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## **CARTOGRAPHIC IMAGE OF SERBIA AND OTHER NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES ON THE BALKAN PENINSULA ON THE MAPS OF MARTIN WALDSEEMÜLLER FROM EARLY 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

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**Abstract:** Martin Waldseemüller has a special place in the history of European cartography and geography, due to the original cartographic works that influenced the expansion of the geographical horizons of Europeans in the 16th century. In the introductory section, the author gives an overview of his most important works, which still attract the attention of researchers in the field of historical geography, historical cartography, toponomastics and related scientific disciplines. Author then analyzes the text and context of Waldseemüller's maps. The aim of this work is to shed new light on geographical knowledge of the Balkan Peninsula and Serbian countries in the age of Humanism and the Renaissance, based on an analysis of Martin Waldseemüller's geographic maps from the early 16th century. Special attention is paid to the contents of the map *Tabula moderna Bossinae, Servie, Gretiae et Sclavonie*, from 1507.

**Key words:** Martin Waldseemüller, Ptolemaeus, Serbia, Balkan Peninsula, Historical Geography, History of cartography, Mapmakers, toponomastics.

### **Theoretical-methodological Introduction**

Geographical knowledges about the Balkan Peninsula in ancient times and in the Middle Ages was superficial and often wrong. This can be concluded on the basis of preserved geographical maps, such as Peutinger's map - itinerary

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from the Roman era (Grčić, 2017; Grčić, M., Grčić, Lj., Sibinović, M. 2018a), maps from Ptolemy's "Geography" from the second century (Grčić, 2018b), map of the East of St. Jerome (Grčić, 2019a), world map of the Arab geographer Idrizi (Grčić, 2020), text of Constantine Porphyrogenitus from the 10th century, whose geographical contents about Slavic lands and cities in the Byzantine era served the French royal geographer Guillaume De l'Isle in the 17th century as a source for the historical-geographical map of the Eastern empire (Grčić, M., Grčić Lj., 2012; 2014), Fra Mauro's map of the world (Grčić, M., Grčić, Lj. 2019b) and others.

Martin Waldseemüller Hylacomilus (1470 or 1475 - 1520) was born in the vicinity of Freiburg, and after completing his studies in the same city, he worked for the rest of his life in Saint-Dié-des-Vosges not far from Strasbourg in Lorraine (Van Duzer, Larger, 2011). In Saint-Dié, Waldseemüller practiced geography and cartography as a member of a small group of humanists who called themselves the *Gymnasium Vosagense*, so successfully that today there is a globe sculpture in Saint-Dié, where it is written: *Saint-Dié-des-Vosges Geography - Capitale mondiale de la Géographie* ("World Capital of Geography").

Waldseemüller is one of the Renaissance cartographers who are responsible not only for promoting Ptolemy's "Geography", but also for expanding geographical horizons and spreading the scientific view of the world in the intellectual circles of Europe (Grčić, 2018). His works had a stimulating effect on the development of cartography and geography in the 16th century. Waldseemüller's edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* (*Ptolemaeus - Geographie opus novissima .., Strassburg 1513*), was called "the first modern atlas", because in addition to 27 ancient maps it contains 20 new "regional" maps, which show all parts of the world based on modern knowledge (Pastoureau, 1984). This work retained Ptolemy's concept, but new maps in a larger format in 1513 and 1522 significantly influenced a new generation of cartographers, including Sebastian Münster and Giacomo Gastaldi (Oehme, 1951).

Toponyms are the most valuable element on Waldseemüller's maps. These maps today have significance primarily because of the study of medieval place-names and geographical representations of the Balkan Peninsula in European geography in the age of humanism and the Renaissance. By studying the toponyms, it is possible to look at the context of the map, what was the focus of the cartographer's interest, what his priorities were (Gašperic, 2010; Douglas, 2014). The choice of toponym reveals subjective motives and the purpose of the ticket (Vuolteenaho & Ainiala, 2010; Fuchs, 2015). This means that the maps in general are not only certain graphic representations of geographical reality, but are "the social constructs of the world shown through the medium of cartography" (Harley, 2001; Gašperic, 2007; Kladnik, Pipan, 2008). Therefore, Waldseemüller's geographical maps can also be placed in the appropriate social context. The interpretation of maps should not only identify the toponyms and

symbols, but also reveal context in which they were created. Some of the toponyms on Waldseemüller's maps have an ancient basis because they were taken from Ptolemy's "Geography" created in the middle of the 2nd century, but there are also some medieval placenames derived from the Slavic languages.

