

THE MAP OF WALLACHIA PUBLISHED IN PADUA IN 1700. PRODUCTION, CONTENT AND EARLY USE

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The present study aims at discussing the interrelation between the production, the thematic content and the concrete usage of the map of Wallachia, published in Padua in 1700. The first part of the article contains a brief introduction to the history of the map and a discussion of the current state of research. In the following, the documentary sources on which the cartographic project is based, as well as the social, political, cultural and economic context of Wallachia at the time of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu are examined. Additionally, it investigates the functions that the map of Wallachia was originally intended to fulfil. In the light of this new information, the famous map of Wallachia, the result of the collaboration between the *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzino, Ioannis Komminos and Chrysanthos Notaras, is interpreted as a multifunctional product: a real "field guide" for foreign diplomatic missions to Wallachia, as a means of disseminating historical-geographical information about Wallachia abroad, and as a teaching tool. The concluding part of the article considers the dissemination of the map and its critical reception in the academic milieu of eighteenth-century Europe.

Keywords: Wallachia; Eighteenth-Century; Cartographic Functions, Regional Chorography; History of Cartography.

INTRODUCTION

The existence of a map of Wallachia published in Padua in 1700, was known long before it became the subject of scholarly research in the twentieth-century. Two works printed at the beginning of the eighteenth-century contributed significantly to the circulation of the Paduan map of Wallachia: *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli Abitanti*, published in Venice in 1718, by Antonmaria del Chiaro, and Meletios de Arta's *Geography*, which appeared a decade later, in 1728, also in Venice. However, before 1926, no one could be sure whether a copy of the 1700 map, attributed to Constantin Cantacuzino, had survived. The vain attempts of Professor Vittorio Lazzarini – a close friend of Nicolae Iorga – to locate the map in the library of the Episcopal Seminary in Padua left little hope.¹ However, in 1926, the Romanian consul in London, Dimitrie Dimăncescu, managed to track

¹ See N. Iorga, *Istoria învățământului românesc*, ed. by I. Popescu Teiușan, București, 1971, p. 19.

down a specimen of the map, which remains the only known copy to this day, and make it public.²

Given its historical and documentary value, the Padua map became the subject of intense scholarly debate shortly after its discovery in the British Museum, especially among Romanian scholars.³ During the following decades, the debate widened from a local, Romanian to a European level. Scholars who have made notable contributions to this on-going discussion include: Constantin C. Giurescu (1943)⁴, Maria Nicolescu (1966)⁵, Ana Toșa-Turdeanu (1975)⁶, Germaine Aujac (1997)⁷, George Toliás (2010)⁸ and Timotei Rad (2013).⁹ Constantin C. Giurescu's 1943 study arguably had the most enduring influence on subsequent scholarship, through its first in-depth description of the map's contents and its investigation of the social, economic and political context in which it was produced. Giurescu was also the first to publish a copy of the map (unfortunately on a small scale and with low resolution). Notwithstanding the fairly laborious documentation, Giurescu was not able to provide convincing and conclusive answers to some key questions, including that of the map's authorship. The term "the stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino's map", which became established in the wake of Giurescu's study, suggests a single author. Time and again, this position has been challenged. Constantin Cantacuzino had unquestionably made a fundamental contribution to the production of the Paduan map, but the merits of its co-authors, Chrysanthos Notaras and Ioannis Komninos, should not be downplayed or eclipsed. Similarly, the "Romanian map" / "Greek map" dichotomy inaugurated by Giurescu, and based on the ethnic

² Despite all scholarly endeavours, the history of the copy preserved in the British Library's collections remains a mystery. According to Peter Barber, curator of the collection, the map has reached the British Museum after the 1878 Berlin Congress. An educated guess would be that the map was brought to England by Lord Paget or by the epigraphist Edmund Chishull (see G. Aujac, "La première carte de Valachie", *Geographia Antiqua* XII, 2003, p. 139–140). The cabinet of maps of the Library of the Romanian Academy holds two photographic copies of the British Library original. The first, registered under the inventory number S 50, on which the present study is based, is a 1:1 reproduction, of excellent quality, brought from London in 1929. The second copy, registered under the inventory number S 270, is a reduced copy of lesser quality; see C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino. O descriere a Munteniei la 1700", *Revista Istorică Română* 13, 1943, p. 2.

³ Meanwhile, the map has been transferred to the British Library, where it has been registered under the signature: Maps.*44170 (1). See <https://hoe.ub.rub.de/retrieve/Map/be65f2e8-31de-4f1e-b266-b2b0eaba5a8d> last accessed on 28.02.2022

⁴ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 1–27.

⁵ M. Nicolescu, "Prima hartă întocmită de un învățat român asupra Țării Românești: harta stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino din anul 1700", *Natura, Seria geografie-geologie*, 18, 1966, 1, p. 21–28.

⁶ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică în hărțile secolului XVIII*, Craiova, 1975.

⁷ G. Aujac, "Cartes géographiques en grec moderne imprimées à Padoue en 1700", *Geographia antiqua* N° 6, 1997, p. 165–182; Idem, "La première carte de Valachie...", p. 129–140.

⁸ G. Toliás, "Maps printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment, 1665–1820", *e-Perimetron* 5, 2010, 1, p. 1–48. http://www.e-perimetron.org/vol_5_1/tolias.pdf last accessed on 28.02.2022.

⁹ T. Rad, *Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții Valahiei de la 1700; Dimitrie Cantemir primul român care a realizat o hartă pentru un teritoriu locuit de români*, 2013. online at: <https://nelucraciun.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/ioannis-komninos-autorul-hc483rc5a3ii-valahiei-de-la-1700-timotei-rad.pdf> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

criterion, proved problematic and counterproductive. To avoid these shortcomings, a rather neutral wording was adopted in the present study.

The map of Wallachia published in Padua (1700) measures 140 x 65 cm and consists of 4 sheets that were subsequently mounted canvas.¹⁰ In terms of content, it displays all the features of European maps of its time, from mathematical framework through the ornamentation and cartouche inscriptions, to the techniques of geographical representation and the lettering types (Fig. 1). The multitude and variety of elements depicted on the map (geographical, economic, social, and archaeological) turned it into a reference point in European cartography of the time and even into an influential source of inspiration for later map works. Currently two contemporary copies are known: the manuscript map commissioned by Christian Schierl von Schierendorf in 1707¹¹ and the reduced-scale copy prepared by the Venetian engineer Marco Antonio Gigli¹², annexed to the 1718 edition of Antonmaria del Chiaro's *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli abitanti*.¹³

Chronologically, the Paduan map coincides with the cultural flowering period during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714), and its cartographic content sheds light on an impressive variety of subjects, such as the political boundaries, the administrative-territorial divisions, the nature of the landscape, the hydrography, the settlement network, the bridges, the archaeological remains and much more.¹⁴ Unlike other secular maps inspired by the Western European cartographic tradition, which had legends and inscriptions written exclusively in Greek, the map drafted by Constantin Cantacuzino, Chrysanthos Notaras and Ioannis Komninos was bilingual, in Greek and Latin.

In view of the question about the original function of this map, central to the present study, it appears significant that it had been printed in the Episcopal Seminary in Padua. The addressee was thus a broader audience. Moreover, it

¹⁰ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului . . .", p. 2.

¹¹ Full title: Augustissimo Invictissimoque Romanorum Imperatori Iosepho I. Mappam hanc geographicam Principatus Valachiae in XVII. themata divisae ab exemplari graeco, quod, juxta accuratissimam descriptionem Sapientiss(imi), Viri Constantini Cantacuzeni, et Excellentiss(imi) Medici ac Philosophi Ioannis Comneni, novissime edidit ac Celsissimo Principi Valachiae D(omi)-no Ioanni Constantino Bassarabae Woewondae dedicavit Chrysanthus Presbyter, Apostolici ac Sanctissimi Hierosolymarum Patriarchalis Throni Archimandrita, Desumptam, ac in formam politiore redactam et Latinitate donatam. Obsequiosissime Dat, Dicat Consecrat Schierendorff. Available online: <https://digital.onb.ac.at/rep/osd/?1110534F> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

¹² Indice topografico del principato di Valachia. Diviso in XVII. Parti, secondo l'esattissima Descrizione, che ne diede il fu Conte Constantino Cantacuzeno al celeberrimo Medico, e Filosofo Giovanni Commeno ora Arcivescovo di Dristra, e dedicato al Celsissimo Costantino Brancovani Principe di Valachia. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5962803x> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

¹³ Antonmaria Del Chiaro was a Florentine scholar who served as Constantin Brâncoveanu's secretary. His familiarity with the social, cultural and economic realities of Wallachia and with some of the outstanding personalities at Constantin Brâncoveanu's court were instrumental in the elaboration of his work. Regarding the relationship between the map of Wallachia (1700) and its reproduction in the *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* (Venezia, 1718) see the concluding part of this article.

