

LIBRI GEDANENSES XXXIX, 2022, pp. 39–61

doi: 10.24425/libriged.2022.145668

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

JAN VOJTIŠEK*

ORCID: 0000-0001-9083-7506

BOHEMIA IN “THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM”: A STUDY OF ORTELIUS’S METHOD OF WORK¹

Abstract. The study analyses the notes written on the map of Bohemia and two Latin versions of the description of Bohemia in the first modern atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius. It examines the method of Ortelius’s work with cartographic material and his approach to the composition of the descriptive texts on the reverse sides, which he himself considered to be the main contribution of his atlas. The success of the atlas with its series of editions demonstrates the importance of the texts in their impact on the basic knowledge of regions and countries in early modern European society. The analysis of the two Latin versions of the description of Bohemia also proves Ortelius’s endeavor to update the information.

The map of Bohemia, published by Johann Criginger in 1568, was supplemented by Ortelius in his atlas with notes on some Czech towns and places, which he took from Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia*. In the first Latin description of Bohemia, the author based his work primarily on *Historia Bohemica* by Annaeus Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), and in the second version, which appears in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* from the 1574 Latin edition, he takes the text from the recent *Historiae Regni Boiemiae* by Jan Dubravius. The annexes provide transcriptions of both of Ortelius’s versions of the characteristics of Bohemia.

Key words: Abraham Ortelius, historical cartography, atlases, Johann Criginger, Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II), Ioannes Dubravius, historiography

* Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, National Library of the Czech Republic, Clementinum 190, 110 00 Prague 1; e-mail: jan.vojtisek@nkp.cz

¹ This study was made possible by the institutional support of the long-term development of the National Library of the Czech Republic as a research organisation, provided by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic.

Published by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) (ill. 1) in Antwerp in 1570, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* is a ground-breaking work of the history of cartography: it is the first atlas in the modern sense.² This atlas had an immediate and immense success that resulted in 35 editions in different languages (13 Latin, 5 German, 5 French, 5 Spanish, 4 Dutch, 2 Italian, and 1 English).³ For example, in the historical collections of the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague and the PAS Gdańsk Library, Ortelius's work is preserved in various copies.⁴ Ortelius thus achieved a substantial economic income when prior to its edition he ensured a ten-year monopoly to make and sell the atlas (in a general sense).⁵ When this monopoly elapsed, further atlases made by Ortelius's competitors (Gerhard de Jode) and friends (Gerhard Mercator) emerged in the Low Countries, but all of them bear the principal scheme initially laid down by Ortelius.⁶

In addition to the general world as well as the individual state maps and territories of continents, this scheme also includes another inseparable and crucial aspect: the accompanying texts printed on the versos of the maps with the basic characteristics of the depicted territories. In his introduction for the atlas, the author espe-

² Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas. Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of His Death, 1598–1998, ed. M.P.R. van den Broecke, P. van der Krogt, P. Meurer, 't Goy-Houten 1998 (particularly P. van der Krogt, The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum: The First Atlas?*, pp. 55–78); R.W. Karrow et al., *Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). Cartographe et humaniste*, Turnhout 1998; popularised by P. Binding, *Imagined Corners. Exploring the World's First Atlas*, London 2003; on the life of Ortelius primarily M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). Life, Works, Sources and Friends*, Bilthoven 2015.

³ M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570–1641). Characteristics and development of a sample of on verso map texts*, Utrecht 2009, p. 15. For the individual editions Koeman's *Atlantes Neerlandici III: Ortelius's Theatrum orbis terrarum, De Jode's Speculum orbis terrarum, the Epitome, Caert-Thresoor and Atlas minor. The atlases of the XVII Provinces, and other atlases published in the Low Countries up to c. 1650*, ed. P. van der Krogt, 't Goy-Houten 2003, and M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps. An Illustrated Guide*, Houten 2011. From the Polish scientific literature on Abraham Ortelius and his atlas, the publication *Od atlasu do kolekcji. W 440. rocznicą I wydania atlasu Abrahama Orteliusa*, red. J. Ostrowski, R. Skrycki, „Z dziejów kartografii“ 16, Szczecin 2011, namely the studies of K. Kozica, *Abraham Ortelius i jego atlas Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, pp. 29–46, and D. Lorek, *Zakres informacji geograficznej i nazewniczej o obszarze Wielkopolski w atlasie Orteliusa*, pp. 77–86.

⁴ National Library of the Czech Republic (Národní knihovna České republiky) in Prague holds in total 11 Ortelius's atlases, of which seven are Latin editions, i.e. the editions from 1570C, shelf-mark: 19 A 99, 1575, shelf-mark: 19 A 18, 1579, shelf-mark: 19 A 955, 1579², shelf-mark: Sa 245, 1592, shelf-mark: 19 ZZ 24, 1595, shelf-mark: 19 ZZ 25, and 1603, shelf-mark: 19 ZZ 29, two German editions, i.e. the editions from 1572, shelf-mark: 19 A 16, and 1573, shelf-mark: B I 40, and two Italian editions, i.e. the editions from 1655, shelf-mark: 19 K 78, and 1684, shelf-mark: 19 H 153. PAS Gdańsk Library (PAN Biblioteka Gdańskia) holds two German editions from 1580, shelf-mark: B III 77, and from 1602, shelf-mark: B III 76, one Latin edition from 1612, shelf-mark: B IV 13, and a composite atlas containing mainly maps of European countries from 1586–1624, shelf-mark: B II 78.

⁵ M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Terrarum...*, pp. 223–224.

⁶ Ibidem, pp. 223–268.

cially emphasises these texts. He thinks about human education in general, regarding as the most important the knowledge of history, the 'queen of erudition', which in his mind concerns everyone (because, in his view, what else is the human life than history).⁷ This also defines his reason behind the compilation and the true sense of his atlas. Ortelius sees geography as an auxiliary science of history. He calls it the 'eye of history' that facilitates its better understanding.⁸ This Flemish cartographer primarily conceived his atlas as a work providing the reader with the basic perspective and information about a certain territory, helping him to obtain a better orientation in the given area when studying its historical or contemporary events.

Ortelius approached his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* as a scientific manual, to which corresponds a very important feature of this work, the strictly observed citations of used sources. By carefully listing all the sources he used for his work, Ortelius introduced himself into the developing stream of humanistic scientific literature.⁹ We can also observe these indications of sources for possible further instruction of the reader, for example, in Renaissance military treatises.¹⁰ While Ortelius primarily took over the maps from other cartographers, whose list entitled *Catalogus auctorum tabularum geographicarum* he inserted in the atlas after his introductory word,¹¹ he was mostly dedicated to the accompanying texts that were written exclusively by him.¹² At the end of each, he not only attached the primary source he drew information from, or directly took over the text with some adjustments, but also added a bibliography about the given country. These references point to the broad horizons of Ortelius as well as the immense size of his library, which at that time ranked among the largest private collections of their kind.¹³

Nonetheless, it must be pointed out that the above-mentioned information is also applicable for the Latin editions of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. The texts in editions published in vernacular languages (though not in all of them) differ from those in the Latin editions since Ortelius was aware of the different audiences for his non-Latin atlases. While the Latin editions were directed to educated readers and scholars, the vernacular ones were intended for travelling traders and other non-

⁷ Ibidem, p. 21.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 20.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 185.

