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On the Thematic Illustrations in 18th-Century Russian Cartography

Simon R. Potter

I. Introductory remarks

The illustrations in eighteenth-century Russian maps and atlases are indicative of the cultural transformation of Russia known as Westernisation. During the time of Peter I¹ as sole ruler (1696-1725), this process was primarily one of practical modernisation, designed to make Russia a respectable power by implementing military, governmental, engineering, and other useful ideas taken from the technologically advanced countries at the time. The two to provide most of the models were Holland and England, but even they were influenced by events and developments throughout the whole of western Christendom – that part of Europe with cultural roots in Roman Catholicism, and later Protestantism, since the Schism of 1054 – therefore the use of the term “Westernisation.” Influences from this part of the world, especially from France and the German states, continued to be felt throughout the century, and the general tendency was for these influences to become more intellectual, even virtually theoretical in some cases, so that the cultural Russia that Alexander I inherited in 1801 would have been unrecognisable to that which faced young Peter I over a hundred years earlier. This cultural world of the Russian social and intellectual elite was European in outlook, and significant elements of its arts, sciences, and philosophy in particular demonstrated that Russia no longer was a quasi-Asiatic state on the fringe of European civilisation. It had, at least in the higher echelons of secular culture, become integrated with Europe, and it was this new Europeanised Russia that the more important Russian cartographical achievements of the eighteenth century reflected.

In the realm of art, Russia started to exhibit its future predilection with Western Europe late in the seventeenth century.² This transition was related to the declining role of the Russian Orthodox Church in the elitist culture after the Schism of 1667 and to Russian annexations from Poland in the war of 1654-67, which included the cultural centre of Kiev and exposed the Russian intelligentsia to West European art. The secularising reforms of Peter I followed and essentially brought to an end the dominance of Russian Orthodoxy in the arts, the greatest achievements of which included the icons and the Byzantinesque spiritual architecture noted for its onion domes and tent roofs. The foundation of St. Petersburg in 1703 provided a good opportunity for West European art to enter the Russian scene since the city was to symbolise the new Russia that Peter envisioned, and that entailed building it in a Western fashion. The architecture of St. Petersburg is an excellent guide to the artistic development of eighteenth-century Russia, and

in it may be seen the three European styles to have influenced the Russian visual arts: the baroque which was associated with Peter's leanings toward Holland, the rococo which was encouraged by Elizabeth's (r. 1741-62) predilection with French culture, and the neoclassicist which developed alongside Enlightenment thought under Catherine II (r. 1762-96). Other arts, notably painting and sculpture, also experienced this baroque-rococo-neoclassicist sequence, and there was also a corresponding shift in content toward non-Russian European themes and forms of expression, particularly those associated with Ancient Greece and Rome.

Cartography in eighteenth-century Russia³ was a part of this artistic development, and the artwork on the maps and in the atlases tended to reflect the rational, classical, and secular qualities of the century. There were both decorative and functional elements, but the artwork generally conveyed chorographic or cultural information. Even the apparently decorative features such as the title pages, frontispieces, and large illustrations were informative and today they provide insights to the cultural evolution of eighteenth-century Russia: in them may be found pieces of propaganda and an application of West European styles and themes, mainly, to Russian subjects. Neglected were elements of pre-Petrine, religious-based Russian art, both in form and in content, as well as potential themes and characters from Russian folklore, literature, and history without a direct bearing on Western Europe, all of which reflect the rejection of the old Russia.

II. The contents of the illustrations

Before discussing the contents of the illustrations in eighteenth-century Russian cartography, a few comments to contrast earlier cartography in Russia with that in Western Europe will help elucidate how the Russian illustrations were a part of the overall cartographical change in Russia. Although there are references to older maps, most of the history of Russian cartography traces only to the *chertëzhi* (manuscript draft maps)⁴ of the latter half of the seventeenth century. These were primarily utilitarian documents that treated small localities and depicted such features as land ownership, settlements, borderlands, streams, and forests, and they were rather crudish in artistic execution when compared to the more refined printed works in Europe from the end of the sixteenth century and in Russia in the eighteenth. With the exception of some of Semyon Remezov's maps that spanned the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and which exhibited the highest cartographical achievements of the *chertëzh* genre, there were not any decorative illustrations on Russian maps before West European methods of making maps and atlases were introduced.⁵ Although West European cartography has a lengthy heritage that includes mediaeval Christian world maps and works from Ancient Greece and Rome, at the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries it was dominated by printed maps that became more precise scientifically over

time and also contained elaborate, decorative artwork that in many cases was informative.⁶ Notable examples include Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1571), Gerhard Mercator's *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes* (1595), the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus* (1640) by the family Blaeu, John Speed's *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (1676), Frederick de Wit's *Atlas* (post-1688), and Guillaume Sanson's *Atlas Nouveau* (1696).⁷ The size, content, and form of the artwork in such atlases varied: included were, for example, merely ornamental strapwork and flowery designs around titles and other pieces of information; heraldry and small pictures such as ships, animals, flora, and imaginary creatures to accompany the geographical information; and small and large vignettes and cartouches with allegorical and realistic scenes that exhibit a stylistic sequence of renaissance to baroque, which in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was followed by rococo, neoclassicism, and romanticism.⁸

Such features were incorporated into Russian cartography in the eighteenth century. The most outstanding example of an early Russian cartographical work to resemble those of Western Europe was Ivan Kirilov's *Atlas" Vserossiiskoi Imperii* of 1734,⁹ which was the first atlas of the Russian Empire and includes many allegorical, baroque cartouches with characters from the lore of Ancient Greece and Rome. Throughout the eighteenth century various types of thematic illustrations were added to Russian maps and atlases, and in content they might be classified into three general categories that also apply to West European illustrations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These are heraldry, Greek and Roman mythology, and chorography, the last of which includes illustrations that provide some form of geographical, economic, political, religious, or historical information about the area shown on the map or in the atlas. Examples of these are discussed in the rest of this section.

During the eighteenth century there was an interest in secular knowledge in the elitist culture of Russia, and this interest is exhibited in the cartographical illustrations mainly through scenes with references to geography or economy. Such scenes tend to show interesting, typical, or unusual features that could be found in the area depicted on the map. Two cartouches to show unusual physiographic features – when compared to the Russian core area in eastern Europe – have a volcano from Kamchatka, on the map of eastern Irkutsk Province in the 1792 edition of the *Rossiiskoi Atlas*", and a potted cactus from the west Asian steppes, on Ivan Isleniev's map of the area along the Irtysh River between Omsk and Tobolsk (1780).¹⁰ Among the illustrations with economic themes are those which refer to the traditional Russian livelihoods of fishing (fig. 1),¹¹ hunting,¹² and agriculture¹³ and which are found on maps for appropriate areas such as the Volga River, western Siberia, and various places in European Russia; other examples depicting the developing manufacturing sector of the Russian economy may be found on maps showing the areas around, for example, Olonets, Vyatka, Voronezh, and Perm.¹⁴ Pictures of various peoples such as

those on a manuscript map from Vitus Bering's First Kamchatka Expedition and dating to ca. 1730 (showing northern Asians), in the cartouche for the map of part of the Caucasian isthmus in the *Atlas" Rossiiskoi* of 1745 (Russians and Turks), and in the cartouche for the map of western Irkutsk Province in the *Rossiiskoi Atlas"* of 1792 (a Russian and two Chinese) (fig. 2)¹⁵ illustrate the variety of peoples within the empire and its neighbouring territories. Such illustrations, based on the actual landscapes and economy of Russia at the time, demonstrate the growing scientific awareness of the empire.

