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***Inter se nulli fines*: representations of the presence of the Khoikhoi in early colonial maps of the Cape of Good Hope**

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This paper deals with early cartographic representations (both cosmographic and chorographic) of the presence of Khoikhoi at the Cape of Good Hope. While the boundaries of the Dutch settlement at Table Bay and the land allotted to farmers were professionally drawn by land surveyors, the locations of the dwellings of Khoikhoi communities on early colonial maps of the Cape are distributed in various ways. However, the vast majority of maps simply ignore their presence. A second group of maps locate the dwellings as if in a fixed position. Finally, and these are the most interesting, some maps tend to take account of the transitional status of Khoikhoi locations by using a variety of graphic means. The attitude towards the concept of land ownership held by the Cape settlers, who appropriated specific locations, and that of the indigenous Khoikhoi communities, who were nomadic herders, are widely divergent. The purpose of the article is to explain the cultural context of the selected cartographers which motivated them to evolve various cartographic conventions to represent a previously unknown territory and its nomadic peoples.

Key words: Khoikhoi, cartographic representations, Cape of Good Hope

Inter se nulli fines : représentations de la présence des Khoikhoi dans les premières cartes coloniales du Cap de Bonne Espérance

Cet article étudie les premières représentations cartographiques (cosmographiques et chorographiques) témoignant de la présence des Khoikhoi au Cap de Bonne-Espérance. Alors que les limites de la colonie hollandaise dans la baie de la Table et les terres attribuées aux fermiers étaient délimitées professionnellement par des arpenteurs, les implantations des communautés Khoikhoi suivent différents modes de localisation sur les premières cartes coloniales du Cap. Cependant, la grande majorité des cartes ignore simplement leur présence. Un second groupe de cartes localise leurs habitats comme s'ils étaient fixes dans l'espace. Enfin, d'autres, et ce sont les plus intéressantes, tendent à rendre compte du caractère itinérant des Khoikhoi en employant différents moyens graphiques. Les colonisateurs, qui s'approprièrent des lieux spécifiques et les tribus indigènes Khoikhoi, éleveurs nomades, entretenaient des rapports au concept de propriété terrienne fondamentalement divergents. L'objet de cet article est d'expliquer comment le contexte culturel dans lequel évoluent certains cartographes les a conduits à faire évoluer plusieurs ressources cartographiques pour représenter un territoire antérieurement inconnu et ses peuples nomades.

Mots-clé : Khoikhoi, représentations cartographiques, Cap de Bonne-Espérance

In his travel account, published in Switzerland in 1686, Willem Ten Rhyne states: “The Khoi are separated from one another by no boundaries [*inter se nulli fines*]”,¹ borrowing this expression from Justin, the Roman historian of the late Empire. This physician of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC; English: Dutch East India Company), on his way to Java, stopped in the Cape in 1673 and spent some time with the Khoikhoi. The travellers were frequently astonished by the nomadic character of the local populations and some of them compared the Khoikhoi to the children of Israel. So did the German surgeon J.D. Buttner in the early eighteenth century, who tried to locate the various Khoikhoi communities.² However when speaking of kingdoms corresponding to specific lands, he missed the very peculiar feature of the Khoikhoi's relationship with the land.³ This was not exactly linked to property but rather to land use, and consequently the notion of boundaries would evolve according to the seasons of the year.⁴ The Dutch intended to identify specific places while the Khoikhoi, a nomadic people, infused with a sense of communal possession, were more

interested in the use they could make of the land for grazing purposes rather than for the sake of possession and permanent settlement. As a matter of fact, possession of stock from which they could live, or exchange with other goods, was more important than the possession of land. In contrast, “European immigrants carried with them ethnocentric attitudes that were deep-seated in Western culture. Ignorant of the needs of local societies, they assumed that they were not depriving inhabitants of anything if they occupied land that was not already built on, cultivated or grazed by domestic animals” (Lamar and Thompson 1981: 17). Under Roman-Dutch Law, Dutch colonisers possessed a right to property and to land use which they applied by means of title deeds based on accurate land surveying and the mapping of territories. This right they also exercised at the Cape during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.



Figure 1

Landmeet Konst [The art of land surveying] (National Library of South Africa, Cape Town, MSA 66).

According to Kees Zandvliet (1998:159) the Dutch had based their ideas of colonization on Roman literature, especially law and mathematics. Thus soon after the Cape was settled by a small group of Dutch settlers, many had harboured notions of obtaining their own private land at some point in the future. In order to give expression to the demands of Roman-Dutch Law which required the registration of title deeds and the boundaries of places, land surveyors, a special category of skilled professionals who collaborated with architects, town planners and cartographers, became necessary. In the Netherlands their training included a thorough knowledge of geography and mathematics — especially of perspective. The situation of the Netherlands was unique in Europe, at least since 1600 when the *Duytsche Matematique* school was opened in Leiden according to Simon Stevin’s educational principles, making available this academic knowledge to engineers without any command of the Latin language (Van Maanen 1987). Since surveying was so important for the Dutch in establishing land partitions on which a permanent settlement at the Cape could be based, the first Commander, Jan van Riebeeck, was accompanied by, or imported, trained land surveyors very soon after his arrival in 1652 to establish a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope (Guelke 1984). The names of some sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century land surveyors who worked at the Cape in the service of the VOC are known, notably Pieter Potter, but most are anonymous and a few of them may

have visited the Cape for only a short period (Fisher 1982; 1984). However some manuscripts dealing with subjects close to the interests of the average surveying-engineer are to be found in the collections of the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town and furnish us with a clear idea of the interest shown in the matter at the Cape.⁵ The Dutch surveyor worked with a baton and chains, as can be seen on the anonymous drawing from the middle of the seventeenth century (figure 1).

However the making of the colonial maps is not only a result of land surveying for legal purposes. Except for the few drawn maps included in our corpus, the maps were produced in the west, most of them in Amsterdam or in Paris. In the workshops the mapmakers had to deal with heterogeneous material consisting of sea charts delineating the coast, astronomical observations and various written descriptions and graphic depictions of the places. The making of a map was not only a matter of observation but also an intellectual operation based on a series of economical and ideological motivations. Furthermore all of these maps were produced for a Western and European clientele that could ignore almost everything of the reality in the colonies. It has been suggested that these maps contributed to the creation of a mostly false and distorted European image of the Khoikhoi (Fauvelle 2002).

