

Director Emeritus

Gaetano Platania (Università degli Studi della Tuscia)

Director

Alessandro Boccolini (Università degli Studi della Tuscia)

Scientific Board

Irena Vaišvilaitė (Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania to UNESCO)

Matteo Sanfilippo (Università degli Studi della Tuscia)

Massimo Carlo Giannini (Università degli Studi di Teramo)

Rimvydas Petrauskas (Vilnius University)

Giordano Altarozzi (Petru Maior University of Târgu Mures)

Giovanni Pizzorusso (Università degli Studi “G. d’Annunzio”, Chieti-Pescara)

Michaela Valente (Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”)

Cesare La Mantia (Università di Trieste)

Prokhorov Andrei (Belarusian State University of Minsk)

Olexiy Sokyrrko (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv)

Rafał Quirini-Popławski (Jagiellonian University of Kraków)

Jarosław Pietrzak (Pedagogical University of Kraków)

Marta Gołąbek (Museum of King John III’s Palace at Wilanów – Warsaw)

Dorota Gregorowicz (University of Silesia in Katowice)

Michał Salamonik (Södertörn University)

Language Expert

Sonia Maria Melchiorre (Università degli Studi della Tuscia)

Editorial Board

Bogdana Nosova (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv)

Francesco Vitali (Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”)

Małgorzata Trzeciak Cygan (University of Warsaw)



Centro Studi sull'Età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna
(Study Center on the Sobieski Age and of Modern Poland)
www.cespom.eu

Proprietà letteraria riservata. La riproduzione in qualsiasi forma, memorizzazione o trascrizione con qualunque mezzo (elettronico, meccanico, in fotocopia, in disco o in altro modo, compresi cinema, radio, televisione, internet) sono vietate senza l'autorizzazione scritta dell'Editore.

Eastern European History Review è una rivista on-line peer-reviewed con lettori anonimi

Chiuso il 31-12-2025

Impaginazione a cura di: *Emanuele Paris*

ISBN: 979-12-5524-219-2
ISBN ebook: 979-12-5524-220-8
ISSN: 2612-0402 009

Permalink: <http://hdl.handle.net/2067/54096>

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW
Via Santa Maria in Gradi 4 – 01100 Viterbo
www.easterneuropeanhistory.eu
eehr@unitus.it

Edizioni **SETTE CITTÀ**
Via Mazzini 87 – 01100 Viterbo
t. +39 0761 303020 – info@settecitta.eu

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW

Annually Historical Journal

~
n. 8/2025
Special Issue

**FROM THE LONG TURKISH WAR (1593-1606)
TO THE LIBERATION OF VIENNA (1683)**

Edited by
Alessandro Boccolini and Ovidiu Cristea



EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: LA RIVISTA

Il Comitato redazionale e scientifico è lieto di presentare al pubblico la rivista scientifica *Eastern European History Review*.

Con un carattere internazionale e interdisciplinare, una cadenza annuale e una fruibilità *open access* la rivista focalizza i propri interessi sulle dinamiche occorse nell'Europa Orientale durante tutta l'età moderna (XIV-XIX). *Eastern European History Review* è espressione del Centro Studi dell'Università della Tuscia CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna) nato nel 1997 per intuizione del Prof. Gaetano Platania, Direttore Emerito della Rivista.

L'iniziativa editoriale che presentiamo nasce dall'evidente mancanza in Italia di una rivista scientifica relativa alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale in Età Moderna, nonostante la penisola abbia giocato un ruolo fondamentale per la Storia e la Cultura di una parte integrante del continente, a torto considerata come lontana e periferica.

Consapevoli di questo, il Comitato ha posto quale obiettivo primario della *Eastern European History Review* quello di offrire uno spazio di riflessione e di discussione su temi che appartengono alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale, e insieme alle relazioni - politiche e culturali - che questa vasta area del Vecchio Continente ha avuto con l'occidente d'Europa, e l'Italia in particolare, incoraggiando il dialogo tra studiosi e esperti di settore, e tra differenti approcci della ricerca scientifica.

Il Comitato Redazionale e Scientifico

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: THE JOURNAL

The Editorial and Scientific Board are proud delighted to present the *Eastern European History Review* under the aegis of Sette Città Editore.

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XIV-XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997, from an idea of Prof. Gaetano Platania, today Director Emeritus of this journal.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History sciences.

The editorial initiative we present comes from the obvious lack of a journal, in Italy, concerning the history of Central and Eastern Europe during the Modern Age, this despite its fundamental role in the history and culture of that part of the continent, wrongly considered distant and peripheral.

Quite the contrary is true, in fact. Main objective of the journal is to create a space for reflection and discussion on topics pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe, but also relations with Continental Europe, encouraging dialogue between scholars and experts in the field, and between different approaches of scientific research.

The Editorial and Scientific Board

SUMMARY

Ovidiu Cristea and Alessandro Boccolini <i>Preface</i>	9
Alessandro Boccolini <i>Introduction</i>	13
Marian Coman <i>Framing conflict. Maps of the Ottoman-habsburg Long War</i>	17
Livia Magina <i>Transylvanian defensive system and territorial changes on the Ottoman frontier in the first half of the 17th century</i>	41
Adrian Magina <i>Confrontation on the Transylvanian-ottoman frontier: the battles in Banat during the “Long Turkish War”</i>	53
Ovidiu Cristea <i>“Notabili successe nel viaggio dell’Ungheria”: a testimony about the Ottoman campaign of 1596</i>	69
Oana-Andreia Sâmbrian <i>Girolamo Frachetta, una spia per la spagna durante la lunga guerra turca (1593-1606). Tecniche, strategie e alcune informazioni sulla Transilvania</i>	89
Dorel Țuinea <i>The Habsburgs and the Transylvanian Diets convened by Michael the Brave</i>	101
Florina Ciure <i>The Transylvanian Contribution to the Thirty Years’ War in 17th-Century Venetian Historiography</i>	111

Paweł Duda	
<i>The Battle of Khotyn in 1621 in the accounts of papal diplomats</i>	131
Cristina Codarcea	
<i>La lutte anti ottomane et le monde catholique de la Bulgarie du XVIIème siècle. Sémantique et mythes historiographiques autour d'une réalité confessionnelle marginale</i>	153
Susanna Piselli	
<i>The Battle of Kothyn (1673): A Road to the Throne</i>	175
Alessandro Boccolini	
<i>From Żurawno to Grodno: Jan III Sobieski and the Ottoman Threat</i>	189
Gaetano Platania	
<i>Sobieski, Leopoldo, Innocenzo XI e la liberazione di Vienna (1683) attraverso alcuni documenti editi e/o inedita</i>	211

VARIA SECTION

Matteo Sanfilippo	
<i>Katalin Prajda's research on migratory exchanges between the late Middle Ages and the early modern period</i>	233



FRAMING CONFLICT. MAPS OF THE OTTOMAN-HABSBURG LONG WAR

ABSTRACT: This article investigates how Western European mapmakers addressed the cartographic challenge of mapping the theatre of the Ottoman-Habsburg Long War. Although most simply sought to circumvent this spatial conundrum, some mapmakers directly confronted it, seeking a viable solution. My contention is that, of the three cartographic genres involved in the process, the most innovative was the news map. The article has a twofold structure. In the first part, I identify the main centres of cartographic production related to the Long War (such as Augsburg, Frankfurt, Köln, and Nuremberg) and briefly discuss the relationship between printed and manuscript maps. In the second part, I examine the spatial frames used by different cartographic genres, focusing on a series of news maps and propaganda maps produced between 1593 and 1595. My main argument is that the mapping of the Long War was a key moment in the making of a new cartographic genre, that of the theatre of war.

KEYWORDS: Ottoman-Habsburg Long War; Cartography; Theatre of war; News printing; Propaganda.

In May 1595, a map entitled *The new and very precise map of the entire Hungary drawn up according to the present state of affairs* was published in Rome¹. The cartouche, placed in the lower right corner, comprised a twelve-line description, starting with a dedication to Philip II's ambassador in Rome, Antonio Fernández de Córdoba y Cardona, continuing with the explicit political purpose of the map, to promote an alliance of Christian princes in order to rescue Hungary from the "ferocity of the tyrant", and ending with its author's name and credentials, Nicandro Filippini di Fondi, doctor in philosophy and sacred theology². At a first glance, the map was an original work meant to nurture Christian solidarity by depicting the miserable state of Hungary, devastated by the "battles, defeats and sieges" of the Ottoman-Habsburg Long War (*bellis, cladibus, obsidionibus aspersam, barbarica immanitate devastatam*)³. The moment of publication was propitious. Just a few

1 Nicander Philippius Fundanus, *Nova et Exactissima Totius Ungariae Descriptio ad Praesentem Rerum Statum Concinnata*, Rome, 1595. The map is available at a high-resolution scan at the Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps website <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/89146/nova-et-exactissima-totius-ungariae-descriptio-ad-praesentem-fundanus> [accessed January 23, 2025].

2 For a transcription of the cartouche and an analysis of its content, see Giovanni Pesiri, "Nicandro Filippini da Fondi, autore di una carta dell'Ungheria (1595) e agente della Tipografia Orientale Medicea alla fiera di Francoforte del 1594", *Annali del Lazio Meridionale, Nuova Serie*, 43-44/1 (2022): 76-7.

