

George Tolia^s*

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

Keywords: Ottoman Empire; Greece; Wallachia; Sinai; Jerusalem; Athos; cartography; Enlightenment; printing; engraving; woodcut maps; sacred cartography; secular cartography; past and present; map production; map consumption.

Summary

This special issue of *e-Perimetron* 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 unshackled 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’

* George Tolia^s is Research Director, Institute for Neohellenic Research, the National Hellenic Research Foundation [gtolia^s@eie.gr]

Acknowledgements: For their assistance, thanks are due to Dimitris Apostolopoulos, Anca Dan, Georgios Golobias[†], Father Ioustinos of Simonopetra, Ioannis Kokkonas, Evangelos Livieratos, Charalambos Minaoglou, Leonora Navari, Alexandra Pel, Popi Polemi and Triantafyllos Sklavenitis.

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 BURÇEAK). 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 (PAPASTRATOS 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 Leopold (L'viv; DELUGA 1997b) and reproduced in Venice, but also in monasteries in Wallachia, Chios, Crete and Istanbul (PAPASTRATOS 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 Corfiot antiquarian Andrea Marmora for his *Della Historia di Corfu* (nos 2-4). Marmora'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 (AUJAC). 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-SPINENI 171-174). The same map in smaller dimensions was included in a cosmographical essay, published by Notaras in Paris in 1716 and dedicated to Scarlatos Mavrocordatos, son of Nicolaos 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 Drisda (no. 12, CIGANCI and CERNOVODEANU). 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, HADJICHRISTODOULOU, 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

	SACRED MAPS	SECULAR MAPS	TOTAL
1665-1700	7	6	13
1701-1750	15	3	18
1751-1795	9	4	13
1796-1820	7	70	77
Total maps	38	83	121

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 Golescu (no. 51), edited by Anthimos Gazis in Vienna in 1800 (POPESCU-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 Kouropalatis 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 Golescu; 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

	1665-1700	1701-1750	1751-1795	1796-1820	TOTAL
World & the Continents	2		1	25	28
Greece			1	15	16
Athos & Greek Regions	3	6	8	13	30
Moldavia & Wallachia	1	1		6	8
Palestine & Sinai	7	10	1	4	22
Other		1	2	14	17
Total maps	13	18	13	77	121

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

	MODERN GEOGRAPHY	ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY	TOTAL
1665-1700	12	1	13
1701-1795	31		31
1795-1820	53	24	77
Total maps	96	25	121

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 (KOUMARIANOU 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 borders 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, Leopold (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. Furthermore, they do not use mobile fonts for their lettering. For these reasons it was possible 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 printing, 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 specific printing presses.

Places of Printing, 1665-1820

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

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

	MAPS	MURAL MAPS AND ATLASES	MAPS IN BOOKS	TOTAL
1795-1800	3	4 MM	1	8
1801-1805	2	2 MM	9	13
1805-1810		1 MM + 1 A	18	20
1811-1815	4	1 A	8	12
1816-1820	5	1 A	10	17
Total	14	10	46	70

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 Papatratos' 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

	MAP OR ATLAS	SELLING PRICE
1797 (no. 47)	Rhigas, <i>Chart of Greece</i> , Vienna, 12 large sheets	36 Turkish grossi or 24 Austrian florins
1797 (no. 48)	Rhigas, map of Moldavia, Vienna, 1 large sheet	2.5 Austrian florins (= 3.75 Turkish grossi)
1800 (no. 51)	Golescu, world map in 4 large sheets	4 Austrian florins (= 6 Turkish grossi)
1800 (no. 52)	Gazis, map of Greece in 4 large sheets	5 Austrian florins (= 7.5 Turkish grossi)
1811 (nos 90-92)	Pyrros, world map and maps of Greece and Thessaly, 1 large sheet each	14 Venetian livres each (= 7 Turkish grossi each)
1812 (no. 94)	Pyrros, <i>New Neptune</i> , Venice, 8 large sheets	25 Turkish grossi or 50 Venetian livres
1812 (Proj. III)	Kapetanakis, translation of Gaspari's atlas with 70 maps	10 Turkish grossi
1816 (Proj. VI)	Kapetanakis, 5 maps of Asia	1.5 florin (= 2.25 Turkish grossi)
1818 (nos 107-109)	Kefalas, 3 nautical charts in an atlas	10 Turkish grossi or 1.5 Spanish taller
1820 (no. 116)	Kouropalatis, the <i>Anacharsis</i> atlas with 32 plates	5 silver florins (= 18 Turkish grossi)

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 Iossipos Moisioudax 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 partaking 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 inexistent, 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 PROVISORY 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.

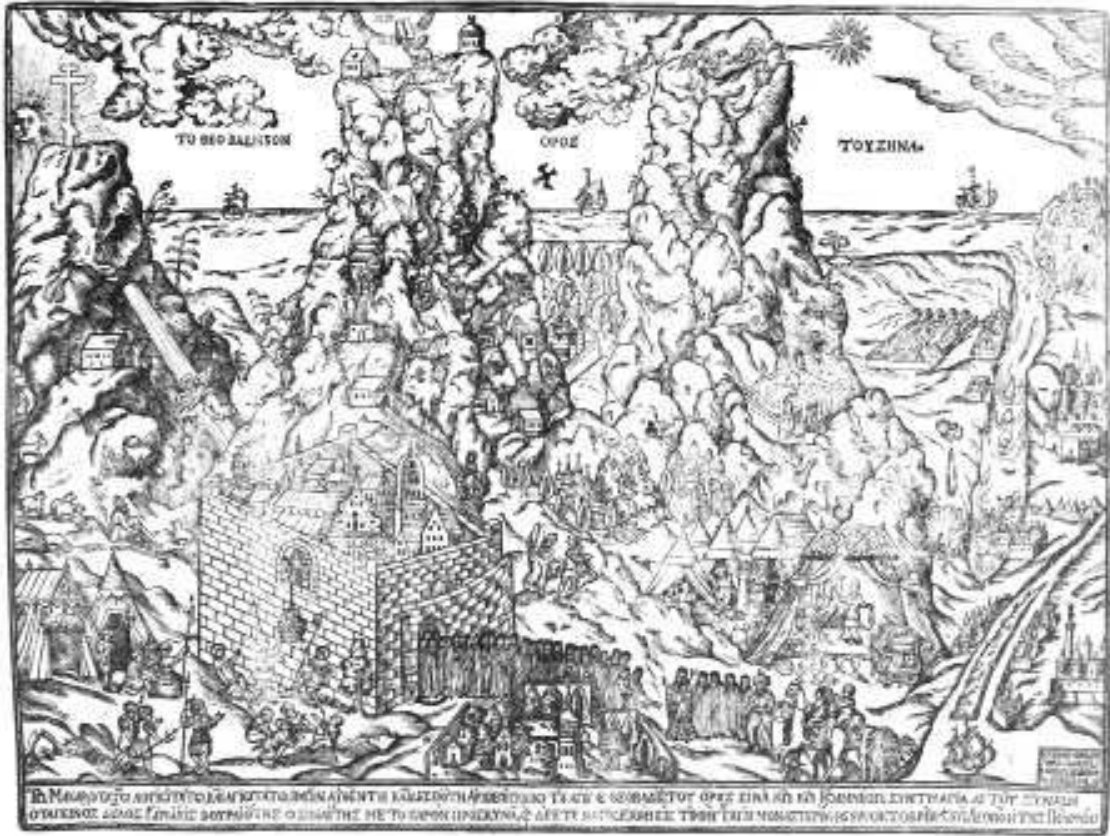
6_
1688, Mount Sinai

Nikodem Zubrzycki, ['Mount Sinai Trodden-by-God'.
Published by Hadjikyriakis from Vourla].
Woodcut, Leopolis (L'viv), 228 x 315 mm.
Loc. St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.
Ref. Deluga 1997b; Legrand 1903 II 619; Papastratos
1990 380.

9_
1699, Mount Sinai

Dionysios, ['Mount Sinai Trodden-by-God', with a topo-
graphical 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.

[7_]



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'viv), 228 x 315 mm.
Loc. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Parisinus 265,
Supplément grec, f. 5)
Ref. Deluga 1997b; Legrand 1903 II 449; Papastratos
1990 381.

10_
1700, World

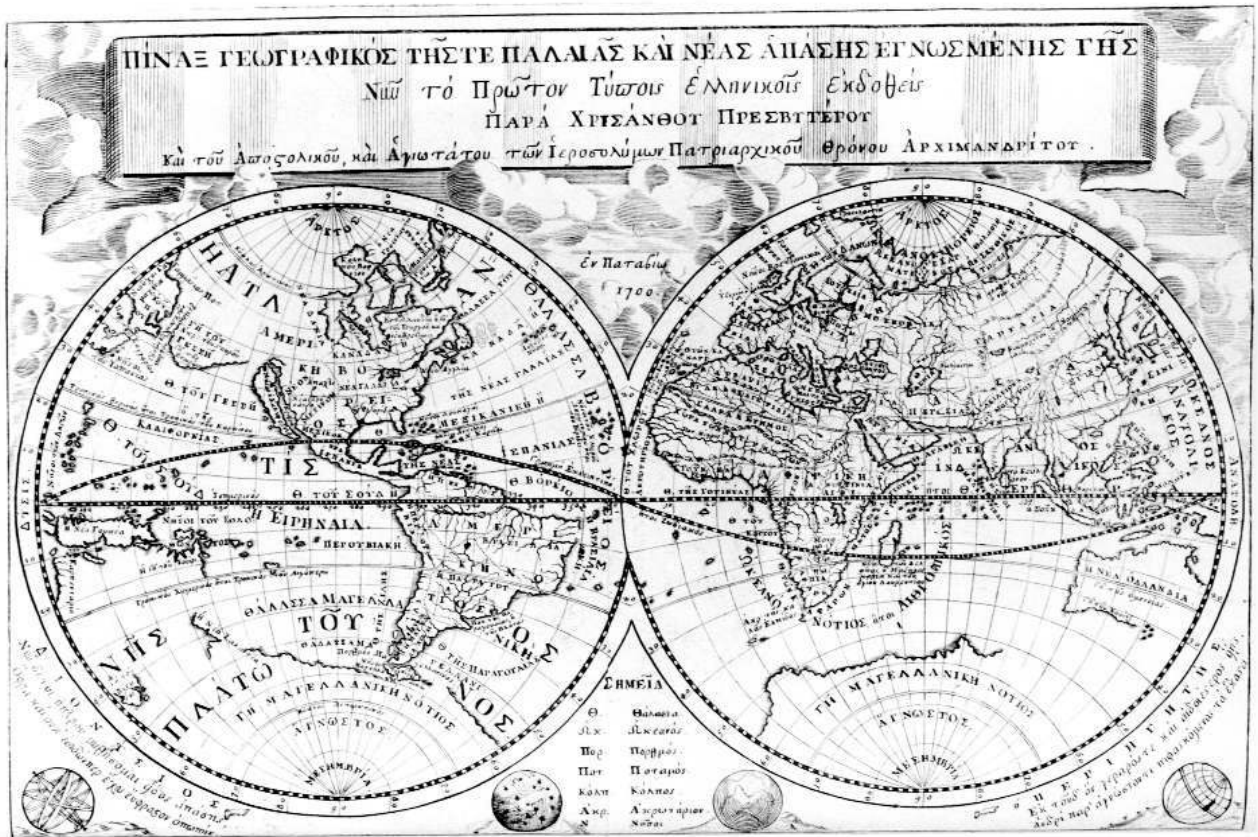
Chrysanthos Notaras, ['Geographical map of the Ancient
and Modern World'. Decorated with a portrait of Prince
Johannes Constantin Brâncoveanu and the arms of
Wallachia. Title in Greek and Latin. Several insets.
Based on a map by Nicolas Sanson (Paris, 1674)].
Padua, two sheets 540 x 870 mm.
Loc. Private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

8_
1693/94, Mount Sinai

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

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.



