castle

**The cartouche:**
*Per Sereniss*[imum] *Stephanum Poloniae Regem, caesis multis praetorianis Moschi militibus, expugnata et deleta die 11 Septemb*[ris] *Anno 1579*
Captured and demolished, with numerous first-rate Muscovite soldiers killed, by the Most Serene King of Poland Stephen on 2 September 1579

**The signature:**
*Joa*[nnes] *Baptista de Cavalleriis incidebat Romae 1580*
Engraved in Rome by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, 1580

**The legend:**
*Niscza fluvius*
Nišča River

*Dryssza fluvius*
Drysa River

*Fossa*
Moat

## 7      View of Suša Castle

**The title cartouche:**
*SUSSA ARX*
Suša Castle

**The cartouche:**
*Munitissimo loco posita et per Sereniss*[imum] *Stephanum Poloniae regem Moschis erepta die 6 Octob*[ris] *Anno D*[omini] *1579*
Located in a well-defended place, and taken from Muscovites by the Most Serene King of Poland Stephen on 6 October of the Year of Our Lord 1579

**The caption:**
*Joa*[nnes] *Baptista de Cavalleriis Romae typis aeneis incidebat Anno Domini 1580*
Engraved in a copper plate in Rome by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, in the Year of Our Lord 1580

**The legend:**
*Sussa lacus*
Suša Lake

## 8      View of Turoŭlia Castle

**The title cartouche:**
*TUROVLIA ARX*
Turoŭlia Castle

**The cartouche:**
*Per Sereniss*[imum] *Stephanum Poloniae Regem Moschis erepta die 4 Septemb*[ris] *Anno 1579*
Taken from Muscovites by the Most Serene King of Poland Stephen on 4 September 1579

**The caption:**
*Jo*[annes] *Baptista de Cavalleriis incidebat Romae 1580*
Engraved in Rome by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, 1580

**The legend:**
*Dhuna fluvius*
Daugava (Dzvina) River

*Lacus*
Lake

*Turowka flu*[vius]
River Turoŭlianka

# Cartographic Representations of the Siege of Polatsk

It is worthwhile analysing the entire corpus of 16th-century cartographic works depicting the siege and conquest of Polatsk in 1579 by Stephen Báthory's army.[1] These issues were thoroughly studied by Stanisław Alexandrowicz, who examined a copperplate by Stanisław Pachołowiecki (PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*), as well as a drawing by Paulus zum Thurn (Czumthurn) and a woodcut by Georg Mack.[2] In Alexandrowicz's opinion, the plan of Polatsk made by Pachołowiecki is "schematic and devoid of individualized details".[3] Therefore, he thought much better of the drawing by Paulus zum Thurn, today kept in the Dresden archive. He noted only that "in one important detail the copperplate content is richer than the drawing: Zapalotye. [...] In the drawing, there are smouldering ruins in this place."[4] Due to this evaluation, Alexandrowicz focused primarily on the analysis of the drawing, and devoted much less space to Pachołowiecki's print. The aim of this paper is to recompare the contents of these two cartographic sources with the existing plans of the fortress-town from the middle of the 17th and early 18th centuries.[5]

The conquest of Polatsk was widely publicized throughout Europe.[6] Apart from numerous literary and poetic works,[7] as many as four visual representations of the siege were created:

1. The *Obsidio et expugnatio munitissimae arcis Polocensis* (*The Siege and Conquest of the Most Secure Fortress of Polatsk*) by Pachołowiecki and Cavalieri (Fig. 4.1).

2. A drawing depicting the conquest of Polatsk by Paulus zum Thurn (Czumthurn, Zumthorn).[8] He was a painter who worked in Cracow in the years 1573–1598.[9] Stanisław Alexandrowicz believed that he made the drawing based on Stanisław Pachołowiecki's manuscript plan. For this reason, Alexandrowicz notes two authors of the drawing: Pachołowiecki-Zumthorn[10] (Fig. 4.2).

1 Originally published as K. Łopatecki, "Ocena wiarygodności źródeł kartograficznych prezentujących oblężenie Połocka z 1579 roku", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 4(45), pp. 759–795; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE .17.020.9347.

2 S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej ...", pp. 28–43; Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 174–178. Alexandrowicz did not know about other modern plans of Polatsk. He compared the two sources under discussions mainly with two French maps created in 1812. On the basis of these, Alexandrowicz calculated that the scale of the plan was different and fluctuated from 1:18,700 to 1:24,600.

3 S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej" ..., p. 31: "dość prymitywnego i dalekiego od precyzji pomiarów planu Pachołowieckiego".

4 S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej" ..., pp. 36–37: "Tylko w jednym istotnym szczególe miedzioryt zawiera treść bogatszą niż rysunek: Zapołocie. [...] Na rysunku w tym miejscu widoczne są zgliszcza".

5 Kriegsarkivet (Stockholm), Utländska stads och fästningsplaner, Polen, Polock 1; Библиотека Российской Академии наук. Санкт-Петербург, Рукописный отдел, Собрание иностранных рукописей, F° 266, т. 4, f. 48, Fig. 52; Российский государственный военноисторический архив, f. 846, op. 16, dz. 22367. These cartographic sources concerning Polatsk, mainly from the years 1579, 1707, 1778, were characterized in the following works: Г.В. Штыхов, С.В. Тарасов, Д.В. Дук, "Историография и источники", in: *Полоцк*, ed. О.Н. Левко, Минск 2012, pp. 18–25; А. Белы, "Plan von Polotzko anno 1707", *Спадчына* 10 (1998), 4, pp. 12–15; *idem*, "Полацк у нямецкіх 'Лятучых лістках' XVI ст. Інфлянцкая вайна на старонках першых еўрапейскіх газет", *Спадчына* 9 (1997), 6, pp. 213–219;

Ю.В. Чантурия, *Градостроительное искусство Беларуси второй половины XVI–первой половины XIX в.*, Минск 2005, pp. 272–278.

6 K. Zawadzki, "Akcja prasowa Stefana Batorego w czasie wypraw moskiewskich 1579–1581", in: *Dzieje polskiej kartografii wojskowej i myśli strategicznej: Materiały z konferencji*, ed. B. Krassowski, J. Madej, Warsaw 1982, pp. 121–122; А.И. Филюшкин, "Завоевание Стефаном Баторием Полоцка в 1579 г. в европейском нарративе", *Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. Серия 2. История* 1 (2014), pp. 5–9.

7 See chapters 9 and 10 of this book.

8 ZUM THURN MAP. Dimensions of the drawing: 31.8 cm × 38.8 cm (illustration without frame 30 cm × 37 cm). Colourful reproduction: Alexandrowicz, *Dziedzictwo*, insert at the end of the volume.

9 See S. Alexandrowicz, "Kartografia wojskowa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego ...", p. 14; E. Rastawiecki, *Słownik malarzów polskich, tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1851, pp. 90–91; Ch. Rohrschneider, "Czumturn (Czum Thurn; Czumstur; Czumthorn; Tomtorn; Tomturn), Paweł (Paul)", in: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 23, München 1999, p. 319. It was assumed for some time that this was an original drawing made in 1579 by Stanisław Pachołowiecki (see S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne ...", pp. 3–29). However, a careful analysis of the original revealed that it contains a signature: "*PAVEL TOMTORN PICTOR GRAFE*" (see H. Brichzin, "Augenschein-, Bild- und Streitkarten," in: F. Bönisch, K. Schillinger, W. Stams, *Kursächsische Kartographie bis zum Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, vol. 1: *Die Anfänge des Kartenwesens Gebundene Ausgabe*, Berlin 1990, pp. 186–187.

10 See S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej", pp. 34–35: "Undoubtedly, the initial reference material [for the drawing by Paulus zum Thurn—K.Ł.] was that Stanisław Pachołowiecki made during the siege of Polatsk or immediately

A coloured woodcut made by Georg Mack the Elder, placed in a pamphlet published in Nuremberg in 1579.[11] This view is secondary and was probably based on a text published together with a graphic illustration that provides an account of the conquest of the fortress.[12] The topography of the Shooters' Castle is fictional, and the Upper Castle gives the impression of a spacious fortified town built on a square plan and located in the fork of the Daugava and Palata Rivers. In addition, the direction and estuary of the Palata were shown incorrectly, the mighty tower depicted in Zapalotye did not exist, the bridge over the Palata River was marked erroneously, and the island on the Daugava River was not marked at all. This artefact cannot be regarded as a cartographic source, but as an iconographic one: it provides important information for researchers of armaments and artillery. Its propaganda message should also be emphasized— it showed the cruelty of the Muscovites, who brutally tortured the captured soldiers (the scene in the Shooters' Castle), and the ceremony of the Muscovites thanking Stephen Báthory for graciously accepting the conditions of surrender[13] (Fig. 4.3).

---

after its capture." Zum Thurn's drawing made in Cracow is not the only example of the interpenetration of cartography and painting. The military themes related to 1579 became the subject of battle paintings ordered by magnates. We know of as many as four other depictions of the events of 1579, all painted at Krzysztof Radziwiłł's orders: Krzysztof Radziwiłł's expedition through Dorpat (Tartu) to Pskov; the conquest of Sitno and Kaziany; the victorious Battle of Sokol; the destruction of the Sokol fortress. Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, shelfmark 16594 A*, 16595 A*, 16596 A*, 16597 A*.

11    *Warhafft e Contrafactur vnd gewisse Zeitung, welcher massen die Königliche Wirden in Poln, die Stat und daß Schloß Polotzko in Littawen gelegen, sampt andern Heusern, die der Moscowiter vor der zeyt der Korn unbillich abgedrungen, widerumben belegert und eingenommen. Auch was sich in solchem Zug verloffen hat*, Nuremberg: Georg Mack, [1579], [p. 1]. It was discovered and described in J. Pirożyński, *Z dziejów obiegu informacji w Europie XVI wieku. Nowiny z Polski w kolekcji Jana Jakuba Wicka w Zurychu z lat 1560–1587*, Cracow 1995 (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne 115), p. 295 (Fig. 22). In Belarusian historiography: А. Белы, *Полацк* …, pp. 213–219. See E. Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen mit einer Bibliographie (1505–1599)*, Hildesheim—Zürich—New York 1994, p. 178, item 268 (with the wrong year 1564).

---

12    A different opinion is presented in S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej", pp. 42–43, which gives it a documentary value.

13    S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej", p. 41.

FIGURE 4.2  A drawing depicting the conquest of Polatsk by Paul zum Thurn (ZUM THURN MAP)

FIGURE 4.3  A coloured woodcut by Georg Mack the Elder in a pamphlet, *Die Eroberung von Polatsk in Litauen*, Nuremberg 1579 (Czart, shelfmark XVR. 6813)

3.  The woodcut in Alessandro Guagnini's work from 1611 showing the arson of Polatsk[14] (Fig. 4.4). However, this woodcut is actually not a depiction of the Polatsk fire in 1579—it represents the conquest of Starodub Castle by Jan Tarnowski in 1535.[15] In the picture, Tarnowski is in the foreground, in front of a tent decorated with the Leliwa coat of arms that belonged to the Tarnowski family. The woodcut was made for the earlier *Kronika* (*Chronicle*) by Marcin Bielski. It was first printed in the 1564 edition and then reprinted in Joachim Bielski's version of the *Chronicle* in 1597.[16]



FIGURE 4.4  An engraving in the work of Alessandro Guagnini, *Kronika Sarmacyjej Europskiej*, Cracow 1611, p. 208

---

14  A. Guagnini, *Kronika Sarmacyjej Europskiej*, Cracow 1611, p. 208.

15  А.И. Филюшкин, "Завоевание Стефаном Баторием …", p. 9. This does not mean, however, that this woodcut can be used to analyse Starodub Castle. It depicts a fortress built of stone and brick, when in fact it was a typical wooden-earth castle.

16  M. Bielski, *Kronika to jest historyja świata* […], Kraków 1564, f. 423. A digitized copy: http://mbc.malopolska.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=82767&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=1&QI= (accessed 22.07.2024). It was the third edition of this book, first published in 1551 and then in 1554. D. Śnieżko, "Swojskie i obce w kronice uniwersalnej (przykład Marcina Bielskiego)", *Teksty Drugie:*
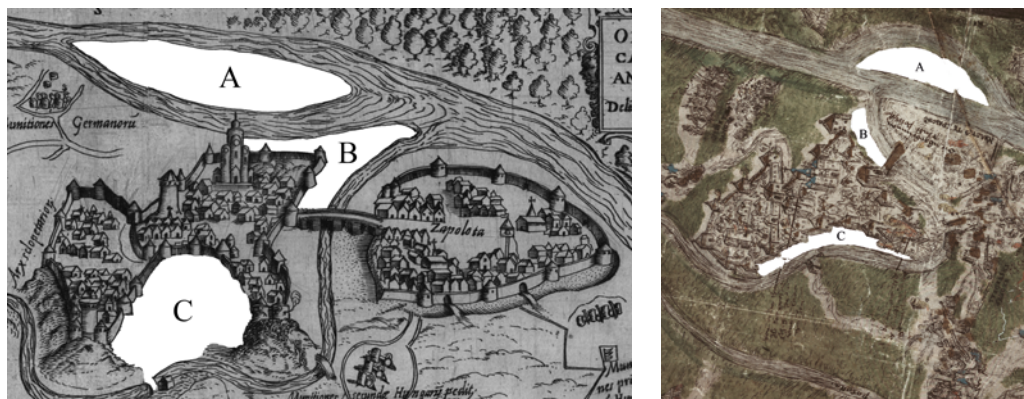
FIGURE 4.5   A comparison of the plans of the Polatsk fortress (left—fragment of Fig. 4.1, right—fragment of Fig. 4.2). A—location of the island in relation to Zapalotye and the Upper Castle; B—location of the Upper Castle in relation to the Rivers Daugava and Palata; C—location of the Upper Castle and the Shooters' Castle in relation to the Palata River

The translation of Guagnini's work includes woodcuts copied from previous texts and reused to illustrate the events presented in the chronicle. These illustrations were primarily rhetorical, not documentary in nature.[17] In fact, the 1611 reprint of the woodcut depicting the events of 1535 in Starodub should not be taken into account in the investigation of the events under discussion here. However, some researchers treat it as a reliable source of information about the conquest of Polatsk in 1579.[18] Some of them, e.g. U. Cialiežnikaŭ and A. Patushkin, go much further and try to draw deeper conclusions from this source (Fig. 4.5).[19]

It has not yet been established which of the images of the siege best reflects the real event. Both illustrations are indirect sources based on a drawing made in a military camp in August 1579. According to Stanisław Alexandrowicz, the drawing of Paulus zum Thurn is much more reliable because it is more similar to the plans of Polatsk made in 1707 and 1812.[20]

First of all, we need to examine significant differences between source no. 1 and source no. 2 (Fig. 4.6). We do not take into account the depictions of people, different orientations, and other compositional elements.[21] The object shown in both sources is similar but not identical, and there are three main differences. The first one is the location of the island on the Daugava River (Fig. 4.6, letter A). On the chalcography, it is marked at the longitude of the Upper Castle and Shooters' Castle, while on the drawing it is opposite the destroyed town of Zapalotye. The second difference concerns the location of the Upper Castle in relation to the Daugava (Fig. 4.6, letter B). In zum Thurn's drawing, it is not aligned with the Daugava but with the course of the Palata. In Pachołowiecki's plan it is quite the opposite: one side of the castle has the shape of the Daugava River bank. Thirdly, the course of the Palata River in the area between the castles differs significantly. In the drawing, it is closely adjacent to the slope and fortifications, while in the chalcography there is a considerable triangular space between them (Fig. 4.6, letter C). All these differences are extremely important from the perspective of military cartography, especially when using plans in siege operations.

*Teoria literatury, krytyka, interpretacja* 1 (2003), pp. 23–24. Edition prepared by Joachim Bielski: M. Bielski, J. Bielski, *Kronika polska*, Cracow 1597 (Bielski, *Kronika*), p. 574. While most of the graphic illustrations from 1564 are signed with an I.B. monogram, we could not find such information in the print showing the conquest of Starodub. Cf. M. Gębarowicz, *Początki malarstwa …*, p. 13; E. Chojecka, "Drzeworyty Kroniki Joachima Bielskiego i zaginione gobeliny Anny Jagiellonki. Ze studiów nad związkami artystycznymi Krakowa i Brzegu w XVI wieku", *Rocznik Sztuki Śląskiej* 7 (1970), pp. 39–40. In the Guagnini chronicle some of the historical woodcuts were copied from completely different works. For example, two illustrations from *Historia o Skanderbegu Macedonie* (*History of Skanderbeg Macedonian*) were copied from works commemorating twelve great deeds of Charles V. See M. Morka, [book review:] T. Jakimowicz, "Temat historyczny w sztuce ostatnich Jagiellonów", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 49(3–4) (1987), pp. 352–353, 357. The analysis of the contents of the illustration that presents the conquest of the Starodub fortress reveals original features of the work.

17    M. Morka, [book review:] T. Jakimowicz, p. 358.
18    У. Арлоў, З. Герасімовіч, *Ілюстраваная гісторыя: краіна Беларусь*, Bratislava 2003, p. 158.
19    У.І. Цялежнікаў, А.М. Латушкін, "Умацаванні 2й паловы XVI ст. паміж Верхнім і Ніжнім замкамі ў Полацку", *Пытанні мастацтвазнаўства, этналогіі і фалькларыстыкі* 17 (2014), pp. 58–66.

20    Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 176, note 371; *idem, Dziedzictwo kartografii …*, pp. 199–200; *idem*, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej", pp. 30–31, 35, 42–43.
21    Cf. S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło …", pp. 4–5.

FIGURE 4.6  Polatsk development plan from the mid-17th century (Kriegsarkivet (Stockholm), Utländska stads och fästningsplaner, Polen, Polock 1)

One cannot agree with Stanislaw Alexandrowicz, who argued for the superiority of the drawing over the copperplate (Fig. 4.7).[22] However, it is worth using the methodology proposed by him as he compared the two sources with the map made for military purposes in 1812, and in his later studies supplemented the analysis with the plan from 1707.

The plan from 1707 used by Alexandrowicz for comparison (although the fortress was then significantly changed) is not unambiguous. This source indicates, inter alia, that the island is located at the longitude of both castles (points 8 and 9 on the copperplate) and not near

the former town of Zapalotye (point 7).[23] The remaining elements are difficult to assess in view of the far-reaching changes.

It is worth mentioning that the course of the Palata River shown in the 1707 plan implies that the proper location of the main camp was depicted on the copperplate, not on the drawing. The royal camp was located on the border of the later town (point 3), between the Palata and

---

22    Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 176, note 371. Cf. *idem, Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej ...*, pp. 30–31.

23    Библиотека Российской Академии наук. Санкт-Петербург, Рукописный отдел, Собрание иностранных рукописей, F° 266, vol. 4, f. 48, Fig. 52; Российский государственный военноисторический архив, f. 846, op. 16, dz. 22367. There are differences between the plans, the coloured map was created on 18 January, the next source is from the end of the same year as the bastions depicted on it are more extensive. Cf. А. Белы, "Plan von Polotzko ...", p. 13.

FIGURE 4.7 The shape of the Upper Castle and the Shooters' Castle on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*, the ZUM THURN MAP and a plan of Polatsk from the mid-17th century (fragments of Figs 4.1, 4.2, 4.6)

the Daugava, and thanks to the location of smaller camps (including the German infantry) both castles were separated from each other by the space between the rivers and the fortress. This hypothesis is confirmed by Antonio Martelli's account, who wrote that the royal camp was located at a "ditch", just like the German camp and rampart (Fig. 4.1).[24] This ditch, or the remains of a moat or a trench, could also be called a lake or a pond. And this is how it was referred to: "The royal camp was behind the Palata and a lake" (transl. G.F.).[25] On the copperplate (Fig. 4.1), this trench, or, as the chroniclers would have it, the lake, is clearly marked with a bridge over it, which, by the way, proves that it was a water reservoir and not an ordinary ditch or a dry moat. There is no similar topographical

element in the drawing. However, it is marked on the plans made in 1707. According to these, it was located near the east end of the town's fortifications. At this point, the Palata River turns north, which is also visible on the copperplate (there it turns northeast).

However, there is a much better cartographic source that should dispel all doubts. It is a plan entitled *Die Stadt Poloctzko*, which is a project for the extension of the Polatsk fortifications made in the middle of the 17th century.[26] It shows the town with the finished fortifications.[27] Therefore, measurements were carried out after the destruction of the previous buildings by the Muscovites in 1633.[28] This event was followed by a dynamic process of reconstruction of Veliky Posad, located between the two castles, additionally limited by the Rivers Daugava and Palata. This means that the plan

---

24 A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo della guerra del re di Polonia contro al Moscovito l'anno 1579" (А. Мартинелли, "История взятия Полоцка польским королем Стефаном Баторием в 1579 году"), предисловие, подготовка текста и перевод И.В. Дубровский, *Русский Сборник: Исследования по истории России* 21 (2017), pp. 45–46, 48.

25 R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico commentariorum libri sex*, Cracow 1584, p. 54: "Behind the Palata River, the space between that river and some lake was occupied, as we have mentioned before, by the royal camp" ("Ultra Polottam inter flumen et lacum quendam, quemadmodum ostendimus, regia castra erant").

26 Kriegsarkivet (Stockholm), Utländska stads och fästningsplaner, Polen, Polock 1.

27 For a description of the so-called Veliky Posad, see Д.У. Дук, *Полацк i палачане (IX–XVIII стст.)*, Наваполацк 2010, pp. 78–89.

28 *Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории СевероЗападной Руси*, vol. 1, Вильно 1867, pp. 271–276 (a number of documents on the burning down of the town and orders to resettle in it).

was created after 1638, when the townspeople started to build a new fence around the city.[29]

The creation of the plan should be connected with an act of 1647 passed by the *Sejm*, which states that "the castle of Polatsk, which by God's punishment has been burnt completely in recent times", would be fortified by the king in the future, which would be reported to the *Sejm*.[30] Two years later, it was noted in tax resolutions that the liquor tax (Pl. *czopowe*) collected from the entire Polatsk region would be allocated for "the restoration of Polatsk castle, destroyed by fire". In 1652, another resolution of the *Sejm* (the Parliament) emphasized that the castle was not only destroyed by fire but that it was also completely ruined by the enemy. At that time, designated officials were obliged to delimitate parcels in the Upper Castle, which should then be granted to different groups of the inhabitants of the province.[31] We should note here that the intention was to impose on the nobility an obligation to defend the castle, to which the regional assembly (Pol. *sejmik*) of the Polatsk voivodeship had agreed (*ad hoc*) in the past, on 28 June 1633.[32] On 27 June 1654, after a few hours' siege, the Muscovite army captured the city.[33] At the beginning of the Muscovian occupation, Voivode Sheremetev described the Polatsk fortifications. There were ten towers and two gates in the Upper Castle. Some of them were new, which means that before the Muscovian attack the

renovation and construction works were ongoing. Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich ordered the townspeople to undertake the building of fortifications within the city and Zapalotye.[34]

When the Muscovite occupation ended, the fortifying of Polatsk was once again taken up by the *Sejm* in 1667. Again, it was decided to grant the parcels to the nobility, this time in both the Upper Castle and the Shooters' Castle, with the obligation to appoint hosts (musketeers).[35] Additionally, in order to rebuild the city so that it would "rise from the ashes", it was exempted from taxes for four years.[36] The reconstruction must have been carried out in this time as in 1670 and 1673 the term "fortress of Polatsk" was used in the acts passed by the *Sejm*, while in acts from 1676 there was only a reference to the supplementation of the crew and no mention of the construction of fortifications.[37]

The plan was probably created in 1647–1654 or 1667–1670.[38] Considering that a large part of the cartographic documentation ended up in the hands of the Swedes during the so-called Deluge (and is now kept in the Kriegsarkivet, Stockholm), the first date is more likely.[39] However, it cannot be ruled out that the Swedes obtained the plan during the Great Northern War.[40]

---

29    *Постановление полоцких мещан о постройке городского тына*, 21 VI 1638, in: *Археографический сборник документов …*, vol. 1, p. 308; Д.В. Дук, *Исследование оборонительных сооружений: Материалы городской застройки, Полоцк …*, p. 314.

30    "Zamek połocki, który w niedawnych czasiech z dopuszczenia Bożego do gruntu zgorzał, na przyszłym, da Pan Bóg sejmie, sposób namówić, jego ufortyfikowania nieodwłocznie do skutku przywieść obiecujemy tak, jakoby tamto miejsce w dobrym opatrzeniu w potomne czasy zostawało." ("We promise to restore the Polatsk Castle (recently burnt down by God's will) without delay, so that it will remain in good condition for posterity, if only God grants a way to persuade the delegates at the next session of the Sejm." Transl. J.N.). *Volumina legum*, vol. 4, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, p. 67. Earlier resolutions concerning the Polatsk castle were issued in 1607, 1626, and 1638: *Volumina legum*, vol. 2, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1859, p. 435; *Volumina legum*, vol. 3, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, pp. 240, 458; cf. H. Wisner, "Wojsko litewskie 1 połowy XVII wieku. Cz. II", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 20 (1976), p. 22.

31    *Volumina legum*, vol. 4, pp. 150, 175.

32    B. Dybaś, *Fortece Rzeczypospolitej: Studium z dziejów budowy fortyfikacji stałych w państwie polskolitewskim w XVII wieku*, Toruń 1998, pp. 311–312. Such a solution was successfully implemented in the Smolensk region. See K. Łopatecki, *Organizacja, prawo i dyscyplina w polskim i litewskim pospolitym ruszeniu (do połowy XVII wieku)*, Białystok 2013, pp. 412–432.

33    K. Bobiatyński, *Od Smoleńska do Wilna: Wojna Rzeczypospolitej z Moskwą 1654–1655*, Zabrze 2004, p. 40.

34    Д.В. Дук, *Исследование оборонительных сооружений …*, pp. 310, 314.

35    The implementation of the *Sejm*'s decisions (the construction of buildings on the parcels in the castles) is partly evidenced by the discovery of tiles with aristocratic coats of arms during archaeological works conducted in the Upper Castle. Д. Дук, "Матэрыялы да геральдычнай карты месцазнаходжання двароў полацкай шляхты XVI–XVII ст.", *Герольд Litherland* 2 (2002), 3–4, pp. 84–89.

36    *Volumina legum*, vol. 4, p. 471.

37    *Volumina legum*, vol. 5, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, pp. 56, 93, 214.

38    Andrei Kotlarchuk believes that this work was created in 1702. А. Катлярчук, *Шведы ў гісторыі і культуры беларусаў*, Мінск 2007, p. 262.

39    Its description does not allow more precision: "Zwische dießen Wall ligdt der Jesuiter Claster undt Collegium". Kriegsarkivet (Stockholm), Utländska stads och fästningsplaner, Polen, Polock 1. The monastery and the Jesuit college in Polatsk were founded by Stephen Báthory. See "Fundatio et dotatio Collegii Societatis Jesu in arce et civitate Polocensi a Serenissimo Rege Stephano, huius nominis primo feliciter institur. Datum Vilnae […] Anno Domini 1582", in: *Materiały do dziejów Akademii Połockiej i szkół od niej zależnych*, ed. I. G[iżycki], Cracow 1905, pp. 44–46; А.А. Соловьёв, *Полоцкий иезуитский коллегиум в ретроспективе (1581–1914): архитектурно-археологический очерк*, Полоцк 2012, pp. 16–32.

40    K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *Mapy i plany Rzeczypospolitej XVII w. znajdujące się w Sztokholmie*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2011, pp. 50, 52. This subject has been discussed in a broader perspective in D. Matelski, "Straty polskich dóbr kultury w wojnach ze Szwecją

The plan shows the concepts of significant strengthening of the castles and the city with bastion fortifications. This work is meticulously done at a scale of 1:2700. Its dimensions are 570 × 456 mm and it includes a scale in Rhine rods (Ger. *Rute* or *Ruthe*).[41] It should be emphasized that the planned extension of the fortification was marked in red. Nonetheless, it was not carried out. We would like to stress the fact that in 1707 the city of Polatsk was fortified in similar manner to the project from the 17th century. The main focus was on the reinforcement of the side between the Palata and the Daugava by means of bastion fortifications additionally strengthened with redoubts.[42] However, the bold plan to put the bastions, which should have constituted the outer defence ring, on the outer bank of the Palata River was not implemented. On the plan there are partly marked fortifications of the Upper Castle with several reinforcements, perhaps from the times of Báthory. The maker of the plan drew two roundels and a partially refashioned bastion protruding on the southern tip of the hill (a triangular bastion originally flanked by two roundels).[43] The shape of the Shooters' Castle (the lower one) should be treated with more caution, as it was being rebuilt in the days of Stephen Báthory.[44] There are no towers on the plan, but it seems that the shape of the hill was not changed.

The list of cartographic sources shows that the island was exactly at the longitude of the Middle Castle. The Upper Castle was situated on the Daugava River, which is also mentioned in written sources.[45] A different course of the Palata River is noticeable—different from both the 16th-century drawing and the copperplate. In the middle of the 17th century, it meanders and the fortifications of both castles are closely aligned with its course. It seems, however, that in the past the river had flowed as shown in the Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri engraving. This follows from the location of old riverbeds, visible in the 17th-century drawing, that indicate a different course of the river. This hypothesis is also confirmed by the description given by Heidenstein:

"Flowing straight from the north, at the Shooters' Castle it turns slightly to the west [that is goes "a little" into the gap between the castles—K.Ł.], and from here, turning to the north again, it washes the feet of the hill [with the protruding triangular bastion—K.Ł.] on which the upper castle is raised, separating it from the town".[46]

Based on our analysis, we believe that the engraving published in 1580 is a more reliable source than the drawing of Paul zum Thurn. The main elements are in line with the plan of Polatsk from the mid-17th century. Therefore, Alexandrowicz's thesis that Pachołowiecki's drawing was significantly modified by the engravers should be rejected.[47] It is also worth mentioning that the engravers were not expected to contribute creatively to the iconographic material made by well-paid artists.[48]

w XVII i XVIII wieku oraz próby ich restytucji", *Archeion* 106 (2003), pp. 118–134; Z. Ciesielski, "Grabieże dóbr kulturalnych w Polsce przez Szwedów w XVII i początkach XVIII wieku", *Zapiski Historyczne* 68 (2003), 2–3, pp. 97–108; J. Podralski, "Wywóz dóbr materialnych z Polski przez Szwedów podczas wojny w 1656 roku", *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 12 (1997), 1–2, pp. 325–337.

41   U. Ehrensvärd, *Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930: Catalogue of Manuscript Sources in Swedish Collections to the History of Polish Territories*, Warsaw—Stockholm 2008, p. 160. This most eminent specialist in early modern cartographic sources gathered in the Swedish collection considered this plan to have been created in the mid-17th century.

42   Библиотека Российской Академии наук, Санкт-Петербург, Рукописный отдел, Собрание иностранных рукописей, F° 266, vol. 4, f. 48, Fig. 52; Российский государственный военно-исторический архив, f. 846, op. 16, dz. 22367.

43   The author put the letter "a" near these objects, which he described in the legend as "bedeutet die alte Fortificationes". Kriegsarkivet (Stockholm), Utländska stads och fästningsplaner, Polen, Polock 1.

44   R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 137: "The king ordered the Hungarians to tumble and fill in the moats and trenches, dug in case of an assault. He showed clearly how he wishes to have the demolished part of the wall rebuilt and the castle fortified" ("Fossas munitionesque ab exercitu institutas Ungarum militem complere iubet. Murorum partem dejectam quomodo resitui velit arcemque ipsam qua ratione muniri demonstrat"). Cf. "Spisanie armaty Połockiej za króla Stefana", in: *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego: Dyjaryjusze, relacyje, listy i akta z lat 1576–1586*, ed. I. Polkowski, Cracow 1887, pp. 175–177; M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy"* …, pp. 584–585.

45   R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 131: "the castle stands on a lofty mountain, with the Daugava River to the south, the Palata River and the town of Zapalotye to the north and east, and the Shooters' Castle to the west" ("arx in colle altissimos despectus habente posita, a meridie […] Duna flumine, a septentrione et ortu Polotta fluvio oppidoque Sapolotta, ab occidente sole sclopetariorum arce […] continebatur").

46   R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* …, pp. 51–52: "Polotta recto e Septentrione cursu paulum versus Orientem sub arce scloppetariorum, inde rursum in septentrionem declinans radicesque collis, in quo superior arx posita est, complexus, eandemque ab opido separans."

47   Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 177: "a comparison […] shows clearly that the then engravers, who carried out their work on the basis of drawings made on the spot, that reflect the actual topography and distribution of the objects, sometimes introduced far-reaching changes to the picture justifying them with compositional considerations."

48   This is clearly visible in the work of Erik Dahlbergh. K. Łopatecki, "Stan badań nad oceną wiarygodności grafik autorstwa Erika

The comparison of the graphics with the plan created in the 17th century indicates that from a military point of view, the cartographic work of Stanisław Pachołowiecki was very good. It should be noted that the original drawing from August 1579 was made without the use of measuring instruments. There are many indications that the plan was drawn up during the reconnaissance conducted around the fortifications by the Supreme Command on 11 August.[49] This is why it has some shortcomings. First of all, the drawing and the copperplate based on it were not provided with a scale, they even lack geographical directions (they are south-oriented). This last fact is astonishing because it is hard to imagine that no one in the army had a compass.[50] Secondly, the map does not have a uniform scale. Stanisław Alexandrowicz established that the scale of the engraved plan is variable and ranges from about 1:18,700 to about 1:24,000.[51]

The only serious mistake made by Pachołowiecki is too wide an angle formed between the bank of the Daugava River and the Upper Castle, which moves away from the river. As a result, the angles formed by the adjacent castles are not rendered very accurately, but they are still close to the actual shape of the fortifications and depicted incomparably better than in the drawing. This was, naturally, the result of Pachołowiecki's failure to use measuring and cartographic tools.

We will appreciate the full value of his work when we analyse Paul zum Thurn's drawing in a similar way. The whole defensive complex is presented incorrectly. This is due to the incorrect assumption that the Upper Castle was not located on the Daugava River. Only one massive tower in the drawing is placed near the bank, and the whole fortification turns away from the line of the river. Consequently, the angles created by the Upper Castle fortification lines are completely distorted. The Shooters' Castle was depicted even worse as its shape is utterly different from the one on the 17th-century plan.

The differences in the drawing of Paul zum Thurn are very large in relation to graphics. They are all the more disturbing due to the fact that the orientation of the two depictions is also different—eastern in the drawing and southern in the copperplate. According to Alexandrowicz,

the scale in Paul zum Thurn's work ranged from 1:8,820 to 1:20,400, depending on the place on the map.[52] The discrepancies between these data amount to as much as 231%, when the relevant range in the case of Pachołowiecki's work is 128%. Also the manner in which the two plans were described is different. The drawing has no title, but it features an epigraph:

"Ereptum Moscis Stephano qui rege Polockum
    Aspicis eximiis annuae principiis.
Sic prisci nobis redeunt post saecula reges,
    Gens etiam redeat prisca Polona velim.

You, who inspect Polatsk taken from Muscovites by King Stephen, praise such a wonderful beginning! This is how the old kings come back to us after centuries: I would also like the old Polish nation to return". (transl. CKS, G.F.)

All these differences indicate that Paul zum Thurn used a different drawing depicting the siege of Polatsk than the one made by Pachołowiecki. Apparent similarities result, of course, from the fact that these two plans represent the same object. We think Paul zum Thurn might have based his plan on a drawing by the Italian engineer Petrus Francus.[53] The superiority of the drawing over the copperplate cannot be doubted with regard to figurative scenes depicting the siege. The question of authorship of the original Cracow drawing is still a matter of hypotheses.

At the end, it is appropriate to share doubts related to some of the elements emphasized in the engraving. The copperplate must have amazed people who were familiar with the feasible siege operations at the time. The viewer of the plan is not provided with any clue that would explain how it was possible to build and keep intact a bridge on which an effective attack on two roundels sitting on a steep hill was conducted. The engraving gives the impression that Polatsk was first besieged by the Polish-Lithuanian-Hungarian-German army, and then captured by force as a result of a point infantry attack. The inscription in the engraving also supports this hypothesis: "Obsessa XI Aug[usti], capta XXIX eius[dem] anno MDLXXIX" ("Besieged on 11 August, captured on 29 of the same month 1579") (transl. G.F.).[54]

Its author presents two Hungarian batteries located opposite Zapalotye together with extended siege earthworks,

Dahlbergha", in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 9, ed. W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2017, p. 199.

49    In chapter 8, we examine sources in which the royal survey was described (footnote 3).

50    Even Reinhold Heidenstein was confused with regard to geographical directions in this case. See S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło …", pp. 7–8.

51    Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 174.

52    S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej", p. 35.

53    See chapter 7, where we discuss sources for a biography of Petrus Francus (footnotes 4, 5, and 6).

54    See translations by G. Franczak in chapter 3.
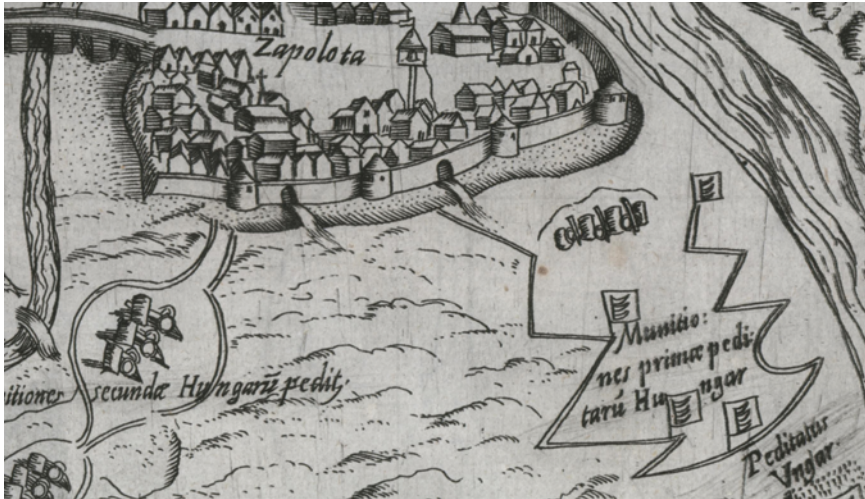
FIGURES 4.8A–4.8B    siege operations conducted by Hungarian troops in light of PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* and ZUM THURN MAP (fragments of Figs 4.1 and 4.2)

which basically extended to the very moat (Fig. 4.8a). It is an obvious deception—certainly no such earthworks were made. This was impossible in such a short time. On 11 August, the troops reached Polatsk and the next day the city was burnt down and taken over. Such engineering solutions existed but they required a considerable effort and were mostly carried out in the area of the conquered Zapalotye, which is presented in the drawing by Paul zum Thurn (Fig. 4.8b).

For a long time, historians pointed out an error in the date noted on the engraving presenting the conquest of Polatsk.[55] Generally there was little concern about this fact as it was believed that it was a simple mistake, possibly a desire to emphasize the date of the assault. Had this really been the case? This opinion has been changed by a medal and a ten-ducat donative coin (Pol. *donatywa*) commemorating Stephen Báthory's triumph at Polatsk.[56] They were struck in Gdańsk in 1582 in the mint run by the



FIGURE 4.9    Stephen Báthory's medal commemorating the conquest of Polatsk with the date of 29 August 1579
HTTP://GABINETMEDALOW.M4N.PL/DATA.PHP?%20 DATE=53, ACCESSED 15.06.2024

Gobelius brothers, as indicated by the seal with the coat of arms (a ring with a gem—Fig. 4.9).[57]

This large donative coin with a diameter of almost 40 mm contains a relatively large inscription. The following inscription is placed on the obverse: "STEPHANUS D[EI] G[RATIA] REX POL[ONIAE] MAG[NUS] DUX

---

55    All written sources from the period date the fall of the fortress to 30 or 31 August 1579. For more information on the controversies related to the date of fall of Polatsk, see Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 146–153.

56    M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy"* ..., p. 585.

57    M. Gumowski, "Bracia Gobeliusze", *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 14 (1948), 1–4, pp. 66, 68.

LIT[HUANIAE] RUSSI[AE] P[RUSSIAE]." And the propaganda message was placed on the reverse: "DIES MENSIS ET ANNUS CAPTAE POLOCIAE BIS DENA AUGUSTI NONAQUE POLOCIA CAPTA EST LUCE DOLENT HOSTES CASTRA RAPIT STEPHANUS" ("The day of the month and the year of the conquest of Polatsk. On the twenty-ninth of August, Polatsk was captured during the day. The enemy is grieving. Stephen devastates the castle") (transl. CKS, G.F.).[58]

It is hardly believable that a mistake could have been made in such important undertakings as the preparation of a copperplate or designing a medal. However, while in a single case there could be some uncertainty in this matter, the double use of the same date rules out accidental misdating. We would like to add that both works were primarily directed at a European audience.[59] Meanwhile, if there are any discrepancies concerning the date of the fall of the fortress in the sources of the era, they still mention 30 or 31 August. Therefore, other sources do not explain why the date of 29 August was put on the donative coin. In my opinion, for the contemporaries this day was an obvious reference to the Starodub War. On 29 August 1535, the army led by Grand Hetman of the Crown Jan Tarnowski and Grand Hetman of Lithuania Jerzy Radziwiłł captured the fortress of Starodub after a month-long siege. Tarnowski ordered around 1000–1400 captured Muscovite captives to be beheaded.[60] The suggestion that the fortress was taken by force was supposed to make both events similar. Firstly, it is a reference to Lithuania's greatest victory over Muscovy in the first half of the 16th century. Secondly, the Stephen Báthory's mercy is demonstrated because he allowed the defeated to leave the conquered stronghold and return home. It should be pointed out that in the consciousness of the inhabitants of Muscovy, the memory of this bloody event was preserved and repeatedly recalled to the Lithuanian-Polish side.[61] Both events are linked by the fact that they are presented in the engraving. The triumph of 1535 was commemorated with a woodcut in Marcin Bielski's *Kronika* (*Chronicle*) of 1564, which was used again, as we wrote above, in Alessandro Guagnini's description of Sarmatia as an illustration of the siege of Polatsk.

## 1    Conclusions

The analysis carried out in this study indicates that the woodcut of Georg Mack the younger cannot be regarded as a credible cartographic source, but only as a product of the author's imagination. It was made on the basis of written information and the author does not seem to have known any plans made at Polatsk. The woodcut presenting the siege of the Starodub fortress, which was later repeated in Guagnini's work as the conquest of Polatsk, proves that each time the source should be subjected to thorough analysis (Figs 4.3, 4.4).

Contrary to the previous opinions of researchers, it should be assumed that the plan of Stanisław Pachołowiecki and the drawing of Paul zum Thurn are fundamentally different in terms of cartographic quality. The most important differences include the location of the island on the Daugava River and the Upper Castle, the royal camp, the course of the Palata River at the longitude of both castles (Fig. 4.6), as well as the orientation and the scale of the plans. The extant drawing by Paul zum Thurn was not based on the same archetype as the copperplate. Possibly, the drawing followed the work of the Italian engineer Petrus Francus. Therefore, it does not seem legitimate to use the double authorship of Pachołowiecki-Zum Thurn to describe this drawing.

The most precise and credible plan of Polatsk from 1579 is that of Stanisław Pachołowiecki (PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*, Fig. 4.1). He rendered the outline of the fortifications accurately. It is basically in agreement with the contents of the Polatsk plan created in the mid-17th century (Fig. 4.8). As far as the topographic elements are concerned, in particular the course of the Palata and

58    F. Bentkowski, *Spis medalów polskich lub z dziejami krainy polskiéj stycznych*, Warsaw 1830, p. 14, item 49; J. Dutkowski, A. Suchanek, *Corpus nummorum Gedanensis: Katalog-cennik monet, medali i żetonów gdańskich i z Gdańskiem związanych*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 221; J. Lelewel, *O monecie polskiej*, transl. E. Januszkiewicz, Poznań 1862, pp. 29–30; J. Lelewel, *Polska, dzieje i rzeczy jej*, vol. 5, Poznań 1863, p. 282; E. Raczyński, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych które się dziejów Polski tyczą począwszy od najdawniejszych aż do końca panowania Jana III (1513–1698)*, vol. 1, Wrocław 1838, pp. 210–211, nr 53; J.F. Kluczycki, *Pamiątki polskie w Wiedniu i jego okolicach: jako też inne wiadomości*, Cracow 1835, p. 143, item 16.

59    See J.D. Köhlers, *Im Jahr 1750. wöchentlich heraus gegebener Historischer Münz-Belustigung*, vol. 22, Nuremberg 1750, pp. 409–416; H. Lübeck, *Sammlung Preußischer und Polnischer Medaillen wie auch Thaler welche auf allerhand Begebenheiten geschlagen und von Seel: Herrn Heinrich Lübeck Höchstemeritierten Mitglied des Rahts Collegii der Königl. Stadt Königsberg in Preussen colligiret*, Königsberg—Leipzig 1737, p. 32.

60    М.М. Кром, *Стародубская война 1534–1537. Из истории русско-литовских отношений*, Москва 2008, pp. 74–83; W. Dworzaczek, *Hetman Jan Tarnowski: Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego*, Warsaw 1985, pp. 75–77.

61    *Сборник Императорского Русского исторического общества*, вып. 71: Памятники дипломатических сношений Московского государства с Польско-Литовским государством, vol. 3: (годы с 1560 по 1570), ed. Г.Ф. Карпов, Санкт-Петербург 1892, pp. 128, 293.

the location of the island on the Daugava, as well as the "trench" or "lake" located to the east of the Shooters' Castle, Pachołowiecki's plan is definitely better than that of Paul zum Thurn. We unequivocally reject the hypothesis put forward by Stanisław Alexandrowicz concerning excessive interference by the engravers in the final form of the drawing.

The study presents an unknown plan of the expansion of Polatsk kept in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm (Fig. 4.8). It has been established that it was probably made in the years 1647–1654 as a consequence of a fire that destroyed the castles. It depicts the former fortifications with planned bastions marked in red. In his bold concept, the military engineer opted out of the natural protection provided by the Palata River and planned to build bastion fortifications on the outer bank of the river. These would form the first line of defence of a regular shape and enable beneficial defence synchronization with the Shooters' Castle. The map made in 1707 indicates that this concept was not implemented (Fig. 4.7).

The findings presented here confirm the effectiveness of the comparative method proposed by Stanisław Alexandrowicz for cartographic objects that cover the same area and come from different times. It allows an assessment of the reliability of earlier sources and brings new useful information. However, it is important to keep in mind possible significant hydrogeological changes, not to mention urban and fortification development. Therefore, it is essential to search for the chronologically closest possible cartographic material.

Stanisław Pachołowiecki's engraving *Obsidio et expugnatio munitissimae arcis Polocensis* presents the siege carried out at Zapalotye in a manner inconsistent with the known facts (Fig. 4.10). Moreover, Pachołowiecki manipulates the date of the final conquest of Polatsk. The date given here cannot be an accidental mistake because the same day is also given on the medal struck in Gdańsk in 1582 (Fig. 4.11). Establishing 29 August as the day of the fall of Polatsk made it possible to identify two similar events: the conquest of Polatsk in 1579 and of Starodub in 1535. Both events were commemorated with contemporary engravings—the former with a woodcut, and the latter with a copperplate.

# Philology of a Map—the Tools for Tracing Maps' History

It would be worth attempting, now, to show how philological tools, and in particular the method of textual criticism, can be applied to the analysis of early modern maps, contributing to the establishment of relations between them.[1] In other words, the aim of this chapter is to examine to what extent tools that have been used for almost two hundred years in investigating the transmission of texts in medieval codices can be useful in determining how geographic knowledge was transmitted on early modern maps. We have adopted J.B. Harley's cultural definition of the map, different from that used in traditional history of cartography which deals primarily with documenting and valuing the mimetic relationship between a map and a territory. In this approach, the map is treated as a textual and iconic redescription of the world that functions within the framework of specific cultural practices and in the context of power relations.[2] For the purpose of this study, however, we treat this definition more literally and "textually": we focus on the toponymy, that is on a particular linguistic element of the map treated as a cultural text—an element subject to the procedures of textual criticism developed by modern philology. We are interested whether such an essentially conservative (from a philological perspective) methodological proposal may turn out to be a paradoxical archaizing innovation in the history and criticism of cartography.

First of all, we undertake to compile a complete index of the toponyms that appear on the map PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*, as well as to identify and describe the places marked by these toponyms. Secondly, we intend to show how these names were adopted by European cartography between the 16th and 18th centuries (e.g. names from the map of the Principality of Polatsk on Gerardus Mercator's maps) and propose a hypothetical genealogy of the toponymic image of the Polatsk region derived from Pachołowiecki's map. The third and final objective is an attempt to show how the process of disseminating new

geographical knowledge and, at the same time, the cartographic propaganda message was carried out with the use of nomenclature.

Apart from Pachołowiecki's map, the body of map-texts that are investigated here consists of four other related cartographic documents. Chronologically first is a drawn copy of SULIMOWSKI MAP that depicts the theatre of warfare during the Polatsk and Velikiye Luki campaigns (1579–1580),[3] found in the Vatican files related to the papal legate Antonio Possevino. The second map is the widely discussed STRUBICZ, *Lithuania*, published in the Cologne edition of Marcin Kromer's *Polonia* in 1589. The third is MERCATOR, *Lithuania*, published in the posthumous edition of his atlas in 1595. Finally, the fourth one is the peak achievement of Polish-Lithuanian cartography: the famous RADZIWIŁŁ MAP of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania made by a team of cartographers and engravers (including Maciej Strubicz and Tomasz Makowski) commissioned by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Orphan", known from its second edition in 1613.[4]

The importance of PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*, which is part of an idea and undertaking unprecedented in Polish cartography, the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*, cannot be overestimated.[5] It has been known and recognized for a long time as a fundamental—even if mediated by the works of Sulimowski and Strubicz—contribution to the image of the Polatsk region in European cartography up to the 18th century. This pertains, among other things,

---

1 Originally published as G. Franczak, "Filologia mapy. Badanie dawnej kartografii metodą krytyki tekstu na przykładzie toponimii mapy Księstwa Połockiego S. Pachołowieckiego z 1580 roku", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 193–252; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.006.7895.

2 See J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. P. Laxton, Baltimore 2001, pp. 35–36.

3 The original of this operational map was created for military purposes even before the Velikiye Luki Campaign, i.e. before July 1580. See chapter 4.

4 See RADZIWIŁŁ MAP. This wall map was probably prepared by Maciej Strubicz and sketched by Tomasz Makowski: it was ready as early as 1599 and published for the first time before 1607. A stand-alone and the oldest surviving edition of it was published in 1613 as *Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae caeterarumque regionum illi adiacentium exacta descriptio*. It was engraved by Hessel Gerritsz and printed with four copperplates in Willem Janszoon Blaeu's printing house in Amsterdam (a unique copy in Herzogin Anna-Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar, catalogue number Kt 237201 S). We are using a copy of the second edition of this map (1631), identical to the first in terms of representation of the Polatsk region from the NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION. The most complete and recent studies on the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP: Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 72–122; Schilder, *Monumenta 9*, pp. 195–218.

5 See chapter 10 of this book.

---

to the nomenclature, which is in our opinion the most lasting legacy of the *Atlas*. The pioneering research in this area was conducted by Karol Buczek, who in 1933 pointed to the affiliation between Pachołowiecki's map of the Polatsk region (its lost manuscript version rather than Cavalieri's Roman print) and a copy of SULIMOWSKI MAP.[6] Buczek was also the first to put forward a hypothesis about the relationship between Pachołowiecki's work and MERCATOR, *Lithuania* from 1595 (mediated by an unpreserved map depicting Báthory's war campaigns made by Maciej Strubicz around 1582)—he drew attention to, among other things, the Polish spelling of the toponyms.[7] The nomenclature was given more attention by Stanisław Alexandrowicz, who continued the work of Buczek analysing the sources of the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP (1613), whose authorship was consistently attributed to Tomasz Makowski, a painter and client of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Orphan". Alexandrowicz argued that the "Polatsk" part of the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP reproduced the hydrography known from Pachołowiecki's map with minor corrections that did not affect some of the imperfections of the latter, to mention for example "the wrong direction and meanders [of the Obal' and Palata Rivers], that were the product of the draftsman's fantasy", or the incorrect location of Plisa.[8] In the synoptic table, which contains only a small part of the toponyms that were found on nine maps (including the ones of Pachołowiecki, STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* from 1589, MERCATOR, *Lithuania*, and the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP), there are eight examples of place names from among the fifteen used by Pachołowiecki, which were not on the maps of his predecessors.[9] Alexandrowicz focused on *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* in his later works. Discussing it extensively in a paper from 1998, he wrote about toponymy as follows:

"The names of rivers and towns are far better matched [with the actual objects]. All places they refer to turned out to be identifiable, although the task was sometimes hindered by the fact that some settlements ceased to exist in later times, while the names of some others have changed [...]. The numerous misspellings of names, sometimes done by the cartographer but more often by the engraver, [...] are an additional complication".[10]

Finally, writing about MERCATOR, *Lithuania* in the third supplemented edition of his monumental study on the cartography of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, he observed:

"When mapping the northern lands of the grand duchy, Mercator used Stanisław Pachołowiecki's map of the Principality of Polatsk (1580), from which he learned about twelve towns not present in the earlier cartographic material. He could have also placed them on *Lithvania* using the unpreserved expanded edition of Strubicz's map".[11]

This brief overview gives a sufficient idea of the considerable confusion around the question of whether later maps were based on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* directly or indirectly. In the light of the findings to date and on the basis of a comparative analysis of the place names on Pachołowiecki's map and the maps derived from it, it is appropriate to consider Karol Buczek's surmises as accurate and to correct some of Alexandrowicz's erroneous claims that still persist in the history of cartography.

We shall start with the necessary methodological and terminological clarifications. In accordance with the ultimate aim of this work, conducting the investigation of old maps, and more specifically of their often extremely complex textual elements, including toponyms, we propose to apply tried and tested procedures of textual criticism which allow us to formulate filiation hypotheses

---

6   See Buczek, *Dorobek*, pp. 5 ff.

7   See Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 87 ff.

8   S. Alexandrowicz, "Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Tomasza Makowskiego z 1613 r. tzw. 'radziwiłłowska', jako źródło do dziejów Litwy i Białorusi", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 10 (1965), p. 43.

9   See *ibidem*, p. 63. Alexandrowicz includes the following place names from the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*: Čašniki, Dzisna, Hlybokaje, Jeziaryšča, Ula, Usviaty, Viata, and Varoničy.

10  S. Alexandrowicz, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej ...", p. 27: "Znacznie lepiej wypada nazewnictwo rzek i miejscowości. Identifikacja ich okazała się możliwa we wszystkich wypadkach, choć bywała utrudniona przez późniejszy zanik niektórych i zmianę nazw innych osiedli, zwłaszcza wsi. [...] Dodatkowym utrudnieniem są liczne zniekształcenia nazw, czasem już przez kartografa, częściej jednak przez sztycharza [...]."

11  Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 66: "Przedstawiając północne ziemie Wielkiego Księstwa, posłużył się Merkator mapą Księstwa Połockiego Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580), z której przejął 12 miejscowości nie występujących we wcześniejszym materiale kartograficznym. Mogły one zresztą dostać się na *Lithvanię* za pośrednictwem niezachowanej a rozszerzonej redakcji mapy Strubicza." The twelve towns mentioned are (*ibidem*, note 139): BieÍniaki, Babyničy, Budavičy (erroneously transcribing this name from Pachołowiecki's map as Badonieze, Alexandrowicz marks it as NN, even though he previously had stated "identification in all cases"), Halubičy, Jeziaryšča, Psuja, Suša, Ula, Usviaty, Ušača, Viata, and Varoničy.

based on the collation of witnesses and analysis of indicative errors that link or divide individual branches of tradition.[12] We understand tradition as a corpus of manuscript and printed copies (witnesses) that contain the text we are interested in and are linked in a filiation network that encompasses subsequent copies of the autograph. In establishing the relations between such witnesses, we use the concept of the archetype, or a witness from which a whole tradition of the text originates, as well as the antigraph or ancestor, that is the witness from which a given copy or copies were made. Following the Lachmann method, modernized in the 20th century by such philologists as Pasquali and Timpanaro, we critically evaluate the available witnesses and then collate them (*collatio*): we compare the readings (or variants) of the proper names on Pachołowiecki's map and on the witnesses dependent on it. In the course of this procedure, we determine the nature of the errors that arose when copying an antigraph. They can be divided into conjunctive and separative errors. Conjunctive errors (Ger. *Bindefehler*) are errors that appear in two or more witnesses and could not arise independently of each other, so it can be assumed that the witnesses including them come from a common ancestor. Separative errors (Ger. *Trennfehler*) occur when an erroneous reading in witness A compared with a correct reading in witness B excludes vertical dependence of B on A (copyist B would not be able to correct an error that appears on the antigraph). As a result, we propose a hypothetical transmission of text imagined as a genealogical tree referred to as stemma.

Attempting to use this method in this study, we are aware that the procedures conducted here will be fragmentary. Textual criticism of an old map should co-shape the stemma that reflects a tradition; we give it a working name of *stemma chartarum*. Such a stemma ought to be shaped by the joint use of textual criticism and the methods of analysis developed by the history of cartography. The latter focuses, inter alia, on the geographical orientation of the map, its approximate scale, a distortion grid, the presence on the map of various types of objects (e.g. town symbols) and relations between them, hydrography, and finally all the graphic components of the map from schematic representations of the terrain and forestation, through often very complex historical, battle, or everyday life scenes, to emblematic and heraldic elements.[13] The essence of the early modern map is a much richer and more multilevel combination of image and text than in today's cartography. The definition of the map as an "inherently rhetorical image" proposed by Anglo-Saxon researchers such as Brian Harley seems to be the most accurate in this respect.[14] Let us emphasize once again that the analyses carried out here concern only the tradition of proper names on the representations of the Polatsk region and the directly adjacent areas—a tradition derived from the map by Pachołowiecki and transmitted by the later Polish and European maps mentioned above that cover this area.[15] The full list of names is given in the **Synoptic Table (VI)** and the result of the analyses is the following stemma:

---

12    The canonical studies on textual scholarship, scholarly editing, and procedures of textual criticism (the stemmatic method or the Lachmann method) include, among others: P. Maas, *Textkritik*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1960 (English edition: *idem*, *Textual Criticism*, Oxford 1958); G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze 1988; S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, Torino 2004 (English edition: *idem*, *The Genesis of Lachman's Method*, ed. and transl. G.W. Most, Chicago 2005). For the purposes of the analysis proposed here, we treat Radosław Grześkowiak's application of the stemmatic method as exemplary. In his edition of a poetic cycle by Kasper Twardowski, Grześkowiak included the description of sources, the collation of witnesses, establishing the tradition of the text and depicting it in the form of a stemma, and finally an attempt to restore the text: R. Grześkowiak, "Komentarz edytorski, II. Uwagi do tekstu", in: K. Twardowski, *Lekcyje Kupidynowe*, ed. R. Grześkowiak, Warsaw 1997 (Biblioteka Pisarzy Staropolskich, vol. 7), pp. 35–73.

13    See chapter 10 of this book.

14    J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps …*, p. 37.

15    A full stemma of MERCATOR, *Lithuania* or the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP would be far more complicated, perhaps impossible to draw. Filiation schemes proposed by Jarosław Łuczyński in his latest compendium of the history of cartography of Polish lands, based on largely simplified statements of Alexandrowicz, are inconsequential and unfortunately contribute little to the state of research. This is particularly true of the schemes concerning MERCATOR, *Lithuania* (J. Łuczyński, "Ziemie polskie w kartografii drugiej połowy XVI wieku", in: S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, R. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii ziem polskich do XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2017, p. 108) or "stages of development of the cartographic image of the lands of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" in 16th- and 17th-century European cartography (*idem*, "Rzeczpospolita na mapach kartografów zachodnioeuropejskich z XVII i pierwszej połowy XVIII w.", in: S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, R. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii …*, p. 149). They suggest, among other things, that Mercator reproduced an image of the Polatsk region from STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (under the non-existent title *Theatre of Báthory's Wars*) and from Pachołowiecki's map entitled *Ducatus Polocensis* from 1579 (that is from an inextant manuscript version). Both of these suggestions, even just in light of the analysis of the toponyms of these maps, are untenable.

**Legend**

ω—Archetype: the original manuscript map by Pachołowiecki (1579)

α—Copy of Pachołowiecki's map used by G.B. Cavalieri

β—Non-existent manuscript map by S. Sulimowski

γ—Non-existent map by M. Strubicz (after 1582)

**A**—PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (1580)

**B**—SULIMOWSKI MAP (1580)

**C**—STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (1581, print 1589)

**D**—MERCATOR, *Lithuania* (1595)

**E**—T. Makowski, M. Strubicz, the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP (1613)

It can be assumed that between the original sketch made by Pachołowiecki (archetype ω) and the manuscript and printed maps (A–E) based on it, there were intermediate witnesses that have not survived until today. The α symbol stands for the unpreserved antigraph used by Cavalieri to engrave *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* (**A**).

The spelling of the names on the map of Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri betrays the hand of an engraver who knows neither Polish nor Ruthenian—hence his mistakes in reading the names from an earlier copy, which were likely to be rather neat. This is evidenced by a number of variants that can be considered to contain typical separative errors, for example *Budowieʒe* (Budavičy), *Craſniki* (Čašniki), *Holubiez* (Halubičy), *Psina* (Psuja), *Vuoronec* (Varoničy), *Vwiata* (Wiata), *Vuiesniczko* (Viesnick), or the Italian-sounding *Tawicelle* (Zaviačellie).[16] A characteristic

feature of the Roman copperplate which distinguishes it from the other witnesses is also the Latinization, perhaps with the western viewer in mind, of some toponyms, such as *Braſlauia* (Braslaŭ), *Horodcú* (Haradok), *Polockum* (Polatsk), *Socolum* (Sokol), or *Witebſcúm* (Vitsyebsk, Vitebsk). The working conclusions from the above considerations would be as follows: the Roman print by Cavalieri made in 1580 did not directly affect any of the later cartographic works; nonetheless, it may serve us as the most complete, although corrupted, witness of the archetype (ω)—the same from which the parallel tradition dependent on the works of Sulimowski (β) and Strubicz (γ) stems.

The map of Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri contains a total of eighty-five toponyms: sixty-seven town names and eighteen hydronyms. Of the maps originating from the same archetype, the SULIMOWSKI MAP (witness B, see Fig. 5.1) contains the largest number of the same objects marked (as many as sixty-two). The analysis of this set of names confirms the speculation of Karol Buczek, who wrote:

"Of course, Báthory did not give the original of Sulimowski's work, but a copy of it, and it is also unknown whether it was this copy that our Jesuit [Antonio Possevino—G.F.] sent to Rome. It should be assumed that this was not the case, which follows from the careless execution of the Vatican copy and the numerous twists and omissions in the names of the towns".[17]

There are several indications that the SULIMOWSKI MAP (**B**) is based on a different witness (we refer to it as β) to the one used by Cavalieri. First of all, the northwestern

---

16    These observations dispel the doubts as to the authorship of the Roman copperplate, since the errors mentioned here could not, we believe, have been committed by Tomasz Treter, to whom this engraving is attributed by Alexandrowicz (see Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 96: "engraved in Rome at Jan [!]

Cavalieri's, probably by Tomasz Treter"; see also *ibidem*, p. 172, note 367). Likewise, contrary to the opinion of Alexandrowicz, the plan PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*, was not "drawn up by Stanisław Pachołowiecki, and engraved [...] in the workshop of Jan Baptista Cavalieri (certainly by Tomasz Treter)" (*ibidem*, p. 173; S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, R. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii ziem polskich ...*, p. 269). In terms of style, this copperplate does not differ either from the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* or from other works of the sort from Cavalieri's press, to mention the plan of the siege of Dieppe (*Descritione della terra et castello di Dieppa assediata ...*, 1589).

17    Buczek, *Dorobek*, p. 5: "Batory nie dał oczywiście oryginału pracy Sulimowskiego lecz jej kopję, a niewiadomo również, czy nasz jezuita tę właśnie kopję przesłał do Rzymu. Raczej przypuścić należy, że tak nie było, niestaranne bowiem wykonanie kopji watykańskiej oraz liczne przekręcenia i opuszczenia w nazwach miejscowości wskazują, że nie pochodzi ona z pierwszej ręki."

FIGURE 5.1   SULIMOWSKI MAP—a fragment depicting the same region as the map of S. Pachołowiecki

and northern area of Polatsk in the Drysa River basin (along the trails that lead from Polatsk towards Velikiye Luki and Pskov) contains many more names.[18] Secondly,

twenty-three names that appear on Cavalieri's print are missing here. One such omission, which includes the villages of Zaborje, Čarnievičy, and Jazna on the way from Hlybokaje through Plisa to Dzisna, is convincingly

---

18    The toponymy of SULIMOWSKI MAP deserves a separate and comprehensive study. Suffice it to mention the towns of Asvieja (*oswia*) and Lisna (*Lisno*), which appear on the maps of Strubicz, Mercator, as well as on the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP and its derivatives,

and the lakes Necheritsa (*Niecierw*), Glubokoye (*Hlubokie*), Vyatitervo (*Wietritrowo*), and Orono (*Noron*) between the towns of Drysa and Siebież.

explained by Karol Łopatecki. According to him, these names, transferred to the map from the itinerary of the march to Polatsk planned for the summer of 1579, were unnecessary for the command of the Polish-Lithuanian army from a strategic point of view in 1581, so they did not have to be placed on the new map.[19] Thirdly, a dozen or so toponyms are misspelled due to the misreading of the antigraph. These are typical and very frequent mistakes that occur when copying manuscript texts, for example, reading the minuscule "c" as "t" (*Cernita* for Čarnica), "u" as "n" (*Psnia* for Psuja), "k" as "t" (*trasne* for Krasny), or the majuscule "I" as "S" (*Skaznia* for Ikaźń). Finally, there are toponyms that are spelled more correctly on SULIMOWSKI MAP than on the Roman edition of Pachołowiecki (e.g. *Wiesniczko* versus erroneous *Vuiesniczko*), or given in Ruthenian instead of Polish (e.g. *Hluboky* versus *Glebokie*).

The filiation of one of the most important Polish maps of this period, i.e. STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (witness **C**), is much more complex.[20] It deserves new, in-depth research, if only because it is the sole surviving work signed by the most outstanding Polish cartographer of the late 16th century. As early as 1933, Karol Buczek made the assumption that this map, as far as the representation of the Polatsk region is concerned, depends on the work of cartographers employed for Báthory's campaigns, and considered it to be the second, improved version of the map that Strubicz had prepared even before the Polatsk campaign. Buczek assumed that this map was made in late 1579 or early 1580, but due to the discovery of the Vatican copy of SULIMOWSKI MAP he soon decided it had to be after 1581.[21]

Twenty-seven toponyms common to STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (**C**) and the Roman copperplate by Cavalieri (**A**) were identified. The results of their collation refute Alexandrowicz's suggestion that Strubicz may have based his map on Cavalieri's work.[22] This is evidenced by variants such as *Hluboki* (Hlybokaje) that link Strubicz's map with a copy of SULIMOWSKI MAP (witness **B**: *Hluboky*), and not with Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri's one, which contains the Polish form *Glebokie*. Therefore, according to Buczek's thesis, we consider Strubicz's map to be a drawn copy of Sulimowski's map (witness **β**), although we do not treat this filiation as final. It is also possible that the Cologne map of Lithuania and Livonia, if we consider the

Daugava River basin, is not, as Buczek believed, a printed version of Strubicz's manuscript work from 1581, older and with fewer toponyms than the lost map of the theatre of Muscovite wars from 1582 (ancestor **γ**). The latter might have been simply reduced to a "review sketch" for the purposes of Kromer's *Polonia*. If this is the case, the stemma proposed here would have to be modified by placing STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* alongside two other copies made from the **γ** antigraph: MERCATOR, *Lithuania* (**D**) and the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP (**E**).

Buczek convincingly demonstrated that there had to be such a map, which I refer to as **γ**.[23] According to the arguments based on a detailed analysis of the content of MERCATOR, *Lithuania*, it was an improved and more detailed version of the earlier maps of Lithuania and Livonia produced by Strubicz after the end of the war with Muscovy in 1582 on the basis of today inextant materials, such as a manuscript map of Sulimowski (ancestor **β**), with additions from the manuscript version of Pachołowiecki's map (archetype **ω** or, more likely, its copy) and, presumably, from other unknown operational maps and itineraries from the Pskov campaign.[24] Buczek argued:

"While […] there were only ninety-nine towns within the borders of the grand duchy on the earlier map of the theatre of war, on the later one there are as many as 190 of them, of which only thirty-seven can be found on maps from before 1576. Moreover, Strubicz also radically changed the network of watercourses. The most striking change in the Daugava River basin is the upper course of the main river which flows to the southwest, while on earlier map and in Pachołowiecki's case it flowed southward in this part. Enriched and rearranged, as compared to these maps, the water network in the transdaugavan part of the Polatsk region seems to indicate the existence of cartographic materials for this area other than the map of Pachołowiecki".[25]

---

19     See chapter 6 of this book.

20     See Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 85 ff.; Buczek, *The History*, pp. 49–57; Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 62–64.

21     See Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 86; Buczek, *Dorobek*, p. 7; Buczek, *The History*, p. 53.

22     See Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 64.

23     See Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 87–91. See also Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 61–64.

24     More on operational maps and itineraries: K. Łopatecki, "Mapy w planowaniu działań operacyjnych armii polskiej i litewskiej do początków panowania Stefana Batorego", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3(44), pp. 567–607.

25     Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 89: "Podczas bowiem, gdy na wcześniejszej redakcji mapy teatru wojny było w granicach Wielkiego Księstwa tylko 99 miejscowości, to na późniejszej jest ich tu już 190, z czego tylko 37 spotykamy również na mapach z przed 1576 r. Radykalnie także zmienił Strubicz rysunek sieci wodnej. W dorzeczu Dźwiny uderza przede wszystkiem zmiana górnego biegu rzeki głównej na pd.-zach., podczas gdy na dawniejszej redakcji i u Pachołowieckiego płynęła ona w tej części ku pd. Pomnożona i przerobiona, w porównaniu do tych map, sieć

FIGURE 5.2   STRUBICZ, *Lithuania*—a fragment depicting the Principality of Polatsk

If we take a closer look at the toponyms of the Polatsk area and adjacent lands on the STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (witness **C**; Fig. 5.2) and MERCATOR, *Lithuania* from 1595 (witness **D**; Fig. 5.3), Buczek's assumptions prove to be quite accurate. First and foremost, all twenty-seven names that appear on the printed map by Strubicz (**C**) and Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri's print (**A**) are also featured on the map by Mercator (**D**). Only three of them, namely *Druia*, *Lepel*, and *Turowla*, have the same spelling. Eight inscriptions have the same form on the maps by Mercator and Strubicz, but they differ from those on Pachołowiecki's map.[26] Another nine names on the maps by Strubicz and Mercator differ only in terms of orthography.[27] A

further three suggest a common ancestor.[28] The most interesting—and at the same time conclusive—are the four names on MERCATOR, *Lithuania*, which are typical separative errors, as compared to the names on STRUBICZ, *Lithuania*: *Bracziaw*, *Hiuboki*, *Fkaznia*, and *Wifcifcza* instead of the correct *Braczlaw*, *Hluboki*, *Ikaznia*, and *Wiezifcza*, respectively. By no means does this prove that Mercator used STRUBICZ, *Lithuania*, supplementing it with data from the map by Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri, although such a view persists even in the recent literature on the subject.[29]

---

wodna w zadźwińskiej części ziemi połockiej zdaje się wskazywać również na istnienie innych, prócz mapy Pachołowieckiego, materjałów kartograficznych dla tego obszaru." On MERCATOR, *Lithuania* see Buczek, *The History*, pp. 54–56 and Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 64–66.

26   These are the following toponyms: *Czafniki*, *Czernica*, *Koziana*, *Poloczko*, *Siebis*, *Sokol*, *Soßa*, and *Witepfk*.

27   *Czernica*, *Drißa*, *Duna*, *Dzifna*, *Krafne*, *Lucomlia*, *Ofkata*, *Plißa*, and *Suras*.

---

28   The names, in order Strubicz (**C**)—Mercator (**D**), are as follows: *Nifcierd*—*Nifcierda*, *Scitno*—*Schitno*, *Scidowicz*—*Swidowicz*.

29   J. Łuczyński, "Ziemie polskie w kartografii drugiej połowy XVI wieku …", p. 107: "The Daugava River basin was taken [on MERCATOR, *Lithuania*—G.F.] from the map of Strubicz [i.e. STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* of 1589—G.F.] with additions from the map by Stanisław Pachołowiecki from 1579 (e.g. the rivers Widźba, Ula, and others). […] [Mercator—G.F.] also used the latest particular maps from the territory of Lithuania, namely of the area of wars with Muscovy by M. Strubicz (most probably in a newer, supplemented version) and of the Principality of Polatsk by S. Pachołowiecki from 1579." As a result, in the filiation schemes (*ibidem*, pp. 108–109) STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* appears as a direct source used by Mercator.

FIGURE 5.3 MERCATOR, *Lithuania* (NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 1127)—a fragment depicting the Principality of Polatsk

What it does mean is that the names on the Cologne map by Strubicz, although fewer in number, are spelled more correctly after its antigraph. Errors and variants on the map by Mercator may have been made in his workshop or appeared earlier, on the copy of ancestor γ sent to him. Twenty-five names that do not appear on the map by Strubicz, but are common to MERCATOR, *Lithuania* and PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*, must be added to the group of names in question. I will focus on three examples that prove conclusively that Mercator could not have used Cavalieri's Roman copperplate.

The first example is the spelling of the toponym Psuja. Of the works discussed here, only MERCATOR, *Lithuania* and the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP provide the correct spelling, that is *Pſuia*, which is different from the maps by Pachołowiecki (*Psina*) and Sulimowski (*Psnia*), where the "ui" grapheme was misread. A cartographer-copyist who knew neither

Polish nor Ruthenian, such as Gerardus Mercator, would not be able to emend such erroneous readings of toponyms on his own. Likewise—and this is the other example—he could not correct the hydronym mistakenly attributed to the wrong watercourse. The name we have in mind here is *Surazicza* which refers on Pachołowiecki's map to the Kaspla River flowing into the Daugava in the town of Suraž— it appears as *Kaſpla* on the map of Mercator, and earlier, as *Casplia*, on the map by Sulimowski. Yet another example concerns a topographical and toponymical confusion that concerns the left tributaries of the Daugava River near Vitebsk, namely Vićba and Lučosa. Mercator put the name Vićba (*Witepka fl.*, on Pachołowiecki's map: *wiczba flu.*) on the Lučosa River, which Pachołowiecki described as *Ruczai flu.* On Mercator's map, the hydronym *Roßa fl.* indicates the Vićba River, while *Lucioßa fl.* (the name absent on Pachołowiecki's map) is moved even further south.

It can therefore be concluded that the Polatsk region, mapped and full of previously unlisted names recorded by Pachołowiecki, was included in European atlases thanks to the works of Strubicz. The map of Lithuania was published in the atlases of Mercator and Hondius from 1595 to 1636, reproducing the toponymy, hydrography, borders, as well as the name *Polocensis Ducatus*, resurrected by both sides of the conflict in Livonia, for short-term political and propaganda purposes (on the watercolour versions of the map, the Principality of Polatsk was usually separated from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by means of a different colour). However, it was not this map that became the most influential cartographic representation of Lithuania's territory for the entire 17th century—it was the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP (witness E) of 1613. The toponymy of this first-rate cartographic artefact was investigated by Michail Spiridonaŭ in his two excellent studies, which to some extent inspire the indexing-descriptive section below. However, Spiridonaŭ did not take into account the source role, albeit mediated, of Pachołowiecki's map.[30] In the Polish literature on the subject, on the other hand, Alexandrowicz wrote about the alleged direct dependence of the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*:

"The map of the Principality of Polatsk, drawn up by Pachołowiecki, was treated in a completely different way. Thanks to the large scale (about 1:700,000), and thus the abundance of details, it could be the basis for the relative part of Makowski's map. The fact that this was the case is shown by a comparison of towns and watercourse networks in the area of the Polatsk voivodeship and its vicinity. Of the forty towns in this part of Makowski's map, thirty-three were already marked on Pachołowiecki's map, and only seven were added by Makowski. However, he did use Pachołowiecki's work critically. He corrected names very often misspelled by the engraver of Pachołowiecki's map. [...] It should be noted that the topographical locations of Kaziany, Sitna, Sokol, Suša, and Turoŭlia fortresses marked on Makowski's map roughly correspond to the details of their locations on the drawings (plans) attached to the map by Pachołowiecki. This indicates the diligence with which Makowski used the available cartographic and iconographic materials".[31]

It can of course be assumed that the authors of the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP also had PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* at their disposal. However, the analysis of the toponymy indicates that for the purpose of improving the names in the Polatsk region, they more likely used Sulimowski's handwritten materials (ancestor β or its copy) and Strubicz's map from 1582 (ancestor γ), which is quite natural given his part in the editing of the work. Of the forty-five names that appear both on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* and the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP, only four are not present on the Vatican copy of SULIMOWSKI MAP.[32] Including the toponymy of STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (witness C) in the comparison seems equally significant. The RADZIWIŁŁ MAP lacks only six names: the settlement of Čarnica on the right tributary of the Budaviesć River, Krasny Castle (!), the town of Siebież, and the smaller villages of Šo (spelled *Soßa* on Strubicz's map), Svirydavičy (*Scidowicz*;

---

30 See M. Спірыдонаў, "Беларусь на карце Вялікага Княства Літоўскага 1613 г.", *Гістарычны Альманах* 8 (2003), pp. 3–55. Unfortunately, in the descriptive alphabetical index of names, excluding hydronyms, Spiridonaŭ includes only towns within the borders of present-day Belarus (see *ibidem*, pp. 13–33: *Дадатак 2—Спіс населеных пунктаў Беларусі, што абазначаны на карце вкл 1613 г., з дадатковымі гістарычнымі данымі*). It covers thirty toponyms that coincide with the map by Pachołowiecki. These are (the order number of Spiridonaŭ's index is given in parentheses): Babyničy (19), Braslaŭ (33), Ciotča (320), Čašniki (330), Druja (110), Dzisna (100), Haradok (78), Hlybokaje (85), Ikazń (136), Jeziaryšča (118), Kamień (146), Kaziany (143), LukomĬ (186), Nieščarda (224), Pahost (227), Plisa (247), Polatsk (250), Psuja (255), Sianno (304), Sitna (202), Sokal (285), Stary LiepieĬ (295), Suraž (300), Suša (302), Turoŭlia (308), Ula (61), Varoničy (43), Vitebsk (52), Vierchniadzvinsk (47), and Voskata (58). Spiridonaŭ gives the date of the oldest mention and a short list of historical sources for each town. He also provides a table of names that show the toponym transcribed from the map and its contemporary Belarusian and Russian equivalents (no Polish equivalents given). See *ibidem*, pp. 34–42: *Дадатак 3—Спаланізаваныя назвы населеных пунктаў Беларусі, што абазначаны на карце вкл 1613 г.*

31 S. Alexandrowicz, *Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Tomasza Makowskiego* ..., p. 44: "Zupełnie inaczej potraktowana została mapa księstwa połockiego, sporządzona przez Pachołowieckiego. Dzięki dużej skali (około 1: 700 000), a co za tym idzie bogactwu szczegółów, mogła ona stanowić podstawę dla odpowiedniej partii mapy Makowskiego. Że taką rolę odegrała, wskazuje porównanie występujących na obszarze województwa połockiego i w jego sąsiedztwie miejscowości i sieci wodnej. Spośród 40 miejscowości na tej partii mapy Makowskiego, 33 były już oznaczone u Pachołowieckiego, a tylko siedem wprowadził Makowski. Jednak pracę Pachołowieckiego wykorzystał on krytycznie. Uległy poprawieniu nazwy, bardzo często zniekształcone przez sztycharza mapy Pachołowieckiego. [...] Zasługuje na uwagę, że oznaczone na mapie Makowskiego położenie topograficzne twierdz Koziana, Sitna, Sokoła, Suszy i Turowli z grubsza odpowiada szczegółom ich sytuacji na rysunkach (planikach) dołączonych do mapy Pachołowieckiego. Wskazuje to na sumienność, z jaką Makowski wykorzystywał dostępne materiały kartograficzne i ikonograficzne." Alexandrowicz repeated these findings word for word almost half a century later: Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 96–97.

32 These are the towns of Sianno and Varoničy (NB, on the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP, it is given in the incorrect form of *Woromecz*) and the Rivers ObaĬ (*Obola fl.*) and Lučosa (*Luczofa fl.*).

*Swidowicz* on Mercator's map), and Viažyšča (*Wiezifcza*). Twenty-four names absent from the printed map of STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (**C**) appear without exception on the second witness derived from antigraph β (witness **B**—the Vatican copy of SULIMOWSKI MAP),[33] on the map by Mercator (**D**),[34] or finally as many as sixteen are present on both these sources.[35] In the light of these facts, the filiation proposed here seems to be the most likely one.

---

33   These are three toponyms: Ciotča (*Ciotca*), Haradok (*Horodek wietsi* [= *więtszy*]) and Pahost (*Pohist*).

34   Five toponyms: Budaviči (*Budowice* in MERCATOR, *Lithuania*—hydronym *Budowiefz fl.* on the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP), River Lučosa (*Lucioßa fl.–Luczofa fl.*), River Obaĺ (*Obolia fl.–Obola fl.*), Varoniči (*Woronocz*—incorrect *Woromecz*), and River Vićba (*Witepka fl.—Widzba fl.*).

35   These are names (variants in the following order: SULIMOWSKI MAP-MERCATOR, *Lithuania*-RADZIWIŁŁ MAP): Babyniči (*Bobenice—Bobenicz—Bohomecz*[!]), River Biarezina (*fl. Berezina—Bereznia fl.*[!]*—Berezina fl.*), River Čarniaŭka (*fl. oskacica—Ofkata fl.–Ofkatczyca fl.*), River Drysa (*fl. Drisia and* FL. DRISA*—Drißa fl.–Drißʃ a fl.*), River Dzisna (*fl. Dzisna—Dzifna fl.–Dziefna fl.*[!]), Jeziaryšča (*OZIERISCZI—Oczerczifce*[!]*—Ozierzyßcia*), River Kasplia (*fl. Casplia—Kafpla fl.– Cafpla fl.*), River Kryvinka (*fl. krziwina—Krziwina fl.–Krzywina fl.*), Lake Obaĺ (*Obolia—Obolia lac.–Obola lac.*), River Palata (*fl. Polotha—Polota fl.–Polota fl.*), Psuja (*Psnia*[!]*—Pfuia—Pfuia*), Suša Castle (*Sussa—Saßa*[!]*—Sußa*), Ula (*Ula—Vla—Vla*), river and town of Ušača (*Ufsaca—Ufacza– Vfzacza fl.*), Usviaty (*uswiath—Ufwiat—Vswiach*[!]), and River Uśviača (*fl. Vfwiacica—Ufwiatcicza fl.–Viwiatczyca*[!]).

---

On the basis of the analyses carried out, it can be concluded that Pachołowiecki's map did not have a direct impact on Mercator's map, although it did influence Sulimowski and Strubicz, whose works were used by Mercator. Above all, however, it had an effect on the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP and, through it, on the image of the Polatsk region and the northern Lithuanian—Muscovian borderland in 17th- and 18th-century European cartography. Long after Ivan the Terrible's strongholds in the Polatsk region were conquered and burned down in the years 1579–1580 (Kaziany, Krasny, Nieščarda, Sitna, Sokol, Suša, and Turoŭlia), their names (some of them provided with historical notes on the map; see Figs 5.4 and 5.5), were still present in Joan Blaeu's atlases (beginning with the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP remake of 1648; see Figs 5.6 and 5.7),[36] and in the 18th century in the atlases of J.B. Homann's heirs (thanks to Jan Nieprzecki's map of 1749, see Figs 5.8 and 5.9).[37] For many years after the massacre of Sokol led by Báthory, smoke still billowed from the long-non-existent stronghold depicted on the maps of Lithuania.

