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America Peruana and Oceanus Peruvianus: a different cartography of the New World[1]

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Abstract

From 1550 to the first decades of the 18th century, the news about the Inca Empire and the mineral wealth of the western portion of South America influenced the cartographic production about the continent in many ways. This article analyzes a series of maps produced from the 1590s onwards, especially by some Dutch and Portuguese cartographers, in which the centrality of Peru manifests in different forms and has different purposes. Among these forms are the naming of the continent and of the Pacific Ocean, and the emphasis placed on the Potosi mountain. We also propose the inclusion of the expedition commanded by the English pirate Bartholomew Sharp along the western coast of South America in the 1680s as a case of dissemination of maps and of news on the riches explored by the Spaniards during this period, as well as its impact on cartography.

Keywords: Portuguese cartography; Potosi; cartography of South America.

America Peruana e Oceanus Peruvianus: uma outra cartografia para o Novo Mundo

Resumo

De 1550 até as primeiras décadas do século XVIII, as notícias sobre o império Inca e as riquezas minerais da porção ocidental da América do Sul influenciaram em vários aspectos a produção cartográfica sobre o continente. Este artigo analisa uma série de mapas produzidos a partir dos anos 1590, especialmente por alguns cartógrafos holandeses e portugueses, nos quais a centralidade do Peru se manifesta de formas diferentes, visando diversos objetivos. Entre essas formas, estão a nomeação do continente e do oceano Pacífico e o destaque dado à montanha de Potosi. Propõe-se, ainda, a inserção da expedição comandada pelo pirata inglês Bartholomew Sharp pela costa ocidental da América do Sul nos anos 1680 como um caso de circulação de mapas e de notícias das riquezas exploradas pelos espanhóis nesse período, bem como sua repercussão na cartografia.

Palavras-chave: cartografia portuguesa; Potosi; cartografia da América do Sul.

América Peruana y Oceanus peruvianus: una otra cartografía para el Nuevo Mundo

Resumen

Desde 1550 hasta las primeras décadas del siglo XVIII, las noticias sobre el imperio inca y las riquezas minerales de la parte occidental de América del Sur en muchos aspectos influyeron en la producción cartográfica sobre el continente. En este artículo se analiza una serie de mapas creados desde los años 1590, especialmente por algunos cartógrafos holandeses y portugueses, en los cuales la centralidad de Perú se manifiesta de diferentes formas, apuntando a diferentes objetivos. Entre ellas, está el nombramiento del continente y del océano Pacífico y el énfasis a la montaña de Potosí. También se propone la inserción de la expedición comandada por el pirata inglés Bartholomew Sharp a lo largo de la costa occidental de América del Sur en los años 1680 como un caso de circulación de los mapas y de las noticias sobre las riquezas explotadas por los españoles en ese periodo, así como su impacto en la cartografía.

Palabras clave: cartografía portuguesa; Potosí; cartografía de América del Sur.

Amérique Peruviénne et Oceanus Peruvianus: autre cartographie pour le nouveau monde

Résumé

De 1550 à les premières decennies du XVIIIème siècle, les nouvelles concernant l'empire Inca et les richeses minerales, à la partie occidentale de l'Amérique du Sud, ont influencé différents aspects de la production cartographique du continent.Cet article examine un certain nombre de cartes produits depuis 1590, particulièrement par cartographes hollandais et portugais, où le centre du Perou se manifeste sous différentes formes, en vue d'atteindre plusieurs objectifs. Entre ces formes, on souligne la nomination du continent et de l'océan Pacifique, et l'évidence mis sur la montagne Potosi. En outre, l'insertion de l'expédition commandée par le pirate anglaise Bartholomew Sharp le long de la côte occidentale de l'Amérique du Sud est proposé comme un cas de circulation de cartes et nouvelles sur les richesses expliotées par les espagnols pendant cette période, ainsi que sa répercussion dans la cartographie.

Mots-clés: cartographie portugaise; Potosi; cartographie de l'Amérique du Sud.

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The reading of cosmographies and travel accounts produced between 1550 and 1700 indicates that the Viceroyalty of Peru was the most important area of South America for the Europeans, even with nebulous and unstable boundaries. The riches of the Incas and the precious metals the Spaniards explored in the mountains of Peru had a central role in the descriptions of the continent, along with the repeated references to cannibalism in the north of the continent and on the Atlantic coast of the "Land of Brazil"; the less frequent references to *patagones*, giants of the southern region; the mentions of Amazons that stood at the banks of the great river Maranhão, Amazon, or Orellana — with the three denominations being used and confused.

These two genres of geographical literature (cosmographies and traveler's chronicles), as defined by Geoffroy Atkinson,[2] have merged in the cartographic production, in which the emphasis on the northwestern region of South America did not vanish, but acquired other expressions. My proposal in this article is to draw attention to the motivations and consequences of the naming of the New World, of its lands and seas, by the Dutch cartographer Petrus Plancius: *America Peruana* extends its name to *Oceanus Peruvianus*. Following those designations and their derivations, we intend to investigate the production of European geographical knowledge about the continent, from the 1590s onwards. Simultaneously, the Portuguese cartography, in the context of the Iberian Union, represented the prominence of the mines of Peru in a very peculiar way, indicating the projection of certain expectations onto the continent. Besides the analysis of these maps, I propose the study of an aspect of the corsair expedition of Bartholomew Sharp as a case of circulation of these cartographic representations.

Peruana: a different designation of America

The 1590s mark an important period in the cartographic representation of South America, considering the ranking of spaces defined by the cartographer. In 1592, through the work of the Dutch theologian, cartographer, and astronomer Petrus Plancius, South America is designated, in what seems to be for the first time, *Peruviana* and the province or Viceroyalty of Peru, *Peruana*.[3]

The importance of Peru in the naming of the continent was already observed in previous decades, in the maps of Pedro de Medina (1550), of Francisco

[2]See Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons de La Renaissance Française*, Paris, Droz, 1935, p. 14-15. According to Ricardo Padrón, in the context of maritime explorations, we can observe the production of a cartographic literature, iconographic or discursive, "which built its empire at a time when it was only first learning how to picture the world". See Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word*. Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain, Chicago; London, University of Chicago Press, 2004, p. 12.

[3]See Marcel Destombes, *La Mappemonde de Petrus Plancius, gravée par Josua van den Ende 1604, d'après l'unique exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Indo-Chine, Publications de la Société de Geographie de Hanoi, 1944, p. 2.