### **Waldseemüller's cartographic works and his perception of Serbia and the Balkan countries**

Martin Waldseemüller is widely known primarily as the creator of the name America. However, there are several significant manuscript in his collected works. Those are:

1. The book *Cosmographie introductio* and a globe with a diameter of 30 cm, on which the fourth continent called "America" was revealed for the first time. In 1515, Johan Schöner created a modern globe on which the name *Zeruia* (Serbia), used by Waldseemüller, was marked as the modern name for *Mysia Superior*. According to Waldseemüller's map, the globe also shows the east coast of America (Van Duzer, 2010).

2. Waldseemüller, in collaboration with the translator Mathias Ringmann, worked on the preparation of a new edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* (*Geographie des Ptolemaeus*), based on the Ulm edition of 1482 (Mayer, 1904; Flamm, 1912). The work was published by Joannis Schotti in Strasbourg in 1513. In that edition, 47 maps were printed (27 antique and 20 new), which Waldseemüller made in 1507 in woodcut. Each map has two leaves, except the first and twenty-eighth (Oehme, 1951; Hessler et al., 2006; Van Duzer, 2019). The second Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* was prepared by Johan Grüninger and Johan Koberger in 1522 and 1525. In these editions, Ptolemy's maps were standard, and new sections were copied in a reduced format. One copy of the Strasbourg edition from 1525 is owned by the Franciscan monastery on Hvar, entitled: *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographicae Enarrationis Libri Octo Bilibaldo Pircheymhero Interprete / Annotationes Ioannis De Regio Monte In Errores Commissos A Iacobo Angelo In Translatione Sua* (Vukušić, 2007). After the 1525 edition, the wooden boards made by Lorenz Fries were bought by the Trechsel brothers of Lyons, and after corrections of the text by Michel Servetus, one edition was printed in Lyon in 1535 and another in Vienna in 1541 (A List of Editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* 1475 -1730, New York, 1886). In the Viennese edition of Ptolemy's "Geography" from 1541, 27 of Ptolemy's and 23 new maps in a smaller format were printed. In this edition, there is a map abbreviated as "*Tabula noua Graeciae, Sclauoniae & Bulgariae*" [1: 3,600,000], measuring 33x40 cm, which is a modified copy of Waldseemüller's map from 1507 and 1513, respectively. It differs from Waldseemüller's map in format, textual descriptions and some toponyms. The

name *Servia* was changed to *Zevia*, Macedonia was deleted and entered *G(r)ecia*, *C(r)eta sive Pars* was replaced with *Candie Pars*, the name *Bulgaria* was added.

3. World map with title "Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vesputii alioru[m]que lustrationes", carved in woodcut 1507., on 12 sheets with total dimension of 128x233 cm. Waldseemüller christened the new continent on it by the name "America" after Amerigo Vespucci (Laubenberger, 1959; Harris, 1985; Dreyer-Eimbcke, 2003; Pelletier, 2006; Hessler, 2005, 2006, 2008; Hassler et al. 2012; McIntosh, 2011; Van Duzer, 2012; Lehmann, 2016). The Library of Congress in Washington purchased the only surviving copy of that Waldseemüller's map for \$ 10 million in 2003 and keeps it as the "christening certificate of America" (Dreyer-Eimbcke, 2003; Missinne, 2015). On that map, Serbia is marked with the ancient name *Misia Superior nunc Bosna*. North of the Sava River (*Saus fl.*) is Croatia and in the seaside of *Sclauonia* and *Dalmatia*. Some city names have a Latin shape or root: *Tibiscum* (Tamishvar), *Tricornium* (Ritopek), *Noua Civitas* (Novi Sad), *Desemburg* (Sombor), *Tnuturum* (Taurunum, Zemun), *Cornacum* (Sotin near Vukovar). Cities marked on the Adriatic coast are: *Aluona* (Labin), *Scardonna* (Skradin), *Epetium* (Stobreč near Split), *Piguntum* (Pituntum - Podstrana near Poljica), *Oneum* (Omiš), *Ragusa* (Dubrovnik), *Butua* (Budva), *Ulanium* (Ulcinj), *Lisus* (Lješ).