---

36   J. Blaeu, *Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae et regionum adiacentium exacta descriptio* (1648). I am using a copy kept in the NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 1130.

37   J. Nieprzecki, J.T. Mayer, *Magni Ducatus Lituaniae in suos Palatinatus et Districtus Divisus: Carte du Grand Duche de Lituaniae*, Nuremberg 1749. I am using a copy kept in the NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION—the Museum, shelfmark TN 1157.

FIGURES 5.4–5.5    RADZIWIŁŁ MAP—fragments
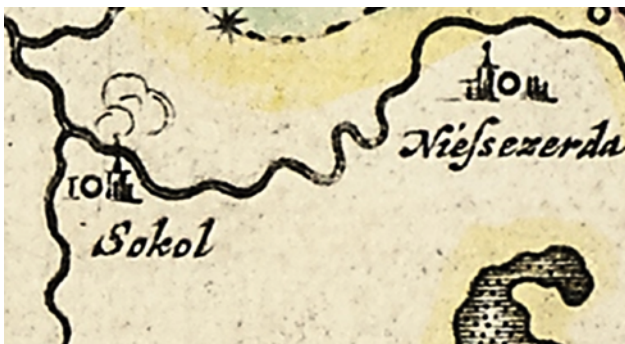
FIGURES 5.6–5.7
J. Blaeu, *Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae et regionum adiacentium exacta descriptio*, Amsterdam 1648 (NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 1130)—fragments





FIGURES 5.8–5.9    J. Nieprzecki, J.T. Mayer, *Magni Ducatus Lituaniae in suos Palatinatus et Districtus Divisus: Carte du Grand Duche de Lituaniae*, Nuremberg 1749 (NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 1157)—fragments

**PART 2**

*Military Aspects*

∵

# *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* as a Military Map

Stephen Báthory's three campaigns brought about a breakthrough in almost every aspect of early modern Polish warfare, including cartography.[1] It was then that maps and plans became the basis for strategic, operational, and tactical activities for the first time in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[2] The reasons were several. First of all, awareness of the possible applications of military cartography developed in the period directly preceding Báthory's rule in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was during the reign of Sigismund II Augustus that engineering and cartography shyly penetrated first into the texts written by military theoreticians and then into practical warfare.[3] Secondly, the expeditions from 1579–1582 were among the few offensive operations undertaken during the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's existence.[4] This is why the communication, transport, and victualling, that is, generally speaking, communication routes, were taken care of incomparably better than during other armed conflicts. Hence, the role of cartography was much greater than in campaigns carried out on the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that were well surveyed.

It should be noted that the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* is not the first strictly military map created in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th century. The only preceding and at the same time the oldest known map of this sort was drawn two years earlier (1577) during the war between Báthory and Gdańsk. At least three cartographic sources were prepared for the purposes of this conflict.[5] The most important for military research has not survived; there is only a legend concerning it, written by Stanisław Sarnicki. It follows from his account that the map depicted an area along at least 35 km of the lower Vistula. The map included Gdańsk, Pruszcz Gdański, Tczew, and Lubieszowo Tczewskie. Apart from the cities, it showed the hydrological network, as well as two bridges built by the fighting armies—the royal and the Gdańsk ones.[6] However, due to the specificity of the fights in the Polatsk region, the significance of the map that represented the siege of Gdańsk was incomparably smaller than that of Pachołowiecki's maps. Nevertheless, the experience gained from the war carried out by Báthory in Royal Prussia in 1576–1577 could have provided an intellectual impulse for a similar cartographic undertaking.

According to some historians, the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* was created after the end of war operations in the Polatsk region.[7] In his study presenting the organizational aspect of Stephen Báthory's warfare, Henryk Kotarski stated that the first expedition to Polatsk was in fact prepared without proper cartographic sources. Báthory had large-scale maps, but they were not very accurate. The first edition of Maciej Strubicz's map was created after the end of the first campaign, although still in 1579. In conclusion, Kotarski states that in order to make maps and plans, Stephen Báthory had to take cartographers—Stanisław Pachołowiecki and Petrus Francus—with him. Their work resulted (after the fighting had ended) in a map

1   Originally published as K. Łopatecki, "Okoliczności powstania i przydatność wojskowa mapy Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 75–126; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.003.7892c.

2   Buczek, *Dorobek*, pp. 3–15; Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 69–121.

3   More information on the subject: K. Łopatecki, "Wykorzystanie map w działaniach strategicznych do 1586 roku w Koronie i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3 (44), pp. 511–566; *idem*, "Mapy w planowaniu działań operacyjnych …", pp. 567–607; *idem*, "Rola map i planów w działaniach taktycznych wojsk polskich i litewskich do początku panowania Stefana Batorego", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3(44), pp. 609–663.

4   On the defensive ideology of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility: J. Urwanowicz, "Wokół ideologii przedmurza chrześcijaństwa w Rzeczypospolitej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 29 (1984), pp. 185–199.

5   The two maps are propagandistic and chronological in nature and are unlikely to have been useful for military purposes—they may possibly be modified versions of actual tactical maps. These were landscapes far from the requirements of cartography. *Die Belagerung Künigklicher Majestet zu Polen des Hauses zur Weisselmunde für Danziko, geschehen im Augusto Anno 1577*, The Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Iconographic Collections, shelf mark 5664; T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen i wojskowości w Polsce: Epoka przedrozbiorowa*, vol. 2, Cracow 1912, p. 20 and Fig. 16; W. Behring, "Beitrage zur Geschichte des Jahres 1577, II: Die Berichte der kursachsischen Gesandten Abraham von Bock und Dr. Andreas Pauli uber die Friedensvermittlung zwischen Konig Stephan Bathory und der Stadt Danzig", *Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins* 45 (1903), after p. 112.

6   S. Sarnicki, *Księgi hetmańskie*, ed. M. Ferenc, Cracow 2015, p. 479.

7   In chapter 5 we present the genealogical tree, that is, so to say, a *stemma chartarum* of Stanisław Pachołowiecki's works. We mark the development of subsequent versions of manuscript and printed maps as follows: "ω—Archetype—an original manuscript map of Pachołowiecki (1579); α—a copy of Pachołowiecki's map used by G.B. Cavalieri; […] A—PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*." For the purposes of this chapter, we focused on the ω version, or the archetype.

of Polatsk and plans of seven fortresses.[8] Also Karol Buczek, not writing directly about the time when Pachołowiecki's map was created, indicates that it was made in the first half of September, "when he [Pachołowiecki] could not yet have had better information about the territory where the war was waged; it only moved to Polatsk in the second half of July".[9] This is why Buczek assumes that creating a good map was only possible after the whole military campaign had finished.

In our opinion, this is a reversal of the order of events. While small-scale maps and plans of fortresses should be made at the beginning of a siege, an operational map ought to have been ready before the expedition or, at worst, when the expedition began. Otherwise, the sense and usefulness of such a cartographic work would be negligible.

Another question concerns the usefulness of the map of the Principality of Polatsk during the war. Karol Buczek is very critical of Pachołowiecki's work and SULIMOWSKI MAP made a year later, stating that both works have "faulty orientation, inaccurate representation of the hydrographic network, significantly overscaled pictorial symbols of towns in relation to the scale of the map, a small number of marked settlements, distortions of directions and distances, etc."[10] He suggests that due to these reasons, the value of these maps was illusory—they turned out to be more useful in diplomatic negotiations than during combat operations.[11] It should be stressed that Buczek based his critical remarks on an imperfect 19th-century reproduction of the maps under discussion.

Stanisław Alexandrowicz, made an additional significant achievement by proposing the partial positive re-evaluation of the operational map of Stanisław Pachołowiecki.[12] First of all, he verified its scale and corrected it from 1:700,000, assumed previously, to 1:545,000, and estimated the area presented on it at 38,000 km². Secondly, he established that the Polish mile indicated

on the map is a distance of 5.6 km, which would correspond to the Lithuanian *mila communis*. Thirdly, he determined that the map is not oriented to the north, but to the northeast.[13] Alexandrowicz observed: "All in all, the representation of the territory on Pachołowiecki's map is significantly distorted." However, he also added: "Despite its shortcomings, the map of the Principality of Polatsk provided a general, fairly detailed overview of the complex network of the watercourses and settlements of the 1579 war zone."[14] Nonetheless, later in his work Alexandrowicz agreed with the generally negative opinion expressed by Karol Buczek.[15]

It seems impossible to answer two questions formulated at the beginning: about the time of creation and military usefulness of the object examined. The archival search conducted for decades has had rather modest results. For a long time, we have known only two important pieces of information. Firstly, that on 20 September 1579, Jan Zamoyski informed Caligari about the making of maps concerning the campaign of 1579.[16] Secondly, on 25 October, Maciej Strubicz asked Zamoyski to provide him with the *chorographia* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Strubicz was undoubtedly interested in the map made by Stanisław Pachołowiecki, as he stressed that he had "certain knowledge of the fact that in those times of war His Majesty has a more thorough and reliable description of that land in Lithuania".[17] All this gives only a relative suggestion to use *ante quem* dating: the maps from the Polatsk campaign were not made later than September 1579.

However, despite the limited number of descriptive sources, we are in an excellent position when it comes to cartography. We have two maps that cover the same area and were created one year apart. Therefore, we can

8　　H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582. Sprawy organizacyjne", part 2, pp. 81–82, 124; *idem*, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582. Sprawy organizacyjne", part 3, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 2(17) (1971), p. 90.

9　　Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 81: "wtedy jeszcze nie mógł on posiadać lepszych wiadomości o terenie wojny, która przeniosła się do Połocczyzny dopiero w drugiej połowie lipca."

10　　"Wadliwą orientację, niedokładne przedstawienie sieci hydrograficznej, znaczne powiększenie sygnatur miejscowości w stosunku do skali mapy, małą liczbę zaznaczonych osiedli, zniekształcenia kierunków i odległości itp." Buczek, *Dorobek*, p. 8.

11　　Buczek, *Dorobek*, p. 8; Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 80–81.

12　　Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 60–61.

13　　This finding can be based on SULIMOWSKI MAP, which is partly a repetition of PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*, whose orientation was to the northeast.

14　　Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 61: "W sumie obraz terenu na mapie Pachołowieckiego jest znacznie zniekształcony. [...] Mimo braków, mapa Księstwa Połockiego zapewniała jednak ogólną, w miarę szczegółową, orientację w skomplikowanym obrazie sieci wodnej i osadniczej obszaru działań wojennych roku 1579."

15　　*Ibidem*, p. 169; *idem, Rozwój kartografii ...*, p. 192.

16　　J. Zamoyski to J.A. Caligari, Dzi[s]na 20 IX 1579, in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, vol. 1: *1553–1579*, ed. W. Sobieski, Warsaw 1904, p. 362; K. Buczek, *Dorobek kartograficzny wojen Stefana Batorego*, p. 81.

17　　M. Strubicz to J. Zamoyski, Grąbów 25 X 1579, in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego ...*, vol. 1, p. 371: "mając tedy pewną o tym wiadomość, że tych czasów wojennych Jego Królewska Mość gruntowniejsze opisanie tamty ziemi ma litewskiej."

compare the two sources. The SULIMOWSKI MAP will serve as a point of reference, as it drew on the course of the entire campaign of 1579 and additionally on the intelligence operations at the turn of 1579 and 1580.[18] Therefore, the two maps should be compared in relation to those areas where the fighting took place from July to mid-September. Should we observe that Pachołowiecki's map lacks information that could have been obtained during the campaign of 1579, it ought to be concluded that the royal secretary made his map before the expedition.[19]

The third research question is an attempt to establish whether it was possible to make a sufficiently precise map without cartographic work carried out personally in the field. This problem is related to the way the work under discussion was created.

## 1 The Circumstances in Which the Map of the Principality of Polatsk Was Created

Almost every military historian asked to indicate the area of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth where the operational maps were most useful, would choose the region of Polatsk.[20] In the 16th century, the entire borderland between Lithuania and Muscovy was a troubled area, but the former Principality of Polatsk was a special territory.[21] After the fall of Smolensk in 1514, Vitebsk and Polatsk became the main directions of Muscovite expansion. The conquest of these lands would in fact provide direct access to Vilnius. In 1563, the army of Ivan the Terrible conquered Polatsk, which became the cause of almost constant conflicts in the area.[22] The rulers of Muscovy were not able to govern the entire territory, but they maintained rule over Polatsk and thus controlled strategic navigation on the Daugava River.[23] At the same time, they systematically

conquered or built strongholds around Polatsk in order to secure it and extend the area under their control.[24]

In turn, the Lithuanian side, after unsuccessful attempts to recover Polatsk from the enemy,[25] also took steps to build new castles in the area or fortify existing ones and sought to take over smaller Muscovite fortresses.[26] Thus, there was no ordinary front line. Instead, pieces of land were taken from each other's hands and fortresses were built there.[27] At the end of the reign of Sigismund II

---

is from there that [Muscovites] send food and reinforcements to Kokenhausen and other Livonian castles, from there they make trips on the Daugava River, they cut off the goods shipped to Vilnius and Riga and paralyse trade in these cities" ("Id si Polotia potiretur, magna ex parte effecturum se videbat: ab eius praesidio maximam partem Dunae infestari, inde auxilia commeatusque Kokenhausium aliaque in Livoniae castella summitti, excursiones fieri, Vilnamque Rigamque mercatura prohiberi"). (transl. J.N.).

24    M. Plewczyński, "Kozacy w walkach z Moskwą nad Dźwiną i Ułą w latach 1567–1568", in: *Od Kijowa do Rzymu. Z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej ze Stolicą Apostolską i Ukrainą*, ed. M.R. Drozdowski, W. Walczak, K. Wiszowata-Walczak, Białystok 2012, p. 61; Р.М. Платонова, М.А. Платонова, А.С. Давидович, "Градостроительство Полоцка в XIV–XVIII века", *Вестник Полоцкого государственного университета*, Сер. F, *Прикладные науки. Строительство* 12 (2009), p. 9. The construction of the Usviaty Castle by Muscovy is an example. See "Stephen Báthory to Ivan the Terrible, Vilnius, 26 June 1579", in: *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego* ..., p. 166.

25    M. Plewczyński, "Wkład Radziwiłłów w rozwój staropolskiej sztuki wojennej XVI w.", *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica* 7 (1997), p. 32.

26    This subject requires a separate study. At this point, it is worth mentioning a group of letters informing about the necessity of building a fortification in the Polatsk and Vitsyebsk regions. G. Chodkiewicz to R. Sanguszko, Zabłudów 1 April 1567, ANK, The Sanguszko Archive, *Teki Rzymskie*, X/64 (information about Muscovian attempts to build a castle in Lukoml); Chodkiewicz to Sanguszko, Waryna 16 May 1567, ANK, The Sanguszko Archive, *Teki Rzymskie*, X/74 (Muscovian attempts to build castles in Čašniki, Lukomĺ, and Ula); Sigismund II Augustus to G. Chodkiewicz, Błonie 19 June 1567, ANK, The Sanguszko Archive, *Teki Rzymskie*, X/81 (Stanisław Pac's undertaking of castle construction); G. Chodkiewicz to R. Sanguszko, Derewnów 23 June 1567, ANK, The Sanguszko Archive, *Teki Rzymskie*, X/82 (plan of building castles in Čašniki and Jeziaryšča, fortifying the mound in Horodło, and evaluation of the Ula fortress). Other numerous references to the state of the castles and fortifying plans, sieges, destruction of fortifications: *ibidem*, X/84, X/85, X/86, X/89, X/96, X/99, X/104, X/107, X/112, X/115, X/117, X/125, ff.

27    R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* ..., p. 130: "Before it was conquered by Ivan, this land had only one town and a castle in Polatsk, and a castle in Jeziaryšča. [...] Jeziaryšča lay on a lake, where the Obol River starts. Access to them is very tight. It is barely a path. When the country was seized by Ivan, castles and crews arose everywhere to make it easier for him and to prevent the enemies from sailing, and to stop the trips that were

---

18    H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie ...", part 3, pp. 132–134. In the case of SULIMOWSKI MAP, a similar question arises: Was it made after the 1580 war campaign or before? In this study, however, this is a secondary issue.

19    We know that Pachołowiecki made corrections to the version of the map prepared for printing—he took into account the plans of the seven fortresses made on site and faithfully reproduced them in drawings.

20    The dense network of old (medieval) fortifications in Livonia meant that planning could be successfully based on itineraries.

21    Cf. S. Alexandrowicz, "Dziedzictwo kartografii wojskowej ...", p. 192.

22    Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 39–46.

23    R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* ..., p. 128: "Upon conquering Polatsk, the whole Daugava River would be in his hands at once, because the whole Daugava River depends on Polatsk, it

August, the Lithuanian army gained a small advantage. The triumph of Prince Roman Sanguszko, who conquered the Muscovian Ula Castle in 1568, was the harbinger of the upcoming change. In December of the following year, another castle was captured and demolished, and then a new one was built nearby, on Lake Ciotča. As a result, within fifteen years the area in question underwent radical changes in the settlement pattern. Some of the villages and towns were ravaged, others were turned into castles and fortresses.[28] The war for this province was similar to the one waged in western Europe, especially in the Netherlands. It was a prelude to a new kind of armed conflict, in which the clash was based on the art of manoeuvring, on building and then defending fortresses, and finally on long-term sieges conducted with modern military techniques.[29]

Mapmaking knowledge seems essential, particularly in such an area and under conditions of war.[30] The authorities

of the Tsardom of Russia understood this. As early as 1552, Ivan IV the Terrible ordered a description of the entire territory of Muscovy and neighbouring countries called *Kniga Bol'shomu chertezhu* (*The Book of the Great Description*; *Книга Большому чертежу*). This source was verified and corrected at the turn of the 17th century. The next edition comes from 1627 and has survived to our times. It mainly provides descriptions of roads and rivers, as well as distances between towns and landmarks.[31] Probably, maps were also made in addition to the description of the territory of the tsardom. This is evidenced e.g. by the archives of the Ambassadorial Prikaz (*Posolsky Prikaz*) of 1614. Numerous documents called chertezh (*чертеж*) were noted at the time, which presented borderlands, including the Muscovite-Lithuanian borderland.[32] One of the records contains a detailed characteristic:

"The drawing of the demarcation of the lands made by the Tsar's Boyar Mikhail Yakovlevich Morozov and his companions with Lithuanian envoys, showing how they marked out the borders between the city of Polatsk and the suburbs of Polatsk, and the towns, and the villages, and the waters, and all the arable lands with Lithuanian cities at the time when Polatsk belonged to the tsar".[33]

It is very likely that this description refers to a map. The author of the map was a boyar, Mikhail Morozov, who was sentenced to death in 1564, so the map must have been created after the conquest of Polatsk in 1563 but no later than 1564.

Stanisław Alexandrowicz stated that "It certainly brought more situational details than [...] the map of Pachołowiecki".[34] In the absence of an extant Russian

---

very often made across the river on both sides. Sigismund II Augustus founded Dzisna, Varoničy, and Lepiel on an island on the lake created by the Lepiel River" ("Antequam in Mosci potestatem veniret, una arce atque urbe Polotia et castro Jeseriscia tota illa regio continebatur [...]. Jeseriscia versus Moscoviam in lacu, ex quo fluvius Obola oritur, sita, ab una sola parte angustissimum aditum et quo vix expedito iter sit, habet. Postquam a Mosco occupata fuit, utrinque castella aliquot excitata praesidiaque constituta fuerunt, partim agri fluminisque ac navigationis vel sibi retinendae vel turbandae hosti causa, partim ad excursiones, quae ut in dubia utrinque possessione frequentes fiebant, prohibendas. A rege Sigismundo Augusto Disna ad ejusdem nominis fluvij ac Dunae confluentem, Voronecium ad flumen Usaciam, Lepelium in insula lacus, qui a Lepelio fluvio efficitur, versus Lithuaniam conditum fuit"). See also J.D. Solikowski, *Commentarius brevis rerum Polonicarum a morte Sigismundi Augusti*, Gdańsk 1647, pp. 115–116: "When [King Stephen—J.N.] arrived in Dzisna, he inspected the army anew and put it in a military camp. It was in the place called the *Kopiec* [Mound] where the Dzisna River flows into the Daugava River. After losing Polatsk, King Sigismund Augustus built these fortifications in a hurry, but well." ("Et iam Dzisnam pervenerat, quam amissa Polocia Sigismundus Augustus rex in loco dicto *Kopiec* ad flumen Dunam et confluentem Disnam extemporaneo opere vallo tamen bene munitam extruxerat, ubi omnes copias denuo recensuit et in castris posuit.") (transl. J.N.). Pol. transl.: J.D. Solikowski, *Krótki pamiętnik rzeczy polskich od zgonu Zygmunta Augusta [...] do r. 1590*, transl. and ed. W. Syrokomla, Petersburg—Mogilev 1855, p. 51.

28    Cf. D. Hermann, "Relacja Daniela Hermana miasta Gdańska rajcy i sługi, Wilno 9 x 1579", in: *Wiadomości do dziejów polskich z archiwum prowincyi szląskiej*, ed. A. Mosbach, Wrocław 1860, p. 161; "Rewizja województwa połockiego z roku 1552" ..., pp. 175–247. These changes are also documented in PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*.

29    See G. Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars*, Cambridge 1972, pp. 3–21.

30    Cf. J. Black, "A Revolution in Military Cartography? Europe 1650–1815", *Journal of Military History* 1(73) (2009), pp. 49–68.

31    *Книга Большому Чертежу*, ed. К.Н. Сербина, Москва 1950, pp. 4–7; Д.М. Лебедев, *Очерки по истории географии в России XV и XVI веков*, Москва 1956, p. 223.

32    V.V. Piesteriev argues convincingly that *чертеж* in the nomenclature of the pre-Petrine era did not have to mean a map at all, but rather a textual description of a given area (region). В.В. Пестерев, "К вопросу о степени развития русской картографии в XVI–XVII веках", *Вестник Курганского университета*, Серия *Гуманитарные науки* 2 (2006), pp. 72–75.

33    "Ч е р т е ж  м е ж е в а н ь я [emphasis—K.Ł.] государевых бояр Михаила Яковлевича Морозова с товарыщи с литовскими послы, как учинили меж городу Полотцку и Полотцким пригородом земле, селам, и деревням, и водам, и всяким угодьям с литовскими городами, как был Полотеск за государем." (transl. K.Ł.) *Описи Царского архива XVI века и архива Посольского приказа 1614 года*, ed. С.О. Шмидт, Москва 1960, p. 136.

34    Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 153: "Z pewnością przynosiła ona więcej szczegółów sytuacyjnych niż [...] mapa Pachołowieckiego"; cf. Б.А. Рыбаков, *Русские карты Московии XV–начала XVI века*, Москва 1974, p. 61.

map, it is difficult to argue or agree with this opinion. Nevertheless, it is worth giving an example of another Russian military map of this area, created later. It was made in 1701 by *stolnik*[35] Maximov Tsizirevich, *тайным обычаем* (concealed). It depicted Vitebsk, Polatsk, and a number of towns near the river.[36] Additionally, itineraries were written that described the course of the Daugava River, starting from its springs in the Rzhev uyezd and ending in Polatsk.[37] This map is similarly (although in some cases slightly less) detailed than Pachołowiecki's work. Thus, it cannot be assessed as more suitable for military purposes. It is distinguished by the marking of bridges, fortresses with gates and moats, a fairly dense settlement pattern along the Daugava River, and finally the Lithuanian—Muscovite border. Looking from the west (left side of the map), the fortified complexes marked include: Polatsk (without the Palata River!), Vitebsk, Suraž, Velizh, and the city of Biała or Biełyj (Bely) on the Obsha River, located in the territory of Muscovy. There is neither a bar scale nor a coordinate grid; even the orientation of the map is not provided. The symbols of towns are large, with schematically depicted elements of fortifications.[38] The geographical shape of the area—like forests and hills—is represented in an equally schematic manner. The Daugava River basin is shown very imprecisely, many rivers marked by Pachołowiecki are absent here. Furthermore, the map from the early 18th century lacks roads and trade routes used at that time. Therefore, the source created 121 years later is by no means superior to Pachołowiecki's work in terms of potential operational usefulness. On the contrary, its utility is even lower. Since Russian cartography developed significantly in the 17th century, it can be assumed that the map created during the reign of Ivan the Terrible was at best similar to the work done by Maximov Tsizirevich and incomparably less detailed than the one created in 1579.[39]

Against the background of the Tsardom of Russia, which was a rather peripheral country after all, the cartographic backwardness in the Jagiellonian state is surprising. It seems that the geographical and cartographic knowledge of the Lithuanian and Polish commanders in the early 1560s was very poor. This is evidenced by a letter from the crown hetman of the mercenary army Florian Zebrzydowski to Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Red" from 1562 concerning warfare on the border between the Polatsk and Vitebsk regions. Zebrzydowski admits in it that his geographical orientation is poor. He writes: "I cannot mark any place [for the meeting—K.Ł.] with Your Grace as I have no knowledge [of any proper locations]. Having no good guides I could not have obtained such knowledge and I only have one piece of information: that the distance between Jeziaryšča and Vitebsk is 18 miles" (= 23.1 miles on Pachołowiecki's map).[40] In fact, it is a distance of 74 km, so the mile given in the letter would only be 4.1 km (on Pachołowiecki's map—even less).[41] Thus, even this single piece of information that Florian Zebrzydowski did have was far from precise.[42]

The need to coordinate the actions of the Polish and Lithuanian armies made the itineraries and descriptions of the villages with the distances between them recorded ever more important. Intelligence concerning the possible route of Ivan the Terrible's military march at the beginning of 1563 are worthy of note here. The document was entitled *The Two Routes to Polatsk and the Border Planned by the Grand Prince* (*Dróg dwie kniazia wielkiego do Połocka po granicę gotowych*). The person who provided this information rightly associated the preparatory action of building bridges and improving roads with the concentration of Muscovite forces. He correctly decided that Polatsk would be the target of the attack, concluding that the work carried out in different locations on the Pskov—Zavolochye—Nevel route was a coordinated action. According to Hieronim Grala, the document was

---

35 *Stolnik*—a high official common in medieval and early modern Europe; originally, *stolnik* was responsible for the dishes served at a ruler's table. In Muscovy, the position was also held by a mid-level clerk in central offices.

36 V. Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and its Meanings in Seventeenth Century Russia*, Ithaca—London 2006, pp. 32–33.

37 Itineraries were published in: А. Сапунов, *Река Западная Двина с картами, планами и рисунками*, Витебскъ 1893, pp. 501–506.

38 Cf. V. Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom …*, pp. 57–98.

39 L. Bagrow, *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800*, ed. H.W. Castner, Ontario 1975; L.A. Goldenberg, "Russian Cartography to ca. 1700", in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 1852–1903.

40 "Miejsca [na spotkanie—K.Ł.] żadnego W[aszej] M[iłości] naznaczyć nie mogę, jako nieświadom. Bo i wodzów [przewodników—K.Ł.] i tychem dobrych mieć nie mógł, jedno mam te sprawę, iżby z Ozierzyszcza do Witebska było 18 mil", Florian Zebrzydowski to Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Red", camp near Uskoty. 12 August 1562, in: "Materiały do działalności wojskowej Floriana Zebrzydowskiego", *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 2(9) (1937), p. 290.

41 However, if we take into account the average route-length on the basis of the currently existing roads, we get 87.5 km, that is 4.86 km per mile.

42 G. Lesmaitis, *Wojsko zaciężne w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w końcu XV–drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 85–87. Lesmaitis analysed the correspondence between the hetmans. In his opinion, the coordination of actions was shoddy. The Polish commanders had a greater understanding in the presence of the Muscovian army than the Lithuanian one, they did not prepare a specific action plan, provisions were poorly organized, the state of the roads was bad, and above all, the logistics were not taken care of properly.

created at the turn of December 1562, but was disregarded by the Lithuanian supreme command.[43]

The oldest extant cartographic sources concerning this area are drawings and graphics depicting Ula Castle, created in 1568 and 1570 respectively.[44] Growing cartographic awareness resulted in the Lithuanian envoy negotiating with the Muscovian side in 1570 with the aid of a map of the Polatsk—Vitebsk borderland (perhaps another version of the map originally drawn up by Morozov). We know from written sources that the negotiations were very meticulous and included analysis of the complicated course of borders, including Turoŭlia, Krasne, Jeziaryšča, Drissa, Usvyaty, etc.[45] This confirms the assumption that at least general cartographic sketches existed at the end of the Northern Seven Years' War.

The commanders' knowledge of the complex spatial layout of the local castles and their locations in relation to each other was increasingly improving. This is evidenced by the information given in 1569 by Roman Sanguszko to Grzegorz Chodkiewicz about the location of the newly conquered Ciotča fortress. It was to be located 7 miles from the Lepiel fortress, 3.5 miles from Czerliczeny Castle,[46] 3 miles from Varoničy, Ula, and Turoŭlia, 6 miles from Polatsk, and 4 miles from Suša.[47] It is worth noting the manner in which geographical space was described

here. The author gave the distances between all the surrounding castles, so the reader was able to reconstruct the topography of the Polatsk region and locate Ciotča Castle in it.[48]

There are many more examples of creating a spatial network for the geographical description of the Polatsk region. One of the most noteworthy of them is the *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio* written by Alessandro Guagnini (aka. Aleksander Gwagnin) and published in 1574.[49] Guagnini was a long-time commandant of Vitebsk Castle, who accurately (in miles) indicated the distances between the main objects also marked on the map of Pachołowiecki.[50] Table 6.1 shows a far-reaching correlation between the topographic points shown on the map and Guagnini's description. If we reject the completely inadequate measurement given for the distance between Vitebsk and Suraž,[51] the distances recorded on Pachołowiecki's map are only 17.5% greater.

It should be assumed that a few years before 1579 there had been cartographic sketches, itineraries, and exact descriptions that gave the distances between the castles. One only needed to collect these materials and put the information on a map, which is probably what

43    Central Archives of Historical Records, The Radziwiłł Archive, part II, supplement, no. 8; H. Grala, "Źródła do dziejów stosunków polsko-moskiewskich w XVI w. (Nowe znaleziska w Archiwum Warszawskim Radziwiłłów)", *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica* 7 (1997), p. 148.

44    S. Alexandrowicz, "Kartografia ziem Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce panowania Jagiellonów", *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 1(46) (2014), p. 75; *idem*, "Plan oblężenia zamku Uły z 1568 roku (przyczynek do początków staropolskiej kartografii wojskowej)", *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 4(18) (1986), pp. 165–175; S. Alexandrowicz, K. Buczek, "Polska kartografia wojskowa do połowy XVII wieku", in: *Dzieje polskiej kartografii wojskowej i myśli strategicznej. Materiały z konferencji*, ed. B. Krassowski, J. Madej, Warsaw 1982, pp. 11–13; S. Alexandrowicz, *Rozwój kartografii …*, pp. 184–191.

45    Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 80; Сборник Императорского Русского исторического общества, vol. 71 …, pp. 690–692.

46    The author of the letter is probably referring to Krasny (Krasne) Castle located nearby, which was under the control of the Muscovian army from 1564. The name "Czerliczeny" is plausibly a colloquial Polish translation of the name of the castle. In Ruthenian (and Russian), "Krasne" meant red.

47    A letter: R. Sanguszko to G. Chodkiewicz, [Ciotča] 25 December 1569, ANK, The Sanguszko Archive, *Teki Rzymskie*, XI/164; R. Sanguszko to G. Chodkiewicz, [Ciotča] 25 XII 1569, *Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie*, vol. 7, ed. Z.L. Radzimiński, Lviv 1910, p. 357. Pachołowiecki's map also gives distances between Ciotča and other castles, but they are mostly different from those given by Sanguszko: 7 miles to Lepiel, 5 miles to Polatsk (1 mile less), 4.5 miles to Suša (half a

mile more), 2.5 miles to Varoničy (half a mile less), 3 miles to Turoŭlia, 4.5 miles to Ula (1.5 miles more).

48    In the correspondence between these commanders there are often attempts to explain the location of a given object, for example in relation to the plans of the Muscovite troops to build new castles: G. Chodkiewicz to R. Sanguszko, Vilnius 23 April 1567, in: *Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków …*, vol. 7, p. 126.

49    The literature on the subject mentions 1578 as the year of publishing Guagnini's work. R. Wilgosiewicz-Skutecka, "Komu było dedykowane dzieł Gwagnina Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio?— rozwiązanie zagadki znanego polonicum XVI w.", *Biblioteka* 11 (2007), pp. 11–19, discovered a copy dedicated to Henri III of France in 1574. His escape from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth led to the suspension of printing, followed by a new dedication added four years later: "For Stephen Báthory."

50    The author notes the following toponyms also marked by Pachołowiecki: Vitebsk, Suraž, Ula, Turoŭlia, Suša, Čašniki, Sianno, Liepieĺ, Ciotča, Krasny, Varoničy, Polatsk, Ušača, Drysa, Druja, Dzisna. A. Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europeae Descriptio*, [Cracow] 1578, ff. 27–28 (book III; separate pagination); A. Guagnini, *Rerum Polonicarum tomi tres*, vol. 2: *Poloniae, Lituaniae, Samogitiae, Russiae, Massoviae, Prussiae, Livoniae, Moschoviae, Tartariae, quae generali vulgo Sarmatiae Europae nomine veniunt chorographicam descriptionem*, Frankfurt am Main 1584, pp. 83–86; A. Gwagnin, *Kronika Sarmacyjej Europejskiej*, pp. 25–27; A. Guagnini, *Z kroniki Sarmacyi Europskiej*, ed. K.J. Turowski, Cracow 1860, pp. 211–213.

51    In fact, between Vitebsk and Suraž there is a straight-line distance of 41.27 km, so Pachołowiecki corrected the completely fantastical information given by Guagnini. One mile on this route would equal 5.36 km in case of Pachołowiecki's map and only 2.95 km in Guagnini's work.

TABLE 6.1 Distances between castles recorded in the work of Alessandro Guagnini and on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*

| Towns | | Distances between cities (in miles) | Distance according to PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* |
|---|---|---|---|
| VITEBSK | ORSHA | 18 | – |
| VITEBSK | SURAŽ | 14 | 7.7 |
| POLATSK | TUROŬLIA | 3 | 3.4 |
| POLATSK | UŠAČA | 3 | 3.4 |
| POLATSK | VARONIČY | 3 | 3 |
| POLATSK | DZISNA | 6 | 6.9 |
| DZISNA | DRYSA | 6 | 6.3 |
| DRYSA | DRUJA | 6 | 5.7 |
| ČAŠNIKI | SUŠA | 4 | 6.7 |
| ČAŠNIKI | SIANNO | 6 | 7.5 |
| ČAŠNIKI | LIEPIEĽ | 7 | 7 |
| KRASNY | CIOTČA | 1 | 1 |

SOURCE: OWN STUDY

Pachołowiecki did.[52] Such a task was definitely within the scope of the capabilities and competences of a chancery clerk. We should mention here that Pachołowiecki was not a cartographer, but a professional scribe.[53] In the years 1563–1566, he worked for the third wife of Sigismund II Augustus—Catherine of Austria. Later, he moved to the treasury office and finally to the crown chancery. The only exception in his career as a clerk was one military episode. We know that he took part in the Moldavian campaign under the command of Mikołaj Mielecki in 1572.[54] It is for this reason that he accompanied Stephen Báthory on all three expeditions to the Tsardom of Russia.[55]

Undoubtedly, Pachołowiecki was a very talented man with an artistic sense. According to his contemporaries, he was a great scribe, able to use thirty different hands.[56] He probably did not expect to be assigned the task of making a map of the Polatsk region. We would like to add that the work must have been highly appreciated, as he was subsequently entrusted with drawing up plans of Muscovite fortresses.[57]

In order to prove that the map was created before the war campaign of 1579, we need to apply the cartographic method of comparing the maps of Pachołowiecki and Sulimowski described at the beginning. Analysing the areas common to both cartographic artefacts, we observe four fundamental differences.

The Polatsk fortress is not only Zapalotye (the city of Polatsk), the Upper Castle and the Shooters' Castle (*Arx sclopetariorum*),[58] but also the buildings located on the other, left bank of the Daugava River.[59] Opposite the Upper Castle, there was an island midway across the river. Both these elements are visible on Sulimowski's work, and they are missing on Pachołowiecki's (Figs 6.1a and 6.1b). When creating the operational map during the siege of Polatsk, the royal secretary would at least have marked the island located at the longitude of the upper castle, just as he recorded it on the view showing the siege of Polatsk (*Obsidio et expugnatio munitiss*[imae] *arcis Polocensis*).

On Pachołowiecki's map, the castle and the town of Dzisna were marked on the right bank of the river flowing to the Daugava. Dzisna is not only a castle, but also a key town in the region located on the left bank of the river.[60] Sulimowski correctly marked that it was located on both sides of the Daugava. This place played a very important role in the campaign of 1579, Stephen Báthory stayed here and reviewed the army, so the person that accompanied the army should have had a very good knowledge of this

---

52 The hypothesis that the map was based on existing models was already presented in the literature. N. Falkowski, not knowing the whole context of the drawing of Pachołowiecki's map, wondered whether the map of the Polatsk region was not based on cartographic sources owned by Ivan the Terrible. Н.И. Фальковский, "Чертежи Полоцкой земли и русских городов XVI в.", *Труды по истории техники* 1 (1952), pp. 113–121.

53 S. Alexandrowicz, K. Buczek, *Polska kartografia wojskowa ...*, p. 14.

54 S. Alexandrowicz, "Pachołowiecki (pierwotnie Pachołowic) Stanisław", in: PSB, vol. 24, Wrocław 1979, p. 761.

55 During the third expedition, he became famous for his participation in the assault on Pskov fortifications, which was confirmed in a special document signed by ten cavalry captains. B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, ed. K.J. Turowski, Cracow 1858, pp. 278–279.

56 "Sprostowanie miejsca jednego w Literaturze Wiszniewskiego", *Przegląd Poznański* 4 (1847), pp. 202–203.

57 Ennobling him, Stephen Báthory, stated: "illius [...] ingenii in pingendis eleganter characteribus, ac etiam in delineandis arcibus hostilibus, eisque depingendis, divina quaedam semina perspexissemus." B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa ...*, p. 276; *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego ...*, vol. 2, p. 423. Cf. S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne ...", p. 4.

58 We follow the nomenclature used in chapter 3 of this book.

59 Д.У. Дук, *Полацк і палачане ...*, pp. 92–101.

60 O. Hedemann, *Dzisna i Druja magdeburskie miasta*, Vilnius 1934, pp. 26–27. A. Guagnini, *Kronika Sarmacyjej ...*, book III, part I, pp. 26–27, the whole complex is characterized in the following words: "a great castle, surrounded by a strong and impenetrable rampart, equipped with rifles and all kinds of defence gear. The Dzisna River and Daugava encircle it almost entirely. The town also lies between these rivers and is fortified with ramparts and towers."

FIGURES 6.1A–61B
Polatsk and its surroundings on
PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* and
SULIMOWSKI MAP
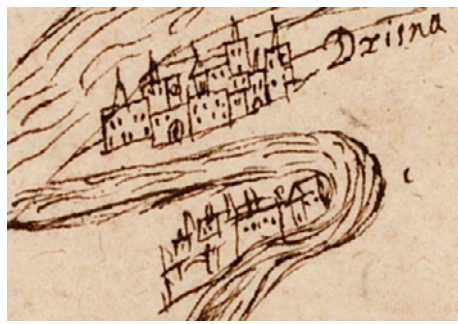


FIGURES 6.2A–6.2B
Dzisna and the area depicted on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*
and SULIMOWSKI MAP
NOTE: SEE SATELLITE IMAGE AT
HTTPS://EARTH.GOOGLE.COM/WEB/@55.563488
65,28.23214086,106.83197493A,5976.15189897D,35Y,0H,0T,0R
(ACCESSED 14.05.2017).

area. Meanwhile, Pachołowiecki erroneously placed the whole complex on the right bank of the Dzisna River, which flows into the Daugava River (Figs 6.2a and 6.2b).

It is worth noting that the source used by Sulimowski and Pachołowiecki, as well as the information given by Guagnini, suggest that the castle did not sit on an islet located on the Daugava River, but on a cape. It was not until later that the cape was cut off by a trench that connected the two rivers, which in the memory of the local people was called the Báthory trench (cf. Fig. 6.3).[61]

It is hard to believe that after conquering the Sokol fortress, the military authorities did not know what the subsequent course of the Drysa and Nieščarda Rivers was, the latter of which reached the castle of the same name.[62] Meanwhile, Pachołowiecki had no precise information about this area.[63] In general, it can be stated that the river

network and settlement pattern in the northern part of the map is very imprecise (cf. Figs 6.4a and 6.4b).

Of course, Sulimowski, who based his work on Pachołowiecki's map, presents a much larger number of castles, towns, and villages. There is, however, a significant exception. On the southern fragment of Pachołowiecki's map of the Polatsk region there are several villages situated almost in a straight line that were not marked on the map created a year later (Figs 6.5a and 6.5b). Is this carelessness by Sulimowski, or did they not survive the war?

Unfortunately, they were too small to be recorded either on Maciej Strubicz's map of Livonia (1589) or on the great map of Lithuania (the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP, 1613). There are also no descriptive sources to verify the existence of these villages in the years 1579–1580.

What we do know is that the differences between the maps result from the planned route of the march of the main royal regiment from Svir to Dzisna in 1579. The villages marked form an almost ideal straight line (Hlybokaje—Zaborje—Plisa—Čarnievičy—Jazna—Dzisna). They are actually an *itinerarium pictum* that Pachołowiecki recorded on his map in accordance with

61    O. Hedemann, *Dzisna i Druja magdeburskie miasta …*, pp. 73–76 (Hedemann disagrees with this concept). Cf. http://delaemv meste.by/zamkibelarusidisnenskiyzamok/; http://miory.vitebsk region.gov.by/ru/new_3/ (accessed 10.10.2017).

62    B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa …*, pp. 176–179; H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie …", part 2, p. 109; Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 140–141.

63    It is worth noting that the Radziwiłłs ordered two battle paintings showing the 1579 military operations at Sokol, which we

now know from 18th-century drawings (copies). The Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, shelfmarks 16596 A*, 16597 A*.
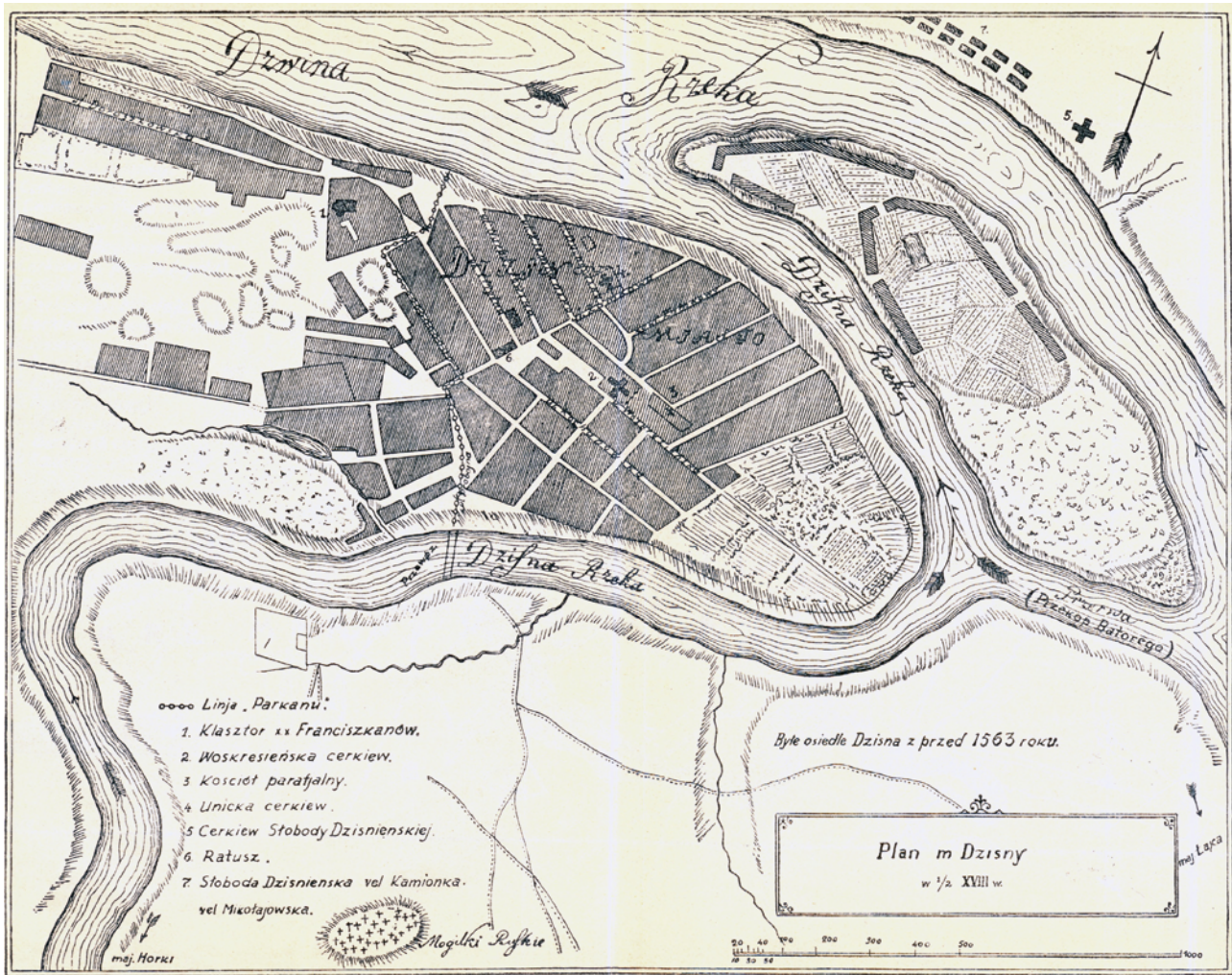
FIGURE 6.3 Plan of the town and castle in Dzisna (as in the second half of the 18th century), with the trench ordered by Báthory
(O. Hedemann, *Dzisna i Druja magdeburskie miasta*, Vilnius 1934, at the end of the book)
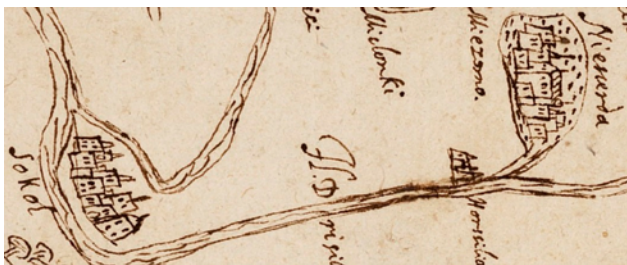


FIGURES 6.4A–6.4B
Sokol and Nieščarda marked on maps of PACHOŁOWIECKI,
*Ducatus* and SULIMOWSKI MAP

the prepared march schedule.[64] All the villages were 2–3 miles apart, which probably corresponded to the daily distance to be covered by the army.[65] This hypothesis is fully confirmed by the itinerary written by Marek Wrede—this was the route chosen by Stephen Báthory.[66] In 1580, however, the king took a different route:

---

64 The royal march was prepared well in advance. For example, the king wrote to the *starosta* about his overnight stay in Kavali on 20 August 1576 as early as 7 August that same year. In the end, the planned stay took place on 22/23 August 1576. M. Wrede, *Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, Warsaw 2010, p. 44.

65 While the royal retinue was moving at a rate of 4–5 miles a day, the troops covered a distance of 1–3 miles a day. *Ibidem*, pp. 41–42.

66 *Ibidem*, pp. 98–99. Stephen Báthory travelled from Svir (12–18 July), through Żary (19 July), Pastavy (20–22 July), Spory (25 July). Then the following towns marked on Pachołowiecki's map are recorded: Hlybokaje (25–27 July), [Plisa—see footnote 132], Čarnievičy (= Czerniewicze, n.d.a.), Jazna (n.d.a.), the camp at Dzisna (1–5 August).

FIGURES 6.5A–6.5B    The route of the march of the Royal Regiment from Hlybokaje to Dzisna (1579) on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* and
the corresponding fragment on SULIMOWSKI MAP

Minsk—Haradzišča—Plisa—Barysav—Latyhaličy—
Čašniki—Liepieĺ—Ula—Viažyšča—Vitebsk.[67] As we can
see, Sulimowski did not include three places, namely
Zaborje, Čarnievičy, and Jazna, as they did not play any
strategic role (no castles).

Finally, the map contains one more element worthy
of distinction. It is understandable only in the context of
the account of a chronicler of Báthory's wars, Reinhold
Heidenstein.[68] Both authors highlighted a special geographical feature of the southern part of the Polatsk region.

Pachołowiecki considers this element to be noteworthy
and, despite the lack of strategic importance, records the
two river basins, that is of the Daugava and Dnieper, which
are at the same time the watersheds of the Baltic and the
Black Sea. He also "corrects" Heidestein by identifying the

Liepieĺ River not with the Biarezina, but with the Čarnica,
which is a tributary of the Biarezina. An unnamed settlement on the Biarezina River is probably Dokšyca.[69] A similar fragment in Sulimowski's case was omitted (Figs 6.6a
and 6.6b).

From a strategic point of view, Liepieĺ plays an important role, as supplies could be transported to the navigable
Biarezina River from vast areas of the Dnieper basin to be
then floated down the Liepieĺ, Ula, and Daugava.

Summarizing the comparative cartographic analysis
carried out here, we believe that Stanisław Pachołowiecki
created his map before the expedition and it was ready
during the meeting held in Svir in early July 1579. It was
based on existing itineraries, maps, descriptions of the

---

67    *Ibidem*, p. 104.
68    See chapter 1 footnote 4, where we quote Heidenstein's description (R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 130).

69    *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 2, ed. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski,
Warsaw 1881, p. 93.
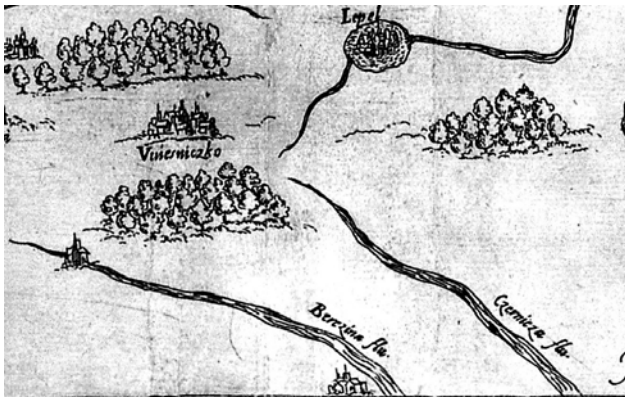
Polatsk region, and, above all, on the knowledge of people familiar with the territory.

## 2   Strategic and Operational Importance of the Map

It would be useful to calculate the distances between objects marked on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* and compare the result with the actual distances determined on the basis of contemporary maps. Such a calculation is possible due to the mile's equivalent in kilometres given on the map.[70] Due to the fact that the pictorial symbols of

towns and fortresses on the map are big, the actual objects could be one or two miles long. For this reason, they cannot be used as reference points. Therefore, we calculate the distances from the mouths of the rivers. Castles and towns were very often founded at river mouths or at forks. This makes it easier to determine their actual location and to make relatively precise calculations.[71] If a castle was located on a lake, we measure the distance from the centre of the latter. However, when evaluating the actual distance, we choose the route between the surviving historical sites (e.g. in Polatsk it is St Sophia Cathedral located at 1 Zamkava Street; in Ula it is the Holy Trinity Church; in Dzisna—the Orthodox Church of the Resurrection of the Lord; in Drysa (today's Vierchniadzvinsk) the Orthodox Church of St Nicolas the Miracle-Worker, etc.). Stanisław Alexandrowicz pointed out the great inaccuracies in the distances given, which are even larger when it comes to settlements far from the centre of the map. However, he assumed that the average mile length was 5.6 km.[72] Below, we present calculations concerning only the distances between the largest town and castles, which we can measure quite precisely and compare them with the current state.

Some important elements are presented in Table 6.2. First of all, certainly no measurements were made for the purposes of the map, not even the simplest ones such as counting steps (the differences are too great). This confirms the hypothesis that the map was made before fighting began, in the first half of 1579. Secondly, this cartographic source gives only a rough image of the territory showing the approximate distances, directions, and layout of the river network. Therefore, in the case of the outermost objects, calculating distances is pointless because they are, by definition, far from reality (example: Jeziaryšča-Vitebsk). The distances in relation to the central object, which is Polatsk, are more precise. The length of the mile is between 4.11 km and 5.85 km. The differences are therefore still large, even up to 25%. By comparing

---

70   It should be noted that even *Scala Milliarium Polonicorum* placed on the map PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* is imprecise. If we compare the distance between mile 1 and 10, and then between mile 11 and 20 the former is 4.3% longer than the latter. For measurements, we use the average mile length according to the printed bar scale.

71   R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* ..., p. 48: "Plerorumque Lituanicorum et Russicorum castellorum is fere positus est, ud ad ostium aliquod humilioris fluminis, quo cum maiori coniungitur, sita sint" ("Almost all Lithuanian and Muscovite castles lie at a place where a smaller river joins a larger one"). There is the exception of Dzisna, whose bend flows into the Daugava River with an exaggerated length of 2 miles (this was a decorative measure, as the town's signature was noted at the mouth of the river). We assume that the city and the castle were located in the place where the letter "D" in the word "Dzisna" is placed on the map. The pictorial symbol does not refer to the town on the left bank of the river, but to the castle (see Figs 6.2a, 6.2b, and 6.3).

72   Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 60–61.

TABLE 6.2    Distances between castles in the Polatsk region

| Towns | Distance in miles according to PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* | Distance in kilometres according to a modern map | Mile length in kilometres |
|---|---|---|---|
| Polatsk–Ula | 7.6 | 44.44 | 5.85 |
| Polatsk–Liepieĺ | 12.1 | 67.69 | 5.59 |
| Polatsk–Vitebsk | 18.9 | 97 | 5.13 |
| Polatsk–Dzisna | 6.9 | 35.26 | 5.11 |
| Polatsk–Druja | 19 | 89.83 | 4.73 |
| Polatsk–Čašniki | 15.8 | 74.79 | 4.73 |
| Polatsk–Drysa | 13.2 | 61.62 | 4.67 |
| Polatsk–Jeziaryšča | 20.6 | 84.78 | 4.11 |
| Jeziaryšča–Vitebsk | 23.1 | 74 | 3.2 |

SOURCE: OWN STUDY

the data from the table (excluding the last position), we obtain an average mile length of 4.99 km.

Why does the mile on Pachołowiecki's map represent such short distances?[73] We think that the above calculations confirm the general observation that miles were treated in a merely pragmatic way, as a certain number of steps, which was also not fixed and could amount to 4000, 4500, or 5000 paces (*passus*).[74] Before the era of accurate cartographic measurements, the mile was usually an arbitrary distance based on the subjective feeling of making the right number of steps.[75] Differences in distances

measured in miles on maps and in itineraries may have been the result of assessing distances in easier or more difficult terrain. The measure of the length of the route was related to the time needed to cover it. In the contemporary view, the mile of that time remained one and the same (it was covered in the same amount of time), but geographically speaking it could have had a different length if measured with today's standardized tools. Differences in the length of the mile on Pachołowiecki's map would therefore mean that marching in the Polatsk and Vitebsk regions was very difficult, which is confirmed by sources.[76] As far as we are concerned, the Jeziaryšča—Vitebsk and Jeziaryšča—Polatsk distances adopted by Pachołowiecki should not be completely depreciated as they reflected the subjective estimate related to the condition of the roads (or rather their absence) between these points.

Of course, if we compare the accuracy of the distances given on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* with the works of Stanisław Porębski (Duchy of Oświęcim and the Duchy of Zator, 1563) or Marcin Helvig (Silesia, 1561), the map of Pachołowiecki does not seem very good.[77] We might reconsider this harsh evaluation if we take into account that it was prepared in a hurry, without any reconnaissance of the territory, and concerned a borderland that mostly covered areas occupied by a hostile state, and—if all this was not enough—in the preceding sixteen years, the lands presented underwent huge changes in terms of the network of settlements.

It seems surprising at first that this map does not show any roads or bridges that were of key importance for conducting warfare.[78] Symbols of bridges are marked, for

73    The RADZIWIŁŁ MAP from 1613 gives completely different values. According to this source, there were three types of mile: the great mile (*mila wielka*) was 7.37 km, the medium mile (*mila średnia*) was 6.336 km, and the ordinary mile (*mila zwykła*) was 5.56 km. J. Łuczyński, "Przestrzeń Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego na mapie radziwiłłowskiej Tomasza Makowskiego z 1613 r. w świetle treści kartograficznej i opisowej", *Zapiski Historyczne* 2013, 1(78), p. 76.

74    Pace, was a unit of measurement used in ancient Rome, which was about 1.48 m. It was the distance covered by a double step, returning to the same foot. S. Solski, *Geometra polski to jest nauka rysowania, podziału, przemieniania i rozmierzania linii, angułów, figur i brył pełnych*, part 2, Cracow 1643, pp. 145–146. See E. Stamm, *Staropolskie miary*, part 1: *Miary długości i powierzchni*, Warsaw 1938, p. 32; M. Wrede, *Itinerarium* ..., pp. 41–42 (states that a mile is equivalent to 10,000 paces).

75    W. Kula, *Miary i ludzie*, Warsaw 1970, *passim* (particularly pp. 11–12, 612–613). It is worth noting that it was only in the second half of the 16th century that pedometers (*Schrittzähler*) became part of the equipment of engineers and cartographers. See P. Pfinzing, *Methodvs Geometrica*, Nuremberg 1598, f. XLV; H. Minow, *Historische Vermessungsinstrumente: Ein Verzeichnis der Sammlungen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1990, pp. 201–202;

K. Łopatecki, "Mapy w planowaniu działań operacyjnych ...", pp. 567–607.

76    Cf. R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* ..., p. 47: "Nam ex quo Polotiam Moscus ceperat, sedecim fere annorum spatio, quo in potestate eius fuit, eam partem agri, quae a Duna flumine atque Disna Polotiam tendentibus prima occurrit, desertam ac incultam reliquerat, unde frequentes densissimaeque arbores ut in solo fertili interea temporis enatae fuerant" ("From the time when the Muscovites conquered Polatsk, during the sixteen years that this country was in their power, they had left that part of the country that starts from the Daugava and Dzisna Rivers towards Polatsk desolate and uncultivated, where in the meantime numerous and very dense trees had grown on the fertile soil").

77    S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, R. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii ziem polskich* ..., pp. 88–91, 314–316.

78    See, for example, J. Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego pod Psków*, ed. A. Czuczyński, Cracow 1894, p. 38, which describes the work done by the commander of Zawołocz: "Do reward him, Lord, for he repaired roads and built solid and fortified bridges on piers across lakes, marshes, from Polatsk to this place, so that our journey through this wilderness was very easy, and maybe he also repaired roads from here as far as to Pskov."

instance, on the map of Stanisław Porębski mentioned above.[79] However, we should bear in mind that at the time of danger all bridges were destroyed by defenders of a given territory. Moreover, as was clearly emphasized, the policy of Ivan the Terrible was aimed, among other things, at creating the worst possible transportation conditions in the Lithuanian–Muscovite borderland. This is fully reflected by Daniel Hermann:

"A terrible road leads there, second to none in the whole world. It seems to me that the main reason for this is that since Muscovy captured Polatsk, i.e. since 1563, this route has been completely shut down, all transport of goods has been terminated, and Muscovites control the territory 20 miles wide and 20 miles long on this side of the Daugava, where there used to be cities, markets, villages, and farmlands".[80]

The marching army actually built the roads and bridges necessary for the transportation of artillery and the tabor on its own. So essentially the above information on the map of the Principality of Polatsk was not needed.

The fact that the two extant manuscript maps of Livonia from the reign of Stephen Báthory represent an even lower level is in favour of Pachołowiecki's work.[81] The river network depicted on them is much more

inaccurate, they contain similar overscaled town symbols, they are characterized by far greater distortion of directions and distances between the castles.[82] Sulimowski's used a similar form of representation, even though it is richer in content. At the same time, Pachołowiecki's map is probably the oldest medium- and large-scale map, on which towns and fortresses are presented in two dimensions as realistic plans of fortifications.[83]

Karol Buczek and Stanisław Alexandrowicz, who evaluated PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* as a very inaccurate map, are partly right. This is undoubtedly the case if we adopt contemporary map evaluation criteria. However, in order to assess this monument properly, it should be referred to the cartographic practices and cultural realities of the 16th century. And they did not require mathematical precision. First of all, even if this map is inaccurate, it is not as muddling as many other maps from that period. Secondly and much more importantly, it fulfilled its principal task by showing the most important castles and cities, as well as the river network and the relative distances between individual pictorial symbols of towns and fortresses. Moreover, possible inaccuracies in these distances are in a way apparent, as the information given on the map takes into account the real time needed for the army to cover them. We therefore consider this map to be key in terms of strategic and operational purposes, as will be discussed below.

Contrary to expectations, the next Muscovite offensive did not take place soon after the campaign and the balance of power in the Polatsk region remained unchanged from 1569 to mid-1579. In 1570, a three-year truce was concluded. At the same time, Lithuanian diplomacy began to beguile the tsar with the perspective that he could be elected king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, it was still an area particularly threatened by Muscovite invasion. This threat increased from 1577, when Ivan the Terrible invaded the Livonian lands.[84] In the light

---

Cf. "Dyjariusz zdobycia zamków: Wieliża, Uświaty, Wielkich Łuk, w liście Jana Zborowskiego kasztelana Gnieźnieńskiego do Piotra Zborowskiego wojewody krakowskiego", in: *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego …*, p. 190.

79 Importantly, this work was reprinted by Ortelius and was in the possession of Stephen Báthory. A. Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, [Antwerpen 1571], ff. 82–82v; *Imago Poloniae. Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego*, Warsaw 2002, vol. 2. p. 187; https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a5/Atlas _Ortelius_KB_PPN369376781082av082br.jpg (accessed 05.10.2017). Other maps that existed in the 16th century and show the most important road networks: U. Puckalanka, "Szesnastowieczna mapa polsko-litewskich szlaków podróżnych", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Biblioteka* 54(4) (1964), pp. 183–200.

80 "Tam prowadzi okropna droga, gorszej na całym świecie być niemoże. Zdaje mi się, że najgłówniejszą przyczyną tego jest, iż, odkąd Moskwicin zabrał Połock t.j. roku 1563, ten *tractus* został całkiem zamknięty, wszystkie commeatus odcięta, a Moskwicin na 20 mil wszerz i wdłuż, z tej strony Dźwiny, kraj zamienił w pustynie, gdzie przedtem były miasta, targowiszcza, wsi i role uprawne." D. Hermann, "Relacja Daniela Hermana …", p. 161 (transl. CKS).

81 The manuscript versions are the map of Livonia made by Stanisław Sarnicki and another one made by an unknown author. The National Museum in Cracow, shelfmark VIII–XVI.137A, f. [2, 4]; Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Germania, catalogue number 93, f. 327; Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 97–103.

82 The manuscript map made by Jan Kunowski in 1616 for Lithuanian and Muscovite troops deployed around Smolensk is similarly inaccurate. K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, "Plan sytuacyjny oblężenia Smoleńska z 1616 roku", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 45 (2008), pp. 199–204.

83 See chapter 7.

84 H. Grala, "Pax Moscovitica? Wokół rosyjskiego władztwa w Inflantach w epoce Iwana IV Groźnego", in: *Klio viae et invia. Opuscula Marco Cetwinski dedicata*, ed. A. Odrzywolska-Kidawa, Warsaw 2010, pp. 673–696; K. Surowiec, A. Razin, "Założenia geopolityki Iwana IV Groźnego i jej realizacja w Rosji w latach 1547–1584", part II, *Humanities and Social Sciences* 2016, 2(21), pp. 221–223; P. Łabędź, "Działalność wojskowa Krzysztofa Radziwiłła 'Pioruna' w latach 1572–1579", *Zapiski Historyczne* 1(76) (2011), p. 26 et al.

of *The Count of the Infantry* (*Komput piechoty*) prepared at the beginning of 1579 for the Lithuanian crews, the fortresses most heavily manned by the Lithuanians were Vitebsk and Dzisna, whose garrisons consisted of 250 soldiers commanded by five cavalry captains (500 people in total). Drysa and Ula were also heavily manned (150 soldiers each and three cavalry captains), nominally 100 soldiers were assigned to Varoničy and Liepieĺ each. Small crews of fifty were stationed in Braslaŭ, Ušača, Ciotča, and Suraž.[85]

Considering Pachołowiecki's map against the backdrop of the strategic situation at the beginning of 1579 and the warfare in the summer and autumn months, we can arrive at the conclusion that the map is one hundred percent in line with the military needs of the time. Whereas the expedition of 1580 basically concerns an area other than the one presented on the map.[86]

The meeting that decided to start the war, first preparing its strategic and then its operational dimension, took place in Svir, 80 km from Vilnius. Stephen Báthory left the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on 30 June and went to Svir, where he stayed from 12 to 18 July.[87] According to Reinhold Heidenstein, during the war council, "Almost all Lithuanians declared themselves in favour of going to Pskov through Livonia".[88] This information proves that the elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had not only a strategic concept, but also a prepared operational action plan—a specific route leading through the Livonian lands. In fact, the documentation left by the Radziwiłłs of Biržai includes itineraries that mention the march routes leading from Livonia to Pskov.[89] Such a plan

was preserved in two copies and was entitled *The Route to [the Land of] Muscovy* (*Droga do* [ziemi] *moskiewskiej*).[90] Stanisław Alexandrowicz dated these itineraries to 1581.[91] Meanwhile, the archival annotation made at that time is *anno 1579*.[92] Everything seems to indicate that in Svir Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Red" showed Báthory the plan to march to Pskov through Livonia, described by Heidenstein. The whole concept was to go to Kokenhauzen Fortress and then to the Muscovite border (12 miles), Ostrov (8 miles), and Pskov (12 miles).[93] This course of action was connected with the successful winter expedition of Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Thunderbolt", which showed that the Muscovite defence in the Muscovite-Livonian borderland was weak.[94] In addition, a strike planned in this way would ensure protection for the northern Lithuanian estates of the grand hetman of Lithuania.

The strategy of the Lithuanians was based on the conviction that Pskov was a fortress that had not been modernized for a long time—it was known that the Muscovites did not expect an attack on this fortress and so it was not prepared for a long siege.[95]

Apart from the capability to undertake such a far-reaching expedition, an attempt to implement this concept would be a great surprise for Ivan the Terrible. At the beginning of June 1579, Andrei Mikhalkov, who returned from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, informed the tsar that the enemy would attack Smolensk and Polatsk.[96] An assault on Pskov was not considered.

Báthory was against this idea. The march through devastated Livonia required the provision of constant

---

85    AGAD, Zamoyski Archive, MS 3112, pp. 3–4. After the campaign of 1579, the largest forces were left in Polatsk (1350 people in total). Other fortifications recorded on Pachołowiecki's map were equipped with much smaller forces: Vitebsk—400 soldiers, Dzisna—330, Turoŭlia—300, Ula—280, Suša and Liepieĺ—100 each, Suraž—80, Drysa—50, Braslaŭ—25. In 1580, Usviaty and Jeziaryšča were conquered, and then 200 people stationed in each of the castles. H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie ...", part 2, pp. 116–117, 131.

86    It is worth mentioning that during the campaign of 1580 two more fortresses marked on the map of Pachołowiecki were conquered. Usviaty surrendered after a short defence on 16 August 1580 and the Jeziaryšča crew capitulated on 12 October 1580 in response to the first call. H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie ...", part 3, p. 123.

87    M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy" ...*, pp. 577–578; M. Wrede, *Itinerarium ...*, pp. 98–99.

88    R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico ...*, p. 41: "Lituani omnes fere Plescoviam per Livoniam eundum arbitrabantur"; cf. Bielski, *Kronika*, pp. 760–761 (transl. CKS).

89    The Radziwiłłs knew the route from Livonia to Pskov from around 1570. The relevant document is *The Description of How to Enter the Enemy's Land* (*Wiadomość kędy w ziemię nieprzyjacielską iść*). It shows, among other things, the route to Pskov starting

from Cēsis (Livonian: Venden). Российская национальная библиотека, Санкт-Петербург, Ф. 971, Авт. 321/1, № 2, ff. 5–5v; S. Alexandrowicz, *Rozwój kartografii ...*, p. 192.

90    Российская национальная библиотека, Санкт-Петербург, Ф. 971, Авт. 321/1, № 11, ff. 18–20v.

91    S. Alexandrowicz, *Rozwój kartografii ...*, p. 193; Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 170.

92    It should be noted that there are extant itineraries of 1581 that contain a very well thought-out and detailed action plan, incomparable to those proposed in 1579. Российская национальная библиотека, Санкт-Петербург, Ф. 971, Авт. 152, № 4, f. 15.

93    Российская национальная библиотека, Санкт-Петербург, Ф. 971, Авт. 321/1, № 11, ff. 18v–19, 20.

94    K. Łopatecki, "Wyprawa zbrojna Krzysztofa Radziwiłła 'Pioruna' w Inflantach zimą 1579 roku", *Zapiski Historyczne* 1(83) (2018), pp. 39–67.

95    R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico ...*, p. 41: "Et quod minus contra vim munita [Plescovia] putaretur: muri vetustate neglecti, nihil ut loco tutissimo ac a metu belli remote in ea provisum" ("It was thought that Pskov would be less well fortified in the event of an attack: the walls, neglected by time, did not offer the least safe shelter and protection from the fear of war") Cf. Bielski, *Kronika*, pp. 760–761.

96    В.В. Пенской, "Героическая оборона Полоцка ...", p. 66.

victualling. In addition, a number of castles would have to be captured along the way, which would slow down the campaign. Taking this route could provoke Muscovy to counterstrike on the lands along the Daugava River, which entailed the risk that the Muscovites could conquer more castles in the Polatsk and Vitebsk regions. This argument convinced those gathered at the war council, but then they started to insist on choosing the route to Pskov through the Ruthenian lands. Báthory did not agree to this proposal either, indicating that there would be Muscovite fortresses behind the Polish-Lithuanian army. It was very dangerous and against the rules of the art of war.

Taking into account the weather anomalies, or in fact the constant rains that summer, it becomes clear that the realization of the bold idea of the Radziwiłłs would have ended in disaster.[97] However, the content of the itineraries shows that the Radziwiłłs had a good recognition of the road. They predicted, as was said, a 32-mile-long route from Kokenhauzen to Pskov. In a straight line, it is 218 km, and the shortest land route available today is 280 km long. The mile on the route marked out by the Radziwiłłs equalled 6812 m, that is, a little less than the great mile (7370 m) and more than the medium mile (6336 m).

Báthory proposed conquering Polatsk despite negative Polish-Lithuanian experiences (including the failed siege in 1564). The capture of the fortress would radically improve the geopolitical and military situation of the Commonwealth. Polatsk would give the Grand Duchy of Lithuania control over the Daugava. On the one hand, the river would become a defensive line, and on the other hand, it would make it possible to cut off Muscovian troops located in Livonia from provisions and reinforcements. Mercantile issues were also raised—the occupation of Polatsk would improve trade and river navigation.[98] Stephen Báthory used finely composed arguments and had a well-thought-out strategy. The above findings indicate that *itineraria scripta* were not the only materials presented at the meeting. The

royal side also used a map, probably the one prepared by Pachołowiecki, which could, for example, illustrate the threat posed by Muscovy and show the area of future warfare. This is all the more likely because the king had actually decided on the target of the attack early on and could have ordered a map to be made.[99]

It is not our goal to discuss Stephen Báthory's campaign in 1579 once again. We shall just set out below the operational plan, i.e. the premises of the troops' manoeuvring operations, and juxtapose it with the content of PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus.*

The commanders of the expedition were aware of the need to create a line of communication in the frontier. This area was deliberately left as wasteland by the Tsardom of Russia for sixteen years, so that it would become covered with forests. Moreover, the Daugava River, which at the longitude of Polatsk was 120 m wide, was a major natural barrier. Therefore, the king decided to build a portable bridge in Kaunas.[100] For the purposes of reconnaissance and due to the necessity to prepare the roads, an advance guard was to precede the main forces. After reaching Polatsk, it was supposed to force the defenders to hide within the city walls and prevent them from obtaining food and additional supplies. It was a cavalry regiment with several units of infantry under the command of the Lithuanian Hetman Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Red", his son Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Thunderbolt", and Gáspár Bekes de Kornyát. Then the main army, divided into two regiments, was to set off. The army marched in two columns from Svir to the north, up to Dzisna on the Daugava. Due to the Muscovite threat from the east, the king with artillery and the main wagons followed the western route. On the right side, Hetman Mielecki was moving along with the Polish cavalry. It was a deeply thought-out arrangement: "on the right, the enemy's castles of Krasny, Suša, and Turoŭlia posed a threat"[101] (cf. Fig. 6.8).

The main troops stopped in Dzisna, where an army review took place on 5 August. The king was afraid to leave the Sokol fortress in Muscovy's hands, but decided to go to Polatsk all the same. It was a sensible decision

---

97 R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* …, p. 44: "It rained heavily for a dozen or so days. The rains made it so difficult to carry heavier war equipment, particularly cannons, that the king had to send horses from his own carriages in order to speed up the march. This circumstance, which occurred at the beginning of the expedition, silently proved those who advised to embark on the long journey to Pskov wrong" ("Fuerant per aliquot dies continuos profusae pluviae, eae tantam gravioris belli instrumenti ac tormentorum praecipue ducendorum difficultatem attulerant, ut iumenta quibus in propriis curribus rex utebatur remittere necesse haberet, quo eo celerius promoverentur. Quae res initio expeditionis oblata illorum, qui Plescoviam tam longo itinere eundum censuissent opinionem vel tacite refutabat").

98 R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* …, pp. 42–43. Cf. Bielski, *Kronika*, pp. 760–761.

99 It is worth noting that, while in Vilnius, the king ordered Duke Kettler to go directly to Dzisna as a venue for the fief ceremony. R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* …, pp. 40, 45.

100 M. Wrede, *Itinerarium* …, p. 55; T. Nowak, "Uwagi o technice budowy mostów polowych w Polsce w w. XV do XVII", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Sztuki Wojennej* 2 (1956), pp. 359–366.

101 R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* …, p. 44: "a dextra Krasna, Susa, Turoulia hostilia praesidia ab ea parte Milecius cum exercitu Polonico" (transl. CKS); M. Bielski, J. Bielski *Kronika polska* …, p. 761.
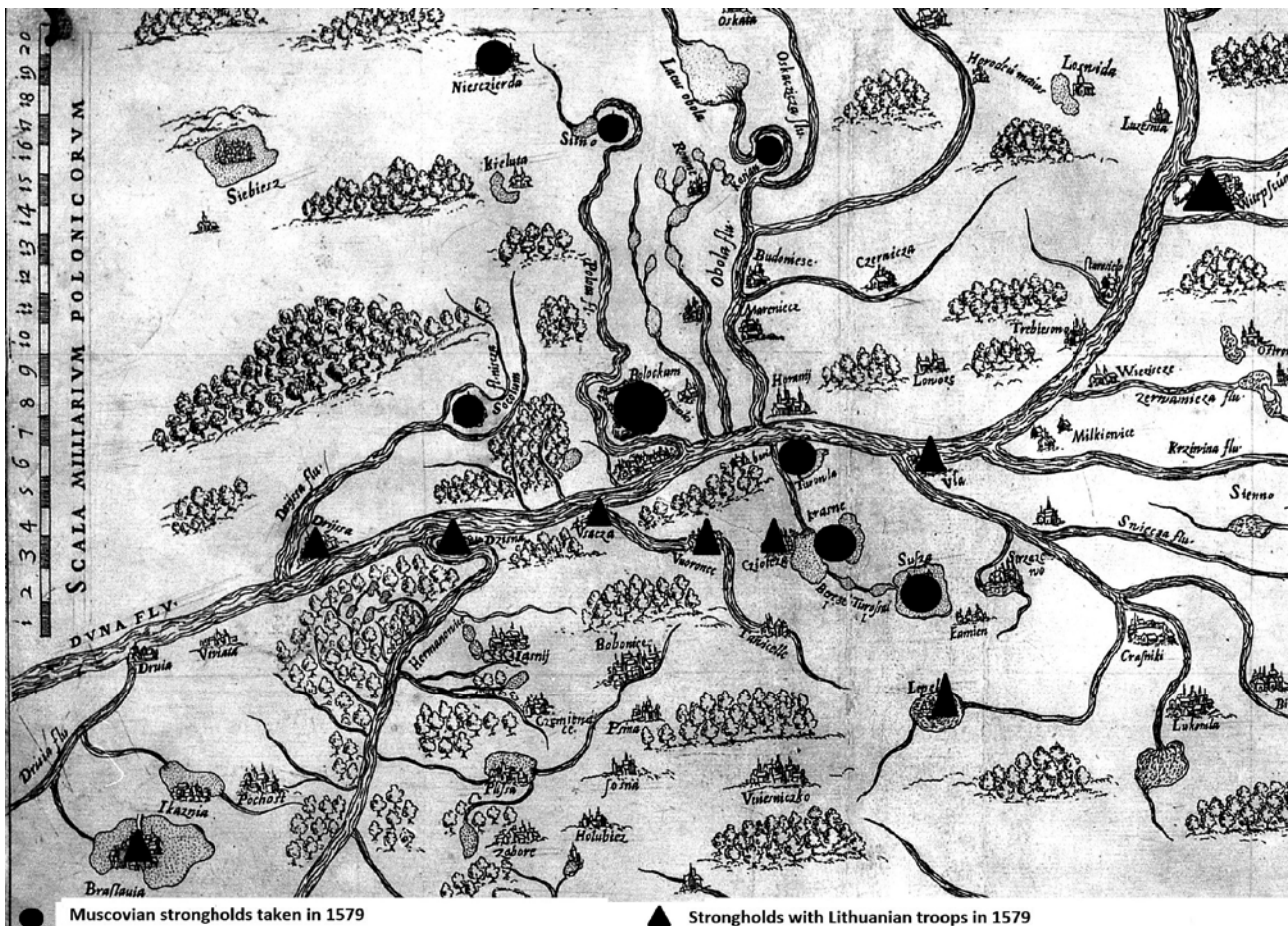
FIGURE 6.7  The deployment of Lithuanian and Muscovite forces in 1579 (PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*)

because the Daugava River made it impossible for large armed forces to cross. By that time, the advance guard had already reached the Polatsk area, where it had built a pontoon bridge and crossed to the other side of the river without being attacked. The Muscovian garrison at Polatsk was cut off from any reinforcements and Báthory dispatched troops, who captured three other small castles:

a)   on 23 July, Lithuanian Cossacks captured and destroyed Kaziany Fortress;

b)   on 31 July, Franciszek Żuk conquered Krasny;

c)   on 4 August, Michał Frąckiewicz's unit assaulted and burned Sitna.[102]

Jan Zamoyski was particularly pleased with the capture of Krasny Castle because consequently the Suša fortress

was cut off from Muscovite support and therefore ceased to be a major threat.[103] Consequently, it was no longer necessary to capture the strong fortresses of Sokol and Suša. Franciszek Żuk's attempt to capture Turoŭlia ended in failure. These three fortresses were captured after the conquest of Polatsk, on 29–30 August 1579. The defenders of Turoŭlia deserted it on 4 September, Mikołaj Mielecki captured Sokol on 11 September, and Suša capitulated on 6 October. Moreover, the Nieščarda fortress was—to some degree accidentally—captured on 13 December.[104]

---

102   Cf. "With this army, [the king] sent off Michał Fronckowicz, | So that he would capture Sitna using his wit; | For he knew well where this castle lay"—A. Rymsza, "Deketeros akroama to jest dziesięćroczna powieść wojennych spraw [...] Krzysztofa Radziwiłła", in: W.R. Rzepka, A. Sajkowski, "Andrzeja Rymszy 'Dziesięćroczna powieść wojennych spraw ...' (1585)", *Miscellanea Staropolskie* 4 (1972), p. 158.

103   J. Zamoyski to J.A. Caligari, Dzisna 4 VIII 1579, in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego* ..., vol. 1, p. 354.

104   M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy"* ..., p. 579, 583–584; K. Górski, "Pierwsza wojna Rzeczypospolitej z Wielkiem Księstwem Moskiewskiem za Batorego", *Biblioteka Warszawska* 4 (1892), p. 105, 112–113; H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie ...", part 2, p. 109; Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 158–163; В.В. Новодворский, *Борьба за Ливонию* ..., p. 94, 107–111; R. Przybyliński, *Hetman wielki koronny Mikołaj Mielecki* ..., pp. 182–188.
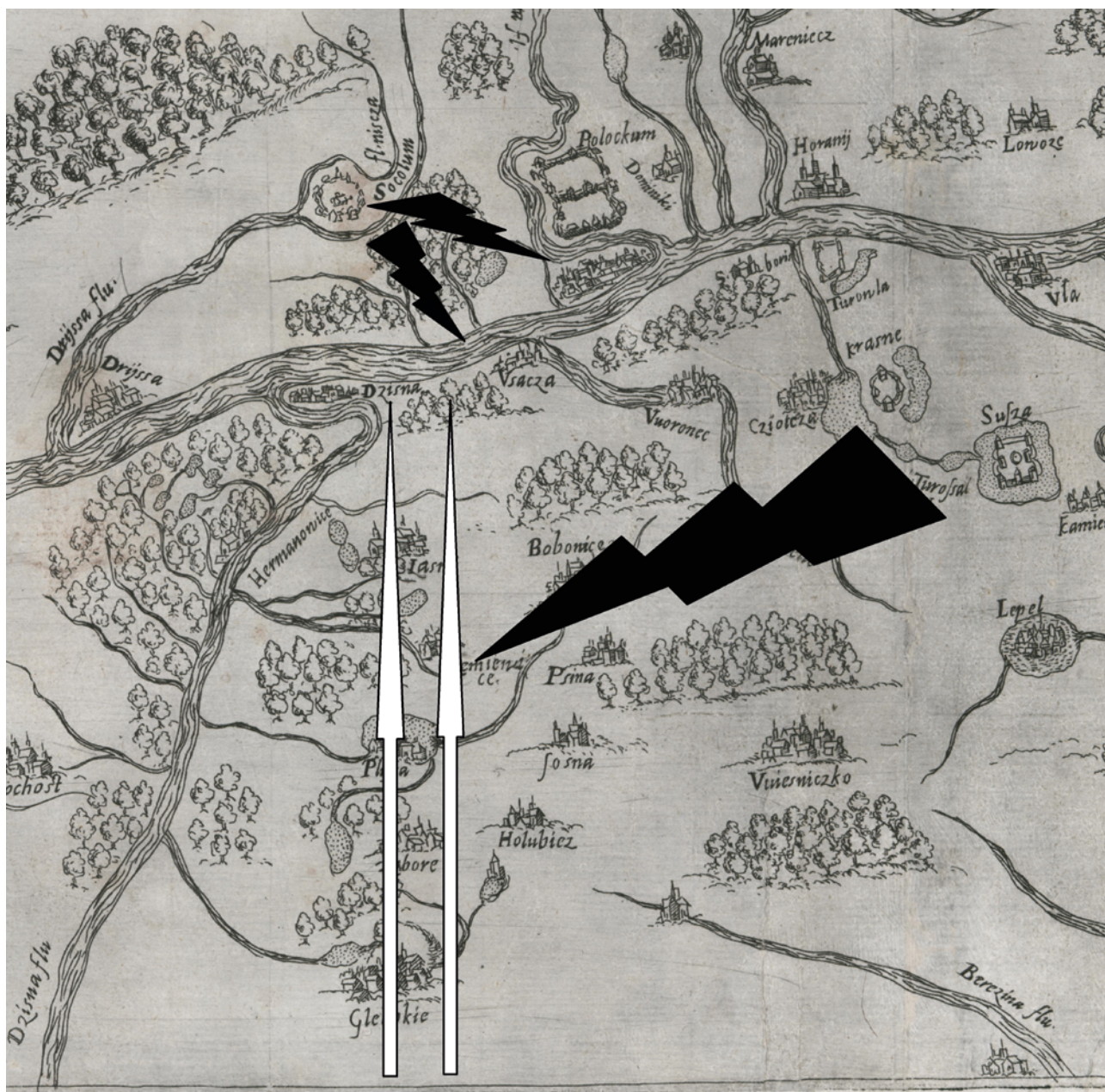
FIGURE 6.8  The white line—the route of the royal regiment (left); the route of the "protecting" Polish regiment of Mikołaj Mielecki (right); the black lines—the expected directions of the Muscovian army's attack (fragment of Fig. 6.8)

Undoubtedly, the location of the main Muscovian fortresses was known at the Svir assembly, just as was the presence and location of Muscovite troops on the left side of the Daugava. Hence, the decision that Mielecki's regiment was to protect cannons, the tabor, and above all the royal retinue (Fig. 6.7). The advance guard did not act blindly either, but, as has been said before, it followed the route of the march set at Svir and reached Polatsk. It also attacked smaller castles on its way. From the very beginning, Polish and Lithuanian commanders were aware of the key importance of building a portable bridge, as well

as the necessity of marking out a route through the wastelands in the frontier.

