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Un ajout au corpus de cartes par José Joaquim da Rocha (c. 1740-1807)

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Oferecemos neste mesmo número da *Terra Brasilis* o presente artigo vertido ao português por Rafael Gomes <<https://journals.openedition.org/terrabrasilis/6616>>.

- 1 José Joaquim da Rocha (c. 1740-1807) was a military engineer and cartographer who had been born in the village of São Miguel da Vila de Souza, south of the coastal city of Aveiro, in northern Portugal, and arrived in Brazil in the 1760s,¹ as part of the long-running influx from Portugal driven by the gold rush in Minas Gerais. He wrote three geographical-historical reports about Minas Gerais for the governors of the Captaincy in 1780, 1783, and 1788, designed to help them in administering the region—and also in the interest of securing a job for himself.² He also made manuscript maps for the Portuguese administrators, both of the whole of Minas Gerais and more detailed maps of its divisions.³ In 1789 he was accused of having made maps in support of a movement called the Inconfidência Mineira (“Minas Gerais Conspiracy”) that sought independence from Portugal and the creation of a Brazilian republic, but he was acquitted.⁴
- 2 The anonymous map in question (Fig. 1) has some damage to its title cartouche, but the title may be read thus: *Mappa do Continente da Colonia do Sacramento, R^o. Grande de S. Pedro the a Ilha de S. Catharina com a Linha divizoria da Arraya ajust[ada pelo] Tratado de Limites Celebrad[o entre a]s Corôas de Portugal, e Cas[tela n]o anno de MDCC[L]. Nota que a linha de*

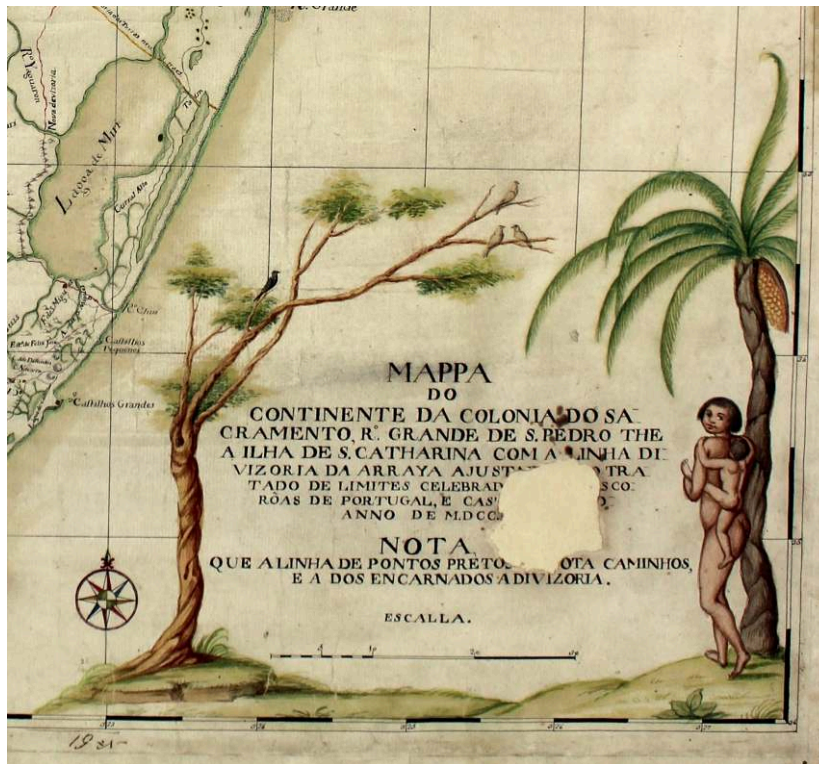
*pontos preto[s den]ota caminhos, e a dos encarnados a divizoria.*⁵ In the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto it has the shelfmark Res. pasta 24-61, and is dated after 1750, based on the reference to the treaty of that date in its title. I know of one reproduction of the map, without discussion,⁶ and one brief discussion of the map which however does not address the question of its authorship.⁷

Fig. 1. Mappa do Continente da Colonia do Sacramento



Source: Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, Res. pasta 24-61. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto

- 3 When I first saw the map, I was immediately struck by the similarity of the title cartouche's handwriting and decorative style (Fig. 2) to those of some of Rocha's cartouches. The handwriting of the title is very similar to that of the title of Rocha's *Mappa da Comarca de Villa Rica* of 1779 (Fig. 3)⁸ and his *Mappa da Comarca do Sabará pertencente a Capitania de Minas Gerais* of c. 1778 (Fig. 4).⁹ The style of rendering trees, and also the style of painting Indigenous peoples, in the anonymous map in Porto is also very similar to those in these two maps (Fig. 5).¹⁰

Fig. 2. The title cartouche of *Mappa do Continente da Colonia do Sacramento*

Source: Courtesy of the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto

Fig. 3. The title cartouche of Rocha's *Mappa da Comarca de Villa Rica* of 1779

Source: Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, Cartografia ARC.030,01,034on. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil

Fig. 4. The title cartouche of Rocha's *Mappa da Comarca do Sabará pertencente a Capitania de Minas Gerais* of c. 1778



Source: Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, Cartografia ARC.030,01,033. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil

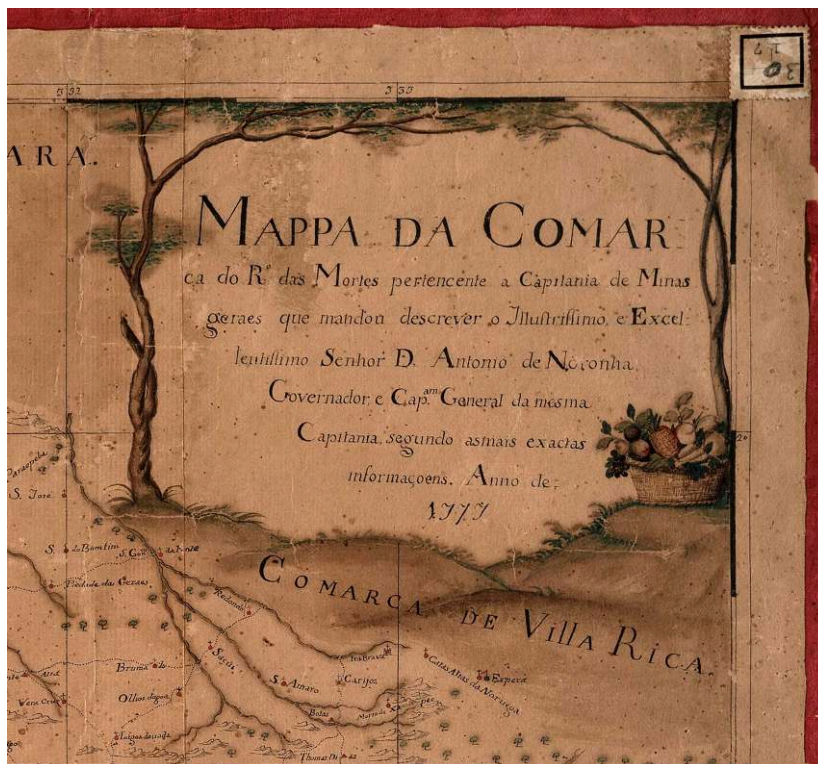
Fig. 5. Detail of the indigenous woman on Rocha's *Mappa da Comarca de Villa Rica* of 1779



Source: Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, Cartografia ARC.030,01,034on. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil

- 4 Other iconographic details of the map in Porto match those of Rocha's signed maps: the style of drawing mountains, rivers, compass roses, scales of leagues, and of indicating latitude and longitude in the neat lines of the map all match with Rocha's style. It should be remarked, though, that the handwriting used for the place names is not consistent across Rocha's maps, indicating that he produced his maps in a workshop, and sometimes had different assistants write the place names: the toponyms on his *Mappa da Comarca de Villa Rica* of 1779, for example, are written in a different, cursive hand than those on his other maps. And on another of his maps, the *Mappa da Comarca do Rio das Mortes* of 1777, he seems to have entrusted the writing of the title information to one of his assistants (Fig. 6).¹¹ Setting aside the question of Rocha's use of assistants in making his maps, which seems a worthy subject for further investigation, it is difficult to doubt that the anonymous map in Porto is his work. The likelihood that the anonymous map in Porto is by Rocha is increased by the fact that a map signed by Rocha made its way into the same municipal library.¹²

Fig. 6. The title cartouche of Rocha's 1777 *Mappa da Comarca do Rio das Mortes*



Source: Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, Cartografia ARC.030,01,007. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil

- 5 The map is a very interesting addition to Rocha's *oeuvre* because it shows that he was commissioned to make a map related to the long-standing border dispute between Portugal and Spain in the Río de la Plata, a responsibility that does not appear in any of his other surviving maps. The title of the map proclaims that it shows the border according to the treaty of 1750, which is to say the famous Treaty of Madrid of that year.¹³ Rocha did not arrive in Brazil till the 1760s, and his known cartographic production is from the 1770s to the 1790s, so the map is most likely from that period.

