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**THE PROVINCE OF SIBIU IN
CARTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS
PRODUCED AT THE DAWN OF THE
MODERN AGE**

PhD Student:

ANDREI-NICOLAE NACU

Scientific coordinator:

Prof. dr. ZENO-KARL PINTER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
1. GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	5
2. HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS	7
2.1. THE FORMATION AND THE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE EVOLUTION OF THE SAXON SEATS UNTIL THE 18 TH CENTURY.....	7
2.2. THE TERRITORIAL EVOLUTION.....	10
2.3. THE CITIES AND TOWNS OF THE SAXON SEATS.....	13
2.4. DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION.....	14
2.5. LIST OF SETTLEMENTS FOUND ON THE TERRITORY OF THE SAXON SEATS IN ABOUT 1780.....	16
3. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE MAPS PRODUCED UNTIL 1780	24
3.1. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CITY PLANS OF SIBIU, MEDIAȘ, SIGHIȘOARA AND SEBEȘ PRODUCED UNTIL 1780.....	35
3.1.1. The plans of Sibiu.....	35
3.1.2. The plans of Mediaș.....	38
3.1.3. The plans of Sighișoara.....	39
3.1.4. The 1769 plan of Sebeș.....	40
4. METHODOLOGY	42
5. THE FIRST CARTOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS OF TRANSYLVANIA (1330– 1520)	49
5.0.1. Preliminary considerations – Transylvania on the Hereford map (ca 1290).....	49
5.1. TRANSYLVANIA ON 14 TH CENTURY PORTOLANS.....	51
5.2. TWO 15 TH CENTURY <i>MAPPAEMUNDI</i>	53

5.3. THE FIRST REGIONAL MAPS OF CENTRAL EUROPE (END OF THE 15 TH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 16 TH CENTURY)	56
5.4. TRANSYLVANIA IN MARTIN WALDSEEMÜLLER'S <i>CARTA MARINA</i> (1516)	63
6. THE SEVEN AND TWO SEATS ON REGIONAL MAPS OF HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA PRODUCED BETWEEN 1528 AND 1690	65
6.1. THE MAP OF HUNGARY MADE BY SECRETARY LAZARUS (<i>TABULA HUNGARIAE</i> , 1528)	66
6.1.1. General characteristics and map content	67
6.2. THE MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA MADE BY JOHANNES HONTERUS (<i>CHOROGRAPHIA TRANSYLVANIAE, SYBEMBÜRGEN</i> , 1532)	69
6.2.1. Johannes Honterus – biographical data	69
6.2.2. General map characteristics	71
6.2.3. Map content analysis in QGis	73
6.2.4. The road network	76
6.3. THE MAP OF HUNGARY MADE BY WOLFGANG LAZIUS (<i>REGNI HUNGARIAE DESCRIPTIO VERA</i> , 1552/1556)	80
6.3.1. Wolfgang Lazius – biographical data	80
6.3.2. General map characteristics	80
6.4. THE MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA MADE BY JOHANNES SAMBUCUS (<i>TRANSILVANIA. SIBEMBÜRGEN</i> , 1566)	84
6.4.1. Johannes Sambucus – biographical data	84
6.4.2. General map characteristics	84
6.5. THE SAXON SEATS ON THE MAPS OF TRANSYLVANIA FROM THE ATLASES OF ABRAHAM ORTELIUS AND GERARDUS MERCATOR (1570 AND 1595)	88
6.5.1. The map of Transylvania from the atlas of Abraham Ortelius	88
6.5.2. The map of Transylvania from the atlas of Gerardus Mercator	90
6.6. OTHER MAPS PUBLISHED UNTIL THE END OF THE 17 TH CENTURY	92
6.6.1. The map of Transylvania made by Joan Blaeu (ca. 1660)	92
6.6.2. The map of Transylvania made by Johannes Tröster (1666)	94
6.6.3. The map of Transylvania made by Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola (1686)	97

