East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic

Ostmitteleuropa: Zwischen Ostsee und Adria

VOLUME / BAND 1
ISSUE / HEFT 1

2025

East Central Europe:
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Volume / Band 1
Issue / Heft 1

The University of Debrecen
Faculty of Humanities
Institute of History

2025

East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic
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Published by / Herausgegeben von:
University of Debrecen
Issued by / Veröffentlicht von:
The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities, Institute of History
Address / Adresse:
H–4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

ISSN:
Print: 3058-0501
Available online at / Online verfügbar unter:
https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/eastcentraleurope/index
(Editorial support by University of Debrecen University and National Library/ unterstützt durch Universitäts- und Nationalbibliothek der Universität Debrecen)

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East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic
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2025, Volume / Band 1, Issue / Heft 1

Contents / Inhalt

ARTICLES / ARTIKEL

REVIEWS AND REPORTS / REZENSIONEN UND BERICHTE

East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic 1, 2025, 213–228.
Ostmitteleuropa: Zwischen Ostsee und Adria
ISSN 3058-0501
doi.org/10.65006/eastcentraleurope/2025/16363

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Some Notes on the Putsch Map ("Europa Regina") and its Depiction of Southeastern Europe*

Abstract

This paper examines a series of anthropomorphic maps depicting Europe in the form of a woman, now collectively referred to as *Europa Regina*. The first such map was created by Johannes Putsch of Innsbruck (1516–1542) as a visual accompaniment to his poem *Europa Lamentans*, dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand I of Habsburg and his brother, Charles V. The concept gained widespread popularity through adaptations of Putsch's map, including a more detailed version by Matthias Quad and Johann Bussemacher, printed in Cologne in 1587, and two smaller, simplified versions featured in Heinrich Bünting's *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* (1587) and Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1588).

Previously, the earliest known version of Putsch's map was thought to have been printed in Paris in 1537. However, in 2019, an earlier edition printed in 1534 – now kept in the Retz Museum in Lower Austria – was (re)discovered. Along with describing this map and the circumstances of its rediscovery, this article will examine the representation of the southeastern regions of the European continent in Putsch's map and its derivatives. It is suggested that Putsch, in addition to drawing from Ptolemaic geography, was probably familiar with Lázár Deák's *Tabula Hungariae* (1528).

Keywords: Johann Putsch, Europa Regina, sixteenth century, Renaissance cartography, South-Eastern Europe, Belgrade

The personification of Europe has deep roots in antiquity. In Greek mythology, Europa was a Phoenician princess abducted by Zeus, who assumed the form of a bull and carried her to Crete, where she became queen and bore three sons, including the legendary King Minos. This mythological figure lent her name to the geographical term Europe, which, alongside Africa and Asia, designated one of the three divisions of the known world. However, the term *Europeans* (*Europenses*) emerged much later, first recorded in the eighth century CE in an Iberian chronicle, referring to the Christian inhabitants of the con-

* This article is a revised and abridged version of a text originally published in Serbian: Uzelac, Aleksandar, "Kraljica Evropa", = *Beogradski istorijski glasnik* 12, 2021, 19–35.

tinent's western regions,[1] and it was only with the advance of the Ottoman conquests that "Europe" increasingly acquired wider religious and cultural significance, coming to symbolize the Christian West and Christian unity against this new threat. Reflecting this development, cartography evolved to depict Europe not merely as a geographical region but as a distinct continent separate from Asia and Africa. Within this context, the first large-format, detailed printed map of Europe, *Carta itineraria Europae*, was produced in 1511 by the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller.

On the other hand, the creation of anthropomorphic maps, depicting continents or regions in human form, originated independently, with the earliest known examples appearing in the fourteenth century in the works of the Italian mystic Opicinus de Canistris. He produced several simplified anthropomorphic illustrations of Europe and North Africa, rendered as two women, two men, or a man and a woman.[2] Nonetheless, his influence on cartography's development was nonexistent and it was not until the sixteenth century, amid profound political and religious upheavals, that the depiction of Europe as a crowned female figure, known as *Europa Regina*, and visually evoking the mythological Phoenician princess from whom the continent derives its name, gained widespread popularity.

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At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman threat loomed large over Europe. The responsibility for resisting the advancing Ottoman forces fell to Archduke Ferdinand of Habsburg (1521–1564), who assumed the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia in 1526 and was later crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1556. It was from within Ferdinand's immediate circle that the creator of the *Europa Regina* map emerged: Johann Putsch (1516–1542) of Innsbruck, the son of royal secretary Wilhelm Putsch and Dorothea Müller. By the age

[1] *Isidori lunioris episcopi Hispalensis historia Gothorum Wandalorum, Sueborum ad a. DCXXIV, Continuatio Hispana a. DCCLIV*. Vol. II. Ed. Theodor Mommsen. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi XI, Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII). Berlin, 1894. 323–370. 361.