And it is not difficult to form a hypothesis about the context in which the map was made.

- 6 Neither Spain nor Portugal had been satisfied with the Treaty of 1750, and in particular the Colonia del Sacramento remained a point of contention between the two powers. The Treaty had specified that Portugal would surrender it to Spain, but Portugal did not do so. In September of 1760 the Spanish ambassador informed the Portuguese court that its unwillingness to give over the Colonia del Sacramento had obliged Carlos III to abrogate the treaty, and in February of the following year, the treaty was terminated through the Treaty of El Pardo.¹⁴
- 7 Disputes and discussions about the Colonia del Sacramento and its ownership continued into the 1770s,¹⁵ and in 1777 the Treaty of San Ildefonso reinstated most of the borders that had been agreed upon in the Treaty of Madrid, but obliged Portugal to return to Spain the Colonia del Sacramento and other territories.¹⁶ It seems likely that Rocha produced the map in the context of discussions about the border leading up to the Treaty of San Ildefonso, in the hope that Portugal might be able to retain part of the region, rather than surrendering all of it. At the top of the map, near the *Rio Uruguai Pita, ou Vermelho*, the map shows two different borders. The one further to the west labeled, in a different and perhaps later hand than the rest of the map, *demarcação suposta pillos Espanhoes*, “the border assumed by the Spanish,” and the border to the east, which also seems to be a later addition, is labeled *demarcação verdadeira*, representing the border according to the Portuguese (Fig. 7). There is another later addition to the border in the southern part of the map: an added line labeled *Divizoria das Terras neutraes* (“line dividing the neutral lands”). These additions indicate that the map was part of a continuing discussion about the border, which, again, suggests that it was made in the years leading up to the Treaty of San Ildefonso.

Castro, José Flávio Morais (2013). “Georreferenciamento e Cartometria dos mapas da Capitania de Minas Gerais elaborados por José Joaquim da Rocha em 1778 e 1793”. *Sociedade & Natureza*, v. 25, n. 3, pp. 581-593.

Cortesão, Jaime (1971). “A cartografia dos limites de 1750 e as partidas do Sul”. In: *História do Brasil nos velhos mapas*. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Rio-Branco, vol. 2, cap. 3, pp. 275-302.

Costa, Antônio Gilberto; Furtado, Júnia; Renger, Friedrich; Santos, Márcia (2004). “Os mapas de José Joaquim da Rocha”. In: Costa, Antônio Gilberto (Ed.). *Cartografia da conquista do território das Minas*. Belo Horizonte: Editora da UFMG; Lisbon: Editorial Kapa, pp. 145-151.

Costa, Maria de Fátima (2009). “Miguel Ciera: um demarcador de limites no interior sul-americano (1750-1760)”. *Anais do Museu Paulista*, v. 17, n. 2, pp. 189-214.

Ferreira, Mário Olímpio Clemente (2001). *O Tratado de Madrid e o Brasil Meridional: os trabalhos demarcadores das partidas do Sul e a sua produção cartográfica (1749-1761)*. Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.

Furtado, Júnia Ferreira (2008). “Iluminuras da Sedição: a cartografia de José Joaquim da Rocha e a Inconfidência Mineira”. In: Silva, Fernando Pedro da (Ed.). *Atas do IV Congresso Internacional do Barroco Íbero-Americano, Ouro Preto, 2006*. Belo Horizonte: C/Arte, pp. 981-1003.

Furtado, Júnia Ferreira Furtado (2011). “Rebellious Maps: José Joaquim da Rocha and the Proto-Independence Movement in Colonial Brazil”. In: Brückner, Martin (Ed.). *Early American Cartographies*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, pp. 116-142.

Guerreiro, Inácio (1999). “Fronteiras do Brasil colonial: a cartografia dos limites na segunda metade do século XVIII”. *Océanos*, Lisbon, n. 40, pp. 24-44.

