

DECOMPILING DAPPER: A PRELIMINARY SEARCH FOR EVIDENCE*

Adam Jones
J.W. Goethe-Universität

I

Geographical compilations used to be valued because they made things easy for those who read them: instead of being confronted with a set of barely intelligible travelers' accounts, the reader was offered their essence in a predigested form. Yet today most self-respecting historians pride themselves on using only "original" sources. In the recent historiography of Africa much useful work has been devoted to the task of showing the derivative nature of certain seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European works.

One of the victims of this growing awareness has been the monumental book on Africa by Olfert Dapper (1668).¹ Many of Dapper's sources for individual regions have been identified, notably for the Cape of Good Hope, Senegal, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Allada, and Loango.² In the case of Tunis it has even been possible to show that *everything* in Dapper's account derived from published sources.³ Not surprisingly, some scholars have contemptuously dismissed the book as a "mere compilation."⁴

But can we really afford to relegate Dapper's book to the status of a secondary source and concentrate our attention on more important works? While I accept Henige's definition of primary sources as "those pieces of information which stand in the most intimate relationship to an event or process *in the present state of our knowledge*,"⁵ I consider it necessary to qualify his assertion that in this sense the work of authors such as Dapper "never constituted primary sources at all."⁶ Unlike Antoine François Prévost, whom Henige mentions in the same context, Dapper wrote a great deal that at present meets his criteria for primary material; and although the proportion of such material will eventually diminish as a result of further analysis, there will remain a significant amount of "primary" material, simply because most of Dapper's *unpublished* sources have almost certainly been lost.

The real asset of Dapper's book to historians is not that it makes things easy for them, but on the contrary that it poses almost impossible demands. As I hope to show, he used at least a hundred published sources and several unpublished ones; moreover, instead of lifting whole passages from one book, he often based a single paragraph on two or three different sources. To use Dapper seriously, therefore, means being prepared to leave no stone unturned: we cannot assume that any given sentence is secondary until we have located its source.

The purpose of this paper is not to solve the question of Dapper's sources but to suggest directions in which the search for them could begin. In my experience the best way to proceed here is to propose working hypotheses which can later be tested. I therefore make no apologies for suggesting some sources which subsequent investigation will probably prove to have had nothing whatever to do with Dapper's book.

Fortunately we do not need to start quite from scratch. For one thing, Dapper was aware of the danger that people might say "that I have published figments or elaborations of my own imagination or, out of a presumptuous greed for praise, presented other people's work under my own name." In his preface, therefore, he named many of the authors whose work he had consulted. Secondly, in the text itself he sometimes cited such authors. Dapper's cryptic references, however, can hardly be regarded as citations in the modern sense: in at least half the cases the author's name was abbreviated or misspelt, and he seldom indicated the title of the work concerned, let alone the page number. Moreover, for most of west Africa he mentioned virtually no sources at all.⁷

Thirdly, we possess one undated autograph letter from Dapper, addressed to the humanist scholar Isaac Vossius (1618-89), probably in about 1667, when Vossius was living at The Hague:

I return the book to you with warm thanks for being allowed to borrow it for so long; and in recognition of this favour and courtesy I enclose this small gift, a description of our city of Amsterdam, written by myself. [...] The last time I was with you, you remembered a certain other author who is supposed to have written about the island of Madagaskar after Francois Cauche and Flakourt; but I have not been able to obtain him here. I would wish that it might please you to take the trouble to let me know the name of that author. If you could do so directly, I should feel myself most obliged to you, as I am already engaged in having the book printed. Should you have anything else on Africa, you would do me a great service by informing me of it; or if you were prepared to write something on the River Gambea [Gambia], of which you showed [me] the map, I should consider it an honour to publish it in my writings under your name, in your own words.⁸

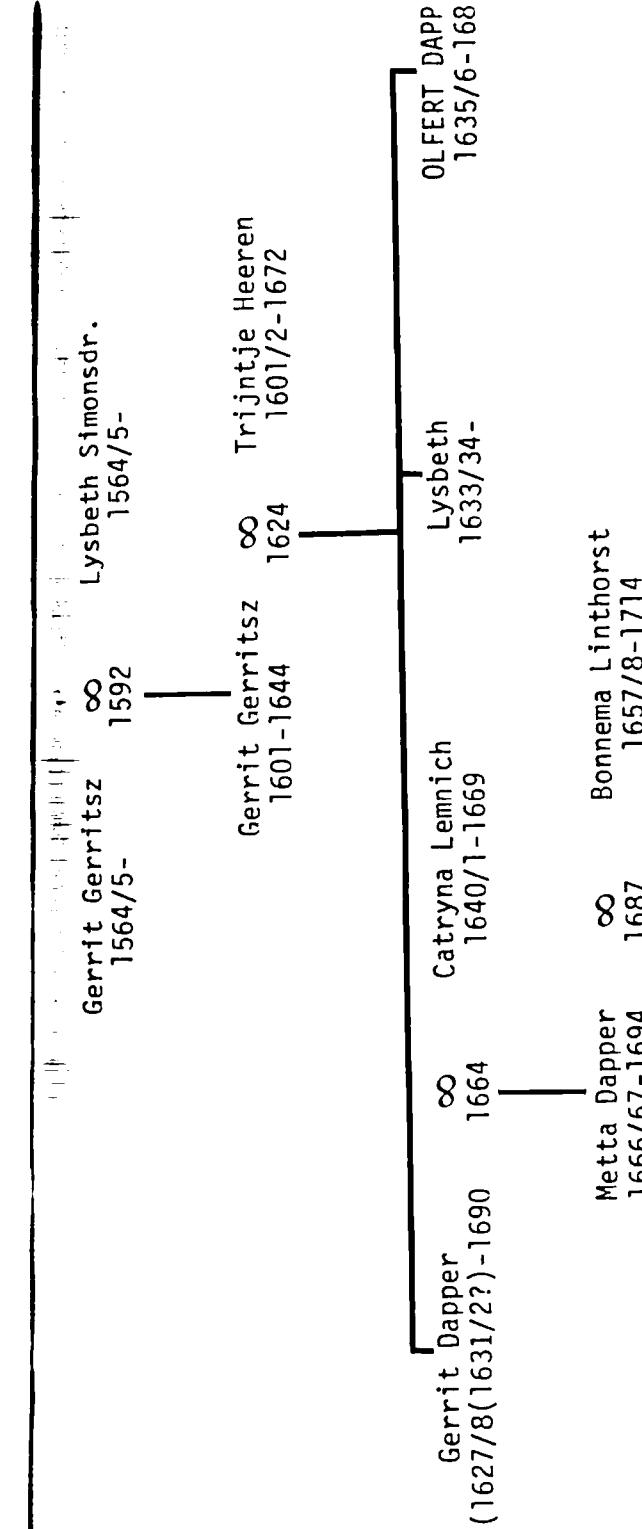
This indicates that, while writing his work on Africa, Dapper borrowed at least one book from Vossius—perhaps the latter's own remarkable treatise on the principal rivers of Africa, published in 1666. Unfortunately we do not know what other published material he lent Dapper, nor indeed where Dapper obtained any of the books which he consulted. Since he himself was probably too poor to have owned many himself, he must have had access to a number of private libraries.⁹

I propose to examine three types of material used in Dapper's book—published texts, unpublished manuscripts, and visual material (maps and plates). I repeat that I am not offering anything definitive, but merely suggesting avenues for future research.

II

Published Sources

Although in his preface Dapper mentioned only sixty-eight authors (listed in tabular form in the French translation of his book), he certainly consulted more published sources than this. In my appendix I have identified about a hundred



Principal Relatives of Olfert Dapper

Sources: Dozy 1887; Eggen 1974

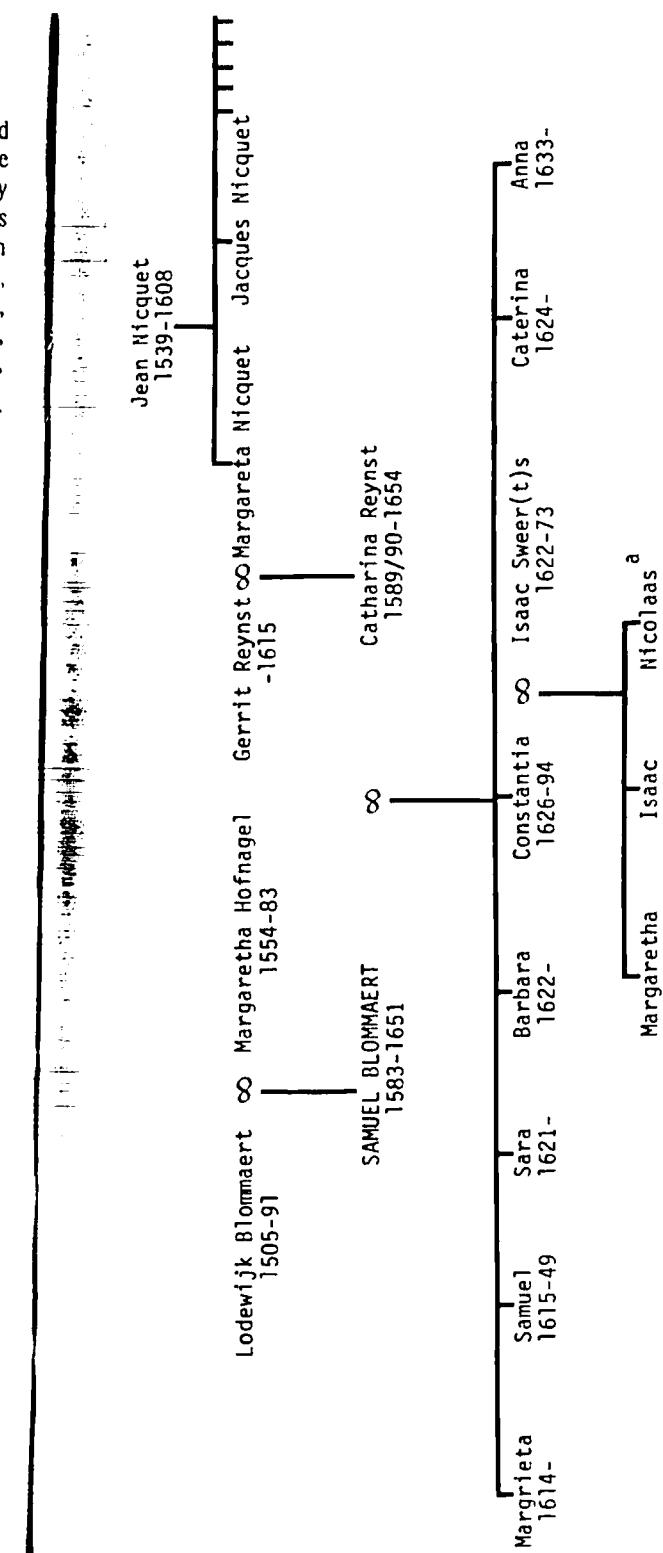
works which I believe him to have used. (A few, of course, were published together as part of a single volume.) This list may be compared with that of the sources which Dapper used twelve years later in his book on Arabia, compiled by Faust: the total number was roughly the same, but as one would expect, works written before 1500 played a more important role than they did for Africa. Certain works were used for both books: among the classical authors were Diodorus, Eusebius, Herodotus, Flavius Josephus, Pliny, Stephen of Byzantium, and Strabo, while the more recent sources in both cases included Barbosa, Barros, Della Valle, Figueiroa, Kircher, Leo Africanus, Linschoten, Marmol, Osorio, Purchas, Ramusio, Scaliger, and Thevet.¹⁰

Not all of the works listed were necessarily consulted directly: Dapper himself sometimes cited one author via another (Castanhoso *via* Godignus, Mercator *via* Telles, Eupolemeus *via* Eusebius) and may well have relied on secondary authors such as Davity for other material.¹¹ Also, it may be assumed that although he possessed considerable linguistic gifts, he must have read many works in Dutch, Latin, or French translation (cf. Jones 1989); I have therefore listed the earliest relevant translations in the hope that it may eventually be possible to ascertain which ones Dapper used.¹² In many cases I have checked that the book concerned was Dapper's source, but until much more work has been done my list must remain tentative.¹³ Leaving aside Egypt, the Red Sea islands, and Malta, I propose to deal briefly with each region of Africa in terms of the works which Dapper can definitely be said to have used.

His principal sources for North Africa were Grammaye, Marmol, Davity, Leo Africanus, and (to a lesser extent) Sanuto. He paid occasional homage to classical authors (Ptolemy, Pliny, Velleius Paterculus, Herodotus), but does not seem to have drawn much material from them. For individual regions he used additional sources: for example, Brèves and Dan for Algiers and Tunis, Curio and Moquet for Morocco, Aldrete for Lybia, Haedo for Algiers, and Torres for Morocco and the region to the south of it. The amount of material written by contemporary Dutch travelers on this part of Africa was limited,¹⁴ but Dapper was able to say a little about De Ruyter's activities in the Mediterranean in the mid-1660s, for which he probably used news-sheets and the like.¹⁵

Dapper began his study of West Africa ("Negros-Lant") with a brief general survey, followed by short chapters on the kingdoms of the western Sudan. The former drew upon classical sources (Callimachus, Stephen of Byzantium), the work of more recent European scholars (Anania, Davity, Marmol, Sanuto, Vossius), and a motley of other references (Brun, Hayton, Jarric, Linschoten); the latter were based largely on Leo Africanus.

Much of what Dapper wrote on Senegambia and the coast immediately to the south of it was derived from the 1660 edition of Davity, in which thirteen different authors were scrupulously cited for the Wolof alone. Dapper did not take such trouble in citing his sources, nor did he even mention his debt to Davity for this region. He did, however, cite Sanuto, Jarric, Marmol, and Ptolemy several times, as well as Barros, Ca' Da Mosto and Ortelius once each. He added unpublished information, for instance on commerce, probably dating from the first half of the century, as well as giving a brief account of the naval activities of Holmes and De



^a Director-General at Elmina, 1685-90

Principal Relatives of Samuel Blommaert

Source: Gemeente-Archief Amsterdam (Notarieel-Archief: "Memorieboek" of Samuel Blommaert)

Ruyter in 1664-65.¹⁶ Several sources, such as Alexis de Saint-Lo (1637) and Richard Jobson (1623), were overlooked.¹⁷

At this point Dapper virtually gave up citing sources. For the remainder of the West African coast, including Loango, the only important authors mentioned are Jarric, Sanuto, and Le Maire (for Sierra Leone) and Leo Africanus (for the Grain Coast—hardly an area on which Leo had much to say). For Sierra Leone he relied mainly on Davity, although he also drew some material from the unpublished "Kquoja account" (see below) and provided a little information dating from the 1660s.¹⁸ The most serious omission for Sierra Leone—and to a lesser extent for Senegambia and the Grain and Ivory Coasts—was the work of Dapper's countryman Ruiters (1623).

