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Antiquarianism, Patriotism and Empire. Transfer of the cartography of the *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*, 1788-1811

Keywords: Late Enlightenment; Antiquarian cartography of Greece; Abbé Barthélemy; Anacharsis; Barbié du Bocage; Guillaume Delisle; Rigas Velestinlis *Charta*.

Summary

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 allows analysing 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 culture 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 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 realized: that the moment, so ardently desired, had arrived, of Greece's resurrection"².

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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. There is no recent evaluation of Barthélemy's work, except the few pages dedicated to it by 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, 716-18, 1150-53) and Anna Tabaki (*Ρήγα Βελεστινλή: Απαντα τα σωζόμενα. Νέος Ανάχαρσις*, vol. I, Athens, Greek Parliament, 2000, pp. 22-43).

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

Western antiquarian lore was recapitulated and actualized in *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*.³ Fiction cloaked as an account of the journeys of a young Hellenized Scythian around Greece between the battles of Leuctra and of Chaironeia, the work presented a utopian revival of Greek antiquity at the end of its Classical Age. For the Greece described in the *Younger Anacharsis* does indeed mirror French society of the age, a fact that was instantly recognized.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 Bourignon d'Anville (1697-1784) as well as of Barthélemy (and his successor at the numismatic collection of the Royal Library of France) undertook to compile an historical Atlas of Greece for the years treated in the book.⁸ 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 a 51 pages introduction.

Barbié du Bocage's Atlas enhanced the old tradition of antiquarian cartography, the humanistic endeavor that aimed to give the past a visual dimension. These works were planned as aids in the elucidation of texts related to antiquity, summarizing antiquarian knowledge on maps, meanwhile verifying its accuracy. At an initial stage, antiquity 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

³ On the sources of *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger* and its relations to the 18th century culture, see Chantal Grell, *Le Dix-huitième siècle et l'antiquité en France, 1680-1789*, 2 vols. Oxford, Voltaire Foundation 1995, pp. 342-350, 716-18, 1150-53.

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, de l'Imprimerie Impériale, 1810, p. 174.

⁵ Pierre Vidal Naquet, *Les Grecs, Les historiens, la démocratie*, 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(1997), pp. 135-154 ; Mireille Pastoureaux, « Histoire de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Géographie et cartographie à la BN pendant la Révolution : un rendez-vous manque », *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 32(1989), pp. 62-69. For his Greek work, see Georges Tolia, « A l'ombre des voyageurs. L'oeuvre 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 Daniel Philippides - Barbié du Bocage – Anthimos Gazis, *Αλληλογραφία (1794-1819)*, edited by Aikaterini Koumariou, 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 Twelfth-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

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 maps of the Greek regions, a wealth of 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 furthermore included plans of ancient Greek monuments (such as the Parthenon and the Theseion) as well as depictions of a Greek house, a gymnasium and a theatre. The Atlas, finally, also contained an emblematic image of late Enlightenment's Humanism: a depiction of Plato instructing his pupils below the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion (Fig.1).

