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## Different states of the sea chart of the Gulf of Riga by Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer (1534-1606) from his first sea atlas *Spiegel der Zeevaert* (1583/1585) in the Niewodniczański Collection *Imago Poloniae* at the Royal Castle in Warsaw

*Keywords:* old sea charts; states of the map; Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, sea chart of the Gulf of Riga

*Summary:* The life work of Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer (1534-1606) was his *Spiegel der Zeevaert* – the first sea atlas. It contained 45 coastal charts from North Africa to Western Norway and from England to the Baltic Sea, including the coast of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The copperplates of the charts were signed by the master engraver Jan van Deutecum (d. 1600). The first part of the *Spiegel der Zeevaert* contains 22 charts and was published in 1583. The second part with 23 charts was published for the first time in 1585. One of the 23 charts from the second part of the sea atlas by Waghenaer is the chart of the Gulf of Riga. All the different states of this chart from the different language editions of the *Spiegel der Zeevaert* are to be found in the Niewodniczański cartographical collection<sup>1</sup> *Imago Poloniae* at the Royal Castle Museum in Warsaw: the Dutch edition (1585), the Latin edition (1586), the English edition (1588), the German edition (1589) and the French edition (1590).

### Introduction

The golden age of Dutch sea chart cartography was initiated by Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer (1586), and afterwards fully bloomed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the production of sea chart atlases in Amsterdam by such great cartographers as Willem Blaeu (1627), Pieter Goos (1662) and the Van Keulens (ca. 1700).

Lucas Janszoon (Jansz.) Waghenaer (Wagenaer, Aurigarius, 1534-1606), sea captain (*Piloot en Stuijrmann*) from Enkhuizen on the IJsselmeer (Zuiderzee, Netherlands), devoted many years to his life's work the *Spiegel der Zeevaert*. It was the first sea atlas with charts of the "Westersche Zee" (West Sea) and the "Oostersche Zee" (East Sea). This atlas contained 45 coastal charts from North Africa to Western Norway and from England to the Baltic Sea, including the coast of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The copperplates of the charts were signed the master engraver Jan van Deutecum (d. 1600). Apart from its high nautical value, Waghenaer's sea atlas is also seen as one of the most beautiful published works of nautical cartography.

The first part of the *Spiegel der Zeevaert* contains 22 charts and was published in 1583, and in the next two years reprinted four times. The second part with 23 charts was published for the first time in 1585. These two parts published in Leiden formed the first edition in Dutch, subsequently followed by the first Latin edition (1586)<sup>2</sup>, the English edition (1588), the German edition (1589)

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<sup>1</sup> For more about the collector and his collection, see: Kazimierz Kozica, Anna Kuśmidrowicz-Król, *The Niewodniczański Collection Imago Poloniae at the Royal Castle in Warsaw – Selected Problems of Cataloguing, Digital Image Capturing and Preparing to Accessibility In-situ and in the Internet (Draft of the Project)*, Summary in: 10th Jubilee Conference + Workshop Digital Approaches to Cartographic Heritage Corfu, Ionian University 27-29 May 2015, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Description of the copy of the Latin edition of Lucas Jansz. Waghenaer's sea chart atlas *Speculum Nauticum*, 1586 from the Niewodniczański Collection (Bitburg, Germany), see: K. Kozica, *DANTISCUM EMPORIUM*

and the French edition (1590). After 1591 the publication of this atlas was taken over by Cornelis Claesz. (Claeszoon, ca. 1551–1609) from Amsterdam.