The description of Cape Mount and its vicinity came almost entirely from an unpublished source (see below); the only works cited are zoological and medical ones relating to the civet cat. Between Cape Mesurado (present-day Monrovia) and the Gold Coast the Dutch seldom had any traders resident on shore, preferring to conduct trade by means of yachts.¹⁹ It is less clear what sources Dapper had here. For topographical information he relied mainly on the material which Leers had added to Leo Africanus.²⁰ Other material on the Grain Coast came to a large extent from De Marees, but on the "Quaqua" inhabitants of the eastern Ivory Coast Dapper added some interesting unpublished ethnographic and economic information (1676 II: 61-63).

For the Gold Coast, which had been the main focus of Dutch commerce in Africa from the beginning of the century, there existed a relative abundance of sources from which to choose. About one-third of Dapper's account of the Gold Coast was based upon De Marees. He also drew heavily upon the text accompanying an unpublished map of 1629 (see below). With regard to the activities of the Dutch he used De Laet (for the abortive attack on Elmina in 1625), Barlaeus (for the successful attack of 1637), and several other Dutch sources for the Anglo-Dutch conflict in 1664-65.²¹ This still leaves nearly half of the description of the Gold Coast unaccounted for. Probably Dapper used a combination of material written in the 1630s or 1640s and information supplied by someone who had been on the Gold Coast more recently (see below). Whoever this was can hardly have checked what Dapper wrote, since it is easy to spot anachronisms here: for example, Dapper referred to Cormantin as the headquarters of the Royal African Company, although he himself recorded the capture of the fort by the Dutch in 1665.²²

Although Dapper's description of Allada ("Arder") is fairly brief and relies heavily on Leers, it is considered "certainly the most valuable seventeenth-century source" for this kingdom.²³ The original material must date from after the mid-1630s, when Dutch trade with Allada began, but is less up-to-date than that provided by Leers.²⁴

The major printed source for Benin and its vicinity was the brief account by "D.R." published in De Marees' book of 1602. However, Dapper also possessed a large amount of original material. Ryder has commented:

the material upon which he based his account of Benin does not extend beyond [the establishment of a Dutch trading post at Arbo in] 1644, and

refers back in some of its details to the beginning of the century; in the main it would appear to describe things as they were during the first twenty years of the [West India] company's existence.²⁵

The section on Warri, which is almost entirely original, refers specifically to a king ruling in 1644 (1676 II, 134), and the information may have come from the same person as that on Benin.

For Cameroun and Gabon Dapper's principal sources were Leers (unless he and Leers had a common source), Brun, and Linschoten. He may also have used other authors, such as Davity or De Marees. Here too he was able to add some original material,²⁶ possibly obtained from the same source as that on Loango (see below): a trader based in Loango would have been in contact with Cape Lopez and perhaps also with Rio Gabon.

Martin has named four authors whose work Dapper in her opinion consulted for Loango: Battell, Van den Broecke, Brun, and Pigafetta.²⁷ None of these authors is cited by name in the text, which refers only to Vossius (on albinos); but the last three are named in the preface. As for Battell, I have found no evidence that Dapper used him either for Loango or for other parts of West Central Africa.²⁸ The material which Dapper drew from unpublished sources on Loango will be discussed below.

When he reached Congo and Angola, Dapper began to cite his sources somewhat more often again, naming Pigafetta, Jarric, Linschoten, and Marmol. Only the first of these, however, can have been of major importance.²⁹ On the other hand, Dapper failed to cite Barlaeus, from whom he drew most of his material on the Dutch conquest of Luanda, the visit of Dutch ambassadors to the King of Congo, and the despatch of envoys from Congo to Johan Maurits in Brazil. It is possible that he consulted other literature written by Dutchmen in Brazil during the time of Johan Maurits.³⁰ He may have used Brun, Van den Broecke, De Laet, and a few Dutch pamphlets on Angola written in the 1640s. Certainly he drew material on "Macoco," "Muiaco," "Giribuma," and the lake "Monemugi" from Vossius, whom he did not mention here.³¹ But he ignored Capuchin sources on Congo, such as the account of Giovanni Francesco Romano (1649), which was already available in French, German, and Spanish as well as in the original Italian.³² His unpublished material for this region seems to have referred almost exclusively to the period from 1636 to 1648, when the Dutch were in a strong position.³³ There was a large amount of unpublished Dutch material that he did not use, however, such as the valuable ethnographic memoranda of Cappelle on Congo and Mortamer on Angola.³⁴

For the Cape of Good Hope and its surroundings, Dapper acknowledged material from standard geographical sources (Marmol, Sanuto, Davity) and two travelers' accounts (Roe and Linschoten). Other travelers' accounts mentioned in the preface, such as those of Both, Van Caerden, Van der Hagen, Lodewycksz, Matclief, Van Noort, Van Rechteren, and Spilberghen, were almost certainly used for this area. Dapper gave no indication, however, of his main published source, perhaps because the author's name was unknown: it was the *Klare Besgrywing* (1652), a compilation based upon earlier published and unpublished writings.³⁵ In

addition he obtained valuable information from a contemporary living at the Cape (see below).

It is unlikely that Dapper had access to unpublished information on east, east central or northeast Africa, since neither the West India Company nor the East India Company had any posts in these regions. His principal sources for east and east central Africa were de Barros, Figueroa, Jarric, Kircher, Marmol, Moquet, Osorio, Pigafetta, Pyrard, Sanuto, three accounts in Ramusio (Lopez, Barbosa, Alvares Cabral), three Dutch travel accounts (Linschoten, Caerden, Verhoeven) and two classical sources (Flavius Josephus and Eusebius). Disappointingly, he does not seem to have used João dos Santos,³⁶ either for Mozambique or for its hinterland. Nor did he pay much attention to the published accounts of the three Dutch attacks on Mozambique made between 1604 and 1608, although he referred briefly to that of 1607 (wrongly dated to 1606).

In dealing with northeast Africa Dapper made greater use of classical sources (Ptolemy, Diodorus, Eustathius, Stephen of Byzantium, Strabo, Pliny). He was also able to draw upon several first- or second-hand accounts—Barros, Telles, Godignus, Goes (and Giovio), São Bernardino, Francisco Alvares, Della Valle, and perhaps Verhoeven, although he was not cited—as well as on the work of scholars such as Marmol, Davity, Sanuto, Thevet, Tzetzes, Kircher, Vossius, Mercator, Anania, Vignier, Montanus, and Linschoten. Only here did Dapper refer in passing to Battell, whose account in fact concerned west central Africa.

In his section on the "African islands" Dapper devoted considerable space to Madagascar, for which he relied to a large extent on the detailed descriptions by Cauche and Flacourt. In addition he cited three classical sources (Ptolemy, Pliny, Diodorus) and six travelers' accounts (Duran, Figueroa, Goes, Le Blanc, Pyrard, São Bernardino). He may also have used Barros, Osorio, or Ramusio, but he overlooked several major sources.³⁷

The only published sources mentioned for the Atlantic islands are Thevet (for São Tomé) and Jarric (for the Cape Verde Islands). In both cases Dapper indicated in the preface that he relied to a large extent on unpublished material. Nevertheless, he also used other printed sources: his account of the Dutch conquests of São Tomé in 1610 and 1641, for example, was derived entirely from Barlaeus.

In general it may be concluded that, considering the difficulties of locating literature on a given subject in his day, Dapper made fairly good use of what was available. To say more at present is difficult, because the indications given by Dapper regarding his sources were so scanty. It seems likely—but has yet to be proved—that he relied entirely upon printed sources for north, central, east and northeast Africa. This means that the most valuable sections for us today are those on west, west central and southern Africa. It is here that we must try to identify "primary" material.

III

Unpublished Sources

It is sometimes claimed that Dapper drew much of his information from correspondence and conversations with Dutch (or even Portuguese!) sea captains.³⁸

Admittedly, Amsterdam was a good place for gathering information about Africa; but I doubt whether Dapper chose this method of collecting information, except perhaps in rare instances; indeed, it is questionable whether sea captains were capable of giving him the kind of news he needed. He himself mentioned only two sources of unpublished material—one for west and west central Africa, the other for the Cape of Good Hope.

Blommaert

In his preface, having complained about the difficulty he had experienced in finding sufficient published material on west and west central Africa, Dapper continued:

Then, as if by a miracle, there became available here certain writings (*geschriften*) of one Samuel Blomert, assembled by him a few years ago, partly from his own experiences and notes (for he had long sojourned in that place [*oordt*]) and partly from information given by the natives and by people who had sailed to these regions. These writings have been handed to me by the most learned Mr Isaak Vossius, the historiographer of this country. In them were revealed extensively, although in rough and without the final touches having been put, a remarkable number of realms, countries, towns and villages (previously never thought of by any writer, indeed scarcely known from hearsay), with their flora and fauna, customs of the inhabitants, mutual trade between Whites and Blacks, religion. What is said here on the coastal regions of the Land of the Blacks (*Negros-land*) applies also to Lower Ethiopia, and [my account of the latter] is assembled from the writings of the same Blomert, especially concerning the kingdom of Lovango, Kakongo, Goykongo, Kongo, Fungeno, Makoko, Girubuma or Giringbomba, Dongo, or Angola, Lovando and several other unknown countries. Nevertheless, when it was opportune and when information from Blomert was lacking, there was also inserted information from other, not unknown authors, already published, namely Sam. Bruno, Pigafetta (extracted from the writings of Eduardes Lopez), Linschoten, Purchas, Jarrick and others.³⁹

Who was this man Blomert (or rather, Blommaert), and is it possible to guess what sort of information Dapper found in his papers? A certain amount of information can be gleaned from Blommaert's own "Memorieboek" (mainly a list of births and deaths), from the Amsterdam notarial archive, and from Swedish records.

Born in Antwerp in 1583, Blommaert grew up in Holland, obtained some business experience in Hamburg and Vienna, and then moved to Amsterdam. Between 1603 and 1609 he sailed three times to the East Indies in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and his only publication—a brief but instructive account of Borneo—dates from this period. In his "Memorieboek" he mentioned calling briefly at Mozambique on one voyage to Asia. He returned to Amsterdam in 1611 and settled there.⁴⁰ On 5 June 1612 he married the daughter of Gerrit

Reynst, an Amsterdam merchant who had already played a pioneering role in the founding of the East India Company and in the establishment of Dutch trading links with Congo and Loango.⁴¹ The following year Reynst was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, and he died in Jakarta in 1615.⁴² By this time Blommaert had more or less stepped into his father-in-law's shoes. Between 1614 and 1621 we find a number of references to ships sent to "Africa" or "Angola" by Blommaert in partnership with Frans Jacobsen Hinlopen and other merchants.⁴³

Following the founding of the West India Company in 1621, Blommaert and his partners were obliged to withdraw the agents whom they had stationed in "Angola," i.e. in Loango, Mayumba, and on the river Congo (perhaps at Mpinda).⁴⁴ Blommaert himself almost immediately became one of the company's directors (*bewindhebberen*)—a position he was to hold from 1622 to 1629, from 1636 to 1642, and from 1645 to 1651. It seems, however, that although at first he made considerable use of his knowledge of the commerce of west central Africa,⁴⁵ his principal interest soon shifted to other parts of the world, notably to the Baltic and America.⁴⁶ From 1636 to 1642 he was paid to advise the Swedish crown on the copper and salt trades.⁴⁷ In the late 1630s and early 1640s he seems to have been interested in the West Indies and Brazil.⁴⁸ He was involved (from the mid-1620s onwards) in the colonization of New Netherland; and in the 1640s he helped the Swedes to establish themselves on the Delaware River.⁴⁹ He died in Amsterdam in December 1651—not, as has been stated in numerous publications, in 1654.⁵⁰

Given these biographical data, what are we to make of Dapper's statement that Blommaert's writings were based partly on "his own experiences"?⁵¹ It seems to me unlikely (although not quite impossible) that Blommaert ever lived in Africa. Apart from one or two visits to Sweden, he cannot have left the Netherlands at all between 1611 and his death; and had he spent a period in Africa on one of his voyages to or from the East Indies before 1611 he would probably have mentioned this in his "Memorieboek." Unless further information regarding the period before 1611 is discovered, there can be no justification for referring to "Blommaert's account" of particular regions, as if what Dapper published were an eyewitness account by Blommaert himself.⁵² What is more likely is that he asked various people with whom he did business to write reports on the part of the world in which they had lived.⁵³ Blommaert prided himself on keeping well informed about Africa and America, as one can see from the way he concluded a review of the company's military operations in 1640:

I make it my job to have detailed [punctuel] knowledge of everything that is to be done within the entire limits of the *octroy*, continually taking information from everybody who comes from those places; this is not the practice of other people...⁵⁴

Conceivably he himself hoped to write some sort of book on the same lines as that by his fellow director Joannes de Laet on the New World.⁵⁵

Dapper stated that he had used Blommaert's material for "Negros-lant" (the coastal regions of west Africa, from Cape Verde to Loango), "Lower Ethiopia"

(west central Africa), the Cape Verde Islands, and São Tomé. Unfortunately he gave no indication in the text as to which pieces of information came from Blommaert. We must therefore try to deduce this by eliminating those sections which came from published sources or were clearly written after Blommaert's death in 1651.

There is only one entire section which fits these criteria—the so-called "Kquoja account," dealing with what is now northwestern Liberia and to a lesser extent with southern Sierra Leone. This section, which contains a wealth of linguistic, ethnographic, and historical information,⁵⁶ has been discussed in two articles by Hair. In the first he concluded:

The account indicates a detailed acquaintance on the part of its author or authors with the Cape Mount region...and particularly with its dynasties, such as could only have been acquired by several years' residence...The available evidence, though slim, points to a period of residence and collection of material between the 1630s and 1650s, with earlier dates being slightly more likely than later ones.⁵⁷

In his second paper Hair argued that the writer was probably living in this area at the time of the outbreak of the "bloody flux" (dysentery) in Sierra Leone in 1626 (the only dated event mentioned) and may have written his account in the 1630s.⁵⁸ We do not know exactly when there were Dutchmen living at Cape Mount, although this was certainly the case in the early 1600s and mid-1640s, perhaps also in 1625 and 1633.⁵⁹ A few details in the Kquoja account were published as early as 1638, perhaps furnished by the same informant.⁶⁰ My present view is that the account probably dates from the late 1620s or early 1630s. The identity of its author remains a mystery, but he is likely to have been someone who had an obligation to Blommaert.