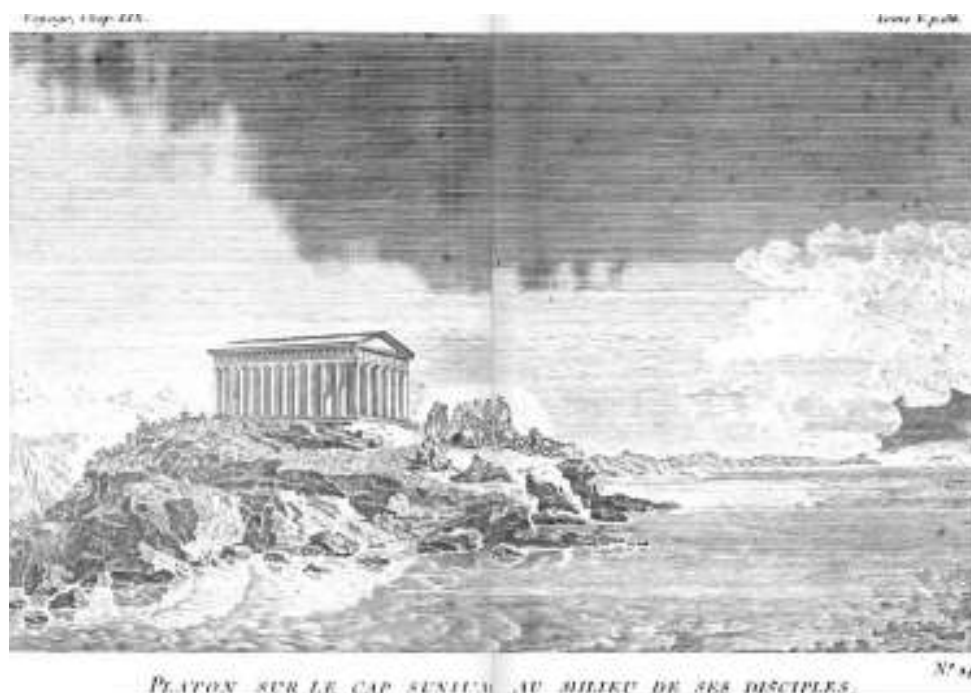


Fig. 1. Plato instructs his pupils below the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. From J. D. Barbié du Bocage, *Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce relatifs au voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (Paris, de Bure aîné, 1788, plate 24).

Eleven years after its first edition, in 1799, *Anacharsis's* Atlas was published in second, completely revised edition by Didot, in an impressive volume in folio.¹⁰ The atlas was now proposing an antiquarian restoration of ancient Greece's human and natural landscape since the original 31 plates, now revised and elegantly re-engraved, were supplemented by 8 new plates, containing views of monuments and ancient topography such as the elevation of the Acropolis's Propylea and the Parthenon, a perspective view of the Parthenon and Theseion, a view of Delphi). Furthermore, the atlas included Barthélemy's portrait and a 7 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 enterprise to revive the Greek past, this analogy is announced as the basic pattern in Barbié du Bocage's methodology. It is the

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.

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.

géographie critique et comparée,¹¹ an analytical learned syncretism of ancient and modern geographical material. Last transmutation of Humanism's antiquarian geography, comparative geography was intensively cultivated in 18th century France by a series of antiquarians, fellows of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, such as Nicolas Fréret (1688-1749), Abée Fourmont (1690-1746) and, mainly, d'Anville.¹² Their method consisted in a meticulous crosschecking of ancient and modern geography, since both these traditions "mutually enlighten and emend one another", as was summarized 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 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 d'Anville, Barthélemy, Fréret and 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

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/document140.html>, p. 2.

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

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

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

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 rejets 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 J. Vrin, 1984), pp. 45-46.

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 Catherine Hofmann, « Un géographe... », pp. 151-154.

¹⁹ See the Bory de Saint Vincent's virulent critic, in *Expédition Scientifique de la Morée tome II, 1ere partie, Géographie*, Paris, 1834, pp. 15-16.

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.



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). [Courtesy : M. Samourka map collection].

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 in the Atlas, 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 periods (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.

²⁰ See Catherine Hofmann, « Un géographe... », p. 151.

Tranfers 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 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 *Charta of Greece*, a mural map of Greece, in twelve large sheets, engraved and printed in Vienna by Franz Th. Müller, encompassing the entire Balkan Peninsula and western Asia Minor (Fig. 3).²⁴

²¹ On the Atlas diffusion see Georges Tolia, "A l'ombre des voyageurs...", pp. 363-369.

²² On Anacharsis Greek translation, see Anna Tabaki, *Ρήγα Βελεστινλή: Άπαντα τα σωζόμενα. Νέος Ανάχαρισς*, Athens, Greek Parliament, 2000, pp. 11-87.

²³ Idem

²⁴ *Χάρτα της Ελλάδος, εν ή περιέχονται αι νήσοι αυτής και μέρος των εις την Ευρώπην και Μικράν Ασίαν πολυαριθμών αποικιών αυτής, περιοριζόμενων απ' ανατολών διά των Μύρων της Λυκίας μέχρι του Αργαθονίου όρους της Βιθυνίας, απ' άρκτου διά του Ακ-Κερμανίου, των Καρπαθίων ορών και Δουνάβεως και Σάββα των ποταμών, από δυσμών διά του Ούνα και του Ιωνίου πελάγους, από Δε μεσημβρίας διά του Λιβυκού. Τα πλείω με τας παλαιάς και νέας ονομασίας. Προς Δε 9 επιπεδογραφίαι τινών περιφήμων πόλεων και τόπων αυτής, συντείνουσαι εις την κατάληψιν του Νέου Αναχάρσιδος, μία χρονολογία των βασιλέων και μεγάλων ανθρώπων αυτής, 161 τύποι ελληνικών νομισμάτων, ερανισθέντων εκ του αυτοκρατορικού ταμείου της Αουστρίας προς αμυδράν ιδεάν της αρχαιολογίας. Εν σώμα εις 12 τμήματα νυν πρώτον εκδοθείσα, παρά του Ρήγα Βελεστινλή Θετταλού, χάριν των Ελλήνων και φιλελλήνων. 1797. Εχαράχθη παρά του Φρανσουά Μήλλερ εν Βιεν. On Rhigas *Charta*, see Georgios Laios, «Οι χάρτες του Ρήγα», *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος*, 14(1960), pp. 231-312.*



