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Military Mapping, Philhellenic Geography, and the Making of Greece, 143 1811–1827

George Tolias

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MILITARY MAPPING, PHILHELLENIC GEOGRAPHY, AND THE MAKING OF GREECE, 1811–1827

George Tolias

Abstract: Through an investigation of the resources, the mapping practices, the reception as well the geographical concepts that lie behind a series of maps of Greece produced by the prestigious Dépôt de la Guerre during the Greek War of Independence, this article seeks to highlight the links between scientific culture and geographical imagination in the context of philhellenism and to explore the ideological and political function of cartography in the age of nationalism and technological positivism.

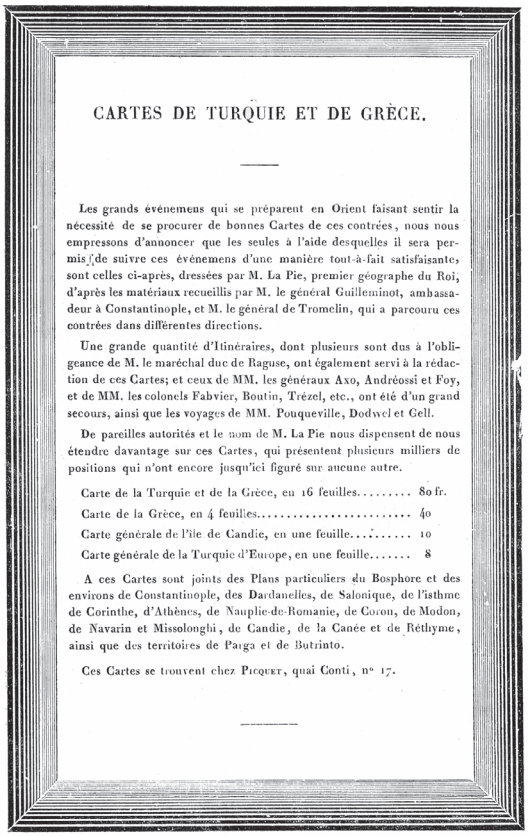
Good Maps

> The great events which are in motion in the East making it necessary to obtain good maps of these regions, we hasten to announce that the only ones with the help of which it will be possible to follow these events in a completely satisfactory manner are those hereafter, drawn up by Mr. Lapie, the King's first geographer, according to the materials assembled by General Guilleminot, ambassador to Constantinople, and General Tromelin, who has travelled through these regions in different directions.

The advertisement was printed on the back cover of Tromelin's itineraries in European Turkey, published in Paris in 1828 (fig. 1).[1] The time was indeed critical for the East, in the aftermath of the defeat of the Ottoman and Egyptian fleets at Navarino by the allied armadas of the three Great Powers – Britain, France and Russia – on 20 October 1827. The international intervention set the events in motion and the public was closely following the rapid developments

[*] The present article is based on the study of George Tolias (with the collaboration of Voula Livani and Eleni Gkadolou), *Η γένεση του ελληνικού κράτους: Χαρτογραφία και ιστορία 1770–1837* (Athens: Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, 2021); an earlier version of this article was published in the *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), Section des sciences historiques et philologiques* 153 (2022): 218–28.

[1] *Observations sur les routes qui conduisent du Danube à Constantinople à travers le Balkan ou mont Haemus, suivies de quelques réflexions sur la nécessité de l'intervention des puissances du midi de l'Europe dans les affaires de la Grèce, par le lieutenant-général comte de T.* (Paris: Pélicier et Chatet, 1828).



CARTES DE TURQUIE ET DE GRÈCE.

Les grands événemens qui se préparent en Orient faisant sentir la nécessité de se procurer de bonnes Cartes de ces contrées, nous nous empressons d'annoncer que les seules à l'aide desquelles il sera permis de suivre ces événemens d'une manière tout-à-fait satisfaisante, sont celles ci-après, dressées par M. La Pie, premier géographe du Roi, d'après les matériaux recueillis par M. le général Guilleminot, ambassadeur à Constantinople, et M. le général de Tromelin, qui a parcouru ces contrées dans différentes directions.

Une grande quantité d'Itinéraires, dont plusieurs sont dus à l'obligeance de M. le maréchal duc de Raguse, ont également servi à la rédaction de ces Cartes; et ceux de MM. les généraux Axo, Andréossi et Foy, et de MM. les colonels Fabvier, Boutin, Trézel, etc., ont été d'un grand secours, ainsi que les voyages de MM. Pouqueville, Dodwel et Gell.

De pareilles autorités et le nom de M. La Pie nous dispensent de nous étendre davantage sur ces Cartes, qui présentent plusieurs milliers de positions qui n'ont encore jusqu'ici figuré sur aucune autre.

Carte de la Turquie et de la Grèce, en 16 feuilles..... 80 fr.
Carte de la Grèce, en 4 feuilles..... 40
Carte générale de l'île de Candie, en une feuille..... 10
Carte générale de la Turquie d'Europe, en une feuille..... 8

A ces Cartes sont joints des Plans particuliers du Bosphore et des environs de Constantinople, des Dardanelles, de Salonique, de l'isthme de Corinthe, d'Athènes, de Nauplie-de-Romanie, de Coron, de Modon, de Navarin et Missolonghi, de Candie, de la Canée et de Réthyme, ainsi que des territoires de Parga et de Butrinto.

Ces Cartes se trouvent chez Picquet, quai Conti, n° 17.

Figure 1. Advertisement for Lapie's maps of Turkey and Greece, printed on the back cover of Tromelin's itineraries in European Turkey, Paris, 1828. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 8-J PIECE-1256.

heralding the birth of Greece, a state that had hitherto never existed but whose presence had haunted the imaginations in the West since the dawn of humanism: the election of a former foreign minister of the tsar, Ioannis Kapodistrias, as governor of Greece, the constant tergiversations of the London Conference and the summit of the ambassadors of the three Great Powers on the island of Poros in order to determine the borders of the country to be; the refusal of the Sublime Porte to recognise any form of independence for Greece and the reluctance of the Egyptian general Ibrahim to evacuate the Peloponnese despite the convention signed in Alexandria between Egypt and Britain; the despatch of the French military expedition to the Morea under General Maison and Tsar Nicholas's I march on Constantinople, leading an army of 100,000 men.

