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Maps printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment, 1665-1820

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Summary

This special issue of e-Perimetro attempts a first evaluation of Greek map production in print during the Age of Enlightenment (1665-1820), a hitherto unexplored area of both Enlightenment cartography and the history of Greek printing. The issue is divided into two parts: the first is a short, interpretative effort to trace the history of Greek cartographic output in print, to evaluate its resources and functions, and to shed light on matters of its production and diffusion; the second part contains an elementary cartobibliography of 121 maps printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment, in a provisory checklist, open to additions and emendations.

Greek Maps in Print, 1665-1820: General Features

In the first years of the seventeenth century Greek map-making activities were brought to an end and for some time Greek scholars and men of action ceased to produce maps. A new and hesitant cartographic production arose some decades later. Greek cartographic pursuits were activated after 1665 and increased during the period of the extended eighteenth century (1665-1820), a time conventionally defined as the ‘Age of Enlightenment’. Research in bibliographies and libraries in Greece and abroad has revealed a corpus of 121 maps printed in Greek or by Greeks during this time period of 155 years. This output is unleashed from the humanistic and Mediterranean climate that had fostered Greek map production during the Renaissance. Greek map-making activities of the Age of Enlightenment were no longer addressed to Western humanist scholars, as it had been at the time of Sophianos, nor to the seafaring merchants of the economic and cultural zone of the lingua franca, as it had been for the Renaissance Greek chart-makers (TOLIAS 1999a and 2006). The Orthodox Greek-speaking communities of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, by now incorporated in the Ottoman imperial structure, steadily recovered from the transition shock and organized their lives. Trade and pilgrimage mobility arose, and communication networks were steadily established. Map makers and map users were no longer connected to Venice and its declining colonial empire in the Levant. They were now high officials of the Greek Orthodox Church or the Ottoman bureaucracy in the Balkans, pilgrims and merchants, scholars and students. Map makers’
interests reveal an abandoning of the frontier zone of the Mediterranean coasts and a veer in continental directions, the Balkans, Asia Minor, the Near and the Middle East, a shift of content testifying to the establishment of new commercial and cultural networks of the Greeks, this time within the Ottoman Empire.

During these 155 years all sorts of cartographic devices appeared concurrently, in a synchronized new take-off of learned, vernacular and practical map-making activities, in manuscript or printed form. The era was indeed a decisive time for the course of Greek cultural history and the shaping of Greek national awareness. A strong cultural tradition of Christian humanism was established, a tradition that prepared and sustained the so-called ‘Greek Enlightenment’ of the years 1770-1820 (DIMARAS). It is precisely within this framework that the development of both geographical culture and cartographic production occurred: a series of geographic works of the Western canon was introduced into Greek (KOUMARIANOU 1970 and 1994); travellers’ experiences were recorded and even mapped (LEGRAND 1886); theoretic as well as descriptive geography became the object of tuition (KITROMILIDES 1985); some original works came to light, related to the major Orthodox pilgrim centres (Jerusalem, Sinai, Athos) or to new areas of Greek activity, such as the Ottoman provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia. Furthermore, printed maps and map-like images were adopted and widely diffused, becoming a commonly accepted medium of visual geographical information, and finally celebrated as a sign of Greek partaking in occidental technological modernity.

Greek printed maps between 1665 and 1820 form a derivative production not based on previously existing local cartographic traditions, with the exception of sacred topography, which merged traditional Orthodox iconographic patterns with Western-type cartography and topography. Greek printed maps were neither influenced by the parallel Ottoman attempts to introduce Western-type cartography in the Ottoman Empire. Although there is no direct connection between Ottoman and Greek map-making activities, the two peaks of Greek cartographic production, at the beginning of the eighteenth century and from 1795 onwards, coincide with periods of the opening of the Ottoman Empire towards the European West and the rigorous albeit doomed Ottoman modernization reforms. In both cases Ottoman printing presses were permitted to operate, and maps were among the first matter to be printed in Arabic characters by the newly founded Ottoman presses (SOUCEK 229-30). Let us note here that Greeks were involved in both Ahmed III’s and Selim III’s reform projects. The dragoman Scarlatos (Alexandros) Mavrocordatos was commissioned to translate into Turkish the texts of the Blaeu 12-volume atlas, with the assistance of a French Jesuit from Chios (AUDIFFRET and SALABERRY), while Seyyid Mustafa, the apologist of Selim III’s reforms, is probably a fictitious name of the Greek dragoman Yakovaki Argyropoulo (LEWIS 314 but also BURCEAK). However, Greek map production occurred in a distinct cultural context and had divergent (if not conflicting) ideological priorities. The coincidental blooming of Ottoman cartography has to be considered as a factor that eased the implementation of maps printed in Greek in Ottoman lands.

Greek printed maps in the Age of Enlightenment were for the most produced in the Western European centres of Greek mercantile and intellectual diaspora. They are the product of a renewed contact with the West, an activity of newly formed social groups. They served issues of faith, education and commerce, but also issues of authority, ecclesiastical or political, since they were connected to the consolidation of the Orthodox
Church structures and Greek involvement in the administration of the Ottoman Empire. Within this long time period, Greek printed maps also supported the various needs of education and strengthened the inner workings of rising national awareness, promoting a Greek territorial identity, the recovery of geographical knowledge and of historical memory.

**Prelates, Ministers and Scholars**

As was the case for Greek Renaissance map-making activities, Greek cartography in print during the Age of Enlightenment was still inspired by the West. Greek printed maps appeared in the second half of the seventeenth century without being preceded and sustained by a preparatory stage of cartographic practices in manuscript form. This is the case for the Greek sacred printed maps that appeared in 1665. The earliest known work of this type is a clumsy map-like representation of the Sinai Peninsula, a woodcut carved and printed in the Monastery of St Catherine by Friar Akakios. It was eventually the same Akakios who produced in 1634 the earliest dated and illustrated manuscript pilgrim guide to Jerusalem and Sinai, now in the Munich State Library (cod. gr. 346, KADAS 43).

The work was based on a sixteenth-century Italian engraving by Giovanni Battista Fontana, printed by Bertelli in Venice in 1569, and showing the Monastery (PAPAΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ 1990 379). Akakios changed the Italian view to a map-like image, inserting it on a map of the Sinai Peninsula. In his effort to show the vast jurisdiction of the archbishop, head of St Catherine’s Monastery, and its dependence from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, Akakios mapped a vast area extending from the Sea of Yemen to Cairo and Alexandria, including the Red Sea (no. 1). This woodcut has to be considered as a map, since it presents an extensive area that natural sight could not comprehend, displaying in it all sorts of spatial relations. Of course, it is not a mathematically but an empirically conceived cartographic representation, using a traditional and stylized horizontal, landscape projection.

Akakios’ map-like sacred view initiated a distinct local cartographic tradition. Thanks to the care of the merchant Hadjikyriakis, a kind of financial manager of the Sinai interests in Wallachia, the sacred map was reproduced in more elaborated woodcut versions, carved by the renowned Nikodem Zubrzycki and his pupil Dionysios (nos 6-9) in Polish Ukraine, printed in Leopoliς (L’ivι; DELUΑ 1997b) and reproduced in Venice, but also in monasteries in Wallachia, Chios, Crete and Istanbul (PAPAΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ 1981). Other sacred maps of the main centres of the Greek Orthodox world were to follow: Mount Athos around 1700 (no. 13), and the monasteries of Meteora in 1782 (no. 41). They are impressive topographical views, originally engraved by Italian artists, following the instructions of their commissioners and adopting a specific Orthodox cartographic style. During the course of the eighteenth century sacred maps were engraved and printed in situ by specialized craftsmen formed within monastic circles and known as ‘printers’ or ‘stampers’ (stampadoroi).

Western-style sacred cartography was also introduced in the Greek East. The earliest known work of this type is a map of Palestine, Sinai and the Red Sea, made in 1677 by Nectarios, Archbishop of Sinai and later Patriarch of Jerusalem (no. 5). According to Nectarios, the map was based on ‘a recent map published in France’. It was included in Nectarios’ Sacred and Secular History, published in Venice. Other maps were to follow
in the eighteenth century. The most important among them are the ones published by Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem and cosmographer, descendent of an illustrious Byzantine family and educated in Padua and Paris (under Cassini). Notaras proposed a series of maps of Jerusalem based on Western prototypes (Rubin 2006), included in his historical and geographical description of Jerusalem (Venice, 1728, nos 22, 25-28). Sacred maps and map-like views of sacred places constitute an important portion of the relevant production, a third of the overall production (37 of 121). It was a rather stable cartographic production with diverse religious and economic aspects that gradually covered all the major pilgrim destinations of the Orthodox world (GoloBias and Ioustinos). The sacred maps of Sinai and Jerusalem are also related to questions of ecclesiastical authority over the holy places, in particular the question of the autonomy of Sinai, a matter that upset and confused the Orthodox world in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Manousakas). On the other hand, the sacred topographies of Athos are connected to issues of pilgrimage and to the need of the monastic community to communicate with a broader possible spectrum of potential patrons and supporters, in order to address the ever-growing financial needs of the Athonite monasteries (Papadopoulos).