7. THE SAXON SEATS ON THE MAPS OF TRANSYLVANIA MADE BETWEEN THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY AND THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY	100
7.1. HABSBURG MILITARY CARTOGRAPHY AND TRANSYLVANIA. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS	100
7.1.1. The repertoire of the most important military maps of Transylvania produced until ca. 1780	103
7.2. THE MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA MADE BY GIOVANNI MORANDO VISCONTI (<i>MAPPA DELLA TRANSILUANIA E PROVINTIE CONTIQUE</i> , 1699)	105
7.2.1. Giovanni Morando Visconti – biographical data	105
7.2.2. General map characteristics	107
7.2.3. Map title and legend	109
7.2.4. Hydrographic network, relief and forests	111
7.2.5. Administrative boundaries, settlements and fortifications	113
7.2.6. Roads	115
7.3. THE MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA MADE BY JOHANN CONRAD VON WEISS (<i>NOVA ET ACCURATA GEOGRAPHICA MAPPA DACIAE MEDITERRANAE SEU MODERNI PRINCIPATUS TRANSYLVANIAE</i> , 1735)	117
7.3.1. Johann Conrad von Weiss – biographical data	117
7.3.2. Versions and general map characteristics	119
7.3.3. Map title and legend	120
7.3.4. Relief and hydrographic network	124
7.3.5. Battlefields and natural resources	125
7.3.6. Administrative subdivisions	126
7.3.7. Settlements and fortifications	127
7.3.8. Roads, mountain tracks and postal stations	128
7.4. THE MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA MADE BY STEPHAN LUTSCH VON LUCHSENSTEIN (<i>NOVA PRINCIPATUS TRANSILVANIAE TABULA</i> , 1751)	130
7.4.1. Stephan Lutsch von Luchsenstein – biographical data	130
7.4.2. Versions and general map characteristics	131
7.4.3. Map title and legend	133
7.4.4. Relief and oronyms	136
7.4.5. Hydrographic network and hydronyms	137
7.4.6. Battlefields	139
7.4.7. Economic objectives and natural resources	139

7.4.8. Administrative subdivisions	140
7.4.9. Settlements and fortifications	142
7.4.10. Roads, mountain tracks and postal stations.....	145
7.5. THE MILITARY MAP OF THE GRAND PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA (KRIEGS CHARTE DES GROSZ FÜRSTENTHUM SIEBENBÜRGEN, 1769–1773)	148
7.5.1. General characteristics of the maps of the first military survey.....	152
7.5.2. Map title and legend	156
7.5.3. Relief, oronyms and other place names	158
7.5.4. Hydrographic network and hydronyms.....	160
7.5.5. Forests, economic objectives and natural resources.....	164
7.5.6. Battlefields and execution places	172
7.5.7. Administrative subdivisions.....	174
7.5.8. Settlements	177
7.5.9. Fortifications and ruins.....	183
7.5.10. Churches, chapels and monasteries	185
7.5.11. Roads and bridges	188
7.5.12. Fords and river crossings.....	193
7.5.13. Postal routes, postal stations and inns	195
8. THE HISTORICAL CITY PLANS OF SIBIU, MEDIAȘ, SIGHIȘOARA AND SEBEȘ	197
8.1. THE CITY PLANS OF SIBIU.....	198
8.1.1. Plans of the fortifications of Sibiu (1686–1688)	198
8.1.2. The plans made by Giovanni Morando Visconti (1699 and 1702)	202
8.1.3. The plan of Sibiu from the collection of Colonel Johann Conrad von Weiss (ca. 1730–1736)	209
8.1.4. Plan of Sibiu and fortification extension project (ca. 1735–1739)	212
8.1.5. The plan of Sibiu from the collection of General Paul Ferdinand von Bohn (ca. 1735–1747)	214
8.1.6. The plan made by Captain Jacob Zultner (ca. 1750)	216
8.1.7. The plan made by Lieutenant-Colonel Sulli (1749)	218
8.1.8. The 1751 plan of Sibiu	225
8.1.9. The plan made by Baron Posarelli (1776)	230
8.1.10. Plans of the citadel and of the Sibiu–Gura Râului canal.....	233
8.2. THE CITY PLANS OF MEDIAȘ.....	236
8.2.1. The plan made by Giovanni Morando Visconti (1699)	236