¹⁴ G. Aujac, "La première carte de Valachie . . .", p. 133.

should be remembered that the map was not conceived as an aide-memoire to a historical-geographical work on Wallachia. Any attempt to link the Paduan Map of Wallachia of 1700 with the *History of Wallachia (Istoria Țării Românești)*, a work which some Romanian scholars, most notably N. Iorga, have attributed to Constantin Cantacuzino, would be highly speculative; all the more so since Cantacuzino's authorship of the *History* has recently been questioned on sound grounds.¹⁵ Instead of dwelling on the authorship question, the present study intends to cast a novel look at the map data, especially at the latitude coordinates of the city of Bucharest, indicated on the map. Previous research has not paid too much attention to these coordinates, assuming that the latitude data had been from an astronomical table. Although such an explanation is plausible and handy, I propose to consider another possibility that may provide new insights into both the content of the map and its production.

DATA SOURCE AND THE MAKING OF THE MAP

Commonly, it is assumed that the map of Wallachia published in Padua in 1700 was the only cartographic project realised during Constantin Brâncoveanu's reign. The statement is accurate, but only inasmuch as it refers to secular mapping. If one considers other types of mapping, such as military or religious, the Paduan map of Wallachia is no longer exceptional. Starting from the last quarter of the seventeenth-century, cartography had an important role at the princely court in Bucharest mostly because of the strategic military maps. Moreover, under the auspices of the same Constantin Brâncoveanu, a map of the Mount Athos monasteries drafted by Ioannis Komninos, had been printed at Snagov in 1701.¹⁶ This growing interest for cartography at Constantin Brâncoveanu's court can be directly associated with the prince's political and cultural undertakings, fostered by his close contacts with leading European scholars, such as Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli.¹⁷ At one of his diplomatic meetings with Marsigli, Constantin Brâncoveanu offered him a Turkish map of the mouth of the Dniester, relevant both for strategic considerations and for its unique documentary value, considering Marsigli's intention to prepare a publication on the history of the Tatars.¹⁸

Among the scholars at Brâncoveanu's court were the physician and professor of "physical and mathematical sciences" Ioannis Komninos, the archimandrite and astronomer Chrysanthos Notaras, and last, but not least, Constantin Cantacuzino. The

¹⁵ See O. Dragomir, *Istoria Țării Românești*, atribuită stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino. Ediție critică, studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic, București, 2006, p. 19–38.

¹⁶ G. Tolias, "Maps printed in Greek", p. 20, No. 14a–14b.

¹⁷ J. Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe 1680–1730. The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso*, New Haven – London, 1994, p. 80–81.

¹⁸ A. Gardi, "La Valacchia nella Descrizione delle Misie, Dacie e Illirico di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1698)", in G. Borghello (ed.) *Per Teresa: Studi e ricerche in ricordo di Teresa Ferro*, vol. I, Udine, 2009, p. 595.

latter was actually Constantin Brâncoveanu's uncle and had engaged in an intensive and fruitful diplomatic activity in between 1688–1715.¹⁹ These three scholars were directly involved in the production of the Paduan map of Wallachia, that was dedicated to Constantin Brâncoveanu, as the map title explicitly states:

Πίναξ γεωγραφικός τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης Ἡγεμονείας Ὀυγγροβλαχίας εἰς δεκαεπτὰ θέματα δι(ο)ρημένης τὴν ἐξηκριβομένην καταγραφὴν καὶ διατύπωσιν ἣν πεποίηκεν ὁ εὐγενέστατος, ἐνδοξότατος καὶ σοφώτατος Ἄρχων Στόλνικος Κύριος Κύριος Κωνσταντῖνος Καντακουζηνός, σπουδῆ τοῦ ἐξοχοτάτου ἰατροφιλοσόφου Κ. Κ. Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ. Νῦν τὸ πρῶτον τύποις ἐλληνικῆς ἐκδοθεὶ ἐλληνικοῖς ἐκδοθεὶς καὶ εὐλαβῶς ἀφιερωθεὶς τῷ γαληνοτάτῳ καὶ θεοσεβστάτῳ Αὐθέντῃ καὶ Ἡγεμόνῃ πάσης. Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κύριῳ Κύριῳ Ἰωάννῃ Κωνσταντίνῳ Βασσαράβα Βοεβόνδα παρὰ Χρυσάνθου Πρεσβυτέρου καὶ τοῦ Αποστολικῆ καὶ Ἀγιοτάτου τῶν Ἱεροσολεῖμων Πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου Ἀρχιμανδρίτου.

The geographical tabula of the all high and mighty Principality of Ungrovlahia divided into seventeen counties, according to the description and very exact form prepared by the almighty noble, almighty learned and almighty wise boyar *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzino for the documentation of the mighty eminent physician and philosopher Ioannis Komninos. Now for the first time printed in Greek letters and reverently dedicated to the all high and mighty pious Lord and Ruler of all Ungrovlahia Prince Ioan Constantin Basaraba Voevod by Chrysant the Presbyter and Archimandrite of the Apostolic and Almighty Holy Patriarchal See of Jerusalem.²⁰

Arguably, the map of Wallachia is the product of a Greek-speaking network centred around the lord of the country, Constantin Brâncoveanu, and his close relative and dignitary, *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzino. However, it is less clear to what extent each of the three scholars contributed to the making of the map, which has led to the emergence of divergent hypotheses. Previous scholars considered the map either the work of Constantin Cantacuzino or a product of the collaboration between Ioannis Komninos and Constantin Cantacuzino. Most recently, Komninos has been attributed a more significant role in the creation of the map than Cantacuzino.²¹

Ioannis Komninos is also known as the author of the aforementioned map of Mount Athos (1701)²² and of a narrative of the life of the Byzantine emperor John Kantakouzenos.²³ The latter writing, included in a manuscript dated 1699, is dedicated to no other than Constantin Cantacuzino, which is an unequivocal

¹⁹ V. Căndea, *Stolnicul între contemporani*, București, 1971, p. 41–53. See also A. Pippidi, *Constantin Brâncoveanu, stolnicul și lordul*, București, 2014.

²⁰ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului ...”, p. 2–3.

²¹ T. Rad, *Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții...*

²² I. Κομνηνός, *Προσκυνητάριον του Αγίου Όρους του Αθωvos*, Snagov, 1701.

²³ P.P. Panaitescu, “Contribuții la opera geografică a lui Dimitrie Cantemir”, *Academia Română, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III, T. VIII, 1927–1928, p. 177.

testimony to their friendship. The second scholar mentioned in the title of the Paduan map of Wallachia is the Archimandrite Chrysanthos Notaras, who later became Patriarch of Jerusalem (1707–1733). Notaras was entrusted with the publishing the map in Padua, where he had completed part of his studies.²⁴ It is not evident from the title inscription whether Chrysanthos Notaras was involved in the actual compilation of the map. However, given Notaras's training and previous works in the field of astronomy, it stands to reason that he was involved in the preparation of the map along with Cantacuzino and Komninos. It should be noted that Notaras had also published a world map in Padua in 1700, the same year that the map of Wallachia was printed. The world map was reproduced 1716, on a smaller scale, in Notaras's own cosmographic essay *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά*.²⁵ Moreover, Notaras would later become a disciple of the famous cartographer Jean Dominique Cassini (1625–1712).²⁶ Evidently, in 1700, Notaras was not only a well-trained astronomer, but also a skilled cartographer. Both cartographic works published by Notaras that year are of major importance in the history of the secular mapping of the Balkan regions.²⁷ Nevertheless, it was Constantin Cantacuzino (1639–1716), whom the chronicler Constantin Dapontes significantly refers to as “the learnt one” (ὁ ἐπιστήμων), who provided the local geographical information and ensured that the map of Wallachia was accurate.²⁸

Regarding the motivations for the compilation and publication of the map, the hypothesis formulated by Constantin C. Giurescu appears somewhat unconvincing. In this scenario, Komninos and Notaras had requested Cantacuzino to provide a detailed map of Wallachia in support of their scholarly interests, and Cantacuzino complied with this request.²⁹ This scenario, however, ignores Cantacuzino's earlier involvement in the geographical and cartographical debates relating to Wallachia. In this respect, his friendship with Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli seems to have been very decisive.³⁰ The letters exchanged between the two reveal a common scientific interest. Marsigli, for example, asked Constantin Cantacuzino to complete and to correct the geographical and historical data regarding Wallachia and Moldavia for his project *Descrittione naturale, civile e militare delle Misie, Dacie e Illirico*.³¹

²⁴ O. Cicanci, “Date noi despre Hrisant Notara în arhivele rusești”, *Sud-Estul și Contextul European. Buletin al Institutului de Studii Sud-Est Europene. Mentalitate și Politică V*, București, 1996, p. 118.

