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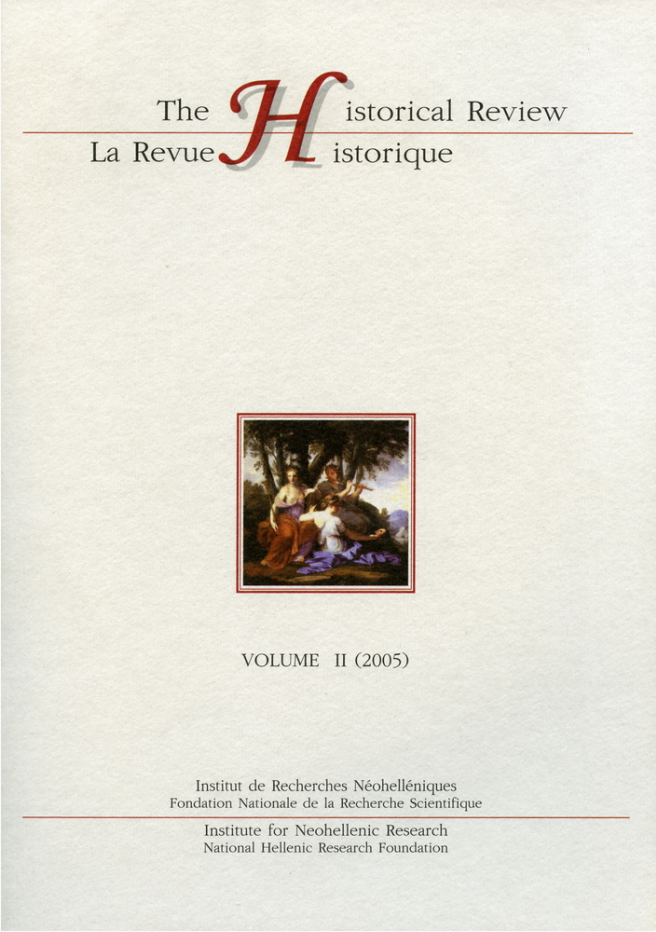

Antiquarianism, Patriotism and Empire: Transfers of the Cartography of The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece (1788-1811)

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ANTIQUARIANISM, PATRIOTISM AND EMPIRE: TRANSFERS OF THE CARTOGRAPHY OF *THE TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER IN GREECE* (1788-1811)

George Tolias

ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to present an instance of cultural transfer within the field of late Enlightenment antiquarian cartography of Greece, examining a series of maps printed in French and Greek, in Paris and Vienna, between 1788 and 1811 and related to Abbé Barthélemy's *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*. The case study analyses the alterations of the content of the work and the changes of its symbolic functions, alterations due first to the transferral of medium (from a textual description to a cartographic representation) and next, to the successive transfers of the work in diverse cultural environments. The transfer process makes it possible to investigate some aspects of the interplay of classical studies, antiquarian erudition and politics as a form of interaction between the French and the Greek intelligentsia of the period.

"The Eye of History"

The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece, by Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716-1795),[1] was published on the eve of the French Revolution (1788) and had a manifest effect on its public. "In those days," the Perpetual Secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Bon-Joseph Dacier (1742-1833), was to recall in 1826

> an unexpected sight came to impress and surprise our spirit. A Scythian appeared all at once in our midst. A Scythian who had seen Philip ascend to the throne of Macedonia, witnessed the heroism of liberty fighting political genius over twenty-two years, seen democratic Greece, dormant in its own glory, fall into the hands of this king, and his son Alexander, heralding in the Battle of Chaironeia the destruction of the Persian empire. Twenty centuries divided his opinions from ours, but this did not prevent us all from

[1] On Barthélemy and his work, see Maurice Badolle, *L'abbé J.-J. Barthélemy (1716-1795) et l'hellénisme en France dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: P.U.F., 1927. See also Pierre Vidal Naquet, *Les Grecs, les historiens, la démocratie*, Paris: Éditions la découverte, 2000, pp. 209-216; Chantal Grell, *Le Dix-huitième siècle et l'antiquité en France, 1680-1789*, 2 vols, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1995, pp. 342-350, 716-718, 1150-1153, and Anna Tabaki (ed.), *Ρήγα Βελεστινλή: Άπαντα τα σωζόμενα* [Rhigas Velestinlis: surviving works], Vol. IV: *Νέος Ανάχαροις* [Anacharsis the Younger], Athens: Greek Parliament, 2000, pp. 22-43.

> turning to him, to his enthralling narrations, the antique grace of his language, the profundity and exactness of his observations. He, for his part, recounted all that he had seen and all of us, for our part, impelled by the grandeur of events and our trust in their narrator, fell prey to an illusion, ephemeral alas, in that we believed that the fullness of time had come about, that the ancient promise to the Muses and mankind was realised: that the moment, so ardently desired, had arrived, of Greece's resurrection.[2]

Fiction cloaked as an account of the journeys of a young hellenized Scythian around Greece between the battles of Leuctra and of Chaironeia, *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger* presented a utopian revival of Greek antiquity at the end of its Classical Age.[3] Western antiquarian lore was recapitulated and actualised in this work. For the Greece described in *Anacharsis the Younger,* although a sovereign tissue of ancient passages, does indeed mirror French society of the age, a fact that was instantly recognised.[4] The Abbé Barthélemy's perception of Greece's antiquity reflected certainly the concerns of his own time, since the comparison of the societies, the political systems and the institutions of Sparta and Athens constitute a large part of the text. Furthermore, the Greek ideas and concepts of the work were automatically absorbed by the revolutionary vocabulary.[5]

In order to complete ancient Greece's *tableau moral* with its *tableau physique*,[6] Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, the cartographer and Hellenist (1760-1825)[7], pupil of Jean-Baptiste Bourgignon d'Anville (1697-1784) as well as of

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[2] Bon-Joseph Dacier, *Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage*, Paris 1826, p. 6.

[3] On the sources of *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger* and its relations to eighteenth-century culture, see Grell, *op. cit.,* pp. 342-350, 716-718, 1150-1153.

[4] "On a dit qu'en faisant parler des Grecs, il leur donne souvent un air Français et des mœurs à peu près Françaises; mais tous les gens instruits savent que son récit est un tissu de passages d'auteurs Grecs, liés ensemble avec beaucoup d'art et traduits avec élégance. D'ailleurs, si c'est un défaut d'avoir rapproché de nous les Grecs, Barthélemy ne s'en serait pas corrigé volontiers, parce que ce défaut était un moyen de plaire, et que c'est le but vers lequel il tendait en instruisant", [G.-E.-J. de Sainte-Croix], "Histoire ancienne", in Bon-Joseph Dacier, *Rapport historique sur les progrès de l'histoire et de la littérature ancienne depuis 1789, et sur leur état actuel…,* Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1810, p. 174.

[5] Naquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-216.

[6] Bon-Joseph Dacier, *Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage*, p. 7.

