

The two surviving copies of the 1525 Moscovia map by Paolo Giovio: A comparative study

Denis A. Khotimsky

Abstract

The first printed map carrying the name “Moschovia” in its title was compiled in Rome in 1525 by Paolo Giovio.¹ He announced it in *Libellus de legatione Basilii*², a book he published based on his conversations with Dimitri Gerasimov³, an envoy to Pope Clement VII from Grand Duke Vasili III of Moscow. The map’s importance transcends Muscovy, extending to the other medieval *Rusian* states: the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Novgorod Republic, the lands of the sedentary and nomadic successors of the Mongol Empire (Tartaria), as well as the modern states of Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, and the Russian Federation.

For a long time, only several manuscript renditions of the 1525 map were known issued in 1550s by the Venetian mapmaker Battista Agnese⁴, while the original printed version was presumed lost. An article in *Imago Mundi* Vol.72:1 (2020) reported the discovery of an original imprint of the 1525 map back in 2006 at Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. In fact, this was the second known imprint of the map. The first one was sold on December 7, 1993, by Sotheby’s in London and subsequently made its way to the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA) in Moscow.

A comparative study of the two imprints leads to a conclusion that the RGADA copy is a proof pulled to make the necessary corrections, which can now be seen in the Venice copy. Besides, a thorough analysis of Giovio’s printed map and other sources reveals that the title date, October 1525, corresponds to the time of the interviews, not the time when the map was created, and provides cartographic evidence proving that Dimitri Gerasimov contributed no cartographic materials and had no role in compilation of the map.

I. Historical overview

A visitor to Rome

In 1525 the Roman Curia welcomed an envoy from Moscow who delivered a letter from Grand Duke Vasili III to Pope Clement VII. The native name of the visitor, Dimitri Gerasimov, was rendered in Latin as Demetrius Erasmus. Beyond carrying the letter, which was concerned with a union against “infidels”, he was widely expected to be empowered by the Grand Duke to conduct some important and delicate negotiations, so he was given a luxurious reception. However, these expectations fell through. Nevertheless, the envoy was cheerful and witty, spoke decent Latin, and was readily willing to discuss at length the matters of chorography, history, economy, and customs of his homeland. This didn’t go unnoticed. In the course of Dimitri’s stay in Rome, Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), a historian and a close associate of the Pope, spent many hours in conversations with Gerasimov and before the end of the year published a book titled

Libellus de legatione Basilii magni Principis Moschoviae ad Clementem VII, Pontificem Maximum in which he relayed the information obtained from the envoy. In the foreword, he declared his intent to have “the situation of the country briefly described and in a engraved printed map depicted”.⁵ The book passed through several editions; however, when the nineteenth century historians took an interest in it, they were able to find no copy that would contain a map. Apparently, Giovio’s plan had failed.

Discovery of a manuscript map and Heinrich Michow's pioneering study

The situation changed in 1881 thanks to Theobald Fischer (1846 1910), a geography professor at the University of Kiel. He had been engaged in facsimile publication of the early Italian cartographic masterpieces, and in that year he issued a photographic reproduction of a manuscript atlas compiled in 1554 by Battista Agnese and preserved at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.⁶ While studying the album, Heinrich Michow (1839 1916), a historian from Hamburg, found in it a map of Eurasia titled *Moschoviae tabula relatione dimetrii legati descripta sicuti ipse a pluribus accepit, cum totam provinciam minime peragrasse fateatur anno M.D.XXV. octobris*. Michow correlated the map title with the historical events and concluded that his discovery without doubt represents Giovio’s promised map, albeit in a manuscript (*aber handschriftlich*) form. In 1884 he published his findings in a celebrated essay on the oldest maps of Russia.⁷ The original map is shown in Fig.1.

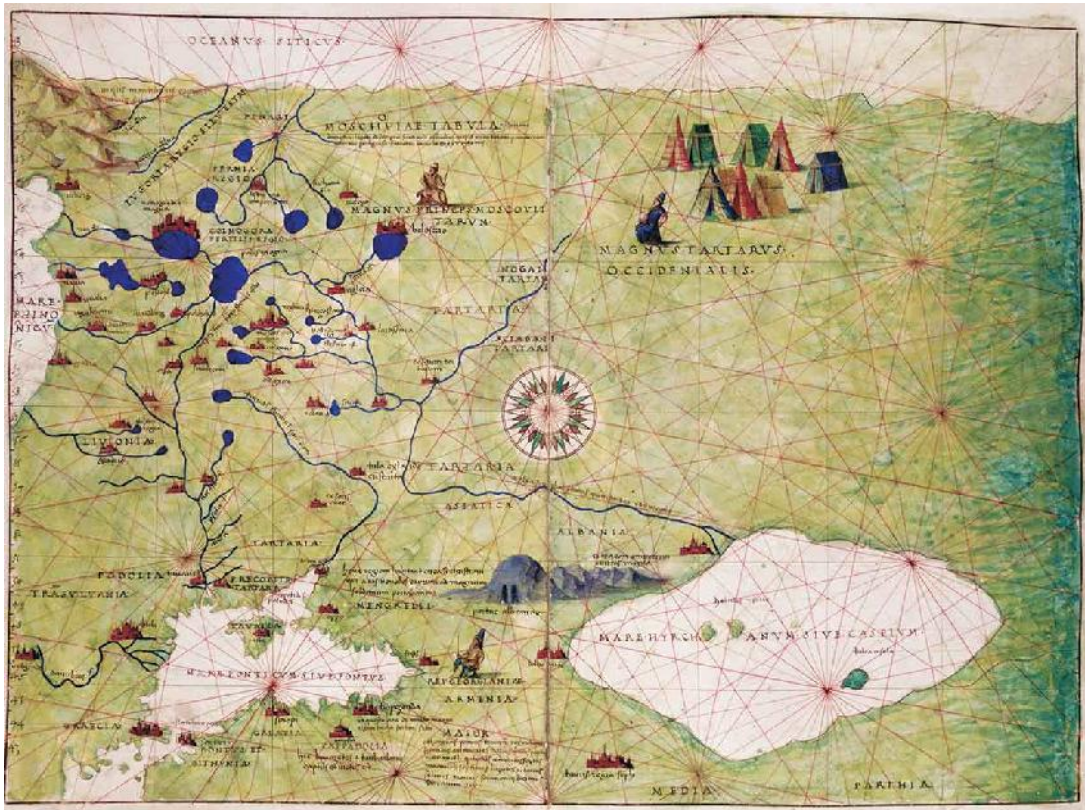


Fig.1 — A manuscript map of Moscovia from the 1554 atlas of Battista Agnese, preserved at the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Italy. MS It. IV. 62 (=5067). C. 24, ff. 24v–25r.

Chromatic photography still being some 15 years away, the reproduction studied by Michow must have looked rather like Fig.2. (This is a synthetic image, as the photographs in the extant copies of Fischer’s album are, and in fact have long been, reported to deteriorate beyond recognition.)

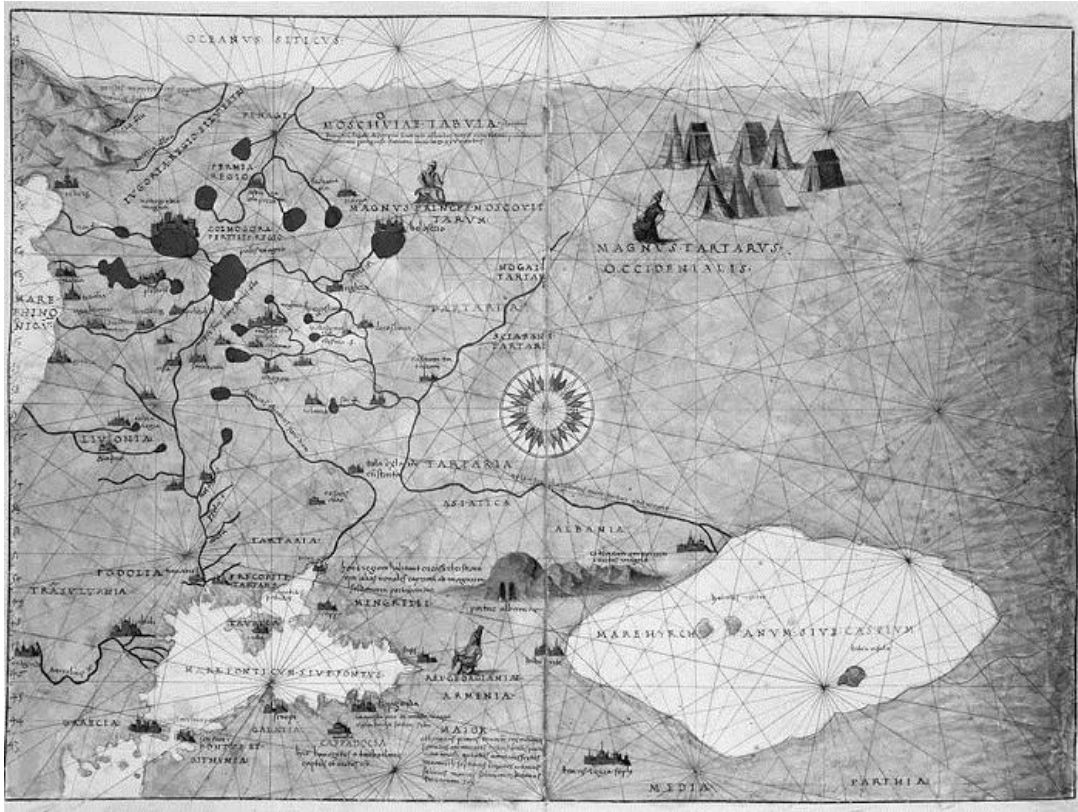


Fig.2 — Likely appearance of the Agnese 1554 map in the photographic album by Theobald Fischer. Venice, 1881.

Michow took it for granted that the date inscribed in the title, October 1525, denoted the time when the map was made, and that it was “a first-hand map” (*einer Karte aus erster Hand*) missing from *Libellus*. He came up with an explanation that “Giovio had probably already ordered it from Battista Agnese while the text was being printed. It is hardly surprising that it was not published, since woodcuts were still very rarely used in Italy at that time and, perhaps, a suitable artist could not be found so quickly.”⁸ If taken literally, Michow’s words would mean that after Giovio cancelled his commission, Agnese was holding to the map for 30 years before making use of it in an atlas. We should be fair to Michow: at that time he knew about 13 manuscript atlases by Battista Agnese, none of which, as far as he was aware, contained a similar map. He also didn’t know that the “very diligent mapmaker” (*ein sehr fleissiger Kartenzeichner*) was born in 1514, so in 1525 he hardly fit the profile of an author generating holdings for the Biblioteca Marciana.