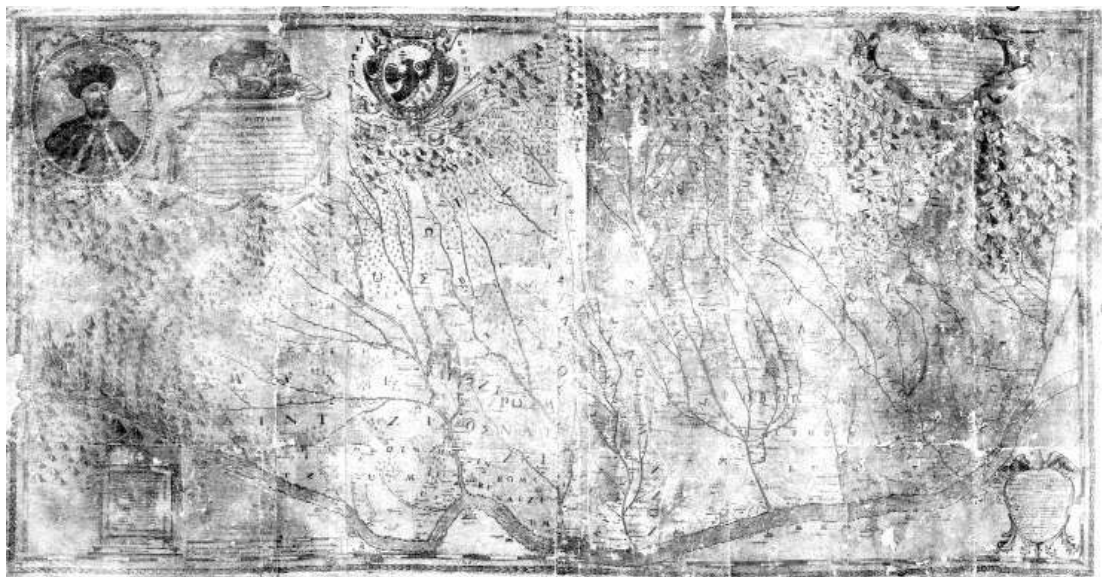
[11_]

12_
1700, Wallachia

Ioannis Komninos 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-Spineni 171-174; Bianu and Si-monescu no. 33; Cicanci and Cernovodeanu 174-175; Aujac.



[12_]

13

1700 (after), Mount Athos

Alessandro a Via, ['Eastern part of Athos -Western part of Athos'. Texts in Greek, Latin and Slavonic].

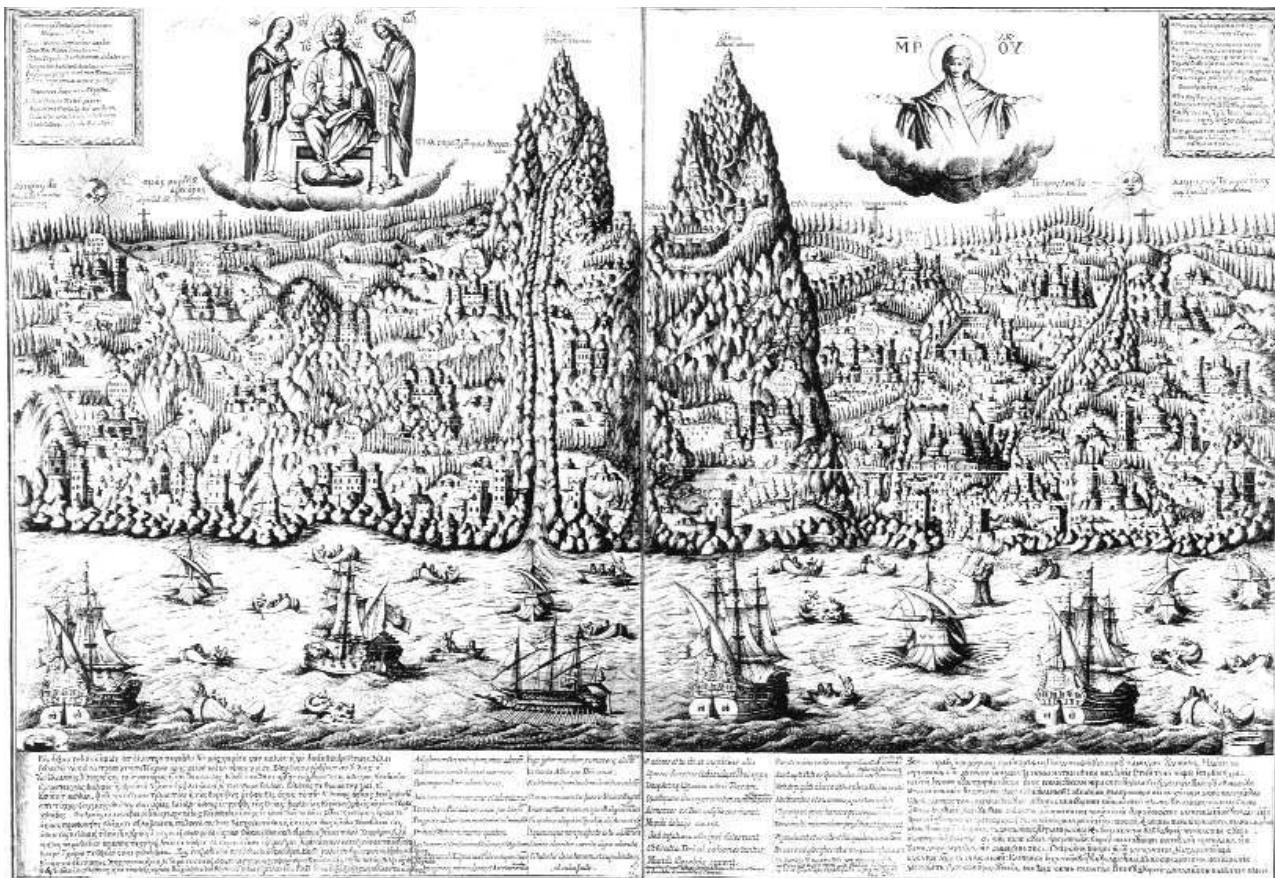
Venice, 745 x 1070 mm.

Loc. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris DCP GCC 4918;

Museum of Prince Czartoryski, Krakow.

Ref. Papastratos 1990 420; Provatakis 72; Deluga 1997a 243; Toliás 2002 160-161.

[13_]



14a_-14b_

1701, Mount AthosIoannis 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; Toliás 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.

Ref. Papastratos 1990 384.

16

1707, Mount Athos

Unknown author, ['The Holy and God-protected Mountain of Athos'. Based on the map no. 13. Images of saints in insets. Texts in Greek and Slavonic. Topographical index].

Venice, 670 x 1470 mm.

Loc. University of Uppsala, Sweden.

Ref. Enev 1994 ill. 259.

17a_-17b_

1708, Mount AthosIoannis 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.



[16_]

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.

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 version 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.

19_ 1710-14, Corfu

[Andrea Marmora] - Johannes and Gerard van Keulen, ['Nieuwe en seer Naukeurige Kaart van 't Eylant Corcyra...'], Amsterdam, probably 1710-14. With a topographical map of the town of Corfu and three views. 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. Toliás - Navari 0807.

20_ 1713, Mount Athos

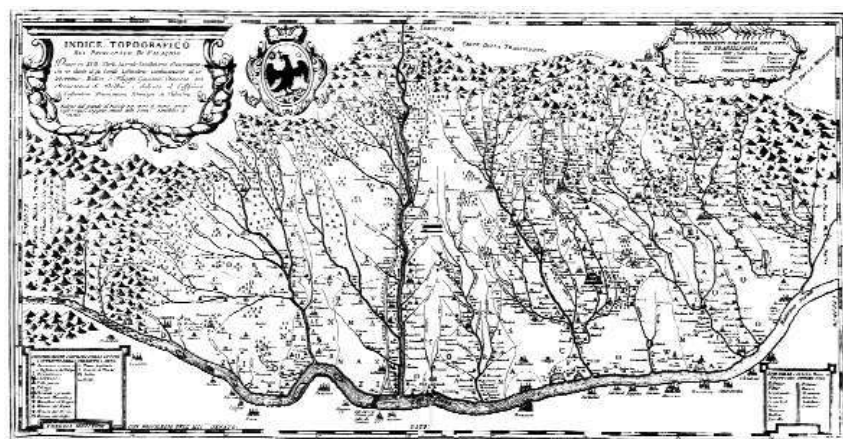
Unknown author, ['Theatre of Athos. The Holy and God-protected Mountain of Athos'. Images of saints in insets. Based on the maps nos 13 and 16. Texts in Greek and Slavonic. Topographical index].

Venice, 675 x 535 mm.

Loc. Russian National Library (St Petersburg).

Ref. Ioustinos 4.1; Toliás 2002 164-165.

[21_]



[21]

22_

ca. 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, Siatista.
Ref. Thieme & Becker 253; Karathanasis 201-204; Papastratos 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. Papastratos 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. Papastratos 1990 387.

25_

1728, Jerusalem

Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, ['Ichnography of the Holy City of Jerusalem', in *Chrysanthi, Beatissimi Patriarchae Hierosolymorum, Historia et descriptio Terrae Sanctae Urbisque Sanctae Hierusalem...*, Venice, A. Bortoli, 1728. 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 Hierosolymorum, 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 Hierosolymorum, 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.



[27_]

28_

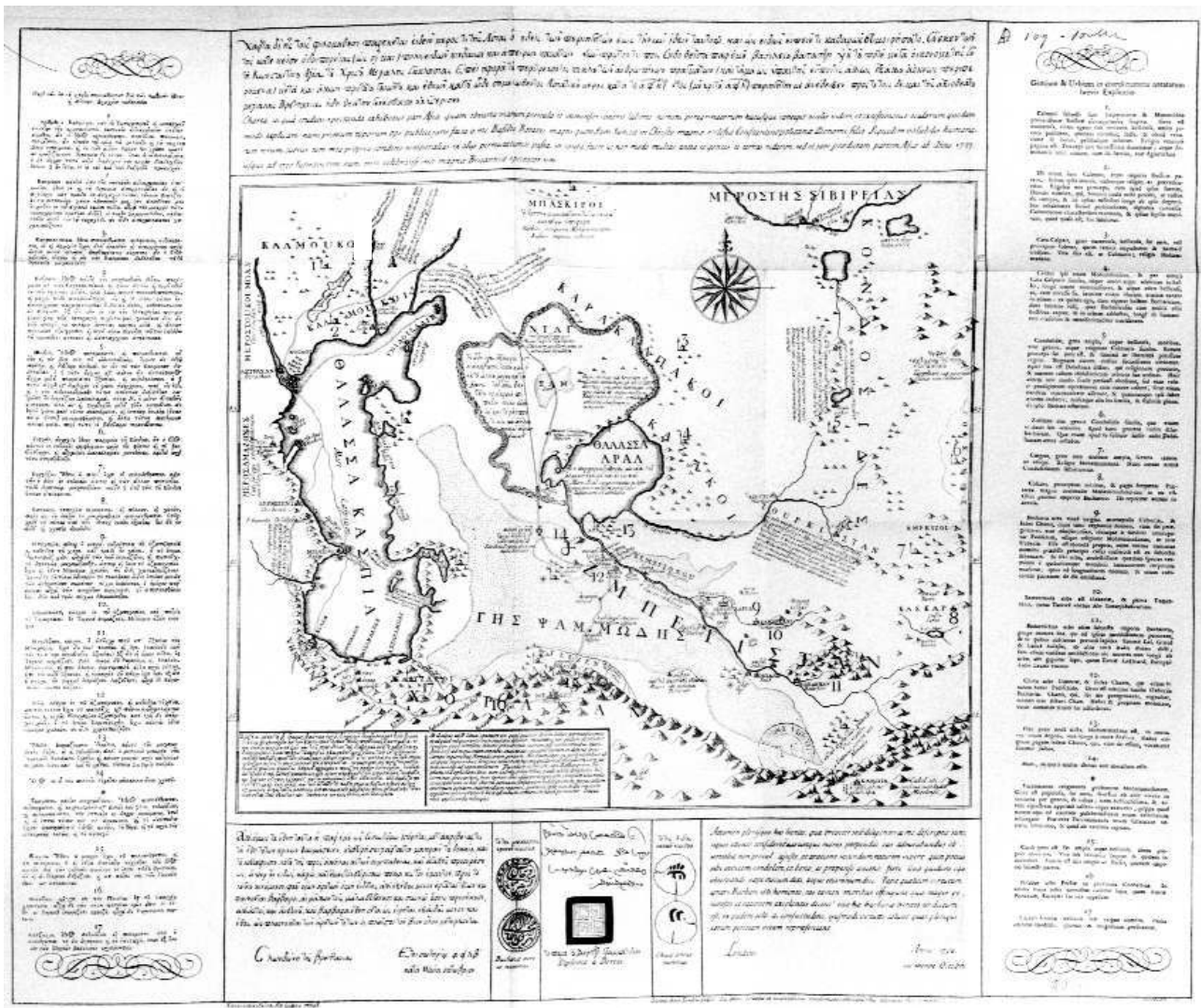
1728, Jerusalem

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.
Ref. Rubin 2006.