4. "Carta Itineraria Europae" (Itinerary map of Europe) measuring 141 x 107 cm, which Waldseemüller started working on in 1511. It was intended, among other things, for pilgrims from Central Europe to Santiago de Compostela in Spain. His collaborator Rigmann printed a manual with detailed geographical descriptions of the regions in Europe. The book was published by Gruninger in 1511 under the title: *Instructio manuductionem prestans in Cartam itinerarium Martini Hilacomili*. The only surviving copy of that map, printed in 1520, is kept in the Library of Congress. It is the first printed wall map of Europe. The title reads: "Carta Europae tipica neoterica civitatum fluviorum et montium [di]dancias eciam situs tam medi[d]os quam veros indicans, opres corographi[cum] et geographicum Martini Ilacomili Friburgensis" (Guckelsberger, 2013; Meine, 1971), which means: "The modern map of Europe shows the distances and locations (accurately measured) of cities, rivers and mountains, the chorographic and geographical work of Martin Waldseemüller of Freiburg."

The only preserved copy of that map, printed in 1520, is kept in the Library of Congress. The name *Servia* was deleted on that map, only the letter "V" from the name *Servia* is visible (Guckelsberger, 2013; Meine, 1971). On Serbian territory, the names of the following rivers and cities are visible: *Saua fl.* - Sava, *Ibar fl.* - Ibar, *Drina fl.* - Drina, *Suercegno* - Svrčin, *Sitniza* - Sitnica, *Ploui* - Plav, *Sasson* - Saslon (Šabac), *Crusenaiz* - Kruševac, *Nouomonte* - Novo Brdo, *Gernouo* - Žrnovo (it was on Mount Avala), *Guardia de Turco* - Smederevska Palanka, *Copenich* - Kupinik, *Belgrado* - Belgrade. The aforementioned map, from 1511/1520, was

intended for, among other things, pilgrims from Central Europe to Santiago de Compostela in Spain. Waldseemüller's associate, Rigmann, printed a manual detailing the geographical descriptions of the Region of Europe. The book was published by Gruninger in 1511. under the headline: *Instructio manuductionem prestans in Cartam itinerarium Martini Hilacomili.*

5. "*Carta marina*" (Nautical map) of 1516, on 12 sheets overall dimensions 128x233 cm. The only saved copy of this map is in the Library of Congress. Plate No. 2 shows Europe (Hessler, 2008a; Van Duzer, 2020). On this map are, between others, placenames: *Servia* (Serbia), *Valachia* (Wallachia), *Grecia* (Greece), *Septem Castra* (Seventh City, Transylvania) and *Ungaria* (Hungary), *Buddha* (Budapest), *Alba Regalis* (Sehesfehervar), *Lubiana* (Ljubljana), *Sagabria* (Zagreb), *Sirma* (Sremska Mitrovica), *Suonic* (Zvornik), *Jesero* (Jajce), *Gernouo* (Zrnovo), *Belgrado* (Belgrade), *Galabaz* (Golubac), *Daubeburg* (Taubenburg, Golubac), *Schilabon* (Vidin?), *Nicopol* (Nikopolj), *Monte Nouo* (Novo Brdo), *Crusenaiz* (Krusevac) and a few of cities on the adriatic coast The Ionian and Aegean Seas (Figure 1).

### **Analysis of Waldseemüller's map**

#### ***"Tabula moderna Bossine, Servie, Gretiae et Sclavonie", from 1507. year***

Waldseemüller's map "*Tabula Moderna Bossine, Servie, Gretiae et Sclavonie*", was made in the original woodcut 1507 or a little earlier, and printed in the Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy's "Geography" by Joannis Schotti in 1513, and in later editions, by serial number 37 (fig. 2). It is printed in the format 54x41 cm. The letters are written in Gothic, sometimes of different handwriting, which indicates two or more carvers. This map represents the first printed "regional map" bearing the name of Serbia in the title, along with the other countries of the Balkan Peninsula. This name (*Servia*, *Sirfia*, etc.) was found about two centuries earlier on world maps, type "mappae mundi". This map served as the foundation on which other cartographic works were based on during the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, which gradually perfected and amended geographical representations of the then little-known part of Europe.

**Countries and areas.** On this Waldseemüller's map, the following names of countries and historical areas are inscribed: *Servia* (Serbia), *Bossina* (Bosnia), *Sclavonia* (the map includes Lika and Northern Dalmatia), *Dalmatia* (Dalmatia), *Albania* (Albania), *Grecia* (Greece), *Achaia* (Achaia), *Ducatvs Athenie* (Athens), *Morea* (Peloponnese), *Thessalo* (Thessaly), *Macedonia* (Macedonia), *Tratia* (Thrace). North of the Danube are marked *Hvngarie pars* (Hungary) and *Septem Castrozz pars* (Siebenbürgen, Transylvania, Erdély, in present-day Romania). Overseas countries such as *C[r]jeta sive Can[di]e [pars]* (Crete or Candia), *Italiae pars* (Italy), *Sicilie pars* (Sicily), *Asiae minoris pars* (Asia Minor), are marked as



white areas. There are no borders, except between Greece and Albania in the form of a straight line with the text: *Terminus nuer Albaniam et Gretiam*.



