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The first state of Georg Freudenhammer's map of *Palatinatus Posnaniensis* from 1645

Abstract. The subject of this analysis is Georg Freudenhammer's map of *Palatinatus Posnaniensis*, editions of which were published by all major publishing houses of the 17th century: the Blaeu family, Janssonius, Schenk/Valk or Janssonius van Waesbergen. The formerly unknown first state was dedicated to the new Queen of Poland, Louise Marie Gonzaga. The author hypothesises that it was probably a gift from the author of the map, who participated in Krzysztof Opaliński's envoy to the future queen. The speed at which this work was produced did not allow for its final completion, so in the later state of the map, a number of additions were made, the addressee of the dedication was changed, and the text of the royal privilege to print it was added. Several features indicate that Freudenhammer's original intention was changed over time, and the new addressee of the work became the author's employer and mentor – Krzysztof Opaliński.

Keywords: Georg Freudenhammer's map of *Palatinatus Posnaniensis*, Polish cartography of the 17th century, *Polonia Maior* in the 17th century, Old Dutch cartography

One of the Old Polish cartography's most important works is the *Palatinatus Posnaniensis* map by Georg¹ (Jerzy) Freudenhammer. We know little about the biography of the map's author. The first information was provided by Samuel Linde (1771–1847) in his work *Janociana*: Freudenhammer supposedly came from Wschowa and was a medical officer (chief physician) in the city of Poznań (Linde, 1819, pp. 125–126). This episode in the cartographer's life is later recalled by Łukaszewicz (1797–1873) in his *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny miasta Poznania (Historical and statistical picture of the city of Poznań)*, detailing what the work of the city physician consisted of, yet the source of his knowledge is Linde

cited above (Łukaszewicz, 1838, p. 25). Little else can be found in Wrzosek's (1948–1958, p. 132) biographical note in the *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (Polish Biographical Dictionary)*, albeit here the author also mentions the post of physician to the Poznań Voivode Krzysztof Opaliński (1609–1655). He probably held this post from 1643; such a date may follow from an analysis of a letter by Krzysztof Opaliński to his brother Łukasz (1612–1662), sent from Sieraków on 27 October 1643, in which he wrote that Freudenhammer was “a mercenary at my service and my household.”² Similarly, scanty information can be found in *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny (Greater Poland Biographical Dictionary)*, Górska-Gołaska (1981)).

¹ The author's signature on the map, dedicated to Opaliński, was “G.F.M.” [= Georg Freudenhammer Medicus] (Blaeu's and Janssonius's version). Some scholars have questioned the validity of interpreting the initial of the name as “Georg”. Rutkowski (2015, pp. 422–423) believes that the name was “Gofryd”. We will not settle this issue here, as it requires separate biographical studies; we will consistently use the more common form “Georg” in the literature.

² Cf. Pollak et al. (1957, p. 181). In a footnote to the letter, the authors of the study state that Freudenhammer dedicated a certain “work” to Opaliński, which contained a description and maps (sic!) of *Palatinatus Posnaniensis*. It seems, however, that this does not refer to any “work”, but simply to the map, as it is its very title they mention. Such a date (“about 1643”) can be found in Hajdukiewicz (1974, pp. 167–168).

A significant event in Freudenhammer's activity was his participation in Voivode Opaliński's envoy to France in 1645. Opaliński was to marry, *per procura*, Marie Louise Gonzaga (1611–1667; as a Queen of Poland her name was Louise Mary) on behalf of King Władysław IV (1595–1648), and then accompany her on a trip to Poland. We know the description of the mission from a number of sources, including Krzysztof's letters to Łukasz. Freudenhammer is mentioned several times in these letters. His role was not only that of a medic, but also that of a kind of secretary to the voivode, taking care, together with Baron Jan Ludwik Wolzogen (1599–1661), of the proper setting of the legation and the early notification of cities along the route with specially printed advice letters

(Pollak et al. 1957, p. 280; Sajkowski, 1956, p. 245). Freudenhammer traveled with the embassy through Amsterdam, and they even stayed there for a while. Opaliński purchased many works of art, (Sajkowski, 1956, p. 246) and perhaps it was during this time that Freudenhammer established contact with Blaeu and decided to have the map printed by him. The copperplate certainly remained in Amsterdam, and over time, Freudenhammer sent corrections to it, perhaps to one of the copies he owned.

