PUTTING AFRICA ON THE MAP*

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ABSTRACT

This article looks at the depiction of Africa in linear and pictorial form, on maps and as a personification. It gives a general outline of the changing form of maps from Roman times through the Renaissance with the new knowledge of world geography and the discovery of printing, and of the personification of Africa wearing an elephant-scutt headdress for the same period. It then looks at instances from the 16th to 19th centuries where personifications and maps are used together, and whether the personification changed with the increased geographical knowledge of the continent.

The oldest extant papyrus, the so-called Turin papyrus, shows a sketch of an Egyptian goldmine dating from about 1320 BC,¹ so perhaps we can say that Africa has been on the map for over 3000 years. Homer already has references to Libya (the Greek for Africa), and to Eastern and Western Ethiopians (Od. 1.22-24), so in a certain sense Africa was already 'put on the

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¹ R.V. Tooley, Maps and Mapmakers (London 1949), illustration 5; O.A.W. Dilke, Greek and Roman Maps (London 1965) 15 fig. 1. For discussion of the possibility of indigenous maps, see J.C. Stone, A Short History of the Cartography of Africa (Lampeter 1995).
map’ by the very first Western author. One could follow the literary descriptions found and argue that Africa stayed ‘on the map’ for Classical authors. This paper is, however, concerned with something different: How was Africa depicted graphically, both in a linear and in a pictorial sense? Did such representations occur together? Did pictorial representations reflect geographical knowledge?

Anaximander of Miletus (611-543 BC) is credited with making the first Greek map of the known world (Strabo 1.1.11), presumably including Africa at least in the form of Egypt since he could have heard about it from his teacher Thales who had been there. Hecataeus (c. 550 BC) is credited with compiling the first geography. According to Plutarch (Alkistades 17.4), just before the invasion of Sicily in 415 BC, many Athenians could draw the shape of the island as well as the position of Libya and of Carthage in the sand, so the concept ‘map’ was common, although the word came later. By the time Eratosthenes (275-194 BC) arrived at his remarkably accurate estimate of the circumference of the world, many people could probably draw maps like those ascribed to him and Hecataeus in modern publications, in which Libya is roughly a right-angled triangle with the hypotenuse stretching from Gibraltar to Arabia.

Of course, the original maps did not survive; so-called maps of Hecataeus are drawings made many centuries later and following the texts of numerous Classical authors according to whom the world was divided into three continents: Europe, Africa and Asia. Europe and Asia were separated at the Don, Europe and Africa at the Straits of Gibraltar and Africa and Asia along the Nile. There were some differences of opinion as to which continent was bigger, where they met, whether Africa was circumnavigable, but ancient geography and how much of the continent of Africa was actually

2 See Dilke (note 1) 23 for discussion of maps in antiquity, and bibliography.
3 The type on a tetradrachm on the Rhodian standard, attributed to Memnon, general in the pay of Darius III (338-333 BC), has been interpreted as a map of Ionia (Athens Numismatic Museum BE 7878/2000).
4 For Eratosthenes’ zones of the world and latitudes ascribed to Libya, see J.O. Thomson, History of Ancient Geography (Cambridge 1946) 162-66; see also Dilke (note 1) 33.
known to the Greeks and the Romans cannot be discussed in this paper. Nor, unfortunately, can the term ‘Africa’, which has not always signified the same geographical entity, and, in fact, raises involved issues which are still debated. ‘Africa’, ‘Libya’, ‘Aegyptus’, ‘Aethiopia’ (and others) were not terms used in exactly the same way by all ancient authors, nor did they refer exactly to those areas now known by those names. Pliny’s explanation, that ‘Africa’ is the equivalent of the Greek ‘Libya’ (HN 5.1.1), is an over-simplification,”