[2] Opicinus de canistris, Liber plenus de variis figuris, Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Ms. Vat. lat. 6435, 61r–61v, 68v–69v, 71r–71v et passim digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6435 (Accessed on 15 September 2025). Laharie, Muriel, "Les cartes anthropomorphes d'Opicinus de Canistris (1337)", In: Bresc, Henri – Tixier Du Mesnil, Emmanuelle (eds.), *Géographes et voyageurs au Moyen Âge*. Nanterre, 2010. 67–89.

of fourteen, Johann had formally entered Ferdinand's entourage. As a young man, he traveled to Italy and pursued his education in France, at the University of Orléans, before returning to serve Ferdinand as a counselor and secretary. Despite his promising career, his life was cut short by a premature death. He died at the age of only twenty-six in Esztergom, Hungary, where he was also laid to rest.[3]

Putsch left behind two short literary compositions: the poems *Europa Lamentans* and *Transylvania*. Both were published posthumously in an anthology, edited and printed by Ruprecht Winter (also known as Robertus Chemerinus) in Basel in 1544.[4] Here, the author is listed as Bucius Aenicola, a Latinized rendering of Putsch's surname, paired with a cognomen referencing his geographic origin (*Aenicola* is derived from *Aenus*, the Latin name for the River Inn). The first poem, which is directly connected to the map, recounts the tragic fate of Europe, beset throughout two millennia by wars, internal discord, and foreign invasions. The narrative begins with the mytho-historical clash between Aeneas and Turnus and culminates in a hopeful appeal for deliverance, expressing the belief that Europe's salvation rests in the hands of Ferdinand and his brother Charles V (1516–1556), King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor.[5] The second poem is a brief allegorical text reflecting the uncertain political climate in Transylvania in the years following the Battle of Mohács.

Putsch left a far more enduring mark on history as the creator of the first early modern map of Europe in female form than as a poet.[6] For a long time, scholars believed the earliest (and only preserved) version of his map to be

[3] A fundamental study on Johann Putsch, though it omits his cartographic work, is Jax, Karl, "Johannes Putschius. Ein Tiroler Heimatdichter (1516–1542)", = *Veröffentlichungen des Museums Ferdinandeum* 18, 1938, 334–347. See also: Karrow, Robert W., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps*. Chicago, 1993. 447–448; Meurer, Peter, "Europa Regina: 16th-Century Maps of Europe in the Form of a Queen", = *Belgeo – Revue belge de géographie* 3–4, 2008, 355–370. 357–358.

[4] Winter, Robert, *Poematia aliquot insignia illustrium poetarum recentiorum.…* Basel, 1544.

[5] The poem *Europa Lamentans* has in recent times been published on two occasions: Meurer, Europa Regina, 2008. 368–369.; Detering, Nicolas – Pulina, Dennis, "Rivalry of Lament: Early Personifications of Europe in Neo-Latin Panegyrics for Charles V and Francis I", In. Detering, Nicolas – Marsico, Clementina – Walser-Burgler, Isabella (eds.), *Contesting Europe. Comparative Perspectives on Early Modern Discourses on Europe, 1400–1800*. Leiden–Boston, 2020. 13–38. 31–34. See also: Walser-Bürgler, Isabella, *Europe and Europeanness in Early Modern Latin Literature*. Leiden, 2021. 62–63.

[6] Although it has recently been suggested that Putsch's *Europa regina* had an earlier predecessor dating to the very beginning of the sixteenth century, the evidence for this claim remains circumstantial, sparse, and unconvincing. See: Shamin, S. M., "'Europa

the one now preserved in the Tyrolean State Museum in Innsbruck, measuring 63 by 42 cm. It is dated to 1537, as indicated by the cartouche inscription and dedication to Ferdinand: "Ad invictissimum Ferdinandum Romanorum, Hungariae, et Bohaemiae Regem, Archiducem Austriae, Cum Tyroli Ioannes Bucius Aenicola dedicat. M. D. XXXVII."[7] The map was published in Paris and printed by Christian Wechel, originally from Basel. According to a note in the bibliographic compendium of Conrad Gessner (Conradus Gesnerus, 1516–1565), it is mentioned that Johann Putsch of Innsbruck created a remarkable map of Europe in the form of a maiden, which Wechel printed in Paris on two sheets, on one side only, so that it may be affixed to a wall.[8]

However, in 2019, a previously unknown and older copy of Putsch's map was discovered in the Museum Retz in Lower Austria. According to the legend inscribed upon it, this version was printed on 25 November 1534 (M.D.XXXIIII sept. Kal. dece.) by Jobst de Negker in Augsburg. A later-added colophon indicates that the map entered the museum's collection in 1838 as a gift from Ignaz Lamatsch, a librarian at the local Dominican monastery.[9] Although the 1534 version of Putsch's map had eluded scholarly attention until recently, it was not unknown. Interestingly enough, a reference to it appears in a catalogue of the Nuremberg library compiled by the German clergyman Johann Siegmund Mörl, published in 1791.[10] The copy noted by Mörl was another exemplar of the same map, distinct from the version now preserved in Retz.

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regina' i 'Evropeiskoi strany koroli': karta vremen imperatora Maksimiliana I v Moskovskom gosudarstve rubezha XV–XVI vv.", = *Drevnyaya Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki* 1, 2019, 145–148.

[7] Meurer, Europa Regina, 2008. 358–359. (with the map).

[8] Aenicola, Joannes Bucius, "Europae totius luculentam descriptionem effinxit ad formam virginis. Vuechelus excudit Parisiis, in tabula duarum chartarum, altera tantum facie impressa, ut liceat affigi ad parietem", In: Gessner, Conrad, *Bibliotheca universalis, sive Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus, in tribus linguis Latina, Graeca et Hebraica*…. Zurich, 1545. fol. 395v. According to a brief note in Gessner's second handbook, *Pandectarum sive Partitionum universalium*, Putsch designed the map in collaboration with Claudio Maria Arezzo, the official historian of Charles V: "Europae descriptio per Cl. Marium Aretium et Io. Bucium Aenicolam." Meurer, Europa Regina, 2008. 359. However, the attribution of Putsch as co-author is most likely an error on Gessner's part, Detering – Pulina, Rivalry of Lament, 2020. 20. n. 15.