The advertisement underscores the scientific merit of Colonel Pierre Lapie (1777–1850), Charles X's first geographer and engineer-geographer at the Dépôt de la Guerre.[2] It enumerates the materials used by the mapmaker, namely a series of itineraries of Napoleon's emissaries to Turkey, as well as Pouqueville's, Dodwell's and Gell's narratives of their respective journeys in Greece. "Such authorities and the name of Mr. Lapie excuse us from dwelling further on these maps, which show several thousand positions that have not yet appeared on any other map." This statement was not an exaggeration. The 1826 map of Greece for instance, contains some 4,000 place names, of which nearly 2,700 correspond to various types of settlements, drawn from earlier maps of the Dépôt, consular reports, itineraries and, above all, Pouqueville's geographical account based on his research during his long service as general consul in Jannina (1805–1815). The advertisement closes with the essentials: the list of the proposed maps and their prices: the "map of Turkey and Greece in sixteen sheets", offered for 80 francs, the "map of Greece in four sheets" for 40 francs, a "general map of the island of Candia in one sheet" for 10 francs, and the "general map of Turkey in Europe in one sheet" for eight francs.

Lapie's maps were neither the first nor the last to be published during the Greek War of Independence.[3] However, they were far richer and more accurate than any other maps available at the time. They were also the most impressive thanks to their dimensions, the best executed, since they were the work of the experienced engravers of the Dépôt, and the most reliable, since they were produced by a prestigious public institution of the time, the Dépôt de la Guerre of the French General Staff. They all derived from Lapie's large map of Turkey in Europe at a scale of 1:800,000 and published by the Dépôt de la Guerre in 15 or 16 sheets between 1822 and 1825, measuring a total of 1,950 x 1,520 mm.[4] A first subproduct of this map was the map of Crete, published in one sheet in 1825,[5] while the next year (1826) appeared the

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[2] On Piere Lapie, see Tolias, *Η γένεση του ελληνικού κράτους*, 98–100.

[3] Jean Dimakis, "Contribution à la bibliographie des cartes géographiques sur la Grèce et la Turquie, 1821–1833," *Ο Ερανιστής* 9 (1971): 194–99.

[4] *Carte générale de la Turquie d'Europe en XV feuilles. Dressée sur des matériaux recueillis par Monsieur le lieutenant-général comte Guilleminot directeur général du Dépôt de la guerre et M. le maréchal de camp baron de Tromelin inspecteur général d'infanterie, par le chevalier Lapie officier supérieur au corps royal des ingénieurs géographes, Paris Chez C. Picquet géographe ordinaire du roi, quai Conti no 17, 1822.* Although 15 sheets are mentioned in the title, the map is composed by 16 sheets, the last one covering south-western Anatolia. It must have been completed sometime before 1827.

[5] *Candie Criti ou Crete. Dressée principalement sur les mémoires et reconnaissances de M.r le Lieutenant Général Comte Mathieu Dumas, ainsi que sur les extraits des auteurs Byzantins et Italiens communiqués par M.r le Chevalier Hase Membre de l'Institut et appuyée sur les*

map of Greece in four sheets and at a scale of 1:400,000, the usual scale of the military topographical maps issued by the Dépôt.[6] The map of Greece would also appear in a reduced version, in two sheets and at a scale of 1:1,000,000, a few months later (1827), accompanying the second revised edition of Pouqueville's *Voyage de la Grèce*.[7] The maps are explicitly linked by a note that appears on the last-mentioned one:

> N.B.: Due to the small scale of these maps, it was not possible to indicate all the names mentioned in Mr. Pouqueville's work. Those who wish to know them can consult the map of Greece in 4 large sheets drawn up by Mr. Lapie, as well as that of Turkey in 16 sheets.

All these maps were the result of the editorial policy of the Dépôt de la Guerre under the Restoration, which consisted of exploiting the rich material amassed during the Napoleonic era. Indeed, during the wars of the Revolution and the Empire, the Dépôt acted as a central intelligence service, a topographic archive and a military cartographic bureau.[8] Thanks to its own information as well as the information provided through the network of topographic offices, or dépôts, in the countries controlled by France, and by looting the topographic material of the conquered countries, the Dépôt accumulated an enormous documentary collection which covered all the regions of Europe and beyond. However, a particular interest in the regions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire is clearly evident in these collections,[9] an interest linked to the international antagonism in view of the dismemberment of the Ottoman

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observations astronomiques et sur les relévements de M.r Gauttier Capitaine de Vaisseau par le Chevalier Lapie Officier supérieur au Corps Royal des Ingénieurs Géographes, 1825. Gravée par Blondeau graveur du Roi, Paris Picquet et fils, 1825.

[6] *Carte physique, historique et routière de la Grèce / dressée au 400000e d'après les matériaux recueillis par Mr le lieut. général comte Guilleminot, ambassadeur à Constantinople et M. le lieut. général comte de Tromelin, Inspecteur Général d'Infanterie, ainsi que d'après les Voyages, Mémoires et Itinéraires de M. M. Pouqueville, Gell, Dodwell, etc. et appuyée sur les observations astronomiques et les relèvements de M. M. les capitaines de vaisseau Gauttier et Smith, par le chevalier Lapie, 1er géographe du roi, etc. – 1:400000. – Paris. – 1826.*

[7] *Carte de la partie septentrionale de la Grèce moderne – Carte de la partie méridionale de la Grèce moderne, dressée principalement sur les mémoires de M. Pouqueville, membre de l'Institut, et appuyée sur les observations astronomiques de M. Gauttier, par le chevalier Lapie, premier géographe du roi. 1827.*

[8] Patrice Bret, "Le Dépôt général de la guerre et la formation scientifique des ingénieurs-géographes militaires en France (1789–1830)," *Annals of Science* 48, no. 2 (1991): 113–57; Robert Fulton, "Crafting a Site of State Information Management: The French Case of the Dépôt de la guerre," *French Historical Studies* 40, no. 2 (2017): 215–40.