Nevertheless, there were at least four objective factors that should have kept Michow from arriving at his conclusions. Firstly, most of the maps in the 1554 Agnese atlas, the

map Moscovia among them, were drawn in a very distinct common style, which made it unlikely that they had been separated by 30 years, even if made by the same hand. Secondly, even a monochrome image should have made it obvious that the original was tonal, if not colored, and, therefore, was unfit to serve as a model for an unshaded black-and-white engraving. Thirdly, a casual way to correct an important error (at first, the mapmaker accidentally omitted letter O in the title name of the country and then just wrote it above the line: MOSCH^OVIAE TABULA) should have raised questions about uniqueness of the composition and purpose of the manuscript. Last but not least, given the time constraints of the project, ordering a *manuscript model* for an engraving from a Venetian mapmaker, whereas both the map compiler (Paolo Giovio himself) and the bookprinter (F. Minitius Calvus) were based in Rome, made little practical sense. Such an arrangement would have wasted a lot of valuable time on transporting the materials back and forward across the Italian peninsula and prevented the compiler from overseeing the execution. Most importantly, it would have naturally required that some sort of manuscript map model be *already created* before sending to Venice, thus calling into question the adequacy of this cumbersome operation altogether. It must have been the excitement of a discovery that made Michow ignore those factors.

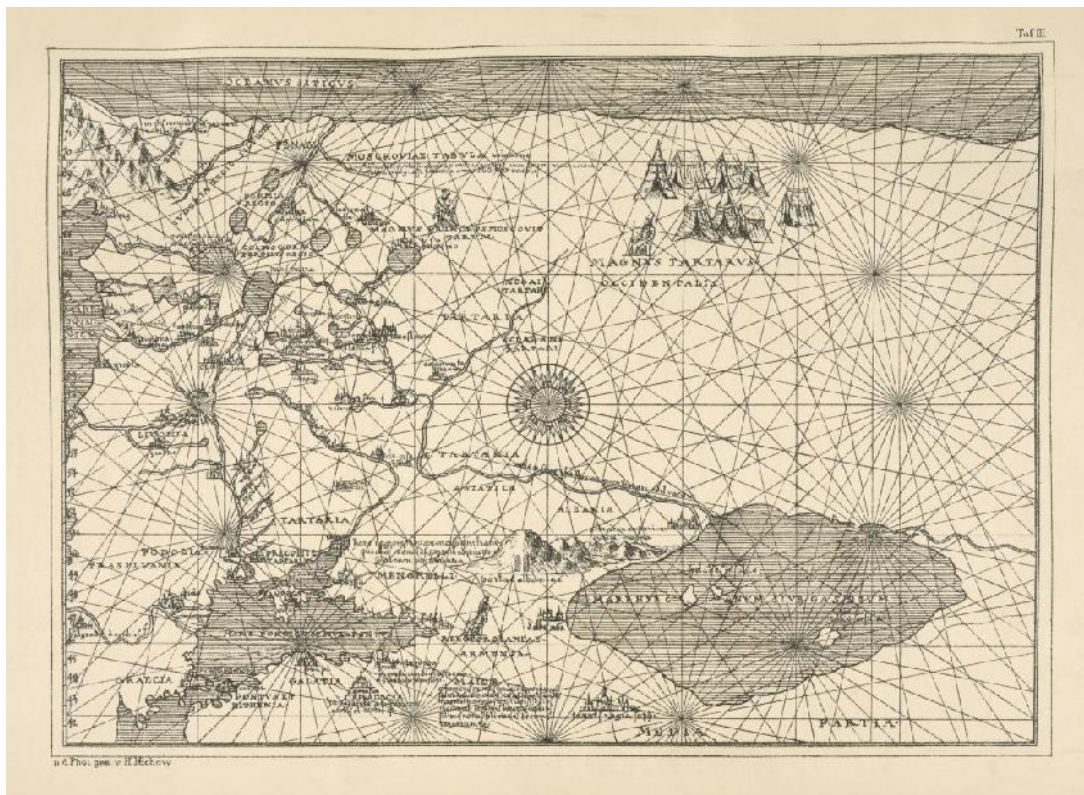


Fig.3 — Michow's line drawing of the 1554 Agnese map from the Biblioteca Marciana. Lithography. Hamburg, 1884.

Whatever his reasoning was, he made a linear drawing of the Fischer's photographic facsimile and included its lithographic reproduction into his essay (Fig. 3). In his drawing, he silently corrected Agnese's clumsiness with letter O, stripping the future

scholars of three out of four factors that could have raised doubts in his theory. The fourth factor, ordering in Venice a model for a woodcut engraving to be used in Rome, was now counterbalanced by the full authority belonging to the pioneer scholar in the history of Russian cartography.

Manuscript maps by Battista Agnese and Leo Bagrow's synopsis

Normally, flawed theories do not survive for long. Michow's was not an exception. As Battista Agnese had been a prominent figure of the Italian Renaissance, his life and works became an object of thorough research. Already in 1896, a German geographer Konrad Kretschmer (1864 1945) was able to identify 54 manuscript atlases created by Agnese.⁹ Henry Wagner (1862 1957), an American historian and collector, who published a detailed study of Agnese in 1931, listed 68 manuscript atlases signed or attributed to him.¹⁰ Subsequently, this list was refined, and today scholars recognize 10 individual maps and about 75 complete atlases by Battista Agnese which include from 6 to 30 sheets.¹¹ All of them were created in the 30-year period between 1534 and 1564. A map of Moscovia and Tartary is present in at least fourteen atlases, the earliest version dates back to 1548.¹² Whenever a title referring *dimetrii legati* is provided, it is dated October 1525. A less common example of Agnese's works is shown in Fig. 4. This map comes from a manuscript atlas, which is preserved at Yale's Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library and is dated 1559. The map's title contains the familiar text referring *dimitrii legati* and bears the date "*anno.M.D.XXV. mense octobr*".

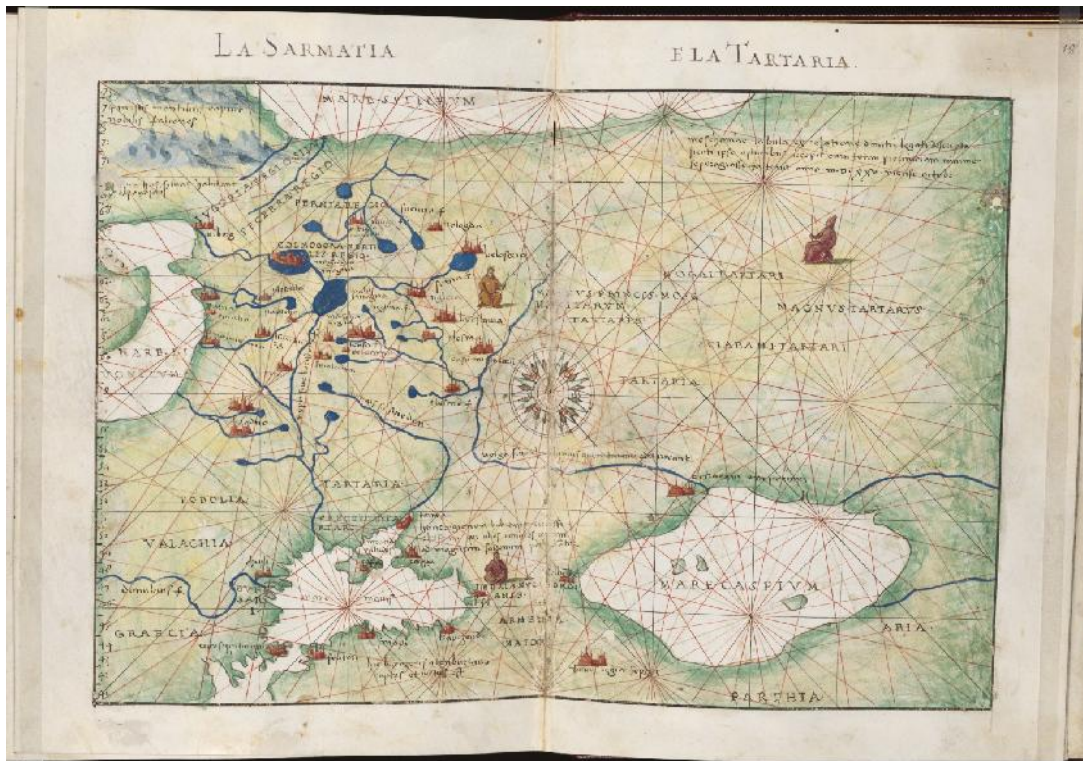


Fig. 4 — One of the lesser known manuscript maps by Battista Agnese. Yale, Beinecke MS 560.

Leo Bagrow (1881–1957), a founding father of the history of cartography as a scientific discipline in its own right and the first editor of *Imago Mundi*, summarized the shortcomings of Michow's theory in his 1950s writings. Bagrow had no doubt that Agnese's manuscript maps were created in the middle of the sixteenth century and considered them as evidence to the content of the 1525 map that might have been compiled by Paolo Giovio himself. He rejected the argument put forward by Michow about the absence of competent woodcutters in Italy, noting that the reality was the opposite. Explaining the absence of the printed map in the book, he conjectured that not only had Dimitri Gerasimov no role in compilation of the map, but also, quite possible, he had no knowledge of Giovio's plans to compose *Libellus* based on the envoy's narratives.¹³ Bagrow presented a simple argument which was quite convincing for anyone familiar with the Moscow authorities: "As Gerasimov enjoyed the Russian Duke's full confidence, he would scarcely have betrayed it by drawing a map of Russia abroad for the use of foreigners, since he knew that all maps were kept strictly secret by the government."¹⁴

Discovery of the printed map

In 1993, a previously unknown cartographic woodcut imprint was unearthed in a private collection (see Fig. 5). Peter Meurer (1951–2020), a history professor from Trier, identified it as a map that was intended for the book by Paolo Giovio but for some reason published separately. In a description of the woodcut written in German and published in the journal *Cartographica Hungarica*, Peter Meurer expressed his excitement with the importance of the discovery: "Owed to the instinct of the 'cartomaniac' belonging to the circle of *Cartographica Hungarica*, this find—even with all scientific restraint—has epochal significance (*epochaler Rang zukommt*)."¹⁵ Meurer named Paolo Giovio himself as the author of the woodcut, but did not agree with Bagrow regarding the role of Dimitri Gerasimov in compiling a part of the map that related to the Grand Duchy of Moscow proper: "It should be assumed that the work was based on a handwritten map sketch (*eine handgezeichnete Kartenskizze*), made either by Gerasimov himself or under his direct supervision. Such accuracy could hardly be achieved only through oral information."¹⁶ He acknowledged that there were still questions that remained unanswered.