²⁵ G. Toliaș, “Maps printed in Greek...”, p. 4.

²⁶ G. Aujac, “La première carte de Valachie...”, p. 132; O. Cicanci, “Date noi despre Hrisant Notara...”, p. 118.

²⁷ G. Toliaș, “Maps printed in Greek...”, p. 4.

²⁸ N. Iorga, “Manuscripte din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor. Al doilea memoriu. Ședința de la 5 februarie 1899”, *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria II. Tom. XXI, 1898–1899, p. 62.

²⁹ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului...”, p. 2–3.

³⁰ See N. Iorga, “Manuscripte din biblioteci străine...”, p. 62–73.

³¹ See L. Nagy, “Le „Triplex Confinium.” Le rôle de Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli dans l'établissement de la frontière entre la Moldavie, la Valachie et la Transylvanie”, *Analele Universității din Oradea. Fascicula*

Moreover, in a letter from 1694, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli reported Cantacuzino that “there is already an excellent map of this province,” i.e. Wallachia, which however lacked administrative boundaries.³² Although, we cannot tell which specific map Marsigli was referring to, his reference testifies the scholarly interest in the cartographic representation of Wallachia in the last decade of the seventeenth-century.

Very likely, Cantacuzino was aware of the inadequacies and gross inaccuracies of the Western maps of Wallachia that circulated at the end of the seventeenth-century. To get an idea of how poorly Wallachia was known by some Western mapmakers of the late seventeenth-century one can take as an example a highly popular atlas of the time: Jacques Peeters’ *L’Atlas en abrégé ou nouvelle description du monde* (Antwerp, 1692). The atlas consists of 42 maps, each with two pages of text.³³ Wallachia is included in the map entitled *Le Grand Royaume de Hongrie ou Partie Septentrionale de la Turquie en Europe*. The most important Wallachian settlement indicated on this map is *Tergovisk* (Târgoviște). Besides this town, the following oiconyms are also mentioned: *Ialonick*, *Dembrovisa* (probably Bucharest), *Brassou* (derived from the Hungarian version “Brassó” of the name of the city Braşov), *Cholownic* (probably Zimnicea), and west of the river Olt, *Torsura* (probably Craiova, considering its position).³⁴ However, the corresponding text from the atlas does not contain any reference to Wallachia. Jacques Peeters’ scarce and deficient geographical knowledge of Wallachia is indicative for late seventeenth-century Western mapmaking. The cursory knowledge of the territories inhabited by Romanians, in the mentioned period, can be observed among other prominent European cartographers, who strived to represent this part of Europe using the most advanced knowledge and means available. As an example, we bring two maps found in the atlas drawn up by Nicolas Sanson for the use of heir to the throne of the King of France entitled: *Nouvelle introduction à la géographie pour l’usage de Monseigneur le Dauphin /, Par le Sr. Sanson* (Paris, 1693). On the map showing the course of the Danube, both the natural elements (the hydrographic network, the mountains) and the human settlements or the borders of the Principality of Wallachia (*Principaute de Valaquie*) are represented in a very vague way, being more hinted at than faithfully indicated according to a territorial reality.³⁵ The second map, including Hungary and its adjacent areas, shows Wallachia with the same shortcomings and errors, mainly due to a lack of direct knowledge of the situation on the terrain.

Limba și Literatura Română (ALLRO), nr. 1, 2012, p. 114; A. Gardi, “La Valacchia nella Descrizione delle Misiè...”, p. 597–598.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 73.

³³ Available online: <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/236503/display/Default> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

³⁴ I. Lepși, “Țările Române în J. Peeters, «Atlas en Abregé ou Nouvelle Description du Monde ». Anvers, 1692”, *Arhivele Basarabiei. Revistă de Istorie și Geografie a Moldovei dintre Prut și Nistru* 9, 1937, 1–4, p. 75.

³⁵ Available online: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/en/islandora/object/atmintis%3AVUB01_000520053#00048 last accessed on 29.02.2022.

Unlike Western cartographers, Cantacuzino was in the privileged position of having direct and -indirect access to a wide range of geographical data. He was himself a high-dignitary of the country, and he could obtain further information from various collaborators. Above all, Cantacuzino was conversant in the scientific idiom used by contemporary Western geographers and mapmakers, as his library in Mărgineni (Prahova County) demonstrates impressively.³⁶

The Romanian scholar-boyar had read and, probably, studied, Strabo's *Geography*, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Opera geographica et historica*, the atlases of the Dutch mapmakers Willem and Johan Blaeu and the map of Dacia, entitled *Daciarum Moesiarum et Thraciae vetus et nova descriptio* from 1629, compiled by the German geographer Philipp Clüver.³⁷ Among the volumes in his library, there is also the atlas *Praecipuarum Universi Terrarum Orbis* by Gabriel Bucelin, printed in Ulm in the second half of the seventeenth-century.³⁸ Thus, Constantin Cantacuzino had access to various seventeenth-century cartographic works, which left their marks on the graphic and cartographic concept of the Paduan map of Wallachia. He likewise collected many notices from magazines, almanacs or calendars, some of which are currently held in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest.³⁹ All these geographical works shaped Constantin Cantacuzino's own cartographic approach, scientifically as well as philosophically and aesthetically. In chronological terms, it seems that Constantin Cantacuzino's interest in geography and astronomy intensified as from 1694, when Marsigli had sent him an atlas.⁴⁰ Two years later, in 1696, he was pursuing his scientific interests, as Georg Philipp Schreyer, Lord William Paget's secretary, sent him several optical instruments (*canocchiali* and *occhiali*) for his research.⁴¹ We have good reason to believe that Cantacuzino's interest in optical instruments had been sparked by the material published that year in the magazine *La Galleria di Minerva* under the title "*Nuove Invenzioni di Tubi ottici dimostrate nell'Accademia Fisicomatematica Romana l'anno 1686, da Carlo di Napoli*".⁴² The article was nothing but a lengthy presentation of astronomical telescopes accompanied by several suggestive drawings. The first two issues of the magazine, published in Venice (1696–1697), were in the library of the great Romanian scholar.⁴³ An additional study, Antonio Foresti's *Mappamondo istorico*, published in the same

³⁶ C. Dima-Drăgan, "Un catalog necunoscut al bibliotecii Stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino", *Revista Arhivelor* 7, 1964, 2, p. 286–303.

³⁷ C. Dima-Drăgan, "Orizonturi umaniste în cultura românească din secolul al XVII-lea (Biblioteca unui mare cărturar român, Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino)", *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 19, 1966, 4, p. 672.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 667.

³⁹ I. Ionașcu, "Din viața și activitatea stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino (1640–1716)", *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 19, 1966, 14, p. 649.

⁴⁰ N. Iorga, "Manuscripte din biblioteci străine...", p. 67.

⁴¹ E.D. Tappe, "Documents concerning Rumania in the Paget Papers", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 33 (No. 80), 1954, p. 205.

⁴² *La Galleria di Minerva*, Parte Quatra, Anno 1696, p. 105–117.

⁴³ C. Dima-Drăgan, "Orizonturi umaniste....", p. 682.

issue of *La Galleria di Minerva*, had also been in Cantacuzino's library in Mărgineni.⁴⁴ Naturally, the question arises: what were the optical instruments that Schreyer had sent to Cantacuzino used for, if not to make astronomical observations? Furthermore, were these observations in any way related with the map of Wallachia, which was published four years later and to whose creation Cantacuzino also had contributed?