Illustrations with references to Ancient Greek and Roman mythology in part reflect the interest in secular knowledge, mostly through supplementary contents of a chorographical nature.¹⁶ Scientific and artistic equipment also reflects this interest, as do the many representations of Athena, the goddess of wisdom (fig. 3).¹⁷ Whereas in West European cartography illustrations with themes and characters from this mythology express a cultural revival, those in eighteenth-century Russian cartography represent a beginning or a rejection of Russia's previous culture that was based in Orthodox Christianity. Characters from Greek and Roman mythology – besides Athena, two other significant characters in Russian cartography are Hermes (figs. 3 and 4) and Poseidon – are thus one link to West European culture, as also are the warriors that resemble Roman legionaries in some pictures and the numerous infants (cherubim and putti (fig. 5)) that trace to renaissance art.¹⁸

There are references in the illustrations to the Russian state and its rulers. Heraldry is an important medium and draws attention to Peter I (posthumously), the reigning monarch, the empire as a political entity, and the administrative units of the empire. On a few maps the monogram for Peter I (II) (fig. 6) makes historical allusions, and the monograms of his significant successors are found on maps that were made while they were in power; an example is that of Catherine II (E II) in figure 5. Other references are made through portraiture directly, as with the portrait of Peter I on the first title page of the *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don* of ca. 1703, or symbolically, as with the pictures of Athena who usually represents Catherine II (fig. 3).¹⁹ The heraldic emblem to represent Russia as a whole in the illustrations is the double-headed eagle (fig. 5), which symbolised the continuity between Muscovy from the time of Ivan III (r. 1462-1505) and Romanov Russia and thus the expansionism of Russia.²⁰ Coats of arms of the provinces, viceroyalties, and smaller administrative units are found in some illustrations, and they exhibit a variety of contents that reflect elements of Russian history; examples include St. George and the Dragon for Moscow Province (fig. 4), the Archangel Michael for Kiev Viceroyalty, crossed anchors for St. Petersburg Province (fig. 3), and two fur-bearing animals facing each other for Irkutsk Province.²¹

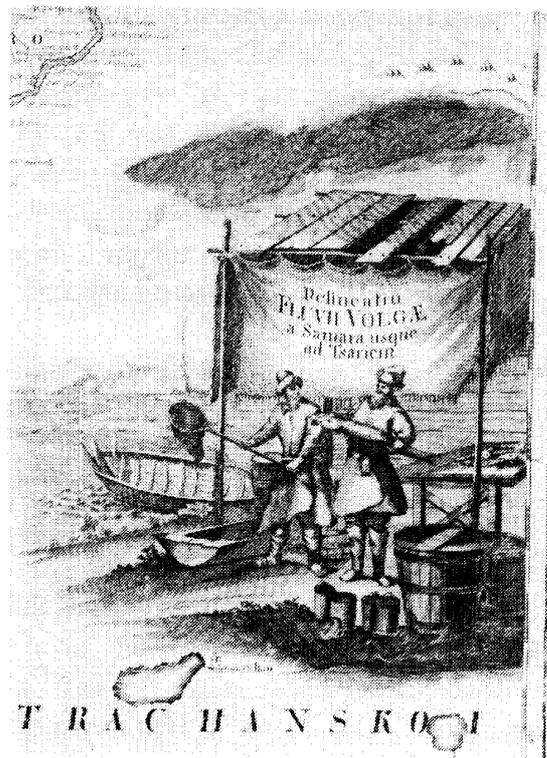


Fig. 1. From the map of the River Volga from Samara to Tsaritsyn in the *Russischer Atlas* (the German edition with Latin titles of the *Atlas* "Rossiiskoi"), 1745. Courtesy of Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.



Fig. 2. From the map of the western part of Irkutsk Province in the *Rossiiskoi Atlas*", 1792. Courtesy of Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.

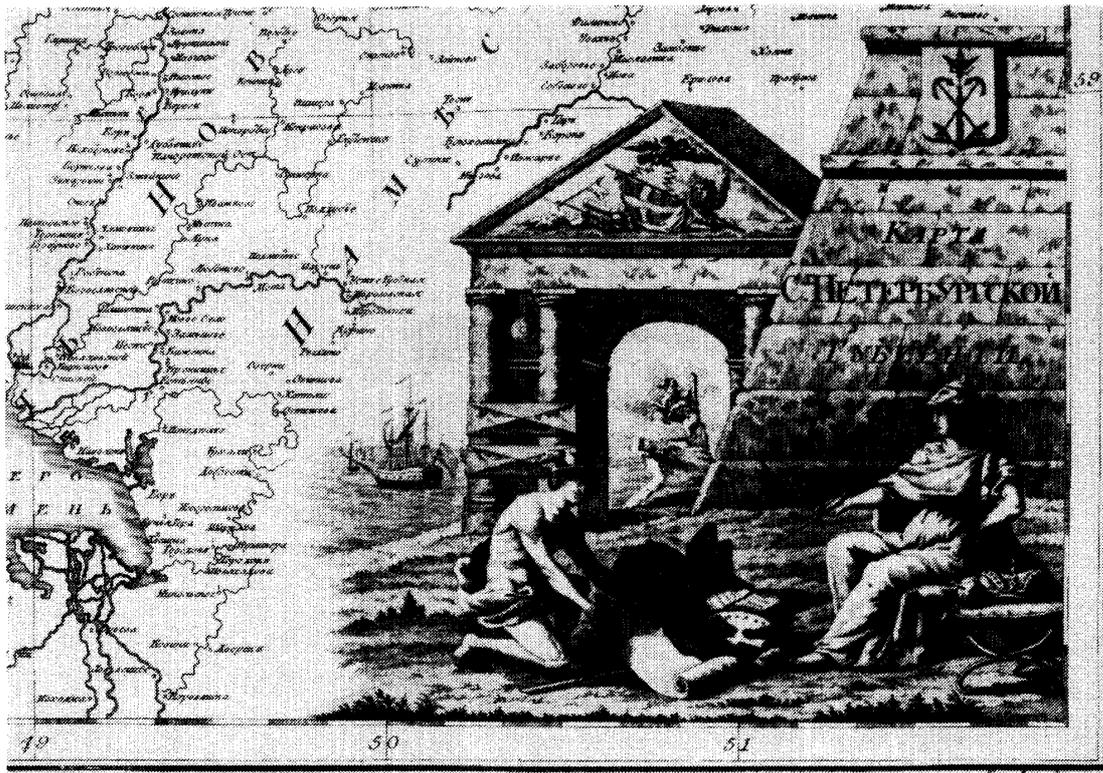


Fig. 3. From the map of St. Petersburg Province in the *Rossiiskoi Atlas*”, 1792. Courtesy of Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.

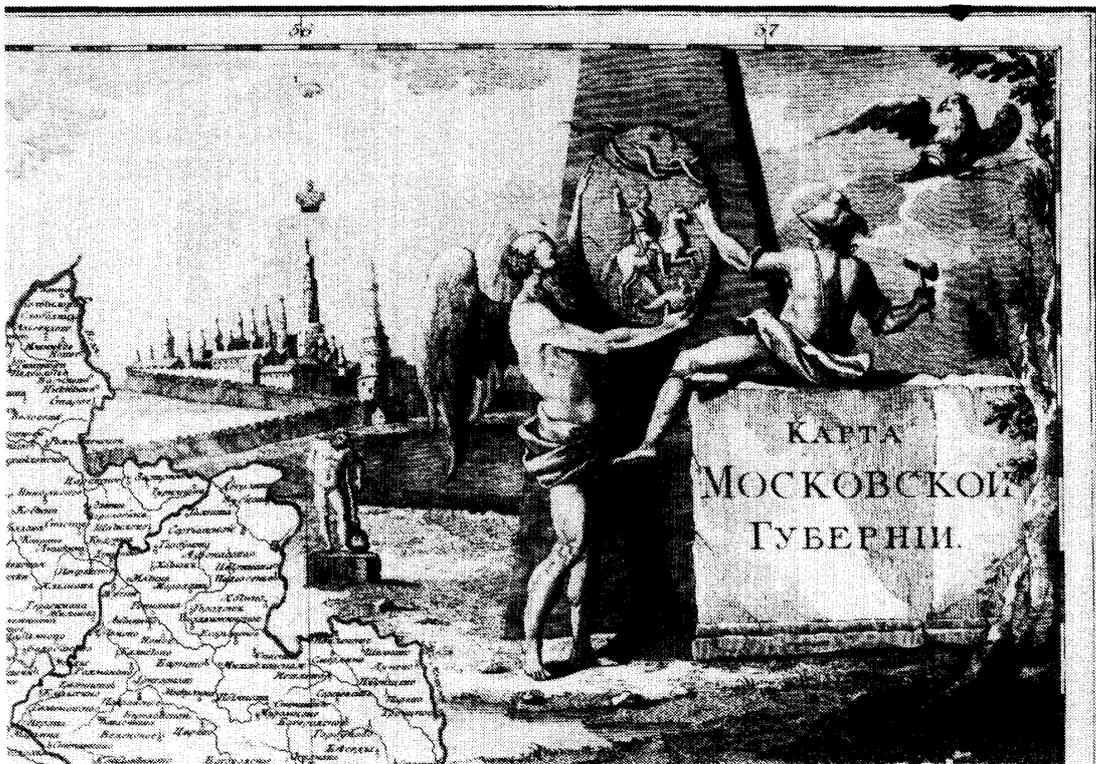


Fig. 4. From the map of Moscow Province in the *Rossiiskoi Atlas*”, 1792. Courtesy of Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.