The second part of *Spiegel der Zeevaert* by Waghenaeer contains 23 coastal charts from England to the Baltic Sea, including three charts of the coast of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The first one is the sea chart of Pomerania from Kołobrzeg (Kolberg in German) to Rozewie and Puck (1585)<sup>3</sup>, the second one is the sea chart of Royal and Ducal Prussia (1585)<sup>4</sup>. The third one – the

*TOTIUS EUROPAE CELEBERRIMUM. Gdańsk i Bałtyk na mapach, widokach oraz dokumentach ze zbiorów Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego (Bitburg, Niemcy), DANTISCUM EMPORIUM TOTIUS EUROPAE CELEBERRIMUM. Danzig und die Ostsee in Karten, Ansichten und Dokumenten aus der Sammlung von Tomasz Niewodniczański (Bitburg), Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska, Gdańsk 2004, pos. G59/1, p. 141, ill. of title page p. 142, ill. of the sea chart of Europe p. 143: Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer, sea chart atlas, 1586 (Latin edition)*

First part

On the title page, title in Latin: *Teerfte Deel vande | PARS PRIMA | Speculum nauticum super nauigatione maris Oc= | cidentalibus confectum, continens omnes oras mari= | timas Galliae, Hispaniae et praecipuarum partiu[m] | Angliae, in diuerfis mappis maritimis comprehensu[m] | ona cum afu et interpretatione earundem, accurata | diligentia concinnatu[m], et elaboratu[m] per Lucam Iohannis Aurigarium.*

Below, a second title in Dutch: *T'eerfte Deel Bande | Spiegel der Zeevaert, vande nauigatie der Westersche | zee Inhoudende alle de Cuften van Franckrijck, Spaig= | nen, en t'principaelste deel van Engelandt, in diuersche | zee caerten begrepen, met den gebruijcke van dien, | nu met grooter naerftic berijt bij een vergadert, | en gepractizeert Doer Lucas Ianfs Wagenaer.*

Below these two titles, a privilege: *Cum Priuilegio ad decennium, Reg. Ma.<sup>tis</sup> | et Cancellarie Brabantie | I.5.8.3.* At the bottom of the title page, an imprint: *LVGDVNI BATAVORVM | Excudebat typis Plantinianis Franciscus Raphelengius, | pro Luca Ianfenio Aurigario. | CIC[C in a mirror]. IC[C in a mirror]. LXXXVI.*

Second part

On the title page, title in Latin: *PARS ALTERA | SPECVLI MARINI, | INTEGRAM CVM BO- | REALIS, TVM ORIENTALIS | Oceani nauigationem; nimirum à Freto | Anglicano, in Viburgum & Naruam; Ta- | bulis diuerfis complectens, & earum vfu | decorata,*

Below: *Auctore | LVCA IANSENIO AVRIGARIO | Ciue et Nauclero Enchufiano. | Interprete | MARTINO EVERARTO | Brugenfi.*

Below the title, a privilege: *Cum Priuilegio Hollandiae, | & Zelandiae.*

Publisher: *Frans van Raphelengen | LVGDVNI BATAVORVM | Excudebat typis Plantinianis Franciscus Raphelengius, | pro Luca Ianfenio Aurigario. | CIC[C in a mirror]. IC[C in a mirror]. LXXXVI.* (at the bottom of the title page of the first part)

Copperplate engravings; size of atlas 40 × 28,5 cm

At the top of the title page of the first part, a signature of the former owner: *Philippus Wilhelmus Comes Palatinus Rheni* (= Philipp Wilhelm, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein), and at the bottom, an engraver's imprint of this title page: *Ioannes à Doetecum, Fecit.*

A copy of such a Latin edition is described by C. Koeman in his 4th vol. under Wag 5A.

<sup>3</sup> Description of the copy of the Dutch edition of Lucas Jansz. Waghenaeer's sea chart of the coastline of Pomerania from Kołobrzeg (Kolberg in German) to Rozewie and Puck from *Speculum Nauticum* (1585) from the Niewodniczański Collection (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego), see: Mieczysław Stelmach, *Pomorze i Szczecin na dawnych mapach, planach i widokach. Collection Niewodniczański (Bitburg). Katalog wystawy, Pommern und Stettin auf damaligen Karten, Plänen und Ansichten Collection Niewodniczański (Bitburg), Szczecin 1998, pos. 84, s. 61–62 (Latin edition), pos. 85 (French edition) and pos. 86 (English edition), colour ill. p. XX (Latin edition).*

Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer, sea chart of Pomerania from Kołobrzeg till Rozewie and Puck, 1585 (Dutch edition) Along the upper border on the sea chart, title in Dutch: *Aldus verthoont enn doet hem op Tlandt van Pomeran, als men van Bornholm op Reescol aencompt, enn beneffens landt zeijlende is tot Rijgsche hoofd toe, twe mijlen van v. legghende.*

Lower left, in a decorative rectangular cartouche, a second title in Dutch and Latin: *Caerte van de Zee cufte vant | Landt te Pomerē alfo tselfde | in zijn weefsen enn gedaente is, | Orae maritimae Ducatus | Pomeraniae accuratiffima | descriptio.*

Engraver: Jan van Deutecum [*Ioannes à Doetecum, fecit.*] (in the linear scale cartouche, on the right)

Publisher: Frans van Raphelengen

Copperplate engraving, old colour; 33,5 × 50 cm; scale ca. 1 : 380 000

Upper right, an author's imprint: *Luca Ioannis aurigarius | Autore* (= Latinized form of Waghenaeer's name).

most important for our purposes from the second part of the sea atlas by Waghenaeer – is the chart of the Gulf of Riga (1585). All the different states of this chart from the different language editions of the *Spiegel der Zeevaert* are to be found in the Niewodniczański cartographical collection *Imago Poloniae* at the Royal Castle Museum in Warsaw: the Dutch edition (1585), the Latin edition (1586), the English edition (1588), the German edition (1589) and the French edition (1590).

### The five editions (1585-1590)

*The Dutch edition (1585) published by Christoffel Plantijn  
in Leiden – Spiegel der Zeevaert*

1579 and 1580 – privileges were granted for publishing an atlas.

1583 – first printing of the first Part from the original plates (first state of the 23 sea charts).

1585 – second printing of the first Part (later another two printings) and first printing of the second Part from the original plates (first state of the 21 sea charts).

First state – Dutch (in Low German) edition of the sea chart of the Gulf of Riga, 1585 (Koeman, Waghenaeer 37a)

Upper left, in a scrollwork cartouche: *Zee Caerte vande / Cufte va[n] Lijfflant / begrepen Rontsfom[m]e | de grooten Inham | vande Rijgſche zee, | Soe tſelfde hem ver= | thoont en op doet | Doer | Lucas Janſz Wagenaer | van | Enchuijſen.*

Engraver: Jan van Deutecum [*Ioannes à Doetecum | fecit.*] (in the lower part of the title cartouche)

Publisher: Christoffel Plantijn

Copperplate engraving, old colour; 33 × 51,5 cm; scale ca. 1 : 380 000

Orientation of the map: south-east.

The oldest sea chart of the Pomerania from Kołobrzeg (*Colberghen*) to Rozewie (*Rijgh/hooft*) and Puck (*Poeſt*). Sea chart (Koeman, Waghenaeer 40b) included in Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer's atlas: *Teerste deel vande Spiegel der Zeevaert / Pars prima Speculum Nauticum ...* published in Leiden in 1586 by Frans van Raphelengen (Koeman, Wag 4 A).

<sup>4</sup> Description of the copy of the Dutch edition of Lucas Jansz. Waghenaeer's sea chart of Royal and Ducal Prussia from *Speculum Nauticum*, 1585 from the Niewodniczański Collection (Bitburg, Germany), see. K. Kozica, *DANTISCUM EMPORIUM TOTIUS EUROPAE CELEBERRIMUM. Gdańsk i Bałtyk na mapach, widokach oraz dokumentach ze zbiorów Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego (Bitburg, Niemcy), DANTISCUM EMPORIUM TOTIUS EUROPAE CELEBERRIMUM. Danzig und die Ostsee in Karten, Ansichten und Dokumenten aus der Sammlung von Tomasz Niewodniczański (Bitburg)*, Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska, Gdańsk 2004, pos. G29/1, p. 79, colour ill. p. 80–81.

#### Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer, sea chart of Royal and Ducal Prussia, 1585 (Dutch edition)

Lower left, in a decorated round cartouche, title in Dutch: *De Caerte | ofte zee cufte van | Pruijſſen, met zijne haffen | ofte groote Riieren, vander | Memel off tot Heel tho, alfoe | tlant aldaer in zijn wefen is.*

Below the text continues: ... | *Doer Lucas Iansz Wagenaer. | Cum grae priuilegio.*

Lower right, in a decorative rectangular cartouche, a second title in Latin: *Borufſiae cum fuis | portubus et fluminibus | a Memella ad Helam | exactiſſima littoralis | deſcriptio.*

Below the text continues: ... | *Luca Ioannis aurigarius Aut.*[ore] (= Latinized form of Waghenaeer's name).

Engraver: Jan van Deutecum [*Ioannes a Doetecum | Fecit*] (lower left)

Publisher: Frans van Raphelengen

Copperplate engraving, old colour; 33 × 52 cm; scale ca. 1 : 350 000

Orientation of the map: south-east-east.

The oldest sea chart of the Gulf of Gdańsk from Hel Peninsula till Klaipėda (*Kłajpeda*) (*Der / memel*).

The sea chart (Koeman, Waghenaeer 39b) included in the first Dutch edition of Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer's atlas titled *Teerste deel vande Spiegel der Zeevaert / Pars prima Speculum Nauticum...*, published in Leiden in 1585 by Frans van Raphelengen (Koeman, Wag 4 A).

Orientation of the map: south-east-east. In the upper part of the title cartouche, a note: *Cum Priuilegio*. Lower right, also in a scrollwork cartouche, two linear scales. On the sea chart there is a decorative compass centre with north point marked with a lily, the four cardinal points written in Dutch (*Noordt, Oost, Suijdt, West*), compass lines drawn only on the sea, two ships and four fishes.

The sea chart of the Gulf of Riga between the south cape of the island *OESEL* (Osilia, now Saaremaa) and the east coastline of Courland (*LIVONIAE PARS*) with sea ports in *Pernout* (Parnu), *Salis* (Salis, German Salismünde), *Lemfel* (Lemsal), *Duinemondt* (Daugavgriva, German Dünamünde) and *Rijghe* (Riga). Along the upper border of the sea chart, engraved schematic outline of the view of the coastline near Dünamünde as seen by the sailors from the ship at sea. The chart helped to sail into the river port in Riga. It is decorated with a big, typical for the Renaissance, scrollwork cartouche, apart from a title it contains also a privilege and the engraver's imprint. On the reverse of the sea chart it is a text in Low German.

Waghenaer's sea charts are held in high regard not only because of their abundant information and nautical data, but also thanks to their aesthetic value. They are distinguished by their often decorative big cartouches, the adornment of the sea surface with waves, different types of ships and images of sea fauna, and even with fantastic drawings of offshore landscapes.

The sea chart was included in the first Dutch edition of Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer's atlas entitled *Het tweede deel Vanden Spiegel der Zeevaart*, published in Leiden in 1585 by Christoffel Plantijn (Koeman, Wag 3 A).