8.2.2. The 1705 plan of the castle area.....	239
8.2.3. The siege plan of Mediaş from 1705.....	240
8.2.4. The plan of Mediaş from the collection of Colonel Johann Conrad von Weiss (ca. 1730–1736)	243
8.2.5. The plan of Mediaş from the collection of General Paul Ferdinand von Bohn (ca. 1735–1747)	245
8.2.6. The plan made by Captain Ludwig Theumern (1750)	247
8.3. THE CITY PLANS OF SIGHIŞOARA.....	251
8.3.1. The plan of Sighişoara from the collection of Colonel Johann Conrad von Weiss (ca. 1730–1736)	251
8.3.2. The plan of Sighişoara from the collection of General von Bohn (1735)	254
8.3.3. The plan made by Captain Ludwig Theumern (1750)	256
8.4. THE CITY OF SEBEŞ ON THE 1769 SURVEY MAP OF THE SEBEŞ SEAT.....	258
CONCLUSIONS.....	267
APPENDICES	274
Appendix 1. List of settlements mentioned within the Saxon seats on the Lazarus-Tannstetter map (1528)	274
Appendix 2. List of settlements mentioned within the Saxon seats on the map made by Johannes Honterus (1532)	275
Appendix 3. List of settlements mentioned within the Saxon seats on the map made by Wolfgang Lazius (1552/1556)	279
Appendix 4. List of settlements mentioned within the Saxon seats on the map made by Johannes Sambucus (1566)	282
Appendix 5. The street names of Sibiu according to the list reproduced in the legend of the city plan made in 1751	286
Appendix 6. The names of the towers and bastions of Sibiu according to the list reproduced in the legend of the city plan made in 1751	288
Appendix 7. The organization of the personnel envisaged to participate in the military survey of Transylvania in 1769, at the beginning of the Josephine topographic survey. AN CG, Document 1 (1769), 33–33v.	290
Appendix 8. The size of the built-up areas of the cities and towns of the Saxon seats according to the military map of the Grand Principality of Transylvania (1769–1773)	293
BIBLIOGRAPHY	294
1. WORKING INSTRUMENTS.....	294
1.1. GIS and digital mapping applications	295
1.2. Vector graphics applications	295

2. ARCHIVAL SOURCES	296
3. EDITED PRIMARY SOURCES	298
4. SECONDARY SOURCES	300

SUMMARY

The present doctoral dissertation discusses the evolution of the cartographic representation of the former Transylvanian Saxon seats from the Late Middle Ages to the second half of the 18th century. The thesis comprises eight chapters, which are preceded by an introduction and followed by the conclusions. Eight appendices and six A3 size analytical maps are inserted at the end of the study.

Most of the cartographic materials used for the research were identified in public libraries and archives in Sibiu (Brukenthal National Museum Library), Vienna (Austrian National Library; Austrian State Archives – War Archive) and Budapest (Széchenyi National Library; Museum and Institute of Military History; Hungarian National Archives). A few other maps and city plans were consulted online. These are preserved in institutions such as the National Library of France, the Bavarian State Library (Germany), the Dillingen Study Library (Germany), the Leiden University Library (Netherlands), the University Library of Basel (Switzerland) or the Library of Congress (United States of America). Our first aim was to discover new documents and to investigate known maps or plans which did not previously constitute the object of in-depth research.

Secondly, we collected biographical information on the most important cartographers who represented the Saxon seats on their maps. Although a rich literature already exists on Johannes Honterus, Wolfgang Lazius, Abraham Ortelius and Gerardus Mercator amongst others, the authors of the most precise maps and plans produced after the end of the 17th century – largely Austrian army officers – are less known.

The repertoire of the cartographic sources is not a complete one, as we tried to present maps and plans which depict new features or are more accurate than previous issues. In order to observe spatial relations and spot significant features, we envisaged the processing of the most important documents using digital mapping applications.