While the European settlement in the Cape developed, the maps could not remain within the boundaries of the cosmographic traditions that mainly delineated the geographic elements of a territory. Cartographers also had to provide increasing amounts of information on the human realities of the territory: the situation of the fort, the expanding town, the company gardens and a few years later the farms further away. In this respect, a majority of maps tended more to chorographic description. The question of representing the local population was then posed, even if supposedly in an unconscious way. Our purpose in this article is to inquire into the way in which the presence of the Khoikhoi was represented by the cartographers, most probably employed by the VOC. It is neither our aim to reconstruct the complex process that led to the production of each map, the pattern they followed, nor to determine the expectations of the various audiences because it is almost impossible to reconstruct the sources that were used by the various cartographers. It is however, obvious that the maps indicating the locations of Khoikhoi settlements, in one way or another, corresponded or responded to descriptions in the texts of travellers who encountered them in the vicinity and on the outskirts of the Cape settlement.

The information used to write this article was gathered from sources, such as printed maps as well as published and unpublished drawings in the Bibliothèque National de France in Paris and the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town that had been produced during the first fifty years of Dutch colonisation at a time when an audience in Europe discovered the existence of the Cape area, including all its human realities. In particular, the maps are reproduced here as documentary evidence of how the presence of the indigenous populations is acknowledged or denied and codified, when appropriate, into a Western manner of representation.

The Western tradition of mapping aims not only at reproducing the location but also at assigning to these places a permanent form that tends to be final. Maps are supposed to provide a reference for further consultation. Therefore they deal with space but also with time. The maps were intended to embody the present state of the Cape settlement. This function is perfectly coherent with the Western concept of ownership that coincides with a territorial boundary. However, this theoretical requirement is in absolute contradiction with the way of life of the Khoikhoi, a nomadic people with seasonal migration patterns. Since the locations of the Khoikhoi communities that are indicated on the selected maps were mainly based on descriptions, the contradiction we are dealing with in this study is that on a map places are fixed according to the conventions of cartography, while the Khoikhoi were nomadic herders with

shifting habitats. A brief overview of their lifestyle, economy, social structure and evidence of their locations is therefore necessary before the maps on which they appear are categorised.

Khoikhoi society before and after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck

South Africa, or the Cape of Good Hope, was, according to Shula Marks (1980), not an “empty land” when European seafarers began to round the southern tip of Africa before the Cape was finally settled by the Dutch in 1652. Tasked to found and then manage the Cape as a refreshment station under the auspices of the VOC, Jan van Riebeeck, the Dutch emissary and commander, encountered indigenous people known as the Khoikhoi who had lived in the Cape since the beginning of the Christian era. Thanks to the research conducted by historians, linguists, archaeologists and anthropologists we now know that the Cape was inhabited by groups of people or communities, known as Khoikhoi or Khoekhoe (Humphreys 1981: 1, 3; Wright 1977: 24), meaning “men of men” in their language. The Dutch and early visitors at the Cape, of various nationalities, called the Khoikhoi “Hottentots”, a term that later acquired derogatory and racist connotations.

The Khoikhoi were hunter-gatherers and pastoralists and their lifestyle and economy revolved around pastoralism. By collating evidence in various sources regarding the origins, numbers, clans (each with its own name) and whereabouts of Khoikhoi groupings in the Western Cape at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, one gathers that the current consensus appears to be that the Khoikhoi originated in a region approximately on the junction between Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, as proposed by Westphal (1963) on linguistic grounds, and elaborated by Richard Elphick (1977 and 1985). Based on ethno-historical and linguistic data (Tshu-Kwe language and speakers) Elphick suggested a more acceptable and practical route than Westphal’s by which the Khoikhoi entered Southern Africa and what today constitutes South Africa. These pastoralists moved into Zimbabwe, then to the Limpopo, continuing further down, using the Harts, Vaal and Orange Rivers to obtain water and graze their cattle. Some groups then split into other directions, notably in the direction of Namibia, Namaqualand, the eastern Cape, southwestern Cape and the Cape Peninsula (Elphick 1977: 16; Humphreys 1981: 5; Klein 1986: 9). In the mid-seventeenth century, when the Dutch colonisers arrived to settle in the Cape of Good Hope, the Khoikhoi population numbered about 200 000 (Shkllazh 1989: 129) distributed in a large territory that followed the narrow strip of the coastal area of the West coast, from Walvis Bay to the north (Van Winter 1936: 10). The Hessequa Khoikhoi who lived in the vicinity of Swellendam, approximately 200 kilometres from Cape Town, constituted probably the richest, largest and most powerful of all Khoikhoi groupings (Carstens 1969: 96). Each group had a territory on which it used to move frequently. However, their transhumance pattern often took the pastoralists further into the interior in search of water and grazing. Cooperation and the sharing of resources was an important strategy for survival among them, especially since cattle diseases and ecological disasters such as drought could ruin a particular clan (Elphick 1977: 37-8, 92). Therefore, some parts of a territory or region could be shared with another clan, as long as both did not occupy the same place at the same time.

The Khoikhoi were a semi-nomadic herding society, and their settlement patterns were consequently determined by gaining access to water resources and good grazing on a seasonal basis. Though they were pastoralists, most Khoikhoi settlements and villages were fairly large, some consisting of between 80 and 100 huts. Olof Bergh who had travelled into the interior and visited certain Hessequa kraals recorded that he had witnessed how in the vicinity of Soetendaals Valley “85 kraals one beside the other” constituted a village and large settlement. (Mossop 1931: 69) The Khoikhoi lived in domed-shaped structures which were covered with woven mats. Huts were constructed in a circular pattern. These hut structures were easily constructed

and dismantled. Once dismantled, the mats, poles and other possessions were loaded onto the backs of oxen which were used as pack animals (Boonzair 1996: 37, 47).

