# MAPS AND MAPMAKERS OF TRANSYLVANIA

The early mapping of Transylvania – and for the purpose of this paper here I will also include the area known as the Partium and also the Temeş Banat region – not surprisingly, has been closely connected to Central Europe in general and to Hungary in particular; but surprisingly enough to England as well. The area of present-day Hungary is already represented as *Pannonia*, and Transylvania as *Dacia* in Claudio Ptolemaios's (fl.c. 127-180 A.D.) *Geography,* written in 2nd century Alexandria. However, early Christianity's preference for a theocentric, as opposed to a geocentric, world meant that religion dominated medieval thought for the next thousand years and the science of geography declined. Maps, where confirmation of faith was more important than geographical realities, were little more than schematic representation of Christianity. The so-called *T-O* maps, where the east is uppermost, consist of a horizontal line separating Asia at the top from Europe and Africa below is formed by the River Don (*Tanais*), the Sea of Azov, the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmora, the Aegean, and the Nile. The Mediterranean, as a radius, joins this diameter at right angles and thus forms the vertical line of the letter *T*, and the ocean encircling the universe being the letter *O*. Maps of this type were produced in large numbers and a wide variety of sizes, varying between a mere 3 cm up to 3½ meters in diameter, such as the now lost *Ebstorf* map. This, the largest map of the Middle Ages, had been produced during the first decades of the thirteenth century, possibly by Gervasius of Tilbury (c.1160-c.1234), as an altar-piece for the Abbey of Ebstorf. Here, the area representing Central Europe, is bisected by the River Danube (*Ister*) and shows *Dacia regio quae et Gotia orientalis*. Another mappamundi, surviving in the 12th century manuscript copy of the Imago Mundi by Henry of Mainz (d. 1153) is now thought to have been made at Durham, England. The oval map, which is now held in the archives of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in England, shows the Danube (*Danubius*) from its source in Germany (*Alemannia*) and "Dascia et Russia" is placed near the delta of the river.

Late in the 13th century another world map of the T-O type was made in England, the now famous *Hereford Mappa Mundi*. The map, drawn on a single piece of animal skin, probably of a calf, measuring 1.5 meters by 1.3 meters (exact measurements are: 158 cm by 133 cm) is kept at Hereford Cathedral and is one of the most important and interesting works of art to survive from medieval England. As well as representing the known world, the map is also an encyclopaedia of contemporary knowledge, but most of all it is a statement of faith, with Jerusalem at its center and Christ sitting enthroned in judgement on humanity at the apex of the map. On his right the saved are rising from their graves and led by angels up to heaven, while on his left the damned are dragged by demons down to hell. Below it, at the very top of the map, in a circle the Garden of Eden is shown with Adam and the Serpent tempting Eve, and their subsequent expulsion from Paradise to the right. This most precious map is also rich in scenes from classical mythology and history. Biblical accounts and pictures of strange peoples and exotic animals fill the spaces left by contemporary geographical knowledge. The author of the map is named in the text at the lower left-hand corner as "Richard of Haldingham or Sleaford" (fl. 1260-1278), requesting a prayer for his soul. Here, in common with all other T-O maps, east is at the top, and Europe is drawn in the lower left quadrant. In the centre of the continent the entire length of the Danube river is shown, with its source ("Hic surgu[m] fons danubius") near Augsburg in *Recia minor*, a province annexed in 15 B.C. by the Romans. Tributaries from the left include the Vag (*fluvius Wauch*), the Tisza (*fluvius tize*) and the Oltul (*Alanus fluvius*) rivers, the Sava (*fl[uvius] savus*) and possibly the Raab from the right. Savaria, the birth-place of St. Martin (*Sabaria s[anc]ti marti[n]*) is shown in Lower Pannonia (*pannonia minor*), and Dacia near the Oltul river is marked as *Dacia hec et russia* written in red ink. A large building, representing a town of considerable size on the left banks of the Tisza river near its confluence with the Danube is marked only as *oppidu[m]* in black ink. The erroneous reading of the Latin text by Popescu-Spineni gave rise to the mistaken

