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Naming Places

Voyagers, Toponyms, and Local Presence in the Fifth Part of the World, 1500-1700

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ABSTRACT

Combining the history of ideas with the ethnohistory of encounters and an original method, this paper reconfigures early modern constructions of a major portion of the globe as more than a linear process of European 'discovery' and naming. The zone is the 'fifth part of the world' or 'Oceania,' defined broadly to encompass Island Southeast Asia, New Guinea, the Pacific Islands, New Zealand, Australia, and Antarctica. Using maps and pictures as historical texts, together with written materials, the paper correlates emergent European toponyms with the existential impact of voyagers' engagements with certain exotic sites, people, or knowledge, in subtle relation with prevailing metropolitan ideas about geography and human difference. After briefly surveying early Spanish encounters and place-names in New Guinea, I focus on two Dutch expeditions in search of *Terra Australis* which shaped contemporary geographical knowledge – those of Schouten and Le Maire (1615-16) and Tasman (1642-43) whose encounters with places and indigenous inhabitants left shadowy imprints or 'countersigns' in the travellers' representations, including toponyms.

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By the end of the fifteenth century, the Antipodes or *terra incognita* (unknown land) had been variously imagined in Europe for two thousand years, most often as a necessary counterweight to the great known northern land masses.[1] Over the next 300 years, as the southern Antipodes slowly became European reality, the only consistent label for this vast zone was the numerical descriptor 'fifth part of the world.' Otherwise, from an oceanic perspective it was variously called *Mar del Sur*, *Zuyd Zee*, or South Sea, *Mare Pacificum* or Pacific Ocean; and from a terrestrial or insular viewpoint, *Terra Australis*, *Zuytlandt*, *Terres australes*, or South land. The name *Océanie* (Oceania) was proposed in the early nineteenth century to encompass what are now Island Southeast Asia, Papua New Guinea, the Pacific Islands, Aotearoa-New Zealand, Australia, and Antarctica.[2] 'Oceania' is used in this sense in this paper. Parts of that immense space have been occupied for up to tens of millennia by modern human beings who named the places they dwelt in and knew of.[3] However, I do not consider indigenous place names, except as they were recorded by voyagers and inscribed on charts and maps. Rather, I sketch particular histories of European naming, focussing on early Spanish and Dutch voyages.

After the Portuguese capture of Malacca (Melaka, Malaysia) in 1511, direct European encounters with actual places and persons in the fifth part of the world complicated theory, myth, and wisdom borrowed from Arab or Malay maps and pilots. Henceforth, European geographical knowledge of Oceania was increasingly formulated at the interface of metropolitan ideas and agendas with *in situ* experience. In the process, travellers' representations – in charts, maps, journals, reports, narratives, and drawings – were infused with overt signs of local spatial and human presence and ambiguous traces of indigenous agency. This paper bridges the history of ideas and ethnohistory by paying systematic attention to the generation of place names in action during encounters in place. Representations of such encounters fed a prolific state cartography, avid for empirical detail, that was produced in western Europe to serve royal, imperial, or commercial interests in the wake of Iberian overseas expansion.[4]

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[1] A. Hiatt, Terra incognita: *Mapping the Antipodes before 1600*, Chicago, 2008, 1-183; A. Rainaud, *Le continent austral: hypothèses et découvertes*, Paris, 1893, 11-167; L.C. Wroth, The early cartography of the Pacific, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 38 (1944) 91-125.

[2] B. Douglas, *Terra Australis* to Oceania: racial geography in the 'fifth part of the world', *Journal of Pacific History* 45 (2010), 179-210.

[3] The length of human settlement in Oceania as estimated by archaeologists, historical linguists, and bioanthropologists ranges from about 60,000 years in island Southeast Asia, Australia, and New Guinea to fewer than 800 years in New Zealand. See G. Hudjashov, et al., Revealing the prehistoric settlement of Australia by Y chromosome and mtDNA analysis, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 104 (2007) 8726-8730; P.V. Kirsch, Peopling of the Pacific: a holistic anthropological perspective, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (2010) 131-148; A. Pawley and M. Ross, Austronesian historical linguistics and culture history', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993) 425-459.

[4] D. Buisseret (Ed.), *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: the Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, Chicago, 1992.

HISTORIES AND METHOD

Explicit concern for the history of cartography emerged only in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, in close liaison with a celebratory history of European exploration and the rise of geography as an academic discipline.[5] For more than a century, this historiography lacked a clear conceptual frame but generally took for granted that maps could objectively mirror geographic reality. In the late 1980s, a series of provocative articles by Brian Harley pushed historians of cartography to embrace the discursive turn inspired by poststructuralist critique. He reconstituted mapmaking in all its manifestations as the representational outcome of a 'social practice', no longer transparently empirical. Maps were texts, to be read 'as rhetoric'.[6] An ongoing stream of critical studies in this vein have since deconstructed cartography as a quintessential imperial science, created in European metropoles and diffused to colonized peripheries to suit imperial and colonial ends.[7]

The zeal to unmask cartographic complicity in the anticipatory rhetoric of colonialism is entirely proper but risks taking at face value the teleology of inevitable conquest, domination, and effacement of indigenous occupation. Without denying the ominous colonial equation of power and knowledge, more nuanced approaches also recognized the prevalence and power of indigenous spatialities and cartographies, before and in the context of colonialism. The Columbian quincentenary saw an explosion of interest in indigenous mapmaking, especially in the Americas but also in Oceania.[8] Increasingly alert to local agency, cartographic historians began to excavate traces of indigenous contributions to surveying

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[5] J.B. Harley, The map and the development of the history of cartography, in: J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (Eds), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, Chicago, 1987, 12-34.

[6] J.B. Harley, Maps, knowledge, and power, in: D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (Eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge, 1988, 277-312; Harley, Silences and secrecy: the hidden agenda of cartography, *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988) 58, 71; Harley, Deconstructing the map, *Cartographica* 26 (1989) 1-20; Harley, Historical geography and the cartographic illusion, *Journal of Historical Geography* 15 (1989) 80, 84-87. For critical appraisals of this work, see J.H. Andrews, Introduction: meaning, knowledge, and power in the map philosophy of J.B. Harley, in: Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, Baltimore, 2001, 1-32; R.B. Craib, Relocating cartography, *Postcolonial Studies* 12 (2009) 481-483.

[7] For example, M.H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: the Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843*, Chicago, 1997; A. Godlewska and E.H. Dahl, The Napoleonic survey of Egypt: a masterpiece of cartographic compilation and early nineteenth-century fieldwork, *Cartographica* 25 (1988) 1-171; S. Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia*, Cambridge, 1996. Some contributions to two recent collections continue to follow this pattern: see J.R. Akerman (Ed.), *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, Chicago, 2009; N. Etherington (Ed.), *Mapping Colonial Conquest: Australia and Southern Africa*, Crawley, WA, 2007.

[8] G.M. Lewis (Ed.), *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use*, Chicago, 1998; D. Woodward and G.M. Lewis (Eds), *History of Cartography*, vol. 2, book 3, *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, Chicago, 1998; D. Turnbull, Mapping encounters and (en)countering maps: a critical examination of cartographic resistance, *Knowledge and Society* 11 (1998) 15-44; Turnbull, *Masons, Tricksters and Cartographers*, London, 2000, 133-163.

and mapping undertaken through encounters.[9] In two late papers, Harley himself acknowledged 'a hidden stratum of Indian geographical knowledge' and a 'conscious strategy of resistance' in early American colonial maps – now refashioned as 'an epitome of the encounter' and an outcome of 'reciprocal relationships' between Native Americans and Europeans.[10] Important recent work has reconfigured imperial cartography as a dialogic, if usually unequal process of knowledge co-production by global and local, metropolitan and colonial, colonizing and colonized agents.[11]

The heuristic strategy underpinning this paper resonates with the latest of these approaches but is applied to contexts that are in no sense colonial, set in the first phase of fleeting coastal or seaborne encounters between Oceanian people and European voyagers. I am not primarily concerned with the social and political roots of geographical and cartographic knowledge or with indigenous mapping per se. Rather, in exploiting European charts and maps as ethnohistorical texts, alongside other written or visual representations, I position local people as potent but more or less unintentional contributors to the formulation of European knowledge in the context of encounters. By 'encounter', I do not mean a general clash of two reified, homogeneous cultures but rather a fluid, embodied, situated episode involving multiple personal relationships between varied indigenous and foreign agents in a particular spatial setting. The meanings or understandings thereby created were sometimes opposed and often mutually ambiguous but, for all concerned, they provided stimuli for acting, including representing. Representations of encounters are thus in part products of the encounters they represent.

Agency in such meetings was usually incommensurate – it operated in different registers, some participants exercised more or less than others, and indigenous varieties were usually unacknowledged as such by Europeans. However, building on the notion of encounters as stimuli for acting, I propose an oblique linkage between indigenous agency in specific engagements and foreigners' perceptions as expressed in the language, content, iconography, and tone of their representations. The powerful emotional impact of exotic experience imbued representations with both explicit and obscure traces of

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[9] M.T. Bravo, The accuracy of ethnoscience: a study of Inuit cartography and cross-cultural commensurability, *Manchester Papers in Social Anthropology* 2 (1996); Bravo, Ethnographic navigation and the geographical gift, in: D.N. Livingstone and C.W.J. Withers (Eds), *Geography and Enlightenment*, Chicago, 1999, 211-232; G.M. Lewis, Misinterpretation of Amerindian information as a source of error on Euro-American maps, *Annals of the Association of American Geographiers* 77 (1987) 542-563.