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.
Loc. British Library, MS Add. 10075, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris GE AD 109 double.
Ref. Legrand 1918 I 244; Legrand 1886.



[29_]

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 Posaune 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.
Loc. Library of K. Pagonis, Athens.
Ref. Papastratos 1990 421.

[31_]

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; Papastratos 1990 80-82; Staikos 1; Toliias 1999b 9.



[23]

32_

1752, Holy Land

Hristofor Zefar - Simeon of St Sepulcher, [Serbian edition of the 1749 *Proskynetarion of Jerusalem and Palestine*].

Vienna, octavo.

Loc. Gennadius Library, T 1678.

Ref. Davidov 1961; Papastratos 1990 80-82; Toliias 1999b 9.

36_

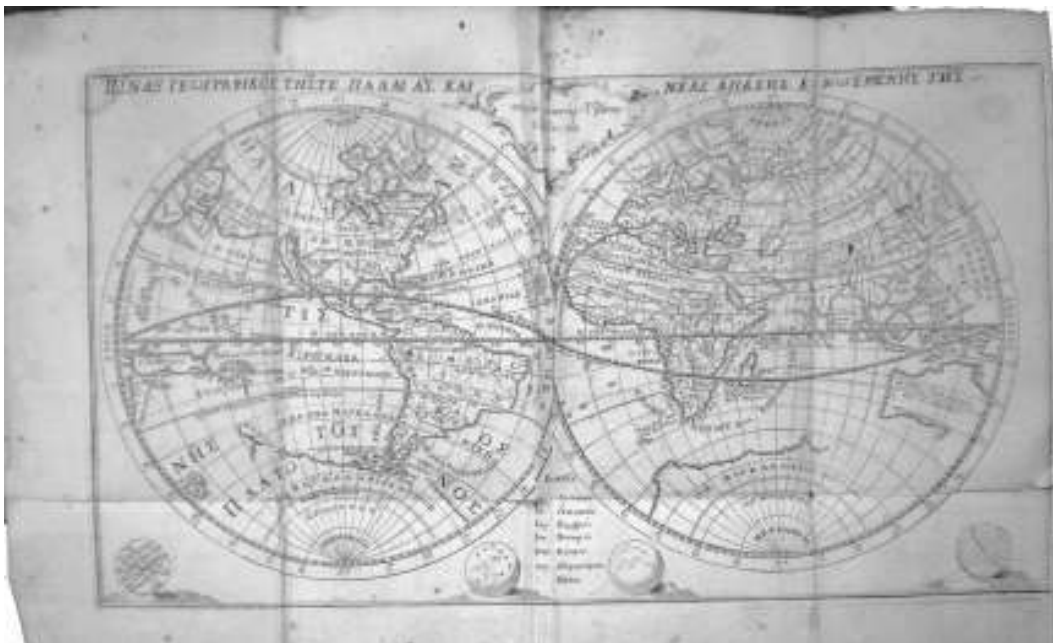
1767, Mount Athos

Constantinos Popovits (ed.), [Image of the Holy Mountain of Athos'. Texts in Greek and Slavonic. Funded by the merchant Constantinos Penetas].

Vienna, 519 x 662 mm.

Loc. Collection N. Gavriilidi, Athens; Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow) 39.

Ref. Davidov 1978 153; Papastratos 1990 422.



[33_]

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)].

Venice, 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].

Venice, 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.

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).

Ref. Davidov 1978 153.

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

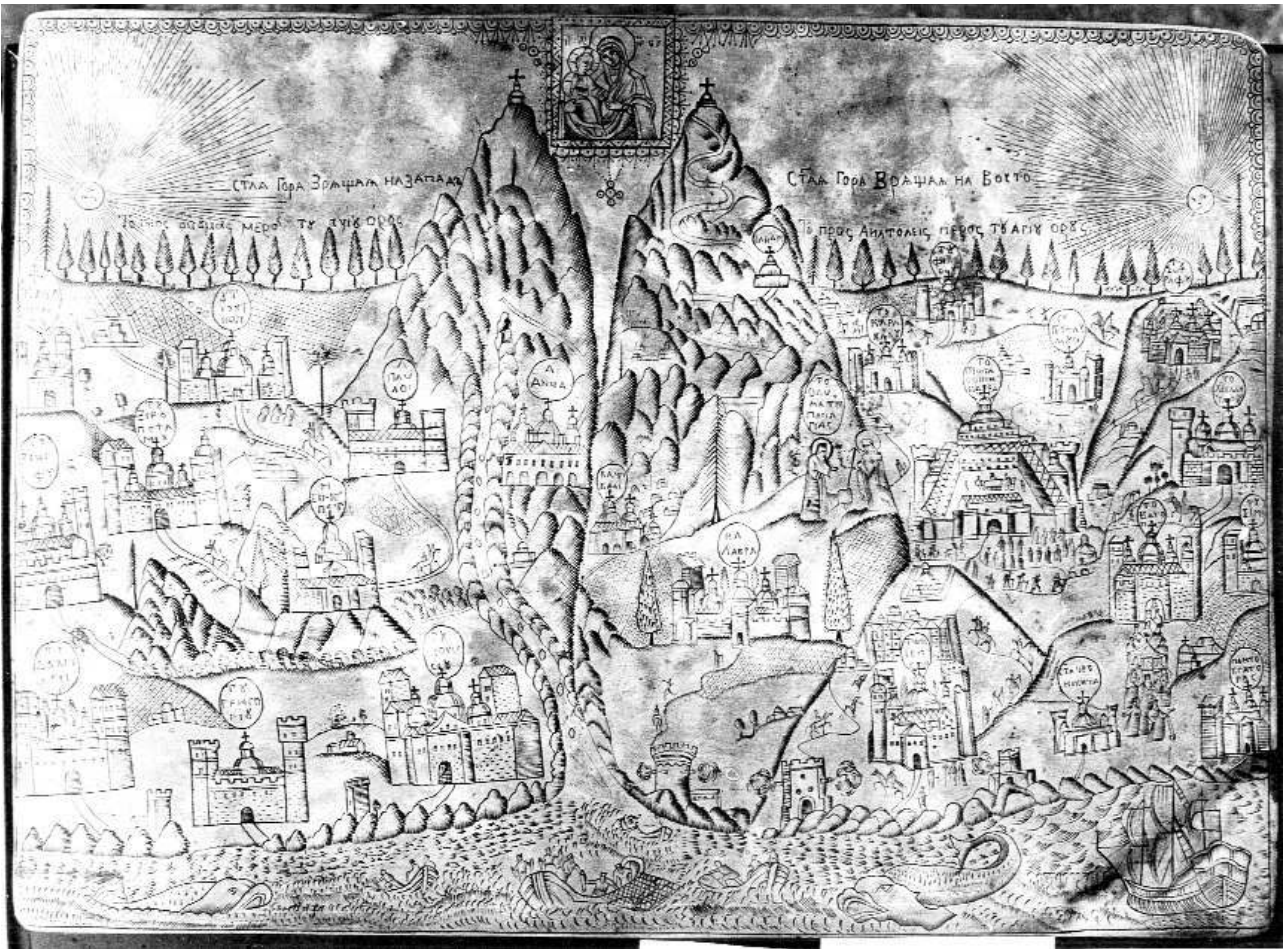
Unknown author, [Western and Eastern part of Mount Athos].

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.



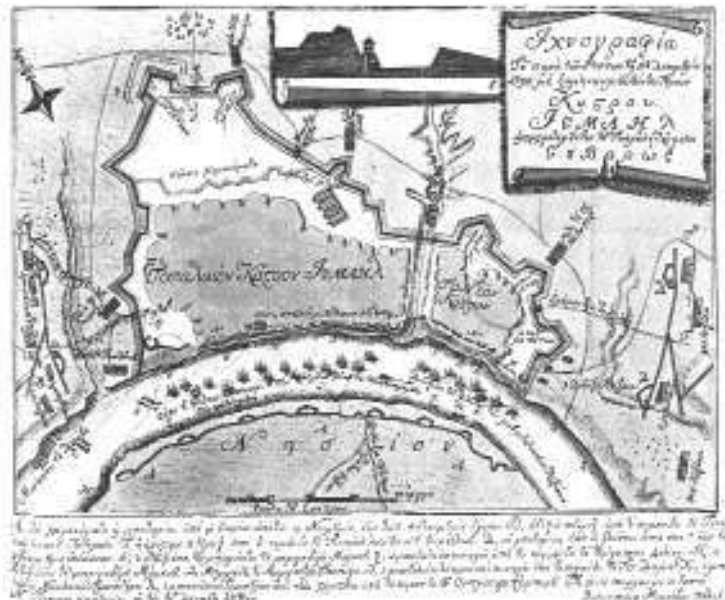
[39_]

40_
1780, Skyros, Psara, Limno and West coast of Athos
 Parthenios from Elasson, ['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.

43_
1791, Ishmael
 George and Publius Markides Pouliou, ['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.
 Loc. Library of the Hellenic Parliament.
 Ref. Vranousis vol. I (1791) 186; Koumarianou 1995 ill. 13.

41_
1782, Monasteries of Meteora
 Parthenios from Elasson, ['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.
 Loc. Municipal Library of Dimitsana.
 Ref. Papastratos 1990 552.



[43_]

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

Franz Karl Alter (ed.), ['Plan of ancient Constantinople', in the Greek edition of Georgios Frantzis' *Chronicle* by Franz Karl Alter, Vienna, Markides Pouliou, 1796. With a topographical index. Based on the maps by Christoforo Buondelmonti (ca. 1420)].

Vienna, 260 x 390 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library, BL 1260; Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) DF 645.P5 1796 c2.

Ref. Staikos 91; Ladas - Chatzidimos 1973 34.

46

1796, Bosphorus and Constantinople

Rhigas Velestinlis, ['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; Tolia - Navari 1386; Tolia 2009.

47

1797, The Balkans

Rhigas Velestinlis, ['Chart of Greece...'], engraved by Franz Müller. Ancient and modern place names. Insets: seven topographical plans from Barbié du Bocage's *Atlas for Anacharsis' Travels* (Plataea, Salamis, Athens, Thermopylae, Sparta, Olympia, Delphi), a plan of an ancient 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).

Ref. Ladas - Chatzidimos 1973 190; Laios; Karamberopoulos 1998; Livieratos 2008c; Tolia 2009.

48

1797, Moldavia

Rhigas Velestinlis, ['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.

Ref. Popescu-Spini 201; Ladas - Chatzidimos 1973 191; Laios; Karamberopoulos 2005; Tolia 2009.

49

1797, Wallachia

Rhigas Velestinlis, ['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.

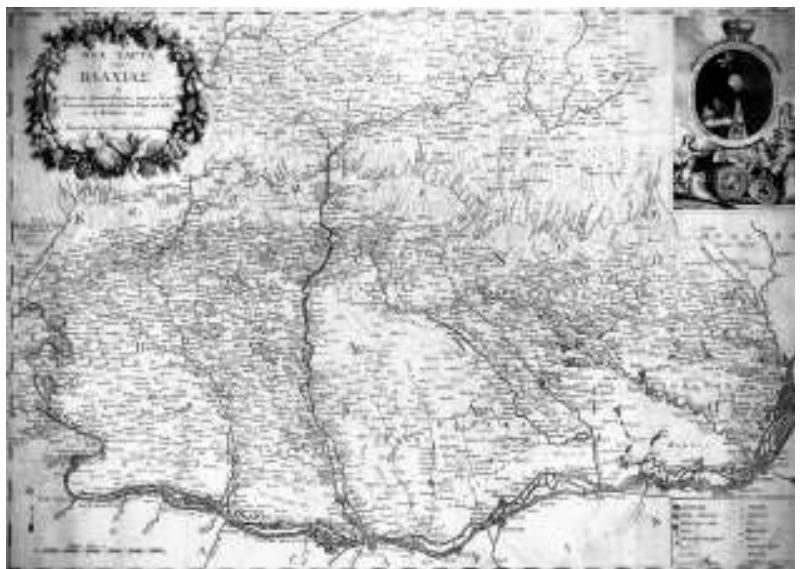
Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 231.5.