Figure 1. Detail of plate 2 of Waldseemüller's 'Carta marina' of 1516 showing Serbia and the Balkan Peninsula (Source: Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/>).

**The relief** is shown by the method of interconnected two-row and single-row shaded molehills. The morphotectonic complex is represented according to Ptolemy's map dominated by the Central ridge (*Cathena Mundi Mons*), which stretches across the entire Balkan Peninsula in the form of a continuous mountain range and separates the southern from the northern areas. Along the Adriatic coast, the steep Velebit coast (no name) and *Poglus Mons* in the hinterland of Split (Biokovo, Mosor, Kozjak) are marked. The mountains in Greece are: *Parnasus Mons* south of Lamia (Parnassus Mountains); *Olimpus Mons* (Olympus); *Monte santo siue Athos* (Holy Mountain or Athos).

**The islands** can be recognized more by their position and shape than by their name. In the Adriatic and Ionian Seas are marked: *Albi* (Rab), *Querso* (Krk), *Tutgo* (Pag), *Pterso* (Dugi Otok; there is a passage and bay Proverso, between the islands of Kornati and Dugi Otok), *Lexna* (Hvar; name Lexna or Lesine is a hagiotopeponym derived from Greek form of the epithet of the Virgin with the child "Eleus" - Ἐλεούσα, meaning "Merciful" In the town of Hvar there is still a Franciscan monastery of St. Mary of Mercy, dedicated to the Virgin Eleus), *Linsa* (Vis), *Bartia* (Brač), *Snirsola* (Korčula), *Agosta* (Lastovo), *Melada* (Mljet), *Corfunum* (Corfu), *Ducato* (Levkas), *Clealoina* (Cephalonia), *Larinto* (Zakynthos). In the Aegean Sea, there are 10 islands without a name and 25 islands with a name (from North to South): *Tasso* (Thassos), *Lemnos* (*Lemnos nunt fiti thimim*), *Seraquium* (Agius Evstratios), *Scopulos* (Skopelos), *Schiro* (Skiros), *Nigro Pont* (Euboea), *Metelmo* (Mytilene), *Pissiana* (Psara), *Sio* (Xios), *Andri* (Andros), *Tiny* (Tinos), *Michole* (Mykonos), *Nicalia* (Ikaria), *Termenia* (Siros), *Opano* (Paros), *Nichia* (Naxos), *Palamos* (Patmos), *Leria* (Leros), *Morgo* (Amorgos), *Stimpalia* (Astypalaia), *Lango* (Kos). In the Mediterranean Sea, the island of *C[r]eta siue Can[di]a* (Crete or Candia) is drawn, and between it and the Peloponnese, the island of *Ciderigo* (Antikythera).

**The seas** that cover the Balkan Peninsula are *Mare Hadriaticvm* (Adriatic Sea) and *Mare Mediterranevm* (Mediterranean Sea). On the East are *Mare Aegevm* (Aegean Sea) and the same misspelled name for the Black Sea, and *Propontidis* (Marmara Sea). The bays have not been named.

**The lakes** are elliptical in shape. Next to the town of *Iessero* is marked Plivsko Lake in Bosnia, which has the island of *Pluuu fl.* (Pliva). In Macedonia is marked *Nerida lacus* (Lake Ohrid), which has a river without a name (Black Drim). *Scutri lacus* (Lake Skadar) also has a river without a name (Bojana). In Serbia is marked now drained *Suercegnio* - Svrčin or Sazlijsko Lake, north of Uroševac in Kosovo, created in the time of Nemanjić by the construction of an artificial bifurcation of the river Nerodimka. An unnamed lake with a river has been drawn in Thrace.