6 The reported circumnavigation of Africa from East to West by Phoenicians in c. 600 BC under Necos, king of Egypt, could have provided evidence for the whole continent as known today, but Herodotus himself was sceptical of the story (4.42) and it has been the subject of much discussion since. See Strabo 2.3.4; Cary & Warmington (note 5) 87-95; Thomson (note 4) 71-72; Dille (note 1) 2. Herodotus (2.109) also mentions Sitalakes, who under Xerxes (485-465 BC) attempted a west-east navigation unsuccessfully. He may have reached Cape Spartel, Senegal, Sierra Leone or Guinea; see Cary & Warmington (note 5) 96; Dille (note 1) 133; Thomson (note 4) 73 and bibliography. According to Pliny (HN 52.169) and Mela (3.90), the Carthaginian Hanno sailed right around the continent; modern scholars like Dille, Cary and Thomson argue that this was only as far as Sierra Leone or Cameroon before 480 BC. Pliny also reports that a certain Caesius Antipater sailed from Spain to Ethiopia for trade, but does not call it a circumnavigation. Strabo (2.3.4) mentions an attempted circumnavigation by Eudoxus (c. 146-117) after a wooden prow of a wrecked ship, recognised as coming from Cadiz in the west, was found on the east coast. Pliny (HN 2.67), Mela (3.90) and apparently Nepos (quoted by Mela) believed that he did sail right around. For discussion see Thomson (note 4) 98-105, 185-86; Dille (note 1) 61. For a circumnavigation by Magus mentioned by Heracleides, considered ‘obviously fiction’ by Cary & Warmington (note 5) 95, see Strabo (2.2.3) and for Alexander’s plan to circumnavigate see Arr. Anab. 5.5.26, Hdt. 7.56.

For the view that Africa was connected to India, see Aesch. Suppl. 538-64; for its being connected to Atlantis in the west see Plato, Tim. 56.3.25; for the coast of Ethiopia being linked to the Pillars of Hercules see Hdt. 1.203; 2.28; Arist. Met. 2.55.

Euthymenes, a little-known explorer of perhaps the 6th century BC, reported seeing crocodiles in a river taken to be the Nile, but he may have reached Senegal or the Gambia; see Cary & Warmington (note 5) 46; Dille (note 1) 131. For the Periplus of Ps-Sylax, probably between 361 and 357, including a section of the North African coast, see Dille (note 1) 133-34. For the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and other references to explorations of the east coast, see Dille (note 1) 139; Cary & Warmington (note 5) 69, 79-80, 165-78. For Philo’s account of his voyage to Ethiopia, see Strabo (2.1.20); for explorations under the Ptolemies, see Pliny (HN 6.183, 194) and Diodorus 1.37; 3.36; for Roman expeditions under Petronius and Nero, see Cary & Warmington (note 5) 173-76.

7 See also GLM 1-2, 15, 51. Modern translators also sometimes use the terms ‘Libya’ and ‘Africa’ as synonymous; see W.B. Paton in the Loeb translation of Polybius.
but one that is basically true when considering the early definitions of the continent. This paper uses the term 'Africa' as generally accepted currently for the continent.

By the 2nd century BC, Roman generals were celebrating their victories by commissioning pictures, not only those carried in the triumphal processions, but also major works of art on or in public buildings. At the time, a place might be represented in different ways: as a landscape, by produce, an animal, or an ethnic dress associated with it; or as a personification. The question arises whether it might also be depicted by its shape, in other words, by a map of the place. The panel at the Temple of Mater Matuta, which commemorated the victory of Sempionius Gracchus over Sardinia in 174 BC, was described as being 'the form of the island and depictions of battles.' Was this a map? We know from Varro (RR 1.2) that by 37 BC people at the temple of Tellus looked up at Italy painted there ('Italian pictam'). Dilke interprets this as being a map, but it might be argued that it was a landscape, or personification. It must, however, have been a major art work. According to Pliny (HN 35.11), Varro's Antiquities were illustrated with portraits; one wonders whether there were also maps.