## 3 Conclusions

The analysis carried out here clearly shows that the map was created for the military campaign in the first half of 1579, i.e. before the military action. Stephen Báthory used Pachołowiecki's map in his camp in Svir as the basis for planning the strategy of the 1579 campaign (at this

meeting the Radziwiłłs presented their itineraries). It also allowed him to prepare a plan of manoeuvres (operational activities) in the initial period of battles in the Polatsk region. The assembly decided that it was necessary to send an advance guard to prepare the way for the tabor, cannons, and the royal retinue, and to build a bridge across the Daugava River. The regiment had specific tasks, which included attempts (in three cases successful) to capture smaller Muscovite castles. The main army moved in two columns: the royal regiment was protected from the south by the Polish regiment under the command of Mikołaj Mielecki. The itinerary of the planned march of Báthory's troops was marked on the map. We believe that the manuscript version of Pachołowiecki's map became the basis for later cartographic works. Further information about the conquered lands of Muscovy were added to this map, which influenced the later SULIMOWSKI MAP, and then on the printed cartographic artefacts, namely the STRUBICZ, *Lithuania*, the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP, and of course PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*.[105]

The distances between the castles given on Pachołowiecki's map are very inaccurate in geographical terms. Nevertheless, the role played by this source in warfare should not be underestimated. The map was not meant to be very precise but to give an approximate measure of distances between certain places that made it possible to estimate the time needed for troops to march from point A to point B—and this information was given correctly. An abundant network of rivers, forests, and lakes is depicted here, together with the most important castles, towns, and villages.

Around September 1579, after the completion of the main operations of the Polatsk campaign, the map was redrawn and expanded to include views of the local defensive complexes and basic topographical elements from the plans of the seven fortresses discussed earlier. Perhaps this was done by the Italian engraver Giovanni Battista Cavalieri. Undoubtedly, Pachołowiecki did not supplement the map with new cartographic information obtained thanks to the reconnaissance and other military actions. This is especially true about Polatsk, Dzisna, and Sokol.

Since the beginning of the second half of the 16th century, the Muscovite side was creating accurate descriptions of the roads and rivers of the Muscovite—Lithuanian borderland. It is assumed that in the years 1563–1564 Mikhail Morozov created a map of the Polatsk region. It certainly did not match the quality of Pachołowiecki's map, as even

the map of this area prepared by Maximov Tsizirevitch in 1701 for the needs of the Russian army is much less precise and accurate than the map of Pachołowiecki created in 1579. Nevertheless, it should be stated that until the second half of the 16th century the lands of the Lithuanian—Muscovite borderland were much better recognized by the forces of Ivan the Terrible.

The map of Pachołowiecki includes the oldest known fragment of *itinerarium pictum* (see Figs 6.5a and 6.5b) that presents the march of Stephen Báthory's regiment from the village of Hlybokaje to Dzisna at the end of July 1579. It should be emphasized that while in 1580 Báthory took a different route, in 1581 he again followed exactly the scheme of action from 1579.[106] The royal court was able to prepare this journey on the basis of the map of Stanisław Pachołowiecki printed in Rome in 1580.

On the map of the Polatsk region, Stanisław Pachołowiecki depicted not only the Daugava River basin, but also part of the Dnieper River basin, recording Biarezina and Čarnica. Thus, the water divide of the Baltic and Black Seas was marked. The potential strategic and economic importance of the area was pointed out by Reinhold Heidenstein.

The distances between the main castles have been recalculated and it has consequently been established that one mile on Pachołowiecki's map equalled about 4.99 km (and not 5.6 km, as reported by Stanisław Alexandrowicz). The short mile length may be evidence of the subjective impressions of contemporaries who travelled through the difficult terrain of the Polatsk region and needed more time for their journeys. The calculations related to the scale of the map should also be modified. PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* was made on a scale of about 1:655,000, not 1:545,000 or 1:700,000, as reported previously by scholars.[107]

Cartographic sources from the second half of the 16th century confirm the hypothesis that at least until 1580 the castle in Dzisna was located at the influx of Dzisna River to the Daugava. It was not until later that the cape was cut off by a trench that connected the two rivers and created a castle island (perhaps by order of Báthory, who stayed in this fortress in 1581).

This map of the Principality of Polatsk reflects changes that may be described as the "early modern cartographic

---

105    Cf. H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie …", part 3, pp. 132–134.

106    M. Wrede, *Itinerarium* …, pp. 111–112.

107    T.M. Nowak, "Polska artyleria, inżynieria i kartografia wojskowa XVII w.—teoria i praktyka", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 22 (1979), p. 117, assumed that for a map to be useful for military operations its scale should be between 1:200,000 to 1:600,000.

turn". The term relates to the spread of spatial thinking that consisted in visualizing in one's mind a certain area as a two-dimensional image similar to increasingly widespread maps.[108] The 16th-century commander begins to think and engineer military action plans using a map. This revolutionized the way wars were conducted, as it allowed the army (troops) to be arranged in a given territory with more accuracy.[109] The commanders were able to create simple schemes in their imagination based on a cartographic model and they were able to transfer what they planned onto paper, either in the form of sketches or through a description of the road (itineraries). Thus, spatial management at the strategic level began, which influenced the development of operational planning.

---

108   Among the numerous publications about this phenomenon, it is worth noting T. Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France*, Minneapolis—London 1997.

109   A cross-sectional view of military cartography in Europe: J. Hale, "Warfare and Cartography, ca. 1450 to ca. 1640", in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 719–737; Z.G. Török, "Renaissance Cartography in East-Central Europe, ca. 1450–1650", in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 1839–1851.

# Pachołowiecki's Set as a Uniform Cartographic Composition

The military campaign of 1579, whose main purpose was to conquer Polatsk,[1] was very well prepared in terms of siege operations.[2] Stephen Báthory hired six military engineers to assist in the process of assaulting subsequent strongholds and fortresses.[3] The high status of these people is evidenced by the fact that they all had the title of captain, although probably only one of them was actually commander of a unit. They were foreigners: three of them came from the German Kingdom and the others from the Italian Peninsula. The latter are known by name: Jacobus Morsaleus, Hercules Rosetti, and Helvetius Cusimo.[4] Additionally, Ludwik Wedel—an engineer specializing in the construction of fortifications (Pl. *szancmistrz*, literally: sconce master) and known from the Danzig rebellion—was employed.[5] We should also mention the royal cartographer (geographer), Petrus Francus.[6] In 1582, the king officially acknowledged his nobility (Pol. *indygenat*) and the ceremonial documents presented him as a military engineer.[7] His job was to help the king find suitable positions for the camps and lead the sieges.[8]

Highly advanced preparations required fine quality cartographic materials. We know of plans of seven fortresses conquered by Stephen Báthory's army in 1579, namely Polatsk, Kaziany, Krasny, Sitna, Sokol, Suša, and Turoŭlia,

printed in 1580.[9] A drawing of the besieged Polatsk fortress copied by Paul of Thurn (ZUM THURN MAP) has also survived.[10] But the most important extant cartographic artefact is the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*, published in print.[11] The significance of these sources is even greater as neither fortification plans nor iconographic documentation presenting siege activities have survived from the other two military expeditions: to Velikiye Luki and Pskov. Descriptive sources unequivocally indicate that such drawings were made,[12] but they were not published in print and did not survive the test of time.

Such analyses will help determine the possible authorship of the cycle and the circumstances in which it might have been created. There should be an intermediate version that linked the large-scale maps (archetype—ω) created for military purposes and the engravings. The original works were redrawn (α) and sent to Rome to make a copperplate (A).[13] Here, two key questions arise: Who prepared this intermediate version and was it significantly different from the archetype?

In this chapter, we put forward the hypothesis that the military maps prepared for the Polatsk 1579 campaign were redrawn and changed before engraving the copperplates. On the plans under discussion, castles were presented in a way characteristic for western European plans of fortresses. They were shown as monumental masonry fortification complexes; their sizes seemed bigger due to the copious living quarters depicted, which implies that they were fortified towns or strongholds well strengthened with defensive works. Plans of castles and hydrological elements were presented on the map of the Principality of Polatsk in downscaled and simplified

1  Originally published as K. Łopatecki, "Ryciny prezentujące kampanię połocką 1579 r. jako jednolita kompozycja kartograficzna", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 157–191; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.005.7894.

2  More about the preparations for war and the siege of Polatsk: Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 84–107, 122–157.

3  Cf. K. Łopatecki, "Prace kartograficzne wykonywane na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej przez szwedzkich inżynierów wojskowych w XVII stuleciu", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 46 (2009), pp. 55–79.

4  See chapter 1, footnote 37.

5  H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582. Sprawy organizacyjne", part 2, p. 106.

6  B. Olszewicz, "Francus (Franco, Frank) Piotr", in: PSB, vol. 7, Cracow 1948–1958, pp. 97–98; F.F. Daugnon, *Gli italiani in Polonia dal IX secolo al XVIII*, vol. 1, Crema 1905, p. 146.

7  "Diploma, quo cavetur, ne quisquam intra quinquennium expeditionis regiae ad Polockum imagines faciat praeter Petrum Francum Italum", in: *Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586: Z rozprawką na czele o królu Stefanie jako myśliwcu*, ed. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1882, pp. 66–67.

8  See B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, Cracow 1584, pp. 217–218; B. Kalicki, "Nobilitacje króla Stefana na wyprawie moskiewskiej 1579–1581", p. 97.

9  Currently, there are only six copies of drawings depicting the siege of Polatsk and four sets showing the other six castles. See chapter 1.

10  ZUM THURN MAP; S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne …", pp. 3–29; *idem*, "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej …", pp. 32–40; Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 175–177.

11  S. Alexandrowicz, *Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej …*, pp. 20–28.

12  J. Zamoyski to T. Giese, at Pskov on 26 December 1581, in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego …*, vol. 2, p. 172; Th.K. [a pen name], "Dominic Ridolfino. Pułkownik w służbie Rzplitej polskiej w XVI wieku", *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki* 15 (1887), p. 653.

13  We use signs analogous to those proposed in chapter 5 of this book.

versions. Consequently, all eight maps and plans published in Rome in 1580 appear as a coherent composition.

It is commonly accepted in the literature that the creator of the castle plans was Petrus Francus.[14] This assumption is based on the charter issued on 19 September 1579 by Stephen Báthory in which the king granted Francus the exclusive right to engrave, print, and distribute the plans of Polatsk, Sokol, and any other fortress. However, some scholars doubt that Francus is the actual maker of the plans. Karol Buczek pointed out that the charter did not necessarily mean that Francus made the maps, but only that he planned to prepare them, "So the plan of Sokol might just as well have been authored by the same person as the plan of Polatsk, that is, by Pachołowiecki."[15] Buczek referred to the fact that while the charter mentioned that it was Francus who was to make the plan of the siege of Polatsk, the extant *Siege and Conquest of the Most Secure Fortress of Polatsk* (PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*) is undoubtedly the work of Stanisław Pachołowiecki.[16] In the next sentence, however, Buczek states that Pachołowiecki's authorship is questionable:

"other plans of the Muscovite castles captured were not made by him [Pachołowiecki—K.Ł.] and they may be the work of Francus. This is indicated by the lack of Pachołowiecki's signature, as well as by a completely different—and better—execution".[17]

Similar doubts are raised by Tadeusz Chrzanowski, who is also inclined to the thesis that the prints were made by Francus.

It is unlikely that one engineer would make the plans of all the strongholds (ω). Moreover, at least eight people were able to prepare them. Each of them could have been obliged to make an expedition around the objects to be attacked before the start of the warfare, and to prepare plans of them.[18] Such sketches were supposed not only to record the condition of the fortifications, but should also be helpful in choosing locations for camps and planning future siege operations.[19] Even if no plans had been made beforehand (e.g. if a castle was captured by surprise), thorough documentation had to be prepared for the reconstruction or future development of the stronghold.[20] It is distinctly possible that more than one plan was made for some of the strongholds, as exemplified by Polatsk, depicted from two different perspectives, which excludes reliance on one common archetype.[21]

The idea to publish works that document the achievements of Stephen Báthory (A) appeared at the end of the successful campaign of 1579. After the fall of Polatsk and five smaller strongholds, on 19 September 1579, the king granted Francus the exclusive right to engrave, print, and distribute the plans of Polatsk, Sokol, and any other fortress conquered that year. Báthory issued a charter in which he prohibited others from making works on similar subjects and undertook to pay Francus 50 florins as remuneration.[22] On the following day, Jan Zamoyski informed Nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari about the making of the maps (without mentioning their authorship or number) connected with the warfare.[23] This information indicates

14 Born in Conegliano in the Republic of Venice, Pietro Franco was listed in Poland as "Petrus Francus Conglanensis Italus, geometer" or "geometra królewski Piotr Francus" (the royal cartographer Petrus Francus) (B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerztwa …*, pp. 217–218). On his cartographic activity see B. Olszewicz, "Kartografia polska XV i XVI wieku" …, p. 163; J. Natanson-Leski, *Epoka Stefana Batorego w dziejach granicy wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warsaw 1930, p. 38; J. Kowalczyk, *Kultura i ideologia Jana Zamoyskiego*, Warsaw 2005, p. 20; T. Chrzanowski, *Działalność artystyczna …*, pp. 71–72; M. Gębarowicz, *Początki malarstwa …*, p. 17; S. Alexandrowicz, "Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Tomasza Makowskiego …", p. 35; S. Alexandrowicz, K. Buczek, "Polska kartografia wojskowa do połowy XVII wieku", pp. 16–17; S. Łempicki, *Mecenat Wielkiego Kanclerza: Studia o Janie Zamoyskim*, Warsaw 1980, p. 388; M.J. Mikoś, "Monarch and Magnates: Maps of Poland in the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe", in: *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps*, ed. D. Buisseret, Chicago 1992, pp. 170–171.

15 "Równie zatem dobrze autorem planu Sokoliszcz mógł być twórca planu Połocka, czyli Pachołowiecki." Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 82.

16 K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 24, Cracow 1912, p. 9; K. Kozica in "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych …", pp. 43–46.

17 "inne natomiast plany zdobytych na Moskalach zamków nie pochodzą już od niego [Pachołowieckiego—K.Ł.], czyli mogą być dziełem Frankusa. Wskazuje zaś na to, oprócz braku podpisu Pachołowieckiego, zupełnie odmienne, a trzeba dodać i

lepsze, wykonanie oraz rysunek planów." Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 81–82. It should be stressed once again that Buczek based his views on the analysis of very inaccurate 19th-century reproductions. Original engravings make it possible to assess the artistic and documentary value of these works in a different way, as well as to reconsider their authorship.

18 In the history of cartography, the boundary between the map and the plan is the scale of 1:20,000. S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, R. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii …*, p. 14.

19 R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 131; Bielski, *Kronika*, pp. 612–613; "Diariusz zdobycia zamków: Wieliża, Uświaty, Wielkich Łuk, w liście Jana Zborowskiego kasztelana Gnieźnieńskiego do Piotra Zborowskiego Wojewody Krakowskiego", in: *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego …*, p. 197; Th.K., *Dominic Ridolfino …*, p. 656.

20 For example: R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 158.

21 See chapter 4 of this book.

22 K. Morawski, *Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki: Jego życie i dzieła*, Cracow 1892, p. 227; M.J. Mikoś, *Monarch and Magnates …*, pp. 170–171.

23 J. Zamoyski to G.A. Caligari, Dzi[s]na 20 April 1579, in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego …*, vol. 1, p. 362; Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 81.

that the chancellor had collected the maps and plans (ω) drawn up by cartographers and military engineers up until then. When gathering this collection, he probably had an improved copy made that was supposed to be engraved on the copperplate (α).

The chronology of conquering subsequent strongholds helps us reconstruct the possible timeline of the creation of the series (manuscript—α): Kaziany—23 July, Krasny—31 July, Sitna—4 August, Polatsk—30 August,[24] Turoŭlia—4 September, Sokol—11 September, Suša—6 October, Nieščarda—13 November.[25] When Zamoyski sent his letter (i.e. 20 September), the set could not have been complete yet, as the last two mentioned strongholds were still in the hands of Muscovy. It is also worth noting that Suša was depicted on the map despite its fall in October 1579, while Nieščarda—although captured a month later—was not. Hence the conclusion that the entire cartographic-iconographic and descriptive documentation was made between the fall of Suša and the conquest of Nieščarda (6 October—13 November 1579).[26] Then the materials were sent to Rome.[27]

The publication of the engravings documenting the warfare of 1579 was organized by Stephen Báthory's closest associates, namely Jan Zamoyski and Piotr Dunin Wolski.[28] Both possible creators of the maps, Stanisław Pachołowiecki and Petrus Francus, were Zamoyski's clients.[29] Let us compare the content of the diplomas of nobility of the two cartographers, which they received thanks to Jan Zamoyski's protection. Pachołowiecki and Francus joined Zamoyski's family coat of arms.[30] In both cases, their military qualities were indicated. However, it was also noted in Pachołowiecki's case that he made beautiful plans of towns and castles ("ac etiam in delineandis arcibus hostilibus, eisque depingendis, divina

quaedam semina perspexissemus").[31] There is no similar text in Francus's diploma of nobility. It should therefore be concluded that it was Pachołowiecki who was commissioned to execute the second, revised version of maps and plans of the Polatsk region (α). This is also supported by the form of the engravings. All plans of the fortresses (including Polatsk) are shown in an identical way, in a "perspective",[32] without any scale or orientation.

It is possible that Petrus Francus was the first to receive this proposal (19 September 1579), but he did not meet the king and Zamoyski's expectations as to the quality or rate of execution of the work entrusted to him and therefore it was decided to use the services of Stanisław Pachołowiecki.[33] This is only a plausible hypothesis. Undoubtedly, however, the eight maps and plans issued in Rome should be treated as one complete set (A).[34]

The hypothesis that they were conceived as a cycle and not as separate drawings accidentally put together and thus printed in later times is based on a comparative analysis of the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* with the plans of castles (A). The analysis indicates that the elements of the landscape and fortification layouts were transferred onto the map of the Polatsk region from individual plans. Their similarity cannot be accidental. Both the layout of rivers and lakes, as well as the shape of the castles including the towers, roundels, and outer walls are almost identically depicted on the map. We use the manuscript map of the same areas made by Stanisław Sulimowski in 1580 for comparison.[35] The following illustrations show nine fragments (from the top: PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*—anonymous plans of castles—the SULIMOWSKI MAP).

24 Kupisz, *Połock* …, pp. 151–153. However, PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* gives a different date: 29 August 1579.

25 H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie …", part 2, p. 97.

26 R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, pp. 141–142, 144.

27 The circumstances of the publication are presented in chapter 9.

28 S. Kosiński, "Pochodzenie i początki kariery politycznej Piotra Dunin Wolskiego", *Studia Płockie* 9 (1981), p. 100. Of course, these actions were taken with the approval of Stephen Báthory. The hypothesis that the plans were published in print without the king's knowledge should be rejected. Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 82.

29 Zamoyski's patronage and patron—client relations were discussed in W. Tygielski *Listy, ludzie, władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji*, Warsaw 2007.

30 *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saeculorum: Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.*, ed. B. Trelińska, Lublin 2001, pp. 200–201 (item 448), 207–208 (item 463); B. Kalicki, "Nobilitacje króla Stefana na wyprawie moskiewskiej 1579–1582", p. 64.

31 The Central Archives of Historical Records, The Crown Metrica, book 129, ff. 93–96; *Akta Metryki Koronnej* …, pp. 245–247; B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerztwa* …, pp. 275–279, 282–283; K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 7, ed. J.N. Bobrowicz, Lipsk 1841, p. 233. The English translation is based on the Polish version by Ludwik Władysław Franciszek Kondratowicz: "he let us see his fidelity, constancy, and artistry in his magnificent writing and drawing of the plans of the enemy's fortresses." W. Syrokomla, *Pisma epiczne i dramatyczne*, vol. 4, Poznań 1868, p. 191.

32 T. Zarębska, *Początki polskiego piśmiennictwa urbanistycznego*, Warsaw 1986, p. 235.

33 Cf. H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie …", part 2, p. 82. The opposite (drawings—Pachołowiecki, engravings—Francus) was suggested in T. Lawenda, "Literacki wizerunek Jana Zamoyskiego—uczestnika kampanii moskiewskich Stefana Batorego—w dziełach pisarzy schyłku XVI wieku", *Senoji Lietuvos Literatūra* 32 (2011), p. 30.

34 See chapter 10 of this book.

35 See SULIMOWSKI MAP; S. Alexandrowicz, *Rozwój kartografii* …, pp. 191–192; S. Alexandrowicz, K. Buczek, *Polska kartografia wojskowa* …, p. 18; Buczek, *Dorobek*, p. 4.
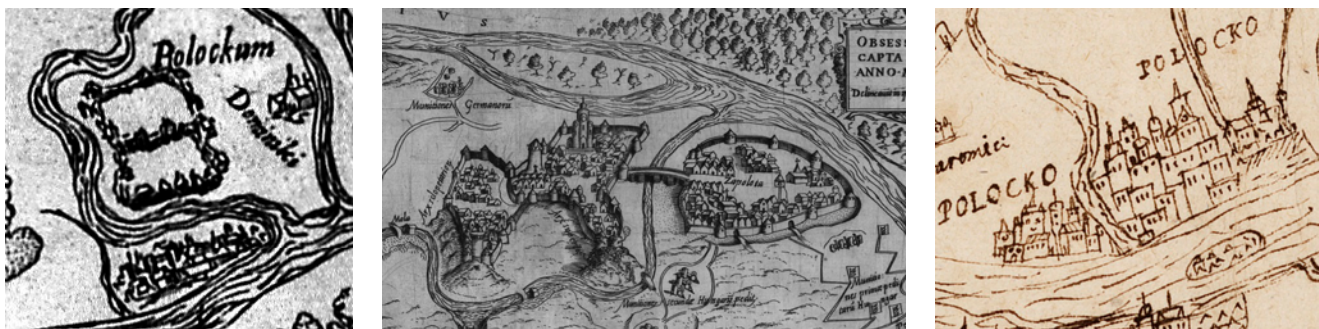
FIGURES 7.1A–7.1C    Polatsk on the map and plan of Pachołowiecki (1a: PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*; 1b: PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*, NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 2464, TN 2826) and the SULIMOWSKI MAP (1c: ASV, Polonia, shelfmark 15A, f. 88)
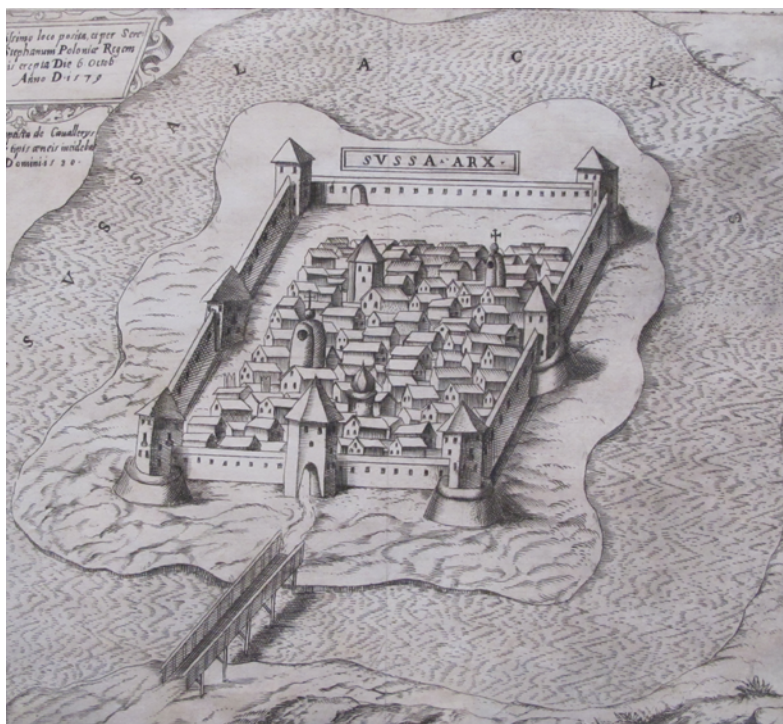


FIGURES 7.2A–7.2C    Suša Castle on the map of PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (2a: see Fig. 7.1a), PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Suša* (2b: engraved by G.B. Cavalieri, Rome 1580, Tomasz Niewodniczański Collection), and the SULIMOWSKI MAP (2c: see Fig. 7.1c)

The map of Pachołowiecki shows the whole three-part complex: the Shooters' Castle (*Arx Sclopetariorium*), the Upper Castle (*Arx Superior*), and the town of Zapalotye separated from the castles by the Palata River. Their location in the bend of the Daugava River was presented in an identical way on the plan. Sulimowski also correctly depicts Polatsk as consisting of three parts, but does not take into account its fortifications and the specific course of the river. What is noteworthy, however, is the fact that Sulimowski put an island in the course of the Daugava at the longitude of the city, which indicates that he not only used the map of Pachołowiecki, but also saw the manuscript plan of Polatsk (see Fig. 7.1a–7.1c).

The location of Suša Castle (Fig. 7.2a–7.2c) was very carefully copied and depicted on an island in the middle of Lake Suša. The shape of the stronghold is also identical (on a rectangular plan) and the same number of towers (seven) and their location was shown likewise. It should be mentioned here that in Sulimowski's control drawing, there is only a schematic symbol of the castle placed on the lake.

On the map, near Kaziany Castle (Fig. 7.3a), the bend of the Obaĺ River and the estuary of Čarniaŭka (Skacica) were mapped, albeit not perfectly. The shape of the fortifications differs from the one on the plan (Fig. 7.3b)—the space in the bend of the river is filled with the stronghold on a circular plan instead of a triangular one. It should be
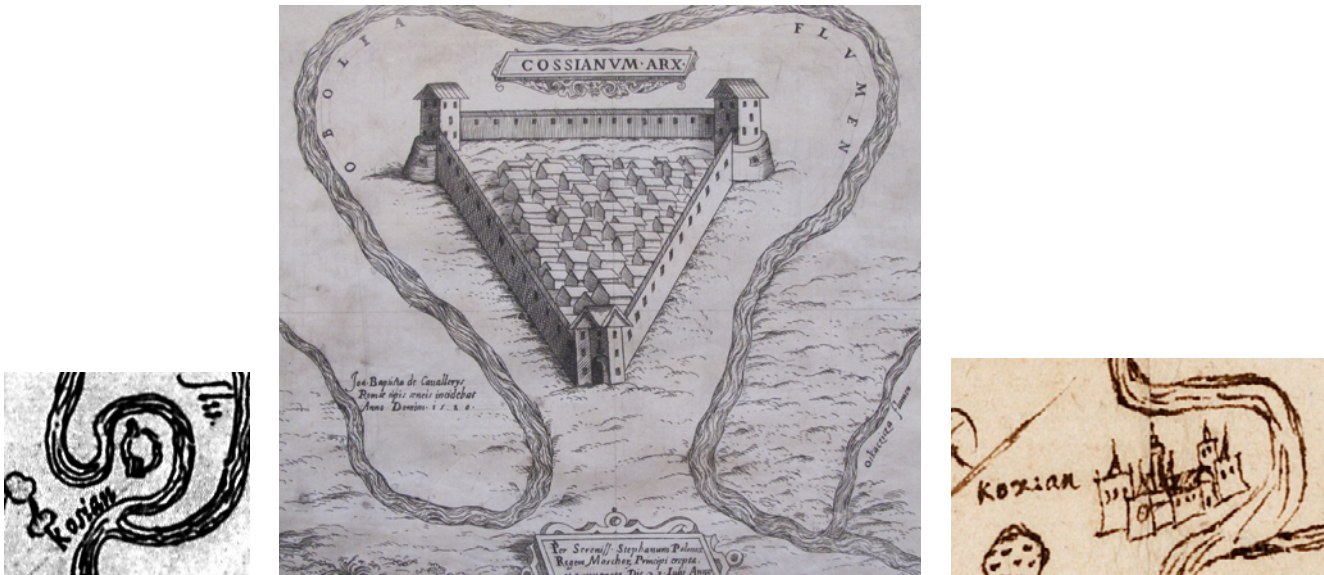
FIGURES 7.3A–7.3C    Kaziany Castle on the map of PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (3a: see Fig. 7.1a), PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Kaziany* (3b: see Fig. 7.2b), and the SULIMOWSKI MAP (3c: see Fig. 7.1c)



FIGURES 7.4A–7.4C    Sitna Castle on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (4a: see Fig. 7.1a), PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Sitna* (4b: see Fig. 7.2b), and the SULIMOWSKI MAP (4c: see Fig. 7.1c)

noted that an identical number of towers (three) is shown here and on Pachołowiecki's work.[36] On Sulimowski's map (Fig. 7.3c), there is no fortification layout and the course of the Obaĺ River is not depicted correctly.

On the map and plan, the shape of the Palata River that surrounds Sitna Castle and the location of the lake (Figs 7.4a, 7.4b) are depicted in the very same way. Fortifications are marked correctly and four corner towers

are shown. On the control drawing (Fig. 7.4c), both the hydrological system and the condition of the fortifications are completely distorted.

The map (Fig. 7.5a) faithfully depicts the layout of rivers near Sokol Castle: the Nišča River surrounds the city from two sides and the Drysa River from one side. The shape of the stronghold is quite correct (although one side should not be rounded). Characteristically, all ten towers and the gate are shown. On the control drawing (Fig. 7.5c), the courses of the rivers are presented differently (the Drysa flows around the stronghold from two sides instead of the Nišča) and there are no fortifications.

---

36    The analysis of the plans of Kaziany and Krasny Castles is presented in B. Guerquin, "Zamki na planie trójkąta z XVI w." …, pp. 303–309.

FIGURES 7.5A–7.5C  Sokol Castle on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (5a: see Fig. 7.1a), PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Sokol* (5b: see Fig. 7.2b), and the SULIMOWSKI MAP (5c: see Fig. 7.1c)







FIGURES 7.6A–7.6C  Krasny Castle on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (6a: see Fig. 7.1a), PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Krasny* (6b: see Fig. 7.2b), and the SULIMOWSKI MAP (6c: see figure 1c)

As in the case of Kaziany, the triangular shape of Krasny Castle on the map (Fig. 7.6a) is not depicted properly, but the number of fortified points along the walls (the gate tower and the three corner towers) is right. The locations of the lakes connected by a trench (or actually one lake, Ciotča) surrounding the castle is presented accurately. The control drawing (Fig. 7.6c) correctly shows the topography of the area but does not record the strongholds.

In the case of Turoŭlia, the map (Fig. 7.7a) shows the shape of the stronghold very faithfully, as well as its location at the mouth of the Turoŭlianka River to the Daugava River and by the lake. However, there are no clearly depicted towers. On Sulimowski's map (Fig. 7.7c), the whole complex was presented incorrectly (the different angle of the Turoŭlianka's mouth, no lake).

Therefore, there is no doubt that all the basic hydrogeological information and fortifications marked on the plans of strongholds were subsequently depicted on the map of the Polatsk region made by Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri. Particularly noteworthy is the reproduction of the shape of the course of the river, the location of lakes, etc. Moreover, other settlements, regardless of whether they were fortresses, castles, or civil objects, are marked

FIGURES 7.7A–7.7C   Turoŭlia Castle on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (7.7a: see Fig. 7.1a), PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Turoŭlia* (7b: see Fig. 2b) and the SULIMOWSKI MAP (7.7c: see Fig. 7.1c)







FIGURES 7.8A–7.8C   Dzisna, Nieščarda and Lepieĺ Castle on the map PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (see Fig. 7.1a)

with symbols without mimetic details (see Figs 7.8a–7.8c, 7.9b).[37]

For the sake of comparison, we add the plan of Ula Castle (Fig. 7.9a–7.9c), for which there were plans of fortifications created at the end of the reign of Sigismund II Augustus.[38]

However, since it was not known to Pachołowiecki, the layout of the fortifications was not shown on it.

The above analyses allow the conclusion that the original map of the Principality of Polatsk, made for the purposes of 1579 campaign (ω), was supplemented with the characteristic elements known from the plans made by Francus, Pachołowiecki, and other engineers.[39] Of course, they could have been added on a later manuscript version (α) or directly on the copperplate (A). Taking into account the fact that the map of the Principality of Polatsk was not updated in its entirety after the campaign of 1579, it seems more likely that the elements mentioned were

37   An exception is made on the map of the town and castle of Vitebsk.

38   See M. Dzikowski, *Zbiór kartograficzny Uniwersyteckiej Biblioteki publicznej w Wilnie*, Wilno 1932, after p. 20. This copy is currently stored in the Vilnius University Library in the collection of Joachim Lelewel, in the catalogue of atlases (*fondas Atlasai*), under the title [*Įvairūs žemėlapiai*: atlases / Jacopo Gastaldi; Ferrando Bertelli; Donato Bertelli; Domenico Zenoi; Paolo Forlani; Giovanni Francesco Camoccio; Girolamo Olgiati; Fabio Licinio]. Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, J. Lelevelio fondas: Atlasai, M 1510. This atlas has been fully digitized and is available at: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000446 259#00001 (accessed 20.07.2024). Another copy: Bibliothèque nationale de France (Département des Estampes et de la Photographie) in Paris, Lallemant de Betz, shelfmark 7452. The map of the fortress of Ula: *Ulla fortezza nel confin di Lituania da nuovo presa per il Serenissimo Re di Polonia*, https://kolekci-

jos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000446259#00178 (accessed 20.07.2024).

39   This observation is confirmed by SULIMOWSKI MAP from 1580, in which the author seems to have directly copied the first version of Pachołowiecki's map. It shows neither the characteristic net of the strongholds captured in 1579 nor the hydrological elements which were adjusted on the basis of the plans of the seven strongholds.
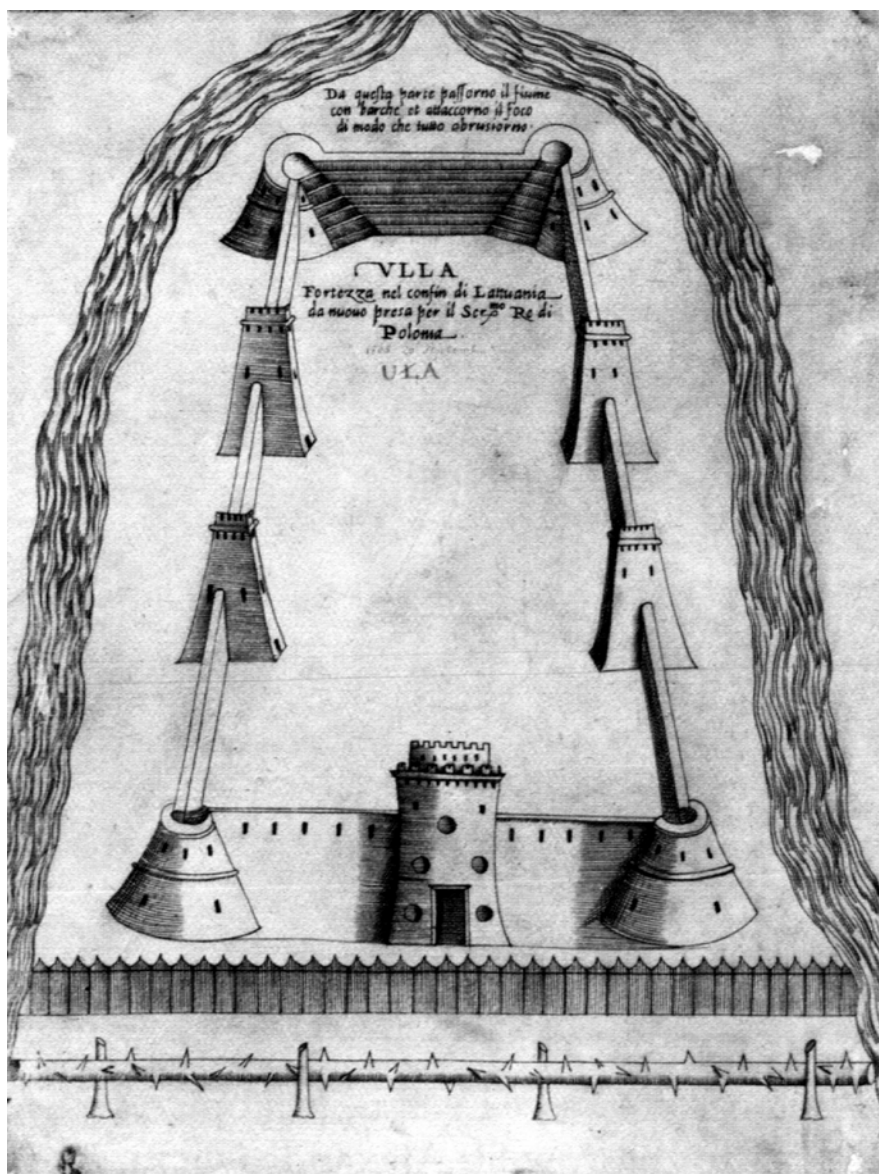
FIGURES 7.9A–7.9C    Plan of Ula Castle (7.9a: *Ulla fortezza nel confin di Lituania da nuovo presa per il Serenissimo Re di Polonia*, https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000446259#00178 (accessed 20.07.2024)) juxtaposed with fragments of the maps PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (7.9b: see Fig. 7.1a) and SULIMOWSKI MAP (7.9c: see Fig. 7.1c)

added in Cavalieri's workshop.[40] However, it is also possible that Pachołowiecki, who was entrusted with making copies of all the maps from 1579 (α), made this unification. Whichever of these two assumptions we adopt, all the maps and plans presenting the Polatsk region should be considered as a uniform composition—an atlas of the Polatsk region.

Our discussion of the iconographic material in question (Figs 7.1–7.9) may greatly benefit from a comparison with the analyses conducted by Catherine Delano-Smith.

She studied the symbols that appeared on topographic maps created between 1470–1640.[41]

It was a period in which a process of standardization of cartographic symbols took place as an abundance of different concepts had previously emerged. It was no different with symbols of towns. Most often, they were marked with highly abstract symbols (e.g. a circle or a triangle) or in the form of landscape depictions, such as those on Sulimowski's map. Other town symbols took the form of miniatures in an isometric projection ("bird's eye view") that gave the impression of three-dimensionality,

---

40    See chapter 6 of this book.

41    C. Delano-Smith, "Signs on Printed Topographical Maps, ca. 1470–ca. 1640", in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 528–590.

FIGURE 7.10    Settlements on medium- and large-scale maps marked with symbols—from a landscape shot to a
                     two-dimensional plan view
                     DRAWN BY J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ, BASED ON THE DIAGRAM BY C. DELANO-SMITH, *SIGNS ON PRINTED
                     TOPOGRAPHICAL MAPS*, P. 541

followed by bird's eye views a bit later. Such an aerial view of a single (most important) city was recorded on the maps of Gabriel Simeoni from 1560[42] and Giacomo Gastaldi from 1564.[43] On Philipp Apian's map from 1568, there were many such views.[44] In Pachołowiecki's case, the two-dimensional plans of castles were depicted on the topography of the area. This is a very conceptually advanced solution, which does not appear again until Abraham Fabert's work of 1610. This is how he presented the city of Metz (other larger fortified complexes, e.g. Berlise, were presented from an aerial viewpoint).[45] Likewise, Jean Jubrien only drew a city plan of Sedan on his map of 1621, while for other major cities he used the isometric plan.[46] Presenting fortified complexes in two-dimensional views did not become common until the 1630s.[47]

Therefore, we believe that the map of Stanisław Pachołowiecki is the oldest large- or medium-scale cartographic work on which strongholds are presented in two dimensions as plans of defensive complexes. Similar solutions appeared again only in the 17th century. The map of the Principality of Polatsk is therefore a significant achievement of European cartography, all the more so as the plans of cities and castles are presented in a realistic

rather than schematic manner depicting the true shape of the strongholds and the accurate number of towers or roundels. Thus, Pachołowiecki and Cavalieri were half a century ahead of similar solutions in European cartography. However, it is hard to tell how this device was received by the users of maps.

Information on what the original plans of castles ($\omega$) might have looked like are provided by archaeological research conducted by Marat Klimov at Sokol and Turoŭlia.[48] According to Klimov's findings, these strongholds were very different from their depictions on the prints discussed here. Firstly, their locations on maps were often imprecise. We know that Sokol was not situated at the mouth of rivers but 450 m to the northeast from the place where the Nišča joins the Sokol River. Furthermore, the view of Turoŭlia should show a settlement adjacent to the stronghold and inhabited by the riflemen that defended the castle.[49] The idea that elements of military importance could not be marked on the original plan ($\omega$) is preposterous. Furthermore, fortresses depicted on the prints were presented as modern masonry complexes (although not bastion forts). The reality was very different from this propaganda image. The strongholds were small (Krasny was about $50 \times 100 \times 110$ m in size) with no masonry fortifications. In Sokol, there was only a wooden palisade with wooden towers. The ramparts were of trifling proportions—one metre high at best—surrounded by a moat, whose remains are still observable. The gate was equipped with a lattice and protected by two towers

42    G. Simeoni, *La Limagna d'Overnia* [*Auvergne*], Lyons 1560; S. Gomis, M. Fournier, "La Limania d'Overnia: un épisode de la Guerre des Gaules de Jules César cartographié par Gabriel Simeoni. L'apport du numérique pour la relecture d'une cartographie narrative du XVI$^{ème}$ siècle", in: *Cartographier les récits: enjeux méthodologiques et technologiques; colloque du 82$^e$ congrès de l'Association francophone pour le savoir—Acfas, May 2014, Montréal, Canada* <halshs01071302>, https://halshs. archivesouvertes.fr/halshs01071302/document (accessed 16.05.2017), p. 5.

43    G. Gastaldi, *Il Disegno di geografia moderna della provincia di Natolia*, Venice 1564.

44    P. Apian, *Bairische landtaflen XXIII*, Ingolstadt 1568.

45    A. Fabert, *Description du Pays Messin*, [Metz 1610]; http://gallica .bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84930771 (accessed 16.05.2017).

46    J. Jubrien, *Carte de pais de Retelois*, Paris 1621; http://gallica.bnf.fr /ark:/12148/btv1b55004480w.r= (accessed 16.05.2017).

47    C. Delano-Smith, *Signs on Printed Topographical Maps* ..., pp. 557–562.

48    М.В. Клімаў, "Фартэцыя Туроўля ...", pp. 30–39; М.В. Клімаў, "Новыя археалагічныя даследаванні фартэцый ...", pp.129–142; М.В. Клімаў, "Вызначэнне дакладнага месцазнаходжання ...", pp. 191–205.

49    The excavations conducted complement the narrative told by R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* ..., p. 134. Heidenstein noted that Franciszek Żuk attacked the castle with light artillery "in the hope that he will take it more by means of fear or trickery than by force" ("spe magis et terrore quam vi eius potiundae"; transl. J.N.). The assault ended in failure but it is known that the settlement was set on fire and destroyed in the attack.

of modest size (not marked on A). The other castles were equally primitive. In Sitna, there are surviving relics of ramparts but no traces of a moat. In Krasny, there are remains of one single tower and no indications of ramparts or moats. The ramparts in Suša, which survived in the relatively best condition, were approximately one metre high.[50]

To conclude, drawings (ω) created for military purposes had to reflect the actual location of the strongholds. It is also likely that they came with a distance scale, important from the engineers' perspective. However, when the secondary manuscript version (a) was being prepared, all the elements that could betray the primitive character and minor size of the strongholds were left out. For the same reason, some of the castles were presented as bigger than they were in reality, so that they filled up the space in the mouths of the rivers (e.g. Sokol) or between the banks of lakes (Turoŭlia). If originally there had been a distance scale, it was certainly dispensed with, just like any depictions of the settlements located nearby, as they could also disclose the size of the defensive complex. Consequently, version "a" had little to do with reality, which is likely the reason why it does not bear the signatures of the engineers who drafted the original plans of the Muscovite fortresses (ω).

When assessing the plans of castles as historical sources, we should make several observations. Firstly, the substantive content of the prints is relatively poor, which was probably deliberately intended by the maker of version "a". The author focused solely on the layout of the strongholds (and not on the nearby or adjacent settlements). He also scrupulously depicted the natural conditions around the strongholds, which clearly implies the military purposes of these maps. The execution of the maps brings to mind the anonymous print depicting Ula published around 1570. The only difference between these two works is the view of the buildings inside the fortification added on map no. 9 (see Figs 7.1–7.7). However, there is no doubt that this addition has no greater documentary value as it is blatantly schematic.[51] In the case of Krasny, Kaziany, and Sitna, buildings simply constitute the

background without any characteristic objects. What is more, Kaziany and Krasny, built on a triangular plan, were probably the smallest of all the strongholds presented. This shape of defensive complex was rare and always chosen due to areal constraints. As a rule, the side of such a fortress was just over 100 m (and the curtain walls were 80 m metres long), which made flanking fire possible.[52] It is therefore doubtful that these two castles could serve to host a civilian population.

In other cases, certain characteristic objects were also marked. An Orthodox church and two churches were marked in Turoŭlia and Suša, respectively. In the latter case, a massive tower located inside the stronghold draws the viewer's attention; it probably served as an arsenal.[53] With its 21 cannons and 136 hook guns (Ger. *Hakenbüchse*, Pol. *hakownica*), Suša was viewed by contemporaries as the second most difficult place to capture, after Polatsk.[54] Another example of a stronghold shown with a characteristic element was Sokol. One of the Orthodox churches in it built on a hill was depicted with great precision. These two objects (the Orthodox church in Sokol and the tower in Suša; Fig. 7.11a and 7.11b) were so important from a military perspective that they were marked on the map of the Polatsk region.

It should be assumed that on the archetype of these plans (ω) there were no buildings inside the strongholds.[55] They appeared either on the secondary manuscript version (α) or on Cavalieri's copperplate (A).

This does not imply, however, that there were no living quarters in the fortresses. Undoubtedly, there were numerous such constructions in the two largest defence complexes after Polatsk, that is, Suša and Sokol. This is confirmed by archaeological research conducted in the latter. During the excavation works, remains of residential

---

50    By no means does this imply that they were easy to capture. They were located in exceptionally advantageous places and the terrain features were utilized by their builders to the utmost. This type of architecture based on wood, which was used for the construction of timber box fortifications reinforced with towers, is discussed by an outstanding Lithuanian military engineer, J. Naronowicz-Naroński, in *Budownictwo wojenne*, ed. T.M. Nowak, Oświęcim 2016, p. 7.

51    S. Alexandrowicz, K. Buczek, *Polska kartografia wojskowa …*, p. 16.

52    Cf. E. Prusicka-Kołcon, "Kresowa forteca w Kryłowie", *Spotkania z Zabytkami* 1–2(34) (2010), pp. 25–27; B. Guerquin, "Zamki na planie trójkąta …", p. 308. The castle in Kaziany had dimensions of 50 × 120 × 110 m. *Города, местечки и замки …*, p. 176.

53    Probably, it was in this tower in Suša that powder was stored for the next expeditions. The following was recorded in 1581: "This [gunpowder—J.N.] which was stored in Suša got blown up due to the carelessness of the crew." ("Qui enim Susae depositus fuerat, negligentius igne ab iis, qui in praesidio erant, habito, conflagrarat.") R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 175 (transl. J.N.).

54    R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 137. А.Н. Лобин, "Артиллерия в царствование Ивана Грозного", in: *"В кратких словесах многой разум замыкающе …": Сборник научных трудов в честь 75-летия профессора Р.Г. Скрынникова*, Санкт-Петербург 2007, p. 298.

55    The two buildings mentioned above, namely the tower in Suša and the Orthodox church in Sokol, could be an exception due to their clearly military function.

FIGURES 7.11A–7.11B    The Orthodox church in the Sokol stronghold (7.11a: fragment of Fig. 7.5b) and buildings in Suša (7.11b: fragment of Fig. 7.2b)

buildings with fireplaces and cellars were discovered together with a great many utensils. In smaller strongholds, relatively large groups of several people had to live outside of the castles, as exemplified by Turoŭlia, at which there was a settlement inhabited by Muscovite shooters. However, regardless of the type of complex, residential housing could not have been dense or extensive because the size and purpose of the strongholds would not allow it. Therefore, the makers of the prints (versions "a" and "A") presented these strongholds as fortified towns, which was obviously far from the truth.[56]

Secondly, the castle plans show the latest fortification trends in the country of Ivan the Terrible. All these strongholds were built on his order after the conquest of Polatsk in 1563. Previously, there were only two castles: in Polatsk and Jeziaryšča.[57] During the offensive, the Muscovite authorities made a map of the Polatsk voivodeship in 1563 or 1564; it focused on the border areas.[58] The main fortification works were carried out in 1566–1567.[59] "Ivan, for his part, built five castles behind the Daugava River and he ensured the possession of this land"; these five castles were Sokol, Nieščarda, Sitna, Kaziany, and Usviaty.[60] He also built castles in Krasny, Suša, Turoŭlia, and in Ula, the latter of which was conquered by the Lithuanian side. The

analysis of cartographic sources can therefore be of great help to scholars who study the Tsardom of Muscovy.

Thirdly, the fortifications were constructed of wood and earth. As Dominic Rudolfino noted: "The reason for our sudden victory is the construction of their strongholds, which are commonly built of wood. Ordinary cannon shots do not damage them and would be completely ineffective."[61] In no case did the prints indicate this feature of the strongholds, which would undoubtedly have diminished the standing of the victory. In hindsight, however, the fortifications quickly deteriorated and, as a result, fell into ruin. They did not survive the test of time (except for Polatsk) and by the end of the 18th century, they were only mentioned in local legends. In the descriptions of the Roman Catholic parishes from 1784 we can find the following note:

"no historic sites can be seen, except that they say there was a castle in Suša, which was surrounded by a lake, but now it can only be considered a simple village. The legends also have it that there was a castle in Turoŭlia, as there are trenches and embankments in the Turoŭlian Forest utterly overgrown with trees".[62]

56    М.В. Клімаў, "Фартэцыя туроўля …", pp. 30–39; М.В. Клімаў, "Новыя археалагічныя …", pp. 129–142; М.В. Клімаў, "Вызначэнне дакладнага …", pp. 191–205.

57    R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 130.

58    *Описи Царского архива XVI века и архива …*, p. 136. Cf. Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 153.

59    See Chapter 6, footnote 26.

60    R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 130; Sigismund II Augustus to R. Sanguszko, Warsaw 5 September 1568, in: *Sanguszko Family Archive in Sławuta*, vol. 7: *1554–1572*, ed. Z.L. Radzimiński, Lwów 1910, pp. 285–287.

61    Th.K., *Dominik Rudolfino …*, p. 654.

62    "miejsc żadnych starożytności okazujących nie widać, oprócz iż powiadają, że był zamek w Suszy, które jezioro oblewa na koło, ale teraz wsią prostą nazwać można. Z powieści takoż ludzkiej głoszą, iż był zamek w Turowli, jakoż w Puszczy Turowlańskiej całkiem drzewami zarosły okazują się okopy i wały." *Przyszłość kultury Polaków na kresach*, vol. 2: *Kraj rodzinny matki mej*, ed. J. Maroszek, Białystok 2000, p. 45 (the publication of photographs taken in the Lithuanian State Historical Archive, where descriptions of Roman Catholic parishes are kept). Similar information on the remains of castles, topographical names, and local legends: А.П. Сапунов, "Рисунки крепостей …", pp. 305–313.

FIGURES 7.12A–7.12C  Gates in Sitna (7.12a: fragment of Fig. 7.4b) and Kaziany (7.12b: fragment of Fig. 7.3b), juxtaposed with the fortifications depicted in the drawing from the second half of the 18th century (12c: The Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, shelfmark 16595 A*)

Finally, it should be noted that apart from the works of Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri, the Radziwiłł family commissioned several paintings on the subject of the war of 1579. Their content is known from the Latin poetic captions and from drawn reproductions made in 1784–1791 at the orders of Stanisław August Poniatowski.[63] Three illustrations are known, namely the capture of Sitna, Sokol (and Kaziany), and the Battle of Sokol.[64] Unfortunately, the depiction of the castles in the drawings bear little resemblance to the representations of Sitna and Kaziany made in 1580 (see Fig. 7.12a–c).

Both the gates and the overall shapes of the fortresses are completely different. The only common elements are embrasures located in the wall and the river surrounding the castle. Thus, the copies of paintings commissioned by the Radziwiłłs should be considered unreliable at least with regard to the fortifications.[65]

• • •

The map of the Principality of Polatsk, the siege of Polatsk, and the plans of the castles in Kaziany, Krasny, Sitna, Sokol, Suša, and Turoŭlia should be treated as one set, whose final look was shaped by one author.[66] The map of the Polatsk region shows hydrological objects and defensive complexes marked on the plans of strongholds. Hence, all works complement each other and thus constitute an atlas of the Polatsk voivodeship (principality). The author of this coherent cartographic concept, which consisted in transferring detailed information from the plans of castles onto the map of the Principality of Polatsk, is either Stanisław Pachołowiecki (in the case of version α—which is less likely) or Giovanni Battista Cavalieri (who could apply this solution directly to the copperplate—A), which is more likely.

The authorship of manuscript archetypes (ω) is known from the signatures present on two prints, that is the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* and PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*. The authors of the remaining works are unknown. Petrus Francus may be considered the author of some of them (chiefly the plan of Sokol Castle), but one should not forget about the other six engineers who participated in the expedition of 1579. It is likely that the original plans (ω) were very schematic and only noted the defensive features of the strongholds and their location with regard to rivers and lakes. Later, they were considerably modified by Stanisław Pachołowiecki, who presented the defensive complexes as monumental strongholds or excellently fortified towns. The changes were so far-reaching that the prints do not feature the names of the authors of the plans.

The original works were copied and probably complemented with new elements by Stanisław Pachołowiecki (α). It was then that the castles and other topographic objects from the seven plans of strongholds were added to the map of the Principality of Polatsk. On the large-scale maps, on the other hand, some buildings inside the strongholds were added, which did not exist in reality and served only propaganda purposes. This version (α) was created between 6 October and 13 November 1579. Originally, however, the whole undertaking was to be supervised by Petrus Francus, who was entrusted with this task on 19 September 1579. The process of the publication

63   M. Janicki, "Obraz *Bitwa pod Orszą*—geneza, datowanie, wzory graficzne a obraz bitwy 'na Kropiwnej' i inne przedstawienia batalistyczne w wileńskim pałacu Radziwiłłów", in: *Bitwa pod Orszą*, ed. M. Nagielski, Warsaw 2015, pp. 212–217.

64   Polish Army Museum, shelfmark 16595 A*, 16596 A*, 16597 A*; T. Żebrawski, *O pieczęciach dawnej Polski i Litwy*, Cracow 1865, p. 53, nos 8–10; M. Janicki, "Obraz *Bitwa pod Orszą* …", pp. 215–216.

65   British Library, shelfmark Maps 34139.(1.); Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, shelfmark 16595 A*.

66   Either Pachołowiecki or Cavalieri should be considered the creator of the concept combining all eight works into one whole. Given that the map of the Principality of Polatsk was not updated in its entirety after the campaign of 1579, it seems more likely that the latter is true. See chapter 6 of this book.

of the maps was supervised by the king's closest advisors, namely Jan Zamoyski, and probably Piotr Dunin Wolski. At the end of February, the drawings (α) reached Rome, where they were presented to Pope Gregory XIII by the bishop of Płock. Next, they were engraved on copperplates in the workshop of Giovanni Battista Cavalieri (A).

The map of the Principality of Polatsk shows Muscovian fortresses in the form of two-dimensional views. They were depicted in a reliable manner, both in terms of the overall shape and the number of towers. Such a form of topographic symbols is an innovative solution in Renaissance cartography. Comparable devices were known only in the 17th century and they did not appear more widely until the 1630s.

# Pachołowiecki's Maps and Tactical Planning

The siege and conquest of Polatsk by Stephen Báthory in 1579 constitutes a significant dividing line in relations between Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[1] So far, the focus has been on reconstructing the course of warfare, using, among other things, maps and plans. We would like to reverse the assumption that has underlain the research to date. We are interested in the real impact of the use of cartography on siege operations in the realities of the 16th-century military operations. We would like to find out what knowledge and possibilities were offered by the plans drawn up during the siege and how this knowledge was used in practice, especially when making tactical decisions. This will enable us to deepen the analysis of the Polish-Lithuanian command's tactical planning and its implementation in practice.[2]

In order to answer these research questions, it is necessary to indicate the source that documented the cartographic activities carried out during the siege of Polatsk. This source is PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* (Fig. 8.1).[3]Its reliability is enhanced by the information included on the engraving: "Sketched in the camp by S. Pachołowic", which provides clear evidence that the cartographic plan was made for the purpose of the siege. Unfortunately, we do not know the original drawing (archetype), but we can infer when and how the plan of the fortifications and the Polatsk area was made. It was the first day of the siege. Reinhold Heidenstein wrote that on 11 August Stephen Báthory, in disguise, "having taken with him only the Chancellor Jan Zamoyski and Gáspár Bekes […] rode around the town, looking for the most suitable places to start an assault".[4] The information about this action,

which was essential to further tactical decisions, was also noted by other chroniclers.[5] Written sources also mention that Jan Zamoyski rode around the fortress once again ("Zamoyski alone approached the place where the burnt-down town [of Zapalotye—J.N.] lay to investigate the site").[6] We think that Pachołowiecki accompanied the chancellor (and the king) on the first circuit, and he made the primary version of the plan. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the drawing shows Zapalotye as still existing, and it was destroyed the next day, 12 August 1579. Therefore, the plan of Polatsk was not made as a painted cityscape. It was based on the ride around the fortifications. However, no measuring or engineering instruments were used (no orientation or scale on the map).

It is not limited to showing the fortifications and topography of the areas directly adjacent to the castles. In the case of the view of Polatsk, the fortress itself occupies less than a quarter of the illustration. No less important—if not indeed most important—was to show the deployment of the Polish-Lithuanian-German-Hungarian army. The purpose of such a depiction is explained by Nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari, who wrote on 26 February 1580 to cardinal Tolomeo Gallio: "The bishop of Płock will have all the plans for the fortresses conquered by the king last year, as well as a plan showing the deployment of the troops besieging Polatsk. We suppose he will show them to Your Holiness."[7]

This information is of paramount importance, as it indicates how the source was perceived by contemporaries.

---

1 Originally published as K. Łopatecki, "*Oblężenie i zdobycie warownej twierdzy połockiej przez najjaśniejszego króla Polski Stefana*—wykorzystanie kartografii podczas planowania taktycznego", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 4(45), pp. 705–758; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE .17.019.9346.

2 See T.M. Nowak, "Problem stosowania broni palnej przy obronie i zdobywaniu umocnień przez wojska polskie w XVI–XVII w.", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 12 (1966), 1, pp. 52–55.

3 Analysis of the reliability of this source in chapter 4 of this book. Other cartographic and iconographic texts were also used in the study: first of all the ZUM THURN MAP.

4 "Rex Joanne Samoscio cancellario et Gaspare Bekesio solis assumptis (…) subsidiisque contra eruptions loco opportune dispositis, urbem circumvectus situm loci cum iisdem cognoscit." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* ..., p. 131. (transl. J.N.).

5 Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 761: "The king took Chancellor Jan Zamoyski and Bekes with him and having ridden around the castle, found the location of the place." A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo ...", p. 46: "andò il re più volte in persona incognito con un' solo cameriero, circondando la città, et fortezza per riconoscere il sito, et trovar' loco atto alle trincee."

6 "Samoscius (…) iterum cognoscendi situs causa solus proprius sub eum locum, in quo oppidum antea fuerat (…) successisset." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* ..., p. 132.

7 "Il vescovo di Plozca haverà tutti li disegni delle fortezze espugnate dal Re l'anno passato, et anco il modo et l'ordine dell'assedio di Polozco; credo lo mostrarà a V.S. Illima." G.A. Caligari to T. Gallio, Warsaw 26 II 1580, in: G.A. Caligari, *I.A. Caligarii nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta 1578–1581*, ed. L. Boratyński, Cracoviae 1915, p. 389 (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana 4) (transl. G.F.). All the bold in the quotes is by the authors. On the circumstances in which the letter was sent, see chapter 9 of this book.

---

FIGURE 8.1   Plan of besieged Polatsk, PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*, NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 2826

The emphasis was not so much on the layout of the for-tifications as on how the fortress was besieged. This way the tactical side of the venture was shown. That being the case, four aspects of the plan of the siege of Polatsk should be analysed:

1. the layout of the military camps,
2. the battle formation—preparation for the battle,
3. Polatsk fortifications,
4. siege operations (batteries, ramparts, and entrenchments).

In this regard, it is worth comparing Pachołowiecki's plan with the ZUM THURN MAP.[8] Doing just this, Stanisław Alexandrowicz, who discovered the latter artefact, stressed: "Even a preliminary comparison shows that the drawing contains all the essential elements of the content of the engraving, enriched with carefully crafted minia-ture details and numerous of everyday life."[9] However, there are more differences. The print differs from the drawing partly with regard to the second aspect analysed, but partly also to the first and fourth.[10]

## 1      The Fortifications of the Polatsk Fortress

To begin with, the condition of the defensive complex of Polatsk should be assessed. The campaign chronicler Reinhold Heidenstein characterized the fortifications rel-atively precisely, undoubtedly using the opinions of spe-cialists that accompanied Zamoyski.[11] The strength of the whole fortress was based on the Upper Castle thanks to its favourable location on a high steep hill and additional protection provided by the surrounding rivers:

"The castle, which we call the middle one, is built on a hill, from which there is a vast view: it was protected by the Daugava River from the south […], the Palata River and the city of Zapalotye from the north and west, the Shooters' Castle from the east, from all sides by the steep slopes of the mountain on which it rises, and finally by a deep ditch and a rampart, fortified in compliance with the art of war; it also had very strong walls and multi-storey towers built of mighty oak timbers joined with one another".[12]

8      The most accurate analysis (with the attribution to Stanisław Pachołowiecki): S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonogra-ficzne …", pp. 3–29.

9      "Już pobieżne porównanie wykazuje, że rysunek zawiera wszystkie zasadnicze elementy treści występujące w sztychu, wzbogacone o starannie wykonane miniaturowe szczegóły i liczne scenki rodzajowe." S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikono-graficzne …", p. 5. (transl. CKS and J.N.).

10      See also chapter 4 of this book.

11      On the close relations between Heidenstein and Zamoyski, see S. Łempicki, "Hetman Jan Zamoyski współpracownikiem Heidensteina", *Pamiętnik Literacki* 15 (1917), pp. 287–304.

12      "Media, quam diximus, arx in colle altissimos despectus habente posita, a meridie, ut ostensum est, Duna flumine, a spetentrione et ortu Polotta fluvio oppidoque Sapolotta, ab occidente sole Sclopetariorum Arce, undique monte, cui imminet praerupto, altissimisque fossis ac vallo, quovis fere artificio, factis firmior-ibus continebatur; muros et propugnacula ex aliquot inter se
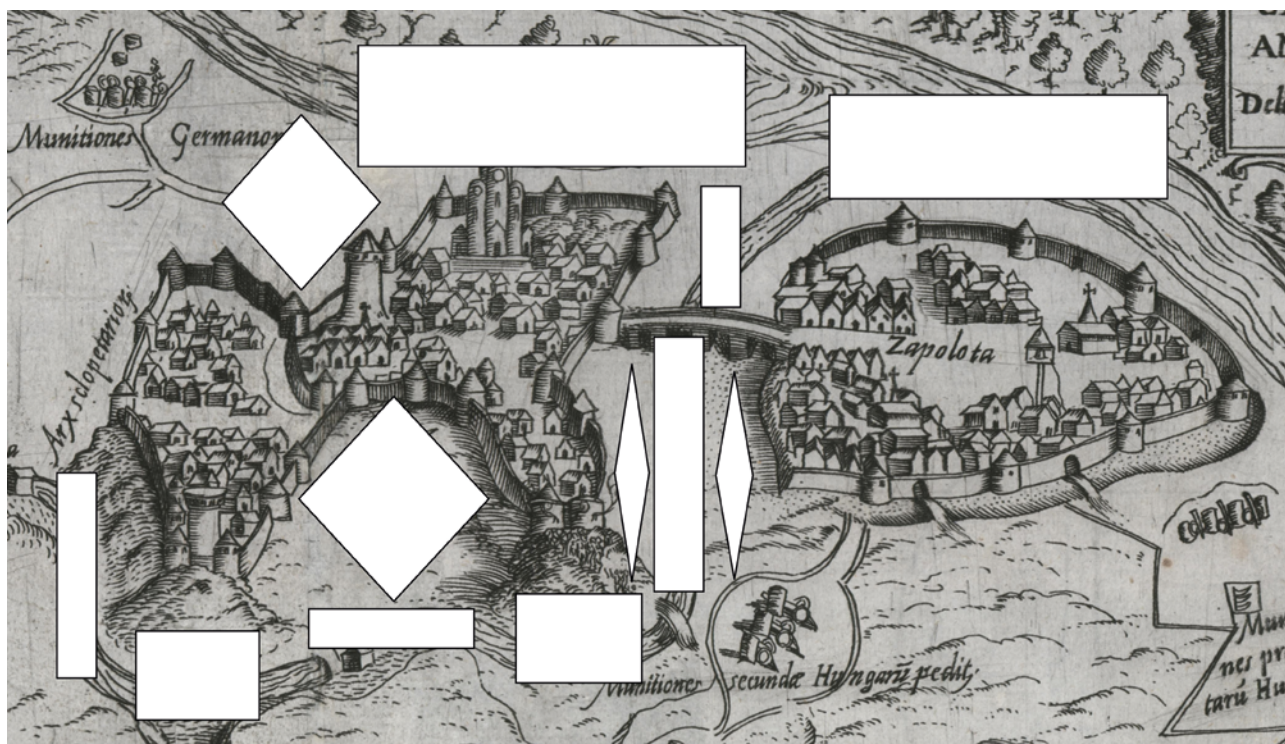
FIGURE 8.2   Evaluation of the defensive potential of the Polatsk Fortress shown on the print of Stanislaw Pachołowiecki: rectangular fields—protection provided by rivers and hills; rhombuses—possibility of using flanking fire (fragment of Fig. 8.1)

The strong points emphasized by Heidenstein were also potential weak points of the fortress. First of all, the fortifications were built of wood and earth, so they were resistant to artillery, but susceptible to fire.[13] Secondly, the castle did not have a regular shape, as the fortifications were adapted to the topography of the area. This precluded a uniform fire shield. To understand the threat this fact entailed (of which the Muscovites were probably unaware), it is worth noting how several decades later the Swedes planned to remodel the Upper Castle and what changes were made to the stronghold until the beginning of 1707.[14] In both cases, attempts were made to give the fortress a regular shape. For this purpose, it was planned to erect a bastion between the castle and the Palata River

(in the mid-17th century). At the beginning of the 18th century, the cape was shortened and one outwork was built outside the bastion; the hill was also rebuilt and given a shape close to a square.

In principle, the Upper Castle had no weak points as long as the remaining parts of the fortress held out. There were three flanking firing zones, referred to by contemporaries as *strzelba poboczna* (side fire), provided by the favourable location of both castles and the city in relation to each other (Fig. 8.2—areas marked with rhombuses).[15] Such a layout provided protection that was normally guaranteed by a bastion fortification system. Entering this area entailed great losses for the attackers.[16]

The defensive capacity of the Shooters' Castle, whose eastern side was completely unprotected from attacks (Fig. 8.2), was much worse. However, neither Pachołowiecki's graphics nor Paul zum Thurn's drawing recorded that the castle was surrounded by "palisades and trenches", which would have given a chance for a

devinctis validissimorum roborum ordinibus firmissima habebat." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* ..., p. 131. (transl. CKS).

13   A. Guagnini (A. Gwagnin), *Kronika Sarmacyjej Europskiej*, p. 26; M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy"* ..., p. 581. Probably one tower in the Upper Castle was made of stone. It had the character of a keep, or rather bergfried, i.e. a tower inside the walls (*Wohnturm*). Д.В. Дук, *Исследование оборонительных сооружений. Материалы городской застройки*, in: *Полоцк*, ed. О.Н. Левко, Минск 2012, p. 310.

14   Kriegsarkivet (Stockholm), Utländska stads och fästningsplaner, Polen, Polock 1; Библиотека Российской Академии наук. Санкт-Петербург, Рукописный отдел, Собрание иностранных рукописей, F° 266, vol. 4, f. 48, Fig. 52; cf. А. Белы, "Plan von Polotzko anno 1707" ..., pp. 12–15.

15   Cf. K. Łopatecki, "Poglądy Floriana Zebrzydowskiego dotyczące ufortyfikowania, obrony i poddania twierdz", *Białostockie Teki Historyczne* 13 (2015), pp. 96–98, 105.

16   S. Sarnicki, *Księgi hetmańskie* ..., p. 407: "build ramparts or towers suitable in the Viennese or Wroclaw style, which will enable frontal fire and flanking fire from both sides—thus, the enemy, no matter how great, will be effectively discouraged as they would have to walk through bullets as through the rain or hail."

longer defence.[17] However, it certainly could not provide the same degree of protection as natural elements, such as rivers and steep hills (Fig. 8.2—areas marked with rectangles). Lastly, the great defensive qualities of the town (Zapalotye) were mentioned with awe by contemporary historians. According to Alessandro Guagnini, it was a "wooden construction, big, wide, fenced, and fortified with chevaux-de-frise-shaped stockades, on the Daugava River".[18] Heidenstein described it even more vividly:

"[Muscovites—K.Ł.] moved [the tow]n to the other side of the Palata, so that the river flowed between the Upper Castle and Zapalotye; [the town] formed a shape similar to a triangle, whose one side was the Daugava, another towards the Castle—the Palata River, and the other—a trench and towers".[19]

However, rhetorical descriptions were not able to obscure the actual state of the fortress. In the era of the flourishing development of artillery and modern siege operations Zapalotye had no assets that would give it even a ghost of a chance of surviving a siege (Fig. 8.2).[20] The whole northern side of the city strengthened with three towers and one roundel was not fortified enough to defend Zapalotye. Artillery support from the Upper Castle and Shooters' Castle was hardly possible. The only actual defensive aid was one roundel at a projected triangular bastion (Fig. 8.7). In the absence of a proper field of vision, if there was a need to fire over the city the remaining towers were not able to threaten the attackers.

A comparison of the fortress's shape in 1579 with the earlier Lithuanian fortifications in Polatsk built in 1563 shows that the Muscovites abandoned the plan to integrate individual fortifications and form a defensive complex around the central city.[21] The former town from the times of Sigismund II Augustus (the so-called Veliky Posad) was located in a wedge-shaped area between the Upper Castle and the Daugava River, on the site of what would later be the Shooters' Castle. This provided the town with good defensive properties. Furthermore, it was also protected by a large and deep trench.[22] Such a complex had one fundamental flaw: if the town was taken, the enemy would have direct access to the castle. The fall of one object actually rendered the other one impossible to defend.[23] This fact was used by the Muscovian army in 1563. Zapalotye, in turn, which existed in 1579, had no real chance of defending itself against a strong army, but its fall did not radically worsen the situation of the other two castles, which were separated from the town by the Palata. With the fall of Zapalotye, flanking fire would have become impossible, which would weaken the defence of the western side of the projected cape where the two roundels and the triangular bastion were built (see Figs 8.8a and 8.8b). The conquest of the Shooters' Castle would significantly reduce the chances of defending the Upper Castle. Two flanking fire zones would then be eliminated, allowing attackers to approach the walls of the central castle directly and set them on fire.

Apart from the fortifications, it is worth noting what forces the defenders had at their disposal. They were large and were reinforced before the arrival of the advance guard by 1000 infantry soldiers and 200 horsemen.[24] It is usually assumed that there were 6000 soldiers in the fortress. Vitaly V. Penskoy estimated the garrison at 2000–3000 Boyar sons, 1000–1500 Shooters and Cossacks, and 1500–3000 townspeople.[25] These enormous forces had far fewer firearms in the fortress. The crew had only 600 long harquebuses, the artillery park consisted of thirty-eight cannons and 300 hook guns. The city was very well supplied with food, powder, and ammunition. The commander-in-chief was Prince Vasily Ivanovich Telatevsky, who also commanded the defence of the Upper Castle.[26] While the number of hook guns seems more than sufficient, there were far too few guns for thirty-three towers and roundels.[27] Similarly, 600 harquebuses for 6000 soldiers is

---

17    D. Hermann, "Relacja Daniela Hermana …", p. 162.

18    "drzewiane wielkie, szerokie, parkanem i ostrowami gęstemi obwarowane, nad rzeką Dźwiną" A. Gwagnin, *Kronika Sarmacyjej …*, book III, p. 26.

19    "trans Polottam fluvium atque summam arcem in locum inter utrumque flumen medium transtulerat, ut positu eius quasi triangulari, unum latus Duna, alterum versus summa arcem Polotta fluvius, tertium fossae turresque tuerentur." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 131. (transl. J.N.).

20    Cf. В.В. Пенской, "Героическая оборона Полоцка …", p. 67.

21    Analysis of the course of the conquest of Polatsk in 1563 by the army of Ivan IV the Terrible: Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 37–46.

22    "Дополнения к Никоновской летописи", in: *Полное собрание русских летописей*, vol. 13. 2я половина, ed. С.Ф. Платонов, Санкт-Петербург 1906, p. 356: "и городная стѣна рублена, да и ровъ вкругъ острога отъ Полоты и до Двины рѣки дѣланъ крѣпокъ и глубокъ."

23    Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 44: "The burning of Veliky Posad turned out to be another tactical error of the defenders. Muscovite commanders immediately exploited its ruins and the next day they started deploying their cannons here."

24    A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 27–28.

25    В.В. Пенской, "Героическая оборона Полоцка …", p. 66.

26    В.В. Новодворский, *Борьба за Ливонию …*, pp. 105–106; Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 127, 165.

27    S. Alexandrowicz, *Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej …*, p. 42.

far from sufficient (only 10% of them were equipped with a firearm). But appearances are deceptive. After conquering Polatsk, Stephen Báthory left only twenty-nine cannons and twenty-five hook guns in the fortress.[28] Therefore, the above analysis is wrong. Moreover, the disparity between the number of soldiers and the number of firearms does not indicate poorly prepared defence plans. According to modern tactics, the commander should divide his soldiers into five groups, which alternately guarded the fortifications in twelve-hour shifts. In addition, each group should be divided into two teams that change on the walls every six hours. During an assault, all soldiers should defend the walls: four groups actively, and a fifth one should be at hand ready to replace the fighting musketeers.[29] If we adapt this model to continuous siege conditions, the crew at the walls should change every six hours. The city should be constantly defended by 1200 people, which matches the number of hook guns, harquebuses, and cannons. Of course, it was possible to send more soldiers to the walls, but this would affect the physical and mental condition of the defenders. The surplus forces were particularly needed during a prolonged siege, so that the soldiers could recover. We believe that the Muscovites were well prepared for a long-term defence, and the number of defenders ensured that the fortifications were effectively manned around the clock.

## 2 The War Council of 11 August 1579

After the reconnaissance and drawing up a plan of the fortifications and the surrounding area, a war council took place.[30] Luckily, we know the content of the discussion conducted during it, thanks to which we can analyse it through the prism of a cartographic source (Fig. 8.1). Three tactical assumptions were then presented:

1. The king's plan was to attack the Upper Castle directly. Stephen Báthory noticed that the key to the whole fortress was to conquer the central castle ("even if everything else has been captured, as long as the central castle holds, all the work and efforts will be of no use because the enemy will still be able

to continue the defence for a long time").[31] He rightly linked the fall of the Upper Castle with the final fall of the fortress. He was close to the truth when he thought that the conquest of Zapalotye would not bring the army any closer to triumph.

2. Gáspár Bekes's plan was to capture Zapalotye first. He pointed out that such a victory would boost the morale of the attacking soldiers and undermine the Muscovites' faith in the successful defence of the whole fortress. In addition, the town's residents would take refuge in the castles, which would make it difficult for the defenders to do their job. The townspeople would consume more food, diseases and social unrest might arise ("all the horrors of the siege will increase considerably if all defenders be put in one place").[32] Moreover, according to Bekes, the Palata was not a difficult river to cross and it was also possible to conquer the Upper Castle from this side.

3. Jan Zamoyski presented a plan to attack the Shooters' Castle from the east, i.e. the place where the town had existed before (until 1563).[33] He noted that the defensive complex was weaker there, and it was difficult for the Polatsk artillerymen to fire from this side ("not far from the top, but still outside the castle rim, there is a hump, which will make it much harder for the castle crew to shoot accurately").[34] This final piece of information illustrates particularly well the thinking proper to military engineers, who take into account the directions of firing and the blind field.

---

28  "Spisanie armaty Połockiej za króla Stefana", in: *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego* …, pp. 175–177.

29  K. Łopatecki, "Poglądy Floriana Zebrzydowskiego …", pp. 100–101.

30  R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, pp. 131–132. The passage quoted from Heidenstein is all the more important because this work was read and corrected by both Jan Zamoyski and Stephen Báthory. S. Łempicki, *Hetman Jan Zamoyski*, pp. 290–291, 297–299, 301. Cf. Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 128–130.

31  "quin a media eademque summa ac munitissima arce ordienda oppugnatio esse, propterea quidem quicquid in reliquis oppugnandis laboris ac temporis sumeretur, suprema salva, nec receptu hostibus nec obsidionis ex ea sustinendae spe defutura nulla de causa sumptim iri appareret." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 131 (transl. CKS).

32  "incommoda obsidionis omnibus in unum locum compulsis ea res auctura esset." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 132. (transl. CKS).

33  The erroneous location of the former town of Polatsk in the area between the Palata and the two castles on the northern side was marked by the publishers of *Polska sztuka wojenna w latach 1563–1647*, ed. Z. Spieralski, J. Wimmer, ed. T. Nowak (Wypisy Źródłowe do Historii Polskiej Sztuki Wojennej, 5), Warsaw 1961, p. 82.

34  "in collo ab imo acclivi ita positam, ut a summitate collis, quae ad exteriorem partem pertinebat, tanquam gibbus aliquis enatus telorum commode adiiciendorum iis, qui in arce erant facultatem praepediret." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 132 (transl. CKS).

In my opinion, the war council conducted on 11 August 1579 and reported by Heidenstein is one of the most interesting narratives concerning tactical planning from the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. All three commanders used cartographic materials but each drew attention to different issues.

We will try to evaluate these plans (cf. Fig. 8.2). By far the worst concept was presented by Stephen Báthory. It was not impossible to implement, but lacked in ergonomics. The king proposed to conquer the strongest point of the whole complex without first weakening its defensive qualities. Disregarding flanking fire consisting of artillery and hook guns located in Zapalotye, as well as in the Shooters' Castle was a very serious mistake in the art of war, or rather total ignorance.[35] The only excuse for Báthory was the need to act quickly. He might have been afraid of relief forces coming from the nearby Sokol Fortress, as well as of the arrival of the main army of Ivan the Terrible stationed near Pskov.[36]

We consider Jan Zamoyski's plan (or rather the plan he commissioned) to be the most interesting concept, even though it was not realized. He considered the fact that the Shooters' Castle had significant defensive weak points, and its fall would significantly reduce the defensive qualities of the Upper Castle. Of the three men, Zamoyski examined the condition of the fortifications in the most meticulous detail, and thus took into account possible artillery fields of fire and terrain conditions making the work of artillery stations impossible or difficult. Bekes's plan was also correct, taking into account immaterial factors, such as morale and discipline both among his own soldiers and the defenders of the fortress. He pointed out that by conquering the city, they would gain wider access to the castle, but he did not notice (or the chronicler did not mention) that the town was an important defence point for the cape of the Upper Castle ending with a triangular bastion (Figs 8.1, 8.2, 8.7). Ideally, the concepts

presented should be combined and implemented in the following order: 2-3-1.

The fact that no one proposed an attack wedging between the castles from the side of the meandering Palata speaks well of the three commanders. In the face of simultaneous fire from both castles, such an attack would have to have ended in disaster. It is clear that the attack could not have been carried out from the side of the Daugava, which at that point is 120 m wide. However, the reluctance to use the river island in siege operations (Dźwiński Ostrów), which the Muscovites did in 1563, is puzzling.[37] Perhaps the Muscovite command correctly diagnosed the risk of attack from the island on the old town (Veliky Posad) and rightly eliminated it. Nevertheless, deploying a troop on the island opposite the Upper Castle could have had positive results. After all, the firing was not to create a breach, but to set fire to the wooden fortifications.[38] On the plan of Polatsk from 1707, the fortification of the island is one of the key points of defence of the whole fortress.[39] It seems that in 1579 there was a lack of conceptual courage and perhaps engineering skills. In these circumstances, the reluctance of the soldiers to the solution of firing from the island was decisive. It should be added that on the print of Georg Mack the Elder that depicts the siege there are Hungarian troops attacking Zapalotye with the use of cannons on the other side of the Daugava.[40] This shows some possibilities for military operations, probably unused during the 1579 siege.

Ambitious theoretical plans were thwarted by the prose of life as the tactical discourse was suddenly interrupted by the soldiers' wilfulness. "When the king wanted to discuss more about it with Mielecki and the other senators, the German soldiers crossed the Palata without consulting anyone",[41] effectively beginning the siege (Fig. 8.3, letter d).

Thus, the key place for the implementation of Zamoyski's plan was taken over by the *Landsknechte* on their own initiative. The Germans chose an ideal position

---

35  The king, however, probably did not consider his concept to be wrong for the rest of his life. It is known that Heidenstein's work was read and corrected by Stephen Báthory. S. Łempicki, *Hetman Jan Zamoyski* …, p. 291.

36  Stephen Báthory might have been afraid of the main army of Ivan the Terrible, which was estimated at 200,000 soldiers. Meanwhile, as of 1 June 1579, the Muscovian army consisted of 27,969 people, including 3200 Musketeer and Cossacks, and 6000 Tatars and other nomadic peoples. In addition, the army did not have high morale, desertion was spreading, and further possibilities of mobilization were in decline. В.В. Пенской, "Героическая оборона Полоцка …", p. 66.

