

ROMAN EDITIONS OF THE LAZARUS MAP*

Borbála BAK

Department of Auxiliary Sciences of History
Faculty of Humanities of Eötvös Loránd University
bakborbala@freemail.hu



A LÁZÁR-TÉRKÉP RÓMAI KIADÁSAI*

Összefoglalás

Magyarország első részletes térképe, Lázár secretarius Tabulája (1528) még közel száz éven keresztül – az itáliai másolatainak köszönhetően – kereskedelmi forgalomban maradt. A velencei Vavassore (1553) után római kiadók jelentették meg. A másolatok egyikéhez sem kapcsolódik önálló kartográfiai munkát, megjelenésük elsősorban a könyvkiadói tevékenységet, a grafikai teljesítményt dicsérik. Rómában a Tabulának két másolata készült, amelyek a nyomólemezek változásai alapján több állapotot (státust) mutatnak. A jelenleg ismert és tanulmányozható másolatok közül az első Pirro Ligorio rajza és Sebastiano di Re rézmetszete alapján Michele Tramezzino kiadásában jelent meg 1559-ben. A második másolat ma ismert példányai az 1559-es dátumot viselik, amelyhez a kiadás ötödik státusában még az 1602. év kapcsolódik. A második másolat Anonim, szerzője, metszője nem ismert és a nyomólemez tulajdonosait is csak a negyedik állapoton (Claude Duchet), valamint az ötödiken (Giovanni Orlandi) tüntetik fel. A római másolatokra vonatkozó kutatásaim azzal a tanulsággal szolgáltak, hogy a térképmásolatok egyes státusainak elkülönítése, valamint az új, a korábban nem ismert példányok felkutatása csak az egyes lapok, térképgyűjtemények közvetlen szemlélete alapján történhet. A másolatok, és főként az Anonim térképek egyes státusainak megismeréséhez szükség van az egykori térképkészítés, a könyv- és metszeterkedelem áttekintésére. A jelentős római műhelyek tulajdonosainak kapcsolatait és a térképek grafikai jellegét feltárva nyílik csak lehetőség a másolatok alaposabb megismerésére, csoportosítására. A római kutatói ösztöndíjak jóvoltából több könyvtár anyagát sikerült áttekintennem. A kutatások eredményeként nemcsak az egyes másolatok kronológiáját sikerült pontosítani, hanem két új, korábban a szakirodalom számára ismeretlen példányt találtam a Biblioteca Angelica (Roma) gyűjteményében.

*Rómában a központi nemzeti könyvtár és a Biblioteca Angelica, valamint a Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gyűjteményeiben több alkalommal is kutathattam. Munkámat a Magyar Ösztöndíj Bizottság, a NEKÖM Klebelsberg Kuno Ösztöndíj, a Soros Alapítvány, az OTKA (pályázati szám: T 025535) és az Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma támogatásának és segítségének köszönhetően végezhettem.

Summary

The first detailed map of Hungary, the Tabula of Lazarus secretarius (1528), remained in trade for almost one hundred years thanks to its Italian copies. It was published first by Vavassore (1553) in Venice, and afterwards by several Roman publishers. None of the copies underwent autonomous cartographical work; their publication acknowledges primarily the publisher's and draftsman's achievement. Two copies of the Tabula were created in Rome, both of which have several states (statuses) due to the changes applied to their printing plates. Among the copies that are known and studied today the first was drawn by Pirro Ligorio, engraved by Sebastiano di Re and published by Michele Tramezzino in 1559. The currently known editions of the second copy date from 1559, but with regard to the fifth status of the edition the year 1602 is significant as well. The second copy is Anonymous, author and engraver are unknown, and the owners of the printing plates are only mentioned with the fourth (Claude Duchet) and fifth (Giovanni Orlandi) state. My research on the Roman copies proved to me how utterly important it is – in order to distinguish between individual states and discover new, formerly unknown editions – to study maps and collections on the spot. Getting thorough knowledge of the copies, and especially the individual states of the Anonymous map requires an overview of ancient map making as well as of the book and engraving trade. Only after the connections between the owners of the relevant Roman workshops and the graphical characteristics of the maps are established can we familiarize with and categorize the copies. Thanks to research grants in Rome I had the chance to gain insight into the collections of several libraries. As a result of my research I managed to adjust the chronology of individual copies, and moreover came upon two new editions – formerly unknown among researchers – in the collection of the Biblioteca Angelica (Rome).

*I conducted research at the National Library and Biblioteca Angelica in Rome and at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana several times. I owe this opportunity to the support and help of the Magyar Ösztöndíj Bizottság, the NEKÖM Kuno Klebelsberg Grant, the Soros Foundation, the OTKA (grant no. T 025535) and the Accademia d'Ungheria in Rome.

Roman copies based on the map of Lazarus Secretarius

The first remaining, printed and detailed map of Hungary, *Tabula Hungarie ad quatuor latera* commonly known as the *Lazarus map* or *Lazarus Secretarius map* (LÁZÁR) has been frequently discussed by experts in various articles. The only copy of the map – xylographically reproduced in 1528 and coloured in Ingolstadt – is kept at the Collection for Ancient and Rare Prints of the National Széchényi Library. There are a number of so far unanswered questions for researchers of cartographical history related to the mapmakers, their sources, their applied cartographical methods. The poor sources at our disposal justify the doubts uttered concerning possible answers to the above. All researchers agree that the *Tabula* documents one of the greatest achievements in cartography from the beginning of the 16th century. The exuberant data depicted on the map, the network of settlements and detailed waterways, the refined engraving, the even flow of written names and texts give proof of thorough preparatory as well as finishing work.