3 The classical monograph on the subject remains that by Jan Paul Niederkorn,

days later, in a solemn mass at Santa Maria Maggiore, the pope was to invest his nephew, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, captain of the papal troops sent to support the imperial army at Esztergom⁴. The said Aldobrandini had just returned, less than a month before, from Philip II's court with promises of financial and military aid for the Hungarian front⁵. Thus, the publication of the map, issued on the 25th of May, nine days after Aldobrandini had entered the city and nine days before his formal appointment⁶, was circumscribed to a specific context. The map hit the press at the height of Clement VIII's diplomatic efforts to involve Philip II into the Holy League's actions on the Hungarian front⁷. Nonetheless, the cartographical content of the map tells a different story, both of the war itself and of its mapping, one far more in-depth chronological and less contingent to these specific events. Of the inscriptions placed on the map only a few discuss the events of the Long War, while considerably more refer to previous battles, exposing the successive historical layers of a bicentennial conflict. From Sigismund of Luxemburg's siege of Golubac, mistakenly dated 1409⁸, to the recent military events, such as the 1594 clash from Győr⁹, the map projected a *longue-durée* perspective on the Christian-Ottoman conflict in Hungary. The Long War was only the latest layer added, quite literally, on top of a long-lasting conflict. Embedded in the map was the image of the Hungarian kingdom as a theatre of war between the Roman Emperors and the

Die europäischen Mächte und der "lange Türkenkrieg" Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593–1606) (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993).

- 4 John A. Marino, "An anti-campanellan vision of the Spanish Monarchy and the crisis of 1595", in *A Renaissance of conflicts: visions and revisions of law and society in Italy and Spain*, eds. John A. Marino, and Thomas Kuehn (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2004), 377-78.
- 5 Pesiri, "Nicandro Filippini", 80-7.
- 6 Fundanus was not the only Roman humanist that tried to take advantage of this context. On the 13 June 1595, Juan de Garnica started to write a small treaty, dedicated to the same Spanish ambassador in Rome, on the Turkish prophecy of the red apple and on the imminent threat of an Ottoman invasion in Italy, see Marino, "An anti-campanellan", 367-94.
- 7 On this topic, see the recent monograph by Giampiero Brunelli, *La santa impresa. Le crociate del papa in Ungheria (1595-1601)* (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2018).
- 8 The inscription reads: "Hic imperator Sigismundus Calombecium cum Mahumete Turcarum imperatore infoeliciter pugnavit 1409". For the 1428 battle and its long-lasting legacy in the historical memory, see László Veszprémy, "King Sigismund of Luxemburg at Golubac (Galamboc) 1428", *Transylvanian Review*, 18, supplement 2 (2009): 299-300.
- 9 These are the five inscriptions mentioning events from the year 1594: "Die Schlacht bey Iasbrin auf primo May sighafft erhalten A° 1594"; "Bujak 1594, den 10 Martij eingenomen"; "Hatwan auf 26 April 1594 eingenin"; "Bresenza, Segest, Seczen auf 23, 24, 25 1594 Martij eingenom"; "Kyavarino capitur a Turca die 8 Septemb. 1594". For an explanation of the bilingual nature of the inscriptions, see Pesiri, "Nicandro Filippini", 80-7.

Ottoman Sultans, from Sigismund of Luxemburg, emperor and king of Hungary at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to Rudolph II of Habsburg, emperor and king of Hungary at the end of the sixteenth century¹⁰. At a first glance, Fundanus might seem a genial mapmaker that designed a cartographic format by combining a news report on the war with a history lesson, and quickly transposed it onto a map, actually the only one ever signed by him. At a closer look however, this flattering portrait falls apart.

Fundanus never produced any other map for the simple reason that he was not a mapmaker, but a humanist working for the Tipografia Orientale Medicea in Roma¹¹. As Giovanni Pesiri convincingly argued, Fundanus shamelessly appropriated the content of a German map recently acquired at the Frankfurt Book Fair, printed by Alexander Mair in Augsburg in 1594¹². Heavily depending on his source, Fundanus included few additions of his own on the map¹³. In a sense, the Roman humanist copied Alexander Mair's *modus operandi*, as the Augsburg-based mapmaker also based his work on a previous model, amending a map published by Matthias Zündt in Nuremberg in the 1567¹⁴. Fundanus also had access to Zündt's map, probably in one of the recent editions¹⁵, as he perpetuated some of his mistakes that had been corrected by Mair, the most important being the year of the battle of Mohács¹⁶. However, the similitudes between the Roman humanist and the Augsburg mapmaker turn out to be rather superficial. In contrast to Fundanus's quasi-plagiarism, Mair had done a far more substantial work by altering his previous model in an attempt to produce an up-to-date map of the Long War. The rabbit hole goes even deeper, as Zündt's 1567 map also took over a previously existing format, the conventional territorial frame of the kingdom of Hungary designed by Wolfgang Lazius in mid-

-
- 10 On Fundanus's map, strategically placed near Buda, there is the Habsburg double-headed eagle wearing the imperial crown and holding the coat of arms of the Hungarian kingdom.
- 11 Pesiri, "Nicandro Filippini", 89-96.
- 12 Pesiri, "Nicandro Filippini", 92-5.
- 13 Such was the case with the inscription on the Győr's siege that mentioned the name of Virginio Orsini, *duca di Bracciano*. Most likely, Fundanus used an *avvisi*, such as *Avvisi di Giavarino venuti di Ratisbona. Dalli 22 d'Agosto 1594, Firenze 1594 or Aviso venuto da Vienna. Dove s'intende la presa della fortezza di Giavarino, Venezia 1594*. See Pesiri, "Nicandro Filippini", 96.
- 14 For Zündt's map in the larger context of the 16th century maps of Hungary, see Elmar Csaplovics, "The Emergence of Early Regional Maps of Hungary and their Influence on the Mercator Maps of Hungary", in *A World of Innovation: Cartography in the Time of Gerhard Mercator*, eds. Gerhard Holzer, Valerie Newby, Petra Svatek, and Georg Zotti (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 93-95.
- 15 Matthias Zündt's map of Hungary was reissued several times during the Long War, see below footnote 43, 44 and 45.
- 16 Instead of 1526, both Zündt and Fundanus refer to 1520. For the cartographic transmission of this mistake, see Júlia Papp, "Az 1526. évi mohácsi csata helyszínének emlékezete", *Történelmi Szemle*, 62/3 (2021): 387-88.

sixteenth century¹⁷. Thus, a cartographical frame designed in Vienna around 1550 was successively used in Nuremberg (1567), in Augsburg (1594) and in Rome (1595) in order to map two different Ottoman-Habsburg wars (1565-1568 and 1593-1606, respectively). Ironically, when it came to mapping the Ottoman-Habsburg war of his time (1551-1562), Lazius did not use his frame of the Hungarian kingdom, but tried to design a more fitting one, as his *Rei contra Turcas gestae anno MDLVI brevis descriptio* was restricted to Western Hungary¹⁸. The challenge any sixteenth-century Western mapmaker faced, either experienced or novice, was to find the best territorial frame to capture the continuously changing and expanding Ottoman warfront in Central and Eastern Europe.

In this respect, Fundanus did not try to deceive his buyers, but rather his potential patron. After all, “his” map was capturing the events of the Long War up to the autumn of 1594¹⁹. A fraud could have done much worse, as proven the same year, 1594, by Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri²⁰. Working also in Rome, Battista de Cavalieri published a map of Hungary and Transylvania cut to an unusual frame, with the outskirts of Vienna in the upper left corner, and the hinterland of Timișoara in the lower right one²¹. The map skilfully captured the military operations on the

20

17 For Lazius, see Petra Svatek’s PhD dissertation: *Wolfgang Lazius als Kartograph. Eine Analyse seiner Karten in Bezug auf die Werke anderer Kartenmacher des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Universität Wien, 2005). For a brief English summary, see “Wolfgang Lazius A Viennese Scholar of the 16th Century and his Political and Historical Maps”, *IMCoS. Journal of the International Map Collectors’ Society*, 104 (2006): 36-46. Lazius’s map of Hungary was adapted for their atlases by Ortelius, de Jode and Mercator, thus becoming highly influential in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

18 Petra Svatek, “Rei contra Turcas gestae anno MDLVI brevis descriptio. Eine Geschichtskarte des Wolfgang Lazius aus dem Jahre 1557”, in *Festschrift für Univ.-Prof. Dr.-Ing. Kurt Brunner anlässlich des Ausscheidens aus dem aktiven Dienst*, eds. Hans-Dieter Beineke, Thomas Horst, Otto Heunecke, and Uwe Kleim (München: Universität der Bundeswehr München, 2012): 237-48.

19 As the map was published on the 25th of May 1595, there is a gap of more than eight months between the moment of publication and the latest information inscribed on it (the conquest of Győr on the 8th of September 1594).

20 For the activity of this Roman printer, see Christopher Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 162-66. Cavalieri had already printed in 1592 *Il vero ritratto della Fortezza di Bichat asituata in mezo del Fiume Vna in Crouatia asediata da Turchi il mese de Giugno 1592*.

21 Giovanni Batista de Cavallerij, *Ungaria et Transilvania, con li confini* (Roma: 1594). The map had a least two imprints, one comprising the name of the printer (*Apresso Gio Batista de Cavallerij 1594*), the other without it. As the second is far more common – see for instance the high-resolution scan at Gallica, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8445449b> [accessed January 27, 2025]; the map was sometimes ascribed to Nicolas van Aelst. However, van Aelst was mainly known for his print series of ancient monuments and there are no traces of this map in his portofolio, see Loredana Lorizzo, “Nicolas van Aelst’s Will and a List of his

Habsburg-Ottoman front, with vivid illustrations of the troops' movements and of the fortifications. This time however, the map was thoroughly deceiving, as it was a faithful copy of a woodcut made and printed in Venice by Paolo Forlani in 1566²². It was a war map indeed, but one of a previous war.

The two Roman printers, Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri and Nicander Fundanus had different approaches to mapping the Long War. Fundanus tried to obtain a profitable patronage by passing as his own a relatively up-to-date cartographical representation of the war, while Battista de Cavalieri tried to deceive his audience by disguising a snapshot of the 1566 campaign as a map of the recent events in the Long War. Most significantly, both had been utterly dependent on the existing cartographical frames, unable to innovate and to design a proper *theatrum belli* map to encapsulate the Long War. The two were improvised mapmakers, but, as we shall see, the specialised cartographers that faced the same challenge hardly did any better.