Almost as important as the Kquoja account is the unpublished material Dapper used on Loango (in what is now southern Gabon), although in this case he combined it with information drawn from published works. It has been suggested that he must have had access to West India Company reports on Loango and to Pieter van den Broecke's manuscript, "Beschrijvinghe van den Conuckxrijck Loango" (1612); but I am not convinced that this was the case.⁶¹ Be that as it may, Dapper evidently had detailed information from someone who had resided in Loango for a long period, and it seems probable that this source was a manuscript written for Blommaert. In my view the most likely author (although I cannot prove this) was Joost Gerritsz Lijnbaen, who was born in Amsterdam in about 1562 and died in or after October 1624. In his *Historische Verhael* for that month Nicolaas van Wassenaer published an extremely informative ethnographic account of Loango, obtained either in writing or orally from Lijnbaen, whom he described as being sixty-two years old and as having resided "here" (presumably in Loango, or at least in west central Africa) for thirteen years as agent for the Amsterdam merchants "Hinlopen, Blommert, Steenhuyzen and Lucas vander Venne." This account was overlooked by Dapper (as it has been by more recent scholars), but some of the details suggest that its author may have been the same person whose manuscript Dapper used. We know no more about Lijnbaen, except that he arrived

in Loango in April 1612 as factor (*commies*) on a very small yacht that was to be put at the disposal of Pieter van den Broekce.⁶²

Other areas for which it has been suggested that Dapper may have used material collected by Blommaert include Senegal (Dapper mentions two datable events—one in about 1630, the other in 1640/41), Allada (presumably dating from after the commencement of Dutch trade with Allada in the mid-1630s) and Benin (said to date from before the establishment of a Dutch trading post in 1644).⁶³ One way of testing these hypotheses would be to compare the relevant sections in Dapper's book with the maps published by Nicolas Sanson in 1656-58, two of which ("La Guinée et pays voisins," and "Isles du Cap Verd") are inscribed with the words "tirés de Blomart." For Kquoja and Allada these maps include toponyms not found in any other independent source before Dapper's book. I have yet to confirm whether this is the case for Senegal and Benin.

Some light may also be thrown on Dapper's Benin account by comparing it with a Dutch manuscript written between 1647 and 1654.⁶⁴ Ratelband has suggested that it was used directly by Dapper, for instance, in his description of Axim; and Law has discussed (albeit far more cautiously) the hypothesis that the manuscript formed part of Blommaert's papers.⁶⁵ I believe that both these possibilities must be ruled out. In the case of Axim it was Leers who used the manuscript, and Dapper simply used Leers. Moreover, Blommaert died three years before the manuscript was completed. It is safe to assume that if Dapper had seen such a rich source he would have drawn from it extensively, at least for the ethnography of Benin. Yet occasionally one is struck by the similar language used: in discussing widows, for instance, both Dapper and the author of the manuscript stated that a mother might become the "slave" of her own son and that certain widows who were obliged to pay the king tribute lived loosely, "playing the harlot."⁶⁶ It seems possible that a Dutchman residing in Benin in the 1640s wrote a report for Blommaert and the short account of Benin which is to be found in the manuscript of 1647-54.

One further clue regarding Blommaert is Dapper's reference on two occasions to Borneo, where Blommaert had resided at the very beginning of the century. The first (1676 II: 166-67) comes in the section on Loango, where Dapper quoted Vossius on albinos. He added nothing to what Vossius himself had written, but the fact that Vossius linked albinos in Loango with those in Borneo suggests that he had found such a link made in Blommaert's papers, which he subsequently passed on to Dapper.⁶⁷ The second passage (1676 II: 229) refers to apes in Angola:

In the forests [*bosschen*] of this kingdom lives the animal called Quojas Morrou by the Blacks of Africa and orang-utang by the Indians, meaning savage or bush-man [*wilt of bosch-mensch*]. It is found in the kingdom of Quoja, as has already been stated, and on the island of Borneo in the East Indies. [...] Such an animal was brought to Holland from these regions some years ago and presented to His Highness Fredrik Hendrik of esteemed memory.

Here Dapper referred to Tulpius, who likewise mentioned apes from Angola and Borneo (but not Kquoja/Quoja) in the same context, citing information

gathered by Blommaert.⁶⁸ In my opinion these two passages lend some support to the hypothesis that the material which Dapper found in Blommaert's papers included descriptions of Kquoja, Loango, and Angola, conceivably written by the same person.⁶⁹ It is also clear that they were not limited to commercial matters, as some commentators have implied.

There remains the crucial question: what has happened to the Blommaert papers which Dapper consulted? Here I must concede defeat—at least for the time being. In the past twenty-five years various people have sought them, not only in the Dutch archives, but also in those of Sweden, France, Italy, and the U.S.A. We now know far more than we did in the 1960s about the material on Africa available in most West European and North American archives, and the chances of finding the Blommaert papers are becoming increasingly remote.

Particularly irritating is the fact that in 1929 F. C. Wieder, then librarian of Leiden University, quoted Dapper's reference to Blommaert and added: "Some of these Blomart's [sic] papers are preserved in the University Library of Leiden."⁷⁰ Yet the staff of Leiden University Library twice failed to locate any such papers on behalf of P. E. H. Hair in the 1960s, and I myself have had no more luck.⁷¹ The obvious place to look would be among the manuscripts collected by Isaac Vossius; yet, although these demonstrate that Vossius was interested in precisely the sort of material collected by Blommaert, there is nothing relating to west or west central Africa and no reference to Blommaert.⁷²

In a book published four years earlier,⁷³ Wieder suggested that the so-called Van Rappard collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts, auctioned by Frederik Muller & Co. in 1910, might originally have been assembled by Blommaert. He argued plausibly that Blommaert was one of the few merchants with an interest in both the East India Company and West India Company, and that the Van Rappard collection shifts in focus from the East Indies at the beginning of the century (when Blommaert was there) to west Africa and America in the 1620s. Unfortunately this collection contained only one document on west Africa—the instructions issued to Dierick Ruiters for a voyage to Senegal in 1628—and these were certainly not used by Dapper.⁷⁴

There is a little information on one other collection of papers which might originally have belonged to Blommaert. In about 1847 a memorandum on New Netherlands was discovered at the Royal Library in The Hague, addressed to Blommaert by Isaack de Rasière in about 1628.⁷⁵ This document (of which part was already missing) was transferred to the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* in 1866 together with several others, some of which referred to Antwerp (Blommaert's birthplace), Ceylon (1606), Brazil (1636) and the West India Company.⁷⁶ Unfortunately this collection was then divided up, and I have been unable to ascertain whether it contained anything relating to Africa or confirming my hunch that it belonged to Blommaert.

Although it seems unlikely that the Blommaert papers which Vossius gave to Dapper still exist, it may yet be possible to find out a little more about when, why, and from whom Blommaert collected such material. For this reason it is still worth looking for further information about Blommaert's life. Admittedly, the chances of finding much among the records of the West India Company are not very good: most of those dating from before the time when Dapper wrote were

either destroyed in 1674, when the company was reorganized, or sold to paper mills early in the nineteenth century.

IV

The Cape of Good Hope

Dapper's statement regarding his sources for the Cape of Good Hope is even less explicit than his reference to Blommaert: all that he tells us in the preface is that he used "writings that have been sent here (assembled there by a certain accurate person) [overgezondene schriften (door zekeren naukeurigen Onderzoeker aldaer te zamen gestelt)]. Presumably this refers not to the anonymous compilation *Klare Besgryving* (1652) but to an unpublished memorandum written more recently, perhaps at the request of Dapper himself, in which case it would date from between about 1665 and 1667.⁷⁷

A century ago Rogge examined various possible sources from which Dapper could have obtained information on the Cape. He pointed out that the writings of Johan Nieuhof and Johan Antonie van Riebeeck were not published until after Dapper's book appeared; but he suggested that Dapper might have seen Nieuhof's manuscript, which was in the hands of Nieuhof's brother Hendrik in Amsterdam. Alternatively, argued Rogge, Dapper might have received material from Dutchmen who lived at the Cape under the first two commanders, Van Riebeeck (1652-62) and Wagenaar (1662-66), or else from the directors of the East India Company. With regard to the latter, he claimed that Dapper must have seen some official reports, such as that of Meerhoff on his expedition to the "Namaguas."⁷⁸

The historian Theal, on the other hand, believed that Dapper's information came from

some one who was not here [at the Cape] at the commencement of the occupation, who had not [sic] access to official papers, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was studying the customs, manners, and language of the Hottentots. Such a man was George Frederick Wreede, who was probably the writer.⁷⁹

Wreede is certainly a plausible candidate. Born in northern Germany, he gave up his studies and went to the Cape as a soldier in 1659. He took part in an exploratory expedition in 1660 and prepared a 'Hottentot'-Dutch-Latin wordlist, which he dedicated to the East India Company's directors in November 1663. In 1665, upon his return to the Cape from an expedition to the coast of Brazil, he was appointed commander of Mauritius.⁸⁰ Theal's theory that Wreede was the author of Dapper's undiscovered source on the 'Hottentots' (Khoikhoi) and their neighbors was accepted by Schapera, who suggested that in this case the manuscript must have been written at about the same time as the vocabulary, i.e. in 1662 or 1663.⁸¹ If so, Wreede can hardly have written it specifically for Dapper, who presumably did not begin work on Africa before 1665, the year when Wreede left the Cape. If, on the other hand, Wreede wrote it for Dapper in 1666 or 1667, it is difficult to explain why Dapper's unpublished material on the Cape should have

included references to incidents which occurred before Wreede's arrival there;⁸² had Wreede written his account while still at the Cape, he might have learned about such incidents from gossip or by reading Van Riebeeck's journal.⁸³

No firm evidence linking Wreede with Dapper has been discovered, and recently one of the alternative hypotheses put forward by Rogge has been revived. Raven-Hart has remarked that Dapper's book is "largely from Nieuhoff, Hondius, etc."⁸⁴ Did Dapper see Johan Nieuhof's account of his visits to the Cape in manuscript? Nieuhof first called at the Cape in 1654-55 on his way to the Indies; he visited the Netherlands in 1658, and upon his departure he gave his brother Hendrik some notes, sketches, and an account of his travels. Using these, Dapper's publisher Jacob van Meurs published Nieuhof's book on China in 1665.⁸⁵ It is conceivable that Johan also left material relating to the Cape in his brother's hands in 1658, although he himself did not visit the Netherlands again until 1671 and it was not until 1682—ten years after he disappeared in Madagascar—that his description of the Cape was actually published, in this case by Van Meurs' widow. But having carefully compared Dapper's and Nieuhof's texts, I am convinced that, although Nieuhof certainly visited the Cape four times and made some interesting observations, it must have been Hendrik Nieuhof who plagiarized Dapper's description of the 'Hottentots,' rather than the other way around.⁸⁶ In my view Nieuhof's manuscript can be excluded as a source for Dapper, whereas Wreede remains at least a possibility.

V

Other sources

Although in his preface Dapper did not mention any unpublished material apart from Blommaert's papers and the information sent from the Cape, in the text itself he cited at least two travelers who are not known to have published anything. In a passage on the King of Gassan ("Kassan"), who resided near the Gambia River, he referred to the journal (*dagh-reizen boek*) of Willem Blok (or Block), who had visited this king. A trader of this name, from Rotterdam, is known to have been at Rufisque in July 1615.⁸⁷ Secondly, when dealing with what is now northern Zaire, Dapper referred in passing to another Dutchman, Jan de Herder, who had "traveled through these parts" and spoken to the inhabitants of "Pombo d'Okango," a province situated near the confluence of the Kwango and Zaire Rivers, probably in about 1642. Dapper's remark implied that he had seen a report, journal, or map by De Herder.⁸⁸ In both these cases, of course, the manuscripts concerned could have been among those assembled by Blommaert.

It has sometimes been suggested that Dapper had free access to the records of the West India Company, as had De Laet (one of the directors) when writing two decades earlier. This is not inconceivable, but one might have expected Dapper to acknowledge such a favor in his preface, especially as doing so would have given his book greater credibility. Quite possibly the West India Company was as reluctant as the East India Company to make its records available in this way.⁸⁹ Only one piece of evidence has hitherto been found regarding this question: a manuscript map of the Gold Coast, drawn in 1629 but not published until 1683.⁹⁰

Curiously, Dapper drew extensively upon the text written alongside the map, yet did not reproduce the map itself, although it would undoubtedly have enhanced his account of the Gold Coast. This may have been merely because he left the choice of maps to his publisher, Van Meurs; but it is also conceivable that what he saw was not the original version of the map as we know it, but a manuscript copy of the text, made perhaps by Blommaert, who would presumably have had access to it as a director and would have recognized its value as a geographical/historical source. In this case it would not be necessary to assume that Dapper himself had access to company records.

It does seem, however, that Dapper possessed a little up-to-date unpublished information on certain places in west Africa, including the Gold Coast. Just how much material there is of this kind has yet to be ascertained—by no means an easy task; and we can only speculate on who his informants were. In my view the idea that Dapper sat at the quayside in Amsterdam interviewing sailors about their impression of Africa is scarcely credible. I consider it more likely that he obtained written memoranda, and that (given the uncertainties and delays involved in communication with Africa) these were composed in the Netherlands, probably in Amsterdam. As far as the Gold Coast and Allada are concerned, at least three men come to mind: Heinrich Caerloff, who had served the West India Company in west Africa virtually throughout the 1640s, helped the Swedish African Company to establish itself there in the early 1650s, and done the same for the Danes in 1657-59;⁹¹ Johan van Valckenburg, Director-General at São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) from 1656 to 1659 and from 1663 to 1667; and Dirck Wilré, Director-General from 1662 to 1663 and from 1669 to 1674. Caerloff is known to have been in Amsterdam in 1660 and in 1662, but it is uncertain where he was when Dapper was writing his book.⁹² Several long memoranda composed by Valckenburg still exist and offer considerable information about various places on the west African coast;⁹³ but they contain nothing indicating that they were written by the same person who supplied Dapper with information. Wilré seems to have written much less than Valckenburg, but he too had considerable experience of west Africa; moreover, from the end of 1665 until November 1667 he was in Amsterdam, whereas Valckenburg left Amsterdam in 1662 and died in Elmina in July 1667.⁹⁴

Assuming that Dapper did obtain information by correspondence with Dutchmen living in west Africa, Wilré seems at least as likely an informant as Valckenburg.⁹⁵

This brief survey of Dapper's unpublished sources should serve mainly to indicate the scope for further research. One thing is clear: until we have firmer evidence than we do at present, it is unwise to attach phrases such as "in about 1666," "by the 1660s...," or even "by the mid-seventeenth century" to historical statements based upon this material.⁹⁶ It is quite possible that some of the unpublished sources dated from the 1620s or even earlier.

VI

Visual Material

Although modern scholars frequently refer to "Dapper's maps" or "Dapper's plates," there is virtually no evidence that he took much interest in what sort of visual material was to accompany his text. Responsibility lay with his publisher, Van Meurs, who probably did all the engraving himself.

Dapper's book contains a total of fourteen maps, showing the African continent, Egypt, Barbary, Fez, and Morocco, "Nigritarium Regio" (west and west central Africa), "Guinea" (the southern half of west Africa), "Aethipia Interior vel Exterior" (southern Africa), Congo and Angola, "Abyssinia" (central and eastern Africa), Madagascar, St. Helena, the Cape Verde Islands, the Canary Islands, and Malta.