The geographical region where the first phase of colonial settlement and Khoi-European contact occurred was inhabited by the Peninsular Khoikhoi. Based on the study conducted by H.J. le Roux, the archaeologist Jeanette Deacon (1984: 281) has estimated that these Khoikhoi occupied territories which spanned in excess of 3019 square kilometres. According to Elphick (1977: 91), they had inhabited the Cape Peninsula for centuries and comprised three major groupings, namely, Goringhaiqua, Gorachouqua and Goringhaicona. In the Cape Peninsula the Goringhaicona inhabitants of the Table Valley were the first group to be encountered by the colonists (Breedekamp and Newton-King 1984: 7), but according to Andrew B. Smith (1983: 3) and Elphick (1977: 100) the “Saldanhars” (or Cochoqua) arrived in the vicinity of Table Bay for the spring pasture in October 1652, a few months after Van Riebeeck had set foot on Cape soil. The Cochoqua were rich in cattle, which gave the Dutch the idea that all Khoikhoi were well endowed in livestock, which was not always the case, however. Peninsular Khoikhoi, indeed, were neither politically strong nor large in terms of numbers, which points to their vulnerability in being easily conquered and absorbed into colonial society (Breedekamp 1982).

In order to sustain the business-like enterprise of the refreshment port, the Dutch had naturally sought to gain permanent access to land in the region of Table Bay. The Peninsular Khoikhoi were thus the first of several Khoikhoi groupings who were systematically ousted from the land. In 1657, Rijkloff van Goens and Van Riebeeck allocated land to a group of freeburghers in the vicinity of the Liesbeeck River and Table Bay. The fact that the Khoikhoi were not agro-pastoralists, but “pure” pastoralists, allowed the Dutch to assert their authority over the future appropriation of land. Kees Zandvliet (1998: 159) writes how Van Goens in 1657 ordered that land must be demarcated and distributed according to the Roman system. He further decreed that the plots would be granted according to the traditional Dutch method which outlined that “the plots [could be] as long and as broad as they wished”. According to these instructions Pieter Potter mapped farms for agricultural purposes, which, in effect, granted legal ownership to their prospective owners. Van Goens further reckoned that disputes would be avoided since the demarcation of land followed a strict mathematical design. In practice, of course, it was totally different, especially, as the “presence” of Khoikhoi kraals and access to resources was not taken into account. As Elphick and Malherbe (1989: 12) have argued, the “Khoikhoi resented not only the loss of exceptional pastures near Table Mountain, but also the way the new farms blocked their access to watering areas on the Cape Peninsula”.

The possession of livestock (cattle, goats and sheep) invariably tied the Khoikhoi to the land and though these were privately owned, the concept of private property as far as land ownership was concerned, did not form part of their social and political structures. Even though they were led by Chiefs or headmen, every member of the clan enjoyed access to land, water and grazing. As Boonzaier (1996: 39) has stated: “The chief ‘owned’ neither the land nor the resources on it. There was clear understanding that land could not become private property of individuals, including the chief, and could not therefore be disposed of, in any manner whatsoever, by the chief”. Land and its resources practically belonged to the members of the clan and those who owned livestock. The latter usually grazed in close proximity to the camp during the day. At night livestock were kept in enclosures made of branches or stones. The size of these herds is often difficult to determine.

The demarcation of land naturally included land occupied by Khoikhoi pastoralists and hunter-gatherers. There are also many references to the whereabouts of the colonial Khoikhoi in published texts of this early period, and the fact that Jan van Riebeeck (Leibbrandt 1898) refers to specific locations in his journal on 10 February 1655 and 11-12 May 1656 denotes that it was still hard for him to conceive that land ownership could shift according to the needs

of the people. It is therefore difficult to find a VOC map which shows these specific locations. However, the great archaeological progress that has been recently made in providing evidence of some former locations of the seasonal kraals does not directly enter into our article, as we are not at this point providing a comparison between the ancient knowledge transmitted by the maps with the most up-to-date research in this field.

We are not dealing with the iconography of the presentation of the Khoikhoi people themselves (as Bassani and Tedeschi had shown, 1990), but with early depictions of their dwellings and settlements on early colonial maps as envisaged by illustrators and cartographers. Most illustrations of kraal settlements show a circle of huts (figure 2) that fit a description such as the following by P.W. Laidler (1936: 109): “In 1661 there was a kraal of seventy-three huts a little to the north of Olifant’s River. They formed a circle, outside which stood three huts occupied by Hottentots who possessed no cattle and who acted as messengers between that and the other kraals. The community consisted of three hundred men who possessed four hundred thousand sheep with which they moved from pasture to pasture.” While this number seems vastly exaggerated, no other information could be traced with respect to sizes of cattle or sheep herds. It is nevertheless obvious that the cattle covered very large portions of territory.



Figure 2
Khoikhoi and their cattle as depicted by Peter Kolb (1968: 175).

The most frequent way to depict the Khoikhoi kraals in the maps is by means of a simplified iconic system of a small circle formed by rounded dots, recalling the form of the settlement itself. However, other systems, such as irregular dots or small pyramids, are also used. With the information available at present the locations of the circles or other signs on various maps cannot always be supported by geographical or archaeological evidence that the Khoikhoi were in fact at that specific place at the time that the map was drawn. However, the maps must be studied as cartographic documents since a map cannot be identical with the land it represents: “a map is necessarily an abstract representation” (Ziman 1978: 85).

Categories of representation of the presence of the Khoikhoi on early colonial maps

Three categories are proposed, based on the way that Khoikhoi habitats are depicted:

1 Maps that ignore the presence of the Khoikhoi

The vast majority of maps fall into this category, even though the country depicted is called that of the “Hottentots”: for example the map compiled and designed in Paris under supervision of Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703-1772) for the official Ministry of Marine Affairs and titled *Carte du Pais des Hottentots aux Environs du Cap de Bonne Esperance*. This map was frequently

reproduced, even in the Netherlands, and was used as the template for a further rewriting of the area map. The contradiction of ascribing the country name to the “Hottentots” without locating them on the map is often solved by adding a small vignette showing a picturesque scene of Khoikhoi everyday life: some people dressed with animal skins in front of their huts and herds, the whole leaving a very large space to the representation of the surrounding countryside, including some elements that the European audience might recognize, for instance the slopes of Table Mountain.

2 Maps that locate Khoikhoi dwellings or kraals as if in a fixed position (figures 3-7)

A series of maps represent the dwellings of Khoikhoi as in a fixed position, in the same way as was done for the farms, for instance. These two elements are very often in close proximity. This could be understood as a snap shot, the depiction of where the people are located when the representation is made. But this would be a misinterpretation of the early modern map culture. These maps are made for the long term and are designed to last. As local informants could not ignore the nomadic character of the Khoikhoi, this should rather be seen as an adaptation and transcription of the unusual reality into conventional cartographic codes.