Ref. Popescu-Spini 201; Ladas - Chatzidimos 1973 193; Laios; Karamberopoulos 2005; Tolia 2009.



[48_]

[49_]

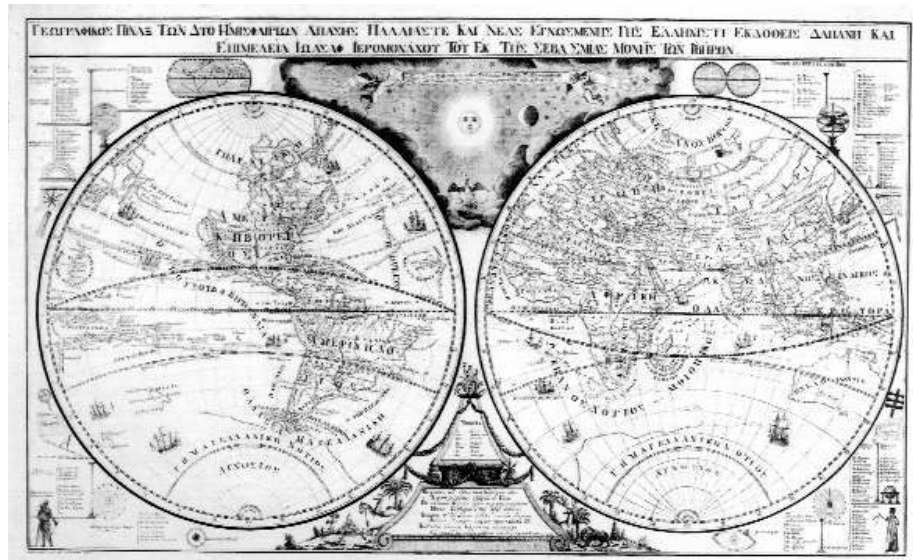


50_

1797, World

Ioassaf of Iviron, ['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, Tangarok (Russia).
Ref. Ioannidis; Ladas - Chatzidimos 1973 192; Sotheby's, 17 October 2001; Livieratos 2002 106-107.



[50_]

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 Alexandos 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 Schindel-mayer. Funded by Raducan Golescu].
Vienna, 4 large sheets, 953 x 1217 mm.
Loc. National Library of Australia 1800. MAP RM 3472; Library of the Romanian Sciences Academy H III 337 and H 869 B XXI 3; Kovendarios Municipal Library (Kozani).
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.
Loc. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Florence) Palat. Cart. Geog. 500.
Ref. Philippidis 50; Barbié du Bocage; Gkinis and Mexas 23; Livieratos 2008b ; Vamvounakis.

53_

1800, Mount Athos

Unknown author, ['Holy print of Athos'. Funded by Elissaios of Chilandari. Printed by Antonio Bortoli. Texts in Greek and Slavonic].
Venice, 530 x 686 mm.
Loc. Simonopetra Monastery (Athos).
Ref. Papastratos 1990 424; Toliás 2002 164.

54_

1801, Europe

Anthimos Gazis, ['Geographical map of Europe'. Engraved by Karl Robert Schindel-mayer. Based on a map by Robert de Vaugondy].
Vienna, 4 large sheets, 1120 x 1000 mm.
Loc. National Library of Greece Χαρτ. 19620 (copy from the D. Postolakas Collection).
Ref. Barbié du Bocage; Gkinis and Mexas 92.

[54_]



[49_]



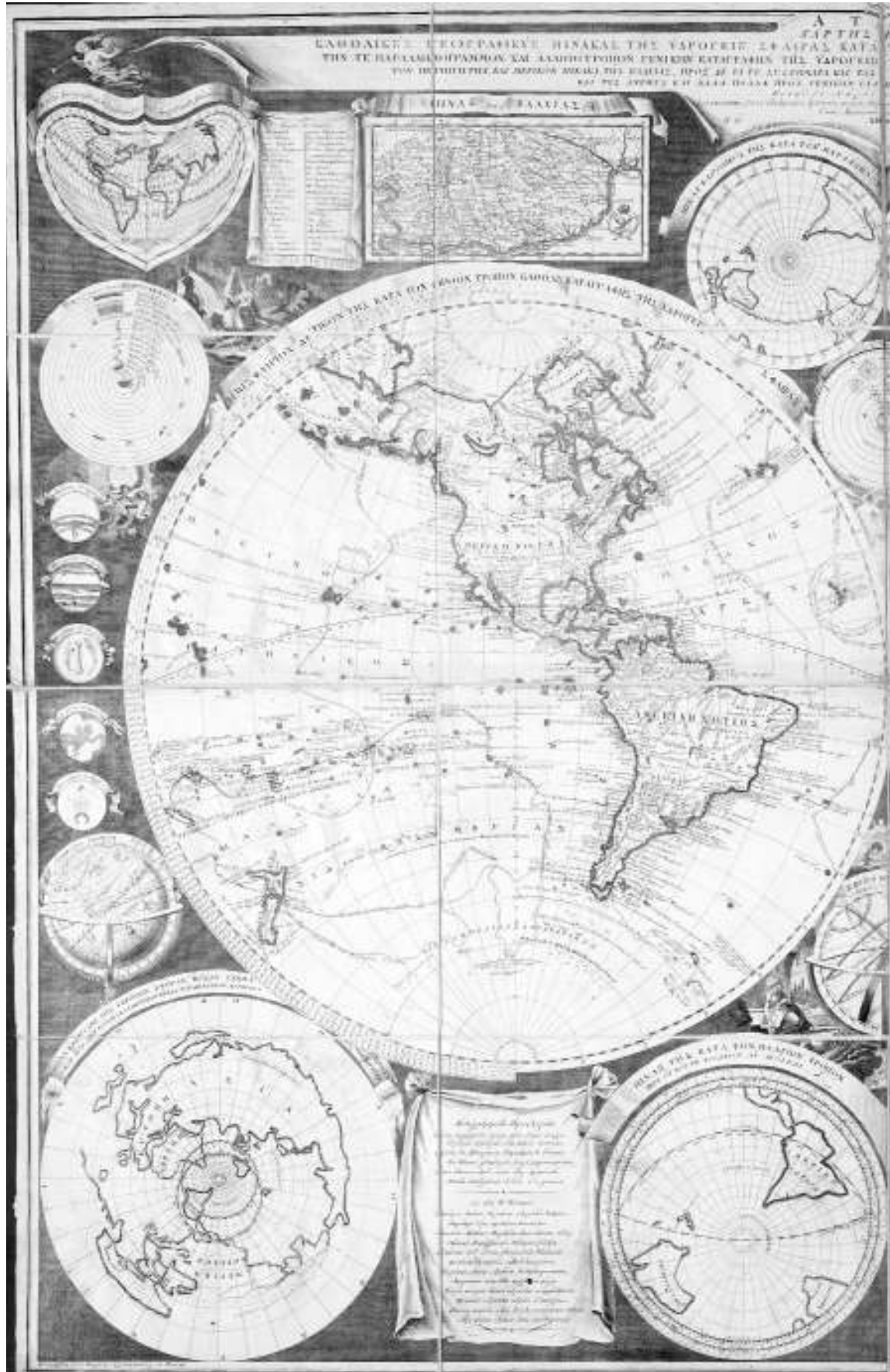
Loc. Aristotle University Library,
Thessaloniki.

[49_]



Loc. Aristotle University Library,
Thessaloniki.

[51_]

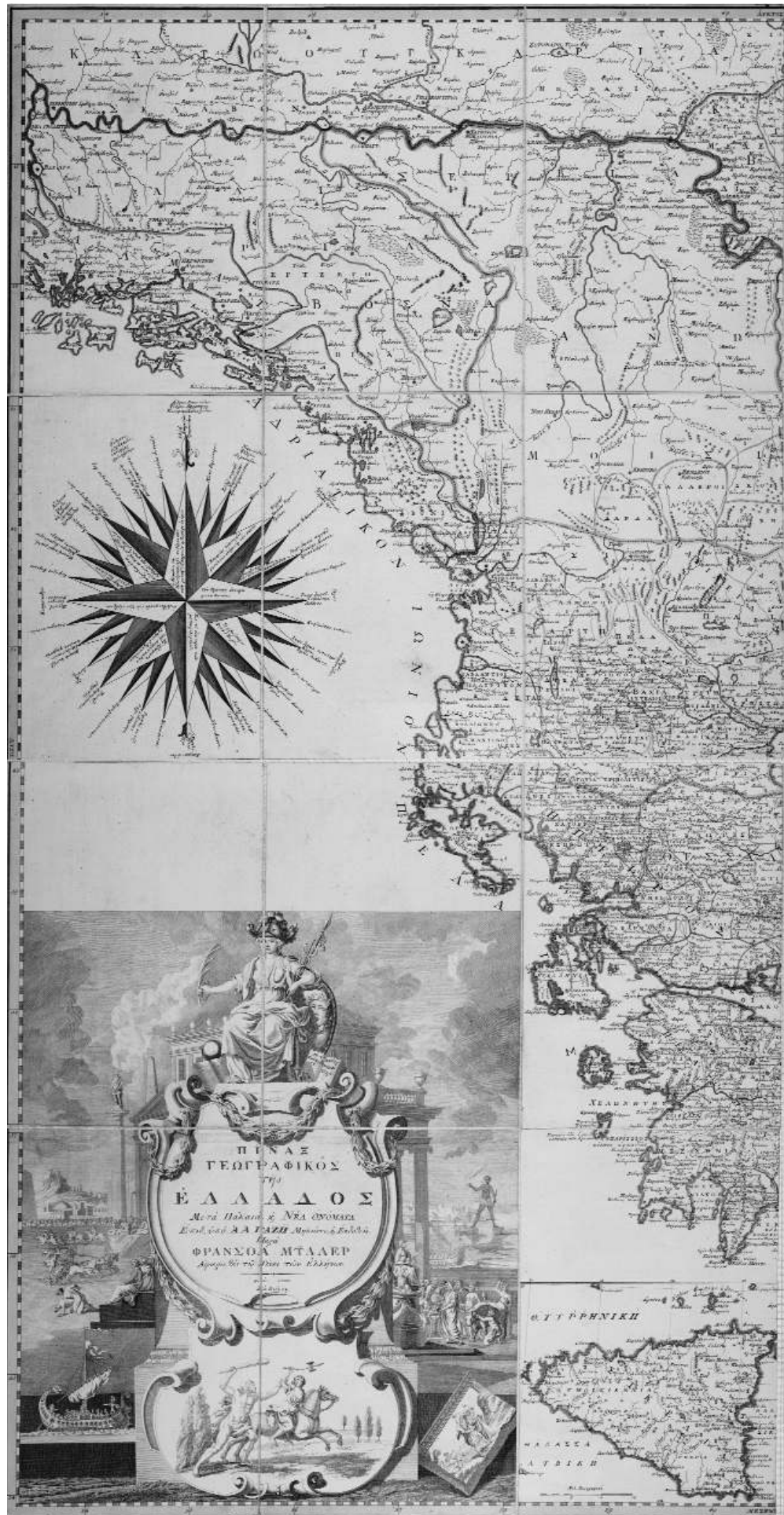


[51_]



