## OD KIJOWA DO RZYMU

Z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej ze Stolicą Apostolską i Ukrainą

pod redakcją M. R. Drozdowskiego, W. Walczaka, K. Wiszowatej-Walczak Białystok 2012

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## Two newly-discovered seventeenth-century manuscript maps of Ukraine\*

The recently-published catalogue of manuscript maps in Swedish collections by Ulla Ehrensvärd covers a lengthy period — from the sixteenth to the twentieth century — and lists 1609 cartographic items which relate to the Polish ethnic territories, as well as those non-Polish, which were formerly part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> The aim of this article this is to examine and comment only on two items (nos. 1507–1508) listed in the catalogue: the hitherto unknown seventeenth-century maps of Ukraine located in the cartographic collections of Stockholm's Krigsarkivet (Military Archives). The author of the

<sup>\*</sup> I should like to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Bertil Olofsson, photographer at the Kriegsarkivet in Stockholm, Sweden, for kindly providing me with much needed assistance and information concerning the two maps discussed in this article, as well as to Ms. P. Louise Buck, cartographer at Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada, for determining their scales in representative fractions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ulla Ehrensvärd, *Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930: Catalogue of Manuscript Maps in Swedish Collections to the History of Polish Territories* [The title is also listed in Polish; hereafter cited as *Cartographica Poloniae*] (Warsaw–Stockholm, 2008). Earlier Björn Gäfvert pointed out the significance of the Swedish Military Archives relating to the history of Polish cartography. See his article and reproductions of maps in "Seventeenth and eighteenth century maps of Poland in the Swedish Military Archives," in: *Kartografia wojskowa krajów strefy bałtyckiej XVI–XX w.*, ed. by Stanisław Alexandrowicz, Zbigniew Karpus and Waldemar Rezmer (Toruń, 1996), pp. 7–9 and 21 reproductions of maps.

catalogue assigns both maps to Guillaume Le Vasseur, Sieur de Beauplan (ca. 1600-after 1 January 1675), whose name is well-known in the French, Polish and Ukrainian history of cartography.<sup>2</sup> Both maps were worked on in the 1630s. This third decade was characterized by very turbulent times for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The following is a list of the most significant modern references (since 1990) relating to the accomplishments of Beauplan as an author, cartographer and military engineer: Guillaume Le Vasseur, Sieur de Beauplan, La Description d'Ukranie de Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, ed. by Dennis F. Essar and Andrew B. Pernal (Ottawa, 1990); idem, Onuc України, кількох провінцій Корлівства Польського, що тягннутья від кордонів Московії до границь Трансільванії, разом з їхніми звичаями, пособом життя і ведення воєн, ed. by В. А. Смолий et al. (Київ, 1990); idem, A Description of Ukraine, trans. and ed. by Andrew B. Pernal and Dennis F. Essar (Cambridge, MA, 1993); idem, Omucanue Vicpaunia, trans. by З. П. Борисюк, ed. by А. Л. Хрошкевич and Е. Н. Ющенко (Москва, 2004); Мар[i]я Вавричин, "Карти України Гіїома Боплана як істіричне джерело," in: Kartografia wojskowa krajów strefy bałtyckiej XVI--XX w., ed. by Stanisław Alexandrowicz, Zbigniew Karpus and Waldemar Rezmer (Toruń, 1996), рр. 51-61; Боплан і Україна: Збірник нуковших праць, ed. by Марія Вавричин and Олег Голько et al. (Львів, 1998); Спеціальна карта України Гіїома Левассера де Боплана 1650 року, ed. by Марія Вавричин and Олег Голько (Київ-Львів, 2000); and Marek Wagner, "Beauplan Wilhelm (Le Vasseur de Guillaume)," Slownik Biograficzny Techników Polskich, 18(2007), s. 7-9. The following two significant scholarly works, relating to the history of cartography, appeared after the submission of this article to the publisher: Karol Łopatecki and Wojciech Walczak, Mapy i plany Rzeeczypospolitej XVII w. znajudjące się w archiwach w Sztokholmie [The title and text are also listed in English; hereafter cited as Mapy i plany], 2 vols. (Warszawa, 2011); and Марія Вавриичин and Олег Голько, Генеральна карта України Гійома Левассера de Боллана 1660 року (Київ-Львів, 2011). The bibliographic items listed above contain, as well, earlier references to Beauplan, of which especially important are the contributions and research of Karol Buczek (1902-1983).