Fig. 3. Rhigas Velestinlis, *Charta 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). [Courtesy : Aristotle University, Thessaloniki].

Rhigas' *Charta* 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 elevation 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' *Charta* 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 an historical and cultural (religious and linguistic)²⁵ definition of modern Greece, able to embrace the overall Greek presence in the area. *Anacharsis'* map of Greece by Barbié du Bocage (1788) 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

²⁵ In Rhigas' *Charta*, 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 Ρήγας Βελεστινλής, *Νέα Πολιτική Διοίκησης των κατοίκων της Ρούμελης, της Μικράς Ασίας, των Μεσογείων νήσων και της Βλαχμογονδανίας*, [Vienna, 1797], Paschalis Kitromilides (ed), *Ρήγα Βελεστινλή Άπαντα τα Σωζόμενα*, Athens, Greek Parliament, 2000, vol. V, 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 homogenizing the Orthodox Christian populations of the Ottoman Orient.

Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726), on two sheets, a work of the early 18th 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.

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 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 *Charta* attempts to legitimize the Greek dispersion within the multinational Ottoman Empire by referring to the colonial expansion of the ancient Greek cities. As defined by its title, the *Charta* presents the ancient Greek colonial network (*Charta of Greece, in which are comprised her islands, and part of her numerous colonies in Europe and Asia Minor*).²⁸ 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 times of the work's completion.



Fig. 4. Guillaume Delisle, *Graeciae Antiquae Tabula Nova...* (two sheets, Paris, 1707). [Courtesy : M. Samourka map collection].

²⁶ *Graeciae Antiquae Tabula Nova in qua locorum situs tum ad distantias itinerarias tum ad Observationes Astronomicas exactus litorum flexurae et alia id genus ad accuratas recentiorum rationes accommodatae 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 two works, see Dimitrios Karamberopoulos, *H «Χάρτα της Ελλάδος» του Ρήγα. Τα πρότυπά της και νέα στοιχεία*, Athens, 1998, pp. 57-80.

²⁸ See note 24.

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 a list of eminent ancient personalities (philosophers, kings, political and military leaders) followed by 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 Nikilaos 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 Renaissance Humanism's 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 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 *Charta* 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 under this aspect 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, the confiscation of his published works had as 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

²⁹ This specific perception of Greece is the expression of a conscious geographic and historical definition, pronounced a few years earlier by Iosepos 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, *Ηθική Φιλοσοφία*, Venice, Bortoli, 1761, vol I, p. ιδ'). See also Paschalis Kitromilides, «Πρώιμες έννοιες της διασποράς στην ελληνική σκέψη», *Ellinika* 48(1998), pp. 370-373.

³⁰ It is a separate print engraved in 1796: *Επιπεδογραφία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, του Κόλπου της, του Καταστένου της, της από το Σταυροδρόμι θέας της, των περι αυτήν και του Σαραγίου, με τας παλαιάς και νέας ονομασίας, παρά του ρήγα Βελεστινλή Θετταλού, Βιέννη 1796*.

³¹ See George Toliás, "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 C.F. Chasseboeuf, dit Volney, *Considérations sur la Guerre actuelle des Turcs*, Paris, 1788, and W. Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire...*, London, 1798. See also E. de Marcère, *Une ambassade a Constantinople. La politique orientale de la Révolution Française*, Paris, Alcan, 1924 and An. Bruneau, *Traditions et politique de la France au Levant*, Paris Alcan, 1932.

³³ Jean Yves Guimar et Marie-Thérèse Lorain « La carte de Rigas et le nom de la Grèce », *Annales historiques de La Révolution française*, 1(2000), pp. 101-125.

³⁴ The term use 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".