The **rivers** are shown schematically with two parallel lines, without major curves. The width of the river is equal along the entire course, so it is not emphasized in which direction it flows. The rivers of the Adriatic basin have no



name, but Cetina, Neretva, Bojana and Black Drim are recognizable. The following rivers are shown: *Saus fl.* (Sava), *Danubuis fl.* (Danube), *Drina fl.* (Drina), *Berbus fl.* (Vrba), *Pluuu fl.* (Pliva), *Bosna fl.* (Bosnia), *Ibar fl.* (Morava, mistakenly marked as Ibar), *Timoth fl.* (Timok), *Nardar fl.* (Vardar), *Narta fl.* (Arna in Greece), *Strumona* (Strumica), *Mariza fl.* (Maritsa) with two tributaries - *Turiza fl.* and *Eda fl.* Morava (named Ibar), is formed by merging of two sources. One branch would be West Morava and its tributary Ibar, connected into one river, and the other South Morava. East of the river is the text: "*Hic struit rex turcazz suos naues et per hoc flumen eos in Danubium mittit*". A similar text can be found on the map of Francesco Rosselli from Florence from the end of the 15th century and Marco Beneventano (Beneventus), published in Rome in 1507. This information from Beneventano and Waldseemüller was copied from some older maps or documents by which the people of Dubrovnik warned King Ladislav in 1456 that "the Turks were building many ships on Morava River to transfer the army across the Danube" (Mijatović, 1882).

**Cities.** Due to the few orographic and hydrographic elements and the lack of a road network, locating settlements is difficult. Identification of toponyms carried out by Škrivanić (1972) and Nikolić (1979) is a good basis for further analysis of this map.

**Bosnia**, designated as *Bossina*, has a relatively large number of toponyms, meaning it was well populated. The cities marked near Vrba river are: *Lieuuiz* - Levač, in Lijevče field; *Suezey* - Zvečaj, a medieval town on the left bank of Vrba River, upstream from Banja Luka, near the village of Jagodići; *Greben* - Greben, a town on the left tributary of Vrba River, near Krupa, between Zvečaj and Bočac; *Dabozaz* - Bočac; *laige regalis* - royal city of Jajce; *Vienaz* - medieval town of Vinac on the right bank of Vrba, South of Jajce, near the present-day village of Vijenac; *lessero* - the town of Jezero on Lake Pliva; *Sochol* - Soko, near Šipovo, at the mouth of Sokočnica River into Pliva. Between the rivers Bosna and Drina are cities: *Berizthi* - Barka, old name for today's city of Brcko; *Rebanich* - Srebrenik, northwest of Tuzla; *Siebarniza* - Srebrenica; *Potes* - unidentified place on the right side of Sava River in Semberija, in the area of Bijeljina. In the Middle Ages, the trade center of Semberija was Četvrtkovište - today Bijeljina, which "never had a city or a fortification (palanka), but had a channel with palisades" (Kreševljaković, 1953). The larger fortifications on Sava were Rača and Novi. Towns are marked near the Drina River: *Suonich* - Zvornik, on the left bank of Drina; *Guirgouaiz* - Đurđevac on the left bank of Drina upstream from Srebrenica, near the village of the same name and Perućac hydroelectric power plant (this fortres protected the sector of "Dubrovnik road" between Foča and Srebrenica); *Togleuatz* - Tođevac, a medieval town above the left bank of Hrčavka, near the village of the same name northeast of Tjentište (this fortres protected the sector of "Dubrovnik road" between Gacko and Foča. In Turkish times Tođevac was



the seat of the nahija); *Vratar* - Vratar fortress in Sutjeska Canyon near Suha, between the steep slopes of Volujak and Zelengora, on the road Foča - Gacko (there was a customs house of Herceg Stefan). Two other fortresses of the same name are known - Vratar above the Žepa Canyon north of Višegrad, and Vratar near Metković in Neretva Valley.

**Herzegovina** is marked as *Dalmatia*. On the south side of the mountain range, two cities are marked: *Bilechia* and *Luitz*. *Bilechia* - Bileća, was an important station on the road from Dubrovnik to Foča (Gnjato, 1991). *Luitz* (Ključ) is the name of the town between Bileća and Vratar. Škrivanić (1972) thinks that it is Svetlje, a former town east of Metković near Hutovo Blato, which is not geographically logical. Rather, it could be said that it is Ključ (Ključ), a well-fortified town above Cernica near Gacko, on the slope of the Baba mountain, on the side below Rudo hill. Cernica was mentioned in 1368 year and later in Dubrovnik documents as a trading post and customs house on the caravan road "via Drina", which led from Dubrovnik through Trebinje, Bileća, Vratar and Foča. The town of Ključ controlled a part of that road between Bileća and Vratar on Sutjeska. It was the seat of the Grand Duke Sandalj Hranić and the property of his successor Stefan Vukčić Kosača. It is mentioned as *castrum Glutsch* in 1448, and as *civitate Cluz cum castris et partinentiis suis* in 1454 (Dinić, 1978). The French envoy He, in his records from 1621 to 1626, writes that settlements on the road from Dubrovnik to Ključ are very rare (Tomić, 1900). In the Turkish-Venetian wars, "*Fortezza di Cluz*" is mentioned in 1687 (Delić, 1911).