Certainly, maps were being displayed publicly by the time of Julius Caesar, who commissioned one which is said to have taken 32 years to complete. Africa must have featured on this, which was divided into four, presumably having Africa in the south. Also, at about the same time, the first personifications of Africa appeared. The earliest Roman personification is usually said to be the head wearing an elephant-scalp on a coin of Pompey. Because it has an augur's jug and 'lituus' as its attributes, I consider that this refers to Pompey himself rather than to Africa. There are, however, several coins during the late Republic, like those of Metellus and Eppius in 47-46 BC, and Cornificius in 42 BC, where this head appears with attributes of a plough or an ear of corn, indicating a personification of a place, and providing evidence that it appeared at roughly the same time as Caesar's map.

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8 R. Ling, Roman Painting (Cambridge 1991) 11.
9 Dilke (note 1) 39.
10 Dilke (note 1) 40.
12 RRC no. 461.
13 RRC no. 509/3.
Agrippa was also responsible for a map (Plin. HN 3.17). He commissioned it, but after his death Augustus had it made and housed in a specially built portico, the Porticus Vipsania, perhaps also known as the Porticus Europae after the painting of Europa on it. This was a major work of art.

Although fragments of the marble plan of Rome survive, we do not have much knowledge of what actual maps were available to the Romans; we do know that the personification showing a head wearing an elephant-scalp became increasingly widespread, and was eventually used on coins, gems, painting, sculpture, lamps and mosaics. This type will be referred to henceforth as Africa although it is not identified as such by legend until the time of Hadrian.

One gem shows a male figure with his foot on such a head; this has been identified as Augustus subduing Africa. Another early example is on a cup from Boscoreale. It shows a soldier in uniform bringing a group of captives to the emperor - one of them wears an elephant-scalp headdress. The scene is often described as Agrippa bringing defeated nations to Augustus, which would mean that the man responsible for setting up a map was also shown with a personification of a place. It is tempting to speculate that Agrippa’s map also had personified countries depicted on it as decorations, but this is impossible to tell.

Pliny (HN 12.19) mentions a map of Africa (‘forma Aethiopiae’) done during the reign of Nero. His reference to the location of trees makes one wonder how that information was conveyed. Was the map illustrated? Might it also have been decorated with personifications? The first time the head with an elephant-scalp is labelled is on a coin of Nero; the legend reads

14 Martial 2.14.3, 5.15; 3.20.12; 11.1.11; Dilke (note 1) 42.
15 C. Nicolet, Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire (Ann Arbor 1990), translation of L’Inventaire du Monde (Paris 1988), has discussed how expanding geographical knowledge and new maps in the time of Augustus are linked to political and administrative control; he does not discuss iconography, which is similarly linked. My thanks to a referee for referring me to this work.
16 For discussion of the iconography, see Salcedo (note 11); J.A. Maritz, The Iconography of the Elephant-scalp Headdress (unpublished D. Phil., University of Zimbabwe 2000).
17 AGD Wien II, 127 no. 1089, pl. 83.
'Alexandria', not 'Africa'.19 When a full figure wearing an elephant-scalp appears on the Hadrianic coins (see below), it is identified by legend as 'Africa', 'Alexandria' or 'Mauritania', different places, but on the same continent. Frescoes from Pompeii which date to approximately the time of Nero, show a woman in such a headdress who is usually identified as Africa. One painting seemingly shows Africa with Sicilia.20 Another, better known, shows three female figures which have been identified as the three continents.21 A glass pastel shows Africa with Hispania.22 What is relevant to this paper is that production of maps and personification of places were happening contemporaneously.