On December 7, 1993, the printed map was auctioned by Sotheby's in London, fetching 20,700 GBP, and with the help of an intermediary or two, landed in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow. Since that time, it was reproduced and described in numerous Russian-language publications, both professional and popular.¹⁷ In 2012, the Polish historian Stanisław Alexandrowicz included it into his monograph on the Cartography of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania which was published in Warsaw.¹⁸ Still the map didn't catch an eye of the international scientific community.

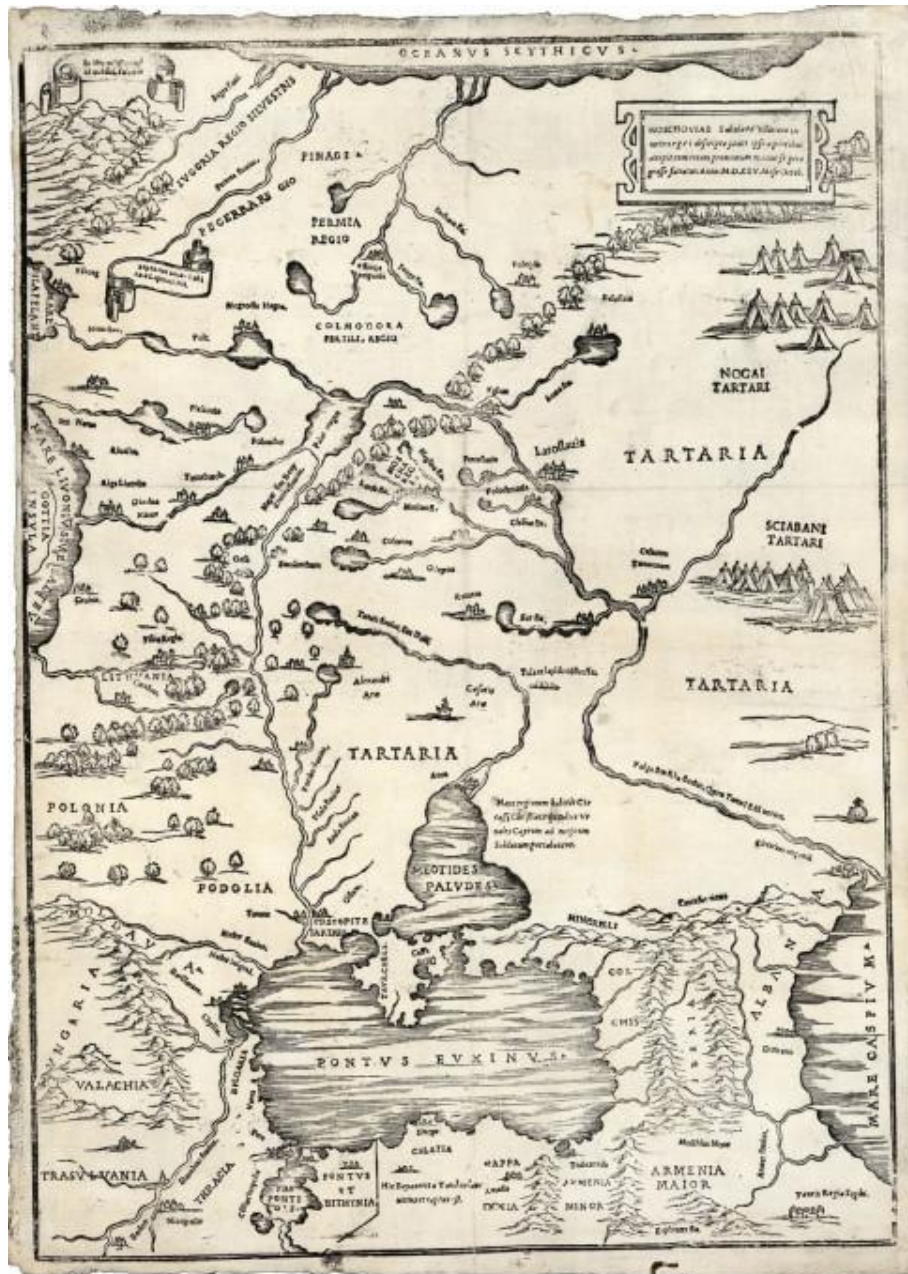


Fig. 5 — Paolo Giovio. MOSCHOVIAE Tabula ex relatione Demetrii. — Imprint [M].
RGADA. Moscow. Fund 192. Inv. 6. Case 963. Image: RGADA.

An excellent opportunity to introduce Giovio's map to the world opened in 2007. That year the third volume of the monumental international *History of Cartography* project, which had been initiated by David Woodward, was published.¹⁹ It contained a dedicated essay on the pre-Petrine Russian cartography.²⁰ However, its author, Leonid Goldenberg (1920–1989), had passed away before the printed map was discovered, whereas professor Alexei Postnikov, who prepared the publication for the press, for whatever reason decided to make no mention of it.²¹

The reference to Peter Meurer's *Cartographica Hungarica* paper being buried in the auction catalogue, in effect, for nearly three decades this unique cartographic document has remained out of attention and beyond the reach of Western scholars.

In 2006, the Italian Turkologist professor Giampiero Bellingeri discovered a woodcut print at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. It was bound in a convolute volume containing works by Paolo Giovio and Johannes Fabri (see Fig.6). Bellingeri was able to identify it as the map promised by Giovio in his *Libellus*. In the following years, he mentioned the find twice in scientific papers.²² However, both times he did this in highly specialized Italian Turkology publications, so the historians of cartography remained in the dark about his discovery as well.



Fig. 6 — Paolo Giovio. MOSCHOVIAE Tabula ex relatione Demetrii. — Imprint [V].
Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. 214 108.1. Image: Courtesy of Marica Milanese.

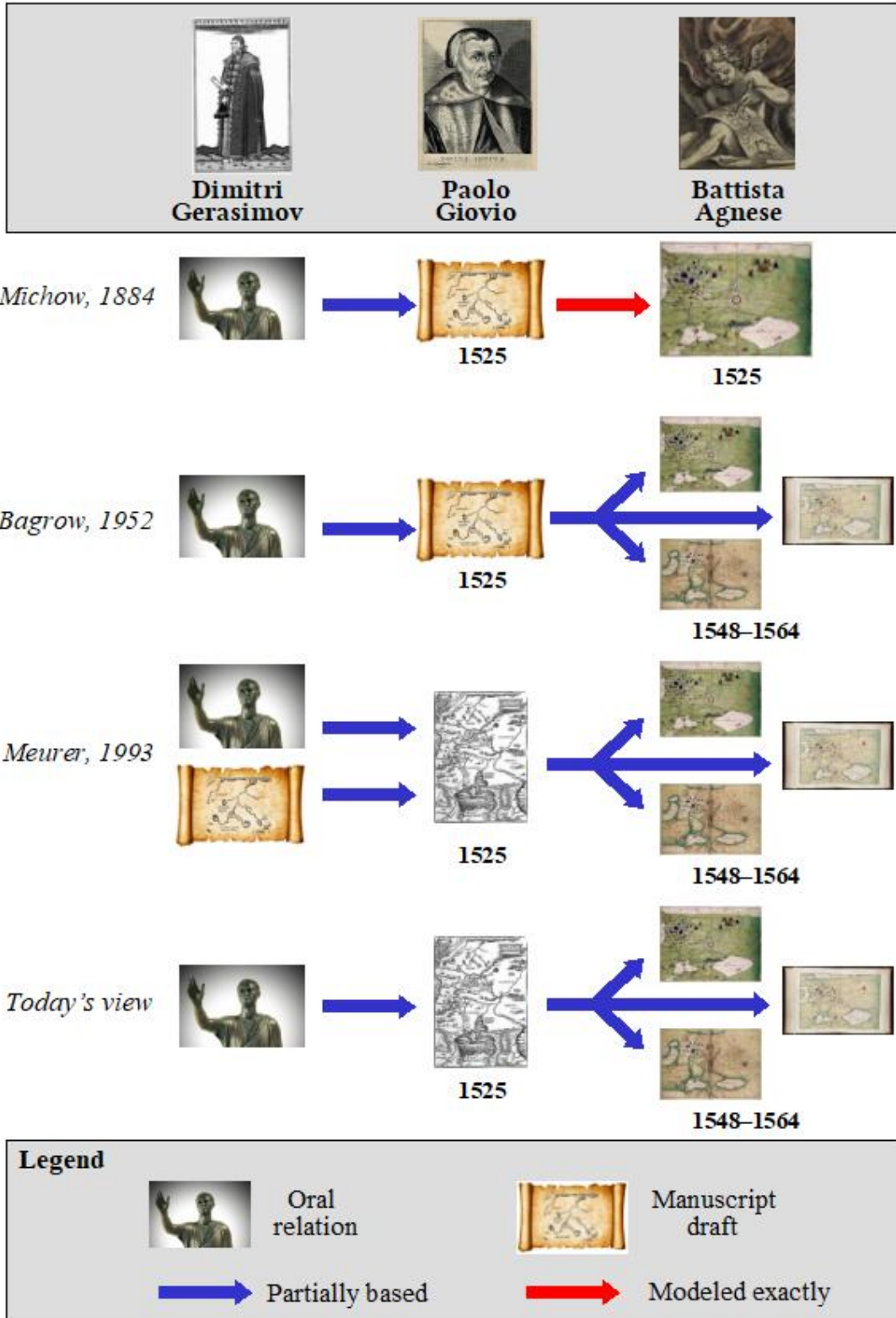


Fig. 7 — Giovio's printed map and Agnese's manuscript maps in European historiography.

Finally, in 2020 an article in the international cartographic journal *Imago Mundi* broke the news to the world.²³ Along with a description of the circumstances of the discovery of the map written by Bellingeri himself, the article gave its detailed historical and cartographic description, which was compiled by professor Marica Milanese. Evidently, at the time of publication neither authors nor journal editors were aware of Peter Meurer's 1993 paper and the copy of the map preserved at RGADA.

Milanese confirmed that the woodcut discovered by Bellingeri corresponds to the printed map that was mentioned by Giovio and, according to Bagrow's conjecture, served as a source to Battista Agnese in 1550s. She further pointed to "the sixteenth-century habit of making hand-drawn copies of printed geographical maps in circulation", and emphasized that the manuscript maps by Agnese are not derived from text of *Libellus* directly, but are modeled on Giovio's printed map, as evidenced by the copying errors and differences in geographical content. With regard to the genesis of the printed map, Milanese mentioned Maciej Miechowita's 1517 *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* among other sources available to Giovio and noted that Gerasimov's contribution "seems to have been largely limited to a description of the route from Italy to Muscovy and to updating the public on the extent of Grand Prince of Muscovy Vasili III's newly acquired domains in the north."²⁴

Once the author of the present report became aware of the *Imago Mundi* publication, the excitement of a rare discovery drove him to contact both parties, to publish an online preprint,²⁵ and to submit an abstract to the ICHC-21 (which had not yet been become ICHC-22).

