

A NEW VIEW ON THE FRENCH CARTOGRAPHIC MAPPING FOOTPRINTS IN THE EARLY LIFE OF THE NEW GREEK STATE (1827-1834)

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SUMMARY

Searching for the deeper roots of the shortcomings faced by the Greek state today and in its relations with the society in the field of land policy, land-administration and land-management and development, where the “cartographic deficit” is more than evident, we arrive inevitable in the early stages of the creation of the New Greek state in the second decade of nineteenth century. At that time, in the general frame of the historic circumstances leading to the Greek War of Independence and the establishment of a new state, some very interesting “French connections” emerged from the study of sources and new findings give fresh views on the French cartographic mapping footprints during the critical and exceptionally unstable early life in the formation of the New Greek state (1827-1834). It is shown that international policies, unfortunate events and imponderables, ideological conflicts and power rivalries, all involving in a way some French influence in the first decades of nineteenth century, played a role to cancel any attempt tried at that early times in order to introduce relevant institutional structures for a systematic state mapping in a country almost totally devastated by a fierce struggle for independence.

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that before the period we deal with here, an intense French cartographic activity in representing on maps and charts the wider and/or closer land and sea territory where the contemporary Greek state is extended, was carried out during the entire eighteenth century. Prominent cartographers of the calibre of Delisle and d’Anville, a number of active hydrographers and personalities like Choisseul-Gouffier and Barbié du Bocage, later in the century, are among those who contributed in accumulating an important relevant cartographic heritage which is well known among the scholars active in the domain of History of Cartography (for an extensive discussion see Livieratos, 2009; also Boutoura et al., 2011).

As reported in the relevant literature of the second decade of nineteenth century, French maps are used by the Greeks in the battle fields of their War of Independence (1821-1830; for an introduction see ref. Wiki 1) both in the land and in the sea, e.g., the 1807 classified map *Semi-topographique du Morée* by Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage (Quérard, 1827) or, most probably, the 1822 map by Pierre Lapie (Dufour, 1826).

Referring to the relevant cartobibliography, related to the French cartographic activities in the area during the first half of nineteenth century, it is less known the unfortunate impact of the French policy in the efforts of the first Governor of the newly born Greek state, Count Ioannis Kapodistrias (e.g. Crawley, 1957; Woodhouse 1973; for an introduction see ref. Wiki 2), in order to establish a French-referenced state cartography and a state referenced mapping activity in the years of his administration (1827-1831).

The paper focuses on two key, but decisively unfortunate, events which occurred in the first seven years of the life of the new state (1827-1834) involving in the first case the French strategy in the region and its official policy in the Greek affairs at the time and in the second case, surprisingly, the influence of some new French social ideas, strongly questioned and considered as subversive at that time, which were spread in the state administration under the Bavarian Regency, at the beginning of King Otto’s reign in Greece (for an introduction see ref. Wiki 3). Both events, which apparently played a determinant role keeping Greek state cartography in an abortive state, for almost sixty more years, neglecting thus the introduction and the development of state land mapping authorities in Greece.

THE FIRST MAPPING ATTEMPT IN THE KAPODISTRIAS ADMINISTRATION (1827-1831)

After the beginning of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, the first serious attempt to organize the New Greek state, according to the European standards, is without doubt due to Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776-1831, Figure 1, Left). A nobleman, diplomat and politician from Corfu who was already in Switzerland (on leave from his high rank diplomatic service in Russia, starting in 1806 and reaching its apogee from 1816 until 1822 as the Czar’s foreign minister) when he accepted in 1827 the invitation to serve as the first Governor of Greece.

This outstanding personality in the top European politics of that time, tried to introduce a European-type of centralized power in a country used for centuries in a decentralized life, where local leaders, under Ottoman commission, ruled on personal or family basis mainly for their own interests. Having to face international political difficulties because of his previous responsibilities, Kapodistrias tried to apply the

European institutional experiences and administrative practices in management and economics, encountering strong opposition from local leaders, who finally led to his assassination in the age of fifty-five.

We now know that among Kapodistria's very first concerns in organizing a new state, which was for centuries far beyond the political and administrative practices applied in the other parts of Europe which were not under the Ottoman rule, was the land mapping of the territory which was considered to become the New Greek state. This concern about maps as a fundamental tool for the administration and state organization was explicitly stated in the late 1827, when the Governor in loneliness was waiting in Ancona the British ship which was expected to bring him in Greece in order to take his offices (this happened at last in the early 1828, via Malta, aboard HMS *Warspite* which brought Kapodistrias in Nafplion in 7/18 January 1828).