Lopez de Gomara (1552), or in the titles of the maps of Paolo Forlani (1564), *La Descrittione di tutto il Peru*, and of Gerard de Jode (1578), *Americæ Peruvi...*[4]

Plancius produced maps of higher circulation, which influenced the following works in the same period. In his world map of South America (1594), the name *America Peruana* appears, and, in the margins, the allegory of the *Peruana* continent synthesizes different information about the New World: cannibalism, exotic animals, and gold. The New World is divided into Mexican America and Peruvian America. Plancius adds yet another innovation: the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, is referred to as *Oceanus Peruvianus*.[5]

Between 1592 and 1594, maps of South America divided into two parts, also created by Plancius, were printed by Cornelis Claesz in Amsterdam. On one map, the southern part of South America and the Magelanica, continent believed to exist south of Tierra del Fuego, are represented. Beside the latter, another map was included, containing virtually all of South America, with the exception of the extreme north, entitled *Haec pars Peruvianae...*[6]

The New World is divided into Mexican America and Peruvian America. Plancius adds yet another innovation: the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, is referred to as Oceanus Peruvianus

The designation of land and ocean from the reference of Peru found several followers. In 1596, Theodore de Bry included a map with this nomenclature in his work *Grands Voyages*,[7] and Arnold and Henricus Florent van Langren also

[4]The map of Pedro de Medina is in his *Suma cosmográfica*. See Mariano Cuesta Domingo, *La obra cosmográfica y náutica de Pedro de Medina*, Madrid, BCH, 1998; *A Navigator's Universe* — The Libro de Cosmographía of 1538 by Pedro de Medina, translated and with an Introduction by Ursula Lamb, Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1972; David C. Goodman, *Power and Penury*: government, technology and science in Philip II's Spain, Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 50-87. The map of López de Gómara was included in the first edition: *Istoria de Indias y conquista de Mexico*, Çaragoça, en casa de Agustin Millan, 1552. Collection of the John Carter Brown Library (JCBL), Providence, United States. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/q5exph9>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014. See Cristián A. Roa-de-la-Carrera, *Histories of Infamy*. Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism, Colorado, University of Colorado Press, 2005, p. 77 *et seq.*; Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word*. Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain, Chicago; London, the University of Chicago Press, 2004, p. 137 *et seq*. About Forlani, see David Woodward, "Paolo Forlani: Compiler, Engraver, Printer, or Publisher?", *Imago Mundi*, vol. 44, 1992, p. 45-64. About Gerard de Jode, see Fern Van Ortroy, *L'Oeuvre Cartographique de Gérard e de Corneille de Jode*, Amsterdam, Meridian Pub. Co., 1963 [1914].

[5]Petrus Plancius; Joannes van Doetecum II, *Orbis terrarum typus de integro multis in locis emendatus*. [London], [Christopher Barker, George Bishop and Ralph Newberie], 1594. JCBL. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/kck3rt5>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014.

[6]Petrus Plancius, *Haec pars Peruvianae, regiones Chicam & Chile[nsem] complectitur, & Regionem Patagonum*, Amsterdam, [Cornelis Claesz], [1592-1594]. JCBL. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/nvf9dpc>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014.

[7]Map *America sive Novus orbis respectu Europaeorum inferior globi terrestris pars*, Frankfurt, 1596. JCBL. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/pk8ambw>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014.

Map 1. Peter Heylyn, "Mapa mundi", *In: Cosmographie in Four Books*. Containing the Chorographie and Historie of the Whole World, and all the principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas, and Isles thereof, London, Printed by Henry Seile, 1652 (detail); London, Printed for Philip Chetwind, 1670.

adopted it on their map.[8] In the same year, the work of Plancius generated five maps included in a work of great importance to the Dutch company overseas. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, after living five years in Goa, between 1583 and 1588, at the Archbishop's service in the capital of the State of India, returned to Europe with information about the trading of spices, routes used by the Portuguese, and everyday life in the most important Portuguese enclave in Asia. He also brought Portuguese navigation maps that only survived by being published. His *Itinerário*, published in Amsterdam, contained maps probably made by him with diagrams of Goa, Mozambique, and Angra, in Azores.[9] The first edition of

[8]Arnold Florent van Langren; Henricus F. ab (Henricus Florentius) Langren, *Orbis terrae compendiosa descriptio ex peritissimorum totius orbis Gaeographorum operibus desumta*, [Antwerp], Joañem Baptistam Vrient [1596]. JCBL. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/paxevvh>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014.

[9]For the map based on Plancius, consult Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Histoire de la Navigation de IEAN HVGVES de Linschot Hollandois, aux Indes Orientales*, Amsterdam, Iean Evertsz Cloppenburch, 1619. For a modern and in Portuguese edition of this text, see *Itinerário, Viagem ou Navegação de Jan Huygen van Linschoten para as Índias Orientais ou Portuguesas*. Edição de Arie Pos e Rui Manuel Loureiro, Lisboa, CNCDP, 1997. See Cornelis Koeman, "Jan Huygen van Linschoten", *Separata da Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Centro de Estudos de História e de Cartografia antiga, vol. XXXII, p. 27-40, 1985. (Série Separatas 153).

his *Itinerário* was accompanied by a text devoted to the description of America and engraved maps by Henricus Florentinus van Langren.[10]

The *America Peruana* arrived in England with the work of Peter Heylyn (Map 1), a theologian, historian and the author of *Cosmographie in Four Books*, which had several editions and reprints throughout the 17th century. In the edition of 1652, South America is called *Peruana America* and the edition of 1670 contains a world map in which the words *South America* or *Peruana* are featured under the mass of the continent. In the ocean waters, we can observe the juxtaposition of names, with graphic types indicating a hierarchy, from the broader and more comprehensive *MAR DEL ZUR* to the narrower area of the coasts of the viceroyalty; *The Oceane of Peru*, through *The Pacificke Sea*, is closer to southern South America.[11]

The maps of Petrus Plancius were designed from the maps made by the Portuguese cartographer Bartolomeu Lasso, as Armando Cortesão showed by analyzing the nomenclature used. There is little information available about this cartographer. It is known that he received royal authorization "to make sailing charts and astrolabes and compasses" and was tested by the mathematician Pero Nunes, the chief cosmographer, and also by Jorge Reinel, another important cartographer. Lasso is the author of an atlas — signed and dated 1590, containing eight maps — and three undated maps.[12]

The flow of the maps from Lasso's atelier to the hands of Petrus Plancius shows the dissemination of information about the new sea routes and lands still uncharted by the Europeans, as well as the circulation of maps and individuals between monarchies, governments, and business houses at a time of great suspicion, competition, and geographical imprecision. Even if spying and smuggling information are not the objects of analysis in this article, some comments may help us understand the maps selected here.

Among the Europeans, nobody knew better the lands of the New World and the routes to reach them than the Iberians, but this does not mean that such knowledge was acquired or dominated only by the Portuguese and Spaniards. Many foreigners, especially Italians, were decisive for the expansion travels, with the emblematic cases of Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and Sebastian Cabot. The Iberian monarchies, through their officers and institutions, tried to control the spread of geographic information that could spike competing initiatives. In the case of maps, the challenge of keeping them secret was divided between the need of knowing the maritime routes across the Atlantic, to ensure the spread of Spanish ships, and using maps to legitimize territorial claims, which demanded that they were made public. Thus, two types of knowledge

[10]See Armando Cortesão; Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (PMC), Lisboa, Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1987, vol. 4, p. 99-100, 6v.