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 antiquarian map of Greece, addressed solely to the Greek public, as it is clearly stated in its title (*Geographical Map of Greece with ancient and modern names ... Dedicated to the Greek nation*),³⁶ suitably fitting in Gazis' educational and editorial programme. 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 modernization and Hellenization.³⁷

³⁵ On Anthimos Gazis, see Aikaterini Koumariou, *Δανιήλ Φιλιππίδης - Barbié du Bocage - Ανθιμος Γαζής, Αλληλογραφία*, pp. 233-237 and 271-274. On his relations to Rhigas, see L. Vranoussis, *Εφημερίς - έτος έβδομον -1797, Προλεγόμενα*, Athens, Academy of Athens, 1995, pp. 831-838. See also his unreasonably severe literary portrait by C. Th. Dimaras, *Ο Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Athens, Ermis, 1977, pp. 377-379.

³⁶ *Carte de la Grèce dressée d'après les descriptions les plus récentes par Fr. Th. Müller ... Πίναξ Γεωγραφικός της Ελλάδος με τα παλαιά και νέα ονόματα, επιδ.[ιορθωθείς] υπό Α.Α. Γαζή Μηλιώτου, και εκδοθείς παρά Φρανσουά Μύλλερ. Αφιερωθείς τω γένει των Ελλήνων. αω' 1800. Εν Βιέννη*. 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 on the existence of two different issues of the map.

³⁷ This strategy find 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.



Fig. 5. Antimos Gazis, *Geographical Map of Greece with ancient and modern names* (12 sheets, Vienna, Franz Th. Müller, 1800, second edition, 1810). [Courtesy : BNC Firenze].

Barbié du Bocage was aware of the re-issue of the map by Müller and Gazis, for he presented the work in the journal *Magazin Encyclopedique* in 1801.³⁸ It is most probable that Barbié du Bocage also knew of Rhigas' *Charta*, being in close contact with the Austrian Hellenists as well as with Greek intellectuals close to Rhigas and his circle. The *Charta* had been announced in the German as 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 *Charta* 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 *Map of Greece and its colonies*, thus

³⁸ Barbié du Bocage, « Notice abrégée des derniers travaux des Grecs modernes sur la Géographie », *Magazin Encyclopedique*, 4(1801), pp. 247-249.

³⁹ See Silvestre de Sacy, « Notice sur trois ouvrages de François-Charles Alter », *Magazin Encyclopedique*, 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 map collection bought by the National Library of France. However, the map is not mentioned in Barbié du Bocage's published library catalogue. See *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, p. [5].

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



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). [Courtesy: E. J. Finopoulos]

The *Map of Greece and its Colonies* was printed on two large sheets measuring 820 x 580 mm, this time containing the entire Balkan Peninsula, Eastern Asia Minor and the southern part of Italy.⁴³ The main reason that led Barbié du Bocage to add a map of the ancient Greek colonization to his Atlas was the requirements of the text that the Atlas accompanied. Another reason could be 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 inten-

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 à 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..., Ecrit par Giraldon.*

⁴⁴ See Dimitri Nicolaidis, *D'une Grèce à l'autre: Représentations des Grecs modernes par la France révolutionnaire*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1992.

sive 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 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 Philhellenes 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 message of the map 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 maps from the end of the 16th century to the outset of the 19th. 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, that published in the 1788 Atlas (*Greece and its Islands*), was plain and austere, without any decoration. Rhigas’ *Charta* on the other hand bore a mass of insets, enthusiastic paraphernalia of an emergent patriotism, such as Barbié du Bocage’s

⁴⁵ Such as Guilhem De Clermont-Lodève, Guillaume Emmanuel Joseph, Baron de Sainte-Croix, *Des anciens gouvernements 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 Lévesques critic of the Roman imperial administration. See Bon Joseph Dacier *Rapport Historique sur les progrès de l’histoire et de la littérature Ancienne*, op. cit., pp. 174-179. On the contrary, the ‘Philosophes’ were unimpressed and references to the ancient Greek colonisation are absent in the canonical French historical texts of the period, as Volney’s *Leçons* or the *Esquisse* 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 “Hellenoglosson Xenodocheion”. The society was presided 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 on the period before the battle of Chaironia. For the “Hellenoglosson Xenodocheion” see Georges Tolia, *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 (ed.), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 277-312 idem, “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, especially on p. 22.

topographical and architectural plans, the 161 ancient coins, the large-sized view of Constantinople, complex wind roses in four 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).