<sup>3</sup> On the general state of affairs within the Commonwealth — particularly those relating to the Cossacks in Ukraine — including the neighbouring countries, during the 1630s and 1640s (to 1648), see the following articles and monographs: Agnieszka Biedrzycka, "Przed powstaniem Pawluka: Stosunki polsko-kozackie (grudzień 1635-lipiec 1637)," Studia Historyczne, 42, 4 (1999), 505-519; eadem, "Złoty pokój: Kozacy zaporoscy w służbie Rzeczypospolitej 1639-1647," Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, vol. MCCXXXVIII, no. 127 (2000), 27-38; eadem, "Wstęp", in Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego hetmana wielkiego koronnego 1632–1646 [hereafter cited as Korespondencja], ed. by Agnieszka Biedrzycka (Kraków, 2005), pp. 7-79; Albert Borowiak, Powstanie kozackie 1638 (Zabrze, 2010); Marcin Gaweda, Powstanie kozackie 1637 (Zabrze, 2007); Wiktor Czermak, Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV (Kraków, 1895); Hetmani zaporoscy w służbie króla i Rzeczypospolitej, ed. by P. Kroll, M. Nagielski and M. Wagner (Zabrze, 2010), pp. 162-221; Mykhailo Hrushevsky, History of Ukraine-Rus', vol. 8: The Cossack Age, 1626-1650, ed. by Frank E. Sysyn with the assistance of Myroslav Yurkevich, trans. by Marta Daria Olynyk (Edmonton-Toronto, 2002), 4-366; Mirosław Nagielski, "Kozaczyzna czasów Władysława IV (1632–1648)," Przegląd Wschodni, 1, 4 (1991), 791– -815; and Władysław A. Serczyk, Na dalekiej Ukrainie. Dzieje Kozaczyzny do 1648 roku (Kraków, 1984), pp. 312–345.

## 1. Map of the Dnipro (Dniepr) River<sup>4</sup>

This manuscript map is without a title. Generally oriented to the south, it covers the area on both banks of the Dnipro River<sup>5</sup> from Kyiv (Kijów) to Khortytsia (Chortyca) Island and contains an inset of the plan of the newly-constructed Kodak (Kudak) fortress.<sup>6</sup> It is an exceptional cartographic example, for its size measures approximately 29 x 212 cm. Various details about this map are provided by Ulla Ehrensvärd; however, some of her comments have to be questioned and corrected.

She dates the map "c. 1635" and states that it is "original to the engravings published by Joan Blaeu in 1662."<sup>7</sup> With regard to 1635, it should be noted that the year represents the building by Beauplan, in July of 1635, of the first Kodak "citadel."<sup>8</sup> For its construction, the sum of 100,000 Polish *zlotych* had been appropriated by the first Diet of 1635.<sup>9</sup> However, this fortress did not last long, as it was captured and sacked in the following month by the Cossacks, commanded by Ivan Sulima, who were returning from their Black Sea raid against the Turks. On this occasion the garrison of Kodak, "which consisted of some two hundred men under the command of Colonel [Jean] Marion," ... was "cut to pieces."<sup>10</sup> The Cossack rebellions in the years 1637 and 1638, as well as the chronic lack of funds

<sup>7</sup> Cartographica Poloniae, p. 290.

<sup>8</sup> With regard to the history of Kodak see Czołowski, "Kudak. Przyczynki do zalozenia i upadku twierdzy", pp. 161–184; Michał Antoniów, "Przyczynki do dziejów Kudaku," in: *Prace historyczne w 30-lecie działanności profesorskiej Stanisława Zakrzewskiego* (Lwów, 1934), pp. 278–294; and Maryan Dubiecki, *Kudak, twierdza kresowa i jej okolice*, rev. and exp. ed. (Warszawa, 1900).

<sup>9</sup> See the resolution of the Diet entitled "Pohamowanie inkursyi morskich, od woyska Zaporowskiego," in: *Volumina legum. Przedruk zbioru praw staraniem xx. Pijarów w Warszawie, od roku 1732, do roku 1782, wydanego*, vol. 3, comp. by Jozafat Ohryzko (Petersburg, 1859 [reprint: Warszawa, 1980), 403–404.