In Kapodistria's *Correspondance* (Bétant 1839) there is his letter, never brought in evidence before (Livieratos 2009) dated November 1827 from Ancona, to Count Nikolaos Loverdos (1773-1837), born in Cephalonia, an influential high rank official close to the French War ministry (reference about Loverdos' influence on French military, see Themeli-Katifori 1985; also see ref. Wiki 4). The Governor asks for Loverdos' intermediation to the French military in order to have urgently a new map of Greece, proper for administrative uses. As map model, according to Kapodistrias, was referenced the Lapie's 1826 map (in 1:400000), which was evaluated by the Governor as insufficient, mainly in scale, for the specific needs he had in mind in order to organize the country and the state. The relevant paragraph of this historic letter, with the cartographic reference, in the French original is the following:

... Permettez-moi de revenir par votre obligeante entremise, et auprès de S. E. le ministre de la guerre, sur l'affaire d'un canevas de la carte géographique de la Grèce; celle de Lapie en quatre feuilles, faite de mieux, pourrait servir de modèle. Je désire en avoir quelques exemplaires gravés en grandissime échelle. Ces exemplaires ne porteraient que les contours, le tracé des montagnes et des rivières, et celui des différentes provinces. Ces canevas offriraient un bon sujet de travail pour une carte véritable, et à son temps ils me faciliteraient des travaux statistiques et administratifs. D'un mot seul le ministre de la guerre me porterait un grand secours, et je l'espère de sa bienveillance.

This document of a rare, for a politician, cartographic knowledge, understanding and awareness, demonstrates Kapodistrias' deep preparation in perceiving the importance of mapping and maps and their implementation in a country's affairs. It is important to underline here that the Governor's concern on mapping and maps is an expressed top priority before his arrival in Greece to take his offices.

Giving urgent priority in this requested map, Kapodistrias looks like having a concrete understanding of cartography as well, since he knows about the effect of scale (when he asks for a *grandissime échelle*) and the relevant cartographic terminology when he writes about e.g. the *canevas* and the *contours*. He is also highly realistic, as far as the mapping technology is concerned. He speaks about a provisional map, since any other solution is impossible, in the largest possible scale representing the basic terrain natural features, enough to assist the Governor's statistical and administrative affairs. He gives also ideas on how his request can be satisfied fast indicating as basis the map the Lapie 1826 map, even if this map seem insufficient for the Governor (*...celle de Lapie en quatre feuilles, faite de mieux, pourrait servir de modèle*). Finally he considers the requested map as the starting for a next definitive map (*...pour une carte véritable..*) properly done in due time. With this offered perspective, on a possible French future military involvement in the regular mapping of Greece, Kapodistria's diplomatic skills is more than evident!

From the first actions of the Governor associated to the mapping to the regulation of the territory and to the land management, it is obvious that the outstanding politician has a complete and mature understanding about this fundamental prerequisite for the establishment of the state and the development of the country. Aside his mapping priorities three other Kapodistria's concerns are relevant to land spatial issues:

- a) The demarcation and the mapping of the borderline of the new state,
- b) The distribution of national lands (McGraw 1985) to the landless, to get rid of dependencies of powerful land-patrons, and
- c) The construction of a new urban structure including the reconstruction of destroyed towns, as confirmed by the completion of nine projects for as many towns, among them Nafplion, Argos, and Tripolis, the devastated city in the first year of the Greek Revolution.

In May 1828 arrived in Greece four French officers of the scientific corps (*armes savants*, see e.g. Bret 2003 for a discussion on the French tradition in the engagement of science and theory to military technology and practice). The military in official mission, exclusively attached at the services of the Governor of Greece, are the captain engineer Théodore-Auguste Garnot, the artillery captain Henry Pauzié,

the lieutenant engineer Stamatis Voulgaris (Stamati Bulgari in the French bibliography), who related his name with the birth of town-planning in Greece, coetaneous and compatriot to Kapodistrias (both from Corfu), whose name is mentioned in the Governor's historic letter to Loverdos, and finally, for the cartography project, the experienced and talented lieutenant engineer-geographer Jean-Pierre-Eugène-Félicien Peytier (1793- 1864, Figure 1, Right) a member of the elite group of geodesists (*officiers géodésiens*) who took part in the mapping campaign of the Pyrenees (1825-1827).

