



European cartography & politics: the case of Macedonia

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With a contribution by
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Project initiative, leadership & coordination

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Front-cover image: Macedonia (detail) in Edward Wells' *A new map of Antient Greece, Thrace, Mæsia, Illyricum and the Isles adjoining*, 1700.

Back-cover image: Macedonia (detail) in E. Wells' *A new map of Turkey in Europe*, 1700.

Source: Margarita Samourkas Map Collection (MS).

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This study was completed before Prof. E. Livieratos was nominated as an extra-parliamentary member of the Greek Government in June 21, 2012. The texts in this book reflect exclusively his scientific knowledge and expertise on the issues treated, without any other commitment, association or reference to the official foreign policies of the Greek Government.

The original maps created for this study and those derived from analytical best-fitting comparisons, exclusively made for this study, are due to C. Boutoura, A. Tsorlini and E. Livieratos, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (cf. *Source*: BC - AT - EL, AUTH). All other map-images are from properly referenced published sources or from freely available images in web providers (cf. [net]), retrieved by June 2012. Most of the displayed satirical maps are downloaded from the free net-provider "BibliOdyssey" (cf. *Source*: BO).

The Chapter "Before the era of Ptolemy's *Geographia*" is contributed by C. Paliadeli.

The Figures and their reference in the text are numbered within square brackets, [].

The images of the cover pages and a number of maps used in this study are kindly made available from the Margarita Samourkas Map Collection (cf. *Source*: MS). For more images of this collection, see Tolia, G. 2011. *Mapping Greece, 1420-1800: A History. Maps in the Margarita Samourkas Collection*. Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation. International distribution: Oak Knoll Press // HES & GRAAF Publishers.

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The English language text-proofing is due to Andrew Hendry.



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Macedonia in an elaborated detail of the *Psalter* map of 1265; cf. [36]. Source: Original at the British Library; [net]. Processing: EL.

Preface

The initiative for this project started before 2009, within the framework of my research as a professor of classical archaeology at the School of History & Archaeology, at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and as a long-term excavator of the archaeological site at *Vergina - Aegae*, the cradle of the ancient Macedonian kingdom.

Having for many years participated in and directed the University's archaeological research at *Aegae*, the old capital of ancient Macedonia and having dealt with its history and archaeology throughout my career, I was interested in compiling a visual cartographic record of the changing borders of the ancient Macedonian kingdom between the beginning of its creation in the mid-7th century BC and the end of its independence in the 2nd century BCE, as a means of investigating some of the roots and causes of the so-called Macedonian Question.

The interest in compiling a cartographic record of the borders of ancient Macedonia led to the idea that a series of maps depicting the history of the land from antiquity up until the early 19th century could shed new but scholarly light on an international discussion that seems to be poorly informed on the complex issues involved.

For a classical archaeologist who has for almost a lifetime been excavating the territory where the ancient Macedonian kingdom first took shape,¹ the challenge of working with historical maps was more than simply an opportunity to satisfy a professional curiosity. It was a highly inviting intellectual and cultural exercise comparable, in many ways, to embarking on a new archaeological project.

To my good fortune, the project brought me into contact with the old friend and colleague Evangelos Livieratos,

Professor of Geodesy & Cartography at the School of Surveying Engineering, at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, an internationally reputable expert in cartographic heritage.

Prof. Livieratos and I spent many hours together discussing the content of the book, the best approach to the subject and especially the time span that should be covered in such a project.

Our discussions had ups and downs – more downs than ups to be honest – but our strong conviction in the need to finalise the project within the spirit that is so integral to the European academic tradition, gave us strength to complete the enterprise.

At first we thought it safer to cover only the period that is considered in the relevant cartographic literature to lie under the influence of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, in other words, to confine our research to the period that reflects the European perception of ancient Macedonia, a period extending from Ptolemy's time (and even earlier, from Herodotus' first spatial definitions of the region) up until the early 19th century, a period of almost twenty-five centuries.

In this way the intriguing period from the mid-19th century onwards, the period in which the so called ethnographic maps were invented, would be kept outside the picture. Adopting this policy would avert the mental and physical stress of delving into the notorious contentious field of ethnographic mapping, as was implemented in Europe from the mid-19th century up until World War II, and which in most cases had catastrophic results, especially in the Balkans.

Soon, we both realised that if the book did not deal with maps relevant to the cartographic issues of the *Eastern Question* and its by-product, the *Macedonian Question*, the final result risked, at the end being incomplete,

1. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Chr. 1996. "Aegae. A reconsideration". *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* 111, 225-236.

unbalanced or even misleading. So, finally, we decided to extend our research to the fall of the Ottoman Empire, which coincides with the end of World War I and to re-examine ethnographic mapping as a special, though unreliable cartographic typology.