[10] J. Brian Harley, Rereading the maps of the Colombian encounter, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82 (1992) 524-528; Harley, New England cartography and the Native American, in: E.W. Baker, et al. (Eds), *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of the Norumbega*, Lincoln, NE, 1994, 288-296.

[11] B.K. Beamer and T.K. Duarte, I palapala no ia aina – documenting the Hawaiian Kingdom: a colonial venture? *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009) 66-86; Craib, Relocating cartography; F. Driver and L. Jones, *Hidden Histories of Exploration: Researching the RGS-IBG Collections*, London, 2009, 11-20; K.H. Offen, Creating Mosquitia: mapping Amerindian spatial practices in eastern Central America, 1629-1779, *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007) 254-282; K. Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900*, Basingstoke, 2007, 60-94; N. Safier, The confines of the colony: boundaries, ethnographic landscapes, and imperial cartography in Iberoamerica, in: Akerman (Ed.), *Imperial Map*, 133-183; J.R. Short, *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Exploration of the New World*, London, 2009.

indigenous presence, actions, and agency, filtered through observers' preconceptions, prejudices, and feelings. I deploy an original method to differentiate such traces into, on the one hand, consciously processed, if often misinterpreted signs; and on the other, inadvertent residues, or 'countersigns'.[12] Relative to 'sign', the prefix 'counter-' need not imply opposition but can denote counterpart, in the sense of 'equivalent in a different context' or 'complement'.[13] Indigenous countersigns are lexical, grammatical, and syntactical items, or visual analogues of these. They are discernible in choice of words, names, and motifs; in tense, mood, and voice; in tone and style; and in presence, emphasis, ambiguity, and absence. Because they are generated in the uncertainties and seesawing emotions inherent in encounters, countersigns are often clearest in expressions of doubt, frustration, or fear.

A study of encounters between European and indigenous protagonists requires an historical understanding of the foreigners' ontology and episteme, together with a broad ethnohistorical grasp of local ontology and socio-spatial relations. Chary of the anachronistic presumption that later ethnographic presents unproblematically mirror the past, I ground my ethnohistorical knowing in the located contemporary action descriptions of early foreign visitors. These materials are informed but never outweighed by my field experience in Island Melanesia and wide ethnographic reading.

TERRA AUSTRALIS IN MYTH AND PRAXIS

The Portuguese, guided by local maps and pilots, made contact with the Moluccas or Spice Islands within a year of taking Malacca. In 1513, indigenous guides showed the Spaniard Vasco Núñez de Balboa a great sea which he named the *Mar del Sur* because it was to the south of the isthmus at Darien. In November 1520, Ferdinand Magellan emerged from the strait that bears his name into what he called the *mar pacifico*.[14] On their eventual return to Spain, the handful of survivors of this expedition reported that Tierra del Fuego, the land on the left of the Strait of Magellan, was not a mainland 'but islands, because

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[12] I borrowed the notion of countersign from a discussion by the feminist literary critic Shari Benstock of the use of palimpsest by modernist women writers: 'a palimpsest that would counter predominant male myths ... exposes through the layers of its compositions the feminine countersign of the male myth *already present* in the culture' (S. Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940*, Austin, 1986, 349-51, original emphasis). For a detailed explication of my use of the concept, see B. Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania 1511-1850*, Basinstoke, 2014, 18-26. For an early exposition, see Douglas, Art as ethno-historical text: science, representation and indigenous presence in eighteenth and nineteenth century Oceanic voyage literature, in: N. Thomas and D. Losche (Eds), *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific*, Cambridge, 1999, 65-99.

[13] 'counter-, prefix', and 'counterpart, n.', OED Online, Oxford, 2013, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/42648?rskey=eoOluF&result=16&isAdvanced=false and http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/42912?redirectedFrom=counterpart, accessed 7 March 2014.

[14] A. Cortesão, Introduction, in: Cortesão (Tr. and Ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* ..., London, 1944, vol. 1, lxxix-lxxxiv; A. Galvão, *Tratado,… dos diuersos & desuayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia veyo da India ás nossas partes, & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos, que são feitos ate a era de mil & quinhentos & cincoenta* … Lisboa, 1563, 35r-36v; A. de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra firme del mar Oceano* ..., Madrid, 1601-1615, vol. 1, dec. 1, lib. 10, 332-333; A. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World* ..., J.A. Robertson (Tr. and Ed.), Cleveland, 1906 [1525?], vol. 1, 80, 84, 244, note 170.

sometimes from that side they had heard the reverberating and roaring of the sea on a farther coast.'[15] This testimony was published in 1523 and confirmed in 1578 by the English privateer Francis Drake who, after passing through the strait, was driven far to the south by storms and had 'by manifest evidence put it out of doubt to be no continent or maine land, but broken Ilands.'[16] In 1600, in the first English world map, Edward Wright drew on Drake's 'discoverie' to depict only empty sea to the south of the Strait of Magellan.[17] However, cartographers in northern Europe mostly preferred to weave new facts gleaned from practical knowledge into the familiar fabric of ancient theory about *terra incognita*. In the mappa mundi in the first modern world atlas, published in 1570, Abraham Ortelius represented Tierra del Fuego as a promontory of an immense southern continent called *Terra Australis nondum cognita* (not yet known), with *Nova Guinea* (New Guinea) a large island hovering above the continent's northwestern extremity.[18]

New Guinea, first seen by Europeans in 1526 and named in 1545, was marked on Portuguese and Spanish charts and maps from about 1550 but a legend on Ortelius's mappa mundi notes its 'uncertain' status as either 'an island or part of the southern continent.'[19] According to Antonio Galvão, a Portuguese administrator in the Moluccas in the 1530s who published a very early history of voyages, the Spanish navigator Iñigo Ortiz de Retes named New Guinea 'because' the people he saw along the north coast in 1545 were 'black with twisted hair.'[20] This explanation was adopted without question by many later authors who sometimes eternalized their own anachronistic racial categories. So the modern historian Carlos Martínez Shaw asserted that 'Retes gave his name to the great island of New Guinea, *because of* the dark skin of its *Melanesian* inhabitants.'[21] Yet the racial term 'Melanesian' was not invented until

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[15] M. Transylvanus, *De Moluccis Insulis ...*, Cologne, 1523, facsimile, in H. Stevens (Tr.), C.H. Coote (Ed.), *Johann Schöner Professor of Mathematics at Nuremberg …*, London, 1888, [75].

[16] F. Fletcher, The Voyage about the World, by Sir Francis Drake, in: W.S.W. Vaux (Ed.), *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake ...*, London, 1854 [1628], 72, note 1, 87, note 1.

[17] E. Wright, A Chart of the World on Mercator's Projection, in: R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation ...*, London, 1600, vol. 3.

[18] A. Ortelius, Typus orbis terrarum, in: *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, Antwerp, 1570, plate 1.

[19] Ortelius, Typus orbis terrarum; compare his map of 'America' which depicts New Guinea, unnamed, as the massive northernmost promontory of the southern continent (Americae sive novi orbis, nova descriptio, in: *Theatrum*, plate 2). For the earliest known cartographic inscriptions of New Guinea, see A. Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota (Eds), *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, Lisboa, 1960, vol. 1, 157-159 and plate 80; and S. Gutiérrez, [Carta general en plano] ([1551]), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, facsimile, in H.R. Wagner, A Map of Sancho Gutiérrez of 1551, *Imago Mundi* 8 (1951) 47-49.

[20] Galvão, *Tratado*, 76r.

[21] C. Martínez Shaw, Estudio preliminar, in: G. de Escalante Alvarado, *Viaje a las Islas del Poniente*, C. Martínez Shaw (Ed.), Santander, 1999, 25, my emphasis. See also J. Burney, *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Seas or Pacific Ocean*, London, 1803, vol. 1, 241; E.-T. Hamy, Commentaires sur quelques cartes anciennes de la Nouvelle-Guinée pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de ce pays par les navigateurs espagnols (1528-1606), *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 6^{e} série, 14 (1877) 460; Herrera, *Historia general*, vol. 4, dec. 7, lib. 5, 124.