[9] "Konigin Europa": alteste Darstellung des Kontinents in Form einer Konigin im Museum Retz entdeckt (Pressemitteilung) www.museumretz.at/sites/default/files/Presse_Europa-Regina_0.pdf (Accessed on 15 September 2025)

[10] Moerlius, Ioannes Sigismundus, *Bibliothecae... pars prior*. Nuremberg, 1791. 269–270: "Europa sub forma foeminae Ioannes Bucius dedicat Viennae Austr. M.D.XXXIIII. Sept. Kal. Dec. Illumin". Also conveniently characterized as "mapa geographica rarissima".

This earlier edition of Putsch's map was originally issued together with the poem *Europa Lamentans*, preceded by a dedicatory epistle addressed to Ferdinand of Habsburg, an element absent from the version published in Winter's anthology. In this dedicatory note, Putsch expresses his hope for the archduke's victory over the Ottomans and allegorically identifies Ferdinand with the classical deity Apollo. The passage reads:

> "To the invincible Ferdinand, King of the Romans, of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, and Count of Tyrol: Behold how, in the form of a beautiful maiden, Europe vividly opens her bosom before you. With a smile, she holds Italy in her right hand and the Cimbri (Denmark) in her left, while Spain rests upon her head. On her chest lies Gaul (France), her abdomen bears the Germans, and with her feet she warms the Greeks and Sarmatians..."[11]

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Although Putsch's map (the 1537 edition, though the same applies to the nearly identical version printed three years earlier) has been described in detail on several occasions,[12] a few observations merit reiteration here. The geographical elements, such as coastlines, are subordinated to the visual representation of the female form, with particular emphasis placed on her face and the crown that adorns her head. At the center of the composition lies the Kingdom of Bohemia, one of Ferdinand's crown lands, positioned as the figure's heart. Sicily is depicted as an orb of sovereignty, while a second

[11] "Ad invictissimium Ferdinandum Romanorum, Hungariae et Bohemiae Regem, Archiducem Austriae, Com. Tyrolis. En tibi formosae sub forma Europa puellae / Vivida foecundos pandit ut illa sinus. / Ridens Italiam dextra, Cimbrosque sinistra / Obtinet, Hispanum fronte geritque solum. / Pectore habet Gallos, Germanos corpore gestat, / Ac pedibus Graios, Sauromatasque fovet...". Detering – Pulina, Rivalry of Lament, 2020. 31. n. 44.

[12] Erben, Dietrich, "Anthropomorphe Europa-Karten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Medialität, Ikonographie und Formtypus", Stercken, Martina – Baumgärtner, Ingrid (eds.), *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Zürich, 2012. 99–123. 101–104.; Werner, Elke Anna, "Anthropomorphic Maps: On the Aesthetic Formand Political Function of Body Metaphors in the Early Modern Europe Discourse", In. Melion, Walter – Rothstein, Bret – Weemans, Michel (eds.), *The Anthropomorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts*. Leiden–Boston, 2015. 251–272. 253–256.

regnal symbol, a scepter, appears in the right hand, represented by Denmark. North Africa, Scandinavia, and Britain are rendered only in outline, the latter is shown resting like a weight upon the figure's head.

The eastern boundary of Europe is marked by the River Don (*Tanais fl.*), following ancient and Renaissance geographical conventions. Various coats of arms accompany selected regions, and the map features stylized representations of major rivers, principal cities, and several mountain ranges. As previously noted in the literature, a number of the oronyms and hydronyms on Putsch's map, including the River *Viadrus* (Oder) in Germany and the Riphaean Mountains (*Ryphaei montes*), from which the Don is shown to flow, are derived from Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia*. As previously noted, rediscovered at the close of the fifteenth century and widely disseminated in early modern Europe, Ptolemy's *Geographia* served as a foundational source for Putsch.[13] Additional elements drawn from Ptolemaic geography include the Hercynian Forest (*Silva Hercinia*), spanning much of central and eastern Europe, the *Yaziges Metanastae* (*Yaziges Metanastes*), placed in the region of Pannonia, the Dacian town of *Zeugma*, inscribed near Transylvania (*Transiluani seu Getae*), and the label "Six Mouths of the Danube" (*Sex Danubii ostia*) marking the river's estuary into the Black Sea. The belief that the Danube flowed into the Black Sea through six channels originates with Pliny the Elder[14] and is likewise reflected in Renaissance editions of Ptolemy's maps.

On Putsch's map, the Danube River (*Danubius fl.*) is prominently featured alongside several of its tributaries: the Lech (*Lichus fl.*), the Inn (*Aenus fl.*), the Tisza (*Tibi fons fl.*), the Sava (*Savus fl.*), the Siret (*Hierrasus fl.*), and the enigmatic Atlas River (*Atlas flu.*), whose identification will be addressed in due course. South of the Danube, the Dinaric and Balkan mountain ranges are represented as a single, continuous, rectilinear formation, depicted almost as if forming the hem of the female figure's garment. This mountain chain is labeled in capital letters as the "Albanian Mountains" (*Albanus mons*), a designation also found in Ptolemy's *Geographia*. However, whereas in Ptolemy the name refers exclusively to the westernmost section of

[13] Meurer, Europa Regina, 2008. 361. On reception of Ptolemy's Geography in German lands during the early renaissance: Meurer, Peter, "Cartography in the German Lands, 1450–1650", In. Woodward, David (ed.), *The History of Cartography*. III/2. Chicago–London, 2007. 1172–1245. 1181–1192.

