



Between Ethnonyms and Toponyms: Cartography and Native Pasts in the Eastern Rio de la Plata

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During the past three decades, cultural analyses of historic maps have become commonplace among researchers interested in the territorialities of past peoples. Within this broader impetus, ethnohistorians and historians of cartography in the Americas have sought to use colonial-era maps and mapmaking endeavors to make visible spatial practices and

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perspectives of Indigenous Americans.¹ Efforts have included scrutinizing imperial maps for evidence of Indigenous settlements and toponyms, analyzing renderings of Native peoples in cartouches and illustrations, identifying and interpreting Native-authored visual sources, and reading textual accounts of imperial mapmaking endeavors to trace the actions of Indigenous agents. These studies have revealed the power of mapping to colonize Native literacies or to define Indigenous peoples in the minds of European readers. Alternatively, they have demonstrated the capacity of Indigenous agents to mediate information appearing in colonial records or to appropriate mapped territorial forms to their advantage. They have also blurred the lines between Indigenous and European agents in the process of cartographic knowledge production. Yet, few systematic assessments exist of one of the most common representations of Native peoples in historic maps: as free-floating ethnic labels, superimposed upon the landscape yet absent of any symbolic point or anchor.

Textual ethnonyms were commonly used by European and Euro-American mapmakers to geolocate autonomous, mobile Native communities. Unlike Indigenous villages or missions, which often appeared in maps as precise dots, mobile peoples beyond colonial control were marked by ethnic labels that varied widely. Despite their imprecision and

¹Examples include Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Neil L. Whitehead, "Indigenous Cartography in Lowland South America and the Caribbean," in David Woodward and Lewis G. Malcolm, eds., *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); William G. Gartner, "Mapmaking in the Central Andes," in *ibid.*; G. Malcolm Lewis, ed., *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Karl Offen, "Creating Mosquitia: Mapping Amerindian Spatial Practices in Eastern Central America, 1629–1779," *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007); David Carrasco and Scott Sessions, eds., *Cave, City, and Eagle's Nest: An Interpretive Journey through the Mapa de Cuauhtinchan no. 2* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: University of New Mexico Press, 2007); Heidi V. Scott, *Contested Territory: Mapping Peru in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009); Maria de Fátima Costa, "Viajes en la frontera colonial: Historias de una expedición de límites en la América Meridional (1753–1754)," *Anales del Museo de América* 16 (2009); Jeffrey A. Erbig, Jr., "Borderline Offerings: Tolderías and Mapmakers in the Eighteenth-Century Rio de la Plata," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 96, no. 3 (2016); Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps, and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); S. Max Edelson, *The New Map of Empire: How Britain Imagined America before Independence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017), 141–95.

contradictions, these visual records informed colonial imaginings regarding Native peoples and were referenced commonly by post-independence scholars and writers. Maps mattered not for their accuracy, but for the meaning ascribed to them by subsequent readers who sought to construct historical geographies of Indigenous peoples. This tendency is evident in the eastern Rio de la Plata (present-day Uruguay, northeastern Argentina, and southern Brazil), where the geographic positioning of ethnonyms in colonial and early-national maps has played an outsized role in historical memory of interethnic relations. By considering historic maps of the region collectively, this chapter identifies common patterns of ethnonym placement and networks of knowledge production that were simultaneously inaccurate and foundational in the construction of historical memory.

DEMISTIFYING THE CARTOGRAPHIC CORPUS

The corpus of maps of the eastern Rio de la Plata is enormous and geographically dispersed. Over 400 maps drawn from the sixteenth through the early nineteenth century, spread across several dozen archives in eight countries, were consulted for this study alone.² This included manuscript and published maps ranging from large-scale depictions of the Rio de la Plata estuary to small-scale renderings of the Western Hemisphere or the entire globe. 173 of these maps contained ethnonyms, which I coded according to their placement in the region or along its northern and western peripheries. Given the myriad scales, perspectives, projections, distortions, and details appearing in the maps, I coded the ethnonyms according to their positions between the region's principal waterways. I then grouped the maps according to their general patterns of ethnonym placement. Many maps presented identical patterns, but many more provided near matches or a portion of the ethnonyms included in others. In the later instances, I prioritized the ethnonyms most readily associated with the

²Digital versions of many of the referenced maps are available online via the national libraries of Argentina, Brazil, France, Portugal, and the United States, as well as the Newberry Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Huntington Library, Stanford Libraries' Barry Lawrence Ruderman Map Collection, the David Rumsey Map Collection, the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library, the Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya, the Archivo General de Indias (AGI), and Archival General de Simancas. The remaining maps are held at Brazil's Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul, and Arquivo Histórico do Exército; Uruguay's national archive; and Argentina's national archive and Museo Mitre.

region—Bohanes, Charrúas, Guaraníes, Guenoas, Minuanes, and Yaros—over those on its periphery. To verify this tabular coding and sorting, I then manually represented the original ethnonym placement of each historic map with original orthography in composite maps using geographic information system (GIS) software. This final step revealed relationships between map groups that had not been evident in the original spreadsheet, leading to their consolidation in the final form.

Historic maps of the region can be broken into ten groups of as many as forty maps apiece.³ Given the pitfalls of toponymic comparison, namely linguistic variation and mistranslations, these groupings derive from a cautious identification of common ethnonyms, shared locations of those ethnonyms, and idiosyncratic elements that are “unambiguously common” to a number of maps. Although the lack of contextual evidence can preclude claims of direct cartographic lineages, ethnogeographic patterns of representation are nonetheless evident.⁴ Commonalities in representation derived from the sharing of textual sources or the direct copying of engraving plates, while differences tended to dovetail with maps’ publishing houses, empires, dates of publication, or scale. Shared ethnonym patterns tended to correspond with common physical features, as idiosyncratic patterns of representing the region’s waterways, borderlines, and settlements were often consistent within groups. For example, representations of the Lagoa dos Patos alternatively as a river or a lake, the inclusion or omission of the Lagoa Mirim, and the conflation or omission of the Uruguay River and the Rio Negro tended to be consistent within groups. Yet, given that mapmakers sometimes borrowed physical features from one source and ethnic geographies from another, the ten groupings prioritize ethnonym placement over shared topographies.