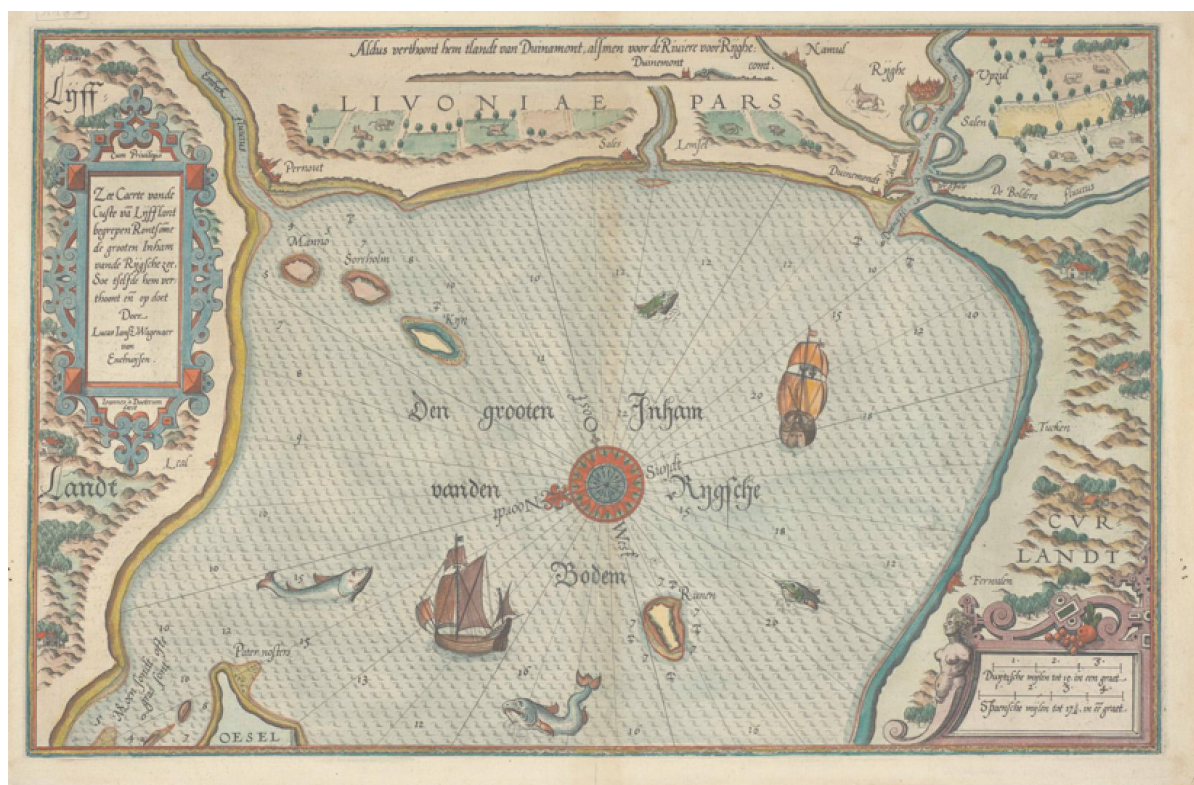


Figure 1: Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, sea chart of the Gulf of Riga from the sea atlas *Spiegel der Zeevaart* (Dutch edition), Leiden 1585; copperplate engraving, old colour, 33 × 51.5 cm (Sign. TN 1167, Niewodniczański Collection, Royal Castle Museum in Warsaw)



*The Latin edition (1586) published by Frans van Raphelengen  
(son-in-law of Christoffel Plantijn) in Leiden – Speculum Nauticum*

1585 – the original plates of the sea charts (first state) changed by the addition of Latin legends and Latin names in the seas (second state).

1586 – publishing of the Latin edition with Latin text. A 22nd sea chart added to the second Part.

1588 – plate numbers engraved (third state). Some copies of the atlas printed by Cormelis Claesz. in Amsterdam.

Second state – Latin edition of the sea chart of the Gulf of Riga, 1586 (Koeman, Waghenar 37b)

In the lower part of the title cartouche, the second title in Latin added (it replaced the author's name) together with the Latinized form of the author's name: *Oræ maritimæ | Liuvoniae, ab com= | plectentis Rigani | maris finum magnu[m]. Luca Ioannis aurigarius | Autore.*

Publisher: Frans van Raphelengen

Copperplate engraving, old colour

Along the upper frame, schematic outline of the view of the coastline as seen by the sailors from the ship at sea was additionally marked in Latin, as well as the four cardinal points (*Septentrio, Oriens, Meridies, Occidens*) and the linear scales. The nautical data on the reverse of the sea chart were printed in Latin.

The sea chart was included in Latin edition of the Lucas Janszoon Waghenar's/Aurigarius atlas entitled *Teerste deel vande Spiegel der Zeevaerdt / Pars prima Speculum Nauticum ...*, published in Leiden in 1586 by Frans van Raphelengen (Koeman, Wag 4 A).