The publications discussing the presumed mapmaking methods have different views. The written sources related to the map reveal e.g. that Lazarus (Eleazarus), the secretary of the archbishop of Esztergom, Tamás Bakócz, considered preparing the map together with the mathematician and cartographer Jacobus Ziegler in 1514, and while working on the map they were personally threatened by the revolt of Hungarian peasants and shepherds. Ziegler, Lazarus' associate, says that the locations known to him appear truthfully on the accomplished map, so he is delighted about the map's publication. The letter to Georgius Tanstetter also proves that the *Tabula* was the result of field work, i.e. the settlement network, representing the basis of 16th century maps, was most probably established by measurements (MRHR p. 545, PLIHÁL p. 7, FORRÁSOK p. 24). Although the map manuscript(s) prepared during the collection of data are lost, their former existence can certainly be assumed, as the recipient of the letter, Georgius Tanstetter, is regarded as editor preparing the published version of the manuscript. Some researchers believe Johannes Cuspinianus, who covered the publishing costs of the *Tabula* and prepared the printing process, found the manuscripts of the map after 26 September 1526 in Buda (PLIHÁL pp. 10–12).

The Lazarian *Tabula* is undoubtedly a substantive cartographical work that applies a high level of early 16th century cartographical expertise and was prepared in print on the basis of one or more manuscripts. Due to the increasing interest of Europe's public opinion in Hungarian and generally speaking continental events at the time, and also due to the strengthening of European trade relations and focused attention towards the locations of warfare, the Hungarian Monarchy did no longer settle for the map issued in Southern Germany. The expansion of increasingly educated social groups in those days created a demand for knowledge about the constantly growing known world, i.e. Europe and the European countries, which helped the survival of the Lazarus map and its numerous published reproductions.

Italian editions of the Lazarus map

Map reproduction

The new editions of the *Tabula* after 1528 stem from Italy where starting from the mid-16th century both leading map publishing cities, Venice and Rome came forth with maps of Hungary.

The map reproduced from wood engravings in Venice in 1553 was published by the engraver, printer and publisher Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (Giovan Andrea Vavassore detto Guadagnino). Currently only one known copy of the map is kept at the Collection

for Ancient and Rare Prints of the National Széchényi Library (VAVASSORE). Hungarian experts usually refer to the map either by its publisher's name or by using the „title” given by Lazarus, *Tabula Hungariae*, which appears in the cartouche framed simply by lines, and it is only Lajos Stegena who mentions the new title added to Vavassore's map (STEGENA p. 16). The latter, noted in the left upper corner, reads NOVA DESCRIPTIO / TOTIVS VNGA / RIAE and shall become the „main title” of the Roman editions to follow.

When studying the later editions of the *Lazarus map* that have not been clearly separated by researchers it has to be taken into consideration that none of the maps published with the title *Nova descriptio Hungariae* are autonomous, new cartographical works. All of them are copies of the *Tabula* made by Lazarus secretarius and his associates. Among the copies there is merely one – the Venetian map – that was made using wood engraving, and its size comes closest to that of the 1528 Ingolstadt edition. (The Lazarus map is 780 × 547 mm, while the Venice map is 792 × 552 mm.) The smaller-sized (468/455 × 393/375 mm) Roman editions were printed from copper plates. Resizing proved a useful method, as the smaller-sized maps were easier to handle and therefore sold better than the original-sized ones. Starting from the mid-16th century this feature can be observed not only with the *Tabula* but also among others with the maps of Jacopo a Deventer and Cornelis Anthonisz (BORRONI p. XXXI). The afterlife of the *Lazarus map*, the separation of individual pages due to the applied reproduction techniques is closely linked with 16th century Venetian and Roman booksellers who were also involved in printing and publishing engravings.

With regard to the copies, the terminology used for reproduced graphics seems in my view most suitable to determine individual copies, given that the separate editions do in fact not differ in the cartographical methods utilized when making them, neither in the additional, newly discovered data added to the maps, but are different engravings per se. Hence, when speaking of one of the copies of the map, it can be said that the map emerges in a new *state* (*status*) after each single modification executed on the plate. (The terminology of *copy* and *state* was formerly used, among others, by Tibor Szathmáry in his essay on Hungarica maps – SZATHMÁRY). Given that only few copies of the *Lazarus map* have remained, as mentioned earlier, cartographic history also aims as far as possible to record all available *issues* of a given *state*.

Roman map and engraving publishing houses in the 16th century

The categorization of Italian copies as well as the examination of the various map states was carried out by a number of workshops, enterprises and individuals for whom map publication, though quite important, was by far not the main or primary activity. However, in order to get an overview of the *Lazarus map* copies, it is vital to get acquainted with these.