Maps by Giovio and Agnese in the Russian imperial historiography

As we focus our discussion on the mapping of the Moscow state at the very start of its imperial expansion, it is appropriate to review how this process has been represented in the Muscovite historiography itself. It is not surprising to observe that this representation has taken its own special path.

Already in 1899, Veniamin Kordt (1860-1934), a Tartu-born German-Ukrainian historian, reproduced Michow's line drawing in the first issue of his series on *Materials on the History of Russian Cartography*, providing it with an objective and balanced explanatory text.²⁶ In effect, Kordt introduced the ideas of Michow to Russian scholars, but at the same time set the common foundation for future studies that remained unshaken for years to come. The subsequent Western publications critical of Michow, including those by Wagner and Bagrow, which appeared on the opposite side of the iron curtain and language barrier, went totally unnoticed.²⁷

In 1974 Boris Rybakov, an academician and, at that time, a patriarch among Soviet historians, published a book advancing a thesis that the early Western maps of Moscovia were directly based on the Russian originals and, therefore, provide evidence of Russian rather than Western contribution to science.²⁸ From Rybakov's perspective, the fact that none of those originals survived does not affect their credibility, but allows their reconstruction to proceed freely, waiving the need to verify any hypothesis about them. Within the framework of this theory, Dimitri Gerasimov was not only a highly ranked diplomat, but also an experienced cartographer who in 1523 compiled an important map of the Moscow state and, on his 1525 visit to Rome, became a mentor to the Italians

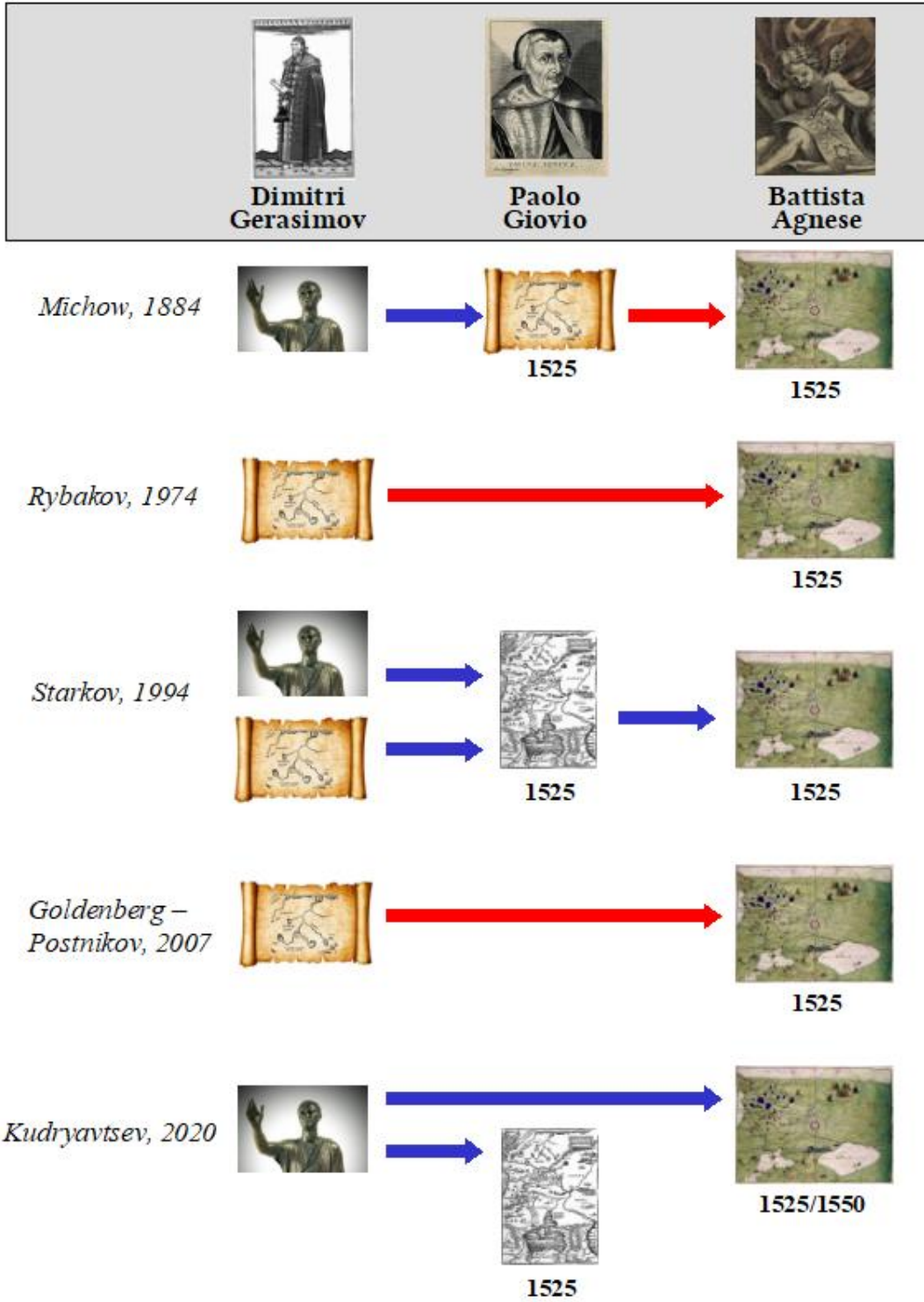


Fig. 8 — Giovio’s printed map and Agnese’s manuscript maps in Muscovite historiography.

on all chorographic and cartographic matters. Among his other achievements, he “dictated the entire book” to Giovio and was the first person to enlighten the European scholars on the feasibility of the North-East passage.²⁹

The subsequent publications reflect the cautious efforts aimed at repairing the damage done by the legacy of the famed academician and at coming on terms with reality.³⁰ However, the perspectives of achieving this goal still remain wide and promising.

Michow’s concept of the unique manuscript map compiled by Battista Agnese in 1525, which was thoroughly debunked by Wagner and other scholars in early 1930s but nevertheless adopted by Rybakov in 1974 as a cornerstone of his theory, permeates even the most recent Russian scientific publications.³¹ The somewhat inconvenient fact that in the year of Gerasimov’s visit to Rome Battista Agnese turned 11 years old is mitigated by editing out his date of birth (1514) from Wikipedia and similar crowd-authored sources and replacing it with “c. 1500”.³²

As far as Giovio’s map is concerned, the discovery of its original printed copy has raised no controversy with respect its own date (1525), but seems to bear no effect on the establishing the date and sources of the Agnese map in the Biblioteca Marciana. Thus, Oleg Kudryavtsev, the leading Russian expert in the field, in his recent definitive treatment of the subject spoke of the *two* earliest maps of Muscovy appearing at the end of 1525: “one made by Battista Agnese for his manuscript atlas, and the other one printed at the same time with it.”³³ He vociferously denied Vadim Starkov’s 1994 suggestion that “the printed map, which might have been authored by Paolo Giovio, could have served as the base for the Agnese map”, claiming in justification of the denial that “it is impossible to explain the obvious and substantial discrepancies in geographical objects and spelling of the toponyms.”³⁴

Indeed, one such geographical object is *Oceanus Scythicus*. On the Agnese manuscript map in the Biblioteca Marciana, under the name *Oceanus Siticus*, it occupies the entire width of the map along its northern edge. On the other hand, on the printed map it is barely visible in the top center. Considering that on the other manuscript maps by Agnese the ocean comes in a variety of different shapes, more reminiscent of the printed map, and under a variety of names: *Oceanus Scithicus*, *Oceanus Sciticus*, *Mare Sytichum*, etc., a possible explanation could be that Battista Agnese cared more about the artistic impression rather than geographical and toponymic accuracy and, therefore, in each of his creations unwillingly introduced a unique set of random errors and distortions. Such an explanation, however, would have not gone well with the concept of Gerasimov’s priority in asserting the feasibility of the North-East passage. Among all the manuscript maps by Agnese, it was specifically the Biblioteca Marciana version that prompted this concept: “the vast thousand-mile-long coastline symbolizes the core idea of Dimitri Gerasimov ... that the ocean is so immense that it is likely possible to reach the land of Cathay by ship.”³⁵ A person unfamiliar with the text of *Libellus* may even go as far as to *suspect* that all three strange features of the map dependency representation in the Muscovite historiography—ignoring the existence of multiple manuscript maps by Agnese, insisting on dating the Biblioteca Marciana map by the year 1525, and withholding the information on the printed map from the English-language *History of Cartography* volume in 2007—may in fact manifest a single ideological desire: to sustain

the claim to Dimitri Gerasimov's priority in informing the world about the North-East passage. For Russian historians today, this claim remains beyond even a shadow of doubt or criticism.

It is also curious to note that among the authors of the numerous Russian-language studies published in nearly 30 years since the discovery of the RGADA imprint of Giovio's map, likely no one was able to physically examine the document. There are two versions of the map's linear dimensions appearing in those studies that may have been copied from one to another. Neither one can be considered even remotely close.³⁶ Besides, none of the Russian-language publications prior to 2021 made any mentions of the watermarks.³⁷

II. A study of Giovio's printed map

Parallel cartographic description

The formal description of imprint [M] was first given by Peter Meurer in 1993 in German and never appeared, at least in a complete and correct form, in Russian.³⁸ The formal description of imprint [V] can be found in the 2020 paper by Giampiero Bellingeri and Marica Milanesi.³⁹ Here we bring them together, complementing them with the drawings of the watermarks, which are similar, but not identical to *Briquet* 480, 481 (see Fig. 9).⁴⁰