37  *Дополнения к Никоновской летописи*, pp. 352–353; Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 43.

38  Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 132–133.

39  Fortifying the island was necessary as a town was again located in the area of the Veliky Posad. See Российский государственный военноисторический архив, f. 846, op. 16, nr 22367; Г.В. Штыхов, С.В. Тарасов, Д.В. Дук, "Историография и источники" …, p. 23.

40  *Warhaffte Contrafactur* …, [p. 1]; S. Alexandrowicz, *Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej* …, p. 42; Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 133.

41  "Dum cum Meletio et senatoribus reliquis amplius deliberare rex vult, Germanus miles privato consilio Polottam transgressus." R. Heidenstein, *Rerrmum Polonicarum* …, p. 132 (transl. J.N.).
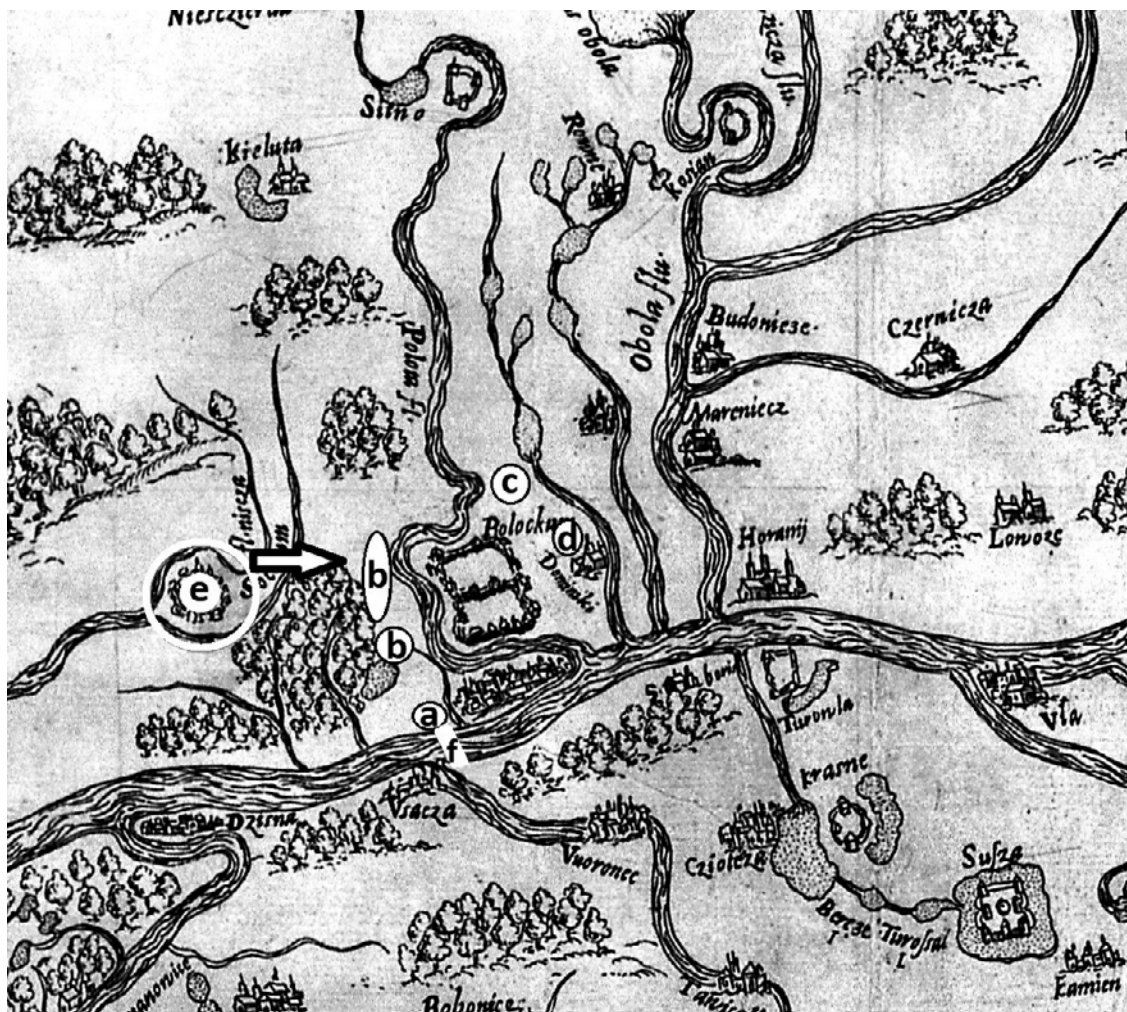
FIGURE 8.3   Schematic arrangement of military camps around Polatsk: a—Hungarian camp, b—Lithuanian army,
c—main royal camp, d—German camp, e—main Muscovian forces, f—bridge over the Daugava River
(PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (fragment), NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 2646)

("On the other side of the castle, on the River Palata, where it meets the Shooters' Castle, the Germans started to dig trenches from their camp towards the castle"),[42] but the regiment turned out to be too weak. Moreover, in the first phase of the siege, the German soldiers did not want to conduct any earthworks, considering such activities unworthy of the *Landsknechte*.[43] On this side of the fortress, the Muscovites were carrying out continuous excursions and counterattacks, which confirms that this place was the main cause of concern for them.[44] In turn,

Stephen Báthory's circle did not come out with any plan to build field fortifications that would repulse attacks on German positions. The counteraction was only apparent: Báthory ordered some of the Polish troops to prepare ambushes for the attacking Muscovites.[45] In my opinion, the tactical value of such a solution during the siege was low.

Another weakness of the German regiment was prosaic: its camp was located at the end of the supply route. The Daugava was used to deliver victuals (the bridge was probably also used as a port—Fig. 8.3, letter f), the first to benefit from the supplies were the Hungarians, then

42   "ab altera arcis parte trans Polottam, qua Sclopetariorum Arci coniugitur, Germani, quos eo loco consedisse dictum est, e suis castris munitiones versus Arcem agebant." *Ibidem*, p. 132 (transl. CKS and J.N.).

43   A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 47–48.

44   Only the strengthening of this place with a few Polish regiments guaranteed the progress of further fortification works. Bielski,

*Kronika*, p. 762; see also J.D. Solikowski, *Commentarius brevis* …, p. 118; *Relacja Daniela Hermana* …, p. 162; Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 138–139.

45   Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 762.

Lithuanians, Poles, and finally the Germans (Fig. 8.3, letters a–d).[46] Thus, the location with the greatest chance of success was not used properly due to a combination of various circumstances.

After the act of wilfulness by the German troops, the king, in order to prevent a conflict in the multi-ethnic army, agreed that the Hungarians should also choose their own location. As a result, Bekes's plan was implemented simultaneously with the German actions. And it brought instant results. On 12 August, Hungarian artillerymen were firing so hard and the earthworks were progressing so fast that the Muscovite command ordered the city to be set on fire without waiting for the attack.[47] There are, however, source indications that the beginning of the fire was caused by incendiary artillery shells and it was only in the face of a real threat of conquest that an order was issued to leave the town.[48]

We agree with the first hypothesis. In my opinion it is more probable that Muscovite commanders, fearing a sudden assault and the slaughter of the inhabitants, and above all the loss of artillery and hook guns in the towers, decided to leave Zapalotye. The evacuation was carried out smoothly. The townspeople went to the other two castles, using a bridge over the Palata River (which was later destroyed). They even managed to transport cannons. For several hours, the fire destroyed all the buildings, including the biggest churches, which left the attackers with disadvantageous conditions for trenching.[49]

## 3    Location of Military Camps

The choice of location and the manner in which the military camps were set up is one of the important topics raised by military theoreticians in the modern era.[50] A map should be helpful in deciding on these two questions. In the case analysed, the Hungarian and German camps were certainly set up on the grassroots initiative of the soldiers, and not because of a decision from the war council. It should be noted that these arbitrary actions were not the result of chaos and ignorance, but were a manifestation of the combat experience of professional soldiers who recognized places that could be conquered (Figs 8.1, 8.2, 8.3). Presenting the commanders with a fait accompli resulted from a simple calculation. Only the capture of a fortification during the assault allowed for the looting of goods. Capitulation excluded this possibility. It should not be too surprising then that when ten Muscovites came to negotiate a possible surrender, the Hungarians "slashed away at them and only one managed to escape; they did so because they were against accepting capitulation as they expected impressive loot if they took the castle by storm".[51]

Did Stephen Báthory realize his basic tactical objective and cut the defenders off from outside help? At that time there were no lines of contravallation or circumvallation, but the camps could play the same role. And so they did, as was meticulously described by chroniclers (see Fig. 8.1). Joachim Bielski wrote:

"first on the right side of the Daugava River were the Hungarians, [further on—K.Ł.] the Lithuanians, whose tents stretched far away from the forest to the Palata, to an empty monastery, and behind the Palata was the Polish army with the king; at the end, on the left bank of the Daugava near the mounds [*kurhany*[52]—K.Ł.] were the Germans, who marched out [of the main camp] led by Rozrażowski and Weier, as well as 300 margraves from

---

46    *Ibidem*, pp. 762–763; R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 134; H. Rozrażewski do M. Kromera, Wilno 4 IX 1579, in: *Korespondencja Hieronima Rozrażewskiego*, vol. 1: *1567–2 VII 1582*, ed. P. Czaplewski, Toruń 1937, pp. 297–298.

47    Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 133; В.В. Новодворский, *Борьба за Ливонию* …, pp. 98–99; В.В. Пенской, "Героическая оборона Полоцка …", p. 68.

48    A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 48–50. Maciej Stryjkowski noted that Zapalotye was captured and many Muscovites died during the assault. M. Stryjkowski, *Kronika polska*, vol. 2, ed. M. Malinowski, Warsaw 1846, p. 428.

49    "Kronika z czasów króla Stefana Batorego 1575–1582", ed. H. Barycz, in: *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, vol. 3, Cracow 1939, p. 409. In the ZUM THURN MAP, Stanisław Alexandrowicz interprets the scene with the people outside the walls as the townspeople of Zapalotye after the burning of the city, "awaiting the end of the siege" ("oczekujących w tej sytuacji na zakończenie oblężenia"), S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne …", p. 10. (transl. CJK). This was not possible according to the law of war, as the population captured during the fight was treated as loot. The sources unequivocally state that "the entire town population was admitted to the spacious castle" ("do obszernego zamku przyjęli całą ludność miejską"), J.D. Solikowski, *Commentarius brevis* …, pp. 117–118. (transl. CJK).

50    S. Marycjusz z Pilzna, *O szkołach czyli akademiach ksiąg dwoje*, transl. A. Danysz, ed. H. Barycz, Wrocław 1955, p. 71; S. Sarnicki, *Księgi hetmańskie* …, pp. 182–183; *Die Kriegsordnung des Markgrafen zu Brandenburg Ansbach und Herzogs zu Preussen Albrecht des Älteren—Königsberg 1555*, vol. 2, ed. H.J. Bömelburg, B. Chiari, M. Thomae, Braunschweig 2006, pp. 264–265; J. Tarnowski, *Consilium rationis bellicae*, ed. T.M. Nowak, Warsaw 1987, p. 167.

51    "rozsiekali, jeden im tylko ledwo uszedł, abowiem nie radzimy byli zgodzie dla łupów których sie tam niemałych spodziewali gdyby zamek szturmem wzięli." Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 764 (transl. CKS).

52    Cf. Д.У. Дук, *Полацк і палачане* …, pp. 107–108.

Asbach; and **so from one bend of the Daugava to another was Polatsk encircled and besieged".**[53]

Heidenstein was even more precise, to the point that he recorded the chronology of the founding of soldiers' camps. First, the German camp was set up, then the Hungarian, and later the royal one.[54] The chroniclers mentioned the following topographical elements: a bridge built on the Daugava River, a forest, a monastery, the Palata River, a cemetery. All this was depicted on Pachołowiecki's work (Fig. 8.1).

Apart from the Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and German camps, three smaller camps without names are marked on the print, as well as clusters of chaotically scattered tents of Lithuanian troops.[55] Written sources confirm the accuracy of this layout. In addition to the four main camps described in detail, Heidenstein noted "various

volunteer troops".[56] In particular, he mentioned a separate camp located next to the Germans, which was intended for the late armies of Podolia and Ukraine, including the detachment of Prince Konstanty Ostrogski.[57] Troops of the Lithuanian gentry and *levée en masse* set up camps over a vast area north of the city.

Thus, the print quite precisely reflects the chaotic deployment of troops.[58] Taking into account the execution of the plan for the Polatsk area and the war council carried out earlier, it is almost certain that the sites for the royal camp, Lithuanian camps, and the camps set up later were chosen carefully, based on the existing plan. The tactical thought is clearly visible here. First of all, such a deployment of troops cut off Polatsk from reinforcements, especially from the Sokol fortress, to which a road led from the north.[59] The Hungarian camp was also protected by the pontoon bridge built on the Daugava, which was the only place to cross the river. The Lithuanian troops, on the other hand, were located on the route leading to the Sokol Fortress and near the pontoon bridge built on the Daugava; they were used primarily to control the rest of the Polatsk region, conquer castles, and provide protection from Muscovite reinforcements. Such an arrangement of camps secured the best possible mobility and operational capacity (Fig. 8.3).

The main royal camp draws attention both on the print and the ZUM THURN MAP (Fig. 8.3, letter c, Figs 8.4a and 8.4b). Of course, in both cases it is a sort of ellipsis. According to written accounts, the tents were set up in three rows with the senatorial and royal ones located in the middle. As a result, there were three main thoroughfares and two main transverse paths leading from the centre of the camp to its gates. The camp was protected with

---

53  "naprzód po prawej stronie Dźwiny byli Węgrowie, więc [dalej—K.Ł.] Litwa, z których namioty rozciągnęły się daleko od boru aż do Połoty po monaster pusty, za Połotą zasię polskie wojsko z królem stanęło, na ostatku Niemcy przeciwko Kuranom [kurhanom—K.Ł.] po lewej stronie Dźwiny, które Rozrażowski z Weierem wywiódł, a margrabie z Asbachu też trzysta było; i tak od roga aż do roga Dźwiny kołem Połock był oblężony." Bielski, *Kronika*, pp. 761–762 (transl. CKS). Marcin Bielski died in 1575, so the fourth edition of the chronicle (from 1597 on) was published by his son Joachim, who added later events under the name of his father. D. Śnieżko, "Swojskie i obce w kronice uniwersalnej (przykład Marcina Bielskiego)", *Teksty Drugie. Teoria literatury, krytyka, interpretacja* 1 (2003), p. 24.

54  The deployment was as follows: "From Disna towards Polatsk: opposite Zapalatye on the Daugava River, the Hungarians had spread out in a place convenient for collecting provisions, as the lower course of the river was safe and, moreover, there was a bridge built the tried-and-tested way from a boat. Behind the Hungarians, but still on this side of the Palata, was Mikołaj Radziwiłł, the voivode of Vilnius, with his son Krzysztof and the Lithuanian mercenary troops under their command" ("Secundum flumen a Disna Polotiam euntibus versus oppidum Sapolottam ad Dunam flumen primi Ungari consederant loco ad commeatus excipiendos, cumprimis opportunato; quod inferior fluminis pars pacata erat, omnesque subvectiones in cum fere locum concurrerent, tum Duna etiam ponte nota ratione ex navibus composito ibidem stratus esset. Infra Ungaros cis Polottam Nicolaus Radivilus palatinus Vilnensis cum Christophoro filio, subque eorum imperio stipendiariae copiae Lithuanicae"). Beyond the Palata River, the royal camp was located, and further behind it "was the German camp, on the spot described above" ("castra Germani loco, quo ante estendimus, consederant.") R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum ...*, p. 131 (transl. J.N.).

55  See Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 131; here, Kupisz described the "Siege of Polatsk in August 1579" in a cartographic manner. In the ZUM THURN MAP, only three camps are recorded, and the German one is missing.

56  "inde diversae voluntariorum." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum ...*, p. 131.

57  *Ibidem*, p. 131.

58  It should be stressed that the camps were set up separately not only due to engineering and organizational issues. Rather, it had to do with the diversity of nationalities, which translated into separate command as well as different applicable laws. The units of the common movement *levée en masse* were particularly reluctant to be stationed in a common camp with mercenary soldiers. J. Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy ...*, pp. 62, 64; K. Łopatecki, *"Disciplina militaris" w wojskach Rzeczypospolitej do połowy XVII wieku*, Białystok 2012, pp. 222–223; idem, *Organizacja, prawo i dyscyplina ...*, Białystok 2013, pp. 196–197, 216, 229–230.

59  On 1 August 1579, a relief troop under the command of Boris Shein, Fyodor Sheremetev, and Mikhail Lykov left the main forces of Ivan the Terrible, who led 4000–5000 soldiers, including 2000 Don Cossacks. This army, due to its inability to reach Polatsk, was stationed in Sokol Castle. В.В. Пенской, "Героическая оборона Полоцка ...", pp. 66–67.
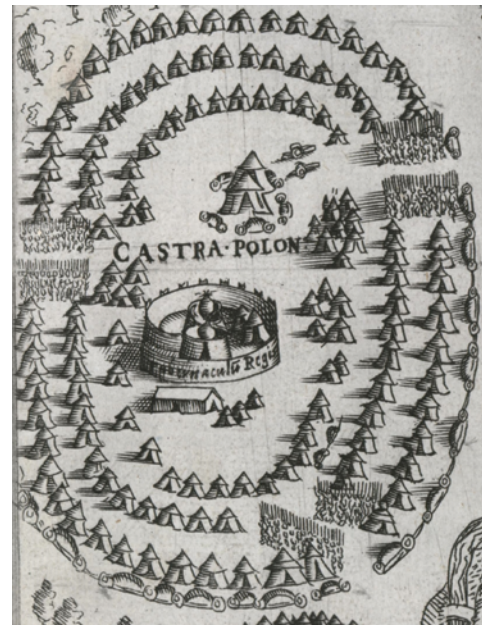
FIGURES 8.4A–8.4B    The royal camp in ZUM THURN MAP and PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* (5b: fragment of Fig. 8.1)

chain-bound wagons, possibly reinforced with ditches and earthworks.[60] It is very well depicted in the print: it shows three rows of tents located around the central tent of the king and the senators, and the whole camp is protected by chained wagons (Fig. 8.4a). The difference concerns the gates: Paulus zum Thurn marked two (Fig. 8.4a), while in Pachołowiecki's print there are three exits from the camp (Fig. 8.4b). In my opinion Pachołowiecki's depiction is correct in this respect. It shows a scene that took place on 29 August, when the king with the royal cavalry regiment left the camp and crossed to the other side of the Palata River (see Figs 8.1, 8.5c for further details). Fig. 8.4b shows a fragment of the river and a bridge thrown over it. Such an arrangement is an example of adapting the shape and internal structure of a military camp to the current tactical situation. Preparing for a possible battle required securing the possibility of retreating to the camp. In addition, in the centre of Pachołowiecki's print there is an artillery quarter and probably a square with a market, which is in line with the solutions in place at that time (but which is not recorded in the sources).[61]

The ZUM THURN MAP is interesting because of the shape of the tents and soldiers' armament, but it has no cartographic value (Fig. 8.5a). It is worth noting, however,

that in this illustration, the chained wagons are not only outside the camp, but also around the inner square. Such solutions were recommended in Jan Tarnowski's texts on military science. The additional row of wagons inside the camp is important information.[62] However, the representation of the camp in general is not precise.

The exceptional meticulousness with which the royal camp is depicted supports the hypothesis that it was set up based on some earlier plans. Such plans were probably created by the military engineer Petrus Francus. As follows from the justification given in the diploma of nobility he received in 1582, he was praised for finding appropriate positions for military camps.[63]

## 4    Battle Formation at Polatsk on 29 August 1579

Pachołowiecki's print presenting the formation of Stephen Báthory's army was not the first such source created at Polatsk (Fig. 1). In manuscript sources, there is a representation of the formation of the Polish troops commanded by Stanisław Leśniowolski, who camped for three

---

60    R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 132; A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 45–47.

61    T. Zarębska, *Początki polskiego piśmiennictwa urbanistycznego*, Warsaw—Łódź 1986, pp. 243–246.

62    T. Zarębska, *Początki polskiego piśmiennictwa* …, pp. 244–245.

63    B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, p. 282; B. Kalicki, "Nobilitacje króla Stefana na wyprawie moskiewskiej 1579–1581", p. 97.
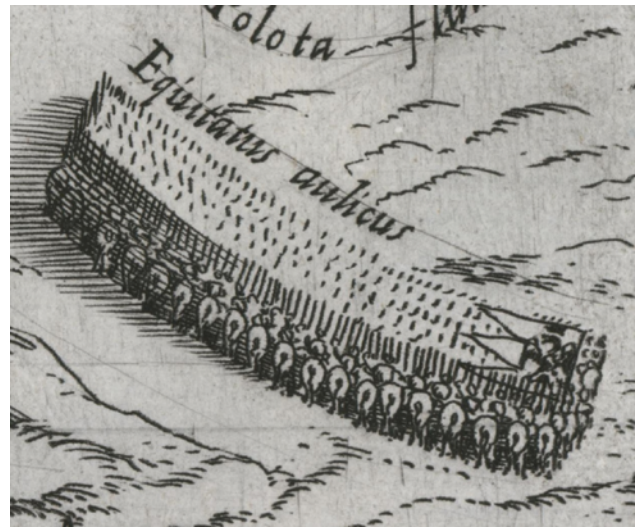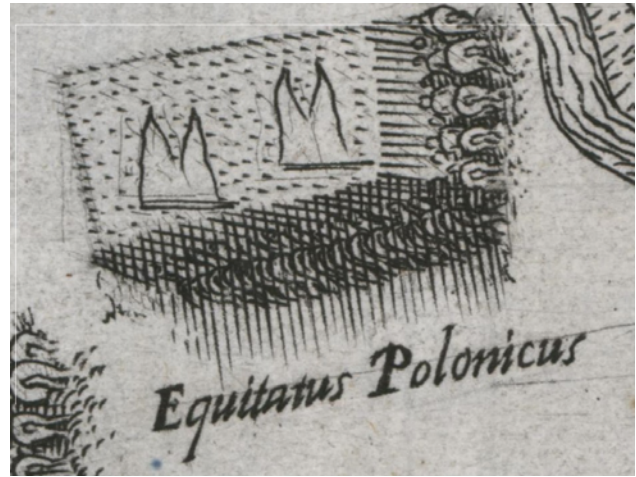
FIGURES 8.5A–8.5D Battle formation around Polatsk (*ordre de bataille*) on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*: 5a—German infantry, 5b—Polish cavalry, 5c—royal cavalry, 5d—Lithuanian cavalry, 5d—Hungarian cavalry, 5d—Hungarian infantry (fragments of Fig. 8.1)

weeks outside Polatsk in 1564.[64] The presentation of an overview of the armies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 1567 military expedition to Radaškoviči, in which King Sigismund Augustus also took part, can be used for comparison. Both these documents certify that in the 1560s plans of battle formation were made for the Polish and Lithuanian armies.

It is worth posing the following question here: Did Stephen Báthory really order the formation of an army of more than 35,000 men under the walls of Polatsk and what was the purpose of this?[65] It is obvious that arranging such an army in battle array required a considerable organizational effort. The first thing that comes to mind is an artistic vision created by Pachołowiecki, whose aim would be to show the power of Stephen Báthory's army. However, if such a situation actually occurred, it should undoubtedly have been recorded in historical sources. The answer can be found in Reinhold Heidenstein and Joachim Bielski's works. They write that on 29 August the fortifications of the Upper Castle caught fire from an intense fusillade.[66] It was not extinguished; in fact, it was expanding. To preclude the expected relief,

"or to prevent the [castle] crew from carrying out a desperate counterattack, having left the necessary unit to guard the camp, [the king—K.Ł.] put all the troops on the field in battle formation. He himself, surrounded by the royal cavalry so that he could see everything better, crossed the Palata because there was a road to Sokol and the only possible way of the counterattack [from the castle]".[67] (Fig. 8.5)

The details on the print correspond to the course of events of 29 August: the assault on the Upper Castle (Figs 8.2 and 8.8), the formation of the royal cavalry regiment on the other side of the Palata River (in relation to the camp—Fig. 8.4b). It is also worth noting that Stanisław Pachołowiecki marks this day on the graphic, although in fact the defenders capitulated a day later, on 30 August.

Sources prove that the army was indeed arranged in this way on 29 August. Considering the plans for the formation of the army made in 1564 and 1567, it can be assumed that the plan for the battle array was also created at Polatsk. Stanisław Pachołowiecki re-applied a plan of the battle formation on the map of the siege of Polatsk, creating a complex composition. This is the first presentation of battle array that takes into account the topography of the area to such a degree. The *ordre de bataille* depicted previously (with the exception of the Battle of Orsha in 1514) completely ignored the topographical aspect.

The propagandistic potential of the plan of the battle formation that was put on the copperplate in 1580 was not exploited, even though the army was presented in the foreground (Figs 8.1, 8.5a–5d). Unfortunately, the work was not provided with a legend which should have included the characteristics (number) of the units and the commanders. Both in the descriptive and the visual layer, the propaganda message focused solely on Stephen Báthory. His tent (with the caption "Tabernaculum Regis"—Fig. 8.5b), as well as the heraldic flags and banners of arms carried by the Hungarian infantry and cavalry with his coat of arms, Wolf's Teeth, were given prominence. Among the twenty-one battle standards and banners depicted on this map, this family badge appears eight times (Figs 8.5d, 8.6a, and 8.6b). From a vexillological perspective, the way the Hungarian cavalry's battle standard was made may be interesting.[68] Should we believe Stanisław Pachołowiecki, three pieces of fabric were cut out and hung on a flagpole giving the shape of wolf's fangs and thus significantly reducing the weight of the object.[69]

---

64    National Library, shelfmark 6609, ff. 29v–30. It should be noted that in 1564 the Polish reinforcement corps constituted only a small part of the gathered Lithuanian forces. The depiction of the battle formation represented only the Polish troops.

65    The whole armed forces, which were stationed at Polatsk, are estimated at 40,000 soldiers. H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie …", part 2, p. 104. It should be remembered, however, that some of the forces may have been on guard or looting food from nearby villages, and finally there must have been a loss in numbers as a result of desertion, illness, and fighting. All we know is that there was a guard of several hundred in the vicinity of Sokol Castle. Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 763. Cf. Kupisz, *Połock*, p. 128.

66    The arson of the fortifications was conducted by, among others, the Lviv townsman (a brazier) Walenty Wąsowicz, who was later ennobled for this act and given the surname Połotyński. Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 763; M. Stryjkowski, *Kronika …*, p. 429; *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae …*, pp. 194–195, poz. 433.

67    "ex arce simul eruptio tentaretur, exercitum universum castris productum, iusta peditum manu praesidio castris relicta, sub signis in campo constituit. Ipse aulico equitatu praesidio assumpto, quo melius in omnes partes animo occurreret, Polottam transgreditur; quod et Sokolensis via illac duceret et eruptio si qua tenteretur, ab illa parte maxime timenda esset."

R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 135 (transl. CKS). This narration was repeated almost word for word by Joachim Bielski: Bielski, *Kronika*, pp. 763–764. Jan Dymitr Solikowski also wrote: "Thanks to the vigilance of both the king and Mielecki, the troops from Sokol could not provide any help to them [i.e. the besieged—J.N.]" ("Exercitu Sokolensi ob diligentem et Mielecii, et regis observationem opem nullam eis ferente"). J.D. Solikowski, *Commentarius brevis …*, p. 118. (transl. J.N.).

68    Cf. J. Ptak, *Weksylologia polska. Zarys problematyki*, Warsaw 2016, pp. 103–119.

69    The infantry troops had a traditionally shaped banner with Báthory's coat of arms—Figs 8.5d, 8.6a.

FIGURES 8.6A–8.6J Heraldic flags and banners presented on PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* (fragments of Fig. 8.1)

Antonio Martinelli, an Italian witness of the campaign in 1579 and the secretary of Nuncio Caligari, pointed out that the battle flags of the Polish and Lithuanian cavalry regiments were small, and the material was most often decorated with colourful patterns (usually a chequy). They generally featured a coat of arms and possibly a motto. In Martinelli's opinion, there was only one great flag in the whole army—the royal one, with the Polish coat of arms on one side and the cross and motto "In hoc signo vinces" on the other.[70] It was probably this flag that Pachołowiecki depicted at the royal cavalry regiment. On it, there is a crowned eagle bearing (probably) the Polish coat of arms on its chest (Fig. 8.6g).[71]

The battle formation according to the 1579 plan was as follows (from the west—Fig. 8.1): the Hungarian infantry, the Hungarian cavalry, the Lithuanian cavalry [I] (before which there were two Polish infantry regiments), the Lithuanian cavalry [II], the Lithuanian cavalry [III] (Fig. 8.5d), the royal cavalry (Fig. 8.5c), the Polish cavalry [I] (Fig. 8.5b), the Polish cavalry [II], the Polish cavalry [III]. Additionally, closer to the Shooters' Castle, on a hill on the bank of the Daugava River, two German infantry regiments were located (Fig. 8.5a). The print also shows the Hungarian royal infantry marked in the royal camp (Fig. 8.4b).

The troops were arranged in a semicircle (from one point on the bank of Daugava to another), in one echelon. The troops were merged into regiments: three regiments of Polish and Lithuanian cavalry each, two regiments of German and Polish infantry, and one of Hungarian and royal infantry each. Most of the infantry stood on the riverbanks in the immediate vicinity of the Hungarian and German camps. The Polish infantry units preceded the largest regiment, that is, the Lithuanian cavalry [I]. We think that the latter could have been a formation composed in part of the Lithuanian *levée en masse*.[72] This unit has a flag with Pahonia (Fig. 8.6e), the coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and most of its

---

70    A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 37–38: "Non vanno sotto stendardo grande sia quanto si voglia numerosa compagnia d'ussari, ma sotto una banderola piccola dipinta a scacchi, o ad altro simile capriccio, o con qualche motto della scrittura. Hanno trombetti per dare i segni necessarii, un' solo stendardo grande si vede, che è quello della corte con l'arme di Polonia da una parte dal'altro la croce con il motto 'In hoc signo vinces.'"

71    It is worth comparing the object depicted by Pachołowiecki (Fig. 8.6g) with the great royal flag shown on the Stockholm Roll, also known as the Polish Roll (*Rolka sztokholmska*) from 1605. On the roll, the banner is held by the Grand Standard-Bearer of the Crown Sebastian Sobieski. In both cases the shape of the banner is identical, but the emblems differ. Z. Żygulski, "Uwagi o Rolce Sztokholmskiej", *Studia do Dziejów Dawnego Uzbrojenia i Ubioru Wojskowego* 9–10 (1988), after p. 8; The Royal Castle in Warsaw, inventory no. ZKW/1528/139. The reproduction of the fragment of the Stockholm Roll with the banner in: J. Niedźwiedź, *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Vilnius: Forms of Writing and Rhetorical Spaces in the City*,

---

Turnhout 2023, p. 500, https://www.brepolsonline.net/doi/epdf /10.1484/M.USML-EB.5.135890?role=tab (accessed 20.07.2024).

72    Henryk Kotarski estimated that the Lithuanian common consisted of 8200 people, and the magnate troops of 8300 people, H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie …", part 2, p. 104.

constituent voivodeships, as well as the Columns of Gediminas (Fig. 8.6d), the symbol which could be used on the flag by the troops of the knyazes.[73] One of the flags features the Serpent of the Sforzas (*Biscione*—Fig. 8.6c), also used by Queen Anna Jagiellon.[74] The location of infantry units before this grouping may indicate that they were afraid of the low morale and standard of training of soldiers belonging to the Lithuanian cavalry regiment.

There is no precise information as to who commanded these troops. Undoubtedly, the royal cavalry regiment was led by Jan Zborowski, the Hungarian cavalry regiment was led by Gáspár Bekes, and the German infantry by Krzysztof Rozdrażewski and Marcin Weiher. Unfortunately, we do not know who actually headed the individual Transylvanian infantry regiment or the Lithuanian and Polish cavalry regiments. Among possible commanders we should mention Mikołaj Mielecki, Jan Zamoyski, Mikołaj Radziwiłł, and Krzysztof "the Thunder" Radziwiłł.[75] However, none of them is confirmed to have been in command of any of the units at Polatsk. What is more, the number of individual regiments is higher than the number of commanders mentioned here.

Henryk Kotarski calculated the manpower of individual units. The regiments set up numbered about 1500–2000 soldiers (except for the Lithuanian regiment I, which was twice as big). The three Polish regiments that were stationed in *castra hiberna* (winter quarters) in the winter of 1579/1580 had 1485, 1620, and 1735 soldiers, the royal regiments consisted of 1934 people, and the Hungarian cavalry regiment had 1577 horses.[76] It is therefore evident that troops grouped into regiments (of similar size) had begun to have not only operational importance (facilitating the movement of troops) but also a tactical role.

Comparing this solution with the plan of battle formation of the Crown army at Polatsk in 1564 and in Radaškoviçy in 1567, we can observe some similarities, but the differences are much greater.[77] In all three cases, the infantry was set up on the sides (in 1567 it did not play any major role). In all the schemes there are also detachments of troops consisting of several or more regiments. In the 1560s, the old Polish order of battle is clearly visible: the main forces were part of the frontal detachment to engage the enemy's forces in a fight, while the chief detachment was to break through the enemy's line and be a reserve. On the wings, much smaller auxiliary units were set up in three echelons; they consisted of infantry and light cavalry.[78] The formation of the troops was therefore complicated, the units were very diverse, and their arrangement was multilayered. In 1564, the Polish army had a total of 4900 cavalrymen and 3700 infantrymen.[79] At that time (apart from single "scattered" units), there were three main echelons of the cavalry: the front forces consisted of 1600 soldiers, auxiliary detachments of 900, and the chief detachment of 800. The formation used at Radaškoviçy differed even more from the one at Polatsk. For example, the leading detachment consisted of 6364 soldiers.[80] In 1579, the old formation was abandoned and the regiments were basically arranged in one line. This does not mean that there was no rearguard. On the contrary, the topography of the area made it impossible to use all the regiments at the same time, so only some units took part in a potential fight, while others provided support. Polish troops were directed against the attack from the garrison stationed in Polatsk, and the remaining forces were to ward off the potential relief. The tactical use of military camps is interesting too. Thus, the print bears testimony to the revolution in tactics on the battlefield, which consisted in a considerable shallowing of the battle formation, which was a characteristic feature of, among others, the array of Lithuanian troops during the Battle of Kircholm in 1605.[81]

73 The *levée en masse* (Pl. also *służba ziemska*) used primarily flags with Pahonia. See the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, inventory no. 24254, 24255 (battle flags of Hrodna and Slonim poviats from around 1621); K. Łopatecki, *Organizacja* …, pp. 493–494; А.К. Цітоў, *Геральдыка Беларусі: (ад пачатку—да канца XX стагоддзя)*, Мінск 2010, pp. 92–121. For more information on the Columns of Gediminas, see J. Rogulski, "Treści propagandowe herbu złożonego księcia Szymona Samuela Sanguszki z 1626 roku", in: *Insignia et splendor: Heraldyka w służbie rodów szlacheckich i instytucji Kościoła*, ed. W. Drelicharz, Cracow 2011, pp. 60–61, 66, 71–76.

74 A. Januszek-Sieradzka, "Anna Jagiellonka jako fundatorka wyposażenia kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej", *Teka Komisji Historycznej: Oddział Lubelski PAN* 13 (2016), pp. 44, 46, 51.

75 H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie …", part 2, pp. 87–100; cf. R. Przybyliński, *Hetman wielki* …, pp. 167–172.

76 H. Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie …", part 2, pp. 87–89, 114.

77 National Library in Warsaw, shelfmark 6609, ff. 29v–30; AGAD, The Radziwiłł Archive, I, shelfmark 7789.

78 M. Plewczyński, *Obertyn 1531*, Warsaw 1994, pp. 50–51. On the battle formation of the Polish and Lithuanian army in 1512 and 1514, see S. Herbst, "Najazd tatarski 1512", *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948), p. 224; M. Nagielski, "Orsza 1514", *Kwartalnik Bellona* 3(96) (2014), p. 111.

79 *Polska sztuka wojenna* …, pp. 23–25.

80 Cf. G. Lesmaitis, *Schemat przeglądu wojska* …, pp. 35 ff.

81 M. Balcerek, "Liczebność, skład i szyk wojska hetmana litewskiego Jana Karola Chodkiewicza w bitwie pod Kircholmem na *ordre de bataille* Erika Dahlberga", *Zapiski Historyczne* 74 (2009), 3, p. 88.

## 5 The Use of Pachołowiecki's Plan for the Siege

It seemed that Bekes's plan presented at the war council on 11 August 1579 would bring spectacular success and the whole fortress would be conquered in no time. Immediately after the destruction of the city (12 August), the king sent a letter calling the defenders to surrender. The Polotians demanded a day's delay. During this time the weather conditions became very bad: it was constantly raining, the ground became muddy, ditches were filling up with water, and the Palata became a rushing river difficult to cross.[82] No wonder that after that day the Muscovian side refused to surrender, and the position of Stephen Báthory's army deteriorated significantly.[83] The king, angry at the change of fate brought by the weather, described the surrounding element in following words: "Non pluebat, sed fluebat".[84] It is worth mentioning that there was constant rainfall throughout the siege.[85] Unusual atmospheric phenomena are confirmed, among others, by the Livonian chroniclers. Balthasar Rüssow reported that in the summer of 1579 it rained continuously, to the point that there were only three dry days in five weeks.[86] The ceaseless rains were also mentioned in the *Ode de expugnatione Polottei* (*Ode on the Conquest of Polatsk*) by Jan Kochanowski.[87]

Between 13 and 18 of August, the siege operations at both castles were unsuccessful. The focus was primarily on the central fortifications.[88] From the side of Zapalotye, covered by ruins, the Hungarians dug trenches reaching the walls of the Upper Castle and set them on fire in three places—however, the rain and the self-sacrifice of the defenders allowed the Muscovites to extinguish the

fire.[89] It was essential for the assault on the Upper Castle to build bridges over the Palata.[90] Even at the beginning of the siege (contrary to Bekes's opinion) the river was not easy to cross as "although it is narrow, the banks are very steep and the current is deep, the bank was also quite high where the ramparts were, and even higher where the castle was".[91] Due to the heavy rainfall, "it had risen so much that not only was the infantry unable to cross it on foot, but also cavalry would not manage to do it without much risk".[92] Masses of water flowing down the river and artillery shelling destroyed all the bridges built so far. According to the sources, "only one of them survived, built just after the arrival at Polatsk by Jan Bornemissa[93] between the trenches and the stronghold that was stormed".[94] Heidenstein pointed out that

"it occurred, that it was uncomfortable for the soldiers to walk over one bridge to assault the castle. Having gathered several fishing boats, Bekes built a new bridge. But this bridge was soon destroyed by the cannon fire of the enemy and only the one mentioned earlier endured, but this one, too, still under gunfire, was in great danger".[95]

Bornemissa's bridge was the key to conquering the fortress. We should add that without the destruction of Zapalotye this object could not have survived because it was under direct artillery fire (Fig. 8.7). However, in the new situation, the bridge was in a dead field and could not be attacked by guns placed in the towers of the Shooters' Castle or in the eastern and southern parts

---

82  For more information on the influence of weather conditions on warfare in the 16th century, see R. Szmytka, "Walka z wiatrakami. Antyhiszpańskie powstanie w Niderlandach jako konflikt asymetryczny w perspektywie historii środowiskowej", *Prace Historyczne* 143 (2016), pp. 668–681.

83  Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 762; A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 49–52.

84  *Ibidem*, p. 57.

85  J. Zamoyski to K. Radziwiłł, Polatsk 18 August 1579, in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego …*, vol. 1, p. 356.

86  B. Rüssow, *Livländische Chronik: Aus dem Plattdeutschen übertragen und mit kurzen Anmerkungen versehen durch Eduard Pabst*, Rewal 1845, p. 275, pkt. 23.

87  See J. Niedźwiedź, "Źródła, konteksty i okoliczności powstania *Ody o zdobyciu Połocka* Jana Kochanowskiego", *Terminus* 18 (2016), 4 (41), pp. 388–390.

88  At that time, firing from the castle cost Stephen Báthory an increasing number of troops; for example, on 15 August the Hungarian infantry captain Michał Wadysz was killed. *Kronika z czasów króla Stefana Batorego …*, p. 409.

89  A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 57–58.

90  *Ibidem*, p. 57.

91  "acz to rzeka wąska, jedno że zabrzeżysta barzo i głęboka a i brzeg dosyć był wysoki gdzie szańce były, a jeszcze dobrze wyższy gdzie zamek." Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 762 (transl. CKS and J.N.).

92  "ex his Polotta amnis tantum aquarum conceperat, ut qui antea pedibus non incommode transiretur, tum ab equite sine periculo, transmitti non posset." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum …*, p. 133.

93  For more information on Jan (Janosz) Bornemissa (Bornemisza), see J. Reychman, *Studia z dziejów polsko-węgierskich stosunków literackich i kulturalnych*, Wrocław 1969, p. 176; *Monumenta Hungarorum in Polonia (1575–1668)*, vol. 1: *Rationes curiae Stephani Báthory regis Poloniae historiam Hungariae et Transylvaniae illustrantes (1576–1586)*, ed. A. Veress, Budapest 1918, pp. 36, 41, 66, 70–71, 92–93, 106, 120, 123, 126.

94  "Unus tamen ab initio statim, postquam ad Polotiam accessum fuisset, a Joanne Bornemissa ad molendinum quoddam exustum sublicis aliquot sum aqua repertis, trabibusque aliis super eas iniectis, inter munitiones ipsas ac propugnaculum, quod oppugnabatur subitario opere factus perstiterat." *Ibidem* (transl. CKS).

95  *Ibidem* (transl. CKS).
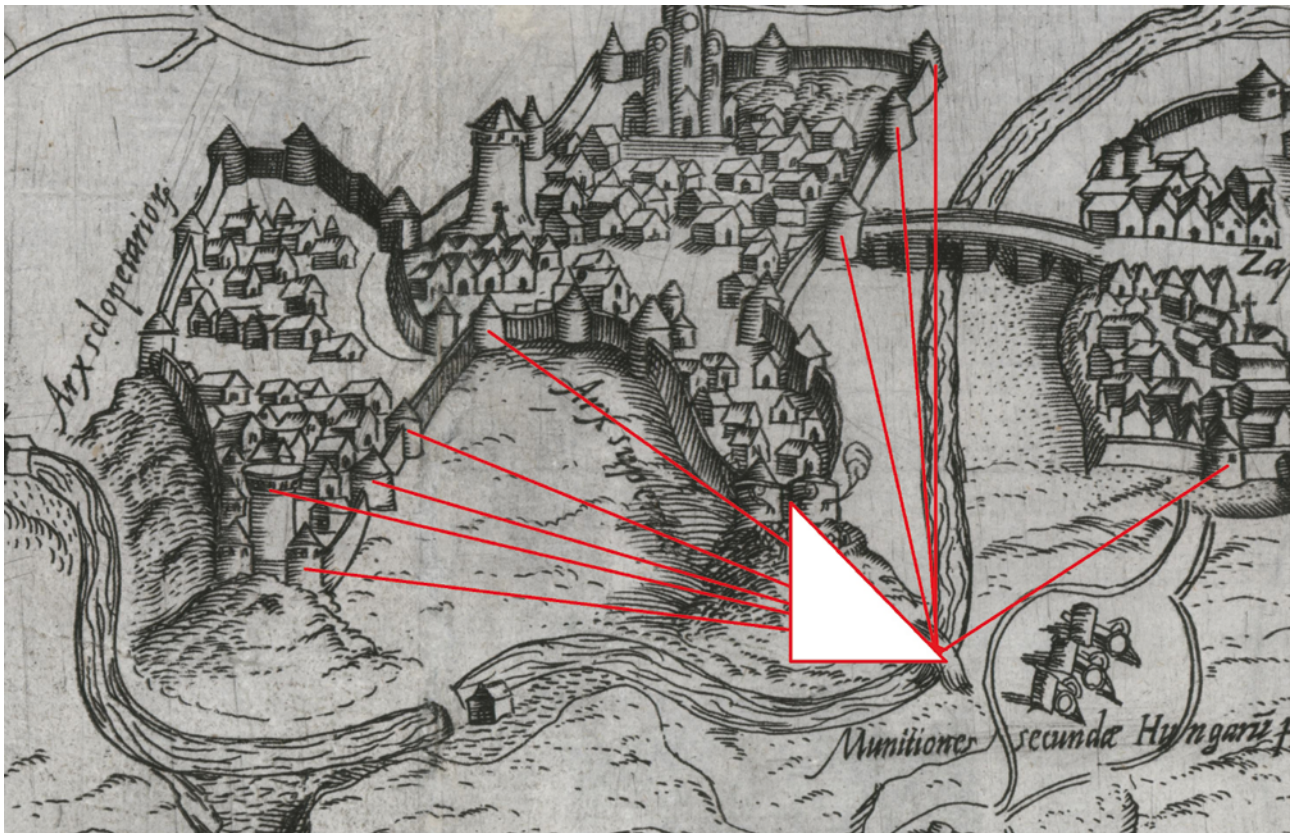
FIGURE 8.7   Places from which it was possible to fire at the bridge built by Jan Bornemissa (fragment of Fig. 8.1)

of the Upper Castle. It was impossible to reach the target from the two bastions that flanked the triangular bastion because they were located too high on top of a steep hill, at the foot of which the bridge was located. Effective firing could only be carried out from the three western towers of the Upper Castle, but it was difficult to aim at it from the nearest one, and the other two were far from the bridge. In addition, all three towers had to defend the castle from the siege operations carried out by the Hungarians in the area of Zapalotye, and the view of the bridge was partially covered by the remains of the mill.[96] Upon closer investigation of the print, it seems that there was hardly a better place to build a crossing. Any other location involved the possibility of direct fire. This in turn suggests that the location of places for the construction of bridges was determined with the use of maps. Pachołowiecki meticulously recorded all of them:

six bridges over the Palata, one over the "trench", and one pontoon crossing over the Daugava.

The command focused on destroying the most protruding part of the fortifications, that is, the powerful sharp-edged bastion flanked by two roundels. This object was not mentioned during the war council on 11 August, so it is more probable that long observation convinced the commanders of the weakness of this element. Apart from the Shooters' Castle, which was under German attack, it was the place with the greatest chance of conquest. At first glance, the bastion was an impressive fortification, but in fact, the high slope gave the attackers an advantage: the flanking fire from the Shooters' Castle could only be effective from the eastern side of the triangular bastion (Fig. 8.7). Its form, adapted to the terrain, allowed one to walk quite safely up the western slope of the hill (Fig. 8.8b). None of the other towers of the Upper Castle could provide the defenders with help.[97]

---

96    "Cumque per unum pontem non satis commode miles ad oppugnationem iturus videretur, Bekesius cymbis aliquot piscatoriis depressis novum in eo pontem effecit. Verum eo etiam paulo post continuis tormentorum ictibus in eum directis ab hostibus merso, unus relinquebatur is, de quo dictum est, quem et pars aliqua molendini ab incendio relicta a tormentis hostilibus tutabatur." *Ibidem* (transl. CKS and J.N.).

---

97    Of course, apart from artillery (useless at this point in time), the Muscovites had other forms of defence. Destructive for the attackers were in particular the huge beams "were dragged on the wide walls for this purpose. Once pushed down without

FIGURES 8.8A–8.8B   The northern fragment of the Upper Castle crowned with two roundels, dated 29 August 1579, in ZUM THURN MAP (8.9a: fragment of Fig. 8.5a, depiction of the triangular bastion) and PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* (8.9b: fragment of Fig. 8.1)

The breakthrough came on 29 August. During the war council, many commanders opted for a general assault. However, Stephen Báthory feared defeat, which could have led to a complete collapse in morale among his soldiers, and even to the lifting of the siege. He decided to carry out an attack on the hill with the triangular bastion in order to set fire to it. The time was chosen according to the weather conditions—that day it stopped raining and even the sun showed up. This operation was successful. The triangular bastion connecting the two roundels caught fire ("The location of this fortification was such that it occupied the apex of the angle formed by the two walls, which it secured in a way").[98] After a whole day's fire, this massive construction burnt down to ruins. It is worth comparing the drawing with the print depicting the siege of Polatsk. In the ZUM THURN MAP one can still see the whole bastion, although it is burning (Fig. 8.8a). In Pachołowiecki's engraving it is already destroyed (Fig. 8.8b). Therefore, the drawing shows the fortifications on fire (at noon or in the early afternoon), and the copperplate shows the condition in the evening when the Hungarian infantry carried out an arbitrary assault.

Stephen Báthory did not plan to make the final storm on 29 August due to the fading fire—some of the fortifications were still smouldering and the heat was still on the ground.[99] He focused on cutting Polatsk off from outside help. In the evening, after the king's departure, several dozen Hungarians tried to enter the castle area on their own, followed by others, including the Polish infantry. There was a hole between the roundels, partly covered with burning pieces of wood and ash.[100] Precisely this most dramatic moment of the siege is shown by Pachołowiecki on his print (Fig. 8.8b).

Soldiers broke through the burning debris and glowing remains of fortifications. When it seemed that the castle would be conquered, the Hungarians and the Poles were blocked by a ditch with artillery and hook guns hastily prepared by the Muscovites. Perhaps the defenders could have been defeated, but the Poles did not support the Hungarians. Both nations were in conflict: the Hungarians, not wanting the Poles to participate in the looting, disturbed their "comrades-in-arms", and even went as far as throwing them off the slope or pushing them into the fire. The lack of support by the Polish soldiers led to the breakdown of the attack. Twenty-seven soldiers were killed, although the defenders allegedly lost 200. Muscovy carried out a bold counterattack, but it was stopped by Zamoyski's infantry. The night of 29 and 30 August drew in. The Muscovites

---

great effort, they rolled down the slope of the mountain, and whoever was hit by them, ended dead or badly injured", *Rerum Polonicarum ...*, p. 135.

98    "cumque is potitus eius esset, ut in summo duorum coniunctorum laterum, quae utrinque quasi tutabatur angulo collocatum esset." R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum ...*, p. 135 (transl. CKS); see also: M. Stryjkowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 429 Kupisz, *Połock*, pp. 143–144; A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo ...", pp. 60–61; В.В. Пенской, "Героическая оборона Полоцка ...", p. 69.

99    Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 764.

100   R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum ...*, p. 135. Cf. Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 764; R. Heidenstein, *Pamiętniki wojny moskiewskiej ...*, pp. 65–66.

made one more effort and tried to build a rampart to connect the two roundels in the place where the bastion had previously stood. In order to gain time, they started negotiations on the surrender on 30 August. Around noon, when the construction began to appear from under the smoke, Stephen Báthory ordered the fortified top of the hill to be conquered. The Hungarians carried out a violent attack and dug under the feet of the roundel, in my opinion the western one, not threatened by fire from the Shooters' Castle. Then soldiers under the command of Piotr Racz set fire to this fortification, as well as the wooden side walls, still intact. The fire started to spread, and in addition, the Hungarian infantry dug a tunnel under the rampart between the roundels.[101] The defenders lost faith in the possibility of effective defence and sent envoys to Stephen Báthory with terms of capitulation, which was accepted at eight in the evening. Some of the garrison including Vladyka (Bishop) Kiprian and voivodes Vasilii Mikolinskii, Dimitri Obolinskii, Matfei Rzovskii, Ivon Susshin, Pyotr Volinskii, and the scribe Lukian Tretiakov refused to lay down their arms and barricaded themselves with their partisans in St Sophia Cathedral. After the capitulation, they were led out of the church and brought before the king. The ceremonial takeover of the fortress and the evacuation of the Muscovites along with a thanksgiving service took place on 31 August 1579.[102]

---

101  M. Stryjkowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 429; R. Heidenstein, *Pamiętniki wojny moskiewskiej* …, pp. 67–68; R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 135; *Kronika z czasów króla Stefana Batorego* …, pp. 409–410; A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 61–64; Bielski, *Kronika*, pp. 764–765; M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy"* …, p. 583; В.В. Новодворский, *Борьба за Ливонию* …, pp. 102–104. These violent events of 29 and 30 July 1579 probably left a memento in the form of a rapier (sword) found during archaeological excavations in the eastern part of the Upper Castle, in the immediate vicinity of the fortifications. Д.В. Дук, "Новые данные о находках в Полоцке предметов вооружения XIV–XVII вв.", in: *Археология и история Пскова и Псковской земли: материалы 50 научного семинара. Сб. статей*, ed. В.В. Седов, Псков 2004, pp. 319–324.

102  *Kronika z czasów króla Stefana Batorego* …, p. 410; Bielski, *Kronika*, pp. 764–765; M. Stryjkowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 429; R. Heidenstein, *Pamiętniki wojny moskiewskiej* …, p. 68; *idem*, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 135. Discussing the architecture and defensive capabilities of the church: S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne …", pp. 15–26.

## 6  Conclusions

The attack on Polatsk was not the first time that the Polish and Lithuanian armies used cartographic plans during siege operations. It is worth quoting the example of the conquest of Ula in 1568 or the Battle of Latarnia in 1577. Undoubtedly, however, the situation in 1579 is exemplary in the way cartography was used during the siege at the turn of the 17th century. Firstly, even before the military camps were set up, the fortress under attack had to be thoroughly examined and the relevant plans had to be made. The pictorial, or cityscape manner was not in use anymore—a survey on horseback around the whole complex was conducted once or twice. During the first war council, information gathered and put on paper was the basis for planning the tactics of conquering the stronghold. At such a council, the locations of military camps were chosen and the manner and location of siege operations were decided. Moreover, cartographic plans were corrected *au courant*.

The preparatory drawing made for the print published in Rome in 1580 was probably a compilation of several works, not necessarily created by one author. What is certain is that the plan of the Polatsk fortress used at the council of war was made on 11 August. It is also beyond any doubt that the scheme of the tactical formation arranged around Polatsk on 29 August was created during the same meeting. Possibly, there was also a map showing the surroundings of Polatsk with marked military camps and sites of conducted siege operations. Hence, the print of Stanisław Pachołowiecki contains as many as four types of information: the location of the military camps, the formation of the army set up on 29 August around Polatsk (*ordre de bataille*), the fortifications of the stronghold, and the plan of siege operations.

The location of the German and Hungarian camps was accidental and chosen by the soldiers. The mercenaries wanted to capture the fortress during an assault, which would entitle them to carry out uncontrolled looting. The choice of location was militarily justified, adapted to the weaknesses of the fortifications. Nonetheless, the arbitrary action of the Hungarians and Germans was against the tactical concept of the supreme command. Only the Lithuanian camp and the royal camp were set up in a planned manner. An important organizational accomplishment during the siege of Polatsk was the setting up of the last of the camps mentioned. It was very large and had a complex layout. The Lithuanian camp, however, was much weaker and

arranged in a less orderly manner. Only heavy troops entered the camp set up by Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Red" and Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Thunderbolt". Other units, including the knyazes, the magnates, and the troops of the *levée en masse*, were authorized to find their own camp sites. The multitude of camps proves a lack of discipline, tensions between the nations, and the radically worsening food supply. It is worth noting that the setting up of all the camps cut Polatsk off from outside help as quasi-lines of contravallation or circumvallation were created, which was a great achievement in siege tactics.

The battle formation of 29 August 1579 presented in the print of Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri had great propaganda value. The print shows the power of Stephen Báthory's army. In addition to heraldic flags and banners with the Wolf's Teeth coat of arms, Pahonia and the Columns of Gediminas were depicted on it. It is striking that there is no legend describing the size of the army and no names of the commanders of particular regiments. This plan shows that the army had abandoned forming the troops according to the old Polish custom. The cavalry was divided into similarly sized regiments of about 1500–2000 soldiers, except for the Lithuanian units, which (according to the map) were much larger. All the armies were arranged in one echelon, on the sides there was infantry located near the camps. The line was reinforced at the height of the largest cavalry unit (probably the Lithuanian *levée en masse*). Infantry troops were set up in front of it.

The Polatsk fortress consisted of three independent fortified wholes, which were mutually supported by gunfire, hook guns, and harquebuses. The whole stronghold was built of wood and earth. On a high hill in the middle there was the Upper Castle, whose additional protection was provided by the wide Daugava River and the rushing Palata. Only on the eastern side did it have no natural defence: there, the Shooters' Castle sat on a slightly lower hill. Zapalotye was located in the west, in the river fork. Thanks to such a location, its walls and towers enabled flanking firing, which made it very difficult to carry out siege operations. The whole complex did not have a regular shape and was mostly adapted to the topography of the area, which is why there were sections that were much less protected. The liquidation of the side fortifications—Zapalotye and the Shooters' Castle—reduced the chances of defending the remaining elements.

During the first war council convened at Polatsk, which took place on 11 August 1579, key decisions concerning

siege operations were made. The descriptions left by Reinhold Heidenstein are, in my opinion, one of the most interesting sources showing how tactical planning and decision-making were carried out in early modern era. Three concepts were developed then:

1. the plan of Báthory, who believed that the Upper Castle should be attacked directly;
2. the plan of Bekes, who pointed out the need to first conquer the town of Zapalotye, which was to make later siege operations much easier;
3. the plan of Zamoyski, who proposed to conquer the Shooters' Castle, which—due to insufficient natural protection from the west, was the key to conquering the whole fortress.

By far the best tactical assumption was presented by Zamoyski. Bekes, the commander of the Hungarians, also had a good idea, while the king's proposal was poor, devoid of logic, and surprisingly immature, not adapted to the possibilities of horizontal defence based on artillery and hook gun fire. The combination of various circumstances, both subjective (low army discipline, leading to arbitrary choices of the camp sites, which in turn determined retrenchment works) and objective (heavy rains that made it difficult to cross the Palata), led to the implementation of Bekes's concept. Only then did the Upper Castle fall. It should be emphasized that the key to conquering the Upper Castle was the previous attack on Zapalotye, which ended in a fire that drove out the defenders. As a result, the western part of the slope, where the extended triangular bastion and two roundels sat, was not protected by flanking fire. A bridge over the Palata (built by Jan Bornemissa) was in the dead field, which also rendered the storming of the western part of the slope easier. The isolated German infantry, on the other hand, did not have enough support to conquer the Shooters' Castle—Muscovy saw the greatest threat here and often sent troops to attack the Germans.

The siege and fall of Polatsk did not yet give a clear answer to the question of whether wooden fortifications still had a raison d'être in the eastern parts of Europe. Báthory's army undoubtedly lacked at least one outstanding military engineer, as a result of which the artillery did a terrible job. This was due partly to weather anomalies (constant rain), as well as the dedication of the defenders, who were ready to sacrifice their lives and go down on ropes to extinguish the fires. Artillery fire only led the Muscovite side to the decision to burn down and leave Zapalotye. The breakthrough, which took place on 29 and 30 August, resulted from the direct arson of the

fortifications by the soldiers who attacked, "carrying boilers full of burning coal and resinous chips in their hands".[103] At the same time, another large fortress, Sokol, was destroyed by one successful attack with an incendiary round shot.[104] Undoubtedly, the campaign of 1579

taught the military command of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a lot, while Muscovy learned about the weaknesses of fortifications built so far. Small strongholds, such as Krasny, Kaziany, or Sitna, were no longer defensible, and according to Ivan the Terrible it was necessary to evacuate even Suša Castle, which contemporaries regarded as a strong fortress.[105]

---

103   "węgla rozpalonego na sobie niosąc, a łuczywa smolnego na ręce mając." Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 763 (transl. CKS and J.N.).

104   *Ibidem*, p. 766; R. Heidenstein, *Rerum Polonicarum* …, p. 140; *idem, Pamiętniki wojny moskiewskiej* …, pp. 76–77.

---

105   Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 767.

*Propaganda, Politics, and Knowledge Construction*

∵

# Maps in the Polish War-Time Propaganda

As mentioned in the *Introduction*, from mid-1579, the Polish royal chancery was conducting a propaganda campaign in Europe.[1] Its aim was to present the rationale of the Polish king and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the ongoing war with Muscovy. The propaganda activities were conducted concurrently with the military campaign. The maps by Stanisław Pachołowiecki are part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's propaganda drive against Muscovy. We have many sources that speak about the process of creating and publishing the *Atlas*. Thanks to these, we know who was involved. We also know what the scope of impact of publications praising the Polish-Lithuanian victories was. The *Atlas* is therefore an unprecedented undertaking in the history of Polish cartography, books, and political propaganda in the 16th century.

## 1 The Propaganda War Waged by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth against Muscovy

The main source of information about the capture of Polatsk on 30 August 1579 was the Latin edict issued by Stephen Báthory, king of Poland. This document, published in Warsaw in the autumn of 1579 together with two other official accounts on the war, was distributed in various European countries. Pachołowiecki's maps and other publications, mostly poetry, were additional propaganda texts. So in order to understand what role the *Atlas* played, it is necessary to first trace the impact of the main account issued by the royal chancery just after the capture of Polatsk, namely the *Edictum regium de suplicationibus ob captam Polociam* (*The Royal Edict about Thanksgiving after Taking Polatsk*). It was written in Polatsk on 31 August 1579 and printed in early September in the field printshop of Walenty Łapka.[2] The text was immediately sent to Vilnius,

from where it was sent further afield throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Europe.[3] Within a few weeks it had also reached England.

In late autumn 1579 or winter 1580, a publication of a few pages was printed in London under the long and very detailed title: *A True reporte of the taking of the great towne and castell of Polotzko*.[4] This account has attracted the attention of researchers for many years. Historians of the British Isles mention *A True reporte* in the context of other publications of this type and point out that this is one of the first printed war accounts in Elizabethan England.[5]

David Randall, author of a monograph on early English newspapers, supposes that the first publications of this type (including the report of the conquest of Polatsk) are in fact letters or accounts to which the title page was later added by the printer. What is more, he assumes that they were originally handwritten.[6] It is different in the case of the report on the conquest of Polatsk. The original source was the edict of King Stephen Báthory mentioned above, written while still in the military camp and printed first in Polatsk and soon afterwards in Warsaw.[7] This Latin print was the official report on the siege and became a direct or indirect source for most, if not all, of the later accounts of the siege. *A True reporte* is a translation of a document issued by King Stephen Báthory's chancery and signed

---

1  Originally published as J. Niedźwiedź, "Polska szesnastowieczna propaganda wojenna w działaniu: przypadek Atlasu Księstwa Połockiego (1580)", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3(44), pp. 477–510; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.014.8881.

2  Łapka's printshop was a branch of Mikołaj Szarffenberg's publishing house in Cracow and operated on the basis of a special charter of Stephen Báthory of 1577. From that year on, Łapka accompanied the Crown chancery until 1582 and published royal orders and other texts (including Jan Kochanowski's propaganda poems). For

his activity and participation in warfare he was ennobled in 1581. See A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, "Dzieje 'Drukarni latającej'. Działalność i wędrówki", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 1971, pp. 355–357, 361–363. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa supposes that the edict published in Polatsk could also have its Polish version.

3  A proof is a letter of Kuyavian Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski to Bishop of Warmia Marcin Kromer. It was dated on 4 September 1579 in Vilnius but finished later but not later than before 18 September. Rozdrażewski wrote that he sent Kromer a copy of the printed edict on the conquest of Polatsk. This means that the print must have been created in the first half of the month, and probably in its first days. See *Korespondencja Hieronima Rozrażewskiego*, vol. 1, p. 297 (item 227).

4  *A True reporte of the taking of the great towne and castell of Polotzko* ... See *Introduction*, footnote 6.

5  See N. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, Cambridge 2005, p. 151; D. Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News*, London—New York 2015, pp. 84–85, 112–113.

6  *Ibidem*, p. 84.

7  *Edictum regium de supplicationibus ob rem bene adversus Moschum gestam*, Cracow 1579 (see chapter 11, footnote 17). Although the print was printed in Warsaw, Cracow was given as the place of publishing, as that was the main seat of the Szarffenberg publishing house.

---

with the name of the ruler.[8] However, the document was altered for the English readership.

English readers might have been interested in the war in the northern regions of Europe mainly because of the Muscovy Company, founded in 1555 by merchants in London. In the 1550s and 1560s, the Company was active in trade in the Muscovite state thanks to the charters issued by Ivan the Terrible. These activities are reported in the accounts of Antony Jenkinson (1529–1610/1611) from expeditions in 1558, 1561, and 1571, and his map of Muscovy published in London in 1562,[9] as well as letters and accounts by other English agents operating in the Muscovite state. One of these was Henry Lane.

In 1579 or the early 1580s he wrote a letter to Richard Hakluyt (about 1552–1616), the author of a multivolume work devoted to English explorers in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Lane's letter is interesting because it shows the Englishman's perspective on the conflict between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy. In the first part, Lane gives an account of the Muscovian legations to Queen Elizabeth I in 1567 concerning the relations between the two countries. The English merchant emphasizes very strongly that these relations rubbed salt in King Sigismund II Augustus's wounds. To prove it, he sent a copy of the Polish ruler's letter to the queen. Referring to this letter, Lane mentioned that when he was doing business in Antwerp and Amsterdam in 1566, he had the opportunity to talk to "Poles, Danzigers, and the Easterners". "By reason I had bene a lidger in Russia, I could the better reply and proue, that their owne nations [= inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—J.N.] and the

Italians were most guiltie of the accusations written by the King of Poland".[10]

In the second part of the letter, Lane reported on the course of the conflict between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy: he recalled the conquest of Smolensk in 1514 and, above all, of Polatsk in 1563 by the Muscovites. He mentioned the prevailing conviction concerning the low effectiveness of Sigismund II Augustus's actions in relation to Muscovy, but also criticized Poles: "In the dayes of Sigismund the Russe would tant the Polacks, that they loued their ease at home with their wiues, and to drinke, and were not at commandment of their King."[11] The letter ends with a sentence in which Lane reported that recently elected Polish King Stephen Báthory "recouered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579".[12]

It is very likely that Lane obtained his information about the capture of Polatsk from *A True reporte*. Lane's letter, reprinted by Hakluyt, shows how information about the battles on the Muscovite—Lithuanian borderland distributed by King Stephen's services reached international public opinion. However, Lane's position as expressed in the letter proves that Ivan the Terrible was an increasingly active player in the game of information. His message also reached foreign public opinion.

The action of Muscovian propaganda was mentioned by a royal secretary, Jan Piotrowski, in his account of the campaign in 1581–1582 (the siege of Pskov). On 15 July the king received an extensive letter from Ivan the Terrible:

"And then, upon disembarking the chariot and entering the tent, Dzierżek returned from the Muscovite camp, and handed over some enormous document, as big as a piece of Cologne cloth; it was sealed with two seals [...]. The king laughed, looking at the seals: "He has never sent us such a long letter; he probably describes history starting from the first Adam." The voivode of Vilnius said: "Supposedly, my king, he wrote all that has been going on since this war began.""[13]

---

8 The English text is a typical example of early modern translation. The anonymous translator approached the original text rather freely. The original Latin account was written in the first-person singular, as the king was the narrator. The narrative in the English version is in the third person. The translator slightly abridged the original, but the content of both forms is essentially identical. Most toponyms in the text are given in German, e.g. Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which appears in the Latin original as *Vilna*, is here spelled as *Wilde*. The name of Polatsk is written in German too. In the Latin version there is *Polotia*, in the English version the spelling is German: *Polotzko*. The spelling of the toponyms is testimony to the fact that despite direct contacts between the English and the Muscovites, it was German-speaking merchants from the Baltic and North Sea ports that remained the main source of English knowledge about eastern Europe.

9 A. Jenkinson, *Nova absolutaque Russiae Moscoviae et Tartariae descriptio*, London: Clement Adams, 1562. The only copy of *editio princeps* that has survived: Wrocław University Library, catalogue number 9590-IV.C, https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/publication /40164 (accessed 20.07.2024).

10 H. Lane, "A Letter of M. Henrie Lane to M. Richard Hakluit, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times", in: R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 1, London 1809, p. 421.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 421.

12 *Ibidem*, p. 421.

13 "Skoro król zsiadł z koczego do namiotu, alić Dzierżek przybieżał od Moskiewskiego, oddał jakąś wielką hramotę, jak sztukę kolońskiego płótna; dwiema pieczęciami wielkiemi zapieczętowana była (...). Śmiał się król, patrząc na pieczęci: 'Nigdy nam jeszcze tak długiego listu nie przysłał, zapewne opisuje wypadki, od pierwszego Adama poczynając'. Wojewoda wileński

Polish politicians decided to respond the tsar's letter immediately:

"Mr Chancellor [Jan Zamoyski], who has now travelled for several days, only responds to the Muscovite letter. Oh, Jesus! He smashes him: with each sentence, each article *a contrario pervertit* [overturned and showed the opposite]. The Duke [Ivan the Terrible] will have food for thought. This letter will be in Latin, we will send it to Rome, so that it will be known all over the world, because *he is also known to send copies of his letters to us and of our replies to Germany*."[14] (emphasis—J.N.)

Sending the Latin text to Rome guaranteed its wider distribution in Europe. Zamoyski probably counted on a propaganda effect similar to that of the earlier publication of the report of Albert Schlichting.[15] The architects of Polish war propaganda knew of this, and they were also well aware that an information victory in the international arena was no less important than a military success

in Muscovite territory. This conviction resulted in numerous texts on the Livonian War, manuscript and printed, which have survived in libraries and archives throughout Europe. Apart from the royal edict, they include Polish and Latin poems and speeches by several writers, including Jan Kochanowski. The collection of maps prepared by Stanisław Pachołowiecki, the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*, was an important element of the propaganda campaign of King Stephen Báthory and Chancellor Jan Zamoyski.

## 2 The Publication of the *Atlas* of the Principality of Polatsk

### 2.1 *The Idea*

The king and Zamoyski had military maps at their disposal, but the path from a military map to its publication is a long one. Above all, both politicians must have realized that cartography could be used for propaganda purposes. The decision to publish the maps proves Báthory and Zamoyski's understanding and skill in this new field of political propaganda.

The map is a particularly attractive way to talk about politics and also an extremely effective one.[16] 16th-century politicians quickly became aware of how powerful this form of communication could be in terms of propaganda.

An important step in constructing political propaganda in cartography was the publication of views of the European cities from the end of the 15th century. Such views could help a viewer to realize the economic, political, and military power of the agglomerations. A large collection of woodcut views of such cities can be found in Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle* from 1493. In 1500, a bird's-eye view of Venice by Jacopo de' Barbari was published, which contributed to the dissemination of this manner of presenting cities in Renaissance cartography. Sebastian Münster played a great role in popularizing the views of the city.[17] Apart from these "peace-time" portraits of cities, propaganda maps showing military triumphs also began to appear. Particularly important works of this kind were published in Germany. Many of them are views of sieges, such as the plan of the siege of Frankfurt from

rzekł: 'Podobno, miłościwy królu, wypisane wszystko, co się jedno od początku tej wojny toczyło.'" J. Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy* ..., pp. 21–22. Transl. J.N.

14    "Pan kanclerz [Jan Zamoyski] kilka dni teraz w drodze, że nic więcej, jedno replikuje na list Moskiewskiemu. O Jezus! Toć go jeżdzi: każdą sentencyją, każdy artykuł *a contrario pervertit*. Będzie miał kniaź co ruminować. Będzie ten list po łacinie, do Rzymu go poślem, żeby był po wszystkim świecie, bo *też znać on listy swe, co do nas pisze i odpisy nasze po Niemczech rozsyła*." *Ibidem*, p. 36. Transl. J.N. See J. Niedźwiedź, "Źródła, konteksty i okoliczności ...", pp. 384–386.

15    Albert Schlichting's famous account of the atrocities of Ivan the Terrible was written in Polish in 1571 and widely distributed thanks to its Latin version in Europe. It was one of the most successful propaganda campaigns of the Polish chancery in the 16th century. See A. Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des westlichen Russlandbildes*, Bern—Frankfurt am Main 1972, pp. 55–56; H. Graham (ed. and transl.), "« A Brief Account of the Character and Brutal Rule of Vasil'evich, Tyrant of Muscovy » Albert Schlichting on Ivan Groznyi", Canadian-American Slavic Studies, Special Edition: Muscovite Russia (III), Pittsburgh 1975, pp. 204–272 (commented English translation of Schlichting's Latin version); H. Grala, "Wokół dzieła i osoby Alberta Schlichtinga (przyczynek do dziejów propagandy antymoskiewskiej w drugiej połowie XVI w.)", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 38 (2000), pp. 35–37, 42, 48; И.В. Дубровский, "Новые документы о России Ивана Грозного", *Русский сборник: Исследования по истории России* 11(2012), pp. 26–41; *idem*, "Новые документы по истории отношений России и Италии при Иване Грозном", *Русский сборник: Исследования по истории России* 14 (2013), pp. 7–12; *idem*, "Латинские рукописи сочинений Альберта Шлихтинга", *Русский сборник: Исследования по истории России* 18 (2015), pp. 74–217; G. Franczak, "Wstęp", in: W. Neothebel, *Acrostichis własnego wyobrażenia kniaża wielkiego moskiewskiego*, ed. G. Franczak, Warsaw 2016, pp. 13–19.

16    See J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power", in: *idem, The New Nature of Maps* ..., p. 63.

17    See J. van Putten, *Networked Nation: Mapping German Cities in Sebastian Münster's "Cosmographia"*, Leiden—Boston 2017, pp. 44–88. Maps of fortifications were presented despite the risk of them being used by enemies. See K. Łopatecki, "Rola map i planów ...", pp. 633–642.

1552.[18] This combination, of a bird's-eye view map of the city combined with military action and additionally provided with descriptions, became an extremely useful way of informing the public about wars, their winners, and the political geography of Europe.[19] On the other hand, battles in the field were less attractive in this regard than a siege.

Military conflicts could also be depicted on the maps of countries or greater territories. This type of map enjoyed great recognition in the 16th century, and also contained a propaganda message. They were often printed in large formats, such as Bernard Wapowski's map of Poland (1526), Olaus Magnus's map of Scandinavia (1539), or Anton Wied's map of Muscovy (1555).

In the second half of the 16th century, there were several ways of practising cartographic propaganda. However, it was still a fairly fresh invention. The rulers of various countries were eager to use it. For example, in 1589 Elizabeth I ordered a map of the world with the route of Francis Drake's journey to be painted in the Palace of Whitehall in a place open to the public. A small-scale version of this map was placed on a silver medal minted in 1580.[20] Means similar to those used by the services of Elizabeth I in the late 1580s had been used a decade earlier in Poland.

Probably the idea to publish military maps came either from the king himself or from someone close to him, i.e. Chancellor Zamoyski. Báthory himself was very interested in cartography.[21] It is very likely that the other person who could have initiated the publication of the maps was Jan Zamoyski. He personally supervised the propaganda activities of the crown chancery and was involved in the production of information texts, including maps. This is evidenced by Secretary Piotrowski's account of the campaign in 1581 quoted earlier and, above all, a letter to Nuncio Caligari of 20 September 1579. "Chorographies [= maps—J.N.] and other [performances], the drawing

of which I supervised personally, I will share with your Excellency", wrote Zamoyski.[22]

Zamoyski was responsible not only for propaganda and information operations, but also for cartographic services. Cartographer Stanisław Pachołowiecki was a royal secretary and was therefore directly subordinated to Zamoyski, the chancellor. Apart from Pachołowiecki, an Italian engineer Petrus Francus was also involved in creating maps depicting the Polatsk campaign. Scholars believe that Francus drew the views of the fortresses conquered in the autumn of 1579, which were later published in Rome, although he was not the only one who could participate in their preparation.[23] Both these cartographers were involved in planning the publication.

## 2.2 *The Selection of Maps for Publication*

The final decision to publish was probably made in October or November 1579. Karol Łopatecki demonstrates that the maps to be printed were selected between 6 October (the conquest of Suša, which is presented in the *Atlas*) and 13 December 1579 (the conquest of Nieščarda, not presented in the *Atlas*).[24] But the idea of issuing the maps was born much earlier.

Initially, the drawings were to be published by Petrus Francus. As early as 19 September 1579, he received a privilege from the king to publish and sell views of the sieges of Polatsk, Suša, and other castles:

"Our geometritcian, Petrus Francus Italus, accompanied us on the war expedition from which we are returning. He displayed his talent numerous times, for example with a faithful map of the location of Polatsk Castle and its siege and conquest. He intends to engrave this map, the map depicting the conquest of Sokol, and other maps pertaining to our expedition, in copper, publish prints, and distribute them."[25]

---

18    See H. Graav, K. Faber, *Francofordiae ac emporii Germaniae …* (British Library, Maps KTop C-24–g18).

19    See Ph. Benedict, *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Parrissin*, Genève 2007, pp. 75–121, and M. Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, New York 2010, pp. 109–153; see also chapter 10 of this book.

20    See J. Evans, "The Silver Medal or Map of Sir Francis Drake", *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 4(1906), 6, pp. 348–350. Description and photo of the medal on the website of the British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1891-0905-12 (accessed 21.07.2024).

21    See Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 69–70.

22    "Chorographica atque alia quae effigari curavimus coram Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae communicabo." J. Zamoyski to G.A. Caligari, Dzisna 20 IX 1579, in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego …*, vol. 1, p. 362 (transl. J.N.); Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 81; see chapter 5 of this book.

23    See Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 81–82.

24    See chapter 7 of this book.

25    "Quod cum nobilis et egregius Petrus Francus Italus geometra noster nonnulla nobis industriae suae specimina, sequendo nos in eam, ex qua revertimur, expeditionem bellicam exhibuisset, inter alia delineatio verissima situs arcis Polocensis eiusque obsidionis et expugnationis, quam uti et expugnationem arcis Sokol et alias delineationes ad expeditionem nostram pertinentes in cupro exculpere et complere, eius exemplaria imprimere et divulgare habet in animos: nos faventes illius industriae, privilegio praesenti id illi tantum mittendum duximus […]."

It follows from the charter granting him this right that Francus was the author of the view of the conquest of Polatsk. Meanwhile, the Roman copperplate features Pachołowiecki as the author. This means that the two cartographers probably created several different views of Polatsk and its siege, which is confirmed by a number of sources. Three views of the siege, two printed and one manuscript, have survived to this day.[26] However, there could have been more maps, as well as drawings depicting the fortresses conquered during the campaign. Of all these maps and views, eight were selected for publication.

The maps that Zamoyski and Báthory had at their disposal were used primarily for military purposes. They depicted parts of the territory where the warfare took place and the plans of the castles. These were large- and small-scale maps. They showed the theatre of war from a variety of cartographic perspectives. These could have been simple schemes of fortifications surrounding the city, views of the siege with the deployment of troops and genre scenes, as well as maps of larger territory that required a great deal of cartographic knowledge and imagination from the artist. Since we have as many as three views of besieged Polatsk, we can attempt to answer the question of what prompted the king and Zamoyski to choose these particular cartographic representations.

Two images (ZUM THURN MAP and a Nuremberg woodcut published by Georg Mack) show the moment of the decisive assault on 29 August 1579. So there are flying incendiary shells, units approaching the walls, civilians leaving the city after it was captured, and scenes from the camps. Meanwhile, Pachołowiecki's map depicts the city on the day of the decisive assault and the distribution of camps and military formation around it.[27] In the views of the six fortresses, the emphasis is on fortifications and other buildings, as well as the topography of the area, but there are no troops or people at all. They also feature information about when a given fortress was captured by Stephen Báthory's army. Therefore, we may assume that the people who selected the drawings for the *Atlas* strived to show space or the war theatre scene in a factual manner. The military action itself was not of prime importance.

## 2.3   *The Purpose of Publishing the Atlas*

The dates of capturing the fortresses are the main element connecting these maps with the royal documents that provide information about King Stephen's campaign. An account of the siege of Polatsk can be found in the *Edictum regium de suplicationibus ob captam Polociam*, mentioned before. This edict was issued in the first half of September 1579 in Polatsk and again a few months later in Warsaw together with two other documents.[28] It was preceded by *Edictum Svirense* (*The Edict Issued in Svir*) of 12 July 1579, which was addressed to the army. In this edict, the reasons for starting war against Ivan the Terrible were explained. The third text published in Warsaw is *Rerum post captam Polotiam contra Moscum gestarum narratio* (*A Narrative about Actions against Muscovy after the Capture of Polatsk*). In this way, the entire campaign of 1579 was reported in one print.

There were probably two groups of readers who were supposed to familiarize themselves with the official history of this war. One was the Polish and Lithuanian nobility, called to the winter session of the Parliament in Warsaw on 22 November 1579. But not all deputies used Latin fluently. Therefore, it can be assumed that the other group, and perhaps the primary one, was foreign public opinion, mainly the elites, that is politicians, clergy, humanists, merchants, and financiers. This is evidenced by foreign copies and reissues of the print. The reprints of the royal documents appeared twice in Cologne in 1580 and once in Rome in 1582.[29] Their handwritten copies can also be found in the files of the apostolic nunciature.[30] The Latin version was translated into other languages. Bibliographic descriptions mention a Czech translation and we have the English publication discussed above.[31]

---

*Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze* …, pp. 66–67 and chapter 7 of this book. Karol Łopatecki points out that the letter to Caligari mentioned above was written the day after Francus received the right to publish the maps—see chapter 5 of this book.

26    See ZUM THURN MAP made by Paulus zum Thurn in Cracow and a woodcut of Georg Mack the Elder, *Die Eroberung von Polatsk in Litauen*, Nuremberg 1579, Czartoryski Library, catalogue number XV-R. 6813. See K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych …", pp. 52–53.

27    See chapter 8 of this book.

---

28    *EDICTUM SVIRENSE*.

29    *Edictum Serenissimi Poloniae Regis ad milites, ex quo causae suscepti in Magnum Moscoviae Ducem belli cognoscuntur: Item edictum eiusdem de suplicationibus ob captam Polociam habendis; cum epistola qua ordines ad comitia conuocantur et rerum post captam Polociam gestarum narratione; Hisce adiecta sunt quaedam de Magni Moscoviae Ducis genere, quod se nescio qua autoritate ab Augusto Caesare ducere iactitat*, Cologne 1580; *De rebus gestis Stephani I* (…) *contra Magnum Moschorum Ducem narratio*, Rome 1582. The full list of editions and translations of the edicts is provided in chapter 11, footnote 28.

30    See *Relacje nuncjuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690*, vol. 1, ed. E. Rykaczewski, Berlin—Poznań 1864, pp. 307–331. The difference in the spelling of toponyms in prints and in Vatican copies may indicate that the nuncios received handwritten versions directly from the chancery and did not use printed editions.

31    *Novina jista a pravdiva o dobyti znameniteho zamka a pevnosti velikeho mesta* (…) *Polocka*, Prague 1580 (see chapter 11, footnote 28). It is possible that *Novina jista* and *A True Reporte*

The Warsaw edition of the edicts can be considered a considerable editorial success.

They appeared at exactly the same time as the decision to issue the maps of Stanisław Pachołowiecki was made. The last of the accounts, *A Narrative about Actions against Muscovy after the Capture of Polatsk*, describes the conquest of the Suša Castle on 6 October, but it does not speak of the conquest of Nieščarda on 13 December 1579.[32] Moreover, in both cases the Polish chancery was the decision-making body. Therefore, it can be assumed that the publication of the *Atlas* was coordinated with the issue of the edicts and was supposed to complement them. The narrative report discussed the course of the campaign. Maps, in turn, allowed subsequent activities to be located in space. For this reason, there was no need to put military action on the maps. The reader of the report could interpret the war account together with the maps. It is possible that Pachołowiecki's maps were better suited for this purpose than those of Francus.