[11]See Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Books*. Containing the Chorographie and Historie of the Whole World, and all the principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas, and Isles thereof, London, Printed by Henry Seile, 1652; Printed for Philip Chetwind, 1670.

[12]Armando Cortesão explains that Wieder, in his *Monumenta Cartographica*, vol. 2 (p. 27-46), recognizes the influence of the work of Lasso on the maps of Petrus Plancius and recalls that before him P.A. Tiele, E.W. Dahlgren, and P. Teleki had shown that Plancius used a work of Lasso to create his Planisphere. See Armando Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI*, vol. 2, Lisboa, Seara Nova, 1935, p. 285-287 e PMC, vol. 3, p. 91-97.

about the explored areas emerged, one backed by the cosmographers and another by the pilots, said Alison Sandman.[13]

The cosmographers, especially in their role as producers of maps, focused on information, such as the location of places, distances, sizes, and shapes, data that originally had to be obtained onsite and required some cosmographical skill so that they could be arranged in a map. The pilots, meanwhile, were concerned with how to get from one place to another, which demanded not only data about potential distances, longitudes, and latitudes, but also details about winds, currents, and ports of entry. This detailed knowledge of navigation spaces could only be gathered through a long experience at sea.

The officers in charge of keeping certain information obtained from maritime explorations secret developed different strategies for the two types of knowledge. Since the aspects valued by cosmographers — associated with theoretical and systematic knowledge — were more useful for diplomacy and less useful for navigation, they were simultaneously emphasized and publicized, and the attempts to control them were thus closer to a careful dissemination than actually keeping the secret. At the same time, the experimental knowledge of the pilots, whether it was at the individual level or arranged in maps and itineraries, should remain a secret.[14]

The challenge of keeping maps secret was divided between the need of knowing the maritime routes across the Atlantic, to ensure the spread of Spanish ships, and using maps to legitimize territorial claims

The trading of the maps by Bartolomeu Lasso demonstrates that the control of the Spanish Crown and its officers failed to keep the general information out of reach of several European powers, which competed against Portugal and Spain. The work of spies, merchants, and also humanists interested in updated information about the explored territories tried to evade the Iberian control. These agents, who often and simultaneously had different roles, were at the origin of the transaction of maps. In 1592, Petrus Plancius would have advised his partners in Amsterdam to spy on the Portuguese pilots from Lisbon. From the Memoirs of Plancius, Koeman states that the

[13]See Alison Sandman, "Controlling knowledge. Navigation, cartography, and secrecy in the Early Modern Spanish Atlantic", *In:* James Delbourgo; Nicholas Dew (eds.), *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World*, New York; London, Routledge, 2008, p. 31-33. About the control exercised by the *Casa de Contratación*, see also María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science:* Spanish cosmography and the New World, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2009, p. 103-105. About an alleged confidentiality policy advocated by the Portuguese regarding maritime discoveries, see Luís de Albuquerque, *Dúvidas e certezas na história dos descobrimentos portugueses*, Lisboa, Vega, 1991, p. 57-65.

[14]See Alison Sandman, "Controlling knowledge. Navigation, cartography, and secrecy in the Early Modern Spanish Atlantic", *In*: James Delbourgo; Nicholas Dew (eds.), *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World*, New York; London, Routledge, 2008, p. 33.

Map 2. Bartolomeu Lasso, c. 1586. Lord Salisbury's Library, Hatfield, Hertford. *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (PMC), vol. 3. Estampa 378.

maps were acquired by the Cornelis brothers and Frederik de Houtman, who went to Lisbon for this purpose in the early 1590s.[15]

However, the maps from Bartolomeu Lasso do not have the nomenclature *Peruana* in the land mass or in the ocean (Map 2). Lasso prefers the names *Quarta pars Mundi* and *Mar del Sur*. Apart from a large number of toponyms along the entire coast, the map contains a small graphic with a few trees on the northern extreme of South America and the representations of the basins of Plate River and Amazon River. In a moment of full union of the Iberian crowns under the Habsburg power, the cartographer placed the arms of the Portuguese monarchy west and two arms of the Spanish monarchy in the east and south.

If Plancius based his work on the Portuguese map for the outline of the coast and the adoption of toponyms, the attribution of the name *America Peruana* to the mainland, in turn, was a result of an original and unprecedented interpretation of the characteristics of the New World. But why did the Dutch cartographer choose to qualify the continent and not just use the name *Peru* or the designation *America Meridionalis*? In 1558, Gerard Mercator had already

[15]Besides the similarity between the maps of Lasso and Plancius, other evidence would reveal his source. When requesting the privilege to publish the world map of Plancius from 1592, Cornelis Claesz also asked for the privilege "to draw or print the 25 special charts obtained from Bartholomeo Lasso, cosmographer and practitioner of navigation of the king of Spain, through the good offices of Mr. Petrus Plancius, but paid by himself". Cornelis Koeman, "Jan Huygen van Linschoten", *Separata da Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Centro de Estudos de História e de Cartografia antiga, vol. XXXII, 1985, p. 27-40. (Série Separatas 153).

produced a map in which, for the first time, the name America was used for the continent, specifying its division: *America pars meridionalis* and *America pars septentrionalis*.[16] Numerous and important Dutch cartographers, such as Abraham Ortelius, Hendrix and Jodocus Hondius, and Joan Blaeu, maintained this nomenclature, consolidating even the name "Pacific" or "South Sea" for the great ocean to the west of the New World, as the map of Ortelius entitled *Maris Pacifici* (*quod vulto Mar del Zur*), from 1589, shows.[17]

Dominion over the knowledge of the New World

The consultation of a considerable number of maps in the 16th and 17th centuries allows us to conclude that the two ways of naming the continent —*America Peruana* e *America Meridional* — are not mutually exclusive, but based on different criteria. *America Meridional* comes from indisputable and accurate geographical observations about the layout of the land mass on the globe. Despite having the division of land into two hemispheres as a reference, the authors explain that is not the equinoctial line — in other words, the line of the Equator — that divides the two land masses, but the Straits of Darien, in Panama, the narrower passing ground before reaching South America, current border between Colombia and Panama. In 1690, the anonymous author of a work called *Les Principes de la Geographie* explained that America *"est naturellement divisée par l'isthme Panama, & nom par l'équateur en septentrionale ou Mexicaine, & en meridionale ou Peruvianne"*. He added: *"Le Perou est la plus considerable partie de l'Amerique Meridionale, qui en prend le nom de Peruviane"*.[18] The naming of the continent by Petrus Plancius therefore characterizes a new approach. Its nomenclature is intended to qualify the space, to characterize it with adjectives, and to synthesize historical information and scientific data. The name *America Peruana* classifies the region as already visited, known, and explored by the Europeans. This name refers to the interference and the presence of Europeans, to the experience obtained from exploring and conquering a new continent, recorded and reported by different authors.