The maps are attractive and contain information which enhances the utility of Dapper's text, but they were evidently made without reference to the latter. Whereas Dapper's contemporary, the Amsterdam cartographer Joan Blaeu, tended to produce up-to-date maps accompanied by out-of-date textual information,⁹⁷ Van Meurs was content to publish what was in his day the most up-to-date textual description of Africa together with maps which contained virtually nothing that had not already been published either in Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* (1662) or in earlier works, some of them dating from the 1620s and 1630s. The map of Guinea, for instance, differs very little from those published by Blaeu's father Willem in 1635 and by Janssonius in 1636.⁹⁸

Particularly disappointing is the absence of most of the toponyms which Dapper is believed to have drawn from Blommaert's papers. In his account of Kquoja, for instance, Dapper mentioned no fewer than twenty-four toponyms, fluvonyms, and ethnonyms for the area near Cape Mount (today northwestern Liberia). Variants of many of these had appeared in a manuscript map drawn a decade earlier,⁹⁹ and quite a few would even have been found in a printed atlas;¹⁰⁰ yet only one Kquoja toponym and one ethnonym were included in the map of Guinea in Dapper's book.

Nor were the divisions of Africa outlined by Dapper clearly indicated. The map of Africa, for instance, contains a mass of detail, but the names of regions and kingdoms mentioned by Dapper are either given differently ("Zanhaga" instead of "Zenega," "Gambaya" for "Gambea," "Tand Cust" for "Olifants-tant kust," "Caffraria" for "Kaffrarie") or not indicated at all (e.g. Kquoja, Arder). One cannot help wondering whether Dapper felt let down by Van Meurs, who was presumably more impressed by the prestige accorded to Blaeu, the most famous cartographer of his day, than by the new data assembled by Dapper. It is still too early, however, to state exactly from where Van Meurs drew his cartographic material and whether any of his maps contain original information.¹⁰¹

Even more important than the maps, as far as prospective purchasers were concerned, were the plates, which were supposed to make it easier for readers to visualize what was described in the text. Altogether the book offers thirty-three on north Africa, seventeen on west Africa, fifteen on west central Africa, five on southern and southeastern Africa, and eight on the islands. They may be divided

into three categories: those devoted to flora and fauna, often derived from engravings published elsewhere; those showing human beings, most of which simply represented Van Meurs' attempt to interpret Dapper's text; and views of mountains, towns or forts, many of them based on sketches drawn *in situ*, in some cases hitherto unpublished.

Flora and fauna feature on a dozen plates, most of which refer to north Africa. One plate in the section on the Cape includes a picture of a plant taken from a book on the East Indies.¹⁰² Another, showing an ape in Angola, was based on a portrait published in 1641 by Tulpis above the caption "Homo sylvestris, Orang-outang," although the background was new. It was apparently intended to represent a chimpanzee; one can at least understand why Van Meurs (possibly advised by Dapper) interpreted Tulpis' text as meaning that the portrait was that of an ape brought to the Netherlands from Angola.¹⁰³

For those interested in seventeenth-century black Africa rather than in the history of European perceptions, few of the plates showing human beings and artefacts are of any value. They have been used as historical evidence in modern works; but there is no reason to suppose that Van Meurs had anything to go by other than Dapper's text. The famous engraving of the annual procession of the "King" (Oba) of Benin, for instance, contains many details which are ethnographically plausible—dwarfs, leopards, finials representing birds with outstretched wings: yet it is difficult to imagine how an artist in Europe, given the references to all of these in the text, could have illustrated them very differently.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, anyone familiar with the material culture of southern Ghana will recognize that the depiction of weapons, architecture, and domestic activities bears little relation to reality.¹⁰⁵ Similar reservations apply to the engravings for west central Africa, which contain numerous inaccuracies (e.g. horns blown at the end, rather than side-blown) and were clearly nothing more than an attempt to illustrate the text.¹⁰⁶ In this respect Dapper's book on Africa resembled those of many contemporaries, but contrasted unfavorably with those of Cavazzi (1687), Cadornega (published 1940-42), and Barbot (1732).

Although the great majority of the pictures of human beings originated solely from Van Meurs' imagination (occasionally assisted by earlier pictures relating to Europe), one or two may have been influenced by earlier models relating to Africa. The picture of a Kongo "nobleman" being carried on a sort of sedan chair bears some resemblance to two engravings in Pigafetta's book.¹⁰⁷ The double-page plate of "Hottentots," copied in many later works, appears to have been partly based upon a drawing of which a copy is now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.¹⁰⁸

The most interesting plates are those showing towns or forts. At present it is possible to identify only a few of the sources which Van Meurs used. A clue is provided in small lettering at the bottom of the plate of Algiers: "Drawn by [Geteekent door] R. Zeeman." Renier (or Reinier) Zeeman (ca. 1623-67), an Amsterdam painter, began his career as a sailor and is known to have traveled in France; he probably also visited the north coast of Africa. Having worked in Berlin, he returned to Amsterdam before July 1652. His paintings include views of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Salee, all of them now in Amsterdam. Van Meurs

seems to have based his engravings of these four towns on the paintings, which presumably derived from sketches made in the 1640s or early 1660s.¹⁰⁹

The plates of west African forts seem to have had a different origin. Those of Fort Nassau (Gorée, in what is now Senegal), "Castel del Mina" (São Jorge da Mina, on the Gold Coast), and Cormantin (Gold Coast) resemble the much smaller plates published in the *Hollandse Mercurius* for 1665, relating to De Ruyter's expedition.¹¹⁰ Two of them—São Jorge da Mina and Cormantin—were evidently based on pen-drawings by Reynoud Borremans, who took part in the expedition.¹¹¹ Several questions, however, remain unanswered: Did Van Meurs use the version published in the *Hollandse Mercurius*, the pen drawings by Borremans, or some other related source?¹¹² Where did the view of Gorée in the *Hollandse Mercurius* come from, and did this source include the other view engraved by Van Meurs, showing the inside of the fort (Dapper 1676 III: 84)? What was Van Meurs' source for the view of Fort Witsen at "Tacararay" (Takoradi), which, like Cormantin, was captured by De Ruyter in 1665? Since the fort was not built until the late 1650s, it is highly probable that the view was sketched from one of De Ruyter's ships just before he blew the fort up on 6 January 1665; but the original has yet to be traced.

Parts of Van Meurs' double-page plate of São Jorge da Mina "in the time of the Portuguese" are not altogether implausible; yet it shows minaret-like towers, numerous parapets (non-existent in the Portuguese period), a church spire with a weathercock (unusual on Catholic churches), and—to crown it all—two Dutch ships at anchor within reach of the castle's cannon.¹¹³ It is conceivable that Van Meurs based this engraving upon a rather crude picture originally published in 1574; but if so, he interpreted it very loosely.¹¹⁴

I have been unable to discover any source for Dapper's bird's-eye view of the capital of Loango and find it somewhat difficult to believe that this could have been based on an eyewitness sketch. The same applies to the view of Bansa Congo (San Salvador), which, it has been suggested, might in fact—despite the presence of palm trees and Africans—be based on a contemporary view of a European river, such as the Rhine.¹¹⁵

The view of Luanda is based on an engraving in Barlaeus (1647), which in turn derives from a drawing by Frans Post made in 1645.¹¹⁶ This drawing, for which the original need not necessarily have been by Post himself, bears similarities to one made in 1642 "after drawings which have come from thence" for the directors of the West India Company by Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode for a newsheet describing the Dutch capture of Luanda in August 1641.¹¹⁷

The view of the Cape of Good Hope appears to have been drawn from closer to the shore than the one in the Vingboons Atlas in The Hague, thought to date from about 1656, from which it differs in several details.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, Van Meurs might have used this painting or a common source.¹¹⁹

The maps and plates in the second edition of 1676 are basically the same as in the first, but a few minor differences may be noted. Firstly, the copperplates, having been used for Ogilby's English version of 1670 and the German translation of 1670/71, had suffered some wear and tear, and the resulting quality is somewhat less distinct than in the edition of 1668. Secondly, the English captions added by Ogilby were retained. In one case this meant a slight loss of information: instead of "T Fort Tacararay ofte Witsen" (Fort Tacararay or Witsen) we find merely "T

Fort Tacararay." Also, the engraving of a caravan leaving Cairo appears in the reverse: the original copperplate must have been damaged or lost after being used for the English and German versions, obliging Van Meurs to redo the engraving using the printed version as a model.

VI

Conclusion

As this paper will have made clear, I consider it important that instead of uncritically lifting information from a compilation such as Dapper's or hypercritically dismissing it as a "secondary" source, historians should give it the careful and detailed attention it deserves. What I have presented here is merely the tip of the iceberg. The next step, even more time-consuming, must be to go through the text for each region, word by word, noting the borrowings and the modifications introduced by Dapper and then trying to discover which pieces of information are truly original.¹²⁰ Having done this, we must continue to search for clues regarding the authorship, composition, and dating of this original material. Many are to be found in the text itself, for instance where it mentions an event whose date is known or draws a comparison between two regions. Other evidence, however, must be sought in libraries and archives: we need more information on Blommaert, Vossius, Van Meurs, Wreede, De Herder, Blok, Fuller, Lijnbaen, Valckenburg, Caerloff, Wilré, and many other persons.

If all this sounds as if it would offer little concrete information about Africa in relation to the amount of effort involved, let me offer a small consolation. Even if we "waste" a great deal of time searching in vain for obscure printed sources or for data on Blommaert's informants, we may in the process accidentally discover something else. For example, had I not felt it necessary to browse through seven thick volumes of Van Wassenaer's *Historisch Verhael* in the forlorn hope of spotting a passage consulted by Dapper, I would not have come across the valuable ethnographic and political information it contains on the Gambia, the Gold Coast, Benin, and Loango.

Confronting a work such as Dapper's obliges the historian to assume the mantle of a detective. We can only come closer to understanding Dapper's book if we keep proposing new hypotheses: I was wrong in thinking that Dapper must have seen Nieuhof's unpublished account of the Cape and that Blommaert resided in west Africa, but formulating and testing such hypotheses helped me to clarify what I needed to know. Moreover, the problems of source criticism cannot be solved in isolation: we need supplementary information, generally of a kind that is not fashionable among Africanist historians, such as the names of shipowners or precise data on when European companies had agents posted at particular places on the African coast.

Of course Dapper's book has its limitations: he overlooked sources, confused the available information, juxtaposed testimony from different centuries and above all gave only vague indications of his sources for particular statements. But the real trouble with Dapper is not that he did his job badly: it is that those who use him seldom possess the patience which such a work requires of its readers.

Postscript

Since completing this article I have discovered some correspondence between Dapper and the Ethiopianist scholar Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704). This consists of four letters from Ludolf and one from Dapper, all in Latin, dated from between 1675 and 1677, when Ludolf was living in Gotha (Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Ff. H. Ludolf I Nr. 245 and II Nr. 33 H-K). In February 1676, following more or less the same policy as in his letter to Vossius, Dapper tried to persuade Ludolf to let him see the latter's *Historia Aethiopica* prior to publication (it did not appear until 1681), and he offered to translate part of it into Dutch and include it under Ludolf's name in the second edition of his own *Africa*. I have yet to ascertain whether any correspondence from an earlier date exists.

Notes

*I am grateful to the Fondation Olfert Dapper for supporting this research and to Ezio Bassani, René Baesjou, F. Bontinck, Ernst van den Boogaart, Janneke Borgesius, S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, J. D. Fage, P. E. H. Hair, Beatrix Heintze, Robin Law, Gerhard Liesegang, G. Nováky, Robert Ross, and John K. Thornton for helpful suggestions. Quotations from Olfert Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten* are from the second edition (Amsterdam 1676), because it is more easily accessible to most scholars than that of 1668 and the text is virtually the same. Titles of works listed in the appendix are given only in abbreviated form in these notes.

1. See my "Olfert Dapper et sa Description de l'Afrique" in *Objets interdits* (Paris, 1989), 72-84, 87.

2. Isaac Schapera, ed., *The Early Cape Hottentots Described in the Writings of Olfert Dapper (1668)*, Willem ten Rhyne (1686) and *Johannes Gulielmus de Gravenbroek* (Cape Town, 1933); Guy Thilmans, "Le Sénégal dans l'œuvre d'Olfried Dapper," *BIFAN*, 33 (1971), 508-63; P. E. H. Hair, "Barbot, Dapper, Davity: A Critique of Sources on Sierra Leone and Cape Mount," *HA*, 1 (1974), 25-54; Adam Jones, "Semper aliquid veteris: Printed Sources for the History of the Ivory and Gold Coasts, 1500-1750," *JAH*, 27 (1986), 215-35; Robin Law, "Problems of Plagiarism, Harmonization and Misunderstanding in Contemporary European Sources: Early (Pre-1680s) Sources for the 'Slave Coast' of West Africa," *Paideuma*, 33 (1987), 337-58; Phyllis M. Martin, "Du Loango" in *Objets interdits*, 66-71.

3. André Louis and Léon Verplancke, "La Tunisie au XVII^e s. d'après la 'Description de l'Afrique' du Dr. O. Dapper," *IBLA. Revue de l'Institut des Belles-Lettres Arabes à Tunis*, 29 (1966), 143-213.

4. E.g. R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702. The First 50 Years of Dutch Colonisation as Seen by Callers* (2 vols.: Cape Town, 1971), 2:499.

5. David Henige, "The Race is Not Always to the Swift: Thoughts on the Use of Written Sources for the Study of Early African History," *Paideuma*, 33 (1987), 54, with emphasis in original.

6. *Ibid.*, 57.

7. From the point of view of modern historians he compares unfavorably with Davity in this respect: cf. Hair, "Barbot, Dapper, Davity."

8. Amsterdam University Library, Remonstr. Kerk III E 10: 352, my translation. For a transcription of the copy of this letter in Leiden University Library (Br. F. 11) see Ch. M. Dozy, "Olfert Dapper," *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2/3 (1887), 435.

9. See Jones, "Dapper."

10. Elfriede Faust, *Arabien 1680. Olfert Dappers Arabienbuch und seine Quellen, geprüft an Nachrichten über Kaffee, Sesam und Träumen* (Köln, 1977).

11. Cf. Thilmans, "Sénégal," 513-14.

12. I have not listed translations published after 1667, except those accompanied by a modern editorial apparatus. Nor have I included, for example, French translations of Dutch works.

13. One handicap is the lack of adequate national bibliographies for countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, although the short-title catalogs currently being prepared will soon improve this situation. Bibliographies such as those of P. Tiele (1867, 1884, republished 1966, 1969) are useful but urgently require revision.

14. Dapper does not seem to have used the valuable information in Nicolaas van Wassenaer's *Historisch verhael alder ghedenck-weerdichste geschiedenissen...* (Amstelredam, 1622-35).

15. For a detailed discussion of Dapper's sources on Tunis see Louis and Verplancke, "Tunisie," 147-52.

16. See Thilmans, "Sénégal," 511-18.

17. The relevance of Jobson's book was recognized as early as 1624 by the Dutch West India Company, which instructed one of its officers to "browse through it and note the essentials in Dutch:" *Algemeen Rijksarchief* (hereafter ARA), O.W.I.C. 1, resolution of the XIX, 9.11.1624.