Figure 2: Lucas Janszoon Waghenar, sea chart of the Gulf of Riga from the sea atlas *Speculum Nauticum* (Latin edition), Leiden 1586; copperplate engraving, old colour, 33 × 51.5 cm (Sign. TN 1168, Niewodniczański Collection, Royal Castle Museum in Warsaw)

*The English edition (1588) published in London –  
The Mariners Mirrour*

1588 – edition with English text copied from the Latin edition of *Spiegel der Zeevaert*. The plates were also copied and engraved anew by Jodocus Hondius I (1563–1612), who lived in London as a refugee from religious persecution in 1583–1593.

1605 – reprint in Amsterdam by Jodocus Hondius I of the plates from the English edition, but with the Dutch text from *Nieuwen Spiegel der Zeevaert*. The titles of the sea charts were changed into Dutch.

1615 – reprint in Amsterdam by Joannes Walschaert of the plates from the English edition, but with the German text from the 1589 German edition.

English edition of the sea chart of the Gulf of Riga, 1588 (a copy of the plate)

Upper left, in a scrollwork cartouche: *THE SEA / card of the Sea / coastes of Lyffland / comprehending the / land lying rounde / about the great / Inha[m] of the Ryghish / gulf(?) as they do ap=  
| peare & open when | you sayl ther alongst.*

Engraver: Jodocus Hondius I

Copperplate engraving

Lower right, also in a scrollwork cartouche, three linear scales.

Along the upper border of the sea chart, schematic outline of the view of the coastline as seen by the sailors from the ship at sea when sailing from Dünamünde to Riga, marked in English are the nautical data on the reverse of the sea chart, the four cardinal points (*NORTH, EAST, SOVTH, WEST*) and the linear scales.

The sea chart was included in English edition of Lucas Janszoon Waghenauer's atlas entitled *The second part of the Mariners Mirrour*, published in London in 1588 (Koeman, Wag 13).