The objectives and the aims of the research were indicated in the introduction. Methodologically speaking, our undertaking extends the analysis made in the MA dissertation¹ to other landscape elements.

In the first chapter we presented the geographical framework of the region comprising the former Saxon seats (also known as the Seven and Two Seats). We offered information

¹ Andrei Nacu, „Patrimoniul infrastructurii rutiere din epoca habsburgică în Transilvania central-sudică (1699–1867)” [The road infrastructure patrimony of the Habsburg era in south-central Transylvania (1699–1867)], MA Thesis (Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, 2015).

pertaining to the geographical limits, the relief, hydrography, climate, precipitations, soils and vegetation. The analyzed area covers an area of 6.400 km², representing 2,7% of Romania's territory. It encompasses most of the modern Sibiu County, alongside smaller territories belonging to the Hunedoara, Alba, Mureș, Brașov and Vâlcea Counties.

The second chapter deals with general aspects concerning the history of the region. The colonization of the central part of southern Transylvania with a German-speaking population started in the 12th century, during the reign of King Geza II of Hungary (1141–1162). This process lasted until the end of the 12th century and finally ended in the following century. The Province of Sibiu corresponds to the original area of colonization and stretched from Orăștie to Baraolt according to the charter issued by King Andrew II in 1224 (*Andreanum*). The territory was initially organized in a County of Sibiu, but in the 14th century the county was replaced by seven – then eight – seats (Sibiu Main Seat and the seats of Orăștie, Sebeș, Miercurea, Nocrich, Cincu, Rupea and Sighișoara). The 'Two Seats', Mediaș and Șeica, were under the jurisdiction of the Szekely count until 1402. After the formation of the Saxon University of Transylvania in 1486, the authority of Sibiu was expanded to include the Two Seats, alongside the districts of Brașov and Bistrița. Because of this close political association and the geographical proximity, we decided to extend our analyses to the former seats of Mediaș and Șeica.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, a series of possessions formerly belonging to the counties of Alba and Târnava were subordinated to the city of Sibiu and the Saxon seats. Most of these fiefs became part of the so-called 'Seven Judges Domain' (Lat. *bona septem iudicum*, Ger. *Siebenrichtergüter*). They were considered to belong to all the Saxon seats, although they were subordinated to the Magistrate of Sibiu only. At the same time, the villages of Jina, Săcel, Orlat and Cârța were possessions of the city of Sibiu. In 1765/1766, after the establishment of the military border in Transylvania, the Habsburg authorities placed the villages of Racovița, Veștem, Orlat, Jina și Cugir under the authority of the First Wallachian (Romanian) regiment (headquartered in Orlat).

The historiography of the maps depicting the Saxon seats produced until ca. 1780 is presented in the third chapter. Previous contributions on the historical city plans of Sibiu, Mediaș, Sighișoara and Sebeș are also briefly analyzed here. Some facts concerning the historical maps of Transylvania can be found in historical, geographical and statistical works printed in the second half of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century. A few 17th and 18th century maps were analyzed by the Transylvanian scientist and theologian József Benkő, while the first repertoire of the historical maps of Transylvania was published by the

German-speaking Hungarian historian and editor Karl Gottlieb von Windisch. A major event in the history of regional cartography was the ‘rediscovery’ of the Johannes Honterus map of Transylvania in 1876. The 16th century Honterus map was subsequently researched by numerous historians and geographers, more recently by Gerhard Engelmann, Hans Meschendörfer and Otto Mittelstrass, Gernot Nussbächer, Katalin Plihál and Zsombor Bartos-Elekes. In the past years we can observe a growing preoccupation with the Austrian 18th century maps, particularly the 1769–1773 military map of the Grand Principality of Transylvania. The Austrian cartography in the Age of Enlightenment and the role of maps as a tool for reforming and centralizing the Habsburg monarchy during the reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph II was the subject of the doctoral thesis defended by Mădălina Valeria Vereş in 2015 at the University of Pittsburg. Her thesis was partially focused on the cartographic depiction of Transylvania and its borders in the 18th century.