¹⁰ K. Łopatecki, *Military Works of Albert of Hohenzollern. Comments on the Three Manuscripts Attributed to Albert of Hohenzollern in the Years 2009–2014*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce“ 61 (2017) Special Issue, pp. 245–273; J. Nowakowa, *Księcia Albrechta Księgi o rycerskich rzeczach a sprawach wojennych w tłumaczeniu Macieja Strubicza z 1561 r.*, „*Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*“ 28 (1985), pp. 71–87.

¹¹ On the cartographers and maps use by Ortelius in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* P. H. Meurer, *Fuentes cartographici Orteliani: Das 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum' von Abraham Ortelius und seine Kartenquellen*, Weinheim 1991; R. J. Karrow, jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and their Maps: Bio-bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570*, Chicago 1993.

¹² M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum...*, pp. 30–31.

¹³ Ibidem, pp. 187–188; T.L. Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)*, Boston 2017.

-classically formed readers. Ortelius prepared texts for them that were deprived of classical authors' citations but enriched by interesting information related to the depicted country.¹⁴ Each map included in the Latin and vernacular editions of Ortelius's atlas has at least two versions, the expert one and the popular one.¹⁵ With a hyperbole, it can be stated that Ortelius was the first populariser of science.

Thus, this clearly shows the importance of the accompanying texts in Ortelius's atlas, although not just in it alone, but also in other atlases of early modern times. Although these texts along with compendia describing the world and its parts, where Münster's *Cosmographia*¹⁶ takes the primary position, provided the principal sources of geographic as well as historical knowledge of specific areas to the intellectual classes of European society, accompanying texts in the 16th and 17th century atlases and the study of geography and culture of early modern higher classes have hitherto been ignored by historical geography and cartography, let alone the cultural history.

The only scientist who has researched the accompanying texts on the maps in detail is the Dutch historical cartographer Marcel van den Broecke who in his dissertation thesis analysed the accompanying texts for ten maps written by Ortelius for his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.¹⁷ Otherwise, the study of these texts is in its infancy. In her diploma thesis, Lucie Brachtlová from the Department of Geography of the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the Masaryk University in Brno dealt with the maps of the former kingdom of the Bohemian crown (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia) in Ortelius's atlas, yet she primarily conducted a cartometric analysis of the maps.¹⁸ Brachtlová included the accompanying texts in her work as well, but since her research was mostly focused on the cartometric method applied on Ortelius's maps, she only presented and translated the texts (from Van den Broeck's English translation) as part of the basic characteristic without any closer analysis.¹⁹

The basic aim of the presented study is the analysis of Ortelius's use of the map of Bohemia by Johann Criginger in his atlas (it was used in all the editions of Ortelius's atlas), especially from the perspective of text notes introduced to the map and the analysis of the accompanying Latin text that the Flemish cartographer

¹⁴ M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum...*, pp. 132–135.

¹⁵ Often more versions exist because Ortelius adjusted and updated them in various Latin editions, *ibidem*, pp. 120–121. As shown later, this also applies to the accompanying text for the map of Bohemia.

¹⁶ S. Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis Lib. VI*, Basileae 1550; M. McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster. Describing the World in the Reformation*. Aldershot 2007.

¹⁷ They were texts for the maps of Africa, Scotland, the Low Countries, the areas of Lake Como, Hungary, Scandinavia, Russia, South-Eastern Asia, ancient Sicily, and ancient Greece, M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum...*, *passim*. The Flemish cartographer also published the results of his research on the website Cartographica Neerlandica: www.orteliusmaps.com [accessed: 3.10.2019].

¹⁸ L. Brachtlová, *Kartografická analýza dostupných atlasů Abrahama Ortelia*, Thesis at Department of Geography, Faculty of Science, Masaryk University, Brno 2013.

¹⁹ For Bohemia *ibidem*, p. 42 and Appendix 3.

and scientist made for the map as the basic characteristic of Bohemia (ill. 2). Ortelius published this text in two rather different versions. The first one appeared in the atlas editions during 1570–1573, and the second one was used in the remaining Latin editions from 1574 onwards.²⁰ Since only historical cartographers have researched the atlases, mainly studying the maps (from the technical perspective), literary and cultural history methods must be used for the study. The conducted analysis of the map and description of Bohemia in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* will therefore deepen our knowledge about Ortelius's scientific procedures, methods, and his construction of literary texts from the viewpoint of their inspirations and the use of these sources.

As stated above, Ortelius used for his atlas the new map of Bohemia created by Criginger and printed in Leipzig in 1568. Apart from the reproductions in contemporary atlases, only one incomplete specimen has survived in Salzburg.²¹ Comparing it to the map in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, it becomes evident that the Flemish cartographer adjusted Criginger's map and made several changes.²² The Latin title in the bottom left corner cartouche of Ortelius's map reads: REGNI BOHEMIAE DESCRIPTIO with an addendum 'Cum pruilegio' to the right of the cartouche. Yet the text additions missing in Criginger's original version are crucial for this study. First, it is the text that Ortelius introduced onto the cartouche decorating the scale on the map's lower right corner in which the Flemish cartographer presents the basic characteristics of Bohemia, including its size and borders.²³ Analysing this text with respect to its source, it reveals the information from the first chapter of *Historia Bohemica* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini that was enriched by Ortelius.²⁴ The Flemish author used this widely disseminated work of Pope Pius II as the primary source for the first version of the text about Bohemia, as it will become clear below.

²⁰ M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps...*, pp. 321–323. The transcripts of the two versions are in the appendices; the transcripts were made from the atlases in the Department of Manuscripts and Old Prints in the National Library of the Czech Republic; the 1st version according to National Library of the Czech Republic, shelf-mark: 19 A 99 (Latin edition 1570C) and the 2nd version according to National Library of the Czech Republic, shelf-mark: 19 A 18 (Latin edition 1575).

²¹ The reproduction was published as part of the edition *Monumenta Cartographica Bohemiae I/2*, ed. V. Šambera, B. Šalamon, Praha 1938, with the introductory analysis by K. Kuchař, *Mapa Čech z 2. poloviny XVI. století, typu Crigingerova*, Praha 1932.

²² L. Brachtlová, op. cit., pp. 37–38.

²³ Bohemię longitudo latitudoq[ue] penè par, nam rotundam faciem ex circu- / miacentibus montibus accipit, cuius diametru[m] tri- / um dierum itinere expedito absoluitur: quoru[m] mon- / cium que ad Septentrionalem plagu[m] vergunt Sudetę / appellantur, ardui sane ac prēcipites, vbi Gabrita silua ingens / extenditur, qui montes cum alijs Danubio proximis vnde Albis fl. se / proripit in coronam coeunt, quos vndiq[ue] profundißimas nemora latis- / simè occupant: Hercinia enim silua vniuersa[m] Bohemiam comprēhe[n]dit. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelf-mark: 19 A 99.

²⁴ Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica – Enea Silvio: *Historie česká*, ed. D. Martínková, A. Hadravová, J. Matl, F. Šmahel, Praha 1998, book I, chapter 1, lines 96–97, p. 85.

In his accompanying text on the verso of the map, Ortelius intentionally skipped Piccolomini's mention that Bohemia had nearly the same length and width, meaning that it was of a circular shape and it could be crossed in three days if walking swiftly.