Herzog, Tamar (2015). *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Iglesias, Rubén Álvarez (2014). “Repercusiones de la Unión Ibérica en los confines de la América Portuguesa: discusiones en torno a los Tratados de Límites del siglo XVIII”. *Revista de Estudios Brasileños*, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 189-201.

Martín-Merás, Luisa (2007). “Fondos cartográficos y documentales de la Comisión de Límites de Brasil en el siglo XVIII en el Museo Naval de Madrid”. *Terra Brasilis*, n. 7-8-9.

Maxwell, Kenneth (1995). *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, England, and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Prado, Fabrício Pereira (2002). *A colônia do Sacramento: o extremo sul da América portuguesa no século XVIII*. Porto Alegre: F. P. Prado.

Reis, Arthur César Ferreira (2007). “Os Tratados de Limites”. In: Buarque de Hollanda, Sérgio (Ed.). *História Geral da Civilização brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2007, tomo 1, vol. 1, pp. 396-412.

Rocha, José Joaquim da (1995). *Geografia histórica da capitania de Minas Gerais*. In: Resende, Maria Efigênia Lage de (Ed.). Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro, pp. 200-207.

Safier, Neil (2020). “Madrid, Treaty of (1750)”. In: Edney, Matthew H.; Pedley, Mary Sponberg (Eds.). *The History of Cartography*, v. 4, *Cartography in the European Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 753-756.

Silva, Adriana Fraga (2006). *Estratégias materiais e espacialidade: uma Arqueologia da Paisagem do Tropeirismo nos Campos de Cima da Serra/RS*. Dissertação (Mestrado em História), Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, pp. 73-76.

NOTES

1. For biographical information on Rocha, see Rocha, José Joaquim da (1995). *Geografia histórica da capitania de Minas Gerais*. In: Resende, Maria Efigênia Lage de (Ed.). Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro, pp. 200-207. This book is available in digital format via <http://www.bibliotecadigital.mg.gov.br/>.
2. On Rocha's geographical-historical reports on Minas Gerais, which were not published during his lifetime, see Furtado, Júnia Ferreira (2008). "Iluminuras da Sedição: a cartografia de José Joaquim da Rocha e a Inconfidência Mineira". In: Silva, Fernando Pedro da (Ed.). *Atas do IV Congresso Internacional do Barroco Íbero-Americano, Ouro Preto, 2006*. Belo Horizonte: C/Arte, pp. 981-1003, at 984-991; and Furtado, Júnia Ferreira Furtado (2011). "Rebellious Maps: José Joaquim da Rocha and the Proto-Independence Movement in Colonial Brazil". In: Brückner, Martin (Ed.). *Early American Cartographies*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, pp. 116-142, at 126-127. The first report was published in 1995, with notes about the differences between it and Rocha's two subsequent reports: see note 1.
3. On Rocha's maps, see Ávila, Cristina; Duarte, Juliana Souza; Andrade Gomes, Maria do Carmo; Thomasi, Maria Luísa and Hanriot, Renata (1989). "Cartografia e inconfidência: Considerações sobre a obra de José Joaquim da Rocha". *Análise & Conjuntura*, Belo Horizonte, v. 4, n. 2-3, pp. 373-392; and Costa, Antônio Gilberto *et al.* (2004). "Os mapas de José Joaquim da Rocha". In: Costa, Antônio Gilberto (Ed.). *Cartografia da conquista do território das Minas*. Belo Horizonte: Editora da UFMG; Lisbon: Editorial Kapa, pp. 145-151. Some of his maps are well reproduced as flyleaf inserts in Rocha (1995) (see note 1); in the digital edition of the book these images follow p. 144. Also see Castro, José Flávio Morais (2013). "Georreferenciamento e Cartometria dos mapas da Capitania de Minas Gerais elaborados por José Joaquim da Rocha em 1778 e 1793". *Sociedade & Natureza*, v. 25, n. 3, pp. 581-593.
4. Furtado (2008, 2011) (see note 2).
5. The title of the map may be translated "Map of the Continent of Colonia del Sacramento, Rio Grande de San Pedro, [and] the Island of Santa Catharina with the dividing line (Arraya) adjusted according to the Treaty of Limits Celebrated between the Crowns of Portugal and Castile in the year 1750. Note that the line of black dots denotes paths, and that of the red ones the dividing line."
6. Rocha's map of Colonia del Sacramento is reproduced in: Guerreiro, Inácio (1999). "Fronteiras do Brasil colonial: a cartografia dos limites na segunda metade do século XVIII". *Océanos*, Lisbon, n. 40, pp. 24-44, at 27.
7. Rocha's map of Colonia del Sacramento is discussed in: Silva, Adriana Fraga (2006). *Estratégias materiais e espacialidade: uma Arqueologia da Paisagem do Tropeirismo nos Campos de Cima da Serra/RS*. Dissertação (Mestrado em História), Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, pp. 73-76.
8. Rocha's *Mappa da Comarca de Villa Rica* is in the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, Cartografia ARC.030,01,034on, and a high-resolution image of it is available via <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/acervodigital/>.
9. Rocha's *Mappa da Comarca do Sabará pertencente a Capitania de Minas Gerais* of c. 1778 is in the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, Cartografia ARC.030,01,033, and a high-resolution digital image of it