Fig. 5. From the title page of the *Rossiiskoi Atlas*", 1792. Courtesy of Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.



Fig. 6. From the map of Riga Viceroyalty in the *Rossiiskoi Atlas*", 1792. Courtesy of Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.

Many illustrations express grandeur, power, and external threats. An interesting example is the cartouche on the map of Tver Viceroyalty in the *Rossiiskoi Atlas* of 1792, in which the muse of history Clio is holding up a map with the outlines of Alaska and the Chukotka peninsula, the furthest reaches of the Russian Empire.²² Neither place had ever been a part of the viceroyalty, so the illustration can be seen to mock Tver, which as a principality was a powerful rival to Moscow until it was annexed in 1485 during Moscow's unification of Russia. Another derisive example is the cartouche on the map of Riga Viceroyalty (fig. 6) in the same work, in which a humble woman offers Riga – symbolised by the crossed keys of St. Peter that appear in the coat of arms for the city of Riga – to Petrine Russia, symbolised by Peter I's monogram; an air of historical reality, however, does exist in that Nike, the goddess of victory, may be seen to refer to Russia's martial annexation of Livonia in 1710.²³ The autocratic nature of the Russian state is alluded to through the symbolic double-headed eagle, monograms of the rulers, portraits of Athena, and illustrations with servitude as a theme.²⁴ The cartouche on the map of Moscow Province in the 1792 (fig. 4) and 1800 editions of the *Rossiiskoi Atlas*, for instance, illustrates the relationship between the secular and spiritual authorities in the eighteenth century, a relationship that might be described as a divine right for the monarch to rule: in the sky at the top is the eye of God, whose intermediary between Heaven and Earth – the tsar – is represented by a crown between the eye and the churches in the Kremlin.²⁵ Such examples refer to domestic politics, but there are also some that pertain to foreign affairs. Notably, there was the longstanding conflict between Christian Russia and Islamic Ottoman Turkey which provided material for illustrations about external threats. Russian contempt toward the Turks is typically shown by an Ottoman flag or banner with crescents lying on the ground (fig. 7) or, in one example, under the foot of Peter I, but on the map showing part of the Caucasian isthmus in the *Atlas* *Rossiiskoi* of 1745, the cartouche includes two Turks that have been put to death by Russian soldiers.²⁶

Apotheosis occurs in some of the Russian illustrations. By far the most commonly deified individual is Catherine II, who is portrayed as the enlightened, omnipotent goddess Athena, who herself is often accompanied by an assortment of artistic and scientific equipment and instruments of power such as the orb and sceptre (fig. 3).²⁷ There are also instances in which other aspects of Russia have been deified. Notably, Poseidon represents the Russian navy that was created by Peter I, and Artemis and Demeter represent the traditional Russian livelihoods of hunting and agriculture.²⁸ Other characters from Greek and Roman mythology, if not deities themselves, serve a similar purpose, for example the muse Clio as the history of Russia and Hermes (figs. 3 and 4) as the servants of the state, including its agent for finance and trade.²⁹

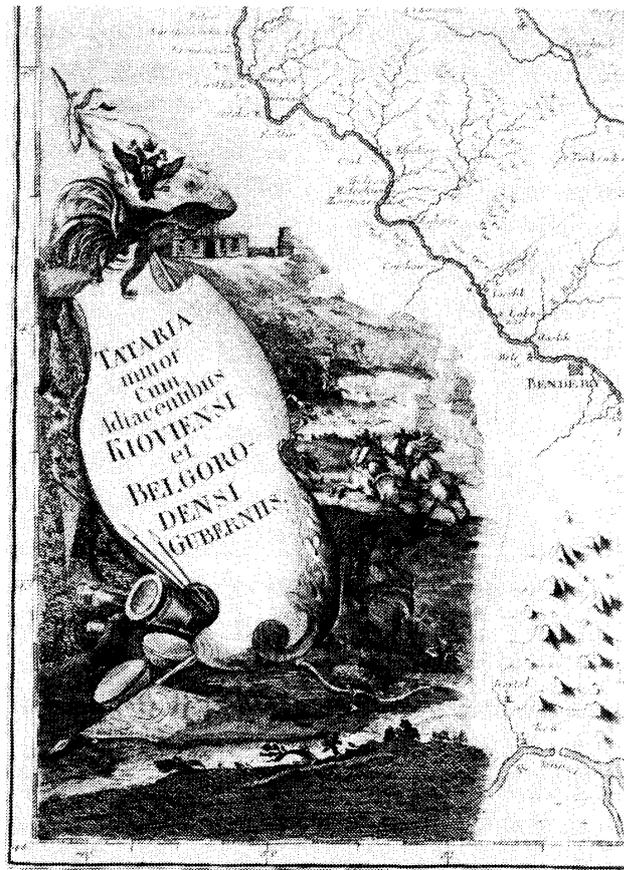


Fig. 7. From the map of Lesser Tartary in the *Russischer Atlas*, 1745. Courtesy of Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.

There is also a romanticisation of life in Russia in the illustrations. Important are those which depict typical livelihoods. Agriculture and animal husbandry are shown through wheat sheaves, cornucopias, and pictures of domesticated animals, and other food-gathering activities such as beekeeping, hunting, and fishing are illustrated in a number of scenes.³⁰ Evidence of the developing manufacturing sector exists in several illustrations that show metallurgy, armaments, or shipbuilding, and trade is depicted through trading scenes and Hermes.³¹ Often associated with such illustrations are people in typical dress and using contemporary tools (figs. 1 and 2). The kaftan is shown occasionally, as it is for example on the two men in the cartouche for the map of Smolensk Province in the *Atlas" Rossiiskoi* of 1745; one of the men appears to be a wandering minstrel, and the other seems to be taking refuge from the tribulations of life in drink.³² In a cartouche in the *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don*, the labour-intensiveness of and the tools for constructing Peter I's proposed Volga-Don Canal are shown.³³ The hunting scene in the cartouche on the map of Tobolsk Viceroyalty in the *Rossiiskoi Atlas"* of 1792, for example, illustrates the bow and arrow as a means for hunting, and the map of eastern Irkutsk Province in the same work shows a dog sled for transport and elevated storage units on Kamchatka.³⁴

III. The form of the illustrations

Wölfflin's criteria for distinguishing between the renaissance and baroque styles in European art³⁵ provide a useful framework to determine that eighteenth-century Russian cartography started at the baroque stage. The indigenous chertézhi lacked the illustrations being discussed here, and because of Russia's late entry into the mainstream of post-mediaeval West European cartography, the renaissance stage was passed by in its cartography. The five baroque characteristics which are evident in Russian illustrations are: painterliness, in which tangibility of individual objects does not exist because they are merged through less clear lines and a vague sense of limit; natural depth; open or atectonic form in which symmetry tends to be missing and balance is not rigid, so that if part of the whole work were disturbed, the aesthetic value of the rest would not decrease; unity in that the objects are difficult to isolate because of their vague outlines; and relative clarity in which lines, colour, and light blend together. These characteristics might also be applied to rococo art, the successor of the baroque, but with subtle changes in that the rococo tended to be more light and airy, more delicate and clear, and less harsh; important aspects were lighter lines and the exclusion of strong colours.³⁶

Baroque art in Russian cartography developed under Peter I and continued to exist during the reigns of Catherine I, Peter II, and Anna (1725-40). An important factor was the influence of the Dutch, whose cartography had also set the standard for European works in the seventeenth century, on Russian culture. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, a sign of this coming influence existed in the two printed maps of southern Russia by Jan Tessing in Amsterdam. The manuscript for them was compiled in Russia by Jacob Bruce and Yury Mengden during the siege of Azov in 1696 and then sent to Holland for printing, where the first version – reputed to be the first printed map in the Russian language – was published in 1697 or 1698 and a Latin version followed in 1699.³⁷ On both maps the cartouches are baroque, and the same may be said for the illustrations in the *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don* that was published by Hendrick Doncker, also in Amsterdam. Two Dutchmen, furthermore, were involved in establishing printed cartography in Russia, these being the engravers Adrian Schoonebeck and Peter Picart who arrived respectively in 1698 and 1702 to engrave and to teach their craft. The most prominent Russian work to display baroque art is Kirilov's *Atlas" Vserossiiskoi Imperii*.