The cartouche of Delisle's map contains an emblematic illustration of ancient Greek civilization, characterized 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 feminine figure is depicted enthroned in front of a temple. She holds a quill in her right hand (symbolizing 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, with elements referring to cult, athletics contests and commerce. In the lower part of the cartouche, two Humanists are conversing, holding their open books.



Fig. 7. Detail showing the cartouche of Guillaume Delisle's *Græciae Antiquae Tabula Nova...* (Paris, 1707, see Fig. 4). It is a symbolic representation of the ancient Greek civilization, characterized by the advancement of letters, the arts, sciences and commerce. [Courtesy : M. Samourka map collection].

Rhigas retained most of the elements of Delisle's cartouche, adding Homer's *Odyssey*, at the feet of the feminine 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 Humanists in the lower part of the cartouche by a new triptych illustration (Fig. 8). Here, in the centre, Hercules is shown fighting an Amazon. On the right there is a basso-relievo depict-

⁴⁹ For the content of the term 'Civilization' from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, see the ever valuable discussion between 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, 265-289.

ing 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 Cataclysm. The *Argo* symbolizes the outset of the Greek peregrinations and their first penetration into the opulent Orient. Hercules fighting the Amazon has recently been the object of an interesting analysis, according to which the image is 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.⁵⁰ Hercules' wooden club symbolizes the superiority of the Greek civilization, whilst the double axe of the mounted Amazon symbolizes Asian despotism. The axe is shown to be broken, connecting the allegory to Rhigas' republican movement and intimating the impending defeat of the Ottomans.⁵¹

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. The vision of empire was hibernating 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 *Charta*, by publishing a portrait of Alexander the Great.⁵² Rhigas' cartographic allegory of empire however alluded to a republican Greek 'Grande Nation', since the struggle between Hercules and the Amazon symbolized the fight of civilization 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 civilization 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).⁵³ Greek civilization 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."⁵⁴

⁵⁰ See Loukia Droulia, «Η πολυσημία των συμβόλων και το 'ρόπαλον του Ηρακλέους' του Ρήγα», *O Eranistis* 21(1997), pp. 129-142. See also Antonis Liakos, «Ο Ηρακλής, οι Αμαζόνες και οι 'τραγανιστές βουκίτσες.' Αμαπαραστάσεις του φύλου και της εξουσίας στο έργο του Ρήγα», *Mnimon* 23(2001), pp. 99-112.

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. According to the key of the map, the wooden club symbolizes the Greek force, whilst the double axe symbolizes the Persian force. The fight between Hercules and the mounted Amazon symbolizes the struggle of Western civilization against Asian despotism. The association of Turks and ancient Persians is common in the Greek writings since the 15th century, if not earlier. It is an interesting construct, 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 an equivalent western notion that considered the Turks as descendants of the ancient Trojans, and justifying the Ottoman conquest as a retribution for the destruction of Troy (See Terence Spencer, «Greeks and Trojans in the Renaissance», *Modern Language Review* 42(1952), 330-333.).

⁵² See Olga Grazziou, «Το μονόφυλλο του Ρήγα του 1797. Παρατηρήσεις στην νεοελληνική εικονογραφία του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου», *Mnimon* 8(1980-82), pp. 130-149.

⁵³ For the symbolic functions of Athena, see Loukia Droulia, «Η Θεά Αθηνά, θεότητα έμβλημα του Νέου Ελληνισμού», *Οι Χρήσεις της Αρχαιότητας από τον Νέο Ελληνισμό*, Athens, Εταιρεία Σπουδών Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού και Γενικής Παιδείας, 2002.

⁵⁴ «Τα τ'εϊσέπειτα ση κυβερνώμαι χειρί»,



Fig. 8. Detail showing the cartouche of Rhigas Velentinis, *Charta 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 basso-relievo depicting the myth of Deucalion, and the Argonauts' ship, the *Argo*. [Courtesy : Aristotle University, Thessaloniki].



Fig. 9. Detail showing the cartouche of Antimos Gazis, *Geographical Map of Greece* (Vienna, Franz Th. Müller, 1800, second edition, 1810, see Fig. 5). Anthimos Gazis armed Delisle's and Rhigas' allegoric figure of Greek civilization. She is wearing a helmet and, together with the quill and the caduceus, holds a spear, and is leaning on Athena's shield. [Courtesy : BNC Firenze].

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 realize 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 reorganization 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 '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 to 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 the year of the map's completion (1809).