1832. Moreover, contemporary explanations were by no means unanimous. The main surviving Spanish account of Ortiz de Retes's voyage – which Martínez himself re-published – does not mention the inhabitants but stresses the beauty of the land.[22] The first two separate maps published of New Guinea state that it was *sic a nautis dicta* (so named by sailors) 'because' the coastline and the land were 'very similar to Guinea in Africa.'[23]

Though European encounters with New Guinea and its inhabitants before the mid-nineteenth century were sparse and ephemeral, their traces quickly infiltrated global cartography. From about 1560, overt signs and veiled countersigns of voyagers' engagements with particular Islanders punctuated mapmakers' representations. During most of the next three centuries, they applied a versatile nomenclature to several islands ranged along the island's north coast. Several of these names condense descriptions of indigenous appearance and behaviour during specific encounters with Spanish mariners in the course of unsuccessful attempts to return to New Spain (Mexico) from the Moluccas made in 1528 and 1529 by Alvaro de Saavedra and in 1545 by Ortiz de Retes.[24] A legend on Gerard Mercator's mappa mundi of 1569 describes a world divided into 'three distinct continents': the first, where mankind was created; the second, 'called the new Indies'; and the third, that 'lies beneath the southern pole'. The map itself depicts a massive *Pars continentis australis* (southern continental region) and a large New Guinea of 'unknown' status. The islands aligned west to east along the northern New Guinea coast, depicted in Figure 1, include those named *de crespos* (of frizzy-haired [people]); *de mala gente* (of wicked/ugly people); *de hombres blancos* (of white men); and *La barbada* (The bearded [people]).[25] Similar names had appeared about nine years earlier on a Portuguese portulan map attributed to Bartolomeu Velho and they would become standard appellations.[26]

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[22] G. de Escalante Alvarado, Relacion del viaje que hizo desde la Nueva España à las islas del Poniente Ruy Gomez de Villalobos ... (1.e de Agosto de 1548), in: L. Torres de Mendoza (Ed.), *Documentos ineditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posessiones Españolas en América y Oceanía* …, Madrid, 1866, vol. 5, 155; Escalante, *Viaje*, 79.

[23] C. de Jode, Novæ Guineæ forma, & situs, in: G. de Jode, *Speculum orbis terræ*, 2nd edition, Antwerp, [1593]; B. Langenes, Nova Guinea et In. Salomonis, in: *Thresor de chartes, contenant les tableaux de tous les pays du monde* ..., plate 197, [La Haye, 1600].

[24] Saavedra's voyages are described by Galvão, *Tratado*, 56v-58v, and by the seaman Vicente de Nápoles, Relacion de todo lo que descubrió anduvo el capitan Alvaro de Sayavedra ..., in: Torres de Mendoza (Ed.), *Documentos ineditos*, vol. 5, 88-93. Ortiz de Retes's voyage is mentioned by Galvão, *Tratado*, 78v-79r, and recounted by Escalante, Relacion del viaje, 153-161. For a detailed exegesis and historiography of Saavedra's encounters, see Douglas, *Terra Australis* to Oceania, 191-193.

[25] G. Mercator, *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio* ..., Duysburgi, 1569, Maritiem Museum, Rotterdam, Atlas 51, facsimile, in: B. van 't Hoff (Ed.), *Gerard Mercator's Map of the World (1569)* ..., *Imago Mundi*, Supplement 2 (1961) sheets 3 and 14, 7, 8.

[26] [B. Velho], [Japan and Portion of East Indies], in: [Portolan Atlas], [c. 1560], 9v, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, CA, HM 44.

Figure 1: G. Mercator, *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ...*, Duysburgi, 1569, detail, Maritiem Museum, Rotterdam, Atlas 51, facsimile, in: B. van 't Hoff (Ed.), *Gerard Mercator's Map of the World (1569) …*, *Imago Mundi* (1961), Supplement 2, sheet 8, National Library of Australia, Canberra, MAPFC 912 M553.

The term *crespos* directly signals a friendly meeting in 1528 between Saavedra and 'a black, naked people with frizzy hair,' probably in the island of Biak (Papua Province, Indonesia). The phrase *mala gente* is a countersign of baffling indigenous agency encountered by the Spanish during two alarming, unexpected attacks by canoe-borne warriors: one on Saavedra's ship in 1528 and another on Ortiz de Retes's vessel in 1545. The first probably occurred at Manus Island (Papua New Guinea) and its perpetrators were described as 'a black, naked, *ugly* people.' The epithet ugly (*feo*) is unusually derogatory for this text. The second attack took place off the New Guinea mainland and provoked another outburst featuring the words 'black' and 'bestial.' Like *feo*, *bestial* is uncommonly disparaging for the text.[27] I read both adjectives as countersigns intimating the voyagers' negative emotional response to disapproved indigenous conduct. *La barbada* also has two probable direct indigenous referents. In 1528 and again the following year, Saavedra encountered 'bearded' people in the Caroline Islands (modern Micronesia). And Ortiz de Retes, without explaining why, thus labelled a group of atolls west of Manus. The name may be an imprint of 'cardinality' – the voyagers' 'trajectories of travel' from the East Indies, where full beards were rare.[28] Finally, the phrase *hombres blancos* alludes to an episode during each voyage. In 1529, Saavedra stayed for eight days in one of what are now the Marshall Islands (modern Micronesia) where friendly 'white' people did 'everything' the Spanish asked them to. In 1545, Ortiz de Retes and his crew had a violent encounter with 'white,' 'well-built,' 'spirited' men at another small island west of Manus.[29] Ortiz de Retes's *islas de Hombres blancos* were probably Aua and Wuvulu in the Western Islands of the

[27] Escalante, Relacion del viaje, 157; Nápoles, Relacion, 89, my emphasis.

[28] On 'cardinality', see C. Ballard, 'Oceanic Negroes': British anthropology of Papuans, 1820-1869, in: B. Douglas and C. Ballard (Eds), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*, Canberra, 2008, 158, 160, 178-180.

[29] Escalante, Relacion del viaje, 157, 159-160; Nápoles, Relacion, 89, 91.

Bismarck Archipelago. A twentieth-century anthropologist noted that the 'natives' of Aua were 'usually referred to as Micronesians' – that is, people who are lighter-skinned than most New Guineans.[30]

Lacking an a priori spatial grid for racialized Oceanian populations, these early modern observers presumed no geographic or behavioural correlates for the somatic descriptors 'black' and 'white'. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europeans were neither oblivious nor impartial to human physical variations but they were not primary differentiae because they were seen as transient products of the balance of bodily humours and the effects of climate, lifestyle, and station on members of a single human race. Religion, on the other hand, was a dogmatic core value, overlain by highly ethnocentric prescriptions about what constituted relative civility or barbarity. The adjective 'naked', for instance, at once connoted offense to Christian sensibilities and lack of civility. Neither criterion mapped neatly on to differences in skin colour, though they converged in the growing identification of 'heathen,' 'barbarous,' 'black' African 'Negroes' with chattel slavery.[31] The fifth part of the world and its inhabitants were not systematically classified until after 1750, while the invention of the spatialized racial categories Oceanic Negro, Melanesian, Polynesian, Micronesian, and Aborigine took several decades more.[32] It is anachronistic and essentialist to apply these terms retrospectively, though many historians have done so unthinkingly, such as Martínez with respect to the naming of New Guinea.[33]

Over more than two hundred years, belief in a great southern continent, or *Terra Australis*, fluctuated in European cartography and exploration.[34] The idea dominated the cosmography underpinning Spanish and Dutch expeditions to the *Mar del Sur* between 1567 and 1644. The three Spanish voyages of Alvaro de Mendaña and Pedro Fernández de Quirós in 1567-1569, 1595-1597, and 1605-1606 were motivated by belief that a great *tierra firme* (mainland) existed far to the southwest of Peru, offering wealth, colonies, and many heathens ripe for proselytism and exploitation.[35] For twenty years before his

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[30] G.H. Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, Aua Island: ethnographical and sociological features of a South Sea pagan society, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 55 (1925) 428.

[31] Douglas, *Science*, chapter 1; R. Hill, Towards an eighteenth-century transatlantic critical race theory, *Literature Compass* 3 (2006) 53-64; R. Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*, Philadelphia, 2000, 2-38.

[32] B. Douglas, Geography, raciology, and the naming of Oceania, 1750-1900, *Globe* 69 (2011) 1-28.

[33] For example, A. Baert, *Le Paradis terrestre, un myth espagnol en Océanie*, Paris, 1999, 236; J. Dunmore (Tr. and Ed.), *The Pacific Journal of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville 1767-1768*, London, 2002, 115, note 2; C. Kelly, Introduction, in Kelly (Tr. and Ed.), *La Austrialia del Espíritu Santo* …, Cambridge, 1966, vol. 1, 87; H. Wallis, Editorial, in Wallis (Ed.), *Carteret's Voyage Round the World 1766-1769*, Cambridge, 1965, vol. 1, 61-3.

[34] W. Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook*, Cambridge, 1995; G. Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: the Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia*, O. Richter (Tr.), Amsterdam, 1976; Wroth, Early Cartography of the Pacific, 168-200.