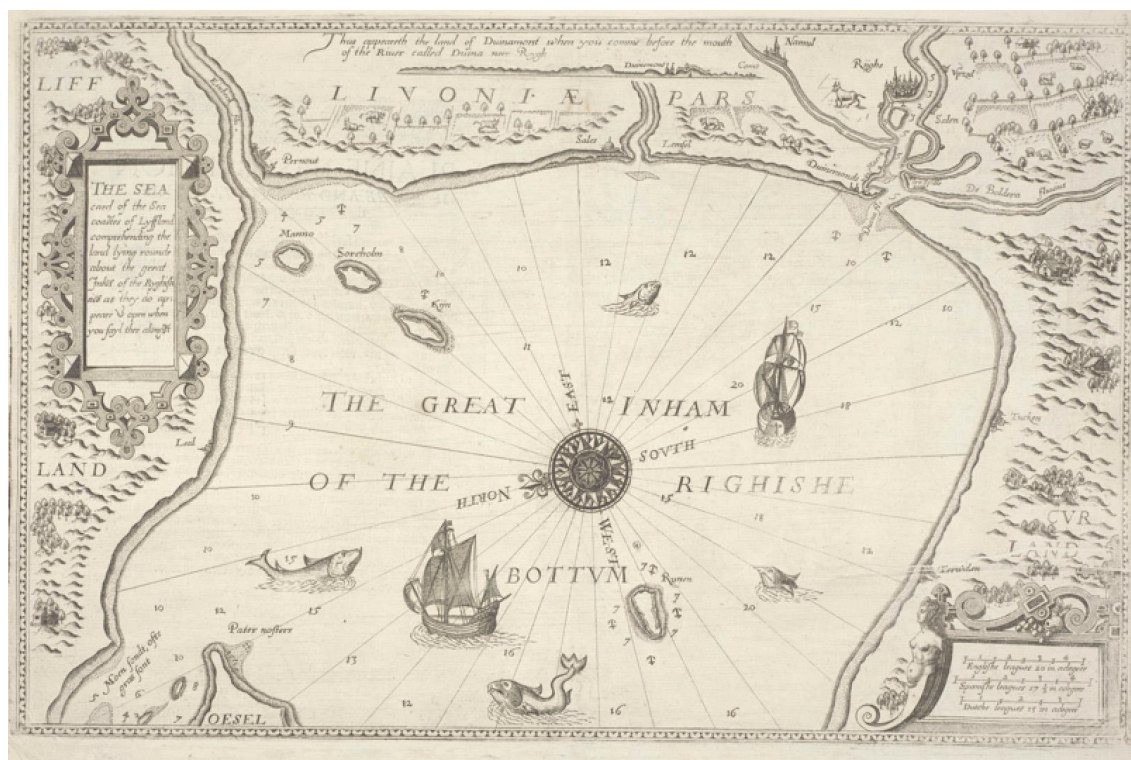


Figure 3. Lucas Janszoon Waghenauer, sea chart of the Gulf of Riga from the sea atlas *The Mariners Mirrour* (English edition), London 1588; copperplate engraving, 33 × 51.5 cm  
(Sign. TN 1169, Niewodniczański Collection, Royal Castle Museum in Warsaw)



*The German edition (1589) published by Cornelis Claesz.  
in Amsterdam – Spiegel der Seefartt*

1589 – publication of the atlas taken over by Cornelis Claesz. German edition with German sea chart titles printed from type on the borders of the charts. The plates were reworked and as a result, damaged and lost their quality (fourth state).

Fourth state – German edition of the sea chart of the Gulf of Riga, 1589, (Koeman, Waghenaeer 37d)

Above the upper border, a title printed from type was added: *See Carte der Custen von Lyffland gelegen rondt umb der gro<sup>e</sup>ffen inwijck / gehiesen der Rygische Bodden. Wie sich alda das Land auff thuth.*

Publisher: Cornelis Claesz

Copperplate engraving, old colour

Low German and Latin inscriptions on the sea chart were left. Lower left, a plate number was added: 37, on the reverse of the sea chart, the nautical data printed in German.

The sea chart was included in German edition of Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer's atlas entitled *Der ander Theil dess Spiegels der Seefartt*, published in Amsterdam in 1589 by Cornelis Claesz. (Koeman, Wag 6).



Figure 4. Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer, sea chart of the Gulf of Riga from the sea atlas *Spiegel der Seefartt* (German edition), Leiden 1589; copperplate engraving, old colour, 33 × 51.5 cm (Sign. TN 1966, Niewodniczański Collection, Royal Castle Museum in Warsaw)

*The French edition (1590) published by Jean Bellère in Antwerp –  
Nouveau Miroir*

1590 – joint publication of the atlas by Jean Bellère (printing of the French text) and Cornelis Claesz. (printing of the sea charts with French titles printed from type on the upper border of the charts).

French edition, 1590 (Koeman, Waghenae 37d)

Above the upper border, a title printed from type was added: *Carte de la Cofte Maritime de Lifland, contenant le circuit du grand feing ou Golfe de Ryghe.*

Publisher: Jean Bellère

Copperplate engraving

Low German and Latin inscriptions on the sea chart were left. Lower left, a plate number: 37, on the reverse of the sea chart, the nautical data printed in French. Below the lower border, a note printed from type was added: *A. Representation du Pais de Duinmont, venant deuant la Riuiere de Ryghe.*

The sea chart was included in the French edition of Lucas Janszoon Waghenae's atlas entitled *La deuxiesme partie du Miroir de la Navigation Marine*, published in Antwerp in 1590 by Jean Bellère (Koeman, Wag 8 A).

