

Maria Pazarli\*

## On the early 19th c. map by Gaetan Palma, printed in Trieste, 1811

*Keywords:* Gaetan Palma, 19<sup>th</sup> century cartography of Greece, mapping of South Eastern Europe.

### *Summary*

During the first decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century, concerning the historical context, the European cartography shows a special interest for the mapping of South Eastern Europe. Among other maps, a bilingual French/Greek map of “European Turkey, former Greece” is edited in Trieste in 1811 by Gaetan Palma. In this paper, starting from the analysis of its “external cartographic recognition” and after examining the “backstage” of its preparation, concerning a possible involvement of well known military and scientific personalities of its era, Gaetan Palma’s map is put in comparative evidence with other maps of the same area, using digital processes, giving new insights as important element of Greek cartographic heritage.

### Introduction

During the early 19th century, Europe confronted major changes, concerning its political and geo-strategic context. After Napoleon Bonaparte<sup>1</sup> seized control of the French Republic in 1799, making himself Emperor of the First French Empire (1804–1814) and in the course of several wars, the French armies conquered most of continental Europe. The French interest for the Adriatic coasts is the first step for a further expansion to the East, to the tumbledown Ottoman Empire. Some years before, in 1797, Napoleon Bonaparte conquered Venice, and by the Treaty of Campo Formio the Ionian Islands found themselves under French rule. In 1807, after a short interval of Russian protection, in agreement with the Sublime Porte, the islands were ceded again to the French and directly annexed to the French Empire, till 1814.

In 1811, when Gaetan Palma issued in Trieste his map of European Turkey / Greece (figure 1), the Napoleonic Empire reaches its apogee and the French forces have a strong presence in Dalmatian region. As a result of French aspirations on the Ottoman Empire, based on the domination of the Dalmatian coasts and the Ionian Islands, the French cartography shows a great interest to map these areas, during the last years of 18th century: In stereotypic cartographic catalogues which were in circulation during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century we often find a great number of maps depicting the area of South-Eastern Europe, under ottoman rule at that time: e.g., in the published catalogue of prince Lobanov-Rostovski’s library (1823)<sup>2</sup> more than 120 maps are registered under the entry “Ottoman Empire” (figure 2). Among them, we find the map of European Turkey by Gaetan Palma, printed in Trieste, in 2 maps sheets according to the catalogue (actually, the map was printed in 4 map sheets), in Greek and Latin / French language. The reference to the bilingual map is very important for Greek cartography, as this map depicting parts of the actual Greek territory is just the third published in Greek language, after the two other cartographic national monuments of Greek Enlightenment, the maps of Greece by Rigas Velestinlis (*Charta*, 1796-97) and Anthimos Gazis (*Pinax*, 1800), edited only a few years before Palma. Moreover, Palma’s map is the first published in Greek language by a non-Greek cartographer.<sup>3</sup> The entry ends up with the comment, that this

---

\* Archaeologist; MSc in History; Candidate Doctor, Faculty of Surveying Engineering, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki [pazarli@topo.auth.gr]. The paper was presented in oral form in the 4<sup>th</sup> International Workshop on Digital Approaches to Cartographic Heritage, Venice, 2009.

<sup>1</sup> M. Lyons, 1994.

<sup>2</sup> A. Y. Lobanov-Rostovski, 1823. See also the relevant work by G. Tolia 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Representing Greece and SE Europe.

map, made by order of Duke of Ragusa when he was the Governor of Illyria, is the first one that provides us with an almost *exact knowledge* of the area!