More importantly than yet another example of Renaissance cartographic plagiarism, the Roman printers' choices are suggestive both for the market demand during the Long War and for the mapmakers' difficulties to meet it. Due to the growing cartographic literacy and to the impact of printed news-sheet²³, publishers were facing an increasing demand for maps of the ongoing theatre of wars²⁴. There is a stark contrast between the tremendously rich and updated cartography of sieges and battles during the Long War and the extremely scarce and outdated cartography of the theatres of war. When it came to the Ottoman-Habsburg conflict, late sixteenth-century cartographers felt more at ease when mapping the trees than the forest²⁵.

21

Plates", *Print Quarterly*, 31/1 (2014): 3-20. A version of the imprint with the name of the printer, which clarifies the problem of the authorship, recently emerged at an auction, see https://www.reiss-sohn.de/en/lots/9454-A193-2762/?sale_type=SOLD_AT_AUCTION [accessed January 27, 2025].

- 22 Paolo Forlani, *Vera et ultima discriptione di tutta l'Austria, Ungheria, Transilvania, Dalmatia, et altri paesi* (Venezia: 1566). A digital version of the map is available on the website of Royal Museums Greenwich, <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-1112820> [accessed January 27, 2025]. For Forlani's activity as mapmaker and map printer see David Woodward, "Paolo Forlani: Compiler, Engraver, Printer, or Publisher?", *Imago Mundi*, 44 (1992): 45-64.
- 23 See Robyn D. Radway, "Brief Notes on the Long War in the Early Modern News Cycle", *Austrian History Yearbook*, 50 (2019): 17-33.
- 24 The overlapping of cartography and news publishing was discussed by Helmer Helmers, based on an early 17th century Amsterdam case study, see "Cartography, War Correspondence and News Publishing: The Early Career of Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1610-1630", in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Joad Raymond, and Noah Moxham (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016), 350-74.
- 25 For an overview of regional cartography in the context of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflicts see Robert Born, "The Ottoman Expansion and the Development of Cartography in East-Central Europe (15th-18th centuries)", *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 55 (2017): 121-52 and Robert Born, "Festung und Grenze. Die habsburgisch-osmanischen Auseinandersetzungen und die Entwicklung der Kartografie in Ostmitteleuropa", in *Beschreiben und Vermessen Raumwissen in*

Partially, this was due to the fact that the cartography of war, either for public consumption or for military purposes, was still being dominated by the bird's eye views²⁶. And unlike a battle, a siege, or even an army, a theatre of war is virtually impossible to map using this technique. Thus, mapmakers had to invent new ways to pin down the ambiguous and continuously changing geographical frame of a war. Arguably, one of the most difficult theatres of war to capture on a single map was precisely the Ottoman-Habsburg conflict in Central Europe. The frontline covered several hundred kilometres, from Bosnia to Vienna and from the northern Black Sea steppes to the Dalmatian coast, disregarding both classical Ptolemaic frames, such as *Pannonia* or *Dacia*, as well as the more recent, Renaissance one, such as *Hungaria* or *Sclavonia*²⁷. The difficulties in mapping the Ottoman-Habsburg Long War reveals an inherent tension between the desire to convey the latest war news and the dependence on pre-designed, often obsolete, cartographical formats. By preserving Lazius's territorial format, Mair, and implicitly, Fundanus, focused on Central Hungary. Although this was indeed the main front during the Long War, some other theatres of combat, such as Croatia and Wallachia, came to be left outside the map²⁸. Adapting the famous military adage that generals tend to fight

der östlichen Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, eds. Reinhard Johler, and Josef Wolf (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2020), 227-98.

- 26 The bird's eye views were particularly suitable for mapping sieges and battles. A collection of such printed maps related to the Long War (approximately 20) is available on Royal Collection Trust, <https://militarymaps.rct.uk/ottoman-habsburg-wars-1521-1791/the-long-war-1591/3-1606> [accessed January 27, 2025]. Their number was considerably bigger and a full inventory is still missing. For a discussion on the mapped fortresses, see Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans* (Cambridge: University Press, 2015), 138-50. The same technique was also used for manuscript maps, such as those made by Christofaro Tarnowskij toward the end of the Long War, see James P. Krok, "New Means to an Old End: Early Modern Maps in the Service of an Anti-Ottoman Crusade", *Imago Mundi*, 60/1 (2008): 23-38. For the development of the Habsburg military cartography related to the Ottomans conflict, see Géza Pálffy, *Die Anfänge der Militärkartographie in der Habsburgermonarchie. Die regelmäßige kartographische Tätigkeit der Burghaumeisterfamilie Angielini an den kroatisch-slawonischen und den ungarischen Grenzen in den Jahren 1560-1570* (Budapest: Archívum, 2011) and Zsolt Győző Török, "16th century fortification atlases of the Habsburg-Ottoman border zone", in Holzer, et al., *A World of Innovation*, 63-83
- 27 For the 16th century Ptolemaic and post-Ptolemaic cartographic templates of this region see Toni Veneri, "Framing Southeastern Europe: Patterns in Cartographical Regionalization (1477-1636)", *CAS Sofia Working Paper Series* 10 (2018): 1-39 and Marian Coman, "Ottoman Europe in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*", in *Osmanli İmparatorluğunda Coğrafya ve Kartografya/ Geography and Cartography in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Mahmut Ak, and Ahmet Üstüner (Istanbul: University Press, 2024), 589-606.
- 28 See for instance the geographical focus of the newssheet printed by Georg Kress in Augsburg, in 1595, *Neue Zeytung: kurtze Anzeigung, welcher Gestalt die Sibenbürger, Moldawer, vnd Wallachen die gewaltige Statt vnd Vestung Simblt in der Moldaw an der Thonaw gelegen*, discussed by Radway, "Brief Notes", 18-20.

the last war, one might say that Renaissance European cartographers tended to map previous wars, instead of the unfolding ones.

My article aims to investigate how the Western European mapmakers tackled this cartographic challenge during the Ottoman-Habsburg Long War. Although most of them simply tried to find a way around this spatial conundrum, some mapmakers directly addressed this problem, looking for a valid solution. My contention is that of the three cartographic genres involved in the process, the military maps, the propaganda maps and the news maps, the most innovative one was the last one²⁹. The article has a twofold structure, as in the first part I will identify the main centres of cartographic production related to the Long War and I will briefly discuss the relation between printed and manuscript maps. In the second part I will take a look at the spatial frames used by different cartographic genres, focusing on a series of news-map produced between 1593 and 1595. My main argument is that the mapping of the Long War was a key-moment in the making of a new cartographic genre, that of the theatre of war, which was to be fixed considerably later, in the early eighteenth-century, by Carel Allard's atlas, *Magnum Theatrum Belli*³⁰.

23

THE MAIN HUBS OF CARTOGRAPHIC PRODUCTION

When cataloguing the printed maps related to the Long War, a network of hubs and nodes of cartographic production clearly emerges. Its focal point was Augsburg, encircled by a core region that included Frankfurt, Köln, and Nuremberg³¹. At the periphery of the network were placed important printing centres such as Rome, Antwerp, Amsterdam, or politically significant ones, such as Prague³². Venice, one of the most important centres of sixteenth-century cartographic commerce, is missing; and the reasons for this unexpected absence are political³³.

29 Obviously, the three genres were closely entangled. Of the three, better studied are the military maps (see above footnote 26) and the propaganda maps, see Robert Born, "Daker und Türken. Antikenrezeption und kartographisches Wissen im Dienste der Propaganda für den siebenbürgischen Fürsten Sigismund Báthory", in *Con bella maniera, Festgabe für Peter Seiler*, eds. Michail Chatzidakis, Henrike Haug, et al. (Heidelberg: Arthistoricum.net, 2021), 311-40 and Robert Born, "Maps and Propaganda. The Example of Transylvania During the Long Turkish War", *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 60 (2022): 45-76.

30 Carel Allard, *Magnum theatrum belli, quousque se hodie in orbe extendit* (Amsterdam: 1702).

31 The main editors involved in the production of maps (but not only) related to the Long War had been Theodor de Bry, Theodor Meurer, Jakob Friedlieb, and Conrad Memmius (Frankfurt), Alexander Mair and Dominic Custos (Augsburg), Johann Sibmacher, Lucas Mayr, Levinus Hulsius and Hieronymus Ortelius (Nuremberg), Matthias Quad and Peter Querradt (Köln).

32 Maps related to the Long War were published by Cornelius de Jode (Antwerp), Cornelius Nicol (Amsterdam), Giovanni Batista Cavalieri and Nicander Philippius Funadanus (Rome), Jacobus Pross (Prague),

33 The only two exceptions I was able to find are a battle map and a siege map. The first was that of the battle fought near Raab that involved Don Giovanni de Medici, Girolamo Porro, *Disegno di Iaverino con le tre fattioni seguite tra*

The Serenissima's cautious neutrality during the Long War directly hindered the printing of war-related maps³⁴. The Venetian cartographic silence becomes even more manifest when contrasted with the intense activity during the previous Ottoman-Habsburg war (1565-1568). Out of the thirty-six dated plates issued in Venice in 1566, no fewer than eight were associated with the Ottoman wars³⁵. Most of the Venetian war maps were an innovative mixture of bird's eye views and close-ups³⁶. A year later, in 1567, the two competing composite atlases of town views published almost simultaneously by Domenico Zenoi and Paulo Forlani included a significant number of sieged cities from the Hungarian front³⁷. Even after the end of the war, in the early 1570's, the pseudo-isolarii, which closely resembled composite war atlases, merged into a single booklet the two Ottoman fronts, the first in the Eastern Mediterranean, directly involving the Venetians, and the second in Central

gl' Imperiali e Turchi, [Venice] 1594. The second was the map of the siege of Agria (Eger), engraved by Giacomo Franco: *Citta principalissa et fortissa nell' Hungaria superiore Assediata dall' Cessereito Turchesco l'anno 1596*, [Venice], 1596. See <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/75385/agria-citta-principalissa-et-fortissa-nell-hungaria-super-franco> [accessed January 28, 2025]. I suspect that Franco prepared this map for his 1597 composite atlas, *Descrittione geografica delle isole, citta' e fortezze che si trovano in mare nel viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli*. Significantly, in the end the published version included only maps pertaining to the Ottomans' expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean (*si trovano in mare*), without any reference to the Hungarian Habsburg front. The 1597 atlas opened with a revolutionary map, entitled *Description of all what the Turks held in Europe* (*Descrittione di quello che i turchi possedono in Europa*), which might be considered the prototype for the later "Turkey in Europe" maps. For Giacomo Franco's printing activity in Venice see Carlo Pasero, "Giacomo Franco, editore, incisore, calcografo nei secoli XVI e XVII", *La Bibliofilia* 37 (1935): 332-56. Obviously, some maps of the regions had been published in Venice during those years, but without any explicit or implicit reference to the ongoing war, see for instance *Di Hungaria et Transilvania Tavola Novissima* included in the sixth edition of Ruscelli's translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* published in 1598.