Our decision to include a period in which the region was rapidly and violently transformed as a consequence of the decay and final fall of the Ottoman Empire, with the Great Powers by no means indifferent to the question of succession and the new geopolitical setting in South-East Europe, together with a reconsideration of the political role of ethnographic mapping could only add to the project and its scholarly value.

The discerning readers of this publication will have at their disposal a complete picture of how the region of Macedonia was represented on maps in the twenty-five centuries of European cartographic tradition and how its name was placed on those maps. This picture, plus the overview provided of the additional century of ethnographic mapping, will enable the reader to follow the cartographic history of Macedonia as a whole.

Both Prof. Livieratos and myself hope that this book will be of help to those who wish to approach the delicate present-day state of the Macedonian Question through the medium of maps. It is hoped that the book will be instructive for those who have little or no knowledge of the dispute over the use of the geographic term “Macedonia” and

the spatial definition of its territory, and also attractive to people who simply love maps, of whom there are, fortunately, many!

A number of colleagues who contributed to this fascinating and challenging work merit our warmest thanks: Dr. Chrysoula Boutoura, Professor of Digital & Thematic Cartography at our University, who offered data and expertise in map processing; Dr. Angeliki Tsorlini, holder of a recent doctorate on Ptolemy’s *Geographia*, who implemented the modern mapwork used in this study; the archaeologists Dr. A. Kyriakou, Dr. E. Mitsopoulou and A. Tourtas, who assisted me, especially after July 2009, when I was elected as a Member of the European Parliament, in collecting all the relevant historical and archaeological evidence on ancient Macedonia, a land whose cartographic depiction through the centuries may illuminate the multifaceted aspects of an issue which seems to be oversimplified, when restricted only to the international issue over the name “Macedonia” its origins and use or misuse. Last but not least, special thanks are due to Andrew Hendry who patiently and carefully edited the texts in English.

Evangelos Livieratos and I are proud to offer the European public the outcome of a interdisciplinary study that has been consciously carried out in full accordance, we believe, with the principles of academic ethics. We wish that the readers of this collection will enjoy reading it as much as we enjoyed creating it.

Dr. Chrysoula Paliadeli
Professor of Classical Archaeology
Member of the European Parliament

An intractable legacy handed down by the 19th century in South-East Europe¹ was the well-known international issue known as the *Eastern Question*. According to historians, its roots are to be found in the definitive decline of the Ottoman Empire that occurred in the first few decades of that century. The issue took shape after the mid-19th century [2] and later entered a violent phase in the final decades of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century. Subsequently, it remained in a more or less stagnant state within the context of the post-Second World War balance of power between East and West. One of the major focal points of the Eastern Question, especially after the way in which the question unfolded in the last quarter of the 19th century, was the ancient region of Macedonia, which had been well depicted in the European cartographic tradition for almost twenty-five centuries.

At the start of the final decade of the 20th century, the Eastern Question was revived in a different form, as a corollary of the radical changes in the international balance of power in Europe and the world. Once again the ancient region of Macedonia became a major focal point, the cause of a dispute between neighbouring countries in the area, after almost a century of ambiguous silence.

The issue concerning the use and misuse of the historic name “Macedonia” and the geospatial positioning of this ancient land as a specific geographical entity in the territorial region of South-East Europe [3] is still a disturbing problem for those parties directly affected by it. It is a dispute with deep roots in the historical past for one of the parties involved and roots in the more recent past for the other. In any event, the present-day dispute over Mace-

donia, either as a toponymic issue or as a territorial question, introduces serious implications in bilateral and even multilateral relations not only in the region but also in the broader international context. These implications are not only political and diplomatic in character but also of a profound ethnographic, educational and cultural nature, relating to the identity, national consciousness and collective memory of the peoples in the area.

The role of mapping

In this context, cartographic representations and maps have obviously come to play an important role as visual testimonies (which, like all maps, may or may not be reliable) of the perceptions of Macedonia’s territorial extent throughout the course of history. From this point of view, a study of how the territory regarded as Macedonia has been geospatially defined throughout all its historical phases – from the creation of the ancient Macedonian kingdom in the 7th century BCE [4], through its expansion in the mid-5th century BCE [5] and apogee on the eve of Alexander the Great’s campaign in the East [28] up until the present day – together with a study of the ways in which the name “Macedonia” has been positioned on maps, is an important and fascinating exercise that is worth carrying out, not only for the sake of scholarly curiosity. After all, maps as images are powerful tools in communicating with people, especially nowadays, when the *visual* has come to play such a prominent role in society, culture, education and human formative curiosity.