The methodological aspects of the thesis were described in the fourth chapter. Some of the maps and plans we identified were georeferenced. This operation allowed the correct positioning of the documents in digital cartographic applications. Additionally, the historical city plans were exported from the cartographic application Global Mapper 15 and superimposed as layers in Google Earth. This procedure allowed us to precisely identify differences existing between the 17th and 18th century situation and the current one, as well as to measure and locate features that either disappeared or are covered by the present urban fabric.

A more complex processing was required for the 1769–1773 ‘Great military map of Transylvania’, where an extra georeferencing was deemed necessary. Next, a cartographic database was constructed by digitizing elements from the military map in the QGIS application. Four vector files were generated, including a point layer with over 3.000 digitized objects, a polygon layer and two line layers.

The evolution of the representation of Transylvania until the appearance of the first regional maps of Hungary and Transylvania was examined in the fifth chapter. Transylvania was firstly mentioned in a portolan made by Angelino Dalorto in 1330, while the city of Sibiu is cartographically attested by a 1448 *mappamundi* made in Konstanz by the Benedictine monk Andreas Walsperger. After 1450, with the spread of the printing press, the cartographic production developed considerably, and the first modern maps of Central Europe were published. An important print of this period is the Eichstätt map (1491), which is based on the work of the German cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus. Amongst the places mentioned on the Eichstätt

map in the Province of Sibiu are Turnu Roșu (*Rotetore*), Tălmăciu (*Tolmet*), Sibiu (*H[ermannstadt]*), Cincu (*Groseteva*) and possibly Orlat (*Unzemborg*).

The sixth chapter is dedicated to the first printed maps of Hungary and Transylvania. These documents reflect the political changes that affected the Carpathian Basin after the Battle of Mohács (1526). The Lazarus-Tannstetter map of Hungary (1528), the map of Hungary by Wolfgang Lazius (1552/1556) and the Johannes Sambucus map of Transylvania (1566) contain dedications to the Habsburg monarchs, attesting to their claims on the territories of the Hungarian crown. Even the Johannes Honterus map of Transylvania, made in 1532 in Basel (*Chorographia Transylvaniae Sybembürgen*), can be counted as belonging to this series of materials with propaganda attributes. Apart from the German and Latin verses referring to the hardships endured by the Transylvanian Saxons, the primary focus of the map on the Saxon regions creates the false impression of a German-dominated province. For example, 91 of the 220 settlements and fortresses depicted on the map are on the territory of the Saxon seats. Not without reason this print is also known as the ‘Map of the Saxon Land’ (*Sachsenlandkarte*).

The map of Honterus is the most important cartographic document published until the end of the 17th century. However, the print contains important errors regarding the positioning of some settlements and disparities between the name and the corresponding town or village. Moreover, there is no designated name for over 20 settlements. These aspects were partially clarified following a digital analysis performed in QGIS. Thus, we can ostensibly notice Gușterița, Roadeș, Bungard, Turnișor, Dupuș, Feldioara, Mercheașa or Viscri among the unnamed settlements. At the same time, the location shown for Roadeș, Gușterița and Bungard corresponds to the site of the villages of Cața, Nou and Roșia respectively. Furthermore, the church illustrated north of Făgăraș coincides with a Romanian monastery attested two centuries later between Făgăraș and Șoarș. As Hans Meschendörfer and Otto Mittelstrass previously noticed, some roads can be identified by observing the linear placement of several settlements. The following routes were suggested by Honterus in south-central Transylvania: Sibiu–Mediaș, Sibiu–Aiud, Sibiu–Sebeș–Orăștie, Sibiu–Cârța, Sebeș–Aiud, Mediaș–Cetatea de Baltă, Brașov–Rupea–Sighișoara–Târgu Mureș and Rupea–Odorheiu Secuiesc.

The maps published in the atlases of Abraham Ortelius (1570) and Gerardus Mercator (1595) or in the 17th century Dutch atlases contributed to the perpetuation of the cartographic image elaborated by Honterus. No significant variations in the depiction of the Saxon seats can be recorded until 1686. However, the situation changed dramatically after Transylvania was annexed to the Habsburg dominions. Owing to the initiatives of Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Austrian military cartography witnessed revolutionary advances at the turn of the 18th century.