The fact that both publications were targeted at foreign readers may be the reason for the decision to publish the *Atlas* in Italy. Initially, as can be concluded from the charter cited, the king and Zamoyski relied on Francus, who would prepare copperplates in Poland. In accordance with the provisions of the charter, the Italian engineer was given the exclusive right to issue such works for five years. Therefore, when the maps were engraved and printed by Cavalieri in Rome, the charter was still valid. Karol Buczek supposes that the king did not know about the Rome publication.[33] However, the involvement of the Polish ambassador to Rome in their publication would rather suggest a change of decision by the ruler. Francus never later exercised his right, which means that the publishing process was carried on without consideration for his will. Two years later he was rewarded by the king with official acknowledgement of his nobility (Pol. *indygenat*), which was probably also compensation for the unrealized edition.[34]

The publication of maps in Rome certainly facilitated their international distribution. It also guaranteed their high quality. Chalcography workshops in Rome, particularly useful for printing maps, were at a very high level. We do not know if Francus was a chalcographer at all because we have no knowledge of his works. In Poland at that time, woodcut was the dominant graphic technique and it is possible that there was no one who could quickly make copperplates with maps. Meanwhile, in Rome, it was not difficult to find such a specialist. In addition, the king had people in Rome who were able to take care of this task.

## 2.4    *Delivery to Rome and Publication*

Nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari (1527–1604), in a letter dated 26 February 1580 in Warsaw, wrote to his addressee, Secretary of State of the Roman Curia, Cardinal Tolomeo Gallio (1526–1607), known as Cardinal Comensis: "The bishop of Płock will have all the plans for the fortresses captured by the king last year, as well as a plan showing the layout of the troops besieging Polatsk. I suppose he will show them to Your Eminence."[35] These materials were so interesting that the nuncio informed his superior about them.

The bishop of Płock mentioned in the letter was Piotr Dunin Wolski (1531–1590). He was an excellently educated humanist and diplomat. He spent almost thirteen years in Spain as a Polish envoy (1561–1573). After his return to Poland, he served as sub-chancellor. In 1576, King Stephen entrusted him with the title of crown chancellor. Wolski relinquished this office to Jan Zamoyski less than two years later.[36] Today, Wolski is known not only as a politician and diplomat, but also as a bibliophile. He bequeathed his large library of over a thousand works to the University of Cracow. Therefore, the publication of the maps may have been of great interest to him.

In 1579, Wolski, as a close collaborator of the king, was sent on an obedience mission to Rome, where he stayed until 1582 as a resident envoy. He started his journey in July 1579. Wolski's ceremonial entrance to Rome took place on 11 November.[37] This means that he was not the one to bring the maps to Italy, and they were delivered to him later.

They could have been delivered by some anonymous messenger. But it seems equally probable that the maps were brought to him by the secretary of Nuncio Caligari,

---

      were translations from the first edition published in September, and not from the Warsaw edition.

32    The report refers to the *Sejm* in the future tense, which means that the document was prepared before 22 November.

33    See Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 82.

34    See chapter 7 of this book.

35    "Il vescovo di Plozca haverà tutti li disegni delle fortezze espugnate dal Re l'anno passato, et anco il modo et l'ordine dell'assedio di Polozco; credo lo mostrarà a V.S. Illima." G.A. Caligari, *I.A. Caligarii nuntii …*, p. 389 (no. 207). See G. Brunelli, "Gallio Tolomeo", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 51, Rome 1998; http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tolomeo-gallio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (accessed 20.07.2024).

36    See A. Obremski, "Wstęp", in: *Volsciana: Katalog renesansowego księgozbioru Piotra Dunin-Wolskiego, biskupa płockiego*, ed. A. Obrębski, Cracow 1999, p. 5.

37    See *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza. Listy Stanisława Reszki do Marcina Kromera 1568–1582*, intr., transl., commentaries J.A. Kalinowska, Olsztyn 1992, p. 230 (poz. 184).

priest Antonio Martinelli of Piacenza. Martinelli left Warsaw in mid-December 1579.[38] He carried not only letters from the nuncio, but also documents from other people, e.g. Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski.[39] It follows from Caligari's letter, quoted above, that the nuncio heard about the dispatch of the maps to Rome because his secretary was in possession of them.

The maps were delivered to Wolski in the first weeks of 1580. He probably took part in preparing the publication, but he commissioned Tomasz Treter (1547–1610) with practical issues and editorial work. Treter was perfectly suited for this task. He was not only a canon in the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere and a writer, but also a draughtsman and copier. He designed and engraved e.g. 100 copperplates illustrating the life of his former patron and employer, Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius. During his stay in Rome he maintained close relations with Giovanni Battista Cavalieri (c.1525–1601). Cavalieri and Treter worked together at least from 1574. Their third joint work was the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*.

On the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* engraved by Cavalieri, Treter added an epigram and the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[40] Thus, this map became the first panegyric printed in Italy to praise King Stephen. Later, Treter and Cavalieri published several more works dedicated to the king or under the royal patronage.

*The Map of the Principality of Polatsk* reached Zamoyski no later than in the second half of November 1580. This follows from King Stephen's letter of 11 December 1580, in which he writes about the plans to publish Sulimowski's maps of Livonia:

"Since we know that Your Eminence has a printed map of the areas that we regained in the past year, we ask you to let us know if you think that this map of Sulimowski, corrected by Your Eminence, can also be published in print."[41]

Taking into account the shipment time of correspondence between the king and Wolski and the delivery time from Rome to Lithuania, where Zamoyski stayed in late autumn 1580, it can be assumed that the map was printed not later than October 1580.

### 2.5 *Distribution*

The *Atlas* was primarily distributed in Italy. Three of the surviving sets are of Italian provenance. The second edition of the Polatsk siege plan shows that this publication must have sold quite well. All three copies of the second edition are from Italy. Some of the copies must have reached Poland, as evidenced by the quoted letter from King Stephen to Zamoyski. One set of the *Atlas* is kept in France.[42] King Stephen's propaganda found the most fertile ground in Italy. Cavalieri and Treter were not the only Italian publishers of panegyrics in honour of the Polish ruler. Texts devoted to King Stephen and his victories over Muscovy were published in Italy continuously until his death. They included a two-part Latin-Italian anthology of poems from the Republic of Venice.[43]

### 3 Complements to the Propaganda Campaign: Rhetoric and Poetry

The anthology of Italian poets was one of the last poetic publications on the Livonian War. One of the first was a short speech written by Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki (1522–1587). He was a Warsaw canon and secretary of Queen Anna Jagiellon and a friend of the poet Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584).[44] Above all, however, he was a humanist and performed various tasks for Jan Zamoyski. On 21 November 1579, Patrycy gave a panegyric speech in honour of the victorious king at St John's collegiate church in Warsaw.[45] It was published a few weeks later in Cracow by Jan Januszowski, the owner of the Lazarus Printing House. Together with three other speeches delivered by Patrycy after military successes in 1580 and 1581, it was reissued in 1583.[46]

38  See *Korespondencja Hieronima Rozrażewskiego*, vol. 1, p. 302 (poz. 232 and 234).

39  See *ibidem*, p. 290 (poz. 219).

40  See T. Chrzanowski, *Działalność artystyczna ...*, p. 19; G. Jurkowlaniec, *Sprawczość rycin ...*, pp. 215, 216; A. Treter, A. Bielak, "Szkice emblematów Tomasza Tretera", *Terminus* 23 (2021), 3(60), pp. 365–402; chapters 5 and 10 of this book.

41  "Quoniam vero scimus Sinceritatem Vestram descriptionem regionis anno praeterito recuperatae impressam habere, postulamus, ut si videbitur eam quoque descriptionem Sulimovii per Sinceritatem Vestram correctam typis committi, nos certiores faciat." Stephen Báthory to J. Zamoyski, Grodno 11 December 1580, in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego ...*, vol. 2, p. 34; See Buczek, *Kartografia*, p. 82.

42  For provenance of maps see K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych ...", pp. 42–50. See also chapter 1 of this book.

43  See J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce: Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni*, Warsaw 1969, pp. 110–177; A. Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel ...*, pp. 66–69.

44  See K. Morawski, *Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki ...*, pp. 69–71.

45  See B.B. Awianowicz, "Wstęp", in: A. Patrycy Nidecki, *Trzy mowy gratulacyjne z okazji zwycięstwa nad Moswicinami*, ed. B.B. Awianowicz, Warsaw 2016, p. 18.

46  See *ibidem*, pp. 28–29.

The next stage of propaganda activities was the publication of Jan Kochanowski's poems several weeks later. These are the Polish *Pieśń o zdobyciu Połocka* (*Song of the Capture of Polatsk*)[47] and Latin *Ode de expugnatione Polottei* (*Ode on the Conquest of Polatsk*).[48] These texts were published before 21 February 1580 in Warsaw by Walenty Łapka, the same man who printed edicts near Polatsk and in Warsaw.[49] Kochanowski's Latin ode was clearly written for the international public and the Polish poem was intended for Polish readers. Zamoyski was behind this publication too. The correspondence between him and Kochanowski from January 1580 has partly survived, and shows that these texts were commissioned by the chancellor.

In the end, the large propaganda campaign devoted to the conquest of Polatsk consisted of five different texts or groups of texts:

1. Historical narrative (*Edictum regium de supplicationibus*)—Polatsk, 31 August 1579 (republished several times),
2. A speech by Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki—Warsaw, 21 November 1579; Cracow, December 1579,
3. The edition of all edicts—Warsaw, October–November 1579,
4. *The Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*—edited in Warsaw (?), October–November 1579, published in Rome, before November 1580,
5. Poems by Jan Kochanowski—Warsaw, published after 14 January and before 21 February 1580.[50]

In addition to these texts, works were created that were not directly inspired by the chancery, namely Daniel Hermann's epithalamium that contained a description of the capture of Polatsk (Vilnius 1579),[51] Georg Mack's German pamphlet (1579),[52] and a poem by Basilius Hyacinthius of Vilnius (Padua 1580).[53] It is possible that this last text was inspired by the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*. The description of the city and the deployment of Lithuanian, Polish, German, and Hungarian troops in Basilius Hyacinthius's text corresponds to the view drawn by Pachołowiecki.[54]

The king and chancellor were so pleased with the publication of the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* that they considered issuing further maps. The king mentions plans to publish Sulimowski's map of Livonia. It was sent to Rome, but never published.[55] Presumably, with Zamoyski's permission, some of the military maps were given to Gerardus Mercator. Two of them appeared in his *Atlas* in 1595. These were Maciej Strubicz's map of Livonia and a map of the area between Muscovy and Navahrudak (*Russiae pars amplificata*), as well as a geographical description of Livonia prepared by Strubicz and published only in 1727.[56]

The publication of subsequent maps was to be part of a second massive propaganda campaign. This was carried out in the years 1582–1584. During this time, more texts about the entire Livonian War were issued. These included historical works, poetry, speeches, music, medals, and maps.[57] Even in these later texts there are references to

---

47  Cf. J. Kochanowski, "Song XIII", in: J. Kochanowski, *Trifles, Songs, and Saint John's Eve Song*, translation, notes and introduction by Michael J. Mikoś, edited and with a foreword by M. Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, Lublin 2018, pp. 129–130.

48  See P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Dawne wydania dzieł Jana Kochanowskiego*, Warsaw 1993, p. 90. The Polish song was later printed in the collection of *Pieśni ksiąg dwoje* (*Two Books of Songs*, 1585) as song II 13, while the Latin ode ends the collection *Lyricorum libellus* (1580). See J. Niedźwiedź, "Źródła, konteksty i okoliczności …", p. 362.

49  See A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, "Dzieje 'Drukarni latającej' …", pp. 363–364.

50  See P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Dawne wydania …*, p. 90.

51  See J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w dawnej Polsce: Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni*, pp. 112–115.

52  See Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 330, il. 44.

53  Basilius Hyacinthus Vilnensis, *Panegyricus in excidium Polocense atque in memorabilem victoriam Stephani* (…) *ex potentissimo*

*Moschorum Principe III: Calendis Septembris 1579 reportatam*, Padova 1580; Bazilijus Hiacintijus iš Vilniaus, *Panegirika Polocko sugriovimo proga* (*1580*), ed. and transl. D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 2021. See J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w dawnej Polsce: Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni*, pp. 121–122, 224. Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski suspects that Hyacinthius was a Jesuit, and that his work was commissioned by his superiors in Vilnius. They wanted to show gratitude to the king, who on 1 April 1579, during the preparations for the war, erected the Jesuit university, the Academy of Vilnius. See J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w dawnej Polsce: Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni*, p. 224; L. Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, vol. 1, pp. 53–60. However, the print itself does not confirm Hyacinthius's membership in the Society of Jesus. Furthermore, it is dedicated to one of the leading Lithuanian Calvinists, to which the Jesuits would rather not agree.

54  See Basilius Hyacinthus Vilnensis, *Panegyricus* …, ff. C3v–C4r.

55  It is possible that Sulimowski's map was not published because most of the lands depicted on his map were not acquired by Lithuania.

56  Cf. M. Strubicz, *Brevis atque accurata Livoniae Ducatus descriptio historico-geographica*, ed. J.L. Diezius, Amstelaedami 1727. It is worth adding that Strubicz's map of Livonia was first published in 1589 in Kromer's *Polonia*. See K. Łopatecki, "Wykorzystanie map w działaniach …", p. 547; J. Niedźwiedź, "Mercator's Lithuanian-Russian Borderlands", pp. 151–172.

57  Among the more important texts, it is worth mentioning: J. Kochanowski, *Ad Stephanum Bathorrheum regem Poloniae Moscho debellato et Livonia recuperata epinicion*, Cracow 1582; G.M. Bruto (Flaminius Nobilius), *De rebus gestis Stephani I regis Poloniae … contra magnum Moschorum ducem narratio*, Rome 1582; F. Gradowski, *Hodoeporicon Moschicum*,

the 1579 war. We can find them, for example, in the Italian collection *Viridarium poetarum—Giardino de' poeti* published in 1583 and in Kochanowski's *Jezda do Moskwy* (*The Raid on Muscovy*) printed in 1582:

"There the duke [Ivan the Terrible] lost Polatsk; Sokol
    went up in flames
Into the sky together with its defenders.
Suša dried up, Sitna was lost, the walls of Krasny fell down,
Turoŭlia's not his anymore, Nieščarda, Kaziany."[58]

## 4 Human Network of the Authors of the *Atlas*

Thanks to direct and indirect sources we are able to answer two questions, that is, who took part in the creation of such a set of propaganda maps, and what was the role of the individual participants in this undertaking. The preparation and execution of such a complex project required the involvement of many people with different competencies. The *Atlas* makes it possible to reconstruct the network of human connections. However, the maps were part of a larger propaganda campaign, so the network should be extended to include people who were not directly involved in the creation of the *Atlas* (Fig. 9.1).

The members of this network can be divided into four main groups:
1. Politicians—the main actors and beneficiaries of the project,
2. Secretaries—authors of texts and maps,
3. External subcontractors and clients,
4. People not engaged in the propaganda action but who witnessed it.

In the first group, we should first and foremost include the king as the patron and Chancellor Jan Zamoyski as the commissioner and "editor-in-chief". It also includes Bishop Piotr Wolski, the Polish envoy in Rome, the publication intermediary, as well as Nuncio Giovanni Andrea

Caligari, and Cardinal Gallio. They wanted to have access to the cartographic materials, as evidenced by Zamoyski's letter.

The second group consists mainly of royal secretaries, among them cartographers. They worked under the direct supervision of Chancellor Zamoyski, who was responsible for cartographic services. Apart from Petrus Francus and Stanisław Pachołowiecki, Maciej Strubicz should also be mentioned here. The correspondence between the chancellor and Strubicz, who was preparing maps for the war with Muscovy,[59] has survived. Jan Kochanowski and Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki were also royal secretaries. Although they no longer worked in the chancery, they still held the title of secretary and, above all, performed various tasks for Zamoyski. Nidecki and Kochanowski's texts were a literary complement to the existing accounts and maps.

The third group includes the producers of the final versions of the maps. These are primarily Treter and Cavalieri. As well as them, we should mention Walenty Łapka, the head of the mobile printing house that published official royal documents and poems by Kochanowski. The other printer was Jan Januszowski, a printer from Cracow who published works by Nidecki and Kochanowski.

The fourth group includes people who did not take part in the propaganda campaign. This is the outer circle of people who were in direct contact with the authors of the *Atlas*. They should be taken into account as they left behind a number of sources that provide the context for the publication. Most often they were politicians or officials with a keen interest in the course of the war. Among them are Hieronim Rozdrażewski,[60] Marcin Kromer, and Stanisław Reszka. We could also include Antonio Martinelli, the secretary of the nuncio, if we assume that he was the one to have transported the maps to Rome. Martinelli wrote the Italian report on the course of warfare in 1579.[61]

Cracow 1582; J. Kochanowski, *Jezda do Moskwy*, Cracow 1583; *Viridarium poetarum*, Venice 1583; *Giardino de' poeti*, Venice 1583; R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico ...*, Cracow 1584; A. Rymsza, *Deketeros akroama*, Vilnius 1585. In 1582, a medal commemorating the recovery of Polatsk and Livonia was minted—see chapter 12 of this book. Kochanowski's epinicion was performed to music during Jan Zamoyski's wedding in 1583.

58 "Tam kniaź Połocko stracił, Sokół z perzynami | Aż pod niebo wyleciał wespół z obrońcami. | Susza wyschła, Sytna zbył, Krasne padły ściany | Turowla już nie jego, Nieszczerda, Koziany." J. Kochanowski, "Jezda do Moskwy", in: J. Kochanowski, *Poematy okolicznościowe*, ed. R. Krzywy, Warsaw 2018, p. 268 (lines 151–154). An English edition in: J. Kochanowski, *Occasional Poems*, ed. and transl. M.J. Mikos, intr. R. Krzywy, Bloomington 2023.

59 See Buczek, *Dorobek*, p. 14; Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, pp. 62–63; K. Łopatecki, "Wykorzystanie map w działaniach ...", pp. 548–549.

60 Rozdrażewski also had a keen interest in cartography and atlases. In 1599, Pietro Bertelli (*c*.1571–1621) published an atlas presenting Italian cities that was dedicated to a bishop who probably covered the publishing costs. See P. Bertelli, "Illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino domino Hieronymo comiti a Rozrazew episcopo Vladislaviensi et Pomeraniae Regni Poloniae senatori", in: *idem, Theatrum urbium Italicarum ad* [...] *Hieronymum comitem a Rozrazew episcopum Vladislaviensem et Pomeraniae Regni Poloniae senatorem*, Venice: Pietro Bartelli, 1599, ff. A2r–A2v.

61 See A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo ...", pp. 10–68; chapter 12 of this book.
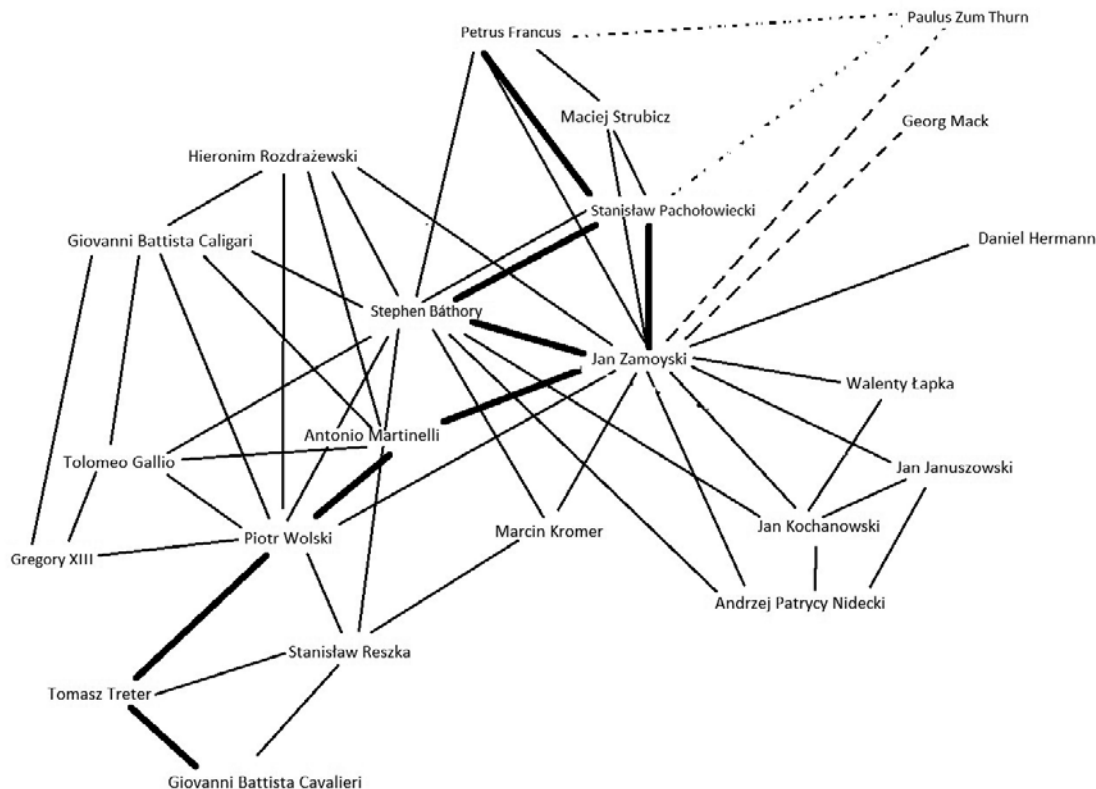
FIGURE 9.1   Human network of the authors of the *Atlas*
DRAWN BY J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ

In addition, this group includes persons indirectly involved in the propaganda campaign. Some of the maps and accounts were later distributed in the Holy Roman Empire, although we do not know whether their authors and distributors worked for Zamoyski. The official propaganda was complemented by Daniel Hermann's Latin epithalamium (autumn 1579) and Georg Mack's German pamphlet, both presenting the circumstances of capturing Polatsk to German readers. Paulus zum Thurn prepared a copy of a drawing depicting the siege of the city for them. This view was probably originally drawn by Petrus Francus or another cartographer.[62] The last person worth mentioning here is Basilius Hyacinthius of Vilnius, the author of *Panegyricus in excidium Polocense*. His text was probably inspired by the Calvinist Radziwiłłs. It was dedicated to Hetman Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Red". The Radziwiłłs competed with Zamoyski for the winners' laurels. In the early 1580s, they joined in the propaganda campaign, which resulted in several excellent poetic works, including *Jezda do Moskwy* by Jan Kochanowski (1582). Like Basilius Hyacinthius's work, they highlight the merits

of the king and the Radziwiłłs, but pass over the role of the chancellor in silence.

Direct and indirect links had existed previously or were being established during the campaign between the aforementioned people. We know about these relationships mainly from extant correspondence and official documents. They allow us to draw a map of relations between the participants and witnesses of the propaganda campaign of 1579 and 1580. This map allows us to understand the scale of the undertaking.

## 5        Conclusions

*The Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* was part of a larger propaganda campaign on the part of the Polish crown chancery. For this reason, the maps by Stanisław Pachołowiecki should be studied in the broader context of texts produced at that time. These are texts inspired by the Chancellor Zamoyski, namely royal edicts published in September and October 1579, Nidecki's speech published in December 1579, and Jan Kochanowski's poems from January 1580.

The publication of the *Atlas* was a singular undertaking—one of a kind in the history of Polish

---

62      See chapter 4 of this book.

political propaganda in the 16th century. Similar cartographic publications inspired by the crown chancery did not appear until the next century. And they never took the form of an atlas.

The *Atlas* was intended primarily for the international public (mainly in Italy and German-speaking countries). This is why it should be put in the context of foreign publications based on the above-mentioned sources issued by the chancery, including the reprint of the Cologne edicts and the Czech and English versions of *Edictum de supplicationibus*. The decision to publish the maps was made in September 1579, but it was not until October or November that the decision to publish them abroad was taken. At the same time, it was decided to reissue all the previous royal edicts concerning the campaign. The person responsible for the publication was primarily Chancellor Zamoyski. He edited the maps before publication and actually decided on their release. The *Atlas* was published as a cartographic supplement to the prose narrative about the capture of Polatsk (*Edictum de supplicationibus*). Its role was also to emphasize that the Principality of Polatsk belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Manuscript maps were delivered to Rome in early 1580. It is possible that they were brought from Warsaw by Antonio Martinelli, secretary of the papal nuncio. They were published in print in October of that year at the latest; a copy of the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* and perhaps of other maps were sent to Chancellor Zamoyski. The publication of the maps in Rome was supervised by the Polish envoy Piotr Wolski, bishop of Płock. They were completed on site by Canon Tomasz Treter, and then engraved and published by his colleague Giovanni Battista Cavalieri. The issue of maps was a complex logistical process. It was made possible by the existing human network. At the same time, the preparation of the publication strengthened existing connections and produced new ones. This network ensured the effectiveness of Stephen Báthory's propaganda.

Sources, i.e. the extant copies of The *Atlas*, translations, and foreign editions of edicts, as well as publications of other works that supported King Stephen in the war with Muscovy, testify to the success of this enterprise. This success encouraged King Stephen and Chancellor Zamoyski to plan the publication of other maps from the military campaign. Following these decisions, some of these maps were made available to Gerardus Mercator. Two of them were published in his atlas in 1595.

# Renaissance Textual Genres and Pachołowiecki's Maps

## 1    Cartographic Epinicion

Pachołowiecki's cartographic cycle was based on military strategic and operation maps.[1] When they were later prepared for publication, a comprehensive range of further information was added to them.[2] All the military information was of great significance for the propaganda strategy of the royal chancery. Their authors, i.e. Stanisław Pachołowiecki, together with Tomasz Treter and Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, presented the Polatsk campaign as an exceptionally organized and conducted military action: although the enemy was strong and well prepared, as evidenced by the views of heavily fortified cities with Polatsk at the forefront, King Báthory's military genius prevailed.

The mapmakers were not alone in presenting the king as a talented strategist. Stephen Báthory, the voivode and next prince of Transylvania, was elected the king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania in 1576. This skilful politician and military leader was also a humanist and patron of literature and the arts. It is not surprising that many Polish authors addressed the king, praising his military victories. A well-known Polish poet Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński (*c.*1545–1581) wrote an ode in honour of Báthory in Polish, *Song VII*. The ruler was presented as an ideal of masculinity. Among other things, Báthory was a military leader who showed great knowledge and experience in effective command of the army:

"In these times you seem most beautiful in armour. If we seek somebody of the righteous reason, who should be entrusted with the management of the army or who has a brave heart with a quick hand, or exhibits vigilance or patience, we admit, that it is you: an excellent king, hetman, foot knight and horse knight. Your fortune defeats troops and brings downs **defensive walls**."[3] (Transl. J.N.)

The phrase "defensive walls" is the most important for our analysis. In writing about the "defensive walls", Sęp Szarzyński is alluding to the fortifications—the same ones that were also in the views of the fortresses engraved by Cavalieri in 1580. Each of these views comes with the information that the town was "captured by His Majesty King Stephen". What Sęp Szarzyński put into words in his poem was expressed visually on copperplates.

Another poet, Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584), in his Polish *Song* II 13 (*Pieśń XIII Ksiąg wtórych*), mentions "stately castles, [...] fortified towns, [...] frequent bullets, | Strong ramparts, densely built towers, [...] iron gates" (transl. J.N.),[4] which were not necessarily commented so extensively on the copperplates because the reader could judge their strength for themselves. Another matter is that these powerful fortifications presented in poetry and on maps were mostly constructions of wood and earth. These fortifications were in fact not as big as the fortresses erected at the time by Italian or Dutch architects. However, Russian and Belarusian historians who carried out fieldwork in 2015, confirmed that the shape of the fortresses was regular, in line with what is depicted in the copperplates, although Cavalieri used schematization and even stronger geometrization.[5]

These were earthen trenches reinforced with a stockade, timber box fortifications filled with earth, and wooden towers. The small size of these strongholds is evidenced by the number of towers or roundels—the distance between them should not have exceeded the range of the

---

1    Originally published as J. Niedźwiedź, "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580): propaganda, genologia i tworzenie wiedzy geograficznej", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 127–155; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.004.7893.

2    See also chapter 4 of this book.

3    "Lecz niniejszy
Iż czas przyniósł, we zbroi zdasz się napiękniejszy.
Bądź porządek ważymy, bądź rozsądek prawy,
Komu wojsko, a komu huf zlecić do sprawy,
Lub serce mężne z ręką prędką, lub patrzamy
Na czujność, na cierpliwość, wyznamy, wyznamy,

Że ty przedni król, hetman, rycerz, pieszy, konny,
Twe szczęście wojska gromi, **mur wali obronny**."
M. Sęp Szarzyński, "Pieśń VII Stefanowi Batoremu, królowi polskiemu", in: *idem*, *Poezje zebrane*, ed. R. Grześkowiak, A. Karpiński, with co-operation of K. Mrowcewicz, Warsaw 2001, p. 57 (lines 21–28; bold lettering—J.N.).

4    "zamki budowne, (...) miasta warowne, (...) kule częste, | Zręby mocne, baszty gęste: | [...] żelazne brony". J. Kochanowski, "Pieśń 13", in: *idem*, *Pieśni*, ed. L. Szczerbicka-Ślęk, Wrocław 2008, pp. 85, 87 (lines 13–14, 41–43).

5    "'Полоцкая земля как контактная зона при Иване Грозном, 1563–1579 гг.', экспедиция 18–25 июля 2015 г.", the paper was published on the website of the Faculty of History, University of Saint Petersburg (Санкт Петербургский государственный университет Институт истории): https://history.spbu.ru/nauka/nauchnye-tsentry/285-rgnf-pogranichie-2015/ekspeditsii/910-polotskaya-zemlya-kak-kontaktnaya-zona-pri-ivane-groznom-1563-1579-gg-ekspeditsiya-18-25-iyulya-2015-g.html (accessed 21.07.2024).

harquebus or earlier hook guns (Ger. *Hakenbüchse*).[6] In the 16th century, the fortresses in the Polatsk region would not make as much of an impression as south European stone or brick bastions. Therefore, Pachołowiecki/Cavalieri, Sęp Szarzyński, and Kochanowski had to apply rhetorical amplification (cartographic and poetic), so that Báthory's strategic talents could shine in all their glory.

That being the case, they chose phrases and words which suggested that there were many fortifications and that they were built of stone and bristled with towers. Pachołowiecki and Cavalieri used geometry, symmetry, and density,[7] the last of which was very often used to present urban landscapes. This device could be described as a cartographic *auxesis*.[8]

This regulation of the shape of the forts and their reduction to squares, circles, and triangles, were not clumsy simplifications resulting from Pachołowiecki's non-veristic approach to his work. It rather expresses a Renaissance desire for harmony and regularity,[9] which was also obsessively pursued by theoreticians of military science. When we consult the treatise by Duke Albert of Prussia (1490–1568) *The Order of War* (*Die Kriegsordnung*), we can see that such regular shapes, based on the rectangle, triangle, rhombus, circle, and ellipse, were given to military formations, fortifications, camps, and so on (Fig. 10.1).[10] In

the 16th century waging war was subject to the rules of the beauty of geometry. This was the supposed foundation of the art of warfare: mathematical, precise planning, and execution of military operations. The war was no longer just a matter of personal courage and bravery, but also of "righteous reason", which Sęp Szarzyński mentioned in the first place when he characterized Báthory as a leader.[11] During the Livonian War, this "reason" was reflected in the geometry of the sieges, fortifications, and their cartographic representations.

However, the geometrized and amplified fortresses of the Principality of Polatsk show more than just their creators' and readers' attachment to the geometric code of early modern warfare. Pachołowiecki uses the square, triangle, and circle as topoi, that is, signs used in military architecture easily recognizable to the cartographic reader. At the same time, this geometry differs from that of depictions of western and southern European fortresses. The fortresses of the Principality of Polatsk are different because they were built by Ivan the Terrible. They were no less imposing than cities and castles in other parts of the continent, but they were slightly different from them. In a way, they are exotic. Against the background of the towns depicted in 16th-century copperplates and woodcuts depicting the sieges conducted in Europe and North Africa (Figs 10.2, 10.3), eastern European cities built on the plan of an equilateral triangle, such as Krasny, or on the plan of a horseshoe, such as Sokol, look at least intriguing.

The "oriental" geometry and regularity made the siege of Muscovite castles a challenge for a leader like Báthory. The war he waged was based on bravery as much as on careful planning—the basis of modern warfare. The capture of a town was an operation requiring great intellectual skill and considerable knowledge of the staff, including practical mathematics used in cartography, building fortifications, calculating the trajectory of bullets, marking out camps, forming infantry and cavalry quadrants, etc.[12] All this is clearly visible in PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*. Every element of this view is geometrized. There are no disorderly groups wandering around the camp or chaos accompanying the assault. The map resembles a static chessboard with figures spaced out rather than a dynamic narrative from the battlefield. This static character reveals the image of what was then modern warfare.

If King Stephen was to be presented as a modern leader, he had to fight in a modern fashion. This type of warfare consisted primarily not in two armies fighting

---

6    See K. Łopatecki, "Poglądy Floriana Zebrzydowskiego …", p. 97.

7    In the case of panoramas, the views of cities are tightened, so that the towers of the defensive walls and the towers of the churches and castles are closer together, which results in a strong impression of verticality. There are many examples of this technique, e.g. the *View of Toledo* (1597–1610) by El Greco or Matthäus Merian's *View of Cracow* published by Claes Janszoon Visscher about 1640. In the case of a bird's eye view, buildings were densified, as can be seen, for example, in the view of Vilnius from Hogenberg and Braun's *Civitates orbis terrarum*.

8    If we treat geometrization and schematization as rhetorical figures, we can dismiss the criticism of historians of cartography, accusing Cavalieri and Pachołowiecki of "ineptitude". Cf. "Unfortunately, in the prints, both the civil buildings and fortifications of Polatsk, as well as the arrangement of the occupying troops, were depicted schematically and their details were vastly generalised. A certain ineptitude of the making of the print is particularly striking" ("Niestety zarówno zabudowa oraz fortyfikacje Połocka, jak i sytuacja wojsk oblegających oddane zostały na sztychu schematycznie, z daleko idącą generalizacją szczegółów. Uderza zwłaszcza pewna nieudolność sztychu […]."), S. Alexandrowicz, "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne …", p. 4.

9    This was most clearly expressed by Luca Pacioli (1445–1517) in his treatise on geometry entitled *De divina proportione* (1509). This text had a great influence on the use of geometry in the fine arts, cartography, and warfare.

10   See K. Łopatecki, "Twórczość wojskowa Albrechta Hohenzollerna. Uwagi nad trzema manuskryptami przypisanymi w latach 2009–2014 Albrechtowi Hohenzollernowi", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 59 (2015), pp. 163–188.

11   "rozsądku prawego." M. Sęp Szarzyński, "Pieśń VII", p. 57 (line 23).

12   Cf. J. Bennett, S. Johnston, *The Geometry of War, 1500–1750: Catalogue of the Exhibition*, Oxford 1996, p. 9.

FIGURE 10.1    War geometry—an example how to deploy troops in the treatise by Albert of Prussia, *Księgi o rycerskich rzeczach a sprawach wojennych z zebrane a porządkiem dobrem spisane*, przeł. M. Strubicz, Vilnius 1561, Czart MS 1813/IV
PHOTO J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ

in the field, but in besieging and defending fortresses. Tomasz Treter, in an epigram placed on the map of the Principality of Polatsk, and Kochanowski, in *Song* II 13, regretted that Ivan the Terrible had not decided to fight a traditional field battle with the Polish-Lithuanian army; instead, the tsar decided that local fortresses would resist the attack. Therefore, both poets had to accept the new

model of warfare and redefine the notion of bravery in war. King Stephen demonstrated it by carrying out sieges that required not epic deeds on the battlefield, but the use of the latest technologies: cartography, military engineering, artillery, logistical planning, etc. In the case of such a siege war, the battle was between the ingenuity of the builders and defenders of the strongholds and

FIGURE 10.2    The siege of the fortress Margariti (Greece, then the Ottoman Empire) by Venetian troops in 1571. *Fortezza di Margaritin nella provincia della Cimera*, in: G.F. Camocio, *Isole famose, porti, fortezze e terre maritime sottoposte alla Ser[enissi]ma Sig[no]ria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig[n]or Turco …*, Venice 1574 (reprint *c.*1757)
PHOTO J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ

the ingenuity of the besiegers. The task of the engineers working for the defenders was to build such fortifications that would be effective in artillery combat. The task of the besieging leader was to use the available technical means (including practical mathematics) in such a way that the fortifications of the defenders proved ineffective.

This rivalry can be seen in many views of the sieges conducted in the 16th and 17th centuries, including the copperplate showing the siege of Polatsk. The problem is that other wood and earth strongholds in Muscovy, such as Kaziany, did not look very impressive against the background of the huge fortifications built in western and southern Europe at that time. Therefore, depicting them in a "realistic" manner could make King Stephen's victory seem less significant. To prevent this, the illustrator used geometry and scale. Manipulating the scale, both in the view of the cities and on the map of the Principality of

Polatsk, enabled Pachołowiecki to raise their status. As a result, the towns and strongholds of the Principality of Polatsk seem not only exotic, but also powerful. At the bottom of Pachołowiecki's view of the siege there is the comment entitled: Polatsk "can rightly be considered the most powerful fortress not only in Muscovy, but in the whole North" (transl. G.F.). Kochanowski echoed Pachołowiecki when he wrote "You conquer fortified castles and strongholds", addressing King Stephen in *Song* II 13.[13]

16th-century painters and engravers had to face the aforementioned change in the way warfare was conducted. Older literature and art were mainly focused on showing skirmishes in the field. This was due to the warrior ethos, which originated in ancient times. According

---

13    "Zamki budowne | I twierdze bierzesz warowne." J. Kochanowski, *Pieśń 13* …, p. 87 (lines 45–46).
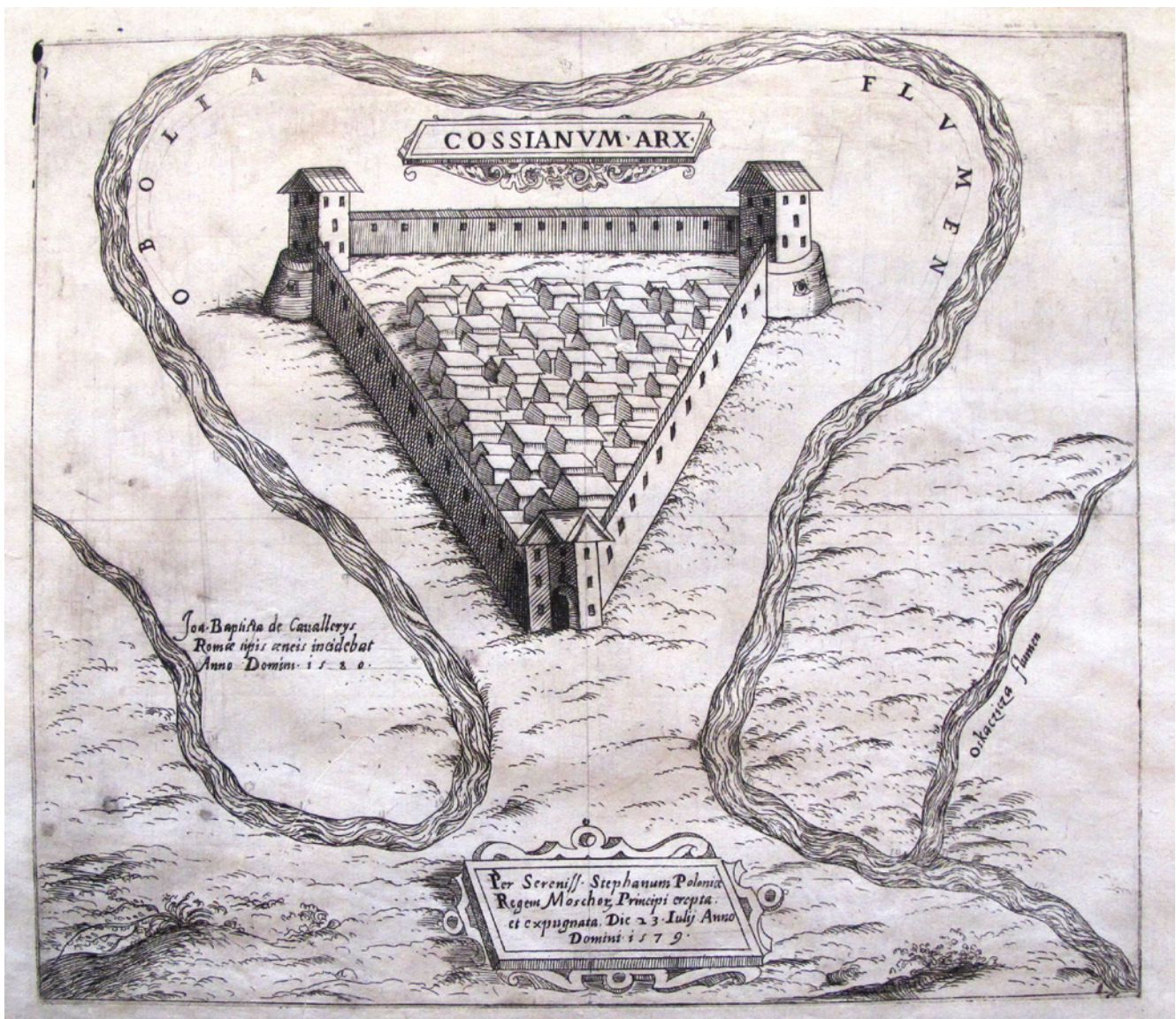
FIGURE 10.3      An equilateral triangle: a plan of the castle Kaziany. PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Kaziany*

to this ethos, the greatest manifestation of bravery was the personal fight in which such virtues as physical strength, dexterity, ability to use weapons, courage, etc. could be demonstrated. Early modern art and literature presented horsemen or infantrymen fighting with each other, more or less realizing the knightly ethos.

However, sieges offer fewer opportunities for this type of depiction because there is far less close combat. There are still individual soldiers and knights in the engravings and woodcuts, but among the main characters there are also cannons, artillerymen and artillery trenches, a military camp, and genre scenes such as the preparation of

food for the soldiers (Fig. 10.4).[14] Triumph does not always consist in spectacularly storming and taking the town. Sometimes what happened was just an unimpressive surrender, which was only turned into memorable events by artists and propaganda (e.g. by Velázquez in *The Surrender of Breda*, 1635, or by Salomon Savery in *The Defeat of the Muscovite Army at Smolensk*, 1635).[15]

---

14    Such scenes can be seen in 16th-century representations of sieges from the countries of the German Reich, for example Hans Graav's work after Konrad Faber's view of the siege of Frankfurt, *Francofordiae ac emporii Germaniae …*, Albert of Prussia, *Die Kriegsordnung*, 1555, a watercolour depicting the ways of besieging cities (British Library, Harley MS 1413, f. 220v).

15    See J. Czajewski, "Kartografia wojny smoleńskiej (1632–1634) w obrazach i słowach", *Z Dziejów Kartografii* 24 (2022), pp. 175–230.

FIGURE 10.4 Polish artillery at Polatsk. ZUM THURN MAP (fragment)

A similar new approach can also be seen in poetry, especially epic poetry. Seemingly, Torquato Tasso in *Jerusalem Delivered* (1581) presented the battles of Jerusalem in a manner modelled on ancient epic. Like Homer describing the siege of Troy, Tasso recounted a series of duels between Christian and Islamic heroes who fought in the Holy Land. At the same time, however, Tasso, unlike Homer or Virgil, does not forget about tactics or strategy and the technical problems associated with the siege of

the town. He, therefore, writes about the deployment of troops, war councils, planning, and methods of command, and the key theme of songs XI and XII is the use of siege engines. He also dedicates much space to fortifications.

Although Kochanowski, who wrote shorter lyrical works, did not elaborate on such issues, his poems also show that the way he perceived warfare had undergone a change. This can be seen in his Latin *Epinicion* (1582), written to commemorate the wars with Muscovy that had just ended. Kochanowski emphasizes that King Stephen was victorious not in the field, but thanks to the "conquest of a hundred cities" ("centumque captis urbibus"—transl.

---

S. Savery, *Expugnatio exercitus Moscovitici obsidione presentis urbem Smolenscum ductu Vladislai IV Poloniae ac Sueciae Regis etc.*, Amsterdam 1635.

J.N.),[16] and in the *Ode on the Conquest of Polatsk* (1579) he attributes the success in taking the town to the bravery of King Stephen and his soldiers as much as to effective artillery.[17]

## 2    The Cartographic Emblem

Pachołowiecki's collection of maps can be treated as a political text that documented the territorial affiliation of the Principality of Polatsk to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This interpretation is suggested by the Latin texts and engravings placed on the main map of the collection, PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*. The text in the upper left-hand corner tells the history of the town and the principality.[18] In the upper right of the map there is the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with an epigram by Tomasz Treter. In the bottom right corner there is a frame with the title (written in Antiqua) and the author's name—Pachołowiecki (in cursive).

Such a multitude of texts was not unusual on 16th-century maps. One of the first maps to contain numerous explanatory texts was Martin Waldseemüller's famous wall map of the world, *Universalis cosmographia* from 1507. Such use of text in cartography has its medieval origins. However, from the 1530s onward this relationship between cartography and the literary text deepened. In 1531, Andrea Alciato's book *Emblematum liber* (*The Book of Emblems*) was published.[19] The emblem, a genre established by Alciato, left its mark on all early modern literature and culture, including cartography.[20]

The emblem consisted essentially of an epigram (*subscriptio*) and an image (*pictura*). The motto (*inscriptio*) was often a third element of the emblem. The three-part

emblem was considered a model as early as the second half of the 16th century,[21] but was often refashioned. Simplified emblems were sometimes written, without a picture (*emblemata nuda*), although implying its presence. There are also very complex emblems that contain additional texts, including prose, or put together in long and complex cycles. Their essential characteristic is always the combination of word and image.

So, can early modern maps, which include both forms of representation, be considered as emblems? The issue is a complex one because the emblematic relationship between the *inscriptio*, *pictura*, and *subscription* is based on allegory.[22] The image is allegorical;[23] allegory is also used in the epigram, and both parts are interpretations of each other and build up ever more layers of meaning. However, in the case of the map and the texts placed on it, the use of allegorical interpretation cannot be treated as a rule. Usually we are dealing with a symbolic and mimetic representation. The map is supposed to imitate reality and the texts that accompany it are literal, not allegorical exegesis of this representation.[24] Nevertheless, there is something to the point: in some cases, the 16th-century users of maps could read them as allegorical and—for this reason—also emblematic.

In 1580, the readers were prepared to interpret a word and an image together allegorically and to look for connections between them. In other words, they were thinking emblematically. On the other hand, some maps were drawn in such a way as to suggest their emblematic interpretation.[25] And this is the case with *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* and the whole cycle of Pachołowiecki.

---

16    J. Kochanowski, *Ad Stephanum Bathorrheum regem Poloniae incyltum, Moscho debellato et Livonia recuperata Epinicion*, line 11, http://neolatina.bj.uj.edu.pl/neolatina/tscript/show/id/1044.html#10330 (accessed 21.07.2024).

17    See J. Kochanowski, *De expugnatione Polottei: Ode XIII* (*Ode on the Conquest of Polatsk. Ode XIII*), line 69, http://neo-latina.bj.uj.edu.pl/neolatina/tscript/show/id/1093.html#11280 (accessed 21.07.2024). See J. Niedźwiedź, "Źródła, konteksty i okoliczności ...", p. 389.

18    Grzegorz Franczak thoroughly examines the propaganda rhetoric of this historiographical account in chapter 12 of this book.

19    See D.L. Drysdall, "Andrea Alciato. Pater and Princeps", in: *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. P.M. Daly, New York 2008, pp. 79–97.

20    Emblem 103 of the first edition of Alciato's emblems shows a map of the area ruled by Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan. See A. Alciato, *Il libro degli emblemi secondo le edizioni del 1531 e del 1534*, introduzione, traduzione e commento M. Gabriele, Milano 2009, pp. 525–527.

21    Cf. I. Pontanus, *Poeticarum institutionum libri III*, 3rd ed., Ingolstadt 1600, pp. 188–190; J. Pelc, *Słowo i obraz. Na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych*, Cracow 2002, pp. 36–39.

22    Cf. P.M. Daly, "Emblems. An Introduction", in: *Companion to Emblem Studies* ..., pp. 2–3; M. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2nd ed., Rome 1975, p. 21.

23    Alciato used the phrase "icones symbolicae". See M. Gabriele, "Introduzione", in: A. Alciato, *Il libro degli emblemi* ..., p. XXXVII.

24    Sometimes in emblems, however, a map, globe, or view of a town was part or all of the *pictura*. In the 1620s the famous German-language collection of emblems with town views in their *picturae* was published: D. Meisner, E. Kiesner, *Thesaurus philopoliticus*, Frankfurt am Main 1624. See D. Peil, "The Emblem in the German-Speaking Regions", in: *Companion to Emblem Studies* ..., pp. 189–190. A view of the globe with continents also appears in emblem III 6 from 1632 by the best-known 17th-century author of emblems, Herman Hugo. See H. Hugo, *Pia desideria libri III*, Einführung von E. Benz, Hildesheim—New York 1971, p. 334, F. Reitinger, *Literary Mapping in German-Speaking Europe*, in: HOC, vol. 3, p. 446.

25    Jan Kochanowski wrote in Polish the work *Fenomena*, which is a paraphrase of the astronomical treatise of the Hellenistic poet Aratus (the 4th to 3rd centuries BC). Kochanowski dedicated

First of all, the poem in the upper right corner of the map is an emblem. The coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Treter's poem make up a stemma, a heraldic variety of emblem, extremely popular in the early modern era.[26] Almost all books published in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th and 17th centuries contain stemmata on the back of the title page. They also decorated occasional architecture, such as triumphal arches, *castra doloris*, and epitaphs placed in churches.[27] It therefore comes as no surprise that such a fashionable and necessary genre was included in the curricula of humanistic gymnasia, including Jesuit schools.[28]

The essence of the stemma was an allegorical explanation of someone's coat of arms. Besides allegories, it was necessary to create a conceit. The author of the stemma should have demonstrated knowledge of history and heraldry and the ability to write epigrams. Sometimes, it was necessary to make an allusion to the addressee or certain events in their life. It had to be an elegant, concise panegyric.

16th-century maps often featured various types of laudatory poems or dedicatory letters.[29] However, emblems were much less frequent. Therefore, the authors of

PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* must have had a special purpose that led them to make use of this genre. Tomasz Treter,[30] who wrote the poem, had an additional asset: he was not only a humanist, but also a talented draughtsman and engraver, as well as an author of emblematic works. Consequently, the 1580 epigram was not his first work of this type. It is possible that he also drew the image of the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In King Stephen's times, the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had already been in place for several decades, although no official document was ever issued to sanction it.[31] It consisted of a four-field chequy. The first and fourth quarters featured the White Eagle placed on a red background, while in the second and third field, also red, there was the Lithuanian Pogoń: a horseman with a raised sword. At the intersection of the lines of partition, in the middle of the coat of arms, the ruler's coat of arms was placed. In 1580, it was the coat of arms of the Báthory family, the Wolf Teeth. It featured three wolf fangs aiming horizontally to the right. The whole coat of arms is topped with the royal closed crown. The four-field coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was placed e.g. on the seal of the royal chancery, on the monarch's banner, and on coins, as well as in official forms or those dedicated to the king. The coat of arms placed on the map was copied by Treter or Cavalieri from official publications issued at that time in Poland. The cartouche and the crown are almost identical to those on the woodcuts from the books of the Cracow publisher Mikołaj Scharffenberg and in propaganda prints published in 1579 and 1580 in Warsaw by Walenty Łapczyński.[32] They include an official document reporting the recapture of Polatsk[33] (Figs 10.5a and 10.5b).

In his Latin epigram, Treter referred to all the elements of the engraving. He presented the course of the war in an allegorical manner. As in the poems written by Kochanowski and Sęp, the emphasis here was placed on the siege and only secondarily on fighting in the field: significantly, the epigram begins with the word *arces* (castles). Treter noted the interaction between the two nations, Polish and Lithuanian, and stressed the king's virtues. The wolf's fangs were turned into an ancient trident. As in other texts written in the 16th and

---

a separate poem to each constellation, with the starting point being not only the Greek poem, but also a Renaissance map of the sky. The individual poems are explanations of allegorical figures, animals, and objects depicting constellations. Cf. J.K. Gruchała, *"Aratus" Jana Kochanowskiego: Warsztat filologiczny poety*, Kraków 1989, p. 15; *idem*, "Polskie i łacińskie 'Aratea' Jana Kochanowskiego. Uwagi o warsztacie poety-filologa", in: *Jan Kochanowski: Nowe perspektywy badawcze; W sześćdziesięciolecie istnienia Muzeum w Czarnolesie*, ed. T. Błach, M. Kozdrach, Radom-Czarnolas 2022, pp. 141–158. Therefore, Kochanowski's poem shows connections with contemporary cartography and emblems.

26    See J. Niedźwiedź, *Nieśmiertelne teatra sławy: Teoria i praktyka twórczości panegirycznej na Litwie w XVII–XVIII w.*, Cracow 2003, pp. 217–219; B. Czarski, *Stemmaty w staropolskich książkach, czyli rzecz o poezji heraldycznej*, Warsaw 2012, pp. 75–101.

27    See J. Chrościcki, *Pompa funebris: Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1974, pp. 242, 264.

28    Cf. P.M. Daly, G.R. Dimler, *The Jesuit Series*, vols 1–5, Toronto 1997–2006; G.R. Dimler, "Jesuit Emblem Books. An Overview of Research Past and Present", in: *Emblem Studies in Honour of Peter M. Daly*, ed. M. Bath, P.F. Campa, D.S. Russell, Baden-Baden 2002, pp. 63–122; P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, "Emblematyka w polskich kolegiach jezuickich", in: *Artes atque humaniora: Studia Stanislao Mossakowski sexagenario dicata*, ed. H. Samsonowicz, współpraca M. Dłutek, Warsaw 1998, p. 170.

29    There are many examples. For instance, the map of the world opening Mercator's *Atlas* is preceded by a letter of dedication, to which Mercator added a poem by George Buchanan, which commented on the map on the next page. See G. Mercator, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura*, Duisburg 1595, p. 32.

30    See T. Chrzanowski, *Działalność artystyczna ...*, p. 19; G. Jurkowlaniec, *Sprawczość rycin ...*, pp. 215, 216. See also chapter 9 of this book.

31    See H. Wisner, *Rzeczpospolita Wazów: Czasy Zygmunta III i Władysława IV*, Warsaw 2002, p. 14.

32    See chapters 9 and 11.

33    See the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in: *EDICTUM SVIRENSE*, f. Av.

FIGURE 10.5A   The coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian
Commonwealth with the coat of arms of
King Stephen Báthory. PACHOŁOWIECKI,
*Ducatus* (fragment)

FIGURE 10.5B   The coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with
the coat of arms of King Stephen Báthory. *EDICTUM SVIRENSE*,
f. Av
PHOTO J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ

17th centuries, Muscovites were portrayed as barbarians,[34] or less frequently as "enemies of the Roman name" ("Romani nominis hostis"—transl. J.N.), in other words, as enemies of Catholics and the pope (in reference to their Orthodox faith). This phrase proves that Treter addressed his work primarily at humanists from the Latin (Catholic) part of Europe.[35] In Treter's epigram, Ivan the Terrible is not only an enemy of the Commonwealth, but also of the Roman Church.

Two places in the poem point to the fact that Treter assumed his readers had a certain knowledge of earlier anti-Muscovite literature. Firstly, he alluded to the news of Ivan the Terrible's cruelty towards his "barbaric" subjects (lines 3–4). This news was widely discussed in various pamphlets published in Europe in the 1560s and 1570s. The *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio* (*The Description of European Sarmatia*) by Alessandro Guagnini (Cracow 1574) and the account of Albert Schlichting had the greatest influence on the knowledge about the cruelties of the Muscovite ruler.[36] Secondly, the allusion to the defence

---

34   The stereotypes of Muscovy and Muscovites present in the 16th- and 17th-century Polish literature have been discussed by: A. Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel* ...; M.T. Poe, *"A People Born to Slavery": Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748*, Ithaca—New York 2000; R. Krzywy, *Wędrówki z Mneomosyne: Studia o topice dawnego podróżopisania*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 47–70; G. Franczak, "Wstęp" ..., pp. 50–52.

35   In Poland and Lithuania such an argument would not work because a large part of their inhabitants—from the territories of contemporary Belarus and Ukraine—were also Orthodox. This is why anti-Orthodox topoi can rarely be found in 16th-century

texts aimed against Muscovy and intended for readers from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

36   See A. Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj* ..., pp. 55–56; H. Grala, "Wokół dzieła i osoby ...", pp. 35–37, 42, 48; И.В. Дубровский, "Новые

of Catholicism refers to King Stephen's established image as an arch-Catholic defender of the true faith. He was presented as such in the poems of Sęp Szarzyński and Kochanowski, among others. Yet when he was the ruler of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory fought Protestantism and withstood the invasion of the Ottoman Empire, and now he defended the Roman Church from "the Schismatics".

Treter's emblem is a poetic commentary on the prose account on the opposite side of the map, specifically to the place that pertained to King Stephen Báthory's recovery of Polatsk.[37] This text is also propaganda, although in a different way than the emblem.[38] The first section covers the history of the town and the principality, while the second is a short chorography and encomium, composed according to the rules of writing encomiums of cities, established by Aphthonius of Antioch in ancient times.[39] The essence of this text is to show that for many centuries the Polatsk region was under the rule of the grand dukes of Lithuania, and since the times of King Jogaila (1386; Polish: Władysław Jagiełło) also of the kings of Poland.[40] This is where the two texts meet—here the Lithuanian and Polish sovereignty, or the Pogoń and the Eagle (coats of arms), over these lands is mentioned. That the Principality of Polatsk belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is therefore a very important ideological message in the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*. This message was expressed in the language of 16th-century emblematics and in a historical account.

## 3 The First Polish Atlas

When it comes to the state of preservation of the map of the Principality of Polatsk, it almost never occurs on its own—except for one copy, it is always accompanied by seven other maps.[41] Most of these maps have survived to our times in sets—there are four of them. Although one

of them was only assembled recently by a private collector, the other three (currently kept in London, Paris, and Warsaw—the latter set was the basis of the 1837 reprint) have the form of cycles consisting of eight elements: PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*, PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*, and views of six other fortresses.[42] We deliberately use the word "cycle" here because everything seems to indicate that Cavalieri, when starting to engrave the copperplates, was preparing them as a stylistically and programmatically uniform collection. This is evidenced by the miniature views of the fortifications copied onto the map from the prints.[43] We can suppose that the existing sets from London, Paris, and Warsaw were sold in the 16th century as such and they have retained this form to our times.[44] If this were not the case, it is unlikely that they would survive otherwise than as scattered individual maps and views. Besides, it is hard to imagine that if they had been sold individually, only 19th-century collectors from England, Italy, or France would have tried to collect maps of some distant Lithuanian-Belarusian province. It should be recalled here that the sets of engravings from Paris and from private collections were coloured in a uniform way, which also shows that they were perceived by early modern collectors as cycles.

These views of the six fortresses are not fully independent of each other. Each one of them makes some sense, but a single view of the castle, for example Suša Castle, will tell the western European viewer relatively little if he or she is deprived of additional information or the context of the other maps and views. We learn from the description on the copperplate that this is Suša, "Located in a well-defended place, and taken from Muscovites by the Most Serene King of Poland Stephen on 6 October of the Year of Our Lord 1579" ("Munitissimo loco posita et per Sereniss[imum] Stephanum Poloniae regem Moschis erepta die 6 Octob[ris] Anno D[omini] 1579"—transl. G.F.). The reader can also see an almost square island with a densely built-up town with several churches, surrounded by a regular quadrilateral of walls reinforced with powerful towers, adapted for the use of artillery. Only when the reader has the remaining elements of the cycle at his or her disposal can he/she build a much longer narrative about the conquest of the Principality of Polatsk and Suša Castle. Thanks to the information on the other maps, the

---

документы о России Ивана Грозного", pp. 26–41; *idem*, "Новые документы по истории отношений России …", pp. 7–12; *idem*, "Латинские рукописи сочинений …", pp. 74–217, G. Franczak, *Wstęp* …, pp. 13–19.

37  See also chapter 12 of this book.

38  Cf. J.B. Harley, "Power and Legitimation in the English Geographical Atlases of the Eighteenth Century", in: *Images of the World: The Atlas through History*, ed. J.A. Wolter and R.E. Grim, Washington, DC, 1997, p. 184.

39  See B.B. Awianowicz, "'Urbes laudandi ratio'. Antyczna teoria pochwały miast i jej recepcja w De inventione et amplificatione oratoria Gerarda Bucoldianusa oraz w *Essercitii di Aftonio Sofista* Orazia Toscanelli", *Terminus* 11 (2009), 1 (20–21), pp. 15–32.

40  See also chapter 12 of this book.

41  Cf. chapter 2 of this book.

42  See K. Kozica, "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych …", p. 42.

43  See also chapter 5 of this book.

44  It is worth noting that *The Siege of Polatsk* (PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*) was published separately, independently of the set, presumably as a view of military action and historical event. This second edition was probably not prepared by Cavalieri, whose name was removed from the copperplate. See chapter 2.

reader can discover in exactly what order King Stephen conquered the cities. Moreover, he or she is able to map the whole military operation, that is—using the large map of the Principality of Polatsk—he/she is able to determine the distances between Suša and other castles, imagine the range and course of the campaign, and—thanks to the view of the siege of Polatsk—he/she is able to determine what types of units were involved.

At the same time, one more interesting thing can be seen in these copperplates, especially in the depictions of the six fortresses and the map of the Principality of Polatsk. If it were not for the descriptions added to these views, it would be difficult to say that these prints have any connection with the war of 1579. These are simply bird's-eye views of the cities and a map of a certain territory, similar to many other prints of the sort published in the 16th century. In fact, Pacholowiecki-Cavalieri's publication is not only—and probably not chiefly—an account of the war. This series is primarily intended to present the recovered Principality of Polatsk as part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Treter's emblem, analysed above, highlights this idea even more clearly. If we look at Pacholowiecki's maps from this perspective, we can treat them as the first regional atlas created by a Polish cartographer.

The atlas, which in the eyes of today's readers is simply one of many available forms of book, was a real innovation on the book market, a relatively new invention[45] at the end of the 1570s. The first such collections of maps began to be published in the 1520s. The best-known 16th-century atlases preceding Mercator's *Atlas* include *Tavole moderne di geografia* published in Rome in 1570 with one title page by Antonio Lafreri (*c.*1512–1577), *Speculum orbis terrarum* by Gerard de Jode (1509–1591) published in Antwerp in 1578, and above all *Theatrum orbis terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), printed eight years earlier in the same town (1570). Ortelius's work was the most commercially successful atlas in Europe at the time. It is particularly important for us to know that King Stephen Báthory, who valued cartography highly, studied *Theatrum orbis terrarum* during the Polatsk campaign. The Pomeranian humanist, theologian, and Lutheran superintendent of the Diocese of Kamień Pomorski (Cammin in Pommern), Petrus von Edeling (1522–1602), in a letter to Abraham Ortelius, dated 15 August 1580 in Kolberg (Kołobrzeg), praised the Antwerp cartographer's atlas, emphasizing that many rulers might be interested in it, for example, Emperor Charles v and Philip, duke of Pomerania, who had a room hung with maps. They could have been as

interested in the atlas, Edeling adds, "as King Stephen of Poland, of whom I know that he currently often inspects *Theatrum*" ("Sicut regem Poloniae Stephanum intelligo nostro tempore plerumque *Theatrum* ante oculos habere"—transl. J.N.).[46] It appears from Edeling's letter that not only did the king know the atlas of Ortelius, but he and people around him were also enthusiastic about this innovative form of book.

It can also be assumed that the publication of Pacholowiecki's map series was essentially influenced by the fashion for atlases and books with cartographic content. We know that in the library of King Sigismund ii Augustus (1520–1572) there was a portolan by Battista Agnese, which—following the king's death—was probably inherited by his sister, Queen Anna Jagiellon (1523–1596) co-ruler of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and from 1576 the wife of Stephen Báthory. It is also possible that such books were included in the great collection of Bishop Piotr Dunin Wolski, who mediated in the delivery of Pacholowiecki's maps to Rome.[47]

Thematic atlases also appeared in the Habsburg monarchy neighbouring the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Transylvania. Seven such handmade atlases have survived in German and Austrian collections. They were made by Italian cartographers and engravers from the Angelini family, who lived in Vienna.[48] These atlases contained maps of the Ottoman-Habsburg borderland and views of the fortresses that defended Hungary against the Turkish invasion.

Both King Stephen Báthory and the people around him, for example Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Orphan" (1547–1616), who had contacts with the imperial court, could have had access to such atlases.[49] These are only assumptions, but they indicate a certain climate and

---

45   See J.R. Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases", *Imago mundi* 47 (1995), pp. 138–139.

46   A. Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum epistulae*, ed. J.H. Hessels, Cantabrigiae 1887, p. 233; cf. Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia*, p. 59.

47   See chapter 8 of this book.

48   See Z.G. Török, "16th-Century Fortification Atlases of the Habsburg-Ottoman Border Zone", in: *A World of Innovation: Cartography in the Time of Gerard Mercator*, ed. G. Holzer, V. Newby, P. Svatek, G. Zotti, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2015, pp. 63–83.

49   Radziwiłł had the title of Duke of the Reich and was a member of aristocratic circles in Vienna. He was also keenly interested in military architecture and cartography. The latter is evidenced by the famous *Map of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* (the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP, 1613), whose co-author and patron was Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Orphan". See T. Bernatowicz, *Miles Christianus et peregrinus: Fundacje Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła "Sierotki" w ordynacji nieświeskiej*, Warsaw 1998, p. 151; Schilder, *Monumenta 9*, pp. 199–201.

a fashion for creating and possessing not only individual maps but also whole collections of them, as well as atlases.

## 4    Conclusions

All the elements that contribute to the collection published in 1580 form an integrated and complex propaganda message. It was designed specifically to be attractive to the 16th-century reader. The map itself was a form that aroused great interest among the literary audience of the time. Panegyrics belonged to standard forms of communication. Every *homo litteratus*, even a poorly educated one, was able to compose such a poem because writing praise was one of the basic principles of education. Students in the lower grades learned to write laudations as part of rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*). Moreover, the use of the emblem (stemma) increased the visual and literary attractiveness of the work. Finally, the representation of the Principality of Polatsk in the form of an atlas, that is a cycle, also raised its value as a work of art and a valuable source of information. Therefore, what could have been particularly appealing to the reader at the time turns out to be the syncretic nature of the map or a cycle of maps. This syncretism consists in building a multipart, extensive, and multilayered meaning that combines different genres of text and various forms of written communication. In fact, the ability to read such a map was in those times the crowning educational achievement that adepts of the liberal arts were able to attain. While reading a map, an educated user was able to apply most of the arts that he had learned in a humanist college. On such a map, rhetoric cooperated with arithmetic, poetry with geometry, dialectics with cosmography. Aesthetic issues were of paramount importance. First of all, the role of *mimesis* (imitation of nature) and *imitatio* (imitation of other texts).[50] These terms were presented to students of poetics, that is, anyone who read Horace's *Ars poetica*. However, they were also known to people acquainted with fine arts—after all, imitation was the main principle of art at the time. This is why high quality was an important element of the 1580 publication. Presumably, Cavalieri, a famous engraver and editor, was chosen deliberately because he guaranteed that *The Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* would be a work of art to meet the tastes of the literary and cartographic public. The fact that these maps have survived may prove that posterity also appreciated his efforts.

We do not know what the direct impact of Pachołowiecki's atlas was. However, we can suppose that together with other maps and propaganda texts inspired by the Polish chancery, it contributed to gaining the support of foreign public opinion, mainly Italians, for the war against Muscovy. However, as we mentioned at the outset, it also contributed to updating the maps of Muscovy, Lithuania, and Livonia[51] created at that time. We know from various sources that Gerardus Mercator obtained maps created during the conflict between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy and used them to create his own.[52] *The Description of The Principality of Polatsk* must have been among them. It was also used by Maciej Strubicz, who was the main author of *The Map of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* (the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP, 1613).[53] Through Mercator and Strubicz, Pachołowiecki's atlas was the primary source of knowledge about this part of the Muscovite–Lithuanian borderland for over a century.

---

50    See J. Niedźwiedź, "Źródła, konteksty i okoliczności …", pp. 393–394.

51    See L. Bagrow, *A History of the Cartography of Russia up to 1600*, ed. H.W. Castner, Wolfe Island, Ontario 1975, p. 105; J. Niedźwiedź, "Mercator's Lithuanian-Russian Borderlands: *Russiae pars amplificata* (1595) and Its Polish Sources", *Imago mundi* 2 (2019), pp. 151–172.

52    See Buczek, *Kartografia*, pp. 87–90; Buczek, *The History*, p. 57.

53    See *ibidem*, p. 58 and chapter 11 of this book.

# Whose Principality of Polatsk? Texts and Pretexts of the Power Dispute

## 1    Preliminary Remarks

In his popular book about how to lie with maps,[1] Mark Monmonier offers teasing instructions for how to establish a new state:

"If your grand duchy or tribal area seems tired, run-down, and frayed at the edges, simply take a sheet of paper, plot some cities, roads, and physical features, draw a heavy, distinct boundary around as much territory as you can claim, colour it in, add a name […]: you are now the leader of a new, sovereign, autonomous country. Should anyone doubt it, merely point to the map. Not only is your new state on paper, it's on a map, so it must be real."[2]

This was the method employed by the principals and creators of a propaganda undertaking unprecedented in eastern Europe before 1580, that is, Stanisław Pachołowiecki's cartographic epinicion in the form of the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*. Using the innovative mass medium, which the printed map was at the time, they did not so much "reproduce" or "represent" the achievements of Stephen Báthory's expedition to Polatsk in 1579. They rather created anew a state by the name of the Principality of Polatsk that had not existed for a long time, giving it an extremely long-lasting life—a life on paper. It was a justification of the aggression on its territories led with the declared aim to "recuperate" the "historical lands" of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that Muscovy had occupied for several years. As we undertake to show, the authors of the map manipulated the history of the "regained" Polatsk—*Polotia recepta*,[3] "historically" a Lithuanian city, in response to the contemporary Muscovite discourse of power based on Ivan the Terrible's hereditary rights to a

long-non-existent principality. Paradoxically, it was the tsar who, by resurrecting the very name of the Principality of Polatsk, made it appear—through the maps of Stanisław Pachołowiecki and Maciej Strubicz—in the atlases of Gerardus Mercator up until the 1630s (see Figs 11.1 and 11.2).[4]

This analysis is devoted to an important element of the propaganda message of the Pachołowiecki, *Ducatus*: we will focus on one of the paratexts, which is an element of the "perimap",[5] namely an extensive legend that contains a historical note on Polatsk and the Principality, placed in a cartouche in the upper left corner of the map (see Fig. 11.3a–b). Such a position on the map gives the text interpreted here a special importance. As the territory depicted is unrecognizable by itself, the assumed reader will reach for an aid in the form of text and, according to the "natural"—or rather conventional but dominant in the European cultural area—reading order, he or she will first look at the upper-left part of the map. The title of the map is placed in the bottom-right corner and in the top-right part there is Tomasz Treter's stemma on the coats of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Stephen Báthory. All these elements together with the linguistic character of the toponymy used and the significant omissions in the geographical content of the map make up a coherent, persuasive ideological discourse.[6] Therefore, we can consider *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* to be a text of dispute and the historical note of Polatsk to be its key argument. It is an argument from the field of historical policy which legitimizes Stephen Báthory's rule,

---

1    Originally published as G. Franczak, "*Polotia recepta*. Mapa Księstwa Połockiego—teksty i preteksty sporu o władzę", *Terminus* 23 (2021), 2(59), pp. 97–133; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.21.005.13439.

2    M. Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, Chicago 1991, p. 45. In the latest edition (Chicago 2018, p. 102), Monmonier rewrote the quoted passage in the past tense, referring only to old cartography, but with a new comment: "Today's would-be sovereign could do the same with graphics software."

3    We discuss the history of the iconic reuse of the *Polotia recepta* propaganda slogan (interesting in itself, yet marginal in the context investigated here) in chapter 12.

4    We examine the filiation of maps dependent on Pachołowiecki, *Ducatus* in chapter 5.

5    Cf. D. Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*, New York 2010, p. 97.

6    The importance of the title and the toponyms is most strongly emphasized by Ch. Jacob. In his canonical monograph, in a chapter entitled *Maps & Writing*, Jacob notes e.g. that the title of the map "programs its reading" and represents "a statement of authority that marks the domination of social convention over a process of recognition and identification" (Ch. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, transl. T. Conley, Chicago 2006, pp. 192, 198). Speaking of toponyms, understood as an onomaturgic acts, Jacob states: "To the acts of delimitation and the division of space are necessarily added naming, with its etiological, mythic, and ritual implications, and its political and juridical consequences […]. The toponym is thus a signature, a claim of precedence and of symbolic ownership" (*ibidem*, pp. 203, 205).

---

FIGURE 11.1    A fragment of the STRUBICZ, *Lithuania*; the borders of the Principality of Polatsk are dotted on the map

contested by Tsar Ivan the Terrible, not only over the small Polatsk region but over the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and, consequently, over the whole Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[7]

In the early 1560s, Polatsk was given a central place in Muscovy's discourse of power. According to Ivan the Terrible, grand dukes of Lithuania came from the Rurik dynasty of Polatsk princes. He based this lineage on

7   The question of Muscovite claims to the Polish throne justified, as we shall see in further in this study, by alleged dynastic rights of the Rurikids to the Jagiellonian heritage, has been discussed many times; scholars have also paid much heed to the Muscovite candidacy during Polish interregna. Important studies on these subjects include: Б.Н. Флоря, *Русско-польские отношения и политическое развитие Восточной Европы во второй половине XVI–начале XVII в.*, Москва 1978, pp. 32–119 and H. Grala, "Rzeczpospolita wobec pretensji Moskwy/Rosji do ziem ruskich", in *O ziemię naszą, nie waszą. Ideowe aspekty procesów narodotwórczych w Europie*

*Środkowej i Wschodniej*, ed. Ł. Adamski, Warsaw 2017, pp. 19–58. Detailed studies: B.N. Floria, "Rosyjska kandydatura na tron polski u schyłku XVI wieku", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 16 (1971), pp. 85–95; W. Weintraub, "Ivan the Terrible as the Gentry's Candidate for the Polish Throne. A Study in Political Mentality", in *Cross Currents: A Yearbook of Central European Culture*, ed. L. Matejka and B. Stalz, Michigan Slavic Materials 2, Chicago 1982, pp. 45–54; Л.А. Дербов, "К вопросу о кандидатуре Ивана IV на польский престол в 1572–1576 гг.", *Ученые записки Саратовского университета* 39 (1954), pp. 176–217.

FIGURE 11.2      A fragment of Gerardus Mercator's map: the Principality of Polatsk. MERCATOR, *Lithuania*. NIEWODNICZAŃSKI COLLECTION, shelfmark TN 1127

chronicles and genealogical documents written not long before in Muscovy. Being a descendant of Vladimir the Great (in the main, Kyivan, and then the Vladimirian line), he justified his right to the Lithuanian throne and to the Polish crown with his pedigree. Soon, in February 1563, he took over the Polatsk region, besieged and conquered its capital, and the efficient Muscovite diplomacy began to proclaim the inalienable dynastic rights of the tsar to rule over Lithuania and Poland.

Bearing in mind the mythogenic role of Polatsk in the sphere of politics, we will put forward the following hypothesis: contrary to official royal declarations, the decision to direct the first Polish-Lithuanian offensive in the war of 1577–1582 to Polatsk was not only motivated by military and strategic considerations. It was rather a decision of far-reaching political consequences that such strategists as King Báthory and Chancellor Jan Zamoyski were certainly able to predict. In the light of the above it is obvious that the capture, or rather "recovery" of Polatsk was not just a military and administrative fact. It was

also—and we are inclined to think, above all—a momentous political and propaganda fact.[8]

Having presented the circumstances in which Pachołowiecki's map served as a propaganda action, we will critically close-read the historical note previously mentioned, extracting from it the pretexts that make up its message. We will then discuss the Muscovite pretext with which the map polemicizes, acquiring the status of a text of dispute. In accordance with the propositions of the founders of critical cartography, we consider a map as a redescription of the world—and not a representation of it—created within the framework of specific cultural practices. A map thus perceived is Foucault's power-knowledge (*pouvoir-savoir*) in action, while from a different perspective, it also functions as a linguistic-iconic performative, capable of creating, as here, a wishful state of a specific

8    It should also be remembered that in the *pacta conventa* he signed in Medgyes on 16 February 1576, Báthory undertook, among other things, to recover the territories lost to Muscovy.
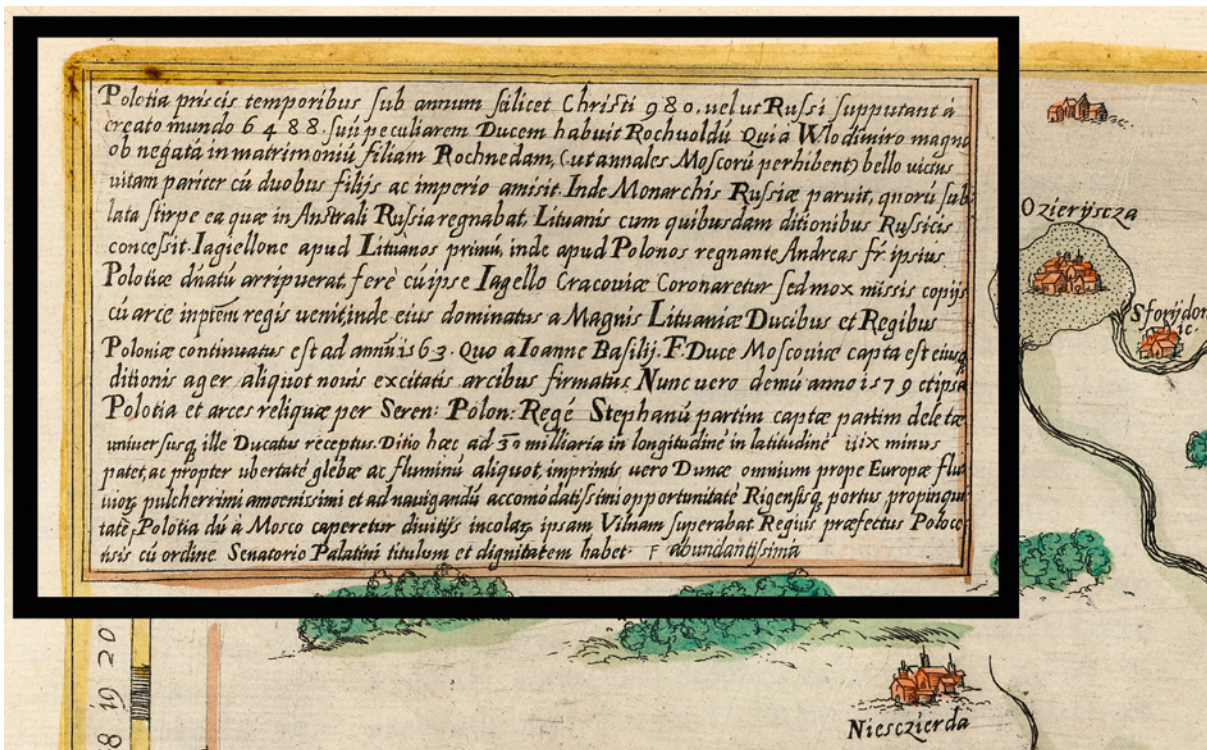
FIGURES 11.3A–11.3B  PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, shelfmark VX-48-FOL 198–199); the position of the historical note about Polatsk on the map of the Principality

shape and qualities.[9] We are interested in the opacity of the cartographic text,[10] which means that we will investigate what the map communicates and how it conveys its message, as well as what it passes in silence, how and for what purpose. The propagandistic hidden agenda of its authors[11] is a link in the process of dispossessing Polatsk of its state-forming role in the history of Rus'. This process of dispossession was first set in motion by the Lithuanians, then by the Muscovites, and finally by the Poles. We will therefore try to show that *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis*, largely due to the legend with the note on the history of Polatsk, is a rhetorically organized act of appropriation of territory that disavows competitive narratives. It is an example of "cultural texts taking possession of the land" which "proclaim a social gospel and serve to reinforce it", as Brian Harley wrote about analogically deconstructed maps of British colonies in North America.[12]

## 2    Context

Although it depicted a local conflict on the northeastern frontiers of Europe, which was just a prelude to the showdown in wars for Livonia, or *dominium Maris Baltici*, Pacholowiecki's innovative cartographic work was part of a massive propaganda campaign that presented its subject as an event of pan-European importance. The royal chancery headed by Grand Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, one of the greatest statesmen of the time, acted in the capacity of a "war press office".[13] The royal edicts and reports prepared by it were immediately published in Walenty Łapka's mobile printing house that accompanied the army. It was given the publishing address of the official royal printer, Mikołaj Szarffenberg in Cracow or Warsaw.[14] Written in Latin and widely distributed, they were then reprinted en masse in the form of leaflets and translated into other languages (mainly into German, but also into Czech, Italian, French, and even English). It was not the first time Polatsk made headlines. The conquest of the city on 15 February 1563 by Ivan the Terrible and the slaughter of its inhabitants were widely publicized in Europe.[15] This time, however, in 1579 and 1580, the content of the press accounts was supervised by an institutionalized entity that intentionally conducted a specific information policy. The first official text that was published on 12 July 1579 by the Łapka's printing house is a Latin edict in which the king explained to the multinational army gathered in Svir the reasons for starting a pre-emptive war against Ivan the Terrible. This document was immediately translated into Polish, Hungarian, and German, as testified by the

---

9    Cf. J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps* …, p. 35: "Far from holding up a simple mirror of nature that is true or false, maps redescribe the world—like any other document—in terms of relations of power and of cultural practices, preferences and priorities." *Ibidem*, p. 112: "Compilation, generalisation, classification, formation into hierarchies, and standardisation of geographic data, far from being mere neutral technical activities, involve **power-knowledge relations at work**" (bold—G.F.). Cf. Ch. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map* …, p. 23: "Mapping is a speculative process in which the graphic mechanism attests to the symbolic violence inherent in every model, that is, to the transformation of real space into a figure ruled by laws of reason and abstraction, of the conquering appropriation of reality by means of its simulacrum." About the map as a performative cf. D. Wood, *Rethinking* …, p. 31: "The ability of the map to […] perform the shape of statehood"; Ch. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map* …, p. 273: "The map has, above all, a performative effect. […] [It] is blessed with a presumption of reality because it conveys an image of and knowledge about the world that are socially constituted and validated through a consensus and a tradition, through widespread use, the institutional status of its producers, and perhaps, too, the prestige of those who order its production or those to whom it is dedicated."

10    Cf. Ch. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map* …, p. xiv: "A map is transparent to its meanings, to the information it delivers. Opacity occurs when this semiotic power fails."

11    Cf. J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps* …, p. 45: "A hidden agenda has to be teased out from between the lines of the map. […] Instead of picking up social messages that the map emphasises, we must search for what it de-emphasises; not so much what the map shows, as what it omits. Interpretation becomes a search for silences."

12    J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps* …, p. 45.

13    According to J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce: Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni*, p. 231.

14    Báthory's propaganda machine is discussed at length in chapter 9, where we reconstructed the chronology of subsequent actions, as well as the human network engaged in the creation and distribution of (dis)information. A part of the propaganda action was a publication of Polish and Latin poems by Jan Kochanowski. Jakub Niedźwiedź provided a comprehensive analysis of these lyrical epinicions (namely of the Latin ode *De expugnatione Polottei* and the Polish song *O wzięciu Połocka*, both published in print in 1580): J. Niedźwiedź, *Poeta i mapa* …, pp. 198–251. See also: R. Krzywy, "'Chcesz być groźnym, a uciekasz …'. Nad komentarzem do epinikionów moskiewskich Jana Kochanowskiego", *Pamiętnik Literacki* 104 (2013), pp. 185–194.