<sup>10</sup> A Description of Ukraine, p. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Krigsarkivet, Stockholm. Utländska kartor. Ryssland. Nd 34: XXXIII. This map is published, with a commentary, in Mapy i plany, 1, 194–203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Since all of the territory on the two maps are located at present in Ukraine, the Ukrainian spelling shall be used for all topographic names. The Polish versions of Ukrainian names appear in parentheses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Demensia fortecy na kodackie[m] porohu is another plan of Kodak, which was prepared approximately in 1639. It can be found in the manuscript atlas entitled *Topographica practica conscripta et recognitia per Fridericum Getkant mechanicum*. This map is published and described by Tadeusz Nowak, "Polski atlas wojskowy z lat 1634–1639," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 15, 2(1969), 48– –49; and by Karol Łopatecki and Wojciech Walczak in *Mapy i plany*, 1, 149–157; 2, fig. 15. See also Aleksander Czołowski, "Kudak. Przyczynki do założenia i upadku twierdzy," "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 40, 2(1926), 169–171.

in the Crown treasury prevented the reconstruction of Kodak until the following year. Thus, the proper date of this map should be 1639, as this corresponds to the beginning construction of the new Kodak fortress and Beauplan's exploratory and surveying trip down and up the Dnipro River. Stanisław Koniecpolski, Grand Crown Hetman, started the process of rebuilding Kodak by ordering his troops to assemble near Kaniv (Kaniów) on 27 June 1639,<sup>11</sup> and then by arriving at the building site of Kodak with them approximately on 10 July 1639.<sup>12</sup> Once the new fortress was built and considered to be secure, he departed on 3 August. On that date he issued detailed instructions with regard to its maintenance and operation to Jan Wojsław Żółtowski, the newly-appointed "governor" of Kodak.<sup>13</sup>

The same year also corresponds to Beauplan's exploratory and surveying trip down and up the Dnipro River. He states that, in 1639,

The great and magnanimous Koniecpolski went in person to Kudak with 4,000 men, where he remained until the fort was secured, which was done in a period of one month or thereabout. The general then departed, taking 2,000 men with him, and ordered me to take a number of men and pieces of cannon, and reconnoiter [by land] as far [south] as the last poroh [— the term designates a threshold of stone or rock, causing rapids on the Dnipro River]. He then instructed me to make the return journey upriver by boat, in the company of Monseigneur [Mikołaj] Ostroróg, Grand Chamberlain [— actually Crown Cup-Bearer]. This gave me the opportunity to see the cascades of the thirteen rapids, and to prepare my map of them as you see it. [...] A half-league downstream [from the crossing called Kiczkas] is located the upper end of Chortyca [island], but since I have not [personally] gone further [south] in that direction, I shall relate to you only what I have learned from the accounts of others, and hence I cannot guarantee the truth of it.<sup>14</sup>

With regard to Ulla Ehrensvärd's second statement, this manuscript map served as an origin for at least two of the small maps which were engraved by Willem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Stanisław Koniecpolski to Władysław IV, Mykulyntsi (Mikulińce), 23 May 1639: in: *Korespondencja*, p. 537.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Stanisław Koniecpolski to Jakub Zadzik, Camp on the Tiasmyn (Taśmin) River near Kryliv (Kryłów), 5 July 1639: in: *Korespondencja*, p. 542. He writes: "Zaczym dnia jutrzejszego (i. e. 6 July) stąd się ruszywszy, dnia piątego (i. e. 10 July) na Kudaku stanę, ...".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Instructions of Koniecpolski, Kodak, 3 August 1639: in: Korespondencja, pp. 700–702.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> A Description of Ukraine, pp. 25, 28. Beauplan undoubtedly was referring to this manuscript map, which covers the distance from Kyiv to Khortytsia Island; however, since he did not possess it while residing in France, he could not include it in his book. Thus, instead of the Dnipro River map, a new version of the "General" map of Ukraine was prepared for his book by the publisher.