"discovery" of equating Transylvania with Dacia, as proven by the Hereford Mappa Mundi. In his 1938 dissertation Popescu-Spineni asserted that the Hereford map showed "Dacia – hec 7 oppidum, Rusia hister q. danubius, fluvius Tize, rupes Sarmatharum". Some forty years later, in a much shorter essay Popescu-Spineni repeats this assertion, but this time omitting the word *russia* leaving the text as "fluvius Tize, Rupes Sarmatharum, Hister – danubius, Dacia hec 7 oppidum". Dr. Măriuca Radu in a recently published essay on the subject points out, what Popescu-Spineni considered as the number *7* is in fact the banal abbreviation for *et*, which one can find in differing forms in medieval manuscripts, especially in the 12th and 13th centuries. Furthermore, this abbreviation also appears in several places on the Hereford map, as in "Hister qui et danubius" within immediate proximity of the quoted text by Popescu-Spineni. Moreover, on the Hereford map, Roman and not Arabic numerals are used throughout and therefore both the reading of the *et* as *7*, and the inclusion of *oppidum* in the sentence are erroneous, as the latter is written in black ink and in plural it should have read as *oppida*.

So, for the name of Transylvania to appear on a map we have to wait for another two hundred years. In the intervening period, the emergence of the Renaissance turned human thought once more towards the natural world. Ptolemy's work was brought from Byzantium to Italy and translated into Latin by Jacobus Angelus in 1406, of which several copies were made. The Naples copy, dating from prior to 1470, is attributed to Nicolo Germano (fl.1460-1477), the German cosmographer and illuminator, who worked in Italy during the second half of the 15th century. Of the 27 classical maps in the manuscript, *TABULA NONA* shows the area between the River Danube on the west to the Black Sea (*PONTUS EUXINUS*) on the east. *DACIA*, occupying the center of the map, spreading between the unnamed Tisza river almost to the delta of the Danube (*danubius fluvius*), with the Carpathians (*carpatus mons*) and not the Rupes Sarmatharum or Sarmathian mountains forming its northern limits. Forty-three place-names are shown, including Sarmizegetusa (*sarmizegetusa regia*), the ancient Colonia Ulpia Traiana, capital of Dacia, Alba Iulia (*apulu[m]*) and Cluj as *nepuca*.

Following Gutenberg's invention of the printing press in the middle of the 15th century, printed copies of Ptolemy's *Geography* were soon to be produced, the first edition from rather crudely engraved copper-plates at Bologna in 1477, followed by a second at Rome in the following year. Further editions were printed at Florence (1480) and at Ulm (1482). Indeed, Ptolemy's *Geography* – or *Cosmography*, as it had been called following the translation and deliberate naming by Jacobus Angelus – became so popular that some 56 editions were printed during the next two-and-a-half centuries, the last one at Amsterdam in 1730, prior to some recent facsimile productions. Early printed editions contained only Ptolemy's maps, but the age of discovery soon made the inclusion of "modern" maps necessary, and the Ulm edition of 1482 already had five such maps alongside the ancient ones. In this edition, Greenland is shown for the first time on a printed map, while the 1511 edition, printed at Venice, contains the first printed drawing of any part of the North American continent. In 1522 the name *America* appears for the first time on a map, in an edition printed at Strassburg by Joannes Grüninger (1480-1528).

With new discoveries, cartography of the modern age gathered pace and developed rapidly. The first new map of Central Europe was made by Nicolaus Cusanus (1401-1464) in the middle of the 15th century. A learned and widely travelled man, Cusa draw his manuscript map of *Magna Germania* in 1458, but his map survives in later copies only. The Eichstadt edition, published in 1491, for the first time shows the name *TRANSILVANIA* not only once, but twice, and *SEPTEM CASTRA* for good measure. Of the towns Oradea (*VARADINUM*), Braşov (*CRON[STADT]*), Schönberg – Agnita (*THEONBORG*) are named, while another, possibly Sighişoara, is prominently marked as a fortified town.

Another map of Central Europe, published in 1493 in *Liber Chronicarum*, commonly referred to as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, was also based on Cusa's map by Hieronymus Münzer (1437-1508), but with even fewer details. Of the towns only Oradea (*Wardein*) is shown.

At the same time as Cusa's map and the Nuremberg Chronicle were published, another great cartographic undertaking was envisaged by the royal court at Buda: the mapping of Hungary. We do know that the famous Italian cartographer, Francesco Rosselli (c.1447-c.1513), had worked for about eight years at the court of Matthias Corvinus; moreover, according to an inventory of the Rosselli estate, dated 24 February 1527, according to which a folio-sized map of Hungary ("Ungheria doppia d'un foglio reale") had been in existence – so cartographic activity must have been a feature of King Matthias's royal court.