The best-known personifications of places are probably those on the Provincia, Restitutor and Adventus coinage of Hadrian, identified by legend. The Hadrianic attributes used with Africa are a cornucopia and 'modius' (which, like the ear of corn and the plough, refer to fertility), a lion and a scorpion.23 Attributes alone were not necessarily enough to identify a place, as is evident

19 For discussion of the use of this type in Alexandria, see J.A. Maritz, 'The face of Alexandria - the face of Africa?' in A. Hirst & M. Silk (eds), Alexandria Real and Imagined (Aldershot 2004) 41-66.
20 W. Helbig, Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens (Leipzig 1868) no. 1115; V. Spinazzola, Pompeii alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza 1916-1923 (Rome 1953) 156, fig. 193; LIMC I, 254 'Africa' 52.
21 See F. Snowden, 'Iconographical evidence on the Black populations in Greco-Roman antiquity', in L. Bugner (ed.), The Image of the Black in Western Art, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1976) 216-17, who identifies the dark one as Africa, and the one in the headdress as Asia, which is never shown like this elsewhere, and therefore makes the identification questionable. A different interpretation is to identify the figure in the headdress as Africa and the others as Dido and her party. See A. de Franciscis et al. (eds), La pittura di Pompei (Milan 1991, 1999) 241, fig. 50.
22 AGD Würzburg 176, no. 427, pl. 76.
23 For the Provincia series, see H.A. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 2 (London 1968, repr. = RIC) 374 no. 298; H. A. Mattingly, Catalogue of the Roman Coins in the British Museum (Coins of the Empire) vol. 3 (London 1933 = BMC Imp.) 343 no. 810, pl. 62 19; Toynbee (note 18) 34, pl. II, 4; pl. I, 23-24; II, 1-3; BMC Imp. 3.506-07 nos. 1707-14, pl. 94 5, 94 8; RIC 2.374 no. 299; 446 nos. 840-942; BMC Imp. 3.343 no. 811, pl. 62 20; For the 'Restitutor', see RIC 2.376 nos. 322-23; 463 nos. 940-42; BMC Imp. 3.518 no. 1787, pl. 96 2; Toynbee (note 18) pl. II, 10-14; BMC Imp. 3.343, also nos. 812-22, pl. 63 nos. 1-4.

For the Adventus series, see RIC 2.376 nos. 315-16, pl. XIII, 263; 451 nos. 872-75; BMC Imp 3.339 no. 786, pl. 62 11; Toynbee (note 18) pl. II; BMC Imp. 3.495 no. 1687, pl. 92 7; 3.495 no. 1669, pl. 91 16; Toynbee (note 18) 124, pl. V, 18; RIC 2.455 no. 899.
from the sculpture at Aphrodisias where the identity of pieces without inscriptions is debatable.24

Again, at about the same time as personifications were being widely used in various media to represent countries, serious map work was also in progress. Ptolemy's Geographia (Cosmographia), which appeared in c. 150 AD, dominated the Christian and Muslim world for 1500 years.25 Although pictures of Ptolemy's own maps have not survived, the text on which they were based has. By the 8th century it had been translated into Arabic26 and influenced Muslim maps. By the 12th century maps were being produced which combined the theories of Ptolemy, Strabo and Eratosthenes with Arab knowledge.27 Ptolemy's Geographia could also have been the basis of the Roman route map, probably of the 6th century, but it has survived in the form of the 12th or 13th century copy known as the Peutinger Table. Since this appears to include details of places destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD, the Peutinger Table has, however, also been considered a descendent of Agrippa's map.

It has been said28 that mediaeval maps may be roughly divided into the symbolic and theoretical, and the practical. The so-called OT maps fall into the first group.29 They follow the old Greek concept by placing a T inside an O to form three continents, or three divisions referring to the three sons of Noah. One of the most famous is the Hereford Mappamundi of 1275-1317 AD,30 which has the East at the top and representations of Paradise, the Last Judgement, and biblical stories. It does show Africa running up to the Pillars of Hercules, that is, the Straits of Gibraltar, but this is difficult to make out.