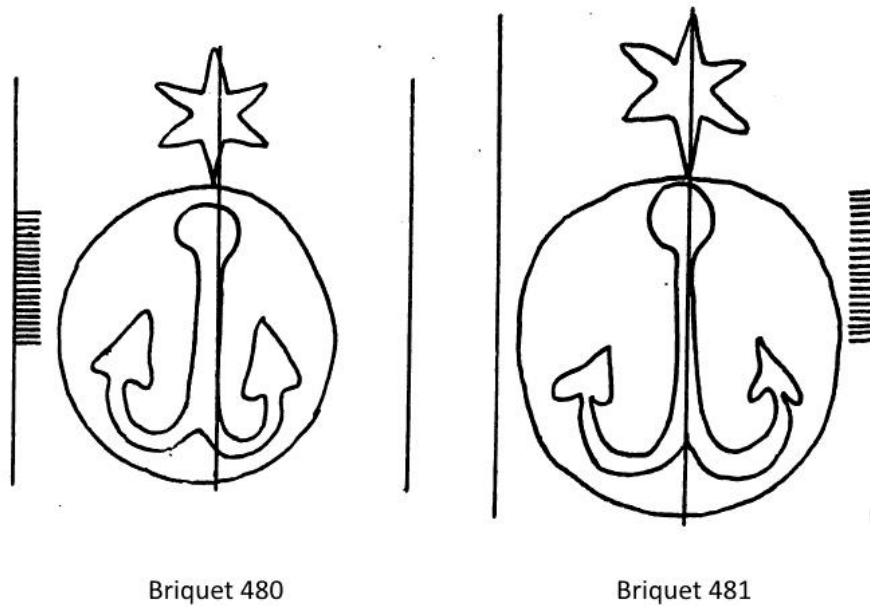
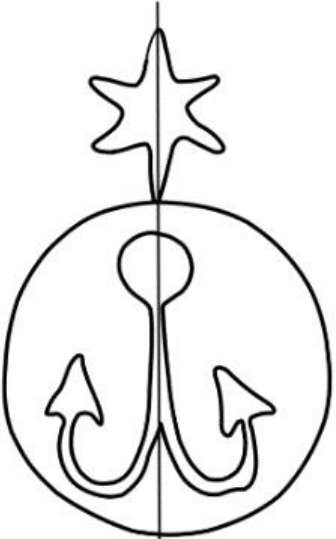
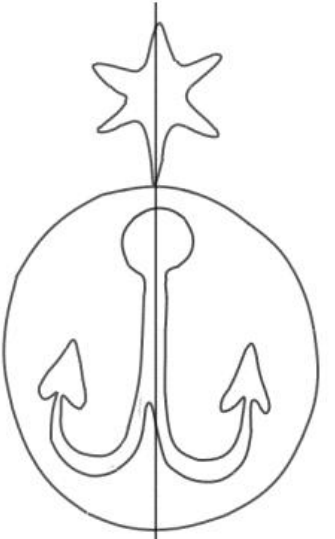


Fig. 9 — Reference watermarks.

Table 1 — Parallel description of two imprints.

Imprint [M]	Imprint [V]
Compiler	
Paolo Giovio (presumed)	
Title	
<p><i>MOSCHOVIAE Tabula ex relatione De / metrii [l]eg[a]ti descripta sicuti ipse a pluribus / accepit cum totam prouinciam minime se pera /grasse fateatur. Anno. M.D.XXV. M se Octob.</i></p>	<p><i>MOSCHOVIAE Tabula ex relatione De- / metrii legati descripta sicuti ipse a pluribus / accepit cum totam prouinciam minime se pera /grasse fateatur. Anno. M.D.XXV. M se Octob.</i></p>
Date of issue	
Late 1525, or thereafter.	
Dimensions	
<p>46.7 cm × 33.2 cm by the neat line, which forms nearly a perfect rectangle, on an irregularly shaped sheet of approximately 48.5 cm × 35 cm. (Meurer provides simple 46.5 cm x 33 cm.)</p>	<p>45.3 cm × 32.8 cm per [*], cut to the neat line. The slight size discrepancy may be due to uneven shrinkage of different sheets of paper and, in length, to loss of image at the bottom binding edge.</p>
Technique	
<p>Mixed media relief print. Woodblock, with names of cities and rivers, title and text legends set in movable type. Laid paper with no text on verso.</p>	
Watermark	
“Anchor in a circle surmounted by a six-pointed star”	
	

Relationship between the two imprints⁴¹

The availability of two mixed media relief imprints opens an opportunity to gain insights into the sixteenth century printing operations by comparing the text elements of the two documents that have been set in movable type. Leaving aside minor dislocations of letters and the printer defects that can appear on two imprints pulled from a perfectly identical printing form, we summarize the most significant differences in the following table.

Table 2 — Discrepancies between text fragments set in movable type.

Fragment	Imprint [M]	Imprint [V]
Title cartouche	Tabula ex relatione De / metrii egti descripta	Tabula ex relatione De-/ metrii legati descripta
Hydronym Volga	Volga fiue Rha fluuius , Q uem Tartari Edil u ocant	Volga fiue Rha fluuius , q uem Tartari Edil u ocant.
Tamerlane legend	Hic Bayazetes a Tamburlane / uictus et captus est	Hic Bayazetes a Tamburlane / captus et uictus est

Apparently, the two imprints represent two distinct states of the woodblock. Is it possible to say, which state preceded the other?

The first fragment is inconclusive: the typeset defect apparent in imprint [M] could have either been fixed at a later date or, conversely, appeared with time. The second fragment suggests a deliberate correction applied in imprint [V] in comparison with imprint [M]: capital *Q* in the middle of a sentence is replaced with lowercase *q* in word *Quem*, and on three occasions an allograph *u* is replaced with *u* (in the words *sive*, *fluuius*, *uocant*) achieving uniform spelling across the entire map. The third fragment, which deals with the word order, either “defeated and captured” or “captured and defeated”, despite its symmetry, decisively confirms the above suggestion. In all Agnese’s manuscript maps that contain the Tamerlane legend, the word order, “captured and defeated”, matches that of imprint [V]. Therefore, it is imprint [V] that was ultimately published and became the basis for a derivative work.

We conclude that imprint [M] had been pulled as a proof which was used to make corrections to the movable type inserts, later applied to imprint [V]: word order in *captus et uictus* was changed, the accidentally scattered letters in the word *legati* were fixed, and other routine proofreading changes were made. The conclusion is supported by the irregular shape of the sheet which has been preserved in the very form it came from the press. In the half a millennium history of the imprint, no one has ever tried to trim it and to bind into a book.

Interestingly, the spelling of *Tamburlane* offers an insight into the relationship between Gerasimov and Giovio as that of a talkative celebrity and a thorough critical interviewer.

While they both were familiar with the historical episode (Battle of Ankara of 1402), the Moscow envoy confused Tamerlane/Tamburlane, the famous founder of the Timurid Empire, and Temir-Kutluk, a short-term khan of the Golden Horde. Giovio calmly recorded the confusion in his book, but left it out of the text legend.⁴²

Significance of the title date, October 1525

In his pioneering work on the first Agnese map of Moscovia, Michow held it for self-evident that its title date, October 1525, that is, a few months *after* Gerasimov left Rome (he stayed there from June to early July of 1525, returning to Moscow by the end of July of that year), indicated the time when the map was created.⁴³ Since then the cartographic historians have been nearly unanimous in supporting that obvious interpretation. They were not swayed even by the subsequent discovery of the multiple mid-century manuscript maps of Moscovia and Tartary made by Agnese, among which all those containing the title were dated October 1525. It was generally accepted that the Venetian mapmaker faithfully copied the 1525 original reproducing everything, including the date. It was only Peter Meurer one hundred and nine years after Michow who allowed himself a grain of doubt. He admitted that it was not possible “to say with absolute clarity what the date October 1525 refers to.”⁴⁴ While it *appeared* to indicate the date of completion of the artwork, usually such a date would be accompanied by the name—of a woodcutter, printer or publisher, and that was not the case.

What no cartographic historian—not even Peter Meurer—raised any doubts about was the timing of Gerasimov’s mission to Rome assertively reported by Michow.

The esteemed Reader of this paper (to whom its Author is immensely grateful for reaching this 13th page of his opus) may demand apology from the Author. The preceding long paragraph is only partially truthful. The statement in the parentheses is not only outright false, but is intentionally false. The Author inserted it on purpose to give the Reader a taste of Michow's assertiveness. It is easy to read through this statement, thinking: “The author sounds very confident: he must know better or, perhaps, this is a universal knowledge that I would be ashamed to question.” Apparently, that was exactly what cartographic historians thought about the timeframe that Michow provided. The subsequent reasoning was, “Since the title points to the date when Gerasimov already left Rome, what else could the title date possibly signify but the time the map was made?”

In fact, the timeline of Gerasimov’s journey had long been known. The date of the envoy’s *departure from Moscow* could be inferred from the Grand Duke’s letter which Paolo Giovio quoted in *Libellus*—the month of April, year 1525.⁴⁵ One should keep in mind that the letter was written in Moscow and, therefore, it was dated with respect to Julian calendar, which in the sixteenth century was ten days behind Gregorian calendar. The day of Gerasimov’s *return to Moscow* is authentically recorded by the Russian chronicles as the year 7034 from creation of the world, the month of July.⁴⁶ In Gregorian calendar, this corresponds to July or early August, 1526. The two dates were brought together by Joseph Hamel, who published his historical treatise in German already in 1847.⁴⁷

A more detailed version of the timeline was documented by the church historian Paul Pierling in 1896.⁴⁸ He correlated the two envelope dates of the journey with the documents in the Vatican archives and the newly published diaries of the famed Venetian historian Marino Sanuto to fill in the interim events. According to Pierling, Dimitri Gerasimov left Moscow in April 1525 along with a returning Genovese merchant Paolo Centurione. They passed Krakow, where on June 8, 1525, they were received by Sigismund I. The King provided Paolo with a letter to the Pope. Afterwards, they continued their journey and ultimately reached Rome in September 1525. “At the end of the year”, the Moscow envoy embarked on a return journey in a company of Gian Francesco Citus de Potenza, the Bishop of Skara, whom Clement VII had designated the Ambassador to the Grand Duke. The two diplomats appeared in Venice on December 17, staying there longer than they had expected, arrived in Krakow on February 28, and after some further delays reached Moscow on July 20, 1526 (that is, July 30, Gregorian style).⁴⁹

In 1884, Michow naturally didn't have access to Pierling's monograph, but he did have a copy of the 1847 Hamel edition at his disposal. The way he treated his sources might prompt a case study on avoidance of *non sequitur* reasoning ~~sets a bizarre example of arrogance~~ in scholastic research. In his book, Hamel reiterated the July 1526 date several times and even quoted the chronicle itself.⁵⁰ Michow dismissed his information with a single footnote: “1525, nicht 1526, wie Hamel meint; letzteres würde nicht stimmen mit den Angaben des Jovius *ita ut credamus eum propediem ... in Moschoviam esse rediturum*. Die Rückkehr der Gesandtschaften wurde stets sehr beschleunigt.”⁵¹ This date blunder is even more surprising, since in the very same long sentence Giovio mentioned that Gerasimov had stood in front of the Pope during the Mass on the feast day of Saints Cosma and Damian, which in the sixteenth century Catholic tradition was celebrated on the 27th of September.⁵²

Michow's authoritative confidence confused Kordt, Bagrow, and Meurer, among other highly respected scholars, all of whom accepted that Gerasimov was in Rome in the summer of 1525 and left the city in July of the that year.⁵³ As a notable exception, Oleg Kudryavtsev in his 1997 treatment of the early European descriptions of Muscovy solidly adhered to Pierling's version of events.⁵⁴ However, this didn't stop him from claiming October 1525 as the time of the map creation in his 2020 paper.⁵⁵

Let's return to Giovio's statement which Michow quoted to justify his rejection of Hamel's timeline and review it carefully in a more complete form (see Table 3).