Greek printed maps of secular subjects appeared in 1700, although we could situate their beginnings in 1672, with the three maps made by the Corfian antiquarian Andrea Marmor for his Della Historia di Corfu (nos 2-4). Marmor’s elegant maps were in Italian and were thus addressed to an Italian-speaking public. They were original works and were considered authoritative enough to be reissued by Johannes and Gerard van Keulen, in Amsterdam in 1710-14 (no. 19). Secular printed maps in Greek appeared first in 1700: a series of imposing works printed in Padua at the presses of the Seminario Vescovile (Au-

Jac). The first one is a world map by Chrysanthos Notaras based on a map by Nicolas Sanson (1674, Jan Luyts Utrecht 1692 issue; Livieratos 2009 30) and printed in two sheets. It is dedicated to the Prince of Wallachia Constantin Brâncoveanu and bears the arms of the principality and a portrait of the prince (no. 10, Popescu-Șînени 171-174). The same map in smaller dimensions was included in a cosmographical essay, published by Notaras in Paris in 1716 and dedicated to Scarlato Mavrocordatos, son of Nikolaos Mavrocordatos, first Greek prince of Wallachia (no. 11). The second work is more important. It is an original map of Wallachia, edited by Chrysanthos Notaras and drawn by the Wallachian nobleman Constantin Cantacuzino and the scholar Ioannis Komninos, who later became Bishop of Drissa (no. 12, ČiCanč and Černovodeanu). The map is printed in two large sheets. It is dedicated to Prince Brâncoveanu and is decorated with his arms and his portrait. It proposes an analytical survey of the principality and gives ample information on its geography, settlements, communications and natural resources (more than 1400 place names). The following year (1701) Ioannis Komninos composed and printed in the Snagov Monastery in Wallachia the first pilgrim guide to the monasteries of Athos. The book is illustrated with two map-like topographical representations of Mount Athos and stresses the magnificence of Prince Brâncoveanu as patron and benefactor of Orthodoxy (DuRa). We would not be far from the truth in suggesting that it was Ioannis Komninos who initiated the printing of the first imposing sacred maps of Athos, during the same time period (nos 13 and 16). These maps were drawn after his small illustrations of Mount Athos and printed in Venice in two large sheets (ca. 1700 and 1707). They follow the Orthodox and ‘vernacular’ cartographic manner introduced by the Sinai sacred maps, proposing map-like representations of the two sides of Mount Athos (eastern and
western), projected on a single sequel panorama (TOLIAS 2002). Even though not mathematical in its conception, this print, as well as all that followed, has to be considered as a ‘map’, since it is a graphic display of empirically comprehended spatial analogies, rendered in the ‘traditional’ style inaugurated by the Sinai sacred cartography.

The people who initiated this cartographic outbreak were all representatives of a new type of administrative elite, educated in Padua and involved in the administration of the Orthodox Churches and the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Their imposing maps and impressive geographical treatises are connected to the rising confidence of a cast of Greek-speaking Orthodox administrators evolving within the structures of the Ottoman Empire. The role of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu and his hellenized court was seminal in the course of events. A zealous patron of the major Orthodox pilgrim centres (Sinai, the Holy Land and Athos), the Romanian prince encouraged Greek education and printing and attracted many Greek scholars and merchants to Wallachia. He thus created the necessary conditions for Greek implementation in Wallachia, which caused his own doom and launched the era of Greek Phanariot rule in the Principalities.

The impetus experienced at the very beginning of the eighteenth century did not keep its initial vigour, and Western-type Greek map production of the eighteenth century was rather anaemic. We know only seven Western-type maps printed within the period 1701-1795. Actually, very few new maps appeared within this time, such as the map of the lands east of the Caspian Sea, based on the travels of the merchant Vassilios Vatatzis, engraved in London by John Senex in 1732 (no. 29). The rest of the output is composed of reissues of sacred vernacular maps, or small maps included in books, such as those produced by Grigorios Fatzeas, Greek bishop of Venice, for his geography textbook printed in Venice in 1760 (nos 33-34). In fact, during the eighteenth century only sacred cartography was implanted in Ottoman Greece, proposing a series of works in the ‘traditional’ manner, engraved and printed in the important monastic centres, such as the fully engraved (text and topographical illustrations) pilgrim guide of Jerusalem by the Serbian icon painter Hristofor Zefar (nos 31-32), or the sacred maps of Meteora and Gortynia (nos 41-42). Cartography even had an impact on formal religious painting of the time. Besides the painted icons including cartographic representations (PAZARAS, HADJICHRISS-TODOULOU, RUBIN 2004), we also encounter a printed map of the northern Aegean as the background of an icon of St George (no. 40).

The slow and rather regular rhythm of production up to 1795 exploded during the final 25 years of our period: 13 maps were printed between 1665 and 1700; 18 between 1701 and 1750; 13 between 1751 and 1795; and 77 between 1796 and 1820. The range of their subjects also reverses; it is a significant fact that reveals the changes in the interests of the public. The production of printed sacred maps was quite stable throughout the period, having its peak during the first half of the eighteenth century, following the strengthening of the Greek Churches and their opening to society.


Sacred and Secular Maps, 1665-1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sacred Maps</th>
<th>Secular Maps</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1665-1700</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701-1750</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751-1795</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796-1820</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The balance between sacred and secular map production was overturned during this last phase. From 1795 and on, the production of sacred maps remained at the same levels as previously, with 7 works printed between 1796 and 1820, while a true explosion is observed in the production of secular maps: 70 maps on various secular subjects were printed within the last 25 years of the Age of Enlightenment. A third of these maps (24 of 70) are autonomous works, maps printed per se in one or more sheets and even atlases. The other 46 maps are small works included in various editions, geography textbooks, historical essays or educational manuals. This radical change is related to the increase in Greek scholarly editions during this time period, products and initiators of the intellectual patriotic effervescence of the day. It was a decisive preparatory phase of the Greek War of Independence (1821-27).

Among the large maps, we should mention those published in Vienna in 1796-97 by the Greek activist and patriot Rhigas Velestinlis, the regional maps of Constantinople, Moldavia and Wallachia (nos 46, 48 and 49), as well as his Chart of Greece (1797), a monumental wall-map in 12 large sheets (no. 47), a cartographic historical theatre of the dispersion of Greeks in the Balkans and Asia Minor (TOLIAS 2009); the world wall-map in 4 sheets by Gheorghe Golesc (no. 51), edited by Anthimos Gazis in Vienna in 1800 (POPIESCU-SPINENI 215; LIVIERATOS 2008c), as well as the large wall-maps of Europe and Asia, published by Gazis in 1801, also in Vienna (nos 54, 57); the lost maps of the world, Thessaly, and Greece and Italy published by Dionissios Pyrros in Vienna in 1811 (nos 92-94); the map of the Sanjak of Konia, an original cartographic work by Cyril VI, Patriarch of Constantinople, edited in Vienna by Anthimos Gazis in 1812 (no. 95); and finally, the large nautical charts published by the adventurer Nikolaos Kefalas in Vienna, Paris and London in 1817-18 (nos 107-112). Mention should also be made here of the three atlases printed in Greek during this period. The first is a translation of Gaspari’s school atlas by Kyriakos Kapetanakis, published in Vienna in 1808 (no. 84); the second one is the now lost nautical atlas with eight maps, printed by Dionissios Pyrros in 1812 (no. 96); and the last one is the Greek translation by Chrysovergis Kourohalatis of the atlas for the Voyage du jeune Anacharsis by J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, published in Vienna in 1820 (no. 118).

The people who carried on this rich cartographic production were representatives of all the leading social, economic and cultural groups of the Greek-speaking Orthodox society of the Ottoman Empire: church prelates, such as the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril VI, and Constantios I, Archbishop of Sinai and later Patriarch of Constantinople; Romanian boyars, such as Gheorghe Golesc; merchants and navigators such as Th. Rombappas and N. Kefalas; but mainly patriot scholars, working for the moral preparation of the Greek national uprising. For the most, these were members of the lower clergy, the Greek equivalent to the itinerant abbots of the Age of Enlightenment: professional scholars travelling across the networks that connected the seats of Orthodox Churches, the courts and
the princely academies of Iassy and Bucharest, the Greek schools in the flourishing merchant towns in Asia Minor, Thessaly and Epirus, or in the Ionian Islands, which then passed successively from Venetian to French, Russian and finally British rule. All of them were meeting at the centres of the Greek merchant diaspora outside the Ottoman Empire, Vienna or Venice, main printing centres of the Greek book during this era. These scholars and men of letters were not cartographers. They were merely translators or compilers of maps, or even just editors and publishers that included maps in their books. Even so, we can discern among them some that are more systematically attracted to maps, becoming in a way specialised in the field, such as Rhigas Velestinlis, Anthimos Gazis or Dionissios Pyrros. Their works, for the most translations or adaptations, are nevertheless indicators of the wide dissemination of the maps and their acceptance as a new visual printed product with various functions, educational or practical, but also visual tools that may express patriotic and political claims.

Secular Greek printed maps are derivative works, yet some of the maps proposed within this last phase are original works. Rhigas’ Chart of Greece (no. 47), although based on a map of ancient Greece published by Guillaume Delisle in 1707, proposes a considerable number of changes in form and content, such as the addition of the regions of the Danube or the addition of the modern toponymic equivalences. Cyril VI’s map of Konia (no. 95) is also an original work, combining elements of the Western and the ‘traditional’ cartography of sacred places. Cyril, Bishop of Konia between 1803 and 1810, had a first-hand knowledge of the area and displayed on his map the natural and human geography of the region. Daniel Philippidis’ maps of Wallachia (nos 104-106) also propose some originality, since their author spent all his life in the principality. The map of Bessarabia and the Danube Mouths (no. 106) especially is a product of first-hand observations, proposing emendations to the previous maps of the region, emendations that the Greek geographer was proud to announce to his French colleague J.-D. Barbié du Bocage (PHILIPPIDIS 168). These works, together with the few earlier original works by A. Marmora (nos 2-4), C. Cantacuzino and I. Komninos (no. 12) and V. Vatatzis (no. 29), constitute the meagre genuine Greek contribution to the cartography of the Age of Enlightenment.