Hondius and printed in Gdańsk in 1652,<sup>15</sup> These, in turn — supplemented by the "General" maps of Ukraine<sup>16</sup> — served as examples for the engraving and publication of the three-sheet Dnipro River maps<sup>17</sup> in the "Major" or "Grand" atlases published in the Latin, French, Dutch and Spanish languages by Joan Blaeu.<sup>18</sup> What still remains a mystery, is how these small maps, engraved and printed in Gdańsk in 1652, managed to reach Blaeu in Amsterdam. It appears that the manuscript map of the Dnipro River must have been taken as a booty by the Swedes from the Royal Palace in Warsaw in 1655, along with the atlas of Fryderyk Getkant (ca. 1602–1666), entitled *Topographica practica.*<sup>19</sup>

The construction of Kodak in 1635 and its rebuilding in 1639 also caused problems from an unexpected source - the Ottoman Porte. The Turkish authorities claiming that, since the fortress was built illegally on the Ottoman territory, it had to be razed. As this issue emerged during an attempt of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to secure a renewal of a peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire, the authorities in Warsaw had to present clear arguments contradicting this claim. Thus, Wojciech Miaskowski, Chamberlain of L'viv (Lwów), who was appointed envoy to Constantinople, received detailed instructions and memoranda regarding this matter.<sup>20</sup> During his audiences with Grand Vizier Kemankes Kara Mustafa Pasa and Sultan Ibrahim, Miaskowski convinced them that Kodak was located on Commonwealth's territory. Moreover, he stressed that the fortress served, as well, the interests of the Ottoman Empire, as it was a "bit" which kept the Cossacks in check. Kodak with its garrison and guns insured that Cossacks could neither sail their craft, nor float any food supplies, gunpowder and linden wood for the construction of their boats down the Dnipro River to Zaporozhe (Zaporoże). In this way the Cossacks were effectively stopped from making "incursions on the Black Sea" and land raids on

<sup>19</sup> See *Cartographica Poloniae*, p. 15. In the recently-published cartographic monograph, Karol Łopatecki and Wojciech Walczak have made a detailed analysis of the genesis and contents of this atlas and reprinted each map in its actual size. See their *Mapy i plany*, 1, 64–157; 2, fig. 1–15.

<sup>20</sup> See the instructions and memoranda of King Władysław IV, Grand Crown Chancellor Piotr Gembicki and Grand Crown Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski in 1640 to Wojciech Miaskowski, in: *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, [hereafter cited as *Wielka legacja*], ed. by Adam Przyboś (Kraków, 1985), pp. 169–179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid., see maps A.3.a.-A.3.l., and pp. xli-xlix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid., see maps A.1.c.-A.1.e., and pp. xxix-xxxi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid., see maps A.4.a.-A.4.e., and pp. xlix-li.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The multi-language Blaeu atlases have been examined in detail by C. Koeman and H. J. A. Homan. See their *Atlantes Neerlandici. Bibliography of terrestrial, maritime and celestial atlases and pilot books, published in the Netherlands up to 1880*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam and Alphen aan den Rijn, 1967–1985). See also Koeman's monograph: *Joan Blaeu and His Grand Atlas* (Amsterdam, 1970).

Turkish possessions.<sup>21</sup> Miaskowski's diligent diplomatic efforts brought about the desired results: the renewed peace treaty between the two states contained no article relating Kodak.<sup>22</sup>

It should also be noted that during his negotiations in Constantinople Miaskowski had a map with him — he provides no details about it, except that it depicted Ukraine, its major rivers and the location of Kodak. Perhaps he possessed a copy, or its updated version, of the Beauplan map, entitled T*abula Geographica Ukrainska*, an example of which can be found in the Getkant atlas.<sup>23</sup> The grand vizier wanted to see the map and the site of Kodak. Miaskowski, however, decided not to show it to him for security reasons. Instead, using a couch, he traced with a stick the outline of "our Ukraine and its chief rivers — Dnipro, Dnister (Dniestr) and Boh," to show that Kodak, this "bit for the Cossacks," was not erected on Ottoman territory.<sup>24</sup>

The manuscript map of the Dnipro River contains the following features:

(A) Several texts, scales, colouring and other information are provided by Ulla Ehrensvärd.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, also shown on the map are details regarding the river's banks, tributaries, islands, rapids — although they are not named — ravines, forested areas and, as it appears, temporary dwellings, used either for boat construction or for seasonal fishing stations. The inset of the fortress Kodak reveals all its buildings — they are not shown in the 1652 map. The interior of Kodak can be easily measured in ells.<sup>26</sup> One detail of the interior, which has been the cause of a dispute in the past — concerning the location of the Dominican church (or convent) — can be finally solved: it appears that, according to the plan, one sacral structure was to be built inside the walls of the fortress for the use of the Kodak garrison and other

