

Colonialism in the Cartouche: Imagery and Power in Early Modern Maps

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Abstract

The role of maps as tools of colonial control is well known; the cartouches on maps are the places where the cartographer often signals to the viewer his or her interests or prejudices, but the colonialist messages conveyed by cartouches are underexplored. In this article I examine colonialist imagery in several cartouches from the end of the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century both to show the visual vocabulary of this colonialist discourse, and to stimulate further study of cartouches of this type.

It is a commonplace in the literature on the history of cartography that maps can be both expressions of colonial ambitions and tools of colonial control—they are “specialized intellectual weapons by which power could be gained, administered, given legitimacy, and codified².” Imperial powers can use maps to depict desired territories as already in their control, their cartographers effacing signs of indigenous possession and replacing (for example) indigenous place names with newly imposed ones, thus taking

¹ Board member of the Lazarus Project at the University of Rochester who has published extensively on medieval and Renaissance maps.

² HARLEY and WOODWARD. “Concluding Remarks”. In HARLEY, J. B. and WOODWARD, David, (Eds.). **The History of Cartography**. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987, vol. 1, 502-509, at 506; also see HARLEY. “Maps, Knowledge and Power”. In COSGROVE, Denis, and DANIELS, Stephen (Eds.). **The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 277-312, at 281. On colonial mapping see particularly EDNEY. “The Irony of Imperial Mapping”. In AKERMAN, James R. (Ed.). **The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009, 11-45.

'possession' of the territory³. Maps can create attractive images of newly claimed lands to entice news colonists to settle there⁴. Moreover, imperial powers use maps as administrative instruments to control colonial territories in terms of surveying, conducting war, taxation, exploiting natural resources, and the centralization of government⁵.

The decorative cartouches on maps are special spaces where the cartographer can communicate his interests or desires to the viewer in a way that is not possible on the rest of the map, where the geography of the region is depicted. As J. B. Harley has remarked, "The cartouche is the

³ See for example VUOLTEENAHO and BERG. "Towards Critical Toponymies". In BERG, Lawrence D., and VUOLTEENAHO, Jani (Eds.). **Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming**. London and New York: Routledge, 2016, 1-18; CROCOMBE. "Naming and Claiming in the South Pacific". **Journal of the Pacific Society**. Tokyo, 50, 1991, 1-19; HARLEY. "Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter". **Annals of the Association of American Geographers**. Washington, DC, 82, 3, 1992, 522-536; SCHMIDT. "Mapping an Empire: Cartographic and Colonial Rivalry in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English North America". **The William and Mary Quarterly**. Williamsburg, VA, 54, 3, 1997, 549-578; BROD. "Maps as Weapons in the Conquest of Old American Northwest, 1608 to 1829". Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2000; and LOIS. "Paisajes toponímicos. La potencia visual de los topónimos y el imaginario geográfico sobre la Patagonia en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX". In ROQUE DE OLIVEIRA, Francisco, and MENDOZA VARGAS, Héctor (Eds.). **Mapas de metade do mundo. A cartografia e a construção territorial dos espaços americanos: séculos XVI a XIX**. Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Geográficos da Universidade de Lisboa, and Mexico City: Instituto de Geografia da Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010, 317-341. For a broader view see TUCKER, "Place-Names, Conquest, and Empire: Spanish and Amerindian Conceptions of Place in the New World". Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Arlington, 2011. WITHERS. "Authorizing Landscape: 'Authority', Naming and the Ordnance Survey's Mapping of the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century". **Journal of Historical Geography**. London, 26, 2000, 532-554, has good bibliography about colonial place naming in several specific regions.

⁴ On maps as tools to entice settlers see for example BLACK. "Mapping the English Colonies in North America: The Beginnings". In THROWER, Norman J. W. (Ed.). **The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart, Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978, 101-125; DEVORSEY. "Maps in Colonial Promotion: James Edward Oglethorp's Use of Maps in 'Selling' the Georgia Scheme". **Imago Mundi**. Lympne Castle, Kent, 38, 1986, 35-45; ROPER. "Paper Conquests: Early Modern English Mapping of North America as Promotional Tools". Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kansas, 1998; and GRONIM. "Geography and Persuasion: Maps in British Colonial New York". **The William and Mary Quarterly**, Williamsburg, VA, 58, 2, 2001, 373-402.

⁵ In addition to the works by Harley and Edney cited in note 1, see BUISSERET (Ed.). **Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe**. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992; and CRAIB. "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain". **Latin American Research Review**. Austin, TX, 35, 1, 2000, 7-36.

pictura loquens of cartography. Like the emblematic title page or frontispiece, it serves to abstract and epitomize some of the meaning of the work as a whole. A cartouche may thus be decorative, illustrative, grammatical, propagandist, doctrinal or controversial⁶.” Stephanie Pratt has declared that “far from being marginal, the cartouche constitutes the map⁷”; as such, cartouches and their history deserve careful study.

In this article I will examine the cartouches on several maps from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century in which the cartographers’ colonialist prejudices and interests are particularly clear—that is, examples in Harley’s propagandist and doctrinal categories, though it bears emphasizing that almost every cartouche is decorative in addition to the other roles it plays on a map. My hope is that these examples will not only provide insights into the ways maps can express their colonial underpinnings and aspirations, but will also inspire additional studies of cartouche imagery, both colonialist and of other types⁸. The genre is understudied⁹.

⁶ See HARLEY. “Power and Legitimation in the English Geographical Atlases of the Eighteenth Century”. In WOLTER, John A. (Ed.). **Images of the World: The Atlas Through History**. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1997, 161-204, at 184. Also see HARLEY. “Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography”. In TYACKE, Sarah (Ed.). **English Map-Making, 1500-1650: Historical Essays**. London: The British Library Reference Division Publications, 1984, 22-45, at 36. For brief general discussions of cartouches see KISH. “Cartouches: Notes on Decorative Maps”. **LSA, The University of Michigan**. Ann Arbor, MI, 4, 3, 1981, 3-10; ANDREWS. **Maps in Those Days: Cartographic Methods before 1850**. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009, 452-461; and BESSE and VERDIER. “Cartouche”. In EDNEY, Matthew H., and PEDLEY, Mary Sponberg (Eds.). **The History of Cartography**, vol. 4, **Cartography in the European Enlightenment**. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2019, 244-251.

⁷ PRATT. “From the Margins: The Native American Personage in the Cartouche and Decorative Borders of Maps”. **Word & Image**. London, 12, 4, 1996, 349-365, at 362.

⁸ Earlier studies of colonial imagery in cartouches include CLARKE. “Taking Possession: The Cartouche as Cultural Text in Eighteenth-Century American Maps”. **Word & Image**. London, 4, 2, 1988, 455-474; and CONNETT. “Fantasy and Fact: Decorative Cartouches on Captain James Cook’s Chart of New Zealand”. **New Zealand Map Society Journal**. Victoria, Australia, 16, 2003, 23-32.

⁹ I have a book about cartouches forthcoming from Brill titled **Frames that Speak: Cartouches on Early Modern Maps**. The cartouches that I examine in this article do not appear in my book.

I define a cartographic cartouche as a framed device on a map containing text or decorative elements, together with associated adjacent imagery. A frame around the cartouche text or image is a constitutive element; this frame can be composed of many things, strapwork decoration, a rocaille frame, a landscape below and tree branches above, etc. While the frame is essential, it is important to recognize that images outside but adjacent to that frame are part of the cartouche's decorative program. One common use of cartouches is to display information about the title and author of the map, but they can be used in other ways as well, to contain other texts or graphics, including inset maps.

The first example I will examine is a map titled *Il Regno del Brasile parte nobilissima del Mondo nuovo...*, designed and engraved by the artist Andrea Antonio Orazi (1670-c. 1749) to illustrate a book by João José de Santa Teresa (1658-ca. 1733) titled *Istoria delle guerre del regno del Brasile accadute tra la corona di Portogallo, e la republica di Olanda* (Rome, 1698)¹⁰. The map shows eastern Brazil, and is oriented with west at the top, as is common for maps of Brazil during this period. Along the bottom edge of the map are three cartouches. At the right, two putti hold a tapestry above a terrestrial globe on a shelf floating in the sea. On the tapestry is a long text about the size of Brazil, its discovery by Portugal, and the taking of the land "from the hands of the barbarians" (*dalle mani de' Barbari conquistato*); then it was invaded by the Dutch, and after a long war re-taken by the Portuguese in 1654¹¹. The cartographer adds that he has

¹⁰ A high-resolution image of Santa Teresa's map is available via the website of the John Carter Brown Library, at <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com>. On Santa Teresa's book see BORBA DE MORAES. **Bibliographia brasiliana: A Bibliographical Essay on Rare Books about Brazil Published from 1504 to 1900, and Works of Brazilian Authors Published Abroad before the Independence of Brazil in 1822**. Amsterdam: Colibris Editora, 1958, vol. 2, p. 231.