The practical maps of the Middle Ages were the so-called portolano's, made by seamen for seamen. They were concerned only with the delineation of the coast. One famous example, the Catalan Portolano of Angelino Duckert in 1339 AD, is said to include the junction of the White Nile and the Blue Nile, and the so-called Laurentian Portolano of 1351 AD is said to show the Gulf of Guinea.31

25 Tooley (note 1) 5.
26 Tooley (note 1) 9.
27 See, for example, Tooley (note 1) 10; Thrower (note 5) 48-50.
28 Tooley (note 1) 12.
29 For printed OT and zonal maps see Relaño (note *) pl. 1-5.
30 Tooley (note 1) pl. 9; Relaño (note *) pl. 8.
31 Tooley (note 1) 15; Relaño (note *) pl. 7.
Two factors revolutionized maps. One factor was the voyages of discovery. The first illustrated edition of Ptolemy’s Cosmographia Bologna, published in 1477, still showed the ‘old’ view of Africa, wider (that is, east to west) than it was long (north to south), one of three continents. That soon changed. Diaz’ rounding the Cape in 1488, Columbus’ discovery of America in 1492 and Da Gama’s reaching India in 1496 revolutionized Europe’s knowledge of the world, and consequently the way in which it had to be depicted. By 1469 Hendricus Martellus’ map of Africa was already elongated to show the southern points, though the shape, especially on the east coast, still looks odd to modern eyes.32

It took some time for the newly-discovered details to be published, but the other factor that revolutionized maps, already mentioned by naming the Cosmographia, was the invention of the printing press. The consequences are obvious: a new map was not displayed on an architectural structure, as Agrrippa’s map had been, but printed as a single sheet or as part of a bound collection; innumerable copies of each sheet became available in a fraction of the time needed previously. New editions and translations followed briskly. Ptolemy was published with illustrations. In 1504 the map of Montalbodo Francan showed the whole continent of Africa,33 and by 1535 there was an illustrated Ptolemy that had added the southern half of the continent to the old Ptolemaic map. At least 52 editions of Ptolemy appeared in Europe after 1475.34 Woodcuts and copper plating made illustrations as clear as the text.

New knowledge demanded new maps. Mapmaking became a flourishing industry in Europe, and by the end of the 15th century Chinese maps also included Southern Africa.35 Badford names 81 important map makers from Munster (born 1489) to Tallis (1850).36 Tooley lists 187 printed maps of the whole continent of Africa by 47 cartographers in the century from 1500 to 1600 AD; in addition, he lists 37 maps of West Africa, 24 of South Africa and 94 of East Africa during the same period.37 Two bibliographies done at the

32 O.I. Norwich, Norwich’s Maps of Africa. Bibliographical descriptions by Pam Kolbe, revised and edited by J.C. Stone (Norwich 1997) xiv, fig. II. The first edition, known as Maps of Africa, appeared in 1985; see p. 21, fig. 7. The new edition gives a good summary of the history of maps of Africa (xiii-xxxx). The map numbers are the same in the various editions. See also Relano (note *) pl. 17.
33 Norwich (note 32) 26, fig. 14.
34 Tooley (note 1) 68.
35 See Norwich (note 32) 15.
University of Cape Town look at printed books other than atlases which contain maps of Africa as an entity, not as part of a world map; the first lists 91 books published between 1550 and 1750, and the second lists 122 books that appeared between 1750 and 1856.38

The new maps still remained a field for art, and as in Roman times could form major works of art ‘combined with ideological meaning, stressing the will to know, to conquer, to exploit or to convert.’39 They might still use the Roman form to do it. In c. 1574 the map of the world as then known was done in fresco by Di Vecchi, covering virtually a whole wall in the Sala de Mappa Mundi in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola.40 Personifications of three continents were known from Roman times; Di Vecchi added a personification of the newly-found America and set a continent in each corner. ‘Africa’ still wears an elephant-scalp headdress, as she did in Roman times; in colouring, features and dress she is decidedly European. The image of ‘Africa’ was not affected by the new geographical knowledge.