The pride of Hungarian cartography, Lázár's map of Hungary was published in 1528 preceding Lily's map of England by nearly 20 years. Such a huge undertaking must have taken many years to complete and according to a contemporary, Jacob Ziegler, they had been working on the map with Lazarus at the time of Dózsa's rebellion, when peasants and herdsmen were rioting ("coloni et pastores tumultuabantur"), that is in the spring of 1514. The resulting map surpassed all expectations and contemporary standards. Its great attention to detail, excellent topography and hydrography, and most of all the greatly increased marking of settlements make Lázár's work such an outstanding achievement.

But the question of just who was Lázár, this outstanding cartographer, had occupied the minds of cartographic historians ever since the map's chance discovery by Sándor Apponyi at the end of the 19th century. According to a cartouche on the map, he was "Lazarus Thomae Strigonien[sis] Cardin[alis] Secretarius vir" – that is secretary to Tamás Bakócz, Archbishop of Esztergom. For a long time, this was all that was known of his identity. The text in the cartouche also states that the map had been revised by Johannes Tanstetter (1482-1535) and published by Petrus Apianus (1495-1552). Further research in the 1970's by professor Bernleithner of Vienna revealed that according to an entry in the registers "Lazarus de Stuelweissenburg" was a student at the University of Vienna in 1512 and had been a pupil of Tanstetter.

The abundance of place-names on Lazarus's map is remarkable. In comparison to earlier maps, where, at most, some fifty or so names appeared, on Lázár's map a total of over 1300 settlements are named, more than 200 in Transylvania. Over fifty hydrographic names, and some eighty topographical and administrative names are shown. The hydrography of Lázár's map is also excellent and a comparison with modern maps show the similarity quite remarkable. The map is also beautiful to look at, with its uniform calligraphy, and delicate treatment of shaded mountain illustrations. The publishers not being familiar with Lázár's manuscript, the map has an unusual orientation, but by a 45-degree adjustment in a clock-wise direction everything falls into place.

Lázár's manuscript has miraculously survived the catastrophe of Mohács, where its creator may have perished. The only known copy of the map is at the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.

The first map of Transylvania was published in 1532, just four years after Lázár's masterpiece. It was the work of Johannes Honterus (1498-1549) of Braşov, the great teacher and religious reformer of that city. Born in 1498 into a Saxon merchant family, he first studied locally at the school of the Dominicans where he soon showed exceptional academic talent. By the age of 17 he was studying in Vienna and later teaching at the university there. He also spent some time at Regensburg and Krakow universities. At Krakow he published his most well-known work, the *Rudimentorum Cosmographie* containing a map of the world, based on Waldseemüller. This work later saw numerous corrected and enlarged editions published at Basle, Braşov, Breslau (Wroclaw), Zürich, Antwerp, Rostock, Prague and Cologne. By 1530 Honterus had been working in Basle as a reader, corrector and literary advisor at the Insingrin printing and publishing house and it is possible that it was here, that he learned the art of wood engraving.

Honterus's cartographic masterpiece, however, was *CHOROGRAPHIA TRANSYLVANIAE Sybemburgen*. The map, printed from two separate wood-blocks, is dedicated to the Senate of Sibiu, whose coat-of-arms can be seen in the top left-hand corner. The other coat-of-arms in the opposite, top right-hand, corner is that of Braşov or Corona given its

Latin name. The year of its publication, 1532 can be seen in the central cartouche just below the dedication. Latest research, however, based on the watermarks found in the paper of the map, now puts this to be seven years later in 1539; in which case Honterus must have taken the engraved wood-blocks with him back to Braşov and would have been published there and not in Basle. The initials *I H C* refer to the map's engraver, *Iohannes Honterus Coroniensis*, that is Honterus himself. The more than 200 place-names (219 to be precise) are given in German, although interestingly Braşov, the city where Honterus was born and buried, is marked as *Corona* only and not by its German name of Cronstadt. As in the case of Lazarus, Honterus's map survives in a single example. After nearly four centuries in total obscurity, it was obtained by Miklós Jankovich early in the nineteenth century, who in turn sold it to the National Museum in Budapest. Today it is housed in the Map Library of the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.

In 1986 four fragments of a variant of Honterus's map have been recovered during restoration from the binding of a book, which had been published in 1645 in Alba Iulia. The four fragments, measuring 20 x 15 and 20 x 11.5 cm respectively, show the bottom right-hand corner of the map in duplicate, with some overlap within the two pairs. Two of the fragments were sold recently at an auction and are now in the National Széchényi Library.

After the publication of Honterus's *Chorographia Transylvaniae* cartography ceased not only in Transylvania, but the entire Carpathian basin. Paradoxically, the interest of the outside world ensured first a steady stream, and later a flood of maps, all relying on the work of Lazarus and that of Honterus for the next two hundred years.