The rococo style had a longer duration in Russia than the baroque – from the 1740s to the first decade of the nineteenth century – and was associated with the influence of French culture that became evident during the reign of Elizabeth and remained fashionable throughout most of the rest of the century. It originated in France as a mutation of the baroque late in the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715) and dominated European art throughout that of Louis XV (1715-74) when France succeeded the Netherlands as the source of

high culture. The influence of France on Russian cartography traces to the arrival in 1726 of the astronomer Joseph-Nicholas Delisle, the brother of Louis XIV's Royal Geographer Guillaume Delisle.³⁸ He was involved heavily in the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences' attempt to produce a national atlas, eventually the *Atlas" Rossiiskoi* of 1745 which compared favourably with contemporary French works, and may be seen as the enterprise to have closed the gap between Russian and West European cartographies. Its cartouches, executed under the charge of Johann Grimmel, are distinctively rococo in form (figs. 1 and 7), as are those on Grimmel's other maps at the time.³⁹ Later works with rococo illustrations include some of the maps in the regional series published by the Academy of Sciences between 1770 and 1793 and in the editions of the *Atlas" Rossiiskoi Imperii* dating to 1792 and 1796.⁴⁰

The third style to appear in Russian works is neoclassicism, which in form resembles the renaissance.⁴¹ Wölfflin's five characteristics of renaissance art may therefore be applied to help distinguish a neoclassicist illustration from a rococo one: linearity which creates objects that are tangible in outline and surface, being clear, solid, and with a concise limit; planar depth in which the third dimension is artificial and comprises a series of planes; closed or tectonic form with a sense of balance, usually symmetrical, which would be disturbed by removing or hiding one part; multiplicity, whereby each object may be isolated as a concise unit and treated individually as a subject; and absolute clarity in which the objects are defined by lines, colours, and degrees of light that create strong contrasts and distinguish each object.⁴² Neoclassicism, in Russia a continuation of the predilection for French culture, evolved in Europe throughout the second half of the century as a response to a renewed interest in Ancient Greece and Rome and also as a rejection of the flippant, cynical culture that accompanied the rococo. It was the artistic style that complemented the rationality and scholarly attitude of the philosophers of the Age of Reason, which were promoted in Russia throughout most of the reign of Catherine II. She may be said to have been attracted by the grandiosity and allusions to imperial Rome, as well as the logic that reflected intellectual fashion, of neoclassicism, and her apotheosis as Athena supports this. The *Rossiiskoi Atlas"* of 1792 (e.g. figs. 3 and 4) and its second edition under Paul (r. 1796-1801) in 1800 are the best collections of neoclassicist art in Russian cartography, but there are several other works from the last quarter of the century to have neoclassicist illustrations. Examples include some of the maps in the regional series of 1770-93.

IV. The value of the illustrations

There were several potential ways that the illustrations were valuable to patrons, academicians, and other users of the maps and atlases. One was that through their glimpses of regional life, features, or history, they contributed to general knowledge and impressions and might have encouraged some users to seek more information, especially where ignorance was concerned. Some of

the cartouches in the *Rossiiskoi Atlas*” of 1792, for example, have some curious features that might have inspired investigation; among them are those for Voronezh Viceroyalty with a ship accompanied with a banner bearing “1696” (the year the shipyards were established there), for Kiev Viceroyalty with a Latin, rather than an Orthodox, cross (the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Uniat Churches existed in the Ukraine), and for Mogilev Viceroyalty with a boy and a girl embracing above “MDCCLXXX” (a secret diplomatic meeting between Catherine II and Joseph II of Austria (r. 1765-90) took place in Mogilev in 1780).⁴³ Other illustrations, especially those showing geographical or economic features, might not have required as deep of an investigation as did these examples, but they still might have stimulated further enquiry. Associated with this, some illustrations might have helped foster an interest in various places, some well known and others exotic. As shown symbolically on the maps, places were not particularly interesting or thought-provoking since the symbols that were used were standardised and did not portray any tangible peculiarities. Moscow, for instance, might have been symbolised on the map in the same way as Novgorod or Tver, but in a cartouche some of its uniqueness could be illustrated; similarly, the uniqueness of regions such as the west Asian steppes or the Russian Far East might be portrayed.⁴⁴

Since Russia was Westernising throughout the eighteenth century, a cultural source of value might be found in the link of the illustrations to contemporary West European fashion and to Ancient Greece and Rome, an important cultural source for the Europe that Russia endeavoured to join. The mythological references generally reflected an effort to apply Ancient Greek and Roman iconography to contemporary Russia, and therefore cartography might be seen as a vehicle to introduce Classical Europe to Russia. Two outstanding examples are the representations of Catherine II as Athena, which associated the Russian empress and patron of the arts and sciences with the most powerful female character in the Ancient Greek pantheon, and the use of Poseidon to refer to the creation of the Russian navy and Russia’s expansion to the Baltic and Black Seas under Peter I. Overall, the Russian illustrations followed West European conventions in content (notably Greek mythology, three-dimensional realistic and allegorical scenes, heraldry, and renaissance infants) and form (baroque, rococo, and neoclassicist), and thus they served to demonstrate that Russia had mastered West European artistic techniques and engraving technology. Along with the progress that had been made in applying West European scientific aspects of cartography,⁴⁵ such artwork could have persuaded Russians and West Europeans that Russia was essentially a cultural equal.

The illustrations may be seen to have served as a means to promote official views of Russia in the eighteenth century. By nature the illustrations are eclectic in content, but there are topics which are lacking and which might have provided material for illustrators who, unlike those involved with Russian cartography, were not dependent on the state.⁴⁶ Examples of

potential subjects from the latter part of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries that might have been used to show Russia in a different light include Nikon and his reforms of the Church, the *Strel'tsy*, conflicts for power between rival families, the Pugachev uprising, and the serfs. The illustrations, though, tend to depict Russia and its rulers favourably, so they may be seen as promotional material for sophisticated domestic and foreign audiences. An outstanding image given is that of Russia as a Westernised civilisation experiencing the Enlightenment under the direction of Catherine II; examples may be found in the works discussed earlier showing Athena.⁴⁷ Figure 5 from the title page of the *Rossiiskoi Atlas* of 1792 shows part of another example, in which a double-headed eagle in flight is carrying a putto with a mirror to reflect light from the sun, adorned with the monogram of Catherine II, toward Russia.⁴⁸ On the title page of the *Atlas Rossiiskoi Imperii* of 1796 is an illustration that alludes to how Russia had changed in the course of a century: the old Russia is represented by the kremlin and skyline of Moscow, dominated by church crosses, and small boats on the Moskva River, whereas the new Russia is symbolised by the Peter-Paul Fortress, part of the skyline of St. Petersburg with only three crosses but a prominent imperial flag, and a ship with three masts on the Neva River; added to the fact that the baroque spire of the cathedral in the Peter-Paul Fortress is more pronounced than Ivan III's Bell Tower in the Moscow kremlin, the illustration favourably contrasts the new Russia to the old and also suggests that a lot of progress had been made.⁴⁹

Themes pertaining to empire, enlightenment, and Ancient Greek and Roman mythology would have been more familiar to educated West Europeans than to Russians in the eighteenth century. It is therefore evident that the Russian illustrations were aimed at an audience acquainted with West European culture, which is reinforced by the fact that missing from the illustrations are topics that are peculiar to Russian history, with a specific bearing on Russia and which might not have been well-known outside the country, as well as to Russian folklore and literature. Historical examples might include the baptism of Vladimir in 988, the Mongolian hegemony between 1240 and 1480, Dmitry Donskoy's victory at Kulikovo in 1380, the capture of Kazan and Astrakhan in 1552 and 1556, Yermak's campaign into Siberia in 1581, Kuzma Minin and Dmitry Pozharsky's liberation of Moscow in 1612, and the eighteenth-century academic debate over whether or not Scandinavians established the first Russian state in the ninth century. From Russian folklore and literature, characters and themes from mediaeval chronicles (*letopisi*), epics (*byliny*), legends, hagiographies, and tales (*skazki*), for example, were not used even though they might have provided a wealth of ideas for the illustrators. Such a conspicuous lack of uniquely Russian topics and characters, when combined with the liberal use of West European models, indicates that Russian cartography in the eighteenth century was designed to give an impression commensurate with Russia's contemporary cultural ambitions and not to stress its previous culture or experience.