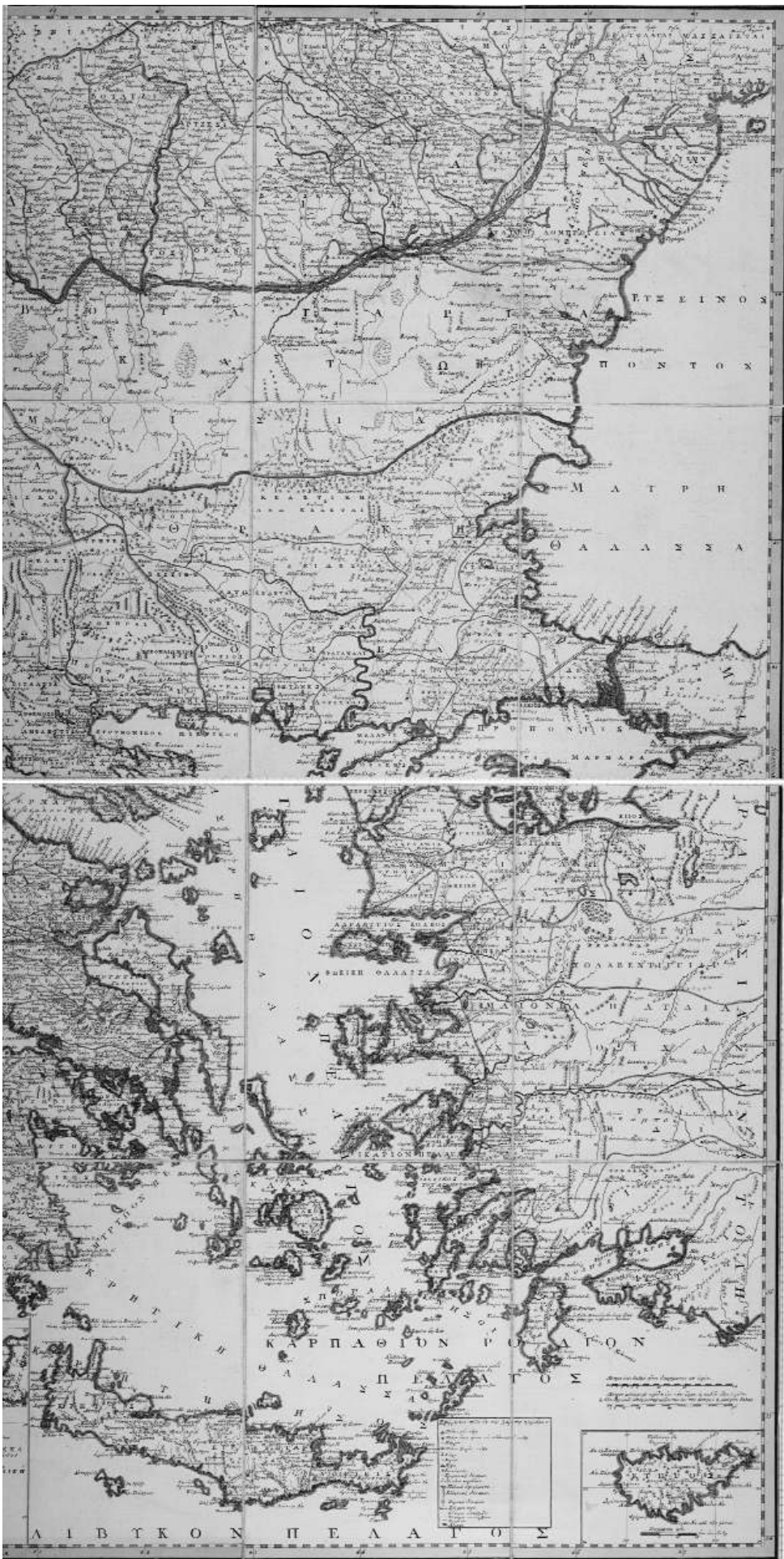
Loc. National Library of Australia,
Canberra.

[52_]



Loc. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze.

[52_]



Loc. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale,
Firenze.

55_

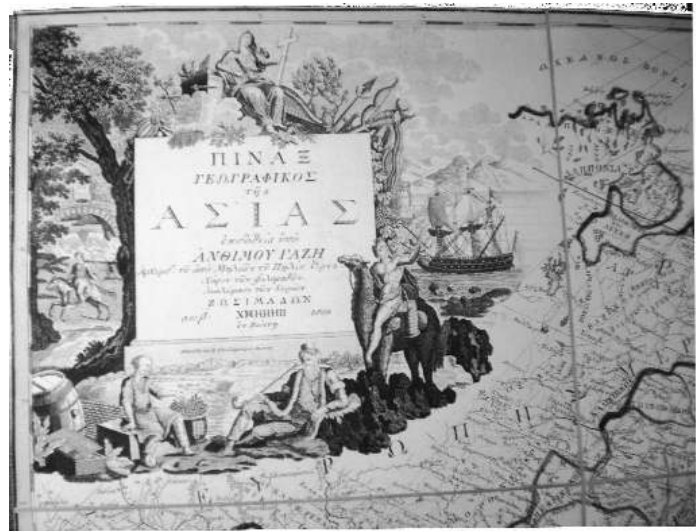
1801, World

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.

Loc. Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) Ap. 39614.

Ref. Iliou 1801.28.



[57_]

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.

Loc. Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) Ap. 39614.

Ref. Iliou 1801.28.

57_

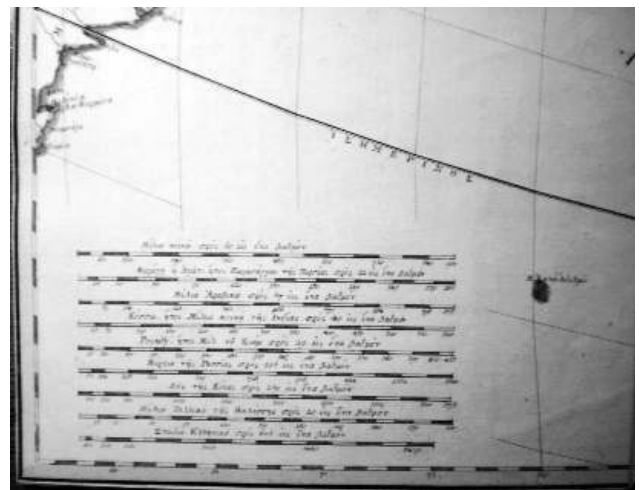
1802, Asia

Anthimos Gazis, ['Geographical map of Asia'. Funded by the Zossima brothers. Engraved by Karl Robert Schindelmayer].

Vienna, 4 large sheets, 1200 x 1000 mm.

Loc. National Library of Greece Χαρτ. 7245 (copy from the D. Postolakas Collection).

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 92.



[57a_]

[57b_]

58_

ca. 1802, Moldavia

Anthimos Gazis, ['Map of Moldavia'. Reissue of the map published by Rhigas Velestinlis 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 Velestinlis in 1796 (see no. 46)]

Vienna, unknown dimensions

Loc. Missing.

Ref. Philippidis 70 (letter 37).



[34]

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. Tolia 1999b 12; Iliou 1803.17.

62_

1804, World

Anthimos Gazis, ['General map of the two Hemispheres', in Nikiforos Theotokis' *Elements of Geography*, Vienna, 1804. Engraved by C. R. Schindelmayer. Printed by G. Vendotis, Vienna, 1804].

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 Papastratos Collection).

Ref. Papastratos 1990 388.

64_

1805, Mount Sinai

[Constantios of Sinai, Patriarch of Constantinople], ['By the Mercy of God, Constantios Archbishop...' reprint of the 1804 edition with change of date (no. 63)].

Istanbul, 570 x 700 mm.

Loc. Byzantine Museum, Athens.

Ref. Papastratos 1990 389.

65_

1805, Ancient Greece

Neophytos Doukas (ed.), ['Map of Greece for Thucydides' History', in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* translated into modern Greek by N. Doukas, vol. I, Vienna, 1805].

Vienna, 470 x 400 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library GC 5022.

Ref. Iliou 1805.50.

66_

1805, Ancient Athens

Neophytos Doukas (ed.), ['The Long Walls', in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* translated into modern Greek by N. Doukas, vol. II, Vienna, 1805].

Vienna, 250 x 200 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library GC 5022.

Ref. Iliou 1805.50.

67_

1805, Ancient Athens

Neophytos Doukas (ed.), ['The Peloponnesian Wall', in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* translated into modern Greek by N. Doukas, vol. II, Vienna, 1805].

Vienna, 250 x 200 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library GC 5022.

Ref. Iliou 1805.50.

68_

1805, Ancient Sicily

Neophytos Doukas (ed.), ['Map of Ancient Sicily for Thucydides', in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* translated in modern Greek by N. Doukas, vol. II, Vienna, 1805].

Vienna, 460 x 387 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library GC 5022.

Ref. Iliou 1805.54.

69_

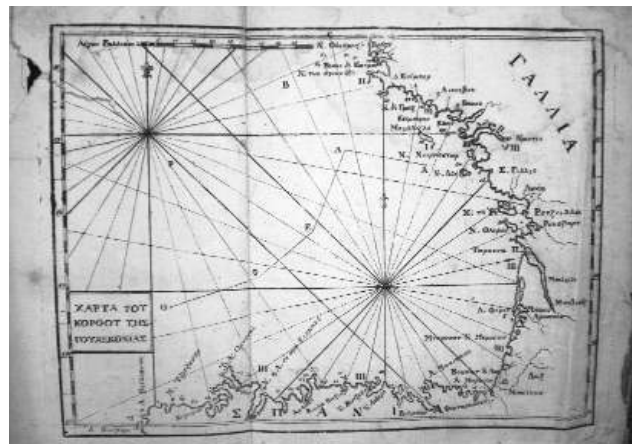
1806, Gascony

Th. Rombappas, ['Chart of the Gulf of Gascony', in *Lessons of Nautical Science*, vol. II, Bologna, 1806. Sponsored by the Zossima brothers. The book also contains two folded celestial charts].

Bologna, 200 x 150 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library NH 424; National Library of Greece NAYT 410.

Ref. Iliou 1806.57.



[69_]

ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ
ΤΗΣ

ΝΑΥΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΣ

Ἐκ τῆς Γαλλοῦ διὰ τοῦ κ. Βαλλεῦ διδασκτοῦ μεταφρασθεῖσα, ἔκ μετῶ πολλῶν προβλεψῶν ἐπισημασθεῖσα

ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΝ Π. ΤΩ Μ.

Πατρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν

ΖΗΣΙΜΑΔΩΝ

ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΩ ΔΑΔΙΑΝῃ, ΤΥΠΟΣ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΝΤΑ

ἰσὶ τῶν Διασκευῶν: Ἐκδοτῆς Φιλαδέλφου

στὴν Ἰλλυρικήν ἑταιρίαν

ΚΑΙ

Τῆς ΝΕΠΟΥΝΤΑΚΤῆς, ΕΠΙΤΑΝΗΩ, ΒΟΝΙΚῆς

ΠΟΛΙΤΟΚΡΑΤΙᾶς,

Παυλοπούλεως Ἀφισμασθεῖσα.

ΤΟΜΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

Βερέχωντῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔκ βάρου

ΕΡΩ

ἢ Ναυτικῆς Ἐπιστῆς βάρου.



ΕΝ ΒΟΝΔΝΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΣ 1806

Πατρὸς ἀδελφῶν Μάτῆος ἔκ Σουτῆρος.

[69_]

70_

1806, Western Mediterranean and Eastern Atlantic

Th. Rombappas, ['Chart of a part of the Western Ocean', in *Lessons of Nautical Science*, vol. II, Bologna, 1806].
Bologna, 330 x 260 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library NH 424; National Library of Greece NAYT 410.

Ref. Iliou 1806.57.

71_

1806, Celestial Chart

Th. Rombappas, ['Celestial Chart of the Southern Hemisphere', in *Lessons of Nautical Science*, vol. II, Bologna, 1806. Sponsored by the Zossima brothers].
Bologna, 290 x 330 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library NH 424; National Library of Greece NAYT 410.

Ref. Iliou 1806.57.

72_

1806, Celestial Chart

Th. Rombappas, ['Celestial Chart of the Northern Hemisphere', in *Lessons of Nautical Science*, vol. II, Bologna, 1806. Sponsored by the Zossima brothers].
Bologna, 290 x 330 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library NH 424; National Library of Greece NAYT 410.

Ref. Iliou 1806.57.

73_

1806, Ancient Greece

Dimitrios Alexandridis (ed.), ['Map of Greece', in the Greek translation of Goldsmith's *History*, Vienna, vol. I, 1806].

Vienna, 430 x 370 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library MGL 169.1.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 390; Iliou 1807.12.

74_

1806, Ancient Asia

Dimitrios Alexandridis (ed.), ['Map of the Expeditions of Cyrus and Alexander', in the Greek translation of Goldsmith's *History*, Vienna, vol. II, 1806].

Vienna, 430 x 305 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library MGL 169.1.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 390; Iliou 1807.13.

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

Anthimos Gazis, ['Greece for Meletios' Geography' in *Ancient and Modern Geography* by Meletios, Vienna, 1807, vol. II, 1807. Engraved by G. A. Zuliani].

Vienna, 277 x 205 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library F 70.2.

Ref. Iliou 1807.42.

77_

1807, Asia

Anthimos Gazis, ['Asia for Meletios' Geography' in *Ancient and Modern Geography* by Meletios, Vienna, 1807, vol. III, 1807. Engraved by G. A. Zuliani].