Fig. 10. Detail showing the cartouche of J. D. Barbié du Bocage, *Carte générale de la Grèce et d'une grande partie de ses colonies*, (Paris, Didot, 1811, see Fig. 6). It is an allegory of colonization, 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. [Courtesy: E. J. Finopoulos]

The illustration of Barbié du Bocage's '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.⁵⁵ The cartouche is dominated by an upright naked Belvedere Apollo, standing on a column behind a boulder on which the title of

⁵⁵ « 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. ... Au bas du piédestal de la statue, sont les attributs des Lettres et des Arts, si bien cultivés en Grèce. 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.

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, also symbols of the arts and sciences, and a hive with a swarm of bees, symbolizing 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.

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.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, however subconsciously these associations may have worked, Barbié du Bocage functioned above all as an Hellenist. His 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 civilizing process and the rise of universalism.⁵⁷ This last interpretation is reinforced by the fact that all the map's symbols refer to the arts and sciences, whilst the pacific and civilizing 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.

Cultural transfers and late Enlightenment Humanism

Cultural transfers are common currency within an international fellowship such as the Humanists' *Republic of Letters*. Thus, the incorporation in Rhigas' *Charta* of elements from Barbié du Bocage's Atlas, and the latter's adoption of Rhigas' and Gazis' proposal are typical of Humanism's perennial process of exchanges. Nonetheless, the successive transfers of the map of Ancient Greece into diverse environments originated a series of transferrals in the cognitive, as well as the symbolic content of the work.

As our analysis has shown, the perception of Greek antiquity was not uniform, neither within the same cultural environment nor during the process of its assimilation by a different environment. 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. Late Enlightenment Humanism appears to have operated as an open channel of communication between French and modern-Greek intellectuals, imposing reciprocities that do not appear with the same intensity in other sectors of culture.

It is known that late Enlightenment Humanism, characterized by its renewed interest in Greek studies, did not have the same content in all quarters of Europe, nor was it perceived in the same way within the boundaries of each national culture. In some, such as Germany's (neo-Humanism), it was engaged in the formation of the national identity, whereas elsewhere, such as in France and Italy with their uninterrupted humanistic tradition, it was perceived as a second Renaissance (*retour à l'antique*). In England, finally, it became involved in the aesthetic movement of the 'Greek

⁵⁶ 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 a 1799*, Paris, 1956.

⁵⁷ See Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*, Baltimore and London, John Hopkins University Press, 2003, 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.

Revival'.⁵⁸ The Greek response could, nonetheless, evolve but unevenly across this network of varying density of content and diverging range of priorities, with the upshot of reproduction of outdated forms or production of hybrids. The Greek responses to late Enlightenment Humanism are without a doubt complex: on the one hand, the traditional and often pedantic attachment to sterile survivals of the ancient heritage – an endemic syndrome of Greek scholarship – was strengthened. At the same time, Greek studies were linked to the demands of the rising Greek nationalism, as Humanism offered modern Greeks commonly accepted and internationally recognized credentials. As our example has shown, Humanism provided the necessary conditions to enable the incorporation of western European antiquarian elaborations in the political definition of modern Greece.

However indicative our example may be, it cannot alone bear all the weight of the argument. The reciprocity of philology, antiquarian erudition and politics between European Hellenism and modern Greece needs to be thoroughly investigated. Research should be conducted on a systematic series of examples and a variety of networks, in order to analyze the multiple causes that imposed this reciprocity, and to evaluate its impact on the societies in question.

⁵⁸ A synthetic approach to late Enlightenment humanism is to date still missing. The German instance has been the object of a recent analysis (Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1996, especially pp. 14-35). For the French Hellenism case, see Bon – Joseph Dacier, *Tableau historique de l'érudition française ou rapport sur les progrès de l'histoire et de la littérature ancienne en France depuis 1789. Précédé d'une notice sur l'auteur par Silvestre de Sacy et accompagné de notes complémentaires 1808-1862*, Paris, Ducroq, 1863; Emile Egger, *L'Hellenisme en France, Leçons sur l'influence des études grecques dans le développement de la langue et de la littérature françaises*, Paris, 1869, Maurice Badolle, *L'abbé J.-J. Barthélemy*, and Chantal Grell *Le Dix-huitième siècle et l'antiquité en France*. For hellenism in Britain and the Greek Revival, see Terence Spenser, *Fair Greece Sad Relic: Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron*, London, 1954 (especially the last three chapters) and J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival*, London, 1972.