If cartography is considered purely from the scientific perspective, it is arguable that such illustrations as those discussed here are superfluous, so there must have been some perceived value in their very existence. Partly this was due to the map trade that had evolved in Western Europe, especially after Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* was first published in 1570, in which the scientific content alone did not make maps and atlases marketable.⁵⁰ Aesthetically attractive illustrations, however, improved the chances of selling cartographical works, and it appears that many were collected because of them. The tradition of embellishing maps and atlases that developed was still important when Russia adopted West European cartographical models in the eighteenth century, so the appearance of the illustrations in Russian works, as part of the process of cultural adaptation, could demonstrate that Russia was capable of producing maps and atlases of the same artistic, as well as scientific, calibre as were the leading nations of Western Europe. Since marketability was not as important in Russia as it was in Western Europe because of the dominant role of the state in Russian cartography, the illustrations may also be considered to demonstrate that Russia was able to cultivate a cultural elite, which could appreciate and create such pieces of art that did not serve any particular utilitarian purpose. In this sense they might be seen, as might other works with artistic ornamentation, to be a collective monument to show that the Russian elite was in a position to enjoy the fruits of highly refined art.

V. Concluding remarks

The eighteenth century, here including the first few years of the nineteenth, was an important period in Russian cartographical development and the most interesting from the artistic point of view. Before this period, Russian cartography comprised the *chertëzhi* that did not have the scientific and artistic elements of West European cartography, and in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Russian cartography began to lean toward the scientific side at the expense of the artistic, which became more functional and less illustrative, as also was the case in Western Europe. Eighteenth-century Russian cartography, therefore, synthesised scientific progress and illustrative art to a degree that existed neither before nor after. This of course might be attributed jointly to the cultural transformation in Russia and to the state of contemporary West European cartography.

Evidence pointing to the influence of Western Europe on the artwork in eighteenth-century Russian cartography is to be found in the West Europeans who were employed to contribute to cartographically-related endeavours, especially engraving, and also in the form and content of the illustrations. The baroque, rococo, and neoclassicist styles and the contents based on Ancient Greek and Roman mythology, or including warriors that resembled Roman legionaries or the renaissance infants, strongly support this. Added to these might be pictures of the artistic and scientific equipment that was

associated with the importation of West European arts and sciences. Even the less obvious contents in the chorographical scenes, as well as the heraldry, bear evidence in that the inspiration for them came from West European cartography. Their realism, furthermore, reflects the three main aspects of Enlightenment thought – empiricism, rationalism, and relativism⁵¹ – which might be said to exist in the Russian illustrations in general: empiricism is to be found in the information that was derived from fieldwork and knowledge of the real world; rationalism exists in their sobriety and tendency to pertain to the areas shown on the maps; and relativism is hinted at in those illustrations which portray people who were not a part of the Judaeo-Christian religious system.⁵² In this sense, the Russian cartographical illustrations, as with Russian cartography as a whole, might be seen to be an eastward extension of the secular West European high culture that traces to the Renaissance.

Notes

- 1 Anglicised forms have been used for the names of Russian rulers and for Russian personal and place-names. In some cases this has meant dropping orthographic signs, and in others changing the spelling.
- 2 Useful studies on Russian art include: Michel Alpatov, *Histoire de l'Art Russe des Origines à la Fin du XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1975); George Heard Hamilton, *The Art and Architecture of Russia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983); and Louis Réau, *L'Art Russe*, 3 vols. (Marabout Université, 1968).
- 3 Examples of useful overviews of Russian cartography in the eighteenth century: Leo Bagrow, *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800* (Wolfe Island, Ont.: Walker Press, 1975); С. Е. Фель, Картография России XVIII Века (Москва: Издательство Геодезической Литературы, 1960); Bernard V. Gutsell (ed.), *Essays on the History of Russian Cartography: 16th to 19th Centuries*, monograph no. 13 of *Cartographica* (Toronto: B. V. Gutsell, 1975); and Fyodor A. Shibanov, *Studies in the History of Russian Cartography. Part 2: from the History of Russian Cartography in the 18th, 19th, and Early 20th Centuries*, monograph no. 15 of *Cartographica* (Toronto: B. V. Gutsell, 1975).
- 4 Outstanding examples of chertězhi (чертёжи) are the non-extant “Большой Чертёж” of Russia and “Godunov Map” of Siberia, respectively dating to the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century and 1667, and virtually all of the maps in Semyon Remezov's atlases: Чертёжная Книга Сибири..., 1701 (Г. Б. Л. О. К. (Ко 14/ VIII-1) and U. U. B.; these are reproductions (С.-Петербургъ: А. М. Котоминъ и Ко., 1882)); Хорографическая Чертёжная Книга, 1697-1711 (reproduction: Leo Bagrow, *The Atlas of Siberia by Semyon U. Remezov*, Supplement 1 of *Imago Mundi* (Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958)); and Служебная Чертёжная Книга, 1699-1734 (photocopy: Г. П. Б. О.Р. (Эрм.

- 237)). Kusov, for instance, categorises the chertězhi into those with general geographical information and drawings of town households, business set-ups, fortifications, and disputed land; and according to Goldenberg, they were useful for economic, legal, and military needs; see Vladimir S. Kusov, *Russian Geographical Drawing and the Appearance of Thematic Mapping in the Russian State* (Москва: Московский Государственный Университет, 1982), p. 3, and Leonid A. Goldenberg, *Russian Maps and Atlases as Historical Sources*, monograph no. 3 of *Cartographica* (Toronto: B. V. Gutsell, 1971), p. 11. Chertězhi are discussed also in Bagrow, *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800*.
- 5 See note 4 for Remezov's cartographical works. With the exception of a few seventeenth-century West European maps that Remezov acquired, the maps in his atlases belong to the chertězhi genre. On the title page of the Чертежная Книга Сибири... there is a decorative flowery design with a crown accompanied by a tripartite orb and cross, and the atlas' "Чертежь Земли Тобольскаго Города" has the Siberian coat of arms; these appear to have been the first Russian samples of the illustrations being discussed here, and their existence might be attributed to a possible intention of having the atlas published in Amsterdam by Jan Tessing. The Хорографическая Чертежная Книга also has a sample of heraldry, the Siberian coat of arms on the plan of Tobolsk, and the Служебная Чертежная Книга contains two maps – both copies of Dutch works – with Mongoloid Orientals, one of which also has a Bactrian camel.
- 6 Some works to provide useful information on the history of cartography in Western Europe include: Lloyd A. Brown, *The Story of Maps* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979); G. R. Crone, *Maps and Their Makers: an Introduction to the History of Cartography* (Folkestone and Hamden, Conn.: Dawson/Archon Books, 1978); George Kish, *La Carte: Image des Civilisations* (Paris: Seuil, 1980); Edward Lynam, *The Mapmaker's Art: Essays on the History of Maps* (London: Batchworth Press, 1953); R. A. Skelton, *Decorative Printed Maps of the 15th to 18th Centuries* (London: Spring Books, 1965); R. A. Skelton, *Maps: a Historical Survey of Their Study and Collecting* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1972); R. V. Tooley, *Maps and Mapmakers* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1978); and R. V. Tooley, Charles Bricker, and Gerald Roe Crone, *A History of Cartography: 2500 Years of Maps and Mapmakers* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969).
- 7 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1571) (at, for example, H. U. L. (N. 341)); Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura* (Duisburg, 1595) (at, for example, H. U. L. (N. 2194 A)); the family Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus* (Amsterdam: 1640) (at, for example, U. U. B.); John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World...* (London, 1676) (at, for example, U. U. B.); Frederick de Wit, *Atlas...* (Amsterdam, after 1688) (at, for example, U. U. B.); and