- 34 For Venice's neutrality during the Long War, see Kenneth M. Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the seventeenth century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991), 7-23.
- 35 David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors, and Consumers* (London: The British Library, 1997), 45.
- 36 Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: print, the city, and early modern identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 155-60.
- 37 For a comparison between the two books, see Albert Ganado, "The Forlani-Zenoi town books of 1567 a description and analysis", in *Florilegium cartographicum: Beitrage zur Kartographie-geschichte und Vedutenkunde des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: Fritz Hellwig zu Ehren*, eds. Peter H. Kohl and Peter H. Meurer (Leipzig: Pfaehler, 1993), 21-34. For a specific analysis of the Hungarian town views see Béla Szalai, "The Representation of the Hungarian Towns in Domenico Zenoi's and Paolo Forlani's Cartographic Work", *Cartography & Geoinformation*, 11/18 (2012): 4-37.

Europe, where the Serenissima closely observed the Habsburgs' advancements or retreats³⁸. Although the bird's eye view continued to dominate war cartography, Venetian mapmakers tentatively tried to find alternative ways of conveying a more comprehensive picture of the theatre of conflict by using chorographic maps. Already in 1565 Ferrando Bertelli was publishing a map entitled *Austria e Ungaria Nova Descriptio*³⁹. Taking its cartographic content from Lazius's map of Hungary, Bertelli meddled with the original territorial frame, cutting his map from Belgrade in the lower right corner to Linz, nearby the upper left one. The map frame was suggestive, but Bertelli restrained from adding any explicit reference to the Ottomans and to the ongoing war. In contrast, Paulo Forlani had a bolder approach when he designed his *theatrum belli* map printed in Venice in 1566 (the one reissued by Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri in Rome in 1594)⁴⁰. Starting from one of Gastadi's maps, Forlani cut out a frame that fitted the current theatre of war, from Vidin to Vienna, adding several vignettes with the Habsburg and the Ottoman troops and fortifications⁴¹. It was a ground-breaking approach in mapping the Ottoman-Habsburg theatre of war, but it proved to be a false start, as Western cartographers continued to remain largely committed to the bird's eye view technique. Such mapping experiments multiplied during the Long War, but they no longer took place in Venice, but north of Alps. During the Long War, the role of Venice, as both a hub of cartographic production and a disseminating centre, was taken over by several German cities: Frankfurt, Augsburg, Köln, and Nuremberg. The German mapmakers and publishers continued to exploit the bird's eye views, which provided a vivid rendition of battles and sieges⁴². Hesitantly, they also tried to supplement and to complement the cartography of the Ottoman-Habsburg Long War by using regional mapping. The most frequently used template was provided by Matthias Zündt's map of Hungary, as seven new editions were issued in three years (1594, 1595 and 1596), including Fundanus's version. Cornelis de Jode, the Antwerp-based cartographer, included a new version of Zündt's map in his atlas, *Speculum Orbis Terrae*, adding the portraits of the Sultan and of the Habsburg Emperor, along with a new caption of the 1594

38 See Marian Coman, "The Ottoman Mediterranean and the Renaissance Venetian Isolarii", *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 33 (2015): 127-48.

39 Ferrando Bertelli, *Austria e Ungaria Nova Descriptio*, [Venice] 1565. See <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/75425/austria-e-ungaria-nova-descriptio-bertelli> [accessed January 28, 2025].

40 Paolo Forlani, *Ungaria et Transilvania con li confini*, Venice, 1566, available at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ungaria_et_Transilvania_con_li_Confini_\(FL35073019_2535181\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ungaria_et_Transilvania_con_li_Confini_(FL35073019_2535181).jpg) [accessed January 28, 2025].

41 As one might expect, the map is most vivid around Vienna, with several troops under different banners (crosses, crescents and the Habsburg eagles) moving on the city. The Sultan's tent is depicted nearby Buda, with its gold and silver treasure carried by camels.

42 As these maps are not relevant for the subject I investigate in this article, I will refer only incidentally to them. However, one needs to remember that these maps were far more numerous than the chorographic ones, probably to a ratio of 90%.

fighths around the city of Győr⁴³. In the following two years, new versions of the same map were printed as separate sheets by Jacobus Pross in Prague, by Balthasar Caymox in Nuremberg, by Alexander Mair in Augsburg, by Theodor de Bry in Frankfurt and by Jan van Deutecum in Amsterdam⁴⁴. Their contributions to Zündt's original map were often reduced to the redrawing of the cartouche, in more martial tones, or to the addition of some new vignettes. For instance, Theodor de Bry used the image of the fallen Turk for his cartouche, while Jan van Deutecum replaced the original icon of a rather chaotic fight with the image of a clash between two very ordered armies⁴⁵. The overuse of Zündt's map points to the homogeneity of the network of mapmakers, printers and engravers that extended from Frankfurt to Amsterdam and from Prague to Rome, but it also suggests a shortage of templates. Zündt provided an easily accessible prototype, but one that was only partially suitable to the mapping of the Long War. Vast areas of the theatre of war laid outside of Zündt's territorial frame, whereas some other regions included on his map were not affected by the ongoing conflict.

The stimulus for devising new spatial frames, more suitable for capturing the territorial extension of the Ottoman-Habsburg conflict, came from a secondary actor in the Long War: Sigismund Báthory, the prince of Transylvania. Trying to take advantage of the larger conflict, Sigismund claimed the rulership over the two Ottoman tributary states of Wallachia and Moldavia, in an attempt to shape for himself a buffer polity on the Danube frontier between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. In order to publicize his claims, he turned to cartographic propaganda and asked the German printers from Augsburg and Köln to produce several maps⁴⁶.

43 *Hungariae totius uti ex compluribus aliorum geographicis chartis*, Antwerp, 1594. The map is available on the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum website, <https://www.museummap.hu/record/-/record/oai-aggregated-bib10699054> [accessed January 29, 2025].

44 On these editions, see Tibor Szathmáry, *Descriptio Hungariae, Magyarország és Erdély nyomtatott térképei (1477-1600)* (Fusignano: Grafiche Morandi, 1987), 159 and Lajos Szántai, *Atlas Hungaricus. Magyarország nyomtatott térképei 1528-1850*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1996), 371. For the fate of the original copper plate, that repeatedly changed hands, see Peter H. Meurer, "Der Nürnberger Verlag Caymox und die Kartographie", *Quaerendo*, 23.1 (1993): 29-30. To this already long list, one could also add the simplified version of Zündt's map, such as the one published by Georg Kress in Augsburg in 1595, *Hungaria Regnum*, or by Johannes Matalius Metellus in Cologne in 1598, *Hungaria Ungarn*.

45 Theodor de Bry, *Vetustissimi potentissimique Hungariae regni*, Frankfurt, 1596 (available on Gallica, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8469714z> [accessed January 29, 2025]) and Jan van Deutecum, *Nova et recens emendata totius Regni Ungariae una cum adiacentibus et finitimis regionibus delineatio*, Amsterdam, 1596 (available on the Library of Congress, although mistakenly ascribed, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017586292/> [accessed January 29, 2025]).

46 For the geopolitical context, see Ovidiu Cristea, and Ovidiu Olar, "War and Diplomacy in the Black Sea Region during the 'Long War' (1593-1606)", in *From Pax Mongolica to Pax Ottomanica. War, Religion and Trade in the Northwestern Black Sea Region (14th-16th centuries)*, eds. Ovidiu Cristea, and Liviu Pilar

Thus, Sigismund's ambitions were visually endorsed by the maps printed in 1596 by Alexander Mair and Domenic Custos from Augsburg and by Matthias Quad from Köln⁴⁷. These propaganda maps used abundant vignettes and illustrations to praise the Transylvanian price, but, as I will argue in the last section of this article, they also played creatively with the territorial frame.

Last but not least, an important group of printed maps of the Long War were produced in close connection to the dissemination of news. As early as 1593, in Nuremberg, Johann Hans Sibmacher printed a map of the region where the spark that ignited the Long War had struck⁴⁸. *Croatia cum finitimis locis versus Turcarum ditionem* was accompanied by an explanatory text that survived only because the publisher decided to include it as an addition to his reprint of Bessarion's orations against the Turks⁴⁹. Sibmacher was not the only German publisher that came with the idea of putting out for sale a map of Croatia, enabling his buyers to visualize the front of the ongoing war. A year later, in 1594, a broadsheet published in Augsburg by Georg Kress included as illustration a map of Croatia overlapped by two vignettes⁵⁰. The map was based on Cornelis de Jode's *Croatia* included in the 1593 edition of *Speculum*, as it faithfully reproduced not only its title, but also the location of the vignettes depicting military troops⁵¹. The Augsburg publisher added

(Boston-Leiden: Brill, 2020), 228-48. For Sigismund Báthory's propaganda of the tripartite federation comprising Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia ("Salus Daciae"), see Born, "Maps and Propaganda", 63-9.