On the territory of Serbia (Serbia), was marked 10 cities: *Sason* - Zaslon, today's Šabac); *Belgrado* - Belgrade; *Gernouo* - the town of Žrnov on Avala mountain (The Turks called it Havala. The ruins were removed and a monument to the Unknown Hero from the wars of 1912-1918 was built there in 1938); *Suercegnio* - Svrčin, on the lake of the same name in Kosovo (today there is neither a city nor a lake). Škrivanić (1972) believes that it is the medieval town of Zvečan, at the meeting point of Ibar and Sitnica; *Sitinica* - unknown place (there is a river Sitnica on which, during the Middle Ages, at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, there was a significant trading place Vučitrn); *Nouomonte* - Novo Brdo (from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 15th century was a large urban settlement with the famous mines of glama silver); *Noui* - Novi Pazar (appears in Dubrovnik documents in 1461 as "Novi Paxar", Turkish "Jeni Bazar"); *Crusenais* - Kruševac, near the right bank of the West Morava; *Guardia de turco* - today's Smederevska Palanka (mentioned in 1020 under the name Bela Crkva, Turkish Ak Kilise, Aspri Eklesija, Bink Palanka, Jeni Palanka and Hasan-pasha Palanka); *Galudn* - Golubac (at the entrance of the Danube into the Djerdap gorge). Further east in present-day Bulgaria are: *Edigno* - Vidin, *Orechouo* - Oryahovo, *Uraza* - Vraca and an unnamed river (probably Iskar).

**In the Adriatic basin, from the city of Rijeka to the mouth of the Neretva river**, the following cities are listed: *Fiume* - the city of Rijeka (behind the mountain range is *Liubiana* - Ljubljana, in Slovenia), *Bucar* - Bakar, *Bucaritz* - Bakarac, *Segna* - Senj, *S. Giorgio* - Sv. Juraj, near Senj, *Nona* - Nin, *Giara* - Zadar, *Giara uecia* - Biograd na Moru (a haven for refugees from Zadar in 1202, and they called it *Zara vecchia* - Old Zadar), *Hospiane* - Vrana, in the Illyrian and Roman times *Blandon* and *Arauson*, in the Middle Ages *Castrum Aurannae*. The name *Hospiane* on the map probably comes from the Knights Hospitallers, who settled there in 1312 and created a strong ecclesiastical, economic and military-political center. They were recognizable by their black uniform with a white iron cross. The Ottomans seized Vrana in 1527. Further southeast follow the cities: *Scardona* - Skradin, *Scibenick* - Šibenik, *Figo* - Rogoznica near Trogir (in front of the entrance to the port are the islands of Smokvica Mala and Smokvica Vela, in Italian fico or figo - fig), *Attadur* - Primošten (lat. artus - narrow, narrowed which corresponds to the strait between the island and the coast, over which was the bridge, after which Primošten was named. There is also a narrow cape Artatur at the entrance to the port of Vinišće, between Rogoznica and Trogir), *Sarona* - unknown, perhaps misspelled Salona, *Tragur* - Trogir, *Spalatu(m)* - Split, *Dalmesia* - Omiš, *Elnina* - Makarska. *Narentu(m)* is marked as a smaller area and as a town (medieval Drijeva, today the village of Gabela north of Metković. In the coastal hinterland are marked towns: *Bringna* - Brinje (in Lika), *Ostreunza* - Ostrovica (between Benkovac and Skradin), *Cetinicij* - village Cetina near Vrlika, *Ymoschi* - Imotski, *Cerusenaiz* - Kreševo, in the parish of Blato near Mostar (in historical sources it is mentioned in various terms as "Cerzevatz", "Krutscerwatz", "Chrusevaz", "Kruševac"), *Virgorai* - Vrgorac (southeast of Makarska), *Glubsischi* - Ljubuški, *Vratar* - Vratar near Metković in the Neretva valley (should not be confused with Vratar in Žepa), *Pont* - Mostar.