¹¹ The text on Orazi's map of Brazil reads: *Il Regno del Brasile parte nobilissima del mondo nuovo, e si vasta nel suo giro che delle tre parti di Europa supera due in grandezza ha nel solo spazio di un secolo sperimentato di diversi Dominanti la signoria. Impero che essendo egli stati dalli Re di Portogallo nell'anno 1500 scoperto, e dalle mani de' Barbari conquistato, cade poi con tutto il rimanente della Monarchia Portoghese sotto L'impero de' Re Cattolici. Indi dall'armi Olandesi con numerose armate invaso, fu quasi tutto dalle medesime usurpato. Ma dopo molt'anni di prolissa e stentata guerra, per mezzo di assai illustri vittorie, fu dalli Portoghesi nell'anno 1654 interamente ripreso. E perche in alcune Carte correa sin ora non poco diffettoso nella vera estensione de' suoi*

based his map on the latest reports and comparisons with the maps of the most expert cosmographers. Near the center there is a strapwork cartouche containing the map's scales of miles, and to the left is the cartouche we will focus on here [Fig. 1]. This cartouche is to be considered closely with the image of cannibalistic dismemberment and cooking that is immediately adjacent to it on the mainland¹².

limiti, Corretto da piu esatte notizie confrontate con quelli de' piu periti Cosmografi, esce qui alla luce a publica utilita.

- ¹² For accounts of images of cannibals on maps see CHAMBERS. "Cannibalism in a Cultural Context: Cartographic Imagery and Iconography of the New World Indigenous Peoples During the Age of Discovery". Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Texas at Arlington, 2006; CHAMBERS. "The Geography of Cannibalism: Specificity in Sixteenth-Century New World Cartography and Literature". *Terrae Incognitae*. Detroit, 39, 1, 2007, 52-67; WALKER. **From Alterity to Allegory: Depictions of Cannibalism on Early European Maps of the New World**. Washington, DC: Philip Lee Phillips Map Society Publication, 2015; and JÁUREGUI. **Canibalia: Canibalismo, calibanismo, antropofagia cultural y consumo en América Latina**. Madrid: Iberoamericana and Vervuert, 2008, 102-108.



Fig. 1. Detail of a cartouche on Andrea Antonio Orazi's map *Il Regno del Brasile parte nobilissima del Mondo nuovo...*, from **João José de Santa Teresa**, *Istoria delle guerre del regno del Brasile accadute tra la corona di Portogallo, e la repubblica di Olanda* (Rome, 1698). Courtesy of Old World Auctions.

The cartouche consists of an elaborately decorated monument with human figures. At the top of the monument is the coat of arms of Portugal together with military symbols such as banners, a shield, and a club. Below, carved into the body of the monument, is a scene depicting a battle among

European soldiers, which can only be the Portuguese victory over Dutch forces. Two putti stretch down from the coat of arms. The putto on the left holds a cross with a banner that reads *Subegit gentes*, “It conquers peoples,” in which certainly Portugal is the subject, rather than the cross. In addition to the cross the putto holds a chain that is attached to a collar and a metal belt around the neck and torso of an indigenous woman who recoils in fear. She is identifiable as indigenous from her feathered headdress and skirt; she also wears a quiver and holds an arrow in one hand, but has dropped other weapons, including a bow, another quiver, an ax, and several other arrows. In short, she is almost defenseless.

The putto on the right brandishes a dagger in one hand and in the other holds a banner that reads *Vicit hereses*, “It conquers heresies,” again referring to Portugal. The putto also holds a chain around the neck of a woman below, in this case a monstrous personification of Heresy with serpents for hair and serpentine tails who holds a serpent and consulting heretical documents. This is an elaboration of the personification of Heresy in Cesare Ripa’s influential *Iconologia*¹³, with the addition of the serpentine tails. It is very interesting that the putto who is conquering the indigenous peoples holds a cross (rather than a weapon), while the putto who is conquering Heresy holds a dagger (rather than a cross). The implication seems to be that these two aspects of colonial subjugation, military and evangelistic, are inseparable.

The heresies in question are the non-Christian practices of the indigenous peoples of Brazil, and we are to understand the nearby image of cannibalism as one of those practices (visible in Fig. 1). In 1503 Queen Isabella of Castile had enacted a so-called “Cannibal Law” that made it legal for Spaniards in the New World to enslave cannibals, and what had been permission to enslave was interpreted as permission to make war

¹³ See the illustration of Heresy in the first illustrated edition of Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, namely RIPA. *Iconologia*. Rome: appresso Lepido Facij, 1603, 217. A digital version of this edition is available at <https://archive.org>.

against the cannibals¹⁴. Similar rules allowed the Portuguese to attack cannibals¹⁵, so the proximity of the scene of Brazilian cannibalism to the large cartouche on Santa Teresa's map provides a legal pretext for the subjugation of indigenous Brazilian peoples depicted and celebrated in that cartouche.

The frontispiece of Santa Teresa's book [Fig. 2], also designed and engraved by Andrea Antonio Orazi, is intended to be considered in close connection with the cartouche on the map of Brazil (see Fig. 1)¹⁶. In the frontispiece, a personification of Christianity holds a cross and a chalice that holds the letters IHS, standing for Jesus. A ray of light shines from those letters downward upon the coat of arms of Portugal supported by two putti, and then reflects to shine downward on an indigenous woman wearing a feather headdress and skirt, a personification of Brazil, who kneels on a seashore and looks up toward the coat of arms, gesturing her thanks. She has set her weapons—a quiver, bow, and arrow—on the ground, and the chain we saw in the cartouche has been broken, and also lies on the ground. A banner that reaches from the woman to Portugal's coat of arms reads *Ab his dominata triumpho*— “by these things conquered, I triumph,” meaning “by Portugal and Christianity conquered, I triumph.” So the frontispiece completes the message of the cartouche in the map of Brazil: the cartouche depicts a violent military and religious conquest, and the frontispiece suggests that Brazil will thrive if it accepts them¹⁷.

¹⁴ PALENCIA-ROTH. “The Cannibal Law of 1503”. In WILLIAMS, Jerry M., and LEWIS, Robert E. (Eds.). **Early Images of the Americas: Transfer and Invention**. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993, 21-63, esp. 22-27 and 42-44.

¹⁵ See KIEMEN. **The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693**. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1954, 3-5 and 85; and MILLER and D'ANGELIS. “Brazil, Indigenous Peoples, and the International Law of Discovery”. **Brooklyn Journal of International Law**. Brooklyn, 37, 1, 2011, 45 and 60.

¹⁶ A high-resolution image of the frontispiece in Santa Teresa's book is available at <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com>.

¹⁷ There are two emblematic symbols below the principal scene: on the left, a snake sheds its skin above the words *Depositis novus exuviis* (“New after having shed its skin”), while on the right, there



Fig. 2

The frontispiece of **João José de Santa Teresa**, *Istoria delle guerre del regno del Brasile accadute tra la corona di Portogallo, e la republica di Olanda* (1698). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.

is a chain above the words *arcebant vincula palmae* (“the hands keep away the chains”). The message repeats that of the scene above: after Brazil has renewed itself by shedding its non-Christian ways, its chains will be removed.

The next cartouche we will examine is on a map by the devout German Jesuit Heinrich Scherer (1628-1704)¹⁸. Scherer applied himself to cartography while he was working as a tutor to the princes of Bavaria, and in 1702 published his *Atlas novus exhibens orbem terraqueum per naturae opera, historiae novae ac veteris monumenta* (“New Atlas Showing the Whole Earth through the Works of Nature and Monuments of Ancient and Modern History”) (Dillingen and Frankfurt: Bencard, 1702)¹⁹. The atlas, which was reprinted a few times, was published in seven volumes which are usually cataloged separately. The map we will consider appears in vol. 4 of the atlas, which is titled *Geographia politica*; the map is titled *Provinciae borealis Americae non ita pridem detectae aut magis ab europaeis excultae* (“The Provinces of North America Recently Discovered, or Rather Developed by Europeans”) [Fig. 3]²⁰.

¹⁸ On Scherer see SANDLER. “Ein bayerischer Jesuiten geograph”. **Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in München**. Munich, 2, 1, 1906, 1-39; LAYER. “Ein bedeutender Barock geograph: P. Heinrich Scherer SJ (1628-1704)”. **Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen an der Donau / Historischer Verein**. Dillingen an der Donau, Germany, 86, 1984, 145-148; WAWRIK. **Berühmte Atlanten: kartographische Kunst aus fünf Jahrhunderten**. Dortmund: Harenberg, 1982, 172-175; GREENE. “Maps with a Message: Categorizing the Works of Heinrich Scherer”. **The Portolan**, Washington, DC, 52, 2002, 34-44; and FISCHER. “Eine mitteleuropäische Jesuitenkarte Heinrich Scherers (1628-1704) von 1703”. **Jahrbuch / Verein für Augsburgs Bistumsgeschichte e.V. Lindenberg**. Augsburg, 47, 2013, 313-323.

¹⁹ The atlas is described in PHILLIPS. **A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress: with Bibliographical Notes**. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909-1992, vol. 3, 243-246 and 259. Scherer describes his plan for the whole atlas (*totius operis geographici idea*) in part of the preface to vol. 4 of the atlas, titled *Geographia politica, sive historia geographica*.

