

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF CARTOGRAPHY OF CATALONIA MADE IN FRANCE: INTENTIONS AND OUTCOMES (1633-1835)

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For almost two hundred years, most cartographic depiction of the Principality of Catalonia was made by French cartographers, especially military ones. While the Spanish cartographic production focused on America, French official and military cartographers used all their resources to elaborate maps of those bordering lands sought to be annexed. And Catalonia is a good example; we have been lucky enough to find a hundred of manuscript maps of areas in our country - besides the already known printed ones- in several French archives. Particularly revealing are the manuscript map by *M. Tavernier* (mid 17th century) and the test pressing, with manuscript placenames, from the workroom of the *Sansons* (late 17th century)

INTRODUCTION

Catalonia in the 17th and 18th centuries was a marginal territory within the Crown of Spain. Aperture towards the American continent was a decisive factor in the loss of commercial power in the Mediterranean, the main axis of mercantile activity of the Catalonian economy in the Middle Ages. For almost three hundred years, Catalonia was basically a border territory between two monarchies in permanent confrontation.

The cartographic image we have of Catalonia from that period consists basically of printed maps, most of them in atlases. This is due to the fact that a large number of cartographic history studies have been based on this type of map. The Cartographic Institute of Catalonia organized two exhibitions which grouped together practically all maps of Catalonia printed in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the first, in 1986, 66 maps were collected. Fifteen years later, in 2001, a second exhibition was organized and a catalogue was published describing the successive reissues and reprints of these maps in detail (1).

In the printed maps of Catalonia, two typologies can be distinguished: on the one hand, pages of atlases mostly published in the Low Countries and France, and on the other, large-format maps. In the first case, we are dealing with cabinet maps on a small scale, with little information – occasionally obsolete – and with a noticeable ornamental element (decorated legends etc.). Most of them appeared in numerous editions and remained valid – errors included – for many years. A third of these printed maps of Catalonia were published in France.

On the other hand, only three large-format maps of Catalonia are known: the oldest, a work in 6 sheets by J.B. Vrients, published between 1602 and 1605; that of Joseph Aparici, dating from 1720 with a second edition in 1769, and a third map drawn by the Count of Darnius incorporating technical innovations (relief is represented non-pictorially) and containing a great deal of information on roads, for clearly military purposes.

MANUSCRIPT CARTOGRAPHY

Manuscript cartographic production in Catalonia has received less study than is the case with printed maps. Nevertheless, despite the lack of a repertory for Catalonia as a whole, repertories have been published for partial zones. Thus the atlases of *Barcelona* (1976; 2^a ed.(1982), *Girona* (1992) *Ciutats de Girona* (1994), and *Territoris de Lleida* (2001) have brought to light examples of manuscript cartography. Mention must also be made of an unpublished project impelled by the Historic Archive of the College of Architects of Catalonia in the seventies decade of the 20th century which not only amassed information on printed maps, but also on manuscript examples of more than 25 Catalonian towns.

One of the projects carried out by the Catalanian Cartographic Institute's map library since its beginnings, exactly twenty years ago, has been a photographic archive of the manuscript maps of Catalonia preserved in archives and libraries in Spain and throughout the world. Photographic records of almost a thousand maps and views held in more than twenty institutions have been accumulated. A first glance at this photographic archive clearly reveals the large number of maps of French authorship, mostly for military purposes, dating from between the 17th and 19th centuries. This fact is hardly surprising when Catalonia's history during this period, as a battle-field for confrontations between the French and Spanish Crowns, is taken into account (2).

To go more deeply into this aspect, over a decade ago we began more thorough research in several French map libraries, thereby extending the repertory of manuscript cartography of Catalonia. The French National Library, Arsenal Library, the *Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre* and the IGN of France and over 200 maps corresponding to three basic typologies were consulted: geographical maps (general and / or partial of Catalonia); route and road maps and maps of forts. Of the total number, 150 have been catalogued and the remaining 50 are pending. We hope to present all this documentary material by publishing a catalogue. In this paper, a short summary will be made of its contents:

In the manuscript cartography consulted at the four institutions mentioned above, basically four typologies can be distinguished:

1. Maps from the Nine Years' War (1689 – 1697) of the Empordà zone and city of Girona
2. Maps from the War of Succession (1702 – 1714) of the Pyrenees zone, Cerdanya and Alt Urgell and of the city of Barcelona
3. Maps of routes and various zones in the War of Independence (1808 – 1814)
4. Maps of entry routes taken by the Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis (1823 – 1827).