Sebastian Münster (1489-1552), the Augsburg theologian and humanist, had very soon made use of Honterus's map and published it in his bible-sized *Geographia* and *Cosmographia*, which were indeed read like bibles in the universities of Europe. However, the map entitled "Die Sieben Bürg so man sunst auch Transsylvaniam nempt" was attached to only two of the *Geographia* and ten of the *Cosmographia* out of the total 36 editions published.

First to issue maps of uniform size, bound in a book, was Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), who in 1570 published his *THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM*, containing 53 maps. Although Ortelius had deliberately set out to produce only one map of each country, he nevertheless included three maps covering the area of the Kingdom of Hungary: *HUNGARIAE* by Wolfgang Lazius (1514-1565) *SCHLAVONIAE, CROATIAE …* by Augustin Hirschvogel (1503-1553), and *TRANSYLVANIA* by Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584). The *Theatrum* was such an immediate success that a further three editions had to be printed in the same year – all of them with Latin text. Three years later another map by Sambucus, that of *ILLYRICUM* was included and from 1579 another map of Hungary, *UNGARIAE LOCA PRAECIPVA RECENS EMENDATA …*, also by Sambucus, but at the same time retaining Lazius's *Hungariae* and explaining in the text on the verso, that:

> "This second description of Hungary more exact and true, as the famous learned man Iohn Sambuke, this countrieman bourne, maketh me believe … We have thought good in this place to adioine onto the former, and … when our promise was of each countrie, to set out but one Mappe. But because I thinke neither of them to be of it selfe absolute inough for the worth of this so goodly a country, I have thought it to be helpful to the Reader to set out both in this our Theater. He that shall compare them one with the other, shall find oft times great variety in the situation of places, and turnings and windings of the streames and rivers: and yet there is no reason why presently any man should condemne the authors of want of skill or diligence in describing it: but let him iudge of it, as Strabo most truly doth of History: for he doth not by and by thinke that history to be reiected, when they that have set it forth, do not altogether agree in the descriptions of places: when as the truth of the whole history is many times by that disagreement more plainly demonstrated".

And finishes by saying:

> "Let therefore the diligent Reader and student of Geography, for whose good we do whatsoever we possibly can, use one or both at his discretion, seeing that we are forced to do what we may, not what we would".

A wonderful piece of 16th century marketing, which would not be out of place in many of today's television advertising.

Sambucus, or Zsámboky to give his Hungarian name, had known Ortelius for quite some time prior to the publication of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*; indeed, it was Sambucus, who first referred to Ortelius as a cartographer in a letter, dated 22 September 1563, which he addressed to "Domino Abrahamo Ortelio, Cosmographo Antverpiensi amico suo", that is to his cartographer friend. As the cartouche in the lower left-hand corner shows Sambucus have been ready with his map of Transylvania some four years prior to the first edition of the *Theatrum* and in all probability sent it to him in that year.

The first plate of the *Transilvania* map must have received some serious damage early in its life and had been replaced by another, rather more crudely engraved plate, indicating that it had been done in a hurry. It had been used for the 1575 edition for the first time and there are some major distinguishing details by which the two engravings can be identified even as separate map-sheets, and without referring to the differing text settings on the verso. The title-cartouche's central finial is now pointed, the text in the right-hand cartouche is now in four lines, rather than five, the grotesque-head above the bottom left-hand cartouche has more defined features, and the whole map is set into 17 mm wide frame, more than doubling the first plate's rather narrow, 7 mm border. From 1595 another map, *DACIARUM* had been included, reflecting the interest which Ortelius had in antiquity and indeed a passion he shared with Sambucus.

Over 40 editions of the *Theatrum* had been published, the last in 1612, by this time containing three times as many maps as in the first edition some forty-two years earlier and reflecting the great discoveries made during the period. New, additional maps were regularly published in the *Additamentum* to enable previous owners to update their stock of maps and knowledge. Apart from Latin, it was published in several other languages: Dutch (1571, 1573, 1598, 1610), French (1572, 1574, 1581, 1585, 1587, 1598), German (1572, 1573, 1580, 1584, 1587-89, 1591, 1597, 1602), Spanish (1588, 1602, 1612), Italian (1608, 1612), and an English-language edition, published in 1606.