²⁰ On Scherer’s map see TOOLEY. **California as an Island: A Geographical Misconception Illustrated by 100 Examples from 1625 to 1770**. London: Map Collectors’ Circle, 1964, 25; and MCLAUGHLIN and MAYO. **The Mapping of California as an Island: An Illustrated Checklist**. Saratoga, CA: California Map Society, 1995, no. 160. A high-resolution image of an uncolored exemplar of the map is available via <https://searchworks.stanford.edu>.



Fig. 3

Heinrich Scherer

Provinciae borealis Americae non ita pridem detectae aut magis ab europaeis excultae, 1702

Courtesy of Old World Auctions.

The rather plain title cartouche, held aloft by a putto over unknown regions of northwestern North America, is in the upper left part of the map; in the upper right part of the map there are three ships with national symbols on their sterns, those of France, Spain, and England, the three powers most active in colonizing North America. The stern of the French ship—and thus the French fleurs-de-lis—are cast in shadow, suggesting a lesser role for France in the colonization of North America, and Scherer makes the same suggestion in the cartouche below. The cartouche that will be the focus of our attention on this map is in the lower right corner, above two scales of leagues [Fig. 4]. Here, three European men—a Frenchman, Spaniard, and Englishman, in the same order left to right as the ships above—hold up

three maps showing their country's territorial claims in North America, showing them to three Native Americans, two of whom are kneeling.



Fig. 4.

Heinrich Scherer

Detail of the cartouche on the map *Provinciae borealis Americae non ita pridem detectae aut magis ab europaeis excultae*, 1702

Courtesy of Old World Auctions.

The Frenchman shows a map titled *Gallorum auspiciis* (“Through the Hopes of the French”), and the text below says that it shows *Luysiana cum Pentilimnia*²¹, that is, Louisiana and the Five Lakes, that is, the Great Lakes. The map puts the Great Lakes beside the Mississippi River in a way completely at odds with actual geography. The Frenchman shows the map to a kneeling Native American who is identified as a Huron and who studies the map closely—particularly the part near the headwaters of the

²¹ I have not seen the place name *Pentilimnia* (“Five Lakes”) used for the Great Lakes anywhere else.

Mississippi that the Frenchman is revealing beneath the map's title and pointing to. The Frenchman angles his map away from the other two, the same way the French ship sails away from the other two in the upper right corner of the map.

The Spaniard displays a map titled *Hispanorum cura* ("Through the Care of the Spanish"), and the text below says that it shows *Novum Mexicum cum California*, New Mexico with California. The Englishman displays a map titled *Angloru[m] industria*, ("Through the Diligence of the English"), and the text below says that it shows *Pensylvania Mariana Carolina*, that is, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Carolina. The Englishman and Spaniard look pointedly at each other, perhaps alluding to English encroachments into Spanish Florida in the seventeenth century. Two Iroquois look at the map held by the Englishman, and the one who is kneeling beseeches him, but the Englishman ignores him. The Iroquois who stands behind the Englishman looks down at his tribesman and points at the bow in his other hand, as if asking whether he should use it, so there is some tension in the scene. The proximity of the Iroquois and Englishman no doubt alludes to the so-called Covenant Chain alliances between the English and Iroquois during the seventeenth century²².

The titles of the three maps are interesting for their indications of the relative seriousness of the three nations' commitments to their colonies in the New World: the contrast between the "Hopes" of the French, the "Care" of the Spanish, and the "Diligence" of the English shows that Scherer viewed the French as the least serious. We saw this same idea indicated in the upper right corner of the map by the divergent course of the French ship. This difference is also reflected in the fact that the English and French maps are surrounded by decorative rocaille frames, while the Spanish is not. It should also be noted that the titles of the French and Spanish maps

²² On the Covenant Chain alliances see for example JENNINGS. **The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies**. New York: Norton, 1984.

are peeling away, apparently indicating the relative fragility of their North American possessions, while the title of the English map is not.

The cartouche is most remarkable for its early consciousness—almost 300 years before J. B. Harley wrote—and graphic depiction of the role of cartography in the colonial enterprise. Scherer depicts France, Spain, and England using maps to assert their geographical claims in North America, and specifically, they use their maps assert those claims before an audience of peoples indigenous to that region, from whom they had taken those lands. A European cartographer, on a European map, depicts European powers using maps as tools of conquest, persuading Native Americans (who show no resistance at all, in this wildly idealized rendering) of their territorial claims. Some of the violence of this tripartite colonial conquest is implicit in the virtual tearing of North America into three pieces from Scherer's depiction in the large map to the three maps held by the Frenchman, Spaniard, and Englishman²³.

Moving now to Southeast Asia, we will examine a map of Java made by the Dutch scholar and cartographer Adriaan Reland (1676-1718)²⁴, and printed in Amsterdam by Gerard van Keulen in his *De nieuwe groote liggende zee-fakkel* c. 1718. The map was printed in two sheets with separate titles covering the western and eastern parts of the island, *Insulae Javae pars Occidentalis* [Fig. 5] and *Insulae Javae pars Orientalis*²⁵. The map was

²³ A somewhat similar scene of Europeans dividing the world while Native Americans look on appears in the title cartouche on Pieter van der Aa's map **America, of Nieuw-Ontdekte Weereld, tot de Beschryving van Joseph d'Acosta afgebakend**. Leiden, c. 1706, a high-resolution image of which is available at <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com>.

²⁴ On Reland see HAMILTON. "Adrianus Reland (1676-1718), Outstanding Orientalist". In JAMIN, Hervé (Ed.). **Zes keer zestig: 360 jaar universitaire geschiedenis in zes biografieën**. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 1996), 22-31; and the forthcoming book by JASKI, LANGE, PYTLOWANY, and VAN RINSUM (Eds.). **The Orient in Utrecht: Adriaan Reland (1676-1718), Arabist, Cartographer, Antiquarian and Scholar of Comparative Religion**. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021.

²⁵ On Reland's map of Java see KOEMAN. **Atlantes Neerlandici: Bibliography of Terrestrial, Maritime and Celestial Atlases and Pilot Books, Published in the Netherlands up to 1880**. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967-85, vol. 4, p. 359, no. 267 in entry Keu 124 E, and pp. 382-383, no. 267; PARRY. **The Cartography of the East Indian Islands: Insulae Indiae Orientalis**. London: Countrywide Editions, 2005, 182-184; and DE VRIES. **The Van Keulen**

made in support of the trading empire of the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie), which had been founded in 1602. In 1619 the Dutch founded the city of Batavia (now Jakarta) on the northern coast of Java as their headquarters and center of trade in the Dutch East Indies. The western sheet of the map has multiple small scenes inland of slaves working in the fields harvesting rice, hunting, and holding parasols for their European overseers.



Fig. 5
Adriaan Reland
Insulae Javae pars Occidentalis, c. 1718
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Cartography, Amsterdam 1680-1885. Alphen aan den Rijn: Uitgeverij Canaletto/Repro-Holland, 2005, p. 211, nos. 291-292. High-resolution images of the map are available via <https://loc.gov> and <https://catalog.princeton.edu>.

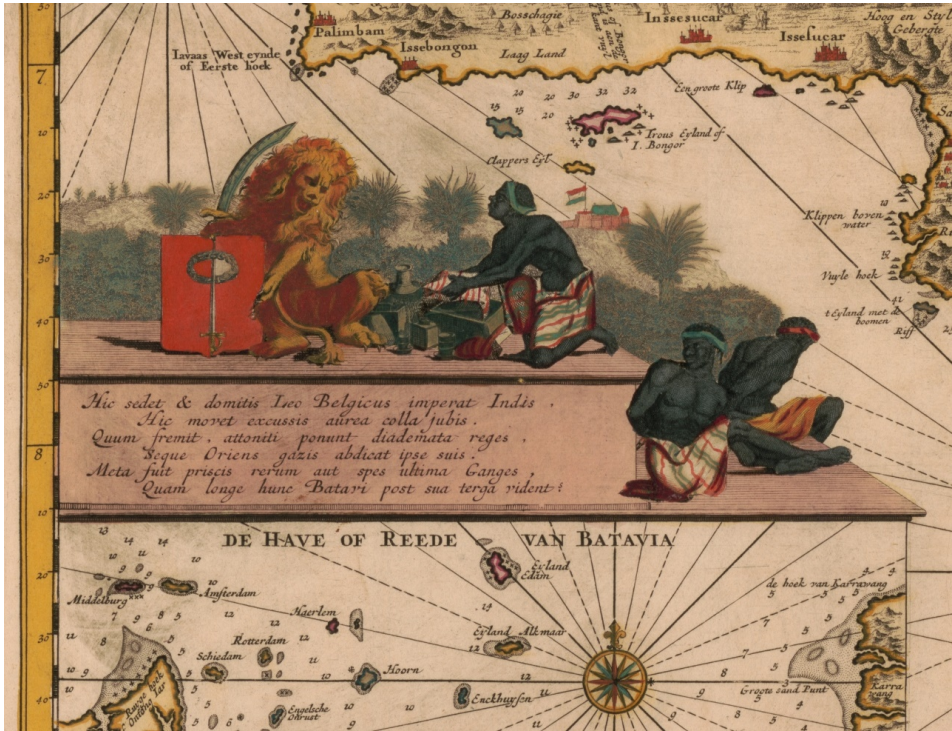


Fig. 6

Adriaan Reland

Detail of the cartouche on the map *Insulae Javae pars Occidentalis*, c. 1718
 Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The cartouche is in the lower left-hand corner of the map [Fig. 6]. Below there is an inset map of the Bay of Batavia (Jakarta Bay). The inset map is topped by a platform on which two Javanese men sit with their hands bound behind their backs beside a low wall with six lines of poetry written on it. Above the low wall is another platform with a lion and a Javanese man, and in the background, a landscape with palm trees and a Dutch hill fort. The role of the lion as a symbol of the Netherlands had been formalized in the late sixteenth century with the creation of the Leo

Belgicus; here the lion holds the coat of arms of the city of Batavia,²⁶ while wielding a sword and growling menacingly at the Javanese man to the right. That man appeases the lion by offering it some trading goods, including pearls, a common gesture in depictions of relationships between colonial powers and colonized peoples²⁷. The lines of poetry below read²⁸:

Hic sedet & domitis Leo Belgicus imperat Indis,
Hic movet excussis aurea colla jubaris.
Quum fremit, attoniti ponunt diademata reges,
Seque Oriens gazis abdicat ipse suis.
Meta fuit priscis rerum aut spes ultima Ganges,
Quam longe hunc Batavi post sua terga vident!