This development was evident in the territories liberated by the Imperial armies after the 1683 failed Ottoman siege of Vienna. Between ca. 1690–1780, the most accurate maps of Transylvania were made by the military engineers and General Staff officers of the Habsburg army.

The seventh chapter opens with an analysis of the first map of Transylvania completed after a topographic survey – Giovanni Morando Visconti's *Mappa della Transilvania (...)*. Morando Visconti was an architect and military engineer who came to the province in 1691. His map was printed in Sibiu in 1699 and displays 140 settlements and approximately 40 rivers and streams on the territory of the Saxon seats – a spectacular increase compared to previous documents. Likewise, the map made by Visconti represents all the main roads in the region for the first time.

The second analyzed map of the province was made in 1735 in the aftermath of a general survey conducted under the supervision of Colonel Johann Conrad von Weiss, the 'Director' of Transylvanian fortifications. The von Weiss map depicts oronyms for the first time, in addition to nearly all the settlements within the Saxon seats. The map also portrays a series of economic objectives – a glass factory at Sibişel, iron resources in the southern part of the Orăştie Seat and agricultural fields in the Făgăraş Depression.

On the other hand, the map elaborated by the Transylvanian officer Stephan Lutsch – a former pupil of von Weiss – in 1751 (*Nova Principatus Transilvaniae Tabula*) shows the relief through the shading technique. The precision of the administrative boundaries is also superior to the 1735 map. In the Lutsch map we can notice the 'iron hammer' at Sibişelu Nou, a series of stamp mills and gold washings south of Sebeş, as well as six Salpeter manufactories. The 1751 map records four settlements deserted in the 15th century – the former village hearths of Şibot and Răhău, Weißkirch (near Miercurea Sibiului) and Fettendorf (near Biertan). Moreover, the Saxon settlements with church fortresses are signaled by a red quadrilateral with small dots to its corners (placed under the village or town symbol).

The most important cartographic document produced in the 18th century is unquestionably the military map of the Grand Principality of Transylvania (*Kriegs Charte des Grosz Fürstenthum Siebenbürgen*). The scale of the map is 1:28.800. It comprises 280 sections, 52 of them covering the region of the Saxon seats.

After the conclusion of the Seven Years War (1756–1763), Maria Theresa ordered the start of ample mapping operations in the Habsburg monarchy. Emperor Joseph II, who took charge of the military affairs after 1765, exercised a considerable influence over the project. For this reason, the 1763–1787 mapping operation is also known as the Josephine Survey

(*Josephinische Aufnahme*). In Transylvania, the survey was completed between 1769 and 1773 under the supervision of Colonel Dominik Tomiotti de Fabris and Major Mihály Lajos Jeney.

The multitude of features represented in the Josephine military map made an exhaustive investigation of the document almost impossible. In many situations we had to content ourselves with writing shorter case studies, even if the database generated after the digitalization of the cartographic material is much more comprehensive. We identified over 850 oronyms and forest names, almost half of them in the mountainous areas. Contrasting the central and northern parts of the region, where German and Saxon place names prevail, almost all the names in the mountains are of Romanian origin. The same situation is true in the case of the 415 accounted hydronyms. The forested area in the analyzed region had a slightly smaller surface in the second half of the 18th century. For example, the forests of the former Cincu Seat covered roughly 170 km², in contrast with the 208 km² documented at the beginning of the 21st century.