[14] Pliny, *Natural History*, Vol. II: Books 3–7. Ed. Rackham, Harris, Cambridge Mass., 1942. 178–179.

the Dinaric Alps, Putsch appears to have significantly extended its scope. It is plausible that Putsch, whose knowledge of Southeastern European geography was limited, misunderstood the name on Ptolemaic maps as referring to the then-contemporary province of Albania. Consequently, he may have generalized the term to encompass the entire mountainous belt that bisects the Balkan Peninsula along a west–east axis. Two additional mountain ranges, more modestly marked on the map, are Parnassus (*Parnassus*) in central Greece and Pholoë (*Pholoe mons*) in the Peloponnese, the latter famed in classical mythology as the abode of the centaurs. Their inclusion, despite their peripheral geographical position, underscores the influence of Renaissance editions of Ptolemy's maps and reflects Putsch's broader engagement with classical literary and cartographic traditions.

Among the Central and Southeastern European territories depicted on the map, Hungary holds a prominent place, its name rendered in capital letters across the area between the Danube and the Sava, and identified as ancient Lower Pannonia (*Hungaria olim Pannonia inferior*). Serbia follows, labeled as Upper Moesia (*Servia olim Misia superior*). East of Serbia lies Bulgaria, equated with Lower Moesia (*Bulgaria olim Misia inferior*). The boundary between the two Moesias, that is Serbia and Bulgaria, is marked by the so-called Atlas River, which originates in the Albanian Mountains. Its course suggests two possible identifications: the Great Morava, listed in some Ptolemaic editions as *Moschus* or *Mochius*, and the more plausible Čibrica River, known to Ptolemy as *Ciabrus*. The latter aligns with the classical division between Upper and Lower Moesia, making it the likelier candidate, although the rationale behind its unusual name on Putsch's map remains uncertain.

At the Danube's mouth lies Wallachia, labeled as ancient Dacia (*Valachia olim Dacia vel Davia*). In the southern Balkans, between the Adriatic Sea (*Sinus Adriaticus*) and the Albanian Mountains, appear the names Illyria (*Illiria*), Albania (*Albania*), Epirus (*Epirvs*), and Greece (*Grecia*), all inscribed in capital letters. Adjacent to Illyria, in smaller script, are Croatia (*Croacia*), Dalmatia (*Dalmacia*), and Bosnia (*Bossina*), each represented with a coat of arms: Croatia's red-and-white checkerboard, Dalmatia's three crowned heads, and Bosnia's arm bearing a sabre. These heraldic devices were firmly established by the early sixteenth century.[15] Coats of arms are also included for Hungary and Greece. While the Hungarian emblem needs no explanation,

[15] Filipović, Emir, "Trijumfalni slavoluk cara Maksimilijana i bosanska heraldika", = *Godišnjak. Centar za Balkanološka ispitivanja* 39, 2010, 173–187.; Božić, Mate – Ćosić,

that of Greece is particularly notable: a large crowned escutcheon, quartered, with a Byzantine tetragrammatic crosses and crescents – an unmistakable reference to Islam and the Ottoman Empire.[16]

North of the "Albanian Mountains," labelled in smaller script, is Slavonia (*Sclauonia*), while the topography of southeastern Europe is further completed by the smaller-lettered Thessaly (*Thessalia*), Macedonia (*Macedonia*), and Thrace (*Thratia*), all positioned near Greece. Additionally, Achaea (*Achaia*), Boeotia (*Boeotia*), Corinth (*Corinthus*, noted as a region rather than a city), and the Peloponnese (*Peloponesus*) are marked. Along the eastern coast of the Balkan Peninsula, inscriptions identify the Hellespont (*Hellespontus*), the Propontis or Marmara Sea (*Propontis*), the Thracian Bosporus (*Bosphorus Thratius*), and the previously mentioned "six mouths of the Danube."

On Putsch's map of Europe, a relatively small number of cities, thirteen in total, are depicted with vignettes and labeled by name. These include Paris (*Lutetia Parisiorum*), Strasbourg (*Argentina*), Rome (*Roma*), Venice (*Venetiae*), Milan (*Mediolanum*), Prague (*Praga*), Kraków (*Cracouia*), Buda (*Buda*), Vienna (*Vienna*), and Innsbruck (*Aeni pons*), the latter undoubtedly included due to its status as the birthplace of the map's creator. The eleventh city is the aforementioned ancient Zeugma, which Renaissance geography commonly identified with the then-capital of Transylvania, Klausenburg (Kolozsvár, present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania), and occasionally with the nearby Sebeș.[17] Consequently, this location, marked on the map as the center of Transylvania, most likely represents Klausenburg.

In Southeastern Europe, only two cities are marked. First is Constantinople, depicted with a vignette but without a name on the 1534 edition of the map, while the Paris-printed version adds the inscription *Constantinopolis*. The second city is Belgrade, recorded as *Alba Graeca*. This appellation was the stand-

Stjepan, "Nastanak hrvatskih grbova. Podrijetlo, povijest i simbolika od 13. do 16. stoljeća", = *Gordogan* 35–36, 2017, 22–68.

[16] On this coat of arms, see in particular: Filipović, Emir, "Imagining the Arms of the Ottoman Empire in Early Modern Europe", = *The Armiger's News* 47:2, 2025, 25–27.