[35] Amherst of Hackney and B. Thomson (Trs and Eds), *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1568*, London, 1901, vol. 1, iv-vi; vol. 2, 465-468; Anon. Esta es una breve relaçion que se a recojido de los papeles que se hallaron en esta çiudad de La Plata, çerca del viaje y descubrimiento de las yslas del ponyente de la mar del Sur, que comunmente llaman de Salomon, in: C. Kelly (Ed.), *Austrialia franciscana*, Madrid, 1969, vol. 4, 299-300.

death in 1615, Quirós was obsessed by 'the unknown southern region' which he claimed to have discovered and annexed for God, Church, and King in 1606 in Espiritu Santo (Vanuatu). He sent numerous official petitions seeking support for a further colonizing voyage. One such petition, the 'eighth memorial' of 1609-1610, was within a decade translated into most major European languages. It continued to inspire geographers, cartographers, and travellers and to authorize the reality of the southern continent until the late eighteenth century.[36]

At least two savants adjusted their cartography to fit Quirós's claim to reliable local knowledge. In 1610, Wright reinscribed 'Terra Australis' and 'The South Land yet Unknowne' across the southern margin of a world map on the cover of his book *Certaine Errors in Navigation.* Placed near 'Nova Guinea' on a new world chart engraved for this work is the note: 'These Ilands ... were lately discovered by Pedro Fernonde de Quiros.'[37] Two years later, Hessel Gerritsz published Dutch and Latin translations of Quirós's eighth memorial, together with a world map. The *Mar del Zur* is traversed by a continental coastline which, south of the Solomon Islands, becomes 'the land recently discovered' by Quirós, '*formerly known*' as *Terra Australis incognita*.[38] In his manuscript atlas of 1630, João Teixeira Albernaz explicitly endorsed Quirós's geography of the *Mar do Sul* which is half-filled by *Terra incognita Aus.* stretching from south America to a still attached *Nova Guinea*. On three maps in the atlas, a legend acknowledges that the *Terra incognita* to the southeast of New Guinea was 'discovered' by Quirós.[39]

TO MAP THE *ZUYD ZEE*

The Dutch entered the geopolitical equation in the East Indies at the end of the sixteenth century and the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (United East India Company) or VOC rapidly supplanted Portuguese influence in much of the region. In 1615, the Amsterdam merchant Isaac Le Maire sponsored an expedition under his son Jacob's overall direction, with Willem Corneliszoon Schouten as skipper of the *Eendracht*, responsible for nautical and navigational matters. Its joint goal was to search for *Terra Australis* and challenge the VOC monopoly over existing trade routes via the Cape of Good Hope or the Strait of Magellan. In mid-Atlantic in October 1615, Jacob Le Maire informed his companions that the

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[36] P.F. de Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones austriales*, R. Ferrando Pérez (Ed.), Madrid, 2000, 254-259. For contemporary facsimiles of the eighth memorial and its initial translations, see C. Sanz, *Australia su descubrimiento y denominación ...*, Madrid, 1973. For discussions of its influence, see M.M. Camino, *Producing the Pacific: Maps and Narratives of Spanish Exploration (1567-1606)*, Amsterdam, 2005, 39-41; Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, 29. The eminent eighteenth-century savants Charles de Brosses and Alexander Dalrymple paraphrased or translated the eighth memorial in their influential agendas for the exploration and settlement of *Terra Australis* (C. de Brosses, *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes ...*, Paris, 1756, vol. 1, 334-338; A. Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*, London, 1770, vol. 1, 162-174).

[37] E. Wright, *Certaine Errors in Navigation, Detected and Corrected*, 2nd edition, London, 1610; Wright, [Chart of the World], London, 1610, Oxford University Library, (E) B1 (1047).

[38] H. Gerritsz, [Mappa mundi], in: Gerritsz (Ed.), *Descriptio ac delineatio geographica detectionis freti ...*, Amsterodami, 1612, my emphasis.

[39] J. Teixeira Albernaz, [World], [North Pacific], [South Pacific], in: Taboas geraes de toda a navegação … anno de 1630, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, G1015 .T4 1630 Vault.

expedition aimed 'to sail to *Terra Australis*.' Quirós's memorial was read publicly to 'encourage' them and they felt 'great desire and courage' at the prospect of winning 'good profit' from so 'excellent' a voyage. In January 1616, they sailed through a new strait which was named for Le Maire, rounded and named Cape Horn, and entered the *Zuyd Zee*.[40] No more successful than Mendaña or Quirós in finding the southern continent, they touched at several islands in modern Polynesia before reaching New Ireland (Papua New Guinea) and coasting along the north coast of New Guinea to the Moluccas and Java – Figure 2 outlines the route. In November 1616 in *Iacatra* (soon to be renamed Batavia by the Dutch), the vessel, its cargo, and papers were confiscated by the VOC. Schouten, Le Maire, and some of the crew were dispatched to the Netherlands with the returning circumnavigator Joris van Spilbergen but Le Maire died en route.

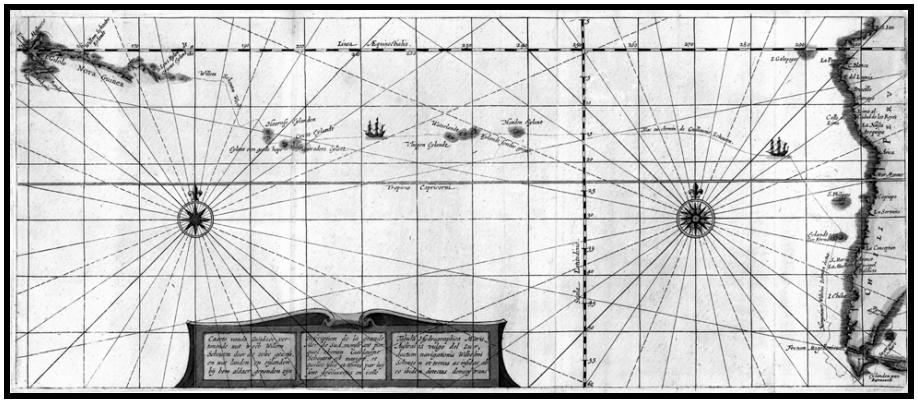

Figure 2: Anon., Caarte vande Zuijdzee ..., in W.C. Schouten, *Journal ofte Beschryvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse ... inde Jaren 1615, 1616, en 1617*, Amsterdam, 1618, State Library of Queensland, Brisbane, 734702.

The narratives, iconography, and cartography of Schouten and Le Maire's voyage are thick with indigenous presence. Its overt signs underpin my history, its obscure countersigns provide texture and balance. At the time, the narratives were an immediate publishing sensation, feeding contemporary fascination for the exotic and the heroic.[41] The earliest, evidently based on a log or journal and attributed to Schouten, was published in French and Dutch in 1618. Translations into Latin (two), English, Spanish, and German (three) followed in 1619.[42] An almost identical Dutch text with a different Latin translation

[40] J. Le Maire, Spieghel der Australische navigatie ..., in: *Nieuwe Werelt, anders ghenaempt West-Indien*, Amsterdam, 1622, 1, 12, 27.

[41] D.J. Harreld, 'How great the enterprise, how glorious the deed': seventeenth-century Dutch circumnavigations as useful myths, in: L. Cruz and W. Frijhoff (Eds), *Myth in History, History in Myth*, Leiden, 2009, 17-31.

[42] W.C. Schouten, Journal ofte beschryvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse ... inde jaren 1615, 1616, en 1617, in: W.A. Engelbrecht and P.J. van Herwerden (Eds), *De ondekkingsreis van Jacob le Maire en Willem Cornelisz. Schouten in de jaren 1615-1617* …, 's-Gravenhage, 1945 [1618], vol. 1, 139-218. On the publication and problematic authorship of this narrative, see M. van Groesen, Changing the image of the Southern Pacific: Willem Schouten, his circumnavigation, and the De Bry collection of voyages, *Journal of Pacific History* 44 (2009) 78; H. de La Fontaine Verwey, Willem Jansz Blaeu and the voyage of Le Maire and Schouten, *Quaerendo* 3 (1973) 87-105; Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, 32-37. To convey a flavour of the times, most of my citations are from the English edition of Schouten's text (*The Relation of a Wonderfull Voiage* ..., London, 1619), with parallel references to the modern transcription of the original Dutch volume.

appeared in 1619 under Le Maire's name.[43] A longer, somewhat different narrative by Le Maire was issued in 1622 in Dutch, French, and Latin editions.[44] A subsequent collection of voyage texts celebrating the 'beginning and progress' of the VOC includes an account of the expedition similar to Schouten's but primarily attributed to the journal of the *coopman* (merchant or supercargo) Aris Claeszoon.[45] These works are illustrated with three maps and several engraved drawings commissioned by publishers to be accurate depictions of scenes described. The voyage and its diverse textual corpus are henceforth my major focus, with exemplary or comparative reference to the expedition of Abel Janszoon Tasman in 1642-1643. I investigate place names bestowed by Schouten and Le Maire in the course of three sets of encounters during their track across the great ocean and along the New Guinea coast. They retaliated violently to any hint of indigenous insult or aggression, real or imagined, and wrote openly in their narratives about the numerous dead Islanders left in their wake. However, far from confirming metropolitan assumptions of the natural domination of Christian Europeans over *Wilden* (savages), an ethnographically informed exegesis of the written and graphic texts suggests strongly that Dutch recourse to violence was usually preemptive or defensive, signalling their own anxieties and tenuous control of encounters.