Maps as works of art fall in with the general trend and fashion of the period in which they were produced.41 Although it is impossible to know whether Roman maps were illustrated with personifications, it is clear that personifications of places were popular in various artistic media at the same time that major Roman map-making was taking place. Similarly the period of


39 Nicolet (note 15) 6. Nicolet names seven such major works of art from the 14th to 16th centuries, three of which (those at the ducal palace of Venice; at the Palazzo Publico at Siena, and the Map of the World at the San Marco Palace in Rome for Paul II) have disappeared. Those surviving are the maps decorating the panels on the safes built in the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, the geographic paintings of the Terza Loggia Gallery at the Vatican sponsored by Pius IV (1559-1561), the Mappemonde in the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola and the Gallery of Maps in the Belvedere of 1580-1581. Nicolet ascribes the paintings at Caprarola and those of the Terza Loggia at the Vatican to Antonio Vanosino of Varese. I read Nicolet after writing this paper, and retain the section on the Mappa Mundi at Caprarola as originally written, ascribing it to Di Vecchi.


new maps in the Renaissance involved not only the drawing of the map itself, but very often also illustrations, including personifications. The concern of this paper is not specifically the geography, nor specifically the personifications, but rather to trace the use of the old Roman iconography of Africa in the new era of map-making.

European art from the late 16th century until at least the late-18th century used personifications to depict abstract concepts of all kinds. The personification of the four continents appeared on Petrus Plancius' world map of 1594; Hondius' map of the world in 1632 includes personifications of the four elements. The most authoritative work in this regard was Ripa's Iconologia. The first illustrated edition was published in 1603 and through many translations and editions it was very influential in all media of European art. Ripa included the four continents, showing 'Africa' wearing an elephant-scalp headdress as she had in Roman times.

Maps have been called 'popular encyclopaedias'. Ramusio's map of 1556 is filled with people, trees and animals. A modern explanation is that the depiction of European ships may be accurate and change from Spanish to Dutch vessels on various maps, but elephants are invariably Indian, not African. Even where specific inhabitants were named, as 'the wild man from the Cape of Good Hope' or the one from Madagascar on Hulsius' map of 1598, the profile appears European, perhaps Dutch – even though the dress consists of wild animal skins. One can argue that the 'popular encyclopaedias' were often spreading incorrect ideas of Africa.

On printed maps the cartouche panel, which served to contain the title, key and dedication, was often illustrated, again according to the contemporary fashion. Personifications often appeared – for example, in the works of Allard (1676), Blaue (1690), Schenk (1703), Zurneri (1720). Unwanted open spaces left open on the rectangular leaves were filled with local scenes, figures, town plans, shields, by among others, Ortellius (1570), Blaue, Speed (1626) and Visscher. Bricker quotes a convention: 'If you drawe your beast

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43 C. Ripa, Iconologia (Rome 1603).
45 Tooley (note 37) pl. XX.
46 Tooley (note 37) pl. XVI.
in an Embleme or such like, you shall sometime shew a lantskip of the
country natural to that beast, as to the ... crocodile an Aegyptian ... wood of
palmetrees."47 One might suppose that this improved the map as a font of
knowledge, but the fantastic creatures said by Herodotus to be the inhabitants
of Africa still featured too. Such legendary creatures from ancient
cosmographies were given new life in printed books.48 Flora and fauna were
not drawn correctly, or were shown in the wrong places, for example palm
trees in the Koue Bokkeveld.49 Whereas the author of the travel book may well
have visited the places he described, the artist had not; he had only read the
text. In many ways Europe perpetuated its macho view of Africa through the
maps, as it portrayed this in other art forms, as for example at Hampton
Court, where the figure of ‘Africa’ on an oil-on-plaster painting by Verrio in
Queen Anne’s Drawing Room has to kneel before Queen Anne, as if in
submission, as ‘Africa’ had to kneel before Hadrian.