- Guillaume Sanson, *Atlas Nouveau, Contenant Toutes les Parties du Monde...* (Paris, 1696) (at, for example, Bodl. (2027 a. 52 and 2027 a. 53)).
- 8 Concerning the artwork in West European cartography, see for instance Lynam, *The Mapmaker's Art: Essays on the History of Maps*, and Skelton, *Decorative Printed Maps of the 15th to 18th Centuries*.
 - 9 Атласъ Всероссийской Имперіи..., published as a facsimile as И. К. Кирилов, Атлас Всероссийской Имперіи (Ленинград: Академия Наук СССР, Институт Истории Естествознания и Техники, 1959); a copy of the facsimile is at, for example, Г. Б. Л. О. К. (Ко 106/ III-1).
 - 10 The scene from Kamchatka is on the map “Восточная Часть Иркутской Губерніи съ Прилѣжащими Островами и Западнымъ Берегомъ Америки” in Россійской Атласъ изъ Сорока Четырехъ Картъ Состоящій и на Сорокъ на Два Намѣстничества Имперію Раздѣляющій ([С. Петербург]: Горное Училище, 1792); copies of the atlas are at, for instance, Г. Б. Л. О. К. (Ко 4/ IX-1), Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1. Росс. /13 8), and U. U. V. Another edition of the atlas was published in 1800: Россійской Атласъ изъ Сорока Трехъ Картъ Состоящій и на Сорокъ Одну Губернію Имперію Раздѣляющій ([С. Петербург]: Географический Департаментъ [Кабинета Его Императорского Величества]); copies are at, for example, Г. Б. Л. О. К. (Ко 106/ V-4), Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1. Росс. /14 8), and H. U. L. (N. 2603). Both editions of the atlas were compiled under the direction of Alexander Vilbrekht. Isleniev’s map of 1780 is entitled *Tabula Exhibens Cursum Fluvii Irtisch ab Omskaja Krepost usque ad Tobolsk*; a copy is at Krigs. (Bandet 34, No. XXII). This map is one of a series that was compiled by the Geographical Department of the Academy of Sciences between 1770 and 1793 to show the parts of the empire; see В. Ф. Гнучева, Географический Департамент Академии Наук XVIII Века, ed. by А. И. Андреев (Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1946).
 - 11 Examples: the cartouches on “Карта Мезенскаго и Пустозерскаго Уѣздовъ съ Близлежащими Островами и Уѣздами” (whaling) and “Течение Рѣки Волги отъ Самары до Царицына” (two fishermen, one holding a fish presumed to be a sturgeon and the other a fishing net; a rowboat; a larger net for catching large fish) in Атласъ Россійской, Состоящей изъ Девятнадцати Специальныхъ Картъ Представляющихъ Всероссийскую Имперію съ Пограничными Землями, Сочиненной по Правиламъ Географическимъ и Новѣйшимъ Обсерваціямъ, съ Приложенною притомъ Генеральною Картою Великія Сея Имперіи, Стараніемъ и Трудами Императорской Академіи Наукъ ([С. Петербург: Академия Наук], 1745); Isleniev’s *Tabula Exhibens Cursum Fluvii Irtisch...*, 1780 (fish, boats); and “Карта Саратовскаго Намѣстничества” (fish, nets, a rolled-up fence for trapping fish underwater, a hooked pole) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792. Copies of Атласъ Россійской... are at, for instance, Г.Б.Л. О.К. (Ко 4/ IX-3) and Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1-Росс./ 38 8). The atlas was published by the

- Academy of Sciences also in Latin and German: *Atlas Russicus Mappa Una Generali et Undeviginti Specialibus Vastissimum Imperium Russicum...* and *Russischer Atlas, Welcher in Einer General-Charte und Neunzehnen Special-Charten das Gesamte Russische Reich...* (the titles of the maps in the latter are however in Latin); copies are at Г.Б.Л. О.К. (Ки 4/ VIII-9 (Latin)), Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1-Росс./ 20 8 (Latin)), У. У. В. (German), and Н. У. Л. (N. 1213 (German)).
- 12 Examples: on the manuscript map bearing the inscription “Сиа [Сия] Карта Сочініся Всібірскої Эъпедіці [Экспедици] прі Камандѣ о⁴ [от] флота [Флота] Капітана Берінга о⁴ [от] Табольска дочъкоцкаго [до Чукоцкаго] ѡ гла [Угла]” (a man carrying a dead reindeer) of ca. 1730 (at К. В.); the first map of the Russian-Chinese frontier region (hunters and dogs chasing a wild boar and a reindeer) in Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи..., 1734; “Россійская Лапландія” (bow, quiver with arrows, bear, reindeer) in Атласъ Россійской..., 1745; and “Карта Тобольскаго Намѣстничества” (a hunter with a bow and arrow preparing to take aim at a wolf) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 13 Many maps have a cartouche with a reference to agriculture; examples: the first map of the Russian-Chinese frontier region (pastoralism) in Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи..., 1734; “Московская Губернія съ Лежащими вкругъ Мѣстами” (sickle, sheaves of wheat) and “Положеніе Мѣсть между Архангельскимъ Санктъпетербургомъ и Вологдою” (cornucopia, cows) in Атласъ Россійской..., 1745; *Mappa Gubernii Kasanensis* (cornucopia, sheaf of wheat, agricultural tools) of 1779 by Fyodor Cherny (at, for example, Krigs. (33 Bandet, 13); this is another of the maps from the Academy of Sciences’ series, 1770-93); “Генеральнаго Плана Серпейскаго Уѣзда Часть Ія.” (wheat sheaves, two crossed sickles in the coat of arms) from Атласъ Калужскаго Намѣстничества, Состоящаго изъ Двенатцати Городовъ и Уѣздовъ... ([С. Петербург: Горное Училище (?)], 1782) (at, for example, Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1 Цтр/ 1 9)); and “Карта Харьковскаго Намѣстничества” (cornucopia, crops) and “Карта Калужскаго Намѣстничества” (bundle of wheat) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 14 Examples: the cartouches on “Карта Яренской, Важской, Устюжской, Соливычегоцкой, Тотмской, и Хлыновской, Провинцей и Уѣздовъ” (wood mill) in Атласъ Россійской..., 1745; and “Карта Олонцакаго Намѣстничества” (cannon, cannonballs), “Карта Вятскаго Намѣстничества” (copper and iron furnaces), “Карта Пермскаго Намѣстничества” (coin-making), and “Карта Воронежскаго Намѣстничества” (shipbuilding) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 15 On the map from the first of Bering’s two expeditions to the northern Pacific region (1725-9, the second being 1732-43), there are nine portraits of peoples from northern Asia: a Yakut, a male and a female Olen Tungus, a Koryak, a Kuril, a Chukot, a male and a female Pesh Tungus, and a Kamchadal; see the map labelled “Сиа Карта Сочініся

Всѣбѣрскої Эѣпедіці...,” ca. 1730. On the map “Положеніе Мѣстъ между Чернымъ и Каспійскимъ Морями Представляющее Кубань, Грузинскую Землю и Достальную Часть Рѣки Волги съ Ея Устьемъ” in Атласъ Россійской... (1745) two Turks appear to have been put to death by a Russian soldier, behind whom are many more. The other example, on “Карта Представляющая Западную Часть Иркутской Губерніи” in Россійской Атласъ... (1792), has a scene depicting trade between Russia and its Far Eastern neighbours; the Russian has some furs to offer, and two Chinese have several boxes, most likely containing such wares as tea or spices. For information on the map of ca. 1730 and the atlas of 1745, see notes 12 and 11 respectively.