On the *Carte de la baye de la Table* (Map of Table Bay) (Ge DD 8290) the Khoikhoi kraal is shown by means of iconic huts arranged in a circle, placed along Salt River (here *Rivière de Sel*), close to a Dutch farm (figure 3). The boundaries of the farm are clearly marked with a serpentine outline evoking a hedge. On the other hand the depiction of the huts, in a circular position that delineates a space in its relationship between inside and outside, leaves the space more open to the landscape.

Reference to Salt River confirms that the cartographer received the correct information regarding the whereabouts of Khoikhoi settlements along this specific river. According to Elphick (1977: 92, 93), Khoikhoi communities under the leadership of Gogosa laid claim to have occupied the Cape Peninsula and its immediate surrounds. Moreover, Elphick states that “if this claim did not entail ownership in the modern sense, it certainly implied grazing rights in the area”. He adds that it is also believed that the Peninsular Khoikhoi often camped at “the mouth of the Salt River”.

The *Plan de la forteresse, du bourg et partie du jardin* (BnF, Paris, PF 114, Pièce 17D, Div. 6; figure 4) makes use of a highly symbolic representation of the kraal, despite the fact that it has probably been drawn on the spot. The Khoikhoi are situated on a hillside behind the fort; their small, randomly arranged huts (five altogether) are iconically represented by means of a circle, the centre of which is marked by a dot. All permanent buildings, such as the fort and houses, are in red, but the Khoikhoi habitat is in black. This random disposition, which lacks precision regarding the actual position of huts in a Kraal, can be understood as a choice that has been made by the cartographer. No ethnographic intention can be deduced but only the wish to locate Khoikhoi settlements.

The next map also alternately uses the colours (black/red) to clearly demarcate the position of the indigenous inhabitants from that of the colonisers. On *Plan du fort, du bourg, du jardin*, 1687, by “Lamare Ingénieur” (BnF, Paris, PF 114, Pièce 14, Div. 6 ; figure 5), the Khoikhoi presence is indicated on the slopes of Lion’s Head by means of a concentration of small red dots in an irregular circular cluster. This engineer, who was on his way to Siam as a member of a French scientific mission, provided a series of drawings and maps of the area, intended for later use by the French government.⁶

A legend regarding the kraals is provided on *Vue du Cap de Bonne Espérance* (BnF, Paris, PF 114, Pièce 10D, Div. 6), by Poilus de Verce, who was on board a French ship from India

calling at the Cape. The Khoikhoi are located on the slopes of Lion's Head by means of small circular dots arranged randomly. The legend identifies these as "cases des Hottentots", which provides a slightly higher ethnographical content, and causes us to think that a large part of the European audience would not properly understand the icon without it.

Pierre van der AA's (1659-1733) *Le Cap de Bonne Espérance*,⁷ Leiden, after 1710, is a classic map, the pattern of which recurs often. It depicts the "kraalen" as small circles formed by dots, each indicated with that legend (figure 6). It is important to note that this map was inspired by Isaac de Graaf, 1700, MS map in Nationaal Archief, from which it borrowed the iconic system for the location of the Khoikhoi.

On the *Vue du Cap de Bonne Espérance et des vaisseaux de la marine qui étaient mouillés en 1689* (BnF, Paris, PF 114, Pièce 4D, Div. 1) the Khoikhoi on the slopes of Lion's Head are depicted by means of two symbolic huts. The fort, houses, the pier, and the Khoikhoi huts are also shaded for emphasis. This map might have been inspired by that inserted into Peter Kolb's book (Nürnberg, 1719) and is therefore an example of the frequent transfer of information between the French and the Dutch. Locations are the same on both maps, but the iconic system is more developed in the latter, showing small iconic Khoikhoi huts in a circle. *The Vue du Cap* (BnF, Paris, GeDD8297) follows the same pattern. The locations on all these representations are based on *Habitations des Hollandais au Cap* by Volan, "Ingénieur du Roi" (BnF, Paris, GeDD2987), on which six Khoikhoi dwellings are schematically rendered by means of two rows of three irregular black dots (figure 7).

3 A transitional map: not location but areas

On the *Carte du pays du Congo et des Cafres* (Paris, 1708), by Nicolaes Visscher (1649-1702), all the locations (of both the European settlement and indigenous locations) are indicated by inscriptions on broad areas, thus designating an entire area where the various people could be found, without assigning clear boundaries. This might be a matter of scale since this map represents the whole of southern Africa, but nevertheless the difference from the previous maps is important.

4 Maps that tend to take account, in one way or another, of the temporary status of Khoikhoi locations and their peculiar relationship to territory (figure 8)

The *Carte du Pais des Hottentots, aux environs du Cap de Bonne Espérance*, by Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703-1772), "Ingénieur de la Marine" is a topographical map of the Western Cape area with inscriptions of the names of the tribes on large areas and the location of the Dutch (settlements and farms) in a chorographical style. The Khoikhoi settlements are indicated by two parallel rows of small triangles. On another edition of this map (BnF, Paris, Ge DD 2987(8276)) it is stated: "Cette carte est dressée sur celles de Kolbe et sur quelques manuscrits du Dépost des plans de la marine." On the sea chart of False Bay, *Cap de Bonne Espérance* (Paris, BnF, Ge DD 8296 B), ca. early eighteenth century, there is no specific indication of Khoikhoi locations, only a chorographic inscription, maybe a too quick assimilation: "Hollandais appelés Hottentots".

On the *Caarte van de beyde afgelegenste colonien Drakensteen en Waveren/Carte des Colonies de Drakenstein & de Waveren* (early eighteenth century) the kraals are indicated by means of circles formed by small triangles, but those along a river are not exact locations. It is probable that the succession of kraals along the river was intended to suggest the mobility of the inhabitants (figure 8). This map belongs to a series of maps depicting other areas such as the *Carte de la colonie du Cap* (Paris, BnF, Ge DD 8287) and the *Carte de la colonie de Stellenbosch* (Paris, BnF, Ge DD 2987 (8300)) which follow the same pattern but with a less developed method of depicting Khoikhoi locations.