Previous research assumed, based on the mathematical cartographic framework, that no astronomical measurements or determinations were made during the drafting of the Paduan map of Wallachia.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, one detail inscribed on the map casts doubt on this assumption: the indication of the latitude of the city of Bucharest. Most importantly, the city's latitude has not been recorded on any earlier map. Chrysanthos Notaras was considered by many scholars to be the first astronomer to calculate the geographical coordinates of Bucharest, and it is reasonable to assume he was responsible for determining the latitude on the map of 1700. However, if we compare figure for the latitude of Bucharest provided by Notaras in his *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά* (1716), of 45°0'⁴⁶, with the value of 45°40' northern latitude recorded on the 1700 map of Wallachia, we notice a significant difference in minutes. This inconsistency is rather unusual; bearing in mind that Notaras compiled his cosmographic essay prior to April 1702, i.e. immediately after or even during the preparation of the map of Wallachia, which can be roughly dated in between 1694 and 1699.⁴⁷

Some further details could explain this inconsistency by pointing to two different sources used by the astronomer Notaras. On the 1700 map, the latitude of the city of Bucharest is provided in the form of a brief note: *Σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ Πόλου ἐστὶ μοιρῶν 45 καὶ 40 λεπτῶν. Nota autem in Bucurestio altitudinem Poli esse Graduum 45 et Minutorum 40* (It is noted that in Bucharest the height of the Pole is 45 degrees and 40 minutes).⁴⁸ (Fig. 2) By contrast, in Notaras's cosmographic book, the geographical coordinates of different cities and islands around the globe contain both latitude and longitude values. Customarily, Notaras specifies in the title of the list that the coordinates are taken from geographical *tabulae* (maps), but in the case of Wallachia he omits such an indication.⁴⁹ Furthermore, it should also be noted that in addition to the coordinates of Bucharest (Β8κ8ρέσιον Μητρόπολις τῆς Βλαχίας), Notaras specifies for the first time the coordinates of the city of Târgoviște (Τριγόβυσον, ἢ Τεργόβυσον τῆς Βλαχίας).⁵⁰

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 682.

⁴⁵ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică...*, p. 20.

⁴⁶ X. Notarás, *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά*, Παρίσι, 1716, p. 165.

⁴⁷ M. Stavinschi, "Introductio ad Geographiam et Sphaeram, a lesser-known book on Astronomy", *Romanian Astronomical Journal* 27, 2017, 1, p. 74.

⁴⁸ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului ...", p. 4.

⁴⁹ X. Notarás, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 165, 174.

The most likely explanation seems to be that Constantin Cantacuzino, having received the optical instruments (*canocchiali* and *occhiali*) referred to in the above-mentioned letter from 11 July 1696, made his first attempts to establish the latitude of the Wallachian capital. It is possible that in doing so he was guided by Chrysanthos Notaras, who was still in Bucharest and was not to leave for Padua until May 1697.⁵¹ It should be noted that the astronomical determinations of the two scholars from the Wallachian capital were not unique in the second half of the seventeenth-century. For example, between April 17th and August 29th, 1696, Luigi F. Marsigli determined the latitude for two points in the Batschka (Bačka) region, assisted by Johann Christoph Müller.⁵²

The result of 45°40', which is inscribed on the map of Wallachia, was obtained by measuring the height of the North Star above the horizon.⁵³ It should be noted, however, that this latitudinal value was not included in any of the copies of the map or in any other geographical works. Later, in his cosmographic essay, Notaras omitted this value himself, although he explicitly referred to the Paduan map of 1700 in another section of the work.⁵⁴ It is likely, that the 45°40' latitude was considered an inaccurate result of the first attempts to measure the geographical coordinates of Bucharest and was soon abandoned.⁵⁵

It is also possible that the optical instruments obtained by Cantacuzino and the astronomical measurement he made for cartographic purposes prompted Notaras to make similar attempts himself. In his cosmographic essay, Notaras not only provides the geographical coordinates of Bucharest, but also those of the city of Târgoviște. This seems to indicate not only a detailed knowledge of the local topography, but also a direct involvement in the actual measurements. Despite all efforts made by Constantin Cantacuzino and/or Chrysanthos Notaras, both latitudinal values, indicated on the 1700 map and in the cosmographic essay, are quite far from the value of 44°26' N actually measured by modern science.

FUNCTIONS OF THE MAP

There are two opposing opinions about the intended use of the map among scholars. According to some researchers, the map was supposed to be used by a

⁵¹ G. Aujac, "Chrysanthos Notaras et les systèmes du monde", *Pallas*, No. 59, 2002 [*Mélanges Jean Soubiran*], p. 75.

⁵² Cf. A.A. Deák, *Térképek a félhold árnyékából = Carte geografiche dall'ombra della mezzaluna*, Budapest, 2005.

⁵³ Chrysanthos Notaras discusses the fundamental issues related to the horizon in *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά...*, p. 17–19. See also the Observation Table (*Πίναξ των Αντανakλάσεων*) in the preface to the same paper.

⁵⁴ See X. Notarά, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵⁵ Antonmaria del Chiaro claims that he "rigorously revised" the 1700 map. This redaction also entailed the elimination of the information on the latitude of the city of Bucharest, see A.M. del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni...*, Venezia, 1718, p. 9.

foreign audience, whereas others believe that it was designed for internal, administrative use.⁵⁶ In the handbook *Istoria Literaturii Române* (1964) the initial use of the map is described as follows: “Being written in Greek, the map was not intended for internal, administrative use, but was destined for use abroad. It addressed foreign rulers and merchants and publicized the riches of the realm and its network of roads”.⁵⁷ Ion Ionașcu adopted a similar position in 1966, stating that Constantin Cantacuzino drew up the map of Wallachia “in order to bring to the attention of the educated European world the geographical position of his country and its economic importance”.⁵⁸ However, another group of scholars, such as George Tolias and Ana Toșa Turdeanu, considered that the 1700 Paduan map of Wallachia should be classified as an administrative map.⁵⁹ Due to its format, it was also referred to as a “wall map”, rather exaggerated given its actual size. The dimensions of the map (140 × 65 cm) allowed it to be easily handled both indoors and outdoors. The map could be equally used in an armchair or on the road, and it offered a fairly generous space for displaying both impressive graphic features and detailed written texts. The key to decipher the intended functions of the map lies primarily in the interpretation of its content and form. The multitude of spatial elements included on the map and its decorative features, such as the numerous inscriptions, the portrait, the coat of arms and, not in the least, its bilingual format, indicate that the map was designed to serve a representative purpose.

The map presents Wallachia from a physical-geographical, political, economic, social, administrative and archaeological point of view.⁶⁰ Considering the average value of the scale at which it was drawn (about 1:435,000 according to T. Rad), and its thematic layout, it can be included in the category of *regional chorographies*. A statistical analysis tallied more than 700 toponyms, far more than on any other contemporary map of Wallachia.

The map shows the area between the Carpathians and the Danube, respectively between the Siret River and the Cerna Valley, including some small parts from the neighbouring historical regions of Dobruja, Moldavia, Transylvania and Banat. The map is divided into longitudes and latitudes, taken from other maps, and is drawn according to the Mercator projection. Thus, the area is shown exaggerated in the direction of the meridians as well as in the direction of the parallels.⁶¹ The overall

⁵⁶ Recently, D. Ursprung connected the making of the 1700 map with the chronicle-production of the period, both reflecting an increasing self-reflection on the Wallachian identity, in “Raumvorstellungen und Landesbewusstsein: die Walachei als Name und Raumkonzept im historischen Wandel”, in *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen*, eds. J.O. Schmitt and M. Metzeltin, Vienna, 2015, p. 500–501.

⁵⁷ *Istoria Literaturii Române. Folclorul. Literatura română în perioada feudală (1400–1780)*, ed. by G. Călinescu, M. Beniuc, Al. Rosetti, T. Vianu, Al. Dima, G. Ivașcu, M. Novicov, I. Pervain, Vol. I, București, 1964, p. 567.

⁵⁸ I. Ionașcu, “Din viața și activitatea stolnicului...”, p. 649.

⁵⁹ See G. Tolias, “Maps printed in Greek...”, p. 11; A. T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică...*, p. 22.

⁶⁰ G. Aujac, “La première carte de Valachie...”, p. 133.