In the very centre of 16th century Rome, workshops and stores engaged in book publication, engraving manufacturing, print reproduction, paper fabrication and sale as well as book sale clustered in abundance around the rione di Parione, via dei Pellegrini, Campo dei Fiori. The workshops accommodated not only publishers, engravers, printers and salesmen, but were also frequented by scientifically educated collectors interested in both novelties and antique items. (BORRONI pp. IX–X).

One of the first relevant Roman publishers dealing directly or indirectly with the *Lazarus map* starting from 1519 was Antonio Salamanca among whose engravings can be found not only fervently religious images, reproductions of paintings, celebrity portraits of the age but also engravings depicting ancient Roman sights and their ruins, as well as maps. Apart from Antonio Salamanca there were other famous and successful publishers in those days such as Tommaso Barlacchi and Francesco and Michele Tramezzino, and constant competition was going on between them to attain commercial success by being

quicker at issuing novelties than the others. Numerous engravers worked for them, like Sebastiano di Re, Giacomo Bos, Enea Vico, who did not consider map making a primary task, though their maps frequently were nevertheless treated as works of art once they were finished.

In 1544 attention focused on the copper engraver Antonio Lafréry's (Antonius Lafreri) work about the Traianus column, and he later became one of the dominant figures in 16th century Roman engraving publication and trade. However, what rendered him outstandingly important were mainly his publications and his stock of printing plates required for the publications. His workshop on the via del Parione was one of the centres of engraving, printing, publishing and the engraving trade. In 1553, together with his master Antonio Salamanca he founded a trade company, which, following the company's break-up, he ran on his own until his death, i.e. between 1562 and 1577. His skills rendered him a dangerous competitor, and consequently within a few years he crushed not only Antonio and Francesco Salamanca but also Tommaso Barlacchi. In 1563 he practically became the exclusive publisher and salesman of prints and maps in Rome. His company was inherited by his sister's son, Claude Duchet (Claudio Ducheti/Duchetti; 1577–1585), who had entered the map trade somewhat earlier, presumably around 1565, and got hold of Michele Tramezzino's printing plates. After Claude Duchet's death his brother-in-law, Giacomo Gerhardi (1585–1593/94) carried on with business. The workshop and several of its utmost valuable printing plates were bought by Giovanni Orlandi's workshop. Data on Orlandi's activities is available only for the period between 1598 and 1609. (EHRLE and BORRONI pp. XII-XIV, XXXII, XXXVI, XLI).

Some of the Roman publishers, like e.g. Francesco and Michele Tramezzino, Claude Duchet, had tight family and trade links with Venice, which allowed for the exchange of engravings and maps between the two cities. The relationship gained intensity in 1551, when the weekly mail delivery between Rome and Venice was introduced. A specific Roman-Venetian type of engraving evolved gradually and it can be detected on the maps as well. Regular publishing connections grew more and more European after 1567, when the mail circulation between Rome, Lyon and Paris started at 15-day intervals. Antonio Lafréry was the person to truly profit from this. (BORRONI p. XXXI and XXXVI).

Maps and engraving collections

Starting from the 16th century maps were sold either as individual sheets or as bound volumes. Publishers compiled maps, castle layouts, siege illustrations and Vedutas, that differed in number, topic and publication date, into volumes and sold these, often even lacking a cover page. The content of a volume was determined by the demands of the purchaser or their change in interest, but sometimes also by Venetian political influences. Due to the „fortuity“ of these volumes the single issues of a collection were likely to become completely different from each other. The great advantage of these collections not quite qualifying as atlases in the current sense was that the hardcover binding guaranteed increased protection for each single sheet. The oldest volumes containing engravings originate in Venice. Most of the early volumes owe their splendour to the maps of Venetian cartographer Giacomo (Iacopo) Gastaldi who earned an outstanding and well-deserved reputation in the period between 1539 and 1566. The majority of the maps were made by Venetian engravers and printed in Venice (MCV II. pp. 21–22, TOOLEY pp. 13–14). Rome, where Antonio Lafréry was, though not the exclusive, but one of the most important dealers of engraving volumes, adopted the collection format only later. Among the *Lafréry collections* characterized by differing page numbering and content some do possess cover pages. Their text leads to the conclusion that the compilation of maps made by different authors follows the order of Ptolemy, and also that the collection contains – apart from the

map – sheets printed in Rome of copper engravings depicting a number of towns, fortresses and various provinces. (BNCR 71.6.G.1) Current research assumes – based primarily on the study of watermarks – that even these volumes may have been compiled in Venice despite the numerous, extremely valuable Roman sheets (BORRONI pp. LXXVII–LXXXIV).

The Lafréry volumes were formerly called atlases, however according to current research their appropriate denomination is „collection”. (BORRONI pp. LXXVII–LXXXIV, SZATHMÁRY pp. 175–177) Some of the individual volumes feature two, others one copy of the *Lazarus map* entitled *Nova descriptio totius Hungariae*. Even though Lafréry’s name is not mentioned on any of the *Tabula Hungariae* copies, some researchers with thorough knowledge about Lafréry’s heirs and their activities attribute some of the Roman copies to him (PLIHÁL pp. 15–16.).