[17] As examples, one may refer to the works of the Hungarian archbishop and historian Miklós Oláh (1493–1568) and the Italian geographer and professor at the University of Padua, Filippo Ferrari (1551–1626): *Nicolai Olahi metropolitae Strigoniensis Hungaria et Atila: sive De originibus gentis, regni Hungariae situ, habitu, opportunitatibus et rebus bello paceque ab Atila gestis Libri duo*. Ed. Kollar, Adam F. Wien, 1763, 65.; Ferrarius, Philippus, *Lexicon geographicum in quo universi orbis oppida, urbes, regiones, provinciae, et regna, emporia, academiae, metropoles, fontes, flumina et maria, antiquis recentibusque nominibus appellata....* Milan, 1627. 858.

ard name for Belgrade in written Western sources and on maps from the late fifteenth century onward.[18] Like the other vignettes, the one representing Belgrade is drawn in a typical manner, featuring city walls and two towers. The inclusion of Belgrade undoubtedly relates to the turbulent events of the period. Putsch was a contemporary of Belgrade's fall to the Ottomans in 1521, a momentous event that resonated widely and marked the starting point for further Turkish advances through Mohács (1526) to the walls of Vienna (1529). Belgrade was also the southernmost point of Hungary and a possession claimed by Ferdinand of Habsburg, which further underscores its geopolitical significance.

It has already been noted that Putsch relied on Renaissance editions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* as a primary source for his map. However, his depiction of Southeastern Europe suggests familiarity with at least one additional cartographic source. Notably, the use of the name *Alba Graeca* for Belgrade, along with the inscriptions *Servia olim Misia superior* and *Bulgaria olim Misia inferior*, also appears on another contemporary map: the so-called oldest map of Hungary (*Tabula Hungariae*), compiled by Lazarus (Lazarus secretarius, Lázár deák) and printed in Ingolstadt in 1528, likewise under the patronage of King Ferdinand of Hungary. As *Tabula Hungariae* has been extensively analyzed in the historiography,[19] a detailed discussion here is unnecessary. What merits emphasis, however, is that the direct identification of Serbia with Upper Moesia and Bulgaria with Lower Moesia, otherwise absent from other cartographic works of the time, suggests that Lazarus's *Tabula Hungariae*, or a related map, served as a model for Putsch's representation of the Danubian lands.[20]

[18] On this see: Dinić, Mihailo (ed.), *Građa za istoriju Beograda u srednjem veku*. I. Belgrade, 1951. 40–41. et passim.

[19] Stegena, Lajos (ed.), *Lazarus Secretarius. The First Hungarian Mapmaker and His Work*. Budapest, 1982. See also: Török, Zsolt, "Renaissance Cartography in East-Central Europe, ca. 1450–1650", In. Woodward, David (ed.), *The History of Cartography*. III/2. Chicago–London, 2007. 1806–1851. 1820–1828.

[20] The Lazarus map is the oldest extant map of Hungary, though not the earliest overall. It was based on a now-lost map of Hungary created by Francesco Rosselli between 1478 and 1484 at the court of King Matthias Corvinus, known today only through documentary references, Banfi, Florio, "Sole Surviving Specimens of Early Hungarian Cartography", = *Imago Mundi* 13, 1956, 89–100. 89. Another Rosselli map from the same period, depicting the Balkan Peninsula, is preserved in the National Library of Florence. There, the name Upper Moesia (Misia Superior) appears next to Bosnia (Bossina) but is not associated with Serbia (Zervia), see: Nikolić, Milica, "Renesansa Ptolemejeve Geografije", In. Škrivanić,

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Although only two copies of Putsch's map survive today, housed in museums in Retz and Innsbruck, it is certain that the map circulated in a greater number of copies and was well known by the second half of the sixteenth century. The French humanist Guillaume Postel was familiar with Putsch's map, in his *Cosmographicae Disciplinae Compendium* (1561), he included a stylized and highly simplified representation of Europe as a female figure, devoid of geographical names.[21] The celebrated Dutch cartographer Abraham Ortelius also refers to the 1537 Putsch map ("Ioannes Bucius Aenicola, Europam sub forma puellae Parisiis apud Christianum Wechelum") among the sources he consulted for his atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and his detailed map of Europe published in 1570.[22]

The representation of Europe in female form reached its peak in the late sixteenth century.[23] However, it is necessary here to confine our discussion to the map's influence within the realm of cartography, where no fewer than three adaptations of Putsch's original were published within just two years. The first of these, printed in Cologne in 1587 by the Dutch cartographer Matthias Quad and the German printer Johann Bussemacher, appeared on a large sheet measuring 70×79 cm, accompanied by an extensive explanatory text under the title *Europae Descriptio Virginis*.[24] Quad and Bussemacher's version was more elaborate than the original, offering more accurate outlines of Britain, enhanced topographical detail for North Africa, and the addition

Gavro (ed.), *Monumenta Cartographica Jugoslaviae*. Vol. II. Belgrade, 1979. 83–85. (with the map). It is therefore likely that Rosselli's lost map of Hungary followed the same pattern and could not have served as a model for Putsch's depiction of the Danubian region. Notably, the inscription "Mysia superior nunc Sirfya" appears on the so-called Eichstätt version of the map of Nicholas de Cusa (1491), although Bulgaria and Belgrade are absent. On this map, see: Meurer, Cartography in the German Lands, 2007. 1187–1188.

[21] Piechocki, Katharina, *Cartographic Humanism. The Making of Early Modern Europe*. Chicago–London, 2019. 109–111.; Detering – Pulina, Rivalry of Lament, 2020. 20. n. 16. See also Walser-Bürgler, Europe and Europeanness, 2021. 61.