**From the river Neretva to Bojana** are marked: the peninsula of *Cormano* - Peljesac (probably named here after the cape Kumani, which is today called Lovište) and the settlements: *Marsi* - Zaton (northwest of Dubrovnik), *Ragusia* - Republic of Dubrovnik, *Ragusa* - Dubrovnik (on the map in the edition from 1545, is drawn *Ragusa vecchia* - Cavtat), *Blagai* - Blagaj (on the river Buna). Further to the southeast are marked: *Catarro* - Kotor), *Vechia* - probably old Doclea or Duklja, at the confluence of Morača and Zeta (the word Vechia itself means old, antique), *Budona* - Budva, *Antiuari* - Bar, *Dulcigno* - Ulcinj, *Lamedone* - Medova (a port with the bay of the same name).

**From the river Bojana to the river Naron** (Arachtos) and inland to the border between Albania and Greece, which is marked by a meridian straight line, are settlements: *Scutri* - Skadar (marked with a circle without a name next to *Scutri lacus* - Skadar Lake), *Porto Diamede* - San Giovanni di Medua (a port town near Lješ, roman Lissus. The port itself is called Šenđin, Albanian - Shëngjin),

*Sv. Anastasia* - church on Cape Radoni, south of the mouth of river Mat or Maća. It is mentioned in 1324 as "apud S. Nastasiam a li Rodoni" (Škrivanić, 1972). Further south are cities *Durazo* - Drač (Roman Epidamnos, alb. Durrës, Dures), *Spinarca* - medieval Spinarica in Albania (also mentioned as Spinarsa, Spinatia, located at the mouth of the river Vojuša), *Lauelona* - Valona, alb. Vlorë (a port town on the shores of the Ionian Sea, founded in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC as the Greek colony of Aulon, meaning valley), *Aqua* (ital. aqua - water) - today's Himara (on the left side of the entrance to the Gulf of Palermo. Near the coast are underwater springs, by which Aqua probably got its name), *Palorma* - fortification Porto Palermo near Himara, *Gomenica* - Igumenica (opposite the island of Corfu, in Epirus, Greece), *Curita* - an unknown city south of Igumenica (perhaps Parga, a fortified port city, or Nikopolis which was founded by Octavian Augustus after the victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra in 32 BC in the battle of Akcium, today's Preveza), *Larta l 'Narta* - the city of Arta at the confluence of the Narta River, today's Arant River.

**In the hinterland of the Albanian coast are the settlements:** *Dunosti* - Drivast (Albanian Drishti, a medieval fortress in the north of today's Albania), *Dagno* - Danj (a medieval fortified town east of Skadar, on the left bank of the Drim River), *Croya* - Kroja (although the position of the drawn circle south of Lake Ohrid is more in line with Korča), *Nerida* - Ohrid, *Neride lacus* - Lake Ohrid, *Satt* - unknown place in central Albania, *Bogniscie* - hagiotopeponym meaning the Madonna (Virgin Mary). Near Ioannina there is the place of Eleusis, which means "Merciful", which is a common epithet of Virgin Mary. On the island in Lake Ioannina is the monastery *Eleusa*.

**Along the coasts of Greece from the River Naron to the River Nardaros (Vardar):** After the illegibly written name of the bay *Meschicre* (near today's city Mesolongi), along the coast of the Gulf of Corinth and further to Athens are cities: *Nola*, *Gia*, *Rosa*, *Ofia*, *Ephuilia*, *Salini*, *Porlion*, *G. Derolori*, *Torrenti*, *Lepante*, *Athene* (Athens), and in the hinterland of Athens are *Thebe* (Teba) and *Salmīna* (south of Parnasus Mons). The name Lepante should not be confused with the fortress of Lepanto (Greek Nafpaktos) across the port of Patras, where a naval battle took place on October 7, 1571, in which the forces of the Holy Alliance (Spain, Italian city states and the Vatican) defeated the Ottoman navy. In the Peloponnese, the following cities are marked: *Patras*, *Chiarenza*, *Modona*, *Corona*, *Maluasia* (Monemvasia), *Asto* (Argos), *Napolis* (Nauplion), *Damala*, *Predena*, *Sutira*, *Corinth(us)*, and the region of *Archadia*. There are three cities on the island of *Nigro Pont* (Euboea), two of which are unknown: *Loreo* (in the northwest of the island, perhaps Oreos, today's Histiaja), *Belonia* (in the central part, perhaps Brauronia, today's Distos) and *Caristo* (today's Karistos, in the southeast end of the island). From Athens to the north to the Gulf of Thessaloniki, the area of *Thessalo* (Thessaly), the mountains of *Olimpus Mons* and *Parnasus Mons* and the

cities: *Ambena* (Lamia), *Gordita* (in the Volos Gulf), *Platomot* (city of Platamon), *Ablanda* (perhaps the ancient Oblastos, near today's place Servia, which according to the chronicle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus was founded by Serbs in the 7<sup>th</sup> century), *Ginea* (in the Gulf of Thessaloniki) and in the hinterland *Castouio* (Kastoria, Kostur, Roman Celestrum, on the lake of the same name in northern Greece), *Pella* (antique settlement, seat of Filip II of Macedon and the birthplace of Alexander the Great, today a village east of the town of Jenice) and *Uitolia* (Bitola).