An interpretation for the choice of Petrus Plancius might take into account that, during the Iberian Union, this denomination had great repercussion, adding a political connotation to the decision of the cartographer. Once all of South America was under the rule of Filipe II, it would be appropriate to name the entire continent after the Spanish viceroyalty. However, it is not so easy to

[16]See Isa Adonias (org.), "Um continente chamado América", *Mapa*. Imagens da Formação Territorial Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Emílio Odebrecht, 1993, p. 27.
[17]See Paulo Miceli (org.), *O tesouro dos mapas*: a cartografia na formação do Brasil, São Paulo, Instituto Cultural Banco Santos, 2002, p. 88.
[18]America "is *naturally* divided by the isthmus of Panama, & not by the Equator in *Setentrional* or *Mexicana*, & in *Meridional*, or *Peruviana*" (p. 206, emphasis added). And the anonymous author added: "Peru is the most important part of South America, which gets the name of Peruvian" (p. 208). In: *Les Principes de la Geographie Methodiquement expliquez, Pour donner une Idée generale de toutes les parties de l'Univers, & pour faciliter l'intelligence des Tables & des Cartes Geographiques. Avec um Abregé Chronologique, Pour servir d'Introduction à l'Etude de l'Histoire*, Amsterdam, Chez Abraham Wolfgang, Près de la Bourse, 1692.

identify a strong relationship between the tradition of the name *America Peruana* and the union of the Iberian crowns. Plancius was personally very negatively affected by the growing power of Filipe II. When he was living in Brussels in March of 1585, Alessandro Farnese, commander of the army of Flanders, took over the city and Plancius was forced to flee, disguised as a Spanish soldier, as he narrates in his memoirs. He also participated in the founding of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), the most powerful threat to the Iberian possessions in Asia.[19] These political and economic contingencies weaken the hypothesis that a unified political power by the Habsburgs was the reason behind the name given by the Dutch cartographer to the continent and to the adjacent ocean.

My interpretation of the choice of Plancius relies in the context in which cartographers and cosmographers worked. As Plancius, many humanists in the 16th and 17th centuries took on the task of describing and explaining the world and, to do that, they had basically three traditions inherited from Antiquity: one scientific, one literary, and one practical. The scientific or mathematic tradition, based on Ptolemy, contributed to the representation of lands in maps. Another tradition, more literary, historical, and descriptive, painted the man and his actions on the surface of the earth, as Strabo did. And a third tradition, inherited from the practical thinking of Aristotle and the Stoic philosophers, studied the world according to the four states, or elements of matter: earth, water, fire, and air.[20]

The manner in which the cosmographers sought to associate the classical knowledge, from these different traditions, to new geographical discoveries seems incongruous to us. An example of this conciliation effort is the debate about the constitution of metals. Since Antiquity, the search for an explanation for the origin of metals generated a number of theories that, in different situations, were used to support the effective search for mines. Inspired by classical literature, Giuseppe Rosaccio, in his *Teatro del Mondo* (1595), explained that metals were generated "in the bowels of the earth" and were attributed to the seven planets: gold was imputed to the Sun; silver, to the Moon; iron, to Mars; mercury ("*l'argento vivo*"), to Mercury; tin, to Jupiter; copper, to Venus; and lead, to Saturn.[21]

From Aristotle and his work *Meteorologica* onwards, authors stated that the metals were made of mostly vapors and fumes produced in the center of the earth.[22] Aristotle also saw as a heavenly influence that the sun's heat caused the mixture of exhalations, from which the minerals were engendered. As a consequence of this theory, the torrid zone would be the most auspicious place for generation

[19]See Marcel Destombes, *La Mappemonde de Petrus Plancius, gravée par Josua van den Ende 1604, d'après l'unique exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Indo-Chine, Publications de la Société de Geographie de Hanoi, 1944, p. 4-5.

[20]See François de Dainville, *La géographie des humanistes*, Paris, Beauchesne et ses fils, 1940, p. 75.

[21]Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Teatro del Mondo e sue parti cioe Europa, Affrica, Asia, ed America, nel quale, oltre alle Tavole in disegno, si discorre delle sue Provincie, Regni, Regioni, Città, Castelli, Ville, Monti, Fiumi, Laghi, Mari, Porti, Golfi, Isole, Popolazioni, Leggi, Riti, e Costumi.* Da Giuseppe Rosaccio com brevità descritto, Bologna, Constantino Pisarri, 1724 [1595]. Cap. VI – *Delle Generazione de' Metalli, e sue cause.*

[22]See D.E. Eichholz, "Aristotle's Theory of the Formation of Metals and Minerals", *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 43, n. 3-4, 1949, p. 141.

of metals. In the 16th century, this theory had a lot of credibility and presumed the existence of a region that held great wealth and would be located near the equinoctial line, in the interior of the South American continent. The Catholic Monarchs Fernando and Isabel, soon after the return from Columbus' first voyage, have referred to this theory in a letter to the explorer, in which they consulted on the advisability of changing the papal bull so that a bigger extension of land from that fringe of the Line of the Equator could be included in the fields of Castile. The Kings had received information from some Portuguese people, who claimed that in the tropical zone it is possible to find islands and lands that "*según en la parte del sol que están se cree que serán muy provechosas y más ricas que todas las otras*".[23]

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Several authors of cosmographies and maps, such as Pierre d'Avity, Giovanni d'Anania and Giuseppe Rosaccio, begin their works with a list of authors of travel accounts and maps from geographical explorations that they used in their descriptions of the world. The writings of Francisco López de Gomara, José de Acosta, and Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo were frequent sources to describe the western area, and the reports of André Thevet, Jean de Lery, and Hans Staden were a source of information about cannibals of Brazil.[24]

The decision of Petrus Plancius might have been based on earlier maps, as the ones already mentioned, from Paolo di Forlani's *La Descrittione di tutto il Peru*, or from Gerard de Jode's *Americae Peruvi*. It might have been equally influenced by the works of Giacomo Gastaldi, a famous

[23] "according to the part of the sun in which they are, we believe that they will be useful and richer than all others". *Carta mensajera de los reyes al Alirante*, 15 de Septiembre de 1493. Navarrete, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. I, p. 364, *apud* Beatriz Pastor; Sergio Callau (edición, introducción y notas), *Lope de Aguirre y la rebelión de los marañones*, Castalia, Madrid, 2011, p. 13.