[7] On Barbié du Bocage see Catherine Hofmann, "Un géographe sur les traces du mythe grec: Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage (1760-1825), *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 94/95

Barthélemy (and his successor at the numismatic collection of the Royal Library of France), undertook to compile a historical atlas of Greece for the years treated in the book. The atlas was published in Paris the same year as Barthélemy's narrative (1788) by de Bure, in a volume in quarto. It contained 31 rather poorly engraved plates and some 50 pages of introduction.[8]

Barbié du Bocage's atlas enhanced the old tradition of antiquarian cartography, the humanistic endeavour that aimed to give the past a visual dimension. These works were planned as aids in the elucidation of texts related to antiquity, summarising antiquarian knowledge on maps, meanwhile verifying its accuracy. At an initial stage, antiquity was mingled with the present and the whole was presented as a static unit. The separation between present and past and the detection of the successive historical layers came about gradually, and it is only after the mid-eighteenth century that we may discern the emergence of an historical cartography, in the actual sense of the term.[9]

Anacharsis' atlas was conceived as a supplementary reader's aid to Barthélemy's narrative. It proposed a composite visual medium, since it contained, besides the core of 13 maps of the Greek regions, additional material relating to the topography of the major Greek political and cultural centres (Athens, Delphi, Olympia, Sparta) as well as of the sites where significant military events took place (Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea). The atlas

(1997), pp. 135-154; Mireille Pastoureau, "Histoire de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Géographie et cartographie à la BN pendant la Révolution: un rendez-vous manqué", *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 32 (1989), pp. 62-69. For his Greek work, see Georges Tolias, "A l'ombre des voyageurs. L'œuvre géographique et cartographique grecque de Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage (1760-1825)", *Περιηγητικά Κείμενα. Υποδομή και Προσεγγίσεις, Τετράδια Εργασίας 17,* Athens: INR/NHRF, 1993, pp. 321-423. For his connection to Greek intellectuals, see Aikaterini Koumarianou (ed.), *Δανιήλ Φιλιππίδης – Barbié du Bocage – Άνθιμος Γαζής, Αλληλογραφία (1794-1819)* [Daniel Philippides – Barbié du Bocage – Anthimos Gazis, correspondence (1794-1819], Athens: Society for the Study of the Greek Enlightenment, 1966.

[8] J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, *Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce relatifs au voyage du jeune Anacharsis, précédé d'une analyse critique des cartes*, Paris: de Bure aîné, 1788.

[9] See Walter A. Goffart, "Breaking the Ortelian Pattern: Historical Atlases with a New Program, 1747-1830", in Joan Winearl (ed.), *Editing Early and Historical Atlases. Papers Given at the Twenty-ninth Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 5-6 November 1993*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995, pp. 49-81. On historical atlases, see Jeremy Black, *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997; Walter A. Goffart, *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years, 1570–1870*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003, pp. 1-26.

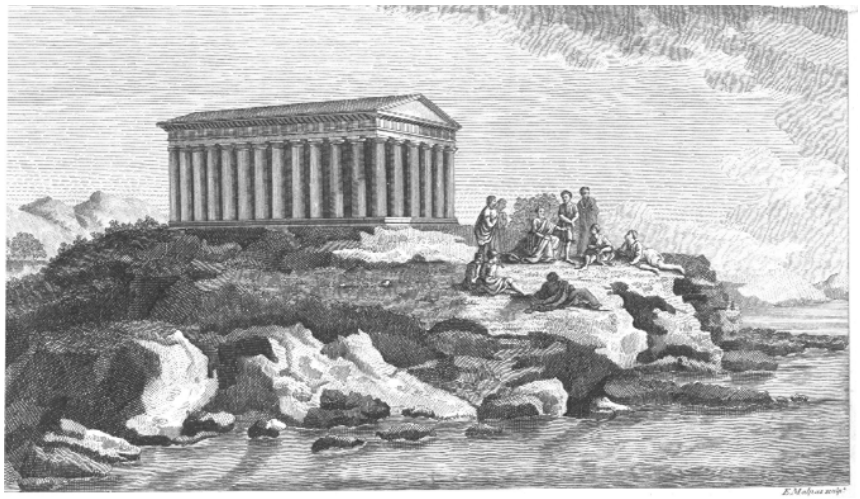

Fig. 1. Plato instructs his pupils below the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.
From J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, *Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce relatifs au voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (Paris: de Bure aîné, 1788, plate 24).

furthermore included plans of ancient Greek monuments (such as the Parthenon and the Thesseion) as well as depictions of a Greek house, a gymnasium, a theatre and a plate with Greek coins. The volume also contained an emblematic image of late Enlightenment's humanism: a view of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion with Plato instructing his pupils (fig. 1), an image alluding to Pausanias' first glimpse of Greece (I.I.I.).

In 1799, eleven years after its first edition, *Anacharsis'* atlas was published in a second, completely revised edition by Didot, in an impressive volume in folio.[10] The book was now proposing an antiquarian restoration of ancient Greece's human and natural landscape since the original thirty-one plates, now revised and elegantly re-engraved, were supplemented by eight new plates, containing views of monuments and ancient topography such as the elevation of the Acropolis's Propylaea and the Parthenon, a perspective view of the Parthenon and Thesseion and a view of Delphi. Furthermore, the atlas included Barthélemy's portrait and a seven page addition to the original 1788 introduction.

While the analogy between the ancient Greek societies and those of late eighteenth-century France appears as an inevitable syndrome to any literary

[10] J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, *Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce relatifs au voyage du jeune Anacharsis précédé d'une analyse critique des cartes. Nouvelle édition*, Paris: Didot, an VII [1799].

enterprise to revive the Greek past, this analogy is announced as the basic pattern in Barbié du Bocage's methodology. It is the *géographie critique et comparée*,[11] an analytical learned syncretism of ancient and modern geographical material. The last transmutation of humanism's antiquarian geography, comparative geography was intensively cultivated in eighteenth-century France by a series of antiquarians, fellows of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, such as Nicolas Fréret (1688-1749), Abbé Fourmont (1690-1746) and, mainly, d'Anville.[12] Their method consisted in a meticulous cross-checking of ancient and modern geography, since both these traditions "mutually enlighten and emend one another", as was summarised by Bon-Joseph Dacier in 1784, in his valedictory oration on behalf of the Académie upon the death of d'Anville.[13] According to the same text, the objective was "a comparison of the ancient and contemporary worlds, of the current situation of the known world with that of the most ancient eras, together with the intervening years."[14] Bon-Joseph Dacier was to live long enough to have the occasion to bid the ultimate farewell to the disciple as well as to the master. It was in 1826, this time in his oration on the passing of Barbié du Bocage, when he reverted to the issue of historical geographic syncretism, defining Barbié du Bocage's methodology as "erudition applied to comparative geography".[15]

Antiquarian geography of the eighteenth century remains a discipline auxiliary to history. It revives and enriches the heritage of humanistic geography. Geography continues to be "the eye of history", as defined by the Renaissance, and as reaffirmed by d'Alembert in his introduction to the *Encyclopédie*.[16] Nevertheless, under the pressure of the triumphant modern

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[11] "Critique" in the sense of normative. See Christian Décobert, "'Une science de nos jours'. Le rapport de Bon-Joseph Dacier sur la classe d'histoire et de littérature ancienne de l'Institut", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 320 [En ligne], mis en ligne le 23 janvier 2006. URL: http://ahrf.revues.org/document 140.html., p. 2.

[12] See Blandine Barret-Kriegel, *Les Historiens de la Monarchie*, Vol. III: *Les Académies de l'Histoire*, Paris: P.U.F., 1988.

[13] Bon-Joseph Dacier, "Éloge de M. d'Anville", in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Histoire*, XLV, Paris [1784], p. 160.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Bon-Joseph Dacier, *Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage*, p. 1.