is available via <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/acervodigital>. The map is discussed by Ávila *et al.* (1989) (see note 3), pp. 389-392.

10. Other examples of Rocha's maps can be conveniently consulted in Rocha, *Geografia Histórica* (1995) (see note 1), in the illustrations following p. 144. On the decorative element in Rocha's title cartouches see Gilberto Costa *et al.* (2004), (see note 3), pp. 150-151.

11. The full title of Rocha's 1777 map of the Comarca do Rio das Mortes is *Mappa da Comarca do Rio das Mortes, pertencente a Capitania das Minas Gerais que mandou descrever o Ilustrissimo e Excelentissimo Senhor D. Antonio de Noronha Governador e Cap. am General da mesma Capitania segundo as mais exactas informações*. The map is in the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, Cartografia ARC.030,01,007, and a high-resolution image of it is available via <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/acervodigital>.

12. The map signed by Rocha in the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto is José Joaquim da Rocha, *Mappa da Capitania de Minas Geraes*, 1793, BPMP /PO/PT.

13. The literature on the Treaty of 1750 and related cartography is vast, see for example Cortesão, Jaime (1971). "A cartografia dos limites de 1750 e as partidas do Sul". In: *História do Brasil nos velhos mapas*. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Rio-Branco, vol. 2, cap. 3, pp. 275-302; Guerreiro, Inácio (1999). "Fronteiras do Brasil colonial: a cartografia dos limites na segunda metade do século XVIII". *Océanos*, Lisbon, n. 40, pp. 24-44; Ferreira, Mário Olímpio Clemente (2001). *O Tratado de Madrid e o Brasil Meridional: os trabalhos demarcadores das partidas do Sul e a sua produção cartográfica (1749-1761)*. Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses; Reis, Arthur César Ferreira (2007). "Os Tratados de Limites". In: Buarque de Hollanda, Sérgio (Ed.). *História Geral da Civilização brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2007, tomo 1, vol. 1, pp. 396-412, esp. 400-405; Iglesias, Rubén Álvarez (2014). "Repercusiones de la Unión Ibérica en los confines de la América Portuguesa: discusiones en torno a los Tratados de Límites del siglo XVIII". *Revista de Estudios Brasileños*, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 189-201; and Safier, Neil (2020). "Madrid, Treaty of (1750)". In: Edney, Matthew H.; Pedley, Mary Sponberg (Eds.). *The History of Cartography*, v. 4, *Cartography in the European Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 753-756.

14. Maxwell, Kenneth (1995). *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, England, and New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 55; for the text of the Treaty of Pardo in Spanish and Portuguese see Calvo, Carlos (1862-1866), *Colección completa de los tratados, convenciones, capitulaciones, armisticios, y otros actos diplomáticos de todos los estados de la América latina*. Paris: A. Durand, vol. 2, pp. 348-355.

15. On the disputes between Portugal and Spain over their territories in South America during this period see Alden, Dauril (1961). "The Undeclared War of 1773-1777: Climax of Luso-Spanish Platine Rivalry". *Hispanic American Historical Review*, v. 41, n. 1, pp. 55-74; for discussion specifically of the Colonia del Sacramento see the same author's *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil: With Special Reference to the Administration of the Marquis of Lavradio, Viceroy, 1769-1779*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, pp. 117-119 and 157-160; and Herzog, Tamar (2015). *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 17-134 on the Colonia de Sacramento. For a general history of the Colonia del Sacramento see Prado, Fabrício Pereira (2002). *A colônia do Sacramento: o extremo sul da América portuguesa no século XVIII*. Porto Alegre: F. P. Prado, esp. pp. 27-32.