<sup>23</sup> Regarding this map see Nowak, Nowak, "Polski atlas wojskowy z lat 1634–1639", pp. 49–51, as well as *Mapy i plany*, 1, 152–157; and its reproduction, 2, fig. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Report of Wojciech Miaskowski to Władysław IV, Constantinople, 1 May 1640: *ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Treaty between Ibrahim I and Władysław IV, Constantinople, 3 decade of the month of Muharram AH 1050 [13–22 May AD 1640]. The original document is located in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Warsaw). For its description and summary see Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455–1672* (Warszawa, 1959), pp. 312–314. For the Polish translation of the treaty see *Wielka legacja*, pp. 187–192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Report of Wojciech Miaskowski to Władysław IV, Constantinopole, 1 May 1640: *Wielka legacja*, p. 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> *Cartographica Poloniae*, pp. 290–291. In her view, the German-language texts were made by Willem Hondius. The German texts, and their translation into the English and the Polish, are also listed in *Mapy i plany*, 1, 199, 201 and 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> At present Kodak is considered to be a historical site in Ukraine. Since the 1970s ruins of the fortress have been surveyed and records of its past prepared. See file no. 2.4.266-2.4.4. of the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture.

permanent non-military dewellers; while another building was to be erected, outside the walls of the fortress, to meet the spiritual needs of people within the developing settlement.<sup>27</sup> Additional characteristics about Kodak and its environment are provided by Bogusław Kazimierz Maskiewicz, who arrived at Kodak in the retinue of Prince Jeremi Wiśniowiecki on 6 October 1647. He stated that most of the smaller huts within the fortress, occupied by various tradesmen, were very closely situated. To move from one to the other, individuals had to crawl on all fours. On the outside of the walls a settlement developed; it comprised some 60 dwellings. Its inhabitants were chiefly fishermen. Moreover, there also existed a bazaar by the Dnipro River. Half a Polish mile<sup>28</sup> from Kodak stood a watch tower, garrisoned by 100 infantrymen armed with muskets and 10 cavalrymen. From the tower approaches could be seen in all directions for the distance of some eight Polish miles.<sup>29</sup>

(B) The following topographic names — they are listed in the original spelling: (1) Barizpole, (2) Bobŭwka, (3) Borowika, (4) Borŭstenes fluvius Oder Nieper Strom (2 times), (5) Bŭdilow flŭ[vius], (6) Buzin, (7) Cÿbułnik flu[vius], (8) Czehriin, (9) Czehrin Dąprowa, (10) Czyrkassÿ, (11) Demockan flŭ[vius], (12) Deniszkÿ, (13) Dolina, (14) Domŭntow, (15) Drŭgi Omielnik flu[vius], (16) Horodyscze, (17) Ieremiouka, (18) Iwanko, (19) Kaczkasow flu[vius], (20) Kaniow, (21) Karlet flu[vius], (22) Kiiow, (23) Kowalina, (24) Krasne flu[vius] (2 times), (25) Kryłow, (26) Krzemienczŭk, (27) Kŭdacze flu[vius], (28) Lisianka flu[vius] (2 times), (29) Man flu[vius], (30) Masznowka, (31) Miedzÿrzÿes, (32) Mikolinski, (33) Mosow Dolina, (34) Moszna, (35) Moszna flu[vius], (36) Omiełnik, (37) Osikozowska flu[vius], (38) Orel flu[vius], (39) Picozana, (40) Pieczarÿ, (41) Piwo, (42) Psizoł flu[vius], (43) Ros flu[vius], (44) Rusow, (45) Samara flu[vius], (46) Schanz Kŭdak, (47) Słupierz, (48) Stare, (49) Staÿkÿ, (50) Sturez, (51) Suchy Omielnik flu[vius], (52) Suła flu[vius], (53) Sŭpoi flŭ[vius], (54) Tasmin flu[vius], (55) Tripolo, (56) Trethÿmirow, (57) Trŭbiec flu[vius], (58) Wolniow flu[vius], (59) Wolnÿ flu[vius], (60) Woronowa flu[vius], (61) Woronowka, (62) Wosklo flu[vius],