Here sits the Belgian lion, ruling over the subjugated
Indians;
Here he shakes his mane and moves his golden neck.

²⁶ On the Leo Belgicus see VAN DER HEIJDEN. **Leo Belgicus. An Illustrated and Annotated Carto-Bibliography**. Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 2006; and RICCI. "Maps, Power and National Identity: The Leo Belgicus as a Symbol of the Independence of the United Provinces". **Bollettino della Associazione Italiana di Cartografia**. Florence, 154, 2015, 102-120.

²⁷ For another example of a map that shows colonized peoples bringing goods to the colonizing power see SEUTTER. **Recens edita totius Novi Belgii in America Septentrionali siti**. Augsburg, c. 1730; a high-resolution image of this map is available at <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com>. Compare the image of a personification of Europe receiving offerings from personifications of the other continents on a manuscript world map made in 1610 by Harmen and Marten JANSZ. titled **Nova orbis terrarum geografica ac hydrogra[phica] tabula ex optimis in hoc opere auctoribus desumpta**, Paris, BnF Cartes et plans, GE A-1048 (RES). An image of the map is available via <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, and the decoration of the map is discussed by HOFMANN. "'Paincture & image de la Terre': l'enluminure des cartes aux Pays-Bas". In PELLETIER, Monique (Ed.). **Couleurs de la terre: des mappemondes médiévales aux images satellitaires**. Paris: Seuil and Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998, 68-85, esp. 82-83.

²⁸ These lines of poetry are cited from Reland's map in OUTHOF. "Letternieuws Amsterdam". **Maendelyke uittreksels, of Boekzael der geleerde werrelt**. Amsterdam, 7, August, 1718, 218-229, at 220, demonstrating that the map had been printed by August of 1718. The poem is reprinted in a collection of Reland's poems, REELAND. **Adriani Relandi Poemata: quae hactenus reperi potuerunt**. Utrecht: apud Henricum Spruit, 1748, 144. On pp. 144-145 Reeland lists a few other poems that he had placed on his maps, and the one on his map of Java is the most explicitly colonialist. Reland's poem on his map of Japan is translated into English in YONEMOTO. "Envisioning Japan in Eighteenth-Century Europe: The International Career of a Cartographic Image". **Intellectual History Newsletter**. Boston, 22, 2000, 17-35, at 24; and YONEMOTO. "The European Career of Ishikawa Ryūsen's Map of Japan". In WIGEN, Kären, FUMIKO, Sugimoto, and KARACAS, Cary (Eds.). **Cartographic Japan: A History in Maps**. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016, 37-40, at 38.

When he roars, stunned kings lay down their crowns,
And the East itself abandons its treasures.
The Ganges was the furthest limit or hope of the ancients,
But the Dutch have left it far behind them!

The arrogance of these lines is impressive: Reland not only asserts that the Belgian lion already rules over the “subjugated” peoples of the East Indies—who are depicted with their hands tied behind their backs in the cartouche—but also that further political and economic surrender by those peoples is just one lion’s roar away. Resistance is impossible, unthinkable. The Dutch have also expanded their geographical and cartographical knowledge far beyond the limits reached in classical antiquity. The lines thus combine political, economic, and territorial ambition and acquisitiveness. It is notable that Reland makes no mention of evangelization; although Christianity is not mentioned in the VOC’s charter, spreading the Christian faith was indeed one of the goals of the company²⁹.

It is worth keeping in mind that these lines were written by a polymath with an appreciation of Asian cultures.

The next cartouches we will examine are on a map of the Americas by the German cartographer Matthäus Seutter (1678-1756)³⁰ titled *Novus orbis*

²⁹ The VOC’s charter is translated into English in REYNDERS. **A Translation of the Charter of the Dutch East Indies Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC): Granted by the States General of the United Netherlands, 20 March 1602**. ed. Rupert GERRITSEN. Canberra: Australia on the Map Division of the Australasian Hydrographic Society, 2009. On the VOC’s interest in spreading the Christian faith see BROOMHALL. “Quite indifferent to these things’: The Role of Emotions and Conversion in the Dutch East India Company’s Interactions with the South Lands”. **Journal of Religious History**. Sydney, Australia, 39, 4, 2015, 524-544.

³⁰ On Seutter’s work as a cartographer see SANDLER. **Matthäus Seutter (1678-1757) und seine Landkarten: ein Handbuch**. Bad Langensalza: Rockstuhl, 2001; first published in **Mitteilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig**, 1894, 1-38; MEURER. “Das Druckprivileg für Matthäus Seutter”. **Cartographica Helvetica**. Murten, Switzerland, 8, 1993, 32-36; RITTER. “Seutter, Probst and Lotter: An Eighteenth-Century Map Publishing House in Germany”. **Imago Mundi**. Lympe Castle, Kent, 53, 2001, 130-135; and RITTER. “Die Augsburger Landkartenverlage Seutter, Lotter und Probst”. **Cartographica Helvetica**. Murten, Switzerland, 25, 2002, 2-10.

sive America Meridionalis et Septentrionalis per sua regna, provincias et insulas iuxta observationes et descriptiones recentiss. divisa et adornata cura et opera Matt. Seutter (“The New World or North and South America, Divided into its Kingdoms, Provinces and Islands According to the Most Recent Accounts and Maps and Embellished by the Care and Attention of Matthäus Seutter”), first published in about 1720³¹. The cartouches on the map were designed by the printmaker and draftsman Gottfried Rogg³², who also designed the cartouches on other maps by Seutter.

³¹ On Seutter’s map of the Americas see WHEAT. **Mapping the Transmississippi West**. San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957, vol. 1, 148; and MCLAUGHLIN and MAYO. **The Mapping of California as an Island: An Illustrated Checklist**. Saratoga, CA: California Map Society, 1995, no. 211. High-resolution images of Seutter’s map are available via <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com>, <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search>, and the Beinecke Digital Library.

³² For a brief account of the work of Gottfried Rogg (1669-1742) see THIEME and BECKER (Eds.). **Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart**. Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1907-50, vol. 28, 516-517. I thank Michael Ritter for this reference.



Fig. 7
Matthäus Seutter

Detail of the cartouche in the lower left corner of the map *Novus orbis sive America Meridionalis et Septentrionalis per sua regna, provincias et insulas iuxta observationes et descriptiones recentiss. divisa et adornata*, c. 1720

Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

The title cartouche is in the map's lower left corner and shows something close to an ethnographic scene of Native Americans [Fig. 7]³³. On the right there is a chief in a feathered headdress, armband, cape, and garment,

³³ On the early development of ethnographic images of Native Americans see MASSING. "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach". In LEVENSON, Jay A. (Ed.). **Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration**. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, 515-520.

while an attendant shades him with a parasol³⁴; below a woman chews and spits pieces of manioc into a vessel to prepare *cauim*, the traditional alcoholic beverage or beer of the indigenous peoples in Brazil³⁵. On the left two men bring bales of tobacco and brasilwood, typical New World products, while cones of sugar lie in a box in the foreground. Above, another man attaches the map's title banner to the rock—thus the native people are shown participating in the map's colonial project. In the middle of the scene in the distance (looking through the rock structure) one Indian lies in a hammock and another paddles a canoe, two typical Native American inventions, while in the distance to the right, Indians harvest sugarcane and tobacco, showing important New World crops and the labor to gather them. At the top of the cartouche are some New World birds: a parrot, a pelican, a toucan, and a strange aquatic bird with a toothy beak. In this cartouche the Native Americans are harvesting some goods that would be sold to Europeans, but the scene shows indigenous life without the influence of Europeans, what Joan-Pau Rubiés has called “gentile civilization,” or civilization without the light of Christian religion—and without European colonization³⁶.

³⁴ Of course the parasol is out of place in an American setting; for discussion of this type of transplantation of exotica to inappropriate contexts see SCHMIDT. “Collecting Global Icons: The Case of the Exotic Parasol”. In BLEICHMAR, Daniela, and MANCALL, Peter C. (Eds.). **Collecting across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World**. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, 31-57 and 292-296.