NAMED FOR PLACE

The first episode comprises four landfalls in April 1616 at atolls in the Tuamotu group in modern French Polynesia, as detailed in Figure 3.[46] The Dutch saw human inhabitants at only two of the atolls and qualities of place important in the context of the voyage decided their prosaic naming practice. The first, where a landing party reported seeing 'three Dogs, that neither barkt, nor made any noyse,' they called *Honden Eylant* (Dogs Island).[47]

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[43] J. Le Maire, Australische navigatien ... inde iaeren anno 1615, 1616, 1617 ..., in: J. van Spilbergen, *Oost ende West-Indische spieghel waer in beschreven werden de twee laetste navigatien ...*, Amstelredam, 1621 [1619]), 143-192.

[44] Le Maire, Spieghel.

[45] Aris Claeszoon, Australische navigatien, ontdekt door Jacob le Maire ende Willem Cornelisz. Schouten inde jaren 1615, 1616, 1617, in: I. Commelin (Ed.), *Begin ende voortgangh vande Vereenighde Nederlandtsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie …*, Amsterdam, 1646, vol. 2, 71.

[46] These atolls are usually identified as Pukapuka, Takaroa-Takapoto, Manihi or Ahe, and Rangiroa. A. Sharp, *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands*, Oxford, 1960, 74.

[47] Le Maire, Spieghel, 32; Schouten, *Relation*, 31; Schouten, Journal, 173.

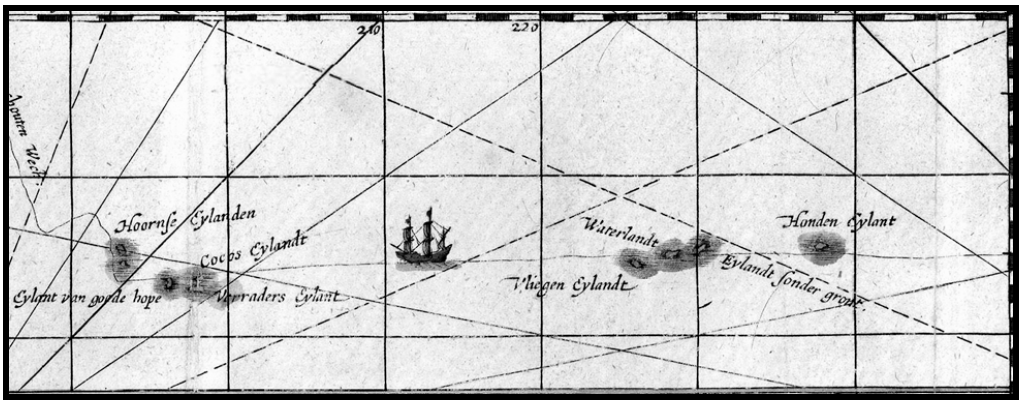

Figure 3: Anon., Caarte vande Zuijdzee ..., detail, in: W.C. Schouten, *Journal ofte Beschryvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse ... inde Jaren 1615, 1616, en 1617*, Amsterdam, 1618, State Library of Queensland, Brisbane, 734702.

At the second landfall, an uncomfortable, violent encounter ensued with the Islanders. Schouten complained: 'we could not understand them, nor they us, although we called to them in Spanish, Malay, Javanese, and our own Dutch speech.'[48] They so craved iron that one man extracted the nails from the cabin windows and 'hid them in his haire.' A heavily-armed, sixteen-strong Dutch party went ashore 'to see what was to be gotten in the Island, and to make friendship with them.' At least thirty local men armed with 'great Clubs' emerged from the bush and tried to take the sailors' arms, drag the boat up the beach, and seize two of the Dutchmen. Three musketeers fired and thought they had 'either killed or sore wounded some of them.'[49] Yet the drama of this clash left no toponymic residue and the Dutch named the island *sonder grondt* (without ground or bottomless) because they could find 'no ground to anchor.' In hazardous, reef-strewn waters, a critical natural feature was evidently of greater import to pragmatic mariners than human actions, even threatening ones.[50] At the next landfall, they again saw no inhabitants and called it *Waterlant* because they got water there.[51] Their final landfall in the Tuamotus brought an immense swarm of black flies which took three days of 'continuall killing' and a gale to get rid of. They called the place *Vlieghen Eylant* (Fly Island).[52]

INDIGENOUS SIGNS AND COUNTERSIGNS

Nearly a month later, the expedition spent three days at two small islands in the northern Tongan group, also charted in Figure 3. They anchored at the high island of Tafahi which was 'full of trees,' mostly coconut palms, and was '*therefore*' named *Cocos Eylandt*.[53] However, the name does not solely signify

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[48] Schouten, Journal, 173.

[49] Schouten, *Relation*, 31-33.

[50] Le Maire, Spieghel, 34; Schouten, *Relation*, 33; Schouten, Journal, 175.

[51] Schouten, Journal, 176; Schouten, *Relation*, 35.

[52] Le Maire, Spieghel, 34; Schouten, *Relation*, 35-6; Schouten, Journal, 177.

[53] Schouten, *Relation*, 39; Schouten, Journal, 181, my emphasis.

obvious natural bounty but is also a subtle countersign of indigenous conduct. From the outset, numerous Islanders swam to the ship from canoes with bunches of coconuts in their hands, mouths, and around their necks to exchange for nails and beads which they greatly desired. The first day, the Dutch obtained about two hundred nuts and on the second twelve hundred. Yet the encounter threatened constantly to escape European control, with further imprint in their place-naming. The people were 'very thievish,' seized everything they could, and leaped overboard with their booty: a sounding-lead; a pillow and coverlet; knives; cannon balls; a bronze escritoire. A plate in Schouten's 'Journal' represents a scene of rampant local agency and Dutch spectatorship (Figure 4). So avid were the Islanders for iron that they tried to draw the bolts from the ship with their teeth and fingernails. Such a multitude came aboard that the mariners 'knew not where to turn,' needed 'a hundred eyes' to guard their things, and were 'forced to keepe them downe with staves.' Dutch confusion and alarm were compounded by the imposing physical presence of the men who were 'robust,' 'lusty,' 'well proportioned,' and of 'great stature.'[54]

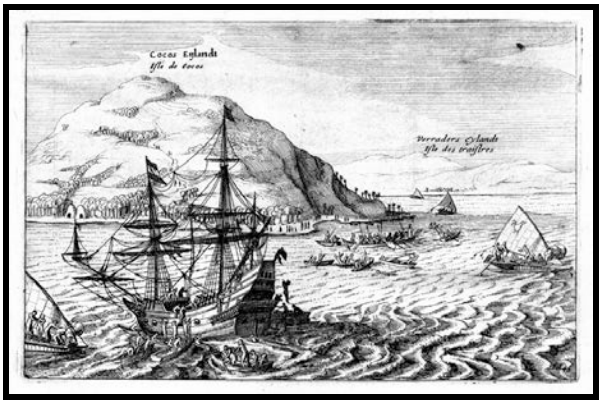

Figure 4: Anon., Cocos Eylandt/Isles de Cocos. Verraders Eylandt/Isle des traistres, in W.C. Schouten, *Journal ou description du merveilleux voyage de Guillaume Schouten ...*, Amstredam, 1619), between 64 and 65, National Library of Australia, Canberra, RB-MISC2651.

On the first day, the shallop, sent to look for a safer anchorage, was surrounded by numerous canoes from 'the other Island,' Niuatoputapu. Threatened with spears and fearing they would be boarded, the crewmen felt 'constrained to defend themselves' with musket fire. Only after a man was severely wounded did the Islanders take the weapons seriously and withdraw.[55] The encounter is imaginatively depicted in the right middle background of Figure 4 which follows the early modern convention of combining different scenes in a single plate.[56] Friendly barter and a formal exchange with the 'Chief or King' ensued but, on the third and final day, the ship was encircled by an 'armado' of canoes bearing 'about 1000' persons, women as well as men. After some peaceful trading, 'the king' seemed to signal an attempt to take the ship which was bombarded with stones. The Dutch retaliated by firing muskets and

[54] Le Maire, Spieghel, 37-41; Schouten, *Relation*, 39-42; Schouten, Journal, 181-184.

[55] Le Maire, Spieghel, 39; Schouten, *Relation*, 40; Schouten, Journal, 182.