[9] H.-M.-A. Berthaut, *Les ingénieurs géographes militaires (1624–1831): Étude historique* (Paris: Imprimerie du Service géographique, 1902, 2: 441-484); Louis Tuetey, *Catalogue*

Empire, what we commonly call "the Eastern Question". On the initiative of the French military and diplomatic services, as well as those of the Kingdom of Italy, Kingdom of Naples or Illyrian Provinces, reconnaissance missions in the East multiplied, and the image of the Ottoman lands in Europe was built on a novel documentary basis. Gradually, the geographers and cartographers of the Dépôt, supported by a better knowledge of the territories and their history, succeeded to shape an image of the Greek "national" space, its extent and its internal organisation, well before the creation of the Greek state (1832).

Imagining Greece

In the 1822 map of European Turkey, Greece appears as a province of the Ottoman Empire, its name being written on the map with the same font as Albania, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria or Wallachia. It is composed by the sanjaks of Trikala, Lepanto, Negroponte and the Morea. It is not clear whether the western parts of the peninsula, the sanjaks of Jannina and Carlelia (Acarnania), are part of Greece or Albania, whose name appears further up in the North (fig. 2). The extent and the internal organisation of the country are clearer in the 1826 map of Greece, which includes the territories between Mount Olympus and the island of Kythira in the north-south direction, and between the islands of Corfu and Naxos in the west-east direction (fig. 3).

As their titles indicate, both maps are part of the same project, being based on the materials collected by Lieutenant-General Armand-Charles Guilleminot (1744–1840), former director of the Dépôt de la Guerre and French ambassador to the Sublime Porte since 1823, and Lieutenant-General Jacques-Jean-Marie-François Boudin, comte de Tromelin (1771–1842), General Inspector of the Infantry.[10] For the execution of the map of Greece, Lapie made also use of the memoirs and itineraries of François Pouqueville (1770–1838), the itineraries of Sir William Gell (1777–1836) and Edward Dodwell (1767–1832),[11] as well as the

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général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Archives de la guerre, vol. 2, *Reconnaissances militaires depuis 1790* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1915).

[10] Cf. Charles Mullié, "Armand Charles Guilleminot," in *Biographie des célébrités militaires des armées de terre et de mer de 1789 à 1850* (Paris: 1852); Henry Lachouque, *Le Général de Tromelin* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1968).

[11] William Gell, *The Itinerary of Greece with a Commentary on Pausanias and Strabo and an Account of the Monuments of Antiquity at Present Existing in that Country* (London: T. Payne, 1810); Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea Being a Description of the Routes of that Peninsula* (London: Rodwell and Martin, 1817); Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour Through Greece, During the Years 1801, 1805 and 1806* (London: Rodwell and Martin, 1819).

SANDJAK DE SALONIQUE
SANDJAK DE SERRES
BEGLIK DE SERRES
ILE DE TASSE
ILE D'ÉGRIPOS OU D'EN ÉGREPONT
GOLFE DE LÉPANTE OU DE CORINTHE
MORÉE
ILES IONIENNES
ILE DE CORFOU
MER NOIRE
MER DE

Figure 2. *Pierre Lapie, Carte générale de la Turquie d'Europe en XV feuilles* (Paris: Charles Picquet, 1822–1825). Efstathios J. Finopoulos Library/Benaki Museum, Athens, ΦΧ03614.

Figure 3. *Pierre Lapie, Carte physique, historique et routière de la Grèce... (Paris, 1826).* Hellenic Literar

and Historical Archives/Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, Athens, MPPIC.001.

hydrographic surveys of Captains Pierre-Henry Gauttier du Parc (1772–1850) and Henry William Smyth (1788–1865).[12]

Aside from the wealth of information due to the different scale of the two maps, the main divergence in mapping Greece between them consists in the internal make-up of the country. In his 1826 map, Lapie abandons the Ottoman sanjaks and adopts the internal division into provinces and cantons proposed by Pouqueville's *Voyage dans la Grèce*, a work published in five volumes in 1820–1821, and in six volumes in 1826–1827, in a second revised and expanded edition under the title *Voyage de la Grèce*.

Pouqueville's project was geographical and political at once. His aim was to "give the enslaved Greeks back their ancient nationality" and to "unravel the chaos that covers ancient Hellas, the confusion of languages and ruins".[13] In order to achieve this, Pouqueville proposes (and quite often invents) a systematic parallelism between ancient and modern Greek geography, partly inspired by the unfinished *Description of Ancient Greece* by Jacques Le Paulmier de Grentemesnil (1678), a work that also attempts to document the historical continuity of human settlements in the Greek area.[14] Pouqueville proposes an internal division of the Greek space, Hellenising the Ottoman administrative regions and the overall nomenclature of each region he describes in order to associate ancient and modern jurisdictions and places of all types, creating a "synonymy", which is summarised in the extensive comparative gazetteer that closes the work.[15]

Pouqueville's narrative is a geographical description of the Greek lands structured on the historical and geographical description of each Ottoman

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[12] On the 1816–1820 hydrographic missions of Captain Pierre-Henry Gauttier du Parc (1772–1850) in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea, see J.-S.-C. Dumont d'Urville, "Relation de la campagne hydrographique de la Gabarre du roi *La Chevrette* dans le Levant et la mer Noire, durant l'année 1820," *Journal des voyages, découvertes et navigations modernes* 9, no. 29 (1821): 273–316; on the exchange of information between Gauttier and Henry William Smyth, see Andrew David, "British Hydrographic Surveys in the Mediterranean, in the Early Years of the Nineteenth Century," *International Hydrographic Review* 6, no. 3 (2005): 10–24.