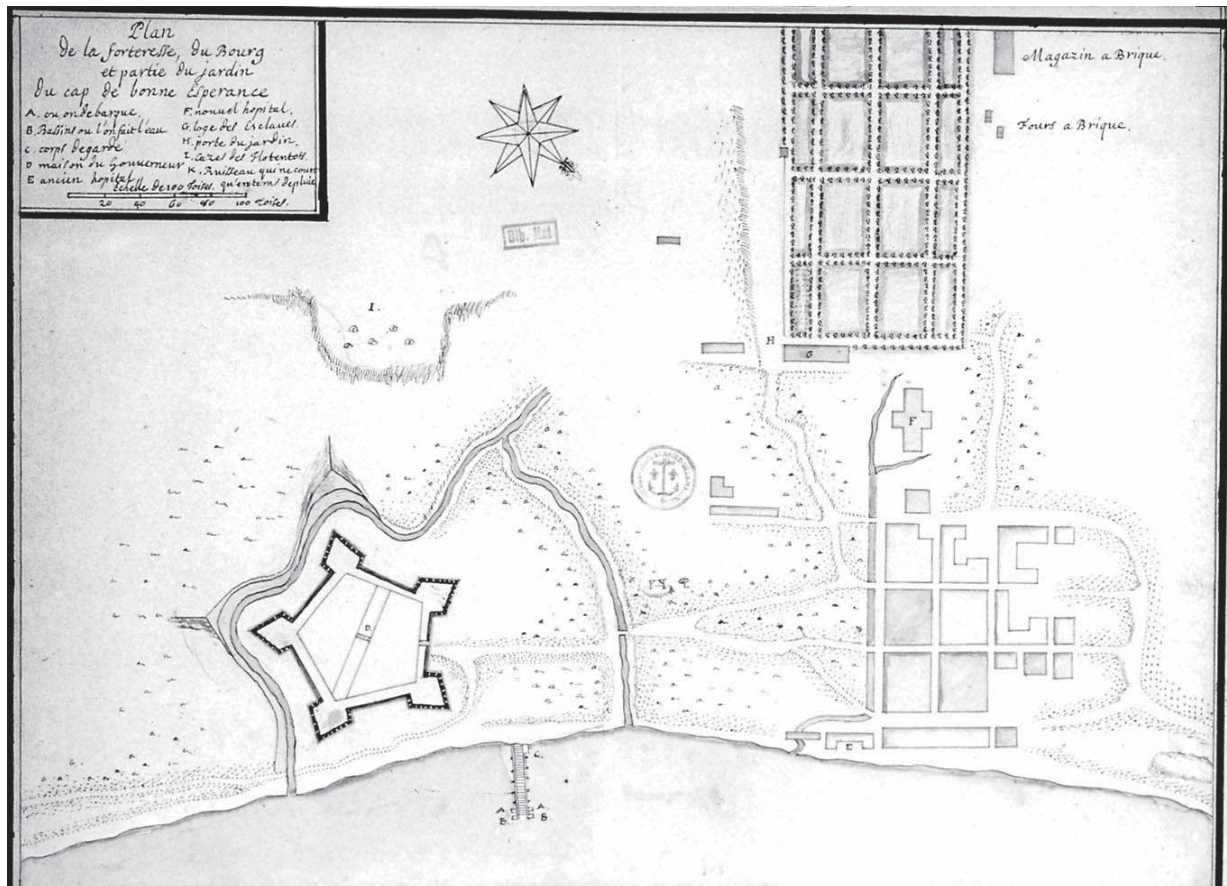


Figure 4a
Plan de la forteresse, du bourg et partie du jardin [Plan of the fort, the city and a part of the city].

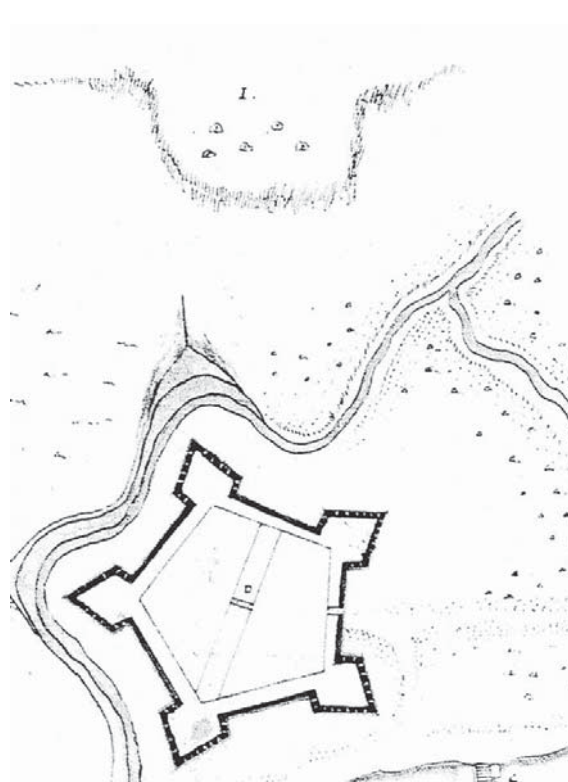


Figure 4b
 Detail of figure 4a, showing cluster of five Khoikhoi dwellings.