[56] Groesen, Changing the Image, 80.

three of the great guns. Schouten reckoned that some 'hadde forgotten the way to goe home againe' and many were 'sore wounded.' The crew were hot 'to avenge this outrage' but their leaders refused to permit it and the ship immediately sailed.[57]

The Dutch inscribed this episode in global geography by naming Niuatoputapu *Verraders Eylandt* (Traitors Island) '*because* the most part of the Indians that sought to betray us, came from that island.'[58] Any treachery is evidently relative but the word *Verraders* is doubly a countersign, encoding both indigenous agency and the extreme, but seldom admitted vulnerability of South Sea voyagers, dependent for vital supplies on cooperation from independent, warrior populations who craved European goods, especially iron. The name is thus a metonym for a whole narrative of foreign arrival, indigenous action, and European response. Two cardinal indigenous tactics for receiving and exploiting European visitors – friendship and exchange, or violence – were described during the encounter. They should not be dichotomized as binary opposites or taken for granted as reflex responses to irresistible European power. They are more aptly read as different elements in a broad strategic arsenal which voyagers usually did not recognize as such but local people tailored to fit contexts, needs, and desires. The toponym *Verraders Eiland, Ile des Traîtres*, or Traitor's Island lingered well into the nineteenth century in the most authoritative maps and atlases.[59]

INDIGENOUS NAMES

I now skip two months and several thousand kilometres from present-day western Polynesia to my third emblematic encounter on the northwest littoral of New Guinea (Papua Province), mapped in detail in Figure 5. By this stage, the mariners were in serious want and emotional distress. Schouten lamented that 'all our pottage, like pease, beans, barley, also all our flesh, bacon and fish was all spent, and *we knew not where we were*.' They guessed they were sailing along the New Guinea coast but their maps bore little relation to land actually seen.[60] On 15 July 1616, they anchored at two low islands close to the mainland and Schouten led a well-armed party ashore in search of coconuts. They were immediately assailed by concealed warriors who 'shot so fiercely' with bows and arrows that at least sixteen Dutchmen were wounded and 'shot so thicke' that the Dutch had to withdraw.[61] After a bombardment by the ship's guns

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[57] Le Maire, Spieghel, 40-41; Schouten, *Relation*, 42-44; Schouten, Journal, 184-186.

[58] Le Maire, Spieghel, 41; Schouten, *Relation*, 44-45, my emphasis; Schouten, Journal, 186.

[59] For example, A. Arrowsmith, *A Chart of the World upon Mercator's Projection, Shewing all the New Discoveries to the Present Time*, London, 1790; R.G. Bennet and J. van Wijk, Kaart der Vriendelyke Eilanden, in: *Atlas, behoorende tot de Verhandeling*, Dordrecht, 1829, [plate 6b]; A.-H. Brué, Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde ..., in *Grand atlas universel ...*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1816 [1815], plate 39; G.W. Colton, Tonga or Friendly I^{s}., in *Colton's Atlas of the World, Illustrating Physical and Political Geography*, New York, 1856, plate 33; A.J. von Krusenstern, Carte generale de l'Océan pacifique hémisphere australe ..., in *Atlas de l'Océan pacifique*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1824, vol. 1, plate 1.

[60] Schouten, *Relation*, 66-67, my emphasis; Schouten, Journal, 205.

[61] Schouten, *Relation*, 67-68; Schouten, Journal, 206.

had inflicted significant injury and the Dutch burned several houses and seized a large number of coconuts, the Islanders appealed for peace. Henceforth, they supplied the Dutch with 'as many Cocos nuttes and Bananas' as they desired, in exchange for 'old nayles, rustie knives, and beades.' They even bartered some of their weapons and helped the sailors draw the nets when fishing. Again, the texts do not acknowledge the wide indigenous tactical range they record but Schouten enthused that 'at last we were great friends with them.' The Dutch left after five days with supplies replenished and spirits revitalized.[62]

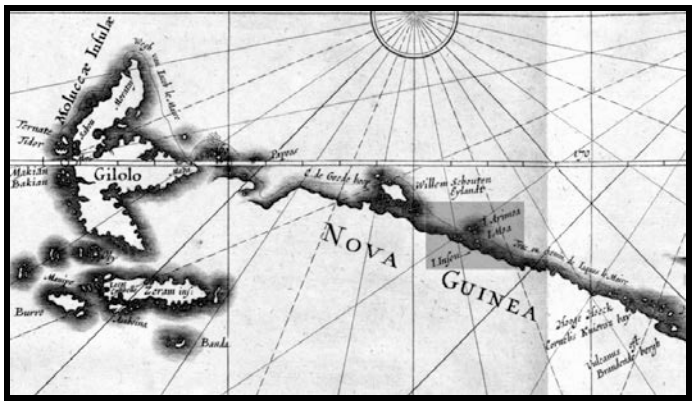

Figure 5: Anon., Caarte van Nova Guinea …/Description de la coste septentrionale de Nova Guinea …/Novæ Guineæ Tabla, detail, in: W.C. Schouten, *Journal ofte Beschryvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse ... inde Jaren 1615, 1616, en 1617,* Amsterdam, 1618, Mitchell Map Collection, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Maps/0795.

In toponymic and cartographic terms, this visit was of great significance. Here is the relevant passage, translated from Schouten's Dutch narrative:

> We saw here some pottery vases which we thought must have come from the Spaniards. Also this people was not very curious about the ship, as the previous ones had certainly been, because they knew enough to speak of shooting with great pieces, and *gave the island where they lived the name of Moa*,... the other which lay opposite they *named Insou*, and the outermost which was a fairly high island, lying some five or six miles from New Guinea, *they named Arimoa*.[63]

These are the *only* local names recorded or charted during the long Dutch passage from Cape Horn to west New Guinea. *Moa* and *Insou* are modern Insumoar and Insumanai in the Wakde Islands where during World War II the Japanese built an air base that was heavily bombed and later captured by the Americans. *Arimoa* is Nirumoar, or more properly the neighbouring higher island of Liki, in the Kumamba Islands, northwest of Wakde.[64] Figure 6 shows their modern cartographic status.

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[62] Le Maire, Spieghel, 61-62; Schouten, *Relation*, 68-69; Schouten, Journal, 206-208.

[63] Schouten, Journal, 207, my emphasis; see also Le Maire, Spieghel, 62; Schouten, *Relation*, 69.

[64] A. Sharp, *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*, Oxford, 1968, 236, note 1, 237, note 3.

Figure 6: United States Army Map Service, Kumamba Islands, New Guinea, series T401, Washington, DC, 1942, detail, online, Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, University of Texas, Austin, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ams/new_guinea_500k/txu-oclc-6558822-sa54-1.jpg, accessed 20 October 2013.

This fleeting recourse to indigenous nomenclature is striking because the Dutch toponymic norm in New Holland (mainland Australia) and the *Zuyd Zee* was to commemorate places or people.[65] So Schouten's map of *Nova Guinea* features the personal eponym *Willem Schouten Eylandt* (Biak) northwest of *Arimoa*, with its westernmost point named *C. van goede hoop* (Cape of Good Hope) to celebrate the journey's approaching end (Figure 5).[66] As they suspected, these voyagers were not the first Europeans to visit *Moa*. Indeed, the islands routinely feature in Portuguese charts and Dutch maps from the mid-sixteenth century. The earliest such inscription I have seen is on Velho's map of about 1560 which places *moo* and *I. de arino* together on the north coast of New Guinea, well to the east of *os crespos* and not far west of *I. de maligente*. A map of 'Asia' in Ortelius's atlas of 1570 positions *Maoo* and *Darimo* close to *I dos crespos*. A map depicting an unnamed New Guinea in a Portuguese manuscript atlas of about 1570 by Fernão Vaz Dourado inserts the island of *moio* between *I: de los crespos* and *I: de malagrate*. A French map of the Americas by André Thevet published in 1575 locates *I. de arimo* north of New Guinea, near *I. des mauvais* (bad [people]). Petrus Plancius's map of the 'Moluccas Islands', first published in 1592, also places *I. de Arimo* adjacent to *I. da Mala gente* with *Moo* further to the west.[67]

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[65] Jan Tent and Helen Slatyer's typology of toponyms bestowed in New Holland by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European voyagers shows that Dutch place names are overwhelmingly topographic, environmental, and eponymous, with only one indigenous word possibly associated with place-naming (J. Tent and H. Slatyer, Naming places on the 'Southland': European place-naming practices from 1606 to 1803, *Australian Historical Studies* 40 [2009] 26-29). My impressionistic survey is that Dutch toponyms in the Pacific Islands and New Guinea match that pattern.

[66] Schouten, Journal, 208.

[67] F. Vaz Dourado, [New Guinea], in: [Portolan Atlas], [1570], 14, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, CA, HM 41; Ortelius, Asiae nova descriptio, in: *Theatrum*, plate 3; P. Plancius, *Insulae Moluccae celeberrimæ sunt ob maximam aromatum copiam quam per totum terrarum orbem mittunt* ..., [Amsterdam], 1617 [1592]; A. Thevet, Quarte partie du monde, in: *La cosmographie universelle*, Paris, 1575, vol. 2; [Velho], [Japan and Portion of East Indies].