The copies and the differentiation between their various states can in fact only be discussed after studying the prints themselves. I had the opportunity to do this, studying not only the maps at the National Széchényi Library, but also part of the Roman collections, namely the maps at the Biblioteca nazionale centrale (BNCR), the Biblioteca Angelica (BiblAng) as well as the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV). Apart from consulting the reference literature, I was assisted in my study of the maps to a great extent by a number of Roman colleagues, partly specialised librarians, partly art historians (dr. Maria Antonietta Guisot, M. Antonietta Conti, dr. Maria Giovanna Fasulo Rak, dr. Emilia Talamo) who in one way or the other supported my research in Rome.

Two Roman copies of the Lazarus map and their different issues

The first copy: the map of Pirro Ligorio–Michele Tramezzino–Sebastiano (di) Re (1559)

The first Roman copy was most probably based on the *Lazarus map* and, according to Florio Banfi, on the manuscript that served among others as basis for the Ingolstadt edition and therefore has quite similar content (BANFI pp. 22–23). The map known today is slightly smaller in size than the original and was printed in 1559 from a copper engraving. Though the ornamentation of the cartouche framing in the lower third of the map is more modest than that of the *Tabula*, its shape comes closer than all other copies to the map of 1528. The inscription was carved onto a drapery bundled at its 11 corners and embedded in a horizontally lined oval shield. The arrangement of the text deserves special attention because some researchers distinguished the map from the other Roman copy on the basis of this particular text arrangement (SZATHMÁRY p. 125). Between the title NOVA DES- / CRIPTIO TOTIVS / HVNGARIAE / and the date finished off with a tiny floral ornament / ROMAE . M. D. LVIII / can be found the name of the author Pirro Ligorio / Pyrrho Ligorio Neap. auctore /, born in Naples, who became renowned in Rome for his outstanding artistic activity and who actually drew the map. The text of the cartouche also mentions the name of the owner of the printing plate and at the same time publisher of the map, Michele Tramezzino (Tramezini) who attained a 10-year papal and Venetian Senate privilege for his map. The name of the engraver, Sebastiano di Re / Sebastianus a Regibus Clodiensis incidibat / can be found in the right corner, above the scale stretching along the lower margin.

The three persons involved in publishing the map had connections with 16th century Rome. The copper engraver Michele Tramezzino (Tramezini), was primarily a publisher and dealer. He lived in Rome between 1525 and 1527 with his brother Francesco Tramezzino, and they moved to Venice after the „sacco di Roma” (1527). The publisher and patron Francesco, who returned in 1528 and specialized in selling maps and antiques, maintained a close relationship to his brother who remained a printer and dealer in Venice. Michele Tramezzino who owned the plates of the engravings sold in Rome was at the peak of

his activity between 1553 and 1563. He had Pirro Ligorio draw the large majority of his maps (e.g. the maps of the Kingdom of Naples, France, Belgium, Spain, Hungary, Portugal, Greece, Friuli) and Sebastiano di Re, also from the Veneto (Chioggia) region, make the engravings (BORRONI, and my own statistics based on the BNCR's maps).

In the long list of Tramezzino's prints, four maps published in 1558 were aptly followed by maps of Hungary and Spain in 1559, as well as one depicting Crete, which, though not carrying Ligorio's name, was also engraved by Sebastiano di Re. On the basis of the carving indicating the year M. D. LVIII two Hungarian researchers, Tibor Szathmáry and Katalin Plihál, consider it likely that there also existed a „variation“ of the map dating from 1558 which was destroyed during World War II in Wroclaw (SZATHMÁRY p. 123, PLIHÁL p. 14). More recent international literature, however, does not mention this second map. The examination of the year indications on the maps created in 1559 shows that in all cases the mode of carving numerals is that of the Hungary map. Given that in Venice not only engravings but also books frequently feature Roman numerals, I shall not regard the presumable status of *Nova descriptio totius Hungariae* as confirmed until the 1558 map will be discovered.

Hungarian literature considers the first Roman copy of 1559 quite a rarity. Some refer to it under Ligorio's (BENDEFY, IRMÉDI), others under Tramezzino's (Tramezini) name (HRENKÓ, HALMAI-HRENKÓ-MÉLYKÚTI) and yet another group mentions Ligorio's name, the title of the map as well as the indicated year in order to ensure precise identification (BANFI p. 22, STEGENA). Florio Banfi discusses two editions on the basis of the title and the year 1559, considering the Ligorio map as first and the slightly different cartouche map issued without names as second edition (BANFI p. 22).

In the registry of the first Roman copy's issues the different authors usually name the collections where the map can be found. However, the list is not reliable, as some distinguish, though not consistently, between separate maps – considered more valuable – and those included in the collection volumes. I found that the references to separate maps always take into account the current state, even though it is most probable that despite their separate nature today they used to be indeed parts of a volume at the time (SZATHMÁRY pp. 123–124 and PLIHÁL p. 15).

