Historical cartography of Muscovy: symbols and emblems

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the historical cartography of Moscow kingdom of the 16-17th centuries and symbolic emblematic designation of Muscovy and adjacent territories. Four types of heraldic emblems were revealed. Some of them have various own versions. The rider was used by cartographers only in the 16th century. In the earliest version, the rider had a bow. The double-headed eagle was used since 1610. The original emblem of the beginning of the 16th century was an image of a lion and a dragon. The open gate was used on some maps since the second half of the 16th century until the end of the 17th century. The emblem is connected with ancient ideas of the northern peoples who were locked up by Alexander the Great with the help of the gates of the northern peoples identified with the peoples of Gog and Magog in the Christian tradition.

1. Introduction
Historical and cartographic research is one of the important directions in world and national historiography. Historical maps can provide a lot of important information on the history of geographical representations and geographical development, serve as a source for symbolic topography, semantics of conventional graphic or color symbols, images etc., including emblems.

The visual symbolization of territories on the maps could be carried out in several ways: images (real or conventional) of rulers, local people and / or animals, sketches illustrating rituals, emblems. In the latter case, historical cartography was closely connected with imaginary heraldry, the symbolic designation of those phenomena and persons who did not have these symbols, but should have, according to compilers and “users” of the maps [1]. In addition to emblems, the visual symbolization could be carried out with the help of vexillological images. This tradition is characteristic of portulans of the XIV – XVI centuries. [2].

The symbolic-emblematic representation of space on geographical maps with reference to the cartographic “Rossica” is understudied [3]. The article aims to identify, systematize and define the semantics of the emblems which were used on European maps of the XVI-XVII centuries to designate the Russian state, Muscovy. Special attention is paid to the emblems that reflect ethno-geographical representations of medieval and Renaissance geographic literature.

2. Materials and methods
The materials used for the study are maps and plans published in Western Europe from 1516 (Martin Waldsemüller map) to the end of the XVII century. Since the beginning of the XVII century, many maps were compiled by Dutch travelers and cartographers. Not all the maps featured heraldic emblems of Russia.
Reports and catalogs of maps of the XVI – XVII centuries published in pre-revolutionary and Soviet historiography [4, 5] are still important. Historical and geographical science contains a general source study review of European cartography in Muscovy [6]. The following methods were used: analysis of graphic and cartographic sources; comparison of emblems on maps and in armorial places, on material monuments, in geographical descriptions.

3. The study of the symbols and emblems on the maps of Muscovy

Analysis of the heraldic emblems of geographical maps of the Russian state of the XVI-XVII centuries identified four types of heraldic images designating Muscovy.

The first type is an armed rider known as the emblem of the great princes of Moscow since the beginning of the XV century. The rider kills a dragon with a spear was perceived as a symbol of the great sovereign, the king who defeats enemies. The figure of the rider corresponded to the title “sovereign” [7]. The rider was present on the seals of the great princes since the end of the XV century, and on the coins of the Moscow kingdom since the 1530s. There are two types of images of the rider - with a spear and with a sword (saber). This emblem was well known to foreigners who visited Muscovy. It was perceived as a symbol of Moscow. However, on geographic maps the rider is known only in three cases. These are maps created by O. Magnus, SS. von Herberstein who personally visited Moscow, and brothers van Deutekom. They all relate to the time between 1539s and 1560s.

One map created by O. Magnus, the rider is depicted with an arrow and a bow which does not find analogues in the Russian visual material. In our opinion, the comparison of Russia with Scythia and Sarmatia (typical of the geographical literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance) could have affected this image. This view could also affect the image of rider’s armor and weapons on the seals of the Moscow Great Princes beginning with Ivan the Third. On the maps attached to various editions of Herbershtein's “Notes”, a shield with a horseman accompanies the image of the Great Prince sitting on the throne. Thus, the affiliation of this emblem to the sovereign rather than the state is reflected in cartographic sources.