The issue of Macedonia’s geospatial definition is important because the use of maps permits a visual representation of the abundant textual sources and provides additional tools for creating visual, and therefore more direct, expressions of a complicated and intriguing subject. The role of maps in this issue is also fascinating because maps are a major product of the human intellect that a great

1. The region of the European territories of the Ottoman Empire, known as the *Haemus* Peninsula or, with a certain derogatory nuance, the *Balkan* Peninsula, or metaphorically the “*Powder keg of Europe*”.



[3] The South East Europe in 1870 (detail of a Dutch satirical map). Source: Cf. [1].

number of people like to use, sometimes with passion or suspicion but never with indifference or neglect.

The aim of this publication, therefore, is to examine the ways in which the historical territory of Macedonia has been represented on maps from the earliest cartographic endeavours up until the early 20th century. It also aims to evaluate the spatial placement of the toponym “Macedonia” as it appears on selected maps of generally recognised historical cartographic importance. The most important tool used in this map-based narrative is the map of Macedonia drawn by the father of modern geography and cartography, the Alexandrine Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century CE). This is because of the unquestionable impact that his *Geographia* [6] had on European cartography from the start of the 15th up until the mid-19th century.

The narrative concludes with an examination of the role that the so-called “ethnographic cartography” played in the Macedonian Question in the second half of the 19th century. This outdated cartographic typology is usually utilised in the present-day discussions of the question as the only cartographic material available to help deal with the problem, neglecting, or at worst ignoring, the historical cartographic evidence which has shaped the European historical memory for almost twenty centuries. In this context, the present study complements H. R. Wilkinson’s reference treatise on the ethnographic maps and politics of Macedonia,² a work which, though written in the early 1950s, still provides the best basis for understanding many map-related aspects of the complicated Macedonian

2. For an extensive analysis of the ethnographic maps of South-East Europe, the Balkans and Macedonia from 1730 to 1950, see the standard reference work by Wilkinson, R. H., *Maps and politics: a review of the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia* (in the series Liverpool Studies in Geography, edited by H. C. Darby), Liverpool: University Press, 1951. This interesting work focuses on the cartographic depictions of Macedonia during a short two-century period marked by the decline of the Ottoman Empire, solely from the standpoint of ethnographic cartography. It is not concerned with the cartographic representations of Macedonia produced during the previous twenty-five centuries of cartographic history, which deeply influenced European educational and cultural perceptions of the region.

Question, as formulated in the ugly milieu of ethnographic cartography, from the 19th century onwards.

The present study is divided into two distinct parts. The first part, which deals with the “ancient phase” of the cartographic tradition, covers the period from before Ptolemy to the beginning of the 15th century and the centuries following it, up until the early 19th century, a period in which maps generally echoed the *Geographia*.³ The second part covers the “modern phase” from about the middle of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th, a period dominated by the Eastern Question.

The periods of the “ancient phase” refer cartographically to Macedonia in: a) the pre-*Geographia* era; b) Ptolemy’s *Geographia*; c) the Early Middle Ages; d) the High & Late Middle Ages, and e) the Early Modern Period. The cartographic focus of the first part lies on the territorial definition of the historic region of Macedonia before Ptolemy, on Ptolemy’s scientific approach to its definition, on the diachronic placement of the toponym “Macedonia” on maps before the emergence of the Eastern Question, and on the impact of Ptolemy’s *Geographia* on the subsequent cartographic tradition, spanning the course of many centuries.

The periods of the “modern phase” refer cartographically to Macedonia in: a) the first half of the 19th century; b) the period leading up to the Berlin Congress in 1878, and c) the period following the Berlin Congress. To these another section (d) has been added, dealing with the changing perceptions of Macedonia’s geographical *borderlines*.⁴ In this part, emphasis is given to the appearance and

the origins of maps defining by fictitious borderlines the territory of a *late 19th century Macedonia*.

This novel depiction of Macedonia reflects an arbitrarily reconstructed territory formed by merging parts of the historical Macedonia, as defined in antiquity, with parts of the regional territorial divisions of the Ottoman land administration system [7]:⁵ a system which never used the term “Macedonia” to define the region, in contrast with the European cartographic tradition, at least from the revival of Ptolemy’s *Geographia* in the early 15th century up to almost the mid-19th century.

The cartographic image of this novel geospatial definition of “the late 19th-century Macedonia” has often been presented, in recent times, under the notion of a “Greater Macedonia”, a fictitious “hyper-state”, a geographical entity overlapping the present-day state borderlines of the four neighbouring countries which share in varying proportions the geospatial area of historical Macedonia.⁶

When dealing with maps, it is not always easy to be scientifically objective and impartial in presenting, evaluating and interpreting data. Yet such objectivity and impartiality are vital in a field where ideology sometimes affects cartographic representation techniques. This fact is especially true in the case of such an emotionally charged cartographic typology as *ethnographic maps*, which played a decisive role in intensifying the nationalistic fever that plagued Europe in the 19th century, and especially its central and south-eastern parts. The contributors to this work have endeavoured to be as fair as the maps and the cartographic outcomes would allow. For this reason, the maps

3. Here we do not include the conquests of Alexander the Great, which is considered a separate case on its own, requiring an independent approach and treatment far beyond the scope of this study. Cf. [28].