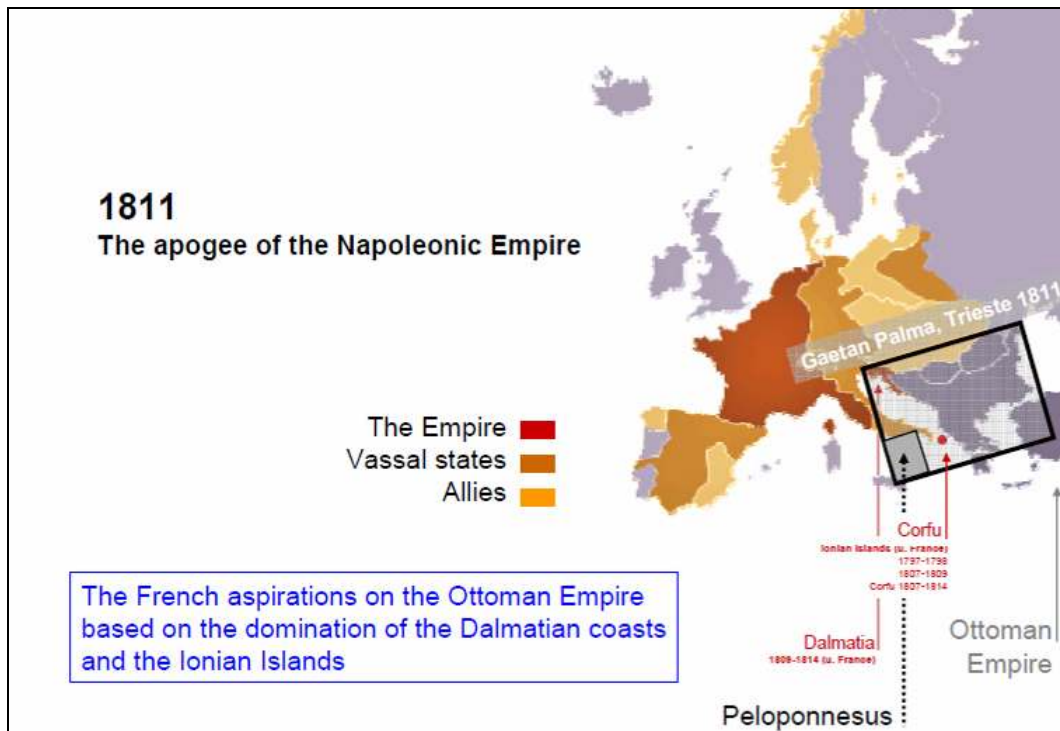


Figure 1. The area of SE Europe presented in Palma’s map.



Figure 2. Maps under the entry “Ottoman Empire” in the catalogue of prince Lobanov-Rostovski’s library (1823).