[22] Ortelius, Abraham, *Theatrum orbis terrarium*. Antwerp, 1570 s.p. ("Catalogus auctorum tabularum geographicarum"); Karrow, Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century, 1993.

[23] Prosperi, Adriano, "Europa 'in forma virginis': aspetti della propaganda asburgica del' 500", = *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 19, 1993, 243–275.

[24] Meurer, Europa Regina, 2008. 364–366. (with the map); Erben, Anthropomorphe Europa-Karten, 2012. 104–108.

of numerous coats of arms and cities, marked here with circles rather than pictorial vignettes.

The Quad–Bussemacher *Europa Virgo* is also notable for its more detailed representation of Southeastern Europe. Among the cities included are Corinth (*Corinthus*), Athens (*Athene*), Patras (*Patras*), as well as the name of the ancient tribe *Triballi*, inscribed alongside Bulgaria. The Peloponnese is labeled with its contemporary alternate name, Morea (*Peloponnesus nunc Morea*). A particularly curious feature is the inclusion of a city named *Polawizo*, placed between the inscriptions *Illyria* and *Albania* and absent from Putsch's original maps of 1534 and 1537. All indications suggest that this city corresponds to Podgorica. This is supported by comparison with Giacomo Gastaldi's map entitled *Greciae universae secundum hodiernum situm neoterica descriptio*, published in Ortelius's atlas, in which the same city appears as *Polgariza*.[25] The maps by Gastaldi and Quad–Bussemacher thus appear to be the earliest cartographic works to feature the modern capital of Montenegro.

In the same year that Quad and Bussemacher published their adaptation of Putsch's map, a simplified version also appeared in print. This version was included in a geographic handbook accompanying the Holy Scriptures, authored by the Protestant clergyman Heinrich Bünting (1545–1606). The work, titled *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae*, although written in German, was first published in 1581. However, it was only in the 1587 edition, printed in Wittenberg, that the map of Europe in the form of a woman was featured, spread across two facing pages.[26] This version continued to be reprinted in later editions of Bünting's work well into the mid-seventeenth century.[27] Accompanying the map was a passage adapted from Putsch's original dedication to Ferdinand, though notably stripped of any reference to the intended recipient. The omission was possibly intentional, aimed at dissociating the image from the Habsburg symbolism.

Due to the reduced size of this edition, many country, river, and mountain names, as well as all heraldic emblems, were omitted. On the other hand, Ireland was added, along with Bunting's hometown of Brunswick (*Brunsuiga*).

[25] Ortelius, Theatrum orbis terrarum, 1570. 40. On Gastaldi and his influence on Ortelius: Karrow, Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century, 1993. 216–249.

[26] Bunting, Henricus, *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae. Das ist, Ein Reisebuch, Uber die gantze heilige Schriff...*, Wittenberg, 1587, 12–13.; Meurer, Europa Regina, 2008. 362–363. (with the map). The first edition also included a very simple stylized figurative map of Europe as a woman, but not resembling Putsch map, Werner, Anthropomorphic Maps, 2015. 257.

[27] Erben, Anthropomorphe Europa-Karten, 2012. 109–110.

Regarding the geography of Southeastern Europe, the Danube is depicted as a straight line without tributaries. The following toponyms, rendered in uppercase letters, remain on the map: *Mons Albanus*, *Illiricum*, *Albania*, *Graecia*, *Peloponnesus*, *Hungaria*, *Transsylvania*, *Walachia*, and *Bulgaria*, while *Serbia* was omitted. Cities depicted include *Constantinopolis*, *Alba Greca*, *Sparta*, *Corinthus*, and *Athene*. The inclusion of the latter two cities indicates that the Wittenberg edition of Bunting's work was modeled not only after Putsch's 1534 map, but also incorporated features from the more detailed Quad-Bussemacher adaptation. Moreover, the city of Patras was replaced by Sparta in Bunting's edition, probably due to the latter's greater historical renown.

The third revision of the map was published in 1588 as part of an edition of *Cosmographia* by the German scholar and cartographer Sebastian Münster (1488–1552). This work enjoyed exceptional popularity. From its initial publication in 1544 until the late 1620s, it saw a total of thirty-five editions. Of these, twenty were issued in German, five in Latin, six in French, three in Italian, and one in Czech, with abbreviated translations also available in English.[28] In the later editions of Münster's *Cosmographia*, both the volume of text and the number of maps were consistently expanded compared to the original publication. Thus, the Basel edition of 1588, printed in German by Sebastian Heinrich Petri, comprised over 1 400 pages of text alongside hundreds of illustrations and cartographic representations. Among these was a notable map of Europe depicted in the form of a woman, printed across an entire page,[29] which continued to be included in all subsequent editions of the work.

Similar to the map found in Bünting's *Itinerarium*, Münster's version features a drastically reduced number of country and city names. Those included are often "modernized". A notable hydrographic feature is the depiction of the Danube River following a winding course, accompanied by the Sava River, which, however, remains unnamed. The Danube Delta is illustrated with four branches, in contrast to the six shown in all other versions of this map tradition. Furthermore, whereas earlier cartographers such as Ptolemy, Quad, and Bussemacher employed the term *Illyricum*, Münster's map replaces it with *Sclavonia*, here used as a collective designation for the Slavic lands along

[28] Mclean, Matthew, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Munster. Describing the World in the Reformation*. London, 2013. 173–188.