- 47 Alexander Mair, *Transylvaniae, Moldaviae, Valachiae, vicinarumque regionum nova descriptio*, Augsburg 1596 (available at <https://dspace.oszk.hu/handle/20.500.12346/80688;jsessionid=967DE6EA1A9D1AE0BE36E1F9DE98249C> [accessed January 29, 2025]); Domenicus Custos, *Moldavia, Valachia, et Tartariae pars*, Augsburg 1596 (available at https://dspace.oszk.hu/bitstream/handle/20.500.12346/80685/App.M_0120_1024.jpg?sequence=2&isAllowed=y [accessed January 29, 2025]); Domenicus Custos, *Transylvania/ Sibenbürgen*, Augsburg 1596; Matthias Quad, *Celeberrimi tractus Danubiani pars praecipua ab Austriae Vienna Constantinopolim usque se protendens Ungariam Transulvaniamque complectens*, Cologne, 1596. For an analysis of the visual elements of these maps, see Born, "Daker und Türken", 320-330 and Born, "Maps and Propaganda", 63-9. For Custos see also Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, "Der Augsburger Kupferstecher Dominicus Custos und Ungarn", *Folia Archaeologica* 67 (1966): 227-49.
- 48 Johann Sibmacher, *Croatia cum finitimis locis uersus Turcarum ditionem* (Nuremberg, 1593), available at <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/44246/croatia-cum-finitimis-locis-uersus-turcarum-ditionem-1593-siebmacher> [accessed January 29, 2025].
- 49 Bessarion, *Orationes duae accuratissimae [...]* (Nuremberg, 1593). The map explanation is introduced by the following title: *Brevis descriptio incursionum turcarum in Croatiam factarum Anno Christi MDXCII usque ad hoc tempus, cum explicatione praecipuorum locorum tabule praesentis chorographicae*.
- 50 Georg Kress, *Der Rom: Kayserl. Mayestat Rudolphi II. Unsers Aller Gnädigsten Herrens, wie auch des Turggischen Keyzers Amuraths III [...]* (Augsburg, 1594).
- 51 *Croatiae & Circumiacentium Regionum versus Turcam Nova Delineatio in*

to the Dutch cartographic material two vignettes that illustrated the *casus belli* that triggered the Long War, a frontier skirmish between a Bosnian Pasha and a Habsburg border captain⁵². The map was printed in the upper half of a larger broadsheet that comprised four columns of text that, once again, placed the Long War in a *longue-durée* perspective, as it covered the 1395-1594 period, ending with the latest news. A year later, the theatre of war already extended from Croatia into Hungary, and Georg Kress looked for a way to update their cartographical illustration. His unspectacular but efficient solution was to extent the 1594 illustration by adding a map of Hungary, with the use of a variant published by Mercator a decade earlier⁵³. Thus, the Augsburg broadsheet editor allowed his readers to follow cartographically the progression of the Habsburg-Ottoman theatre of war, narrated in the text below the map. The survival of these broadsheets is a most fortunate case, as such news maps were cartographic ephemera rapidly discarded that rarely made their way into the archives, as they quickly became, quite literally, yesterday's news⁵⁴. Nonetheless, some of the cartographic illustrations of the broadsheets made their way into a more enduring genre, that of the so-called *meßrelation*, prints developed in connection to the Frankfurt book fairs that reported yearly on the recent political and military events⁵⁵. Sometimes, these yearly reports were reprinted in collected formats to

Cornelis de Jode, *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1593). For a detailed analysis of this map, see Mirko Grčić, "Historical-geographical analysis of the Cornelis de Jode's map 'Croatia versus Turcam' from 1593", *Glasnik Srpskog geografskog društva*, 97/1 (2017): 81-108. For a larger overview, see Mirela Slukan Altić, "Between the Cross and the Crescent: Countries Bordering the Ottoman Empire in the Eyes of Dutch Cartographers", *The Cartographic Journal*, 49/2 (2012): 118-24.

52 Palmira Brummett assumed that the combined version was compiled by De Jode, using illustrations brought to him from the Frankfurt book fair, see Brummett, *Mapping*, 232-33. However, the two Frankfurt broadsheets that used the map, of whose existence Brummett was unaware of, clarify the matter.

53 The German broadsheet had a Latin title *Nova Totius Hungarie, Croatiae et partis Turcicae Chorographia*, followed by a German one: *Cosmographische Beschreibung des Königreich Hungern auch Crabaten und eins theils in Türckey* (Frankfurt, 1594). I am extremely grateful to my colleague and friend, Robert Born, for sending me digital scans of the two, very rare, broadsheets.

54 I use the concept of cartographical ephemerality not in the larger sense proposed by Christian Jacob (ephemeral vs. monumental maps), but rather in the restricted one advanced by Catherine Delano-Smith ("cheap and popular maps, easily damaged and discarded, such as maps in news-sheets and pamphlets"), see Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 33-46 and Catherine Delano Smith, "Map Ownership in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge: The Evidence of Probate Inventories", *Imago Mundi*, 47 (1995): 77.

55 For the development of this genre, see Klaus Bender, *Relationes Historicae. Ein Bestandsverzeichnis der deutschen Meßrelationen von 1583 bis 1648* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994) and Juliane Glüer, *Meßrelationen um 1600 – ein neues Medium zwischen aktueller Presse und Geschichtsschreibung. Eine textsortengeschichtliche*

cover longer periods of time⁵⁶. Thus, the *Relatio Historica Quinquennalis* published at Frankfurt by Conrad Memmius, a volume of more than 500 pages, included among other illustrations the map of Croatia printed in the 1594 broadsheet⁵⁷.

The Long War news shaped a market for the Hungarian history books that German publishers quickly seized. Two chronological compendia of Hungary were published by Levinus Hulsius in Nuremberg, in 1595, and by Theodor de Bry in Frankfurt, in 1596⁵⁸. Both publishers mainly used bird's eye views for cartographic illustration, but Hulsius also decided to add a regional map of Hungary⁵⁹. It was a rather unusual

Untersuchung (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2000). Unfortunately, Virginia Dillon's unpublished dissertation only captures the last years of the Long War, see Virginia Dillon, *News of Transylvania in the German printed periodicals of the Seventeenth Century, from István Bocskai to György II Rákóczi* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2013).

29

56 For this transition from ephemeral formats to more enduring ones, see Noah Millstone, "Designed for collection: early modern news and the production of history", *Media History*, 23/2 (2017): 181-82.

57 Conrad Memmius, *Jacobi Franci Relatio Historica Quinquennalis: warhafftige Beschreibung aller fürnemmen unnd gedenckwürdigen Geschicht, so sich innerhalb funff Jahren, nemlich von Anno 1590. biß 1595. in hoch und nieder Teutschland, Braband, Holland, Seeland, Dennemarck, Schweden, Polen, Behem, Liffland, Franckreich, Engelland [...] Podolia und Türckey verlauffen und zugetragen haben* (Frankfurt, 1595). In the copy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek from Munich the map is placed in between pages 388 and 389. There is also the possibility that this map, printed on an unnumbered page, was added by the buyer to this particular copy.

58 Levinus Hulsius, *Chronologia Pannoniae Ein kurtze Beschreibung de Konigreichs Ungern* (Nuremberg, 1595) (with another edition in 1596) and Theodor de Bry, *Pannoniae historia chronologica: res per Ungariam, Transylvaniam iam inde a constitutione Regnorum illorum, usque ad invictiss. Rom. im. Rodolphum II. Vngariae regem christianum 40. et sereniss. Sigismundum Bathorium Trans. etc duce, maxime vere hoc bello gestae* (Frankfurt, 1596). The two publishers, one from Nuremberg, the other from Frankfurt, were working together. Thus, in the application for the printing privilege addressed to the Frankfurt authorities, de Bry acknowledged Hulsius's authorship for his own compilation, see Michiel van Groesen, *The De Bry collection of voyages (1590-1634): editorial strategy and the representations of the overseas world*, unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Amsterdam, 2007), 243. For Hulsius's sources with regard to Wallachia see Marian Coman, "Levinus Hulsius", in *Călători străini despre țările române. Supliment II*, eds. Ștefan Andreescu et al. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române 2016), 449-54.

59 Hulsius's map (*Deß Konigreichs Ungern Fürnembster theil, Geographische beschreibung Darzu ein kurtze Chronologia gemacht, was sich ald, Seyt hero Anno Christi 909 Biß auff den Monat September, deß 1595, Nuremberg, 1595*) is available at <https://mapy.mzk.cz/en/mzko3/001/052/245/2619316426/> [accessed January 28, 2025]. Some copies of de Bry's *Pannoniae* are bound with his version of Zündt's map, *Vetustissimi potentissimique Hungariae regni*, published in 1596; see for instance the copy from the University Library of Cluj, digitally

cartographic representation of Hungary, as its territorial frame was narrowed down, leaving out everything south of Balaton and east of Eger. The two portraits of the Sultan and of the Emperor, facing each other across the river Marcal, conveyed the meaning of the map: both rulers claimed and fought for the territories depicted on it. A few years later, a more than 200 pages-long volume was published in Nuremberg by Hieronymus Ortellius, comprising a historical description of the Ottoman wars in Hungary from the 1395 crusade to the ongoing Long War⁶⁰. The first edition of Ortellius's *Chronologia*, issued in 1602, was abundantly illustrated by 28 maps, 23 of which depicted Long War events. All maps used the same bird's eye technique to render sieges, battles and even executions. The 1613 edition increased the number of plates to 59, adding portraits of famous rulers involved in the wars and, most significantly, a chorographic map. The map, usually ascribed to the publisher, Johann Hans Sibmacher, was entitled *Totius Ungariae et Transylvaniae praecipuorumque Walachiae et Moldaviae locorum delineatio*⁶¹. The mapmaker heavily used Zündt's map of Hungary, but instead of reducing its territorial frame as Hulsius had done, he expanded it in order to include most of Wallachia and Moldavia. Evidently, the change was meant to capture better the theatre of war that had enlarged once the prince of Wallachia, Michael the Brave, rebelled against the Ottomans and even conquered briefly Transylvania and Moldavia.