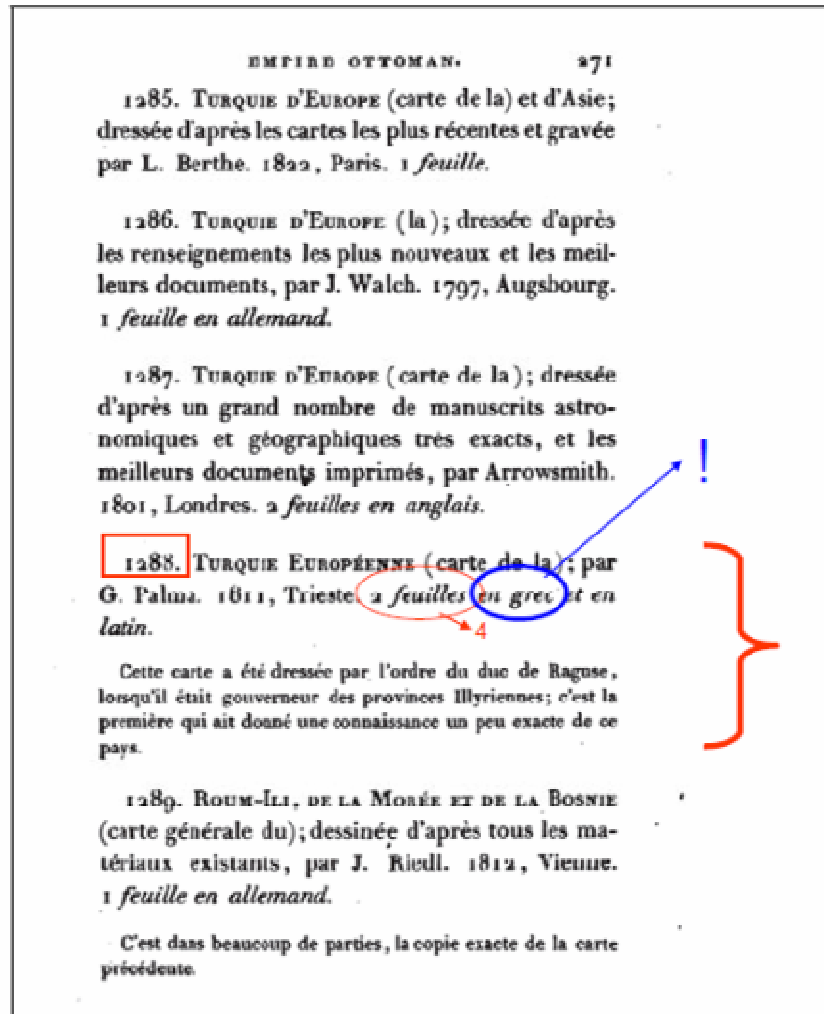


Figure 3. The reference to Palma's map in the catalogue of prince Lobanov-Rostovski's library (1823).

### The map

The geographic window (figure 4) is including the area from the peninsula of Istria to the coasts of Black Sea and from Wallachia and Croatia to the north coasts of Peloponnese. Moreover, Peloponnese (Morea) is depicted in an inset, preserving the same scale of 1:450.000 as in the main map. The island of Crete is missing, while we could note some deficiencies in the representation of Aegean and Ionian islands, probably due to the emphasis given to the continental part of Balkan Peninsula. The map, entitled in French *Carte de la plus Grande Partie de la Turquie d'Europe* (figure 5), is dedicated to the enlightened political and military governor of Dalmatia Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de Marmont and, according to his author, it was made using old material, corrected by recent astronomic observations to the coastlines and according the material provided by various voyagers.

The map is bilingual: The important thing here is that the Greek title (figure 6) is different than the French one: We have the addition "Map of European Turkey, formerly Greece", while the name of the cartographer is Hellenised to *Γαετάνος Πάλμα*. This specific reference to Greece only to the Greek title is probably addressed to the Greek users of the map.



Figure 4. Gaetan Palma, French *Carte de la plus Grande Partie de la Turquie d'Europe / Χάρτης της Ευρωπαϊκής Τουρκίας, πάλαι μεν Ελλάδας*, Trieste, 1811, 110X75 cm (Digital free provider of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze).



Figure 5. The French title of Palma's map.



Figure 6. The Greek title on Palma’s map.

Peloponnese, represented in the inset of the map (figure 7), is a region of great interest for the Western geo-strategic policies, after the fall of Byzantine Empire. From the middle of the 15th century, the western aspirations for the East meet the repeated attempts for founding west-dependent domains<sup>4</sup>.



Figure 7. The inset with the depiction of Peloponnese. Peloponnese was an old subject (since mid 15<sup>th</sup> cent.) of ideas, originated mainly in Italy, for the formation of a protected Christian state.

<sup>4</sup> Unpublished oral presentation in the 4<sup>th</sup> ICA International Workshop on *Digital Approaches to Cartographic Heritage*, Venice, 2009, by M. Daniil, A. Tsorlini, C. Boutoura. Also the unpublished invited contribution by E. Livieratos, 2009

## The research

After this first short “external” analysis of Palma’s map, a further research (figure 8) could possibly examine topics as:

- The origins of the cartographer: from up-to-now research, we lack evidences about Gaetan Palma. His cartographic production is limited, as only one more map is known, the map of Illyria, edited in Trieste the following year.
- The historical context, referring to the French presence in the region, in a time when the interest of cartographers is shifting from the representations of islands to the representation of continental regions, considering the oversupply of itineraries made by voyagers throughout the late 18th-early 19th centuries.
- The cartographic origins and relevance with other maps of the same context.
- The Trieste “Greek-connection”, referring to a possible relation of Palma or his map with Trieste’s Greek community. A very powerful community, counting 1000-1500 members at the ending of 18th c., a 2,5 - 4,5% of the total population. A very wealthy community as well, playing an important role to all commercial, banking and insurance activities: Between 1805-7 there was 15 insurance companies in Trieste with activities all over Europe and Mediterranean Seas, 4 of them in Greek hands, while in 1811 the “Glycofridi e Rotta” company worth more than 80.000 florins. The well known and very powerful Giovanni and Giorgio Plastara and most of all Demetrio Carcioti are included among its members. Concerning the fact that Trieste’s Greek community was by tradition friendly to the Austrians, we may explain a possible gesture on behalf of French to approach the members of the Greek community.<sup>5</sup>