³⁵ On the making of *cauim* see LÉRY. **History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America**, trans. Janet WHATLEY. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, chapter 9, p. 69; there are illustrations in THEVET. **Les Singularitez de la France antarctique**. Anvers: De l'imprimerie de Christophe Plantin a la Licorne d'Or, 1558, f. 46v; DE BRY. **Dritte Buch Americae, darinn Brasilia**. Frankfurt am Main: Theodor de Bry, 1593, 75; and in a cartouche on Jodocus Hondius's map **America**. Amsterdam, 1606.

³⁶ See RUBIÉS. “The Concept of Gentile Civilization in Missionary Discourse and its European Reception: Mexico, Peru and China in the *Repúblicas del Mundo* by Jerónimo Román (1575-1595)”. In CASTELNAU-L'ESTOILE, Charlotte de, et al. (Eds.). **Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle**. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011, 311-350.



Fig. 8
Matthäus Seutter
 Detail of the cartouche in the upper left corner of the map *Novus orbis sive America Meridionalis et Septentrionalis per sua regna, provincias et insulas iuxta observationes et descriptiones recentiss. divisa et adornata*, c. 1720
 Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

The cartouche in the upper left-hand corner of Seutter’s map, by contrast, shows Europeans very involved in the lives of the native peoples of the New World [Fig. 8]. The paragraph in the strapwork frame there is about the discovery of the Americas, the trade conducted there, and the progress of evangelization:

Novus orbis. Non ratione creationis sed titulo inventionis Antiores insulae A. 1492 a Christoph. Colombo Genuensi primum detectae, cujus vestigia A. 1497 secutus Americus Vesputius Florentinus, ac interior Continentis ingressus, immortalem gloriam reportavit, ut

ex nomine ejus AMERICA appellaretur, quamvis vulgo Indiae Occidental. cognomento insigniatur. Hispaniae Reges amplissimas ditiones ibi possident, sed et Anglor Gallor Lusitanor Batavor frequentes coloniae et emporia ceberer reperiunt. Lux Christ. fidei per Missionarios affulsit, in plurimis tamen regionibus spissae ad huc idololatrici cultus tenebrae mentes obnubilant.

The New World. In the year 1492 Christopher Columbus first detected the Antilles, not according to the plan of creation, but rather in the name of discovery. Amerigo Vespucci of Florence followed in his footsteps in the year 1497, and went into the interior of the continent, and brought back immortal glory, so much so that the land was called America in his name, even though it is commonly called the West Indies. The kings of Spain have huge dominions there, but there are also many colonies and trading posts of the English, the French, the Portuguese, and the Dutch. The light of the Christian faith shines forth because of the missionaries, but in many regions the thick shadows of idolatrous worship still darken minds.

Seutter borrowed this text, with some minor changes, from a cartouche on Adam Friedrich Zürner's map *Americae tam Septentrionalis quam Meridionalis in Mappa Geographica Delineatio* (Amsterdam: Pieter Schenk, c. 1710)³⁷. As we will see in a moment, Seutter borrowed another idea from Zürner's map.

³⁷ High-resolution images of Zürner's map are available via <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org> and <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org> and <https://uwm.edu/lib-collections>. On Zürner see BEIERLEIN. "Adam Friedrich Zürner". *Sächsische Heimatblätter*. Dresden, 6, 1971, 251-260; and BEIERLEIN and TAUBERT. *Aus Leben und Werk Adam Friedrich Zürnens*. Plauen: Vogtländisches Kreismuseum, 1972.

The decoration of the cartouche continues the themes of conquest and evangelization. A personification of religion, seated above the text, presides over the scene holding a cross, a chalice, and a Bible, and she has a shining sun above her head. The banner beside her reads *In Occidente lux in Occidua orta*, which is strange repetitive Latin that literally means “In the West a light, in the West has risen,” and refers to the arrival of Christianity to the New World. The phrase plays with the idea that God’s glory had come from the East, mentioned in Ezekiel 43:2, and perhaps with a sentence attributed to Bartholomaeus Pisanus (Bartholomew Rinonico, who died c. 1401) that had been circulating in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century that seemed to suggest that the blessings of the Virgin, identified with light, had come from the East³⁸.

To the left three men wearing different clothing sit at a table; they seem to represent explorers from three different countries, perhaps Spanish, Italian, and English—possibly Hernán Cortés, Christopher Columbus, and Henry Hudson. There is a bowl of eggs on the table, and the figure on the left who might be Columbus points to an upright egg, evidently alluding to the earth’s sphericity, and thus the global ambitions of European exploration. The banner above reads *Inventis facile est addere*, “It is easy to add to [our] discoveries,” an arrogant proclamation of European hunger for further conquests. Seutter’s cartouche artist Gottfried Rogg borrowed the scene of the explorers around a table, with one of them pointing at an egg, from Adam Friedrich Zürner’s map *Americae tam Septentrionalis quam Meridionalis* of c. 1710 (mentioned just above). On that map the phrase on

³⁸ These lines identifying the Virgin with a light from the East appear for example in CACCIA. **Metempsychosis Viennensis. Das ist: Lob- und Ehren-Predigen, von allen hohen Festen der allerseeligsten Jungfrauen und Gottes Gebährerin Mariä.** Wildberg: gedruckt bey Joseph Antoni Streibig, 1716, 486: *Ipsa enim ex oriente lux orta est nobis caecis, infirmis medicina, ignorantibus doctrina, aberrantibus via, peccatoribus venia, proapitiatio desperatis, desolatis confidentia, rectis corde laetitia, angelorum Domina, exulibus patria, portus naufragentibus, omnibus janua & porta coeli.* In other occurrences slightly different phrasing removes the connection with the East, see for example STAINMAYR. **Rationale Mariale oder Marianisches Brustblat.** Munich: Gelder, 1686, 81. On the history of the phrase *ex oriente lux* (“From the East [comes] light”) see BERNSEN. “Ex oriente lux? La contribution de l’Orient à la quête identitaire de l’Occident au Moyen Âge et à l’époque moderne”. **Babel.** La Garde, France, 32, 2015, 19-40.

the explorers' tablecloth is even more ambitious: it reads *Nun können wirs alle*, "Now we can [get it] all."

On the right in Seutter's cartouche two indigenous men kneel before a modest altar, having placed offerings of pearls, jewels, and a vessel on the ground. The altar has upon it a crucifix, a chalice, a pitcher, and what seem to be communion wafers. In the background two more native men bring additional offerings, and above there is a banner that reads *Aeternas anhelat opes*, "It breaths forth eternal riches." The word "eternal" suggests that the import of the sentence is religious, and thus that the subject of the verb is either the crucifix on the altar or the light of Christianity that has risen in the West. But the phrase also seems to point to the riches being brought to the altar by the native men—the reward for the conquests by the explorers at the other table.

We are no doubt to compare and contrast the explorers' table on the left with the altar on the right, the boundless territorial greed of the explorers with the spiritual riches freely offered by the Church to the peoples of the New World. This depiction of the colonial enterprise, with the personification of religion overseeing exploration as well as evangelization, and the emphasis on the benefits of Christianity rather than on the pain of conquest, is certainly a whitewashing. We are also to contrast the title cartouche below, which depicts indigenous Americans living without Christianity, and the cartouche above, which shows both the continuing process of conquest and the promised benefits of evangelization. The cartouche below represents the opportunity presented by uncolonized peoples in the New World, while the cartouche above illustrates the exploitation of that opportunity.

The cartouche on Seutter's map of a different region, Southeast Asia, expresses similar ideas. The map is titled *India orientalis cum adjacentibus insulis nova delineatione ob oculos posita* ("Eastern India with Adjacent

Islands, Placed before the Eyes in a New Delineation”), which was first published in about 1730³⁹. In this case the cartouche is not signed [Fig. 9].



Fig. 9

Matthäus Seutter

Detail of the cartouche on map *India orientalis cum adjacentibus insulis nova delineatione ob oculos posita*, c. 1730

Courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Rare Maps.

On the left there is a scene of evangelization: a European man preaches to dark-skinned native men, most of whom are kneeling. Many of them have bare chests, but others are clothed, indicating higher stations, and three wear turbans, so the scene includes the conversion of Muslims. The priest points up to a sun with a triangle in it, representing the Trinity, and two

³⁹ On Seutter's map of Southeast Asia see PARRY. **The Cartography of the East Indian Islands: Insulae Indiae Orientalis**. London: Countrywide Editions, 2005, 223-224. A high-resolution image of a later state of the map, from c. 1744, is available from the National Library of Australia at <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232634896/view>.

angels bring a Bible, chalice, and a pitcher. The native men hold up their hands in adoration of the divine light.

At the center of the cartouche, the monument that displays the title information is framed by indigenous trees; above, there are animals native to Asia, two monkeys, a dog, a parrot, and another bird. Below there is a small statue of Buddha and several works in porcelain, and of course the porcelain of both China and Japan—which appear in the northeastern most part of the map—was one of the Asian products of greatest interest to European merchants⁴⁰.