Vienna, 250 x 200 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library F 70.2.

Ref. Iliou, 1807.43.

78_

1807, Africa

Anthimos Gazis, ['Africa for Meletios' Geography' in *Ancient and Modern Geography* by Meletios, Vienna, 1807, vol. III, 1807. Engraved by G. A. Zuliani].

Vienna, 250 x 200 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library F 70.2.

Ref. Iliou 1807.44.

79_

1807, America

Anthimos Gazis, ['America for Meletios' Geography' in *Ancient and Modern Geography* by Meletios, Vienna, 1807, vol. III, 1807. Engraved by G. A. Zuliani].

Vienna, 296 x 200 mm.

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, *Proskynetarion of Jerusalem and Palestine*, Vienna, 1807].

Vienna, 375 x 325 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library T 1679.2 Bq.

Ref. Davidov 1961; Papastratos 1990 80-82; Tolia 1999b 11.

81_

1807, Roman Empire

Neofytos Doukas (ed.), ['Map of the Roman Empire for Eutropius' History', in *Breviarium historiae Romanae* edited by N. Doukas, Vienna, G. Vendotis, 1807.

Engraved by Karl Robert Schindelmayer].

Vienna, 538 x 410 mm.

Loc. National Library of Greece Α.Φ. 4190; Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) PA6384.A2 1807 (missing).

Ref. Iliou 1807.25.



[82_]

82_**1807, Greece**

Dimitrios Alexandridis (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 Kuhen].

Vienna, 373 x 382 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library MGL 169.1.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 452; Iliou 1807.14.

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**

Kyriakos Kapetanakis, [Translation of the *Neuer methodischer Schul-Atlas*, by Adam Christian Gaspari, Vienna, 1808. The atlas includes the following 15 mute maps: 1. 'Europe', 2. 'Western Hemisphere', 3. 'Eastern Hemisphere', 4. 'Portugal and Spain', 5. 'France', 6. 'Switzerland', 7. 'Italy', 8. 'Germany', 9. 'The Netherlands', 10. 'Great Britain and Ireland', 11. 'Denmark, Norway and Swe-den', 12. 'Russia', 13. 'Prussia', 14. 'Hungary

and Galicia', 15. 'Turkey'. The atlas followed the edition of Gaspari's geographical textbook translated into Greek, and his method for teaching geography, both published in Vienna in the same year (1808). See also Annex, Proj. III].

Vienna, 255 x 210 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library GT 225.4; National Library of Greece EKI 2182.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 494; Iliou 1808.3.

85_**1808, Ancient Africa**

[Stefanos Œconomou (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.

Loc. Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) G74.S81516 1807.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 519.

86_**1808, Ancient Asia**

[Stefanos Œconomou (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.

Loc. Gennadius Library GC 5052; Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) G74.S81516 1807.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 519.



[84_]



[84 a_]

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].
Vienna, 310 x 210 mm.
Loc. Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) G74.S81516 1807.
Ref. Iliou 1808.32.

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].
Trieste, 1080 x 750 mm.
Loc. Gennadius Library GT 234.
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 675; Toliás 1999b 4; Livieratos 2009.

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].
Vienna, 310 x 210 mm.
Loc. Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) G74.S81516 1807.
Ref. Iliou 1808.32.

92_ 1811, World

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

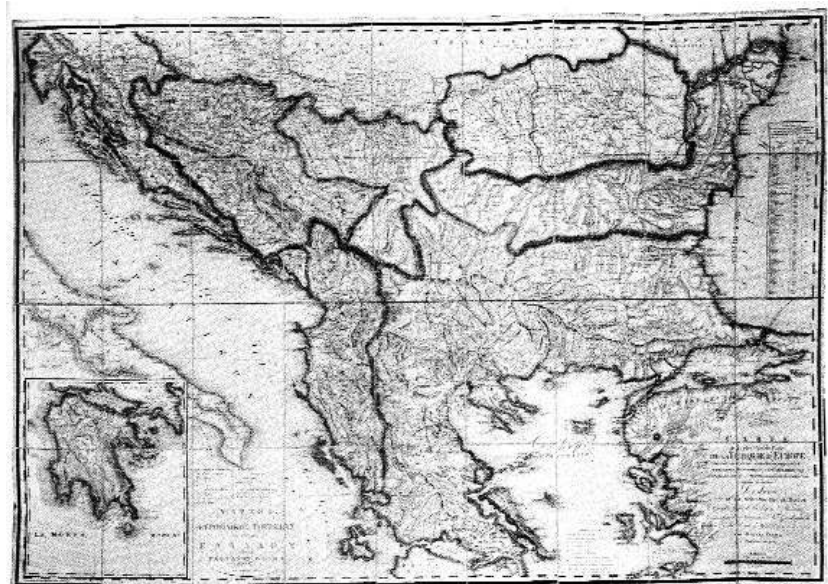
89_ 1808, Mount Athos

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].
Vienna or Moscow, 501 x 647 mm.
Loc. Simonopetra Monastery (Athos).
Ref. Unrecorded.

[91_]

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)].
Vienna, 4 sheets 998 x 998 mm.
Loc. Athens ΔΕΗ Collection.
Ref. Livieratos 2008b.



[38]

[95_]

93_

1811, Thessaly

Dionissios Pyrros, [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 Pyrros, [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 Neohellenic Research / NHRF maps 1811.1; Gennadius Library B/GT 180.5.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 724; Tolia 1999b 27.

96_

1812, Nautical Atlas or Chart of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic

Dionissios Pyrros, [*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 Herodian'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]. Istanbul, 540 x 760 mm.

Loc. Byzantine Museum, Athens; St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Ref. Papastratos 1990 390.

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.

Ref. Note at the end of vol. III (1813) of the facsimile edition of *Ermis o Logios*, Athens, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archives, 1989.

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

Theoklitos Farmakidis (ed.), ['Map of the Ancient World', engraved by Neicklist, in *Elements of Greek Language*, vol. I, Vienna, 1815].
 Vienna, 345 x 234 mm.
 Loc. Gennadius Library GC 4956.
 Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 880; Iliou 1815.76.

102_
1815-18, Ancient Greece

Theoklitos Farmakidis (ed.), ['Map of Greece, 1815', engraved by Neicklist, in *Elements of Greek Language*, vol. II, Vienna, 1815. Based on the map for the Travels of Anacharsis by Barbié du Bocage (1811)].
 Vienna, 505 x 365 mm.
 Loc. Gennadius Library GC 4956.
 Ref. Iliou 1815.77; Polemi 2008 234.

103_
1815, Ancient World

P. Gossellin - P. Tardieu, ['Système géographique de Strabon... 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. Iliou 1815.78.

[99_]

104_
1816, Asia

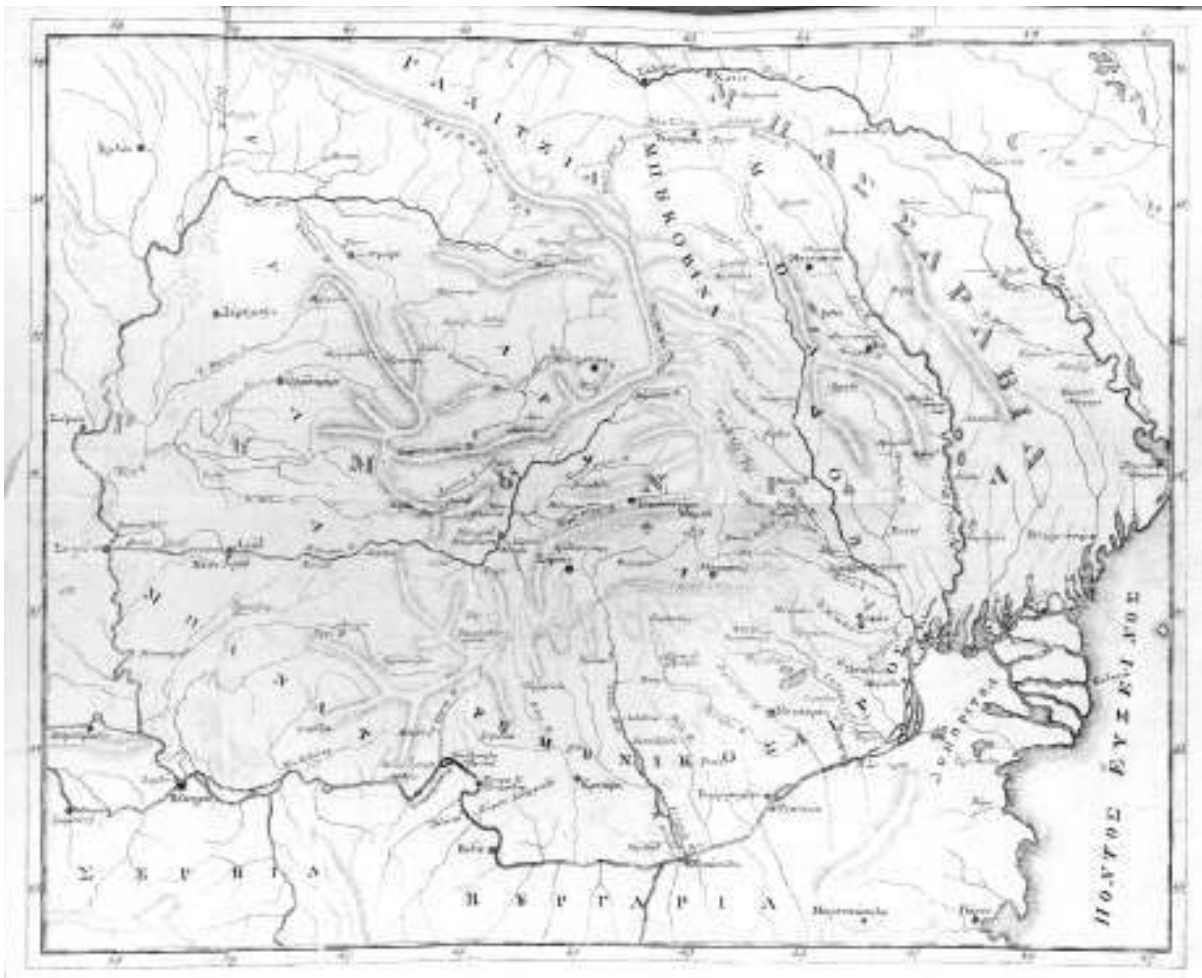
Daniel Philippidis (ed.), ['Map of Asia...'], engraved in Vienna by Neicklist, in Daniel Philippidis, *Geography of Romania...*, Leipzig, 1816].
 Vienna, 540 x 375 mm.
 Loc. Gennadius Library HB 208.P.55.
 Ref. Philippidis 168; Iliou 1816.20.

105_
1816, Romania

Daniel Philippidis, ['Romania', in Daniel Philippidis, *Geography of Romania...*, Leipzig, 1816].
 Leipzig, 455 x 368 mm.
 Loc. Gennadius Library HB 208.P.55.
 Ref. Philippidis 168; Popescu-Spineni 216-218; Iliou 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.
 Loc. Gennadius Library HB 208.P.55.
 Ref. Philippidis 168; Iliou 1816.20.