In a second step, the cartographic research extends to the geometric characteristics of the map, e.g. the study of the coastline, with a special interest for the bilingual toponyms, especially in comparison with the previous two Greek maps and the following foreign maps of Greek cartography.

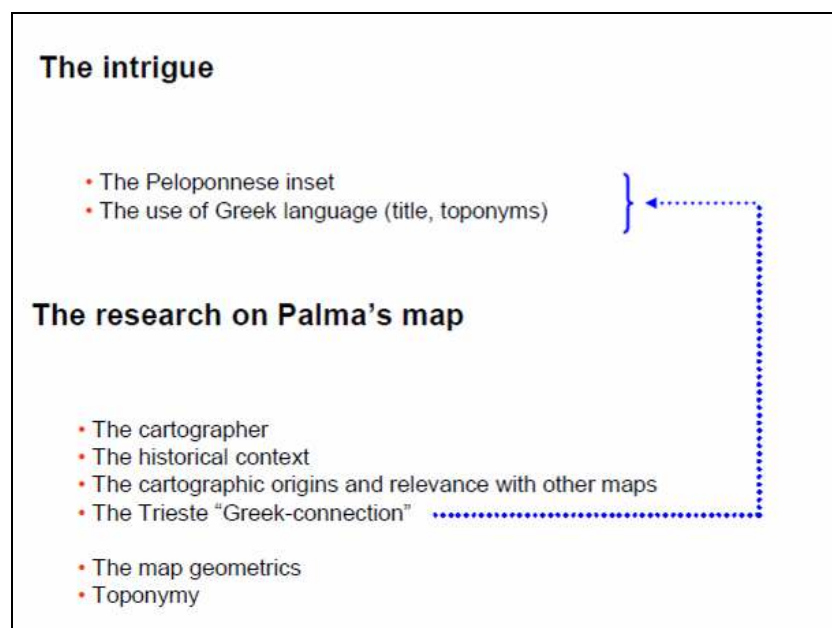


Figure 8. Topics of Research on Palma’s map.

<sup>5</sup> O. Katsiardi-Hering, 2001.

One of the most intriguing parts of this research was the revealing of relationships between the persons that were involved to the context of Palma's map (figure 9).



Figure 9. Persons involved in the preparation of Palma's map.

At the end of 18th century, Bourguignon *d'Anville*, a dominating personality in French cartography, improves his maps with data providing by hydrographic and astronomical measurements for the representation of coastlines (even as a representative of pre-scientific era of cartography). D'Anville creates two maps of Greece, with the same coastline, the first referring to ancient Greece and the second to modern Greece. In the same time, the diplomat and well known cartographer *Choiseul-Gouffier* (1752- 1817) is working in this area. His maps, accompanying the *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, by Joseph Bernard de Chabert, were edited at 1782 in cooperation with Barbié du Bocage, making him famous as cartographer.

When the French arrive in Dalmatia, the area of Ragusa is under the administration of Duke De *Marmont*, to whom Palma is dedicating his map of Greece. Next to de Marmont we meet General Armand Charles *Guillemillot*, who had a previous cartographic experience during the French – Austrian wars and the General Boudin de *Tromelin*. Tromelin on the other hand left us his itineraries to Constantinople through the continental era, at the same time that Choiseul Gouffier was travelling to Constantinople by sea.