4. The term *borderline* is used in this study to denote either a “real (state or official) borderline” or a “fictitious (notional or abstract) borderline”. In the first case the term denotes an internationally legitimate border and in the second an ideological construct, reflecting aspirations or unilateral/multilateral decisions that have not been internationally recognised.

5. From 1864 onwards, the three levels of the Ottoman regional land administration system were the *Vilayet*, the *Sanjak* and the *Kaza*, with corresponding geospatial definitions. From 1453 up until the beginning of the 19th century the Ottoman regional and local administration was loosely structured and its geospatial definitions fuzzy.

6. The four countries that share the territory of historical Macedonia today are: Greece, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (name according to United Nations Security Council Resolution 817 of 7 April 1993), Bulgaria and Albania.



[4] The kingdom of the Argead (low-land) Macedonians, under the Temenid dynasty, in the late 6th century BCE. *Cartography: EL - AT, AUTH.*



[5] The kingdom of Macedonia in the mid-5th century BCE. *Source - Cartography: Cf. [4].*



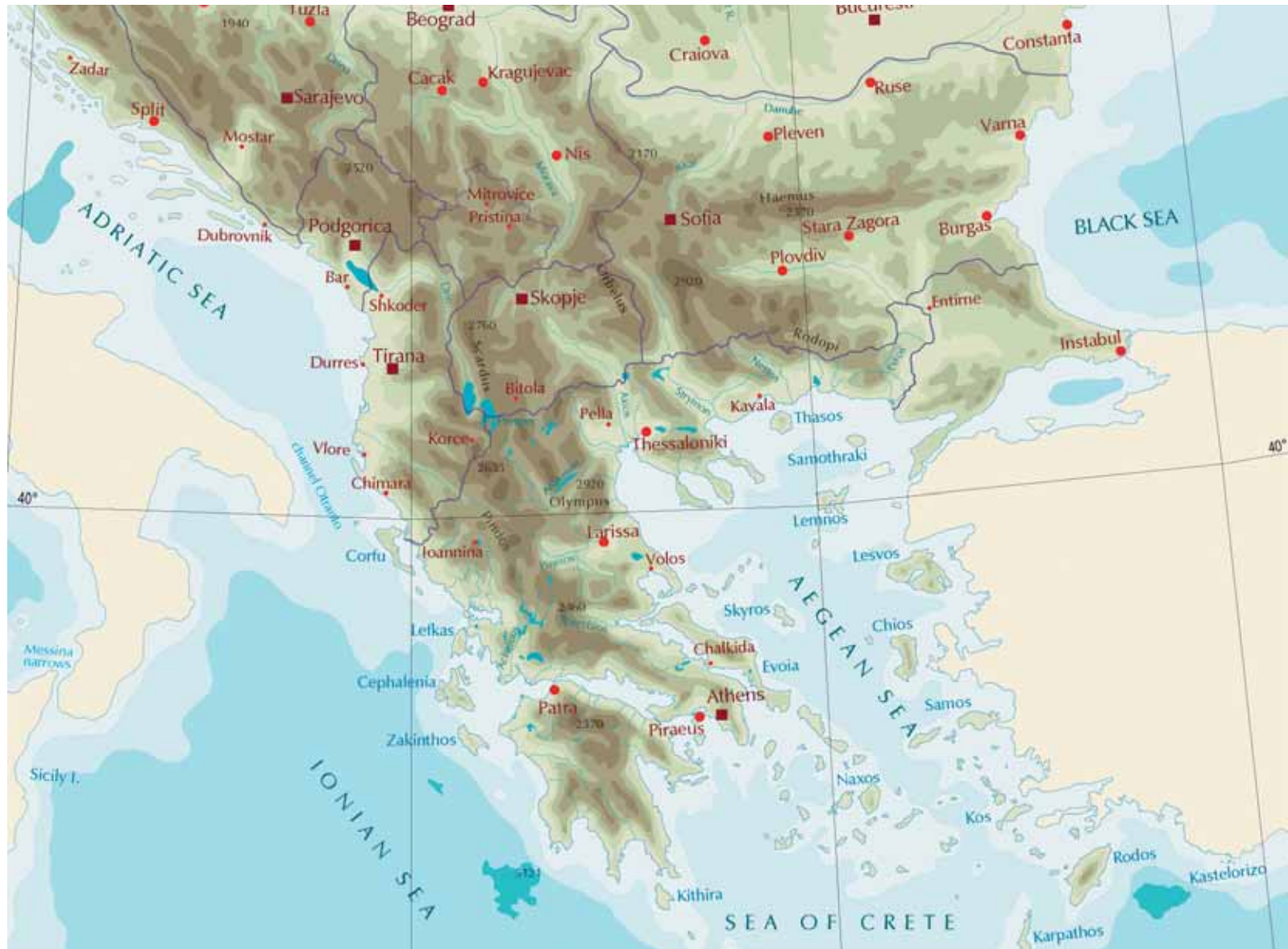
[6] Macedonia in the Roman period (2nd-3rd century CE) as defined in Ptolemy's *Geographia* and combined with toponyms of Antonine's *Itinerarium* confirming its northern borderline. *Source - Cartography: Cf. [4].*