The German network of mapmakers, engravers and publishers involved in producing printed materials related to the Long War had yet another connection, more difficult to investigate, that linked them to the manuscript military cartography. The impressive Angielini's atlas, studied by Geza Palffy, or the Tarnowskij's fortification maps analysed by James Krokár, offer only a few glimpses into the rich archival material of the late sixteenth-century manuscript military cartography generated by the Ottoman-Habsburg wars⁶². Unfortunately, the circulation of these manuscript maps is difficult to document and their influence is hard to assess⁶³. When it came to spatial framing, the military cartography was highly innovative on a local scale, when mapping fortifications. On a larger territorial scale, the military engineers were far more conservative and usually turned to conventional frames. For his manuscript

available at <https://dspace.bcucuj.ro/handle/123456789/40>, [accessed January 29, 2025]. The same map is also bound to the copy of de Bry's 1608 *Pannoniae* found in the collections of the same library, available at <https://dspace.bcucuj.ro/handle/123456789/45> [accessed January 29, 2025].

60 Hieronymus Ortellius [Oertel], *Chronologia der Historische beschreibung aller kriegsempörungen unnd belagerungen der Statt und Bestungen auch Scharmusseln und Schlachten so in Ober und Under Ungern auch Siebenbürgen mit dem Turcken von Anno 1395 biss auff gegen wertige Zeit denckh würtig geschehen* (Nuremberg, 1602).

61 The map is digitally available at the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, <http://diglib.hab.de/varia/karten/k-12-15/start.htm> [accessed January 29, 2025].

62 See above, footnote 26.

63 Krokár convincingly associated Tarnowskij's maps, drew in the last years of the Long War, with the anti-Ottoman crusading, without however being able to identify their intended audience, see Krokár, "New Means".

map of Croatia and Sclavonia, Angielini used the same framing template as most late sixteenth-century printed maps, based on Augustin Hirschvogel's format⁶⁴. Increasingly accurate in mapping fortress plans, route sketches and report maps, the late sixteenth century military cartographers were less concerned with providing a larger picture of the theatre of war. The task to convey cartographically an overall geographical image of the war was assumed instead by the propaganda cartography and by the news maps.

FRAMES AND GENRES

In the spring of 1593 the skirmishes on the Habsburg-Ottoman border in Croatia erupted into an open war. The battle of Sisak (22 June 1593) was the first major confrontation and news of the Christian victory spread quickly. By the end of the summer, an account of the battle was already printed in Vienna⁶⁵. As the war escalated, the consumption of news intensified. German publishers immediately sized this commercial opportunity and started to print, in different formats, materials pertaining to the war, incorporating the latest news from the front. In 1594 Georg Kress printed in Augsburg a large broadsheet comprising a summary of the Christian-Ottoman two-century long war⁶⁶. The chronological entries started with 1395, but almost half of the text referred to the events from the first two years of the Long War. Most importantly, Kress decided to add a cartographical illustration to his broadsheet. To this purpose, he used the most recent map of Croatia available, that of Cornelis de Jode from 1593. The map was perfectly fitted to the purpose, given its martial overtone⁶⁷. The map seems to have been a success, as it was incorporated in the *meßrelation* and chronological compendia printed in Frankfurt in connection to the book fair in 1595⁶⁸. However, by that moment, the Long War already expanded from Croatia into Hungary.

In the autumn of 1593 Sinan pasha's Ottoman army entered Habsburg Hungary and laid siege on several cities and fortresses. Győr (Raab) fell in the summer of 1594 and, once again, news spread rapidly. A bird's eye view of Raab's fall was printed

64 The popularity of this map was largely due to its inclusion in Ortelius's atlas, under the name *Schlavoniae, Croatiae, Carniae, Iстриae, Bosniae Finitimarumque Regionum Nova Descriptio*, auctore Avgvstino Hirschvogelio.

65 The publisher was Leonhard Nassinger: *Soli deo gloria. Neue Zeittung warer erhaltenen und erlangten Victori, so undter der Fuerst* (Vienna, 1593). The account was translated into English by mid-November, see Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 42-3.

66 Kress, *Der Rom*.

67 The Dutch cartographer followed closely the increasing tensions on the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier and he included on the 1593 map some vignettes with military troops facing each other. For a discussion on de Jode's accurate and up-to-date information on the Ottoman front in Croatia see Altić, "Between the Cross and the Crescent", 122-23.

68 Memmius, *Jacobi Franci* and de Bry, *Pannoniae historia*. See above footnotes 57 and 58.

in Germany shortly afterwards⁶⁹. If snapshots of the war could be relatively easily mapped, a much difficult challenge was to illustrate cartographically the whole theatre of conflict. For his 1595 broadsheet news Georg Kress used a simple method, expanding the previous year's illustration to the north, by simply adding a map of Hungary⁷⁰. His *Hungaria Regnum* was a simplified version of Zündt's 1567 map, transmitted through Mercator⁷¹. Although the result was cartographically awkward, as the two joint maps were drawn on different scales, it conveyed nonetheless the idea of an expanding theatre of war. By using Zündt's cartographic template Georg Kress was hardly original, as numerous publishers and mapmakers turned to the same map to illustrate the Long War⁷². Zündt's model had, nonetheless, an important shortcoming, as its geographical scope was too broad, covering on one of its diagonal axes the whole territory from Golubac to Vienna. As the Hungarian front was located in the western and north-western regions, much of the map was of little use in following news on the Long War.

In 1595 Hulsius advanced a bold solution to this problem, by simply cutting down the map to leave outside its frame much of Ottoman Hungary⁷³. His map was no longer a cartographic representation of Hungary, but of the ongoing theatre of war in Hungary. Hulsius's ground-breaking approach had no followers, partly due to the Renaissance mapmakers' reluctance to recognize cartographically the Ottoman expansion into Europe⁷⁴. Even more important however was the fact that Hulsius's map quickly became outdated, as the theatre of the Long War expanded once more, this time eastward.

In the autumn of 1594 the two tributary states of Wallachia and Moldavia rebelled against the sultan to join the Holy League. In the summer of 1595, news on the battles of Călugăreni, Târgoviște and Giurgiu, all in Wallachia, spread throughout Europe⁷⁵. When asked to produce images of these confrontations, emphasising the

69 *Aigentlicher abris der vestvng Rab so den 25 ivlv fom Tvrken pelegrt Anno Do. 1594, 1594*. The map is available at <https://militarymaps.rct.uk/ottoman-habsburg-wars-1521-1791/view-of-the-siege-of-raab-1594-gyor-gyor-moson-sopron-hungary-47deg4100n-17deg3806e> [accessed January 30, 2025].

70 Kress, *Nova Totius Hungarie*.

71 Gerhard Mercator, *Hungaria* (Duisburg, 1585). For Mercator's sources for this map see Csaplovics, "The Emergence", 91-100.

72 See above footnote 44.

73 Hulsius, *Deß Konigreichs Ungern*. See above footnote 59.

74 See Brummett, *Mapping*, 82-4 and Coman, "Ottoman Europe", 590-92.

75 Some of these prints have been included in the fourth volume of the collection *Mihai Viteazul în conștiința europeană. Vol. 4. Relatări și presă*, ed. Ion Ardeleanu and al. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1986). Two German prints were included in the series *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. III, ed. Maria Holban, M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, and Paul Cernovodeanu (Editura Științifică, 1971), 693-706. For a thorough analysis on the circulation of news related to the Wallachian front of the Long War see Ovidiu Cristea, *Puterea cuvintelor. Știri și război în secolele XV-XVI* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2014), 337-371.

miraculous elements such as the descent of a great eagle or the apparition of a comet, most engravers let their imagination fly⁷⁶. In contrast, mapmakers were constrained by the available cartographic material and by the pre-existing templates. The limitations of Zündt's map of Hungary became evident, as it captured only Western Wallachia with the capital city of Târgoviște placed exactly on its margins. One could extend slightly the right margin of the map eastward, as to include more of Wallachia. This was Johann Hans Sibmacher's approach, as he extended the map up to Giurgiu⁷⁷. However, such an improvised solution was inadequate when it came to illustrate cartographically Sigismund Báthory's ambitions.

Sigismund had been a key figure in disseminating the news of the battles on the Wallachian front, as he self-fashioned himself not only as prince of Transylvania, but also as ruler of Wallachia and Moldavia⁷⁸. His propaganda maps are filled with illustrations, from his portrait on Quad's map, to his coat of arms, genealogical tree and spectacular arch of triumph with him riding over a fallen Turk on Mair's map⁷⁹. Squeezing such an abundant visual material into a map posed some challenges and forced the mapmaker to adjust the territorial frame. Thus, Quad turned to the template of the course of the Danube, designed by Giacomo Gastaldi in mid-16th century⁸⁰. Unlike Quad, a regular mapmaker and author of a successful geographical atlas, Alexander Mair was an engraver who got involved only exceptionally in cartographic activities⁸¹. Unsurprisingly, in order to satisfy Sigismund's request, Mair turned to the same Giacomo Gastaldi's map.

The template suitable for Quad's purposes was far less adequate for Mair's aims. By covering the entire region from Constantinople to Vienna and by inserting Sigismund's portrait between those of the Sultan and of the Habsburg Emperor, Quad conveyed a clear political message. Sigismund's new polity was meant to be a buffer state in the way of the Ottomans' advancement. Mair instead had a more difficult and potentially troublesome task, as he had been asked to map Sigismund Bathory's dream polity. First of all, he had to manage the Habsburgs' sensibilities and to emphasise that Sigismund had no territorial ambition in Hungary. Hence,

-
- 76 Already de Bry's *Pannoniae historia chronologica* illustrated these episodes (on pages 106, 112, 121). The engravings were to be copied by different other publishers.
- 77 Sibmacher, *Totius Ungariae*. See footnote 61.
- 78 For the political roots of this idea, see Marius Diaconescu, "Gândirea politică a lui Ștefan Jósika, cancelarul principelui Sigismund Báthory (Paternitatea unei idei politice: unirea Transilvaniei cu Țara Românească și Moldova)", *Acta Transylvanica*, 1 (2004): 17-42.
- 79 Born, "Daker und Türken", 320-30 and Born, "Maps and Propaganda", 63-9.
- 80 For the origins and the widespread use of this template ("the Danubian frame"), see Veneri, "Framing", 29-33.
- 81 For Quad's mapmaking, including his use of news maps, see Bram Vannieuwenhuyze, "Entangled Maps; Topography and Narratives in Early Modern Story Maps", in *Motion in Maps, Maps in Motion. Mapping Stories and Movement through Time*, eds. Zef Segal and Bram Vannieuwenhuyze (Amsterdam: University Press, 2020), 67-75.