At the same period, the well known diplomat and voyager Pouqueville was travelling to Peloponnese and Epirus, for almost 20 years (1799-1821). Pouqueville was working with *Barbié du Bocage*, at the first five-volume edition of his *Voyage de la Grèce* (1820-1822), while in the second six-volume edition four years later (1826-1827), he replaces Barbié's map with a map of Greece, created according the notes of Pouqueville, by colonel *Pierre Lapie* (1777-1850), an engineer geographer, working to the Depot de la Guerre since 1805. Meanwhile, Pouqueville is in touch with *Gaetan Palma*: in 1807 Pouqueville sends to Palma some notes about the region of Argyrokastro

and the routes between Ioannina and Kastoria in continental Greece. Palma is going to use this Pouqueville's notes in his map of 1811.<sup>6</sup>

Gaetan Palma dedicates his map to Duke de Marmont. On the other hand, Pierre Lapie is dedicating both his maps of Greece, edited in 1822 and 1826, to Generals Guillemot and Tromelin. These two maps are created on the basis of Barbié du Bocage cartography, improved by Pouqueville itineraries and new material that is elaborating by Guillemot and Tromelin in *Dépôt de la Guerre*. It's worth mentioning here that these three co-workers, Lapie, Guillemot and Tromelin, as well as Barbié du Bocage and other well known scientists of this era, are founding members of the famous *Société de Géographie*, founded in Paris in 1821.

At the same catalogue of maps from prince Lobanov-Rostovski's library, we found Lapie's map (figure 10), *Carte Générale de la Turquie d'Europe*, edited in 1822.<sup>7</sup> Besides the dedication to Generals Guillemot and Tromelin, we also read that this map was the result of measurements and itineraries made by officers of artillery, which were sent to Turkey between 1807 and 1812 by the French Government to back up the Ottoman Government against Russians. That means that Pierre Lapie creates his map of European Turkey, exactly at the same time that Palma edits his map of Greece and when Guillemot and Tromelin are serving in *Dépôt de la Guerre*. The question that naturally arise regards to a possible relation between Palma and Lapie, since we have two maps coming from the same center (*Dépôt de la Guerre*) and their cartographers are working at the same period, in collaboration with the same persons.<sup>8</sup>