Probably you have noticed that I have so far avoided using the term "atlas". It was deliberate on my part, as it was Gerhard Mercator (1512-1594), who used it first as the title for his *ATLAS SIVE COSMOGRAPHICAE MEDITATIONES*, published in 1585, 1589, 1595 and in a single combined volume again in 1595. Mercator's *TRANSYLVANIA* was first published in Volume III in 1595, and again in the combined edition during the same year. Mercator's maps were freely copied and published by other authors, including the Blaeu family. Published first in 1635, the map of *Transyilvania/Sibenburgen* has the "Dragon-teeth" coat-of–arms of the Báthory's above its title-cartouche, however, the cartographic details are borrowed from Mercator. Some thirty editions of the atlas were published in various languages, the last in 1658. The maps from the Blaeu atlases mark the zenith of the cartographer's art in the Low Countries. Indeed, it was at the University of Leiden, where my next cartographer came into contact with not only the maps and atlases of Ortelius, Mercator and Blaeu, but that of Matthäus Seutter's *ATLAS NOVUS* published from the 1730's. That cartographer was Péter Bod (1712-1769).

A true Transylvanian, Péter Bod was born at Cernatul de Sus on 22 February in 1712. His parents were impoverished "seklers" from the lesser nobility. His father died in the great plague of 1719, in which he also lost two of his sisters. The young Péter Bod had to help with the small farm they owned and cultivated under the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains by tending to the cows while studying at the local school. However, he soon showed exceptional talents and was sent to the famous Gabriel Bethlen College at Aiud on the recommendation of the local Calvinist minister. Now in the academic environs of the college Péter Bod excelled in his studies of the classics, history and theology; he also became fluent in several languages. After graduating

at Aiud, the 17 year-old Bod secured a teaching post at Baia Sprie. After three years there, he returned to Aiud as a senior student and was appointed to the care of the college's library, a duty which he carried out with great diligence. The college also had bursaries to send two of their most able (and poor) students to the university at Leiden, one of which he secured in 1740 at the age of 28. Following a most eventful journey – mostly on foot – he matriculated to the University of Leiden in the autumn of 1740, where, apart from the Classics, he attended lectures on astronomy, anatomy, theology, oratory, had disputations with his professors and fellow students; studied Arabic, Hebrew and Syrian. Péter Bod's love of books is obvious from an early age. He was a regular reader at the university's library, visited many libraries and bought books from the numerous antiquarian dealers. His three years at Leiden were spent in earnest diligence attending to his studies, and on leaving the university his professors gave him glowing reports.

When in 1743 Péter Bod returned to Transylvania, he received an invitation from Countess Kata Bethlen to become her court chaplain at Hoghiz, near Rupea, which he gratefully accepted, especially as he was already the beneficiary of her patronage during the previous three years. The following year, in 1744, he was also appointed as pastor of the local Calvinist congregation. Apart from his ecclesiastical duties, he cared for the countess's considerable library, which helped him in his literary endeavors, enabling the publication of six of his books in as many years. Péter Bod's talents were recognized not only by his benefactress but by the Reformed Church authorities too. So in 1749, he received an invitation from the wealthy parish of Ighiu, near Alba Iulia, to become their pastor. He took up his new parochial duties at Ighiu on Christmas Day in 1749, to where he travelled with his many books and "a heavy heart", having been happy and content at his former parish. Here, at Ighiu, Bod set out to write his major ecclesiastical history, entitled *Az Isten vitézkedő Anyaszentegyháza…* or *A Short History of God's Gallant Church* to which he planned to attach maps of the four continents. By the autumn of 1753 the manuscript was ready, but it was not published until 1760 and in contrast to all his other works, not in Transylvania, but in Basle, Switzerland. The delay of seven years was, in all probability, was due to finding an engraver for his maps. An ideal opportunity presented itself, when in 1759 Count József Teleki (1738-1796), the young nephew of Countess Kata Bethlen (1700-1759) and former pupil of Péter Bod, embarked upon a European study-tour at the Universities of Basle, Utrecht, Leiden and Paris. Teleki arrived in Basle late July 1759 and at once set out to find an engraver for Bod's maps and a suitable printer for the book. Following prolonged, and for Bod frustrating, negotiations with Rodolph Im-Hof, the printer, an agreement was reached on 12 February, 1760 for an edition of 500 copies to be printed at a cost of 300 Hungarian forints; the cost reflecting the extra expense incurred for the copper-plate engravings of the map-plates, although the printer agreed "to supply paper for the maps, being four to each book and totalling two thousand, free and gratis [and] the engraved plates will remain with Im-Hof".