⁶¹ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică...*, p. 20

location on the globe is also inaccurate. Placed on a modern map, the 1700 coordinates of Wallachia overlap almost completely with the Black Sea.⁶² The improvement of optical instruments during the seventeenth-century significantly improved the latitudinal measurement, with the use of astronomical observations. However, the challenge of correctly determining the longitude was not mastered until the invention of a more efficient chronometer in 1764, which enabled seafarers to accurately determine the time at two different locations simultaneously.⁶³

The cartographic projection is also inconsistent all over the map, since it combines the perspective and the horizontal projection.⁶⁴ Such mathematical and cartographic errors are rather common for that period, and they are equally to be found (although not to the same extent) on the map of Moldavia made by Dimitrie Cantemir.⁶⁵ Their origin does not lie in the poor geographical expertise of the mapmakers, or in their lack of technical training, but simply to the limited scientific knowledge of the time. Considering the geographical coordinates noted on the edge of the map, which follows one another in ascending order from left to right, between 44°50' and 53°30' east longitude, the reference meridian was that of Ferro Island.⁶⁶

The thematic content of the map is impressive, as it is the result of laborious documentation. The cartographic elements of the map of Wallachia can be divided into two categories in terms of their geographical accuracy: 1) low accuracy and 2) higher accuracy. The low accuracy elements refer to the geographical features and are largely due to the lack of terrestrial measurements and the inefficient cartographic techniques of the time. For instance, the mountainous relief is indicated only roughly by rows of molehills⁶⁷. The hydrographic network, although represented in greater detail than on other maps, has numerous inadequacies; in particular with regard to the minor watercourses (i.e. the meanders of the rivers are only approximately drawn). The mapmakers also did not intend to accurately depict forested areas; such an intention is not documented for late seventeenth-century European cartography. Nevertheless, the existence of certain peculiar forests that had some special purpose was signalled with the use of some trees, portraying a few areas of indefinite extent.⁶⁸ The cartographic depiction of these forests was most likely done depending on their landscape, economic or for-hunting relevance.

⁶² T. Rad, *Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții...*, p. 12.

⁶³ Șt. C. Hepites, "O primă încercare asupra lucrărilor astronomice din România până la finele secolului al XIX-lea" in *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Științifice* 24, 1902, p. 472; see also D. Sobel, *Longitudinea. Povestea unui geniu*, București, 2015.

⁶⁴ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică...*, p. 21.

⁶⁵ See T. Rad, *Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții...*, p. 12; G. Vâlsan, "Harta Moldovei de Dimitrie Cantemir", *Academia Română, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III. Tomul VI. Mem. 9, 1926, p. 7.

⁶⁶ For additional information on Chrysanthos Notaras' worldview and his attempts to reconcile the theological and geographical views, see M. Stavinschi, "*Introductio ad Geographiam et Sphaeram...*", p. 76–78.

⁶⁷ G. Aujac, "Cartes géographiques..." p. 173.

⁶⁸ This fact did not prevent some authors from considering the map of Wallachia "the first botanical map made by a Romanian and related to a Romanian land", see T. Săvulescu, "Începuturile și dezvoltarea

The forest massifs highlighted on the map include those that extend around some monasteries, as Glavacioc, Snagov or Căldărușani, functioning as a buffer zone. Some of the forests depicted on the 1700 map are probably those mentioned by late seventeenth-century written sources. For instance, a document from the 22nd February 1697 refers to the forests of Câmpulung, Mățău, Rucăr and Dragoslave, which used to supply masts for the Giurgiu shipyard.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the 1700 map of Wallachia rarely mentions the actual names of the forests, with very few exceptions, such as the Groși forest in Argeș County, the Lumini forest in Olt County and the Plopii Rumâneștilor forest in Dâmbovița County.⁷⁰

The Paduan map of Wallachia, also indicates the conventional border with Transylvania, which ran along the peaks of the Carpathians. Most importantly, it also includes the internal administrative boundaries and visualizes for the first time the territorial shape of the 17 Wallachian counties then in existence. An interesting fact is that the Paduan map of 1700, by displaying the administrative units, fills one of the lacunae that Marsigli had pointed out in his earlier correspondence of 1694, with Constantin Cantacuzino. Of the new information provided by the map, the administrative division of the realm seems to have had the strongest impact among its contemporary readers. The administrative boundaries were echoed both by Antonmaria del Chiaro's, as well as by Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, in his *Geography*. The 1700 map also depicts the three Ottoman districts located north of the Danube: Brăila, Giurgiu and Turnu.⁷¹

Moving on to the geographical features, which are depicted with greater accuracy, it should be said at the outset that they are much more numerous and constitute the most consistent and original part of the map. These features come from various sources, external and internal, administrative and non-administrative – and it is very tempting to assume that Constantin Cantacuzino was involved in gathering them. Equally important, all these geographically relevant data have a common advantage. They could be abstracted and mapped more efficiently and easily through the use of pictorial signs. The map of Wallachia was intended to provide an overview of all the territorial features that the cartographers considered most important, as was customary with regional chorographies. The administrative information and the data related to the so-called *oikoumena* (inhabited space) seem to predominate and give the map with a rather practical appearance.

The inhabited space consists of towns, boroughs, villages (set apart into two different categories: with or without a boyar residence), fortresses and monasteries (divided into three types: large monasteries, small monasteries, and nunneries). As

Botanicei științifice în România”, *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Științifice*, Seria III, XVIII, 1942–1943, p. 473.

⁶⁹ C.C. Giurescu, *Istoria pădurii românești din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi*, Ediția a doua, București, 1976, p. 68.

⁷⁰ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului...”, p. 11.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

Constantin C. Giurescu observed, the map comprises only some of the existing settlements at that time.⁷² Due to the complexity and variety of functions that human settlements fulfilled at that time, we cannot know in each individual case what exactly prompted the cartographers to depict them on the map. But even if the criteria for the selection of the sites remain unclear, the overall geographical accuracy of the data is impressive. Once again, one cannot help thinking that of all the people involved in the creation of this map, Constantin Cantacuzino was the only one who had the best knowledge of the realm and the personal experience necessary to gather all the data. Even the inconsistencies are only apparent on closer inspection. For example, when Ana Toșa Turdeanu compared the 1700 map with other sources such as the chancery documents, she noticed that some older towns, such as Calafat and Târgu Bengăi, are not on the map, while newer ones, such as Ocnele Mari, Cerneți and Brâncoveni are included.⁷³ Actually, this is no mistake, as the 1700 map captures the ruralisation of some former cities and the development of new urban centres. The map seems particularly accurate as regards the counties of Romanați and Vâlcea, which can be explained with the many estates and foundations of Brâncoveanu in this region. Even more significantly, to the east of the Olt River, the map records the village of Mărgineni in Prahova County, which was Cantacuzino's main residence, as well as the monastery of the same name, which he helped consolidate.

Some of the names indicated on the map have been simplified for various cartographic considerations, such as lack of space. For example, the villages of Cucuteni, Coțieni, Glodeni, and Brănești in Dâmbovița County figure in Constantin Brâncoveanu's *Anatefter*, in 1690, under the following designations: Cucuteni Vieri, Coțieni Vieri, Glodeni Vieri, Brănești Vărniceri and Vieri. As the very names reveal, all above-mentioned villages were specialized in viticulture, a socio-economic detail that was not implemented in the map.⁷⁴ Other villages with compound names, whose inhabitants were involved in guarding the roads, were Obidiți Drumași, Bertești Drumași from Ialomița County, and Olteanița Drumași from Ilfov County, which appear on the 1700 map only as Obidiți, Bertești and Oltenița.⁷⁵

Another important feature of the map, reminiscent of the Italian regional chorographies from the first quarter of the seventeenth-century, is the ecclesiastical mapping. A total of 73 monasteries are recorded, of which most, i.e. 12, are located in the Vâlcea County.⁷⁶ A map designed by those close to Constantin Brâncoveanu and dedicated to him, could not have missed the religious topography of the realm ruled by a well-known defender and supporter of the Greek-Orthodox faith. In the lower right corner, the following note in Greek precedes the signs legend:

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁷³ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică...*, p. 142.

⁷⁴ In Romanian, the word "vieri" designates the people dealing with viticulture.

⁷⁵ See D.C. Giurescu, "Anatefterul. Condiția de porunci a visteriei lui Constantin Brâncoveanu", *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 5, 1962, p. 434; C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 16.

⁷⁶ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului", p. 19–20.

Σημείωσαι ὅτι εἰ καὶ δύο πόλεις ἔχουσι τὸ ἴδιον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς σημεῖων, ἀλλ' ὁμως εἷς Ἡγεμῶν καὶ εἷς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ὑπάρχει ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἡγεμονείᾳ (*It is noted, that although two cities bear the proper sign of the Archbishopric, yet only one lord and only one Archbishop govern this Country*) (Fig. 3).⁷⁷ The mapmakers were not interested solely in the ecclesiastical geography of the Wallachian church, but also in the rather insular phenomenon of Hesychasm. The 1700 map indicates the “hermitages of the monks” (Σκηῆται Μονάχῶν) located in the Buzău Mountains, most likely cave hermitages, labelled through five small houses.⁷⁸

The 1700 Paduan map of Wallachia, however, marks an important advancement in geographical knowledge, not only in terms of the administrative and ecclesiastical geography of the realm, but also with regard to practical issues. As the correspondence of the Marquis François-Gaston de Béthune attests, detailed maps of the region were urgently needed for the use of travellers. During the 1686 campaign in Moldavia, in which the latter participated alongside the king of Poland, the planning of the itinerary was greatly hampered by the lack of a reliable map. The king was reluctant to take a road from Galați to the mouth of the river Siret, as it did not appear on his maps.⁷⁹ Prior to the publishing of the 1700 map in Padua, in 1700, the cartography of Wallachia was equally vague and unreliable.