A brief description of the ten groups indicates particular sites and flows of ethnogeographic knowledge production, which operated simultaneously in parallel cartographic traditions. The first cartographic representation of ethnonyms in region was Flemish mapmaker Corneille Wytfliet’s

³Smaller groupings derive from date or scale, as few maps prior to the mid-seventeenth century placed ethnonyms in the region while hydrological maps focused on small segments of its coastlines. Multiple maps from the same author are counted here as separate publications unless all elements—including scale, physical features, toponyms, ethnonyms, cartouche, and language—were identical.

⁴On cartographic comparison and intertextuality, see: James Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 43, 174–187.

1597 *Plata America Provinciae*, which labeled Carios in the north.⁵ This rendering was soon supplanted by those of Dutch printing houses, which drew upon or directly printed Jesuit sources to produce three discernable ethnic geographies. In 1605, Dutch engraver Petrus Montanus presented a map of Brazil that added Guaraníes, Patos, and Querandíes to the region, while a 1609 map by Jesuit Diego de Torres shuffled Montanus's ethnonyms and added more in the west (Fig. 2.1).⁶ Torres's map was among the first to include Charrúas, which along with Guaraníes was the most commonly referenced ethnonym in the region, and it informed prominent mapmakers in northern Europe.⁷ Lastly, Jesuit Luis Ernot produced a regional ethnic geography in 1632 that became a principal referent for mapmakers throughout Europe for nearly a century and a half (Fig. 2.2). In *Paragvaria vulgo Paragvay*, Ernot centered Charrúas as the principal ethnic community in the region, eliminated Guaraníes, and added Yaros and Tape.⁸

⁵ Corneille Wytfliet, *Plata Americae Provincia* (1597); José de Acosta, *Plata Americae Provincia* (1598).

⁶ Maps in the former group included Petrus Montanus, *Brasilia* (1605); Frederik de Wit, *Littora Brasiliae* (1657); Hendrick Doncker, *Paskaart yand Zuydelychste* (1670). The latter group included Diego de Torres, "[untitled]" (1609); Joannes de Laet, *Paraguay, ó Prov* (1625); Henricus Hondius, *Americae pars Meridionalis* (1629); Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Carta de Tucuman* (1634); Joannes Janssonius van Waesberge, *Paraguay, ó Prov* ([1642]); John Seller, *Novissima Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula* (1672); Johannes van Heurs, *Novissima et Accuratissima* ([1600s]); Joannes Janssonius, *Paraguay, ó Prov* ([1630–66]); Eberhard Werner Happel, *Everhardi Gueneri Happelii Mundus* ([1687–1689]).

⁷ Levinium Hulsium's 1602 *Nova et Exacta Delineatio Americae Partis Australis* included the ethnonym *Zecuruas*, often interpreted as Charrúas, in the far south of the region, likely drawing upon the travel account of German mercenary Ulrich Schmidl. On the influence of Laet's map, see Guillermo Fúrlong Cárdiff, *Cartografía jesuítica del Río de la Plata*, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Talleres S. A. Casa Jacobo Peuser, 1936), 21–23.

⁸ Luis Ernot, *Paragvaria vulgo Paragvay* (1647); Nicolas Sanson, *Amerique meridionale* (1650, 1669, 1679, 1691, and 1709); Nicolas Sanson, *Le Paragvayr* (1656 [i.e. 1659] and 1757); Joan Blaeu, *Paragvaria vulgo Paraguay* (1662); Joan Blaeu, *Mapa de las regiones del Paraguay* (1667); Guillaume Sanson, *Le Paraguay* (1668 and [1700–1750]); Guillaume Sanson, *L'Amerique meridionale* (1677 and 1687); Nicolas Sanson, *A New Mapp* (1682); Frederik de Wit, *Novissima et Accuratissima* (1688); Vincenzo Coronelli, *L'Amerique meridionale* (1689); Vincenzo Coronelli, *Amerique meridionale* (1692); Alexis-Hubert Jaillot, *L'Amerique meridionale* ([1600s], 1694, and 1781); *A Map of the Provinces of Paraguay* (1698); Joan Blaeu, *Paragvaria vulgo Paragvay* (1700); Frederik de Wit, *Americae* ([ca. 1700]); Herman Moll, *The Great Province of the Rio de la Plata* (1701); Pieter van der Aa, *T Zuider America* (1706); *L'Amerique meridionale* (1706); Nicolas de Fer, Herman van Loon, and Nicolas Guérard, *L'Amerique* (1717); Matthäus Seutter, *America Meridionalis* (1735); Johann Baptist Homann, *Totius Americae Septentrionalis et Meridionalis* ([ca. 1745]).

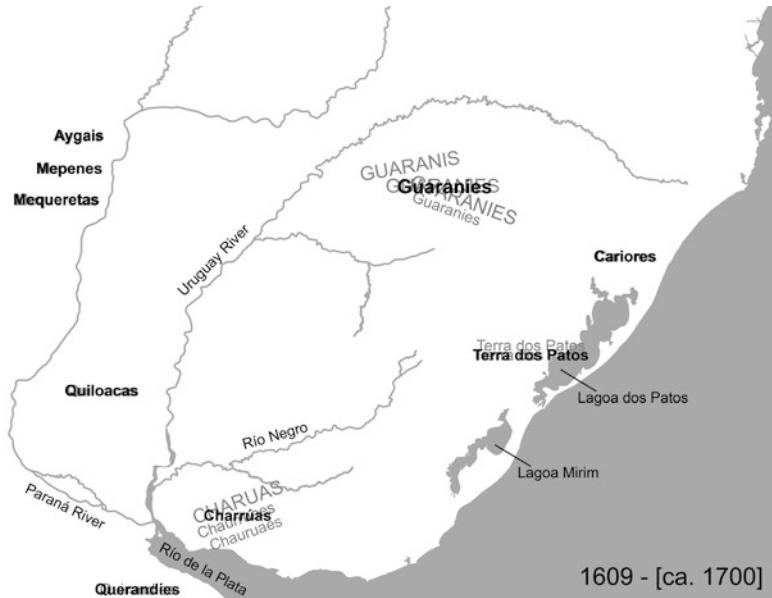


Fig. 2.1 Diego de Torres's ethnonym placement. This map is a composite rendering of historic maps that followed Torres's pattern of ethnonym placement. Ethnonyms are plotted with their original placement and spelling in grey, and overlaid with black labels representing their aggregate placement. Subsequent maps follow the same pattern