[16] "La Chronologie et la Géographie sont les deux rejetons et les deux soutiens de la science dont nous parlons [l'histoire]: l'une place les hommes dans le temps; l'autre les distribue sur notre globe", Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie...,* edited by Francois Picavet, 1894 (reprint Paris: J. Vrin, 1984), pp. 45-46.

and mathematical geography, Enlightenment's learned geography tends towards a critical reassessment of ancient geographical sources in the light of modern geographical expertise. In this sense *Anacharsis*' atlas is based equally on ancient and on modern sources, to which Barbié du Bocage dedicates his lengthy preface to the work.[17] The ancient sources comprise a multitude of authors, supplemented by Academic commentaries on ancient texts, compiled by B. d'Anville, Abbé Barthélemy, N. Fréret and Abbé Fourmont. Next to these, there is mention of the material assembled *in situ* by Choiseul-Gouffier's (1752-1817) emissaries to every part of Greece, as well as reports from consuls, and the observations of hydrographers' and astronomers' missions to the Ottoman Empire.[18] This methodology led to frequent tensions and even frictions between its erudite and empirical sources, and the Hellenist cartographer was not always successful in keeping equal distances between the authority of the ancient sources and the accuracy of modern surveys.[19]

Barthélemy's narrative and Barbié du Bocage's cartographical supplement do not absolutely correspond. A point of divergence between the book and the atlas is related to the geographical definition of Greece. Although not explicitly defined, Barthélemy's Greece covers all the regions where the Greek element was active and present: centred on Athens and Sparta, the narrative contains digression and detours covering a broad zone stretching from the Crimea to Sicily. In the atlas, conversely, Greece is restricted to the littoral Aegean regions south of Macedonia and the Sea of Marmara (Propontis) (fig. 2). In order to fit the narrative within this limited frame, Barbié du Bocage added to his atlas a map of the Black Sea and a plan of the Hellespont.

Another point of divergence between Barthélemy's text and Barbié du Bocage's atlas is due to the different temporal perspectives of the two works. The Greek regions described by Barbié du Bocage are not so much Greece on the eve of the Battle of Chaironeia (337 BC) as described by Barthélemy, as it is Greece in the years of the Roman Empire, as defined by Strabo and described by Pausanias. Barbié du Bocage's references are revelatory: to more than 100 references to sources of the Hellenistic and Roman era (Strabo, Pausanias, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch) correspond a mere 30 references to sources of the Classical

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[17] "Analyse critique des cartes de l'ancienne Grèce dressées pour le voyage du Jeune Anacharsis par M. Barbié du Bocage", introduction to J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, *Recueil de cartes géographiques…,* 1788, pp. v-xli.

[18] On Barbié du Bocage's sources, see Hofmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-154.

[19] See the Bory de Saint Vincent's virulent critic, in *Expédition scientifique de la Moré,* Vol. II, part one*, Géographie*, Paris 1834, pp. 15-16.

Fig. 2. J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, "La Grèce et ses îles pour le voyage du Jeune Anacharsis", *Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce relatifs au voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (Paris: de Bure aîné, 1788, plate 1).

period (Thucydides, Xenophon).[20] It should be noted here that Pausanias' influence on the composition of the atlas is determinant. Not only does Barbié du Bocage depict almost exclusively the areas covered by Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, he also gives to each their borders of the second century AD.

Transfers and Transferrals

The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger, with its cartographical supplement, was to become a best-seller in its day.[21] It was soon and repeatedly reprinted and translated into most European languages, becoming a sort of manifesto of late Enlightenment's humanism. As expected, *Anacharsis* evoked the emotions of the Greek intellectuals of the times. The work was partially translated into

[20] See Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[21] On the atlas' diffusion see Georges Tolias, "A l'ombre des voyageurs...", *op. cit.*, pp. 363-369.

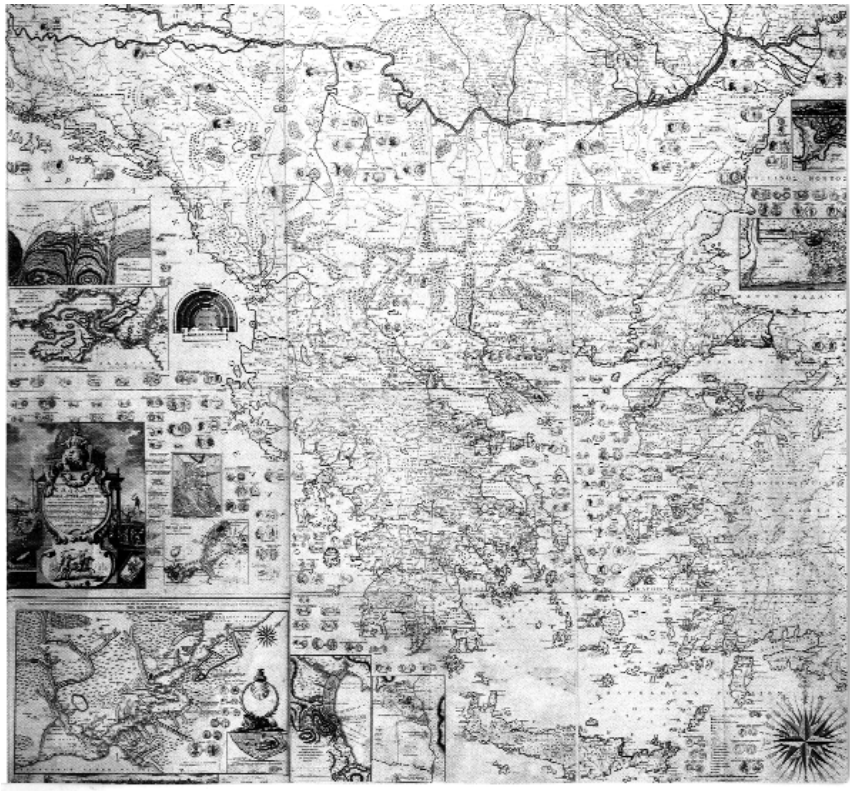

Fig. 3. Rhigas Velestinlis, *Chart of Greece, in which are comprised her islands, and part of her numerous colonies in Europe and Asia Minor*
(12 sheets, Vienna: Franz Th. Müller, 1797).

Greek by the antiquarian Georgios Sakellarios (1765-1838), the scholar and publisher Georgios Ventotis (1757-1795) and the republican patriot Rhigas Velestinlis (1757-1798).[22] The first volumes of the Greek translation (the only ones of the first Greek edition) circulated relatively early, in Vienna, in 1797.[23] In the same year, in accompaniment to the Greek edition of *Anacharsis*, Rhigas published his *Chart of Greece*, a mural map of Greece in 12 large sheets, engraved and printed in Vienna by Franz Th. Müller, encompassing the entire Balkan Peninsula and western Asia Minor (fig. 3).[24]

[22] On the Greek translation of Anacharsis, see Anna Tabaki (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 45-87.

[23] The Greek translation of the integral work was published by Chrysovergis Kouropalatis in Vienna, in 1819.

[24] Rhigas Velestinlis, *Chart of Greece, in which are comprised her islands, and part of*

Rhigas' *Chart* converses with Barbié du Bocage's atlas: it comprises seven topographical plans from Barbié du Bocage's work (Plataea, Salamis, Athens, Thermopylae, Sparta, Olympia, Delphi) as well as the plan of an ancient Greek theatre. According to the title of the work, these topographical plans would contribute "to the understanding of *Anacharsis the Younger*". The antiquarian tone of Rhigas' *Chart* was reinforced by depictions of 161 Greek and Byzantine coins scattered throughout the map, "in order to give a tenuous idea of archaeology".