The 17th and particularly the 18th centuries saw the Four Continents
depicted in many media – painting, sculpture, porcelain, tapestry, gems.50 The
attributes used with Africa varied, but often included lions and snakes as in
Roman art, elephant (though Indian, not African), ostrich, crocodile (as the
Romans had for the Nile, but not distinguished from the alligator and
therefore also used with America), and camels (also used for Asia). Sometimes
Africa was shown wearing a feather headdress, a sunhat, or beneath a
sunshade.51 Usually, however, she was shown wearing her elephant-scalp
headdress.

These forms of iconography also appear on maps, particularly on 18th
century maps. In spite of the new geographical knowledge being disse-
minated, the illustrators of the maps were still largely following the Roman
conventions of ‘Africa’. However, 20th century scholars who describe these
maps no longer know the tradition, and do not recognise the iconography.

Let us look at a few examples of the elephant-scalp.

47 Bricker (note 44) 25.
48 Bricker (note 44) 101. The Nuremberg Chronicle (Liber Chronicarum) published by
Hartmann Schedel in July 1493 contained 1803 woodcuts, which included a Ptole-
maic world map, and pictures of fantastic creatures thought to exist in Africa and
Asia, like those mentioned in Herodotus. See Moreland & Bannister (note*).
50 J.A. Maritz, ‘From Pompey to Plymouth: The personification of Africa in the
51 For feathers see Norwich (note 32) nos. 54, 57, 75; for a sunshade see nos. 57,
61, 72, 75, 83; for a sunhat see no. 82.
• In 1713 Van den Aar joined the elephant-scalp motif to the feathers' motif by adding peacock feathers to the back of the elephant-scalp.

• In 1749 D'Anville showed a seated Africa, with a scorpion, cornucopia, ostrich, lion and camel; below is a river-god (Nile), crocodile and pyramids. The 1997 description reads: 'The top right corner is occupied by a large emblemic title piece surmounted by a seated negress adorned with an elephant head, with a fish in her right hand and flower on her shoulder. At her side are a lion, a camel and an ostrich. The French title appears below her and below the title a river-god, a crocodile and pyramids ...' This does not recognise the personification, and is incorrect. The object on her shoulder is not a flower but a cornucopia (horn of plenty) which was used by the Romans as an attribute of Africa. She holds not a fish but a scorpion, which, like the lion and the elephant-scalp, was already an attribute for personified Africa by Hadrian's time. The river-god, crocodile and pyramids refer to Egypt, as indeed they had in Roman times, for example the crocodile used on Augustus' coin minted in 27 BC with the legend AEGYPTA CAPTA, and the crocodile and hippopotamus appearing with Nilus also sometimes seen as a personification of Egypt, on an aureus of Hadrian. Egypt was considered a different country, not part of Africa, since the ancient geographers considered the Nile to be the dividing line between Africa and Asia. The camel was used by the Romans to signify Arabia, not Africa. Other maps of Africa also showed a river-god (presumably Nilus) as an old man with a pitcher which had water pouring out, or just the pitcher.

• Modern scholars are not always aware of the Roman origin of many artistic conventions. By the 18th century the artists apparently did not know, or at least did not always follow, the conventions either.

52 Tooley (note 49) 1.
53 Norwich (note 32) map 91.
54 H. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum (London 1965) I, nos 650-655; III, 588; J.P.C. Kent, Roman Coins (London 1978) no. 124, pl. 35; no. 284, pl. 81.
55 A denarius of Scaurus and Hypsaeus in 58 bc (RRC, no. 422) shows a camel with a human kneeling in front of it, a reference to the surrender of King Aretas of Nabataea to Hypsaeus and a similar type on the reverse of a denarius of 55 bc includes the legend IVDAEA (RRC 454, no. 432). A camel later appeared with the personification of Arabia (BMC 3.575).
56 See the Corelli map of 1691, in Norwich (note 32) no. 56.
In the tapestries, for example, van Schoor's design on the tapestry at Holkham Hall shows Africa holding a scorpion (or possibly a crayfish), but on the one at Groote Schuur she holds a tortoise.\textsuperscript{57} On porcelain too the scorpion sometimes became a crayfish, or unrecognisable.\textsuperscript{58}