In the Greek production of printed maps, sacred or vernacular, we can observe a relatively high degree of homogeneity. Sacred maps are for the most variations on the two basic themes of the Sinai three-summit map-like view, and the Athos two-summit one. A similar traditionalist trend is also detectable in the production of secular Western-type cartography. Greek printed world maps are variations of the theme introduced by Chrysanthos Notaras in 1700, while in mapping Greece editors often reproduced the maps proposed by Rhigas or Barbié du Bocage. The persistence of these standardized maps is an indicator of both the communication existing among the map editors, and of the conservative, traditionalist attitude of the Greek educated elite.

The areas displayed on Greek printed maps are indicative of the geographical interests of the Greek-speaking public. During a first, long period, Greek maps chiefly covered sacred places of Orthodoxy, Jerusalem, Sinai, Athos, and some important monastic centres in Greece. Greece appeared as a cartographic theme quite late, in Grigorios Fatzeas’ geography textbook, in 1760 (no. 34), and became a recurrent subject after 1795, with a total of 15 maps printed between 1796 and 1820. During the same period curiosity for the world was aroused, as shown by the 25 maps of the world and the continents. The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, under Greek (Phanariot) administration from 1709
and on, and areas of a potential career for Greek scholars and merchants, formed a distinct cartographic theme, with 2 maps published towards 1700 and 6 maps published in the early nineteenth century. The subject array is supplemented by 15 maps with various subjects, mainly nautical charts and historical maps.

### Areas of Interest, 1665-1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1665-1700</th>
<th>1701-1750</th>
<th>1751-1795</th>
<th>1796-1820</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World &amp; the Continents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athos &amp; Greek Regions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldavia &amp; Wallachia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine &amp; Sinai</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total maps</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another interesting feature of the production is related to the practical absence of historical or antiquarian maps up to the end of the eighteenth century, and their sound presence during the last phase of the Enlightenment.

Historical or antiquarian maps, mixing the past and the present, count for half of the production of printed maps during the final 25 years. It is a dominant characteristic of the Greek learned endeavours during the initial phase of the formation of Greek nationalism, an orchestrated effort to recover the past. This attitude is related to the rise of historical awareness and the seminal role played in these inner workings by ancient geography. In 1787, the Phanariot jurist and man of letters Dimitrios Katardjis, mentor of the major Greek geographers and cartographers such as Rhigas and Philippidis, invited Greek scholars to gain knowledge of ancient geography and stressed the need for comparative studies in ancient and modern geography (Katardjis 163-164).

### Past and Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MODERN GEOGRAPHY</th>
<th>ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1665-1700</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701-1795</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795-1820</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total maps</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the past and present is also mixed in sacred maps. The eternal protective presence of Christ, the Virgin and the saints, whose worship was related to the mapped pilgrimage places, is accompanied by historical references to their medieval imperial founders. Sacred maps of Athos hence refer to the ‘Kings’ or ‘Emperors of the Romans’, and the ‘Soldiers of Christ’, such as Theodosius and Pulcheria (no. 35) or Nikiforos Fokas (no. 38).

Although we encounter definitions of Greece in Greek geography textbooks from the beginning of the eighteenth century (Meletios’ Ancient and Modern Geography, Venice
1728), its cartographic representations came late, a delay that may be explained by the fragility or fluidity of any attempt for a strict regional designation of the country, being part of imperial structures over the previous 2000 years. The initial hesitations and tergiversations are obvious, while the proliferation and diffusion of printed cartographic images of Greece after 1797 played a seminal role in defining a Greek historical territorial identity. For these reasons, Greece’s regional cartography, as well as the regional cartography of the Balkan countries produced by Greeks, foreshadowed the national awakenings in the Balkans.

Greece as described by Greek geographers, such as Daniel Philippidis and Grigorios Constandas (Koumariou 1970, 1994) and as displayed by Rhigas in his monumental Chart of Greece (no. 47), appears as a multinational, historical and imperial area, comprising all the Christian territories of the Ottoman Empire. The regional maps of Greece or the Danube Principalities produced by Greek scholars are indicative of the slow maturation process of the national ideas and the frequent tergiversations of a hybrid national awareness. In Rhigas’ Chart, for instance, Greece covers the entire Balkan Peninsula and the western half of Asia Minor and is framed by a genealogy of famous people and sovereigns that includes Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman rulers. The map remains a testimony to the crisis in the values of the Greek-speaking Orthodox scholars of the Ottoman Empire before the rising national idea that they themselves first elaborated.

Yet, beyond the hybrid symbolic values that they convey, the regional maps of Greece, Wallachia and Moldavia were aiming to support some public functions. These works were certainly not sufficient to meet the requirements of the administration but were nevertheless instruments of a genuine public function: propaganda. By their impressive dimensions, their historical reminiscences and the wealth of their illustrations, they reinforced the assurance of Greek patriotism or the lustre of the Greek administration in the north Ottoman provinces.

**Production and Diffusion**

The majority of these maps were printed outside the boarders of the Ottoman Empire, at the chief Greek printing centres of the era, mainly in the neighbouring Austrian and Italian but also in the Russian presses. The Viennese presses come first with almost half of the production. The Venetian presses come after, with another fifth of the production. They are followed by the presses of Brunswick, Leipzig, Budapest in the Austrian and German lands; those of Padua, Bologna and Trieste in the Italian states; and the presses of Moscow, Leopolis (L’viv) and St Petersburg in the Russian Empire. Greek editors also went further away in order to print their maps, for example to Paris and London. Within the borders of the Ottoman Empire only sacred maps and map-like topographical images of holy places were printed. Eleven of these prints have been located to date, printed at the presses of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and in various monasteries in Wallachia, Istanbul, Athos, Meteora, the Peloponnese, Crete and Sinai. It is interesting to note that the choice of the printing place is in relation to the cartographic theme: sacred maps were printed in Orthodox centres, in the Ottoman or the Russian Empire, as well as in the Greek presses of Venice and Vienna, while secular maps were printed only in Western European presses. This is related to technological issues and the required know-how, both of the map-making and of the engraving or printing procedures. Sacred maps are not
mathematically conceived and they use empirical methods of representation; in an initial
stage they were woodcuts and therefore carved and printed as traditional stamps. Fur-
thermore, they do not use mobile fonts for their lettering. For these reasons it was pos-
sible for skilled monks specialized in painting, carving and stamping to produce small-
sized woodcut works in an Orthodox monastery. Hadjikyriakis, the commissioner of the
early sacred maps of Sinai, had learned in Leopolis how to print and had acquired the
necessary printing equipment. He was able to print wherever he was living, whether in the
Rimnik Monastery in Wallachia or in Bucharest, and he died obviously obsessed by print-
ing, in the small metochi of Sinai on Chios (PAPASTRATOS 1981 35). Engraving know-
how came later, in the 1770s, in the monasteries of Athos, Thessaly, the Peloponnese or
Istanbul (GOLOBIAS and IOUSTINOS), and achieved high quality standards (nos 41, 42 and
63). Secular cartography, on the other hand, was based on Western models: engraving
involved specially trained artisans, and printing, especially in large formats, required spe-
cific printing presses.

Places of Printing, 1665-1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE OF PRINTING</th>
<th>SACRED MAPS</th>
<th>SECULAR MAPS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italian States (total)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padua</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bologna</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trieste</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Lands (total)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(51)</td>
<td>(60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budapest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leipzig</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Empire (total)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leopolis (L’viv)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Petersburg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe (total)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottoman Empire (total)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athos</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallachia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meteora</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peloponnese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total maps</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>83</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dimensions of Greek maps in print vary. The maps included in books are usually
works of reduced dimensions, starting at the octavo format and reaching exceptionally
important dimensions, such as the map of Jerusalem included in Chrysanthos Notaras’
description (720 x 880 mm; no. 22). The maps printed per se are usually bigger works.
The map-like sacred views of Sinai were produced in two formats, a larger and a smaller
one; the sacred maps of Athos were initially printed in two large sheets, forming impressive works, measuring up to 1470 x 670 mm (no. 16). Later on, when they were produced in the Greek monasteries, their dimensions were reduced to a single leaf, measuring usually 500 x 700 mm. Large mural maps on secular subjects printed on several sheets appeared in 1700, with the two courtly maps of Wallachia and the world. They were both printed in two large sheets and they measured up to 1400 x 650 mm (no. 12). The production of impressive display works ceased and then reappeared at the end of the eighteenth century. Between 1797 and 1802 several mural maps were printed in Greek, printed in two, four, eight or twelve large sheets, measuring up to 2000 x 2000 mm (no. 47). With the exception of one work, a world map published by an Athonite father and dedicated to the Greek nation (no. 50), the rest was published by Rhigas Velestinlis and Anthimos Gazis. We may suppose that the expensive printed mural maps were not commercially successful, since their production ceased. The attempt to replace them by printed atlases seems not to have been commercially successful either, since only three small-sized atlases were printed, between 1807 and 1820.