By the eighteenth century, French geographers supplanted their Dutch counterparts as the preeminent printers of maps of the eastern Rio de la Plata. Guillaume Delisle, member of the French Royal Academy of Sciences and eventual Royal Geographer, printed a map of South America in 1700 that drew upon yet modified the three Dutch traditions. Delisle's *L'Amérique Meridionale* eliminated Charrúas, Yaros, and Tapes, and restored Guaraniés. This print would appear in a half dozen atlases in France and in the Netherlands as late as 1785.⁹ Delisle also drew a

⁹Guillaume Delisle, *L'Amérique meridionale* (1700 and 1708); Pieter van der Aa, *L'Amérique meridionale* (1710); *Nouvelle carte de geographie de la parte meridionale* (1732); Guillaume Delisle, *Carte d'Amérique* (1733 and 1774); Jean Baptiste Louis Clouet, *Carte d'Amérique* (1785).



Fig. 2.2 Luis Ernot's ethnonym placement

larger-scale map, *Carte du Paraguay*, in 1703, which presented a different ethnic geography. Drawing upon a manuscript map by Juan Ramón, a chaplain based in Lima, Peru, this regional map placed Charrúas in the southeast of the region, Yaros east of the Uruguay River, and Tapes near the headwaters of the Rio Negro (Fig. 2.3). This family of maps also shared a unique toponym that distinguished them from others: they plotted a “doctrina de Francisco de Ribas,” which likely referred to a Mercedarian mission founded in 1664 and abandoned two years later.¹⁰ This work also circulated widely, being printed directly or with slight

¹⁰ On the Doctrina de Francisco de Ribas, see Archivo General de la Nación, Argentina (AGN-A), IX. 6-9-7, (1743-04-30); Gregorio Funes, *Ensayo de la historia civil de Buenos Aires, Tucuman y Paraguay*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Imprenta Bonaerense, 1856), 294–295.



Fig. 2.3 Guillaume Delisle's ethnonym placement

modifications by the royal geographers or engravers of France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire.¹¹

Two decades after Delisle's *Carte du Paraguay*, in 1722, Buenos Aires-based Jesuit Juan Francisco Dávila drew *Paraquarie provinciae*, in which he moved Charrúas and Yaros westward across the Uruguay River and added Bohanes, Manchados, and Martidanes (Fig. 2.4).¹² This ethnic geography was adjusted and reprinted by European Jesuits, Portuguese mariners, and Spain's Postmaster General.¹³ Eleven years after Dávila's

¹¹ Juan Ramón, *Carta geográfica de las provincias de la gobernación del Rio de la Plata* (1683); Guillaume Delisle, *Carte du Paraguay* (1703, 1710, 1716, 1732, 1733, and 1741); Nicolas de Fer, *Le Chili, Le Paraguay* (1737); Johann Baptist Homann, *Typus Geographicus Chili Paraguay* ([ca. 1745]); Emanuel Bowen, *A New and Accurate Map of Paraguay* (1747, 1752, and 1760); Didier Robert de Vaugondy, *Amerique méridionale* (1750); Nicolaes Visscher and Elizabeth Verseyll Visscher, *Carte du Paraguay* ([1702–1726]).

¹² A 1688 manuscript map of the region also included Charrúas between the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires, 32.

¹³ H. Juan Francisco Dávila, *Paraquarie Provinciae* (1722); Matthäus Seutter, *Paraquarie Provinciae* (1726); Christoph Dietell, *Die Landschaft nider Paraguarua* (1728); Antonio

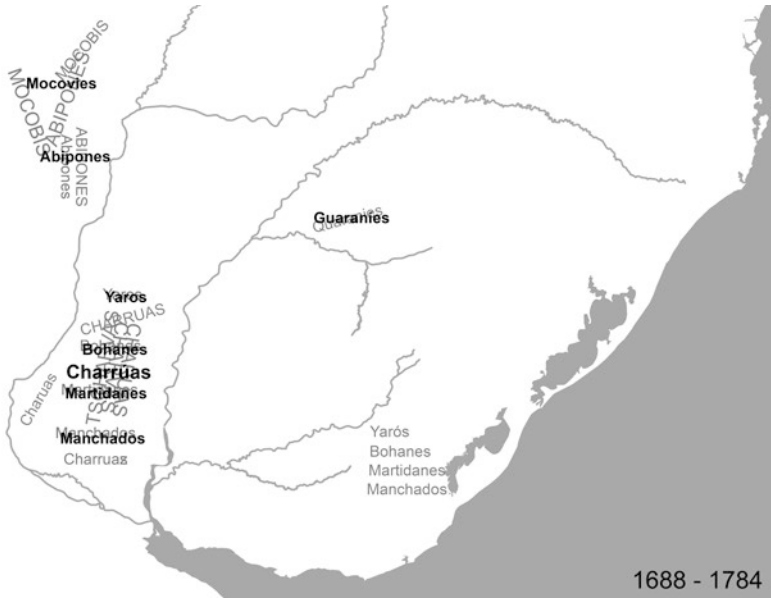


Fig. 2.4 Juan Francisco Dávila's ethnonym placement

work, French Royal Geographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville printed yet another map of Paraguay, *Le Paraguay*, in which he attempted to reconcile the differences in earlier patterns of ethnonym placement. D'Anville distinguished “Ancient Charuas” from “Charuas,” thereby purporting a westward migration across the Uruguay River. His map followed Dávila's work in marking Yaros and Abipones, yet eliminated Bohanes, Manchados, and Martidanes; it also drew upon the work of Portuguese Jesuit Diogo Soares, whose 1731 chart of the Rio de la Plata estuary was the first map to include Minuanes (Fig. 2.5).¹⁴ D'Anville's ethnonym

Machoni, *Descripción de las provincias del Chaco* (1732); Johannes Petroschi, *Paraquariae Provinciae* (1732 and 1760); [Carte des bassins des Rios Parana Uruguay et Rio Grande de San Pedro] ([1730–1739]), Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), Cartes et plans, CPL GE DD-2987 (9449 B); [Carte manuscrite de l'embouchure de Rio da Prata] (1740), BNF, Cartes et plans, CPL GE DD-2987 (9450); *Neuste Vorstellung und Beschreibung... Provinz Paraguay* (1760); *Mapa topográfico que manifiesta las provincias* (1770); Martin Dobrizhoffer, *Mappa Paraquariae* (1784).