I do believe that the issue at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana was published as a separate map, as it is clearly visible that it was not cut to shape in order to be inserted into a volume, hence the margin is wider and the whole map is larger than the rest (570 × 410 mm instead of 460 × 390 mm) (BAV St.Geogr. I. 116). I know merely the particular copy of the issue available at the Museo Correr library in Venice that Lajos Stegena's work refers to in its annex (STEGENA). Based on the copy's size and the state of its margins it might not have been part of a volume either. Currently we consider as separate issues also that of the National Széchényi Library's Map Collection (NOVA DESCRIPTIO – LIGORIO) as well as – concluded from the call number (Maps K. Top. 110.80) – one of the maps of the British Library in London (BMC VII. col. 753). Literature refers to two privately owned issues, in the collections of Hellwig (Bonn) and Tibor Szathmáry (SZATHMÁRY pp. 123–124, PLIHÁL p. 15).

The first Roman copy figures also in some of the collection volumes by Lafréry entitled *Geografia*. Literary references acknowledge map 99 of the 1st volume and map 32 of the 3rd volume in the collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (BORRONI p. 35, with an earlier marking STEGENA p. 16), as well as map 52 of the volume marked Maps C.7.e.1. at the British Library in London (BMC VII. col. 753).

Next to Lafréry's *Geografia* the libraries possess collection volumes that were compiled later than the *Geografia*. It occurred from time to time that maps of different engravers and publishers, dating from different years were subsequently assembled in order for

the separate maps not to get lost. This practice also served to increase the protection of individual maps.

In an atlas of various content in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome I found a more recent, in Hungary so far unknown map marked as table 38 (tavola) and drawn by Ligorio in 1559. On the bottom margin of the map traces of intense use and minor restorations are visible. The page numbering is noted with a pen on the back side of the map. The map's call number is RARI I.7.22. tavola 38.

Unlike Tibor Szathmáry and Katalin Plihál I believe that the two maps of the royal library in Madrid dating from 1559 are not additional issues of the first Roman copy (SZATHMÁRY pp. 123–124, PLIHÁL p. 15). As the library catalogue tells us, the two maps of Hungary from Lafréry's *Geografia* volume are issues of the second Roman edition (RB MAP/438 24 and MAP/454 31).

Ronald Vere Tooley conducted personal research merely at English libraries in 1939. He listed the individual maps of the 16th century collections, which he called atlases, on the basis of printed catalogues. With regard to the first Roman copy he mentions another six issues apart from the already discussed ones. To satisfactorily identify these, further research is a must (TOOLEY p. 33. heading 308).

The second copy

The second Roman copy of *Tabula Hungariae* is even more difficult to study than the first without knowing the original maps, given that we need to distinguish between several states of the copy, taking into consideration that those created before 1577 do not mention any of the persons involved in some way or other in the making and publishing of the map. Hence, the author of the map, the owner of the printing plate and the original publisher remain big question marks. The separate states (statuses) can be distinguished only by thorough examination of the map's data and modes of illustration.

The cartouche carrying *Tabula Hungariae* is differently shaped on the second Roman copy and all of its statuses. The upper third of the rectangle in the lower third on the right contains the title text / NOVA / DESCRIPTIO / TOTIVS / HVNGARIAE / and differs from the title of the first Roman copy only in the line carvings. The side of the frame is ornamented with putti, the upper margin and the bottom with one mask each. The place of publication and the issue date of 1559 on the issues known today are indicated as / ROMAE . M. D. LVIII /.

The year 1559 appearing on the prints seem to repeat the question that arose already in connection with the first Roman copy. Was the fourth, somewhat longer line added subsequently in fact? Did an edition dating from 1558 really exist? Tibor Szathmáry is convinced about the latter and mentions a 1558 edition owned by the British Museum. According to him another issue existed at the Stadtbibliothek in Breslau (Wrocław) and „was presumably destroyed during the siege”. Katalin Plihál adopts the aforesaid concerning the two copies without further comment (SZATHMÁRY p. 125, PLIHÁL p. 15). The catalogue of the British Museum however mentions only the volume of 1559 (British Library: Maps C.7.e. 1 (51) – BMC VII. col. 753), and does not record the one from 1558, neither does international reference literature mention it.

Hungarian authors on the subject have different opinions about the copy of the variant containing no other specification than the year 1559. Florio Banfi considers the map an edition (*edizione*) of Ligorio's map that was issued in the same year but without name. He claims the two editions are identical and concludes with the statement that their copies (*copie*) can be found in practically all Lafréry atlases (BANFI p. 22). László Bendefy, Pál Hrenkó, as well as Róbert Halmaj and his co-authors also accept Pirro Ligorio's authorship

(BENDEFY p. 15, HRENKÓ pp. 22–70, HALMAI-HRENKÓ-MÉLYKÚTI pp. 32–71). László Irmédi-Molnár refers to it as „the 1559 (Roman) map” (IRMÉDI p. 19). Lajos Stegena distinguishes the map from its other variants by referring to its title, the place it was published and the date 1559 (STEGENA p. 16). Tibor Szathmáry marks the map as Anonymous, i.e. lacking an author. Following the title he mentions the publication year as well as the place of publication indicated on the maps. According to him all of the maps qualify as „pirate prints” of the Ligorio edition (SZATHMÁRY pp. 125–126). In Katalin Plihál’s view the nameless map of 1559 was undoubtedly published by Antonio Lafréry and she therefore refers to it using his name (PLIHÁL pp. 15–16).