[24] *Cf.* Lorenzo de Anania, *La Universal Fabrica del Mondo*, Napoli, Appresso Gioseppe Cacchii dell'Aquila, 1573; Pierre de Avity, *Description generale de l'Amerique troisiesme partie du monde*, Paris, Chez Claude Sonnius, 1637; Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Il mondo e sve parti cioe Europa, Affrica, Asia et America*, Fiorenza, Apresso Francesco Tosi, 1595; André Thevet, *Histoire d'André Thevet Angoumoisin, cosmographe du Roy, de deux voyages par luy faits aux Indes australes, et occidentales*, Edition critique par Jean-Claude Laborie et Frank Lestringant, Genève, Droz, 2006; Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'um voyage fait em le terra du Brésil*, Édition, présentation et notes par Jean-Claude Morisot, Genève, Librarie Droz, 1975. Facsimile of the 1580 edition; José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, Sevilla, Juan de León, 1590. Modern edition: *Idem, Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Edición crítica de Fermíndel Pino-Díaz, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008. See also Frank Lestringant, *O canibal*. Grandeza e decadência, Brasília, Editora da UnB, 1997; Zinka Ziebell, *Terra de canibais*, Porto Alegre, Editora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2002; Shureka Davies, "Depictions of Brazilians on French Maps, 1542–1555", *The Historical Journal*, vol. 55, n. 2, June 2012, p. 317-348; Yobenj Aucardo Chicangana-Bayona, "Canibais do Brasil: os açougues de Fries, Holbein e Münster (Século XVI)", *Tempo*, vol. 14, n. 28, 2009, p. 165-192.

cartographer of that period, who influenced Giovanni Baptista Ramusio in the map he included in his *Navigationi e Viaggi* collection.[25] To support the Plancius maps, travel accounts were also available, exhaustively quoted or appropriated by the cosmographies.

The main goal of the humanist Petrus Plancius and others like him was to describe and name the entire world, following methods that were accepted and respected by their interlocutors and peers, defended by the classical Ptolemaic tradition of producing maps, and justified by experience. This is a domination exercised on the knowledge about the new land. The naming, legitimized by the authority granted from the tradition, and the aura of impartiality inherent to the idea of science, then under development, would ensure the possession. In this case, it would not be a mechanism with the aim of political possession, even though politicians have used the denomination as a mandatory ritual of the conquerors, following what José Luis Romero identified as the fundamental purpose of the Spanish conquest: "*instaurar sobre una naturaleza vacía una nueva Europa, a cuyos montes, ríos y provincias ordenaba una real cédula que se les pusieran nombres como si nunca los hubieran tenido*".[26]

The control over the knowledge about the New World, in turn, would be associated with a science that was then defining its contours. According to Klaus Vogel, in the 15th century, many of the cosmographers, creators of maps and globes, and authors of cosmographic treaties had higher education, knowledge of Latin — sometimes, also of Greek — and many were also theologians. As early as during the 16th and 17th centuries, the number of cosmographers coming from the fields of mathematics, natural philosophy, and physics increased. They started to work not only in the great European courts, but also in the small courts, trading companies, universities, and academies. This "young, emerging science"[27], dominated by the cosmographers, who later started to be called geographers, was responsible for the construction of a geographic knowledge of the New World that prompted expeditions and conquests and, in the case of South America, determined the vocations of certain regions.

It is hard to find guidelines on how to name continents, seas, and oceans in geography treaties produced and followed by those cosmographers. One could find, however, many discussions and interpretations about the name that the lands reached by Colombo and the successive explorers should receive in cosmographic texts of that period. The name was not consensual, with each using

[25]See Giovanni Baptista Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle nauigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Nuouo*... In Venetia, nella stamperia de Giunti, L'anno M D LVI. [1556]. Giacomo Gastaldi was one of the most important cartographers of the period, and he was decisive even for the work of Forlani. See Roberto Almagià, "Intorno ad un grande Mappamondo perduto di Giacomo Gastaldi (1561)", *Bibliofilia*, Estrattodal vol. XLI, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1939, p. 11-12; Stefano Grande, *Le Carte d'America di Giacomo Gastaldi*. Contributto alla Storia della cartografia del secolo XVI, Torino, Carlo Clausen, 1905.

[26]"to establish, on an empty nature, a new Europe, whose hills, rivers and provinces shall receive names, by royal order, as if they had never had names". José Luís Romero, *Latinoamérica*. Las ciudades y las ideas, 2. ed., Buenos Aires, Siglo XXI Editores, 2007, p. 12. About the rituals of possession, see also Stephen Greenblatt, *Possessões maravilhosas*: o deslumbramento do Novo Mundo, São Paulo, Edusp, 1996, p. 79-89; Patrícia Seed, *Cerimônias de posse na conquista europeia do Novo Mundo (1492-1640)*, São Paulo, Editora da Unesp, 1999.

[27]See Klaus A. Vogel, "Cosmography", *In*: Roy Porter; Katharine Park; Lorraine Daston (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, III, Early Modern Science, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 471.

the nomenclature that seemed more adequate and often combining different options. The one with greater impact was undoubtedly of Amerigo Vespucci, *Mundus novus*, made public in a letter written to Pietro Soderini, defending that it was not a part of Asia and one should not seek there the natural features, kingdoms, and inhabitants described by Marco Polo.

After the publication of *Mundus Novus* came what was later considered as the cartographic baptism, with the text *Cosmographiae Introductio*, from 1507, written by the German cosmographer Martin Waldseemüller (1474–1518). This work included, then, an "Introduction to Cosmography", the four voyages of Vespucci and a world map that, for the first time, showed the name *America* written on over a vague strip of land. Waldseemüller used two criteria for naming the continent: the convention arising from the names of the other known continents and the tribute to who he thought was the discoverer. "As Europe and Asia received female names, I saw no reason that could justly oppose naming this part America, that is, the land of Amerigo, from Amerigo, its discoverer".[28]

Once some explanation for the designation of the lands was offered, the oceans received a name in reference to the lands they bathe, without further comment. The same was the case regarding the ocean that runs along the western coast of Africa and became the division of the two continents: *Oceanus Aethiopicus* (after that North Sea, and finally Atlantic Ocean) referred to *Aethiopia*, or Ethiopia, which was how Africa was called in Antiquity.

In Antiquity, "ocean" was the proper name of the "river that surrounds the whole earth" and on which one would amazingly watch a flow and reflow of an amplitude that did not exist in the Mediterranean. The "ocean sea", or just "ocean", remained as the opposite of the Mediterranean for the humanistic geographers for a long time. Even though linguists agreed with associating the word *ocean* with the idea of immensity, the cartographers did not seem sure about its usage for quite some time.[29] That explains the indecision that leads to naming the ocean as Pacific, *Mar del Zur*, and *Peruvianus*.

Since the publication of the map of Petrus Plancius in 1594, and the influential world map of Blaeu in 1608, and until 1680, several cartographers used the most important piece of land in South America to name the Pacific Ocean, adopting different spellings. Abraham Goos uses *The Peruviane Ocean* in 1626, and Nicolas Visscher and Pieter Goos use *Oceanvs Pervviensis* in 1650. In 1680, Dankerts embraced two names — *Oceanus Peruvanus* and *Mar du Peru* — in his map.

[28]Martin Waldseemüller; Miguel León Portilla; Amerigo Vespucci, *Introducción a la Cosmografía y las Cuatro Navegaciones de Américo Vespucio*, Traducción del latín, estudio introductorio y notas de Miguel León-Portilla, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2007, p. 70. See also Eviatar Zerubavel, *Terra Cognita*. The Mental Discovery of America, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1992, p. 80-81; Isa Adonias (org.), *Um continente chamado América*. Mapa. Imagens da Formação Territorial Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Emílio Odebrecht, 1993, p. 26.