[105_]

[109_]

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_

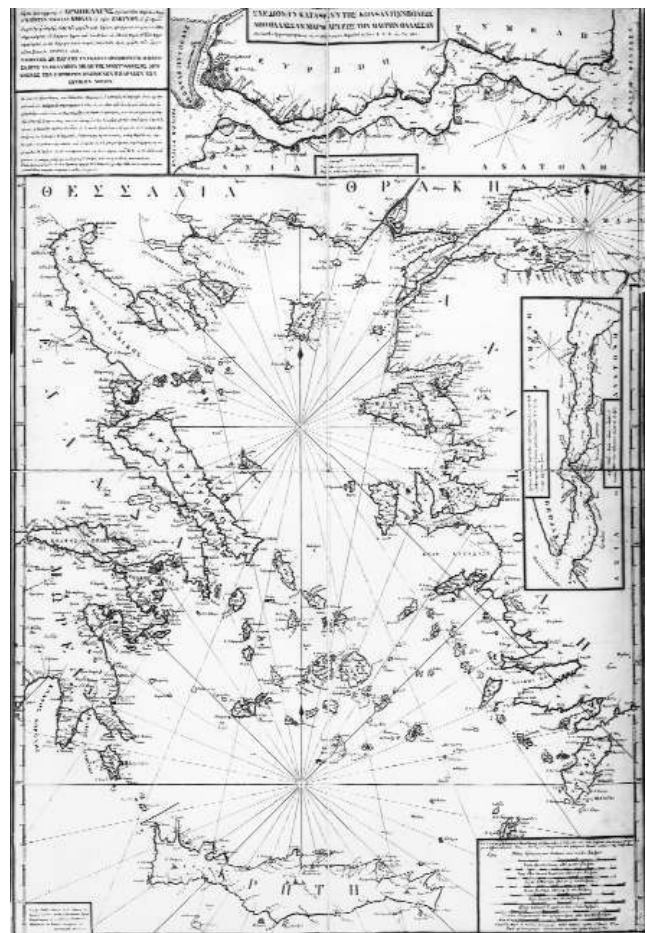
1818, Aegean Sea

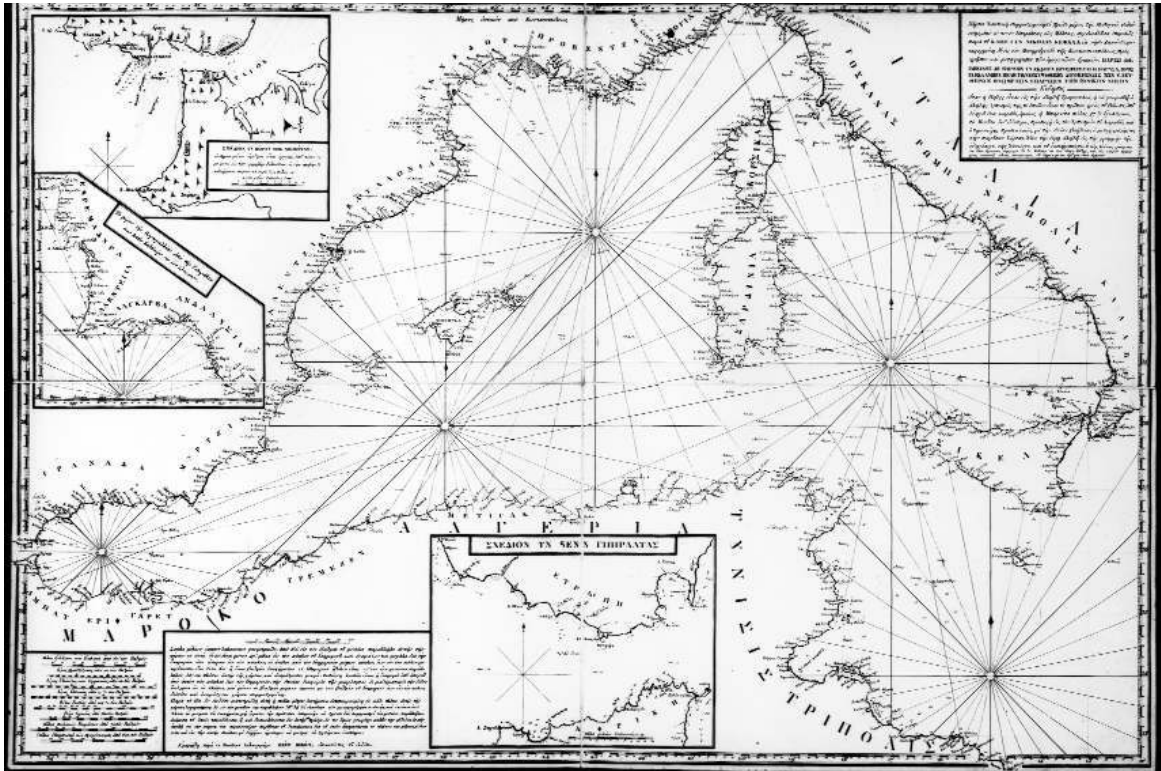
Nikolaos Kefalas, ['Chart of the Archipelago'. Engraved
by Pierre Piquet].

Paris, 985 x 670 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library GT 312

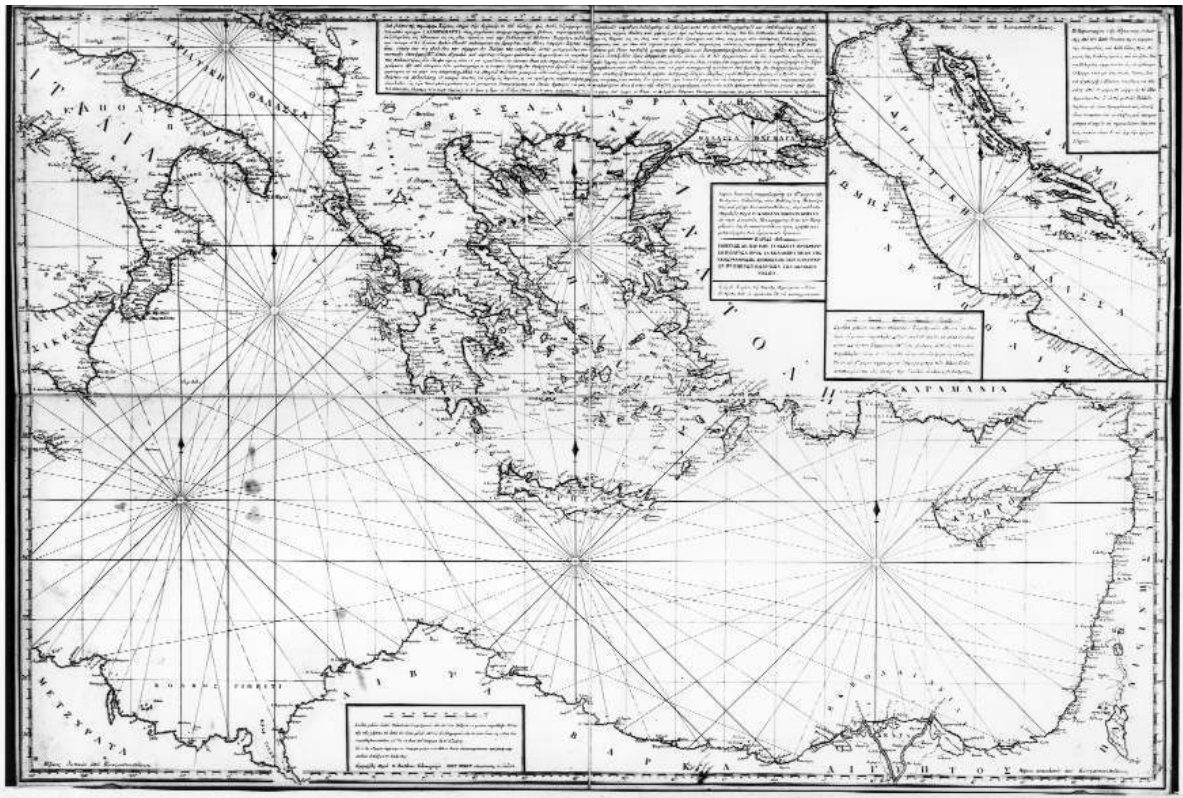
Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1108; Tolia 1999b 28.





[110_]

[111_]



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; Tolia 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; Tolia 1999b 28.



[118 1_]

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 *Constantinias ancient and modern, or description of Constantinople...*, Venice, Pano Theodosiou, 1820].

Venice, 481 x 287 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library, GT 2427 B.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1241; Tolia 1999b 13.

114_**1818, Greece**

Dionissios Pyrros, ['Map of Greece for Dionissios Pyrros' Geography', in *Methodical Universal Geography*, Venice, 1818].

Venice, 190 x 325 mm.

Loc. Library of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki) DG59.D3P46 1818; National Library of Greece Γ.Π. 4426 (missing); Gennadius Library MGL 238.1 (missing); Library of the Institute for Neohellenic Research / NHRF Sp. 5755 (missing).

Ref. Iliou 1818.17.

115_**1818, World**

Dionissios Pyrros, ['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**

Dionysios Foteinos, ['Map of Wallachia'. In D. Foteinos, *History of Former Dacia*, vol. 3, Vienna, 1819. Printed by J. B. Zweck].

Vienna, 320 x 210 mm.

Loc. Gennadius Library MGL 227; National Library of Greece ΙΣΤ 3802.

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.

Ref. Papastratos 1990 425.

118_**1820, Atlas of Ancient Greece**

Chrysovergis Kouropalatis (ed.), ['Atlas for the *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*', engraved by Franz Reisser. It contains, translated into Greek, 32 plates mainly from the third French edition by Barbié du Bocage (1817): 1. Greece and its colonies (folded 570 x 400 mm.), 2. Marathon, 3. Thermopylae, 4. Salamis, 5. Euxinus Pontus, 6. Thracian Bosphorus with Byzantium in an inset, 7. Hellespont, 8. Area of Athens, 9. Attica, 10, the Academy, 11. Greek palaestra, 12. Athens, 13. the Acropolis' Propylea, 14. Theseum (plan), 15. Theseum (view), 16. Parthenon (plan), 17. Parthenon (view), 18. the Parthenon's metopae, 19. Phocis and Doris, 20. Delphi (plan), 21. Delphi (view), 22. Greek house, 23. Thessaly, 24. Aetolia, Acarnania and Ionian Islands, 25, Olympia, 26. Sparta, 27. Peloponnesus (folded 385 x 280), 28. Plato with his pupils at Sounion, 29. Greek theatre, 30. West Coasts of Asia Minor, 31. The Cyclades (by d'Anville) and Delos (by Barbié du Bocage), 32. Ancient Greek coins].

Vienna, 325 x 238 mm (oblong).

Loc. Gennadius Library F 74; National Library of Greece ΙΣΤ 258.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1215; Tolia 1993, 61:13-14; Polemi 2008 283, 320.

119_**1820, Gulf of Mexico**

Georgios Roussiadis (ed.), ['Map of the Gulf of Mexico', in the first volume of the Greek translation of Joachim Heinrich Campe's *The Discovery of America*, Vienna, 1820. Printed by Johann Schneirer].

Vienna, 310 x 215 mm.

Loc. National Library of Greece Γ.Π. 835.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1234; Polemi 2008 295.

120_**1820, Central America**

Georgios Roussiadis (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.

Loc. National Library of Greece Γ.Π. 835.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1234; Polemi 2008 295.

121_**1820, South America**

Georgios Roussiadis (ed.), ['Map of merid-ional America', in the third 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 335 mm.

Loc. National Library of Greece Γ.Π. 835.

Ref. Gkinis and Mexas 1234; Polemi 2008 295.

Annex:**Projected, Unpublished Maps****Proj. I_****1799, Atlas of Ancient Greece**

Greek translation of the atlas for the *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*, by Barbié du Bocage. Projected but not published by Ioannis Marmarotouris, Dimitrios Venieris and Spiridon Prevetos.

Ref. Laios 303-04; Polemi 2008 56.

Proj. II_**1812, Celestial Chart**

By Dionissios Pyrros.

Ref. *Ermis o Logios* 15.08.1812 244-45; Polemi 2008 92.

Proj. III_**1812, Universal Atlas**

Projected but not published atlas with 70 maps.

Translation of Gaspari's atlas by K. Kapetanakis.

Ref. *Ermis o Logios* 15.12.1812 369-70; Polemi 2008 104, 124.

Proj. IV_**1813, Universal Atlas**

Accompanying a universal geography in 8 vols, projected but not published by Dimitrios Govdelas.

Ref. *Ellinikos Tilegrafos* 77 (1812) 335-36; Polemi 2008 95.

Proj. V_**1816, The Peloponnese**

Projected but not published translation of Barbié du Bocage's map of the Peloponnese (1814).

Ref. *Ermis o Logios* 7 (1816) 110-11; Polemi 2008 165.

Proj. VI_**1816, Asia**

5 maps of Asia, projected but not published by K.

Kapetanakis. The maps were intended for an unpublished edition on the geography of Asia.

Ref. Polemi 2008 179.