Evidently, the target audience for a travel map of Wallachia was relatively small: boyars, ambassadors, missionary monks, and merchants, who journeying out of diplomatic, religious or economic motives. Their travel was not without risk, as robbers often threatened the voyagers. In the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu, special guard points were set up, manned with “plăieși” (guards of the mountain areas), to supervise the roads and protect the travellers.

On the 1700 map of Wallachia, the distances between settlements are indicated in temporal units, such as day hours or league hours. Most significantly, one of the few eighteenth-century references to the actual use of the 1700 map comes from a traveller. The English epigraphist Edmond Chishull noted in his diary that he had used a Greek map on his journey with Lord Paget through Wallachia in May 1702:

We continue our journey four hours thro the same sort of way, that is, along a narrow shady vale, which conveys the winding waters of the Dembowitza; which having crossed several times, we at length arrive at the village of Dragoslave, and in half an hour farther at that of *Rukar*, in the Greek map, *Ρθβαλο* (sic)⁸⁰, where we pitch and repose this evening. This village is considerably large, consisting of houses all of the Valachian fashion, that is,

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

⁷⁹ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. VII, ed. Maria Holban, M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, București, 1980, p. 411.

⁸⁰ This place is named Ρούβαλον on the map, which substantiates the hypothesis that the epigraphist Edmund Chishull consulted it on his way to Transylvania.

built round with trees laid even upon one another, covered with an high and steep roof consisting of wooden tiles, and within having no funnel or chimney to convey the smoke, but open only in several parts of the roof to supply that defect.⁸¹

As the passage through Wallachia took place shortly after the publication of the map in 1700 and, moreover, Chishull had met before that with Constantin Cantacuzino, who had given him several books on April 27th,⁸² it seems certain that the Greek map referred to which the Englishman referred corresponds exactly to the one printed in Padua. Chishull's testimony is valuable from at least three points of view: 1) it records the distances covered by land in units of time; 2) it confirms that eighteenth-century readers looked on the map for the largest villages and cities (such as Rucărul), in order to choose their resting places; and 3) it attests the use of the map as a guidebook or, at least as a useful tool for remembering the itinerary. There are several other features, such as its format, that suggest that the map had not been designed for purely scientific purposes, but also to serve as an auxiliary tool in exploring, the territory of the realm, literally or imaginatively.

But the 1700 map of Wallachia also fulfilled a representational purpose. In the upper left corner, framed in a medallion is the portrait of Constantin Brâncoveanu (Fig. 4), accompanied by the following inscription: ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΣΠΑΡΑΒΑΣ ΒΟΕΒΟΝΔΑΣ ΕΛΕΩ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΥΘΕΝΤΗΣ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΟΥΓΓ (Ioan Constantin Basarab Voevod, by the mercy of God Lord Ruler of all Ungro-Wallachia).⁸³ Another important visual feature of the map is the coat of arms of Wallachia, an eagle with a cross in its beak, framed in a medallion with a crown above it. At the base of this coat of arms, there are inserted some visual reference to military prowess: the battle banner of the Wallachian army, with the same eagle holding a cross in its beak, several cannons and some musical instruments (drums, trumpets) reminiscent of military music. To the left and to the right of the coat of arms are inscribed the letters: Ι, Κ, Β, Β, Ε, Θ, Α, Η, Π and ς, an acronym for : Ι <ω> Κ <ωνσταντίνος> Β <ασαράβας> Β <οεβόδας> , ἐ <λέω> θ <εοῦ> α <ύθέντης> <καὶ> ἦ <γεμόνος> π <άσης> Οὐ <γγροβλαχίας>⁸⁴ (I, Constantin Basarab Voevod, by the mercy of God, Lord ruler of all Ungrovlahia) (Fig. 5). In addition, there are some other symbols that allegorically illustrate the wealth of the land: the cornucopia, inserted above the cartouche with the Greek title of the map, and some grapes surrounding the Latin title, alluding to the quality of Wallachian wines.

⁸¹ E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and back to England*, London, 1747, p. 84; See also I. Bianu, "Un épigraphiste anglais en Valachie", *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen* 1, 1924, 10–12, p. 411; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, ed. Maria Holban, M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Vol. VIII, București, 1983, p. 195–216.

⁸² E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey...*, p. 80.

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ I would like to thank Ovidiu Olar for his assistance in understanding the Greek-language passages.

Apart from the explicit vignettes and the simple texts meant to praise Constantin Brâncoveanu, the 1700 map of Wallachia reveals some unexpected similarities upon closer inspection. A rather large number of the villages recorded on the map had military attributions (the so called in Romanian “plăieși villages”, in the mountain areas, and “drumași villages”, in the plain areas), whose main task was to secure the roads. Constantin Brâncoveanu played an important role in setting up this system and a comparative view of the 1700 map and the *Anatefter*, one the most important administrative source from the end of the seventeenth-century, is revealing. (Table 1).

Table 1

The situation of the villages in charge of guarding the roads, mentioned in Constantin Brâncoveanu’s *Anatefter* and existing on the map of Wallachia (1700). * Note: Non-existent data in *Anatefter* for Olt, Romanați, Dolj and Mehedinți counties.

County	Total number of villages (on the map)	Number of villages with boyar residence (on the map)	Number of villages involved in guarding the roads (both in the <i>Anatefter</i> and on the map)
Slam Râmnic	35	2	2
Buzău	34	3	2
Saac	11	1	2
Prahova	28	9	7
Ialomița	28	3	2
Ilfov	50	11	1
Dâmbovița	51	6	16
Vlașca	32	7	1
Teleorman	48	0	3
Muscel	21	2	4
Argeș	40	7	9
Vâlcea	32	2	9
Gorj	23	3	4
Total:	433	56	62

Of the villages involved in guarding the roads documented both by Constantin Brâncoveanu’s *Anatefter* and by the 1700 map of Wallachia, most are to be found in Dâmbovița County: 16 villages. They are followed by Vâlcea and Argeș counties, each with 9 villages, and Prahova with 7 villages. In addition to the villages that were to guard the roads, there was another important category, namely those communities bound to provide hospitality.

As the Ottoman rule strengthened north of the Danube, the sultans initiated the reform of the old Wallachian system of communications with the use of stage-coach horses (“cai de olac”). Thus, in the seventeenth-century, a specialized institution, called *menzil*, was set up, to transport couriers, news and passengers.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ M. Păduraru, “Din trecutul poștei Țării Românești în perioada regulamentară. Înființarea stațiilor de poștă de la Urlueni și Șerboeni, județul Teleorman (iulie-august 1833)”, *Argesis. Studii și comunicări, Seria Istorie* 17, 2008, p. 173.

The inhabitants of several towns and villages were obliged to accommodate officials and to allow them to exchange their horses. In return, they were exempt from the payment of taxes.

In the Lovișteea region, none of the four *menzil* villages mentioned in Constantin Brâncoveanu's *Anatefter* – Titești, Greblești, Boișoara, Câineni – is missing from the 1700 map of Wallachia.⁸⁶ It appears that the privileged fiscal regime and the special administrative function of these villages were factors influencing their inclusion on the map. Tax-exempted, guard and *menzil* villages, as well as those having boyar residences were important territorial “pillars” of the administration of the Wallachian state.

Compared to the previous regional maps that circulated in Western Europe, the 1700 map of Wallachia presented ample information to those interested in visiting the realm. The aforementioned English traveller Edmund Chishull reported in his diary how, out of curiosity, he visited the monastery of Cotroceni, half an hour from Bucharest, on the evening of 27th April 1702.⁸⁷ On the 1700 map of Wallachia, the Cotroceni monastery is depicted nearby Bucharest, among the large religious communities of Ilfov County, along with Bucharest (?), Căldărușani and Snagov.⁸⁸ In addition to information on human settlements and monasteries, the 1700 map also provided accurate data on the fishing potential of the province (lakes, ponds), on the best water sources (wells) and resting places, and on mineral resources (salt, copper, iron, sulfur).