Nevertheless, the divergence between the two works is clearly to be seen, for they are defending different priorities. The antiquarian restoration of the ancient Greek human and natural landscape was not Rhigas' main objective. The hidden agenda of his map was political. Its aim was to propose a historical and cultural (religious and linguistic) definition of modern Greece, able to embrace the overall Greek presence in the area.[25] *Anacharsis*' map of Greece by Barbié du

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her numerous colonies in Europe and Asia Minor... The full title, in Greek, is: *Χάρτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν ᾗ περιέχονται αἱ νῆσοι αὐτῆς καὶ μέρος τῶν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ Μικρὰν Ἀσίαν πολυαρίθμων ἀποικιῶν αὐτῆς, περιοριζομένων ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν διὰ τῶν Μύρων τῆς Λυκίας μέχρι τοῦ Ἀργαθονίου ὄρους τῆς Βιθυνίας, ἀπ' ἄρκτου διὰ τοῦ Ἀκ-Κερμανίου, τῶν Καρπαθίων ὀρῶν καὶ Δουνάβεως καὶ Σάββα τῶν ποταμῶν, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν διὰ τοῦ Οὔνα καὶ τοῦ Ἰωνίου πελάγους, ἀπὸ Δε μεσημβρίας διὰ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ. Τὰ πλείω μὲ τὰς παλαιὰς καὶ νέας ὀνομασίας. Πρὸς Δε 9 ἐπιπεδογραφίαι τινῶν περιφήμων πόλεων καὶ τόπων αὐτῆς, συντείνουσαι εἰς τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ Νέου Ἀναχάρσιδος, μία χρονολογία τῶν βασιλέων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνθρώπων αὐτῆς, 161 τύποι ἑλληνικῶν νομισμάτων, ἐρανισθέντων ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοκρατορικοῦ ταμείου τῆς Αουστρίας πρὸς ἀμυδρὰν ἰδέαν τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. Ἔν σῶμα εἰς 12 τμήματα νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδοθεῖσα, παρὰ τοῦ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ Θετταλοῦ, χάριν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ φιλελλήνων. 1797. Ἐχαράχθη παρὰ τοῦ Φρανσουά Μήλλερ ἐν Βιέν*. On Rhigas' *Chart*, see Georgios Laios, "Οι χάρτες του Ρήγα" [The maps of Rhigas], *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 14 (1960), pp. 231-312.

[25] In Rhigas' *Chart,* Greece is identified with those areas of the Ottoman Empire in which Christian populations predominate. The identification of Greeks with Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire is a standard postulation for Rhigas, explicitly formulated in the first lines of his republican Constitution, the *New Political Administration*: "The people, descendants of the Greeks, whether living in Roumeli, Asia Minor, the Mediterranean Islands, Wallachia and Moldavia...". See Rhigas Velestinlis, *Νέα Πολιτική Διοίκησις των κατοίκων της Ρούμελης, της Μικράς Ασίας, των Μεσογείων νήσων και της Βλαχομπογδανίας* [New political constitution for the inhabitants of Roumeli, Asia Minor, the Mediterranean islands, Wallachia and Moldavia][Vienna 1797], Paschalis Kitromilides (ed.), *Ρήγα Βελεοτινλή: Άπαντα τα Σωζόμενα* [Rhigas Velestinlis: surviving works], Vol. V, Athens: Greek Parliament, 2000, p. 33. A factor determining Rhigas' specific selection is to be found in the institutional role of the Greek "Mother Church", representing and, through the Greek education it provides, to a certain degree homogenising the Orthodox Christian populations of the Ottoman Orient.

Fig. 4. Guillaume Delisle, *Graeciae Antiquae Tabula Nova...* (two sheets, Paris, 1707).

Bocage (1788, fig. 2) being inappropriate, Rhigas turned to older cartographic models for ancient Greece, covering a much broader area, and chose the prestigious but largely outdated map of ancient Greece by Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726), on two sheets, a work of the early eighteenth century (fig. 4).[26] Rhigas gave the Greek versions of Delisle's place names, together with their modern equivalents.[27] He also retained from Delisle's prototype the tracing of the outline, the representation of the relief, the network of rivers and the internal division of Greece into countries or tribes, whose boundaries and names he marked on his map. Finally, he added the central regions of the Balkan Peninsula, up to the course of the Danube, most probably based on Ruhedorf's map *Mappa specialis Walachiae...* (s.l., 1788).[28]

Defining a Greek territory as a product of institutional, economic and social networks was a hopeless enterprise at the end of the eighteenth century. For this reason, Rhigas based his map of Greece merely on demography, a rather feeble criterion, given that the Greek element was mingled to the other populations of the Empire, while its diaspora was uneven, having taken place at different times and in the framework of differing imperial and multi-ethnic structures in the region. Furthermore, Rhigas endowed this demographic scattering with an ancient ancestry. The *Chart* attempts to legitimise the Greek dispersion within the Ottoman Empire by referring to the colonial expansion of the ancient Greek cities. As defined by its title, the *Chart* presents the ancient Greek colonial network: *Chart of Greece, in which are comprised her islands, and part of her numerous colonies in Europe and Asia Minor*. On this canvas the historical dispersal of the Greek element is displayed as a static unit, covering a huge time span, from mythical times up to the period of the work's completion.

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[26] *Graeciae Antiquae Tabula Nova in qua locorum situs tum ad distantias itineraries tum ad Observationes Astronomicas exactus litorum flexurae et alia id genus ad accuratas recentiorum rationes accomodatae sunt. Autore Guillelmo Delisle, ex Regia Scientiarum Academia Parisiis apud Autorem in Ripa vulgo Le Quai de l'horloge sub signo Aquilae Aureae, Cum Privilegio ad vicennium, Oct. 1707.*

[27] For an analytical comparison of the place names of the two works, see Dimitrios Karamberopoulos, *Η "Χάρτα της Ελλάδος" του Ρήγα. Τα πρότυπά της και νέα στοιχεία* [Rhigas' Chart of Greece: its prototypes and new evidence], Athens 1998, pp. 57-80.

[28] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ge D 14654. See Jean Yves Guiomar and Marie-Thérèse Lorain, "La carte de Rigas et le nom de la Grèce", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* (2000/1), pp. 115-117.

The map thus promoted a specific definition of Greece as the result of successive diasporas[29] and resulted in the hybrid character of the work: in it the national idea has not been detached from the composite imperial concepts of the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires. The ancient regions or tribes are displayed in the geographic frame of European Turkey and western Anatolia, whilst the map contains in its borders an alphabetical list of eminent ancient personalities followed by a chronological list of Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman emperors. Finally, the major political and cultural centre of the map is Constantinople, the Byzantine and Ottoman capital, to the depiction of which one of the twelve sheets of the work is devoted.[30]

Rhigas' perception of Greece had some antecedents. The map of Greece by Nikolaos Sophianos (c. 1500 - after 1551) first published in Rome in 1540 covered the same areas, yet it was a map of Roman Greece of the early Christian times, a response to the Renaissance's humanist universal vision.[31] The main and decisive factor that influenced Rhigas' option was due to the early "philhellenic" political proposals to the Eastern Question – the Russian in particular. According to this vision, an energetic and entrepreneurial "Greek Empire", under the aegis of the tsars, should replace the Ottomans in the North-eastern Mediterranean.[32] Notwithstanding, Rhigas' proposal, however

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[29] This specific perception of Greece is the expression of a conscious geographic and historical definition, pronounced a few years earlier by Iosipos Moesiodax. In the Introduction to *Moral Philosophy*, when mention is made of the discord which deprived Greece of such privileges as had initially been granted by the Ottomans, Moesiodax considers it essential to clarify the term, noting: "when I say Greece, I mean all the diasporas of Greeks" (Iosipos Moesiodax, *Ἠθικὴ Φιλοσοφία* [Moral philosophy], Venice: Bortoli, 1761, Vol. I, p. ιδ΄). See also Paschalis Kitromilides, "Πρώιμες έννοιες της διασποράς στην ελληνική σκέψη" [Early notions of the diaspora in Greek thought], *Ελληνικά* 48 (1998), pp. 370-373.