The next very valuable addendum for research of Ortelius's method is the group of notes that the Flemish author placed with some Bohemian towns and that mention what these places excelled in, especially from the trading point of view. Herewith the list of these notes:

- Egra. Boh. Cheb. Gasparis Bruschij patria [Cheb, the 'fatherland' of Brusch].
- Commoda Crescent hic opt. nuces. [Chomutov where splendid nuts grow].
- Glattaw. prestat opt. caseis. [Klatovy, excelling in delicious kinds of cheese].
- Rakonick, habet opt. cereuisiam. [Rakovník; has great beer].
- Launa, hic ager optimi tritici et fructuu[m] est feracißimus. [Louny where the fields are extremely fertile; production of excellent wheat and (earth or field) crops].
- Leutmeritz, hic colles sunt vineis consiti. [Litoměřice where hills are covered with vineyards].
- Beraun Hic optimas habent ferri fodinas. [Beroun where they have iron mines].
- Prahalitz, salis emporium. [Prachatic; salt market].
- Praga Regni metropolis. Hęc olim Bubenum: quandam etiam Marobudu[m] à conditore dicta. [Prague, the kingdom's metropolis. Formerly Bubenum, once also called Marobudum after its founder].
- Eul. auri fodinę. [Jílové; gold mines].
- Budweiß. hic sunt argentifodinę. [České Budějovice; there are silver mines].
- Cromelaw. habet argenti fodinam. [Český Krumlov; has silver mines].
- Chaurim, olim Casurgis. [Kouřim, formerly Casurgis].
- Kuttenberg. Argentifodinę. [Kutná Hora; silver mines].
- Pardubitz. prestantissimos gladios hic fabricant. [Pardubice, producing first-quality swords there].

Ortelius took over most of the information from the Latin edition of *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster, who inserted in his work the comparative table of Bohemian and German titles of towns in the Kingdom of Bohemia including the above-mentioned characteristics.²⁵ Ortelius later took over this table in his work, incorporating it into the text about Bohemia on the verso of the map, beginning with the Latin edition of 1573.²⁶ But he most likely reduced it by omitting six subject towns (Lanžhot or Kamienna Góra²⁷, Český Krumlov, Pardubice, Chomutov, Teplice, and Zbraslav). He correctly singled out from the towns the rivers Elbe and

²⁵ S. Münster, op. cit., p. 791.

²⁶ M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps...*, pp. 321–323. For the table, see Appendix no. 2.

²⁷ The town is situated in Lower Silesia; therefore, Ortelius might have omitted it intentionally because although it was politically part of the Kingdom of Bohemia, geographically it was Silesia that had its separate map in the atlas.

Vltava, placing them in a separate note below the table and leaving out their characteristics. The reason behind joining the table without the description of Bohemia was the author's effort to prevent the mistakes of the identification of places that quite frequently occurred in the translation of toponyms in geographic and cartographic literature. Since he hailed from the Low Countries, an area where several substantial different languages mingled, Ortelius was aware of this problem in other multilingual regions.²⁸

The comparison of the characteristics of Münster and Ortelius reveals that the Flemish cartographer did not use all of Münster's notes; he adjusted some linguistically²⁹ and added others. Ortelius, namely, did not take over the notes about the River Elbe in Ústí nad Labem, the mining of precious stones in Lanžhot (Kamienna Góra), the tin mining in Krupka, the spas in Loket and Teplice, and the fact that Hazmburk was a castle. All of these localities are mostly situated along the western border of Bohemia, at the edge of the map, and most of the characteristics are geographic in nature and were not essential for Ortelius's perception of the work.³⁰ In Beroun's vicinity, Ortelius mentioned iron ore mining only and dropped the excessively long Münster's note about the local production of prime-quality handguns (*sclopa*). Contrary to Münster, the Flemish cartographer added notes about the salt market in Prachatice and the silver mines near České Budějovice. Furthermore, he included in the map several cultural and historical glosses reflecting his general knowledge and education. Ortelius did include the comment on Cheb, the hometown of the humanist Kaspar Brusch, also from Münster's *Cosmographia* where the German author dedicated an entire chapter to Cheb that starts with a note about Brusch.³¹ On the other hand, the Prague gloss was written by Ortelius personally, which explains his omission of Münster's note about Zbraslav, the ancient monastery and necropolis of Bohemian princes and kings. There was not enough space for it on the map. Ortelius's preference of the facts and knowledge about the ancient times is even more evident in his comment on Kouřim where he identifies the ruins depicted on the map with the German 'town' *Casurgis* known from the geographic work of Claudius Ptolemy (c. 85 – c. 165).³² This allocation of *Casurgis* to Kouřim is even

²⁸ This is how Ortelius explains the insertion of the extensive comparative table for the map of the Low Countries, M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum...*, p. 121.

²⁹ For example, he expanded the simple note about wine in Litoměřice by a sentence about vast hills covered with vineyards that he took over from Piccolomini's text (and left it out in the text on the map's verso), *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica...*, book I, chapter 1, lines 141–142, p. 12, and in the case of Pardubice, he replaced the word blades (*laminae*) with swords (*gladios*).

³⁰ Especially the comparison with his contemporary Gerhard de Jode reveals the emphasis Ortelius put on history in his description and unlike the cartographer De Jode he omitted some geographic data, e.g. the specification of the geographic location using the length and width, M. P. R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum...*, p. 234.

³¹ S. Münster, op. cit, p. 792.

³² The analysis of the citations of authors in Ortelius's texts shows that the Flemish scholar mostly cited contemporary (humanist) authors, acquiring the latest information and results of

more interesting for it does not correspond with the placement of this locality on Criginger's map. Criginger identified *Casurgis Ptolem* with the area near Kašpark Castle, and Mercator, who included Criginger's map in his atlas, had the same location.³³ Nevertheless, based on his knowledge, Ortelius disagreed with Criginger's interpretation and moved *Casurgis* to Kouřim.³⁴ Once again, Ortelius's very conscientious work in the field of history can be observed, as he approached the sources very critically and took advantage of his education and extensive library.³⁵

There is one more gloss introduced to the map that differentiates Ortelius from Criginger. The Flemish cartographer omitted Criginger's note about Krakonoš or Rübezahl in his wording 'Hic Romcuāl spiritus' [Here the spirit of Romcuāl].³⁶ Rübezahl first appeared in Bohemian cartography on Helwig's map of Silesia in 1561 where he is even portrayed, and later his presence in the Giant Mountains (Krkonoše) is recorded in early 17th century depictions of Bohemia, both in a text about a demon inhabiting the highest mountains and in portraits of devils.³⁷ Ortelius included Helwig's map depiction of Silesia in his atlas, once again leaving out Rübezahl and his depiction.³⁸ On his map of Bohemia, Ortelius kept only the name 'Teuffels Grund' that Criginger located in the Giant Mountains and that the Flemish cartographer regarded as an actual locality. It remains difficult to answer the question whether Ortelius intentionally erased both mentions about Rübezahl from the map in his atlas because legends about the supernatural being did not correspond to the scientific character of his work and it would degrade it, or whether the Flemish author omitted them because his map glosses primarily focused on the contemporary economic activities of places and historical (mostly ancient) places of interest, or just because Rübezahl simply occurred at the map's edges.