With regard to the map of 1559, I deem Tibor Szathmáry’s label „Anonymous” the most appropriate, as not a single name can be found on the first, second and third status of the map. As far as the map is concerned I doubt both Pirro Ligorio’s and Antonio Lafréry’s „authorship”. The maps drawn by Ligorio were – just like the first Roman copy of Hungary – engraved by Sebastiano di Re, and it was Tramezzino who owned the plates. Therefore, it seems improbable that the same draftsman should have, in the same year, drawn the same map once more in a completely different style, especially as the publisher had obtained a 10-year privilege for it.

The authorship of Antonio Lafréry seems to me even more questionable than that of Ligorio. Not only is it problematic to link the manufacturing of the engraving in the period between 1558 and 1559 to Lafréry, but it is not even certain that *Nova descriptio totius Hungariae* was printed in Lafréry’s workshop in either 1558 or 1559. Francesco Ehrle compiled a catalogue on the basis of four sources which lists Lafréry’s dated prints between 1544 and 1577. In the years prior to 1558/1559 – except the starting year 1545 and the year 1556 – all prints are dated. However, there is no information available concerning dated publications from 1558 and 1559 (EHRLE p. 67). It was also Ehrle who published a catalogue from the year 1572 that is kept at the Biblioteca Maruccelliana in Florence, in which Lafréry lists the prints for sale in his shop. The first part of the catalogue lists maps of different authors (EHRLE pp. 53–55) and the heading *Ungaria* also appears there. It is not evident from the source whose map it designates, but it may well be the Anonymous copy of 1559. Taking into account the aforesaid, it seems likely – although based on indirect data – that Lafréry in his function as publisher may have, as was the custom at the time, ordered the manufacturing and maybe even reproduction of the 1559 Anonymous map, and that he himself, being the owner of the printing plate, may have taken care of its sale and the compilation of the maps into a volume.

Tooley listed a number of editions of the 1559 Anonymous *Nova descriptio* in 1939, yet on the basis of the collections’ call numbers it is impossible to decide which status of the map these editions represent. The classification of the maps listed below was made possible by studying them directly.

1st state – Anonymous (1559)

In my opinion the separate map at the Collection of Ancient and Rare Prints of the National Széchényi Library represents the – to my knowledge – earliest status of the second Roman copy from the year 1559 (NOVA DESCRIPTIO, OSZK App. M. 137). The cartouche contains the data described above, and does at first glance not differ from the editions of later status. However, the carving of the map is noteworthy, as the traces of the added lines on the print – unlike those on the other statuses – protrude rather distinctly. This striking feature appears not only on the cartouche itself, but also around the names of the settlements near the Danube, between Nándorfehérvár and the Traianus bridge, or in the area of Dalmatia and Croatia. The added lines are much less visible on the maps of later statuses, and sometimes disappear completely. Besides, this map lacks the settlement name of the group

of buildings marking the location of Pécs. At the bottom of the map there are two dividing lines, and the outer one features the open compass for measuring distances.

2nd and 3rd state – Anonymous (1559)

I had the opportunity to study the second and third states of the second copy at the collection of the Roman Biblioteca nazionale centrale. Among the three volumes of the Lafréry collection available there the first one starts with the „cover page” *Geografia. Tavole moderne... di diversi autori...* (BNCR 71.6.G.1-3).

The three volumes were originally owned by the library of the Roman Collegio Romano. When describing the collection, Carlo Castellani revealed already in 1876 that certain maps occur in the volumes twice or even three times, and that in contradiction to the title not all of them were printed in Rome, i.e. some maps came from various Italian towns and their majority acknowledge the works of Italian cosmographers between 1546 and 1596 (CASTELLANI p. 239). I was informed by the head of the restoration workshop, Dr. Maria Giovanna Fasulo Rak, that the volumes were restored and bound in white parchment around 1960. The maps were glued onto new paper and then pressed, which unfortunately rendered the study of the watermarks impossible.

The volume contains two issues of the second copy of *Nova descriptio totius Hungariae*. Among these the map of the 3rd volume qualifies as the second status of the second copy. The cartouche data on this map is fully identical with the map kept at the National Széchényi Library, and even the added lines are clearly visible. However, the name for Pécs appears on the right spot, next to the image of the buildings, as *Quinque Ecclesiae*. Another difference is that there is only one outer line framing the map at the bottom. Something must probably have happened to the plate during the reproduction process, as the data for the North-Western Upper Hungary region are practically printed twice (NOVA DESCRIPTIO, BNCR 71.6.G.3 c. 41).

The third status of the map's second copy can be found in the collection's first volume. It is identical with the previous status concerning data and the bottom line, but the damaged part of the plate was repaired by rubbing it with dust. As a result, the image of the North-Western Upper Hungary region became clearer, although few of the settlement names have remained double. Another notable difference is that the formerly protruding added lines are hardly visible (NOVA DESCRIPTIO, BNCR 71.6.G.1 c. 33).