[30] It is a separate print first published in 1796 and included in the *Chart*: *Ἐπιπεδογραφία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τοῦ Κόλπου της, τοῦ Καταστένου της, τῆς ἀπὸ τὸ Σταυροδρόμι θέας της, τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ Σαραγίου, μὲ τὰς παλαιὰς καὶ νέας ὀνομασίας, παρὰ τοῦ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ Θετταλοῦ*, Vienna 1796.

[31] See George Tolias, "Totius Graeciae: Nikolaos Sophianos' Map of Greece and the Transformations of Hellenism", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 19 (2001), pp. 1-21; "Nikolaos Sophianos's *Totius Graeciae Descriptio*: The Resources, Diffusion and Function of a Sixteenth-Century Antiquarian Map of Greece", *Imago Mundi* 58/2 (2006), pp. 150-182.

[32] On the proposals to replace the Ottoman Empire by a Greek Empire, see Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore,* Vol. III: *La prima crisi dell' Antico Regime (1768-1776)*, Torino: Einaudi, 1979, pp. 3-153. See also C. F. Chasseboeuf, dit Volney, *Considérations sur la Guerre actuelle des Turcs*, Paris 1788, and W. Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire…*,

imperial, regionally ecumenical or even federal it may have been – since he incorporated all the populations of the area into Greece – was a spontaneous adherence to the expansion of the French Revolution towards the East. Rhigas' "spacious Greece" (as it was called at the time) represents rather a Greek equivalent to an extrapolated French Revolution, a Greek, Republican *Grande Nation* at the eastern borders of Europe.[33] The *Chart* has to be understood as one more expression of Rhigas' patriotic and Republican movement, inspired by the French Revolution and the penetration of Republican France in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is in this spirit that the dedication of the work to "Greeks and Friends of Greece" should be interpreted.[34]

The arrest and execution of Rhigas and his comrades and the confiscation of his published works had as a result the obstruction of the circulation of his map. It is therefore not surprising that three years later, in 1800, and without mentioning the author's name, a new version of the map was reissued in Vienna, by the same printer, Franz Th. Müller, edited by Anthimos Gazis (1764-1828) (fig. 5).[35] This second edition is revised and its dimensions are reduced to half (12 small sheets). Barbié du Bocage's topographical plans have been removed as well as the embellishments and insets, ancient coins, lists of illustrious persons and Rhigas' comments. The map has now been disconnected from *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger* and its mention has been deleted from the title. Although the map covers the same geographical area, with the further addition of Sicily and Cyprus, the title lacks any mention of the Greek colonies.

The new edition of the map is a comparative map of ancient and modern Greece, addressed solemnly to the Greek nation: *Geographical map of Greece with ancient and modern names ... Dedicated to the Greek nation*.[36] Neither are

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London 1798; E. de Marcère, *Une ambassade a Constantinople. La politique orientale de la Révolution Française*, Paris: Alcan, 1924; An. Bruneau, *Traditions et politique de la France au Levant*, Paris: Alcan, 1932.

[33] See Guiomar and Lorain, *op. cit.*

[34] The term used by Rhigas is "Philhellenes" (Φιλέλληνες). We opted here for the translation "Friends of Greece", since this is how Rhigas translated the term "Philhellenes" in his bilingual (Greek and French) dedication of the edition of the portrait of Alexander the Great (Vienna 1797): "en faveur des Grecs, et des amis de la Grèce".

[35] On Anthimos Gazis, see Koumarianou, (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 233-237 and 271-274. On his relations to Rhigas, see L. Vranoussis, *Εφημερίς, έτος έβδομον 1797, Προλεγόμενα* [Ephimeris, seventh year, 1797, introduction], Athens: Academy of Athens, 1995, pp. 831-838. See also his unreasonably severe literary portrait by C. Th. Dimaras, *Ο Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* [The Greek Enlightenment], Athens: Ermis, 1977, pp. 377-379.

[36] *Carte de la Grèce dressée d'après les descriptions les plus récentes par Fr. Th, Müller … Πίναξ Γεωγραφικὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μὲ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ νέα ὀνόματα, ἐπιδ. [ιορθωθείς] ὑπὸ*

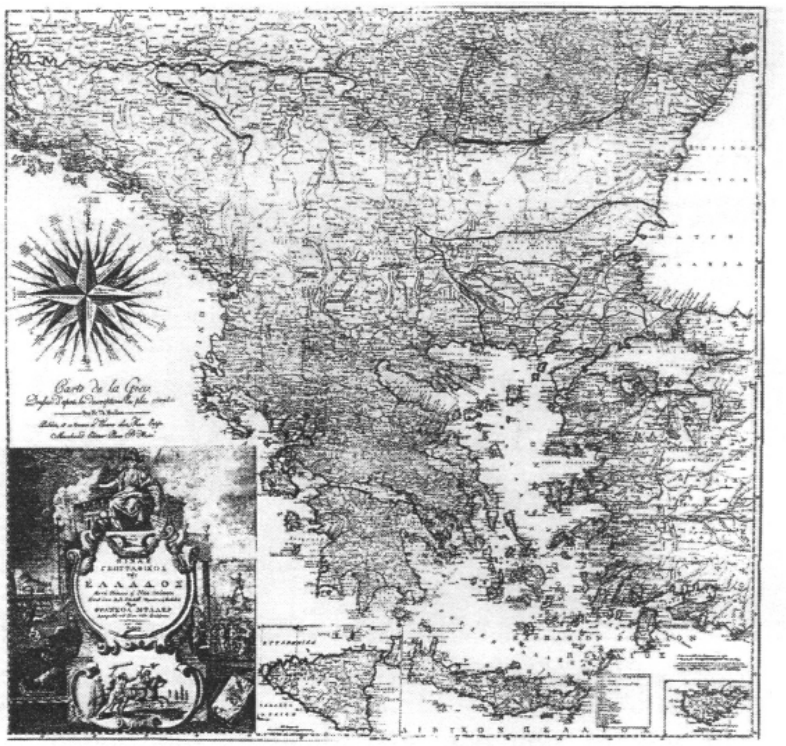

Fig. 5. Anthimos Gazis, *Geographical map of Greece with ancient and modern names* (12 sheets, Vienna: Franz Th. Müller, 1800, second edition, 1810).

the "Friends of Greece" mentioned in this proud announcement. Following the suppression of Rhigas' revolutionary movement, Greek patriots abandoned their hopes to be liberated with foreign assistance. The Liberal Greek intelligentsia was to concentrate all its efforts on the regeneration of modern Greek culture, by its modernisation and hellenisation.[37]

Barbié du Bocage was aware of the reissue of the map by Müller and Gazis, for he presented the work in the journal *Magazin encyclopédique* in 1801.[38] It

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Α. Α. Γαζῆ-Μηλιώτου, καὶ ἐκδοθεὶς παρὰ Φρανσουὰ Μύλλερ. Ἀφιερωθεὶς τῷ γένει τῶν Ἑλλήνων. αω΄1800. Ἐν Βιέννῃ. There is a second edition of the same map, printed in 1810, still bearing the erroneous Greek date [αω΄-1810]. I am indebted to Dr D. Karamberopoulos for informing me of the existence of two different issues of the map.

[37] This strategy found its final articulation in Ad. Coray's *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation en Grèce*, promulgated at the Society of the Observers of Man, in January 1803.