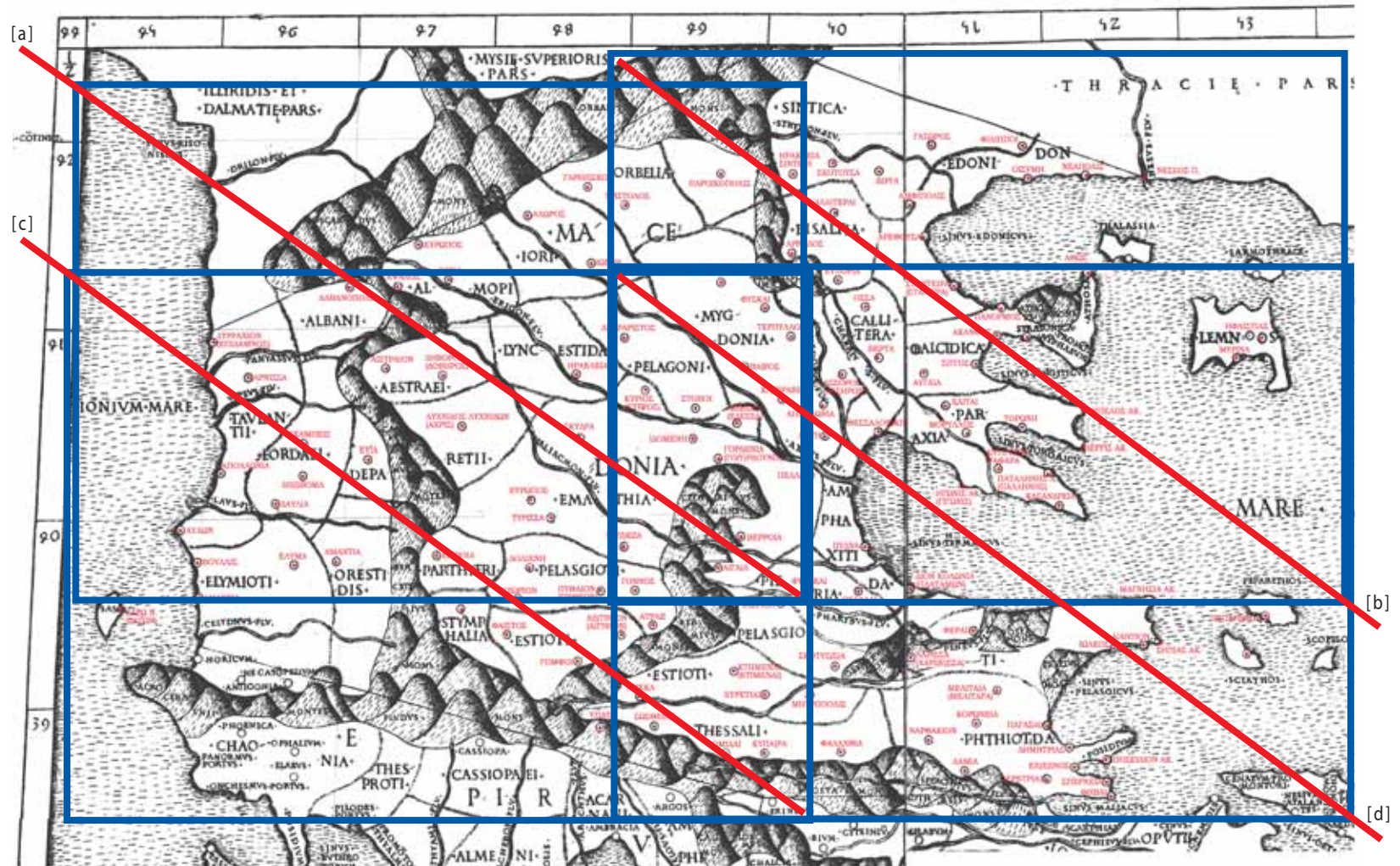
[7] The *Vilayets* of Thessalonica, Monastir, Üskub, under the Ottoman Empire, 1864-1913, at the broader region called of "West Roumelia". Under the Ottoman rule, the name "Macedonia" was not used to define a specific territory. *Source - Cartography: Cf. [4].*