18. Hair, "Barbot, Dapper, Davity," 33-36.

19. See K. Ratelband, *Vijf dagregisters van het kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Goudkust (1645-1647)* ('s Gravenhage, 1953), lxxviii-lxxx.

20. Most of this seems to derive from a manuscript written in about 1647-54: see below.

21. Jones, "Semper aliquid," 216, 227. On this last subject Dapper had at least one other source besides Valckenburg and Prins—probably a contemporary newssheet; but there is no evidence that he read the account which was eventually published in the *Hollandse Mercurius*, 16. dl. (1670), 91-95, or the account in *Journael oeste Dagh-Register over de Reyse Gedaen door de Heer Luytenant Admirael M. A. de Ruyter in de West-Indien door A. F.* (Amsterdam, 1665). Nor did he use the journal of Reynoud Borremans (ARA, 1. Afd., Admiralteitscolleges XLVII 21), although two of his engravings were at least indirectly related to this source (see below).

22. Moreover, his description of São Jorge da Mina, based partly on that of De Marees (110a-112b), takes no account of the fact that the west bastion was enlarged by the Portuguese before they lost the fort in 1637: A. W. Lawrence, *Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa* (London, 1963), 127.

23. Law, "Problems," 344.

24. Ibid., 343-45.

25. A. F. C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485-1897* (London, 1969), 88. Cf. idem, "Dutch Trade on the Nigerian Coast During the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3 (1965), 196-99, 205; J. Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichs-Museums für Völkerkunde in Leiden* (Leiden, 1913), vii, xxii-xxiii.

26. See Edwin Ardener, "Documentary and Linguistic Evidence for the Rise of the Trading Polities Between Rio del Rey and Cameroons, 1500-1650" in I. M. Lewis, ed., *History and Social Anthropology* (London, 1968), 93, 100ff., 107-09; Henry H. Bucher, "Mpungwe origins: Historiographical perspectives," *HA*, 2 (1975), 60-61, 65-66; 73; François Gaulme, *Le pays de Cama. Un ancien état côtière du Gabon et ses origines* (Paris, 1981), 164-71.

27. Martin, "Olfert Dapper," 68.

28. Cf. E. G. Ravenstein, ed., *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh, in Angola and the Adjoining Regions* (London, 1901), 48.

29. Du Jarric's discussion of Kongo was itself largely a translation of Pigafetta, although for Angola the former had original material, possibly obtained from Balthasar Barreira: John K. Thornton, personal communication.

30. For instance, there is material on the natural history of west central Africa in Guilelmus Piso and Georgius Marcgrave, *Historia naturalis Brasiliæ* (Amstelaeam, 1648).

31. See Vossius, *De Nili*, 63-65. I am grateful to François Bontinck for pointing out the links.

32. Jean-François de Rome, *Brève relation de la fondation de la mission des Frères Mineurs Capucins*, ed. François Bontinck (Louvain, 1964). Dapper cannot, of course, have used the two major seventeenth-century descriptions of Angola, those of Cavazzi and Cadornega, although a first draft by the former existed by 1665.

33. Cf. John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo. Civil War and Transition 1641-1718* (Madison, 1983), 24, 142. One mystery is Dapper's reference (1676 II: 238) to an account (*verhael*) by a "Captain Fuller," who was in the service of the Dutch West India Company in Angola in 1648: I have discovered no published source under this name and therefore suppose that this must have been in manuscript.

34. For Cappelle see Louis Jadin, *L'ancien Congo et l'Angola, 1639-1655, d'après les archives romaines, portugaises, néerlandaises et espagnoles* (3 vols.: Bruxelles, 1975), 221ff. For Mortamer see S. P. l'Honoré Naber, "Nota van Pieter Mortamer over het gewest Angola," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 54 (1933), 1-42. It is unlikely that these documents were still in Brazil when Dapper wrote.

35. Dapper's borrowings from this work are indicated in the edition by Schapera.

36. *Ethiopia Oriental e varia historia de cousas notaveis do Oriente* (Evora, 1609).

37. See Alfred and Guillaume Grandidier, *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar* (7 vols.: Paris, 1903-10), vols. 1-3. It is interesting to speculate on the identity of the work which Vossius had recommended to Dapper, mentioned in the letter quoted above. If it was that of Diogo do Couto (*Da Asia portuguesa*, 1602-16), Dapper apparently did not succeed in obtaining it.

38. E.g., Marvin Thomas Ouwinga, "The Dutch Contribution to the European Knowledge of Africa in the Seventeenth Century: 1595-1725," (Ph.D., Indiana University, 1975), 275; Thilmans, "Sénégal," 518; Rolf Italiaander, ed., *Olfert Dapper. Umbständliche und eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa Anno 1668* (Stuttgart, 1964), 386. Not long after Dapper's death it was alleged that he had drawn his material from the "diaries of those who have been in foreign places, especially of seamen" (Heinrich L. Benthem, *Holländischer Kirch- und Schulen-Staat* ([2 pts., Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1698], pt. 2, p. 370), but no attempt was made to substantiate this claim.

39. I am grateful to François Bontinck for improving my translation of this passage.

40. G. W. Kernkamp, "Brieven van Samuel Blommaert aan den Zweedschen Rijkskanselier Axel Oxenstierna, 1635-1641," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 29 (1908), 5-10; M. E. van Opstall, *De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie 1607-1612* (2 vols.: 's Gravenhage, 1972), 292n2.

41. Amsterdam Gemeente-Archief, Notarieel Archief (hereafter N. A.) 115 ff. 30-30v, J. Bruyningh 13.2.1609; States-General Resolutions, 24.8.1607, 30.7.1610, 6.8.1610.

42. Johan E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795* (2 vols.: Haarlem, 1903-05), 373.

43. Amsterdam N. A. 138ff. 97-98v, J. Bruyningh 19.12.1614; N. A. 199 ff. 134-137v, J. Bruyningh 8.4.1617; N. A. 214 f. 57v, J. Meerhout 1.12.1618; N. A. 215 f. 99v, J. Meerhout 11.2.1620; N. A. 215 f. 196v, J. Meerhout 1.6.1620; W. A. Engelbrecht & P. J. van Herwerden, eds., *De Ontdekkingsreis van Jacob le Maire en Willem Cornelisz. Schouten in de jaren 1615-1617. Tweede deel* ('s Gravenhage, 1945), 207, 209.

44. Amsterdam N. A. 201 f. 137, J. Bruyningh, July 1622; States-General Resolutions 23.9.1621. Probably Blommaert did not have agents in West Africa at this time: cf. ARA, O.W.I.C. 1, Resolution of the XIX, 26.3.1624; Amsterdam N. A. 747 ff. 160-165, J. Bruyningh 26.6.1621.

45. K. Ratelband, *De westafrikaanse reis van Piet Heyn 1624-1625* ('s Gravenhage, 1959), liv, referring to 1623.

46. For Blommaert's interest in the Baltic in the 1620s see Amsterdam N. A. 219 f. 168v, J. Meerhout 24.12.1622; N. A. 229 f. 163, J. Meerhout 29.6.1626; N. A. 243 f. 5c, J. Meerhout 13.11.1630.

47. H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "Michel le Blon: Graveur, kunsthändler, diplomataat," 61. *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodanum* (1969), 116; E. W. Dahlgren, *Louis de Geer 1587-1652* (2 vols.: Uppsala, 1923), 212, 218, 327, 333, 401; Kernkamp, "Brieven;" further information kindly supplied by G. Nováky.

48. Amsterdam N. A. 731 f. 132, P. Carelss 13.4.1639; N. A. 320 f. 204v, F. van Banchem 9.5.1640; N. A. 956 map 3 f. 282, B. Baddel 6.8.1640. In 1646 Blommaert's son, likewise called Samuel, was reported to have gone mad in Recife: N. A. 1078 ff. 82-83v, J. van der Ven 5.2.1646. Perhaps he had lived in Africa and written reports for his father; this would explain Dapper's mistake.

49. Many references in Amsterdam N. A., 1645-51; A. J. F. Laer, ed., *Documents Relating to New Netherland 1624-1626 in the Henry E. Huntington Library* (San Marino, Cal., 1924), 269; A. Eekhof, "De 'Memorie' van Isaack de Rasière voor Samuel Blommaert," *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s. 15 (1919), 245-80; J. Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* (New York, 1909), 184, 261; F. C. Wieder, *De stichting van New York in Juli 1625* ('s Gravenhage, 1925), 52, 99-110.

50. The error in all these works derives ultimately from Elias, *Vroedschap*, 373. See Amsterdam N. A. 1098 f. 376, J. v. d. Ven 4.12.1651; N. A. 2192 ff. 12 and 67-68, A. Lock 3.1.1652 and 16.1.1652; Amsterdam Gemeente-Archief, burial records. During the last years of his life Blommaert lived on the Keizersgracht, in the house which is now No. 343: Anne-Marie S. Logan, *The 'Cabinet' of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst* (Amersterdam, 1979), 18; Amsterdam N. A. 1078 ff. 82-83v, J. van der Ven 5.2.1646.

51. Some anglophone scholars may have been misled by the distorted version of Dapper's statement in John Ogilby, *Africa* (London, 1670): "...Samuel Blomert, one long Resident there, his Observations being faithfully Collected by the Learned Isaac Vossius."

52. E.g. Marquart, *Benin-Sammlung*, III.

53. This is hinted at in the opening words of a long memorandum on New Netherlands written for Blommaert by Isaack de Rasière upon his return to Holland in about 1628: "As I feel myself much bound to your service, and in return know not how otherwise to recompense you than by this slight memoire..." (Jameson, *Narratives*, 102-15; for the original text see Eekhof, "Memorie.") Cf. Wieder, *Stichting*, 107.

54. Letter of 28.1.1640, cited in Kernkamp, "Brieven," 40.

55. There is a little evidence, albeit rather weak, that Blommaert may have seen himself as a sort of armchair ethnographer. In advocating acceptance of the South American Indians as potential allies against the Spanish, he pointed out that "although they are a barbarous nation, they have been fighting for their freedom for a century:" ARA, O.W.I.C. 2, minutes of 6 June 1642.

56. See P. E. H. Hair, "An Early Seventeenth-Century Vocabulary of Vai," *African Studies*, 23 (1964), 129-39; Jürgen Zwerneemann, "Zwei Quellen des 17. Jahrhunderts über die Vai in Liberia: Samuel Brun und Olfert Dapper" in J. Lukas, ed., *Neue afrikanistische Studien* (Hamburg, 1966), 292-319; Adam Jones, "The Kquoja Kingdom: A Forest State in Seventeenth-Century West Africa," *Paideuma*, 29 (1983), 23-43.

57. Hair, "Vocabulary," 130-31.

58. Hair, "Barbot, Dapper, Davity," 34.

59. ARA, O.W.I.C. 43, journal of the 'Neptunus,' 14.6.1625; Jones, "Kquoja,"

23, 29. 60. J. Janssonius, *Nieuwen Atlas, ofte Werelt Beschryvinge* (Amsterdam, 1638).

61. Phyllis M. Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576-1870* (Oxford, 1972), viii; idem, "Du Loango," 68-69. Martin does not indicate specifically which W. I. C. documents Dapper used. For a transcription of Van den Broecke's manuscript see K. Ratelband, ed., *Reizen naar West-Afrika van Pieter van den Broecke 1605-1614* ('s Gravenhage, 1950), 62-72.

62. Ratelband, *Reizen*, 58. On this voyage Lijnbaen had conducted some trade on the Grain Coast.

63. For Senegal see Thilmans, "Sénégal," 514-15; for Allada, Law, "Problems," 343-45; for Benin, Ryder, *Benin*, 87-88.

64. Leiden University Library, BPL 927. I hope one day to transcribe and edit this document.

65. Ratelband, *Dagregisters*, lxxii, lxxv-lxxxviii (he carefully avoided giving the manuscript's location!); Law, "Problems," 343n27. See also John K. Thornton, "Traditions, Documents, and the Ife-Benin Relationship," *HA*, 15 (1988), 354.

66. 1676 II: 124; Leiden University Library, BPL 927 f. 14.

67. Vossius, *de Nili*, 69: "Porro non in Africa sola, sed & apud Indos

Orientalis in Insula Borneo, & Praeterea in Nova Guinea..."

68. Tulpis, *Observationum*, 274-76.

69. There can be little doubt that this is true of the description of animals in Kquoja and Angola: in a single sentence, for example, Dapper (1676 II: 231) provided the names given by the people of both these "countries" to the boa constrictor.

70. F. C. Wieder, ed., *Monumenta Cartographica* (5 vols.: The Hague, 1925-33), 3:73.

71. Hair, "Vocabulary," 130; idem., "Barbot, Dapper, Davity," 52. I wish to thank Prof. Opperman, head of the library's manuscript department, for his patience and assistance. It is conceivable that when Wieder wrote that the papers were in the

library, he meant they were in his private collection, whose contents remain unknown to this day.

72. *Catalogus Compendarius I: Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Bataviae* (Lugduni-Batavorum 1932), 30-31, Codices Vossiani Germano-Gallici. Particularly important in this context is a manuscript on Brazil: see José António Gonsalves de Mello, ed., *Diálogos das grandes do Brasil. 2.a edição integral, segundo o apógrafo de Leiden* (Recife, 1966). Although Vossius may well have known Blommaert in the Netherlands or in Sweden, he is unlikely to have obtained the papers before Blommaert's death. There is no reference to them in a list of Vossius' manuscripts made at the end of 1649: *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliotheca regiae Holmiensis c. annum MDCL ductu et auspicio Isaac Vossii conscriptus*, ed. Christian Callmer (Holmiae Suecorum, 1971).

73. Wieder, *Stichting*, 99-110.

74. *Manuscrits provenant des collections des Chevaliers van Rappard, de M. le Pasteur H. A. J. Lütge d'Amsterdam, e. a.* (Frederik Muller & Cie., Amsterdam, 16-17 juin 1910). Some of the Van Rappard documents were acquired from a dealer in 1911 by Henry E. Huntington; but the Huntington Library (San Marino, California) does not possess the Ruiters document, and its whereabouts is unknown.

75. Eekhof, "Memorie."

76. *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks oude archieven 1865-1877* ('s Gravenhage, 1914), 26; ARA, Archief van het Algemeen Rijksarchief 1800-1940 No. 32 #198, J. Holtrop 13.10.1866 to Rijksarchivarius.

77. A request for information may have been made by Nicolaas Witsen, with whom Dapper had close ties (cf. Jones, "Dapper," 74). It was Witsen, for instance, who obtained from Wreede a 'Hottentot' translation of the Lord's Prayer: see P. J. A. N. Rietbergen, "Witsen's World: Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717) between the Dutch East India Company and the Republic of Letters," *Itinerario* 9 (1985), 126, 130.

78. H. C. Rogge, summary of a lecture on Dapper, *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 1/5 (1881), 2-4.

79. George McCall Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambezi* (3 vols.: London, 1910), 3:376.

80. O. H. Spohr, "The First Hottentot Vocabulary, 1663," *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, 18 (1963), 27-33. Wreede's wordlist has been published in E. C. Godée Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd, I: Tochten naar het Noorden 1652-1686* ('s Gravenhage, 1916), 215-24.