Types of Secular Maps, 1795-1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>MAPS</th>
<th>MURAL MAPS AND ATLASES</th>
<th>MAPS IN BOOKS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795-1800</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 MM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801-1805</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 MM</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805-1810</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 MM + 1 A</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811-1815</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 A</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816-1820</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 A</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of Greek printed maps was produced abroad. For this reason their diffusion within the Ottoman Empire was realized through the network of international commerce. Greek merchants were buying Greek printed books in Vienna, Venice, Leghorn and Trieste, and it was at these selling points that the printed maps were directed. From advertisements in the press from the late eighteenth century and on, we know that customers could buy printed maps, either by writing directly to their publishers in Vienna and Venice, or in the big commercial representatives in Iassy and Bucharest, Constantinople, Smyrna, Chios, Ioannina or other important trading towns.

The languages in which these maps were printed are relevant to their areas of diffusion. Thus the sacred maps in an early stage were composed both in Greek and Latin, being also addressed to the Romanian Orthodox believers, and later on in Greek and Slavonic, in an effort to embrace the Orthodox Slavic populations. The secular Western-type maps were usually printed solely in Greek with some exceptions: the map of Wallachia by Cantacuzino and Komninos of 1700 (no. 12) was printed in Greek and Latin, in an effort to stress the Roman origin of Romania and to be accessible to non-hellenized Romanian users. Greek and Latin are also used in V. Vatatzis’ map of North Iran (no. 29). Anthimos Gazis’ reissues of Rhigas’ Chart of Greece published in Vienna in 1800 and 1810 (nos 52, 90) form another exception, bearing a title in both Greek and French. The map was not addressed to a French-speaking public, however, and the choice to publish it both in French and Greek was related to the political circumstances and the aspirations of the
Greek patriots for an eventual French operation in the East. On their side, Republican and then Imperial France sustained such aspirations. The map published in 1811, in Trieste, capital of the French-ruled Illyrian Provinces, by Gaetano Palma was also printed in Greek and French (no. 91). His very title reveals the French ambitions: ‘Map of European Turkey, formerly Greece’.

Our information on the number of printed copies is quite limited. Thanks to Dory Papas- tratos’ research in the archives of St Catherine’s Monastery, we know that Hadjikyriakis printed 900-1000 copies each time of the sacred map-like views of Sinai and sent them regularly to the Monastery. Indeed, it was mainly through the Monastery that the maps were diffused, either to pilgrims, as a souvenir of their visit, or through the fundraising peregrinations that the Orthodox monasteries organized on a regular base (zeteiai). Once or twice a year, one or more monks (the travellers) left on long-distance tours in order to collect money for their Monastery. These peregrinations led them quite far, to the remote Orthodox regions in the Balkans and Asia Minor, and even to Russia. In return for their generosity, benefactors were offered the products or handicrafts of the Monastery, as well as printed icons or sacred maps. The believers grew quickly accustomed to this printed material: in 1699 the Archbishop of Sinai, Ioannikios, asked Hadjikyriakis to send him as many printed maps and icons of St Catherine’s as he could, ‘because people out there learned about them and they are demanding them of our fathers’ (PAPASTRATOS 1981 26).

Archival research has revealed that the zeteiai acquired a systematic regulation and planning from the mid-seventeenth century onwards (CHRYSOCHOIDIS) and, therefore, we could consider the appearance of printed sacred maps as an immediate effect of these fundraising practices.

It is quite certain that the monasteries covered the printing expenses of the sacred maps. The fathers in charge of the fundraising tours, once in Moscow, Venice or Vienna, themselves supervised the engraving and printing of the sacred maps and other prints of devotional matter, such as printed icons or indulgences (sygchorochartia) (ILIOU 1983-85). Their names are often mentioned as sponsors and editors of the prints. In one case the name of a merchant is given as the one who provided the necessary amount for the production of a map: Constantinos Penetas paid in Vienna, in 1767, the expenses for a sacred map of Athos, commissioned by the Vatopedi Monastery (no. 36).

The rest of our information on the finances and the number of printed copies of maps is related to Rhigas Velestinlis’ maps, printed in Vienna, in 1796-97. Just after finishing the printing of his maps of Wallachia, Greece and Moldavia, Rhigas embarked on his revolutionary plan. He envisioned substituting the sultan’s imperial regime in the Balkans by a republican confederation inspired by the French Revolution. The conspiracy was disclosed directly; Rhigas and his companions were arrested in Trieste, interrogated and surrendered to the Ottoman authorities in Belgrade, who executed them. Research in the exhaustive and meticulous interrogations of Rhigas and his companions kept in the Austrian archives has revealed that the edition of the Chart of Greece (12 large sheets) was financed at least in part by the merchant Efstratios Argentis. His support was quite considerable: 1100 florins for the engraving and the printing of 12 large sheets in 1200 copies. Map production was a complex and time-consuming procedure. Rhigas’ 12 sheet Chart, for instance, needed six months to be engraved and printed, an inadequate time if we judge by the multitude of orthographical mistakes, due to the engraver’s ignorance of the Greek language. The cost of the production augmented considerably, since Rhigas went
on to an immediate corrected reissue of the map (LIVIERATOS 2008c). We can assume that the cost of engraving for a map in Greek was higher than engraving a map in Latin fonts, since typesetting a Greek book was more costly than typesetting a book in a Western language (KOKKONAS 58). The cost of engraving a map and much more for an atlas was considerable indeed. Theoklitos Farmakidis complained in 1818 about the lack of an atlas of ancient Greece, a lack that obliged him to engrave some maps for his Elements of Greek Language (nos 99-100). ‘Their absence would have caused a bigger damage than my expense, the book is now much more expensive’ (POLEMI 2008 234). Silvestros Kolombos also complained about the production cost of a printed atlas. ‘The engraving of an atlas requires excessive expenses, and the book is a costly one, not accessible to the poor’ (POLEMI 2008 327). The financial support of the powerful was therefore required. Rhigas’ maps of Wallachia and Moldavia were funded by the ruling princes of the two principalities, Alexandros Kallimachis and Alexandros Ipsilantis, while Gheorghe Golescu’s world map in four sheets was funded by his father, Raducan Golescu, nobleman and minister of Wallachia. Wealthy Greek merchants also supported the publication of some costly maps. Rhigas’ Chart was financed by the merchant Efstratios Argentis, while the Zossima brothers supplied the funds for the printing of the mural map of Asia in 4 sheets, published by Gazis in 1801 (no. 57), and the edition of Theodoros Rombappas’ Lessons of Nautical Science, supplemented with various nautical and celestial charts (Bologna 1806; nos 69-72). At a latter stage the method of pre-subscribers to the edition of a costly map or an atlas was proposed, without results however, as shown by the unaccomplished project of K. Kapetanakis to publish in Greek the 70 maps of Gaspari’s atlas in 1812 (Proj. III). It should be noted here that the network of Greek subscribers was also activated to support foreign editions of maps of Greece and in foreign languages, as was the case for the map of European Turkey by Guillaume de Vaudoncourt. The subscription was announced in a Greek literary journal of Vienna, in 1818 (POLEMI 2008 226).

As a result, the selling prices of the printed maps, especially the large ones or those in several sheets, as well as the prices of atlases, were elevated. The 12 sheets of Rhigas’ Chart of Greece (no. 47) were sold for 36 Turkish grossi or 24 Austrian florins, when in the same year (1797) an expensive book of 500 pages was sold for 2 Austrian florins and a cheap school book was sold for 6 kreuzers (1 florin = 90 kreuzers) (TOLIAS 2009 65-66). This was not due solely to the cost of engraving. The projected second edition of Fr. J. Bertuch’s Iconology in Greek and in 10 fully engraved volumes was proposed by K. Kapetanakis at 12 Turkish grossi (the 10 volumes together), while the projected single volume of Gaspari’s atlas with 70 maps was proposed by the same Kapetanakis (and in the same advertisement) at 10 Turkish grossi (POLEMI 2008 124). Nevertheless, the selling prices seem to have reduced as we approach the end of the period under scrutiny, a fact that reveals the development of the relevant know-how that allowed the reduction of production costs. In the following table we summarize the available information on the selling prices of the maps from various archival sources or from their advertisements in the press. The prices are converted into Turkish silver grossi, in order to facilitate their comparison.
### Prices of Printed Maps, 1795-1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAP OR ATLAS</th>
<th>SELLING PRICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1797 (no. 47)</td>
<td>Rhigas, <em>Chart of Greece</em>, Vienna, 12 large sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797 (no. 48)</td>
<td>Rhigas, map of Moldavia, Vienna, 1 large sheet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800 (no. 51)</td>
<td>Goleșcu, world map in 4 large sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800 (no. 52)</td>
<td>Gazis, map of Greece in 4 large sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811 (nos 90-92)</td>
<td>Pyrros, world map and maps of Greece and Thessaly, 1 large sheet each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812 (no. 94)</td>
<td>Pyrros, <em>New Neptune</em>, Venice, 8 large sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812 (Proj. III)</td>
<td>Kapetanakis, translation of Gaspari’s atlas with 70 maps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816 (Proj. VI)</td>
<td>Kapetanakis, 5 maps of Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818 (nos 107-109)</td>
<td>Kefalas, 3 nautical charts in an atlas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 (no. 116)</td>
<td>Kouropalatis, the <em>Anacharsis</em> atlas with 32 plates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All this information reveals that printed maps and atlases remained a luxury product for Greek society at the end of the Ottoman era. They were a sign of modernity, a sophisticated visual artefact of learning and therefore a product of prestige, fulfilling not only practical but also symbolic functions. We can presume that a lot of maps produced during the ‘Greek Enlightenment’ (1770-1820), especially the expensive mural maps, were not sold out, since in 1846 the Greek government was still trying to sell some 88 copies of Rhigas’ *Chart*, probably from the 1810 Gazis’ edition (no 90; POLEMI 2009).