Mair abruptly cut out Gastaldi's template west of Belgrade, making sure to keep only Transylvania on the map and to leave outside Ottoman and Habsburg Hungary. Thus, he refocused the view on the three polities of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, preserving nonetheless the southern extension of the map up to Constantinople, according to the original template. The drawback, however, was the lack of space for displaying the rich iconography desired by Sigismund. Thus, Mair decided to extend the map eastward up to an oversized Crimea, transforming the Western Black Sea into a rather strangely looking lake⁸².

Another Augsburg-based engraver, Domenic Custos, who worked under the double patronage of Sigismund Báthory and of the Fuggers, chose a different path⁸³. Instead of a single map, he made two, a solution that partially solved the framing conundrum. Custos had no problems in mapping Transylvania, given the established cartographical tradition that went back for more than half century⁸⁴. The difficult part of the task was to design a pairing map to incorporate the polities of Wallachia and Moldavia⁸⁵. The newly designed map extended from Constantinople to Podolia and from western Crimea to eastern Carpathians. Under the eyes of both Sigismund and Rudolph II, whose portraits adorned the map, an angel armed with a cross was chasing a fleeing *Nequitia* who dropped a crescent. There was still a dissonance between the title of Custos's map and its cartographical content, but considerably diminished in comparison with Mair's. Although the propaganda cartography played creatively with spatial framing, it mainly advertised Sigismund Bathory's military victories and political claims through the visual elements added onto the maps.

There is a striking parallelism between the format adopted by Custos for his propaganda maps and the one used by Kress for his news maps. Both placed their cartographic representations above a consistent text, arranged in columns, inviting the viewers to place on the map the events they read about. In order to fit such a format, the publishers had to meddle with the territorial framing and to challenge the traditional templates. To conclude, the most ingenious ways of framing the Long War can be found neither in the atlases made by renowned cartographers, nor in the military plans drew by engineers, but rather in such cartographic ad hoc and ephemeral experiments.

82 For the involvement of the Crimean Khanate in the Long War see Ștefan Andreescu, "Wallachian Diplomacy During the Long War: Michael the Brave's Negotiations with the Chanate of Crimea", *Historical Yearbook*, 3 (2006): 29-54.

83 For Custos and the Fugger patronage, see Born, "Maps and Propaganda", 60.

84 Custos based his map on Sambucus's (1566), which in its turn used Honterus's template (1532), see Born, "Maps and Propaganda", 59-60.

85 Custos, *Moldavia, Valachia*. See footnote 47. One of the cartographic sources used by Custos was the map of Moldavia entitled *Moldaviae, Finitimarumque Regionum Typus* printed in Cologne in 1595 to illustrate a new edition of Reicherstorffer's *Chorographia Moldaviae*, which was published as an addition to Martin Broniowski's *Tartariae Descriptio*. The map, wrongfully labelled by Romanian scholars Reicherstorffer's map, is available at <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/111214/moldova-moldaviae-finitimarumque-regionum-typus-broniovius> [accessed January 30, 2025].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altić, Mirela Slukan. "Between the Cross and the Crescent: Countries Bordering the Ottoman Empire in the Eyes of Dutch Cartographers". *The Cartographic Journal*, 49/2 (2012): 118-24.
- Andreeescu, Ștefan et al., eds. *Călători străini despre țările române. Supliment II*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2016.
- Ardeleanu, Ion et al., eds. *Mihai Viteazul în conștiința europeană*. Vol. 4. *Relatări și presă*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1986.
- Bender, Klaus. *Relationes Historicae. Ein Bestandsverzeichnis der deutschen Meßrelationen von 1583 bis 1648*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994.
- Born, Robert. "The Ottoman Expansion and the Development of Cartography in East-Central Europe (15th-18th centuries)". *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 55 (2017): 121-52.
- Born, Robert. "Festung und Grenze. Die habsburgisch-osmanischen Auseinandersetzungen und die Entwicklung der Kartografie in Ostmitteleuropa". In *Beschreiben und Vermessen Raumwissen in der östlichen Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Reinhard Johler, and Josef Wolf, 227-97. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2020.
- Born, Robert. "Daker und Türken. Antikenrezeption und kartographisches Wissen im Dienste der Propaganda für den siebenbürgischen Fürsten Sigismund Báthory". In *Con bella maniera, Festgabe für Peter Seiler*, edited by Michail Chatzidakis, Henrike Haug, Lisa Marie Roemer, Ursula Rombach, 311-40. Heidelberg: Arthistoricum.net, 2021.
- Born, Robert. "Maps and Propaganda. The Example of Transylvania During the Long Turkish War". *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 60 (2022): 45-76.
- Brummett, Palmira. *Mapping the Ottomans*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Brunelli, Giampiero. *La santa impresa. Le crociate del papa in Ungheria (1595-1601)*. Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2018.
- Coman, Marian. "The Ottoman Mediterranean and the Renaissance Venetian Isolarii". *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 33 (2015): 127-48.
- Coman, Marian. "Ottoman Europe in Ortelius's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum". In *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Coğrafya ve Kartografya/ Geography and Cartography in the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Mahmut Ak, and Ahmet Üstüner, 589-606. Istanbul: University Press, 2024.
- Cristea, Ovidiu. *Puterea cuvintelor. Știri și război în secolele XV-XVI*. Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2014.
- Cristea Ovidiu, and Ovidiu Olar. "War and Diplomacy in the Black Sea Region during the 'Long War' (1593-1606)". In *From Pax Mongolica to Pax Ottomanica. War, Religion and Trade in the Northwestern Black Sea Region (14th-16th centuries)*, edited by Ovidiu Cristea, and Liviu Pilar, 228-249. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2020.
- Csaplovics, Elmar. "The Emergence of Early Regional Maps of Hungary and their Influence on the Mercator Maps of Hungary". In *A World of Innovation: Cartography in the Time of Gerhard Mercator*, edited by Gerhard Holzer, Valerie Newby, Petra Svatek, and Georg Zotti, 84-111. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.
- Delano-Smith, Catherine. "Map Ownership in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge: The

- Evidence of Probate Inventories". *Imago Mundi*, 47 (1995): 67–93.
- Diaconescu, Marius. "Gândirea politică a lui Ștefan Jósika, cancelarul principelui Sigismund Báthory (Paternitatea unei idei politice: unirea Transilvaniei cu Țara Românească și Moldova)". *Acta Transylvanica*, 1 (2004): 17–42.
- Dillon, Virginia. *News of Transylvania in the German printed periodicals of the Seventeenth Century, from István Bocskai to György II Rákóczi*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Oxford, 2013.
- Ganado, Albert. "The Forlani-Zenoi town books of 1567 a description and analysis". In *Florilegium cartographicum: Beiträge zur Kartographie-geschichte und Vedutenkunde des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: Fritz Hellwig zu Ehren*, edited by Peter H. Kohl, and Peter H. Meurer, 21–34. Leipzig: Pfahler, 1993.
- Glüer, Juliane. *Meßrelationen um 1600 – ein neues Medium zwischen aktueller Presse und Geschichtsschreibung. Eine textsortengeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Göttingen: Kümmerle, 2000.
- Grčić, Mirko. "Historical-geographical analysis of the Cornelis de Jode's map 'Croatia versus Turcam' from 1593". *Glasnik Srpskog geografskog društva*, 97/1 (2017): 81–108.
- Groesen, Michiel van. *The De Bry collection of voyages (1590–1634): editorial strategy and the representations of the overseas world*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2007.
- Holban Maria, Maria M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, and Paul Cernovodeanu. *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. III. Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1971.
- Ingram, Anders. *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Jacob, Christian. *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, edited by Edward H. Dahl, and translated by Tom Conley. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Krokar, James P. "New Means to an Old End: Early Modern Maps in the Service of an Anti-Ottoman Crusade". *Imago Mundi*, 60/1 (2008): 23–38.
- Lorizzo, Loredana. "Nicolas van Aelst's Will and a List of his Plates". *Print Quarterly*, 31/1 (2014): 3–20.
- Marino, John A. "An anti-campanellan vision of the Spanish Monarchy and the crisis of 1595". In *A Renaissance of conflicts: visions and revisions of law and society in Italy and Spain*, edited by John A. Marino, and Thomas Kuehn, 367–94. Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2004.
- Meurer, Peter H. "Der Nürnberger Verlag Caymox und die Kartographie". *Quaerendo*, 23/1 (1993): 24–43.
- Millstone, Noah. "Designed for collection: early modern news and the production of history". *Media History*, 23/2 (2017): 177–98.
- Niederkorn, Jan Paul. *Die europäischen Mächte und der 'lange Türkenkrieg' Kaiser Rudolfs II (1593–1606)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993.
- Pálffy, Géza. *Die Anfänge der Militärkartographie in der Habsburgermonarchie. Die regelmäßige kartographische Tätigkeit der Burgbaumeisterfamilie Angielini an den kroatisch-slavonischen und den ungarischen Grenzen in den Jahren 1560–1570*. Budapest: Archívum, 2011.