81. Schapera, *Early Cape Hottentots*, 2-3.

82. See, for instance, Godée Molsbergen, *Reizen*, 39n5.

83. There are a few interesting similarities between the latter and Dapper's account: both, for instance, confused the "Strandlopers" and the "Caepmans."

84. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, 2:499. Unfortunately he does not attempt to substantiate this claim.

85. See Leonard Blussé and R. Falkenburg, *Johan Nieuhof's beelden van een Chinareis 1655-1657* (Middelburg, 1987), 15-16.

86. This, incidentally, explains why Nieuhof's account contains some details derived from the *Klare Besgrywing*.

87. 1676 I: 418. Cf. Thilmans, "Sénégali," 545, citing the journal of Jacob Le Maire and Willem Cornelisz. Schouten.

88. 1676 II: 217. Cf. R. Avelot, "Une exploration oubliée. Voyage de Jan de Herder au Kwango (1642)," *La Géographie*, 26 (1912), 319-28.

89. Cf. C. R. Boxer's introduction to the reprint of *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geocroyerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Amsterdam, 1970).

90. ARA, Leupe-Collectie, VEL 743, map dated 25 Dec. 1629. A version of this, with several significant additions, was published in Claas Jans. Voogt, *De nieuwe groote ligende ze-fakkel, 't vyfde deel* (Amsterdam, 1683). These two maps and another related one will be discussed in a forthcoming article by René Baesjou, who, unlike me, believes that Dapper's use of the 1629 text proves that he had access to West India Company records: "The Historical Evidence in Old Maps and Charts of Africa, With Special Reference to West Africa," *HA*, 15 (1988), 62.

91. Amsterdam N. A. 1289 ff. 8v-19v and 28v - 19v, H. Schaeff 8.2.1644 and 5.3.1644; N. A. 1134 f. 143, J. v. d. Ven 3.8.1660; Adam Jones, *German Sources for West African History, 1599-1669* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 142-44; Ratelband, Dagregisters; Nicolaas de Roever, "Twee concurrenten der eerste West-Indische Compagnie," *Oudh-Holland*, 7 (1889), 195-222.

92. Roever, "Twee concurrenten."

93. Two were written in 1657-59 (Leiden, K.I.T.L.V., H65a, H65b). Another probably dates from between mid-1662 and mid-1664: J. K. J. de Jonge, *De Oorsprong van Neerlands bezittingen op de kust van Guinea* ('s Gravenhage, 1871), 51-69; see Roever, "Twee concurrenten," 206.

94. Franz Binder and Norbert Schneeloch, "D. D. Wilre & Willem Godschalk van Focquenbroch, geschilderd door P. de Wit te Elmina in 1669," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 27 (1979), 17-20.

95. Moreover, following his marriage in September 1666, Wilré moved to the Brouwersgracht, not far from the Anjelierstraat, where Dapper was probably living at this time.

96. E.g. J. M. Gray, *A History of the Gambia* (London, 1940), 85; Martin, *External Trade*, 18, 41, 67, 71; R. A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore, 1982), 136, 147.

97. See, for instance, I. Blaeu, "Novissima Africæ Descriptio," (1659), in the "Rostock Atlas:" *Atlas des Grossen Kurfürsten* (reprinted Stuttgart, 1971), map XXXII. The accompanying text is largely derived from Leo Africanus.

98. Baesjou, "Historical Evidence," 80. Cf. Oscar I. Norwich, *Maps of Africa: An Illustrated and Annotated Carto-Bibliography* (Johannesburg, 1983), 822; Cornelis Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas* (Amsterdam, 1970), 82-83.

99. Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, *Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem, "Pascaert van Cabo Monte."*

100. I. Blaeu, "Novissima Africæ Descriptio," 1659, in the "Rostock Atlas," map XXXII ("...eme[n]data[m] ex accuratissimis Tabulis et variis ejusde[m] orac descript. Chorogr. Spectatissim. Viri D. Samuelis Blomart, dum viveret Directoris Societatis Indiae Orientalis"); Nic. Sanson, *L'Afrique, en plusieurs cartes nouvelles, et exactes* (Paris n.d., c. 1656), maps of "Guinée" and "Isles du Cap Verd" ("...tirés... de Blomart...").

101. Perhaps, for instance, the map of St. Helena "by I. N." (=Johan Nieuhof?) was new. It has also been suggested (Ravenstein, *Strange Adventures*, 126n1; Avelot, "Exploration oubliée," 320-27) that certain details in the map of Congo and Angola came directly from the itinerary of Jan der Herder cited by Dapper; but this requires careful investigation.

102. Cf. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, 1: 92, referring presumably to Justus Heurnius, *De Legatione Evangelica ad Indos capessenda admonitio* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1618).

103. The same ape featured in a map of "Guinea" included in some of the Blaeu atlases, appropriately dedicated to Tulpia. Cf. Baesjou, "Historical Evidence," 58. Several seventeenth-century authors used the term "orang-outang" to describe any

large ape: see Edward Tyson, *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie* [1699], facsimile, intr. Ashley Montagu (London, 1966), 10.

104. See Ezio Bassani, *Un Cappuccino nell' Africa del Seicento* (=Quaderni Poro 4, Milano), 32-34, where Bassani is more critical of this picture than in his "Oeuvres d'art et objets africains dans l'Europe du XVIIe siècle" in *Ouvertures sur l'art africain* (Paris, 1986), 78.

105. 1676 II: 100, reproduced in Timothy F. Garrard, *Akan Weights and the Gold Trade* (London, 1980), pl. 21, under the caption "Akan Family, Seventeenth Century." Another plate in the same section (ibid., 102) combines canoe making on the Gold Coast with people crossing a bridge in the Kwoja kingdom, over 1,000 kilometers away: Van Meurs evidently did not notice that Dapper had slipped in a paragraph which properly belonged to an earlier part of his book.

106. See Walter Hirschberg, "Early Historical Illustrations of West and Central African Music," *African Music*, 4/3 (1969), 10-14.

107. 1676 II: 201. Cf. Walter Hirschberg, "Der Quellenwert früher ethnographischer Bilddokumente," *Anthropos*, 63 (1968), 153-54.

108. Ezio Bassani, personal communication. He and Letizia Tedeschi are writing an article on the 'Hottentot' drawings in Florence.

109. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, A 1396-1399. The view of Algiers shows de Ruyters' ship in 1662, but this date need not necessarily apply to the view itself, which was also used by other engravers, perhaps via Dapper's book: see Geeraert Brandt, *Het leven en bedrijf van den heere Michiel de Ruiter* (Amsterdam, 1687). For Zeeman (alias Reinier Nooms) see E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs* (10 vols.: Paris, 1976), 10:877.

110. *Hollandse Mercurius*, 16. dl. (Haarlem, 1670), 90.

111. ARA, 1. Afd. Admiralteitscolleges XLVII 21, "Memoriael ofte korte dagelycksche Aenteyckeninge...met enige figuurtjes verciert door Reynoud Borremans," 1665.

112. I consider the first alternative unlikely: a) in the *Hollandse Mercurius* the castles are partially obscured by the addition of a large number of ships in the foreground; b) (more important) this version does not show as much of the surrounding countryside as do Borremans and Van Meurs.

113. These inconsistencies are pointed out in Ratelband, *Dagregisters*, lxix.

114. Georg Braun and Franz Hohenberg, *Beschreibung und Contrafactur der vornehmster Stät der Welt* (Köln, 1574; facsimile, ed. Max Schefold, Plöchingen, 1965), plate following p. 55. It was later used in Johan Theodor and Johan Israel de Bry, *Warhafftige historische Beschreibung dess gewaltigen goltreichen Königreichs Guinea* (Frankfurt am Main, 1603), Plate XXIV and in the *Atlas Blaeu* of 1642. Disappointingly, neither Lawrence, *Trade Castles*, nor Albert van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana* (Accra, 1980) has much to say about the pictures of forts in Dapper's book. Since Lawrence does reproduce three mid-seventeenth-century pictures of Elmina by Dutchmen, it appears likely that he discarded Dapper's view of the castle in the Portuguese period because he considered it totally fanciful.

115. Ezio Bassani, personal communication. The engraving is related to a painting now in the possession of the Fondation Olfert Dapper in Paris, reproduced on the back cover of *Ouvertures sur l'art africain*; unfortunately nothing is known about its origins.

116. J. de Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post, 1612-1680* (Amsterdam, 1973), 155, Plate D. 49. See Wieder, *Monumenta*, 4:113; R. Joppien, "The Dutch Vision of Brazil: Johan Maurits and his Artists" in E. van den Boogaart, ed., *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen 1604-1679. A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil* (The Hague, 1979), 299n14.

117. Stichting Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, Catalogue Nr. 1865, "Het Innemen vande Stadt St Pavlo de Loando." Cf. K. Zandvliet, "Johan Maurits and the Cartography of Dutch Brazil, the South-West Passage and Chile" in Van den Boogaart, ed., *Johan Maurits*, 505. I am grateful to Janneke Borgesius for pointing out similarities and differences between the various versions.

118. Wieder, *Monumenta*, 1:13-14.

119. Cf. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, 7:121. "The Fort is of course as imaginative as is the crater-like Mountain..."

120. I have already done this for the Ivory and Gold Coasts, annotating my photocopies in seven different colours. Together with P. E. H. Hair and Robin Law I am engaged in similar work on the writings of Jean Barbot.

Appendix

A Tentative Reconstruction of Dapper's Published Sources (excluding those on Egypt, the Red Sea islands, Malta, and the Canary Islands)

Note: 1. I have omitted authors whom Dapper cited solely on non-African topics, e.g. on whether the "Ophir" of the Old Testament lay in America.

2. Geographical terms are intended as rough guides only and should not necessarily be equated with their modern equivalents: "Angola" and "Libya," for instance, did not signify exactly the same regions as they do today. I have substituted modern equivalents for some names of regions (e.g. "West Africa" instead of "Negros-lant"), but have retained the names "Biledulgerid" (very roughly speaking, what is now southern Algeria), "Trogolodytika" (the Red Sea coast south of the Tropic of Cancer) and "Aian" (the east coast of what is now Somalia).

(1) 15th - 17th Centuries

ALDRETE, Bernardo José: *Varias antiguedades de España, Africa y otras provincias* (Amberes, 1614).

Cited for Libya as "Aldrete Antigued."

ALVARES CABRAL, Pedro: "Navigation," in *Paesi novamente ritrovati et nuovo mondo da Alberico Vesputio...* (Vicenza 1507); republished in Ramusio, vol. 1 (1550).

Cited for Kilwa as "Pedro Alvarez."

ALVARES, Francisco: *Ho Preste Joam das Indias. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam* (N.p., probably Lisbon, 1540). Dapper probably used the French translation (Paris, 1556). German (Eiszeleben, 1566). Modern English ed.: Charles Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford, eds., *The Prester John of the Indies. Being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520 Written by Father Francisco Alvares* (2 vols.: Cambridge, 1961).

Cited for Abyssinia as "François Alvares."

ANANIA, Giovanni Lorenzo: *L'Universale fabrico del mondo, overo cosmographia* (Venetia 1576). Variorum ed. of the section on Central Africa: Dierk Lange and Silvio Berthoud, "L'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale d'après Giovanni Lorenzo Anania (xvie siècle)," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, 14 (1972), 299-351.

Cited for Biledulgerid as "Ananic," for West Africa as "Anan. Tract.." for Abyssinia as "Annan."

ANONYMOUS [=Petrus Alfonius Malherio]: *Gesta proxima per Portugalenses in India...* (Roma, 1506). A letter from the king of Portugal, Dom Manuel, containing news on India and East Africa. German translation: Nuremberg, 1507. Probably used via another source.

Cited for Kilwa as "François Dulmunda," i.e. Francisco d'Almeida, first Viceroy of India.

BARBOSA, Duarte (Odoardo) (d. 1521, supposed author), "Livro em que dá relação do que viu e ouviu no Oriente Duarte Barbosa" (ms., written in 1516, first published in the original Portuguese in 1812). Dapper must have used the Italian translation ("Libro di Odoardo Barbessa Portoghesi") in Ramusio, vol. 1 (1550). Modern edition by Augusto Reis Machado: Lisboa, 1946.

Cited by Zanzibar as "Od. Barbosa."

BARLAEUS, Caspar [=Kaspar van Baerle]: *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum...historia* (Amstelodami, 1647). German translation: Cleve, 1659. Modern Portuguese ed. by Cláudio Brandão: Rio de Janeiro, 1940.

Not cited; used extensively for Dutch conquests (Gold Coast, Angola, São Tomé, 1637-41).

BARROS, João de: *Asia de Joam de Barros, dos feitos [feitos] que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente* (Lisboa, 1552). Written in 1530s-40s. Italian translation in Ramusio, vol. 2. See C. R. Boxer, *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi, 1981).

Cited in preface as "Johan de Barros," for Senegal as "Johan Barros," for Monomotapa as "Jo. Barros," for Sofala as "Iosef Barros," for Zanzibar as "Ian Barr," for Abyssinia as "Barros."

BATTELL, Andrew: "The strange adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola..." in Purchas 1625, pt. 2. No Dutch translation before 1706. Modern ed. by E. G. Ravenstein: *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell in Angola and the Adjoining Regions* (London, 1901).

Cited for Abyssinia as "Andreas Battell." Apparently not used for Loango or Angola.

BEGIN ENDE VOORTGANGH der Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geocrooyerde Oost-Indische Compagnie [ed. Izaak Commelin] (2 vols.: [Amsterdam], 1645/46). Reprint, intr. C. R. Boxer, Amsterdam, 1970.

Not cited directly, but includes Van den Broecke, Caerden, Van der Hagen, Verhoeven.

BREVES, Savary de: *Relation des voyages de Monseigneur de Brèves, tant en Grèce, Terre Saincte et Aegypte, qu'aux Royaumes de Tunis et Arger...Le tout recueilly par le S. D. C.* (Paris, 1628).

Cited in preface as "Breves," used for Tunis (and perhaps other parts of north Africa).

BROECKE, Pieter van den: *Korte historiael ende journaelsche aenteyckeninghe...* (Haarlem, 1634). Also in *Begin ende Voortgangh*.

Cited in preface; used mainly for Loango.

BRUN, Samuel: *Samuel Brun, des Wundartzet und Burgers zu Basel Schiffarten* (Basel, 1624). Dapper must have used the Latin translation in De Bry 1625. Modern English edition in Jones, *German Sources*, 44.96.

Cited for west Africa as "Samuel Bruno." Used (in Latin translation?) for Loango and Cameroun.

BRY, Johan Theodor de and Johan Israel de: *Indiae Orientalis* (Frankfurt am Main 1597-1628). Parallel Latin and Dutch versions. Includes Brun, Marces, Pigafetta.

See the anonymous introduction to *De ontdecking van de Nieuwe Wereld. Gravures van Th. de Bry* (Amsterdam, 1979).