[29] Munster, Sebastian, *Cosmographey Oder beschreibung Aller Lander herrschafftenn und furnemesten Stetten des gantzen Erdbodens.…* Basel, 1588, XLI.; See also: Meurer, Europa Regina, 2008. 363–364. (with the map). Werner, Anthropomorphic Maps, 2015. 256–257.

the eastern Adriatic coast. Besides, Münster's version substitutes Albania with the name *Macedonia*, while the Peloponnese is referred to by its contemporary designation *Morea*. The names for the Dinaric Alps and the Balkan mountain ranges are omitted altogether. Within this southeastern region, only three territories are named: Greece, Hungary, and Bulgaria, the latter situated north of the lower Danube. Another noteworthy feature of the anthropomorphic map of Europe in Münster's *Cosmographia* is the near-total absence of urban centers. Only three cities are marked and named across the entire map: Paris, Constantinople, and Belgrade, the latter now identified by its Slavic name, *Belgradum*.

This detail merits particular attention and serves as a fitting conclusion. It is no coincidence that Belgrade appears on all major versions of the "Virgin" or "Queen" of Europe maps, those by Putsch (1534 and 1537), Quad and Bussemacher (1587), as well as in the editions of Bünting's *Itinerarium* and Münster's *Cosmographia*. This striking continuity underscores the city's enduring status as one of the principal strategic and symbolic loci of the European continent. It also reflects the broader cartographic vision of Putsch and his successors, for whom Southeastern Europe was not a marginal periphery but an essential and integrated part of the imagined European whole.

Appendix

Illustrations of "Europa Regina" map:[30]

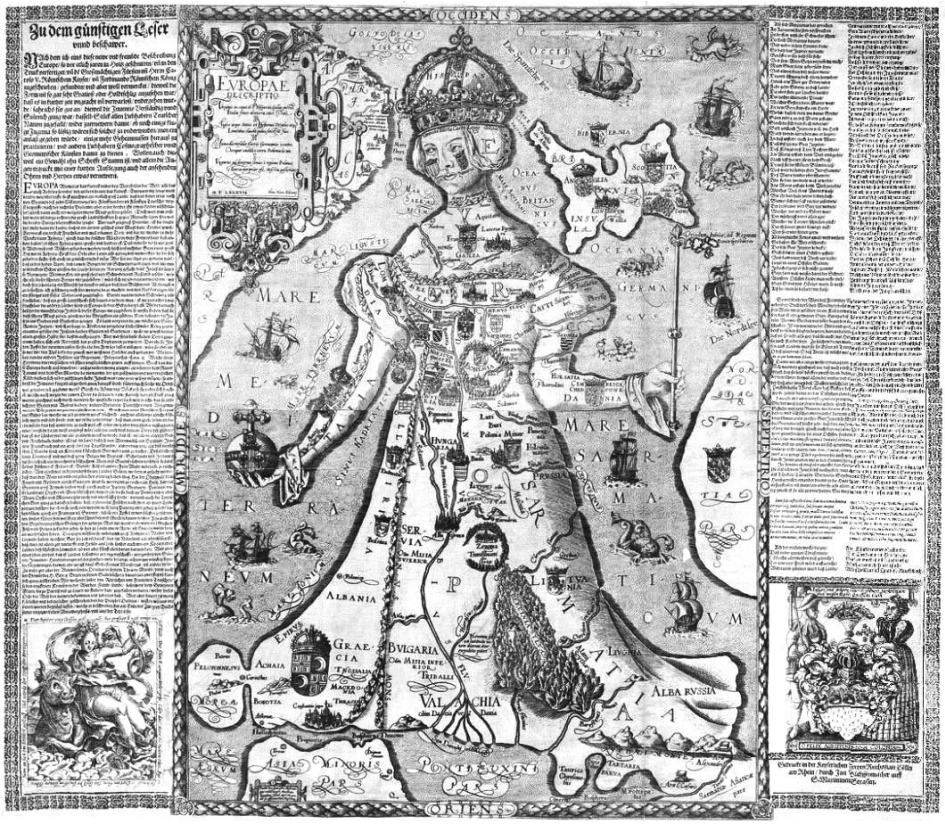

Figure 1: The "Europa Regina" map 1587 edition by Matthias Quad and Johann Bussemacher (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

[30] For the original 1534 map by Johann Putsch, see the website of the Retz Museum: https://www.museumretz.at (Accessed on 15 September 2025).