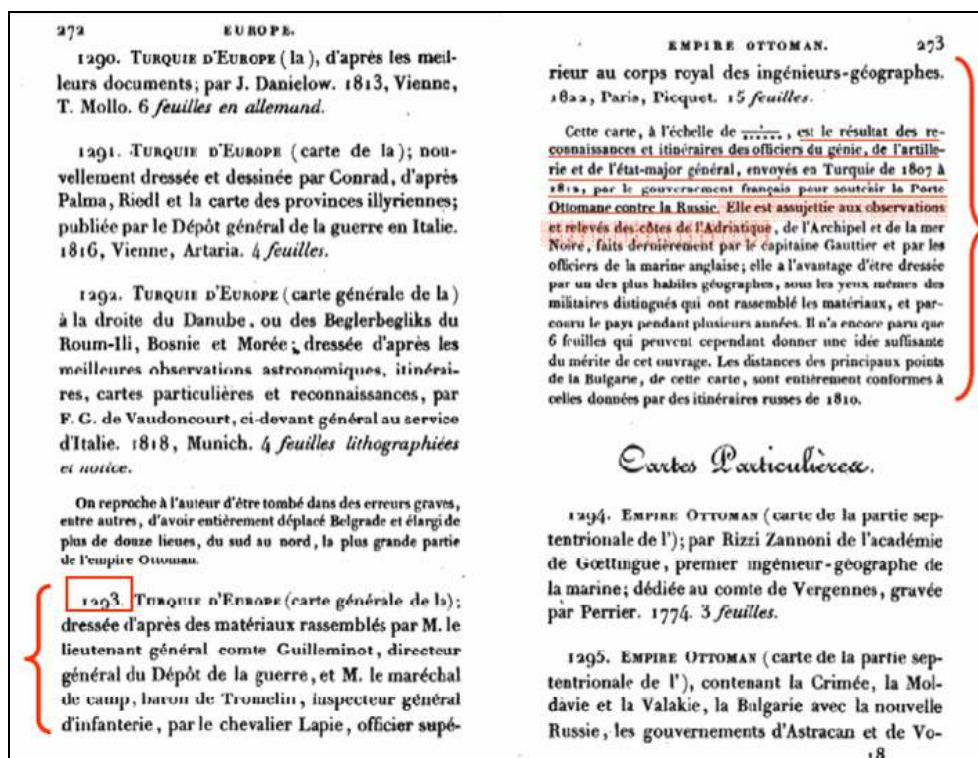


Figure 10. The reference to Lapie's map in the catalogue of prince Lobanov-Rostovski's library (1823).

<sup>6</sup> F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, 1826.

<sup>7</sup> The digital high resolution copy of this map is available from the Sylvia Ioannou Map Collection.

<sup>8</sup> E. Livieratos, 2009.

The comparison of purely cartographic characteristics, like the coastlines, using modern digital technologies<sup>9</sup> though, in the maps made by Lapie (1822) and Palma (1811) in the region of Dalmatian coasts, indicates completely different coastline standards (figure 11).

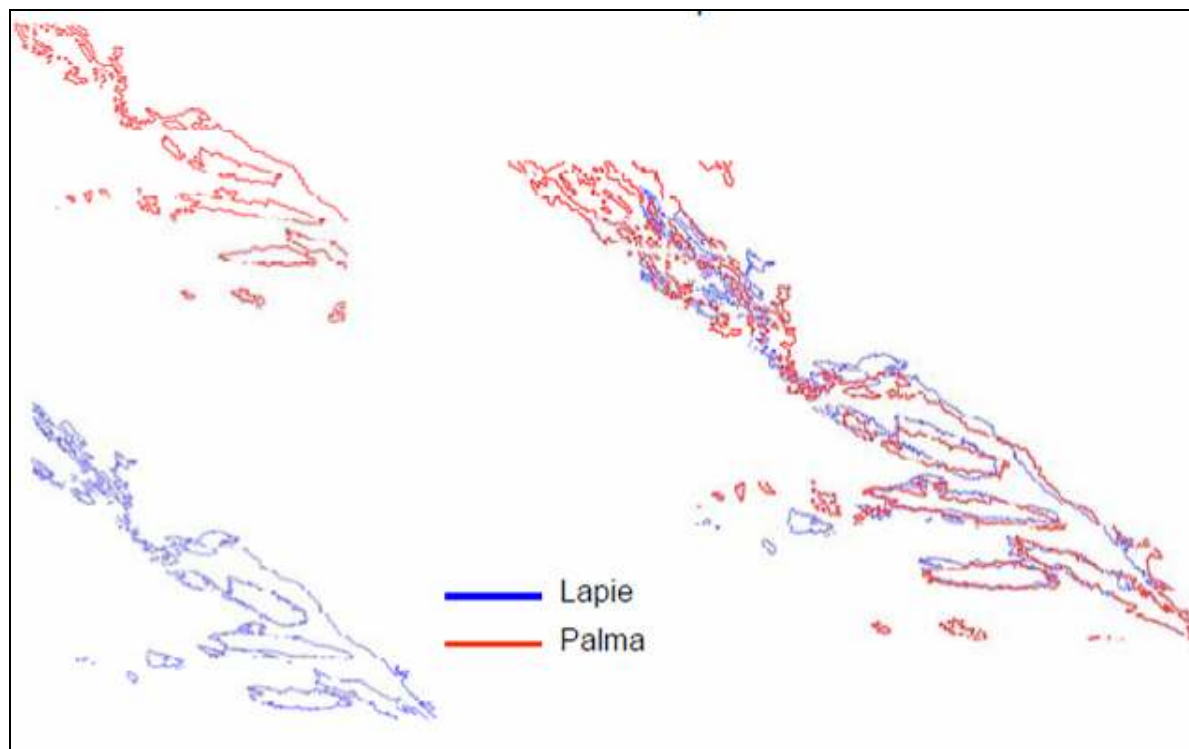


Figure 11. Left: A part of the coastline in Lapie's, 1822 (blue line) and Palma's, 1811 (red line) maps, in the Dalmatian coasts. Right: A second order polynomial best-fitting between Lapie's and Palma's coastlines.