In 1769–1773, the largest settlements by built-up area were the cities of Sibiu (3,8 km²) and Sighișoara (2,6 km²), followed by the villages of Jina (2,3 km²) and Săliște (2 km²). Three Romanian monasteries are displayed near Bohoț, Cugir and Vaidei, while over 230 churches and chapels are recorded inside or at the outskirts of the 191 settlements. The number of identified mills is 262, with the biggest concentration recorded on the Săliște river. The vineyards were uniformly distributed, being rare only in the Nocrich and Rupea Seats. Similarly, the gold washings along the Valea Pianului river and a mine are marked in the Sebeș Seat (at the southern outskirts of the village of Pianu de Sus). Amongst the ruins represented on the military map are those of the former St. Catherine basilica near Beriu, the former fortified church of St. Thomas near Apoldu de Jos, as well as the ‘Broken Tower’ (Ro. *Turnul Spart*, Ger. *Halbeturm*) and the medieval fortresses of Tilișca, Gârbova, Slimnic, Tâlmăciu (Landskrone) and Lotrioara. Other fortresses represented on the map are those of Câlnic, Rupea, Saschiz, Jimbor and Boița. The remains of the mausoleum built by King Matthias Corvinus and of the chapel erected by Voivode Stephen Báthory of Ecsed, both already ruined by the time of the survey, are figured near the Câmpul Pâinii (Ger. *Brotfeld*, Hu. *Kenyérmező*) battlefield site.

The highways displayed in south-central Transylvania belong to two categories: main roads (*Landstrassen*) and ordinary roads (*Ordinaire Fahrwege*). The main roads of the analyzed region had a total length of approximately 740 km. The 40 inns identified on the military map were largely scattered along these routes. Of the 730 recorded bridges, the overwhelming majority were wooden structures. River crossings either by boat or by floating

bridge are marked on the Olt river at Turnu Roșu, Sebeșu de Jos, Racovița and Feldioara. Along the Mureș there is only one such crossing, located north of Orăștie (on the road to Geoagiu).

The historical city plans were investigated in the final chapter. The first plans of Sibiu primarily depict the fortifications and can be dated to ca. 1686–1688. The street network, churches and cemeteries of Sibiu are firstly illustrated in the 1699 and 1702 plans made by Giovanni Morando Visconti. The 1702 plan also portrays the citadel projected to be built near the city. The construction of the citadel started in 1702, under Visconti's supervision. However, work ceased in 1703, after the start of the rebellion lead by Prince Francis II Rákóczi.

A new cartographic representation of Sibiu was completed in ca. 1730–1736 under the direction of Johann Conrad von Weiss. In this plan we can observe the Jesuit Roman Catholic Church in the Large Square (consecrated in 1733) or the fortification established on the left bank of the Cibin river in 1704, during Rákóczi's rebellion. This defensive work, known as the 'Retrenchment', enclosed an area of about 9 hectares, corresponding to the Ocnei Gate suburb (the future Theresianum neighborhood).

Of great interest are three plans presenting several planned fortifications around Sibiu. The plan made by Captain Jacob Zultner in ca. 1750 illustrates the most radical proposals. We have also analyzed two mid-18th century very detailed plans of Sibiu, one made by Lieutenant-Colonel Jakob Ludwig Sulli and one made in 1751, during an inspection of the fortifications surrounding Sibiu. The plan drawn by Sulli shows a territory of ca. 30 km² that includes the nearby villages of Turnișor and Gușterița. On the other hand, the 1751 plan offers some extra information regarding the main fortifications of Sibiu. The 39 recorded towers are numbered, and their names are provided in the legend. Besides the towers, the legend also accounts the five bastions, the 'Thick Tower' and the Wheelwright's Roundel. Likewise, the manuscript mentions the name of 45 streets, offering a complete picture of the old street nomenclature.

The last analyzed plan of Sibiu, the one made by Baron Posarelli in 1776, illustrates the Theresianum Orphanage, founded in 1767, in addition to the new Holy Cross Chapel in front of the Elisabeth Gate. Similarly, Posarelli showed the first parcels on the former citadel ground, in the future Josephine neighborhood.

The first known plan of Mediaș, attached to the *Mappa della Transilvania* (1699), is the work of Giovanni Morando Visconti. It depicts the streets, churches and fortifications, the bridge over the Târnava Mare river and the suburbs. Six years later, Visconti made a plan of central Mediaș in which he illustrated a series of ramparts and bulwarks in the area of the fortified Church of St. Margaret. Although the authors who analyzed this manuscript consider that Visconti's project was never completed, a siege plan produced in the same year depicts

some of these defensive works. The plan in question was most probably made by the French engineer François Damoiseau, one of the members of the military mission dispatched by King Louis XIV to assist Francis II Rákóczi's rebels.