As it was mentioned previously, when identifying Ortelius's sources for the accompanying texts, unlike other contemporary authors he was very forthcoming

research of the time. Ancient authors follow right afterwards and although he did not avoid medieval authorities, he used their citations the least, M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum...*, p. 216.

³³ K. Kuchař, op. cit., p. 21.

³⁴ With respect to the important position of the locality Stará Kouřim in prehistory and especially the Early Middle Ages, and with regard to the visible residues of the fortified settlement (M. Šolle, *Kouřim v průběhu věků*, Praha 1981), one can ask the question whether Ortelius acquired the information on the locality *Casurgis* from literature or from an oral source familiar with the site because the Flemish cartographer also very much valued the latter, M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum...*, p. 23.

³⁵ Ibidem, pp. 185–188.

³⁶ *Monumenta cartographica Bohemiae I/2...*

³⁷ In addition to the map of Silesia by Martin Helwig, they are all three maps of Bohemia from 1619–1620, i.e. by Paul Arentin of Ehrenfels, Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann, and Aegidius Sadeler and their derivatives, e.g. the map of Bohemia in the atlas of John Speed; on Krakonoš see J. Jech, *Krkonoš. Vyprávění o vládci Krkonošských hor od nejstarších časů až po dnešek*, Praha 2008, esp. pp. 17–39.

³⁸ M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps...*, pp. 324–327.

by his precise quotations. For the first version of his Latin text about Bohemia, Ortelius drew inspiration from Piccolomini and his *Historia Bohemica*.³⁹ Ortelius used it for the first chapter of his book entitled 'On the Site of the Bohemian Region, Its Rivers and Towns and Bohemian Morals' (*De situ regionis Bohemicae, de fluminibus eiusdem et civitatibus ac de Bohemorum moribus*) which corresponded to his idea about the geographic and cultural descriptions of an area in the atlas.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the Flemish cartographer did not assimilate Piccolomini's text without any changes. He abbreviated the original text by leaving out those parts of Piccolomini's description that Ortelius found inessential, such as the already out-dated information,⁴¹ several notes in the description of Prague,⁴² and especially the list of Bohemian towns that Ortelius reduced from twenty-two to nine (excluding Prague).⁴³ His reduction substantially included the part about the Bohemian morals as well, in which Ortelius cited only the inclination of the Bohemians towards drunkenness and gluttony with Piccolomini's anecdote about the Cretan wine in taverns and the abridged characteristics of the Bohemian nobles desiring glory and tried in the battles.⁴⁴ While Ortelius's abbreviation had primarily a practical reason because the typeset text had to fit on the back of the map, his preference of factual geographic information from Piccolomini's text to the characteristics of the inhabitants can be observed. The comparison of Ortelius's text with the publication of Piccolomini's work can help to answer the question which edition of *Historia Bohemica* inspired the Flemish cartographer to compose his description. Most likely it was the *Historia Bohemica*'s printed edition published by Gothard Hittorp in Cologne in 1532.⁴⁵

The second Latin version of Ortelius's characteristics of Bohemia first appeared in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1574 and was used in all of the atlas's editions.⁴⁶ This textual change excellently illustrates Ortelius's approach and perception of his work, his remarkable general knowledge, and his careful interest in new literature, since in the very first version of the text, when citing Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*, Ortelius pointed out and regretted that reputedly there was a new history of Bohemia

³⁹ For the full text see Appendix no. 1.

⁴⁰ *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica...*, book I, chapter 1, lines 89–168, pp. 8–12.

⁴¹ E.g. the note about the Elbe as the former border between Germania and Sarmatia, *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica...*, book I, chapter 1, lines 105–108, p. 8, or Piccolomini's citation of Strabonov's work *Ibidem*, book I, chapter 1, lines 148–154, p. 12.

⁴² *Ibidem*, book I, chapter 1, lines 119–120 and 123–126, p. 10.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, book I, chapter 1, lines 127–138, p. 10.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, book I, chapter 1, lines 155–162, p. 12.

⁴⁵ It is primarily evidenced by the use of the term *Aduocatorum terra* for Vogtland (as added and specified by Ortelius in his text) instead of *Iudicum terra* appearing in another manuscript tradition, further the version of writing Litomyšl as *Litemesce* and other small accords between Hittorp's edition and Ortelius's text, *Ibidem*, book I, chapter 1, line 92, p. 8, n. F and line 127, p. 10, n. S.

⁴⁶ For the full text see Appendix no. 2.

written by Jan Dubravius, Bishop of Olomouc, but he unfortunately did not have it.⁴⁷ It was, of course, *Historiae Regni Boemiae* compiled in Latin by Dubravius based on *The Bohemian Chronicle* by Václav Hájek z Libočan and published by Prostějov's printer Johann Günther in 1552.⁴⁸ Over four years, the Flemish humanist enriched his extensive library with this work as well, which allowed him to use it for the updated version of the description of Bohemia. When working with Dubravius, Ortelius proceeded the same way as previously with Piccolomini. Once again, he used the very beginning of the work, taking over the initial characteristics of the Bohemian region.⁴⁹ This time, however, the Flemish author did not abbreviate the text; instead, he used the exact text of the Olomouc bishop. Ortelius did so either because of a shortage of time or most likely because he regarded Dubravius's new and up-to-date version as fully satisfactory. Moreover, based on his experience with previous editions, Ortelius could use more voluminous texts in the newly published works. Ortelius also enriched Dubravius's characteristics with his notes about where the exquisite 'white' (wheat) beer is brewed in Bohemia, that the local language is Slavic and the Czechs call themselves *Czechi* and the Germans *Niemeckos*, and that the Kingdom of Bohemia includes Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia, and Cheb that was pledged to them in 1315.

Like in the first version of the Latin text in which Ortelius regretted he could not apply Dubravius's work and cited Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*, his second version mentions Piccolomini in the first place in the list of other sources intended for the readers' deeper knowledge about Bohemia. Otherwise, the list of recommended authors and their works about Bohemia is identical in both versions and includes Münster, Georg Rithaymer, *Enneades* by Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, and *Wandalia* by Albert Krantz. To learn about the beginnings of the Bohemians, Ortelius introduces the first book of 'Polish history' by Marcin Kromer, Bishop of Varmia.⁵⁰ It is evident that they are mostly contemporary geographic works, or works containing referrals about the earliest (ancient) history of the Bohemian region and the origin of the Bohemians. For the description of Prague, Ortelius somewhat surprisingly emphasises Georg Handsch, the personal physician of Ferdinand II, Archduke of Further Austria, who mostly pursued botany.⁵¹ It is impor-

⁴⁷ This comment about the existence of the work that he unfortunately did not have when assembling his text is not sporadic for Ortelius, M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum...*, pp. 187–188.

⁴⁸ J. Dubravius, *Historiae Regni Boemiae, de rebus memoria dignis, in illa gestis, ab initio Boiemorum, qui ex Illyria venientes, eandem Boiemiam, in medio propemodum superioris Germaniae sitam, occupauerunt. Libri XXXIII, ex fide tandem narrationemque historica scripti, absolutique, et in lucem iamprimum aediti, sat videlicet cito, si sat bene*, Prostannae 1552.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, fol. 1r (line 20) – 2r (line 22).

⁵⁰ For the information about the individual authors and their works, see Appendix no. 1.