The map, whose author was Freudenhammer, has so far received little attention in the Polish literature. The basic work, which, however, assesses its cartometric quality is the article by Kwiatkowska-Gadomska and Pietkiewicz



Figure 1. Map of *Palatinatus Posnaniensis* edited by J. Blaeu (*Atlas Maior*, Amsterdam 1662; from the collection of the National Library, ZZK 14 781, Public domain)



Figure 2. Map of *Palatinatus Posnaniensis* – first edition of 1645 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arsenal, EST-1513 (89), sign. ark:/12148/btv1b531921813, Public domain)

(1980). On the other hand, scattered information was collected by Łuczyński (2017) in the relevant part of his synthesis of the history of cartography of the Polish lands. Until now, citing Rastawiecki, it was believed that before the “regular” edition of the map in 1645 in Amsterdam by Joannes Blaeu (1596–1673), another, previously considered lost (unknown) edition had been published.³ In reality, however, Rastawiecki characterizes the second state of the map, which was included in Visscher’s composite atlas. It’s difficult to determine what the dating is based on, perhaps it was taken from

one of the other maps in Visscher’s atlas.⁴ The map, engraved by Gerard Coeck (1608–1649), was published in the atlases of the Blaeu family (1659, 1662, 1663, 1664, c. 1670, (van der Krogt, 2000, item 1910:2) Figure 1) and – on a slightly smaller scale – in Amsterdam by Johannes Janssonius (1588–1664) and his heirs (Johannes Janssonius van Waesberghe), i.a. in 1664, 1675, c. 1680, 1687 (van der Krogt, 1997, item 1910:1.1).

What the first state of the map looked like can be explained by the copy of the map held in the National Library of Paris (*Palatinatus Posnaniensis in Majori Polonia primarii nova delinatio / per G.F.M.*, sign. ark:/12148/btv1b531921813,

³ Rastawiecki (1846, p. 80) writes about an “extremely rare” copy of the map from the first edition, included in Piscator’s (Visscher’s) atlas, but quotes a dedication to Opaliński; this is followed by Kozica and Pezda (2002, item K 82/1–6).

⁴ Visscher’s composite atlases are never dated. Based on the included maps most of these atlases are made between the 1670s and 1720s (van der Krogt, 2023).



Figure 3. Comparison of dedicatory cartouches of the first and second state (excerpts from Figures 1 and 2)

Figure 2)⁵. The map is an uncoloured copperplate engraving, also engraved by G. Coeck (signed in the lower right corner: *Gerard Coeck Sculpsit*), published by Johannes Blaeu (signature near the lower frame: *Amsterdam, Exc. Joannes Blaeu*). At first glance, this copy resembles the map in Blaeu's atlases, but one may notice several significant differences upon closer examination, both in the iconographic programme and in the content. Since it is clear that both maps were printed from the same copperplate, the Paris copy can be considered as the first state of this map.

An ornate cartouche in the upper left corner of the map shows a dedication to Queen Marie Louise. The cartouche contains the following dedication:

To the most serene Princess and Lady P. Louise Marie, by God's grace, Queen of Poland and Sweden, Grand Duchess of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, etc. born as Princess of Mantua and Montferrat, as well as Nevers, Mayenne and Rhetel, to my Most Gracious Lady, as a gift is given and dedicated by G.[eorg] Freudenhammer, medical doctor.

⁵ I would like to thank Jakub Jan Stolpiec, who administers the website www.grafikahistoryczna.pl, for bringing this copy to my attention.

When creating the map, the author of the dedication alluded to the origins of the queen, whose family, originating from northern Italy, was well established at the French court. The dedication is surmounted by a shield of arms, flanked by two putti, bearing two composite coats of arms: that of the Republic and that of the Gonzagas, the lords of Mantua and Montferrat and at the same time the imperial vassals. Above the shields, we find a closed royal crown; the other, smaller one is below the shields and surmounts the braided initials: VLR [= Vladislaus Ludovica Reges]. On the second state of the map, the cartouche remained, but the dedication to the queen was replaced with a dedication to Krzysztof Opaliński, and his coat of arms was included (Figure 3). In addition to the queen's complex multi-field coat of arms, the map incorporated the coat of arms of the Republic of Poland as a counterpoint in the upper right-hand corner: the coat of arms features an eagle with its head facing to the right (heraldic left), placed on a cartouche and surmounted by a closed royal crown.