¹⁴D'Anville consulted numerous Jesuit maps for the production of *Le Paraguay*. Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *O mapa que inventou o Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Versal, 2013), 81–82.

D'Anville's maps were used by Portuguese and Spanish royal courts in their 1750 partitioning of South America and cited by Luso-American officials seeking to rectify boundary disputes fifty-three years later.¹⁶

The remaining two groups derived from the work of Spanish mapmakers. In 1775, Spanish royal cartographer Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, a former student of D'Anville, printed *América Meridional*, which provided an unprecedented level of toponymic and ethnographic detail. Cruz Cano appears to have consulted a 1749 map drawn by Jesuit Joseph Quiroga, who had been a chaplain for the midcentury boundary demarcations. Quiroga's map was the first to include the ethnonym Guenoas and the first to place Bohanes east of the Uruguay River, and Cruz Cano built upon it by moving Charrúas to the far southwest of the region and Guenoas to the southeast (Fig. 2.6).¹⁷ This print was instrumental in a second round of border negotiations between Portugal and Spain in 1777, and was carried by Luso-Hispanic mapping teams as they traveled the new

America, ([1793]); Jedidiah Morse, *A Map of South America* (1794); William Guthrie, *A Map of South America* (1796); *A Chart of the Rio de la Plata* (1800); Mathew Carey, *A Map of South America* (1804).

¹⁶Furtado, *O mapa que inventou o Brasil*, 81–82, 145–167, 324–326; Mário Olímpio Clemente Ferreira, “O Mapa das Cortes e o Tratado de Madrid a cartografia a serviço da diplomacia,” *Varia História* 23, no. 37 (June 2007); Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB), Conselho Ultramarino, Arq. 1.3.7, fs. 239–39v; Arquivo Nacional Rio de Janeiro (AN), D9. Vice-Reinado, caixa 494, pac. 1, fs. 3–3v.

¹⁷Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, *Mapa geográfico de America Meridional* (1775), Joseph Quiroga, *Mapa de las misiones* (1749). Other maps in this group included Rigobert Bonne, *Carte de la partie meridionale du Brésil* (1780); Rigobert Bonne, *Brésil et pays des Amazone* (1788); Louis Delarochette, *Colombia Prima or South America* (1797 and 1807 [i.e. 1816]); Giovanni Maria Cassini, *Il Brasile* (1798 [i.e. 1801]); John Pinkerton, *South America* (1802 [i.e. 1807]); Aaron Arrowsmith, *South America* (1804); William Kneass, *South America* (1806); John Pinkerton, *Viceroyalty of La Plata* (1806 [i.e. 1807]); John Cary, *A New Map of South America* ([1807] and 1811); Aaron Arrowsmith, *Outlines of the Physical and Political Divisions of South America* (1811, 1814, and 1817); John Pinkerton and Lewis Hebert, *La Plata* (1811 [i.e. 1815] and 1818), John Pinkerton and Lewis Hebert, *South America* (1811 [i.e. 1815] and 1818); William Kneass, *South America* (1814); John Moffat, *South America* (1814); William Heather, *A New Chart of the Coast of Brazil* (1815); Adrien Hubert Brué, *Carte encyprotype de l'Amérique méridionale* (1816), plate 31 and plates 32–35; Henry Schenck Tanner, *South America* (1818 [1826]); Jacob Abbot Cummings, *South America* (1820); John Thomson, *South America* ([1822]); Henry Schenck Tanner, *Chili, La Plata, and Uruguay* (1845); Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *Chili, La Plata and Uruguay* (1847 and 1850 [i.e. 1852]); “Organización política y administrativa del Virreynato de Buenos Aires,” n.d., AGN-A, Mapas y planos, IV-168.



Fig. 2.6 Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla's ethnonym placement

border the following decade.¹⁸ It informed approximately thirty other maps printed through 1850 in Europe and the United States. If Cruz Cano's map shaped the boundary demarcations, a new map produced by one of the expeditions' commanding officers would present the final ethnographic rendering of the region. Félix de Azara, a Spanish naval officer, drafted *Carte générale du Paraguay* in 1800 to accompany his widely circulated travel account, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Meridionale*. In this map, he scrubbed the regional landscape of nearly all ethnonyms, leaving only Charrúas and Minuanes along the eastern coastline of the Uruguay River (Fig. 2.7). Azara's rendering influenced Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian geographers who sought to map post-independence states in the region as

¹⁸Thomas R. Smith, "Cruz Cano's Map of South America, Madrid, 1775," *Imago Mundi* 20 (1966); André Ferrand de Almeida, "O mapa geográfico de América Meridional, de Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla," *Anais do Museu Paulista* 17, no. 2 (July-December 2009); AN, 86. Secretário de Estado, cod. 104, v. 11, fs. 210-10v.



Fig. 2.7 Félix de Azara's ethnonym placement

late as 1868.¹⁹ Thereafter, ethnonyms would only appear in historical maps produced by anthropologists and historians, who firmly situated Indigenous peoples in a distant past.

These general groupings were not without outliers. British royal engraver Emmanuel Bowen's 1747 *A New and Accurate Map of Paraguay* presented nearly the exact ethnonym pattern as Delisle's *Carte du Paraguay* (Fig. 2.3), yet shifted Yaros northward to what is now southern Brazil. Similarly, in a 1784 map of Paraguay, Jesuit Martín Dobrizhoffer mirrored the north to south ethnonym pattern of Yaros, Bohanes,

¹⁹Félix de Azara, *Carte générale du Paraguay* (1800); Agustín Ibáñez y Bojons, *Carta geográfica para la precisa inteligencia del papel que acompaña* (1804); Agustín Ibáñez y Bojons, *Plano que sólo manifiesta lo indispensable* (1804); *Mapa geográfico em que se representa a repartição dos ramos de dizmos da fronteira do Rio Pardo* (1806), Arquivo Histórico do Exército, 06.04.3193; Félix de Azara, *Partie de la prov. ou Gouv. de Buenos Ayres* (1809); José de Espinosa y Tello, *Carta esférica de la parte interior* (1810); Thunot Duvoteny, *Mappa da provincia de San Pedro* (1810, 1830, and 1839); Antônio Eleuthério de Camargo, *Carta topográfica da provincia de São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul* (1868); *Carta corográfica del virreynato* (n.d.).