Recall that the feast of Sts. Cosma and Damian is September 27. The return to Rome of the Cardinal Lorenzo Campegio is a well-documented event in the history of the Holy See. By cross-checking the online and printed sources, we can convincingly confirm its date—the 20th of October 1525.⁵⁶ Finally, the departure date of Dimitri Gerasimov and Gian Francesco Citus can be inferred from the letter to Vassili III that the Pope sent with the Bishop of Skara—the 18th of November 1525. The letter draft was relatively recently discovered in the Vatican archives by Valentina Yazkova and published in 1995.⁵⁷

Table 3 — Giovio’s description of Gerasimov’s stay in Rome

Latin original ⁵⁸	English translation
<p>...nam a febre in quā ex cœli mutatione inciderat, pristinas vires & natium uultus ruborem recuperavit, ita ut Pontificiis facris quæ in honorem diuorum Cosmæ & Damiani... sexagenarius senex, & cum voluptate quidem attiterit, & in senatum uenerit, quum Campgeius Cardinalis a Pannonica legatione tum primum rediens, a Pōtifice omnibusque Aulæ ordinibus excipitur, quin & sacrosancta Urbis templa & Romanæ magnitudinis ruinas, Prifcorumque operum deploranda cadauera mirabundus inuiferit, ita ut credamus eū propediē explicatis mandatis, cū legato Pontificio Epo Scarense, dignifque acceptis a Pontifice muneribus in Moschouiam esse rediturum.</p>	<p>...Having recovered from the fever caused by the change of air, he regained his innate strength and complexion, so he, a sexagenarian grandsire, attended with real pleasure the Pontifical Mass in celebration of Saints Cosma and Damian, besides he went to the Senate when Cardinal Campegio first returned from the Pannonia embassy to be greeted by the Pope with his entire court, inspected City’s most sacral temples and magnificent Roman ruins, and admired the sad remains of the ancient buildings; so we believe that very soon he will explain his directives, and having received the deserving gifts from the Pope, will return to Moscovia with the Papal legate, the Bishop of Skara.</p>

Since at the time of writing, Gerasimov’s sightseeing excursions that followed his visit to the Senate are in the past, while certain valediction events are still in the future, the composition of the fragment can be pretty accurately placed between the last days of October and early November. Giovio has begun writing *Libellus* and is expecting Gerasimov’s prompt departure; therefore, their interviews are over or largely over. On the other hand, upon arrival to Rome, Gerasimov fell sick from his trip and didn’t recover until the Sts. Cosma and Damian celebration. Now the significance of October 1525 becomes crystal clear: this is the time of the daily conversations between Paolo Giovio and Dimitri Gerasimov.

But what about the map? While its compilation could have been concurrent with the book writing, the latter was apparently faster. The map’s absence from known copies of *Libellus* suggests that by the time the book was written, typeset, printed, and ready for binding (which according to the date on the colophon, occurred towards the end of 1525), the map production cycle—compilation, drawing, engraving, proofing, correction, printing—was not completed yet. The title date of the map was obviously solidified only at the very end of this cycle—it was set in movable type at the time of printing, that is, much later than October 1525.

Most often, if a date is present, it is associated with the name and completion of the work by a cartographer, an engraver, or a printer. That was not the case with Giovio's printed map, and it was precisely what triggered Peter Meurer's doubts. The title date, however, is explicitly associated with the name of the Moscow envoy. Therefore, we shall conclude with highest certainty, that the October 1525 date in the title of Giovio's map was meant to refer specifically to the time when Dimitri Gerasimov conveyed his relation to Giovio. It now becomes abundantly clear why Battista Agnese, repeatedly reproducing the title in his manuscript maps several decades later, never made any changes to it. Regardless of when he completed the work on a particular manuscript atlas, the time of the original interviews was never going to change.

Dimitri Gerasimov's role in compilation of the map

The role of the Moscow envoy in conveying the cartographical information to the Italians has long been a focus of controversy.

Leo Bagrow, who had only the text of *Libellus* and multiple manuscript maps by Battista Agnese to draw the conclusions from, denied Gerasimov any role in compilation of the map, awarding the credit entirely to Giovio. He also rejected any possibility that Gerasimov delivered any official maps to Rome, citing the secrecy that was cultivated by the Moscow state.⁵⁹

Boris Rybakov, on the contrary, claimed that Gerasimov, a highly ranked and educated diplomat, not only carried with him an official government map, but also compiled complementary maps himself for the areas where the former was lacking. Battista Agnese later "published" those maps without Gerasimov's knowledge or control, introducing numerous errors and distortions.⁶⁰

Peter Meurer took a more balanced approach: while the map based largely on the oral information provide by Gerasimov, the compiler either worked under his supervision, or used some his hand-drawn sketches.⁶¹

Oleg Kudryavtsev accepted Bagrow's secrecy argument, admitting that Gerasimov "didn't take part, at least directly, in compilation of the map." This formulation, however, implies that indirect participation, like illustrating his narrative with a few sketches and leaving them on the desk, could still be possible.⁶²

Finally, Marica Milanesi in her characterization of Gerasimov's contribution was not specific to whether, in her view, it was purely oral or also contained any cartographic materials.⁶³

Let's recall that it was the *accuracy* of the printed map that impelled Peter Meurer to concede at least some cartographic credit to Gerasimov. It is precisely the accuracy of the cartographic representation that we aim at evaluating next. We should be careful to exclude any reasoning that may use as a premise Gerasimov's absence from Rome.

We focus on investigating the apparent inversion of the sequence in which rivers Neglinna and Iausa fall into the Moskva river, as shown in the 1525 printed map. In his

manuscript maps, Battista Agnese never depicted more than a single tributary: the city of *Moscha* is located at a confluence of *Neglina f.* with another river that he called interchangeably *Moschus f.* or *Jensa f.* Therefore, the subsequent this analysis was not available to Michow, Bagrow, or Rybakov before the discovery of the printed map. Peter Meurer in 1993 mentioned both rivers and pointed out that “relative insignificance” of Neglinna would have necessitated information from Gerasimov; however, he overlooked the sequence inversion.⁶⁴ Vadim Starkov in 1994 took a notice of the mistake, but did not elaborate on it.⁶⁵ Most recently, O. Kudryavtsev just stated that the printed map shows Moscow located in the interfluvium of Neglinna and Iausa, without mentioning or addressing the tributary inversion,⁶⁶ whereas G. Bellingeri and M. Milanesi didn’t discuss those rivers at all.

It is noteworthy that for Vladimir Kusov the tributary sequence inversion appearing on the printed map provided a reason to question Gerasimov’s participation in its compilation: “How possibly could a person of such broad educational horizons who occupied an important government position confuse the sequence of tributaries of the Moskva river within the grounds of the capital city: first, Neglinna, then Iausa, whereas on the 1525 map it is the other way around?”⁶⁷

It takes someone intimately familiar with the city to detect such a discrepancy; furthermore, it is quite obvious. On the other hand, for a stranger it would almost surely go unnoticed. However, we should first point out that such tributary sequence inversion can be trivially attributed to the printer who might have accidentally inserted wrong sets of letters into the slots on the printing woodblock. If so, there would have been no case for us to pursue. Figure 10 shows side by side the configuration of the rivers (top) as relative accurately presented on the 1739 plan of Moscow by Ivan Michurin, and (bottom) as depicted on the 1525 printed map by Paolo Giovio. The blue polygon outlines the boundaries of the Moscow castle better known today as the Kremlin.

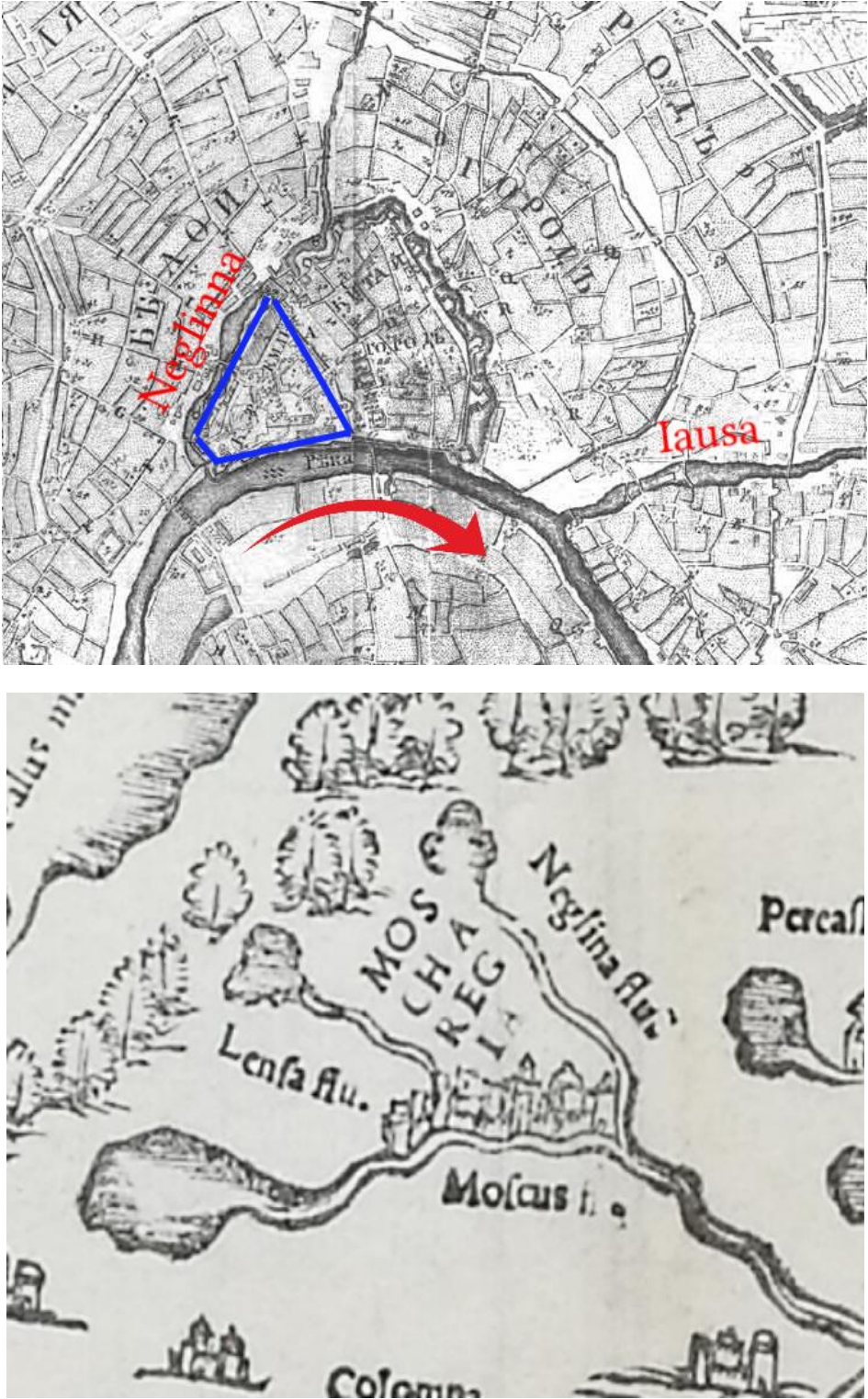


Fig. 10 — Configuration of the capital rivers: (top) on the 1739 plan of Moscow by Ivan Michurin; (bottom) on the 1525 map by Paolo Giovio.