On the right a seated personification of Europe, with crown and scepter, leans aloofly against the monument bearing the map's title details, while several dark-skinned men offer her valuable goods: ivory, coral, seashells, gold, jewels, and food. Meanwhile Neptune, god of the sea, stands behind Europe, pointing to the ships in the distance that will carry the goods across the sea to Europe. It is important to note that the men give these goods to Europe as gifts: there is no indication of an economic exchange.

In the upper cartouche on Seutter's map of the Americas (discussed above) the framed text separates scenes of geographic conquest and conversion to Christianity, with a personification of religion presiding over both; here the scenes show active evangelization and economic exploitation, and there is no pretense that religion oversees the reception of trade goods. But there is little reason to think that these differences reflect differences in European attitudes or policies towards the two regions. We can see from the cartouches on Seutter's two maps that he had a visual vocabulary for cartouches on maps of colonized regions, and that he tended to pair depictions of evangelization and economic exploitation.

⁴⁰ China's production of porcelain is well known; on Europe's trade in Japanese porcelain see VOLKER, **The Japanese Porcelain Trade of the Dutch East India Company after 1683**. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959; and IMPEY, "The Trade in Japanese Porcelain" and "Japanese Export Porcelain". In AYERS, John, IMPEY, Oliver, and MALLET, J.V.G. (Eds.). **Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe, 1650-1750**. London: Oriental Ceramic Society, 1990, 18-21 and 25-36, respectively.

A map-view of Boston made by the American silversmith, engraver and patriot Paul Revere in 1768 has an unusual cartouche that shows a Native American triumphing over a European, but the imagery is multivalent. In the summer of 1767, the British Parliament had enacted the Townshend Acts, a new set of duties to be paid by the American colonies on imports of British tea, lead, glass, porcelain, paint, and paper. Political disturbances generated by the Acts in Boston, the most rebellious city in the colonies, persuaded the British to send troops to the city, and the first of those troops arrived on September 30, 1768. Revere's map-view, titled *A View of Part of the Town of Boston in New-England and Brittish [sic] Ships of War Landing their Troops! 1768*, shows the arrival of British ships, the rowing ashore of British troops and their mustering on Long Wharf—while not a single person is shown in the city, so depiction of the unrest that prompted the British response is suppressed [Fig. 10]⁴¹. The print is pure propaganda.

⁴¹ On Paul Revere's map-view see BRIGHAM. **Paul Revere's Engravings**. New York: Atheneum, 1969, 79-85; and CUSHING and DEARINGER (Eds.). **Acquired Tastes: 200 Years of Collecting for the Boston Athenaeum**. Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 2006, 295. I thank Michael Buehler for bringing this cartouche to my attention. A high-resolution image of a good facsimile of Revere's map-view is available via <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search>.



Fig. 10

Paul Revere

A View of Part of the Town of Boston in New-England and British [sic] Ships of War Landing their Troops! 1768, 1768

Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

The cartouche in the lower right-hand corner [Fig. 11] contains Revere’s sarcastic dedication of the map to the Earl of Hillsborough (1718-1793), who had ordered the British troops to Boston.⁴² The cartouche shows a Native American woman nonchalantly holding a bow and arrow, with her foot on the neck of a British soldier below. The fallen soldier’s musket and hat indicate that he is a grenadier of the XXIXth Regiment of Foot, which

⁴² The satiric dedication reads (expanding some of the abbreviations for clarity): “To the Earl of Hillsborough, His Majesty’s Secretary of State for America, This View of the only well Plan’d Expedition, formed for supporting ye dignity of Britain & chastising ye insolence of America, is humbly Inscrib’d.”

was precisely the regiment that was occupying Boston: the soldiers on Long Quay wear hats of the same shape.



Fig. 11

Paul Revere

Detail of the cartouche on map-view *A View of Part of the Town of Boston in New-England and British [sic] Ships of War Landing their Troops! 1768, 1768.*

Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

Using a Native American to personify the British colonies was a bold choice. Revere was no doubt familiar with personifications of America as a Native American woman⁴³, which appeared on many maps and might have inspired his choice here. The silversmith and engraver James Turner

⁴³ On personifications of America see SCHMIDT. **Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 123-142 and 356-358; and WINTLE. "Gender and Race in the Personification of the Continents in the Early Modern Period: Building Eurocentrism". In HOROWITZ, Maryanne Cline, and ARIZZOLI, Louise (Eds). **Bodies and Maps: Early Modern Personifications of the Continents.** Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020, 39-66.

(1721-1759) made two views of Boston years earlier that had Native Americans in the foreground; these are not personifications, but might also have provided inspiration to Revere⁴⁴. Although these other maps and views might have provided inspiration, Revere's image is very different. A personification of the continent of America (a territory) was not at all the same as a human representing the British colonies (a political entity). The American colonists were being treated as colonial subjects by Britain, but that did not justify appropriating Native Americans as a symbol of their circumstances, particularly when the colonists continued to take land from Native Americans, and had resented the Proclamation of 1763, by which Britain reserved land west of the Appalachians for Native Americans⁴⁵. That is to say, there is a curious play of colonial hierarchy in the image: the colonists who are being oppressed by Britain have adopted as their symbol indigenous people whom they themselves were treating as colonial subjects.

The map is propaganda, and Revere's idea was probably to insult the British by suggesting that "even" a female Native American could defeat their soldiers. Nevertheless, the appropriation of the status of the Native Americans as colonial subjects by the American colonists is surprising and problematic.

While individual cartographers had their specific styles and aesthetic interests, the use of elaborately decorated cartouches declined during the eighteenth century, particularly in its final decades. Mary Pedley has argued that the French Revolution (1789-99) was the decisive factor in the decline of decorative ornament on maps, as it spelled the end of the

⁴⁴ Turner's views of Boston with Native Americans appear in **The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle**, one on the cover of the volume for 1743-44 (image available via <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org>), and as the cover decoration of several issues of the magazine (image available via <https://loc.gov>). On Turner's work see FALES. "James Turner, Silversmith-Engraver". In BARNHILL. Georgia Brady (Ed.). **Prints of New England**. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1991, 1-20.

⁴⁵ On the effects of the Proclamation of 1763 see SOSIN. **Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760-1775**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

géographes du roi (royal geographers) in France and other forms of kingly and noble support for cartographers.⁴⁶ Matthew Edney sees the “increasing plainness” of maps during this period as a result of the Enlightenment, rather than a product of the French Revolution, and a change that had been underway earlier in the century.⁴⁷ And indeed, just to mention one example, the French cartographer Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703-1772), who usually favored elaborate cartouches, had experimented with cartoucheless map titles in the 1730s, and plain cartouches in the 1740s.⁴⁸ After the late eighteenth century, if a cartographer placed an elaborate cartouche on a map it was either for a very specific purpose, or else he or she was indulging a somewhat archaic style.

I close the article with a case that shows how a cartouche with colonialist imagery was added to a map for a specific audience eager for just such propaganda. The city of New Orleans was founded by the French in 1718, and in 1722 they made it the capital of French Louisiana. In 1763 France ceded western Louisiana, including New Orleans, to the Spanish Empire through the Treaty of Paris. Carlos Laveau Trudeau (1743-1816) became Surveyor General of Spanish Louisiana in the early 1780s, and continued in that office until 1805⁴⁹; he was assisted by Vicente Sebastián Pintado (1774-1829), who succeeded him as Surveyor General⁵⁰. In 1795-96

⁴⁶ PEDLEY. “The Map Trade in Paris, 1650-1825.” *Imago Mundi* 33, 1981, 33-45.

⁴⁷ EDNEY. “Reconsidering Enlightenment Geography and Map Making: Reconnaissance, Mapping, Archive.” In David N. LIVINGSTONE and Charles W. J. WITHERS (Eds.) **Geography and Enlightenment**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, 165-198, esp. 169.

⁴⁸ One map by Bellin from the 1730s with no cartouche around the title is his **Carte Reduite de la Mer Mediterranee**. Paris: Chez M. Bellin, 1737. One of his maps from the 1740s with a very plain cartouche is his **Carte de la Mer Mediterranee en trois feuilles**. Paris: chez M. Bellin, 1745. Both maps appear in Bellin’s **Hydrographie française**, first published in 1753.

⁴⁹ On Carlos Laveau Trudeau and his work see HALL. “Louisiana Survey Systems: Their Antecedents, Distribution, and Characteristics”. Ph.D. Dissertation, Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, 1970; HAAS. “Odyssey of a Manuscript Collection: Records of the Surveyor General of Antebellum Louisiana”. **Louisiana History**. Baton Rouge, 27, 1, 1986, 5-26; and BEERS. **French and Spanish Records of Louisiana: A Bibliographical Guide to Archive and Manuscript Sources**. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, 116-119.

⁵⁰ On Pintado and his work as a cartographer see HÉBERT. “Vicente Sebastián Pintado, Surveyor General of Spanish West Florida, 1805-17: The Man and his Maps”. *Imago Mundi*. Lympe Castle,

Pintado gathered material for a land ownership map of New Orleans and its suburbs, and in 1798 Trudeau worked this information into a manuscript map that survives in a few copies; I illustrate a copy made in 1802 held by the Louisiana State Museum and titled *Borrador del Plano de la Ciudad de Nueva Orleans y de las Habitaciones del Contorno* (“Draft of a Map of the City of New Orleans and the Surrounding Habitations”) [Fig. 12]⁵¹. The map has no decorative cartouche⁵², nothing that might have inspired the cartouche on a later map that was based on this map.