Martidanes, and Manchados that had emerged in Jesuit maps decades earlier, yet shifted the labels eastward to the Atlantic coast (Fig. 2.4). Several mapmakers plotted ethnonyms in such distinct ways that their works did not fit into any group. Sometimes this deviation derived from more precise knowledge of regional geography or Indigenous spatial practices, as mapmakers labeled not only ethnonyms but particular sites of activity. Jesuit Miguel Marimón marked the Cerro Aceguá as a site where Guenoas buried their dead and the Cerro Ibiti María as a site of ceremony for Guenoa spiritual leaders, while José Cardiel, also of the Society of Jesus, plotted a mission to Guenoas and Yaros near the headwaters of the Rio Negro. Decades later, José de Saldanha, a Portuguese geographer for latter boundary demarcations, marked a “Minuán Village” (*Povoação dos Minuanos*), near the interimperial borderline.²⁰ In other instances, pejorative identifiers, such as “barbarians” (*indios bárbaros*) or “infidels” (*indios infieles*), took the place of ethnonyms, as occurred in a map that accompanied Ruy Díaz de Guzmán’s 1612 chronicle, *Historia Argentina*, and a 1752 map attributed to Cardiel.²¹ Remaining outliers tended to be published maps whose idiosyncrasies likely emerged in the process of copying from multiple sources.

MAPS, MIGRATION, AND MEMORY

Grouping maps according to ethnonym placement reveals genealogies of knowledge production only loosely connected with on-the-ground events or the locations and identities of Native communities. At first glance, this descriptive account of ethnogeographic patterns indicates a straightforward flow of information. Travelers to or administrators in the eastern Rio de la Plata consulted with Indigenous informants or rural inhabitants to produce textual accounts or manuscript maps, which in turn influenced the works of European engravers. Many manuscript maps eventually disappeared, but engraved maps and plates circulated among networks of publishing houses and royal courts in Europe and, later, in the United States.²² While myriad

²⁰ Miguel Marimón, “[Mapa de las estancias]” (1753); José Cardiel, *Parte de la America Meridional* (1760); José de Saldanha, *Mappa corographico da Capitania de S. Pedro* (1801).

²¹ Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, “[Mapa de América del Sur desde el Ecuador hasta el Estrecho de Magallanes] ([1600s]); José Cardiel, *Mapa de la Governacion del Paraguay, y la de Buenos Aires* (1752).

²² Guaraní from the missions not only informed Jesuit-drawn maps, but authored maps of their own. Artur H. F. Barcelos, “A cartografia indígena no Rio da Prata colonial,” *X encon-*

sources informed published maps of the region, chroniclers shaped the earliest maps and Jesuits proved the principal informants through the mid-eighteenth century, when they were supplanted by Luso-Hispanic boundary commissions.

Once in circulation, published maps constituted their own discursive universe, as print houses purchased or copied one another's plates, reinforcing one another's renderings in a constant feedback loop. Some mapmakers reprinted the exact physical landscape from earlier plates, excising ethnonyms in favor of more toponyms, while other mapmakers superimposed the exact ethnonym layout of earlier maps upon entirely new plates. This decontextualized production of abstract ethnogeographic knowledge generated numerous incongruities. A single mapmaker might present contradictory ethnonym patterns within a single atlas or prints on various scales. For example, Guillaume Delisle's *L'Amérique Meridionale* centered Guaraníes and omitted Charrúas, while his *Carte du Paraguay* did the opposite. These two prints appeared together in numerous atlases during the first half of the eighteenth century. In some cases, a mapmaker's continental-scale print included ethnonyms while their regional map omitted them entirely, as occurred with John Thomson's *South America* (Fig. 2.6) and his *Peru, Chili and La Plata*, which appeared together in an 1822 atlas. Some of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' most well-known mapmakers, including Frederick de Wit, Johann Baptist Homann, Rigobert Bonne, and Louis Delarochette, produced similar contradictions, and their maps therefore spanned multiple groups.

This cartographic corpus presented a fluid relationship between ethnonyms and toponyms, as ethnic labels transformed over time to physical features and vice versa. Patos as an ethnonym often appeared as "Land of the Patos" (*Terra dos Patos*) and eventually transformed into the toponym "Patos Lake" (*Lagoa dos Patos*). The ethnonym Ibicuit (Fig. 2.2) eventually became the Ibicuí River, while Carcaraña was represented as a toponym in most maps following the Cruz Cano pattern, only to appear as "Carcarana Indians" (*Ind.s Carcacana*) in a late colonial map of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata.²³ Sometimes ethnonyms and toponyms

tro estadual de história, 2010. For more on ethnonyms in early travel accounts and chronicles of the region, see Darío Arce Asenjo, "Etnónimos indígenas en la historiografía uruguaya: Desensamblando piezas de diferentes puzzles," *Anuario de antropología social y cultural en Uruguay* 13 (2015).