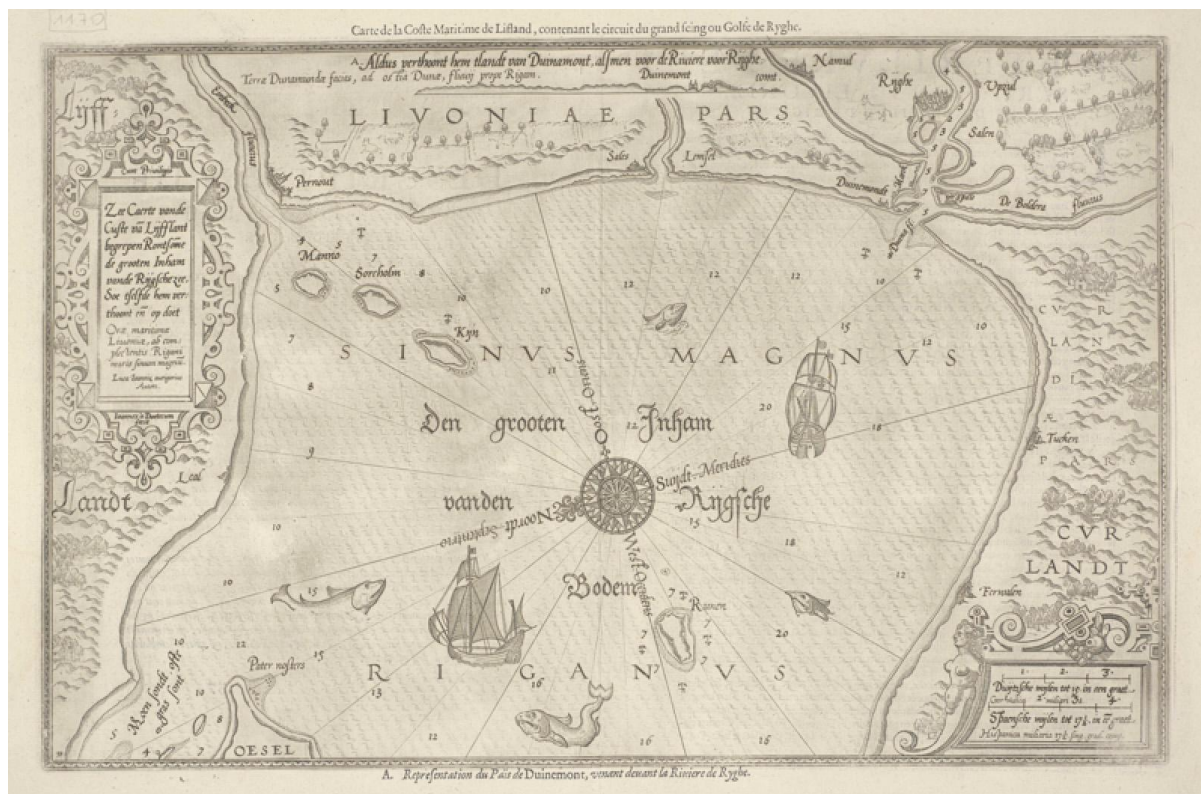


Figure 5. Lucas Janszoon Waghenae, sea chart of the Gulf of Riga from the sea atlas *Nouveau Miroir* (French edition), Leiden 1590; copperplate engraving, 33 × 51.5 cm  
(Sign. TN 1170, Niewodniczański Collection, Royal Castle Museum in Warsaw)



### Later editions of Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer's sea atlas (1596-1603)

*The Edition of Nieuwen Spiegel der Zeevaert in Dutch  
by Cornelisa Claesz. in Amsterdam*

1596 – first issue of the „new” edition of *Nieuwen Spiegel der Zeevaert* by Cornelis Claesz., with two new sea charts, a new frontispiece and four new extra pages.

1597 – reissue of the 1596 edition.

1600 – edition published with French text – sold by Jean Bellère and Cornelis Claesz., and also by A. du Vivere and Barent Langenes from Middelburg.

1605 – last edition in French, similar to the 1600 edition.

*Edition of Den Groten Dobbelden Nieuwen Spiegel der Zeevaert  
in Dutch by Cornelis Claesz. in Amsterdam*

1603 – enlargement of the *Spiegel der Zeevaert* by a major part of the text from *Thresoor der Zeevaert* by Waghenaer, furthermore three sea charts were also copied from *Thresoor* and 14 small maps by Benjamin Wright.

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