We are indeed fortunate that Péter Bod decided to illustrate his church history and "take the reader along the dotted lines" with the help of these four maps, as they represent the first maps of the continents with Hungarian toponyms and terminology and by a Transylvanian. Fortuitous too, that the engraver signed the plate of *Europa*, so at least we know that he was a certain C. Burckhardt, but apart from his name we know nothing of him. Judging from his work, he was of mediocre talent, manfully toiling away and engraving from the original manuscript sent by Bod. Meanwhile in Transylvania Bod grew anxious about the delay in his *Historia* being printed and wrote several letters to Teleki enquiring about its progress. There were constant delays, due mainly to the engraver's slow progress. In September 1760 an impatient Teleki shows his annoyance in a letter when he writes: "Im-Hof is ready with the printing of Sire Bod's Ecclesiastical History, but the engraver working on the plates keeps lying".

The source, which Bod could have used from his own or indeed Kata Bethlen's library for his maps, could not be identified as no atlas is listed in the surviving inventories. However, a detailed study of the information contained within the maps, such as the stippling of the

"Sargasso Sea", the placement of the islands in the Red Sea, the detailing of the Great wall of China, the shape of Madagascar, the style and placing of the compass-rose, and perhaps most convincingly, the cartouches on the maps of Africa and America which enabled the source to be identified as Georg Matthäus Seutter's *ATLAS NOVUS*. So, in all probability, whilst at Leiden Bod made sketches of the four continents out of interest, or possibly anticipating future use for them, which he then carried back to Transylvania together with his books, weighing a staggering 700 kilograms.

The size of the maps is "small folio", measuring 345 x 390 mm. They were attached folded 4 x 5 to the back of the book between the last page and the back cover. This resulted in frequent damage to the maps, made worse by the poor quality of the "free and gratis" paper used for the first edition.

Watermarks in the paper used for the first (1760) edition are the letter *M* with the cross rising from its center or the cross with the letter *D* standing on three spheres; the first originating in Frankfurt, the latter from the mills of the Düring family in Bern, Switzerland. These watermarks appear separately in the map-sheets which were used randomly for the maps of the first edition. The paper used for the second and last edition of the book, printed again at Basle in 1777, is of a much better quality and each sheet contains two watermarks: the Anchor with the letters *Z* and *P* and the Lion Rampant, holding a shield with his left fore-foot, and a sword on his shoulder with his right. The origins of the paper have, as yet, not been identified, although it could have come from Im-Hof's own mill, which by now was operating. Nor have the circumstances in which the second edition with corrected text was published, but somehow the copperplates for the maps survived and were used again without any alteration.

Péter Bod did not enjoy good health. Apart from the seasonal bouts of colds and influenza, he suffered with abscesses to his skin, turning into "nasty and festering" ulcers, which he treated by applying the boiled leaves of the quince-apple and worms, and also by frequent blood-letting. He often travelled to "take the waters" at Geoagiu, near Orăştie, seeking cures for his sickly children and for his own ailments and suffering. Péter Bod died of dropsy a few days after his 57$^{th}$ birthday, but his maps do survive to this day and are our precious heritage.

Both Honterus and Bod, although two centuries apart, used maps as educational tools illustrating history and disseminating knowledge.

We are all the richer and, hopefully, all wiser due to their endevours.

LÁSZLÓ GRÓF

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10. *Die Siebenbürg so man sunst auch Transsylvaniam nempt* by Sebastian Münster in his *Cosmographia Universalis*, 1544-.
11. *TRANSYLVANIA* by Johannes Sambucus [Zsámboky] in Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1570-.
12. *DACIARUM* by Abraham Ortelius in his *Parergon*, 1598-.
13. *TRANSYLVANIA* by Gerard Mercator in his *Atlas sive Cosmographicae* …, 1595-.
14. *TRANSYLVANIA/Sibenburgen* by Willem Blaeu in *Novus Atlas* ..., 1635.
15. *TRANSYLVANIA Sibenburgen* by Johannes Janssonius in *Atlas or a Geographic Description* ..., 1636.
16. *EVROPA* by Péter Bod in his *Az Isten Vitézkedö Anyaszentegyháza* ... [*A Short History of God's Gallant Church*], 1760 [1777].
17. *ASIA* by Péter Bod, *ibidem.*
18. *AFRIKA* by Péter Bod, *ibidem.*
19. *AMERIKA* by Péter Bod, *ibidem.*

[1] No's 9-19 all, formerly or presently, in the author's collection.