- 16 Examples: the first map of the Russian-Chinese frontier region (Hermes; pastoralism, hunting) in Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи..., 1734; “Положеніе Мѣстъ между Архангельскимъ Санктпетербургомъ и Вологдою” (Persephone; cornucopia, cows, ships that represent trade through the port of Archangel) in Атласъ Россійской..., 1745; and “Карта Тверскаго Намѣстничества” (Clio; the kremlin of Tver with the Volga flowing by) and “Карта Московской Губерніи” (Hermes, Heracles; the kremlin of Moscow) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792. The Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи... is rich in its use of classical characters and chorographical information.
- 17 Scientific and/or artistic instruments often accompany portraits of Athena, as for example in illustrations on the following maps: Ладожской Каналь. Canalis Ladogensis by Johann Grimmel, ca. 1741 (magnetic compass, drawing compass, protractor, right angle) (at, for example, Krigs. (34 Bandet, No. I litt. a.)); Tabula Geographica Generalis Imperii Russici ad Normam Novissimarum Observationum Astronomicarum by Ivan Truskot and Jacob Schmidt, 1776 (maps) (at Г.Б.Л. О.К. (Ко 110/VII-11)); Генеральная Карта Россійской Имперіи съ Раздѣленіемъ на Новоучрежденныя Губерніи и Уѣзды by Alexander Vyazemsky, 1785 (globe, surveying equipment) (at Г.Б.Л. О.К. (Ко 7/ VI-10)); Новая Карта Россійской Имперіи Раздѣленная на Намѣстничества, 1786, and its Latin version Nova Tabula Geographica Imperii Russici in Gubernia Divisi, 1787 (terrestrial globe, armillary globe, magnetic compass, drawing compass, protractor) (both maps are at, for example, Krigs. (31 Bandet, No. 20 and Band 31 Ryssland, Generalkartor nr 14)); and “Карта Ст. Петербургской Губерніи” (globe, drawing compass, palette with brushes) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792. Two other examples without Athena: the scale cartouche on “Геометрическая Карта Калужскаго Намѣстничества” (globe, maps) in Атласъ Калужскаго Намѣстничества..., 1782, and the cartouche on “Генеральная Карта Россійской Имперіи на Сорокъ Одну Губернію Раздѣленной” (palette with brushes, drawing compass) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1800.
- 18 Examples are in Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи..., 1734 (deities, warriors, infants); Атласъ Сочиненный къ Ползѣ и Употребленію

- Юношества и Всѣхъ Читателей Вѣдомостей и Историческихъ Книгъ ([С. Петербург]: Императорская Академія Наукъ, 1737) (deities, infants) (at Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1-Мир/ 13 6)); Атласъ Россійской..., 1745 (deities, infants); the regional map series published by the Academy of Sciences, 1770-93 (deities, infants); and Россійской Атласъ..., 1792 and 1800 (deities, warriors, infants).
- 19 Examples of posthumous use of Peter I's monogram (П): "Карта Рижскаго Намѣстничества" and "Карта Воронежскаго Намѣстничества" in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792. Examples of monograms of contemporary rulers: "А I" for Anna (r. 1730-40) in the scale cartouche for "Генеральная Карта о Россійской Имперіи Сколько Возможно Было Исправно Сочиненная Трудомъ Ивана Кирилова..." in Атласъ Всероссийской Имперіи..., 1734 (a copy of the map by itself is at K. B. (S 1a)); "Е II" for Catherine II in the scale cartouche on *Tabula Geographica Generalis Imperii Russici...* (1776), the cartouche on Ivan Truskot's Новая Карта Намѣстничествъ: Новогор. Тверск. Калуж. Псковск. Яросл. Тульск. Костр. Рязан. Орл. Могил. Полоц. Волод. Смол. Нижегород. Курск. Тамб. Воронеж. of 1780 (at U. U. B.), the scale cartouche for *Nova Tabula Geographica Imperii Russici...* (1787), and on the title page of Россійской Атласъ... (1792); "П I" for Paul (r. 1796-1801) on "Генеральная Карта Россійской Имперіи..." in Россійской Атласъ, 1800; and "А I" for Alexander I (r. 1801-25) in the cartouche on the titular sheet of Подробная Карта Россійской Имперіи и близь Лежащихъ Заграничныхъ Владѣній, published by the Depot of Maps in St. Petersburg, 1801-4 (at, for example, U. U. B. and Krigs. (31 Bandet, No. 15)). The portrait of Peter I is in *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don of Tanais...*, compiled by Cornelius Cruys and published in Amsterdam by Hendrick Doncker in 1703 or 1704 (at, for instance, Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1-Росс Е/ 16 8) and U. U. B.); although this work was published in Holland, it was commissioned by Peter. For examples of Athena, see note 17: on Grimmel's map she represents Elizabeth, and on the others Catherine II; both empresses alluded to themselves as Athena.
- 20 The double-headed eagle appeared on a vast number of Russian works in the eighteenth century; examples: the title pages of *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don...* (ca. 1703), Россійской Атласъ... (1792), Атласъ Россійской Имперіи, Состоящій изъ 45 Картъ, published in St. Petersburg in 1792 (at, for instance, Г.Б.Л. О.К. (Ко 17/ X-13) and Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1-Росс. / 6 6)), and Атласъ Россійской Имперіи, Состоящій изъ 52 Картъ, a later edition of Атласъ Россійской Имперіи... (1792), published in St. Petersburg in 1796 (at, for instance, Г.Б.Л. О.К. (Ко 17/ X-10)); as well as in illustrations on the following maps: "Генеральная Карта Россійской Имперіи" in Атласъ Россійской... (1745), *Tabula Geographica Generalis Imperii Russici...* (1776), Новая Карта Намѣстничествъ... (1780), Генеральная Карта Россійской Имперіи... (1785), "Генеральная Карта Россійской

- Имперіи...” in Россійской Атласъ... (1800), and Подробная Карта Россійской Имперіи... (1801-4).
- 21 Examples of atlases to show coats of arms of provinces and viceroyalties: Атласъ Россійской..., 1745; Атласъ Россійской Имперіи..., 1792 and 1796; Россійской Атласъ..., 1792 and 1800; Атласъ Россійской Имперіи Изданной для Употребленія Юношества..., published in St. Petersburg, 1794 (at Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1-Росс./ 326 8)); and Атласъ Россійской Имперіи для Употребленія Юношества Изданной въ 1794 Году Выправленной и Дополненной Вновь по Тому же Раздѣленію при Собственномъ Его Императорскаго Величества ([С. Петербург]: Депо Картъ, 1802) (at Г.Б.Л. О.К. (Ко 6/ II-5)). Coats of arms of the viceroyalty, districts, and towns are in Атласъ Калужскаго Намѣстничества..., 1782. On Генеральная Карта Россійской Имперіи... (1785) and *Nova Tabula Geographica Imperii Russici...* (1787) are cartouches with, respectively, a tree and an obelisk that show the provincial coats of arms of the empire. Another work to use heraldry, but in this instance mainly of regions outside Russia, is Alexei Nagaev, Атласъ Всего Балтійскаго Моря съ Финскимъ и Ботническимъ Заливами... ([С. Петербург]: Адміралтейская Коллегія, 1757 and 1776) (copies are at, for example, Krigs. (Ryssland Hydrografiska, No. I) and U. U. V. respectively).
- 22 “Карта Тверскаго Намѣстничества” in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 23 “Карта Рижскаго Намѣстничества” in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 24 For examples of the double-headed eagle, monograms, and portraits of Athena, see respectively notes 20, 19, and 17. Examples of illustrations with servitude as a theme: the eleventh entry in *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don...*, ca. 1703 (labourers at work on the proposed canal to link the Don and Volga Rivers); the map of the Russian-Swedish frontier region in Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи..., 1734 (Heracles); “Малая Татарія съ Пограничною Кіевскою и Бѣлогородскою Губерніямй, Содержитъ въ Себѣ Лежація около Днепра Дону и Донца Зѣмли Также Весь Крымъ и Часть Кубани съ Чернымъ Моремъ” in Атласъ Россійской..., 1745 (cavalrymen in battle); *Nova Tabula Geographica Imperii Russici...*, 1787 (Hermes as a messenger for Catherine II); “Карта Ст. Петербургской Губерніи” (Hermes as an assistant to Athena), “Карта Московской Губерніи” (Heracles), and “Карта Таврической Области” (Artemis guiding a female traveller, presumably Catherine II) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792; Карта Почтовая Россійская 1793 Года (deliverers of the post) (at К. В. (S 24)); “Карта Минской Изяславской и Брацлавской Губерніи” in Атласъ Россійской Имперіи..., 1794 (a woman presenting three empty plaques for heraldic designs after the area had been acquired by Russia from the Partition of Poland in 1793); and “Генеральная Карта Россійской Имперіи...” in Россійской Атласъ..., 1800 (Heracles).
- 25 “Карта Московской Губерніи” in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792 and 1800.