Below the dedication cartouche, Freudenhammer placed an ornamental drapery with a Latin panegyric in honour of the future queen, which in the late state of the map was replaced by a praise of the homeland, *Polonia Maior* (Figure 4):

FOR THE QUEEN

Bride, you soon with your husband will raise
with a victorious hand

The royal sceptre over the Northern Lands:
Accept, as a happy divination, part of the King-
dom on paper,

Which for thee and thine shall be permanent
territory.

Georg Freudenhammer, medic

The analysed map also lacks the mention of the royal privilege that Blaeu (or Freudenhammer himself?) received for the publication of the map. In the later state, the privilege was placed to the right of the title cartouche.

* * *

A separate category of differences comprises missing additions and errors in the content. The upper and lower frames (here blank) lack the division into degrees and minutes that were introduced in the next state. Across the entire surface, there are delicate, diagonally running guide lines made by hand with ink, but their purpose is difficult to determine. In the northern part, Wałcz (*P. Wałcz, D. Die Krone*) swapped places with Czaplínek (*Czaplínek*). After this error was corrected, lakes Raduń and Zamkowe (without names) were added to the atlas maps in the vicinity of Wałcz. The first state also shows a road from Swarzędz (*Squarzensc, P. Grzymołowo,*⁶ *G. Schwarsentz*) through Poznań (*P. Posnan, G. Posen*) and further Pniewy (*P. Pniewi, G. Poune*), Sieraków (*P. Sierakow, G. Zirckaw*) to Drezdenko (*P. Dresno, G. Driesen*), which is removed in the later state. It is difficult to say what was the purpose of that road. This is not the *Polonia Maior* (Greater Poland) section of the legation, as this set off from Sieraków and not from Swarzędz. Compared to the first state, the second state features more elaborate cartographic symbols of some localities: in the case of Poznań, more towers and a pastoral (denoting the seat of a diocese) were added, Gniezno (*P. Gnesna, G. Gnisen*), Wschowa (*P. Zchowa,*

⁶ The name "Grzymołowo" (Grzymalów) is an interesting record of the brief existence of another name for Swarzędz. According to Bobrowicz and Plater, this name was given by the new (from the early 17th century) owner of the town – Zygmunt Grudziński, coat-of-arms Grzymała (c. 1568–1653), but this name did not last long. Cf. Bobrowicz and Plater (1846, pp. 22, footnote 3).

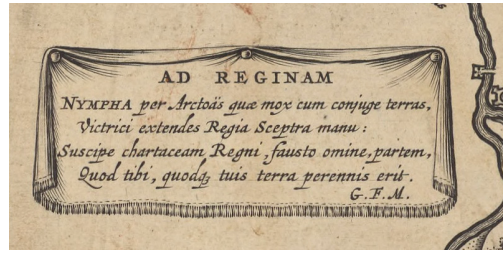


Figure 4. Panegyric in honour of the queen (excerpt from Figure 2, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arsenal, EST-1513 (89), sign. ark:/12148/btv1b531921813, Public domain)

G. Fräwstadt), Kościan (*P. Koscian, G. Kosten*) and Wałcz (as mentioned above) also have more towers.

There is also a set of errors which are not corrected, e.g. incorrect location of Sarnówko (here: *Sarnowo*) near Rawicz or errors relating to distance.⁷

* * *

Freudenhammer must have been proud of his study, so he thought it might make a perfect gift for the queen of Poland. He dedicated the work to her, which was, after all, a fairly common practice at the time (Skrycki, 2022). We can assume that only a few copies of this map were printed at that time.

At this point, it is also necessary to question the date of publication of the atlas map commonly accepted in the Polish literature (*de facto* second state). Following an enigmatic mention by Rastawiecki (see footnote 3), all researchers accepted the year of 1645 as the date the map dedicated to Opaliński was published. However, Rastawiecki was describing the second state of the map, while the first state likely originated between the marriage (November 5, 1645) and the coronation (July 15, 1646). Therefore, I believe that, following van der Krogt, the publication date for the second state should be considered as 1659 in the second (Spanish-language) volume of Blaeu's atlas.⁸

⁷ Georeferencing of both maps in QGIS was carried out by Grzegorz Kiarszys.

⁸ *Nuevo atlas de las partes orientales de Evropa*; see: van der Krogt (2000, item 1910:2).

Acknowledgements. The text was prepared as part of the grant awarded by the National Programme for the Development of the Huma-

nities (Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki) – Monumenta Poloniae Cartographica No. NPRH/DN/SP/496011/2021/10.

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