[29]See Dainville, *Le Langage des Géographe. Terme. Signes, Couleurs des Cartes Anciennes 1500-1800*, Paris, Éditions A. et J. Picard & Cie., 1964, p. 100-101.

Nicolas Sanson, in the French edition of 1650, writes *Mer du Perou* and also names other seas, as in the English edition of 1680, *Sea of Peru*.[30]

In this context of uncertainty about naming and juxtaposition of criteria, the Portuguese cartography stood out with a very particular way of referencing the importance of the viceroyalty of Peru. Without baptizing the entire continent or the ocean, and without using the nomenclature defined by Plancius and his collaborators, the most spectacular geographical and historical reference in the Portuguese charts is the mountain of Potosi. If, in some cosmographies and travel accounts, the riches of Peru could be associated with the capture of the Inca Atahualpa by Francisco Pizarro in Cajamarca and the immense treasure gathered for his rescue, in the Portuguese maps produced between 1600 and 1688, the illustration of a mountain of silver, often surmounted by a cross, can be observed with distinctive emphasis.[31]

In Antiquity, "ocean" was the proper name of the "river that surrounds the whole earth" and on which one would amazingly watch a flow and reflow of an amplitude that did not exist in the Mediterranean

In an anonymous atlas, which is preserved in Turin and attributed to the Portuguese cartographers Luís Teixeira and João Baptista Lavanha, produced between 1596 and 1612, the high mountain stands out for the first time almost in the center of the continent, still without the cross (Map 3). It was precisely in the atelier of Teixeira, one of the most productive families of Portuguese cartographers, that this image was developed and attracted followers. The representation is repeated with some alterations in maps of different cartographers: João Teixeira Albernaz I (in maps from 1612, 1632, and 1640); his grandson, João Teixeira Albernaz II (1665 and 1667); Antonio Sanchez (1618, 1623, 1637, and 1641); Pascoal Roiz (1632); and José Miranda (1688).

[30]Abraham Goos, *America with those known parts in that unknowne worlde both people and manner of buildings described and inlarged by I.S.* Ano 1626, London, [1631]. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/o4bdcww>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014; Nicolaes Visscher (Claes Janszoon); Pieter Goos, *Orbis terrarium typus de integro multis in locis emendatus*, [Amsterdam], 1650. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/ousw2ko>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014; Dankerts, *Novissima et Accuratissima Totius America e Descriptio per I. Dankerts*, Amsterdam. [ca. 1680]. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/na526f3>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014; Idem, *Amerique Meridionale par N. Sanson d'Abbeville*, geographe du Roy, Paris, chez l'Autheur et chez Pierre Mariette, 1650. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/nadxqcc>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014, and Nicolas Sanson, *South America Divided into its Principall Parts where are distinguished the severall States which belong to the Spanish, English, Portugals, and French*, London, 1680. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/prr5byw>. Accessed on: May 14, 2014.

[31]The image of the mountain of silver, with the cross on top, can be read as a symbol of grace obtained by the Spaniards, who began to explore the mines in 1545. Chroniclers claim that it was unknown to indigenous people, because God was supposedly saving the silver for the Spaniards, *"para el alivio, para el bien, para el lucimiento y para la felicidad universal"* ("for the relief, for the good, for the splendor and for the universal happiness"), wrote the most important chronicler of the village of Potosi, Bartolomé Arzáns of Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*. Edición de Lewis Hanke y Gunnar Mendoza. Providence, Brown University Press, 1965, 3v. Libro II, Cap. I. En que se refiere el Descubrimiento del rico Cerro de Potosí, p. 33.

Map 3. Anonymous – João Baptista Lavanha and Luís Teixeira. *Atlas-cosmografia*, 1597 and 1612. Biblioteca Reale, Turin (detail).

One interpretation for this form of representation would be to consider it a strategy adopted by the cartographers, then subjects of the Spanish Crown, to use the source of wealth that is dearest to the monarch as a reference point. Then, there was nothing too attractive to be said about the lands of Brazil. They occupy a very marginal place in the descriptions of the continent, as a land of cannibals, producer of Brazil wood, and birds of colorful feathers. In *Livro que dá razão do Estado do Brasil* (1612), which was a report of the captaincies of Brazil ordered by Filipe III, the captain Diogo Campos Moreno, its author, presents Brazil in the following manner: "O Estado do Brasil, Províncias de Santa Cruz, é a parte oriental do Peru povoada na costa do mar Etiópico [...]". The general map, which is part of the book written by João Teixeira Albernaz I, shows the commanding presence of the mountain of *Cerro Rico de Potosi* and the mountain range where the silver mountain, which crosses the mainland bordering the Amazon River, can be found, thus suggesting a link between the Viceroyalty of Peru and the lands of Brazil.[32]

[32] "The State of Brazil, Provinces of Santa Cruz, is the eastern part of Peru settled on the shore of the Ethiopian sea [...]". The quote is in Diogo de Campos Moreno [1612], *Livro que dá razão do Estado do Brasil* – 1612. Edição crítica, com introdução e notas de Helio Vianna, Recife, Arquivo Público Estadual, 1955, p. 107. The map was reproduced in PMC, vol. 4, Estampa 446. About *Livro que dá razão do Estado do Brasil* e and the cartography about Brasil in the period of Filipe III, consult Andréa Doré, "O deslocamento de interesses da Índia para o Brasil durante a União Ibérica: mapas e relatos", *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 23, Issue 02, 2014, p. 172-197.

In a paradoxical way, however, the Portuguese power over the continent remains untouchable in many of these maps. The arms of the Avis dynasty continue to be represented in the eastern part of the New World, as has been seen in the maps of Bartolomeu Lasso, although the Habsburgs exercised the sovereignty over Portugal until 1640 and the Dutch dominated the northeastern part of Brazil between 1630 and 1654.

Another interpretation does not invalidate the first one but emphasizes different aspects. The tradition of Portuguese maps would be the outcome of the hopes awoken by the Potosi mine that rich deposits would also be found in Brazil. This was quite practical. The Portuguese, when representing Potosi, would have chosen the materiality of what served as the base for the elaborations of the Dutch humanists. It would be another manifestation of the "curiosidade relativamente temperada, sujeita, em geral, à inspiração prosaicamente utilitária" that Sergio Buarque de Holanda identified in Portuguese chroniclers of the first centuries. Seeing the rawness of the Potosi mountain in these maps, we could ask the same question that this author asks by comparing the Portuguese to people for whom "o viver quotidiano nem os deixa oprimidos, nem os desata dos cuidados terrenos, e o freio que parece moderar sua fantasia é uma esperança contente e sossegada". Wouldn't the "realismo comumente desencantado, voltado sobretudo para o particular e o concreto [...]" also be present then in these maps?[33]

Pirates and maps

Besides the Portuguese cartographic production itself, I have found the mountain of Potosi being represented this way only in one other map. The link I see between these maps accentuates the importance of Peru as a point of reference and attraction for the exploration of the Pacific. However, it also indicates the spread of the Portuguese cartography, even if remained handwritten for the most part. The map is a part of the atlas created in 1683by William Hack.