[13] The first was inscribed as an epitaph engraved on the marble of his grave at the Montparnasse cemetery, the second in the introduction of F.-C.-H.-L. Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, 5 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1820–1821), 1:v.

[14] During the last 20 years of his life, Jacques Le Paulmier de Grentemesnil (1587–1670), worked on the comparative geography of ancient and modern Greece. His unfinished work was published in 1678 by Étienne Morin under the title *Graeciae antiquae descriptio*. It covers Illyria, Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Locris and Focis. See Raoul Baladié, "La géographie historique de la Grèce antique au XVIIe siècle à Caen," *Journal des savants*, no. 2 (1993): 287–331, and no. 1 (1996): 161–259.

[15] Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, 5:501–630.

sanjak, associated with an ancient Greek province and its internal subdivision into cantons, which usually correspond to the Ottoman kazas. Pouqueville's cantons correspond in turn to ancient countries, which can be territories of ancient tribes or nations, ancient cities, Roman provinces or Byzantine dioceses. Pouqueville's system is summarised in the recurrent concordance tables between ancient and modern regions in which are also listed the towns and villages of each canton with their demographic data, drawn from consular reports or church records. Other tables present financial data, also compiled from the reports of consuls to the central offices of the Foreign Ministry. These tables relate to production and trade, the potential of the Greek-owned fleet, with the number of ships per region, their tonnage, the numbers of their crews and cannons.

In spite of its major political and ideological value, Pouqueville's geographical edifice remains conjectural, being based on continuous and precarious associations of ancient and modern places and names. The cantons, for instance, which are the basic spatial unit of his geography, correspond often but not always to the Ottoman kazas, while their ancient counter parts are spatial entities of different historical eras, sometimes settlements of ancient tribes, as described by Strabo, Ptolemy or Pliny, sometimes territories of cities or Roman and Byzantine administrative or ecclesiastical jurisdictions, sometimes pure inventions, inspired by the consonance of the modern name with the name of an ancient hero, a Byzantine lord or commander that he encountered during his erratic readings.

Itinerary Measurements and Hypothetical Triangulation

With its extensive historical narrations and its analytical geographical descriptions, its dense references and the convincing clarity of its tables, Pouqueville's geographical and historical edifice seemed solid. However, its conversion to a map was not a simple task. Lapie had to check all these authentic and spurious items of information against other more reliable sources, and decide their precise location on the map. Lapie did not publish a critical analysis of his working method and the materials he used to produce his maps. We must therefore resort to contemporary accounts, such as the anonymous critical presentation of the map of European Turkey published in the *Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, or the analysis of the map of Greece by Pouqueville, included in the introduction to the second edition of his *Voyage*.[16] We thus

[16] *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 2 (1825), 11–13. The anonymous author may well be the Hellenist and geographer J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, member of the editorial committee of the *Bulletin*; Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce,* 6 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1826), 1:lxvi–lxvii.

learn that, for the map of Turkey in Europe, Lapie had recourse to the previous maps published by the Dépôt and to the materials collected by a series of French emissaries sent to the European regions of the Ottoman Empire during the brief Franco–Turkish alliance between June 1806 and July 1807 against Russia and Britain, an alliance broken by the Franco–Russian Treaty of Tilsit (July 1807).[17] During these few months of Franco–Turkish *entente cordiale*, the intense activity of French envoys in Constantinople and the Balkans contributed to the outbreak of the Russo–Turkish War (December 1806), the British naval intervention in Constantinople (early 1807), but also to the conservative revolution in Constantinople, which resulted in the removal of Sultan Selim III.[18]

The itineraries of the French army emissaries also formed the structural basis of the map. Immediately after the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon sent Guilleminot to Turkey with the aim of appeasing the Ottomans, who were upset with the Franco–Russian alliance, and to mediate in order to bring peace between the Russian and Ottoman adversaries. Guilleminot set out from Tilsit and, through the Danubian Principalities, ended up in Slobodja on the left bank of the Danube (present-day Slobozia in Romania), where a Russian–Turkish armistice was concluded.[19] His detailed itinerary allowed the empirical assessment of distances between a series of localities in the northern regions of the map.[20] For his part, Tromelin undertook a mission to Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace between August and December 1807, on the orders of General Auguste de Marmont, governor of Dalmatia. His detailed report contains topographical information, often accompanied by sketchy plans, estimates of the composition of the local populations, military observations and detailed itineraries, some of which were published in 1828.[21] According to the anonymous author of the *Bulletin*, Tromelin's itineraries allowed for the correction of the topography of Thessaly and to establish the structure of the hitherto unknown mountain ranges of Pindus.

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[17] *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* (1825): 11.

[18] Édouard Driault, *La politique orientale de Napoléon. Sebastiani et Gardane, 1806–1808* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1904).

[19] Ibid., 217–33.

[20] Cf. "Mémoire de l'adjudant-commandant Guilleminot, sur les observations qu'il a faites et les renseignements qu'il a recueillis, pendant son voyage en Turquie" (Tuetey, *Archives de la guerre*, 2:321); Sorin Şipoş, "La frontière orientale de l'Europe dans le récit d'un officier français au début du XIXe siècle," *Papeles de Geografía* 55–56 (2012): 207–19.

[21] Tromelin's report was published by Édouard Driault in his *Revue des études napoléoniennes* 12 (1917): 344–81, and 13 (1918): 96–124. In 1828, Tromelin published his itineraries together with a plea for an international intervention in favour of Greece (see n. 1 above); in 1829 he also published the French translation of Gell's itineraries in Greece.