16. Safier (2020) (see note 12), p. 756; for the text of the Treaty of San Ildefonso see Calvo (1862-1866) (see note 13), vol. 3, pp. 130-167.

17. Miguel Antônio Ciera's manuscript map titled *Tabula nova, atque accurata Americae Australis partem exhibens, in qua omnes praecipue Regiones, de quibus olim, regendorum finium causa inter lusitanos, Hispanos que conuenerat, atque aliarum praeterea terrarum tractus continentur quae Agro Paraguaensi, Flumine Paranã, Flumine Argenteo, atque Oceano terminantur*, of 1772, in the Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, Cartografía ARC.016,12,038-039. A high-resolution image of the map is available at <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/acervodigital>. The map is discussed in: Mathias, Cristina

Soares; Junior, Ivo Fernandes Lattuca; Faria, Maria Dulce de; Santana, Vanda Ferreira. “O mapa mural de Miguel Antônio Ciera”, an undated paper available at: http://www.cartografia.org.br/vslbch/trabalhos/74/76/o-mapa-mural-modelo_1379106892.pdf. On Ciera see Costa, Maria de Fátima (2009). “Miguel Ciera: um demarcador de limites no interior sul-americano (1750-1760)”. *Anais do Museu Paulista*, v. 17, n. 2, pp. 189-214. Other maps relating to the border are discussed by Martín-Merás, Luisa (2007). “Fondos cartográficos y documentales de la Comisión de Límites de Brasil en el siglo XVIII en el Museo Naval de Madrid”. *Terra Brasilis*, n. 7-8-9. Available at: <http://journals.openedition.org/terrabrasilis/402>.

ABSTRACTS

The purpose of this short article is simple: to attribute an anonymous manuscript map of the Colonia de Sacramento, a territory north of the río de la Plata, that had been contended between the Spanish and Portuguese empires, kept in the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, to the cartographer José Joaquim da Rocha (c. 1740-1807). The argument will be based on iconographic evidence, as no record about the map's history is available. The analysis of the map will shed light on Rocha's cartographic practices, and the attribution of the map to Rocha will shed new light on his career.

O propósito deste breve texto é simples: atribuir um mapa manuscrito anônimo da Colônia do Sacramento – um território ao norte do rio da Prata, que foi disputado entre os impérios Espanhol e Português –, mantido na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, ao cartógrafo José Joaquim da Rocha (c. 1740-1807). Tal argumento está baseado em evidências iconográficas, já que não há nenhum registro disponível sobre a história do mapa. A análise do mapa esclarecerá sobre as práticas cartográficas de Rocha e a atribuição do mapa a ele lançará nova luz sobre sua carreira.

El propósito de este breve texto es simple: el de atribuir un mapa manuscrito anónimo de Colonia del Sacramento —un territorio al norte del río de la Plata que había sido disputado entre los imperios español y portugués—, resguardado en la Biblioteca Pública Municipal de Porto, al cartógrafo José Joaquim da Rocha (c. 1740-1807). El argumento se basa en evidencia iconográfica, dado que ningún registro acerca de la historia de este mapa se encuentra disponible. El análisis y atribución del mapa arrojan luz acerca de la carrera y de las prácticas cartográficas de da Rocha.

Le but de ce court article est simple: attribuer au cartographe José Joaquim da Rocha (vers 1740-1807) une carte manuscrite anonyme de Colonia de Sacramento --un territoire au nord du río de la Plata qui fut à l'origine de disputes entre les empires espagnol et portugais-- aujourd'hui conservée à la Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto. Cette proposition se base sur des preuves iconographiques, car aucune trace de l'histoire de la carte n'est disponible. L'analyse de la carte éclaire les pratiques cartographiques de Rocha et l'attribution de la carte à Rocha contribue à jeter un éclairage nouveau sur sa carrière.

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Keywords: José Joaquim da Rocha, cartography, manuscript map, Brazil, Colonia del Sacramento, eighteenth century

Palavras-chave: José Joaquim da Rocha, cartografia, mapa manuscrito, Brasil, Colônia do Sacramento, século XVIII

Mots-clés: José Joaquim da Rocha, cartographie, carte manuscrite, Brésil, Colonia del Sacramento, XVIIIe siècle

AUTHOR

CHET VAN DUZER

University of Rochester, Department of English
chet.van.duzer@gmail.com