[38] Barbié du Bocage, "Notice abrégée des derniers travaux des Grecs modernes sur la géographie", *Magazin encyclopédique* 4 (1801), pp. 247-249.

is most probable that Barbié du Bocage also knew of Rhigas' *Chart*, being in close contact with the Austrian Hellenists as well as with Greek intellectuals close to Rhigas and his circle. The *Chart* had been announced in the German and also the French literary press, as a map accompanying the Greek translation of *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*.[39] It is, finally, worth noting here that the exemplar of the *Chart* in the National Library of France comes from Barbié du Bocage's own library.[40] In any case, when in 1799 Barbié du Bocage published the second, emended and supplemented edition of *Anacharsis*' atlas,[41] the table of contents announces a new introductory *General map of Greece and its colonies*, thus adopting Rhigas' proposition. The map, despite being constantly mentioned in the atlas's successive reissues, was completed only in 1809 and printed in 1811 (fig. 6).[42]

The *General map of Greece and its colonies* was printed on two large sheets measuring 820 x 580 mm, this time containing the entire Balkan Peninsula, western Asia Minor and the southern part of Italy.[43] One reason that led Barbié du Bocage to add a map of the ancient Greek colonisation to his atlas was the requirements of the text that the atlas accompanied. Another reason could be

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[39] See Silvestre de Sacy, "Notice sur trois ouvrages de François-Charles Alter", *Magazin encyclopédique* 6 (1799), pp. 247-249.

[40] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cartes et Plans, Ge CC 002656 (1-12). The map figures together with the rest of Barbié du Bocage's map collection bought by the National Library of France. However, the map is not mentioned in Barbié du Bocage's published library catalogue (*Catalogue des cartes et plans manuscrits et gravés de la bibliothèque géographique de MM. J.-D. et G. Barbié du Bocage*, Paris 1844).

[41] J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, *Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce relatifs au voyage du jeune Anacharsis précédé d'une analyse critique des cartes. Nouvelle édition*, Paris: Didot, an VII [1799], p. [5].

[42] Barbié du Bocage gives the details of the date of the completion of the map, and the reasons for its late appearance: "Lorsque j'ai donné, en l'an 7 [1799], la nouvelle édition de mon Analyse critique des Cartes de l'Ancienne Grèce, dressées pour le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, j'y ai ajouté celle d'une grande Carte plus perfectionnée que les autres, qui devait paraître dans cette nouvelle édition sous le No 1, et qui était presque finie lorsque cette Analyse a paru. Le dérangement des affaires du Libraire a empêché que cette Carte ne fut terminée et n'accompagnât son analyse; mais on doit a l'intérêt qu'a pris à cette édition la personne qui en est devenue propriétaire, de voir cette carte paraître aujourd'hui...", Barbié du Bocage, *Addition à l'Analyse critique des Cartes de l'ancienne Grèce, dressées pour le voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, par J.-D. Barbié du Bocage...*, [Paris], Nouzon, [1811], p. i.

[43] *Carte de la Grèce et d'une grande partie de ses colonies, tant en Europe qu'en Asie. Pour le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis, par J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, membre de l'institut de France &c., commencée en 1798, et terminée en 1809. Paris, 1811. Gravé par P.-F. Tardieu..., Écrit par Giraldon.*

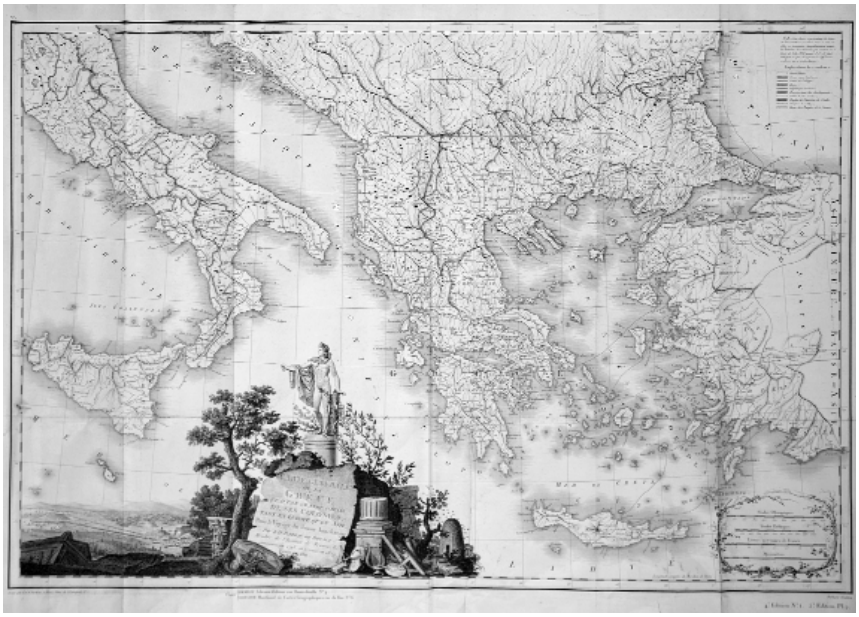

Fig. 6. J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, *Carte générale de la Grèce et d'une grande partie de ses colonies, tant en Europe qu'en Asie. Pour le voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (Paris: Tardieu, 1811).

found in the political circumstances. In 1798, when the drawing of the map started, the Republican French were masters of south Italy and the Ionian Islands, and the discussions and speculations on the expansion of the Revolution towards Greece were quite lively.[44] Furthermore, the interest in the ancient Greek colonial expansion has to be seen as one more expression of the intensive antiquarian investigations of similar historical situations, instigated by the gradual transformation of the French Republic to the French Empire.[45]

However, albeit it is not mentioned in the "critical analysis" accompanying the map, the inspiration will have derived from Rhigas' proposal. This hypothesis

[44] The bibliography on this matter is extensive. For an overview, see Dimitri Nicolaidis, *D'une Grèce à l'autre: Représentations des Grecs modernes par la France révolutionnaire*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1992.

[45] Such as G.-E.-J. de Sainte-Croix, *Des anciens gouvernemens fédératifs et de la législation de Crète*, Paris, an VII [1798]; *idem*, *Examen critique des anciens historiens d'Alexandre-le-Grand. Seconde édition, considérablement augmentée*, Paris 1804; the last volumes of the history of the Byzantine Empire by Hubert Pascal Ameilhon; or Lévesque's critic of the Roman imperial administration. See Bon-Joseph Dacier, *Rapport historique sur les progrès de l'histoire et de la littérature ancienne*, pp. 174-179. On the contrary, the *philosophes* were unimpressed

is supported by the close similarity of the two titles, as well as the synchronicity: according to Barbié du Bocage, planning of the work began in 1798. That Barbié du Bocage adopted Rhigas' proposal in selecting the colonial expansion of ancient Greek cities as the main historical and geographical parameter of the general introductory map of his atlas reveals that the notion of a Greek and Republican *Grande Nation* remained alive in the spirit of French humanists up to the years of the Empire.[46]

Symbolic Functions

Mention has already been made of the hidden agenda of the late Enlightenment antiquarian cartography of Greece, highlighting the priorities, cultural and political, that inspired these cartographic representations of Greek antiquity.[47] There remains to refer to the diverse symbolic messages transmitted by these maps, based on an analysis of their illustrations.

The cognitive and the symbolic messages of maps are interrelated. As J. B. Harley has aptly remarked, maps express articulated symbolic values "as part of a visual language by which specific interests, doctrines, and even world views are communicated".[48] Quite often, these views were condensed and encoded in emblematic or allegorical images, illustrating the maps, images that were easily deciphered by the map users. This is not the proper place to recount the historical role and functions of emblems or allegorical figures encountered in

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and references to the ancient Greek colonisation are absent in the canonical French historical texts of the period, as Volney's *Leçons d'histoire* (1795) or the *Esquise d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1795) by Condorcet.