It is not quite certain if Kapodistrias opted for the French assistance, for his engineering and mapping plans, due to the presence of the influencing Loverdos close to the War ministry in Paris or because he appreciated the French merits in the subject during his involvement in the Russian diplomatic service. The fact is that though the three of the group (Garnot, Pauzié and Voulgaris) remained by the Governor and in his services, during the whole period of the Kapodistrian administration, Peytier was the only one who, from the very beginning, could not work on the mapping project on behalf of Greece, as he was supposed to do. Just after almost six months in mission by the Governor, with practically no concrete results, the French Army Staff orders his withdrawing and his joining with the troops of General Maison (January 1829) in order to participate in the cartographic work of the *Expédition de Morée* (for a first approach, see ref. Wiki 5). The French cartographic mission in Greece lasted, in two phases, almost half a century, until the mid-nineteenth century. The first phase from 1829 to 1832 (Peytier et al. 1834) resulted the map of Peloponnese (*Carte de Morée*) in six-sheets (1:200000) printed in Paris and sent, after request, for government use in Greece only in one-hundred complimentary copies!



Figure 1. Left: The Governor Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776-1831). Right: The Geodesist Jean-Pierre-Eugène-Félicien Peytier (1793- 1864).

It is obvious that Kapodistrias' plans to introduce cartography and mapping as a state affair in a newborn country, starting from zero, was just an unfortunate illusion! International policies and balances of international power, neglected the first attempt of the country for a state mapping. The irony of history here is that Greece lost the opportunity to introduce cartography and mapping with a promised French assistance, because of the coinciding change of priorities in the French strategy in the region. With the withdrawing of Peytier from his mission by Governor Kapodistrias, the *Carte de Morée* was constructed, the first scientific map of Greek territory ever made (Livieratos 2009; Ploutoglou et al. 2011), but the New Greek state lost the first opportunity to establish its own mapping system, as Kapodistrias planned to do with French aid.

THE SECOND MAPPING ATTEMPT IN THE BAVARIAN REGENCY ADMINISTRATION (1832-1835)

After the assassination of Kapodistrias in 1831, following the 1830 London Protocol, about the sovereignty of Greece, the 1832 Convention of London adopted Greece as an independent kingdom, under the protection of Britain, France and Russia (Figure 2). The minor prince Otto of Bavaria was selected as the first king who reigned till 1862, under Constitution from 1843. Like Kapodistrias, Otto arrived in Nafplion in January 1833 aboard a British ship, HMS *Madagascar*, accompanied by a three-member

Regency Council in power until 1835. The prominent, by far, figure of the Bavarian regency administration was the jurist Georg Ludwig von Maurer (1790-1872), professor in the University of Munich (for an introduction see ref. Wiki 6).



Figure 2. A wall painting (1840) in the Hellenic Parliament by Thomas Guggenberger depicting the consultations over a map of Greece during the preparations for the London Protocol in 1830.

In 1834 two technical Bureaus (i.e. public services) will operate in the ministry of Interior: The Bureau for architecture and the Bureau for Topography, both headed by Bavarian officials; the first by E. Schaubert (with Stamatis Kleanthis are the state architects who prepared the first city plan of Athens in 1833) and the second by the surveyor D. A. Gübhard. Shortly before the end of the Bavarian administration in 1842, these two offices are staffed with eight architects and sixteen surveyors respectively (Chatzis 2003). It is worth mentioning here the participation of Gübhard in the innovative and visionary, for that time in Greece, Bureau for public economy which was established the same year (1834), when he was minister of Interior Ioannis Kolettis (1773-1847, see ref. Wiki 7), twice prime minister, the first time for a short period (1834-1835) during the early phase of the Bavarian administration and the second as the first constitutional prime minister (1844-1847); a Pisa physician and controversial personality, devoted to active and high rank politics very close to France and to the French ideas of the time.

The Bureau for public economy was the second big chance to introduce a state mapping structure and activity in the country, together with important civic institutions introduced actually at the same time by von Maurer. Chorography, surveying and geodesy aiming at the construction of an accurate official map, of the young kingdom, are among the targets of the Bureau together with, e.g., the census, the cadastre, the register of mines and antiquities, the road construction and infrastructures and on top of all the preparation of new settlements in the available national lands for Greek settlers from the Diaspora but also for foreign investors already interested for land development (Baloglou 2003).

The land policy, as part of the public economy, was concretized in the Bureau and had the full support of Georg Ludwig von Maurer, who considered that this Bureau was an institution "...characteristic of all the advanced states" capable to contribute in the development of the country. Mapping was of course the main tool for that. In contrast to the head of the Bavarian regency Count Joseph Ludwig von Armansperg, Maurer was open to the new ideas spread in Europe at that time. People close to the Bureau and its perspectives were reflecting "progressive" ideas and soon accused as followers of Saint-Simon's theories on the issues relevant to the economy and its impact in the society.