From the macroscopic observation it is also indicated that neither the representation of Peloponnese has any relation with Palma's map. The relations described before, lead us to search for a possible relation between Palma and Barbié du Bocage, which is not confirmed by the comparison of coastlines. Instead, we would rather say that the coastlines converge only in three regions (in green), while the characteristic North West part is depicted in an entirely different way.

The particular shape of Palma's Peloponnese is indicating older standards. The comparison of Peloponnese coastlines, under similarity transformation, between Palma and D'Anville (figure 13) confirms the shape vicinity, especially to the characteristic North-Western part, while a comparison between Palma and Choiseul-Gouffier (figure 14) indicates even better results, indicating this way that, at least the part of Peloponnese, is an addendum derived from older standards.

<sup>9</sup> C. Boutoura C., E. Livieratos, 2006.

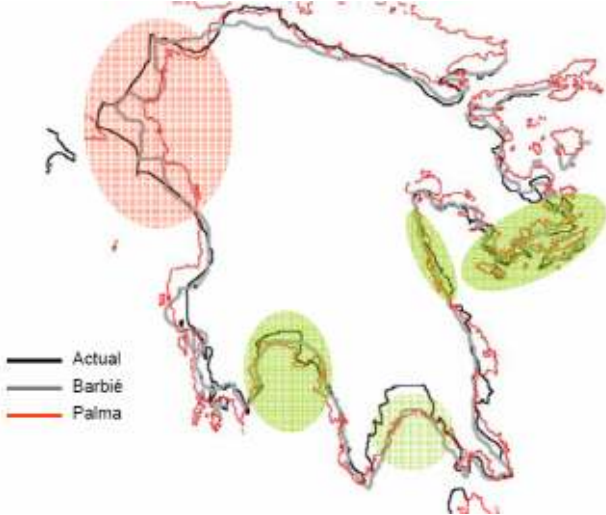


Figure 12.

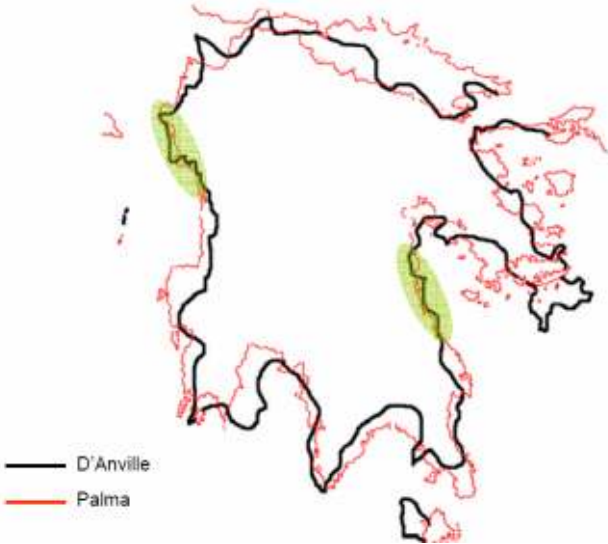


Figure 13.

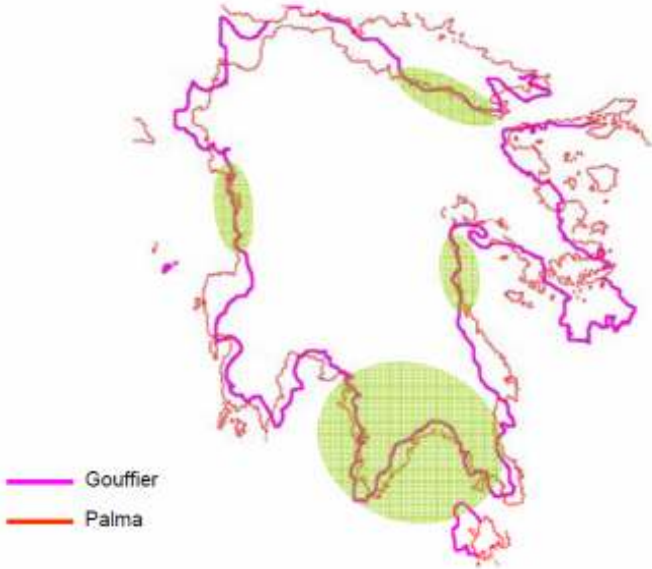


Figure 14.