Not cited; used, e.g., for Brun.

CA' DA MOSTO, Alvise da: "Delle navigationi di Messer Alvise da Ca' da Mosto, gentilhuomo Venetiano" in Fracanzano de Montalbodo, ed., *Paesi novamente ritrovati et nuovo mondo da Alberico Vesputio...* (Vicenza 1507). German translation: Nürenbergk, 1508. Latin: [Milan], 1508. French: Paris, 1516. Dutch: Antwerpen, 1563. Modern variorum ed.: *Le navigazioni Atlantiche del Veneziano Alvise da Mosto*, ed. Tullia Gasparini Loparce (Venice, 1966).

Cited for Senegal as "Louys Kadamost" (and for Canary Islands as "Kadam").

CAERDEN, P. van: a) "Kort verhael ofte Journael van de reyse gedaen naer de Oost Indien...onder den Admiral P. Both... in den iaren 1599, 1600 ende 1601" in *Begin ende Voortgangh* (1646), dl. 1.

Cited for the Cape as "Peter Both."

b) "Loffelijcke Voyagie op Oost-Indien...int jaer 1606. onder het beleyt van den Admirael P. van Caerden" in *Begin ende Voortgangh* (1646), dl. 2. Modern ed. in: Alfred de Booy, *De derde reis van den V. O. C. naar Oost-Indië onder het beleid van Admiral Paulus van Caerden* (2 vols.: 's Gravenhage 1968-70).

Cited for Zanzibar as "Paulus van Kaerden." Also includes brief descriptions of Cape Lopez and the Cape of Good Hope.

CASTANHOSO, Miquel de: *Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado Dom Christouão da Gama fez nos Reynos do Preste Ioão, com quatrocentos portugueses que consigo leuou* (n.p., 1564).

Cited for Abyssinia (via Godinho) as "Michiel Kastagnoso."

CAUCHE, François: "Relation du voyage que François Cauche de Rouen a fait à Madagascar, îles adjacentes & coste d'Afrique. Recueilly par le Sieur Moriso et avec des notes en marge," in Anon., *Relations véritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil...* (Paris, 1651). Refers to a voyage made in 1638.

Cited for Madagascar as "Fransois Cauche." Also refers to Cape Verde.

CURIO, Caelius Augustinus: *Caelii Augustini Curionis Sarracenicae historiae libri III... Item C. A. Curionis Marochensis regni... descriptio...* (Basileae, 1568).

Cited in preface as "Cael. Curio" and for Morocco as "Kurio descript. Regn. Marock."

DAN, Pierre: *Histoire de Barbarie, et de ses corsaires* (Paris, 1637).

Cited for Algiers as "Pierre Dan, Historie van Barbarye," and for Tunis as "Peter Dan, descript. de Barb."

DAVITY [=D'AVITY], Pierre: *Le monde* (various editions, Paris, 1614, 1619, 1625, 1637, 1643, 1655, 1660). Dapper may have used the Dutch translation: *Wereld spiegel waer in vertoont word de beschrijvinge der rijken, staten en vorstendommen des gantsen aerdbodems...Uytgeg. door D. T. V. Y.* (Amsterdam, 1621). He certainly used the final French edition, *Description générale de l'Afrique, seconde partie du monde*, ed. J. B. Rocoles (Paris, 1660). See P. E. H. Hair, "Barbot, Dapper, Davity: A Critique of Sources on Cape Mount," *HA*, 1 (1974), 25-54.

Cited for Barbary, Morocco, west Africa and Quisama as "Davity," for Algiers as "Peter Davity Estates Turc en Afrique," for the Cape as "Davitii La Basse Etiopie," for Abyssinia as "Davity Estates du Grand Negus."

DELLA VALLE, Pietro: either *Della conditioni di Abbâs Rê di Persia* (Venetia, 1628) or *Viaggi di P. della V. ...divisi in tre parti, cioè la Turchia, la Persia, e l'India* (Rome, 1650). Dapper probably used the Dutch translation (Amsterdam,

1664-65). English translation (published together with Thomas Roe's account): London, 1665.

Cited for Troglodytika as "Petro dalla Valla" and as "Della Valla, edelman van Romen."

DURAN [=DURÃO], Antonio: *Cercos de Moçambique defendidos par D. Estevao de Attayde...* (Madrid, 1633). Describes Verhoeven's attempt to seize Mozambique in 1608. Modern ed. by E. Prestage and C. R. Boxer: Lisbon, 1937. Transcription of the original (Portuguese) manuscript (1609): A. Meyrelles de Souto, "Historya dos Cercos que os Olandees puzerão à Fortaleza de Mozambique o Anno de 607 e 608," *Stvdia*, 12 (1963), 463-548.

Cited for Madagascar as "K. Durant."

FIGUEIREDO, Manoel de: *Hydrographia, exame de pilotes* (Lisboa 1614).

Although Dapper cited this navigational guide only for the Canary Islands (as "M. Figueiredo"), he may have consulted it for the mainland coast too.

FIGUEROA, Garcias de Silva: *Garciae Silva Figueroa...de rebus Persarum epistola v. Kal. an. M. DC. XIX. Spahani exarata ad Marchionem Bedmarii...* (Antverpiae 1620). French: *L'Ambassade de D. G. de Silva y Figueroa en Perse... Traduite de l'Espagnol par Monsieur de Wicqfort* (Paris, 1667). First transcription of the Spanish ms.: Madrid 1903-05.

Cited for Zanzibar as "Garcias de Silva Figueroa, in zijn Persiaensche Ambassaedschapp" and for Madagascar as "Garzias."

FLACOURT, Etienne de: *Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar composée par le Sieur de Flacourt, Directeur général de la Compagnie Françoise de l'Orient* (Paris, 1658).

Cited for Madagascar as "Flakkourt." Refers to 1648-55.

GIOVIO, Paolo: *Damiani a Goez aliquot opuscula...Epistolae aliquot Preciosi Ioannis P. Jovio et ipso D. Interpretibus* (Lovanii, 1544).

GODINHO, Nicolao: *De Abassinorum rebus deque AEthiopiae Patriarchus, I. N. Barreto et A. Oviedo, libri tres* (Bugduni, 1615).

Also wrote: *Vita patris Gonzali Sylverae...in urbe Monomotapa Martyrium passi* (Lugduni, 1612).

Cited for Abyssinia as "Niklaes Godignus."

GOES/GOIS, Damião de (1502-74): a) *Chronica do felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisbon, 1566-67); b) *Fides religio moresque Aethiopum...aliquot item epistolae... D. a Goes ac P. Jovio interpretibus* (1541); c) *Damiani a Goez...aliquot opuscula Fides, religio, moresque AEthiopum* (Lovanii, 1544). See Francisco Leite de Faria, *Estudos bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua época* (Lisbon, 1977).

Cited for Madagascar as "Damiano de Goez," for Abyssinia as "Dammian van Goez." See "Giovio," above.

GRAM(M)AYE, Joannes Baptista: *J. B. G. Africæ illustratae libri decem, in quibus Barbaria, gentesque ejus ut olim, et nunc describuntur* (Tornaci Nerviorum, 1622). English in Purchas 1625, pt. 2.

Cited for Africa, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Biledulgerid as "Grammaye Afrik.." or "Johannes Grammaye."

HAEDO, Diego de: *Topographia e historia general de Argel* (Valladolid, 1612).

Cited for Algiers as "Diego de Haedo Topograph. de Alg."

HAGEN, Steven van der: "Beschrijvinghe van de tweede voyagie, ghedaen met 12 schepen naer d'Oost Indien. Onder den heer admiraal Steven vander Hagen" in *Begin ende Voortgangh*, vol. 2. First published in Latin in De Bry, *Indiae orientalis pars octava* (Francofurti, 1607), 107-14.

Cited in preface as "Steven van der Hagen." Probably used for the Cape and/or Madagascar.

HAYTON/HETOUM, Prince of Gorigos: *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient* (?Paris), ca., 1501). Latin translation: Haganoae [Hagenau], 1529. Italian in Ramusio 1550-59. Dapper presumably used the Dutch: Amsterdam, 1664.

Cited for west Africa as "Haython."

HONDIUS: See *Klare Besgryving*.

JARRIC, Pierre du: *Histoire des choses les plus mémorables...de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus...ont fait* (3 vols.: Bordeaux, 1608-14).

Mainly a French version of Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam annual das cousas que fieram os Padras da Companhia de Jesus...* (5 vols.: Evora/Lisbon, 1603-11), but with some additional information. Latin translation: Colon. Agr., 1615.

Cited for west Africa, Senegal, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Congo, Angola, Monomotapa, Sofala, Kilwa, Troglodytika, and Abyssinia as "Jarric," "Jarric," or "Iarric."

JONSTONUS, Joannes: *Historiae naturalis de quadrupetibus [sic] ...avibus...piscibus et cetis, exanguibus aquaticis, ...insectis, serpentibus...* (4 vols., Francofurti ad Moenum 1650-53). Dutch translation: Amsterdam 1660.

Cited for Kuoja as "Jonston."

KIRCHER, Athanasius: a) *Prodromus Coptus sive AEgyptiacus* (Rome 1636); b) *Anthanasii Kircheri...China...illustrata...* (2 editions, both Amstelodami, 1667, the second issued by Dapper's publisher J. van Meurs; Dutch translation: Amsterdam, 1668); c) *A. Kircheri...Lingua AEgyptica restituta Opus tripartitum; quo linguae Coptae...* (Rome, 1643).

Cited as "Athanasius Kircher" or "Kircheer" for Egypt, Sofala ("in zijn boek van de Koptische of Egiptische tale"), Abyssinia ("Prod. Coptic. & China Illustrata").

KLARE BESGRYVING van Cabo de Bona Esperanca (Amsterdam, 1652). Anonymous compilation of Dutch material on the Cape, published by Jodocus Hondius III. Modern bilingual edition by P. Serton: Cape Town, 1952.

Not cited; used extensively for the Cape.

LAET, Ioannes de: *Historie ofte jaerlijck verhael van de... West-Indische Compagnie* (2 pts.: Leyden, 1644. Modern edition by S. P. L'Honoré Naber and J. C. M. Warnsinck: 4 vols.: 's Gravenhage, 1931-37).

LE BLANC, Vincent: *Les voyages fameux...qu'il a fait depuis l'âge de douze ans jusques à soixante aux quatres parties du monde... dans les royaumes de Guinée et dans toute l'Afrique intérieure...* (Paris, 1648). Refers to a voyage to upper Guinea in 1592. Dutch: *De vermaarde reizen van de Heer V. Le Blanc* (2 pts.: Amsterdam, 1654).

Cited for Guinea-Bissau and Madagascar as "Vincent le Blank."

LEERS: see Leo Africanus.

LE MAIRE, Jacob: *Spiegel der australische navigatie* (Amsterdam, 1622).

Mentioned (not cited) for Sierra Leone as "Jakob le Maire."

LEO AFRICANUS, Johannes (=al-Hasan b. Muhammad al-Wazzan az-Zayyati): "Della descritione dell'Africa et delle cose notabili che ivi sono, per Giovan Lioni Africano," in Ramusio 1550-59, vol. 1. First French translation: Lyon, 1556; Latin, Antverpiae, 1556; English, Londini, 1600. Modern edition (French translation by A. Epaulard; annotation by H. Lhote, R. Mauny, and Th. Monod: Jean-Léon l'Africain: *Description de l'Afrique* (2 vols.: Paris, 1956). Dapper used the Dutch version by Arnout LEERS, *Pertinente beschryvinge van Africa...getrocken en vergadert uyt de reysboeken van Johannes Leo Africanus* (Rotterdam, 1665), including several chapters which in fact were not from Leo Africanus.

Cited for Africa, Barbary, Morocco, Fez, Tunis, Tripoli, Biledulgerid, Libya, west Africa as "Leo;" for the Grain Coast as "Jan de Leeu."

LINSCHOTEN, Jan Huygen van: *Itinerario. Voyage ofte schipvaert naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (3 vols.: Amstelredam, 1595-95). Modern edition by C. P. Burger and F. W. T. Hunger: The Hague, 1934.

Cited for Africa, Congo, Angola, Quisama, the Cape, Monomotapa, Zanzibar, Kilwa, Abyssinia, Madagascar, Gabon ("Karakombo Island") as "Linschoten."

LODEWYKSZ, Willem: *D'eerste boeck, Historie van Indien...Door G. M. A. W. L.* (Amsterdam, 1598). Modern edition by G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. Ijzerman: 's Gravenhage, 1915.

Not cited; probably used for the Cape and/or Madagascar.

LOPEZ, Duarte: see Pigafetta.

LOPEZ, Thome, "Navigation verso le Indie Orientali" in Ramusio 1550, vol. 1. Although Lopez wrote his account in Portuguese, it was published in Italian; the first Portuguese edition appeared in 1812.

Cited for Sofala as "Thomas Lopez...Schipvaert naer Indien."

MAFFEI, Giovanni Pietro: *Ioan. Petri Maffei, Bergomatis, è Societate Iesu, Historiarvm indicarvm libri XVI* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1579; many subsequent editions). Italian translation: Florence, 1589. French: Lyon, 1604.

Cited in preface for west central Africa as "Maffeus."

MAGINI, Giovanni Antonio (=Joannes Antonius Maginus, 1555-1617): *Cl. Ptolemaei pars secunda...* (Arnhem, 1617).

MAREES, Pieter de: *Beschryvinge ende historische verhael vant Gout Koninkrijck van Gunea* (Amsterdam, 1602). Modern English edition by Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones: Oxford, 1987.

Cited in preface as "Pieter de Mareez;" used mainly for Senegal and the Gold Coast.

MARMOL CARAVAJAL, Luys del: *Descripcion general de Afferca* (3 vols.: Granada and Málaga, 1573-99; facsimile, vol. 1, Madrid, 1953). *Segunda parte y libro septimo de la descripcion...* (Málaga, 1599). The French translation by Nicolas Perrot (3 vols.: Paris, 1667) included maps by Nicolas Sanson (1656).

Cited for Africa, Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Biledulgerid, Libya, west Africa, Senegal, Congo, the Cape, Sofala, Aian, Troglodytika, Abyssinia as "Marmol."

MATELIEF, Cornelis: *Journael ende historische verhael van de treffelijcke reyse, gedaen naer Oost-Indien, ende China, ...door...Cornelis Matelief de Jonge, uyt-gehevaren in den jare 1605...* (Amsterdam, 1648).

Cited in preface as "Kornelis Matelif." Probably used for the Cape, perhaps also for Cape Verde Islands and Annobón.

MATTIOLI, Pietro Andrea (1500-1577): Dapper could have used various medical works.

Cited for Kquoja as "Andreas Matthiolus."

MERCATOR, Gerardus: *Atlas sive cosmographica meditationes...* (3 tom.: Dusseldorpia, 1595; many later editions).

MONTANUS, Arnold: *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maatschappij int vereenichde Nederland, aan de Kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam, 1669).