Figure 3. Left: Claude Henri de Rouvroy de Saint-Simon (1760-1825). Middle: Georg Ludwig von Maurer (1790-1872). Right: Ioannis Kolettis (1773-1847).

Maurer's support was not enough to save Kolettis' initiative and the Bureau was abolished almost just after its foundation coinciding with Maurer's withdrawn in Munich. Armansperg was the winner, the members of the Bureau prosecuted for conspiracy actions associated to "Saint-Simonianism" (*saint-simonisme*), which according to Metternich "was a subversive doctrine which undermine order and instigate the mass of the proletariat against the owners" (Baloglou 2003). Maybe Armansperg shared Metternich's ideas on the issue, in contrast to Maurer's ideas, but the fact is that this second historical chance to establish a state mapping authority in Greece was evaporated due to another "French connection", associated not this time with the power of the military plans of France but with the new ideological currents blowing from this country, considered as subversive for the order established in the post-Napoleonic Europe.

After this second unfortunate opportunity to establish a mapping authority, there is a shortcoming which lasted for more than half a century, when another great statesman, Charilaos Trikoupis (see e.g. ref. Wiki 8), established in 1889 the state (military) mapping authority, with the Austrian assistance this time (Livieratos 2009; 2010).

In the mean time, the maps even if not of the state's interest seem to concern, as a cultural and educational good, the enlightened Greeks of the European Diaspora who consider maps as fundamental for the educational institutions of the young state. In a touching letter, dated 1836, to Ioannis Kolettis (Kolettis Archive, Academy of Athens), now ambassador in Paris, in a "diplomatic exile" since 1835, after the conflict with Armansperg and the leave of Maurer from Athens, the composer, scholar and benefactor Konstantinos Agathophron Nikolopoulos (1786–1841, see e.g. Fink 1972), established since his early days in Paris, notify the well informed about maps ambassador that "is in danger the generous donation of doctor Mesikos for sending one thousand maps of Barbié du Bocage's "old" Greece, for free distribution in Greek schools". Nikolopoulos is concerned for the outcome of the donation because of doctor Mesikos' recent death and urges Kolettis to find a solution to this problem, also because the French cartographer is not in life (Barbié died in 1825).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper two events in 1828 and in 1834, of French flavor both, are presented based on recent research (Livieratos 2009). Due to these events of respectively political-military and political-ideological character constrained to failure the possibility to establish a state mapping activity in the early stages of the New Greek state. In both cases the failure was related to two fatal "withdrawals": First, the withdrawal of Peytier, in 1828, from his mission by Kapodistrias, where he was appointed following the Governor's 1827 request to the War ministry in Paris, in order to organize the state mapping of Greece. Peytier's accession in the Maison's troops for the case of the *Expédition de Morée*, just after six months of service by Governor Kapodistrias, contributed to the construction of the legendary *Carte de Morée* but on the other hand deprived the likely possibility of creating a Greek state cartography. Second, the withdrawal of Maurer and Kolettis from the Bavarian regency administration to his university chair in Munich the first and to the Greek embassy in Paris the second, was associated to their conflicts with Armansperg, in straight relation (among other) with the establishment by Kolettis of the Bureau for public economy with Maurer's firm support. This Bureau, supposed to operate as a state mapping agency, in the frame of a more general land development plan, was repealed by the birth for reasons related to the alleged Saint-Simonianism ideas of the Bureau's members. Saint-Simonianism, of French origin of course, was not in line with the dominating, in the Bavarian regency, Armansperg's ideas and practices, peculiarly popular

among the Greeks, who in any case were not in favor of innovative institutions oriented in putting order in the land related affairs.

More than half a century passed from these two events, fatal in the early mapping history of Greece, in order to have in 1889 the solid basis for a state agency for mapping, under the strict and decided military control which lasted until the last quarter of twentieth century. Of course, more research is needed in order to conclude definitively on whether these French “footprints” constrained in its whole the cartographic history of the New Greek state. For sure, it constrained the first steps of its existence. On the other hand we know that the causes of the cartographic adventures that this country is more or less still facing, are related to deeper reasons of complicated political, social, economic, educational and cultural origin associated with the ancestral mutual relationships between the state and the society with respect to a particular and strong psychological perception concerning the land, as property, as use and as abuse.

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