Next steps of this research can be focused on the examination of the geometric characteristics in the internal parts of the map, as well as the study of the bilingual toponyms. The later, in comparison with the two previous major maps of Greek cartography, Rigas Velesinlis' *Charta* and Anthimos Gazis map of Greece in Greek language, as well as the slightly posterior maps, like Lapie's, in French (or in other languages).

In the first place, a comparison between toponyms in Rigas, Palma and Lapie, confirms that Lapie seems to turn to modern toponyms, instead of the emphasis given by Rigas to ancient names, while Lapie insists on modern toponyms, giving a plethora of new names. Moreover, which is more important to point out in this part of research, is the fact that Palma is very careful in the use of Greek language, using it without any serious mistakes or misspelled transliterations. Even more, he uses words and expressions derived by Modern Greek language (figure 15), which indicates a possible Greek "help" during the translation or transliteration from French. Anyway, the careful use of Greek language, as well as Peloponnese' older cartographic standards, strengthen the assumption that this map was also a French compliment to the wealthy and powerful Greek community of Trieste.



Figure 15. The area of Nikopolis in Rigas, 1797 (top left), Lapie, 1822 (down left) and Palma (right).

### Conclusions

In conclusion, from the preliminary research on Gaetan Palma's map of European Turkey / Greece, printed in Trieste in 1811:

- The map uses cartographic standards older than the ones in use by the French cartography of the time.
- The emphasis was given to the representation of the internal regions rather than in the coastlines, which are less carefully drawn.

- The Peloponnese coastline is very roughly designed. In combination with the careful use of Greek language and the addition of Greece only in the Greek title, we may have an indication that the map was possibly either influenced by some (few) pro-French individual Greeks in Trieste or as an attempt on behalf of the French authorities to approach the wealthy and traditionally Austrian-friendly Greek community of Trieste.

### References

- Boutoura C., E. Livieratos 2006, "Some fundamentals for the study of the geometry of early maps by comparative methods", *e-Perimtron*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 60-70.
- M. Daniil, A. Tsorlini, C. Boutoura 2009, "Coastline fitting analysis of eight significant georeferenced representations of Peloponnesus from late 15th to early 19th century", presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> ICA Workshop on *Digital Approaches to Cartographic Heritage*, Venice.
- Katsiardi-Hering, O. 2001, "La presenza dei Greci a Trieste: tra economia e società (metà sec. XVIII – fine sec. XIX)", in R. Finzi, G. Panjek (ed.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I*, Trieste: LINT, 519-546.
- Lobanov-Rostovski, A. Y. 1823, *Catalogue des cartes géographiques, topographiques & marines*, Paris: Firmin Didot
- Lyons M. 1994, *Naoleon Bonaparte and the legacy of the French Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Livieratos E. 2009, *Cartographic Adventures of Greece, 1821-1919*. Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (in Greek).
- E. Livieratos 2009, "Key coastline depictions of the Morea from Ptolemy to early 19th century cartography: relating maps with geostrategy", 2nd Workshop *The Mediterranean and its seas: Natural, social, political environments and landscapes, 15th-20th centuries*, Invited contributeon, Collaborative project University of Athens and the University of Minnesota, Athens 1-3 October 2009.
- Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne Supplement*, Tome 57, 1834, Paris: Michaud, pp. 136-143.
- F. C. H. L. Pouqueville 1826, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 2me ed., Tome II, Paris: Didot, p. 398, p. 477.
- G. Tolia 2010, "Maps printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment, 1665-1820", *e-Perimtron*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1-48.