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See Dubiecki, Kudak, twierdza kresowa i jej okolice, pp. 81–95; Czołowski, "Kudak. Przyczynki do zalozenia i ipadku twierdzy", p. 171; Bogusław Dybaś, Fortece Rzeczypospolitej. Studium z dziejów budowy fortyfikacji stałych w państwie polsko-litewskim w XVII wieku (Toruń, 1998), p. 151; and Piotr Stolarski, Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648 (Farnham, UK, 2010), pp. 69–70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> One Polish mile at this time equaled 7,146 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See Pamiętniki Samuela i Bogusława Kazimierza Maskiewiczów (wiek XVII), intro. and notes Alojzy Sajkowski; ed. and foreword by Władysław Czapliński (Wrocław, 1961), p. 233. Unfortunately, the plan of Kodak and the site where Wiśniowiecki's troops were quartered, which he prepared in the original version of his memoir, have perished. See *ibid.*, p. 232.

(63) Worskło flu[vius] (crossed out), (64) Worozowka, (65) Zamokawt, and (66) Zolnin. The handwriting on this map resembles that of Beauplan.<sup>30</sup>

2. Prototype of the "Special" Map of Ukraine<sup>31</sup>

This map, similar to the Getkant atlas (which contained the map of Ukraine), was most likely also pillaged from the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 1655. The map's date of origin — 1635 — and its author — Beauplan — as listed by Ulla Ehrensvärd, may be accepted for several reasons. It has been established that Beauplan played a significant role in the fortification of Brody and Pidhortsi (Podhorce) in the 1630s. This is clearly shown on the map. Bar, also prominently depicted on the map, is shown without any new defensive construction, because Beauplan did not begin to work there until the middle of 1646. One characteristic of this map is that much of it is blank and courses of even major rivers are missing. This is a clear evidence that Beauplan, by 1635, did not yet have time to prepare a proper cartographic survey of the entire area. Moreover, it is obvious that parts of this map are missing. The best example is the half cartouche at the bottom of the map. It is also uncertain whether any land surveys had been completed on the left bank of the Dnipro River. However, unlike the map of the Dnipro River discussed above, this one is not in the handwriting of Beauplan.<sup>32</sup> This can be explained by his lack of knowledge of the Polish language. He therefore chose an assistant, fluent in Polish, in order to aid him with the proper spelling of place names. However, looking at the spelling closely, one will find certain curious localisms, such as the following: Zbarasz, Podorce, Białła Cerkiew, Winica and Zwiial, instead of Zbaraż, Podhorce, Biała Cerkiew, Winnica and Zwiahel. It should also be pointed out that his prototype map is oriented generally to the north, while that engraved in 1650 at Gdańsk and known as the "special" map of Ukraine, is oriented to the south.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Comparisons have been made with the cursive and printing on his manuscript maps of Brittany (1669) and his plans of the French ports (1665–1675). See *A Description of Ukraine*, pp. lii-lvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Krigsarkivet, Stockholm. Utländska kartor. Polen. Bd 29: III. It is rerproduced in reduced size in *Cartographica Poloniae*, p. 366, and in fragments of various sizes in *Mapy i plany*, 1, 190–193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The handwriting on this map is quite similar to that of Józef Naronowicz-Naroński (ca. 1610– –1678). See illustrations of his penmanship in Józef Naronowicz-Naroński, *Kartografia. O delineacyjach miejsc różnych i czynieniu map geographice*, ed. by Tadeusz Marian Nowak (Białystok, 2002). Perhaps he was associated with and aided cartographic work of Beauplan earlier than 1639–1640, as suggested by Alexandrowicz. See Stanisław Alexandrowicz, "Józef Naroński współautorem Beauplanowskich map Ukrainy i Dniepru z połowy XVII wieku," in *Pax et bellum*, ed. by Karol Olejnik (Poznań, 1993), pp. 17–27.