Kent, 39, 1987, 50-72. On the history of the documents generated by Trudeau and Pintado see ARTHUR. “A History of the Pintado Papers”. In **Pintado Papers: Book 1, Indexes, Agreements and History**. New Orleans: Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, 1940, iii-xxxv; WALKER. “The Pintado Papers”. **Surveying and Mapping**. Washington, DC, 35, 1975, 161-166; and HAAS. “Odyssey of a Manuscript Collection”.

⁵¹ Trudeau’s 1802 manuscript map of New Orleans in the Louisiana State Museum has Accession Number 12421.006.004. Another manuscript copy of the map made c. 1800 is held by the Bibliothèque national de France, Estampes, Vd 21 (3) Fol, and an image of the map is available via <https://gallica.bnf.fr>; a later manuscript copy made c. 1819 is held by the Library of Congress, and a high-resolution image of it is available via <https://loc.gov>.

⁵² Two of the 1798 copies of the map have simple title cartouches in their upper left-hand corners; photographs of these maps are held by the Louisiana State Museum and the Historic New Orleans Collection, but the locations of the maps themselves are unknown.

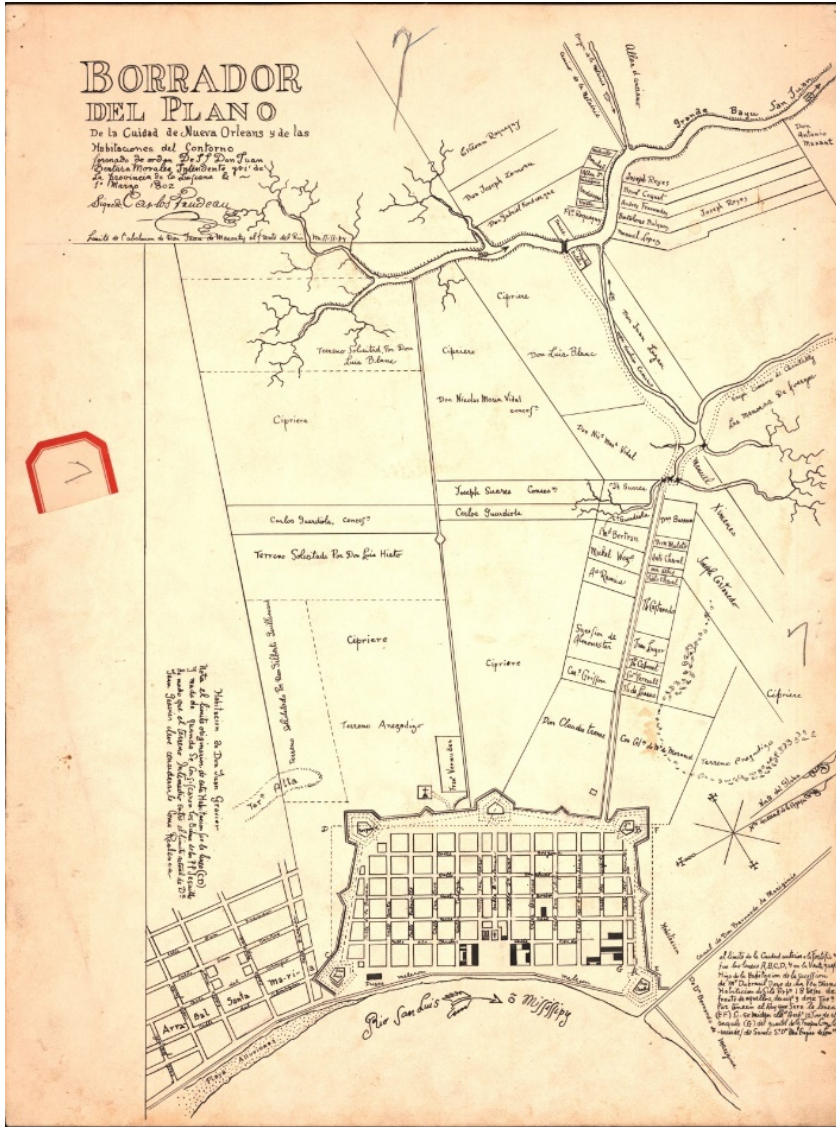


Fig. 12
Carlos Laveau Trudeau
Borrador del Plano de la Ciudad de Nueva Orleans y de las Habitaciones del Contorno, 1802
 Courtesy of the Louisiana State Museum.

In 1800 through the Third Treaty of San Ildefonso Napoleon regained control of Louisiana for France, but then considered selling it to avoid political complications with Britain, and in 1803 the United States completed the Louisiana Purchase from France. President Thomas Jefferson had long been interested in the territory west of the Mississippi⁵³ and was the prime mover of the purchase; gaining control of the port at New Orleans was one of his main objectives⁵⁴. While the negotiations were still underway, Jefferson made repeated inquiries seeking to obtain the best maps of the territory⁵⁵. In 1804 the engraver and landscape painter John L. Boqueta de Woiseri (fl. 1797-1815)⁵⁶ sensed an opportunity for a map that

⁵³ On Jefferson's early interest in the lands west of the Mississippi see JACKSON. **Thomas Jefferson & the Stony Mountains: Exploring the West from Monticello**. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981, esp. 42-43, 45-56, and 74-78; HOFFMANN. "Queries Regarding the Western Rivers: An Unpublished Letter from Thomas Jefferson to the Geographer of the United States". **Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society**. Springfield, IL, 75, 1982, 15-28; "Editorial Note: Jefferson and André Michaux's Proposed Western Expedition," in CATANZARITI, John (Ed.). **The Papers of Thomas Jefferson**, vol. 25, 1 January-10 May 1793. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, 75-81; and ALLEN. "Thomas Jefferson and the Mountain of Salt: Presidential Image of Louisiana Territory". **Historical Geography**. Northridge, CA, 31, 2003, 9-22. Also see Thomas Jefferson's letter to André Michaux dated January 23, 1793 in which he gives his instructions for Michaux's proposed western expedition, available at <https://loc.gov>.

⁵⁴ On Jefferson's interest in New Orleans see his letter to Robert R. Livingston, US Minister to France, dated April 18, 1802, in JEFFERSON. **The Writings of Thomas Jefferson**. ed. Paul Leicester FORD. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1892-1899, vol. 8, 143-147, esp. 144, where he writes, "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce and contain more than half our inhabitants."

⁵⁵ Jefferson's enquiries about good maps of Louisiana ("What are the best maps, general or particular, of the whole or parts of the province? copies of them, if to be had in print?") are recorded in OBERG. **The Papers of Thomas Jefferson**, vol. 40, 4 March-10 July 1803. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, 692-703. On Jefferson's interest in maps generally see KOVARSKY. **The True Geography of Our Country: Jefferson's Cartographic Vision**. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014, esp. "Jefferson as Expedition Planner," 55-85, and "Foreshadowing Manifest Destiny," 111-129. On the later cartographic history of the Louisiana Territory see EHRENBERG. "'Forming a General Geographical Idea of a Country': Mapping Louisiana from 1803 to 1820". In LEMMON, Alfred E., MAGILL, John T., and WIESE, Jason R. (Eds.). **Charting Louisiana: Five Hundred Years of Maps**. New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 2003, 123-161.

⁵⁶ There is little biographical information on Boqueta de Woiseri, but see GROCE and WALLACE. "Boqueta De Woiseri, J. L.". In **The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860**. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957, 65; POESCH. **The Art of the Old South: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture & the Products of Craftsmen, 1560-1860**. New York:

would depict New Orleans and its surroundings and celebrate the possibilities offered by the Louisiana Purchase. In February he began running newspaper advertisements seeking subscribers for the engraving and printing of his map of the New Orleans region and also a view of the city. He says that the two works are “dedicated, by permission to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. President of the United States,” and continues⁵⁷:

The author’s residence at New Orleans during a number of years, has enabled him to exercise his profession of Designer and Engraver to the best advantage, and he flatters himself of presenting to the citizens of the United States of America, as accurate and complete a plan and view of Louisiana, and the city of New Orleans, &c as ever can be drawn. The work for which the patronage of the enlightened citizens of America is now solicited, has cost the author above six years of assiduous and unremitted labor and close application, and he fondly cherishes the hope that Americans will extend to him a share of that encouragement they are wont to do on works of merit. The work being in a considerable state of forwardness, the author expects it will be ready for delivery in about six months hence.

Knopf, 1983, 181-182; and REPS. **Cities of the Mississippi: Nineteenth-Century Images of Urban Development**. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1994,7.

⁵⁷ Boqueta de Woiseri’s advertisement appears in the **National Intelligencer, and Washington Advertiser**, 8 February, 1804, p. 2. He also placed the advertisement in the **Aurora General Advertiser** (Philadelphia) 4099 (21 February, 1804), p. 3; and a shorter advertisement in the **New-York Commercial Advertiser** 2038 (5 May, 1804), advertisement page 1.