**Fig. 1.** The "T-O" map from Isidorus Hispanensis's *Etymologiae,* [Augsburg] Günther Zainer (1472). The first printed map. The Mediterranean separates Europe from the Continent of Africa, the Red Sea (and the River Don) forming the horizontal line of the letter "T", thus separating Europe and Africa from Asia. All is surrounded by "Mare Oceanum", the encircling waters of the Universe.

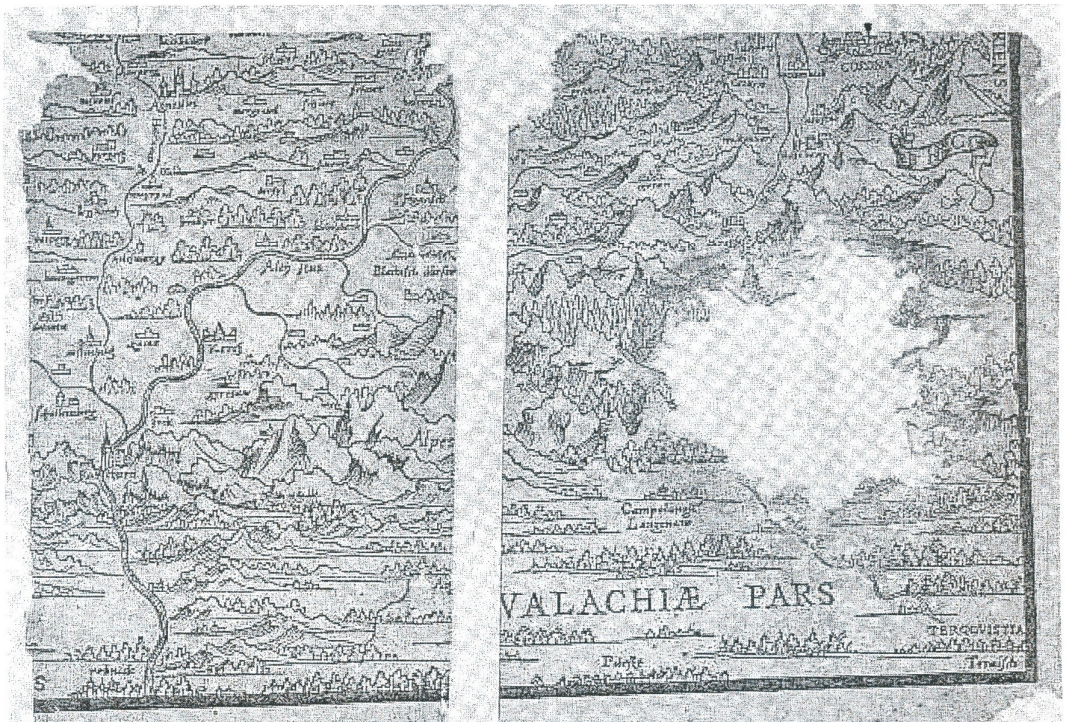


**Fig. 2.** Map-fragments from a later (c. 1545), and hitherto unknown, Braşov edition of the map of Transylvania by Honterus (recovered from the binding of a book printed at Alba Iulia in 1645).