The *Bulletin* also mentions the reports of other French missions, such as "the recent observations" of General Andréossy,[22] the reports of the engineers Riollay and Roux de la Mazelière,[23] the reconnaissance of generals Haxo and Foy in Macedonia, which provided new information on the system of mountain ranges where the sources of the great rivers flowing into the Adriatic and the Thermaic Gulf are to be found,[24] as well as Barbié du Bocage's maps made for the first edition of Pouqueville's *Voyage dans la Grèce*, "which provided new information on the eastern side of the Pindus chain, as far as the Axios River".[25]

Lapie was not the first to exploit the rich material on European Turkey collected in 1807. The topographical bureaus of the satellite countries of the French Empire had also made use of it, as evidenced by the map of European

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[22] An artillery officer and eminent hydrographer, Antoine-François, comte d'Andréossy (1761–1828), was director of the Dépôt de la Guerre in 1802, then French ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1812 to 1814. He studied the hydrography of the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. Among his publications that have survived are: *Description de la route de Kostanizza à Constantinople* (1812); *Mémoires sur l'irruption du Pont-Euxin dans la Méditerranée* (1814); *Voyage à l'embouchure de la mer Noire* (1818); *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les années 1812, 1813 et 1814 et pendant l'année 1826* (1828).

[23] In the French War Archives are conserved two memoirs by Gaspard Riollay (1783–1861), artillery officer and politician: "Mémoire sur la reconnaissance faite dans la partie nord-ouest de la Bosnie …, Laybach, 15 mars 1810" and "Mémoire sur la Bosnie". See Louis Tuetey, *Archives de la guerre*, 2:321.

[24] The army engineer François-Nicolas-Benoît Haxo (1774–1838) introduced contour lines at the larger scale in order to show the ground relief in cartography. In 1807, he undertook a mission to Constantinople, on the orders of Eugène de Beauharnais. He was accompanied by Sorbier. Maximilien-Sébastien Foy (1775–1825), artillery general and Liberal MP under the Restoration, was commissioned to Constantinople in 1807, to train Ottoman artillery officers. He was distinguished at the defence of the Straits against the British assault.

[25] *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* 2 (1825): 11–13. The article mentions, in addition, the previous maps of the region published by the Dépôt and, in particular, the map of the Peloponnese drawn by Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, engraved at the Dépôt in 1807 and published by the author in 1814. The map was commissioned in 1802 by the Dépôt from the Hellenist and geographer J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, by then geographer of the Foreign Ministry. On Bonaparte's orders, the ministry had made available to Barbié all the information he had on the region and, by the end of 1802, the map was completed, at a scale of 1:400,000, the usual scale for the Dépôt's topographical maps. The map remained confidential and in manuscript form. It was rectified and completed in 1804 and 1805, and engraved in 1807, when plans for a new French campaign in the Ottoman Empire were revived, on one sheet measuring 580 x 910 mm, without a title or mention of its author. In 1814, after the fall of the empire, Barbié published the map on his own account, completed by a brief critical note. See Tolias, *Η γένεση του ελληνικού κράτους,* 65–71.

Figure 4. *Gaétan Palma, Carte de la plus grande partie de la Turquie d'Europe... (Trieste, 1811)/Χάρτης τῆς εὐρωπαϊκῆς Τουρκίας,*

πᾶλαι μὲν Ἑλλάδος παρὰ Γαετάνου Πάλμα (ἐν Τεργεστίῳ, 1811). National Library of Greece, Athens, BE γΠ-8172.

Turkey by Gaetano Palma, an Italian engineer officer in the service of Joseph Bonaparte, king of Naples, published in Trieste by the Dalmatian Topographical Office in 1811.[26] The map was printed in two sheets, measuring a total of 1,080 x 730 mm, and was written in two languages, French and Greek, an element revealing that the French were counting on the support of the Greek-speaking populations in the prospect of a Franco–Turkish war. Palma based his map on his own reconnaissance of Epirus and Thessaly during his mission to these regions in 1807 as well as on the itineraries measured by other French emissaries at the same time. His map includes a detailed representation of the road network with the distances between stations, marked in hours of walking (fig. 4). It also contains a statistical table of the populations of the most important towns of European Turkey.

The same materials were also used by General Fréderic-François Guillaume de Vaudoncourt (1772–1845) during the difficult years of his long exile. Loyal to Napoleon and an inveterate revolutionary, the former director of the Dépôt de la Guerre of the Kingdom of Italy had been sentenced to death during the Restoration, and earned his living in exile by publishing maps and historical essays.[27] Guillaume de Vaudoncourt had also first-hand knowledge of the Greek space. At the beginning of 1807, he undertook a mission to Bosnia, Shkodra (Skoutari) and Jannina, as military adviser to Ali Pasha. He remained in Greece until the summer of 1807, visited Epirus, Macedonia and Thessaly, undertook fortification works in Preveza, built cannon foundries in Jannina and gathered intelligence for a possible French invasion.[28] His first map of Greece was

[26] *Carte de la plus grande partie de la Turquie d'Europe dressée sur d'anciens matériaux rectifiés par les observations astronomiques faites récemment sur les côtes et sur les nombreux renseignements fournis par divers voyageurs. Dédiée à S. E. M.gr le maréchal duc de Raguse … Par Gaétan Palma, Trieste, 1811/Χάρτης τῆς εὐρωπαϊκῆς Τουρκίας, πᾶλαι μὲν Ἑλλάδος παρὰ Γαετάνου Πάλμα.Ἔτος 1811, ἐν Τεργεστίῳ.*

[27] F. Thierry, *Notice sur le général baron Frédéric-François Guillaume de Vaudoncourt* (Paris: s.n., 1846). A former general in Napoleon's army, Guillaume de Vaudoncourt took part in the 1821 Italian revolt as commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army of Piedmont, and in the revolt of the Spanish patriots against the Bourbons (1823); he returned to France after the amnesty of 1825 and died, destitute, in Passy, in 1845. According to Berthaut (*Les ingénieurs géographes*, 2:342), Guillaume de Vaudoncourt had been appointed provisional director of the Dépôt de la Guerre of the Kingdom of Italy in 1804, in the absence of General Bianchi; according to his own statement, he was the director of the Dépôt. See F.-F. Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, *Mémoire annexé à la carte de la Turquie d'Europe à la droite du Danube, ou des Beglerbegliks de Roum-Ili, de Bosnie et de Morée en quatre feuilles* (Munich: Setbold, 1818), 8.