used here are almost all products of non-Greek mapmakers that have appeared through the centuries. The same approach is followed in the case of the bibliographic references, which are predominantly from international sources. From this point of view, the cartographic material included in the work has been reproduced by courtesy of

some of the most distinguished publishers of the world's cartographic heritage and the limited use of Greek maps, in the second part of this study, has been implemented only under strict scientific control. For the purpose of this study, a number of maps have also been produced *ad hoc* as supporting material [8].



[8] South East Europe. The Haemus (or Balkan) Peninsula with the present-day state borders. Cartography: AT - CB, AUTH.



[25] Macedonia in Ptolemy's *Geographia* as defined in Book III (Chapter XII - Europe), depicted in Table X map (here a part) of the Rome (De Turre) 1490 printed edition. The positioning of places according to their coordinates are represented by circular symbols. The toponyms, from the *Geographia* text in the Greek original, added in red. This is the key-map of the parts illustrated in [27 a, b, c, d]; cf. [20]. *Source*: Nordenskiöld, A. E., 1889. *Facsimile Atlas to the early history of Cartography*, reproduction, Dover. *Processing*: AT, AUTH.



[26] The standardised geographic image of what the European scholarship visually perceived for centuries as ancient Greece (Ελλάς) with Macedonia a *sine qua non* part of this depiction. An Ortelius map, second half of 16th century. Source: MS.



[126] Nicolaides' layout: the Greek view on "new" Macedonia, 1899, with respect to the San Stefano vs Berlin "shaded" Macedonia. Source: Cf. [95], [122]. Cartography: Cf. [119].



[127] Kānčov's layout: the Bulgarian view on Macedonia, 1900, with respect to the San Stefano vs Berlin "shaded" Macedonia. Source: Cf. [96], [122]. Cartography: Cf. [119].



[128] The Ottoman Vilayet-Sanjak setting of the "Western Roumelia", with respect to Nicolaides' view on Macedonia, 1899. Source: Cf. [125], [126]. Cartography: Cf. [119].



[129] The Ottoman Vilayet-Sanjak setting at the area (orange lines), with respect to Kānčov's view on Macedonia, 1900. Source: Cf. [125], [127]. Cartography: Cf. [119].



[130] The Ottoman Vilayet-Sanjak setting, with respect to the borderlines (blue) traced after the Second Balkan War, 1913 - Bucharest Treaty. *Source - Cartography: Cf. [119].*



[131] The spatial residual (grey shade) of Bulgaria's shapes after the San Stefano Treaty and Berlin Congress, with respect to the borderlines (blue) traced after the Second Balkan War, 1913 - Bucharest Treaty. *Source - Cartography: Cf. [119].*



[132] The Nicolaidēs' view on Macedonia, 1899, with respect to the borderlines (blue) traced after the Second Balkan War, 1913 - Bucharest Treaty. *Source - Cartography: Cf. [119].*



[133] The Kānčov's view on Macedonia, 1900, with respect to the borderlines (blue) traced after the Second Balkan War, 1913 - Bucharest Treaty. *Source - Cartography: Cf. [119].*



[136] History vs Politics. The synthesis of the ancient territory of Macedonia (pink shape) and the surrounding arc depicting the northernmost of the inhabited ancient Macedonia, with respect to: a) the borderlines outputs of the San Stefano treaty (red line) and of the Berlin Congress (green line for the Principality of Bulgaria, light brown for Eastern Rumelia and yellow for the Pirot - Vanie zone); b) the spatial residual (grey shade) of Bulgaria's shapes after the San Stefano Treaty and the Berlin Congress and c) the state borders (blue line) after the Second Balkan War, and the Treaty of Bucharest, 1913. The base map (fitted in transparency onto a present-day map) entitled *Les Balkans*, composed and designed by the French G. Peltier, published in supplement of the Parisian weekly magazine *L'Illustration*, 2 October 1915. Cartography - Processing: EL.

CONCLUSIONS



[137] Overlaying the Shepherd's historical map of the northern part of ancient Greece, depicting Macedonia, on a present-day satellite image of the area, with respect to the state borderlines (black). Source: Shepherd, W. R. 1923, *Historical Atlas*, New York: H. Holt & Company; the satellite image is by NASA [free net-provider]. Cartography - Processing: EL.