15    Ten prints are known, including seven in German (K. Zawadzki, *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku: Bibliografia*, vol. 1: *1514–1661*, Wrocław 1977, posit. 55 and 59–64), one in Latin (*ibidem*, posit. 56), one in Czech (*ibidem*, posit. 57), and one in French (*ibidem*, posit. 58).

official historiographer of Báthory's expeditions, Reinhold Heidenstein.[16]

The edition printed in the first days of September, just after the capitulation of Polatsk, and signed by the king on 31 August 1579 is the most important one with regards to international publicity.[17] A print entitled *Edictum regium de supplicationibus ob rem bene adversus Moschum gestam* (*The Royal Edict on Thanksgiving for the Fortunate Success of the War with Muscovy*) with the Cracow address of Szarffenberg's printing house is considered to be the very first version of this document.[18] Even before the end

of 1579, this official announcement was reprinted four times in Latin and translated into German (three editions in 1579, two more in 1580), Czech, and English.[19] This last translation was, by the way, one of the first pamphlets in the British Isles.[20] If we add the editions and reissues together with *EDICTUM SVIRENSE* and *Rerum post captam Polotiam contra Moscum gestarum narratio* (*Report on the Actions against Muscovy after the Conquest of Polatsk*), the total number of editions amounts to eight in Latin and six in German, not to mention Czech and English.[21] The scale and range of the propaganda action was therefore quite significant and extremely effective, also because in this propaganda war Ivan the Terrible did not have at his disposal any advanced means of communication, such as printed texts and cartography above all else. He could

16  Cf. R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* …, p. 43: "For the world to consider not only the war itself, but also the reasons behind it, to be just, he published a manifesto originally written in Latin and then translated into Polish, Hungarian and German, as the army consisted mainly of these three nations" ("[cum] non bellum modo, sed causam etiam belli omnibus probatam vellet, edictum, latine prius scriptum inque Polonicam, Ungaricam et Germanicam linguam translatum, quod ex iis fere gentibus exercitus constabat, proponit"—transl. G.F.). The first edition of this edict, known as the *EDICTUM SVIRENSE* (*The Royal Edict to the Soldiers in Svir, from which One Can Learn the Reasons for Starting a War against the Grand Duke of Muscovy*) has not survived. It appeared again only after the end of the Polatsk campaign (after 6 October, when the Muscovite stronghold Suša surrendered) together with two other documents: *Edictum Regium Svirense ad milites, ex quo causae suscepti in magnum Moschoviae ducem belli cognoscentur: Edictum regium de supplicationibus ob captam Polotiam; Rerum post captam Polotiam contra Moscum gestarum narratio*, [M. Szarffenberg]: Warsaw, 1579 (cf. K. Zawadzki, *Gazety ulotne* …, vol. 1, posit. 145); reprinted twice as *Edictum Serenissimi Poloniae Regis ad milites, ex quo causae suscepti in Magnum Moscoviae Ducem belli cognoscuntur: Item Edictum eiusdem de suplicationibus ob captam Polociam habendis; cum Epistola qua ordines ad comitia convocantur et rerum post captam Polociam gestarum narratione; Hisce adiecta sunt quaedam de Magni Moscoviae Ducis genere, quod se nescio qua autoritate ab Augusto Caesare ducere iactitat*, Cologne 1580 (cf. *ibidem*, posit. 160) and as *De rebus gestis Stephani I, regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae etc., contra magnum Moschorum ducem narratio*, apud haeredes Antonii Bladii, Rome 1582. The latter work is sometimes mistakenly attributed to Stanisław Reszka—in fact, it was compiled by Giovanni Michele Bruto, hiding behind the pseudonym Flaminius Nobilius (cf. P. Marchesani, "La Polonia nella storiografia italiana del XVI e XVII secolo: i clichés ideologici e la loro evoluzione", *Europa Orientalis* 5 (1986), p. 213).

17  See chapter 9 of this book.

18  *Edictum regium de supplicationibus ob rem bene adversus Moschum gestam*, Cracow, Officina Nicolai Scharffenbergii, 1579. Four copies have been identified: in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, shelfmark 4-H-4349 [8]), Petersburg (Российская Национальная Библиотека, shelfmark 13.8.2.778), Strängnäs (Strängnäs Domkyrkobibliotek, shelfmark M 286 q), Zürich (Zentralbibliothek, shelfmark Ms F 28, Bl 169v–173v) and a damaged copy in the collection of the Regional Pedagogic Library in Łódź (shelfmark Starodr. 12 Cz). Bibliographical data: M. Juda, E. Teodorowicz-Hellman, *Polonika w Bibliotece Katedralnej w Strängnäs*, Stockholm 2011, posit. 124; A. Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj*

*im Spiegel* …, p. 257, posit. F 40; K. Zawadzki, *Druki ulotne* …, vol. 1, posit. 144.

19  Latin editions: a reprint not listed by Zawadzki's compendium—Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1579 (Stadtbibliothek Trier, shelfmark X I 1: 2 an); a reissue published twice as *Stephani regis Poloniae epistola, historiam susceptae a se superiori aestate adversus Moschum expeditionis et expugnatae civitatis et arcis Polotzko recitans: Ad ordines Regni Poloniae scripta Anno 1579*, b.m. [Rostock: S. Möllermann], 1579 (cf. K. Zawadzki, *Druki ulotne* …, vol. 1, posit. 152 and 153). German editions: *Neue Zeitung von der Eroberung des Schlosses Polocia durch den König von Polen*, Speyer 1579 (cf. *ibidem*, posit. 149); *Neue Zeitung von der Festung Polozk, welcher der polnische König am 30. August erobert hat*, b.m., b.d. [1579] (cf. *ibidem*, posit. 150); *Wahrhaftige Zeitung wie die königliche Majestät von Polen am 30. August 1579 die Festung Polozk erobert hat*, Gdańsk 1579 (cf. *ibidem*, posit. 155), and another reissue published twice as *Pollnische Zeittung: Summarische und Warhaffte Beschreibung, von jüngster bekriegung und eroberung etlicher fürnemer Städt und Vestungen, so König. Mayst. zu Polln, etc. dem Moscovittischen Tyrannischen Feind, mit sieghaffter hand glücklich aberhalten*, Nuremberg 1580 (cf. *ibidem*, posit. 167 and 168). Unpreserved Czech edition: *Novina jistá a pravdivá o dobytí znamenitého zámku a pevnosti velikého města hraničného Polocka, ležícího na pomezí litevském*, Prague: Michal Petrle, 1579 (cf. *ibidem*, posit. 151). English edition: *A True reporte of the taking of the great towne and castell of Polotzko* … (see *Introduction*, footnote 6); a unique copy in the British Library, shelfmark: General Reference Collection, C.95.a.21 (cf. K. Zawadzki, *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku. Bibliografia*, vol. 3: *1501–1725*, Wrocław 1990, posit. 1740).

20  See chapter 8 of this book.

21  There is also an extensive account in Italian, which survived in a manuscript version, worthy of a separate study. It is utterly independent from the official editions and was written for the use of the papal curia by an eyewitness, Antonio Martinelli, secretary of the papal nuncio. Martinelli's authorship was established by the Russian scholar I.V. Dubrovskij. See: A. Martinelli, "Narratione del successo …", pp. 10–68. A study by J. Pirożyński on the interest in the "Muscovite news" in Europe is also noteworthy: *Z dziejów obiegu informacji w Europie XVI wieku: nowiny z Polski w kolekcji Jana Jakuba Wicka w Zurychu z lat 1560–1587*, Cracow 1995.

only count on the activity of his diplomats in Rome or London. The royal chancery also took care of the legal empowerment of the "narrative security machine" shortly before the next campaign against Muscovy. In the decree of 7 February 1580, Báthory decided,

"that anyone, both in our country and abroad, who, without our knowledge and our permission, dares to print any texts concerning either the history of this nation of the past or the present times, or on any questions related to the Commonwealth, or who paints or engraves objects connected with the affairs of the Commonwealth, should be punished with the penalty provided in the Magdeburg law for pasquils, even if there was nothing reprehensible about them."[22]

The official narrative, which increasingly represented Polish rather than Lithuanian-Polish raison d'etat, soon found its way into the historical compendia compiled in Europe. The author of one of them, Johann Becker vel Pistorius, not only reprinted the entire royal edict on the conquest of Polatsk, but also added his own commentary, in which he stated the following, among other things:

"[The king] decided that it was in the interest of the whole kingdom that he should proclaim the name and fame of Poland by force or arms and recover its territories, unjustly seized by Muscovy. [...] May it happily come true for the salvation and preservation of this powerful kingdom, which is the wall and rampart of Germany against cruel and barbaric enemies."[23]

## 3      Text and Pretexts

### 3.1      *Text of the Historical Note and the Lithuanian Pretext*

The first two sentences of the historical note on Pachołowiecki's map present the most ancient history of the statehood of Polatsk known from chronicles:

"In the olden times, that is in the year of Christ 980 or according to the Rus'ian calendar in 6488 since the creation of the world, Polatsk had its own prince, Rogvolod. According to Muscovy's chronicles, he refused Vladimir the Great the hand of his daughter Rogneda, which is why Vladimir defeated him in the war, in which Rogvolod lost two sons, a duchy, and his own life." (transl. G.F.)

*Annales Moscorum* (!) is the famous, oldest Kyivan chronicle written at the beginning of the 12th century and known as the *Tale of Bygone Years* (*Pověst' vremennykh lět*). At the year 980—today it is assumed that the events described took place between 977 and 978—the chronicler noted:

"Vladimir returned to Novgorod with Varangian allies [...] and sent word to Rogvolod in Polotsk that he desired his daughter to wife. Rogvolod inquired of his daughter whether she wished to marry Vladimir. "I will not", she replied, "draw off the boots of a slave's son, but I want Yaropolk instead". Now Rogvolod had come from overseas, and exercised the authority in Polotsk [...]. The servants of Vladimir returned and reported to him all the words of Rogned, the daughter of Rogvolod, prince of Polotsk. Vladimir then collected a large army [...] and marched against Rogvolod. At this time, the intention was that Rogned should marry Yaropolk. But Vladimir attacked Polotsk, killed Rogvolod and his two sons, and after marrying the prince's daughter, he proceeded against Yaropolk."[24]

The first ruler of Polatsk, who came "from overseas" ("iz zamorja") was probably a Varangian, as evidenced by the Scandinavian origin of his name (Rogvolod ← Ragnvald) as

---

22    "Ne postmodum quisquam typographorum in regno nostro aliquid tale nobis insciis et non consentientibus typis excudere, vel alibi ubicunque extra regnum imprimendum dare audeat, quodque res gestas sive vetustiores sive recentiores in hoc regno nostro, sive quippiam ad negotia reipublicae quoquomodo spectans et pertinens complecteretur, nullas praeterea icones ac picturas rerum quarumvis ad rempublicam hanc nostram pertinentium conficere ac edere. Quicunque vero secus aliquid fecerit, etiamsi nihil in illo libro vel scripto typis excusso insit, quod dignum reprehensione esset, poenam, quae iure theutonico Magdeburgensi in famosorum libellorum scriptores sancita est, sustinebunt" (*Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze ...*, pp. 122–123).

23    "Existimavit [rex] e re totius regni esse, si armis aperiret nomen famamque Polonicam et repeteret possessiones a Moscho iniuste acceptas. [...] Quod utinam felix faustumque sit, ad salutem et incolumitatem illius potentissimi regni, quod est Germaniae maceria et propugnaculum adversus feros hostes et barbaros" (J. Pistorius [Johann Becker], *Polonicae historiae corpus*, vol. 3, Basel 1582, pp. 114–117). Cf. also J. Wechel, *Rerum Polonicarum tomi tres*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1584, pp. 214–220 (reprint of the edict). Unless otherwise stated, translations of sources in this chapter by G.F.

---

24    *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, transl. and ed. S. Hazzard Cross and O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge MA 1953, p. 91. For the original text, see: *The* Pověst' vremennykh lět: *An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis*, ed. D. Ostrowski, D. Birnbaum, H.G. Lunt, vol. 1, Cambridge, MA 2004, pp. 532–537. Vladimir takes revenge on Rogvolod for his insult: not only does Rogneda choose his stepbrother Yaropolk for her husband, but she reminds the Kyivan ruler with contempt that he is a son of the former slave Maluša.

well as his daughter's (Rogneda ← Ragnheidr/Ragnhild).[25] For our deliberations, however, it is more important that the chronicle says that the Polatsk Rurikid dynasty originated independently from Kyiv (after Rogvolod, the duke's throne was held by the son of Rogneda and Vladimir the Great, Izyaslav).[26]

The further history of the independence of the Principality of Polatsk is summarized in four words ("inde monarchis Russiae paruit"), after which Polatsk is smoothly adjudged to Lithuania: "after the removal of the line that ruled southern Rus', [the principality] surrendered to Lithuanians with part of the Ruthenian lands". Let us add some information to that. First of all, the Polatsk part of Rus' is "southern" from the perspective of Muscovy—the dangerous, northern pretender to dominion over the entire former Kyivan Rus'. Secondly, the key but unclear formula of "sublata stirpe" is worthy of deeper consideration. The principality allegedly "surrendered to the rule" of the Lithuanians ("Lituanis concessit") after the "removal" or "replacement" of the native dynasty. The first Lithuanian ruler of Polatsk mentioned in sources was the "noble prince Tovtivil" ("добрыи кнѧзь Товтивилъ"),[27] that is Tautvilas (d. 1263), a close relative of Grand Duke Mindaugas. It is not sufficiently clear how or when exactly he took over the principality. This is assumed to have happened in the late 1240s and early 1250s, either by peaceful means (Tautvilas was to assert his dynastic rights after the last of the Izyaslavichi of Polatsk), or by military force. According to the latter version, disinherited and banished from Lithuania by Mindaugas, Tautvilas "took Polatsk […]

and became the prince".[28] Anyway, from then on Polatsk permanently joined the Lithuanian sphere of influence.[29]

So is it possible that the people of Polatsk got rid of local princes and placed the land under Lithuanian rule on their own initiative? Or maybe the Lithuanians "removed" and "replaced" hereditary sovereigns by force of arms? The issue seems important. The first interpretation would fit perfectly into the modern concept of heredity not by virtue of feudal, patrilinear genealogy (the Muscovite narrative was based solely on this archaic logic), but by virtue of the rights resulting from the election. Polatsk elected for Lithuania. Lithuania and Poland elected for Báthory, transferring to him the territorial rights and claims of the grand dukes of Lithuania. The other interpretation would be in line with the Lithuanian triumphalist narrative, according to which the imaginary Kunigas (prince) Mingaila defeated the people of Polatsk in battle to take over the principality and integrate it into Lithuania a hundred years before it was taken over by Tautvilas. Let us investigate this narrative further as it seals this specific *translatio imperii*—from Polatsk to Vilnius.

In his monumental *Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and All of Ruthenia* (1582), which was an identity-making text for the Lithuanian nobility, Maciej Stryjkowski describes the episode we are interested in:

"Mingaila son of Erdivilas […] was neighbouring and bordering on the people of Polatsk, who at that time were independent and had no ruler over them, but instead chose thirty men from the elders of their republic as senators to rule. […]. Not being nobles by birth, however, they let freedom fuddle their wits with hubris and, complacent in their freedom, they soon began to threaten their neighbours with war. Unable to endure this impudence any longer, the Duke of Navahrudak, Mingaila […] set off straight to Polatsk intending to curb the haughtiness of the townspeople. Having heard about it, the people of Polatsk […] gathered several thousand peasants and formed an army of them, […] they left Polatsk against

25    Cf. O. Łatyszonek, A. Bely, "On the Scandinavian Origin of Rahvalod", *Annus Albaruthenicus/Год Беларускі* 6 (2005), pp. 49–64.

26    NB, the author of one of the editions of the *Pověst'*, the so-called *Laurentian Chronicle* (c.1377), stresses the rivalry between the Rurikids of Polatsk and those of Kyiv that started with the bloody pacification of Polatsk by Vladimir: "And from then on, the grandchildren of Rogvolod raise their sword against the grandchildren of Yaroslav [the Wise]" ("И ѿтолѣ мечь взимають Роговоложи внуци противу Ӕрославлим внуком"—*Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*, vol. 1: *Лаврентьевская летопись*, Ленинград 1926–1928, p. 207).

27    This is how he is described in the entry under the year 6771 (1263), *Novgorod First Chronicle*, cf. *Latopis nowogrodzki pierwszy—przekład na język polski i opracowanie naukowe najstarszego zabytku historii Nowogrodu Wielkiego*, project of the National Programme of the Development in the Humanities no. 22H16036884, researched by a team led by Z.A. Brzozowska, http://ki.wfi.uni.lodz.pl/ceraneum/latopis/html/index.html (accessed 22.07.2024).

28    M. Stryjkowski, *Która przedtym nigdy świata nie widziała Kronika polska, litewska, żmodzka i wszystkiej Rusi*, Królewiec 1582, p. 326: "Towciwił […] Połocko wziął […] i został książęciem połockim".

29    The history of Polatsk's transition under Lithuanian rule is briefly discussed in: [introduction to:] *Urzędnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego: Spisy*, vol. 5, pp. 5–7. Cf. also: В.Т. Пашуто, *Образование Литовского государства*, Москва 1959, pp. 377–380; Д.Н. Александров, Д.М. Володихин, *Борьба за Полоцк между Литвой и Русью в XII–XVI веках*, Москва 1994, pp. 29–36; A. Krawcewicz, *Powstanie Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Białystok 2003, pp. 132–133; O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych do Białorusinów*, Białystok 2006, pp. 33 and 298.

Mingaila [...]. And Mingaila [...] struck them even more confidently with a huge shout as he knew that peasants lacked military discipline and skills. When they saw that the enemy was gaining the upper hand over them, the crowds made a run for it [...] and the Lithuanians chased them, beat them, slashed them, and took them prisoner [...]. Then they burned Horodets Castle and, in completing their victory, they reached Polatsk the same day. Seeing this, the frightened common folk opened the city and castle gates, surrendering voluntarily to Prince Mingaila. Thus Mingaila, having tamed their pride, was the first of the Lithuanian princes to become the prince of Polatsk and Navahrudak."[30]

The story of the armed conquest of the Principality of Polatsk by the Lithuanians is a narrative based on the concept of a historical necessity: having no sovereign after the expiration of the native princely dynasty, the Polatsk burgesses and peasants were subdued by the Lithuanian "Nobles' Nation" descended from the ancient Romans.[31] How did Stryjkowski learn about it?

In the second half of the 15th and in the early 16th century, numerous Ruthenian-Lithuanian chronicles were created, from the so-called *Chronicle of 1446* (*Latopis 1446 roku*) to three redactions of *Chronicles of the Grand Duchies of Lithuania and Samogitia* (*Kronika Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego i Żmudzkiego*), in which the legend of the origin of the grand dukes from the Roman refugee Palemonas took a prominent place, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania appeared to be a Ruthenian-Lithuanian state and a proper heir to Kyivan Rus'.[32] Mingaila, a fictional character and son of analogously fictional Erdivilas, was supposedly a fifth-generation descendant of Palemonas. Historians assume that the account on the Battle of Horodets is a Lithuanian reinterpretation of the fights for the Principality of Polatsk between the representatives of the Izyaslavichi of Polatsk and the Vseslavichi, rulers of Drutsk, Minsk, and Vitebsk. Both families derived their ancestry through Vseslav the Sorcerer (d. 1101) from Vladimir the Great and Rogneda. In the Battle of Horodets in 1161, Prince Volodar Glebovich of Minsk smashed the army of his own cousin, Rogvolod-Vasil Borisovich, prince of Polatsk.[33] The family-dynastic clash served the Ruthenian-Lithuanian chronicler to move Lithuanian rule over Polatsk back a hundred years.

In the words of Oleg Łatyszonek, Stryjkowski "sealed the removal of the oldest history of the Principality of Polatsk from the historiography of the Grand Duchies of Lithuania, Ruthenia, and Samogitia".[34] He made the first ruler of Polatsk, Rogvolod, a prince of Pskov: Vladimir

---

30 "Mingajło Erdziwiłowic [...] miał sąsiedztwo z połoczany i granice przyległe, którzy wtenczas wolno sobie panowali i żadnej zwierzchności nad sobą nie mieli, tylko trzydzieści mężów starców spośrzodku Rzeczypospolitej swojej na potoczne sprawy i sądy jako senatorów przekładali [...]. A iż poddanym w wolności, w której się nie jako ślachta rodzili, rogi rosły, poczęli zaraz panowie połoczanie, ufając w swojej wolności, sąsiadów na wojnę wyzywać. Którego swowoleństwa nie mogąc dłużej cierpieć, książę nowogrodzkie Mingajło Erdziwiłowic [...] ciągnął prosto do Połocka, chcąc miesczańską hardość uśmierzyć. Co usłyszawszy połocanie, [...] zgromadzili chłopów o kilko tysięcy, które wojsko zszykowawszy, [...] wyciągnęli przeciw Mingajłowi z Połocka [...]. A Mingajło [...] tym śmielej na nich z ogromnym okrzykiem uderzył, iż wiedział chłopstwo być bez porządku i bez wojennej sprawy, co obaczywszy połocczanie, iż im potężnie nieprzyjaciel dogrzewa, zarazem tył podali, których [...] Litwa goniąc bili, siekli i imali, [...] Horodziec potym ich zamek spalili, a kończąc zwycięstwo, do Połocka tegoż dnia przyciągnęli. Co widząc strwożone pospólstwo, otworzyli miejskie i zamku połockiego wrota, podając się dobrowolnie książęciu Mingajłowi. Tak tedy Mingajło pirwszy z książąt litewskich połockim książęciem i nowogrodskim, skróciwszy ich hardość, został" (M. Stryjkowski, *Która przedtym nigdy świata nie widziała Kronika ...*, pp. 271–272). Cf. also: *idem, O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemojdzkiego i ruskiego*, ed. J. Radziszewska, Warsaw 1978, p. 183.

31 The mythical ethnogenesis of Lithuanians based on the false etymology according to which Lietuva was derived from L'Italia is discussed by Długosz: J. Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae: Liber 10*, Varsoviae 1985, p. 165.

32 For an in-depth and critical analysis of the sources—Kyivan, Muscovite, Ruthenian-Lithuanian, as well as Polish-Lithuanian chronicles—from which emerges an image of repeated appropriation of the narrative of medieval statehood of the Polatsk region, together with abundant literature on the subject cf. O. Łatyszonek, "Polityczne aspekty przedstawienia średniowiecznych dziejów ziem białoruskich w historiografii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XV–XVI w.", *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne* 25 (2006), pp. 5–44; *idem, Od Rusinów Białych ...*, Białystok 2006, pp. 265–304.

33 Cf. O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych ...*, pp. 272–275. In the sources possibly known to Stryjkowski, the first edition of *Chronicle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Samogitia* in the so-called *Krasiński Codex* (*Latopis Krasińskich*), Mingaila's victory over the people of Polatsk is described in the following way: "Минъкгаило собравши воиска свои и поиде на город Полтеск и на мужи полочане, которыи вечом справовалися, яко Великии Новгород и Пъсков. И напервеи пришли к городу их, реченому Городець, и мужи полочане, ополъчившися полки своими, и стрѣтили их под Городцом. А великии бои и сѣчу межи собою вчинили, и поможе Бог великому князю Минкгаилу, и побил мужов полочан на голову, и город их Городець сожже, и город Полтеск возметь, и остал великим князем полоцким". (*Летапісы і хронікі Беларусі. Сярэднявечча і раньнемадэрны час*, уклад. В.А. Варонін, Смаленск 2013, pp. 180–181; cf. also: *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*, vol. 17: *Западнорусские летописи*, ed. С.Л. Пташицки, А.А. Шахматов, Санкт-Петербург 1907, col. 231).

34 O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych ...*, p. 295: "Usunięcie najdawniejszych dziejów księstwa połockiego z historiografii

the Great "sent to Rechwold, the prince of Pskov, who was a Varangian that took the rule of this principality, asking for the hand of his daughter Rochmida".[35] The disinformation is made worse by the running headline: "Rechwold, the duke of Pskov, is killed. Pskov or Pleskov taken by Vladimir."[36] As Łatyszonek has proven, Stryjkowski reproduced the mistake of none other than the chief Muscographer of the 16th century, Sigmund von Herberstein, even misspelling the names of Rogvolod and Rogneda in the same way.[37] This clearly proves the thesis that "the former Ruthenia of Stryjkowski comprised only Kyivan and Galician states".[38]

Let us return to the note on the map of Pachołowiecki. After the fragment on the easy transfer of Polatsk under the rule of Lithuanian dukes, the text tells us about three crucial moments in the history of Polatsk and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The first was the rebellion of Andrius Algirdaitis (Andrei of Polatsk called the Hunchbacked, d. 1399), who was the titular prince of Polatsk from about 1345. When his half-brother Jogaila, the future King Ladislaus II of Poland, went to Cracow for his coronation in the spring of 1386, Andrei, taking advantage of the situation and in agreement with the Livonian Order, conquered Polatsk, which was then under the control of the third brother, Skirgaila-Ivan. Jogaila recovered Polatsk in 1387, imprisoned the usurper, and reinstated his loyal brother Skirgaila. However, the author of the note does not mention further events. Skirgaila ruled the Principality of Polatsk until 4 August 1392. Then, under the Astrava Agreement between the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Jogaila and his cousin Vytautas the Great, who until then had been in conflict with him, the latter took over all the titles of Skirgaila in Lithuania. From then on, Polatsk ceased to be a sovereign principality even

nominally as it was ruled by the grand duke's governor. The second key event mentioned in the note is the conquest of Polatsk by Ivan the Terrible, which it took place on 15 February 1563. The third finally takes us into the present time ("nunc vero demum") and is the proper fulfilment of historical justice: "Polatsk and the other castles were either taken or destroyed by the most serene King Stephen of Poland and **the whole principality was recovered**" ("universusque ille Ducatus receptus").

This is the last time that the Polatsk region is called a "principality". The historical narrative is followed by a short, conventionalized *laus urbis* that begins with the term "ditio", which means area or administrative unit. A terse statement puts it in the grammatical present: "The royal prefect of Polatsk with senatorial dignity holds the title and office of voivode" ("Regius praefectus Polocensis cum ordine senatorio palatini titulum et dignitatem habet"). The Principality of Polatsk was transformed into a voivodeship under the rule of Alexander I Jagiellon in 1504. Reinhold Heidenstein explained:

"In former days, Polatsk, as well as Kyiv, were ruled by royal governors. There was no position or office of Polatsk voivode as in the whole of Lithuania there were only two voivodes, of Vilnius and Trakai, and just as many castellans. Later, however, when the number of Lithuanian senators was increased, not only **the Principality of Polatsk and Kyiv**, but also Vitebsk was raised to the dignity of the voivodship [bold—G.F.]."[39]

After the victorious campaign of 1579, Báthory simply restores the *status quo ante* 1563, reinstating a voivodeship where, even during the years of Muscovite occupation, the nominal continuity of offices was maintained.[40] The "Principality of Polatsk" is still a useful topos in the discourse of power for a while, and soon disappears from official texts and maps. On the monumental RADZIWIŁŁ MAP of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania made in the 1590s

---

Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Ruskiego i Żmudzkiego przypieczętował Maciej Stryjkowski swoją *Kroniką*."

35  M. Stryjkowski, *Która przedtym nigdy świata nie widziała Kronika ...*, p. 130: "posłał do Rechwolda, księcia pskowskiego, który też był z Waregów na to księstwo przyszedł, prosząc u niego córki Rochmidy w małżeństwo."

36  *Ibidem*: "Rechwold książę pskowskie zabity."

37  Cf. S. Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia*, transl. R.H. Major, vol. 1, London 1851, p. 14: "In the interim he sent messengers to Rochvolochda, prince of Plescov, through whose country he had passed in his march from Wagria, to ask the hand of his daughter Rochmida in marriage" (original text: *idem, Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii: Synoptische Edition der lateinischen und der deutschen Fassung letzter Hand, Basel 1556 und Wien 1557*, erst. von E. Maurer und A. Fülberth, München 2007, p. 45: "Interea temporis mittit ad Rochvuolochdam principem P[l]escovuiae (nam & ipse ex Vuaregis illuc commigraverat) et filiam suam Rochmidam uxorem petit").

38  O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych ...*, p. 296: "dawna Ruś Stryjkowskiego to wyłącznie państwo kijowskie i halickie."

39  R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico ...*, pp. 70–71: "Regebatur Polotia antiquitus, quemadmodum et Kiovia, a legatis regiis: palatinorum honore ac dignitate, cum per universam Lituaniam non plures quam duo palatini, Vilnensis ac Trocensis, totidem castellani essent, carebat. Postea amplificato senatu Lituanico, non modo **Polotiae et Kioviae ducatus**, sed et Vitepscia digna visa est, quae a palatino administraretur."

40  From 1542, the office of the voivode of Polatsk was held by Stanisław Dowojno until his death in 1574, even though during this time he spent four years in Muscovite captivity and his voivodeship ceased to exist. When it came to the restoration of the Grand Ducal administration after the recovery of Polatsk, the task was assigned to Mikołaj Monwid Dorohostajski, appointed to this position three years earlier. Cf: *Urzędnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego: Spisy*, vol. 5 ..., pp. 24–26, 251.

FIGURE 11.4      A fragment of the RADZIWIŁŁ MAP. The borders of the Polatsk voivodeship reincorporated into Lithuania are marked with dots on the map.

(oldest known edition: Amsterdam 1613), the engraver carefully marked the borders of the Polatsk region (see Fig. 11.4).

However, its territory is no longer called *Ducatus Polocensis*. It is an unnamed administrative unit within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The victorious Polatsk campaign is only recalled in an inscription ("In the year 1563,

during the rule of the Polish King Sigismund Augustus, Polatsk was seized by Muscovy and later recovered by King Stephen")[41] and by the symbols and toponyms of the Muscovite fortresses conquered and razed to the ground,

---

41      "Anno 1563 Polotia sub Sigismundo Augusto rege Poloniae a Moscho adempta, a Stephano autem rege recuperata."

such as Sokol, depicted at the decisive moment of the siege by the Polish-Lithuanian army.

The text of the historical note was certainly written by Zamoyski's chancery. Later, the royal secretary Heidenstein,[42] working on the basis of chancery documents, also included a historical digression about Polatsk in *De bello Moscovitico*—this text, apart from minor changes, is practically identical to the note on the map by Pachołowiecki.[43] The term "ducatus" does not appear once there; the former principality is consistently referred to as "land" or "Polatsk region" ("regio"), while in the whole *De bello* the dominant terms referring to this area, apart from "regio", are "ditio" and "ager Polotiensis".[44] This reflects perfectly the rhetoric of the official royal edicts and letters mentioned at the beginning. In the *Royal Edict on Thanksgiving for the Fortunate Success of the War with Muscovy* (*Edictum regium de supplicationibus …*) and its reprints, or in the *Report on the Actions against Muscovy after the Conquest of Polatsk* (*Rerum post captam Polotiam …*) the Polatsk lands are referred to as "ditio", "regio", and finally "provincia Polocensis".[45] "Ducatus" appears only in the editorial summaries that precede the foreign reprints of these pamphlets.[46] In the end, the

"Principality of Polatsk" was only needed until a certain moment as a counterargument to Muscovite pretext.

### 3.2 *The Muscovite Pretext*

In January 1578, Tsar Ivan the Terrible ordered his secretaries, the dyaks, to renew Muscovy's territorial claims against Lithuania and Poland at the meeting with Báthory's envoy, the Mazovian voivode Stanisław Kryski, who arrived in Moscow. He started his argumentation with his own lineage:

"Our reign starts with *sebastos* Augustus, the emperor of Rome, famous all over the world, and also from Prus, Augustus's brother, who reigned in Malbork, Toruń, Chojnice, and Gdańsk, up to the river called Neman which empties into the Varangian Sea. And fourteen generations of our forefathers come from Prus."[47]

The legend, which aroused the amusement of Polish diplomats and humanists, appeared in a text created in 1511–1521 and attributed to Spiridon-Savva under the title *The Epistle* (*Poslanie*) and then in an extremely influential *Tale of the Princes of Vladimir* (*Skazanie o Kniaziakh Vladimirskikh*).[48] The latter work had a decisive effect on the doctrine of tsarist power after the coronation of Ivan the Terrible. In the *Book of Royal Degrees* (*Stepennaia kniga tsarskogo rodoslovia*) written after 1560, which had the status of an official document and was intended for the tsar, the theme of Prus served to closely connect the earthly power of the tsars with the history of salvation. "The tsarist autocracy", as we read in the life of Saint Olga, which opens the *Book*, "began with Rurik, […] who came from Varangians to Veliky Novgorod with two of his brothers and their families, and who descended from the tribe of Prus, from which the Prussian land takes its name. Prus was the brother of the only sovereign Emperor Augustus of Rome, during whose rule the ineffable Nativity of the Lord God our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God through the Holy Spirit and the Ever-Virgin Mary, took place on

---

42    Heidenstein was not an eyewitness to the events: during Báthory's campaign he studied in Padua and travelled around Italy and France, and was only appointed royal secretary on 5 June 1582. Cf. B. Kocowski, "Heidenstein Reinhold (1553–1620)", PSB, vol. 9, Wrocław 1960–1961, pp. 342–344.

43    R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* …, pp. 47–48. Apart from the more extensive *urbis laus*, which he supplemented with a meticulous hydrography of the Polatsk region, perhaps based on Pachołowiecki's map, there are only minor differences. The only more important one is the replacement of the term "sublata stirpe" with the formula "extincta": thus, Lithuanians would take over Polatsk not after the "removal", but after the "expiry" of the local dynasty.

44    The name Ducatus Polotiensis appears in *De bello* extremely rarely, e.g. in the context of the restitution of goods confiscated from the Polatsk nobility by Ivan the Terrible (R. Heidenstein, *De bello Moscovitico* …, p. 71) or on the occasion of peace proposals put forward by Muscovy (*ibidem*, p. 209).

45    Cf. e.g.: "Rex posteaquam dierum quinquaginta spacio, sex arcibus captis […] **provinciam omnem Polocensem**, mira agrorum fertilitate, magna fluminum opportunitate praeditam, octavo decimo post anno, quam esset ab hoste occupata, bello Reipublicae recuperasset" (*Rerum post captam Polotiam* …, $G_2$ r., bold G.F.).

46    E.g. in *Stephani regis Poloniae epistola* …, b.m. [Rostock: S. Möllermann], f. $A_1$ v.: "Iohannes Basilii, magnus Moschoviae dux, anno Christi 1563, die 15 Februarii **Lithuaniae Ducatum et urbem Polotsko**, flumini Dunae impositam et 40 milliaribus a Vilna distantem occupaverat. Hanc Stephanus Poloniae rex superiori aestate, die 30 Augusti bello expugnatam recuperavit" (bold G.F.).

47    *Посольская Книга 1575–1579* …; as cited in: А.И. Филюшкин, *Изобретая первую войну России и Европы* …, p. 753: "Наше государство почен от Августа цесаря Римского севаста, всей вселенней ведомо, так же и от Пруса от Августова брата, обладавшаго во граде Милборке и Торуй и Хвоинице и Гданску по реку, поглаголему Немон, яже течет в море Варяжское. И от Пруса четвертое на десеть колена прародителей наших."

48    An edition and monographic elaboration of both texts: Р.П. Дмитриева, *Сказание о князях владимирских*, Москва—Ленинград 1955.

earth".[49] Before the Roman Empire broke up into the west and east, the tsar's great-grandfather set out to give birth to a third, Northern Rome.[50]

However, if the Polish-Lithuanian side could laugh at the tsar's Julian-Claudian ancestry—and they did laugh eagerly[51]—they could not ignore the rest of his argu-mentation, as it was essentially based on a *translatio imperii* from Polatsk to Vilnius, and finally to Moscow. So Báthory's envoys heard the following argument on Muscovy's rights to Polatsk and—*eo ipso*!—to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Crown:

"Beginning with Vladimir the Great, who baptized the land of Rus', took the city of Polatsk, and married Rogneda, the daughter of the Polatsk Knyaz Rogvolod. And with Rogneda he begat his son Izyaslav and put him on the Polatsk throne. And Izyaslav had a son, Bryachislav, and Bryachislav fathered a son, Vseslav, and Vseslav fathered sons Boris and Rostislav, and Rostislav fathered Rogvolod. And the Great Kyivan Knyaz Mstislav, son of Vladimir Monomakh, prince of Smolensk [...] captured the children of Rogvolod, namely Vasily, Ivan, and Rostislav, and sent them in exile to Tsargrad for disobedience. [...] And hence the Vilnians chose the children of Rostislav son of Rogvolod, namely David and Movkold, as rulers of their state, and David had a son, Vid, whom people called Wolf. And Vid's son was Traidenis, and Traidenis's son was Vytenis, and Vytenis fathered the Grand Duke of Lithuania Gediminas. And Gediminas's son was Grand Duke Algirdas. And Algirdas's son was King Jogaila, and Jogaila's son was Casimir Andrew. And Casimir's son was Sigismund, and Sigismund's son was Sigismund Augustus, who ruled until our times. And these were famous and great rulers, our brethren, known around the world. And our brothers by blood. And this is why the Crown of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are our heritage (*naša votčina*) as there is no one left from that family. And the royal sister is no heir of a state."[52]

---

49  "Самодержавное царское скипетроправление [...] начася отъ Рюрика, [...] иже прииде изъ Варягъ въ Великий Новградъ со двема братома своима и съ роды своими, иже бѣ отъ племени Прусова, по его же имени Пруская земля именуется. Прусъ же братъ бысть единоначальствующаго на земли Римскаго Кесаря Августа, при немъ же бысть неизреченное на земли Рожество Господа Бога и Спаса нашего Исуса Христа Превѣчнаго Сына Божия отъ Пресвятаго Духа и отъ Пречистыя Приснодѣвы Мария" (*Полное Собрание Русских Лѣтописей*, vol. 21: *Книга Степенная царского родословия*, ed. П.Г. Васенко, Санкт-Петербургъ 1908, p. 7). Among the more recent literature on the subject cf. *The Book of Royal Degrees and the Genesis of Russian Historical Consciousness*, ed. G. Lenhoff, A. Kleimola, Bloomington 2011.

50  On the political theology of Moscow as the Third Rome cf. e.g.: M. Poe, "Moscow, the Third Rome: The Origins and Transformations of a 'Pivotal Moment'", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 49(3) (2001), pp. 412–429; D. Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine", *Speculum* 28 (1953), 1, pp. 84–101.

51  During the Pskov campaign in 1581, the royal chancery countered the tsarist *gramotas* with the following words: "You say you are the one who not only reads the Psalms, but also the chronicles. So read serious chroniclers and do not tell childish fairy tales, and do not make up stories about things that never took place, as you made up your story about Prus, brother of Augustus, which is only your stupid invention" ("Оказуешся за того ж не толко псалмы пилно чтеш, але и летописцы. Чтеш правдивых летописцов, а не тверди басен бахорев своих, або того себе не змышляй, чего в речи николи не было, яко еси смыслил о Прусе брате своем Августовом, в чом дурное змышлене твое". The document in the collection of the Moscow RGADA, F. 89, Op. 1, D. 13, 299 r.–v.; cited after: К.Ю. Ерусалимский, *История на посольской службе: дипломатия и память в России XVI в.*, Москва 2005, p. 45). This is probably a fragment of an extensive response to the tsarist demands prepared by Zamoyski himself in July 1581. As Rev. Piotrowski wrote in his diary: "[30 July] After celebrating the service, the answer to the letter from Moscow [...] was read in Latin [...] before the gentry. Mr Chancellor himself will translate it into Polish as we, scribes, we are not equal to the task, and Lithuanians will translate from Polish to Ruthenian and send the latter version to the Muscovite tsar. Mr Chancellor intends to send the Latin version to Rome, so that the whole world will know" (J. Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy ...*, p. 41: "Odprawiwszy nabożeństwo, odpowiedź na list Moskiewskiego [...] po łacinie [...] czytano przed Pany. P. Kanclerz sam przełoży go na polskie, bo my pisarze tej robocie nie sprostamy, z polskiego zasię Litwa na ruskie przełoży, który Moskiewskiemu poślą; a ten łaciński chce Pan posłać do Rzymu, aby o nim wszytek świat wiedział"); "[6 August] We sent them to him in Ruthenian and in Latin, so he will have enough to read. [...] In addition, we also sent Herberstein, Guagnini, and several chapters from Krantz in Latin to the Muscovite,

so that he could read what the world writes about his actions" (*ibidem*, p. 44: "Posłaliśmy mu je i po rusku i po łacinie, będzie miał co czytać. [...] Do tego tyżeśmy Moskiewskiemu posłali Herbersteina, Gwagnina i kilka rozdziałów z Krancyjusza po łacinie, aby sobie czytał, co o jego obyczajach świat pisze").

52  "Почон от великаго Владимера, просветившаго Рускую землю святым крещением, что взял город Полотцк, и Рогволодову полотцкого князя дщерь Рогнедь взя за себе. И от тое Рогнеди родил сына Изяслава и посадил его опять на Полотцку. А у Изяслава сын Бречислав, а у Бречислава сын Всеслав, а у Всеслава дети Борис да Ростислав, а у Бориса сын Рогволод. А Рогволодовых детей Василия да Ивана да Ростислава князь великий Киевской Мстислав Володимерович Манамаш Смоленской за непослушанье поимавши да сослал в Царьгород в заточенье. [...] И оттоле виляне взяли себе Ростиславлих детей Рогволодовича на государство, Давила да Мовколда, а Давилов сын Вид, его ж люди Волком звали. А Видов сын Пройден, а Пройденев сын Витин, а Витинев сын князь великий Гедиман Литовской. А Гедиманов сын князь великий Олгерд. А Олгердов сын король Ягайло, а Ягайлов сын Андрей Казимер. А Казимеров

Therefore, according to the official Muscovite version, Báthory had no hereditary rights to the Principality of Polatsk: after all, his "patrimony"—and by the grace of the Ottomans at that—is Transylvania, about which the tsar says contemptuously that "we have never heard anything of it anywhere".[53] This is why he demands:

"firstly, have your lord Stephen write our tsarist name [...] and our full title. Also, that he would have you mention among our titles the Grand Duchy of Smolensk and the Principality of Polatsk, because [...] God gave us the Principality of Polatsk for the iniquity of our brother King Sigismund August, who had invaded the Livonian land, our patrimony. And now it is God's will, as our brother King Sigismund August departed this life, and the Polatsk patrimony has no heir except us. And your lord is not the heir of this patrimony (*toj votčine ne jest' votčič*)."[54]

The genealogical argumentation of Ivan the Terrible was the result of the process of strengthening the Rurikids of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir in patrilineal rights to the whole inheritance of Kyivan Rus' from the end of the 15th century. Initially created for this purpose, among others, *rodoslovia* were intended to ennoble the origin of the grand dukes of Muscovy and at the same time to reduce the dynastic rank of the grand dukes of Lithuania. From Muscovy's perspective, the latter were illegitimately ruling over vast lands that should rightfully belong to the descendants of Vladimir the Great. These documents were supposed to prove that Gediminas, the progenitor of the Jagiellons, was a servant and equerry of a certain

Vytenis, one of the vassals of the duke of Smolensk.[55] Over time, however, a different, more politically useful and far-reaching narrative prevailed. It appeared in a document written between 1520 and 1548 entitled *The Beginnings of the Lithuanian Rulers* (*Начало государей литовских*).[56] Without entering the labyrinth of detailed findings of scholars who tried to identify the chronicles and lineage narratives that informed this document, we will limit ourselves to the conclusion that the story about the exile of the Rogvolodovichi from Polatsk to Constantinople was based on source-confirmed historical facts. In 1229, the Grand Duke of Kyiv, Mstislav I Vladimirovich conquered Polatsk and captured the sons of Vseslav Bryachislavich called the Sorcerer, David, Sviatoslav, and Rostislav, and exiled them to Byzantium. The rest of the lineage is *licentia poetica* of the compilers of the *Beginnings*. Nothing is known about the sons of Rostislav, whom the Lithuanians would bring back from exile to give them power, while their descendants, all the way to Gediminas, were given either fictitious names, taken from the previous "inferior" pedigrees of the Gediminids (e.g. Vid called the Wolf), or names that belonged to the historical Lithuanian *kunigas* (dukes), but not Gediminas's ancestors, such as Traidenis or Vytenis.[57] The legal-dynastic sense of the pedigree

---

сын Жигимонт. А Жигимонтов сын Жигимонт Август по ся места. И те были славные великие государи, наша братия, по всей вселенней ведомы. И по коленству нам братия. И по потому и Корона Полская и Великое Княжство Литовское наша вотчина, что того роду не осталося никого. А сестра королева государству не отчич" (*Посольская Книга 1575–1579*, RGADA, F. 79, Op. 1, D. 10; cited after: А.И. Филюшкин, *Изобретая первую войну России и Европы ...*, p. 754).

53   "А Седмиградцкаго государства нигде есмя не слыхали" (*ibidem*).

54   "Государь бы ваш Стефан первое велел описовати наше царьское имя [...] и наши титла описовати сполна. Так же и Великое Княжство Смоленское и Княжство Полотцкое тобе велел описовати сполна в нашем титле, потому что [...] Полотцкое Княжество также Бог нам поручил, за неправду брата нашего Жигимонта Августа короля, что вступился в нашу отчину в Лифлянскую землю. И ныне Божья воля сстало[ся], брата нашего Жигимонта Августа короля в животе не стало, и той вотчине Полотцкой вотчича оприч нас никого нет. А государь ваш той вотчине не есть вотчичь" (*ibidem*, pp. 754–755).

55   Cf. O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych ...*, pp. 281 ff.

56   The text was published in: *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*, vol. 17, cols 593–600. The relevant part of the source text reads: "In the year 6637 [1129]. The Great Prince Mstislav, son of Vladimir Monomakh, went to war with the sons of Rogvolod and captured Polatsk, and the sons of Rogvolod escaped to Constantinople. In those days, Lithuania was paying tribute to the Polatsk princes, and [...] some of the cities in Lithuania, which are now ruled by the Polish king, were then ruled by the princes of Kyiv, others by the princes of Chernigov, and yet others by the princes of Polatsk. [...] And the Vilnians brought back the children of the Polatsk prince Rostislav son of Rogvolod from Constantinople: Prince David and his brother Prince Movkold. And David, Movkold's older brother, was the first prince in Vilnius" ("Въ лѣто 6637 [1129]. Прииде на Полотцкие князи на Рогволодовичи князь великий Мстиславъ Володимерович Манамашь и Полотескъ взялъ, а Рогволодовичи забежали в Царьградъ. Литва в ту пору дань дааше княземъ Полотцкимъ, а [...] городы Литовские тогда, иже суть ныне за кралемь, обладаны князми Киевскими, иные Черниговскими, иные Полотцкими. [...] И Вильняне взяша собѣ ис Царяграда князя Полотцкого Ростислава Рогволодовича детей: Давила князя да брата его Мовколда князя. И той на Вильне первый князь Давилъ, брат Мовколдовъ большой"—*ibidem*, col. 593).

57   A concise discussion of this question, together with a critical review of the literature on the subject, see: O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych ...*, pp. 284–286. More important studies: М.Е. Бычкова, "Отдельны моменты истории Литвы в интерпретации русских генеалогических источников XVI в.", in: *Польша и Русь: Черты общности и своеобразия в историческом развитии Руси и Польши XII–XIV вв.*, ed. Б.А. Рыбаков,

constructed in such a way was well expressed by Oleg Łatyszonek:

"As the alleged descendants of the princes—"izgoi", exiled for disobedience to Vladimir Monomakh to Constantinople and deprived of any rights to the Rus'ian land, Gediminids had no rights to the heritage of Vladimir [the Great]."[58]

But this was not the end of it. When the "Polatsk argument" first appeared in the Muscovite diplomatic practice in the relations with Lithuania and Poland, Ivan the Terrible was preparing to conquer the Polatsk region. As Boris N. Floria established, it happened in the *gramota* sent to the Lithuanian aristocrats by the Boyar Duma between November 1562 and January 1563. It reads as follows:

"What kind of justice is it, my lords, to hold someone else's patrimony and call it one's own? Just remember, my lords, how the Lithuanian hetmans brought back the sons of Rogvolod, David, and Movkold, to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and how they sent tribute to Kyiv to the Grand Duke Mstislav, the son of Vladimir Monomakh, which we know well to be true. **And this is why not only the whole Rus'ian land, but also the Lithuanian land is our lord's patrimony** [bold—G.F.]."[59]

In this document, the low-rank version of the Gediminids was still maintained. Ivan the Terrible adopted the Polatsk variant of the pedigree of the Lithuanian grand dukes a little later, around 1567. The official, contrasting interpretation of the rank and position of the Muscovite and Polish-Lithuanian monarchy was as follows: while the Tsar of All the Russias is by God's will a hereditary self-governing monarch (in the Byzantine sense of *autokratēs*) with unlimited power, the grand dukes of Lithuania and the kings of Poland are "non-indigenous" (*nekorennye*) rulers limited by the will and orders of their subjects, whose ancestors placed their ancestors—the deservedly exiled Polatsk princes—on the throne.[60]

No wonder that official documents from the period of the Muscovite Polatsk campaign are dominated by the same topic as in the quoted texts: "the tsar and grand prince [...] attacked his enemy, that is, the Lithuanians, for the great iniquities they committed, to regain the city of Polatsk, his patrimony. And God [...] has gave him his patrimony, the city of Polatsk."[61] Nine days after the conquest of the city, the deputies of Sigismund II Augustus received a *gramota*, signed on 24 February 1563 "in Polatsk, His Majesty the Tsar's patrimony",[62] in which Ivan

---

Москва 1974, pp. 365–377; *eadem*, "Legenda o pochodzeniu wielkich książąt litewskich. Redakcje moskiewskie z końca XV i z XVI wieku", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 20 (1976), pp. 183–199; Б.Н. Флоря, "Родословие литовских князей в русской политической мысли XVI в.", in: *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье*, Москва 1978, pp. 322–328.

58 O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych* ..., p. 286: "Jako rzekomi potomkowie książąt—'izgojów', zesłanych za nieposłuszeństwo wobec Włodzimierza Monomacha do Konstantynopola i pozbawionych udziałów w ziemi ruskiej, Giedyminowicze nie mieli praw do dziedzictwa Włodzimierza." See also: К.Ю. Ерусалимский, "Идеология истории Ивана Грозного: взгляд из Речи Посполитой", in: *Диалоги со временем: Память о прошлом в контексте истории*, под ред Л.П. Репиной, Москва 2008, pp. 589–635.

59 "Ино то, панове, которая правда, что чужую вотчину держати и называти ее своею? А только, панове, воспомянути прежние обычаи, которымъ обычаемъ гетманы литовские Рогволодовичевъ Давила да Мовколда на Литовское княжество взяли и которымъ обычаемъ великому государю Мстиславу Володимеричу Манамашу къ Киеву дань давали, мы то гораздо вѣдаемъ, кое так было; ино **потому не токмо что Руская земля вся, но и Литовская земля вся вотчина государя нашего**" (*Сборник Императорского Русского Исторического Общества*, vol. 71 ..., p. 108). Cf. also: Б.Н. Флоря, *Русско-польские отношения* ..., pp. 35–36.

60 The relevant fragment of the Boyar Duma's letter from July–August 1567: "Our ruler takes orders from no one, while your gentry command you as they see fit; for our rulers were not put on the throne by anyone [...], they have sovereign power in their countries, and you need to listen to the advice of your gentry because the Lithuanian hetmans gave the ruling power to your forefathers [...] David and Movkold, [...] and this is why you are obedient to your gentry: you are not native rulers" ("Нашимъ великимъ государемъ не указываетъ никто, а тебѣ твои панове какъ хотятъ, такъ укажутъ, занже наши государи [...] никѣмъ не посажены [...] на своихъ государьствахъ государи самодержствуютъ, а вы потому своихъ пановъ радъ слушаете, што прародителей твоихъ гетманы литовские [...] Давила да Мовколда на Литовское княжство взяли, [...] потому ты своимъ паномъ и послушенъ, что есте не коренные государи"—*Сборник* ..., pp. 508–509).

61 *Сборник* ..., p. 121: "царь и великий князь [...] на недруга своего на литовского, за его великие неправды ходилъ и свое вотчины города Полотцка искати. И [...] Богъ [...] вотчину его городъ Полтескъ въ руки ему далъ." Cf. S. Bogatyrev, "Battle for Divine Wisdom: The Rhetoric of Ivan IV's Campaign against Polotsk", in: *The Military and Society in Russia, 1450–1917*, ed. E. Lohr, M. Poe, Leiden 2002, pp. 325–363; С.Н. Богатырев, "*Повесть о Полоцком взятии* и проблемы истории культуры Московской Руси", in: *Источниковедение и историография в мире гуманитарного знания: Доклады и тезисы XIV научной конференции. Москва, 18–19 апреля 2002 г.*, Москва 2002, pp. 128–131.

62 "Во [...] царьского величества вотчинѣ въ Полотцку"—*Сборник* ..., p. 131. The tsarist title: *ibidem*, p. 125. See also: *Книга посольская Метрики Великого Княжества Литовского, содержащая в себе дипломатические сношения Литвы в*

the Terrible named himself prince of Polatsk for the first time. From then on, Muscovite letters would contain the demand that the tsar's full title be acknowledged, including in particular those elements that were unacceptable for the Polish-Lithuanian state: "the Tsar and Grand Duke of All the Rus'" (царь и великий князь всея Русии), "the Sovereign and Grand Duke of Polatsk" (государь и великий князь Полотцкий), and "the hereditary Sovereign and Ruler of Livonia of the Teutonic Order" (государь отчинные и обладатель земли Лифлянския Неметцкого чину). This ideological programme was also reflected in the official grand seal with which the documents of the tsarist chancery were authenticated from summer 1578 onwards.[63] The wreath of territorial coats of arms (the so-called *Wappenkranz*) on the reverse side also features the "seal of Polatsk" (печать полотцкая). An absolute novelty here is the coat of arms of the Principality of Polatsk: the Columns of Gediminas, the emblem of the grand dukes of Lithuania, who were his descendants. As Hieronim Grala accurately observes, "it therefore seems highly probable that the coat of arms of Polatsk—the alleged cradle of the Gediminids—was given a special role on the seal of Ivan IV: thanks to thoughtful heraldic mystification, he acted as *pars pro toto* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, legitimizing the tsarist entitlements".[64]

Does this mean that the Principality of Polatsk, once it was incorporated into the lands of Muscovy, preserved, or rather regained its administrative separateness in 1563–1579? Naturally, the answer is: it did not. As part of the consistent centralization of Muscovy, Ivan the Terrible removed all traces of post-feudal forms of statehood. Polatsk became a de jure district (*povet*—county) administered by the tsarist governor.[65]

### 3.3    *The Triumph of the Text of Dispute and Power*

We would like to emphasize once again that the choice of Polatsk as the target of the Polish-Lithuanian offensive in 1579 was a decision with major political and propaganda consequences. In the *Royal Edict on Thanksgiving for the Fortunate Success of the War with Muscovy*, Báthory's chancery mentioned only the strategic motivation, stating that "carefully considering all the circumstances, [...] we came to the conclusion that the aim of the first offensive of our troops should be to capture Polatsk. This fortress, like a sword above the neck, threatens our Grand Duchy of Lithuania and even our city of Vilnius itself".[66] But Polatsk in the hands of Ivan the Terrible threatened Vilnius and Lithuania even more as the key element of the dynastic argumentation that undermined the legal basis of the electoral power of the monarchs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in international public opinion. It is therefore not without reason that no other success of the Livonian War was so broadly publicized and used by the Polish-Lithuanian side as propaganda. It was about international politics and diplomacy, and the key issue was the legitimacy of the election model in opposition to the hereditary monarchy based on dynastic logic.

The effect of Báthory's propaganda action was a long-term triumph in the symbolic sphere. Poland-Lithuania presented the successful conquest of Polatsk as a triumph of the Commonwealth, although more of Poland than Lithuania, even though it was the latter that reclaimed its province. This is how the "recuperation" of Polatsk was told in the texts of the power dispute, especially those intended for the external, European audience—for example in the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*. In all the prints, without exception, of which it consists, the conqueror is called

*государствование короля Сигизмунда-Августа (с 1545 по 1572 год)*, Москва 1843, n. 159, p. 237.

63    Cf. H. Grala, "'Pieczat' połotckaja' Iwana IV Groźnego. Treści imperialne w moskiewskiej sfragistyce państwowej", *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 3(14) (1997), pp. 117–134.

64    *Ibidem*, p. 129: "Wydaje się więc wysoce prawdopodobne, iż herbowi Połocka—domniemanej kolebki Giedyminowiczów—przypadła na pieczęci Iwana IV rola szczególna: dzięki przemyślanej mistyfikacji heraldycznej występował on jako *pars pro toto* Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, legitymizując uroszczenia carskie."

65    Cf. К.В. Баранов, "Записная книга Полоцкого похода 1562/63 года", *Русский дипломатарий* 10 (2004), pp. 119–154. In this official book, which meticulously documented Ivan's the Terrible war expedition, the Polatsk region was consistently referred to as "Полотцкий повет" and "Полотцкий уезд". The text of Book 573 of the *Lithuanian Metrica*, which records the distribution of land divisions (*pomeste*) to veterans of the Polatsk campaign, leaves no doubt: it only refers to the "Polatsk district" ("Полотцкий повѣт"). Cf. *Иван Грозный—завоеватель*

*Полоцка: (новые документы по истории Ливонской войны)*, ed. А.И. Филюшкин; сост., подгот. к публ., вступ. ст. В.Ю. Ермак; описание рукописи К.Ю. Ерусалимский; Санкт-Петербург 2014, pp. 47–429.

66    "Rebus vero omnibus in accuratam considerationem vocatis, [...] eam tandem in sententiam descendimus, ut primam nostrorum armorum vim ad Polotiam oppugnandam conferri oportere concluderemus, quod quidem ea arx cervicibus Magni Ducatus nostri Lithuaniae atque adeo ipsi civitati nostrae Vilnensi [...] immineret" (*Edictum regium de supplicationibus* ..., f. D₂ v.–D₃ r.). Besides, the decision to conquer Polatsk was made against the Lithuanians, who insisted on a quick march through Livonia to first attack Pskov. As demonstrated by Karol Łopatecki, Lithuanian Grand Hetman Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Red" even presented Báthory with a detailed plan of the Pskov march, which is preserved in the archives as *The Route to [the Land of] Muscovy (Droga do [ziemi] moskiewskiej)*. See K. Łopatecki, "Itineraria jako źródła poznania myśli strategicznej i operacyjnej w okresie panowania Stefana Batorego", *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 2(63) (2018), pp. 39–40.
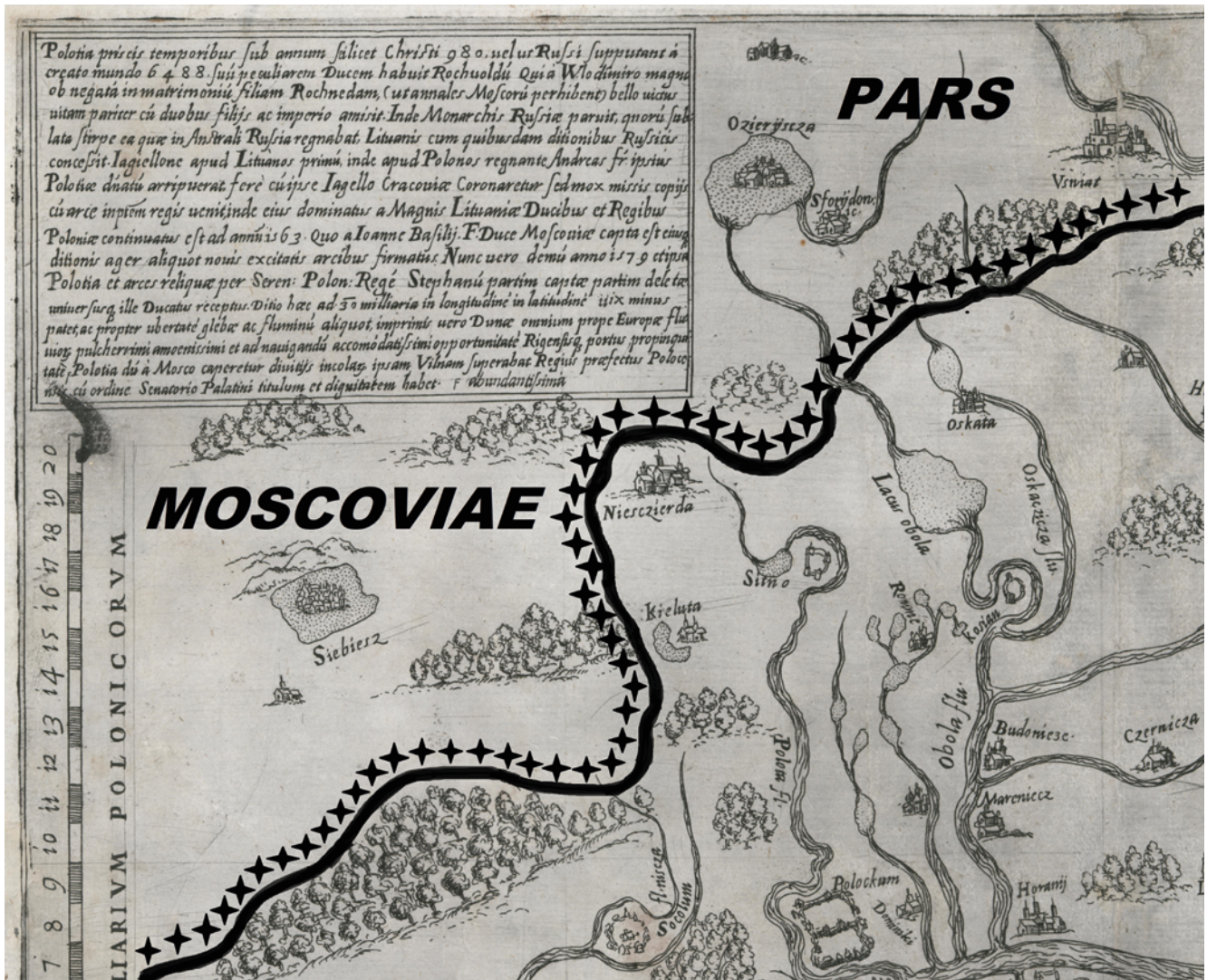
FIGURE 11.5    A fragment of PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*. The approximate, unmarked Lithuanian—Muscovite border after the Polatsk campaign is marked.

"The Most Serene Stephen King of Poland". Apart from the three mentions of Lithuania in the historical note on the map of the Principality of Polatsk, which serves to legitimize the *translatio imperii* from Vilnius to Cracow, the adjective "Lithuanicus" appears only as a description of the Lithuanian cavalry and the location of the camp of Lithuanians on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*. The nomenclature on the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* is consistently Polish (e.g. Dzisna, Glebokie), sometimes in a Latinized form (Polockum, Horodcum). It is therefore hardly surprising that the English reader of *True Reporte* learned that "the Towne and Castell of Polotzko" was recovered "to the Crowne of Poland againe, as it hath beene in times past", while the toponym *Litto*, whose mistaken spelling followed a German model, rendered Lithuania a geographical reality comparable to "the desert seacoast

of Bohemia" in *The Winter's Tale*.[67] The cartographic content of the map of the Principality of Polatsk is silent not only about Lithuania. It does not mention Muscovy either. On 16th-century maps, fragments of countries adjacent to the centrally depicted title territory were marked with the *pars/partes* formula. The map of Pachołowiecki does not in any way indicate the limits of territorial achievements of Báthory's campaign of 1579. And the historical note that we tried to read according to the hermeneutics of suspicion is placed where the inscription "Pars Moscoviae" could—or even should—be placed (see Fig. 11.5).

---

67    *A True reporte* ..., f. A$_2$ v.

## 4        Epilogue

In Belarusian historiography, starting with the canonical *Review of the History of Belarus since the Earliest Times* by the 19th-century historian Osip Turchinovich, the Polatsk Principality is considered to be the first "pre-Belarusian" state form.[68] As Oleg Łatyszonek writes in the chapter with the telling title *Biała Ruś—kraj bez historii* (White Rus': A Country without History), "Contemporary Belarusians unanimously consider the Principality of Polatsk to be the first Belarusian state. There is no textbook in Belarus in which Prince Rogvolod of Polatsk would not appear as the first historical figure with […] his daughter Rogneda".[69] The same Rogvolod appeared on the twenty-rouble coin that opened the commemorative series put into circulation by the National Bank of the Republic of Belarus entitled *Strengthening and Defending the State* (see Fig. 11.6). The current historical discourse refers to the same state, whose idealized, politicized and naively didactic-patriotic image was presented in one of Alyaksandr Lukashenka's ceremonial speeches:

"Back then, 1155 years ago, Polotsk was known as a trade and administrative centre of Slavic Europe. And the Principality of Polotsk, our historical cradle, was a peaceful, hard-working and friendly state. Back then its people were determining their future themselves. The most courageous and wisest representatives of that land were elected as leaders at popular assemblies. […] Back then the Varangians brought statehood to many peoples. Not everyone liked the aspiration of our ancestors to be independent. Therefore, throughout its history our people had to protect this piece of land."[70]



FIGURE 11.6    A Belarusian silver twenty-rouble coin from the series "*Умацаванне і абарона дзяржавы*" ("Strengthening and defending the state"): obverse commemorating Rogvolod and Rogneda (2006, 38.61 mm., 33.62 g.)
G. FRANCZAK, PRIVATE COLLECTION

It is evident that the way the former Principality of Polatsk has been used by the Belarusians in their own way fits into the universal scheme of cartographic power-knowledge in action. Monmonier, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, described this phenomenon in the most accurate and simple way:

"Nowhere is the map more a national symbol and an intellectual weapon than in disputes over territory. When nation A and nation B both claim territory C, they usually are at war cartographically as well. Nation A, which defeated nation B several decades ago and now holds territory C, has incorporated C into A on its maps. If A's maps identify C at all, they tend to mention it only when they label other provinces or subregions. If nation B was badly beaten, its maps might show C as a disputed territory. Unlike A's maps, **B's maps always name C.**"[71]

Here is how the story we are interested in here, that is, the story of appropriation and misrepresentation, went. State A, i.e. the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, incorporated

---

68    О. Турчинович, *Обозрение истории Белоруссии с древнейших времен*, Санкт-Петербург 1857.

69    O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych …*, p. 265: "Współcześni Białorusini za pierwsze państwo białoruskie zgodnie uważają księstwo połockie. Nie ma w Białorusi podręcznika, w którym jako pierwsza historyczna postać nie pojawiałby się książę połocki Rogwołod […] [z] córką Rognedą."

70    A. Lukašenka, *Solemn Meeting on Occasion of Belarus' Independence Day, 1 VII 2017*, President of the Republic of Belarus's official website: http://president.gov.by/en/news_en/view/solemn-meeting-on-occasion-of-belarus-independence-day-16584/ (accessed 26.03.2024). Original text in Belarusian: "Ужо тады, 1155 гадоў таму, Полацк быў вядомым гандлёвым і адміністрацыйным цэнтрам славянскай Еўропы. А Полацкае княства—наша гістарычная калыска—мірнай, працавітай і дружалюбнай дзяржавай. Ужо тады яго жыхары самастойна вызначалі свой лёс. На народным вечы выбіралі правадыроў з ліку самых мужных і мудрых прадстаўнікоў сваёй зямлі. […] Але ж у той час да многіх народаў дзяржаўнасць прыйшла разам з варагамі. Далёка не ўсім было даспадобы

імкненне нашых продкаў быць самастойнымі. Таму абараняць сваю зямлю ім даводзілася на працягу ўсёй яе гісторыі." https://president.gov.by/be/events/urachysty-sxod-prysvechany-dnju-nezalezhnastsi-belarusi-16594#block-after-media-scroll (accessed 21.07.2024; transl. Press Service of the President of the Republic of Belarus, 2024).

71    M. Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps …*, p. 91. Bold lettering—G.F.

the independent territory C, i.e. the Principality of Polatsk, gradually blurring its statehood and finally transforming it into a voivodeship in 1504. State B, i.e. Muscovy, put forward a dynastic claim to C, resurrecting the title and the principality as such and conquering it in 1563, in order to immediately turn it into an ordinary *povet*. Sixteen years later, State A, which in the meantime managed to become the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, again conquered State C, claiming its own dynastic and historical rights to the principality exhumed by State B. State A put State C on a map only to wipe it off again as soon as possible from subsequent maps, when it reduced the principality back to the rank of a voivodeship. After two centuries, State B, this time known as the Russian Empire, while partitioning State A together with two other allied empires, took over the territory of C for a longer time. Its former metropolis P soon became a modest *povet* town in a province whose capital was the rival city V.

Nonetheless, the monarchs of B never ceased to call themselves princes of C: their series is closed by the all-Russian emperor and autocrat, the last prince of Polatsk, Nicholas II Romanov, executed on the night of 16–17 July 1918. Today, the territory of C is only mentioned on the maps and in the official iconosphere by State D, which used the former's earliest history to create its founding myth. That state is the Republic of Belarus.

# *Polotia recepta*—Celebrating the Triumph

The military and political victory over Ivan the Terrible in the Muscovite war in the years 1579–1582 was a Polish-Lithuanian triumph, but it was mainly Poland that capitalized on it propagandistically.[1] As has been shown in the chapter 11, texts of the power dispute recounted the "recuperation" of Polatsk mainly from a Polonocentric perspective. This pertains particularly to works intended for the external, European audience. We have previously discussed the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* as such a text, but it was not the only one. The propaganda message was also entrusted to a spectacular paratheatrical form, as well as to an emblematic one, recorded on an extremely interesting commemorative medal. We will quote and briefly discuss a detailed description of the *Triumph over Muscovy*, modelled on the Roman triumphs in honour of the victorious consuls and caesars, played in 1583 before a crowded audience in Cracow's Market Square in praise of Báthory. Secondly, we will present the medal LIVONIA POLOTIAQUE RECEPTA (LIVONIA AND POLATSK RECOVERED) minted on the occasion of the above-mentioned triumph, which refers to the enco-miastic numismatic iconography of the Roman Empire, as well as later examples of the emblem impressed on it. The *Triumph over Muscovy* and the "Livonian-Polatsk medal" are texts of power and dispute on a par with texts in print, such as pamphlets, works of history, literature, and—cartography. Texts that use languages and forms of communication other than those mentioned above but employ the same argumentative topos, which we call *Polotia recepta*—an example, even if it seems to be an anachronistic parallel to the 20th century, of the propaganda topos of the Recovered Lands.[2]

On 12 June 1583, after a long and victorious war, the Chancellor and then also the Grand Hetman of the Crown Jan Zamoyski married the fourteen-year-old Griseldis Báthory, a niece of King Stephen Báthory. On 20 June, numerous spectacles took place in Cracow's Market Square, including the resplendent *Triumph over Muscovy* (*Triumphus Moscoviticus*). It was described in detail by the irreplaceable Royal Secretary Reinhold Heidenstein in a work dedicated to the Regent of Prussia, Prince Georg Friedrich Hohenzollern, entitled *The Wedding of Their Excellencies Jan Zamoyski, Chancellor of the Republic and Hetman of the Army, and Griseldis Báthory, Daughter of Christopher, Prince of Transylvania, Brother of the Most Serene King Stephen*, and later by, among others, historians Bartosz Paprocki and Joachim Bielski, who drew exten-sively on Heidenstein.[3] The king, together with Queen Anna Jagiellon and the retinue, sat in Spigler House at the corner of the Main Market Square and Sienna Street, from where he could spectate as the march was coming out of the Cloth Hall.[4] Let us give the floor to Heidenstein as his first-hand account is worth quoting in full.

---

1 Originally published as *"Polotia recepta.* Mapa Księstwa Połockiego—teksty i preteksty sporu o władzę", *Terminus* 23 (2021), 2(59), pp. 97–133; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.21.005.13439.

2 On the propaganda strategy of the communist regime in Poland after 1945 with reference to the so-called Recovered Lands, that is German lands annexed by Poland under the Potsdam agreements (Lower Silesia, West Pomerania, part of East Prussia), see among others: N. Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. 2: *1795 to the Present*, Oxford 1981, pp. 525–535 (chapter *The Modern Polish Frontiers*); *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948*, ed. Ph. Ther and A. Siljak, Oxford 2001, pp. 75–134 (*Part 1: Creating a Polish Nation-State*); T. David Curp, *A Clean Sweep? The Politics of Ethnic Cleansing in Western Poland, 1945–1960*, Rochester 2006; J. Yoshioka, "Place Name Changes on Ex-German

Territories in Poland after World War II", *Slavic Eurasian Studies* 15 (2007), pp. 273–287.

3 Cf. R. Heidenstein, *De Nuptiis Illustrium Ioan*[*nis*] *de Zamoscio, R*[*ei*] *P*[*ublicae*] *cancellarii et exercit*[*uum*] *praefecti, ac Griseldis Bathorreae, Christophori Transilvaniae principis et Sereniss*[*imi*] *Stephani regis fratris filiae, ad illustrissimum principem Georgium Fridericum, marchionem Brandenburgen*[*sem*] *in Prussia ducem, R*[*einholdi*] *H*[*eidensteini*] *S*[*ecretarii*] *R*[*egii*] *Epistola*, Cracoviae 1583; B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerztwa polskiego na pięcioro ksiąg rozdzielone*, Cracow 1584, pp. 691–692; abridged account: Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 794.

4 Cf. B. Paprocki, *Herby ...*, p. 200: "The three princes of Slutsk rode all together and presented the great triumph over Muscovy on a cart"; p. 691: "The tower, which was driven from the Wajs House to the square to be presented to the king, who was sitting in the Spigler House." The triumphant march therefore started either—which is more likely—from the Cloth Hall, or from the so-called Grey House (Rynek Główny 6), owned at the time by the merchant Johann Weiss and headed towards today's Biderman House, which at the time belonged to the Spigler family (Rynek Główny 5), whose owner (and host of the royal family) was then the councillor and repeated Mayor of Cracow Jan Spigler. See *Poczet sołtysów, wójtów, burmis-trzów i prezydentów miasta Krakowa: (1228–2010)*, ed. B. Kasprzyk, Cracow 2010, p. 504.

## Triumphus Moscoviticus

Ita autem hic instructus erat: pompam omnem arcus triumphalis iusto intervallo, obversa ad regem fronte, antecedebat. In frontispicio hi tituli proscripti erant: "stephano regi polon[iae] mag[no] duci lit[uaniae] moscovitico, victori, triumphatori, polotia livoniaque receptis et lituaniae finibus prolatis s[enatus] p[opulus]q[ue] p[olonus]". Ad dextram portae: "magnanimitate et clementia". Ad sinistram: "nil procrastinando". Ex summo arcu pyramis surgebat: circa hanc ab utraque parte Famae statua, quarum dextra "nec urbis portis", laeva "nec orbis finibus" elogii loco praeferebat. Circa Polotiae, Magnorum Lucorum, Zavolociae aliarumque arcium expugnationes et proelia depicta. Ita versus regem arcus paulatim promotus, postquam ad arenam pervenisset, substitit. Primumque ministrorum turbam submoventium cohors egressa. Hanc tubicines et tympana subsequuta, post hos signa militaria primumque equitatus in turmas divisus, praecedentibus centurionibus, mox legionarius miles equitatum subsequens, omnes aureis armis pilisque veteri more instructi. Post hos rerum tribus annis quibus bellum administratum fuit gestarum ternis curribus pro numero annorum simulacra praelata, ita ut urbium arciumque captarum, fluminum, silvarum, quae superatae essent, castrorum oppugnationumque ipsarum facies omnis illis exprimeretur. Mox alio curru loricae, clypei, arcus, sarissae omnisque generis arma Moscovitica vecta; eum turba omnis generis praeda auri argentique tam facti, quam infecti onusta secuta. Tandem Livonia ipsa invecta virginis specie laurea coronatae, infra aream amplissimam, qua omnis eius provinciae situs diligentissime erat expressus, subiectam habentis, pedibus Moscum ipsum vinctum prementis. Hanc fratres Slucenses duces, qui totum eum triumphum instruxerant, sub imperatoris propinquorum trium Auli, Quinti et Publii personis, lauream imperatori ac omnia fausta factis ad id versibus deferentes, equis proxime insecuti. Iuxta hos lictores turbam excludebant poneque currus triumphalis, caeteris omnibus eminentior a quadrigis albis trahebatur. Ex antica currus parte aquila alba caput exerebat. Imperatoris loco sagittarii simulacrum aque tergo eius virgo dextra coronam auream, laeva spicam gestans, syderum in regis ortu, ut qui in ascendente Sagittarium, in medio caelo

## Triumph over Muscovy

It was arranged as follows. The march was preceded at an appropriate distance by a triumphal arch facing the king. An inscription on its façade read: "for stephen victorious in muscovy, the king of poland, the grand duke of lithuania, the conqueror, the triumphator, after the recovery of polatsk and livonia, after the expansion of the lithuanian borders—from the senate and people of poland". There was an inscription on the right side of the gate: "with generosity and graciousness." On the left, "with no delay." At the top of the arch stood a pyramid, and on both sides there were statues of Fame: the one on the right held the inscription "neither the gates of the city", and the one on the left held "nor the ends of the world". The battles and sieges of Polatsk, Velikiye Luki, Zavoloch, and other fortresses were painted around. Then the arch was slowly moved towards the king until it reached the arena. First, a group of servants came out to remove onlookers from the square. Behind them marched trumpeters and drummers, and then military banners: first, cavalry divided into units led by cavalry captains, followed by infantry, all old-fashioned in gold armour and with spears. Then three carts were dragged, symbolizing the three years of war, on which scenes from the war were shown depicting the cities and strongholds conquered, the rivers and forests crossed, the camps and the sieges. On the next cart, armour, shields, bows, spears, and all Muscovite weapons were carried, and a crowd of both sexes followed, carrying loot in silver and gold, both worked and raw. Finally, Livonia entered in the form of a virgin crowned with a laurel wreath, standing on a wide platform on which the landscape of the province was meticulously recreated, with her foot trampling the defeated Muscovite. The Slutsky brother-princes followed her closely on horseback,[5] they prepared all this triumph, dressed as imperial relatives, Aulus, Quintus, and Publius,[6] carrying a wreath and rhymed praise to the emperor. Next to them went lictors, who held back the crowd, followed by a triumphant cart, more magnificent than others, drawn by four white horses. The head of a white eagle was mounted on the front of the cart. In the emperor's place there was an image of Sagittarius, behind whom stood Virgo with a golden wreath in her right hand, an ear of grain in her

---

5   These were Jerzy Olelkowicz Słucki (1559–1586), Aleksander (d. 1591), and Jan Symeon (d. 1592), sons of the Starost of Babruysk and Prince in Slutsk Jerzy Olelkowicz Słucki (*c*.1531–1578) and Katarzyna neé Tęczyńska. See H. Kowalska, J. Wiśniewski, *Olelkowicz Jerzy (ok. 1531–1578)*, psb, vol. 23, Wrocław 1978, pp. 743–745.

6   Probably the representatives of *gens Vitellia*, Aulus, or the consul in AD 32, Senator Quintus, and *praefectus aerarii* Publius, uncles of the future Emperor Vitelius.

spicam Virginis habere ab astrologis existimeretur, positus symbolum vehebantur; currum tres hastae transversae claudebant, ita ut a supremis spiculis tres ferreae catenae dependerent, quae ad os Draconis coeuntes ex eius faucibus ingentem unam emittebant, qua Moscus ipse vinctus trahebatur. Post currum captivorum agmen ductum, primo principum ad Vendam, Polotiae, Soccollae, Lucis, Zavolociae aliisque in locis captorum. Quod ipsos in publicum producere inhumanum videretur, qui quam proxime habitu corporis eos referrent conquisiti. Post hos promiscua turba omnis fortunae, sexus aetatisque, ita ut feminae quidem solutae incederent partimque ductarent pueros, partim manibus infantes gestarent, mares manus post terga revinctas haberent. Pone hos histrio partim illorum fortunae insultans, partim communis imperatorem monens. Inter currum et captivos suffumigatores varia odorum suffimenta magno numero ferentes medii ingrediebantur; agmen phonasci et musici claudebant, omnes per arcum laureati in aream progressi. [...] Sub finem spectaculi missilia in vulgus iacta, nummi argentei Ioachimici magnitudine; erant in his ab una parte regis effigies nomenque, ab altera palma sub eaque Moscus abiectis armis feminaque Moscovitica ac pueri flentes, cum huiusmodi elogio: "livonia polotiaque recept[a]".[7]

left hand, and this symbolized the constellation defined by astrologers on the day of the birth of the king, who has Sagittarius in his ascendant, and the cereal ear of Virgo in his zenith. At the rear end of the cart there were three spears pointing backwards: three iron chains were hanging from their tips and came together in a dragon's mouth, a thick chain was coming out of it, on which a handcuffed Muscovite tsar himself was pulled.[8] Behind the wagon, a crowd of prisoners was led, headed by princes taken near Wenden, in Polatsk, Sokol, Velikiye Luki, Zavoloch, and other places. And since it seemed inhumane to lead them publicly in person, people were found who bore the greatest physical resemblance to them. Behind them was a mixed crowd of both sexes, of all ages and states, even women without handcuffs, leading children by the hand or carrying babies in their arms, while men had their hands tied behind their backs. A jester followed them, mocking their fate but also warning the emperor. Numerous people with censers walked between the cart and the prisoners, spreading the aromas of incense; the parade was closed by singers and musicians until everyone entered the square through the triumphal arch. [...] At the end of the spectacle, silver coins the size of a Portuguez were thrown into the crowd: on one side of the coins there was the image and name of the king, on the other there was a palm tree, and underneath a Muscovite, abandoned weaponry, and a crying Muscovite woman and children[9] with this elogium: "livonia and polatsk recovered".

The performance described by Heidenstein deserves a deeper, careful analysis, as it was modelled on the Roman great triumph (*triumphus curulis*), which is indicated by many permanent elements that make up this spectacular ceremony.[10] Here, however, we will only mention a few details closely related to the previous deliberations on the political and propaganda implications of pacholowiecki, *Ducatus*. Firstly, the inscription-dedication on the triumphant gate. This is the only time that Stephanus with the title Moscoviticus, coined analogously to the titles of the victorious consuls and then the caesars (the so-called *cognomina ex virtute*), appeared also as the grand duke of Lithuania who expanded the

borders of Lithuania, not Poland. At the same time, he is identified with the triumphant emperor—the figure of Báthory's birthday horoscope is, after all, placed on the triumphant cart (*currus triumphalis*) *Imperatoris loco*. Secondly, in the context of the cartographic texts of power that comprise the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* and their use for propaganda purposes, it is not surprising that the emphasis was placed on a para-cartographic representation of the territorial achievements in the *Triumph over Muscovy*. It consists not only of the views of cities and besieged strongholds depicted on the triumphant gate, but it also includes a miniature, three-dimensional map of Livonia on a special moving platform. Such depictions

---

7    R. Heidenstein, *De Nuptiis* ..., $D_2$ r.–$D_3$v.

8    Unlike the triumphs in ancient Rome, early modern ceremonies did not always involve a march and humiliation of prisoners of war; instead, extras who played their role were involved. This was also the case with the "Triumph over Muscovy", as Heidenstein pointed out a few sentences later. The "Muscovite tsar himself" was also played by an extra, of course.