- 26 Examples: the first title page of the *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don...*, ca. 1703 (under Peter's foot); "Малая Татарія..." in Атласъ Россійской..., 1745 (on the ground); and "Генеральная Карта Россійской Имперіи..." in Россійской Атласъ..., 1800 (on the ground). The scene with the soldiers is on the map "Положеніе Мѣстъ между Чернымъ и Каспійскимъ Морями..." in Атласъ Россійской..., 1745.
- 27 For examples of Athena as Catherine II, see the entries for 1786, 1787, and 1792 in note 17.
- 28 Examples: the eighth map in the *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don...*, ca. 1703 (Artemis and Demeter); "Генеральная Карта о Россіиской Имперіи..." and the map of Olonets District in Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи..., 1734 (both Poseidon); the sixteenth map in Атласъ Всего Балтійскаго Моря..., 1776 (Poseidon); and "Карта Таврической Области" in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792 (Artemis).
- 29 For Clio, see note 22. Examples of Hermes: "Генеральная Карта о Россіиской Имперіи..." and the two maps of the Russian-Chinese frontier in Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи..., 1734; *Mapra Generalis Gubernii Asowiensis in Circulos Divisi* by Isleniev, 1782 (from the Academy of Sciences' regional series, 1770-93) (at, for instance, Krigs. (33 Bandet, No. 19)); *Nova Tabula Geographica Imperii Russici...*, 1787; and "Карта Ст. Петербургской Губерніи," "Карта Калужскаго Намѣстничества," and "Карта Казанскаго Намѣстничества" in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 30 See notes 11-13. An example of beekeeping: "Карта Новгород-Сѣверскаго Намѣстничества" in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 31 See note 14 for examples pertaining to manufacturing. Examples of trading scenes: "Генеральная Карта о Россіиской Имперіи..." in Атласъ Всероссійской Имперіи..., 1734 (between Russia and Western Europe); and "Карта Калужскаго Намѣстничества" (domestic: Hermes appears to have traded a bundle of wheat for some cloth) and "Карта Представляющая Западную Часть Иркутской Губерніи" (between Russia and the Far East) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 32 "Карта Географическая Содержащая Смоленскую Губернію съ Частями Губерней Кіевской Бѣлгородской и Воронежской" in Атласъ Россійской..., 1745.
- 33 On the eleventh entry of *Nieuw Pas-Kaart Boek, Behelsende de Grootte Rivier Don...*, ca. 1703. It also appears in the Russian edition of 1765: Прилежное Описаніе Реки Дона, или Танаиса..., published in St. Petersburg (at Г.П.Б. О.Р. (Эрм. 265)).
- 34 "Карта Тобольскаго Намѣстничества" and "Восточная Часть Иркутской Губерніи..." in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 35 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: the Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1950), pp. 14-16 (five contrasting characteristics between the renaissance and baroque styles). For the renaissance characteristics, see note 42 and the

- corresponding passage in the text. Another relevant work: Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque* (London: Collins, 1984).
- 36 A useful study of the rococo: Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964).
- 37 See, for instance, Leo Bagrow, "The First Map Printed in Russian," *Imago Mundi*, XII (1955): pp. 152-156; and Bagrow, *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800*, pp. 98-99.
- 38 J.-N. Delisle is a controversial figure: although he made significant contributions to the development of cartography, geography, and astronomy in Russia, he has been criticised for his attitude and quarrels, delay in publishing Атласъ Россійской..., 1745 (eventually completed by Christian Winsheim), and sending information on Russia to France; see, for example, Bagrow, *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800*, p. 186.
- 39 About Grimmel's role in the atlas, see Bagrow, *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800*, p. 184. His other work in the 1740s included seven maps that were reproduced by Matthias Seutter in Augsburg; see *ibid.*, p. 242.
- 40 See note 10 for the regional series dating to 1770-93 and note 20 for Атласъ Россійской Имперіи..., 1792 and 1796.
- 41 A useful study of neoclassicism: Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984).
- 42 Refer to Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History...*, pp. 14-16. Although Wölfflin is concerned only with the renaissance, there is enough similarity between the renaissance and neoclassicist styles to justify using his characteristics here.
- 43 These examples: "Карта Воронежскаго Намѣстничества," "Карта Кіевскаго Намѣстничества," and "Карта Могилевскаго Намѣстничества" in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792.
- 44 "Карта Московской Губерніи" in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792, shows Moscow's kremlin. Examples of scenes from the steppes and the eastern parts of Russia are on Isleniev's *Tabula Exhibens Cursum Fluvii Irtisch...*, 1780 (vegetation from the Asian steppes), and on "Карта Представляющая Западную Часть Иркутской Губерніи" (trade with Chinese) and "Восточная Часть Иркутской Губерніи..." (scene from Kamchatka) in Россійской Атласъ..., 1792. Works dealing with countries other than Russia also would have stirred curiosity; an example is Атласъ Сочиненный къ Ползѣ и Употребленію Юношества... (1737) which has such illustrations as Asian and South American Indians, Moslems, a lion, a crocodile, and an elephant.
- 45 Important scientific elements that had been introduced to Russian cartography were the latitude-and-longitude framework based on astronomical and geodetic observations; the prime meridian running through Ferro Island in the eastern Atlantic; mathematically derived

projections, especially conical; and mathematical scales. On sea charts rhumb lines had been introduced.

- 46 The illustrators and engravers were employed by state-sponsored institutions, as were other people who were involved with cartography and the geographical exploration that provided data for it. The Academy of Sciences played the most important role, especially through its Geographical Department (1739-1800), but there were other state-sponsored institutions involved. Examples include the General Staff (from 1763), Cadastral Survey Department (from 1765), Geographical Departments of the Cabinet (from 1786) and the Senate (from 1797), Map Depository (from 1797), and Map Depot of the Department of Waterways (from 1798): see, for instance, Innokenty Gerasimov (ed.), *A Short History of Geographical Science in the Soviet Union* (Moscow: Progress, 1976), p. 65. To these might be added the Navy, Admiralty College, and the Mining College.
- 47 See note 17.
- 48 Россійской Атласъ..., 1792. Russia is shown on a partly exposed globe at the bottom of the title page and is verbally indicated by “[Евр]опа” and “Азія.”
- 49 Атласъ Россійской Имперіи..., 1796.
- 50 For a discussion on the map trade see Brown, *The Story of Maps*, pp. 150-179.
- 51 See Olwen H. Hufton, *Europe: Privilege and Protest 1730-1789* (London: Fontana Press, 1985), pp. 70-72.
- 52 Examples: Vassily Kirpianov’s Тщательнѣишая Всея Азіи Таблица навсѣ Части Раздѣленная Новоисправленная... (Asians) and Всея Африки Тщательнѣишая Таблица... (Africans) of 1713 (both at Г.П.Б. К.О. (К 1-Мир/26 2)); the map labelled “Си а Карта Сочініся Всібірскої Эспедіці...” (northern Asians); and “Генеральное Земноводнаго Глобуса Изображеніе,” “Венгерія и Греція,” “Могольское Владѣніе,” and “Америка Южная” (which show two Asian Indians and a Near Easterner, two Moslems, two people from the Indian subcontinent, one from China, and two from South America) in Атласъ Сочиненный къ Ползѣ и Употребленію Юношества..., 1737.

Depositories Cited in the Notes

In Russia

- Г.Б.Л. О.К.: Государственная Публичная Библиотека имени В. И. Ленина, Отдел Картографии (Москва).
Г.П.Б. К.О.: Государственная Публичная Библиотека имени М. Е. Салтыков-Щедрин, Картографический Отдел; and
О.Р.: Отдел Рукописей (Эрм.: Эрмитажное Собрание) (Санкт-Петербург)

Elsewhere

- Bodl.: Bodleian Library, Oxford University (Oxford): Map Room
H.U.L.: Helsinki University Library (Helsinki): Nordenskiöld Collection
K. B.: Kungl. Bibliotek (Royal Library) (Stockholm): Department of Maps and Drawings
Krigs.: Krigsarkiv (Military Archives) (Stockholm): Map Division
U.U.B.: Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (Uppsala University Library) (Uppsala): Department of Maps and Prints

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