REFERENCES CITED

- Audiffret, H. and Ch.-M. d'Irrumberry comte de Salaberry 1843, 'Maurocordato Scarlati (Alexandre)', *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne, nouvelle édition*, vol. 27, Paris, 349.
- Aujac, Germaine 1997, 'Cartes géographiques en grec moderne imprimées à Padoue en 1700', *Geographia Antiqua* 6, 165-181.
- Barbié du Bocage, Jean-Denis 1801, 'Notice abrégée des derniers travaux des Grecs modernes sur la géographie', *Magasin Encyclopédique* 7:IV, 247-249.
- Bianu, Ioan and D. Simionescu 1903-1943, *Bibliografia românească veche, 1508-1830*, Academiei Romane, 4 vols, Bucharest.
- Burçeak, Berrak 2008, 'Modernization, Science and Engineering in the Early Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire', *Middle Eastern Studies* 44:1, 69 – 83.
- Chrysochoidis, Kriton 2003, 'Ιερά Αποδημία. Το προσκυνηματικό ταξίδι στους Αγίους Τόπους στα μεταβυζαντινά χρόνια', *Το Ταξίδι από τους αρχαίους έως τους νεότερους χρόνους*, Athens, The National Hellenic Research Foundation, 99-110.
- Cicanci, Olga and Paul Cernovodeanu 1971, 'Contribution à la connaissance de la biographie et de l'œuvre de Jean (Hierothée) Comnène (1688-1719)', *Balkan Studies* 12, 174-175.
- Costecu, Eleonora 1973, 'L'image du Mont Athos dans l'exonarthex de Poiovrad', *Balkan Studies* 14:2, 308-312, pls 3-4.
- Davidov, Dinko 1961, 'Hristofor Zefarovic prvi srpski bakrorezac XVIII veka', *Delo Hristofora Zefarovica*, Novi Sad.
- 1978, *Srpska grafika XVIII veka*, Novi Sad.
- 2004, *Svetogorska grafika - Αγιορειτική γραφική - The Athonian Prints*, Belgrade.
- Deluga, Waldemar 1997a, 'Mont Athos dans les gravures balcaniques des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles', *Balkan Studies*, 38:2, 239-251.
- 1997b, 'Views of the Sinai from Leopolis', *Print Quarterly* 14:4, 381-393.
- Dimaras, C. Th. 1969, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Geneva.
- Dura, I. 1989, 'Le Proskynitarion de Jean Comnène (1701) et ses renseignements sur l'aide roumaine au Mont-Athos', *Mitropolia Olteniei* 41:2, 48-66.
- Enev, Mihail 1994, *Mount Athos [and the] Zograph Monastery*, Sofia, Kibela.
- Gkinis, D. S. and Mexas, B. G. 1939, 1941, 1957, *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία, 1800-1863...*, 3 vols, Athens.
- Golobias, G. and Ioustinos Simonopetritis 2001, 'Paper Icons: From Venice to Mount Athos', in *La stampa e l'illustrazione del libro greco a Venezia tra il Settecento e l'Ottocento*, Venezia, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 51-63 and 81-96 (pls 1-16).
- Hadjichristodoulou, Christodoulos 2004, 'A Map of Cyprus in a Post-Byzantine Cypriot Icon' in G. Tolia and D. Loupis (eds), *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies*, Athens, 337-346.
- Iliou, Philippos 1997, *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία του 19ου αιώνα*, vol. I (1801-1818), Athens.
- 1983/1985, 'Εντυπα συγχωροχάρτια', *Ta Istorika* 1, 35-84, and 3, 1-44.
- Ioannidis, Em. 1867-68, 'Βιβλιακά', *Pandora* 18, 95-96.

- Ioustinos Simonopetritis 1997, 'Χάρτινες εικόνες', *Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους* (exhibition catalogue), Thessaloniki, 178-193.
- Kadas, Sotirios N. 1986, *Προσκυνητάρια των Αγίων Τόπων. Δέκα Ελληνικά Χειρόγραφα 16^{ου} - 18^{ου} αι.*, Thessaloniki.
- Karamberopoulos, Dimitrios 1998, *Η Χάρτα της Ελλάδος του Ρήγα. Τα πρότυπα της και νέα στοιχεία*, Athens.
- 2005, *Οι χάρτες Βλαχίας και Μολδαβίας του Ρήγα Βελεστινλή, Βιέννη, 1797. Νέα στοιχεία - Ευρετήριο - Αυθεντική επανέκδοση*, Athens.
- Karathanasis, Ath. E. 1982, *Οι έλληνες λόγιοι στη Βλαχία (1670-1714)*, Thessaloniki.
- Katardjis, D. 1970, *Τα Ευρισκόμενα*, ed. C. Th. Dimaras, Athens.
- Kitromilides, P. 1996, 'Η Γεωγραφία του Πολιτισμού. Από την υμνολογία στην Επανάσταση', in *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Athens, 125-164.
- 1985, *Ιώσηπος Μοισιόδαξ*, Athens.
- Kokkonas, Ioannis 2008, 'Τα δειγματολόγια των ελλήνων τυπογράφων της Βενετίας (1800, 1812): συμβολή στην ιστορία των ελληνικών τυπογραφικών στοιχείων', *Tekmirion* 8, 9-68.
- Koumariou, Aikaterini 1995, (ed.), *Die Griechische Vorrevolutionäre Presse, Wien - Paris, 1784 - 1821*, Athens.
- 1994 (ed.), 'Greek Geographies of the 18th Century', *The Cartography of the Shores and Islands of Greece*, Athens, 173-187.
- 1988 (ed.), (ed.), *Νεωτερική Γεωγραφία*, Athens.
- 1970 (ed.), *Νεωτερική Γεωγραφία, Περί της Ελλάδος*, Athens.
- Kyrakopoulos, Konstantinos 1990, *Μελέτιος (Μήτρος) Αθηνών, ο Γεωγράφος (1661-1714)*, 2 vols, Athens.
- Ladas, Georgios and Athanasios Chatzidimos 1970, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία των ετών 1791-1795*, Athens.
- 1973, *Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία των ετών 1796-1799*, Athens.
- Laios, Georgios 1960, 'Οι Χάρτες του Ρήγα', *Deltion tis Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etairias Ellados* 14, 231-312.
- Legrand, Émile 1903, *Bibliographie hellénique...XVIIe siècle*, Paris.
- 1918, *Bibliographie hellénique...XVIIIe siècle*, Paris.
- 1886, *Voyages de Basil Vatace en Europe et en Asie*, Βασιλείου Βατάτζη Περιηγητικών, Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux, Paris.
- Lewis, Bernard 2001, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York and London.
- Livieratos, Evangelos 2008a, 'The Anthimos Gazis World Map in Kozani', *e-Perimtron* 3:2, 95-100.
- 2008b, *Άγιον Όρος και Κύπρος στον χάρτη της Ελλάδας του Άνθιμου Γαζή*, Thessaloniki.
- 2008c, 'On the Unveiling of Two Versions of Rigas Velestinlis *Charta*', *e-perimtron* 3:3, 183-190.
- 2009, *Χαρτογραφικές περιπέτειες της Ελλάδας, 1821-1919. Με αφορμή ένα χειρόγραφο του Κωνσταντίνου Νίδερ (1898)*, Athens, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archives.
- Manousakas, M. 1980, (ed.), *Επιτομή της ιεροκοσμικής ιστορίας...συγγραφείσα παρά...του Πατριάρχου Ιεροσολύμων Νεκταρίου του Κρητός...*, Athens.

- Moisiodox, Iosipos 1781, *Θεωρία της Γεωγραφίας*, Vienna.
- O'Connor, Maura 2000, 'Gazes, Santini and the Sydney 2000 Paralympics – recent map acquisitions' *National Library of Australia Gateways*, 48 <<http://www.nla.gov.au/pub/gateways/archive/48/p15a01.html>>
- Papadopoulos, St. A. 1999, 'Οι χάρτινες εικόνες, μια διαφορετική προσέγγιση', in *Μεταβυζαντινή Χαρακτική*, Thessaloniki, 29-39.
- Papastratos, Dory 1990, *Paper Icons: Greek Orthodox Religious Engravings*, transl. John Leatham, vol. 2, Athens.
- 1981, *Ο Σιναΐτης Χατζηκυριάκης εκ χώρας Βουρλά*, Athens.
- Pazaras, Th. 1998-99, 'Ιστορία της θαυματουργής έλευσης της εικόνας της Παναγίας Πορταΐτισσας στη Μονή Ιβήρων', *Deltion tis Christianikis Archaeologikis Eterias* 20, 385-397.
- Philippidis, D. – J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, – A. Gazis 1966, *Αλληλογραφία (1794-1819)*, ed. A. Koumariou, Athens.
- Ploumidis, G. 1967, 'Ο Αρχιεπίσκοπος Φιλαδελφείας Γρηγόριος Φατσέας, 1762-1768', *Θησαυρίσματα* 4, 102-106.
- Polemi, Popi 2008, *Δια του Γένους τον φωτισμόν. Αγγελίες προεπαναστατικών εντύπων (1734-1821), από τα κατάλοιπα του Φίλιππου Ηλιού*, Athens.
- 2009, «Χάρτες του Ρήγα και βιβλία του Διαφωτισμού στην Ερμούπολη. Μια επιστολή: 1838/1846», in *Δρόμοι κοινοί. Μελέτες για την ιστορία και τον πολιτισμό αφιερωμένες στην Αικατερίνη Κουμαριανού*, *Mnimon*, annex 15, Athens, 209-214.
- Popescu-Spineni, Marin 1978, *România în izvoare geografice și cartografice*, Bucharest.
- Provatakis, Th. [1993], *Χαρακτικά Ελλήνων λαϊκών δημιουργών, 17ος-19ος αιώνας*, Athens.
- Rubin, Rehav 2004, '18th century Greek Orthodox Images of the Holy City and its Environs', in G. Toliás and D. Loupis (eds), *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies*, Athens, 347-378.
- 2006, 'One City, Different Views: A Comparative Study of Three Pilgrimage Maps of Jerusalem', *Journal of Historical Geography* 32, 267-290.
- Schinas G. 2002, 'Η Χάρτα του Ρήγα: Σωζόμενα αντίτυπα και καταγραφή τους', *Υπερεία* 3, 965-979.
- Shirley, R. W. 1984, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472-1700*, London.
- Soucek, Svat 2008, *Studies in Ottoman Naval History and Maritime Geography*, Istanbul.
- Staikos, Constantinos Sp. 1995, *Die in Wien Gedruckten Griechischen Bücher, 1749-1800*, Athens.
- Stathi, Pinelopi 1999, *Χρύσανθος Νοταράς, Πατριάρχης Ιεροσολύμων. Πρόδρομος του Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού*, Athens.
- Thieme, V. and F. Becker 1913-1931, *Allgemeine Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig.
- Toliás, G., 1999a, *The Greek Portolan Charts, 15th-17th Century: A Contribution to the Mediterranean Cartography of the Early Modern Era*, Athens.
- , 1999b, *Greek Cartography in Print, 16th-19th centuries, from the Gennadius Library Collection*, Athens.

- 2006, ‘Nikolaos Sofianos’ *Totius Graeciae Descriptio*: The Resources, Diffusion and Functions of a Sixteenth Century Antiquarian Map of Greece’, *Imago Mundi* 58/2, 151-180.
- 2002, ‘Αθωνική ιερή χαρτογραφία. Οι απαρχές’, in E. Livieratos (ed.), *Όρους Άθω γης και θαλάσσης περίμετρον. Χαρτών Μεταμορφώσεις*, Thessaloniki, 145-180.
- 2009, *Αποχαιρετισμός στο ‘Γένος’: Αυτοκρατορία και Πατριωτισμός στο χαρτογραφικό έργο του Ρήγα (1796-97)*, Athens.
- 1993, ‘Στη σκιά των περιηγητών. Το ελληνικό γεωγραφικό και χαρτογραφικό έργο του Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage’, in *Tetradia Ergasias* 17 (*On Travel Literature*), Athens, 321-423.
- , and Leonora Navari 2008, *Ιστορία της χαρτογραφίας του ελληνικού χώρου, 1420-1800. Χάρτες της συλλογής Μαργαρίτας Σαμούρκα*, Athens.
- Tsourkas, Cl. 1967, *Les débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans. La vie et l'œuvre de Théophile Corydalée*, Thessaloniki.
- Vamvounakis, N. 2009, ‘Anthimos Gazis : ‘Pinax Geographikos tes Hellados’, Vienna, 1800’, <<http://gazismapgreece.blogspot.com/>>
- Vranousis, Leandros 1995-2000, (ed.), *Εφημερίς, η αρχαιότερη ελληνική εφημερίδα που έχει διασωθεί, Βιέννη 1791-1797, εκδότες οι αδελφοί Μαρκίδες Πουλίου: ευρετήρια: κύρια ονόματα και γλωσσάριο*, 7 vols, Athens.