The following are the chief characteristicas — apart from those already listed by Ulla Ehrensvärd — of this manuscript map:

(A) Notes and texts. (1) By Kiiow: To Miasto Kiiow, ktore przedtym znamienite było, Tatarowie zniesli [w] Roku 1241. Naweth y wszytkie te kraie Ruskie. Asz y potym Sęndomierz, Lęczyce, Siradz, szturmem wziąwszy. Wielką liczbę sliachty y inszych ludzi poscinali. Potym przysli pod Krakow wliczbie po pięckroc sto tysięcy. To miasto spalili. Także y Wrocław sląski. Teraz to Miasto Kiiow iest wielce osiadłe, iednak dlia ognia niebespieczne, gdysz pod wyssoką grozą liezy, sktoryby wielką szkodą czynic mogł nieprzyjaciel. (2) By Alexandrow: Tu ustawaią Polia rowne u przewozu przez Horen. (3) By Miedzybesz: Tu początek Ukrainy od Płoskiego Rowu nad Bogiem Rzeką. (4) By the forest at the confluence of Bog and Row Rivers: Tu wty Stronie Opryszkowie znajdują się. (5) Below Jenatia: Tu strusza pobito. (6) Above Rupcza: Przewoz. (7) Above Rosin: 1. Mogiły, 2. Mogiły. (8) Above Wasulko: Mogiła obrosła. (9) Above Romanowka: Wałł.

(B) Regional names: (1) Podolie, (2) Wołyn, (3) Vkrainy część.

(C) Rivers: (1) Bog (2 times), (2) Bozek, (3) Bystrzyca, (4) Ciecierof, (5)Dezwica, (6) Dziesna, (7) Kamionka, (8) Niepr, (9) Powołoczka, (10) Rastawica, (11) Ros, (12) Row, (13) Rowek, (14) Sietnia, (15) Sierpien, (16) Słucz, (17) Stucha, (18) Tnia, (19) Unawa, (20) Wasulko, (21) Wolk and one unnamed.

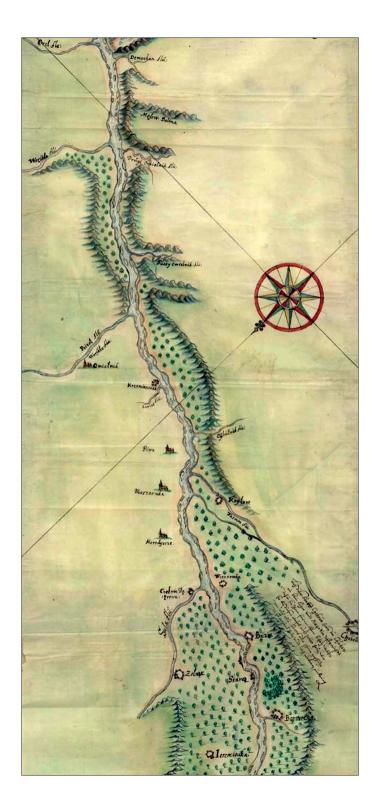
(D) Towns: (1) Alexendrow, (2) Andruszewsk, (3) Bar, (4) Baranow, (5) Białiłowka, (6) Białła Cerkiew, (7) Białogrodek, (9) Brailow, (10) Brieszow, (11)Brusiłow, (12) Brodÿ, (13) Caraiewie, (14) Choliewicze, (15) Chorłup, (16) Choroscia, (17) Czarnegrodek, (18) Czarnoostrow, (19) Czerniechow, (20)Czudnow, (21) Daraznia, (22) Dimidowce, (23) Dziedzyny, (24) Falstow, (25) Hasbiekow, (26) Hubin, (27) Ilkuwce, (28) Iwanowce, (29) Jaroń, (30) Jenatia, (31) Karabczynow, (32) Kiiow, (33) Kliewanie, (34) Koliny, (35) Korasczeszewo, (36) Kordyn, (37) Korzec, (38) Kosciołko, (39) Kotelnia, (40) Kropinia, (41) Lazanuka, (42) Leszoryn, (43) Liesniowka, (44) Luck, (45) Łatyczewo, (46) Manaczyn, (47) Miedzybesz, (48) Miredzyrow, (49) Miedzyrzec, (50) Mołodki, (51) Mołoiec, (52) Mułazyn, (53) Niesłonno, (54) Oliexeniec, (55) Ołyka, (56) Opariwszy, (57) Pereptyska, (58) Płoskirow, (59) Podorce, (60) Pokiscze, (61) Powołocz, (62) Pozin, (63) Przyłuka, (64) Pulin, (65) Romanow, (66) Romanowka, (67) Rosian, (68) Roszki, (69) Rupcza, (70) Samgrodek, (71) Smuderow, (72) Sokołow, (73) Srietowka, (74) Strzyzawka, (75) Tęczyn, (76) Trzypolie, (77) Wasulko, (78) Weresczyn, (79) Wierzchurnia, (80) Winica, (81) Wisnia, (82) Woiczyscze, (83) Wołoczyscze, (84) Woytaszewska, (85) Zaboroie, (86) Zbarasz, (87) Zimna Woda, (88) Zwiiàl, (89) Zytomirz.