9    In fact, the medal depicts only one crying child standing next to its tied mother.

10   In the more recent literature on the subject cf. M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge 2007.

were part of the programme of triumphs in Imperial Rome. Let us quote one of the most interesting examples, that is Emperor Titus's triumph after his victory in the Jewish-Roman War and the conquest of Jerusalem in AD 71, dramatically described by Josephus Flavius:

"But nothing in the procession excited so much astonishment as the structure of the moving stages; indeed, their massiveness afforded ground for alarm and misgiving as to their stability, many of them being three or four stories high, while the magnificence of the fabric was a source at once of delight and amazement. For many were enveloped in tapestries interwoven with gold, and all had a framework of gold and wrought ivory. The war was shown by numerous representations, in separate sections, affording a very vivid picture of its episodes. Here was to be seen a prosperous country devastated, there whole battalions of the enemy slaughtered; here a party in flight, there others led into captivity; walls of surpassing compass demolished by engines, strong fortresses overpowered, cities with well-manned defences completely mastered and an army pouring within the ramparts, an area all deluged with blood, the hands of those incapable of resistance raised in supplication, temples set on fire, houses pulled down over their owners' heads, and, after general desolation and woe, rivers flowing, not over a cultivated land, nor supplying drink to man and beast, but across a country still on every side in flames."[11]

I quote this characteristic detail referring to Titus's victory over Jews for still another reason, that is, the commemorative coins (more technically: medals), which are mentioned by eyewitnesses, namely Heidenstein and Paprocki,[12] and which were thrown into the crowd gathered in the Cracow Main Market Square. Some of these

silver medals, as well as golden ones that were intentionally given to envoys and guests from abroad at the ceremonial dinner at Jan Zamoyski's on 18 June,[13] have happily survived to our times (see Figs 12.1 and 12.2). Designed perhaps by Zamoyski himself for the king's glory and his own, they were modelled on the Roman sesterces of Vespasian and Titus (IUDAEA CAPTA), which commemorated the triumph over the rebellious province (see Fig. 12.3)—possible iconographic inspirations for this depiction were indicated by Bartosz Awianowicz among Roman coins.[14] Importantly, the circumscription on the obverse surrounding Báthory's image reads: "STEPHANVS D(ei) G(ratia) REX POLONIAE." A few decades later Salomon Neugebauer, author of the catalogue of heroic emblems, could honestly write: "This coin was minted after the victory over Muscovy, **when the Kingdom of Poland recovered Livonia and Polatsk**" (emphasis—G.F.).[15]

But this is not how the history of the triumphant emblem of Báthory ends. The king's widow, Queen Anna Jagiellon (whom we encountered at the beginning of this book), took care of his posthumous glory. In 1595, Italian sculptor Santi Gucci created, according to her detailed instructions, a tombstone for the monarch, which is still located in St Mary's Chapel in the Wawel Cathedral in Cracow.[16] Without the inscription "LIVONIA POLOTIAQ. RECEPTA", the cartouche with a palm tree, the defeated Muscovite, and a crying woman and child, carved in sandstone, is located in the very centre of the upper, sarcophagus-like segment of the plinth (see Fig. 12.4).

Undoubtedly, thanks to this sepulchral medallion, the emblem "Livonia Polotiaque recepta" became

---

11    Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Books 1–2, transl. H.St.J. Thackeray, Cambridge, Mass. 1924, pp. 350–351 (Loeb Classical Library 203).

12    Paprocki paraphrased his detailed account from Heidenstein (cf. B. Paprocki, *Herby* …, pp. 691–692), but elsewhere in his account (*ibidem*, p. 201) he revealed himself—in a somewhat amusing way—as a witness to the event: "Miotano pieniądze na placu, gdzie te tryumfy były, dosyć nieskąpo. Drudzy zasię woleli upatrzyć kędy mieszek z gotowym dziesiątkiem złotych a misternie go oderznąć, co i mnie samemu uczynili. A dlatego za złe nie miej, jeśli się co dla frasunku nieporządnie napisało, bom zbył w ciżbie piętnaście talerów i wacka połowicę" ("Money was thrown generously in the square where the triumph took place. Nonetheless, there were people who only sought an occasion to stealthily cut off a moneybag with a dozen golden coins, as they did with mine as well. Therefore, do not resent my account if it is somewhat disorderly—it is due to the distress caused by the fact that I lost fifteen thalers and half of my moneybag in the crowd").

13    Cf. R. Heidenstein, *De Nuptiis* …, C$_2$ r.: "exteris omnibus, cum legatis aliisque proceribus, tum matronis, nummi aurei cum effigie regis Polotiaeque ac Livoniae receptae elogio debellatique Mosci imagine, ad Lusitanici nummi pondus, dati" ("all the foreign guests, both envoys and other dignitaries, as well as their ladies, were given golden coins of the weight of Portuguez with the image of the king, the recovered Polatsk and Livonia, and the defeated Muscovite").

14    See B.B. Awianowicz, "From IVDAEA CAPTA to LIVON(IA) POLOT(IA)Q(UE) RECEPTA. The Reception of the Famous Reverse of Vespasian Coins in Renaissance Poland", *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 207(73) (2019), pp. 1–11.

15    S. Neugebauer, *Selectorum symbolorum heroicorum centuria gemina*, Francofurti 1619, pp. 229–230: "LIVONIA POLOCIAQVE RECEPT. Ad imitationem nummorum Vespasiani ac Titi Impp. Romanorum, qui Iudaea et aliis provinciis captis simili interpretatione usi sunt, nummus signatus est victoria ex Moscorum Principe reportata **Livoniaque ac Polocia regno Poloniae restituta**."

16    Cf. K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, "Nagrobki Stefana Batorego i Anny Jagiellonki w Katedrze wawelskiej. Kilka uwag i hipotez", *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 14 (1984), pp. 81–103.

FIGURE 12.1     Silver medal *Livonia Polotiaque Recepta* from 1583, 40 mm, 24.52 g. Reproduction from the auction catalogue of Warszawskie Centrum Numizmatyczne, Auction no. 51 from 9 June 2012, item 1032
PUBLIC DOMAIN



FIGURES 12.2A–12.2B     Golden medal *Livonia Polotiaque Recepta* from 1583, 38 mm, 23.86 g. Reproduction from the auction catalogue of Antykwariat Numizmatyczny—Michał Niemczyk, Auction no. 7 from 23 May 2015, item 244
PUBLIC DOMAIN

permanently connected with the iconography of Stephen Báthory's reign, and in the 20th and 21st centuries it appeared twice on Polish medals and coins. It was placed on the reverse of the medal from the *Royal Series* of the Polish Archaeological and Numismatics Society of 1980, commemorating King Stephen (*Stephanus Rex Victor*), authored by Witold Korski (see Fig. 12.5) and on a coin

from the series *Elective Kings* struck by the Mint of Poland in 2011 (see Fig. 12.6). On the latter there is an inscription in Polish—*Zdobycie Inflant* (The Conquest of Livonia). The "recuperation" gave way to a triumphant Polish war campaign, while the "recovery" or even "conquest" of Polatsk turned out to be unworthy of mention today.

FIGURE 12.3    Sesterce "*IVD CAP*" of Titus (AD 80), 35 mm, 23.9 g. Cf. I.A. Carradice, T.V. Buttrey, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. II.1: *From AD 69–96 Vespasian to Domitian*, London, p. 127, no. 91
CREDIT: THE NEW YORK SALE AUCTION, NO. 45, 8 JAN 2019, LOT NO. 206. PUBLIC DOMAIN



FIGURE 12.4    Livonian-Polotian medallion on the tombstone of Stephen Báthory chiselled by S. Gucci in St Mary's Chapel in Wawel Cathedral (1595)
PHOTO J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ

FIGURE 12.5    W. Korski, *Stephanus Rex Victor*, reverse of the medal from the "Royal Series" of the Polish Archaeological and Numismatics Society, no. 12, 1980, silver plated brass, 70 mm, 145 g
G. FRANCZAK, PRIVATE COLLECTION. PHOTO G. FRANCZAK



FIGURE 12.6    The reverse of the coin from the "Elective Kings" series—Stephen Báthory, Mint of Poland, 2011, Ag 925 plated with gold, 32 mm, 14.14 g
G. FRANCZAK, PRIVATE COLLECTION. PHOTO G. FRANCZAK

# Conclusions

It might have seemed that soon after the end of the Livonian War, the *Atlas* would forever lose its relevance.[1] The truce was signed, and King Báthory had achieved his military and political goals, so Pachołowiecki's maps ceased to be valuable as military tools and propaganda messages.

Moreover, the first half of the 17th century saw further wars between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy. In 1611, King Sigismund III Vasa's army recaptured Smolensk, taken by the Muscovites in 1514. In 1634, the next Vasa ruler, Władysław IV, defeated a large Muscovite army near this city. Thus, in the 17th century, it was Smolensk that played the main role in Polish-Lithuanian political propaganda,[2] and the victories of Stephen Báthory were overshadowed by those of the Polish Vasas.

For a while, however, the *Map of the Principality of Polatsk* could be a valuable source of geographical information, especially concerning the river network. As we already know, it was used by Gerardus Mercator, among others. However, by the end of the 17th and in the first half of the 18th centuries, the region was charted anew, and Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri's work became merely some out-of-date maps. In other parts of Europe, these maps may perhaps be nothing more than a historical source. However, in eastern and eastern-central Europe, history,

even as distant as medieval or early modern history, is an important element of the political discourse, i.e. the politics of history.[3] Thus, historical sources can receive a new life and validity. This is also the case of the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*.

We can trace such a use of Pachołowiecki's maps from the very beginning of the 19th century. The maps were described for the first time by Feliks Bentkowski in 1814 in his *History of Polish Literature*.[4] Bentkowski's book was not only a research publication but also a monument of the literature of the non-existent country. After the third partition in 1795, Poland and Lithuania did not exist as the states. In these new political circumstances, Polish elites undertook many works, whose purpose was to rescue the national identity. Bentkowski's *History* was one of them. It is not a coincidence, that he described Pachołowiecki's maps in such a way: "This rare collection is a work of a useful and beautiful endeavour of our countryman."[5] For a 19th-century historian the *Atlas* was a part of a national heritage to be proud of.

The publication of maps by Mikhail Andreevich Korkunov in 1837 also had political implications. He published copies of Pachołowiecki's maps six years after Russia suppressed the November Uprising (1830–1831), in which Poles tried to regain their independence. After the failure of the uprising, the Russian government began a campaign of repression against the Poles. A new politics of history was part of this. Korkunov's works can be regarded as a part of an anti-Polish action. In the title of his work, Korkunov even omitted that the result of the 1579 campaign was unfavourable for the Muscovites: "The map of the military actions between the Russians and the Poles in 1579".[6] This tendency can also be seen later. When in 1912 Aleksei Parfenovich Sapunov republished Korkunov's reprints, in the title of his publication, he suggested that the maps described the results of the Muscovite military

1 Originally published as part of a paper: J. Niedźwiedź, "The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk—an Introduction", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 19–36; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.008.8266.

2 The battles of Smolensk in 1610–1611, 1616–1617, and 1632–1634 were depicted in numerous accounts, poems, medals, and maps. See: J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce: Zygmunt III Waza*, Warsaw 1971, pp. 212–220; *idem*, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce: Dwaj młodsi Wazowie*, Warsaw 1972, pp. 16–38; M. Nawrocki, "Mit Smoleńska w piśmiennictwie polskim XVII wieku—przypadek Jana Kunowskiego", *Terminus* 18 (2016), 4(41), pp. 401–420; K. Łopatecki, "Pierwszy poetycki traktat wojskowy z mapą—Jana Kunowskiego *Odsiecz smoleńska*. Wykorzystanie kartografii w działaniach operacyjnych (1616–1617)", *Rocznik Lituanistyczny* 4 (2018), pp. 41–75. The most impressive is a large wall map of Willem Hondius showing the relief of Smolensk in 1634, composed of sixteen copperplates. Martin Opitz (1597–1639), a famous German poet and the official royal historian of King Władysław IV Vasa, wrote a Latin description of the battle expressed on the map. See W. Hondius, *Smolenscium urbs ope divina Vladislai IV Poloniae Sveciaeque regis, invictissimi principis, virtute liberatum, obsessi obsessores Moscovitae et auxiliarii, victi armis hostes fortitudine, vita donati clementia inusitata Anno 1634*, Gdańsk 1636. The scans of the map are available in the repository of the National Museum in Cracow (Poland): https://zbiory.mnk.pl/pl/wyniki-wyszukiwania/katalog/102928 (accessed 30.08.2023).

3 This term is derived from German *Geschichtspolitik*, see: *Geschichtspolitik und demokratische Kultur: Bilanz und Perspektiven*, ed. B. Bouvier, M. Schneider, Bonn 2008; M. Saryusz-Wolska, *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa: Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka* (Cracow 2009). In English, there is also the term *politics of memory*, which has a similar meaning.

4 See chapter 2.

5 F. Bentkowski, *Historia literatury polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 626.

6 М.А. Коркунов, "Карта военных действий между русскими и поляками в 1579 г ...", pp. 235–249.

FIGURE 13.1A    *Batory pod Pskowem* (Báthory at Pskov, 1872), by Jan Matejko, The Royal Castle in Warsaw-Museum. A fragment with Prince
Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski reading PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*
PHOTO J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ

successes: "Drawings of the fortresses built on the demand of Tsar Ivan the Terrible after conquering Polatsk in 1563."[7]

The Polish response to the Russian publications were the reprints, which we recalled in chapter 2. However, the 19th-century use of Pachołowiecki's map in the Polish politics of memory was not limited to the historiography. The map of the Principality of Polatsk was depicted in a well-known historical painting *Batory pod Pskowem* (Báthory at Pskov, 1872), by Jan Matejko (Figs 13.1a, 13.1b).

In the second half of the 19th century, Jan Matejko (1838–1893) was a leading figure in Polish history painting. His works contributed to establishing the modern national iconography. In his paintings, such as *The Battle of Grunwald* (1878), *The Prussian Homage* (1882), or *Constitution of 3 May 1791* (1891), Matejko presented moments of the past glory of the Poles, their military and political successes. *The Báthory at Pskov* also belongs to this group.

As usual, in the case of Matejko, the painting is a symbolic interpretation of the past, not an account of historical facts. The painter represented the last stage of the Livonian War: the fictitious homage paid by the Muscovite boyars to King Báthory in 1582 at the city walls of Pskov (which was not conquered by the king). 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 towards the viewer. This is Ukrainian prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (1526–1608), a politician, commander, and patron of arts, the founder of the Orthodox Ostroh Academy, and sponsor of the publication of the Church Slavonic Bible (the *Ostroh Bible*). The prince is not interested in the event he is participating in and pays no attention to the king or the Muscovite boyars. Nor 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 PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus*.[8] It appears that for Prince

---

7    А.П. Сапунов, "Рисунки крепостей …", pp. 299–313.

8    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 thirty years before the painting, which is discussed below.

FIGURE 13.1B    *Batory pod Pskowem* (Báthory at Pskov, 1872), by Jan Matejko, a fragment with the map *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* and a fragment of the map of Pachołowiecki-Cavallieri
PHOTO J. NIEDŹWIEDŹ

Ostrogski the map is more important than the 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.

In the 20th century, Pachołowieck's maps were rarely mentioned outside academia. It was probably because eastern Europe was again under Soviet (Russian) control. Censorship prevented any publications that would present Russia as the defeated party. Only after the fall of the Soviet Union, could the *Atlas* be recalled and become part of the rivalry over the past. The main field of the rivalry is popular historical books, usually related to military history, e.g. publications by Kupisz or Filyushkin, cited many times in our book.[9] However, the PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* is also used in visual representations.

Belarusian authorities used Pachołowiecki's map for propaganda on commemorative coins. In 1998, the National Bank of Belarus issued a coin featuring a view of 16th-century Polatsk. It is a fragment of Pachołowiecki-Cavalieri's view. The coin with a denomination of 1 or 20 roubles (the latter in silver) was produced as part of a series representing Belarusian historical *gorods*. The purpose of this series was to demonstrate a thousand-year history of Belarusian towns. An almost identical view of Polatsk occurred on a silver Belarusian coin from 2015 with a denomination of 20 roubles. This edition aimed to commemorate the famous Belarussian humanist Francysk Skaryna (Skoryna, before 1490–after 1540), who came from Polatsk (Fig. 13.2). In 2001 in Belarus, a collection of postcards entitled *Polatsk on Early 20th-Century Postcards* was issued. Among the hundred-year-old photographs, there is also a large fragment of PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*.[10]

9   D. Kupisz, *Połock 1579*; А.И. Филюшкин, *Изобретая первую войну России и Европы* ...

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

FIGURE 13.2    A Belarusian coin with Francysk Skaryna
               (before 1490–after 1540) and the view of Polatsk

Similar publications can be found in contemporary Poland. The supplement to the biggest Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* of August 2016 included "a calendar page" commemorating the recovery of Polatsk, again with Pachołowiecki's plan.[11]

The most interesting recent example of the reuse of the map of the siege of Polatsk is a Polish graphic novel from 2015. It was published by the Military Centre for Civil Education (Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej) and entitled *The 1579 Siege of Polatsk* (*Oblężenie Połocka 1579*).[12] The story begins in 1577, when the demonic Ivan the Terrible, resembling the evil sorcerer from Disney's cartoons, invades Livonia, then a territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and perpetrates unprecedented atrocities (Fig. 13.3). News of this treacherous attack reaches King Stephen Báthory at rebellious Gdańsk. Only after suppressing the burghers' revolt does the ruler convene a *sejm* in Warsaw 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 Polatsk and Báthory's ennoblement of a heroic coppersmith who set the fortress on fire and contributed to its capture.

The scenario of the graphic novel is not sophisticated. Prefaced with a historical introduction for the general public, *The 1579 Siege of Polatsk* basically 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 on 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 PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk* (Fig. 13.4).

The graphic novel from 2015 is, undoubtedly, an element of the state's historical policy developed for several years now. It is part of a cycle of graphic novels depicting important but largely unrecognized battles fought by the Polish military from the 16th to the 21st centuries.[13] The book is, therefore, partly educational and partly propagandistic.

As we can judge from these examples, the original map of Pachołowiecki, printed in Rome in 1580 and used as one means of the royal chancellery's propaganda, gained new life in the 19th century. Included in a contemporary Polish graphic novel or featured on Belarusian coins, it again fulfils a similar function for which it was cut four hundred years ago. It reinforces the official, propagandistic narrative about the history of Belarus and Poland (incidentally, omitting Lithuania). We can expect that the maps of the siege of Polatsk will appear both in the textual and iconographic popular presentations of the history of Belarus, Poland, Russia, or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

There are two reasons why this map is still valid. The first is the symbolic meaning of Polatsk for the national historiographies of Poland, Russia, and especially Belarus. For the Belarusians, the Principality of Polatsk is the cradle of their nationhood.[14] This is why the town is so often presented on Belarusian coins and medals. Since Pachołowiecki's view of the town is the oldest existing

---

11    "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 in PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Polatsk*. See chapter 4.

12    *Oblężenie Połocka 1579*, content editing and intr. P. Prześdziecki, pictures R. Gajewski, Warsaw 2015.

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

14    This is recalled in many popular historical narrations, including the *History of Belarus* in Wikipedia: "Between the 9th and 12th centuries, the Principality of Polotsk (now in northern Belarus) emerged as the dominant center of power in the Belarusian territories, while the Principality of Turov south of it was a lesser power." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus (accessed 30.08.2023). See also chapter 11.
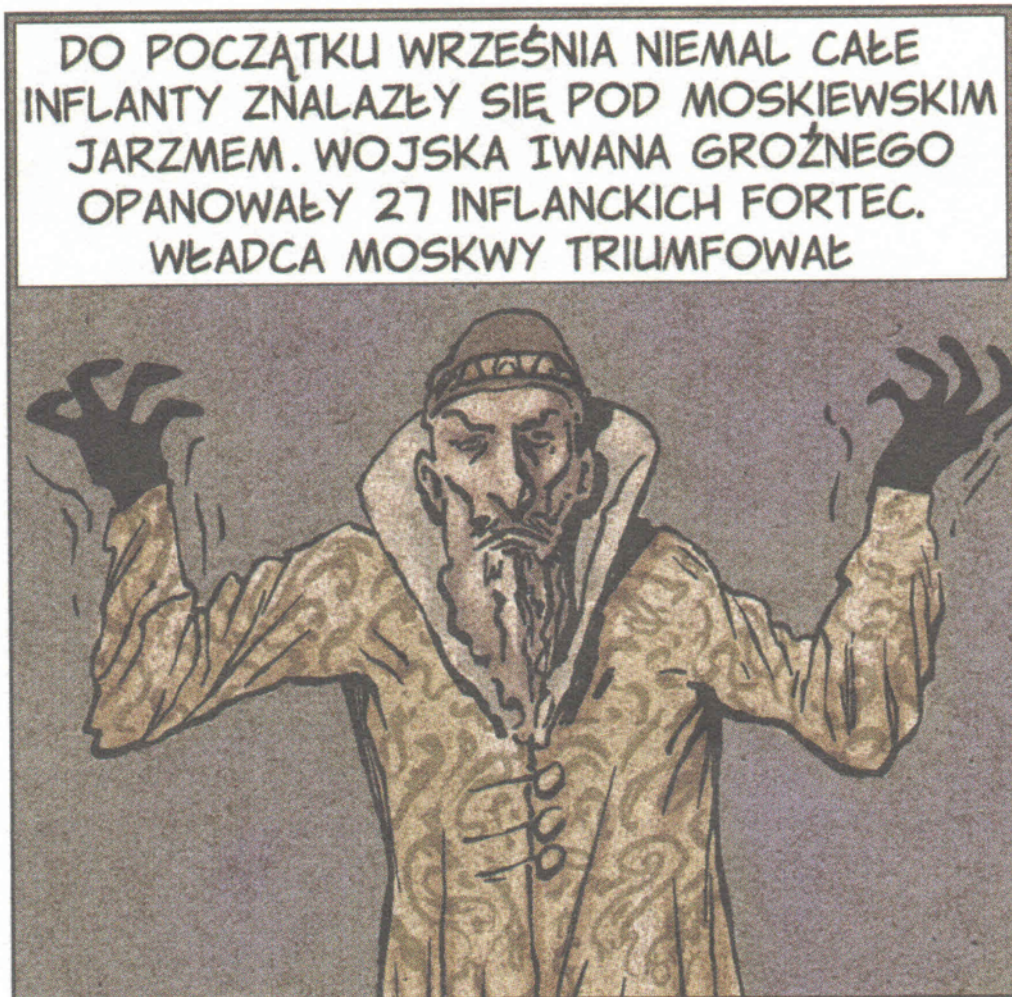
FIGURE 13.3      Ivan IV the Terrible in the cartoon *The 1579 Siege of Polatsk* (*Oblężenie Połocka 1579*) (2015)



FIGURE 13.4      The view of Polatsk in the cartoon *The 1579 Siege of Polatsk* (*Oblężenie Połocka 1579*) (2015)

one, it is not surprising that it is this source on which authors have relied so often.

The other reason why the view of the siege of Polatsk is so attractive is its cartographical nature. A map is one of the most efficient carriers of propagandistic and informative content, and its 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, like other maps from the 16th century, proves that they retain their rhetorical potential. It can be activated and used quickly if needs be. This is possible not only because a map itself has such wonderful qualities, but the activation of its message is feasible mostly because contemporary users read a map in a similar (although not identical) way to 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, prioritizing elements with different sizes 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 map[15] established in the 16th century is, therefore, still comprehensible for us. Just like the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* published in Rome in 1580.

---

15    J.B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy. The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe", in: *idem, The New Nature of Maps ...*, p. 107.

# Epilogue

Stanisław Pachołowiecki's maps belonged exclusively to the world of men. They were created by men and for men, and only men took part in their publication. They tell of men's achievements. Above all, they praise the commander-in-chief in that war, the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stephen Báthory.

In the latter case, however, things may have been somewhat different. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was formally ruled by two monarchs, Anna Jagiellon and her husband Stephen, so political success in the Polatsk campaign could also have accrued to the queen. However, there is no mention of the queen on the map of the Principality of Polatsk. The only exception is a microscopic banner of a cavalry unit on the map representing the siege of Polatsk. On the banner we can notice *Biscione*—the Sforza's coat of arms of the queen.[1] All the glory of the victory was awarded to the man who personally commanded the expedition and put himself in danger. Moreover, it was on his initiative that poems, maps, and historical accounts glorifying his achievements were written and published. Not surprisingly, there was no place for a woman in the propaganda texts.

The queen herself also seems to have moved into her husband's shadow. We find no trace of interest in the 1579 war in her correspondence, although Skarga, whose letter we quote at the beginning of the book, suggested that the queen was well aware of the stakes of this expedition. Only the mausoleum of Stephen Báthory, founded by the queen nine years after his death, reveals that Anna Jagiellon was interested in the war and the glory that victory could bring her.

It can be assumed that the queen saw herself as an active participant in the events of fifteen years earlier. Firstly, she was co-ruler of the Commonwealth and, if only for this reason, may have believed that her husband's achievements should be at least partly presented as her success. Secondly, according to the perception of marriage at the time, the husband's achievements should also radiate onto his wife. Thirdly—and this is what Skarga suggests in his letter—the queen's task in times of war should be to pray for victory. In other words, in times of war Anna Jagiellon should provide symbolic capital that contributed to victory. And indeed she did so.

For people living in the 16th century, the source of any success, including the recapture of Polatsk, was the intervention of God. As we remember from chapter 10, the poet Jan Kochanowski wrote explicitly about this intervention in his 1580 song commemorating the capture of the fortress.

Stephen Báthory's tombstone in Wawel Cathedral is a monument to the king's military achievements, i.e. the recapture of Polatsk and Livonia, as well as a testimony to God's intervention, for which the queen prayed. Meanwhile, the Polish-Lithuanian propaganda machine, over which she had no influence in 1579–1586, completely excluded her from participating in the victory. We can see this clearly in Pachołowiecki's maps.

A few years after her husband's death, Anna Jagiellon decided to at least partially correct this state of affairs. As we mentioned at the end of chapter 12, the queen provided detailed instructions on what should be placed on Báthory's tombstone.

The monument refers to a triumphal arch, in the centre of which rests the figure of a semi-reclining sleeping king in the coronation mantle. Below the ruler is a medallion commemorating the capture of Polatsk and Báthory's coat of arms. However, at the top of the monument, the queen had three coats of arms carved: those of Poland, Lithuania, and the *Biscione* of the Sforzas—her family coat of arms depicting a snake. And in the upper part of the semicircular recess, above the image of the king, there is a tablet with an inscription composed by the queen-dowager. Its fragment reads: "To Stephen Báthory, king of Poland, great in matters of peace and war, a just, pious, fortunate winner, the avenger of Livonia and Polatsk who defeated the Muscovite—Anna Jagiellon, queen of Poland".[2] In this way, the queen placed her "signature" twice—and in key places—on her husband's tombstone and, at the same time, on the monument to the victory over Muscovy.

As we have already mentioned, neither her name nor the *Biscione* coat of arms appeared in the earlier propaganda texts. Nor do they appear in the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*. This is not surprising, as 16th-century culture excluded women as creators, users, and patrons of cartography. They could—like the queen—be patrons of literature, painting, architecture, and sculpture, read books in Polish and Italian, but access to cartography was culturally restricted for them. It is likely, therefore, that Queen Anne,

---

1   See chapter 8 and Fig. 8.7c.

2   "Stephano Bathoreo Regi Poloniae | Pacis Belliq[ue] artibus Magno | Ivsto Pio Foelici Victori | Livoniae Polotiaeq[ue] de Moscho Vindici | Anna Iagiellonia Reg[ina] Poloniae."

like many of her male and female contemporaries, did not realize that the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* printed on paper could be as great a monument as those erected in marble or bronze.

The main element of the mausoleum in the Gothic St Mary's Chapel after its reconstruction in the 1590s was Báthory's marble tombstone and stalls designed for Anna Jagiellon, so that she could pray for the soul of her deceased husband. Sitting in the stalls, the queen was probably unaware of the presence of another figure in this place, which is linked—albeit loosely—to our story about the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk*. Some elements of the interior furnishing from before the 1590s reconstruction remained in the chapel. Exactly opposite Báthory's monument, on the south wall, there is a Renaissance tombstone showing a bas-relief figure of a certain Cracow canon. The canon looking at the king, so fascinated by cartography, is Bernard Wapowski (*c.*1475–1535), known as the "father of Polish cartography". He was the mapmaker who for the first time charted Poland (1526–1528) and designed maps of southern and northern European Sarmatia (1526). The two tombstones are arranged in such a way that two men are facing each other, as if they were having a silent dialogue about maps.

# Bibliography

Primary Sources

*Manuscripts*

AGAD
The Crown Metrica, book 129.
AGAD, The Radziwiłł Archive, part I, no. 7789.
AGAD, The Radziwiłł Archive, part II, supplement, no. 8.
AGAD, Zamoyski Archive, MS 3112.

ANK, The Sanguszko Archive, *Teki Rzymskie*
X/112.
X/64.
X/74.
X/81.
X/82.
XI/164.

**Archivio Segreto Vaticano**, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia
shelfmark 15A, f. 88.

**British Library**
Albert of Prussia, *Die Kriegsordnung*, 1555, shelfmark Harley
    MS 1413.
shelfmark Maps 34139.(1.).

**Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Gdańsku (The Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences)**, Iconographic Collections
*Die Belagerung Künigklicher Majestet zu Polen des Hauses zur Weisselmunde für Danziko, geschehen im Augusto Anno 1577*, shelfmark 5664.

**Kriegsarkivet (Stockholm)**
Utländska stads och fästningsplaner, Polen, Polock 1.

**Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (National Library in Warsaw)**
shelfmark 6609, ff. 29v–30.

**Polish Army Museum in Warsaw**
shelfmark 16594 A*, 16595 A*, 16596 A*, 16597 A*.

**Staatsarchiv Dresden**
ZUM THURN MAP: shelfmark R. Schrank VII, Fach 90, no. 17a.

**Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie (The National Museum in Cracow)**
Sarnicki S., [A map of Livonia], shelfmark VIII–XVI.137A, f. [2, 4].

**Zamek Królewski w Warszawie (The Royal Castle in Warsaw)**
inventory no. ZKW/1528/139.

**Библиотека Российской Академии наук, Санкт-Петербург (The Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petersburg)**. Рукописный отдел, Собрание иностранных рукописей
F ° 266, т. 4, f. 48, Fig. 52.

**Российская национальная библиотека, Санкт-Петербург (The Russian National Library in Petersburg)**
Ф. 971, Авт. 321/1, № 11.

**Российский государственный архив древних актов, РГАДА (The Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents in Moscow)**
*Посольская Книга 1575–1579*, Ф. 79, Оp. 1, D. 10.

**Российский государственный военно-исторический архив, Москва (The Russian State Military Historical Archive in Moscow)**
Ф. 846, Авт. 16, № 22367.

*Prints*

*A True reporte of the taking of the great towne and castell of Polotzko by the King of Polonia with the manner of the assaults, batteries, undermininges, skirmishes and fyreworkes, that were there vsed from the 11 of August to the 30 of the same month 1579*, [London] 1579.

*Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586. Z rozprawką na czele o królu Stefanie jako myśliwcu*, ed. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1882 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. 11).

*Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saeculorum. Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.*, ed. B. Trelińska, Lublin 2001.

Alciato A., *Il libro degli emblemi secondo le edizioni del 1531 e del 1534*, introduzione, traduzione e commento M. Gabriele, Milano 2009.

Apian P., *Bairische landtaflen XXIII*, Ingolstadt 1568.

*Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, vol. 1: *1553–1579*, ed. W. Sobieski, Warsaw 1904.

*Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, vol. 2: *1580–1582*, ed. J. Siemieński, Warsaw 1909.

*Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie*, vol. 7: *1554–1572*, ed. Z.L. Radzimiński, Lviv 1910.

Bertelli P., *Theatrum urbium Italicarum ad* [...] *Hieronymum comitem a Rozrazew episcopum Vladislaviensem et Pomeraniae Regni Poloniae senatorem*, Venice 1599.

Bielski M., Bielski J., *Kronika polska*, Cracow 1597.

Bielski M., *Kronika to jest historyja świata* [...], Cracow 1564.

Blaeu J., *Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae et regionum adiacentium exacta description*, Amsterdam 1648.

Braun G., Hogenberg F., *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 1–5, Cologne 1572–1617.

Bruto G.M. (Flaminius Nobilius), *De rebus gestis Stephani I regis Poloniae ... contra magnum Moschorum ducem narratio*, Rome 1582.

Caligari G.A., *I.A. Caligarii nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta 1578–1581*, ed. L. Boratyński, Cracow 1915 (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana 4).

*Diploma, quo cavetur, ne quisquam intra quinquennium expeditionis regiae ad Polockum imagines faciat praeter Petrum Francum Italum*, in: *Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, ed. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1882, pp. 66–67.

Długosz J., *Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae*, vol. 10, Warsaw 1985.

*Dyjariusz zdobycia zamków: Wieliża, Uświaty, Wielkich Łuk, w liście Jana Zborowskiego kasztelana Gnieźnieńskiego do Piotra Zborowskiego wojewody krakowskiego*, in: *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego. Dyaryjusze, relacyje, listy i akta z lat 1576–1586*, ed. I. Polkowski, Cracow 1887, pp. 189–203.

*Edictum regium de supplicationibus ob rem bene adversus Moschum gestam*, Cracow 1579.

*Edictum regium Svirense ad milites, ex quo causae suscepti in magnum Moschoviae ducem belli cognoscentur. Edictum regium de supplicationibus op captam Polotiam. Rerum post captam Polotiam contra Moscum gestarum narratio*, Warsaw 1579.

*Edictum Serenissimi Poloniae Regis ad milites, ex quo causae suscepti in Magnum Moscoviae Ducem belli cognoscuntur. Item Edictum eiusdem de suplicationibus ob captam Polociam habendis: cum Epistola qua ordines ad comitia convocantur et rerum post captam Polociam gestarum narratione. Hisce adiecta sunt quaedam de Magni Moscoviae Ducis genere, quod se nescio qua autoritate ab Augusto Caesare ducere iactitat*, Cologne 1580.

*Die Eroberung von Polatsk in Litauen*, Nuremberg 1579.

Fabert A., *Description du Pays Messin*, [Metz 1610]; http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84930771 (access: 1.07.2024).

*Fundatio et dotatio Collegii Societatis Jesu in arce et civitate Polocensi a Serenissimo Rege Stephano, huius nominis primo feliciter institur. Datum Vilnae* [...] *Anno Domini 1582*, in: *Materiały do dziejów Akademii Połockiej i szkół od niej zależnych*, ed. I. G[iżycki], Cracow 1905, pp. 44–46.

Gastaldi G., *Il Disegno di geografia moderna della provincia di Natolia*, Venice 1564.

*Giardino de' poeti*, Venice 1583.

Graav H., Faber K., *Francofordiae ac emporii Germaniae celeberiimi effigatio*, ca. 1555.

Gradowski F., *Hodoeporicon Moschicum*, Cracow 1582.

Guagnini A. (Gwagnin A.), *Kronika Sarmacyjej Europskiej*, Cracow 1611.

Guagnini A., *Sarmatiae Europeae Descriptio*, [Cracow] 1578.

Guagnini A., *Rerum Polonicarum tomi tres*, vol. 2: *Poloniae, Lituaniae, Samogitiae, Russiae, Massoviae, Prussiae, Livoniae, Moschoviae, Tartariae, quae generali vulgo Sarmatiae Europae nomine veniunt chorographicam descriptionem*, Frankfurt am Main 1584.

Guagnini A. (Gwagnin A.), *Z kroniki Sarmacyi Europskiej*, ed. K.J. Turowski, Cracow 1860.

Heidenstein R., *De bello Moscovitico Commentariorum lib. sex*, Cracow 1584.

Heidenstein R., *De Nuptiis Illustrium Ioan[nis] de Zamoscio, R[ei] P[ublicae] cancellarii et exercit[uum] praefecti, ac Griseldis Bathorreae, Christophori Transilvaniae principis et Sereniss[imi] Stephani regis fratris filiae, ad illustrissimum principem Georgium Fridericum, marchionem Brandenburgen[sem] in Prussia ducem, R[einholdi] H[eidensteini] S[ecretarii] R[egii] Epistola*, Cracow 1583.

Heidenstein R., *Dzieje Polski od śmierci Zygmunta Augusta do roku 1594*, vol. 1, transl. M. Gliszczyński, Petersburg 1857.

Heidenstein R., *Pamiętniki wojny moskiewskiej w 6 księgach*, transl. and ed. J. Czubek, Lwów 1894.

Heidenstein R., *Rerum Polonicarum ab excessu Sigismundi Augusti libri XII*, Frankfurt am Main 1678.

Heidenstein R., *Życie Jana Zamoyskiego*, [transl. F. Bohomolec], Warsaw 1805.

Herberstein S., *Notes upon Russia*, transl. R.H. Major, vol. 1, London 1851.

Herberstein S., *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii. Synoptische Edition der lateinischen und der deutschen Fassung letzter Hand, Basel 1556 und Wien 1557*, erst. von E. Maurer und A. Fülberth, München 2007.

Hermann D., "Relacja Daniela Hermana miasta Gdańska rajcy i sługi, Wilno 9 x 1579", in: *Wiadomości do dziejów polskich z archiwum prowincyi szląskiej*, ed. A. Mosbach, Wrocław 1860, pp. 161–165.

Hondius W., *Smolenscium urbs ope divina Vladislai IV Poloniae Sveciaeque regis, invictissimi principis, virtute liberatum, obsessi obsessores Moscovitae et auxiliarii, victi armis hostes fortitudine, vita donati clementia inusitata Anno 1634*, Gdańsk 1636. The scans in the repository of the National Museum in Cracow (Poland): https://zbiory.mnk.pl/pl/wyniki-wyszukiwania/katalog/102928 (access: 1.07.2024).

Hugo H., *Pia desideria libri III*, Einführung von E. Benz, Hildesheim—New York 1971.

Hyacinthus Vilnensis Basilius, *Panegyricus in excidium Polocense atque in memorabilem victoriam Stephani […] ex potentissimo Moschorum Principe III. Calendis Septembris 1579 reportatam*, Padova 1580.

Hyacinthus Vilnensis Basilius (Hiacintijus Bazilijus iš Vilniaus), *Panegirika Polocko sugriovimo proga (1580)*, ed. and transl. D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 2021.

Jenkinson A., *Nova absolutaque Russiae Moscoviae et Tartariae descriptio*, London 1562, Wrocław University Library, catalogue number 9590-IV.C, https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/publication/40164 (accessed 20.07.2024).

Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Books 1–2, transl. H.St.J. Thackeray, Cambridge, Mass., London 1924 (Loeb Classical Library 203).

Jubrien J., *Carte de pais de Retelois*, Paris 1621; http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55004480w.r= (access: 1.07.2024).

Kochanowski J., *Ad Stephanum Bathorrheum regem Poloniae inclytum, Moscho debellato et Livonia recuperata Epinicion*, Cracow 1583, http://neolatina.bj.uj.edu.pl/neolatina/tscript/show/id/1044.html#10330 (access: 3.07.2024).

Kochanowski J., *Ad Stephanum Bathorrheum regem Poloniae Moscho debellato et Livonia recuperata epinicion, Cracow 1582*.

Kochanowski J., *Jezda do Moskwy, Cracow* 1583.

Kochanowski J., *Jezda do Moskwy*, in: J. Kochanowski, *Poematy okolicznościowe*, ed. R. Krzywy, Warsaw 2018, pp. 254–292.

Kochanowski J., *Lyricorum libellus*, Cracow 1580. http://neolatina.bj.uj.edu.pl/neolatina/tscript/show/id/1079.html (access: 3.07.2024).

Kochanowski J., *Occasional Poems*, ed. and transl. M.J. Mikos, intr. R. Krzywy, Bloomington 2023.

Kochanowski J., *Pieśni*, ed. L. Szczerbicka-Ślęk, Wrocław 2008.

Kochanowski J., *Trifles, Songs, and Saint John's Eve Song*, translation, notes and introduction by M.J. Mikoś, edited and with a foreword by M. Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, Lublin 2018.

Köhlers J.D., *Im Jahr 1750. wöchentlich heraus gegebener Historischer Münz-Belustigung*, Bd. 22, Nuremberg 1750.

*Korespondencja Hieronima Rozrażewskiego*, vol. 1: *1567–2 VII 1582*, ed. by P. Czaplewski, Toruń 1937.

*Die Kriegsordnung des Markgrafen zu Brandenburg Ansbach und Herzogs zu Preussen Albrecht des Älteren—Königsberg 1555*, Bd. 2, hrsg. von. H.J. Bömelburg, B. Chiari, M. Thomae, Braunschweig 2006.

*Kronika z czasów króla Stefana Batorego 1575–1582*, ed. H. Barycz, in: *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, vol. 3, Cracow 1939.

Lane H., *A letter of M. Henrie Lane to M. Richard Hakluit, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times*, in: R. Hakluyt, *The principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 1, London 1809.

*Latopis nowogrodzki pierwszy—przekład na język polski i opracowanie naukowe najstarszego zabytku historii Nowogrodu Wielkiego*, project of the National Programme of the Development in the Humanities no. 22H16036884, researched by a team led by Z.A. Brzozowska, http://ki.wfi.uni.lodz.pl/ceraneum/latopis/html/index.html (access: 3.07.2024).

Lübeck H., *Sammlung Preußischer und Polnischer Medaillen wie auch Thaler welche auf allerhand Begebenheiten geschlagen und von Seel. Herrn Heinrich Lübeck Höchstemeritierten Mitglied des Rahts Collegii der Königl. Stadt Königsberg in Preussen colligiret*, Königsberg—Leipzig 1737.

Lukašenka A., *Solemn meeting on occasion of Belarus' Independence Day, 1 VII 2017*, President's of the Republic of Belarus official website: http://president.gov.by/en/news_en/view/solemn-meeting-on-occasion-of-belarus-independence-day-16584/ (access: 3.07.2024).

Martinelli A., "Narratione del successo della guerra del re di Polonia contro al Moscovito l'anno 1579" (А. Мартинелли, "История взятия Полоцка польским королем Стефаном Баторием в 1579 году"), предисловие, подготовка текста и перевод И.В. Дубровский, *Русский Сборник. Исследования по истории России* 21 (2017), pp. 10–68.

Marycjusz z Pilzna S., *O szkołach czyli akademiach ksiąg dwoje*, transl. A. Danysz, ed. H. Barycz, Wrocław 1955.

Meisner D., Kiesner E., *Thesaurus philopoliticus*, Frankfurt am Main 1624.

Mercator G., *Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura*, Duisburg 1595.

Neothebel W., *Acrostichis własnego wyobrażenia kniaża wielkiego moskiewskiego*, ed. G. Franczak, Warsaw 2016.

*Neue Zeitung von der Eroberung des Schlosses Polocia durch den König von Polen*, Speier 1579.

*Neue Zeitung von der Festung Polozk, welcher der polnische König am 30. August erobert hat*, [1579].

Neugebauer S., *Selectorum symbolorum heroicorum centuria gemina*, Francofurti 1619.

Nieprzecki J., Mayer J.T., *Magni Ducatus Lituaniae in suos Palatinatus et Districtus Divisus: Carte du Grand Duche de Lituaniae*, Nuremberg 1749.

Niesiecki K., *Herbarz polski*, vol. 7, ed. by J.N. Bobrowicz, Lipsk 1841.

*Novina jistá a pravdivá o dobytí znamenitého zámku a pevnosti velikého města hraničného Polocka, ležícího na pomezí litevském*, Prague 1579 (1580?).

*Oblężenie Połocka 1579*, content editing and intr. P. Przeździecki, pictures R. Gajewski, Warsaw 2015.

Ortelius A., *Abrahami Ortelii* (*geographi Antverpiensis*) *et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacoubm Colium Ortelianum epistulae*, ed. J.H. Hessels, Cantabrigiae 1887.

Ortelius A., *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, [Antwerpen 1570].

Pacioli L., *De divina proportione*, Venice 1509.

Paprocki B., *Herby rycerztwa polskiego na pięcioro ksiąg rozdzielone*, Cracow 1584.

Paprocki B., *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, ed. K.J. Turowski, Cracow 1858.

Pfinzing P., *Methodus Geometrica*, Nuremberg 1598.

Piotrowski J., *Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego pod Psków*, ed. A. Czuczyński, Cracow 1894.

Pistorius J. [Becker J.], *Polonicae historiae corpus*, vol. 3, Basel 1582.

*Pollnische Zeittung. Summarische und Warhaffte Beschreibung, von jüngster bekriegung und eroberung etlicher fürnemer Städt und Vestungen, so König. Mayst. zu Polln, etc. dem Moscovittischen Tyrannischen Feind, mit sieghaffter hand glücklich aberhalten*, Nuremberg 1580.

Pontanus I, *Poeticarum institutionum libri III*, ed. 3, Ingolstadt 1600.

*The* Pověst' vremennykh lět. *An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis*, ed. by D. Ostrowski, D. Birnbaum, H.G. Lunt, vol. 1, Cambridge, MA 2004.

*Relacje nuncjuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690*, vol. 1, ed. E. Rykaczewski, Berlin—Poznań 1864.

*Rewizja województwa połockiego z roku 1552*, ed. J. Szujski, in: Archiwum Komisyi Historycznej, vol. 2, Cracow 1880, pp. 175–247.

Ruggeri G., *La relazione sulla Polonia di Giulio Ruggeri* (*1568*), a c. di J.W. Wos, Trento 1993.

*The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, transl. and ed. S. Hazzard Cross and O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge MA 1953.

Rymsza A., *Deketeros akroama to jest dziesięćroczna powieść wojennych spraw* […] *Krzysztofa Radziwiłła*, in: W.R. Rzepka, A. Sajkowski, "Andrzeja Rymszy *Dziesięćroczna powieść wojennych spraw … (1585)*", *Miscellanea Staropolskie* 4 (1972), pp. 133–222.

Rymsza A., *Deketeros akroama*, Vilnius 1585.

Sarnicki S., *Księgi hetmańskie*, ed. M. Ferenc, Cracow 2015.

Savery S., *Expugnatio exercitus Moscovitici obsidione presentis urbem Smolenscum ductu Vladislai IV Poloniae ac Sueciae Regis etc.*, Amsterdam 1635.

Sęp Szarzyński M., *Poezje zebrane*, ed. R. Grześkowiak, A. Karpiński, Warsaw 2001.

Simeoni G., *La Limagna d'Overnia* [*Auvergne*], Lyons 1560.

Skarga P., *Żywoty świętych Pańskich*, Vilnius 1579.

Skarga P., *Żywoty świętych Pańskich*, 4th ed., Cracow 1598.

Solikowski J.D., *Commentarius brevis rerum Polonicarum a morte Sigismundi Augusti*, Gdańsk 1647.

Solikowski J.D., *Krótki pamiętnik rzeczy polskich od zgonu Zygmunta Augusta* […] *do r. 1590*, transl. and ed. W. Syrokomla, Petersburg—Mohylew 1855.

Solski S., *Geometra polski to jest nauka rysowania, podziału, przemieniania i rozmierzania linii, angułów, figur i brył pełnych*, part 2, Cracow 1643.

*Spisanie armaty Połockiej za króla Stefana*, in: *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego. Dyjaryjusze, relacyje, listy i akta z lat 1576–1586*, ed. I. Polkowski, Cracow 1887, pp. 175–177.

*Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego. Dyaryjusze, relacyje, listy i akta z lat 1576–1586*, ed. by I. Polkowski, Cracow 1887.

*Stephani regis Poloniae epistola, historiam susceptae a se superiori aestate adversus Moschum expeditionis et expugnatae civitatis et arcis Polotzko recitans. Ad ordines Regni Poloniae scripta Anno 1579*, [Rostock] 1579.

Strubicz M., *Brevis atque accurata Livoniae Ducatus descriptio historico-geographica*, ed. J.L. Diezius, Amstelaedami 1727.

Stryjkowski M., *Kronika polska*, vol. 2, ed. M. Malinowski, Warsaw 1846.

Stryjkowski M., *Która przedtym nigdy świata nie widziała Kronika polska, litewska, żmodzka i wszystkiej Rusi*, Königsberg 1582.

Stryjkowski M., *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemojdzkiego i ruskiego*, wyd. J. Radziszewska, Warsaw 1978.

"The Taking of Polack—1579. Elizabethan Newssheet", *The Journal of Belarusian Studies* 1, 1965 (1), pp. 16–22.

Tarnowski J., *Consilium rationis bellicae*, ed. T.M. Nowak, Warsaw 1987.

*Ulla fortezza nel confin di Lituania da nuovo presa per il Serenissimo Re di Polonia*, https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000446259#00178 (accessed 20.07.2024).

*Viridarium poetarum*, Venice 1583.

*Volumina legum*, vol. 2, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1859.

*Volumina legum*, vol. 3–5, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860.

*Wahrhaftige Zeitung wie die königliche Majestät von Polen am 30. August 1579 die Festung Polozk erobert hat*, Danzig 1579.

Waldseemüller M., *Tabula moderna Sarmatie Europee sive Hungarie, Polonie, Russie, Prussie et Valachie*, in: *Geographie opus novissima traductione e Grecorum archetypis castigatissime pressum, ceteris ante lucubratorum multo prestantius*, Strassburg 1513.

*Warhaffte Contrafactur vnd gewisse Zeitung, welcher massen die Königliche Wirden in Poln, die Stat und daß Schloß Polotzko in Littawen gelegen, sampt andern Heusern, die der Moscowiter vor der zeyt der Korn unbillich abgedrungen, widerumben belegert und eingenommen. Auch was sich in solchem Zug verloffen hat*, Nuremberg [1579].

Wechel J., *Rerum Polonicarum tomi tres*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1584.

*Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza. Listy Stanisława Reszki do Marcina Kromera 1568–1582*, intr., transl., commentaries J.A. Kalinowska, Olsztyn 1992.

*Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси*, vol. 1, Вильно 1867 [*Arheografičeskij sbornik dokumentov, otnosjaŝihsja k istorii Severo-Zapadnoj Rusi*, vol. 1, Viľno 1867].

*Дополнения к Никоновской летописи*, in: *Полное собрание русских летописей*, vol. 13. 2я половина, ed. С.Ф. Платонов, Санкт-Петербург 1906 [*Dopolnenija k Nikonovskoj letopisi*, in: *Polnoe sobranie russkih letopisej*, vol. 13. 2ja polovina, ed. S.F. Platonov, Sankt-Peterburg 1906].

*Книга Большому Чертежу*, ed. К.Н. Сербина, Москва 1950 [*Kniga Bol'šomu Čertežu*, ed. K.N. Serbinoj, Moskva 1950].

*Книга посольская Метрики Великого Княжества Литовского, содержащая в себе дипломатические сношения Литвы в государствование короля Сигизмунда-Августа (с 1545 по 1572 год)*, Москва 1843 [*Kniga posol'skaja Metriki Velikogo Knjažestva Litovskogo, soderžaŝaja v sebe diplomatičeskie snošenija Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korolja Sigizmunda-Avgusta (s 1545 po 1572 god)*, Moskva 1843].

*Летапісы і хронікі Беларусі. Сярэднявечча і раньнемадэрны час*, уклад. В.А. Варонін, Смаленск 2013 [*Letapisy i hroniki Belarusi. Sjarèdnjavečča i ran'nemadèrny čas*, uklad. V.A. Varonin, Smalensk 2013].

*Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* (ПСРЛ), vol. 1: *Лаврентьевская летопись*, Ленинград 1926–1928 [*Polnoe Sobranie Russkih Letopisej* (PSRL), vol. 1: *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'*, Leningrad 1926–1928].

*Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* (ПСРЛ), vol. 17: *Западнорусские летописи*, ed. С.Л. Пташицки, А.А. Шахматов, Санкт-Петербург 1907 [*Polnoe Sobranie Russkih Letopisej* (PSRL), vol. 17: *Zapadnorusskie letopisi*, ed. S.L. Ptaszycki, A.A. Šahmatov, Sankt-Peterburg 1907].

*Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* (ПСРЛ), vol. 21: *Книга Степенная царского родословия*, ed. П.Г. Васенко, Санкт-Петербург 1908 [*Polnoe Sobranie Russkih Letopisej* (PSRL), vol. 21: *Kniga Stepennaja carskogo rodoslovija*, ed. P.G. Vasenko, Sankt-Peterburg 1908].

*Сборник Императорского Русского исторического общества*, vol. 71: *Памятники дипломатических сношений Московского государства с Польско-Литовским государством, Ч. 3 (годы с 1560 по 1570)*, ed. Г.Ф. Карпов, Санкт-Петербург 1892 [*Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo istoričeskogo obŝestva*, vol. 71: *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskih snošenij Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Pol'sko-Litovskim gosudarstvom*, Č. 3 (gody s 1560 po 1570), ed. G.F. Karpov, Sankt-Peterburg 1892].

## Secondary Sources

"29.08.1579. Odbicie Połocka", *Ale Historia*, a supplement to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, issue 35(241), 29 August 2016, p. 2.

Akerman J.R., "The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases", *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995), pp. 138–154.

Alexandrowicz S., "Dziedzictwo kartografii wojskowej ziem Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Jej funkcje źródłowe i praktyczne na tle kartografii krajów Europy Wschodniej XVI i XVII wieku", in: *Środowisko kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne na tle Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku*, ed. U. Augustyniak, Warsaw 2009, pp. 191–204.

Alexandrowicz S., *Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2012.

Alexandrowicz S., "Kartografia wojskowa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego do połowy XVII wieku", in: *Kartografia wojskowa krajów strefy bałtyckiej XVI–XX w. Materiały konferencji naukowej, Toruń, 20–22 października 1994 r.*, ed. S. Alexandrowicz, Z. Karpus, W. Rezmer, Toruń 1996, pp. 20–25.

Alexandrowicz S., "Kartografia ziem Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce panowania Jagiellonów", *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 1(46) (2014), pp. 62–76.

Alexandrowicz S., "Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Tomasza Makowskiego z 1613 r. tzw. 'radziwiłłowska', jako źródło do dziejów Litwy i Białorusi", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 10 (1965), pp. 33–67.

Alexandrowicz S., "Nowe źródło ikonograficzne do oblężenia Połocka w 1579 r.", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 1971, 1(19), pp. 3–29.

Alexandrowicz S., "Plan oblężenia zamku Uły z 1568 roku (przyczynek do początków staropolskiej kartografii wojskowej)", *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 4 (18) (1986), pp. 165–175.

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.

Alexandrowicz S., Buczek K., "Polska kartografia wojskowa do połowy XVII wieku", in: *Dzieje polskiej kartografii wojskowej i myśli strategicznej. Materiały z konferencji*, ed. B. Krassowski, J. Madej, Warsaw 1982, pp. 7–32.

Alexandrowicz S., Łuczyński J., Skrycki R., *Historia kartografii ziem polskich do XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2017.

Alexandrowicz S., *Pachołowiecki Stanisław*, in: PSB, vol. 24, Cracow 1979, pp. 761–762.

Alexandrowicz S., *Rozwój kartografii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1989.

Alexandrowicz S., "Źródła kartograficzne do wyprawy połockiej Stefana Batorego roku 1579", in: *Od armii komputowej do narodowej (XVI–XX w.)*, ed. Z. Karpus, W. Rezmer, Toruń 1998, pp. 17–43.

Awianowicz B.B., "From IVDAEA CAPTA to LIVON(IA) POLOT(IA)Q(UE) RECEPTA. The Reception of the Famous Reverse of Vespasian Coins in Renaissance Poland", *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 207 (73) (2019), pp. 1–11.

Awianowicz B.B., "*Urbes laudandi ratio*. Antyczna teoria pochwały miast i jej recepcja w *De inventione et amplificatione oratoria* Gerarda Bucoldianusa oraz w *Essercitii di Aftonio Sofista* Orazia Toscanelli", *Terminus* 11 (2009), 1 (20–21), pp. 15–32.

Awianowicz B.B., "Wstęp", in: A. Patrycy Nidecki, *Trzy mowy gratulacyjne z okazji zwycięstwa nad Moskwicinami*, ed. B.B. Awianowicz, Warsaw 2016, pp. 5–27.

Bagrow L., *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800*, ed. H.W. Castner, Ontario 1975.

Bagrow L., *A History of the Cartography of Russia up to 1600*, ed. H.W. Castner, Wolfe Island, Ontario 1975.

Bakhtin M., *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, Austin 1981.

Bakhtin M., *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. and transl. C. Emerson, intr. W.C. Booth, Minneapolis 1984.

Balcerek M., "Liczebność, skład i szyk wojska hetmana litewskiego Jana Karola Chodkiewicza w bitwie pod Kircholmem na *ordre de bataille* Erika Dahlberga", *Zapiski Historyczne* 74 (2009), 3, pp. 77–92.

Baliński M., Lipiński T., *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym i statystycznym opisana*, Warsaw 1846.

Beard M., *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge 2007.

Behring W., "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jahres 1577, II: Die Berichte der kursächsischen Gesandten Abraham von Bock und Dr. Andreas Pauli uber die Friedensvermittlung zwischen König Stephan Bathory und der Stadt Danzig", *Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins* 45 (1903), pp. 1–136.

Benedict Ph., *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Parrissin*, Genève 2007.

Bennett J., Johnston S., *The Geometry of War, 1500–1750. Catalogue of the Exhibition*, Oxford 1996.

Bentkowski F., *Historia literatury polskiej wystawiona w spisie dzieł drukiem ogłoszonych*, vol. 2, Vilnius 1814.

Bentkowski F., *Spis medalów polskich lub z dziejami krainy polskiéj stycznych*, Warsaw 1830.

Bernatowicz T., *Miles Christianus et peregrinus. Fundacje Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła "Sierotki" w ordynacji nieświeskiej*, Warsaw 1998.

Bifolco S., Ronca F., *Cartografia e topografia italiana del XVI secolo: Catalogo ragionato delle opere a stampa*, vol. 3, Rome 2018.

Black J., "A Revolution in Military Cartography? Europe 1650–1815", *Journal of Military History* 1 (73) (2009), pp. 49–68.

Bobiatyński K., *Od Smoleńska do Wilna. Wojna Rzeczypospolitej z Moskwą 1654–1655*, Zabrze 2004.

Bogatyrev S., "Battle for Divine Wisdom. The Rhetoric of Ivan IV's Campaign against Polotsk", in: *The Military and Society in Russia, 1450–1917*, ed. E. Lohr, M. Poe, Leiden 2002, pp. 325–363.

Bönisch F., Brichzin H., Schillinger K., Stams W., *Kursächsische Kartographie bis zum Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, Bd. 1: *Die Anfänge des Kartenwesens Gebundene Ausgabe*, Berlin 1990.

*The Book of Royal Degrees and the Genesis of Russian Historical Consciousness*, ed. G. Lenhoff, A. Kleimola, Bloomington 2011.

Brunelli G., *Gallio Tolomeo*, w: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 51, Rome 1998; http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tolomeo-gallio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (access: 2.07.2024).

Buchwald-Pelcowa P., *Dawne wydania dzieł Jana Kochanowskiego*, Warsaw 1993.

Buchwald-Pelcowa P., "Emblematyka w polskich kolegiach jezuickich", w: *Artes atque humaniora. Studia Stanislao Mossakowski sexagenario dicata*, red. H. Samsonowicz, współpraca M. Dłutek, Warsaw 1998, pp. 169–179.

Buczek K., "Dorobek kartograficzny wojen Stefana Batorego", *Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej* 8(1934), 3, pp. 3–15.

Buczek K., *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku. Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny*, Wrocław 1963.

Buczek, K., *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to the 18th Century*, transl. A. Potocki, Wrocław 1966.

Buczek K., "Stan i potrzeby badań nad dziejami kartografii polskiej", in: *Problemy nauk pomocniczych historii. Materiały na III Konferencję poświęconą naukom pomocniczym historii, Katowice-Wisła, 29–31 V 1974*, Katowice 1974, pp. 140–157.

*Budownictwo wojenne*, ed. by T.M. Nowak, Oświęcim 2016.

Byčkova M.E. (Бычкова М.Е.), "Legenda o pochodzeniu wielkich książąt litewskich. Redakcje moskiewskie z końca XV i z XVI wieku", *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 20(1976), pp. 183–199.

Chojecka E., "Drzeworyty Kroniki Joachima Bielskiego i zaginione gobeliny Anny Jagiellonki. Ze studiów nad związkami artystycznymi Krakowa i Brzegu w XVI wieku", *Rocznik Sztuki Śląskiej* 7 (1970), pp. 37–73.

Chrościcki J., *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1974.

Chrzanowski T., *Działalność artystyczna Tomasza Tretera*, Warsaw 1984.

Ciesielski Z., "Grabieże dóbr kulturalnych w Polsce przez Szwedów w XVII i początkach XVIII wieku", *Zapiski Historyczne* 68 (2003), 2–3, pp. 97–108.

*Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. P.M. Daly, New York 2008.

Conley T., *The Self-Made Map. Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France*, Minneapolis—London 1997.

Czajewski J., "Kartografia wojny smoleńskiej (1632–1634) w obrazach i słowach", *Z Dziejów Kartografii* 24 (2022), pp. 175–230.

Czarski B., *Stemmaty w staropolskich książkach, czyli rzecz o poezji heraldycznej*, Warsaw 2012.

Daly P.M., "Emblems: An Introduction", in: *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. P.M. Daly, New York 2008, pp. 1–24.

Daly P.M., Dimler G.R., *The Jesuit Series*, vol. 1–5, Toronto 1997–2006.

Daugnon F.F., *Gli italiani in Polonia dal IX secolo al XVIII*, vol. 1, Crema 1905.

David Curp T., *A Clean Sweep? The Politics of Ethnic Cleansing in Western Poland, 1945–1960*, Rochester 2006.

Davies N., *God's Playground: a History of Poland*, Vol. 2: *1795 to the Present*, Oxford 1981.

*Dekanat połocki w świetle opisów parafii z 1784 roku*, ed. by B. Gawrylczyk, Białystok 2005 http://pbc.biaman.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=13819&from=publication (access: 1.07.2024).

Delano-Smith C., "Signs on Printed Topographical Maps, ca. 1470–ca. 1640", in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 528–590.

Dimler G.R., "Jesuit Emblem Books: An Overview of Research Past and Present", in: *Emblem Studies in Honour of Peter M. Daly*, ed. M. Bath, P.F. Campa, D.S. Russell, Baden-Baden 2002, pp. 63–122.

Dróżdż P., *Orsza 1514*, Warsaw 2014.

Drysdall D.L., "Andrea Alciato, Pater and Princeps", in: *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. P.M. Daly, New York 2008, pp. 79–97.

Dubas-Urwanowicz E., *Koronne zjazdy szlacheckie w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewiach po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta*, Białystok 1998.

Dubiecki M., *Historyja literatury polskiej na tle dziejów narodu skreślona*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1889.

Dutkowski J., Suchanek A., *Corpus nummorum Gedanensis. Katalog-cennik monet, medali i żetonów gdańskich i z Gdańskiem związanych*, Gdańsk 2000.

Dworzaczek W., *Hetman Jan Tarnowski. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego*, Warsaw 1985.

Dybaś B., *Fortece Rzeczypospolitej. Studium z dziejów budowy fortyfikacji stałych w państwie polskolitewskim w XVII wieku*, Toruń 1998.

Dzikowski M., *Zbiór kartograficzny Uniwersyteckiej Biblioteki publicznej w Wilnie*, Vilnius 1932.

Ehrensvärd U., *Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930. Catalogue of Manuscript Sources in Swedish Collections to the History of Polish Territories*, Warsaw—Stockholm 2008.

Estreicher K., *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 24, Cracow 1912.

Evans J., "The Silver Medal or Map of Sir Francis Drake", *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 4(1906), 6, pp. 348–350.

Ferenc M., *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy" (ok. 1515–1584). Działalność polityczna i wojskowa*, Cracow 2008.

Floria B.N., "Rosyjska kandydatura na tron polski u schyłku XVI wieku", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 16(1971), pp. 85–95.

Franczak G., "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego Stanisława Pachołowieckiego z 1580 roku—transkrypcja i przekład", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 61–74; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.002.7891.

Franczak G., "Filologia mapy. Badanie dawnej kartografii metodą krytyki tekstu na przykładzie toponimii mapy Księstwa Połockiego S. Pachołowieckiego z 1580 roku", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 193–252; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.17.006.7895.

Franczak G., "*Polotia recepta*. Mapa Księstwa Połockiego—teksty i preteksty sporu o władzę", *Terminus* 23 (2021), 2(59), pp. 97–133; DOI 10.4467/20843844TE.21.005.13439.

Franczak G., "Wstęp", in: W. Neothebel, *Acrostichis własnego wyobrażenia kniaża wielkiego moskiewskiego*, ed. G. Franczak, Warsaw 2016, pp. 5–61.

Frost R., *The Oxford History of Poland–Lithuania*, vol. 1: *The Making of the Polish–Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569*, Oxford 2015.

Gabriele M., "Introduzione", in: Alciato A., *Il libro degli emblemi secondo le edizioni del 1531 e del 1534*, introduzione, traduzione e commento M. Gabriele, Milano 2009, pp. XIII–LXXII.

Ganado A., Agius-Vadalà M., *A Study in depth of 143 Maps representing the Great Siege of Malta of 1565*, Foreword D. Woodward, San Gwann 1994.

*Geschichtspolitik und demokratische Kultur. Bilanz und Perspektiven*, ed. B. Bouvier, M. Schneider, Bonn 2008.

Gębarowicz M., *Początki malarstwa historycznego w Polsce*, Wrocław 1981.

Giergielewicz J., "Przegląd działalności inżynierów wojskowych w epoce królów elekcyjnych", *Saper i Inżynier Wojskowy*, 4 (1925), pp. 183–208.

*Giovanni Battista Cavalieri—Un incisore trentino nella Roma dei Papi del Cinquecento*, a cura di Paola Pizzamano, Rovereto 2001.

Goldenberg L.A., *Russian Cartography to ca. 1700*, in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 1852–1903.

Gomis S., Fournier M., "La Limania d'Overnia: un épisode de la Guerre des Gaules de Jules César cartographié par Gabriel Simeoni. L'apport du numérique pour la relecture d'une cartographie narrative du XVIème siècle", in: *Cartographier les récits: enjeux méthodologiques et technologiques. Colloque du 82e congrès de l'Association francophone pour le savoir—Acfas, May 2014, Montréal, Canada*, pp. 1–15; https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01071302 (access: 1.07.2024).

Górski K., "Pierwsza wojna Rzeczypospolitej z Wielkiem Księstwem Moskiewskiem za Batorego", *Biblioteka Warszawska* 4 (1892), pp. 93–117.

Grala H., "Pax Moscovitica? Wokół rosyjskiego władztwa w Inflantach w epoce Iwana IV Groźnego", w: *Klio viae et invia. Opuscula Marco Cetwinski dedicata*, ed. A. Odrzywolska-Kidawa, Warsaw 2010, pp. 673–696.

Grala H., "*Pieczat połotckaja* Iwana IV Groźnego. Treści imperialne w moskiewskiej sfragistyce państwowej", *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego*, 14 (1997), pp. 117–134.

Grala H., "Rzeczpospolita wobec pretensji Moskwy/Rosji do ziem ruskich", in: *O ziemię naszą, nie waszą. Ideowe aspekty procesów narodotwórczych w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, ed. Ł. Adamski, Warsaw 2017, pp. 19–58.

Grala H., "Wokół dzieła i osoby Alberta Schlichtinga (przyczynek do dziejów propagandy antymoskiewskiej w drugiej połowie XVI w.)", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 38 (2000), pp. 35–51.

Grala H., "Źródła do dziejów stosunków polsko-moskiewskich w XVI w. (Nowe znaleziska w Archiwum Warszawskim Radziwiłłów)", *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica* 7 (1997), pp. 135–153.

Grala H., "Vom 'bellum defensivum' zum 'bellum externum'. Die Auffassung des polnischlitauischen Adels von den Gründen des Livländischen Krieges 1558–1582", in: *Die Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Kriegen im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. von H. Brunner, Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 255–269.

Gruchała J.K., *"Aratus" Jana Kochanowskiego. Warsztat filologiczny poety*, Cracow 1989.

Gruchała J.K., "Polskie i łacińskie 'Aratea' Jana Kochanowskiego. Uwagi o warsztacie poety-filologa", in: *Jan Kochanowski. Nowe perspektywy badawcze. W sześćdziesięciolecie istnienia Muzeum w Czarnolesie*, ed. T. Błach, M. Kozdrach, Radom-Czarnolas 2022, pp. 141–158.

Grześkowiak R., "Komentarz edytorski, II. Uwagi do tekstu", in: K. Twardowski, *Lekcyje Kupidynowe*, ed. by R. Grześkowiak, Warsaw 1997 (Biblioteka Pisarzy Staropolskich, vol. 7), pp. 35–73.

Guerquin B., "Zamki na planie trójkąta z XVI w.", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury* 6 (1938), pp. 303–319.

Gumowski M., "Bracia Gobeliusze", *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 14 (1948) 1–4, pp. 57–78.

Guzowski P., Łopatecki K., Poniat R., "Rewolucja militarna jako czynnik modernizacyjny skarbowości w Królestwie Polskim i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim—przykład wojny inflanckiej (1557–1570)", *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, 83 (2022), pp. 99–149.

Hale J., *Warfare and Cartography, ca. 1450 to ca. 1640*, in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 719–737.

Harley J.B., "Power and Legitimation in the English Geographical Atlases of the Eighteenth Century", in: *Images of the World: The Atlas Through History*, ed. J.A. Wolter and R.E. Grim, Washington, DC, 1997, pp. 161–204.

Harley J.B., *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by P. Laxton, introd. J.H. Andrews, Baltimore—London 2001.

Hedemann O., *Dzisna i Druja magdeburskie miasta*, Vilnius 1934.

Herbst S., "Najazd tatarski 1512", *Przegląd Historyczny* 37(1948), pp. 218–226.

*History of Belarus*, in: *Wikipedia* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus (accessed: 1.07.2024).

*History of Cartography*, vol. 2, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J.B. Harley and D. Woodward, Chicago and London 1992.

*History of Cartography*, vol. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. D. Woodward, Chicago 2007.

*Inventaire de la collection Lallemant de Betz*, réd. par A. Flandrin, Paris 1903.

Jacob Ch., *The Sovereign Map. Theoretical Approaches in Cartography Throughout History*, transl. T. Conley, ed. E.H. Dahl, Chicago 2006.

Jakimowicz T., *Temat historyczny w sztuce epoki ostatnich Jagiellonów*, Warsaw 1985.

Janicki M., "Obraz Bitwa pod Orszą—geneza, datowanie, wzory graficzne a obraz bitwy 'na Kropiwnej' i inne przedstawienia batalistyczne w wileńskim pałacu Radziwiłłów", in: *Bitwa pod Orszą*, ed. M. Nagielski, Warsaw 2015, pp. 173–225.

Januszek-Sieradzka A., "Anna Jagiellonka jako fundatorka wyposażenia Kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej", *Teka Komisji Historycznej. Oddział Lubelski PAN* 13 (2016), pp. 41–57.

Juda M., Teodorowicz-Hellman E., *Polonika w Bibliotece Katedralnej w Strängnäs*, Stockholm 2011.

Jurkowlaniec G., *Sprawczość rycin. Rzymska twórczość graficzna Tomasza Tretera i jej europejskie oddziaływanie*, Cracow 2017.

Kalicki B., "Nobilitacje króla Stefana na wyprawie moskiewskiej 1579–1581", in: *Album lwowskie*, ed. Nowakowski, Lviv 1862, pp. 69–98.

Kalicki B., *Zarysy historyczne*, Lwów 1869, p. 64.

Kappeler A., *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des westlichen Russlandbildes*, Bern—Frankfurt am Main 1972.

*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: 1.07.2024).

Kawecka-Gryczowa A., "Dzieje 'Drukarni latającej'. Działalność i wędrówki", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 1971, pp. 355–376.

Keenan E.L., "On Certain Mythical Beliefs and Russian Behaviors", in: *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, ed. S.F. Starr, Armonk NY and London 1994.

Kivelson V., *Cartographies of Tsardom. The Land and its Meanings in Seventeenth Century Russia*, Ithaca—London 2006.

Kluczycki J.F., *Pamiątki polskie w Wiedniu i jego okolicach: jako też inne wiadomości*, Cracow 1835.

Kobos A.M., "Tomasz Niewodniczański (1933–2010) i jego zbiory. In memoriam. Kolekcja Marie-Luise Niewodniczańskiej—kontynuacja", *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki PAU*, 11 (2012), pp. 149–197.

Kocowski B., "Heidenstein Reinhold (1553–1620)", PSB, vol. 9, Wrocław 1960–1961, pp. 342–344.

Komorowska M., *Prolegomena do edycji dzieł Piotra Skargi*, Cracow 2012.

Korzon T., *Dzieje wojen i wojskowości w Polsce. Epoka przedrozbiorowa*, vol. 2, Cracow 1912.

Kosiński S., "Pochodzenie i początki kariery politycznej Piotra Dunin Wolskiego", *Studia Płockie* 9 (1981), pp. 87–100.

Kotarski H., "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582: Sprawy organizacyjne", part 2, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 1(17) (1971), pp. 51–124.

Kotarski J., "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582. Sprawy organizacyjne", part 3, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 2(17) (1971), pp. 81–151.

Kowalczyk J., *Kultura i ideologia Jana Zamoyskiego*, Warsaw 2005.

Kowalska H., Wiśniewski J., *Olelkowicz Jerzy (ok. 1531–1578)*, PSB, vol. 23, Wrocław 1978, pp. 743–745.

Kozica K., "Charakterystyka prac kartograficznych Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)", *Terminus* 1(19) (2017), pp. 37–59.

Kozica K., Pezda J., *Imago Poloniae. Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego. Imago Poloniae. Das Polnisch-Litauische Reich in Karten, Dokumenten und alten Drucken in der Sammlung von Tomasz Niewodniczański*, vol. 1–2, Warsaw 2002.

Krawcewicz A., *Powstanie Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Białystok 2003, pp. 132–133.

Krzywy R., "«Chcesz być groźnym, a uciekasz …». Nad komentarzem do epinikionów moskiewskich Jana Kochanowskiego", *Pamiętnik Literacki* 104 (2013), pp. 185–194.

Krzywy R., *Wędrówki z Mneomosyne. Studia o topice dawnego podróżopisania*, Warsaw 2013.

Kula W., *Miary i ludzie*, Warsaw 1970.

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

Lawenda T., "Literacki wizerunek Jana Zamoyskiego—uczestnika kampanii moskiewskich Stefana Batorego—w dziełach pisarzy schyłku XVI wieku", *Senoji Lietuvos Literatūra* 32 (2011), pp. 15–56.

Lelewel J., *O monecie polskiej*, transl. by E. Januszkiewicz, Poznań 1862.

Lelewel J., *Polska, dzieje i rzeczy jej*, vol. 5, Poznań 1863.

Lesmaitis G., *Wojsko zaciężne w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w końcu XV–drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, Warsaw 2013.

Lizak W., *XXIX Aukcja. 25 lat antykwariatu Wu-El*, Szczecin 2021 http://antykwariat-wuel.pl/Aukcje-katalogi/29%20aukcja%20Antykwariat%20Wu-eL.pdf (access: 4.09.2023).

Lulewicz H., *Gniewów o unię ciąg dalszy: stosunki polsko-litewskie w latach 1569–1588*, Warsaw 2002.

Łabędź P., "Działalność wojskowa Krzysztofa Radziwiłła 'Pioruna' w latach 1572–1579", *Zapiski Historyczne* 1(76) (2011), pp. 23–40.

Łatyszonek O., *Od Rusinów Białych do Białorusinów*, Białystok 2006.

Łatyszonek O., "Polityczne aspekty przedstawienia średniowiecznych dziejów ziem białoruskich w historiografii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XV–XVI w.", *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne* 25 (2006), pp. 5–44.

Łatyszonek O., Bely A., *On the Scandinavian Origin of Rahvalod*, "Annus Albaruthenicus/Год Беларуски", vol. 6 (2005), рэд. С. Яновіч, Krynki 2005, pp. 49–64.

Łempicki S., "Hetman Jan Zamoyski współpracownikiem Heidensteina", *Pamiętnik Literacki* 15 (1917), pp. 287–304.

Łempicki S., *Mecenat wielkiego kanclerza: studia o Janie Zamoyskim*, Warsaw 1980.

Łopatecki K., *Disciplina militaris w wojskach Rzeczypospolitej do połowy XVII wieku*, Białystok 2012.

Łopatecki K., "Itineraria jako źródła poznania myśli strategicznej i operacyjnej w okresie panowania Stefana Batorego", *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 2 (63) (2018), pp. 29–49.

Łopatecki K., "Mapy w planowaniu działań operacyjnych armii polskiej i litewskiej do początków panowania Stefana Batorego", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3 (44), pp. 567–607.

Łopatecki K., "*Oblężenie i zdobycie warownej twierdzy połockiej przez najjaśniejszego króla Polski Stefana*—wykorzystanie kartografii podczas planowania taktycznego", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 4 (45), pp. 705–758.

Łopatecki K., "Ocena wiarygodności źródeł kartograficznych prezentujących oblężenie Połocka z 1579 roku", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 4(45), pp. 759–795.

Łopatecki K., "Okoliczności powstania i przydatność wojskowa mapy *Descriptio Ducatus Polocensis* Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580)", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1 (42), pp. 75–126.

Łopatecki K., *Organizacja, prawo i dyscyplina w polskim i litewskim pospolitym ruszeniu (do połowy XVII wieku)*, Białystok 2013.

Łopatecki K., "Pierwszy poetycki traktat wojskowy z mapą—Jana Kunowskiego *Odsiecz smoleńska*. Wykorzystanie kartografii w działaniach operacyjnych (1616–1617)", *Rocznik Lituanistyczny* 4 (2018), pp. 41–75.

Łopatecki K., "Poglądy Floriana Zebrzydowskiego dotyczące ufortyfikowania, obrony i poddania twierdz", *Białostockie Teki Historyczne* 13 (2015), pp. 91–110.

Łopatecki K., "Prace kartograficzne wykonywane na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej przez szwedzkich inżynierów wojskowych w XVII stuleciu", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 46 (2009), pp. 55–79.

Łopatecki K., "Rola map i planów w działaniach taktycznych wojsk polskich i litewskich do początku panowania Stefana Batorego", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3 (44), pp. 609–663.

Łopatecki K., "Ryciny prezentujące kampanię połocką 1579 r. jako jednolita kompozycja kartograficzna", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1 (42), pp. 157–191.

Łopatecki K., "Stan badań nad oceną wiarygodności grafik autorstwa Erika Dahlbergha", in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 9, ed. W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2017, pp. 183–203.

Łopatecki K., "Twórczość wojskowa Albrechta Hohenzollerna. Uwagi nad trzema manuskryptami przypisanymi w latach 2009–2014 Albrechtowi Hohenzollernowi", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 59 (2015), pp. 163–188.

Łopatecki K., "Wykorzystanie map w działaniach strategicznych do 1586 roku w Koronie i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3 (44), pp. 511–566.

Łopatecki K., "Wyprawa zbrojna Krzysztofa Radziwiłła 'Pioruna' w Inflantach zimą 1579 roku", *Zapiski Historyczne* 2018, 1 (83), pp. 39–67.

Łopatecki K., Walczak W., "Plan sytuacyjny oblężenia Smoleńska z 1616 roku", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 45 (2008), pp. 199–204.

Łopatecki K., Walczak W., *Mapy i plany Rzeczypospolitej XVII w. znajdujące się w Sztokholmie*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2011.

Łuczyński J., "Przestrzeń Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego na mapie radziwiłłowskiej Tomasza Makowskiego z 1613 r. w świetle treści kartograficznej i opisowej", *Zapiski Historyczne* 2013, 1(78), pp. 73–99.

Łuczyński J., "Ziemie polskie w kartografii drugiej połowy XVI wieku", in: S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, R. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii ziem polskich do XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2017, pp. 83–102.

Maas P., *Textkritik*, 4 Aufl., Leipzig 1960.

Maas P., *Textual Criticism*, Oxford 1958.

Małecki A., "Sprostowanie miejsca jednego w Literaturze Wiszniewskiego", *Przegląd Poznański* 4 (1847), pp. 202–203.

Marchesani P., "La Polonia nella storiografia italiana del XVI e XVII secolo: i clichés ideologici e la loro evoluzione", *Europa Orientalis* 5 (1986), pp. 203–231.

Matelski D., "Straty polskich dóbr kultury w wojnach ze Szwecją w XVII i XVIII wieku oraz próby ich restytucji", *Archeion* 106 (2003), pp. 118–134.

"Materiały do działalności wojskowej Floriana Zebrzydowskiego", ed. J. Jasnowski, *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 2(9) (1937), pp. 267–304.

Mears N., *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, Cambridge 2005.

Mikocka-Rachubowa K., "Nagrobki Stefana Batorego i Anny Jagiellonki w Katedrze wawelskiej: Kilka uwag i hipotez", *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 14 (1984), pp. 81–103.

Mikoś M.J., "Monarch and Magnates: Maps of Poland in the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe", in: *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps*, ed. by D. Buisseret, Chicago 1992, pp. 168–182.

Minow H., *Historische Vermessungsinstrumente: Ein Verzeichnis der Sammlungen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1990.

Monmonier M., *How to Lie With Maps*, Chicago 1991.

Morawski K., *Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki. Jego życie i dzieła*, Cracow 1892.

Morka M., [book review:] T. Jakimowicz, "Temat historyczny w sztuce ostatnich Jagiellonów", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 49 (1987), 3–4, pp. 352–357.

Nagielski M., "Orsza 1514", *Kwartalnik Bellona* 2014, 3 (96), pp. 102–121.

Natanson-Leski J., *Epoka Stefana Batorego w dziejach granicy wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warsaw 1930.

Nawrocki M., "Mit Smoleńska w piśmiennictwie polskim XVII wieku—przypadek Jana Kunowskiego", *Terminus* 18 (2016), 4(41), pp. 401–420.

Niedźwiedź J., "Atlas Księstwa Połockiego Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580): propaganda, genologia i tworzenie wiedzy geograficznej", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 127–155.

Niedźwiedź J., *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Vilnius: Forms of Writing and Rhetorical Spaces in the City*, Turnhout 2023.

Niedźwiedź J., *Nieśmiertelne teatra sławy. Teoria i praktyka twórczości panegirycznej na Litwie w XVII–XVIII w.*, Cracow 2003.

Niedźwiedź J., "Mercator's Lithuanian-Russian Borderlands: Russiae pars amplificata (1595) and its Polish Sources", *Imago Mundi* 2019, 2, pp. 151–172.

Niedźwiedź J., *Poeta i mapa: Jan Kochanowski a kartografia XVI wieku*, Cracow 2019.

Niedźwiedź J., "Polska szesnastowieczna propaganda wojenna w działaniu: przypadek Atlasu Księstwa Połockiego (1580)", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3 (44), pp. 477–510.

Niedźwiedź J., "The Atlas of the Principality of Polotsk—an Introduction", *Terminus* 19 (2017), 1(42), pp. 19–36.

Niedźwiedź J., "The Battle of Orsha (1514) on Maps: Mapping the Muscovian War as Renaissance Politics of Memory", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 66 (2022), pp. 60–103.

Niedźwiedź J., "Źródła, konteksty i okoliczności powstania *Ody o zdobyciu Połocka* Jana Kochanowskiego", *Terminus* 18 (2016), 4 (41), pp. 359–400.

*Normae orthographicae et orthotypicae Latinae*, Academia Latinitati Fovendae, Rome 1990.

Nowak T.M., "Polska artyleria, inżynieria i kartografia wojskowa XVII w.—teoria i praktyka", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 22 (1979), pp. 65–130.