1) Despite the large number of military confrontations between the Spanish and French monarchies throughout the 17th century, which led to realignment of the political border as a result of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, there are few maps from the mid-17th century. It is not until the Nine Years' War (1689-1697) that maps begin to appear, especially of the Catalanian zone to the south of the border, where French occupation lasted longer: the Empordà and Gironès. Above all, maps of forts are found. The impact of this bellicose period is evident even in general maps of Catalonia of French origin produced during the years immediately afterwards as, in most of them, next to the village of Verges the date 1694 appears, in memory of the famous battle of *Ter*. The abundant cartography from this period coincides with the creation of the *Ingénieurs du Roy* corps in 1691.

2) Manuscript cartography related to the War of Succession (1702 – 1714) is basically confined to three areas: the Pyrenees zone (Cerdanya and Alt Urgell); once again, the Gironès and Empordà zone; and the city of Barcelona with the various sieges it underwent. For this period, apart from the maps of forts, large-scale maps of extensive areas of the Pyrenees are found, in which modern techniques are used (based on measurements, replacing pictorial representation of relief with vertical sections, etc.). In fact, the famous map of the Pyrenees by the engineers Roussel and La Bloitière, published in 1730, was partly based on this previous manuscript cartography. Routes are also shown with descriptions of accessibility (on foot, on horseback, with heavy weapons etc.). The siege of Barcelona, but also that of Girona, were the object of abundant cartography.

3) Maps of routes and various zones in the War of Independence (1808 – 1814). The Napoleonic invasion of Spanish territory relied on previous cartographic planning through the creation of a topographical department which drew up a large number of maps and also consulted Spanish archives for topographical information (3). One map has been found, for example, covering the most easterly border zone of Catalonia, in which French territory consists of sheets of the *Carte de Cassini* whereas the Catalanian zone (Empordà, Garrotxa and Ripollès) is in manuscript form. A large part of the maps from this period incorporate *hachures* and shading to emphasize relief. They range from general maps to maps of routes and forts.

4) Maps of the routes corresponding to the entry of the Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis (1823 -1827). This episode has been commented on in previous publications (4). The restoration of the Spanish absolute monarch Ferdinand VII was

carried out with the help of France, whereby the French army changed from enemy to government ally in less than ten years. From 1832, initially as an army of intervention and later as a peace force, it created a *Service Topographique de l'Expédition d'Espagne* which carried out numerous cartographic surveys, bringing the available topographical information up to date. From 1825 until 1827, the *Bureau Topographique de Barcelonne* was formed which carried out surveys of many roads in Catalonia with clearly strategic aims in mind. Abundant manuscript cartography exists from this stage.

From this point onwards, Franco-Hispanic relations ceased to be primarily bellicose and cartography of the border zone took other directions (production of national maps, triangulations, marking out of borders etc.). However, in Paris, among all the documentation referring to Catalonian territory, we have also localised a copy of the railway projects from Girona to the French border dating from 1874 -1875.

All these maps are of distinct characteristics and the foregoing summary has merely been an approximation. Study of each individual map will enrich the history of Catalonian cartography and, as an example, maps of Catalonia as a whole will be dealt with in the following section.

MANUSCRIPT MAPS OF CATALONIA

The map catalogue published by the Catalonian Cartographic Institute in 1986 (see note 1) began by listing the five manuscript maps localised at the time. These were the magnificent map of Catalonia drawn by Ambrosio Borsano in 1687; three maps by the Count of Darnius: one forming part of a guide to roads written between 1716 and 1720, another included in an atlas and a third of which only the eastern half remains. The fifth and last manuscript map from 1755 was by Josep Puig and illustrated "Rutas de Postas" (*Stage Routes*).

In the course of research into manuscript cartography carried out in French archives, other 10 maps of Catalonia from the 17th to early 19th centuries have been localised. Thanks to these contributions, the catalogue of manuscript maps has increased considerably in number, giving new impetus to our knowledge of Catalonia's cartographic image.