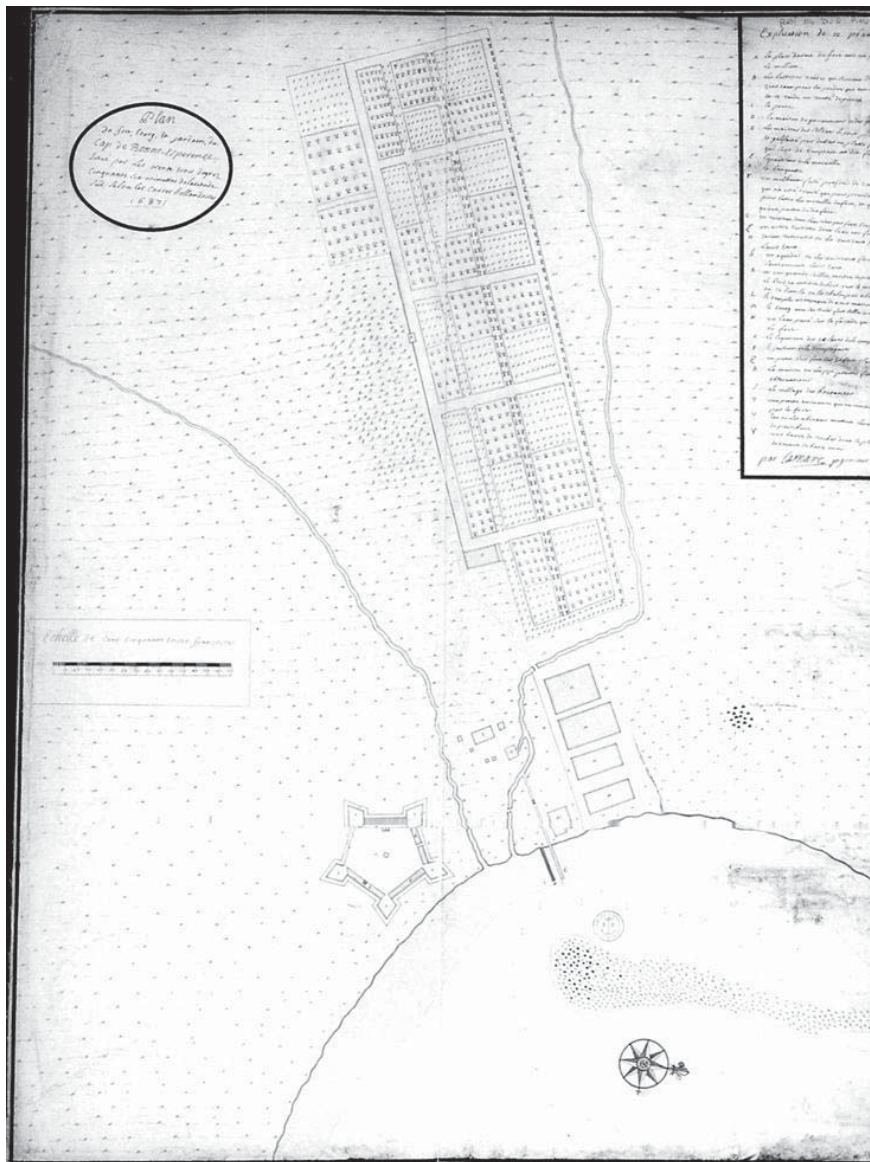


Figure 5a

Plan du fort, du bourg, du jardin [Plan of the fort, the city and the garden] by Lamare Ingénieur.



Figure 5b

Detail of figure 5a, showing a cluster of iconic Khoikhoi dwellings on the slope of Lion's Head.

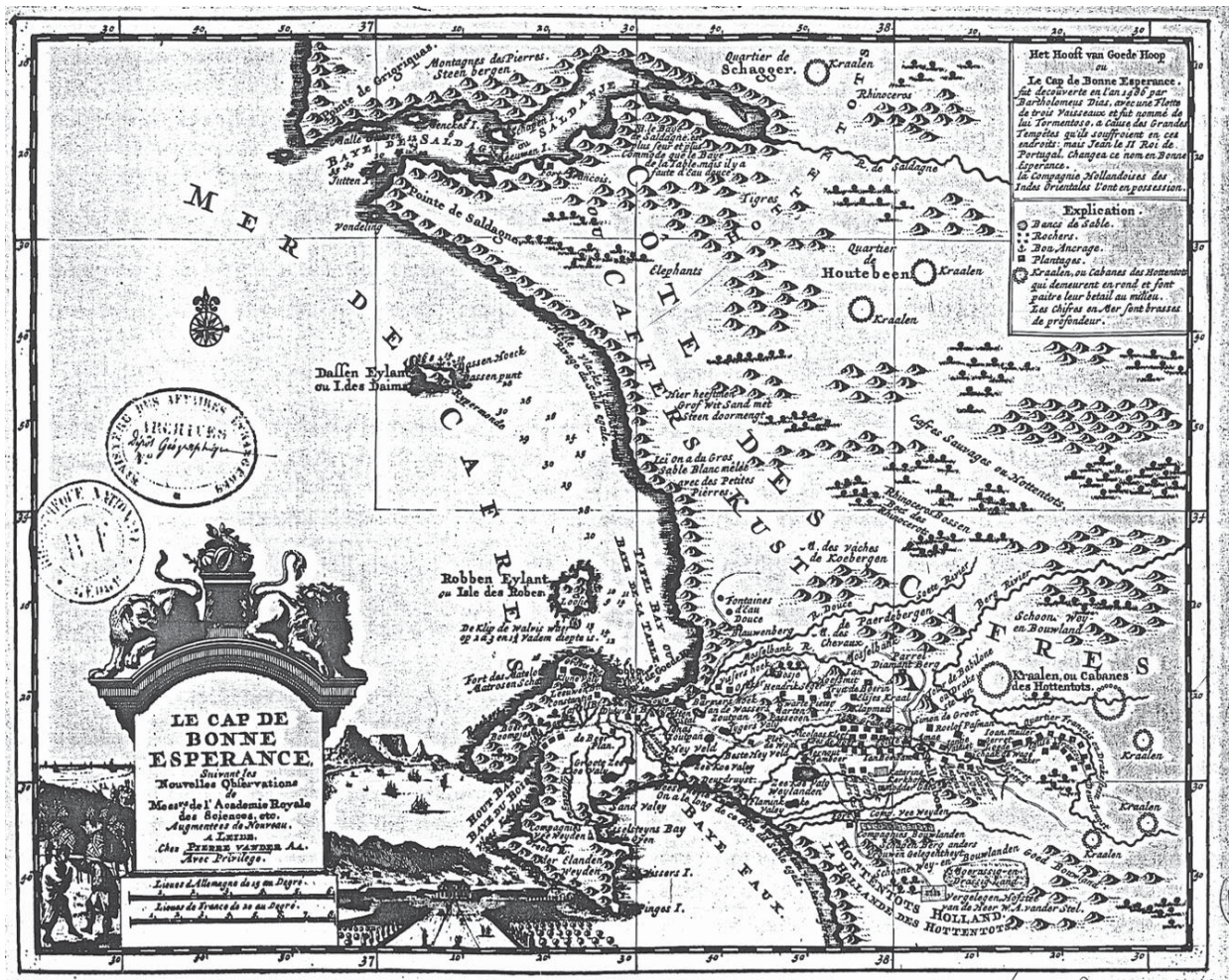


Figure 6a
 Pierre van der AA's *Carte Le Cap de Bonne Espérance* [Map of the Cape of Good Hope].



Figure 6b
 Detail of figure 6a, showing round kraal formations formed by dotlike circles.