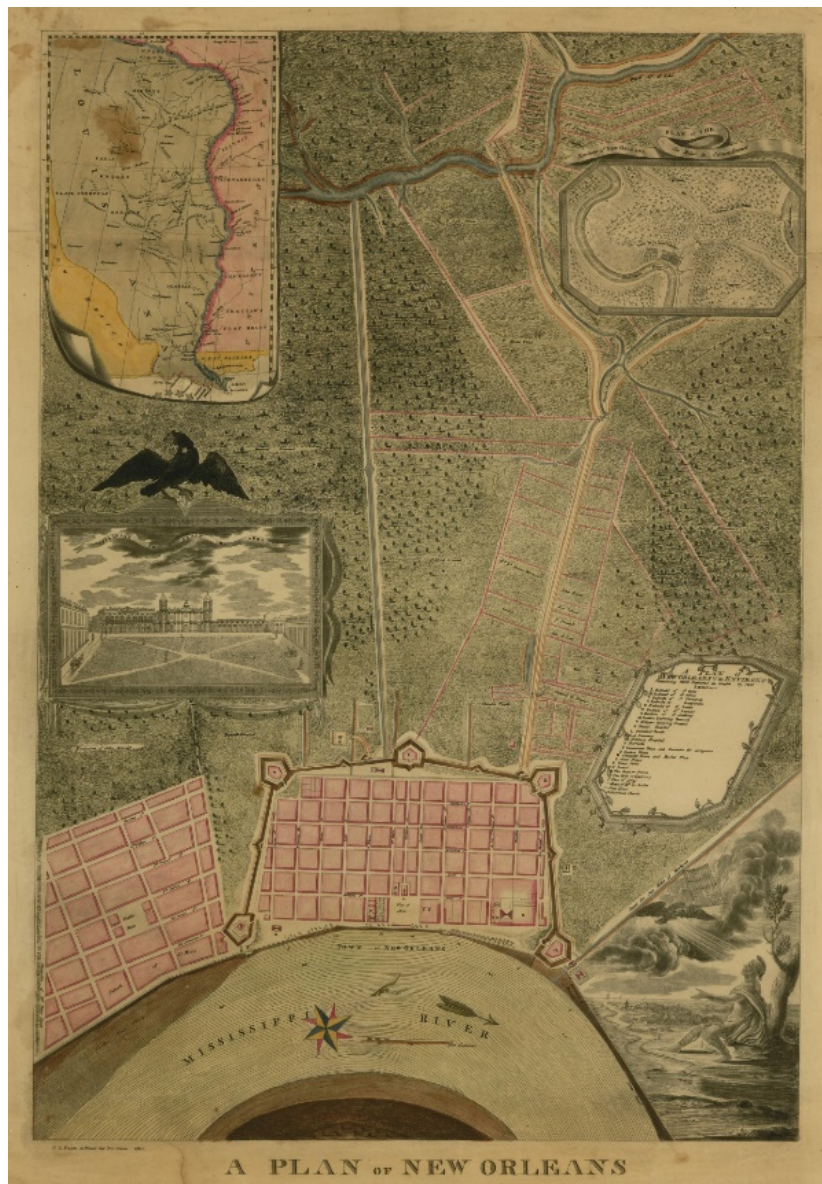


Fig. 13
John L. Boqueta de Woiseri
A Plan of New Orleans & its Environs, 1804
Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library

It is not clear how the map [Fig. 13], titled *A Plan of New Orleans & its Environs*, could have taken six years for Boqueta de Woiseri to make, since it is obviously based on Trudeau's, so he was exaggerating the time and effort he invested in the project. But he did make significant additions to what he found in Trudeau's map. He added an inset map of the known parts of the Louisiana territory, another inset map of the wider area around New Orleans, an inset view of the city's central square, an index of places in the city—and the cartouche in the map's lower right corner [Fig. 14]⁵⁸. The cartouche shows a Native American man seated in front of a tree, looking up at the sky in wonder and holding forth his arms in a gesture of grateful receiving⁵⁹. He is looking at an eagle flying above him, apparently just having emerged from the clouds. The eagle holds in its beak the flag of the United States⁶⁰, with the rays of the sun shining around it and down to the Indian man. Below, the Mississippi River flows from the foreground to the background (a small arrow indicating the direction of flow), with New Orleans on its western bank and the Gulf of Mexico in the distance. The message is clear: the cartographer, and implicitly his intended audience, believed that the indigenous inhabitants of the lands of the Louisiana Purchase should and would enthusiastically welcome the beneficent control of the United States⁶¹.

⁵⁸ On Boqueta de Woiseri's map see OBERG. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 41, **11 July to 15 November 1803**. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, xlv-xlv; and MAHÉ. "Walking the Streets of New Orleans: Printed Maps and Street Scenes". In POESCH, Jessie J. (Ed.). *Printmaking in New Orleans*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi; New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 2006, 68-85, at 73 and 75-76 (suggests that Boqueta de Woiseri's map is based on one by Joseph Antoine Vinache, but in fact both are based on Trudeau's). A high-resolution image of Boqueta de Woiseri's map is available via <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com>. A detail of the map was reproduced in PULLIN. *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, ed. John K. WRIGHT. Baltimore: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1932, plate 157c, but it includes only part of the cartouche.

⁵⁹ The cartouche on Boqueta de Woiseri's map is discussed by STAUDUM. "Locating New Orleans: Race, Sexuality, and Geographies of Difference in the American Imaginary, 1803-1903". Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 2015, 61-64.

⁶⁰ The US flag here has fifteen stars, which was the number it had from 1795 to 1818.

⁶¹ For discussion of expansionist discourse in other maps of North America see MARTIN. "Cartography as an Expression of Empire: Mapping Colonial North America and the Young American Republic". Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utah, 2014.



Fig. 14

John L. Boqueta de Woiseri

Detail of the decorative cartouche on
A Plan of New Orleans & its Environs, 1804
Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.

The map does not have the dedication to Thomas Jefferson promised by Boqueta de Woiseri in his advertisements for the map, but the cartographer nonetheless did well with it. A letter published in the *Republican Watch-Tower* (New York) in early 1805 indicates that the map and view of New Orleans were hanging in the Senate Chamber in Washington DC, and that

“The President, Secretaries, and many of the Members of both Houses have sanctioned [i.e., approved] them, after a minute inspection⁶².” President Jefferson owned a copy of the map, and had it framed in his dining room at Monticello, though this copy has gone missing⁶³. James Madison, the Secretary of State, was one of the subscribers to the map, and we have Boqueta de Woiseri’s letter to him dated June 26, 1804, saying that the map was ready to be sent to him⁶⁴. Thus Boqueta de Woiseri’s map, with its inset map of the Louisiana Territory and expansionist cartouche, was designed for and found an enthusiastic audience among the highest levels of the US government.

It would be valuable to enrich our studies of cartouches by analyzing contemporary viewers’ reactions to them. With regard to the cartouches discussed above, it would be enlightening to read the reactions of viewers from the colonizing nation in which the maps were made, of viewers in rival nations, and viewers in the colonized nations. We know that cartouches did spark thoughtful reactions, which is particularly evident when cartouches were changed by their creators or by competing cartographers when copying maps, but unfortunately early modern reactions to and discussions of specific cartouches and their political messages were not recorded.

To conclude, cartouches are the part of the map where the cartographer and his cartouche designer declare or reveal most clearly the aims and prejudices that inform the map, and also something about the maps’

⁶² “Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman at Washington to His Friend in This City, Dated December 21, 1804,” **Republican Watch-Tower** (New York), vol. 5, issue 329 (9 January, 1805), p. 3; also published in the **Independent Chronicle** (Boston), vol. 37, issue 2470 (14 January, 1805), p. 2; the **Albany Register**, vol. 17, issue 1359 (15 January, 1805), p. 2; and the **Enquirer** (Richmond, VA), 22 January, 1805, p. 4.

⁶³ STEIN. **The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello**. New York: H.N. Abrams, in association with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1993, 186; and HOWARD. “Thomas Jefferson’s Art Gallery for Monticello”. **The Art Bulletin**. New York, 59, 4, 1977, 583-600, at 599, number 79.

⁶⁴ MATTERN, STAGG, BARBER, COLONY, KREIDER, and CROSS (Eds.). **The Papers of James Madison, Secretary of State Series**, vol. 7, 2 April–31 August 1804. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005, 375-376.

intended audiences. Colonialist cartouches on European and American maps often speak to both economic and spiritual conquest, and in the economic sphere, rarely indicate any exchange with the colonized peoples, who are depicted freely offering up their goods as gifts. A European fantasy of colonial passivity and munificence underlies many (but not all) of these images.⁶⁵ Heinrich Scherer's cartouche on his map *Provinciae borealis Americae...* of 1702 shows a remarkably early consciousness of the role that maps play as propagandistic tools of conquest, and further study of colonialist cartouches will teach us more about the details of how maps and their cartouches function as instruments of control and persuasion.

⁶⁵ A particularly striking image of Native Americans depicted as eager for colonization appears on the title page of Joannes DE LAET, **Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien**. Leiden: Bij de Elzeviers, 1630: a personification of the Belgian Federation on a throne is approached by Native Americans bearing gifts, who say "Venisti tandem," "You have come at last." A high-resolution image of the title page is available via <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com>.