4th state – Claude Duchet's map (1559/[1577])

The fourth status of *Nova descriptio* no longer remains completely „anonymous”. The year indicated on the cartouche remains unchanged (M. D. LVIII), yet above the bottom line of the map, but outside the area of the geographical drawings, in the right-hand bottom corner it reads *Romae Claudij Duchetti formis*, which refers to the new owner of the plate, the publisher of the original prints made from the plates, namely Claude Duchet (Claudio Ducheti/Duchetti). The change quite obviously proves the prominent role of Duchet in map publishing. Duchet's growing importance was underlined by his purchasing Michele Tramezzino's printing plates, e.g. the plate depicting France dating from 1571, as well as the inheritance of the Lafréry collection (BORRONI pp. XLI–XLII). Following Antonio Lafréry's death on 20 July, 1577, Duchet, as his uncle's main heir, entered on his inheritance on 28 November, 1577 (EHRLE pp. 18, 24). Given that both Tramezzino's maps and the 1559 Anonymous Hungary maps regularly figured among the *Geografia* editions of the *Lafréry collections*, Katalin Plihál is right when she says that the prints of *Nova descriptio*'s fourth status were created „sometime after 1577” (PLIHÁL p. 16).

In connection with the map's content, however, the former views of researchers are in need of reconsideration. Lacking knowledge of the Anonymous copies at the national library in Rome it is not surprising that both Tibor Szathmáry and Katalin Plihál believed the Latin name of Pécs to first appear on the copy carrying Claude Duchet's name (SZATHMÁRY pp. 125–126, PLIHÁL p. 16). However the second and third state of *Nova descriptio*'s second Roman copy prove that the city was mentioned already earlier.

Tibor Szathmáry knew only about one single Duchet map in 1987, namely that figuring in his own collection (SZATHMÁRY p. 126). Apart from this one, the Map Collection of the National Széchényi Library also possesses a print which Katalin Plihál considers „the only autonomous” map „of this edition” (NOVA DESCRIPTIO – DUCHETTI).

In addition to the two editions already discussed there is a third formerly unknown map that I found in a volume consisting of 24 differently-sized maps bound in parchment during my research at the Biblioteca Angelica (Rome). The maps stem from different authors, engravers, printers and publishers and date from different years. The „title” of the volume – *Tabulae Geographicae, et Chorographicae* – can be read in printed version only on the spine. The „title” is repeated in handwritten form at the upper margin of the outer cover in brown ink. The 11th map numbered with ink is the one issued by Duchet and identical with the previously discussed ones (NOVA DESCRIPTIO – DUCHET). The volume as a whole resembles those compiled by Lafréry. Yet it was certainly bound after Lafréry's death, as the year 1589 figuring on the last page shows the volume dates from the late 16th century. At that time the former Lafréry business was no longer headed by Claude Duchet, but Giacomo Gerhardi.

5th state – Giovanni Orlandi's map (1559/1602)

On the prints representing the fifth status of the second Roman copy there appears a new name. Between the title in the upper third and the place of publication as well as the year M. D. LVIII the new owner of the printing plate was named in italic with repeated mentioning of the place of publication and the year 1602 / *Ioannes Orlandi formis ro[mae] / 1602* /. Hence two names and years figure on the map, as Claude Duchet's name was still included above the bottom line of the plate. Orlandi, who worked in Rome between 1598 and 1609, bought a part of the Lafréry heritage after Giacomo Gerhardi's death. Given that the year 1602 figures on the map's cartouche, the prints must have been created in that or the following year (EHRLE pp. 20, 24).

The new owner did not apply any further substantive changes in the content. Apart from the additional cartouche text only the second bottom line was engraved again. Thereby the map's lower margin became once more identical with that of the first status.

Florio Banfi knew about this map in 1947 on the basis of the available literature, though he had not seen any of the editions (BANFI p. 23). Currently one of the few remaining editions of the map is available at the Map Collection of the National Széchényi Library (NOVA DESCRIPTIO – ORLANDI).

The Italian, Roman copies of our first detailed, printed map of Hungary were published within a period of almost one hundred years. The number of editions points to the continuing demand for these. Besides, when considering that they were frequently added to volumes, it becomes evident that Hungary featured among the known parts of the still evolving, and often changing world order in the 16th century. The study of the relationship between the various map statuses is ample proof for the absolute necessity to conduct research on the original maps and on all aspects of the activities related to map publication.