⁵¹ J. Smolka, M. Vaculínová, *Renesanční lékař Georg Handsch (1529–1578)*, "Dějiny věd a techniky" 43/1 (2010), pp. 1–26. It can be a poetic glorification of Prague that Handsch inserted in the letter to Jan Hodějovský of Hodějov and that remained in his poem *ΡΑΨΩΛΙΑΙ sive*

tant to add that after Ortelius's death (1598), the work *Bohemiacus* by Panthaleon Candid was included in the bibliography of Latin editions starting from 1601.⁵²

When summarising the analysis above, the map and description of Bohemia appear to be very suitable for the study of Ortelius's methods. When working with maps, he did not copy the maps by other cartographers without any changes but instead adjusted them based on his focus, as documented by the insertion of Münster's notes on Criginger's map, and mainly by the localisation of the German *Casurgis* and omitting Rübezahl. All of this reflects Ortelius's intellectual knowledge and orientation in history that he emphasised in his words to the reader. Regarding his composition of the description texts, Ortelius worked in full compliance with the long tradition of introductory chapters of historiographic works in which the authors outlined the geographic conditions of the described area and characteristics of the inhabitants to create the 'stage' and 'coulisses' in which the described events later took place. This again characterises Ortelius as the great adherent of historiography that was his main scientific interest. One can thus observe the influence of medieval chronicle and encyclopaedia production on cartographic atlases of the early modern times via Ortelius, whose *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* set the tone for further atlases.

epigrammata Georgii Handschii Lipensis Germani Philiatri, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek sign. 9821, fol. 65r; D. Martíneková, *Literární druh veršovaných popisů měst v naší latinské humanistické literatuře*. Praha 2012, p. 27.

⁵² P. Candidus, *Bohemais: Hoc est de ducibus Bohemicis Libri duo, de regibus Bohemicis Libri quinque*, Argentorati 1587.

APPENDIX NO. 1

The First Latin Version of Ortelius's Text about Bohemia according to the edition 1570C, National Library of the Czech Republic, shelf-mark: 19 A 99⁵³

BOHEMIA

BOHEMIA, Germaniæ portio est, Aquilonis flatibus tota fermè exposita. Cuius ad / Orientem vergens latus Moraui obtinent, & Slesitarum natio : Septentrionem iidem / Slesij ac Saxones, qui & Misnenses & Thuringi appellantur. Ad Occidentem Aduo- / catorum (*Voitlandia vulgò*) terra est, Boiriorumque Regio. Meridionalem pla- / gam tum Boiarij, tum Australes habent, qui ripas Danubij vtrasque accolunt, nec alia / Bohemiæ quām Theutonum terra coniungitur. Sylua vniuersam claudit, quam veteres Hercyniam vocauère, cuius & Græci scriptores & Latini meminère. Flumina / quæ terram irrigant, vniuersa in Albim exonerantur. Hic in montibus exoriens, qui / Bohemiam Slesiamque distinxerant, mediam fermè Prouinciam perlabitur : primò / in Occidentem, deinde in Septentrionem versus, vbi Prouinciam relinquens, per angu- / stias montium & abrupta conuallium præceps Saxoniam petit ; quam duas in partes / dirimens, in Oceanum fertur ; vbique à Rheno flumine æquo terrarum spacio distans. / Amnes alij, quos Bohemi memorant, Orlioze [sic], quod Aquilam signat ; Egra, qui ex nomine Oppidi quod alluit, vocatur, in terra Aduocatorum exoriens, apud Litome- / ricam Albi miscetur : sed cunctos Multaua excedit, qui Metropolim Regni Pra- / gam influit ; hic Saczaniam, & Lusmicium, & Misam, & Albim secum trahit. Oppida / toto Regno memorabilia, Praga ; Regi, Pontificique, honesta sedes ; neque minor neque / ignobilior Etrusca Florentia, treis in partes diuisa ; quīs nomina indicere, paruam Pra / gam, veterem, ac nouam. Parua sinistrum latus Multauæ fluminis occupat ; collique / coniungitur : in quo sita est Regia, ac S. Viti Pontificale Augustumque templum. Vetus / Praga in plano iacet, vniuersa magnificis operibus adornata. Iungitur autem minori / Pragæ lapideo ponte, quatuor & viginti arcuum. Nouam ciuitatem à veteri fossa / disiungit profunda, vtrinque munita muro, & in quam facilè fluminis aqua deriuari / potest. Post Pragam Litemesce, altera Pontificalis ciuitas, vicina Morauis. Cuthna / quoque haud parui nominis habetur : vbi argenti venæ. Nec Buduicum contemnere / oportet. Habet etiam Slagenwerdium, vtraque Broda, Budinge, Colonia, Li- / tomericum, &c. gelida prorsus Regio, pisce, atque armentis abundans, cum volucre / ferisque frumenti ferax. Cicera [sic] pro vino vtitur, illi Ceruisiam vocant. Ager toto Regno / optimus. Vinum quod nascitur acerbum ; ditiores ex Austria atque Hungaria impor- / tato vtuntur. Sermo genti & Dalmatis vnuis. Mos verus in hanc vsque diem serua- / tur, in templis sermone Theutonico, in cœmiteriis Bohemico plebs docetur.

⁵³ An English translation of the Latin text can be found online at M. P. R. van den Broecke's site: https://orteliusmaps.com/book/ort_text101.html

Solis Men-/ dicantibus libertas fuit qua vellent lingua populum instruere. Plebs toto Regno bi-/ bula, & ventri dedita. Quotiens Cretense vinum Caupones venale proponent, inuenies / quāmplures, qui iuramento adacti, nunquam cellam vinariam egredientur, nisi exhau-/ sto dolio. Nobilitas gloriæ appetens, belli perita. &c. Hæc sumpsimus ex *Æneæ / Syluij historia Bohemica*.⁵⁴ Plura habes apud Munsterum.⁵⁵ Rithaymerum,⁵⁶ & Sabelli-/ cum *Ænn.* 10. lib. 2.,⁵⁷ & Alb. Crantium in descrip. Wandaliae.⁵⁸ De huius Regionis inco-/ lis, vnde venerint, & antiquis eorum sedibus, lege Mart. Cromerum lib. 1. hist. Polo- / nicæ.⁵⁹ Idem citat cuiusdam Dubrauij Olomucensis Episcopi Bohemicam historiam,⁶⁰ / quam nos non vidimus. Pragam huius Regni Vrbem primariam descriptsit / Georg. Handschius.⁶¹ Hanc typi- cam descriptionem sumpsimus ex / Tabula Iohannis Crigingeri, Pragæ An. 1568. ædita.⁶²

⁵⁴ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464) and his *Historia Bohemica* in the edition E.S. Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*, Coloniae 1532; cf. edition *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica*....

⁵⁵ Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) and his *Cosmographia* probably in the edition S. Münster, *Cosmographiae uniuersalis*...

⁵⁶ Georg Rithaymer (1523–1557) and perhaps his *De Orbis Terrarum situ compendium* in the edition G. Rithaymer, *De Orbis Terrarum situ compendium*, Norimbergae 1538.

⁵⁷ Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus (1436–1506) and his *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum*, as Book 2, Volume 10, probably in the edition M. A. Sabellicus, *Secundus tomus operum M. Antonii Coccini Sabellici*, Basileae 1560, pp. 868–890.