- Papp, Júlia. "Az 1526. évi mohácsi csata helyszínének emlékezete". *Történelmi Szemle*, 62/3 (2021): 383-425.
- Pasero, Carlo. "Giacomo Franco, editore, incisore, calcografo nei secoli XVI e XVII". *La Bibliofilia*, 37 (1935): 332-56.
- Pesiri, Giovanni. "Nicandro Filippini da Fondi, autore di una carta dell'Ungheria (1595) e agente della Tipografia Orientale Medicea alla fiera di Francoforte del 1594". *Annali del Lazio Meridionale, Nuova Serie*, 43-44/1 (2022): 75-102.
- Radway, Robyn D. "Brief Notes on the Long War in the Early Modern News Cycle". *Austrian History Yearbook*, 50 (2019): 17-33.
- Setton, Kenneth M. *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the seventeenth century*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991.
- Svatek, Petra. "Wolfgang Lazius A Viennese Scholar of the 16th Century and his Political and Historical Maps". *IMCoS. Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society*, 104 (2006): 36-46.
- Svatek, Petra. "Rei contra Turcas gestae anno MDLVI brevis descriptio. Eine Geschichtskarte des Wolfgang Lazius aus dem Jahre 1557". In *Festschrift für Univ.-Prof. Dr.-Ing. Kurt Brunner anlässlich des Ausscheidens aus dem aktiven Dienst*, edited by Hans-Dieter Beineke, Thomas Horst, Otto Heunecke, and Uwe Kleim, 237-48. München: Universität der Bundeswehr, 2012.
- Szalai, Béla. "The Representation of the Hungarian Towns in Domenico Zenoi's and Paolo Forlani's Cartographic Work". *Cartography & Geoinformation*, 11/18 (2012): 4-37.
- Szántai, Lajos. *Atlas Hungaricus. Magyarország nyomtatott térképei 1528-1850*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1996.
- Szathmáry, Tibor. *Descriptio Hungariae, Magyarország és Erdély nyomtatott térképei (1477-1600)*. Fusignano: Grafiche Morandi, 1987.
- Török, Zsolt Győző. "16th century fortification atlases of the Habsburg-Ottoman border zone". In *A World of Innovation: Cartography in the Time of Gerhard Mercator*, edited by Gerhard Holzer, Valerie Newby, Petra Svatek, and Georg Zotti, 63-83. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.
- Vannieuwenhuyze, Bram. "Entangled Maps Topography and Narratives in Early Modern Story Maps". In *Motion in Maps, Maps in Motion. Mapping Stories and Movement through Time*, edited by Zef Segal, and Bram Vannieuwenhuyze, 57-80. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.
- Veneri, Toni. "Framing Southeastern Europe: Patterns in Cartographical Regionalization (1477-1636)". *CAS Sofia Working Paper Series*, 10 (2018): 1-39.
- Veszprémy, László. "King Sigismund of Luxemburg at Golubac (Galamboc) 1428". *Transylvanian Review*, 18, supplement 2 (2009): 299-300.
- Wilhelmb, Gizella Cennerné. "Der Augsburger Kupferstecher Dominicus Custos und Ungarn". *Folia Archaeologica*, 67 (1966): 227-49.
- Wilson, Bronwen. *The World in Venice: print, the city, and early modern identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Witcombe, Christopher. *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Woodward, David. "Paolo Forlani: Compiler, Engraver, Printer, or Publisher?". *Imago Mundi*, 44 (1992): 45-64.

Woodward, David. *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors, and Consumers*. London: The British Library, 1997.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Maps (ordered chronologically)

- 1565, Ferrando Bertelli. *Austria e Ungaria Nova Descriptio*. Venice.
- 1566 Paolo Forlani. *Ungaria et Transilvania con li confine*. Venice.
- 1566 Paolo Forlani. *Vera et ultima discriptione di tutta l'Austria, Ungheria, Transilvania, Dalmatia, et altri paesi*. Venice.
- 1567 Matthias Zündt. *Nova totius Ungariae descriptio accurata diligens desumpta ex pluribus aliorum editis cosmographicis chartis et typis aereis*. Nuremberg.
- 1570 Abraham Ortelius. *Schlavoniae, Croatiae, Carniae, Istriae, Bosniae Finitimarumque Regionum Nova Descriptio*, auctore Avgvstino Hirsvogelio. Antwerp.
- 1585 Gerhard Mercator. *Hungaria*. Duisburg.
- 1592 Giovanni Batista de Cavalleri. *Il vero ritratto della Forteza di Bichat asituata in mezo del Fiume Vna in Crouatia asediata da Turchi il mese de Giugno 1592*. Rome.
- 1593 Cornelis de Jode. *Croatiae & Circumiacentium Regionum versus Turcam Nova Delineatio*. Antwerp.
- 1593 Johann Sibmacher. *Croatia cum finitimis locis uersus Turcarum ditionem*. Nuremberg.
- 1594 Cornelis de Jode. *Hungariae totius uti ex compluribus aliorum geographicis chartis*. Antwerp.
- 1594 Giovanni Batista de Cavalleri. *Ungaria et Transilvania, con li confine*. Rome.
- 1594 Girolamo Porro. *Disegno di Iaverino con le tre fattioni seguite tra gl' Imperiali e Turchi*. [Venice].
- 1595 Georg Kress. *Hungaria Regnum*. Augsburg.
- 1595 Moldaviae, Finitimarumque Regionum Typus. Cologne.
- 1595 Levinus Hulsius. *Deß Konigreichs Ungern Fürnembster theil, Geographische beschreibung*. Nuremberg.
- 1595 Nicander Philippus Fundanus. *Nova et Exactissima Totius Ungariae Descriptio ad Praesentem Rerum Statum Concinnata*. Rome.
- 1596 Giacomo Franco. *Citta principalissa et fortissa nell' Hungaria superiore Assediata dall' Cssereito Turchesco l'anno 1596*. [Venice].
- 1596 Theodor de Bry. *Vetustissimi potentissimique Hungariae regni*. Frankfurt.
- 1596 Jan van Deutecum. *Nova et recens emendata totius Regni Ungariae una cum adiacentibus et finitimis regionibus delineation*. Amsterdam.
- 1596 Alexander Mair. *Transylvaniae, Moldaviae, Valachiae, vicinarumque regionum nova description*. Augsburg.
- 1596 Domenicus Custos. *Moldavia, Valachia, et Tartariae pars*. Augsburg.
- 1596 Domenicus Custos. *Transylvania/ Sibenbürgen*. Augsburg.
- 1596 Matthias Quad. *Celeberrimi tractus Danubiani pars praecipua ab Austriae Vienna Constantinopolim usque se protendens Ungariam Transulvaniamque complectens*. Cologne.
- 1598 Johannes Matalius Metellus. *Hungaria Ungarn*. Cologne.
- 1598 Girolamo Ruscelli. *Di Hungaria et Transilvania Tavola Novissima*. Venice.

1613 Johann Hans Sibmacher. *Totius Ungariae et Transylvaniae praecipuorumque Walachiae et Moldaviae locorum delineatio*. Nuremberg.

PRINTED SOURCES

- Allard, Carel. *Magnum theatrum belli, quousque se hodie in orbe extendit*. Amsterdam, 1702.
- Bessarion. *Orationes duae accuratissimae [...] quarum una de periculis imminentibus propter Turcicas irruptiones, altera de discordiis secandis & bello in Turcam decernendo, ad eosdem perdocte tractat*. Nuremberg, 1593.
- Broniowski, Martin. *Tartariae descriptio, antehac in lucem numquam edita, cum tabula geographica ejusdem Chersonesus Tauricae. Item Transsylvaniae ac Moldaviae aliarumque vicinarum regionum succincta descriptio Georgii a Reichersdorff*. Cologne, 1595.
- Bry, Theodor de. *Pannoniae historia chronologica: res per Ungariam, Transylvaniam iam inde a constitutione Regnorum illorum, usque ad invictiss. Rom. im. Rodolphum II. Vngariae regem christianum 40. et sereniss. Sigismundum Bathorium Trans. etc ducem, maxime vere hoc bello gestae*. Frankfurt, 1596. Another edition from 1608.
- Franco, Giacomo. *Descrittione geografica delle isole, citta' e fortezze che si trovano in mare nel viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli*. Venice, 1597.
- Hulsius, Levinus. *Chronologia Pannoniae. Ein kurtze Beschreibung de Konigreichs Ungern*. Nuremberg, 1595. 2nd edition in 1596.
- Jode, Cornelis de. *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1593.
- Kress, Georg. *Der Rom: Kayserl. Mayestat Rudolphi II. Unsers Aller Gnädigsten Herrens, wie auch des Turggischen Keyzers Amuraths III [...]*. Augsburg, 1594.
- Kress, Georg. *Nova Totius Hungarie, Croatiae et partis Turcicae Chorographia. Cosmographische Beschreibung des Königreich Hungern auch Crabaten und eins theils in Türckey*. Frankfurt, 1594.
- Kress, Georg. *Neue Zeytung: kurtze Anzeigung, welcher Gestalt die Sibenbürger, Moldawer, vnd Wallachen die gewaltige Statt vnd Vestung Simblt in der Moldaw an der Thonaw gelegen*. Augsburg, 1595.
- Memmius, Conrad. *Jacobi Franci Relatio Historica Quinquennalis: warhafftige Beschreibung aller fürnemmen unnd gedenckwürdigen Geschicht, so sich innerhalb funff Jahren, nemlich von Anno 1590. biß 1595. in hoch und nieder Teutschland, Braband, Holland, Seeland, Dennemarck, Schweden, Polen, Behem, Liffland, Franckreich, Engelland [...] Podolia und Türckey verlauffen und zugetragen haben*. Frankfurt, 1595.
- Nassinger, Leonhard. *Soli deo gloria. Neue Zeittung warer erhaltenen und erlangten Victori, so undter der Fuerst*. Vienna, 1593.
- Ortelius, Abraham. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1570.
- Ortelius [Oertel], Hieronymus. *Chronologia der Historische beschreibung aller kriegsempörungen unnd belagerungen der Statt und Bestungen auch Scharmusseln und Schlachten so in Ober und Under Ungern auch Siebenbürgen mit dem Turcken von Anno 1395 biss auff gegen wertige Zeit denckh würtig geschehen*. Nuremberg, 1602. 2nd edition Nuremberg, 1603.