[28] We have from his hand the "Notes sur la Turquie d'Europe tirées de différents manuscrits," MS de 131 p., BNF, SG COLIS 3 BIS (1631); "Notes sur différentes opérations

published in London in 1816 in one sheet (fig. 5), and then in 1817 by John Cary in four sheets, measuring a total of 950 x 1,220 mm.[29] It shows the lands of the Balkan Peninsula that lay south of Aulon (present-day Vlorë in Albania) in the East and the island of Thasos in the West. The following year (1818), Guillaume de Vaudoncourt published in Munich a map of Turkey in Europe in four lithographed sheets, measuring 920 x 1,260 mm.[30] The map is accompanied by a Memoir, containing a critical analysis of the work, an essay on the geography of European Turkey and a table of the main routes in the region.[31] This table presents 52 routes taken from the reports of French officers dispatched to European Turkey, especially at the time of the Franco–Turkish alliance of 1807, revealing the common documentary basis between this map and that of Lapie of 1822–1825.

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exécutées pendant ma mission à Jannina, 1807," Gennadius Library, Athens, MSS 150. Cf. Emily Neumeier "Trans-imperial Encounter on the Ionian Sea: A French Engineer's Account of Constructing Ottoman Fortifications," in *Ψηφίδες ιστορίας της Πρέβεζας α΄*, ed. N. D. Karampelas (Preveza: Idryma Aktia Nikopolis, 2018), 11–54. In Epirus, Guillaume de Vaudoncourt collaborated with captains Ponceton, Palma and Turpin de Montigny, envoys of Joseph Bonaparte, king of Naples. See Foivos Oikonomou, *"Έλληνες μισθοφόροι στην υπηρεσία της επαναστατικής Γαλλίας (1789–1815)"* (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2007), 115–18.

[29] Frédéric-François Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, *Map of the Ionian Islands, and the adjacent Part of Turkey; Exhibiting the Ancient & Modern Geography, Drawn Partly on the Spot & from the most Authentic & Recent Materials, by F. G. Chevalier de Vaudoncourt, Late General in the Italian Service. 1816*, copper engraving 463 × 385 mm, included in the book *Memoirs on the Ionian Islands, Considered in a Commercial, Political, and Military, Point of View … Together with a Comparative Display of the Ancient and Modern Geography of the Epirus, Thessaly, Morea, Part of Macedonia* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816); *A New Map of Greece, Exhibiting the Provinces Governed by Ali Pacha and his Children, viz South Albania, Thessaly, part of Macedonia, Livadia, and the Morea*. A single copy is known, located in the British Library, Maps C.44.b.4. Thanks are due to Konstantinos Kakoulidis for the information.

[30] *Carte générale de la Turquie d'Europe à la droite du Danube ou des beglerbegliks de Roum Ili, Bosna et Morée, dressée d'après les meilleures observations astronomiques, itinéraires, cartes particulières, et reconnaissances existantes jusqu'à ce jour, par F. Guillaume de Vaudoncourt*. The map includes four insets with topography plans of the Hellespont, the Bosphorus, Magnesia and Thermopylae. It was reissued in Munich (1821) and Leipzig (1822). The preparation of the map may date back to 1812–1814, when Guillaume de Vaudoncourt was a prisoner in Russia, under the protection of Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich. Manuscript notes by Guillaume de Vaudoncourt on the topography of European Turkey, dated 1811, are kept in in the Russian Army Archives and a manuscript map by his hand, in 30, presumably in 8° or in 16° sheets, dated 1816 (Fond 450, opis' 1, delo 209 and Fond 450, opis' 1, delo 217, respectively).

[31] Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, *Mémoire annexé à la carte de la Turquie d'Europe*, 7.

Figure 5. Frédéric-François Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, "Map of the Ionian Islands, and the adjacent Part of Turkey…," *Memoirs on the Ionian Islands, Considered in a Commercial, Political, and Military, Point of View…* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816). Library of the Hellenic Parliament, Athens, ΣΒΞ ιστ 1816ΜΕΜ.

The Memoir sheds light on the method adopted for the production of the map. In the absence of geodetic data and a triangulation of European Turkey, the military cartographer proceeded in two steps. Firstly, he converted the itinerary distances into absolute linear distances, taking into account the relief and the road sinuosities; secondly, he adjusted these linear distances into a network, thus creating a grid of triangles whose intersections were the towns situated at the junctions of the road network. This method, which Guillaume de Vaudoncourt calls "a hypothetical triangulation", was also followed by Lapie in the construction of his maps of European Turkey or Greece, as Pouqueville testifies in the introduction to his *Voyage de la Grèce*.[32]

According to Pouqueville, Lapie was able to establish the outline of Greece on the basis of the surveys of the hydrographic expeditions of captains Gauttier and Smyth, thus forming the cartographic "envelope" of the country. Deprived of astronomical observations for the interior of Greece,

> Mr. Lapie had to resort to itineraries; and it is by means of their combination that he succeeded in establishing, as the basis of his operations, the positions of the towns of Scodra or Scutari, Uskiup [Skopje], Monastir or Bitolia, Jannina, Ochrida, Castoria, Mezzovo, Larissa, Zeïtoun [Lamia], Livadia, Thebes; in Morea, Calavryta, Tripolitza, Leondari and Mistra.[33]

He later used similar means to determine secondary positions, thereby creating a system of metric relationships that allowed the geographical coordinates of each position to be assessed. A neophyte in cartography, Pouqueville expands at length on the treatment of itinerary distances:

> Each itinerary has been developed on a very large scale in order to take into account all the sinuosities of the roads that the scale of my maps did not allow to represent. As a result of this work, Mr. Lapie has been led to reduce the distances sometimes by a fifth, sometimes by a quarter, sometimes by half and even by two thirds. Thus in the hilly parts, the measurements taken on the halts will always have to be increased because of the more or less elevation of the mountains, or the difficulties that nature presents.[34]

The common resources, the concomitant testimonies of Pouqueville and Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, as well as Palma's map listing the distances of each

[32] Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 1:lxvi–lxvii.