⁵⁸ Albert Krantz (1448–1517) and his *Wandalia* in the edition A. Krantz, *Wandalia*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1519.

⁵⁹ Marcin Kromer (1512–1589) and his *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*, as Book 1 dedicated to the origin of the Slavs, in the edition M. Kromer, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*, Basileae 1555 (or Basileae 1568).

⁶⁰ Jan Dubravius (c. 1486–1553) and his *Historiae Regni Boiemiae* in the edition J. Dubravius, *Historiae Regni Boiemiae*...

⁶¹ Georg Handsch (1529–1578) and perhaps his glorification of Prague in the collection of manuscripts *ΡΑΨΩΔΙΑΙ sive epigrammata Georgii Handschii*...

⁶² *Monumenta Cartographica Bohemiae I/2...*

APPENDIX NO. 2

The First Latin Version of Ortelius's Text about Bohemia according to the edition 1575, National Library of the Czech Republic, shelf-mark: 19 A 18⁶³

BOHEMIA

IN Iohannis Dubrauij historia Bohemica, sic de hac regione habetur ; In Germania sita est Boiemia, ea fines ab ortu Solis ad Marco- / mannos & Quados, ab occasu ad Noricos protendit. Meridionalem eius plagam Pannonia superior, nunc Austria dicta, occupat, / sicut Saxonia et Misnia Septemtrionalem. Vniuersam Hercynia silua perpetuo ambitu cingit, clauditq[ue] circum vndiq[ue] ad Amphitheatri fa- / ciem. Vnde æqua ei ferè longitudo atque latitudo, atque vtraq[ue] paulò ampliùs ducentis millibus passuum extenditur. Carolus Boiemæ Rex, / qui deinde imperio etiam orbis præfuit, in regiones illam duodecim descriptis, quaru[m] vni du[m]taxat vocabulum à flumine Vultauiā, quod Pra- / gam interfluit, indidit. Reliquas vndecim ab oppidis cognominauit, sed nonnulla eorum adeò aspera prolatu habentur, vt nisi Boiemus sit, / aut sermonis Boiemī gnarus, ægrè illa alio ore enunciauerit. Inter oppida Boiemæ insigniora numerantur, Marcomanniam versus, quæ ho- / die Morauia appellatur, Mutha, Chrudima, Hradecium Reginæ, Pardubicum, Lytomislum. Inde à limite Noricorum, quos Bauaros / cognominant, Glatouia, Domazlicium, Misa, Tachouia, eminent. Ab eo verò latere, quod ad Austriam spectat, locum primu[m] obtinet Bu- / duicium, Crumlovia, Trebonia, Hradecium Henrici ; Sicut à Misnia, Pons, Cadana, Chomutouia, Austia. Nam Quadis, nunc Slesitis, Hiaromirium, Glacium, Curia, & quædam alia opida proximant. Introrsus porrò celebrantur, Cuthna, Colonia, Pelsina, Verona, Zatecium, / Launa, Slana, Lytomericum, Taborium. Ceterū omnibus antestat Praga, tanta magnitudine vrbs, vt una tres ampliimas vrbes comple- / ctatur, Veterem, Nouam, & tertiam, quam Paruam vocant, à duabus prioribus, flumine Vultauiā disiunctam. AEdificia in singulis, tam / priuata, quæ publica, dignitatis plena, & magnificentia. Duas præterea poñit Arces : alteram Vißegradum appellant, quondam Regum / sedes, nunc bellorum ciuilium iniuria, vasta, & pænè desolata. Contra, illa altera arx, quæ minorem Pragam despectat, quemadmodum dicitur, / ita iure optimo haberi debet, Regia. Quippe, non arcis modò, sed urbis potius speciem repræsentare videtur, tantum videlicet loci, mænibus, / ædificiisq[ue] occupat. Palmam inter publica opera ferunt, Templum, & Palatum ; illud Caroli, cuius statim mentionem fecimus, hoc Vladislai / Regis, nuper vita functi, opus. Quantum autem inter vrbes Praga, tantum inter flumina Albis flumen (vt rectè Tacitus ait) inclytum & / notum supereminet. Sed hoc idem Tacitus, de illo, parum exploratè, quod in Hermu[n]duris oriri addiderit. Non enim apud Hermonduros Al- / bis, sed apud Boiemos oritur, in montibus, quos illi ipsi Boiemī Cerconessos appellant, Septentrioni obtentos, & Morauiis vicinos. Ex quibus / ille profluens, magnam Boiemæ partem, ac ferè meliorem irrigat, & postquam

⁶³ An English translation of the Latin text can be found online at M. P. R. van den Broecke's site: https://orteliusmaps.com/book/ort_text101.html

ceteros indigenas fluuios nempe Vultauiam, Egram, Sasauam / Giseram, Misam, exhaustis, auctior aquis factus, inde ad Misnios & Saxones, postremò in Oceanum, nomine ubique suo, euoluitur, Salmone / pisce imprimis fœcundus. At minores in Boiemia fluuij, riuli-que, alicubi ramenta auri prouoluunt, alibi Conchulas alunt, è quibus vñiones / eruuntur. Fontes autem Calidi, aliquot in locis erumpentes, non modò lauandi voluptatem, sed auxilia etiam medendi hominibus afferunt. / Porro ipsum solum adeo frugum ferax, & copiosum est, vt & has vicinis quoque regionibus largè suppeditet. Vina tamen parcus exhibet, & / quæ nata ibi sunt, languidiora apparent, quam ut ætatem bene ferre queant. Contrà croco in Boiemia sato, insunt cuncta, quæ in peregrino pre- / ciosa habentur, succus, color, & odor. Iam illa rara, ac prorsus beata telluris dos, quod ex venis eius tanta vbertate argentum affluit, vt nisi / parum aliquid silicis ad eas venas se admiseret, nihil extra argentum haurires; cum alibi argentariae, valde dites eße perhibeantur, in quibus / metalla, quarta sui aut quinta, vel cum fælicissimè media parte argentea, inueniuntur. Quin aurum quoque ipsum tale statim, qualem natuæ / venæ ferunt, in puteis effoditur, qui de loco Giloua, cognomen suum trahunt. Tenet fama, Regibus Boiemie sèpius inde allatas fuisse micas / aureas, puti auri, quarum singulæ pondo denum librarum graues erant. Sed nec vilioribus metallis destituitur, nempe stanno, plumbo, ære, / ferro. Ostentatque præterea carbunculum, calaim, amethystum, ex cotibus suis metallicis abruptum. Ceterùm secundum metalla non alia res ma- / gis Boemos, quam piscinæ, quæ Cyprinos pisces alunt, locupletat, id quod aliâ ostendimus, edito de piscinis libello. Nunc mores incolarum red- / dentur. Igitur ut verba ad compendium conferam, tum morum, tum ipsius habitus, quem corpore Boiemis præ se ferunt, leo animalium genero- / sißimus, cuius syderi Boiemis subiacent, quasi quandam imaginem exprimere videtur, si vel celsam Boiemorum proceritatem, vel latum & va- / lidum pectus, vel rigidam fuluisque comis vestitam ceruicem ; si deinde vocis sonum arduum, si oculos micantes, si robur & fiduciam virium in- / tueri volueris. Solet item leo contemptu in alia animantia, & nonnullo fastu turgere, ægreq[ue] exarmari, præsertim si per ferociam eum aggredire. Nec ab hac parte Boemus degenerat, sed contemptum libenter erga alios verbo factog[ue] ostentat suum, ipsamq[ue] adeò arrogantiæ, in- / ceſu, gestu, pompa, prodit. Est & feroculus, cum fastidiosè tractatur, insuper ausis perinde ut leo promptus, atq[ue] in his exsequendis firmus & vali- / dus ; interim tamen ambitiosus, & glriosus. Rursusq[ue], uti leo, cibi auditus, atque in eo condiendo instruendoq[ue] immodicè effusus, vicini præterea / Saxones eundem docuerunt, nocturno certare mero, putere diurno. Sed neque in ceteris quoque moribus Boiemis longè à Germanis diuortunt, / propter eandem vicinitatem. Hactenus Dubrauius, apud quem etiam gentis origo, antiquasq[ue] sedes docentur. / Cereuisia in hac regione optima, quam albam cognominant, coquitur. Sermo gentis Slauonicus est ; se ipsos Czechos, Germanos Niemeckos / sua lingua vocant. Huius Regni titulo quoque subsunt Morauia, Silesia, & Lusatia regiones ; Erga etiam ciuitas anno 1315. Bohemorum / hypotheca facta fuit. Vide de hac regione plura apud Aeneam Siluium, deq[ue] eius populis lege quoque Mart. Cromerum, libro primo historiæ Po- / lonicæ. His addè si lubet Munsterum, Rithaime- rum, Crantzium in descriptione Wandaliae ; Sabellicum Aenn. 10. lib. 2. Pragam huius Re- / gni Vrbem primariam peculiariter descripsit Georg. Handschius. Hanc typicam delineationem sumpsimus ex tabula Ioannis Crigingeri, / Pragæ Anno 1568. edita.