**From the river Nardaros (Vardar) to the river Strumona (Struma):** *Scopi* (Skoplje), *Stipe* (Štip), *Salonica* (Thessaloniki), *Seres* (Seres or Ser) and *Langistrum* - the city on the right side of the mouth of Struma where Amphipolis was, today Asprovalta (it was a Byzantine fortress and port of Nea Kardilia). The city of *Seres* is mentioned by Herodotus in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. It was a large Byzantine fortress and in the Middle Ages the capital of the Seres region, which after the death of Serbian Emperor Dušan was a de facto independent state ruled by his wife Empress Jelena, then despot Uglješa Mrnjavčević. After the Battle of Maritsa river, that state no longer exists, and the city of Seres itself was taken over by the Thessalonian despot Manojlo. On the Halkidiki peninsula the following ports are marked: *S. Giorgio*, *Chasandin*, *Aromarna*, *Cape Ponta Lembolo*, *Gulf G[olfo] de contassa* (Gulf Orfano) and three peninsulas - *Canistro* (Kasandra), *Quorto* (Sitonia) and *Monte Sando siue Athos* (Montesanto, Sveta Gora or Athos).

**From the river Strimon (Struma) to Mariza (Maritsa):** Along the coast of Thrace are the cities: *Grixopol* (perhaps Aeon in the Gulf Orfano, near Paralia); *Lefteropol* (in the Gulf Orfano); *Cristopol* (Kavala, founded in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, under the name Neapolis - New Town, Byzantine Christopol); *Langistro* (Lagidra, Xantheia, probably different from the ancient Xanthus in Thrace mentioned by Strabon). To the east, in capital letter, the cities of *Asperos*, *Marogna* (Maronea), *G. Demanga* (perhaps Dorisk), *Enio* (Enos, Enez) are marked, while *Paxi* is written in small letters. In the hinterland, between rivers Strimon (Struma) and Maritsa, are three cities: *Filipolis* (Filipopolis, Plovdiv), *Sofia* and *Philipi* - Filipi, west of Kavala, near Elefteropol, an ancient city founded around 360 BC, under the name of Krenid. It was named after the Macedonian king Philip II, who conquered it in 356 BC. He is known for the battle of Philip in 42 BC in which the Second Triumvirate defeated the assassins of Julius Caesar, and according to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians. Waldseemüller wrongly drew it on the river Strimon upstream of Seres.

**From the river Maritsa along the shores of the Marmara and Black Seas:** From Cape *Mardo* at the entrance to the Dardanelles, along the shores of Marmara Sea to the Bosphorus are *Galipolis* (Gallipoli), *Polistva*, *Rodosto*, *Lottecrea*, *Solombria*, *Turturia*, *Constantinopolis*, *Pera*. Along the Black Sea coast are: *Malana*, *Sragnara*, *Saxtopol* (Ahtopol), *Sixopoli* (Apollonia, today's Sozopolj),



*Snnuico* (at the top of the Burgas Bay), *Mexember* (Mesembria, today's Nesebar), *Varna*, *Carbona*, *Caliacra* (Kaliakra). *Andrinopolis* (Adrianople, Jedrene) is marked on the river *Maritsa*, *Nogari* to the east and *Megalis* to the southeast.

## Conclusion

Martin Waldseemüller's map "Tabula moderna Bossine, Servie, Gretiae et Sclavonie" from 1507, gives superficial ideas about relief and hydrography of the Balkan Peninsula, and the toponyms are often modified. However, today, after five centuries, the author and the carver of the map deserve admiration, despite the level of geographical and cartographic knowledge and printing techniques at that time, they managed to form the main features of the geographical image of the Balkan Peninsula. Its significance is all the greater because it drew the attention of European intellectual circles in the era of Humanism and Renaissance, to the area of southeastern Europe, through which the Ottoman tide was already threatening Central Europe.

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*Figure 2. Ptolemy/Waldseemüller: Tabula moderna Bossine, Servie, Gretiae et Sclavonie, 1507. In: Johann Schott Claudius, Ptolemaei Argentiner, 1513. 40x54,5 cm (Source: author's documentation)*



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