We now compare the printed map with the textual description that Paolo Giovio gave in *Libellus*. This description without doubt is based on Dimitri Gerasimov's recorded words.

Table 4 — Description of the capital rivers from Giovio's *Libellus*.

Latin original ⁶⁸	English translation
<p>Ad ipfum urbis caput, Neglina fluuiolus ...Mofchun amnem ingreditur, peninsulamque efficit, in cuius extremitate Arx ipfa cum turribus ac propugnaculis admirabili pulchritudine Italarum architectorum ingenio constructa est... Vrbs etiam ab aduerfo latere, alio flumine quos Iaufa dicitur, munita est, id pariter in Mofchum paulo infra urbem euoluitur.</p>	<p>At the very head of the city, the Neglinna river... falls into the river Moschus forming a peninsula, on the extremity of which the castle with the towers and bulwarks of admirable beauty is erected by the genius of Italian architects... From the opposite side, the city is also protected by another river called Iausa, which falls into Moschus slightly beneath the city.</p>

Evidently, the printer can be exonerated: the map follows the description to the letter: the city is located on the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Neglinna and Moskva rivers and is protected by Iausa on the opposite side. The expression *infra urbem* has a natural explanation: the castle must be situated high on a hill, so Iausa falls into the Moskva river beneath it. Reviewing various river systems depicted on the map, we observe that here and elsewhere its compiler tends to interpret a confluence as the two rivers flowing generally in the same direction and meeting at the angle of 30 to 60 degrees. But in reality, Neglinna flows in the opposite direction forming at the confluence a peninsula that faces up the flow of the Moskva river! And Iausa, which protects the city on the opposite side, fall into the Moskva river *infra urbem*, that is, down the river flow. Thus, the description in *Libellus*, which is based on the verbal description by Gerasimov, is accurate to the actual configuration of the rivers, while the printed map is accurate to the description, but just superficially. Due to the map compiler's intuitive but restrictive and flawed interpretation of river confluence, the inversion of the tributary sequence occurs.

This is the strongest evidence supporting the purely verbal communication between Dimitri Gerasimov as the source of new geographical information and the map compiler. This evidence refutes any role, direct or indirect, played by the Moscow envoy in compilation of the map. Had he provided any cartographic sketches to Giovio, the river configuration within the capital city would have been the first of them, and the confusion would have been easily avoided.

III. Summary of findings

In this study, we have focused on the woodcut printed map of Moscovia compiled by Paolo Giovio in Rome in 1525 based on the information obtained from the Moscow envoy Dimitri Gerasimov, and on the manuscript renditions of that map created by Battista Agnese in Venice in the middle of the sixteenth century. Having reviewed the history of discovery and study of Giovio and Agnese maps, we uncovered that Heinrich Michow, who is often credited as the pioneer scholar in the history of Russian cartography due to his celebrated 1884 treatise and subsequent works, in fact not only came up with several far-fetched and evidently flawed ideas of his own, but also obscured the pre-existing knowledge on the subject. His role in misleading and confusing the subsequent generations of scholars is highly unfortunate and regrettable. We also observed a bias in the Muscovite scholarship on Giovio and Agnese maps, that stems from absolutization of Michow's conclusions and involves either overlooking or deliberately ignoring the subsequent results obtained by the Western scholars. This bias seems to be consistent with the goal of elevating Dimitri Gerasimov, a prominent religious philologist and translator who once served as a messenger to the Grand Duke, to the role of an explorer and a cartographer.

We have further reviewed the results of the study of Giovio's 1525 printed map and, in particular, the results of the comparative study of the two surviving imprints of that map, which are preserved at the RGADA in Moscow and the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Based on the analysis of the textual discrepancies between the imprints, we have established that the RGADA imprint is a proof pulled to make the necessary corrections, whereas the Venice imprint is a final version of the map printed from the corrected block. A thorough analysis of Giovio's printed map in the context of other sources reveals that the title date, October 1525, which Giovio's map shares with multiple mid-century manuscript renditions by Agnese corresponds to the time of the interviews between Paolo Giovio and Dimitri Gerasimov, and not to the time when either of the maps was created, as Michow originally stated in 1884 and as many scholars have long believed. Finally, an investigation into the sequence inversion of the Moskva river tributaries Neglinna and Iausa on the printed map produces a cartographic evidence demonstrating that Dimitri Gerasimov contributed no cartographic materials and had no role, direct or indirect, in compilation of the map. His role as a source of information to Paolo Giovio was limited to verbal communication.

The present study just touched upon, but didn't investigate in depth Dimitri Gerasimov's role as the mentor to European scholars on the feasibility of the North-East passage. This role clearly represents an exciting research topic.

¹ Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) — Italian historian, physician, prelate; a confidant of Pope Clement VII, bishop of Nocera since 1528. In 1525, the host of Moscow envoy Demetrius Erasmus (Dimitri Gerasimov) in Rome. Author of *Libellus de legatione Basilii magni, principis Moschoviae ad Clementem VII, Pont. Maximum. Romae. Anno M.D.XXV*. Presumed compiler of the 1525 map of Moscovia.

² Paolo Giovio. *Pavli Iovii Novocomensis Libellus de legatione Basilii magni Principis Moschoviae ad Clementem VII. Pont. Max.* (Romae ex Aedibus Francisci Minitii Calvi. Anno MDXXV.)

³ Dimitri Gerasimov (c.1465–after 1536) — Muscovite religious philologist, professional translator, and diplomat. In 1525 he visited Rome as an envoy from Grand Duke Vasili III of Moscow to Pope Clement VII. In Latin translation, his name was rendered as Demetrius Erasmus. The Russian historiography celebrates him as one of the most educated people of his time, identifying with several persons known in the primary sources only by first name and ascribing him many extra virtues. Information on his age, character, education in Livonia, and extensive diplomatic experience is due primarily to Giovo.

⁴ Battista Agnese (1514–1564) — commercial mapmaker, Genovese by origin, working in Venice. Over his atlas-making career spanning 30 years between 1534 and 1564, he produced at least 14 manuscript maps of Sarmatia and Tartaria, which were partially modeled after Giovio’s printed map.

⁵ *Pavli Iovii Libellus* (see note 2), A2v.

⁶ Theobald Fischer (Ed.) *Raccolta di mappamondi e carte nautiche del xiii al xvi secolo. Facsimile delle Carte Nautiche di Battista Agnese dell'anno 1554* (Venezia: Ferd. Ongania, 1881). Fol. XVII.

⁷ Heinrich Michow. *Die ältesten Karten von Russland, ein Beitrag zur historischen Geographie* (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen, 1884).

⁸ Michow. *Die ältesten Karten von Russland* (note 7), 24.

⁹ Konrad Kretschmer. *Die Atlanten des Battista Agnese. // Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde. Band XXXI* (Berlin: W.H.Kühl, 1896), S.362–368.

¹⁰ Henry R. Wagner. *The manuscript atlases of Battista Agnese. // The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 25 (1931), 1-110.

¹¹ Among the works that advanced that knowledge: Henry R. Wagner *Additions to the manuscript atlases by Battista Agnese. // Imago Mundi* 4 (1947): 28–30. Leo Bagrow. ‘At the sources of the cartography of Russia’, in *Imago Mundi*. 16:1 (1962): 32–48. (This paper was written about 1952 and published posthumously.) Ingrid Baumgärtner. ‘Battista Agnese e l’atlante di Kassel. La cartografia del mondo nel Cinquecento’ in *Venezia e la nuova oikoumene. Cartografia del Quattrocento* (Roma–Venezia: Viella, 2016). The definitive final estimate is taken from Ingrid Baumgärtner. *Battista Agnese*. 248. One may find source quoting the number in the range from “about 70” to “over 80”.

¹² Wagner. *The manuscript atlases of Battista Agnese* (see note 10): 34.

¹³ Bagrow. *At the sources* (see note 11): 41.

¹⁴ Bagrow. *At the sources* (see note 11): 40.

¹⁵ Peter H. Meurer. ‘Die vermutliche Originalausgabe der "Moschoviae Tabula" von Dimitrij Gerasimov und Paolo Giovio’ in *Cartographica Hungarica*. 3 (1993): 14–24 (Budapest, Szathmary Tibor, 1993): 14.

¹⁶ Meurer. ‘Die vermutliche Originalausgabe’ (see note 15): 21.

¹⁷ The first two publications appeared in the July–August 1994 issue of *Otechestvennye Arkhivy* (“Homeland Archives”), a bimonthly journal of practical science, and were written by the archaeologists: Boris A. Rybakov. ‘A newly discovered 1525 map of Moscovia’ in *Otechestvennye Arkhivy* (1994) 4: 3–8. Vadim F. Starkov. ‘The description of the 1525 map’ in *Otechestvennye Arkhivy* (1994) 4: 8–15. Until 2021, no Russian publication ever referenced Peter Meurer’s paper.

¹⁸ Stanisław Alexandrowicz. *Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2012).