How did these names get on the maps, albeit distorted and often misplaced? They were in fact more empirical products of a local encounter with indigenous people during the voyage of Ortiz de Retes. In June 1545, having passed Biak and gone ashore at the mouth of the Mamberamo River where he bestowed the name *Nueva-Guinea* on the 'very beautiful' main island, Ortiz de Retes reached a small island with an even smaller neighbour. He was well-received by the inhabitants who came 'in peace' to the ship to sell many coconuts while sago was brought from the big island. Forced by bad weather to stay at the anchorage for 13 days, he learned that: 'They call these lands Mo Islands *in their language*.'[68] As with the later Dutch visitors, this is one of few vernacular names recorded by early modern Spanish travellers in the *Mar del Sur* or in New Guinea. On the advice of returning pilots, *Moa, Arimoa*, and the other Spanish toponyms were no doubt recorded on the Spanish official master map, the *Padrón Real*, or its Portuguese counterpart, the *Padrão Real*, and filtered into the cartographers' productions.[69] Schouten and Le Maire gave no indication of prior knowledge of *Moa's* existence but they doubtless had some idea from Ortelius's atlas and from Plancius's well-known map of the Moluccas which might have been among those deplored for inaccuracy by Schouten.[70]

In August 1642, Tasman was despatched from Batavia by the VOC in the *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen* to discover 'the unknown and found Southland'. In the final stages of the voyage, traversing the northern New Guinea coast, he deliberately sailed 'to the island Moa' in search of provisions.[71] He had the benefit of not only his predecessors' charts but also Le Maire's brief published vocabulary of the 'Language of Moo Island,... where the arrows were [where the Dutch were shot at].'[72] Tasman spent more than a week there and the *coopman* Isaac Gilsemans sketched views of *Moa* and *Insou* (Figure 7) and the well-armed inhabitants.[73] After six days of friendly exchanges, some men approached the *Heemskerck* in canoes and inexplicably shot arrows 'towards and into' the ship, wounding a sailor in the thigh. The Dutch fired muskets in retaliation and a man was struck in the arm. Peace was quickly restored but Tasman

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[68] Escalante, *Viaje*, 79, my emphasis. This key sentence is missing, presumably by mistake, from the first published version of this report (Escalante, Relacion del viaje, 154-156).

[69] D. Turnbull, Cartography and science in early modern Europe: mapping the construction of knowledge spaces, *Imago Mundi* 48 7-14.

[70] Plancius, *Insulae Moluccae*. A copy of this map was sometimes included in J. Huyghen van Linschoten, *Itinerario: voyage ofte schipvaert ... naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien ...*, Amstelredam, 1596, map 1. Linschoten was the first Dutch traveller in south and east Asia and his narrative was probably carried on the *Eendracht*. Gerritsz's world map, which Schouten and Le Maire undoubtedly did have, gives no New Guinea place names.

[71] Tasman's Instructions, in Sharp, *Voyages*, 30; A.J. Tasman, Journal or Description ... of a Voyage ... Relating to the Discovery of the Unknown Southland, in the Year Anno 1642 ..., in: Sharp, *Voyages*, 238.

[72] Le Maire, Spieghel, 85. In the Latin edition, the word list is called *Vocabula indigenarum Insula Moo* (Indigenous vocabulary of Moo Island). Le Maire, Ephemerides sive description navigationis australis institutæ anno M. D. C. XV...., in *Novus orbis, sive descriptio Indiae Occidentalis*, Amstelodami, 1622, 82.

[73] [I. Gilsemans], Het Volck vande Eijlanden Moa Iamna …, and Eijlandt Moa. Eijlant Insou, in: A.J. Tasman, Journael ofte beschrijvinge door mij Abel Jansz Tasman van een voyagie gedaen vande stadt Batavia in oost Indien aengaende de ontdeckinge van 't ombekende Zuijtlandt in den Jare Anno 1642 ..., 1642-1643, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, 1867 A III.

noted with satisfaction that they 'dared not demand as much for their goods as before[,] what we gave them they were content with.'[74]

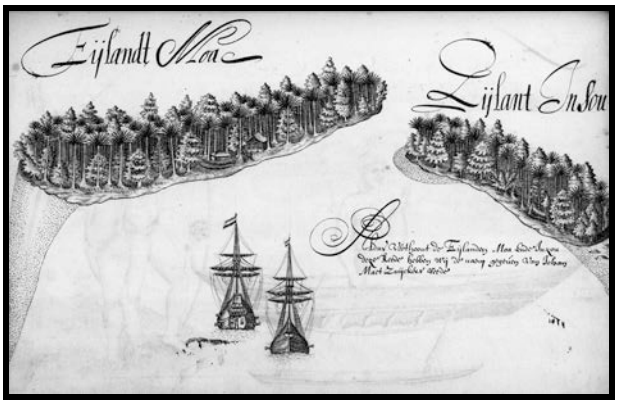

Figure 8: [Isaac Gilsemans], Eijlandt Moa. Eijlant Insou, in: A.J. Tasman, Journael ofte beschrijvinge door mij Abel Jansz Tasman van een voyagie gedaen vande stadt Batavia in oost Indien aengaende de ontdeckinge van 't ombekende Zuijtlandt in den Jare Anno 1642 ..., 1642-1643, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, 1867 A III.

I place great interpretive weight on this protracted instance of the infiltration of vernacular naming into early modern voyage texts and cartography. There was no doubt enhanced opportunity to acquire such knowledge during relatively long visits involving regular interactions with Islanders. Yet Schouten and Le Maire had spent twice as long at the Hoorn Islands of Futuna and Alofi in what is now western Polynesia. The Islanders, after suffering death and injury in initial violence, adopted a strategy of placation, deference, and cooperation, leading Schouten to exult that 'we were there as free & friendly as if we had beene at home in our owne houses.' Nonetheless, the texts of this visit contain not a single local island or place name.[75] Le Maire's vocabulary of *Moa* is the only one of the five word lists he collected to include the category *Een seecker Eylandt* (a certain island) or, in the Latin edition, *Nomen Insulae est* (Name of the island is). The response was *Arti* which labels an island near *Moa* on numerous early maps.[76] A sample of such usage in the sixteenth century alone includes Velho's map of about 1560; Mercator's mappa mundi of 1569 (Figure 1); Ortelius's 'Asia' of the following year; Dourado's depiction of New Guinea in 1570; Bartolomeu Lasso's Portuguese manuscript atlas of 1590, featuring *Nueba Guinee*, on which Plancius based his map of the 'Moluccas Islands' and other charts; and Barent Langenes's 1600 map of 'New Guinea and Solomon Is.'[77]

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[74] Anon., Journal Kept on the New Voyage, Round the South in India Made by Commander Abel in the Year 1642—in August, in: Sharp, *Voyages*, 301-302; H. Haelbos, The Haalbos-Montanus Account of the Voyage of 1642-1643, in: Sharp, *Voyages*, 51; Tasman, Journal, 238-240.

[75] Le Maire, Spieghel, 44-53; Schouten, *Relation*, 47-58; Schouten, Journal, 188-199.

[76] Le Maire, Ephemerides, 81-82; Le Maire, Spieghel, 84-85.

[77] Dourado, [New Guinea]; Langenes, Nova Guinea et In. Salomonis; Mercator, *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio*; B. Lasso, [Kaart van het oostelijk deel van de Indische archipel], 1590, Maritiem Museum, Rotterdam, WAE898-E; Ortelius, Asiae nova descriptio; [Velho], [Japan and Portion of East Indies]; Plancius, *Insulae*

I suggest that the reiterated inscription of the indigenous terms *Moa*, *Arimoa*, and *Arti* in European texts and maps from the mid-sixteenth century is also a countersign of indigenous agency and concerns. For obscure but tenacious reasons, the inhabitants of this region stressed local toponyms to visiting strangers. It may well be a case of place potentiating human agency. As the only viable anchorages or landfalls along several hundred kilometres of the northern New Guinea coastline, these small offshore islands and atolls were a maritime magnet.[78] For centuries, perhaps millennia, these Islanders had encountered occasional passing seafarers. In the process, they developed strategies to deal with visitors and a particular sense of themselves and their islands in relation to a wider world.

In early 1643, during ten days in the Tongan archipelago, Tasman interacted often with the local people, did detailed mapping, but noted only one major vernacular name – the island of Nomuka which he usually called *Rotterdam*.[79] Yet that small coastal zone of north New Guinea produced *six* local names on Tasman's official chart of 1644, including *Arimoa* and *Moa*, clustered amid topographical descriptions and his standard toponymic array celebrating VOC officials, crew members, and Dutch places (Figure 8).[80] Certainly, the Europeans obtained this local knowledge. But the Islanders *gave* it to them. Aware of the power of knowledge, names, and gifts in Oceanic worlds, I am certain they did so with serious, deliberate intent which, if unrecognized by voyagers, left enigmatic traces in what they wrote and drew. This very local but reiterated entanglement of names, maps, texts, and encounters may be empirically insignificant in the global cartographic scheme but it has important heuristic implications for hidden histories of European mapping and nomenclature.

Moluccae. On the Portuguese antecedents of Plancius's charts, see Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota (Eds), *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, vol. 3, 97-100.

[78] I thank Chris Ballard, who knows the area, for suggesting this interpretation.

[79] Tasman, Journal, 149-171.

[80] A.J. Tasman, [Official Map for an Expedition to the Philippines, 8 September 1644], facsimile, in: J.E. Heeres and C.H. Coote (Eds), *In the Press: Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal of his Discovery of Van Diemens Land & New Zealand in 1642, with documents relating to his Exploration of Australia in 1644*, Amsterdam, 1895, plate 5.

Figure 8 and Inset: A.J. Tasman, [Official Map for an Expedition to the Philippines, 8 September 1644], detail, facsimile, in: J.E. Heeres and C.H. Coote (Eds), *In the Press: Abel Jansz. Tasman's Journal of his Discovery of Van Diemens Land & New Zealand in 1642, with documents relating to his Exploration of Australia in 1644*, Amsterdam, 1895, plate 5, National Library of Australia, Canberra, MAP RM 2056.