**Fig. 3.** The *Hereford Mappa Mundi*, c. 1275.


**Fig. 4.** Manuscript map of Dacia from the "Naples Codex" of Ptolemy, c. 1466.


**Fig. 5.** Detail from the *Hereford Mappa Mundi* – showing "Dacia hec et rusia" with the adjacent "Oppidû".


**Fig. 6.** Detail from Nicolaus Cusanus's *Germania tota tabella* (1491), the first map to show "Transylvania".


**Fig. 7.** Map of *Transilvania* by Ioannes Sambucus, from Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570).

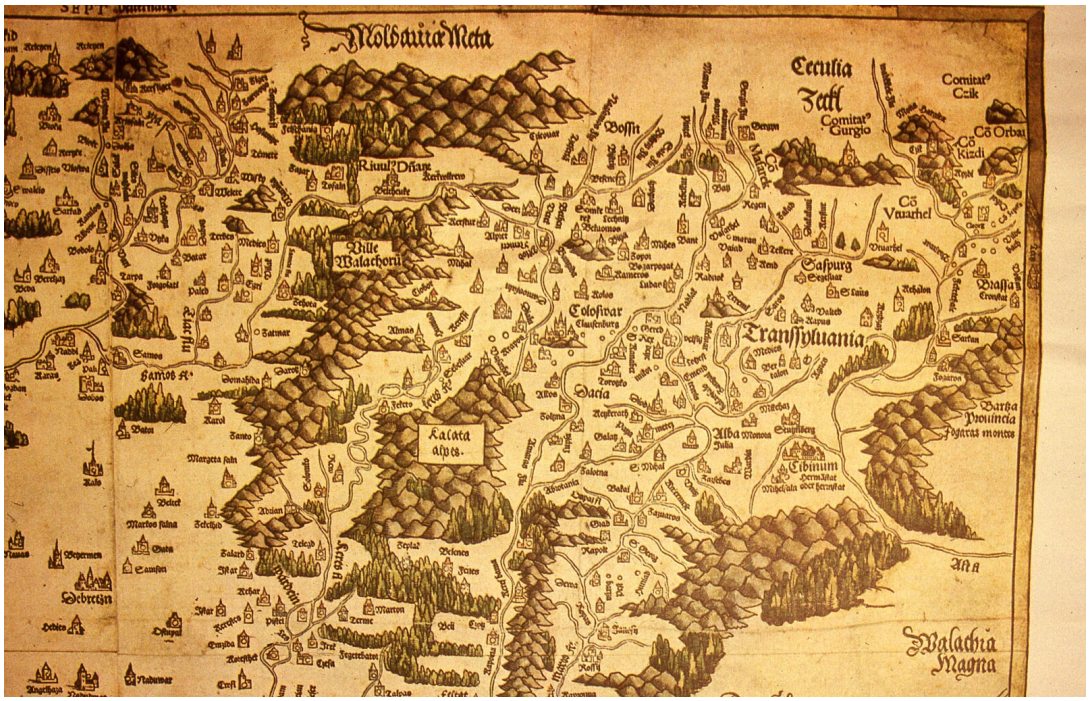


**Fig. 8.** Detail, showing Transylvania on Lazarus Secretarius's map of Hungary (1528).

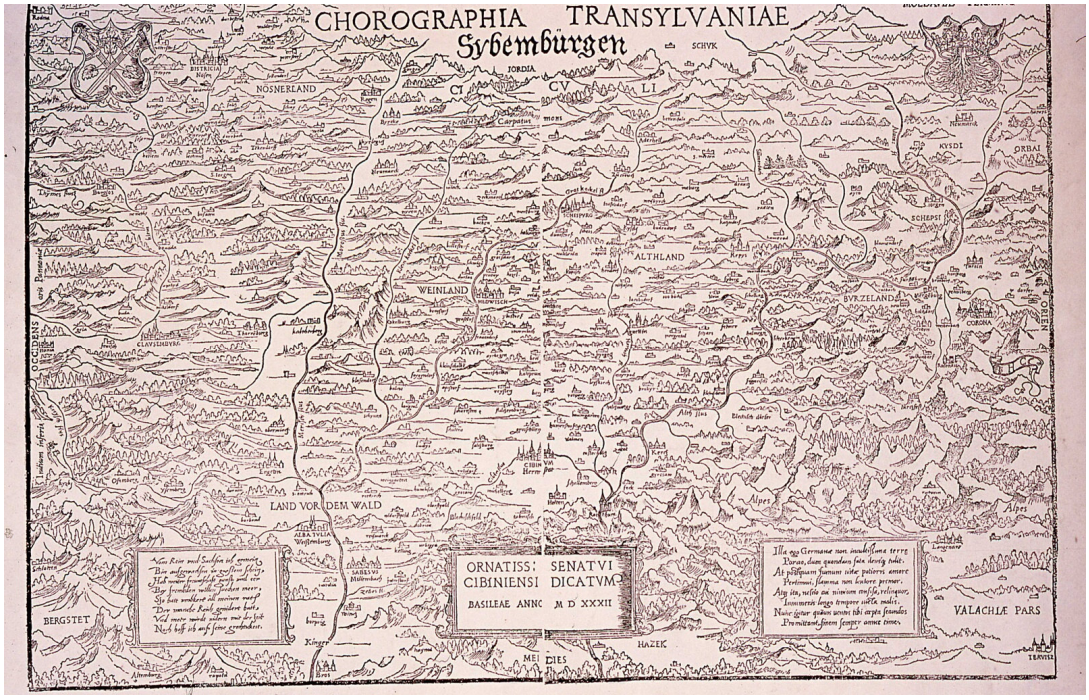


**Fig. 9.** *Chorographia Transylvaniae* ..., by Johannes Honterus (1532?).


**Fig. 10.** Portrait of Johannes Honterus of Braşov (1498-1549).

**Fig. 11.** The Portrait of Petrus Bod (1712-1769; The National Museum of Art Cluj-Napoca).