Regni huius Vrbium aliquot nomenclaturas ex Munstero hīc adducere libuit. Omnes namque ciuitates huius regionis aliter ferē Bohemus, aliter Germanus pronunciat.

<i>Bohemus.</i>	<i>Germanus.</i>
Praha,	<i>Prag.</i>
Plzen,	<i>Pilsen.</i>
Budieiovvize,	<i>Budwisi.</i>
Kolim,	<i>Coeln.</i>
Cheb,	<i>Eger.</i>
Strzibro,	<i>Miß.</i>
Hora,	<i>Kuttenberg.</i>
Tabor,	<i>Taber.</i>
zatetz,	<i>Satz.</i>
Litomierzitte,	<i>Leitmiritz.</i>

} hæ ciuitates regi immediate subiectæ sunt. {

<i>Bohemus,</i>	<i>Germanus.</i>
Launij,	<i>Laun.</i>
Rokovick,	<i>Kakowinck.</i>
Klatovvy,	<i>Glataw.</i>
Beraim,	<i>Bern.</i>
Most,	<i>Bruck.</i>
Hradetz,	<i>Gretz,</i>
Auscij,	<i>Aust.</i>
Myto,	<i>Maut.</i>
Dvvuor,	<i>Hof.</i>
Laromiertz,	<i>Iaromir.</i>

<i>Bohemus,</i>	<i>Germanus.</i>
Dub,	<i>Ath.</i>
Piela,	<i>Wiswaßer.</i>
Gilovvy,	<i>Gilaw.</i>
Krupka,	<i>Graupen.</i>
Loket,	<i>Elbogen.</i>
Hantzburg,	<i>Hasenburg.</i>

} hæ ciuitates Proceribus Regni subditæ sunt.

*Albis flu. Germanis Elbe, Bohemis
Labe vocatur.
Moltam flu. Bohemi Vltawa appellant.*



1. Portrait of Abraham Ortelius in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1612
(PAS Gdańsk Library, shelf-mark: B IV 13)



2. Map of Bohemia in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerpiae 1575



(National Library of the Czech Republic, shelf-mark: 19 A 18)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

- Abraham Ortelius, *Theatro del Mondo*, Venetia 1655, shelf-mark: 19 K 78
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatro del Mondo*, Venetia 1684, shelf-mark: 19 H 153
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum oder Schaubplatz*, Antorff 1572, shelf-mark: 19 A 16
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum oder Schaubplatz*, Antorff 1573, shelf-mark: B I 40
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1570C, shelf-mark: 19 A 99
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1575, shelf-mark: 19 A 18
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1579, shelf-mark: 19 A 955
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1579², shelf-mark: Sa 245
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1592, shelf-mark: 19 ZZ 24
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1595, shelf-mark: 19 ZZ 25
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1603, shelf-mark: 19 ZZ 29

PAS GDAŃSK LIBRARY

- Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum oder Schaubuch*, Antorff 1580, shelf-mark: B III 77
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum oder Schaubuch*, Antorff 1602, shelf-mark: B III 76
 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antverpiae 1612, shelf-mark: B IV 13
 Composite atlas containing mainly maps of European countries from 1586–1624, shelf-mark:
 B II 78

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica – Enea Silvio: Historie česká*, ed. D. Martíková, A. Hadrovová,
 J. Matl, F. Šmahel, Praha 1998.
- Candidus P., *Bohemais: Hoc est de dvcibus Bohemicis Libri dvo, de regibus Bohemicis Libri quinque*,
 Argentorati 1587.
- Dubravius J., *Historiae Regni Boemiae, de rebus memoria dignis, in illa gestis, ab initio Boiemorum,*
qui ex Illyria venientes, eandem Boiemiam, in medio propemodum superioris Germaniae sitam,
occupauerunt. Libri XXXIII, ex fide tandem narrationemque historica scripti, absolutique, et in
lucem iamprimum aediti, sat videlicet cito, si sat bene, Prostannae 1552.
- Krantz A., *Wandalia*, Coloniae Agrippinæ 1519.
- Kromer M., *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*, Basileae 1555.
- Kromer M., *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*, Basileae 1568.
- Monumenta Cartographica Bohemiae I/2*, ed. V. Šambera, B. Šalamon, Praha 1938.
- Münster S., *Cosmographiae uniuersalis Lib. VI*, Basileae 1550.
- PAΨΩΛΙΑΙ sive epigrammata Georgii Handschii Lipensis Germani Philiatri*, Österreichische
 Nationalbibliothek, shelf-mark 9821, fol. 65r.
- Piccolomini E.S., *Historia Bohemica*, Coloniae 1532.
- Rithaymer G., *De Orbis Terrarum situ compendium*, Norimbergae 1538.
- Sabellicus M. A., *Secundus tomus operum M. Antonii Coccini Sabellici*, Basileae 1560.