References

- BANFI: Florio Banfi: „Imago Hungariae” nella cartografia italiana del Rinascimento. Roma, 1947.
- BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- BENDEFY: Bendefy László: Lazarus secretarius és térképe. In: A magyar térképészet kezdetei. Szerk.: Stegena Lajos. Budapest, 1976. p. 9-15.
- BibLang: Biblioteca Angelica, Roma
- BMC VII. col. 753.: British Museum, Catalogue of Printed Maps, Charts and Plans VII. col. 753. and website <http://catalogue.bl.uk> (Last accessed date: 10 February 2005)
- BNCR: Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma
- BNCR 71.6.G.1-3: Geografia. Tavole moderne di Geografia... [Roma, A. Lafreri, sec. XVI-XVII.], vol. I-III.
- BNCR 71.6.G.1: 2r [Right-hand page:] GEOGRAFIA. / TAVOLE MODERNE DI GEOGRAFIA / DE LA MAGGIOR PARTE DEL MONDO / DI DIVERSI AVTORI / RACCOLTE ET MESSE SECONDO L'ORDINE / DI TOLOMEO / CON IDISEGNI DI MOLTE CITTA ET / FORTEZZE DI DIVERSE PROVINTIE / STAMPATE IN RAME CON STVDIO / ET DILIGENZA / IN ROMA [Roma, A. Lafreri, sec. XVI-XVII.], vol. I.
- BORRONI: Borroni Salvadori, Fabia: Carte, piante e stampe storiche delle raccolte Lafreriane della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze. Roma, 1980.
- CASTELLANI: Catalogo ragionato delle più rare o più importanti opere geografiche a stampa che si conservano nella biblioteca del Collegio Romano. Compilato da Carlo Castellani. Roma, 1876.
- EHRLE: Ehrle, Francesco: Roma prima di Sisto V. La pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577. Riprodotta dall'esemplare esistente nel Museo Britannico. Roma, 1908.
- FORRÁSOK: Források a Tabula Hungariae készítéséhez. In: A Tabula Hungariae és változatai. Budapest, 2003. p. 18-31.
- HALMAI-HRENKÓ-MÉLYKÜTI: Róbert Halmaj-Pál Hrenkó-Mihály Mélykúti: The Geographical Names on the Lazarus Maps. In: STEGENA p. 32-71.
- HRENKÓ: Hrenkó Pál: A Lázár-térképek névanyaga. In: A magyar térképészet kezdetei. Szerk.: Stegena Lajos. Budapest, 1976. p. 22-70.
- IRMÉDI: Irmédi-Molnár László: A Lázár-térképek szövege. In: A magyar térképészet kezdetei. Szerk.: Stegena Lajos. Budapest, 1976. p. 16-20.
- LÁZÁR: Lazarus: Tabula Hungari[a]e... Ingolstadii, 1528. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Régi és Ritka Nyomtatványok Tára, App. M. 136
- MCV II.: Almagir, Robeto: Monumenta cartographica Vaticana. Carte geografiche a stampa di particolare pregio o rarità dei secoli XVI e XVII. Firenze, 1929.
- MRHR : Monumenta rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium anno MDXIV. Maiorem partem collegit A. Fekete Nagy, ed. V. Kenéz, L. Solymosi, red. G. Érszegi. Budapest, 1979. (Publicationes Archivi Nationalis Hungarici II.) – The referred detail: „1529 Aprilis 8 – Venetia, Iacobus Zieglerus scribit se ad Georgium Collimitium alio nome Tannstetter Hungariam in charta depictam vidisse, quam componendam tempore insurrectionis idem et Eleazarus litteratus iniissent.” p. 545.
- NOVA DESCRIPTIO, BNCR 71.6.G.1 c. 33.: Nova descriptio totius Hungariae. Romae, MDLVIII. In: Geografia. Tavole moderne ... di diversi autori... [Roma, A. Lafreri, sec. XVI-XVII.], vol. I. c. 33. BNCR 71.6.G.1
- NOVA DESCRIPTIO, BNCR 71.6.G.3 c. 41.: Nova descriptio totius Hungariae. Romae, MDLVIII. In: Geografia. Tavole moderne ... di diversi autori... [Roma, A. Lafreri, sec. XVI-XVII.], vol. III. c. 41. BNCR 71.6.G.3
- NOVA DESCRIPTIO – DUCHET: Claudius Duchet(ti): Nova descriptio totius Hungariae. Romae, 1559. BibLang BB.20.3

NOVA DESCRIPTIO – DUCHETTI: Claudius Duchetti: *Nova descriptio totius Hungariae*. Romae, 1559. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Térképtár, TR 762

NOVA DESCRIPTIO – LIGORIO: [Pirro] Pyrrho Ligorio: *Nova descriptio totius Hungariae*. Romae, 1559. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Térképtár, TR 761

NOVA DESCRIPTIO – ORLANDI: [Giovanni] Ioannes Orlandi: *Nova descriptio totius Hungariae*. Romae, 1559/1602. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Térképtár, TR 2408

NOVA DESCRIPTIO, OSZK App. M. 137: *Nova descriptio totius Hungariae*. Romae, MDLVIII. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Régi és Ritka Nyomtatványok Tára, App. M. 137

PLIHÁL: Plihál Katalin: *A Tabula Hungariae és változatai*. In: *A Tabula Hungariae és változatai*. Budapest, 2003. 3-17. p.

RB: Patrimonio Nacional. Real Biblioteca, Madrid

STEGENA: *Lazarus Secretarius. The First Hungarian Mapmaker and His Work*. Ed. Lajos Stegena. Budapest, 1982.

SZATHMÁRY: Szathmáry Tibor: *Descriptio Hungariae. Magyarország és Erdély nyomtatott térképei 1477-1600*. Fusignano, 1987.

TOOLEY: Tooley, R[onald] V[ere]: *Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century, being a comparative list of the Italian maps issued by Lafreri, Forlani, Duchetti, Bertelli and others, found in atlases*. In: *Imago Mundi* III. 1939. 12-47. p.

VAVASSORE: Ioannes Andreas Valuasorius cognomine Guadagninus: *Tabula Hungariae... Nova descriptio totius Ungariae. Venetiis, 1553*. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Régi és Ritka Nyomtatványok Tára, App. M. 135