The cartographic debate over Macedonia, which started in the early phase of the Eastern Question, arbitrarily detached from the long historical tradition of the region's cartographic portrayal, had apparently terminated by the end of the Balkan Wars in 1913. Subsequently, however, after a long period of silence, the issue suddenly re-emerged at the end of the last century – in 1991, as we have seen – and has since then remained very much alive. The conclusion of this study can only be based on the following key issues, which are strongly interdependent, as will become evident:

i) The first geospatial reference to Macedonia and the Macedonians occurs in the ancient Greek historical sources, which formed an established part of the European historical legacy and were well known to learned Europeans. The strict territorial definitions of Macedonia are given for the first time in Ptolemy's *Geographia* of the 2nd century CE, which reflected the regional Roman tradition and survived through the medieval, Renaissance and Early Modern periods into the 19th-century phase of the Eastern Question.

ii) On the maps of the Middle Ages the toponym "Macedonia" is marked mostly in the southern and coastal parts of the historical Macedonia, coinciding both with the core of the ancient Macedonian kingdom (as described by Herodotus [7.127] and Thucydides [2.99.1-6] in the 5th century BCE), the *Provincia Macedonia* of the Roman Empire (as defined by Ptolemy in the 2nd century CE) and the region shaped by the Byzantine administrative reforms in the Higher Middle Ages.

iii) The first cartographic depiction of historical Macedonia is provided by the *Geographia*-related maps of the European Renaissance, illustrating the influence of the ancient legacy on European cartography and culture in general, an influence that lasted from the early 15th century up until

the first half of the 19th century. This visual representation of ancient Macedonia played an important role in moulding the general European perception of the region.

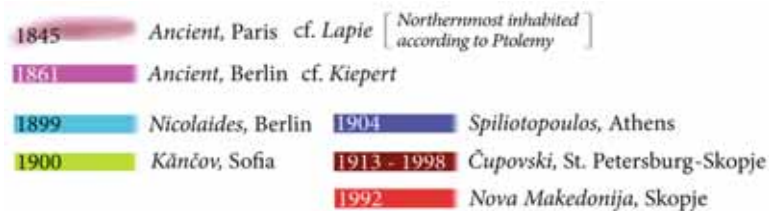
iv) The impact of ethnographic ideas on the depiction of the European territories of the Ottoman Empire lasted almost throughout the second half of the 19th century, although during this period Macedonia was never defined by a specific borderline or an homonymous toponym.

v) The cartographic representation of the Ottoman administrative divisions of the region (vilayets, sanjaks and kazas) was never associated in any context with what was considered to be Macedonia by other parties, the broader area incorporating Macedonia being called "Western Roumelia" by the Ottomans.

vi) The traditional cartographic representation of ancient Macedonia continued to appear in related historical atlases in the second half of the 19th century, with explicit reference to the Greek historical setting. Even some authors who published ethnographic maps following the "non-Greek frame of reference" with respect to the ethnic "identities" in Macedonia used traditional cartographic representations of the region. The geospatial images of ancient Macedonia, as part of the geospatial conception of Greece, were well known in European societies thanks to the influence of historical atlases.

vii) The first tracing of a fictitious and ideologically charged borderline, associated with the novel geospatial concept of a virtual "new" Macedonia, appeared almost at the same time on maps drawn up by Greek and Bulgarian ethnographers and activists at the end of the 19th century (1899-1900). The cartographic shape of this "new" Macedonia is still being used, with some slight variations, by various parties involved in the present-day regional dispute over the use and misuse of the toponym "Macedonia". And this is happening despite the fact that none of

the present-day states in the region covers the entire geographical area of Macedonia but only parts of the ideologically defined territory that was traced on maps almost a century ago. But the most important thing in this case is that this virtual shape has now become a “cartographic dogma”, though in reality it is no more than the mental construct of a few individuals whose arbitrary geospatial images of Macedonia became thoughtlessly accepted as stereotypes. These geospatial images are based on outdated



[138] Synthesis of all views about the territorial expansion of Macedonia from 1899 (Nicolaidis) to 1998 (the revival of Čupovski's 1913 map), with respect to: a) the borderline defining the northernmost of inhabited Macedonia, according to Ptolemy's *Geographia* associated with the Lapie's 1845 *Orbis Romanus*; b) the spatial residual (grey shade) of Bulgaria's shapes after the San Stefano Treaty and the Berlin Congress and c) the present-day state borderlines (black) and the Macedonian Regions of Greece according to the European Union Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics, NUTS - Level 2 (cf. [10]). *Cartography - Processing*: EL.

ethnographic ideas, firmly rejected by European thought in the period following the Second World War.