As for the wine-growing areas of the country, the mapmakers preferred to list them in a separate table, accompanied by the indication: Δάλιοι ήτοι Τόπος όρινοσ ένθα γίνωνται άγαθοί οίνοι *Dali seu loca Montana ubi optima vina gignuntur* (Hills, i. e. mountainous places where the best wines are made) (Fig. 2).⁸⁹ The quality of Wallachian wines, highly appreciated abroad, is confirmed by several sources from the reign of Brâncoveanu. Edmund Chishull praised the local wines, especially those from the Târgoviște region.⁹⁰ Viticulture was most likely introduced on the 1700 map under the influence of northern-European cartographic models.⁹¹

Another group of features of the landscape depicted on the 1700 map are the archeological vestiges. Given the growing interest of scholars in the past and origin of the Romanian people, closely related to the passion for Roman antiquities, the Paduan map makes a significant contribution to the knowledge of historical ruins in

⁸⁶ See D.C. Giurescu, “Anatefterul. Condica de porunci...”, p. 421.

⁸⁷ E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey...*, p. 82.

⁸⁸ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului ...”, p. 20.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

⁹⁰ “The wines of this province, especially about Tergovist, are exquisite fine” (E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey...*, p. 85).

⁹¹ Abraham Ortelius, for example, inspired by Münster's *Cosmography* (1545) noted on a map from 1570 the upper limit of viticulture in Bohemia: “these hills mark the boundary of the vineyards” (See C. Delano-Smith, “Signs on Printed Topographical Maps, ca. 1470 – ca. 1640”, in D. Woodward, ed., *The History of Cartography*. Volume 3, Part 1, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Chicago-London, 2007, p. 574).

late seventeenth-century Wallachia. Apart from three medieval fortresses – at Turnu Măgurele, on the right bank of the Olt and at Severin – the 1700 map signals the ruins of Trajan’s bridge, built between 103–105 AD by Apollodorus of Damascus, the site of another bridge near Celei, built by Constantine the Great, and the course of the Roman road along the Olt Valley.⁹² According to Giurescu the crucifix on the map near Călugăreni is a reference to the monument commemorating the 1595 victory of Michael the Brave against the Ottomans.⁹³ The battle site was located on the old road that connected the capital of Wallachia with Giurgiu. However, no road is marked on the 1700 map of Wallachia, which is surprising, especially considering that the map was also used as a travel guide, as I argued above. The Paduan map does not include the Wallachian network of roads, but even in Western Europe, around 1700, cartographers paid little attention to the representation of roads. The post route maps, essential documents for the knowledge of functional roads, bridges and crossings, mainly used by official courier services, were just at their beginning.⁹⁴ Among the firsts cartographers to transpose onto a non-military map road and passes, was Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli. On May 8th, 1700, Marsigli finalized an extremely elaborate map of the routes and post offices in the eastern parts of the Habsburg Empire, entitled *Mappa Geographica facta in usum Officialium ab Officio Postarum Caesareo deputatorum*.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know if Constantin Cantacuzino was informed of the cartographic project of his friend. The absence of road network and of mountain passes on the 1700 map of Wallachia might be also determined by another cause: the mapmakers’ self-censorship, due to the military relevance of these territorial features. Certainly, a map published in Western Europe comprising the Wallachian network of roads would have been considered an act of betrayal by the Ottoman Empire, one with major political consequences. One exception was the Roman road along the river Olt, which was nothing more than a historical vestige, depicted on the map by two parallel dotted lines, with its two branches, from Celei and Islaz. The mapmakers tried to compensate somehow the absence of roads by noting on the map no fewer than 24 bridges.⁹⁶ The cartographic marking of bridges was meant to help viewers to identify the places of passage over natural obstacles, where taxes were levied. When comparing the 1700 map with the later ones that comprise the network of roads (Specht, Schwantz) or with written sources, one can notice that the bridges marked on the Paduan map of Wallachia are located at the crossing points of the big roads.

⁹² S. Lazăr, “Situri arheologice marcate pe harta Stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino”, in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”* 15, 2014, p. 45–51; C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului...”, p. 21.

⁹³ See Ș. Andreescu, “Câmpurile de bătălie – locuri ale memoriei. O nouă mărturie”, in *Analele Putnei* 6, 2011, 1, p. 303–308.

⁹⁴ D. Măndescu, “Drumuri și trecători peste Carpați – primele reprezentări în cartografie”, in *Miscellanea Historica et Archaeologica in honorem Professoris Ionel Cândea septuagenarii*, edidit C. Croitoru, București-Brăila, 2019, p. 500.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 499.

⁹⁶ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului...”, p. 12–13.

Among these roads, ones of the most important were those who connected Wallachia with the regions across the Carpathian throughout the Middle Ages.⁹⁷ I suspect that the 1700 map of Wallachia indirectly refers to the postal system at the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu. For instance, the name of Olăcari village, which appears on the map in Ilfov County, is a toponymical reference to the postal couriers. Apart from the important boroughs and towns of the realm, there are numerous other such references.

Therefore, to summarize, the 1700 Paduan map of Wallachia not only depicted the human and physical geographical features, but also outlined the basic infrastructure of the realm and provided clues to safer and more efficient routes. Another function of the map, which I have not discussed so far, was the didactic one connected with its use as illustrative material in the princely academy in Bucharest. As previous research has shown, the geographical works prepared by Meletios and Hrisant were studied in the upper classes of the Princely Academies in Bucharest and Iași.⁹⁸ The didactic use of the map is interwoven with its greater scientific influence on the geographical and cartographic knowledge of Wallachia in the early eighteenth-century.

THE SCHOLARLY IMPACT OF THE MAP

Constantin Cantacuzino was a distinguished diplomat who played a key-role in the Wallachian foreign policy during the reigns of Constantin Brâncoveanu and Ștefan Cantacuzino, Constantin's own son.⁹⁹ Constantin Cantacuzino's scholarly fame and reputation, fostered by his mastery of several languages, contributed to the immediate success of the 1700 map. Shortly after its publication, the map gained widespread recognition, as was probably hoped for and intended by all those involved in its production. The prompt and enthusiastic reception of the map, as shown by the numerous references in different geographical writings, testifies both to its significant influence on European cartography of the region at the beginning of the eighteenth-century and to its scholarly appreciation.

One of the first scholars to use the map published in Padua in 1700 was Chrysanthos Notaras.¹⁰⁰ In *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά*, a book

⁹⁷ For more information about the trans-Carpathian medieval roads between Wallachia and Transylvania see M. Coman, *Putere și teritoriu. Țara Românească medievală (sec. X–IV–XVI)*, Iași, 2013, p. 218–220.

⁹⁸ A. Camariano, *Academiile domnești din București și Iași*, București, 1971, p. 184.

⁹⁹ I. Ionașcu, "Din viața și activitatea stolnicului...", p. 649.

¹⁰⁰ M. Popescu-Spineni mentioned the existence of a copy, which he ascribed to Chrysanthos Notaras. The copy was composed of six beautifully decorated plates and had the following title in the right corner: "*Augustissimo invectissimoque Romanorum Imperatori Iosepho I Mappam hanc geographicam Principatus Valachiae in XVII themata divisae ab exemplari graeco quod, juxta accuratissimam descriptionem Sapientissimi, Viri Constantini Cantacuzeni et Excellentiss-i Medici ac Philosophi Ioannis Comneni, novissime edidit, ac Celesissimo Principi Valachiae D-no Ioanni Constantino Bassarabae Woewondae dedicavit Chrysanthus*

written before 1707, Notaras mentions the map of Wallachia more than once.¹⁰¹ Another scholar known for using the map of Wallachia was Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, the teacher of Dimitrie Cantemir. In the treatise on *Geography* written by Meletios around 1701–1702 and published in Venice in 1728, the author explicitly refers to the 1700 map.¹⁰² Meletios mentions the Roman road on the right bank of the Olt, the bridge built by Emperor Trajan, the division of Wallachia into 17 counties and last, but not least, the small number of towns, compared to the number of villages, aristocratic courts and monasteries.¹⁰³

A first copy of the Paduan map was commissioned in 1707 by Christian Schierl von Schierendorf, a cameralist and administrative official of the Vienna Court Chamber.¹⁰⁴ The map, with its extraordinarily elaborate graphic design, was dedicated to Emperor Joseph I. It contains some elements of the model, such as the portrait of Prince Brâncoveanu, the coat of arms of Wallachia and the panel with the legend symbols (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). In addition, it features a number of improvements, such as the scale of the rendering (1:250,000), additional local points, and partially altered relief renderings.¹⁰⁵ The coloured rendition of the boundary lines clearly defines both the structure of the inner administrative units and the outer boundaries of the principality. The second known copy had been made by Marco Antonio Gigli Veneto and published in Venice in 1718 as part of the *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* by Antonmaria del Chiaro.¹⁰⁶ On the legend of the map, printed at a reduced scale, the author of the historical and ethnographic writing mentions the cartographic source of this illustration:

First of all, at the beginning of this history, I wanted to place the reduced geographical *tabula* of that province, for the more comfortable use of the book, [copied] after a large one, printed in 1700 at the Seminary in Padua, but with Greek letters. The author of this *tabula* was Count Constantin Cantacuzino, miserably strangled in 1716 in Constantinople. I have had this *tabula* rigorously reviewed and examined by several people who have a special knowledge and practice of even more distant places...; and being assured by these people that

presbyter, Apostolici ac Sanctissimi Hierosolymarum Patriarchalis Throni Archimandrita". In the left corner, in the medallion, the map included a portrait of Constantin Brâncoveanu and the date, 1717. Marin Popescu-Spineni did not provide any bibliographical reference for the copy, but based on his description, it most certainly is the manuscript copy commissioned by Schierendorf, in 1707. (See M. Popescu-Spineni, *România în izvoare geografice și cartografice, din antichitate până în pragul veacului nostru*, București, 1978, p. 164, footnote 21; V. Căndea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare. Creații românești și izvoare despre români în colecții din străinătate*, Serie nouă, I *Albania-Etiopia*, București, 2010, p. 107).

¹⁰¹ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 25; G. Aujac, "Deux manuels grecs de géographie à l'aube du XVIII^e siècle", in *Platon* 53, 2003, p. 62–73.

¹⁰² G. Aujac, "La première carte de Valachie...", p. 134–135.

¹⁰³ M. Μελετίου, *Γεωγραφία παλαιά και νέα*, Εν Βενετία, 1728, p. 229–231.

¹⁰⁴ <https://digital.onb.ac.at/rep/osd/?1110534F> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

¹⁰⁵ See T. Rad, Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții..., p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ G. Aujac, "Cartes géographiques...", p. 172.

there can be no more accurate or credible map, it gave me the courage to have it engraved on a copper plate, without looking at the expense.¹⁰⁷

Therefore, practical reasons determined del Chiaro to revise and to simplify the 1700 map, whose reading was hindered by its rather large size and by the multitude of information it contained. The 1700 large terrain map was unsuited for del Chiaro's editorial purposes.

Some scholars even speculated on the possible influence exerted by the Padua map of Wallachia upon Prince Dimitrie Cantemir and especially upon his map of Moldavia.¹⁰⁸ However, these speculations are based solely on the relationship between Cantemir and the Cantacuzinos and on their common ties with the great Greek scholar Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens.¹⁰⁹

The scholarly impact of the 1700 map of Wallachia significantly diminished in the eighteenth-century, as it became more and more difficult to find. D'Anville refers to the 1700 map of Wallachia in 1764, leading Romanian scholar George Vâlsan to mistakenly claim that the famed French geographer actually used it. Here are the exact words of d'Anville: "Il existe une carte particulière de la Valakie, dont l'auteur port le nom de Cantacuzène, & qui est dédiée à un Comnène, archevêque de Distrâ".¹¹⁰ Therefore, can it be concluded, only based on this statement, that d'Anville actually used the 1700 map of Wallachia? Most likely, he did not. First of all, on the map of Hungary, drawn up by d'Anville in between 1771 and 1779, the toponymy shows visible linguistic influences from Italian: Cornazzel, Affumazzi, Oddaia, etc., pointing thus to the use of the 1718 Italian revised copy. The French geographer seems to have also been used a map with Slavic toponymy, as it includes names such as "Alba Voda", instead of Balta Albă (in Râmnicul Sărat County), but there are no traces of the Greek names inscribed of the 1700 Paduan map. However, Vâlsan's misinterpretation was largely due to the scholarly state of the art, as the sole surviving copy of the 1700 map of Wallachia had not yet been discovered at the British Museum. Coming back to d'Anville's map of Hungary, the mountains form continuous-looking strings that seem to penetrate the Sub-Carpathian and the plain area. Such a detail is not to be found on the 1700 map of Wallachia, where major landforms have a much more compact appearance in the upper register. Therefore, the confusion was generated by d'Anville's use of the map included in the *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* by Antonmaria del Chiaro. The French geographer found in the title of the 1718 map, all the details with regard to the 1700 original: "*Indice topografico del Principato di Valachia, diviso in XVII parti, secondo l'esattissima descrizione che ne diede il fu Conte Constantin Cantacuzeno al celeberrimo medico e filosofo Giovanni Comneno ora*

¹⁰⁷ A.M. del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni...*, p. 9. The map has been placed at the beginning of the first chapter.

¹⁰⁸ G. Vâlsan, "Harta Moldovei...", p. 201.

¹⁰⁹ P.P. Panaitescu, "Contribuții la opera geografică...", p. 176.

¹¹⁰ M. d'Anville, "Mémoire sur les Peuples qui habitent aujourd'hui la Dace de Trajan", *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Tome 30, 1764, p. 261.

Arcivescovo di Dristra e dedicato al Celestissimo Constantino Brancovani Principe di Valachia".¹¹¹ Therefore, the famous French geographer d'Anville had not seen the 1700 map, but only the 1718 revised copy.¹¹²

There is one other eighteenth-century map inspired by the model provided by Antonmaria del Chiaro's publication, that of C. M. Roth, entitled *Carte speciale de la Principauté de Valachie* (St. Petersburg, 1771). In addition to the original data, pertaining to the economic and human geography, the Russian map also includes the battlefields of the war that began in 1768.¹¹³ Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, all scholarly discussions of the Padua map of Wallachia were exclusively based on secondary sources, as the original was considered definitively lost, despite the numerous attempts to locate a surviving copy. History professor F. Aaron, from Saint Sava National College in Bucharest, mentions the existence of the map in the *Manualul de istoria Principatului Romaniei* in 1839. However, Aaron ascribed all merit to Constantin Brâncoveanu, stating that: "He produced the first map of the country that was engraved on a copper plate at Padua in Italy and served as a foundation for other later maps".¹¹⁴ The 1700 map of Wallachia printed in Padua had a major impact on the eighteenth-century cartography of the region. In the first decades after its publication, the map exerted a direct influence, while in the second part of the century its content was primarily known by proxy, that is through the 1718 revised printed copy.

CONCLUSIONS

This study investigates the functions that the map of Wallachia, published in Padua in 1700, fulfilled in the early eighteenth-century. Although the map, a single copy of which is preserved in the British Library in London, is one of the most important cartographic sources for the history of Wallachia, the subject is surprisingly under-researched. By considering the wider, political, economic, social and cultural regional context, looking at the various actors involved in the production of the map, interrogating its sources and exploring its cartographic features, I was able to identify three main functions that the map fulfilled. First, one of the cartographers' intentions was to make Constantin Brâncoveanu's Wallachia known on a larger European scale, which was largely successful. Secondly, the 1700 map was used as a travel guide, at least by some foreign diplomats visiting Wallachia in the early eighteenth-century. Thirdly, the map of Wallachia served as teaching material for the Princely Academy in Bucharest. Another aim of the study was to identify the possible sources of the geographical

¹¹¹ Online at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5962803x/fl.zoom.r=indice+topografico.langEN> last accessed on 10.11.2020.

¹¹² C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 27.

¹¹³ M. Popescu-Spineni, *România în izvoare geografice și cartografice...*, p. 189.

¹¹⁴ F. Aaron, *Manualul de istoria Principatului Romaniei*, București, 1839, p. XVII.

data used in the making of the map. By comparing and evaluating the 1700 map with other late seventeenth-century historical sources, such as the correspondence between Cantacuzino and Marsigli, the *Anatefter* of Constantin Brâncoveanu, the catalogue of Constantin Cantacuzino's library in Mărgineni, I managed to trace two different categories of sources. The mapmakers had access to some internal administrative sources, but they equally used some of the atlases or geographical books documented in the Mărgineni library. Finally, I also suggested that the latitudinal data for the city of Bucharest, recorded on the map, could be the result of some astronomical determinations and measurements made by no other than Chrysanthos Notaras and Constantin Cantacuzino.



Fig. 1. The map of Wallachia published in Padua in 1700. Source: Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Maps Department, S 50.



Fig. 2. The latitude of the city of Bucharest and the wine-growing areas. Source: Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Maps Department, S 50.



Fig. 4. The portrait of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu engraved on the map. Source: Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Maps Department, S 50.



Fig. 5. The coat of arms on the map of Wallachia. Source: Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Maps Department, S 50.