Greek printed maps, both sacred and secular, were often dedicated to their users. Sacred maps of Athos were usually dedicated ‘to the pious and Orthodox Christians’, while the maps of Greece were often addressed ‘to the Greek nation’ or ‘to the lovers of Greece’. The appearance of maps printed in Greek was celebrated as a national technological achievement, and Kefalas printed his nautical charts for his nation to possess in its own language a device long since possessed by all the enlightened nations (POLEMI 2008 237). The authors of the major geography textbooks of the time systematically stressed the multiple values of maps, and in 1781 the geographer lossipos Moisiodax summarized, in his elegant style, the value of the mathematical conception of cartography, its didactic function and its connection to the workings of modernity: ‘The accuracy, or rather the principle of accuracy of the geographical maps, as well as the recovery of all kinds of knowledge, was commonly practiced from the sixteenth century onwards’ (MOISIODAX 165).

Maps as modern visual tools were adopted by diverse social and cultural strata, and the Greek public gradually became accustomed to cartographic images. The data recorded in Greek printed maps were generally of religious, historical or encyclopaedic nature, which testifies to the awakening of geographical curiosity and to the desire to bring to the fore, through collective memory and faith, Greek ethnic bonds. It may be said that Greek car-
tography in print during the Age of Enlightenment was a rather symbolic action of a part-taking to modernity, while its products functioned as instruments of prestige. Greek maps in print operated as visual mnemonic theatres, promoting and diffusing religious traditions and territorial identity but also knowledge of the world and historical memory.

In the Enlightenment’s Periphery

Maps printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment are in their majority derivative works and they do not fulfil the requirements of the occidental ‘Cartography of the Enlightenment’. Nevertheless, some secondary aspects of Enlightenment cartography’s formal features exist in germ, such as the novel national content of cartography, or the increasing use of maps by the leading elite and in education. Some minor developments are also noticeable in the manner of distribution of the maps, the role of patrons and sponsors and the creation of a market accustomed to graphic spatial representations in print. Finally, during the last three decades of the period under scrutiny, a restricted albeit clear tendency may be observed: certain scholars become specialized in the production of maps, while the various map-making initiatives were no longer isolated and spasmodic, but acquired an initial, albeit elementary, publishing strategy.

These diversifications, although significant, do not allow Greek cartographic output of the extended eighteenth century to be defined as part of the cartography of the European Enlightenment. Scientific cartographic endeavours were virtually inexistente, whereas religious and symbolic priorities defined the Greek production of maps during the entire period. This fact is easily explained by the specific historical conditions, and the persistence of inherent traditional patterns in Greek culture during the Ottoman era. Indeed, public use of maps remained weaker than the private, learned use, and the separation between past and present is absent for the greater part of Greek cartographic production. In fact, only a very few maps of the Danube Principalities under Greek administration were made and were barely used as tools of governance, whilst the learned foundation and the relevant antiquarian and patriotic tone of scholarly map production seems to have been the norm.
A PROVISOARY CHECKLIST
OF GREEK PRINTED MAPS, 1665-1820

On the following pages are listed 121 maps printed in Greek and by Greeks during the Age of Enlightenment (1665-1820), in a provisory checklist, open to additions and emendations. Each entry is composed of:

- The **date** of printing of the map and the actual **geographical area** that the map covers.
- The **name** of the author or editor (ed.) of the map; the **title** is given in an approximate translation, followed by the available bibliographical information, such as the **engraver**, the **publisher**, the fund provider or **sponsor**, the **dedication** and the **languages** of the map’s place names or texts if they are other or more than in Greek.
- The **place** of printing and the **dimensions** of the map. Only the woodcut maps are noted as such, since almost all the maps are engraved.
- The **location** of at least one copy of the map, when, of course, the map is not missing.
- At least one **bibliographical reference** to the map.
- The **annex** lists six unaccomplished publication projects in Greek of maps or atlases.
3. 1672, Ancient Town of Corfu
Andrea Marmora, 'Pianta di Chersopolis, Hora Paleopolis, con doi Porti Antica Città di Corfu', in Della Historia di Corfu, Venice, 1672. With a topographical index.
Venice, 300 x 225 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library HG 114, M 35; Samourka Collection (Athens) 0979.
Ref. Tolias - Navari 0979.

4. 1672, Town of Corfu
Andrea Marmora, 'Città di Corfu, e sue fortezze', in Della Historia di Corfu, Venice, 1672. With a topographical index. See also no. 19.
Venice, 300 x 225 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library HG 114, M 35; Samourka Collection (Athens) 0980.
Ref. Tolias - Navari 0980.

5. 1677, Palestine, Sinai and the Red Sea
Nectarios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 'Chorography of the lands between Egypt and Jerusalem', in Nectarios, Sacred and Secular History, Venice, 1677. Based on 'a recent map published in France'.
Venice, 480 x 220 mm.
Loc. St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.
Ref. Legrand 1903 II 337-338; Manousakas.
6. 1688, Mount Sinai
Nikodem Zubrzycki, [Mount Sinai Trodden-by-God']. Published by Hadjikyriakis from Vourla],
Woodcut, Leopolis (L'iviv), 228 x 315 mm.
Loc. St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.
Ref. Deluga 1997b; Legrand 1903 II 619; Papastratos 1990 380.

7. 1688, Mount Sinai
Nikodem Zubrzycki, [Mount Sinai Trodden-by-God'], Published by Hadjikyriakis from Vourla], variation of the previous map (no. 6) without the decorative frame).
Woodcut, Leopolis (L'iviv), 228 x 315 mm.
Loc. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Parisinus 265, Supplément grec, f. 5).
Ref. Deluga 1997b; Legrand 1903 II 449; Papastratos 1990 381.

8. 1693/94, Mount Sinai
Nikodem Zubrzycki, [Mount Sinai Trodden-by-God'], with a topographical index. Published by Hadjikyriakis from Vourla],
Woodcut, Leopolis (L'iviv), 485 x 575 mm.
Loc. St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.
Ref. Deluga 1997b; Papastratos 1990 382.

9. 1699, Mount Sinai
Dionysios, [Mount Sinai Trodden-by-God', with a topographical index. Published by Hadjikyriakis from Vourla].
Based on the sacred map by Nikodem Zubrzycki (no. 6).
Texts engraved by Dionysios].
Woodcut, Wallachia?, 300 x 360 mm.
Loc. St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.
Ref. Papastratos 1990 383.

10. 1700, World
Chrysanthos Notaras, [Geographical map of the Ancient and Modern World']. Decorated with a portrait of Prince Johannes Constantin Brâncoveanu and the arms of Wallachia. Title in Greek and Latin. Several insets.
Based on a map by Nicolas Sanson (Paris, 1674)].
Padua, two sheets 540 x 870 mm.
Loc. Private collection (Left sheet); Paulus Swaen lot 06037.
Ref. Shirley 598; Aujac.

11. 1700/1716, World
Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem,
[Geographical map of the Ancient and Modern World, Padua 1700', in his Introductio ad geographiam, et spho-
eram...]. Paris, 1716. Reduced and simplified version of map no. 10. See also nos 33 and 50].
Padua, 235 x 350 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GT 133.1q.
Ref. Aujac.
12
1700, Wallachia
Ioannis Komminos and Constantin Cantacouzino, ['Map of Wallachia...']. The work also contains the title in Latin, ending with: Patavii, 1700. Decorated with a portrait of Brâncoveanu and the coat of arms of Wallachia. Edited by Chrysanthos Notaras. See also no. 21.
Padua, 1400 x 650 mm.
Loc. British Library 44170 (1).
Ref. Popescu-Şpîneni 171-174; Biau and Sî-monesc u no. 33; Cicunci and Cernovodeanu 174-175; Aujac.
13
1700 (after), Mount Athos
Alessandro a Via, 'Eastern part of Athos - Western part of Athos'. Texts in Greek, Latin and Slavonic.
Venice, 745 x 1070 mm.  
Loc. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris DCP GCC 4918; Museum of Prince Czartoryski, Krakow.
Ref. Papastratos 1990 420; Provatakis 72; Deluga 1997a 243; Tolias 2002 160-161.

14a -14b
1701, Mount Athos
Ioannis Komninos, 'Eastern part of Athos', 'Western part of Athos', in Proskynetarion of Athos, by I. Komninos, printed by Anthimos of Iviron, 1701].  
Woodcut, Snagov Monastery (Wallachia), 2 sheets, 85 x 195 mm and 85 x 193 mm.  
Loc. British Library 868 d.9; Library of the Romanian Sciences Academy.
Ref. Papastratos 1990 418; Tolias 2002 156.

15
1706, Mount Sinai
Matthaios of Sinai - Hadjikyriakis from Vourla, 'Mount Sinai Trodden-by-God'. Variation of map no. 6].  
Woodcut, (Crete?), 440 x 600 mm.  
Loc. St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

16
1707, Mount Athos
Topographical index].  
Venice, 670 x 1470 mm.  
Ref. Enev 1994 ill. 259.