LITERATURE

- Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas. Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of His Death, 1598–1998*, ed. M. P. R. van den Broecke, P. van der Krogt, P. Meurer, 't Goy-Houten 1998.
- Binding P., *Imagined Corners. Exploring the World's First Atlas*, London 2003.
- Brachtlová L., *Kartografická analýza dostupných atlasů Abrahama Ortelia*, Thesis at Department of Geography, Faculty of Science, Masaryk University, Brno 2013.
- Broecke M.P.R. van den, *Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). Life, Works, Sources and Friends*, Bilthoven 2015.
- Broecke M.P.R. van den, *Ortelius Atlas Maps. An Illustrated Guide*, Houten 2011.
- Broecke M.P.R. van den, *Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570–1641). Characteristics and development of a sample of on verso map texts*, Utrecht 2009.
- Jech J., *Krakonoš. Vyprávění o vládci Krkonošských hor od nejstarších časů až po dnešek*, Praha 2008.
- Karrow R.W. et al., *Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). Cartographe et humaniste*, Turnhout 1998.
- Karrow, R.J. jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and their Maps: Bio-bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius*, 1570, Chicago 1993.
- Koeman's *Atlantes Neerlandici III. Ortelius's Theatrum orbis terrarum, De Jode's Speculum orbis terrarum, the Epitome, Caert-Thresoor and Atlas minor. The atlases of the XVII Provinces, and other atlases published in the Low Countries up to c. 1650*, ed. P. van der Krogt, 't Goy-Houten 2003.
- Kozica K., *Abraham Ortelius i jego atlas Theatrum Terrarum, „Z dziejów kartografii“ 16: Od atlasu do kolekcji. W 440. rocznicę I wydania atlasu Abrahama Orteliusa*, red. J. Ostrowski, R. Skrycki, Szczecin 2011, pp. 29–46.
- Krogt P. van der, *The Theatrum Orbis Terrarum: The First Atlas?*, [in:] *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas. Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of His Death, 1598–1998*, ed. M.P.R. van den Broecke, P. van der Krogt, P. Meurer, 't Goy-Houten 1998, pp. 55–78.
- Kuchař K., *Mapa Čech z 2. poloviny XVI. století, typu Crigingerova*, Praha 1932.
- Łopatecki K., *Military Works of Albert of Hohenzollern. Comments on the Three Manuscripts Attributed to Albert of Hohenzollern in the Years 2009–2014*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce“ 61 (2017) Special Issue, pp. 245–273.
- Lorek D., *Zakres informacji geograficznej i nazewnictwa o obszarze Wielkopolski w atlasie Orteliusa „Z dziejów kartografii“ 16: Od atlasu do kolekcji. W 440. rocznicę I wydania atlasu Abrahama Orteliusa*, red. J. Ostrowski, R. Skrycki, Szczecin 2011, pp. 77–86.
- Martíková D., *Literární druh veršovaných popisů měst v naší latinské humanistické literatuře*. Praha 2012.
- McLean M., *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster. Describing the World in the Reformation*. Aldershot 2007.
- Meganck T.L., *Erudite Eyes. Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)*, Boston 2017.
- Meurer P.H., *Fontes cartographici Orteliani. Das 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum' von Abraham Ortelius und seine Kartengrundlagen*, Weinheim 1991.
- Nowakowa J., *Księcia Albrechta Księgi o rycerskich rzeczach a sprawach wojennych w tłumaczeniu Macieja Strubicza z 1561 r.*, „*Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*“ 28 (1985), pp. 71–87.
- Od atlasu do kolekcji. W 440. rocznicę I wydania atlasu Abrahama Orteliusa*, red. J. Ostrowski, R. Skrycki, „Z dziejów kartografii“ 16, Szczecin 2011.
- Smolka J., Vaculínová M., *Renesanční lékař Georg Handsch (1529–1578)*, „*Dějiny věd a techniky*“ 43/1 (2010), pp. 1–26.
- Šolle M., *Kourím v průběhu věků*, Praha 1981.
- Cartographica Neerlandica, www.orteliusmaps.com

JAN VOJTIŠEK

CZECHY W „THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM”.
STUDIUM METODY PRACY ORTELIUSA

Abstrakt. Przedmiotem artykułu jest analiza uwag zamieszczonych na mapie Czech oraz dwóch łacińskich wersji opisu Czech w pierwszym nowożytnym atlasie: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* autorstwa Abrahama Orteliusa. Autor artykułu bada metodę pracy Orteliusa z materiałem kartograficznym oraz jego podejście do kompozycji umieszczonych na odwrociach map opisowych tekstów, które Ortelius uważa za główną zaletę swojego atlasu. Powodzenie publikacji, która doczekała się bardzo wielu wydań, pokazuje doniosłość wpływu tych tekstów na podstawową wiedzę nowożytnego społeczeństwa europejskiego o regionach i krajach. Analiza dwóch łacińskich wersji opisu Czech dowodzi też, że Ortelius starał się aktualizować podawane w atlasie informacje.

Mapa Czech, opublikowana przez Johanna Crigingera w roku 1568, została przez Orteliusa uzupełniona o uwagi poświęcone niektórym czeskim miastom i innym miejscom, pozyskane z dzieła Sebastiana Münstera *Cosmographia*. W pierwszym łacińskim opisie Czech autor oparł się przede wszystkim na dziele *Historia Bohemica* Eneasza Sylwiusza Piccolominiego (papieża Piusa II), zaś tekst do drugiej wersji opisu, ujęty w *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* począwszy od łacińskiego wydania atlasu z roku 1574, wziął ze świeżo wydanego tomu Jana Dubraviusa *Historiae Regni Boemiae*. W aneksach zamieszczono transkrypcje obu orteliusowskich wersji opisu Czech.

Słowa kluczowe: Abraham Ortelius, kartografia historyczna, atlasy, Johann Criginger, Eneasas Sylwiusz Piccolomini (Pius II), Ioannes Dubravius, historiografia

JAN VOJTIŠEK

BÖHMEN IN „THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM”.
EINE STUDIE ZUR ARBEITSWEISE VON ORTELIUS

Abstract. Gegenstand des Artikels ist eine Analyse der Anmerkungen auf der Karte von Böhmen und zweier lateinischer Versionen der Beschreibung Böhmens im ersten modernen Atlas: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* von Abraham Ortelius. Der Autor des Artikels untersucht den Umgang von Ortelius mit kartografischem Material und seine Art, Beschreibungen auf den Rückseiten von Karten zu verfassen, was Ortelius als den Hauptvorteil seines Atlases ansah. Der Erfolg der vielfach aufgelegten Publikation zeigt die bedeutende Einwirkung dieser Texte auf das Grundwissen der europäischen Gesellschaft der früheren Neuzeit über Regionen und Länder. Auch die Analyse zweier lateinischer Versionen der Beschreibung Böhmens beweist, dass Ortelius versucht hat, die im Atlas enthaltenen Informationen zu aktualisieren.

Die 1568 von Johann Criginger herausgegebene Karte von Böhmen wurde von Ortelius mit Bemerkungen zu einigen böhmischen Städten und anderen Orten ergänzt, die Sebastian Münsters Werk *Cosmographia* entnommen sind. Bei der ersten lateinischen Beschreibung Böhmens stützte sich der Autor hauptsächlich auf die Arbeit der *Historia Bohemica* Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Papst Pius II.). Den Text für die zweite Version der Beschreibung, die in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* enthalten ist, beginnend mit der

lateinischen Ausgabe des Atlases von 1574, wurde dem kürzlich erschienenen Werk von Joannes Dubravius *Historiae Regni Boemiae* entnommen. Die Anhänge umfassen Transkriptionen beider Ortelius Beschreibungen von Böhmen.

Schlüsselwörter: Abraham Ortelius, Historische Kartographie, Atlanten, Johann Criginger, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II.), Joannes Dubravius, Geschichtsschreibung