A new plan of Mediaș was produced in ca. 1730–1736, during the topographic survey coordinated by Johann Conrad von Weiss. The names of the main streets, as well as of the towers, gates and bastions are mentioned in the legend of the document. A close enough picture is offered by a plan found in the collection of the Austrian general Paul Ferdinand von Bohn.

Fresh data regarding the topography of Mediaș is provided by a plan made by Captain Ludwig Theumern in 1750. In the central Market Square, on the southwestern side, we notice the ensemble of the Piarist School, opened before 1740. The plan augments the information concerning the street nomenclature, while the castle area and the Franciscan Monastery are represented much more precisely. Another novelty brought by Captain Theumern's plan is the representation of 12 fountains inside the city.

In the case of Sighișoara, we acknowledged three city plans made in the 18th century. The manuscript from the collection of Colonel von Weiss (ca. 1730–1736) illustrates the fortifications, streets, churches, cemeteries and the local hydrography. Several gardens and isolated constructions are figured in the future Cornești neighborhood and north of the Târnava Mare river, while the legend mentions the Leprosery and the names of the churches and city gates. Likewise, a foundry is indicated in the northeastern part of the city.

The 1735 plan of Sighișoara depicts the dwellings from most of the Lower Town, the Cornești neighborhood and the suburb across the Târnava Mare river individually. The constructions at the western edge of Brădet Hill and in the central part of Cornești correspond to the Gypsy districts attested in these locations by toponymy and written sources.

The names of almost all the streets in the Lower Town of Sighișoara are inserted in the 1750 plan made by Captain Ludwig Theumern. In the Upper Town, the City Hall is indicated in front of the Dominican Monastery. The legend shows that the former church of the Dominican nuns was used as a warehouse at that moment.

The city of Sebeș was represented in a 1769 topographical map (*Stuhl Mühlenbach in dem Gros-Fürstenthum Sibenbürgen. Geometrisch aufgenommen im Jahr 1769*). The manuscript is a sample made in advance of the Josephine military map of Transylvania. The section corresponding to the city shows all the dwellings and storage buildings, the fortifications, the street network, the Sebeș river and the Metz stream, the ponds in front of the main walls, the fountains, churches and cemeteries, as well as the suburban farms, gardens and vineyards. Additionally, different colors are used to mark wooden and stone structures.

The key results of our research are presented in the analytical maps included in the thesis or appended at its end. All these maps were created using digital mapping applications such as Open Jump GIS and vector graphics applications such as Inkscape. The first cartographic material at the end of the thesis represents a physical map of the investigated region. It depicts the main settlements, the hydrographic network and the relief. A historical administrative map of the Saxon seats was included next. This map shows the seats and their fiefs, the possessions of the city of Sibiu, alongside the villages divided between the Saxon seats and the counties or those included in the Transylvanian military border district in 1765/1766. The third map records the first cartographic mention for the settlements on the territory of the Saxon seats. Thus, six settlements and the fortress of Turnu Roșu were attested by maps made before 1528, 12 settlements firstly appeared on the 1528 map of Hungary, 74 on the Honterus map of Transylvania, eight on other maps made before 1699, 50 on the 1699 Visconti map of Transylvania, 38 on the 1735 von Weiss map, one on the 1751 Lutsch map and two on the 1769–1773 military map. The fourth analytical map displays the settlements, roads and mountain tracks represented on the map of Transylvania made in 1751 by Stephan Lutsch. The fifth map indicates the settlements and main roads depicted on the 1769–1773 military map of Transylvania. The final map shows the citadel at the southwestern edge of Sibiu as it is depicted in a plan made by Giovanni Morando Visconti in ca. 1702–1703.

The maps and historical plans represent a valuable source for the study of the former territorial core of the Transylvanian Saxons. They successfully complement the information provided by the historical and archeological research, as we have strived to demonstrate in the pages of this dissertation.

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