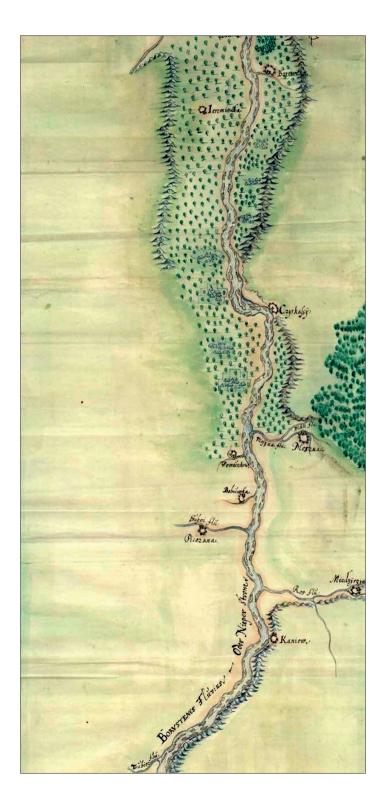
(E) Other: (1) Podkamień klasztor.

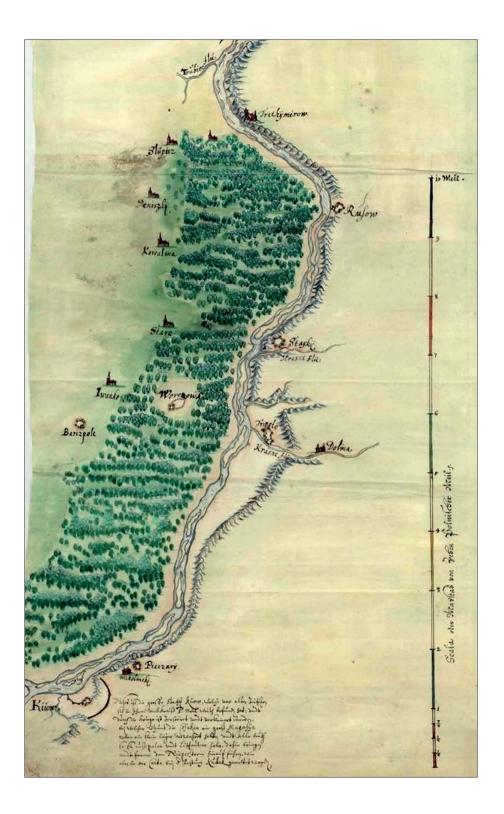
Ulla Ehrensvärd's *Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930* provides important and valuable information relating to primary cartographic sources. Her praiseworthy

efforts in compiling this catalogue will undoubtedly create interest among scholars and non-scholars alike, all those who are interested in the cartographic history of Eastern Europe. It is sincerely hoped that their activity will result in many papers given at conferences, as well as interesting publications of scholarly articles and monographs.











Map of the Dnipro River. Reproduced with permission of the Krigsarkivet (Stockholm)

Jo Iliasto XII OW, ktore prechtyn Itamienite byto: Tetacomie spasie Rothi 1241. Renord y mesosphie to have Ruchie. As y potyn Scalamies, Lockyc Stade subara whie: with Wields lists statisty investig to concast. Origin pla-oti pod Riachow, which is po perme she gring. To mais south Takie y Uteochao shashi: Total to Iliasto Xiliow with micke conalle, johad the ogsie nichospiche, shure od unfoch goes liege, shored with schoole objasie and superface on Kilow itow Mutasyn Buston 12 Miogila Wasulke wardle Ste Grodok. Hasbickow. werest Condya de Tray Fastow. Stuba flu: norta Biatta Colion. wolock al Ros. Alu: Carabosynow Tenatia. Ti strula obito se. OR. me.



Prototype of the "Special" map of Ukraine. Reproduced with permission of the Krigsarkivet (Stockholm)