Visited by the Spanish in the 1540s, inscribed by Portuguese and Dutch cartographers, revisited by seventeenth-century Dutch voyagers, and rehearsed by later mapmakers, *Moa*, *Arimoa*, and *Arti* endured in European charts and maps for well over 300 years, holding their ground while the Spanish descriptors gradually disappeared. For more than a century after 1760, they were among very few place names marked along the northwest New Guinea coast, by practical navigators as well as cartographers. *Moa* and *Arimoa* are almost alone on this coast on an English map of 1790 and, together with *Insou*, in Aaron Arrowsmith's English chart of 1808 and a Spanish map of 1812.[81] They were mapped by passing French hydrographers during the expeditions of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1791-1794) and Dumont d'Urville (1826-1829, 1837-1840).[82] *Moa* and *Arimoa* are inscribed on Adrien-Hubert Brué's seminal map of *Océanie*, first published in 1815, and still feature in the Weimar Geographisches Institut's *Hand-Atlas* of 1856.[83] Perhaps indigeneity and antiquity are the keys to their persistence, conveying a neutral aura that circumvented imperial rivalries.

From about 1900, these names dropped off the maps as fleeting maritime knowledge gave way to the more confident terrestrial vision of Dutch colonizers. *Arimoa*, *Moa*, and *Arde* remain on a map of *Nederlandsch-Indie* published in the late 1890s. Among the now numerous vernacular names on an early

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[81] Anon., [Plano de Nueva Holanda, Nueva Guinea, Nueva Zelanda, etc.], London, 1812, Museo Naval, Madrid, MN 56-4; A. Arrowsmith, Chart of the Islands and Passages to the Eastward of New Guinea ..., London, 1818 [1808], National Library of Australia, Canberra, MAP RM 385; W.H. and J. Reid, A Reduced Chart of the French Discoveries to the South East of New-Guinea in 1768 and 1769 ..., [Paris], 1790, Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, DL Q79/38.

[82] C. F. Beautemps-Beaupré, Carte de la partie septentrionale de la Nouvelle Guinée ..., in: *Atlas du voyage de Bruny-Dentrecasteaux* ..., Paris, 1807, plate 32; V.-C. Lottin, Carte particulière de la Nouvelle Guinée ...., in: J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826-1827-1828-1829 … Atlas [hydrographique]*, Paris, 1833), plate 30; C.A. Vincendon-Dumoulin, Carte générale de l'Océan Pacifique ..., in: *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l'Océanie ... pendant les années 1837-1838-1839-1840 ... Atlas hydrographique*, Paris, 1847, plate 1.

[83] Brué, Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde ...; H. Kiepert, Australien, in: *Allgemeiner Hand-Atlas der Erde und des Himmels* …, Weimar, 1856.

twentieth-century colonial map of Dutch New Guinea are the insular groups *Koemamba* and *Wakde*. But this map does not identify the groups' component islands and *Arimoa* and *Moa* have vanished, only to reappear in modern cartography, chameleon-like, as Liki and Insumoar (Figure 6).[84]

CONCLUSIONS

The symbiosis of cartography and seafaring in global map production is self-evident and long recognized.[85] This paper adds twin local factors to the equation of science and utility – indigenous agency and the power of place. By tracking the erratic, experiential production of early modern toponyms in the fifth part of the world, such an approach further disturbs the long-held, now discredited teleological fiction that the cartographic construction of the globe was a confident, cumulative, linear process of imperial 'discovery,' knowing, and naming. The episodes discussed exemplify a broad range of naming principles followed by European navigators in the South Sea:[86] qualities of place, indigenous demeanour, vernacular terminology, eponymy. Schouten and Le Maire's primary criterion was place, relative to the unfolding contours of the voyage, together with their own names and that of Schouten's home-town of Hoorn which sponsored the voyage. The Spanish favoured religious nomenclature but memorialized notable indigenous behaviour or appearance and recorded some local names, especially *Moa*. Tasman's maps are littered with deferential homonyms, in sharp contrast to the small constellation of vernacular names he learned in northern New Guinea. Like Schouten and Le Maire's *Verraders Eylandt*, his labelling of *Moordenaers Baij* (Murderers Bay, Golden Bay) in New Zealand's South Island stands alone in his journal as a sign of lethal indigenous actions and a countersign of their inexplicability – a 'monstrous deed', Tasman called it, performed on 19 December 1642 by Maori whose canoe-borne attack on a ship's boat left four Dutch sailors dead and the remaining crew members traumatized.[87]

These voyages left enduring empirical residues of places and people in global cartography, layering maps like palimpsests. Schouten and Le Maire's legacy, complemented by Tasman's, dominated South Sea nomenclature for well over a century but the old Spanish names stuck for a long time. So Teixeira included Le Maire's Strait along with many Spanish names in his 1630 atlas while Pierre Mortier mingled almost all the Spanish and Dutch names in his 1700 map of 'Mer de Sud.'[88] So too, Gilles Robert

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[84] Encyclopaedisch Bureau, Overzichtskaart van de Residentie Amboina en de Afdeeling Noord-Nieuw Guinea, in: *De Uitkomsten der verrichtingen van de militaire exploratie in Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, Batavia, 1916; United States Army Map Service, Kumamba Islands, New Guinea, series T401, Washington, DC, 1942; H.P.T. Witkamp, Kaart van Nederlandsch-Indie, Amsterdam, c. 1893, both in Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, University of Texas, Austin.

[85] Mercator, *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio*, sheet 3 and 14; Wroth, Early Cartography of the Pacific, 91.

[86] P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: an Exploration of Landscape and History*, New York, 1988, 1-17; Hamy, Commentaires, 473-474; Tent and Slatyer, Naming places, 21-24.

[87] [Isaac Gilsemans], Moordenaers Baij, in: Tasman, Journael; Tasman, Journael, 19 Decemb. A^{o}. 1642; Tasman, Journal, 122-125.

[88] P. Mortier, Mer de Sud, ou Pacifique ..., in: P. Mortier and N. Frémont d'Ablancourt, *Suite du Neptune francois, ou atlas nouveau des cartes marines ...*, Amsterdam, 1700, [plate 35]; Teixeira, [North Pacific], [South Pacific].

de Vaugondy bracketed *I. Arimoa*, *I. Moa*, and *I. Arti* with *I. de Schouten*, *I. de los Crespos*, and *I. Malagente* in a map prepared for Charles de Brosses's treatise of 1756 on the *terres australes*. In a bizarre map published in 1774 to illustrate a French translation of Alexander Dalrymple's *Voyages*, Robert de Vaugondy strewed Spanish, Dutch, English, and French names along New Guinea's north coast and superimposed Mendaña's Solomon Islands on the Bismarck Archipelago.[89] *Crespos* still lingers in a highly eclectic Dutch map engraved in 1808 by Willem Cornelis van Baarsel.[90]

From its onset in Portuguese and Spanish chronicles until well after World War II, the historiography of Oceanic voyages was almost entirely a subset of imperial history or biography, mainly concerned with the romance or the science of discovery or with the exploits of great men and largely oblivious to Indigenous presence. Such works take for granted that metropolitan ideas and voyagers' representations were internally generated. They typically ignore, exoticize, or demonize 'natives', universalize them as less advanced versions of 'us', or stereotype them as objects or victims of European initiatives. Since about 1980, Oceanic voyage history has been radically transformed by historical anthropologists and cultural historians who brought an Indigenous factor squarely into their equations – whether as reified culture or as human agency in the context of encounters.[91]

Going beyond the now common inference that there must have been local agency in encounters, I propose the notion of countersign as a strategy for pinpointing residues of such agency involuntarily inscribed in European voyagers' accounts of their engagements with indigenous people. The concept enables useful differentiation of things consciously perceived and recorded, whether accurately or not, and oblique textual traces of the emotive impact of indigenous agency during encounters. The idea of countersign has general potential for writing histories of subaltern actions from their shadowy traces in European archives and master narratives. It is of particular value to my present enterprise which aims to wring historical and ethnographic import from unusually parsimonious materials while avoiding anachronistic projection on to the past of modern historical understandings and terminology, or the ethnographic presents of later anthropologists.

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[89] G. Robert de Vaugondy, Partie de l'Australasie qui comprent la Terre des Papous ou Nouvle. Guinée ..., in: Brosses, *Histoire*, vol. 1; Robert de Vaugondy, Carte de la Terre des Papous, de Nouvelle Guinée, et des Isles de Salomon ..., in A. Dalrymple, *Voyages dans la Mer du Sud, par les Espagnols et les Hollandois*, A.-F.-J. Fréville (Tr.), Paris, 1774, map 3.

[90] W.C. van Baarsel, Carte générale de la Polijnesie australe ..., Amsterdam, 1808, National Library of Australia, Canberra, MAP RM 569.

[91] For example, G. Dening, *The Death of William Gooch: a History's Anthropology*, Carlton South, 1995; M. Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*, Ann Arbor, 1981; A. Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas*, London, 2003; N. Thomas, *Discoveries: the Voyages of Captain Cook*, London, 2003. See Douglas, *Science*, 26-33 for a detailed discussion of the absence and recent presence of the theme of indigenous agency in the historiography of Oceanic voyaging.