Of the 10 manuscript maps, three are by Spanish authors: a new map by the Count of Darnius; a map from the early 19th century signed by Antonio Puigferrat and an unfinished map, with the legend empty and lacking toponyms, but with the scale indicated in Spanish.

The new map by the Count of Darnius makes him into one of the most prolific Spanish cartographers of the 17th-18th centuries. It differs from the examples localised so far in that administrative division is by *Vegueries* and not *Corregiments*, which leads us to suspect late 17th century production. The large amount of information on roads contained in maps by Darnius made them into a highly valuable source of data for the army. So it comes as no surprise to find this work in the French military archives.

The manuscript map signed by Antonio Puigferrat is a copy of a similarly manuscript map conserved in the *Centro Geográfico del Ejército* [Army Geography Centre] (Madrid) dated 1812. The map from the French archive is divided into five longitudinal sections, with the remains of a grid, aspects indicating that the work is a copy. The third, equally unfinished map could possibly be a copy as well. The legend is blank and there is no evidence of territorial division. There is very little toponymy, basically in the Rosselló, la Cerdanya and Empordà zones. There is only one small indication in Spanish: "Escala de quarto leguas de España". [*Scale: four Spanish leagues*]. The depiction of relief and the outline of the coast clearly recall maps from the mid-17th century. As can be seen from these three examples, in order to obtain cartographic information the French government resorted not only to producing maps, but also to acquiring existing maps by way of purchase, illegal appropriation or copying.

But it is precisely in the making of new maps that works of French origin – not only military – are remarkable. Possibly the oldest map localised is entitled: « *Carte de la Catalogne, Comte de Roussillon: et des Vallées et Passages de France en ceux* » signed by Melchior Tavernier. Judging from the title, the map dates from before the Treaty of the Pyrenees and we know, in fact, that its author retired in 1644 (5). So we are dealing with one of the oldest large-format maps of Catalonia, also remarkable because no other manuscripts by Tavernier are known.

Another notable map is a printing proof from the Sanson workshop. This map was dealt with in a previous publication (6). This map of Catalonia belongs to a context of maximum tension between Spain and France and its publication demonstrates the interest of the latter in annexing Catalonia, shown on an equally detailed scale as the remaining regions of France. In the

end of war, the French obtained Spanish territories in Flanders and gave up their ambitions regarding Catalonia. For this reason, or due to the bankruptcy of the author Guillaume Sanson, or a combination of both, the map was never published. The infrequency with which printing proofs are found must be mentioned, thus making this map a particularly curious document. In this case only the toponymy, the legend and the calibrated grid are in manuscript form; the rest is printed.

The remaining 8 manuscript maps bear no date but can be placed between the late 17th and early 18th centuries. All of them include within Catalonia the Rosselló zone, which formed part of France after the new border of 1659, although the sovereignty of the various territories is specified on occasion. However, the Valle de Aran, which forms part of the Garona basin, does not appear in the Principality of Catalonia as its natural region is Gascony. They constitute a clear example of how borders were conceived in the 17th century, with a clear distinction between natural and political boundaries. Even for the French monarchy, which had conquered the northern zone of Catalonia and occupied the Empordà and Gironès areas for many years, the Principality had its own limits which had nothing to do with political ones. This concept, characteristic of the *ancien régime* [old order], has been magnificently explained in the Cerdanya by the historian Peter Sahlins (7). Not until the mid-18th century did frontiers conform to the new concept of state.

Of all these maps, one signed by the engineer Sr. Pennier should be mentioned. According to Colonel Berthaud, this extremely detailed map on a scale of 1:120,000 was used as a base for the Catalonia zone on the well-known map of the Pyrenees by Rousel and La Blotière, and he dates it from around 1711. (2). It is clearly superior to the remaining known maps of the epoch in terms of geographical information and technical achievement.

This catalogue aims to emphasize the importance of war cartography of French origin, especially in manuscript form, as one of the maximum contributions to the cartography of Catalonia as a whole during this two hundred year period. Without this production, the cartographical description of the Principality would have been noticeably inferior, since autochthonous production was extremely limited.

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BIOGRAPHY

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