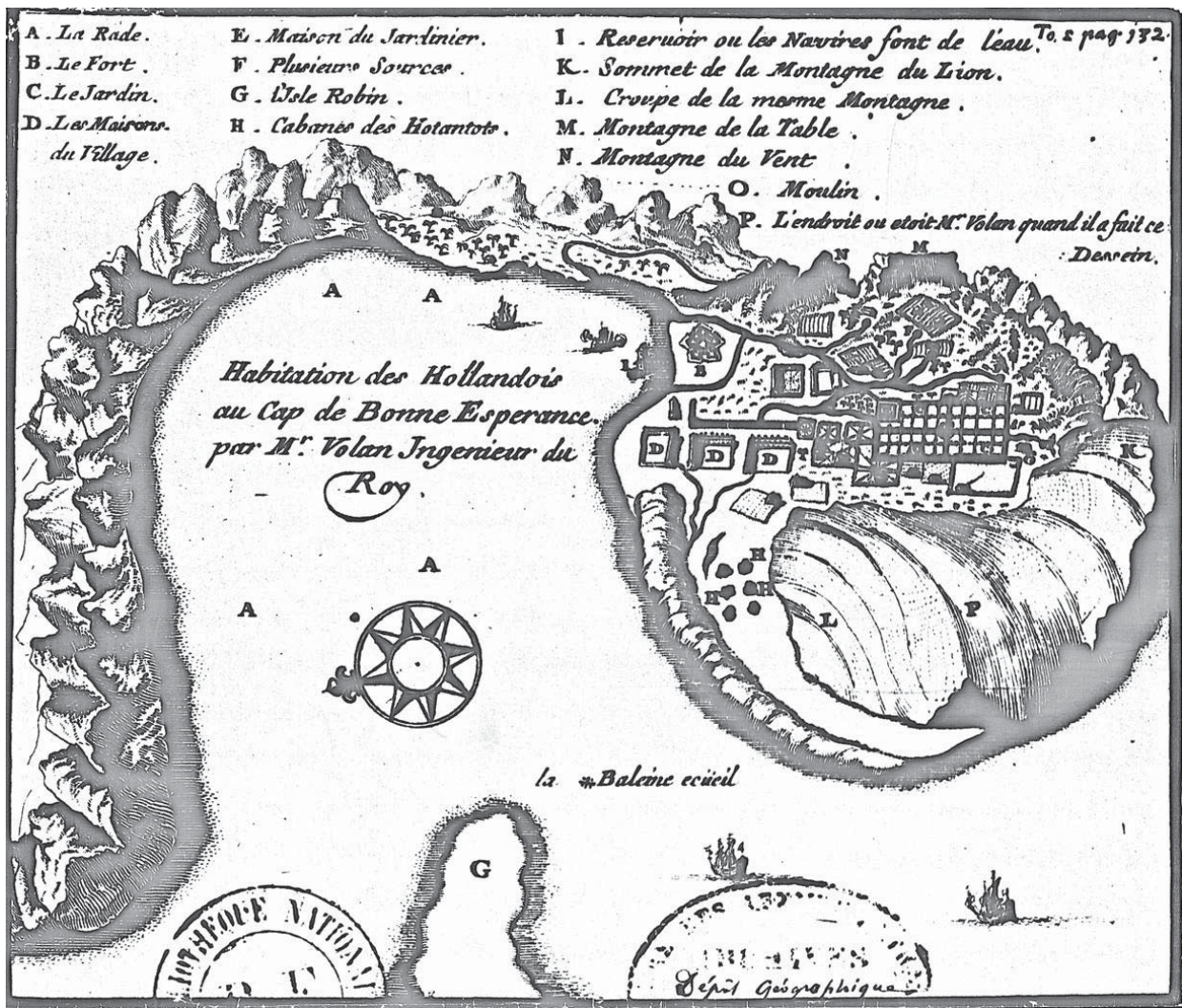


Figure 7a
Habitations des Hollandais au Cap [People's dwellings at the Cape] by Volan.



Figure 7b
 Detail of figure 7a, showing six Khoikhoi dwellings, schematically rendered by means of two rows of three irregular black dots.