17a -17b
1708, Mount Athos
Ioannis Komninos, 'Eastern part of Athos', 'Western part of Athos', in the reissue of Komninos' Proskynetarion by Bernard de Montfaucon, Palaeographia graeca 1708 451].  
Paris, two sheets, 70 x 200 mm each.  
Loc. Gennadios Library BB 954.5 QS; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (B 5439).
Ref. Papastratos 1990 419; Costescu pls 3-4.
18_
ca. 1710, Mount Sinai
Unknown author, ['By the Mercy of God, Athanasios Archbishop of the Holy Mountain of Sinai Trodden-by-God'. With a topographical index and inset texts in Greek and Slavonic].
Venice, 530 x 775 mm.
Loc. Greek Institute of Venice.
Ref. Papastratos 1990 385.

19_
1710-14, Corfu
Both the map of the island and the map of the town reproduce Andrea Marmora's maps of 1672 (see nos 2 and 4)].
Amsterdam, 485 x 508 mm.
Loc. Samourka Collection (Athens) 0807.
Ref. Tolas - Navari 0807.

20_
1713, Mount Athos
Venice, 675 x 535 mm.
Loc. Russian National Library (St Petersburg).
Ref. Ioustinos 4.1; Tolas 2002 164-165.

21_
1718, Wallachia
Marcantonio Gigli, ['Indice topografico del principato di Valachia...' , in A. M. del Chiaro, Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia, Venice, 1718. Reduced Italian ver-sion of the 1700 map of Wallachia by Komninos and Cantacouzino (see no. 12)].
Venice, 480 x 680 mm.
Loc. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, DCP Ge DD 2987 (5946)B.
Ref. Aujac.
22. **1723, Jerusalem**  
Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, ['An Accurate Drawing of the Holy City of Jerusalem', engraved by Franz Ambr. Dietell].  
Budapest, 720 x 880 mm.  
Loc. Church of St Paraskevi, Statista.  
Ref. Thieme & Becker 253; Karathanasis 201-204; Papastrapatos 1990 567.

23. **1723, Mount Sinai**  
Unknown author, ['By the Mercy of God, Ioannikios Archbishop of the Holy Mountain of Sinai Trodden-by-God'.  
With inset texts in Greek and Russian].  
St Petersburg, 485 x 600 mm.  
Loc. St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.  
Ref. Papastrapatos 1990 386.

24. **1727, Mount Sinai**  
Unknown author, ['By the Mercy of God, Athanasios Archbishop of the Holy Mountain of Sinai Trodden-by-God'.  
With a topographical index and inset texts in Greek and Latin],  
probably Venice, 550 x 580 mm.  
Loc. National Gallery, Athens; St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.  
Ref. Papastrapatos 1990 387.

25. **1728, Jerusalem**  
Based on an unknown prototype by a Franciscan friar. See also no. 27].  
Venice, 870 x 555 mm.  
Loc. Gennadius Library T 1680 Q.  
Ref. Aujac; Rubin 2006.

26. **1728, Jerusalem, Church of the Resurrection**  
Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, ['The Church of the Resurrection in the Holy City of Jerusalem', in *Chrysanthi, Beatissimi Patriarchae Hiersolymorum, Historia et descriptio Terrae Sanctae Urbisque Sanctae Hierusalem...*, Venice, A. Bortoli, 1728. Title in Greek and Latin. Based on an also unknown French source, eventually identified as Nicolas de Fer].  
Venice, 645 x 720 mm.  
Loc. Gennadius Library T 1680 Q.  
Ref. Aujac; Rubin 2006.

27. **1728, Jerusalem**  
Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, ['The Holy City of Jerusalem', illustration on the title page of *Chrysanthi, Beatissimi Patriarchae Hiersolymorum, Historia et descriptio Terrae Sanctae Urbisque Sanctae Hierusalem...*, Venice, A. Bortoli, 1728. Title in Greek and Latin. Reduced version of map no. 25].  
Venice, 155 x 111 mm.  
Loc. Gennadius Library, T 1680 Q.  
Ref. Aujac; Rubin 2006.

28. **1728, Jerusalem**  
De Pierre, ['The Holy City of Jerusalem', German edition of the 1728 map by Chrysanthos Notaras].  
Vienna, 834 x 534 mm.  
Loc. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Laor Collection.  

29. **1732, North Iran**  
Vassilios Vatatzis, ['Map...of part of Asia...', engraved by John Senex. With a topographical index and extensive notes in Greek and Latin].  
London, 328 x 278 mm.  
Ref. Legrand 1918 I 244; Legrand 1886.
30_ 1733/36, Mount Athos
Polyidis Theoklitos, 'The Famed Holy Mountain of Athos', engraved by I. G. Schmidt. From the German edition of Polyidis' Die Heilige Posaume des Glaubens, Brunswick, 1736. Based on the previous sacred maps of Athos (nos 13, 16 and 20). With a topographical index. Brunswick, 210 x 380 mm. 
Ref. Papastathos 1990 421.

31_ 1749, Holy Land
Hristofor Zefar - Simeon of St Sepulcher, [Proskynetarion of Jerusalem and Palestine, illustrated pilgrim guide to Jerusalem. Both text and illustrations are engraved].
Vienna, 56 copperplate pages, 12mo. 
Loc. Gennadius Library, T 1678.
Ref. Davidov 1961; Papastathos 1990 80-82; Staikos 1; Tolias 1999b 9.
32._
1752, Holy Land
Hristofo Zefar - Simeon of St Sepulcher, [Serbian edition of the 1749 Prosoknetarion of Jerusalem and Palestine].
Vienna, octavo.
Loc. Gennadius Library, T 1678.

33._
1760, World
Grigorios Fatzeas, ['Geographical map of the Ancient and Modern world', engraved by Antonio Zatta, in
Grigorios Fatzeas, Geographical Grammar, Venice, Antonio Zatta, 1760. Based on the world map published
by Chr. Notaras in 1700 (no 11)].
Vienna, 320 x 185 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 133.3.
Ref. Legrand 18e I 546; Ploumidis 102-106.

34._
1760, Greece
Grigorios Fatzeas, ['Geographical map of Greece',
engraved by Antonio Zatta, in Grigorios Fatzeas,
Geographical Grammar, Venice, Antonio Zatta, 1760].
Vienna, 320 x 185 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 133.3 (missing)
Ref. Legrand 1918 I 546; Ploumidis 102-106.

35._
1760, Mount Athos
Bessarion from Macedonia (ed.), ['Ichnography of the Holy Mountain of Athos'. Texts in Greek and Slavonic].
Moscow, 510 x 678 mm.
Loc. National Library of Russia (St Petersburg) alb. VIII 1124.
Ref. Legrand 1918 I 417.

36._
1767, Mount Athos
Vienna, 519 x 662 mm.
Loc. Collection N. Gavrilidi, Athens; Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow) 39.
Ref. Davidov 1978 153; Papastratos 1990 422.

37._
1767 (after), Mount Athos
Makarios from Psara, ['... the Entire Image of the Holy Mountain of Athos...'].
Vienna?, 501 x 647 mm.
Loc. National Historical Museum 125 (Sofia); Russian State Library, Department of Graphic Arts 41 (Moscow).

38._
1768, Mount Athos
Menas of Lavra, ['... the Entire Image of the Holy Mountain of Athos...'. Texts in Greek and Slavonic].
Moscow, 560 x 760 mm.
Loc. Collection Catherine Chatzidimou, Athens.
Ref. Provatakis 75; Papastratos 1990 423.

39._
1770, Mount Athos
Unknown author, ['Western and Eastern part of Mount Athos'].
unknown place (probably Athos), 273 x 370 mm.
Loc. Simonopetra Monastery 361; Collection of Alpha Bank 42 (Athens); National Library (Warsaw).
Ref. Papastratos 1990 425; Enev 1994 ill. 8; Ioustinos 4.2; Deluga 1997a pl. 1.
40  
**1780, Skyros, Psara, Limno and West coast of Athos**  
Parthenios from Ellasson, ['St George the Skyrian…1780 January 15. Mount Athos', framed with eight scenes from the life of St George].  
Athos, 240 x 360 mm.  
*Loc.* Great Lavra Monastery (Athos).  
*Ref.* Papastratos 1990 442.

41  
**1782, Monasteries of Meteora**  
Parthenios from Ellasson, ['Drawing of the Holy Imperial and Venerable Monastery of the Meteoron… 1782 June 21'].  
Meteora, 480 x 645 mm.  
*Loc.* St Paul Monastery (Athos).  
*Ref.* Papastratos 1990 549.

42  
**1791, Gortynia**  
Unknown author, ['Monastery of the Philosopher and the surrounding mountain area of Gortynia. The rivers Alpheios, Erymanthos and Gortynios are depicted'].  
Probably Gortynia, 460 x 640 mm.  
*Ref.* Papastratos 1990 552.

43  
**1791, Ishmael**  
George and Publius Markides Poulis, ['Plan of the Castle of Ishmael conquered by the Russians…', in *Ephimeris* Friday 16.05.1791. With a topographical index].  
Vienna, 260 x 230 mm.  
44_ 1794, Celestial Chart
Panayotis Kodrikas, ['The Solar System'. After p. LII, in Kodrikas' translation of La pluralité des mondes by Fontenelle, Vienne, (1794)].
Vienna, 255 x 195 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library F 660.
Ref. Staikos 71 (ill. 117); Ladas - Chatzidimos 1970 179, ill. 77a.

45_ 1796, Constantinople
Vienna, 260 x 390 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, BL 1260; Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) DF 645.PS 1796 c2.
Ref. Staikos 91; Ladas - Chatzidimos 1973 34.