²³"Organización política y administrativa del Virreynato de Buenos Aires," n.d., AGN-A, Mapas y planos, IV-168.

appeared side by side: an 1811 map by Aaron Arrowsmith included *Tapes*, *TAPES*, *Serra dos Tapes*, and *Cordillera de Tape* in distinct places and separated by other ethnonyms (Fig. 2.6).²⁴ Yet in other cases mapmakers chose one or the other: the movement of the ethnonym Charrúa to lands west of the Uruguay River coincided with the renaming of the “Charrúa River” (*Río de los Charrúas*) as the Gualeguay River in that same space, while the absence of the ethnonym Minuanes coincided with the presence of the Minuanes Stream (*Arroio dos Minuanos*) or Minuanes Crossing (*Paso dos Minuanos*) in certain maps. The fluidity between ethnonyms and toponyms was also apparent in mapmakers’ occasional use of a uniform font type or ambiguous terms. Wytfliet’s 1597 map used an identical typeface to label *CARIOS*, an ethnonym, and *MORPION*, which referred to purported silver mines and later to lands between Rio de Janeiro and the Rio de la Plata. Numerous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century maps labeled *Caapi* and *Caaguas* in the northern part of the region, Guaraní-derived terms that would have likely meant “over/in the forest” (*ka’api*) and “from the forest” (*ka’aguy*) (Fig. 2.2).²⁵

That ethnonyms would vary between maps and become conflated with toponyms is unsurprising, given that the shifting nature of Indigenous identification and the mobility of Native communities belied European cartographic conventions. Autonomous Native peoples in the region organized themselves into seasonally itinerant communities of several dozen to several hundred members, known as *tolderías*. Certain Indigenous leaders, known as *caciques*, developed long-distance networks of kinship, political authority, and trade along subregional corridors, yet local ties generally superseded ethnic affiliation. Colonial observers interpreted such nodal, dynamic modes of social organization via the language of static ethnic polities within singular spaces, yet such efforts at ethnification proved to be contradictory and incomplete translations. There is little evidence to suggest that the principal ethnic labels deployed in regional maps were meaningful to the people to whom they purported to describe. Moreover, as community identity appeared to have been connected to place, the haphazard plotting of ethnonyms undermined whatever opaque connections they might have had to Indigenous social organization. In the few instances where mapmakers included details beyond an ethnonym,

²⁴ Aaron Arrowsmith, *Outlines of the Physical and Political Divisions of South America* (1811, 1814, and 1817).

²⁵ The ethnonym *Caamo* appeared north of *Caaguas*, but its translation is more unclear.

they emphasized *tolderías* mobility to question their humanity: a 1760 version of D’Anville’s *L’Amerique Meridionale* labeled Minuanes “half human” (*Demi-hommes*), while Qurioga’s 1749 map claimed that Charrúas were “infidels” who “invoke the Devil.”

A vast dissonance thus emerged between the ethnic geographies represented in maps and those evident in manuscript records from the region.²⁶ This breach would only grow over time, a striking development given the increased precision with which mapmakers measured the physical landscape. As European engravers and Jesuits alike consulted earlier maps and texts, they deployed ethnogeographic renderings more consistent with the previous century than their own. The proliferation of print maps during the eighteenth century exacerbated this situation, as many did not refer to Rio de la Plata-based sources of ethnographic information at all. Ultimately, the appearance and disappearance of ethnonyms more closely corresponded with aesthetic choices or with scale than the acquisition of new information. One example of this phenomena is the movement of the ethnonym Charrúas from lands east of the Uruguay River to lands west and then back. Sixteenth-century travel accounts labeled Charrúas, or similarly spelled ethnonyms, along the northern coast of the Rio de la Plata near its confluence with the Paraná and Uruguay rivers (Fig. 2.1), but at the time the Rio de la Plata and the Paraná River were commonly considered a single body of water and the Uruguay River was often omitted from geographical works. As subsequent mapmakers and writers began to distinguish these three rivers, along with the nearby Rio Negro, as meaningful spatial divisions, they interpreted earlier accounts according to their contemporary spatial imagination and positioned the ethnonym accordingly.

Notwithstanding their inconsistencies and ambiguities, these maps and their ethnonym patterns were read by travelers, administrators, and others in the eastern Rio de la Plata. The copying of ethnic geographies was not a unidirectional process from text or manuscript map to engraved atlas, as travelers often carried published maps and drew upon them for their texts and drawings. Information on a map’s readership is notoriously elusive, yet several references point to the circulation of the maps in question. For example, Paraguay-based Jesuit Pedro Lozano included a map by Antonio

²⁶On the use of ethnonyms in manuscript texts, see Jeffrey A. Erbig, Jr., and Sergio Hernán Latini, “Across Archival Limits: Imperial Records, Changing Ethnonyms, and Geographies of Knowledge,” *Ethnohistory* 66, no. 2 (2019), 259–264.

Machoni (Fig. 2.4) in his 1733 chorographic account of the Chaco, while a map drawn by Jacques Bellin (Fig. 2.5) illustrated Jesuit Pierre François Xavier Charlevoix's 1756 *Histoire du Paraguay*.²⁷ Likewise, the Luso-Hispanic boundary commissions deployed to the region at the eighteenth century's midpoint consulted maps drawn by Delisle (Fig. 2.3), Quiroga (Fig. 2.6), and Cardiel, some of which they found housed in the archives of nearby Jesuit-Guaraní missions. They carried printed maps along their itinerant campsites and consulted with Indigenous guides to adjust the maps' errors.²⁸

These scant references most often addressed physical geographies, but several sources indicate that regional readers consulted maps for their ethnonym positionings as well. An anonymous manuscript map printed in 1740 included ethnonym patterns that resembled Dávila's *Paraquarie provinciae*, published in Rome in 1722 (Fig. 2.4).²⁹ Félix de Azara was more explicit, suggesting that the fluidity and dynamism of ethnic identities made their representations in maps inconsistent and antiquated: "when reports are made regarding [Indigenous nations], new ones are always discovered but it remains unknown whether older ones have disappeared...[in Jesuit maps of the Chaco] there is hardly enough room to write the names of so many nations...I have no doubt that from the Rio de la Plata [estuary] northward there are no nations beyond those I have described."³⁰ Rejecting the ethnic geographies of earlier mapmakers, namely Cruz Cano's 1775 map (Fig. 2.6), Azara took a reductionist approach in his own ethnonym positioning (Fig. 2.7). Other members of the boundary commissions did not directly mention ethnonym locations in earlier maps, but their geographically based ethnographies indicate that

²⁷ Miguel Asúa, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia: Knowledge of Nature in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 173, 183.