The Hack Atlas has its origin in an expedition of British Buccaneers to the coast of the Pacific between 1680 and 1682. Bartholomew Sharp was the leader of the Buccaneers and the first English captain to travel from America to Europe, circling the American continent by south, from west to east, passing by the Cape Horn. In 1682, these Buccaneers captured the Spanish ship *Santa Trinidad*, weighing 400 tons, on the Pacific coast between Panama and Ecuador, and circled through the ports of the *Oceanus Peruvianus* for 18 months.

[33]"the relatively temperate curiosity, subject, in general, to the prosaically utilitarian inspiration"; "the daily life neither oppresses nor alienates from the caring for the land, and the brake that seems to moderate their fantasy is a joyful and quiet hope"; "the commonly wry realism, aimed especially at the particular and the concrete [...]". See Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Visão do paraíso*: os motivos edênicos no descobrimento e colonização do Brasil, 6. ed., São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1996, p. 5. In this book, the author discusses different manifestations of the influence of the mines of Peru on the Portuguese and Spanish people in the chapter "A different Peru".

There are several known reports produced by members of this expedition. One report, presented by Sharp and entitled *The Wagoner of the Great South Sea*, was delivered to the king of England, Carlos II. It also contained the atlas produced by Hack.[34] With this work, whose text was written by Basil Ringrose, a member of the corsair trip, Sharp got his freedom when he returned to England, where he, along with two other crew members, was accused by the Spanish government of piracy and murder. Since 1670, by the Treaty of Madrid, when Spain transferred the possession of Jamaica to the English, the two countries were at peace. The treaty, however, failed to curtail the activities of the English pirates. In order to be acquitted by the English authorities, Sharp offered the king the most precious thing that he had obtained in his adventure. With the capture of the Spanish ship, he got a set of official manuscripts of nautical directions, illustrated by a large number of maps of the coast, and probably a general map, with much more detail than those available in England at that time. Sharp handed over the material to be translated by William Hack, a map trader and copyist, and he could provide the British authorities precise information on Spanish routes and ports in America. King Charles II received several copies and others were ordered. At least 13 atlases survived, which are now preserved in public institutions and private collections. The autograph manuscript of Ringrose was printed only in the 20th century.

Three reports published in the following years made the adventure of Sharp and his men popular. *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and others, in the South Sea* was published in 1684 by Philip Ayres, translator of many travel texts. However, according to Edward Lynam, the report is not from Sharp but from John Cox, another buccaneer who also participated in the expedition and had a quarrel with Sharp.[35]

The following year, the English translation of *Bucaniers of America* came out, organized by the writer and pirate Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin, probably of French origin. It was published in three parts in 1684; the fourth part was added in 1685, with a text based on the report from Ringrose, but with modifications

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[34]"Wagoner" is a description of the navigation directions and could be translated as "script" or *"derrotero"*. The term "wagoner" is an English corruption of the name of Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, a Dutch cartographer who, in 1584, published the first marine atlas with maps and navigation directions. Commonly known as *Spigel der Zeevaerdt*, it was translated into English four years later as *The Mariners Mirrour*. Such books were known in England by the generic term "waggoner", until the 18th century. See Derek Howse; Norman J.W. Thrower (eds.), *A Buccaneer's Atlas*. Basil Ringrose's South Sea Waggoner: a sea atlas and sailing directions of the Pacific coast of the Americas, 1682, Berkeley, University of California Press, c. 1992, p. 1.

[35]*The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and others*, in the South Sea: being a journal of the same. Also Capt. Van Horn with his Buccanieres surprizing of la Vera Cruz. To which is added The true relation of Sir Henry Morgan, his Expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and his taking Panama. Published by Philip Ayres Esq., London, Printed by B.W. for R.H. and S.T. and are to be fold by Walter Davis in Amen Corner, 1684. About the different accounts of this expedition see Edward Lynam, "William Hack and the South Sea Buccaneers", *In:* ____, *The Mapmaker's Art*. Essays on the History of Maps, London, Batchworth Press, 1953, p. 101-116; Lawrence C. Wroth, *William Hack's Manuscript Atlases of "The Great South Sea of America"*, Providence, John Carter Brown Library, 1966.

and cuts.[36] And, in 1699, William Hack himself published *A Collection of Original Voyages*, including, in addition to an account of Captain Sharp, the accounts of other pirates on their adventures across America and the Levant.[37]

The highlights of these reports are some interesting moments when the attention of the authors turns to the geographic information about South America, which the pirates had and began to disclose after they sailed in the Pacific coast. In the preface of the work organized and published in 1684, Philip Ayres explains that the exploratory activities of Captain Sharp on the South Sea were carried out in the service of the "Emperor of Darien". He considers defining and describing the domains of this kinglet very useful to the reader, emphasizing that this information was omitted by the author in his text. The Darien Province or District "is bounded on the South by the Kingdom of New Granada; by the Gulf of Uraba or Darien on the East; by the South Sea on the West; and on the North by the Province of Panama".[38]

The Hack Atlas has its origin in an expedition of British Buccaneers to the coast of the Pacific between 1680 and 1682

The story begins in April 1680, with the topic of the thirst for gold justifying actions and giving courage to men: "What often drives men to undertake the most difficult adventures is the sacred hunger for gold; and gold was the bait that tempted a bunch of excited guys like us", about 300 men, "all Soldiers of Fortune", at the service of the mentioned Emperor of Darien, with whom they made a deal to help him recover territories taken by the Spaniards. The geographical information about their location associates the political situation with specifically geographical data: the region is between "the two ancient empires of Mexico and Peru, and makes the junction of North and South America". The capital of this empire of Darien is not too distant from

[36]Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*. The Second Volume. Containing the Dangerous Voyage and Bold Attempts of Captain Bartholomew Sharp, and others; performed upon the Coasts of the South Sea, for the space of two years, etc. From the Original Journal of the said Voyage. Written by Mr. Basil Ringrose, Gent. Who was all along present at those Transactions, London, Printed for William Crooke, at the Sign of the Green Dragon without Temple-bar, 1685.

[37]William Hack, *A Collection of Original Voyages*: containing I. Capt. Cowley's Voyage round the Globe. II. Capt. Sharp's Journey over the Isthmus of Darien, and Expeditions into the South Seas, Written by Himself. III. Capt. Wood's voyages thro' the Streights of Magellan. IV. Mr. Roberts's Adventures among the Corsairs of the Levant. Illustrated with several Maps and Draughts, London, Published by Captain William Hack, 1699.

[38]*The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and others, in the South Sea*: being a journal of the same. Also Capt. Van Horn with his Buccanieres surprizing of la Vera Cruz. To which is added the true relation of Sir Henry Morgan his Expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and his taking Panama. Published by Philip Ayres Esq., London, Printed by B.W. for R.H. and S.T. and are to be fold by Walter Davis in Amen Corner, 1684, Preface, *fol.* A3.

Porto Belo, where the Spaniards took their "treasure" from the *Ciudad de los Reyes*, or Lima, and boarded in galleons bound for Spain.