46_ 1796, Bosphorus and Constantinople
Rhigas Velasienlis, ['Plan of Constantinople and of the Bosphorus', engraved by Franz Müller. Several insets].
Vienna, 710 x 513 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 231g; Samourka Collection 1386 (Athens).
Ref. Ladas - Chatzidimos 1973 189; Laios; Tolias - Navari 1386; Tolias 2009.

47_ 1797, The Balkans
Rhigas Velasienlis, ['Chart of Greece…', engraved by Franz Müller. Ancient and modern place names. Insets: seven topo- graphical plans from Barbé du Bocage's Atlas for Anacharsis' Travels (Plataea, Salamis, Athens, Thermopylae, Sparta, Olympia, Delphi), a plan of an an-cient Greek theatre, depictions of 161 Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins, a complex wind rose in three languages (Greek, Turkish and Lingua Franca), and the topographical plan of the author's native land, Pheres. Allegorical cartouche. Based on a map of Ancient Greece by Guillaume Delisle (Paris, 1707). The map was reissued corrected the same year. See also nos 51 and 90].
Vienna, 12 sheets, 1997 x 1997 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 231g; (Schinas 2002 records 34 surviving copies).

48_ 1797, Moldavia
Rhigas Velasienlis, ['General Map of Moldavia', engraved by Franz Müller. Decorated with a portrait of Prince Alexandros Kalimachis and the arms of Moldavia. Based on a recent map by H. C. Schutz].
Vienna, 820 x 630 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 231.5.

49_ 1797, Wallachia
Rhigas Velasienlis, ['New map of Wallachia', engraved by Franz Müller. Decorated with a portrait of Prince Alexandros Ipsilantis and the arms of Wallachia. Based on the map of Wallachia by Ferdinand Joseph Ruhedorf (Vienna, 1788)].
Vienna, 850 x 620 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 231.5.
50
1797, World
Ioassaf of Ivron, ['Geographical map of the Ancient and Modern world', version of the 1700 world map published by Chrysanthos Notaras (no. 11). Engraved by Ludwig Schmidt]. Vienna, 2 sheets, 890 x 540 mm.
Loc. Sylvia Ioannou Collection (Athens) inv. no. 118; Metochi of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Tangaok (Russia).

51
1800, World
Gheorghe Golescu, ['Atlas or Universal map'. Map of the two hemispheres. Several insets, such as a map of Wallachia, a portrait of Wallachia's Prince Alexandros Mourouzis, a double hemispherical world map showing Cook's three voyages and Hearne's explorations of Arctic Canada, a series of smaller globes, spheres, astronomical diagrams, historical map projections, figures and a portrait of Prince Alexandros Mourouzis. Edited by Anthimos Gazis. Engraved by Karl Robert Schindelmayer. Funded by Raduca Goleseu]. Vienna, 4 large sheets, 953 x 1217 mm.
Ref. Philippidis 50; Popescu-Spini 215; Gkinis and Mexas 3; O'Connor; Livieratos 2008a.

52
1800, The Balkans, Sicily and Cyprus
Anthimos Gazis (ed.), ['Map of Greece with ancient and modern place names', engraved by Franz Müller. Revised and reduced edition of Rhigas' Chart of 1797 (no. 47)]. Vienna, 4 large sheets, 998 x 998 mm.
Ref. Philippidis 50; Barbé du Bocage; Gkinis and Mexas 23; Livieratos 2008b; Vanvounakis.

53
1800, Mount Athos
Unknown author, ['Holy print of Athos'. Funded by Elissaisos of Chilandari. Printed by Antonio Bortoli. Texts in Greek and Slavonic]. Venice, 530 x 686 mm.
Loc. Simonopetra Monastery (Athos).
Loc. Aristotle University Library, Thessaloniki.
Loc. Aristotle University Library, Thessaloniki.
Loc. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze.
Loc. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze.
55  
1801, World
Unknown author, ['Mappamondo'. Engraved by Antonio Zatta. In Lessico Greco-Volgare... dal Padre Maestro Bernardino Pianzola..., vol. III, Venice, 1801].
Venice, 158 x 82 mm.
Ref. Iliou 1801.28.

56  
1801, Ancient World
Unknown author, ['Carta geografica per la Storia Sacra e Profana'. Engraved by Antonio Zatta. In Lessico Greco-Volgare... dal Padre Maestro Bernardino Pianzola..., vol. III, Venice, 1801].
Venice, 350 x 173 mm.
Ref. Iliou 1801.28.

57  
1802, Asia
Anthimos Gazis, ['Geographical map of Asia'. Funded by the Zossima brothers. Engraved by Karl Robert Schindelmayer].
Vienna, 4 large sheets, 1200 x 1000 mm.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 92.

58  
ca. 1802, Moldavia
Anthimos Gazis, ['Map of Moldavia'. Reissue of the map published by Rhigas Veleslinis in 1797 (see no. 48)]
Vienna, unknown dimensions
Loc. Missing.
Ref. Philippidis 70 (letter 37).

59  
ca. 1802, Bosphorus and Constantinople
Anthimos Gazis, ['Plan of Constantinople and of the Bosphorus'. Reissue of the map published by Rhigas Veleslinis in 1796 (see no. 46)]
Vienna, unknown dimensions
Loc. Missing.
Ref. Philippidis 70 (letter 37).

60  
1803, Ancient Alexandria
Constantios of Sinai, Patriarch of Constantinople, ['Plan of Alexandria with its two harbours', in Ancient Alexandria..., Moscow, 1803].
Moscow, 357 x 210 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 2569.7.
Ref. Tolias 1999b 12; Iliou 1803.17.
61. 1803, Harbour of Ancient Alexandria
Constantios of Sinai, Patriarch of Constantinople, ['Chart of Alexandria’s new harbour', in *Ancient Alexandria...*, Moscow, 1803].
Moscow, 357 x 210 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 2569.7.
Ref. Tolias 1999b 12; Iliou 1803.17.

62. 1804, World
Vienna, 400 x 200 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GT 163.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 296; Iliou 1804.67.

63. 1804, Mount Sinai
[Constantios of Sinai, Patriarch of Constantinople], ['By the Mercy of God, Constantios Archbishop of the Holy Mountain of Sinai Trodden-by-God...Engraved on Copper in Constantinople and Printed at the Metochi of Sinai in the Year 1804 June ’1’].
Istanbul, 570 x 700 mm.
Loc. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki (Dory Papanstratos Collection).
Ref. Papanstratos 1990 388.

64. 1805, Mount Sinai
[Constantios of Sinai, Patriarch of Constantinople], ['By the Mercy of God, Constantios Archbishop…’ reprinted of the 1804 edition with change of date (no. 63)].
Istanbul, 570 x 700 mm.
Loc. Byzantine Museum, Athens.

65. 1805, Ancient Greece
Vienna, 470 x 400 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GC 5022.
Ref. Iliou 1805.50.

66. 1805, Ancient Athens
Vienna, 250 x 200 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GC 5022.
Ref. Iliou 1805.50.
70. 1806, Western Mediterranean and Eastern Atlantic
Ref. Ilion 1806.57.

71. 1806, Celestial Chart
Ref. Ilion 1806.57.

72. 1806, Celestial Chart
Ref. Ilion 1806.57.

73. 1806, Ancient Greece
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 390; Iliou 1807.12.

74. 1806, Ancient Asia

75. 1807, Europe
Anthimos Gazis, ['Europe for Meletios' Geography' in Ancient and Modern Geography by Meletios, Vienna, 1807, vol. I, 1807. Engraved by G. A. Zuliani]. Vienna, 244 x 185 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library F 70.2.
Ref. Iliou 1807.41.

76. 1807, Greece
Loc. Gennadius Library F 70.2.
Ref. Iliou 1807.42.

77. 1807, Asia
Loc. Gennadius Library F 70.2.
Ref. Iliou 1807.43.

78. 1807, Africa
Loc. Gennadius Library F 70.2.
Ref. Iliou 1807.44.

79. 1807, America
Loc. Gennadius Library F 70.2.
Ref. Iliou 1807.44.

80. 1807, Jerusalem
Hristophor Zefar, ['Topographical map of the Temple of the Resurrection and Mount Golgotha', in Chrysanthos from Proussa, Proskynetaion of Jerusalem and Palestine, Vienna, 1807]. Vienna, 375 x 325 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library T 1679.2 Bq.

81. 1807, Roman Empire
Vienna, 538 x 410 mm.
Ref. Iliou 1807.25.
82. 1807, Greece
Dimitrios Alexandris (ed.), ['Greece, the Archipelago, Albania, Macedonia, Romilia, and part of Asia Minor' in the Greek translation of Goldsmith's History of Greece, Vienna, vol. III, 1807. Engraved by Ignace Kuhnen]. Vienna, 373 x 382 mm.

83. 1807, Ancient Greece
Basilios Papaefthimiou (ed.), ['Geographical Map of Greece', in Basilios Papaefthimiou, A Concise History of Greece..., Vienna, 1807].
Vienna, 190 x 170 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library MGL 130[a].
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 472; Iliou 1807.34.

84. 1808, Atlas of Europe
Vienna, 255 x 210 mm.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 494; Iliou 1808.3.

85. 1808, Ancient Africa
[Stefanos Economou (ed.)], ['Map of Africa according to Dionysios and Eustathios', in Collection of Ancient Geographers, vol. II, Vienna, 1808, facing p. 56].
Vienna, 310 x 210 mm.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 519.