The elephant-scalp is not mentioned in the text. The illustration at the top is the same as that on map 91, just different below and in shape, for example the pyramids were moved. Note that the figure is called a negress in the description of map 102 (i.e. female) but 'seated native in costume, he ...' in that of map 91 (i.e. male). The description of map 91 speaks of a fish (not a scorpion) but ignores the object when describing map 102. The 20th century scholar does not know that this figure was still basically a Roman personification of Africa, not does he recognise the Roman attributes of Africa.

- Jeffrey's map of 1789\textsuperscript{59} shows the western coast of Africa and has a note at the bottom to say it was copied from D'Anville of 1751, but since corrected. This map has an attractive, large cartouche in the upper corner showing a seated negress stroking a recumbent lion with her left hand. On her right is a large title placed on a broad slab of masonry and in her right hand she holds a horn of plenty. On one side of the title is a camel and on the other an ostrich, with snakes in the foreground. In the background is a pyramid. Trees and foliage are plentiful above and to the right of the masonry. Below the main title is a legend describing the river and fort of Senegal. Although there is no scorpion in map 326, the basic personification and attributes are the same, just cartouche and design are different. The fact that it is a map of West Africa does not change the picture; there are even pyramids, for West Africa. The 'correction' presumably applied to new geographical knowledge, not to the illustrations.

- De la Rochette's map\textsuperscript{60} was first published in English in 1789, but had already appeared in German in 1782, and was republished in

\textsuperscript{57} P. Brooke-Simons (text) & A. Proust (photos), Groote Schuur: Great Granary to Stately Home (Vlaeberg 1996) 124-126.
\textsuperscript{59} Norwich (note 32) map 326.
\textsuperscript{60} Norwich (note 32) map 136. This illustration is a copy dating from 1835, as one can read on the coin.
1833, 1835, 1838 and 1840. A Classical scholar would hopefully recognise the coin used as an illustration for the map as Hadrianic; the label in any case specifies this. It is not however recognised by the modern editor of the ancient maps, who describes this one as follows: The title appears on a medallion at the top right, which features a seated female figure with an unusual hair style (a bird?), holding a sea animal in one hand and a horn of plenty in the other.' The writer does not recognise the Roman coinage, nor does he know Ripa or recognise the iconography of an elephant-scap head-dress for Africa, nor does he recognise the scorpion. Yet we have here, right up till the 19th century, the Roman personification and a very Caucasian lady.

Another map, that of Brunaeus and Blanchard, has in the left hand corner a series of eight Hadrianic coins which refer to different parts of Africa. The elephant-scap head-dress appears on coins of Africa, Restitutor Africae, Adventus Africae, not on those of Alexandria, Nilus, Aegyptus and Adventus Augusti Mauretaniae. This provides an excellent example of how, after many centuries of further exploration, improved technology, new knowledge and new images, the Roman iconography might still be used to 'put Africa on the map'. It raises questions as to what extent European views of the continent were for centuries coloured, not by new knowledge of the details of its geography which were available, but by the more limited, formalised, decorative and almost mythological illustrations of Africa.

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61 Framed map found in the seminar room of the Department of History, University of Zimbabwe, showing Africa about up to the Equator, and bearing the following inscription:

Viro Amplissimo Plentissimoque IOHANN BRUNAEO IC et Illustrium Zelandiae Ordinum Syndico meritissimo NICOLAUS BLANCARDUS eorumdem Ordinum Historicus dedicabat L M O (left bottom)

AFRICA ANTIQUA et quarundem EUROPAE ASIAEQUE ADIACANTIUM REGIONUM acutata delineato ad Historiarum lucem edita NICOLAO BLANCARDO BATAVO Leidensi Historiarum et Politiae Professore (right bottom).
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