Cited for Troglodytika as "Arius Montanus"--a mistake: Arias Montanus (1527-98) did not write about this area, but Arnoldus Montanus did mention it (pp. 260, 373).

MOQUET, Jean: *Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes Orientales et Occidentales* (Paris, 1617). Dutch translation: Dordrecht, 1656.

Cited for Morocco, Monomotapa, Zanzibar as "Moquet."

NECK, Jacob van: a) *Waerachtigh verhael van de schip-vaert op Oost-Indien, ghedaen onder Jac. van Neck en Wybr. van Warwijck* (Amsterdam, 1648). Modern edition: *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naer Oost-Indië onder J. C. van Neck en W. Warwijck, 1598-1600*, ed. J. Keuning, vol. 1 ('s Gravenhage, 1938). b) *Journael van de tweede Reys naer Oost-Indien, met ses Scheepen in den Jare 1600* (Amsterdam, 1660-70).

Cited in preface as "Jacob van Nek." Probably used for Madagascar.

NOORT, Olivier van: *Beschryvinghe vande voyagie om den geheelen werelde cloot, ghedaen door Olivier van Noort...* (Rotterdam and Amsterdam, n. d.; another edition, Amsterdam, 1618). Modern edition: *Reis om de wereld 1598-1601*, ed. J. W. Yzerman (2 vols.: 's Gravenhage, 1926).

Cited in preface as "Olivier van Noord." Includes material on Principe, Cape Lopez, and the Cape of Good Hope.

ORTELIUS, Abraham: *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antverpiae 1570). Modern edition, intr. R. A. Skelton: Amsterdam, 1964.

Cited for Senegal as "Ortelius." Perhaps also used for north or northeast Africa, possibly also for Congo.

OSORIO [Osorius] DA FONSECA, Jeronimo: *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae...virtute et auspicio gestis libri duodecim* (Olysippone, 1571; many other editions). Dutch translation: 3 vols.: Rotterdam, 1661.

Cited for Monomotapa as "Osor. de Rebus Emanuel," for Sofala as "Geschiedenissen van Koningh Emanuel, Bk. 4" and as "Osor. 1. 4."

PIGAFETTA, Fillipo: *Relatione del Reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade, tratta dalli scritti e ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez, Portoghese* (Roma, 1591). Latin translation (Bry), 1598. Dutch: Amstelredam, 1596. Modern edition by Giorgio Cardona: Milan, 1978. French edition by Willy Bal: *Description du Royaume de Congo et des contrées environnantes* (1591) (Louvain, 1963).

Cited for Angola, Quisama, Monomotapa, Sofala, Zanzibar, Kilwa, Aian, Abyssinia as "Pigafet."

POLO, Marco: "De i viaggi di Messer Marco Polo gentil'homo venetiano" in Ramusio 1550-59, vol. 2. Dapper probably used the Dutch translation (of Marco Polo and Hayton): Amsterdam, 1664.

Cited for Madagascar as "Markes Paulus de Venetiaen."

PRINS, Jeurian: *Journael ofte dag-register van de reyse die gedaen is door's landts vloot, onder den manhaften Heer Admirael Michiel A. de Ruyter* (Amsterdam, 1666).

Not cited; used for Gold Coast (perhaps also Algiers, Gorée, or Sierra Leone).

PURCHAS, Samuel, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (5 vols.: London, 1625-26). A compilation, including Battell, Grammaye, Pyrard, Roe, Spilberghen. Dutch translation of pt. 1: Amsterdam, 1655. See P. E. H. Hair, "Material on Africa (Other than the Mediterranean and Red Sea Lands) and on the Atlantic Islands in the Publications of Samuel Purchas, 1613-1626," *HA*, 13 (1986), 117-59.

Cited for Abyssinia as "Purchas." See Battell above.

PYRARD, François: *Discours du Voyage des François aux Indes Orientales* (Paris, 1611, 2nd ed., 1619). English in Purchas, pt. 2 (1625). Modern English edition:

The Voyages of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, ed. Albert Gray, assisted by H. C. P. Bell (2 vols.: London, 1887-90).

Cited for Zanzibar as "Pyrard."

RAMUSIO, Giovanni (Gian) Battista: *Navigationi et Viaggi* (3 vols.: Venetia, 1550-59). A compilation, including P. Alvarez, Barbosa, Barros, Cadamosto, Hayton, Leo Africanus, Lopez, Polo, and an account by an anonymous Portuguese pilot. Parts of it (including, e.g., Cadamosto) appeared in Latin (Basil., 1555) and Dutch (Antwerp, 1563). Facsimile edition, intr. R. A. Skelton and George B. Parks: 3 vols.: Amsterdam, 1967-70.

Cited for Morocco as "Ramusio."

RECHTEREN, Zeyger van: *Journael gehouden door Zeyger van Rechteren op zyne gedane voyagie naer Oost-Indien* (Zwolle, 1635).

Cited in preface as "de Rechteren." Probably used for the Cape and/or the Cape Verde Islands (1629).

RIOLAN, Jean: Dapper could have used various medical works by J. R. the Elder (1538?-1605?) or J. R. the Younger (1580?-1657).

Cited for Kquoja as "the celebrated French doctor Riolaen."

ROE, Thomas: "Observations collected out of the journall of Sir Thomas Roe" in Purchas, pt. 1 (1625). Dutch: *Journael van de reysen ghedaen door...Sr. T. Roe...afgevaerdicht naer Oostindien aen den Grooten Mogol* (Amsterdam, 1656). Also in *The Travels of P. della Valle...* (1665) (see "Dalla Valla"). But as Dapper refers to "Memorias de...," he may have used the French version ("Mémoires de Thomas Roe") in Melchisédéch Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (4 vols.: Paris, 1663-72), vol. 1.

Cited for the Cape as "Memorias de Thomas Roe."

RUELLIUS, Johannes (=Jean Ruel, 1479-1537): Dapper could have used various medical works, e.g. *Veterinariae medicinae libri II* (Parisiis, 1530) or *De natura stirpiis libri tres* (Parisiis, 1536).

Cited for Kquoja as "Ruellius."

SANUTO, Livio: *Geographia dell' Africa* (Vinegia, 1588). Reprint ed. R. A. Skelton: Amsterdam, 1965).

Cited for Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, Libya, Tripoli, west Africa, Senegal, Sierra Leone, the Cape, Monomotapa, Kilwa, Aian, and Abyssinia as "Sanut."

SÃO BERNARDINO, Gaspar de: *Itinerario da India por terra ata este reino de Portugal com a descripçam de Hierusalem* (Lisbon, 1611). Modern edition: *Itinerario da India por Terra até a Ilha de...Chipre*, ed. Augusto Reis Machado (Lisbon, 1953).

Cited for Troglodytika and Madagascar as "Gaspar Sam Bernardino."

SPILBERGHEN, Joris van: *T'Historiael Journael, van 'ghene ghепasseert is van weghen drie schepen, ghevaren naer d'Oost-Indien, onder tbeleyt van Joris van Speilberghen [sic] Anno 1601...* (Delft, 1605). Modern edition by F. C. Wieder, F. W. Stapel, S. P. L'Honoré Naber, and W. Nijhoff: *De reis van Joris van Spilbergen naar Ceylon, Atjeh en Bantam, 1601-4* ('s Gravenhage, 1933). English in Purchas, pt. 1 (1625).

Cited for the Cape as "J. Spilbergen," for Sofala as "Spilberghen" or "Schipvaert van Spilberg 1601."

TELLES, Balthasar, *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta* (Coimbra, 1660).

Cited for Abyssinia as "Balthasar Telles."

THÉVENOT: See Roe.

THEVET, André, *La cosmographie universelle* (2 vols.: Paris, 1575), =partly rewriting of *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique* (Paris, 1558).

Cited for Tripoli, Troglodytika, and Abyssinia as "Thevet." TORRES, Diego de: *Relacion del Origen y Sucesso de los Xarifes y del Estado de los Reinos de Marruecos, Fez...* (Sevilla, 1586). French: *Relation de l'origine et succer des cherifs...* (Paris, 1636). Dapper probably used the version in Marmol, vol. 3 (perhaps the French edition, 1667).

Cited for Morocco and Biledulgerid as "Diego de Torres, Hist. de los Xerifs."

TULPIUS (=TULP), Nicolaus: *N. Tulpii...Observationum Medicarum libri tres. Cum aeneis figuris* (Amstelredami, 1641). Dutch translation: Amstelredam, 1650.

Cited for Angola as "Tulp. Obs."

URRETA, Luis de: a) *Historia eclesiastica, politica, natural, y moral, de los grandes y remotos reynos de la Etiopia...llamado Preste Juan de las Indias* (Valencia, 1610); b) *Historia de la sagrada Orden de predicadores, en los remotos reynos de la Etiopia* (Valencia, 1611).

Cited for west Africa as "Histor. de La. Ethiop." and (in the preface) for west central Africa as "Urreta."

VALCKENBURG(H), Johan van: "Missive vanden Directeur Generael Johan van Valckenburgh," in *Resolutie vande Ed: Groot Mo: Heeren Staten van Holland ende West-Vrieslandt...alle noopende de proceduren der Engelschen in Guinea* ('s Gravenhage, 1665). Pamphlet containing two letters written at São Jorge da Mina on 4 October 1664 by Van Valckenburg, the Director-General there. Also published/paraphrased under several different titles, e.g. *'t Moort-Tonneel, of grouwelijcke tyranny der Engelsche...* (n. p., n. d., =1665). The text was printed upon orders of the States-General and distributed as anti-English propaganda.

Not cited; used for the Gold Coast.

VERHOEVEN (=VERHOEFF), Pieter Willemz: "Reyse naar de Oost-Indien, China, Philipines etc., in...1607..." in *Begin ende Voortgangh*, vol. 2 (1646). Previously published in Latin ("Navigatio in Indiam Orientalem"), in De Bry, *Indiae Orientalis pars IX* (Francofurti, 1612). See M. E. van Opstall, ed., *De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willem Verhoeff naar Azie 1607-1612* (2 vols.: 's Gravenhage, 1972).

Cited for Zanzibar as "Verhoeven."

VIGNIER, Nicolas, *La Bibliothèque Historiale...* (Vols. 1-3, Paris, 1587; vol. 4, Paris, 1650).

Cited for Abyssinia as "Vignier, Bibl. Histor."

VOSSIUS, Isaak: *de Nili et aliorum fluminum origine* (Hagae Comitis, 1666). Includes material on Senegambia, west central and east Africa.

Cited for west Africa as "Isaak Vossius, de origine Nili & aliorum fluminum," for Loango and Abyssinia as "Isaak Vossius."

(2) Classical Sources

CALLIMACHUS (Greek scholar, 3rd century B.C.).

Cited for west Africa as "Kallimachus Hym. in Cic."

CLAUDIUS PTOLEMAEUS (Greek geographer, 2nd century A.D.). For literature on Ptolemy's approach to the geography of Africa see Baesjou, "Historical evidence," 54n6.

Cited for Fez, Algiers, Tunis, Senegal, Troglodytika, Abyssinia, Madagascar, and Cape Verde Islands as "Ptolomeus," for Libya as "Ptolom. Geograph."

DIODORUS SICULUS (Greek historian, 1st century B.C.): *Bibliotheca historica*.
Cited for Tripoli, Troglodytika, and Madagascar as "Diodoor."

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI (ca. 263-339 A. D., Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine):
Historia ecclesiastica.
Cited for Sofala as "Eupolemeus, by [=in] Eusebius."

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS (Jewish historian, 1st century A.D.).
Cited for Sofala as "Josefus, de Joodsche Histori-schrijver."

HERODOTUS (Greek historian, 5th century B.C.). Dapper himself had published the first Dutch translation of Herodotus (Amsterdam, 1665).
Cited for Libya as "Herodoot."

MARCUS VELLEIUS PATERCULLUS (Roman historian, 1st century A.D.):
Historia Romana.
Cited for Tunis as "Velleus Patercillus."

PLINY THE ELDER (Roman author, 1st century A.D.).
Cited for Fez, Tunis, Abyssinia, Troglodytika, Madagascar, Mauritius, and the Cape Verde Islands as "Plinius."

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA (Byzantine historian, 6th century A.D.):
Procopii...de Justiniani Imp. aedificis libri sex... (Parisiis, 1537); *Procopii Cesarenensis de aedificiis Dn. Justiniani libri sex...* (Parisiis, 1648).
Cited for Libya as "Procop. de Edit. Just."

STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM (Greek grammarian, probably 6th century A.D.).
Cited for west Africa as "Stephanus de Urbibus;" for Abyssinia as "Stefanus in zijn Stedeboek."

STRABO(N) (Greek geographer/historian, ca. 63 B.C.-26 A.D.).
Cited for Tripoli, Abyssinia, and Troglodytika as "Strabo."

(3) Sources Cited But Not Yet Identified

"EUSTHATIUS:" cited for Troglodytika. ?=Eustathius of Antioch (4th century), alleged author of the Pythonissa of Endor; or Eustathius of Thessalonica (12th c.), author of many works.

"HOOPMAN [=Captain] FULLER:" cited for Angola (1648). Perhaps an unpublished manuscript, or conceivably a work by Thomas Fuller D.D., Prebendary of Salisbury, e.g., *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine and the Confines Thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testament Acted Thereon* (London, 1650). Dapper cited "Thomas Fuller" on his map of Palestine (1677).

"INTROD. GEOGR. LIB. IV:" geographer ('lant-beschrijver'), cited for Cyrenaica.

"OLIVIER:" cited for Tripoli.

"ROTEIRO"/"ROTEIRA GUINÉE:" cited for west Africa. Probably Manoel de Figueiredo, *Hydrographia. Exame de Pilotos* (Lisboa, 1614 and subsequent editions) or its successor, António de Maris Carneiro, *Regimento de pilotos e roteiro de navegaçam...* (Lisboa, 1642); or "Navigation da Lisboa all'isola di san Thomè...per vn pilotto Portoghes" in Ramusio 1550-59, vol. 1.

"ROYAUME DE ALGER:" cited for Algiers.
?= Davity or N. Sanson.

"SCALIG. AD CASAUB LIB. 1:" cited for Africa.
=SCALIGER, Joseph Justus: ? a) *Opuscula varia antehac non edita [ad edit. Is. Casauboni], nunc vero multis partibus aucta* (Francofurti, 1612); or b) *De Emendatione Temporum...* (Francofurti, 1593). Hence: J. Boemus, "De

AETHIOPIBUS nonnulla ex J. Scaligeri lib. VII de emendatione temporum," in idem, *Mores, leges et ritus omnium gentium* (Geneva, 1604).

"TEXEIRA:" cited for Aian.
?=TEIXEIRA, Pedro: *Relaciones del origen, descendencia y succession de los reyes de Persia y de Harmuz...* (Amberes, 1610).
Cited for Aian as "Texeira."

"ISAAK TZETZA:" cited for Troglodytika.
=TZETZES, Isaac: perhaps *Lycophron, Alexandra sive Cassandra, Isac. Tretzis commenti.* (Basil., 1546).