Nowak T.M., "Problem stosowania broni palnej przy obronie i zdobywaniu umocnień przez wojska polskie w XVI–XVII w.", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 12 (1966), 1, pp. 50–69.

Nowak T.M., "Uwagi o technice budowy mostów polowych w Polsce w w. XV do XVII", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Sztuki Wojennej* 2 (1956), pp. 345–387.

Nowak-Dłużewski J., *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce: Dwaj młodsi Wazowie*, Warsaw 1972.

Nowak-Dłużewski J., *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce: Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni*, Warsaw 1969.

Nowak-Dłużewski J., *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce: Zygmunt III Waza*, Warsaw 1971.

Obremski K., "Wstęp", in: *Volsciana. Katalog renesansowego księgozbioru Piotra Dunin-Wolskiego, biskupa płockiego*, prac. A. Obrębski, Cracow 1999, pp. 5–36.

Olejnik K., *Stefan Batory 1533–1586*, Warsaw 1988.

Olszewicz B., "Francus (Franco, Frank) Piotr", in: PSB, vol. 7, Cracow 1948–1958, pp. 97–98.

Olszewicz B., *Kartografia polska XV i XVI wieku: Przegląd chronologiczno-bibliograficzny*, ed. J. Ostrowski, Warsaw 2004.

Olszewicz B., "Kartografia polska XV i XVI wieku", *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 1929/1930, 31 (4), pp. 147–168.

Olszewicz B., "Kartografia polska XVII wieku", *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 1931/1932, 36 (5), pp. 109–138.

*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P.G.W. Glare, 2nd ed., Oxford 2012.

Paprotny Z., "Termin *stan mapy* w piśmiennictwie kartograficz-nym: przykład map Jonasa Scultetusa", *Polish Cartographical Review. Suplement w języku polskim*, 5 (2020), 1, pp. 27–41.

Parker G., *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars*, Cambridge 1972.

Pasquali G., *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze 1988.

Passamani B., "Cavalieri, Giovanni Battista", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 22 (1979) https://www.treccani.it /enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-cavalieri_(Dizionario -Biografico) (accessed 23.08.2023).

Peil D., "The Emblem in the German-Speaking Regions", in: *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. P.M. Daly, New York 2008, pp. 187–221.

Pelc J., *Słowo i obraz. Na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plas-tycznych*, Cracow 2002.

Piechnik L., *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej, 1570–1599*, foreword J. Woś, Rome 1983.

Pirożyński J., *Z dziejów obiegu informacji w Europie XVI wieku. Nowiny z Polski w kolekcji Jana Jakuba Wicka w Zurychu z lat 1560–1587*, Cracow 1995.

Plewczyński M., "Kozacy w walkach z Moskwą nad Dźwiną i Ułą w latach 1567–1568", in: *Od Kijowa do Rzymu. Z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej ze Stolicą Apostolską i Ukrainą*, ed. M.R. Drozdowski, W. Walczak, K. Wiszowata-Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 57–72.

Plewczyński M., "Wkład Radziwiłłów w rozwój staropolskiej sztuki wojennej XVI w.", *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica* 7 (1997), pp. 27–36.

Plewczyński M., *Obertyn 1531*, Warsaw 1994.

Plokhy S., *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*, New York 2015.

Plokhy S., *The Russo-Ukrainian War*, London 2023.

*Poczet sołtysów, wójtów, burmistrzów i prezydentów miasta Krakowa: (1228–2010)*, ed. B. Kasprzyk, Cracow 2010.

Podralski J., "Wywóz dóbr materialnych z Polski przez Szwedów podczas wojny w 1656 roku", *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 12 (1997), 1–2, pp. 325–337.

Poe M.T., *"A People Born to Slavery": Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748*, Ithaca-New York 2000.

Poe M.T., "Moscow, the Third Rome: The Origins and Transformations of a 'Pivotal Moment'", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 49 (2001), 3, pp. 412–429.

Pollak M., *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, New York 2010.

*Polska sztuka wojenna w latach 1563–1647*, ed. Z. Spieralski, J. Wimmer, ed. T. Nowak, Warsaw 1961 (Wypisy Źródłowe do Historii Polskiej Sztuki Wojennej, 5).

Praz M., *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, ed. 2, Rome 1975.

Prusicka-Kołcon E., "Kresowa forteca w Kryłowie", *Spotkania z Zabytkami* 2010, 1–2 (34), pp. 25–27.

Przybyliński R., *Hetman wielki koronny Mikołaj Mielecki (ok. 1540–1585)*, Toruń 2002.

*Przyszłość kultury Polaków na kresach*, vol. 2: *Kraj rodzinny matki mej*, ed. J. Maroszek, Białystok 2000.

Ptak J., *Weksylologia polska. Zarys problematyki*, Warsaw 2016.

Puckalanka U., "Szesnastowieczna mapa polsko-litewskich szlaków podróżnych", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Biblioteka* 1964, 54 (4), pp. 183–200.

Putten J. van, *Networked Nation. Mapping German Cities in Sebastian Münster's 'Cosmographia'*, Leiden—Boston 2017.

Rabbie E., "Editing Neo-Latin Texts", *Editio* 10 (1996), pp. 25–48.

Raczyński E., *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych które się dzie-jów Polski tyczą począwszy od najdawniejszych aż do końca panowania Jana III (1513–1698)*, vol. 1, Wrocław 1838.

Randall D., *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News*, London and New York 2015.

Rastawiecki E., *Mappografia dawnej Polski*, Warsaw 1846.

Rastawiecki E., *Słownik malarzów polskich, tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1851, pp. 90–91.

*Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948*, ed. Ph. Ther and A. Siljak, Oxford 2001.

Reitinger F., "Literary Mapping in German-Speaking Europe", in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 438–449.

Rogulski J., "Treści propagandowe herbu złożonego księcia Szymona Samuela Sanguszki z 1626 roku", in: *Insignia et splendor. Heraldyka w służbie rodów szlacheckich i instytucji Kościoła*, ed. W. Drelicharz, Cracow 2011, pp. 60–76.

Rohrschneider Ch., "Czumturn (Czum Thurn; Czumstur; Czumthorn; Tomtorn; Tomturn), Paweł (Paul)", in: *Allge-meines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, Bd. 23, München 1999, p. 319.

Rüssow B., *Livländische Chronik: Aus dem Plattdeutschen über-tragen und mit kurzen Anmerkungen versehen durch Eduard Pabst*, Rewal 1845.

Saryusz-Wolska M., *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*, Cracow 2009.

Schilder G., *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica*, vol. 9: *Hessel Gerritsz (1580/81–1632). Master Engraver and Map Maker, Who 'Ruled' the Seas*, Houten 2013.

Schlichting A., "«A Brief Account of the Character and Brutal Rule of Vasiľevich, Tyrant of Muscovy» Albert Schlichting on Ivan Groznyi", transl. and comm. by H. Graham, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, Special Edition: *Muscovite Russia (III)*, Pittsburgh 1975, pp. 204–272.

*Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, vols. 1–15, Warsaw 1880–1914. http://dir.icm.edu.pl/Slownik_geograficzny (accessed 2.09.2024).

Strémooukhoff D., "Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine", *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 1, pp. 84–101.

Surowiec K., Razin A., "Założenia geopolityki Iwana IV Groźnego i jej realizacja w Rosji w latach 1547–1584", part 2, *Humanities and Social Sciences* 2016, 2 (21), pp. 219–231.

Syrokomla W., *Pisma epiczne i dramatyczne*, vol. 4, Poznań 1868.

Szmytka R., "Walka z wiatrakami: Antyhiszpańskie powstanie w Niderlandach jako konflikt asymetryczny w perspektywie historii środowiskowej", *Prace Historyczne* 143 (2016), pp. 668–681.

Śnieżko D., "Swojskie i obce w kronice uniwersalnej (przykład Marcina Bielskiego)", *Teksty Drugie. Teoria literatury, krytyka, interpretacja* 1 (2003), pp. 23–40.

Th.K. [a pen name], "Dominic Ridolfino. Pułkownik w służbie Rzplitej polskiej w XVI wieku", *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki* 15 (1887), pp. 645–658.

Timpanaro S., *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, Torino 2004.

Timpanaro S., *The Genesis of Lachman's Method*, ed. and transl. by G.W. Most, Chicago 2005.

Török Z.G., "16th-century Fortification Atlases of the Habsburg-Ottoman Border Zone", in: *A World of Innovation. Cartography in the Time of Gerard Mercator*, ed. G. Holzer, V. Newby, P. Svatek, G. Zotti, New Castle upon Tyne 2015, pp. 63–83.

Török Z.G., "Renaissance Cartography in East-Central Europe, ca. 1450–1650", in: HOC, vol. 3, pp. 1839–1851.

Treter A., Bielak A., "Szkice emblematów Tomasza Tretera", *Terminus* 23 (2021), 3 (60), pp. 365–402.

Tygielski W., *Listy, ludzie, władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji*, Warsaw 2007.

Urwanowicz J., "Wokół ideologii przedmurza chrześcijaństwa w Rzeczypospolitej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 29 (1984), pp. 185–199.

*Urzędnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, vol. 5: *Ziemia połocka i województwo połockie, XIV–XVIII wiek*, wyd. H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, A. Haratym, A. Macuk i A. Radaman, Warsaw 2018.

Weintraub W., "Ivan the Terrible as the Gentry's Candidate for the Polish Throne. A Study in Political Mentality", in: *Cross Currents. A Yearbook of Central European Culture*, ed. L. Matejka, B. Stolz, Chicago 1982, pp. 45–54.

Weller E., *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen mit einer Bibliographie (1505–1599)*, Hildesheim—Zürich—New York 1994.

Wilgosiewicz-Skutecka R., "Komu było dedykowane dzieło Gwagnina *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio*?—rozwiązanie zagadki znanego polonicum XVI w.", *Biblioteka* 11 (2007), pp. 11–19.

Wilke J., *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, Text und Tafelband, Bielefeld 2001.

Wisner H., "Wojsko litewskie 1 połowy XVII wieku. Cz. II", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 20 (1976), pp. 5–26.

Wisner H., *Rzeczpospolita Wazów: Czasy Zygmunta III i Władysława IV*, Warsaw 2002.

Wood D., *Rethinking the Power of Maps*, New York 2010.

Wrede M., *Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, Warsaw 2010.

Yoshioka J., "Place Name Changes on Ex-German Territories in Poland after World War II", *Slavic Eurasian Studies* 15 (2007), pp. 273–287.

*Z okolic Dźwiny. Księga zbiorowa na dochód Czytelni Polskiej w Witebsku*, Vitebsk 1912.

Zarębska T., *Początki polskiego piśmiennictwa urbanistycznego*, Warsaw—Łódź 1986.

*Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich: Projekt*, ed. K. Górski, J. Woronczak, Wrocław, 1955.

Zawadzki K., "Akcja prasowa Stefana Batorego w czasie wypraw moskiewskich 1579–1581", in: *Dzieje polskiej kartografii wojskowej i myśli strategicznej. Materiały z konferencji*, ed. B. Krassowski, J. Madej, Warsaw 1982, pp. 121–122.

Zawadzki K., *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku. Bibliografia*, vol. 1: 1514–1661, Wrocław 1977.

Zawadzki K., *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku. Bibliografia*, vol. 3: 1501–1725, Wrocław 1990.

Żygulski Z., "Uwagi o Rolce Sztokholmskiej", *Studia do Dziejów Dawnego Uzbrojenia i Ubioru Wojskowego* 9–10 (1988), pp. 7–21.

Александров Д.Н., Володихин Д.М., *Борьба за Полоцк между Литвой и Русью в XII–XVI веках*, Москва 1994 [Aleksandrov D.N., Volodihin D.M., *Bor'ba za Polock meždu Litvoj i Rus'ju v XII–XVI vekah*, Moskva 1994].

Арлоў У., Герасімовіч З., *Ілюстраваная гісторыя: краіна Беларусь*, Bratislava 2003 [Arloŭ U., Gerasimovič Z., *Iljustravanaja gistoryja: kraina Belarus'*, Bratislava 2003].

Баранов К.В., "Записная книга Полоцкого похода 1562/63 года", *Русский дипломатарий*, вып. 10, Москва, 2004, *pp. 119–154* [Baranov K.V., "Zapisnaja kniga Polockogo pohoda 1562/63 goda", *Russkij diplomatarij*, vyp. 10, Moskva, 2004, pp. 119–154].

Белы А., "Plan von Polotzko anno 1707", *Спадчына* 10 (1998), 4, pp. 12–15 [Bely A., "Plan von Polotzko anno 1707", *Spadčyna* 10 (1998), 4, pp. 12–15].

Белы А., "Полацк у нямецкіх 'Лятучых лістках' XVI ст. Інфлянцкая вайна на старонках першых еўрапейскіх газет", *Спадчына* 9 (1997), 6, pp. 213–219 [Bely A., "Polack u njameckih 'Ljatučyh listkah' XVI st. Infljanckaja vajna na staronkah peršyh eŭrapejskih gazet", *Spadčyna* 9 (1997), 6, pp. 213–219].

*Блакітная кніга Беларусі: Энцыклапедыя*, ed. Н.А. Дзісько, М.М. Курловіч, Я.В. Малашэвіч et. al., маст. В. Г. Загародні, Мінск 1994 (*Blakitnaja kniga Belarusi: Encyklapedyja*, ed. N.A. Dzis'ko, M.M. Kurlovič, Ja. V. Malašèvič et al., mast. V.G. Zagarodni, Minsk 1994).

Богатырев С.Н., "*Повесть о Полоцком взятии* и проблемы истории культуры Московской Руси", in: *Источниковедение и историография в мире гуманитарного знания: доклады и тезисы XIV научной конференции. Москва, 18–19 апреля 2002 г.*, Москва 2002, pp. 128–131 [Bogatyrev S.N., "Povest' o Polockom vzjatii i problemy istorii kul'tury Moskovskoj Rusi", in: *Istočnikovedenie i istoriografija v mire gumanitarnogo znanija: Doklady i tezisy XIV naučnoj konferencii. Moskva, 18–19 aprelja 2002 g.,* Moskva 2002, pp. 128–131].

Бычкова М.Е., "Отдельные моменты истории Литвы в интерпретации русских генеалогических источников XVI в.", in: *Польша и Русь. Черты общности и своеобразия в историческом развитии Руси и Польши XII–XIV вв.*, ред. Б.А. Рыбаков, Москва 1974, pp. 365–377 [Byčkova M.E., "Otdel'nye momenty istorii Litvy v interpretacii russkih genealogičeskih istočnikov XVI v.", in: *Pol'ša i Rus'. Čerty obšnosti i svoeobrazija v istoričeskom razvitii Rusi i Pol'ši XII–XIV vv.*, red. B.A. Rybakov, Moskva 1974, pp. 365–377].

*Витебская Область. Атлас автомобильных дорог*, Минск 2013 (*Vitebskaja Oblast'. Atlas avtomobil'nyh dorog*, Minsk 2013).

*Вялікае Княства Літоўскае: Энцыклапедыя, рэдкал.* Г. П. Пашкоў і інш.; маст. З. Э. Герасімовіч, ed. 2, vol. 1–3, 1–3, Мінск 2007–2010 (*Vjalikae Knjastva Litoŭskae: Encyklapedyja*, ed. G. P. Paškoŭ et al.; mast. Z.E. Gerasimovič, ed. 2, vol. 1–3, Minsk 2007–2010).

*Вялікі гістарычны атлас Беларусі. У 3 тамах*, т. 1, Мінск 2009 [*Vjaliki gistaryčny atlas Belarusi. U 3 tamah*, t. 1, Minsk 2009].

*Города, местечки и замки Великого Княжества Литовского. Энциклопедия*, председ. Т.В. Белова, гл. ed. В.П. Саламаха, Минск 2009 [*Goroda, mestečki i zamki Velikogo Knjažestva Litovskogo. Ènciklopedija*, predsed. T.V. Belova, gl. ed. V.P. Salamaha, Minsk 2009].

Дербов Л.А., "К вопросу о кандидатуре Ивана IV на польский престол в 1572–1576 гг.", *Ученые записки Саратовского университета*, vol. 39, Саратов 1954, pp. 176–217 [Derbov L.A., "K voprosu o kandidature Ivana IV na pol'skij prestol v 1572–1576 gg.", *Učenye zapiski Saratovskogo universiteta*, vol. 39, Saratov 1954, pp. 176–217].

Дмитриева Р.П., *Сказание о князях владимирских*, Москва—Ленинград 1955 [Dmitrieva R.P., *Skazanie o knjazjah vladimirskih*, Moskva—Leningrad 1955].

Дубровский И.В., "Латинские рукописи сочинений Альберта Шлихтинга", *Русский сборник. Исследования по истории России* 18 (2015), pp. 74–217 [Dubrovskij I.v., "Latinskie rukopisi sočinenij Al'berta Šlihtinga", Russkij sbornik. *Issledovanija po istorii Rossii* 18 (2015), pp. 74–217].

Дубровский И.В., "Новые документы о России Ивана Грозного", *Русский сборник. Исследования по истории России* 11 (2012), pp. 26–41 [Dubrovskij I.v., "Novye dokumenty o Rossii Ivana Groznogo", *Russkij sbornik. Issledovanija po istorii Rossii* 11 (2012), pp. 26–41].

Дубровский И.В., "Новые документы по истории отношений России и Италии при Иване Грозном", *Русский сборник. Исследования по истории России* 14 (2013), pp. 7–12 [Dubrovskij I.v., "Novye dokumenty po istorii otnošenij Rossii i Italii pri Ivane Groznom", *Russkij sbornik. Issledovanija po istorii Rossii* 14 (2013), pp. 7–12].

Дук Д.У., "Исследование оборонительных сооружений. Материалы городской застройки", in: *Полоцк*, ред. О.Н. Левко, Минск 2012, pp. 309–324 [Duk D.U., "Issledovanie oboronitel'nyh sooruženij. Materialy gorodskoj zastrojki", in: *Polock*, red. O.N. Levko, Minsk 2012, pp. 309–324].

Дук Д.У., "Матэрыялы да geral'dyčnaj карты месцазнаходжання двароў полацкай шляхты XVI–XVII ст.", *Герольд Litherland* 2 (2002), 3–4, pp. 84–89 [Duk D.U., "Matèryjaly da geral'dyčnaj karty mescaznahodžannja dvaroŭ polackaj šljahty XVI–XVII st.", *Gerol'd Litherland* 2 (2002), 3–4, pp. 84–89].

Дук Д.У., "Новые данные о находках в Полоцке предметов вооружения XIV–XVII вв.", in: *Археология и история Пскова и Псковской земли: материалы 50 научного семинара. Сб. статей*, ред. В.В. Седов, Псков 2004, pp. 318–325 [Duk D.U., "Novye dannye o nahodkah v Polocke predmetov vooruženija XIV–XVII vv.", in: *Arheologija i istorija Pskova i Pskovskoj zemli: materialy 50 naučnogo seminara. Sb. statej*, red. v.V. Sedov, Pskov 2004, pp. 318–325].

Дук Д.У., *Полацк і палачане (IX–XVIII стст.)*, Наваполацк 2010 [Duk D.U., *Polacki palačane (IX–XVIII stst.)*, Navapolack 2010].

Ерусалимский К.Ю., "Идеология истории Ивана Грозного: взгляд из Речи Посполитой", in: *Диалоги со временем: Память о прошлом в контексте истории*, ed. Л.П. Репиной, Москва 2008, pp. 589–635 [Erusalimskij K.Ju., "Ideologija istorii Ivana Groznogo: vzgljad iz Reči Pospolitoj", in: *Dialogi so vremenem: Pamjat' o prošlom v kontekste istorii*, ed. L.P. Repinoj, Moskva 2008, pp. 589–635].

Ерусалимский К.Ю., *История на посольской службе: дипломатия и память в России XVI в.*, Москва 2005 [Erusalimskij K. Ju., *Istorija na posol'skoj službe: diplomatija i pamjat' v Rossii XVI v.*, Moskva 2005].

*Иван Грозный—завоеватель Полоцка: (новые документы по истории Ливонской войны)*, ed. А.И. Филюшкин; сост., подгот. к публ., вступ. ст. В.Ю. Ермак; описание рукописи К.Ю. Ерусалимский, Санкт-Петербург 2014 [*Ivan Groznyj—zavoevatel' Polocka: (novye dokumenty po istorii Livonskoj vojny)*, ed. A.I. Filjuškin; sost., podgot. k publ., vstup. st.V.Ju. Ermak; opisanie rukopisi K.Ju. Erusalimskij, Sankt-Peterburg 2014].

Катлярчук А., *Шведы ў гісторыі і культуры беларусаў*, Мінск 2007 [Katljarčuk A., *Švedy ў gistoryi i kul'tury belarusaў*, Minsk 2007].

Клімаў М.В., "Вызначэнне дакладнага месцазнаходжання фартэцы Сокал (па выніках археалагічных прац 2016 г.)", *Матэрыялы па археалогп Беларусі* 30 (2019), pp. 191–205 [Klimaў M.V., "Vyznačènne dakladnaga mescaznahodžannja fartècyi Sokal (pa vynikah arhealagičnyh prac 2016 g.)", *Matèryjaly pa arhealogp Belarusi* 30 (2019), pp. 191–205].

Клімаў М.В., "Новыя археалагічныя даследаванні фартэцый перыяду Інфлянцкай вайны на Полаччыне" in: *Гісторыя і археалогія Полацка і Полацкай зямлі: матэрыялы VII Міжнароднай навуковай канферэнцыі (Полацк, 1–2 лістапада 2017 г.)*, Полацк 2019, pp. 129–142 [Klimaў M.V., "Novyja arhealahičnyja dasledavanni fartècyj peryjadu Infljanckaj vajny na Polaččyne" in: *Historyja i arhealohija Polacka i Polackaj zjamli: matèryjaly VII Mižnarodnaj navukovaj kanferèncyi (Polack, 1–2 listapada 2017 g.)*, Polack 2019, pp. 129–142].

Клімаў М.В., "Фартэцыя Туроўля: новыя звесткі паводле археалагічных даследаванняў", in: *Беларускае Падзвінне: вопыт, методыка і вынікі палявых і міждысцыплінарных даследаванняў*, Наваполацк 2018, pp. 30–39. [Klimaў M.V., "Fartècyja Turoўlja: novyja zvestki pavodle arhealagičnyh dasledavannjaў", in: *Belaruskae Padzvinne: vopyt, metodyka i vyniki paljavyh i mìždyscyplinarnyh dasledavannjaў*, Navapolack 2018, pp. 30–39].

Коркунов М.А., "Карта военных действий между русскими и поляками в 1579 г. и тогдашние планы г. Полоцка и его окрестностей", *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения* 1837, 8 (15), pp. 235–249 [Korkunov M.A., "Karta voennyh dejstvij meždu russkimi i poljakami v 1579 g. i togdašnie plany g. Polocka i ego okrestnostej", *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvešenija* 1837, 8 (15), pp. 235–249].

Кром М.М., *Стародубская война 1534–1537. Из истории русско-литовских отношений*, Москва 2008 [Krom M.M., *Starodubskaja vojna 1534–1537. Iz istorii russko-litovskih otnošenij*, Moskva 2008].

Лебедев Д.М., *Очерки по истории географии в России XV и XVI веков*, Москва 1956 [Lebedev D.M., *Očerki po istorii geografii v Rossii XV i XVI vekov*, Moskva 1956].

Лобин А.Н., "Артиллерия в царствование Ивана Грозного", in: *"В кратких словесах многой разум замыкающе…": Сборник научных трудов в честь 75-летия профессора Р.Г. Скрынникова*, Санкт-Петербург 2007, pp. 285–308 [Lobin A.N., "Artillerija v carstvovanie Ivana Groznogo", in: *"V kratkih slovesah mnogoj razum zamykajuśe …": Sbornik naučnyh trudov v čest' 75-letija professora R.G. Skrynnikova*, Sankt-Peterburg 2007, pp. 285–308].

*Назвы населеных пунктаў Рэспублікі Беларусь: Віцебская вобласць. Нарматыўны даведнік*, У. М. Генкін, І. Л. Капылоў, В. П. Лемцюгова, пад рэд. В. П. Лемцюговай, Мінск 2009 (*Nazvy naselenyh punktaў Respubliki Belarus': Vicebskaja voblasc. Narmatyўny davednik*, U.M. Genkin, I.L. Kapyloў, V.P. Lemcjugova, ed. V.P. Lemcjuhovaj, Minsk 2009).

Новодворский В.В., *Борьба за Ливонию между Москвою и Речью Посполитою (1570–1582). Историко-критическое изследование*, Санкт-Петербург 1904 [Novodvorskij V.V., *Bor'ba za Livoniju meždu Moskvoju i Reč'ju Pospolitoju (1570–1582). Istoriko-kritičeskoe izsledovanie*, Sankt-Peterburg 1904].

*Описи Царского архива XVI века и архива Посольского приказа 1614 года*, ed. С.О. Шмидт, Москва 1960 [*Opisi Carskogo arhiva XVI veka i arhiva Posol'skogo prikaza 1614 goda*, ed. S.O. Šmidt, Moskva 1960].

Пашуто В.Т., *Образование Литовского государства*, Москва 1959 [Pašuto V.T., *Obrazovanie Litovskogo gosudarstva*, Moskva 1959].

Пенской В.В., "Героическая оборона Полоцка в августе 1579 года", *Военно-исторический журнал* 6 (2013), pp. 65–71 [Penskoj V.V., "Geroičeskaja oborona Polocka v avguste 1579 goda", *Voenno-istoričeskij žurnal* 6 (2013), pp. 65–71].

Пестерев В.В., "К вопросу о степени развития русской картографии в XVI–XVII веках", *Вестник Курганского университета*, Серия "Гуманитарные науки" 2 (2006), pp. 72–75 [Pesterev V.v., "K voprosu o stepeni razvitija russkoj kartografii v XVI–XVII vekah", *Vestnik Kurganskogo universiteta*, Serija "Gumanitarnye nauki" 2 (2006), pp. 72–75].

Платонов Р.М., Платонов М.А., Давидович А.С., "Градостроительство Полоцка в XIV–XVIII века", *Вестник Полоцкого государственного университета*, Сер. F, *Прикладные науки. Строительство* 12 (2009), pp. 7–13 [Platonov R.M., Platonov M.A., Davidovič A.S., "Gradostroitel'stvo Polocka v XIV–HVIII veka", *Vestnik Polockogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, Ser. F, Prikladnye nauki. Stroitel'stvo 12 (2009), pp. 7–13].

*Полацк на паштоўках пачатку XX стагоддзя*, тэкст Ю. Цісленка, афармленне В. Рагалевіч, А. Пятроў, Мінск 2001 [*Polack na paštoўkah pačatku XX stagoddzja*, tèkst Ju. Cislenka, afarmlenne V. Ragalevič, A. Pjatroў, Minsk 2001].

"Полоцкая земля как контактная зона при Иване Грозном, 1563–1579 гг.", экспедиция 18–25 июля 2015 г., the paper published on the website of the Faculty of History, University of Saint Petersburg (Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет Институт истории): https://history .spbu.ru/nauka/nauchnye-tsentry/285-rgnf-pogranichie -2015/ekspeditsii/910-polotskaya-zemlya-kak-kontaktnaya

-zona-pri-ivane-groznom-1563-1579-gg-ekspeditsiya-18-25
-iyulya-2015-g.html (accessed 21.07.2024). ["Polockaja zemlja
kak kontaktnaja zona pri Ivane Groznom, 1563–1579 gg.", èks-
pedicija 18–25 ijulja 2015 g., the paper published on the web-
site of the Faculty of History, University of Saint Petersburg
(Sankt-Peterburgskij gosudarstvennyj universitet Institut
istorii): https://history.spbu.ru/nauka/nauchnye-tsentry
/285-rgnf-pogranichie-2015/ekspeditsii/910-polotskaya
-zemlya-kak-kontaktnaya-zona-pri-ivane-groznom-1563
-1579-gg-ekspeditsiya-18-25-iyulya-2015-g.html (accessed
21.07.2024).].

Рабинович М.Г., "Археологическая разведка в Полоцкой
земле", *Краткие сообщения института истории мате-
риальной культуры* 33 (1950), pp. 81–88 [Rabinovič M.G.,
"Arheologičeskaja razvedka v Polockoj zemle", *Kratkie
soobŝenija instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury* 33 (1950),
pp. 81–88].

Рыбаков Б.А., *Русские карты Московии XV–начала XVI века*,
Москва 1974 [Rybakov B.A., *Russkie karty Moskovii XV–načala
XVI veka*, Moskva 1974].

Сапунов А.П., *Река Западная Двина с картами, планами и
рисунками*, Витебск 1893 [Sapunov A.P., *Reka Zapadnaja
Dvina s kartami, planami i risunkami*, Vitebsk 1893].

Сапунов А.П., "Рисунки крепостей, построенных по
повелению Царя Ивана Грозного после завоевания
Полоцка, в 1563 году", in: *Полоцко-Витебская старина*, 2,
Витебск 1912, pp. 299–313 [Sapunov A.P., "Risunki krepostej,
postroennyh po poveleniju Carja Ivana Groznogo posle zavo-
evanija Polocka, v 1563 godu", in: *Polocko-Vitebskaja starina*, 2,
Vitebsk 1912, pp. 299–313].

Соловьёв А.А., *Полоцкий иезуитский коллегиум в ретроспек-
тиве (1581–1914): архитектурно-археологический очерк*,
Полоцк 2012 [Solov'ëv A.A., *Polockij iezuitskij kollegium v
retrospektive (1581–1914): arhitekturno-arheologičeskij očerk*,
Polock 2012].

Спірыдонаў М., "Беларусь у другой палове XVI ст.", карта 1 :
1,500,000, in: *Нацыянальны атлас Беларусі*, Мінск 2002,
pp. 266–267 (Spirydonaŭ M., "Belarus' u drugoj palove XVI
st.", karta 1 : 1,500,000, in: Nacyjanal'ny atlas Belarusi, Minsk
2002, pp. 266–267).

Спірыдонаў М., "Беларусь на карце Вялікага Княства
Літоўскага 1613 г.", *Гістарычны Альманах* 8 (2003),
pp. 3–55 [Spirydonaŭ M., "Belarus' na karce Vjalikaga
Knjastva Litoŭskaga 1613 g.", *Gistaryčny Al'manah* 8 (2003),
pp. 3–55].

Турчинович О., *Обозрение истории Белоруссии с древнейших
времен*, Санкт-Петербург 1857 [Turčinovič O., *Obozrenie
istorii Belorussii s drevnejših vremen*, Sankt-Peterburg 1857].

Фальковский Н.И., *Чертежи Полоцкой земли и русских горо-
дов XVI в.*, "Труды по истории техники" 1 (1952), pp. 113–121
[Fal'kovskij N.I., *Čerteži Polockoj zemli i russkih gorodov XVI v.*,
"Trudy po istorii tehniki" 1 (1952), pp. 113–121].

Филюшкин А.И., *Изобретая первую войну России и Европы.
Балтийские войны второй половины XVI в. глазами
современников и потомков*, Санкт-Петербург 2013
[Filjuškin A.I., *Izobretaja pervuju voinu Rossii i Evropy. Baltijskie
vojny vtoroj poloviny XVI v. glazami sovremennikov i potomkov*,
Sankt-Peterburg 2013].

Филюшкин А.И., "Завоевание Стефаном Баторием Полоцка
в 1579 г. в европейском нарративе", *Вестник Санкт-
Петербургского университета. Серия 2. История* 1
(2014), pp. 5–11 [Filjuškin A.I., "Zavoevanie Stefanom Bato-
riem Polocka v 1579 g. v evropejskom narrative", *Vestnik
Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta. Serija 2. Istorija* 1 (2014),
pp. 5–11].

Флоря Б.Н., "Родословие литовских князей в русской поли-
тической мысли XVI в.", in: *Восточная Европа в древно-
сти и средневековье*, Москва 1978, pp. 322–328 [Florja B.N.,
"Rodoslovie litovskih knjazej v russkoj političeskoj mysli
XVI v.", in: *Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e*,
Moskva 1978, pp. 322–328].

Флоря Б.Н., *Русско-польские отношения и политическое раз-
витие Восточной Европы во второй половине XVI–начале
XVII в.*, Москва 1978 [Florja B.N., *Russko-pol'skie otnošenija
i političeskoe razvitie Vostočnoj Evropy vo vtoroj polovine
XVI–načale XVII v.*, Moskva 1978].

Цітоў А.К., *Геральдыка Беларусі: (ад пачаткаў—да канца XX
стагоддзя)*, Мінск 2010 [Citoŭ A.K., *Geral'dyka Belarusi: (ad
pačatkaŭ—da kanca XX stagoddzja)*, Minsk 2010].

Цялежнікаў У.І., Латушкін А.М., "Умацаванні 2-й паловы
XVI ст. паміж Верхнім і Ніжнім замкамі ў Полацку",
*Пытанні мастацтвазнаўства, этналогіі і фальклары-
стыкі* 17 (2014), pp. 58–66 [Cjaležnikaŭ U.I., Latuškin A.M.,
"Umacavanni 2-j palovy XVI st. pamiž Verhnim i Nižnim
zamkami ŭ Polacku", *Pytanni mastactvaznaŭstva, ètnalogii i
fal'klarystyki* 17 (2014), pp. 58–66].

Чантурия Ю.В., *Градостроительное искусство Беларуси
второй половины XVI–первой половины XIX в.*, Минск 2005
[Ju. V. Čanturija, *Gradostroitel'noe iskusstvo Belarusi vtoroj
poloviny XVI–pervoj poloviny XIX v.*, Minsk 2005].

Штыхов Г.В., Тарасов С.В., Дук Д.В., "Историография и
источ-ники", in: *Полоцк*, ed. О.Н. Левко, Минск 2012, pp.
18–25 [Štyhov G.V., Tarasov S.V., Duk D.V., "Istoriografija i
istočniki", in: *Polock*, ed. O.N. Levko, Minsk 2012, pp. 18–25].

*Энцыклапедыя гісторыі Беларусі*, ed. Г.П. Пашкоў і інш., маст.
Э.Э. Жакевіч, vol. 1–6, Мінск 1994– 2003 (*Encyklapedyja
historyi Belarusi*, ed. G.P. Paškoŭ et., mast. E.E. Žakevič,
vol. 1–6, Minsk 1994–2003).

Янушкевіч А., *Вялікае Княства Літоўскае і Інфлянцкая
вайна 1558–1570 гг.: Манаграфія*, Мінск 2007 [Januškevič A.,
*Vjalikae Knjastva Litoŭskae i Infljanckaja vajna 1558–1570 hh.:
manahrafija*, Minsk 2007].

# Indices

This attempt to index and describe the body of names in PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* does not provide a definitive solution to all the problems related to the identity and location of each of the towns marked and named on the map. We have decided to consider the contemporary Belarusian naming form in transcription into the Latin alphabet as the basic form. The geographical reference could not be established beyond reasonable doubt for all the toponyms. Hypothetical references have been proposed for Budavičy and HalomysĹ. The exact geographical location of the Krasny and Nieščarda strongholds, as well as of settlements that do not exist today but are mentioned in historical and cartographic sources (Kaliucina, Maly Haradok, and Svirydavičy), and finally also of some towns which no longer exist today but are witnessed by surviving hydronyms (Čarnica and Maryniec) is uncertain—all of these toponyms have been distinguished in indices with an asterisk. After closer investigation of hydronyms that appear on the schematically drawn water network in the Polatsk region, it turns out that there are names of smaller tributaries ascribed to the main watercourses depicted on the map, e.g. *Surazicza*—Kasplia (river), *Vswiaczicza*—Uśviača (river/town). There are also some old names that are mentioned in sources, such as *Oskaczicza*—Čarniaŭka (river), *Ruczai*—Lučosa (river), *Zerwanicza*—Čarnahosnica (river). Finally, a naming mistake made by the cartographer or engraver was found—it concerns the toponym *Strzezewo* (Stryžava), placed at the left instead of the right tributary of the River Ula, named Sviača, near the outlet of which there is a nameless town.

The four complementary indices are provided to enable comprehensive use of Pachołowiecki's map. The **Basic Index** (I) contains a collation of the names in the transliterated form that appear on the map (**Translit. n.**) with their transcription (**Transcr. n.**) and names in Polish, Russian, and Belarusian. The Belarusian naming—in a transcription corresponding to the standards of contemporary normative Belarusian compendiums—forms the basis of the descriptive part (V); except for two cities named on the map, which are today within the borders of the Russian Federation (Siebież and Usviaty), all towns, rivers, and lakes are located within the territory of present-day Belarus.[1]

The **Index of Transliterated Names with Belarusian Transcription** (II) refers directly from the name transliterated from the map to the descriptive part (V). Then follows the **Belarusian–Russian Index** (III)—the Russian versions, which link (here and in the descriptive part) each local name (excluding the names of rivers and towns of unknown location) with names on the current road map of Vitebsk Oblast (³ ⋯ ³⁶ АБᴮГ).[2] The **Belarusian–Polish Index** (IV), the last one, links the transcribed Belarusian names, and thus from the descriptive part, with the Polish naming forms.

Compiling the indices and descriptions, we used the irreplaceable *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*,[3] 16th- and 17th-century maps of Poland and Lithuania, the most recent Belarusian historical and naming compendiums,[4] as well as online sources. The latter include, among others, the Wikimapia site (http://wikimapia.org), the Polish-Belarusian-Russian website http://radzima.net, which contains data on Lithuanian and Belarusian localities indexed on the basis of old maps and lists, and finally a valuable report of the Institute of History of Saint Petersburg University (SPBGU) from a research expedition whose aim was to find and describe the remains of the wooden castles of Ivan the Terrible in the Polatsk region.[5]

---

1  In terms of toponyms, normative compendia include: *Назвы населеных пунктаў Рэспублікі Беларусь: Віцебская вобласць. Нарматыўны даведнік*, У.М. Генкін, І.Л. Капылоў, В.П. Лемцюгова, пад рэд. В.П. Лемцюговай, Мінск 2009; in terms

of hydronyms: *Блакітная кніга Беларусі: Энцыклапедыя*, рэдкал. Н.А. Дзісько, М.М. Курловіч, Я.В. Малашэвіч і інш., маст. В.Г. Загародні, Мінск 1994.

2  *Витебская Область: Атлас автомобильных дорог*, Минск 2013 (scale: 1:200,000).

3  *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, vols 1–15, Warsaw 1880–1914; we used the online version: http://dir.icm.edu.pl/Slownik_geograficzny (accessed 2.09.2024).

4  In addition to the lexicons mentioned above, I used the following works: *Вялікае Княства Літоўскае: Энцыклапедыя, рэдкал.* Г.П. Пашкоў (гал. рэд.) і інш.; маст. З.Э. Герасімовіч, 2е выд., т. 1–3, Мінск 2007–2010; *Города, местечки і замкі Вялікага Княжества Литовского…*; *Энцыклапедыя гісторыі Беларусі*, рэдкал. Г.П. Пашкоў і інш., маст. Э.Э. Жакевіч, т. 1–6, Мінск 1994–2003. The historical map of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Michail Spiridonaŭ is also extremely useful (М. Спірыдонаў, "Беларусь у другой палове XVI ст.", карта 1: 1,500,000, in: *Нацыянальны атлас Беларусі*, Мінск 2002, pp. 266–267) with the list of localities (lack of hydronyms) in two versions: historical (Ruthenian, and—in lack thereof—contemporary Belarusian) and Belarusian.

5  А.И. Филюшкин, А.Н. Лобин, А.В. Кузьмин, И.А. Прохоренков, П.А. Толмачев, Д.А. Бессуднов, К.С. Жарикова, "Полоцкая земля как контактная зона при Иване Грозном, 1563–1579 гг." …".

## I. Basic Index

| Translit. n. | Transcr. n. | Polish. n. | Russian n. | Belarusian n. | Belarusian transcr. n. → description |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Bereʒe* | Bereze | Berezowo | Берёзово | Бярозава | **Biarozava** |
| *Berezina flu.* | Berezina flu⟨vius⟩ | Berezyna (rz.) | Березина (р.) | Бярэзіна (р.) | **Biarezina (r.)** |
| *Bielniaki* | Bielniaki | Bielniaki | Бельняки | Бельнякі | **Bieĺniaki** |
| *Bobonice* | Bobonice | Bobynicze | Бобыничи | Бабынічы | **Babyničy** |
| *Braſlauia* | Braslavia | Brasław | Браслав | Браслаў | **Braslaŭ** |
| *Budowieʒe* | Budowieze | Budowicze* | Будовичи* | Будавічы* | **Budaviči*** |
| *Craſniki* | Crasniki | Czaśniki | Чашники | Чашнікі | **Čašniki** |
| *Czernicza* | Czernicza | Czernica (m.)* | Черница (м.)* | Чарніца (м.)* | **Čarnica (m.)*** |
| *Czernicza flu.* | Czernicza flu⟨vius⟩ | Czernica (rz.) | Черница (р.) | Чарніца (р.) | **Čarnica (r.)** |
| *Czerniewice* | Czerniewice | Czerniewicze | Черневичи | Чарневічы | **Čarnievičy** |
| *Cziotcza* | Cziotcza | Ciotcza | Тётча | Цётча | **Ciotča** |
| *Dominiki* | Dominiki | Domniki | Домники | Домнікі | **Domniki** |
| *Druia* | Druia | Druja | Друя | Друя | **Druja** |
| *Druia flu.* | Druia flu⟨vius⟩ | Drujka (rz.) | Друйка (р.) | Друйка (р.) | **Drujka (r.)** |
| *Drijssa* | Dryssa | Dryssa (m.) | Верхнедвинск | Верхнядзвінск | **Vierchniadzvinsk** |
| *Drijssa flu.* | Dryssa flu⟨vius⟩ | Dryssa (rz.) | Дрисса (р.) | Дрыса (р.) | **Drysa (r.)** |
| *DVNA FLV.* | Duna flu⟨vius⟩ | Dźwina (rz.) | Западная Двина (р.) | Дзвіна (р.) | **Dzvina (r.)** |
| *Dzisna* | Dzisna | Dzisna (m.) | Дисна (м.) | Дзісна (м.) | **Dzisna (m.)** |
| *Dzisna flu.* | Dzisna flu⟨vius⟩ | Dzisna (rz.) | Дисна (р.) | Дзісна (р.) | **Dzisna (r.)** |
| *fl. niscza* | Fl⟨uvius⟩ Niscza | Niszcza (rz.) | Нища (р.) | Нішча (р.) | **Nišča (r.)** |
| *Glebokie* | Glebokie | Głębokie | Глубокое | Глыбокае | **Hlybokaje** |
| *Hermanowice* | Hermanowice | Hermanowicze | Ермановичи | Германавічы | **Hermanavičy** |
| *Holomiſla* | Holomisla | Hołomyśl* | Голомысль* | Галомысль* | **Halomysĺ*** |
| *Holubiez* | Holubiez | Hołubicze | Голубичи | Галубічы | **Halubičy** |
| *Horanij* | Horany | Horany | Гораны | Гараны | **Harany** |
| *Horodcú maius* | Horodcum Maius | Horodek [Wielki] | Городок | Гарадок | **Haradok** |
| *Horodcú minus* | Horodcum Minus | Horodek Mały* | Малый Городок* | Малы Гарадок* | **Maly Haradok*** |
| *Iasnij* | Iasny | Jazno | Язно | Язна | **Jazna** |
| *Ikaznia* | Ikaznia | Ikaźń | Иказнь | Іказнь | **Ikaźń** |
| *kamien* | Kamien | Kamień | Камень | Камень | **Kamień** |
| *kieluta* | Kieluta | Kolucino* | Калютино* | Калюціна* | **Kaliucina*** |
| *kosian* | Kosian | Koziany | Козяны | Казяны | **Kaziany** |
| *krasne* | Krasne | Krasne* | Красный* | Красны* | **Krasny*** |
| *Krziwina flu.* | Krziwina flu⟨vius⟩ | Krywina (rz.) | Кривинка (р.) | Крывінка (р.) | **Kryvinka (r.)** |
| *Lacus obola* | Lacus Obola | Obol (jez.) | Оболь (оз.) | Обаль (воз.) | **Obaĺ (voz.)** |
| *Lepel* | Lepel | Lepel | Старый Лепель | Стары Лепель | **Stary Liepieĺ** |
| *Loswida* | Loswida | Łoswido | Лосвида | Лосвіда | **Losvida** |
| *Lowoze* | Lowoze | Łowoż | Ловож | Лоўжа | **Loŭža** |
| *Lukomla* | Lukomla | Łukoml | Лукомль | Лукомль | **Lukomĺ** |
| *Luzesnia* | Luzesnia | Łużasna | Лужесно | Лужасна | **Lužasna** |
| *Mareniecz* | Mareniecz | Maryniec* | Маринец* | Марынец* | **Maryniec*** |
| *Milkiewice* | Milkiewice | Milkowicze | Мильковичи | Мількавічы | **Miĺkavičy** |
| *Nieszczierda* | Nieszczierda | Nieszczerda* | Нещерда* | Нешчарда* | **Nieščarda*** |
| *Obola flu.* | Obola flu⟨vius⟩ | Obol (rz.) | Оболь (р.) | Обаль (р.) | **Obaĺ (r.)** |
| *Oskaczicza flu* | Oskaczicza flu⟨vius⟩ | Czerniawka (rz.) | Чернавка (р.) | Чарняўка (р.) | **Čarniaŭka (r.)** |
| *Oskata* | Oskata | Oskato | Оскато | Воската | **Voskata** |

(*cont.*)

| Translit. n. | Transcr. n. | Polish. n. | Russian n. | Belarusian n. | Belarusian transcr. n. → description |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ostrowna* | Ostrowna | Ostrowno | Островно | Астроўна | **Astroŭna** |
| *Ozierỹscza* | Ozieryscza | Jezieryszcze | Озерище | Езярышча | **Jeziaryšča** |
| *Pliſsa* | Plissa | Plisa | Плиса | Пліса | **Plisa** |
| *Pochost* | Pochost | Pohost | Погост | Пагост | **Pahost** |
| *Polockum* | Polockum | Połock | Полоцк | Полацк | **Polack** |
| *Polota fl.* | Polota fl⟨uvius⟩ | Połota (rz.) | Полота (р.) | Палата (р.) | **Palata (r.)** |
| *Psina* | Psina | Psuja | Псуя | Псуя | **Psuja** |
| *Rowne* | Rowne | Równe | Ровное | Роўнае | **Roŭnaje** |
| *Ruczai flu.* | Ruczai flu⟨vius⟩ | Łuczesa (rz.) | Лучоса (р.) | Лучоса (р.) | **Lučosa (r.)** |
| *s. boris* | S⟨anctus⟩ Boris | Klasztor św. Borysa i Gleba | Борисоглебский Бельчицкий Монастырь | Бельчыцкі Барысаглебскі Манастыр | **Bieĺčycki Barysahliebski Manastyr** |
| *Sforijdowic* | Sforydowic | Swirydowicze* | Свиридовичи* | Свірыдавічы* | **Svirydavičy*** |
| *Siebiesz* | Siebiesz | Siebież | Себеж | Себеж | **Siebież** |
| *Sienno* | Sienno | Sienno | Сенно | Сянно | **Sianno** |
| *Sitno* | Sitno | Sitno | Ситно | Сітна | **Sitna** |
| *Socolum* | Socolum | Sokół | Сокол | Сокал | **Sokal** |
| *Sorijta* | Soryta | Sorżyca | Сорица | Соржыца | **Soržyca** |
| *ſosna* | Sosna | Szo | Шо | Шо | **Šo** |
| *ſtarosielo* | Starosielo | Stare Sioło | Старое Село | Старое Сяло | **Staroje Sialo** |
| *Strzezewo* | Strzezewo | Stryżewo | Стрижево | Стрыжава | **Stryžava** |
| *Suraſs* | Surass | Suraż | Сураж | Сураж | **Suraž** |
| *Surazicza flu* | Surazicza flu⟨vius⟩ | Kaspla (rz.) | Каспля (р.) | Каспля (р.) | **Kasplia (r.)** |
| *Suſza* | Susza | Susza | Суша | Суша | **Suša** |
| *Swiecʒa flu* | Swiecza flu⟨vius⟩ | Świecza (rz.) | Свеча (р.) | Свяча (р.) | **Sviača (r.)** |
| *Tawicelle* | Tawicelle | Zaweczele | Завечелье | Завячэлле | **Zaviačellie** |
| *Trebiesow* | Trebiesow | Terbiaszowo | Тербешово | Цербяшова | **Cierbiašova** |
| *Turofsal* | Turossal | Turospol | Туросполье | Турасполле | **Turaspollie** |
| *Turowla* | Turowla | Turowla | Туровля | Туроўля | **Turoŭlia** |
| *Vla* | Ula | Ułła | Ула | Ула | **Ula** |
| *Vsacza* | Usacza | Uszacz (rz./m.) | Ушачи (р./м.) | Ушачы (р./м.) | **Ušača (r./m.)** |
| *Vswiaczicza flu* | Uswiaczicza flu⟨vius⟩ | Uświata (rz.) | Усвяча (р.) | Усвяча (р.) | **Usviača (r.)** |
| *Vswiat* | Uswiat | Uświat | Усвяты | Усвяты | **Usviaty** |
| *Vuiesniczko* | Wiesniczko | Wiestnick | Весницк | Весніцк | **Viesnick** |
| *Vuoronec* | Woronec | Woroniecz | Вороничи | Варонічы | **Varoničy** |
| *Vwiata* | Wiata | Wiata | Вята | Вята | **Viata** |
| *Wiczba flu.* | Wiczba flu⟨vius⟩ | Widźba (rz.) | Витьба (р.) | Віцьба (р.) | **Vićba (r.)** |
| *Wieziscze* | Wieziscze | Wiażyszcze | Вяжище | Вяжышча | **Viažyšča** |
| *Witebſcúm* | Witebscum | Witebsk | Витебск | Віцебск | **Viciebsk** |
| *Zabore* | Zabore | Zaborze | Заборье | Забор'е | **Zaborje** |
| *Zerwanicza flu.* | Zerwanicza flu⟨vius⟩ | Czarnogostnica (rz.) | Черногостница (р.) | Чарнагосніца (р.) | **Čarnahosnica (r.)** |

## II. Index of Transliterated Names with Belarusian Transcription

| Translit. n. | Belarusian transcr. n. → description |
| --- | --- |
| *Bereʒe* | **Biarozava** |
| *Berezina flu.* | **Biarezina (r.)** |
| *Bielniaki* | **Bieĺniaki** |
| *Bobonice* | **Babyničy** |
| *Braflauia* | **Braslaŭ** |
| *Budowieʒe* | **Budavičy*** |
| *Crafniki* | **Čašniki** |
| *Czernicza* | **Čarnica (m.)*** |
| *Czernicza flu.* | **Čarnica (r.)** |
| *Czerniewice* | **Čarnievičy** |
| *Cziotcza* | **Ciotča** |
| *Dominiki* | **Domniki** |
| *Druia* | **Druja** |
| *Druia flu.* | **Drujka (r.)** |
| *Drijssa* | **Vierchniadzvinsk** |
| *Drijssa flu.* | **Drysa (r.)** |
| *DVNA FLV.* | **Dzvina (r.)** |
| *Dzisna* | **Dzisna (m.)** |
| *Dzisna flu.* | **Dzisna (r.)** |
| *fl. niscza* | **Nišča (r.)** |
| *Glebokie* | **Hlybokaje** |
| *Hermanowice* | **Hermanavičy** |
| *Holomifla* | **Halomysĺ*** |
| *Holubiez* | **Halubičy** |
| *Horanij* | **Harany** |
| *Horodcú maius* | **Haradok** |
| *Horodcú minus* | **Maly Haradok*** |
| *Iasnij* | **Jazna** |
| *Ikaznia* | **Ikaźń** |
| *kamien* | **Kamień** |
| *kieluta* | **Kaliucina*** |
| *kosian* | **Kaziany** |
| *krasne* | **Krasny*** |
| *Krziwina flu.* | **Kryvinka (r.)** |
| *Lacus obola* | **Obaĺ (voz.)** |
| *Lepel* | **Stary Liepieĺ** |
| *Loswida* | **Losvida** |
| *Lowoze* | **Loŭža** |
| *Lukomla* | **Lukomĺ** |
| *Luzesnia* | **Lužasna** |
| *Mareniecz* | **Maryniec*** |
| *Milkiewice* | **Miĺkavičy** |
| *Niesczierda* | **Nieščarda*** |
| *Obola flu.* | **Obaĺ (r.)** |
| *Oskaczicza flu* | **Čarniaŭka (r.)** |
| *Oskata* | **Voskata** |
| *Ostrowna* | **Astroŭna** |
| *Ozierÿscza* | **Jeziaryšča** |
| *Plifsa* | **Plisa** |
| *Pochost* | **Pahost** |
| *Polockum* | **Polack** |
| *Polota fl.* | **Palata (r.)** |
| *Psina* | **Psuja** |
| *Rowne* | **Roŭnaje** |
| *Ruczai flu.* | **Lučosa (r.)** |
| *s. boris* | **Bieĺčycki Barysahliebski Manastyr** |
| *Sforijdowic* | **Svirydavičy*** |
| *Siebiesz* | **Siebiež** |
| *Sienno* | **Sianno** |
| *Sitno* | **Sitna** |
| *Socolum* | **Sokal** |
| *Sorijta* | **Soržyca** |
| *fosna* | **Šo** |
| *ftarosielo* | **Staroje Sialo** |
| *Strzezewo* | **Stryžava** |
| *Surafs* | **Suraž** |
| *Surazicza flu* | **Kasplia (r.)** |
| *Sufza* | **Suša** |
| *Swiecʒa flu* | **→ Sviača (r.)** |
| *Tawicelle* | **Zaviačellie** |
| *Trebiesow* | **Cierbiašova** |
| *Turofsal* | **Turaspollie** |
| *Turowla* | **Turoŭlia** |
| *Vla* | **Ula** |
| *Vsacza* | **Ušača (r./m.)** |
| *Vswiaczicza flu* | **Usviača (r.)** |
| *Vswiat* | **Usviaty** |
| *Vuiesniczko* | **Viesnick** |
| *Vuoronec* | **Varoničy** |
| *Vwiata* | **Viata** |
| *Wiczba flu.* | **Vićba (r.)** |
| *Wieziscze* | **Viažyšča** |
| *Witebfcúm* | **Viciebsk** |
| *Zabore* | **Zaborje** |
| *Zerwanicza flu.* | **Čarnahosnica (r.)** |

## III. Belarusian–Russian Index

## IV. Belarusian–Polish Index

| Belarusian transcr. n. | Polish n. |
|---|---|
| Astroŭna | Ostrowno |
| Babyničy | Bobynicze |
| Biarezina (r.) | Berezyna (rz.) |
| Biarozava | Berezowo |
| Bieĺčycki Barysahliebski Manastyr | Klasztor śś. Borysa i Gleba |
| Bieĺniaki | Bielniaki |
| Braslaŭ | Brasław |
| Budavičy* | Budowicze* |
| Čarnahosnica (r.) | Czarnogostnica (rz.) |
| Čarniaŭka (r.) | Czerniawka (rz.) |
| Čarnica (m.)* | Czernica (m.)* |
| Čarnica (r.) | Czernica (rz.) |
| Čarnievičy | Czerniewicze |
| Čašniki | Czaśniki |
| Cierbiašova | Terbiaszowo |
| Ciotča | Ciotcza |
| Domniki | Domniki |
| Druja | Druja |
| Drujka (r.) | Drujka (rz.) |
| Drysa (r.) | Dryssa (rz.) |
| Dzisna (m.) | Dzisna (m.) |
| Dzisna (r.) | Dzisna (rz.) |
| Dzvina (r.) | Dźwina (rz.) |
| Halomysĺ* | Hołomyśl* |
| Halubičy | Hołubicze |
| Haradok | Horodek [Wielki] |
| Harany | Horany |
| Hermanavičy | Hermanowicze |
| Hlybokaje | Głębokie |
| Ikazń | Ikaźń |
| Jazna | Jazno |
| Jeziaryšča | Jezieryszcze |
| Kaliucina* | Kolucino* |
| Kamień | Kamień |
| Kasplia (r.) | Kaspla (rz.) |
| Kaziany | Koziany |
| Krasny* | Krasne* |
| Kryvinka (r.) | Krywina (rz.) |
| Losvida | Łoswido |
| Loŭža | Łowoż |
| Lučosa (r.) | Łuczesa (rz.) |
| Lukomĺ | Łukoml |
| Lužasna | Łużasna |
| Maly Haradok* | Horodek Mały* |
| Maryniec* | Maryniec* |
| Miĺkavičy | Milkowicze |
| Nieščarda* | Nieszczerda* |
| Nišča (r.) | Niszcza (rz.) |
| Obaĺ (r.) | Obol (rz.) |
| Obaĺ (voz.) | Obol (jez.) |
| Pahost | Pohost |
| Palata (r.) | Połota (rz.) |
| Plisa | Plisa |
| Polack | Połock |
| Psuja | Psuja |
| Roŭnaje | Równe |
| Sianno | Sienno |
| Siebiež | Siebież |
| Sitna | Sitno |
| Šo | Szo |
| Sokal | Sokół |
| Soržyca | Soržyca |
| Staroje Sialo | Stare Sioło |
| Stary Liepieĺ | Lepel |
| Stryžava | Stryżewo |
| Suraž | Suraż |
| Suša | Susza |
| Sviača (r.) | Świecza (rz.) |
| Svirydavičy* | Swirydowicze* |
| Turaspollie | Turospol |
| Turoŭlia | Turowla |
| Ula | Ułła |
| Ušača (r./m.) | Uszacz (rz./m.) |
| Usviaty | Uświat |
| Usviača (r.) | Uświata (rz.) |
| Varoničy | Woroniecz |
| Viata | Wiata |
| Viažyšča | Wiażyszcze |
| Viciebsk | Witebsk |
| Vićba (r.) | Widźba (rz.) |
| Vierchniadzvinsk | Dryssa (m.) |
| Viesnick | Wiestnick |
| Voskata | Oskato |
| Zaborje | Zaborze |
| Zaviačellie | Zaweczele |

### v. Description

**Astroŭna**—a town about 25 km southwest of → **Vitebsk**, with a castle founded by the Voivode of Vitebsk, Ivan Sapieha in the 1520s. 27 Б

**Babyničy**—a settlement on Lake Bobyno, about 40 km southwest of Polatsk. 15 Г

**Biarezina (r.)**—a right tributary of the Dnieper River (length: 613 km), springs near Dokšyca, about 115 km southwest of Polatsk, outlet north of the town of Rečyca.

**Biarozava**—a settlement on the western shore of Lake Berezovo (Biarozaŭskaje), about 40 km south of Polatsk. 25 Б

**Bieĺčycki Barysahliebski Manastyr**—the now non-existent male monastery of Sts Boris and Gleb in Bieĺčycy on the left bank of the Daugava River, currently part of the city of Polatsk. Founded at the beginning of the 12th century by the Prince of Polatsk Boris-Rogvolod Vseslavich, it was one of the most important fortified places on the southern flank of the capital of the principality. In February 1563, Ivan the Terrible stayed there with his troops.

**Bieĺniaki**—a settlement on the River Usviejka, a right tributary of the River Ula, about 90 km southwest of → **Vitebsk**. 33 A

**Braslaŭ**—a town and castle on Lake Dryviaty, on the Livonian route, about 120 km northwest of Polatsk and less than 50 km southeast of Dyneburg (Daugavpils). 13 A

**Budavičy***—a settlement which no longer exists, on the River Budaviesć, flowing out of Lake Lobaž and flowing into the River Obol (→ **Obaĺ**) west of today's Spaskaje village.

**Čarnahosnica (r.)**—corresponds most probably to the river marked on the map by Pachołowiecki as *Zerwanicza*, a left tributary of the Daugava River, into which it flows in the village of → **Viažyšča.**

**Čarniaŭka (r.)**—marked on the map of Pachołowiecki as *Oskaczicza* (Skacica), a left tributary of the Obol River (→ **Obaĺ**). It flows out of Lake Čarnova and flows into the Obol River in the village of Skatica.

**Čarnica (town)***—a settlement which no longer exists, on the river of the same name, a right tributary of the River Budaviesć. 18 В

**Čarnica (r.)**—Černica, a left tributary of the → **Biarezina**, into which it flows near the village of Bierazino, about 90 km southwest of Polatsk.

**Čarnievičy**—a settlement on the River Auta (Avuta), a right tributary of the → **Dzisna (r.)**, about 50 km southwest of Polatsk. 15 В

**Čašniki**—a town and castle on the River Ula, about 80 km southwest of → **Vitebsk**. In the vicinity of this town, two important battles of the Livonian War connected

with the attempts to retake Polatsk from Muscovy were fought: on 26 January 1564 the Lithuanian army of Hetmans Mikołaj "the Red" Radziwiłł and Grzegorz Chodkiewicz defeated the armies of Princes Vasil Serebryany-Obolensky and Piotr Szujski, while on 20 July 1567 the Braclaw Voivode Roman Sanguszko defeated the Muscovite army under the command of Prince Piotr Serebryany. 26 В

**Cierbiašova**—a settlement on the right bank of the Daugava River, about 30 km west of → **Vitebsk**. 27 Б

**Ciotča**—a castle between Lake Ciotča (or Paŭĺskaje) and Lake Biarozaŭskaje, about 40 km southeast of Polatsk. The castle was conquered and destroyed by the Lithuanian army in December 1569; later, it was rebuilt at Lake Ciotča in a place from which the route to Moscow could be seen. Krasne Castle (→ **Krasny***) was located nearby. 16 Г

**Domniki**—a settlement about 30 km east of Polatsk, on the right bank of the River Sosnica. 17 A

**Druja**—a defensive village with a wooden castle at the outlet of the River → **Drujka** into the Daugava, about 100 km northwest of Polatsk. 5 Г

**Drujka (r.)**—a left tributary of the Daugava River (length: 52 km), flows out of Lake Dryviaty, outlet in → **Druja** village.

**Drysa (r.)**—a right tributary of the Daugava River (length: 183 km) flowing out of Lake Drysy, outlet in the northern part of today's → **Vierchniadzvinsk**.

**Dzisna (town)**—a town at the outlet of the river of the same name into the Daugava River, about 40 km northwest of Polatsk. After the loss of Polatsk in 1563, Sigismund II Augustus built a castle on an island in the middle of the Daugava River, later fortified by Stephen Báthory. On 4 August 1579, Báthory received tribute from the Duke of Courland Gotthard Kettler, and a day later the Polish-Lithuanian army, having forded the River Daugava, moved to Polatsk. 15 A

**Dzisna (r.)**—a left tributary of the Daugava River (length: 178 km), flows out of Lake Dzisna (Dysnai) in Lithuania, outlet in the village of → **Dzisna (town).**

**Dzvina (r.)**—the Daugava, the main navigable river of the Polatsk region and Livonia (length: 1020 km), flows through Vitebsk, Polatsk, Dyneburg, and Riga, among others; the source is in the Valdai Hills in Russia, and it empties into the Baltic Sea in Riga.

**Halomysĺ***—the village of this name could not be identified in the area where it is placed by Pachołowiecki, i.e. on the left bank of the Daugava River to the west/southwest of → **Suraž**. The village of Halomysla (Russian: Holomysl', Polish: Hołomyśl) exists but is located on the River

→ **Dzisna**, about 10 km southwest of its outlet into the Daugava River.

**Halubičy**—a settlement about 20 km east of the town of → **Hlybokaje** and about 90 km southwest of Polatsk. 23 Б

**Haradok**—a town about 30 km north of → **Vitebsk** on River Usysa, a border fortress of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with a fortified castle. 18 Г

**Harany**—a settlement near the outlet of the River → **Obaĺ** to Daugava, about 17 km southeast of Polatsk. 17 В

**Hermanavičy**—a settlement on the River → **Dzisna**, less than 80 km west of Polatsk. 14 Г

**Hlybokaje**—a town on Lake Vialikaje, about 85 km southwest of Polatsk, founded in 1414 along the route from Vilnius, ravaged and occupied in 1563 by Muscovite troops, retaken by Báthory during his march on Polatsk. 23 А

**Ikazń**—a settlement on the lake of the same name, 15 km east of → **Braslaŭ**.13 Б

**Jazna**—a settlement between Lakes Maloje Jazna and Vialikaje Jazna, less than 50 km west of Polatsk. 15 В

**Jeziaryšča**—Ezerishche, also known as Ozieryszcze, a border stronghold of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania about 80 km north of → **Vitebsk**, on the lake of the same name, captured in November 1564 by the army of Ivan the Terrible, recovered by Báthory in the autumn of 1580. 10 Г

**Kaliucina***—marked on the map of Pachołowiecki as *kieluta*, probably corresponds to the today non-existent settlement about 50 km north of Polatsk. Listed in the 1572 register of tsarist land endowments (*pomeste*) as "пустошь Калютино" in the Nieščarda volost' (see *Иван Грозный—завоеватель Полоцка*, p. 85).

**Kamień**—a settlement about 55 km south of Polatsk. 25 Б

**Kasplia (r.)**—marked on the map as *Surazicza*, a left tributary of the Daugava River (length: 136 km), flows out of the Kasplia Lake in Russia, outlet in → **Suraž**.

**Kaziany**—Koziany, a castle on the River → **Obaĺ**, about 60 km northwest of Polatsk. Its remains are located in the bend of the river north of the Krasnomaj hamlet, it was built in 1563 by Ivan the Terrible and conquered by Lithuanian Cossacks led by Hetman Krzysztof Radziwiłł on 23 July 1579. 18 А

**Krasny***—Krasne, a castle about 40 km southeast of Polatsk, built in 1564 by order of Sigismund II August, but soon conquered by the Muscovite army. On 31 July 1579, the stronghold was captured by Lithuanian Cossacks under the command of Franciszek Żuk, but a day later it was recovered and burnt down by the Muscovite crew of → **Suša** Castle, who were called for help. The location of the stronghold is as yet undetermined; it could be founded on the shores of Lake Biarozaŭskaje near the village of Krasnaje, on the territory of the village

of → **Ciotča**, or north of the village of Krasnaja Horka between Lakes Pliesna and Astravita. 16 Г, 25 Б

**Kryvinka (r.)**—a left tributary of the Daugava River (length: 34 km), flows out of Bagdanaŭskaje Lake, the outlet in the village of Chmiaĺnik near Biešankovičy, about 50 km southwest of → **Vitebsk**.

**Losvida**—a settlement (today Vialikaje Losvida) on the lake of the same name, about 30 km north of → **Vitebsk**. 18 Г

**Loŭža**—a settlement on the lake of the same name (part of today's Pabieda village), halfway between → **Vitebsk** and Polatsk. 17 Г

**Lučosa (r.)**—marked on Pachołowiecki's map as *Ruczai*, a left tributary of the Daugava River (length: 90 km), flows out of Lake Zielianskoje, outlet on the southern periphery of today's → **Vitebsk**.

**Lukomĺ**—a settlement on Lake Lukomskaje about 100 km south of Polatsk, 20 km from → **Čašniki**. A border castle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, existed from the 14th century, destroyed in 1563 by Muscovite troops. 32 Б

**Lužasna**—a defensive settlement on the right bank of the Daugava River, about 10 km north of → **Vitebsk**. 19 В

**Maly Haradok***—a settlement near → **Haradok**, which does not exist today, first mentioned on the map by Pachołowiecki.

**Maryniec***—a settlement which does not exist today on the stream of the same name, a right tributary of the River → **Obaĺ**, outlet in the village of Tupičyna.

**Miĺkavičy**—a settlement on the left bank of the Daugava River, about 50 km southwest of → **Vitebsk**. 27 А

**Nieščarda***—a stronghold which does not exist today, probably located on the southern shore of Lake Nieščarda about 50 km north of Polatsk, erected around 1563 by Ivan the Terrible and conquered on 13 December 1579 by Mikołaj Dorohostajski.

**Nišča (r.)**—a right tributary of the → **Drysa**, 85 km long, flows out of Lake Nišča about 80 km north of Polatsk. At its outlet, to the west of the village of Kuĺnieva, Sokol Castle (→ **Sokol**) was built.

**Obaĺ (r.)**—one of the longest right tributaries of the Daugava River (at 148 km), flows out of Lake Jeziaryšča and joins the Daugava below today's village of Novyja Harany.

**Obaĺ (l.)**—a lake formed by the river of the same name in its upper course, about 70 km northeast of Polatsk. 18 А

**Pahost**—a settlement (today's Novy Pahost) about 40 km southeast of → **Braslaŭ**. 13 Б

**Palata (r.)**—a right tributary of the Daugava River (length: 93 km), flows out of Lake Kolpino in Russia, outlet in Polatsk.

**Plisa**—a settlement by the lake of the same name, about 70 km southwest of Polatsk. 14 Г

**Polack**—Polatsk, a city at the outlet of the Palata into the Daugava, one of the oldest centres of Kyivan Rus'. The first known ruler of Polatsk was Rogvolod, who in the second half of the 10th century managed to become independent from the Kyivan Rurikids and Novgorod princes for a short time. Around 977–978, it was annexed to Rus' by Vladimir the Great. Then, around 988, it was handed over to Vladimir's son, Izyaslav (d. 1001), the founder of the Rurikid dynasty of Polatsk (Izyaslavichi). This dynasty died out in the 13th century. In 1392, the principality was incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in 1504 the Polatsk voivodeship was established. The principality was later "reactivated" by Ivan the Terrible, who after conquering the city on 15 February 1563 assumed the title of the prince of Polatsk. When Stephen Báthory recovered Polatsk, the city became one of the most important political, economic, religious, and cultural centres of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The map of the Principality of Polatsk, and in particular the Latin "biography" of Polatsk, was part of a vast propaganda campaign, aimed at justifying the Polatsk campaign with the rights of the grand dukes of Lithuania to the former principality. [16 АБВГ]

**Psuja**—a settlement by the lake of the same name, about 60 km southwest of Polatsk. [24 А]

**Roŭnaje**—a settlement about 50 km east of Polatsk, between Lakes Kanaplianka and Tennica. [17 Г]

**Sianno**—a town on the lake of the same name, about 60 km southwest of → **Vitebsk**, destroyed by Muscovite troops during the Lithuanian–Russian war in 1534–1537, then rebuilt and fortified. [27 В]

**Siebież**—a stronghold on Lake Siebiežskoje, built in 1535 by the Muscovites to defend the route from Pskov to Polatsk, captured by Báthory's army in 1579 and returned to Muscovy by virtue of the truce in Yam Zapolski (1582). Today in the Pskov Oblast in the Russian Federation.

**Sitna**—a castle built by Ivan the Terrible around 1566 on Lake Izmak, in a bend of the → **Palata**, which flows out of it, in the area of today's Maloje Sitna village about 60 km northeast of Polatsk. It was captured and burned by Báthory's army on 4 August 1579. [17 Б]

**Šo**—formerly Šoša, a settlement by the lake of the same name. [24 А]

**Sokol**—a stronghold at the outlet of the → **Nišča** River into the → **Drysa**; its remains are located to the west of today's village of Kuĺnieva. Built in 1566 by Ivan the Terrible, it was captured and burned on 2 September 1579 by Polish-Lithuanian troops under the command of Mikołaj Mielecki. [7 Г]

**Soržyca**—a settlement on Lake Astrovienskaje connected to Lake Soro, about 40 km southwest of → **Vitebsk**. [27 А]

**Staroje Sialo**—a settlement on the right bank of the Daugava River, about 23 km west of → **Vitebsk**. [27 Б]

**Stary Liepieĺ**—formerly Lepel, a town 70 km south of Polatsk, on Lake LiepieĹskaje. In 1558–1563, a castle was built on the island on the lake, which was captured and burned in 1563 by the Muscovite army, soon afterwards it was taken over by Mikołaj "the Red" Radziwiłł. [25 В]

**Stryžava**—a settlement on Lake Slabadskoje and the River → **Sviača**, which flows through it, about 60 km west of → **Vitebsk** and 18 km south of the town of → **Ula**. The cartographer or engraver placed the toponym incorrectly at the left instead of the right tributary of the River Ula, where a village without a name was engraved. [26 Б]

**Suraž**—a town at the outlet of the → **Kasplia** River to Daugava, about 40 km northeast of → **Vitebsk**, with a wooden castle built by order of Sigismund II August in 1563 by Vitebsk Voivode Stefan Zbaraski. [20 В]

**Suša**—a castle on the isthmus that separates Lake Ciemienica from Lake Astraŭki, between the present villages of Suša and Dvor Suša, around 50 km southeast from Polatsk, built in 1566 by Prince Yuri Tokmanov by order of Ivan the Terrible. The stronghold surrendered to the Polish army no sooner than on 6 October 1579. [25 Б]

**Sviača (r.)**—a right tributary of the Ula River, which flows near the village of Dybali, about 60 km southeast of Polatsk.

**Svirydavičy***—a settlement which no longer exists today, near the town of → **Jeziaryšča**. Listed in the 1572 register of tsarist land endowments (*pomeste*) as "пустошь что было село Сваридовичи на рѣкѣ на Сваридовке" in the Jeziaryšča volosť (see *Иван Грозный—завоеватель Полоцка*, pp. 106–107).

**Turaspollie**—a settlement west of Lake Kryvoje, about 50 km south of Polatsk. [25 Б]

**Turoŭlia**—a stronghold which no longer exists today, located at the outlet of the River Turoŭlianka to the Daugava, about 20 km southeast of Polatsk (today's Haradzišča), built by Ivan the Terrible in 1566, taken without a fight on 4 September 1579 by the Polish-Lithuanian army under the command of Konstantin Łukomski and Marcin Kurcz. [16 Г]

**Ula**—a town at the outlet of the river of the same name to the Daugava, about 50 km southeast of Polatsk. After the fall of Polatsk in 1563, Sigismund II Augustus began building a castle on the peninsula between Ula and Daugava. Soon, the town fell into the hands of Ivan the Terrible, who around 1566 built a wood-and-earth fortress there, which was later captured by Lithuanian Field Hetman Roman Sanguszko in September 1568. The fortress, reinforced in 1580 by Báthory's order, did not survive to our times: it burned down during the Polish—Russian war in 1654. [17 В]

## VI. Synoptic Table

| Transcribed Belarussian n. (→ description) | Witness A: PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (1580) | Witness B: SULIMOWSKI MAP (1580) | Witness C: STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (1589) | Witness D: MERCATOR, *Lithuania* (1595) | Witness E: RADZIWIŁŁ MAP (1613) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Astroŭna** | Ostrowna | – | – | – | – |
| **Babyničy** | Bobonice | Bobenice | – | Bobenicz | Bohomecz |
| **Biarezina (r.)** | Berezina flu. | fl. Berezina | – | Bereznia fl. | Berezina fl. |
| **Biarozava** | Bereӡe | Breza | – | – | – |
| **BieĺČycki Barysahliebski Manastyr** | s. boris | – | – | – | – |
| **Bieĺniaki** | Bielniaki | Bielmaki | – | Bielmaki | – |
| **Braslaŭ** | Braſlauia | – | Braczlaw | Bracziaw | Braſlaw |
| **Budavičy\*** | Budowieӡe | – | – | Budowice | Budowieſʒ fl. |
| **Čarnahosnica (r.)** | Zerwanicza flu. | fl. zerwianica | – | – | – |
| **Čarniaŭka (r.)** | Oskaczicza flu | fl. oskacica | – | Oſkata fl. | Oſkatczyca fl. |
| **Čarnica (m.)\*** | Czernicza | Cernita | Czernica | Czernica | – |
| **Čarnica (r.)** | Czernicza flu. | fl. Cernita | – | – | – |
| **Čarnievičy** | Czerniewice | – | – | – | – |
| **Čašniki** | Craſniki | Czaſniki | Czaſniki | Czaſniki | Czaſſniki |
| **Cierbiašova** | Trebiesow | – | – | – | – |
| **Ciotča** | Cziotcza | Ciotca | – | – | Ciotcza |
| **Domniki** | Dominiki | – | – | – | – |
| **Druja** | Druia | Druga | Druia | Druia | Druia |
| **Drujka (r.)** | Druia flu. | fl. Driria | – | – | – |
| **Drysa (r.)** | Drijssa flu. | fl. Drisia, FL. DRISA | – | Driſſa fl. | Driſſa fl. |
| **Dzisna (m.)** | Dzisna | Dzisna | Dziſna | Dziſna | Dzieſna |
| **Dzisna (r.)** | Dzisna flu. | fl. Dzisna | – | Dziſna fl. | Dzieſna fl. |
| **Dzvina (r.)** | DVNA FLV. | flu. DVNA | Duna flu. | Duna fl. | Duna vel Dzwina fl. Ptol. Rubon |
| **Halomysĺ\*** | Holomiſla | – | – | – | – |
| **Halubičy** | Holubiez | Holubici | – | Holubicze | – |
| **Haradok** | Horodcú maius | Horodek wietsi | – | – | Horodek |
| **Harany** | Horanij | Horanay | – | – | – |
| **Hermanavičy** | Hermanowice | Hermanowici | – | – | – |
| **Hlybokaje** | Glebokie | Hluboky | Hluboki | Hiuboki | Hlubokie |
| **Ikazń** | Ikaznia | Skaznia | Ikaznia | Fkaznia | Ikaznia |
| **Jazna** | Iasnij | – | – | – | – |
| **Jeziaryšča** | Ozierÿscza | OZIERISCZI | – | Oczerciſce | Ozierzyſſcia |
| **Kamień** | kamien | – | – | – | – |
| **Kaliucina\*** | kieluta | kalinta | – | – | – |
| **Kasplia (r.)** | Surazicza flu | fl. Casplia | – | Kaſpla fl. | Caſpla fl. |
| **Kaziany** | kosian | Kozian | Koziana | Koziana | Kosian |
| **Krasny\*** | krasne | trasne | Kraſne | Kraſne | – |
| **Kryvinka (r.)** | Krziwina flu. | fl. krziwina | – | Krziwina fl. | Krzywina fl. |
| **Losvida** | Loswida | Lostwida | – | – | – |
| **Loŭža** | Lowoze | – | – | – | – |
| **Lučosa (r.)** | Ruczai flu. | – | – | Lucioſſa fl. Roſſa fl. | Luczoſa fl. |
| **Lukomĺ** | Lukomla | Lukoml | Lucomlia | Lucomlia | Lukomla |

(*cont.*)

| Transcribed Belarussian n. (→ description) | Witness A: PACHOŁOWIECKI, *Ducatus* (1580) | Witness B: SULIMOWSKI MAP (1580) | Witness C: STRUBICZ, *Lithuania* (1589) | Witness D: MERCATOR, *Lithuania* (1595) | Witness E: RADZIWIŁŁ MAP (1613) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Lužasna** | Luzesnia | Luzesna | – | – | – |
| **Maly Haradok*** | Horodcú minus | Horodzicz | – | – | – |
| **Maryniec*** | Mareniecz | – | – | – | – |
| **Miĺkavičy** | Milkiewice | Vilkiewni | – | – | – |
| **Nieščarda*** | Niesczierda | Niescerda | Niſcierd | Niſcierda | Nießczerda |
| **Nišča (r.)** | fl. niscza | Nisca | – | – | – |
| **Obaĺ (r.)** | Obola flu. | – | – | Obolia fl. | Obola fl. |
| **Obaĺ (voz.)** | Lacus obola | Obolia | – | Obolia lac. | Obola lac. |
| **Pahost** | Pochost | Pohist | – | – | Pohost |
| **Palata (r.)** | Polota fl. | fl. Polotha | – | Polota fl. | Polota fl. |
| **Plisa** | Pliſsa | Plisa | Plißa | Plißa | Plißa |
| **Polack** | Polockum | POLOCKO | Poloczko | Poloczko | Poloczk |
| **Psuja** | Psina | Psnia | – | Pſuia | Pſuia |
| **Roŭnaje** | Rowne | – | – | – | – |
| **Sianno** | Sienno | – | Sienno | Sienno | Sienno |
| **Siebiež** | Siebiesz | SIEBIES | Siebis | Siebis | – |
| **Sitna** | Sitno | Stino | Scitno | Schitno | Sitno |
| **Šo** | ſosna | Sossa | Soßa | Soßa | – |
| **Sokal** | Socolum | Sokol | Sokol | Sokol | Sokol |
| **Soržyca** | Sorijta | – | – | – | – |
| **Staroje Sialo** | ſtarosielo | – | – | – | – |
| **Stary Liepieĺ** | Lepel | Lapel | Lepel | Lepel | Lepel |
| **Stryžava** | Strzezewo | – | – | – | – |
| **Suraž** | Suraſs | Suras | Suras | Suras | Suraß |
| **Suša** | Suſza | Sussa | – | Saßa | Sußa |
| **Sviača (r.)** | Swiecȝa flu | fl. swieca | – | Swiecza fl. | – |
| **Svirydavičy*** | Sforijdowic | sforydowicz | Scidowicz | Swidowicz | – |
| **Turaspollie** | Turoſsal | turosa | – | – | – |
| **Turoŭlia** | Turowla | Turovlia | Turowla | Turowla | Turowla |
| **Ula** | Vla | Ula | – | Vla | Vla |
| **Ušača (r./m.)** | Vsacza | Uſsaca | – | Uſacza | Vſzacza fl. |
| **Usviaty** | Vswiat | uswiath | – | Uſwiat | Vswiach |
| **Usviača (r.)** | Vswiaczicza flu | fl. Vſwiacica | – | Uſwiatcicza fl. | Viwiatczyca |
| **Varoničy** | Vuoronec | – | – | Woronocz | Woromecz |
| **Viata** | Vwiata | Uwiata | – | Vmiata | – |
| **Viažyšča** | Wieziscze | – | Wiezíſcza | Wiſcíſcza | – |
| **Viciebsk** | Witebſcúm | WITEPSCO | Witepſk | Witepſk | Witepſk |
| **Vićba (r.)** | Wiczba flu. | – | – | Witepka fl. | Widzba fl. |
| **Vierchniadzvinsk** | Drijssa | Drisa | Drißa | Drißa | Dryſsa |
| **Viesnick** | Vuiesniczko | Wiesniczko | – | – | – |
| **Voskata** | Oskata | oskata | Oſkata | Oſkata | Oſkata |
| **Zaborje** | Zabore | – | – | – | – |
| **Zaviačellie** | Tawicelle | zarricele | – | – | – |

# Index of Place Names

# Index of Personal Names

The index does not include Stanislaw Pachołowiecki's name.

This volume is a comprehensive analysis of the *Atlas of the Principality of Polatsk* (1580), one of the oldest cartographic representations of the military conflict between Russia (Muscovy) and the Western world.

Its author, the Polish royal cartographer Stanisław Pachołowiecki, drew the maps at the beginning of the Livonian War (1579–1582) when the Polish-Lithuanian army liberated the Lithuanian and Livonian lands from Muscovian occupation. *The Mapping of a Russian War* focuses on the military aspects of the maps, their political and propaganda use, and the Early Modern construction of the past through maps.

The authors present an innovative approach to these maps, rarely examined by the international research community.

**JAKUB NIEDŹWIEDŹ**, Ph.D. (2001), Jagiellonian University (Poland), is Professor of Early Modern Literature at the Jagiellonian University. He published monographs and papers about history of literature and cartography, including *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Vilnius* (Brepols, 2023).

**KAROL ŁOPATECKI**, Ph.D. (2011), Białystok University (Poland), is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Białystok. He is the author of numerous books and papers devoted to history of cartography and military history, including two monographs about the early modern *disciplina militaris* (in Polish; 2012 and 2013).

**GRZEGORZ FRANCZAK**, Ph.D. (2005), Ca' Foscari University of Venice (Italy), is Professor of Polish Literature at the University of Milan (Italy). His research focuses on early modern literature, cartography, and Holocaust studies. He published, a.o., an edition of a 16th-century account about Ivan IV the Terrible (2016).