²⁸ Rodolfo Garcia, ed., *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, vol. 52 (Rio de Janeiro: M.E.S.—Serviço Gráfico, 1930), 249; *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, vol. 53 (Rio de Janeiro: M.E.S.—Serviço Gráfico, 1931), 232, 248, 251, 299, 302, 315–316; AN, 1A. Cisplatina, caixa 494, pac. 1, fs. 2–3; AN, 86. Secretário de Estado, cod. 104, v. 9, fs. 153–153v; Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil (BNB), I-28,28,18, f. 12v; BNB, 5,4,035 (Rio de Janeiro, 1783-01-01), IHGB, Conselho Ultramarino, Arq. 1.2.1, fs. 30-30v; IHGB, Conselho Ultramarino, Arq. 1.3.7, fs. 239-239v.

²⁹ "[Carte manuscrite de l'embouchure de Rio da Prata]" (1740), BNF, Cartes et plans, CPL GE DD-2987 (9450)

³⁰ Félix de Azara, *Viajes por la América del Sur*, 2d ed. (Montevideo, Uruguay: Biblioteca del Comercio del Plata, 1850), 36–37, 54, 60, esp. 202.

they likely read them for this purpose.³¹ What is less clear is whether colonial maps connected to or translated into meaningful categories for the Indigenous peoples to whom they referred, as the plotting of ethnonyms in maps of the region more readily evinces processes of ethnification than ethnogenesis.³²

Post-independence anthropological, historical, and geographical studies in the region provide a more detailed picture of the pervasive influence of historic maps of the region upon imagined ethnic geographies. Beginning in the nineteenth century, but accelerating in the twentieth, writers drew upon the above maps as evidence of historical positionings of ethnic communities. For example, facsimiles of Dávila's work (Fig. 2.4) appeared in Victor Martin de Moussy's *Description géographique et statistique de la Confederation Argentine* in 1873 and in R.B. Cunninghame Graham's *A Vanished Arcadia* in 1909.³³ More frequently, scholars deployed historic maps alongside published textual sources to present their own ethnic geographies or claims of unidirectional Native migrations, most often across postcolonial borders.³⁴ Uruguayan Jesuit Juan Faustino Sallaberry published *Los Charrúas en la Cartografía Colonial* in 1932, in which he drew upon the works of Joannes Janssonius (Fig. 2.1), D'Anville (Fig. 2.5), Quiroga (Fig. 2.6), and others in order to claim that "Charrúa and Uruguayan are the same thing." Sixty-one years later, Uruguayan anthropologist Renzo Pi Hugarte reprinted Quiroga's map, referenced other Jesuit maps, and cited D'Anville's work in narrating complex claims of ethnic migrations across Uruguay's border with Argentina. Meanwhile, in Brazil, Riograndense historian Aurélio Porto drew upon Ernot's (Fig. 2.2) and Delisle's (Fig. 2.3) maps to locate Charrúas and Yaros, while Brazilian ethnohistorian John Monteiro drew upon Quiroga's map to make demographic claims and stated that Ernot's map "provides a general idea of the spatial distribution Guaraní, Gualacho,

³¹ Examples include the works of Portuguese mapmakers Sebastião Xavier da Veiga Cabral da Câmara, Francisco João Roscio, and José Saldanha, as well as Spanish mapmakers Juan Francisco de Aguirre, Diego de Alvear, José María Cabrer, and Andrés de Oyarvide.

³² Erbig and Latini, "Across Archival Limits," 261–263.

³³ Victor Martin de Moussy, *Description géographique et statistique de la confederation argentine* (Paris: Imprimeurs de l'Institut, 1873), planche 4; Fúrlong Cárdiff, *Cartografía jesuítica*, 57–58.

³⁴ Jeffrey Alan Erbig, Jr., *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 163–74.

Guanana, and Charrúa peoples.”³⁵ When considering the many works that have drawn upon Sallaberry, Pi Hugarte, Porto, Monteiro, and others as a starting point for imagining ethnic geographies of the past, as well as works whose ethnic geographies mirror patterns of historic maps, a broader genealogy of knowledge becomes apparent.³⁶

These ethnogeographic imaginaries have in turn led to the assignation of ethnic identities in historic records, cartographic and otherwise. One of the few drawings of Indigenous peoples in the Rio de la Plata appeared in a map drawn by French writer Antoine-Joseph Pernety to accompany his account of travels to the Malvinas/Falkland Islands in 1760s. This map included a drawing of an Indigenous person dressed in a *quillapi*, a garment associated with Native vestment in the region, with the ambiguous label “savage of Montevideo” (*Sauvage de Montevideo*), an image that has been reprinted myriad times as an illustration in historical and anthropological works. Drawing upon historic maps or readings of historic maps, numerous writers suggested that the image referred to Charrúas, the principal exception being a 2010 compilation of notes and historical

³⁵ Juan Faustino Sallaberry, *Los charrúas en la cartografía colonial* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Imprenta “El Siglo Ilustrado,” 1932), 3; Renzo Pi Hugarte, *Los indios de Uruguay* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1993), 64–67; Aurélio Porto, *História das missões orientais do Uruguai*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), 203; John M. Monteiro, “Os guaraní e a história do Brasil Meridional, séculos XVI-XVII,” in *História dos índios no Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992), 479, 497 n. 4. Other examples include Luis María Torres, *Los primitivos habitantes del delta del Paraná*, vol. 4 (Buenos Aires: Imprensa de Coni Hermanos, 1911), 3; Carlos Teschauer, *História do Rio Grande do Sul dos dois primeiros séculos*, vol. 1 (São Leopoldo, Brazil: Editora Unisinos, 2002), 61, 64 n. 7; César Blás Pérez Colman, *Historia de Entre Ríos: Época colonial (1520–1810)* vol. 1 (Paraná, Argentina: Imprensa de la Provincia, 1936), 60–61; S. Perea y Alonso, *Apuntes para la prehistoria indígena del Río de la Plata y especialmente de la Banda Oriental del Uruguay* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Imprenta de A. Monteverde y Cía., 1937), 8; J. A. L. Tupí Caldas, “Etnología sul-riograndense: Esboço fundamental,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul* 22, no. 2 (1942): 319; Antonio Serrano, “Los tributarios del Río Uruguay,” in *Historia de la nación argentina*, ed. Ricardo Levene, 3d ed., vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, Editorial El Ateneo, 1961), 293; José Joaquín Figueira, *Breviario de etnología y arqueología del Uruguay* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Gaceta Comercial, 1965), 34–39.