Figure 2: The version from Heinrich Bünting's *Itinerarium*

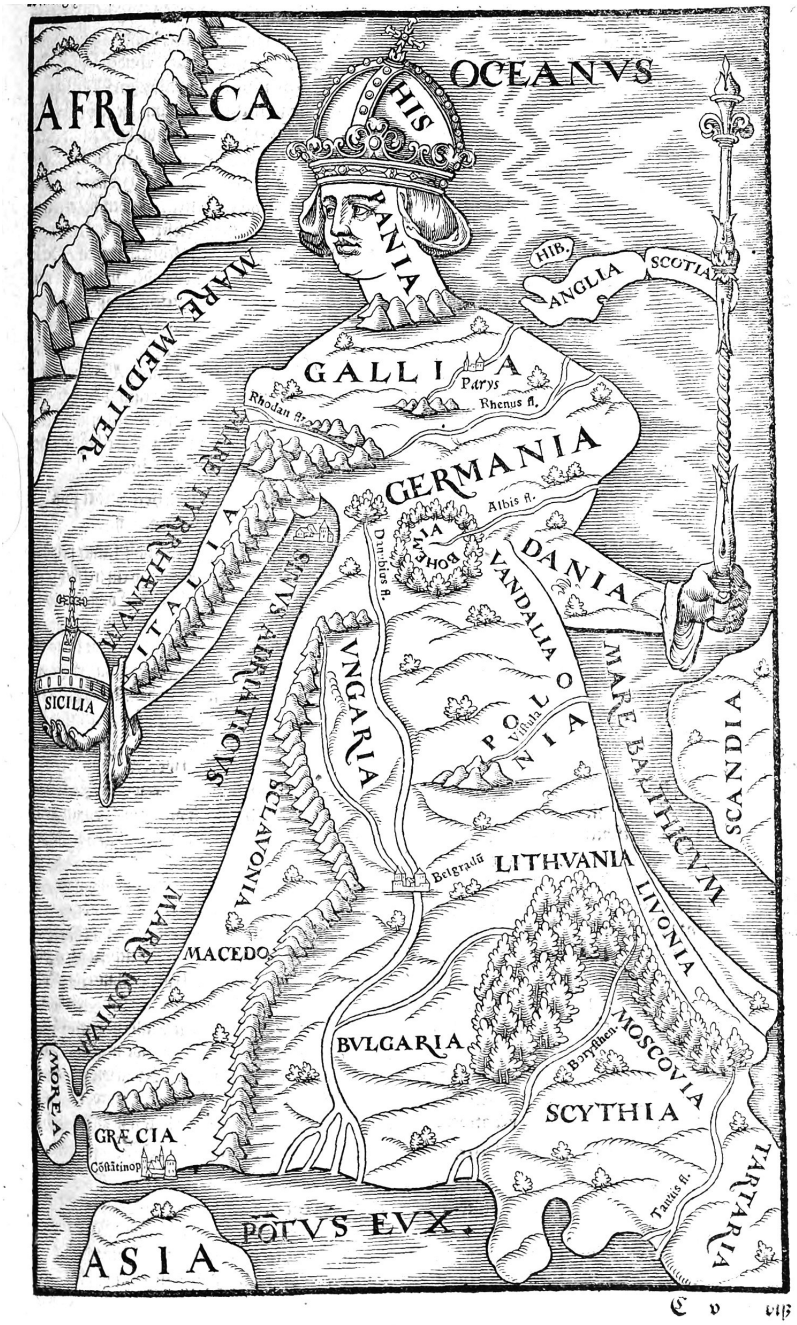

Figure 3: The depiction from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*.

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC
OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

Aims and Scope

The East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic (ECE) is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by the Institute of History at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Debrecen. As its title suggests, the journal focuses on the history of Central Europe, covering the region between the Baltic and Adriatic Seas. This region was for centuries a crossroads and meeting point where diverse ethnic groups, religions, traditions, and political entities interacted in unique ways. In addition to studies directly examining the history of the region, the editors welcome methodologically and/or theoretically relevant contributions for the analysis of historical processes.

The journal seeks to create an interdisciplinary platform to facilitate dialogue and disseminate new research on the region, whose findings are often limited in international scholarship due to language barriers and the influence of national narratives. To support this goal, ECE is an open-access journal, published at least once annually, available in both print and online formats.

Zielsetzung

Ostmitteleuropa: Zwischen Ostsee und Adria (ECE) ist eine begutachtete wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, die vom Historischen Institut der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Debrecen herausgegeben wird. Wie der Titel Wie der Titel schon andeutet, konzentriert sich die Zeitschrift auf die Geschichte Mitteleuropas, insbesondere auf das Gebiet zwischen Ostsee und Adria. Diese Region war über Jahrhunderte ein Schnittpunkt und Begegnungsraum, in dem unterschiedliche ethnische Gruppen, Religionen, Traditionen und politische Einheiten auf einzigartige Weise interagierten. Neben Studien, die die Geschichte der Region direkt untersuchen, erwarten die Herausgeber methodisch und/oder theoretisch relevante Beiträge zur Analyse historischer Prozesse.

Die Zeitschrift möchte eine interdisziplinäre Plattform schaffen, um den Dialog zu fördern und neue Forschungsergebnisse über die Region zu verbreiten, deren Ergebnisse aufgrund von Sprachbarrieren und der Prägung durch nationale Narrative international nur begrenzt bekannt sind. Zur Unterstützung dieses Ziels ist ECE eine Open-Access-Zeitschrift, die mindestens einmal jährlich erscheint und sowohl in gedruckter als auch in digitaler Form verfügbar ist.

Impressum

Publisher / Verlag: The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities Institute of History
Responsible Publisher / Verantwortlicher Herausgeber: Róbert Keményfi
Responsible Editors / Verantwortliche Redakteurs: Attila Bárány, László Pósán
ISSN 3058-0501
Printed in Hungary by / Gedruckt in Ungarn von Printart Kft.

Editoral Office / Redaktionsbüro

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1, Magyarország
e-mail: lendulet.unideb@gmail.com
Homepage: https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/eastcentraleurope/index

Front cover / Titelbild:

Hartmann Schedel, Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi, Nürnberg, 1493. (Schedelsche Weltchronik/ Nürnberger Chronik/Chronicon mundi)
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 287. (https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00034024)
Prussia, fol. 288v. / Dalmatia, fol. 268r.

Supported by / Gefördert durch:

University of Debrecen Thematic Excellence Programme "The Role and Image of Hungary in Medieval Europe Research Group"
HUN-REN–DE "Research Group Military History of Medieval Hungary and Central Europe"