[46] It can be nothing but a coincidence, yet the year of the completion of the map (1809) saw also the creation in Paris of an early secret philhellenic society, the "Société hellénique" or "Hellenoglosson Xenodocheion". The society was presided over by Barbié du Bocage's mentor, the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, and its aim was to persuade Napoleon to liberate Greece. Be that as it may, Barbié du Bocage uses the term "Free Greece" [*Grèce libre*] when he speaks of the period before the battle of Chaironeia. For the "Hellenoglosson Xenodocheion" see Georges Tolias, *La Médaille et la Rouille. Images de la Grèce moderne dans la presse littéraire parisienne (1794-1815)*, Paris-Athens: Hatier, 1997, pp. 378-386.

[47] J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge and Power", in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 277-312; "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe", *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), pp. 57-76.

[48] J. B. Harley, "Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography", in Sarah Tyacke (ed.), *English Map-Making, 1500-1650: Historical Essays,* London: British Library, 1983, pp. 22-40.

maps from the end of the sixteenth century to the outset of the nineteenth. What needs to be retained here is that these images are connected to the development of a visual culture, and to the ever increasing role of the image in the means of communication of the early modern cultivated elites. These images fulfilled composite roles, since they guided the reader of the map on cultural, social and political criteria.

The first map of Greece by Barbié du Bocage, the one published in the 1788 atlas (*Greece and its islands,* fig. 2), was plain and austere, without any decoration. Rhigas' *Chart* on the other hand bore a mass of insets, enthusiastic paraphernalia of an emergent patriotism, such as Barbié du Bocage's topographical and architectural plans, the 161 ancient coins, the large-sized plan of Constantinople, a complex wind rose in three languages, and even the topographical plan of the author's native land, Pheres. Rhigas furthermore preserved the allegorical cartouche of his prototype, the map of ancient Greece by Guillaume Delisle (1707, fig. 4).

The cartouche of Delisle's map contains an emblematic illustration of ancient Greek civilisation, characterised by the advancement of letters, the arts, sciences and commerce (fig. 7).[49] It is a new triumphal image of Greek antiquity as perceived at the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment, that comes to replace the allegories of mourning and violence that adorned the antiquarian maps of Greece in the Late Renaissance. A female figure is depicted enthroned in front of a temple. She holds a quill in her right hand (symbolising the letters) and in the left hand, resting on a board showing the main architectural styles (the arts), she holds a caduceus (commerce). To the right and left of her feet the symbols of the sciences are depicted, while on either side of the cartouche compositions illustrate ancient Greek themes referring to cult, athletic contests and commerce. In the lower part of the cartouche, two humanists are conversing, holding their open books.

Rhigas retained most of the elements of Delisle's cartouche, adding Homer's *Odyssey* at the feet of the female figure, open at the verses "he saw the cities of many men and learned their way of thinking." He also added to the scene of the sacrifice, at the bottom right of the cartouche, the statue of Olympian Zeus. But the major change proposed by Rhigas is the substitution of the conversing

[49] For the content of the term "Civilisation" from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, see Lucien Febvre, Emile Tonnelat, Marcel Mauss, Alfredo Niceforo and Louis Weber, *Civilisation. Le mot et l'idée*, *Centre International de Synthèse, Première semaine internationale de Synthèse*, Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1930. See also Dominique Poulot, "L'archéologie de la civilisation", in Marina Valensine (ed.), *François Guizot et la culture politique de son temps*, Paris: Seuil – Gallimard, 1991, pp. 265-289.

humanists in the lower part of the cartouche by a new triptych illustration (fig. 8). Here, in the centre, Hercules is shown fighting a mounted Amazon, an illustration probably inspired by the equivalent scene on a coin from Heracleia in Pontus.[50] On the right of this scene there is a bas-relief depicting the myth of Deucalion, and on the left the Argonauts' ship, the *Argo*. The reference to the myth of Deucalion hints at the original diaspora of the Greeks (in the very sense of the term) and their racial primacy as the first to repopulate the earth after the Flood. The *Argo* symbolises the outset of the Greek peregrinations and their first penetration into the opulent Orient. Hercules holds his wooden club and the Amazon holds a double axe. According to the key of the map the wooden club symbolises the Greek force, whilst the double axe symbolises the Persian force.[51] The fight between Hercules and the Amazon has been therefore interpreted as an allegory of the constant struggle between West and East, the ultimate expression of which is the antagonism between the subjected Greeks and the Ottomans.[52] The Amazon's axe is shown to be broken, connecting the allegory to Rhigas' patriotic movement and intimating the impending defeat of the Ottomans.

The allusion to Ulysses and the triptych added by Rhigas must be interpreted as a whole. Alluding to the exploration, the colonial expansion and the resulting geopolitical tensions, Rhigas transforms the emblematic meaning of his prototype to an allegory of empire. Visions of empire were hibernating

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[50] See Antonis Liakos, "Ο Ηρακλής, οι Αμαζόνες και οι 'τραγανιστές βουκίτσες'. Αναπαραστάσεις του φύλου και της εξουσίας στο έργο του Ρήγα" [Hercules, the Amazons and the 'crunchy bites': representations of gender and power in Rhigas' work], *Μνήμων* 23 (2001), pp. 99-112, especially p. 100.

[51] The wooden club also introduces the alphabetical list of ancient Greek personalities in the upper border of the map. Furthermore, the two symbols together are used to mark the Greek victories against the Persians in Salamis, Marathon, Mycale and Granicos.

[52] The association of Turks and ancient Persians is common in Greek writings since the sixteenth century, if not earlier. It is an interesting construct, referring to the constant peril coming from the East and related to the notion of history as a cyclical and repetitive procedure. An investigation of this identification would reveal the uses and functions of this Greek counterpart to the equivalent Western construct that identified the Turks and the ancient Trojans, justifying the Ottoman conquest as a retribution for the destruction of Troy. For Hercules's club, see Leandros Vranousis, "Η σημαία, το εθνόσημο και η σφραγίδα της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας του Ρήγα" [The banner, the emblem and the seal of Rhigas's Greek Republic], *Δελτίον Εραλδικής και Γενεαλογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 8 (1992), pp. 347-388; Loukia Droulia, "Η πολυσημία των συμβόλων και το 'ρόπαλον του Ηρακλέους' του Ρήγα" [The polyvalence of the symbols and Rhigas' "Hercules' club"], *Ο Ερανιστής* 21 (1997), pp. 129-142.

Fig. 7. Detail showing the cartouche of Guillaume Delisle's *Graeciae Antiquae Tabula Nova...* (Paris, 1707, see fig. 4). It is a symbolic representation of the ancient Greek civilisation, characterised by the advancement of letters, the arts, sciences and commerce.

Fig. 9. Detail showing the cartouche of A. Gazis' *Geographical map of Greece* (Vienna: Franz Th. Müller, 1800, second edition, 1810, see fig. 5). Gazis armed Delisle's and Rhigas' allegoric figure of Greek civilisation. She is now wearing a helmet and, together with the quill and the caduceus, holds a spear, and is leaning on Athena's shield.

Fig. 8. Detail showing the cartouche of Rhigas' *Chart of Greece…*
(Vienna: Franz Th. Müller, 1797, see fig. 3).
Rhigas transformed the emblematic meaning of his prototype (see fig. 7) to an allegory of empire by adding the representation of Hercules fighting an Amazon, a bas-relief depicting the myth of Deucalion, and the Argonauts' ship, the *Argo*.

in the minds of the subjugated Greeks. The popular legend of the *Immortal Emperor* and the *Novel of Alexander the Great* in the vernacular Greek literature are attestations to it. Rhigas improvised on this theme a few months before printing his *Chart*, by publishing a portrait of Alexander the Great.[53] His cartographic allegory of empire, however, alluded to a Republican Greek *Grande Nation*, since the struggle between Hercules and the Amazon symbolised the fight of civilisation against despotism.