³⁶ Scholarship drawing upon written manuscripts has notably presented much different visions of Indigenous geographies. See, for example: Diego Bracco, *Charrúas, guenoas y guaraníes: Interacción y destrucción, indígenas del Río de la Plata* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Linardi y Risso, 2004); Erbig, Jr., *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met*.

documents on Guenoas and Minuanes, which used the image for its cover.³⁷ Similar gestures of retrospective ethnification of *tolderías* based upon supposed ethnic geographies have permeated scholarship on the region.

These local spatial imaginations have also influenced hemispheric-scale works and present-day activism. In his synthetic account of autonomous Indigenous communities throughout the Americas, the North American scholar David Weber reproduced Azara's ethnonym pattern (Fig. 2.7) in a map of the northern half of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata.³⁸ An Austrian-based historical GIS project, *HGIS de las Indias*, includes a map layer that resembles the regional ethnonym pattern of Cruz Cano's work (Fig. 2.6), albeit with numerous ethnonyms omitted.³⁹ Meanwhile, Indigenous artists and activists in the United States and Canada have ostensibly drawn upon historical maps in an effort to create composite renderings of the original lands of ethnic communities throughout the Americas, including the eastern Rio de la Plata.⁴⁰ The meanings inscribed onto ethnonyms via two centuries of scholarly and popular interpretations continue to inform Indigeneity in the region, as reemergent Indigenous communities in Uruguay and southern Brazil have self-identified as Charrúas to emphasize their descentance from *tolderías*. Regardless of whether Charrúa was a meaningful term for colonial-era *tolderías*, it has taken upon present-day significance via processes of ethnogenesis.⁴¹ Here

³⁷ Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, "Indians of the Paraná Delta, Argentina," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 33 (1932): 104; Pi Hugarte, *Los indios de Uruguay*, 105; Rodolfo Maruca Sosa, *La nación charrúa* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Editorial "Letras," 1957), 135; Daniel Vidart, *El mundo de los charrúas*, 3rd ed. (Montevideo, Uruguay: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1996), 12; José M. López Mazz and Diego Bracco, *Minuanos: Apuntes y notas para la historia y la arqueología del territorio guenoa-minuán (indígenas de Uruguay, Argentina y Brasil)* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Linardi y Risso, 2010).

³⁸ David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 69.

³⁹ Werner Stangl, "HGIS de las Indias: Sistema de información histórico-geográfica de Hispanoamérica para los años 1701–1808," accessed December 18, 2018, <https://www.hgis-indias.net/>. To view this layer, navigate to "WEBGIS," open the tab "Indígenas, rebeliones, colonias extranjeras" under "Capas" and select "Indígenas (grupo)." To view the website's disclaimer regarding digital mapping and Indigenous peoples' territorialities, open the dropdown menu "Inicio" and select "Advertencia general".

⁴⁰ Aaron Carapella, "Tribal Nations Maps," accessed June 10, 2019, <http://www.tribal-nationsmaps.com/>; Native Land Digital, "Native Land," accessed June 10, 2019, <https://native-land.ca/>.

⁴¹ For more on Charrúa reemergence and the significance of ethnonyms, see Magalhães de Carvalho, Ana Maria, and Mónica Michelena, "Reflexiones sobre los esencialismos en la

and elsewhere, postcolonial agents have given the ethnonyms produced in colonial maps renewed meaning.

A comprehensive and close reading of the ethnic geographies of historic maps of the eastern Rio de la Plata reveals that they were at once incongruent with patterns of identification apparent in textual records and significant for their having been interpreted as meaningful. Rather than correcting inaccuracies or deconstructing cartographic content as meaningless, this chapter has sought to demonstrate how mapmaking contributed to the production of ethnogeographic imaginations and to consider the legacies of this process. The first step was to demystify the voluminous and contradictory corpus of European cartographic visions of the region and the second was to provide an intertextual reading of maps and, where possible, their readership. The inclusion of ethnic labels was ubiquitous with early modern mapmaking, which rather than uniformly marking Indigenous lands as empty often showed that they were populated by autonomous peoples. Recent works have identified similar deployment and readings of ethnonyms in other parts of the Rio de la Plata, Brazil, and elsewhere, yet more work remains to determine the significance of these renderings not just for postcolonial readers but for colonial-era mapmakers and their contemporaries.⁴² How did the inclusion of inaccurate and shifting ethnonyms intersect with colonial-era mapmakers' efforts to project authoritative and stable knowledge? Did ethnonyms inform claims of territorial possession, did they affect administrators' strategies vis-à-vis Native neighbors, and were they meaningful to Indigenous peoples themselves? With increased clarity of the overall patterns and flows of ethnogeographic knowledge evident in historic maps, more contextualized readings of individual maps or mapping endeavors can occur.

antropología uruguaya: Una etnografía invertida," *Conversaciones del Cono Sur* 3, no. 1 (2017); Andrea Olivera, *Devenir charrúa en el Uruguay: Una etnografía junto con colectivos urbanos* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Fondation pour l'Université de Lausanne, 2016); Ceres Victora, "'A viagem de volta': O reconhecimento de indígenas no sul do Brasil como um evento crítico," *Sociedade e cultura* 14, no. 2 (July–December 2011).

⁴²Maria de Fátima Costa, "De Xarayes ao Pantanal: A cartografia de um mito geográfico," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, no. 45 (2007): 23–24, 29–30; Laura Aylén Enrique and María Laura Pensa, "Mapas sobre el Cono Sur americano," in *Entre los datos y los formatos: Indicios para la historia indígena de las fronteras en los archivos coloniales*, ed. Lidia R. Nacuzzi (Buenos Aires: Centro de Antropología Social IDES, 2018), 133–135; Loreley El Jaber, *Un país malsano: La conquista del espacio en las crónicas del Río de la Plata (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Buenos Aires: Beatriz Viterbo Editora, 2011), 290–293; Mairton Celestino da Silva, "Índios, africanos e agentes coloniais na Capitania de São José do Piauí, 1720–1800," *Fronteiras & debates* 3, no. 1 (2016): 118–119.