Unlike the maps by O. Magnus and S. Herberstein, on the map by the van Deutekom brothers, the image of the dragonslayer-horseman in the coat of arms is presented without any connection with the figure of the sovereign. The van Deutekom’s map is completely devoid of images of rulers, although it has images of local residents and animals that sometimes make up whole scenes. Thus, it demonstrates the next stage in the cartographic understanding of the emblem of the Moscow horseman. Apparently, by the middle of the XVI century, the emblem with the dragon-fighter was perceived not so much as the personal emblem of the Moscow sovereign, but as the emblem of the country subject to him – the Moscow Grand Princedom. The prevalence of the horseman on European maps in the first half of the XVI century, before the double-headed eagle became the emblem of Russia on them, can be explained by the fact that it was the image of the horseman that was placed on the front of the seals of the Russian monarchs, and only in 1561 did the horseman and the eagle combine into a single heraldic emblem. Apparently, the decisive role in the formation of the tradition of the image of the dragon fighter on the maps was played precisely by the work of S. Herberstein, which became very popular in Europe and was repeatedly reprinted during the 16th century.

The second type of Russian emblems is the image of a two-headed eagle which symbolized the Russian state (rather than the sovereign). For the first time, this image was used on the Sigismund Plan of Moscow in 1610. Due to the popularity of the Dutch map by H. Gerrits in 1613, the double-headed eagle with a rider on his chest became a heraldic designation of the Moscow kingdom in the XVII century. His images are present in Dutch cartography, including maps and atlases by I. Massa and the Blaeu dynasty. There are 8 types of images of this emblem. They correspond to the images of a two-headed eagle used in the official Russian heraldry throughout the XVII century [8]. Other symbols are also used (e.g., sables that served as one of the main Russian export items).

It is important to note the fact that some elements in the image of the Russian double-headed eagle by European cartographers carried a certain modernization. For instance, on the map of Russia by G. Gerrits (1613) and on the plan of Moscow by M. Merian (1638), the wings of the double-headed eagle
are raised, while on the official sphragistic images, the wings of the Russian eagle were still down (they rose only from 1654-1667). Such modernization can be explained by the influence of the European heraldic tradition (primarily, the state heraldry of the Holy Roman Empire), and it finds analogues in some works of decorative and applied art of European masters who worked in Russia. For example, the saadak of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich, made in 1627, is also decorated with enamel images of double-headed eagles, but with wings raised according to the European model.

Another detail is the crown topping the cartouches with the coats of arms. On the maps by G. Gerrits and I. Massa, this crown has the appearance of an imperial one with two hemispheres, again similar to the crown of the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Meanwhile, in reality, the crowns of the Russian tsars were wreaths, and only in the era of Peter I did a European-type crown appear in Russia. Giving the Russian emblem imperial elements on European maps testifies to the perception of Russia – or rather, the Moscow kingdom – as an empire state, that is, equal in status to the Habsburg empire.

At the same time, maps and plans by those people who personally visited Muscovy demonstrate greater accuracy in the image of emblems. Such, for example, is the coat of arms of Russia on the plan of Moscow by A. Oleariy, who visited Moscow twice in the mid-1630s and made an extremely detailed and accurate description of it.

The third type of heraldic emblems is a very original image. It was found only on one map of the beginning of the XVI century. It was built by M. Waldseemüller in 1516 [9]. This emblem is placed next to the conventional image of the “Great prince and emperor of Russia and Muscovy” who seats on a throne and represents a lion and a dragon opposing each other. Some German emblems of the first half of the XVI century can be considered as analogues.

The same heraldic image in the shield flanks a travel arch of the Borovitskaya Tower of Moscow Kremlin. It was built in 1490 [10]. The semantics of this image is unclear. It goes back to one of the types of emblems on the personal seals of Ivan the Third depicting a lion tearing a snake. This composition became known in Europe thanks to foreigners visiting Moscow Kremlin at the turn of the XV and XVI centuries. It was not included in the most sublime official emblems of Moscow kingdom, but it was reflected in Western European heraldic and cartographic materials.

The fourth type of emblems was found on Dutch maps. First of all, this is a unique map built by brothers van Deutekom in 1562, i.e. after the publication of the map by Anthony Jenkinson. In the modern edition of the map compiled by van Deutekom, this emblem was incorrectly attributed to Velikiy Novgorod [11, p. 28].

Secondly, these are maps compiled by the successors of C. Vischer published since the beginning of the 1680s. The emblem is an image of an open silver or gold gate on a black field. It discovers numerous analogues in the German emblems of the XVI-XVII centuries. This heraldic tradition goes back to the "Chronik des Konstanzer Koncils" by Ulrich von Richental (the first half of the XV century). In subsequent emblems, it was attributed as an emblem of Muscovy (or Russia).

As the emblem of Russia, it was also described in heraldic treatises, including Polish ones. This information, thanks to translators of the Ambassadorial order, at the end of the XVII century came to Russia and was reflected in one of the heraldic writings.