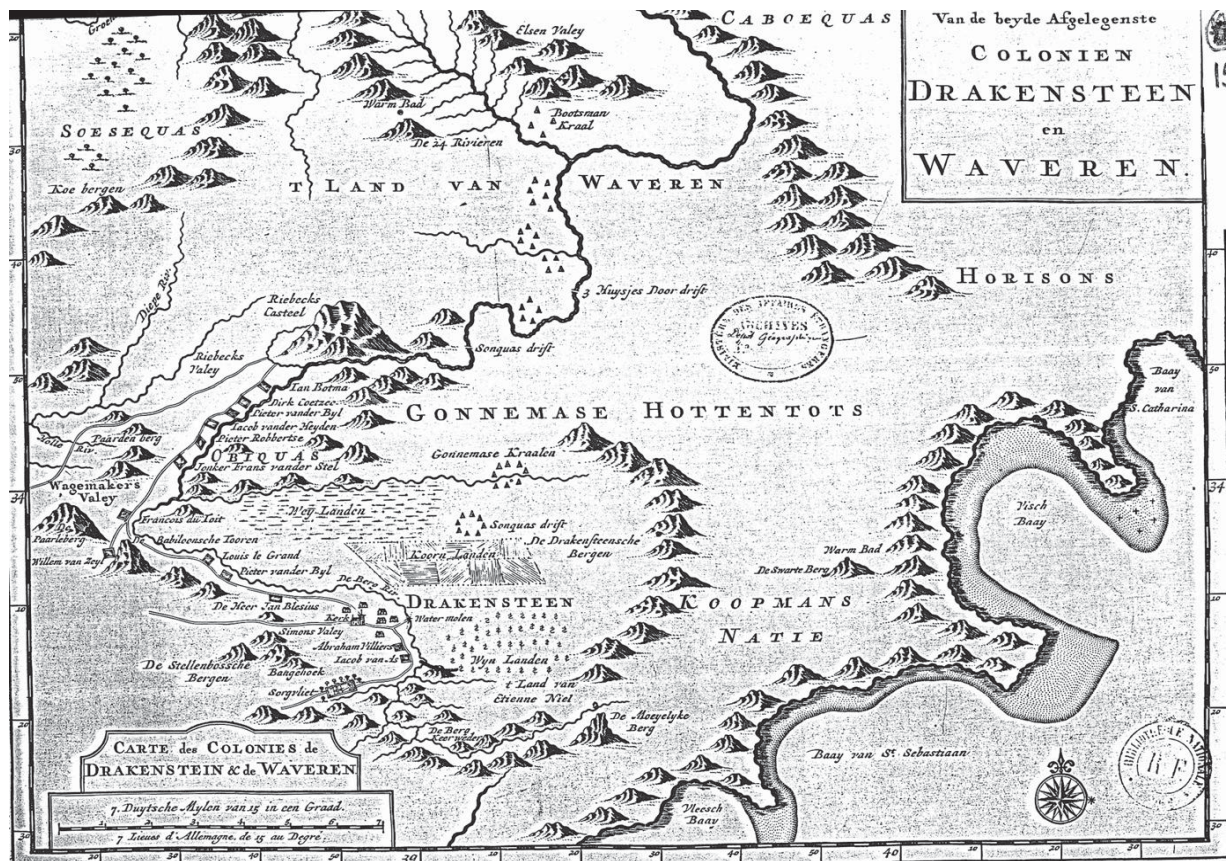


Figure 8a

Caarte van de beyde afgelegenste colonien Drakenstein en Waveren [Map of the two outlying colonies of Drakenstein and Waveren].



Figure 8b

Detail of figure 8a, showing Khoikhoi kraals indicated by means of circles formed by small triangles.

Conclusion

In his article, “Maps, knowledge, and power”, J.B. Harley (1988: 277) has provided scholars who study the impact of maps on colonial societies with a sound theoretical framework for how to “make maps ‘speak’ about the social worlds of the past”. He further tells us that “maps are never value-free images”, but in the “selectivity of their content and in their signs and styles of representation maps are a way of conceiving, articulating, and structuring the human world which is biased towards, promoted by, and exerts in influence upon particular sets of social relations” (1988: 278). The Cape Colony during the formative years of Khoi-Dutch relations witnessed the emergence of a new colonial society in the making. This newly-found, albeit unequal social relationship, was soon put on paper in visual cartographic representations and colonial maps, loaded with hidden agendas it wished to reflect. These early maps of course were presumably drawn for political as well as legal reasons, as was the case in 1657 when land occupied by the Peninsular Khoikhoi was illegally carved up and granted to free burghers.

The design of maps responded to an intense desire to know the world, and this increased with the discovery of new territories and the colonisation that followed. For the European audience, be it official or public, a map had to satisfy a geographic curiosity but also an ethnographic one. The long codification of mapmaking originating in Ptolemy’s principles had always been intended to cross-link human description and physical realities. Since the fifteenth century, the preoccupation with tracing new maritime routes to develop intense trade exchanges had accorded priority to the development of sea charts. In this context the social realities, among them the localisation of indigenous peoples, played a lesser role. Furthermore, the Western map tradition could only develop its own symbolic and representational language to describe the realities of its own culture. In this respect, the study of a very peculiar question of cartographic history, as the “presence” more than the representation of the Khoikhoi in the early maps of the Cape settlement, is particularly interesting. Most cartographers simply abandoned the idea of mentioning a shifting reality on a fixed bi-dimensional representation. This attitude is clearly due to the diverging positions regarding land ownership and usage between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi, and surely reinforced the feeling amongst the colonisers of their legitimacy. The few cartographers that attempted to map the sites occupied by the Khoikhoi for periods of varying length certainly obtained an understanding of a concept of land use and property that differed vastly from the Western one based on legal principles deeply grounded in Antiquity. The evolution of traditional cartographic resources which they had to adapt to a new reality might seem very limited at first sight. However, on the one hand, it contributed to the global evolution of the modern map conception and its capacities to give an account of a great diversity of situations, while on the other hand it provided the European audience, at least the people who were ready to listen, with an opportunity to approach new realities.

The systematic mapping of the Cape Colony by chart-makers, such as Pieter Potter, Hendrik Lacus, Jan Wittebol and others (Zandvliet 1998: 274), was a definite sign that the VOC and the Dutch had prepared themselves to colonise the vast geographical area known as *De Kaap de Goede Hoop* and to remain its rulers for a long period of time. Although the Khoikhoi were given a degree of “presence” in the various maps as shown, this still suggests that they were systematically being disowned, disrupted and displaced during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Maps of the Cape, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, suggest that the Khoikhoi had been “ousted” from land and representational maps. This was a definite sign of colonial expansion and colonial domination. According to Richard Saumarez Smith (2004: 149) colonial maps and mapping of colonial societies became part of what he called “a culture of rule”. He furthermore identifies the “use of maps to represent society and the relation between forms of knowledge and the apparatus to rule”. The inclusion of the colonial farms as

landed property on maps suggests that the Dutch had systematically penetrated the land space of Khoikhoi pastoralists and thereby began to threaten their future existence and independence as pastoralists.

Notes

1. Ceterum hottentotis inter se nulli fines” (Ten Rhyne 1933: 112).
2. “[Die Hottentot] wohnen nicht lange an einem Ort, sondern ziehen mit ihren Kraalen hin und wieder bald an einen, bald an den anderen Ort, wie die Kinder Israel in der Wusten gethan haben” (Buttner 1970: 34).
3. He referred to the Khoikhoi as follows: “Es ist dieses Hessiquas Hottentots Land ein Königreich, und von der Ostindischen Compagnie ihr König daselbst gekrönt, und den nahmen bekommen de oude Heer” (Buttner 1970: 34).
4. “It is clear from accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory [...] . There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained, do not seem to have been clearly defined” (Schapera, 1930: 286).
5. See for instance the two manuscripts, mainly compilations of other books, signed by Johannes Mulder, the surveyor at the time of Governor Simon van der Stel, *Fortificatio* (1662, MSD 54) and *Giometria ofte de Konst de Lantmeter* (ca. 1685, MSD 29). There are also two manuscripts by anonymous authors on arithmetic, one dated 1683 (MSA 24), and the other 1713 (MSA 4).
6. For references to Lamare see the article by Maré and Dubourg Glatigny 2006.
7. This reference is to the new edition of Leiden (1710), mentioning “suivant les nouvelles observations de Messieurs de l’Académie Royale des Sciences, augmentée de nouveau”.

A note on the reproduction of the maps

The maps discussed in this article are reproduced from facsimile copies in a private collection.

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