86. 1808, Ancient Asia
[Stefanos Economou (ed.)], ['Map of Asia according to Dionysios and Eustathios', in Collection of Ancient Geographers, vol. II, Vienna, 1808, facing p. 164].
Vienna, 310 x 210 mm.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 519.
87. 1808, Ancient Greece
[Stefanos Economou (ed.), 'Map of Greece according to Dionysios and Eustathios', in Collection of Ancient Geographers, vol. II, Vienna, 1808, facing p. 96].
Ref. Iliou 1808.32.

88. 1808, Ancient Europe
[Stefanos Economou (ed.), 'Map of Europe according to Dionysios and Eustathios', in Collection of Ancient Geographers, vol. II, Vienna, 1808, facing p. 89].
Ref. Iliou 1808.32.

89. 1808, Mount Athos
Unknown author, ['...Engraving of Athos'], based on the 1767 sacred map by Makarios from Psara (see no. 37). Funded by Makarios of Iviron. Texts in Greek and Slavonic.
Loc. Simonopetra Monastery (Athos).
Ref. Unrecorded.

90. 1810, The Balkans, Sicily and Cyprus
Anthimos Gazis, ['Map of Greece with ancient and modern place names', engraved by Franz Müller. Reissue of the 1800 edition (see nos 52 and 47)].
Loc. Athens ΔΕΗ Collection.
Ref. Livieratos 2008b.

91. 1811, The Balkans
Gaetano Palma, ['Map of European Turkey, formerly Greece...']. The Peloponnese is in an inset. Place names and texts in Greek and French.
Loc. Trieste, 1080 x 750 mm.
Ref. Gkinis and Meaxes 675; Tolias 1999b 4; Livieratos 2009.

92. 1811, World
Dionissios Pyrros, [Atlas, or World Map. Printed in Venice, by N. Glykis].
Loc. Venice, unknown dimensions.
Ref. Ermis o Logios 2 (1812) 244; Iliou 1812.83; Polemi 2008 92.
93
1811, Thessaly
Dionissios Pyros, [Map of Thessaly. Printed in Venice by N. Glykis].
Venice, unknown dimensions.
Loc. missing
Ref. Ermis o Logios 2 (1812) 244; Iliou 1812.83; Polemi 2008 92.

94
1811, Greece and Italy
Dionissios Pyros, [Map of Greece and Italy. Printed in Venice by N. Glykis].
Venice, unknown dimensions.
Loc. missing
Ref. Ermis o Logios 2 (1812) 244; Iliou 1812.83; Polemi 2008 92.

95
1812, Sanjak of Konia
Cyril VI, Patriarch of Constantinople,
[‘Chorographical map of the Sanjak of Konia’, engraved by Neicklist, edited by Anthimos Gazis. With a topographical index. The map was followed by a booklet of 73 pages, containing a geographical description of Konia, published in Constantinople, at the presses of the Patriarchate in 1815].
Vienna, 925 x 680 mm.
Loc. Library of the Institute for Neoellenic Research / NHFR maps 1811.1; Gennadius Library B/GT 180.5.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 724; Tobias 1999b 27.

96
1812, Nautical Atlas or Chart of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic
Dionissios Pyros, [New Neptune. It includes 8 charts of the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean from England to America].
Vienna, 8 sheets Unknown dimensions.
Loc. missing
Ref. Ermis o Logios 2 (1812) 244; Iliou 1812.83; Polemi 2008 92.

97
1813, Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean
Neophytos Doukas (ed.), [‘Map for Herodianus’, in Herodianian's History of the Empire from the Death of Marcus in eight books edited by Neophytos Doukas, Vienna, 1813].
Vienna, 360 x 330 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GC 5048.5.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 764; Iliou 1813.29.

98
1813, Mount Sinai
Gennadios of Sinai, [‘Ground-plan of St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai’, Constantinople, March 1, 1813]. Instanbul, 540 x 760 mm.
Loc. Byzantine Museum, Athens; St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

99
1813, Ancient World
Unknown author, [‘Map of the World According to Homer’, facing p. 96 in the periodical Ermis o Logios, Vienna, 1813. Related to an essay on Greek mythology, published on pp. 6-11, 24-29, 40-48 and 75-80].
Vienna, 365 x 360 mm.
Loc. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Per. 914.

100
1814, Magnesia
Anthimos Gazis, [‘Magnesia’].
Vienna, 180 x 110 mm.
Loc. Municipal Library of Milies (Mount Pelion).
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 814.
101_ 1815-18, Ancient World
Vienna, 345 x 234 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GC 4956.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 880; Ilou 1815.76.

102_ 1815-18, Ancient Greece
Vienna, 505 x 365 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GC 4956.
Ref. Ilou 1815.77; Plemi 2008 234.

103_ 1815, Ancient World
P. Gosselin - P. Tardieu, ['Système géographique de Strabo... écrit et gravé par P. A. F. Tardieu...']. In the first volume of the Greek edition of Strabo's Geography by Ad. Coray].
Paris, 380 x 210 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, F 118.7 Qv.1.
Ref. Ilou 1815.78.

104_ 1816, Asia
Daniel Philippidis (ed.), ['Map of Asia...', engraved in Vienna by Neicklist, in Daniel Philippidis, Geography of Romania..., Leipzig, 1816].
Vienna, 540 x 375 mm.
Ref. Philippidis 168; Ilou 1816.20.

105_ 1816, Romania
Daniel Philippidis, ['Romania', in Daniel Philippidis, Geography of Romania..., Leipzig, 1816].
Leipzig, 455 x 368 mm.
Ref. Philippidis 168; Popescu-Spineni 216-218; Ilou 1816.20.

106_ 1816, Bessarabia and the Danube Mouths
Daniel Philippidis, ['The Danube Mouths...', in Daniel Philippidis, Geography of Romania..., Leipzig, 1816].
Leipzig, 455 x 368 mm.
Ref. Philippidis 168; Ilou 1816.20.
107
1817, Mediterranean Sea
Nikolaos Kefalas, 'Chart of the Mediterranean Sea'.
Vienna, unknown dimensions.
Loc. missing.
Ref. Mentioned in N. Kefalas' Nautical Instruction,
Vienna, 1817, foreword p. 8.

108
1817, Black Sea
Nikolaos Kefalas, 'Chart of the Black Sea'.
Vienna, unknown dimensions.
Loc. missing
Ref. Mentioned in N. Kefalas' Nautical Instruction,
Vienna, 1817, foreword p. 8; Ermis o Logios 8 (1817) 183-184; Polemi 2008 205, 209, 237.

109
1818, Aegean Sea
Nikolaos Kefalas, 'Chart of the Archipelago. Engraved by Pierre Piquet'.
Paris, 985 x 670 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GT 312
Ref. Gkinis and Mexa 1108; Tolias 1999b 28.
110. **1818, Western Mediterranean**
Nikolaos Kefalas, '[Chart of a part of the Mediterranean Sea'. Engraved by Pierre Piquet].
Paris, 985 x 670 mm.
*Loc.* Gennadius Library GT 311
*Ref.* Gkinis and Mexas 1109; Tolias 1999b 28.

111. **1818, Eastern Mediterranean**
Nikolaos Kefalas, '[Chart of the second part of the Mediterranean Sea'. Engraved by Pierre Piquet].
Paris, 985 x 670 mm.
*Loc.* Gennadius Library GT 311
*Ref.* Gkinis and Mexas 1109; Tolias 1999b 28.
112_1818, Bosphorus
Nikolaos Kefalas, ['Chart of the Thracian Bosphorus or Straits of Constantinople...'] Engraved by A. Neele and Son.
London, 860 x 510 mm.
Loc. missing.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1099.

113_1818/20, Constantinople and the Bosphorus
Constantios of Sinai, Patriarch of Constantinople, ['Thracian Bosphorus and Constantinople', in Constantinianus ancient and modern, or description of Constantinople..., Venice, Pano Theodosiou, 1820].
Venice, 481 x 287 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 2427 B.

114_1818, Greece
Dionysios Pyros, ['Map of Greece for Dionissios Pyros’ Geography', in Methodical Universal Geography, Venice, 1818].
Venice, 190 x 325 mm.
Ref. Iliou 1818.17.

115_1818, World
Dionissios Pyros, ['New Atlas or General Universal Map', in Methodical Universal Geography, Venice, 1818].
Venice, unknown dimensions.
Loc. Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) DG59.D3P46 1818 (missing); Gennadius Library MGL 238.1 (missing); Library of the Institute for Neohellenic Research / NHRF Sp. 5755 (missing).
Ref. Iliou 1818.17.

116_1819, Wallachia
Vienna, 320 x 210 mm.
Ref. Popescu-Spineni 218; Gkinis and Mexas 1163; Polemi 2008 216.

117_ca. 1820, Mount Athos
Unknown artist, ['The West face of the Holy Mountain of Athos, the East face of the Holy Mountain of Athos'].
Athos?, 270 x 320mm
Loc. Simonopetra Monastery.
118
1820, Atlas of Ancient Greece
Vienna, 325 x 238 mm (oblong).

119
1820, Gulf of Mexico
Vienna, 310 x 215 mm.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1234; Polemi 2008 295.

120
1820, Central America
Georgios Roussadis (ed.), [‘Map of Mexico or New Spain’, in the second volume of the Greek translation of Joachim Heinrich Campe’s The Discovery of America, Vienna, 1820. With an inset of the neighbouring countries. Printed by Johann Schneirer]. Vienna, 320 x 220 mm.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1234; Polemi 2008 295.

121
1820, South America
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1234; Polemi 2008 295.
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