[33] Ibid., lxviii.

[34] Ibid., lxix.

stage of the road network in hours of marching time, confirm that the Dépôt's military cartographers had developed precise and common protocols for the treatment of itineraries and the transformation of a region's communications network into the improvised metric grid of its map.

Reception and Functions

The criticism that Pouqueville received for the lightness of his identifications and inventions was stormy. Colonel Leake was the first to point out the deliberate distortion of names in order to support the author's "paradoxical views"[35] while Jean-Antoine Letronne was much more severe. A geographer and archaeologist of a great renown, deeply versed in ancient topography, Letronne would correct Pouqueville's errors in a series of articles published in 1828 and issued in a separate pamphlet the same year, a few months after Pouqueville's election to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.[36]According to Letronne, the author's imagination made up for the absence of learned equipment and led the traveller to false etymologies and constant renamings, but also to the invention of ancient cities, peoples and countries.[37] The work would have been much more useful, he concludes, "if the traveller had been a little more measured and much more well read, and we should not now be obliged to erase from the maps of Greece the fanciful names added under his authority, or to change the position of others which he misplaced".[38] The German historian and geographer Konrad Mannert came to the same conclusion. Pouqueville, he declared, follows his own system, without checking the slightest thing. Furthermore , he claims the reputation of a florid storyteller (*ein blühender Vortrag*): "his path is so covered with flowers that it is difficult to recognise the ground beneath the flowers."[39]

Criticism of Pouqueville seems to have become a sort of intellectual vogue, judging by Byron's remark: "Pouqueville is always out."[40] Colonel Leake consoled

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[35] William Martin Leake, *An Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution with a few Remarks on the Present State of Affairs in that Country* (London: John Murray, 1826), 201–4.

[36] Jean-Antoine Letronne, *Analyse critique du Voyage de la Grèce par F.C.H.L. Pouqueville* ([Paris]: [Firmin Didot], [1828]).

[37] "Les géographes désireraient qu'il se fût plus souvent défié de ses inspirations." Ibid., 33.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Konrad Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer, das nördliche Griechenland, der Peloponnesus, die Inseln des Archipelagus* (Leipzig: Hahn'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1822), v.

[40] George Gordon, Lord Byron, *The Works of Lord Byron. Poetry*, vol. 2, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (London: John Murray; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 179, commentary 17.

himself with the idea that no one would take him seriously and that he would soon be forgotten.[41] The prediction was not verified. If the scientific value of the work is debatable, its ideological and political value was great, as it put forward the historical national identity of the revolted Greeks. Pouqueville's overconfident and fallacious composition proposed an overall synthesis of an organised Hellenic territory, which sustained the historical continuity of the Greek presence in the area, Hellenising placenames and inventing etymological bridges between antiquity and Ottoman Greece.

If Pouqueville's geographical identifications were promptly and ardently refuted, the same could not be said for his definition of Greece, the extent and the inner regional organisation of the country, summarised by Lapie's map, which were accepted without any noticeable opposition. This was due to the fact that both Pouqueville's narrative and Lapie's map echoed a consensus on the conception of the country, its borders and its provinces, a consent attained through the long elaborations of the historical and comparative geography of Greece. However, their reaffirmation in the context of the Greek national revolution and the prevailing spirit of philhellenism endowed them with a novel political relevance.

Lapie frequently reissued the maps of European Turkey and Greece and published several reduced versions, which, as we have seen, were promoted by advertising as "the only ones by means of which it will be possible to follow events in a quite satisfactory manner". Many cartographers and map publishers in France and abroad offered to the public maps that reproduced or closely followed his models. Lapie set a standard. In 1827, the mapmaker Auguste-Henri Dufour drew up a version of the map of Turkey in Europe reduced to four sheets, which he signed as "a pupil of Mr. Lapie".[42] Lapie's lustre was to persist even after the presence on site of engineer-geographers, commissioned to draw an accurate map of the area. Colonel Bory de Saint-Vincent, head of the Physical Sciences Section of the 1829 Scientific Expedition to the Morea, was enthusiastic in his praise:

> Mr. Lapie's work, magnificent in terms of its execution, is still most remarkable in terms of the difficulties overcome … All the officers who were later employed to draw up the new map with which our

[41] "His authority will neither be very extensive nor very durable." Leake, *Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution*, 201–4.

[42] *Carte physique, politique et comparée de la Turquie d'Europe, présentée à S.A.R.M.gr le dauphin et publiée par P.-J. Lameau, capitaine de 1.ére classe au corps royal des ingénieurs géographes, Chev.er de l'ordre r.al de la Légion d'honneur. Dressée par A. H. Dufour, élève de M. Lapie, gravée par Richard Wahl, ancien élève du Dépôt général de la guerre. Paris 1827.*

> work is enriched … had more than one opportunity to admire how Mr. Lapie had been able to unravel the true state of things in the midst of the chaos in which they had been confused … it took a kind of divinatory instinct to indicate them in the very places where we, three years later, verified their existence.[43]

The then undisputed scientific value of the map reinforced its political significance. At the most crucial moment of the Greek War of Independence, when the Ottoman and Egyptian counter-offensive was annulling, one after the other, the conquests of five years of struggle, the map represented Greece as a potential sovereign state. The country appeared as an organised political territory, clearly delimited, with administrative centres and an internal organisation in which the Ottoman first- and second-level administrative districts (sanjaks and kazas) were replaced by Hellenic districts (provinces and cantons), whose names reflected the historical permanence of the Greek presence in this space. In addition, the map was not proposed by philhellenes, "freedom fighters", liberals, and other nostalgic supporters of Napoleon, opposed to the Restoration and always suspected of having the intention of disturbing the peace imposed in Europe by the Holy Alliance. The map was issued by an official French institution of Charles X, under the direction of two conservative generals loyal to the Bourbon Restoration, the Count of Tromelin and the Count Guilleminot, two officers who had distinguished themselves during the suppression of the insurrection of the Spanish patriots in 1823.