After two weeks of traveling by land or in canoes, led by "our Emperor", the group arrived in Santa Maria, where they attacked the fort hoping to find the load of gold dust. The expedition intended to stop there, once they had news that there was sufficient gold "to enrich us all". The Spaniards, however, had taken the gold two days before. On Saturday, April 17th, the author, assessing the reaction of the pirates to the frustration of knowing that there was no more gold for loot, wrote: "Disappointment is an incentive for Revenge, and good Resolution the commander of Success".[39]

They decided to go to Arica, the port at which silver was transported coming from the countryside. Like many other Europeans of different origins, the English pirates possibly knew the fame of Potosi. In England, the expression "as rich as Potosi"[40] was spreading, which shows the fame of the Spanish mines of Peru. According to the report published by Philip Ayres:

> This *Arica* is seated in a very pleasant Vally by a River side, and is the Barkador of place for Shipping off the Treasure which comes from the Mines of the Mountain of *Potosy*, is a good Harbour, and secure, and lies in eighteen deg. and twenty min. South latitude, and a Healthy Air.[41]

As described in *Bucaniers of America*, "A certain old man, who had long time sailed among the Spaniards, told us, he could carry us to a place called Arica. Unto which town, he said, all the Plate was brought down from *Potosi*, *Chuquiasaca*, and several other places within the Land, where it was digged out of the Mountains and Mines".[42] Ringrose also mentions the mines of Potosi when they reach the port of Arica, where the Buccaneers were between January 30th and 31st of 1681: "Here are Delicate ffruites and I have walked a league up in an Olive walke. Here is a road to Potosy and to Punio, where are rich mines".[43] The Port of Arica is described as "the *embarquadero* where the silver of Potosy

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[39]"*The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and others, in the South Sea*: being a journal of the same. Also Capt. Van Horn with his Buccanieres surprizing of la Vera Cruz. To which is added the true relation of Sir Henry Morgan his Expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and his taking Panama. Published by Philip Ayres Esq., London, Printed by B.W. for R.H. and S.T. and are to be fold by Walter Davis in Amen Corner, 1684, p. 9.

[40]See Lewis Hanke, *The Imperial City of Potosí*. An unwritten chapter in the history of Spanish America, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1956, p. 8. The author explains that Potosí as synonym of richness can be found in *Roget's International Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, n. 803. See also Matthew Smith, "Laboring to choose, choosing the labor: coercion and choice in the Potosi Mita", *Past Imperfect*, vol. 10, 2004, p. 31.

[41]*The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and others, op cit.*, p. 60-61.

[42]*apud* Derek Howse; Norman J.W. Thrower (eds.), *A Buccaneer's Atlas*. Basil Ringrose's South Sea Waggoner: a sea atlas and sailing directions of the Pacific coast of the Americas, 1682, Berkeley, University of California Press, c. 1992, p. 13. This work has, for the first time, the edition of the waggoner from Ringrose and it also reproduces the text that is in the edition of Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*.

[43]Derek Howse; Norman J.W. Thrower (eds.), *A Buccaneer's Atlas*. Basil Ringrose's South Sea Waggoner: a sea atlas and sailing directions of the Pacific coast of the Americas, 1682, Berkeley, University of California Press, c. 1992, p. 214. Potosi is 560 miles, or 900 kilometers, by road of Arica in the coast, and it can be reached by the Puno's path in the western margin of Titicaca Lake.

Map 4. João Teixeira Albernaz II, 1667 (detail).

and other mines embarque for Lima", with its location being described: "This port is in South Latt. 18°36'".[44]

The first map of the Hack Atlas, which includes copies of maps taken from the Spanish ship, shows the western coast of the continent and the representation of the mountain of Potosi very similar to the image used by the Portuguese cartographers. The comparison between the production of João Teixeira Albernaz II (Map 4) and two handwritten versions of the Hack Atlas, one preserved in the National Maritime Museum (Map 5), in London, and another in the John Carter Brown Library, in Providence, in the United States (Map 6), allow us to imagine that some form of circulation of that image occurred. Either the corsair crew of Bartholomew Sharp had access to copies

[44] *Ibidem*, p. 214; 216. It can be noted that there is a small difference compared to the information in the other account, which shows Arica is in 18°20' latitude south.

Map 5. *Atlas Hack*, National Maritime Museum (detail).

of the Portuguese cartography or this circulation preceded the capture of the ship by the pirates and the seized maps themselves would have an influence of Portuguese cartography.[45]

These different forms of representation allowed us to come to several conclusions. The analysis of the cartography makes it possible to identify the oscillating understanding that Europeans had on the New World. The set of mentioned maps does not include the production of the 18th century, but we know that it was during this century, largely driven by the discovery of gold in the central regions of Brazil and by the border disputes between Spain and Portugal, that the knowledge about the interior of the continent expanded. Likewise, in

[45] *Cf.* Derek Howse; Norman J.W. Thrower (eds.), *A Buccaneer's Atlas*. Basil Ringrose's South Sea Waggoner: a sea atlas and sailing directions of the Pacific coast of the Americas, 1682, Berkeley, University of California Press, c. 1992. The work contains a reproduction of the map of the coast that belongs to the manuscript of the National Maritime Museum, in London. The other mentioned manuscript is in the JCBL, in Providence, United States.

Map 6. *Atlas Hack*, John Carter Brown Library, Providence (detail).

the 16th and 17th centuries, the search for metals had encouraged the exploratory activities and with them the geographical descriptions contained in maps and cosmographies. This understanding does not mean a linear process toward precision and accuracy, but that there are ambivalences and the coexistence of different representations of the space.

The use of different nomenclatures for the continent and the ocean that surrounds it followed various orders of interests and, as we discussed in this article, a variable set of projected expectations, from both the Iberian countries directly involved in the conquest and the pirates and humanists lured by the challenge to "map" a new continent. The stories that were produced and diffused about Peru and its riches guided the hierarchy of spaces of South America, following the exploration opportunities and initiatives, whether successful

or not. These conclusions can be associated with those obtained by recent historiography: that the image of America as a single geographic entity, which could also have been built under the name *Peruana*, was the result of an "active mental construction" in the words of Zerubavel.[46] The evidence discussed here shows that the name of the continent, as well as the design of its unit, resulted from a long-term European construction, surpassing both the local heterogeneity and the variety of expectations associated with its land for over at least two centuries.

[46]See Eviatar Zerubavel, *Terra Cognita*. The mental Discovery of America, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1992, p. 40. The same concern with detecting the contours of a unified image, this time associated with the notion of identity, of the continent is present in Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *The Americas*. A Hemispheric Historic, New York, Modern Library Edition, 2003. About the gradual construction of the image of America as a single continent, see also Seymour I. Schwartz, *The Mismapping of America*, Rochester, The University of Rochester Press, 2003; *Idem*, *Putting "America" on the map*, New York, Prometheus Books, 2009; Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880-1950*, Chicago; London, The Chicago University Press, 2001.