- ¹⁹ David Woodward (Ed.) *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 3. *Cartography in the European Renaissance*. Part 2 (The Univ. of Chicago Press, 2007).
- ²⁰ Leonid A. Goldenberg. ‘Russian cartography to ca. 1700’ in *The History of Cartography* 3 (2) (see note 19): 1852–1903.
- ²¹ The role of Alexei V. Postnikov is explained in footnote [24] on page 1852 of that volume.
- ²² Giampiero Bellingeri. ‘Sui Tartari Nogai nelle fonti venete. Implicazioni “gotiche” e melomani’, in *Zhi*, ed. N. Grandi, G. Iannàccaro (Cesena–Roma, Caissa Italia, 2006), 27–46; Giampiero Bellingeri, ‘Scorci veneziani sulla regione del Mar Nero (secoli XV–XIX)’, in *La Crimea tra Russia, Italia e Impero ottomano*, ed. Aldo Ferrari and Elena Pupulin (Venice, Edizioni Ca’ Foscari, 2017), 91–116.
- ²³ Giampiero Bellingeri, Marica Milanese. ‘The Reappearance of the Lost Map of Muscovy by Paolo Giovio (1525)’, *Imago Mundi* 72 (2020) 1:47–51.
- ²⁴ Bellingeri & Milanese. ‘The Reappearance’ (see note 23): 49–50.
- ²⁵ Denis A. Khotimsky. *The second copy of the map of Moscovia compiled by Paolo Giovio in 1525 is found!* Web-portal *imago.by*. July 7, 2020. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.54544/658>.
- ²⁶ Veniamin A. Kordt. *The materials to the history of Russian cartography*. Issue 1 (Kiev, 1899): 3–4, III.
- ²⁷ See notes 10 and 11.
- ²⁸ Boris A. Rybakov. *The Russian maps of Muscovy* (In Russian) (Moscow, Nauka, 1974). A discussion of Rybakov’s book attempting to weigh the damage done by the nationalistic claimed to Soviet scholarship against Western undervaluation of early Russian mapmaking can be found in *New Perspective on Muscovite history*. Ed. Lindsey Hughes (New York, St. Martin Press, 1993): 3–34.
- ²⁹ Rybakov. *The Russian maps of Muscovy* (see note 28): 71.
- ³⁰ Among few voices heard so far to speak directly about Boris Rybakov’s role, Leo Klejn, a fellow archaeologist, wrote about him in a 2011 biographical essay: [After 1960s,] “he appears in his books only as a historian, religious scholar, art critic, cartographer, folklorist, using archaeological materials. However, in most of these disciplines, he was a dilettante. A venerable, authoritative, talented, bright dilettante. And his fierce passion for the affirmation of one specific historical picture that elevates the Russian people prevented him from realizing and overcoming his dilettantism.” See: Leo Klejn ‘Academician Rybakov and the party line’ in *Troitskij variant* (2011) 73:14. March 1, 2011. <https://trv-science.ru/2011/03/akademik-rybakov-i-partijnaya-liniya/> (Accessed July 01, 2022.) The works of Muscovite scholars who attempted at least in part to correct Rybakov’s claims: Starkov, ‘The description of the 1525 map’ (see note 17); Vladimir S. Kusov, *Cognition history of the Russian lands* (In Russian) (Moscow, Prosvetschenie, 2002); Vladimir S. Kusov *The Moscow state in XVI – early XVIII century: A synoptic catalog of geographical drawings* (In Russian) (Moscow, Russkij mir, 2007); Oleg F. Kudryavtsev, ‘Of an unknown country drawing: The first European maps of Muscovy (1525)’. (In Russian.) In *Vestnik MGIMO-Universiteta*. 13 (2020), 1: 7–22.
- ³¹ Kudryavtsev, ‘Of an unknown country drawing’ (2020) – see note 30.
- ³² On the dates of Battista Agnese’s life, see the printed sources of encyclopedic nature: *Tooley’s Dictionary of Mapmakers*. (1st ed.—Alan Liss, New York, Meridian Publ. Co. Amsterdam, 1979), 6; (Rev. ed. —Map Collector Publications & Richard Arkway, Herts, 1999), 1:12; *History of Cartography*, Ed. David Woodward (University of Chicago Press, 2007), 3(2): 2060. In multilingual Wikipedia editions, the birth year of “c.1500” inevitably correlates with a claim of *the* map of Moscovia made by Agnese in 1525.
- ³³ Kudryavtsev, ‘Of an unknown country drawing’ (see note 30), 9, 15.
- ³⁴ Kudryavtsev, ‘Of an unknown country drawing’ (see note 30), 20. The thesis objected by Kudryavtsev was presented in Starkov, ‘The description of the 1525 map’ (see note 17), 14.
- ³⁵ Rybakov. ‘A newly discovered 1525 map of Moscovia’ (see note 17), 8.

³⁶ Most publications in fact list no dimensions at all. In the first study published in 1994 immediately upon discovery of the imprint (Starkov, ‘The description of the 1525 map’, 8), its author reported the dimensions of 36.5 cm × 32.5 cm (i.e., aspect ratio 1.1). Exactly the same values were listed by Oleg Kudryvtsev in ‘Of an unknown country drawing’ (2020), 20). On the other hand, Vladimir Kusov in several of his publications (e.g., Kusov, *Cognition history* (see note 30), 20) specified dimensions as 80 cm × 40 cm (aspect ratio 2.0). The actual dimensions of imprint [M] (by neat line) are 46.7 cm × 33.2 cm with the aspect ratio of approximately 1.4. All these publications contain a reproduction of the map. Since in a parallel projection the proportions are retained, an author, an editor, or a reader could have used a school ruler to detect a flaw in the reported measurements.

³⁷ The first publication in Russian to list the correct dimensions and to describe the watermark was: Denis A. Khotimsky, Alexei M. Boulatov, ‘The first printed map of Moscovia: historiography and comparative analysis of the copies held by RGADA and Biblioiteca Marciana’ (In Russian.) In *Otechestvennye arkhivy*. (2021) 5: 29–40.

³⁸ Meurer. ‘Die vermutliche Originalausgabe’ (see note 15).

³⁹ Bellingeri & Milanesi. ‘The Reappearance of the Lost Map of Muscovy’ (see note 23).

⁴⁰ *Briquet C.M.* Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu’en 1600: 4 vol. (Genève, 1907), 1:42.

⁴¹ The contents of this section first appeared in print in Russian in the *Otechestvennye Arkhivy* journal [*], which in 1994 published the first Russian descriptions of the 1525 printed map [*,*], leaving the priority to *Cartographica Hungarica* [*].

⁴² *Pavli Iovii Libellus* (see note 2), B3v.

⁴³ Michow. *Die ältesten Karten von Russland* (note 7), 23.

⁴⁴ Meurer. ‘Die vermutliche Originalausgabe’ (see note 15), 18.

⁴⁵ There was a minor glitch. The early editions of the *Libellus*, 1525 and 1527, contained a typesetter error: a misplaced comma in *Anno ab initio Mundi Septimo Millesimo tricesimo, tertio Aprilis*, which reads “Year from the creation of the world 7030, the third day of April.” With the chronological shift being equal to 5508 years, this gives 1522. As there was little doubt that the events unfolded in 1525, e.g., Clement VII only ascended the Papacy on November 19, 1523, the error was easily identified and corrected long before the cartography came to the forefront: *Anno ab initio Mundi Septimo Millesimo tricesimo tertio, mense Aprilis*, that is “Year 7033, the month of April.”

⁴⁶ PSRL: The complete collection of the Russian chronicles. Vol. 8. *Voskresenskaya letopis’*. (St. Petersburg, 1859), 271; Vol. 13-1. *Nikonovskaya letips’* (St. Petersburg, 1904), 45.

⁴⁷ Joseph Hamel (1788–1862) was a Russian physician and naturalist who made significant contributions to the study of the English contacts with Muscovy in the 16th century. His historical treatise was first published in German (1847), then, in the midst of the Crimean war, the English translation appeared (1854), followed by the Russian edition (1865–1869). This was not Hamel’s only encounter with the historical annals. His name is also forever impressed in the history of alpinism, although not quite in golden letters, with the Hamel disaster, an 1820 fatal expedition on Mont Blanc that he led. The German edition of his treatise: Joseph Hamel. *Tradescant der Aeltere 1618 in Russland*. (St.Petersburg, 1847). The English edition: Joseph Hamel, *England and Russia; Comprising the voyages of John Tradescant the Elder, Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Nelson, and others, to the White Sea, etc.*(London, 1854).

⁴⁸ Paul Pierling (1840–1922) was born in St.Petersburg into a family of a German decent, he left for Europe as a youth, and later became a catholic priest, a theologian, and a church historian. He lived most of his life in Paris. His historical treatise was first published in French : Paul Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siege : études diplomatiques. Vol. I.* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1896); and later translated into Russian: Pavel Pirling, *Rossia i papskij prestol. Tom I.* Translated by V.P. Potemkin (Moscow, 1912).

⁴⁹ Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siege* (see note 48), 1:292–303.

⁵⁰ Hamel, *Tradescant* (see note 47), 56–57.

⁵¹ Michow. *Die ältesten Karten von Russland* (note 7), 23. In translation: 1525, not 1526 as Hamel says; the latter would not agree with the statements by Giovio that “we believe he will return to Moscovia very soon.” The return of the embassies was always greatly accelerated.

⁵² The traditional feast date was changed in 1969, and is presently celebrated on September 26. In the Orthodox tradition, the feast of these Saints is celebrated on July 1, but that should not have influenced a historian from Hamburg.

⁵³ Kordt was careful to explicitly quote Michow: Kordt, *The materials* (see note 26), 4. Bagrow and Meurer made respective statements in their own name: Bagrow, ‘At the sources’ (see note 11), 39; Meurer, ‘Die vermutliche Originalausgabe’ (see note 15), 15.

⁵⁴ Oleg F. Kudryavtsev, *Rossia in the first half of the XVI century: Looking from Europe* (Moscow, Russkij mir, 1997), 290 (endnote 8), 294 (endnote 33),

⁵⁵ Kudryavtsev, ‘Of an unknown country drawing’ (see note 30), 9.

⁵⁶ New Advent Catholic encyclopedia. Lorenzo Campeggio.

<https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03223a.htm> Accessed on July 1, 2022. “He was back in Rome 20 October, 1525, and was made a member of the papal commission on the affairs of the Teutonic Knights.” Ludwig Frhr. Von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. 4 Band. 2 Abt. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907), 4(2): 402. “Über seine Rückkehr verhandelte man am 13. Oktober 1525. Erst am 20. Oktober trat Campeggio wieder in Rom ein.”

⁵⁷ Yazkova V.E. ‘The Holy See and the Moscow state (to the history of diplomatic connections in the first half of the XVI century)’. (In Russian) // *Srednie veka*. 58 (1995): 197–205.

⁵⁸ *Pavli Iovii Libellus* (see note 2), B1v.

⁵⁹ Bagrow, ‘At the sources’ (see note 11), 40, 43.

⁶⁰ Rybakov, *The Russian maps of Muscovy* (see note 28): 77–78.

⁶¹ Meurer. ‘Die vermutliche Originalausgabe’ (see note 15), 21.

⁶² Kudryavtsev, ‘Of an unknown country drawing’ (see note 30), 9.

⁶³ Bellingeri & Milanese. ‘The Reappearance of the Lost Map of Muscovy’ (see note 23), 48–49.

⁶⁴ Meurer. ‘Die vermutliche Originalausgabe’ (see note 15), 19, 21.

⁶⁵ Starkov, ‘The description of the 1525 map’ (see note 17), 12.

⁶⁶ Kudryavtsev, ‘Of an unknown country drawing’ (see note 30), 18.

⁶⁷ .Kusov, *Cognition history* (see note 30), 20.

⁶⁸ *Pavli Iovii Libellus* (see note 2), C2r-v.