The map also echoes the revolutionary events by including nine topographical plans related to what was happening in insurgent Greece. First, the territories of Parga and Butrint, mainland dependencies of the Ionian Islands and sold in 1819 to the Ottomans by the British, masters of the islands since 1814. This led to the mass exodus of their inhabitants and raised a wave of indignation throughout Europe; then a series of topographic plans showing the political and military centres of the region: Nafplio, the seat of the Greek revolutionary government; Athens and Messolonghi, the political and military centres of East and West Continental Greece, under siege or destroyed; the strongholds of Koroni and Methoni, which Ibrahim had just recaptured, as well as the great port of Navarino, the western sea gate of Greece; and the Isthmus of Corinth with its Venetian fortifications, an essential site for military control of the peninsula.

The map was thus promoted as a means of philhellenic education of the public. Pouqueville invited his readers to obtain "Colonel Lapie's detailed maps

[43] J.-B.-G.-M. Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Section des sciences physiques,* vol. 2, pt. 1, *Geographie* (Paris and Strasbourg: Levrault, 1834), 17.

of Greece: for such is our pronounced love for the Hellenes, that we would like to see their names, their images, those of their tyrants and the historical maps of their country, spread, attract, occupy and fix the attention and the thought of all the peoples of the universe."[44] Furthermore, the map was to play a role in the political and diplomatic developments that led to the establishment of the Greek national state. While waiting in Ancona for the ship that was to take him to Greece, Kapodistrias wrote to General Nicolas de Loverdo at the War Ministry in Paris requesting

> the outlines of the geographical map of Greece [based on] the Lapie map in four sheets [with] the contours, the layout of the mountains and rivers, and that of the different provinces. These outlines would provide a good working subject for a real map, and in its time they would facilitate me in my statistical and administrative work.[45]

A few months later, when the conference of the representatives of the protecting powers in Poros raised the question of the extent of the future state, Kapodistrias referred them "to the evidence of history and the opinion of geographers", and proposed the limits of Lapie's map of 1826.[46] The map was also used as a reference document in the deliberations on the delimitation of the borders between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. The Convention of Constantinople of 21 July 1832, and the London Protocol of 30 August which ratified it, listed the sequence of localities to be followed by the Boundary Commission on the basis of the Lapie map, and the errors in it gave rise to disagreements between the commissioners and lengthy diplomatic controversies.[47] Lieutenant-Colonel George Baker, the British commissioner for the Greek–Ottoman boundary, pointed out the errors of the map, considering that they were all due to Pouqueville's erroneous identifications:

> Colonel Lapie's map, though in itself a very remarkable production, when we consider the many doubtful and heterogeneous sources from which it was compiled, and at the time the best extant, was still very defective on all the most important points of the line … In the examination of Western Greece and the more central districts of

[44] Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 1:lxxv.

[45] Letter, dated Ancona, 23 November/5 December 1827. Cf. Élie-Ami Bétant, ed., *Correspondance du comte J. Capodistrias, président de la Grèce* (Geneva: Abraham Cherbuliez et Cie, 1839), 1:328.

[46] Andreas Mamoukas, *Τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀναγέννησιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens: Vasiliki Typographia, 1852), 9:257.

[47] *Recueil des traités, actes et pièces concernant la fondation de la royauté en Grèce et le tracé de ses limites* (Nafplion: Vasiliki Typographia, 1833), 65 and 71.

> Agrafa, the only authority open to a reference lay in the voluminous, though somewhat inaccurate, work of M. Pouqueville, "Voyage de la Grèce", on which, in common with the information supplied by Sir William Gell and Mr. Dodwell, Lapie's map was framed; but we soon found it necessary to shut it up, it being impossible to place any confidence in its details.[48]

The survey of the resources, the mapping practices and the reception of Colonel Lapie's map of Greece reveals the key role of cartography in shaping and establishing territorial identities, and illustrates the ideological and political function of the cartographic enterprise in an age of patriotic nationalism and technological positivism. Furthermore, it confirms the achievements of military cartography before the application of geodetic measurements on the spot, but also its limits, the unattainable mathematisation of narrative descriptions. The French military mapping of revolutionary Greece expressed the desire of the political and military administration in France, in Greece and elsewere, to procede to a formal definition of the country as a sovereign and territorial national state through an analytical cartographic representation of its extent, its inner admintrative structure, its settlements and its history. The limitations of this ambition were manifest, however. Young Napoleon-Hector Soult de Dalmatie, aide-de-camp to General Maison, observed on his return from Greece in 1831:

> If someone believes that he knows a country because he has seen its map, this reasoning will certainly seem specious; but if he is willing to admit that nature is infinitely more variable than the drawing, that it offers at each step dissimilarities which only allow one to judge them when one has seen them himself, he will have recourse to data other than those of the map to found a state and to constitute a nation.[49]

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[48] Lieutenant-Colonel [George] Baker, "Memoir on the Northern Frontier of Greece," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 7 (1837): 82.

[49] N.-H. Soult de Dalmatie, "La Grèce après la campagne de Morée," *Revue des deux mondes* 1 (1831): 87.