In the 1800 second edition of the map, Anthimos Gazis retained Rhigas' allegorical cartouche, adding some minor modifications. The allegoric figure of Greek civilisation is now armed. She is wearing a helmet and, together with the quill and the caduceus, holds a spear, and is leaning on Athena's shield with the abhorrent head of Medusa (fig. 9).[54] Greek civilisation thus becomes a war machine, the means of liberation, a fact further confirmed by the motto appearing on the pages of the open book at her feet: "In the future I shall follow your lead."[55]

In the three years separating the two editions of the map (1797-1800), circumstances had changed. The suppression of Rhigas' Republican movement and the departure of the Republican French from the Ionian Islands, as well as the alliance between the Tsar and the Sultan, led Greeks to realise that their emancipation had to be based on internal forces, that collective action and cohesion were required. The liberation process had to pass through moral and cultural "regeneration" (according to the concept of the French Revolution). The Greek intelligentsia was to concentrate all its efforts in this direction in the course of the two decades from 1800 to 1820. It was expressed in the multiplication and reorganisation of schools, the founding of literary societies, the proliferation of editions of ancient authors, the use of Greek instead of Christian names, and the purification of the language.

The decoration of the *General map of Greece and its colonies* by Barbié du Bocage (1811, fig. 10) forms an exception to the unadorned and austere engravings of the 1799 Didot edition of the atlas. The map, splendidly decorated by a large cartouche covering its lower left part, is associated rather

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[53] See Olga Grazziou, "Το μονόφυλλο του Ρήγα του 1797. Παρατηρήσεις στην νεοελληνική εικονογραφία του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου" [Rhigas' 1797 printed sheet: remarks on the modern Greek iconography of Alexander the Great], *Μνήμων* 8 (1980-82), pp. 130-149.

[54] For the symbolic functions of Athena, see Loukia Droulia, "Η Θεά Αθηνά, θεότητα έμβλημα του Νέου Ελληνισμού" [Athena, emblematic divinity of modern Hellenism], *Οι Χρήσεις της Αρχαιότητας από τον Νέο Ελληνισμό* [The uses of antiquity in modern Greece], Athens: Εταιρεία Σπουδών Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού και Γενικής Παιδείας, 2002.

[55] "Τὰ τ'εἰσέπειτα σῇ κυβερνῶμαι χειρί".

with the impressive and artistically engraved maps prepared by Barbié du Bocage for the second volume of Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, published in the year of the map's completion (1809).

The illustration of Barbié du Bocage's *General map of Greece and its colonies* is, as far as I know, one of the last allegorical representations on a map of Greece, an elegant drawing by Defresne, engraved by Fortier and emanating an aura of Canovan eroticism. The cartouche is dominated by an upright naked Belvedere Apollo, standing on a column behind a boulder on which the title of the map is etched. He holds in his hand the oracular prophecy for the departing colonists. Fragments of monuments are shown at the base of the rock, Athena's arms, symbols of the arts and sciences, and a hive with a swarm of bees, symbolising colonisation. On the left of the representation, Athens and Piraeus, with the Long Walls are depicted. In the harbour a small fleet of colonists sets sail to found a new colony.[56]

It is without doubt very tempting, and it would be easy, to read the allegoric message of the map in relation to the exportation of the French Revolution. Let it not be forgotten that the map was begun in 1798, and the choice of Athens as the colonising metropolis is a possible reminder of the exportation of the Republican ideas.[57] These associations were rooted, however, in the expectations of late Enlightenment humanism. Barbié du Bocage's allegory constitutes an ultimate affirmation of humanism's vision, seeing in the colonial network of the Greek cities, and the Romans' imperial expansion, the outset of the civilising process and the rise of universalism.[58] This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that all the map's symbols refer to the arts and sciences, whilst the pacific and civilising character of the enterprise is stressed by Apollo's prevalence, whereas Athena's terrible arms (an insinuation in the direction of Gazis' map?) are lying abandoned on the ground.

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[56] "Le Cartouche qui est gravé sur cette Carte est également analogue au titre que je lui ai donné. … Conformément au titre de la Carte, elle [la flotte qui sort des ports d'Athènes] indique une colonie qui part des ports de cette ville pour aller s'établir ailleurs, et elle semble en recevoir l'ordre d'Apollon, divinité protectrice de la Grèce, que j'ai cru devoir placer au sommet de ce Cartouche. […] Auprès est un essaim d'abeilles, image de la colonisation…", J.-D Barbié du Bocage *Addition à l'analyse critique des cartes de l'ancienne Grèce, dressées pour le voyage du jeune Anacharsis, par J.-D. Barbié du Bocage*…, [Paris], Nouzon, [1811], pp. vi-vii.

[57] On the expansion of the Republican ideas in Europe, see Jacques Godechot, *La Grande Nation: l'expansion révolutionnaire de la France dans le monde; 1789 à 1799*, Paris 1956.

[58] See Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2003,

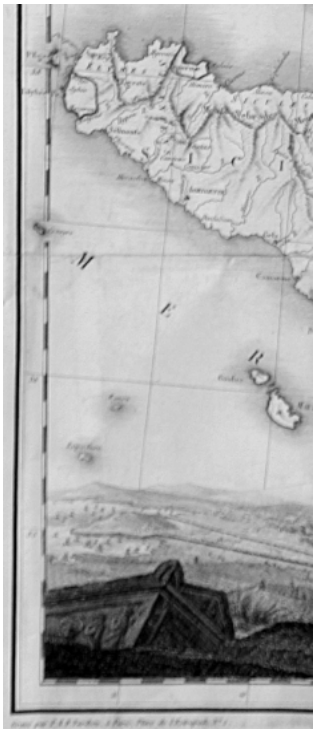

Fig. 10. Detail showing the cartouche of J.-D. Barbié du Bocage's *Carte générale de la Grèce et d'une grande partie de ses colonies*, (Paris: Didot, 1811, see fig. 6). It is an allegory of colonisation, showing a fleet of colonists setting sail from Athens, after receiving from Apollo the oracular prophecy. On the right, a swarm of bees, symbol of colonisation.

Cultural transfers are common currency within an international fellowship such as the humanists' *Republic of Letters*, and our case study is therefore typical of humanism's perennial process of exchanges. Nevertheless, the transfer process of the antiquarian cartographic material into diverse environments originated a series of transferrals in the cognitive, as well as the symbolic content of the work. The incorporation of the cartography of *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger* on the horizon of anticipation of the Greek patriots modified it, in form and content, giving the work a political character. Finally, the Greek readings of *Anacharsis'* cartography led in turn to a new elaboration of the original, a new historical definition of Greece, as an early colonial empire. This new elaboration was inspired partly by an early philhellenic sympathy and partly by the exportation of the French Republican ideas and the transformation of the French Republic to the French Empire.

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especially pp. 16-28. See also Ernest B. Gilman, "Madagascar on my Mind: The Earl of Arundel and the Arts of Colonization", in Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (eds), *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, pp. 284-314.

Neither should the interaction between erudition and politics surprise. Recent investigations have proved that politics were always part of humanism's programme, that humanists had found in the ancient texts and recovered for modern use, new visions of civic life and new theories about society and governement.[59] Nevertheless, the uses of antiquity are not uniform and the interaction between late Enlightenment humanism and Greek patriotism remains superficial: a vacillating tergiversation of notions evolving unevenly across networks of varying density of content and diverging range of priorities.

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[59] For a succint overview of the relevant studies, see Anthony Grafton, *Bring out your Dead: The Past as Revelation*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001, pp. 1-15.