From the analysis presented in this study it is apparent that the geospatial shape represented by some parties on present-day maps as “Macedonia” is no more than a virtuality derived from a fictitiously drawn geospatial stereotype of Bulgarian origin dating from the 1900s (cf. the Kănčov map), just as its Greek counterpart from the same period, the Nicolaides map, was also a virtual construct.

Up until the appearance of these ideological constructs, cartographic images of Macedonia, representing the region either as an integral part of a wider region or as the only shape-image on the map, were almost exclusively related to the depictions of ancient Macedonia inserted in historical atlases which were mass produced in the second half of the 19th century. The traditional image of ancient Macedonia deviates from the ideologically inspired stereotypes of the 1900s because it follows the ancient regional settings, well known among learned Europeans. In these settings, Macedonia and its later province of Paeonia to the north (cf. the “post-Philippum II” period) cover only a part of the 1900 stereotype, leaving outside Macedonia the district of Dardania, thus the city of Scopi (Skopje),¹ which, in contrast, is included in the ethnographically inspired stereotypes of the 1900s.

All other maps from the heyday of ethnographic cartography, including those of military origin, represent broader areas of the Haemus (Balkan) Peninsula, reflecting mostly partisan interests in acquiring the European territories of the Ottoman Empire. Nor does the residual shape, obtained by subtracting the areas gained by Bulgaria after the San Stefano Treaty and the Berlin Congress, assimilate the 1900 stereotype because of the now missing southern part of ancient Macedonia. This residual was supposed to be a

1. Kiepert, 1861. *Atlas antiquus*. The present-day capital city of The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was never part of Ancient Macedonia, nor even her northern province Paeonia.

derived Bulgarian view of Macedonia in 1878 [122], [136].

The current general feeling in the international community regarding the new manifestation of the Macedonian Question can best be described by the word “confusion”. This word best describes current perceptions of Macedonia and its name as a geographical entity in space and time. Following a long period of silence after the Second World War, due to Cold War balance of power requirements, the issue has re-emerged in the present day to preoccupy regional and international politics and public opinion. The use of maps in this context, especially in education and the media is still a tool in the hands of those wishing to impose an ideology of “national identity”, recalling the obsolete ethnological and ethnographic maps imposed in the Balkans during the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century.

The issue is so dense, complicated and multifaceted – as the history of 19th-century cartography shows – that, if left at the mercy of ignorance, irresponsibility and anachronistic ultra-nationalism, it will eventually prove to be explosive in the hands of the future generation, who are being brought up with misleading stereotypes involving an improper use of maps. The international confusion has been caused by the promotion of the geospatial image of a virtual “new” Macedonia, one fictitiously shaped by late-19th-century ethnographic cartography, and linked once again to other issues associated with this outdated ethnographic approach, such as the language question, the historical legacy and territorial rights, including the issue of private property ownership.

The re-emergence of these outdated issues, well-known key themes in the old-fashioned ethnographic approach, brings to mind the related nationalist ideologies that appeared in Central Europe – and elsewhere – between the late 18th century and the second half of the 19th century. An example is the geostrategic policy of the two Prussian Wars, against Denmark (1864) and France (1870), in which territorial claims were argued (and mapped) on the basis of typical ethnographical ideological concepts such

as common language and land-property rights. These ideologies eventually led to the formation of expansionist geopolitical theories such as the *Lebensraum* theory of the first half of the 20th century, extensively used in the cartographic past. One should always remember that the present-day dispute over Macedonia is rooted in a cartographically-inspired geospatial definition. It is the spectre of a territorial shape that was traced on maps in the period 1899-1900, and it is charged with all the emotions generated by the ethnographic ideologies of the day. The result, a novel image of a fictitious territory, conceived as representing the “whole” of Macedonia, never succeeded in achieving its objective of gaining international recognition as the definitive cartographic representation of a new independent state in the Balkans. But the spectre of this image is still with us today, extending into the territories of four present-day neighbouring states. It seems that the ghost of 19th-century ethnography has returned to pose the following question: is the cartographic legacy it left behind *the victim of cartography or perhaps the victimiser?*

The aim of this study was to show how cartography and maps can decisively enrich and balance informed and sober thinking on the present-day revival of the Macedonian Question, as well as debate on the use or misuse of the historical toponym “Macedonia”. The issue is best viewed in its full historical context and perspective, from Ptolemy’s *Geographia* to the end of the First World War and the Ottoman Empire (1918). Discerning and careful readers now have a complete picture of the subject, one that will enable them to draw their own conclusions. From the standpoint of map history and its impact on the formation of collective ideas or obsessions, if the cartographic approach to the Macedonian problem remains partial and one-sided, there is a danger that the problem itself will remain partial, unbalanced, unfair and confusing, with all the negative consequences which that entails, consequences that are well known to students of our long common European history.