In our opinion, the semantics of this fictional coat of arms is associated with ancient ideas about northern peoples Gog and Magog which were locked by the gates by Alexander the Great (or locked by a wall). These peoples correlated with many real peoples of antiquity and the Middle Ages, including the Scythians, Sarmatians and Musagets [12]. The contingency of these peoples with the conditional prince (tsar) of Rosh from the Bible made it possible to compare them with Russian people. The open gates meant that these peoples came out of their forced “imprisonment”.

On the map compiled by Van Deutekom, the coat of arms with an open gate is accompanied by the inscription “Russia”, territorially correlating with the northern lands of the Russian state. The heraldic image of a rider who kills a dragon with a spear is also present on this map, but it refers to Moscow. In other words, the first emblem is a visual symbol of the entire country, and the second one is only of Moscow land.
The fact that the map compiled by Van Deutekom was based on the emblematic tradition dating back to the “Chronicle” by W. von Richental is confirmed by the fact that the southern Dnieper region or the right-bank Ukraine is marked with a coat of arms consisting of with three crosses in the upper field and a two-headed eagle in the bottom field. Starting with the work by W. von Richental, this emblem was symbolized “Chervonnaya Rus” (Roth Reussen) and used in northern European. Its origin is not clear. It as fantastical as the “Russian” coat of arms with open gates. The Golden horde is marked with an emblem containing the tutor of Juchids.

One more emblem indirectly connected with Muscovy should be attributed to fantasy heraldry on geographical maps. This is the emblem of Tartaria, which is an image of a black owl in a golden field. One of its earliest images was recorded in the “World Geography” by P. Duval, which first edition was published in 1658. The presence of an owl in this coat of arms is explained by the legends of the Tatars, but does not find confirmation in the historical and ethnographic material. Nevertheless, the coat of arms of Tartaria with an owl gained great popularity as a sign of the representation of Tartaria in European culture of the late XVII - early XVIII century. It is present as an image on one of the flags of Tartaria in numerous naval reference books of the turn of the XVII - XVIII centuries. It is found on geographical maps of the beginning of the XVIII century. This is the emblem of Tartaria on the maps by I.B. Homann, created no later than 1723, and N. de Fer (1737). In the former, it is compositionally correlated with the emblem of Russia. In the latter, it is among other emblems, including the Moscow horseman, surrounding the cartouche with an explanatory inscription.

Perhaps this coat of arms dates back to the 16th century, and to cartographic monuments. On a map of the eastern regions of Russia, Siberia and Tartaria by Anthony Wied, dating back to around 1537, a cartouche with a legend is decorated with images of several birds, the central place among which belongs to a sitting long eared owl. This is not yet a coat of arms, but a decoration of the map, but it is extremely significant. It seems that the correlation of Tartaria with the emblem of an owl has been forming in the Western European tradition of cartography of Russia and neighboring eastern territories, at least since the 16th century.

4. Conclusion

There are four types of heraldic emblems symbolizing Russia on European maps of the XVI and XVII centuries. They differ in chronological localization and semantic interpretation.

The first two types are variants of state heraldic emblems. In one of the options (the image of a rider with a bow and arrow), ethno-geographical representations of the Middle Ages and Renaissance relating Russia to Scythia and Sarmatia are reflected.

The rider is present on the maps compiled during the XVI century. This image is associated with Muscovy, the Moscow sovereign rather than with Russia as a whole.

The emblems with a double-headed eagle were used on the maps of the XVII century to designate Russia. Their variability with a large number of examples is insignificant.

The other two types are almost unique. The first one is the earliest among the examples of heraldic symbolization of Muscovy. It corresponds to the early version of the state emblems of the end of the XV century which was reduced in official Russian symbolism. However, this option became known to foreigners and used on the maps in the beginning of the XVI century.

The fourth type of emblems has analogs in the broad tradition of European imaginary heraldry of the XV-XVII centuries. It was used on the geographical maps only in the second half of the XVI century. Sporadically, its application can be traced to the end of the XVII century. This emblem is peripheral compared to the double-headed eagle, but stable. It also correlates with certain ethno-geographical ideas about the Gog and Magog peoples which have biblical and ancient origins. The rich tradition of localizing these peoples in Christian geographical literature made it possible to compare them with Russia and attribute the emblem with an open gate to Russia as a whole.

Thus, ethno-geographical representations have found a visual embodiment in the heraldic and cartographic traditions of the XVI-XVII centuries.
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